MORS FORTIOR MACVLA

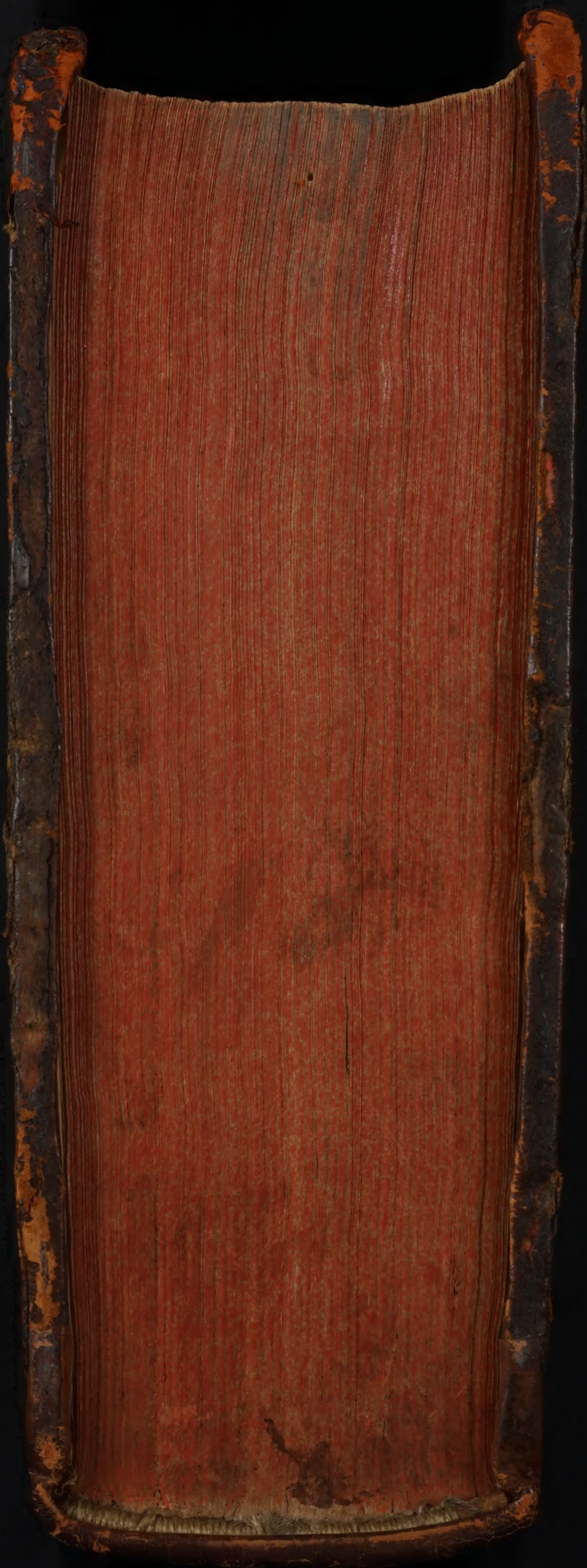
CHRONICLES

HOLINSHED

VOL. III.

X

1585



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Wants pp. 439–879
1375 – 1518

X

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1585.

THE

Third volume of Chronicles, be-
ginning at Duke William the Norman,
commonlie called the Conqueror; and
deſcending by degrees of yeeres to all the
kings and queens of England in their
orderlie ſucceſſions:

First compiled by Raphaell Holinſhed,
and by him extended to the
yeare 1577.

Now newlie recogniſed, augmented, and
continued (with occurrences and
accidents of freſh memorie)
to the yeare 1586.

Wherein alſo are conteined manie matters
of ſingular diſcourſe and rare obſer-
uation, fruitfull to ſuch as be
ſtudious in antiquities, or
take pleaſure in the
grounds of anci-
ent hiſtories.

With a third table (peculiarlie ſerving
this third volume) both of
names and matters
memorable.

Hiſtoriæ placeant noſtrates ac peregrinæ.

Cum priuilegio Regiæ
Maieſtatis.

TO THE

Right Honorable and his ſingular good Lord, Sir William Cecill, Baron of Burghleygh, Knight of *the moſt noble order of the Garter, Lord high Treaſu-*rer of England, Maiſter of the Courts of Wards and *Liueries, and one of the Queenes Maieſties* priuie Councell.

ONſidering with my ſelfe, right Hono*rable and my ſingular good Lord, how redie (no doubt) manie will be to accuſe me of vaine preſumption, for enterpriſing to deale in this ſo weightie a worke, and ſo far aboue my reach to accompliſh: I haue thought good to aduertiſe your Honour, by what occaſion I was firſt induced to vndertake the ſame, although the cauſe that moued me thereto hath (in part) yer this beene ſignified vnto your good Lordſhip.*

Whereas therefore, that worthie Citizen Reginald Wolfe *late Printer to the Queenes Maieſtie, a man well knowne and beholden to your Honour, meant in his life time to publiſh an vniuerſall Coſmographie of the whole world, and therwith alſo certaine particular hiſtories of euery knowne nation, amongſt other whom he purpoſed to vſe for performance of his intent in that behalfe, he procured me to take in hand the collection of thoſe hiſtories, and hauing proceeded ſo far in the ſame, as little wanted to the accompliſhment of that long promiſed worke, it pleaſed God to call him to his mercie, after fiue and twentie yeares trauell ſpent therein; ſo that by his vntimelie deceaſſe, no hope remained to ſee that performed, which we had ſo long trauelled about. Neuertheleſſe, thoſe whom he put in truſt to diſpoſe his things after his departure hence, wiſhing to the benefit of others, that ſome fruit might follow of that whereabout he had imployed ſo long time, willed me to continue mine endeuour for their furtherance in the ſame. Which although I was redie to doo, ſo far as mine abilitie would reach, and the rather to anſwere that truſt which the deceaſſed repoſed in me, to ſee it brought to ſome perfection: yet when the volume grew ſo great, as they that were to defraie the charges for the impreſſion, were not willing to go*

through with the whole, they reſolued firſt to publiſh the hiſtories of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with their deſcriptions; which deſcriptions, bicauſe they were not in ſuch readineſſe, as thoſe of forren countries, they were inforced to vſe the helpe of other better able to doo it than my ſelfe.

Moreouer, the Charts, wherein Maiſter Wolfe *ſpent a great part of his time, were not found ſo complet as we wiſhed: and againe, vnderſtanding of the great charges and notable enterpriſe of that worthie Gentleman maiſter* Thomas Sackford, *in procuring the Charts of the ſeuerall prouinces of this realme to be ſet foorth, we are in hope that in time he will delineate this whole land ſo perfectlie, as ſhall be comparable or beyond anie delineation heretofore made of anie other region; and therefore leaue that to his well deſerued praiſe. If any well willer will imitate him in ſo praiſeworthie a worke for the two other regions, we will be glad to further his endeuour with all the helpes we may.*

The hiſtories I haue gathered according to my skill, and conferred the greateſt part with Maiſter Wolfe *in his life time, to his liking, who procured me ſo manie helpes to the furtherance thereof, that I was loth to omit anie thing that might increaſe the readers knowledge, which cauſeth the booke to grow ſo great. But receiuing them by parts, and at ſeuerall times (as I might get them) it may be, that hauing had more regard to the matter than the apt penning, I haue not ſo orderlie diſpoſed them, as otherwiſe I ought; chooſing rather to want order, than to defraud the reader of that which for his further vnderſtanding might ſeeme to ſatisfie his expectation.*

I therefore moſt humblie beſeech your Honour to accept theſe Chronicles of England vnder your protection, and according to your wiſedome and accuſtomed benignitie to beare with my faults; the rather, bicauſe you were euer ſo eſpeciall good Lord to Maiſter Wolfe, *to whom I was ſingularlie beholden; and in whoſe name I humblie preſent this rude worke vnto you; beſeeching God, that as he hath made you an inſtrument to aduance his truth, ſo it may pleaſe him to increaſe his good gifts in you, to his glorie, the furtherance of the Queenes Maieſties ſeruice, and the comfort of all hir faithfull and louing ſubiects.*

Your Honours moſt humble to be commanded,

RAPHAEL HOLINSHED.

THE PREFACE

to the reader.

IT is dangerous (gentle reader) to range in ſo large a field as I haue here vndertaken, while ſo manie fundrie men in diuers things may be able to controll me, and manie excellent wits of our countrie (as well or better occupied I hope) are able herein to ſurpaſſe me; but ſeeing the beſt able doo ſeeme to neglect it, let me (though leaſt able) craue pardon to put them in mind not to forget their natiue countries praiſe (which is their dutie) the incouragement of their woorthie countriemen, by elders aduancements; and the daunting of the vicious, by foure penall examples, to which end (as I take it) chronicles and hiſtories ought cheefelie to be written. My labour may ſhew mine vttermoſt good will, of the more learned I require their further enlargement, and of fault-finders diſpenſation till they be more fullie informed. It is too common that the leaſt able are readieſt to find fault in matters of leaſt weight, and therefore I eſteeme the leſſe of their carping, but humblie beſeech the skilfull to ſupplie my want, and to haue care of their dutie; and either to amend that wherein I haue failed, or be content with this mine endeuour. For it may pleaſe them to conſider, that no one can be eie-witneſſe to all that is written within our time; much leſſe to thoſe things which happened in former times, and therefore muſt be content with reports of others. Therein I haue beene ſo carefull, that I haue ſpared no paines or helpe of freends to ſearch out either written or printed ancient authors, or to inquire of moderne eie-witneſſes for the true ſetting downe of that which I haue here deliuered: but I find ſuch want in writers for the neceſſarie knowledge of things doone in times paſt, and lacke of meanes to obteine ſufficient inſtructions by reporters of the time preſent; and herewith the worthie exploits of our countriemen ſo manie, that it greeueth me I could not leaue the ſame to poſteritie (as I wiſhed) to their well deſerued praiſe. But I haue here imparted what I could learne, and craue that it may be taken in good part. My ſpeech is plaine, without any rhetoricall ſhew of eloquence, hauing rather a regard to ſimple truth, than to decking words. I wiſh I had beene furniſhed with ſo perfect inſtructions, and ſo many good gifts, that I might haue pleaſed all kinds of men, but that ſame being ſo rare a thing in any one of the beſt, I beſeech thee (gentle reader) not to looke for it in me the meaneſt.

But now for thy further inſtruction, to vnderſtand the courſe of theſe my labours. Firſt concerning the hiſtorie of England, as I haue collected the ſame out of manie and ſundrie authors, in whome what contrarietie, negligence, and raſhneſſe ſometime is

found in their reports; I leaue to the diſcretion of thoſe that haue peruſed their works: for my part, I haue in things doubtfull rather choſen to ſhew the diuerſitie of their writings, than by ouer-ruling them, and vſing a peremptorie cenſure, to frame them to agree to my liking: leauing it neuertheleſſe to each mans iudgement, to controll them as he ſeeth cauſe. If ſome-where I ſhew my fanſie what I thinke, and that the ſame diſlike them; I craue pardon, ſpeciallie if by probable reaſons or plainer matter to be produced, they can ſhew mine errour; vpon knowledge whereof I ſhall be readie to reforme it accordinglie. Where I doo begin the hiſtorie from the firſt inhabitation of this Ile, I looke not to content ech mans opinion concerning the originall of them that firſt peopled it, and no maruell: for in matters ſo vncerteine, if I cannot ſufficientlie content my ſelfe (as in deed I cannot) I know not how I ſhould ſatisfie others. That which ſeemeth to me moſt likelie, I haue noted, beſeeching the learned (as I truſt they will) in ſuch points of doubtfull antiquities to beare with my skill: ſith for ought I know, the matter is not yet decided among the learned, but ſtill they are in controuerſie about it, and as yet *Sub iudice lis eſt.* Well, howſoeuer it came firſt to be inhabited, likelie it is, that at the firſt the whole Ile was vnder one prince and gouernour, though afterwards (and long peraduenture before the Romans ſet any foot within it) the monarchie thereof was broken, euen when the multitude of the inhabitants grew to be great, and ambition entred amongſt them: which hath brought ſo manie good policies and ſtates to ruine and decaie.

The Romans hauing once got poſſeſſion of the continent that faceth this Ile, could not reſt (as it appeareth) till they had brought the ſame alſo vnder their ſubiection: and the ſooner doubtleſſe, by reaſon of the factions amongſt the princes of the land, which the Romans (through their accuſtomed skill) could turne verie well to their moſt aduantage. They poſſeſſed it almoſt fiue hundreth yeares, and longer might haue doone, if either their inſufferable tyrannie had not taken awaie from them the loue of the people, as well here as elſe-where; either that their ciuill diſcord about the chopping and changing of their emperours had not ſo weakened the forces of their empire, that they were not able to defend the ſame againſt the irruption of barbarous nations. But as we may coniecture by that which is found in hiſtories, about that time, in which the Romane empire began to decline, this land ſtood in verie weake ſtate: being ſpoiled of the moſt part of all hir able men, which were led awaie into forren regions, to ſupplie the Romane armies; and likewiſe (perhaps) of all neceſſarie armour, weapon, and treaſure: which being perceiued of the Saxons, after they were receiued into the Ile, to aid the Britons againſt the Scots and Picts then inuading the ſame, miniſtred to them occaſion to attempt the ſecond conqueſt, which at length they brought to paſſe, to the ouerthrow not onelie of the Britiſh dominion, but alſo to the ſubuerſion of the Chriſtian religion here in this land: which chanced (as appeareth by *Gildas*) for the wicked ſins and vnthankefulneſſe of the inhabitants towards God, the cheefe occaſions and cauſes of the tranſmutations of kingdoms, *Nam propter peccata, regna tranſmutantur à gente in gentem.*

The Saxons obteining poſſeſſion of the land, gouerned the ſame, being diuided into ſundrie kingdoms, and hauing once ſubdued the Britons, or at the leaſt-wiſe remooued them out of the moſt part of the Ile into od corners and mountaines, fell at diuiſion among themſelues, and oftentimes with warre purſued ech other, ſo as no perfect order of gouernement could be framed, nor the kings grow to any great puiſſance, either to mooue warres abroad, or ſufficientlie to defend themſelues againſt forren forces at home: as manifeſtlie was perceiued, when the Danes and other the Northeaſterne people, being then of great puiſſance by ſea, began miſerablie to afflict this land: at the firſt inuading as it were but onelie the coaſts and countries lieng neere to the ſea, but afterwards with maine armies they entred into the midle parts of the land. And although the Engliſh people at length came vnder one king, and by that meanes were the better able to reſiſt the enimies; yet at length thoſe Danes ſubdued the whole, and

had

had poſſeſſion thereof for a time, although not long, but that the crowne returned againe to thoſe of the Saxon line: till ſhortlie after, by the inſolent dealings of the gouernours, a diuiſion was made betwixt the king and his people, through iuſt puniſhment decreed by the prouidence of the Almightie, determining for their ſinnes and contempt of his lawes, to deliuer them into the hands of a ſtranger; and therevpon when ſpite and enuie had brought the title in doubt, to whom the right in ſucceſſion apperteined, the Conquerour entred, and they remained a prey to him and his: who plucked all the heads and cheefe in authoritie ſo cleerelie vp by the roots, as few or none of them in the end was left to ſtand vp againſt him. And herewith altering the whole ſtate, he planted ſuch lawes and ordinances as ſtood moſt for his auaile and ſecuritie, which being after qualified with more milde and gentle lawes, tooke ſuch effect, that the ſtate hath euer ſithens continued whole and vnbroken by wiſe and politike gouernement, although diſquieted ſometime by ciuill diſſention, to the ruine commonlie of the firſt mouers, as by the ſequele of the hiſtorie you may ſee.

For the hiſtorie of Scotland, I haue for the more part followed *Hector Boece*, *Iohannes Maior*, and *Iouan Ferreri Piemonteſe*, ſo far as they haue continued it, interlaced ſomtimes with other authours, as *Houeden*, *Fourdon*, and ſuch like; although not often, bicauſe I meant rather to deliuer what I found in their owne hiſtories extant, than to correct them by others, leauing that enterpriſe to their owne countrimen: ſo that whatſoeuer ye read in the ſame, conſider that a Scotiſhman writ it, and an Engliſhman hath but onelie tranſlated it into our language, referring the reader to the Engliſh hiſtorie, in all matters betwixt vs and them, to be confronted therewith as he ſeeth cauſe. For the continuation thereof I vſed the like order, in ſuch copies and notes as Maiſter Wolfe in his life time procured me; ſauing that in theſe laſt yeares I haue inſerted ſome ſuch notes as concerned matters of warre betwixt vs and the Scots, bicauſe I got them not till that part of the Engliſh hiſtorie was paſt the preſſe.

For Ireland, I haue ſhewed in mine epiſtle dedicatorie in what ſort, and by what helps I haue proceeded therein; onelie this I forgot to ſignifie, that I had not *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, and *Flatſburie*, vntill that part of the booke was vnder the preſſe, and ſo being conſtreined to make poſt haſt, I could not exemplifie what I would out of them all, neither yet diſpoſe it ſo orderlie as had beene conuenient, nor pen it with ſo apt words as might ſatisfie either my ſelfe, or thoſe to whoſe view it is now like to come. And by reaſon of the like haſte made in the impreſſion, where I was determined to haue tranſpoſed the moſt part of that which in the Engliſh hiſtorie I had noted, concerning the conqueſt of Ireland by Hen. the ſecond, out of *Houeden* & others, I had not time thereto; and ſo haue left it there remaining where I firſt noted it, before I determined to make any particular collection of the Iriſh hiſtories, bicauſe the ſame commeth there well inough in place, as to thoſe that ſhall vouchſafe to turne the booke it may appeare.

For the computation of the yeares of the world, I had by Maiſter *Wolfes* aduiſe followed *Functius*; but after his deceaſſe, M. W. H. made me partaker of a Chronologie, which he had gathered and compiled with moſt exquiſit diligence, following *Gerardus Mercator*, and other late Chronologers, and his owne obſeruations, according to the which I haue reformed the ſame. As for the yeares of our Lord, and the kings, I haue ſet them downe according to ſuch authors as ſeeme to be of beſt credit in that behalfe, as I doubt not but to the learned and skilfull in hiſtories it ſhall appeare. Moreouer, this the reader hath to conſider, that I doo begin the yeare at the natiuitie of our Lord, which is the ſureſt order (in my fanſie) that can be followed.

For the names of perſons, townes, and places, as I haue beene diligent to reforme the errours of other (which are to be aſcribed more to the vnperfect copies than to the authors) ſo may it be that I haue ſome-where committed the like faults, either by negligence or want of skill to reſtore them to their full integritie as I wiſhed. But what I haue performed, aſwell in that behalfe as others, the skilfull reader ſhall eaſily perceiue,

and

and withall conſider (I truſt) what trauell I haue beſtowed to his behoofe in this huge volume; crauing onelie, that in recompenſe thereof he will iudge the beſt, and to make a freendlie conſtruction of my meaning, where ought may ſeeme to haue eſcaped my pen or the printers preſſe, otherwiſe than we could haue wiſhed for his better ſatiſfaction. Manie things being taken out as they lie in authors, may be thought to giue offenſe in time preſent, which referred to the time paſt when the author writ, are not onelie tollerable, but alſo allowable. Therefore (good reader) I beſeech thee to weigh the cauſes and circumſtances of ſuch faults and imperfections, and conſider that the like may creepe into a far leſſe volume than this, and ſhew me ſo much fauour as hath beene ſhewed to others in like cauſes. And ſithens I haue doone my good will, accept the ſame, as I with a free and thankefull mind doo offer it thee; ſo ſhall I thinke my labour well beſtowed. For the other hiſtories, which are alreadie collected, if it pleaſe God to giue abilitie, ſhall in time come to light, with ſome ſuch breefe deſcriptions of the forren regions whereof they treat, as may the better ſuffice to the readers contentation, and vnderſtanding of the matters conteined in the ſame hiſtories, reduced into abridgements out of their great volumes. And thus I ceaſſe further to trouble thy patience, wiſhing to thee (gentle reader) ſo much profit, as by reading may be had, and as great comfort as Gods holie ſpirit may endue thee with.

FINIS.

The politike Conquest of William the first.

Anno. 1.

THis William Duke of Normandie, base son of Robert the first Duke of Normandie, and nephew vnto Edward King of England, surnamed the Confessor, hauing vanquished the English power, and slaine Harold in the field (as you may read at large towards the end of the historie of England) began his reigne ouer England the xv. daie of October being sundaie, in the yeare after the creation of the world 5033. (as W. Harison gathereth) and after the birth of our Sauiour 1066. which was in the tenth yeare of the emperour Henrie the fourth, in the first of pope Alexander the second, in the first of Philip king of France, and about the tenth of Malcolme the third, surnamed Camoir, king of Scotland.

1066

Sim. Dun. Immediatlie after he had thus got the victorie in a pight field (as before ye haue heard) he first returned to Hastings, and after set forward towards London, wasted the countries of Sussex, Kent, Hamshire, Southerie, Middlesex, and Herefordshire, burning the townes, and sleaing the people, till he came to Beorcham. In the meane time, immediatlie after the discomfiture in Sussex, the two earles of Northumberland and Mercia, Edwin and Marchar, who had withdrawne themselues from the battell togither with their people, came to London, and with all speed sent their sister quéene Aldgitha vnto the citie of Chester, and herewith sought to persuade the Londoners to aduance one of them to the kingdome: as Wil. Mal. writeth. But Simon of Durham saith, that Aldred archbishop of Yorke, and the said earles with others would haue made Edgar Etheling king. Howbeit, whilest manie of the Nobilitie and others prepared to make themselues redie to giue a new battell to the Normans (how or what soeuer was the cause) the said earles drew homewards with their powers, to the great discomfort of their freends. Wil. Malm. séemeth to put blame in the bishops, for that the lords went not forward with their purpose in aduancing Edgar Etheling to the crowne. For the bishops (saith he) refused to ioine with the lords in that behalfe, and so through enuie and spite which one part bare to another, when they could not agrée vpon an Englishman, they receiued a stranger, insomuch that vpon king William his comming vnto Beorcham, Aldred archbishop of Yorke, Wolstane bishop of Worcester, and Walter bishop of Hereford, Edgar Etheling, and the foresaid earles Edwin and Marchar came and submitted themselues vnto him, whom he gentlie receiued, and incontinentlie made an agréement with them, taking their oth and hostages (as some write) and yet neuertheless he permitted his people to spoile and burne the countrie.

Edwin and Marchar.

Quéene Aldgitha sent to Chester.

Wil. Mal. Simon Dun.

Wil. Malm. The bishops blamed.

The archbishop of yorke & other submit themselues to king william.

But now, when the feast of Christs natiuitie (commonlie called Christmas) was at hand, he approched to the citie of London, and comming thither, caused his vauntgard first to enter into the streets, where finding some resistance, he easilie subdued the citizens that thus tooke vpon them to withstand him, though not without some bloudshed (as Gemeticen. writeth) but as by others it should appéere, he was receiued into the citie without anie resistance at all; and so being in possession thereof, he spake manie frendlie words to the citizens, and promised that he would vse them in most liberall & courteous maner. Not long after, when things were brought in order (as was thought requisite) he was crowned king vpon Christmas daie following, by Aldred archbishop of Yorke. For he would not receiue the crowne at the hands of Stigand archbishop of Canturburie, because he was hated, and furthermore iudged to be a verie lewd person and a naughtie liuer.

Gemeticensis.

William Conquerour crowned 1067. according to their account which begun the yeare on the daie of Christ his natiuitie.

At his coronation he caused the bishops and barons of the realme to take their oth, that they should be his true and loiall subiects (according to the maner in that case accustomed.) And being required thereto by the archbishop of Yorke, he tooke his personall oth before the altar of S. Peter at Westminster, to defend the holie church, and rulers of the same, to gouerne the people in iustice as became a king to do, to ordeine righteous lawes & kéepe the same, so that all maner of bribing, rapine, and wrongfull iudgements should for euer after be abolished.

After this, he tooke order how to keepe the realme in good and quiet gouernment, fortifieng the necessarie places, and furnishing them with garisons. He also appointed officers and councellers, such as he thought to be wise and discréet men, and appointed ships to be in the hauens by the coast for the defense of the land, as he thought most expedient. After his coronation, or rather before (as by some authours it should séeme) euen presentlie vpon obteining of the citie of London, he tooke his iourney towards the castell of Douer, to subdue that and the rest of Kent also: which when the archbishop Stigand and Egelsin the abbat of S. Augustines (being as it were the chiefest lords and gouernours of all Kent) did perceiue, and considered that the whole realme was in an euill state; & that whereas in this realme of England, before the comming in of the foresaid duke William, there were no bondmen: now all, as well the Nobilitie as the Commonaltie were without respect made subiect to the intollerable bondage of the Normans, taking an occasion by the perill and danger that their neighbours were in, to prouide for the safegard of themselues

Polydor. 1067

Iohn Stow.

Tho. Spot.

Seruitude & bondage of the Nobilitie and Commonaltie to the Normans.

selues and their countrie. They caused all the people of the countie of Kent to assemble at Canturburie, and declared to them the perils and dangers imminent, the miserie that their neighbours were come into, the pride and insolencie of the Normans, and the hardnesse and griefe of bondage and seruile estate. Whereupon all the people rather chosing to end their vnfortunate life, than to submit themselues to an vnaccustomed yoke of seruitude and bondage, with a common consent determined to meet duke William, and to fight with him for the lawes of their countrie. Also, the foresaid Stigand the archbishop, and the abbat Egelsin, chosing rather to die in battell, than to see their nation in so euill an estate, being encouraged by the examples of the holie Machabees, became captens of the armie. And at a daie appointed, all the people met at Swanescombe, and being hidden in the woods, laie priuilie in wait for the comming of the foresaid duke William.

Now, bicause it cannot hurt to take great heed, and to be verie warie in such cases, they agreed before hand, that when the duke was come, and the passages on euerie side stoped, to the end he should no waie be able to escape, euerie one of them, as well horsemen as footmen should beare boughes in their hands. The next daie after, when the duke was come into the fields and territories neere vnto Swanescombe, and saw all the countrie set and placed about him, as it had beene a mouing and mouing wood, and that with a meane pace they approched and drew neare vnto him, with great discomfort of mind he wondered at that sight. And assone as the captens of the Kentishmen sawe that duke William was inclosed in the middest of their armie, they caused their trumpets to be sounded, their banners to be displaied, and threw downe their boughes, & with their bowes bent, their swords drawne, and their speares and other kind of weapons stretched forth, they shewed themselues readie to fight. Duke William and they that were with him stood (as no maruell it was) sore astonied, and amazed: so that he which thought he had alreadie all England fast in his fist, did now despaire of his owne life. Therefore on the behalfe of the Kentishmen, were sent vnto duke William the archbishop Stigand, and Egelsin abbat of S. Augustines, who told him their message in this sort.

My lord duke, behold the people of Kent come forth to meet you, and to receiue you as their liege lord, requiring at your hands the things which perteine to peace, and that vnder this condition; that all the people of Kent enioy for euer their ancient liberties, and may for euermore vse the lawes and customes of the countrie: otherwise they are readie presentlie to bid battell to you, and them that be with you, and are minded rather to die here altogither, than to depart from the lawes and customes of their countrie, and to submit themselues to bondage, whereof as yet they neuer had experience.

The duke seeing himselfe to be driuen to such an exigent & narrow pinch, consulted a while with them that came with him, prudentlie considering, that if he should take anie repulse or displeasure at the hands of this people, which be the key of England, all that he had done before should be disanulled and made of none effect, and all his hope and safetie should stand in danger and ieopardie: not so willinglie as wiselie he granted the people of Kent their request. Now when the couenant was established, and pledges giuen on both sides: the Kentishmen being ioyfull, conducted the Normans (who also were glad) vnto Rochester, and yelded vp to the duke the earledome of Kent, and the noble castell of Douer. Thus the ancient liberties of England, and the lawes and customes of the countrie, which before the comming of duke William out of Normandie, were equallie kept throughout all England, do (through this industrie and earnest trauell of the archbishop Stigand and Egelsin abbat of S. Augustines) remaine inuiolablie obserued vntill this daie within that countie of Kent. The ancient liberties and lawes of England remaine in Kent onlie.

¶ Thus far Thomas Spot, and after him William Thorne writeth the same. Of the which the former (that is Spot) liued in the daies of king Edward the first, and William Thorne in the daies of king Richard the second. Wil. Thorne.

But now, before we proceed anie further in rectall of the Conquerours doings, we haue here in a table noted all the noble captens and gentlemen of name, aswell Normans as other strangers, which assisted duke William in the conquest of this land; and first, as we find them written in the chronicles of Normandie by one William Tailleur.

The Catalog of such Noble men, Lords, and Gentlemen of name, as came into this land with William the Conquerour.

Odo bishop of Bayeulx.
Robert erle of Mortaing.
Roger erle of Beaumont surnamed *A la Barbe*.
Guillaume Mallet seigneur de Montfort.
Henrie seig. de Ferrers.
Guillaume d'Aubellemare seign. de Fougieres.
Guillaume de Roumare seig. de Lithare.
Le seig. de Touque.
Le seig. de la Mare.
Neel le Viconte.
Guillaume de Vepont.
Le seig. de Magneuille.
Le seig. de Grosmenil.
Le seig. de S. Martin.
Le seig. de Puis.
Guillaume Crespin.
Guillaume de Moyenne
Guillaume Desmoullins.
Guillaume Desgarennes.
Hue de Gourney, *alias* Geneuay.
Le seig. de Bray.
Le seig. de Gouy.
Le seig. de Laigle.
Le seig. de Touarts.
Le seig. de Aurenchin.
Le seig. de Vitrey.
Le seig. de Trassy, *alias* Tracy.
Le seig. de Picquigny.
Le seig. d Espinay.
Osmond seig. du Pont.
Le seig. de Estouteuile.
Le seig. de Torchy.
Le seig. de Barnabost.
Le seig. de Breual.
Le seig. de Seeulme.
Le seig. de Houme.
Le seig. de Souchoy.
Le seig. de Cally.
Le seig. de la Riuere.
Euldes de Beanieu.
Le seig. de Roumil'y.
Le seig. de Glotz.
Le seig. du Sap.
Le seig. de Vanuille.
Le seig. Branchou.
Le seig. Balleul.
Le seig. de Beausault.
Le seig. de Telleres.
Le seig. de Senlys.
Le seig. de Bacqueuille.
Le seig. de Preaulx.
Le seig. de Iouy.
Le seig. de Longueuille.
Le seig. d Aquigny.
Le seig. de Passy.
Le seig. de Tournay.
Le seig. de Colombieres
Le seig. de Bolleber.
Le seig. de Garensieres.
Le seig. de Longueile.
Le seig. de Houdetot.
Le seig. de Malletot.
Le seig. de la Haie Malerbe.
Le sei. de Porch Pinche.
Le seig. de Iuetot.
The erle of Tanqueruile
The erle d'Eu.
The erle d'Arques.

The

The erle of Aniou.
The erle of Neuers.
Le ſeig.de Rouuile.
Le prince de Alemaigne.
Le ſeig.de Pauilly.
Le ſeig.de S.Cler.
Le ſeig. d'Eſpinay.
Le ſeig.de Bremetot.
Alain Fergant erle of Britaigne.
Le ſeig.de la Ferte.
Robert fils Heruays duc de Orleans.
Le ſeig.de la Lande.
Le ſeig. de Mortimer.
Le ſeig.de Clare.
Le ſeig.de Magny.
Le ſeig.de Fontnay.
Roger de Montgomery.
Amaury de Touars.
Le ſeig.de Hacqueuile.
Le ſeig.de Neanſhou.
Le ſeig.de Perou.
Robert de Beaufou.
Le ſeig.Meauuon.
Le ſeig.de Soteuile.
Euſtace de Hambleuile.
Geoffray Bournom.
Le ſeig.de Blainuile.
Le ſeig.de Mauneuile.
Geoffrey de Moienne.
Auffray and Mauger de Carteny.
Le ſeig.de Freanuile.
Le ſeig de Moubray.
Le ſeig.de Iafitay.
Guillaume Patais ſeig. de la Lande.
Eulde de Mortimer.
Hue erle of Gournay.
Egremont de Laigle.
Richard d'Aurinchin.
Le ſeig.de Bearts.
Le ſeig.de Soulligny.
Bouteclier d'Aubigny.
Le ſeig.de Marcey.
Le ſeig.de Lachy.
Le ſeig.de Valdere.
Eulde de Montfort.
Henoyn de Cahieu.
Le ſeig.de Vimers.
Guillaume de Mouion.
Raoul Teſſon de Tignolles.
Anguerand erle of Hercourt.
Roger Marmion.
Raoul de Gaiel.
Auenel de Viers.
Pauuel du Montier Hubert.
Robert Bertraule Tort.
Le ſeig.de Seulle.
Le ſeig.Doriual.
Le ſeig.de la Hay.
Le ſeig.de S.Iohn.
Le ſeig.de Sauſſy.
Le ſeig.de Brye.
Richard Dollebec.
Le ſeig.du Monſiquet.
Le ſeig.de Breſey.
Le ſeig.de Semilly.
Le ſeig.de Tilly.
Le ſeig.de Preaux.
Le ſeig.de S.Denis.
Le ſeig.de Meuley.
Le ſeig.de Monceaux.
The archers of Bretuile.
The archers of Vaudreuile.
Le ſeig.de S.Sain.
Le ſeig.de Breanſou.
Le ſeig.de Saſſy.
Le ſeig.de Naſſy.
Le vidam de Chartres.
Le ſeig.de Ieanuile.
Le vidam du Paſſais.
Pierre du Bailleul ſeig. de Feſcampe.
Le ſeneſchal de Torchy.
Le ſeig.de Griſſey.
Le ſeig.de Baſſey.
Le ſeig.de Tourneur.
Guillaume de Colombieres.
Le ſeig.de Bonnebault.
Le ſeig.de Ennebault.
Le ſeig.de Danuillers.
Le ſeig.de Beruile.
Le ſeig.de Creueceur.
Le ſeig.de Breate.
Le ſeig.de Coutray.
The erle of Eureux.
Le ſeig.de ſeint Valery.
Thomas erle d'Aumale.
The erle de Hieſmes.

With other lords and men of account in great numbers, whoſe names the author of the chronicles of Normandie could not come by (as he himſelfe confeſſeth.) In conſideration whereof, and bicauſe diuers of theſe are ſet foorth onlie by their titles of eſtate, and not by their ſurnames; we haue thought it conuenient to make you partakers of the roll which ſometime belonged to Battell abbeie, conteining alſo (as the title thereof importeth) the names of ſuch Nobles and Gentlemen of Marque, as came at this time with the Conqueror, whereof diuerſe maie be the ſame perſons which in the catalog aboue written are conteined, bearing the names of the places whereof they were poſſeſſours and owners, as by the ſame catalog maie appeare.

The roll of Battell abbeie.

A

AVmarle
AAincourt
Audeley
Adgillam
Argentoune
Arundell
Auenant
Abell
Auuerne
Aunwers
Angers
Angenoun
Archere
Anuay
Aſperuile
Albeuile
Andeuile
Amouerduile
Arcy and Akeny
Albeny
Aybeuare
Amay
Aſpermound
Amerenges

B

BErtram
BButtecourt
Brebus and Byſeg
Bardolfe
Baſſet and Bigot
Bohun
Bailif
Bondeuile
Brabaſon
Baskeruile
Bures
Bounilaine
Bois
Botelere
Bourcher
Brabaion
Berners
Braibuf
Brande & Bronce
Burgh
Buſhy
Banet
Blondell
Breton
Bluat and Baious
Browne
Beke
Bickard
Banaſtre
Baloun
Beauchampe
Bray and Bandy
Bracy
Boundes
Baſcoun
Broilem
Broleuy
Burnell
Bellet
Baudewin
Beaumont
Burdon
Berteuilay
Barre
Buſſeuile
Blunt
Beaupere
Beuill
Barduedor
Brette
Barrett
Bonret
Bainard
Barniuale
Bonett
Barry
Bryan
Bodin
Beteruile
Bertin
Bereneuile
Bellewe
Beuery
Buſhell
Boranuile
Browe
Beleuers
Buffard
Botelere
Bonueier
Boteuile
Bellire
Baſtard
Bainard
Braſard
Beelhelme
Braine
Brent
Braunch
Beleſuz
Blundell
Burdet
Bagot
Beauuiſe
Belemis
Beiſin
Bernon
Boels
Belefroun
Brutz
Barchampe

C

CAmois
CCamuile
Chawent
Chauncy
Conderay
Coluile
Chamberlaine
Chamburnoun
Comin
Columber
Cribett
Creuquere
Corbine
Corbett
Chaundos
Chaworth
Cleremaus
Clarell
Chopis
Chaunduit
Chantelow
Chamberay

Cressy
Curtenay
Conestable
Cholmeley
Champney
Chawnos
Comiuile
Champaine
Careuile
Carbonelle
Charles
Chereberge
Chawnes
Chaumont
Caperoun
Cheine
Curson
Couille
Chaiters
Cheines
Cateray
Cherecourt
Cammile
Clerenay
Curly
Cuily
Clinels
Chaundos
Courteney
Clifford

D

DEnauille
Dercy
Diue
Dispencere
Daubeny
Daniell
Denise and Druell
Deuans
Dauers
Dodingsels
Darell
Delaber
Delapole
Delalinde
Delahill
Delaware
Delauache
Dakeny
Dauntre
Desny
Dabernoune
Damry
Daueros
Dauonge
Duilby
Delauere
Delahoid
Durange
Delee
Delaund
Delaward
Delaplanch
Damnot
Danway
Dehense
Deuile
Disard
Doiuille

Durant
Drury
Dabitot
Dunsteruile
Dunchampe
Dambelton

E

EStrange
Estuteuile
Engaine
Estriels
Esturney

F

FErrerers
Foluille
Fitz Water
Fitz Marmaduke
Fleuez
Filberd
Fitz Roger
Fauecourt
Ferrers
Fitz Philip
Filiot
Furniueus
Furniuaus
Fitz Otes
Fitz William
Fitz Roand
Fitz Pain
Fitz Auger
Fitz Aleyn
Fitz Rauff
Fitz Browne
Fouke
Freuil
Front de Boef
Facunberge
Fort
Frisell
Fitz Simon
Fitz Fouk
Filioll
Fitz Thomas
Fitz Morice
Fitz Hugh
Fitz Henrie
Fitz Waren
Fitz Rainold
Flamuile
Formay
Fitz Eustach
Fitz Laurence
Formibaud
Frisound
Finere and Fitz Robert
Furniuale
Fitz Geffrey
Fitz Herbert
Fitz Peres
Fichet
Fitz Rewes
Fitz Fitz
Fitz Iohn
Fleschampe

G

GVrnay
Gresly

Graunson
Gracy
Georges
Gower
Gaugy
Goband
Gray
Gaunson
Golofre
Gobion
Grensy
Graunt
Greile
Greuet
Gurry
Gurley
Grammori
Gernoun
Grendon
Gurdon
Gines
Griuil
Greneuile
Glateuile
Gurney
Giffard
Gouerges
Gamages

H

HAunteney
Haunsard
Hastings
Hanlay
Haurell
Husee
Hercy
Herioun
Herne
Harecourt
Henoure
Houell
Hamelin
Harewell
Hardell
Haket
Hamound
Harcord

I

IArden
Iay
Ieniels
Ierconuise
Ianuile
Iasperuile

K

KAunt
Karre
Karrowe
Koine
Kimaronne
Kiriell
Kancey
Kenelre.

L

LOueny
Lacy
Linneby
Latomer
Loueday
Louell
Lemare
Leuetot
Lucy
Luny
Logeuile
Longespes
Louerace
Longechampe
Lascales
Lacy
Louan
Leded
Luse
Loterell
Loruge
Longeuale
Loy
Lorancourt
Loions
Limers
Longepay
Laumale
Lane
Louetot

M

MOhant
Mowne
Maundeuile
Marmilon
Moribray
Moruile
Miriell
Manlay
Malebraunch
Malemaine
Mortimere
Mortimaine
Muse
Marteine
Mountbother
Mountsoler
Maleuile
Malet
Mounteney
Monfichet
Maleherbe
Mare
Musegros
Musard
Moine
Montrauers
Merke
Murres
Mortiuale
Monchenesy
Mallory
Marny
Mountagu
Mountford
Maule
Monhermon
Musett
Meneuile
Manteuenant and Manse
Menpincoy
Maine
Mainard
Morell
Mainell
Maleluse
Memorous
Morreis
Morleian Maine
Maleuere
Mandut
Mountmarten
Mantelet
Miners
Mauclerke
Maunchenell
Mouet
Meintenore
Meletak
Manuile
Mangisere
Maumasin
Mountlouel
Mawreward
Monhaut
Meller
Mountgomerie
Manlay
Maulard
Mainard
Menere
Martinast
Mare
Mainwaring
Matelay
Malemis
Maleheire
Moren
Melun
Marceans
Maiell
Morton

N

NOers
Neuile
Newmarch
Norbet
Norice
Newborough
Neiremet
Neile
Normauile
Neofmarch
Nermitz
Nembrutz

O

OTeuell
Olibef
Olifant
Osenel
Oisell
Olifard
Orinall
Orioll

P

PIgot
Pery
Perepount
Pershale
Power
Painell
Perche and Pauey
Peurell

Peurell
Perot
Picard
Pinkenie
Pomeray
Pounce
Pauely
Paifrere
Plukenet
Phuars
Punchardoun
Pinchard
Placy
Pugoy
Patefinc
Place
Pampilioun
Percelay
Perere & Pekeny
Poterell
Peukeny
Peccell
Pinell
Putrill
Petiuoll
Preaus
Pantolf
Peito
Penecord
Preudirlegaſt
Perciuale

Q

QVinci
Quintiny

R

ROs
Ridell
Riuers
Riuell
Rous
Ruſhell
Raband
Ronde
Rie
Rokell
Riſers
Randuile
Roſelin
Raſtoke
Rinuill
Rougere
Rait
Ripere
Rigny
Richemound
Rochford
Raimond

S

SOuch
SSheuile
Seucheus
Senclere
Sent Quintin
Sent Omere
Sent Amond
Sent Legere
Somerule
Siward
Saunſouere
Sanford
Sanctes
Sauay
Saulay
Sules
Sorell
Somerey
Sent Iohn
Sent George
Sent Les
Seſſe
Saluin
Say
Solers
Saulay
Sent Albin
Sent Martin
Sourdemale
Seguin
Sent Barbe
Sent Vile
Souremount
Soregliſe
Sanduile
Sauncey
Sirewaſt
Sent Cheueroll
Sent More
Sent Scudemore

T

TOget
T Tercy
Tuchet
Tracy
Trousbut
Trainell
Taket
Truſſel and Triſon
Talbot
Touny
Traies
Tollemach
Tolous
Tanny
Touke
Tibtote
Turbeuile
Turuile
Tomy and Tauerner
Trencheuile
Trenchelion
Tankeruile
Tirell
Triuet
Tolet
Trauers
Tardeuile
Turburuile
Tineuile
Torell
Tortechappell
Trusbote
Treuerell
Tenwis
Totelles

V

VEre
V Vernoun
Veſcy
Verdoune
Valence
Verdeire
Vauaſour
Vendore
Verlay
Valenger
Venables
Venoure
Vilan
Verland
Valers
Veirny
Vauuruile
Veniels
Verrere
Vſchere
Veſſay
Vanay
Vian
Vernoys
Vrnall
Vnket
Vrnafull
Vaſderoll
Vaberon
Valingford
Venicorde
Valiue
Viuille
Vancorde and Valenges

W

WArdebois
W Ward
Wafre
Wake
Wareine
Wate
Watelin
Wateuil
Wely
Werdonell
Weſpaile
Wiuell.

When king William had ſet all things in order through the moſt part of the realme, he deliuered the guiding thereof vnto his brother Odo, the biſhop of Bayeux, and his coſine William Fits Oſborne, whom he had made erle of Hereford. In Lent following he ſailed into Normandie, leading with him the pledges, and other of the cheefeſt lords of the Engliſh nation: among whom, the two earles Edwine and Marchar, Stigand the archbiſhop, Edgar Etheling, Walteof ſonne to Siward ſometime duke of Northumberland, and Agelnothus the abbat of Glaſtenburie were the moſt famous. Sone after his departing, Edricke ſurnamed Syluaticus, ſonne to Alfricke that was brother to Edricke de Streona, refuſing to ſubmit himſelfe vnto the king, rebelled and roſe againſt ſuch as he had left in his abſence to gouerne the land. Wherevpon thoſe that late in the caſtell of Hereford, as Richard Fitz Scrope and others, did oftentimes inuade his lands, and waſted the goods of his farmors and tenants: but yet ſo often as they attempted to inuade him, they loſt manie of their owne ſouldiers and men of war. Moreouer, the ſaid Edricke calling to his aid the kings of the Welſhmen, Bleothgent and Rithwall, about the feaſt of the aſſumption of our Ladie, waſted the countrie of Hereford, euen to the bridge of the riuer of Wye, and obteined out of thoſe quarters a marueilous great ſpoile. In the winter alſo following, and after king William had diſpoſed his buſines in Normandie, he returned into England, and euen then began to handle the Engliſhmen ſomewhat ſharpelie, ſuppoſing thereby to keepe them the more eaſilie vnder his obedience. He alſo toke awaie from diuerſe of the Nobilitie, and others of the better ſort, all their liuings, and gaue the ſame to his Normans. Moreouer, he raiſed great taxes and ſubſidies through the realme: nor any thing regarded th'Engliſh Nobilitie, ſo that they who before thought themſelues to be made for euer by bringing a ſtranger into the realme, do now ſee themſelues troden vnder foot, to be deſpiſed, and to be mocked on all ſides, inſomuch that many of them were conſtreined (as it were for a further teſtimonie of ſeruitude and bondage) to ſhaue their beards, to round their heare, and to frame themſelues as well in apparell as in ſeruice and diet at their tables after the Norman manner, verie ſtrange and farre differing from the ancient cuſtomes and old vſages of their countrie. Others vtterlie refuſing to ſuſteine ſuch an intollerable yoke of thraldome as was dailie laid vpon them by the Normans, choſe rather to leaue all both goods and lands, & after the maner of outlawes got them to the woods, with their wiues, children, and ſeruants, meaning from thenceforth wholie to liue vpon the ſpoile of the countries adioining, and to take whatſoeuer came next to hand. Wherevpon it came to paſſe within a while, that no man might trauell in ſafetie from his owne houſe or towne to his next neighbors, and euery quiet and honeſt mans houſe became as it were an hold or fortreſſe furniſhed for defenſe with bowes and arrowes, bils, polaxes, ſwords, clubs and ſtaues, and other weapons; the doores kept locked and ſtronglie boulted in the night ſeaſon, for feare to be ſurpriſed as it had beene in time of open warre, and amongſt publike enimies. Praiers were ſaid alſo by the maiſter of the

Sim. Dunel.

King william goeth ouer into Normandy Hen. Hunt. Polychron. Sim. Dun.

Edricke Syluaticus.

Richard Fits Scrope.

The riuer of Wye.

King william returneth into England.

H. Hunt.

Math. Paris.

Engliſhmen withdraw them to the woods as outlawes.

house, as though they had beene in the middest of the seas in some stormie tempest, and when the windowes or doores should be shut in and closed, they vsed to saie *Benedicite*, and others to answer, *Dominus*, in like sort as the priest and his penitent were wont to do at confession in the church.

Notwithstanding all this, K. William sought to tame & vanquish those of the English Nobilitie, who would not be at his becke. They againe on the other side made themselues strong, the better to resist him, chosing for their cheefe capteines and leaders, the earles Edwine & Edgar Etheling, who valiantlie resisted the Normans, and slue many of them with great rage and crueltie. And as they thus proceeded in their matters, king William being a politike prince, forward and painefull in his businesse, suffered them not altogither to escape cleere awaie, but did sore annoy and put them oft to remediles losses, though he abode in the meane time many laborious iournies, slaughters of his people, and damages of his person. Herevpon the English Nobilitie euer after, yea in time of peace, were hated of the king and his Normans, and at length were kept so short, that being moued partlie with disdaine, and partlie with dread, they got them out of the realme, some into Scotland, some into Denmarke, others into Norway; and among these, the two earles Edwine and Marchar, with certeine bishops & others of the clergie, besides manie also of the temporaltie, escaped into Scotland. Marleswine & Gospatricke, with a great number of other the Nobles of Northumberland, Edgar Ethling with his mother Agatha, and his sisters Christine and Margaret, chanced also to be driuen into Scotland by tempest, as they sailed towards the coasts of Germanie, purposing to haue returned into Hungarie, where the said Edgar was borne: howbeit being arriued in Scotland, he found so friendlie entertainment there, that finallie Malcolme the third then king of that realme, toke his sister Margaret to wife, and Christine became a nunne, as in the Scotish chronicles more plainelie doth appéere. King William héereby perceiuing daily how vnwilling the Englishmen were to be vnder his obeisance, was in feare of rebellious commotions; and therfore to subdue them the better, he builded foure castels, one at Notingham, another at Lincolne, the third at Yorke, and the fourth néere vnto Hastings, where he landed at his first comming into England.

Polydor. Anno Reg. 2. Matth. Paris. Matth. West. Diuers of the English Nobilitie forsake their native countrie.

Polydor.

Two at Yorke, wherein he left fiue hundred men in garrison. Simon Dun.

Moreouer, to reduce the English people the sooner vnto obedience and awe, he toke from them all their armour and weapons. He ordeined also that the maister of euerie household about eight of the clocke in the euening, should cause his fire to be raked vp in ashes, his lights to be put out, and then go to bed. Besides this, to the end that euerie man might haue knowledge of the houre to go to rest, he gaue order, that in all cities, townes, and villages, where anie church was, there should a bell be rong at the said houre, which custome is still vsed euen vnto this daie, and commonlie called by the French word, *Couer few*, that is, Rake vp the fier.

The Conqueror taketh frō the Englishmen their armour.

Couer few first instituted.

This yeare on Whitsunday, Maud the wife of king William was crowned Queene by Aeldred archbishop of Yorke. The same yeare also was Henrie his sonne borne here in England: for his other two sonnes Robert and William were borne in Normandie, before he had conquered this land. About the same time also, Godwine and Edmund surnamed the great, the sonnes of K. Harold, came from Ireland, and landing in Somersetshire, fought with Admothus that had béene maister of their fathers horses, whom they slue, with a great number of others; and so hauing gotten this victorie, returned into Ireland, from whence they came with a great bootie which they toke in their returne out of Cornewall, Deuonshire, and other places thereabouts. In like maner, Excester did as then rebell, and likewise the countrie of Northumberland, wherevpon the king appointed one of his capteines named Robert Cumin, a right noble personage (but more valiant than circumspect) to go against the northerne people with a part of his armie, whilest he himselfe and the other part went to subdue them of Excester: where, at his comming before the citie, the citizens prepared themselues to defend their gates and wals: but after he began to make his approch to assaile them, part of the citizens repenting their wilish attempts, opened the gates, and suffered him to enter. Thus hauing subdued them of Excester, he grieuouslie punished the cheefe offendors. But the countesse Gita, the sister of Sweine K. of Denmarke, and sometime wife to earle Godwine, and mother to the last K. Harold, with diuers other that were got into that citie, found meanes to flie, and so escaped ouer into Flanders. King William hauing passed his businesse in such wise in Deuonshire, hasted backe towards Yorke, being aduertised in the waie, that the Northumbers hauing knowledge by their spials, that Robert generall of the Normans being come to Durham, did not so diligentlie cause watch and ward to be kept about the towne in the night season as was requisite, did set vpon him about midnight, & slue the same Robert with all his companie, so that of seauen hundred which he brought with him, there was but one that escaped to bring tidings to the king their souereigne.

Wil. Malm. Simon Dun.

This chanced the 28. of Januarie on a Wednesday. Polydor.

He heard also, how Edgar Etheling at the same time, being in the countrie, riding abroad with a troope of horsemen, and hearing of the discomfiture of those Normans, pursued them egerlie, and slue great numbers of them, as they were about to saue themselues by flight, with which newes being in no small furie, he made speed forward, and comming at the last into Northumberland, he easilie vanquished the foresaid rebels, and putting the cheefe authors of this mutinie to death, he reserued some of the rest as captiues, and of other some he caused the hands to be chopped off in token of their inconstancie and rebellious dealing. After this, he came to Yorke, and there in like sort punished those that had aided Edgar, which done, he returned to London.

Polydor.

1068

Matth. West.

1069

In the meane time, those Englishmen that were fled (as you haue heard) into Denmarke, by continuall sute made to Sueine then king of that realme, to procure him to make a iournie into England for recouerie of the right descended to him from his ancestors, at length obteined their purpose, in so much that king Sueine sent his sonnes Harold and Canutus toward England, who with a nauie of two hundred saile, in the companie of Osborne their vncle, arriued in the mouth of Humber betweene the two later ladie daies, and there landing their people with the English outlawes, whom they had brought with them, they straightwaies marched towards Yorke, walking and spoiling the countrie with great crueltie as they passed. Soone after also came Edgar, and such other English exiles as had before fled into Scotland, and ioined their forces with them. When the newes of these things were brought to Yorke, the people there were striken with a marueilous feare, insomuch that Aeldred the archbishop (through verie greefe and anguish of mind) departed this life. The Normans also which laie there in garrison, after they vnderstood by their spies that the enimies were come within two daies iournie of them, began not a little to mistrust the faith of the citizens, and bicause the suburbes should not be any aid vnto

Sweine and Osborne hath Matth. Paris.

Three hundred sailes saith M.W. but Sim. Dun. hath 240.

vnto them, they set fire on the same, which by the hugenesse of the wind that suddenlie arose, the flame became so big, and mounted such a height, that it caught the citie also, and consumed a great part thereof to ashes, togither with the minster of S. Peter, and a famous librarie belonging to the same. Hereupon the Normans and citizens in like maner were constreined to issue forth at the same time, and being vpon the enimies before they had any knowledge of their approch, were forced to trie the matter by disordered battell: whose number though it was far inferiour vnto theirs, yet they valiantlie defended themselues for a time, till being oppressed with multitudes, they were ouercome and slaine, so that there perished in this conflict, to the number of three thousand of them. Manie of the Englishmen also that came with them to the field, were saued by the enimies, to the end they might gaine somewhat by their ransomes, as William Mallet shrife of the shire, with his wife, and two of their children, Gilbert de Gaunt, and diuers other. This slaughter chanced on a saturdaie, being the nineteenth day of September; a dismall daie to the Normans.

Yorke burnt.

Normans slaine.

Simon Dun.

The two brethren hauing thus obteined this victorie, went on further into the countrie of Northumberland, and brought the same wholie to their subiection, insomuch that all the north parts were at their cõmandement. Vpon this they meant to haue gone towards London with the like attempt in the south parts, if the extreame and hard winter which chanced that yeare, had not staied their enterprise, as it did king William from assailing them; who hearing of all their doings in the north countrie, would else full gladlie haue set vpon them. In the meane time, the Danes wintered in Yorkeshire, betwixt the two riuers Duse and Trent; but so soone as the snow began to melt, and the yce to thaw and waste away, king William sped him with great haste toward his enimies into Yorkeshire, and comming to the riuer of Trent, where it falleth into Humber, he pitched his tents there, to refresh his people, for his enimies were at hand. The daie following he brought his armie into the field to fight with the Danish princes, who likewise in battell araie met them. Then began a right sore and terrible battell, continuing a long space in equall balance, till at length in one of the Danish wings the Norman horsemen had put their enimies to flight. Which when the residue of the Danes perceiued, and therewith put in a sudden feare, they likewise fled. Harold and Canutus with a band of hardie souldiers that tarried about them, retired backe (though with much a do and great danger) vnto their ships. Edgar also, by helpe of good horses, escaped into Scotland with a few in his companie. Earle Walteof, who had fought most manfullie in that battell, & slaine manie Normans with his owne hands, was reconciled into the kings fauour: but the residue were for the most part taken prisoners, and killed. William of Malmesburie writeth, that king William comming at that time into the north parts, besieged the citie of Yorke, and putting to flight a great armie of his enimies that came to the succour of them within, not without great losse of his owne souldiers, at length the citie was deliuered into his hands; the citizens and other that kept it, as Scots, Danes, and Englishmen, being constreined thereto through lacke of vittels. Other write, how the Danes, being loden with riches and spoiles gotten in the countrie, departed to their ships before the comming of king William. Here is not to be forgotten, that (as Iohn Leland hath noted) whilest the Conquerour held siege before Yorke, at the earnest request of his wife Quéene Maud, he aduanced his nephew Alane earle of Britaine, with the gift of all those lands that sometime belonged vnto earle Edwine, the tenor of which gift insueth:

A sharpe winter, an enimie to warlike enterprises.

The Danes where they wintered. Hen. Hunt. Polydor.

Matth. Paris.

Hen. Hunt.

Wil. Malm.

Sim. Dunel.

Earle Edwines lands giuen vnto Alane earle of Britaine.

Ego Gulielmus cognomine Bastardus, do & concedo tibi nepoti meo Alano Britanniæ comiti, & hæredibus tuis in perpetuum, omnes illas villas & terras, quæ nuper fuerunt comitis Eadwini in Eborashira, cum feodis militum & alijs libertatibus & consuetudinibus, ita liberè & honorificè sicut idem Eadwinus ea tenuit. Dat. in obsidione coram ciuitate Eboraci: that is, I William surnamed Bastard, doo giue and grant to thee my nephue Alane earle of Britaine, and to thine heires for euer, all those townes & lands that latelie were earle Eadwines in Yorkeshire, with the knights fees and other liberties and customes, so freelie and honourablie as the said Eadwine held the same. Giuen in our seege before the citie of Yorke.

The earle of Britaine, being a man of a stout stomach, and meaning to defend that which was thus giuen to him, built a strong castell nære to his manor of Gillingham, and named it Richmont. The first originall line of the earles of Richmont (that bare their title of honor of this castell and towne of Richmont (as Leland hath set downe the same) is this: Eudo earle of Britaine, the sonne of Geffrey, begat three sonnes, Alane le Rous, otherwise Fregaunte, Alane the blacke, and Stephan. These three brethren after their fathers decease, succeeded one another in the earledome of Britaine; the two elder, Alane the red and Alane the blacke died without issue. Stephan begat a sonne named Alane, who left a sonne, which was his heire named Conan, which Conan married Margaret the daughter of William king of Scotland, who bare him a daughter named Constantia, which Constantia was coupled in marriage with Geffrey sonne to king Henrie the second, who had by hir Arthur, whom his vncle king John, for feare to be depriued by him of the crowne, caused to be made awaie; as some haue written. But now to returne where we left touching the Danes. Simon Dunel. affirmeth, that Harold and Canute or Cnute the sonnes of Sweine king of Denmarke, with their vncle earle Osborne, and one Christianus a bishop of the Danes, and earle Turketillus were guiders of this Danish armie, & that afterwards, when king William came into Northumberland, he sent vnto earle Osborne, promising him that he would permit him to take vp vittels for his armie about the sea coasts; and further, to giue him a portion of monie, so that he should depart and returne home as soone as the winter was passed. But howsoeuer the matter went with the Danes, certeine it is by the whole consent of writers, that king William hauing thus subdued his enimies in the north, he tooke so great displeasure with the inhabitants of the countrie of Yorkeshire and Northumberland, that he wasted all the land betwixt Yorke and Durham, so that for the space of three score miles, there was left in maner no habitation for the people, by reason whereof it laie wast and desert for the space of nine or ten yeares. ¶ The goodlie cities with their towers and steeples set vp on a statelie height, and reaching as it were into the aire: the beautifull fields and pastures, watered with the course of sweet and pleasant riuers, if a stranger should then haue beheld, and also knowne before they were thus defaced, he would surelie haue lamented: or if any old inhabitant had beene long absent, & newly returned thither, had seene this pitifull face of the countrie, he would not haue knowne it, such destruction was made through out all those quarters, whereof Yorke it selfe felt not the smallest portion. The bishop of Durham Egelwinus with his cleargie fled into holie Iland with S. Cutberts bodie, and other iewels of the church of Durham, where they tarried three moneths and od daies, before they returned to Durham againe. The

Castell of Richmont.

Earle of Britaine.

Simon Dunel.

Matth. Paris maketh mention but of Sweine and Osborne whom he calleth brethren.

Wil. Malms.

Simon Dun.

kings armie comming into the countrie that lieth betwixt the riuers Theise and Tine, found nothing but void fields and bare walles; the people with their goods and cattell being fled and withdrawne into the woods and mountaines, if any thing were forgotten behind, these new gests were diligent inough to find it out.

Anno Reg. 4. 1070. Polydor.

In the beginning of the spring, king William returned to London, and now after all these troubles, began to conceiue greater hatred against the Englishmen than euer before; so as doubting that he should neuer by gentlenesse win their good willes, he now determined by a harder measure to meete with them; insomuch that he banished a great number, other some also (not a few) he spoiled of their goods, those especiallie of whom he was in hope to gaine any great portion of substance.

Thus were the Englishmen generallie in danger to lose life, lands and goods, without knowledge, or orderlie proceeding in iudgement, so that no greater miserie in the earth could be imagined, than that whereinto our nation was now fallen. He tooke from the townes and cities, from the bishops sées and abbeies all their ancient priuileges and freedoms, to the end they should not onelie be cut short and made weaker, but also that they (for the obteinment of their quietnesse) might redeeme the same of him for such summes of monie as pleased him to exact. Among other things, he ordeined that in time of warre they should aide him with armor, horsse and monie, according to that order which he should then prescribe: all which he caused to be registred, inrolled, and laid vp in his treasurie. But diuerse of the spirituall persons would not obey this ordinance, whom he banished without remorse.

Priuileges and freedoms reuoked.

Matth. Paris

About this time the archbishop Stigand, and Alexander bishop of Lincolne fled to Scotland, where they kept themselues close for a season. But the king still continued in his hard proceeding against the Englishmen, insomuch that now protesting how he came to the gouernance of the realme only by plaine conquest, he seized into his hands most part of euerie mans possessions, causing them to redeeme the same at his hands againe, and yet reteined a proportion in the most part of them; so that those that should afterwards enioy them, should acknowledge themselues to hold them of him, in yeelding a yeerlie rent to him and his successors for euer, with certeine other prouisions, whereby in cases of forfeiture the same lands should returne to him, and his said successors againe. The like order he appointed to be vsed by other possessors of lands, in letting them forth to their tenants. He ordeined also, that the Termes should be kept foure times in the yeere, in such places as he should nominate, and that the iudges shuld sit in their seuerall places to iudge and decide causes and matters in controuersie betwixt partie and partie, in manner as is vsed vnto this day. He decreed moreouer, that there should be shiriffes in euerie shire, and iustices of the peace to keepe the countries in quiet, and to see offendors punished. Furthermore, he instituted the court of the Exchéker, and the officers belonging to the same, as the barons, the clearks, and such other, and also the high court of Chancerie.

Stigand. Alexander bishop of Lincolne.

Polydor. The hard dealing of K. William against the Englishmen.

The institution of the foure Termes.

The Exchéker. The Chancerie.

After he had in this sort ordeined his magistrates and ministers of the lawes, he lastlie tooke order what ordinances he would haue obserued: whereupon abrogating in maner all the ancient lawes vsed in times past, and instituted by the former kings for the good order and quietnes of the people, he made new, nothing so equall or easie to be kept; which neuertheless those that came after (not without their great harme) were constreined to obserue: as though it had beene an high offense against GOD to abolish those euill lawes, which king William (a prince nothing friendlie to the English nation) had first ordeined, and to bring in other more easie and tollerable.

New lawes.

¶ Here by the waie I giue you to note a great absurditie; namelie, that those lawes which touched all, and ought to be knowne of all, were notwithstanding written in the Norman tong, which the Englishmen vnderstood not; so that euen at the beginning you should haue great numbers, partlie by the iniquitie of the lawes, and partlie by ignorance in misconstruing the same, to be wrongfullie condemned: some to death, and some in the forfeitures of their goods; others were so intangled in suites and causes, that by no means they knew how to get out, but continuallie were tossed from post to piller; in such wise that in their minds they cursed the time that euer these vnequall lawes were made.

The lawes were written in the Norman tong.

The maner for the triall of causes in controuersie, was deuised in such sort as is yet vsed. Twelue ancient men (but most commonlie vnlearned in the lawes) being of the same countie where the sute laie, were appointed by the iudges to go togither into some close chamber, where they should be shut vp, till vpon diligent examination of the matter they should agree vpon the condemnation or acquiting of the prisoner, if it were in criminall causes; or vpon deciding in whom the right remained, if it were vpon triall of things in controuersie. Now when they were all agreed, they came in before the iudges, declaring to what agreement they were growne: which done, the iudges opened it to the offendors or sutors, and withall gaue sentence as the qualitie of the case did inforce and require. There may happilie be (as Polydor Virgil saith) that will mainteine this maner of proceeding in the administration of iustice by the voices of a iurie, to haue beene in vse before the conquerors daies, but they are not able to proue it by any ancient records of writers, as he thinketh: albeit by some of our historics they should seeme to be first ordeined by Ethelred or Egelred. Howbeit this is most true, that the Norman kings themselues would confesse, that the lawes deuised and made by the Conqueror were not verie equall; insomuch that William Rufus and Henrie the sonnes of the Conqueror would at all times, when they sought to purchase the peoples fauor, promise to abolish the lawes ordeined by their father, establish other more equall, and restore those which were vsed in S. Edwards daies. The like kind of purchasing fauor was vsed by king Stéephen, and other kings that followed him. But now to the matter, king William hauing made these ordinances to keepe the people in order, set his mind to inrich his cofers, and therupon caused first a tribute to be leuied of the commons, then the abbeies to be searched, and all such monie as any of the Englishmen had laid vp in the same, to be kept. Besides all this, he seized into his hands their charters of priuileges made to them by the Saxon kings of the land, and spared not so much as the iewels and plate dedicated to sacred vses. All this did he (as some write) by the counsell of the earle of Hertford.

Matters to be tried by a iurie of 12. men.

Matth. Paris. Matth. West. Wil. Mal. Wil. Thorne. Abbeis searched. Polydor. Simon Dun.

Shortlie after betwixt Easter and Whitsuntide, a great synod was holden at Winchester by the bishops and cleargie, where Ermenfred the bishop of Sion or Sitten, with two cardinals John and Peter sent thither from pope Alexander the second, did sit as théese commissioners. In this synod was Stigand the archbishop of Canturburie depriued of his bishoprike, for three speciall causes.

Wil. Thorne. Polydor. Sim. Dunel.

Stigand arch bishop of Canturburie depriued.

1 First, for that he had wrongfullie holden that bishoprike, whilest the archbishop Robert was liuing.

2 Se-

2 Secondlie, for that he kept the see of Winchester in his hands, after his inuestiture vnto Canturburie, which he ought not to haue done.

3 Thirdlie, for that he had receiued the pall at the hands of pope Benedict the tenth, whom the cardinals, as one not lawfullie elected, had deposed.

Howbeit, manie writers burthen king William (who was present at this synod) for the procuring of Stigand his depriuation, to the end he might place a stranger in his rome. For as he had rooted out the English Nobilitie, and giuen awaie their lands & liuings to his Normans; so meant he to turne out the English cleargie from bearing any office of honor within the realme, which meaning of his did well appeare at his councell, wherin diuers bishops, abbats, and priors were deposed, and Normans preferred to their places. Stigand after his depriuation was kept in perpetuall prison at Winchester, till he died, and yet (as some write) the same. Stigand was an helper vnder hand for king William to atteine the crowne.

Agelmarus bishop of Thetford was one that was deposed. Simon Dun. Matt. Paris.

In the feast of Pentecost next insuing, the king being at Windsor, gaue the archbishoprike of Yorke vnto one Thomas, a canon of Bayeux, and to Walkelme one of his chaplins he gaue the bishoprike of Winchester. After this, calling one Lanfranke an Italian from Caen where he was abbat, he made him archbishop of Canturburie, who was consecrated there in the feast of S. John Baptist, in the yeare following, which was after the birth of our Sauiour 1071. The foresaid Thomas was the fiue and twentith bishop that had gouerned in that see of Yorke, & Lanfranke the three & thirtith in the see of Canturburie. But yer long, betwixt these two archbishops there rose great contention for the primasie of their churches, in so much that the archbishop of Yorke appealed to Rome, where they both appeared personallie before pope Alexander, in whose presence Lanfranks cause was so much fauoured, that not onelie the foresaid Thomas, but also Remigius the bishop of Dorchester were for reasonable causes depriued of their crosiers and rings: and Lanfranke at their humble request was a meane to the pope for them in the end, that they might be restored to their staues, which was accordinglie obteined. For when the pope heard Lanfranke declare in their fauour, how necessarie their seruice might be to the king, in the establishment of his new gotten kingdome, he said to Lanfranke; Well, loke you then to the matter, you are the father of that countrie, and therefore consider what is expedient to be done therein: their staues which they haue surrendered, there they be, take them, and dispose them as you shall thinke most profitable for the aduancement of the christian religion in that countrie. Whereupon, Lanfranke toke the staues, and deliuered them to the former possessours, and so were they in the popes presence restored to their former dignities. One cause why Thomas was depriued (as some writers saie) was, for that he had holpen duke William toward his iournie into England when he came to conquer it, for the which pleasure to him then shewed, the duke promised him a bishoprike, if euer he obteined victorie ouer the English: an other cause, for that he was a priests sonne. Now, when the pope vnderstood the full ground of their contention to be for the primasie of the two sees, Canturburie and Yorke, and had heard what could be aliedged on both sides, he remitted the determination thereof to the king and bishops of England, that by the histories and records of the land, the matter might be tried, iudged and ordered.

Thomas a canon of Bayeux made archbishop of Yorke. Lanfranke consecrated archbishop of Canturburie. Matth. Westm. hath the eight Kal. of Maie, but Wil. Mal. and Eadmerus the fourth Kal. of September.

1071

Anno Reg. 5. Wil. Mal. Eadmerus.

Wil. Malm.

Wherefore at their comming home, and after long debating and discussing of the cause (as in William Marleburgh it appeareth more at large) at a synod holden at Windsor, in the yeare 1072. sentence was giuen on Lanfranks side, so that in all things concerning religion and the faith of holie church, the archbishop of Yorke should be euer subiect to the archbishop of Canturburie, and come with all the bishops of his prouince to what place soeuer the archbishop of Canturburie should summon any councell within the realme of England. Moreouer, when anie elected bishop of Canturburie was to be consecrated, the archbishop of Yorke (for the time being) should come to Canturburie, and consecrate him there. And if the archbishop of Yorke was to be installed and consecrated, then should he come to Canturburie, or to what place it should please the archbishop of Canturburie to assigne, and there to be confirmed of him, taking an oth with profession of due obedience vnto the higher see. Now, as the said Thomas of Yorke did yeld obedience to Lanfranke of Canturburie, so likewise the elect bishop of Glascow in Scotland named Michaell, was sone after consecrated of the foresaid Thomas archbishop of Yorke, and made an oth of obedience vnto the said archbishop, as to the primate of all Scotland: and after him Tothade the bishop of S. Andrewes did the like, by commandement of Malcolme the third of that name king of Scotland, and Margaret his wife, who thought good by this recognisance of obedience and dutie, so to prouide against further inconuenience to come, that hereafter, one of the bishops of their realme should not take vpon them to consecrate an other: or do any thing contrarie to the ancient decrees of the old fathers, that might be preiudiciall to the authoritie of the archbishop of Yorke, at whose appointment those and the like things were accustomed to be done. In this controuersie (or the like) it is left written, that in a court held at Rome (the time is not mentioned) the pope perceiuing the strife betweene these two prelats to be but for the highest place or primasie in the church; he solemnelie gaue sentence by decree, that the see of Yorke should haue in title *Primas Angliæ*, & Canturburie *Primas totius Angliæ*, which titles do yet remain to them both.

Anno Reg. 5.

1072

Matth. West. The subiection of the archbishoprike of Yorke, to the archbishoprike of Canturburie.

Polydor. The archbishop of Yorke, acknowleged primate of all Scotland.

Ranulph. Cestren. *lib. 1. cap. 57. & lib. 7. cap. 2.*

But to leaue this, and to speake of other things which chanced in the meane time that this controuersie depended betwixt the two archbishops, I find that Edwin and Marchar earles of Mertia and Northumberland, hauing of late obteined pardon for their former misdemeanor, & reconciled to the king, began now so much to mislike the state of the world againe, as euer they did before. For perceiuing how the Englishmen were still oppressed with thraldome & miserie on ech hand, they conspired, & began a new rebellion, but with verie ill successe, as shall hereafter appeare. The king vnderstanding of their dealings, and being not onelie armed throughlie with temporall force, but also endued with the spirituall power of his archbishop Lanfranke (who aided him in all that he might, for the suppressing of those rebels) wasted the countries exceedinglie, where he vnderstood that they had gotten anie releefe, minding vtterlie to vanquish them with sword, fire, and hunger, or by extreame penurie to bring them vnder. They on the other part make as stout resistance; and perceiuing that it stood them vpon, either to vanquish or to fall into vtter ruine, they raise a mightie strong host, and make Edgar Etheling their capteine, a comelie gentleman and a valiant, in whome also the whole hope of the English nation was reposed, as appeareth by this his accustomed by-word, Edgar Etheling Englands dearling. Amongst other noble men that were chiefe doers in the assembling of this armie, Frederike abbat of S. Albons, a prelate of great wealth and no lesse puissance, was a principall.

Matt. Paris.

The king perceiuing his estate to be now in no

small danger, is in a great perpleritie what to do, in the end, he counselleth with the said Lanfranke archbishop of Canturburie, how he might remedie the matter; who told him that in such a desperate case, the best waie for him should be to seeke by faire words and friendly offers to pacifie the English Nobilitie, which by all meanes possible would neuer ceasse to molest him in the recouerie of their liberties. Whereupon he made meanes to come to some agreement with them, and so well the matter proceeded on his side, that the Englishmen being deceiued through his faire promises, were contented to common of peace, for which purpose they came also vnder the conduct of the abbat Frederike vnto Berkamsted, where (after much reasoning and debating of the matter for the conclusion of amitie betwixt them) king William in the presence of the archbishop Lanfranke and other of his lords, take a personall oth vpon all the relikes of the church of S. Albons, and the holie euangelists (the abbat Frederike ministring the same vnto him) that he would from thencefoorth obserue and keepe the good and ancient approued lawes of the realme, which the noble kings of England his predecessors had made and ordeined heretofore; but namelie those of S. Edward, which were supposed to be most equall and indifferent.

The peace being thus concluded, and the Englishmen growne thereby to some hope of further quietnesse, they began to forsake their alies, and returned each one, either to his owne possessions, or to giue attendance vpon the king. But he warilie cloking his inward purpose, notwithstanding the vnitie late lie made, determineth particularlie to assaile his enimies (whose power without doubt so long as it was united, could not possiblie be ouercome, as he thought) and being now by reason of this peace dissenered and dispersed, he thought it high time to put his secret purposes in execution: wherevpon taking them at vnwares and thinking of nothing lesse than warres and sudden inuasion, he imprisoneth manie, killeth diuers, and pursueth the residue with fire and sword, taking awaie their goods, possessions, lands, and inheritances, and banishing them out of the realme. In the meane time, those of the English Nobilitie, which could escape this his outragious tyrannie, got awaie, and amongst other, Edgar Etheling fled againe into Scotland: but Edwin was slaine of his owne souldiers, as he rode toward Scotland. earle Marchar, and one Hereward, with the bishop of Durham named Egelwinus, got into the Ile of Elie, in purpose there to defend themselues from the iniurie of the Normans, for they take the place (by reason of the situation) to be of no small strength. Howbeit king William endeuouring to cut them short, raised a power, and stopped all the passages on the east side, and on the west part he made a causie through the fennes, of two miles in length, whereby he got vnto them, and constreined them to yeeld. But Marchar, or (as others haue) Hereward, foreseeing the imminent danger likelie to take effect, made shift to get out of the Ile by bote, and so by speedie flight escaped into Scotland. The bishop of Durham being taken, was sent to the abbey of Abingdon, to be kept as prisoner, where he was so sparinglie fed, that within a short space he died for hunger.

Ran. Higa. H. Hunt. Matth. Paris.

Polydor. Hen. Hunt. Matth. Paris.

Simon Dun.

Some write that he was so stubborne-harted, that after he knew he should remaine in perpetuall prison, he refused his meate, and so pined himselfe to death.

In this meane time, and whilest king William was thus occupied in rooting out the English, Malcolme king of Scotland had wasted the countries of Thirlesdale, Cleueland, and the lands of S. Cutbert, with sundrie other places in the north parts. Wherevpon Gospatrike being latelie reconciled to the king & made earle of Northumberland, was sent against him, who sacked and destroied that part of Cumberland which the said Malcolme by violence had brought vnder his subiection. At the same time Malcolme was at Weremouth, beholding the fire which his people had kindled in the church of Saint Peter to burne vp the same, and there hearing what Gospatrike had done, he take such displeasure thereat, that he commanded his men they should leaue none of the English nation aliue, but put them all to the sword without pitie or compassion, so oft as they came to hand. The bloudie slaughter which was made at this time by the Scots, through that cruell commandement of Malcolme, was pitifull to consider, for women, children, old and yong, went all one way: howbeit, manie of those that were strong and able to serue for drudges and slaues, were reserued, and carried into Scotland as prisoners, where they remained manie yeares after; in so much that there were few houses in that realme, but had one or mo English slaues and captiues, whom they gat at this vnhappie voiage. Miserable was the state of the English at that time, one being consumed of another so vnnaturallie, manie of them destroied by the Scots so cruellie, and the residue kept vnder by the king so tyrannicallie.

A bloudie commandement executed vpon the English by the Scots.

But to returne to the purpose in hand, king William hearing of all these things, was not a little moued at the same, but chiefelie with Malcolme king of Scots, for that his countrie was the onelie place wherein all the mal-contents of his realme had their refuge. Wherfore, thinking to reuenge the losse of his subiects, and to bring that realme also vnto his subiection, he went thither with an huge armie, about the middle of August, where he first inuaded the bounds of Galloway, because he heard how the English were latelie fled thither. But after he had wearied his souldiers in vaine pursuit of them (who kept themselues in the mountaines and marres grounds) he gaue ouer the enterprise, and drew towards Lothiam, where king Malcolme late with all his power, & sundrie English fugitiues, with whome he determined by battell either to end his trouble, or else to lose his life. Now as both the kings with their armies were readie to encounter, Malcolme began to doubt somewhat of the fiersenesse of the battell, because he saw the great puissance and readie willes of the English and Normans to fight, wherevpon he sent an harrold to king William to treat of peace, wherewith he was content at the last (though with much adoo) and so a vnitie insued betwixt them, vpon these conditions; namelie, that king Malcolme should do homage to king William for the realme of Scotland, and therevpon deliuer sufficient hostages: and that on the other side, king William should pardon all the English outlawes in Scotland which then rebelled against him. The place where this peace was concluded, was called Abirnethi. After this, king William returned into England, where he per long take the earledome of Northumberland from Gospatrike, and gaue it to Waltheof the sonne of Siward; because of right it seemed to descend vnto him from his father, but chiefelie from his mother Alfreda, who was the daughter of Aldred sometime earle of that countrie.

Polydor.

H. Hunt.

Matth. Paris.

The king of Scots did homage to king William for Scotland.

Simon Dun.

The kings iustice.

At the same time also the king caused a castell to be built at Durham, and returned to London, where he receiued aduertisement that his subiects in Normandie toward the parties of Angiew had begun a rebellion against him. Herevpon with all speed he leuied an armie, whereof the most part consisted of English (whose seruice he liked rather in a forren countrie than in their owne) and sailed ouer into Normandie, where he easilie subdued his enimies by the valiancie of the English, whom from thencefoorth he began somewhat to fauour and better thinke of than before. Yong Edgar also grew in verie good credit

credit with him, for though he had twise broken his oth of allegiance, and run to the Scots as a rebell, yet now of his owne motion, returning to the king and craving pardon, he was not onelie receiued, but also highlie honoured and preferred in his court.

The yeare 1074. three monks of the prouince of Mercia, purposing to restore religion after their maner within the prouince of Northumberland, came into Yorke, and required of Hugh Fitz Baldricke (then shirife of the shire) to haue safe conduct vnto Monkaster, which afterwards hight Newcastell, and so is called to this day. These monks, whose names were Aldwin, Alfwin, and Remfred, comming vnto the foresaid place, found no token or remanent of any religious persons, which sometime had habitation there (for all was defaced and gone:) whereupon, after they had remained there a while, they remoued to Jarrowe, where finding the ruines of old decaied buildings and churches, perteining in times past to the monks that there inhabited, they had such assistance at the hands of Walkher bishop of Durham, that at length, by the diligent trauell and sute of these monks, three monasteries were newlie founded and erected in the north parts, one at Durham, an other at Yorke, and the third at Whitby. For you must consider, that by the inuasion of the Danes, the churches and monasteries throughout Northumberland were so wasted and ruinated, that a man could scarselie find a church standing in all that countrie, as for those that remained, they were couered with brome or thatch: but as for any abbey or monasterie, not one was left in all the countrie, neither did any man (for the space of two hundred yeares) take care for the repairing or building vp of any thing in decaie, so that the people of that countrie wist not what a monke ment, and if they saw any, they wondered at the strangenesse of the sight.

Mount caster now Newcastell.

Anno Reg. 9. 1075

Whilest the king remained thus in Normandie, Roger earle of Hereford (contrarie to the kings mind and pleasure) married his sister vnto Rafe earle of Cambridge, or (as other haue) Northfolke, and withall began a new conspiracie against him. Amongst other also of the associats, earle Walteof the sonne of earle Siward was one, who afterward mistrusting the successe of this deuise, first vttered it to archbishop Lanfranke, and by his aduice sailed ouer into Normandie, and there disclosed the whole matter to king William: but in the meane time, the other two earles; namelie, Hereford and Cambridge had so farre proceeded in the matter, that they were vp in armour. Howbeit, Wolfan bishop of Worcester, and Egelwine abbat of Euesham, with the shirife of Worcester & Walter Lacie, so resisted the earle of Hereford, that he could not passe the Seuerne to ioine with the earle of Cambridge. On the other side, Odo the bishop of Bayeur, and Geffrey the bishop of Constances pursued the earle of Cambridge so narrowlie with an other armie, which they had gathered of the English and Normans, that they constreined him to flee into Britaine, whereby the rebellion was verie much appeased.

Rafe Earle of Cambridge. Matth. West. Matth. Paris. Hen. Hunt. Simon Dun. A rebellion raised against K. William.

John Pike.

Anno Reg. 10. 1076

In the meane time, the king vnderstanding by earle Walteof how the matter went in England, came ouer with all speed out of Normandie, & within a short space brought the residue of the conspirators into such a feare, that they were scattered and put to flight, without attempting anie further exploit or conspiracie against him. Manie of them also were apprehended and put to death, among whom Roger and Walteof were most famous. And though Walteof (as yee haue heard before) disclosed the treason, yet to the end he should offend no more hereafter, he was beheaded at Winchester by the kings commandement, and his bodie hauing beene first buried in the same place where he suffered, was after conueied vnto Crowland, and there more honorablie interred.

H. Hunt. Earle Walteof beheaded.

This earle Walteof or Waldeue was sonne (as ye haue heard) to Siward the noble earle of Northumberland, of whose valure in the time of K. Edward the confessor ye haue heard. His son the foresaid Walteof in strength of bodie and hardinesse did not degenerate from his father, for he was tall of personage, in sinews and musculs verie strong and mighty. In the slaughter of the Normans at Yorke, he shewed proofe of his prowesse, in striking off the heads of manie of them with his owne hands, as they came forth of the gates singlie one by one: yet afterwards, when the king had pardoned him of all former offenses, and receiued him into fauour, hee gaue to him in mariage his neece Judith the daughter of Lambert earle of Lens, sister to Stephen erle of Albermare, and with hir he had of the kings gift, all the lands and liberties belonging to the honor of Huntingdon: in consideration whereof, he assigned to hir in name of hir dower, all the lands that he held from Trent southward. Shee bare by him two daughters, Maud and Alice. We find, that he was not onlie earle of Northumberland, but also of Northampton and Huntingdon.

Earledome of Huntingdon.

The countesse of Cambridge or Northfolke (as other haue) wife of earle Rafe, being fled into the citie of Norwich, was besieged in the same by the kings power, which pressed the citie so sore, as it was forced for verie famine to yeeld; but yet by composition; namelie, that such as were besieged within, should depart the realme, as persons abiured and banished the land for euer. This was the end of the foresaid conspiracie. At this verie time the Danes being confederate with these rebels, and by them solicited, set forth towards England vnder the leading of Cnuto, sonne to Sueno, and earle Haco, and (vnlooked for) arriue here in England with two hundred sailes. But hearing that the ciuill tumult was ended, and seeing no man readie either to countenance or encourage them in their enterprise, they sailed first into Flanders, which they spoiled, and after into their owne countrie, with little desire or will to come againe into England. King William also vnderstanding that they were thus departed, passed ouer into Britaine, and there besieged the castell of Doll that belonged to Rafe earle of Cambridge or Northfolke: but by the comming of Philip the French king, king William being vnprouided of sufficient vittels for his armie, was constreined to raise his siege, although with great losse both of men and horsses.

Matth. Paris.

Polydor. Hen. Hunt. Simon Dun. Matth. Paris.

On the 27. daie of March was a generall earthquake in England, and in the winter following a frost that continued from the first of Nouember vntill the middle of Aprill. A blasing starre appeared on palme sundaie, being the sixteenth daie of Aprill, about six of the clocke, when the aire was faire and cleere.

Anno Reg. 11. 1077

Matth. Paris. An earthquake, a long frost, a comet.

About the same season, pope Gregorie perceiuing that married priests did chose rather to run into the danger of his curse, than to forsake their wiues, meaning to bridle them by an other prouisd, gaue commandment by his bull published abroad, that none should heare the masse of a married priest.

Married priests.

King William after his comming from the siege of Doll, remained a certeine time in quiet, during which season, Lanfranke the archbishop called a synod or councell of the cleargie at London, wherein amongst other things it was ordeined, that certeine bishops seas should be remoued from small townes to cities of more fame, whereby it came to passe that Chichester, Exceter, Bath, Salisburie, Lincolne & Chester

Anno Reg. 12. 1078

Polydor. A synod holden at London. Bishops seas remoued.

Chester were honored with new sees and palaces of bishops, whereas before they kept their residence at Sellewey, Kirton, Welles, Shireborne, Dorchester and Lichfield.

Woolstan. At this synod also Woolstan bishop of Worcester was present, whom Lanfranke would haue deposed for his insufficiencie of learning; as he colourablie pretended, but indeed to pleasure the king, who faine would haue placed a Norman in his rome: but (as they saie) by a miracle which he presentlie wrought, in causing his crosier staffe to sticke fast in the tombe of saint Edward (to whom he protested and said he would resigne it, for that he obteined the same by his gift) he did put the king and the archbishop into such feare, that they suffered him still to enioy his bishoprike without any further veration. These things with other (touching a reformation in the church and cleargie) being handled in this councell, it was soone after dissolued.

Anno Reg.13. 1079. Matth.Paris. Matth.West. In the yeare following, king William led a mightie armie into Wales, and subdued it; receiuing of the rulers and princes there their homages and hostages. About the same time, Robert the kings eldest sonne, a right worthie personage, but yet as one of nature somewhat vnstable, entred into Normandie as a rebell to his father, and by force toke diuers places into his hands. Which he did by the practise of Philip the French king, who now began to doubt of the great puissance of king William, as foreseeing how much it might prejudice him, and the whole realme of France in time to come. Wherefore to stop the course of his prosperous successe, he deuised a meane to set the sonne against the father. True it is that king William had promised long afore to resigne the gouernment of Normandie vnto the said Robert his sonne. Whereupon the yong man, being of an ambitious nature, and now pricked forward by the sinister counsell of his adherents, seeketh to obteine that by violence, which he thought would be verie long yer he should atteine by curtesie. King William hereof aduertised, was not a little moued against his disobedient sonne, and cursed both him and the time that euer he begat him. Finallie, raising an armie, he marched towards him, so that they met in the field. Assone as the one came in sight of the other, they encountred at a place called Archenbraie, and whilest the battell was at the hottest, and the footmen most busied in fight, Robert appointed a power of horsemen to breake in vpon the rereward of his enimies; & he himselfe following after with all his might, chanced among other to haue a conflict with his owne father, so that thrusting him through the arme with his lance, he bare him beside his horsse, and ouerthrew him to the ground. The king being faine, called to his men to remount him. Robert perceiuing by his voice that it was his father, whom he had vnhorsed, spedilie alighted, and toke him vp, asking him forgiuenesse for that fact, and setting him vp on his owne horsse, brought him out of the preasse, and suffered him to depart in safetie. King William being thus escaped out of that present danger, and seeing himselfe not able to resist the puissance of his enimies, left the field to his sonne, hauing lost many of his men which were slaine in battell and chace, besides a great number that were hurt and wounded, among whom his second sonne William surnamed Rufus or Red, was one; and therefore (as some write) he bitterlie cursed his sonne Robert, by whom he had sustained such iniurie, losse, and dishonor. Howbeit, other write, that for the courtesie which his sonne shewed, in releeuing and helping him out of danger, when he was cast off his horsse, he was moued with such a fatherlie affection, that presentlie after they were made friends, the father pardoned his sonne all his former offenses, and thereupon found him euer after more tractable and obedient than before.

Anno Reg.14. 1080. After this battell, king William being thus accorded with his sonne, returned with him into England, and immediatlie sent him against Malcolme king of Scotland, who hauing broken the truce in time of the trouble betwixt king William and his sonne, had done much hurt by forraies vpon the English borders, wasting all Northumberland euen to the riuer of Tine. Howbeit, when he heard that Robert approched with his armie towards him, he retired into Scotland. Robert Curthuze then lodged with his armie vpon the banks of the riuer of Tine, where he began the foundation of a castell, whereof the towne of Newcastell did after take both beginning and name, for before this season it was called Moncaster.

Simon Dunel. The foundation of Newcastell vpon Tine, which before that season was called Moncaster.

About the same time, Odo the bishop of Bayeux was sent to Northumberland, to reuenge the death of Walkher bishop of Durham, whom not long before the people of Northumberland had slaine in a tumult. The occasion of his death grew by the death of one Liulfus, a noble man of those quarters, and derelie beloued of the people, bicause he was descended of honorable parentage, and had married the ladie Algitha daughter vnto earle Alered, and sister to Alfleda the mother of earle Walteof.

Simon Dun. This Liulfus, a man of great possessions through England, now that the Normans ruled in all places, quietlie withdrew himselfe vnto Durham, and grew into such familiaritie and credit with the bishop, that touching the order of temporall matters, he would do nothing without his aduice. Whereat Leofwin the bishops chapline conceiued such enuie (for that he was not so often called to counsell as before) that in the end he procured by his malicious meanes one Gilbert (to whom the bishop had committed the rule of the earledome) to murther the said Liulfus by night in his manor place not farre from Durham. Whereof the bishop hauing vnderstanding, and knowing that the matter would be greeuouslie taken of the people, sent out letters and messengers into the countrie, offering to purge himselfe of the slaughter of this man, according to the order of the canon lawes: howbeit he did nothing lesse. Among other things concerning his purgation, he said that he had banished Gilbert and others, (who had committed the murther) out of Northumberland. Herupon the malice of the people was kindled against him. For when it was knowne that he had receiued the murtherers into his house, and fauoured them as before, they stomached the matter highlie: insomuch that when by the trauell of those that went to and fro betwixt the bishop and the kinsfolks of Liulfus, a daie was appointed, on the which the bishop should come to farther communication with them at Gateshead, he repaired thither according to his promise, but refusing to talke with them abroad, he kept himselfe still within the church, and sent forth such of his counsell as should commune with them. But when the people that were there gathered in great numbers, had signified in plaine words that he should either come forth and shew himselfe amongst them, or else that they should fire the place where he sat: he caused Gilbert to go forth vnto them first, whom they slue, and his partakers also that issued out of the church with him for his defense. But when the peoples furie was not so quenched, the bishop himselfe casting the skirts of his gowne ouer his face, came likewise forth, and was immediatlie slaine of the people. After this, they set the church on fire, bicause Leofwine the bishops chapline and others were yet within, and refused to come

come forth: howbeit in the end, being compelled by the rage of the fire to come out, the said Leofwine was also slaine and hackt in peces (as he had well deserued) being the ringleader of all the mischefe.

Note the sequele of the neglect of iustice in the former storie.

¶ Thus maie we see what followed of the neglecting of iustice in the bishop: for if he had either banished Gilbert and other his complices (accordinglie as he pretended to do) or otherwise had seene due punishment executed against them, the peoples rage had neuer proceeded so far as it did: for they could not persuade themselues, but that the bishop was guiltie and priuie to Liulfus death, sith he had receiued the murtherers into his house, the verie same night in which the fact was done, and kept them still about him, which his bearing with them cost him his owne life. But now to the historie.

When bishop Odo was come into those parties to reuenge the bishops death with an armie (as we haue said) he sore afflicted the countrie, by spoiling it on euerie side with great crueltie. Here king William placed and displaced diuerse rulers ouer the Northumbers: for first he appointed one Copsi to haue the rule of that countrie, in place of Marchar who before had held the same. This Copsi expelled Oslufe the sonne of earle Edulfe brother to earle Aldred, which Oslufe was substitute vnto the earles Edwine and Marchar, who although he was driuen out of his gouernement by Copsi, yet recouering his forces againe, he slue the same Copsi as he entred into the church of Newburne. But within a few moneths after, the same Oslufe (as he ran with his horse against a theefe) was thrust through the bodie with a speare, which the theefe held in his hand, and so died. Then Gospatrike was assigned by king William to haue the gouernement there: whose mother Algitha was daughter to Athred sometime earle of Northumberland begotten vpon Elfgiua the daughter of king Egelred.

Sim.Dunel.

Copsi.

Gospatrike.

Some write, that Gospatrike purchased the earledome of king William, and so held it, till the king tooke it from him againe, and then gaue it vnto earle Walteof or Waldeue. Next after him Walkher the foresaid bishop of Durham had the whole administration cõmitted to him, but (after he was slaine as ye haue heard) one Alberike ruled that countrie, and lastlie, Robert Mulbray a right noble personage (for his wisedome and valiancie highlie renowned with all men) was created earle of Northumberland, and gouerned the people of those parties in such politike and wise order, that during his time, it is hard to saie, whether his quietnesse or the obedience of the people was greater.

Robert Mulbray earle of Northumberland.

In like manner, after the foresaid Walkher; one William was created bishop of Durham, who was the originall founder of vniuersitie colledge in Oxford, and by whose assistance, the monkes gaping both for riches, ease, and possessions, found the means to displace the secular priests of the colledge of Durham, that they might get into their romes, as they did indeed soone after, to their great gaine and aduantage. But to returne againe to the course of the historie. Shortlie after the reuenge of the death of Walkher bishop of Durham, the forenamed bishop Odo the kings brother was suspected of some vntruth and sinister dealing, wherupon he was sent as a banished man into Normandie, or rather (as other write) committed to prison, where he remained, not as a clerke, but as a baron of the realme; for he was both bishop and earle of Kent.

The foundation of vniuersitie colledge in Oxford.

Anno Reg.15. 1081

Anno Reg.16. 1082

Odo suspected and banished.

Anno Reg.17. 1083

The king hauing at length obteined some rest from wars, practised by sundrie meanes to inrich his cofers, and therefore raised a tribute through out the whole kingdome; for the better leuieng whereof, he appointed all the subiects of his realme to be numbred, all the cities, townes, villages, and hamlets to be registred, all the abbies, monasteries and priories to be recorded. Moreouer, he caused a certificat to be taken of euerie mans substance, and what he might dispend by the yeare; he also caused their names to be written which held knights fees, & were bound therby to serue him in the wars. Likewise he tooke a note of euerie yoke of oxen, & what number of plow lands, and how manie bondmen were within the realme. This certificat being made & brought vnto him, gaue him full vnderstanding what wealth remained among the English people. Herevpon he raised his tribute, taking six shillings for euerie hide of land through out this realme, which amounted to a great masse of monie when it was all brought together into his Excheker. ¶ Here note by the waie, that an hide of land conteineth an hundred acres, and an acre conteineth fortie perches in length, and foure in bredth, the length of a perch is sixténe foot and an halfe: so that the common acre should make 240. perches; & eight hides or 800. acres is a knights fee, after the best approued writers and plaine demonstration. Those therefore are deceiued, that take an hide of land to conteine twentie acres (as William Lambert hath well noted in his *De priscis Anglorum legibus*) where he expoundeth the meaning of the old Saxon termes perteining to the lawes.

Plow land.

Gerualius Tilberiensis. The true definition of a hide of land.

But to proceed & come, a little after the temporals dealing, to some of the spirituall affaires. It hapned about the same time, that when king William had finished the rating of his subiects, that there rose a strife betwixt Thurstane abbat of Glastenburie a Norman, and the monkes of that house. One cause thereof was, for that the abbat would haue compelled them to haue left the plaine song or note for the seruice which pope Gregorie had set forth, and to haue vsed an other kind of tune deuised by one William of Fescampe: beside this, the said abbat spent and wasted the goods that belonged to the house, in riot, leacherie, and by such other insolent meanes (withdrawing also from the monkes their old accustomed allowance of diet) for the which they first fell at altercation in words, and afterwards to fighting. The abbat got armed men about him, and falling vpon the monkes, slue three of them at the high altar, and wounded xviij. Howbeit the monkes for their parts plaied the prietie men with formes and candelsticks, defending themselues as well as they might, so that they hurt diuers of the abbats adherents, and droue them out of the quier.

Anno Reg.18. 1084

Wil. Malm. Simon Dun. Thurstan abbat of Glastenburie.

William of Fescampe.

Hen. Hunt. Wil. Malm. haue two slaine & xviij. hurt.

Matt. Westm.

In the end, complaint hereof was brought to the king, by whose iudgement the matter was so ordered, that Thurstane lost his rome, and returned vnto Caen in Normandie from whence he came, and the monkes were spred abroad into diuerse houses of religion through the realme, Glastenburie being replenished with more quiet persons, and such as were supposed readier to praie than to quarell, as the other did: yet is it said, that in the time of William Rufus this Thurstane obteined the rule of that abbeie againe for fiue hundred pounds.

There be which write, that the numbring of men and of places, the valuation of goods and substance, as well in cattell as readie monie, was not taken till about the xix. yere of this kings reigne (although the subsidie afore mentioned was gathered about two yeares before of euerie hide of land as ye haue heard) and that the certificat hereof being inrolled, was put into the kings treasurie at Winchester, in the xix. yeare of his reigne, and not in the xvj. But in what yeare soeuer it was, and howsoeuer the writers agree or disagree herein; certaine it is, that the same was exacted, to the great greefe and impouerishment of the people, who sore lamented the miserable

Sim.Dunel. Hen. Marle. Matth.Paris.

Hen.Marle. Anno Reg.19. Simon Dun.

rable estate whereinto they were brought, and hated the Normans in their harts to the verie death. Howbeit, the more they grudged at such tolles, tallages, customes, and other impositions wherewith they were pressed; the more they were charged and ouerpressed. The Normans on the other side with their king perceiuing the hatred which the English bare them, were sore offended, and therefore sought by all meanes to keepe them vnder. Such as were called to be iustices, were enimies to all iustice; wherevpon greater burdens were laid vpon the English, insomuch that after they had beene robbed and spoiled of their goods, they were also debarred of their accustomed games and pastimes. For where naturallie (as they do vnto this daie) they toke great pleasure in hunting of deere, both red and fallow, in the woods and forrests about without restraint, king William seizing the most part of the same forrests into his owne hands, appointed a punishment to be executed vpon all such offendors; namelie, to haue their eies put out. And to bring the greater number of men in danger of those his penall lawes (a pestilent policie of a spitefull mind, and sauoring altogither of his French slaueric) he deuised meanes how to breed, nourish, and increase the multitude of deere, and also to make rome for them in that part of the realme which lieth betwixt Salisburie and the sea southward: he pulled downe townes, villages, churches, & other buildings for the space of 30. miles, to make thereof a forrest, which at this daie is called New forrest. The people as then sore bewailed their distres, & greatlie lamented that they must thus leaue house & home to the vse of sauage beasts. Which crueltie, not onelie mortall men liuing here on earth, but also the earth it selfe might seeme to detest, as by a wonderfull signification it seemed to declare, by the shaking and roaring of the same, which chanced about the 14. yeare of his reigne (as writers haue recorded.) There be that suppose how the king made that part of the realme waste and barren vpon a policie, to the intent that if his chance were to be expelled by ciuill wars, & he compelled to leaue the land, there should be no inhabitants in that part of the Ile to resist his arriuall vpon his new returne.

Polydor. Matth. Paris. The Conquerour seeketh to keepe the English men low. Polydor. The forrests seized into the kings hands. Matth. Paris. New forrest. Matth. Paris. An earthquake. Polydor.

But to go forth with our purpose. About the same time, a rumor was spred in England that Sueine king of Denmarke meant to inuade England with a puissant armie, hauing the assistance of the earle of Flanders, whose daughter he had maried. Wherevpon king William being then in Normandie, reteined a great power of French souldiers, both archers and footmen, which together with his Normans he brought ouer into England in haruest season, & meaning to disburthen himselfe of the charge of their keeping, he caused their finding and wages to be borne by the lords and peeres of the realme, by the shirifs of shires, and other officers. Howbeit, when he vnderstood that the Danes changed their purpose, and would not hold on their iourneie, he dismissed part of his power, and sent them home againe, keeping the residue all the winter with him in England, readie for his defense, if anie rebellion or other necessitie should befall.

Simon Dun. 1085. A rumor spred of the cõming of the Danes. Anno 20. 1086 Matth. West. 1087

The same yeare, he kept his Christmasse at Glocester, and made his sonne Henrie knight at Westminster in Whitsunweeke insuing. Shortlie after, calling together aswell lords spirituall as temporall, he caused them all to sweare fealtie to him and his heires after him in the possession of this kingdome.

An oth taken to be true to the king.

About this season, the people in all places were pitifullie plaged with burning feuers, which brought manie to their end: a murren also came to their cattell, whereof a wonderfull number died. At the same time (which is more maruellous) tame foules, as hens, geese, & peacocks, forsaking their owners houses, fled to the woods and became wild. Great hurt was done in manie places of the realme by fire, and specialli in London, where vpon the 7. daie of Julie a sudden flame began, which burnt Paules church, and a great part of the citie downe to the verie ground.

Great sickenes reigning. Murren of cattell. Matth. West. Paules church burned. Simon Dun.

Now when K. William had taken the oth of fealtie and loialtie of all his lords, Edgar Etheling, who was reconciled vnto his fauour (as you haue heard) obteining licence of him to depart the realme for a season, sailed into Puglia with two hundred souldiers: of whose acts there and returne into England I spare to speake, bicause I find litle or nothing of moment recorded. And now king William, who hauing brought the Englishmen so lowe and bare, that little more was to be got out of their hands, went once againe ouer into Normandie with an huge masse of mony, where sone after he fell sicke, so that he was constrained to keepe his bed longer than he had beene accustomed to do, whereat Philip the French king in iesting maner said, that king William his cousine laie now in childbed (alluding belike to his big bellie, for he was verie corpulent) and withall added; Oh what a number of candels must I prouide to offer vp at his going to church! certeinelie I thinke that 100000. will not suffice, &c. This frumping speech so moued the king, that he made this answere: Well, I trust when I shall be churched, that our cousine shall be at no such cost, but I will helpe to find him a thousand candels my selfe, and light them too, to some of their paines, if God grant me life. Which promise he bound with an oth, and in deed performed. For in Julie next insuing, when their corne, fruit, and grapes were most flourishing, and readie for the sickle, he entred France with a great armie, set fire on manie of their cities and townes in the west side of that countrie, & came at last to the citie of Maunt, which he burnt with the church of our ladie, and an ankresse inclosed in the wall thereof as an holie closet, for the force of the fire was such as all went to wracke. In this heat king William toke such a sickenesse (which was likewise aggrauated by the fall of an horsse as he rode to and fro, bicause he was not able to trauell on foot about his palace by reason of his disease) that cost him his life; so that when he had ordeined his last will, and taken order for the state of things after his decease, he departed this life on the 9. day of September, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour 1087. and 74. (as Polydor saith) of his age, hauing gouerned Normandie about 51. yeres, and reigned ouer England 20. yeares, ten moneths, and 28. daies (as all writers do report.)

Wil. Malm. Matth. Paris. " " " " Wil. Malm. Ran. Higd. " " He inuadeth France. Gemeticensis. The citie of Maunt burnt by K. William. Matth. West. Matth. Paris. King William departed this life. Simon Dun. Matth. West. The lix. of his age hath Wil. Malm.

Not long before his death, he released his brother Odo bishop of Bayeux out of prison, Marchar earle of Northumberland, and Wilnotus the sonne of king Harold, or (as some say) his brother. Moreouer he repented him (as some say) when he lay on his deathbed, of his cruell dealing with the English, considering that by them he had atteined to such honour and dignitie, as to weare the crowne and scepter of a kingdome: but whether he did so or not, or that some monke deuised the excuse in fauour of the prince: surelie he was a puissant prince, and though his time was troublesome, yet he was right fortunate in all his attempts. Againe, if a man shall consider that in a strange realme he could make such a conquest, and so exactlie and readilie assure the same to his heires, with new lawes, orders, and constitutions (which are like for euer to endure) he would thinke it a thing altogither void of credit. Yet so it was, & so honourable were his doings in the sight of the world, that those kings, which succeeded sithens his death, begin their account

He set all prisoners at libertie saith Wil. Malm. Polydor.

account at him, as from one that had by his prudence renewed the state of the realme, and instituted an other forme of regiment, in atchiuing whereof he did not so much pretend a rightfull challenge by the grant of his cosine king Edward the Confessor, as by the law of armes and plaine conquest, than the which (as he supposed) there could be no better title.

Herevpon also those that haue sithens succeeded him, vse the same armes as peculiar to the crowne of England, which he vsed in his time; namelie, three lions passant gold in a field gewels (as Polydor writeth) the three floure delices were since that time annexed thereto by Edward the third, by reason of his claime to the crowne of France, whereof hereafter ye shall heare. Among other grieuances which the English sustained by the hard deling of the Conquerour, this is to be remembred, that he brought Iewes into this land from Rouen, and appointed them a place to inhabit and occupie.

He bare but two lions or rather leopards as some thinke.

There be that write, how the inconstancie of the English people by their oft rebellions occasioned the king to be so rough and rigorous against them; whereas (of his naturall disposition and proper inclination) he was rather gentle and courteous than sharpe and cruell. But sith he continued his extremitie euen to his last daies, we may rather beleeue, that although from his childhood he shewed some tokens of clemencie, bountie, and liberalitie; yet by following the wars, and practising to reigne with sternenesse, he became so inured therewith, that those peaceable vertues were quite altered in him, and in maner cleare lie quenched. He was indued with a certeine stoutnesse of courage and skill in feats of warre, which good hap euer followed: he was free from lecherous lusts, without suspicion of bodilie vices, quicke of wit, desirous of honor, painefull, watchfull, and able to tolerate heat and cold, though he were tall of stature, and verie grosse of bodie.

Polydor.

Toward the end of his daies he waxed verie deuout, and became desirous to aduance the state of the church, insomuch that he builded three abbeies in three seuerall places, endowing them with faire lands and large possessions, one at the place where he vanquished king Harold, fiue miles from Hastings, which he named Battell, of the field there fought: the other at Celby in Yorkeshire: and the third in Normandie at Caen, where his wife Quéene Maud had builded a nunnerie, which Maud died in the yeere 1084. before the decease of the king hir husband.

After his death, his bodie was buried in Caen, in S. Stephans church; but before it could be committed to the ground, the executors were constreined to agree with the lord of the soile where the church stood, which (as he said) the king in his life time had iniuriouslie taken from him, and gaue him a great summe of monie to release his title.

They gaue him an hundred pound, saith Hen. Marle.

¶ By this we may consider the great miserie of mans estate, in that so mightie a prince could not haue so much ground after his death as to couer his dead corps, without doing iniurie to another. This also may be a speciall lesson for all men, and namelie for princes, noblemen, and gentlemen, who oftentimes to enlarge their owne commodities, do not regard what wrong they offer to the inferiour sort.

The said king William had by Maud his wife the daughter of Baldwine earle of Flanders, foure sonnes, Robert surnamed Curthose (vnto whome he bequeathed the duchie of Normandie) Richard who died in his youth, William surnamed Rufus, to whom he gaue by testament the realme of England, and Henrie surnamed Beauclerke for his cunning, knowledge and learning, vnto whom he bequethed all his treasure and moueable goods, with the possessions that belonged to his mother. Besides these foure sonnes, he had also by his said wife fiue daughters, Cecilie, who became a nunne; Constance, who was married to Alane duke of Britaine: Adela, who was giuen in mariage to Stephan earle of Blois (of whom that Stephan was borne which reigned after Henrie the first) Adeliza, who was promised in mariage to Harold king of England (as before you haue heard) but she died yer she was maried either to him, or to any other, and so likewise did the fift, whose name I cannot rehearse.

Hen. Marle.

But to conclude, though king William held the English so vnder foot, that in his daies almost no Englishman bare any office of honor or rule in his time, yet he somewhat fauoured the citie of London, and at the earnest sute of William a Norman then bishop of that see, he granted vnto the citizens the first charter, which is written in the Saxon tong, sealed with greene wax, and expressed in viij. or ix. lines at the most, exemplified according to the copie, and so printed, as followeth. John Rous.

Williem king grets Williem Bisceop & Godfred Portereran, & ealle ya Burghwarn binnen London Frenciſce, & Engliſe frendlice, & Ic kiden eoy, yeet ic wille yeet git ben ealra weera lagayweord, ye get weeran on Eadwerds daege kings. And ic will yeet aelc child by his fader yrfnume, aefter his faders daege. And ic nelle ge wolian, yeet aenig man eoy aenis wrang beode. God eoy heald.

Wilhelmus rex salutat Wilhelmum Episcopum, & Goffridum Portegresium, & omnem Burghware infra London Franſ. & Angl. amicabiliter. Et vobis notum facio, quòd ego volo quòd vos sitis omni lege illa digni qua fuistis Edwardi diebus regis. Et volo quòd omnis puer sit patris sui hæres post diem patris sui. Et ego nolo pati quòd aliquis homo aliquam iniuriam vobis inferat. Deus vos saluet.

But howsoeuer he vsed the rest of the English, this is recorded of some writers, that by his rigorous proceedings against them, he brought to passe that the countrie was so rid of theeues and robbers, as that at length a maid might haue passed through the land with a bag full of gold, and not haue met with any misdoer to haue bereft hir of the same: a thing right strange to consider, sith in the beginning of his reigne there were such routs of outlawes and robbers, that the peaceable people could not be safelie possessed of their owne houses, were the same neuer so well fortified and defended. Matth. Paris. Hen. Hunt.

Among manie lawes made by the said William, this one is to be remembred, that such as forced any woman, should lose their genitals. John Rous. Hen. Marle.

In this kings daies also liued Osmond the second bishop of Salisburie, who compiled the church seruice, which in times past they commonlie called after Salisburie vse. Salisburie vse.

The vse of the long bowe (as Iohn Rous testifieth) came first into England with this king William the Conquerour: for the English (before that time) vsed to fight with arcs and such hand weapons: and therefore in the oration made by the Conquerour before he gaue battell to king Harold, the better to encourage his men, he told them they should encounter with enimies that wanted shot. Shooting.

In the yeare of our Lord 1542. Monsieur de Castres bishop of Baieulx and abbat of Saint Estienne in Caen, caused the sepulchre of this William to be opened, wherein his bodie was found whole, faire and perfect; of limbs, large and big; of stature and personage, longer than the ordinarie sort of men: with a copper plate fairlie gilt, and this epitaph thereupon ingrauen:

Qui rexit rigidos Normannos, atque Britannos
Audacter vicit, fortiter obtinuit,
Et Cænomenses virtute contudit enses,
Imperijq; sui legibus applicuit,

Rex

Rex magnus parua iacet hac Guilhelmus in vrna:
Sufficit & magno parua domus domino,
Ter septem gradibus se voluerat atq; duobus
Virginis in gremio Phœbus, & hic obyt: that is;
Who ouer Normans rough did rule,
and ouer Britons bold
Did conquest stoutlie win, and con-
quest woone did stronglie hold:
Who by his valure great the fa-
tall vprores calmd in maine,
And to obeie his powers and lawes,
the Manceaux did constraine:
This mightie king within this lit-
tle vault intoomed lies,
So great a lord sometime, so small
a roome doth now suffice.
When three times seuen and two by iust
degrees the sunne had tooke
His woonted course in Virgos lap,
then he the world forsooke.

W. Patten collecteth this to be the 23. after the sun was in Virgo: which is the 6. of Septēber

Thus far William Conquerour.

William Rufus or William the Red.

1087 Anno Reg. 1.

WIlliam, surnamed Rufus or William the Red, second sonne to William Conqueror, began his reigne ouer England the ninth of September, in the yeare 1087. about the 31. yeare of the emperour Henrie the fourth, and the 37. of Philip the first, king of France, Urbane the second then gouerning the see of Rome, and Malcolme Cammoir reigning in Scotland. Immediatlie after his fathers decease, and before the solemnitie of the funerals were executed, he came ouer into England with no lesse spéed than was possible, and following the counsell of Lanfranke archbishop of Canturburie (in whome he reposed all his trust) he sought to win the fauour of the Péers and Nobilitie of the realme by great and liberall gifts. For although there were but few of the homeborne States that bare rule in the land at this season; yet those that remained, and whome his father in extreme sort had wronged, he verie gentlie enterteined, promising them not onlie to continue their good lord and souereigne, but also to make more fauourable ordinances than his father had left behind him; and furthermore to restore the former lawes and liberties of the realme, which his said father had abolished. Thus by faire words and policie he obtained his purpose. Howbeit soone after he forgat himselfe, and imprisoned Marchar and Wilnot, whom he had brought ouer with him from Normandie, being set at libertie by his father.

Polydor. Sim.Dunel. Matth.Paris.

Sim.Dunel. Marchar and Wilnot.

The Nobles at the first wished rather to haue had the elder brother duke Robert to haue gouerned them: howbeit by the aide onelie of the said Lanfranke, whose authoritie was of no small force amongst all the lords of the land, this William (according to his fathers assignation) was proclaimed and crowned at Westminster on the 26. of September (being sundaie, the 6. kalends of October) and the 11. indiction, as the best writers do report. After his coronation, to gratifie the people, he went to Winchester, where he found great treasure which his father had laid vp there for his owne vse: this he freelie spent in large gifts, and all kind of princelie largesse. He set verie manie prisoners at libertie, & did many other things to benefit the people, wherein the diligence and good aduice of Lanfranke did not a little preuaile. For he perceiued that there was in the king a variable mind, an vnstable nature, and a disposition to lightnesse and follie. Wherefore hee tooke oftentimes the more paines in persuading him not onelie to liberalitie (which is none of the least vertues in a prince) but also to vse a discreet and orderlie behauiour in all his doings. Moreouer, he sticked not to put him in feare of an euill end, and troublesome regiment likelie to insue, if he did giue himselfe to vice and wilfulnesse, & neglect the charge thus by the prouidence of GOD committed to his hands. After this maner did the said prelat trauell with the king, whom we will leaue at this time as it were hearkening to his admonitions, and set forth by the waie what his brother Robert did, whilest William Rufus his brother was occupied in such wise as you haue heard.

Lanfranke had fauoured him euen of a child. Matth.Paris.

William Rufus is crowned the 26. of September. Polydor.

His bountifull munificence.

It happened that this Robert was abroad in Germanie, when king William his father died (whither he went to raise a power, to the intent he might thereby obteine the possession of Normandie, which he trusted to enioy in his fathers life time) where hearing newes of his death, he hasted straightwaies into Normandie, and there being ioyfullie receiued, was peaceablie proclaimed duke of that countrie, with great gladnesse and shouting of the people.

1088

After this, considering with himselfe how dishonorable a thing it was for him, that his yonger brother should possesse the crowne of England, which of right (as he said) belonged vnto him, by reason of his age; he determined with all expedition to passe the seas with an armie, and recouer that into his hands, which his father had giuen from him, partlie (as it is thought) for his wilfulnesse and disobedience towards him, and partly also bicause he doubted that if he should leaue it vnto him, he would through his too much gentlenesse and facilitie, giue occasion to the English to resume strength, and therby to reuolt. Wherefore he iudged his yonger brother the saied William (a man of a rougher nature) the meeter of the twaine for the gouernement.

As duke Robert was thus moued by his owne desire to bereue his brother of the dominion of England,

land, so he was not a little incensed thervnto by such of the English Nobilitie and Normans, as came dailie ouer vnto him out of the realme, complaining of the present state of the world, as those that misliked of the whole maner of regiment vsed in the beginning of the reigne of his brother William. His vncle Odo also (then bishop of Baieux) furthered the matter all that he might. This Odo was at first in great estimation with his brother the Conqueror, and bare great rule vnder him, till at length for enuie that the archbishop Lanfranke was preferred before him, he conspired against him, who vnderstanding thereof, committed him forthwith to prison, where he remained, till the said prince then lieng on his death-bed, released and restored him to his former libertie. When the king was dead, William Rufus toke him backe into England, supposing no lesse but to haue had a speciall frend and a trustie counceller of him in all his affaires. But yet long after his comming thither, he fell againe into the same offense of ingratitude, wherof he became culpable in the Conquerors daies: for perceiuing that Lanfranke was so highlie esteemed with the king, that he could beare no rule, and partlie suspecting that Lanfranke had bene cheefe causer of his former imprisonment, he conspired with the rest against his nephue, and therevpon wrote sundrie letters ouer vnto duke Robert, counselling him to come ouer with an armie in all hast, to take the rule vpon him, which by his practise should easilie be compassed.

Odo the bishop of Baieux conspireth against his nephue William Rufus.

Duke Robert being thus animated on all sides, and yet wanting sufficient monie to the furniture of this iournie, engaged a portion of his duchie of Normandie, as the countie of Constantine to his yongest brother Henrie, for a great sum of gold, and therwith returned answer to the foresaid bishop, that he should prouide and loke for him vpon the south coast of England, at a certeine time appointed. Herevpon Odo fortified the castell of Rochester, & began to make sore wars against the kings friends in Kent: he procured others of the complices also to do the like in other parts of the realme; and first on the west part of England, where Geffrey bishop of Constans with his nephue Robert de Mowbray earle of Northumberland setting forth from Bristow, came toward Bath, which towne they toke and sacked, and likewise Berkley, with a great part of Wiltshire, and brought the spoile and booties backe to Bristow, where they had a castell stronglie fortified for their more safetie. In like maner Roger de Bygod, departing from Norwich, with great forraies ouerrode and robbed all the countries about, and conueied such riches as he had gotten into the said citie. In like sort did Hugh de Grandmesnill at Leicester, spoiling and wasting all the countries about him.

The castell of Rochester.

Simon Dun. Wil. Malm. The bishop of Constance taketh the town of Bath.

Hugh Grandmesnil. Hen. Hunt. Wil. Mal.

The earle of Shrewsburie called Roger de Mountgomerie, with a power of Welshmen set forth from Shrewsburie, and with him were William bishop of Durham the kings houshold chapline, Barnard of Newmerch, Roger Lacie, and Rafe Mortimer, (all Normans or Frenchmen) who ioyning their powers togither, inuaded the countrie, and with fire and sword did much hurt where they came, killing and taking a great number of people. Afterwards comming to Worcester, they assaulted the citie, ouerran the suburbs, & set the same on fire. But the citizens shutting fast the gates of their citie (though with the sudden comming of the enimies they were somewhat afraid) made valiant resistance: and conueieng their goods, their wiues, and their children into the castell, got them to the walles and places of defense, to repell & beat backe the enimies. Among them in the towne was bishop Wolstan, whom the citizens would haue compelled to go into the castell for his surer safegard, but he refused it.

The earle of Shrewsburie

Worcester assaited.

Bishop Wolstan.

At length it chanced that the enimies (continuing the said siege) began to war negligent, and ranged abroad in the countrie, little regarding watch and ward about their campe, wherevpon the English within the citie toke this opportunitie, being moued thereto with the comfortable exhortation of bishop Wolstan, and sailing forth of the towne did set on their enimies with great fiercenes, whome they got at such aduantage, that they slue and toke that daie aboue fiue M. men (as Henrie of Huntingdon recordeth.) For the English bearing a continuall malice in their hearts against the French and Normans, did now their best to be fullie reuenged of them, vpon so conuenient an occasion offered. Those that escaped by flight, hid themselues in the next townes, making such shifts for their liues as the present necessitie could minister.

They slue fiue hundred, and chased the residue as saith Simon Dunel.

Whilest the realme was thus troubled on ech side, archbishop Lanfranke sendeth, writeth, and admonisheth all the kings frends to make themselues readie to defend their prince. And after he vnderstood that they were assembled togither for that purpose, he counselleth the king to march into the field with them spedilie, to represse his enimies. The king following his counsell, first appointed his nauie to scowre and keepe the seas, and to withstand (if it were possible) the arriuall of his brother by faire words. Also he reconcileth Roger de Mountgomerie earle of Shrewsburie vnto him, and therewith maketh large promises to the English, that he would out of hand giue and restore vnto them such fauourable lawes as they would wish or desire. Moreouer he commanded all vniust impositions, tolles and tallages to be laid downe, and granted free hunting in the woods, chases and forrests. All which grants and promises he kept not long, though for the time he greatlie contented the people with such a shew of good meaning towards them. This done, he goeth with a mightie armie into Kent, where the sedition began, and first comming to the castell of Tunbridge, he compelled capteine Gilbert to yeld vp the fortresse into his hands. Then went he to Horne castell, where he heard saie Odo was (but the report was vntrue, for he had betaken himselfe to the castell of Pemsey) which when he had ouerthrowne, he hasted forth vnto Pemsey, and besieged the castell there a long season, which the bishop had stronglie fortified.

The diligence of the archbishop Lanfranke.

Wil. Malm.

During this time, and about the fiftieth daie after the beginning of the siege, word was brought to the king, that his brother duke Robert was landed at Southampton, and minded with all possible speed to come to the succour of the bishop, and of other his frends, whom he and his power had not a little afflicted. ¶ Here authors varie: for some report that duke Robert came not ouer himselfe at the first at all, but sent a part of his armie, with a certeine number of ships, which encountring with the kings fleet, were discomfited. Others write that duke Robert hearing of the losse of his men, came after himselfe, and landed with a mightie armie as before, which is most likelie. And certeinlie (as Gemeticen. affirmeth) he might easilie as then haue recouered England from his brother, if he had not lingred the time, considering that Eustace earle of Bullongne, Odo bishop of Baieux, and the earle of Mortaigne, with other lords of Normandie that were passed to England, had alreadie taken Rochester, and diuers other castels in the prouince of Canturburie, keeping the same a certeine time, still loking that he should haue come ouer to their aid, which he deferred to do, till they were constreined by siege and lacke of necessarie succor to returne into Normandie, leauing those places which they had won vnto the king, and that to

H. Hunt. Simon Dun.

Gemeticensis. Eustace earle of Bullongne.

their great dishonor. But howsoeuer it was, the king still continued the siege before Pemsey castell, till Odo (through want of victuals) was glad to submit himselfe, and promised to cause the castell of Rochester to be deliuered: but at his comming thither, they within the citie suffered him to enter, and streightwaies laid him fast in prison. Some iudge that it was done vnder a colour by his owne consent. Simon Dun.

There were in Rochester a sort of valiant gentlemen (the flower in maner of all Normandie) with Eustace earle of Bolongne, and manie gentlemen of Flanders, which were in mind to defend the place against the king: who hearing what was done, came with his armie and besieged the citie of Rochester on ech side so sharpelie, that they within were glad to deliuer it vp into his hands. Thus lost bishop Odo all his liuings and dignities in England, and so returned into Normandie, where vnder duke Robert he had the cheefe gouernement of the countrie committed vnto him. Rochester besieged by the king. Anno Reg. 2. Polydor. 1089

After this he ouercame diuers of his enimies some by faire and some by fowle meanes. Notwithstanding this, there yet remained the bishop of Durham, one of the cheefe conspirators, who withdrew himselfe into the citie of Durham, there to lie in safetie, till he saw how the world would go: but being therein besieged by the king, who came thither personallie, he was at length forced to surrender the citie, and yeeld himselfe: whereupon also he was exiled the land, with diuerse of his complices. But within two yeares after, he was called home againe, and restored to his church, wherein he liued not long, but died for sorrow, bicause he could not cleere himselfe of offense in the said rebellion, albeit that he laboured most earnestlie so to do, that he might thereby haue atteined to the kings fauor againe. The bishop of Durham exiled.

Whilest these things were thus in hand, the archbishop Lanfranke falleth sicke and dieth, in the 19. yeare after his first entring into the gouernment of the sea of Canturburie. This Lanfranke (as should seeme) was a wise, politike, and learned prelate, who whilest he liued, mollified the furious and cruell nature of king William Rufus, instructing him to forbeare such wild and outragious behauiours as his youthfulnesse was inclined vnto: and moreouer persuaded the English to obey the same king as their lotall prince, whereby they should occasion him to be their good lord and king, not vsing them rigorouslie as his father had don. So that Lanfranke could not well haue beene spared in the time of the rebellion, without great danger of subuerting the state of the commonwealth. He builded two hospitals without the citie of Canturburie, for the releefe of poore people and strangers, the one of S. Iohn, the other at Harbaldowne. He aduanced the church of Rochester from foure secular clerkes, to the number of fiftie monkes: he repaired Christes church in Canturburie, and the abbey of S. Albons, whereof he made one Paule that was his nephue abbat, which Paule gouerned that house by his vncles assistance greatlie to the aduancement thereof, as well in temporall as spirituall preferments, as it was then iudged. Likewise the said Lanfranke was verie fortunate in the gouernement of his church and see of Canturburie, recouering sundrie portions of lands and rents alienated from the same before his daies, insomuch that he restored to that see 25. manors. For amongst other, whereas Odo the Bishop of Baieux, who also was Earle of Kent, bearing great rule in England vnder his nephue king William the Conquerour, had vsurped diuerse possessions which belonged to the see of Canturburie, and had seized the franchises apperteining to the same Lanfranke, into his owne hands, by suite and earnest trauell he recouered the same, and being impleaded about that matter by the said Odo, he so defended his cause, that in the end (though with much adoo) he had his will, and so remained in quiet possession of his right after that so long as he liued, without any trouble or veration concerning the said possessions and liberties. Lanfranke archbishop of Canturburie departeth this life. Matth. Westm. Paule abbat of S. Albons. Eadmerus.

Whereas also not onelie Walkhem the bishop of Winchester, but diuerse other bishops in England were in mind to haue displaced monks out of their cathedrall churches, and to haue brought canons into their roomes, Lanfranke withstood them, and would tollerate no such dislocation: an act at that time so well liked, that he was highlie commended for the same. After Lanfrankes death, the king began greatlie to forget himselfe in all his dealings, insomuch that he kept many concubines, and waxed verie cruell and inconstant in all his doings, so that he became an heauie burthen vnto his people. For he was so much addicted to gather goods, that he considered not what perteined to the maiestie of a king, insomuch that nothing tending to his gaine, and the satisfieng of his appetite, was esteemed of him vnlawfull, sith he measured all things by the vncontrolled rule of his roialtie, and considered nothing what so high an office required. He kept the see of Canturburie foure yeares in his hands, to see who would giue most for it, in the meane time taking the profits thereof, and making the vttermost of the same that by any meanes could be deuised. Lanfranke praised for holding with the monks. The king giuen to sensuall lust and couetousnesse.

The like he vsed when other benefices and abbeies were vacant, and furthermore that little which the prince spared, his officers and farmers, no lesse couetous than he, conuerted to their aduantage: so that what by the king, and what by his procurators, the church of England was now sore charged and fleeced of hir wealth. Diuerse of hir prelates in like maner were not a little offended, to see their mother so spoiled of hir treasure and liuelihood, insomuch that they practised a redresse: and to begin withall, complained of the king to pope Vrban: but he was so busied with other troubles of his owne nearer home, that he could haue no time to seeke meanes how to redresse enormities a far off, whereby the lands and goods belonging to the church here in England were still wastfullie spent and consumed by the king and others, to whome he gaue or let them forth to farme at his owne pleasure, and to his most commoditie. Matth. Paris. Wil. Malm. Matt. Paris.

But albeit the prince was of such a disposition by nature, yet there is one thing written of him which ought not to be forgotten, to admonish vs that there is no man of so euill an affection, but that sometime he dealeth vprightlie, though it be by hap or other extraordinarie motion. It chanced that an abbeie was void of an abbat, wherein were two monkes verie couetous persons aboue the rest, and such as by scraping and gathering togither, were become verie rich, for such (saith Polydor) in those daies mounted to preferment. These two appointed to go togither to the court, ech hoping at their comming thither to find some meanes that he might be made abbat of that house. Being thus agreed, to the court they come, and there offer verie largelie to the king to obteine their suite: who perceiuing their greedie desires, and casting his eies about the chamber, espied by chance an other monke (that came to beare them companie, being a more sober man, and simple after his outward appearance) whom he called vnto him, and asked what he would giue him to be made abbat of the foresaid abbeie. The monke after a little pause, made answere, that he would giue nothing at all for anie such purpose, since he entred into that profession of meere zeale to despise riches & all worldlie pompe, to the end he might the more quietlie serue God in holinesse & puritie of conuersation. Saiest thou so, quoth

quoth the king, then art thou euen he that art worthie to gouerne this house: and streightwaie he bestowed the house vpon him, vtterlie refusing the other two, to their open infamie and reproch.

Matt. Paris. Anno Reg. 3. 1090

But to returne to our historie. After the expulsion of the bishop of Durham, and other of his adherents, the king passed ouer into Normandie, purposing to deprriue his brother of that dukedome, and being arriued there, he besieged and tooke S. Valerie, Albemarle, and diuerse other townes and castels, wherein he placed a number of his best souldiers, the better to mainteine warre against his foresaid brother. Hereupon also the said Robert sent vnto the French king for aid, who came downe at his request with a noble armie, and besieged one of those castels which king William had lately wone; howbeit by such meanes as king William made, in sending to the French king an huge summe of monie, he raised his siege shortlie & returned home againe. At length a peace was concluded betwixt king William and the duke his brother, but yet verie dishonorable to the said Robert: for it was accorded, that king William should reteine & still inioy the countie of Ewe, with Feschampe, the abbasie of mount S. Michell, Chereburg, and all those other places which he had wone & gotten out of his hands in this his late voiage. On the other side it was agréed, that king William should aid the duke to recouer all other places beyond the seas, which belonged to their father. Also, that such Normans as had lost anie of their lands & liuings in England, for taking part with the duke in the late rebellion, should be restored to the same. And furthermore, that whether soeuer of both should die first, the suruiuer should be his heire, and succeed in his dominions.

Simon Dun. warres betwixt the king and his brother Robert.

Anno Reg. 4. 1091

Gemeticensis. A peace concluded. Simon Dun. Matth. West. Matt. Paris.

Gemeticensis.

This peace was concluded at Caen, and that by procurement of the French king, at what time king William was verie strong in the field neare vnto Ewe. After which conclusion, they vnited their powers, and besieged their youngest brother Henrie in the castell of mount S. Michell, which (being situat in the confines of Normandie and Britaine) he had stronglie fortified not long before for feare of afterclaps. But when they had lien about it by the space of all the Lent season, and had made manie bickerings with his men, more to their losse than lucre, they raised their siege, and voluntarilie departed. Not long after this, king William depriued Edgar Etheling of his honor, which duke Robert had assigned vnto him, banishing him out of Normandie for euer.

Sim. Dunel.

Shortlie after also the aforesaid Henrie wan a strong towne called Damfront, and furnishing it at all points, he kept the same in his possession as long as he liued, mauger both his brethren. Thus the war waxed hot betweene those three, howbeit suddenlie (I wot not vpon what occasion) this Henrie was reconciled with king William and his brother Robert, so that all debates being quieted on euerie side, they were made friends and wellwillers. King William also returned into England, hauing his brother Robert in his companie, all men reioising at their pacification and amitie, which happened in the yeare 1091. and fourth of the reigne of the king.

Toward the end whereof, and vpon the fift daie of October, a maruellous sore tempest fell in sundrie parts of England, but especiallie in the towne of Winchcombe, where (by force of thunder and lightning) a part of the steeple of the church was throwne downe, and the crucifix with the image of Marie standing vnder the rood-loft, was likewise ouerthrowne, broken, and shattered in péeces; then followed a foule, a noisome, and a most horrible stinke in the church. On the 17. daie of the same moneth much harme was done in London with an outragious wind, the violence whereof ouerturned and rent in peeces aboue fiue hundred houses, at which time and tempest the roofe of S. Marie bowe church in cheape was also ouerthrowne, wherewith two men were slaine. Moreouer, at Salisburie much hurt was done with the like wind and thunder, for the top of the steeple and manie buildings besides were sore shaken and cast downe. But now we will speake somewhat of the doings of Scotland, as occasion moueth. Whilest (as yée haue heard) variance depended betweene king William and his brother duke Robert, the Scotish king Malcolme made sore wars vpon the inhabitants of Northumberland, carrieng great bootes and preies out of that countrie, which he inuaded euen to Chester in the street. Wherefore king William, soone after his returne, gathered his power togither, and sped him northwards. But king Malcolme hearing of his puissance & great strength sent to him for peace, which was granted in the end.

A mightie wind.

Anno Reg. 5. 1092

The Scots inuade England.

Some writers affirme, that king William prepared a great armie both by sea and land against Malcolme; and that his naute being abroad on the seas, was lost by tempest, and the most part of his ships drowned; that the armie by land entring into Scotland, suffered manie damages through want of vittels, and so recoiled: finallie, that duke Robert lieng on the borders with an armie in his brothers name (whereby it should appeare that the king himselfe was not there) by the helpe and furtherance of Edgar Etheling, who then serued K. Malcolme in his wars, concluded a peace betwixt his brother and the said Malcolme, vpon certeine articles, by vertue whereof certeine places in Northumberland were restored vnto Malcolme, which he had held in William Conquerours daies. Some other write in like maner, that king Malcolme did homage to king William and duke Robert that brought the said Edgar Etheling into the fauour of the king.

Wil. Malm. Sim. Dun.

Howsoeuer the truth of the storie doth stand in this behalfe, certeine it is, that the king returned out of Northumberland into the west parts of the realme, reteining still with him duke Robert, who looked dailie when he should performe such couenants as were concluded vpon betwixt them in their late reconciliation. But when he saw that the king meant nothing lesse than to stand to those articles, and how he did onlie protract and delaie the time for some other secret purpose, he returned into Normandie in great displeasure, and tooke with him the said Edgar Etheling, of whom he alwaies made verie great account. Soone after king William returned into the north parts, and (as it chanced) he staied a few daies about Carleil, where being delited with the situation of the towne (which had bene destroied by the Danes two hundred yeares before) he set workemen to repaire the same (meaning to vse it in stéed of a bulworke against the Scots on those west borders) which when he had fensed with walles, and builded a castell in the most conuenient place thereof, he caused churches and houses to be erected for the benefit of such people as he had determined to bring vnto the same. This being done, he placed a colonie of southren men there with their wiues and children, and gaue large priuileges vnto the towne, which they inioy at this daie.

The repairing and new peopling of Carleil.

¶ Here haue I thought good to aduertise you of an error in Matth. West. crept in either through misplacing the matter by means of some exemplifier, either else by the authors mistaking his account of yeares, as 1072. for 1092. referring the repairing of Carleil vnto William Conquerour, at what time he made a iournie against the Scots in the said yeare 1072. And yet not thus contented; to bewraie the error more manifestlie, he affirmeth, that the king exchan-

Matth. West.

ged the earledome of Chester with Rafe or Ranulfe de Micenis, *alias* Meschines, for the earledome of Carleil, which the said Meschines held before, and had begunne there to build and fortifie that towne: whereas it is certeine that Ranulfe de Meschines came to enioy the earledome of Chester by way of inheritance, as after shall apeare. For better proofe whereof ye shall vnderstand, that we find by ancient records, how one Hugh Lou or Lupus enioied the earledome of Chester all the daies of the Conqueror, and long after, which Hugh was sonne to Richard earle of Auranges and the countesse Emma daughter of a noble man in Normandie named Herlowin, who maried Arlet the daughter of a burgesse in Falois, and mother to William Conqueror. So that the said Hugh, being sisters sonne to the Conqueror, receiued by gift at his hands the earldome of Chester, to hold of him as freelie by right of the sword, as he held the realme of England in title of his crowne. For these be the words: *Tenendum sibi & hæredibus ita liberè ad gladium, sicut ipse (Rex) totam tenebat Angliam ad coronam.*

Earle Hugh then established in possession of this earledome, with most large priuileges and freedoms, for the better gouernement thereof, ordeined vnder him foure barons; namelie, his cousine Nigell or Neal baron of Halton, sir Piers Malbanke baron of Nauntwich, sir Eustace *_* baron of Malpasse, and sir Warren Vernon baron of Shipbrooke. Nigell held his baronie of Halton by seruice, to lead the Vauntgard of the earles armie when he should make any iournie into Wales; so as he should be the foremost in marching into the enimies countrie, and the last in comming backe: he was also conestable and marshall of Chester. From this Nigell or Neal, the Lacies that were earles of Lincolne had their originall. When earle Hugh had gouerned the earledome of Chester the terme of 40. yeares, he departed this life, in the yeare 1107. He had issue by his wife Armetrida, Richard the second earle of Chester after the conquest; Robert, abbat of Saint Edmundsburie: and Otnell, tutor to the children of king Henrie the first. Moreouer, the said earle Hugh had a sister named Margaret, that was maried to John Bohun, who had issue by hir, Ranulfe Bohun, otherwise called Meschines, which Ranulfe by that meanes came to enioy the earledome of Chester in right of his mother (after that earle Richard was drowned in the sea) and not by exchange for the earledome of Carleil, as by this which we haue alreadie recited may sufficientlie be proued.

Foure barons, Nigell or Neal, Piers Malbanke, Eustace whose surname we find not. Warren Vernon.

The Lacies.

John Bohun.

Anno Reg. 6.

Now to returne where we left. After that king William Rufus had giuen order for the building, fortifieng, and peopling of Carleil, he returned southwards, and came to Glocester, where he fell into a greeuous and dangerous sickenesse; so that he was in despaire and doubt of his life: wherefore he repented him of his former misdeeds, and promised (if he escaped that dangerous sickenesse) to amend and become a new man. But when he had his health, that promise was quickelie broken, for his doings which were so bad and wicked before his sickenesse, being compared with those which followed after his recouerie, might haue beene reputed good and sufferable.

1093
Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt. Matth. Paris. The king being sicke promiseth amendment of life. Polydor. Eadmerus.

Moreouer, whereas he reteined and kept in his hands the bishoprike of Canturburie the space of foure yeares, he now bestowed it vpon Anselme, who was before abbat of Bechellouin in Normandie; and for certeine abbeis which he had held long time in his possession, he ordeined abbats: by meane whereof all men (but especiallie the spiritualtie) began to conceiue a verie good opinion of him. The yere wherein Anselme was thus elected, was from the birth of our Sauiour 1093. on the first of March, being the first sundaie in Lent (as Eadmerus recordeth.) Furthermore he gaue the see of Lincolne (being void by the death of bishop Remigius) to his councellour Robert Bluet; but afterward repenting himselfe of such liberalitie, in that he had not kept it longer in his hands towards the inriching of his coffers, he deuised a shift how to wipe the bishops nose of some of his gold, which he performed after this maner. He caused the bishop to be sued, quarelinglie charging him that he had wrongfullie vsurped certeine possessions, togither with the citie of Lincolne, which apertained to the see of Yorke. Which although it was but a forged cauillation, and a shamefull vntruth; yet could not the bishop be deliuered out of that trouble, till he had paid to the king fiue thousand pounds. And as he dealt with the spiritualtie, so he caused diuerse of the Nobilitie to be put to greeuous fines, for transgressing of his lawes, though the fault were neuer so little. He also caused the archbishop Anselme to paie him a great summe of monie, vnder colour of a contribution which was due in Lanfrankes daies, though it was certeinlie knowne that Lanfranke had paied it. Thus grew king William from time to time more sharpe and rigorous to his subiects, so that whosoeuer came within the danger of the lawes, was sure to be condemned; and such as would plaie the promoters and giue informations against any man for transgressing the lawes, were highlie rewarded.

Eadmerus.

Math. Paris. Polydor. Robert Bluet L. Chancellor elected bishop of Lincolne.

Hen. Hunt.

In this first yeare there chanced such an excessiue raine, and such high flouds, the riuers ouerflowing the low grounds that lay neere vnto them, as the like had not beene seene of many yeares before; and afterwards insued a sudden frost, whereby the great streames were congeled in such sort, that at their dissoluing or thawing, manie bridges both of wood and stone were borne downe, and diuerse water-milles rent vp and caried awaie.

Furthermore, king William perceiuing that by his cruell and couetous gouernment, sundrie of his subiects did dailie steale out of the realme, to liue in forreine countries, he published a proclamation, charging that no man should depart the realme without his licence and safe-conduct. Hereof it is thought, that the custome rose of forbidding passage out of the realme, which oftentimes is vsed as a law, when occasion serueth. Soone after, he went against the Welshmen, whom he vanquished in battell neere to Brecknocke, and slue Rees their king, who had done much hurt within the English borders, when he was their incamped. This Rise or Rees was the last king that reigned ouer the Welshmen, as authors affirme: for afterwards, though they oftentimes rebelled, yet the kings of England were reputed and taken as supreme gouernors of that part of the Iland. Moreouer, to haue the countrie the better in quiet, he did cut downe their woods, and builded manie castels and piles in places conuenient, by meanes whereof they were somewhat tamed, and trained in due time to obedience, though not at the first, nor in the daies of sundrie of his successors.

Polydor.

A proclamation that none should depart the realme.

Ran. Higd. Rees king of Wales slaine.

Wil. Thorne.

Hauing thus finished his iournie into Wales, Malcolme king of Scotland came vnto Glocester to see the king, and to common with him of sundrie matters touching the peace betwixt both the realms, as he returned homewards: but because king William disdained to enterteine him in such pompous maner as he expected and made account of; and forsomuch as he did not at the verie first admit him to his presence, the said Malcolme returned into Scotland in great displeasure, and immediatlie raising a power, entred into England, destroieng the country vnto Alnewike castell, where he was so enuironed with an ambushment laid by Robert earle of Nor-

Malcolme king of Scots commeth to Glocester. Wil. Malm. Polydor.

K. Malcolme inuadeth England.

Anselme elected archbishop of Canturburie.

thum-

thumberland, that he and his eldest sonne Edward were slaine. At which mishap his whole host being vtterlie discomfited, fled out of the field, with the losse of manie, whereof some were slaine, and some taken by pursute. Thus came king Malcolme to his end (by the iust prouidence of God) in that prouince which he had wasted and spoiled at fiue seuerall times, as first in the daies of king Edward, when earle Tostie was gone to Rome; the second time, in the daies of William Conquerour, when he spoiled Cleueland; thirdlie, in the same Conquerours daies, whilest bishop Walkher possessed the see of Durham, at what time all the countrie was spoiled and forraied, euen to the riuer of Tine; fourthlie, about the fourth or fift yeare of the reigne of this William Rufus, at which time he entered the land as farre as Chester in the street, whilest king William was in Normandie; the fift time was now, when he lost his life on saint Brices day, by the hands of a verie valiant knight named Morkell. King Malcolme being thus surprised by death, his bodie was buried at Tinmouth (as in the Scotish histories more plainelie appeareth) where also ye may find, how the sonnes of king Malcolme were aided by king William Rufus to obteine the crowne of Scotland, whereunto they were interessed; whereas otherwise by the force and practise of their vncle Donald they had beene kept from the scepter and crowne of the kingdome.

Simon Dun.

This yeare England and Normandie were sore vexed with mortalitie both of men and beasts, insomuch that tillage of the ground was laid aside in manie places, by reason wherof there followed great dearth & famine. Manie grizelie and hideous sights were seene also in England, as hosts of men fighting in the aire, flashes of fier, stars falling from heauen, and such like strange wonders. About this time new occasions of breach of amitie grew betwixt the king and his brother Robert, who accused him of periurie, for not obseruing the articles of the last peace concluded betwixt them: wherefore he purposed to saile ouer into Normandie, and so came vnto Hastings, about the first of Februarie, where he sojourned for a time, and caused the church of Battell abbeie to be dedicated in the honour of S. Martin. He depriued Herbert bishop of Thetford of his bishops staffe, because he meant to haue stolne awaie secretlie to Rome, and there to haue purchased absolution of pope Urban for his bishoprike, which he had bought of the king for himselfe; and likewise for the abbasie of Winchester, which he had purchased for his father, paieng for them both a thousand pounds.

Ran. Higd. Anno Reg. 7. 1094. Ran. Higd. Wil. Malm. Simon Dun. Death & murren of cattell. Strange wonders. Matth. Paris. Polydor.

Simon Dun.

King William passeth ouer into Normandie.

After this, about midlent he passed ouer into Normandie with an armie, purposing to trie the matter with his brother in plaine battell, that thereby he might rather grow to some certeine point of losse or lucre, than to stand euer vpon vncertenties, whether to haue peace or war, that he must be constreined to be at all times in a readinesse to defend himselfe.

wars betwixt the king and his brother.

But after he was come into Normandie, & had forraied part of the countrie once or twice, he fell to a parle with his brother duke Robert, & in the end condescended to put the matter in compromise to the arbitrement of certeine graue persons, whose iudgement the king reiected, because they gaue not sentence on his side. Herevpon both parts prepared for war afresh, insomuch that the king perceiuing how his brother was aided by the French king, and that his power was too weake to withstand them both, he sent his commission into England for the leuieng of 20. thousand men, commanding that they should be sent ouer vnto him into Normandie by a daie, which was diligentlie performed. But as they were come togither about Hastings, readie to enter a shipbord, immediatlie commeth the kings lieutenant with a countermand, and signifieth to them, that the king minding to fauour and spare them for that iournie, would that euerie of them should giue him 10. shillings (as Matt. Paris hath, or 20. shillings as others haue) towards the charges of the war, and thereupon depart home with a sufficient safeconduct; which the most part were better content to do, than to commit themselues to the fortune of the sea, and bloudie successe of the wars in Normandie. In deed king William changing his mind, was now determined to end the matter with monie, and not with the sword, as it afterward appeared: for by bribing of king Philip, in whome duke Robert had reposed his whole trust, he concluded peace vpon such articles and conditions as he himselfe required.

Matth. West.

Polydor.

A peace concluded betwixt the king and his brother Robert.

Hauing dispatched his businesse in Normandie, he returned into England, where he happened to met with new and more dangerous wars: for the Welshmen hearing of the variance betwixt the brethren, after their accustomed maner begin to inuade the English marshes, taking booties of cattell, destroieng the countries, killing and spoiling many of the kings subiects, both English and Normans. After this (waxing proud of their good successe) they besieged the castell of Mountgomerie, where though the garison made stout resistance for a time, yet in the end the enimie finding shift to ouerthrow the walles, entred perforce, and slue all that they found within. Wherewith though king William was offended when he heard of it, yet could he not remedie the matter as then, being troubled with a conspiracie newlie kindled against him by Robert earle of Northumberland, who vpon displeasure conceiued against him (because he was not rewarded nor thanked at his hands for his good seruice shewed in the killing of Malcolme king of Scotland) refused to come vnto him being sent for by letters, and herewith began to practise with certeine other Noble men of that countrie, how to depose king William. But yer he could bring anie peece of his purpose to passe, the king hauing aduertisement of his attempts, first appointed his brother the lord Henrie to go thither with an armie, and forthwith followeth himselfe; and comming to Newcastell, where the most part of his complices were assembled, he surprised them yer they could haue time to prouide for their safetie. That done, he went to Tinmouth, and in the castell toke the earles brother there, and after came to Banbourgh castell, which the said earle with his wife and children did hold for their better safegard and defense.

Hen. Hunt. Simon Dun. The welshmen inuade England.

The castell of Mountgomerie won by the welshmen.

Anno Reg. 8. 1095. Robert earle of Northumberland refuseth to come to the king.

Matth. Paris.

Some authors write, that when the king perceiued it would be hard for him to win Banbourgh castell (by reason of the great strength thereof) without famine, he builded vp an other castell or bastilion fast by it, calling the same Malueisin, wherein he placed a great power of men, by whose meanes at length the earle was so narrowlie driuen, that when he sought to haue escaped by night, he was espied, and therewith pursued so closelie by the kings souldiers, that he was forced to take sanctuarie within the church of S. Oswins at Tinmouth, from whence he was quicklie taken, and brought as prisoner to the kings presence. Notwithstanding, those that remained within the castell, vpon trust of the strength of that place, would not yeeld by anie meanes; but stood still to their tackling: wherevpon the king caused the earle their maister to be brought forth before the gates, and threatned that he should haue his eies put out, if they within did not streightwaies giue vp the hold into his hands. Herevpon it came to passe, that the castell was yeelded, and those that kept it were diuerslie punished, some by banishment, some by losing their eares, & diuerse by the losse of their hands,

Hen. Hunt.

Malueisin a fortresse built against Banbourgh.

Polydor.

Banbourgh yeelded to the king.

in example to others. The earle himselfe was conueied to Windsor castell, and there committed to prison.

Simon Dun. The earle of Ewe.

Some write that the meaning of the earle and his complices (amongst whom was William earle of Ewe, who renouncing his allegiance to Robert duke of Normandie, was become the kings man) was to haue displaced the king from his roiall throne, and to haue set vp his sonne William de Albemarle, whome he had begotten of his concubine. But whatsoeuer their purpose was, after that the king had quieted his countrie in the north parts, he bent all his force against the Welshmen, who the yeare before had destroied and ouerthrowne the castell of Moungomerie, and slaine the Normans that laie there in garison to defend it, whereat he was verie much offended, & therefore entering into Wales, he began to spoile and wast the countrie. For he saw that the Welshmen would not ioine in battell with him in the plaine field, but kept themselues still aloofe within the woods and marishes, and aloft vpon mountaines: albeit oftentimes when they saw aduantage, they would come forth, and taking the Englishmen and Normans at vnawares, kill manie, and wound no small numbers, he still pursued them by hils and dales, though more to the losse of his owne people than the hurt of the Welshmen, who easilie eschewed the danger of battell, and still at the straites and combersome passages distressed manie of their enimies: whereby the king at length perceiuing that he could not preuaile against them, ceassed further to follow on with his purposed voiage, and therewith returned home, not without some note of dishonor.

Matth.Paris.

King William inuadeth Wales.

The king returneth out of Wales with dishonour. Eadmerus.

About the same time Murcherdach king of Ireland, with the clergie and people of the citie of Dublin, elected one Samuell a monke of S. Albons, an Irish man borne, to the gouernement of the church and bishops see of Dublin, and (according to the ancient custome) presented him by sufficient letters of testimonie vnto Anselme archbishop of Canturburie, to be consecrated of him, who (according to their request) did so, and receiued from him a promise of his canonicall subiection, after the old vsuall maner, hauing foure bishops (suffragans to the see of Canturburie) ministring to him at that consecration.

Murcherdach king of Ireland.

In like maner, pope Urban calling a councell at Clermount in Auuergne, exhorted the christian princes so earnestlie to make a iourneie into the holie land, for the recouerie thereof out of the Saracens hands, that the said great and generall iournie was concluded vpon to be taken in hand; wherein manie Noble men of christendome went vnder the leading of Godfray of Bullion, and others, as in the chronicles of France, of Germanie, and of the holie land doth more plainlie appeare. There went also among other diuers Noble men forth of this relme of England, speciallie that worthilie bare the surname of Beauchampe. Robert duke of Normandie minding also to go the same iournie, and wanting monie to furnish and set forth himselfe, mortgaged his duchie of Normandie to his brother king William, for the summe of ten thousand pounds. About this time another occasion was offered vnto king William, to laie a new paiment vpon his subiects, so greeuous and intollerable, as well to the spiritualtie as the temporaltie, that diuerse bishops and abbats, who had alreadie made away some of their chalices and church iewels to paie the king, made now plaine answer that they were not able to helpe him with any more. Unto whom on the other side (as the report went) the king said againe; Haue you not (I beseech you) coffins of gold and siluer full of dead mens bones? Meaning the shrines wherein the relikes of saints were inclosed. Which (as his words seemed to import) he would haue had them conuert into monie, therewith to helpe him in that need, iudging it no sacrilege, though manie did otherwise esteeme it, considering (as he pretended) that it was gathered for so godlie an vse, as to mainteine warres against Infidels and enimies of Christ.

The councell of Clermount.

The iournie into the holie land. Godfray de Bullion.

Anno Reg. 9. 1096. Hen. Hunt. Wil. Thorne. Simon Dun.

A subsidie.

The archbishop Anselme toke the worth of two hundred markes of siluer of the iewels that belonged to the church of Canturburie (the greater part of the couent of monks winking thereat) towards the making vp of such paiment as he was constreined to make vnto the king towards his aid at that time. But bicause he would not leaue this for an example to be followed of his successours, he granted to the church of Canturburie the profits and reuenues of his manour of Petteham, vnto the vse of the same church for the terme of seauen yeares, which amounted to the summe of thirtie pounds yearelie in those daies. Eadmerus.

Thus king William seeking rather to spoile the realme of England, than to preserue the roiall state thereof, after he had gotten togither a great masse of monie, sailed ouer into Normandie, and there deliuering vnto the duke the ten thousand pounds aforesaid, was put in possession of the duchie, to enioy the same, and the profits rising thereof, till the said ten thousand pounds were paid him againe: or (as some write) it was couenanted that in recompense thereof, the king should enioy the profits for terme onelie of three yeares, and then to restore it without any further interest or commoditie. This done, he returned againe into England. Polydor.

Polydor. The duchie of Normandie mortgaged to king William.

Eadmerus.

Now duke Robert setteth forward on his iornie, in companie of other Noble men, towards the holie land. In which voiage his valorous hart at all assaies (when any seruice should be shewed) was most manifestlie perceiued, to his high fame and renowme among the princes and nobilitie there and then assembled.

About the same time, the citizens of Waterford in Ireland, perceiuing that by reason of the great multitude of people in that citie, it was necessarie for them to haue a bishop, obteined licence of their king and rulers to erect in their citie a bishops see, and besought them that it might please them to write vnto Anselme the archbishop of Canturburie their primate, to haue his consent therein, so as it might stand with his pleasure to institute and ordeine such a one bishop, to haue gouernement of their church, as they should name, knowing him to be a man of such learning, knowledge, discretion, and worthines, as were fit for the roome. Herevpon were letters sent by messengers from Murcherdach king of Ireland vnto Anselme, informing him of the whole matter: wherein one Malchus was commended and presented vnto him to be admitted and consecrated, if he thought good. These letters were subscribed with the hands, not onelie of king Murcherdach, but also of his brother duke Dermeth, bishop Donald, Idiman bishop of Methe, Samuell bishop of Dublin, Ferdomnachus bishop of Laginia or Leinister, and many others both of the spiritualtie and temporaltie.

Anno Reg. 10. 1097 Eadmerus.

Waterford in Ireland made a bishoprike.

The archbishop of Canturburie primate of Ireland.

Murcherdach K. of Ireland.

Anselme considering their request to be iust and necessarie, granted to fulfill their desires, and so vpon examination had of the man, and taking of him his oth of obedience, according to the maner, he consecrated the same Malchus, and so ordeined him to rule the church of Waterford as bishop. This was done at Canturburie the 28. day of October, Rafe bishop of Chichester, and Gundulfe bishop of Rochester helping Anselme in the consecration as ministers vnto him in that behalfe. The said Malchus was a monke,

Malchus consecrated bishop of Waterford.

and

and sometime vnder Walkhelme bishop of Winchester.

But to the purpose, king William after his returne into England, remembring what damage he had sustained two yéeres before at the hands of the Welshmen, determined effsones to inuade their countrie, and therefore doubling his power, commeth into the marshes, pitcheth his field, and consulteth with his capteines what order he were best to vse in that his enterprise, for the taming of his enimies. The Welshmen hearing of the kings approch, and that his armie was farre greater than the last which he brought into their countrie, fell to their wonted policie, and got them into the woods, there to lie in wait, trusting more to the aduantage of starting holes, than to their owne force & puissance.

The king effsones inuadeth the welshmen. Polydor.

The welshmen withdraw into the woods. H. Hunt.

When the king vnderstood their practise, he set armed men in diuers places, and builded towers and fortifications to defend him and his, bicause he durst not assaie to enter into wild and waste grounds where he had béene hindred and dammified before that time, hoping by this meanes in stopping vp the waies and passages of the countrie, to bring the rebels to more subiection. But when this policie was found by proofe to wearie the kings souldiors rather than to hurt the enimies, which straieng vp and downe in the woods intrapped oftentimes the Normans and English, in taking them at aduantage, the king without bringing his purpose to any good effect, departed home into England. After this, he sent Edgar Etheling with an armie into Scotland, that he might place his cosine Edgar the sonne of king Malcolme in the gouernement of that kingdome, and expell his vncle Duffnald, who had vsurped the same.

Simon Dun. R. Houed.

Anno Reg. 11. 1098

King William, being still inflamed with ire, for that he could not haue his will, determined with continuall warres to wearie the rebellious stomachs of the Welshmen: and therefore was fired first to set vpon them of Anglesey, which being an Ile enuironed with the sea, was euer a refuge for them when they were sharpelie pursued. This enterprise was chéeflie committed vnto Hugh earle of Shrewsburie and Arundell, and to Hugh earle of Chester, who at their first comming wan the Ile, and tempered the victorie with great crueltie and bloudshed, putting out the eies of some, cutting off the noses, the armes, or hands of others, and some also they gelded. Moreouer (as authors write) the said earle of Shrewesburie made a kenell of the church of Saint Fridancus, laieng his hounds within it for the night time, but in the morning he found them all raging wood. How true so euer this report is I wote not, but shortlie after they had executed (in maner as before is said) such strange kinds of crueltie in that Ile, it chanced that a naule of rouers came thither from the Iles of Orkney, whose chéefe admirall was named Magnus, who incountring with the said earle of Shrewesburie, shot him into the eie with an arrow, which part of his body remained bare and vnarmed, so that by & by he fell downe dead out of his ship into the sea. When Magnus beheld this, he said scornefullie in the Danish tong, *Zeit loupe*, that is; Let him leape now: the English neuertheless had the victorie at that time (as some write) and ouercame their enimies with great slaughter and bloudshed. Not long after, the earle of Chester going ouer to Wales, with long and continuall warres tired and tamed the wild Welshmen, who for a good while after durst not shew their faces.

Matth. Paris.

Gyral. Cam.

Hugh earle of Shrewsburie slaine.

Fab. ex Guido. de Columna.

Anno Reg. 12. 1099

The king being thus at quiet and without warre in all places, began now to set his mind on building, and first caused new walles to be made about the tower of London, and also laid the foundation of Westminster hall, which though it be a verie large and roomthie place, yet after it was finished at his returne out of Normandie, he came to view it, and held his court therein with great pompe and honor. He repented that he had made it no larger, saieng; it was too little by the halfe, and therefore determined to haue made a new, and that this other should haue serued but for a dining chamber. A diligent searcher (saith Matthew Paris) might yet find out the foundation of the hall, which he had purposed to build, stretching from the Thames side vnto the common street. But though those his buildings were great ornaments to the realme, yet bicause he tooke vp monie by extortion of his subiects towards the charges of the same, he was euill spoken of; the report being spred, that he should take them in hand but onelie vnder a colour to spoile his subiects, in gathering a far greater summe than the expenses of them did amount vnto. About the same time that king William beganne these buildings, he went ouer into Normandie, to vnderstand in what state that countrie stood.

Fabian. Ran. Higd. Matth. Paris.

Polydor.

The king goeth ouer into Normandie.

About the same time also, or rather two yéere before; to wit 1097. néere to Abington, at a towne called Finchamsted in Barkshire, a well or fountaine flowed with bloud, in maner as before it vsed to flow with water, and this continued for the space of three daies, or (as William Malm. saith) fifteene daies togither.

Finchamsted Ran. Higd. Hen. Hunt. Matth. West. Wil. Malm.

After the king had dispatched his businesse in Normandie, & was returned into England (as he was making prouision to ride forth on hunting) a messenger came suddenlie vnto him, bringing word, that the citie of Mans was besieged, and like to be surprised. The king was then at dinner, meaning first to make an end thereof, and after to take aduice in that matter: but being reproued by the messenger, for that to the great danger of his subiects which were besieged he passed not to make delaies, rather than to go and succour them with all spéed, he taketh the mans blunt spéech in so good part, that he called straightwaie for masons to breake downe the wall, to the end he might passe through the next way, and not be driuen to step so farre out of his path, as to go forth by the dores: and so without any long aduisement taken in the cause, he rode straightwaie to the sea, sending his lords a commandement to follow; who when they came in his presence, counselled him to staie till his people were assembled. Howbeit he would not giue eare to their aduice in that point, but said; Such as loue me, I know well will follow me, and so went a shipbord, setting apart all doubts of perils; and yet was the weather verie darke, rough and cloudie, insomuch that the maister of the ship was afraid, and willed him to tarrie till the wind did settle in some quiet quarter: but hee commanded to hoise vp sailes, and to make all spéed that could be for life, incouraging the shipmaister with these words, that he neuer heard as yet of anie king that was drowned.

Hen. Hunt. Matth. Paris.

Wil. Malm.

The saieng of king William Rufus.

Thus passing the seas, he landed in Normandie, where he gathered his power, and made towards Mans. When those which held the siege before the citie, heard of his approch, they brake vp their campe and departed thence: howbeit, the capteine named Helias, that pretended by title and right to be earle of Mans, was taken by a traine, and brought before the king, who iested at him, as though he had beene but a fole and a coward. Whereupon, the said Helias kindled in wrath, boldlie said vnto him; Whereas thou hast taken me prisoner, it was by meere chance, and not by thy manhood: but if I were at libertie againe, I would so vse the matter with thee, that thou shouldest not thinke I were a man so lightlie to be laughed at. No should (saith the king:) Well then I giue

Mans deliuered from an siege.

Helias.

" giue thée thy libertie, and go thy waies, do euen the
" worst that lieth in thy power against me, for I care
" not a button for thée. Helias being thus set at liber-
tie, did nothing after (to make anie account of) a-
gainst the king, but rather kept himselfe quiet. How-
Hen. Hunt. Polydor. beit some write, that he was not taken at all, but es-
caped by flight. To proceed, king William being
returned into England, and puffed vp with pride of
his victories, and now seeing himselfe fullie deliue-
red from all troubles of warre, began after his old
manner to spoile and wast the countrie by vnreaso-
nable exactions, tributes and paiments.

Variance betwixt the king and the archbishop Anselme.

Herevpon fell a great controuersie betweene An-
selme and the king, who pretended a reproch of cruell
surcharging of his commons with subsidies, lones,
and vnreasonable fines: but the chiefe cause was,
for that he might not call his synods, nor correct the
bishops, but all to be done as the king would. The
king also chalenged the inuestiture of prelates, and
indeed sore taxed both the spiritualtie and temporal-
tie, spending the monie vpon the reparations and
buildings of the Tower, & Westminster hall, as is
before remembred. Besides this, his seruants spoi-
led the English of their goods by indirect meanes:
but especiallie one Rafe sometime chaplaine vnto
William the Conquerour, & at this time the kings
proctor and collector of his taskes and subsidies was
so malicious & couetous, that in steed of two taskes,
he would leuie three, pilling the rich, and powling the
poore, so that manie through his cruell dealing were
oftentimes made to forfeit their lands for small of-
fenses: and by his meanes also diuerse bishoprikes
were bought and sold as other kinds of merchandi-
zes, whereby he was in singular fauour with the
king. The clergie also were vsed verie streightlie,
The clergie out of order. and (as I suppose) not without good cause; for suerlie
in those daies it was far out of order, not onelie in
couetous practises, but in all kinds of worldlie
pompe and vanitie: for they had vp bushed and brai-
ded perukes, long side garments verie gorgeous,
gilt girdels, gilt spurs, with manie other vnseemelie
disorders in attire. To be short, the contention grew
so hot betwixt the king and Anselme, who would also
haue corrected such vices in the clergie (as some
Matth. Paris. write) that in the end the archbishop was quite cast
out of fauour. There are which alledge the verie first
and originall occasion of their falling out to be, for
that the archbishop denied to paie a thousand marks
A thousand markes demanded of Anselme. of siluer at his request: in consideration of the
kings great benevolence shewed in preferring him
to his see, whereas the archbishop iudged the offense
of simonie, to rest as well in giuing after his promo-
tion receiued, as if he had bribed him afore hand, and
therefore refused to make anie such paiment: but
Eadmerus. yet (as Eadmerus writeth) he offered him fiue hun-
dred pounds of siluer, which would not be receiued,
for the king was informed by some of his councell,
that the archbishop (in consideration of his bounti-
ous liberalitie extended towards him) ought rather
to giue him two thousand pounds, than fiue hundred,
adding, that if he would but change his counte-
nance, and giue him no frendlie lokes for a while, he
should perceiue that Anselme would ad to the first
offer, other fiue hundred pounds. But Anselme was
so far from being brought to the kings lure with
such fetches, that openlie to the kings face he told
him, that better it should be for his maiestie to re-
ceiue of him a small summe granted of him with a
free and franke hart, so as he might helpe him eft-
sones with more, than to take from him a great
deale at once, without his good will, in such sort as if
he were his bondman. For your grace (saith he) may
haue me, and all that is mine, to serue your turne
with frendlie benevolence; but in the waie of seruil-
tude and bondage you shall neither haue me nor
mine. With which words the king was in maruel-
lous choler, and therewith said in anger: Well then,
get thee home, take that which is thine to thy selfe,
that which I haue of mine owne I trust will suffice
me. The archbishop béeing on his knees, rose here-
with and departed, reioising in his mind that the
king had refused his offer, whereby he was deliuered
out of suspicion to haue bribed the king, and giuen
him that monie in waie of reward for his preferr-
ment to the miter, as of malicious men would hap-
pilie haue béene construed. Wherevpon béeing after
laboured to double the summe, he vtterlie refused,
and determining rather to forsake the realme than
Matth. Paris. to commit such an offense, made suit to the king for
licence to go to Rome to fetch his pall of the pope.
The king hearing the pope named, waxed maruel-
The king could not abide to heare the pope named. lous angrie: for they of Rome began alreadie to de-
mand donations and contributions, more impu-
dentlie than they were hitherto accustomed. And as
it chanced, there was a schisme at that time in the
church, by reason the emperour Henrie had placed a
pope of his owne aduancing (namely Wibteth arch-
bishop of Rauenna) against pope Urban: for the em-
perour mainteined that it belonged to his office on-
lie to elect and assigne what pope it pleased him.

King William therefore conceiued displeasure
against Urban, who withstood the emperours pre-
tense, and alledged by the like, that no archbishop or
bishop within his realme should haue respect to
the church of Rome, nor to anie pope, with whome
they had nothing to do, either by waie of subiection,
or otherwise; sith the popes wandered out of the steps
which Peter trode, seeking after bribes, lucre, and
worldlie honor. He said also that they could not re-
teine the power to lose and bind, which they sometime
had, since they shewed themselues nothing at all to
follow his most vertuous life and holie conuersation.
He added furthermore, that for himselfe, sithens the
conuersion of the realme to the christian faith, he had
as great authoritie, franchises and liberties within
the same, as the emperour had in his empire. And
what hath the pope then to do (quoth he) in the em-
pire, or in my kingdome touching temporall liber-
ties, whose dutie it is to be carefull for the soule of
man, and to see that heresies spring not vp, which if
the prelates of the prouince be not able to reforme,
then might the pope do it, either by himselfe or his
legats. Againe, by reason of the schisme, & for the dis-
pleasure that he bare pope Urban, he asked Anselme
Eadmerus. The kings demand to Anselme. of which pope he would require his pall, sith he was so
hastie to go to Rome for it. Wherto Anselme answe-
red, that he would require it of pope Urban. Which
words when the king had heard, he said, I haue not
as yet admitted him pope: adding further that it
was against the custome vsed either in his or his fa-
thers time, that anie man within the realme of Eng-
land should name or obeie anie man for pope, with-
out the kings licence and consent, saieng moreouer,
that if the said Anselme would séeke to take that pre-
rogatiue and dignitie from him, it should be all one,
as if he should go about to take awaie from him his
crowne, and all other roiall dignitie. Wherevnto
Anselme answered, that at Rochester (before he was
consecrated bishop) he had declared his mind there-
in, and that béeing abbat of Bechellouin in Nor-
mandie, he had receiued Urban for pope; so that
whatsoeuer chanced, he might reuolt from his obedi-
ence and subiection.

The king béeing the more kindled herewith, pro-
tested in plaine words, that Anselme could not kéepe
his faith and allegiance towards him, and his obedi-
ence also to the see of Rome, against his will and
pleasure. But (to conclude) this matter went so far

in

in controuersie betwixt the king and the bishop, that a councell was called at Rockingham in Rutlandshire, and there in the church within the castell, the matter was earnestlie decided, and much adoo on euerie side, to haue constreined Anselme to renounce his opinion, but he would not. Wherfore it was then deuised, that if he would not agrée to the kings pleasure, they would by and by sée if they might by any meanes depriue him: but Anselme still held hard, and could not be feared by all these threats; and in like maner to iudge of an archbishops cause, the other bishops concluded that they had no authoritie.

A councell at Rockingham in Rutlandshire.

Moreouer, while the matter was in consultation among the bishops, another of the kings councell that was a knight, came before Anselme in place where he sat almost alone, to loke for an answer by them from the king, which knight kneeling downe before the archbishop, spake these words vnto him: "Reuerend father, your humble children beséech your "Grace not to haue your heart troubled with these "things which you heare; but call to remembrance "that blessed man Iob, vanquishing the diuell on the "dunghill, and reuenging Adam whome he had ouercome in paradise. Which words the archbishop considering with a friendlie countenance, perceiued that the minds of the people remained on his side, whereof both he and such as were about him, were right ioifull and greatlie comforted, hauing hope (according to the scripture) that the * voice of the people was the voice of God. When the king vnderstood all these things, he was marueloustie disquieted in mind, and therefore perceiuing that the bishops and other of his councell had promised more than they could performe, he blamed them for it: vnto whom the bishop of Durham that was the chéefe dower in this matter, framed this answer: "He spake so faintlie (quoth he) and so coldlie at the first, that he séemed not to haue any store of wit or wisdome.

* If they be Gods people.

Finallie, the matter was deferred vntill the next morning, and then the said bishop of Durham, alledging that they could not well ouercome him by arguments, so long as he grounded his opinion in such sort vpon the scripture, and the authoritie of Saint Peter; "The best way therefore (said he) shall be, to "compell him by force, either to agrée to the kings "mind, or else to depriue him of his ring and staffe, and "after banish him the realme. But the lords of the "councell allowed not the bishops words herein. "Well (saith the king) and what other way will you "thinke good, if this like you not: so long as I may "liue, I will not surelie suffer any to be my péere "within my realme: and if you knew his cause to be "so good, why did you suffer me to commense this action against him: go your waies therefore, and take "aduice togither, for by Gods face (for that was his oth) if you condemne him not at my will, I will reuenge my selfe vpon you. Neuertheles, when he was informed, that bicause he was an archbishop, they had no power to iudge or condemne him, though his cause proued neuer so euill, which they could not perceiue so to be; he told them yet they might at the least wise renounce their obedience to him, and forsake his companie, which they said they might do. "Then do it (saith the king) with spéed, that he may "(when he shall sée himselfe abandoned, and despised of "all men) repent that he hath followed Urban, and "neglected me his souereigne lord and maister. And "that ye may do it the more safelie, first of all I depriue him of the suertie and allegiance which he may pretend to haue of me within all my dominions, and from hencefoorth I will haue no affiance in him, nor take him for an archbishop.

The king renounceth the archbishop for his subiect.

The bishops would faine haue persuaded Anselme to haue shewed himselfe conformable to the kings pleasure, and therefore toke paines with him earnestlie in that behalfe, but all would not serue. He answered indéed verie curteoustie, but his benefice he would not renounce, as touching the name and office, though in exterior things he were neuer so much disquieted. The king perceiuing him to stand stiffe in his opinion, said vnto his lords; His words are euer contrarie to my mind, and I will not take him for my frend; whosoeuer doth fauour him. I shall therefore require you that be péeres of my realme, to renounce all the faith and frendship which you beare him, that he may see what he hath gained by that allegiance, which (to the offending of my person) he obserueth to the apostolike sée. Whereto the lords answered; As for vs, we were neuer his men, and therefore we cannot abiure any fealtie which we neuer acknowledged. He is our archbishop, and hath rule in matters perteining to christian religion within this land, for which cause we that are christians may not refuse his authoritie whilest we remaine here on earth, bicause he is attainted with no blemish of any heinous crime, which may constreine vs otherwise to do. The king restrained and dissembled his wrath, least he should prouoke them to further displeasure by speaking against their reason.

The bishops were sore abashed hereat, and driuen to a shrewd pinch. Now when, not long after, the king required to know of euerie of them apart, whether they vtterlie renounced all maner of subiection and obedience vnto Anselme without any condition intermitted, or else that onelie which he did pretend by authoritie of the pope: the bishops making answer diuerslie hereunto, the king appointed those to sit downe by him as faithfull subiects, who acknowledged that their renuntiation was absolutelie made, without intermitting of any condition: as for the other, who protested that they renounced their subiection and obedience vnto him onelie in that which he presumed vpon in the behalfe of the pope, he commanded them to go aside, and to remaine in a corner of the house to heare the sentence of their condemnation pronounced.

The bishops driuen to their shifts how to shape an answer.

Wherefore being put in a maruellous feare, they withdrew themselues aside, but yet straightwaies they deuised a shift wherewith they had beene well acquainted before, as followeth. They presented to the king a great masse of monie to appease his wrath, and so thereby were restored to his fauour. Anselme notwithstanding was obstinate in his opinion, so that in the end, the sentence touching this controuersie betwixt him and the king, was respite, till the octaues of Pentecost next insuing. All this was notified well inough to the pope, who vsed the matter with such moderation, that by secret aduertisements giuen, he toke awaie from his brethren all rigorous waies of procédings, saieng;

The meane to pacifie ỹ king.

The stiffenes of Anselme in withstanding the kings pleasure.

Math. Paris.

Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori.

But yet the kings enmitie towards Anselme was openlie declared, and that chéefelie for the dentall of the monie which he demanded; but at length he got it, though not with any frée hart or goodwill of the archbishop: insomuch that the king reputed him giltie of treason. Within a few daies after, Walter bishop of Alba, bringing to him his pall, verie wiselie reconciled the pope and the king. Notwithstanding all this, Anselme could not purchase the kings goodwill to his contentment, though he wiselie dissembled for the time: so that when the bishop of Alba should returne to Rome, he made suite for licence to go with him. Neuertheles, the king offered him, that if he would desist from his purpose, and sweare vpon the euangelists neither to go to Rome, nor to appeale in any cause to the popes court, he might and should liue in quietnesse frée

from

from all danger: but if he would not be so contented, he might and should depart at his perill, without hope to returne hither againe. For surelie (saith he) if he go, I will seize the archbishoprike into mine owne hands, and receiue him no more for archbishop.

Eadmerus.

Anselme herewith departing from the court, came to Canturburie, declaring openlie what had bin said vnto him, and immediatlie sought to flee out of the realme in the night, prouiding for himselfe a ship at Douer. But his purpose being reuealed to the king, one William Marlewast the kings seruant was sent after him, and finding him readie to depart, tooke from him all that he had, & gaue him a free pasport out of the land. Anselme repairing to Rome, made vnto pope Urban a greeuous information against the king, declaring into what miserable state he had brought the Realme, and that for want of assistance in his suffragans it laie not in him to reforme the matter.

Fabian.

Matth. Paris. Anselme comming to Rome complaineth of the king.

Indeed we find not that any of the bishops held with Anselme in the controuersie betwixt him and the king, Ranulph bishop of Chichester excepted, who both blamed the king, and rebuked all such bishops as had refused to stand with Anselme, and fauoured the king in cases concerning the foresaid variance. Moreouer, the same bishop of Chichester withstood the king and his officers in taking fines of preests for the crime of fornication; by reason of which presumption, the king became sore offended with him, & found meanes to suspend many churches of his diocesse. Howbeit in the end, the bishop demeaned himselfe in such wise, that he had his owne will, and his church dores were opened againe, which had beene stopped vp before with thornes. Besides this, the king was contented, that the said bishop should haue the fines of preests in crimes of fornication within his diocesse, and enioy many other priuileges in right of his church. But how beneficiall so euer he was vnto the see of Chichester, true it is (as Polydor writeth) that he let out diuers abbeies, and the bishoprike of Winchester and Salisburie, with the archbishoprike of Canturburie vnto certeine persons that farmed the same at his hands for great summes of monie, in so much that (beside the said sees of Canturburie, Winchester, and Salisburie, which at the time of his death he kept in his hands) he also receiued the profits of eleuen abbeies which he had let out, or otherwise turned to his most aduantage.

Ranulfe bishop of Chichester.

Fines of preests that had wiues as by some writers it seemed.

Polydor.

Robert Losaunge, of some called Herbert, that sometime had bin abbat of Ramsey, and then bishop of Thetford by gift of a thousand pounds to the king (as before ye haue heard) repented him, for that he was inuested by the king, who after he had bewailed his offense, went to Rome, and did penance for the same in all points as the pope enioined him. Which being done, he returned into England, remouing ver long his see from Thetford to Norwich, where he founded a faire monasterie of his owne charges, and not of the churches goods (as some say) wherein is a doubt, considering he was first an abbat, and after a bishop.

Robert Losaunge. Ran. Higd. Wil. Malm.

About this time, by the meanes of Stephan Harding a Monke of Shireborne, an Englishman, the order of Cisteaux or white monkes had his beginning within the countrie of Burgongne, as witnesseth Ranulph the monke of Chester: but other writers (as Iacob. Philippus) say that this Stephan was the second abbat of that place, and that it was founded by one Robert abbat of Molmense, in the yeare of Grace 1098. This order was after brought into England by one called Walter Espeke, who founded the first abbeie of that religion within this relme at Riuall, about the yeare of Grace 1131.

Stephan Harding a monke.

Ran. Higd. Iacobus Philippus Berigonias.

But to returne againe to the king, who still continued in his wilfull couetousnesse, pulling from the rich and welthie, to waste and spend it out in all excesse, baine riot, and gifts bestowed on such as had least deserued the same. And yet he was warned by manie strange wonders (as the common people did descant) to refraine from these euill doings: for the Thames did rise with such high springs and tides, that manie townes were drowned, and much hurt done in places about London, and elsewhere. Diuerse rare things happened also at the same time, which I passe ouer. But the king hearing hereof, did nothing regard those which were so bold as to tell him that they were euident significations of some vengeance to follow thereupon. The king also himselfe on a night as he slept & dreamed, thought that the veines of his armes were broken, and that the bloud issued out in great abundance. Likewise, he was told by Robert Fitz Hammon, that a monke should dreame in his sleepe, how he saw the king gnaw the image of Christ crucified with his teeth, and that as he was about to bite awaie the legs of the same image, Christ with his feet should spurne him downe to the ground, insomuch that as he lay on the earth, there came out of his mouth a flame of fire, and such abundance of smoke, that the aire was darkened therewith. But the king made a iest of these and the like tales; He is a right monke (saith he) and to haue a peece of monie, he dreameth such things, giue him therefore an hundred shillings, and bid him dreame of better fortune to our person. Neuertheless, the king was somewhat moued herewith in the end, and doubted whether he should go into the New forrest to hunt on Lammas day (as he had purposed) or no, bicause his frends councelled him not to trie the truth of dreames to his owne losse and hinderance. Whereupon he forbare to go forth before dinner, but when he had dined and made himselfe merrie with receiuing more drinke than commonlie he vsed to do, abroad he got him into the forrest with a small traine: amongst whom was one sir Walter Tirell a French knight, whom he had reteined in seruice with a large stipend.

The kings lamish prodigalitie.

Strange wonders. Wil. Malm.

A dreame. Matth. West. Wil. Malm.

Sir walter Tirell.

This sir Walter chanced to remaine with the king, when all the rest of the companie was dispersed here and there, as the maner in hunting is. Now as the sunne began to draw lowe, the king perceiuing an hart to come alongst by him, shot at the same, and with his arrow stroke him; but not greatlie hurting him, the beast ran awaie. The king, to marke which way the hart tooke, and the maner of his hurt, held vp his hand betweene the sunne and his eies; who standing in that sort, out came another hart, at whom as sir Walter Tirell let driue an arrow, the same by glansing stroke the king into the brest, so that he neuer spake word, but breaking off so much of the arrow as appeared out of his bodie, he fell downe, and giuing onelie one grone, immediatlie died, without more noise or mouing. Sir Walter running to him, and perceiuing no speech nor sense to remaine in him, straitwaies got to his horsse, and riding awaie, escaped and saued himselfe: for few there were that pursued him, euerie man being amazed at the chance, some departing one waie, and some another, euerie one for his owne aduantage and commoditie, as the time then serued. The dead bodie of the king was straight conueied to Winchester, and there buried the morrow after, which was the second day of August, the yere of our Lord 1100. To this end came king William, after he had reigned almost 13. yeares, and liued 43. and somewhat more.

The king slaine.

Wil. Malm.

This prince, although euill reported of by writers for the couetous talking of his subiects, and reteining of ecclesiasticall liuings in his hands; yet was he

Anno Reg. 13. 1100

he endued with manie noble and princelie qualities. He had good knowledge in feats of warre, and could well awaie with bodilie labour. In all his affaires he was circumspect; of his promise, trustie; of his word, stedfast; and in his wars no lesse diligent than fortunate. He gaue to the monkes called *Monachi de charitate* in Southwarke, the great new church of S. Sauiour of Bermondsay, and also Bermondsie it selfe. He founded a goodlie hospitall in the citie of Yorke, called S. Leonards, for the sustentation and finding of the poore as well brethren as sisters. Towards souldiers and men of warre he was verie liberall, and to enrich them, he passed not for taking from farmers and husbandmen what soeuer could be gotten. He was indeed of a prodigall nature, and therefore when in the begining of his reigne, doubting some troubles, he had assembled manie men of warre for his defense, there was nothing that they could aske which he would denie them, in somuch that his fathers treasures were soone consumed, by reason whereof he was put to his shifts to prouide more. For though substance wanted to shew his liberalitie, yet there failed not in him a mind still to be bountifull, sith continuall vse of giuing rewards, was in manner turned in him to a nature, so that to furnish himselfe with monie and necessaries, he was put to extremities vnbeseeming a king; and to bestow his beneuolence vpon some, he spared not to impouerish others. For in such sort he was liberall, that therewith he was prodigall; and in such wise stout of courage, as proud withall; and in such maner seuere, as he seemed cruell and inexorable. But what meanes he vsed to make his best of benefices and spirituall liuings, partlie appeareth before.

The liberall hart of king William.

In deed such was his condition, that who soeuer would giue, might haue, & that oftentimes without respect, whether their suite was reasonable and allowable or not, in somuch that it is said of him, that being in Roan on a time, there came to him diuerse Jewes who inhabited that citie, complaining to him, that diuerse of their nation had renounced their Jewish religion, and were become christians: wherefore they besought him, that for a certeine summe of monie which they offered to giue, it might please him to constreine them to abiure christianitie, and turne to the Jewish law againe. He was contented to satisfie their desires, and so receiuing the monie, called them before him, & what with threats, and putting them otherwise in feare, he compelled diuerse of them to forsake Christ, and returne to their old errors.

Jewes.

There was about the same time a yong man a Jew, who by a vision appearing vnto him (as is said) was conuerted to the christian faith, and being baptised, was named Stephan, because S. Stephan was the man that had appeared to him in the vision, as by the same he was informed. The father of the yongman being sore troubled, for that his sonne was become a christian, and hearing what the king had done in such like matters, presented to him 60. marks of siluer, conditionally that he should inforce his sonne to returne to his Jewish religion. Herevpon was the yong man brought before the king, vnto whom he said; Sirra, thy father here complaineth that without his licence thou art become a christian: if this be true, I command thee to returne againe to the religion of thy nation, without anie more adoo. To whom the yongman answered, Your grace (as I gesse) doth but iest. Wherwith the king being moued said, What thou dunghill knaue, should I iest with thee? Get thee hence quicklie, and fulfill my commandement, or by S. Lukes face I shall cause thine eies to be plucked out of thine head. The yongman nothing abashed hereat, with a constant voice answered, Trulie I will not do it, but know for certeine, that if you were a good christian, you would neuer haue vttered anie such words, for it is the part of a christian to reduce them againe to Christ which be departed from him, & not to separate them from him, which are ioined to him by faith. The king herwith confounded, commanded the Jew to auant, & get him out of his sight. But his father perceiuing that the king could not persuade his sonne to forsake the christian faith, required to haue his monie againe. To whom the king said, he had done so much as he promised to do, that was, to persuade him so far as he might. At length, when he would haue had the king to haue dealt further in the matter, the king (to stop his mouth) tendered backe to him the one halfe of his monie, & reteined the other to himselfe.

In answer of a good Jew.

A pretie deuision.

Moreouer, to increase the suspicion which men had of his infidelitie, it is written, that he caused a disputation to be kept betwixt the Jewes & the christians, promising that if the Jewes ouercame the christians in argument, he would be a Jew: but the Jewes being ouercome, and receiuing the foile, would not confesse their errors, but alledged, that by factions (and not by reason) they were put to the worse. Howbeit, what opinion soeuer he had of the Jewes faith, it appeareth by writers that he doubted in manie points of the religion then in credit. For he sticked not to protest openlie, that he beleeued no saint could profit anie man in the Lords sight, and therefore neither would he nor anie other that was wise (as he affirmed) make intercession, either to Peter, or to anie other for helpe.

King William suspected of infidelitie.

Eadmerus.

Praieng to saints.

He was of stature not so tall as the common sort of men, red of haire, whereof he toke his surname Rufus, somwhat big of bellie, and not readie of tong, speciallie in his anger, for then his vtterance was so hindered, that he could scarselie shew the conceits of his mind: he died without issue, and vsed concubines all the daies of his life. I find that in aparell he loued to be gaie and gorgeous, & could not abide to haue anie thing (for his wearing) esteemed at a small valure. Wherevpon it came to passe on a morning, when he should pull on a new paire of hose, he asked the groome of his chamber that brought them to him what they cost? Three shillings saith he; Why thou horeson (said the king) doth a paire of hose of three shillings price become a king to weare? Go thy waies, and fetch me a paire that shall cost a marke of siluer. The groome went, and brought him another paire, for the which he paid scarselie so much as for the first. But when the king asked what they stood him in, he told him they cost a marke: and then was he well satisfied, and said; Pea marie, these are more fit for a king to weare, and so drew them vpon his legs.

His stature. Whereof he toke his surname Rufus.

Wil. Malm.

In this kings daies John bishop of Welles ioined the monasterie of Bath vnto his see, and repairing the same monasterie, began to inhabit there in the yeere 1094. The church of Couentrie was in like sort ioined vnto the see of Chester by Robert bishop of that diocesse. Wolstan bishop of Worcester died about the same time, and Anselme hauing purchased bulles of pope Paschall, wherein was conteined an admonition vnto king William to desist from his greeuous oppressing of the church, and to amend his former doings, was now on his returne towards England, and by the waie heard of the kings death. Hugh earle of Chester in this kings daies builded the abbeie of Chester, and procured Anselme (afterwards archbishop of Canturburie) to come ouer from Normandie, that he might direct the same abbeie, and place such religious persons as were necessarie and conuenient for so good a foundation.

Couentrie church ioined to the see of Chester.

Long

Long it was yer Anſelme would come ouer, bicauſe he doubted to be had in ſuſpicion of an ambitious deſire in ſeeking to be made archbiſhop of Canturburie. For it was talked that if he went ouer into England, he ſhould ſurelie be elected before he returned into Normandie. But at length ſo it chanced, that the foreſaid Hugh earle of Cheſter fell ſicke, and deſpairing of life, ſent with all ſpeed to Anſelme, requiring him moſt inſtantlie to come ouer to him lieng in extremitie of ſickneſſe; adding, that if he haſted not the ſoner, it would be too late, whereof he would after repent him. Then Anſelme, for that he might not faile his freend in ſuch neceſſitie, came ouer, and gaue order to the abbeie, according as it ſeemed beſt to him for the eſtabliſhment of religion there.

Thus farre William Rufus.

Henrie the firſt, yoongeſt ſonne to VVilliam the Conquerour.

Anno Reg. 1. 1100.

HEnrie the yoongeſt ſonne to William the firſt, brother to Rufus latelie departed, the firſt of that name that ruled heere in England, & for his knowledge in good literature ſurnamed Beauclerke, was admitted king by the whole aſſent of the lords and commons, and began his reigne ouer England the firſt of Auguſt, in the yeare after the creation of the world 1067. after the birth of our Sauiour 1100. and 44. of the emperour Henrie the fourth, Paſchall the ſecond then gouerning the ſee of Rome, which was about the 51. yeare of Philip the firſt of that name king of France, and in the beginning of the reigne of Edgar king of Scotland. This king was conſecrated and crowned at Weſtminſter, the firſt daie of Auguſt, by Thomas archbiſhop of Yorke, and Maurice biſhop of London, bicauſe at that time Anſelme archbiſhop of Canturburie was exiled. This prince had afore hand trained the people to his humor and beine, in bringing them to thinke well of him, and to conceiue a maruellous euill opinion of his brother duke Robert, perſuading them moreouer, that the ſaid duke was likelie to proue a ſharpe and rigorous gouernour, if he once obteined the crowne and dominion of the land. Moreouer, he cauſed to be reported for a certeine truth, that the ſame Robert was alreadie created king of Jeruſalem. And therfore conſidering that the kingdome of Paleſtine (as the rumor ran) was of greater reuenues than that of England, there was no cauſe why they ſhuld ſtaie for him, who would not willinglie leaue the greater for the leſſer. By which meanes the Nobilitie and Commons were the ſoner perſuaded to decline from the election of the ſaid Robert, and to receiue his brother Henrie for their lawfull king, who on the other ſide ceaſed not to promiſe mountaines, till his enterprize toke effect; and then at leiſure paied ſome of them with molhils: as by the ſequele of the ſtorie ſhall more at large appeare.

Wil. Thorne. Geruaſius Dorobernenſis.

Matth. Paris.

This Henrie therefore comming thus to the crowne, conſidered furthermore with himſelfe, that hereafter, when his eldeſt brother Robert ſhould returne, and vnderſtand how the matter was brought about, he would thinke himſelfe to haue had much wrong, and beene verie euill dealt withall, ſith that as well by birthright, as alſo by agreement made with his brother William Rufus, he ought of right to be preferred, and thereupon would not faile but make earneſt claime againſt him. Wherefore yer he ſhould come home out of the holie land (where he then remained) the king ſtudied by all poſſible meanes how to gratifie all the ſtates of his realme, & to plant in their harts ſome good opinion of him. And firſt of all he reformed ſuch things as his brother had left verie preiudiciall to the eſtate of the church, ſetting the ſame free which before was ſore oppreſſed. And furthermore, ſomwhat to releeue the cõmon-wealth, he promiſed to reſtore the lawes of good king Edward, and to aboliſh or amend thoſe which by his father and brother were alreadie ordeined to the hurt & preiudice of the old ancient liberties of the realme of England. He reuoked Anſelme the archbiſhop of Canturburie out of exile, who fled (as yee haue heard) to auoid the wrath of king William. Moreouer, he placed in the ſee of Wincheſter, one William Giffard, a graue and diſcreet perſon, and alſo ordeined monkes of honeſt reputation to be abbats in certeine abbeis which had beene long void, and in the hands of William his brother: in like maner he remitted certeine paiments which his brother and predeceſſour had cauſed to be raiſed by wate of taxes and cuſtomes. Beſides this, on the 8. daie of September, he committed Rafe biſhop of Durham to the Tower of London, by whoſe lewd counſell his ſaid brother being ſeduced, had in his life time done manie oppreſſions to his people. He ordeined alſo that one length of meaſuring ſhould be vſed through this realme, which was a yard, appointing it to be cut after the length of his owne arme. Manie other things he redreſſed, to the contentation and commoditie of his ſubiects, who gaue God thanks that he had in ſuch wiſe deliuered them out of the hands of cruell extortioners.

The king ſeeketh to win the peoples fauour.

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt. Matth. Paris.

Anſelme called home.

Wil. Malm. William Giffard biſhop of Wincheſter. Hen. Hunt.

Rafe biſhop of Durham committed to the Tower. Simon Dun.

The firſt ordeining of the yard meaſure. Wil. Malm.

After he had thus brought the common-wealth in ſo good eſtate, he conſulted with his Nobilitie, where he might beſt get him a wife, and thereby leaue vnlawfull

Wil. Malm. Polydor.

lawfull companie kæping with concubines: which demand was not misliked at all. Herevpon they considered that Edgar king of Scotland had a sister named Maud, a beautifull ladie, and of vertuous conditions, who was a professed nunne in a religious house, to the end she might auoid the stormes of the world, and lead hir life in more securitie after hir fathers decease. This gentlewoman, notwithstanding hir vow, was thought to be a meet bedfellow for the king: wherefore he sent ambassadors to hir brother Edgar, requesting that he might haue hir in mariage. But she refusing superstitiouslie at the first to breake hir professed vow, would not heare of the offer: wherewithall king Henrie being the more inflamed, sent new ambassadors to moue the case in more earnest sort than before, in so much that Edgar, vpon the declaration of their ambassage, set the abbesse of the house (where then she abode) in hand to persuade hir, who so effectuallie and diuerslie telling hir how necessarie, profitable, & honorable the same should be both to hir countrie and kinred, did so preuaile at the last, that the yong ladie granted willinglie to the mariage. Herevpon she was transported into England, and wedded to the king, who caused the archbishop Anselme to crowne hir quæne on S. Martins daie, which fell vpon a sundaie, being the eleuenth of November.

¶ It should seeme by Eadmerus, that she was neuer nunne, but onelie veiled by hir mother, and placed amongst nunnes against hir will (as she protested to the whole world) at such time as archbishop Anselme refused to solemnize the mariage betwixt them, till that doubt were cleared, and the occasion remoued, wherevpon euill disposed men would haue surmised ilfauoredlie, and reported the worst. Howbeit whether she were professed, or veiled onelie, loth she was to consent at the first (as partlie ye haue heard) but after that she was coupled with the king in mariage, she proued a right obedient wife.

The archbishop of Vienna the popes legat.

About this season the archbishop of Vienna came ouer into England with the popes authoritie (as he pretended) to be legat ouer all Britteine, which was strange newes vnto England, and greatlie wondered at (as Eadmerus saith) of all men. For it had not beene heard of in England before that time, that any person should suplie the popes rome, except the archbishop of Canturburie. And so he departed as he came, for no man receiued him as legat, neither did he exercise anie legantine authoritie. Not long after, the king sent ambassadours to Rome, about a suit which he had against the archbishop Anselme, for that he denied not onelie to do him homage, but also would not consecrate such bishops and ecclesiasticall gouernours as he vnder toke to inuest. Touching which matter no small trouble arose, as hereafter shall appeere.

He is not receiued for legat.

1011

In the meane time, Robert the kings elder brother, returning out of the holie land, came into Normandie: for after he had aduertisement of the death of his brother Rufus, and that his yonger brother was crowned king of England, he was greatlie displeased in his mind, and meant with all speed to assaie if he might recouer it out of his hands.

Ran.Higd. Duke Robert chosen king of Hierusalem.

¶ We read, that when christian princes had wone Hierusalem, they met togither in the temple to chuse a king for the gouernement of that citie and countrie, in which conuent duke Robert was chosen before all the residue to be king there, by reason of a miracle (as some haue left recorded) wrought by quenching of a taper, and the sudden kindling thereof againe, as he held the same in his hand, standing in the church before the altar amongst other on Easter euen: so as thereby it should be thought he was appointed among all the residue to be king, and so was nominated. But he hauing his mind more inclined to England, refused to take the charge vpon him: wherevpon after that daie he neuer greatlie prospered in anie businesse which he toke in hand: as some do gather. Other authors of good credit, which haue written that voiage into the holie land, make no mention of anie such matter, but declare, that Godfraie of Bolongne was by the generall consent of all the princes and capiteins there elected king, as in the description of that voiage more plainelie appeareth. But now to returne from whence I haue digressed. Polydor.

When the fame was blowne into England, that duke Robert was returned into Normandie, and that the people had receiued him for their duke with great triumph and ioy: there were diuerse which desiring innouations, delting in alterations, and being wearie of the quiet gouernement of king Henrie, wrote letters into England to the duke, signifieng to him, that if he would make hast, and come to recouer the realme out of his brothers hands (who vsurped it by an vniust title) they would be readie to aid him with all their power. Herewithall the duke being readie of his owne accord to this enterprise, was not a little inflamed, and grew more earnest to make hast about this businesse: in somuch as, where he would not seeme at the first to esteeme greatlie of the offer made to him by the Englishmen, who had thus written ouer vnto him (blaming generallie all the English Nobilitie, for that while he was abroad in the seruice of the christian common-wealth against the infidels, they would suffer him to be in such wise defrauded of his fathers inheritance, by his brother, through their vntruth and negligence) yet although he meant to delaie the matter, and thought it rather better to dissemble with them for a time, than to commit the succesle of his affaires and person to their inconstancie; shortlie after being set on fire, and still incouraged by the persuasion of Rafe bishop of Durham (who by a wonderfull wilie shift, about the first of Februarie had broken out of prison) with all speed possible he gathered an armie, purposing out of hand to passe ouer with the same into England, and to hazard his right by dent of sword, which was thus by plaine iniurie most wickedlie deteined from him. Anno Reg.2. Duke Robert is solicited to come into England to claim the crowne. Wil.Malm. Simon Dun.

In the Kal. of Februarie. R. Houe. Hen. Hunt. Polydor.

King Henrie in the meane time vnderstanding his meaning, assembled likewise his power, and rigged forth a great number of ships, appointing them to lie in a readinesse to stop his brothers comming to land if it might be. He himselfe also lodged with his maine armie neere the towne of Hastings, to giue him battell if he landed thereabouts.

Duke Robert also meaning to set forward, sent certeine of his ships before, to chose some conuenient place where he might land with his armie: which ships by chance fell into the danger of the kings nauie, but yet abstteining from battell, they recouered the wind, and returned backe to the duke, signifieng from point to point how they had sped in this voiage. The duke as he was of a bold courage, and of so gentle a nature that he beleeued he should win their good wils, with whom he should haue any thing to do, passed forward, and approching to the kings nauie, vsed such mild persuasions, that a great part of the souldiours which were aboord in the kings ships, submitted themselues vnto him, by whose conduct he arriued in Portsmouth hauen, and there landed with his host, about the begining of August. Now when he had rested a few daies & refreshed his men, he toke the way towards Winchester, a great number of people flocking vnto him by the way.

Duke Robert arriued at Portsmouth. Simon Dun. Wil.Malm. Hen.Hunt. Polydor.

The king hauing knowledge as well of the arriuall of his enimies, as also of the reuolting of his

subiects, raised his campe, and came to lodge neere vnto his enimies, the better to perceiue what he attempted and purposed to doo. They were also in maner readie to haue ioined battell, when diuers Noble men that owght good will to both the brethren, and abhorred in their minds so vnnaturall discord, began to entreat for peace, which in the end they concluded vpon, conditionallie that Henrie (who was borne after his father had conquered the realme of England) should now enioy the same, yeelding and paieng yeerelie vnto duke Robert the summe of iij. M. marks. Prouided, that whose hap of the two it shuld be to suruiue or outliue, he should be the others right and lawfull heire, by mutuall agreement. Conditionallie also, that those English or Normans, which had taken part either with the king or the duke, should be pardoned of all offenses that could be laid vnto them for the same by either of the princes. There were twelue Noble men on either part that receiued corporall othes for performance of this agréement, which being concluded vpon in this sort, duke Robert, who in his affaires shewed himselfe more credulous than suspicious, remained with his brother here in England till the feast of S. Michaell, and then shewing himselfe well contented with the composition, returned into Normandie. In the second yeare of this kings reigne, the Quéene was deliuered of hir daughter Maud or Mathild, so called after hir owne name, who afterward was empresse, of whom yée shall heare by Gods grace anon in this historie.

Wil.Malm. Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

Hen. Hunt. Wil.Thorne. Matth.West. Geruasius Dorober.

1102

The king being now rid of forren trouble, was shortlie after disquieted with the seditious attempts of Robert de Belesme earle of Shrewsburie, sonne to Hugh before named, who fortified the castell of Bridgenorth, and an other castell in Wales at a place called Cairdoue, and furnished the towne of Shrewsburie, with the castels of Arundell & Tickehill (which belonged to him) in most substantiall maner. Moreouer he sought to win the fauour of the Welshmen, by whose aid he purposed to defend himselfe against the king in such vnlawfull enterprises as he ment to take in hand. But the king hauing an inkeling whereabout he went, straitwaies proclaimed him a traitor, whereupon he got such Welshmen and Normans together as he could conuenientlie come by, with whom and his brother Arnold, he entred into Staffordshire, which they forraied and wasted exceedinglie, bringing from thence a great bootie of beasts and cattell, with some prisoners, whom they led forthwith into Wales, where they kept themselues as in a place of greatest safetie.

Simon Dun. Robert de Belesme earle of Shrewsburie.

Stafford wasted.

The king in the meane time with all conuenient speed raised a power, first besieging the castell of Arundell, and then planting diuerse bastillions before it, he departed from thence, and sending the bishop of Lincolne with part of his armie to besiege Tickehill, he himselfe went to Bridgenorth, which he enuironed about with a mightie armie made out of all parts of his realme: so that what with gifts, large promises, and fearefull threatnings, at the last he allured to his side the fickle Welshmen, and in such wise wan them, that they abandoned the earle, and toke part against him. Whereupon the king within 30. daies subdued all the townes and castels (which he held) out of his hands, and banished him the relme, and shortlie after confined his brother Arnold for his traitorous demeanour vsed against him, whereby their attempts were brought vnto an end.

Arundell castell besieged.

Bridgenorth besieged.

Anno Reg.3.

The earle of Shrewsburie banished the realme.

After this, at the feast of saint Michaell, Anselme archbishop of Canturburie held a councell at Westminster, whereat were present the archbishop of Yorke, the bishops of London, Winchester, Lincolne, Worcester, Chester, Bath, Norwich, Rochester, and two other bishops latlie elected by the king, namelie, Salisburie and Hereford: the bishop of Exceter was absent by reason of sickenesse.

A synod of bishops. Eadmerus.

Abbats & priors depriued.

At this councell or synod, diuers abbats and priors, both French and English, were depriued of their promotions and benefices by Anselme, bicause they had come vnto them otherwise than he pretended to stand with the decrées of the church; as the abbats of Persor, Ramsey, Tauestocke, Peterborow, Middleton, Burie, and Stoke, the prior of Elie, and others. The cheefest cause of their deposing was, for that they had receiued their inuestitures at the kings hands.

Matth. Paris.

The cause why they were depriued. Hen.Hunt. Sim.Dun.

Diuers constitutions were made by authoritie of this councell, but namelie this one.

Eadmerus.

1 That preests should no more be suffered to haue wiues, which decree (as saith Hentie of Huntingdon) seemed to some verie pure, but to some againe verie dangerous, least whilest diuers of those that coueted to professe such cleannesse and puritie of life as passed their powers to obserue, might haplie fall into most horrible vncleannesse, to the high dishonour of christianitie, and offense of the Almightie.

Marriage of preests forbidden.

Hen. Hunt.

2 That no spirituall person should haue the administration of any temporall office or function, nor sit in iudgement of life and death.

Decrées instituted in this councell.

3 That preests should not haunt alehouses, and further, that they should weare apparell of one maner of colour, and shoes after a comelie fashion: for a little before that time, preests vsed to go verie vnseemelie.

Against preests that were alehouse hunters.

4 That no archdeacouries should be let to farme.

Archdeaconries.

5 That euerie archdeacon should at the least receiue the orders of a deacon.

6 That none should be admitted to the orders of a subdeacon, without profession of chastitie.

Subdeacons.

7 That no preests sonnes should succeed their fathers in their benefices.

Preests sons.

8 That monks and preests which had forsaken their orders (for the loue of their wiues) should be excommunicated, if they would not returne to their profession againe.

9 That preests should weare broad crownes.

Preests to wear crowns.

10 That no tithes should be giuen but to the church.

Tithes.

11 That no benefices should be bought or sold.

Benefices.

12 That no new chapels should be builded without consent of the bishop.

New chapels

13 That no church should be consecrated except prouision were first had to the maintenance of it and the minister.

Consecration of churches.

14 That abbats should not be made knights or men of war, but should sléepe & eat within the precinct of their owne houses, except some necessitie moued them to the contrarie.

Abbats.

15 That no monks should inioyne penance to any man without licence of their abbat, and that abbats might not grant licence, but for those of whose soules they had cure.

Monks.

16 That no monks should be godfathers, nor nuns godmothers to any mans child.

17 That monks should not hold and occupie any farmes in their hands.

Farmes.

18 That no monks should receiue any parsonages, but at the bishops hands, nor should spoile those which they did receiue in such wise of the profits and reuenues, that curats which should serue the cures might thereby want necessarie prouision for themselues and the same churches.

Parsonages.

19 That contracts made betweene man and woman without witnesses concerning mariage should be void, if either of them denied it.

Contracts.

20 That such as did weare their heare long should be neuertheless so rounded, that part of their eares might appéere.

Wearing of haire.

21 That kinsfolke might not contract matrimonie

nie within the seuenth degrée of consanguinitie.

Buriall. 22 That the bodies of the dead should not be buried but within their parishes, least the prœst might lose his dutie.

Fond worshipping of men. 23 That no man should vpon some new rash deuotion giue reuerence or honour to any dead bodies, fountaines of water, or other things, without the bishops authoritie, which hath béene well knowne to haue chanced heretofore.

24 That there should be no more buieng and selling of men vsed in England, which was hitherto accustomed, as if they had béene kine or oxen.

25 That all such as committed the filthie sinne of Sodomitrie should be accursed by the decrée of this councell, till by penance & confession they should obteine absolution. Prouided that if he were a prœst or any religious person, he should lose his benefice, and be made vncapeable of any other ecclesiasticall preferment if: he were a laie man, he should lose the prerogatiue of his estate. Prouided also that no religious man might be absolued of this crime, but at the bishops hands.

The curse to be read euerie sundaie. 26 That euerie sundaie this curse should be read in euerie church.

The king also caused some necessarie ordinances to be deuised at this councell, to moue men to the leading of a good and vpright life.

S. Bartholomewes by Smithfield founded. About the third yeare of K. Henries reigne, the foundation of saint Bartholomews by Smithfield was begun by Rater one of the kings musicians (as some write) who also became the first prior thereof. Smithfield sometimes a common laiestall & a place of execution. In those daies Smithfield was a place where they laid all the ordure and filth of the citie. It was also the appointed place of execution, where felons and other malefactors of the lawes did suffer for their misdœds.

Anno Reg. 3. In this third yeare of king Henries reigne the quéene was deliuered of a sonne called William.

Polydor. The king bestoweth bishoprikes. Matth. Paris. When the earle of Shrewesburie was banished (as ye haue heard) the state of the realme séemed to be reduced into verie good order and quietnesse: so that king Henrie being aduanced with good successe in his affaires, was now in no feare of danger any maner of waie. Howbeit herein he somewhat displeased the cleargie: for leaning vnto his princelie authoritie, he tooke vpon him both to nominate bishops, and to inuest them into the possession of their sées: amongst whom was one Remclid, bishop of Hereford by the kings ordinance. This Remclid or Remeline did afterwards resigne that bishoprike to the king, bicause he was persuaded he had greatlie offended in receiuing the same at a temporall mans hands. Sim. Dunel.

Truelie not onelie king Henrie here in England, but also other princes and high potentates of the temporaltie about the same season, challenged this right of inuesting bishops and other cleargie men, as a thing due vnto them and their predecessors, without all prescription of time, as they alledged, which caused no small debate betwixt them and the spiritualtie, as in that which is written thereof at large by others may more easilie appeare.

Anselme refuseth to consecrate the bishops inuested by the king. Howbeit Anselme the archbishop of Canturburie more earnest in this case than any other, would not admit nor consecrate such bishops as were nominated and inuested by the king, making no account of their inuestiture: and further he tooke vpon him to admonish the K. not to violate the sacred lawes, rites and ceremonies of christian religion so latelie decréed concerning those matters. But so far was the king from giuing any eare to his admonitions, that he stood the more stiffelie in his chalenge. And where Thomas the archbishop of Yorke was not long before departed out of this transitorie life, he gaue that benefice then void to one Gerard, a man of great wit, but (as some writers report) more desirous of honor than was requisite for his calling, and willed him in despite of Anselme to consecrate those bishops whom he had of late inuested. This Gerard therfore obteing his commandement, did consecrate them all, William Giffard bishop of Winchester excepted; who refused to be consecrated at his hands, where vpon he was deprriued and banished the realme. The archbishop Anselme also was quite out of fauour, for that he ceased not to speake against the K. in reprouing him in this behalfe, till time that the king was contented to referre the matter to pope Paschall, and to stand to his decree and determination: also, that such as he had placed in any bishoprike, should haue licence to go to Rome to plead their causes, whither he promised shortlie to send his ambassadours, and so he did: appointing for the purpose, Herbert bishop of Norwich, and Robert bishop of Lichfield, being both of his priuie councell, and William Warlewast, of whom mention is made before, who went on their waie and came to Rome, according to their commission.

Gerard inuested archbishop of Yorke.

W. Giffard bishop of Winchester. Matth. Paris. Wil. Thorne. Polydor.

Polydor.

1102 Anno Reg. 4. Ambassadors sent to Rome.

After them also followed Anselme archbishop of Canturburie, Gerard archbishop of Yorke, & William the elect of Winchester, whom the pope receiued with a courteous kind of interteinement. But Anselme was highlie honored aboue all the residue, whose diligence and zeale in defense of the ordinances of the sée of Rome, he well inough vnderstood. The ambassadours in like maner declaring the effect of their message, opened vnto the pope the ground of the controuersie begun betweene the king and Anselme, & with good arguments went about to proue the kings cause to be lawfull. Vpon the otherside, Anselme and his partakers with contrarie reasons sought to confute the same. Wherupon the pope declared, that sith by the lawes of the church it was decreed, that the possession of any spirituall benefice, obteined otherwise than by meanes of a spirituall person, could not be good or allowable; from thencefoorth, neither the king nor any other for him, should challenge any such right to apperteine vnto them.

Anselme goeth also to Rome.

The kings ambassadours hearing this, were somwhat troubled in their minds: wherevpon Willam Warlewast burst out and said with great vehemencie euen to the popes face: Whatsoeuer is or may be spoken in this maner to or fro, I would all that be present should well vnderstand, that the king my maister will not lose the inuestitures of churches for the losse of his whole realme. Vnto which words Paschall himselfe replieng, said vnto him againe: If (as thou saiest) the king thy maister will not forgo the inuestiture of churches for the losse of his realme, know thou for certeine, and marke my words well, I speake it before God, that for the ransome of his head, pope Paschall will not at any time permit that he shall enioie them in quiet. At length by the aduise of his councell, the pope granted the king certeine priuileges and customes, which his predecessours had vsed and enioied: but as for the inuestitures of bishops, he would not haue him in any wise to meddle withall: yet did he confirme those bishops whom the king had alreadie created, least the refusall should be occasion to sowe any further discord.

Eadmerus. The saieng of Wil. Warlewast to the pope. " " The popes answer to him " " " " " Polydor.

This businesse being in this maner ordered, the ambassadours were licenced to depart, who receiuing at the popes hands great rewards, and Gerard the archbishop of Yorke his pall, they shortlie after returned into England, declaring vnto the king the popes decrée and sentence. The king being still otherwise persuaded, and looking for other newes, was nothing pleased with this matter. Long it was yer he would giue ouer his claime, or yéeld to the popes

iudgement, till that in processe of time, ouercome with the earnest sute of Anselme, he granted to obeie the popes order herein, though (as it should appeare) right sore against his will.

Wil. Malm.

In this meane time, the king had seized into his hands the possessions of the archbishop of Canturburie, and banished Anselme, so that he staied at Lions in France for the space of one yeare and foure monethes, during which time there passed manie letters and messages to and fro. The pope also wrote to king Henrie in verie courteous maner, exhorting him to call Anselme home againe, and to release his claime to the inuestitures of bishops, wherevnto he could haue no right, sith it apperteined not to the office of any temporall magistrate: adding furthermore, if the king would giue ouer that vngodlie and vsurped custome, that he would shew such frendlie fauour in all things, as by the sufferance of God in any wise he might be able to performe, and further would receiue not onelie him, but also his yong sonne William (whom latelie it had pleased God to send him by his vertuous wife queene Maud) into his protection, so that who so euer did hurt either of them, should be thought to hurt the holie church of Rome.

The pope writeth courteouslie to the king.

In one of the letters which the said pope wrote vnto Anselme (after that the king was contented to renounce the inuestitures aforesaid) he willed Anselme, according to the promise which he had made, to assoile as well from sinne as from penance due for the same, both the king and his wife queene Maud, with all such persons of honour as in this behalfe had trauelled with the king to induce him to be agreeable to his purpose.

1104 The earle of Mellent.

Moreouer, the earle of Mellent, and Richard de Riuers (who had counselled the king to stand stoutlie in the matter, and not to giue ouer his title of such inuestitures, sith his ancestors had vsed them so long a time before his daies, by reason whereof, in renouncing his right to the same, he should do a thing greatlie preiudiciall to his roiall estate and princelie maiestie) were now earnest labourers to agree the king and the pope, in so much that in the end the king was persuaded by Anselme and them to let go his hold, resigning the inuestitures with staffe and ring; notwithstanding that, he reserued the right of elections, and such other roialties as otherwise apperteined to to his maiestie, so that such bishops as had done homage to the king, were not disabled thereby, but quietlie permitted to receiue their iurisdictions.

Anno Reg. 4.

The K. persuaded to renounce his title to the inuestiture of prelats. Eadmerus.

About this time Robert duke of Normandie came into England to see his brother: who through the sugred words and sweet entertainment of the king, released the yearelie tribute of 3000. markes, which he should haue had out of the realme vpon agreement (as before ye haue heard) but chefelie indeed at the request of the queene, being instructed by hir husband how she should deale with him that was knowne to be free and liberall, without any great consideration what he presentlie granted.

Duke Robert commeth into England to visit his brother.

Now hauing beene here a certeine time, and solaced himselfe with his brother and sister, he returned into Normandie, where shortlie after he began to repent him of his follie, in being so liberall as to release the foresaid tribute: wherevpon he menaced the king, and openlie in his reproch said that he was craftilie circumuented by him, and flatlie couzened. Diuerse in Normandie desired nothing more than to set the two brethren at square, and namelie Robert de Belesme earle of Shrewsburie, with William earle of Mortaigne: these two were banished the realme of England. The earle of Shrewesburie for his rebellious attempts (as before you haue heard) and the earle of Mortaigne left the land of his owne willfull and stubborne mind, exiling himselfe onelie vpon hatred which he bare to the king. For being not contented with the earledome of Mortaigne in Normandie, and the earledome of Cornewall in England, he made sute also for the earledome of Kent, which his vncle Odo sometime held. Now bicause he was not onelie denied of that sute, but also by order of lawe had certeine parcels of land taken from him, which he wrongfullie deteined, he got him into Normandie, and there made war both against those places which the king held, and also against other that belonged to Richard earle of Chester, who was then vnder the kings tuition and gouernement by reason of his minoritie.

Wil. Malm. Factious persons practise to set the two brethren at variance.

The earle of Mortaigne.

Richard earle of Chester.

The threatning words of duke Robert comming at the last to king Henries eares, caused him forthwith to conceiue verie sore displeasure against the duke, in so much that he sent ouer a power into Normandie, which finding no great resistance, did much hurt in the countrie, by fetching and carieng spoiles and preies. Againe, the Normans rather fauoured than sought to hinder the enterprise of king Henrie, bicause they saw how duke Robert with his foolish prodigalitie and vndiscreet liberalitie had made awaie all that belonged to his estate; so that of the whole duchie of Normandie, he had not any citie or towne of name left in his owne possession, Roan onelie excepted, which he also would haue alienated, if the citizens would haue consented to his fond motion.

A power of men sent into Normandie.

Gemeticensis.

1105 The k. passeth ouer to Normandie. Anno Reg. 6. Simon Dun. Gemeticensis. Polydor.

Now king Henrie hearing of the good successe of his men, passed ouer himselfe some after with a mightie armie, and with little adoo tooke Eureux or (as others haue) Baieux and Caen, which cities when he had furnished with sufficient garisons of men, he repassed the sea into England, bicause the winter approched, and the wether waxed troublesome for such as laie in the field. Herevpon duke Robert considering how vnable he was (by reason that his people failed him at need) to resist king Henrie, sith the Britans also, and they of Anion, tooke part with the said king, he thought good to laie armour aside, and to passe ouer into England, to entreat with him by way of brotherlie amitie, in full hope by that meanes to auoid this present danger. But at his arriuall here, he learned how the king his brother as then was at Northampton: wherefore he hasted thither, and comming to him, made earnest sute for peace, beseeching the king in respect of brotherlie loue to grant the same; or if it were that he regarded not the goodwill of his naturall brother, to consider at least wise what apperteined to his accustomed gentlenesse, and to thinke with himselfe that warre betwixt brethren could not be maintained without reproch, nor that victorie be honorable which was obteined against his owne flesh. Wherefore he required him not to refuse peace, frendship, and voluntarie beneuolence, sith he was now readie to render all that euer he had into his hands.

1106 Anno Reg. 7.

The king nothing moued herewith, but as one that disdained to make a direct answer, murmured certeine things with himselfe, and turned away from the duke, as one that either by experience knew his brothers light and vnstable mind, or as one that determined to be reuenged of him euen to the vttermost. Duke Robert also, abhorring and vtterlie detesting this his brothers pride, streightwaies returned home, purposing with himselfe to trie the hazard of warre, sith he sawe no hope to be had in brotherlie loue and amitie. Wherevpon he prouided for wars with all his power, seeking aid from all places where he might get any, though the king his brother gaue him small leisure thereto, who followed him incontinentlie with a new supplie of souldiours, desiring nothing more than to get him within his danger.

The brethren depart in displeasure.

K. Henrie passeth into Normandie to pursue his brother.

Some

Soone after, both the brethren approching neere togither, ech of them pitched their campe within the sight of other, preparing themselues to giue battell with princelie stomachs. The king surmounting the duke his brother in number, first bringeth forth his men in order of battell, and streightwaies the duke likewise, both being readie to trie the matter by dint of sword. When the one prouoking the other, and the trumpets sounding aloft, the conflict began. The kings souldiers trusting too much in their owne force, by reason of their great multitude, brake their arraie, and assailed their enimies on ech side verie disorderlie: but the Normans being wiselie ordered and instructed by their duke, kept themselues close togither: so that the kings battell, which had without order stept forth to assaile them, finding sturdie resistance, began now to result or giue backe: for not onelie duke Robert but also William earle of Mortaigne preased forward amongst their men, and fought valiantlie with their owne hands. Whervpon the king, when he perceiued how his men began to shrinke, cried vpon them to staie, and withall commanded his horssemen to breake vpon the flanks of his enimies battell: which they did, with such violence that they disparkled the same, and caused the enimies to scatter. Herewith also the kings foot men, togither with the horssemen inuaded the Normans afresh, who neuertheless resisted a while, till being compassed about in maner on euerie side, they began to flee: as oftentimes it chanceth, when a few driuen in sunder by a multitude, are assailed on all sides. The king then hauing vanquished his aduersaries, followeth the chase, and maketh great slaughter of them, though not without some losse of his owne: for the Normans despairing of safetie, turned oftentimes againe vpon their pursuers.

They ioine in battell.

The Normans vanquished.

Duke Robert and the earle of Mortaigne fighting most manfullie in the verie preasse of their enimies, were taken, or (as other saie) betraied, and deliuered into their enimies hands: beside which twaine, William Crispine, William Ferreis, Robert Essoutuille the elder, with foure hundreth men of armes, and to the number of 10. thousand footmen were taken. As for the number that were slaine in this battell, there is none that declareth the certeintie: but yet it is reported by diuers writers, that no one battell in those daies was sorer fought, nor with greater bloudshed either in Normandie, or elsewhere.

The earle of Mortaigne.

Eadmerus.
W. Crispine.
W. Ferreis.
Robert de Essoutuille.

The number slaine.

Gemeticensis sheweth brieflie, that king Henrie was offended with his brother duke Robert, for alienating the duchie of Normandie his inheritance, & for wasting his reuenues with such riotous demeanour as he vsed, so that he left himselfe nothing but the citie of Roan, which he had not passed to haue giuen awaie also, if the citizens would thereto haue granted their consent. The king (I saie) taking displeasure herewith, went ouer into Normandie, and assuming a mightie power, first besieged Baieux, & then halfe destroieng it, he tooke it by force. After this he tooke Caen also, and then besieged a castell called Tenerchbray perteining to the earle of Mortaigne, during which siege his brother Robert, and the said earle of Mortaigne came with a great multitude of people in hope to be reuenged of the king, and to chase him out of the countrie. But the punishment of God fell so vpon them, that they were both taken, and manie of their frends with them, as Robert de Essoutuille, William de Crispine, and others, who were brought before king Henrie as prisoners. ¶ Thus did almightie God grant vnto the king a notable victorie without bloudshed, for he lost not a man as for his aduersaries, there died in the field not past three score persons.

Gemeticensis.

This seemeth also to agree with that which Wil. Malmesburie writeth: for he saith, that king Henrie with small adoo brought into his hands duke Robert, who with a great troope of men came against him then lodging neere the said castell of Tenerchbray. The earle of Mortaigne was also taken, but the erle of Shrewsburie escaped by flight, notwithstanding he was apprehended, as he went about to practise some priuie conspiracie against the king. ¶ This battell was fought (as the same Wil. Malme. affirmeth) vpon a saturdaie, being the daie of S. Michaell *In gloria*, and (as may be thought) by the prouident iudgment of God, to the end that Normandie should be subdued vnto England on that daie, in the which 40. yeares passed, king William the Conquerour first set foot on land at Hastings, when he came out of Normandie to subdue England. Neither doth Simon Dunelmensis varie in any thing from Gemeticensis touching the conclusion of this businesse, and the taking of duke Robert.

Robert de Belesme.

The 27. of September chose de Nor.

Simon Dun.

These wars being thus finished, and the countrie set in quiet, which through the meere folie of duke Robert was wonderfullie impouerished, the king receiued the keies of all the townes and castels that belonged either to the duke or the earle of Mortaigne, and furnished the same with garisons to be kept for his behoofe. Hauing thus pacified the countrie of Normandie, he came to Bec or Bechellouin, where archbishop Anselme then remained, whome by mediation of frends he receiued to fauour againe, and sending him ouer into England, immediatlie after followed himselfe.

Matth. West. 1107

Anselme returneth home.

Duke Robert being also spoiled of his dominions, lands and liberties, was shortlie committed to prison within the castell of Cardiff in Wales, where he remained about the space of 26. yeares, and then died. He gouerned the duchie of Normandie 19. yeares, he was a perfect and expert warrior, & comparable with the best capiteines that then liued, had he beene somwhat more warie and circumspect in his affaires, and therewithall constant in his opinion. His worthie acts valiantlie and fortunatlie atchiued against the infidels, are notified to the world by manie and sundrie writers, to his high commendation and long lasting praise. It is said also, that he was after his taking once set at libertie by king Henrie, and bound to forsweare the realme of England and Normandie, being appointed to auoid within the space of 40. daies, and twelue houres. But because he was perceiued to practise somewhat against the king, he was eftsones taken againe, and hauing his eies put out, committed to prison, where finallie worne through age and greefe of mind, he ended his miserable life. ¶ The forme of banishing men out of the realme, was ordeined by Edward the Confessor, and remained as a law in vse till these our daies, for the benefit of them which fled to any church or other priuiledged place, thereby to escape the punishment of death due for their offenses. By a latter custome it was also deuised, that they should beare a crosse in their hand, as a signe that they were pardoned of life, for the holie place sake where they sought for succour.

Duke Robert prisoner in the castell of Cardiff.

Gemeticensis.

Polydor.

But duke Robert (as it should appere by that which others write) found no such fauour, saue onlie libertie to walke abroad in the kings forrests, parks, and chases neere the place where he was appointed to remaine; so that vpon a daie, as he was walking abroad, he got a horsse, and with all post haste rode his waie, in hope to haue escaped: howbeit his keepers being aduised thereof, followed him with hue and crie, and at length ouertooke him in a medow, where he had laid his horsse vp to the bellie in a quauemire. Then being brought backe, his keepers kept him in close prison, aduertising the king of his demeanour:

Matth. West.

Wil. Malm.

where vpon he commanded that the sight of his eies should be put out, but so, as the balles of them should remaine vnbroken; for the auoiding of a noisome deformitie that otherwise would ensue, if the glasslie tunicles should take hurt.

In his returne out of the holie land, he maried one Sibell, the earle of Conuersans sister in Puglia, hir father hight Roger or Geffrey (as some bookes haue) and was nephue to Robert Guyshard duke of Puglia, and by hir had issue one sonne named William afterward earle of Flanders, whereof (God willing) more shall be said hereafter.

Iohn Pike.

Here must I leaue duke Robert, and speake somwhat of Anselme the archbishop, who shortlie after his returne into England, receiued letters from pope Paschall, wherein Anselme was authorised to dispose and order things as should seeme to him most expedient. Now, whereas the greater and better part of the English clergie consisted of preests sonnes, he committed to his discretion the order to dispense with them; namelie, that such as were of commendable life and sufficient learning, might be admitted to the ministerie, as the necessitie of time and state of the church should require. The pope also by the same letters gaue Anselme authoritie to absolue Richard the prior of Elie, vpon his satisfaction pretermitted, and to restore him to the gouernement of the priorie of Elie, if the king thought it conuenient.

Richard prior of Elie.

1107 About the calends of August, in this yeare 1107. the king held a councell of bishops, abbats, and other lords of his realme in his pallace at London, where in the absence of Anselme, the matter touching the inuestitures of churches, was argued vpon for the space of three daies togither, and in the end bicause the pope had granted the homages of bishops and other prelats to the king, which his predecessor Urban had forbidden, togither with the inuestitures; the king was contented to consent to the popes will in forbearing the same. So that when Anselme was come, the king in presence of him and a great multitude of his people, granted and ordeined, that from thencefoorth no bishop nor abbat should be inuested within the realme of England, by the hand either of the king or any laie man: on the other side it was granted againe by Anselme, that no person elected into the prelacie, should be depriued of his consecration for doing his homage to the king.

These things thus ordred, the churches which through England had bin long vacant, were prouided of gouernors, which were placed without any inuestiture of staffe or ring. About this time, Anselme consecrated fiue bishops at Canturburie in one day, archbishop William to the see of Winchester, Roger that was the kings chancellor to Salisburie, William Warlewast to Exceter, Remaline the queenes chancellor to Hereford, and one Urban to Glamorgan in Wales.

About this season a great part of Flanders being drowned by an erundation or breaking in of the sea, a great number of Flemings came into England, beseeching the king to haue some void place assigned them, wherein they might inhabit. At the first they were appointed to the countrie lieng on the east part of the riuer of Tweed: but within foure yeres after, they were remoued into a corner by the sea side in Wales, called Penbrokeshire, to the end they might be a defense there to the English against the vnquiet Welshmen.

Polydor. Ran. Higd.

Flemings coming ouer into England, haue places appointed them to inhabit.

¶ It should appeare by some writers, that this multitude of Flemings consisted not of such onelie as came ouer about that time by reason their countrie was ouerflowne with the sea (as ye haue heard) but of other also that arriued here long before, euen in the daies of William the Conquerour, through the

Wil. Malm.

frendship of the queene their countriewoman, sithens which time their number so increased, that the realme of England was sore pestered with them: wherevpon king Henrie deuised to place them in Penbrokeshire, as well to auoid them out of the other parts of England, as also by their helpe to tame the bold and presumptuous fierceneslie of the Welshmen. Which thing in those parties they brought verie well to passe: for after they were setled there, they valiantlie resisted their enimies, and made verie sharpe warres vpon them, sometimes with gaine, and sometimes with losse.

1108 In the yeare 1108. Anselme held an other synod or councell, whereat in presence of the king, and by the assent of the earles and barons of the realme it was ordeined.

A councell. Sim. Dunel. Eadmerus. Anno Reg. 9.

1 That preests, deacons, and subdeacons should liue chastlie, and keepe no women in their houses, except such as were neere of kin to them.

Preests are sequestred frō their wiues.

2 That such preests, deacons, and subdeacons, as contrarie to the inhibition of the councell holden at London, had either kept their wiues, or married other (of whom as Eadmerus saith, there was no small number) they should put them quite away, if they would continue still in their preesthod.

3 That neither the same wiues should come to their houses, nor they to the houses where their wiues dwelled: but if they had any thing to say to them, they should take two or three witnesses, and talke with them abroad in the street.

4 That if any of them chanced to be accused of breaking this ordinance, he should be driuen to purge himselfe with six sufficient witnesses of his owne order, if he were a preest: if a deacon, with foure: and if a subdeacon, with two.

5 That such preests as would forgo seruing at the altar, and holie order (to remaine with their wiues) should be depriued of their benefices, and not suffered to come within the quire.

6 That such as contemptuouslie kept still their wiues, and presumed to say masse, if being called to satisfaction, they should neglect it, they should then be excommunicated. Within compasse of which sentence all archdeacons and prebendarie canons were compriled, both touching the forgoing of their women, and auoiding of their companie, and also the punishment by the censures of the church, if they transgressed the ordinance.

Archdeacons and canons.

7 That euerie archdeacon should be sworne, not to take any monie for fauouring any person transgressing these statutes: and that they should not suffer any preests, whome they knew to haue wiues, esther to say masse, or to haue any vicars. The like oth should a deane receiue. Prouided that such archdeacons or deanes as refused this oth, should be depriued of their romes.

Archdeacons to be sworne.

8 That preests, who leauing their wiues, would be content to serue God at the altar, should be suspended from that office, by the space of fortie daies, and be allowed to haue vicars in the meane time to serue for them: and after, vpon performance of their inioined penance by the bishop, they might returne to their function.

Penance.

In this meane time king Henrie being aduertised of the death of Philip king of France, and not knowing what his sonne Lewes, surnamed Crassus might happilie attempt in his new preferment to the crowne, sailed ouer into Normandie, to see the countrie in good order, and the townes, castels, and fortresses furnished accordinglie as the doubtfull time required. Now after he had finished his businesse on that side, he returned into England, where he met with ambassadours sent to him from the emperour Henrie. The effect of whose message was, to require

Polydor.

Philip king of Fran. dead.

Lewis le gros K. of France.

his

Ambassadors from the emperour.

his daughter Maud in mariage vnto the said emperour, wherevnto (though she was not then past fiue yeares of age) he willinglie consented, and shewing to the ambassadours great signes of loue, he caused the espousals by waie of procuration to be solemnized with great feasts and triumphs. This being ended, he suffered the ambassadors honored with great gifts and princelie rewards to depart.

Maud the kings daughter fianced vnto the emperour.

About this time Gerard archbishop of Yorke died, whom one Thomas the kings chapleine succeeded, who for lacke of monie to furnish his iournie, and for other causes (as in his letters of excuse, which he wrot to Anselme it doth appeare) could not come to Canturburie for to be consecrated of him in so short a time as was conuenient. But Anselme at length admonished him by letters, that without delaie he should dispatch and come to be consecrated. And

Eadmerus. The death of Gerard archbish. of Yorke. Thomas the kings chapleine succeeded in that see.

The doubt of Anselme.

whereas Anselme vnderstood that the same Thomas was purposed to send vnto Rome for his pall, he doubted, least if the pope should confirme him in his see by sending to him his pall, he would hapilie refuse to make vnto him profession of his due obedience. Wherefore to preuent that matter, Anselme

Anselme writeth to the Pope.

wrote to pope Paschall, requiring him in no wise to send vnto the nominated archbishop of Yorke his pall, till he had (according to the ancient customes) made profession to him of subiection, least some troublesome contentions might thereof arise, to the no small disquieting of the English church. He also aduertised pope Paschall, that bicause he permitted the emperour to inuest bishops, and did not therefore excommunicate him, king Henrie threatened, that without doubt he would resume the inuestitures into his hands, thinking to hold them in quiet as well as he; and therefore besought him to consider what his wisedome had to do therein with speed, least that building which he had well erected, should vtterlie decaie, & fall againe into irrecouerable ruine. For K. Henrie maketh diligentlie inquirie (saith he) what order you take with the emperour.

The popes answer to Anselme.

The pope receiuing and perusing these letters, wrote againe vnto Anselme a verie frendlie answer concerning the archbishop of Yorke. And as for suffering of the emperour to haue the inuestitures, he signified to him that he neither did nor would suffer him to haue them: but that hauing borne with him for a time, he now ment verie shortlie to cause him to feele the weight of the spirituall sword of S. Peter, which alreadie he had drawen out of the scaberd, therewith to strike if he did not the sooner forsake his horrible errour & naughtie opinion.

The archbishop of Yorke refuseth to come vnto Canturburie to be consecrated.

There was another cause also that moued Anselme to doubt of the archbishop of Yorke his meaning, as after it appeared. For being summoned to come and receiue his consecration at Canturburie (as alreadie ye haue heard) through counsell of the canons of Yorke he refused so to do: bicause they informed him that if he so did, it should be greatlie preiudiciall to the liberties of that see, whose archbishop was of like authoritie in all things vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, so that he was bound onelie to fetch his consecration and benediction at Canturburie, but in no wise to acknowledge anie subiection vnto that see. ¶ For ye must vnderstand,

Looke in the 9. page, and the first columne, of the debate betweén Thomas of Yorke & Lanfranke of Canturburie.

that there was great stomaching betwixt the clergie of the two prouinces, Canturburie and Yorke, about the metropolitane prerogatiue: and euer as occasion serued, and as they thought the fauor of the prince, or opportunitie of time might aduance their quarels, they of Yorke sticked not to vtter their grefes, in that (as they toke it) some iniurie was offered them therein.

The archbishop of Yorke being thus instructed by the canons of his church, signified to archbishop Anselme the cause why he came not at his summons. The copie of a parcell whereof is here exemplified. *Causam, qua differtur sacratio mea, quam nemo studiosius quàm ego vellet accellerare, qui protulerunt, non desistunt corroborare. Quamobrem, quàm periculosum & quàm turpe sit, contra consensum ecclesiæ, cui præfici debeo, regimen ipsius inuadere, vestra discretio nouerit. Sed & quàm formidabile & quàm sit euitandum, sub specie benedictionis maledictionem induere, &c.* that is;

The cause why my consecration is deferred, which no man liuing would wish to be done with more speed than I my selfe: those that haue prolonged it, ceasse not to confirme. Wherefore how dangerous and how dishonest it should be for me to inuade the gouernment of that church, which I ought to rule, without cõsent of the same, your discretion right well vnderstandeth. Yea and how dreadfull a thing it is, and how much to be auoided to receiue a curse, vnder colour of a blessing, &c.

Anselme hauing alreadie written twice vnto the said Thomas archbishop of Yorke about this matter, and now receiuing this answer, could not be quiet in mind, and therevpon taking aduice with certeine bishops whom he called vnto him, determined to send two bishops vnto the said Thomas of Yorke: and so the bishop of London (as deane to the archbishop of Canturburie) & the bishop of Rochester (as his household chapleine) were sent to commune with him, who met them at his manour of Southwell, where they declared to him the effect of their message: but he deferred his answer, till a messenger which he had sent to the king (as then being in Normandie) was returned, and so without any full answer the bishops came backe againe.

The bishop of London deane to the archbishop of Canturburie.

The bishop of Rochester his chapleine.

Howbeit shortlie after, there came to Canturburie a messenger on the behalfe of the archbishop of Yorke, with letters inclosed vnder the kings seale, by the tenour whereof the king commanded Anselme, that the consecration of the archbishop of Yorke might staie till the feast of Easter; and if he might returne into England by that daie, he promised (by the aduise had therein of the bishops and barons of his realme) that he would set a direction betwixt them in all matters, whereof anie controuersie had bene moued heretofore: or if he could not returne so soone, he would yet take such order, that brotherlie loue & concord might remaine betwixt them. When he that brought these letters required an answer, Anselme answered, that he would signifie his

A stout prelat.

mind to the king, and not to his maister. Immediatlie therefore was the deane of Chichester sent ouer from Anselme, with a monke of Bechellouin to the king, to informe him of all the matter, and to beseech his maiestie, by his authoritie to prouide, that no discord should rise to the diuiding of the present state of the church of England. Furthermore, whereas he had commanded him to grant vnto Thomas the archbishop of Yorke, a time of respit; he should take for certeine answer, that he would rather suffer himselfe to be cut in peeces, than to grant so much as one

Anselme sendeth to the king.

houres space on the said Thomas of Yorke, whome he knew alreadie to haue set himselfe vniustlie against the ancient constitutions of holie fathers, and against the Lord himselfe. The messengers declared these things to the king, and brought word backe againe at their returne, that the king had heard their message with fauourable mind, and promised by the power of God, to declare to the world that he coueted vnitie, and not any diuision in the church of England.

All this while Anselme was detained with long and grieuous sickenesse, and yet not forgetfull of the obstinate dealing of Thomas of Yorke, he wrote letters vnto him, by vertue whereof he suspended him

Anselme sicke.

from exercising all pastorall function, till he had reformed his errour, submitted himselfe to receiue his blessing, and acknowledged his subiection to the church of Canturburie, as his predecessours Thomas and Gerard had done, and before them other ancients, as custome had prescribed. Thus he charged him, vpon paine of cursing, except he would renounce his archbishops dignitie: for in so doing he did grant him licence to vse the office and ministerie of a præst (which before time he had taken vpon him) or else not.

In the same letters he prohibited all the bishops within the precinct of the Ile of Britaine, that in no wise they should consecrate him, vpon paine of cursing: and if he should chance to be consecrated by any stranger, that in no wise they should (vnder the like paine) receiue him for archbishop, or communicate with him in any condition. Euerie bishop also within the whole Ile of Britaine had a copie of these leters directed to him from Anselme vnder his seale, commanding them to behaue themselues therein according to the contents, and as they were bound by the subiection which they owght to the church of Canturburie. The letters were dated alike in March.

Letters from Anselme.

1109 Anno Reg. 10.

Notwithstanding all this, vpon the 21. of Aprill insuing, Anselme ended his life in the sixtenth yeere after his first preferment to that see, being threescore and sixtene yeeres of age. He was an Italian, borne in Piemont, nere to the Alpes, in a citie called Aosta, he was brought vp by Lanfranke, and before he was made archbishop, was abbat of the monasterie of Bechellouin in Normandie.

Augusta Prætoriana.

Matth. West.

About the same time was the bishops see of Elie erected by the king, who appointed one Haruie to be the first bishop there, who before had béene bishop of Bangor. Cambridgeshire was annered to that see, which bicause it had of former time belonged to the see of Lincolne, the king gaue vnto the bishop of Lincolne (as it were in recompense) the towne of Spalding which was his owne. The prior of Elie, named Richard, desirous to honour himselfe and his house with the title of a bishops dignitie, procured the erection of that bishoprike, first mouing the king therein, and after persuading with the bishop of Lincolne to grant his good will: but yet ver the matter was brought to perfection, this prior died, and so the said Haruie enioied the rome: wherein the prouerbe toke place, that One soweth, but an other reapeth (as Polydor alledgeth it.) But to proceed.

The first erection of the bishoprike of Elie.

Eadmerus.

Richard prior of Elie.

Polydor.

Eadmerus.

Shortlie after the decease of Anselme, a Legat came from Rome, bringing with him the pall for the archbishop of Yorke. Howbeit now that Anselme was dead, the said Legat wist not what to do in the matter, bicause he was appointed to deliuer the pall first and immediatlie vnto Anselme, and further therein to deale (concerning the bestowing thereof) as should séeme good vnto him.

A legate from Rome.

In the feast of Pentecost next insuing, the king returned from Normandie, and held his court at London, where after the solemnitie of that feast, he called an assemblie of the bishops, to vnderstand what was to be done in the matter, for the consecration of the archbishop of Yorke. Here were the letters shewed which the archbishop Anselme had (a little before his death) directed vnto euerie of the bishops as before yee haue heard. Which when the earle of Mellent had read, and vnderstood the effect, he asked what he was that durst receiue any such letters without the kings assent and commandement: At length the bishops aduising themselues what they had to do, required Samson bishop of Worcester to declare his opinion, who boldlie spake these words: Although this man, who is elected archbishop, is my sonne, whome in times past I begot of my wife, and therfore ought to seeke his aduancement as nature and worldlie respects might moue me: yet am I more bound vnto the church of Canturburie, my mother, which hath preferred me to this honor that I do beare, and by the ministerie of a bishoplike office hath made me partaker of that grace, which it hath deserued to enioy of the Lord. Wherefore I would it should be notified vnto you all, that I meane to obeie in euerie condition the commandement conteined in the letters of our father Anselme concerning the matter which you haue now in hand. For I will neuer giue mine assent, that Thomas nominated archbishop of Yorke shall be consecrated, till he haue professed his due and canonicall obedience touching his subiection to the church of Canturburie. For I my selfe was present when my brother Thomas archbishop of Yorke, constreined both by ancient customes and inuincible reasons, did professe the like subiection vnto archbishop Lanfranke, and all his successours the archbishops of Canturburie.

The earle of Mellent.

Samson bishop of Worcester.

" Looke in pa. 9. in both columns, where you shall see this matter determined.

These words thus vttered by the bishop of Worcester, all the bishops returned togither, and comming before the kings presence, boldlie confessed that they had receiued Anselmes letters, and would not do any thing contrarie to the tenour of the same. Whereat the earle of Mellent shooke the head, as though he ment to accuse them of contempt towards the king. But the king himselfe vttered his mind, and said, that whatsoeuer other men thought of the matter, he suerlie was of the like mind with the bishops, & would be loth to run in danger of Anselms curse. Wherefore it was determined, that the elect of Yorke should either acknowledge his subiection to the church of Canturburie, or else forgo his dignitie of archbishop: wherevpon in the end he came to London, and there vpon the 28. daie of Maie was consecrated by Richard bishop of London, as deane to the see of Canturburie. Then hauing the profession or protestation of his subiection to the see of Canturburie deliuered him vnder seale, he brake vp the same, and read the writing in maner and forme following:

The protestation of the bishops to the king.

Ego Thomas Eboracensis ecclesiæ consecrandus metropolitanus, profiteor subiectionem & canonicam obedientiam sanctæ Dorobernensi ecclesiæ, & eiusdem ecclesiæ primati canonicè electo & consecrato, & successoribus suis canonicè inthronizatis, salua fidelitate domini mei Henrici regis Anglorum, & salua obedientia ex parte mea tenenda, quam Thomas antecessor meus sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ ex parte sua professus est:

The tenour of the profession which the archbishop of Yorke made vnto the archbishop of Canturburie.

that is;

I Thomas to be consecrated metropolitane archbishop of Yorke, professe my subiection and canonicall obedience vnto the holie church of Canturburie, and to the primate of the same church canonicallie elected and consecrated, and to his successours canonicallie inthronized, sauing the faith which I owe vnto my souereigne lord Henrie king of the Englishmen, and sauing the obedience to be holden of my part, which Thomas my predecessour professed on his behalfe vnto the holie church of Rome.

When this writing was read, the bishop of London toke it, and deliuered it vnto the prior of Canturburie, appointing him to kéepe the same as a testimoniall for the time to come. Thus was Thomas the archbishop of Yorke consecrated, being the 27. in number that had gouerned that see, who when he was consecrated, the popes Legate went vnto Yorke, and there deliuered to the same archbishop the pall, wherewith when he was inuested, he departed and returned to Rome, as he was appointed.

1110

At the feast of Christmasse next insuing, the king held his court at London with great solemnitie. The archbishop of Yorke prepared to haue set the crowne on the kings head, and to haue song masse afore him, bicause

bicause the archbishops see at Canturburie was void. But the bishop of London would not suffer it, claiming as high deane to the see of Canturburie to execute that office, and so did, leading the king to the church after the maner. Howbeit when they should come to sit downe at dinner, there kindled a strife betwixt the said two bishops about their places, bicause the bishop of London, for that he had bene ordeined long before the archbishop, and therefore not onelie as deane to the see of Canturburie, but also by reason of prioritie, pretended to haue the vpper seat. But the king perceiuing their maner, would not heare them, but commanded them out of his house, and get them to dinner at their innes.

Strife betwixt bishops.

Anno Reg. 11.

About the same time the cause of the mariage of preests and their keeping of women came againe into question, so that by the kings commandement, they were more streightlie forbidden the companie of women than before in Anselmes time. For after his decease, diuerse of them (as it were promising to themselues a new libertie to do that which in his life time they were constreined sore against their willes to forbeare) deceiued themselues by their haltie dealing. For the king being informed thereof, by the force of the ecclesiasticall lawes compelled them to stand to and obeie the decree of the councell holden at London by Anselme (as before ye haue heard) at least wise in the sight of men. But if so it be (saieth Eadmerus) that the preests attempt to do worse, as it were to the condemnation and reproofe of Anselmes doings, let the charge light on their heads, sith euerie man shall beare his owne burthen: for I know (saith he) that if fornicatours and adulterers God will iudge, the abusers of their one cousins (I will not say their owne sisters and daughters) shall not euerlie escape his iudgement.

Preests prohibited to marie or keepe women,

About the same time manie wonders were seene and heard of. The riuer of Trent neere to Nottingham, for the space of a mile ceassed to run the wonted course during the time of foure & twentie houres, so that the chanell being dried vp, men might passe ouer to and fro drie shod.

The riuer of Trent dried vp.

Also a sow brought forth a pig with a face like a man, & a chicken was hatched with foure feet. Moreouer a comet or blasing star apeered in a strange sort: for rising in the east, when it once came aloft in the firmament, it kept not the course forward, but seemed to go backeward, as if it had bin retrograde.

Monsters.

A comet. Wil. Thorne. Matth. West.

About this season the king maried Robert his base sonne to the ladie Maud, daughter and heire to Robert Fitzham, and withall made his said sonne earle of Glocester, who afterwards builded the castels of Brikstow and Cardiff, with the priorie of S. James in Brikstow, where his bodie was buried.

Iohn Stow. Robert the kings base son created earle of Glocester.

1111

Anno Reg. 12.

In the yeare following, Foulke earle of Anion, enuieng the prosperous estate of king Henrie, and lamenting the case of duke Robert, wan the citie of Constances, by corrupting certeine of the kings subiects the inhabitants of the same. Whereof king Henrie being aduertised, passed ouer into Normandie, recouered the said citie, punished the offendors, reuenged himselfe of the earle, and returned into England.

Fabian. The citie of Constances taken. The king passeth into Normandie.

1112

Now, as also before, the king continued his inordinate desire of inriching himselfe, for the fulfilling of which hungrie appetite (called *Sacra* of the poets *Per antiphrasin*) he pinched manie so sore, that they ceassed not to speake verie ill of his doings. He did also incurre the misliking of verie manie people, bicause he kept still the see of Canturburie in his hands, and would not bestow it, for that he found sweetnesse in receiuing all the profits and reuenues belonging thereunto, during the time that it remained vacant, which was the space of foure yeares, or thereabouts.

The archbishops see of Canturburie in the kings hand foure yeares.

In like maner, when he was admonished to place some meet man in the roome, he would saie, that he was willing to bestow it, but he toke the longer time, for that he meant to find such a one to prefer therto as should not be too far behind Lanfranke and Anselme in doctrine, vertue and wisedome. And sith there was none such yet to be found, he suffered that see to be void till such could be prouided. This excuse he pretended, as though he were more carefull for the placing of a worthie man, than of the gaine that followed during the time of the vacation. Howbeit not long after, he translated one Richard bishop of London to that archbishoprike, who enioieng it but a while, he gaue the same to one Rafe then bishop of Rochester, and made him archbishop of Canturburie, being the 35. in order that ruled that see. He was elected at Windsor the 26. of Aprill, and on the 16. daie of Maie installed at Canturburie, great preparation being made for the feast which was holden at the same. Some after likewise he sent for his pall to Rome, which was brought from Paschall by one Anselme nephue vnto the late archbishop Anselme. About this time also the pope found himselfe greeued, for that his authoritie was but little esteemed in England, & for that no persons were permitted to appeale to Rome in cases of controuersie, and for that (without seeking to obteine his licence and consent) they did keepe their synods & councels about ecclesiasticall affaires, neither would obeie such Legats as he did send, nor come to the conuocations which they held. In so much that one Cono the popes Legat in France had excommunicated all the preests of Normandie, bicause they would not come to a synod which they had summoned. Wherevpon the king being somewhat troubled, by aduice of his councell, sent the bishop of Excester to Rome, (though he were then blind) to talke with the pope concerning that matter.

1113

Anno Reg. 13.

The kings excuse.

1114

Anno Reg. 14.

Eadmerus.

The popes authoritie not regarded in England.

The bishop of Excester sent to Rome.

Not long after this Thomas the archbishop of Yorke died: after whom succeeded Thurstane, a man of a lofttie stomach, but yet of notable learning, who euen at the verie first began to contend with Rafe the archbishop of Canturburie about the title and right of the primasie. And though the king aduised him to stand to the order which the late archbishops of Yorke had obserued, yet he would not staie the matter, sith he saw that archbishop Rafe being sicke and diseased, could not attend to preuent his doings. Thurstane therfore consecrated certeine bishops of Scotland, and first of all Giles Aldane the elect bishop of S. Ninian, who promised and toke his oth (as the manner is) to obeie him in all things as his primate.

Thurstane archbishop of Yorke.

Giles Aldane bishop of S. Ninian.

The citie of Worcester about this season was by a casuall fire almost wholie burnt vp and consumed. Which mishap, bicause that citie ioineth neere vnto Wales, was thought to be a signification of troubles to follow by the insurrection of the Welshmen: who conceiuing hope of good speed by their good successe in the wars held with William Rufus, began now to inuade & waste the English marshes. Wherevpon king Henrie desirous to tame their hautie stomachs (bicause it was a greefe to him still to be vexed with such tumults and vprisings as they dailie procured) assembled a mightie armie, and went into Wales. Now bicause he knew the Welshmen trusted more to the woods and mountains, than to their owne strength, he beset all the places of their refuge with armed men, and sent into the woods certeine bands to laie them waste, & to hunt the Welsh out of their holes. The soldiours (for their parts) needed no exhortation: for remembring the losses sustained afore time at the Welshmens hands, they shewed well by their fresh pursute, how much they desired to be

Floriacensis. Wigornensis. Worcester burnt. Polydor.

The welshmen inuade the english marshes.

K. Henrie entreth into wales with an armie.

be reuenged, so that the Welsh were slaine on each hand, and that in great numbers, till the king perceiued the huge slaughter, & saw that hauing throwne away their armour and weapons, they sought to saue themselues by flight, he commanded the souldiours to ceasse from killing, and to take the residue that were left prisoners, if they would yéeld themselues: which they did, and besought the king of his mercie and grace to pardon and forgiue them.

Garisons placed in wales by K. Henrie. Floriacensis Wigornien sis.

The king thus hauing vanquished and ouercome the Welshmen, placed garisons in sundrie townes & castels, where he thought most necessarie, and then returned to London with great triumph. Thither shortlie after came ambassadours from the emperour, requiring the kings daughter affianced (as before you haue heard) vnto him, and (being now viripotent or mariable) desired that she might be deliuered vnto them. King Henrie hauing heard their suite and willing with spéed to performe the same, raised a great tax among his subiects, rated after euerie hide of land which they held, & taking of ech one three shillings towards the paiment of the monie which was couenanted to be giuen with hir at the time of the contract. Which when the king had leuied, with much more, towards the charges to be employed in sending hir forth, he appointed certeine of his greatest péeres to safe conduct hir vnto hir husband, who with all conuenient spéed conueied hir into Germanie, and in verie honorable maner there deliuered hir vnto the foresaid emperour. After this, the king went into Normandie, and there created his sonne William duke of that countrie, causing the people to sweare fealtie and obedience to him, whereof rose a custome, that the kings of England from thenceforth (so long as Normandie remained in their hands) made euer their eldest sonnes dukes of that countrie. When he had done this with other his businesse in Normandie, he returned into England.

A subsidie raised by the king to bestowe with his daughter. Hen. Hunt. Polydor.

The king goeth ouer into Normandie.

1114 The sea decreaseth. wonders. Wil. Thorne.

In this yeare about the fiftéenth daie of October, the sea so decreased and shranke from the old accustomed water-markes and coasts of the land here in this realme, that a man might haue passed on foot ouer the sands and washes, for the space of a whole daie togither, so that it was taken for a great wonder. It was also noted, that the maine riuers (which by the tides of the sea vsed to ebbe and flow twice in 24. houres) became so shallow, that in many places men might go ouer them without danger, and namlie the riuer of Thames was so lowe for the space of a day and a night, that horsses, men, and children passed ouer it betwixt London bridge and the tower, and also vnder the bridge, the water not reaching aboue their knées. Moreouer, in the moneth of December, the aire appeared red, as though it had burned. In like maner, the Winter was verie extreame cold with frosts, by reason whereof at the thawing and breaking of the yce, the most part of all the bridges in England were broken and borne downe.

Simon Dun. Ran. Higd. Matth. Westm.

1115 Anno Reg. 16.

1116 Anno. Reg. 17.

Not long after this, Griffin ap Rées toke a great preie and botie out of the countries subiect to the king within the limits of Wales, and burned the kings castels, bicause he would not restore such lands and possessions vnto him as apperteined to his father Rées or Rice. Howbeit, the king (notwithstanding this businesse) being not otherwise troubled with any other warres or weightie affaires, deferred his voiage into those quarters, and first called a councell of his lords both spirituall and temporall at Salisburie on the nintéenth daie of March, wherein manie things were ordeined for the wealth and quiet state of the land. And first he sware the Nobilitie of the realme, that they should be true to him and his sonne William after his decease. Secondlie, he appeased sundrie matters then in controuersie betwixt the Nobles and great Péers, causing the same to be brought to an end, and the parties made frends: the diuision betwixt the archbishops of Yorke and Canturburie (which had long depended in triall, and could not as yet haue end) excepted. For ambitious Thurstane would not stand to any decrée or order therin, except he might haue had his whole will, so that the king taking displeasure with him for his obstinate demeanor, commanded him either to be conformable to the decrée made in Lanfranks time, or else to renounce his miter, which to do (rather than to acknowledge any subiection to the archbishop of Canturburie) he séemed to be verie willing at the first, but afterwards repented him of his speech passed in that behalfe. Now when the councell was ended, and the king went ouer into Normandie, he followed, trusting by some meanes to persuade the king, that he might haue his furtherance to be consecrated, without recognizing any obedience to the sée of Canturburie: but the king would not heare him, whereby the matter rested long in suite, as hereafter shall appeare.

Thurstane refuseth to obey the kings pleasure. Eadmerus.

¶ Hereby it is plaine (as Polydor saith) how the bishops in those daies were blinded with couetousnesse and ambition, not considering that it was their duties to despise such worldlie pompe, as the people regard, and that their calling required a studious endeuour for the health of such soules as fell to their charge. Neither yet remembred they the simplicitie of Christ, and his contempt of worldlie dignitie, when he refused to satisfie the humor of the people, who verie desirouslie would haue made him a king, but withdrew himselfe, and departed to a mountaine himselfe alone. They were rather infected with the ambition of the apostles, contending one with another for the primasie, forgetting the vocation whereto Christ had separated them, not to rule as kings ouer the gentiles; but to submit their necks to the yokes of obedience, as they had Christ their maister an example and president.

The first vse of parlements in England.

¶ Here is to be noted, that before this time, the kings of England vsed but seldome to call togither the states of the realme after any certeine maner or generall kind of processe, to haue their consents in matters to be decreed. But as the lords of the priuie councell in our time do sit onlie when necessitie requireth, so did they whensoeuer it pleased the king to haue any conference with them. So that from this Henrie it may be thought the first vse of the parlement to haue proceeded, which sith that time hath remained in force, and is continued vnto our times, insomuch that whatsoeuer is to be decreed touching the state of the commonwealth and conseruation thereof, is now referred to that councell. And furthermore, if any thing be appointed by the king or any other person to be vsed for the wealth of the realme, it shall not yet be receiued as law, till by authoritie of this assemblie it be established.

Now bicause the house should not be troubled with multitude of vnlearned cõmoners, whose propertie is to vnderstand little reason, and yet to conceiue well of their owne doings: there was a certeine order taken, what maner of ecclesiasticall persons, and what number and sort of temporall men should be called vnto the same, and how they should be chosen by voices of

frée

frée holders, that being as atturnies for their countries, that which they confessed or denied, should bind the residue of the realme to receiue it as a law. This counsell is called a parlement, by the French word, for so the Frenchmen call their publike assemblies.

The maner of the parlement in England.

The maner of their consulting heere in England in their said assemblies of parlement is on this wise. Whereas they haue to intreat of matters touching the commoditie both of the prince and of the people, that euerie man may haue frée libertie to vtter what he thinketh, they are appointed to sit in seuerall chambers, the king, the bishops, and lords of the realme sit in one chamber to conferre togither by themselues; and the commoners called knights for the shires, citizens of cities, and burgesses of good townes in another. These chuse some wise, eloquent, and learned man to be their prolocutor or speaker (as they terme him) who propoundeth those things vnto them that are to be talked of, and asketh euerie mans opinion concerning the conclusion thereof. In like sort, when any thing is agreed vpon, and decreed by them in this place (which they call the lower house in respect of their estate) he declareth it againe to the lords that sit in the other chamber called the higher house, demanding likewise their iudgements touching the same. For nothing is ratified there, except it be agreed vpon by the consent of the more part of both those houses. Now when they haue said their minds, and yelded their confirmation therevnto, the finall ratification is referred to the prince; so that if he thinke good that it shall passe for a law, he confirmeth also by the mouth of the lord Chancelor of the realme, who is prolocutor to the lords alwaies by the custome of that house.

The same order is vsed also by the bishops and spiritualtie in their conuocation houses. For the bishops sit in one place by themselues as in the higher house, and the deanes, archdeacons, and other procurators of the spiritualtie in an other, as in the lower house, whose prolocutor declareth to the bishops what is agreed vpon by them. Then the archbishop (by consent of the more part of them that are assembled in both those conuocation houses) ratifieth and pronounceth their decrees for lawes, remitting (notwithstanding) the finall ratification of them to the temporall houses.

This is the order of the lawgiuing of England; and in such decrees (established by authoritie of the prince, the lords spirituall and temporall, and the commons of this realme thus assembled in parlement) consisteth the whole force of our English lawes. Which decrees are called statutes, meaning by that name, that the same should stand firme and stable, and not be repealed without the consent of an other parlement, and that vpon good and great consideration.

About this season, one Owin (whome some name prince of Wales) was slaine, as Simon Dunelmen. writeth, but by whom, or in what sort, he sheweth not. In this eighteenth yeare of king Henries reigne, on All hallowes daie, or first of November, great lightning, thunder, and such a storme of haile fell, that the people were maruellouslie amazed therwith. Also on the thirteenth of December, there happened a great earthquake, and the mone was turned into a bloodie colour: which strange accidents fell about the middest of the night. At the same time, quéene Maud, wife to king Henrie departed this life. But now to returne to other doings. Simon Dun.

1116

It chanced vpon a small occasion, that verie sore and dangerous warres followed out of hand, betwixt king Henrie and Lewes surnamed the grosse king of France: the beginning whereof grew herevpon. Theobald earle of Champaigne, descended of the earles of Blois, was linked in amitie with king Henrie, by reason of affinitie that was betwixt them (for Stephan the earle of Blois married ladie Adila the sister of king Henrie.) Now it happened, that the foresaid Theobald had by chance offended the said Lewes, who in reuenge made sharpe warres vpon him. But earle Theobald hoping for aid to be sent from his frends in the meane time valiantlie resisted him, and at length (by reason of a power of men which came to him from king Henrie) in such sort vexed and annoied the French king, that he consulted with Baldwine earle of Flanders, and Foulke earle of Anion, by what means he might best depriue king Henrie of his duchie of Normandie, and restore the same vnto William the sonne of duke Robert, vnto whom of right he said it did belong. Theobald erle of Champaigne. Polydor. Hen. Hunt. Foulke earle of Anion.

Now king Henrie hauing intelligence of his whole purpose, endeuoured on the other side to resist his attempts, and after he had leuied a sore tribute of his subiects, passed ouer into Normandie with a great power, and no small masse of monie, where ioining with earle Theobald, they began to prepare for warre, purposing to follow the same euen to the vttermost. K. Lewes in the meane time, supposing that all hope of victorie rested in spédie dispatch of present affaires, determined likewise to haue inuaded Normandie vpon the sudden. But after he perceiued that his enimies were all in a redinesse, and verie well prouided to resist him: he staied and drew backe a little while. Neuertheless in the end he became so desirous to be doing with king Henrie, that approching néere vnto the confines of Normandie, he made manie skirmishes with the English, yet no notable exploit passed betwixt them in that yeare. King Henrie passeth ouer into Normandie to assist the erle of Champaigne. The French K. inuadeth Normandie.

¶ Here will I leaue the kings of England and France skirmishing and encountring one another, and shew something more of the contention that was betwéene the archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke, to the end that their ambitious desire of worldlie honor may in some respect appére.

1117

About this verie time, Anselme the nephue to archbishop Anselme came againe from Rome, with frée authoritie to execute the office of the popes legat in England: which séemed a thing right strange to the English clergie. Wherefore the bishop of Canturburie, to preuent other inconueniences likelie to insue, toke vpon him to go vnto Rome, to vnderstand the popes pleasure concerning the truth and certeintie of this matter, and to require him in no wise to diminish the authoritie or to extenuat the prerogatiue of his sée of Canturburie, which hitherto vsed to determine all causes rising in his prouince. Anno. Reg. 18. Anselme the popes Legat. The bishop of Canturburie goth to Rome.

This said archbishop came to Rome, but finding not

not the pope there, he sent messengers with letters vnto him, then lieng sicke at Beneuento, and obteined a fauourable answer, wherewith returning towards England, he came to the king at Roan (where he had left him at his setting forth forward) certifieng him how he had sped in this voiage. The forsaid Anselme was also staied by the king at Roan, and could not be suffered to passe ouer into England all that time, till it might be vnderstood by the returne of the archbishop, what the popes pleasure should be further in that matter. Shortlie after whose repaire to the king, word was brought that pope Paschall was departed this life, and that Gelasius the second was elected in his place. This Gelasius (to auoid the dangers that might insue to him by reason of the schisme and controuersie betwixt the see of Rome, and the emperour Henrie the fift) came into France, where he liued not long, but died in the abbeie of Clugnie, after whose decease Calixtus the second was called to the papasie.

Pope Gelasius succeeded pope Paschall

1118
Anno Reg. 19.

Calixtus the second of that name pope.

Thus by the chance and change of popes, the legatship of Anselme could take no place, although his bulles permitted him without limitation of time, not onelie to call and celebrate synods for reformation of disorders in the church, but also for the receiuing of Peter pence to be leuied in England (in the which point pope Paschall in his life time thought them in England verie slacke) as by the same bulles more largelie doth appere. The archbishop of Canturburie had alreadie staied foure or fiue yeares in the parties beyond the sées, about the matter in controuersie betwixt him and Thurstane archbishop of Yorke, who was likewise gone ouer to solicit his cause. But where as at the first he could not find the king in anie wise agreeable to his mind, yet when the councell should be holden at Rhemes by pope Calixt, he sued at the leastwise for licence to go thither: but he could neither haue any grant so to do, till he had promised (vpon his allegiance which he ought to the king) not to attempt anie thing there that might be preiudicial to the church of Canturburie in anie maner of wise. Neuertheless, at his comming thither, he so wrought with bribes and large gifts, that the popes court (a thing easilie done in Rome) fauoured his cause; yea, such was his successe, that the pope consecrated him with his owne hands, although king Henrie had giuen notice to him of the controuersie depending betwixt Thurstane and Rafe the archbishop of Canturburie, requiring him in no wise either to consecrate Thurstane himselfe, or grant licence to anie other person to consecrate him: for if he did, surelie (for his part) he would banish him quite out of his dominion, which should not be long vndone. But now to the purpose.

In this meane time, the warres were bussilie pursued betwixt the two kings of England & France, and a battell was fought betweene them, with great slaughter on both sides for the space of nine houres. The forewards on both parties were beaten downe and ouerthrowne; and king Henrie receiued sundrie stripes on his head at the hands of one William Crispine countie de Eureux, so as (though his helmet were verie strong and sure) the bloud burst out of his mouth: wherewith he was nothing afraid, but like a fierce lion laid more lustilie about him, and stroke downe diuerse of his enimies, namelie the said Crispine, who was there taken prisoner at the kings feet. Now were the kings people incouraged at the valiancie and prowesse of their king and chiefteine, so that at length they opened and ouercame the maine battell, and setting vpon the rereward, ouerthrew the whole armie of France, which neuer recoiled, but fought it out euen to the vttermost. There died and were taken prisoners in this conflict manie thousands of men. The French king leauing the field, got him vnto a place called Andelie: and the king of England, recouering a towne by the waie called Nicasium, which the French king had latelie woone, returned vnto Rouen, where he was with great triumph receiued, and highlie commended for his noble victorie thus atchiued.

1119
Anno Reg. 20.
The two kings of England & France ioine battell.
King Henrie hurt in the battell.

The earle of Eureux taken prisoner.

Andelet.

Nicasium.

The earle of Flanders (as some write) was so wounded in this battell, that he died thereof. But others affirme, that coming into Normandie in the yeare last past, to make warre against king Henrie in fauour of king Lewes, he wan the towne of Andelie, and an other which they name *Aquæ Nicasij*. But as he was come before the towne of Augen in the moneth of September, and assailed the same, he receiued his deaths wound in the head, whereupon returning home in the ninth moneth after, when he could not be cured of his hurt, he departed this life at Rostlare the 17. daie of June.

Matth. Paris. Ia. Meir.

The earle of Flanders wounded.
He departed this life.

Shortlie after Foulke earle of Anion (who before had aided the French king against king Henrie) became now kings Henries frend by aliance, marieng his daughter to William king Henries eldest sonne. But the French king (as their histories make mention) minding still to be reuenged of the earle Theobald, inuaded his countrie againe with a puissant armie, and had destroied the citie of Chartres, which belonged vnto the same earle, had not the citizens humbled themselues to his mercie: and so likewise did the earle, as may be thought. For in the warres which immediatlie followed betwixt Lewes and the emperour Henrie, the erle aided the French king against the same emperour to the vttermost of his power. Soone after this, the king came to an enterview with pope Calixtus at Gisors, where manie matters were talked of betwixt them: and amongst other, the king required of the pope a grant of all such liberties as his father enioied within the limits of England and Normandie, and chefelie, that no legat should haue any thing to do within England, except he required to haue one sent him for some vrgent cause.

Foulke earle of Anion became the king of Englands man.

The king and the pope come to an enterview at Gisors.

All which matters being determined (as the state of the time present required) the pope besought the king to be good vnto archbishop Thurstane, and to restore him to his see: but the king protested that he had vowed neuer so to do whilest he liued. Whereunto the pope answered, that he was pope, and by his apostolike power he would discharge him of that vow, if he would satisfie his request. The king to shift the matter off, promised the pope that he would take aduice of his councell, and giue him further knowledge, as the cause required, whereupon departing from thense, he did afterwards (vpon farther deliberation) send him this message, in effect as followeth.

The pope is a suiter for Thurstane.

The pope offereth to discharge the K. of his vow.

Eadmerus.
The kings answer sent to the pope.

1119
Anno Reg. 20.
Simon Dun.
Eadmerus.

Whereas he saith he is pope, and will (as he said) assoile me of the vow which I haue made, if contrarie thereto I will restore Thurstane to the see of Yorke: I thinke it not to stand with the honor of a king, to consent in any wise vnto such an absolution. For who shall beleeue an others promise hereafter, if by mine example he see the same so easilie by an absolution to be made void? But sith he hath so great a desire to haue Thurstane restored, I shall be contented at his request, to receiue him to his see, with this condition, that he shall acknowledge his church to be subiect vnto the see of Canturburie, as his predecessours haue done before him; although in fine this offer would not serue the turne.

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1120
Simon Dun.
Anno Reg. 21.

But now to returne againe to the two princes. Not long after the departure of the pope from Gisors, Foulke earle of Anion found meanes to make an agreement betwixt king Henrie & king Lewes, so

The kings of England and France are accorded. Wil. Malm.

so that William sonne to king Henrie did homage vnto king Lewes for the duchie of Normandie. And further it was accorded betweene them, that all those that had borne armour either on the one side or the other, should be pardoned, whose subiects soeuer they were. In like maner, Rafe archbishop of Canturburie returned into England, after he had remained long in Normandie, because of the controuersie betwixt him and Thurstan archbishop of Yorke, as is aforesaid.

Eadmerus.

Now shortlie after his returne to Canturburie, messengers came with letters from Alexander king of Scotland vnto him, signifieng, that where the see of S. Andrews was void, the same king did instantlie require him to send ouer Eadmer a monke of Canturburie (of whome he had heard great commendation for his sufficiencie of vertue and learning) to be seated there. ¶ This Eadmer is the same which wrote the historie intituled *Historia nouorum in Anglia*, out of which (as may appeare) we haue gathered the most part of our matters concerning Anselme and Rafe archbishops of Canturburie, in whose daies he liued, and was Anselmes disciple.

Alexander K. of Scots.

Eadmer Anselmes disciple.

Archbishop Rafe was contented to satisfie the request of king Alexander in that behalfe, and obteining the consent of king Henrie, he sent the said Eadmer into Scotland with letters of commendation vnto the said king Alexander, who receiued him right ioifullie, and vpon the third daie after his comming thither (being the feast of the apostles Peter & Paule) he was elected archbishop of S. Andrews by the clergie and people of the land, to the great reioicing of Alexander, and the rest of the Nobilitie. The next daie after the king talked with him secretlie of his consecration, and vttered to him how he had no mind to haue him consecrated at the hands of Thurstan archbishop of Yorke. In which case when he was informed by the said Eadmer, that no such thing needed to trouble his mind, since the archbishop of Canturburie, being primate of all Britaine, might consecrate him as reason was; the king could not away with that answer, because he would not heare that the church of Canturburie should be preferred before the church of S. Andrews. Herevpon he departed from Eadmer in displeasure, and calling one William (sometime monke of S. Edmundsbury) vnto him, a man also that had gouerned (or rather spoiled) the church of S. Andrews in the vacation: this William was commanded to take vpon him the charge thereof againe, at the kings pleasure, whose meaning was vtterlie to remoue Eadmer, as not worthie of that rome. Howbeit, within a moneth after (to satisfie the minds of his Nobles) he called for the said Eadmer, and with much adoo got him to receiue the staffe of that bishoprike, taking it from an altar whereon it laie (as if he should haue that dignitie at the Lords hands) whereby he was inuested, & went streight to S. Andrews church, where he was receiued by the quier, the schollers, and all the people, for true and lawfull bishop.

Eadmer receiueth his staffe from an altar.

In this meane while Thurstan nothing slacking his sute in the popes court, obteined such fauour (wherein the king of England also was greatlie laboured vnto) that he wrote letters thrice vnto the king of Scotland, and once vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, that neither the king should permit Eadmer to be consecrated, nor the archbishop of Canturburie in any wise consecrate him if he were therevnto required. Herevpon it came to passe, that finally Eadmer, after he had remained in Scotland twelue moneths or thereabouts, and perceiued that things went not as he would haue wished (for that he could not get the kings consent that he should be consecrated of the archbishop of Canturburie, as it was first meant both by the archbishop and Eadmer) he departed out of Scotland, and returned againe to Canturburie, there to take further aduice in all things as cause should moue him. In like maner king Henrie, hauing quieted his businesse in France, returned into England, where he was receiued and welcomed home with great ioy and triumph; but such publike reioising lasted not long with him. For indeed, this pleasantnesse and mirth was changed into mourning, by aduertisement giuen of the death of the kings sons, William duke of Normandie, and Richard his brother, who togither with their sister the ladie Marie countesse of Perch, Richard earle of Chester, with his brother Otwell gouernour to duke William, and the said earle of Chester his wife the kings neece, the archdeacon of Hereford, Geffrey Riddle, Robert Mandute, William Bigot, and diuerse other, to the number of an hundreth and fourtie persons, besides fiftie mariners, tooke ship at Harflew, thinking to follow the king, and sailing forth with a south wind, their ship thorough negligence of the mariners (who had drunke out their wits & reason) were throwne vpon a rocke, and vtterlie perished on the coast of England, vpon the 25. of November, so that of all the companie none escaped but one butcher, who catching hold of the mast, was driuen with the same to the shore which was at hand, and so saued from that dangerous shipwracke. Duke William might also haue escaped verie well, if pitie had not moued him more than the regard of his owne preseruation. For being gotten into the shipboat, and lanching toward the land, he heard the shreeking of his sister in dredfull danger of drowning, and crieng out for succour; whereupon he commanded them that rowed the boat to turne backe to the ship, and to take hir in. But such was the prease of the companie that stroue to leape in with hir, that it streightwaies sanke, so that all those which were alreadie in the boat were cast awaie.

King Henrie returneth into England.

Ran. Higd. wil. Malm. Polydor. Matth. Paris. The kings sonnes and his daughter with other Nobles are drowned by shipwracke.

Wil. Malm.

Wil. Malm. Matth. Paris.

¶ Here (by the way) would be noted the vnaduised speech of William Rufus to the shipmaister, whome he emboldened with a vaine and desperat persuasion in tempestuous weather and high seas to hoise vp sailes; adding (for further encouragement) that he neuer heard of any king that was drowned. In which words (no doubt) he sinned presumptuouslie against God, who in due time punished that offense of his in his posteritie and kinred, euen by the same element, whose fearsenes he himselfe seemed so little to regard, as if he would haue commanded the stormes to cease; as we read Christ did in the gospell by the vertue and power of his word. Here is also to be noted the variablenes of fortune (as we commonlie call it) or rather the vncertaine and changeable euent of things, which oftentimes doth raise vp (euen in the minds of princes) troblesome thoughts, and greeuous passions, to the great empairing of their quietnesse: as here we see exemplified in king Henrie, whose mirth was turned into mone, and his pleasures relished with pangs of pensifenes, contrarie to his expectation when he was in the midst of his triumph at his returne out of France into England. So that we see the old adage verified, *Miscentur tristia lætis*; and that saieng of an old poet iustified;

Looke in page 23. columne 2. against the number 60.

Hesiod. in lib. cui tit. opera & dies.

Sæua nouerca dies nunc est, nunc mater amica.

But to returne to the historie. King Henrie being thus depriued of issue to succeed him, did not a little lament that infortunate chance: but yet to restore that losse, shortlie after, euen the 10. of Aprill next ensuing, he maried his second wife named Adelicia, a ladie of excellent beautie, and noble conditions, daughter to the duke of Louaine, and descended of the noble dukes of Lorraine, howbeit he could

1121

Anno Reg. 22. Eadmerus. Hen. Hunt. The king marieth againe.

Eadmerus.

neuer haue any issue by hir. The archbishop Thurstan (after the manner of obteining suites in the court of Rome) found such fauour at the hands of pope Calixt, that he directed his letters as well to king Henrie, as to Rafe archbishop of Canturburie, by vertue whereof he accursed them both, and interdicted as well the prouince of Yorke as Canturburie from the vse of all maner of sacraments; from baptisme of infants, the penance of them that died onelie excepted: if archbishop Thurstan were not suffered (within one moneth next after the receipt of those letters) to inioy his see, without compelling him to make any promise of subiection at all. The king to be out of trouble, permitted Thurstan to returne into the realme, and so repaire vnto Yorke; but with condition, that he should not exercise any iurisdiction out of his owne dioceese as metropolitane, till he had confessed his obstinat errour, and acknowleged his obedience to the church of Canturburie.

The pope writeth to king Henrie, in fauour of the archbishop Thurstan, & accurseth him with the archbishop of Canturburie.

Whilest these things were thus a doing, king Henrie was aduertised, that the Welshmen breaking the peace, did much hurt on the marshes, & speciallie in Chechire where they had burned two castels. Meaning therefore to be reuenged on them to the vttermost, he assembled an armie out of all parts of his realme, and entred with the same into Wales. The Welshmen, hearing that the king was come with such puissance to inuade them, were afraid, and forthwith sent ambassadours, beseeching him to grant them pardon and peace. The king moued with their humble petitions, toke hostages of them, & remitted them for that time, considering that in mainteining of warre against such maner of people, there was more feare of losse than hope of gaine. But yet to prouide for the quietnes of his subiects which inhabited neere the marshes, that they should not be ouerrun and harried dailie by them (as oftentimes before they had beene) he appointed Warren earle of Shrewesburie to haue the charge of the marshes, that peace might be the better kept and mainteined in the countrie.

The Welshmen make sturres. Eadmerus.

The king ratseth an armie to go against the Welshmen.

The Welshmen sue for peace.

More doubt of losse than hope of gaine, by the warres against the Welshmen.

Some after king Henrie caused a chanell to be cast along the countrie in Lincolnshire, from Torksey to the citie of Lincolne, that vessels might haue passage out of the riuer of Trent vnto the same. Moreouer, Rafe bishop of Durham began to build the castell of Norham, vpon the banke of the riuer of Tweed.

Simon Dun. A chanell cast from Torksey to Lincolne.

Norham castell built. H. Hunt.

At this time likewise Foulke Earle of Anjou being now come out of the holie land (whither he went after the peace was made betwixt king Henrie and the French king) began to picke a quarrell against king Henrie, for withholding the ioincture of his daughter, who (as before you haue heard) was married vnto William the kings sonne that was drowned. He also gaue hir sister in mariage vnto William the sonne of duke Robert, assigning vnto him the earledome of Maine to enioy in the right of his wife.

In the meane time, king Henrie visited the north parts of his realme, to vnderstand the state of the countrie, and to prouide for the suertie and good gouernement thereof, as was thought requisite.

Polydor.

1122
13 Kalends of November. Anno Reg. 23.

In the yeare next ensuing, the twentith of October, Rafe archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, after he had ruled that see the space of 8. yeares, in whose rome succeeded one William archbishop, who was in number the eight and twentith from Augustine. Moreouer, Henrie the sonne of earle Blois, who before was abbat of Glastenburie, was now made bishop of Winchester, a man for his singular bountie, gentlenesse and modestie greatlie beloued of the English.

But to returne to the affaires of the king. It chanced about this time, that the parts beyond the sea (being now void of a gouernour (as they suppose) by meanes of the death of the kings sonne) began to make commotions. Some after it came also to passe that Robert earle of Mellent rebelled against the king, who being spéedilie aduertised thereof, sailed forthwith into those quarters, and besieged the castell of Ponteaudemer perteining to the said earle, and toke it. About the same time also the king fortified the castell of Roan, causing a mightie thick wall with turrets therabout as a fortification to be made. Likewise, he repaired the castell of Caen, the castels of Arches, Gisors, Falcise, Argentone, Damfront, Uernon, Ambzes, with others, & made them strong. In the meane season, the earle of Mellent (desirous to be reuenged of king Henrie) procured aid where he could, and so with Hugh earle of Mountfert entred into Normandie, wasting and destroieng the countrie with fire and sword, thinking yer long to bring the same to obedience. But the kings chamberlaine and lieutenant in those parts, named William de Tankeruile, being thereof aduertised, laid an ambush for them, and training them within the danger thereof, set vpon them, and after long fight, toke them twaine prisoners, with diuers other, and presented them both vnto the king, whereby the warres ceassed in that countrie for a time.

1123
Anno. Reg. 24.
Robert earle of Mellent rebelleth.

Hen. Hunt. The castle of Roan fortified Matth. Paris.

1124
Anno. Reg. 25. Polydor. H. Hunt. Matth. Paris.

The king hauing in this maner purchased quietnesse by the sword, gaue himselfe somewhat to the reformation of his house, and among other things which he redressed, he caused all his knights and men of warre to cut their haire short, after the maner of the Frenchmen, whereas before they ware the same long after the vsage of women.

Long haire redressed in the court. Matth. West.

After this also, in the yeare 1125. a cardinall named Johannes Cremensis was sent into England from pope Honorius the second, to see reformation in certeine points touching the church: but his cheefe errand was to correct priests that still kept their wiues with them. At his first comming ouer, he sojourned in colledges of cathedrall churches, and in abbeies, addicting himselfe to lucre & wantonnesse, reaping where he had not sowen. At length, about the feast of the natiuitie of our ladie, he called a conuocation of the cleargie at London, where making an oration, he inueighed sore against those of the spiritualtie that were spotted with any note of incontinencie. Manie thought themselues touched with his words, who hauing smelled somewhat of his secret tricks, that whereas he was a most licentious liuer, and an vnchast person of bodie and mind, yet he was so blinded, that he could not perceiue the beame in his own eies, whilest he espied a mote in another mans. Hereupon they grudged, that he should in such wise call other men to accompts for their honest demeanor of life, which could not render any good reckoning of his owne: insomuch that they watched him so narrowlie, that in the euening (after he had blown his horne so lowd against other men; in declaring that it was a shamefull vice to rise from the side of a strumpet, and presume to sacrifice the bodie of Christ) he was taken in bed with a strumpet, to his owne shame and reproch. But being reproued thereof, he alledged this excuse (as some write) that he was no priest, but a reformer of priests. Howbeit to conclude, being thus defamed, he got him backe to Rome againe from whence he came, without any performance of that whereabout he was sent.

1125
Anno. Reg. 26.
Johannes Cremensis a legat sent into England

But this should not seem to be any iust excuse, for M. P. saith that ye same day he consecrated the Lords bodie, & therefore he must needs be a priest.

But to returne to king Henrie, who whilest he remained in Normandie (which was a long time after the apprehension of the two foresaid earles) vnderstood that his sonne in lawe Henrie the emperour was departed this life at Utregt, the 23. of Maie last past. Whereupon he sent for his daughter the empresse

1126
Anno. Reg. 27.

empresse to come ouer vnto him into Normandie, and hauing set his businesse in order on that side the sea, and taken hir with him, he returned into England before the feast of S. Michaell, where calling a parlement, he caused hir by authoritie of the same to be established as his lawfull heire and successor, with an article of intaile vpon hir issue, if it should please God to send hir any at all. At this parlement was Dauid K. of Scotland, who succeeded Alexander the fierce. Stephan earle of Morton and Bullongne, and son of Stephan earle of Blois, nephue to K. Henrie by his sister Adela; these two princes chæfelie toke their oth amongst other, to obey the foresaid empresse, as touching hir right and lawfull claime to the crowne of England. But although Stephan was now the first that was to sweare, he became shortlie after the first that brake that oth for his owne preferment. ¶ Thus it commeth often to passe, that those which receiue the greatest benefits, do oftentimes soonest forget to be thankefull.

Polydor. An oth taken by the lords touching the succession of the crowne.

Stephan erle of Bullongne the first that offered to receiue the oth.

This Stephan latelie before by his vncle K. Henries meanes, had purchased & got in marriage the onelie daughter and heire of Eustace earle of Bullongne, and so after the decease of his father in lawe, became earle there: and further, had goodlie possessions in England giuen him by the king, and yet (as farther shall appeare) he kept not his oth made with K. Henrie. Some write that there rose no small strife betwixt this earle Stephan, & Robert erle of Glocester, in contending which of them should first receiue this oth: the one alledging that he was a kings son, the other affirming that he was a kings nephue.

Wil. Malm.

Shortlie after this parlement was ended, K. Henrie held his Christmas at Windsor, where Thurstan archbishop of Yorke (in preiudice of the right of William archbishop of Canturburie) would haue set the crowne vpon the kings head, at his going to the church: but he was put backe with no small reproch; and his chapleine (whom he appointed to beare his crosse before him at his entrance into the kings chapell) was contemptuouslie and violentlie thrust out of the doores with crosse and all by the frends of the archbishop of Canturburie. In short time, this vnseemlie contention betwixt Thurstan and William the two archbishops grew so hot, that not onelie both of them, but also the bishop of Lincolne went to Rome about the deciding of their strife.

1127

Matth. Paris.

Strife betwixt the prelates for preheminence.

Polydor.

In this yeare Charles earle of Flanders, the successor of earle Baldwin, was traitorouslie murthered of his owne people: & bicause he left no issue behind him to succeed as his heire, Lewes the French king made William the sonne of duke Robert Curthose earle of Flanders, as the nert cousine in bloud to the same Charles. ¶ Truth it is, that by his fathers side, this William was descended from erle Baldwin surnamed *Pius*, whose daughter Maud being maried vnto William Conqueror, bare by him the foresaid Robert Curthose, father to this William, now aduanced to the gouernment of Flanders, but he wanted not aduersaries that were competitors and malignant sutors for that earledome, who sought to preferre themselues, and to displace him.

William sonne to Robert Curthose made erle of Flanders.

King Henrie misliking the promotion of the said William, although he was his nephue, for that he supposed he would seeke to reuenge old displeasures if he might compasse to haue the French kings assistance, thought good with the aduice of his councell to withstand the worst. Wherevpon he toke order for the maintenance of the warre abroad, and the supplie of souldiers, and other things necessarie to be considered of for the suertie of his realme.

The empresse Maud maried to the earle of Anou. Ger. Dor.

After this, bicause he was in despaire to haue issue by his second wife, about Whitsuntide he sent ouer his daughter Maud the empresse into Normandie, that she might be married vnto Geffrey Plantagenet earle of Anion, and in August after he followed himselfe. Now the matter went so forward, that the mariage was celebrated betwixt the said earle and empresse vpon the first sundaie in Aprill, which fell vpon the third of the moneth, and in the 27. of his reigne.

In the yeare ensuing, king Henrie meaning to cause the French king to withdrawe his helping hand from his nephue William earle of Flanders, passed forth of Normandie with an armie, and inuading France, remained for the space of eight daies at Hipard, in as good quiet as if he had bene within his owne dominions, and finallie obteined that of the French king which he sought for, namelie, his refusall to aid his nephue the said earle of Flanders. Who at length contending with other that claimed the earledome, chanced this yeare to be wounded, as he pursued his enimies vnto the walles of a towne called Alhust, and sone after died of the hurt the 16. of August.

Anno Reg. 28. Matth. Paris. 1128

Anno Reg. 29. Ia. Meir.

¶ It was thought that the great felicitie of king Henrie was the chiefe occasion of this earles death, who meant (if he might haue brought his purpose to passe, and be once quietlie set in the dominion of Flanders) to haue attempted some great enterprise against king Henrie for the recouerie of Normandie, and deliuerie of his father out of prison. Which was knowen well inough to king Henrie, who mainteined those that made him warre at home, both with men and monie; namelie, William of Hypres, who toke vpon him as regent in the name of Stephan earle of Bullongne, whome king Henrie procured to make claime to Flanders also, in the title of his grandmother quæne Maud, wife to William Conqueror. But to proceed with our historie.

william earle of Flanders deceaseth of a wound.

The fortunat & good hap of K. Henrie.

william de Hypres.

When king Henrie had sped his businesse in Normandie, where he had remained a certeine space, both about the conclusion and solemnizing of the mariage made betwixt his daughter Maud the empresse and the earle of Anion, and also to see the end of the wars in Flanders, he now returned into England, where he called a great councell or parlement at London, in August: wherein (amongst other things) it was decreed, that præsts, which liued vnchastlie, should be punished, and that by the kings permission, who hereby toke occasion to serue his owne turne: for he regarded not the reformation which the bishops trusted (by his plaine dealing) would haue followed, but put those præsts to their fines that were accused, and suffered them to keepe their wiues still in house with them, which offended the bishops greatlie, who would haue had them requestred asunder.

1129

Anno Reg. 30.

1130

Anno Reg. 31. Matth. Paris. Polydor. An act against vnchast præsts.

After this parlement ended, the king kept his Christmasse at Worcester, and his Easter masse following at Woodstocke, where a certeine Noble man named Geffrey Clinton was accused to him of high treason. In this 31. yeare of king Henries reigne, great death and murren of cattell began in this land so vniuersallie in all places, that no towne nor village escaped free: and long it was before the same discontinued or ceased. King Henrie passing ouer into Normandie, was troubled with certeine strange dreames or visions in his sleepe. For as he thought, he saw a multitude of ploughmen with such toles as belong to their trade and occupation; after whom came a sort of souldiers with warlike weapons: and last of all, bishops approching towards him with their crosier staues readie to fall vpon him, as if they meant to kill him. Now when he awaked, he lept forth of his bed, got his sword in his hand, & called his seruants to come & helpe him. Neuertheless, repressing those perturbations, and somewhat better aduising himselfe, partlie by his

Wil. Malm. *In nouella historia.* Polydor.

owne reason, and partlie by the counsell of learned gentlemen, was persuaded to put such fantasies awaie, and was admonished withall, that whilest he had time and space here on earth, he should redeeme his passed offenses and sinnes committed against God, with repentance, almesdeeds, and abstinence. Wherefore being moued herewith, he began to practise an amendment of his former lewd life.

¶ Here it shall not be amisse to compare the two sonnes of William the Conquerour; namelie William Rufus, and Henrie Beauclerke togither; and to consider among other euents the supernaturall dreames wherewith they were admonished, to excellent good purpose (no doubt) if they could haue aplied them to the end whereto they were directed. For William Rufus (as you shall read in pag. 26. col. 2.) neglecting to be admonished by a dredfull dreame wherewith he was troubled, shortlie after receiued his deaths wound by casualtie or chancemedlie, euen in the prime of his pastime and disport. This other brother H. Beauclerke had the like warnings by the same meanes, and (to a good effect) as the learned do gather. Their rash opinion therefore is much to be checked, which contemne dreames as meere delusorie, alledging by waie of disprose an old erroneous verse:

Somnia ne cures, nam fallunt plurima plures,

Speaking indefinitelie of dreames without distinction: whereas in truth great valure is in them in respect of their kind and nature. For though some sort of dreames (as those that be physicall) are not greatlie to be relied vpon; yet those of the metaphysicall sort, hauing a speciall influence from aboue natures reach, are not lightlie to be ouerslipped. To determine this matter I remit the studious readers to that excellent chapter of Peter Martyr, in the first part of his common places, pag. 32. columne 2. where dreames *In genere* are copiouslie handled.

Polydor. About the same time, Maud daughter of this Henrie, being forsaken of hir husband Geffrey earle of Anion, came to hir father then being in Normandie. What the cause was why hir husband put hir from him, is not certeinlie knowen: but the matter (belike) was not verie great, sith shortlie after he receiued hir againe, and that of his owne accord. During the time also that king Henrie remained in Normandie, pope Innocent the 2. came into France, to auoid the danger of his enimies: and holding a councell at Cleremont, he accursed one Peter Fitz Leo, who had vsurped as pope, and named himselfe Anacletus. Afterward at breaking vp of the same counsell at Cleremont, he came to Orleance, and then to Charters, meeting king Henrie by the waie, who offered vnto the pope to maintein his cause against his enimies to the vttermost of his power, for the which the pope gaue the king great thankes: and seeming as though he had beene more carefull for the defense of the common cause of the christian common-wealth than for his owne, he exhorted king Henrie to make a iournie into the holie land, against the Saracens and enimies of the christian religion.

1121 Anno Reg. 32. King Henrie and pope Innocent meet at Charters.

Wil. Malm. In this enterview betwixt the pope and the king, the Romans were moued to maruell greatlie at the wisedome and sharpnesse of wit which they perceiued in the Normans. For king Henrie, to shew what learning remained amongst the people of the west parts of Europe, caused the sonnes of Robert earle of Melent to argue and dispute in the points and subtill sophismes of Logike, with the cardinals and other learned chapleins of the pope there present, who were not ashamed to confesse, that there was more learning amongst them here in the west parts, than euer they heard or knew of in their owne countrie of Italie.

The sons of Robert erle of Melent praised for their learning.

King Henrie returneth into England. King Henrie after this returned into England, and vpon the sea was in danger to haue beene drowned by tempest: so that iudging the same to be as a warning for him to amend his life, he made manie vowes, and after his landing went to S. Edmundsburie in Suffolke to do his deuotions vnto the sepulchre of that king. Now at his comming from thence, being well disposed, towards the releefe of his people, he lessened the tributes and impositions, and did iustice aswell in respect and fauour of the poore as of the rich.

1132 Anno. Reg. 33. Not long after, Geffrey earle of Anion had a son named Henrie by his wife the empresse, who (as before is said) was after king of England: for his grandfather king Henrie hauing no issue male to succeed him, caused the empresse and this Henrie hir sonne to be established heires of the realme: all the Nobles and other estates taking an oth to be their true and loiall subiects. After this king Henrie kept his Christmasse at Dunstable, and his Easter at Woodstocke. In the same yeare, or (as some haue) in the beginning of the yeare precedent, or (as other haue) in the yeare following, king Henrie erected a bishops see at Carleil, in which one Arnulfe or rather Athelwolfe, who before was abbat of S. Botholfs, and the kings confessor, was the first bishop that was instituted there. This man immediatlie after his consecration placed regular canons in that church.

1133 Anno Reg. 34. Matth. Paris. Prior of L. Oswald as Wil. Thorne hath, and likewise Matth. Paris. Matt. Westm.

Not long after, or rather before (as by Wil. Malmes. it should seeme) king Henrie passed ouer into Normandie, from whence (this being the last time of his going thither) he neuer returned aliue. And as it came to passe, he toke ship to saile this last iournie thither, euen the same daie in which he had afore time receiued the crowne. On which daie (falling vpon the wednesdaie and being the second of August) a wonderfull and extraordinarie eclipse of the sunne and moone appeared, in somuch that Wil. Malmes. who then liued, writeth that he saw the starres plainlie about the sunne at the verie time of that eclipse. On the fridaie after such an earthquake also happened in this realme, that manie houses and buildings were ouerthrowne. This earthquake was so sensible, or rather so visible, that the wall of the house wherein the king then sat, was lift vp with a double remoue, & at the third it setled it selfe againe in his due place. Moreouer at the verie same time also fire burst out of certeine riftes of the earth, in so huge flames, that neither by water nor otherwise it could be quenched.

In eclipse.

In earthquake.

In the 34. yeare of his reigne, his brother Robert Curthose departed this life in the castell of Cardiff. It is said that on a festiuall daie king Henrie put on a robe of scarlet, the cape wherof being streict, he rent it in striuing to put it ouer his head: and perceiuing it would not serue him, he laid it aside, and said; Let my brother Robert haue this robe, who hath a sharper head than I haue. Which when it was brought to duke Robert, and the rent place not sowed vp, he perceiued it, and asked whether any man had worne it before. The messenger told the whole matter, how it happened. Wherewith duke Robert toke such a greefe for the scornefull mocke of his brother, that he waxed wearie of his life, and said; Now I perceiue I haue liued to long, that my brother shall cloth me like his almes man with his cast and rent garments. Thus cursing the time of his natiuitie, he refused from thencefoorth to eat or drinke, and so pined awaie, and was buried at Glocester.

Matth. Paris. Matth. West. Anno Reg. 35.

The decease of Robert Curthose.

King Henrie remaining still in Normandie, rode round about a great part of the countrie, shewing no small loue and courtesie to the people, studieng by all meanes possible to win their fauours, and being merie amongst them. Howbeit nothing reioised him

him more, than that his daughter Maud the empresse at the same time was deliuered of hir second sonne named Geffrey, so that he saw himselfe prouided of an assured successour.

Polydor. 1135. Anno Reg. 35.

But whilest he thus passed the time in mirth and solace, he began sone after to be somewhat diseased, and neuer could perceiue any euident cause thereof. Wherefore to driue his greefe away, he went abrode to hunt, and being somewhat amended thereby (as he thought) at his comming home he would néeds eat of a lamprey, though his physician counselled him to the contrarie: but he delighting most in that meat (though it be in qualitie verie hurtfull to health) would not be dissuaded from it, so that his stomach being annoied therewith, he fell immediatlie into an ague, and so died shortlie after, on the first day of December, being as then about 67. yeares of age, after he had reigned 35. yeres, & foure moneths lacking foure daies. His bodie was conueied into England, and buried at Reading within the abbey church which he had founded, and endowed in his life time with great and large possessions. It is written, that his bodie, to auoid the stench which had infected manie men, was closed in a buls hide, and how be that clensed the head died of the sauour which issued out of the braine.

Matth. West. Sim. Dunel.

King Henrie departeth this life.

Matth. West. Ran. Higd. Sim. Dunel.

¶ Thus we see that euen princes come to the like end by as base meanes as other inferiour persons; according to that of the poet:

Dant alios furiæ toruo spectacula Marti,
Exitio est auidis mare nautis:
Mista senum ac iuuenum densantur funera, nullum
Sæua caput Proserpina fugit.

Horat. lib. car. 1. ode 28.

And here we haue to note the neglect of the physicians counsell, and that same ill disposition in diet which the king chose rather to satisfie, than by restraining it to auoid the danger whereinto he fell. But this is the preposterous election of vntoward patients, according to that:

Nitimur in vetitum semper, cupimúsq; negata.

The issue of king Henrie the first:

Touching his issue, he had by his first wife a sonne named William, drowned (as ye haue heard) in the sea: also a daughter named Maud, whome with hir sonnes he appointed to inherit his crowne and other dominions. He had issue also by one of his concubins, euen a sonne named Richard, and a daughter named Marie, who were both drowned with their brother William. By an other concubine he had a sonne named Robert, who was created duke of Gloucester.

His stature.

He was strong of bodie, fleshie, and of an indifferent stature, blacke of haire, and in maner bald before, with great and large eies, of face comelie, well countenanced, and pleasant to the beholders, specialle when he was disposed to mirth.

His vertues.

He excelled in three vertues, wisedome, eloquence, and valiancie, which notwithstanding were somewhat blemished with the like number of vices that reigned in him; as couetousnesse, crueltie, and fleshlie lust of bodie. His couetousnesse appeared, in that he sore oppressed his subiects with tributes and impositions. His crueltie, in that he kept his brother Robert Curtehose in perpetuall prison, and likewise in the hard vsing of his cosine Robert earle of Mortaigne, whome he not onelie deteined in prison, but also caused his eies to be put out: which act was kept secret till the kings death reuealed it. And his fleshlie lust was manifest, by keeping of sundrie women.

His vices.

His wisdome.

But in his other affaires he was circumspect, in defending his owne verie earnest and diligent. Such wars as might be auoided, with honourable peace he euer sought to appease; but when such iniuries were offered as he thought not meet to suffer, he was an impatient reuenger of the same, ouercomming all perils with the force of vertue and manlie courage, shewing himselfe either a most louing frend, or an extreame enimie: for he would subdue his foes to the vttermost, and aduance his frends aboue measure.

His manlie courage.

With iustice he ruled the commons quietlie, and enterteined the nobles honorablie. Theeues, counterfeiters of monie, and other transgressors he caused to be sought out with great diligence, and when they were found, to be punished with great seueritie. Neither did he neglect reformations of certeine naughtie abuses. And (as one author hath written) he ordeined that theeues should suffer death by hanging. When he heard that such peeces of monie as were cracked would not be receiued amongest the people, although the same were good and fine siluer, he caused all the coine in the realme to be either broken or slit. He was sober of diet, vsing to eat rather for the quailing of hunger, than to pamper himselfe with manie daintie sorts of banketting dishes. He neuer dranke but when thirst moued him, he would sléepe soundlie and snore oftentimes till he awaked therewith. He pursued his warres rather by policie than by the sword, and ouercame his enimies so neere as he could without bloudshed, which if it might not be, yet with as little slaughter as was possible. To conclude, he was not inferiour to any of the kings that reigned in those daies, in wisedome and policie, and so behaued himselfe, that he was honoured of the Nobles, and beloued of the commons. He builded diuerse abbeies both in England and Normandie, but Reading was the chéefe. He builded the manour of Woodstocke, with the parke there, wherein (beside the great store of deere) he appointed diuerse strange beasts to be kept and nourished, which were brought and sent vnto him from forren countries, farre distant, as lions, leopards, lynxes, and porcupines. His estimation was such among outlandish princes, that few would willinglie offend him.

His policie.

His praise for his princelie gouernment.

Reading abbey builded.

Murcherdach king of Ireland & his successors had him in such reuerence, that they durst do nothing but what he commanded, nor write any thing but what might stand with his pleasure, though at the first the same Morchad attempted something against the Englishmen more than held with reason, but afterward (vpon restraint of the entercourse of merchandize) he was glad to shew himselfe more frendlie.

Murcherdach K. of Ireland.

Moreouer the earle of Orkney, although he was the king of Norwaies subiect, yet did he what he could to procure king Henries frendship, sending such strange beasts and other things to him oftentimes as presents, wherein he knew the king toke great delight and pleasure. He had in singular fauour aboue all other of his councell, Roger the bishop of Salisburie, a politike prelate, and one that knew how to order matters of great importance, vnto whome he committed the gouernement of the realme most commonlie whilest he remained in Normandie.

The earle of Orkney.

Roger bishop of Salisburie.

As well in this kings daies, as in the time of his brother William Rufus, men forgetting their owne sex and state, transformed themselues into the habit and forme of women, by suffering their haire to grow in length, the which they curled and trimmed verie curiouslie, after the maner of damosels and yong gentlewomen: insomuch that they made such account of their long bushing perukes, that those which would be taken for courtiers, contended with women who should haue the longest tresses, and such as wanted, sought to amend it with art, and by knitting wreathes about their heads of those their long and side locks for a brauerie. Yet we read that king Henrie gaue commandement to all his people to cut their haire, about the 28. yeare of his reigne. Preachers

The abuse of wearing long haire.

1127 Matth. West.

chers indeed inueied against such vnseemlie maners in men, as a thing more agreeable and seemelie for the contrarie sex.

Wil. Malm. reciteth a tale of a knight in those daies that toke no small liking of himselfe for his faire and long haire, who chanced to haue a verie terrible dreame. For it seemed to him in his sléepe that one was about to strangle him with his owne haire, which he wrapped about his throte and necke) the impression whereof sanke so deepelie into his mind, that when he awaked out of his sléepe, he streightwaies caused so much of his haire to be cut as might seeme superfluous. A great number of other in the realme followed his commendable example, but the remorse of conscience herein that thus caused them to cut their haire, continued not long, for they fell to the like abuse againe, so as within a twelue moneths space they exceeded therein as farre beyond all the bounds of seemelie order as before.

¶ In this Henrie ended the line of the Normans as touching the heires male, and then came in the Frenchmen by the title of the heires generall, after that the Normans had reigned about 69. yeares: for so manie are accounted from the comming of William Conquerour, vnto the beginning of the reigne of king Stephan, who succéeded the said Henrie.

Thus farre the succession and regiment of the Normans; namelie, William Conquerour the father, William Rufus, and Henrie Beauclerke the sonnes.

Stephan earle of Bullongne.

1135
Anno Reg. 1.

STephan earle of Bullongne, the sonne of Stephan erle of Blois, by his wife Adela, daughter to William Conqueror, came ouer with all spéed after the death of his vncle, and toke vpon him the gouernement of the realme of England, partlie through confidence which he had in the puissance and strength of his brother Theobald earle of Blois, and partlie by the aid of his brother Henrie bishop of Winchester and abbat of Glastenburie, although that he with other of the Nobles had sworne afore to be true vnto the empresse and hir issue as lawfull heires of king Henrie latelie deceased.

A tempest. Matth. West.

The same day that he arriued in England, there chanced a mightie great tempest of thunder horrible to heare, and lightning dreadfull to behold. Now bicause this happened in the winter time, it séemed against nature, and therefore it was the more noted as a foreshewing of some trouble and calamitie to come.

This Stephan began his reigne ouer the realme of England the second day of December, in the yere of our Lord 1135. in the eleuenth yeare of the emperour Lothair, the sixt of pope Innocentius the second, and about the xxvij. of Lewes the seuenth, surnamed Crassus king of France, Dauid the first of that name then reigning in Scotland, ¶ entring into the twelfe of his regiment. He was crowned at Westminster vpon S. Stephans day, by William archbishop of Canturburie, the most part of the Nobles of the realme being present, and swearing fealtie vnto him, as to their true and lawfull souereigne.

Matth. Paris. Wil. Mal. Simon Dun.

Howbeit, there were diuerse of the wiser sort of all estates, which regarding their former oth, could haue béene contented that the empresse should haue gouerned till hir sonne had come to lawfull age; notwithstanding they held their peace as yet, and consented vnto Stephan. But this breach of their othes was worthilie punished afterward, insomuch that as well the bishops as the other Nobles either died an euill death, or were afflicted with diuerse kinds of calamities and mischances, and that euen here in this life, of which some of them as occasion serueth shall be remembred hereafter. Yet there were of them (and namelie the bishop of Salisburie) which protested that they were frée from their oth of allegiance made to the said empresse, bicause that without the consent of the lords of the land she was maried out of the realme, whereas they toke their oth to receiue hir for quéene, vpon that condition, that without their assent she should not marrie with any person out of the realme.

Periurie punished.

Wil. Malm. The bishop of Salisburies protestation.

Moreouer (as some writers thinke) the bishops toke it, that they should do God good seruice in prouiding for the wealth of the realme, and the aduancement of the church by their periurie. For whereas the late deceased king vsed himselfe not altogither for their purpose, they thought that if they might set vp and creat a king chéeflie by their especiall meanes and authoritie, he would follow their counsell better, and reforme such things as they iudged to be amisse.

The bishops think to please God in breaking their oth.

But a great cause that moued manie of the lords vnto the violating thus of their oth, was (as some authors rehearse) for that Hugh Bigot, sometime stéward to king Henrie the first, immediatlie after the decease of king Henrie, came into England, and as well before the archbishop of Canturburie, as diuers other lords of the land, toke a voluntarie oth (although most men thinke that he was hired so to do bicause of great promotion) declaring vpon the same that he was present a little before king Henries death, when the same king adopted and chose his nephue Stephan to be his heire and successour, bicause his daughter the empresse had grieuouslie displeased him. But vnto this mans oth the archbishop and the other

Matth. Paris.

Hugh Bigot.

other lords were so hastie in giuing of credit. Now the said Hugh for his periurie, by the iust iudgement of God, came shortlie after to a miserable end.

Simon Dun. 1126

But to our purpose. King Stephan (by what title soeuer he obteined the crowne) immediatlie after his coronation, went first to Reading to the buriall of the bodie of his vncle Henrie, the same being now brought ouer from Normandie, from whence after the buriall he repaired to Drenford, and there calling a councell of the lords & other estates of his realme; amongst other things he promised before the whole assemblie (to win the harts of the people) that he would put downe and quite abolish that tribute which oftentimes was accustomed to be gathered after the rate of their acres of hides of land, commonlie called Danegilt, which was two shillings of euerie hide of land. Also, that he would so prouide, that no bishops sees nor other benefices should remaine void, but immediatlie after vpon their first vacation, they should be againe bestowed vpon some conuenient person meet to suplie the rome. Further he promised not to seize vpon any mans woods as forfeit, though any priuate man had hunted and killed his deere in the same woods, as the maner of his predecessour was. ¶ For a kind of forfeiture was deuised by king Henrie, that those should lose their right inheritance in their woods, that chanced to kill any of the kings deere within the same.

Polydor. Simon Dun. Matth. Paris.

The faire promises of king Stephan.

Moreouer, he granted licence to all men, to build either castell, tower, or other hold for defense of themselues vpon their owne grounds. All this did he chiefle in hope that the same might be a safegard for him in time to come, if the empresse should inuade the land, as he doubted she shortlie would. Moreouer he aduanced manie yong & lustie gentlemen to great liuings. For such as were of any noble familie, and thereto through a certeine stoutnesse of stomach sought preferment, easilie obteined of him the possession of castels and great lordships, diuerse of whom he honored with titles of dignitie, creating some of them earles and some lords. Now, such was their importunate sute in demanding, that when he had little more to bestow amongst them, hauing alreadie giuen sundrie portions that belonged to the crowne, they ceassed not to be in hand with him for more, and being denied with reasonable excuses on his behalfe, they thought themselues ill dealt withall, and so turning from him, fortified their castels and holds, making open warre against him: as hereafter shall appeare.

Polydor. Ran. Higd. Licence to build castels,

Wil. Malm. In nouella historia.

There came ouer vnto him also a great number of Flemings and Britons to serue him as souldiers, whom he reteined, to be the stronger and better able to defend himselfe against the malice of the empresse, by whom he loked to be molested he wist not how sone. Wherefore he shewed himselfe verie liberall, courteous, and gentle towards all maner of persons at the first, and (to saie truth) more liberall, familiar, and free harted than stood with the maiestie of a king: which was afterward a cause that he grew into contempt. ¶ But to such meanes are princes driuen, that atteine to their estates more through fauour and support of others, than by any good right or title which they may pretend of themselues. Thus the gouernement of this prince at the beginning was nothing bitter or heauie to his subiects, but full of gentlenesse, lenitie, courtesie, and mildnes.

The resort of strangers to serue king Stephan.

Polydor.

Howbeit whilest these things were a doing, certeine of the English Nobilitie, abhorring both the king and the present state of his gouernment, went priuilie out of the realme into Scotland to king Dauid, declaring vnto him what a detestable act was committed by the lords of England, in that (contrarie to their oth made vnto the empresse Maud, and hir issue) they had now crowned Stephan. Wherefore they besought the said king to take in hand to reuenge such a vile iniurie practised against hir, and to restore the kingdome vnto the said empresse, which if he did, it should be a thing most acceptable both to God and man.

King Dauid hauing heard and well weied the effect of their request, forthwith was so moued at their words, that in all possible hast he assembled an armie, and entring into England, first toke the citie and castell of Carleil: afterward comming into Northumberland, he toke Newcastell, and manie other places vpon the borders there. Whereof king Stephan being aduertised, streightwaies assembled a power, and forthwith hasted into Cumberland, meaning to recouer that againe by force of armes, which the enimie had stolen from him by craft and subtiltie. At his approch nere to Carleil, he pitched downe his field in the euening, thinking there to staie till the morning, that he might vnderstand of what power the enimie was, whome he knew to be at hand.

The king of Scots inuadeth the English marshes. Sim. Dunel. Matt. Paris. Polydor.

K. Stephan encamped nere to his enimie the K. of Scots.

King Dauid also was of a fierce courage, and redie inough to haue giuen him battell, but yet when he beheld the English standards in the field, and diligentlie viewed their order and behauiour, he was at the last contented to giue eare to such as intreated for peace on both sides. Whereupon comming to king Stephan, he entred a frendlie peace with him, wherein he made a surrender of Newcastell, with condition that he should reteine Cumberland by the free grant of king Stephan, who hoped thereby to find king Dauid the more faithfull vnto him in time of need: but yet he was deceiued, as afterwards manifestlie appeered. For when king Stephan required of him an oth of allegiance, he answered that he was once sworne alreadie vnto Maud the empresse. Howbeit to gratifie him, he commanded his son Henrie to receiue that oth, for the which the king gaue him the earledome of Huntington to hold of him for euer.

An accord made betwixt the two kings Stephan and Dauid.

¶ The Scotish chronicles set out the matter in other order, but yet all agree that Henrie sware fealtie to king Stephan, as in the said historie of Scotland you may see more at large. Now after that king Stephan had concluded a peace with king Dauid, he returned to London, and there kept his Easter with great ioy and triumphes: who whilest he was yet in the middest of all his pastime, about Rogation weeke, he chanced to fall sicke of a litargie, by reason whereof a rumor was spred ouer all the realme that he was dead. Which though it was but a vaine tale, and of no importance at the first, yet was it after the occasion of much euill. For vpon that report great sedition was raised by the kings enimies amongst the people, the minds of his frends were alienated from him, & manie of the Normans (which were well practised in periuries & treasons) thought they might boldlie attempt all mischeefes that came to hand, and herupon some of them vndertooke to defend one place, and some another. Hugh Bigot erle of Norfolke a valiant chieftein entred into Norwich, Baldwin Reuers toke Excester, & Robert Quisquere got certeine castels also into his hands.

Hec. Boetius.

Simon Dun. Matth. Paris.

Simon Dun. King Stephan sicke.

False rumors what hurt they oftentimes do.

Hugh Bigot. Baldwin Reuers. Robert Quisquere.

King Stephan hearing what his enimies had done, though he was somewhat moued with this alteration of things, yet as one nothing afraid of the matter, he said merilie to those that stood about him: We are aliue yet God be thanked, and that shall be knowne to our enimies per it be long. Neither doubted he any thing but some secret practise of treason, and therfore vsing all diligence, he made the more hast to go against his enimies, whose attempts though streightwaies for the more part he repressed, yet

yet could he not recouer the places (without much adoo) that they had gotten, as Excester, and others: which when he had obteined, he contented himselfe for a time, and followed not the victorie any further in pursuing of his enimies. Whereupon they became more bold afterward than before; in somuch that some after they practised diuerse things against him, whereof (God willing) some in places conuenient shall appeare: howbeit they permitted him to remaine in quiet for a time. But whilest he studied to take order in things at home (perceiuing how no small number of his subiects did dailie shew themselues to beare him no hartie good will) he began by little and little to take awaie those liberties from the people, which in the beginning of his reigne he had granted vnto them, and to denie those promises which he had made, according to the saieng, That which I haue giuen, I would I had not giuen, and that which remaineth I will kéepe still. This sudden alteration and new kind of rough dealing purchased him great enuie amongst all men in the end. About the same time great commotions were raised in Normandie by meanes of the lord Geffrey earle of Anion, husband to Maud the empresse, setting the whole countrie in trouble: but yer any newes thereof came into England, king Stephan went against Baldwin Reduers, who being latelie (though not without great and long siege expelled out of Excester) got him into the Ile of Wight, and there began to deuise a new conspiracie. Howbeit the king comming suddenlie into the Ile, toke it at the first assault, and exiled Baldwin out of the realme.

Polydor.

Geffrey earle of Anion.

Simon Dunel. Wil.Paruus. Polydor.

Hauing thus with good successe finished this enterprise, and being now aduertised of the businesse in Normandie, he sailed thither with a great armie: and being come within two daies iournie of his enimie the earle of Anion, he sent forth his whole power of horsemen, diuided into three parts, which were not gone past a daies iournie forward, but they encountred the earle, finding him with no great force about him. Whereupon giuing the charge vpon him, they put him to flight, and slue manie of his people. Which enterprise in this maner valiantlie atchiued, euen according to the mind of king Stephan, he ioined in freendship with Lewes the seuenth king of France: and hauing latelie created his sonne Eustace duke of Normandie, he presentlie appointed him to do his homage vnto the said Lewes for the same.

Anno Reg.2. 1137

K. Stephan passeth into Normandie.

The earle of Anion put to flight.

Lewes king of France.

Eustace son to king Stephan.

Now whereas his elder brother Theobald earle of Blois at that time in Normandie, found himselfe greeued, that Stephan the yonger brother had vsurped the lands that belonged to their vncle king Henrie, rather than himselfe, Stephan to stop this iust complaint of his brother, and to allaie his mood, agréed with him, couenanting to paie him yearelie two thousand marks of such currant monie as was then in vse. Furthermore, whereas Geffrey the earle of Anion demanded in right of his wife the empresse the whole kingdome of England, to be at an end with him, king Stephan was contented to satisfie him with a yearelie pension of fiue thousand marks, which composition he willinglie receiued.

March.Paris. Theobald erle of Blois.

K. Stephan agreeth with the earle of Anion.

Thus when he had prouided for the suertie of Normandie, he returned againe into England, where he was no sooner arriued, but aduertisement was giuen him of a warre newlie begon with the Scots, whose king vnder a colour of obseruing the oth to the empresse, made dailie insurrections and inuasions into England, to the great disturbance of king Stephan and the annoiance of his people. Wherwith being somewhat moued, he went streightwaies toward the north parts, and determined first to besiege Bedford by the waie, which appertained to the earledome of Huntington, by gift made vnto Henrie the sonne of king Dauid, and therevpon at that present kept with a garison of Scotish men.

Polydor.

The Scots inuade the English borders.

This place did the king besiege by the space of 30. daies togither, giuing thereto euerie daie an assault or alarme, in somuch that cõming thither on Christmasse daie, he spared not on the morow to assaile them, and so at length wan the towne from them by mére force and strength. King Dauid hearing those newes, and being alreadie in armour in the field, entred into Northumberland, and licensed his men of warre to spoile and rob the countrie thereabout at their pleasure. Herevpon followed such crueltie, that their rage stretched vnto old and yong, vnto préest and clearke, yea women with child escaped not their hands, they hanged, headed, and slue all that came in their waie: houses were burnt, cattell driuen awaie, and all put to fire and sword that serued to any vse for relése, either of man or beast.

Simon Dun.

Anno Reg.3. 1138

King Dauid inuaded Northumberland. Matth.West. Polydor. Matt. Paris. Simon Dun.

¶ Here we sée what a band of calamities do accompanie and waite vpon warre, wherein also we haue to consider what a traine of felicities do attend vpon peace, by an equall comparing of which twaine togither, we may easilie perceiue in how heauenlie an estate those people be that liue vnder the scepter of tranquillitie, and contrariwise what a hellish course of life they lead that haue sworne their seruice to the sword. We may consider also the inordinat outrages of princes, & their frantike fiersenes, who esteeme not the losse of their subiects liues, the effusion of innocent blood, the population of countries, the ruinating of ample regions, &c: so their will may be satisfied, there desire serued. And therefore it was aptlie spoken by a late poet, not beside this purpose:

Reges atque duces dira impelluntur in arma,
Imperiúmque sibi miserorum cæde lucrantur.
O cæci, ô miseri, quid? bellum pace putatis
Dignius aut melius? nempe hoc nil turpius, & nil
Quod magis humana procul à ratione recedat.
Candida pax homines, trux decet ira feras.

M.Pal. in suo Capric.

Ouid.

But to our storie. King Stephan hearing of this pitifull spoile, hasted forward with great iournies to the rescue of the countrie. The Scots put in feare of spédie comming to encounter them, drew backe into Scotland: but he pursued them, and entring into their countrie, burned and destroied the south parts of that realme in most miserable maner. Whilest king Stephan was thus about to beat backe the forren enimies, and reuenge himselfe on them, he was assailed by other at home, & not without the iust vengeance of almightie God, who meant to punish him for his periurie committed in taking vpon him the crowne, contrarie to his oth made vnto the empresse and hir children. For Robert earle of Glocester, base brother vnto the empresse, and of hir priuie councell, sought by all meanes how to bring king Stephan into hatred, both of the Nobles and commons, that by their helpe he might be expelled the realme, and the gouernment restored to the empresse and hir sonne.

K. Stephan maketh hast to rescue the north parts. The Scots retire. K. Stephan burnt the south parts of Scotland.

Robert earle of Glocester.

Such earnest trauell was made by this earle of Glocester, that manie of his frends which fauoured his cause, now that king Stephan was occupied in the north parts, ioined with him in conspiracie against their souereigne. First the said earle himselfe toke Bristowe: and after this diuerse other townes and castels there in that countrie were taken by him and others, with full purpose to kéepe the same to the behoofe of the empresse and hir sonne. Amongst other William Talbot toke vpon him to defend Hereford in Wales: William Louell held the castell of Cary: Paganell or Painell kept the castell of Ludlow: William de Moun the castell of Dunestor:

Bristow taken.

Simon Dun. Talbot. Matt. Paris. Louell. Painell.

Fitz-John. Fitz-Alain.

Dunelfor: Robert de Nicholl, the castle of Warram: Eustace Fitz-John, the castle of Walton: and William Fitz-Alain, the castle of Shrewesburie.

When word hereof came to king Stephan, he was maruellouslie vered: for being determined to haue pursued the Scots euen to the vttermost limits of their countrie, he was now driuen to change his mind, and thought it good at the first to stop the proceedings of his enimies at home, least in giuing them space to increase their force, they might in proceasse of time growe so strong, that it would be an hard matter to resist them at the last. Herevpon therfore he returned southward, and comming vpon his enimies, recouered out of their hands diuers of those places which they held, as Hereford, and the castle of Shrewesburie. About the same time one Walkeline yelded the castle of Douer vnto the quéne, who had besieged him within the same.

Simon Dun. Matth. Paris. The castle of Douer deliuered to the quéne. Polydor.

Now king Stephan knowing that the Scots were not like long to continue in quiet, returned northwards againe; and comming to Thurstan the archbishop of Yorke, he committed the kéeping of the countrie vnto his charge, commanding him to be in a redinesse to defend the borders vpon any sudden inuasion. Which thing the couragious archbishop willinglie vndertooke. By this meanes king Stephan being eased of a great part of his care, fell in hand to besiege the residue of those places which the rebels kept: but they fearing to abide the danger of an assault, fled away, some into one part, and some into an other; whom the kings power of horssemen still pursuing and ouertaking by the way, slue, and tooke no small number of them prisoners in the chase. Thus was the victorie in maner wholie atchiued, and all those places recouered, which the enimies had fortified.

Thurstan archbishop of Yorke made lieutenant of the northparts.

In like maner when king Dauid heard that the king was thus vered with ciuill warre at home, he entred England againe in most forceable wise: and sending his horssemen abroad into the countrie, commanded them to waste and spoile the same after their accustomed maner. But in the meane time he purposed with himselfe to besiege Yorke: which citie if he might haue woone, he determined to haue made it the frontier hold against king Stephan, and the rest that tooke part with him. Herevpon calling in his horssemen from straieng further abroad, he marched thitherwards, and comming neere to the citie, pitched downe his tents.

The Scots extremes inuade Northumberland.

In this meane while the archbishop Thurstan, to whom the charge of defending the countrie chéefelie in the kings absence apperteined, called togither the Nobles and gentlemen of the shire and parties adioining, whom with so pithie and effectuall words he exhorted to resist the attempts of the Scots (whose cruell doings could kéepe no measure) that incontinentlie all the power of the northparts was raised, and (vnder the leading of William earle of Albemarle, Walter Espeke, William Peuerell of Nottingham, and two of the Lacies, Walter and Gilbert) offered euen with perill of life and limme to trie the matter against the Scots in a pight field, and either to driue them out of the countrie, or else to lose their liues in the quarell of their prince.

Archbishop Thurstan raiseth a power to fight with the Scots.

Simon Dun. Capteines of the armie.

It chanced at this time, that archbishop Thurstan was sicke, and therefore could not come into the field himselfe, but yet he sent Rafe bishop of Durham to supplie his roome, who though he saw and perceiued that euerie man was readie enough to encounter with their enimies; yet he thought good to vse some exhortation vnto them, the better to encourage them, in maner as here ensueth.

Rafe bish. of Durham supplieth the roome of the archbishop.

Matth. Paris. Sim. Dun.

Most noble Englishmen, and ye right valiant Normans, of whose courage the Frenchman is afraid, by you England is kept vnder, by you Apulia doth florish, and vnto you Jerusalem and Antioch haue yéelded their subiection. We haue at this present the rebellious nation of Scotland (which of right ought to be subiect to the crowne of England) come into the field against vs, thinking for euermore to rid themselues of their submission, and to bring both vs and our countrie into their bondage and thraldome. Now albeit I see in you courage sufficient, to beat them backe from any further attempt; yet least when you shall come to the triall, by any manner of chance, you should lose any péece thereof, I lamenting the state of my countrie (whose gréeuances I wish you should redresse) do meane to vse a few words vnto you, not for that I would exhort you to do any man wrong, but rather to beat them backe which offer to do you iniurie. Consider therefore that you shall here fight with that enimie, whom you haue oftentimes vanquished, and oftentimes offending in periurie, haue oftentimes most worthilie punished: whome also (to be brééfe) raging after the maner of cruell robbers, wickedlie spoiling churches, and taking away our goods, you did latelie constreine to lurke in desert places and corners out of sight. Against this enimie (I say) therefore worthie of reuengement for his so manifold outrages, shew your selues valiant, and with manlie stomaches driue him out of our confines. For as far as I can perceiue, the victorie is yours, God surelie will aid you, who cannot longer abide the sinnes of this people. Wherefore he that loseth his life in so iust a quarell (according to the saieng of our sauiour) shall find it. Let not their rash and presumptuous boldnesse make you afraid, sith so manie tokens of your approued valiancie cannot cause them to stand in doubt of you. You are clad in armour, and so apointed with helmet, curase, greiues, and target, that the enimie knoweth not where to strike and hurt you. Then sith you shall haue to do with naked men, and such as vse not to weare any armour at all, but more mét for brablers and ale-house quarrellers than men of war vsed to the field: what should you stand in doubt of? Their huge number is not able to stand against your skilfull order and practised knowledge in all warlike feats and martiall discipline. A rude multitude is but a let, rather than a furtherance to atchiue the victorie. A small number of your worthie elders haue oftentimes vanquished great multitudes of enimies.

As the bishop was thus speaking to the English armie, and before he grew to an end of his exhortation, the Scots approched with their battels, a first certeine of their bands of horssemen were sent afore, to take the higher ground: which when the Englishmen perceiued, they staied not till the enimies should begin the battell, but straightwaies caused their trumpets to sound, and so gaue the onset.

The Englishmen set vpon the Scots.

The Scots were as readie to encounter with them, so that the battell began to be verie hot, and euen at the first out flew the arrowes, and then the footmen ioined, who fought most fiercelie on both sides. Herewith a wing of them of Lodian, which were in the Scotish vauntgard, brake in vpon the vauntgard of the English: but yet closing togither againe, they kept out the enimies, and casting about with a wing, compassed the Scotish horssemen round about, and panching their horsses, they slue a great number, and constreined the residue to retire. Which thing when their felowes in the other wing saw, their hearts began to faint, and by and by betooke them to their hæles.

The Scots of Lodian disorder the Englishmen. Simon Dun. Matth. Paris.

The rumor of this flight being notified to the maine battell of the Scotish men, where king Dauid himselfe was fighting with his enimies, discomfited them also, in such wise, that they in like sort began to

The Scots put to flight.

shrinke

shrinke backe: first by parts, and after by heaps together. The king did what he could to staie them: but the English prested so vpon them, that there was no recouerie. Wherefore he himselfe was glad in the end to beare his men companie, in seeking to saue himselfe by flight, and make such shift as he could amongst the residue.

Henrie earle of Huntingtons valiancie.

His sonne Henrie the earle of Huntington more regarding his honour, than the danger of life, neither moued with the flight of his father, nor the ouerthrow of the other, came in amongst his men, being readie to turne their backes, and with bold countenance spake these or the like words vnto them, as the shortnesse of the time would permit. Whither go you good fellowes? Here shall you find armour and force, neither shall you, whilest life remaineth in your capteine (whom ye ought to follow) depart without the victorie. Therefore chose whether yee had rather trie the matter with the enimies by battell, or to be put to a shamefull death at home after your returne thither. The Scots moued with these vehement words of their valiant capteine, recoiled vpon their enimies, and began to make hauocke of them: but being no great number, and beset with the English footmen before, and the horsemen behind, they were shortlie brought to distresse, and for the more part either taken or slaine.

At length earle Henrie perceiuing how the matter went, and that there was no hope left of recouerie, fled also with those that could escape, bitterlie cursing the frowardnesse of fortune, and mishap of that daies chance. The number of them that were killed at this battell was aboue ten thousand. In which number there were not manie of the English: but yet among other, Walter Lacie the brother of Gilbert Lacie, one of their cheefe capteines is remembred to be one. This battell was fought in the moneth of August, in the fourth of king Stephan, who hearing of this victorie, greatlie reioised, and gaue infinite commendations to his subiects (the Englishmen and the Normans) but principallie praised archbishop Thurstan and the bishop of Durham for their faithfull and diligent seruice shewed in this behalfe.

Polydor. Hen. Hunt. The number.

Simon Dun. Matth. Paris. Wil. Paru. Polydor.

On the other side he himselfe vsing the like good successe amongst the rebels at home, ouercame them, and chased them out of the land. For in this meane time he had taken the castels of Hereford, Glocester, Webbeley, Bristowe, Dudley, and Shrewesburie. Likewise Robert earle of Glocester not being able to resist the king thus prenailing against his aduersaries on ech hand, fled into France vnto his sister the empresse. After this, about Aduent, the popes legat one Alberike bishop of Hostia, held a synod at London, within Paules church, where by the kings consent, Theobald abbat of Bechellouin was consecrated archbishop of Canturburie, being the 37. archbishop which had ruled that see, after Augustine the monke.

Ran. Higd. Castels recouered by king Stephan.

N. Triuet. Simon Dun. Matth. Paris. Theobald archbishop of Canturburie.

The king hauing now accomplished his purpose, taken the castell of Leides, and brought the state of the realme to a meetlie good staie, thought it expedient after the late ouerthrow giuen to the Scots, to pursue the victorie, and vtterlie to subdue them with all expedition. He brought his armie therefore into Scotland, first wasting and spoiling the countrie, and afterward preparing to fight with such Scots as came forth to defend their goods and houses. K. Dauid perceiuing himselfe to be too weake, made suite to the king for peace, which with much difficultie he obteined at length, by deliuering his sonne Henrie vnto king Stephan in pledge for the sure performance of couenants concluded vpon betwixt them. Herevpon king Stephan hauing thus ended his businesse in Scotland, returned into England: and after directing his iornie towards Wales, he came to Ludlow: which towne (being held by his aduersaries) he wan per long out of their hands.

Anno Reg. 5. 1140

Polydor. Matth. Paris.

K. Stephan inuadeth Scotland.

A peace concluded betweene the two kings of England and Scotland.

Ludlow won.

After this he went to Drenford, where whilest he remained, a great brute was spred abroad, that the empresse was comming with hir brother the earle of Glocester: which caused him to put the lesse trust in his people from thencefoorth, in so much that he began to repent himselfe (although too late) for that he had granted licence to so manie of his subiects to build castels within their owne grounds. For he had them all in suspicion: and amongst other, he vehementlie suspected Roger bishop of Salisburie (who had done verie much for him) and Alexander bishop of Lincolne nephue to the said bishop of Salisburie, or (as some thought) more neere to him in kindred than his nephue, I meane, his sonne. For the said Roger had builded diuerse castels, as at Shierborne, at the Vies, and at Malmesburie. The said Alexander likewise following his vncles example, bestowed his monie that way verie freelie, hauing builded one castell at Newarke, and an other at Sleeford.

Roger bishop of Salisburie.

Alexander B. of Lincolne. Wil. Malm.

Castels built by the bishop of Salisburie.

The king therefore hauing committed both these bishops to prison, and furthermore sent Nigell or Neill the bishop of Elie into exile (which Nigell was nephue also to the foresaid bishop of Salisburie) he threatened to keepe them without either meate or drinke, if they would not cause these castels to be deliuered into his hands, whereby he obteined them, and moreouer found in the bishop of Salisburies cofers 40. thousand marks, which he tooke to his owne vse, by way of confiscation for his disloiall demeanor: This ingratitude of the king wounded the bishops hart, insomuch that taking thought for the losse of his houses and monie, he pined awaie, and died within a while after.

Simon Dun. Newarke castel built by the bishop of Lincolne.

The B. of Elie banished.

The bishop of Salisburie dieth of thought. Wil. Malm. *In nouella historia.*

The quarrell which was first picked at these bishops, rose by occasion of a fraie betwixt the bishops men and the seruants of Alaine duke of Britaine, about the taking vp of Innes at their comming to Drenford. In which fraie one of the dukes men was killed, his nephue almost slaine, and the residue of his folkes sore beaten and chased. Herevpon were the bishops first committed to ward, and afterward handled at the kings pleasure, as partlie ye haue heard.

¶ Heere by the way, good reader, thou hast one example worthie to be marked of fickle fortunes inconstancie, whereof the poet speaketh verie excellentlie;

Fortunes inconstancie. Wil. Paru.

M. Palin suo scer.

——variat semper fortuna tenorem,
Diuersa gaudens mortalia voluere casu.
Nam qui scire velit, cur hunc fortuna vel illum
Aut premat aut sursum tollat, nimis ardua quærit:
Terrarum siquidem est illi concessa potestas
Maxima, & huic illam præfecit Iuppiter orbi.

For this Roger bishop of Salisburie, was in the daies of William Rufus a poore preest, seruing a cure in a village neere the citie of Caen in Normandie. Now it chanced, that the lord Henrie the kings brother came thither on a time, and called for a preest to say masse before him. Wherupon this Roger comming to the altar, was by and by readie and quicke at it, and therewithall had so spedilie made an end thereof, that the men of warre then attendant on the said lord Henrie, affirmed that this preest aboue all other, was a chapleine meet to say masse before men of warre, because he had made an end when manie thought he had but newlie begun. Herevpon the kings brother commanded the preest to follow him, insomuch that when opportunitie serued, for his diligent seruice, and readie dispatch of matters, when Henrie had atteined the crowne, he was by him

aduanced

The bishop of Salisburie made lord Chancelour.

aduanced to great promotions: as first to be Chancelour of England, & after bishop of Salisburie, growing still into such estimation, that he might doo more with the king than any other of the councell.

But to returne to king Stephan, who after he had thus imprisoned the aforesaid bishops, manned those castles which he tooke from them with his owne soldiers, in like maner as he had done all the rest which he had taken from the rebels, that he might the better withstand the empresse and hir sonne, whose comming he euer feared. He began also to shew himselfe cruell towards all men, and namelie against those that had chieflie furthered his title to the obteining of the crowne. ¶ This (as manie take it) came to passe by the prouidence of almightie God, that those should suffer for their periuries, which contrarie to law and right had consented to crowne him king.

K. Stephan doubts whom to trust.

In deed he wist not well whom he might trust, for he stood in doubt of all men, bicause he was aduertised by credible report, that the empresse sought for aid on all sides, meaning verie shortlie to come into England. For this cause also he thought good to procure the frendship of Lewes king of France, which he brought to passe, by concluding a mariage betweene his sonne Eustace and the ladie Constance sister to the said Lewes. But within a few yeares after, this Eustace died, and then was Constance maried to Raimond earle of Tholouse.

He cõtracteth affinitie with the French king.

Wil. Malm. Polydor. Matt. Paris.

In the meane time, namelie on the first daie of September, a councell was holden at Winchester, wherein earle Alberike de Ver pleaded with great eloquence the kings cause, in excuse of his fault for imprisoning the bishops, which was sore laid to his charge by his owne brother the bishop of Winchester, being also the popes legat: who (togither with the archbishop of Canturburie and other bishops) had called this councell for that purpose. Howbeit they got nothing of the king but faire words, and promises of amendment in that which had beene done otherwise than equitie required, which promises were vtterlie vnperformed, and so the councell brake vp.

Alberike de Ver pleadeth the kings cause.

The empresse landed here in England.

In the moneth of Julie the empresse Maud landed here in England at Portelmouth, & went strait to Arundell, which towne (togither with the countie of Suller) hir mother in law Adelicia king Henries second wife, wedded to William de Albenay, held in right of assignation for hir dower. There came in with the empresse hir brother Robert and Hugh Bigot, of whom ye haue heard before.

What power she brought with hir.

Some write that the empresse brought with hir a great armie, to the intent that ioining with Ranulph earle of Chester (who tooke part with Robert erle of Gloucester, bicause the same Rob. had maried his daughter) she might fight with king Stephan, and trie the battell with him. Other declare that she came to England now at the first, but with a small power (as seuen score horsemen or men of armes as we may call them) in hope of Gods assurance (who seldome faileth those that fight in a rightfull cause) and againe vpon trust of aid of frends, who for the benefits receiued at hir fathers hands, would be readie to go against king Stephan. Wherevpon hir brother earle Robert leauing his sister in the castle of Arundell, rode with all speed vnto Gloucester thorough his enimies countrie, not taking with him past 12. men of armes, and as manie archers on horsebacke, that vpon his cõming thither he might leuie an armie with so much speed as was possible.

Wil. Malm.

Polydor.

Earle Robert commeth to Gloucester.

Now when he came to Gloucester, though the citie was kept with a garison of soldiours placed there by king Stephan, yet the townesmen, after they heard that their earle was approched to the gates, they drone out the garison, & receiued him into the towne, where he remained a time, partlie to assemble an armie, and partlie to practise with other townes and castels thereabouts, to reuolt vnto his sister. Amongst all other, the earles sonne Brian, and Miles of Gloucester were right ioifull of the news of the empresses arriuall, and gladlie prepared themselues to fight in defense of hir cause.

Matt. Paris. Brian the earle of Gloucesters sonne. Miles earle of Hereford. Polydor.

In the meane time king Stephan, hauing knowledge of the landing of the empresse, and other his enimies, came strait to Arundell, where he besieged hir in the castle, and spent his labour certeine daies in vaine about the winning of it. Howbeit at that present he did not preuaile, for there were certeine with him, who in fauour of the empresse bare him in hand, that it was not possible to win that fortresse, and therefore aduised him to raise his siege, and suffer the empresse to be at libertie to go to some other place, where he might with more ease and lesse damage get hir into his hands. The king not perceiuing the drift of those secret practisers, followed their counsell. Wherevpon the empresse being now at libertie, went from place to place to trie and solicit hir frends: and as a riuer increaseth in the passage, so the further the ladie went, the more hir power increased. About the midst of the next night after the siege was raised, she departed out of the castle, and with great iournies sped hir towards Bristow, which was alreadie reuolted to hir side.

The empresse besieged in Arundell castel.

The king raiseth his siege.

The empresse goeth to Bristow.

These things being thus bruted abroad, the Peeres of the realme resorted to hir, as they that well remembred how in time past by oth of allegiance they were suerlie bound to hir and hir issue. The king in the meane time besieged the castle of Wallingford, but after he vnderstood that the empresse was gotten to Bristow, repenting himselfe for his light credit giuen to euill counsell, he left off the siege of Wallingford, and drew towards Bristow, that he might (if it were possible) inclose his aduersaries within that walled citie. But the empresse, being aduertised of his determination (by such of hir frends as were resident about him) first went to Gloucester, and after to Lincolne, where she prouided vittailes and all other things necessarie for hir armie and defense: purposing to remaine in that citie, till the matter were either tried by chance of warre betwixt hir and king Stephan, or that by the peoples helpe reuolting to hir side, he might be driuen out of the realme, and she restored to the whole gouernement. The king followed hir verie earnestlie, and comming vnto Lincolne besieged it, assaieng on euerie side which waie he might best find meanes to win it, & enter into the same. At length the empresse found shift to escape from thence, and within a little while the king got possession of the citie. But shortlie after, Robert earle of Gloucester, and Ranulph earle of Chester, Hugh Bigot, and Robert of Morley assembling their power, aswell of Welshmen as others, to come to the succour of those that were thus besieged, came to Lincolne, & pitching downe their tents neere to the enimies, they rested the first night without making any great attempt.

K. Stephan besiegeth Wallingford.

Anno Reg. 6. 1141

Sim. Dunel. R. Houe. K. Stephan winneth Lincolne. Ran. Higd. Simon Dun.

Polydor. N. Triuet.

In the morning being the second daie of Februarie, so soone as it was daie, they set their men in order of battell, and brought them forth in sight of the king and his host: who on the other side, not meaning to refuse the conflict, ordered his men readie to encounter them, whome he diuided into 3. seuerall battels. The chiefest part of his armed men he appointed to remaine on foot, amongst whom he placed himselfe, with certeine noble men, as earle Baldwin, and others. The residue being horsemen, he disposed into two seuerall wings, in one of which were Alaine duke of Britaine, Hugh Bigot earle of Norfolke, Simon earle of Hampton, and two other earles, Pellent and Waren: howbeit they were not furnished

The ordering of the kings armie readie to giue battell.

Simon Dun. Matt. Paris.

The earles of Norfolke, Hampton, Pellent, & waren.

shed with such number of men as had bene requisit; for as it fell out, they brought no great retinues with them. The other wing was gouerned by the earle of Albemarle, and William de Ypres.

The earle of Albemarle. William de Ypres.

Now on the aduersaries side, the earle of Chester led the fore ward, and those whome king Stephan had disherited, were placed in the middle ward. In the rere ward the earle of Glocester with his companie had the rule. And besides those three battels, the Welshmen were set as a wing at one of the sides.

The ordering of the battels on the kings aduersaries part.

Here the earle of Chester (to vtter the good will which he had to fight) appointed in faire armour as he was, spake these words in effect as followeth, directing the same to the earle of Glocester, and other the capteines, saieng: I giue you hartie thanks, most inuincible chieftaine, and you my fellow souldiers, which declare your hartie good wils towards me, euen to the ieoparding of your liues at this my request and instance. Sith then I am the occasion of your perill, it is conuenient that I make the first entrance, and giue the onset of the battell vpon that most disloiall king, who granting a truce, hath broken the peace; and swearing to be a subiect, is now proued a most wicked vsurper: I therefore trusting both vpon reuenge of the vniust dealings of this king, and also vpon mine owne force and courage, shall straitwaies breake in sunder the arraie of his armie, and make waie through the middest of the enimies with sword in hand. It shall be your parts then to follow me, who will lead you the waie: for euen now my mind giueth me, that I shall passe thorough the battels, tread the capteines vnder foot, and run the king through with this my sharpe sword.

The oration of the earle of Chester. Ran. Higd.

When he had thus ended, the earle of Glocester answered in this wise: It is not against reason that you should require the honor of the first onset, both for the nobilitie of your house, and also in respect of the prowesse wherein you excell: but yet if you stand vpon nobilitie, for my part, being the sonne and nephue of a king, ought not I to be preferred? If vpon valiancie, here are manie verie worthie men, afore whom there is not one aliue that may chalenge any prerogatiue. But another reason moueth me most chiefly to be the formost. The king, who contrarie to his oth made to my sister, hath cruellie vsurped the kingdome, and setting all in trouble, hath bene the cause of manie thousand mens deaths, and distributed lands and liuings to such as haue no right to the same, which he hath violentlie taken from the rightfull owners, who are quite disherited. This king (I saie) is first to be assailed with the assistance of the righteous iudge, who prepareth punishment for wicked doers. For almightie God, who iudgeth his people with equitie, will loke downe from his heauenlie habitation, and will not leaue vs comfortlesse in this so great a necessitie. One thing there is, most valiant capteines, and all you right hardie souldiers, which I would haue you to consider, that through the fennes, which with much adoo you haue passed, there is no waie to escape by flight. Here must we either vanquish the enimies, or else die in the field: for no hope of safegard remaineth in fleeing awaie. This onelie resteth (I saie) that you make waie for you to enter the citie with force of your weapons. If I be not deceiued in that which my mind giueth me to coniecture, the lacke of meanes to escape, otherwise than by shewing your selues valiant men, by Gods helpe will bring vs the victorie. For he must needs plaie the man, who hath not other succor to auoid the danger of destruction. The citizens of Lincolne, who shall fight so neere their houses as you shall see, will not staie long to get them thither for their refuge. And herewith consider and weie (I beseech you) against whom you shall match in this battell. There is Alane duke of Britaine, who commeth armed against you, yea rather against God, a wicked person, and spotted with all kind of filthinesse; who in malice hath no peere, as one that neuer wanted desire to doo mischefe: and who to be comparable in cruelties, would iudge it a great reproch. There commeth also the earle of Mellent, a man full of all guile and deceit, in whose hart iniquitie is rooted, and nothing sounding in his mouth but vnthankfulnesse; besides this, he is slothfull in deeds, presumptuous in words, not hastie to fight, but swift to run awaie. Then commeth earle Hugh, who hath not thought it sufficient to breake his oth to my sister the empresse, but he must commit periurie the second time, in auouching (vpon a new oth) that king Henrie granted the kingdome to Stephan, and disabled his daughter. After him marcheth the earle of Albemarle, a man of singular constancie in euill, verie readie to attempt and loth to giue ouer a mischefe: whose wife, through irkesomnes of his filthie behauiour is gone from him; & he that keepeth hir, cōmeth with him also against vs, an open adulterer, & one well esteemed of Bacchus, but nothing acquainted with Mars. Then setteth forth Simon earle of Hampton, whose deeds consist in words, & whose gifts rest in promises. For when he hath said, he hath done; & when he hath promised, ye get no more. Finallie there come togither a knot of Peeres & Noble men, like to their king and maister, accustomed to robberies, enriched with rapines, embrued with manslaughters, & defamed with periurie. You therefore (most valiant capteins & hardie souldiers) whom king Henrie hath aduanced, and this man hath brought vnder foot; whom he made wealthie, and this man hath impouerished; vpon trust of your worthy valiancie, yea rather vpon trust of Gods iustice seeke your reuenge thus offered by God vpon these wicked wretches, & with manlie stomachs vow to go forward, & forswere stepping back. When the earle had made an end, all the armie (lifting vp their hands to God) abiured all intention to flee, and so made themselues readie to set forward.

Alane duke of Britaine. The earle of Mellent. Earle Hugh. The earle of Albemarle. The earle of Albemarles wife. Simon earle of Hampton. Like maister, like seruants.

The earle of Glocesters answer to the earle of Chesters oration.

The necessitie to fight valiantlie.

King Stephan hauing no pleasant voice of himselfe, appointed earle Baldwin to giue an exhortation to his armie, whereupon getting himselfe to an high place where he might be seene & heard of them, he thus began. All such as shall giue battell, ought to foresee three things: first, that their cause be righteous: secondlie, the number of their men to be equall at the least: and thirdlie, the goodnesse and sufficiencie of them. The righteousnes of their cause ought to be regarded, least men runne in danger of the soule; the number of men is to be respected, least they should be oppressed with multitude of enimies; and the goodnesse of the souldiers is to be considered, least trusting in the multitude, they should presume vpon the aid of feeble persons, & such as are of small valure. In all these points we see our selues sufficientlie furnished. The iustice of our cause is this: that obseruing the thing which we vowed to our king before God, we stand to the same against those that haue falsified their faith, euen to the perill of death. Our number is not much lesse in horsemen, and in footmen we exceed them. As for the goodnesse or sufficiencie of our men, who is able to expresse the noble prowesse of so manie earles, of so manie lords and souldiers, trained vp euer in warres? The passing valiancie of our king may stand in place of innumerable souldiers. Sith then he being the lords annointed, is here amongst you, vnto whom ye haue vowed allegiance, performe your vow. For the more earnestly and faithfully ye serue your prince in this battell, which you are readie to fight against periured persons, the more shall your reward be at the hands of God and him. Therfore be of good comfort, & haue

Earle Baldwin his oration in the behalfe of king Stephan.

Three things to be foreseene by them that shall giue battell.

in

" in remembrance against whom you dw darraine the
Erle Robert. " battell. The force of erle Robert is well knowne, his
" maner is to threaten much, & to worke little, furious
" in words, eloquent of speach, but cold or rather dead
The earle of Chester. " harted in deeds. The earle of Chester what is he?
" A man of vnreasonable boldnesse, bent to conspira-
" cie, inconstant to perfourme that which he rashlie ta-
" keth in hand, readie to run into batell, vncircumspect
" in danger, practising things of great importance, see-
" king after things vnpossible, bringing with him few
" good soldiers, but gathering a vagarant rout of ras-
" cals. There is nothing in him that we ought to be
" afraid of, for loke whatsoeuer he attempteth man-
" fullie, the same he giueth ouer womanlie, in all his
" doings vnfortunate, in all encounters either he is
" ouercome and fleeth awaie, or if he get the vpper hand
" (which seldome times chanceth) he sustaineth greater
" losse than they whom he doth vanquish.

" The Welshmen, whom he bringeth with him are
" little esteemed of vs, who pretend a naked rashnesse
" without any vse of armor, so that as men without
" any knowledge of martiall policie, they fall as brute
" beasts vpon the hunters iauceline. The other, as well
" the nobles as the common souldiers are but runna-
" gates and vagabounds; of whom I would wish the
" number greater than it is: for the more they be, the
" worsse in effect their seruice shall prooue in time of
" need. You therefore (most worthie chæfetaines) you
" men of honor, it standeth you vpon to haue in regard
" your vertue and dignities. This day aduance your
" renowme, and follow the forefteps of your famous
Continuall good successe a prouocation of boldnesse. " ancestors, leaue to your sonnes an euerlasting com-
" mendation. The continuall successe of victorie ought
" to be a prouocation vnto you to dw manfullie: the
" continuance of euill speed may be to ponder side an
" occasion to run awaie. For euen alreadie (I dare say)
" they repent them of their comming hither, and could
" be contented to be gone, if the nature of the place
" would suffer them to depart. Then sith it is not possi-
" ble for them either to fight or to flee, what other thing
" can they dw, but (as appointed by Gods ordinance)
" offer themselues and all they haue about them pre-
" sentlie vnto vs. Yee see then their horsses, their ar-
" mour, and their bodies readie here at your pleasure,
" lift vp your hearts therefore, and reach your hands to
" take that with great chearefulnesse of mind, which
" the Lord hath thus offered and freelie presented vn-
" to you.

Now yer he had all made an end of his words, the batels were readie to ioine, they met with great noise of trumpets and other instruments, and the fight began with a verie sore and cruell slaughter. Hard it was in the beginning to gesse who should haue the better. The wing of the disherited men ouerthrew and bare downe their aduersaries, which were led by the duke of Britaine, and the forenamed earles. On the contrarie part, the earle of Albemarle and William de Ypres put the Welshmen to flight, but by the earle of Chester and his retinue, the same earle and William de Ypres were fiercelie assailed afresh, and put out of order. Thus was the kings side put to the worse, namelie his horssemen, who being placed in the forefront, and there ouermatched, fell to galoping. Which thing when the king beheld, he was not yet any whit therewith abashed, but like an hardie captein (as he was no lesse indeed) comforted his footmen whom he had about him, and rushing vpon his enimies, bare them downe, and ouerthrew so manie as stood before him, so that with the point of his weapon he made himselfe waie. His footmen, who were but a few in number to the multitude of his enimies, counteruailed in all points the prowes and manlike doings of their king and captein, in-somuch that few batels had beene better fought, nor with greater slaughter on both sides, if the kings forward (which in maner at the first shranke backe and was disordered, not without some suspicion of treason) had staied the brunt of the enimies a while, as it had beene requisite. At length the king encoun-tring with the earle of Chester, being ouercharged with multitude, was taken prisoner by one William de Cahames.

Earle Baldwine, who had made the oration in the kings behalfe, was also taken, after he had fought valiantlie and receiued manie sore wounds: like-wise Richard Fitzvrse, who on that daie had shewed good proofe of his manhood, and had giuen and recei-ued manie a sore stripe. To conclude, all those that abode with the king, and namelie all the footmen were taken prisoners, those which were slaine in the place excepted. This battell was fought in the first yeare of king Stephans reigne, vpon Candlemas daie, being sundaie, as Niger saith.

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

Matth. Paris.

W. Paru.

The king being apprehended and brought to the empresse lieng at Glocester, was commanded by hir to be conueied in safetie vnto Bristow, where he was kept as prisoner from that time of his taking, vntill the feast of All saints next ensuing. Not long after this field fought, as ye haue heard, Geffrey earle of Anion husband to the empresse, receiuing ad-uertisement of this victorie atchiued in England, forthwith inuaded Normandie, inducing all the No-bles of the countrie to incline vnto him: for by pub-lishing the captiuitie of king Stephan, it was easie for him to come by the possession of the same.

Polydor. The king led to Bristow.

W. Paru.

Moreouer, Dauid king of Scotland entred into Northumberland, and by commandement of the em-presse toke the countrie into his hands, whilest she (like a woman of great wisedome, as she was no lesse indeed) iudging that it stood hir vpon to vse the victorie which fell to hir lot, slept not hir businesse, but went forward, and setting from Glocester, she came to Winchester, where she was honorablie receiued of bishop Henrie, though he was king Stephans brother, and inwardlie lamented the misfortune of the king. Then came she backe againe to Wilton, and so to Oxenford, from thence to Reading, and then to S. Albons, into all which cities and townes she was receiued with great triumph and honour.

The king of Scots taketh Northumber-land into his possession. Polydor. The empresse foloweth the victorie.

Hauing thus passed through all the south parts of the realme on that side, she finallie came to London, where the citizens welcomed hir in most ioifull and hartie maner. Now being come to London, and con-sulting with those of hir councell for the quieting of the whole state of the realme, quæne Maud wife to king Stephan (for so she was also called) made humble suit vnto hir to haue hir husband set at li-bertie, promising that he should resigne his whole claime and title into hir hands, and content himselfe with a priuate life. But hir suit was so farre off from being granted, that she was reiected and cast off with reprochfull words. Whereupon she conceiued a most high displeasure, and vnderstood well inough; that peace was to be purchased by force of armes onelie, and not by any other meanes: insomuch that with all diligence she sent to hir sonne Eustace (then be-ing in Kent) & willed him to prepare an armie, which he did most speedilie.

She cōmeth to London. The quæne sueth to the empresse for the deliuerie of hir husband

It chanced at the same time that the citizens of London made great and laborious suit vnto the said empresse, that they might haue the lawes of king Edward the Confessour restored, and the straight lawes of hir father king Henrie abolished. But for so much as they could get no grant of their petition, and perceiued the empresse to be displeased with them about that importunat request, wherein onelie she ouershot hir selfe, they deuised how and by what meanes they might take hir prisoner, knowing that

The Londo-ners conspire to take the empresse.

all the Kentishmen would helpe to strengthen them in their enterprise. But reckoning with hir selfe that

Nil poterit propera tutius esse fuga,

She fled in the night time out of the citie.

And being warned thereof, she fled by night out of the citie, and went to Drenford, determining to be reuenged vpon hir aduersaries when time should serue hir turne. Herewith she began to war more displeased both against those Nobles whom she kept in prison, & other also whom she troubled, but namelie king Stephan, whom she commanded to be loden with yrons, and serued with verie slender diet.

N. Triuet.

Now when she had thus fled out of London, which was about the feast of the natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptist, the tower of London was besieged, which Geffrey de Mandeuile held, and valiantlie defended. The same Geffrey rushing out on a time, came to Fulham, where he toke the bishop of London then lodging in his manor place, being one of the contrarie faction.

Geffrey de Mandeuile.

The bishop of Londō taken.

Polydor.

Henrie bishop of Winchester perceiuing the wrath of the empresse more and more to increase dailie against hir people, thinking it wisedome to serue the time, manned all the castels which he had builded within his dioces; as at Waltham, Farnham, and other places, and withdrew himselfe into the castell of Winchester, there to remaine, till he might see to what end the furie of the woman would grow. This being knowne, the empresse toke vnto hir Dauid king of Scotland that was hir vncle, who immediatlie ioining their armies togither, went to Winchester and besieged the castell. In the meane time the quéene and hir sonne Eustace, with the helpe of their frends, as the Kentishmen, the Londoners and other had assembled a great armie, and appointed the gouernement and generall conduct thereof vnto one William of Ypres a Fleming, who for his valiancie was by king Stephan created earle of Kent: he was sonne to Philip of Flanders, begotten of a concubine, his father also was sonne to Robert earle of Flanders, surnamed Frisius. This William was banished out of his countrie by Theodorike Elsas earle of Flanders, bicause he attempted to bereaue him of his earledome.

Castels fortified by the bishop of Winchester.

William de Ypresse.

Ia. Meir.

The quénes armie thus committed to his guiding, came nére vnto Winchester, and kept the empresse and hir people in maner besieged: at length perceiuing the aduantage after the comming of a great supplie of Londoners to their aid, they set vpon hir armie as the same was departing, with such violence, that straight wales hir host was put to flight and discomfited. The empresse was glad to faine hir selfe dead, and so to be conueied in a coch as a dead corps vnto Glocester. Hir brother Robert with manie other of the Nobles that staied behind, till she and other might get out of danger, were taken prisoners. And bicause the king was kept at Bristow vnder the custodie of the said Robert, the quéne caused him to be hardlie handled, that he might proue the words of the gospell true: With what measure yée meat vnto other, with the same by other shall it be remeasured vnto you. He had deserued verie euill of the king heretofore, and therefore it was now remembred. He was taken (in maner aboue said) on the feast day of the exaltation of the crosse.

Wil. Malm. *In nouella historia.* N. Triuet. Sim. Dun. Polydor.

The empresse armie put to flight.

Wil. Malm.

Robert earle of Glocester taken prisoner.

Matt. Paris.

Dauid king of Scotland was not at the battell himselfe, but hearing of the discomfiture, got him out of the countrie, and by helpe of truftie guides returned into Scotland, whilest Alberike de Ver was slaine at London in a seditious tumult raised by the citizens. The kingdome being thus diuided into two seuerall factions, was by all similitudes like to come to vtter ruine: for the people kindled in hatred one against another, sought nothing else but reuenge on both sides, and still the land was spoiled and wasted by the men of warre which lodged within the castels and fortresses, and would often issue out to harrie and spoile the countries. But now that the two cheefest heads were prisoners, there was good hope conceiued that God had so wrought it, whereby might grow some ouerture of talke, to quiet such troubles by frendlie peace and agreement.

Wil. Paruus. N. Triuet.

Dauid king of Scots returned home.

Simon Dun. R. Houe.

Alberike de Ver slaine.

Wil. Malm.

Polydor.

Herevpon those lords that wished well to the common-wealth, began to intreate betwixt them, and articles were propounded for a concord to be had, and an exchange of prisoners on both sides. But the empresse and hir brother would not hearken to any agréement, except that the realme might wholie remaine to the said empresse. Whereby the enimies were rather increased than decreased by this treatie, so that at length the king and the earle (wearied with tedious wrksomnesse of yrons and hard imprisonment, and putting all their hope in the chance of war) about the feast of All saints made exchange by deliuering of the one for the other, without making mention of any peace at all: and so kindled with new displeasures, they renewed the warre.

Geruasius Dorober.

The king and the earle of Glocester deliuered by exchange.

Anno Reg. 7.

1142

Geruasius Dorobernensis.

A parlement called.

King Stephan being deliuered in such wise as you haue heard, comming to London, and there being accompanied with his brother Henrie bishop of Winchester (then the popes legat) Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, and others, he called a parlement, wherein the king declared the present state, how the enimie was brought to this point, that if it would please the Nobles of the realme to mainteine him with men & monie, he trusted now so to worke, as they should not need to feare submission to the yoke of a womans gouernment: which at the first they seemed much to mislike, and now sithens (to their great greefe) had proued to be intollerable. The summe of his talke tended to this end, that those which were able of themselues to aid him with their owne persons, should prepare them out of hand so to do; and the residue that were not meet (as bishops, and such like maner of men) should be contributors to aid him with hired souldiers, armour, and monie.

This was gladlie agréed vpon, with the generall consent of all the assemblie. And bicause the bishops shewed themselues verie liberall towards the aduancing of the kings purpose, there was a statute made at the same parlement, that who so euer did laie any violent hands on a sacred person, or else toke vpon him to apprehend any of them, for what fault soeuer, without the bishops licence, he should be accursed, and not be assoiled of any maner of person, except of the pope, as by a canon it was alreadie decréed, but not obeied among the Englishmen till that daie. ¶ The cause of making this statute was cheeflie, for that prests during the time of the ciuill warrs, were dailie either slaine, or taken prisoners, and so put to their ransoms, or charged with great penalties and grieuous fines.

A statute established in fauour of prests

The bishop of Winchester at this councell also began an other brall among the cleargie, for being brother to king Stephan, & armed with the popes authoritie as his legat in England, by reason of exercising his authoritie, fell at variance with the bishop of Canturburie, who toke himselfe for his superior, bicause he was his primat. This quarell grew so far in question, that they went both to Rome to haue the controuersie decided, and so bringing their suits thither, contented well the eares of them that had the hearing of the same: for the more weightie the cause seemed, the better it liked them.

¶ A late writer, noting in clergiemen of his age & countrie not onelie the aspiring vice of ambition, but other disorders also, and monstrous outrages, after a complaint made that gold (by which title he calleth those of the ecclesiasticall order) is turned into

Paul. Lang. in Chron. citizen. pag. 760.

to drosse, and swéet wine become tart vineger, concludeth with the illation of the cause hereof compriséd in this metricall accouplement, saieng:

Dum factor rerum priuaret flamine clerum,
Ad satanæ votum succesſit turba nepotum.

Which he inferred vpon occasion against the preposterous elections of vnmeet men into episcopall sées, for that they were not so qualified as the dignitie of the place required; otherwise peraduenture enabled with competent knowledge and learning. And suerlie, we may note these inordinate affections from the beginning of this our chronicle in the best (I meane in respect of their estates) of this liuerie, and may iustlie impute it to the defection of Gods spirit in them, whose nature is to plant peace and méekenesse in the harts of his tenants, not discord, not ambition, not the works of darknesse, which beséeme not the children of light. But to the purpose.

Matth. Paris. Earle Robert passeth ouer into Normandie.

As the king began (after his libertie obteined) to prouide for warres, so earle Robert (after he was discharged) sailed ouer into Normandie, taking with him the sonnes of diuerse Noble men who fauored the empresse, whome he deliuered to hir husband the earle of Anion to be kept as pledges, & earnestlie besought him to passe ouer into England with an armie to aid the empresse. Howbeit bicause he was newlie intred into the conquest of Normandie, and had alreadie won the most part thereof, he thought good to make first an end of his warres there, hauing somewhat to do against certeine rebels of his owne countie of Anion, which did not a little molest him. But he recouered (whilest the earle of Glocester was there with him) Alney, Mortaigne, Tenerchbray, and diuerse other places perteining chieflie to the earle of Mortaigne: about the same time also they of Constances submitted themselues vnto him. Thus the earle of Anion being occupied in those parties, could not well come into England.

Normandie wonne by the earle of Anion.

Wil. Malm. Earle of Glocester returneth.

Whereupon the earle of Glocester came backe againe himselfe, and bringing with him somewhat lesse than foure hundred men of armes (imbarked in 52. ships) landed with the same at Warrham, and besieged the castell there, which his enimies had won out of his hands whilest he was absent in Normandie. In the end they that were within it (vnder the gouernment of Herebert de Lucy) fell to agreement by composition, that if they were not succoured by a certeine time, they should deliuer the castell vnto the earle. King Stephan himselfe the same time held a siege before Oxford, within the which he had inclosed the empresse, as hereafter shalbe shewed: so that they within the castell of Warrham had no succour sent vnto them, and therefore (according to the articles of their composition) they yelded vp the hold, after erle Robert had lien three wéekes before it.

Ger. Dor.

Wil. Malm.

The Ile of Portland. Circester.

This castell being thus wonne, earle Robert subdued also such as kept the Ile of Portland, and had fensed it after the maner of a fortresse: afterwards he came to Circester, and there assembled all those that fauoured the part of the empresse, meaning with all conuenient spéed to go to Oxford, & there to giue battell to king Stephan, if he would abide it. Who after his deliuerance from captiuitie, had assembled a great host of men, and comming to Oxford, where the empresse then laie, suddenlie besieged hir, before she looked for him. And to the end also that he might compell the townsmen to yeeld, or else kéepe them from entring which would come to their succors, he ranged abroad into the countrie with part of his armie, wasting all afore him by fire & sword. This siege continued almost two moneths, in maner from his deliuerie in the beginning of November, vntill Christmasse immediatlie following: in somuch that through lacke of vittels they within the towne began to raise mutinies. The empresse therefore doubting the sequele, and séeing hir prouision to decaie, deuised a shift how to escape that present danger, which by force she was vnlikelie to performe.

The empresse escapeth out of Oxford.

It was a verie hard winter that yeare, the Thames and other riuers thereabouts were frosen, so that both man and horsse might safelie passe ouer vpon the yce, the fields were also couered with a thicke and déepe snow. Herevpon taking occasion, she clad hir selfe and all hir companie in white apparell, that a far off they might not be discerned from the snow; and so by negligence of the watch that kept ward but slenderlie, by reason of the exceeding cold weather, she and hir partakers secretlie in the night issued out of the towne, and passing ouer the Thames, came to Walingford, where she was receiued into the castell by those that had the same in kéeping to hir vse: of whom Brian the sonne to the erle of Glocester was the chiefe.

N. Triuet. Simon Dun. Wil. Paru. Ran. Higd. Matth. Paris. Polydor. Wil. Malm. Simon Dun. Matth. Paris. Brian sonne to the earle of Glocester.

¶ Here we may sée the subtiltie of the empresse, whereby she obteined frée and safe passage out of hir enimies hands, who otherwise had taken hir in their net. So that it will be true, that hath neuer béene false, which Æneas Syluius (and before him many more driuing vpon the like argument) doth saie in this distichon:

Æneas Syluius.

Non audet stygius Pluto tentare, quod audent
Effrænis monachus plenáque fraudis illa,

Meaning *Mulier*, a woman. And therefore loke what they want in magnanimitie, in strength, in courage, the same is suplied by deceit, by circumuention, by craft, by fraud, by collusion; sometimes applied to a good intent, but most commonlie directed to an euill meaning and purpose, as the euents themselues do manie times declare. But let vs sée what followed vpon this escape of the empresse.

Polydor. Simon Dun. N. Triuet.

After hir departure from Oxford, the townesmen yeelded vnto the king, who hauing taken order for the keeping of them in obedience, marched toward Walingford, minding to besiege the castell there: but being encountred in the way by his enimies, he was driuen backe, and so constreined to turne another waie. Earle Robert hearing that his sister was escaped and gotten to Wallingford, hasted thither with all spéed to visit hir: & (as some write) brought with him hir sonne the lord Henrie that was come with him from beyond the seas, to sée his mother: so that the empresse now beholding both hir sonne and brother, receiued them with all the ioy and honour that she could or might presentlie make them. Hir son remaining vnder the gouernement of earle Robert, was then appointed by him to abide within the citie of Bristow, & there continued for the space of 4. yéeres, being committed to one Matthew his schoolemaister, to be instructed in knowledge, and trained vp in ciuill behauiour.

Anno Reg. 8. 1143

The empresse hir sonne lord Henrie.

King Stephan (after the spoiling of sundrie churches, the robbing and burning of manie townes and villages by the hands of his hired souldiers, who for the more part were Flemings) came at length with his brother the bishop of Winchester stronglie armed vnto Wilton, where he toke in hand to fortifie the nunrie in steed of a castell, to resist the incursions and inrodes of them of Salisburie, who in the behalfe of the empresse had done manie displeasures vnto his frends: but earle Robert vnderstanding of his doings, got a power togither with all spéed, and the first daie of Julie about sunne setting came to Wilton, and suddenlie set the towne on fire.

The king commeth to Wilton.

The king being lodged within the nunrie, and fearing no such matter, after he heard of the sudden assemblie of his enimies, was put in such feare, that he toke himselfe dishonourablie to flight, leauing his men, his plate, and other riches altogither behind

him. The earles souldiers egerlie assailed the kings people, killed and spoiled them at their pleasure, rifled the kings treasurie without resistance, and satisfied themselues with grædines. In this broile was William Marcell or Martell taken prisoner by earle Roberts men, & led to the castell of Wallingford, where Brian the earle of Glocesters sonne hauing charge of that castell, kept him in close prison, and vsed him hardlie, who by reason of the opinion which men had conceiued of his valiancie, could not be deliuered, till he had paid 300. marks for his ransome, and deliuered the castell of Shirborne into the earles hands. Within a few daies after, Miles earle of Hereford departed this life, whose death was verie grëuouslie taken of the empresse, for he was one of hir chëefe frëends and councellers. His eldest sonne Roger succeeded him, a gentleman though yong in yeares, yet valiant and forward in feats of armes. William Mandeuile earle of Esser, an ancient capteine, & an expert warriour (who had serued the empresse, was taken also at S. Albons) but not without great slaughter of the kings souldiers: in so much that among other, the erle of Arundell mounted on a couragious palfrie & a verie valiant man was ouerthrowen in the middest of a water called Haliwell, by a knight named Walkeline de Ercaie, so that the same earle was sore bruised in his bodie, and almost drowned. The king was present himselfe at the taking of the said Mandeuile, whom he spoiled of all his goods, and constreined by way of redemption of his libertie, to deliuer into the kings hands the Tower of London, the castell of Walden, and Plesshey. Herevpon the same earle being released was driuen through pouertie to seeke some recouerie of his losses by sundrie spoiles and roberies. First of all therefore he spoiled the abbeie of S. Albons, and then the abbeie of Ramsey, which he fortified and defended as a fortresse, casting the monks out of dores, and in euerie place where soeuer he came, he robbed the countrie before him, till at length in the midst of his reuenge and malicious doings, he was shot thorough with an arrow amongst his men by a sillie footman, and so ended his life with confusion, receiuing worthie punishment for his vngodlie behauiour. For he was a man of high stomach & loftie courage, but verie obstinate against God, of great industrie in worldlie businesse, but passing negligent towards his maker, as writers report of him.

Wi'. Paru. Sim. Dun. M. Triuet. Matt. Paris.

Miles earle of Hereford deceased.

Ger. Dor. The earle of Esser taken.

The earle of Arundell.

N. Triuet. Wil. Paru.

Anno Reg. 9. 1144 Hen. Hunt.

Sim. Dunel. Iohn Pike. Matth. West. N. Triuet.

Likewise Robert Marmion, who had attempted the semblable robberie & spoile in the abbeie church of Couentrie, was slaine before the same abbeie by a like mischance. For going forth to encounter with the earle of Chester (his mortall enimie, and being approched as then towards the citie) he fell with his horsse into a ditch, which he caused to be couertlie made for the destruction of his enimies: and before he could be relieued, a souldier of the earles part kept to him, and stroke his head from his shoulders in sight of both armies. Ernulfus the sonne of earle Geffrey Mandeuile that kept the church of Ramsey as a fortresse, after his fathers death, was taken at length and banished.

Wil. Malm. Wil. Paru.

¶ Thus we see how Gods iudgement hunteth and pursueth the wicked, in so much that they be ouertaken in their owne imaginations: according to that of the scripture, The wicked and bloudthirstie man shall not liue halfe his daies. And true it is, that as men liue, so commonlie they die: for, as one saith verie well;

M. Pal. in suo scor.

——— bona nulla scelestis
Et iustis mala nulla quidem contingere possunt.

About the same time aduertisement was giuen, that the citie of Lincolne, which the earle of Chester had in kéeping, was but slenderlie manned. Wherevpon the king conceiuing some hope to win the same, hasted forward: and comming thither in the night, laid siege thereunto, and began to cast a trench to stop them within frō making any salies without.

Lincolne besieged.

The earle at the first being somewhat amazed with the sudden approch of the enimie, yet beholding from the walles the maner of them without, he perceiued the rankes to be verie thin: and thereby gessing their number to be but small, suddenlie issued forth at the gates to encounter with them. The king abode not the giuing of the charge, bicause he was but weake and therefore fled; neither could the earle follow the chace conuenientlie, for the like cause; but setting vpon those that were about to make the trench, he slue 80. of the workemen, and then retired into the castell.

The siege raised.

N. Triuet.

This yeare was an heinous act committed by the Iewes at Norwich, where they put a child to death, in crucifieng him vpon a crosse to the reproch of christian religion.

A child crucified by the Iewes.

In the yeare following; namelie, in the 10. yeare of king Stephans reigne, Robert earle of Glocester and other capteins toke in hand to build a castell at Faringdon. But king Stephan assembling an armie of Londoners and other, came thither, and besieged them within. Now whilest earle Robert and others of the empresses capteins remaining not far off, taried for a greater power to come to their aid, the king with sharpe assaults (but not without losse of his men) wan the fortresse: whereby his side began to war the stronger, and to be more highlie aduanced. After this he came with a mightie armie vnto Wallingford, and there builded a strong castell ouer against the other castell which his aduersaries held against him.

Matth. Paris. Simon Dun. Anno Reg. 10. 1145

A castell built at Faringdon.

Hen. Hunt.

The king winneth it by force.

Anno Reg. 11. 1146

Thither also came the earle of Chester with a great traine of knights and gentlemen vnto the king, and so at length they were not vnfeignedlie accorded and made frends, but in apperance on the kings behalfe. For shortlie after, the earle was craftilie taken at a parlement holden at Northampton, by the practise of K. Stephan, and could not be deliuered, till he had surrendred the citie and castell of Lincolne, with other fortresses perteining to the crowne into the kings hands. About that time did the Welshmen destroie the prouince of Chester, but at last they were distressed. This yeare also the lord Geffrey earle of Anjou sent three Noble men into England, accompanied with certeine men of warre, vnto earle Robert, requesting him to send ouer his sonne Henrie into France, that he might see him, and if need required, he promised to send him backe againe with all conuenient speed. Earle Robert was contented to satisfie his request: and so with a good power of armed men brought the lord Henrie vnto Marham, where he toke leaue of him, neuer after to see him in this world. For when the child was transported, earle Robert returned speedilie to the parties from whence he came, and there falling into an ague, departed this life about the beginning of Nouember, and was buried at Bristow. The lord Henrie comming to his father, was ioifully receiued, and remained in those parties for the space of two yeares and foure moneths.

Ran. Higd. Matth. Paris. N. Triuet. Simon Dun.

The Welshmen waste Cheshire.

Ger. Dor.

The earle of Glocester departeth this life.

In the meane season, the vnlust procedings of K. Stephan against the earle of Chester, purchased him new hatred of his old aduersaries, and like supicion of such as were his frends, for it sounded not a little to his dishonor. Euerie man therefore was in doubt of his dealing, and iudged that it stood them vpon to take heed to themselues. But he (as one that thought he had atchiued some high exploit) in triumphant wise shortlie after entred into Lincolne in his roiall robes, and his crowne on his head, whereas it had not

Anno Reg. 12. 1147

Simon Dun.

K. Stephan entreth into Lincolne with his crowne on his head.

not béene heard that any king had done the like manie yeares before.

¶ It is reported by some writers, that he did this, to rot out of mens minds a foolish superstitious conceit, which beléued that no king with his crowne vpon his head might enter that citie, but some mischance should light vpon him: whereupon he séemed by this meanes to mocke their superstitious imagination.

About the same time manie of the Nobles of the realme (perceiuing the kings authoritie to represse violent wrongs committed by euill doers to be defectiue) builded sundrie strong castels and fortresses vpon their owne grounds, either to defend themselues, or to make force vpon their enimies néere adioining. After the departing of the king from Lincolne, the earle of Chester came thither with an armie, to assaie if he might recouer that citie. But his lieutenant that had the leading of his men, was Simon Dun. slaine at the entring of the northgate, and so the erle was beaten backe with the losse of manie of his men: and the citizens hauing got the vpper hand, reioised not a little for the victorie.

But here (to stay a litle with temporall affaires) it shall not be amisse to rehearse the effect of a contention, which fell about this time betwéene that king and the archbishop of Canturburie. For so it happened (as Geruasius Dorobernensis writeth) that pope Ger. Dor. Eugenius came this yeare into France, about the middest of Lent, and afterward held a synod or councell at Rhemes: whereunto Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, with others of the English bishops were summoned. The archbishop thereupon asking licence of the king, & not obteining it, found meanes to steale awaie in a small bote, not without danger of his person.

Now therefore the case of this Theobald stood verie hard: for Henrie bishop of Winchester the kings brother through enuie had so wrought, that if the archbishop passed ouer without licence, he should be confined of the king. Againe, he was sure, if he came not to the councell, that he should be suspended by the pope. Hereupon the archbishop meaning rather to offend the king than the pope, got ouer, as it were swimming, rather than sailing; the vessell wherein he passed ouer being starke naught: for all the ports were kept by the kings seruants, so that he was glad to take such a bote as came next to hand. In consideration whereof he was highlie commended by the pope.

In this councell the prebendaries of Yorke, together with Henrie Yordach then abbat of Fountney, presented themselues, exhibiting their complaint against William archbishop of Yorke, for that (as they alledged) he was neither canonicallie chosen, nor lawfullie consecrated, but intruded by the kings authoritie. At length archbishop William was conuicted and deposed, Albert bishop of Hostia pronouncing sentence in this wise: "We doo decrée by the apostolike authoritie, that William archbishop of Yorke is to be deposed from his sée, because Stephan king of England, before any canonicall election, named him."

Then, for that pope Eugenius had thus deposed archbishop William, although not with the consent of the more part of the cardinals, the chapiter of the church of Yorke, by his commandement comming togither, part of them chose Hilarie bishop of Chichester, and the other part elected Henrie Yordach abbat of Fountney. Now pope Eugenius, when both elections were shewed him at Aurerre, confirmed the election of Henrie Yordach, and disanulled the other, and then consecrated the foresaid Henrie with his owne hands. The late nominated archbishop William being thus deposed, returned into England, and remained at Winchester with king Henrie till the death of pope Eugenius, following the counsell of the same bishop in all things.

Now when the councell at Rhemes was ended, archbishop Theobald returned into England, and comming to Canturburie, was receiued with great honor of the couent and citizens there. But the king remaining then at London, when he heard of it, was sore displeased, and came with great spéed vnto Canturburie, where much conference being had betwixt him and the archbishop (although to small purpose) for the bringing of them to an agréement, at length the king compelled the archbishop to depart the realme. Whereupon, after a few daies respit, he went to Douer, where he toke ship and sailed into France. But within a while he was called backe by the quéene and William of Ypres, vnto S. Omers, that they might the soner aduertise him of the kings mind and pleasure. Here he consecrated Gilbert the elect bishop of Hereford, the fift daie of September, Theodoric bishop of Amiens and Nicholas bishop of Cambre assisting him.

After this, when by sending of messengers to and fro, aswell bishops, abbats, and other, both spirituall persons and temporall, there could no agréement be made, he directed his letter to certeine churches here in England, pronouncing by a certeine day, namelie the twelfe day of September, a sentence of interdiction to be obserued through the relme. The monks of Canturburie sore offended herewith, before the prefixed day of this sentence to be put in vre, sent two monkes of their owne house, Nigell and Absolon, vnto the pope; whose errand when the pope had vnderstood, he commanded them to returne home, and to obeie their archbishops sentence in all things.

In the meane time the archbishops men and tenants were sore oppressed, and his rents and reuenues seized to the kings vse, yea euen before the daies of paiment. Which maner of proceeding sore grieued the archbishop: in so much that departing from S. Omers, he came to Graueling, and there taking the sea, crossed ouer to a towne called Gosford that belonged vnto Hugh Bigot erle of Northfolke: which earle receiued him with great honour, and sent him all necessarie prouision, so long as he remained in his countrie. At the terme appointed, he interdicted all the kings dominions, and would not reuoke the sentence, till Robert bishop of London, Hilarie bishop of Chichester, and William bishop of Norwich, with manie other Noblemen, came to him vnto Framelingham in Northfolke, a castell appertening to the said earle, where at length an attonment was concluded betwixt him and the king: whereupon he was brought home vnto Canturburie with great ioy and honor.

He accused the monks of Canturburie, for disobeieng the interdiction, trusting that the pope would not heare those two monkes whom they had sent, as he did not indéed. He excommunicated also all those that had receiued the sacraments amongst them, during the time of the interdiction. Now these monkes being at their wits end, dispatched with all spéed other two monkes to the pope, to obteine an absolution, before the archbishop should vnderstand it: but they were sent backe againe with checks, and commanded to obeie their archbishop in all things, as the other were, which had béene there with him before.

The monks of Canturburie that were sent to Rome, returning, came from thence to Bullongne, where they found those that were first sent thither: and so they all foure came to Canturburie. The pope also had sent a priuie commandement to the archbi- Geruasius. Anno Reg. 13. 1148

shop, that he should duelie punish as well them as the other. Where vpon the archbishop taking counsell with his frends, deposed Syluester the prior, and suspended William the secretarie of the house from entring the quére. It was decreed also, that the residue should cease so long a time from saieng seruice, as they had said it before vnlawfullie, against the archbishops commandement. For it was thought reason, that whilest other sang and were merrie, they should kæpe silence, which wilfullie toke vpon them to sing, whilest other held their peace and were still. They began therefore to cease from saieng diuine seruice, and from ringing their bels in the second wéeke of Lent: & so kept silence from the twelfe day of March, vntill the first day of August.

The quéene wife to king Stephan in this meane while lay much at S. Augustines in Canturburie, bicause of hastening forward the building of Feuersham abbeie, which she and hir husband had begonne from the verie foundation. And bicause the monkes of S. Augustine might not celebrate diuine seruice, she called thither commonlie the monks of Christes church to say seruice before hir. Thus much for that purpose: and now to other matters.

The L. Henrie returneth into England Anno Reg. 14. 1149

The lord Henrie Fitzempresse after all these businesses returned into England, in the moneth of May, with a great companie of men of warre both horsemen and footmen: by reason whereof many reuolted from king Stephan to take part with him: whereas before they sat still, and would not attempt any exploit against him. But now incouraged with the presence of the lord Henrie, they declared themselues frends to him, and enimies to the king. Immediatlie after his arriuall, he toke with him the earles of Chester and Hereford, Ranulfe and Roger, and diuers other Noble men and knights of great fame, beside those whom he had brought with him out of Normandie, and went vnto Carleil, where he found his cosin Dauid king of Scotland, of whome he was most ioifullie receiued: and vpon Whitsunday with great solemnitie, being not past sixteene yeares of age, was by the same king made knight, with diuerse other yong gentlemen that were much about the same age.

He is made knight. R. Houed.

¶ Some write, that the king of Scots receiued an oth of him before he gaue him the honor of knighthood, that if he chanced to atteine vnto the possession of the realme of England, he should restore to the Scots the towne of Newcastle, with the countrie of Northumberland, from the riuer of Twéed, to the riuer of Tine. But whether it were so or not, I am not able to make warrantize.

Now king Stephan hearing that the king of Scots, and his aduersarie the lord Henrie with the chéefest lords of the west parts of England lay thus in Carleil, he raised an armie, and came to the citie of Yorke, where he remained for the most part of the moneth of August, fearing least his enimies should attempt the winning of that citie. But after the one part had remained a time in Carleil, and the other in Yorke, they departed from both those places without any further exploit for that season, sauing that Eustachius king Stephans sonne (hauing also latelie receiued the order of knighthood) did much hurt in the countries which belonged to those Noble men that were with the lord Henrie.

K. Stephan with an armie commeth to Yorke.

Matth. Paris. Great raine.

The great raine that fell in the summer season this yeare did much hurt vnto corne standing on the ground, so that a great dearth followed. In the winter also after, about the tenth day of December, it began to freése extreamelie, and so continued till the nineteenth of Februarie: wherby the riuer of Thames was so frosen, that men might passe ouer it both on foot and horsebacke.

A sore frost.

In the meane while Henrie Duke of Normandie, after he had returned from the king of the Scots, sailed backe into Normandie, about the beginning of August, leauing England full of all those calamities, which ciuill warre is accustomed to bring with it, as burning of houses, killing, robbing, and spoiling of people, so that the land was in danger of vtter destruction, by reason of that pestilent discord. Anno Reg. 15. 1150

This yeare the 23. of Februarie, Galfridus Monumetensis, otherwise called Galfridus Arthurius, who turned the British historie into Latine, was consecrated bishop of S. Assaph, by Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, at Lambeth, William bishop of Norwich and Walter bishop of Rochester assisting him.

Ger. Dor. The earle of Aniou father to Henry Fitz empresse departeth this life.

Moreouer, this yeare (as some writers haue recorded) Geffrey earle of Aniou, husband to the empresse Maud, departed this life, on the seuenth day of September, leauing his sonne Henrie onelie heire and successor in the estates of the duchie of Normandie and countie of Aniou. The bodie of the said earle was buried at Mans, with a great funerall pompe: his three sonnes Henrie, Geffrey, and William being present.

Worcester assaulted.

But king Stephan assaulting the faire citie of Worcester with a great power of men of warre, toke it, and consumed it with fire, but the castell he could not win. This citie belonged to earle Waleran de Mellent, at that season: for king Stephan to his owne hinderance had giuen it vnto him. Now after the men of warre had diuided the spoile amongst them, they came backe, and passing through the lands of their enimies, got great booties, which they also toke away with them, finding none to resist them in their iournie.

In the yeare following Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, and legat to the sée apostolike, held a generall synod or councell at London in the Lent season, where king Stephan himselfe with his sonne Eustachius, and other the peeres of the realme were present. This councell was full of apeales, contrarie to that had beene vsed in this land, till the time that Henrie bishop of Winchester vnto his owne harme (whilest he was likewise the popes legat) had by vniust intrusion brought them in, and now at this councell he was himselfe thrise appealed to the hearing of the popes owne consistorie. After this king Stephan in the same yeare brake into the citie of Worcester, and whereas he could not the last time win the castell, he now endeuoured with all his force to take it. But when those within made valiant resistance, he raised two castels against it, and leauing in the same certeine of his Nobles to continue the siege, he himselfe returned home. ¶ Thus (as yee see) the kings propertie was to attempt manie things valiantlie, but he proceeded in them oftentimes verie slowlie: howbeit, now by the policie of the earle of Leicester, those two castels which the king had raised to besiege the other castell, were shortlie after destroied: and so the besieged were deliuered from danger. This earle of Leicester was brother to the earle of Mellent. Thus the kings purposed intention and painefull trauell on that behalfe came to none effect. Anno Reg. 16. 1151

Ger. Dorober. A synod at London.

The earle of Leicester brother to the erle of Mellent.

In the meane while Henrie duke of Normandie maried Elianor duches of Guien or Aquitaine, latelie diuorsed from the French king, and so in right of hir he became duke of Aquitaine, and earle of Poictou; for she was the onelie daughter to William duke of Guien, and earle of Poictou, and by hir father created his sole and lawfull heire. Anno Reg. 17. 1152

The duke of Normandie Fitzempresse marieth the dutchesse of Aquitaine.

The French king was nothing pleased with this mariage, in somuch that he made sore warre vpon duke Henrie, ioining himselfe in league with king Stephan, with his sonne Eustace, and with the lord

The French king maketh warre against the duke of Normandie.

Geffrey

Geffrey brother to duke Henrie, so that the said Henrie was constreined to defer his iournie into England, and applie his power to defend his countries and subiects on that side of the sea. For whereas he was readie at the mouth of the riuer of Barbe to passe ouer into England, not long after midsummer, the French king, with Eustace king Stephans sonne, Robert earle of Perch, Henrie erle of Champaigne, and Geffrey brother to duke Henrie, hauing assembled a mightie armie, came and besieged the castell of Newmarch, and sent forth the lord Geffrey with a strong power to win the castell of Angers. Duke Henrie aduertised hereof, departing from the place where he soiourned, hasted forth to succour his people that were besieged, but the castell of Newmarch was deliuered to the French king, through treason of those that had it in keeping, before the duke could come to their rescue.

The castell of Newmarch deliuered to the French king.

Wherevpon the said duke hauing knowledge by the waie that he should come too late thither, he encamped first vpon the side of the riuer of Andell, and wasted a great part of the countrie of Ueuxin or Ueulqueline, surnamed Le Normant, which lieth betwixt the riuer of Epte and Andell. This countrie belonged somtime to Normandie, but Geffrey earle of Anion the dukes father had resigned it to the French king, to the end he should not aid king Stephan. The duke also burned the castels of Wascheruille, Chitrey, Stirpiney, and the castell of Fort, that belonged to Hugh de Gourney, with diuerse other. About the end of August he left his townes in Normandie sufficientlie furnished with garisons of souldiers, and went into Anion, where he besieged the castell de mount Sotelli, till he had taken it, and all those that were within it, amongst whome was the lord thereof named William. The French king on the other side entring into Normandie, burnt part of the borough of Rieule, and either then or shortlie after that duke Henrie was gone ouer into England, he toke the towne and castell of Uernon.

Ueulqueline. or Ueuxin.

The castell of Uernon. Simon Dun.

Whilest these things were thus a doing in France, K. Stephan would haue caused the archbishop of Canturburie & diuerse other bishops, whom for that purpose he had assembled, to crowne, annoint, and confirme his sonne Eustace king ouer the realme of England. But the archbishops and bishops refused so to do, bicause the pope by his letters sent to the archbishop, had commanded to the contrarie; namelie, that he should in no wise crowne the kings son, bicause his father king Stephan had got the possession of the land against his oth receiued in behalfe of the empresse. The father and sonne being not a litle offended herewith, committed most of his bishops to ward, seeking by threats and menacings to bring them to his purpose. The bishops also were in no small perplexitie: for according to the truth, the king neuer seemed greatlie to fauor churchmen, bicause of their strength (as in former times by his rigor vsed against the bishops of Salisburie and Lincolne it plainelie apeared) and yet would not these men yeeld to his pleasure; wherevpon although they were set at libertie, they were neuertheless depriued of their temporall possessions, which notwithstanding afterwards vpon the kings owne motion were restored vnto them.

The pope is against it.

The bishops are threatned.

Howbeit the archbishop of Canturburie persisting still in his opinion, was forsaken of diuerse of the bishops, who through feare durst not stand against their princes pleasure. But the archbishop, when he perceiued how the matter went, & that all the blame was like to light and rest on his shoulders, he got himselfe by a maruellous hap ouer the Thames, and with speed riding to Douer, passed the sea, to auoid both the fathers and sonnes reuengefull displeasure.

Ger.Dor.

The archbishop of Canturburie flieth out of the realme.

Herevpon the king seized into his hands all the lands & possessions that belonged to the archbishop.

This yeare queene Maud wife to king Stephan departed this life at Hangey castell, that belonged to earle Alberike de Uēr, about the third daie of Maie, and was buried in the abbeie of Feuersham, which she with hir husband king Stephan had latelie founded. Matth.Paris. Ger.Dor.

This yeare through great and immoderate raine that fell in the summer, the growing of corne was so hindred, that a great death of people insued.

This yeare also was the battell of Monadmore fought in Ireland, where the flower and chiefest personages of Mounster and Leynister were slaine. The battell of Monadmore.

Moreouer one John, a monke of Sagium, was made the second bishop of the Ile of Man: the first bishop that was there instituted hight Wimond a monke of Sauinie, who for his importunate misdemenour in some respects, had his eies put out, and was displaced. Matth. Paris. The second & also the first bishops of Man.

John Papirio a cardinall, being sent from the pope as legat into Ireland, ordeined foure archbishops there, one at Dublin, an other at Ardmach, the third at Cassels, and the fourth at Connach. The see of Dublin he changed into an archbishops see, one Gregorie at that time possessing the same: to whom he gaue the first and chiefe pall, and appointed the church of the blessed Trinitie to be church metropolitane. As this cardinall passed through England, he receiued an oth of fealtie vnto king Stephan. Hen. Marle. The bishop of Dublin made archbishop.

The same yeare also king Stephan by siege and force of assault did win the castell of Newberie not far from Winchester. This done he went to Wallingford, and besieging the castell, he builded at the entring of the bridge a fortresse to stop them within from issuing out, and likewise from receiuing any reliefe or succour by their frends abroad. The defendants perceiuing themselues so hardlie laid at, sent to the duke of Normandie (in whose name they kept that castell) desiring him either to succour them, or else giue them licence to yeeld vp the castell to the king. Herevpon duke Henrie hauing dispatched his businesse on the further side of the sea, began to be kindled with a feruent desire once againe to attempt his fortune here in England for recouerie of that kingdome, and so with three thousand footmen, & 7. score horsemen, with all speed possible sailed ouer into England, where he landed about the 12. daie in Christmasse. He was no soner arriued, but a great number of such as toke part with his mother came flocking in vnto him: wherevpon being now furnished with a great and puissant armie, he marched forth to Malmesburie, where in the castell was a great garison of soldiers placed by king Stephan. Duke Henrie planted his siege about this castell the thirtēnth daie of Januarie, and enforced himselfe to the vttermost of his power to win it. The castell of Newberie won. Duke Henrie Fitzempresse returneth into England. Ger.Dor. He besiegeth the castell of Malmesbury. Matth.Paris. Polydor.

Now king Stephan hearing of his enimies arriuall, with all hast possible got his armie on foot, and comming suddenlie towards the place where his enimies were pitched, he caused duke Henrie to raise his siege, and following after, offered him battell. But duke Henrie, knowing that his enimies were far more in number than he was at that present, and also conceiuing with himselfe that by prolonging of time his owne power would increase, abstained from fighting, and kept him within the closure of his campe. ¶ Thus haue some written, but other authors write, that Henrie kept himselfe indeed within his campe, and refused to giue battell, but yet remoued not his siege, till the king departed from thence, after he saw he could not haue his purpose, and then did duke Henrie win the castell of Malmesburie, or rather the maister tower or cheefe dungeon of K. Stephan constreineth him to raise his siege. Wil.Paru.

Simon Dun. Ger. Dor.

of that castell. For as (Simon of Durham writeth) he had won by assault the other parts and lims of the castell before king Stephan came to remoue him.

This tower that thus held out, was in the keeping of one capteine Jordan, who escaping forth came to the king, informing him in what state he had left his men within the tower: whereupon the king (making all the power that he was able) set forward, and comming to Circiter, lodged there one night, and in the morning purposing to raise the siege, or to fight with his enimies (if they would abide battell) marched forth towards Walmesburie. But vpon his approch to the dukes campe, the daie following his comming thither, there rose such a hideous tempest of wind and raine, beating full in the faces of king Stephans people, that God seemed to fight for the duke, who in respect of the number of people was thought to weake to deale with the strong and puissant armie of the king: howbeit the storme being on his backe, and beating extremelie in king Stephans mens faces, they were not able to hold their weapons in their hands, in somuch that he perceiued he could not passe the riuer that ran betwixt the armies: whereupon constreined in that sort through the violent rage of that cold and wet weather, he returned to London fell euill appaied, in that he could not satisfie his expectation at that present.

A foule storme.

The tower that duke Henrie had hardlie besieged immediatlie herewith was surrendred vnto him, & then making prouision for vittels and other things, to the relefe of them that kept the castell of Wallingford, he hasted thither, and finding no resistance by the way, easily accomplished his enterprise. There were diuerse castels thereabouts in the countrie furnished with garisons of the kings souldiers, but they kept themselues close, and durst not come abroad to stop his passage. Shortlie after he besieged the castell of Cranemers, and cast a trench about it, so as his people within Wallingford castell might haue free libertie to come forth at their pleasure: but as for those within the castell of Cranemers, they were so hardlie holden in, that there was no waie for them to start out.

The castell of Wallingford.

The castell of Cranemers.

The king aduertised hereof, got all his host together, and marched forward verie terriblie toward duke Henries campe. But shewing no token of feare, he caused the trench wherewith he had inclosed his campe forthwith to be cast downe, and leauing the siege, came into the fields with his armie set in order of battell, meaning to trie the matter by dint of sword, although he had not the like number of men as the king had: whose armie perceiuing their enimies to come in the face of them, were stricken with a sudden feare: neuertheles, he himselfe being of a good courage, commanded his people to march forward. But herewith certeine noble men, that loued not the aduancement of either part, vnder a colour of good meaning sought to treat an agreement betwixt them, so that an intermission or ceasing from war was granted, and by composition the castell which the king had built, and the duke besieged, was razed to the ground. The king and the duke also came to an enterview and communication together, a riuer running betwixt them. Some write that they fell to agreement, king Stephan vndertaking to raze the castell of Cranemers himselfe, and so laieng armour aside for that time, they parted asunder.

Matth. Paris. Ger. Dor.

But Eustace K. Stephans son was sore offended herewith, and reproouing his father for concluding such an agreement, in a great rage departed from the court, & taking his waie toward Cambridgeshire (which countrie he meant to ouerrun) he came to the abbeie of Burie, and vpon S. Laurence daie caused all the corne in the countrie about, and namelie that which belonged to the said abbeie, to be spoiled and brought into a castell which he had in keeping not far from thence. But as he sat downe to meat the same daie vpon receiuing the first morsell he fell mad (as writers haue reported) and miserablie ended his life. The same weeke Simon earle of Northampton departed this world of a like disease, and so two of the chiefest aduersaries which duke Henrie had, were rid out of the waie. Eustace was buried at Feuersham in Kent, and earle Simon at Northampton.

Eustace king Stephans son and Simon earle of Northãpton depart this life both in one weeke.

About the same time also that noble and valiant earle of Chester called Ranulfe departed this life, a man of such stoutnesse of stomach, that death could scarselie make him to yeeld, or shew any token of feare: he was poisoned (as was thought) by William Peuerell. After him succeeded his sonne Hugh, a man likewise of passing strength and vertue. Now although earle Ranulfe fauoured the part of duke Henrie, yet in these later yeares he did but little for him: wherefore it was thought that the death of this earle was not so great a losse to the duke, as the deaths of Eustace, earle Simon, and other the kings frends deceasing about the same time seemed to further him: so that his part became dailie stronger, and the kings weaker.

The earle of Chester deceaseth.

About the same time the castels of Reading and Wertwell were deliuered to duke Henrie, and the ladie Gundred countesse of Warwike draue out the souldiers that held it for king Stephan, and deliuered the towne to duke Henrie. In this yeare duches Elenor, wife to Henrie Fitzempresse, was brought to bed of hir first borne son, whom they named William, after the maner of the ancient dukes of Aquitaine.

Matth. Paris. Rob. Mont.

Thus came things to passe in sundrie places with so good successe as duke Henrie could wish, whereupon meaning to follow the steps of prosperous fortune, he marched forth to Stamford, and taking the towne at his first comming laid siege to the castell. Now they that had it in keeping sent messengers to king Stephan, requiring rescue, but the same time he had laid siege to the castell of Gipswich, which Hugh Bigot kept against him: and because he wold not depart from that siege till he had the castell giuen vp into his hands (which came at last to passe) in the meane time the castell of Stamford was yelded vp to duke Henrie, who immediatlie thereupon departed from Stamford eastward, meaning to come to the succour of his frends besieged at Gipswich or Ipswich (as it is commonlie called) not vnderstanding as yet that they had surrendred the hold: but hauing knowledge by the way what was happened, he returned and marched streight to Notingham, and got the towne easilie; for they within the castell had set it on fire, therfore he besieged the castell standing vpon the point of a steepe craggie rocke, and was furnished with a strong garison of men, and all things necessarie for defense, so that it could not easilie be woone.

Stamford was taken. Simon Dun. Ger. Dor.

Gipswich or Ipswich besieged.

N. Triuet.

Notingham.

When duke Henrie had assaied all the waies how to take it, and saw that he could not preuaile, he minded to lose no more time: but raising his siege from thence, he ranged abroad to get other places into his possession, and finallie came to his mother, and laie at Wallingford. King Stephan in the meane time being strong in the field, sought time and place to haue Henrie at some aduantage, who in his yoong yeares (as yet not hauing tasted any misfortune) he thought would rashlie attempt some vnaduised enterprise. ¶ But whereas the realme of England had beene now manie yeares miserablie turmoiled with ciuill warre (which the verie heathen haue so detested, that they haue exclaimed against it with a kind of irksomnesse; as:

Duke Henrie raiseth his siege from Notingham. Polydor.

The miserie of this land in time of the ciuill warre.

Eben

Hor.lib.car.1. ode.35.

Eheu cicatricum & sceleris pudet,
Fratrúmque: quid nos dura refugimus
Aetas? quid intactum nefasti
Linquimus? vnde manus iuuentus
Metu deorum continuit? quibus
Pepercit aris? iam lituí strepunt,
Iam fulgor armorum fugaces
Terret equos equitúmque vultus)

Idem lib.car.2. ode.1.

Wherein (besides millians of extremities) honest matrones and mens wiues were violated, maids and virgins rauished, churches spoiled, townes and villages robbed, whole flocks and heards of shéepe and beasts destroied (wherein the substance of the realme cheeflie consisted) and men without number slaine and murthered, it pleased the goodnesse of almightie God at length to deliuer the land of these miseries, which were notified to all countries round about that sore lamented the same.

Now whereas king Stephan was the cause of all the troubles, in hauing vsurped an other mans rightfull inheritance, it pleased God to moue his hart at length to desire peace which he had euer before abhorred. The cause that moued him chéefelie to change his former purpose, was for that his sonne Eustace by spéedie death was taken out of this world (as before you haue heard) which losse séemed great not onelie to the father, but also to all those lords and others which had alwaies taken his part, bicause he was a young man so well liked of all men, that he was iudged to be borne to much honour. But his wife Constance tooke his death verie sorowfullie, and the more indeed, for that she had no issue by him, whereupon shortlie after she was sent honourablie home to hir father king Lewes with hir dower, and other rich and princelie gifts.

The ladie Constance wife to Eustace sent home.

King Stephan séeing himselfe thus depriued of his onlie sonne, vnto whom he minded to leaue the kingdome which he so earnestlie sought to confirme and assure vnto him by warlike endeuor, and that againe the French kings aid would not be so readie as heretofore it had béene (whereupon he much staied, now that the bonds of affinitie were abolished) he began at length (though not immediatlie vpon his sonnes decease) to withdraw his mind from war, and bequeathed it wholie to peace. Which alteration being perceiued, those Nobles that were glad to sée the state of their countrie quieted, did their best to further it; & chéeflie Theobald archbishop of Canturburie trauelled earnestlie to bring the princes to some agréement, now talking with the king, now sending to the duke, and vsing all means possible to set them at vnitie. The bishop of Winchester also, who had caused all the trouble, vpon consideration of the great calamities wherewith the land was most miserablie afflicted, began to wish an end thereof. Whereupon the lords spirituall and temporall were called togither at Winchester about the latter end of November, that they with their consents also might confirme whatsoeuer the king and the duke should conclude vpon.

K. Stephan began to incline his mind to peace. Matth. Paris.

Ger. Dor.

An assemblie of lords at Winchester.

Thus was a publike assemblie made in the citie of Winchester, whither also duke Henrie came, who being ioifullie receiued of the king in the bishops palace, they were made frends, the king admitting the duke for his sonne, and the duke the king for his father, insomuch that the agréement, which (through the carefull sute of the archbishop of Canturburie) had bene laboured with such diligence to good effect, was now confirmed: the chéefe articles whereof were these.

A peace concluded betwixt the king and the duke.

Some writers haue recorded that duke Henrie should presently by this agréement enioy halfe the realme of England.

1 That king Stephan, during his naturall life, should remaine king of England, and Henrie the empresses sonne should enioy the dukedome of Normandie, and be proclaimed heire apparant to succéed in and haue the regiment of England, after the decease of Stephan.

2 That such noble men, and other, which had held either with the one partie or the other, during the time of the ciuill warres, should be in no danger for the same, but enioy their lands, possessions and liuings, according to their ancient rights and titles.

3 That the king should resume and take into his hands againe, all such portions and parcels of inheritance belonging to the crowne, as he had giuen away, or were otherwise vsurped by any maner of person, and that all those possessions which by any intrusion had béene violentlie taken from the right owners, since the daies of king Henrie, should be restored to them that were rightlie possessed in the same by the daies of the said king.

4 That all those castels, which contrarie to all reason and good order had béene made and builded by any maner of person in the daies of king Stephan, should be ouerthrowne and cast downe, which were found to be eleuen hundred and fiftéene.

Matth. Paris. Castels to be razed in number. 1115.

5 That the king should reforme all such disorders as warre had brought in; to restore farmers to their holdings, to repaire decaied buildings, to store pastures and leasues with cattell, hils with shéepe, &c.

6 That by his meanes the cleargie might enioy their due quietnesse, and not be oppressed with any vniust exactions.

7 That he should place shiriefes where they had béene accustomed to beare rule, with instructions giuen them to deale vprightlie in causes, so as offenders might not escape through bribes, or any other respect of frendship; but that euerie man might receiue according to right and equitie.

8 That soldiours should conuert their swords (as Esaie saith) into culters & plough shares, their speares into mattocks, and so returne from the campe to the plough: and that such as were wont to keepe watch in the night season, might now sléepe and take their rest without any danger.

9 That the husbandman might be set frée from all trouble and veration, by meanes whereof he might follow his tilth, and plie his culture.

10 That merchant men and occupiers might enioy their trades and occupations to their aduancement.

11 That one kind and manner of siluer coine should run through the land, &c.

12 There was also consideration had of a sonne which king Stephan had, named William, who though he were verie yong, was yet appointed to sweare fealtie vnto duke Henrie as lawfull heire to the crowne. The same William had the citie of Norwich, and diuerse other lands assigned him for the maintenance of his estate, and that by the consent and agréement of duke Henrie his adopted brother.

These things being thus concluded at Winchester, and the warre that had continued for the space of 17. yeares now ended and fullie pacified: the king tooke the duke with him to London, doing to him all the honour he could deuise. The newes whereof being spred abrode, euerie good man reioised thereat. Thus through the great mercie of God, peace was restored vnto the decaied state of this relme of England. Which things being thus accomplished with great ioy and tokens of loue, king Stephan and his new adopted sonne duke Henrie tooke leaue either of other, appointing shortlie after to méet againe at Drenford, there to perfect euerie article of their agréement, which was thus accorded a little before Christmas.

¶ But by the way, for the better vnderstanding of the said agréement, I haue thought good to set downe the verie tenor of the charter made by king Stephan, as

as I haue copied it out, and translated it into English out of an autentike booke conteining the old lawes of the Saxon and Danish kings, in the end whereof the same charter is exemplified, which booke is remaining with the right worshipfull William Fletwood esquire, now recorder of London, and sargeant at law.

The charter of king Stephan, of the *pacification of the troubles betwixt him and* Henrie duke of Normandie.

STephan king of England, to all archbishops, bishops, abbats, earles, iusticers, sherifes, barons and all his faithfull subiects of England sendeth greeting. Know ye that I king Stephan, haue ordeined Henrie duke of Normandie after me by right of inheritance to be my successour, and heire of the kingdome of England, and so haue I giuen and granted to him and his heires the kingdome of England. For the which honour, gift, and confirmation to him by me made, he hath done homage to me, and with a corporall oth hath assured me, that he shall be faithfull and loiall to me, and shall to his power preserue my life and honour: and I on the other side shall maineteine and preserue him as my sonne and heire in all things to my power, and so far as by any waies or meanes I may.

William sonne to king Stephan.

And William my sonne hath done his lawfull homage, and assured his fealtie vnto the said duke of Normandie, and the duke hath granted to him to hold of him all those tenements and holdings which I held before I atteined to the possession of the realme of England, wheresoeuer the same be in England, Normandie, or elsewhere, and whatsoeuer he receiued with the daughter of earle Warren, either in England or Normandie, & likewise whatsoeuer apperteineth to those honoures. And the duke shall put my sonne William and his men that are of that honour in full possession and seizine of all the lands, boroughs and rents, which the duke thereof now hath in his demaine, and namelie of those that belong to the honour of the earle Warren, and namelie of the castels of Bellencumber and Mortimer, so that Reginald de Warren shall haue the keeping of the same castels of Bellencumber, and of Mortimer, if he will; and therevpon shall giue pledges to the duke: and if he will not haue the keeping of those castels, then other liege men of the said erle Warren, whome it shall please the duke to appoint, shall by sure pledges and good suertie keepe the said castels.

Earle Warren.

The castels of Bellencumber and Mortimer.

Moreouer, the duke shall deliuer vnto him according to my will and pleasure the other castels, which belong vnto the earledome of Mortaigne by safe custodie and pledges, so soone as he conuenientlie may, so as all the pledges are to be restored vnto my sonne free, so soone as the duke shall haue the realme of England in possession. The augmentation also which I haue giuen vnto my sonne William, he hath likewise granted the same to him; to wit, the castell and towne of Norwich, with seauen hundred pounds in lands, so as the rents of Norwich be accounted as parcell of the same seauen hundred pounds in lands, and all the countie of Norfolke; the profits and rents which belong to churches, bishops, abbats & earles excepted; and the third pennie whereof Hugh Bigot is earle, also excepted: sauing also and reseruing the kings roiall iurisdiction for administration of iustice. Also the more to strengthen my fauour and loue to himwards, the duke hath giuen and granted vnto my said sonne whatsoeuer Richer de Aquila hath of the honour of Peuensey. And moreouer the castell and towne of Peuensey, and the seruice of Faremouth, beside the castell and towne of Douer, and whatsoeuer apperteineth to the honour of Douer.

Norwich.

Hugh Bigot.

Richer de Egle.

The duke hath also confirmed the church of Feuersham with the appurtenances; and all other things giuen or restored by me vnto other churches, he shall confirme by the counsell and aduice of holie church and of me. The earles and barons that belong to the duke, which were neuer my leges, for the honour which I haue done to their maister, they haue now done homage and sworne fealtie to me, the couenants betwixt me & the said duke alwaies saued. The other which had before done homage to me, haue sworne fealtie to me as to their souereigne lord. And if the duke should breake and go from the premisses, then are they altogither to cease from doing him any seruice, till he reforme his misdoings. And my sonne also is to constreine him thereto, according to the aduice of holie church, if the duke shall chance to go from the couenants afore mentioned. My earles and barons also haue done their leege and homage vnto the duke, sauing their faith to me so long as I liue, and shall hold the kingdome with like condition, that if I do breake and go from the premitted couenants, that then they may cease from doing me any seruice, till the time I haue reformed that which I haue done amisse.

The church of Feuersham.

The citizens also of cities, and those persons that dwell in castels, which I haue in my demaine, by my commandement haue done homage, and made assurance to the duke, sauing the fealtie which they owe to me during my life time, and so long as I shall hold the kingdome. They which keep the castle of Wallingford haue done their homage to me, and haue giuen to me pledges for the obseruing of their fealtie. And I haue made vnto the duke such assurance of the castels and strengths which I hold by the counsell and aduice of holie church, that when I shall depart this life, the duke thereby may not run into any losse or impeachment, wherby to be debarred from the kingdome. The tower of London, and the fortresse of Windsor, by the counsell and aduice of holie church

Wallingford castell.

The tower of London.

Mora de windsor.

The earldome of Mortaigne.

are

Richard de Lucie.

are deliuered vnto the lord Richard de Lucie, safelie to be kept, which Richard hath taken an oth, and hath deliuered his sonne in pledge to remaine in the hands and custodie of the archbishop of Canturburie, that after my decease he shall deliuer the same castels vnto the duke. Likewise by the counsell and aduise of holie church, Roger de Bulley kæpeth the castell of Oxford, and Iordaine de Bulley the castell of Lincolne, which Roger & Iordaine haue sworne, and thereof haue deliuered pledges into the hands of the archbishop, that if I shall chance to leaue this life, they shal render the same castels to the duke without impeachment. The bishop of Winchester hath also giuen his faith in the hands of the archbishop of Canturburie, that if I chance to depart this life, he shall render vp vnto the duke the castels of Winchester, and the fortresse of Hampton.

Mota de Oxford.

The bishop of winchester.

And if any of them, vnto whom the custodie of these fortresses shall be committed, fortune to die, or otherwise to depart from his charge, an other shall be appointed to the kæping of the same fortresse, before he shall depart forth thereof, by the counsell and aduice of holie church. And if any of those persons that haue any castels or fortresses belonging to me in their custodie shall be found disobedient and rebell, I and the duke shall constreine him to satisfie our will & pleasure, not leauing him in rest till he be so constreined. The archbishops and bishops of the realme of England, and the abbats also, haue by my commandement sworne fealtie vnto the duke; and the bishops and abbats that hereafter shall be made and aduanced here within the realme of England shall likewise sweare fealtie to him. The archbishops also and bishops on either part, haue vndertaken, that if either of vs shall go from the foresaid couenants, they shall so long chastise the partie offending with the ecclesiasticall censures, till he reforme his fault, and returne to fulfill and obserue the said couenants. The mother also of the duke, and his wife, and his brethren, & subiects whom he may procure, shall likewise assure the premisses.

In matters belonging to the state of the realme, I shall worke by the dukes aduice. And through all the realme of England, as well in that part which belongeth to the duke, as in that which belongeth to me, I shall sæ that roiall iustice be executed. These bæing witnesses, Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, Hen. of Winchester, Robert of Excester, Rob. of Bath, Goceline of Salisburie, Robert of Lincolne, Hilarie of Cicester, William of Norwich, Richard of London, Nigell of Elie, Gilbert of Hereford, John of Worcester, Walter of Chester, Walter of Rochester, Geffrey of S. Asaph, Bishops: Robert prior of Bermondsey, Othon knight of the temple, William earle of Cicester, Robert earle of Leicester, William earle of Glocester, Renold of Cornewall, Baldwin de Toning, Roger de Hereford, Hugh Bigot, Patrike de Salisburie, William de Albemarle, Earle Alberike, Roger Clare, Richard erle of Pembroke, Richard de Lucie, William Martell, Richard de Hunner, Reginald de Warren, Mahaser Biset, John de Port, Richard de Cameuille, Henrie de Esset. Yeuen at Westminster.

Thus far the Charter: and now to proceed with the historie. Immediatlie after Christmasse, euen in the Octaues of the Epiphanie, the king and duke Henrie met againe at Drenford, where all the earls and barons of the land being assembled, sware fealtie vnto duke Henrie, their allegiance due vnto king Stephan, as to their souereigne lord and supreme gouernour so long as he liued, alwaies reserued. The forme of the peace was now also ingrossed and registred for a perpetuall witnesse of the thing, in this yeare 1154. after their account that begin the yeare at Christmasse, as about the feast of S. Hilarie in Januarie commonlie called the twentith daie. Thus was Henrie the sonne of the empresse made the adopted sonne of king Stephan, and thereupon the said Henrie saluted him as king, and named him father. After conclusion of this peace, by the power of almightie God, all debate ceassed, in such wise, that the state of the realme of England did marueilouslie for a time flourish, concord being mainteined on ech hand. ¶ There be which affirme, that an other cause bound king Stephan to agrée to this attonement chiefelie, namelie for that the empresse (as they saie) was rather king Stephans paramour than his enimie: and therefore (when she saw the matter growne to this point, that they were readie to trie battell with their armies readie ranged on a plaine in the westerne parts called Egelaw heath) she came secretlie vnto king Stephan, & spake vnto him on this wise: What a mischieuous and vnnaturall thing go ye about? Is it meet that the father should destroie the sonne? Is it lawfull for the sonne to kill the father? For the loue of God (man) refraine thy displeasure, and cast thy weapons out of thy hand, sith that (as thou thy selfe knowest full well) Henrie is thine owne sonne. With these and the like words she put him in mind, and couertlie told him, that he had to do with hir a little before she was maried vnto earle Geffrey.

1154
Ger. Dor.
Anno Reg. 19.

Polydor.

Matth. Paris.
Egelaw heath.

" The words of the empresse to king Stephan. "

" The empresse confesseth hir selfe to be naught of hir bodie.

The king by such tokens as the empresse gaue him, toke hir words to be true, and therevpon all his malice was streightwaies quenched: so that calling forth the archbishop of Canturburie, he vttered to him the whole matter, and toke therewith such direction, in sending to his aduersaries for auoiding battell at that present, that immediatlie the armies on both sides wraped vp their ensignes, and euery man was commanded to kæpe the peace, that a communication might be had about the conclusion of some pacification, which afterwards ensued in maner aboue mentioned.

¶ But whether this or some other cause moued the king to this peace, it is to be thought that God was the worker of it. And surelie a man may thinke it good reason, that the report of such secret companie kæping betwixt the king and the empresse, was but a tale made among the common people vpon no ground of truth, but vpon some slanderous deuice of a malicious head. And admit that king Stephan had to do with hir; yet is it like that both of them would do for best to kæpe it secret, that no such reproch might be imputed either to Henrie, who was taken to be legitimate; or to his mother, whose honour thereby

Slanders deuised by malicious heads.

by should not a little be stained.

Orenford. Ger. Dor.

But now to the purpose. Shortlie after that the king and duke Henrie had bene togither at Orenford, where they ended all things touching the peace & concord betwixt them concluded, they met againe at Dunstable, where some cloud of displeasure seemed to darken the bright sunshine of the late begun loue and amitie betwixt those two mightie princes the king and the duke. For where it was accorded (among other articles) that all the castels which had bene built since the daies of the late king Henrie for euill intents and purposes, should be razed and throwne downe: contrarie thereunto (notwithstanding manie of them were ouerthrowne and destroied to the accomplishment of that article) diuers through the kings permission were suffered to stand. And when the duke complained to the king thereof, he could not get at that time any redresse, which somewhat troubled him: but yet bicause he would not giue occasion of any new trouble, nor offend the king, to whom (as to his reputed father) he would seeme to yeeld all honour and due reuerence, he passed it ouer.

The king and duke meet at Dunstable.

Articles not performed.

Within a while after, the king and he came to Canturburie, where they were solemnlie receiued of the couent of Christes church with procession. After this, in the Lent season they went to Douer, where they talked with Theodorike earle of Flanders, and with the countesse his wife who was aunt to duke Henrie. At their comming towards Canturburie (as it was bruted) the duke should haue bene murthered, through treason of the Flemings that enuied both the dukes person, and also that peace which he had concluded with the king. But see the hap. As this feat should haue bene wrought on Berhamdowne, William earle of Northfolke king Stephan his sonne, who was one of the cheefe conspirators, fell beside his horsse, and brake his leg, so that euerie man by that sudden chance was in a maze, & came wondering about him. ¶ This no doubt came to passe by the prouidence of God, though such accidents are commonlie imputed to casualtie or chance medlie. For it is the worke of God either to preuent, or to intercept, or to recompense the vnnaturall conspiracies of traitors and rebels with some notable plague: according to that of the poet;

The king and duke come to Canturburie.

The enuie of the Flemings

Hesiod. in lib. ενι. op. & di.

Οἱ δεύτῳ κακὰ τεύχει ἀνηρ ἀλλῳ κακὰ τεύχων,
Ἡ ἧ κακὴ βουλὴ τῷ βουλευσαντι κακίστη.
Noxius ipse sibi est alij qui quærit obesse,
Consiliúmq; malum danti fert maxima damna.

Duke Henrie herewith getting knowledge of the treason intended against him, or at the least suspecting somewhat, got him backe againe to Canturburie, and so auoided the danger. After this, taking his way to Rochester, and so to London, he got him a shipbord, and sailed by long seas into Normandie, where he arriued in safetie.

Duke Henrie passeth ouer into Normandie.

After his departure, king Stephan spent the summer season of this yeare, in going about the most part of the realme, shewing all the courtesie he could deuise to the people in all places where he came; except where he found any rebellious persons, as in Yorkshire, where Philip de Coleuille (in trust of his castell which he had stronglie fortified at a certeine place called Dxar) shewed himselfe disobedient to the king, who assembling a power in the countrie, besieged that castell, and shortlie wanne it, without any great adoo.

Wil. Paru. Philip de Coleuille. The castell of Dxar.

When duke Henrie was departed (as ye haue heard) and gone ouer into Normandie, now that he had concluded a peace with king Stephan, his puissance was thought to be such, that he was able to maintaine warres with the mightiest prince that then reigned. For in right of his wife, he had gotten possession of the duchie of Aquitaine, and the earledome of Poictou; and further by his mother, he enioied the duchie of Normandie, and loked to succeed in the kingdome of England: and in right of his father he was earle of Anjou, Thouraigne, and Maine. He also reuoked into his hands certeine parcels of his demeane lands, which his father had giuen away, and passing from thence into Aquitaine, mightilie subdued certeine lords and barons there, that had rebelled against him.

The puissance of duke Herie.

About the same time a peace was concluded betwixt the French king, and this duke Henrie: the king restoring vnto the duke the townes of Newmarch and Vernon, which he had before taken from him, and the duke giuing to the king 20000. marks of siluer, for the charmes done by him, within the realme of France.

A peace concluded betwixt the French king and duke Henrie. Matth. West.

But now to returne vnto king Stephan. We shall vnderstand, that within a while after he had made his foresaid progresse almost about the whole realme, he returned vnto London, where he called a parlement, as well to consult of matters touching the state of the commonwealth, as to furnish the see of Yorke with a sufficient archbishop. Whereupon one Roger that was before archdeacon of Canturburie, was chosen to that dignitie, and consecrated the tenth day of October, by archbishop Theobald, as legat to the pope, and not as archbishop of Canturburie. Then also was Thomas Becket made archdeacon of Canturburie by the said Theobald. The new archbishop Roger first went to his see at Yorke, where after he had receiued his inthronization, and set his businesse there in order, he toke his iournie towards Rome to fetch his pall in his owne person.

Wil. Paru. Roger Archdecon of Canturburie made archbishop of Yorke.

Thomas Becket archdeacon of Canturburie.

King Stephan also after the end of the parlement went to Douer, there to meet the earle of Flanders, who came thither to talke with him of certeine businesse. The earle was no sooner returned backe, but the king fell sicke, and was so grieuouslie tormented with a paine in his bellie, and with an old disease also, wherewith (as should appeare) he had bene often troubled, namelie, the emrods, that finallie he died in the abbey on the fiue and twentith day of October, in the nine and fortith yeare of his age, and after he had reigned eightene yeares, ten moneths, and od daies, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour 1154. His bodie was interred in the abbeie of Feuersham in Kent, which he had builded, where his wife also, and his sonne Eustace were buried before. ¶ Thus farre of the acts and deeds of Stephan; now a little of other breefe remembrances, and first touching the prosopographie or description of his person.

The earle of Flanders.

King Stephan departed this life.

Matth. Paris. N. Triuet. 1154

He was comelie of stature, of a verie good complexion and disposition, of great strength, in qualities of mind verie excellent, expert in warre, gentle, curteous, and verie liberall. For though he continued all his time in a maner in the maintenance of wars, yet he leuied but few tributs, or almost none at all. Indeed he put diuers bishops to grieuous fines, and that not without the iust iudgement of Almightie God, that they might so be punished duelie for their periurie committed in helping him to the crowne. Vices wherewith he should be noted I find none, but that vpon an ambitious desire to reigne, he brake his oth which he made vnto the empresse Maud.

His stature.

In his daies, the abbeies of Tiltey, Fontneis, Rieualle, Coggeshall in Esser, Pekebourgh and Beeland, Merinale in Warwikeshire, Caredon in Leicestershire, Kirksted in Yorkeshire, with diuerse other in other parts of the realme, were founded, in so much that more abbeis were erected in his daies, than had bene within the space of an hundred yeares before,

Abbeies founded. Coggeshall he founded himselfe, and Fontneis in Lancashire, & Feuersham in Kent.

Wil.Paruus. before, as William Paruus writeth.

A great number of castels also were builded in his daies (as before ye haue heard) by the Nobles of the realme, either to defend the confines of their countries from inuasions of forreiners, and violence of homelings; or as fortifications to themselues when they ment or intended any inrode or breaking vpon their neighbours.

Diuerse learned men namelie historiographers liued in these daies, as William Malmesburie, Henrie Huntington, Simon Dunelmensis, Galfridus Arturius, otherwise called Monumetensis, Caradoc Lancarnauensis, William Reuellensis, among whom Thurstan archbishop of Yorke is not to be forgotten, besides many more, who in diuerse sciences were verie expert and skilfull, as by treatises of their setting forth to the world hath sufficientlie appeared.

Thus far Stephan of Bullongne.

Henrie the second, the second sonne of Geffrey Plantagenet.

Anno Reg. 1. HEnrie the second of that name, a French man borne, the second sonne of Geffrey Plantagenet earle of Anion, begotten of Maud the empresse, daughter to Henrie the first, began his reigne ouer England the fiue and twentith of October, in the

1154 yeare after the creation of the world 5121. and in the yeare after the incarnation of our sauiour 1154. about the beginning of the third yeare of the emperour Frederike the first, the second of pope Anastasius the fourth, the seuenteenth yeare of Lewes the seuenth king of France, and second of Malcolme then king of Scotland. Immediatlie after he was aduertised of the death of king Stephan, he came ouer into England, landing at Ostreham about the seuenth day of December. After he had got his com-

N. Triuet. Matth.Paris. panies togither, which by tempest were scattered in his passage, he came first to Winchester, where he receiued homage and fealtie of the Nobles of the realme resorting vnto him. This done he set forth towards London, where he was crowned king by Theobald archbishop of Canturburie the twentith daie of December.

N.Treuet. The archbishop of Rouen. The archbishop of Rouen, with three of his suffragans, the archbishop of Yorke, and manie other bishops of England: Theodorus the earle of Flanders, with a great number of other earles, lords and barons were present there at his coronation. He was at that time about the age of three and twentie yeares, and to win the peoples loue, he spake manie comfortable words vnto them, to put them in hope (as the manner is) that they should find him a louing prince. He vsed the lords also verie courteoulie. And

Polydor. first of all, after his attesting to the crowne, he chose

Councellers chosen. to him councellers of the grauest personages, and best learned in the lawes of the realme, with whose prudent aduice he perused those lawes, and amended them where he thought necessarie, commanding chiefle, that the lawes established by his grandfather Henrie the first should be obserued: and in manie things he relied vpon the aduice of Theobald

Ran.Higd. archbishop of Canturburie, at whose sute he admitted Thomas Becket to be his chancellour, which

Thom. Becket lord chancellor. Becket the said archbishop had made archdeacon of Canturburie the yeare before.

Moreouer, by the sentence and dome of his councellers, to the intent that peace and quiet order might take place, and be the better mainteined, he commanded by waie of publishing a proclamation, that all strangers (which to get somwhat by the wars had flocked into the realme, during the time of the ciuill discord betweene him and king Stephan) shuld depart home without further delaie: wherefore he appointed them a daie, before the which they should auoid vpon perill that might insue. It was a worlds wonder to see and marke how suddenlie these aliens were quite vanished, as though they had beene phantasmes. Their abiding here was nothing profitable to the subiects of the realme, as they that were accustomed to attempt one shrewd turne vpon an others necke, and thought it lawfull for them so to do. Amongst them was a great number of Flemings, whom the king hated more than the residue.

Anno Reg.2. 1155 Nic.Triuet. Polydor. Wil.Paruus. Strangers appointed to depart the realme. Aliens auoid the land.

By vertue also of this edict, William of Ypres, whom king Stephan (as ye haue heard) had made earle of Kent, was constreined with others to depart the realme, king Henrie seizing all his possessions into his owne hands. Diuerse castels were throwne downe and made plaine with the ground at the kings commandement, which priuate men by king Stephans permission had builded, or else for that they stood not in such places as was thought meet and expedient; yet some he caused to be fortified: and furthermore, toke into his hands againe such lands and possessions as apperteined to the crowne, and were alienated vnto any manner of person, of what degree so euer he was. This wounded the minds of many with an inward grudge, as well enough perceiuing that the king would loke so neere to his owne commoditie, that nothing should be left for them that might any way be recouered and gotten to his vse.

William de Ypres. Castels ouerthrowne. Polydor. Matth.Paris. Wil.Paruus. Matth.Paris.

In this yere queene Elianor being then in the citie of London, on the last of Februarie was deliuered of hir second sonne named Henrie. About the same time also, William Peuerell of Notingham a noble man and of great possessions was disherited by the king for sorcerie and witchcraft, which he had practised to kill Ranulfe earle of Chester, as it was reuealed openlie, and brought to light. In accomplishing of which hainous crime and detestable act, many others were of counsell, and found guilie with him, which escaped not vnpunished.

N.Triuet. Matth.Paris. Matth.West. William Peuerell disherited.

On the tenth of Aprill, king Henrie assembled the

Nic. Treuet.

péeres & great lords of his realme togither at Wallingford, and caused them to sweare allegiance vnto his eldest sonne William: prouiding, that if he chanced to die, then they should do the like vnto his brother Henrie. Also whereas Hugh de Mortimer had fensed his castels against king Henrie, he besieged the same, and taking the castell of Cleberie, he destroied it. Wherevpon, the foresaid Hugh shortlie after was at peace with the king, and surrendred to him the two castels of Wigmore and Bridgenorth, which hitherto he had holden. Moreouer, whereas there was variance kindled betwixt the king, and Roger Fitz Miles of Gloucester (who was earle of Hereford) for the lands of Gloucester, that variance was also quenched: for after the same Roger was dead, his brother Walter succeeding him in the earldome of Hereford, was constreined to depart with the citie of Gloucester, which the king held and reteined in his owne hands.

Matth. Paris. Nic. Treuet. Hugh de Mortimer. The castell of Cleberie.

Roger Fitz Miles.

In the second yeare of his reigne, king Henrie went to Yorke, and in that countrie toke into his hands diuers castels which had béene long in possession of priuate men; namelie, the castell of Scarborough, which William earle of Albemarle held, and now was constreined to resigne it vp, full sore against his will. This yeare William the kings eldest sonne departed this life, and was buried at Reading. The realme of England was brought on all sides into verie good quiet; but yet long, word came to K. Henrie, that his brother Geffrey had begun a rebellion on the other side of the sea. For their father Geffrey (when he died) left three sonnes behind him, Henrie, Geffrey, and William, ordeining by his testament, when Henrie should haue gotten possession of England and Normandie, that then the countrie of Anion should remaine vnto Geffrey, and in the meane time, he to haue these three townes, Chinon, Lodun, and Mirabell, to maintaine his estate; and when the time came that the whole heritage should fall vnto him, he might by possession of these thrée haue a readier meane to come by all the rest. Furthermore, fearing least his eldest sonne Henrie (who as then was absent) would not consent to the performance of this his will, he caused certeine bishops and other of the Nobles to sweare, that they should not suffer his bodie to be committed to buriall, till his sonnes had sworne to fulfill his last will and testament in all other things, but especiallie in this behalfe, wherin he iudged not amisse. For though Henrie was loth to take his oth, yet bicause his fathers bodie should not remaine vnburied, he was contented to sweare.

Anno Reg. 2. The king goeth into the north.

The castell of Scarborough Wil. Paruus. Nic. Treuet.

The death of the kings son William.

Geffrey the kings brother rebelleth.

Wil. Paruus.

But after he had obteined the kingdome of England, his couetous desire, increasing still with abundance alreadie obteined, found meanes to procure of pope Adrian the fourth (who was an Englishman borne) a dispensation for that oth: wherevpon (hauing got licence to depart from the office both of right, law and equitie) neglecting his fathers ordinance, he passed ouer into Normandie, and making war against his brother the said Geffrey, easilie expelled him out of those places, which were assigned him by bequest in his fathers testament, and so toke the earledome of Anion into his owne possession. Howbeit, he gaue vnto his said brother a pension of a thousand pounds English, & two thousand pounds of the monie of Anion, with the towne of Lodun, and certeine other lands to liue vpon; who neuertheless thinking himselfe euill vsed at the kings hands, rebelled and died.

Pope Adrian an Englishman borne. A dispensatiõ for an oth. Nic. Treuet.

¶ Here we haue to note the lacke of conscience and religion, not onlie in the pretended successor of Peter in giuing a dispensation for an oth, but also in his good ghostlie sonne, who was no lesse forward in reuolting from his oth, than the other was willing to acquite him from the force thereof. But if these men had bene profiting scholers in the vniuersitie of the pagans, as they were arrand truants and ranke dullards in the schole of christians, they might haue learned by prophane examples, that as oths are not to be rashlie taken, so they are not to be vnaduisedlie broken. Herevnto alludeth Aristotle in his Metaphysikes, shewing the cause why poetrie hath feigned that the gods in old time vsed to sweare by water, as Iupiter is reported to haue done in this manner;

Ouid. Met. lib. 1. fab. 6.

——per flumina iuro
Infera sub terra Stygio labentia luco.

To signifie vnto vs, that as water is a verie ancient and excellent element, and so necessarie that without it the life of man cannot consist; euen so we ought to esteeme of an oth, than the which we should thinke nothing more religious, nothing more holie, nothing more christian. Herevnto also tendeth the fable of the transmutation of mariners into dolphins for periurie: importing thus much for our instruction, that the breaking of an oth, in a case that may preiudice, procureth grieuous punishments from God against them that so lewdlie do offend. But such is the impudencie of the pope, that he will not grant dispensations onlie for oths, but for incest, for treason, and for any other sinne: which he may do (as he boasteth) by vertue of his absolute and vniuersall iurisdiction: as we haue latelie in most lamentable sort seene exemplified. But to the course of our storie.

Ouid. Met. lib. 3 fab. 8, 9, 10.

1156

Shortlie after, when king Henrie had dispatched his businesse in Normandie, and made an end of troubles there betwixt him and his brother Geffrey, he returned into England, bicause he receiued aduertisement, that Malcolme king of Scotland began to make war against his subiects that bordered next vnto him, wherevpon he hasted northwards: and comming first into Cumberland, he toke the citie of Carlell, seizing all that countrie into his hands; and going after into Northumberland, he wan the towne of Newcastell, with the castell of Bamburg, and toke into his possession all that countrie which his mother the empresse had sometimes granted vnto king Dauid, as before ye haue heard: howbeit, bicause he would not séeme to offer too much wrong, and be esteemed vnmindfull of former benefites receiued, he suffered king Malcolme to enioy the earledome of Huntington, which king Stephan had giuen vnto his father earle Henrie, sonne to king Dauid, as before is partlie touched.

King Henrie goeth against the Scots.

He wan Carlell and Newcastell and others.

The earldome of Huntingtõ.

William also the earle of Mortaigne, and Warren sonne of king Stephan, were compelled to surrender to king Henrie, the castell of Pemsey, the citie of Norwich, and other townes and castels which he held, apperteining to the demeane of the crowne: to whom the king in recompense restored those lands which his father king Stephan held in the daies of king Henrie the first.

William earle of Mortaigne. Matth. Paris. Nic. Treuet.

About this time Theodorike earle of Flanders (going with his wife vnto Ierusalem) committed his sonne Philip with all his lands, to the custodie of the king of England. Hugh Bigot also resigned his castels into the kings hands.

Anno Reg. 3. 1157

Theoderike earle of Flanders.

But whilest king Henrie was about (as before ye haue heard) to recouer and get backe the portions of his kingdome made away and dismembred by his predecessors, he was informed that the Welshmen raised a rebellion against him; to represse whose attempts, he hasted forth with all diligence. Now at his first approch to their countrie, his souldiers being set vpon in the straits, were verie fiercelie put back by the enimies, in somuch that a rumor ran how king Henrie was slaine, which puffed vp the Welshmen

Rebellion of Welshmen.

The king inuadeth them.

men with no small hope, and daunted the Englishmen with great feare. In déed, diuerse of the Englishmen were slaine, and (amongst others) Eustace Fitz John, and Robert de Curcy, men of great honor and reputation.

Eustace Fitz John, & Robert de Curcy slaine.

Those which escaped in returning backe, not knowing that the king passed through the straits without danger, declared to their fellowes that followed and were approching to the said straits, that (so farre as they knew) the king and all the residue were lost. These newes so discomforted the companies, that Henrie of Esser, which bare the kings standard by right of inheritance, threw downe the same, and fled: which dishonorable déed was afterward laid to his charge by one Robert de Mountfort, with whom (by order taken of the king) he fought a combat in triall of the quarrell, and was ouercome: but yet the king qualifieng the rigor of the iudgement by mercie pardoned his life, and appointed him to be a shorne monke, and put into the abbey of Reading, taking his lands and possessions into his hands as forfeited: howbeit this combat was not tried till about the 9. yeare of this kings reigne.

Henrie of Esser. Matth. West. Wil. Paruus.

A combat betwixt Henrie de Esser, and Robert de Mountfort. Matth. West.

Now the king, hearing that his armie was discomfited, came to his men, and shewing himselfe to them with open visage, greatlie reuiued the whole multitude, and then proceeding against the enimies, his people were afterwards more warie in loking to themselues, insomuch that at length (when the K. prepared to inuade the Welshmen both by water & land) they sought to him for peace, and wholie submitted themselues vnto his grace and mercie.

The Welshmen submit themselues.

About the same time, king Henrie builded the castell of Rutland, the castell of Basingwerke, and one house also of Templers. In the moneth of September also this yeare, the kings third sonne was borne at Oxenford, & named Richard. This yeare was Thomas Becket preferred to be the kings Chancellor.

The castell of Rutland and Basingwerke built. Matth. Paris. Anno Reg. 4. Thomas Becket lord Chancellor.

1158

The king holding his Christmas at Worcester in great royaltie, sat in the church at seruice, with his crowne on his head, as the kings vsed in those daies to do on solemne feasts: but as sone as masse was ended, he toke his crowne from his head, and set it downe vpon the altar in signe of humblenes, so that he neuer after passed for the wearing of a crowne. The same yeare also the king altered his coine, abrogating certeine peeces called basels.

Matth. Paris. The king laieth his crown on the altar. Coine altered.

In the moneth of August he went ouer into Normandie, and came to an enterview with the French king neere to the riuer of Eata, where they intreated of a league, and of a marriage, which was after agreed vpon, betwixt Henrie the sonne of king Henrie: and the ladie Margaret, daughter to the French king: at which time Thomas Becket (then being the kings chancellor) was sent to Paris in great araie to fetch hir: who among other furnitures had nine long charrets (as Matthew Paris writeth.) Now when this ladie was deliuered to Thomas Becket the lord chancellor, and brought from Paris, she was appointed from thenceforth to remaine in the house of Robert de Newburge, a Noble man of great honor, vntill such time as the marriage should be solemnized.

Additions to John Bike. The lord chancellor Becket sent into France. Matth. West.

After the two kings were departed in sunder, K. Henrie prepared an armie against Conan duke of Britaine, who had seized the citie of Naunts into his hands, after the decease of Geffrey the kings brother, who was earle of Naunts. At length, the same Conan perceiuing himselfe not able to resist the king of England, vpon the daie of the feast of saint Michael the archangell came to king Henrie, and surrendred the citie of Naunts into his hands, with all the whole countrie thereunto belonging. Soone after which resignation, and vpon the 24. of August, Geffrey the kings fourth sonne was borne of his wife queene Elianor.

Geffrey the kings fourth sonne borne.

In December following, Theobald earle of Blois was accorded with king Henrie, to deliuer to him two of his castels. Likewise Petroke earle of Perch surrendred two castels vnto king Henrie, which he had vsurped of the demeanes of Normandie in the daies of king Stephan: one of which castels the king gaue him againe, receiuing homage of him for the same.

Petroke earle of Perch.

Moreouer king Henrie and Raimond earle of Barzelone met togither at Blaime, where they concluded a league by waie of allegiance, so that Richard the sonne of king Henrie should take to wife the daughter of the said Raimond in time conuenient; and that the king of England should giue vnto the said Richard the duchie of Aquitane, & the countie of Poictow. This earle Raimond had married the daughter and heire of the king of Aragon.

Raimond erle of Barzelone. Richard the kings sonne offered to erle Raimonds daughter.

In the meane time, a secret grudge that had long depended betweene king Henrie and king Lewes of France did still continue, and though there was a friendship agreed betweene them (as ye haue heard) to haue extinguished the same; yet was it but a fained friendship: for vpon euerie new occasion they were readie to breake againe, as it came to passe shortlie after.

A fained friendship. William duke of Aquitane.

William duke of Aquitane, grandfather to queene Elianor, married the daughter and heire of the earle of Tholouze, and going vnto the warres of the holie land, he engaged that earledome vnto Raimond the earle of saint Giles, and died before he could returne. His sonne William, father to queene Elianor, suffered his earledome to remaine still vnredéemed, either for want of sufficiencie, or through negligence and carelesnesse: so that the earle of saint Giles kéeping possession thereof vnto his dieng daie, left it to his sonne Raimond, who inioyed it likewise. Now when king Lewes (hauing married the foresaid Elianor) demanded restitution as in the right of his wife, earle Raimond flatlie at the first denied to restore it, but after considering his lacke of power to resist the kings puissance, he plied the K. with humble petitions, and so preuailed by faire words, that in the end king Lewes granted him his sister Constance in marriage (which Constance, as ye haue heard, was married before vnto Eustace the sonne of king Stephan) & with hir granted him libertie to reteine the earldome of Tholouze as it were by waie of endowment: whereto the other accorded. Howbeit king Henrie hauing maried the foresaid queene Elianor, after the diuorse had betwixt hir and king Lewes, made claime to the said countie of Tholouze in the right of his wife. Hereupon earle Raimond, trusting now to the aid of his brother in law king Lewes, denied to restore it; so that king Henrie determined to recouer it by force, and entring by and by into Gascoine with an armie, he drew towards the countrie of Tholouze, & began to inuade the same with great force and courage.

Earle of saint Giles otherwise Tholouze.

Anno. Reg. 5.

1159

Matth. Paris. Matt. Westm.

Diuers great lords of those parties ioyned with king Henrie in his war which he attempted against the earle of saint Giles, as the earle of Barzelone, and the lord William Trencheuile, a man of great power in those quarters, hauing vnder his rule manie cities, castels and townes, notwithstanding that he had of late lost many of them by violence of the foresaid earle of Tholouze, but now by the aide of king Henrie he recouered them all. Malcolme also king of Scotland came vnto king Henrie, whilest he was forth in this iournie, to associate him in this businesse.

Wil. Paruus.

William Trencheuile.

N. Triuet.

The earle hearing of king Henries comming with an armie, was put in great feare, and thereby-

on wrote letters to his brother in law king Lewes, requiring him with all speed possible to come vnto his aid. King Lewes vpon receipt of the letters, & vnderstanding the present danger of the earle, made such hast in continuing his iournie both daie and night, that he came to Tholouze, before king Henrie could arriue there. Which when king Henrie vnderstood, and perceiued how he was preuented, he changed his purpose of besieging the citie, and fell to spoiling of the countrie thereabouts: at which time he recouered certaine places that latelie before had reuolted from his gouernment, & (amongst the rest) the citie of Cahors, which he furnished with men, munition and vittels, appointing his chancellor Thomas Becket to the custodie and keeping thereof: he fortified other places also which he had gotten, placing capteines and men of warre to loke vnto the defense of the same. Whilest the king was thus abrode on his iournie in the parties of Aquitaine, William earle of Bullongne and Mortaine the sonne of king Stephan, and Haimon earle of Glocester departed this life, which two earles went thither with him.

The citie of Cahors. N.Triuet.

The lord chancellor Becket.

Rob.Houed.

William earle of Bullongne.

Finallie, when he had set things at a staie in those parties, he returned towards Normandie, and coming to the citie of Toures, he gaue the order of knighthod vnto Malcolme king of Scotland, and so in the moneth of October he came backe into Normandie, and there augmenting his armie with new suplies, entred into the countie of Beauuoisin, burned manie villages in the same, and destroied the strong castell of Gerberie, except one turret, which his souldiers could not take, by reason of the fire and smoke which staied and kept them from it. Moreouer, Simon earle of Auranches deliuered vnto king Henrie such fortresses as he held in France, as Rochfort, Montfort, and such like, which was no small discommoditie and inconuenience to the French king, bicause the garisons placed in those fortresses impeached the passage betwixt Paris and Orleance. But shortlie after, a truce was taken to last from the moneth of December, vnto the feast of the holie Trinitie in the yeare next following.

The countie of Beaunoisin

A truce taken Anno Reg. 6.

1160

In the moneth of Maie also insuing, a peace was concluded vpon the former articles and conditions: for further confirmation whereof, the mariage was solemnized betwixt Henrie the kings sonne being seuen yeares of age, and the ladie Margaret daughter to the French king, being not past three yeares old: as writers do report. The marriage was celebrated at Newborough on the second daie of November, by the authoritie of two legats of the apostolike see, Henrie bishop of Pisa, and William bishop of Paula, both præsts and cardinals.

A peace concluded. A marriage concluded.

Matth.Paris.

Legats.

About the same time came certeine Dutchmen of the sort called Waldoies ouer into this realme, to the number of thirtie or more, who held opinions in religion contrarie to the faith of the Romane church, for (as one author affirmeth) they which first spred the opinions which these men held, came from Gascoigne, and preuailed so greatlie in setting forth their doctrine, that they mightilie increased through the large regions of Spaine, France, Italie, and Germanie: simple men (God wote) they were for the most part, as is written of them, and of no quicke capacitie. Howbeit, those which at this time came ouer into England, were indifferentlie well learned, and their principall or ringleader was named Gerard. Now also was a councell assembled at Oxford, whereat these dogmatists were examined vpon certeine points of their profession. The forsaid Gerard vndertaking to answere for them all, protested that they were good christians, and had the doctrine of the apostles in all reuerence. Moreouer, being examined what they thought of the substance of the godhead and the merits of Christ, they answered rightlie, and to the point; but being further examined vpon other articles of the religion then receiued, they swarued from the church, and namelie, in the vse of the diuine sacraments, derogating such grace from the same, as the church by hir authoritie had then ascribed thereto. To conclude, they would in no wise renounce their opinions, in somuch that they were condemned, burned in the forehead with an hot iron, and in the cold season of winter stripped naked from the girdle steed vpward, and so whipped out of the towne; with proclamation made, that no man should be so hardie as to receiue them into any house, relieue them with meat, drinke, or any other kind of meanes: wherevpon it fell out in fine that they were starued to death through cold and hunger: howbeit in this their affliction they seemed to reioise, in that they suffered for Gods cause, as they made account.

Wil.Paruus. Certeine of the Waldoies came into England being Dutchmē.

A councell at Oxford.

The professions of the Waldoies.

Their examination & protestation.

The Waldois condemned.

They are forbidden meat and drinke.

They are starued to death.

The same yeare, Matthew sonne to the earle of Flanders married the ladie Marie the abbesse of Ramsie, daughter to king Stephan, and with hir had the countie of Bullongne. About this marriage grew the first falling out betwixt the king and his chancellor Thomas Becket (as some haue written) but none more than the said Matthew was offended with the said chancellor, bicause he was so sore against the said contract.

N.Triuet.

The first falling out betwixt the K. & Thomas Becket. Anno Reg. 7. Matth.Paris. Matth. West.

1161

King Henrie, shortlie after the marriage was consummate betwixt his sonne & the French kings daughter, got into his hands the castell of Gisors, with two other castels, situate vpon the riuer of Eta in the confines of Normandie and France. For it was accorded betwixt the two kings, that when the marriage should be finished, king Henrie should haue those three castels, bicause they apperteined to Normandie; in the meane time, the same castels were deliuered into the hands of Robert de Poiron, Tostes de Saint Omer, and Robert Hastings, three knights templers, who vpon the consummation of the marriages before said, and according to the trust committed to them, surrendred the possession of the said castels into the hands of king Henrie.

Rog.Houed.

But the French king was not a little moued, for that king Henrie had seized vpon them without his licence, in so much that he raised a power of armed men, and sent them into Normandie, where they had one cruell conflict aboue the rest with the Normans, till the night parted them in sunder, by meane whereof the Frenchmen withdrew to Chaumount, and the Romans to Gisors. The nert daie, as the Frenchmen came forth againe, purposing to haue won Gisors, they were beaten backe by the Normans, who issued out of the towne to skirmish with them. Thus was the warre renewed betwixt these two princes; and by setting on of Theobald earle of Blois, the matter grew to that point, that the English and French powers comming forthwith into the field, and marching one against an other, they approched so nære togither, that battell was presentlie looked for, first in Veulgesline, and after in the territorie of Dune; but yet in the end such order was taken betwixt them, that their armies brake vp.

Gaguinus. The French & Normans fight.

Nic.Triuet.

The three Templers also ran in displeasure of the French king, for the deliuerie of the castels before they knew his mind, so that he banished them the realme of France for euermore: but king Henrie receiued them, and gaue them honorable entertainement. Some write that there were but two castels, Gisors and Veall, which were thus put into their hands, and by them deliuered as before is mentioned.

Three knights templers. Rog.Houed.

Matth. Paris.

About this time Theobald archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, after he had gouerned that

The death of Theobald archbishop of Canturburie.

for

sée the space of 22. yeares, who at his going to Rome, and receipt of the pall of pope Innocent the second, was also created legat of the sée apostolike, which office he exercised so diligentlie, and so much to the auaile of the church, that the dignitie of legatship remained euer after to the archbishop of Canturburie by a speciall decrée, so that they were intituled *Legati*, that is to say Legats borne (as mine author doth report.) This Theobald greatlie fauoured Thomas Becket.

The power legantine annexed to Cant. Wil. Paru.

This Becket was borne in London, his father hight Gilbert, but his mother was a Syrian borne, and by religion a Saracen: howbeit (no regard had of his parents) he grew so highlie in fauour with the king, and might do so much in England, that he séemed to reigne as if he had béene associat with him also in the kingdome, and being Lord chancellor, the king sent him ouer into England (Richard Lucie being in his companie) with sundrie letters in his fauour, thereby to procure his election to that sée: which was brought to passe according to the kings desire at Westminster. Afterward he was ordeined at Canturburie on saturdaie in Whitsunweeke, by Henrie bishop of Winchester (although there be that write how Walter bishop of Rochester did consecrate him) which consecration was in the 44. yeare of his age, and in the fift yere after his first aduancement to the office of Lord chancellor, so that he was the eight and thirtith archbishop which gouerned in that sée.

The auth ritie of Becket. Anno Reg. 6.

He is consecrated archb. Wil. Paru. 1162

Quadrilogium ex vita eiusdem Thome.

Toward the end of the same yeare, Henrie the kings sonne receiued homage of the barons, first in Normandie, and after in England. In the yeare ensuing, the king his father committed him to archbishop Becket, that he might sée him brought vp and trained in maners and courtlie behauiour, as apperteined to his estate: whereupon the archbishop in iest called him his sonne.

The archbish. a better courtier than a preacher.

This yeare Quéene Elianor was brought to bed at Rohan of a daughter named Elianor.

The quéene brought to bed of a daughter. An enterview. Anno Reg. 9. 1163 N. Triuet.

In like maner the kings of England and France receiued pope Alexander the third at Cocie vpon Loire with all honor and reuerence, insomuch that they attended vpon his stirrup on foot like pages or lackies, the one vpon his right side, and the other on his left.

¶ Note here the intollerable pride of this antichristian pope in assuming, and the base mindednesse of these two kings in ascribing vnto that man of sinne such dignitie as is vtterlie vnfit for his indignitie. But what will this monster of men, this *Stupor mundi*, this *Diaboli primogenitus & hæres* not arrogate for his owne aduancement; like vnto climing aloft, & choking the tree by whose helpe it creepeth vp from the rot to the top. But the end of this seauen horned beast so extolling and lifting it selfe vp to heauen, is

——Erebo miserè claudetur in imo
Atque illic miris cruciatibus afficietur.

Homage of the K. of Scots.

In Januarie ensuing, the king returned into England, and the same yeare the king of Scots did homage vnto Henrie the yonger, and deliuered his yonger brother Dauid to the king his father, with diuerse other the sonnes of his lords and barons in pledge, for assurance of a perpetuall peace to be kept betwéene them, with some such castels as he required.

A councell at Tours.

In the meane time archbishop Thomas went to the councell holden by pope Alexander at Towres in the Octaues of Pentecost, where he resigned his bishoprike into the popes hands (as the fame went) being troubled in conscience for that he had receiued it by the kings preferment. The pope allowing his purpose, committed the same pastorlike dignitie to him againe by his ecclesiasticall power, whereby the archbishop was eased verie well of his greefe, and shortlie after his returne from his councell, séemed desirous to reduce & cause to be restored such rights as he pretended to belong vnto the church of Canturburie, whereby he ran into the displeasure of manie, and namelie of the mightiest.

Moreouer he required of the king the kéeping of Rochester castell, & the custodie of the tower of London. He alledged also that Saltwod & Hith belonged peculiarlie to the seignorie of his sée. He called Roger earle of Clare vnto Westminster, to do his homage vnto him for the castell of Tunbridge: but the earle denied it through the setting on of the king, alledging all the sée thereof to apperteine rather to the king than to the archbishop. Thus was the archbishop troubled, and he grew dailie more and more out of the kings fauour. For yee must vnderstand, that this was not the first nor the second, but the eight time that the king had shewed tokens of his displeasure against him.

The archbish. practiseth treason secretlie.

Homage for the castell of Tunbridge.

After this, vpon the first day of Julie, Rice prince of Southwales, with diuerse other lords and nobles of Wales, did homage both to the king and to his sonne Henrie at Wimdlocke. Hamline the kings bastard brother married the countesse of Warren, the widow of William earle of Mortaigne bastard sonne to king Stephan. This countesse was the sole daughter and heire of William the third earle of Warren, which went with Lewes king of France into the holie land, and there died. Some after, the Welshmen rebelling with their prince Rice and his vncle Owen, did many mischéefes on the marches: and by the death of Walter Giffard earle of Buckingham (who deceased this yeare without heire) that earledome came to the kings hands.

Matth. Paris. Matth. West.

Anno Reg. 10 Homage of the Welshmen. 1164 N. Triuet.

On the 20. daie of September were three circles séene to compasse the sun, and so continued the space of three houres togither: which when they vanished awaie, two sunnes appeared and sprang forth after a maruellous maner. Which strange sight the common people imagined to be a signe or token of the controuersie then kindling betwixt the king and the archbishop.

Matth. Paris.

About this time the king called a parlement at Westminster, to treat of matters concerning the commonwealth, wherein great discord arose betwixt the king & archbishop Becket, about certeine points touching the liberties of the church. For the king hauing an earnest zeale vnto iustice, and commanding the iudges to punish offenders without respect, vnderstood by their information, that manie things by them of the spiritualtie (against whome their authoritie might not be extended) were committed contrarie to common order: as theft, rapine, murther, and manslaughter; in so much that in his presence it was made notorious, that sith the beginning of his reigne, aboue an hundred manslaughters had béene committed within his realme of England by préests and men of religious orders. Herevpon being moued in mind, he set forth lawes against the spiritualtie, wherein he shewed his zeale of iustice. For as the cause proceeded from the bishops of that age, so did the fault also, sith contrarie to their owne canons they permitted préests to liue ouer licentiouslie without due correction, studieng onelie to mainteine the liberties and immunities of the church, and not to reforme the irregularitie of the regulars. Of this crew was one Philip de Broc, a canon of Bedford, who being arreigned before the kings iusticer for a murther, vttered disdainefull words against the same iusticer: which when he could not denie before the archbishop, he was depriued of his prebend, and banished the land for two yeares space.

Discord still kindleth betwixt the king and the archb.

Murthers committed by préests.

W. Paruus. Matth. Paris.

These things troubled the king, who therefore ha-

uing alreadie set downe such orders as should bridle the spiritualtie from their wicked doings, thought that if he might get them confirmed in parlement by consent of the bishops and clergie, then the same should take place and be receiued for lawes. Wherefore he earnestlie required at this parlement, that it might be enacted against all such of the spiritualtie, as should be taken and conuicted for any heinous offense, they should lose the priuiledge of the church, and be deliuered vnto the ciuill magistrate, who should see them suffer execution for their offenses, in like maner as he might any of the kings subiects being laie men. For otherwise the king alledged, that they would boldlie presume to do much more mischiefe, if after ecclesiasticall discipline, no secular correction should follow. And likelie it was that they would passe but little for their disgrading and losse of their order, who in contempt of their calling would not abstein from committing most mischieuous abhominations and hainous enormities.

The king meaneth to bridle the spiritualtie frō presumptuous dealing.

The prelats against the king.

Ger. Dor.

Vnto these reasons thus proponed by the king (to haue his purpose take effect) the archbishop and his suffragans, with the rest of the bishops, answered verie pithilie, labouring to proue that it was more against the liberties of the church, than that they might with reason well allow. Wherevpon the king being moued exceedinglie against them, demanded whether they would obserue his rotall lawes and customes, which the archbishops and bishops in the time of his grandfather did hold and obeie or not: Whereunto they made answere, that they would obserue them, *Saluo ordine suo*, Their order in all things saued. But the king being highlie offended with such exceptions, urged the matter so, that he would haue them to take their oth absolutely, & without all exceptions, but they would none of that. At length he departed from London in verie great displeasure with the bishops, hauing first taken from the archbishop Thomas all the offices and dignities which he enioied since his first being created chancellor.

Their order saued.

The king offended with the bishops.

Howbeit, after this, manie of the bishops seeing whervnto this broile would grow, began to shrinke from the archbishop, and inclined to the king. But the archbishop stood stiflie in his opinion, and would not bend at all, till at length not onelie his suffragans the bishops, but also the bishop of Liseux (who came ouer to do some good in the matter) and the abbat of Elemosina (who was sent from the pope) persuaded him to agree to the kings will, in so much that being ouercome at last with the earnest suit of his freends, he came first to Woodstocke, and there promised the king to obserue his lawes, *Bona fide*, Faithfullie, and without all collusion or deceit.

R. Houed.

R. Houed. 1164

Shortlie after, in the feast of S. Hilarie, a councell was holden at Clarendon, whereto the archbishop, and in manner all the lords spirituall and temporall of the land made their repaire. Here the archbishop would haue willinglie started from his promise, if first the bishops, and after the earles of Leicester and Cornewall, Robert and Reignald (which Reignald was vncle to the king) and lastlie two knights templers, had not moued him to yeld to the kings will. But (among the rest) these two knights, namelie Richard de Hastings, and Hosteus de Boloigne were verie earnest with him, & at length preuailed, though not for conscience of dutie, wherewith he should haue bene touched; yet with feare of danger, which (by refusing to satisfie the kings will) he should haue brought not onelie vpon himselfe, but also vpon the the other bishops there present.

Ger. Dor. A councell at Clarendon.

These knights seemed to lament his case, as if alreadie they had seene naked swords shaken about his eares. And indeed, certeine of the kings seruants that attended vpon his person after the manner of a gard, went to and fro, rashing vp and downe the chambers, shaking their bright battell axes readie appointed, and looking as if they would forthwith run vpon the bishops. Wherevpon the archbishop being touched with remorse, and seeming to striue against his determinat purpose, consented to obey the kings pleasure, and so promised in the word of a preest, sweering furthermore, that he would obserue the kings lawes and customes, without expressing these words, *Saluo ordine meo*, Mine order saued, which he had vsed before. The like oth did all the bishops take. But the archbishop refused at that time to seale to the writing that conteined the articles of the oth which he should haue obserued, requiring as it were a time to consider of them, sith in so weightie a matter nothing ought to be done without good and deliberate aduise, wherefore he tooke with him a copie thereof, and so did the archbishop of Yorke an other, and the third remained with the king.

Marc. Paris. The archbishop Becket receiueth an oth.

Shortlie after, the archbishop considering further of this oth which he had taken, repented himselfe greuouslie therof, in so much that he abstained from saieng of masse, till he had by confession and fruits of penance (as saith Matth. Paris) obteined absolution of the pope. For addressing and sending out messengers with all speed vnto the pope, with a certificat of the whole matter as it laie, he required to be assoiled of the bond which he had vnaduisedlie entred into. This suit was soone granted, in so much that the pope directed his especiall letters vnto him, conteining the same absolution in verie ample and large manner, as Matth. Paris doth report it. And thus began a new broile.

He repenteth him in that he had receiued an oth. Matth. Paris.

The archbishop in the meane time, perceiuing that the liberties of the church were now not onelie embezelled, but in maner extinguished, and being loth to make any further attempt against his former deslings, would now (without the kings knowledge) haue departed the realme, wherevpon comming to Romnie, he tooke shipping, to haue passed ouer into France, and so to haue gone to the popes court. But by a contrarie wind he was brought backe into England, and thereby fell further into the kings displeasure than before, in so much that, whereas an action was commensed against him of late for a manor, which the archbishops of Canturburie had of long time held: now the matter was so vsed, that the archbishop lost the manor, and was moreouer condemned to paie the arrerages, and thus his troubles increased euen through his owne malapertnesse and brainesicknesse; whereas all these tumults might haue bene composed and laid asleepe, if he had bene wise, peaceable, patient, and obedient. For,

The archbishop Becket would haue fled out of the realme.

Vir bonus & sapiens quærit super omnia pacem,
Vultque minora pati, metuens grauiora, cauetque
Ne paruo ex igni sceleratа incendia surgant.

M. Pal. in suo sag.

In the end, the archbishop was cited to appeare before the king at Northampton, where the king vsed him somewhat roughlie, placing his horsses at his Inne, and laid disobedience to his charge, for that he did not personallie appeare at a certeine place before his highnesse, vpon summons giuen vnto him for the same purpose. Whereunto though the archbishop alledged that he had sent thither a sufficient deputie to make answere for him; yet could he not be so excused, but was found giltie, and his goods confiscat to the kings pleasure.

The archbishop cited to appeare at Northampton. R. Houed.

Sentence giuen against the archbishop.

Now when the archbishop heard that sentence was in such wise pronounced against him; What maner of iudgement (saith he) is this? Though I hold my peace, yet the age that shall hereafter follow, will not hide it in silence; for sithens the world began, it hath not bene heard, that any archbishop of Canturburie hath bene iudged in any of the king of Englands courts

courts for any maner of cause; partlie in regard of the dignitie and authoritie of his office, and partlie bicause he is spirituallie the father of the king and all his people. This is therefore a new forme and order of iudgement, that the archbishop should be iudged by his suffragans, or the father by his sons.

The next daie the king required of him the repaiment of fiue hundred marks, which he had lent him when he was chancellor. Now although he affirmed that he receiued the same by waie of gift, and not by waie of lone; yet bicause he confessed the receit, he was condemned in that debt, forsomuch as he could not proue the title of the gift.

The archbish. condemned in fiue hundred markes.

In assemblie of bishops.

On the morrow after, the archbishop with his fellow bishops being set in councell, by commandement of the king (& the doores fast locked that they should not get out) this was proponed against the archbishop, that whereas he held certeine bishops sées as then vacant, with abbeies, and other reuenues of his soueregne lord the king in his hands, and had made none account to him for the same of long time; the king required now to be answered at his hands, and that with all spéd, for he would haue no delaie. The summe amounted to thirtie thousand markes.

The archbish. called to an account.

When the archbishop had heard the variable sentences of the bishops in this case, he answered after this maner: I would (said he) speake with two earles which are about the king, and named them. Who being called, and the doores set open, he said vnto them; We haue not here at this present to shew whereby the thing may be more manifest: therefore we aske respit for answer till to morrow. The councell therefore brake vp, and the multitude of people, which came with the archbishop thither, being afraid of the kings displeasure, fell from him. Wherefore he caused his seruants to fetch a great number of poore and impotent people to his lodging, saieng that by the seruice of such men of warre, a more spéedie victorie in short space might be gotten, than by them which in time of temptation shamefullie drew backe. Herevpon his house was filled full, and the tables set with such as his seruants had brought in, out of the lanes and streats abroad.

Upon the tuesdaie, the bishops all amazed and full of care, came vnto him; and bicause of the displeasure which the king had conceiued against him, counselled him to submit himselfe to the kings will, or else in fine, they told him plainelie, that he would be iudged a periured person; bicause he had sworne vnto the king as to his earthlie souereigne, touching all temporall honor in life, lim, and member; and namelie to obserue all his roiall lawes and customes, which of late he had established.

The bishops perswade the archbishop to submit himselfe to ỹ kings pleasure.

Wherevnto he answered: My brethren, ye see how the world roreth against me, and the enimie riseth vp, but I more lament that the sonnes of my mother fight against me. If I should hold my peace, yet would the world come to declare how ye leaue me alone in the battell, and haue iudged against me now these two daies past, I being your father, though neuer so much a sinner. But I command you by vertue of your obedience, and vpon perill of your order, that you be not present in any place of iudgement, where my person may fortune to be adiudged: in testimonie whereof I appeale to our mother the church of Rome. Furthermore, if it chance that temporall men laie their hands vpon me, I charge you likewise by vertue of your obedience, that ye exercise the censures of the church in the behalfe of your father the archbishop as it becommeth you. This one thing know ye well, that the world roreth, the flesh trembleth and is weake, but I (by Gods grace) will not shrinke, nor leaue the flocke committed vnto me.

The archbish. answer to his brethren.

He appealeth to the church of Rome.

After this he entred into the church, and celebrated the masse of saint Stephan (otherwise than he was accustomed to do) with his pall: which being ended, he put on his sacrificing vestures, with a cope vpon them all, and so went to the court. Furthermore, bicause he was afraid, he receiued the sacrament secretlie with him, and bearing the crosse in his right hand, and the reine of his bridell in his left, he came in that order to the court, where he alighted, and entred the place, still bearing the crosse himselfe, till he came to the kings chamber doore, the other bishops following him with great feare and trembling. Now being come thither, the bishop of Hereford would gladlie haue taken the crosse, and haue borne it before him, but he would not suffer him, saieng: It is most reason that I should beare it my selfe, vnder the defense whereof I may remaine in safetie: and beholding this ensigne, I need not doubt vnder what prince I serue.

He goeth to the court.

At length, when the king had exhibited great complaints vnto them all generallie against him, they cried that he was a traitor, sith he had receiued so manie benefits at the kings hands, and now refused to do him all earthlie honor as he had sworne to do. To be short, when the bishops came to sit vpon the matter in councell, they appealed to the sée of Rome against the archbishop, accusing him of periurie: and in the word of truth bound themselues by promise, to do what they might to depose him, if the king would pardon them of that iudgement which now hanged ouer the archbishops head. Then comming to the archbishop they said: Thou wast sometime our archbishop, and we were bound to obeie thée: but sith thou hast sworne fealtie to the king, that is, life, member, and earthlie honour, & to obserue his lawes and customes; and now goest about to destroie the same, we say that thou art guiltie of periurie, and we will not from henceforth obey a periured archbishop. Therefore we cite thée by appellation to appeare before the pope, there to answer thine accusors. Then they appointed him a day, in which they ment to prosecute their appeale. I heare you well (said the archbishop.)

He is reputed a traitour.

The bishops disallow their archbishop.

The princes and péeres of the realme did also iudge him a periured person and a traitour. Among whome (manie then being present) the earle of Leicester accompanied with Reignald earle of Cornewall, came vnto him and said; The king commanded thée to come and render an accompt of that which is obiected against thée, or else heare thy iudgement. Iudgement: said the archbishop, [and therewith rising vp said,] Naie sonne earle, first heare thou: It is not vnknowne to thée how faithfull I haue béene to the king, in consideration whereof he aduanced me to the archbishops see against my will (as God can be my iudge:) for I knew mine owne infirmitie, and I was contented to take it vpon me rather for his pleasure, than for Gods cause, and therfore doth God both withdraw himselfe and the king from me. In the time of mine election he made me frée, and discharged me of all courtlie bondage. Wherefore as touching those things from which I am frée and deliuered, I am not bound to answer, neither will I. So much as the soule is more worth than the bodie, so much the more art thou bound to obeie God and me, rather than any earthlie creature. Neither will law nor reason permit, that the sonnes should iudge or condemne the father: and therefore I refuse to stand to the iudgement either of the king, or of any other, and appeale to the pope, by whome (vnder God) I ought to be iudged, referring all that I haue vnto Gods protection and his, and vnder the defense of his authoritie I depart out of this place. Hauing thus spoken,

spoken, went incontinent to take horse.

Now as he passed on his waie, the kings seruants and others of the court did cast out manie reprochfull words against him, calling him traitor and false forsworne caitife. At which words turning himselfe, and loking backe with a sterne countenance he said; That if it were not for his order of priesthood, and that it were lawfull for him, he would suerlie cleere himselfe of periurie and treason, in defending and mainteining his cause against them with weapon in hand.

Ger. Dor. The stout courage of the archbishop.

When he was come to the vtter gate, he found the same fast locked, whereat they began all to be amazed: but one of his seruants espieng where a bunch of keies tied to a clubs end were hanging on a pin, he toke them down, & tried which was the right key, by prose whereof he found it at the last, opened the gate, and let the archbishop out, the porters standing still as men amazed, and speaking not one word against it.

Now when he was got out, a great number of poore, weake and impotent people met him, saieng: "Blessed be God, which hath deliuered his seruant "from the face of his enimie. Thus with a great rout or companie, and with the clergie, he was honorablie conueied to the abbeie of S. Andrews: and loking behind and before him, as he passed thitherward, he said vnto those that went with him; How glorious a procession doth bring me from the face of the enimie? Suffer all the poore people to come into the place, that we may make merie togither in the Lord. Hauing thus spoken the people had entrance, so that all the hall, parlours, and chambers being furnished with tables and stooles, they were conuenientlie placed, and serued with vittels to the full.

Rog. Houed. The archbishop Becket fled awaie in the night.

The verie same night before the cockcrowing he issued forth by a little posterne gate, and taking with him onelie two monks of the Cisteaux order, the one named Robert Canne, and the other S. Cayman, with one of his owne seruants called Roger de Broc, he fled awaie disguised in a white vesture and a monks coule, and changing his name, caused himselfe to be called Dereman, & iourneied still all the night, and by daie laie close in one frends house or other; till at last he got to Sandwich, and there taking ship, he sailed ouer into Flanders, and so went to France, where at the citie of Sens he found pope Alexander, into whose bosome he emptied whole cart lodes of complaints and grieuances.

Gilbert Follioth bishop of London was sent to the French king.

The king vpon knowledge that the archbishop was fled the realme, sent Gilbert Follioth bishop of London, and William earle of Arundell in spedie ambassage to the king of France, to signifie vnto him the whole matter and circumstance of the falling out betwixt him and the archbishop, requiring him not to receiue the archbishop into his realme, but this request was little regarded of the French king, as appeared: for the archbishops cause was fauoured of manie, and the blame imputed to king Henrie, so that the archbishop found great grace with the French king, and no small fauour at the hands of the pope.

Additions to Iohn Pike. Matth. Paris. Ger. Dor.

Now when king Henrie heard that he was accused by the archbishop vnto the pope, he appointed Roger archbishop of Yorke, the foresaid Gilbert bishop of London, Hilarius bishop of Chichester, Roger bishop of Worcester, Bartholomew bishop of Excester, with diuerse bishops, deanes, archdeacons, & other learned men of good accompt, to the number of 15. to passe in ambassage vnto the pope, that they might excuse his doings, and burden the archbishop with the note of rebellion, whereof he had good proofe.

Roger archbishop of Yorke

Being admitted to declare their message in the consistorie before the pope, they opened the whole circumstance of the matter, from the beginning to the end, declaring that betwixt Thomas the archbishop of Canturburie and the king there was a controuersie moued, and by both their consents a daie appointed for the hearing and determining thereof, as iustice should require. At the which daie (by the kings commandement) all the cheefest lords of the realme both spirituall and temporall were assembled, to the end that the more generall the meeting should be, the more manifest might the discouerie of the fraud and malice of the archbishop appere.

With others, are sent to the pope.

"At the daie appointed (saie they) there came before "the catholike prince his presence, the nobles of his "realme: and amongst other, the archbishop the disquieter both of the kingdome & church, who (as one "not well assured of the qualitie of his owne deser"uings) blessed himselfe with the signe of the crosse at "his comming into the court, as though he should "haue come before some tyrant or schismaticall per"son. Notwithstanding all which contemptuous and "ambitious behauiour, the kings maiestie was no"thing offended, but committed the iudgement of his "cause to the faithfull order of the bishops, meaning so "to deliuer himselfe of all suspicion of wrong dea"ling. Then it rested in the bishops hands to make an "end of the controuersie, and to set a finall vnion "and agreement betwixt them. But the archbishop "would none of that, alleging how it should be a de"rogation to the see apostolike and his metropoliticall "dignitie, to stand before the king in iudgement, or a"nie other temporall magistrate. And albeit (saie they) "some diminution or eclipse might haue chanced to "the dignitie of the church by that iudgement, yet it "had beene his part to haue dissembled the matter for "the time, to the end that peace might haue beene re"stored to the church. He further obiected (ascribing to "himselfe the name of father, which seemed to sauour "somewhat of arrogancie) that the children ought not "to come togither to iudge the fathers cause, but it "had beene far more necessarie that the humblenesse "of the sons should mitigate the pride and temper the "ambition of the father."

The kings tale could not be heard.

To conclude, the kings ambassadors made earnest suit, that two legats might be sent from the pope, to haue the hearing & discussing of all the matter betwixt the king and the archbishop without any other appealing. But the kings tale could not be heard in that court, the archbishop hauing alreadie persuaded the pope to the contrarie. For comming to the pope, he vttered his complaint as followeth:

The archbishop Becket. Matt. Paris.

"Most holie father, I do here come for succour to "your audience, lamenting that the state of the "church, and the liberties thereof are brought to ruine "by the couetous dealing of kings and princes. Where"fore when I thought to resist the disease approching, I "was suddenlie called before the king, to render ac"compts as a laie man about certeine wards, for "whom (while I was the kings chancellor) I had not"withstanding giuen accounts; and also, when I was "made bishop, and entred into the dignitie of ruling "the archbishops see, I was released and discharged of "all reckonings and bonds by the kings eldest sonne, "and by the cheefe iusticer of the realme: so that now, "where I looked to haue found aid, I was destitute "thereof, to my great hinderance and beration. Con"sider furthermore (I praie you) how my lords and "brethren the bishops are readie at the pleasure of the "Noble men of the court to giue sentence against me, "so that all men being about to run vpon me, I was "almost oppressed: and therfore am now come as it "were to take breath in the audience of your clemen"cie, which doth not forsake your children in their ex"treme necessitie, before whom I here stand, readie to "declare and testifie that I am not to be iudged there,

nor

"no; yet at all by them. Fo; what other thing should "that be, but to plucke awaie the right of the church? "What else then to submit spirituall things to tempo- "rall? This example therefo;e once sp;ong vp, might "giue an occasion to manie enormities to follow. The "bishops do say, Those things that are Cesars, ought "to be resto;ed to Cesar. But admit that in manie "things the king is to be obeied, is he therefo;e to be "obeied in things wherein he is no king? Fo; those "belong not to Cesar, but to a ty;ant. Wherein if fo; "my sake they would not, yet ought the bishops fo; "their owne sakes to haue resisted him. Fo; what "should be the cause of such deadlie and vnnaturall ha- "tred, that to destroie me, they should destroie them- "selues? Therefo;e whilest fo; tempo;all things they "neglect spirituall, they faile in both. Weigh then "most holie father, my fleeing awaie, and my persecu- "tion, and how fo; your sake I haue bene p;ouoked "with iniuries, vse your rigour, constraine them to "amendement, th;ough whose motion this hath chan- "ced; let them not be bo;ne out by the king, who is ra- "ther the obstinate minister, than the finder out of "this p;actise.

The pope hauing heard his wo;ds, toke delibe;a- tion in the matter, with the aduice of his cardinals, and therevpon answered the archbishop in effect as followeth: That the lower power may not iudge the higher, and chéefelie him whome he is bound to obeie, "all the lawes both of God and man do witnesse, and "the o;dinances of the ancient fathers do manifestlie "declare: Herevpon we (to whome it apperteineth to "refo;me diso;ders) do clearelie reuerse and make "void the iudgement p;onounced against you by the "barons and bishops, whereby as well against the o;- "der of law, as against the customes of the church, "your goods were adiudged fo;feit, whereas the same "goods were not yours, but the churches of Canturbu- "rie, ouer which you haue the onelie cure and charge. "But if those that haue violentlie entred vpon the pos- "sessions and goods of your church, and haue thereby "wronged either you o; yours, will not vpon admoni- "tion giuen to them, make restitution with sufficient "amends, then may you (if you shall thinke conueni- "ent) exercise ecclesiasticall iustice vpon them, and we "shall allow of that which you shall reasonablie do in "that behalfe. Howbeit as touching the king himselfe "we will not giue you any spectall commandement, "neither yet do we take from you any right belong- "ing to your bishoplike office, which you receiued at "your consecration. But the king onlie we will spare, and exempt from your excommunications and cen- sures. After these and manie by-matters were ouer- passed, the archbishop resigned his pall vnto the pope, but the pope gaue it him againe, and apointed him to remaine at Pountney an abbeie of monks Ci- steaux in the diocesse of Aurerre, till the variance were b;ought to some good end betwixt the king and him. This was done in the yeare of our Lo;d 1164.

The popes answer to the archbishop.

The archbish. resigneth his pall.

The king hauing knowledge by his ambassado;s what answer the pope had made, became gréeuouslie offended in his mind, and therevpon confiscated all the goods that belonged to the archbishop and his complices, and seized their reuenues into his hands, apointing one Randall de Bo;oc to haue the custodie of all that belonged to the see, which Bo;oc was no- thing frendlie to the archbishop, being his knowne enimie of old, but fauoured the monkes, and would not suffer that they should take wo;ong o; displeasure at any hand.

Ger. Dor.

1165 Matth. West. Matth. Paris.

In the yeare 1165. quéene Eliano; was deliue- red of a daughter which was named Ioane. Also on the 26. day of Januarie, there chanced a maruellous earthquake in No;thfolke, in the Ile of Elie, and in Suffolke, so that men as they stood on the ground were ouerth;owne therewith, and buildings so sha- ken, that the belles in steeples knolled: the like had also chanced in the Aduent season then last be fo;e passed.

The Welshmen this yeare spoiled a great part of those countries that bo;dered vpon them: where- with the king being so;e moued, leuied an armie with all spéed as well of Englishmen as strangers, and (without regard of difficulties and dangers) did go against the rebels, and finding them withd;awne into their starting holes (I meane the woods and strait passages) he compassed the same about in verie fo;ceable maner. The Welshmen perceiuing them- selues now to be b;ought into such ieopardie, as that they could not well deuise how to escape the same, consulted what was best to be done. After consulta- tion, casting awaie their weapons, they came fo;th to the king, asking mercie; which somewhat hardlie they obteined. Few of them were executed in com- parison of the numbers that offended: but yet the capteines and chéefe autho;s of this rebellion were so punished, that it was thought they would neuer haue p;esumed so rashlie to offend him in like so;t a- gaine. Fo; (as some w;iters affirme) he did iustice on the sonnes of Rice o; Rées, & also on the sonnes and daughters of other noble men that were his compli- ces verie rigo;oustie: causing the eies of the yong striplings to be pecked out of their heads, and their noses to be cut off o; slit: and the eares of the yong gentlewomen to be stuffed.

The Welshmen make war on the Eng- lish marshes.

Wil. Parvus. Polydor.

The king in- naderh Wales.

Rog. Houed.

The seuere punishment vsed by king Henry against the welshmen.

But yet I find in other autho;s, that in this iour- nie king Henrie did not greatlie p;euaile against his enimies, but rather lost manie of his men of warre, both ho;semen and footmen: fo; by his seuere p;oceeding against them, he rather made them mo;e eger to séeke reuenge, than quieted them in any tu- mult. They toke the castell of Cardigan, and in be- sieging of Bo;iges, the king was in no small danger of his life: fo; one of the enimies shooting directlie at him, had perced him th;ough the bodie, if Hubert de Saint Clere conestable of Colchester, perceiuing the arrow comming, had not th;ust himselfe betwixt the king and the same arrow, and so p;eseruing his maister, receiued the stripe himselfe, whereof he died p;esentlie after, beséeching the king to be good lo;d to one onelie daughter which he had, whome the king bestowed in mariage vpon William de Langualée, togither with hir fathers inheritance, which William begat of hir a sonne that bare both his name and surname. ¶ A p;esident of gratitude & thankfulnes is here committed to memo;ie. And surelie the king could do no lesse, than some way requite the ventu- rous courage and hartie zeale of the gentleman, who with the losse of his owne life p;eserued the king, if not from death, yet from some dangerous wound that might haue put him to extreame anguish and paine. This may incite men to be mindfull of bene- fits receiued, a vertue no lesse rare than the contra- rie is common, and as one saith,

Ger. Dor. Ran. Cogge. Cardigan ca- stell wonne by the welshmen.

Hubert de S. Clere conesta- ble of Colche- ster.

William de Langualée.

——inueniuntur
Quidem sed rari, Acceptorum qui meritorum
Assidue memores, &c.

But to conclude with this iourneie which king Henrie made at this time against the Welshmen, although by reason of the cumbersome difficulties of the places, he could not enter within the countrie so farre as he wished, yet he so impounded and constrei- ned them to keepe within the woods and mountains, that they durst not come ab;oad, insomuch that at the length they were glad to sue fo; peace.

W. Parvus.

William king of Scots, succesthough by reason of the cumbersome difficulties of the places, he could not enter within the countrie so farre as he wished, yet he so impounded and constrei- ned them to keepe within the woods and mountains, that they durst not come ab;oad, insomuch that at the length they were glad to sue fo; peace.

William king of Scots, successo; of Malcolme (who departed this life in the yeare last past) after he had receiued the crowne of Scotland, came about this

William king of Scots doth his homage to king Henrie.

this present time into England, and finding king Henrie at London, did his homage to him as his predecessour Malcolme had done before. He made suit also to haue Northumberland restored vnto him, which the king of Englands mother the empresse had in times past giuen vnto king Dauid. But king Henrie gaue diuerse reasons to excuse himselfe whie he might not deliuer that countrie to him at that present, namelie, without consent of a parlement: whereupon king William perceiuing how the matter went, gaue ouer his suit for that present, meaning (when occasion serued) to attempt the getting thereof by force, sith that by praier and suit he sawe well inough he should not obteine it.

Moreouer, the Scotish king being required by king Henrie to go ouer with him into Normandie, granted so to do: insomuch that king Henrie, hauing set all things in order within his realme of England, in the Lent following passed ouer into Normandie. But before he toke his iourneie, he set forth a decree consisting of these points in effect as followeth.

N. Triuet. Matth. Paris. Ger. Dor. An edict against the archbishop Becket.

1 That no man should bring any letters or commandement from pope Alexander, or Thomas archbishop of Canturburie into England, conteining an interdiction of the realme: vpon perill to be apprehended and punished as a traitour to the king, and an enimie to the realme.

2 That no religious person or priest should be permitted to passe the seas, or to come into the relme of England, except he had letters of safe conduct from the iusticers for passage ouer, and of the king for his returne from thence.

Appeales forbidden.

3 That no man should appeale to the said pope or archbishop, nor by their appointment hold any plee: and if any person were found doing the contrarie hereunto, he should be taken and committed to prison.

4 That if any maner of person, either spirituall or temporall, were obedient to the sentence of the interdiction, the same person should be banished the realme without delaie, and all his linage with him, so as they should not conueie with them any of their goods, the which togither with their possessions should be seized into the kings hands.

5 That all spirituall persons, which had any benefices within England, should haue warning giuen to returne into England within foure moneths after the same summons pronounced, and that if they failed hereof, then should the king seize vpon their goods and possessions.

6 That the bishops of London and Norwich, should be (and by vertue hereof were) summoned to appeare before the kings iusticers, to make answer for that they had interdicted the lands of erle Hugh, and excommunicated him.

7 That the Peter pence should be gathered and kept.

The kings of England and France enterview. Chro. Sigeb. Matth. Paris.

In the octaues of Easter king Henrie came to an enterview with the French king at Gisors, where they had conference togither of sundrie matters.

King Iohn borne.

This yeare the quéene was deliuered of a sonne named Iohn, who afterward was king of this realme.

Ger. Dor.

Moreouer, king Henrie calling a councell of his bishops and barons in Normandie, caused and ordeined a collection (by their aduise) to be made throughout all his countries and dominions, of two pence in the pound of euerie mans lands and goods, iewels and apparell onelie excepted: to be paid this yeare 1166. and for the space of foure yeares next ensuing, one penie of euerie pound to be paid yearelie: and those that were not worth twentie shillings in goods or lands (being houlholders notwithstanding) or bare

A contribution.

any office, should paie a penie to this contribution, which was onelie granted for the releefe of the christians in the east parts, and those that warred against the miscreants there. The paiment thereof was appointed to be made in the feast daie of saint Remigius, or within fiftéene daies after. It was also ordeined, that all such as departed this life, within the terme that this collection was in force (their debts being paid) should giue the tenth part of the residue of all their goods vnto this so necessarie a contribution.

King Henrie remaining now in Normandie, and vnderstanding that diuerse lords and barons of Maine, and the marshes of Britaine, would not in his absence shew themselues obedient vnto his wife quéene Elianor, but were about to practise a rebellion, raised an armie, and went against them, easilie subduing them whom he found obstinate: and besieging the castell of Foulgiers, toke and vtterlie destroied it.

The castell of Foulgiers. Matth. Paris.

Sone after the archbishop of Canturburie came from Pountney to Vizeley, and there (on Ascension daie) when the church was most full of people, got him into the pulpit, and with booke, bell, and candell solemnelie accursed all the obseruers, defenders, and mainteiners, with the promoters of such customs, as within the realme of England they terme the custome of their elders: amongst others that were accursed, was Richard de Lucie, Richard the archdeacon of Poictiers, Jocelin de Bailleuille, Alane de Neuille, and manie other. But they being absent, & neither called nor conuinced (as they alleged notwithstanding they were thus excommunicated) sent their messengers vnto the archbishop, and appealed from him, and so feared not to enter into their churches.

Vizeley. The archbishop Becket accursed those in England that mainteined the customs of their elders.

He had before this also written certeine letters vnto his suffragans, denouncing some of these and other persons by expresse name accursed, not onelie for mainteining the matter against him, touching the ancient custome of the realme: but also for the schisme raised in Almaine by Reignald archbishop of Colein, for the which he accursed one Iohn of Oxford. Moreouer, he accursed Ranulfe de Broc, Hugh de S. Clere, & Thomas Fitz Bernard, for violentlie seizing vpon and deteining the goods and possessions belonging to his archbishoprike, without his consent or agreement thereunto.

R. Houe.

The king on the other part banished out of England, and all parts of his other dominions, all those persons that were knowen to be of kin vnto the archbishop, both yong and old: and furthermore sent aduertisement to the abbat of Pountney and to his monks, with whom the archbishop by the popes appointment remained, that if they kept him still in their house, he would not faile to banish all the monks of their order out of England. Now the archbishop, after he had remained there scarse two yeares, departed from thence of his owne accord, and came to the king of France, who courteouslie receiued him, and sent him to the abbeie of saint Columbes neere to the citie of Sens, where he remained a certeine season, as shall be shewed hereafter.

Matth. Paris. Legats from the pope.

Shortlie after this, two legats named William of Pauia, and Iohn of Naples both cardinals, came from the pope to Pontmirtall, whom the archbishop suspected rather to fauour the kings cause than his: yet he was contented that they should haue the iudgment thereof committed vnto them: so that first (according to the rules of the church) restitution might be made both to him and his, of such goods as had beene taken from them. For being spoiled, as he was, he would not stand to any iudgement, nor could not be compelled thervnto by any reason (as he said.)

Now

Now when the two legats saw that they could not bring any thing to passe, they departed without any thing concluded.

Comes Sagiensis.

About this time William Taluan earle of Sagium (by the consent of his sons and nephues) deliuered into the hands of king Henrie the castels of Alerum, and Roch Laberie, with all the appurtenances to the castels belonging.

N. Triuet. Alerium.

About this season also Conan the duke of Britaine departed this life, leauing behind him no issue, but one onelie daughter begot of his wife the dutchesse Constance, the daughter of the king of Scotland, which succeeded him in the estate. Whereupon king Henrie made earnest suit to procure a marriage betwixt hir and his sonne Geffrey, which at length he brought to passe, to the great comfort and contentation of his mind, in that his sonne had by such good fortune atteined to the dukedome of Britaine.

Conan duke of Britaine deceaseth. Matt. Paris.

A mariage concluded betwixt Geffrey the kings son and the Duchesse of Britaine. Wil. Paruus.

At that season in Britaine were certeine Noblemen of such strength and power, that they disdained to acknowledge themselues subiect to any superior, in somuch that through ambitious desire of rule and preheminence, they warred continuallie one against an other, to the great destruction and vtter vndoing of their miserable countrie, so that the land sometime fruitfull by nature, was as it were a wildernes. Whereupon, those that were the weaker, perceiuing themselues too much oppressed by the stronger, submitted themselues vnto king Henrie, and required his aid and succour. King Henrie reioising to haue so good an occasion and opportunitie to reduce them to reason, with all speed aided these supplicants and subdued the resistants, notwithstanding their great puissance, & the strength of the places which they kept.

Anno Reg. 13.

1167

In the meane while Henrie came ouer to his father, and found him at Poictiers, from whence (shortlie after Easter) he remoued, and with an armie entred into the lands of the earle of Aluergnes, which he wasted and spoiled, bicause the said earle had renounced his allegiance to king Henrie, and made his resort to the French king, seeking to sow discord betwixt the foresaid two kings: which was kindled the more by a challenge pretended about the sending of the monie ouer into the holie land, which was gathered within the countie of Tours: for the French king claimed to send it, by reason that the church there apperteined to his dominion: and the king of England would haue sent it, bicause it was gathered within the countrie that belonged to his gouernement.

N. Triuet. King Henrie inuadeth the erle of Aluergnes lands.

This yeare a great preparation of ships was made by the earle of Bullongne, to haue inuaded England, but by the warlike prouision of Richard Lucie, lord gouernour of the realme, the sea-coasts were so prouided of sufficient defense, that the earles attempts came to nothing. The cause why he made this brag, was for that the king withheld from him certeine reuenues which he claimed to haue here in England, and therefore he ment to recouer them by force. The empresse Maud mother to the king of England (a woman in stoutnesse of stomach and warlike attempts more famous than commonlie any of that sex) deceassed this yere the 10. of Septem.

Ger. Dor. The earle of Bolongne prepareth 600. ships to inuade England.

The deceasse of the empresse Maud. Matth. West.

Also Robert bishop of Lincolne departed this life, after whose deceasse the see of Lincolne was vacant by the space of seuentéene yeares, the king in all that meane time receiuing the profits. The elect of Colein came ambassadour from the emperour vnto the king of England, requiring to haue one of his daughters giuen in marriage vnto the emperours sonne, and an other of them vnto Henrie duke of Saxonie: which request the K. did willinglie grant, and thereupon was the queene sent for to come ouer into Normandie, and to bring hir sonne the lord Richard and hir daughter the ladie Maud with hir: which ladie was married vnto the duke of Saxonie, in the beginning of the yeare next insuing; and had issue by him three sons, Henrie, Otho, and William, of which the middlemost came to be emperour.

The See of Lincolne void 17. yeares.

Anno. Reg. 14.

An ambassage from the emperour.

1168

Matth. West.

The variance still depending betwixt the king and the archbishop of Canturburie: there was also about the same time a great debate betwixt the emperour Frederike the first and pope Alexander the third: whervpon king Henrie wrote to the emperor, and signified vnto him, that he would aid him if need should require against the pope, who maintained such a runnagate traitor as the archbishop Becket was. Moreouer at the same time the king caused all his subiects within the realme of England, from the child of twelue yeares old vnto the aged person, to forsweare all obedience that might be pretended as due to the same pope Alexander. The king for the space of two yeares togither, remaining still in Normandie, and in other places beyond the seas, subdued diuerse rebels, as the earle of Angoulesme, Aimerike de Lucignie, and his sonnes Robert and Hugh.

Debate betwixt the pope and the emperour.

K. Henrie offereth to aid the emperour.

Also he came to an enterview with the king of France betwixt Pacie and Maunt, where they communed of such iniuries as were thought to be attempted on either part. For the Poictouins had made their resort to the French king, and were confederate with him against their supreme lord king Henrie, and had deliuered pledges for assurance thereof, which pledges the French king would not restore. But yet there was a truce concluded betwixt them, to endure till the feast of S. John Baptist.

An enterview betwixt the king of England and king of France.

The kings met againe to commen of peace.

A truce.

About the feast of Easter Patrike the earle of Salisburie was slaine by treason of the Poictouins, and was buried at Saint Hilaries: after whome his sonne William succeeded in the earledome.

Patrike earle of Salisburie slaine.

The Britons practised rebellions dailie: but king Henrie entring their countrie, wan diuerse strong townes and castels, and brought them at length vnder his subiection. Moreouer in this summer season the two kings met againe at Fert Bernard to treat of peace, but they departed without concluding any agréement at all. For there were manie of the Poictouins and Britons, which tooke part with the king of France, and hauing deliuered vnto him hostages, had a promise made them, that the French king should not conclude an agréement with the king of England without their consent. Hervpon they made warres either vpon other, till finallie (about the feast of the Epiphanie) a peace was accorded betwixt them: and then Henrie the king of Englands sonne made his homage vnto the French king for the countie of Anion: and the French king granted him the office of the Seneschalcie of France, which anciently belonged vnto the earles of Anion. Also Geffrey duke of Britaine did homage to his elder brother the aforesaid Henrie, by commandement of his father, for the duchie of Britaine. And afterwards the same Geffrey went into Britaine, and at Rhetnes receiued the homage and fealtie of the lords and barons of that countrie.

Anno. Reg. 15.

1169

Ger. Dor. N. Triuet.

Geffrey duke of Britaine.

King Henrie in the meane while subdued certeine rebels in Gascoine, and returning into Normandie, built a goodlie towne and fortresse neere to Haie de Malafrey, ycleped Beauuer.

About the same time one Haruey de Yuon, who had married the daughter of one William Goieth, (that died in his iournie which he tooke into the holie land) deliuered certeine castels into the hands of king Henrie, bicause he was in despaire to keepe them against Theobald earle of Chartres, who through the French kings aid, sought to dispossesse him of the same castels: whereupon the war was renewed betwixt the king of England and the said earle of Chartres.

Haruey de Yuon.

tres. Neuertheleſſe king Henrie making no great accompt of thoſe wars, went into Britaine with his ſonne Geffrey, where going about the countrie to viſit the cities and townes, he reformed many diſorders, laieng as it were a maner of a new foundation of things there, fortifieng the caſtels, cities and townes, and communing in courteous manner with the lords and peres of the countrie, ſought to win their good wils: and ſo in ſuch exerciſes he ſpent a great part of the time.

Anno Reg. 16. 1170

He kept his Chriſtmaſſe at Nauntes, whither all the great lords and barons of Britaine reſorted to him. The ſolemnitie of which feaſt being paſt, he entred into the lands of earle Eudo, and waſted the ſame, till the ſaid earle ſubmitted himſelf. At length, after the king had taken order for the good gouernement of Normandie, and his other countries on that ſide the ſea, he returned into England in the firſt weeke of March, but not without great danger, by reaſon of a tempeſt that toke him on the ſeas, beginning about midnight, and not ceaſſing till 9. of the clocke in the morning, about which houre he came on land at Portesmouth, not with many of his ships, the reſt being toſſed and driuen to ſeeke ſuccour in ſundrie creeks and hauens of the land, and one of them which was the cheefeſt and neweſt, was loſt in the middle of the flouds, togither with 400. perſons, men & women: among whome was Henrie de Aguell with two of his ſons, Gilbert Sullemuy, and Rafe Beumount the kings phyſician & houſhold ſeruant.

Polydor. Dauid was made knight by K. Henrie as Houeden hath.

After this the king held his Eaſter at Winſor, whither William the Scotiſh king came with his brother Dauid, to welcome him home, and to congratulat his happie ſucceſſe in his buſineſſe on the further ſide the ſeas. They were honorablie entertained, and at their departure princelie rewarded. The king thus returned into England, puniſhed the ſhiriffes of the land very greeuouſlie for their extortion, briberie, and rapine. After this, ſtudieng how to aſſure the eſtate of the realme vnto his ſons, vpon good conſideration remembring that no liuing creature was more ſubiect to the vncertaintie of death than Adams heires, and that there is ingraffed ſuch a feruent deſire in the ambitious nature of man to gouerne, that ſo oft as they once come in hope of a kingdome, they haue no regard either of right or wrong, God or the diuell, till they be in poſſeſſion of their deſired prey: he thought it not the worſt point of wiſedome to foreſee that which might happen. For if he ſhould chance to depart this life, and leaue his ſons yong, and not able to maintaine wars through lacke of knowledge, it might fortune them through the ambition of ſome to be defrauded and diſappointed of their lawfull inheritance. Therefore to preuent the chances of fortune, he determined whileſt he was aliue to crowne his eldeſt ſonne Henrie, being now of the age of 17. yeares, and ſo to inueſt him in the kingdome by his owne act in his life time: which deed turned him to much trouble, as after ſhall appeare.

A prudent conſideration of the king.

Mans nature ambitious.

Being vpon this point reſolued, he called togither a parlement of the lords both ſpirituall and temporall at London, and there (on S. Bartholomews daie) proclaimed his ſaid ſonne Henrie fellow with him in the kingdome, whom after this on the ſundaie following, being the fourteenth daie of June 1170. Roger archbiſhop of Yorke did crowne according to the manner, being commanded ſo to do by the king. This office apperteined vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie, but becauſe he was baniſhed the realme, the king appointed the archbiſhop of Yorke to do it, which he ought not to haue done without licence of the archbiſhop of Canturburie within the precinct of his prouince (as was alledged by archbiſhop Becket) who complained thereof vnto pope Alexander, and ſo incenſed the pope, that he being highlie moued by his letters, forbad not onelie the archbiſhop of Yorke, but alſo Gilbert biſhop of London, and Jocelin biſhop of Saliſburie (who were preſent at the coronation) the vſe of the ſacraments, which made king Henrie far more diſpleaſed with the archbiſhop Thomas than he was before.

R. Houed.

Henrie the ſon crowned the 18. of Iulie ſaith Matth. Paris.

W. Paruus.

The archb. of Yorke is forbidden the vſe of the ſacraments.

Upon the daie of coronation, king Henrie the father ſerued his ſonne at the table as ſewer, bringing vp the boares head with trumpets before it, according to the maner. Wherupon (according to the old adage,

(Immutant mores homines cum dantur honores)

Matt. Paris. Polydor.

The king became ſeruitor to his ſonne.

Honours change maners.

the yong man conceiuing a pride in his heart, beheld the ſtanders-by with a more ſtatly countenance than he had been wont. The archbiſhop of Yorke, who ſat by him, marking his behauior, turned vnto him, & ſaid; We glad my good ſonne, there is not an other prince in the world that hath ſuch a ſewer at his table. To this the new king anſwered, as it were diſdainefullie, thus: Why doſt thou maruell at that? My father in doing it, thinketh it not more than becommeth him, he being borne of princelie blood onlie on the mothers ſide, ſerueth me that am a king borne hauing both a king to my father, and a queene to my mother. Thus the yong man of an euill and peruerſe nature, was puffed vp in pride by his fathers vnſeemelie doings.

Yong men ſet vp in dignitie eaſilie forget themſelues.

But the king his father hearing his talke, was verie ſorrowfull in his mind, and ſaid to the archbiſhop ſoftlie in his eare: It repenteth me, it repenteth me my lord, that I haue thus aduanced the boy. For he geſſed hereby what a one he would prooue afterward, that ſhewed himſelfe ſo diſobedient and froward alreadie. But although he was diſpleaſed with himſelfe in that he had done vndiſcreetlie, yet now when that which was done could not be vndone, he cauſed all the Nobles and lords of the realme, togither with the king of Scots and his brother Dauid, to do homage vnto his ſaid ſonne thus made fellow with him in the kingdome: but he would not releaſe them of their oth of allegiance, wherein they ſtood bound to obeie him the father, ſo long as he liued.

¶ Howbeit ſome write that he renounced his eſtate, firſt before all the lords of the land, and after cauſed his ſonne to be crowned: but in ſuch vncertaine points ſet forth by parciall writers, that is to be receiued as a truth, which is confirmed by the order and ſequele of things after done and put in practiſe. For true it is, that king Henrie the father (ſo long as his ſonne liued) did ſhew himſelfe ſometime as fellow with his ſonne in gouernment, and ſometime as abſolute king: and after his ſons deceaſe, he continued in the entier gouernment, ſo long as he liued. But to proceed.

The French king hearing that his ſonne in law was thus crowned, and not his daughter the wife of Henrie the ſonne, was highlie offended therewith, and threatned to make war againſt king Henrie the father, except his daughter Margaret might receiue the crowne alſo as queene immediatlie.

The French king offended.

The cauſe why ſhe was not crowned, was by reaſon of hir yong yeares, and for that ſhe had not as yet accompanied with hir husband. But K. Henrie the father vnderſtanding the French kings threats, ſailed ouer into Normandie, where whileſt they prepared for war on both ſides, by the earneſt diligence of Theobald earle of Blois, both the kings came to an enterview at Uendoſme, where at length they were accorded, vpon promiſe made by king Henrie, that he would cauſe his ſonne to be crowned againe, and with him his wife the ſaid Margaret the French kings daughter as queene.

An enterview of the kings. R. Houed.

The French king contented therewith, departed homewards,

homewards, and king Henrie returning came to Uernon, where he fell into so great a sickenesse, that anon it was noised ouer all the countrie. Insomch that he was in such despaire of life, that he made his testament: wherein he assigned his sonne Richard the dutchie of Aquitaine, and all those lands which came by quéene Elianor the mother of the same Richard. And to his sonne Geffrey he bequeathed Britaine (with the daughter of earle Conan) which he had purchased to his vse of the French king. And to his sonne king Henrie he gaue the dutchie of Normandie, and all those lands which came by his father Geffrey earle of Anion. And to his yongest sonne John he bequeathed the earledome of Mortaine. And finallie appointed where he would haue his bodie to be buried.

He made his testament. Rog. Houed.

Polydor. King Henrie the sonne his misorder.

In the meane time Henrie the sonne remaining at home in England, fell from all good order of measure kéeping, and gaue himselfe to all excessiue riot, spending and wasting his reuenues inordinatelie. Of which behauiour his father being aduertised, returned into England, where he tarried not long, but passed ouer againe into Normandie, hauing his said sonne in his companie, meaning thereby to remoue him from the companie of those that were verie like to corrupt his nature, and frame the same to all lewdnesse: for he knew that

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——commercia turpia sanctos
Corrumpunt mores: multi hoc periere veneno,
Labimur in vitium & facilè ad peiora mouemur.

In this meane while Thomas the archbishop of Canturburie remained vnrecile almost six yeares, and could not be restored, till partlie by swelling threats of the pope, and partlie at the earnest suit of Lewes the French king, Theobald earle of Blois, and others, king Henrie began somewhat to shew himselfe conformable towards an agréement.

Ex Quadrilogio. The king and the arch. Becket met togither in presence of the French king.

Whereupon the two kings met diuerse times, and the archbishop Thomas comming with the French king, at one time humbled himselfe so to the king of England, that kneeling downe at his fét, he said: My soueregne liege lord, I commit the whole cause of the controuersie betwixt your grace and me, vnto your maiesties order, Gods honour onelie reserued.

" The king offended with that ambiguous exception, said to the king of France: Whatsoeuer displeaseth this man, is taken (as he interpreteth it) contrarie to Gods honour, and so by that shift will he challenge to himselfe all that belongeth vnto me. But because you shall not thinke that I go about to resist Gods honour, or him, in any reasonable order, loke what the greatest and most holie of all his ancestors hatie done vnto the meanest of mine ancestours, let him do the same vnto me, and I am contented therewith.

" All the companie present cried, that the king humbled himselfe enough. My lord archbishop (said the French king) will you be greater than saints, and better than saint Peter? Wherof stand you in doubt? Behold, your peace is at hand. The archbishop made answer in commendation of the present state of holie church, as thus: My holie predecessours in their time, although they cut not all things away that rebelled it selfe against God, yet did they cut off diuers: but if they had plucked vp all by the hard roots, which might offend, who should now haue raised the fire of temptation against vs? We are in much better case (thanks be to God) and as we haue laboured in their lot and number, so are we partakers of their labour and reward. What if any of them had béene defectiue or excessiue in any point, are we bound to follow the example of their defection or excesse? We blame Peter for his denieng of Christ, but we praise him in re-

The present state of the church in Beckets daies.

" pressing of Neros violence with danger of his life. The church hath risen and increased out of manie dangerous oppressions, our fathers haue suffered manie things, bicause they would not forsake the name of Christ; and ought I to suppresse his honour, to be reconciled vnto any mans fauour? God forbid, God forbid.

The archb. Becket blamed of arrogancie.

When the Noble men present heard this answer of a subiect against his souereigne, they all held against him, imputing the fault to the archbishops arrogancie, that the peace was not made betweene the king and him, insomuch that there was an erle which openlie said; Sith he resisteth the will of both the realmes, he is not worthie to be succoured by either of them from henceforth: and therefore being cast out of England, let not France receiue him.

The councell then being broken vp, the kings departed without bidding the archbishop farewell, and such as were mediatours for peace, in departing from this meeting, spake manie reprochfull words to him, alledging that he had béene euer stout and wise in his owne conceit, and a follower of his owne will and opinion: adding that it was a great hinderance to the church, that he was ordeined archbishop, and that by him the church was alreadie in part destroied, and would shortlie be altogither brought to vtter ruine.

Archb. Becket wilfull in his owne opinion.

But the archbishop setting a watch before his mouth, kept silence (as though he had not heard) and followed the French king with his people. Manie said by the waie as they iourneied, Behold the archbishop yonder, which in talke the last night would not for the pleasure of the king denie God, nor kéepe his honor in silence.

After this, when the archbishop was come to Sens, and aduised with himselfe whether it should be best for him to go, at length he said, God is able in the last point of miserie and distresse, to helpe those that be his. Herewith came a messenger from the French king to bring him to the court, for the French king (as one that had béene better instructed in the matter) repented himselfe that he had iudged euill of his answers at the last meeting, and hereupon receiued him againe into his fauour, and rested not to trauell so much in his cause, that at length another meeting was assigned at a certeine place neere the confines of Normandie, whither king Henrie came, and there found king Lewes, the archbishop of Rouen, and diuerse other bishops together, with the foresaid archbishop, who after they had reasoned of the matter throughlie as they saw cause, king Henrie receiued the archbishop into his fauour againe, and promised to redresse all that had béene done amisse, and pardon all those that had followed him out of the realme. Whereupon the king and the archbishop being reconciled, the archbishop the same day came before the king, and talked with him.

The French K. receiueth the archbishop Becket againe into fauour.

The archb. is reconciled to the king.

Now among other things he required of the K. that it might be lawfull for him (without offending of his maiestie) to punish (according to the censures of the church) the iniurie done vnto him by the archbishop of Yorke, and other bishops in the coronation of his sonne. The king granted this, and shewed himselfe so courteous at that time, that (as it is said) he held his stirrup whiles he mounted on horsebacke.

¶ Notwithstanding which obsequiousnes of the king, it is to be presumed that all inward repining could not be so abolished, as that no fragments remained, but that the archbishop for his part, for the maintenance of his great title, & the K. for the supportation of his souereignetie, when opportunitie serued, sought to get aduantage one of another, & acquit their harts with a new reuenge of an old grudge: for

Immortale odium & nunquam sanabile vulnus. Iuuen. sat. 13.

The king would not kisse the pax with the archbishop.

But whereas twise within a few daies after, the king and the said archbishop met at masse, the king refused to kisse the pax with him. This was marked as a signe of a fained reconciliation, though in deed he afterwards interteined him verie courteouslie, and at his departure ouer into England, toke leaue of him in frendlie manner, and directed letters vnder his seale to his sonne the new king in forme as followeth.

Matt. Paris.

A letter of the king touching the pacification betweene him and Thomas Becket.

KNow ye that Thomas the archbishop of Canturburie hath made his peace with me at my will and pleasure; and therefore I command you, that both he and his may remaine in peace; and that he and al those which for his cause departed out of the realme, may haue all their goods restored, and in such quiet estate be now possessed of them as at any time within three moneths before their departure from thence. And further, cause to come before vs of the best and most ancient knights of the honor of Saltwood, that vpon their oths they may find what fee the archbishop ought to haue within that honor, & that which shall appeare to apperteine vnto him, as in fee, let him inioy the same. And thus farewell.

The honor of Saltwood.

The archbishop (before he toke his iournie into England) went to visit the French king, and to giue him thanks for his great paines and trauell sustetned in his cause, who aduised him in no wise as yet to commit himselfe to present danger amongst his new reconciled enimies, but rather to staie till their malice were somewhat asswaged. For he perceiued by king Henries words & countenance such a deepe rooted displeasure in his hart, that he agreed to receiue him into fauour rather by compulsion and against his will than otherwise.

The French kings aduice to the archbish. Becket.

But when the archbishop would needs depart & go ouer into England, the French K. suffered him so to do, doing him all the honor he could at his leaue taking. When the archbishop departing out of France, came into England, and landed at Sandwich about the first of December, in the seuenth yeare after his first departure out of the realme. Shortlie after his arriuall, Roger the archbishop of Yorke, Gilbert bishop of London, and Jocelin bishop of Salisburie, with diuerse other, came vnto him as to the popes legat, and required that it might please him to restore them to the ministration of their offices againe: whose request he granted, but yet vpon condition, that they should vndertake to stand to his iudgement and order in all things, which (by the counsell of the archbishop of Yorke) they vtterlie refused.

Matth. Paris. The archbishop Becket returneth into England.

¶ Here authors agree not (as Polydor trulie saith) for some write that archbishop Thomas (immediatlie vpon his returne into England) denounced the archbishop of Yorke with the bishops of Salisburie and London accursed, whereas before they were depriued of the vse and administration of the sacraments. Some others write, that now at his comming ouer into England from his exile, he depriued them onlie of the ministration of the sacraments, togither with the bishops of Exceter, Chester, Rochester, S. Asaph, & Landaff, which had personallie bene present at the coronation of king Henrie the sonne, to the derogation of the dignitie of their primat the archbishop of Canturburie (as before you haue heard.) It should seeme yet by Ger. Dorober. that the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of Durham were suspended, and the bishops of London, Salisburie, and diuerse other excommunicated.

But how soeuer he vsed them, the archbishop of Yorke, the two bishops London and Salisburie, being offended with his doings, sailed ouer into Normandie, and there complained to king Henrie of iniuries done to them by archbishop Thomas, greuouslie accusing him that he went about to take awaie their libertie of priesthood, to destroie, corrupt, and finallie to abolish both the lawes of God and man, togither with the ancient decrees and statutes of their elders; in somuch that he toke vpon him to exclude bishops at his pleasure from the companie of christian men, and so being excluded, to banish them for euer: to derogat things merelie preiudiciall to the kings roiall prerogatiue; and finallie to take awaie from all men the equitie of lawes and ciuill orders.

The archbish. of Yorke and other go ouer to the king to complaine of the archbishop Becket. Ger. Dor.

The king giuing eare to their complaint, was so displeased in his mind against archbishop Thomas, that in open audience of his lords, knights, and gentlemen, he said these or the like words: In what miserable state am I, that can not be in rest within mine owne realme, by reason of one onelie preest? Neither is there any of my folkes that will helpe to deliuer me out of such troubles.

The occasion of the kings words that cost bish. Becket his life.

There were some that stood about the king, which gessed by these words, that his mind was to signifie how he would haue some man to dispatch the archbishop out of the waie. The kings displeasure against the archbishop was knowne well inough, which caused men to haue him in no reuerence at all, so that (as it was said) it chanced on a time, that he came to Strowd in Kent, where the inhabitants meaning to do somewhat to his infamie, being thus out of the kings fauour, and despised of the world, cut off his horsses taile.

The knights that slue the archbishop Becket.

There were some also of the kings seruants, that thought after an other maner of sort to reuenge the displeasure done to the kings maiestie, as sir Hugh Moreuile, sir William Tracie, sir Richard Britaine, and sir Reignold Fitz Urse, knights, who taking aduice togither, and agreeing in one mind and will, toke shipping, & sailed ouer into England, landing at a place called Dogs hauen, neere Douer.

Now the first night they lodged in the castell of Saltwood, which Randulfe de Broc had in keping. The next morning (being the 29. of December, and fift daie of Christmasse, which as that yeare came about fell vpon a tuesdaie) hauing gotten togither certeine souldiers in the countrie thereabouts, came to Canturburie, and first entring into the court of the abbeie of S. Augustine, they talked with Clarenbald the elect abbat of that place: and after conference had with him, they proceeded in their businesse as followeth.

Reignold Fitz Urse. That is betweene 4. and 5. in the euening.

The first knight sir Reignold Fitz Urse came to him about the eleuenth houre of the daie, as the archbishop sat in his chamber, and sitting downe at his feet vpon the ground without any manner of greeting or salutation, at length began with him thus: Being sent of our souereigne lord the king from beyond the seas, we do here present vnto you his Graces commandements, to wit, that you should go to his sonne the king, to do vnto him that which apperteineth vnto you to do vnto your souereigne lord, and to do your fealtie vnto him in taking an oth, and further to amend that wherein you haue offended his maiestie. Whereunto the archbishop answered: For what cause ought I to confirme my fealtie vnto him by oth? or wherein am I giltie in offending

An oth required of him for his baronie.

ding the kings Maiestie? Sir Reignold said: For your baronie, fealtie is demanded of you with an oth, and an other oth is required of those clerkes, which you haue brought with you, if they meane to continue within the land. The archbishop answered: For my baronie I am readie to do to the king whatsoeuer law or reason shall allow: but let him for certeine hold, that he shall not get any oth either of me or of my clerks. We knew that (said the knight) that you would not do any of these things which we proponed vnto you. Moreouer the king commandeth you to absolue those bishops that are excommunicated by you without his licence. Wherevnto he said: The bishops are excommunicated not by me, but by the pope, who hath therto authoritie from the Lord. If in deed he hath reuenged the iniurie done to my church, I confesse that I am not displeased therwith. Then said the knight: Sith that such things in despite of the king do please you, it is to be thought that you would take from him his crowne, and be called and taken for king your selfe, but you shall misse of your purpose surelie therein. The archbishop answered: I do not aspire to the name of a king, rather would I knit three crownes vnto his crowne if it lay in my power.

The knights command the monks to see the archbishop kept safe.

At length after these and such words, the knights turning them to the monks, said: In the behalfe of our souereigne lord the king, we command you, that in any wise ye keepe this man safe, and present him to the king when it shall please his grace to send for him. The archbishop said: Do ye thinke that I will run away? I came not to run away, but looke for the outrage and malice of wicked men. Truelie (said they) you shall not runne away, and herewith went out with noise and threatnings. Then maister John of Salisburie his chancellor said vnto him: My lord, this is a wonderfull matter that you will take no mans counsell: had it not beene met to haue giuen them a more meeke and gentle answer? But the archbishop said: Surelie I haue alreadie taken all the counsell that I will take, I know what I ought to do. Then said Salisburie, I pray God it may be good.

John de Salisburie the archb. Becks chancellor.

The archbishops resolution.

Now the knights departing out of the place, and going about to put on their armour, certeine came to the archbishop, & said; My lord, they arme themselues. What forceth it? said he, let them arme themselues.

The knights put on their armor.

Now when they were armed, and manie other about them, they entred into the archbishops palace. Those that were about the archbishop cried vpon him to flee, but he sat still and would not once remoue, till the monks brought him euen by force & against his will into the church. The comming of the armed men being knowne, some of the monks continued singing of euensong, and some sought places where to hide themselues, other came to the archbishop, who was loth to haue entred into the church, and when he was within, he would not yet suffer them to make fast the doores, so that there was a great stur among them, but chiefelie when they perceiued that the armed men went about to seeke for the archbishop, by meane whereof their euensong was left vnfinished.

The monks with force bring the archbishop into the church.

At length the knights with their seruants hauing sought the palace, came rushing into the church by the cloister doore with their swords drawne, some of them asking for the traitor, and some of them for the archbishop, who came and met them, saieng; Here am I, no traitor, but the archbishop. The formost of the knights said vnto him: Flee, thou art but dead. To whome the archbishop said, I will not flee. The knight stept to him taking him by the sleeue, and with his sword cast his cap beside his head, and said, Come hither, for thou art a prisoner. I will not (said the archbishop) do with me here what thou wilt: and plucked his sleeue with a mightie strength out of the knights hand. Wherewith the knight stepped backe two or three paces. Then the archbishop turning to one of the knights, said to him, What meaneth this, Reignold? I haue done vnto thee manie great pleasures, and commest thou now vnto me into the church armed? Vnto whome the knight presentlie answered and said; Thou shalt know anon what is ment, thou art but dead: it is not possible for thee any longer to liue. Unto whom the archbishop answered: I am readie to die for my God, and for the defense of his iustice and the libertie of the church; gladlie do I imbrace death, so that the church may purchase peace and libertie by the shedding of my blood. And herewith taking on other of the knights by the habergeon, he flong him from him with such violence, that he had almost throwne him downe to the ground. This was sir Will. Tracie, as he after confessed.

The courage of the archb.

Then the archbishop inclined his head after the maner of one that would praie, pronouncing these his last words: To God, to saint Marie, and to the saints that are patrones of this church, and to saint Denise, I commend my selfe and the churches cause. Herewith sir Reignold Fitz Urse striking a full blow at his head, chanced to light vpon the arme of a clerke named Edward of Cambridge, who cast vp his arme to saue the archbishop: but when he was not able to beare the weight of the blow, he plucked his arme backe, and so the stroke staied vpon the archbishops head, in such wise that the bloud ran downe by his face. Then they stroke at him one after an other, and though he fell to the ground at the second blow, yet they left him not till they had cut and pashed out his braines, and dashed them about vpon the church pauement. All this being done, they rifled his house, spoiled his goods, and tooke them to their owne vses, supposing it lawfull for them being the kings seruants so to do.

Edward of Cambridge.

The archbish. is slaine.

But doubting how the matter would be taken, after they had wrought their feat, they got them into the bishoprike of Duresme, there to remaine till they might heare how the king would take this their vnlawfull enterprise: though (as they alledged) they had iustlie defended his cause, and reuenged his quarell as faithfull seruants ought to do. Howbeit, it chanced otherwise than they looked it should haue done: for king Henrie gaue them so litle thankes for their presumptuous act, sounding to the euill example of other in breach of his lawes, that they despairing vterlie of pardon, fled one into one place, and another into another, so that within foure yeares they all died an euill death (as it hath beene reported.) Some write, that they went to Rome by the kings commandement, and there presented themselues before the pope, to receiue such penance for their wicked act as he should enioine them. Herevpon the pope appointed them to go vnto Jerusalem, there to do their penance, where they remained certeine yeares, applieng themselues verie diligentlie to performe the satisfaction of their offense, according to the maner prescribed to them by the pope, and so at length died.

The murtherers come to an euill end. Matth. Paris. W. Parvus.

This was the end of Thomas Becket archbishop of Canturburie, which was after he had entred into that see eight yeares and six moneths, in the yeare after the birth of our Lord 1171. On Christmas day before his death, which fell that yeare on the fridaie, he preached a sermon to the people, and when he had made an end thereof, he accursed Nigell de Sackeuille, the violent incumbent of the church of Berges, and Robert de Broc, both which had (vpon spite) curtailed the horse of the said archbishop: and as the same day whilest he was at the altar, according to his custome, altogither in teares and lamentation; so at dinner he shewed himselfe verie pleasant & merrie, insomuch that when those that were at the table

Anno Reg. 17.

1171

After their account that begin the yere on Christmas day.

Robert de Broc.

table seemed somewhat doubtfull to eat of the flesh that was set before them, because it was friday; Why do ye abhorre (saith he) to eat flesh? This day flesh hath a great priuilege, for this same day the word was made flesh, and came into light, and appeared vnto vs. These his words greatlie contented all the companie.

¶ Thus yon haue heard the tragicall discourse of ambitious Becket, a man of meane parentage, and yet through the princes fauour verie fortunate, if he had not abused the benevolence of so gratious a soueraigne by his insolencie and presumption. Wherein we haue to note, how vnseemelie a thing it was for him, being called to so sacred a function, to lead so secular and prophane a life, as if he had professed open hostilitie to the vocation which he pretended to honour and reuerence. We are also taught, that promotions atchiued by ambition are not permanent, and are so farre from procuring fame and renowme to the obteiners, that they turne them in the end to shame, infamie and reproch, after losse of life and effusion of blood. The issue of all which tragedie is to be imputed to the prouidence and counsell of almightie God, as one writeth verie agreeablie to this purpose, saieng;

Hest. in lib. cui tit. op. & dies.

Nam facilè extollit facilè elatúmq; refranat,
Et clarum obscurans, obscuri nomen adauget.
Erigit & miserum facilè extinguitque superbum
Iuppiter altifremus, cui celsum regia cælum.

King Henrie sorie for the archb. Beckets death.

But to let this matter passe. King Henrie doubtlesse was right pensiue for his death, because he wist well inough that it would be iudged, that he himselfe was priuie to the thing: and euen so came it to passe, for immediatlie vpon notice giuen into France of the archbishops death, king Lewes, and Theobald the earle of Blois, as they that loued him most dearelie were most sorowfull for it, and iudging straightwaie that king Henrie was the procurer, they wrote their letters vnto pope Alexander, giuing him to vnderstand both of the slaughter, and how king Henrie had caused it to be put in execution, requiring most instantlie, that such an iniurie done to the Christian religion, might spedilie be punished. The pope was much offended, and determined to haue the matter throughlie considered and ordered, so as might stand with his dignitie, and accordinglie as the hainous state of the case required. King Henrie whilest these things were a doing, lay certein daies at Argenton, so much displeased in his mind, that he would suffer no man once to speake to him about any maner of businesse.

King Henrie sendeth ambassadours to the pope.

At length, he sent his ambassadors to Rome, partlie to purge himselfe of the archbishops death, partlie to excuse his fault, for that in his furie he had vttered words against the archbishop, which had giuen occasion to naughtie men to contriue his death, & partlie to require the pope to send his legats into England, to make inquirie both for the death of the archbishop, and also of the state of the clergie. The kings ambassadors found the pope at Tiuoli, and there were heard to declare their message: but little credit was giuen to their words, in so much that the pope plainelie told them, that he vnderstood the matter to be much otherwise than they had declared. Yet according to the kings request, he sent two of his cardinals into England, which vpon due examination, might vnderstand the truth of the matter thoroughlie as apperteined.

Matth. Paris.

There be that write, that the king sent ambassadours twice vnto the pope, for the first that went, could not come to his presence, nor be suffered to declare their message: those that were sent the second time, were receiued of some of the cardinals, but yet onelie with words without anie other way of friendlie interteinement. At length, when the feast of Easter drew neere, on the which either absolution or excommunication was to be denounced against euerie man, there were certeine of the cardinals which gaue intelligence to the English ambassadours, that the pope by aduice of the colledge, meant on the thursdaie before Easter daie to declare the sentence of interdiction against the king of England, and against all his dominions, and to confirme that which had beene alreadie pronounced against Richard the archbishop of Yorke, and the other bishops his complices.

The ambassadours being brought to a streict issue herewith, by helpe of some of the cardinals found meanes to haue it put into the popes head, how the English ambassadours had commission to vndertake, that the king of England should obeie in all things what order soeuer it pleased the pope and his court to award him. Herevpon they toke their oth, that it should so be, and by that meanes they auoided the interdiction. The messengers of the archbishop of Yorke & the other bishops vsed the like shift, but yet the same daie the pope did excommunicate the knights that had murthered the archbishop Thomas, and all those that had procured, aided, succoured, or abetted them therein. Some write, that those ambassadours which the king sent to the court of Rome, could not be suffered to come to the popes presence, till according to the fashion, they had giuen 500. marks in reward, and so at length were admitted to his presence.

Ger. Dor.

The ambassadours were glad to vse a shift by briberie.

Howsoeuer that matter passed, the king stood in great feare least his land should be interdicted, in so much that he commanded the wardens of the ports both on this side the sea and beyond, to take good heed, least any cõming with letters of interdiction should passe into England; but if any such came, that the bringer should be arrested and committed to prison. Also he commanded, that no clearke were suffered to come ouer into England, except he first toke an oth that he came about no businesse that might turne to the preiudice of the king or his realme. This commandement he set forth, at what time he transported ouer into England himselfe, where he landed this yeare at Portesmouth the third daie of August. About which time it came into the kings mind, to make a conquest of Ireland vpon this occasion.

Sundrie rulers in Ireland.

It chanced, whereas diuerse rulers or (as we may call them) petie kings reigned the same season in that Iland (which was diuided into seuerall estates or kingdomes) that continuall strife and dissention remained amongst them, so that oftentimes they made sore war after the manner of their countrie one against an other, (for

Nulla fides regni sociis, omnisque potestas Luc. lib. 1.
Impatiens consortis erit.)

Herevpon it fortuned, that one of those kings or rulers, about the 14. yeare of this kings reigne, was sore afflicted and oppressed by his neighbours, wherevpon taking aduice what he might best do for remedie in that case, at length he sent his son into England to reteine souldiours and men of warre, and to bring them ouer vnto his aid in hope of gaine, & such commodities as he assured them of.

Matth. Paris. W. Paruus. See more hereof in Ireland.

Now it came to passe, that by the assistance of such Englishmen as then came ouer, the foresaid Irish king began to recouer his losses, and in the end waxed so strong, that he subdued all his enimies. When he had thus obteined the victorie, he did not onelie not send backe his aiders, but so liberallie reteined them still with him, that they had no haste to returne home, but setled themselues in that countrie, where they liued a pleasant and verie licentious life. For this cause also the stoutest lords and rulers of the

and Irish nation began sore to stomach the matter against him that had thus brought the English nation into their countrie, in so much that the Englishmen perceiuing their malice, and therewithall hauing some feare of themselues, because of their small number, they sent ouer into England for such as wanted liuing, and were willing to seeke for it in other countries, of which sort, great numbers went ouer thither within a short space, whereby the multitude of the English greatlie increased: but for as much as they had no ruler to gouerne them, they procured Richard Strangbow earle of Struguille, *alias* Chepstow in Wales to come ouer thither, and to receiue the souereigne gouernement, with such honorable prouision for maintenance of his estate, as should seeme requisit.

Erle Strangbow. N.Triuet.

¶ Some write, that this earle Richard (being also earle Marshall of England) for a rebellion moued against king Henrie, had before this time forfeited all his lands; but others affirme that through riot and more sumptuous port than his abilitie might beare, he had made waste and consumed the most part of his liuing, and was run so far in debt, that he knew not how to satisfie his creditors, and therefore was he the readier to incline to their request, which made labour vnto him to come ouer into Ireland to haue the gouernance of such English people, as had alreadie planted themselues there to inhabit & remaine. Herevpon he prepared a nauie, and assembled together a great number of such as lacked liuing, and shortlie determined to passe ouer into Ireland. But euen as he was readie to set forward, there came vnto him messengers from king Henrie, commanding him to staie, and not to take that iournie in hand. Howbeit the earle hauing nothing in England whereof to make anie great accompt, notwithstanding the kings commandement, tooke the sea, and passed ouer into that countrie, where he greatlie delited such Englishmen as dailie had looked for his repaire and comming thither.

N.Triuet. Wil. Paruus.

Strangbow contermanded

Shortlie after, ioining those which he brought ouer with him, with the other that were there before his comming, he thought to worke some feat, whereby he might make his name famous, & cause the Irishmen to haue him in feare. Wherevpon he first assailed the citie of Dublin, and by force wan it. He likewise wan Waterford, & diuerse other townes neere vnto the sea side. Also to haue some friendship amongst those barbarous people, he maried the daughter of the confederate king, and so grew into verie great estimation in that countrie and region.

Dublin won. Additions to Iohn Pike.

Strangbow marrieth Dermutius his daughter.

Howbeit, with these and the like doings of the earle, king Henrie tooke such displeasure (but chéeflie for disobeieng his commandement) that he confined him the realme, seized his lands as forfeited, and by proclamation restreined all his subiects from passing into Ireland with any kind of merchandize, prouision of vittels, or other commodities whatsoeuer. By reason whereof, earle Strangbow, partlie by constreint, and partlie in hope to returne into fauour with king Henrie, and for other respects as may be coniectured, aduertised him of the whole state of the countrie of Ireland, promising him, that if it would please his grace to come ouer thither, he would so worke that he should be admitted souereigne lord of all the land. Herevpon king Henrie pardoned him of all former trespasses, and restored vnto him all his lands and inheritances within England and Normandie: and further, confirmed to him such liuings abroad in Ireland out of the walled townes, as he held alreadie in right of his wife: and furthermore ordeined, that he should be high steward of Ireland vnder him.

Strangbow confined.

He seeketh to procure the kings fauour.

The king pardoneth him. N.Triuet.

King Henrie then returning out of Normandie into England about the first day of August (as is aforesaid) caused a nauie of 400. ships to be made readie, and to assemble at Milford hauen in Penbrokshire, with all such prouision and furniture as was thought necessarie for such a iournie. Herewith also he leuied a great armie both of horsemen and footmen, and came forward with the same vnto Penbroke, and so when all his prouision and ships were readie, he entred the sea at Milford hauen aforesaid the sixteenth daie of October, and landed in Ireland, at a place called Crowch, not past seauen miles from Waterford the day next following, about nine of the clocke: and on the morrow after being S. Luke the euangelists day, he with all his armie marched forth to Waterford, where he found William Fitz Aldelme his sewer, and Robert Fitz Bernard, with other whome he had sent thither before him for such purposes as he thought most conuenient. He remained at Waterford fifteene daies, during which time, there came in vnto him the king of Corke, the king of Limerike, the king of Offorie, the king of Méeth, Reignald de Waterford, and diuerse other great princes of Ireland. At his first arriuall, the foresaid earle Richard surrendred into his hands all those townes and places which he had subdued in that countrie.

Rog. Houed.

Milford hauen.

King Henrie landeth in Ireland.

Crowch.

The surrender made by erle Strangbow.

Herewithall the whole land began to tremble, so that the rulers of townes and countries sent vnto him messengers, offering to become tributaries, and to deliuer hostages: for whilest euerie of those rulers which had the gouernment of Ireland in their hands, feared their owne estate, and mistrusted their owne powers, they all in maner submitted themselues, so that this victorie chanced to king Henrie, without the drawing forth of his sword, and in such wise, that he could not haue wished for better or more speedie successe therein. For whereas the whole Iland was diuided into sundrie dominions, and ruled by sundrie gouernours, not drawing all one waie, but through factions and contrarie studies one enuieng an others wealth (for

Sundrie rulers in a land what weakenes it causeth.

Non bene cum sociis regna venúsque manent,
——— Sociisq; comes discordia regnis)

Ouid. li. 3. de art. Stat. 1. Th.

nothing more hindred the fierce and vnquiet nation from making resistance, than in that they could not agrée to take councell togither for defending of their liberties, and entier state of the commonwelth. Wherevpon, whilest euerie of them apart by himselfe was in doubt to attempt the hazard of war against so mightie a king, they were all ouercome, as were the Britons likewise in the time of Cesar and the Saxons. King Henrie therefore gladlie receiued their humble submission, and they doing homage vnto him, sware to be his liege and faithfull subiects. Onelie Roderike gouernour of Connagh refused to submit himselfe.

Roderike K. of Connagh.

This Roderike pretended to be the chéefe king of Ireland, and therefore kept continuall war with the other rulers, which was partlie the cause wherefore they submitted themselues so soone vnto king Henrie. The said Roderike held that part of Ireland which lieth toward the west, being full of great and thicke woods, and defended with verie high & great mountaines, closed also with waters and marishes, so that it should be verie hard, and speciallie in the winter season, to bring an armie vnto it: which was the onelie cause while king Henrie attempted nothing against Roderike at that time, but tooke in hand to plant garisons of souldiers in places conuenient to kéepe the land in quiet, which he had woone alreadie, and to giue order for the gouernement of the whole estate of the countrie to his behoofe and commoditie. Herevpon going to Dublin, which is the chéefest citie of all Ireland, he assembled all the ru-

Matth. Paris. Polydor.

The nature of the countrie of Connagh.

lers and lords as well spirituall as temporall togither in councell, consulting with them for the assurance of the dominion of the land to him and his heires for euermore.

The allegation of the Irishmen.

The Irish men alleged for themselues, that his deuise therin could not be compassed, vnles the popes authoritie were therein first obteined: for they affirmed, that immediatlie vpon receiuing the christian faith, they did submit themselues, & all that they had, vnto the see of Rome, so that they could not acknowledge any for their souereigne lord, but onelie the pope. Which opinion some of them (although vainelie) haue holden vnto these our daies. King Henrie then vnderstanding this matter, dispatched ambassadours to Rome, requiring of pope Alexander, that he would by his authoritie grant him licence to ioine the countrie of Ireland vnto the realme of England, who went thither with all expedition according to their charge.

And certeinelie, these ambassadors whom the king sent now out of Ireland to Rome in this behalfe, returned with better spéed in their message, than did the other whom he had sent to him out of Normandie, to excuse him of the death of the archbishop Thomas. For the pope vpon good aduice taken in this matter (considering that he had now no profit growing to him by that Ile, and that the Irish people being wild and rude, were far off from all good order of christianitie in diuerse points) thought it would be a meane to bring some gaine to his cofers, and the people more easilie from their naughtie customes, if they were once made subiect vnto some christian prince of puissance able to tame them, and constreine them by force to be more meeke and tractable. In consideration wherof, he was content to grant vnto the king all that herein he required.

A councell at Cassill.

Herevpon, king Henrie considering in what respect the pope was so readie to accomplish his request, called a councell of the bishops to assemble at Cassill, where manie things were decréed and ordeined for the reforming of diuerse customes vsed before amongst the Irish men, and méerelie repugnant to the lawes of the christian religion. There were also appointed as solicitors in these matters, and to sit as assistants with the Irish bishops, one of the kings chaplaines named Nicholas, and one Rafe the archdeacon of Landaf.

R. Houed.

The archdeacon of Landaf.

1 Amongst other things there concluded, it was ordeined, that children should be brought to the church, there to receiue baptisme in faire water, with three dippings into the same, in the name of the father, the sonne, and the Holie-ghost, and that by the préests hands, except in case where danger of death was feared, which then might be done by any other person, and in any other place.

2 Also it was ordeined, that tithes should be paid to churches, and that such laie men as would keepe wiues, should keepe them according to the lawes of holie church, and not otherwise.

3 The Peter pence also that Adrian reserued in his buls, sent to the king touching the same matter in the beginning of his reigne (with diuerse other things) were in like maner appointed to be paid, so that nothing was omitted that might pleasure the pope, or recouer his gratious fauour alreadie lost in the matters of Thomas Becket, whereof you haue alreadie heard. Thus you heare what successe our ambassadours had in this voiage. ¶ Now will I tell you (yer I proceed any further) what strange things did happen in England whilest the king was thus occupied in Ireland, and within the compasse of that yeare, and first of all, in the night before Christmas day last passed, there chanced such a tempest of lightning and thunder, that the like had not bin heard of,

Anno Reg. 18. Matth. Paris. Matth. West.

A fore tempest

which tempest was not onelie generallie throughout all England, but also in other forreine parts nére adioining, namelie in Ireland, where it continued all that night, and Christmas daie following, to so great terror of the people, that they looked for présent death. 1172

The same night at Andeuer in Hamshire, a préest being in his praiers before the altar, was striken with the tempest, so that he died per it was nine of the clocke in the morning. Also, a temporall man that was there the same time, was burned with the lightning, and whereas his brother being présent, ran to him to haue succoured him, he likewise was caught with the fire, and in like maner consumed. In Ireland also, euill diet in eating of fresh flesh and drinking of water, contrarie to the custome of the Englishmen, brought the flix and other diseases in the kings armie, so that manie died thereof, for

Lightning. Polydor.

Grauissimum est imperium consuetudinis. Pub. Mim.

Wherfore, about the beginning of Lent, the king remoued from Dublin, & went vnto the citie of Wexford, where he remained till toward Easter, and then prepared to retурue into England: but before he toke the sea, he gaue and by his charter confirmed to Hugh Lacie, all the lands of Méath, with the appurtenances, to hold of him & his heires in fee by knights seruice, as to find him an hundred knights or men of armes (as we may terme them) for euermore. He gaue also vnto the same Hugh, the kéeping of the citie of Dublin, and made him chéefe iusticer of Ireland. Unto Robert Fitz Bernard he committed the cities of Waterford, and Wexford, that he should kéepe the same to his vse, and build in them castels, for a more sure defense against the enimies.

Rog. Houed.

The kings gift vnto Hugh Lacie.

Thus when the king had planted garisons of souldiers in those & other places also where was thought nédfull; and further had giuen order for the politike gouernement of the whole countrie, so far as he had conquered; he first sent ouer his household seruants, which toke the water on Easter daie, and landed at Milleford, but he himselfe and other of the Nobles staid there all that daie, by reason of the high solemnitie of that feast: howbeit the daie next after they toke the sea togither, and landed nére to S. Dauids in south Wales, from whence (without delaie) he hasted forth to Douer, and hauing his sonne the yong king with him, he sailed ouer into Normandie in the crosse weeke to meet the popes legats, whom he vnderstood to be alreadie come thither. At his méeting with them there, he gaue them verie good countenance, and right honorable enterteinment, omitting nothing that might doo them pleasure.

The king returneth into England.

Ger. Dor.

The popes legats.

Here when the matter came to be discussed touching the death of archbishop Thomas, bicause it could not be certeinelie tried out in whom the fault rested, much reasoning to and fro passed, about obiections and excuses laid (as in doubtfull cases it often happeneth) so that welnére the space of foure moneths was spent in debating of that matter. In which meane time, the king to auoid all contention and strife betwixt him and king Lewes, sent his son Henrie togither with his wife ouer into England, there eftsones to receiue the crowne, and with them came Rotrod the archbishop of Rouen, Giles bishop of Eureux, Roger bishop of Worcester, and diuerse others.

Ger. Dor. R. Houed.

Herevpon the yong king being arriued in England, called an assemblie of the lords spirituall and temporall at Winchester, where both he and his said wife Margaret daughter to the French king was crowned with all solemnitie, by the hands of the said Rotrod archbishop of Rouen vpon the twentie one of August.

Rog. Houed.

In the meane time (saith one writer) his father king

king Henrie might haue foreséene and found means to haue auoided the discord, which euen now began to spring vp betwixt him and his children, causing a sore and ciuill warre, if he had not beene a man that vtterlie did detest all superstitious admonitions. For being told (I wot not by whome) that if he did not repent, and take more regard to minister iustice, which is a vertue that conteineth in it selfe all other vertues; it would come to passe, that within short time he should fall into great and manifold calamities.

A strange apparition.

In his returne also out of Ireland (saith an other) vpon the sundaie next after the feast of Easter, commonlie called Lowsundaie, as he should take his horsse at Cardiffe in Wales, there appeared vnto him a man of pale and wanne colour, barefoted, and in a white kirtell, who boldlie in the Dutch language spake vnto him, and admonished him of amendment of life, and to haue regard that the sabboth daie (commonlie called the sundaie) might be more duelie kept and obserued, so that no markets nor bodilie workes be holden, vsed, or done vpon that day within the bounds of his dominions, except that which apperteineth to dressing of meats. And if thou do (saith he) after this commandement, I assure thée that all things which thou dwelt enterprise of good intent and purpose, shall sort to good effect and verie luckie end.

But the king was not greatlie pleased with these words, and in French said to the knight that held his bridle; Aske of this churle, whether he hath dreamed all this that he telleth or not. When the knight had expounded it in English, the man answered, Whether I haue dreamed it in my sléepe or not, take thou héed to my words, & marke what day this is: for if thou amend not thy life, and do as I haue aduertised thée, before a twelue moneth come to an end, thou shalt heare such tidings as will make thée sorowfull all the daies of thy life after. The man hauing thus spoken, vanished awaie suddenlie, and the king toke his words but in sport: howbeit he wondered that he was so suddenlie gone, as he did likewise at his sudden appearing. Manie other warnings the king had (saith mine author) but he set little thereby.

The second warning he receiued of an Irishman, that told him of tokens verie priuie. The third time a knight of Lindsey called Philip de Chesterby, passing the sea, came to the king into Normandie, and there declared vnto him seauen articles, which he should amend, which if he did, then he should reigne seauen yeares in great honor, and subdue Gods enimies. If he did not amend and redresse those points, then should he come to death with dishonour in the fourth yeare.

1 The first article or point was, that he should séeke to mainteine holie church.

2 The second, that he should cause rightfull lawes to be executed.

3 The third, that he should condemne no man without lawfull processe.

4 The fourth, that he should restore the lands, goods and heritages to those rightfull owners from whome he had taken them by any wrong or vnlawfull meanes.

5 The fift, that he should cause euerie man to haue right, without bribing and giuing of méed.

6 The sixt, that he should paie his debts as well due to any of his subiects, for any stuffe taken vp of them to his vse, as to his seruants and souldiers, who bicause they could not haue their wages truelie paid them, fell to robbing and spoiling of true labouring men.

7 The seauenth and last article was, that he should cause the Iewes to be auoided out of the land, by whom the people were sore impouerished with such vnmercifull vsurie as they exercised.

The king (notwithstanding these and other like warnings) toke no regard to the amendment of his sinfull life, whereupon (as is thought) the troubles which ensued did light vpon him by Gods iust appointment.

¶ Howsoeuer this may séeme a fable, but no written veritie, & therefore esteemed as the chaffe of summer flowers; yet as in the tales of Aesop many good morals are comprised, so the scope whereto this apparition tendeth being necessarie, maketh the argument it selfe of the more authoritie. The end therefore being (as you sée) to reuoke the king from worse to better, from the swines-stie of vice to the statelie throne of vertue, from the kennell of sinne to the riuers of sanctitie, proueth that euen verie fictions of poets (though of light credit) haue their drift manie times to honest purpose, and therefore bring with them a competent weight of profit to the readers. So the scope of this tale being the same that Dauid pointeth at in the second psalme, when he saith,

(At vos in populos quibus est permissa potestas,
Et ius ab alta sede plebi dicitis,
Errorum tenebras depellite, discite verum, &c.)

Ex. G. Buch. paraph. in psal. 2.

maketh the narration it selfe (though otherwise séeming mére fabulous) to be somewhat authenticall. But to returne to the course of our storie, and now to saie somewhat of this Henrie the seconds sonne the yong king, by whom the troubles were moued, (note you this) that after he had receiued the crowne togither with his said wife, they both passed the seas incontinentlie backe againe into Normandie, where on the seauen and twentith of September, at a generall assemblie holden within the city of Auranches in the church of the apostle S. Andrew, king Henrie the father, before the cardinals the popes legats, and a great number of bishops and other people, made his purgation, in receiuing an oth vpon the holie relikes of the saints, and vpon the sacred euangelists, that he neither willed, nor commanded the archbishop Thomas to be murthered, and that when he heard of it, he was sorie for it. But bicause he could not apprehend them that slue the archbishop, and for that he feared in his conscience least they had executed that vnlawfull act vpon a presumptuous boldnesse, bicause they had perceiued him to be offended with the archbishop, he sware to make satisfaction (for giuing such occasion) in this maner.

R. Houed. Ger. Dor.

King Henrie purgeth himselfe of the archbishop Beckets death.

1 In primis, that he would not depart from pope Alexander, nor from his catholike successours, so long as they should repute him for a catholike king.

Vile subiection vnbeséeming a king!

2 Item, that he would neither impeach appeales, nor suffer them to be impeached, but that they might freelie be made within the realme vnto the pope, in causes ecclesiasticall; yet so, that if the king haue the parties suspected, they shall find him suerties that they shall not procure harme or hinderance whatsoeuer to him or to his realme.

3 Item, that within three yeares after the natiuitie of our lord next ensuing, he should take vpon him the crosse, and personallie passe to the holie land, except pope Alexander or his successours toke other order with him.

4 Prouided, that if vpon any vrgent necessitie he chanced to go into Spaine to warre against the Saracens there, then so long space of time as he spent in that iournie, he might deferre his going into the east parts.

5 Item, he bound himselfe in the meane time by his oth, to emploie so much monie as the templers should thinke sufficient for the finding of two hundred knights or men of armes, for one yeares terme in the defense of the holie land.

6 Item, he remitted his wrath conceiued against those

those which were in exile for the archbishop Thomas his cause, so that they might returne againe into the realme.

7 Item, to restore all the lands and possessions which had bene taken awaie from the see of Canturburie, as they were belonging thereto in the yere before the departure of the archbishop Thomas out of England.

8 Item, he sware to take awaie and abolish all those customes, which in his time had bene brought in against the church, as preiudiciall thereto.

All these articles faithfullie, and without maleingene to performe and fulfill in euerie degree, he receiued a solemne oth, and caused his sonne the yong king being there present, to receiue the same for performance of all those articles, such as touched his owne person onelie excepted. And to the intent the same should remaine in the popes consistorie as matter of record, he put his seale vnto the writing wherein the same articles were ingrossed, togither with the seales of the aboue mentioned cardinals.

Shortlie after king Henrie the father suffered the yong king his son to go into France, togither with his wife, to visit his father king Lewes, according as their deputies required, which iournie verelie bred the cause of the dissention that followed betwixt him and his father. King Lewes most louinglie receiued them (as reason was) and caused diuers kinds of triumphant plaies and pastimes to be shewed for the honour and delectation of his sonne in law and daughter.

Neuertheless, whilest this yong prince soiourned in France, king Lewes not hartilie fauouring the king of England, and therewithall perceiuing the rash and headstrong disposition of the yong king did first of all inuegle him to consider of his estate, and to remember that he was now a king equall vnto his father, and therefore aduised him so shortlie as he could, to get the entire gouernment out of his fathers hands: whereunto he furthermore promised all the aid that laie in him to performe.

The French king seeketh to sow sedition betwixt the father and the sonne.

The yong king being readie inough not onelie to worke vnquietnesse, but also to follow his father in lawes counsell (as he that was apt of nature to aspire to the sole gouernement, and loth to haue any partener in authoritie (according vnto that of the tragedie-writer,

Nec regna socium ferre nec tedæ sciunt) *Sen. in Agam.*

and namelie such one as might controll him) was the more encouraged thereto by a number of prodigall curtie fauours, who by flatterie set him aloft, declaring vnto him that he was borne to rule, and not to obeie, and therefore it became not his highnesse to reigne by the appointment of an other, but rather to haue the gouernement freelie in his owne hands, that he might not be counted prince by permission. Hereupon the youthfull courage of the yong king being tickled, began to wax of a contrarie mind to his father: who suspecting indeed that which chanced; to wit (least his sonnes yong yeares not able yet to discerne good and wholesome counsell from euill, might easilie be infected with some sinister practise) thought it not good to suffer him to be long absent from him, and therefore sent for him: who taking leaue of his father in law king Lewes in courteous maner, returned and came to his father king Henrie into Normandie, who when the feast of Christmas drew neere, repaired towards Anion, where in the towne of Chinon, he solemnized that feast, hauing left his sonne the yong king and his wife all that while in Normandie: but sending for him after the feast was ended, they went both into Auuergne, where being at mount Ferrat, Hubert earle of Morienne came vnto them, bringing with him his eldest daughter Alice, whom king Henrie the father bought of him for the summe of fiue thousand markes, that he might bestow hir in mariage vpon his yongest sonne John with the heritage of the countie of Morienne, if hir father died without other issue, or at the least wise the said Hubert chanced to haue any sonne lawfullie begotten, that then he should leaue vnto them and to their heires the countie of Russellon, the countie of Belle, as he then had and held the same, Pierre castell with the appurtenances, the vallie of Nouallese, also Chambrie with the appurtenances, Aix, Aspermont, Rochet, mont Magor, and Chambres, with Burg, all which lieng on this side the mountaines with their appurtenances, the said Hubert granted to them immediatlie for euer. And beyond the mountaines he couenanted to giue vnto them Turine with the appurtenances, the colledge of Gauoreth with the appurtenances, and all the fees which the earles of Canaues held of him, togither with the fealties and seruices. And also, the fees, fealties, and seruices which belonged to him in the countie of Amund, and in the vallie called Vale Dossa; and in like maner, the towne of Castellone.

Hubert earle of Morienne.

Rog. Houed. Anno Reg. 19. 1173

Marriage contracted.

Comitatus bellensis.

All the forenamed places the said earle gaue and granted to the said John, sonne to the king of England for euermore, with his daughter, so freelie, wholie and quietlie (in men and cities, castels, fortresses, or other places of defense, in medowes, leasewes, milnes, woods, plaines, waters, vallies and mountaines, in customes and all other things) as euer he or his father had held or enioied the same. And furthermore, the said earle would, that immediatlie (when it pleased the king of England) his people should do homage and fealtie to the king of Englands sonne, reseruing the fealtie due to him so long as he liued. Moreouer, the said earle Hubert granted to the said John and his wife all the right that he had in the countie of Granople, and whatsoeuer might be got and euicted in the same countie. It was also couenanted, if the elder daughter died, that then the said John should marrie the yonger daughter, and enioy all the like portions and parts of inheritance as he should haue enioied with the first.

The countie of Granople.

Finallie, that these couenants, grants and agreements should be performed on the part and behalfe of the said earle Hubert, both he, the said earle, and the erle of Geneua, and in maner all the great lords and barons of those countries receiued an oth, and vndertoke to come and offer themselues as hostages to remaine with the king of England, in case the said earle Hubert failed in performance of any of the aforesaid articles, till he framed himselfe to satisfie the kings pleasure in such behalfe.

Furthermore, Peter the reuerend archbishop of Tarensasia, and Ardune the bishop of Geneua, and also William the bishop of Morienne, with the abbat of S. Michell promised vpon their oth to be readie at the appointment of the king of England, to put vnder the censures of the church the said earle and his lands, refusing to performe the foresaid couenants, and so to keepe him and the same lands bound, till he had satisfied the king of England therein.

The earles of Mandeuille and Arundell.

William earle of Mandeuill, and William earle of Arundell sware on the part of king Henrie, that he should performe the articles, couenants and agreements on his part, as first to make paiment immediatlie vnto the said Hubert of one thousand marks, and assone as he should receiue his daughter, he should pay him an other thousand markes at the least, and the residue then remaining of the said sum of fiue thousand markes, should be paid when the mariage was consummate.

It was prouided also, that the said earle Hubert might marrie his yonger daughter where he would, with-

Geo. Dor.

Matth. West. N. Trinet.

without any great diminishing of the earledome after the first marriage consummate with the lord Iohn, the king of Englands sonne. And that if either the said lord Iohn, or his affianced wife chanced to die before the consummation of the marriage, then should the monie which the earle had receiued, be repaied to the king, or bestowed as the king should appoint.

Shortlie after that the parties were agreed vpon the couenants afore cited, the marques of Montferrat & one Geffrey de Plozac with his sonne Miles and other Noble men came to the king as ambassadors from the earle of Poytenne, and receiued an oth, that they should see and procure the said earle to performe the couenants and agreements concluded betwixt the king and him. When these things were thus ordered, as seemed good to both parties, for the establishment of the foresaid marriage, the king the father, and the king the sonne remoued to Limoges, whither the earle of S. Giles came, and was there accorded with king Henrie and his sonne Richard duke of Guien, concerning the controuersie that had béene moued for the countie of Tholouze, doing his homage as well vnto the father as to the sonne for the same countie, and further couenanted to serue them with an hundred knights or men of armes (as we may call them) for the terme of fourtie daies at all times, vpon lawfull summons. And if the king or his sonne duke Richard would haue his seruice longer time after the fourtie daies were expired, they should paie wages both to him and his men in reasonable maner. Moreouer, the said earle condescended & agreed to giue yearelie for Tholouze an hundred marks, or else 10. horsses with 10. marks a péece. Now also, whilest the king soiourned at Limoges, the earle of Poytenne came thither to him, and required to vnderstand what parcels of land he would assigne vnto his sonne Iohn. Wherevpon the king resolued to allot vnto him the chappell of Chinon, Lodun and Mirabell, whereby he offended his eldest sonne the yong king (as after may appeare) who was glad to haue occasion (whome the poets faine to be bald behind and hairie before, as this monastich insinuateth,

Fronte capillata est post est occasio calua)

offered to broch his conceiued purpose of rebellion which of late he had imagined, and now began to put in practise, vsing the opportunitie of the time and the state or qualitie of the quarell then taken for his best aduantage, and meaning to make it an ingredience or entrance to the malicious conceit which he had kept secret in his hart.

The earle of S. Giles.

Nic. Triuet.

Tribute for Tholouze.

Ger. Dor.

This yeere the monks of Canturburie (by the kings assent) chose for their archbishop one Richard, who before was prior of Doner, this man was the 39. in number that had ruled the church of Canturburie, being of an euill life, as he well shewed, in that he wasted the goods of the church inordinatlie. Roger the abbat of Bechellouin was first chosen, but he refused that dignitie rather for slothfulnes and idlenes (as some take it) than for modestie or wisedome: so hard a thing it is to please the people, which measure all things to be honest or dishonest, as they ebb or flow in profit and gaine.

Matth. West. N. Triuet.

Matth. Paris.

The said Richard, after that he was elected, did homage vnto king Henrie, and sware fealtie vnto him (*Saluo semper ordine suo*, His order alwaies saued) without making mention of the customes of the kingdome. This was done at Westminster in the chappel of S. Katharine, the kings iusticer giuing his assent therevnto, where a councell was held the same time, and a letter of the popes read there before the bishops and barons of the realme, conteining amongst other things this that followeth.

A councell holden at Westminster.

A breefe extract or clause of a letter which the pope sent to the clergie of England, &c: for the making of a new holie daie.

WE admonish you all, & by the authoritie which we reteine, doo streightlie charge you, that you celebrat the daie of the suffering of the blessed man Thomas the glorious martyr, sometime archbishop of Canturburie, euerie yere in most solemne sort, & that with deuout praiers ye endeuour your selues to purchase forgiuenes of sins; that he which for Christes sake suffered banishment in this life, and martyrdome in death by constancie of vertue, through continuall supplication of faithful people, may make intercession for you vnto God.

The tenor of these letters were scarslie read, but euerie man with a lowd voice began to recite this psalme or hymne, *Te Deum laudamus*. Furthermore bicause his suffragans had not exhibited due reuerence to him their father, either in time of his banishment, or at his returne from the same, but rather persecuted him; that they might openlie confesse their errour and wickednesse to all men, they made this collect: Be fauourable good Lord to our supplication and praier, that we which acknowledge our selues guiltie of iniquitie, may be deliuered by the intercession of Thomas thy blessed martyr and bishop, Amen.

A collect deuised in honor of the archbishop Becket.

This praier was vsed by the couent of S. Albons on the daie of his martyrdome. Thus

——*cæca superstitionis*
Est facilisque via & cunctis iam cognita sæclis.

¶ Notwithstanding all which honour of the pope then exhibited to his saint, as his canonization, with other solemnities procured for the maintenance of his memoriall in all ages succeeding; what remembrance is there now of Thomas Becket? Where be the shrines that were erected in this church and that chappell for perpetuities of his name and fame? Are they not all defaced? are they not all ruinated? are they not all conuerted to powder and dust? And although the pope ment by causing such thons to be erected, to prefer Thomas as a perpetuall saint to all posterities, and thought as he that said of his poems,

Exegi monumentum ære perennius,
Regalique situ pyramidum altius,
Quod non imber edax non aquilo impotens
Possit diruere aut innumerabilis
Annorum series & fuga temporum,

Yet is he growne not into renowme, but infamie and shame in England, as our chronicles declare, which haue published that Romish rakehels ambitious and traitorous heart to all successions. Naie, whereas in times past he was reckoned in the popes rubricke for a saint and a martyr, now it is come to passe (by the meanes belike of other saints whose merits haue surpassed Beckets) that he is growne in oblision euen at Rome, and his name raced out of the popes calendar (as a learned man preached in a solemne audience at a high festiuall time) by whom he was so magnified. In which kind of discontinuing his fauour to his swome children, he sheweth himselfe verie ingratefull, and not worthie of the dutifulnesse wherewith (like buzzards as they be) they ouercharge their hellish (holie I would saie) father.

M. Maghan at Spitle the tuesdate in Easter weeke 1585.

This yeare the sister of the said archbishop Richard was made abbesse of Berking. But now touching the new elected archbishop Richard, we find, that comming to Canturburie on the saturdaie after his election, in hope to be there consecrated, he was

Ger. Dor. The archbishops consecration disturbed by the yong king.

was disappointed by letters that came from king Henrie the sonne, in forme as followeth.

A letter of yoong king Henrie touching the disappointment of archbishop *Richards consecration.*

HEnrie by the grace of God king of England, duke of Normandie, and earle of Aniou, sonne of king Henrie; to our deere and faithfull freend Odo, prior of the church of Canturburie, and to all the conuent there, sendeth greeting. By the assured report of some we vnderstand, that in your church and in other churches also, my father goeth about to institute certein persons not verie meet for such calling: and bicause (without our consent) it ought not so to be doone, who by reason of our kinglie annointing haue taken vpon vs the kingdome and charge of the whole realme: hervpon we haue in the presence of many persons appealed to the see of Rome, and haue signified our appeale in that behalfe, made vnto our reuerend fathers and freends Albert and Theodorike, cardinals and legats of the apostolike see, by our writing and messenger, who like wise and discreet personages haue assented therevnto. We haue likewise signified the same our appeale to our faithfull freends the bishops of London, Excester, and Worcester, and as we haue appealed, so likewise we doo appeale vnder your testimonie.

After the perusall of this letter, and the due consideration of the substance and summe of the same, (albeit no such afterclaps were suspected before) the bishops were altogither driuen to their shifts, some of them desiring to go forward with the consecration, and some supposing it better to yéeld vnto the appeale. The elect archbishop therefore first sent messengers to Rome with letters, not written onelie by himselfe, but also by all the bishops and conuent of Canturburie. After this he followed himselfe in person, and comming to the popes court, found there diuers aduersaries to his cause. For some were there that toke part with the king the father, and some with the king the sonne, and so his businesse could haue no spéedie dispatch. In the meane time the rancor which king Henrie the sonne had conceiued against his father was so ripened, that it could not but burst out, and shew it selfe to the breach of all dutifull obedience which nature requireth of a sonne towards his father.

You haue heard how king Henrie promised the earle of Morienne, when the marriage was concluded betwixt his son John and the said earles daughter, to giue vnto the said John certeine townes in Normandie, for the better mainteining of his estate and his wiues. This gift of the fathers caused his eldest sonne the yong king Henrie, the sooner to powre out his poison which he had sucked before at his being with his father in law king Lewes. For conceiuing an offense, that his father should giue away any portion of his inheritance, he would not condescend to any such gifts, but alledged that sithens he was king of England, and that all belonged to him, his father could not now haue any title to giue awaie that which did in no wise apperteine vnto him. Wil. Parvus.

There was another cause that troubled his mind also, and moued him to grudge at his father, which was; for that the proportion of his allowance for maintenance of his houshold and port was verie slender, and yet more slenderlie paied. Also his father remoued from him certeine of his seruants, as Altulfe de S. Hilarie, and other whome he suspected to giue him euill counsell. Wherefore those that were procurers of him to attempt the seizing of the gouernement into his hands, vpon this occasion slept not, but put into his head such matter, that at length he openlie demanded to haue the whole rule committed to him: which when he saw would not be obteined of his father by quiet meanes, he fled secretlie awaie vnto his father in law king Lewes, requiring aid of him to recouer his right, which king Henrie the elder vniustlie deteined from him.

Altulfe de S. Hilarie a counsellor, or rather corrupter of king Henrie the sonne. Polydor.

King Henrie the sonne fled to the French king.

The French king comforted him, and bad him be of good cheare, for he ment to do for him all that in him laie. Herewith he proclaimed him duke of Normandie, and receiued homage of him for the same. King Henrie the father vnderstanding that his sonne was thus fled to the French king, sent ambassadours forthwith to the same king, requiring him to giue his son some good & wholesome counsell, that he might repent, and not follow such wilfulnesse of mind in swarting from his fathers frendship, but rather with spéed to returne home againe; & to promise in his name, that if any thing were otherwise than well, he would be contented the same should be reformed by his order and correction. But so farre was king Lewes from meaning to set a quietnesse betwixt the father and the sonne, that he would not heare the ambassadors declare their message, bicause they named the father, king, to the derogation of the sonnes right, to whome he said he offered manifest wrong in vsurping the gouernement, which he had alreadie giuen ouer and resigned. Insomuch that when the ambassadours had declared some part of their message, he asked them what he was that willed such things of him: and when they answered that the king of England had sent them with that message, That is a false lie (saith he) for behold here is the king of England, who hath giuen you no commission to declare any message from him vnto me at all. W. Parvus.

¶ Here we sée philautie or selfe-loue, which rageth in men so preposterouslie, that euen naturall dutie and affection quite forgotten, they vndertake what mischéefe soeuer commeth next to hand, without exception of place or person; and all for the maintenance of statelie titles, of loftie stiles, of honorable names, and such like vanities more light than thistle-downe that flieth in the aire. A vice that hath bæne noted to reigne in all ages, among all péeres and people of all nations, both at home and abroad, as one verie well noteth and giueth his verdict there vpon, saieng,

——— proh dij, nunc nomina tantùm
Magnifica, & claros titulos sibi quilibet optat,
Arrogat, affectat, sequitur, rapit; vt meritò iam
Et se asinus pardum vocet & formica leonem.
Quid tituli illustres præclaráq; nomina prosunt?
Quæ citò mors rapit, & lethæas mergit in vndas. M. Pal. in virg. & sag.

King Henrie the father perceiuing hereby that warres would follow, prepared the best he could for his owne defense: but he was in great doubt on euerie side, not knowing whome he might trust. And to increase this mischéefe, his wife quéene Elianor studied to mainteine the strife betwixt hir sonnes. The yong king then getting an armie togither entred into Guian.

King Henrie the father knoweth not whome he may trust. Polydor.

King Henrie was not hastie to go against him, but sought rather with gentlenesse and all courteous meanes to reconcile him: insomuch that whereas diuerse graue personages being of the yong kings counsell, and doubting to runne into the displeasure of his father, reuolted from the sonne to the father, and brought with them the sonnes seale, which he vsed in

Richard Wart chancellor to the yong king, also his chaplaine, sir Walter Tilward with others. Rog. Houed.

in sealing of letters. Howbeit, the father receiued them not, but sent them backe againe to his sonne, commanding them to continue faithfull in seruing him as he should appoint them, and herewith he sent ambassadours vnto his sonne to entreate with him of peace and concord.

Now whilest the father went about to asswage the sonnes displeasure, the mother queene Elianor did what she could to pricke him forward in his disobedient attempts. For she being enraged against hir husband because he kept sundrie concubines, and therefore delited the lesse in hir companie, cared not what mischéefe she procured against him. Herevpon she made hir complaint so greeuouslie vnto hir sons Richard and Geffrey, that they ioined with their brother against their father, & came to him into Guien, to aid him to the vttermost of their powers.

¶ This may well séeme to be brought vpon the king as a plague of his incontinent, vnchast and libidinous life; who hauing *Chara coniugij pignora*, a notable motiue to kindle and continue honest loue in wedlocke, did notwithstanding most inordinatlie abandon his bodie to beastlie and vnlawfull companie kéeping with strange flesh. Note heere how God stirreth vp the wise of his owne bosome, & the sonnes descending of his owne loines to be thornes in his eies and godes in his sides for profaning so diuine and holie an ordinance; which the verie pagans did so honour and reuerence, that they did not onlie giue precepts touching the due obseruation thereof, but denounced vndoubted vengeance for the violation of the same, as appeareth in this old testimonie,

Hesiod. in lib. cui tit. op. & di.

Patrat & ingreditur quicunq; cubilia fratris
Vxorem maculans, & sancta cubilia stupro,
Hunc pater ipse deum saturnius odit, & ipsi
Hunc malè dij vexant, &c.

But we will remit this to the readers consideration, and note the issue of this mischéefe now broched. The yong king reioising that he had his brethren thus on his side, readie to take his part, became more stout than before, and for answere vnto the messengers that came to him from his father, he declared that if his father would deliuer vp the whole gouernment into his hands, he would be content to breake vp his armie. As for such souldiers as would willinglie take his part in this quarell, he caused them to sweare that they should faithfullie serue him against his aduersaries: and those that had rather serue on the other side, he licenced them frælie to depart and go to his father.

King Henrie the father receiuing such a rebellious answer from his sonne, much lamented the matter, and so much the more, for that he saw there was no remedie, but to haue the controuersie decided by the sword. Therefore least he should be taken vnprouided, he kept his armie in a readinesse about him, hauing reteined certeine bands of Brabanders called the Rowts.

Twētie thousand Brabanders were reteined by king Henrie the father as saith R. Houed.

The lords that tooke part with his sonne, being aduertised by espials of the doings of the father, and hearing that he was readie (if he were constreined) to defend himselfe by battell, and yet willing to receiue his sons into his fauour againe, if they would be reformed, they tooke great care how to cause his sons to persist in their enterprise, till the father were compelled by force to resigne the gouernment vnto them. But none more than the French king coueted to maintaine the discord, till it might be ended by force of armes: and therfore sent vnto king Henrie the sonne, willing him to come to Paris, where he caused a councell to be called, & there made a league betwixt the said Henrie and himselfe, with William king of Scotland, Hugh earle of Chester, William Patrike the elder, the three sons of Robert earle of Mellent, whose castels king Henrie the elder had in possession, Roger Mounbray, Hugh Bigot, and diuerse other complices of the conspiracie, *Flabella seditionum*, that tooke part with Henrie the sonne.

Wil. Paruus. N. Triuet. Polydor.

N. Triuet. Polydor.

Here after they had consulted of the maner how to maintaine warre, bicause they would assure the yong king that they ment not to forsake him, first king Lewes, and after all the residue tooke an oth to aid him with men and monie, till his father should either be driuen out of his kingdome, or brought to agrée with him at his will and pleasure. On the other part, he sware neuer to conclude any peace with his father without their consent and good will. He also promised vpon his oth to giue, & by his charter vnder his seale he confirmed vnto Philip earle of Flanders (for his homage) a thousand pounds of yearelie reuenues in England, and the countie of Kent, with the castels of Douer and Rochester. And to Matthew earle of Bullongne (for his homage) he likewise promised and confirmed the Soke of Kirketon in Lindsey, and the earldome of Morton, with the honour of Hey. Also to Theobald earle of Blois (for his homage) he gaue and granted fiue hundred marks of yearelie reuenue in Anion with the castell of Ambois, and all that which he claimed as his right within the countrie of Touraine, and surrendred to him all the right which he and his father claimed and demanded to haue in Chateau Reignold. To the K. of Scots (for his assistance) he gaue and granted all Northumberland as far as the riuer of Tine. And to his brother Dauid (to haue his seruice) he granted the counties of Huntington and Cambridge. To Hugh Bigot (for his seruice) he gaue the castell of Norwich. All these gifts and grants (with diuerse other to other persons) promised & granted, he confirmed with his new seale, which the king of France had caused him to make. These things being thus ordered at Paris, euerie man resorted to his charge, that he might prouide for the warre with all spéed conuenient.

The French king taketh an oth to aid king Henrie the sonne. Rog. Houed. Ger. Dor.

Philip earle of Flanders. Matthew erle of Bullongne.

Chateau Reignold.

Earle Dauid.

Hugh Bigot.

Polydor.

King Henrie the father aduertised of this new league of the conspirators against him, was in great perplexitie of mind, for that he saw himselfe in danger, not onelie of outward enimies, but also of his owne subiects at home. Yet bicause the winter season was alreadie at hand, taking awaie all conuenient occasions of attempting any great exploit by war for that time, he was in hope to compasse some agreement with his sons per the spring of the yeare should returne, and therefore he made not so great prouision for his defense, as had béene necessarie in so dangerous a case. But the Frenchmen, who were bent to set forward this war with all diligence, were readie in the field immediatlie vpon the comming of the spring with king Henrie the sonne, and euen at one instant made their inuasions vpon the lands of king Henrie the father in three seuerall parties; namelie, in Normandie, Guien, and Britaine, which (against the will of his sonne Geffrey duke thereof) king Henrie the father did hold and reteine in his owne hands. The Frenchmen thus inuading the forsaid countries, did much hurt with robbing and spoiling, and also tooke diuerse castels and townes.

The confederats inuade the dominions of king Henrie the father.

Moreouer, about the same time, William king of Scotland entred with a great power, first into Cumberland, and besieged Carlell: but hearing that an armie was prepared against him in the south parties of the realme, and readie to set forward, he raised his siege, and entred into Northumberland (which prouince king Henrie the sonne had giuen him in the last assemblie holden at Paris) endeuouring to bring it into his possession. But the more earnestlie he went about to inforce the people to his will, the more stiffie did they withstand his purpose, hating him

The king of Scots inuadeth Cumberland.

N. Triuet. Polydor.

him so much, that in no condition they were willing to come vnder his rule, whereby the Scots were put backe and repelled, and that to their great losse. The kings power also comming into the countrie followed them, and passing ouer the water of Twæd, which diuided then (as it doth at this daie) the two realmes, made the like spoile in the land of the enimies, as they had made in the countries of Northumberland and Cumberland. Wil Paruus.

But in Normandie, whilest others in other places, made their hand in fetching preies and booties out of the enimies countrie, king Lewes besieged Vernueil, which towne being strong of it selfe, Hugh Beauchampe and others that had charge thereof valiantlie defended, so that the French king was a moneth before it, yer he could win anie part thereof. This towne of Vernueil was in those daies diuided into three portions, beside the castell, euerie of them apart from other with mightie wals and deepe ditches full of water. One of these parts was called the great Burrow without the wals, where the French king had pitcht his field & planted his engins. About a moneth after whose coming thither, vittels began to faile them within, so that at length they required a truce onlie for three daies, & if no succour came within those three daies, they promised to yeeld that part of the towne called the great Burrow, & the peremptorie daie was the vigill or eue of S. Laurence. Herevpon were hostages deliuered by the burgesses vnto the French king. Now it was agreed that if they yeelded the towne at the daie appointed for want of succor, king Henrie the son, and Robert the French kings brother, with the earls of Trois & Blois, Henrie and Theobald, and William archbish. of Sens, vndertooke vpon their othes that the hostages should then be restored free & without any hurt or damage. Vernueil besieged. R.Houed. Hugh Beauchampe.

King Henrie being certified from them within of the composition thus made, was driuen to a verie hard shift: for he doubted nothing lesse than that any such thing should haue chanced. Yet considering with himselfe, that the sauing of the towne stood in his speedie comming to the rescue, he hasted thither without any staie, and came to the place the daie before the third and last daie of the truce. King Lewes perceiuing him to be come, doubting least he should lose the preie which he looked for, sent vnto the king, and required that he might common with him on the next dais, touching some means of agreement to be had betwixt him and his sons. This did he of policie, to feed him with hope of some end to be made in the troubles betwixt him and his sons, till he had gotten possession of the towne. The French king requireth to talke.

Now as he forecast that matter, euen so it came to passe, for whilest a great peece of the next daie was spent in feined talke about an agreement; K. Lewes appointed a great part of his host to close the towne about, and to declare vnto them within, that king Henrie was put to flight; which talke they within Vernueil beleeuing, yeelded the towne & themselues to the French men. Sone after, king Lewes mistrusting least he should not be able to keepe it, set it on fire, and so burnt it, contrarie to the composition betwixt him and them agreed and concluded vpon. He kept also the souldiers that had yeelded it into his hands, togither with the hostages as prisoners, and doubting to cope with his enimie, went awaie in the night with as still noise as was possible. Which euill dealing had not inuaded his hart, but that euill meaning had possessed it before, euen at the composition making: but he neuer learned that, Rog.Houed. The ninth of August being thursdaie saieth R. Houed. king Lewes fleeth awaie in the night. Pub.Mim.

Fidem qui perdit nihil potest vltra perdere.

King Henrie at length perceiuing the fraud, sent certeine bands of his horsemen after to pursue the enimie: but for that king Lewes was alreadie gotten into the inner parts of his owne countrie, those which were sent, turned vpon those that were left in the hindermost ward, of whome they slue a great number both horsemen and footmen.

K. Henrie following his men, came to Vernueil, and staieng there that night, tooke order for the repairing and new fortifieng of the towne. On the morrow after he went to the castell of Danuille, and wan it, taking diuerse knights and yeomen within it: this castell belonged to one Gilbert de Tileres. And thus it came to passe touching the attempt of the French king for the winning of Vernueil, as in some authors we find reported. ¶ Other write otherwise of the mater, as thus, the French K. being summoned by K. Henrie the father, either to depart from the siege of Vernueil, or to looke for battell; & hearing also that in performance of the message K. Henrie approched with his power, he sent a bishop & an abbat vnto him to vnderstand if he meant to giue battell in deed. The messengers met king Henrie as he was aduanced before his host vpon some occasion, with a small companie about him, vnto whom they declared that their maister the French king required to be assured whether he should haue battell or no. King Henrie armed as he was, with fierce countenance and dreadfull voice made this short answere; Get you hence, and tell your king that I am here at hand. The messengers returning to their maister, declared what they had seene and heard. Whereupon (without longer staie) he raised his field, and with a gallant and mightie armie departed home to his great dishonour, not winning the towne at all, as by the same author it should appeare. Danuille. Gilbert de Tileres. Wil.Paruus. K. Henrie his short answere to the French kings messengers.

About the same time the earle of Flanders, one of the confederats besieged the towne of Albemarle, and the earle therof within it, which earle was thought to betraie the towne, because it was so easilie wone, and both he himselfe, and those which king Henrie the father had sent thither to defend the towne were taken prisoners. Diuerse other places which belonged to the same earle were also immediatlie deliuered into the enimies hands, which increased the suspicion. Albemarle won by the earle of Flanders.

After this towne of Newcastell (otherwise called Dringcourt) in those frontiers was besieged, and finallie wone by surrender, by the said earle of Flanders, who reioised nothing at the gaine of that towne: for his brother Matthew the earle of Bullongne who should haue béene his heire, was shot into the knée with an arrow, as he approched to the wals, and died of the hurt within a few daies after. The earle of Flanders was so pensife for his brothers death, that he brake vp his iournie and returned, blaming his euill hap and follie in that he had attempted war against his cosen germane king Henrie, who neuer had harmed him, but rather had done him manie great and singular pleasures from time to time. R.Houed. Ia.Meir. Ger.Dor. The earle of Bullongne wounded, and dieth.

¶ Good cause had the earle to giue ouer the prosequuting of violence against his souereigne, being dawnted with so heauie a chance, & griped also with the grudge of conscience, in so vnkindlie rewarding his welwiller, at whose hands he confessed himselfe to haue receiued manie a benefit. Wherein we are to note, that ingratitude neuer hurteth anie so much as him or them in whom it is nestled. And hereto alludeth the comedie-writer, when he saith verie neatlie,

——morem hunc homines habent, quod sibi volunt Dum id impetrãt, boni sunt: sed id vbi iam penes se habẽt, Ex bonis pessimi & fraudulentissimi sunt. Plaut. in Ca.

Moreouer Henrie the elder (after the iournie of Vernueil ended) came backe to Rouen, and there vnderstanding that Hugh earle of Chester, and Rafe de Foulgiers, men of singular prowesse (who long before were reuolted to his sonne Henrie) had taken the

the castell of Dole in Britaine, and there making warre, brought all the countrie into trouble, he sent forth streightwaies certeine of his capteines with the Brabanders to aid his people in those parts who on the twentith day of August (being monday) encountring with the enimies, discomfited them in battell, take seauentéene knights, besides diuerse others both horssemen and footmen, slue aboue fiftéene hundred of the enimies being Britaines, and pursuing the residue, entred the towne which they won, and driue their aduersaries into the castell, where they besieged them, and with all spéed aduertised the king of that enterprise, who immediatlie with all possible haste came thither, applieng his whole diligence to win the place, that he might haue them which were within the same at his commandement.

Rog. Houed.

To be short, it was not long yer he had his desire, for being such a multitude, that they were not able long to continue within so streict a roome, for want of victuell they fell to a composition, yeelding the castell vnto the king, their bodies liues and limbs saued, on the 25. day of August. There were taken within this castell 80. knights, besides yeomen and other common souldiers. In like maner, and with the semblable good fortune, about the same time, his capteins in England ouercame his enimies: for whereas Robert earle of Leicester that tooke part with king Henrie the sonne, had assembled at the towne of Leicester a great host of men, in purpose to set vpon Reignold earle of Cornewall and Richard Lucie capteines on the side of king Henrie the father: they vnderstanding his meaning, marched streight towards Leicester, and by the way met with their enimie earle Róbert, whome they so fiercelie assailed, that they put him to flight, and after approching the towne, had it surrendered vnto them, permitting the inhabitants to depart with bag and baggage, and then burned the towne: but the castell (which in those daies was of great strength by reason of the situation) they could not win.

The earle of Leicester put to flight.

Holbeit some write, that by vndermining, the walles of the towne were subuerted and throwne downe, so that the towne was entred by force, although they within withdrew themselues into the castell and other strong houses, which they defended for a time, till at length they surrendered all, one parcell of the castell excepted, for the which by composition they paied by way of a fine the sum of three hundred pounds to the vse of K. Henrie the father. The siege began the seauenth day of Julie, and on the 28. day of the same moneth the armie departed from thence, a truce being granted to those that still defended a certeine tower of the castell into the which they were withdrawne.

Matth. Paris. Leicester won by force.

William also the Scotish king, with an armie of Scots and Gallowaimen inuaded Northumberland, and passing by the confines of the bishoprike of Durham, did much hurt by slaughter, burning and spoiling the countrie. Neuertheless, hearing of a power raised by the English lords in those parts to resist him, he withdrew into his countrie. The English armie following him, wasted the countrie of Louthian, till at length by mediation of certeine religious men, a truce was granted to the Scots to indure till the feast of S. Hilarie. For the which truce happilie some rewards went betwixt, and so the English lords with spoiles and gaines returned homewards.

The king of Scots inuadeth Northumberland.

He retireth.

The English spoile Louthian.

A truce.

A few daies after these luckie chances thus happening to king Henrie, king Lewes perceiuing fortune to be on that side, determined to assaie whether he could obteine his purpose by some meanes of treatie or at the least put king Henrie in hope of a peace for a time, knowing that he would rather suffer all discommodities whatsoeuer, than once to trie the matter by battell with his sonnes: wherefore he offered to come to a communication with him betwixt Gisors and Trie, shewing bread in the one hand (as they say) and hiding a stone in the other.

Rog. Houed. A treatie of peace.

King Henrie was easilie intreated to heare of anie talke for peace, and therefore comming to the place on tuesdaie the fiftéenth daie of September, made so large offers, that he had almost conuerted the yong mens minds vnto concord. First he offered to his sonne Henrie the yong king, the moitie or one halfe of all the reuenues belonging to the demaines of the crowne within England, and foure conuenient castels within the same. Or if his sonne had rather remaine in Normandie, he offered the halfe of all the reuenues of that duchie, with all the rents and profits that were his fathers perteining to the earledome of Anion, with certeine castels in Normandie, one castell in Anion, one in Maine, and one in Towraine. To his sonne Richard, he offered halfe the reuenues of Guien, and foure conuenient castels in the same. And to his sonne Geffrey he offered all those lands that belonged by right of inheritance vnto the daughter of Conanerle of Britaine, if he might by the popes good licence marrie hir. And further king Henrie the father yeelded himselfe to stand to the order of the archbishop of Tharent and other the popes legats, not refusing to giue his sonnes what rents and reuenues soeuer they should say were reasonable, reseruing onelie to himselfe the administration of iustice, and the power roiall.

Rog. Houed. The offer of K. Henrie the father to his sonnes.

These seemed to be large offers, but yet they could not be accepted. For certeine sonnes of Belial, set vpon nothing but mischéefe, troublers of common peace and quietnesse, wrought so with them, that no conditions of peace (were the same neuer so reasonable) could content them, so that without effect this communication brake vp, but not without contumelious words passed betwixt the parties, insomuch that the earle of Leicester (who being put from all his aid in England, was come ouer to the French king to purchase aid at his hands) could not restraine but giuing credit to the old adage,

Homo extra corpus suum est cum irascitur,

Pub. Mim.

after many opprobrious words vttered against king Henrie the father, laid hand on his sword to haue striken him, but the standers by would not suffer him and so they departed; which rash attempt or rather disloiall enterprise,

The earle of Leicester offred to strike the king.

Non sani esse hominis non sanus iuret Oreste.

On the morrow after, the French and English skirmished togither betwixt Curseils and Gisors, in which conflict Enguerane Chastillone de Trie was taken prisoner by earle William de Mandeuille, who presented him to the king of England. King Lewes though he iudged it his part to preserue his sonne in law from danger, yet he ment nothing lesse than to ioine battell with the English at that present. But within a few daies after, he sent Robert earle of Leicester into England with an armie of Flemings and others, there to ioine with Hugh Bigot, that both of them might as well by force as faire promises and gentle persuasions bring the whole realme vnto the obedience of king Henrie the sonne.

The earle of Leicester therefore landing at Walton the 21. of September, passed through the countrie vnto Fremingham, where he was receiued of Hugh Bigot earle of Northfolke; and after that an other fleet of Flemings were arriued for their aid, they went vnto Gipswich, where when they had remained a few daies, and augmented their forces by certeine bands of men of warre that belonged vnto earle Bigot, they went to the castell of Haghenet

Additions to Iohn Pike.

Rog. Houed.

(that belonged vnto Ranulph Blöc) which they toke, spoiled & burned, & then returned to Fremingham.

After this, hearing that the countesse of Leicester was arriued at Dereford with an other power of Flemings, they went to méet hir: and so the earle of Leicester, hauing now a strong armie about him, toke leaue of earle Bigot, and ment to passe through the countrie into Leicestershire, there to succour his frends, and to worke some feat for the behoofe and furtherance of their quarell.

In the meane time the arriuall of the earle of Leicester being knowne, the people of the countrie were assembled togither. Also Richard Lucie lord chéefe iustice, and Humfrey de Boun high constable of England, with the kings power of horsemen which latelie before had béene in Scotland and made inrodes there (as before is mentioned) came with all spéed to saue the countrie from spoile, hauing first taken a truce (as before is said) with the king of Scots, till the feast of Saint Hilarie next ensuing (or rather Ester) hostages being deliuered on both sides. Upon knowledge then had where the enimies were lodged, and what they intended to do, the said Richard Lucie & Humfrey de Boun came to Saint Edmundsburie, whither Reignold earle of Cornewall the kings vncle, Robert earle of Gloucester, and William erle of Arundell resorted.

In the meane while, the earle of Leicester passed forward on his waie so farre as Fornham a little village beside S. Edmundsburie. The lord chéefe iustice & the earls before mentioned with a great armie, and amongst others the said Humfrey de Boun, who had the leading of 300. knights, or men of armes at the kings wages, came out of S. Edmundsburie, hauing the baner of S. Edmund borne before them, & in a marish ground betwixt Fornham & Edmundsburie, they encountred with the said earle of Leicester, and after long and cruell fight discomfited his people, and toke him prisoner, togither with his wife the countesse Petronill, after he had done all that belonged to a valiant capteine.

Some write that there were killed on that day of his people to the number of ten thousand [and almost as manie taken] verelie [all the footmen of the Flemings being in number foure or fiue thousand were either taken or slaine:] the residue that escaped fled towards Leicester, that they might both defend the towne & themselues from the danger of their foes.

¶ But here is to be noted, that it séemeth by the report of some writers, how the earle of Leicester had not so great an armie there at that battell, as by others account of the number slaine and taken it should appeare he had. For at his departure from his companion in armes Hugh Bigot, he toke vpon him to passe through the countrie (as some write) partlie vpon trust that he had of the force and number of his souldiers, being about foure or fiue thousand stout and valiant footmen, besides 80 chosen and well appointed horsemen; and partlie in hope that manie of those which were in his aduersaries campe, would rather turne to him than fight against him.

He had a great confidence in the Flemings, who indéed presumed much vpon their owne strength, so that they made account of some great conquest, in such wise, that when they came into any large plaine where they might rest, they would take eth others by the hand, and leading a danse, sing in their countrie language,

Hop hop Wilkine, hop Wilkine,
England is mine and thine.

King Henrie receiuing aduertisement of the victorie which his capteines had thus gotten in England, was maruellous ioifull, and commanded that the prisoners should be brought ouer vnto him into Normandie: which being done, he went into Anion, and there fortified the towns and castels of the countrie with sure garrisons of men, to resist all sudden inuasions, secret practises, and other attempts of the enimies. On the feast of S. Andrew the apostle, he toke the towne of Vandosme by force, which Buchard de Lauerdin held against him, hauing first expelled his father the earle of Vandosme.

About this season, or rather somewhat before, king Henrie the father (contrarie to the prohibition of the king his sonne) and after the appeale made vnto the pope) gaue not onelie vnto Richard prior of Douer, the archbishoprike of Canturburie; but also to Reignold Fitz Joceline the bishoprike of Bath; to Richard de Worcester archdeacon of Poictiers the bishoprike of Winchester; to Robert Foliot the bishoprike of Hereford; to Geffrey Ridell archdeacon of Canturburie he gaue the bishoprike of Elie, and to John de Drenford the bishoprike of Chichester.

But now to our purpose. The nobles of the realme of England (after the *battell of S. Edmundsburie) with an infinit number of men went against Hugh Bigot in purpose to abate his pride. But whereas they might easilie haue had him at their pleasure, by meanes of such summes of monie as he gaue in bribes, a peace was granted to him till Whitsuntide, within which time hauing gotten togither fourtéene thousand Flemings, he passed through Ester, and so getting ouer into Kent, came to Douer, where he toke ship and transported ouer into France.

King Henrie the father held his Christmasse this yeare at Caen in Normandie, about which time a truce was made betwixt him and king Lewes to endure till Easter, or (as others write) for the terme of six moneths. For ye haue to vnderstand, that the fame of the victorie gotten by the capteines of king Henrie the father against the earle of Leicester (being not onlie spred through England, but also blown ouer into France) put those that toke part with him in great feare; but speciallie king Lewes mistrusting the matter began to wax wearie that he had attempted so far, and sustained so great trauell and expenses in another mans cause.

Whilest this truce indured, the archbishop of Canturburie being readie to returne home in despaire of his businesse, vpon a feigned rumor spred that there was a peace concluded betwixt the two kings, the father and sonne, he was called backe and consecrated by the pope the sundaie after Easter: and then furnished with the dignities of primat and legat of England, and other priuileges according, he toke his waie homewards towards England, after he had laid forth great summes of monie to disappoint the purposes of his aduersaries.

This peare in June, the lord Geffrey the elect of Lincolne the kings sonne besieged the castell which Roger de Mowbray had repaired at Kinard Ferie, within the Ile of Orholme, and compelling the souldiers within to yéeld, he beat downe and raced the same castell vnto the verie ground. Robert Mowbray constable of that castell, as he passed thorough the countrie towards Leicester, there to procure some aid, was taken by the men of Clare, and kept as prisoner. Moreouer, the said elect of Lincolne toke the castell of Malesert that belonged to the said Roger Mowbray, which being now taken, was deliuered vnto the kéeping of the archbishop of Yorke. The said elect also fortified a castell at Topcliffe, and toke it to the kéeping of William Stuteuille. In this meane while the king toke the strengths and fortresses which his sonne Richard had fortified at Fantes, and in the same forts and church (which was also fortified against him) 60. knights or men of armes, and 400. archbalisters, that is, the best of them that bare

(The earle of Leicester taken prisoner.)

Rog. Houed. Polydor.

Wil. Paruus.

Matth. Paris.

R. Houed. (The towne of Vandosme woone.)

(See his letter before in page 85.)

Matt. Paris. *which was fought on the 17. of October.

Anno. Reg. 20. 1174

Ger. Dor.

bare crossebowes.

The oth of the earle of Flanders.

Philip earle of Flanders in the presence of the French king and other the peeres of France, laieng his hand vpon the holie relikes, sware that within 15. daies next insuing the feast of S. John then instant to enter England with an armie, and to doo his best to subdue the same to king Henrie the son. Upon trust whereof the yong king the more presuming came downe to Whitsand, the 14. daie of Julie, that he might from thence send ouer into England Rafe de la Haie with certeine bands of souldiers. Before this the earle of Flanders had sent ouer 318. knights or men of armes, as we may call them. But after their arriuall at Dwell, which chanced the 14. of June, by reason that their associats were dispersed, and for the more part subdued, they toke with them earle Hugh Bigot, and marching to Norwich, assaulted the citie and wan it, gaining there great riches, and specially in readie monie, and led awaie a great sort of prisoners whome they ransomed at their pleasure. This chanced the 18. of June.

Additions to Iohn Pike.

Matth. Paris. Ger. Dor.

¶ I remember that William Paruus writeth, that the citie of Norwich was taken by the Flemings that came ouer with the earle of Leicester in the yeare last past, by the conduct of the said earle before he was taken, and that after he had taken that citie, being accompanied with earle Bigot, he led those Flemings also vnto Dunwich, purposing to win and sacke that towne also: but the inhabitants being better prouided against the comming of their enimies than they of Norwich were, shewed such countenance of defense, that they preserued their towne from that danger, so that the two earles with Flemings were constreined to depart without atchiuing their purpose. But whether that this attempt against Dunwich was made by the earle of Leicester (before his taking) in companie of earle Bigot, I haue not to auouch. But verelie for the winning of Norwich, I suppose that William Paruus mistaketh the time, except we shall saie that it was twise taken, as first by the earle of Leicester in the yeare 1173. For it is certeine by consent of most writers, and especiallie those that haue recorded particularlie the incidents that chanced here in this land during these troubles betwixt the king and his sons, that it was taken now this yeare 1174. by earle Bigot (as before we haue shewed.)

But now to proceed. The lords that had the rule of the land for king Henrie the father, perceiuing earle Bigots proceedings, sent knowledge thereof with all expedition to the king, as yet remaining in the parties beyond the seas. Whilest these things were a doing, although the minds of manie of the conspirators against king Henrie the father were inclined to peace, yet Roger Mowbray, and Hugh Bigot (by reason of this new supplie of men got out of Flanders) ceassed not to attempt fresh exploits: and cheeflie they solicited the matter in such wise with William king of Scotland, that whilest they in other quarters of the realme plaied their parts, he entred into the confines of Cumberland, and first besieged the citie of Carleil, but perceiuing he could not win it in any short time, he left one part of his armie to keepe siege before it, and with the residue marched into the countrie alongst by the riuer of Eden, taking by force the castels of Bourgh and Applebie, with diuerse other. This done, he passed ouer the riuer, and came through Northumberland (wasting the countrie as he went) vnto Alnewike, which place he attempted to win, though his labour therein proued but in vaine.

Additions to Iohn Pike.

The king of Scots inuadeth England.

Castels won by the Scots.

This enterprise which he made into Northumberland, he toke in hand cheefelie at the suit and request of Roger Mowbray, from whome Geffrey (who after was bishop of Lincolne) K. Henries eldest base son had taken two of his castels, so that he kept the third with much adoo. He had giuen his eldest sonne in hostage vnto the said king of Scots for assurance of such couenants to be kept on his behalfe as were passed betwixt them. In the meane time one Duncane or Rothland, with an other part of the Scotish armie entered into Kendall, and wasted that countrie in most cruell wise, neither sparing age nor sex, insomuch that he brake into the churches, slue those that were fled into the same for safegard of their liues as well preests as other. The English power of horsemen which passed not the number of 400. was assembled at Newcastell, vnder the leading of Robert de Stouteuille, Rafe Glanuille, William Vrsie, Bernard Baliolle [and Odonet de Umfreuille.]

Polydor. Duncane a Scotish capteine wasteth Kendall.

Wil. Paruus. R. Houed.

These capteines hauing knowledge that Duncane was in one side of the countrie, and king William in another, determined to issue forth and trie the chance of warre (which is doubtfull and vncerteine, according to the old saieng,

Fortuna belli semper ancipiti in loco est) Sen. in Thy.

against the enimies, sith it should be a great rebuke to them to suffer the countrie to be wasted after that sort without reuengement. Herevpon riding forth one morning, there arose such a thicke fog and mist that they could not discerne any waie about them, so that doubting to fall within the laps of their enimies at vnwares, they staied a while to take aduise what should be best for them to doo. Now when they were almost fullie resolued to haue turned backe againe, by the comfortable words and bold exhortation of Bernard Baliolle, they changed their purpose, and rode forward, till at length the northerne wind began to waken, and driue awaie the mist, so that the countrie was discouered vnto them, and perceiuing where Alnewike stood, not knowing as yet whether the Scots had woone it or not, they staied their pace, and riding softlie, at length learning by the inhabitants of the countrie, that the Scotish king despairing to win Alnewike, had raised his siege from thence the same day, they turned streight thither, and lodging there all night, in the morning got to their horsses verie earelie, riding forth towards the enimies that were spred abroad in the countrie to forrey the same. They had anon espied where the king was, and incontinentlie compassed him about on euerie side, who perceiuing the English horsemen readie thus to assaile him, with all diligence called backe his men from the spoile; but the more part of them being straied far off through the sweetnes they found in getting of preies, could not heare the sound of the trumpets, yet notwithstanding with those his horsemen which he could get togither, he encountred the English men which came vpon him verie hastilie.

Bernard de Baliolle.

The battell was begun verie fiercelie at the first, and well fought for a time, but the Scotish horsemen being toiled before in forreseng the countrie, could not long continue against the fierce assault of the English, but were either beaten downe, or else constreined to saue themselues by flight. The king with a few other (who at the first had begun the battell) was taken. Also manie of the Scots who being far off, and yet hearing of the skirmish, came running toward the place, were taken yer they could vnderstand how the matter had passed. This taking of the king of Scots was on a saturdaie, being the seuenth of Julie.

The king of Scots taken.

Ger. Dor.

The English capteines hauing thus taken the Scotish king in the midst of his armie, conteining the number of 80000 men, returned to Newcastell, greatlie reioising of their good successe, aduertising

Wil. Paruus.

king Henrie the father hereof with all speed, who as then was come ouer from Normandie, and was (the same day that the Scotish king was taken) at Canturburie, making his praiers there before the sepulture of the archbishop Becket (as after it shall appéere.)

Matt. Paris. Matth. West. Wil. Paruus. Ger. Dor.

Polydor.

In the meane while and somewhat before this time, the earle of Leicesters men, which laie at Leicester vnder the conduct of Robert Ferreis earle of Darbie (as some write) or rather of Anketille Malozie constable or gouernour (if we shall so call him, as Roger Houeden saith) came to Northampton, where they fought with them of that towne, and getting the victorie, tooke two hundred prisoners, and slue or wounded nére hand as manie more, and so with this good successe in that enterprise returned againe to Leicester, from whence they first set forth. The kings horsemen herevpon came streightwaies to Northampton, and following the enimies, could not ouertake them.

This chanced a little after whitsuntide.

Rob. Ferreis.

Robert Ferreis earle of Darbie being now come vnto Leicester in aid of them that laie there, staied not past ten daies: but finding meanes to increase his number of horsemen, suddenlie made to Notingham, which Reignold de Lucie had in kéeping, and comming thither earelie in the morning tooke it, droue out the kings souldiers that laie there in garison, burned the towne, slue the inhabitants, and diuided their goods amongst his souldiers: which thing put the countrie about in such feare, that manie of the inhabitants submitted themselues vnto him.

Polydor. Rog. Houed. Notingham taken.

King Henrie the sonne being hereof aduertised by letters oftentimes sent vnto him by this Robert Ferreis, and other his frends here in England, effsones conceiued some good hope to obteine his purpose: and therefore determined to prepare for the warre. Herevpon he purchased aid of king Lewes, who (because the truce which he had taken with king Henrie the father was now expired) thought it was reason to further his sonne in lawes enterprise so farre as in him laie. Wherefore he made his prouision at Graueling, and there incamping with his people, staied till his ships were readie to transport him and his armie, which consisted of certeine horsemen, and of a number of Brabanders.

Wil. Paruus.

King Henrie the father being informed both of his sonnes purpose, and of the doings in England, with all possible spéed determined to passe ouer into England, and therefore got his souldiers a shipboord, among whom were certeine bands of his Brabanders: and so sone as the wind blew to his mind, he caused the sailes to be hoised vp, and the naue to set forward. Being landed, he repaired first vnto Canturburie, there to make his praiers, doubting least the bloud of the archbishop Thomas Becket being shed through his occasion, did yet require vengeance against him for that fact. From Canturburie he came to London, and tooke order for the placing of capteins with their bands in certeine townes about the coast, to defend the landing places, where he thought his sonne was like to arriue. Then went he to Huntington, and subdued the castell there the 19. of Julie: for the knights and other souldiers that were within it yéelded themselues to the kings mercie, their liues and limbs saued.

Polydor.

Wil. Paruus.

Huntington castell wonne.

After this, assembling his people on all sides, he made his generall musters at S. Edmundsburie, and determined to besiege the castels of Bunghey and Fremingham, which the earle Hugh Bigot held against him, who mistrusting that he was not able to defend himselfe and those places against the king, agreed with the king to haue peace, paieng him the summe of a thousand markes by condition. This agréement was concluded the 25. of Julie. Herevpon on a multitude of the Flemings which Philip earle of Flanders had sent into England (as before is mentioned) vpon their oth receiued, not afterwards to come as enimies into England, had licence to returne into their countrie. Also the bands of souldiers that came into the realme with Rafe de la Haie departed without impechment by the kings sufferance.

R. Houed.

Matth. Paris. Earle Bigot is accorded with the K.

The Flemings sent home.

The king having thus accomplished that which stood with his pleasure in those parties, remoued from thence and drew towards Northampton. To which towne after his comming thither, the king of Scots was brought with his féet bound vnder the horses bellie. Thither also came the bishop of Durham, and deliuered to the king the castels of Durham, Norham, and Allerton. Thither also came to the king Roger Mowbraie, and surrendred to him the castell of Treske, and Robert earle Ferreis deliuered vp into his hands the castels of Tutburie and Duffield, and Anketill Mallozie, and William de Diue constables to the earle of Leicester yéelded to the king the castels of Cicester, Grobie, and Mountsorell, to the intent that he should deale more courteoulie with the earle their maister. Also William earle of Gloucester, and earle Richard of Clare submitted themselues to the king, and so he brought all his aduersaries within the realme of England vnto such subiection as he himselfe wished; so that the king hauing atchiued the vpper hand of his enimies returned to London.

The king of Scots presented to the king of England.

The earle of Gloucester.

The earle Richard of Clare

¶ All this hurlie burlie and bloudie tumult, was partlie to be ascribed to the king himselfe, who ouer tenderlie fauouring his sonne, did deiect and abase himselfe to aduance the other; partlie to the ambitious disposition of the youth, who was charged with rotaltie, before he had learned sufficient loialtie, else would he not haue made insurrections against his father, that himself might obteine the monarchie, and the old king do him homage: and partlie to the quénes discontented or rather malicious mind, whose dutie it had béene (notwithstanding such dishonour done hir by the king in abusing his bodie vnlawfullie) so little to haue thought of stirring commotions betwixt the father and the sonnes, that she should rather haue lulled the contention asléepe, and done what she possiblie could to quench the feruent fier of strife with the water of pacification. But true it is that hath béene said long ago,

Mulier nihil nouit nisi quod vult,
Et plenum malorum est onus.

Pub. Mim.

But what insued herevpon euen by waie of chastisement, but that which commonlie lighteth vpon tumult-raisers; namelie, either losse of life, or at least restraint of libertie? For the king after this happie atchiuement of his warlike affaires, being ruled by reason and aduise (as it is likelie) would not that so smoking a fierbrand (as quéene Elianor had prooued hirselfe to be) should still annoie his eies, and therefore (whether in angrie or quiet mood, that is doubtfull) he committed hir to close prison, because she had procured his sons Richard and Geffrey to ioine with their elder brother against him their father (as before ye haue partlie heard.)

Quéene Elianor is committed to close prison.

But to proceed, king Lewes being aduertised that there was no great number of men of war left in Normandie to defend the countrie, raised a power, and comming to Rouen, besieged it verie streitlie. Shortlie after also king Henrie the sonne and Philip earle of Flanders came thither, meaning to obteine the possession of Normandie first, and after to go into England. The citizens of Rouen perceiuing in what danger they stood, without faint harts prepared all things necessarie for defense, and did euerie thing in order, purposing not to giue ouer their citie for any threats or menaces of their enimies,

Polydor.

Rouen besieged by the Frēch king. Wil. Paruus.

nies. Now whilest they within were busie in deuising how to repell the assault, and to defend themselues, the aduersaries about midnight came forth of their campe, and approching the walles with their ladders, raised them vp, and began to scale the citie. But the citizens being aduised thereof, boldlie got them to the lops and towers, ouerthrew the ladders of the enimies that were comming vp, and with arrowes, stones and darts beat them backe, to their great losse and ouerthrow. Howbeit though the enimies could not preuaile thus to get the citie by this assault, yet they continued the siege, and suffered not them within to be in quiet, but daie and night assailed them by one meanes or other.

Rog. Houed. King Henrie returneth into Normandie.

King Henrie the father being aduertised hereof, after he had set his businesse in order, touching the suertie and safe defense of the English estate, he returned into Normandie, and landed at Harflet on a thursdaie being the eight daie of August, bringing backe againe with him his Brabanders, and a thousand Welshmen. In this meane while, king Lewes continued still his siege before Rouen, constreining them within by all meanes he could deuise to yeld vp their citie. At length came the feast of Saint Laurence, on which daie the French king commanded that no man should attempt any enterprise against the citizens, granting them truce for that day, in worship of that saint. This truce was so acceptable a thing to them within, that they forgetting themselues, without all respect to the danger wherein the citie stood, threw off their armour, and gaue themselues to sléepe and rest. Some also fell to banketting and other pastimes in verie dissolute maner.

¶ But through this their remisse vsage and lose behauiour, and forgetting that a temporarie truce is no safe warrant of securitie and peace, they deriued danger and destruction to themselues; which it had béene their parts prouidentlie to haue preuented, and not through their carelesnesse to set open a gap of aduantage to their enimies, who pursued them with professed hostilitie, notwithstanding they reposed confidence in the truce that was granted. Herein they are to be resembled to the cooks of whome Plautus speaketh verie neatlie, saieng,

——coquos equidem nimis
Demiror, qui tot vtuntur condimentis, eos eo
Condimento non vtier quod præstat omnibus,

Meaning sobrietie: so these delighting more in their dishes, than mistrusting their enimies, remembred to take the vse of any pleasure that the conuenientnesse of this present time might proffer; onelie as cookes among all their sawces do mind nothing lesse than sobernesse: so these in the abundance of their ioles, thought nothing of afterclaps, which afterwards made them (like soles) to sing an vnhappie had I wist. For the Frenchmen, perceiuing this their negligence, required licence of the French king to giue assault to the citie, declaring in what state the matter presentlie stood; who not meaning to violate the reuerence of that day, and his promised faith, with any such vnlawfull attempt, commanded his men of warre that made the request in no wise to stirre. Howbeit the souldiers vpon couetousnesse of the spoile, raised the ladders to that part of the wall which they iudged to be most without warders, so that some of them mounting aloft, got vp, and were about to helpe vp their fellowes.

The Frenchmen assault the citie, without commandement of their king. Two préests.

Now it happened (as God would haue it) that two préests being gone vp into the steeple of the chéefe church, to loke about them for their pleasures, fortuned to sée where the French men were about to enter the citie, and streightwaies gaue knowledge to the citizens beneath. Where vpon the alarum rose, insomuch that with all spéed the people ran to the place, and with such violence came vpon their enimies which were entred vpon the walles, that streightwaies they slue manie of them, and chased the residue out of the ditches, so that they returned with bléeding wounds to their campe, repenting them of their vnhappie enterprise, that turned them to such woe and greeuance.

The French men are repelled.

The same day a little before night, king Henrie the father came vnto Rouen, and was receiued into the citie with great ioy and gladnesse: for he came thither by chance, euen about the time that the citie had thus like to haue bin surprised & taken at vnwares. Polydor.

¶ There be that write, how the French king (immediatlie vpon the arriuall of king Henrie) left his field and departed, greatlie to his dishonor, burning vp his engines of warre, and not staieng till his men might haue leisure to charge their wagons with their armor and other stuffe, which they were glad to leaue behind for a prey to the English men issuing forth vpon them. But other declare, that the French king being nothing abashed of king Henries comming, continued the siege, in hope to win the citie. Matt. Paris.

The next day earlie in the morning (or as other say in the night season) the king did send forth a certeine number of Welshmen to passe ouer the riuer of Saine, which they did, and by force made themselues waie through the French campe, getting without losse or danger vnto a great wood, and slue that day of their aduersaries aboue an hundred men. After this, lieng abroad in the countrie, they skirmished dailie with the French horsemen, and oft times cut off such prouision of vittels as came to nourish the campe. The king himselfe on the other side remaining within the citie, caused his people to issue out at the gates, and to kéepe the enimies occupied with skirmishes afore the citie. And moreouer, where there was a great trench cast betwixt the French campe and the walles of the citie, he caused the same to be filled vp with fagots, stones, and earth. But although the French men sawe this the kings déed well enough, yet none of them issued forth of their tents to hinder the English of their purpose. R. Houed. The Welshmens good seruice. Nic. Triuet. Rog. Houed.

Now king Lewes being sore vexed with his enimies on ech side, and perceiuing the citie would not be woone within any short time, began to wax wearie, and to repent himselfe (as afore) for taking in hand so chargeable and great a warre for another mans quarell. Whereupon he caused William bishop of Sens, and Theobald earle of Blois to go to king Henrie, and to promise vpon forbearance from warre for a time, to find means to reconcile him and his sonnes, betweene whome vnnaturall variance rested. Whereof K. Henrie being most desirous, and taking a truce, appointed to come to Gisors [in the feast of the natiuitie of our ladie] there to meet king Lewes, that they might talke of the matter and bring it to some good end. The French king maketh an ouerture for peace. N. Triuet. A truce.

The French king, so soone as he knew that truce was taken, raised his siege, and returning home, within a few daies after (according to the appointment) came to Gisors, and there communed with king Henrie: but bicause he could not make any agréement betwixt him and his sonnes at that time, he appointed another time to meet about it. King Henrie the father (whilest the truce continued with the French king) and his sonne Henrie went to Poictou, where his sonne Richard (whilest his father had béene occupied in other places) had gotten the most part of the countrie into his possession. But now hearing of his fathers comming, and that a truce was taken with the French king and with his brother, he considered with himselfe, that without their assistance he was not able to withstand his fa- The French king leaueth his siege.

Richard the kings sonne prepareth to resist his father.

thers power. Howbeit at length choosing rather to trie the matter with force of armes, than cowardlie to yéeld, he prepared for defense, furnishing diuerse townes and castels with garisons of men: and assembling togither all the other power that he was able to make, came into the field, & pitched his tents not far off from his father. In the meane while, which way soeuer his father passed, the townes and castels submitted themselues vnto him, so that Richard began to despaire of the matter, insomuch that he durst not approch néere his father, but kept aloofe, doubting to be entrapped.

He beginneth to despaire of good successe.

At length when he had considered his owne state, and weied how vnthankefullie the French king and his brother had dealt with him, in hauing no consideration of him at such time as they toke truce, he determined to alter his purpose, and hauing some good hope in his fathers clemencie, thought best to trie it, which he found to be the best waie that he could haue taken. For oftentimes it chanceth, that latter thoughts are better aduised than the first, as the old saieng is,

Polydor.

Δεύτεραι φρόντιδες σοφώτεραι.

Herevpon Richard laieng armour aside, came of his owne accord vnto his father on the 21. of September, and asked pardon. His father most courteously receiuing him, made so much of him as though he had not offended at all. Which example of courtesie preuailed much to the alluring of his other sons to come to a reconciliation. For the bringing whereof to spéedie effect, he sent this Richard vnto king Lewes, and to his other sonne Henrie, to commen with them of peace, at which time earle Richard did so effectuallie his message, that he brought them both in good forwardnesse to agree to his fathers purpose, so that there was a daie appointed for them to meet with their father, betwixt Towres in Touraine and Ambois.

The son submitteth himselfe to the father.

Ger. Dor.

King Henrie reioising hereat, kept his daie (being the morrow after the feast of S. Michaell) and there met him both king Lewes, and his two sonnes Henrie and Geffrey, where finallie the father and the sonnes were accorded; he promising to receiue them into fauour vpon these conditions.

The father & sonnes are accorded.

The conditions of the agreement.

1 First the prisoners to be released frælie without ransome on both sides, and their offenses, which had taken either the one part or the other, to be likewise pardoned.

R. Houed.

2 Out of this article were excepted all those which before the concluding of this peace had alreadie compounded for their raunsomes, as the king of Scots, the earles of Leicester and Chester, and Rafe Fulgiers, with their pledges.

3 It was also agréed, that all those castels which had bene builded in time of this warre, should be raced and throwne downe, and all such cities, townes, castels, countries and places, as had bene wone by either part during these wars, should be restored vnto those persons that held the same, and were in possession of them 15. daies before the departure of the sonnes from king Henrie the father.

4 That king Henrie the father should assigne to his sons more large reuenues for maintenance of their estates, with a caution included, that they should not spend the same riotouslie in any prodigall sort or maner.

R. Houed.

5 To the king his sonne, he gaue two castels in Normandie, with an increase of yearelie reuenues, to the summe of 15. thousand pounds Anioun.

Richard.

6 To his sonne Richard he gaue two houses in Poictou, with the one halfe of all the reuenues of the countie of Poictou to be receiued and taken in readie monie.

Geffrey.

7 And to his sonne Geffrey he granted in monie, the moitie of that which he should haue by the mariage of earle Conans daughter, and after he had maried hir by licence purchased of the pope, he should enioy all the whole liuings and reuenues that descended to hir, as in hir fathers writing therof more at large was conteined.

8 On the other part, king Henrie the son couenanted to & with the king his father, that he would performe and confirme all those gifts, which his father should grant out of his lands, & also all those gifts of lands which he either had made and assured, or hereafter should make and assure vnto any of his men for any of their seruices: & likewise those gifts which he had made vnto his sonne John the brother of king Henrie the sonne; namelie, a thousand pounds in lands by yeare in England of his demaine and ercheats with the appurtenances, and the castell and countie of Notingham, with the castell of Marleborough, & the appurtenances. Also a thousand pounds Anioun of yearelie reuennes in Normandie, and two castels there. And in Anion a thousand pounds Anioun, of such lands as belonged to the earle of Anion, with one castell in Anion, and one in Touraine, and another in Maine.

John.

Thus were the father and sons agréed and made frends, the sonnes couenanting neuer to withdraw their seruices and bounden duties from their father, but to obeie him in all things from that day forward. Herewith also the peace was renewed betwixt king Henrie and king Lewes, and for the further confirmation, a new aliance was accorded betwixt them, which was, that the ladie Adela the daughter of king Lewes should be giuen in mariage vnto earle Richard the sonne of king Henrie, who because she was not yet of age able to marie, she was conueied into England to be vnder the guiding of king Henrie, till she came to lawfull yeares.

A marriage concluded.

Thus the peace being concluded, king Henrie forgetting all iniuries passed, brought home his sons in maner aforesaid, who being well pleased with the agreement, attended their father into Normandie, where Richard and Geffrey did homage to him, receiuing their othes of allegiance according to the maner in that case required. But king Henrie the sonne did no homage, for his father (in respect that he was a king) would not suffer him, and therefore toke onelie sureties of him for performance of the couenants on his part, as was thought expedient.

Wil. Paruus.

R. Houed. Wil. Paruus saieth that he did homage also.

¶ All this dissention and strife was kindled (no doubt) by the meanes of certeine sowers of discord, sycophants, parasits, flatterers, clawbacks, & pickethanks, who had learned their lesson, that

Principibus placuisse viris non vltima laus est,

and thinking by their embossed spech to tickle the eares and harts of the yong princes, who by reason of their yong yeares and nakednesse of experience in the course of worldlie maters, sought their owne aduancement, euen by flinging firie faggots of dissention betweene them, whose harts naturall affection had vnited. For by the tenor of the storie (marke it who will) we shall see that no attempt of the sons against the father but had originall from the suggestions of euill disposed persons, who (like eles that fatten not in faire running water, but in muddie motes and ponds) sought honour in hurlie burlies, & reached out long armes to riches by manie a ones impouerishment. This to be true, the finall euent and issue proueth; namelie, the mutuall attonement and reconciliation wouen betweene the father and the sonnes; their remorse for their vndutifulnes, his louing fauour and gratiousnesse; their promptnesse to yéeld to conditions of agrement, his forwardnes to giue consent to couenants required; their readinesse to do the old king homage, his acceptable admission

million of their proferred seruice; with other circumstances to be collected out of the storie, all which do proue that this their dissotiall resistance sprang rather by others incitement, than of their owne seeking. Thus we see that alterations happen in the actions of men, and that euill things manie times (though naturallie bad) do inferre their contraries, as one aptlie saith,

Discordia fit charior concordia.

Willi. king of Scots deliuered out of prison with other

At length king Henrie went to Faleise, and there deliuered out of captiuitie William king of Scotland, Robert earle of Leicester, Hugh earle of Chester, with diuerse other Noble men which were kept there as prisoners, putting them to their ransomes, and receiuing of them pledges with an oth of allegiance. This king Henrie the father released for his part the number of nine hundred 69. knights or men of armes (if yée list so to terme them) which had beene taken since the beginning of these passed warres.

Matth. Paris. Prisoners released.

As for king Henrie the sonne he also set at libertie aboue an hundred, and that without ransome paieng, according to the articles of the peace (as before you haue heard.) But yet some (as is alreadie specified) were excepted out of the benefit of that article, as William king of Scotland, who being not able to paie his ransome in present monie, deliuered vp in gage foure of the strongest castels within his realme into king Henries hands, namelie, Barwike, Edenbourgh, Roxbourgh, and Sterling, with condition, that if he brake the peace, and paied not the monie behind due for his raunsome, king Henrie and his successours should enioy for euer the same castels. He also couenanted, not to receiue any English rebels into his realme. Other write that the king of Scots did not onelie become the king of Englands liegeman at this time, and couenanted to do homage vnto him for the realme of Scotland, and all other his lands, but also deliuered the castels of Barwike, and Rorbourgh to be possessed of the same king of England and his heires for euer, without any couenant mentioned of morgage.

Castels deliuered by the K. of Scots.

N. Triuet. Matth. Paris.

Things being setled thus in good order, king Henrie leauing his sonne Henrie at Rouen, went to Argenton, and there held his Christmasse, and afterwards, namelie in the feast of the purification of our ladie, both the kings (as well the father as the sonne) were at Mauns, and vpon their returne from thence into Normandie, came to a communication with the French king at Gisors, and then being come backe into Normandie at Bure, the sonne (to put the father out of all doubt and mistrust of any euill meaning in him) sware fealtie to him against all persons, and so became his liegeman in the presence of Rothrod archbishop of Rouen, Henrie bishop of Baieux William earle of Mandeuille, Richard de Humez his constable, and manie other.

Rog. Houed. 1175

The kings of England and France meet at Gisors.

After this they kept their easter at Chirebourgh, from whence they came to Caen, where they met with Philip earle of Flanders, who had latelie before taken on him the crosse, to go to the holie land: where king Henrie the father required him to release all such couenants as king Henrie the sonne had made vnto him in time of his last warres, which he freelie did, and deliuered vp the writing that he had of the same king concerning those couenants, and so they confirmed vnto him the yearelie rent which he was wont to receiue out of England, before the said warres.

Philip earle of Flanders.

Polydor.

Finallie, when king Henrie had visited the most part of the countrie, he came to Harflew, and caused his naue to be decked and rigged, that he might saile ouer into England. Whilest he tarried here till his ships were readie, he sent letters to his sonne king Henrie, willing him to repaire vnto him, and meaning that he should accompanie him into England. Who at the first was loth to obeie his fathers will and pleasure herein, bicause some enuious persons about him had put in his head a doubt, least his father had not altogither forgot his former grudge, and that he ment at his comming into England to commit him to prison. Which was a surmize altogither void of likelihood, considering that the father, in the whole processe of his actions betweene himselfe and his sonnes, was so farre from the desire of inflicting any corporall punishment, or leueng anie fine vpon them for their misdemenour, that he alwaies sought meanes of reconcilement and pacification. And though this Henrie the sonne for his part deserued to be roughlie dealt withall; yet the father handled him so gentlie with courteous letters & messages, that shortlie after he came of his owne accord vnto Harflew, from whence shortlie after they sailed both togither ouer into England, landing at Portsmouth on a fridaie being the ninth of Maie, from thence they tooke their iournie streight to London, all the waies being full of people that came to see them, and to shew themselues glad and ioifull of their concord and happie arriuall. At their comming to the citie they were receiued with great reioising of the people, beseeching God long to preserue them both in health and honour.

Enuious persons readie to forge matters of suspicion.

The two kings the father and the sonne returne into England.

The same yeare William de Breause hauing got a great number of Welshmen into the castell of Abergauennie, vnder a colourable pretext of communication, proponed this ordinance to be receiued of them with a corporall oth; That no traueller by the waie amongst them should beare any bow, or other vnlawfull weapon. Which oth when they refused to take, bicause they would not stand to that ordinance he condemned them all to death. This deceit he vsed towards them in reuenge of the death of his vncle Henrie of Hereford, whom vpon easter euen before, they had through treason murthered, and were now acquited with the like againe.

William de Breause.

The Welshmē not well dealt withall.

The same yeare died Reignold earle of Cornwall, ballard sonne to king Henrie the first without heirs male, by reason whereof the king toke into his hands all the inheritance of lands and liuings which he held within England, Normandie and Wales, except certeine portions which the daughters of the same earle had by assignement allotted to them. Also Richard earle of Glocester deceassed this yeare, and his sonne Philip succeeded him.

N. Triuet. Reignold erle of Cornewall departed this life.

The same yeare was a synod of the cleargie kept at Westminster, wherein many things were decreed for the conseruation of religion. Amongst other things it was prouided, that those abbeies and churches which were void of gouernours, and could haue none placed in them by the time of the late ciuill warres, should now be committed vnto men worthie to enioy the same, for the reformation of disorders growne and plentifullie sprong vp in time of the vacations.

Matth. West. A synod held at London.

The realme now brought into good order and deliuered from the troubles of warre, as well at home as abroad, the king being at good leisure determined to ride about a great part of the realme, and coming to Yorke, sent for the king of Scots to come and do his homage. Now the king of Scots (according to couenants before concluded) came vnto Yorke in the moneth of August, where doing his homage about the twentith day of the same moneth in S. Peters church, the king granted further by his letters patents, that he and his successours kings of Scotland, should do homage and fealtie to the kings of England, so often as they should be necessarilie required therevnto. In signe and token of which subiection, the king of Scots offered his hat and his sadle

W. Parus. The king of Scots doth homage to the king of England.

dle vpon the altar of S. Peter in Yorke, which for a remembrance hereof was kept there many yeares after that day.

The charter conteining the articles of *the peace and agreement concluded* betwixt the two kings, which was *read in S. Peters church at the same time,* exemplified as followeth.

R. Houed. WIlhelmus rex Scotiæ deuenit homo ligius domini regis Angliæ contra omnes homines, de Scotia & de alijs terris suis, & fidelitatem ei fecit vt ligio domino suo sicut alij homines sui ipsi facere solent. Similiter fecit homagium Henrico filio regis salua fide domini regis patris sui.

2 Omnes vero epis. abbates & clerus terræ Scotiæ & successores sui facient domino regi sicut ligio domino fidelitatem, de quibus habere voluerit, sicut alij episcopi sui ipsi facere solent, & Henrico filio suo & Dauid & hæredibus eorum.

3 Concessit autem rex Scotiæ, & frater eius, & barones, & alij homines sui domino regi, quòd ecclesia Scotiæ talem subiectionem amodò faciet ecclesiæ Angliæ, qualem facere debet, & solebat tempore regum Angliæ prædecessorum suorum.

4 Similiter Richardus episcopus Sancti Andreæ, & Richardus episcopus Dunkelden. & Gaufridus abbas de Dunfermlin. & Herbertus prior de Coldingham concesserunt, vt ecclesia Anglicana illud habeat ius in ecclesia Scotiæ, quod de iure debet habere: & quod ipsi non erunt contra ius Anglicanæ ecclesiæ. Et de hac concessione sicut quando ligiam fidelitatem domino regi & domino Henrico filio suo fecerint, ita eos inde assecurauerint.

5 Hoc idem facient alij episcopi & clerus Scotiæ, per conuentionem inter dominum regem Scotiæ & Dauid fratrem suum & barones suos factam, comites & barones & alij homines de terra regis Scotiæ (de quibus dominus rex habere voluerit) facient ei homagium contra omnem hominem, & fidelitatem vt ligio domino suo sicut alij homines sui facere ei solent, & Henrico filio suo & hæredibus suis salua fide domini regis patris sui. Similiter hæredes regis Scotiæ & baronum & hominum suorum homagium & ligiantiam facient hæredibus domini regis contra omnem hominem.

6 Præterea rex Scotiæ & homines sui nullũ amodò fugitiuum de terra domini regis pro felonia receptabunt, vel in alia terra sua nisi voluerit venire ad rectum in curia domini regis & stare iudicio curiæ. Sed rex Scotiæ & homines sui quàm citius poterunt eum capient, & domino regi reddent, vel iusticiarijs suis aut balliuis suis in Anglia.

7 Si autem de terra regis Scotiæ aliquis fugitiuus fuerit pro felonia in Anglia, nisi voluerit venire ad rectũ in curia domini regis Scotiæ, & stare iudicio curiæ, non receptabitur in terra regis, sed liberabitur hominibus regis Scotiæ, per balliuos domini regis vbi inuentus fuerit.

8 Præterea homines domini regis habebunt terras suas quas habebant, & habere debent de domino rege, & hominibus suis, & de rege Scotiæ & de hominibus suis. Et homines regis Scotiæ habebunt terras suas, quas habebant, & habere debent de domino rege & hominibus suis. Pro ista vero conuentione & fine firmiter obseruando domino regi & Henrico filio suo & hæredibus suis à rege Scotiæ & hæredibus suis, liberauit rex Scotiæ domino regi castellum de Roxburgh, & castellum Puellarum, & castellum de Striueling, in manu domini regu, & ad custodienda castella assignabit rex Scotiæ de redditu suo mesurabiliter ad voluntatem domini regis.

9 Præterea pro prædicta conuentione & fine exequendo, liberauit rex Scotiæ domino regi Dauid fratrem suum in obsidem & comitem Duncanum, & comitem Waldenum, similiter alios comites & barones cum alijs viris potentibus quorum numerus 18. Et quando castella reddita fuerint illis, rex Scotiæ & Dauid frater suus liberabuntur. Comites quidem & barones prænominati vnusquisq; postquam liberauerit obsidem suum, scilicet filium legitimum, qui habuerit, & alij nepotes suos vel propinquiores sibi hæredes, & castellis vt dictum est redditis liberabuntur.

10 Præterea rex Scotiæ & barones sui prænominati assecurauerunt, quòd ipsi bona fide, & sine malo ingenio, & sine occasione facient vt episcopi & barones & cæteri homines terræ suæ, qui non affuerunt quando rex Scotiæ cum domino rege finiuit: eandem ligiantiam & fidelitatem domino regi & Henrico filio suo quam ipsi fecerunt, & vt barones, & homines qui affuerunt obsides, liberabunt domino regi de quibus habere voluerit.

10 11 Præterea epis. comites & barones conuentionauerunt domino regi & Henrico filio suo, quòd si rex Scotiæ aliquo casu à fidelitate domini regis & filij, & à conuentione prædicta recederet, ipsi cum domino rege tenebunt sicut cum ligio domino suo contra regem Scotiæ, & contra omnes homines ei inimicantes. Et episcopi sub interdicto ponent terram regis Scotiæ donec ipse ad fidelitatem domini regis redeat.

12 Prædictam itaq; conuentionem firmiter obseruandam bona fide, & sine malo ingenio domino regi & Henrico filio suo & hæredibus suis à Wilhelmo rege Scotiæ & Dauid fratre suo 20 & baronibus suis prædictis, & hæredibus eorum assecurauit ipse rex Scotiæ, & Dauid frater eius, & omnes barones sui prænominati sicut ligij homines domino regis contra omnem hominem, & Henrici filij sui (salua fidelitate patris sui) hijs testibus, Richardo episcopo Abrincensi, & Iohanne Salisburiæ decano, & Roberto abbate Malmesburiæ, & Radulpho abbate Mundesburg, nec non alijs abbatibus, comitibus & baronibus, & duobus filijs suis scilicet Richardo & Galfrido.

These things being recited in the church of S. Peters in Yorke, in the presence of the said kings, & of Dauid the king of Scots brother, and before an innumerable number of other people, the bishops, earles, barons and knights of Scotland sware fealtie to the king of England and to Henrie his sonne, and to their heires against all men, as to their liege and souereigne lords.

King Henrie hauing ended his businesse at Yorke with the king of Scots and others, which likewise did homage to him there, returned to London, in the octaues of S. Michaell, and he called a parlement at Windsor, whereat were present king Henrie the sonne, Richard archbishop of Canturburie, and other bishops of England, Laurence archbishop of Dublin with a great number of earles and barons of this realme. About the same time the archbishop of Tuamon, and the abbat of S. Brandon, with Laurence the chancellor of Roderike king of Connagh in Ireland were come as ambassadours from the said Roderike, vnto king Henrie, who willinglie heard them, as he that was more desirous to grow to some accord with those sauage people by some friendlie order, than to war with them that had nothing to lose: so that he might in pursuing of them seeme to fish with an hooke of gold. Therefore in this parlement the matter was debated, and in the end a peace concluded at the request of the said ambassadours, the king appointing Roderike to paie vnto him in token of subiection, a tribute of ox hides.

40 A parlement at windsor.

Ambassadors from K. Connagh.

A tribute of ox hides.

The charter of the agreement was *written and subscribed in forme* as followeth.

The tenor of the charter of the agreement. HAec est finis & concordia quæ facta fuit apud Windshore in octauis sancti Michaelis an. Gratiæ 1175. inter dominum regem Angliæ Henr. secundum, & Rodericum regem Conaciæ, per catholicum Tuamensem archiep. & abbatem C. sancti Brandani, & magistrum Lcancellarium regis Conaciæ.

1 Scilicet quòd rex Angliæ concedit prædicto Roderito ligio homini suo regnum Conaciæ, quamdiu ei fideliter seruiet, vt sit rex sub eo, paratus ad seruicium suum sicut homo suus, & vt teneat terram suam ita bene & in pace, sicut tenuit antequam dominus rex Angliæ intraret Hiberniam, reddendo ei tributum

tum & totam aliam terram, & habitatores terræ habeat sub se, & insticiet vt tributum regi Angliæ integrè persoluant, & per manum eius sua iura sibi conseruent. Et illi qui modò tenent, teneant in pace quamdiu manserint in fidelitate regis Angliæ, & fideliter & integrè persoluerint tributum & alia iura sua quæ ei debent per manum regis Conaciæ, saluo in omnibus iure & honore domini regis Angliæ & suo.

2 *Et si qui ex eis regi Angliæ & ei rebelles fuerint, & tributum & alia iura regis Angliæ per manum eius soluere noluerint, & à fidelitate regis Angliæ recesserint, ipse eos insticiet & amoueat. Et si eos per se insticiare non poterit, constabularius regis Angliæ, & familia sua de terra illa iuuabunt eum ad hoc faciendum, cùm ab ipso fuerint requisiti, & ipsi viderint quòd necesse fuerit. Et propter hunc finem reddet prædictus rex Conaciæ domino regi Angliæ tributum singulis annis, scilicet de singulis decem animalibus vnum corium placabile mercatoribus, tam de tota terra sua, quàm de aliena.*

3 *Excepto quòd de terris illis quas dominus rex Angliæ retinuit in dominio suo, & in dominio baronum suorum, nihil se intromittet, scilicet Duuelina cum pertinentijs suis, & Midia cum omnibus pertinentijs suis, sicut vnquam Marchat Wamailethlachlin eam melius & plenius tenuit, aut aliqui qui eam de eo tenuerint. Et excepta Wesefordia, cum omnibus pertinentijs suis, scilicet cum tota lagenia. Et excepta Waterfordia cum tota terra illa, quæ est à Waterford vsq; ad Duncarnam, ita vt Duncarnam sit cum omnibus pertinentijs suis infra terram illam.*

4 *Et si Hibernenses qui aufugerint, redire voluerint ad terram baronum regis Angliæ, redeant in pace, reddendo tributum prædictum quod alij reddunt, vel faciendo antiqua seruicia quæ facere solebant pro terris suis. Et hoc sit in arbitrio dominorum suorum. Et si aliqui eorum redire noluerint, domini eorum & rex Conaciæ accipiat obsides ab omnibus quos ei commisit dominus rex Angliæ ad voluntatem domini regis & suam. Et ipse dabit obsides ad voluntatem domini regis Angliæ illos vel alios, & ipsi seruient domino de canibus & auibus suis singulis annis de præsentijs suis. Et nullum omninò de quacunque terra regis sit, retinebunt contra voluntatem domini regis & mandatum. Hijs testibus, Richardo episcopo Wintoniæ, Gaufrido episcopo Elienſi, Laurentio Duuelinensi archiepiscopo, Gaufrido, Nicholao, & Rogero capellanis regis, Guilhelmo comite de Essex, & alijs multis.*

Moreouer, at this parlement the king gaue an Irishman named Augustine, the bishopricke of Waterford, which see was then void, and sent him into Ireland with Laurence the archbishop of Dubline to be consecrated of Donat the archbishop of Cassels.

A great derth. The same yeare, both England and the countries adioining were sore vexed with a great mortalitie of people, and immediatlie after followed a sore dearth and famine.

Anno Reg. 22. 1176

King Henrie held his Christmas at Windsor, and about the feast of the conuersion of saint Paule he came to Northampton, & after the mortalitie was well ceassed, he called a parlement, whereat was present a deacon cardinall intituled of S. Angelo, being sent into England as a legat from the pope, to take order in the controuersies betwixt the two archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke. This cardinall whose name was Hugh Petro Lion, assembled in the same place a conuocation or synod of the bishops and cleargie, as well of England as Scotland: in which conuocation, after the ceassing of certeine strifes and decrees made as well concerning the state of common-wealth, as for the honest behauiour of mans life, the cardinall consented that (according as by the kings lawes it was alreadie ordeined) all maner of persons within the sacred orders of the cleargie, which should hunt within the kings grounds and kill any of his deare, should be conuented and punished before a temporall iudge. Which libertie granted to the king, did so infringe the immunitie which the cleargie pretended to haue within this realme, that afterwards in manie points, preests were called before temporall iudges, and punished for their offenses as well as the laitie, though they haue grudged indeed and mainteined that they had wrong therein, as they that would be exempted and iudged by none, except by those of their owne order. Polydor.

A parlement at Northampton.

Mach. Paris.

An act against preests that were hunters.

Moreouer, in this councell the matter came in question touching the obedience which the bishops of Scotland did owe by right vnto the archbishop of Yorke, whom from the beginning the popes of Rome had constituted and ordeined to be primat of all Scotland, and of the Iles belonging to that realme, as well of the Orkeneis as all the other. Which constitution was obserued by the bishops of those parts manie yeares togither, though after they renounced their obedience. Wherupon the archbishops of Yorke (for the time being) continuallie complained, so that these popes, Paschall the second, Calyxt the second, Honorius, Innocentius, Eugenius the third, and Adrian the fourth, had the hearing of the matter, and with often sending their letters, went about to reduce them to the prouince of Yorke. But the Scots still withstanding this ordinance, at length the matter thus in controuersie was referred to pope Alexander, who sent the foresaid cardinall Hugh as well to make an end of that contention, as of diuerse other: but yet he left it vndecided.

Obedience of the church of Scotland to the church of England.

William king of Scotland came personallie vnto this parlement at Northhampton, by commandement of king Henrie, and brought with him Richard bishop of S. Andrew, and Josseline bishop of Glascow, with other bishops and abbats of Scotland, the which being commanded by king Henrie to shew such subiection to the church of England as they were bound to do by the faith which they owght to him, and by the oth of fealtie which they had made to him, they made this answer, that they had neuer shewed any subiection to the church of England, nor ought. Against which deniall, the archbishop of Yorke replied, and brought forth sufficient priuileges granted by the forenamed popes, to proue the subiection of the Scotish bishops, and namelie Glascow and Whiterne vnto the see of Yorke. But because the archbishop of Canturburie meant to bring the Scotish bishops vnder subiection to his see, he wrought so for that time with the king, that he suffered them to depart home, without yeelding any subiection to the church of England. The letters which the foresaid popes did send touching this matter, were remaining safe and sound amongst other writings in the colledge at Yorke, when Polydor Virgil wrote the histories of England, the copies whereof in an old ancient booke he confesseth to haue seene and read.

Rog. Houed. The king of Scots commeth to the parlement.

But to speake further of things ordered and done at this parlement holden at Northampton, the king by common consent of his Nobles and other states, diuided his realme into six parts, appointing three iustices itinerants in euerie of them, as here followeth, Hugh de Cressie, Walter Fitz Robert, and Robert Mantell, were deputed vnto Northfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, Huntingtonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex and Hertfordshire: Hugh de Gundeuille, William Fitz Rafe, and William Basset were appointed to Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbishire, Staffordshire, Warwikeshire, Northamptonshire, and Leicestershire: Robert Fitz Bernard, Richard Gifford, Roger Fitz Remfrey, were assigned to Kent, Surrey, Hampshire, Sussex, Berkshire and Oxfordshire: William Fitz Stephan, Bertram de Verdon, Thurstan Fitz Simon were ordeined to Herefordshire, Glocestershire, Worcestershire, and Salopshire: Rafe Fitz Ste-

R. Houed. Diuision of circuits for iustices itinerants.

Stephan, William Rufke, and Gilbert Pipard were put in charge with Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Deuonshire & Cornwall: Robert de Wals, Ranulf de Glanuile, and Robert Pikenet were appointed to Yorkeshire, Richmondshire, Lancashire, Copeland, Westmerland, Northumberland, and Cumberland.

The oth of the iustices.

The king caused these iustices to sweare vpon the holie euangelists, that they should kéepe his assises which he first had ordeined at Clarendon, and after had renewed here at Northampton, & also caused all his subiects within the relme of England to kéepe and obserue the same.

Ger. Dor.

Moreouer at this councell, king Henrie restored vnto Robert earle of Leicester all his lands, both on this side the sea, and beyond, in maner as he held the same fiftéene daies before the warre. To William de Albenie earle of Arundell, he gaue the earledome of Sussex. About midlent, the king with his sonne and the legat came to London, where at Westminster a conuocation of the cleargie was called, but when the legat was set, and the archbishop of Canturburie on his right hand as primat of the realme, the archbishop of Yorke comming in, and disdaining to sit on the left, where he might séeme to giue preheminence vnto the archbishop of Canturburie (vnmanerlie inough indeed) swalgh him downe, meaning to thrust himselfe in betwixt the legat, and the archbishop of Canturburie. And where belike the said archbishop of Canturburie was loth to remoue, he set his buttocks iust in his lap, but he scarslie touched the archbishops skirt with his bum, when the bishops and other chapleins with their seruants stept to him, pulled him away, and threw him to the ground, and beginning to lay on him with bats and fists, the archbishop of Canturburie yelding good for euill, sought to saue him from their hands. Thus was verified in him that sage sentence,

The presumptuous demeanor of ỹ archbishop of Yorke.

Pub. Mim. *Nunquam periculum sine periculo vincitur.*

The archbishop of Yorke with his rent rochet got vp, and awaie he went to the king with a great complaint against the archbishop of Canturburie: but when vpon examination of the matter the truth was knowne, he was well laught at for his labour, and that was all the remedie he got. As he departed so bebuffeted forth of the conuocation house towards the king, they cried out vpon him; Go traitor that didest betray that holy man Thomas, go get thee hence, thy hands yet stinke of bloud. The assemblie was by this meanes dispersed, and the legat fled and got him out of the waie, as he might with shame enough, which is the common panion and waiting-woman of pride, as one verie well said,

Pub. Mim. *Citò ignominia fit superbi gloria.*

Appeales made.

After this, followed appealings, the archbishop of Yorke appealed to Rome, and the legat also for his owne safegard appealed the archbishop of Canturburie vnto Rome, which archbishop submitting himselfe and his cause vnder the popes protection, made a like solemne appeale from the legat to the pope. The legat perceiuing that the matter went otherwise than he wished, and séeing little remedie to be had at that present, gaue ouer his legatship as it had béene of his owne accord, though greatlie against his will, and prepared himselfe to depart. Neuertheless, through mediation of frends that toke paines betwixt them, they gaue ouer their apeales on either side, and dissembled the displeasures which they had conceiued either against other, but yet the conuocation was dissolued for that time, and the two archbishops presented their complaints to the king, who kept his Easter this yeare at Winchester, and about the same time or shortlie after, licenced his sonne Henrie to saile ouer into Normandie, meaning shortlie after to go vnto Compostella in Spaine, to visit the bodie of saint James the apostle, but beeing otherwise aduised by his fathers letters, he discontinued his purpose and staied at home.

The conuocation dissolued.

The same yeare, the ladie Johan the kings daughter was giuen in marriage vnto William king of Sicill. Also the same yeare died the lord cheefe iustice of Ireland, Robert earle of Striguill otherwise Chepstow, then was William Fitzaldelme ordeined lord cheefe iustice in his place, who seized into the kings hands all those fortresses which the said earle of Striguill held within the realme of Ireland. The Irishmen also paied to the king a tribute of twelue pence yearelie for euerie house, or else for euerie yoke of oxen which they had of their owne. William earle of Arundell died also this yeare at Wauerley, and was buried at Wimondham.

N. Triuet.

R. Houed.

N. Triuet.

A tribut grãted by the Irish.

This yeare, when it might haue béene thought that all things were forgotten touching the rebellious attempts made against king Henrie the father by his sons, and other (as before ye haue heard) he caused the wals both of the towne and castell of Leicester to be raced, and all such castels and places of strength as had béene kept against him during the time of that rebellion, to be likewise ouerthrowne and made plaine with the ground, as the castels of Huntington, Waleton, Growby, Hey, Stutesbirrie or Sterdesbirrie, Malasert, the new castell of Allerton, the castels of Fremingham and Bungey, with diuers other both in England and Normandie. But the castels of Pascie, and Mountsorell he reteined in his owne hands as his of right, being so found by a iurie of freeholders impanelled there in the countrie; further, he seized into his hands all the other castels of bishops, earles and barons, both in England and Normandie, apointing keepers in them at his pleasure. This yeare also he married his daughter Elianor vnto Alfonse king of Castile.

R. Houed.

The wals of the towne and castell of Leicester raced.

Elianor the kings daughter married to the king of Castile.

Moreouer, Gilbert the sonne of Fergus lord of Galloway, who had slaine his brother Uthred cosen to king Henrie, came this yeare into England, vnder conduct of William king of Scotland, and became king Henrie the fathers man, swearing fealtie to him against all men: and to haue his loue and fauour gaue him a thousand marks of siluer, and deliuered into his hands his son Duncane as a pledge. It is to be remembred also, that in this yeare, Richard earle of Poictow sonne to king Henrie, fought with certeine Brabanders his enimies betwixt S. Megrine and Buteuille, where he ouercame them.

Gilbert Fitz Fergus.

Richard earle of Poictow.

¶ Here I haue thought good to aduertise the reader, that these men of war, whom we haue generallie in this part of our booke named Brabanders, we find them written in old copies diuerslie, as Brebazones, Brebanceni, and Brebaciones, the which for so much as I haue found them by the learned translated Brabanders, and that the French word somewhat woldeth thereto, I haue likewise so named them: wherein whether I haue erred or not, I must submit mine opinion to the learned & skilfull searchers of such points of antiquities. For to confesse in plaine truth mine ignorance, or rather vnresolued doubt herein, I can not satisfie my selfe with anything that I haue read, whereby to assure my coniecture what to make of them, although verelie it may be, and the likelihood is great, that the Brabanders in those daies for their trained skill and vsuall practise in warlike feats, wan themselues a name, whereby not onelie those that were naturallie borne in Brabant, but such also as serued amongst them, or else vsed the same warlike furniture, order, trade and discipline, which was in vse among them, passed in that age vnder the name of Brabanders. Or else I must thinke, that by reason of some old kind of habit

bit or other speciall cause, a certeine sort of souldiers purchased to themselues the priuilege of that name, so to be called Brabanceni or Brebationes (whether ye will) as hath chanced to the Lansquenetz and Reitters in our time, and likewise to the companions Arminaes and Escorchers in the daies of our forefathers, and as in all ages likewise it hath fortuned amongst men of warre. Which if it so chanced to these Brabanceni, I know not then what countriemen to make them: for as I remember, Marchades that was a chiefe leader of such souldiers as were knowne by that name (as after ye shall heare) is reported by some authors to be a Prouancois.

It should seeme also that they were called by other names, as the Routs (in Latine *Ruptarij*) which name whether it came of a French word, as ye would say some vnrulie and headstrong companie, or of the Dutch word Rutters, that signifieth a rider, I cannot say. But it may suffice for the course of the historie to vnderstand that they were a kind of hired souldiers, in those daies highlie esteemed, and no lesse feared, in so much that against them and others there was an article conteined among the decrées of the Laterane councell holden at Rome, in the yeare 1179, whereby all those were to be denounced accursed, which did hire, mainteine or any way nourish those Brebationes, Aragonois, Nauarrois, Basques and Coterelles, which did so much hurt in the christian world in those daies.

Wil. Paruus, lib. 3. cap. 3.

But to returne where we left to earle Richard, beside the aboue mentioned victorie against those Brabanders, if we shall so take them; he also vanquished Hamerike vicount of Limoges, and William earle of Angolesme, with the vicounts of Ventadorze and Cambanais, who attempted rebellion against him, whome earle Richard subdued, and toke prisoners, with diuerse castels and strong holds which they had fortified.

The departure of the legat forth of the Realme.

About the feast of Peter and Paule, the legat departed out of the realme, of whom we find that as he granted to the king some liberties against the priuileges which the cleargie pretended to haue a right vnto: so he obteined of the king certeine grants in fauour of them and their order, as thus.

Liberties obteined for churchmen.

1 First, that for no offense, crime or transgression any spirituall person should be brought before a temporall iudge personallie, except for hunting, or for some laie fee, or that for which some temporall seruice was due to be yelded, either to the king, or some other that was cheefe lord thereof.

2 Secondlie, that no archbishops see, nor bishops sée, nor any abbaie should be kept in the kings hands more than one yeare, except vpon some euident cause or necessitie constreining.

3 Thirdlie, that such as slue any spirituall person, and were of such offense conuicted, either by euidence or confession before the iustice of the realme in presence of the bishop, should be punished as the temporall law in such cases required.

4 Fourthlie, that spirituall men should not be compelled to fight in lists for the triall of any matter or cause whatsoeuer.

N. Triuet.

It should appeare by Nicholas Triuet, that the archbishop of Canturburie procured the bishops of Winchester, Elie, and Norwich, three prelats highlie at that present in the kings fauour, to further these grants; namelie, that such as slue any préest or spirituall person might haue the law for it: where before, there was no punishment for a season vsed against such offendors but onelie excommunication. But now to leaue prests, we will passe to other matters.

In this meane time, king Henrie the sonne remaining in Normandie, began to deuise new practises how to remoue his father from the gouernment and to take it to himselfe: but one of his seruants named Adam de Cherebedune being of his secret counsell, aduertised king Henrie the father thereof, for the which his maister king Henrie the sonne

(*Ceresus in vitium flecti, monitoribus asper*)

put him to great shame and rebuke, causing him to be striped naked, and whipped round about the streets of the citie of Poictiers, where he then was vpon his returne from his brother earle Richard, with whome he had beene to aid him against his enimies. King Henrie the father perceiuing the naughtie mind of his sonne, and that he ceassed not from his wilfull malicíousnesse, thought to dissemble all things, sith he saw no hope of amendment in him: but yet to be prouided against his wicked attempts, he furnished all his fortresses both in England & in Normandie with strong garisons of men, and all necessarie munition.

The yong K. beginneth new practises against his father.

R. Houed.

About this time, the sea rose on such a heigth, that manie men were drowned thereby. Also a great snow fell this yeare, which by reason of the hard frost that chanced therewith, continued long without wasting away, so that fishes both in the sea and fresh water died through sharpenesse and vehemencie of that frost, neither could husbandmen till the ground. A sore eclipse of the sunne chanced also the sixt ides of Januarie. The monasterie of Westwood or Lesnos was begun to be founded by Richard de Lucie Lord cheefe iustice. The same yeare also at Woodstocke the king made his sonne the lord Geffrey knight.

In the yeare 1177. king Henrie held his Christmas at Northampton, with his two sonnes Geffrey and John, his other two sonnes the yong king Henrie, and Richard earle of Poictou, were in the parts beyond the seas, as the king in Normandie, and the earle in Gascoigne, where he besieged the citie of Aques, which the vicount of Aques and the earle of Bigorre had fortified against him, but he wan it within ten daies after his comming thither. Within the like terme also he wan the citie of Baion, which Arnold Werthram had fortified against him, and cõming to the vttermost frontiers of that countrie adioining to Spaine, he toke a castell called saint Piero which he destroied, and constreined the Basques and Nauarrois to receiue an oth, that from thencefoorth they should suffer passengers quietlie to come and go through their countrie, and that they should liue in quiet and kéepe peace one with an other, and so he reformed the state of that countrie, and caused them to renounce manie euill customes which they before that time had vnlawfullie vsed.

Rog. Houed. 1177

The citie of Aques or Aigues.

Moreouer, king Henrie, to auoid further slander, placed for bishop in the see of Lincolne a bastard son which he had named Geffrey, after he had kept that bishoprike in his hands so long till he had almost clerelie destroied it. And his sonne that was now made bishop to helpe the matter for his part, made hauocke in walking and spending in riotous manner the goods of that church, and in the end forsoke his miter, and left the sée againe in the kings hands to make his best of it.

Anno Reg. 23. Polydor. Geffrey the kings base sonne made bishop of Lincolne.

Furthermore, the king in times past made a vow to build a new monasterie in satisfaction of his offenses committed against Thomas the archbishop of Canturburie: wherefore he required of the bishops and other spirituall fathers, to haue some place by them assigned, where he might begin that foundation. But whilest they should haue taken aduise herein, he secretlie practised with the cardinals, and with diuerse other bishops, that he might remoue the secular canons out of the colledge at Waltham, and place therein regular canons, so to saue monie in his

cofers,

cofers, planting in another mans vineyard. Howbeit, because it should not be thought he did this of such a couetous meaning, he promised to giue great possessions to that house, which he after but slenderlie performed, though vpon licence obteined at the bishops hands, he displaced the prests, and brought in to their romes the canons as it were by waie of exchange.

Prests displaced, & canons regular put in their romes.

The same yeare also he thrust the nunnes of Amesburie out of their house, because of their incontinent living, in abusing their bodies greatlie to their reproch, and bestowed them in other monasteries to be kept in more streightlie. And their house was committed vnto the abbesse and couent of Fountеuered, who sent ouer certeine of their number to furnish the house of Amesburie, wherein they were placed by the archbishop of Canturburie, in the presence of the king and a great number of others.

R. Houed. Nunnes of Amesburie.

Philip earle of Flanders by sending ouer ambassadours to king Henrie, promised that he would not bestow his two neces, daughters to his brother Matthew earle of Bullongne, without consent of the same king: but shortlie after he forgot his promise, & married the elder of them to the duke of Zaringes, & the yonger to Henrie duke of Louaine.

Philip earle of Flanders.

John de Curcie lord cheefe iustice of Ireland discomfiting a power of Irishmen, wan the citie of Dun in Ulnestre, where the bodies of S. Patrike and S. Colme confessors, and S. Brigit the virgin are buried, for the taking of which citie, Roderike king of Ulnestre being sore offended, raised a mightie host, and comming into the field, fought with the lord cheefe iustice, and in the end receiued & toke the ouerthrow at his hands, although the lord cheefe iustice at that encounter lost no small number of his men. Amongst prisoners that were taken, the bishop of Dun was one, whom yet the lord cheefe iustice released and set at libertie, in respect of a request and suit made to him by a cardinall the popes legat that was there in Ireland at that time.

John de Curcie.

The citie of Dun taken.

Roderike K. of Ulnestre vanquished.

Miniano a cardinall.

This cardinals name was Miniano, intituled the cardinall of S. Stephan in Mount Celio; he was sent from the pope the yeare before, and comming into England, though without licence, was pardoned vpon knowledging his fault for his entring without the kings leaue first obteined, and so permitted to go into Scotland, whither (as also into other the northwest regions) he was sent as legat, authorised from the pope. Now when he had ended his businesse in Scotland, he passed ouer into Man, and there held his Christmasse with Euthyre king of Man, and after the feast of the Epiphanie, sailed from thence into Ireland, and chanced (the same time that the Englishmen inuaded that countrie) to be in the citie of Dun, where he was receiued of the king & bishops of that land with great reuerence.

Wil. Paruus.

The inuasion then of the Englishmen being signified to them of the countrie aforehand, they asked counsell of the legat what he thought best to be done in that matter; who streightwaies told them, that they ought to fight in defense of their countrie, and at their setting forward, he gaue them his benediction in waie of their good speed. But they comming (as ye haue heard) to encounter with the Englishmen, were put to flight, and beaten backe into the citie, which was herewith also woone by the Englishmen, so that the Romane legat was glad to get him into the church for his more safegard, and like a wise fellow had prouided afore hand for such haps if they chanced, hauing there with him the king of Englands letters directed to the capteins in Ireland in the legats fauour, so that by the assistance and authoritie of the same, he went to Dublin, and there (in the name of the pope and the king of England) held a councell.

The legat holdeth a councell at Dublin.

But when he began to practise, after the manner of legats in those daies, somewhat largelie for his owne aduantage, in the churches of that simple rude countrie, the English capteins commanded him either to depart, or else to go forth to the wars with them: wherevpon he returned into Scotland, hauing his bags well stuffed with Irish gold, for the which it seemed he greatlie thirsted.

¶ Where we haue to note the drift of the pope and all popelings to be far otherwise than they pretend. For who (vnlesse he will be wilfullie ignorant) knoweth not, that he and his never attempt any thing, but the same beareth the hew and colour of holinesse and honestie: Hereto tend the sendings out of his legats and cardinals to make pacifications, to redresse disorders, to appease tumults, & I wot not what infinit enormities (for he must haue his ore in euerie mans bote, his spoone in euerie mans dish, and his fingers in euerie mans purse) but the end and scope of all his doings consisteth in this; namelie, to set himselfe aboue all soueraignтie, to purchase and assure to himselfe an absolute and supereminent iurisdiction, to rob christian kingdomes, to impouerish churches, chapels, and religious places. Our chronicles are full of these his pranks, and here we haue one practised by a lim of his, who (as you see) verie impudentlie and licentiouslie preied vpon the church-goods, and conuerted the same to his owne profit and commoditie: which he had if not trembled, yet blushed to do, considering that the goods of the church are the treasurie of Christ (or at leastwise ought to be) and that none ought to alienate or change the propertie of such goods, as the canon law hath prouided. Besides, the wretch ought to haue remembred that which euen the verie pagans did not forget; namelie,

Haud vllas portabis opes Acherontis ad vndas,
Nudus ad infernas stulte vehereraris.

Prop. lib. 3.

But now to the doings of John de Curcie, and of those Englishmen that were with him, who did not onelie defend such places as they had woone out of the Irishmens hands against those kings and their powers, but also inlarged dailie more and more their frontiers, and wan the towne of Armach (wherein is the metropolitane see of all that land) with the whole prouince thereto belonging.

About the same time came ambassadours vnto king Henrie from Alfonse king of Castile and Garsias king of Nauarre, to aduertise him, that in a controuersie risen betwixt the said two kings touching the possession of certeine grounds neere vnto the confines of their realms, they had chosen him for iudge by compromise, promising vpon their oths to stand vnto & abide his order and decree therein. Therfore they required him to end the matter by his authoritie, sith they had wholie put it to his iudgement. Furthermore, either king had sent a most able and valiant knight furnished with horsse and armour readie in their princes cause to fight the combat, if king Henrie should happilie commit the triall of their quarrell vnto the iudgement of battell. King Henrie gladlie accepted their request, so that therupon calling his councellors togither, he consulted with them of the thing, and hearing euerie mans opinion, at length he gaue iudgement so with the one, that the other was contented to be agreeable thereunto.

Matth. Paris. Polydor.

R. Houed.

Polydor.

Within a while after, Philip earle of Flanders came ouer into England to do his deuotions at the towne of Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, of whome the most part of men then had conceiued an opinion of such holinesse, that they reputed him for a saint. The king met him there, and verie friendlie entertеined him, and because he was appointed shortlie after to go ouer into the holie land to war against

Gods

Gods enimies, the king gaue him fiue hundred marks in reward, and licenced William Mandeuile earle of Essex to go in that iourneie with other lords, knights and men of warre of sundrie nations that were of his dominions.

The king then returning vnto London, toke order for the establishing of things touching the suertie of the realme, and his owne estate. And first he appointed the custodie of such castels as were of most importance by their situation, vnto the keeping of certeine worthie capteins. To sir William de Stuteuille he assigned the custodie of Rockesburgh castell, to sir Roger de Stuteuille the castell of Edenburgh, to sir William Neuille the castell of Norham, to sir Geffrie Neuille the castell of Berwike, and to the archbishop of Yorke he deliuered the castell of Scarborough, and sir Roger Coniers he made capteine of the tower of Durham, which he had taken from the bishop, because he had shewed himselfe an vnstedfast man in the time of the ciuill warre, and therfore to haue the kings fauour againe, he gaue to him two thousand marks, with condition that his castels might stand, and that his sonne Henrie de Putsey alias Pudsey, might enioy one of the kings manor places called Wighton.

R. Houed.

Durham tower.

Henrie de Pudsey.

After this, the king went to Oxenford, and there held a parlement, at the which he created his sonne John king of Ireland, hauing a grant and confirmation thereto from pope Alexander. About the same time it rained bloud in the Ile of Wight, by the space of two daies togither, so that linen clothes that hong on the hedges were coloured therewith: which vnlsed wonder caused the people, as the manner is, to suspect some euill of the said Johns gouernement.

A parlement at Oxford.

John the kings sonne created king of Ireland. Polydor.

It rained bloud.

Moreouer, to this parlement holden at Oxenford, all the cheefe rulers and gouernours of Southwales and Northwales repaired, and became the king of Englands liege men, swearing fealtie to him against all men. Hereupon he gaue vnto Rice ap Griffin prince of Southwales the land of Yeronith, and to Dauid ap Owen he gaue the lands of Ellesmare. Also at the same time he gaue and confirmed vnto Hugh Lacie (as before is said) the land of Meth in Ireland with the appurtenances, for the seruice of an hundred knights or men of armes, to hold of him and of his sonne John by a charter which he made thereof. Also he diuided there the lands and possessions of Ireland with the seruices to his subiects, as well of England as Ireland, appointing some to hold by seruice to find fortie knights or men of armes, and some thirtie, and so forth.

R. Houed.

Vnto two Irish lords he granted the kingdome of Corke for the seruice of fortie knights, and to other three lords he gaue the kingdome of Limerike for the seruice of the like number of knights to be held of him & his sonne John, reseruing to himselfe & to his heires the citie of Limerike with one cantred. To William Fitz Adelme his sewer, he gaue the citie of Wellesord with the appurtenances and seruices; and to Robert de Poer his marshall, he gaue the citie of Waterford: and to Hugh Lacie, he committed the safe keeping of the citie of Diueline. And these persons, to whome such gifts and assignations were made, receiued othes of fealtie to beare their allegiance vnto him and to his sonne for those lands and possessions in Ireland, in maner and forme as was requisite.

William Fitz Adelme.

Robert de Poer.

Hugh Lacie.

The cardinall Vitian hauing dispatched his businesse in Ireland, came backe into England, and by the kings safe conduct returned againe into Scotland, where in a councell holden at Edenburgh, he suspended the bishop of Whiterne, because he did refuse to come to that councell: but the bishop made no account of that suspension, hauing a defense good inough by the bishop of Yorke, whose suffragane he was.

After the king had dissolued and broken vp his parlement at Oxenford, he came to Marleborough, and there granted vnto Philip de Breause all the kingdome of Limerike for the seruice of fortie knights: for Hubert and William the brethren of Reignold earle of Cornewall, and John de la Pumeray their nephue, refused the gift thereof, because it was not as yet conquered. For the king thereof, surnamed Monoculus, that is, with one eie, who had held that kingdome of the king of England, being latelie slaine, one of his kinsemen got possession of that kingdome, and held it without acknowledging any subiection to king Henrie, nor would obeie his officers, because of the losses and damages which they did practise against the Irish people, without occasion (as they alleadged) by reason whereof the king of Corke also rebelled against the king of England and his people, and so that realme was full of trouble.

Philip de Breause.

Matth. Paris. Polychr.

The same season, queene Margaret the wife of king Henrie the sonne was deliuered of a man child which liued not past three daies. In that time there was also through all England a great multitude of Iewes, and because they had no place appointed them where to burie those that died, but onelie at London, they were constreined to bring all their dead corpses thither from all parts of the realme. To ease them therfore of that inconuenience, they obteined of king Henrie a grant, to haue a place assigned them in euerie quarter where they dwelled, to burie their dead bodies. The same yeare was the bodie of S. Amphibulus the martyr, who was instructor to saint Albone found, not farre from the towne of S. Albones, and there in the monasterie of that towne buried with great and solemne ceremonies.

Iewes in England.

In the meane time, king Henrie passed ouer into Normandie, hearing that the old grudge betwixt him & king Lewes began to be renewed vpon this occasion, that whereas king Henrie had receiued the French kings daughter Alice, promised in mariage vnto his sonne Richard, to remaine in England with him, till she were able to companie with hir husband, king Henrie being of a dissolute life, and giuen much to the pleasure of the bodie (a vice which was grafted in the bone and therefore like to sticke fast in the flesh, for as it is said,

Quod noua testa capit inueterata sapit)

at leastwise (as the French king suspected) began to fantasie the yong ladie, and by such wanton talke and companie-keeping as he vsed with hir, he was thought to haue brought hir to consent to his fleshlie lust, which was the cause wherefore he would not suffer his sonne to marrie hir, being not of ripe yeares nor viripotent or mariable. Wherefore the French king imagining (vpon consideration of the other kings former lose life) what an inconuenience & infamie might redound to him and his, bethought himselfe that

R. Houed.

Turpe senex miles turpe senilis amor,

and therefore deemed iustlie that such a vile reproch wrought against him in his bloud, was in no wise to be suffered, but rather preuented, resisted & withstood. Hereupon he complained to the pope, who for redresse thereof, sent one Peter a preest, & cardinall intituled of saint Grisogone as legat from him into France, with commission to put Normandie and all the lands that belonged to king Henrie vnder interdiction, if he would not suffer the mariage to be solemnized without delaie betwixt his sonne Richard and Alice the French kings daughter. The king aduertised hereof, came to a communication with the French king at Yurie, vpon the 21. of September,

The kings meet at Yurie.

and there offered to cause the mariage to be solemnized out of hand, if the French king would giue in marriage with his daughter the citie of Burges, with all the appurtenances as it was accorded, and also vnto his sonne king Henrie the countrie of Velgesine, that is to say, all the land betwixt Gisors and Pussie, as he had likewise couenanted.

But bicause the French king refused so to do, king Henrie would not suffer his sonne Richard to marrie his daughter Alice: howbeit at this enterview of the two princes, by the helpe of the cardinall, and other noble men of both sides, they agreed to be freends, and that if they could not take order betwixt them, to end all matters touching the controuersies depending betwixt them for the lands in Auuergne and Berrie, and for the fee of Chateau Raoul; then should the matter be put to twelue persons, six on the one side, and six on the other, authorising them to compound and finish that controuersie and all other which might rise betwixt them. For the French king these were named, the bishops of Claremount, Neuers, and Troys; and three barons, erle Theobald, Robert, and Peter de Courtneie, the kings brethren. For the king of England were named the bishops of Nauns, Peregort, and Naunts; with three barons also, Maurice de Croume, William Maigot and Peter de Mountrabell.

At the same time also, both these kings promised and vndertoke to ioine their powers togither, and to go into the holie land to aid Guido king of Jerusalem, whome the Saracen Saladine king of Aegypt did sore oppresse with continuall and most cruell war. This done, the French king returned home, and king Henrie came to Vernueil, where he made this ordinance, that no man should trouble the vassall or tennant, as we may call them, for his lords debt. R. Houed. A law.

After this, king Henrie went into Berrie, and toke Chatean Rour or Raoul, and marching towards Castre, the lord of that towne came and met him on the waie, surrendring into his hands the daughter of Rase de Dolis latelie before deceassed, whome the king gaue vnto Baldwine de Riuers, with the honour of Chateau Rour or Raoul. Then went he vnto Graundemont, where Audebert earle of March came vnto him, and sold to him the whole countrie of March for the summe of fifteene thousand pounds Aniouin, twentie mules, and twentie palfreis. The charters of this grant and sale made and giuen vnder the seale of the said earle of March, bare date in the moneth of September Anno Christi 1177. Then did the king receiue the fealtie and homages of all the barons and knights of the countrie of March, after he had satisfied, contented, and paid the monie vnto the earle according to the couenants. The purchase of the erldome of March. Anno Reg. 24.

1178

The king this yeare held his Christmas at Angiers, and meaning shortlie after to returne into England, he sent to the French king for letters of protection, which were granted, and sent to him in forme as followeth.

The tenour of the French kings *letters of protection.*

Ludouicus rex Francorum, omnibus ad quos præsentes literæ peruenerint salutem. Nouerit vniuersitas vestra quòd nos recipimus in protectione & custodia nostra totam terram Henrici regis Angliæ charissimi fratris nostri, in cismarinis partibus sitam, si contigerit eum in Angliam transfretare vel peregrè proficisci. Ita planè, vt quãdo balliui sui de terra transmarina nos requisierint, bona fide & sine malo ingenio eis consilium & auxilium præstabimus, ad eiusdem terræ defensionem & protectionem. Actum apud Nicenas. The English wherof is thus.

Lewes king of France, to all those to whom these present letters shall come greeting. Know all ye that we haue receiued into our protection & custodie all the lands of Henrie king of England our deare brother, lieng and being in the parts of this side the sea, if it chance him to passe ouer into England, or to go any waie forth from home, so that when the bailiues of his lands on this hither side the sea shall require vs, we shall helpe them and counsell them faithfullie and without male-engine for defense and protection of the same lands. Giuen at Nicens.

Shortlie after, king Henrie returned into England from Normandie, and at Woodstocke made his sonne Geffrey knight. This yeare pope Alexander sent into all parts legats to summon the bishops and prelates to a generall councell to be holden at Rome in the beginning of the Lent in the yere next following. Whereabout two legats came into England, the one named Albert de Suma, who had in commission to summon them of England and Normandie; and the other called Petro de Santa Agatha, who was appointed to summon them of Scotland, Ireland, and the Iles about the same: wherevpon obteining licence to passe through the king of Englands dominions, he was constreined to sweare vpon the holie euangelists, that he should not attempt any thing in his legatship that might be hurtfull to the king or his realme, and that he should come and visit the king againe as he returned homewards. A generall councell summoned at Rome.

This yeare on the sundaie before the natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptist, being the 18 of June, after the setting of the sunne, there appeared a maruellous sight in the aire vnto certeine persons that beheld the same. For whereas the new moone shone forth verie faire with his hornes towards the east, streightwais the vpper horne was diuided into two, out of the mids of which diuision a burning brand sprang vp, casting from it a farre off coles and sparks, as it had beene of fire. The bodie of the moone in the meane time that was beneath, seemed to wrest and writh in resemblance like to an adder or snake that had beene beaten, and anon after it came to the old state againe. This chanced aboue a dozzen times, and at length from horne to horne it became blacke. Ger. Dor. A strange sight about the moone.

In September following, the moone being about 27. daies old, at six of the clocke, a partile eclipse of the sunne happened, for the bodie thereof appeared as it were horned, shoting the horns towards the west as the moone doth being twentie daies old. The residue of the compasse of it was couered with a blacke roundell, which comming downe by little and little, threw about the horned brightnesse that remained, till both the hornes came to hang downe on either side to the earthwards; and as the blacke roundell went by little & little forwards, the hornes at length were turned towards the west, and so the blacknesse passing awaie, the sunne receiued his brightnesse againe. In the meane time, the aire being full of clouds of diuerse colours, as red, yellow, greene, and pale, holpe the peoples sight with more ease to discerne the maner of it. A strange eclipse of the sunne.

The king this yeare held his Christmasse at Winchester, at which time newes came abroad of a great wonder that had chanced at a place called Drenhale, within the lordship of Derlington, in which place a part of the earth lifted it selfe vp on high in appearance like to a mightie tower, and so it remained from nine of the clocke in the morning, till the euentide, and then it fell downe with an horrible noise, so that as such as were thereabout, were put in great feare. That peece of earth with the fall was swallow- Anno. Reg. 25. R. Houed.

1179

A strange wonder of the earth.

ed

ed vp, leauing a great deepe pit in the place, as was to be seene many yeares after.

¶ Touching these celestiall apparitions, the common doctrine of philosophie is, that they be meere naturall, and therefore of no great admiration. For of eclipses, as well such as are proper to the sunne, as also those that are peculiar to the moone, the position is not so generallie deliuered, as it is constantlie beléeued. For the philosophers giue this reason of eclipses.

M. Pal. in Aquar.

——radios Phœbi luna interiecta repellit,
Nec sinit in terras claram descendere lucem.
Quippe aliud non est quàm terræ atque aquoris umbra,
Quæ si forte ferit nocturnæ corpora lunæ,
Eclipsin facit.

In somuch as obseruing them to be ordinarie accidents, they are ouerpassed and nothing regarded. Howbeit Lucane maketh a great matter of eclipses, and of other strange sights precéding the bloudie battels betweene Pompeie and Cesar; intimating thereby, that prodigious wonders, and other rare and vnaccustomed accidents are significations of some notable euent insuing, either to some great personage, to the common-wealth, or to the state of the church. And therefore it is a matter worth the marking, to compare effects following with signes and wonders before going; since they haue a doctrine in them of no small importance. For not manie yeares after, the kings glorie was darkened on earth, nay his pompe and roiall state toke end; a prediction whereof might be imported by the extraordinarie eclipse of the sunne, a beautifull creature, and the ornament of the skie.

Luc. lib. 1.

Laurence archbishop of Dublin, and Catholicus the archbishop of Tuamon, with fiue or six other Irish bishops, and diuerse both bishops and abbats of Scotland, passed through England towards the generall councell, and withall toke their oth, that they shuld not procure any damage to the king or realme of England. There went but onelie foure bishops out of England, to wit, Hugh Putsey or Pudsey bishop of Durham, John bishop of Norwich, Reignold bishop of Bath, and Robert bishop of Hereford, beside abbats: for the English bishops firmelie stood in it, that there ought but foure bish. onlie to go forth of England to any generall councell called by the pope. This yeare Richard de Lucie lord chéefe iustice of England gaue ouer his office, and became a canon in the abbeie of Westwood or Lesnos, which he had founded, and built vpon his owne ground, endowing it with great reuenewes, and in Julie after he died there.

Richard de Lucie lord chéefe iustice of England deceaseth.

King Henrie the father called a parlement at Windsore, at the which was present king Henrie the sonne, and a great number of lords, earles and barons. At this parlement, order was taken for partition of the realme, so that it was diuided into foure parts, certeine sage personages being allotted vnto euerie part to gouerne the same, but not by the name of iustices, albeit that Ranulfe de Glanuille was made ruler of Yorkeshire, & authorised iustice there, as he that best vnderstood in those daies the ancient lawes and customes of the realme. The same yeare, Geffrey earle of Britaine by his fathers commandement leuied an armie, and passing ouer into Britaine, wasted the lands of Guidomer de Leons, and constreined him to submit himselfe vnto him.

A parlement at Windsore.

Ranulfe de Glanuille.

Geffrey earle of Britaine son to king Henrie. Guidomer de Leons.

The 18. day of August, the moone was eclipsed, which was séene of king Henrie and his companie as he rode all that night towards Douer there to méet the French king, who was comming towards England to visit the tombe of archbishop Thomas Becket, as he had before time vowed. He landed at Douer the 22. day of August. There came ouer with him Henrie duke of Louaine, Philip earle of Flanders, Baldwin earle of Guines, earle William de Mandeuille, and diuerse other earles, lords, barons and knights; whome king Henrie was readie to receiue at the water side, and the morow after brought them with great honor to Canturburie, where they were with due reuerence and vnspeakeable ioy receiued of archbishop Richard, and diuerse other bishops there assembled togither with the couent of Christes-church, and an infinit multitude of Nobles and gentlemen. The French king offered vpon the tombe of the said archbishop Thomas, a rich cup of gold; and gaue to the monks there an hundred tuns of wine to be receiued yearelie of his gift for euer at Poissie in France. Further he granted to the same monks, that whatsoeuer was bought in his dominions of France to their vse, should be free from toll, tallage, and pateng any maner of excise for the same. These grants he confirmed with his charter thereof, made & deliuered to them by the hands of Hugh Putsey, son to the bishop of Duresme that was his chancellor. King Lewes hauing performed his vow, and receiued manie rich gifts of king Henrie, returned home into France, and shortlie after causing his sonne to be crowned king, resigned the gouernment to him (as by some writers appeareth.) About the same time, Cadwallon prince of Wales, being brought before the king to make his answer to diuerse accusations exhibited against him, as he returned toward his countrie vnder the kings safe conduct, was laid for by his enimies, and slaine, to the kings great slander, though he were not giltie in the matter. After this, king Henrie the father held his Christmasse at Notingham, and William king of Scotland with him.

The moone eclipsed.

The French K. commeth a madding to visit the archbishop Becket tombe.

The French king offered vpon the tombe of archbishop Thomas Becket.

Polydor.

Matth. Paris. Cadwallon prince of Wales.

Anno Reg. 26. R. Houed. 1180

The same yeare fell discord betwixt the yong king of France, and his mother and vncles, hir brethren, earle Theobald and earle Stephan, who thinking themselues not well vsed, procured king Henrie the sonne to ioine with them in friendship, and to go ouer into England to purchase his fathers assistance in their behalfe against their nephue. Who being come ouer to his father, informed him of the whole mater, and did so much by his earnest suit therin, that before the feast of Easter, his father went ouer with him into Normandie, and immediatlie vpon their arriuall in those parts, the old French queene, mother to the yong king Philip, with their brethren the said earles, and manie other Noble men of France, came vnto him, and concluding a league with him, deliuered hostages into his hands, and receiued an oth to follow his counsell and aduice in all things.

Discord betwixt the French K. and his nobles.

Hereupon king Henrie assembled a great armie, in purpose after Easter to inuade the French kings dominions: but before any great exploit was made, he came to an enterueiw with the new king of France, betwixt Gisors and Treodsunt, where partlie by gentle words, and partlie by threatnings which king Henrie vsed for persuasion, the French king released all his indignation conceiued against his mother and vncles, and receiued them againe into his fauour, couenanting to allow his mother for euerie day towards hir expenses seuen pounds of Paris monie, during his father king Lewes his life time; and after his death, she should inioy all hir dower, except the castels which king Philip might reteine still in his hands. Also at this assemblie, king Henrie the father in the presence of the French king, receiued homage of Philip earle of Flanders, and granted to him for the same a thousand markes of siluer, to be receiued yearelie out of the checker at London, so that in consideration thereof he should find fiue hundred knights or men of armes, to serue the king of England for the space of 40. daies, when

R. Houed.

The earle of Flanders doth homage to the king of England.

soeuer he should haue warning giuen vnto him.

Moreouer, the two kings at this assemblie concluded a league togither, and whereas certeine lands were in controuersie betwixt them, as the fée of Chateau, Raoul, and other small fees, if they could not agrée among themselues concerning the same, either of them was contented to commit the order thereof, and of all other controuersies betwixt them vnto six bishops, to be chosen indifferentlie betwixt them, the one to chuse three, and the other three.

Matth. Paris. Tailbourg woone.

In this yeare, or (as the annales of Aquitaine say) in the yeare last passed, Richard earle of Poictou subdued the strong fortresse of Tailbourg, which was iudged before that time inexpugnable: but earle Richard oppressed them that kept it so sore with streight siege, that first in a desperate mood they issued forth, and assailed his people verie valiantlie, but yet neuertheless they were beaten backe, and forced to retire into their fortresse, which finallie they surrendred into the hands of earle Richard, who caused the wals thereof to be raced. The like fortune chanced to diuers other castels and fortresses that stood in rebellion against him within a moneth space.

Matth. Paris.

Tailbourg belonged vnto one Geffrey de Rancin, who of a proud and loftie stomach practising rebellion against duke Richard, tooke this enterprise in hand, and when he had atchiued the same to his owne contentation, he passed ouer into England, and was receiued with great triumph, pompe & magnificence.

W. Paruus. The forme of the kings coine changed.

About the same time, the forme of the kings coine was altered and changed, bicause manie naughtie and wicked persons had deuised waies to counterfeit the same, so that the alteration thereof was verie necessarie, but yet grieuous and chargeable to the poore inhabitants of the realme.

Anno Reg. 27. R. Houed. 1181

King Henrie the father, whilest he was at Mauns after Christmasse made this ordinance, that euerie man being worth in goods to the value of an hundred pounds Anioun, should keepe one horsse able for seruice in the wars, and complet armour for a knight or man of armes, as we may rather call them. Also that such as had goods worth in value from 40. pounds to 25. of the same monie, should at the least haue in his house for his furniture an habergeon, a cap of steele, a speare, and a sword, or bowe and arrowes. Further more he ordeined, that no man might sell or laie to gage his armour and weapon, but should be bound to leaue it to his next heire. When the French king and the earle of Flanders were aduertised that king Henrie had made this ordinance amongst his subiects, they gaue commandement that their people should be armed after the like manner.

Matth. Paris.

This yeare after Candlemasse, Laurence archbishop of Dublin came ouer to the king into Normandie, and brought with him the son of Roderike king of Conagh, to remaine with him as a pledge, for performance of couenants passed betwixt them, as the paiment of tribute and such like. The said archbishop died there in Normandie, wherevpon the king sent Geffrey de Haie one of his chapleins, and chapleine also to Alexius the popes legat into Ireland, to seize that archbishops see into his hands. He also sent John Lacie constable of Chester, and Richard de Peake, to haue the citie of Dublin in keeping, which Hugh Lacie had in charge before, and now was discharged, bicause the king tooke displeasure with him, for that without his licence he had maried a daughter of the king of Conagh, according to the manner of that countrie.

This yeare also, Geffrey the kings bastard sonne, who was the elect of Lincolne, and had receiued the profits of that bishoprike by the space of seuen yeares, and had his election confirmed by the pope in the feast of the Epiphanie at Marlebridge, in presence of the king and bishops renounced that preferment, of his owne free will. Within a while after the pope sent a streit commandement vnto Richard archbishop of Canturburie, either to cause the same Geffrey by the censure of the church to renounce his miter, or else to take vpon him the order of priesthood. Wherefore vpon good aduice taken in the matter with his father and other of his especiall frends, iudging himselfe insufficient for the one, he was contented to part with the other; and thereupon wrote letters vnto the said archbishop of Canturburie, in forme as followeth. R. Houed.

A letter of Geffrey the kings base sonne elect of Lincolne to Richard archbishop of Canturburie.

Venerabili patri Richardo Dei gratia Cantuariensi archiepiscopo apostolicæ sedis legato, Galfridus domini regis Angliæ filius & cancellarius salutem & reuerentiam debitam ac deuotam. Placuit maiestati apostolicæ vestræ iniungere sanctitati, vt me certo tempore vocaretis ad suscipiendum ordinem sacerdotis, & pontificalis officij dignitatem. Ego verò considerans quamplures episcopos maturiores ac prouectiores prudentia & ætate vix tantæ administrationi sufficere, nec sine periculo animarum suarum sui officium pontificatus ad perfectum explere, veritus sum onus importabile senioribus mihi imponere iuniori: faciens hæc nõ ex leuitate animi, sed ob reuerentiam sacramenti. Habito itaque tractatu super eo tum domino rege patre meo, dominis fratribus meisque rege & Pictauensi & Britannorum comitibus: episcopis etiam Henrico Baiocensi, Erogerio Sagiensi, Reginaldo Baionensi, Sefrido Cicestrensi, qui præsentes iderant, aliter de vita & statu meo disposui, volens patris mei obsequijs militare ad tempus, & ab episcopalibus abstinere: omne itaque ius electionis inde & Lincolnensem episcopatum spontaneè, liberè, quietè, & integrè, in manu vestra pater sancte resigno, tam electionem quam episcopatus absolutionem postulans à vobis, tanquam à metropolitano meo, & ad hoc ab apostolica sede specialiter delegato. Bene vale.

The king for his maintenance, now after he had resigned his bishoprike, gaue him 500. markes of yearelie rent in England, and as much in Normandie, and made him moreouer lord chancellor.

This yeare also after Easter, the kings of England and France came to an enterview togither, at a place in the confines of their countries called by some writers Vadum Sancti Remigij, on a mondaie being the 17. of April, in which assemblie of those two princes, the knights templers and hospitallers presented to them letters directed from pope Alexander vnto all christian princes, aduertising them of the danger wherein the holie land stood at that present, if speedie remedie were not the sooner prouided. Wherefore he exhorted them to addresse their helping hand towards the releefe thereof, granting vnto all such as would enterprise to go thither in person (to remaine there vpon defense of the countrie against the infidels) great pardon, as to those that did continue there the space of two yeeres, pardon of penance for all their sins, except theft, extortion, roberie, and vsurie; in which cases restitution was to be made, if the partie were able to do it; if not, then he should be absolued as well for those things as for other. And those that remained one yeare in those parties were pardoned of halfe their whole penance due for all their sinnes. And to those that went to visit the holie sepulchre, he also granted great pardon, as remission of their sinnes, whether they came thither or peradventure died by the waie. He also granted his free indulgence vnto those that went to warre against the common, the professed and open enimies of our religion

The danger of the holie land.

religion in the holie land, as his predecessors the popes Urbanus and Eugenius had granted in time past: and he receiued likewise their wiues, their children, their goods and possessions vnder the protection of S. Peter and the church of Rome.

The two kings hauing heard the popes letters read, and taken good aduice thereof, promised by Gods fauour shortlie to prouide conuenient aid for releefe of the holie land, and of the christians as yet remaining in the same. This was the end of their communication for that time, and so they departed, the French king into France, and the king of England into Normandie.

In the meane time, by the king of Englands appointment, William king of Scotland went ouer into Normandie, and by the aduice and good admonition of king Henrie, he granted licence vnto two bishops of his realme of Scotland, to wit, Aberdene and saint Andrewes, to returne into Scotland, whom he had latelie before banished, and driuen out of his realme. Moreouer, as king Henrie laie at Harfleet readie to saile ouer into England, discord fell betwixt the king of France and the erle of Flanders, so that the king of England at desire of the French king returned backe, and came vnto Gisors, where the French king met him, and so did the earle of Flanders, betwixt whom vpon talke had in the matter depending in controuersie, he made a concord, and then comming downe to Chirburge, he and the king of Scots in his companie passed ouer into England, landing at Portesmouth the 26. of Julie.

An ordinance for armour.

The king now being returned into England, ordeined a statute for armour and weapon to be had amongst his subiects here in this realme, which was thus. Euerie man that held a knights fee should be bound to haue a paire of curasses, an helmet, with shield and speare; and euerie knight or man of arms should haue as manie curasses, helmets, shields and speares as he held knights fees in demaine. Euerie man of the laitie hauing goods or reuenues to the value of sixteene marks, should haue one paire of curasses, an helmet, a speare, and a shield. And euerie free man of the laitie hauing goods in value worth ten marks, should haue an habergeon, a steele cap, & a speare; and all burgesses, and the whole communaltie of free men should haue a wambais, a cap of steele, and a speare.

Further it was ordeined, that euerie man thus bound to haue armour, should be sworne to haue the same before the feast of S. Hilarie, and to be true vnto king Henrie Fitz empres, in defense of whome and of his realme they should keepe with them such armour and weapon, according to his precept and commandement thereof had and made. And no man being furnished with such armour, should sell, pledge, lend, or otherwise alien the same, neither may his lord by any means take the same from him, either by waie of forfeiture, by distresse or pledge, nor by any other means: and when any man died, hauing such armour, he shall leaue it to his heire, and if his heire be not of lawfull age to weare it into the field, then he that hath the custodie of his bodie shall haue the armour, and find an able man to weare it for him, till he come to age.

Iewes might haue no armour.

If any burgesse of any good towne haue more armour than he ought to haue by this statute, he shall sell it or giue it to some man that may weare it in the kings seruice. No Iew might haue armour by this statute: but those that had anie, were appointed to sell the same to such as were inhabitants within the realme, for no man might sell or transport anie armour ouer the sea, without the kings licence. For the better execution of which ordinance, it was ordeined, that inquests should be taken by sufficient iurors, what they were that were able to haue armour by their abilitie in lands and goods. Also the K. would, that none should be sworne to haue armour, except he were a free man of birth and blood.

Matt. Paris.

The same yeare, the king being at Walcham, assigned an aid to the maintenance of the christian souldiers in the holie land, that is to wit, 42. thousand marks of siluer, and fiue hundred marks of gold.

The deceasse of Hugh earle of Chester. Ran. Higd.

Hugh Bolun otherwise called Kenelocke the sonne of Ranulfe the second of that name earle of Chester, died this yeare, and was buried at Leeke. He left behind him issue by his wife the countesse Beatrice daughter of Richard Lacie lord iustice of England, a sonne named Ranulfe, who succeeded him, being the first erle of Chester, & third of that name after the conquest. Besides this Ranulfe he had foure daughters by his said wife; to wit, Maud married to Dauid earle of Angus, Huntington and Galloway; Mabell coupled with William Daubignie earle of Arundell, Agnes married to William Ferrers earle of Derbie, and Hauise ioined with Robert Quincie earle of Lincolne.

The archbish. of Yorke deceaseth.

The 21. of Nouember, Roger archbishop of Yorke died, who (when he perceiued himselfe in danger of death by force of that his last sickenesse) deliuered great summes of monie vnto certeine bishops and other graue personages to be distributed amongst poore people: but after his death, the king called for the monie, and seized it to his vse, alleadging a sentence giuen by the same archbishop in his life time, that no ecclesiasticall person might giue any thing by will, except he deuised the same whilest he was in perfect health: yet the bishop of Durham would not depart with foure hundred marks which he had receiued to distribute amongst the poore, alledging that he dealt the same awaie before the archbishops death, and therefore he that would haue it againe, must go gather it vp of them to whom he had distributed it, which he himselfe would in no wise do. But the king tooke no small displeasure with this vndiscreet answer, insomuch that he seized the castell of Durham into his hands, and sought means to disquiet the said bishop by diuerse maner of waies.

1182

The K. passeth ouer into Normandie.

The king held his Christmasse this yeare at Winchester, and afterwards sailed ouer into Normandie, bicause he heard that the king his sonne was gone to his brother in law king Philip, and began to practise eftsones new trouble, which was true indeed: but

The K. & his sonne eftsons reconciled.

yet at length he came backe, and was reconciled to his father, and tooke an oth, that from thenceforth he would neuer swarue from him, nor demand more for his maintenance but an hundred pounds Aniouin by the daie, and ten pounds a day of the same monie for his wife. His father granted this, and also couenanted, that within the tearme of one yeare he would giue him the seruices of an hundred knights. Neuertheless all this did little amend the matter, for though he set a new copie of countenance thereupon, yet he reteined his old peruerse purpose in his discontented mind, hauing learned that

Qui nescit fingere nescit regere.

After this, king Henrie the father as a mediator betwixt the king of France, and the earle of Flanders touching controuersies betwixt them did so much in the matter, that he set them at one for that time.

Rog. Houed.

About the same season, king Henrie the father sent William de Mandeuille earle of Albemarle, and other ambassadors vnto the emperour Frederike, to intreat for his sonne in law the duke of Saxonie, that he might be againe restored into his fauor,

The duke of Saxonie.

which could not be obteined: for he was alreadie condemned to exile, but yet thus much to pleasure the king of England the emperour granted, that so manie as went with him out of their countrie, might re-

turne againe at their pleasure, and that his wife the dutches Maud the K. of Englands daughter, should inioy hir dowrie, and be at libertie, whether she would remaine vpon it, or follow hir husband into exile, therefore when the daie came that he must depart out of his countrie, he set forward with his wife and children, and a great number of the Nobles of his countrie, and finallie came into Normandie, where he was right ioifullie receiued of his father in law king Henrie.

Shortlie after his comming thither, he gaue licence to the Noble men that were come thither with him, to returne home, and then he himselfe went into Spaine to visit the bodie of S. James the apostle. His wife being great with child, remained with hir father in Normandie, and at Argenton she was deliuered of a sonne. This yeare the Welshmen slue Ranulfe Poer shirife of Glocestershire. King Henrie held his Christmasse at Caen, with his three sons, Henrie the king, Richard earle of Poictow, and Geffrey earle of Britaine. There was also Henrie duke of Saxonie, with his wife and their children, besides the archbishops of Canturburie and Dublin, with other bishops earles and barons in great number.

The dutchesse of Saxonie deliuered of a sonne.
Ranulfe Poer slaine.
Anno Reg. 29.
1183

Here would king Henrie the father, that his son the king should receiue homage of his brethren Richard earle of Poictow, and Geffrey earle of Britaine. The earle of Britaine did not staie at the matter, but the earle of Poictow refused, alledging that it was not conuenient so long as their father liued, to acknowledge any superioritie to their brother: for as the fathers inheritance was due to the eldest sonne, so he claimed the lands which he held due to him in right of his mother. This deniall so much offended his brother the king, that afterwards when Richard would haue done homage, he would not receiue it, whervpon Richard departed from the court in great displeasure, & comming into Poictow, began to fortifie his castels & townes, that he might be in a readinesse to stand vpon his safegard, if his father or brethren should come to pursue him. King Henrie the sonne followed him, set on by the earles and barons of Poictow, which for the sharpe and cruell gouernement of earle Richard, hated him mortallie. Againe on the other side, the fauourable courtesie, seemelie personage, and other noble qualities which they saw in the yong king, moued them to take part with him against Richard, and shortlie after their brother Geffrey came with a great armie in aid of his brother the king, in so much that earle Richard not knowing how to shift off the present danger, sent to his father for aid, who being verie sorie in his mind to see such vnnaturall dealing among his sonnes, gathered an armie and set forward.

Wil. Paruus.

Polydor.

Ger. Dor.

Rog. Houed. war betwixt the brethren.

He had a little before trauelled to set them at one, in somuch that where earle Richard held a castell named Clareualr, which after the fathers decease ought to remaine vnto king Henrie the son, vpon his complaint thereof made, the father did so much with the earle, that he surrendered it into his fathers hands. Immediatlie after all the three sonnes came to Angers, and there sware to be obedient vnto their fathers will, and to serue him against all men: whervpon he appointed them a daie to meet at Mirabell, where the barons of Guien should also be, vnto whom king Henrie the sonne had sworne to aid them against earle Richard. Herewith was earle Geffrey sent vnto them to persuade them to peace and quietnesse, and to come vnto Mirabell according to king Henrie the fathers appointment: but in steed of persuading them to peace (contrarie to his oth so oftentimes receiued) he procured them to pursue the warre both against his father and his brother earle Richard: and no marueil, for

Malè parta gratiâ nunquam bene coalescit.

The father seeketh to appease the quarell betwixt his sonnes.

Earle Geffrey dealeth vnfaithfullie.

King Henrie the sonne remaining with his father, shewed outwardlie that he wished for peace, but his meaning was all contrarie, and so obteined licence of his father to go vnto Limoges, that he might labour to reduce both his brother Geffrey, and the barons of Guien vnto quietnesse. But such dissembling was put in practise by king Henrie, that when the father followed with an armie, and came vnto Limoges, in steed of receiuing him with honor, as it had beene their duties to haue done, they shot at him, and pearsed through his vppermost armor, so that both he and his sonne Richard were constreined to depart. Howbeit afterwards he entered that citie, and comming forth of it againe to talke with his sonnes, those within Limoges eftsones rebelled, so that certeine of them within, shot the horse whereon king Henrie the father rode into the head. And if it had so chanced, that the horse in casting vp his head had not receiued the blow, the arrow had light in the kings brest, to the great danger & perill of his person. Neither did his sonnes the king and his brother Geffrey go about to see such an heinous attempt punished, but rather seemed to like well of it, and to mainteine those most malicious enimies of their souereigne lord and father, for they ioined with them against him, although king Henrie the sonne made countenance to be willing to reconcile his brother and the barons of Guien to his father by waie of some agreement: but his double dealing was to manifest, although indeed he abused his fathers patience for a while, who was desirous of nothing more than to win his sonnes by some courteous meanes, and therfore diuerse times offered to pardon all offenses committed by his enimies, at the suit of his sonne the king, who in deed offered himselfe now and then as an intreatour, but that was onelie to win time that his brother with such Brabanders and other souldiers as he had with him in aid, beside the forces of the barons of Guien, might worke the more mischefe against their father and their brother earle Richard, in wasting and destroieng their countries that stood stedfast on their side.

The disloiall dissembling of the yong king.

In the meane time Richard the archbishop of Canturburie, and diuerse other bishops and abbats both of England and Normandie assembled together at Caen, and in the abbeie church of S. Stephan pronounced the sentence of excommunication against all those that did hinder and impeach their purpose, which was to haue peace and concord concluded betwixt the king and his sonnes, the same sonnes onlie out of the said sentence excepted.

Diuerse shifts were made by king Henrie the sonne, and his brother earle Geffrey also to get monie for the paiment of their souldiers, as spoiling of shrines, and such like. But at length when things framed not to their purpose, and that the harme which they could do against their father was much lesse than they wished, if power had beene answerable to their willes, king Henrie the sonne through indignation and displeasure (as some write) fell into a greeuous sicknesse in a village called Mertell, not farre from Limoges, where his father laie at siege.

King Henrie the sonne falleth sicke.

At the first he was taken with an extreame feuer, and after followed a sore flixe. Now perceiuing himselfe in danger of death, and that the physicians had giuen him ouer, he sent to his father (better late than neuer) confessing his trespasse committed against him, and required of all fatherlie loue to come & see him once before he died. But for that the father thought not good to commit himselfe into the hands of such vngratious persons as were about his sonne, he sent his ring vnto him in token of his blessing,

He sendeth to his father.

and

and as it were a pledge to signifie that he had forgiuen him his vnnaturall doings against him. The son receiuing it with great humilitie, kissed it, and so ended his life in the presence of the archbishop of Burdeaux and others, on the day of saint Barnabie the apostle. He died (as some write) verie penitent and sorowfull.

His repentance before his death.

And whereas in his life time he had vowed to make a iourneie into the holie land against Gods enimies, and taken vpon him the crosse for that intent, he deliuered it vnto his familiar frend William Marshall to go thither with it in his stead. Moreouer when he perceiued present death at hand, he first confessed his sinnes secretlie, and after openly before sundrie bishops and men of religion, and receiued absolution in most humble wise. After this, he caused his fine clothes to be taken from him, and therewith a heare cloth to be put vpon him, and after tieng a cord about his necke, he said vnto the bishops and other that stood by him; I deliuer my selfe an vnworthie and greeuous sinner vnto you the ministers of God by this cord, beseeching our Lord Jesus Christ, which pardoned the theefe confessing his faults on the crosse, that through your praiers and for his great mercies sake it may please him to be mercifull vnto my soule; wherevnto they all answered, Amen. Then he said vnto them, Draw me out of this bed with this cord, and laie me on that bed strawed with ashes (which he had of purpose prepared) and as he commanded so they did: and they laid at his feet and at his head two great square stones. Thus being prepared to die, he willed his bodie after his decease to be conueied into Normandie, and buried at Rouen. And so after he had receiued the sacrament of the bodie and bloud of our Lord, he departed this life as afore is said, about the 28. yeare of his age.

A strange kind of superstitious deuotion, if this report of our author be true

He is drawne out of his bed, a thing vnlike to be true.

His death.

His bodie after his death was conueied towards Rouen, there to be buried accordinglie as he had willed: but when those that had charge to conueie it thither were come vnto the citie of Mauns, the bishop there and the cleargie would not suffer them to go any further with it, but committed it to buriall in honourable wise within the church of saint Julian. Whereof when the cittizens of Rouen were aduertised, they were sore offended with that doing, and freight waies sent vnto them of Mauns, requiring to haue the corps deliuered, threatening otherwise with manie earnest oths to fetch it from them by force. Wherefore king Henrie, to set order in this matter, commanded that the corps of his sonne the king should be deliuered vnto them of Rouen to be buried in their citie, as he himselfe had willed before his death. And so it was taken vp and conueied to Rouen, where it was eftsones buried in the church of our ladie.

N. Triuet.

The bodie of the yong king iustlie buried at Rouen.

¶ Thus ended this yong king in his flourishing youth, to whome through his owne fault deserts long life was iustlie denied, sith he delighted to begin his gouernement with vnlawfull attempts, as an other Absolon against his owne naturall father, seeking by wrongfull violence to pull the scepter out of his hand. He is not put in the number of kings, bicause he remained for the more part vnder the gouernance of his father, so that he rather bare the name of king as appointed to reigne, than that he may be said to haue reigned in deed. So that heere by the waie a notable obseruation doth occurre and offer it selfe to be noted of vs; namelie, that euen princes children, though borne to great excellencie, and in high degree of dignitie, are to consider with themselues, that notwithstanding their statelie titles of souereignetie, they haue a dutie to discharge vnto their parents, which if it be neglected, and that in place thereof disobedience is substituted, God himselfe (when politike lawes prouide not to punish such offenses) will take the cause in hand, & will powre vengeance vpon such vngratious children. For he will be true of his word both in blessing and cursling, in blessing the dutifull child with long life and happie daies, and in cursling the obstinate and froward with short life and vnfortunate daies, according to the tenure of his law. If this man had liued in the old Romans time, when aged persons were so reuerenced and honoured (much more parents) he had beene cut off in the prime of his disobedience, and present death had beene inflicted vpon him as a due and deserued reward; which Iuuenal noteth excellentlie well in these words,

Credebant hoc grande nefas, & morte piandum, Iuuen. sat. 13.
Si iuuenis vetulo non assurrexerat, & si
Barbato cuicunq; puer, licèt ipse videret
Plura domi farra, & maioris glandis aceruos,
Tam venerabile erat præcedere quattuor annis,
Primáq; par adeò sacræ lanugo senectæ.

King Henrie (after his sonne the king was thus dead) inforced his power more earnestlie than before to winne the citie and castell of Limoges which he had besieged, and at length had them both surrendered into his hands, with all other castels and places of strength kept by his enimies in those parts, of the which some he furnished with garisons, and some he caused to be laied flat with the ground.

Limoges rendred to king Henrie.

There rose about the same time occasion of strife and variance betwixt king Henrie and the French king, about the enioieng of the countrie lieng vpon Gisors, called Veulquesine, on this side the riuer of Hept, which was giuen vnto king Henrie the sonne, in consideration of the marriage betwixt him and quæne Margaret the French kings sister. For the French king now after the death of his brother in law king Henrie the sonne, required to haue the same restored vnto the crowne of France: but king Henrie was not willing to part with it. At length they met betwixt Trie and Gisors to talke of the matter, where they agréed that quéene Margaret the widow of the late deceased king Henrie the son, should receiue yearelie during hir life 1750 pounds of Aniouin monie at Paris, of king Henrie the father and his heires; in consideration whereof she should release and quit claime all hir right to those lands that were demanded, as Veulquesine and others. Shortlie after, Geffrey erle of Britaine came to his father, and submitting himselfe, was reconciled to him, and also to his brother Richard earle of Poictow. Also I find that king Henrie at an enterview had betwixt him and the French king at their accustomed place of meeting betwixt Trie and Gisors on saint Nicholas day, did his homage to the same French king for the lands which he held of him on that side the sea, which to do till then he had refused. The same yeare king Henrie held his Christmas at the citie of Mauns.

Veulquesine.

The kings of England and France talke togither.

Anno Reg. 30

When the king had set the French king and the earle of Flanders at agréement for the controuersie that chanced betwixt them about the lands of Vermendois, he passed through the earle of Flanders countrie, and comming to Wisand, tooke ship and sailed ouer into England, landing at Douer the tenth day of June, with his daughter the dutches of Saxonie, who was afterwards deliuered of a sonne at Winchester, and hir husband the duke of Saxonie came also this yeare into England, and was ioifullie receiued and honourablie interteined of the king his father in law.

1584

The dutchesse of Saxonie deliuered of a sonne.

And whereas the archbishop of Colen came ouer into England this yeare to visit the tome of Thomas late archbishop of Canturburie, the king trauelled to make an agréement betwixt him and the Saxonish duke touching a certeine variance depending

The archbish. of Colen.

ding betwixt them, wherin the king did so much, that the archbishop forgaue all iniuries past, and so they were made frends. Also by the counsell of the same archbishop the king sent Hugh Nouant archdeacon of Liseux and others, ambassadours from him vnto pope Lucius, that by his helpe there might be made some waie to obteine a pardon for the said duke, and licence for him to returne into his countrie. Those that were sent demeaned themselues so discretly in doing their message, that the emperour comming where the pope then was, that is to say, at Verona in Italie, at the earnest suit of the said pope was contented to release all his euill will which he bare towards the duke, pardoned him for all things past, and licenced him now at length to returne home into his countrie, his condemnation of exile being clerlie reuoked.

Hugh Nouant.

The duke of Saxonie pardoned and reuoked out of exile.

There died this yeare sundrie honorable personages, as Simon earle of Huntington son to Simon earle of Northampton, after whose decease the king gaue his earledome vnto his brother Dauid, or (as Radulfus de Diceto saith) bicause the said Simon died without issue, the king gaue the earledome of Huntington vnto William king of Scots sonne to earle Henrie that was sonne to king Dauid. Also the earle of Warwike died this yeare, and Thomas Fitz Bernard lord chefe iustice of the forests, which rome Alaine de Neuill had inioied before him. Now after the death of this Thomas Fitz Bernard, the king diuided his forests into sundrie quarters, and to euerie quarter he appointed foure iustices, two of the spiritualtie, and two knights of the temporaltie, beside two generall wardens that were of his owne seruants, to be as surueiers aboue all other forresters of vert and venison, whose office was to see that no disorder nor spoile were committed within any grounds of warren contrarie to the assises of forests. Diuerse prelates died this yeare also, as foure bishops, to wit, Gerald surnamed la Pucelle bishop of Chester, Walran bishop of Rochester, Joceline of Salisburie, and Bartholomew of Excester.

Death of Noble men.

The gouernement of the forests diuided.

Besides these, diuerse abbats, & on the 16. of Februarie died Richard archbishop of Canturburie in the 11. yeare after his first entring into the gouernment of that see. His bodie was buried at Canturburie. He was noted to be a man of euill life, and wasted the goods of that church inordinatlie. It was reported that before his death there appeared to him a vision, which said; Thou hast wasted the goods of the church, and I shall rot thee out of the earth. Wherevpon he toke such a feare, that he died within eight daies after. Then Baldwin who before was bishop of Worcester succeeded him, he was the 40. archbishop that had ruled the church of Canturburie. The king and bishops procured his election not without much adoo: for the monks pretending a right thereto, were sore against it. It is reported of him, that after he was made a white monke, he neuer eat flesh to his liues end. On a time an old woman met him, and asked him if it were true that he neuer eat any maner of flesh; It is true said he. It is false quoth she, for I had but one cow to find me with, and thy seruants haue taken hir from me. Whereunto he answered, that if it so were, she should haue as good a cow restored to hir by Gods grace as hir owne was. The same time also Margaret the wife of the late deceased king Henrie the son, returned into France to hir brother king Philip, and was after ioined in mariage with Bela king of Hungarie.

" " " "

not vtter such words against me. No wonder (said the patriarch) for they loue thine and not thée; that is to say, they loue thy temporall goods, and stand in feare of thée for losse of promotion, but thy soule they loue not. And when he had so said, he offered his head to the king; saieng, Do by me euen as thou diddest by archbishop Becket, for all is one to me, either to be slaine heere in Europe of a wicked christian, or in the holie land by a Saracen, for thou art worse than a Saracen, and thy people follow the prey and spoile and not a man. The king kept his patience, and said, I may not go out of my land, for if I should, mine owne sonnes would rise and rebell against me. No maruell (said the patriarch) for of the diuell they came, and to the diuell they shall. And thus he departed from the king in great displeasure. ¶ Thus haue some written: but by others it appeareth that the patriarch remained here till the king went ouer into Normandie himselfe, in companie of whom the patriarch went also (as after shall appeare.)

Rash iudgement in an holie father.

This yeare the last of March, king Henrie made his sonne John knight, and shortlie after sent him ouer into Ireland, of which countrie he had made him king. At his comming into Ireland, he was honourablie receiued of the archbishop of Dioueline, and other noble men that had béene sent thither before him. The king allowed him great abundance of treasure, but he hauing learned that

Non minor est virtus quàm quærere parta tueri,

keeping it in his coffers (as one now come into a strange place, and not knowing what he should want) would not depart with it so freelie amongst his souldiers and men of warre as they looked for: by reason whereof their seruice was such, that in diuerse conflicts he lost manie of his men, and at length was driuen through want of conuenient aid, to returne againe into England, hauing appointed his capteins and souldiers to remaine in places most expedient for the defense of that countrie. ¶ But héere of yée may read more at large in the historie of Ireland.

R. Houed. John the kings sonne made king of Ireland. Ger. Dor.

An earthquake.

On the mondaie in the wéeke before Easter, chanced a sore earthquake thorough all the parts of this land, such a one as the like had not bæne heard of in England sithens the beginning of the world. For stones that laie couched fast in the earth, were remoued out of their places, stone houses were ouerthrowne, and the great church of Lincolne was rent from the top downwards.

The king and the patriarch passe ouer into France.

The day next after this terrible wonder, the king and the patriarch with the bishop of Durham and a great sort of other Noble men of this realme, passed the seas from Douer to Wisland, and so rode forth towards Normandie, where immediatlie vpon his comming thither he raised a power, and sent word to his sonne Richard earle of Poictou (which had fortified the townes and castels of Poictou against him, and taken his brother Geffrey prisoner) that except he deliuered vp into his mothers hands the whole countrie of Poictou, he would surelie come to chastise him with an iron rod, and bring him vnder obedience smallie to his ease. Vpon this message earle Richard being somewhat better aduised, obeied his fathers commandements in all points, rendring vp into his mothers hands the earldome of Poictou, and comming to his father as an obedient sonne, shewed himselfe readie to serue him at commandement with a glad and willing mind. Some after this, and about the seauenth houre of the day, the sunne suffered a generall eclipse, so that no part of it appeared, and therwith followed great thunder with lightning and sore tempest, with the violence whereof both men and beasts were destroied, and manie houses burned.

The kings message to his sonne earle Richard.

Erle Richard obeieth his father.

Rog. Houed. Particular and not generall, saith Ger. Dor.

Shortlie after this, the kings of England and France met and communed togither for the aiding of them in the holie land, and they promised indeed to send thither both men and monie: but the patriarch made small account thereof, for he was much deceiued of that which he hoped to haue brought to passe, which was, either to haue got the king of England, or one of his sonnes, or some other man of great authoritie with him into the holie land: but bicause that would not be, he departed from the court verie sorrowfull and sore displeased, so that it may be thought, that then (and not before his departure out of England) he spake his mind so plainlie vnto the king (as before yee haue heard.)

Moreouer, about this time king Henrie obteined of pope Vrbane the third, that he might crowne which of his sonnes it should please him king of Ireland, in token of which grant and confirmation, the said pope sent vnto him a crowne of peacocks feathers, after a feat maner wouen in with gold. Anno Reg. 32.

This yeare the king held his Christmasse at Dantsrount, and shortlie after came to a communication with the French king, at the which he toke a solemne oth that he would deliuer the ladie Alice the French kings sister (whome he had as yet in his custodie) vnto his sonne Richard erle of Poictou in mariage. For the which mariage to be had and solemnized, the French king granted to deliuer vnto the said Richard the towne of Gisors, with all that which his father king Lewes promised vnto king Henrie the sonne (latelie deceassed) in marriage with quéene Margaret the wife of the same Henrie, receiuing an oth thereto, neuer to make anie claime or chalenge to the same towne and lands. 1186

King Henrie returneth into England. Ger. Dor.

King Henrie (after he had thus concluded and finished his affaires with the French king) returned backe into England in Maie, and then was Hugh prior of Witham instituted bishop of Lincolne after that the see there had béene void and without any lawfull gouernour almost the space of seauentéene yeares. This Hugh was reputed a verie godlie and vertuous man. Before him Walter Constance was nominated to that see, but bicause he was made archbishop of Rouen before he was inuested in the church of Lincolne, he is not accounted in number of the bishops of Lincolne.

Hugh prior of Witham made bishop of Lincolne.

Moreouer king Henrie shortlie after his returne at this time into England, assembled a great armie, and went with the same to Caerleill, in purpose to haue entred Galloway, and there to haue chastised Rouland lord of that countrie, who was sonne to Vthred the sonne of Fergus, for the iniuries done to his cosine germains, namelie to Duncane sonne to Gilbert, who was sonne to the same Fergus, in spoiling him and the residue (after the decease of the said Gilbert) of their parts of inheritance, vsurping the whole to himselfe. But as the king was now readie to inuade his countrie, Rouland came to him, and vsed such meanes vnder pretense of satisfaction, that he made his peace with the king, who thereupon brought backe his armie, and did no more at that time.

Hugh Lacie slaine.

About the same time came newes to the king, that Hugh Lacie was slaine in Ireland by an Irish gentleman that was his confederate (or rather by a labourer, as in the Irish historie you may read) whereof the king was nothing sorie, bicause the same Hugh was growne to so high degrée of puissance in that countrie, that he refused to obeie the kings commandement when he sent for him.

¶ It is to be noted, that when king Henrie had conquered the most part of Ireland, and set the countrie in some good order, after his comming from thence, such capteines as he left there behind him, were

were not idle, but still did what they could to inlarge the confines which were committed to their gouernance: but amongst them all this Hugh Lacie was the cheefest, in somuch that after the death of Richard earle of Strigule, the king made him gouernour of the countrie in place of the said earle, by reason whereof he so inlarged his possessions, that within a while he became dreadfull, not onelie to the enimies, but also to his associats, as to such English capteins as were abiding in Ireland vpon gard of the English frontiers. For if any of them disobeied his commandement, he would not sticke to chastise them at his pleasure, so that by such meanes he seemed rather to conquer the countrie to his owne vse, than to the kings. Wherein he dealt not so directlie or discretlie as he might; for,

Hugh Lacies diligence to inlarge his possessions in Ireland.

Homines volunt allici non impelli.

He had also ioined himselfe in mariage with a daughter of the king of Vnlester, not making king Henrie priuie to the same. Whervpon the king hauing sundrie informations presented to him of such his presumptuous demeanour, commanded him by his letters to returne home, and come before his presence, which to do (as before I haue said) he refused, by reason whereof he confirmed the suspicion which was conceiued of him, to rise vpon no vaine coniectures, and therefore the euill that came to him was nothing lamented of king Henrie, who with good cause was highlie offended towards him for the contempts and considerations aforesaid.

King Henrie not sorie for the death of Lacie.

This yeare Geffrey the kings son who was earle of Britaine died at Paris, and was buried in the same citie, leauing behind him (besides two daughters) one onlie sonne as then in his mothers wombe, of whom she was deliuered in the night of the feast of Easter next insuing hir husbands death: he was named Arthur, and succeeded his father in the earledome of Britaine. His fathers death was occasioned (as men iudge) by a fall which he caught at a iournie, for he was sore bruised therewith, and neuer had his health, but finallie fell into a flix and so died.

The death of Geffrey the kings sonne.

About this season pope Vrbane wrote vnto Baldwin archbishop of Canturburie, granting him licence to build a church at Alkinton, in honour of S. Stephan and Thomas Becket now reputed a martyr, and that the fourth part of the offerings which came to the bor of Thomas the martyr should be assigned to the vse of the monks, & an other fourth part to the buildings of that church, and an other fourth part to be giuen to the poore, and the other fourth part remaining he might reserue to himselfe to bestow at his pleasure. But within a while after, at the suit and supplication of the prior and couent of Canturburie (who liked nothing of the former partition) the pope sent letters of prohibition to the said archbishop, that he should cease from building of the fore mentioned church, because the building therof would be preiudiciall to the church of Canturburie.

About the same time also king Henrie gaue his cosen the ladie Ermengard (who was daughter to Richard Vicount Beaumount) in marriage vnto Willam king of Scotland, causing the archbishop of Canturburie to ioine them togither in the bond of matrimonie within the chappell at Woodstocke, where he kept great cheere in honour of that marriage for the space of foure daies togither. And further he gaue at the same time vnto the king of Scots the castell of Edenbourgh: and the king of Scots streitwaies gaue it vnto his wife the forsaid Ermingard, as a portion of hir dower, augmented with an hundred pounds of lands by the yeare, and 40. knights fees.

The ladie Ermengard the vicount Beaumonts daughter, maried to William king of Scots.

Castell of Edenbourgh.

The French king required to haue the custodie of the infant Arthur, heire to Geffrey earle of Britaine: but king Henrie would in no wise grant thereto. Wherefore he sent Walter archbishop of Rouen, William de Mandeuille earle of Albemarle, and Ranulfe de Glandeuille lord cheefe iustice of England to the French court, to talke with king Philip about that matter, so that king Philip hauing heard them, was contented to staie from attempting force till the feast of S. Hilarie. But in the meane time it chanced, that one sir Richard de Walles a knight of the realme of France went about to fortifie a castell in a village that belonged to him called Walles, situated betwixt Trie & Gisors. Whervpon Henrie Vere (constable of Gisors vnder William earle of Albemarle) was nothing content therwith, and therefore got a companie togither, & went forth to disturbe the worke. Vpon this occasion the seruants of the said sir Richard de Walles came forth, and encountred with him in the field, in somuch that Rafe the sonne of sir Richard de Walles was slaine, and the residue that were with him fled, many of them being sore beaten and wounded.

Ambassadors sent to the French king.

Sir william de walles.

When the French king was informed hereof, he caused all the kings of England his subiects, that could be found within his countries and dominion of France to be apprehended, and their goods seized. The stewards, bailifes, & officers then of king Henrie, did the like by the French kings subiects that chanced to be at that present within the king of Englands countries, on that further side of the sea. But within a little while after, the French king set the English subiects at libertie, and so likewise did the K. of Englands officers release the French subiects.

The king of Englands subiects arested in Fräce.

The French subiects arested in Normandie.

At this time king Henrie held his Christmasse at Gilford, and shortlie after came one Octauianus a subdeacon cardinall, and Hugh de Nouant from the court of Rome, sent as legats from pope Vrbane into Ireland, that they might crowne earle John the kings sonne king of that land. But king Henrie made a delaie therein, taking the legats with him into Normandie, whither he sailed at the same time, and landing at Wissand, he went from thence into Normandie, and shortlie after came to a communication with the French king, at a place called Vadum Sancti Remigij, where after much talke they could not agree, by reason the French king demanded things vnreasonable, and so they departed without any thing concluded [sauing a truce] till after Whitsuntide.

Anno Reg. 33 1187

Octauianus a cardinall.

King Henrie passeth ouer into Normandie.

Ger. Dor.

About the same time, the citie of Jerusalem was taken by Saladine the cheefe prince of the Saracens. Whervpon much conference was had among the christian princes for the succoring of those christians, which as yet held and defended other peeces in the holie land, so that by publishing of the popes buls, manie tooke on them the crosse: and amongst other Richard the sonne of king Henrie (without anie licence obteined of his father) receiued the same, vowing to go thither out of hand, and to fight against Gods enimies to the vttermost of his power.

Jerusalem taken.

In the meane time the grudge still increased betwixt king Henrie and Philip the French king, partlie for one cause, and partlie for an other, but specialie one cheefe occasion was for that earle Richard deferred the doings of his homage vnto king Philip for the dutchie of Poictou, which by his fathers appointment he now inioied and held. The French king to preuent his enimies, immediatlie vpon the expiring of the truce raised a power, and entring into the dominions belonging to king Henrie, wasted the countrie till he came vnto Chateu Raoul: about which castell also he forthwith planted his siege.

Out of the annales of France written by Nicoll Gallus.

When king Henrie was aduertised hereof, he raised his power also, and togither with his sonne earle Richard came with all speed to succour his people,

ple,and to saue his castell from the hands of his enimies. Now when he approched neere vnto the place, he pitcht downe his tents ouer against the one side of the French campe,and earle Richard on the other, so that they were readie to assaile the French king on both sides at once,but before they came to ioine battell,by the mediation of a cardinall (as some write) Ger.Dor. or(as other saie) through meanes made by the earle of Flanders,the matter was taken vp. For earle Richard through persuasion of the said earle of Flanders came to the French king, and agreed with him, before that his father king Henrie was resolued of any such matter for his part,so that he was now in a maruellous perplexitie, & almost to seeke what was best to do,as a man fearing his owne swertie,by reason of mistrust which he had in his sonne Richard: but yet at the length through humble suit made by his said sonne vnto the French king,a truce was granted by the space of two yeares. A truce granted.

Earle Richard, after the matter was thus taken vp, went into France with the French king, of whom he was so honoured whilest he was there, that they kept one table at dinner and supper in the daie time,and(as was said) one bed serued them both to sleepe on in the night.

In the meane time king Henrie hearing of all this, fell into great suspicion whereto this great familiaritie betwixt the French king and his sonne would tend,and doubting the likeliest, sent for him to returne vnto him. But earle Richard perceiuing his father to mistrust his loialtie, gaue faire words, and promised to returne with all conuenient speed. Howbeit he ment an other matter, and so departing from the French court,came to Chinon,where he got into his hands a great portion of his fathers treasure that was kept there, against the will of him that had the custodie of it, and taking it thus awaie with him,he began to fortifie his castels and townes within his countrie of Poictou, and clearlie refused to come backe to his father for a time, although at length forsaking the counsell of naughtie men, he turned home vnto him, and humblie submitted himselfe,in such wise as to his dutie apperteined.And for the more assurance therof,he renewed his fealtie, in receiuing an oth vpon the holie euangelists. Which done,king Henrie went into Britaine with an armie, and wone the castell of Mountreleis by siege, which one Henrie de Lions, and one Guinemer his brother had gotten into their hands, after the decease of Geffrey earle of Britaine.

Earle Richard giueth his father faire words.

He seizeth vpon his fathers treasure.

This yeare the twentie of October, the citie of Chichester was almost wholie consumed to ashes by mischance of fire. The head church with the bishops palace, and the houses of the canons were burnt euen downe to the ground. After this king Henrie held his Christmasse at Caen,from whence he went to Harfleet,and there taking the sea passed ouer into England.The French king hearing by and by of his departure, assembled a great armie, and threatned to destroie the countrie of Normandie, and other lands on that side the sea,except king Henrie would deliuer into his hands the towne of Gisors, with the appurtenances, or cause his sonne Richard earle of Poictou to take to wife his sister Alice, according to his promise.

Anno Reg. 34. 1188

King Henrie returneth into England.

When king Henrie was aduertised hereof, he turned with all speed into Normandie,that he might prouide for timelie resistance, if the French king came forward to inuade his dominions. About the selfe same time came newes out of the holie land, that Saladine after the winning of Jerusalem,pursued his victorie with such successe, that he had taken from the christians the more part of all other townes and strengths within the land.These newes were nothing pleasant to the christian princes, and namelie the two kings Henrie and Philip seemed sorowfull for the same,and therefore came to an enterview together on the 21. day of Januarie betwixt Trie and Gisors,where the archbishop of Tire was present, through whose earnest exhortation the two kings were made freends, and the same day receiued the crosse at his hands in purpose to make a iournie together against those Saracens that had done such iniuries to the christian name. And for a difference that one nation might be knowne from another,the French king and his people toke vpon them to weare read crosses, the king of England and his subiects white crosses: but the earle of Flanders and his men ware greene.

King Henrie passeth againe into Normandie.

Polydor. Heatlie newes from the east parts.

An enterview betwixt the two kings.

The two kings receiue the crosse.

The French ware red crosses.

The English white.

The Flemings greene.

Herewith they departed asunder, each one repairing to their countries to prouide their armies, and make them in a readinesse to set forward by a day towards this necessarie iournie. King Henrie comming to Chinon, by aduise of his counsell,ordeined that euerie one of his subiects should yeld a tenth part of his reuenues and moueable goods for that yeare towards the aid of them in the holie land(come of that yeares growth excepted,and also all armour, horsses,bookes,apparell,ornaments of chapels, and pretious stones,which should not come in the rate of goods now tared,nor be charged with this paiment.) Moreouer those knights and men of warre that were appointed to go in this iourneie paied nothing, but had that monie also towards their furniture, which were gathered of their tenants and farmers, howbeit burgesses and others that toke vpon them the crosse without licence of their lords,paied his tenth,so that none of them went free.

An aid granted to them in the holie land. Wil.Paruus.

There were also good orders deuised, both for the aduancement of Gods glorie, and the releefe of the common-wealth, as that no man should sweare in any outragious maner,that no man should plaie at cards,dice or tables,and that no maner of person after Easter should weare any costlie furs or cloth of scarlet,nor that men should vse to haue their tables serued with more than two dishes of meat at one meale,nor should haue their apparell cut, iagged, or laced: and further, that none of them should take any women forth with them in this iourneie, except such a landresse, of whome there might not growe anie suspicion of wanton life. It was also ordeined, that the monie of such as died in this iournie, should go towards the finding and maintenance of their seruants and of poore people, and towards the aid of the christians in the holie land. Moreouer, the pope granted that all those that went forth in this iournie, repenting and confessing their sinnes, should be absolued and pardoned of the same. The king hauing thus taken order for his businesse in the parts on the further side the sea, came now ouer into England againe, landing at Winchelsey on a saturday the thirtith day of Januarie,and calling a councell togither at Gaitington,which is eight or nine miles from Northampton,he there declared what orders he had taken for his iournie into the holie land. Whereupon the bishops of Norwich and Lincolne, and a great number of other people toke vpon them the crosse at the preaching of the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Rochester.

Gods orders and disciplins instituted.

The king returneth into England.

A councell holden at Gaitington. Ger.Dor.

This done,king Henrie toke order also for the leuieng of the tenth, as well here in England, as he had done in the parts subiect to him on the further side the sea. He also sent Hugh bishop of Durham, and other both spirituall and temporall persons,vnto William king of Scots,to gather the tenth likewise within his countrie,but he met them betwixt Werk and Brightham,and would not suffer them to enter into Scotland,but he offered to giue vnto the king of

A tenth leuied

The king of Scots.

England

England in recompense of the tenths, and for to haue againe his castels, the summe of 5000. marks of siluer, which could not be accepted. The French king likewise gathered the tenths in his countrie towards this intended iournie. But by the working of some wicked spirit (as we may well thinke) which enuied the aduancement of the christian commonwealth, that good meaning of the two kings was broken and disappointed: for the peace latelie concluded betwixt them continued not long vnviolated.

The good meaning of the two kings disappointed. Polydor.

The French writers impute the fault thereof vnto English men, and the English writers laie it to French men. The French writers say, that earle Richard the son of king Henrie in breach of the league, made warre vpon Reimond earle of Tholouze. The English writers reproue the French king as a wicked man, in that he should of purpose breake the peace and moue warre against king Henrie, to withdraw him from going to make warre against the Saracens, to the which enterprise he was wholie bent and inclined. Such is the maner of manie writers, who more affectionat to the loue of their countrie than to the truth, do not obserue the law of histories in their writings, but rather inuetie one against another in a bralling and reproouing maner.

Reimond erle of Tholouze.

¶ Examples hereof are more than by any possibilitie may be remembred, and namelie for breuitie sake George Buchanan in the 8. booke of his Scotish historie verie reprochfullie speaketh of Richard Grafton (a right reuerend man whiles he liued and of entier name also being dead) charging him with ignorance, and the report of a shamelesse lier. Whose cause, bicause it is not so conuenient to be handled in this place as els where, we will remit to the reigne of * Edward the third, in whose time John Baliol was king of Scots, and cleere him (as well as we can) from a Scotish slander. Another example also we haue, and that most notorious, of Gabriel Prateolus the Jesuit, who hauing neuer beene in England, nor yet vnderstanding the English tong, blusheth not to say that the translation of the English bible hath in it a thousand faults. O singular and insufferable impudencie, when men passe not what they vomit and cast vp out of a full gorge surfetting with malice and rancour! But what shall we say,

* Where he shall be fullie & sufficientlie answered.

Horat. in art. poet. *Omne supervacuum pleno de pectore manat.*

In deed (as Roger Houeden and other do witnes) the foresaid earle Reimond, and also Aimer earle of Angolesme, Geffrey de Racon, and Geffrey de Lusignan, with the most part of all the Nobles of Poictou, made warre against earle Richard, and he held tacke against them all, and in the end ouercame them. Amongst other of earle Reimonds part whom he tooke, was one Peter Seille, by whose counsell earle Reimond had taken diuerse merchants of Poictou that were subiects to earle Richard, & done manie other displeasures to him and to his countrie, wherefore earle Richard kept this Peter in verie close prison, and would not put him to his ransome: in somuch that earle Reimond tooke two of the king of Englands knights, sir Robert Poer, and sir Richard Fraser, as they were returning from Compostella, where they had beene to visit the bodie of S. James, but they were quicklie set at libertie by the French kings commandement, for the reuerence of S. James whose pilgrims they were.

Rog. Houed. The nobles of Poictou rebell against earle Richard.

Peter Seille.

Erle Richard inuadeth the earle Tholouze lands.

After this, earle Richard entred with a great armie into the lands of earle Reimond, wasted the same, and tooke by siege a castell of his situate neere vnto Tholouze, called Moisac: whereof the French king hearing, sent out of hand to the king of England, requiring to know if the damages done by his sonne earle Richard vnto him & his people in Tholouze, were done by his commandement, for the which he demanded restitution. Hereunto the king of England answered, that his sonne earle Richard did nothing in that behalfe, either by his knowledge or commandement: but that as he had signified to him by the archbishop of Dublin, what soeuer he did therin, was done by the counsell of the French king himselfe.

Howsoeuer this matter went, certeine it is, that king Philip taking weapon in hand, vpon a sudden entred into Berrie, and tooke from king Henrie Chasteau Raoull, Brezancois, Argenton, Mountrichard, Mountresor, Vandosme, Leprose, Blanc en Berrie, Culan and Polignon. Wherfore king Henrie (who was at this time in England about to prepare an armie to go therewith into the holie land) when he heard thereof, with all speed possible he sent Baldwin archbishop of Cauturburie, and Hugh bishop of Durham ouer into France, to appease the French kings displeasure with courteous words and reasonable persuasions if it might be: but when that could not be brought to passe, he sailed ouer into Normandie himselfe, with an armie of Englishmen and Welshmen, landing with the same at Herflue the 10. daie of Julie, after he had beene sore tossed by a cruell tempest that rose as he was on the sea, to the great danger of his person, & all that were with him.

Annales de France.

Rog. Houed. The archbishop of Canturburie with the bishops of Chester, saith Ger. Dor.

Ger. Dor.

Now after his comming to land, he repaired vnto Alencon, increasing his power by gathering vp souldiers and men of warre out of Normandie and other his countries on that side the sea. In the meane time his sonne Richard earle of Poictou entred into Berrie with a mightie armie, and the French king deliuering Chateau Raoull vnto the keeping of sir William de Berres returned into France, so that earle Richard spoiled and wasted the lands of those earls and barons which tooke the French part exceedinglie. The French king kept him as yet within France, and durst not come forth now after the arriuall of king Henrie, but manie enterprises were atchiued by the capteines on both sides. Philip bishop of Beauuois inuading the frontiers of Normandie, burned Blangeuille, belonging to the earle of Augi, and the castell Albemarle (that belonged to William de Mandeuille, whereof he bare the title of earle) and wasted the countrie round about. The French king also came to the towne of Trow, and burned it, and tooke 40. men of armes there, but the castell he could not win. On the other part, Richard earle of Poictou tooke a strong place called Les Roches, beyond Trow towards Vandosme, with 25. men of armes, and 60. yeomen.

Chateau Roux it is called in the French annales: but the chronicles of Anjou name it Chasteau Raoul, and rightlie as I thinke.

Sergeants.

About this time king Henrie sent ambassadours vnto the French king, as Walter the archbishop of Rouen, John bishop of Eureux, and William Marshall, to require restitution for the damages done to him and his people. And furthermore, that if the French king refused to make restitution, then had they in commandement to declare defiance against him. Whereunto the French king answered, that he would not giue ouer to make warre till he had Berrie, and the countrie of Ueurin or Ueulgessine wholie in his possession. Wherefore king Henrie with a mightie armie (on the tuesdaie after the feast of the decollation of S. John) entred into the realme of France, and burned manie townes and villages, approching the same day neere to the towne of Paunt, where the French king was thought to be. Now as it chanced, William de Berres and Drogo de Merlo encountred with Richard earle of Poictou and William de Mandeuille earle of Albemarle, so that William de Berres was taken by earle Richard, but by negligence of them that should haue taken heed to him, he escaped awaie vpon his pages horsse. The morrow after also, earle Richard departed from

from his father towards Berrie, and vpon the thursdaie the Welshmen burned manie villages, with the castell of Danuille that belonged to Simon Daneth, and toke manie rich preies and booties. Also William Mandeuille earle of Albemarle burned a place called saint Clare, that was belonging vnto the demaine of the French king.

The welshmen.

But sir, when the English were fullie bent to prosecute the warres (with all extremitie) now in hand, there came messengers vnto king Henrie from the French king, requiring him that he would grant a peace to be had betwixt them, with promise that if he would condescend therevnto, that he should receiue by way of restitution all that the French king had now taken from him in Berrie. Herevpon they came to a communication betwixt Trie & Gisors, and when they could not agrée, the French king caused a great elme standing betwixt those two places to be cut downe, at which the kings of England and France were accustomed to méet when they treated of matters in controuersie betwixt them, swearing that from thencefoorth there should neuer be anie more méetings holden at that place.

The two kings come to a treatie.

An elme cut downe.

Afterward, when the earle of Flanders and the earle of Blois with diuerse other earles and barons of the Realme of France, laid their armor aside, protesting openlie that they would not put on the same againe to make warre against any christian, till they should returne from their iournie which they had vowed into the holie land, the French king destitute of men to serue him, made suite once againe to king Henrie, that they might méet and talke of peace, which was hardlie granted, and so they met on the morrow after saint Faithes daie, or the seauenth of October, at Chatellon, where they entreated of a forme of peace, so that the French king should haue restored all that he had taken within the countries belonging to king Henrie, and likewise Richard earle of Poictou should deliuer vp vnto the earle of saint Giles (otherwise called earle of Tholouse) all that he had taken from him since the breach of the last truce. But when king Henrie would not deliuer the castell of Pascie in pledge to the French king, they departed in sunder (as before) without any thing concluded. The king of France after this toke the castell of Paluell.

A commendable protestation and worthie to be noted.

Castellium.

Another treatie betwixt the two kings

Upon the eightéenth day of August the two kings came againe togither about a new treatie of peace betwixt Bonsemblance and Sukennie, where the French king offered king Henrie, to restore to him all that he had taken by his last warres, if his sister Alice might be ioined in marriage with Richard erle of Poictou, now eldest sonne aliue to king Henrie, and that all king Henries subiects might doo homage and sweare fealtie to the same Richard. But king Henrie after the old prouerbe, *Ictus piscator sapit*, hauing bought his experience with the féeling of smart, & bearing in memorie the iniuries done to him by his sonne Henrie, after such his aduancement to kinglie degrée, would not grant the French kings request herein. Whereupon a further mischéefe happened, for his sonne earle Richard (taking displeasure that his father should denie him that honour, which made altogither for his more assurance to succéed him as king) fell from his said father manifestlie, and became the French kings man, doing homage to him also without consent of king Henrie, for all those lands that belonged to his said father on that further side the sea. The French king for his homage and fealtie gaue him Chateau Raoull and Ysoldun, with all the honour thereto belonging.

Erle Richard reuolteth from his father to serue the French king.

¶ Some write, that the chéefest cause which moued king Henrie to refuse to ioine his sonne earle Richard and the ladie Alice, daughter vnto the French king in marriage togither, was, for that he was linked in the cumbersome chaine of hot burning loue with the same ladie, and therefore he sought all the shifts of excuses & delaies that might be imagined; so that it appeared he had no mind to part with hir. The truth was (as writers affirme) he had alreadie persuaded hir to satisfie his lust, insomuch that he liked hir so well, that he ment to be diuorsed from his wife quéene Elianor, and to marrie this yong ladie, which if he might bring to passe, and haue children by hir, he purposed to disherit those which he had by Elianor, and to make the other which he should haue by Adela his legitimat and lawfull heires. Yet before they departed from this communication, a truce was taken to endure till the feast of S. Hilarie. And Henrie bishop of Alba a cardinall that was sent from the pope to end this controuersie betwixt these two mightie princes, accursed Richard earle of Poictou, for that by his meanes the troubles rose and were continued betwixt them.

Polydor.

Rog. Houed.

The towne of Beuerley, with the church of saint John the archbishop, was in maner wholie consumed with fire, on the 20. of September. Also the same yeare died William of Sempringham, the author and first founder of the religious order of Sempringham. Moreouer Gilbert de Ogerstan a knight templer put in trust by king Henrie, with others, to gather the tenths towards the releése of the holie land, was proued to vse falshood in the receipt, and so was deliuered vnto the maister of the temple at London to be punished according to the statutes of his order. Also this yere in the vigill of S. Laurence, there was séene at Dunstable by diuerse persons a figure of the crosse verie long and large in the aire, with the shape of a crucifix thereon, and streames of blood to their sight séemed to run out of the wounds of the feet, hands and sides. This strange appearance continued in sight from noone till almost night.

Beuerley burnt.

William de Sempringham deceaseth.

Gilbert de Ogerstan.

A strange apperance in the aire.

¶ Some will deeme this a meere fable, and saie it sauoureth of grosse superstition and idolatrie, whereupon they will conclude that no such fragments pondered with papistrie should be inserted into a chronicle. But (to auoid all suspicion of iustifieng the fansies of men) note you this, that in the ecclesiasticall historie, no small number of things no lesse strange and true than this séemeth vaine and false, are recorded; yea euen touching the verie crosse. But considering that this our age is verie nice and deintie in making choise of matter pleasing their owne humor, we will not wade too farre in this kind of argument, which we know may as soone offend, as it is taken, as a thorne may pricke, or a nettle sting when it is touched. Neuertheless, we would not wish that the forme of a thing should be quite condemned for some scandalous peoples pleasures, whome nothing will please, vnlesse it come out of their owne dreuat or casket of conceits.

King Henrie held his Christmas at Saumur in Anjou, but manie of his earles and barons were gon from him, and toke part with the French king, and with his sonne Richard earle of Poictou. Now when the day was come, in which the truce expired, the Britains (which had a charter of couenants of the French king and earle Richard, that if they concluded any peace with king Henrie, the Britains should be partakers in the same) entred into the confines of those countries, which still continued their due obedience towards king Henrie, spoiling and wasting the same on each side with barbarous crueltie. At which time also a legat came from the pope named Iohn de Anagnia, who assaied both by courteous meanes and also by threats and menacings to reduce the parties vnto peace and concord: insomuch that by his procurement they met this yeare after Easter néere

Anno. Reg. 35.

A legat.

vnto Fiert Bernard, twise within a few daies togither, to trie if by talke they might sort to some reasonable conditions of agreement.

Matth. Paris. The last time of those their metings was in the Whitsunweeke, at what time the French king required not onelie to haue his sister Alice deliuered vnto earle Richard for wife, according to the former couenants, but also some assurance giuen vnto the same earle Richard, that he should inherit his fathers lands after his decease. Also he required that earle John might take vpon him the crosse to passe ouer into the holie land also, for otherwise earle Richard

R. Houed. would not go. Howbeit king Henrie would in no wise consent to any of these demands: but yet as some write, he offered thus much vnto king Philip, that if he could be so content, his sonne John should marrie his sister Alice, and inioy with hir all such things as he demanded in preferment of his sonne Richard, and that in more large maner than he had requested the same. But king Philip would none of that.

Thus how soeuer it was, whilest the one demanded that which the other thought no reason to grant, they departed without concluding any agreement, so that king Philip hauing got by this meanes a good occasion to further his enterprises, with all his whole puissance entred into Maine, where he destroied a great part of that countrie, and approched to the citie of Mauns, where king Henrie as then laie, in purpose to besiege it. But king Henrie being warned of his comming set the suburbs on fire, bicause his enimies should haue no succour in them. Howbeit the flame of the fire was by force of the wind driuen so directlie into the citie, that what with heat and assault of the enimie, the king being without any store of souldiers to defend it longer, was constreined to forsake it. Herewith he was so moued, that in departing from the citie, he said these words of his sonne Richard to himselfe: Sith thou hast taken from me this daie the thing that I most loued in this world, I will requite thee, for after this daie, I shall depriue thee of that thing which in me should most please thee, euen mine owne hart.

King Philip entereth the countrie of Maine.

The words of king Henrie in his displeasure towards earle Richard.

Being thus driuen to leaue the defaced citie of Mauns, he repaired vnto Chinon, the citizens whereof being left destitute of aid, yeelded themselues to the French king, who taking a great pride in his doings for that victorie, passed ouer Loire, and wan the citie of Towrs, wherein he placed a garison, and so hauing sped his businesse with good successe, brought home his armie laden with preies & boties.

Mauns yeelded to the French king. Wil. Paruus.

Polydor. King Henrie being thus put to the worsse, and not perceiuing anie readie meane how to recouer his losses, began to despaire in himselfe, and therefore of necessitie thought it best to seeke for peace, but his suit was in vaine: for the enimie hauing now the aduantage, would not grant to agree vpon any reasonable conditions.

The earle of Flanders seeketh to agree the parties. Matth. Paris. At the last Philip the earle of Flanders and William archbishop of Remes, with Hugh duke of Burgoine, came to king Henrie to moue waies of agreement, and to conclude the same betwixt him on the one partie, and the French king and earle Richard on the other partie. Earle Richard had the Britaines and them of Poictou confederate with him, vnder such conditions, as he might not agree with his father, vnlesse they might be comprised in the agreement. At length they agreed vpon conditions, not altogither aduantageable to the king of England, yet in the end, Chateau Raoul was restored to king Henrie with all that had beene taken from him since the time that the French king & he tooke vpon them the crosse: on the other part king Henrie did homage to the French king, which in the beginning of this warre he had surrendred and renounced. He was bound also to paie to the French king 20. thousand markes for the aid which earle Richard had receiued of him: moreouer to resigne and acquite vnto the French king, all that which either he or his predecessours held or possessed within Aluergne. Other articles there were which king Henrie agreed vnto sore against his will, as the deliuerie of the ladie Alice or Adela, and such other, which (as not much materiall) we passe ouer.

A peace concluded.

Thirtie thousand to the K. and twentie to the barons of France, saith Ger. Dor.

Rog. Houed. At Gisors saith Ger. Dor. This peace was concluded not farre from Towrs, in a place appointed conuenient for both the kings to meet in, about the feast of the apostles Peter and Paule. And (as writers record) there chanced great thunder and lightening at the verie time when the two kings came to enterview and talke togither, so that the thunderbolt did light betwixt them two: & yet (notwithstanding such thunder & lightening) the aire was cleare and nothing troubled. The two kings parted asunder through feare thereof for that day, and on the nert day the like chance happened, greatlie to the terrour of them both. Which moued king Henrie the soner to condescend to the agreement.

Strange thunder & lightning.

Moreouer this is not to be forgotten, that when all matters were quieted and accorded amongst them, king Henrie required to haue all their names deliuered vnto him in writing, which had promised to take part (and were ioined as confederates) with the French king and earle Richard. This was granted, and when the roll was presented vnto him, he found his sonne John the first person that was named in that register, wherewith he was so troubled and disquieted in his mind, that comming to Chinon he felt such greefe hereof, that he cursed euen the verie daie in which he was borne, and as was said, gaue to his sonnes Gods curse and his, the which he would neuer release, although he was admonished to doo it both of sundrie bishops and other religious and godlie men. Thus saith Houeden.

Howbeit, it is not like that earle Richard at this time had procured his brother John to be confederate with him in his rebellious dealings, but rather bicause earle Richard had some suspicion, least his father would make John his heire and successour in the kingdome, it might be a policie wrought by the French king and earle Richard, to alienate his fathers mind from the said John.

¶ These euils were esteemed to fall vnto king Henrie by the iust iudgement of God, for that being admonished diuerse waies, as well by diuine reuelation, as by the wholesome aduise of graue men, as Hugh bishop of Lincolne and others, he would not reforme his licentious appetite of heaping vp sinne vpon sinne, but still wallowed therein to his owne destruction. Whereupon being brought to such an extremitie as ye haue heard, he was taken with a grieuous sickenesse, which bringing him to vtter desperation of recouering of health, he finallie departed this life, though more through verie anguish and greefe of his late losse and troubles sustained, than by the force of his bodilie disease (as writers haue affirmed.) But howsoeuer it was, he ended his life the first of Julie in the 61. yeare of his age, and after he had reigned 34. yeares, nine moneths, and two daies, which was in the yeare after the birth of our saviour 1189. and of the creation of the world 5155. His bodie was buried at Founteuerard, which is an abbeie situate not farre from the towne of the eagle within the dutchie of Alanson.

King Henrie departeth this life.

1189

Immediatlie vpon his death, those that were about him, applied their market so busilie in catching and filching awaie things that laie readie for them, that the kings corps laie naked a long time, till a child co-

uered

His surname whereof it came.

uered the nether parts of his body with a short cloke, and then it seemed that his surname was fulfilled that he had from his childhod, which was Shortmantell, being so called, because he was the first that brought short clokes out of Anjou into England. As his sonne Richard met the corps going towards the buriall, suddenlie there issued blood out of the dead bodies nosthrilles, which was taken for a signification that it abhorred the presence of so wicked a son, which in his life time had so persecuted the father. His death was signified by a maruellous strange wonder, for a few daies before he died, all the fishes in a certeine mere or pole in Normandie, leapt forth on land in the night season, and fought togither with such a noise, that a great multitude of men came running thither to behold the wonder, and could not find on fish aliue in the mere.

A strange maner of fight betwixt fishes.

The issue of Henrie the second.

His sonnes.

His daughters.

He had issue by his wife quéene Elianor (as may appeare by that which alreadie is rehearsed) foure sonnes, Henrie, Richard, Geffrey, and John, besides two other that died yong, as some authors haue recorded: also three daughters, Maud, married vnto Henrie the duke of Saxonie; Elianor the wife of Alfonse the eight of that name king of Castile, and Joane giuen in marriage vnto William king of Sicill. He had also two bastard sonnes by a concubine, the one named William, & the other Geffrey.

His base sons.

The constitution of his bodie.

He was of bodie fleshie and strong, and could abide verie patientlie the displesures both of cold and heat, he had a large head, a broad breast, a broken voice, and was furthermore verie spare of diet, chiefelie because he would not be too fat; and therefore when he was at quiet without any trouble of warres, he would exercise himselfe in hunting or trauelling abroad.

His stature.

He was of a good stature and verie well formed, of a comelie countenance, partlie red heared, with graie eies, of wit quicke, and of a perfect good memorie, so that he would long remember those things which he had either read, heard, or seene.

His qualities and conditions of mind.

He was stout of stomach, and more constant in time of aduersitie than in time of prosperitie, except at the time of his death, when being destitute in maner of all his frends, he shewed himselfe almost in despaire. He was liberall towards all men, oftentimes giuing rewards to his souldiers ouer and besides their wages.

Radulphus de Diceto.

Moreouer, of nature he was pitifull towards the poore, as it well appeared by diuerse his charitable deeds; as for example. When in the yeare 1176. there was a great dearth & scarsitie of bread in the parts of Anjou & Paine, he fed euerie daie with sufficient sustenance ten thousand persons, from the begining of Aprill, till the time that new corne was inned: and what prouision soeuer was laid vp in garners, cellers and storehouses, for the kings necessarie vses, he caused the same to be imploied towards the releefe of religious houses, and poore people. He toke of his subiects but seldome times any great tributes. He was verie expert in feats of warre, and right fortunate therein. He praised his capteins and men of warre when they were dead, and lamented their losse more than he shewed to loue them when they were aliue. And this did he of policie, that they might vnderstand that they should be honoured after death, and therefore feare it the lesse. He was somwhat learned, and also knowne to be wise.

Radulphus de Diceto.

His care to haue iustice dulie ministred in his realme was exceeding great, insomuch that finding how the shiriffes were rather inclined to seeke their owne gaine, than to deale vprightlie with his subiects, he appointed other officers to haue a regard to their doings, as if they had béene controllers, that they knowing how there were such appointed to haue a sound ouersight in their dealings, might be the more circumspect in their duties. He ordeined also punishments for hunters in forrests and grounds of warren, either by fining them, or by imprisonment.

Moreouer, he ordeined that murtherers should suffer death by hanging: and so for other transgressours he appointed other kinds of punishments, as some to be condemned to exile, and other to losse of lims, &c: according to the qualitie of the offense committed. And to haue the lawes dulie executed, and iustice vprightlie ministred on all hands, he was so carefull that he tried all orders of men, in placing them in romes of iustice. And lastlie, trusting to find among the cleargie such as would not be corrupted with bribes, nor for respect of feare or friendship decline from right iudgement, he chose forth the bishops of Winchester, Elie, and Norwich to be principall iustices of the relme, so as they might end and determine all matters, except in certeine cases reserued to the hearing of the prince himselfe.

Bishops chosen principall iustices.

The vices of K. Henrie.

His vices were these, as they are remembred. In time of aduerse fortune no man could shew himselfe more courteous, gentle, meeke, and promising more largelie than he would. But when fortune once began to smile, no man was more sharpe, hard to deale with, nor more redie to breake his promise and faith. He was also partlie noted of couetousnesse: for although he was liberall towards souldiers and strangers, yet was he streict inough towards his owne people, and namelie towards his sonnes, which caused them to estrange themselues and their good wils from him. He was not so zealous toward the execution of right and equitie as to the furtherance of his owne priuat commoditie.

His incontinencie.

He was out of measure giuen to fleshlie lust, and satisfieng of his inordinate concupiscence. For not contented with the vse of his wife, he kept manie concubines, but namelie he delited most in the companie of a pleasant damsell, whom he called the Rose of the world (the common people named hir Rosamund) for hir passing beautie, properneSSe of person, and pleasant wit, with other amiable qualities, being verelie a rare and peereleSSe peece in those daies.

Rosamund his concubine.

He made for hir an house at Woodstocke in Oxfordshire, like a labyrinth, with such turnings and windings in & out as a knot in a garden called a maze, that no creature might find hir nor come to hir, except he were instructed by the king, or such as were secret with him in that matter. But the common report of the people is, that the quéene in the end found hir out by a silken thread, which the king had drawne after him out of hir chamber with his foot, and dealt with hir in such sharpe and cruell wise, that she liued not long after. She was buried in the nunrie of Godstow beside Oxford, with these verses vpon hir tome:

Hîc iacet in tumulo, Rosa mundi non Rosa munda,
Non redolet sed olet, quæ redolere solet.

The meaning whereof may be found in Graftons large chronicle, page 77. in an English septenarie.

Ran. Higd.

Long time after the death of this damsell, in the said abbeie was shewed a cofer, that sometimes was hirs, of the length of two foot, in the which appeared giants fighting, startling of beasts, swimming of fishes, and flieng of foules, so liuelie, that a man might wonder at the fine deuise thereof.

Moreouer, king Henrie was noted not to be so fauourable to the liberties & freedoms of the church as he might haue béene. For besides the persecuting of the foresaid Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, he would not suffer the legats sent from the pope, to enter within the bounds of his dominion, till they had sworne that they should do nothing preiudiciall to the customs of his kingdome, neither by preseri-

bing orders, nor any other maner of act or meanes.

His negligẽce in aiding the Christians against the Saracens.

He was thought to be negligent in aiding the christian common-wealth in the holie land. For though he had appointed twice or thrice to go thither in person, yet being letted by light occasions, he staied at home, and sent small relefe thither, though he was earnestlie called vpon for the same. His estimation was such amongst forren princes, that Philip king of France being newlie entred into the gouernement of that realme after his fathers decease, committed himselfe and his kingdome to the disposition and order of king Henrie, as if he had bẽne regent of his realme, and gouernour of his person.

There liued in the daies of this king Henrie the second, diuerse honourable personages and capteins of great fame, for their approued valiancie and experience in warlike enterprises, as Robert earle of Leicester, Hugh Bigot earle of Northfolke, Reignold earle of Cornewall, Robert Ferreis earle of Darbie, Richard Lacie, Roger Mowbray, Rafe de Fulgiers, Humfrey Bohun constable of England, Ranulfe Glandeuille, William Aesey, ¶ Bernard de Ballioll. Also there flourished in his time here in this land, men of singular learning in arts and sciences, as Nicholas Breakespeare, Serlo surnamed Grammaticus, William Rhealensis, Adam de Euesham, Thomas of Hunmouth, Adelbertus Lenita, Gerualsius Cicestrensis, Odo Cantianus, Ealred Rhieuellensis, Johannes Sarisburiensis, Clemens Lanthoniensis, Walter Daniell, Robert Knought *alias* Camtus, Robert Folioth, William Ramsey, Senatus Brauonus, Robert the Scribe, Odo Miremuth, Hugh of Reading, Richard of Douer, William of Peterburough, Cicercensis, Bartholomew Iscanus, and Gilbert de Sempringham, with others.

Bale.

¶ And here to make an end with this high and mightie prince Henrie the second, I haue thought good to make you partaker of an epitaph, which we find in Matthew Paris and others written of him as followeth.

Epitaphium in Henricum secundum regem mortuum & hic sepultum.

Rex Henricus eram, mihi plurima regna subegi,
Multiplicíq; modo dúxq; comésq; fui,
Cui satis ad votum non essent omnia terræ
Climata, terra modò sufficit octo pedum.
Qui legis hæc, pensa discrimina mortis, & indè
Humanæ specula conditionis habe.
Quod potes instanter operare bonum, quia mundus
Transit, & incautos mors inopina rapit.

Aliud.

Tumuli regis superscriptio breuis exornat,
Sufficit hic tumulus, cui non suffecerat orbis,
Res breuis est ampla, cui fuit ampla breuis.

An epitaph vpon king Henrie the second dead and heere intoomed.

OF late king Henrie was my name,
which conquerd manie a land,
And diuerse dukedoms did possesse,
and earledoms held in hand.
And yet while all the earth could scarse
my greedie mind suffice,
Eight foot within the ground now serues,
wherein my carcase lies.
Now thou that readest this, note well
my force with force of death,
And let that serue to shew the state
of all that yeeldeth breath.
Doo good then here, foreslowe no time,
cast off all worldlie cares,
For brittle world full soone dooth faile,
and death dooth strike vnwares.

An other.

SMall epitaph now serues, to decke
this toome of statelie king:
And he who whilome thought whole earth
could scarse his mind content,
In little roome hath roome at large,
that serues now life is spent.

¶ Here may be thought that the reigne of the Normans and French men ouer the realme of England toke end, a hundred twentie two yeares after the comming in of the Conquerour; for those that reigned after this Henrie the second, we may rightlie esteeme to be Englishmen, bicause they were borne in England, and vsed the English tong, customes, and maners, according to the nature and qualitie of the countrie.

Thus farre the succession and regiment of the Frenchmen ouer this Iland; namelie, Stephan of Bullongne and Henrie the second.

Richard the first, second sonne to Henrie the second.

Anno Reg. 1.

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RIchard the first of that name, and second sonne of Henrie the second, began his reigne ouer England the first day of Julie, in the yere of our Lord 1189. in the seauen and thirteth yeare of the emperour Frederike the first, in the eleuenth yere of the reigne of Philip the second king of France, and king William surnamed the Lion as yet liuing in the gouernement of Scotland.

Wil. Paruus.

This Richard, immediatlie after the solemnities of his fathers funerals were ended, made hast to Rouen, where he was ioifullie receiued, and proclamed duke of Normandie, receiuing the inuesture according to the custome, on the twentith day of Julie.

Matt. Paris.

Then studieng to set all things in good order on that side the sea, he made search where his fathers treasure was preserued, and thereupon attached Stephan de Turnham, who was seneschall or gouernour (as we may call him) of Anion, and committing him to prison, compelled him to make deliuerie of all such summes of monie as he had hid and laid vp in certeine castels by the commandement of the late king his father.

Stephan de Turnham committed to prison.

Whilest he was thus occupied, his brother Iohn came to him, to whom he ioifullie gaue the welcome, and besides all other things which his father had bequeathed vnto him by his testament in England, amounting to the value of foure thousand pounds of yearelie rent, with the earledome of Mortaigne, he procured a marriage for him (being now a widower) for his further aduancement with the ladie Isabell, daughter to Robert earle of Gloceſter, which earle had appointed the said Iohn to be his heire as before is mentioned, although Baldwine the archbishop of Canturburie forbad the mariage, bicause they were cosens in the third degree of consanguinitie. To Robert earle of Leicester also he restored all his lands which had béene taken from him, and such persons as his father had disherited, he restored likewise to their former rights and possessions, howbeit those had forsaken his father, and taken part with him against his said father, he séemed now so much to mislike, that he remoued them vtterlie from his presence, and contrariwise preferred such as had continued faithfull vnto his father in time of the troubles.

Matth. Paris. Polydor.

Isabell daughter to the earle of Gloceſter married to Iohn ỹ kings brother.

She is named by diuerse authors Hauisia. Matth. Paris. R. Houed.

At length, king Richard remembring himselfe of his mother quéene Elianor, who had béene separated from the bed of hir husband for the space of sixteene yeares, and was as yet deteined in prison in England, wrote his letters vnto the rulers of the realme, commanding them to set hir againe at libertie, and withall appointed hir by his letters patents, to take vpon hir the whole gouernment of the kingdome in his absence. The quéene being thus deliuered, and hauing now the chéefe authoritie & rule in hir hands, rode in progresse about the realme, to sée the estate thereof; and as she passed from place to place, she shewed gladsome countenance to the people where-soeuer she came, doing also what she could to pleasure them, that she might thereby win their good willes to hir, and to hir sonne: but speciallie remembring by hir late experience and tast thereof, what an irksome & most grieuous thing imprisonment was, she caused the gailes to be opened, and forthwith set no small number of prisoners at libertie by the way as she passed through the countries, according to the verse of Virgil,

Matt. Paris.

The kings mother set at libertie.

Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.

In the meane time, king Richard concluding a league with Philip king of France, receiued all those places againe which were taken from his father by the same Philip, together with his wife Adela, whom vpon suspicion that she had beene dishonested in hir person before, without anie sufficient proofe thereof had, he forsooke, & sent hir home with hir dowrie, and otherwise with great and princelie gifts, most bountifullie inriched, hauing alreadie concluded a marriage with the ladie Berengaria, daughter to Garsias king of Nauarre, who was sent into Sicill vnto hir sister Joane, that he might marrie hir there, as he passed that waie towards the holie land.

Whilest these things passed thus in these parties, the christians in the holie land dailie sent hither for aid, whereupon the two kings of France and England toke counsell togither, and determined with all conuenient speed to ioine their powers, & with ships prepared for that purpose to saile into Syria. Hauing thus concluded, they went about to prepare themselues of necessarie prouision for so long a iournie. Now when king Richard had set in order his affaires in Normandie and France, he came ouer into England, landing at Portesmouth the 13. of August. With him also came his brother Iohn, vnto whom he assigned the castels of Marlebridge, Lutegareshall, Peake, Bollesour, the honor of Wallingford, Tikehill and Ele, with the earledoms of Mortaigne, Dorset, Sumerset, Notingham, Derbie, Deuonshire, and Cornewall, with the earledome of Lancaster, intituling him earle of the same, whereby he was so exalted in state and degree, that he séemed in manner of a tetrarch, hauing as it were a fourth part of the realme in gouernance: but yet the king held some of the castels (in those counties and honors thus giuen to his brother) in his owne hands. Moreouer, vnto William Marshall he gaue in marriage the daughter of Richard earle of Chepstow, togither with the earledome which hir father possessed; and to Gilbert Fitz Roger the sonne of Rainfrey he gaue the daughter of William de Lancaster. After he was landed (as before ye haue heard) he hasted to Winchester, where his mother quéene Elianor with the most part of the English nobilitie had laine a good space to attend his comming, and there on the euen of the assumption of our ladie, the king was by them receiued with great ioy and triumph.

The 2. kings of England & France determine to go into the holie land.

At Southampton the 21 of August saith Ger. Dor.

Rog. Houed. Matth. Paris.

¶ Here is to be noted, that whilest the quéene and lords laie in Winchester waiting for the kings arri-

uall, Geffrey Riddle the bishop of Elie departed this life. He is named by Geruasius Dorobernensis the prond bishop of Elie: but he might rather haue named him the rich bishop, for he left in his cofers no small quantitie of treasure, of the which three thousand and two hundred marks came to the kings part towards the charges of his coronation. No maruell though Geruasius spake somewhat in his dispraise, for (as he himselfe confesseth) he was no freend but an enimie to monks.

But to let this passe, sone after the kings comming into England, he was informed that the Welshmen had broken into the English marshes, and destroied certeine townes; to represse whose presumptuous attempts he made towards them, but was yet staied for that time, & reuoked by his mother.

His fathers treasure.

At Salisburie he found his fathers treasure, highlie reioising, for that the summe was far greater than he thought it would haue proued, for besides the pretious stones, apparell, and iewels, it was reported he had there the sum of nine hundred thousand pounds in readie coine. With this good hap king Richard not a little aduanced, came to London on the first of September, where he had appointed prouision to be made for his coronation, and so calling a councell of the Nobles of the realme, he receiued the crowne with all due and accustomed solemnitie, at the hands of Baldwin the archbishop of Canturburie, the third daie of September.

R. Houed. Gau. Vinsaf. Nic. Triuet. The second of September saith Ger. Dor.

The order of his coronatiõ. Matth. Paris.

At his coronation, first the archbishops of Canturburie, Roan, Trier, and Dublin, which were present, with all the other bishops, abbats and cleargie, apparelled in rich copes, and hauing the crosse, holie water and censures carried afore them, came to fetch him vnto the doore of his priuie chamber, and there receiuing him, they led him vnto the church at Westminster, till he came before the high altar with a solemne procession. In the middle of the bishops and cleargie went foure barons, bearing candlesticks with tapers, after whom came Geffrey de Lucie bearing the cap of maintenance, and John Marshall next to him, bearing a great and massiue paire of spurs of gold: then followed William Marshall earle of Striguill *alias* Pembroke, who bare the roiall scepter, in the top wherof was set a crosse of gold: and William de Patrike earle of Salisburie going next him, bare the warder or rod, hauing on the top thereof a doue. Then came three other earles, Dauid brother to the king of Scots, the earle of Huntington, John the kings brother earle of Mortaigne, and Robert earle of Leicester, ech of them bearing a sword vpright in his hand with the scabberds richlie trimmed and adorned with gold.

Rog. Houed.

The earle of Mortaigne went in the midst betwixt the other two. After them followed six earles and barons, bearing a checker table, vpon the which was set the kings scochens of armes, and then followed William Mandeuill earle of Albemarle, bearing a crowne of gold a great heigth before the king, who followed the same, hauing Hugh bishop of Durham on the right hand, and Reignold bishop of Bath on the left, ouer whom a canapie was borne: and in this order he came into the church at Westminster, where before the high altar in the presence of the cleargie & the people, laieng his hand vpon the holie euangelists and the relikes of certeine saints, he tooke a solemne oth, that he should obserue peace, honour, and reuerence to almightie God, to his church, and to the ministers of the same all the daies of his life. Also that he should exercise vpright iustice to the people committed to his charge, and that he should abrogate and disanull all euill lawes and wrongfull customes, if anie were to be found within the precinct of his realme, and mainteine those that were good and laudable.

The king his oth.

This done, he put off all his garments from the middle vpwards, his shirt excepted, which was open on the shoulders, that he might be annointed. The archbishop of Canturburie annointed him then in three places, to wit, on the head, on the shoulders, and on the right arme, with praiers in such case accustomed. After this, he couered his head with a linnen cloth hallowed, and set his cap aloft thereon: and then when he had put on his roiall garments and vppermost robe, the archbishop toke vnto him the sword wherewith he should beat downe the enimies of the church; which done, two earles put his shoes vpon his feet, and hauing his mantell put on him, the archbishop forbad him on the behalfe of almightie God, not to presume to take vpon him this dignitie, except he faithfullie meant to performe those things which he had there sworne to performe. Whereunto the king made answer, that by Gods grace he would performe them. Then the king toke the crowne beside the altar, and deliuered it to the archbishop, which he set vpon the kings head, deliuering to him the scepter to hold in his right hand, and the rod roiall in his left hand, & thus being crowned he was brought backe by the bishops and barons, with the crosse and candelsticks, and three swords passing forth before him vnto his seat. When the bishop that sang the masse came to the offertorie, the two bishops that brought him to the church, led him to the altar, and brought him backe againe.

Finallie when masse was done, and all things ended in order as was requisit, he was brought with solemne procession into his chamber, where he put off his beauie rich apparell, and put on a crowne and other garments more light and easie, and so went to dinner, whereat wanted no store of meats & drinks, which were serued out in most princelie and bountifull wise.

Wil. Paruus.

Upon this daie of king Richards coronation, the Iewes that dwelt in London and in other parts of the realme, being there assembled, had but sorie hap, as it chanced. For they meaning to honour the same coronation with their presence, and to present to the king some honorable gift, wherby they might declare themselues glad for his aduancement, and procure his freendship towards them, for the confirming of their priueleges & liberties, according the grants and charters made to them by the former kings: he of a zealous mind to Christes religion, abhorring their nation (and doubting some sorcerie by them to be practised) commanded that they should not come within the church when he should receiue the crowne, nor within the palace whilest he was at dinner.

The Iewes meant to present him with a rich gift.

Matt. Paris.

But at dinner time, among other that pressed in at the palace gate, diuerse of the Iewes were about to thrust in, till one of them was striken by a christian, who alledging the kings commandement, kept them backe from comming within the palace. Which some of the vnrulie people perceiuing, and supposing it had beene done by the kings commandement, toke lightlie occasion thereof, and falling vpon the Iewes with staues, bats and stones, beat them and chased them home to their houses and lodgings. Heerewith rose a rumor through the citie, that the king had commanded the Iewes to be destroied, and therevpon came running togither, to assault them in their houses, which when they could not easlie breake vp nor enter, by reason the same were strongly builded, they set fire on them, so that diuers houses were consumed, not onelie of the Iewes, but also of their neighbours, so hideous was the rage of the fire. Here we see that

A Iew striken.

The people fall vpon the Iewes and beat them.

Their houses are set on fire.

Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis.

The king being aduertised of this riotous attempt of

of the outragious people, sent some of his councellours, as Ranulfe de Glanuille lord iustice, and other officers to appease the tumult: but their authoritie was nothing regarded, nor their persuasions any whit reuerenced, but their threatnings rather brought themselues in danger of life among the rude sort of those that were about to spoile, rob, and sacke the houses and shops of the Iewes: to the better accomplishment of which their vnlawfull act, the light that the fire of those houses which burned, gaue after it was once night, did minister no small helpe and occasion of furtherance. The Iewes that were in those houses which were set on fire, were either smothered and burned to death within, or else at their comming forth most cruellie receiued vpon the points of speares, billes, swords and gleaues of their aduersaries that watched for them verie diligentlie.

Iewes burnt to death.

This outrage of the furious and disordered people continued from the middest of the one day, till two of the clocke on the other; the commons all that while neuer ceassing their furie against that nation, but still killing them as they met with any of them, in most horrible, rash and vnreasonable maner. At length, rather wearied with their cruell doings, than satisfied with spoile, or moued with respect of reason or reuerence of their prince, they withdrew themselues from their riotous enterprise, after they had executed manie vnlawfull and horrible enormities. This great riot well deserued sore and grieuous punishment, but yet it passed ouer without correction, in respect of the great number of the transgressors, and for that the most part of men for the hatred generallie conceiued against the obstinate frowardnesse of the Iewes, liked the doings hereof well inough, interpreting it to be a good token, that the ioifull daie of the kings aduancement to the crowne should be dolefull vnto the Iewes, in bringing them to such slaughter and destruction. Finallie, after that the tumult was ceassed, the king commanded that no man should hurt or harme any of the Iewes, and so they were restored to peace, after they had susteined infinit damage.

¶ The occasion of this tragedie and bloudie tumult (redounding to the Iewes great veration and pitifull distresse, but to the satisfieng of the peoples furious and vnbridled proneſſe to crueltie) sprang principallie from the king, who if he had not so lightlie estæmed of the Iewes when they repaired vnto him with their present, in signe of submission and hope of obteining their sute then purposed to be exhibited; this hurlie burlie had not insued. For it was a violent example & a mightie motiue to the people to maligne the Iewes; as also a hart-græfe to them in respect of their reiection, when the prince gaue them so discourteous a repulse. Here therefore is to be obserued, that the people is the princes ape, as one verie well saith. For loke whereto he is inclined, note wherein he delighteth; the same is the practise of the people: in consideration whereof the mightie ones of the world haue speciall cause to haue an eie to their course of life, & to set caueats before their actions, that the people may in them sée none but good signes of commendable & vertuous imitation. For

Pal. in suo sag.

——regis imago
Vulgus, & ad mores accedere principis optat.
Qualis enim rex est talis quoque subditus illi
Esse solet populus, studiisque tenetur iisdem.

A councell at Pipewell.

Shortlie after, to wit, the 15. day of September, a councell was holden at Pipewell, where the bishops and abbats being assembled, there were in presence of the king and of the archbishop of Canturburie elected certeine bishops and abbats to such places as then were vacant: and amongst other, William de Longchampe the kings chancellor was elected to the see of Elie, Geffrey the kings bastard brother vnto the archbishoprike of Yorke, who was the 32. in number that had gouerned the same, Geffrey de Lucie to Wincheſter, one Hubert Walter to Salisburie, and Richard archdeacon of Elie, and the kings treasurer to the see of London. The abbeies that were prouided of abbats were these, Glastenburie, Shirborne, Persore and Feuersham. In like maner, John the elect of Whitherne was consecrated bishop of that see, by the hands of the archbishop of Dublin. Also in this councell the king ordeined Hugh bishop of Durham, and William Mandeuille earle of Albemarle, lord chefe iustices of England, hauing deposed Ranulfe de Glanuille from that rowme.

Wil. Paruus.

The bishop of whitherne consecrated. Rog. Houed.

Moreouer, the king being thus established in the estate of the kingdome, did not forget his iournie which he had promised into the holie land, but with all diligence made his prouision, and namelie he sought to gather monie to furnish his charges, and so thereupon leuied a tar, engaged, sold, and let to farme his lands, tols, customs, and other his reuenewes, with certeine counties and offices, so that he made an exceeding summe of monie. He also found, that Ranulfe de Glanuille lord chefe iustice, and other of the head magistrates had not behaued themselues vprightlie in the administration of their offices; so that he both deposed the said lord chefe iustice as is aforesaid, and almost all the shiriffes and their deputies within the realme of England, putting them to grieuous fines for their offenses and transgressions, and so by that meanes he got no small deale of monie.

Matt. Par.

¶ Here note by the waie, how William Paruus affirmeth, that where this Ranulfe Glanuille, being a man of high wisedome and kept into age, saw that manie things were done by the new king, not so aduisedlie, nor with such foresight as they ought to be, sought of his owne accord to be discharged of his office, that he might the better prepare himselfe to go in that iournie to the holie land, as by taking vpon him the crosse he had vowed in the daies of king Henrie, and so he solemnelie renounced his office, which other (nothing so worthie of it) did afterwards inioy.

Wil. Paruus.

Moreouer, the king vnderstanding that Hugh Putsey or Pudsey bishop of Durham, being a verie aged man, had much monie, he sold to him the manour of Seggesfield or Sadberge, with the wapentake belonging to the same, and also found meanes to persuade him to buy his owne prouince, which he did, giuing to the king an inestimable summe of monie, and was thereupon created an earle by the king for the same: whereupon he was intituled both bishop and earle of Durham, whereat the king would iest afterwards and saie; What a cunning craftesman am I, that haue made a new earle of an old bishop?

The bishop of Durham. Sadberge. The bishop of Durham made an earle.

Furthermore, the same bishop gaue to the king a thousand markes to be made chefe iustice of England, and that he might tarrie at home, and not go into the holie land. And bicause he would not be remoued of any person, he obteined of the apostolike see (which saileth no man that is surcharged with white or red mettall, and would be eased) a licence for a summe of monie to be dispensed with for that iournie. The king thus being earnestlie bent to make commoditie of those things, for the which he might get any monie at all, the citizens of London presented vnto him a great summe towards the furnishing forth of his enterprise. Whereupon to acquite their courtesie, he granted them large priuileges, and ordeined that the citie should be ruled by two head officers, which they should chose amongst themselues remoueable from yeare to yeare by the name of bailiffes. The names of the two first bailiffes chosen by

The citizens of London present monie to the king. Polydor. Liberties granted to London.

Two bailiffes

by force of that ordinance, were Henrie Cornehill, and Richard Fitz Reiner.

The citie before those daies euer since the comming in of William Conquerour, and a good while before his time, was gouerned by certeine officers or rulers named Port Greues (which word is deriued of two Saxon words, as Port and Greue. By Port is meant a towne, and by Greue a gardian or ruler, as who should saie, A keeper or ruler of a towne.) These rulers with the lawes & customes then vsed within this citie, were registred in a booke called (as some haue said) Domesdaie, but through negligence after these lawes and customes were changed and altered, the booke was lost, so that the remembrance of such rulers as were before the daies of this Richard the first, are not to be had. These bailiffes euer entred at Michaelmasse, and so continued forth their yeare.

Port Greues.

Thus began the citie first to receiue the forme and state of a common-wealth, and to be diuided into fellowships, which they call crafts or corporations. Such also are admitted to the fellowships of these companies, as haue truelie serued as apprentises a certeine number of yeares, as seuen at the least, vnder which time of seruice expired, there is none made free, nor suffered to inioy the liberties of that citie, sauing such as are borne free, that is to saie, of freemen within the citie, of whome at this time, it is not much materiall to make any further report. The citie thus consisting of the said crafts or occupations, chooseth out of the same a senat or companie of graue councellours, whom they name Aldermen (E) changed into (A) according to the old Saxon pronuntiation. It is also diuided into 26. tribes or wards, of the which euerie one hath his seuerall Alderman, or ouersæer, who haue both authoritie sufficient, and large priuileges to mainteine the good gouernement of their portions withall. Out of the number of these, there is another officer yearelie chosen and appointed, called the Maior, who ruleth all the rest.

Apprentises.

Freemen.

Wards.

The Maior.

But now to returne vnto the further doings of king Richard before his departure out of England towards his iournie into the land of Palestine, commonlie called Holie land, it is said, he made such sale of things apperteining to him, as well in right of the crowne, as otherwise, that it seemed to diuerse he made his reckoning neuer to returne againe, in so much that some of his councellours told him plainelie, that he did not well in making things awaie so freelie, to the dishonoring of his maiestie, and preiudice of his successour; vnto whom he answered, that in time of need it was no euill policie for a man to helpe himselfe with his owne, and further ioined hereto these words, that if London at that time of need would be bought, he would surelie sell it, if he might meet with a conuenient merchant that were able to giue him monie inough for it.

K. Richard setteth things on sale. Ran. Higd. Wil. Paruus.

Another way he had also to gather riches, and that was this. He had a licence of pope Innocent the third, to dispense with such as pleased him within his realme, for their vowes made to go into the holie land, although they had taken on them the crosse for that purpose, namelie such as he should appoint to remaine behind him for the defense of his countrie: and of these also he toke abundantlie, and diuerse other he compelled to fine, namelie, to the end that he might get their monie likewise, that hereby he obteined no small summe toward the furniture of his iournie. But both pope & prince forgat in the meane while, that

Boni pastoris est tondere pecus non excoriare.

This yeare also in the moneth of November, as Matthew Paris saith, Johannes de Anagnia a cardinall and legat from the pope arriued here in England, comming on land at Douer, and bicause the king was as then in the north parts, the same cardinall was prohibited on the behalfe of the kings mother queene Elianor, to passe any further without the kings commandement. And so he staied there thirteene daies at the charges of the archbishop of Canturburie, till the king came to those parties, by whose wisedome a direction was taken for the quieting of the controuersie betwixt the archbishop, and the monkes of Canturburie, for the chappell church of Hakinton now called S. Stephans.

In the same moneth of November, by the kings appointment, Geffrey the elect of Yorke, who was the kings brother, with other barons and lords of Yorkeshire, receiued William king of Scotland at the water of Tweed, and from thence with all due reuerence and honour they brought him vnto Canturburie, where the king had called a councell of the lords of his realme both spirituall and temporall, in the which euerie of them toke an oth to be true to the king, and to continue in due obedience vnder him and his lawes, which oth also the king of Scots receiued, being there present, and likewise king Richards brethren earle John and Geffrey the archbishop of Yorke.

R. Houed.

William king of Scots.

A councell called at Canturburie. Polydor.

An oth. Matth. Paris.

The king of Scots therefore hauing receiued this oth, and thinking the time to serue his purpose for redeeming of those castels, which were deliuered to king Henrie as gages for his ransome, paid now vnto king Richard ten thousand markes, and had restitution of the same, that is of Berwike, Roxburgh, Sterling, and Edenburgh. But William Paruus saieth, that Edenburgh was restored to him in the daies of king Henrie, by reason of his wife which he toke in the parties beyond the seas: and herewith agreeth the Scotish chronicle. King Richard also assigned to queene Elianor his mother, the accustomed dower, with manie lordships and honours beside, as an augmentation thereof. About which time died William de Mandeuille earle of Albemarle at Rouen, and Hugh de Putsey the nephue of the bishop of Durham died at Aclet, and was buried at Durham. Also Formalis archbishop of Trier died at Northampton, and was there buried in the church of S. Andrews.

Matth. Paris. Polydor.

Restitution made to the K. of Scots. Wil. Paruus.

Rog. Houed.

N. Triuet.

In the meane time, king Richard still desirous to furnish himselfe with monie, deuised yet another shift, and feigned that he had lost his seale; wherefore he commanded a new to be made, which being done, he caused it to be proclaimed and published in euerie countrie, that those to whome he had granted any thing by his deed or charter, meaning to inioy the same in suertie, should not thinke it much to come and haue it confirmed by his new seale, least afterward the other being lost, their lawfull titles might be called into question. Whereupon manie that could not come to him whilest he was in England, were glad to follow him, and saile ouer into Normandie, and there to fine at his pleasure for the new seale, to the end that their writings might be confirmed thereby, and made so much the more sure to them and their successours. For the same businesse also Remigius the prior of S. Albons, and manie other went ouer to their great costs, charges, and trauell, after he was transported into France.

Matth. Paris.

I find moreouer about the same time, that the kings brother earle John exhibited a sore complaint against the Romane legat and other bishops, for that the archbishop of Canturburie, after the appeale made vnto the apostolike sea, had put his lands vnder interdiction for his mariage made with the earle of Glocesters daughter: which when the legat heard, he forthwith confirmed the appeale, and released the earles lands of the aforesaid interdiction. The same time also, the tenth part of all the moueable goods

through

thorough the realme of England was leuied to the aid of the warres in the holie land. And this collection, passing vnder the name of an almes, was extended vpon the goods as well of the spirituall men as temporall.

Hugh bishop of Durham gouerneth the north parts. Matth. Paris.

After all this, K. Richard desirous to set order in the gouernment of his realme, appointed Hugh bishop of Durham to haue the rule of the north parts as cheefe iustice from Humber northwards toward Scotland, deliuering vnto him also the keeping of Winchester castell: the residue of the kingdome (with the custodie of the towre) he assigned to the gouernance of William Longchampe bishop of Elie, whome he had made cheefe iustice of that part, and chancellour of the realme, a man of great diligence and knowledge in the administration of things, but verie factious and desirous of rule, honour and riches farre aboue all measure. And with these two he ioined in commission Hugh Bardulfe, William Marshall earle of Chepstow, or rather Penbroke, Geffrey Fitz Peter, & William Brewer, men of great honour, wisedome, and discretion.

William Lõgchampe bishop of Elie.

R. Houed. King Richard passeth ouer into Normandie

On the fift day of December, he departed from Canturburie, and went to Douer, there to take water, and so on the eleuenth day of December he passed ouer vnto Calice, where he found Philip earle of Flanders readie to receiue him, who attended vpon him till he came into Normandie, where the king held his Christmas at Burun, and immediatlie he came to an enteruiew with the French king at Gue S. Remige, where they concluded peace togither, to be kept betwixt them & their countries on ech part: the which was put in writing, and confirmed with their oths and seales in the feast of saint Hilarie.

1190

Vadum sancti Remigij.

A league betwixt ỹ kings of England and France.

Furthermore, about the purification of our ladie, Elianor the quéene mother, and the ladie Alice sister to the French king, Baldwine archbishop of Canturburie, John bishop of Norwich, Hugh bishop of Durham, Geffrey bishop of Winchester, Reignold bishop of Bath, William Bishop of Elie, Hubert bishop of Salisburie, and Hugh bishop of Chester, with Geffrey the elect of Yorke and John earle of Mortaigne the kings two brethren, by commandement of the king passed ouer into Normandie, to commen with him before his setting forward.

R. Houed.

¶ Some write, that now at this present, the king should ordeine or rather confirme the bishop of Elie his chancellour to be lord cheefe iustice ouer all England, and the bishop of Durham to be lord iustice from Trent northwards. But whensoeuer they were thus aduanced to such dignities, howsoeuer they came by them, directlie or indirectlie, true it is, that immediatlie thereupon, strife and discord did arise betwixt them: for waxing proud and insolent, they disdained ech other, contending which of them should beare most rule and authoritie, insomuch that whatsoeuer séemed good to the one, the other misliked, as in cases where parteners in authoritie are equall, it often happeneth. The like hereof is noted before betwéene the archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke in diuerse kings reignes. For the nature of ambition is to delight in singularitie, to admit no pere, to giue place to no superior, to acknowledge no equall. Hereto alludeth the poet verie neatlie, and exemplifieth it in the old Romans, the order of whose actions is continued at this day, as by the words insuing may be gathered, and ordinarilie obserued, both here and elsewhere;

Contention betwixt two ambitious bishops.

——— *olim*
Romulidæ orabant, iacto post terga pudore,
Plebeios, quoties suffragia venabantur,
Cerdonúmq; animos precibus seruilibus atq;
Turpibus obsequijs captabant, muneribúsq;
Vt proprijs rebus curarent publica omissis:

M. Pal. in fine virg.

Per q; forum medium multis comitantibus ibant,
Inflati vt vento folles, ac fronte superba, &c.

Moreouer, at the same time he caused his two brethren, earle John, and Geffrey the elect archbishop of Yorke to take an oth not to returne into England during the terme of three yeares next insuing, without his consent and licence first had. This he did, foreséeing what might happen, prouiding as it were against such practises as his brethren might happilie attempt against him. But yet his mother quéene Elianor procured him to reuoke that decree immediatlie, least it might séeme to the world, that hir sonnes should stand in feare one of another. And so the earle of Mortaigne was licenced to returne into England at his pleasure, swearing an oth at his departure to obeie the kings behest, and truelie to serue him, according to the dutie of a good and loiall subiect. The bishop of Elie lord chancellour and cheefe iustice of England was also sent backe hither into this realme, to set forward things behouefull for the kings iournie.

Earle John licenced to returne into England.

In like maner the king sent to Rome to obteine that the said bishop of Elie might be constituted the popes legat through both the prouinces of Canturburie and Yorke, and likewise through Wales and Ireland. Which was soone granted by the bulles of pope Clement the third, bearing date the 5. of June. For the which office the bishops gaue him 1500. marks, to the great offense of the king, as he shewed afterward to cardinall Octauian that came to visit him when he arriued in the riuer of Tiber, being vpon his iourncie towards Messina, as after may appeare. But in the meane time, calling togither the lords and peeres of those his dominions on that side the sea, to wit, Normandie, Britaine, Anion, Poitou, and Guien, he consulted with them what number of souldiors and how manie ships it should be conuenient for him to take with him and furnish into Asia: and herewith he did command them also to obeie Robert earle of Leicester, whome he appointed to remaine amongst them as his lieutenant or vicegerent of those parts during his absence.

The bishop of Elie returneth.

Polydor.

¶ But here to leaue king Richard in consultation for matters apperteining to his iournie, and shew briefflie what happened (by the waie) to the Iewes, which as then dwelt here in England, after that king Richard was passed ouer into Normandie: ye haue heard how after the riot against them at London, when the king was crowned, he tooke order that they should remaine in peace vnder his protection, and commanded that no person should in anie wise molest them. But now after that he was gone ouer, and that the souldiers (which prepared themselues to follow him) began to assemble in routs, the heads of the common people began to wax wild, and faine would they haue had some occasion of raising a new tumult against the Iewes, whome (for their vnmercifull vsurie practised to the vndoing of manie an honest man) they most deadlie hated, wishing most earnestlie their expulsion out of England. Herevpon by reason of a riot committed latelie against them, at the towne of Lin in Norfolke, where manie of them were slaine, other people in other parts of the realme, taking occasion hereat, as if they had béene called vp by the sound of a bell or trumpet, arose against them in those townes where they had any habitations, and robbed and bet them after a disordered and most riotous maner.

W. Paruus.

The hatred borne to the Iewes.

As at Stamford (on the saire day in Lent) at Lincolne, and at Yorke, in which citie after a number of them had béene besieged certeine daies within a towre of the kings (whither they fled for succour) one of their learned gouernours caused foure hundred of their companie to consent to haue their throts cut

Iohn Textor.

Fiue hundred saith Houeden, and Textor.

one

one at an others hands, he himself cutting his wines throt first, whose name was Anna, then his childrens, one after another, and last of all slue himselfe, onlie rather than he would fall into the hands of the christians, that had thus long besieged them. The rest perceiuing what their great Rabbi had done, set fire vpon all their goods and substance, which they had gotten into the tower with them, and so consuming the same, would haue burnt also the residue of their fellowes which would not agrée to the Rabbies counsell, in the cruell murthering of themselues, if they had not taken a strong turret hard by within that tower, and defended themselues both from the fire and crueltie of their brethren, who had made awaie themselues in such manner as I haue said: and that to the number of foure hundred, or (as some write) fiue hundred at the least.

On the morow, those that were saued, called out to the people, and not onelie shewed how and after what sort their fellowes were dispatched, but also offered to be baptised, and forsake their Judaisme, if they might haue their liues saued from the imminent & present danger wherein they saw themselues to be wrapped, through the furie of the people. To be short, this thing was granted, and they came forth, howbeit they were no soner entred into the preasse, but they were all slaine, and not one man of them preserued.

After this also, the people ran to the cathedrall church, and broke into those places where their bonds and obligations laie, by the which they had diuerse of the kings subiects bound vnto them in most vnconscionable sort, and for such detestable vsurie as (if the authors that write thereof were not of credit) would hardlie be beléeued. All which euidences or bonds they solemnelie burned in the middest of the church. After which, ech went his waie, the souldiers to the king, and the commons to their houses, and so was the citie quieted. This happened at Yorke on Palmesundaie eue, being the 17. of March: and vpon the 15. of that moneth, those that inhabited in the towne of S. Edmundsburie in Suffolke, were set vpon, and manie of them slaine. The residue that escaped, through the procurement of the abbat then named Samson, were expelled, so that they neuer had anie dwellings there since that time.

Thus were the Iewes vnmercifullie dealt with in all places in maner through this realme, the first beginning whereof chanced at London (as before ye haue heard) and the next at Lin, of which I thinke it good to note some part of the maner therof, although breeflie, and so to returne to my purpose. The occasion therefore of the tumult at Lin chanced by this meanes: it fortuned that one of the Iewes there was become a christian, wherewith those of his nation were so moued, that they determined to kill him where soeuer they might find him. And hereupon they set vpon him one daie as he came by, through the streets: he to escape their hands fled to the next church; but his countriemen were so desirous to execute their malicious purpose, that they followed him still, and inforced themselues to breake into the church vpon him. Herewith the noise being raised by the christians that sought to saue the conuerted Iew, a number of mariners being forreners, that were arriued there with their vessels out of sundrie parts, and diuerse also of the townesmen came to the rescue, and setting vpon the Iewes, caused them to flée into their houses.

The townesmen were not verie earnest in pursuing of them, bicause of the kings proclamation and ordinance before time made in fauour of the Iewes: but the mariners followed them to their houses, slue diuerse of them, robbed and sacked their goods, and finallie set their dwellings on fire, and so burnt them vp altogither. These mariners being inriched with the spoile of the Iewes goods, and fearing to be called to accompt for their vnlawfull act by the kings officers, got them forthwith to shipbord, and hoising vp sailes, departed with their ships to the sea, and so escaped the danger of that which might haue béene otherwise laid to their charge. The townesmen being called to an accompt excused themselues by the mariners, burdening them with all the fault. But although they of Lin were thus excused, yet they of Yorke escaped not so easilie. For the king being aduertised of such outrage, done contrarie to the order of his lawes and expresse commandement, wrote ouer to the bishop of Elie his chancellour, charging him to take cruell punishment of the offendors.

The bishop with an armie went to Yorke, but the chéefe authors of the riot hearing of his comming, fled into Scotland: yet the bishop at his comming to the citie, caused earnest inquirie to be made of the whole matter. The citizens excused themselues, & offered to proue that they were not of counsel with them that had committed the riot, neither had they aided nor comforted them therein in anie maner of wise. And in déed the most part of them that were the offendors, were of the countries and townes néere to the citie, with such as were crossed into the holie land, and now gone ouer to the king, so that verie few or none of the substantiall men of the citie were found to haue ioined with them. Howbeit this would not excuse the citizens, but that they were put to their fine by the stout bishop, euerie of them paieng his portion according to his power and abilitie in substance, the common sort of the poore people being pardoned, and not called into iudgement, sith the ringleaders were fled and gone out of the waie: and thus much by waie of digression touching the Iewes.

The citizens of Yorke put to their fine for slaughter of the Iewes.

Now to returne vnto the king, who in this meane time was verie busie to prouide all things necessarie to set forward on his iournie; his ships which laie in the mouth of the riuer of Saine, being readie to put off, he tooke order in manie points concerning the state of the common-wealth on that side, and chéefelie he called to mind, that it should be a thing necessarie for him, to name who should succéed him in the kingdome of England, if his chance should not be to returne againe from so long and dangerous a iournie. He therefore named (as some suppose) his nephue Arthur, the sonne of his brother Geffrey duke of Britaine, to be his successour in the kingdome, a yong man of a likelie proose and princelie towardnesse, but not ordeined by God to succéed ouer this kingdome. Matt. West.

About the same time the bishop of Elie, lord chancellour and chéefe iustice of England, tooke vp to the kings vse, of euerie citie in England two palfries and two sumpter horsses, & of euerie abbeie one palfrie and one sumpter horsse, & euerie manour within the realme found also one palfrie and one sumpter horsse. Moreouer, the said bishop of Elie deliuered the gouernement of Yorkeshire to his brother Osbert de Longchampe: and all those knights of the said shire, the which would not come to make answer to the law vpon summons giuen them, he commanded to be apprehended and by and by cast in prison. Also when the bishop of Durham was returned from the king and come ouer into England to go vnto his charge, at his meeting with the lord chancellour at Elie (notwithstanding that he shewed him his letters patents of the grant made to him to be iustice from Trent northward) the said lord chancellour taking his iournie to Southwell with him, there detained him as prisoner, till he had made surrender to him of the castell of Windsor, & further had deliue-

The slaughter made of the Iewes at Lin.

The bishop of Durham restreined of his berne.

red

red to him his sonnes, Henrie de Putsey, and Gilbert de la Ley, as pledges that he should keepe the peace against the king and all his subiects, vntill the said prince should returne from the holie land. And so he was deliuered for that time, though shortlie after, and whilest he remained at Houeden, there came to him Osbert de Longchampe the lord chancellors brother, and William de Stuteuille, the which caused the said bishop to find sufficient suertie that he should not thence depart without the kings licence, or the lord chancellors, so long as the king should be absent. Herevpon the bishop of Durham sent knowledge to the king how and in what sort he had béene handled by the chancellor.

In the meane time the king was gone into Gascoigne, where he besieged a castell that belonged to one William de Chisi, and toke both the castell and the owner, whome he caused to be hanged for the spoiles and robberies which he had committed vpon pilgrims that passed by those parts toward Compostella, to visit the bodie of saint James. After this, the king came backe vnto Chinon in Aniou, and there toke order for the setting forth of his nauie by sea, ouer which he appointed chéefe gouernours Gerard archbishop of Aux, Bernard bishop of Baieux, Robert de Sablins, Richard de Camuille, and William de Forz de Ulerun, commanding all those that should passe forth with his said nauie, to be obedient vnto these persons as his deputies and lieutenants. Herewith they were appointed to prouide victuals to serue all those that should go by sea for the space of 60. daies.

William de Chisi.

The kings nauie is set forth.

Baion. Sablins, or Sabuille.

Polydor.

The king also made the same time certeine ordinances to be obserued among the seafaring men which tended to this effect:

Sleiers of men.

1 First, that if any man chanced to slea an other on the shipbord, he should be bound to the dead bodie and so throwne into the sea.

2 Secondlie, if he killed him on land, he should yet be bound to him as before, and so buried quicke togither.

Wrallers.

3 Thirdlie, if any man should be conuicted by lawfull witnesse, that he drew any weapon to strike any other, or chanced by striking at any man to draw bloud of him that was smitten, he should lose his hand.

Punishment for bloud-drawers.

4 Fourthlie, if he gaue but a blowe with his fist without bloudshedding, he should be plunged thrée seuerall times ouer head and eares in the water.

Reuilers.

5 Fiftlie, if any man reuiled another, he should for euerie time so misusing himselfe, forfeit an ounce of siluer.

Theft and pickerie.

6 Sixtlie, that if any man were taken with theft or pickerie, and thereof conuicted, he should haue his head polled, and hot pitch powred vpon his pate, and vpon that, the feathers of some pillow or cushion shaken aloft, that he might thereby be knowne for a thefe, and at the next arriuall of the ships to any land, be put forth of the companie to seeke his aduenture, without all hope of returne vnto his fellowes.

These were the statutes which this famous prince did enact at the first for his nauie, which sithens that time haue béen verie much inlarged. About the same time John Bishop of Whiterne in Scotland, suffragane to the church of Yorke, ordeined Geffrey archbishop of Yorke, prælat. At the same season also the election of the same Geffrey was confirmed by pope Clement, who among other things that he wrote to the chapiter of Yorke on his behalfe, in the end he addeth these words: We do therefore admonish you all, and by the apostolicall bulles command you, that you exhibit both reuerence and honour vnto him as vnto your prelat, that thereby you may appeare commendable both before God and man. Giuen at Lateran in the nones of March and third yeare of our gouernment.

Wil. Paruus.

Whilest these things were in doing, there came into France legats from the said Clement, to moue the two kings to make all the spéed possible towards their iourneie, bicause of the great danger wherein things stood in Palestine, requiring present helpe. Herevpon king Richard (his men and prouision being readie) commanded that his ships should set forward, & to coast about by the streicts of Giberalterre to come vnto Marseilles, where he appointed to méet them, and so with a chosen companie of men he also set forth thitherwards by land, and comming to Towns, receiued the scrip and staffe as a pilgrime should, at the hands of the archbishop there.

Polydor. King Richard set forward on his iourneie. Rog. Houed.

After this, both the kings of England and France met at Vizeley in the octaues of the natiuitie of S. John Baptist, and when they had remained there two daies they passed forth to the citie of Lion; where the two kings departed in sunder, and each one kept his iournie, the one toward Guenes, where his nauie was appointed to come to him, and the other to Marseilles, there to méet with his fléet, according to his appointment. But the English ships being let and staied by the way by contrarie winds and rigorous tempests, which tossed them to and fro vpon the coasts of Spaine, could not come in any conuenient time vnto Marseilles, so that king Richard thinking long to tarrie for them, & perceiuing they could not keepe their appointed time, he hired ships from all places thereabouts, and embarking himselfe and his men in the same, vpon saint Laurence euen, sailed forth towards Sicile, where he was appointed to méet with king Philip.

Anno Reg. 2.

The English fléet staied by contrarie winds.

Twentie galies & twelue other vessels saith Houed.

Vpon the seauenth day of August saith Houeden.

Here is to be noted, that king Richard made not all that iourneie from Marseilles to Messina by sea, but sundrie times comming on land, hired horsses, and rode forth alongst the coast, appointing with his ships and gallies where to meet him, and sometimes he rested certeine daies togither in one place or other as at Portdelphin, at Naples, and at Salerne, from whence there departed from him Baldwine archbishop of Canturburie, Hubert bishop of Salisburie, and the lord Ranulfe de Glanuille, the which taking vpon them to go before, with prosperous wind and weather in short space landed at Acon, which was then besieged, as you shall heare hereafter.

Rog. Houed.

At Rome the king came not, but being within the streame of the riuer of Tiber, there came to him a cardinall named Octauianus, bishop of Hostia, to whome he spake manie reprochfull words of the couetousnesse vsed in the court of Rome (a vice reputed the common nurse of all mischéefes, as one verie well noteth,

Vbi auaritia est, habitant ferme omnia ibidem
Flagitia, impietas, periuria, furta, rapinæ,
Fraudes atq; dolí, insidiæq; & proditiones,
Iurgia & infandæ cædes, &c.)

King Richard blameth the court of Rome for couetousnesse.

Bicause they had receiued seauen hundred marks for the consecration of the bishop of Mauns, and 1500. marks for the confirming of the bishop of Elie the popes legat. And againe no small summe of monie they had receiued of the archbishop of Burdeaux, when vpon an accusation brought against him by the cleargie of his prouince he should haue béene deposed. In the meane time whiles king Richard thus passed forward towards Messina, the nauie that was appointed to coast about Spaine and to méet him at Marseilles, was tossed (as before is said) with wind and tempests, and a part thereof, that is to wit, ten ships driuen here and there on the coasts of Spaine, of which number nine arriued at Lisbone and the tenth being a ship of London arriued at the citie of Sylua, which was then the vttermost citie of Spaine,

Spaine, that was inhabited with christians.

The Saracens at that time made warres against the king of Portingale, so that the Portingales stood in need of aid, in so much that they of Sylua did not onelie intreat the Englishmen to staie with them for a time, but also got grant of them to breake their ship, with the timber whereof they might the better fortifie their towne, promising that their king should recompense them with an other as good as theirs, and also further satisfie them for their seruice, during the time of their abode there in defense of that citie. Likewise of those that arriued at Lisbone there went to the number of fiue hundred vnto saint Iranes, where the king of Portingale then was, looking to be assaulted by his enimies: but by the counterfet death of the great K. of the Saracens named Bolac Almiramumoli (who feared these new succours, and doubted the sequele of his doings, to the end he might depart with honour, he fained himselfe dead) the king of Portingale was for that time presentlie deliuered out of danger.

The king of Portingale.

Almiramumoli king of the Saracens.

Herevpon he returned to Lisbone, where he found three score and three other ships of king Richards naue there newlie arriued, ouer the which were chéefe capteins Robert de Sabuuille, and Richard de Camuille: which at their comming to land could not so gouerne their people, but that some naughtie fellowes amongst them fell to breaking and robbing of orchards: some also entring into the citie, behaued themselues verie disorderlie. But yet by the comming of the king, their lewdnesse was staied, so that he seemed not to seeke reuenge of the pilgrims, but rather with courteous meanes to bridle their vnlawfull attempts: wherevnto the diligence of the English capteins not a little preuailed for a while, but yet for all that could be done on both sides, within three daies after, a new tumult was raised betwixt the English pilgrims and the townesmen, and diuerse hurt and killed on either part.

Robert de Sabuuille. Richard de Camuille.

Whereupon the king caused the gates of the citie to be shut, and all those that were come from the ships into the citie to eat and drinke (being in number about seauen hundred) were apprehended and committed to ward: and before they could be released, sir Robert Sabuuille and sir Richard Camuille were glad to agree with the king, so as all former offenses being remitted, and things taken by either part restored, the Englishmen promised to obserue the peace against the king of Portingale and his people; and he likewise couenanted for him and his subiects, that they should keepe the peace against all pilgrims that went forth in this voiage, and vse them like his freends, and thus the quarell ceased.

A mutinie betwixt the Englishmen and the townsmen of Lisbone. Englishmen committed to prison.

Soone after, the English naue departed from Lisbone, and came vnto the mouth of the riuer of Taie, betweene Caperico and Belem, where the same daie on saint Iames eue the lord William de Forzdulerun arriued also with three and thirtie other ships, and so then they were in all about an hundred and six sailes verie well furnished and manned, and so from thence taking their course towards Marseiles, finallie they arriued there in the octaues of the assumption of our ladie; and staieng there an eight daies (till they had repaired such things about their ships as were needfull) they set forward againe, and came to Messina in Sicile in the feast of the exaltation of the crosse. On the sunday following also came the French king thither, hauing lost no small part of his naue by tempests of weather.

The English ships meet togither.

King Richard as then remained at Salern, and hearing that his naue was gone towards Messina, he departed thence on the thirteenth day of September, and hasted forth towards Messina, passing by Melphi and Cocenza, and so at length comming to Faro de Messina, he passed the same, and on the 23. day of September arriued at Messina with great noise of trumpets and other instruments, to the wonder of the French king and others that beheld his great puissance and rotall behauiour now at his comming. The same time he went vnto the French kings lodging, to commen with him of their businesse: and immediatlie the French king tooke the sea, in purpose to haue passed forward on his iournie but by contrarie wind he was staied and kept backe within the hauen, whereupon both the kings determined to winter there, and in the meane time to prouide themselues of all things necessarie for their iornie, against the beginning of the nert spring. On the 30 of September he receiued his sister the queene of Sicile, the widow of William late king of that Ile, whome he placed in a strong fortresse, which he tooke the same day, and left therein a conuenient garison of men of armes and demilances for the safegard of the place and of his said sister.

They arriue at Messina.

K. Richard arriueth at Messina.

¶ But now for the better vnderstanding of the cause of such quarelling as fell out betwixt the Englishmen and the Sicilians, yée shall vnderstand that a little before the arriuall of the kings of England and France in those parts, king William of Sicile was departed this life, leauing no issue behind him. Whervpon the lords of the Ile elected one Tancred to their king, a bastard sonne of Roger sometime king of that land, and grandfather to this last deceased king William. This Tancred though he receiued king Richard verie courteoullie: yet he greatlie trusted him not, bicause he demanded the dowrie of his sister queene Ioane, wife to the late king William to be restored, whereas he had not readie monie to discharge it.

Furthermore to depart with the citie of Mount saint Angelo, with all the countrie thervnto belonging, which was indeed assigned to hir for hir dowrie, he thought in no wise profitable: but king Richard did not onelie require that citie and countie with a chaire of gold, according to the custome of that kingdome in right of his sister, as due to hir by way of hir dowrie, but also he required to his owne vse a table of gold conteining twelue foot in length, and one foot and an halfe in breadth, & two tressels of gold to beare vp the same table, with 24. siluer cups, and as manie dishes of siluer, with a tent of silke of such largenesse that two hundred knights might sit at meat within it: also fortie thousand measures of wheat, with as manie of barlie, and as manie of wine, beside one hundred armed gallies, with all furniture and vittels sufficient to serue the gallie-men in the same for the terme of two yeares. These things he demanded as due to him being heire to his father king Henrie, accordinglie as was deuised by king William in his last will and testament, which demands seemed intollerable to the said Tancred: so that if he could haue shifted the matter, he was loth to haue heard thereof.

A chaire of gold.

K. Richards demands for the dowrie of his sister wife to K. William.

Moreouer, bicause pope Clement in right of the church pretended a title to the realme of Sicile, now that king William was dead without heires, he doubted of some practise that might be made against him betwixt king Richard and the pope. Whereupon he thought to prouide against all attempts that might be made, fortifieng his townes & castels with strong garisons, and take counsell with the citizens of Messina, by what meanes he might soonest dispatch his countrie of that present danger, and procure K. Richard to get him forward on his iournie.

Whilest these things were in hand, there was ministred to the English men occasion of displeasure: for as it oftentimes chanceth (where an armie is) certeine of the vnrulie souldiers within Messina vsed them-

themselues somewhat riotouslie, wherevpon the citizens offended therewith, got them to armour, and chased all the souldiers out of the citie. King Richard who laie in campe without the walles neere to the citie, was so highlie displeased herewith, that he caused his men to arme themselues, and to prepare ladders & other necessarie things to assault the citie: but by the mediation of the French king & curteous excuse of king Tancred (alledging the fault to rest onelie in a sort of rude citizens, whom he promised to punish) the matter was taken vp, and staied for a time, till at length it was perceiued, that the Sicilians subtilie went about to feed king Richard with faire words, till he should be readie to set forwards on his iournie, and so should the matter passe without further punishment.

Herevpon king Richard, not minding to be so mocked at their hands, approched one daie to the wals and gates with his armie in good araie of battell to giue the assault, which was doone so earnestlie, and so well maintained, that finallie the citie was entred by force, and manie of the citizens slaine, but the slaughter had beene much greater, if king Richard had not commanded his men to spare the sword, moued with the lamentable noise of poore people crieng to him for mercie and grace. The Englishmen hauing got possession of the citie pight vp the banners with the armes of the king of England round about the wals, wherewith the French king was sore displeased, and required that the same might be taken downe, and his set vp: but the king of England would not so agree. Neuertheless to pacifie the French kings mood, he deliuered the citie of Messina into the custodie of the knights Templers and Hospitalers, till he might be satisfied of such things as he demanded of king Tancred.

K. Richard assaileth and entreth the citie by force.

After this on the 8 daie of October, the two kings of England and France, before a great number of earles, barons, and others, both of the cleargie and temporaltie, tooke their solemne othes, that the one should defend the other, and also either others armie in this iournie, both comming and going, without fraud or deceipt: and the like oth was receiued by the earles and barons on both parties. Then the two kings by aduise and consent of both their armies deuised these ordinances.

The two kings of England and France receiue & sweare solemne oth.

Ordinances deuised.

1 That all pilgrims which chanced to die in this iournie might dispose at their pleasure all their armour, horsses, and apparell, and halfe of those things which they had with them, so that they sent nothing home into their countries, and the other halfe should be at the discretion of Walter archbishop of Rouen, Manser bishop of Langres, of the maister of the temple, and of the maister of the Hospitall, of Hugh duke of Burgoigne, of Rafe de Coucie, of Drogo de Marlow, of Robert Sabuill, Andrew de Chauenie, and of Gilbert Wascoile, which should imploie the same towards the support of the wars in the holie land against the infidels as they thought most expedient.

2 That no man should plaie at anie game within the armie for monie, except knights and chapleins, the which should not lose in one daie and night aboue 20 shillings, they to forfeit an 100 shillings so oft as they lost aboue that summe: the persons aforenamed to haue the same to be distributed as afore is said. The two kings might plaie, and command their seruants in their presence likewise to plaie, so that they exceeded not the summe of 20 shillings. And also the seruants of archbishops, bishops, earles and barons, by their maisters commandement might play, not exceeding that summe: but if anie seruants or mariners, or other of like degree, were found to play without licence, the seruants should be whipped naked three daies round about the campe, except they ransomed forth themselues, at the pleasure of the persons aboue named: and the mariners should be plunged ouer head and eares in the sea three mornings togither, after the vse of seamen, except they redeemed that punishment, at the discretion likewise of the said persons: and those of other like meane degrees being neither knights nor chapleins should be punished as seruants.

Plaie forbidden.

3 That if anie pilgrime borrowed anie thing of an other whilest he was on his iournie, he should be bound to paie it: but if he borrowed it before his setting forth, he was not bound to answer it till his returne home.

Borrowing.

4 That if anie mariner or seruant, reteined in wages with anie man in this iournie, departed from his maister without licence, no other person might receiue him, and if he did, he should be punished at the discretion of the forenamed persons.

Souldiers or mariners departing from their maisters.

5 That no bitteler or other should buy anie bread to sell againe, nor any meale within the compasse of the campe, except the same were brought by a stranger, neither might they buy anie paast or other thing to sell againe in the campe, or within a league of it.

Bitteelers.

6 That if anie man bought corne wherof to make bread, it was appointed how much he should gaine in one measure beside the bran.

7 That other occupiers, which vsed buieng and selling of wares, should gaine one penie in 10 pence, neither should anie man refuse anie of the kings coine, except it were broken within the circle.

8 That no man should buy anie flesh to sell it againe, except a liuing beast, which he should kill within the campe.

9 That no man should make bread to sell, but after the rate of penie loaues. Wherin the penie English was appointed to go for foure pence Antouine. All these ordinances with other were decreed and ordeined to be obserued and kept by the counsell, consent, and agreement of the kings of England, France, and Sicile.

But to returne now to the dissention betwixt the Englishmen and them of Messina: ye shall vnderstand that the tumult being once ceassed, and diuerse of the chefe offendors in the late commotion put to death, king Tancred shortlie after came thither, and sought to auoid all suspicion out of king Richards head, that he might conceiue of him for being in anie wise culpable in that which his subiects of Messina had attempted against him, and therefore hauing recouered manie of his frends, he restored vnto king Richard the dowrie of his sister queene Ioane, and further offered vnto him to ioine in new alliance with him, offering his daughter in mariage vnto Arthur duke of Britaine, the kings nephue, with a great summe of monie for hir dowrie, if it so should please him. Polydor.

King Richard accepted the offer, and so ioined in peace and affinitie with the king of Sicile, receiuing of him twentie thousand ounces of gold for the same mariage to be had, and an honorable dowrie assigned forth of the lands that belonged to the said Arthur for the said ladie to inioy during hir life, in case she suruiued hir husband. And if it so chanced, that by the death of either of them the mariage could not take place, then should king Richard restore the same twentie thousand ounces of gold againe. But beside these twentie thousand ounces of gold thus giuen by king Tancred for the mariage of his daughter, he gaue other twentie thousand ounces to king Richard for an acquitance and quite claime of all manner of duties, rights, and demands, which either he or his sister might pretend, either by reason of anie bequest, dowrie, or anie other manner of waie.

Here is to be noted, that before this conclusion of peace was had, king Richard prouided for his owne defense, in case that king Tancred and his people would haue attempted force against him, in somuch that he fortified certeine places, and built a strong castell aloft vpon the top of an hill fast by Messina, which castell he called Mategriffon. Also whereas the admirall of Sicile called Margaret, and one Iordane del Poine, men of great authoritie vnder king Tancred, fled out of Messina with all their families and riches, which they had either in gold or siluer, king Richard seized vpon their houses, their gallies, and possessions, so that he made himselfe as strong as he could, to resist all attempts that might be made against him by his enimies. But now to proceed.

The variance being thus appeased betwixt them, great discord chanced to arise betwixt king Richard and king Philip, who was much offended with king Richard, for that he had thus vsed violence against them of Messina, and compelled king Tancred to agree with him for monie, to the great offense and breach of the lawes of Herberrough, sith the Sicilians verie liberallie aided and furnished the christians armie with vittels and necessarie prouisions. The Frenchmen also had much enuie thereat, that shortlie after vpon a small occasion they picked a quarell against the Englishmen, and from words fell to strokes on both sides, so that there had beene much hurt & slaughter committed, if the two kings had not done their best to appease the fraie begun.

But this businesse though it was quietlie as then taken vp and staied, yet bred it such displeasure betwixt the princes and their people, that it turned to the great hurt and hinderance of their good proceedings in their whole enterprise, so that the occasion of a full and perfect victorie easilie slipped out of their hands, as you shall heare hereafter.

An other also of the cheefest causes of grudge betwixt the two kings was, for that king Richard in familiar talke confessed vnto king Philip, that he would marrie the king of Nauarres daughter, and cleerelie forsake his sister Adela: which greeued king Philip not a little, though he dissembled the matter for a time, and rather alledged other causes of displeasure, wherewith to defame king Richard to the world, as one that sought his owne commoditie in spoiling those whom he ought rather to haue defended. But to proceed.

Whilest the English and French armies thus sojourned all the winter time in Sicile, notwithstanding the troubles aforesaid, to the hinderance of king Richards purposes, for the making of his prouisions readie for his iournie, he yet caused engins to be framed, his ships to be newlie calked, rigged and repaired of such hurts as they had receiued both in their long voiage which they had made, and also by certeine wormes, the which during the time of their lieng there, had in diuerse places gnawne and eaten them through to the great danger of their losse, and vtter decaie. Moreouer at the same time he pardoned all wrecks by sea through all his dominions, releasing for euer all his right to the same, in such wise that euerie person making wreeke by sea, and comming aliue to land, should haue all his goods free and cleare to himselfe. Furthermore he decreed, that if he chanced to perish in the ship, then his sons and daughters, brethren or sisters, that could proue themselues to be next heires to him, should haue the same goods; but if he had neither sonne nor daughter, brother nor sister, then should the king haue those goods by waie of his prerogatiue.

This resignation made by king Richard, was confirmed by his charter giuen at Messina in the moneth of October and second yeare of his reigne. Also vpon a godlie repentance wherewith it did please the mercifull God to touch his hart, he called all those prelates togither which were then with him at Messina into the chapell of Reginald de Moiac, & there in presence of them all falling downe vpon his knees he confessed the filthie life which he had in lecherous lust before that time led, and humblie receiued penance inioined him by the same bishops, and so became a new man, fearing God, and delighting to liue after his lawes.

K. Richards confession.

Furthermore hearing of the great fame of abbat Ioachim, he sent for him ouer into Calabria, who came to Messina, and being asked sundrie questions by king Richard, he made wonderfull answer thereto: as in Houeden and other writers it may appeare, which for breefenesse I passe ouer. About the same time he gaue vnto his nephue Otho, the sonne of his sister Maud, sometime duchesse of Saxonie, the countie of Poyte. But although some were contented to receiue him as their lord, and to do homage to him, yet other refused him, alledging that they would not renounce their fealties due to the king, till they might see him againe, & talke with him face to face. Where vpon the king changing his purpose, gaue vnto the said Otho the countie of Poictou in stead of the said countie of Poyte, as after shall appeare.

Abbat Ioachim.

The lawes of Herberrough.

Englishmen and Frenchmen fought.

Discord in an armie the hinderer of all profitable enterprises.

The two kings of England and France held their Christmasse this yeare at Messina, and still the king of England vsed great liberalitie in bestowing his treasure freelie amongst knights and other men of warre, so that it was thought he spent more in a moneth than anie of his predecessours euer spent in a whole yeare. In the moneth of Februarie he sent his gallies to Naples, there to receiue his mother and his wife that should be, to wit the ladie Berengaria daughter to the king of Nauarre, and Philip earle of Flanders that came with them. But his mother queene Elianor and the ladie Berengaria went to Brindize in Puglia, where they were honorablie receiued of Margaret king Tancreds admirall. Moreouer the earle of Flanders comming to Naples, and finding there the gallies of king Richard, went abord the same, and so came to Messina, at the first following the king of England in all things, till the French king hauing enuie thereat, allured him awaie, and then he hong altogither on his sleeue. The first date of March the king of England departed from Messina, to go to the citie of Catina, there to common with king Tancred, who came thither to meet him.

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The large expenses of king Richard.

The earle of Flanders.

Here king Richard vnderstood, that the French king had sollicited king Tancred to set vpon the king of England and his armie, to chase them out of his realme: and for the more easie accomplishment thereof, he had promised him his aid, whensoeuer he would giue the aduenture. King Tancred deliuered also to king Richard such letters as the French king had written to him concerning this matter. Where vpon at his returne to Messina, king Richard shewed by his frowning countenance, that he was nothing pleased with the French king, but sought occasions to get him out of his companie.

K. Richard talketh with king Tancred.

The French king perceiuing it, required to vnderstand the cause of this his sudden mutation: whereupon king Richard nothing fearing his power, declared the truth plainelie vnto him by the mouth of the earle of Flanders: and when the other denied the practise, he for proofe of the thing, shewed him the same letters which king Tancred had deliuered vnto him. The French king was not a little abashed hereat, and wist not well what to saie, nor what excuse to make, the matter was so plaine. But yet at length he said; Well now I perceiue the king of

England

wrecks pardoned.

England sæketh to haue some quarell whie he may refuse to marrie with my sister. For these are but forged matters, and no truth resteth in them.

When the king of England vnderstood this maner of answer, he replied in this wise; That as for the French kings sister, he might not marrie, for as much as he was able to produce good witnesse to proue that his father had lien with hir and got a child of hir. And as for his priuie proceeding and practise with Tancred, he néeded no further testimonie than his owne hand and his seale, the partie himselfe being present who receiued them, the messenger also being not far off that carried them betweene both the parties.

When the French king was throughlie informed of the first point, through counsell of the earle of Flanders and others, he pacified himselfe, and was contented to release the king of England of his faith giuen by oth for the contract made with his sister Alice: in consideration of which releasement and deliuerance, the king of England couenanted to giue yearelie to the French king two thousand marks of starling coine for the terme of fiue yeares togither: and at his returne home, it was agreed, that he should also deliuer vnto the French king his sister the said ladie Alice, with the towne of Gisors, and all other things which the French king had granted to him with his said sister. On the other part, the French king granted, that the dutchie of Britaine should apperteine to the dominion of the dutchie of Normandie, so as the duke of Britaine should be accompted the liege man of the duke of Normandie, and that the duke of Normandie should answer the French king for both the dutchies, as well of Britaine as Normandie. These agréements were ratified and confirmed with solemne oths receiued, and charters giuen vnder their hands and seales, vpon the 30. of March.

The French king setteth forth from Messina towards the holie land.

About this time the French king (now that the season of the yeare was come) set forward toward the holie land, leauing king Richard behind him in Sicile: and the two and twentith day after his setting forth from Messina, he arriued at the siege of Acres or Acon. The same day also that the French king departed from Messina, quéene Elianor the mother of king Richard arriued there, bringing with hir the ladie Berengaria the daughter of Sanctius the king of Nauarre, and the fourth day after quéene Elianor tooke leaue of hir sonne king Richard, and departed homeward towards England, taking hir iournie by Rome about the businesse of Geffrey the elect of Yorke, as to intreat the pope that he would confirme and consecrate him archbishop, or to authorise some other to doo it in his name. The ladie Berengaria remained behind with the kings sister Joane quéene of Sicile.

Quéene Elianor returneth by Rome.

After this in the moneth of Aprill, on the wednesday in the passion weeke, king Richard (after he had finished and made an end of all conclusions with king Tancred) did also set forward with his sister Joane, who tooke with hir the ladie Berengaria daughter to the king of Nauarre, affianced to him long before, as aboue is partlie mentioned. His nauie consisted in thirtéene mightie great ships with triple sailes, an hundred carikes or rather hulkes, and fiftie gallies. He was no sooner abroad in the maine sea, but a great tempest arose, wherewith his whole nauie was sore tossed and turmoiled vp and downe the seas, and at length driuen on the coast of Cyprus, where séeking to take harbour, & to come on land, the Cypriots would not suffer him, but shewed countenance to driue him backe, and to resist his landing. Also whereas six of his ships were so driuen by force of tempest from the residue, that three of them perished, and three being cast vpon the shoare of Cyprus before the kings arriuall there, the souldiers and other people in the same were compelled to come on land for sauing their liues, where otherwise they stood in danger of drowning, the people of the Ile assailing them in right cruell sort, slue diuerse, and tooke the residue prisoners, and so deteined them for a certeine season.

Matth. Paris. 150. ships and 53. gallies saith Rog. Houed.

King Richard then vnderstanding this iniurie to him done by the Cypriots, & perceiuing they would resist his landing, prepared himselfe and his people to enter vpon them by force. The king of Cyprus Isakius or Cursach (whome Houeden nameth emperour of Cyprus) had assembled the most part of all the power of men that he might make (though few of them were armed, or had any great skill in feats of warre) and caused them to set boords, logs of wood, benches, formes, and great chests afore them, as a defense, and as it were in stéed of a wall, that by succour thereof they might the better kéepe off their enimie from landing.

The Englishmen take land & chase their enimies.

But K. Richard so incouraged his men by his presence, & hartened them with such comfortable words as he vttered vnto them, that rowing to the shoare with their galies and small botes, hauing the archers afore them, they easilie got to land, droue their enimies backe, and so farre pursued them (being but footmen, weatherbeaten, wearie, and weat) as conuenientlie they might, for the shortnes of time. King Richard hauing thus got foot on land, approched the towne of Limezun, which he with his souldiers entred, and finding it emptie of people (which were fled awaie) but full of riches and great plentie of victuals, as corne, wine, oile, and flesh, he seized thereupon.

The same day also the kings sisters and the ladie Berengaria with the residue of the kings nauie entred the hauen of Limezun. In the meane time the king of Cyprus (hauing escaped from the battell) got togither his men which were fled and dispersed sundrie waies, and incamped within six miles of king Richard, threatning that the next day he would effsones giue battell: which when king Richard vnderstood, he caused his people to be armed the next morning long before day, and so comming by guides vnto the place where the Cypriots with their king were lodged, suddenlie they assailed them yer they had anie warning of his marching towards them, by reason whereof they were slaine like beasts in great numbers. Howbeit, their king and a few other escaped and fled away naked, hauing no time to put on their apparell, his treasure, horsse, armour and standard were taken, which standard king Richard straitwaies determined to send vnto saint Edmunds shrine, and so did.

King Richard with a camisado vanquisheth the Cypriots, & chaseth them out of their campe. Iohn Textor.

Hauing thus vanquished his aduersaries, he came backe to Limezun: and the third day after, Guie king of Jerusalem and his brother Geffrey de Lusignan with the prince of Antioch Raimond and his sonne named also Raimond earle of Tripoli, with other noble men, arriued at Limezun aforesaid, to visit king Richard, and to offer him their seruices, and so became his men, in swearing fealtie to him against all other persons what soeuer.

The K. of Jerusalem and other noble men do fealtie vnto king Richard.

The same day the king of Cyprus perceiuing himselfe vnable to resist the great puissance of king Richards armie, sent ambassadours, and offered to king Richard the summe of twentie thousand marks of gold, in recompense of the monie which his men that were drowned had about them, and also to restore those to libertie which he had taken prisoners, and to make deliuerie to their hands of all their goods. Furthermore, he offered to go with him into the holie land personallie, and to serue him with an hundred

The offers of the king of Cyprus.

knights, 400 light horssemen, and 500 well armed footmen, & also to deliuer to king Richard his daughter and heire in hostage, and to acknowledge him his souereigne lord, by swearing to him fealtie for his kingdome, as for that which he should confesse to hold of him.

The king of Cyprus submitteth himselfe.

King Richard accepted these offers, and so the king of Cyprus came in and sware fealtie to king Richard, in presence of the king of Jerusalem, the prince of Antioch, and other barons, and promised vpon his oth then receiued, not to depart till all things couenanted on his part were performed. Then king Richard assigned tents for him and his to lodge in, and appointed certeine knights and other men of warre to haue the custodie of him. But the same day after dinner vpon repentance of that which he had done, he deceiued his kepers and stale awaie, sending knowledge backe to the king that he would not stand to the couenants, which were concluded vpon betwixt them.

King Richard seemed to like the matter well inough, and forthwith deliuered a part of his armie vnto the king of Jerusalem and to the prince of Antioch, appointing them to pursue the king of Cyprus by land, whilest he with one part of his gallies and Robert de Turneham with the other might search about the coast by sea, to prohibit his passage by water. In euerie place where they came, such ships and gallies as they found they seized into their hands, and no resistance was made against them, by reason the people fled to the woods and mountains, leauing the cities, townes and castels void in all steeds, where the king or the said sir Robert de Turneham with their vessels began to appeare. When they had taken their pleasure thus alongst the coasts, they returned againe vnto Limezun. The king of Jerusalem and the other that went forth by land, when they could not speed of their purpose, returned also, in which meane time a great number of Cyprists came in, and submitting themselues to king Richard, were receiued as his subiects.

Robert de Turneham.

On the 12. daie of Maie, the ladie Berengaria daughter to the king of Nauarre was maried according to a precontract vnto king Richard at Limezun aforesaid in the Ile of Cyprus, one of the kings chaplins executing the order of the marriage. The same daie also she was crowned by the bishop of Eureux, the archbishops of Apamea and Aur, with the bishop of Balon ministring vnto him. After the solemnitie of this marriage and coronation ended, king Richard set forward with his armie into the countrie of Cyprus, and first wan (by surrender) the citie of Nichosia, and after the strong castell of Cherin, within the which was the daughter of the king of Cyprus, which ladie humblie yelded hir selfe vnto K. Richard, who (counting it reproch to be extreame with such as submit themselues, and speciallie the female sex, according to the old saieng,

Parcere subiectis nobilis scit ira leonis)

had pitie of hir case, and sent hir to his wife the new quéene, willing that she might be honorablie vsed. From thence passing forward, these castels were deliuered into his hands, Baffes and Buffeuent, Den, Amur, Candace, and afterwards all the other castels and cities, townes and places of strength within that Ile one after an other. Finallie, hearing that the king of Cyprus was inclosed in an abbeie called Cap S. Andrew, he marched thitherwards: but when the king of Cyprus heard of his approch, he came forth and submitted himselfe wholie into his hands. The king first appointed him to the kéeping of his chamberlaine Rafe Fitz Geffrey, and after sent him vnto the citie of Tripoli, there to be kept in close prison. Who when he heard he should be committed to close prison, and remaine in fetters, said, that if he laie in irons, he should shortlie end his life. Whereunto king Richard when he heard of it, answered: He saith well, and therefore bicause he is a noble man, and our mind is not to haue him dead, but onelie to be kept safe from starting anie more awaie, and doing new hurt, let him be chained in giues and fetters made of siluer, and so he was.

The king of England marieth the ladie Berengaria. She is crowned quéene.

Castels deliuered to the king of England.

The king of Cyprus again submitteth himselfe to the king of England.

Rafe Fitz Geffrey.

But to proceed. After the king had set the countrie of Cyprus in good staie, he deliuered the kéeping thereof vnto Richard de Camuille and Robert de Turneham. This done, vpon the wednesdaie in the Whitsunwéeke he toke the sea againe, and passed ouer to the citie of Acres, which as then was besieged by the christian armie, as ye may read in the description of the holie land, onelie giuing you to vnderstand, that such was the valiancie of king Richard shewed in manfull constreining of the citie, that his praise was greatlie buted both amongst the christians and also the Saracens.

He arriued there on the saturdaie in whitsunwéek, being the saturdaie also next before the feast of S. Barnabie. Galfridus Vinsant.

Howbeit the secret enimitie betwixt him and the French king eftsoones reuiued, by occasion of such discord as chanced betwixt Guido king of Jerusalem, and Conrade the marques of Tire, so that parties were taken, and whereas both the Pisans and Geneuois did offer their seruice vnto king Richard, yet bicause the Geneuois were confederat with the French king, who toke part with the marques, he refused them, and receiued the Pisans, ioining himselfe with king Guido to support him against his enimies.

Pisans and Geneuois.

Here is to be remembred, that before king Richard arriued at the siege, he incountred on the sea a mightie great ship called a Dromond, which one Saphaldine the brother of Saladine a prince of the Saracens had sent, to refresh them with vittels. This ship king Richard caused fiercelie to be assailed with his gallies, and at length bowged hir with all the vittels and prouision within the same, as wildfire, barels of firie serpents, armour and weapons of sundrie sorts, besides all the mariners and men of warre, except such as were taken to mercie and saued aliue, being about 200 in the whole, whereas there were aboord the same ship 500 men of warre, as some write, though other haue but 800.

Matt. Paris. Nic. Triuet. Saphaldine, the brother of Saladine.

Matth. Paris. N. Triuet.

¶ But now to other accidents that chanced this yere. On Midsummer eue there was such an eclipse of the sunne, the moone being the same time 27. daies old, that for the space of three houres (for so long it lasted) such darknesse came ouer the face of the earth, that euen in the daie time (for this eclipse began about nine of the clocke in the morning) the stars appeared plainelie in the element.

An eclipse of the sunne.

The seuenth houre of the daie saith Matth. Paris.

In the same moneth of June, Richard de Camville, whome the king had left (as ye haue heard) gouernour in Cyprus, chanced to fall sicke, and comming without licence to the siege of Acres, there died. After whose death the Cyprists and those called Griffones and Ermians reuolted from the English obedience, and chose to them a king, one that was a monke of the familie of Isachus their former king: but Robert de Turneham, who after the decease of Richard Camuille remained sole gouernour of the Ile, gathered a power of men togither, and giuing battell to the new king (whom Houeden nameth also emperour) vanquished him with his complices, toke him prisoner, and hanged him on a paire of galowes. The same moneth also died Rafe Fitz Geffrey, who had the other king Isac in custodie, and then king Richard deliuered him to the knights of the hospitall, who sent him to the castell of Margant, there safelie to be kept as prisoner to the vse of the king of England.

Richard de Camuille deceaseth.

Now will we returne vnto the affaires of England

land and make some mention of the doings there. Yee shall vnderstand, that after king Richard was set forward on his iournie, William Longchampe lord chancellour and bishop of Elie, appointed (as ye haue heard) gouernour of the realme, began to exercise his authoritie to the vttermost, taking vpon him the state of a prince, rather than of a subiect. He had of late (as before ye haue heard) procured such fauor at the hands of pope Clement, that he was instituted by him legat of the apostolike sée here in England, so that pretending a rule both ouer the clergie and temporaltie, and by reason that he had both the authoritie of pope and king in his hands, he vsed the same to his most aduantage, as well in causes ecclesiasticall as temporall, whereby he wrought manie oppressions both against them of the clergie and temporaltie. He mainteined such a port and countenance in his doings, that he would ride with a thousand horses, by meanes whereof when he came to lie at abbeis and other places (bringing with him such a traine) he was verie burdenous vnto them, specially when he laie at their houses any space of time.

Polydor.

The lord chancellor called the popes legat in England.

The statelie port of the lord chancellor. Ran. Higd.

This man called a conuocation at Westminster, wherein at the suit of Hugh Nouant bishop of Chester, it was decreed, that the monks of Couentrie should be displaced, and secular canons brought into that house to supplie their roomes. Which was done by the authoritie of the said lord chancellour, being bribed by the foresaid bishop of Chester (as some writers haue recorded) for displeasure which he bare to the monks, by reason of a traie which they had made vpon the said bishop in their church at Couentrie, and drawne blood of him before the altar there, as he alledged.

A conuocation.

Monks of Couentrie displaced. Polydor. Ran. Higd. Wil. Parius.

The occasion. Ran. Higd.

But some haue written, that the bishop of Chester procured a licence of the pope, to alter the state of that church in sort aboue mentioned, which is most likelie, surmising against the monks, that they were most manifest and stubborne disturbers of that peace and quietnesse which ought to remaine amongst churchmen: and yet he himselfe sowed the strife and dissention amongst them, and namelie betweene the prior and his couent. Moreouer, the said lord chancellour depriued such rulers of their administrations and gouernements, as the king had appointed to beare any high authoritie within the realme, pretending not onelie the kings commandement, but also alleadging a reason which moued him so to do, as thus, that he might thereby take awaie all occasions of grudges from the people, which otherwise might thinke, and would not sticke to saie, that they were oppressed by the rule of manie kings in stéed of one king. He did also depriue Hugh the bishop of Durham of all his honour and dignitie, and put the bishop of Winchester to great trouble. Moreouer, doubting least the Nobles of the realme would rise against him, and put him out of his place; he sought to keepe them lowe, and spoiled them of their monie and substance. Likewise pretending a colour of doubt, least earle John the kings brother should attempt any thing against his brother the king now in his absence, he sought also to keepe him vnder. To be breefe, he plaied in all points the right part of a tyrant, and shewed himselfe such a one in all respects as mainteined his title,

Ran. Higd. Polydor.

The L. chancellors reason.

The bishop of Durham.

The bishop of Winchester.

The lord chancellors meaning to keepe earle John lowe.

Non disceptando aut subtilibus argumentis
Vincere, sed ferro mauult sua iura tueri,
Pontifices nunc bella iuuant, sunt cætera nuga,
Nec præcepta patrum nec Christi dogmata curant,
Iactant se dominos rerum & sibi cuncta licere.

Pal. in fine cap.

At length the king receiued aduertisement from his mother quéene Elianor of his demeanor, and that there was great likelihood of some commotion to insue, if spéedie remedie were not in time prouided. Whereupon being then in Sicile, he sent Walter the archbishop of Rouen into England with commission, to ioine in administration of the kingdome with his chancellor the said bishop of Elie. But the archbishop comming into England was so slenderlie interteined of the chancellour, and in effect so little regarded, that notwithstanding his commission and instructions brought from the king, he could not be permitted to beare any rule. But the chancellour deteining the same wholie in his hands, ordered all things at his pleasure, without making the archbish. of Rouen, or any other of counsell with him, except such as it pleased him to admit for the seruing of his owne turne.

Walter the archbishop of Rouen sent into England

He is little regarded of the lord chancellor.

¶ He certeinlie beléued (as manie other did) that king Richard would neuer returne with life into England againe, which caused him to attempt so manie vnlawfull enterprises, and therefore he got into his hands all the castels and fortresses belonging to the crowne, and furnished them with garisons of souldiers, as he thought necessarie, depriuing such capteins of their romes as he suspected not to fauour his procéedings.

One Gerard de Camuille had bought of the king the keeping of the castell of Lincolne, vnto whom also the shiriffewike of the shire was committed for a time, but the lord chancellour, perceiuing that he bare more good will vnto earle John the kings brother than to him (which John he most suspected) he tooke from him the shiriffewike, & demanded also to haue the castell of Lincolne deliuered into his hands, which Gerard refused to deliuer, and perceiuing that the chancellor would practise to haue it by force, he fled vnto earle John, requiring him of competent aid and succour.

The chancellor on the other part, perceiuing what hatred diuerse of the Nobles bare him, thought good to prouide for his owne suertie the best that he could, and therefore sent for a power of men from beyond the sea: but bicause he thought it too long to staie till they arriued, he came to Lincolne with such power as he could make, and besieged the castell. Erle John the kings brother aduertised hereof, raised such numbers of men as he might make of his frends, seruants and tenants, and with small a do wan the castels of Notingham and Tickhill within two daies space. This done, he sent to the lord chancellour, commanding him either to breake vp his siege, or else to prepare for battell. The chancellour considering with himselfe that there was small trust to be put in diuerse of those lords that were with him, bearing good will to earle John, and but hollow harts towards him, raised his siege and departed with dishonour.

The lord chancellor besiegeth the castell of Lincolne.

Earle John winneth the castels of Notingham and Tickhill.

Not long after, one of his hornes was broken off by the death of pope Clement, whereby his power legantine ceased: wherewith being somewhat abashed, he came to a communication with earle John, and vpon certeine conditions made peace with him. Shortlie after the souldiers which he had sent for, arriued in England, and then he began to go from the agréement made with earle John, affirming that he would either driue the same earle out of England, or else should earle John do the like to him: for it was not of sufficient largenesse to hold them both. Howbeit shortlie after, a peace was eftsones concluded betwixt them with condition, that if it chanced king Richard to depart this life before his returne into England, not leauing any issue of his bodie begotten, that then the chancellour renouncing the ordinance made by king Richard (who had instituted his nephue Arthur duke of Britaine to be his heire and successour) should consent to admit earle John for king of England, contrarie to the said ordinance.

The chancellor raiseth his siege with dishonor.

The lord chancellor and earle John are agréed.

The chancellor breaketh the agreement.

The lord chancellor and earle John make another agréement.

But in the meane time it was agréed, that earle

John should deliuer vp the castels of Notingham and Tickhill, Notingham to the hands of William Marshall, and Tickhill to the hands of William Wendenall, they to kéepe the same vnto the vse and behoofe of king Richard, that vpon his returne he might dw with them as should please him: prouided that if it so chanced, that he should die before he could returne from his voiage, or that the chancellour went from the agréement now taken, then immediatlie should the foresaid castels of Notingham and Tickhill be restored vnto earle John.

Moreouer, the other castels of such honours as were assigned to earle John by the king his brother, were committed vnto the custodie of certeine persons of great trust and loialtie, as the castell of Wallingford to the archbishop of Rouen, the castell of Brillow to the bishop of Lincolne, the castell of the Peake to the bishop of Couentrie, the castell of Bolesores vnto Richard de Peake (or if he refused, then should the bishop of Couentrie haue it in kéeping) the castell of Ele was committed to Walter Fitz Robert, the castell of Herford to Roger Bigot, and to Richard Reuell the castell of Excester and Launston. These persons to whom these castels were thus committed to be kept, receiued also an oth, that they should faithfullie kéepe them to the kings behoofe, and if he chanced to die, before he should returne, then the same should be deliuered vnto earle Johns hands. Also there were three castels that perteined to the crowne, deliuered likewise in trust, as the castell of Windsor vnto the earle of Arundell, the castell of Winchester vnto Gilbert de Lacie, and the castell of Northampton vnto Simon de Patishull.

Castels deliuered in trust to the keeping of certeine persons.

It was also agréed, that bishops, abbats, earles, and barons, valuasors, and freeholders should not be disseized of their lands, goods or cattels, otherwise than by order of the iustices or officers of the king, so that they should be iudged in the kings courts according to the lawfull customes and ordinances of the realme: and likewise that earle John should cause the same orders to be obserued through all his lands. Prouided that if any man attempted to dw otherwise vpon support or maintenance of earle John, he should stand to be reformed by the archbishop of Rouen if he chanced then to be in England, and by the kings iustices, and by those that had sworne to obserue this peace: and also earle John himselfe at their request should see such reformation to be had.

Moreouer, it was agréed that all those castels that had bin built or begun to be builded since the kings passage ouer towards his iournie, should be razed, and no new made or fortified till his returne, except in manours perteining to the kings demaine, if néed required, or by his speciall commandement, either by letters, or sufficient messengerrs. That the shiriffewike of Lincolne, which the lord chancellour had assigned vnto William de Stuteuille should be restored to Gerard de Camuille, who had a daie appointed him to appéere in the kings court, to heare what might be laid against him: and if such matter could be proued, for the which he ought to lose the said shiriffewike and the castell of Lincolne, then he should depart from them by the iudgement of the court, or else not. Neither should earle John mainteine him against the iudgement of that court, nor should receiue any outlawes, or such as were notoriouslie knowen for enimies to the king, and so named, nor should suffer them to be receiued within the precinct of his liberties.

To hold, mainteine and obserue this peace, the said earle and chancellour sware in the hand of the archbishop of Rouen with seuen barons on either part. On the part of earle John these were the names of them that receiued the oth: Stephan Ridell his chancellour, William de la Mare, Robert de la Mare, Philip de Turchester, William de Kahennes, Gilbert Basset & William de Montacute. On the chancellours part, the earles of Arundell and Salisburie, earle Roger Bigot, and the earle of Clare, with Walter Fitz Robert, William de Breuse, and Roger Fitz Ramfrey. These things were concluded in this sort, the authoritie and commandement of the king yet in all things saued and reserued: but so, that if before his returne he should signifie his pleasure to the contrarie of the ordinances aboue mentioned, then should the castels of Notingham and Tickhill be restored vnto earle John, notwithstanding what soeuer the king should command touching the same. Thus was the peace concluded essoones betwixt earle John and the chancellour.

Anno Reg. 3. Matth. West. Polydor.

In this meane while, Geffrey the elect archbishop of Yorke, after long suit and manie delaies contriued, speciallie by the chancellour, obteined his pall, being consecrated by the archbishop of Tours, by vertue of his buls obteined from pope Celestine. The chancellour aduertised herof, and vnderstanding that he meant to come shortlie into England to be installed, was in a great chafe, bicause that during the time of the vacation, he had vsed the reuenues of that see at his pleasure, and therefore now to forgo them he was nothing contented. Herevpon he wrote his letters vnto Matthew de Clere shiriffe of Kent in this forme.

Geffrey the archbishop of Yorke. Rog. Houed.

Matth. Paris.

The lord chancellours letters to *the shiriffe of Kent.*

Præcipimus tibi quòd si Eboracen. electus ad aliquem portum in balliua tua applicuerit, aut aliquis nunciorum eius, eum retineri facias, donec mandatum nostrum indè receperis. Et similiter præcipimus, quòd omnes literas papæ aut magni alicuius viri quæ illic venerint, facias retineri. The English whereof is thus.

We command you that if the elect of Yorke shall arriue at any port or hauen within your bailiwicke, or any messenger of his, that you cause them to be arested and kept, till you haue commandement from vs therein. And we command you likewise, to stay, attach, and keepe all letters that come from the pope, or any other great man.

Likewise, whereas Baldwine archbishop of Canturburie, hauing taken his iournie into the holie land, and arriuing there before the king, chanced to depart this life at Tyrus, the last yeere, vpon the feast daie of S. Edmund, the chancellour found meanes to kéepe that see also vacant, that he might receiue the profits thereof, during the vacation, and find meanes to be prepared to it in the end. But as touching the see of Yorke, although he had (as before is said) made his hand of the reuenues belonging to the same from time to time at his pleasure, yet now after that he heard how Geffrey had receiued the pall, he made hauocke, walking & spoiling all that would yéeld him anie monie, without respect of right or wrong. Moreouer, he caused the hauens to be watched, with commandement giuen to the townes on the sea coast, that they should not suffer the archbishop Geffrey to take land. At length yet he arriued at Douer, where he was by the foresaid Matthew de Clere first staied, and after taken out of the abbeie by the chancellours commandement, and committed to prison within the castell, where a Noble man that

Polydor. The death of the archbishop of Canturburie. Io. Textor.

The archbishop arriued and is committed to ward.

that had maried the chancellors sister was capteine.

The newes of whose imprisonment was anon bruted thorough the realme, wherewith the Nobles fretted, and the commons curssed: finallie all men detested such tyrannie in the chancellour. But namelie the kings brother earle John stormed at the matter, and with all spéed assembled an armie out of those places where he bare rule, increasing the number with a power of Wellshmen. There came to him the bishop of Winchester, with manie earles and barons, also the bishop of Bath and Chester, which latelie before had béene chéefe fauourers of the chancellour in all his doings: but now that the world was changed, they shewed themselues the most earnest enimies he had, as well in words as déeds.

In an assemblie of all the bishops of England, all those were excommunicate in solemne wise, with candels light, and other such ceremonies, which had either giuen commandement, or were present as partakers, to pull out of the church the archbishop of Yorke, or his people by violence, and had imprisoned them in maner (as before yée haue heard:) but this was after the archbishop was set at libertie, as should appeare by Matthew Paris, for the chancellour repenting himselfe (though now too late) of his cruell dealing against the archbishop of Yorke, wherewith he had kindled such a brand against him, commanded the said archbishop (namelie at the instant sute of the bishop of London, or rather at the commandement of earle John, as Houeden saith) to be set at libertie. But the displeasure once kindled in the hearts of the Nobles, could not so easilie be quenched with his deliuerie, as it was spéedilie set on fire by his imprisonment, so that they being now in armour, purposed to abate the pride of the chancellour, and to deliuer the common-wealth of such an vglie tyrant. And to begin, they summoned and assigned him a peremptorie day to appeare at Reading, to make answer vnto such iniuries as he had done against the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of Durham, sithens the departure of his souereigne lord the king.

R. Houed. The chancellour summoned to appeare

At which day there came to Reading earle John, and the archbishop of Rouen, with manie other bishops, earles, and barons, abiding there all that day, to sée if the chancellour would appeare or no; but he came not: whereupon they prepared to march forth towards London, and therewithall set forward in like maner. He on the other side being a man of a great courage, had gathered an armie of such strangers and other his frends as he could make, and therewith went forth, and encamped neere to Windsor, there to abide his aduersaries, and to giue them battell, if they came forward and would abide it. But when they approched, and he perceiued also how diuerse of his frends shranke from him, and went to his enimies, he durst not attempt the hazard of a field, but fled backe to London, and there withdrew into the tower, with all his host, bicause he durst not commit himselfe to the doubtfull fellowship of the citizens. Through his great pride and statelie port which he mainteined, as partlie yée haue heard, he had procured to himselfe no small hatred amongst all degrees of men, and namelie such as by the kings appointment ought to haue bene parteners with him in gouernement of the realme sore repined at his presumptuous proceedings, for that he disdained (as it seemed) to vse their aduise, or to ioine them with him in the administration of things, so that now in time of his trouble he wist not in whome he might put his trust.

The chancellour retireth to London.

After he was thus retired into the tower of London, earle John the archbishop of Rouen, and the other bishops, earles, and barons associated togither against him, followed him at the héeles, entered the citie, and besieged the tower on ech side. On the morrow after, being the fourth day after the octaues of saint Michaell, they came togither into Paules churchyard, where they publikelie declared the iniurious wrongs done and practised by the chancellour; namelie against the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of Durham. Those also that had bene appointed as associats with him, accused him, in that he had taken vpon him to rule and gouerne all things after his owne will, not vouchsafing to haue their aduise or councell in such sort as had bene conuenient.

A declaration made against the lord chancellour.

The archbishop of Rouen and William Marshall earle of Pembroke shewed there before all the people the kings letters which he had sent from Messina, appointing that they should be associats with him in gouernment of the kingdome; and that without the counsell and aduice of them and others assigned therto, he should not meddle with the rule of the land, and that if he should doo any thing to the hinderance of the common-wealth, or séeke to meddle with the affaires of the realme, without their good aduise, that then he should be deposed. Héerevpon it séemed good to earle John, and to all the bishops, earles and barons of the realme, and to the citizens of London there assembled, that the said chancellour should be deposed, and so they proceeded, and deposed him indéed, appointing the archbishop of Rouen in his place, who would not take vpon him to doo anie thing touching the rule of the land, without consent of his associats assigned to him, and the barons of the exchecker.

The tenor of this leter shall hereafter appeare.

The same day, earle John, and the archbishop of Rouen, and other of the kings iustices, granted to the citizens of London the priuilege of their communaltie; and the said earle and archbishop, and in maner all the bishops, erls and barons of the realme sware to mainteine the said priuilege firme and stable, so long as should please their souereigne lord. And the citizens of London sware to be true, and to doo their faithfull seruice vnto king Richard and his heirs, and if he chanced to die without issue, then to receiue earle John the brother of king Richard for their king and souereigne lord, and thereupon sware fealtie to him against all men, sauing that which they owed vnto his brother king Richard.

The citizens of London.

The chancellour perceiuing the multitude to be such which he had with him in the tower, as the place was not able to hold them any long time, after he had remained within it one night, he came forth vnto earle John, and to the other that were thus entred the citie, and now readie to besiege him, of whome he got licence for them that were inclosed within the tower, to depart without damage, and therewith deliuered vp the tower vnto the hands of the archbishop of Rouen, with the castell of Windsor, and certeine other castels, which he held within the realme, but not all: notwithstanding he couenanted to make deliuerie of the residue, which yet remained in the hands of them whome he had appointed to the kéeping of the same. And for assurance of that couenant to be performed before he departed the realme, he deliuered his brethren, and one that was his chamberleine, to remaine with the lords as hostages.

The chancellour yéeldeth vp the tower.

This done, he hasted to Canturburie, where he promised to receiue the crosse of a pilgrime to go into the holie land, and to render vp the crosse of his legatship, which he had vsurped a yeare and a halfe after the death of pope Clement, to the preiudice of the church of Rome, and to the detriment and great hinderance of the English church. For there was not any church within the realme, which had not bene put to fine and ransome by that crosse, nor any ecclesiasticall person went free, but the print of the crosse appeared in him and his purse. From Canturburie he

The print of the legats crosse.

got

got him to Douer to his brother in law, and finallie seeking means to passe ouer into France, and doubting to be discouered, he apparelled himselfe in womans raiment, & got a web of cloth on his arme, as though he had beene some housewifelie woman of the countrie: but by the vntowardlie folding and vncunning handling of his cloth (or rather by a lewd fisherman that tooke him for an harlot) he was suspected and searched so narrowlie, that by his priuie members he was proued to be a man, and at length knowne, attached, and committed to prison, after he had beene reprochfullie handled by them that found him, and by the wiues of the towne, in such vnseemelie apparell.

The bishop of Elie late lord chancellour disguiseth himselfe in womans apparell.

He is bewraied.

Earle John would haue had him punished, and put to some open reproofe for his passed tyrannicall doings; but the bishops, and other of the barons, for reuerence of his order, procured his deliuerance, with licence to passe ouer into Normandie where he was borne. Thus was the bishop of Elie a man full of pride and couetousnesse ouerthrowne with shame, and receiued for his hie climing a reprochfull downefall: for none are more subiect to ruine and rebuke, than such as be aloft and supereminent ouer others, as the poet noteth well, saieng:

Earle John not y bishops freend.

Ouid.lib.1. de rem.am.

Summa petit liuor, perflant altissima venti,
Summa petunt dextra fulmina missa Iouis.

Matth.Paris.

In time he was deposed from his office of being chancellour, and not without warrant, for in verie deed, king Richard hauing receiued aduertisements from the lords and peeres of the realme, of the chancellours presumptuous and hautie demeanour, with wrongs offered to diuerse persons, wrote to them againe as followeth.

A letter of king Richard directed to the States of the land for the deposing of the bishop of Elie from his office of lord chancellour.

Richard king of England sendeth greeting to William Marshall, to Gilbert Fitz Peter, and Henrie Berdulfe, and to William Brewer, peeres. If it so chance that our chancellour hath not faithfullie handled the affaires and businesse of our realme (committed vnto him) by the aduise and counsell of you, and others to whom we haue also assigned the charge of gouernement of the same realme: we command you, that according to your disposition in all things to be doone concerning the gouernement thereof, you order and dispose as well for eschetes, as all other things, &c.

By force of this commission, the lords were the bolder to proceed against him as ye haue heard. Now after his comming into the parties beyond the seas, he ceassed not with letters and messengers to present his complaint to the pope of Rome, and to king Richard of the iniuries receiued at the hands of earle John and his complices. Herevpon pope Celestine wrote in deed to all the archbishops and bishops that were within the realme of England, in behalfe of the said bishop of Elie, declaring, that for so much as the king of England was gone into the holie land to warre against the enimies of our faith, leauing his kingdome vnder the protection of the apostolike see, he could not but haue speciall regard to see that the state, rights and honour thereof were preserued from all danger of decaie.

The bishop of Elie complaineth of his wrongs receiued.

The popes letters vnto the archbishop and bishops of England.

Wherefore, vnderstanding that there had beene certeine attempts made by John erle of Mortaigne and others, both against the king and the bishop of Elie, that was not onelie legat of the apostolike see, but also gouernour of the land appointed by the king, which attempt sounded greatlie to the reproch of the church of Rome, and danger of damage to insue to king Richard, if remedie were not the soner found: therefore he commanded them by the vertue of their obedience, to excõmunicat the earle of Mortaigne, or any other that was knowne to haue laid any violent hands vpon the said bishop of Elie, or deteined him as captiue, or inforced him to any oth, or else had changed the state of rule in the kingdome of England to other forme, than king Richard had ordeined at his setting forward towards the holie land: and that not onelie all the councellours, authors, aiders and complices of those that had committed such outrage, but also their lands should stand interdicted, so that no diuine seruice should be vsed within the precinct of the same, except penance and christning of infants. This to remaine till the said bishop & kingdome were restored into the former estate: and that the parties excommunicated should present themselues with letters from the bishops vnto the apostolike see to be absolued, &c.

Herevpon also the bishop of Elie himselfe wrote vnto the bishop of Lincolne and other, touching this matter: but the bishops did neither any thing in accomplishment of the effect of the popes letters, nor at his owne supplication. And therefore perceiuing small helpe to come that waie, he sought to obteine the fauour and freendship of earle John, and of his mother queene Elianor. In the meane time, the lords, barons and prelates of the realme, after they had depriued him of all authoritie, and banished him out of the land, ordeined the archbishop of Rouen in fauour of the kings commission, to haue the cheefe rule and administration of things touching all the affaires of the common-wealth; but yet so as earle John had the doings in manie points, so that he might seeme in manner an associat with him, wherof sprang much inconuenience. For this John being a man (as he is noted by some writers) of an ambitious nature, was suspected to aspire vnto the kingdome: in so much that he had ioined with the French king, after the same king was returned forth of the holie land, against his brother king Richard, if his mother queene Elianor had not perswaded him to the contrarie.

The archbishop of Rouen cheefe gouernour of England.

Whilest these things were a doing, on the twelfth daie of Julie, the citie of Acres was surrendred into the christian mens hands, for the Soldan Saladine (being approched neere to the siege of the christians with a puissant armie, in hope to haue raised their siege) when he perceiued it laie not in his power to worke any feat to the succour of his people within the citie, and that they were so constreined that they must needs yeeld, he holpe to make their composition, and promised to performe certeine couenants on their behalfe. Herevpon, the Saracens within Acres couenanted not onelie to deliuer the citie vnto the christians with fiue hundred prisoners of christians which they had within the same, but also to procure that the holie crosse should be to them deliuered, with a thousand other christian prisoners, such as the christian princes should apoint out of those numbers which Saladine had in his custodie, and further, to giue them two hundred thousand Besans. And till these couenants were performed, it was agreed, that the Saracens, which were at that present left within the citie, should remaine as pledges, vnder condition, that if the same couenants were not performed within fortie daies, then should they stand at the mercie of the christian princes as touching life and lim.

R. Houed. Wil. Paruus. Fiftene saith Functius, but others agree with Houed. as Gerardus Mercator, citing Albericus a monke.

Note how the pope defendeth his chaplins.

These things thus concluded, and the citie yeelded vp into the christian mens hands, the French king vpon

The citie of Acres.

vpon enuie and malice conceiued against king Richard (although he pretended sickenesse for excuse) departed homewards, setting from Acres the last day of Julie. Now then, after the departure of king Philip, when the day approched, in the which the Saracens should performe the couenants; or else stand to the iudgement of life and death at the pleasure of the christian princes: it was perceiued that the couenants would not be fulfilled according to the agreement. For Saladine, as it well appeared, ment not to performe that which for the safegard of his men he had vndertaken, and did but dallie with the christians to prolong the time: wherevpon sentence was giuen forth, that for default in such behalfe, the Saracens remaining as pledges should lose their heads.

The French K. returneth home.

Saladine hauing knowledge thereof, sent word to king Richard and to the whole christian armie, that if his people that were in the christian mens hands lost their heads, he would not faile but cause the heads of all those christians which he had in captiuitie to be cut off also. Notwithstanding which answer, on the fourteenth day of August king Richard issued forth of the citie, passing the vttermost ditches, and incamped himselfe neere the armie of Saladine, who the same daie sent rich presents vnto king Richard, requiring of him a longer day for performance of the couenants, but that would not be granted. Wherefore vpon the said deniall, Saladine caused all those christian prisoners which he had in his hands to be beheaded on the eightéenth day of August, on which day king Richard aduanced forth towards the lodgings of the Saracens, and skirmished with them verie hotlie, so that manie were wounded and slaine on both parts: and amongst other one of king Richards companions at all exercises named Peter Mignot lost his life there. Furthermore, although king Richard knew that Saladine had put the christian prisoners to death in such wise as you haue heard, yet would not he preuent his terme appointed for the execution of the Saracens that were in his custodie, but abiding vnto the twentith day of August, he then caused those Saracens which fell to his lot, at the time of the surrender of Acres, being in number about 2600. to be brought forth of the citie, and neere to the walles in the sight of Saladine and all his host they had their heads chopped off. The duke of Burgoigne caused execution to be done within the citie vpon those which fell to the French kings share, the number of the which rose to two thousand and foure hundred, or thereabouts: for the whole number was reckoned to be about fiue thousand that thus lost their liues through the inconstancie of their prince: yet diuerse of the principall had their liues saued. The Saracens themselues also spake much euill of Saladine for this matter, because that refusing to performe the articles of couenants, he had occasioned the enimie to slea those that had so valiantlie serued in defense of the citie, to the vttermost ieopardie of their liues. And heere is verified that knowne verse,

Saladine causeth the christian prisoners to be beheaded.

R. Houed.

Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achiui.

But now to leaue forren matters, and to returne home into England: we find, that on the second of December, the monks of Canturburie chose to their archbishop Reignold bishop of Bath, who within fiftéene daies after his election, departed this life, and lieth buried at Bath. Also this yeare, or (as Ger. Dor. saith) in the yeare following, the bishop of Durham sought meanes to withdraw his subiection from the archbishop of Yorke, for which attempt the archbishop of Yorke, vpon trust of the popes grant, did not excommunicate the said bishop, notwithstanding that he appealed to the popes consistorie three seuerall times, putting his owne matter and his churches to be examined and tried by the pope, wherevpon he obeied not the excommunication: and signifieng the cause vnto Rome, obteined such fauour, that the pope and his cardinals reuersed the sentence, and iudged the excommunication to be of none effect. And further they decreed, that if the archbishop of Yorke had broken the altars and chalices, as information was giuen, in which the bishop of Durham had celebrated after his appeale made to the court of Rome, that then should the said bishop of Durham be acquited from owing any subiection to the said archbishop for so long as they two should liue together.

Ger. Dor.

Strife betwixt ye archbishop of Yorke and the bishop of Durham.

True it is, that the archbishop had not onelie broken the altars and chalices which the bishop had vsed in deed for the celebration of masse, but also held his owne brother Iohn earle of Mortaigne for excommunicate, bicause he had eat and dronke in companie of the said bishop, and would not communicate with him, till he came to receiue absolution, and to make satisfaction for his fault. In the end the bishops of Lincolne and Rochester, with the abbat of Peterburrow, were appointed by the pope to haue the hearing of this matter, as iudges authorised by his buls, who sat therevpon at Northampton, vpon S. Calixt his day, where after they had heard both parties argue what they could in either of their cases, they gaue a longer day, to wit, vntill the feast of the natiuitie of saint Iohn Baptist next after, to see if by anie good means there might some agréement haue beene had betwixt them, or (if that could not be) that then the popes leters should stand in force as before, & the helpes of either part saued, as though no delaie had béene vsed. And to this, both parties were agreeable, speciallie at the motion of the bishop of Lincolne.

This yeare also, Roger de Lacie constable of Chester tooke Alan de Lec and Peter de Bouencort, and vpon despite hanged them, for that being put in trust amongst other with the keeping of the castels of Notingham and Tickhill, which he had receiued into his custodie of the bishop of Elie quondam lord chancellour, they had consented to the treasen of Robert de Crokeston, & Eudo de Duuille, which deliuered the same castels vnto Iohn earle of Mortaigne. The same earle of Mortaigne was highlie offended for the death of those two persons, and therefore wasted the lands of the said Roger which lay within the compasse of his iurisdiction.

Roger Lacie constable of Chester.

But now touching the departure of the French king from Acres, diuerse occasions are remembred by writers of the emulation and secret spite which he should beare towards king Richard, and beside other alreadie touched, one was for enterteining and relæuing the earle of Champaigne in such bountifull wise in his necessitie, that he was readie to forsake the French kings seruice, and cleaue to king Richard. But howsoeuer it came to passe, partlie through enuie (as hath béene thought) conceiued at the great déeds of king Richard, whose mightie power and valiantnesse he could not well abide, and partlie for other respects him mouing, he tooke the sea with three gallies of the Geneuois, and returned into Italie, and so home into France, hauing promised first vnto king Richard at his departure out of the holie land, and after to pope Celestine at Rome, that he would not attempt any hurtfull enterprise against the English dominions, till king Richard should be returned forth of the holie land. But this promise was not kept, for after that he was returned into France, he first sought to procure the foresaid erle Iohn, king Richards brother, to rebell against him, promising him not onelie aid to reduce all his brothers dominions

The euill dealing & breach of promise of the French king.

ons into his hands, but also to giue his sister Adela in marriage, whom king Richard vpon suspicion of vnchast liuing, had forsaken, as before ye haue heard. But when earle John was dissuaded by his mother, from accepting this offer (which otherwise as it is said he would willinglie haue receiued) king Philip still reteined a malicious rancor in his hart, and in reuenge of old displeasures, would haue attempted the warre against the subiects of king Richard, if his lords would haue ioined with him: but they considering what slander would redound hereby both to him and them for the iniurie done to the christian common-welth, in making warre against him that was occupied in defense of the faith against the common enimies of christendome, would not giue their consent thereto, and so the matter rested, till king Richard was taken prisoner in Almaigne, and then what followed, it shall after appeare.

Wil. Parus. Enuious discord among the christians.

In the meane while, the christian armie atchiued some worthie enterprises in the holie land, though not manie, by reason of such enuious discord as reigned amongst the cheefe gouernours. It chanced yet on the eeue of the Natiuitie of our ladie next after the departure of king Philip, as king Richard marched forth towards Japh ancientlie called Joppa, that the Soldan Saladine taking aduantage of the place, did set vpon the rereward of the christians: but his Saracens (after they had fought right fiercelie from none till sunne setting) were so beaten backe at length, and repelled with such losse and disaduantage, that in 40. yeares before they had not sustained at one time greater damage. Amongst other of the christians slaine at that encounter, was one James Dauenes, a man of high prowesse and valiancie.

K. Richard discomfiteth the Saracens neere to Port Japh.

Rog. Houed.

Moreouer, king Richard wan diuerse townes and castels out of the enimies hands, as Ascalon, Darus, and diuerse other, and some he fortified, as Ascalon aforesaid, and Port Japh, otherwise called Joppa. There were sundrie encounters also betwixt the Saracens and christians, wherein king Richard and his people bare themselues so manfullie, that the victorie for the most part continuallie rested on their side.

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At one time also, hearing of a great conuei of vittels, munitions, and other things which came from Babylon towards Jerusalem to furnish Saladine and his armie (which conueis they call caruannes) king Richard with a competent power of men met them on the waie, and distressed those that were attendant vpon the safegard of that carriage, being in number about two thousand horsemen, besides a great multitude of footmen, and therewith toke the carriages with foure thousand and six hundred camels and dromedaries, besides an innumerable sort of mules, asses, and other beasts of burthen.

¶ But to speake of all the worthie exploits atchiued by king Richard and his valiant capteins there in the holie land against the infidels, it would require a long treatise, and therefore here we passe them ouer. This is to be noted, that amongst other of whom we find honorable mention made by writers for their high valiancie shewed in those exploits, these are named as cheefe, Robert earle of Leicester, Hubert bishop of Salisburie, with the earles of S. Paule and Dreux, beside diuerse other, as Hugh de Gourney, William de Borrez, Walcline de Ferrers, Roger de Tonie, James de Auenes, the bishop of Beauuois, William de Barres, William de Tarland, Drogo de Merlo, Robert de Nealle, Henrie Fitz Nicholas, Robert de Newburg, Rafe de S. Marie, Arnold de Bois, Henrie de Mailoc, William de Saule de Brul, Andrew de Chauignie, Henrie de Graie, Peter de Pratellis, Stephan de Turneham, Baldwin Carron, Clarenbald de Mount Chablon, Manser de Lisle, Richard de Dreques and Theodorike Philip, Ferrike de Vienne, Gilbert Malemaine, Alexander d' Arsie, Stephan de Longchamp, Seguin de Barret, Roger de Glanuille, Raimond Fitz Prince, Bartholomew de Mortimer, Gerard Furniuall, Rafe de Malleon, Roger de Sacie, William de Poole, Hugh de Neuill, Henrie Teutch or (if ye will) Teutonicus the kings standardbearer, with diuerse others, as well Englishmen, Frenchmen, Normans, Poictouins, Aniouines, Britans, Gascoignes, as other nations, of whome partlie mention is alreadie made before in this booke, and partlie for breuenesse diuerse are omitted.

The names of such noble men as were famous for their valiant doings in this voiage.

De Poole alias de Stagno.

But now to returne, sure it is, that king Richard meant to haue recouered the citie of Jerusalem, and all the holie land out of the Saracens hands, by the assistance of almightie God: if the doubt which he had of his brother the earle of Mortaigns practises, & the French kings doings, which were brought to him with a greeuous report, had not reuoked him home. For diuerse messengers were sent dailie into the holie land, to aduertise him of such dangers as were like to insue, if by his speedie returne the same were not preuented. And first after Easter, there came to him the prior of Hereford with letters from the bishop of Elie, conteining a sore information against his brother earle John, for hauing expelled those whom he had appointed rulers ouer the realme of England, and altered the state of things there contrarie to the ordinances by him deuised afore his setting forward vpon his iournie (as before ye haue partlie heard.)

Galf. Vinsal.

Upon receipt of which letters, he meant immediatlie at the first to haue returned, and to haue left behind him a conuenient power of men, to wit, three hundred knights or men of armes, and two thousand chosen footmen, to abide vpon the defense of the holie land, with other christians at his costs and charges. But yet at length he was persuaded to tarrie, speciallie till things were set in some better state, which then were out of order by the death of the marques of Montferrato, lord of Tire, whom two traitorous Saracens of the kind which they name Assassini had murthered. After whose death Henrie earle of Champaigne nephue to king Richard married his wife, and was made king of Jerusalem, Guido resigning to him his title, vnto whome as it were in recompense king Richard gaue the Ile of Cypres: although some write, that the knights Templers had bought it of him before. Thus king Richard remaining still in the holie land, shortlie after Whitsuntide, there came an other messenger to him, one John de Alanzon a clearke, bringing worse newes out of England than the prior of Hereford had brought before, which in effect conteined, that his brother earle John was alied as a confederat with the French king, and meant through his setting on, to seize into his possession the whole realme of England, notwithstanding the persuasion of his mother queene Elianor and other his freends to the contrarie.

The marques of Montferrato murthred by the Assassini.

Earle John purposed to seize vpon the kingdom in his brothers absence.

Herevpon king Richard was fullie persuaded to returne home, but yet through the admonition of certeine persons, and namelie of one William de Poicters, a chapleine of his, he effsoones altered his purpose, and so remained there, till at length through enuie and malice still increasing amongst the christians, he perceiued how no good purpose could go forward, since that which seemed good to some, was misliked of other; and speciallie our writers put great blame in the French men, who either vpon disdaine or other displeasure would not be persuaded to follow their aduise, which were knowne best to vnderstand the state of things in those parties. And herevpon, when the armie was aduanced to Betenoble,

William de Poicters K. Richards chapleine.

a place not past foure leagues distant from Jerusalem, bicause their mind might not be fulfilled for the besieging of Jerusalem, which they had intended to take in hand (whereas the residue would rather that they shuld haue gone to besiege Babylon in Aegypt, and that vpon sundrie great respects) the Frenchmen raised their field, and returned againe to Acres in great despite, putting the rest of the armie also (so much as in them laie) in danger of vtter ruine and distresse.

Anno Reg. 4.

Then king Richard and the other christian capteins perceiuing how the matter inclined, and giuing ouer all hope of any more good successe, followed them. So that after they were thus returned to Acres, king Richard still doubting least his long absence from home might put him in danger of more losse here, than he saw hope of present gaine to be had there, in such diuersitie of humours and priuie malice which reigned among them, he determined fullie to depart homewards, with no lesse purpose to returne thither againe after he had setled things at home in such sure stay as was expedient for the suertie of his owne estate and quietnesse of his people. Heredpon being readie to enter into his ships at Acres [or as some haue, being on his iournie homewards in Cyprus] he was aduertised that the Souldane Saladine had taken the towne of Japh, slaine a great number of the christians within it, and besieged the residue within the castell, the which (constreined through feare) had compounded to yeld, if within three daies there came no succour.

Wil. Paruus.

King Richard being hereof aduertised, and turning greef into valiancie, with all speed sailed backe vnto Japh, and landing there with his people, caused his enimies to forsake the towne: but anon assembling themselues againe togither, they turned once more to besiege it, wherevpon he issued forth into the fields, and fought with them sundrie daies togither, till finallie they were content to forsake their enterprise, and to depart thence for altogither. In these conflicts the valiant courage of king Richard, and the worthie manhood of his souldiers right well appeared: for he brought not with him at that time vnto Japh aboue 80 men of armes, and foure hundred other souldiers with crossebowes, and yet with that small handfull of men, and some aid of them that he found there in the castell, he did not onelie bid battell to the enimies, which were numbred to 62 thousand, but also put them to the worsse, and caused them to flee backe, to their great shame and confusion.

K. Richard rescueth Port Japh.

Rad. Niger. Matth. Paris.

Thus Japh being deliuered out of the enimies hands, king Richard fell sicke at a castell called Cephas, and so remained there certeine daies, till he had recouered his health. In which meane time the Soldane Saladine seeming to lament his case, sent vnto him certeine of his councellors to common with him of peace, declaring that although he well vnderstood that king Richard ment shortlie to returne into his countrie, and that after his departure out of the east parts, he could with small adoo recouer all that the christians yet held within the holie land, he would neuertheless in respect of king Richards high prowes, and noble valiancie, grant a peace for a certeine time, so that not onelie Ascalon, but also all other such townes and places as the christians had fortified or woone since the conquest of Acres should be raced, as touching their walles, bulworks, gates, and other fortifications.

Cephas.
K. Richard fell sicke.

King Richard (though he perceiued that this offer of peace tended vnto this point chefelie, that Saladine would thereby annihilate whatsoeuer the christian armie had done in the holie land since his & the French kings arriuall, so that by the said peace he should gaine more than by the edge of his sword) did somewhat staie at this offer and demand, as a thing greatlie dishonourable to the christians, to lose by treatie of peace so much or rather more than they got by force of warres (a meere token of faint and feeble courage) yet considering that in such necessitie both of his departure from thence, and also of lacke of other succors to resist the puissance of the enimies, after his comming awaie, he iudged it best to take the offer at the enimies hands in auoiding of some greater euill. Herevpon therefore was a peace concluded to endure for three yeares, three moneths, three weeks, three daies, and three houres, to begin at Easter next insuing. And among other articles, it was couenanted, that the christians should haue free passage to come and go vnto the citie of Jerusalem, to visit the holie sepulchre there, which was granted; so that amongst a great number of christians that presentlie vpon this conclusion went thither, Hubert bishop of Salisburie was one, who had continued about the king during the time of all his iournie till this time.

A peace concluded betwixt the Christians & Saracens.

Hubert bishop of Salisburie.

King Richard hauing thus concluded with Saladine, toke the sea, and comming againe into Cyprus, sent his wife queene Berengaria with his sister Joane (late queene of Sicile) into England by the long seas, but he himselfe not minding to lie long on the seas, determined to take his course into Grecia, and so by land to passe homewards with all speed possible. Howbeit yet he could atteine his purpose, his chance was to be driuen by tempest into the coast of Istria, not farre from Aquilia, where he stood in some doubt of his life. For if he had beene knowne and taken, they would surelie haue killed him, bicause of the slander that went of him, as guiltie of the death of Conrade the marquesse of Montferrato, who indeed was slaine by two of the Assassini in the citie of Tyrus, whilest king Richard was in the holie land (as before ye haue heard.)

K. Richard taketh his iornie homewards.

K. Richard slandered for the death of ỹ marques of Montferrato.

He therefore hauing here made shipwracke, and doubting to fall in to the hands of any person in those parts that bare good will vnto the marquesse (against whome he had indeed shewed himselfe not frendlie in a quarrell betwixt the said marquesse and Guido the king of Jerusalem) made the best shift he could to get away, yet knowledge being had of him, and serch made after him by one Meinard of Gorzein, he lost sight of his seruants, and so came to a towne within the bishoprike of Saltzburge called Frisake, where he was eftsones in danger to haue beene taken againe by one Frederike de saint Some, who notwithstanding toke six of his men, but yet he himselfe with three other of his companie made shift to get away. Finallie comming to Vienna in Austrich, and there causing his seruants to prouide meat for him, more sumptuous and fine than was thought requisit for so meane a person as he counterfeited then to beare out in countenance, it was streightwaies suspected that he was some other maner of man than he pretended, and in fine, those that marked more diligentlie the maner of him, perceiued what he was, and gaue knowledge to the duke of Austrich named Leopold, being then in the citie of Vienna, what they had seene. His page that had the Dutch tong, going about the towne to change gold, and buy vittels, bewraied him, hauing by chance the kings gloues vnder his girdle: wherevpon comming to be examined for feare of tortures confessed the truth.

W. Paruus. Erle of Gorze Saltzburge.

K. Richard commeth to Vienna.

Polydor.

The duke streightwaies caused the house where he was lodged, to be set about with armed men, and sent other into the house to apprehend him. He being warie that he was deserted, got him to his weapon: but they aduising him to be contented, and alledging the dukes commandement, he boldlie answered, that sith he must be taken, he being a king, would yeld him-

Ra. Niger.

" himselfe to none of the companie but to the duke
" alone, and therefore if it would please him to come,
" he would yéeld himselfe into his hands. The duke
K. Richard submitteth himselfe to the duke of Austrich. hearing of this, spéedilie came vnto him, whom he
meeting, deliuered vp his sword, and committed him
vnto his custodie. The duke reioising of such a preie,
brought him vnto his palace, and with gentle words
enterteined him, though he meant no great good to-
wards him, as well inough appeared in that he com-
mitted him to the keeping of certeine gentlemen,
which without much courtesie loked streightlie e-
nough to him for starting awaie, in somuch that
N. Triuet. they kept him in cold irons (as some authours do
write.) He was taken after the maner aforesaid in
December vpon S. Thomas éeue, in the yére of our
Lord 1192, and in the fourth yeare of his reigne.

Polychron. The duke of Austrich owght the king no good will,
because he had cast downe his ensignes pitcht vp in
a turret at Acres, which he had wone at the verie
time when that citie was deliuered by the Sara-
cens: for while they were in tretie on the one side, the
The cause of the displeasure betwixt the duke of Austrich & king Richard. duke on the other, not knowing anie thing thereof,
gaue the assault vnto that part of the towne which
was appointed vnto him to besiege. And so being
entred the towne, and perceiuing that by treatie it
was to be deliuered, he retired into the turret which
he had first wone and entred, and there set vp his
standard and ensignes, which king Richard (as the
Dutch writers affirme) comming thither, threw
downe and trode vnder his feet.

Ger. Dor. But Gernasius Dorobornensis declareth this mat-
ter somewhat otherwise, as thus. After that the said
citie of Acres was rendred into the christian mens
hands (saith he) diuerse lords toke their lodgings as
they thought good, and hanged forth their ensignes.
And as it chanced, the duke of Austrich placing him-
selfe in one of the faitest palaces of all the citie, put
forth his ensigne, whereof king Richard being wa-
rie, came thither with a companie of hardie souldiers
about him, and threw downe the dukes ensigne, so
displacing him out of that so pleasant and beautifull
Rog. Houed. a lodging. For this cause, and also surmizing that
king Richard should be guiltie of the death of the
marques, Conrade the duke of Austrich shewed such
discourtesie towards him. But concerning the mur-
ther of the marques, the chéefe gouernour of those
Saracens called Assassini cleared king Richard by a
letter written and directed vnto the duke of Austrich
in manner as followeth.

A letter directed to the duke of Austrich, wherein king Richard is cleared of the death of the marquesse of Mountferrat, whereof he was vehementlie suspected.

Lvpoldo duci Austriæ, Vetus de Monte salutem. Cùm plurimi reges & principes vltra mare Richardum regem Angliæ & dominum de morte marchisi inculpent, iuro per dominum qui regnat in æternum, & per legem quam tenemus, quòd in eius mortem nullam culpam habuit. Est siquidem causa mortis ipsius marchisi talis. Vnus ex fratribus nostris in vnam nauem de Satalei, ad partes nostras veniebat, & tempestas illum fortè ad Tyrum appulit, & marchisius fecit illum capere & occidere, & magnam pecuniam eius rapuit. Nos verò marchisio nuncios nostros misimus, mandantes vt pecuniam fratris nostri nobis redderet, & de morte fratris nostri nobiscum se concordaret, & noluit.

Nec non & nuncios nostros spreuit, & mortem fratris nostri super Reginaldum dominum de Sidonis posuit, & nos tantùm fecimus per amicos nostros, quod in veritate scimus, quòd ille fecit illum occidere & pecuniam rapere. Et iterum alium nuncium nostrum nomine Edrisum misimus ad eum, quem in mare mergere voluit, sed amici nostri illum à Tyro festinanter fecerunt recedere, qui ad nos peruenit, & ista nobis nunciauit. Nos quoque ex illâ hora marchisum desideraiimus occidere. Túncque duos fratres misimus ad Tyrum, qui eum aperte & fere coram omni populo Tyri occiderunt.

Hæc ergò fuit causa mortis marchisi, & benè dicimus vobis in veritate, quòd dominus Richardus rex Angliæ in hac marchisi morte nullam culpam habuit. Et qui propter hoc domino regi Angliæ malum fecerunt, iniustè fecerunt, & sine causa. Sciatis pro certo, quòd nullum hominem huius mundi pro mercede aliqua vel pecunia occidimus, nisi prius nobis malum fecerit. Et sciatis quòd has literas fecimus in domo nostra ad castellum nostrum Messiat in dimidio Septembri, anno ab Alexandro 1505.

The same in English.

METus de Monte to Lupold duke of Austrich sendeth greeting. Where manie kings and princes beyond the seas blame Richard king of England of the marques his death, I sweare by the lord that reigneth euerlastinglie, and by the law which we hold, that he was not in fault for his death. For the verie cause of the marques his death was such as followeth. One of our brethren in a ship of Satalie came towards our parties, and chanced by tempest to be driuen vnto Tyre, and the marques caused him to be taken and slaine, and tooke a great portion of monie that he had in the ship with him. Wherevpon we sent our messengers to the marques, commanding him to restore vnto vs the monie of our brother, and to compound with vs for our said brothers death, and he would not.

Moreoner, he also contemned our messengers, & laid the fault of our brothers death vpon Reginald lord of Sidon, and we did so much through our freends, that we got full vnderstanding that the marques himselfe caused him to be slaine, and tooke his monie. And therefore we sent vnto him againe an other messenger named Edrisus, whome he would haue drowned in the sea, but our freends made such shift, that they procured him to depart with speed from Tyre, who returned to vs, and signified these things to vs for certeine. And from that houre euer after we had a desire to slea the marques: and so then we sent two of our brethren vnto Tyre, who openlie, & in a manner in presence of all the people of Tyre slue him.

This therefore was the verie cause of the death of the marques: & we say to you in good sooth, that the lord Richard king of England, in this death of the marques was nothing culpable: and they that haue doone anie displeasure vnto the king of England for this cause, they haue doone it wrongfullie, and without anie iust occasion. Know ye for certeine, that we doo not vse to kill anie man of this world for a-

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nie bribe, or for monie, except he haue doone to vs some harme afore time. And know ye that we haue made these letters in our house at our castell of Messuat, in the midst of September, in the yeare from Alexander the great, 1505.

¶ Thus we see how king Richard was cleared of that crime concerning the marques his death by the tenour of this letter. And verelie it is most like that king Richard would haue béene loth to haue communicated his purpose vnto such a wicked kind of pagans as the Assassini were, if he had pretended any such matter, but rather would haue sought his reuenge by some other meanes. Now therefore to our purpose.

The newes of the taking of king Richard was anon bruted and blowne ouer all Germanie, whereupon the emperour Henrie the first, the sonne of Frederike the first, sent in all hast vnto the duke, persuading him to deliuer the king into his hands, being able to sustéine and abide the malice of all them that would be offended with the taking and deteining of him prisoner, as the pope and others. The emperour well vnderstood the wealth and riches of England, and therefore hoped to make some good purchase by ransoming the king, if he might get him out of the dukes hands. The duke perceiuing also the emperours meaning, durst not well denie his request, and therefore he deliuered the king vnto them that were sent from the emperour, who couenanted to giue vnto the said duke the summe of 6000. pounds of Cullen weight for the hauing of the said king. The emperour thus receiuing the king at the hands of the duke of Austrich, commanded that he should be committed to close prison, and would not doo so much as once speake with him. This he did, to cause the king vpon an indignation and wearinesse of that maner of life, to make spéed in offering some large masse of monie for his libertie & deliuerance. ¶ Thus we sée how couetousnesse infected the hearts of the mightie, and what occasion the emperour and duke did take, to inrich themselues by the meanes of the king, whome they forced not to impouerish, so their owne greedie wormes were serued. But this hath béene a disease not so generall as ancient, according to his words that said,

Vix ego Saturno quenquam regnante videbam,
Cuius non animo dulcia lucra forent.

Ouid. lib. Fast. 1.

Here is to be remembred by the waie, that about the same time, or somewhat before, in the yeare of our Lord 1192. the pope sent two legats (namelie, Octauian bishop of Hostia, and Iordane de Fossa noua) into Normandie, to reconcile the bishop of Elie and the archbishop of Rouen: but comming vnto Gisors, they were staied from entring any further into the countrie, whereupon they did interdict the whole duchie of Normandie, togither with William Fitz Radulfe lord steward of that countrie, bicause he was the man that had so staied them. Immediatlie herevpon, queene Elianor, and the archbishop of Rouen sent vnto those legats Hugh bishop of Durham, requiring them to release that sentence of interdiction so pronounced against the steward and countrie of Normandie in the kings absence, but they would not, except they might be receiued into Normandie: howbeit, the pope being sent vnto, released it, and caused the legats to release it also, and yet they entred not into Normandie at all.

This yeare, whilest the seneschall of Gascoigne laie sicke, the earle of Pieregort, and the vicount of March, and almost all the lords and barons of Gascoigne, began to waste and destroie the lands of king Richard. And though the seneschall manie times by messengers required a peace, or at the least some truce, yet could he not haue any grant thereof: wherfore vpon his recouerie of health he inuaded the lands of the said earle, tooke the castels and fortresses and some of them he fortified, and kept to the kings vse, and some of them he raced downe to the ground. He also inuaded the vicounts countrie, and subdued it to the kings gouernement. Shortlie after came the brother of the king of Nauarre, with eight hundred knights or men of armes to the seneschals aid, and so they two togither entring into the lands of the earle of Tholouse, tooke diuerse castels and fortresses within the same, of the which some they fortified, and some they raced, and rode euen to the gates of Tholouse, and lodged in maner vnder the walles of the citie.

A little before Christmas also, diuerse of those that had béene in the holie land with king Richard, came home into England, not knowing but that king Richard had béene at home before them, and being asked where they thought he was become, they could say no more but that they had séene the ship wherein he first went aboord, arriuing at Brendize in Puglia. At length, when newes came that he was taken and staied as prisoner, the archbishop of Rouen and other the rulers of the realme of England, sent the abbat of Boxeley and the abbat of Roberts-bridge with all spéed into Almaine to speake with him, and to vnderstand his state, and what his pleasure was in all things. Who comming to Germanie, passed through the countrie into Baierland, where at a place called Dreser they found the king as then on his iournie towards the emperour, to whom (as yée haue heard) the duke of Austrich did send him. The said abbats attended him to the emperours court, and remained there with him till the emperour and he were accorded, in manner as after shall be shewed: and then after Easter they returned with the newes into England.

Upon report hereof order was taken for manie things, but chéefelie for the state: in which dealings, forsomuch as those which had the rule of the land stood in great doubt of things (for the inconstant nature of earle John was of them much suspected) first they caused a new oth of allegiance to be made to king Richard, and receiued of the people. They fortified also such townes and castels as were of importance, both with repairing the walles and other defenses about the same, and furnishing them with men, munition and vittels. Thus was the land brought into some order.

In the meane while, the French king being aduertised that king Richard was deteined as prisoner, reioised not a little thereat, and with all spéed by secret messages did send for his brother earle John, who was readie to come at his call. And being come, he exhorted him not to suffer so conuenient an occasion to passe, but to take the gouernement of the realme of England now into his hands, promising him all such aid as he could of him reasonablie require: with other like talke still tending to the prouocation of the earle to forsake his allegiance vnto his brother. And to say the truth, earle John was eastlie persuaded so to doo, and therefore vpon his immediat returne into England, assembled an armie, and with the same (and such strangers as he brought with him) began to prouue maisteries, first winning the castels of Windsore, Wallingford, Notingham, and diuerse other, and fortifieng the same to his owne vse and defense.

The barons of the land, iudging such vnlawfull doings not to be anie longer suffered, first besieged the castell of Windsore, and after preparing to lenie a greater force, did put them within in such feare, that they yelded vp the same, séeking to escape by

1192

The king is deliuered to the emperor. Math. Paris.

Ger. Dor.

The seneschal of Gascoigne reuengeth iniurie.

The king of Nauars brother.

The abbats of Boxley and Roberts-bridge.

The French king counselleth K. John to vsurpe against his brother.

Two legats from ỹ pope.

Normandie interdicted.

The earle of Pieregort & others wast the K. of Englands lands.

flight, some into one place, and some into an other, the which yet being apprehended were put to worthie execution. Ger.Dor. But this was not done without continuance of time, & without great trouble & charges to the realme: for whereas there was a practise betwixt the French king and earle John, that a great power of strangers, & namelie Flemings should haue come into the realme (for whose transporting a great number of ships were brought togither at Witsand) yet the high prouidence and goodnesse of God disappointed their purpose. For their messengers being taken which were sent hither into England, the treason was reuealed, and by the quæne mothers appointment (who chæfelie then ruled the land) a great companie of knights, men of armes, and commons of the countrie, watched the sea coasts ouer against Flanders, to kæpe the enimies from landing. They began thus to watch in the passion wæke, and so continued till a certeine time after Easter. Howbeit earle John came secrætlie ouer, in hope to haue not onelie the assistance of the Welshmen and of manie other his frænds in England, but also of the Scots, howbeit, the king of Scots would not meddle. He therefore with such Welshmen and other as he had brought ouer, and such Englishmen as he could get to take his part, began such attempts (as before ye haue heard) to the disquieting of the whole realme, and great displeasure of the king.

Moreouer, beside that power of the barons which laid siege to Windsor castell, there were Noble men also in other parts of the realme that were readie to resist him. And amongst other, Geffrey the archbishop of Yorke, with Hugh Bardolfe one of the kings iustices, and William de Stuteuille, assembled an armie, and comming to Doncaster, fortified the towne: but when the archbishop would haue gone forward to besiege the castell of Tickhill, which earle John had in possession, the other two his associats would not consent to go with him, bicause they were seruants, and reteined with earle John. Herewith the archbishop being sore offended, departed from them, calling them traitors to their king, and enimies to the realme.

The archbishop of Yorke. Hugh Bardolfe. William de Stuteuille.

About the same time did the French king enter into Normandie with an armie, & comming to the towne of Gisors, besieged it, the which one Gilbert de Vascoll or Guascoill capteine thereof (to his high reproch) yælded vp vnto him, with an other castell also called Nesle, which he had likewise in kæping. After this, the French king entring into the countrie of Veurine or Venlquessine, wan diuers towns and fortresses in the same, and passing forward, tooke Val de Rueil, and Neusburge, and finallie comming before the citie of Rouen he laid siege thereto: but the earle of Leicester being gotten into the citie before the French kings comming thither, so incouraged the citizens, that they stoutlie standing to their defense, caused the French king to his great dishonour to raise his field, hauing lost there more than he wan. Yet to saue other townes and castels from taking, and the countrie from destruction, the rulers of the same procured a truce for a great summe of monie, which they couenanted to giue, deliuering vp foure notable castels by waie of engagement, till the summe agræd vpon should be to him contented and dulie paid.

Wil.Paruus. Rouen beseged. The earle of Leicester. Polydor.

In the meane time, earle John as head of all the conspiratours, perceiuing himselfe not able to atchiue his purpose as then, nor to resist the lords and barons of the realme, being vp in armour against him, and now growen to greater stomach, bicause they vnderstood by the bishop of Salisburie latelie arriued, of the kings welfare, and hope of deliuerance; and furthermore, considering that he was disapointed both of Scots and Flemings as he had well hoped should haue come to his aid: he tooke a truce with the lords of the kings side, by the earnest trauell of the bishop of Salisburie, till the feast of All saints, so as the castels of Windsore, Wallingford, and the Peake, should remaine in the hands of his mother quæne Elianor; but the castels of Notingham and Tickhill remained still in his owne possession, the which with such other castels as he held within the land, he furnished with garrisons of his owne men and frænds, and then went againe ouer into France to the French king, to purchase some new aid at his hands according to his promise. Michaelmas; saith Ger. Dorob.

Here will we leaue earle John conferring with the French king, and returne to the king of England. Upon Palmesundaie after that he was deliuered (or rather betraied) into the emperours hands, he was brought before the princes and lords of the empire, in whose presence the emperour charged him with diuerse vnlawfull doings: and namelie picked a quarell at him for the wrongs and hurts done to the Sicilians in time of his sojourning in their Ile, as he went towards the holie land. For albeit the said emperour had nothing as then to do in the countrie, yet for somuch as he had latelie recouered the Ile of Sicile out of king Tancreds hands, and was now intituled king thereof by the pope, in right of his wife Constance, the daughter of Roger king of Sicile, and so by reason therof seemed to be græuouslie offended with him for his doings about the recouering of the monie from Tancred, which neuertheless was iustlie due vnto his sister for hir dowrie, as in the processe afore I haue alreadie declared. King Richard notwithstanding these vaine and other frivolous obiections laid to his charge, made his answears alwaies so pithilie and directlie to all that could be laid against him, and excused himselfe in euerie point so throughlie, that the emperour much maruelled at his high wisedome and prudence, and not onelie greatlie commended him for the same, but from thencefoorth vsed him more courteouslie, and suffered that his frænds might haue accesse to him more frælie than before they could be permitted. Wil.Paruus. The emperour chargeth king Richard with iniuries done to the Sicilians. W. Paruus. Matth. West. The kings wisedome in making his answere.

The Pope also being aduertised of the taking of king Richard, was much offended, that anie christian prince, hauing taken vpon him the defense of the christian faith against the infidels, should be so vsed in his returne from so godlie an enterprise: and therefore sent both to the duke of Austrich, and to the emperour, requiring them to set him at libertie. But the emperour declared plainlie that he would be answered for such summes of monie as king Richard had taken out of Sicile before he would release him or set him at libertie. Polydor.

When king Richard perceiued that no excuses would serue, though neuer so iust, but that he must nœds paie to his couetous host some great summe of monie for his hard interteinment, he sent the bishop of Salisburie into England, to take order with the barons of the realme to prouide for the paiment of his ransome, which bishop (as yé haue heard) after the peace concluded with Saladine, went vnto Jerusalem to visit the holie sepulchre, and now comming into Sicile, as he returned homewards, had knowledge there how king Richard was taken prisoner in Austrich, and remained in the emperours hands: whereupon he turned that waie forth, and comming to him, was now sent into England with commission (as I haue said) to leauie monie for the kings ransome. He landed here the twentith day of Aprill, by whose comming the land was the sooner brought in quiet: for the agræment which earle John tooke (as before yé haue heard) was chæfelie procured by his meanes. For till his comming, the castell of Windsore The bishop of Salisburie sent into England. Ger.Dor.

sore was not wone, the siege being but slackelie followed by the archbishop of Rouen, who had diuerse of his frends within it, and therefore was not verie earnest against them.

Rog. Houed. The bishop of Elie commeth to the king.

When the bishop of Salisburie was departed towards England, the bishop of Elie came to the king and trauelled so earnestlie betwixt the emperour and him, that finallie the emperour (partlie through his suit, & partlie for that he had bene verie much called vpon by the pope and other for his deliuerie) tooke order with him for the redeeming of his libertie, and appointed what summe he should pay for his ransome, which (as some write) was two hundred thousand markes: other saie that it was but 140 thousand marks of the poise of Cullen weight. But William Paruus, who liued in those daies, affirmeth it was one hundred thousand pounds, and Roger Houeden saith an hundred thousand marks of Cullen poise, to be paid presentlie at the kings first comming into England, and fiftie thousand marks afterwards, that is to say, thirtie thousand to the emperour, and twentie thousand to the duke of Austrich, as it were in recompense of the iniurie done to him in the holie land; where king Richard ouerthrew his ensignes: and for the same to deliuer sufficient suerties.

The emperor agreeth with king Richard for his ransome. N. Triuet, Matt. Paris.

Moreouer, we find in Roger Houeden that the emperour amongst other the articles of this agreement thus concluded betwixt him and king Richard, gaue and granted, and by his letters patents confirmed vnto him these lands hereafter mentioned, that is to saie: Prouance with the citie of Vienne, and Viennois, the citie of Marseils, Narbon, Arles and Lion vpon the Rhone, with the countrie vp to the Alps, and all those possessions which belonged to the empire in Burgoine, with the homages of the king of Aragon and of the earle of S. Giles: wherein is to be noted, that with the precinct of the premisses thus granted to king Richard, fiue archbishops sées, and thirtie three bishops sées are included. Howbeit the truth is, that the emperour neuer had possession of these countries, cities, and towns himselfe, neither would the inhabitants receiue any person so by him appointed to their lord and gouernour, wherefore the king made small account of that his so large grant. But after he once vnderstood the certeintie of the summe that he should paie for his ransome (which businesse he most attended) he sent one with letters by and by and in great hast into England to his treasurers, requiring them with all conuenient spéd to prouide monie, and to send it to him by a day, that he might be set at libertie with spéd.

R. Houed. Lands assigned to king Richard.

Polydor.

These letters being come to the quéene mother, and other that had charge in gouernance of the realme, tooke order that all maner of persons as well spirituall as temporall, should giue the fourth part of their whole reuenues to them for that yeare accrewing, and as much more of their moueable goods, and that of euerie knights fée there should be leuied the sum of twentie shillings. Also that the religious houses of the orders of the Cisteaux and Sempringham should giue all their wols for that yeare towards the kings ransome.

Rog. Houed. Order taken for leuieng monie to paie the kings ransome.

Now those that had commission to leuie this monie, being poisoned with couetousnesse, and incensed with a grédie desire (than the which as the poet saith,

———*nulla est hac maior Erinnys,*
Hanc memorant Acheronte satam, per tristia Ditis
Regna truces agitare faces, &c.)

The hard dealing of officers in the collection.

vsed much streightnesse in eracting it, not onelie leuieng it to the vttermost value and extent of mens lands, goods, and possessions, but after their owne willes and pleasures: so that vnder colour of the kings commission, and letters to them directed, there séemed not a tribute or subsidie to be raised, but by some publike proclamation all the goods and substance of the people to be appointed as a prey to the kings officers, whereby it came to passe, that not onelie priuate mens goods, but also the chalices, iewels, and vessels belonging to the church were turned into monie, and a farre greater summe made than was at the first commanded, a great part of the ouerplus being conuerted to the vse of those, through whose hands the receipt passed. There was no priuilege nor frœdome allowed to exempt any person or place for being contributorie towards the paiment of this monie. The order of Cisteaux that were neuer charged with any paiment before, were now assessed more déepelie than the rest.

Church iewels.

The bishop of Norwich lamenting the iniurious dealings of the pettie officers, and pittieng the people of the church, collected halfe the value of all the chalices within his diocesse himselfe, and to make vp the other halfe of the whole summe, he spared not to giue a great portion of his owne treasure. The abbat of S. Albons acquitted all those churches within the compasse of his iurisdiction, by the gift of an hundred marks. But the bishop of Chester had verie ill lucke with his collections; for hauing gathered a great summe of monie to the kings vse, he was spoiled thereof in one night, as he lodged nære vnto Canturburie, being vpon his iournie towards the king. And bicause Matthew de Clére that laie in the castell of Douer was knowne to aid those that robbed the said bishop, the archbishop of Canturburie pronounced him accursed.

The bishop of Norwich.

The abbat of saint Albons.

The bishop of Chester.

Matthew de Clére.

About this time, and on the morrow after the natiuitie of saint John Baptist, the bishop of Elie lord chancellour arriued in England, not shewing himselfe in any statelie port (for he tooke vpon him neither the dignitie of chancellour nor legat, nor yet of iustice) but onelie as a simple bishop and messenger sent from the king. The quéene mother, the archbishop of Rouen, and such other as had gouernment of the land, hearing of his comming, met him at saint Albons, where he shewed to them the emperours letters, conteining the agreement made betwixt him and king Richard, and withall appointed certeine lords & barons to go with him at his returne backe to the king, as Gilbert bishop of Rochester, Sifrid bishop of Chichester, Bennet abbat of Peterborow, Richard earle of Clare, Roger Bigot earle of Norfolke, Geffrey de Saie, and diuerse other. It was also ordeined at this same time, that the monie gathered towards the paiment of the kings ransome should remaine in custodie of Hubert bishop of Salisburie, Richard bishop of London, William earle of Arundell, Hameline earle of Warren, and of the maior of London, vnder the seales of the quéene mother, and of the archbishop of Rouen.

R. Houed. The bishop of Elie.

¶But sée the hap of things, whilest ech one was thus occupied about the aforesaid monie; it chanced that king Richard was at the point to haue béene deliuered into the hands of his deadlie aduersarie the French king, as hereafter you shall heare, noting by the waie the dangerous estate of princes, the manifold distresses whereinto by sinister fate (as well as the inferior & rascall rout of common drudges) they be driuen. For what greater calamitie, what gréeuouser hartach, what more miserable casualtie could haue happened vnto a bondman, than to be deliuered to and fro from the hand of one enimie to another, to be bought and sold for monie, to stand to the courtesies of forren foes, of a king to become a captiue? vnto which the poet did right well allude, when he said,

Anno Reg. 5. Wil. Paruus.

Sæpius ventis agitatur ingens
Pinus, & celsa grauiore casu
Decidunt turres, feriúntq; summos
Fulmina montes.

Hor. lib. car. 2. ode. 10.

The emperour vpon displeasure conceiued against the bishop of Liege, which latelie had atteined to that benefice contrarie to the emperours pleasure, who wished the same rather to an other person, hired certeine naughtie fellowes to go into France, where the bishop remained for feare of the emperours malice, and there to find meanes traitorouslie to slea him, which they accordinglie did, by reason whereof the duke of Louaigne that was brother to the bishop, and other of his kinsmen, vpon knowledge had thereof, meant to haue made the emperour warre, in reuenge of that murther: insomuch that the emperour, to haue the French kings aid against them, was minded to haue deliuered K. Richard vnto him.

The bishop of Liege murthered.

Howbeit after that the matter was taken vp, and a concord made betwixt the emperour and his nobles, he changed his purpose also touching the deliuering ouer of king Richard, who perceiuing that till his ransome were paid (which would amount to the summe of an hundred & fiftie thousand marks) he should not get libertie: and putting great confidence in the dexteritie and diligence of Hubert bishop of Salisburie (whome he sent as ye haue heard into England to deale for the leuieng of the same) he thought good to aduance the same bishop to the metropolitane see of Canturburie, which had beene vacant euer sithence the decease of archbishop Baldwine, that died (as ye haue heard) in the holie land.

Wil. Paruus.

Herevpon writing to the bishops of the realme, and to the monks of Canturburie, he required them to proceed to the election of an archbishop for that see, and withall commended vnto them the foresaid Hubert, as a man most sufficient and meet for that rome. He wrote likewise to the queene to further that matter, and easilie hereby obteined his desire. For shortlie after, the same Hubert was elected by the bishops and monks, which assembled togither for that purpose. He was the 41 archbishop that gouerned that see: for although Reginold bishop of Bath was elected before him, yet bicause he died yer he was installed, he is not put in the number.

Hubert bishop of Salisburie elected archbishop of Canturburie.

The king being now put in good hope of his speedie deliuerance, sent into England, willing his mother queene Elianor, the archbishop of Rouen and others, to come ouer vnto him into Almaine, and in the meane time he ordeined Hubert the archbishop of Canturburie to remaine at home as lord cheefe iustice. After this, the emperour with the aduice of the princes of the empire, assigned a day to king Richard, in which he should be deliuered out of captiuitie, which was the mondaie next after the twentith day of Christmasse. Wherevpon king Richard wrote vnto Hubert archbishop of Canturburie in forme as followeth.

Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, lord cheefe iustice.

The tenour of king Richards letters to the said archbishop.

Richardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, & dux Normaniæ & Aquitaniæ, & comes Andigauiæ, venerabili patri nostro in Christo, & amico charissimo Huberto eadem gratia Cantuariensi archiepiscopo salutem & sinceræ dilectionis plenitudinem. Quoniam certiores sumus, quòd liberationem nostram plurimùm desideratis, & quòd liberatio nostra admodum vos lætificat, scripto volumus quòd lætitiæ nostræ participes sitis. Inde est quòd dilectioni vestræ dignum duximus significare, dominum imperatorem certum diem liberationis nostræ nobis præfixisse, in die lunæ proxima post vicesimum diem natiuitatis Domini, & die dominica proxima sequenti coronabimur de regno prouinciæ, quod nobis dedit. Vnde mittimus in Angliam literas domini imperatoris super his patentes, vobis & cæteris amicis nostris beneuolis. Vos autem interim pro omni posse vestro quos scitis nos diligere, consolari velitis, & quos scitis promotionem nostram desiderare. Teste meipso apud Spiram 22. die Septembris.

The emperour also signified by his letters to the lords of England his resolute determination in this matter, as followeth.

The tenour of the emperours letters to the States of England touching king Richard, and the day of his deliuerance, &c.

Henricus Dei gratia Romanorum imperator, & semper Augustus, dilectis suis archiep. episcopis, comitibus, baronibus, militibus, & vniuersis alijs fidelibus Richardi illustris regis Anglorum gratiam suam & omne bonum. Vniuersitati vestræ duximus intimandum, quòd dilecto amico nostro Richardo illustri regi Anglorum domino vestro certum diem liberationis suæ statuimus, à secunda feria post diem natiuitatis domini in tres septimanas apud Spiram siue apud Berenatiam, & inde in septem dies posuimus ei diem coronationis suæ de regno Prouinciæ, quod ei promisimus: & hoc certum habeatis, & indubitatum, nostri siquidem propositi est, & voluntatis, præfatum dominum vestrum specialem promouere sicut amicum nostrum, & magnificentius honorare. Datum apud Theallusam vigilia beati Thomæ Apostoli.

Before this king Richard had sent the bishop of Elie into France vnto his brother earle John, who preuailed so much with him, that he returned into Normandie, and there sware fealtie vnto his brother king Richard, and so was contented to forsake the French king. But whereas king Richard commanded that all such castels and honours as he had giuen to him afore time, should now be restored to him againe, as well those in England, as the other on the further side the sea: such as had the same castels in keeping would not obeie the kings commandement herein, refusing to make restitution of those places, according to the tenour & purport of the kings writ, vnto the said earle of Mortaigne, by reason of which refusall, he returned againe to the French king, and stucke to him. Herevpon the French king gaue vnto him the castels of Dreincourt, and Arques, the which ought to haue beene deliuered vnto the archbishop of Reimes as in pledge, who had trauelled as a meane betwixt the French king to whom he was vncle, and the king of England to whom he was cousine, procuring a meeting for agreement to be had betwixt them at a certeine place betwixt Vaucolour and Tulle in the borders of Lorraine. But notwithstanding all that he could do, matters were so farre out of frame, and such mistrust was entred into the minds of the parties, that no conclusion held. So that all the hope which king Richard had, was by paiment of his ransome to redeeme his libertie, and then to shift with things as he might. And so finallie when the monie was once readie, or rather a sufficient portion thereof, the same was conueied ouer into Germanie, and paiment made to the emperour of the more part of the kings ransome, and sufficient pledges left with him for the rest, as the archbishop of

The kings commandement not obeied.

of Rouen, the bishop of Bath [Baldwin Wac] and other which were of late come out of England to see and salute the king.

R. Houed. King Richard released out of captiuitie.

Herevpon king Richard, after he had beene prisoner one yeare, six weekes, and three daies, was set at libertie on Candlemasse day (as most writers agree) and then with long and hastie iournies, not keeping the high waies, he hasted forth towards England. It is reported that if he had lingred by the way, he had beene eftsones apprehended. For the emperour being incensed against him by ambassadors that came from the French king, immediatlie after he was set forward, began to repent himselfe in that he had suffered him so soone to depart from him, and hereupon sent men after him with all speed to bring him backe if they could by any meanes ouertake him, meaning as then to haue kept him in perpetuall prison.

R. Houed. The offers of the French K. and erle John to haue the K. of England kept still in prison.

Some write that those ambassadours sent from the French king, with other from earle John, came to the emperor before king Richard was deliuered, offering in the French kings name fiftie thousand marks of siluer, and in the name of earle John thirtie thousand, vpon condition that K. Richard might remaine still in captiuitie vntill the feast of S. Michaell next insuing; or else if it might so please him, he should receiue a thousand pounds of siluer for euerie moneth, whilest king Richard should be deteined in his prison, or otherwise fiftie thousand marks of siluer more than the first offer, at one entire paiment, if he would deliuer him into their hands, or at the least wise to keepe him prisoner by the terme of one whole yeare.

The emperour hearing of such large offers, and yet hoping for more, contrarie to his promise and letters patents therefore granted, proroged the day in which king Richard should haue beene set at libertie, till Candlemasse after, at which day he was brought from Haguenaw vnto Spiers, where the emperour had called a councell to intreat further of the matter touching his redemption. Here the emperour shewed the letters which he had receiued from the French king and earle John vnto king Richard, who vpon sight and perusing of the same, was maruellouslie amazed, and began to despaire of all speedie deliuerance.

The princes that had vndertaken for the emperor to performe the couenants.

Indeed the emperour sought delaies vpon a couetous desire of the monie offered by the French king and earle John, but yet such princes and great lords as had vndertaken for the emperour, that the couenants and articles on his part agreed vpon in the accord passed betwixt him and king Richard, should be in ech behalfe performed [that is to saie, the archbishops of Ments, Cullen, and Saltzburge, the bishops of Wormes, Spiers, and Liege, the dukes of Suaben, Austrich, & Louain, the Palsgraue of the Rhine, and others] came to the emperour, and reproouing him for his couetous mind, in that he deferred the restoring of king Richard to his libertie, contrarie to the composition, did so much preuaile, that the emperour receiuing pledges for the paiment of the monie yet behind (as before ye haue heard) released king Richard out of captiuitie on the second or (as Roger Houeden saith) the fourth day of Februarie, being a dismall day and an infortunate (as they note them in kalendars.) And where the king would haue left Robert de Nouant the bishop of Couentries brother for a pledge amongst the other, he refused to be one of the number, alledging that he was seruant to earle John. King Richard grieuouslie offended herewith, commanded that he should be apprehended, and committed to prison, & so he was. This Robert was one of those that came with the letters from the French king and earle John to the emperour, about the staieng of king Richards deliuerance.

Robert de Nouant.

Furthermore, king Richard the same day in which he was restored to libertie, summoned by his letters Hugh Nouant bishop of Couentrie, to appeare in his court, to answer such things as were to be obiected against him, both before spirituall iudges in that he was a bishop, and also before temporall in that he had holden and exercised a temporall office. On the verie same day also the emperour and the princes of the empire, sent letters vnder their hands and seales to the French king, and to John erle of Mortaigne, commanding them immediatlie vpon sight of the same letters, to restore vnto king Richard all those castels, cities, townes, lands, and other things, which they had taken from him during the time of his remaining in captiuitie, and if they refused thus to do, then they gaue them to vnderstand by the same letters, that they would aid king Richard to recouer that by force, which had beene wrongfullie taken from him.

Yerelie pensions giuen by the king to certeine princes of the empire.

Moreouer king Richard gaue and by his deed confirmed vnto sundrie princes of the empire for their homage and fealtie, certeine yearelie pensions, as to the archbishop of Ments and Cullen, to the bishop of Liege, to the dukes of Austrich and Louaine, to the marquesse of Mountferrat, to the duke of Meglenburge, to the duke of Suaben the emperors brother, to the earle of Bins, to the earle of Holland, and to the sonne of the earle of Henault, of all the which, and other mo, he receiued homage, or rather had their promise by oth to aid him against the French king, which French king, now that he sawe no hope nor likelihood remaining to bring the emperour to the bent of his bowe for the deteining of K. Richard still in captiuitie, raised a power forthwith, & entring into Normandie (the truce notwithstanding) tooke the towne of Eureux, with diuerse other fortresses thereabouts, and after he had done mischeefe inough, as it were wearied with euill doing, he granted eftsones to stand to the truce, and so returned home.

Mylenburge.

Wil. Parius. The French king inuadeth Normandie.

Finallie after king Richard had dispatched his businesse with the emperour, and the princes of Almaigne, he set forward on his iornie towards England, and hauing the emperours passeport, came to Cullen, where he was ioifullie receiued of the archbishop, the which archbishop attended on him till he came to Antwerpe, where king Richard tooke the water in a gallie that belonged to Alane de Trenchmere, but in the night he went into a ship of Rie, being a verie faire vessell, and so late aboord in hir all the night, and in the morning returned to the gallie, and so sailed about the coast, till he came to the hauen of Swin in Flanders, and there staieng fiue daies, on the sixt day he set forth againe, and at length in good safetie landed at Sandwich the twelfe daie of March, and the morrow after came to Canturburie, where he was receiued with procession, as Ger. Dor. saith. From thence he went to Rochester, and on the wednesday being the thirteenth of March, he came vnto London, where he was receiued with great ioy and gladnesse of the people, giuing heartie thanks to almightie GOD for his safe returne and deliuerance.

R. Houed.

He landed the 20. of March being sundaie as R. Houeden and Rafe de Dreeto write.

¶ It is recorded by writers, that when such lords of Almaine as came ouer with him, saw the great riches which the Londoners shewed in that triumphant receiuing of their soueraigne lord and king, they maruelled greatlie thereat, insomuch that one of them said vnto him; Surelie oh king, your people „ are wise and subtile, which doo nothing doubt to shew „ the beautifull shine of their riches now that they „ haue receiued you home, whereas before they seemed „ to bewaile their need and pouertie, whilest you re- „ mained in captiuitie. For verelie if the emperour „ had vnderstood that the riches of the realme had bin „

Paris, such,

cc such, neither would he haue bæne persuaded that
cc England could haue bæne made bare of wealth, neither yet should you so lightlie haue escaped his hands
cc without the paiment of a more huge and intollerable ransome.

The same yeare that king Richard was taken (as before is mentioned) by the duke of Austrich, one night in the moneth of Januarie about the first watch of the same night, the northwest side of the element appeared of such a ruddie colour as though it had burned, without any clouds or other darknesse to couer it, so that the stars shined through that rednesse, and might be verie well discerned. Diuerse bright strakes appeared to flash vpwards now and then, diuiding the rednesse, thorough the which the stars séemed to be of a bright sanguine colour. In Februarie next insuing, one night after midnight the like wonder was séene, and shortlie after newes came that the king was taken in Almaigne.

On the second daie of November also a little before the breake of the daie, the like thing appeared againe with lesse feare and wonder to the people (than before) being now better accustomed to the like sight againe. And now the same daie and selfe houre that the king arriued at Sandwich, being the second houre of that daie, whilest the sunne shone verie bright and cleare, there appeared a most brightsome and vnaccustomed clearnesse, not farre distant from the sunne, as it were to the length and breadth of a mans personage, hauing a red shining brightnesse withall, like to the rainbow, which strange sight when manie beheld, there were that prognosticated the king alreadie to be arriued.

Rog. Houed. Diuerse sieges held at one time.

In this meane while the bishop of Durham with a great armie besieged the castell of Tickhill; and earle Dauid brother to the king of Scots, with Ranulfe earle of Chester, and earle Ferrers, besieged the castell of Notingham, whilest at the same present the archbishop of Canturburie with a great power besieged Marleburgh castell, the which within a few daies was rendred into his hands, the liues and lims of them within saued. Also the castell of Lancaster was deliuered to him, the which the same archbishops brother had in kéeping vnder earle John, and likewise the abbeie of S. Michaels mount in Cornwall, the which abbeie Henrie de la Pomerey chasing out the monks, had fortified against the king, and hearing newes of the kings returne home, died (as it was thought) for méere gréefe and feare. These three places were surrendered to the archbishop before the kings returne, but Tickhill & Notingham held out.

S. Michaels mount.

King Richard being returned into England, and vnderstanding both how the French king made warre against him in Normandie, and that the state of England was not a little disquieted, by the practise of his brother earle John and his complices, specialtie by reason that diuerse castels were defended by such as he had placed in them, he thought good with all speed to cut off such occasions as might bréed a further mischéefe. Wherevpon he first went to Notingham, and within three daies after his comming thither (which was on the daie of the Annunciation of our ladie) he constreined them that kept the castell there in his brothers name, to yeeld themselues simplie vnto his mercie, after they had abidden diuerse assaults, by the which euen the first daie the vtter gates were burnt, and certeine defenses destroied, which they had made before the same.

The king goeth to Notingham and winneth the castel.

Rog. Houed.

The cheefe of them that were within this castell to defend it were these, William de Vendenall constable there, Roger de Mountbegun, Rafe Murdac, Philip de Worcester and Ranulfe de Worcester brethren. The morow after the surrender was made, the king went to Clipstone, and rode into the forrest of Shirewood, where he had neuer béene before, the view whereof pleased him greatlie. The castell of Tickhill was likewise at the same time yéelded vnto the bishop of Durham, who receiued it to the kings vse, and them that kept it as prisoners, without anie composition, but standing simplie to the K. mercie. For although those that had these castels in keeping, were sufficientlie prouided of all necessarie things for defense, yet the sudden comming of the king (whom they thought verelie would neuer haue returned) put them in such feare, that they wist not what to make of the matter, and so (as men amazed) they yéelded without anie further exception. The bishop of Durham bringing those prisoners with him which had yéelded vp this castell of Tickhill, came to the king the 27 daie of March, the verie daie before that Notingham castell was giuen ouer.

The forrest of Shirewood.

The castell of Tickhill yéelded.

Rog. Houed.

Moreouer, this is to be remembred, that during the siege of Notingham, contention arose betwixt the two archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke, about the carriage of their crosses. For Hubert archbishop of Canturburie comming thither, had his crosse borne before him; the archbishop of Yorke (hauing no crosse there at all) was verie sore offended, that anie other should go with crosse borne before him in his diocesse, and therfore complained hereof to the king. But the archbishop of Canturburie mainteined that he had not done anie thing but that which was lawfull for him to do, and thereupon made his appeale to Rome, that the pope might haue the hearing and iudging of that controuersie betwixt them.

Strife betwixt the archbishops for carrieng of their crosses.

In the meane time, after the king had got the castels of Notingham and Tickhill into his hands (as ye haue heard) he called a parlement at Notingham, where the quéene mother sat on the right hand of him, and the archbishops of Canturburie & Yorke on the left, with other bishops, earles and barons according to their places. On the first daie of their session was Gerard de Camuille discharged of the office which he had borne of shiriffe of Lincolne, and dispossessed both of the castell & countie. And so likewise was Hugh Bardolfe of the castell and countie of Yorke, and of the castell of Scarbourgh, and of the custodie and keeping of the countrie of Westmerland, the which offices being now in the kings hands, he set them on sale to him that would giue most. Hereof it came to passe, that where the lord chancellour offered to giue fiftéene hundred markes before hand, for the counties of Yorke, Lincolne and Northampton, and an hundred markes of increase of rent for euerie of the same counties, Geffrey archbishop of Yorke offered to the king three thousand markes aforehand, onelie for the countie of Yorke, and an hundred markes yearelie of increase, and so had the same committed to his regiment.

Officers discharged.

Lieutenantships set on sale.

The archbishop of Yorks offer.

Moreouer in this parlement, the king demanded iudgement against his brother John, and Hugh Nouant the bishop of Couentrie and Chester, for such traitorous and most disloiall attempts as they had made against him and his countries, and iudgement was giuen that both the said earle and bishop should haue summons giuen them peremptorilie to appeare, and if within fortie daies after, they came not to answer such plaints as might be laid against them, then should earle John forfeit all that he had within the realme, and the bishop should stand to the iudgement of the bishops, in that he was a bishop, and to the temporall lords in that he had béene the kings shiriffe.

The bishop of Chester.

In this parlement also, in the kalends of April, the king procured a subsidie to be granted to him, to wit, two shillings of euerie plough land through England, which maner of subsidie by an old name is called Teemen toll, or Theyme toll. He also commanded

A subsidie.

manded that euerie man should make for him the third part of knights seruice, accordinglie as euerie fee might beare, to furnish him forth into Normandie. He demanded of the monks Cisteaux, all their woolles for the same yeare. But bicause that seemed an ouer grieuous burthen vnto them, they fined with him, as after shall appeare. The fourth day of this parlement, by the kings permission manie grieuous complaints were exhibited against the archbishop of Yorke, for extortion and other vniust vexations, which he had practised: but he passed so little thereof, that he made no answer vnto their billes.

The archbishop of Yorke accused.

Gerard de Camuille charged with felonie and treason.

Moreouer through the procurement of the lord chancellour, Gerard de Camuille was arreigned for receiuing théeues, and robbers, which had robbed certeine merchants of their goods, that were going to the faire of Stamford; also they appealed him of treason for refusing to stand to his triall by order of the kings lawes at commandement of the kings iustices, bearing himselfe to be earle Johns man, and aiding the same earle against the king. But all these accusations he flatlie denied, and so his aduersaries put in pledges to follow their suit, and he put in the like to defend himselfe by one of his freeholders.

The king of Scots commeth to see the king of England.

The same daie king Richard receiued the king of Scots at Clipstone, comming now to visit him, and to reioise with him for his safe returne home after so long a iournie, and so manie passed perils. After they had spent the time a certeine space in ioy and mirth, the fourth of Aprill at their being togither at Malton, the king of Scots required of king Richard to haue restored to him the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmerland, with the countie of Lancaster also, the which in right of his predecessors belonged to him (as he alledged.)

A parlement.

King Richard assembling a parlement of the Nobles of his realme at Northampton, about sixteene daies after that the Scotish king had made this request, gaue him answer that by no means he might as then satisfie his petition: for if he should so do, his aduersaries in France would report that he did it for feare, and not for any loue or hartie freendship. But yet king Richard in the presence of his mother queene Elianor, and the lords spirituall and temporall of his realme togither at that present assembled, granted and by his deed confirmed vnto the said king of Scots, and to his heires for euer, that whensoeuer he or any of them should come by summons of the king of England vnto his court, the bishop of Durham, and the shiriffe of Northumberland should receiue him at the water of Tweed, and safe conduct him vnto the water of These, and there should the archbishop of Yorke, and the shiriffe of Yorke be readie to receiue him of them, and from thence giue their attendance vpon him vnto the borders of the next shire.

A grant made to the king of Scots what allowance he should haue when he came to England.

It was also granted to the said king, that he should be attended from shire to shire by prelats and shiriffes, till he came to the kings court, also from the time that the king of Scotland should enter this realme of England, he should haue dailie out of the kings purse for his liuerie an hundred shillings, and after he came to the court, he should haue in allowance dailie for his liuerie, so long as he there remained, thirtie shillings and twelue manchet wastels, twelue manchet simnels, foure gallons of the best wine, and eight gallons of houshold wine, two pound of pepper, foure pound of cumin, two stone of wax, or else foure links, and fortie great and long colpons of such candels as are serued before the king, and foure and twentie colpons of other candels that serue for the houshold. And when he should returne into his countrie againe, then should he be conueied with the bishops and shiriffes from countie to countie, till he come to the water of Tweed, hauing an hundred shillings a day of liuerie, &c: as is before appointed. The charter of this grant was deliuered vnto William king of Scots in the towne of Northampton in Easter weeke, by the hands of William bishop of Elie lord chancellour, in the yeare of our lord 1194, and in the fift yeare of king Richard his reigne.

A councell holden at winchester.

After this, on the fifteenth day of Aprill, king Richard hauing the said king of Scots in his companie came to Winchester, where he called a councell, and there in open assemblie he highlie commended all those of the nobilitie, that in his absence had shewed themselues faithfull, and resisted his brother, and such other his complices, which had as disloiall persons rebelled against him. Here he also proclaimed his said brother, and all those that tooke his part, traitours to the crowne, and tooke order for the punishment of them, that (being of their faction) could by any means be apprehended.

Furthermore, to put awaie as it were the reproose of his captiuitie and imprisonment) by the reuiuing of his nobleneese, which he had in high estimation,

——pretio nam dignior omni est
Nobilitas, hæc non emitur nec venditur auro)

he caused himselfe to be eftsoones crowned by the archbishop Hubert, on the 18 of Aprill, at Winchester, and so shewed himselfe as a new crowned king (in hope of good successe and better lucke to follow) in the presence of the said king of Scots, who bare one of the three swords before him, going in the middle betwixt two earles, that is to saie, Hamelin earle of Warren going on his right hand, and Ranulfe earle of Chester on his left. The canapie vnder the which he went was borne vp also by foure earles, Norffolke, Lisle wight, Salisburie, and Ferrers. The bishop of Elie lord chancellour went on the right hand of the king, and the bishop of London on the left. At dinner also the citizens of London serued him in the butterie by reason of two hundred marks which they had giuen the king that they might so do, notwithstanding the claime and challenge made by the citizens of Winchester, the which serued him in the kitchin.

The king crowned anew.

R. Houed.

The king of Scots beareth one of the swords before the king of England.

The citizens of London.

The archbishop of Yorke was commanded that he should not be present at the coronation, least some tumult might arise about the hauing of his crosse borne afore him, to the displeasure of the archbishop of Canturburie, who stood in it, that no prelat within his prouince ought to haue any crosse borne before him, himselfe excepted.

A parlement called.

After this, he called a parlement, by vertue whereof he reuoked backe and resumed into his hands all patents, annuities, fees, and other grants (before his voiage into the holie land) by him made, or otherwise granted or alienated. And bicause it should not seeme that he vsed a meere violent extortion herein, he treated with euerie one of them in most courteous wise, bearing them in hand, that he knew well they ment not to let forth their monie to him vpon vsurie, but would be contented with such reasonable gaine and profit, as had béene raised to their vse in time of his absence of those things which they held of him by assignation in way of lone, so that now the same might be restored to him againe, sith he ment not to sell them, but to let them forth as it were to farme for the time, as all men might well vnderstand, considering that he could not mainteine the port of a king without receipt of those profits which he had so let forth. With these gentle words therefore mired with some dreadfull allegations, he brought them all into such perpleritie, that not one of them durst withstand his request, nor alledge that he had wrong done to him, except Hugh the bishop of Lincolne, who sticked not

The bold courage of the bishop of Lincolne.

to

to saie, that the king in this demand did them and the rest open iniurie. The bishop of Durham lost his earledome, and was constreined to content himselfe with his old bishoprike, and to leaue the dignitie of an earle, or at the least wise the possessions which he had bought of the king before his setting forward into the holie land.

The bishop of Durham lost his earldome.

Thus the king recouered those things for the which he had receiued great summes of monie, without making any recompense, where the most part of the occupiers had not receiued scarselie a third part of the principall which they had laid forth. For no sufficiencie of grant, patent, or other writing to any of them before made, did any thing auaile them. Moreouer, where he had borrowed a great summe of monie of the merchants of the staple, he wrought a feat with the monks of the Cisteaux order to discharge that debt. He told these monks that being constreined with vrgent necessitie, he had borrowed that monie of the merchants beyond the sea, vpon confidence of their good beneuolence, and therefore he required them to extend their liberalitie so farre toward him, as to deliuer so much woll in value, as should discharge that debt. To be short, the monks being ouercome with the kings words, threatning kindnesse vpon them, fulfilled his request. Moreouer not satisfied herewith, he leuied a taske throughout the realme, exacting of euerie hide of land two shillings, according to the grant made to him at Notingham: and the same was generallie gathered, as well of the spirituall mens lands as of the temporall.

K. Richards practises.

The monks Cisteaux.

The king of Scots vnderstanding that the bishop of Durham had giuen ouer and resigned the earledome of Northumberland into the kings hands, thought good once againe to assaie if he might compasse his desire, and herewith he began his former suit afresh, offering to king Richard fiftéene thousand markes of siluer for the whole earledome of Northumberland with the appurtenances, as his father earle Henrie did hold the same before. The king taking counsell in the matter, agreed that he should haue it for that monie, excepting the castels: but the king of Scots would haue castels and all, or else he would not bargaine.

Rog. Houed.

The king of Scots maketh suit for Northumberland.

Finallie, after he had sundrie times moued this suit for the hauing of the lands vnto which he pretended a title, and could get nothing of king Richard but faire words, putting him as it were in hope to obteine that he required at his next returne out of France, vpon the 22 daie of Aprill being fridaie, he tooke leaue of the king, and returned towards his countrie, not verie ioifull, in that he could not obteine his suit. King Richard in this meane while caused all those prisoners that were taken in the castels of Notingham, Tickhill, Marleburgh, Lancaster, and S. Michaels mount, which were of any wealth to be put in prison, that they might fine for their ransoms. The residue he suffered to depart vpon sureties, that were bound for them in an hundreth marks a peece, to be forth comming when they should be called.

Mainprise.

Now the king (after he had gathered a great portion of monie, and ordeined diuerse things for the behoofe of the common-wealth, thereby to satisfie the harts of the people) prepared himselfe to saile into Normandie. But first he reconciled the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of Elie lord chancellour, aswell for the apprehension & imprisoning of the archbishop at Douer, as for the dishonourable expulsion of the chancellour out of England, in such wise that the chancellour should vpon reasonable summons giuen to him by the archbishop, sweare with the hands of an hundred preests with him, that he neither commanded nor willed that the archbishop should be apprehended. The controuersie betwixt the two archbishops about the bearing of their crosses, the king would not meddle withall, for (as he said) that perteined to the pope. Yet the archbishop of Canturburie complained to king Richard of the iniurie done to him at that present by the archbishop of Yorke, presuming within his prouince to haue his crosse borne before him. At length when the kings prouision was once readie for his voiage into Normandie, he came to Douer, and hearing that the French king had besieged the towne of Vernuell, and that the same was in danger to be taken, he tooke the sea togither with his mother quéene Elianor on the ninth daie of Maie, and transporting ouer into Normandie, arriued at Harflet with an hundred great ships fraught with men, horsses and armour.

Rog. Houed.

The king transporteth ouer into France.

The French king hearing of king Richards arriuall, and that he was comming with a great power to the succour of them within Vernuell, and was alreadie incamped néere to the towne of the Eagle, he plucked vp his tents in the night before Whitsundaie, and leauing the siege, departed from thence, and tooke a certeine small fortresse by the waie as he marched, wherein he left a few souldiers to kéepe it to his vse. King Richard herewith entring into the French dominions, sent three bands of souldiers towards Vale de Ruell, and went himselfe vnto Loches, and besieging that castell wan it within a short time. The Normans also recouered the citie of Eureux out of the French mens hands, but those that were sent vnto Ruell, and had besieged the castell there an eight daies without anie gaine, hearing that the French king was comming towards them, departed thence, & came backe to the kings campe, whereupon the French king comming to Ruell raced it to the ground, bicause his enimie should not at anie time in winning it nestle there to the further damage of the countrie.

The French king raiseth his siege from Vernuell.

N. Triuet.

About the same time, Robert earle of Leicester issuing forth of Rouen in hope to worke some feat to the damage of the Frenchmen, as he rode somewhat vnaduisedlie in the lands of Hugh Gourney, fell within danger of his enimies, who tooke him prisoner, and a few other that were in his companie. The French king after this came with his armie into the coasts of Touraine, and marched neere Vandosme, and there incamped, whereof king Richard being aduertised, drew néere to Vandosme, meaning to assaile the French king in his campe, who hauing knowledge thereof dislodged with his armie earlie in the morning, and fled awaie (to his great dishonour) in all hast possible. The king of England with his people following in chase of the French men slue manie, and tooke a great number of prisoners, amongst whom was the French kings chéefe treasurer. Also the Englishmen tooke manie wagons and sumpters laden with crossebowes, armour, plate, apparell, and the furniture of the French kings chapell. This chanced about 37 daies after his fléeing in the night from Vernuell, of which two flights of the French king (in maner as ye haue heard) we find these verses written:

Rog. Houed.

The earle of Leicester taken prisoner.

Gallia fugisti bis, & hoc sub rege Philippo,
Nec sunt sub modio facta pudenda tuo.
Vernolium sumit testem fuga prima, secunda
Vindocinum, noctem prima, secunda diem.
Nocte fugam primam rapuisti, mane secundam,
Prima metus vitio, via secunda fuit.

France, twice thou fledst, while Philip reignd,
the world doth know thy shame,
For Vernuell witnesse beates of th'one,
next Vandosme knowes the same.

Thy

The first by night, the next by day,
thy heart and force doo showe,
That first through feare, and next by force,
was wrought thine ouerthrowe.

Geffrey de Rancon. The earle of Engolesme. The king of Nauars brother.

In this meane while certeine rebels in Guien, as the lord Geffrey de Rancin or Rancon, and the earle of Engolesme with their complices, vpon confidence of the French kings assistance, sore disquieted the countrie. Howbeit, the sonne of the king of Nauarre, and brother to Berengaria the quéene of England, entring into Guien with an armie, wasted the lands of both those rebels, till he was called home by reason of his fathers death which chanced about the same time.

Anno Reg. 6.

Shortlie after Geffrey Rancin died, and king Richard comming into his countrie, wan the strong castell of Tailleburge by surrender, which apperteined to the same Geffrey with others, and then going against the other rebels, he wan the citie of Engolesme from him by force of assault.

Engolesme wone.

All which time the French king stirred not, by reason that there was some communication in hand for a truce to be taken betwixt him and king Richard, which by mediation of certeine bishops was shortlie after concluded, to endure for twelue moneths.

Polydor. Wil. Paruus.

The bishop of Elie was chéefe commissioner for the king of England, and this truce was accorded about Lammas, and serued to little purpose, except to giue libertie to either prince to breath a little, and in the meane time to prouide themselues of men, munition, ships & monie, that immediatlie after the terme was expired, they might with greater force returne to the field againe, for they had not onelie a like desire to follow the warres, but also vsed a like meane and practise to leuie monie.

Polydor.

Great exactions.

For whereas they had alreadie made the temporaltie bare with often paiments, and calling them forth to serue personallie in the warres, they thought best now to fetch a fléece from the spiritualtie and churchmen, considering also that they had béene by reason of their immunitie more gentlie dealt with, and not apointed to serue themselues in any maner of wise.

The colour pretended in leuieng of monie.

To colour this exaction which they knew would be euill taken of manie, they bruted abroad, that they leuied this monie vpon purpose, to send it into the holie land, towards the paiment of the christian souldiers, which remained there vpon the defense of those townes, which yet the Saracens had not conquered. King Richard therfore comming to Towrs in Touraine, required a great summe of monie of the clergie in those parts, and the like request he made through out all those his dominions, on that further side of the sea. King Philip for his part demanded likewise intollerable tithes and duties of all the churchmen in his territories, and those that had the gathering of that monie serued their owne turne, in dealing most streightlie with fillie préests, making them to paie what they thought good, though sometime beyond the bounds of equitie and reason.

Rog. Houed. Inquisitions taken by a iurie of sundrie matters.

In September, the iustices itinerants made their circuits through euerie shire and countie of this realme, causing inquisitions to be taken by substantiall iuries of plées of the crowne both old and new, of recognisances, of escheats, of wards, of mariages, of all maner of offendors against the lawes and ordinances of the relme, and of all other transgressors, falsifiers, and murtherers of Iewes; of the pledges, goods, lands, debts, and writings of Iewes that were slaine, and of other circumstances touching that matter. Likewise of the accompts of shiriffes, as to vnderstand what had béene giuen towards the kings ransome, how much had bene receiued, and what remained behind to receiue. Also of the lands that belonged to erle John, and what goods he had, and what he held in demaine, in wards, escheats, and in gifts, and for what cause they were giuen. Furthermore, of his fautors and partakers, which had made fines with the king, and which not, with manie other articles touching the same earle. Also of vsurers, and of their goods being seized, of wines sold contrarie to the assise, of false measures, and of such as hauing receiued the crosse to go into the holie land, died before they set forward. Also of grand assises that were of an hundred shillings land or vnder, and of defaults, and of diuerse other things, the iurats were charged to inquire, and present the same.

Vsurers.

The iustices also were appointed to cause the manours, farmes and lands which the king held in demaine, or by wards and escheats, to be surueied by a substantiall iurie, and to take order for the conuerting of them to such vse, as the king might be answered of the gaines rising by the same at the farmers hands. Also, the Iewes were appointed to inroll all their debts, pledges, lands, houses, rents and possessions.

Iewes.

Moreouer, inquisition was taken of iustices, shiriffes, bailiffes, constables, forresters and other officers belonging to the king, to vnderstand in what maner they had behaued themselues in taking and seizing of things into their hands, and of all such goods, gifts and promises had and receiued by occasion of leasure made of the lands of earle John and his fautors, and who receiued the same, and what delaie was granted by commandement of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, then lord chéefe iustice.

Iustices, shiriffes and other officers.

Hubert archbishop of Canturburie lord chéefe iustice.

In this meane time, whilest these inquisitions were thus taken in England, king Richard comming forth of Poictou into Anion, caused all the bailiffes and officers of that countrie, and also of Maine, to fine with him for their offices. After this, when he came downe into Normandie, he seemed in shew to be offended with his chancellour the bishop of Elie, about concluding of the truce with the French king (where as ye haue heard he was chéefe commissioner) misliking greatlie all that was done therein, and therefore he toke the seale from him, and caused a new seale to be made, commanding to be proclaimed thorough all his dominions, that whatsoeuer had béene sealed with the old seale, should stand in no force, both for that his chancellor had wrought more vndiscreetlie than was conuenient; and againe, bicause the same seale was lost, when Roger Malus Catulus his vicechancellour was drowned, who perished among other by shipwracke, néere to the Ile of Cypres, before the king arriued there, being as then on his iournie into the holie land. Therefore all men had commandement to come to this new seale, that they might haue their charters and writings confirmed.

Officers driuen to fine for their offices.

The king offended with the lord chancellor.

A new seale.

Furthermore, whilest the truce yet lasted, king Richard sailed ouer into England, where he caused turneis to be exercised in diuerse places, for the better training vp of souldiers in feats of warre, that they might growe more skilfull and perfect in the same, when they should come to the triall of their forces, whereby he raised no small summes of monie for granting license to his subiects so to tournie. Euerie earle that would tournie, paid to him for his licence twentie marks, euerie baron ten marks, and euerie knight hauing lands, did giue foure marks, and those that had no lands two marks, to the great damnifieng of the people; hauing learned the common lesson, and receiued the ordinarie rule followed of all, and neglected of none; namelie,

Matth. Paris.

The king returneth into England.

He granteth the English men licence to tournie.

Rog. Houed. Fines paid for licence to exercise turnements.

——opus est nummis vel morte relictis,
Vel sorte inuentis, vel quauis arte paratis,
Quippe inopem mala multa pati contingit vbiq;
Nec sine diuitijs fas cuiquam ducere vitam
Fœlicem, &c.

Mal. Palin sue cap.

The

The charter of this grant was deliuered by the king vnto William earle of Salisburie, to haue the kéeping thereof: but Hubert Walter the archbishop of Canturburie, and lord chéefe iustice, made his brother Theobald Walter collector of the monie, for the scraping and raking togither whereof, in huge sums, he put the former shifts of extortion and exaction in practise.

The tenour of the charter concerning the turnements before remembred.

RIchard by the grace of God king of England, duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, and earle of Aniou, to the reuerend father in Christ, Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, and primat of all England, sendeth greeting. Know ye that we haue granted turnaments to be kept in England in fiue steeds, to wit, betwixt Sarisburie and Wilton, betwixt Warwike and Kenelworth, betwixt Stanford and Warmeford, betwixt Brackeley and Nixburgh, betwixt Blie & Tickhill, so that the peace of our land be not broken, nor yet our iustices authoritie diminished, nor any damage doone to our forrests. Prouided that what earle soeuer will turney there, shall giue to vs twentie markes, a baron ten marks, a knight that hath lands foure marks and he that hath no lands shall giue two marks.

Moreouer, no stranger shall be admitted to turney there, wherevpon we command you, that at the daie of the turnieng, ye haue there two clarkes, and two of our knights to receiue the oth of the earles and barons, which shall satisfie vs of the said summes of monie, before the turnieng begin, & that they suffer none to turney, till (before) they haue made paiment, and haue caused to be entred how much & of whom they haue receiued: and ye shall take ten marks for this charter to our vse, whereof the earle of Salisburie, and the earle of Clare, and the earle of Warren are pledges. Witnesse my selfe, at Ville Leuesche, the two and twentith of August.

Bishops towne.

Furthermore, ordinances were made and set forth for the safe kéeping of the peace, so that such as would turney, neither by the way in comming or going, or whilest the turnieng lasted, should violentlie take any thing to serue their necessarie vses, without paieng therefore to the owner according to the worth, nor should do iniurie to any man in any manner of wise. But now to the other doings of king Richard, who made no long abode in England at this time, but shortlie returned into Normandie, bicause he heard that king Philip had an armie readie leuied. Wherefore meaning to buckle with him vpon occasion offered, he made the more hast, and being landed there, approched vnto the borders of the French dominions, incamping himselfe with his armie in the field, to wait for the time that the truce should be expired, least the enimie should in any exploit preuent him. In like manner king Philip hauing with him earle Iohn king Richards brother, kept his souldiers and men of warre in a readines with him, to worke any feat that should be thought expedient allone as the truce should end.

I thinke he came not ouer at all into England at this time, but rather sent his mind vnto the archbishop.

Whilest both these kings were thus bent to powre out their malice, and to ease their stomachs with dint of sword, there came messengers from the pope, exhorting him vnto peace and quietnesse, but his exhortation little auailed. For they regarding it little or nothing, immediatlie as the truce was expired, got them abroad into the field, & king Richard drew towards Isoldune, a towne situat in the confines of Berrie, whither it was reported that the French king meant to come: and there staid for him a whole day togither. But the French king hearing that king Richard was there to looke for him, thought it best not to come there at all. Wherfore king Richard went the next daie vnto a castell called Brison, and toke it vpon his first approch. Then went he to a towne called Nouencourt, and perceiuing the same to be strong and well manned, toke not in hand to assaile it till the third daie after his comming thither, at what time he so inclosed the same round about with diligent watch and ward, that a cat could not haue escaped out of the place, neither by daie nor night, but that she should haue béene espied. They within being put in feare herewith, yælded vp the towne the daie next following, in which meane time the French king besieged Albemarle.

Messengers from the pope.

Isoldune.

Nouencourt yælded to K. Richard.

Albemarle besieged. Matt. West. Polydor.

Herevpon king Richard, hauing left a garrison of souldiers in Nouencourt, came to raise the enimie from his siege, & setting vpon the Frenchmen, there began a sharpe fight: but the Englishmen being wearie with trauell of their passed iournie, and hauing rashlie entred into the battell, were not able to indure the Frenchmens violence, so that (not without great losse) they were constreined to retire with swift flight, or (to saie the truth) to run awaie a maine pase. The French king, hauing thus chased his enimies, returned to assault Albemarle, woone the castell by force, and the towne by composition, permitting the garrison there to depart with all their armour. This doone, he ruinated the castell flat to the ground. Robert earle of Leicester offered to the French king a thousand marks sterling for his ransome, and to quite claime to him and his heires for euer all the right which he had to the castell of Pascie, with the appurtenances, and to get a confirmation thereof for him both of the pope, and of the king of England: but for that the warre still lasted, the French king toke a respite in answering this offer, neuertheless afterwards in the yeare next insuing, he toke it, and so the earle was set at libertie.

Rog. Houed. The earle of Leicesters offer for his ransome.

Not long after this foresaid repulse, the king of England hauing refreshed his souldiers with some rest after their great trauell, went to Million, and giuing assault to the towne wan it at the first brunt, and made it plaine with the earth. Then was a motion made for peace betwixt the two kings, being now wearied with long wars: whereof when earle Iohn was aduertised, who (as it should séeme by some writers) hauing tarried with the French king till this present, began now to doubt least if any agréement were made, he might haplie be betraied of the French king by couenants that should passe betwixt them: he determined therefore with himselfe to commit his whole safetie to his naturall brother, and to no man else, perceiuing that the French king made not so great accompt of him after the losse of his castels in England, as he had done before.

Million woon and raced.

A motion for peace.

Herevpon comming to his brother king Richard, he besought him to pardon his offense, and though he had not dealt brotherlie towards him, yet that he would brotherlie forgiue him his rebellious trespasse, adding furthermore, that whereas he had not heretofore béene thankefull for his manifold benefits which he had receiued at his hands, yet he was now most sorie therefore, and was willing to make amends: wherewith he acknowledged the safegard of his life to rest in him, for the which he was bound to giue him thanks

thanks, if he would grant thereto. The king moued with his words, made this answer (as it is said) that he pardoned him indeed, but yet wished that he might forget such iniuries as he had receiued at his hands, which he doubted least he should not easilie do. Herewith erle John being yet put in good hope of forgiuenesse, sware to be true euer after vnto him, and that he would endeuour himselfe to make amends for his misdeeds past, and so was shortlie after restored vnto his former degree, honour and estimation in all respects.

Earle John returneth to the king his brother, and is pardoned.

But by some writers it should appeare, that earle John, immediatlie vpon conclusion of the first truce, came from the French king, and submitted himselfe to his brother, and by mediation of the queene their mother was pardoned, receiued againe into fauour, and serued euer after against the French king verie dutifullie, seeking by new atchiued enterpises brought about (to the contentation of his brother) to make a recompense for his former misdemeanor, reputing it meere madnesse to make means to further mischeefe; for

Wil. Paruus. R. Houed. Matth. Paris.

Rog. Houed.

——Stultum est hostem iritare potentem,
Atq; malum maius tumidis sibi quærere verbis.

But at what time soeuer he returned thus to his brother, this yeare (as Roger Houeden saith) he was restored to the earledoms of Mortaigne in Normandie, and Glocester in England, with the honour of Eie (the castels onelie excepted) and in recompense of the residue of the earledoms which he had before inioied, togither with certeine other lands, his brother king Richard gaue vnto him a yeerelie pension amounting to the summe of eight thousand pound of Aniouin monie. ¶ Now here to staie a while at matters chancing here about home, I will speake somewhat of the doings of Leopold duke of Austrich, who as one nothing moued with the pestilence and famine that oppressed his countrie in this season, but rather hauing his hart hardened, began to threaten the English hostages that they should lose their liues, if king Richard kept not the couenants which he had vndertaken to performe by a day appointed. Whereupon Baldwin Betun one of the hostages was sent by common agreement of the residue vnto king Richard, to signifie to him their estate. King Richard willing to deliuer them out of further danger, sent with the same Baldwin his cosen, the sister of Arthur duke of Britaine, and the daughter of the emperour of Cypres, to be conueied vnto the said duke of Austrich, the one, namelie the sister of Arthur to be ioined in marriage with the dukes sonne, and the other to continue in the dukes hands to bestow at his pleasure.

Rog. Houed. Wil. Paruus. Matth. Paris. Polychron.

Baldwin de Betun.

But in the meane time, on saint Stephans day, duke Leopold chanced to haue a fall beside his horsse, and hurt his leg in such wise, that all the surgions in the countrie could not helpe him, whereupon in extreame anguish he ended his life. And whereas before his death he required to be absolued of the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him by the pope (for apprehending of king Richard in his returning from his iournie made into the holie land) he was answered by the cleargie, that except he would receiue an oth to stand to the iudgement of the church for the iniurie done to king Richard, and that vnlesse other of the Nobilitie would receiue the like oth with him if he chanced to die (whereby he might not fulfill that which the church herein should decree) that yet they should see the same performed, he might not otherwise be absolued.

Duke Leopold catcheth a fall beside his horsse and dieth of the hurt.

Wherefore he tooke the oth, and the Nobles of his countrie with him, and therewithall released the English pledges, remitted the monie that yet remained behind of his portion aforesaid, and immediatlie therewith died. After his decease, because certeine peeres of the countrie withstood the performance of the premisses, his bodie laie eight daies longer aboue ground than otherwise it should haue done, for till such time as all the pledges were perfectlie released, it might not be buried. Also Baldwin de Betun approching neere to the confines of Austrich, when he heard that the duke was dead, returned with the two ladies vnto his souereigne lord king Richard. Thus (as ye haue heard) for feare of the censures of the church were the pledges restored, and the residue of the monie behind released.

¶ All this was both pleasant and profitable for king Richards soules helth (as may be thought) because he toke occasion therof to amend his owne former life, by considering how much he might be reprehended for his sundrie faults committed both against God and man. A maruellous matter to heare, how much frō that time forward he reformed his former trade of liuing into a better forme & order. Moreouer, the emperour gaue to the Cisteaux monks 3000 marks of siluer, parcell of king Richards ransome, to make siluer censers in euerie church throughout where they had any houses: but the abbats of the same order refused the gift, being a portion of so wrongfull and vngodlie a gaine. At which thing, when it came to the knowledge of K. Richard, he greatlie maruelled at the first, but after commended the abbats in their doings, and chiefelie for shewing that they were void of the accustomed greedinesse of hauing, which most men supposed them to be much infected withall.

White monks

King Richard this yeare pardoned Hugh Nouant bishop of Couentrie of all his wrath and displeasure conceiued toward him, and restored to him his bishoprike for fiue thousand marks of siluer. But Robert Nouant the same bishops brother died in the kings prison at Douer. Also whereas the archbishop of Yorke had offended king Richard, he pardoned him, and receiued him againe into fauour, with the kisse of peace. Whereupon the archbishop waxed so proud, that vsing the king reprochfullie, he lost his archbishoprike, the rule of Yorkeshire which he had in gouernment as shiriffe, the fauour of his souereigne, and (which was the greatest losse of all) the loue of God. For

Rog. Houed. Hugh Nouāt bishop of Couentrie restored to his see.

The archbish. of Yorke.

Nemo superbus amat superos, nec amatur ab illis,
Vult humiles Deus ac mites, habitátq; libenter
Mansuetos animos procul ambitione remotos,
Inflatos verò ac ventosos deprimit idem,
Nec patitur secum puro consistere olympo.

M. Pal. in suo sag.

Moreouer, through the kings request, pope Celestine this yeare made the archbishop of Canturburie legat of all England by his buls directed to him, bearing date at his palace in Rome called Lateran the fifteenth kalends of Aprill, in the fourth yeare of his papasie. Furthermore, the pope wrote to the English cleargie, giuing them to vnderstand that he had created the said archbishop of Canturburie his legat, commanding them so to accept him: by vertue of which letters, the archbishop Hubert being now both archbishop of Canturburie, legat of the apostolike see, and lord cheefe iustice of England, appointed to hold a councell at Yorke, and therefore gaue knowledge by the abbat of Winham in Northfolke, and one maister Geruise, vnto the canons of Yorke, and to the archbishops officials of his purposed intention.

Pope Celestine. The archbish. of Canturburie is made ỹ popes legat.

A trinitie of offices in vnitie of person.

The said canons and officials well considering of the popes letters, which were deliuered vnto them by the messengers, signified for answer, that they would gladlie receiue him as legat of the apostolike see, but not as archbishop of Canturburie, nor as their primat. Herewith he came to Yorke vpon saint Barnabies daie being sundaie, and was receiued with

procession,

procession. On the morrow after, he held a court of plées of the crowne, of assises, and such other matters touching the king. On the next day being Tuesday, he entred into the monasterie of saint Maries in Yorke, and deposed the abbat, bicause of his infirmitie of bodie, at the request of the monks, but the abbat appealed to the popes consistorie. Then he assembled the cleargie in the church of Saint Peter in Yorke, and there held a synod for reformation of things amisse in the church, and amendment of manners in the cleargie, so that diuerse decrees were made, the which for bræuenesse we omit to speake of in particular. This yeare also, the said archbishop Hubert caused all men throughout the realme of England to receiue an oth of obseruing the kings peace, and to sweare that they should not be robbers, nor abettors of robbers, nor in any wise consenting vnto them, but should doo what in them might lie to apprehend all such offendors, and to discouer them to the kings officers to be apprehended, and to pursue them vpon hew and crie to the vttermost of their powers, and those that withdrew themselues from such pursuit, should be apprehended as partakers with the offendors.

A synod holden at Yorke.

About this time the emperour sent to king Richard, requiring him in no wise to conclude any peace with the French king, but rather to inuade his dominions, promising to aid him all that he might. But king Richard, to vnderstand further of the emperours mind herein, sent ouer his chancellour the bishop of Elie vnto him in ambassage. In the meane time the warre was still continued betwixt him and the French, by the which they were commonlie put to the worse, and king Richard inuading their borders, did much hurt in wasting the countries on each side. The French king was at one time so narrowlie chased, that as he would haue passed a bridge that laie ouer the water of Saine, he was in danger of drowning by the fall of the same vnder him, but yet at the length he escaped, and got to the further side.

The emperor sendeth to the king.

Anno Reg. 7.

The bishop of Elie is sent to the emperour.

After this, the two kings came to a communication togither, in the which a motion was made, that Lewes the French king his sonne and heire should haue the sister of Arthur duke of Britaine in marriage, and that king Richard in consideration thereof should surrender vnto them and to their heires the townes of Gisors, Bademont, with the countrie of Veulquessine or Veurine le Normant, Vernon, Iuerie and Pascie; and further should giue vnto them twentie thousand marks of siluer. On the other side it was moued, that the French king should resigne vnto king Richard all that he could demand in the countie of Engeulesme, and should restore vnto him the counties of Albemarle and Augie, with the castell of Arkes, and all other castels which he had taken in Normandie, or in any partie during these last warres. But there was a respit taken for the full concluding and assuring of these conditions, till the octaues of All saints, that king Richard might vnderstand the emperours pleasure, without whose consent he might not conclude any thing concerning that matter, bicause he had sent such word vnto him by the lord chancellour, who at this time was attendant in his court.

The 2 kings talke togither.

In the meane time, the emperour being aduertised of the whole matter, and of the articles afore mentioned, gaue knowledge to king Richard by the bishop of Elie at his returning backe, that this forme of peace nothing liked him, but rather made directlie to his discontentment: the which least he might séeme to faie without sufficient ground of reason, he alledged, that it should sound to king Richards dishonour, if he surrendred and gaue vp anie thing that he had not in possession. And to encourage him to recouer those things which had beene taken from him, the emperour pardoned him of the seauentéene thousand marks of siluer, which yet remained behind due to him for the kings ransome. Howsoeuer the matter passed, the two kings met not in the octaues of All saints, according to the appointment, although they were come, and approched verie néere to the place where they should haue communed togither: but through the dissimulation of the Frenchmen, they departed, without séeing one an other, and immediatlie began the warre as fiercelie as at anie time before.

The emperor dissuadeth the king from agréeing to the peace.

The French king tooke the towne of Diep, which king Richard had latelie repared, and burned it, with the ships that harbored in the hauen: after this, comming to Isoldun, he wan the towne and besieged the castell. But king Richard aduertised thereof, came with quicke spéed (making of three daies iournie but one) and entred into the castell of Isoldun to defend the same against his aduersaries: and forthwith there resorted such numbers of men vnto him, when they heard how he was besieged, that the French king doubting how to retire from thence in safetie, made suit first to haue licence to depart, and after when that would not be granted, he required at the leastwise to talke with the king of England about some agréement.

The warre is begun afresh.

The haste which king Richard made

Whereunto king Richard condescended, and so comming togither, they concluded vpon a truce to indure from that date, being saturdaie next after the feast of saint Nicholas, vnto the feast of saint Hilarie next insuing, and then to méet againe nére vnto Louiers with their councels, that they might grow by some reasonable way vnto a finall peace and concord. And according to this article, shortlie after the same feast of S. Hilarie, they met at Louiers, where finallie they were accorded to conclude a peace on these conditions, that the French king should release to the king of England Isoldun, with the countrie about, won by him sith the beginning of these warres; likewise, all the right which he had in Berrie, Auuergine, and Gascoigne, and the countie of Albemarle. On the other part, the king of England should resigne Gisors, and certeine other places, and namelie Veurine or Veulquessine vnto the king of France.

The 2 kings againe talke togither of peace.

1196

The conditions of peace concluded betwixt the two kings. Matth. Paris.

Herevpon were suerties also bound for performance, and the forfeiture of fiftéene thousand marks assigned to be paid by the partie that first brake the peace. Shortlie after, the French king repenting him selfe of the agréement, began to make a warre anew, so that king Richard seized into his hands all the goods and possessions which belonged to the abbats of the order of the great monasterie of Clunie, and of saint Denise è la Charitie, which had become suertie for the French king in the summe of 1500 marks afore said. This yeare died William de Fors earle of Albemarle, in whose place succéeded Baldwine de Betun by the kings gift, and married the countesse of Albermarle.

Matth. West. Matth. Paris.

Rog. Houed. The earle of Albemarle departed this life

There was a motion also made for a marriage betwixt the lord Otho, sonne to Henrie duke of Saxonie, king Richards nephue by his sister, and the ladie Margaret, daughter to the king of Scots, so as they should haue inioied the countries of Lothian, Northumberland, and the countie of Caerleill with the castels. For the conclusion of which marriage, the archbishop of Canturburie was sent about Christmas to commune with the king of Scots: but bicause the Scotish quéene was then conceiued of child, hir husband (in hope that God would send him a sonne) refused to stand vnto the aboue mentioned couenants.

Otho sonne to the duke of Saxonie.

Lawnes.

About

Wil.Paruus. Ran.Higd.

At this time king Richard sent the abbat of Caen (who was also the elect of Durham) into England, to take an accompts of those that had the receipts of the kings monie: for this abbat had informed the king, that his receiuers and officers here in the realme dealt not iustlie in making their accompts, but both deceiued the king, and oppressed his people, in exacting more than was due, and concealing that which they ought to stand accomptable for. The king supposing his words to be true, or at least likelie so to be, and that in reforming such vntruth in his officers, it should be both profitable to him, and well liked of the people, sent this abbat ouer with commission, to be as it were his generall auditour.

The abbat of Caen sent into England.

Fraudulent dealing in officers.

Howbeit, Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, which was gouernour of the realme in causes both temporall and spirituall (by reason he had the kings authoritie as his vicegerent, & therefore sufficientlie countenanced, & also the popes as his legat authorised) did somewhat stomach the matter, in that it should be thought he did suffer such abuses in the kings officers, and not reforme them. But he held him content and said little, sith the abbat shewed him the kings commission to do that which he went about, although he brought it not to passe. For whereas he came ouer in lent, and gaue out commandements, that all such as had any thing to do in receipt of the kings monie, should appeare before him after Easter, he tarried not to see Easter himselfe, but was called into another world by the stroke of death, there to render accompts for his owne acts here in this life committed.

Fabian. Wil.Paruus. Matt.Paris. Ran.Higd.

At the same time there was another person in London called William with the long beard (*alias* Fitz Osbert) which had likewise informed the king of certeine great oppressions and excessiue outrages vsed by rich men against the poore (namelie the worshipfull of the citie, the Maior and Aldermen) who in their hostings, when any tallage was to be gathered, burdened the poore further than was thought reason, to ease themselues; whereupon the said William being a seditious person, and of a busie nature, ceassed not to make complaints. Now bicause the king gaue eare vnto him at the first, he toke a boldnesse thereof, & drawing vnto him great routs of the poorer sort of people, would take vpon him to defend the causes of those that found themselues greeued with the heauie yoke of richmen and gentlemen. He was somewhat learned, and verie eloquent: he had also a verie good wit, but he aplied it rather to set dissention betwixt the high estates and the low, than to anie other good purpose. He accused also his owne brother of treason, who in his youth had kept him to schoole, & beene verie good and beneficiall brother vnto him, bicause now he would not still mainteine him with monie to beare out his riottous port. Moreouer, he declared to the king, that by extortion and briberie of certeine men of great wealth, he lost manie forfeits and escheats.

William with the long beard (*alias* Fitz Osbert).

The foule disorder in the citizens of London.

The vnnaturall ingratitude of Fitz Osbert.

Manie gentlemen of honour sore hated him for his presumptuous attempts to the hindering of their purposes: but he had such comfort of the king, that he little passed for their malice, but kept on his intent, till the king being aduertised of the assemblies which he made, commanded him to ceasse from such doings, that the people might fall againe to their sciences and occupations, which they had for the more part left off, at the instigation of this William with the long beard, so named of the long heare of his beard, which he nourished of purpose to seeme the more graue and manlike, and also as it were in despite of them which counterfeited the Normans (that were for the most part shauen) and bicause he would resemble the ancient vsage of the English nation. The kings commandement in restraint of the peoples resort vnto him, was well kept a while, but it was not long yer they began to follow him againe as they had done before.

Why he ware his long berd. Matth. Paris.

Fabian.

Then he toke vpon him to make vnto them certeine collations or sermons, taking for his theme, *Haurietis aquas in gaudio de fontibus saluatoris*, that is to saie: Ye shall draw in gladnesse waters out of the founteins of your sauiour. And hereto he added, I am (said he) the sauiour of poore men; ye be the poore, and haue assaied the hard hands and heauie burdens of the rich: now draw ye therefore the healthfull waters of vnderstanding out of my wels and springs, and that with ioy. For the time of your visitation is come: I shall part waters from waters, by waters I vnderstand the people, and I shall part the people which are good and meeke, from the people that are wicked and proud, and I shall disseuer the good and euill, euen as light is diuided from darkenesse.

His oration to the people.

Ger.Dor.

By these and such persuasions and means as he vsed, he had gotten two and fiftie thousand persons, readie to haue taken his part, as appeared after by a roll of their names found in his keeping, besides diuerse instruments of iron to breake vp houses, and other things seruing to such like purposes. So that he brought the commoners into a great liking of him: but the rich and wealthie citizens stood in much feare, so that they kept their houses, in armes, in doubt to be robbed and murthred by him in the night season.

The archbishop of Canturburie (vnto whome the rule of the realme chiefelie belonged) being aduertised hereof, sent for the greatest number of the citizens, and vsing them with gentle words, persuaded them to deliuer pledges, the better to assure him, that no such thing should chance, which was suspected of manie, though he was loth to conceiue any such opinion of them. They being ouercome with his courteous words, gaue vnto him pledges.

After this, when the foresaid William ceased not to make congregations of the people, at length the archbishop sent a commandement vnto him, that he should appeare before him and other of the councell, at a certeine prefired daie, to answer to such things as might be laid to his charge. To be short, he did so at the time appointed, but with such a rout of the common people about him, that the archbishop durst not pronounce against him, but licenced him to depart for that time, giuing him soft and gentle words. Howbeit, certeine persons were then appointed by the said archbishop and other of the councell to watch him sometime, when he should haue no great companie about him, and then to apprehend him.

He is called before the archbishop of Canturburie lord cheefe iustice or president of the realme.

Amongst those that were thus commanded to attach him, were two burgesses of the citie, who hauing espied a conuenient time for the execution of their purpose, set vpon him to haue taken him, but he getting an ax, defended himselfe manfullie: and in resisting slue one of them, and after that fled into the church of S. Marie Bow, keeping the same not as a place of sanctuarie, but as a fortresse: in somuch that by the helpe of such as resorted vnto him, he defended it against his aduersaries, till with fire and smoke they constreined him to come forth, and all those that were there with him: amongst them also was his concubine, who neuer left him for any danger that might betide him.

He fleeth into the church of S. Marie Bow.

His concubine.

The people regarding the danger of their pledges, came not out to aid him, as it was much doubted they would haue done. Wherefore being thus attached, he was brought forth, and comming out of the church, the sonne of that burgesse whome he had slaine (as you haue heard) strake him verie sore into the belly with a knife, in reuenge of his fathers

death. After this, he was had to his arraignment before the archbishop, sitting within the towre, and being condemned, was from thence drawne with horses to the place of execution called the Elmes, and there hanged on a gibet, with nine of his adherents, which had defended the church against the kings power: and yet for all this, the grudge ceassed not, but the common people raised a great slander vpon the archbishop, both for causing him to be taken out of the church, where he claimed priuilege of sanctuarie, and also for putting him to death, who was innocent (as they alledged) and not giltie of those crimes that were laid against him: who sought onelie the defense of poore people against extortioners, and such as were wrong doers.

He is executed.

Wil. Paruus. Matth. Paris.

The archbish. of Canturburie euill spoke of, for ye death of William Fitz Osbert.

This rumor rose so fast, that at length (by bruting abroad, that certeine miracles should be wrought by a chaine, wherein he was bound in time of his imprisonment) he was taken for a saint. The place also where he suffered, was visited by women, and other superstitious folks, as a plot of great holinesse, till at length the archbishop caused it to be watched, to the end that no such folishnesse should be vsed there. In fine, the opinion which the people had thus fondlie conceiued of his vertue and innocencie, was by little and little remoued out of their heads, when his acts were more certeinlie published: as the fleaing of a man with his owne hands, and the vsing of his concubine within Bowe church, during the time of his being there. Also the archbishop accursed a preest, which had first brought vp the false report and fained fable of the miracle wrought by the chaine, whereby the occasion of idolatrie was first giuen, and might easilie haue béene continued, if the archbishop had not béene the wiser man, and by such means repressed the rumour. ¶ So that we are to note by this example the force of counterfeit holinesse and feigned harmelesnesse in hypocrits,

An old whormonger, and a new saint.

——qui pelle sub agni
Vipereum celant virus morésq; luporum,
Et stolidos ficta virtutis imagine fallunt.

But now to returne vnto the doings of king Richard in France. We haue heard how a peace was concluded (as some haue written) but the same continued not long: for the French king séeming to repent himselfe of that he had done (as is aforesaid) brake the peace, and raising a power, besieged Albemarle, at length wan it, and raced it downe to the ground, then king Richard gaue vnto him three thousand marks of siluer for the ransome of his knights and yeomen, or demilances (as I may call them) that were taken in that fortresse. After this, the French king wan Nouencourt, and earle John tooke the castell of Gamages.

The erledome of Poictou.

About the same time also king Richard gaue vnto his nephue Otho the earledome of Poictou. Which I haue thought good to note out of Roger Houeden, to remoue the doubt of Iohn Bouchet, who in the third part of his annales of Aquitaine, maruelleth at an old panchart or record which he had séene, by the tenour whereof it appeared, that this Otho intituled himselfe duke of Aquitaine and earle of Poictou, being in his castell of Monstereulbonin nære to Poictiers, in the yeare a thousand, one hundreth, ninetie nine, in presence of Geffrey de Lusignen, and others, and granted vnto a certeine person the office of cutting the monie in the mint of that towne, as by the same panchart it further appeareth.

John Bouchet his dout.

The sight whereof brought the said Bouchet into a great perplexitie, considering that no chronicle which he had either séene, or heard of, made mention of any Otho that shuld be duke of Aquitaine, or erle of Poictou, either before that time, or after. Where againe it was euident to him, that queene Elianor the mother of king Richard, as then liuing, named hir selfe dutchesse of Aquitaine, and countesse of Poictou; & likewise king Richard intituled himselfe duke of Aquitaine, and earle of Poictou, euer after he had flanced the earle of Barcelons daughter, as by diuerse records both of the mother and the sonne he had séene perfect notice. At length yet he gesseth (and that trulie) that it should be this Otho, to whom the mother and sonne had assigned the dutchie of Aquitaine and countie of Poictou, for the maintenance of his estate, he holding the same till the yeare 1199, in the which he was made emperour by king Richards good helpe, as after shall be shewed more at large.

Randulph erle of Chester tooke his wife the dutchesse of Britaine prisoner.

About this time also as the countesse of Britaine, the mother of duke Arthur came into Normandie to haue spoken with king Richard, Randulph earle of Chester hir husband meeting hir at Pountourson, tooke hir as prisoner, and shut hir vp within his castell at S. James de Beumeron: and when hir sonne Arthur could not find means to deliuer hir out of captiuitie, he ioined with the king of France, and made great hauocke in the lands of his vncle king Richard, whereupon the king gathered a mightie armie, and inuading Britaine with great force, cruellie wasted and destroied the countrie.

A dearth.

Here is also to be noted, that in this seuenth yeare of king Richard, a great dearth chanced through this realme of England, and in the coasts about the same.

The death of the earle of Salisburie.

Also about the same time died William earle of Salisburie, the sonne of earle Patrike, whose daughter and heire king Richard gaue in marriage, togither with the earledome of Salisburie, vnto his base brother, surnamed Long Espée.

R. Houed. Matth. Paris.

It chanced moreouer about the same time, that earle John the kings brother, with certeine captens of such hired souldiors as some call Brabanceni; others, the Routs; and the French historiens name them Costereaux, or Coterels, went abroad to atchiue some enterprise against the bishop of Beauuois, and other Frenchmen, which had done much hurt to king Richards subiects in those parties. The chéefe leaders of those Routs or Costereaux, which went forth with earle John, and serued vnder him at that time, were two Prouancois, Marchades & Lupescaro. These riding forth into the countrie about Beauuois, made hauocke in robbing and spoiling all afore them.

Marchades & Lupescaro.

Anon as Philip the bishop of Beauuois, a man more giuen to the campe than to the church, had knowledge hereof, thinking them to be a méet preie for him, with sir William de Merlow and his sonne, and a great number of other valiant men of warre, came forth into the fields, and encountring with the enimies, fought verie stoutlie. But yet in the end the bishop, the archdeacon, and all the chéefe captens were taken: the residue slaine and chased. After this, earle John and the foresaid captens passed forth, and wan the towne of Millie, and so returned.

The bishop of Beauuois taken prisoner.

Earle John and Marchades presented the two prelats with great triumph vnto K. Richard earlie in the morning, lieng yet in his bed, as those that were knowne to be his great enimies, saieng to him in French; Rise Richard, rise, we haue gotten the great chantour of Beauuois, and a good quier man (as we take it) to answer him in the same note, and here we deliuer them vnto you to vse at your discretion. The king séeing them, smiled, and was verie glad for the taking of this bishop, for that he had euer found him his great aduersarie: and therefore being thus taken fighting in the field with armour on his backe, thought he might be bold in temporall wise to chastise him: sith he (not regarding his calling) practised to molest him with temporall weapons: where-

vpon

vpon he committed him to close prison all armed as he was.

It chanced soone after, that two of his chaplins came vnto the king to Rouen, where this bishop was deteined, beseeching the king of licence to attend vpon their maister now in captiuitie: vnto whome (as it is of some reported) the king made this answer; I am content to make you iudges in the cause betwixt me and your maister, as for the euils which he hath either done, either else gone about to doo vnto me, let the same be forgotten. This is true, that I being taken as I returned from my iournie made into the holie land, and deliuered into the emperours hands, was in respect of my kinglie state, vsed according thereunto verie freendlie and honourablie, till your maister comming thither (for what purpose he himselfe best knoweth) had long conference with the emperour. After which, I for my part in the next morning tasted the fruit of their ouernights talke, being then loden with as manie irons as a good asse might not verie easilie haue borne. Iudge you therefore, what maner of imprisonment your maister deserued at my hands, that procured such ease for me at the emperours hands.

The two chaplins had their mouths stopped with these words thus by the king vttered, and so departed their waies. The bishop being still deteined in prison, procured suit to be made to the pope for his deliuerance: but the pope, being truelie informed of the matter, and wiselie considering that the king had not taken the bishop preaching, but fighting, and kept him prisoner rather as a rough enimie, than as a peaceable prelat, would not be earnest with the king for his deliuerance, but rather removed the bishop, in that he had preferred secular warfare before the spirituall, and had taken vpon him the vse of a speare in steed of a crosier, an helmet in steed of a miter, an herbergeon in steed of a white rochet, a target for a shoale, and an iron sword in lieu of the spirituall sword: and therefore he refused to vse any commandement to king Richard for the setting of him at libertie. But yet he promised to doo what he could by waie of intreating, that he might be released.

It is reported by some writers, that the pope at first, not vnderstanding the truth of the whole circumstance, should send to king Richard, commanding him by force of the canons of the church to deliuer his sons the bishop and archdeacon out of their captiuitie. To whom the king sent their armour with this message written in Latine, *Vide an tunica filij tui sit an non*, that is, See whether these are the garments of thy sonnes or not: alluding to the saieng of those that caried Iosephs coate to Iacob. Which when the pope saw, he said: Naie by S. Peter, it is neither the apparell of my sonnes, nor yet of my brethren: but rather they are the vestures of the children of Mars: and so he left them still to be ransomed at the kings pleasure. The bishop thus seeing no hope to be deliuered without some agreement had betwixt the two kings, became now through irksomnesse of his bonds, an earnest mediatour for peace, whereas before he had beene an extreme stirrer vp of war. Such a schoolemaister is imprisonment, & plucker downe of loftie courages. But to proceed.

Genes. 37.

Anno Reg. 8.

Normandie interdicted by the archbishop of Rouen.

About the same time the archbishop of Rouen put all the countrie of Normandie vnder sentence of interdiction, because king Richard had begun to fortifie a castell at Lisle Dandelie, vpon a peece of ground which the archbishop claimed to apperteine vnto his see. The matter was brought before the pope, who perceiuing the intent of king Richard was not otherwise grounded vpon any couetous purpose to defraud the church of hir right, but onelie to build a fortresse in such place as was most expedient for defense of the countrie about, to preserue it from inuasion of the enimies; he counselled the archbishop not to stand against the king in it, but to exchange with him for some other lands: which was doone, and the interdiction by the pope released. The bishop of Elie lord chancellour, being sent about this businesse towards Rome, departed this life by the way at Poictiers, in Januarie.

The bishop of Elie departed this life.

But the bishops of Durham & Lisieux that were sent with him, passed forward, and comming to Rome, informed the pope of the matter, who tooke order with the bishops (as before is mentioned.) The king gaue to the church in Rouen in recompense, his milles which he had in Rouen, so that the said church should paie the almes of old time appointed to be giuen for the same. He gaue to the said church likewise the towne of Diepe, and the towne of Bullels, so that the church should likewise paie the almes assigned forth of the same, being the summe of 372 pounds of Anioume monie: also the manour of Louers, and the forrest of Alermound with the deere and the appurtenances. But now to other doings.

About the same time, or not long before, whereas there had beene long contention betwixt the kings of England, and the earles of S. Giles for the earledome of Tholouse, king Richard by way of aliance fell now at an appointment with the earle Raimond that held those lands: for whereas the countesse Constance wife to the said Raimond earle of Tholouse and aunt to king Philip was now departed this life, king Richard concluded a mariage betweene the said earle and his sister Ioane quéene of Sicile, sometime wife to William king of Sicile, so that being thus ioined in aliance with the said earle of Tholouse on the one side, he procured a league also with Baldwine earle of Flanders on the other, vnto whome he gaue fiue thousand markes in reward, vpon condition, that he should couenant not to grow to any agréement with the French king without his consent. Likewise Reginold the earle of Bolongne, that was sonne to the earle of Chasteau Martine, alied himselfe with them against the French king, and so did Baldwine earle of Guines with diuerse other.

Rog. Houed. The king and the earle of Tholouse agreed.

Matt. Paris. The earle of Flanders aried with K. Richard.

Iacob. Meir. Les annales de France.

Thus king Richard by such aliance hauing his part greatlie strengthened, prepared himselfe to the warre more earnestlie than before, and tooke order with the earle of Flanders, that they should inuade the French dominions in two seuerall quarters both at one time, as the earle by Flanders, & he himselfe by Normandie, according to the appointment betwixt them deuised. The earle preparing an armie, first wan the towne of Dowaie, and then besieged saint Omers, and wan it after fiue weekes siege: whervpon they of Aire yeelded to him; shortlie after he entred into Artois, & besieged the citie of Arras.

Iacob. Meir. Wil. Paruus.

Towns won by the earle of Flanders.

At the same time king Richard marching towards Gisors, wan in his waie the castell of Torselles, & destroied it; that doone, he came to Gisors, and besieged the towne, walling all the countrie round about him where he came. The French king being thus troubled with the inuasion of his enimies in two seuerall places at one present time, sent certeine bands of his souldiors towards Arras to keepe the earle of Flanders plaie, whilest he himselfe went against king Richard: and comming vnto Gisors, found it streictlie besieged of the same king, so that he wist not well how to enter the towne. But yet at length faining to giue battell to king Richard (who vpon desire to receiue it, came abroad into the field) the French king rushed forth with all his whole force to make towards the towne, & so got into it, though not without great losse and damage of his people.

Gisors besieged.

The French king entreth into Gisors.

King Richard not meaning to breake vp his siege from before the towne, notwithstanding the French

king had entred it) staied a certeine time of purpose to win it, knowing the gaine to be the greater, and his name more famous, if he might atchiue his purpose, now that his aduersarie was within it. But when he saw it would not be, he raised his siege, and departed towards Cleremont, spoiling all the countrie by his forrais as he went, so that he wan great pillage, wherewith his souldiers were loden and made verie rich.

K. Richard raiseth his siege.

Hugh de Chaumount taken prisoner

It chanced, that in a skirmish Hugh de Chaumount was taken prisoner, one that was of the French kings priuie councell, and king Richard appointed him to the keeping of Robert Ros, who charged one of his seruants named William de Spinie with the custodie of him. But the said Hugh corrupting his keeper the foresaid William with rewards, (whereof it is said,

Ouid in 3. Art am. ep. 16.

——acceptissima semper
Munera sunt, author quæ pretiosa facit)

escaped out of the castell of Bonneuille, where he was within ward, to the great displeasure of king Richard, who caused Robert Ros to paie for a fine, the summe of twelue hundred marks, which the prisoner should haue paied for his ransome: and further, commanded William de Spinie to be hanged for his disloiall dealing.

Robert Rosse put to his fine for an escape.

Math. Paris.

King Philip, after that the king of England was remoued from Gisors (as before yee haue heard) assembled a great host, and with banner displaied, entred into Normandie, and wasted the countrie from Newburge to Beaumont le Rogier, and that done, returned into France, licencing his men to returne vnto their homes. About the same time, he sent vnto king Richard, requiring him to appoint fiue champions, and he would appoint other fiue for his part, which might fight in lists, for triall of all matters in controuersie betwixt them, so to auoid the shedding of more giltlesse blond. King Richard accepted the offer, with condition, that either king might be of the number, that is, the French king one of the fiue vpon the French part; & K. Richard one of the fiue vpon the English part. But this condition would not be granted. Herevpon, when shortlie after it was signified to king Richard, that ships vsed to come out of England to saint Valerie with victuals, which were sold and conueied awaie vnto the French K. and other his enimies, he rode to saint Valeries, and set the towne on fire, and such ships of England as he found there he also burnt, and hanged the mariners by the necke, diuiding the graine and other victuals which were found in the same ships amongst his owne souldiors.

Nic. Treuet. The French kings request for a combat.

K. Richards answer.

1197

Math. Paris.

Ships burnt, and mariners hanged.

Les annales de France.

About the same time he got the fauour of them of Champaigne and of the Britons, and William Crespine also was constreined to deliuer vnto him the castell of Auge, but the French king recouered it by siege, whilest king Richard entring into Aluergne wan diuerse castels there, to the number of ten out of king Philips hands. In the meane time the earle of Flanders made sore warre against the French king for his part, and training the same king within streits, so that he was almost inclosed on ech side, he constreined him to agree to such composition as pleased the same earle to appoint, but afterwards the French king refused to stand to the couenants of that agreement, and so the warre continued betwixt them as before.

Anno Reg. 9.

R. Houed.

At length king Richard and the French king concluded vpon an abstinence of warre to indure from the feast of S. Hilarie for one whole yere, purposing in the meane time to make a finall peace and agreement. In which season Baldwine earle of Flanders came into England to do his deuotions vnto the shrine where Thomas the archbishop late buried at Canturburie. The saint ye saw also some what before this time, Rise ap Griffin king of Wales departed this life, after whose death there fell discord betwixt his sonnes for the succession, till the archbishop Hubert went to the marches of that countrie and made an agreement betwixt them. Not long after, Roger the brother of Robert earle of Leicester, elected bishop of saint Andrews in Scotland, receiued the order of priesthood, and was consecrated bishop by the hands of the bishop of Aberdine.

Griffin king of Wales departed this life.

This yeare it was ordeined that measures of all manner of graine should conteine one quantitie throughout the realme, that is to saie, one resonable horselode, and that the measures of wine and ale with all maner of liquors should be of one iust quantie according to the diuersitie of the liquor: also that weights should be of like rate throughout the relme, and that cloth should conteine two yards in breadth within the lists, of perfect goodnesse throughout, as well in the middest as by the sides, and that one manner of yard should be vsed through the relme. It was also ordeined that no merchants within the realme should hang any red or blacke clothes before their windowes, nor set vp any pentises or other thing whereby to darken the light from those that come to buy their cloth, so as they might be deceiued in chosing thereof.

weights and measures.

Also it was enacted that there should be foure or six substantiall honest men chosen in euerie towne, and likewise in shires, with the head officers of cities and boroughes, which had a corporation, to see that the assises aforesaid were truelie kept, and that if any were found to be offending in the premisses, to cause their bodies to be attached and committed to prison, and their goods to be seized to the kings vse: and if those that were chosen to haue regard thereto, were tried to be negligent, so that by others, and not by them any offendors chanced to be conuicted before the iustices, then should the regarders be put to their fines, for the negligent looking to their offices.

One yeare & 4 moneths saith Wil. Paruus.

King Richard held his Christmasse this yeare at Roan, and Hubert the archbishop of Canturburie legat of the apostolike see, named lord cheefe iustice of England, was about the same time in the marches of Wales at Hereford, and there receiued into his hands the castels of Hereford, Weidgenorth and Ludlow, remouing those that had the same in keeping, and appointing others in their romes. Afterwards comming by Couentrie, he placed the monks againe in the cathedrall church of that citie, by commandement of pope Celestine, and chased out the secular canons, which the bishop Hugh Nouant had brought into the same church when he remoued the monks.

1198

Monks placed againe in the church of Couentrie.

In the Christmasse weeke also there came messengers to Rouen from the archbishops of Cullen and Ments, and from other states of the empire, which declared vnto king Richard, that all the princes of Germanie were appointed to assemble at Cullen, the two & twentith of Februarie, about the chosing of a new emperour, in place of the late deceassed Henrie: and therefore they commanded him by force of the oth and league in which he was bound to the emperour and empire, that all excuse of deniall or occasions to the contrarie ceasing and set apart, he should make his repaire vnto Cullen at the aforesaid day, to helpe them in chosing of some worthie personage that might and was able to haue the empire. King Richard doubting to put himselfe in danger, bicause he had not discharged all the debts due for his ransome, staied at home, but yet he sent diuerse noble men thither, and did so much in fauour of his nephue Otho, that by the helpe of the foresaid two archbishops of Cullen and Ments, the same Otho was

Messengers from the states of Germanie.

was elected emperour. But of this matter more shall be said hereafter.

Three hundred knights of men of armes to be found.

Moreouer, about the same time king Richard required by the archbishop of Canturburie his chéefe iustice, an aid of 300 knights to be found by his subiects of England, to remaine with him in his seruice for one whole yeare, or else that they would giue him so much monie, as might serue to reteine that number after the rate of thrée shillings a daie of English monie for euerie knight. Whereas all other were contented to be contributors herein, onelie Hugh bishop of Lincolne refused, and spake sore against the archbishop that moued the matter. But how soeuer that request toke place, king Richard (as we find) leuied this yeare a subsidie of fiue shillings of euerie hide of land within the realme, two commissioners, that is to say, one of the spiritualtie, & a knight of the temporaltie, being appointed as commissioners in euerie shire, with the assistance of the shiriffe, and others, to see the same assessed & rated after an hundred acres of land to the hide of land, according to the custome.

The bishop of Lincolne.

The monks of Christes church send to the pope, complaining of their archbishop.

The same yeare also the monks of the house of the holie Trinitie, otherwise called Christes church in Canturburie, exhibited their complaint vnto pope Innocent, that their archbishop Hubert (contrarie to his order and dignitie) exercised the office of high iustice, and sate in iudgement of bloud, being so incumbred in temporall matters, that he could not haue time to discharge his office touching spirituall causes: whereupon the pope sent vnto king Richard, admonishing him not to suffer the said archbishop to be any longer troubled with temporall affaires, but to discharge him thereof, and not to admit any spirituall person from thencefoorth vnto any temporall administration.

The pope sendeth to the king.

He further prohibited by vertue of their obedience, all manner of prelats and men of the church, that they should not presume rashlie to take vpon them any maner of secular function or office. Whervpon the archbishop was discharged of his office of chéefe iustice, and Geffrey Fitz Peter succeeded in gouernement of the realme in his stead. ¶ Geruasius Dorobernensis saith, that the archbishop resigned that office of his owne accord, and that not till after his returne from the marshes of Wales, where he had ouerthrowne the Welshmen, and slaine fiue thousand of them. Which victorie other ascribe vnto Geffrey Fitz Peter, which Geffrey (as the said Dorobernensis saith) succeeded the archbishop in the office of lord chéefe iustice, but not vntill August, in the tenth yeare of the kings reigne.

Anno Reg. 10.

In this yeare, immediatlie vpon the expiring of the truce which was taken till haruest might be ended, the warre betwixt the two kings of England & France began eftsoones to be pursued with like earnestnesse as before: whereupon manie encounters chanced betwixt the parties, with taking of townes and fortresses, as commonlie in such cases it happeneth. Twise the French king was put to the worse, once in September betwixt Gamages and Vernon, where he was driuen to saue himselfe by flight, losing twentie knights, and threescore seruitors or yeomen, which were taken, besides those that were slaine: and againe, in the same moneth on Michaelmasse euen betwixt Curseilles and Gisors, at what time he came to succour Curseilles, bringing with him 400 knights, besides seruitors, and a great multitude of commons. But the castell was wonne before he could approch it.

King Richard being aduertised of his comming, hasted forth to méet him, and giuing the onset vpon him, forced him to flee vnto Gisors, where at the entring of the bridge there was such prealle, that the bridge brake, so that amongst other, the king himselfe with his horsse and all fell into the riuer of Geth, and with much adoo was releeued, and got out of the water, no small number of right hardie and valiant gentlemen being taken at the same time, which put themselues forward to staie the Englishmen, till the king was recouered out of that present danger. To conclude, there were taken to the number of an hundred knights, and two hundred barded horsses, besides seruitors on horssebacke, and kotmen with crossebowes. Amongst other prisoners these are named, Matthew de Montmorancie, Gales de Ports, Iollen de Bray, and manie other also innumerable. King Richard hauing got this victorie, wrote letters thereof vnto the archbishops, bishops, abbats earles and barons of his realme, that they might praise God for his good successe.

King Philip almost drowned.

Seuen score saith R. Houed.

Matth. Paris. R. Houed.

¶ A notable example to all princes that haue the conquest ouer their enimies, to referre the happie getting thereof to God, and to giue praise vnto him who giueth victorie vnto whom it pleaseth him. Which the Psalmograph saw verie well, and therefore ascribed all the issue of his prosperous affaires to God, as may well be noted by his words, saieng expresselie,

——— ab illo
Munior, hic instar turris & arcis erat,
Dura manus in bella meas qui format & armat,
Ad feraqui digitos instruit arma meos.

Eob. Hess. in Psal. 144.

Now will we staie the proceedings of the king of France at this time, and make no further relation thereof for a while, till we haue touched other things that happened in England at the same season. And first ye shall vnderstand, that Hugh Bardolfe, Roger Arundell, and Geffrey Hachet, to whom as iustices, the counties of Lincolne, Nottingham, Worke, Derbie, Northumberland, Westmerland, Cumberland, and Lancaster were appointed for circuits, held not onelie pléas of assises, and of the crowne, but also toke inquisitions of escheats, and forfaitures of all maner of transgressions, and of donations of benefices, of marriages of widowes and maids, and other such like things as apperteined to the king, whereby any aduantages grew to his vse, the which for tediousnesse we passe ouer. These things were streightlie looked vnto, not without the disquieting of manie.

Inquisitions taken.

Herewith came an other trouble in the necke of this former, to diuerse persons within the realme, through inquiries taken by the iustices of the forrests: for Hugh Neuill, Hugh Waley, and Heruisus Neuill, appointed iustices itinerants in that case, were commanded by the king to call before them archbishops, bishops, earles, barons, knights, and freeholders, with the reeue, and foure of the substantiall men of euerie towne or village, to heare and take knowledge of the kings commandement, touching the ordinances of forrests, the which were verie straight in sundrie points, so that whereas before those that offended in killing of the kings deere were punished by the purse, now they should lose their eies and genitals, as the lawe was in the daies of king Henrie his grandfather: and those that offended in cutting downe woods or bushes, or in digging and deluing vp of turues and clods, or by any other maner of waie made waste and destruction in woods or grasse, or spoile of venison, within the precinct of the forrests, contrarie to order, they should be put to their fines.

Ordinances of forrests.

He gaue commandement also, that it should be lawfull to the forresters to take and put vnder arrest, as well preests and those of the cleargie, as temporall men, being found offenders in forrest grounds and chases. Manie other ordinances were decréed touching the preseruation of forrests, and the kings pre-

Preests to be arrested offending in forrests.

rogatiue, aduantages and profits rising and growing by the same, as well for sauing of his woods and waists, as in pannage and agistements, greatlie to the restraint of them that might vsurpe or incroch vpon the grounds within the compasse of his forrests.

We haue heard before, how the monks of Canturburie did send to exhibit a complaint to the pope, for that their archbishop toke vpon him to deale in exercise of matters belonging to a temporall man, and not to such a one as had rule ouer the spiritualtie: but this was not the cause that did greeue them so much, as that he went forward with the erection of that church at Lameth, which his predecessor archbishop Baldwine had first begun at Haketon, now called S. Stephans (as before ye haue heard) and after was driuen through the importunate suit of the monks to leaue off, and race that which he had there begun, to obeie the popes pleasure: and after laid a new foundation at Lameth.

Ger. Dor.

The church of Lameth.

The monks of Canturburie therefore still fearing least that church should greatlie prejudice such rights and liberties, as they pretended, namlie in the election of their archbishop, would neuer rest, but still complained and followed their suit in most obstinate maner in the court of Rome, as well in the daies of the said Baldwine, as now against Hubert, (when he toke in hand to continue the worke according to the purpose of his predecessour the said Baldwine, which was to haue instituted a colledge there, and to haue placed secular canons in the same) and such was the earnest trauell of the monks herein, that in the end now after the decease of pope Celestine, they found such fauour at the hands of pope Innocent his successor, that the same Innocent directed his letters of cõmandement to the archbishop, and other bishops of this land, to destroie and race the same foundation, as a peece of worke derogatorie to the see of Canturburie, and verie prejudiciall to the estate of holie church.

The pope cõmandeth the church of Lameth to be raced.

The archbishop at the first trusted to be borne out by the king (who was highlie offended with the monks for their presumptuous dealing) and therfore refused to obeie the popes commandement. The king in deed stomached the matter so highlie, that he sent letters vnto the monks by no worse messengers than by Geffrey Fitz Peter, and Hugh Fitz Wardolfe his iustices, signifieng to them not onelie his high displeasure for their presumptuous proceedings in their suit without his consent, but also commanding them to surceasse, and not to proceed further in the matter by vertue of any such the popes letters, which they had purchased contrarie to the honour and dignitie of his crowne and realme. Moreouer, he wrote to the bishops, commanding them to appeale; and to the archbishop, forbidding him in any wise to breake downe the church which he had so builded at Lameth.

The shirifte of Kent also was commanded to seize into his hands all the tenements and possessions that belonged to the monks (a frie of satan, and as one saith verie well of them and the like leuen of lewdnesse,

sentina malorum,
Agnorum sub pelle lupi, mercede colentes
Non pietate Deum, &c.)

who neuertheless were so stout in that quarell, that they would not prolong one daie of the time appointed by the pope for the racing of that church. Herevpon the king for his part and the bishops in their owne behalfes wrote to the pope. Likewise the abbats of Boreley, Fourd, Stratford, Roberts-bridge, Stanleie, and Basing Warke, wrote the matter to him: and againe the pope and the cardinals wrote to the king, to the archbishops, and bishops: and so letters passed to and fro, till at length the pope sent a Nuncio of purpose, to signifie his full determination, as in the next yeare it shall be shewed at full.

The presumptuous stoutnesse of the monks.

About the same time Geffrey Fitz Peter, lord chefe iustice of England, raised a power of men, and went into Wales to succour the tenants of William de Braose, which were besieged of the king, or rather prince of that countrie, named Owen, the brother of Cadwalaine, in Mauds castell: but the lord chefe iustice comming to the reskue of them within, gaue battell to the aduersaries, and vanquishing them, slue three thousand of them, and seauen hundred of those that were taken prisoners and wounded. And all the while the warres continued in France, the losse for the most part still redounded to the Frenchmen. Earle John burnt Newburg, and toke eighténe knights of such as were sent to the reskue.

Welshmen vanquished.

Ger. Dor. ascribeth this victorie vnto Hubert archb. of Canturburie and saith there were slaine about 500 of the enimies.

Mauds castle

The earle of Leicester with a small companie came before the castell of Paslcie, which (although the Frenchmen held it) did yet of right belong vnto the said earle. The souldiors within issued forth, and being too strong for the earle, caused him to flee, for otherwise he had beene taken. But returning on the morrow after with more companie about him, and laieng ambushes for the enimie, he approched the said castell, and trained the Frenchmen forth till he had them within his danger, and then causing his men to breake out vpon them toke an eightéene knights, and a great multitude of other people. Also Marchades with his rout of Brabanders did the Frenchmen much hurt, in robbing and spoiling the countries.

The earle of Leicester.

Marchades.

About this season the archbishop of Canturburie went ouer into Normandie to speake with king Richard, and at the French kings request he passed into France, to common with him of peace, which the French king offered to conclude, in restoring all the townes and castels which he had taken (Gisors onelie excepted) and touching the possession and title therof, he was contented to put the matter in compremise, to the order and award of six barons in Normandie to be named by him; and of six barons in France which king Richard should name. But king Richard would not thus agree, except the earle of Flanders and others which had forsaken the French king to take his part, might be comprised in the same peace. At length yet in Nouember, there was truce taken betwixt the two kings till the feast of S. Hilarie next insuing.

In the meane time pope Innocent the third, vnderstanding in what present danger things stood in the holie land, and on the other side, considering what a weakening it was vnto christendome, to haue these two kings thus to warre with mortall hatred one against the other: he thought it stood him vpon to trauell betwixt them, to bring them vnto some peace and agreement. Hereupon he dispatched one Peter the cardinall of Capua into France, as legat from the see of Rome, vnto the two foresaid kings, to instruct them in what present danger the state of the christians in Asia presentlie stood, so that without the aid of them and of other christian princes, it could not be holpen, but neds it must come to vtter ruine, and the Saracens yer long to be possessed of the whole. Therefore both in respect hereof, and also for the auoiding of the further willfull spilling of christian bloud in such ciuill and vngodlie war, he besought them to staie their hands, and to ioine in some friendlie band of concord, whereby they might with mutuall consent bestow their seruice in that necessarie and most godlie warre, wherein by ouercomming the enimies of Christ, they might loke for worthie

A truce taken betwixt the two kings.

reward

reward at his hands, which is the free giuer of all victories.

The cardinall comming into France, and doing his message in most earnest wise, was present at the enterview apointed betwixt the two kings in the feast of S. Hylarie, but yet could not he bring his purpose to full effect: onelie he procured them to take truce for the terme of fiue yeares, further he could not get them to agrée. ¶ The fault by authors is ascribed aswell to king Richard, as to king Philip: for king Richard being first euill vsed, and put to hinderance, determined either to vanquish, or neuer to giue place.

1199

R. Houed.

A truce concluded for fiue yeares.

This forbearance from warre was concluded and taken in the yeare 1199 after the incarnation, and tenth of king Richards reigne. But immediatlie after, there arose matter of new displeasure betwixt these two kings to keepe their minds in vre with secret grudges, though by reason of the truce they outwardlie abstained from declaring it by force of armes. It chanced that in the election of a new emperour, the electors could not agrée, one part of them chosing Otho duke of Saxonie, nephue to king Richard by his sister Maud, and another part of them naming Philip duke of Tuscaine, and brother to the last emperour Henrie.

Contention about the chosing of the emperour.

King Richard (as reason was) did procure what fauour he could to the furtherance of his nephue Otho: and king Philip on the contrarie part, did what he could in fauour of the foresaid Philip. At length Otho was admitted by the pope to end the strife: but yet the grudge remained in the harts of the two kings; Philip finding himselfe much grœued in that he had missed his purpose, and Richard being as little pleased, for that he had wone his so hardlie, and with so much adoo. And thus matters passed for that yeare.

R. Houed.

In the beginning of the next, the popes Nuncio came with letters, not onlie to the archbishop and bishops of England, but also to the king himselfe, signifieng the popes resolute decrœ touching the church and colledge of Lameth to be broken downe and suppressed. Wherevpon the king and archbishop (though sore against their willes) when they saw no waie longer to shift off the matter, yéelded to the popes pleasure: and so the archbishop sent his letters to Lameth, where the 21 daie of Januarie they were read, and the 27 daie of the same moneth was the church cast downe, & the canons which were alreadie there placed, had commandement to depart from thence without further delaie. Thus the monks in despite of the king and archbishop had their willes, but yet their veration ceassed not, for the king and archbishop bearing them no small euill will, for that they had so obteined their purpose contrarie to their minds and intents, molested them diuerse waies, although the monks still vpon complaint to the pope, were verie much relæued, and found great frendship both with him and likewise with his court. ¶ So that it may be obserued that these dishclouts of the popes kitchen haue in all ages, since their first quickening bëene troublesome and mutinous, sawcie and insolent, proud and malapert. But

The popes letters to the king for the church of Lameth.

The monks borne out by the pope.

Proh pudor! hos tolerare potest ecclesia porcos,
Cùm sint lasciui nimiùm, nimiúmq; superbi,
Duntaxàt ventri, veneri somnóq; vacantes?

M. Pal. in suo sag.

In this meane time, king Richard being now at rest from troubles of warre, studied busilie to prouide monie, meaning to make a new voiage into the holie land. Therefore finding himselfe bare of treasure, by reason the French warres had emptied his cofers, he set a great tax vpon his subiects, and by that meanes, hauing recouered a great summe, he builded that notable strong castell in Normandie, vpon the banke of the riuer of Saine, named Chateau Galiard: which when it was finished, he fell a iesting thereat and said; Behold, is not this a faire daughter of one yeares growth. The soile where this castell was builded, belonged to the archbishop of Rouen, for which there followed great strife betwixt the king and the archbishop, till the pope toke vp the matter (as before ye haue heard.)

A tax. Fiue shillings of euerie plough land, as saith Matt. Westm.

Chasteau Galiard built.

After this, he determined to chastise certeine persons in Poictou, which during the warres betwixt him and the French king, had aided the Frenchmen against him: wherevpon with an armie he passed forth towards them, but by the waie he was informed, that one Widomer a vicount in the countrie of Britaine, had found great treasure: and therefore pretending a right thereto by vertue of his prerogatiue, he sent for the vicount, who smelling out the matter, and supposing the king would not be indifferent in parting the treasure, fled into Limosin, where although the people were tributaries to the king of England, yet they toke part with the French king.

Images of an emperour and of his wife & children all of fine gold. The annales of Aquitaine.

There is a towne in that countrie called Chalus Cheuerell, into which the said vicount retired for safegard of himselfe, and then gaue the townesmen a great portion of treasure, to the end they should defend him and his quarell for the rest. King Richard still following him, as one that could not auoid his fatall ordinance, hasted into the confines of Limosin, fullie determining either to win the towne by force, if the inhabitants should make resistance, or at least wise, to get into his hands the preie, which he so earnestlie pursued. At his first approch he gaue manie fierce assaults to the towne, but they within hauing throughlie prouided aforehand for to defend a siege, so resisted his attempts, that within thrée daies after his comming, he ceassed to assaile the towne, meaning to vndermine the walles, which otherwise he perceiued would verie hardlie be gotten, considering the stoutnesse of them within, and withall, the naturall strength and situation of the place it selfe.

Chalus Cheuerell. R. Houed.

K. Richard besiegeth Chalus.

Herevpon therefore on the 26 of March, whiles he (togither with capteine Marchades) went about vnaduisedlie to view the towne (the better to consider the place which waie he might conueie the course of his mine) they came so farre within danger, that the king was striken in the left arme, or (as some write) in the shoulder, where it ioined to the necke, with a quarell inuenomed (as is to be supposed by the sequele.) Being thus wounded, he gat to his horsse, and rode home againe to his lodging, where he caused the wound to be searched and bound vp, and as a man nothing dismaid therewith, continued his siege with such force and assurance, that within 12 daies after the mishap, the towne was yéelded vnto him, although verie little treasure (to make any great accompt of) was at that time found therein.

He is wounded.

Ra. Niger.

In this meane season, the king had committed the cure of his wound to one of Marchades his surgions, who taking in hand to plucke out the quarell, drew forth onelie the shaft at the first, and left the iron still within, and afterwards going about most vnskilfullie to get forth the head of the said quarell, he vsed such incisions, and so mangled the kings arme, yer he could cut it, that he himself despaired of all helpe and longer life, affirming flatlie to such as stood about him, that he could not long continue by reason of his butcherlie handling. To be short, feeling himselfe to wax weaker and weaker, preparing his mind to death, which he perceiued now to be at hand, he ordeined his testament, or rather reformed and added sundrie things vnto the same which he before had made, at the time of his going forth towards the holie land.

The king despaired of life.

He ordeineth his testament.

Vnto

Unto his brother Iohn he assigned the crowne of England, and all other his lands and dominions, causing the Nobles there present to sweare fealtie vnto him. His monie, his iewels, and all other his goods moueable he willed to be diuided into three parts, of the which Otho the emperor his sisters sonne to haue one, his houshold seruants an other part, and the third to be distributed to the poore. Finallie, remembring himselfe also of the place of his buriall, he commanded that his bodie should be interred at Fonteuerard at his fathers feet, but he willed his heart to be conueied vnto Rouen, and there buried, in testimonie of the loue which he had euer borne vnto that citie for the stedfast faith and tried loialtie at all times found in the citizens there. His bowels he ordeined to be buried in Poictiers, as in a place naturallie vnthankefull and not worthie to reteine any of the more honorable parts of his bodie.

R. Houed. Matth. Paris.

Moreouer he caused the arcubalistar that wounded him, to be sought out, whose name was Bartram de Gurden, or Peter Basill (for so he named himselfe as some write) who being brought before the king, he demanded wherein he had so much offended him, that he should so lie in wait to slea him, rather than Marchades, who was then in his companie, and attendant on his person? The other answered boldlie againe, saieng; I purposed to kill thee, because thou slewest my father, and two of my brethren heretofore, and wouldest also now haue slaine me, if I had happened to fall into thy hands. Wherefore I intended to reuenge their deaths, not caring in the meane time what became of my selfe, so that I might in anie wise obteine my will of thee, who in such sort hast bereft me of my frends. The king hearkening vnto his words, and pondering his talke by good aduisement, freelie pardoned him, and withall commanded that he should be set at libertie, and thereto haue an hundred shillings giuen him in his purse, and so to be let go. Moreouer, he gaue strait charge that no man should hurt him, or seeke any reuenge for this his death hereafter. Thus the penitent prince not onelie forgaue, but also rewarded his aduersarie. Howbeit after his decease, Marchades getting him into his hands, first caused the skin to be stripped of his bodie, and after hanged him on a gibet.

Rog. Houed.

A notable example of forgiuing an enimie. Matth. Paris.

At length king Richard by force of sickenesse (increased with anguish of his incurable wound) departed this life, on the tuesdaie before Palmesundaie, being the ninth of Aprill, and the vj. day after he was hurt, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauior 1199. in the 44 yeare of his age, and after he had reigned nine yeares, nine moneths, and od daies: he left no issue behind him. He was tall of stature, and well proportioned, faire and comelie of face, so as in his countenance appeared much sauour and grauitie, of haire bright abourne, as it were betwixt red and yellow, with long armes, and nimble in all his ioints, his thighes and legs were of due proportion, and answerable to the other parts of his bodie.

King Richard departed this life.

His stature & shape of bodie. Gal. Vinsaf.

As he was comelie of personage, so was he of stomach more couragious and fierce, so that not without cause, he obteined the surname of Cueur de lion, that is to sate, The lions hart. Moreouer, he was courteous to his souldiors, and towards his frends and strangers that resorted vnto him verie liberall, but to his enimies hard and not to be intreated, desirous of battell, an enimie to rest and quietnesse, verie eloquent of speech and wise, but readie to enter into ieopardies, and that without feare or forecast in time of greatest perils.

His disposition of mind.

These were his vertuous qualities, but his vices (if his vertues, his age, and the wars which he maintained were throughlie weied) were either none at all, or else few in number, and not verie notorious.

The vices that were in king Richard.

He was noted of the common people to be partlie subiect vnto pride, which surelie for the most part followeth stoutnesse of mind: of incontinencie, to the which his youth might happilie be somewhat bent: and of couetousnesse, into the which infamie most capiteins and such princes as commonlie follow the warres do oftentimes fall, when of necessitie they are driuen to exact monie, as well of frends as enimies, to mainteine the infinit charges of their wars.

Hereof it came, that on a time whiles he sojourned in France about his warres, which he held against K. Philip, there came vnto him a French preest whose name was Fulco, who required the K. in any wise to put from him three abhominable daughters which he had, and to bestow them in marriage, least God punished him for them. Thou liest hypocrite (said the king) to thy verie face, for all the world knoweth that I haue not one daughter. I lie not (said the preest) for thou hast three daughters, one of them is called pride, the second couetousnesse, and the third lecherie. With that the king called to him his lords & barons, and said to them; This hypocrite here hath required me to marrie awaie my three daughters, which (as he saith) I cherish, nourish, foster and mainteine, that is to say, pride, couetousnesse, and lecherie. And now that I haue found out necessarie & fit husbands for them, I will do it with effect, and seeke no more delaies. I therefore bequeath my pride to the high minded templers and hospitallers, which are as proud as Lucifer himselfe. My couetousnesse I giue vnto the white monks, otherwise called of the Cisteaux order, for they couet the diuell and all. My lecherie I commit to the prelats of the church, who haue most pleasure and felicitie therein.

Fulco a preest

There liued in the daies of this king Richard, men of worthie fame amongst those of the cleargie, Baldwine archbishop of Canturburie, and Hubert who succeeded him in that see, also Hugh bishop of Lincolne, a man for his worthinesse of life highlie to be commended. Moreouer, William bishop of Elie, who though otherwise he was to be dispraised for his ambition and pompous hautinesse, yet the king vsed his seruice for a time greatlie to his profit and aduancement of the publike affaires. Also of learned men we find diuerse in these daies that flourished here in this land, as Baldwine of Deuonshire that came to be bishop of Worcester in this kings time, and after his decease, he was aduanced to the gouernment of the archbishops see of Canturburie, he wrote diuerse treatises, namelie of matters perteining to diuinitie. Daniell Morley well seene in the Mathematicals, Iohn de Heram, and Richard de Herham two notable historicians, Guilielmus Stephanides a monke of Canturburie, who wrote much in the praise of archbishop Becket. Beside these, we find one Richard, that was an abbat of the order Premonstratensis, Richard Diuisiensis, Nicholas Walkington, Robert de Bello Foco, an excellent philosopher, &c. ¶ See Bale in his third Centurie.

Baldwine & Hubert archbishops of Canturburie.

Iohn Bale.

In martiall renowme there florished in this kings daies diuerse noble capteins, as Robert earle of Leicester, Ranulfe de Fulgiers, two of the Vardulphes, Hugh and Henrie, three Williams, Marshall, Brunell, and Mandeuill, with two Roberts, Ros and Sabeuile. Furthermore, I find that in the daies of this king Richard, a great derth reigned in England, and also in France, for the space of three or foure yeares during the wars betweene him & king Philip, so that after his returne out of Germanie, and from imprisonment, a quarter of wheat was sold at 18 shillings eight pence, no small price in those daies, if you consider the alay of monie then currant.

A great derth.

Also immediatlie after, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lord, a thousand, one hundred, nintie six, which was

was about the seuenth yere of the said kings reigne, there followed a maruellous sore death, which dailie consumed such numbers of people, that scarse there might be found any to kéepe and loke to those that were sicke, or to burie them that died. Which sickenesse was a pestilentiall feuer or sharpe burning ague. The accustomed manner of burtall was also neglected: so that in manie places they made great pits, and threw their dead bodies into the same, one vpon an other. For the multitude of them that died was such, that they could not haue time to make for euerie one a seuerall graue. This mortalitie continued for the space of fiue or six months, and at length ceassed in the cold season of winter.

A great mortalitie of people. Wil. Paruus.

Two sunnes.

In the octaues of Pentecost before this great death, in the first houre of the day, there appeared two sunnes, the true sunne & another, as it were a counterfeit sunne: but so apparentlie, that hard it was to the common people, to discerne the one from the other. The skilfull also were compelled by instruments to distinguish the one from the other: in taking their altitudes and places, whereby in the end they found the new apparition, as it were, to wait vpon the planet, and so continued by the space of certeine houres. At length when the beholders (of whom Wil. Paruus that recorded things in that age was one) had well wearied their eies in diligent marking the maner of this strange appearance, the counterfeit sunne vanished awaie.

¶ This strange wonder was taken for a signification of that which followed, that is to say, of warr, famine and pestilence: or to say the truth, it betokened rather the continuance of two of those mischiefs. For warre and famine had sore afflicted the people before that time, and as yet ceassed not: but as for the pestilence, it began soone after the strange sight, whereof insued such effect, as I haue alreadie rehearsed.

Thus farre king Richard.

Iohn the yongest sonne of Henrie the second.

IOhn the yongest son of Henrie the second was proclaimed king of England, beginning his reigne the first daie of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord 1199, the first of Philip emperour of Rome, and the 20 of Philip king of France, K. William as yet liuing in gouernement ouer the Scots. This man, so soone as his brother Richard was deceassed, sent Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, and William Marshall earle of Striguill (otherwise called Chepstow) into England, both to proclaime him king, and also to sée his peace kept, togither with Geffrey Fitz Peter lord cheefe iustice, and diuerse other barons of the realme, whilest he himselfe went to Chinon where his brothers treasure laie, which was forthwith deliuered vnto him by Robert de Turneham: and therewithall the castell of Chinon and Sawmer and diuerse other places, which were in the custodie of the foresaid Robert. But Thomas de Furnes nephue to the said Robert de Turneham deliuered the citie and castell of Angiers vnto Arthur duke of Britaine. For by generall consent of the nobles and peeres of the countries of Anion, Maine, and Touraine, Arthur was receiued as the liege and souereigne lord of the same countries.

Anno Reg. 1.

Rog. Houed.

Matth. Paris. Chinon. Robert de Turneham. Sawmer. Rog. Houed. Thomas de Furnes.

For euen at this present, and so soone as it was knowne that king Richard was deceased, diuerse cities and townes on that side of the sea belonging to the said Richard whilest he liued, fell at ods among themselues, some of them indeuouring to preferre king John, other labouring rather to be vnder the gouernance of Arthur duke of Britaine, considering that he séemed by most right to be their cheefe lord, forsomuch as he was sonne to Geffrey elder brother to John. And thus began the broile in those quarters, whereof in processe of time insued great inconuenience, and finallie the death of the said Arthur, as shall be shewed hereafter.

Strife amongst the English subiects on the other side of the sea.

Now whilest king John was thus occupied in recouering his brothers treasure, and traueling with his subiects to reduce them to his obedience, quéene Elianor his mother by the helpe of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie and other of the noble men and barons of the land, trauelled as diligentlie to procure the English people to receiue their oth of allegiance to be true to king John. For the said archbishop and William Marshall earle of Striguill, being sent ouer into England (as before you haue heard) to proclaime him king, and to kéepe the land in quiet, assembled the estates of the realme at Northampton, where Geffrey Fitz Peter lord cheefe iustice was present with other of the Nobles, afore whom those lords whose fidelities were earst suspected, willinglie tooke their oths of obedience to the new king, and were assured by the same lords on his behalfe, that they should find him a liberall, a noble and a righteous prince, and such a one as would see that euerie man should inioy his owne, and such as were knowne to be notorious transgressors, should be sure to receiue their condigne punishment.

Matth. Paris. The states assembled at Northampton.

They sent Eustace de Vescie also vnto William king of Scotland, to signifie to him, that king John vpon his arriuall in England, would satisfie him of all such right as he pretended to haue within the English dominions. And thus was king John accompted and proclaimed king of England by the generall

Eustace Vescie sent into Scotland.

generall consent of all the lords and barons of the same. The names of the cheefe of those peeres that were sworne (as you haue heard) are as followeth. Dauid earle of Huntington brother vnto William king of Scots, Richard earle of Clare, Ranulfe earle of Chester, William earle of Dutberie or rather Darbie, Walran earle of Warwike, Roger Lacie constable of Chester, and William de Mowbrais, with diuerse other, whose names I here omit, bicause I would not be tedious and irksome to the readers.

Now the king of Scotland being informed by the lord Eustace Vescie (who had maried his daughter) that there was some hope to be had on his part, for the recouerie of such seignories as he and his predecessours sometime held in England, did further dispatch sundrie ambassadours with full purpose to send them ouer into Normandie vnto king John, there to require restitution of the countries of Northumberland and Cumberland, with their appurtenances, and he promised also by his letters, that if the same might be granted vnto him, in as ample manner as they had béene in times past to his ancestors, he would gladlie do his homage to king John, as to the true & lawfull king of England for the same, and furthermore yéeld to him his faithfull seruice against all men, so often as he should be required thervnto. Howbeit when the archbishop of Canturburie and the rest of the councell, vnderstood that these ambassadors should passe through England, they would not suffer them so to do, but spedilie sent Dauid earle of Huntington into Scotland vnto the king his brother, requiring him earnestlie that he would not send any ambassadours ouer as yet, but rather tarie, and take patience a while, till the king should come ouer into England: which (as they said) he purposed to do verie shortlie.

King John also hauing vnderstanding of his purpose, sent ouer the said lord Eustace againe vnto him with the like request, who in such wise persuaded him, that he was contented to abide a time, in hope of the better successe in his late attempted suit. And all this was done cheeflie by the working of the kings mother, whom the nobilitie much honoured and loued. For she being bent to prefer hir sonne John, left no stone vnturned to establish him in the throne, comparing oftentimes the difference of gouernement betweene a king that is a man, and a king that is but a child. For as John was 32 yeares old, so Arthur duke of Britaine was but a babe to speake of. In the end, winning all the nobilitie wholie vnto hir will, and seeing the coast to be cleare on euerie side, without any doubt of tempestuous weather likelie to arise, she signified the whole matter vnto K. John, who forthwith framed all his indeuours to the accomplishment of his businesse.

Quéene Elinors enuie against Arthur.

Surelie quéene Elianor the kings mother was sore against hir nephue Arthur, rather moued thereto by enuie conceiued against his mother, than vpon any iust occasion giuen in the behalfe of the child, for that she saw if he were king, how his mother Constance would loke to beare most rule within the realme of England, till hir sonne should come to lawfull age, to gouerne of himselfe. ¶ So hard it is to bring women to agree in one mind, their natures commonlie being so contrarie, their words so variable, and their déeds so vndiscreet. And therfore it was well said of one (alluding to their disposition and qualities,

Constance dutchesse of Britaine.

——*nulla diu fœmina pondus habet*)

Prop. lib. 2.

When this doing of the quéene was signified vnto the said Constance, she doubting the suertie of hir sonne, committed him to the trust of the French king, who receiuing him into his tuition, promised to defend him from all his enimies, and forthwith furnished the holds in Britaine with French souldiers. Quéene Elianor being aduertised hereof, stood in doubt by and by of hir countrie of Guien, and therefore with all possible spéed passed ouer the sea, and came to hir sonne John into Normandie, and shortlie after they went forth togither into the countrie of Maine, and there tooke both the citie and castell of Mauns, throwing downe the walls and turrets therof, with all the fortifications and stone-houses in and about the same, and kept the citizens as prisoners, bicause they had aided Arthur against his vncle John.

Quéene Elianor passeth into Normandie.

The citie of Mauns taken.

Matth. Paris. R. Houed.

After this, king John entring into Anion, held his Easter at Beaufort (which feast fell that yeare the 18 day of April) and from thence he went streight vnto Rouen, where on the sundaie next after Easter being S. Marks day, he was girded with the sword of the dutchie of Normandie in the high church there by the hands of Walter archbishop of Rouen. And so being inuested duke of Normandie, receiued the oth according to the custome, that he should defend the church, and mainteine the liberties thereof, see iustice ministred, good lawes put in execution, and naughtie lawes and orders abolished. In the meane time his mother quéene Elianor, togither with capteine Marchades entred into Anion, and walked the same, bicause they of that countrie had receiued Arthur for their souereigne lord and gouernour. And amongst other townes and fortresses, they tooke the citie of Angiers, slue manie of the citizens, and committed the rest to prison.

K. John inuested duke of Normandie.

The citie of Angiers taken.

This enterprise being thus luckilie atchiued, the residue of the people in those parties were put in such feare, that of their owne accord they turned to their wonted obedience, séeming as though they would continue still therein. The French king all this while conceiuing an other exploit in his head, more commodious vnto him than as yet to attempt warre against the Englishmen vpon so light an occasion, dissembled the matter for a time, as though he would know nothing of all that was done, till the king should be otherwise occupied in England about his coronation.

In the meane season king John hauing set some stay in his businesse on the farther side of the sea, he left his mother still in Guien, to defend that countrie against the enimies, and taking the sea, came ouer himselfe into England, landing at Shoreham, the 25 day of Maie. On the next day, being Ascension éeue, he came to London there to receiue the crowne. On the morow after being Ascension daie, when the Nobilitie and commons were assembled, and the king brought into the church of S. Peter at Westminster there to receiue his diademe; Hubert the archbishop of Canturburie being cheefe in authoritie and honour, both for his age and calling, spake these words or the like in substance before the whole assemblie, as followeth.

K. John commeth ouer into England.

Mat. Paris.

Hubert the archbishop of Canturburies oration to the lords spirituall and temporall in the presence of the king, &c.

MOst honorable lords of the spiritualtie, and most graue and politike peeres and barons of the temporaltie, you are come hither this day to chose you a king, and such a one as (if néed should require) may be able of himselfe to take such a charge vpon him, and (hauing vndertaken the same) readie to execute that which he shall thinke to be expedient

expedient for the profit of his subiects: we haue therefore one present here among vs, vpon whome harts and good willes of high and low, rich and poore, do generallie depend: a man I doubt not, but that for his owne part will applie his whole indeuour, studie, and thought vnto that onelie end, which he shall perceiue to be most profitable for the commonwealth, as knowing himselfe to be borne not to serue his owne turne, but for to profit his countrie, and to seeke for the generall benefit of vs that are his subiects.

And albeit I am sure that you do well know, how all these qualities are most abundantlie planted in the person of Iohn duke of Normandie (a person of high prowesse and no lesse prudence, for the which yee ought to iudge him right worthie of the gouernement) yet being in doubt least the common fame should carrie you awaie, or least you should turne your minds to the fauour of an other, as in respect of some better right, by title of a more lawfull descent of inheritance pretended by others than he hath to shew, I require you to giue eare vnto my words: who bearing the state of two manner of persons, ought to be profitable to my countrie, not onelie by example and exhortation, but also by loialtie and good counsell, which hitherto I haue euer studied to performe, and wherein (God willing) I meane to persist, so long as I shall continue in this mortall and transitorie tabernacle.

Therefore whereas at this present we haue in hand to conclude vpon such a weightie matter, which being once done, can not be vndone, I commend vnto you this Iohn, euen with all my verie heart, and iudge that you ought to accept him for your king, who in all things which he shall ordeine, purpose, or take in hand, shall not faile so to answer your opinions with his well doing, and so satisfie your good expectations alreadie conceiued of him with his diligent prouidence, that all the whole realme shall not onelie like of and allow your doing herein, but also with high commendation extoll the same to the verie starres. These things do I promise vnto you, and so farforth as in me may lie, I dare take vpon me all chances and perils that may proceed thereof.

When the archbishop had ended his speach, diuerse held their peace, and manie with great zeale saluted king Iohn, whom the same daie the said archbishop crowned at Westminster, after the maner then vsed with great solemnitie, and no lesse reioising of all such as were present. At the same time also he receiued the homages of the lords and barons of the realme, and promised with all speed to haue consideration of things that appertained as well to religion as to the due execution of laws, whereby euerie man might come to inioie that which was his owne, by right and due course of iustice. We find that there were present at this solemnitie and coronation of king Iohn, which was celebrated on the Ascension day the 27 of Maie, archbishops and bishops to the number of seauentéene, as Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, Iohn archbishop of Dublin, also the archbishop of Ragusa, William bishop of London, Gilbert bishop of Rochester, Iohn bishop of Norwich, Hugh bishop of Lincolne, Eustace bishop of Elie, Godfrey bishop of Winchester, Henrie bishop of Exeter, Sefride bishop of Chichester, Godfrey bishop of Couentrie, Sauarie bishop of Bath, Herbert bishop of Salisburie, Philip bishop of Duresme, Roger bishop of saint Andrew in Scotland, and Henrie bishop of Landaffe in Wales. The bishop of Duresme found himselfe somewhat greeued in the matter, making obiections, that the coronation ought not to be celebrated without the presence of Geffrey archbishop of Yorke: but it preuailed not. Matth. Paris. Additions to Iohn Pike.

Besides these bishops, there were of the temporall lords and earles, Robert of Leicester, Richard of Clare, William of Tutburie, Hamlin of Warren, William of Salisburie, William of Cheptow otherwise called Striguille, Walran of Warwike, Roger Bigot, William of Arundell, and Ranulfe of Chester, with manie other barons, lords, knights, and no small multitudes of gentlemen and other common people. The same daie of his coronation also, he inuested William Marshall with the sword of the earledome of Striguille, and Geffrey Fitz Peter, with the sword of the earledome of Essex. For although they were called earles, and exercised the administration of their earledoms; yet were they not till that daie girded with the sword of those earledoms, and so that day they serued at the table with their swords girded vnto them. Rog. Houed. William Marshall earle of Striguille. Geffrey Fitz Peter created earle of Essex.

In like maner, Hubert the archbishop of Canturburie was made lord chancellour of England; who as he vttered some words vnaduisedlie, that shewed how he inwardlie reioised at the kings fauour toward him in the gift of this office, and so glozied in the honour thereto he was preferred (which he would neuer haue done, if he had weied of worldlie pompe as by his profession he ought, and as one asketh the question in the same case: The archb. of Canturburie made lord chancellour.

——dic mihi, numquid
Corporibus prosunt? certè nil; dic animisue?
Tantundem, &c.)

the lord Hugh Bardolfe said vnto him, yet not so softlie in his eare, but that some ouer-heard it; My lord, to speake and not offend you, suerlie if you would well consider the dignitie and honor of your calling, you would not willinglie yeeld to suffer this yoke of bondage to be laid vpon your shoulders, for we haue oftentimes heard of a chancellour made an archbishop, but neuer an archbishop made a chancellour till now. The saieng of the lord Bardolfe. " " " " " "

The coronation being thus ended, it was not long yer there came ambassadors from the Scotish king, namelie William the prior of May, William the prior of saint Colmes Ins, and one William Hay, the which on the behalfe of the said Scotish king required restitution of Northumberland and Cumberland, with the appurtenances, promising that if the same were restored to him, he would serue the king of England with all his power against all men then aliue; otherwise, that is, if he could not haue those countries, which of right to him appertained by law, as he pretended, he would do the best he could to recouer them by force. Ambassadors from the king of Scots.

King Iohn made answer hereunto, that if his cosen the king of Scots would come vnto him, he should be assured to receiue at his hands all that was reason, as well in those demands, as in all other things. He also sent to him the bishop of Duresme, to require him to come vnto Nottingham, where he would meet with him. Howbeit, king William refused to come himselfe as then, but sent the bishop of saint Andrew, and Hugh Malebisse to follow his suit,

Matth. Paris. Polydor. Rog. Houed.

suit, with promise to abstaine from any forceable inuasion of England, by the space of fortie daies, so that he might within that terme haue some resolute answer from king Iohn, whereunto he might stand either on the one side or the other.

N.Triuet. The French K. inuadeth Normandie.

Whilest these things were a doing in England, Philip K. of France hauing leuied an armie, brake into Normandie, and tooke the citie of Eureux, the towne of Arques, and diuerse other places from the English. And passing from thence into Maine, he recouered that countrie latelie before through feare alienated. In an other part, an armie of Britains with great diligence wan the townes of Gorney, Butenant and Gensolin, and following the victorie, tooke the citie of Angiers, which king Iohn had won from duke Arthur, in the last yeare passed. These things being signified to king Iohn, he thought to make prouision for the recouerie of his losses there,

Rog.Houed.

with all speed possible. And therevpon perceiuing that the Scotish king meant not to meet with him at Nottingham whither he was come, and where he kept the feast of Whitsuntide, he determined to passe the seas ouer into Normandie: but first he tooke order for the gouernement and defense of the realme in his absence.

L. William de Stuteuille.

Whereupon he deliuered the charge of the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, vnto the lord William de Stuteuille, with all the castels, and other the appurtenances, which the lord Hugh Bardolfe before held, and had in keeping. He also deliuered vnto Roger de Lacie constable of Chester, the castell of Pomfret, hauing first the sonne and heire of the same Lacie deliuered vnto him as an hostage for his loialtie and faithfull obedience. This done, he hasted vnto the sea side, and sailed ouer into Normandie, landing first at Diep, and from thence went to Rouen, whither he came vpon the sundaie before Midsummer day, which was the 26 of June as W. Harison hath noted.

Roger de Lacie constable of Chester.

King Iohn passeth ouer into Normandie.

Immediatlie vpon his arriuall in those parts, there resorted vnto him a great number of souldiers both horsemen and footmen, hoping to be interteined, but by reason of ambassadours riding to and fro betwixt the two kings, they came to a communication, and tooke truce for fiftie daies. The earle of Flanders being certified thereof, was sorie in his hart, and loth that the French king should come to any accord with the king of England, and therefore to turne the mind of king Iohn from the purpose of peace, he came to visit him at Rouen, where they renewed the league betwixt England & Flanders, to be the better able to defend themselues from the French power: and withall determined fullie, that immediatlie vpon the expiring of this last truce they would make the French king warre, to reuenge their late receiued iniuries. The French king aduertised by espials of their determination, prepared also for the warres.

A truce for fiftie daies.

The earle of Flanders. Polydor.

The league renewed betwixt England and Flanders.

Rog.Houed.

In this meane time it chanced, that Henrie earle of Namure, brother to Philip earle of Flanders, and one Peter of Dowai, a right valiant knight, with his brother that was the elect bishop of Cambrey, were taken prisoners in a skirmish, and presented to the French king. Whereupon the cardinall of Capua (being at the same time the popes legat in France) interdicted that realme for the taking of the same elect of Cambrey, & also all Normandie, for the deteining of the bishop of Beauuois in prison (who had laine there a long time, & was taken in the field after such manner as is before rehearsed) so that the French king was glad to restore the elect of Cambrey to his libertie. And likewise king Iohn deliuered the bishop of Beauuois, who paied two thousand marks, besides expenses of diet during the time of his captiuitie, and furthermore tooke an oth, that he should neuer after beare armour in the war against any christian or christians.

The earle of Namure.

France interdicted.

Normandie interdicted.

Rog.Houed.

About the same time, king Philip made Arthur duke of Britaine knight, and receiued of him his homage for Anjou, Poictiers, Maine, Touraine, and Britaine. Also somewhat before the time that the truce should expire; to wit, on the morrow after the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, and also the day next following, the two kings talked by commissioners, in a place betwixt the townes of Buteuant and Guleton. Within three daies after, they came together personallie, and communed at full of the variance depending betweene them. But the French king shewed himselfe stiffe and hard in this treatie, demanding the whole countrie of Aculquestine to be restored vnto him, as that which had beene granted by Geffrey earle of Anjou, the father of king Henrie the second, vnto Lewes le Grosse, to haue his aid then against king Stephan. Moreouer, he demanded, that Poictiers, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, should be deliuered and wholie resigned vnto Arthur duke of Britaine.

Arthur duke of Britaine made knight.

The French kings demand.

But these, & diuerse other requests which he made, king Iohn would not in any wise grant vnto, and so they departed without conclusion of any agreement. Therfore diuerse earls and barons of France, which before that time had serued king Richard, repaired vnto king Iohn, and tooke an oth to assist him, and not to agree with the French king without his consent: and he likewise sware vnto them, not to make peace with the French king, except they were therein comprised. In the moneth of September, Ione king Johns sister, wife to Raimond earle of S. Giles, and sometime queene of Sicile, died at Rouen, and was buried at Fonteuerard. The French king also tooke diuerse townes and castels, but amongst other the castell of Balun, and raced the wals thereof downe to the ground, wherewith William de Roches, generall of the armie of Arthur duke of Britaine, was greatlie offended, and did so much by his drift, that shortlie after a peace was concluded betwixt king Iohn and his nephue duke Arthur, though the same serued but to small purpose.

Balun won.

A peace betwixt king Iohn & his nephue.

The French king hauing (as I haue said) ouerthrowne the wals of Balun, besieged a fortresse called Lauardin, but king Iohn comming with an armie, caused him to raise his siege, and to withdraw himselfe to the citie of Mauns, whither he followed, and compelled him (mauger his force) to remoue from thence. All this while was William de Roches busilie occupied about his practise, to make king Iohn and his nephue Arthur frends, which thing at length he brought about, and therevpon deliuered into king Johns hands the citie of Mauns which he had in keeping. Also the vicount of Tours came to the king of England, and surrendred vnto him the castell of Chinon, the keeping whereof he betooke vnto Roger de Lacie the constable of Chester. But in the night following, vpon some mistrust and suspicion gathered in the obseruation of the couenants on K. Johns behalfe, both the said Arthur, with his mother Constance the said vicount of Tours, and diuerse other, fled awaie secretlie from the king, and got them to the citie of Angiers, where the mother of the said Arthur refusing hir former husband the earle of Chester, married hir selfe to the lord Guie de Tours, brother to the said vicount, by the popes dispensation. The same yere, Philip bastard sonne to king Richard, to whome his father had giuen the castell and honor of Colnacke, killed the vicount of Limoges, in reuenge of his fathers death, who was slaine (as yee haue heard) in besieging the castell of Chalus Cheuerell.

Lauardin.

William de Roches.

The vicoune of Tours.

The mistrust that duke Arthur had in his vncle king Iohn.

Philip king Richards bastard son slue the vicount of Limoges.

Moreouer,

Great floods.

Moreouer, there fell manie great floods in England, and on the borders of Scotland, by violence whereof diuerse bridges were borne downe, and amongst other, the bridge at Barwike. For the building vp againe whereof, some variance arose betwixt Philip bishop of Durham and earle Patrike lord cheefe iustice of Scotland, and capiteine at the same time of the towne of Barwike, who by the Scotish kings commandement would haue repared againe the same bridge, which could not be done, but that the one end thereof must be builded on the bishop of Durhams ground, which he would not suffer, till by the counsell of the lord William de Stuteuille, he agreed, so that the conuention accorded and concluded betwixt the king of Scots and his predecessour bishop Hugh might be reserued inuiolable.

Variance betwixt the bishop of Durham and earle Patrike.

A rate of prices of wines.

Furthermore, king John did set a rate vpon the prices of wines, as Rochell wine to be sold for twentie shillings the tun, and not aboue. The wine of Anion for twentie foure shillings the tun, and no other French wines aboue fiue and twentie shillings the tun, except it were of such notable goodnesse as that some peraduenture for their owne expenses would be contented to giue after twentie six shillings eight pence for the tun, and not aboue. Moreouer, the galon of Rochell wine he appointed to be sold at foure pence: and the galon of white wine at six pence. It was also ordeined, that in euerie citie, towne, and place where wine was vsed to be sold, there should be twelue honest men sworne to haue regard that this assise should not be broken: and that if they found any vintner that should from the pin sell any wine by small measures contrarie to the same assise, his bodie should be attached by the shiriffe, and deteined in prison, till other commandement were giuen for his further punishment, and his goods seized vnto the kings vse. Furthermore, if any persons were or should be found to buy and sell by the hogshead or tun, contrarie to this assise, they should be committed to prison, there to remaine, till other order were taken for them: neither should there be any regrating of wines that were brought into England. But this ordinance lasted not long, for the merchants could not beare it, and so they fell to and sold white wine for eight pence the gallon, & red or claret for six pence.

King John also came ouer from Normandie into England, and there leuied a subsidie, taking of euerie ploughland three shillings. In the Lent following, he went to Yorke, in hope to haue met the king of Scots there, but he came not, and so king John returned backe, and sailed againe into Normandie, bicause the variance still depended betweene him and the king of France. Finallie vpon the Ascension day in this second yeare of his reigne, they came eftsones to a communication betwixt the townes of Vernon and Lisle Dandelie, where finallie they concluded an agreement, with a marriage to be had betwixt Lewes the sonne of king Philip, and the ladie Blanch, daughter to Alfonso king of Castile the 8 of that name, & neece to K. John by his sister Elianor.

King John returneth into England.

1200

A subsidie.

He saileth againe into Normandie.

Anno Reg. 2.

A peace concluded with a marriage.

In consideration whereof, king John, besides the summe of thirtie thousand markes in siluer, as in respect of dowrie assigned to his said neece, resigned his title to the citie of Eureux, and also vnto all those townes which the French king had by warre taken from him, the citie of Angiers onelie excepted, which citie he receiued againe by couenants of the same agreement. The French king restored also to king John (as Rafe Niger writeth) the citie of Tours, and all the castels and fortresses which he had taken within Touraine: and moreouer, receiued of king John his homage for all the lands, fees and tenements which at anie time his brother king Richard, or his father king Henrie had holden of him, the said king Lewes or any his predecessors, the quit claims and marriages alwaies excepted. The king of England likewise did homage vnto the French king for Britaine, and againe (as after you shall heare) receiued homage for the same countrie, and for the countie of Richmont of his nephue Arthur. He also gaue the earledome of Glocester vnto the earle of Eureux, as it were by way of exchange, for that he resigned to the French king all right, title & claime that might be pretended to the countie of Eureux.

Matth. Paris.

Ra. Niger.

By this conclusion of marriage betwixt the said Lewes and Blanch, the right of king John went awaie, which he lawfullie before pretended vnto the citie of Eureux, and vnto those townes in the confines of Berrie, Chateau, Rour or Raoul, Crelle and Isoldune, and likewise vnto the countrie of Aeurin or Aeulquelline, which is a part of the territorie of Gisors: the right of all which lands, townes and countries was released to the king of France by K. John, who supposed that by his affinitie, and resignation of his right to those places, the peace now made would haue continued for euer. And in consideration thereof, he procured furthermore, that the foresaid Blanch should be conueied into France to hir husband with all speed. That done he returned into England.

Polydor.

The king returneth backe againe into England.

¶ Certes this peace was displeasant to manie, but namelie to the earle of Flanders, who herevpon making no accompt of king Johns amitie, concluded a peace with king Philip shortlie after, and ment to make warre against the infidels in the east parts, wherby we may see the discontented minds of men, and of how differing humors they be, so that nothing is harder than to satisfie manie with one thing, be the same neuer so good,

——ô cæcis mortalia plenâ tenebris
Pectora, & ô mentes caligine circumseptas!

But by the chronicles of Flanders it appeareth, that the earle of Flanders concluded a peace with the French king in Februarie last past, before that king John and the French king fell to any composition. But such was the malice of writers in times past, which they bare towards king John, that whatsoeuer was done in prejudice of him or his subiects, it was still interpreted to chance through his default, so as the blame still was imputed to him, in so much that although manie things he did peraduenture in matters of gouernement, for the which he might be hardlie excused, yet to thinke that he deserued the tenth part of the blame wherewith writers charge him, it might seeme a great lacke of abused consideration in them that so should take it. But now to proceed with our purpose.

Ia. Meir.

King John being now in rest from warres with forren enimies, began to make warre with his subiects purses at home, emptieng them by tares and taRages, to fill his coffers, which alienated the minds of a great number of them from his loue and obedience. At length also, when he had got togither a great masse of monie, he went ouer againe into Normandie, where by Helias archbishop of Burdeaux, and the bishop of Poictiers and Scone, he was diuorsed from his wife Isabell, that was the daughter of Robert earle of Glocester, bicause of the nereneesse of bloud, as touching hir in the third degree. After that, he married Isabell the daughter of Amerie earle of Angolesme, by whome he had two sonnes, Henrie and Richard, and three daughters, Isabell, Elianor, and Jane.

R. Houed.

King Iohn is diuorsed.

Matt. West.

Matth. Paris.

R. Houed.

Moreouer, about this time, Geffrey archbishop of Yorke was deprined of all his manours, lands, and possessions, by the kings commandement directed to the shiriffe of Yorkeshire for diuerse causes, for that he would not permit the same shiriffe to leuie the du-

Matth. Paris.

Geffrey archb. of Yorke deprined.

tie called Charugage, that was 3 shée shillings of euerie ploughland within his dioceſſe, rated and appointed to be leuied to the kings vſe, throughout all parts of the realme. Secondlie, for that the same archbishop refused to go ouer with the king into Normandie to helpe to make the marriage betwixt the French kings sonne and his néece. Thirdlie, bicause he had excommunicated the same shiriffe and all the prouince of Yorke: whereupon the king tooke displeasure against him, and not onelie spoiled him (as I said) of his goods, but also banished him out of the court, not suffering him to come in his presence for the space of twelue moneths after.

Rog. Houed. A councell called at westminster by the archbishop of Canturburie.

In this yeare also, Hubert archbishop of Canturburie held a councell at Westminster against the prohibition of the lord chiefe iustice, Geffrey Fitz Peter earle of Esser. In the which councell or synod, diuerse constitutions were made and ordeined for orders and customes to be vsed touching the seruice and administration of sacraments in the church, and other articles concerning churchmen and ecclesiasticall matters. About the same time, king Iohn and Philip king of France met togither nére the towne of Uernon, where Arthur duke of Britaine (as vassall to his vncle king Iohn) did his homage vnto him for the duchie of Britaine, & those other places which he held of him on this side and beyond the riuer of Loir, and afterward still mistrusting his vncles curtesie, he returned backe againe with the French king, and would not commit himselfe to his said vncle, who (as he supposed) did beare him little good will.

Arthur duke of Britaine doth homage to the king of England.

These things being thus performed, king Iohn returned into England, and there caused his new married wife Isabell to be crowned on the sundaie before the feast of S. Denise, the eight of October.

King Iohn returneth into England. The quéene is crowned.

At the same time he gaue commandement vnto Hugh Neuill high iustice of his forests, that he should award his precepts vnto all foresters within the realme, to giue warning to all the white monks, that before the quindene of S. Michaell they should remoue out of his forests all their horsses of haraz, and other cattell, vnder the penaltie to forfeit so manie of them, as after that day chanced to be found within the same forests. The cause that moued the king to deale so hardlie with them was, for that they refused to helpe him with monie, when before his last going ouer into Normandie, he demanded it of them towards the paiment of the thirtie thousand pounds which he had couenanted to pay the French king, to liue in rest and peace, which he coueted to haue done for reliefe of his people, and his owne suertie, knowing what enimies he had that laie in wait to destroie him, and againe, what discommodities had chanced to his father and brethren, by the often and continuall wars. But now to proceed with other doings.

Immediatlie after the solemnization of the quéens coronation ended, he sent Philip bishop of Duresme, Roger Bigot earle of Northfolke, and Henrie de Bohun earle of Hereford, nephue to William king of Scotland, and Dauid earle of Huntington, brother to the said king, and Roger de Lacie constable of Chester, the lord William de Uescie, and the lord Robert de Ros, which had married two of the daughters of the said king, & Robert Fitz Roger shiriffe of Northumberland, as ambassadours from him vnto the foresaid William king of Scotland, with letters patents, conteining a safe conduct for him to come into England, and to méet with king Iohn at Lincolne on the morrow after the feast of S. Edmund, who gladlie granted thereunto, and so according to that appointment, both the kings met at Lincolne the 21 day of November. And on the morrow after king Iohn went to the cathedrall church, and offered vpon the high altar a chalice of gold.

An ambassage sent vnto the K. of Scots.

The king of Scots came to the king of England at Lincolne. Matth. Paris. Ran. Higd. R. Houed. Polydor.

On the same day, vpon a hill without the citie, the king of Scots did homage vnto king Iohn, in the presence and sight of a great multitude of people, swearing fealtie of life, limme, and worldlie honour vnto king Iohn, which oth he made vpon the crosse of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie. There were present at that time, beside other noblemen, three archbishops, Canturburie, Yorke, and Ragusa, with other bishops, to the number of thirtéene, as Duresme London, Rochester, Elie, Bath, Salisburie, Winchester, Hereford, Norwich, S. Andrews in Scotland, Landaffe, and Bangor in Wales, and Meth in Ireland, beside a great multitude of earles, barons, and other noblemen. When the king of Scots had thus done his homage, he required restitution of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmerland, which he claimed as his right and lawfull heritage. Much talke was had touching this matter, but they could not agrée, and therefore king Iohn asked respit to consider of it till the feast of Pentecost next insuing, which being granted, the king of Scots the next morrow being the 23 of November returned homewards, and was conducted backe againe into his countrie by the same noble men that brought him to Lincolne.

The same day that the king of Scots tooke his iournie homewards from Lincolne, the corps of Hugh bishop of that citie (latelie before, departed this life at London, after his returne from the parts of beyond the seas) was brought thither to be buried, the king and all the bishops, earles and barons went to receiue it, and honoured his buriall with their presence. On the morrow after being fridaie, he was interred within the new church which he had builded. This Hugh was a Frenchman by nation, borne at Granople, a man of a pregnant wit, and skilfull both in science of holie scripture and humane knowledge. He was first a regular canon, and after became a Carthusian monke. King Henrie the second moued with the fame of his vertue and godlie life, sent the bishop of Bath to bring him into England, and after he was come, made him first abbat of Withing in the dioceſſe of Welles, and after created him bishop of Lincolne.

He was noted to be of a verie perfect life, namelie, bicause he would not sticke to reproue men of their faults plainelie and frankelie, not regarding the fauour or disfauour of any man, in somuch that he would not feare to pronounce them accursed, which being the kings officers, would take vpon them the punishment of any person within orders of the church, for hunting and killing of the kings game within his parkes, forests and chases, yea (and that which is more) he would denie paiments of such subsidies and tares as he was assessed to paie to the vses of king Richard and king Iohn, towards the maintenance of their wars, and did oftentimes accurse by his ecclesiasticall authoritie, such shiriffes, collectors, or other officers, as did distreine vpon his lands and goods for to satisfie these kings of their demands, alledging openlie, that he would not paie any monie towards the maintenance of wars, which one christian prince, vpon priuate displeasure and grudge, made against another prince of the same religion. This was his reason.

A presumptuous part in a bishop.

And when he came before the king to make answer to his disobedience shewed herein, he would so handle the matter, partlie with gentle admonishments, partlie with sharpe reproofes, and sometime mixing merrie and pleasant speech amongst his serious arguments, that often times he would so qualifie the kings mood, that being driuen from anger, he could not but laugh and smile at the bishops pleasant talke

and

and merrie conceits, so that it might well be said of him,

Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit vtile dulci.

This maner he vsed, not onelie with the king alone, but with the father and the two sonnes, that is to say, Henrie the second, Richard and John, in whose time he ruled and gouerned the see of Lincolne. He was after his decesse, for the opinion which men conceiued of his holinesse and vertues, admitted into the number of the saints.

We haue heard how king John had conceiued no small displeasure against the monks of the white order, for that they would not part with any monie, excusing themselues that they might not do it, without consent of a generall chapiter of their order. Whereupon the king had caused them diuerse waies to be molested, but chiefelie in restreining them of libertie to haue any horsses or other cattell going to pasture within his forrests. They therefore taking aduise togither, chose forth twelue abbats amongst them of that order, the which in all their names went to Lincolne, there to make suit to the king (comming thither at this time to meet the king of Scots) that it would please him to remit his displeasure conceiued against them, and to take them againe into his protection.

This suit was so followed, although with some difficultie, that at length, to wit, the sundaie after that the king of Scots had done his homage, through the helpe and furtherance of the archbishop of Canturburie, they came to the kings speech, and obteined so much, as they in reason might desire: for he pardoned them of all his passed displeasure, receiued them againe into his fauour, toke them into his protection, and commanded that all iniuries, greeuances and molestations should be reformed, redressed and amended, which in respect of his indignation had béene offered and done to them by any manner of meanes. And to see the same accomplished, writs were directed vnto the shiriffes of the counties, bearing date from Lincolne the 27 of November. And thus were those monks for that time restored to the kings fauour, to their great commoditie and comfort.

Fiue moones. About the moneth of December, there were séene in the prouince of Yorke fiue moones, one in the east, the second in the west, the third in the north, the fourth in the south, and the fift as it were set in the middest of the other, hauing manie stars about it, and went fiue or six times incompassing the other, as it were the space of one houre, and shortlie after vanished awaie. The winter after was extreamelie cold, more than the naturall course had béene aforetime. And in the spring time came a great glutting and continuall raine, causing the riuers to rise with higher flouds than they had béene accustomed.

1201 In the yeare 1201 king John held his Christmas at Gilford, and there gaue to his seruants manie faire liueries and suits of apparell. The archbishop of Canturburie did also the like at Canturburie, seeming in deed to striue with the king, which of them should passe the other in such sumptuous apareling of their men: whereat the king (and not without good cause) was greatlie moued to indignation against him, although for a time he coloured the same, going presentlie into the north, where he gathered of the countrie there no small summs of monie, as it were by way of fining them for their transgressions committed in his forrests.

Matt. Paris. Anno. Reg. 3.

From thence he returned and came to Canturburie, where he held his easter, which fell that yeare on the day of the Annunciation of our ladie, in the which feast he sat crowned, togither with his wife quéene Isabell, the archbishop of Canturburie bearing the charges of them and their traine while they remained there. At the feast of the Ascension next insuing, king John set out a proclamation at Tewkesburie, that all the earles and barons of the realme, and also all other that held of him by knights seruice, should be readie in the feast of Pentecost next insuing, with horsse and armour at Portesmouth, to passe ouer with him into Normandie, who made their appearance accordinglie. Howbeit, a great number of them in the end gat licence to tarrie at home, paieng for euerie knights fée two markes of siluer for a fine, which then was a great matter.

But he sent before him into Normandie William Marshall earle of Strigwille with an hundred knights or men of armes, which he had hired, and Roger de Lacie with an other hundred men of armes to defend the confines of Normandie against the enimies: and to his chamberleine Hubert de Burgh he deliuered the like number of knights or men of armes also, to keepe the marches betwixt England and Wales as warden of the same. This done, he pardoned his brother the archbishop of Yorke, and restored him to all his dignities, possessions and liberties, confirming the same vnto him in as full and large manner, as euer Roger late archbishop of that see had enioied the same: for the which confirmation his said brother vndertooke to paie to the king within the terme of one yeare the summe of a thousand pounds starling: and for the assurance thereof, engaged his baronie to the king in pledge. Rog. Houed. The archbish. of Yorke restored.

Moreouer, about the same time, the king sent Geffrey bishop of Chester, and Richard Malebisse, with Henrie de Poitie, vnto William king of Scotland, requiring him that the time appointed for him to make answer touching his demand of Northumberland, might be prorogued vntill the feast of saint Michaell the archangell next insuing, which was obteined, and then the king and quéene (being come to Portsmouth on the mondaie in Whitsunweeke) toke the sea to passe ouer into Normandie, but not both in one ship, so that the quéene with a prosperous gale of wind arriued there at hir owne desire. But the king was driuen by reason of a pirrie, to take land in the Ile of Wight, and so was staied there for a time: howbeit, within a few daies after, he toke ship againe at Portsmouth, and so passed ouer into Normandie, where shortlie after his arriuall in those parties he came to an enterview with the king of France, nere to Lisle Donelie, where comming a long time togither alone, they agreed so well, that within three daies after, king John at the French kings request went into France, and was receiued of him with much honour, first at S. Denise with procession of the cleargie: and there lodging one night, vpon the morrow the French king accompanied him vnto Paris, where he was receiued of the citizens with great reuerence, the prouost presenting vnto him in the name of the whole citie manie rich gifts for his welcome. K. Philip feasted him also in his owne palace, & for his part gaue to him, to his lords, and to his seruants manie great and princelie gifts. Moreouer, the league at this time was renewed betwixt them, and put in writing, with this caution, that whether of them first brake the couenants; such lords on his part as were become suerties for performance, should be released of their allegiance which they ought to him that so should breake, & that they might thereupon freelie become subiects to the other prince. Ambassadors sent to Scotland. The king passeth ouer into Normandie. He commeth to talke with the king of France. King John entreth into Paris. The league renewed. Matth. Paris. R. Houed.

These things done, at length when as king John had remained at Paris with great mirth and solace certeine daies, the French king brought him forth of the citie, and toke leaue of him in verie louing wise.

After this king Iohn went to Chinon, & from thence into Normandie; about which time there chanced some troubles in Ireland, for where Walter Lacie vnder pretense of a communication that was appointed betwixt him and Iohn de Curcie, lord of Vlnesser, meant to haue taken the said Curcie, and for the accomplishment of his purpose set vpon him, slue manie of his men, and for his safegard constreined Curcie in the end to take a castell which belonged vnto Hugh Lacie, vpon faire promises made to him by the same Hugh, to be preserued out of all danger, it came to passe, that when he was once got in, he might no more be suffered to depart. For the Lacies thought to haue deliuered him to king Iohn, but the seruants and frends of the said Curcie made such cruell war, in wasting and destroieng the lands and possessions that belonged vnto the said Walter and Hugh Lacies, that finallie they were constreined to set him againe at libertie whether they would or no.

Walter Lacie meant to haue taken the lord Curcie.

At the same time also, the kings of France and England gaue large monie towards the maintenance of the armie, which at this present went forth vnder the leading of the earle of Flanders and other, to warre against the enimies of the christian faith, at the instance of pope Innocent. There was furthermore granted vnto them the fortith part of all the reuenues belonging to ecclesiasticall persons, towards the aid of the christians then being in the holie land, and all such as well of the Nobilitie as other of the weaker sort, which had taken vpon them the crosse, and secretlie laid it downe, were compelled eftsones to receiue it now againe.

Polydor. Aid against the Turkes and infidels.

Matth. Paris.

Vnseasonable weather.

There chanced this yeare wonderfull tempests of thunder, lightning, haile, and abundance of raine, in such wise, that mens minds were greatlie astonied therwith: medowes and marish grounds were quite ouerflowne, bridges broken and borne downe, and great quantitie of corne and haie lost and carried awaie, and diuerse men and women drowned. Margaret mother of Constance, duches of Britaine, sister to William king of Scots, and mother to Henrie Boun earle of Hereford, deceassed. This yeare also by the counsell and aduice of the burgesses of London, there were chosen 35 of the most substantiall and wisest men, which after the report of some writers, were called the councell of the citie of London, out of which number the Maior and Bailiffes were yearelie chosen.

Fabian.

Matth. Paris. 1202.

In the yeare 1202 king Iohn held his Christmasse at Argenton in Normandie, and in the Lent following he and the French king met togither, neere vnto the castell of Gulleton, and there in talke had betweene them, he commanded king Iohn with no small arrogancie, and contrarie to his former promise, to restore vnto his nephue Arthur duke of Britaine, all those lands now in his possession on that side the sea, which king Iohn earnestlie denied to do, wherevpon the French king immediatlie after, began war against him, and tooke Buteuant, Augi, and the castell of Linos. Moreouer, he besieged the castell of Radepont for the space of eight daies, till king Iohn came thither, and forced him to depart with much dishonor. Howbeit after this, the French king wan Gourney, and then returning to Paris, he appointed certeine persons to haue the gouernement of the foresaid Arthur duke of Britaine, and then sent him forth with 200 men of armes into Poictou, that he might bring the countrie also vnder his subiection.

The French K. beginneth to make war against king Iohn.

Herevpon Hugh le Brun earle of March (vnto whome queene Isabell the wife of king Iohn had beene promised in mariage, before that king Iohn was motioned vnto hir, and therefore bare an inward displeasure towards the king of England, for that he had so bereft him of his promised spouse) being now desirous to procure some trouble also vnto king Iohn, ioined himselfe with Arthur duke of Britaine, and found meanes to cause them of Poictou (a people euer subiect to rebellion) to reuolt from king Iohn, and to take armour against him, so that the yong Arthur being incouraged with this new supplie of associats, first went into Touraine, and after into Anion, compelling both those countries to submit themselues vnto him, and proclaimed himselfe earle of those places, by commission and grant obteined from king Philip.

Polydor. Hugh earle of March.

The Poictouins reuolt from king Iohn.

Arthur proclaimeth himselfe earle of Anion, &c.

Queene Elianor that was regent in those parties being put in great feare with the newes of this sudden sturre, got hir into Mirabeau a strong towne, situat in the countrie of Anion, and forthwith dispatched a messenger with letters vnto king Iohn, requiring him of spedie succour in this hir present danger. In the meane time, Arthur following the victorie, shortlie after followed hir, and wone Mirabeau, where he toke his grandmother within the same, whom he yet intreated verie honorablie, and with great reuerence (as some haue reported.) ¶ But other write far more trulie, that she was not taken, but escaped into a tower, within the which she was straitlie besieged. Thither came also to aid Arthur all the Nobles and men of armes in Poictou, and namelie the foresaid earle of March according to appointment betwixt them: so that by this meanes Arthur had a great armie togither in the field.

Queene Elianor.

Matth. Paris. Matth. West.

King Iohn in the meane time, hauing receiued his mothers letters, and vnderstanding thereby in what danger she stood, was maruellouslie troubled with the strangenesse of the newes, and with manie bitter words accused the French king as an vntrue prince, and a fraudulent league-breaker: and in all possible hast spedeth him forth, continuing his iournie for the most part both day and night to come to the succour of his people. To be briefe, he vsed such diligence, that he was vpon his enimies necks yer they could vnderstand any thing of his comming, or gesse what the matter meant, when they saw such a companie of souldiers as he brought with him to approch so neere the citie. For so negligent were they, that hauing once wone the towne, they ranged abroad ouer the countrie hither and thither at their libertie without any care. So that now being put in a sudden feare, as preuented by the hastie comming of the enimies vpon them, and wanting leisure to take aduice what was best to be done, and hauing not time in manner to get any armour on their backs, they were in a maruellous trouble, not knowing whether it were best for them to fight or to flee, to yeeld or to resist.

Polydor.

K. Iohn commeth vpon his enimies not looked for.

This their feare being apparent to the Englishmen (by their disorder shewed in running vp and downe from place to place with great noise and turmoile) they set vpon them with great violence, and compassing them round about, they either tooke or slue them in a manner at their pleasure. And hauing thus put them all to flight, they pursued the chase towards the towne of Mirabeau, into which the enimies made verie great hast to enter: but such spead was vsed by the English souldiers at that present, that they entred and wan the said towne before their enimies could come neere to get into it. Great slaughter was made within Mirabeau it selfe, and Arthur with the residue of the armie that escaped with life from the first bickering was taken, who being herevpon committed to prison, first at Falais, and after within the citie of Rouen, liued not long after as you shall heare. The other of the prisoners were also committed vnto safe keeping, some into castels within Normandie, and some were sent into England.

Arthur duke of Britaine take prisoner.

Matth. Paris.

King

King Iohn hauing gotten this victorie, *and taken his nephue Arthur, he wrote the maner* of that his succesſe vnto his ba*rons in England, in manner* as followeth.

IOhn by the grace of God king of England, and lord of Ireland, to all his barons ſendeth greeting. Know yee that we by Gods good fauour are in ſound and perfect health, and through Gods grace that maruellouſlie worketh with vs, on tueſdaie before Lammas daie, we being before the citie of Mauns, were aduertiſed that our mother was beſieged in Mirabeau, and therfore we haſted ſo faſt as we poſſibly might, ſo that we came thither on Lammas daie, and there we tooke our nephue Arthur, Hugh le Brun, Andrew de Chauenie, the vicount of Chateau Erald, Raimond de Touars, Sauerie de Mauleon, and Hugh Bangi, and all other enimies of Poictou that were there aſſembled againſt vs, to the number of two hundred knights and aboue, ſo that not one of them eſcaped. Giue God therefore thanks, and reioiſe at our good ſucceſſe.

De Caſtre Erald.

252 knights or men of armes beſides demilances.

The French king at the ſame time lieng in ſiege before Arques, immediatlie vpon the newes of this ouerthrow, raiſed from thence, and returned homewards, deſtroieng all that came in his waie, till he was entred into his owne countrie. It is ſaid that king John cauſed his nephue Arthur to be brought before him at Falais, and there went about to perſuade him all that he could to forſake his frendſhip and aliance with the French king, and to leane and sticke to him being his naturall vncle. But Arthur like one that wanted good counſell, and abounding to much in his owne wilfull opinion, made a preſumptuous anſwer, not onelie denieng ſo to do, but alſo commanding king John to reſtore vnto him the realme of England, with all thoſe other lands and poſſeſſions which king Richard had in his hand at the houre of his death. For ſith the ſame apperteined to him by right of inheritance, he aſſured him, except reſtitution were made the ſoner, he ſhould not long continue quiet. King John being ſore moued with ſuch words thus vttered by his nephue, appointed (as before is ſaid) that he ſhould be ſtraitlie kept in priſon, as firſt in Falais, and after at Roan within the new caſtell there. Thus by means of this good ſucceſſe, the countries of Poictou, Touraine, and Anjou were recouered.

Anno Reg. 4.

Matth. Paris. King Iohn eftſoones crowned.

Shortlie after king John comming ouer into England, cauſed himſelfe to be crowned againe at Canturburie by the hands of Hubert the archbiſhop there, on the fourteenth day of Aprill, and then went backe againe into Normandie, where immediatlie vpon his arriuall, a rumour was ſpred through all France, of the death of his nephue Arthur. True it is that great ſuit was made to haue Arthur ſet at libertie, as well by the French king, as by William de Riches a valiant baron of Poictou, and diuerſe other Noble men of the Britains, who when they could not preuaile in their ſuit, they banded themſelues togither, and ioining in confederacie with Robert earle of Alanſon, the vicount Beaumont, William de Fulgiers, and other, they began to leuie ſharpe wars againſt king John in diuerſe places, inſomuch (as it was thought) that ſo long as Arthur liued, there would be no quiet in thoſe parts: where-

Rafe Cog.

vpon it was reported, that king John through perſuaſion of his councellors, appointed certeine perſons to go vnto Falais, where Arthur was kept in priſon, vnder the charge of Hubert de Burgh, and there to put out the yong gentlemans eies.

But through ſuch reſiſtance as he made againſt one of the tormentors that came to execute the kings commandement (for the other rather forſooke their prince and countrie, than they would conſent to obeie the kings authoritie herein) and ſuch lamentable words as he vttered, Hubert de Burgh did preſerue him from that iniurie, not doubting but rather to haue thanks than diſpleaſure at the kings hands, for deliuering him of ſuch infamie as would haue redounded vnto his highneſſe, if the yong gentleman had béene ſo cruellie dealt withall. For he conſidered, that king John had reſolued vpon this point onelie in his heat and furie (which moueth men to vndertake manie an inconuenient enterprize, vnbeſeeming the perſon of a common man, much more reprochfull to a prince, all men in that mood being meere fooliſh and furious, and prone to accompliſh the peruerſe conceits of their ill poſſeſſed heart; as one ſaith right well,

——pronus in iram
Stultorum eſt animus, facilè excandeſcit, & audet
Omne ſcelus, quoties concepta bile tumeſcit)

and that afterwards, vpon better aduiſement, he would both repent himſelfe ſo to haue commanded, and giue them ſmall thanke that ſhould ſée it put in execution. Howbeit to ſatiſfie his mind for the time, and to ſtaie the rage of the Britains, he cauſed it to be bruted abroad through the countrie, that the kings commandement was fulfilled, and that Arthur alſo through ſorrow and greefe was departed out of this life. For the ſpace of fifteene daies this rumour inceſſantlie ran through both the realmes of England and France, and there was ringing for him through townes and villages, as it had béene for his funerals. It was alſo bruted, that his bodie was buried in the monaſterie of ſaint Andrewes of the Ciſteaux order.

But when the Britains were nothing pacified, but rather kindled more vehementlie to worke all the miſchéefe they could deuiſe, in reuenge of their ſouereignes death, there was no remedie but to ſignifie abroad againe, that Arthur was as yet liuing and in health. Now when the king heard the truth of all this matter, he was nothing diſpleaſed for that his commandement was not executed, ſith there were diuerſe of his capteins which vttered in plaine words, that he ſhould not find knights to keepe his caſtels, if he dealt ſo cruellie with his nephue. For if it chanced any of them to be taken by the king of France or other their aduerſaries, they ſhould be ſure to taſt of the like cup. ¶ But now touching the maner in verie déed of the end of this Arthur, writers make ſundrie reports. Neuertheleſſe certeine it is, that in the yeare next inſuing, he was remoued from Falais vnto the caſtell or tower of Rouen, out of the which there was not any that would confeſſe that euer he ſaw him go aliue. Some haue written, that as he aſſaied to haue eſcaped out of priſon, and prouing to clime ouer the wals of the caſtell, he fell into the riuer of Saine, and ſo was drowned. Other write, that through verie greefe and languor he pined awaie, and died of naturall ſickneſſe. But ſome affirme, that king John ſecretlie cauſed him to be murthered and made awaie, ſo as it is not throughlie agréed vpon, in what ſort he finiſhed his daies: but verelie king John was had in great ſuſpicion, whether worthilie or not, the lord knoweth. Yet how extreamelie ſoeuer he delt with his nephue, he releaſed and ſet at libertie diuerſe of thoſe lords that were

taken prisoners with him, namelie Hugh le Brun, and Sauerie de Mauleon, the one to his great trouble and hinderance, and the other to his gaine: for Hugh le Brun afterwards leuied and occasioned sore warres against him, but Sauerie de Mauleon continued euer after his loiall subiect, doing to him verie agreeable seruice, as hereafter may appeare.

Guie sonne to the vicount of Touars.

The Lord Guie, sonne to the vicount of Touars, who had taken Arthurs mother Constance to wife, after the diuorse made betwixt hir and the earle of Chester, in right of hir obteined the dukedome of Britaine. But king Philip after he was aduertised of Arthurs death, toke the matter verie greeuouslie, and vpon occasion therof, cited king John to appeare before him at a certeine day, to answer such obiections as Constance the duches of Britaine mother to the said Arthur should lay to his charge, touching the murther of hir sonne. And bicause king John appeared not, he was therefore condemned in the action, and adiudged to forfeit all that he held within the precinct of France, aswell Normandie as all his other lands and dominions.

Constance the mother of duke Arthur accuseth king John.

Matt. Paris. The ordinãce for the assise of bread.

About the same time the king caused a proclamation to be published for the lawfull assise of bread to be made by the bakers, vpon paine to be punished by the pillorie: which assise was appreued and assessed by the baker of Geffrey Fitz Peter, lord cheefe iustice of England, and by the baker of Robert de Twinham. So that the baker might sell and gaine in euerie quarter three pence, besides the bran, and two loaues for the heater of the ouen, and for foure seruants foure halfepence, for two boies a farthing, for allowance in salt an halfepenie, yest an halfepenie, for candell a farthing, for fewell three pence, and for a bulter an halfepenie. And this was the rate.

When wheat was sold for six shillings the quarter, then shall euerie loafe of fine manchet wey 41 shillings, and euerie loafe of cheat shall wey 24 shillings. When wheat is sold for fiue shillings and six pence, then manchet shall wey 20 shillings, and cheat 28 shillings. When wheat is sold for fiue shillings, then manchet shall wey 24 shillings, and the cheat bread 32 shillings. When wheat is sold for foure shillings six pence, manchet shall wey 32 shillings, and cheat 42 shillings. When wheat is sold for foure shillings, manchet shall wey 36 shillings, and cheat 46 shillings. When wheat is sold for three shillings six pence, then shall manchet wey 42 shillings, and cheat 54 shillings. When wheat is sold for three shillings, manchet shall wey 48 shillings, and cheat 44 shillings. When wheat is sold for two shillings and six pence, manchet shall wey 54 shillings, and cheat 72 shillings. When wheat is sold for two shillings, manchet shall wey sixtie shillings, and cheat foure pound. When wheat is sold for 18 pence the quarter, manchet shall wey 77 shillings, & cheat foure pound and eight shillings. This ordinance was proclaimed throughout the realme, as most necessarie and profitable for the common-wealth.

This yeare manie wonderfull things happened, for besides the sore winter, which passed any other that had bene heard of in manie yeares before, both for continuance in length and extreame coldnesse of frosts, there followed griselie tempests, with thunder, lightning, and stormes of raine, and haile of the bignesse of hens egs, wherewith much fruit & great store of corne was perished, beside other great hurts done vpon houses and young cattell. Also spirits (as it was thought) in likenesse of birds and foules were seene in the aire flieng with fire in their beaks, wherewith they set diuerse houses on fire: which did import great troubles yer long to insue, and followed in deed, as shall appeare hereafter.

Great tempests.

With this entrance of the yeare of our lord 1203, king John held his Christmasse at Caen, where not hauing (as some writers say) sufficient regard to the necessarie affaires of his wars, he gaue his mind to banketting, and passed the time in pleasure with the queene his wife, to the great griefe of his lords, so that they perceiuing his retchlesse demeanour (or as some write, the doubtfull minds of the Nobilitie which serued on that side, and were readie dailie to reuolt from his obedience) withdrew their dutifull hearts from him, and therefore getting licence, returned home into England. 1203 Matth. Paris.

In this meane time the French king, to bring his purpose to full effect, entred into Normandie, wasted the countries, and wan the townes of Colwches, le Val de Rueil, and Lisle Dandele. Le Val de Rueil wis giuen ouer without any great inforcement of assault, by two noble men that had charge thereof, the one named Robert Fitz Walter, and the other Saer de Quincie. Howbeit Lisle Dandele was valiantlie for a certeine time defended by Roger de Lacie the constable of Chester. But at length they within were so constreined by famine and long siege, that the said Lacie and others perceiuing it to be more honourable for them to die by the sword, than to starue through want of food, brake out vpon their enimies, and slue a great sort of the Frenchmen, but yet in the end they were taken prisoners, and so these fortresses came into the French kings hands. Anno Reg. 5. Matth. Paris. Polydor. The French king inuadeth Normandie. Roger de Lacie constable of Chester taken.

The pope hearing of these variances betwixt the two kings, sent the abbat of Casiner into France, accompanied with the abbat of Troissons, to moue them to a peace. These two abbats toke such paines in the matter, that the kings were almost brought to agreement. But the French king perceiuing himselfe to be aforehand in his businesse, sticked at one article, which was to repaire all such abbeies as he had destroied within the dominions of king John: and king John to do the like by all those that he had wasted within the French kings countries. The popes Nuncij would haue excommunicated king Philip, bicause he would not thus agree. But king Philip appealing from them, pursued the warre, and besieged the towne of Radpont. The souldiers within the towne defended the first assault verie manfullie, and caused the Frenchmen to retire backe: but king Philip meaning to haue the towne yer he departed, did so inclose it about, that within ten dates he wan it, and toke there twentie men of armes, an hundred demilances, and twentie arcubalisters. The pope sendeth his Nuncij into France. Gaguinus. Polydor. Radpont woone.

After this, when he had fortified this place, he went to castell Galiard, which he besieged; and though by the high valiancie of Hugh de Gourney the capteine there, the Frenchmen were manfullie beaten backe, and kept out for a moneth and more, yet at length by streict siege and neare approches hardlie made, the fortresse was deliuered into the French kings hands. And in the end the said Hugh Gourney reuolted from his obedience, deliuering also the castell of Mountfort vnto the French king, which castell with the honor thereto apperteining king John had giuen to the same Hugh, not verie long before. All this while king John did lie at Rouen: but forsomuch as he could not well remedie the matter as then, bicause he wanted such helpe as he dailie loked for out of England, and durst not trust any of that side, he passed it ouer with a stout countenance for a while, and would saie oftentimes to such as stood about him; What else doth my cosen the French K. now, than steale those things from me, which hereafter I shall indeuour my selfe to cause him to restore with interest? But when he saw that his enimies would still proceed, and that no aid came out of England, he came ouer himselfe, and landed at Portes- Castell Galiard. Matth. Paris. Hugh de Gourney reuolteth from king John. Polydor. " " " K. John commeth back into England.

mouth

mouth on S. Nicholas day.

King Philip doubting by vsing the victorie with too much rigor, least he should bring the Normans into a desperate boldnesse, and so cause them for safegard of their liues to hazard all vpon resistance, he staied for a time, and withdrew his souldiers backe againe into France, hauing not onelie furnished those places in the meane time which he had won, with strong garisons of his souldiers, but also appointed certeine personages to trauell with the people, yet remaining in the English subiection, to reuolt and turne from king John, to his obeisance and subiection.

King John being returned into England, accused diuerse of his Nobles for shewing themselues negligent and slouthfull in aiding him, according to his commandement, alledging furthermore, that being destitute of their due and requisite seruice, he was constreined to lose his time in Normandie, as not being able for want of their aid to resist his enimies. Wherefore for this and other matters laid to their charges, he did put them to grieuous fines. By meanes whereof, and by leauieng a subsidie of his people, he got together an huge summe of monie. This subsidie was granted him in a parlement holden at Oxenford, and begun there vpon the second of January 1204, wherein of euerie knights fee was granted the summe of two markes and an halfe. Neither were the bishops, abbats, nor any other ecclesiasticall persons exempted, by meanes whereof he ran first into the hatred of the clergie, and consequentlie of manie other of his subiects: so that they failed him at his need, whereby he often susteined no small damage, which he might haue preuented and withstood, if he had beene so qualified with discretion as to haue seene what was conuenient and what inconuenient for his roiall estate. But

Math. Paris. A parlement at Oxenford. 1204

A subsidie granted.

——voluntas
Improba perniciem ingentem mortalibus affert,

as it did to him, which may be gathered by a due obseruation of the consequence. ¶ This yeare the aire toward the north and east parts seemed to be on a bright fire for the space of six houres together. It began about the first watch of the night, on the first of Aprill.

Anno Reg. 6.

Rafe Cog. Ambassadors sent into France.

King John about the beginning of this first yeare of his reigne, sent in ambassage to the French king the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishops of Norwich and Elie, the earles Marshall and Leicester, to treat with him of peace: but he was so far off from comming neere to any reasonable motions, because he saw the world frame as he wished, that still by demanding somewhat that might not be granted, he kept off, and brought in such hard conditions, that it was not possible to conclude anie agreement. And this he did of purpose, hoping within short time to conquer all that the king of England possessed as yet on that side the seas. He was the more vntoward to compound, for that he was informed how Arthur the duke of Britaine was dispatched of his life, and therfore not doubting but to haue manie to take part with him in seeking reuenge of his death, he made that his cheefe quarell, swearing that he would not cease to pursue the warre against king John, till he had depriued him of his whole kingdome. So the ambassadors departed without all hope to come to any agreement. ¶ This yeare Easter day fell so high as it possiblie might, that is to saie, on saint Marks day.

1204

King Philip vnderstanding that king John remained still in England, rather occupied in gathering of monie amongst his subiects, than in making other prouision to bring them into the field (to the great offense of his said people) thought now for his part to lose no time: but assembling a mightie armie, he came with the same into Normandie, and vpon his first comming, he won the towne of Falaise, and shortlie after was Dampfront deliuered vnto him by surrender. This done, he marched further into the countrie, and with his sudden inuasion so oppressed the people euerie where, that they could haue no time to make shift by flight to get into the townes. With this swiftnesse of speed, he brought also such a feare into the hearts of most men, that he won all the countrie of Normandie euen to Mount S. Michaell. The inhabitants in euerie place submitted themselues, as those of Bateulr, Constances, Liseur, and other townes thereabouts.

Townes won by the French king.

Finallie, he came before Rouen, the principall citie of all the countrie, and incamped so in sundrie places about the citie, that all the issues, entries and waies were closed vp by his armie, being so diuided into seuerall camps, that the distance was not great from one to another, making a terrible shew to them within. At length after he had prouided all things necessarie for his purpose, and taken good aduise of his capteins how he should best implote his force for the winning of this citie (in which exploit he knew the full perfection of all his passed conquests chiefelie to consist) he did manfullie assault it, and they within as manfullie defended themselues, so that he got little by the assaults and approches which he made. Wherevpon he fell in hand to practise with the citizens to win them with meed, curtesie, gentle speech, and great promises. So that in fine, they within were so moued with such reasons as he vsed to persuade them withall, that they made request for a truce to be had for certeine daies, within the terme whereof if no succour came, they couenanted to yeeld without any further trouble.

Rouen besieged by the French king.

This truce being obteined, ambassadours were sent from them of Rouen into England, to signifie vnto king John the whole state of the citie, and of the truce, so that if aid came not within the time appointed, the citie must needs be deliuered into the enimies hands. The king hauing no armie in readinesse to send ouer, nor other shift to make for the succour of the citie, permitted the ambassadours to depart without comfort of any aid, who hereupon returning to Rouen, and reporting what they had hard, seene, and found, brought the citie into great sorrow. For whereas that citie had euer beene accustomed to glorie for the great loialtie and faithfull fidelitie which the same had euer shewed towards their liege lords and naturall princes; now the citizens perceiued manifestlie, that vnlesse they would cast awaie themselues, and lose all they had, they must of force yeeld into the hands of their enimies. Wherefore to make their true allegiance more apparant to the world, they staied the surrender as long as they had any store of vittels within the citie to releeue their fainting bodies withall: and so in the end being vanquished with hunger, they submitted themselues to the French king. Their submission being once knowne, caused all those other townes which had not yeelded, to deliuer vp their keies vnto the Frenchmen, as Arques, Vernueill, and others.

The great fidelitie of the citizens of Rouen.

Rouē through famine is surrendred to the French king.

Moreouer the townes in Poictou, Touraine, and Anion, which king John had recouered latelie before, did now againe (being in no small feare) yeeld themselues vnto king Philip: so that of all the townes within those countries, there remained none vnder the English obeisance, saue onelie Rochell, Tours, Nioth, and a few other. Thus Normandie which king Rollo had purchased and gotten 316 yeares before that present time, was then recouered by the Frenchmen, to the great reproch and dishonour of the English, in this yeare 1204. About this time queene Elianor the mother of king John departed this life, consumed

Math. Paris.

By Rafe Coghshals report this should seeme to haue chanced in the daies of K. Henrie the second.

A fish like to a man.

sumed rather through sorow and anguish of mind, than of any other naturall infirmitie.

In this first yeare of king Johns reigne, at Orford in Suffolke, as Fabian saith (although I thinke he be deceiued in the time) a fish was taken by fishers in their nets as they were at sea, resembling in shape a wild or sauage man, whome they presented vnto sir Bartholomew de Glanuille knight, that had then the keeping of the castell of Orford in Suffolke. He was naked, and in all his limbs and members resembling the right proportion of a man; he had haires also in the vsuall parts of his bodie, albeit that the crowne of his head was bald, his beard was long and rugged, and his breast hairie. The knight caused him to be kept certeine daies & nights from the sea, meat set afore him he greedilie deuoured, & did eat fish both raw and sod. Those that were raw he pressed in his hand till he had thrust out all the moisture, and so then did eat them. He would not or could not vtter any speach, although to trie him they hung him vp by the heeles, and miserablie tormented him. He would get him to his couch at the setting of the sunne, and rise againe at the rising of the same.

One day they brought him to the hauen, and suffered him to go into the sea, but to be sure he should not escape from them, they set three ranks of mightie strong nets before him, so to catch him againe at their pleasure (as they imagined) but he streightwaies diuing downe to the bottome of the water, got past all the nets, and comming vp, shewed himselfe to them againe that stood waiting for him, and dowking diuerse times vnder water and comming vp againe he beheld them on the shore that stood still loking at him, who seemed as it were to mocke them, for that he had deceiued them, & got past their nets. At length after he had thus sported himselfe a great while in the water, and that there was no more hope of his returne, he came to them againe of his owne accord, swimming through the water, and remained with them two moneths after. But finallie, when he was negligentlie loked to, and now seemed not to be regarded, he fled secretlie to the sea, and was neuer after seene nor heard of.

¶ Thus much out of Rafe Coghshall, who affirmeth that this chanced in the daies of Henrie the second, about the 33 of his reigne, as Iohn Stow in his summarie hath also noted. Which report of theirs in respect of the strangnesse thereof might seeme incredible, speciallie to such as be hard of beléefe, and refuse to giue faith and credit to any thing but what their owne eies haue sealed to their consciences, so that the reading of such wonders as these, is no more beneficiall to them, than to carrie a candle before a blind man, or to sing a song to him that is starke deafe. Neuertheless, of all vncouth and rare sights, speciallie of monstruous appearances we ought to be so farre from hauing little regard; that we should rather in them and by them obserue the euent and falling out of some future thing, no lesse miraculous in the issue, than they be wonderfull at the sudden sight. This was well noted of a philosopher, who to the purpose (among other matters by him touched) hath spoken no lesse pithilie than crediblie, saieng;

Iohn Stow.

M. Pal. in scorp.

Nec fieri aut errore aut casu monstra putandum,
Cùm certas habeant causas, vt tristia monstrent,
Vnde illis nomen, quare & portenta vocantur.

The war was mightilie mainteined all this while betwixt them of Poictou and Aquitaine, and manie sharpe incounters chanced betwixt the parties, of which the one following the king of Englands lieutenant Robert de Turnehame, valiantlie resisted the other that held with the French king vnder the conduct of William de Roches, & Hugh le Brun earle of March, chiefe leaders of that faction. But Robert Turneham, togither with Sauerie de Mauleon, and Gerard de Atie, bare themselues so manfullie, that in all conflicts for the most part the victorie remained on their sides. The Gascoignes also tooke part with king John, and continued in dutifull obedience towards him; for the which their loialtie he was readie to consider them with princelie gifts and beneficiall rewards, in such bountifull wise, that he gaue vnto a noble man of that countrie named Moreue, the summe of 28 thousand marks, to leuie & wage thirtie thousand men to aid him at his comming ouer into those parties. The archbishop of Burdeaux, that was brother vnto the foresaid Moreue, became suertie for performance of the couenants, and remained in England a long time, bicause the same couenants were not in all points accomplished.

The bishop of London was sent ambassadour from king John vnto the emperour vpon certeine earnest businesse. The duke of Louaine, and the earle of Bullongne were made friends by the French kings drift, and promised to inuade England with an armie, and to make warre against king John for the withholding of such lands and reuenues as they claimed to be due vnto them, in right of their wiues. King Philip also vndertooke to follow them within a moneth after they should be entred into England, & thus did the French king seeke to make him strong with freends, which dailie fell from king John on ech hand. ¶ Godfrey bishop of Winchester, that was son to the lord Richard de Lucie departed this life. This yeare the king was on Christmasse day at Teukesburie, where he staied not past one day. 1205

The 14 day of Januarie it began to freeze, and so continued till the 22 of March, with such extremitie, that the husbandmen could not make their tilth, by reason wherof in the summer following, corne began to grow to an excessiue price, so that wheat was sold by the quarter at 12 shillings of monie then currant. This yeare about the feast of Pentecost, the king (by the aduise of his councell assembled at Northampton) prepared a nauie of ships, muttered souldiers, and shewed great tokens that he would renew the war, and seeke to be reuenged of his enimie the French king. The Nobles of the realme indeuoured themselues also to match the diligence of the king in this preparation, vpon an earnest desire to reuenge the iniuries latelie done to the common-wealth.

An extreame frost.

Anno Reg. 7. Polydor. Math. Paris. King John prepareth an armie to go into France.

Now when all things were readie, and the ships fraught with vittels, armour, and all other prouisions necessarie, the king came to Portchester, there to take the sea, purposing verelie to passe ouer into France, in hope of such faire promises as his freends of Normandie and Poictou had made, in sending oftentimes to him, to procure him with speed to come to their succours. But as the king was readie to enter on shipbord, Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, and William Marshall earle of Penbroke came to him, and with manie great reasons went about to persuade him to staie his iournie. Who although he was verie loath to follow their counsell, yet they put forth so manie doubts and dangers that might follow of his departing the realme at that present, to the hazarding of the whole state, that in the end (sore to his greefe) he was ouercome by their importunate persuasions, and so dismissing the most part of his armie, appointed his brother the earle of Salisburie with a certeine number of knights & men of armes to passe ouer into Rochell, whither the lord Geffrey the kings base sonne was gone before him, with manie other knights and men of armes.

Rafe Cog. The archbishop of Canturburie, and the earle of Penbroke persuade the king to staie at home.

The lords and other that were dismissed, tooke it verie euill, considering the great preparation that had beene made for that iournie. But speciallie the

mariners

mariners were sore offended, cursing the archbishop and the said earle of Penbroke, that were knowne to be authors of so naughtie counsell as they toke this to be. It was thought there was neuer so manie ships gotten togither at one time before, as were at that present, to haue attended the king: for (as writers haue recorded) there were to the number of fourteene thousand mariners that had brought their ships thither for that purpose. But as the breaking vp of this voiage greeued others, so it pinched the king so neere the heart, that he being come backe from the sea side to Winchester, repented so much that he had not gone forward with his iournie, that the next daie he returned againe to the coast, and at Portesmouth, entring the sea with his ships, on the fifteenth of Julie he sailed to the Ile of Wight, and wafted vp and downe for the space of two daies together, till by aduise of his freends he was persuaded not to aduenture to passe ouer, sith his armie was dismissed and gone home, and so he returned backe to the shore againe, arriuing at Scotland, neere vnto Warham, the third daie after his setting forth: yet such as were behind, and hasted after him, thought verelie he had beene gone ouer, and such a brute was spred ouer all, till at length in time the truth was knowne.

The king repenting him goeth backe to the sea side.

He goeth to the sea the 15 of Julie, as some authors haue.

At his comming backe (as some write) he charged certeine of the Nobilitie with treason, bicause they did not follow him: whereupon shortlie after he punished them verie greeuouslie, and peraduenture not without some ground of iust cause. For likelie it is, that some greater matter forced him to breake vp his iournie, than appeareth in our writers, although Rafe Cogheshall setteth downe some reasons alledged by the archbishop Hubert, and earle Marshall, to persuade him not to depart the realme. But peraduenture other causes there were also of farre more importance that constreined him so greatlie against his mind & full resolution, both at the first, and now at this second time to returne. ¶ Verelie to vtter my coniecture, it may be that vpon his last determination to go ouer, he gaue new commandement to his lords to follow him, and they peraduenture vsed not such diligence in accomplishing his pleasure therein, as he loked they should haue done: or it may be, when the armie was once discharged, the souldiers made such hast homewards, ech man towards his countrie, that it was no easie matter to bring them backe againe in any conuenient time. But howsoeuer it was, as it had beene vpon a change of purpose, he came backe againe (as before ye haue heard.)

The thirteenth of Julie Hubert archbishop of Canturburie departed this life at Tenham, the king not being gratlie sorie for his death (as some haue written) bicause he gathered some suspicion that he bare too much good will towards the French king. In verie deed (as some write) the archbishop repented himselfe of nothing so much, as for that he had commended king John to the Noblemen and Peeres of the realme, sith he proued an other manner of man than he loked to haue found him. This archbishop had gouerned the see of Canturburie eleuen yeares, eight moneths, and six daies.

The death of the archb. of Canturburie. Matt. Paris. Polydor.

After his decease, the monks of Canturburie without knowledge of the king, chose one Reignold the subprior of their house to be their archbishop, who secretlie went to Rome to obteine his confirmation of the pope. Which thing bred much mischefe and great discord betwixt pope Innocent & king John, since the pope would not confirme the election, bicause he saw some peece of secret practise, till he might vnderstand and be certified by report of sufficient witnesse (for that he wanted the letters commendatorie from the king) that the same election was lawfull and orderlie made. Of this delaie also the monks being speedilie aduertised, and to the end they might now recouer the kings fauour, whome they had verie sore offended in not making him priuie to the first election, they made request vnto him, that by his nomination it might be lawfull for them to chose an other archbishop.

An archbishop chosen.

The king gladlie herevnto assented, requiring them to grant their voices vnto John Gray the bishop of Norwich, being both his chapleine and president of his councell. The monks to gratifie the king obeied his request, and so electing the same bishop of Norwich, they sent their procurators to Rome in the yeare following, to signifie the same vnto the pope, and to require him to confirme this their second election, as vnmindfull of their first, and clearelie annihilating the same to all intents and purposes. Amongst other that were sent to Rome about this businesse, Helias de Brantfield was one, a monke of great estimation, and had in good credit with the king, who ministred vnto them that were thus sent, sufficient allowance wherewith to beare their charges and expenses.

Matth. West. John Gray bishop of Norwich president of the councell. Matth. Paris.

Helias de Brantfield.

Also at the same time the bishops that were suffragans to the see of Canturburie, sent their procurators to Rome, about a quarrell which they had against the monks there, for that the same monks presumed to proceed to the election of an archbishop without their consent, hauing (as they alledged) a right by ancient decrees and customes to be associat with them in the said elections. But how this matter was answered, ye shall see hereafter. In the meane time, these and other like things procured the pope to reiect both the elections, and of his owne authoritie to nominate the third person, whereby the trouble begun was not a little augmented (as you shall heare hereafter.) Now whilest these procurators were thus occupied in Rome, Philip the French king minding to conquer all that which king John yet held within France, assembled an armie, and comming before the towne of Loches, wan it, and toke Gerard de Atie prisoner, that had so long time and with such valiancie defended it. The same time also was Robert de Turnham taken prisoner, who with great manhood had all this while repressed and chastised the rebellious Poictouins.

The bishops quarell with the monks of Canturburie about the election of an archbishop.

Gerard de Atie & Robert de Turnham take prisoners.

Moreouer, when the French king had wonne Loches, he went to Chinon, within the which Hubert de Burgh was capteine, a right valiant man of warre as was any where to be found, who hauing prepared all things necessarie for defense, manfullie repelled the Frenchmen, who inforced themselues to win the towne with continuall assaults and alarms, not suffering them within to rest neither day nor night, who yet for certeine daies together, by the valiant incouragement of their capteine defended the towne, with great slaughter of the Frenchmen. Neuertheless, at length beginning to despaire by reason of their incessant trauell, certeine of them that were somewhat faintharted stale ouer the walles in the night, and ran to the Frenchmen, and for safegard of their liues instructed them of the whole estate of the towne. The French vnderstanding that they within were in no small feare of themselues, with such violence came vnto the walles, and renewed the assault vpon all sides, that streight waies they entred by force. A great number of Englishmen were taken, and amongst other their capteine the foresaid Hubert de Burgh. [This chanced on the vigill of S. Iohn Baptist.]

Hubert de Burgh a valiant capteine.

Polydor. Chinon taken by force of assault.

After this, king Philip toke diuerse other townes and castels in that countrie, of the which some he raced, and some he fortified and stored with garisons

of his souldiers. This done he passed ouer the riuer of Loir, and wan a castell situat neere vnto a promontorie or head of land called Grapelitum, which was wont to be a great succour & aid to Englishmen arriuing on that coast. The occasion why he made warres thus vpon the Britains, was (as some write) for that Guie duke of Britaine, who had married the duches Constance, and succeeded in the duchie after hir son Arthur, without regard to reuenge the death of the same Arthur, was ioined in league with king John togither with Sauere de Mauleon, and Almerike de Lusignian, lords of great honour, power, and stoutnesse of stomach.

1206 Anno Reg. 8.

King John also in this meane while, moued with the increase of these his new associats, and also with desire to reuenge so manie iniuries and losses sustained at the French kings hands, preparing an armie of men, and a nauie of ships, toke the sea with them and landed at Rochell the ninth of Julie, where he was receiued with great ioy and gladnesse of the people; and no small number of gentlemen and others that inhabited thereabout repaired vnto him, offering to aid him to the vttermost of their powers. He therefore with assured hope of good speed departed from thence, and wan the towne of Montalban, with a great part of all the countrie thereabouts. Finallie he entred into Anion, and comming to the citie of Angiers, appointed certeine bands of his footmen, & all his light horsemen to compasse the towne about, whilest he, with the residue of the footmen, & all the men of armes, did go to assault the gates. Which enterprise with fire and sword he so manfullie executed, that the gates being in a moment broken open, the citie was entered and deliuered to the souldiers for a preie. So that of the citizens some were taken, some killed, and the wals of the citie beaten flat to the ground. This done, he went abroad into the countrie, and put all things that were in his way to the like destruction: Then came the people of the countries next adioining, of their owne accord to submit themselues vnto him, promising to aid him with men and vittels most plentifullie.

Polydor.

Montalban wonne.

Les annales de France. Polydor.

King Iohn wan the citie of Angiers by assault.

King John being verie ioyfull of this good successe, marched towards Poictou, sending out his troops of horsemen to waste the countrie on euerie side. In the meane while the French king being hereof aduertised, came forth with his armie readie furnished to resist king John, and by the way encountred with the duke of Britaine, Sauerie de Mauleon, and Almerike de Lusignian, which had beene abroad to spoile the French kings countries. But being now ouerset with the kings puissance, they were taken, and all their companie stripped out of their armour, to their great confusion. This mishap sore weakened the power and courage of king John. But the French king proud of the victorie, kept on his iournie, and approching neere vnto the place where king John was as then lodged, did cause his tents to be pitched downe for the first night, and on the morrow after, as one desirous of battell, brought his armie into the fields, ranged in good order and readie to fight.

The duke of Britaine and other of king Johns friends ouerthrowne.

The like did king John, so that with stout stomachs and eger minds, they stood there in the field readie to trie the matter with dint of sword vpon sound of the warning-blast giuen by the trumpets. Howbeit, by the mediation of certeine graue personages, as well of the spiritualtie as of the temporaltie, which were in good estimation with both the princes, a communication was appointed, which toke such effect, that a truce was taken betwixt them for the terme of two yeares, the prisoners on either side being released by wate of exchange: and thus the wars ceased for that time. Then king Philip returned into France, and king John into England, where he landed at Portesmouth the 12 of December.

Matt. West. Matth. Paris. This truce was concluded vpon All hallowes day.

About this time came one John Ferentino (so called peraduenture *A ferendo*, a common name to all the whelps of that litter, for they neuer came into the land as legats but they would be sure to carrie out with them manie large legacies and vsurped duties) a legat from the pope into England, and passing through the same as it were in visitation, gathered a great summe of monie; and finallie at Reading on the morrow after saint Lukes day, celebrated a councell, which being ended, he caused his coffers to be packed vp and sent awaie, hasting himselfe after to depart the realme, and so taking the sea bad England farewell. About the same season also pope Innocent confirmed the authoritie and power which the prior and monks of Canturburie had to elect and chose the archbishop of that see, giuing sentence against the suffragans which claimed a right to be ioined with the said prior and monks in the election, as by a letter directed to the same suffragans from the said pope it may more plainelie appeare.

John Ferentino the popes legat.

The pope giueth sentence with ỹ monks against the bishops.

See Matt. Paris pag 287. in the printed copie.

After this it chanced that king John remembring himselfe of the destruction of the citie of Angiers, which (bicause he was descended from thence) he had before time greatlie loued, began now to repent him, in that he had destroied it, and therefore with all speed he toke order to haue it againe repaired, which was done in most beautifull wise, to his great cost and expenses, which he might haue saued, had not his foolish rashnesse driuen him to attempt that, whereof vpon sober aduisement afterwards he was ashamed. But what will not an ordinarie man do in the full tide of his furie; much more princes & great men, whose anger is resembled to the roring of a lion, euen vpon light occasions oftentimes, to satisfie their vnbridled and brainesicke affections, which carrie them with a swift and full streame into such follies and dotages as are vndecent for their degrees. Hereto assenteth the poet, saieng,

King John repaireth the citie of Angiers.

——— magni regésque ducésque
Delirant sæpe, & victorum peste laborant,
Stultitiisque suis sæpe vrbes exitio dant,
Imperiúmque sibi miserorum cæde lucrantur.

Mal. Pal. in suo cap.

Moreouer, in this peare about Candlemasse, the K. caused the 13 part of euerie mans goods, as well of the spiritualtie, as of the temporaltie, to be leuied and gathered to his vse, all men murmuring at such doings, but none being so hardie as to gainesaie the kings pleasure, except onelie Geffrey the archbishop of Yorke, who thereupon departing secretlie out of the realme, accursed all those that laid any hands to the collection of that paiment, within his archbishoprike of Yorke. Also vpon the 17 of Januarie then last past, about the middest of the night, there rose such a tempest of wind vpon a sudden, that manie houses were ouerthrowne therewith, and thepe and other cattell destroied and buried in the drifts of snow, which as then laie verie deepe euerie where vpon the ground.

1207

A tax leuied.

The archbishop of Yorke stealeth out of the realme.

A mightie tempest.

The order of frier Minors began about this time, and increased maruellouslie within a short season. And the emperour Otho came ouer into England in this peare, where he was most roiallie receiued by king John, who taking councell with the said emperour to renew the warre against the French king (bicause he was promised great aid at his hands for the furnishing of the same) gaue vnto him at his departing forth of the realme, great summes of monie in hand towards the paiment of such souldiers as he should leuie for this businesse.

The emperor Otho cõmeth into England.

Fiue thousand marks of siluer, as Matth. West. and Matth. Paruus doo write.

In this meane while, the strife depended still in the court of Rome betwixt the two elected archbishops of Canturburie, Reginald and John. But after

Anno Reg. 9.

Stephan Langton chosen archbishop of Canturburie by ỹ popes appointment.

after the pope was fullie informed of the maner of their elections, he disanulled them both, and procured by his papall authoritie the monks of Canturburie (of whome manie were then come to Rome about that matter) to chose one Stephan Langton the cardinall of S. Chrysogon an Englishman borne, and of good estimation and learning in the court of Rome to be their archbishop. The monks at the first were loth to consent thereto, alledging that they might not lawfullie do it without consent of their king, and of their conent.

But the pope as it were taking the word out of their mouths, said vnto them: Do yée not consider that we haue full authoritie and power in the church of Canturburie: neither is the assent of kings or princes to be loked for vpon elections celebrated in the presence of the apostolike sée. Wherefore I commaund you by vertue of your obedience, and vpon paine of cursing, that you being such and so manie here as are sufficient for the election, to chose him to your archbishop, whome I shall appoint to you for father and pastor of your soules. The monks doubting to offend the pope, consented all of them to gratifie him, except Helias de Brantfield, who refused. And so the foresaid Stephan Langton being elected of them, was confirmed of the pope, who signified by letters the whole state therof to king John, commending the said Stephan as archbishop vnto him.

The king sore offended in his mind that the bishop of Norwich was thus put beside that dignitie, to the which he had aduanced him, caused forthwith all the goods of the monks of Canturburie to be confiscate to his vse, and after banished them the relme, as well I meane those at home, as those that were at Rome, and herewith wrote his letters vnto the pope, giuing him to vnderstand for answer, that he would neuer consent that Stephan which had béene brought vp & alwaies conuersant with his enimies the Frenchmen, should now enioy the rule of the bishoprike and dioces of Canturburie. Moreouer, he declared in the same letters, that he maruelled not a little what the pope ment, in that he did not consider how necessarie the freendship of the king of England was to the sée of Rome, sith there came more gains to the Romane church out of that kingdome, than out of any other realme on this side the mountaines. He added hereto, that for the liberties of his crowne he would stand to the death, if the matter so required. And as for the election of the bishop of Norwich vnto the sée of Canturburie, sith it was profitable to him and to his realme, he meant not to release it.

The monks of Canturburie banished. King John writeth to the pope.

How gainfull England was to the court of Rome

Moreouer, he declared that if he might not be heard and haue his mind, he would suerlie restraine the passages out of this realme, that none should go to Rome, least his land should be so emptied of monie and treasure, that he should want sufficient ablitie to beat backe and expell his enimies that might attempt inuasion against the same. Lastlie of all he concluded, sith the archbishops, bishops, abbats, and other ecclesiasticall persons, as well of his realme of England, as of other his lands and dominions, were sufficientlie furnished with knowlege, that he would not go for anie néed that should driue him thereto, to séeke iustice or iudgement at the prescript of any forren persons.

The popes answer vnto the king.

The pope greatlie maruelling hereat, wrote againe to the king, requiring him to absteine from the spoiling of those men that were priuileged by the canons of the church, that he would place the monks againe in their house and possessions, and receiue the archbishop canonicallie elected and confirmed, the which for his learning and knowledge, as well in the liberall sciences, as in holie scripture, was thought worthie to be admitted to a prebend in Paris: and what estimation he himselfe had of him it appeared, in that he had written to him thrice since he was made cardinall, declaring that although he was minded to call him to his seruice, yet he was glad that he was promoted to an higher rome; adding further, how there was good cause that he should haue consideration of him, because he was borne within his land, of father and mother that were his faithfull subiects, and for that he had a prebend in the church of Yorke, which was greater and of more dignitie than that he had in Paris. Whereby not onelie by reason of flesh and blood, but also by hauing ecclesiasticall dignitie and office, it could not be but that he loued him and his realme with sincere affection.

Manie other reasons the pope alledged in his letters to king John, to haue persuaded him to the allowing of the election of Stephan Langton. But king John was so far from giuing care to the popes admonitions, that he with more crueltie handled all such, not onelie of the spiritualtie, but also of the temporaltie, which by any manner means had aided the forenamed Stephan. The pope being hereof aduertised, thought good not to suffer such contempt of his authoritie, as he interpreted it; namelie, in a matter that touched the iniurious handling of men within orders of the church. Which example might procure hinderance, not to one priuat person alone, but to the whole estate of the spiritualtie, which he would not suffer in any wise to be suppressed. Wherefore he decréed with speed to deuise remedie against that large increasing mischéefe. And though there was no speedier waie to redresse the same, but by excommunication, yet he would not vse it at the first towards so mightie a prince, but gaue him libertie and time to consider his offense and trespasse so committed.

¶ These things being brought to this issue, the further narration of them shall staie for a time, till I haue told you of a little trouble which about this time happened in London. For vpon the seauenth of June, the bailiffes of London, Roger Winchester and Edmund Hardell were discharged, and Serle the mercer and Hugh of saint Albons chosen in their romes. The two former bailiffes were discharged and committed to prison by the kings commandement, vpon displeasure taken against them, because they had resisted his purueier of wheat, and would not suffer him to conueie anie of that kind of graine out of the citie, till the citie was stored. The thirtie & fiue rulers of the citie, hauing fulfilled the kings commandement to them directed for the discharging of those bailiffes, and imprisoning them, did after take aduice togither, and appointed a certeine number of themselues with other to ride vnto the king, as then being at Langley, to obteine pardon for the said bailiffes, and so comming thither, they made such excuse in the matter, shewing further, that at the same season there was such scarsitie of wheat in the citie, that the common people were at point to haue made an insurrection about the same. By which means, and through freendship which they had in the court, the king was so satisfied, that he released them from prison, and pardoned their offenses.

Bailiffes of London discharged and committed to ward.

Also vpon the first of October, Henrie the sonne of king John, begotten of his wife quéene Isabell, was borne at Winchester, who after succeeded his father in the kingdome. But now againe to our purpose. The pope perceiuing that king John continued still in his former mind (which he called obstinacie) sent ouer his bulles into England, directed to William bishop of London, to Eustace bishop of Elie, and to Mauger bishop of Worcester, commanding them that vnlesse king John would suffer peaceablie the archbishop of Canturburie to occupie his sée, and his monks their abbie, they should put both him and his

The birth of king Henrie the third. N. Triuet. 1208

The pope writeth to the bishops. Matt. Paris. Nic. Treuet.

his land vnder the sentence of interdiction, denouncing him and his land plainelie accursed. And further he wrote expresse letters vnto all the suffragans of the church of Canturburie, that they should by vertue of their obedience, which they ought to the apostolike see, receiue and obeie the archbishop Stephan for their father and metropolitane.

Matth. Paris.

These bishops with other to them associate, made instant request and suit to the king for the obseruing of the popes commandement, and to eschew the censures of the church, but that was in vaine: for the king in a great rage sware, that if either they or any other presumed to put his land vnder interdiction, he would incontinentlie thereupon send all the prelats within the realme out of the same vnto the pope, and seize all their goods vnto his owne vse. And further he added, that what Romans soeuer he found within the precinct of any his dominions, he would put out their eies, and slit their noses, and so send them packing to Rome, that by such marks they might be knowne from all other nations of the world. And herewith he commanded the bishops to packe out of his sight, if they loued their owne health and preseruation.

Romans, that is such chapleines strangers as belonged to the pope.

Hereupon the said bishops departed, and according to the popes commission to them sent, vpon the euen of the Annuntiation of our Ladie, denounced both the king and the realme of England accursed, and furthermore caused the doores of churches to be closed vp, and all other places where diuine seruice was accustomed to be vsed, first at London, and after in all other places where they came. Then perceiuing that the K. ment not to stoope for all this which they had done, but rather sought to be reuenged vpon them, they fled the realme, and got them ouer vnto Stephan the archbishop of Canturburie, to wit, William bishop of London, Eustace bishop of Elie, Walger bishop of Worcester, Joceline bishop of Bath, and Giles bishop of Hereford.

The mondaie in the passion weeke saith Matth. West.

The king and realme put vnder the popes curse.

Anno Reg. 10.

The king taking this matter in verie great displeasure, seized vpon all their temporalties, and conuerted the same to his vse, and persecuted such other of the prelacie as he knew to fauour their doings, banishing them the realme, and seizing their goods also into his hands. Howbeit the most part of the prelats wiselie prouided for themselues in this point, so that they would not depart out of their houses, except they were compelled by force, which when the kings officers perceiued, they suffered them to remaine still in their abbies, and other habitations, because they had no commission to vse any violence in expelling them. But their goods they did confiscat to the kings vse, allowing them onelie meat and drinke, and that verie barelie in respect of their former allowance.

The deale of the king after the interdiction was pronounced.

¶ It was a miserable time now for præsts and churchmen, which were spoiled on euerie hand, without finding remedie against those that offered them wrong. It is reported that in the borders of Wales, the officers of a shiriffe brought before the king a fellow which had robbed and slaine a præst, desiring to vnderstand his pleasure what should be done with that offender: vnto whome the king made this answer, He hath slaine mine enimie, and therefore set him at libertie.

In heauie time for churchmen.

Matth. Paris.

The king also doubting least the pope should proceed further, and absolue all his subiects of their allegiance which they owght to him, and that his lords would happilie reuolt and forsake him in this his trouble, toke hostages of them whom he most suspected. And as the messengers, which were sent abroad for that purpose, came vnto the lord William de Breuse, requiring to haue his sonnes for the said purpose, his wife (like a quicke and hastie dame) taking the word out of hir husbands mouth, made this round answer, that she would not deliuer hir sonnes vnto king Iohn, who alreadie had slaine his owne nephue Arthur, whome he ought rather honourablie to haue loued and preserued. The se words being signified vnto the king, set him in such an heat against hir husband (though he rebuked hir sharplie for the same) that the said lord was glad togither with his wife and children to flee out of the realme into Ireland for safegard of their liues.

Lord William de Breuse.

Whereas before this time London bridge was made of timber, and was ruled, guided & repaired by a fraternitie or colledge of præsts, this yere by great aid of the citizens of London and others passing that waie, the same bridge was begun to be made of stone. And in the same yeare S. Marie Oueries in Southwarke was begun to be repaired. The same yeare also, the citizens of London made such suit vnto the king, that he granted vnto them by his letters patents, licence to chuse to themselues a maior, and two shiriffes euerie yeare. After which grant vnto them confirmed, they chose for their maior Henrie Fitz Alwin, who was sworne and charged at that present maior of that citie, vpon the day of saint Michaell the archangell, in the said tenth yeare of king John his reigne. On the same day and yeare, were Peter Duke & Thomas Pele sworne for shiriffes. Thus the name of baliffes from thencefoorth was clearelie extinguished.

Londõ bridge repaired.

But here yee haue to vnderstand, that this Henrie Fitz Alwin had bene maior of London long before this time, euen from the first yeare of king Richard (as Iohn Stow hath gathered out of ancient instruments and records) vnto this present tenth yeare of king John, and now vpon grant made to the citizens, that it should be lawfull for them to chuse euerie yeare a maior, and two shiriffes, for the better gouernment of their citie, the said Henrie Fitz Alwin was newlie by them elected, and likewise afterwards from yeare to yeare, till he departed this life, which chanced in the yeare 1213, and fifteenth of king Johns reigne, so that he continued maior of the same citie of London, by the terme of twentie and foure yeares.

Iohn Stow.

¶ Now therefore bicause it appeareth here how the gouernors of the citie of London had their names altered for their greater honour, and the state of gouernment thereby partlie changed, or rather confirmed; I haue thought good (though verie brælelie) to touch somewhat the signification of this word Maire, before I proceed any further with the rest of this historie. The ancient inhabitants of Franconia, or Frankenland, from whome the Frenchmen are descended, and their neighbors the old Saxons, of whom the Englishmen haue their originall, being people of Germanie, and descended (as Berosus saith) of the the old Hebrues, haue reteined manie Hebrue words, either from the beginning, or else borowed them abroad in other regions which they conquered, passing by force of armes through a great part of the world. For no doubt, by conuersation with those people whom they subdued, they brought home into their owne countrie and tong manie borowed words, so that their language hath no small store of them fetched out of sundrie strange tongs.

The signification of this word Maire. Wulf. Laz. Berosus.

Now among other old words remaining in their tong, this word Mar was one, which in Hebrue signifieth *Domine*, (that is to saie, lord) but pronounced now somewhat corruptlie Maire. So as it is to be supposed, hereof it came to passe that the head officer and lieutenant to the prince, as well in London as in other cities and townes of the realme, are called by that name of maior, though in the cities of London and Yorke, for an augmentation of honour by an ancient custome (through ignorance what the title of

maire

maire doth signifie) they haue an addition, and are intituled by the name of lord maire, where Maire simplie pronounced of it selfe, signifieth no lesse than lord, without any such addition. Thus much for the name of Maire. And now to proceed.

1209 Matth. Paris. King John holding his Christmasse this yeare at Bristow, set forth a commandement, whereby he restreined the taking of wild foule. About the same time, Henrie duke of Suaben came into England from the emperour Otho, and receiuing no small portion of monie of the king, departed backe into his owne countrie againe. In the vigill of the Epiphanie also, the kings second sonne was borne, and named Richard after his vncles name. And the court of the eschequer was remoued from Westminster vnto Northampton. Moreouer in the same yeare, Walter Gray was made lord chancellour, who in all things studied to satisfie the kings will and purpose, for the which he incurred great indignation of the cleargie, and other that fauoured not the proceedings of the king.

The eschequer remoued.

¶ It was surelie a rufull thing to consider the estate of this realme at that present, when as the king neither trusted his peeres, neither the nobilitie fauoured the king; no, there were verie few that trusted one another, but ech one hid & hourded vp his wealth, looking dailie when another should come and enter vpon the spoile. The communaltie also grew into factions, some fauouring, & some cursing the king, as they bare affection. The cleargie was likewise at dissention, so that nothing preuailed but malice and spite, which brought forth and spred abroad the fruits of disobedience to all good lawes and orders, greatlie to the disquieting of the whole state. So that herein we haue a perfect view of the perplexed state of princes, chéeflie when they are ouerswaied with forren & prophane power, and not able to assure themselues of their subiects allegiance and loialtie. Whereto this clause alludeth,

M. Pal. in suo Leo.

——cruciat comes improbus ipsos
Assidui metus atque timor, suspectáque ijsdem
Omnia sunt: hinc insidiæ, hinc dira venena
Concipiunt, soli nec possunt ire nec audent,
Nec sine fas illis prægustatore comesse.

Anno Reg. 11. Polydor. King John notwithstanding that the realme was thus wholie interdicted and vexed, so that no præsts could be found to saie seruice in churches or chapels, made no great account thereof as touching any offense towards God or the pope: but rather mistrusting the hollow hearts of his people, he toke a new oth of them for their faithfull allegiance, and immediatlie thereupon assembled an armie to go against Alexander king of Scots, vnto whome (as he had heard) diuerse of the nobilitie of this realme were fled, which Alexander was the second of that name that had ruled the Scots, and latelie before was entred into the rule as lawfull successor to the crowne of Scotland, by the death of his father K. William.

A new oth of allegiance.

Alexander K. of Scots.

In this meane while also Stephan archbishop of Canturburie lamenting (as some haue reported) the state of his native countrie, and yet not minding to giue ouer his hold, obteined of pope Innocent, that vpon certeine dais it might be lawfull for an appointed number of præsts within the realme of England, to celebrate diuine seruice, that is to say, for those of conuentuall churches once in the weeke. But the monks of the white order were forbidden to vse that priuilege, bicause in the beginning of the interdiction they had at the appointment of their principall abbat presumed to celebrate the sacraments without the popes consent or knowledge.

Matth. Paris. The white monks.

Polydor. Matth. Paris. In like maner on the other side, king John hauing his armie in a readinesse, hasted forth towards the borders of Scotland, and comming to the castell of Norham, prepared to inuade the Scots. But king Alexander wanting power to giue him battell, sought to come vnto some friendlie agreement with him, and so by counsell of his lords, casting off his armour, he came to the king, and for a great summe of gold (or 11 thousand marks of siluer as some write) with much adoo he purchased peace, deliuering two of his daughters in hostage for more assurance of his dealing. Whereupon king John, after his returne from Norham, which was about the 24 of June, shewed himselfe not a little displeased with those of the nobilitie, which had refused to attend vpon him in that iournie, hauing receiued streit commandement from him to attend vpon him at that time. Certes the cause why they refused to follow him, was euident, as they said, in that they knew him to stand accursed by the pope. About the same time also, when corne began to wax ripe, to reuenge himselfe of them that had refused to go with him in that iournie, he caused the pales of all the parks & forrests which he had within his realme to be throwne downe, & the diches to be made plaine, that the deere breaking out and ranging abroad in the corne fields, might destroie & eat vp the same before it could be ripened, for which act (if it were so in deed) manie a bitter curse proceeded from the mouths of the poore husbandmen towards the kings person, and not vnworthilie. Moreouer in this season the Welshmen (which thing had not beene seene afore time) came vnto Woodstoke, and there did homage vnto the king, although the same was chargeable, aswell to the rich as the poore so to come out of their countrie.

Alexander K. of Scots compoundeth for peace with king John.

Polydor.

Matth. Paris.

About the same time also, it chanced that a præst slue a woman at Oxford, and when the kings officers could not find him that had committed the murther, they apprehended three other præsts not guiltie of the fact, and streightway hanged them vp without iudgement. With which crueltie others of the Vniuersitie being put in feare, departed thence in great numbers, and came not thither againe of a long time after, some of them repairing to Cambridge, and some to Reading to applie their studies in those places, leauing Oxford void. The same yeare one Hugh archdeacon of Welles, and keeper of the kings great seale, was nominated bishop of Lincolne; and herewithall he craued licence to go ouer into France vnto the archbishop of Rouen, that he might be consecrated of him. Wherewith the king was contented and gladlie gaue him leaue, who no sooner got ouer into Normandie, but he streight toke the high waie to Rome, and there receiued his consecration of Stephan archbishop of Canturburie. Now when the king vnderstood this matter, and saw the dulnesse of the bishop, he was in a wonderfull chafe toward him, and thervpon made port-sale of all his goods, and receiued the profit of the reuenues belonging to the see of Lincolne for his owne vse.

Matth. Paris. I murther at Oxford.

Three thousand as saith Matth. Paris.

Oxford forsaken of the scholers.

Hugh archdeacon of Wels made bishop of Lincolne.

Polydor.

Matth. Paris.

¶ There liued in those dates a diuine named Alexander Cementarius, surnamed Theologus, who by his preaching incensed the king greatlie vnto all crueltie (as the monks and friers saie) against his subiects, affirming that the generall scourge wherewith the people were afflicted, chanced not through the princes fault, but for the wickednesse of his people, for the king was but the rod of the Lords wrath, and to this end a prince was ordeined, that he might rule the people with a rod of iron, and breake them as an earthen vessell, to chaine the mightie in fetters, & the noble men in iron manacles. He did see (as it should seeme) the euill disposed humors of the people concerning their dutifull obedience which they ought to haue borne to their naturall prince king John, and therefore as a doctrine most necessarie in that dangerous time, he taught the people how they were

Cementarius

by Gods lawes bound in dutie to obeie their lawfull prince, and not through any wicked persuasion of busie heads and lewd discoursers, to be carried away to forget their loiall allegiance, and so to fall into the damnable sinke of rebellion.

He went about also to prooue with likelie arguments, that it apperteined not to the pope, to haue to doo concerning the temporall possessions of any kings or other potentats touching the rule and gouernment of their subiects, sith no power was granted to Peter (the speciall and cheefe of the apostles of the Lord) but onlie touching the church, and matters apperteining thereunto. By such doctrine of him set forth, he wan in such wise the kings fauour, that he obteined manie great preferments at the kings hands, and was abbat of saint Aultines in Canturburie: but at length, when his manners were notified to the pope, he toke such order for him, that he was despoiled of all his goods and benefices, so that afterwards he was driuen in great miserie to beg his bread from doore to doore, as some write. This did he procure to himselfe by telling the trueth against that beast, whose hornes were pricking at euerie christian prince, that he might set himselfe in a seat of supremasie aboue all principalities: so that we may saie,

In audaces non est audacia tuta.

1210 Furthermore, about the same time the king taxed the Iewes, and grieuouslie tormented and emprisoned them, bicause diuers of them would not willinglie pay the summes that they were taxed at. Amongst other, there was one of them at Bristow, which would not consent to giue anie fine for his deliuerance: wherefore by the kings commandement he was put vnto this penance, that euerie daie, till he would agree to giue to the king those ten thousand marks that he was seized at, he should haue one of his teeth plucked out of his head. By the space of seauen daies togither he stood stedfast, losing euerie of those daies a toth, but on the eight day, when he should come to haue the eight toth and the last (for he had but eight in all) drawne out, he paid the monie to saue that one, who with more wisedome and lesse paine might haue done so before, and haue saued his seauen teeth, which he lost with such torments, for those homelie tothdrawers vsed no great cunning in plucking them forth (as may be coniectured.)

Matth. Paris. Iewes taxed.

A Iew hath his teeth drawne out.

Whilest king Iohn was thus occupied, newes came to him, that the Irish rebels made foule worke and sore annoied the English subiects. He therefore assembling a mightie armie, imbarked at Penbroke in Wales, and so hasting towards Ireland, arriued there the twentie fiue of Maie, and brought the people in such feare immediatlie vpon his arriuall, that all those that inhabited vpon the sea coasts in the champaine countries, came in, and yeelded themselues, receiuing an oth to be true and faithfull vnto him. There were twentie of the cheefest rulers within Ireland, which came to the king at his comming to Dublin, and there did to him homage and fealtie as apperteined. The king at the same time ordeined also, that the English lawes should be vsed in that land, and appointed shiriffes and other officers to haue the order of the countrie, to rule the same according to the English ordinances. After this, he marched forward into the land, and toke diuerse fortresses and strong holds of his enimies, which fled before him, for feare to be apprehended, as Walter de Lacie and manie other. At length, comming into the countrie of Meth, he besieged a castell, wherein the wife of William de Breuse, and hir sonne named also William were inclosed, but they found meanes to escape before the castell was wone, though afterward they were taken in the Ile of Man, and sent by the king into England, where they were so straitlie kept within the castell of Windsor, that (as the fame went) they were famished to death.

Anno Reg. 12.

Matth. Paris. King Iohn passeth ouer into Ireland. Polydor. Matth. Paris.

Walter de Lacie.

The Ladie de Breuse & hir sonne taken.

¶ We read in an old historie of Flanders, written by one whose name is not knowne, but printed at Lions by Guillaume Rouille, in the yeare 1562, that the said ladie, wife to the lord William de Breuse, presented vpon a time vnto the queene of England, a gift of foure hundred kine, and one bull, of colour all white, the eares excepted, which were red. Although this tale may seeme incredible, yet if we shall consider that the said Breuse was a lord marcher, and had goodlie possessions in Wales, and on the marshes, in which countries the most part of the peoples substance consisteth in cattell, it may carrie with it the more likelihood of truth. And suerlie the same author writeth of the iournie made this yeare into Ireland, so sensiblie, and namelie touching the manners of the Irish, that he seemeth to haue had good informations, sauing that he misseth in the names of men and places, which is a fault in maner common to all forreine writers. Touching the death of the said ladie, he saith, that within eleuen daies after she was committed to prison heere in England, she was found dead, sitting betwixt hir sonnes legs, who likewise being dead, sate directlie vp against a wall of the chamber, wherein they were kept with hard pitance (as writers doo report.) William the father escaped, and got away into France.

A present of white kine.

He himselfe escapeth.

Thus the more part of the Irish people being brought vnder, he appointed Iohn Gray the bishop of Norwich, to be his deputie there, remouing out of that office Hugh Lacie, which bare great rule in that quarter before. The bishop then being appointed deputie and cheefe iustice of Ireland, reformed the coine there, causing the same to be made of like weight and fineneſſe to the English coine, so that the Irish monie was current, as well in England, as in Ireland, being of the like weight, forme, and fineneſſe to the English. Moreouer, those that inhabited the woodcountries and the mounteine places, though they would not as then submit themselues, he would not at that time further pursue, bicause winter was at hand, which in that countrie approcheth timelie in the yeare. Hauing thus subdued the more part of all Ireland, and ordred things there at his pleasure, he toke the sea againe with much triumph, and landed in England about the thirtith day of August.

The bishop of Norwich lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Irish monie reformed.

The king returneth into England.

From hence he made hast to London, and at his comming thither, toke counsell how to recouer the great charges and expenses that he had béene at in this iournie, and by the aduise of William Brewer, Robert de Turnham, Reignold de Cornhill, and Richard de Marish, he caused all the cheefe prelats of England to assemble before him at S. Brides in London. So that thither came all the abbats, abbesses, templers, hospitallers, keepers of farmes and possessions of the order of Clugnie, and other such forreners as had lands within this realme belonging to their houses. All which were constreined to paie such a grieuous tax, that the whole amounted to the summe of an hundred thousand pounds. The monks of the Cisteaux order, otherwise called white monks, were constreined to paie 40 thousand pounds of siluer at this time, all their priuileges to the contrarie notwithstanding. Moreouer, the abbats of that order might not get licence to go to their generall chapter that yeere, which yeerelie was vsed to be holden, least their complaint should moue all the world against the king, for his too too hard and seuere handling of them.

In assemblie of the prelats at London.

A taxe leuied.

1211 In the summer following, about the 18 day of Iulie, king Iohn with a mightie armie went into Wales, and passing forth into the inner parts of the countrie, he came into Snowdon, beating downe all

Anno Reg. 13. King Iohn goeth into wales with an armie.

all that came in his way, so that he subdued all the rulers and princes, without contradiction. And to be the better assured for their subiection in time following, he toke pledges of them, to the number of 28, & so returned to Album Monasterium on the daie of the Assumption of our ladie, from whence he first set forth into the Welsh confines. In the same yeare also, the pope sent two legats into England, the one named Pandulph a lawier, and the other Durant a templer, who comming vnto king John, exhorted him with manie terrible words to leaue his stubborne disobedience to the church, and to reforme his misdoings. The king for his part quietlie heard them, and bringing them to Northampton, being not farre distant from the place where he met them vpon his returne forth of Wales had much conference with them; but at length, when they perceiued that they could not haue their purpose, neither for restitution of the goods belonging to prælats which he had seized vpon, neither of those that apperteined to certeine other persons, which the king had gotten also into his hands, by meanes of the controuersie betwixt him and the pope the legats departed, leauing him accursed, and the land interdicted, as they found it at their comming.

Matth. Paris. white church I thinke.

Pandulph & Durant the popes legats. Polydor.

¶ Touching the maner of this interdiction there haue béene diuerse opinions, some haue said, that the land was interdicted throughlie, and the churches and houses of religion closed vp, that no where was anie diuine seruice vsed: but it was not so streit, for there were diuerse places occupied with diuine seruice all that time, by certeine priuiledges purchased either then or before. Children were also christened, and men houseled and annoiled through all the land, except such as were in the bill of excommunication by name expressed. But to our purpose.

Fabian.

Matth. Paris.

King John, after that the legats were returned toward Rome againe, punished diuerse of those persons which had refused to go with him into Wales, in like maner as he had done those that refused to go with him into Scotland: he toke now of each of them for euerie knights fée two marks of siluer, as before is recited. About the same time also, Reginald earle of Boulongne being accursed in like maner as king John was, for certeine oppressions done to poore men, and namelie to certeine prælts, fled ouer into England, bicause the French king had banished him out of France.

Reginald erle of Boulongne.

The chéefest cause of the French kings displeasure towards this earle, may séeme to proceed of the amitie and league which was concluded betwixt king John, and the said earle, in the first yeare of the said kings reigne, whereby they bound themselues either to other, not to make anie peace, or to take anie truce with the king of France, without either others consent first thereto had, and that if after anie agréement taken betwixt them and the king of France, he should chance to make warre against either of them, then should the other aid and assist him, against whom such warre should be made, to the vttermost of his power.

The like league was made in the same first yeare of king John betwixt him & Ferdinando earle of Flanders.

This league was accorded to remaine for euer betwixt them and their heires, with suerties sworne on either part: and for the king of England, these, whose names insue, William Marshall earle of Penbroke, Ranulfe earle of Chester, Robert earle of Leicester, Baldwine earle of Albemarle, William earle of Arundell, Ralfe earle of Augi, Robert de Vellet, Hugh de Gourney, William de Kaen, Geffrey de Cella, Roger constable of Chester, Ralfe Fitz Water, William de Albanie, Robert de Ros, Richard de Montfichet, Roger de Thoney, Saer de Quincie, William de Montchensie, Peter de Pratellis, William de Pole *alia* de Stagno, Adam de Port, Robert de Turnham, William Vallet, Eustace de Vescie, Peter de Brus, William de Pressennie, Hubert de Burgh, William de Mansey, and Peter Sauenie. For the earle, these were suerties, Anselme de Kaen, Guy Lieschans, Ralfe the said earles brother, &c. But now to returne.

After that the earle of Boulongne was expelled out of France (as before ye haue heard) he came ouer to king John, and was of him ioifullie receiued, hauing three hundred pounds of reuenues in land to him assigned within England, for the which he did homage and fealtie vnto him. Shortlie after this also, died William de Breuse the elder, which fled from the face of king John out of Ireland into France, and departing this life at Corbell, was buried at Paris in the abbeie of S. Victor.

In the meane time pope Innocent, after the returne of his legats out of England, perceiuing that king John would not be ordered by him, determined with the consent of his cardinals and other councellours, and also at the instant suit of the English bishops and other prelats being there with him, to depriue king John of his kinglie state, and so first absolued all his subiects and vassals of their oths of allegiance made vnto the same king, and after depriued him by solemne protestation of his kinglie administration and dignitie, and lastlie signified that his depriuation vnto the French king and other christian princes, admonishing them to pursue king John, being thus depriued, forsaken, and condemned as a common enimie to God and his church. He ordeined furthermore, that whosoeuer imploied goods or other aid to vanquish and ouercome that disobedient prince, should remaine in assured peace of the church, as well as those which went to visit the sepulchre of our Lord, notonlie in their goods and persons, but also in suffrages for sauing of their soules.

Polydor.

But yet that it might appeare to all men, that nothing could be more ioifull vnto his holinesse, than to haue king John to repent his trespasses committed, and to aske forgiuenesse for the same, he appointed Pandulph, which latelie before was returned to Rome, with a great number of English exiles, to go into France, togither with Stephan the archbishop of Canturburie, and the other English bishops, giuing him in commandement, that repairing vnto the French king, he should communicate with him all that which he had appointed to be done against king John, and to exhort the French king to make warre vpon him, as a person for his wickednesse excommunicated. Moreouer this Pandulph was commanded by the pope, if he saw cause, to go ouer into England, and to deliuer vnto king John such letters as the pope had written for his better instruction, and to séeke by all means possible to draw him from his naughtie opinion.

Pãdulph sent into France to practise with the frẽch king, for king John his destruction.

In the meane time, when it was bruted through the realme of England, that the pope had released the people & absolued them of their oth of fidelitie to the king, and that he was depriued of his gouernement by the popes sentence, by little and little a great number both of souldiers, citizens, burgesses, captains and constables of castels, leauing their charges, & bishops with a great multitude of prælts reuolting from him, and auoiding his companie and presence, secretlie stale awaie, and got ouer into France.

Notwithstanding that diuerse in respect of the popes curse, and other considerations them mouing, vtterlie refused in this manner to obeie king John, yet there were manie others that did take his part, and maintaine his quarell verie earnestlie, as his brother William earle of Salisburie, Albertike de Vere erle of Orford, Geffrey Fitz Peter lord chéefe

Matth. West. Matt. Paris.

The names of the noble men that cõtinued true vnto K. John.

iustice of England, also three bishops, Durham, Winchester, and Norwich, Richard de Marish lord chancellour, Hugh Neuill chiefe forrester, William de Wrothing lord warden of the ports, Robert Veipount and his brother Yuan, Brian de Lisle, Geffrey de Lucie, Hugh Baliioll, and his brother Barnard, William de Cantlow and his son William Fulke de Cantlow, Reginald de Cornehull shiriffe of Kent, Robert Braibrooke and his son Harrie, Philip de Louecotes, John de Ballingborne, Philip March, Chatelaine of Notingham, Peter de Maulley, Robert de Gaugy, Gerard de Athie and his nephue Ingelrand, William Brewer, Peter Fitz Hubert, Thomas Basset, and Foulks de Briant a Norman, with many other, too long here to rehearse, who as sautors and councellors vnto him, sought to defend him in all causes, notwithstanding the censures of the church so cruellie pronounced against him; knowing that they were bound in conscience to sticke to him, now speciallie in this generall apostasie of his peeres and people. For they were opinioned, that it was

Ouid. lib. 3. de Pont.

Turpe referre pedem, nec passu stare tenaci,
Turpe laborantem deseruisse ratem.

1212 The same yeare king John held his Christmasse at Windsor, and in the Lent following, on midlent sundaie being at London, he honoured the lord Alexander sonne and heire to the king of Scots, with the high order of knighthod. And (as I find it mentioned by some writers) whereas he vnderstood how there were diuerse in Scotland, that contemning their naturall lord and king by reason of his great age, king John went thither with an armie to represse the rebels, and being come thither, he sent his men of war into the inner parts of the country, who scowring the coasts, take Guthred Macwilliam capteine of them that moued sedition, whom king John caused to be hanged on a paire of gallowes. This Guthred was descended of the line of the ancient Scotish kings, and being assisted with the Irishmen and Scots that fauoured not the race of the kings that presentlie reigned, wrought them much trouble, as his father (named Donald) had done before him, sometime secretlie vnder hand, and sometime againe by way of open rebellion.

Bernewell.

The Welshmen moue rebellion. Matth. Paris.

Shortlie after, the Welshmen began to sturre also, who rushing out of their owne confines, fell vpon their next neighbours within the English marshes, wasted the countrie, and ouerthrew diuerse castels flat to the ground. Whereof the king hauing knowledge, assembled a mightie armie out of hand, and comming to Notingham, he hanged vp the Welsh hostages which the last yeare he had receiued, to the number of eight and twentie yong striplings. And by reason he was now set in a maruellous chafe, he roughlie proceeded against all those whom he knew not to fauor his case: some he discharged of their offices, other he depriued of their capteineships and other roomes, & reuoked certeine priuileges & immunities granted to monks, preests, & men of religion.

Anno Reg. 14.

King John hangeth the Welsh pledges.

Furthermore, hauing his armie readie to passe on into Wales, he receiued letters the same time, both from the king of Scots, and from his daughter the wife of Leoline prince of Wales, conteining in effect the aduertisement of one matter, which was to let him know, that if he proceeded on his iournie, he should either through treason be slaine of his owne lords, or else be deliuered to be destroied of his enimies. The king iudging no lesse, but that the tenor of the letters conteined a truth, brake vp his armie and returned to London. From whence he sent messengers vnto all such lords as he suspected, commanding them to send vnto him hostages for more assurance of their fidelities. The lords durst not disobeie his commandement, but sent their sons, their nephues, and other their kinsmen, accordingli as he required, and so his rancour was appeased for a time. But Eustace de Vescie, Robert Fitz Walter, and Stephan Ridell, being accused and suspected of the K. for the said treason, were glad to flee the realme, Vescie departing into Scotland, and the other two into France.

Matth. Paris. Matt. West.

The same yeare, the church of S. Marie Queries, and all the buildings vpon London bridge on both sides the same, were consumed with fire, which was iudged to be a signification of some mishap to follow. The king held his Christmasse this yeare at Westminster, with no great traine of knights about him. About the same time Geffrey archbishop of Yorke departed this life, after he had remained in exile about a seauen yeares. But now to returne againe to the practises of the popes legats.

Saint Marie Queries burnt.

1213

The deceasse of Geffrey the archbishop of Yorke.

We shall vnderstand, the French king being requested by Pandulph the popes legat, to take the warre in hand against king John, was easilie persuaded thereto of an inward hatred that he bare vnto our king, and therevpon with all diligence made his prouision of men, ships, munition and vittell, in purpose to passe ouer into England: and now was his nauie readie rigged at the mouth of Saine, and he in greatest forwardnesse, to take his iournie. When Pandulph vpon good considerations thought first to go eastwards, or at the least wise to send into England, before the French armie should land there, and to assaie once againe, if he might induce the king to shew himselfe reformable vnto the popes pleasure: king John hauing knowledge of the French kings purpose and ordinance, assembled his people, and lodged with them alongst by the coast towards France, that he might resist his enimies, and keepe them off from landing.

The French king prepared to inuade England.

Here writers declare, that he had got togither such an armie of men out of all the parts of his realme, both of lords, knights, gentlemen, yeomen, & other of the commons, that notwithstanding all the prouision of vittels that might possible be recouered, there could not be found sufficient store to susteine the huge multitude of them that were gathered alongst the coast, namelie at Douer, Feuersham, Gipswich, and other places. Wherevpon the capteins discharged and sent home a great number of the commons, reteining onelie the men of armes, yeomen, and freeholders, with the crossebowes and archers. There came likewise to the kings aid at the same time, the bishop of Norwich out of Ireland, bringing with him fiue hundred men of armes, & a great sort of other hostlemen.

Anno Reg. 15. Matth. Paris.

The great armie which K. Iohn assembled togither.

The bishop of Norwich.

To conclude, there was esteemed of able men assembled togither in the armie on Barhamdowne, what of chosen men of armes, and valiant yeomen, and other armed men, the number of sixtie thousand: so that if they had beene all of one mind, and well bent towards the seruice of their king and defense of their countrie, there had not beene a prince in christendome, but that they might haue beene able to haue defended the realme of England against him. He had also prouided a nauie of ships farre stronger than the French kings, readie to fight with them by sea, if the case had so required.

But as he lay thus readie, neere to the coast, to withstand and beat backe his enimies, there arriued at Douer two Templers, who comming before the king, declared vnto him that they were sent from Pandulph the popes legat, who for his profit coueted to talke with him: for he had (as they affirmed) meanes to propone, whereby he might be reconciled, both to God and his church, although he were adiudged in the court of Rome, to haue forfeited all the right which he had to his kingdome.

Polydor.

Two knights of the temple.

The

The king vnderstanding the meaning of the messengers, sent them backe againe to bring ouer the legat, who incontinentlie came ouer to Douer, of whose arriuall when the king was aduertised, he went thither, and receiued him with all due honour and reuerence. Now after they had talked togither a little, and courteouslie saluted each other (as the course of humanitie required) the legat (as it is reported) vttered these words following.

The legat Pandulph cõmeth ouer.

The sawcie speech of proud Pandulph *the popes lewd legat, to king Iohn, in the presumptuous popes behalfe.*

NOw not thinke that you are ignorant, how pope Innocent, to do that which to his dutie appertaineth, hath both absolued your subiects of that oth which they made vnto you at the beginning, and also taken from you the gouernance of England, according to your deserts, and finallie giuen commandement vnto certeine princes of Christendome, to expell you out of this kingdom and to place an other in your rome; so worthilie to punish you for your disobedience and contempt of religion: and that Philip king of France, with the first being readie to accomplish the popes commandement, hath an armie in a readinesse, and with his nauie newlie decked, rigged and furnished in all points, lieth at the mouth of the riuer of Saine, looking for a prosperous wind, that as soone as it commeth about, he may saile therewith hither into England, trusting (as he saith) with the helpe of your owne people (which neither name you, nor will take you for their king) to spoile you of your kingdome with small adoo, and to conquer it at his pleasure, for he hath (as he sticketh not to protest openlie to the world) a charter made by all the chiefest lords of England touching their fealtie and obedience assured to him. Therfore, sith God for your iust desert is wroth with you, and that you are as euill spoken of by all men, as they that come against you be well reported, I would aduise you, that whilest there is a place for grace and fauour, rather to obeie the popes iust demands, to whose word other christian princes are readie to giue eare, than by striuing in vaine to cast awaie your selfe and all others that take your part, or are bent to defend your quarell or cause.

These words being thus spoken by the legat, king Iohn as then vtterlie despairing in his matters, when he saw himselfe constreined to obeie, was in a great perplexitie of mind, and as one full of thought, looked about him with a frowning countenance, waieng with himselfe what counsell were best for him to follow. At length, oppressed with the burthen of the imminent danger and ruine, against his will, and verie loth so to haue done, he promised vpon his oth to stand to the popes order and decree. Wherefore shortlie after (in like manner as pope Innocent had commanded) he toke the crowne from his owne head, and deliuered the same to Pandulph the legat, neither he, nor his heires at anie time thereafter to receiue the same, but at the popes hands. Vpon this, he promised to receiue Stephan the archbishop of Canturburie into his fauour, with all other the bishops and banished men, making vnto them sufficient amends for all iniuries to them done, and so to pardon them, that they should not run into any danger, for that they had rebelled against him.

K. Iohn deliuereth his crowne vnto Pandulph.

Then Pandulph keeping the crowne with him for the space of fiue daies in token of possession thereof, at length (as the popes vicar) gaue it him againe. By meanes of this act (saith Polydor) the fame went abroad, that king Iohn willing to continue the memorie hereof, made himselfe vassall to pope Innocent, with condition, that his successors should likewise from thencefoorth acknowledge to haue their right to the same kingdome from the pope. But those kings that succeeded king Iohn, haue not obserued any such lawes of reconciliation, neither do the autentike chronicles of the realme make mention of any such surrender, so that such articles as were appointed to king Iohn to obserue, perteined vnto him that had offended, and not to his successors. Thus saith Polydor.

Pandulph restoreth the crowne again to the king.

Howbeit, Ranulph Higden in his booke intituled Polychronicon, saith indeed, that king Iohn did not onelie bind himselfe, but his heires and successors, being kings of England, to be feudaries vnto pope Innocent and his successors popes of Rome, that is to say, that they should hold their dominions of them in fee, yeelding and paieng yeerelie to the see of Rome the summe of seauen hundred marks for England, and three hundred marks for Ireland. Furthermore, by report of the most autentike and approued writers, king Iohn, to auoid all dangers, which (as he doubted) might insue, despairing as it were in himselfe, or rather most speciallie for lacke of totall dutie in his subiects, consented to all the persuasions of Pandulph, and so (not without his great hartgreefe) he was contented to take his oth, togither with sixteene earles and barons, who laieng their hands vpon the holie euangelists, sware with him vpon perill of their soules, that he should stand to the iudgement of the church of Rome, and that if he repented him, and would refuse to stand to promise, they should then compell him to make satisfaction. Heervpon, they being all togither at Douer, the king and Pandulph, with the earls and barons, and a great multitude of other people, agreed and concluded vpon a finall peace in forme as here insueth.

Ran. Higd.

England became tributarie to the pope.

Matth. West.

Matth. Paris.

The charter of king Iohn his submission, *as it was conueied to the pope at Rome.*

IOhannes Dei gratia rex Angliæ, omnibus Christi fidelibus hanc chartam inspecturis, salutem in Domino. Vniuersitati vestræ per hanc chartam sigillo nostro munitam, volumus esse notum, quòd cùm Deum & matrem nostram sanctam ecclesiam offenderimus in multis, & proinde diuina misericordia plurimùm indigeamus, nec quid dignè offerre possimus pro satisfactione Deo & ecclesiæ debita facienda, nisi nosmetipsos humiliemus & regna nostra, volentes nosipsos humiliare, pro illo qui se pro nobis humiliauit vsq; ad mortem, gratia sancti spiritus inspirante, non vi interdicti nec timore coacti, sed nostra bona spontaneáq; voluntate, ac communi consilio baronum nostrorum conferimus, & liberè concedimus Deo & sanctis apostolis eius Petro & Paulo, & sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ matri nostræ, ac domino papæ Innocentio, eiúsq; catholicis successoribus, totum regnum Angliæ, & totum

regnum Hyberniæ, cum omni iure & pertinentijs suis, pro remissione omnium peccatorum nostrorum, & totius generis nostri, tam pro viuis quàm pro defunctis, & amodò illa ab eo & ecclesia Romana tanquam secundarius recipientes & tenentes, in præsentia prudentis viri Pandulphi domini papæ subdiaconi & familiaris.

Exindè prædicto domino papæ Innocentio, eiúsque catholicis successoribus, & ecclesiæ Romanæ, secundùm subscriptam formam fecimus & iurauimus, & homagium ligium in præsentia Pandulphi; si coram domino papa esse poterimus, eidem faciemus: successores nostros & hæredes de vxore nostra in perpetuum obligantes, vt simili modo summo pontifici, qui pro tempore fuerit, & ecclesiæ Romanæ, sine contradictione debeant fidelitatem præstare, & homagium recognoscere.

Ad indicium autem huius nostræ perpetuæ obligationis & concessionis, volumus & stabilimus, vt de proprijs & specialibus redditibus nostris prædictorum regnorum, pro omni seruitio & consuetudine, quæ pro ipsis facere debemus, saluis per omnia denarijs beati Petri, ecclesia Romana mille marcas Esterlingorum percipiat annuatim: in festo scilicet sancti Michaëlis quingentas marcas, & in Pascha quingentas: septingentas scilicet pro regno Angliæ, & trecentas pro regno Hyberniæ, saluis nobis & hæredibus nostris, iustitijs, libertatibus, & regalibus nostris. Quæ omnia, sicut supra scripta sunt, rata esse volentes atque firma, obligamus nos & successores nostros contra non venire, & si nos vel aliquis successorum nostrorum contra hæc attentare præsumpserit, quicunq; ille fuerit, nisi ritè commonitus resipuerit, cadat à iure regni.

Et hæc charta obligationis & concessionis nostræ, semper firma permaneat. Teste meipso, apud domum militum templi iuxta Doueram, coram H. Dublinensi archiepiscopo, Iohanne Norwicensi episcopo, Galfrido filio Petri, W. comite Sarisburiæ, Willielmo comite Penbroc, R. comite Bononiæ, W. comite Warennæ, S. comite Winton, W. comite Arundel, W. comite de Ferarijs, W. Briwere, Petro filio Hereberti, Warino filio Geroldi, 15 die Maij, anno regni nostri decimo quarto.

This deed and instrument being written and ingrossed, the king deliuered it vnto Pandulph, to take with him to Rome, there to make deliuerie thereof to pope Innocent, and herewith did homage to the same pope, in forme as followeth.

The words of fealtie made by king Iohn to the pope.

EGo Iohannes Dei gratia rex Angliæ, & dominus Hyberniæ, ab hac hora & in antea, fidelis ero Deo & beato Petro & ecclesiæ Romanæ, & domino meo papæ domino Innocentio, eiúsq; successoribus catholicè intrantibus. Non ero in facto, in dicto, consensu vel consilio, vt vitam perdant vel membra, vel mala captione capiantur. Eorum damnum si sciuero, impediam, & remanere faciam si potero: alioquin eis quàm citiùs potero intimabo, vel tali personæ dicam, quàm eis credam pro certo dicturam. Consilium quod mihi crediderint, per se vel per nuncios suos seu literas suas, secretum, tenebo, & ad eorum damnum nulli pandam me sciente. Patrimonium beati Petri, & specialiter regnum Angliæ, & regnum Hyberniæ adiutor ero ad tenendum & defendendum, contra omnes homines pro posse meo. Sic me adiuuet Deus, & hæc sancta euangelia, Amen. Acta autem sunt hæc, vt prædictum est, in vigilia dominicæ Ascensionis ad Doueram, Anno 1213.

In English thus.

IOhn by the grace of God king of England, and lord of Ireland, from this houre forward, shall be faithfull to God and to saint Peter, and to the church of Rome, and to my lord pope Innocentius, and to his successours lawfully entring. I shall not be in word nor deed, in consent or counsell, that they should lose life or member, or be apprehended in euill manner. Their losse if I may know it, I shall impeach and staie, so far as I shalbe able, or else so shortlie as I can I shall signifie vnto them, or declare to such person the which I shall beleeue will declare the same vnto them. The counsell which they shal commit to me by themselues, their messengers, or letters, I shall keepe secret, and not vtter to any man to their hurt to my knowledge. The patrimonie of S. Peter, and speciallie the kingdomes of England and Ireland, I shall indeuour my selfe to defend against all men to my power. So helpe me God, and these holie euangelists, Amen. These things were done on the eeue of the Ascension of our Lord, in the yeare 1213.

Pandulph hauing thus reconciled king John, thought not good to release the excommunication, till the king had performed all things which he had promised, and so with all speed hauing receiued eight thousand markes sterling in part of restitution to be made to the archbishop, and the other banished men, he sailed backe into France, & came to Roan, where he declared to king Philip the effect of his trauell, and what he had done in England. But king Philip hauing in this meane while consumed a great masse of monie, to the summe of sixtie thousand pounds, as he himselfe alledged, about the furniture of his iournie, which he intended to haue made into England, vpon hope to haue had no small aid within the realme, by reason of such bishops and other banished men as he had in France with him, was much offended for the reconciliation of king John, and determined not so to breake off his enterprise, least it might be imputed to him for a great reproch to haue beene at such charges and great expenses in vaine. Therefore calling his councell togither, he declared vnto them what he purposed to do.

Matth. Paris.

Foztie thousand marks of siluer saith Matth. West.

The French K. displeased for the reconciliation of K. John with the pope.

All his Nobles in like manner held with him, and allowed his purpose to be verie good and requisite, except the earle of Flanders named Ferdinando, who (in hope to recouer againe those townes, which the French king held from him in Arthois, as Aire, and S. Omers) had ioined secretlie in league with king John, and with the earle of Bullongne, and therefore misliked the conclusion of their aduise. Howbeit king Philip not being yet fullie certified hereof, caused his nauie to draw alongest the coast towards Flanders, whither he himselfe hasted to go also by land, that comming thither, he might from thence saile ouer into England, and take land at a place to him assigned.

The French king meaneth to proceed in his iournie against the realme of England.

Now it came to passe, that at his comming to Graueling, he had perfect knowledge, that the earle of Flanders was ioined in league with his enimies, therfore he determined first to subdue the earle, least whilest

whilest he should be out of his realme, some great trouble or sedition might rise within his owne dominions. Therfore, leauing the enterprise which he ment to haue made against England, he turned his power against the earle of Flanders, and first commanded his nauie to saile vnto the port of Dam, whilest he himselfe keeping on his iournie still by land, toke the towne of Cassile, and likewise Ypres. From thence he went to Bruges, and besieged the towne, but he could not win it at the first, and therefore leauing a power of men to mainteine the siege before it, he himselfe went to Gaunt, and thereto also laid his siege.

The French K. inuadeth Flanders.

Gaunt besieged by the French king.

In the meane time, the earle of Flanders perceiuing that he was not able to resist so puissant an enimie as the French king, sent ouer in hast vnto the king of England for aid. Whereupon king John vnderstanding that his aduersarie king Philip had turned all his force against the earle of Flanders, and that thereby he was deliuered out of the feare of the Frenchmens comming into England; that same nauie (which as before is recited) he had put in a readinesse, conteining the number of fiue hundred saile, he sent freight into Flanders with a strong armie, both of horsemen and footmen, vnder the guiding of William duke of Holland, William Longspée earle of Salisburie base brother to king John, and Reignold earle of Bullongne.

Matth. Paris.

These captens being now passed forth with their fléets into the maine sea, espied anon manie ships lieng without the hauen of Dam (for the number of ships of the French fléet was so great, that the hauen could not receiue them all, so that manie of them laie at anchor without the hauen mouth, and all alongst the coast.) Wherefore they sent forth certeine shallops, to espie whether they were frends or enimies, and what their number and order was. It chanced, that the same time, the men of warre which were appointed to keepe the French fleet, were gone forth, togither with a great number of the mariners, to spoile and fetch booties abroad in the countrie.

The English espials therefore, making semblance as though they had beene some fishermen of those parts, came verie neere the French ships lieng at anchor, and perceiuing them to be vnfurnished of people necessarie to defend them, came backe to their companie, and declared what they had seene, certifieng their captens that the victorie was in their hands, if they would make speed. The captens glad of these newes, commanded their men to make them readie to giue battell, and causing their mariners to make saile directlie towards the French fléet, at their first approch they wanne those tall ships that laie at anchor abroad before the hauen, without any great resistance, the mariners onelie making request to haue their liues saued. The other smaller vessels which (after the tide was gone) remained vpon the sands (spoiling them first of their tackle and other things that would serue to vse) they consumed with fier, the mariners escaping by flight.

The English men assaile the French ships.

Thus the Englishmen hauing dispatched this businesse with good successe, did set vpon those ships that laie in harborough within the hauen. But here was hard hold for a while, because the narrownesse of the place would not giue any great aduantage to the greater number. And those Frenchmen that were gone abroad into the countrie, perceiuing that the enimies were come, by the running awaie of the mariners, returned with all speed to their ships to aid their fellowes, and so made valiant resistance for a time, till the Englishmen getting on land, and ranging themselues on either side of the hauen, beat the Frenchmen so on the sides, and the ships grapling togither on front, that they fought as it had bin in a pitcht field, till that finallie the Frenchmen were not able to sustéine the force of the Englishmen, but were constreined (after long fight and great slaughter) to yéeld themselues prisoners.

The English men wanne the French ships.

The English captens glad of this victorie gotten, contrarie to expectation, first gaue thanks to God for the same, and then manning three hundred of those French ships, which they had taken fraught with corne, wine, oile, flesh, and other vittels, and also with armour, they sent them awaie into England, and afterwards they set fire vpon the residue that laie on ground, which were aboue an hundred, because they were drawne vp so farre vpon the sands, that they could not easilie get them out, without their further inconuenience. After this, comming on land with their power, they marched forth into the countrie in good order of battell, to the end that if they should encounter with king Philip by the way comming to the rescue of his ships, they might be readie to giue them battell, which thing was not deuised, without good and great consideration.

For king Philip being certified of the danger wherein his ships stood by the sudden comming of his enimies, and therewithall being in good hope to come to their succours in time, and yet the Englishmen had wrote their full feat, he raised his siege, and made hast toward the coast: but as he was comming forward towards his nauie, he was aduertised that the enimies had wonne all his whole fléet, and were now marching forth to méet him, and to giue him battell. Also it was told him, how Ferdinando the earle of Flanders, being certified of the victorie atchiued by his frends, followed at his backe. Wherefore, least he should séeme ouer rashlie to commit himselfe into manifest perill, he staied a little from Bruges, and there incamped for that day, as if he ment to abide the comming of his enimies.

The French K. returneth into France.

The next morrow he raised and returned towards France, the verie same waie that he came, no man pursuing him. For the Englishmen contented with that victorie which they had gotten, thought it not necessarie to follow him with their further hazard. In the meane time, king John receiuing newes of this prosperous victorie thus gotten by his people, did wonderfullie reioise for the same, conceiuing an hope, that all his businesse would now come forward and growe to good successe.

Matt. Paris, Polydor. Iacob. Meir.

¶ This is the truth of this historie, as some authors haue set it forth. But Iames Meir in his discourse of Flanders declareth the matter somwhat otherwise, as thus: Upon the thursdaie before the Pentecost (saith he) the English fléet setting vpon the French nauie, which laie at anchor in the hauen of Dam, drowned certeine of the French vessels, and toke to the number of foure, which they conueied awaie with them. Ferdinando the earle of Flanders hauing an armie of men readie by land, was lodged the same time not far off from the coast, and therefore hearing what had chanced, came the next day, and ioined with the Englishmen.

There were yet remaining also diuerse other of the French ships (besides those which the Englishmen had sunke and taken) which were drawne vp further into the land ward. The earle of Flanders therefore, and the English captens iudged, that it should much hinder the French kings attempts, if they might win those ships also with the towne of Dam, wherin the king had laid vp a great part of his prouision for the furniture of his warres. Hereupon the Englishmen were set on land, and ioining with the earls power, they marched strait towards Dam. This was vpon Whitsun éuen, on the which day, as they were most busie in assaulting the towne and ships which laie there in the hauen, the French king being

being come awaie from Gaunt, suddenlie set vpon them, and though in the beginning he found sharpe resistance, yet in the end, the Englishmen and Flemmings ouerset with the great multitude of the Frenchmen, were put to flight, and chased to their ships, with the losse of two thousand men, besides those that were taken prisoners, amongst the which were found to be 22 knights.

The Englishmen and Flemings vanquished by the French force.

The earle of Flanders with the earles of Bullen and Salisburie, doubting to lose their ships, and late gotten bootie, sailed strait into one of the Iles of Zeland called Walkeren. Then the French king constreining them of Gaunt, Bruges, and Ypres, to deliuer vnto him pledges, caused the towne of Dam, and his ships lieng there in the hauen to be burned, doubting least they should come into the hands of his enimies. This done, he returned into France, leauing his sonne Lewes and the earle of S. Paule in garrison at Lisle and Dowai, and for great sums of monie, which by agreement he receiued of the townes of Gaunt, Bruges, and Ypres, he restored vnto them their pledges. Thus saith Meire: and Mathew Paris differeth not much from him touching the successe which chanced to the Englishmen by land. ¶ Heere will I staie a while in the further narration of this matter, and touch by the way a thing that happened to king John about this present time.

The French king burneth his ships.

There was in this season an heremit, whose name was Peter, dwelling about Yorke, a man in great reputation with the common people, bicause that either inspired with some spirit of prophesie as the people beleeued, or else hauing some notable skill in art magike, he was accustomed to tell what should follow after. And for so much as oftentimes his saiengs proued true, great credit was giuen to him as to a verie prophet: which was no good consequence that therefore his predictions compriséd vndoubted euents. Naie rather, sith in this pseudoprophet or false foreteller of afterclaps, these necessarie concurrents (namelie,

Si sensus atq; affectus compresserit omnes,
Si spernens prorsus mortalia gaudia, sese
Abdicet a curis terrenis, assiduoq;
Conetur studio ad superos extollere mentem,
Tunc etenim sapiens fiet, poteritq; futura
Cernere, vel vigilans vel somno oppressus inerti,
Hoc pacto cecinêre olim ventura prophetæ)

were wanting, and that he was contrarilie qualified to that which this heptastichon comprehendeth, necessarilie it followeth, that he was not as he was taken, but rather a deluder of the people, and an instrument of satan raised vp for the inlargement of his kingdome; as the sequele of this discourse importeth. This Peter about the first of Januarie last past, had told the king, that at the feast of the Ascension it should come to passe, that he should be cast out of his kingdome. And (whether, to the intent that his words should be the better beléeued, or whether vpon too much trust of his owne cunning) he offered himselfe to suffer death for it, if his prophesie proued not true. Herevpon being committed to prison within the castell of Corke, when the day by him prefixed came, without any other notable damage vnto king John, he was by the kings commandement drawne from the said castell, vnto the towne of Warham, & there hanged, togither with his sonne.

An heremit named Peter of Pontfret, or Wakefield as some writers haue. See M. Fox, tome first, pag. 331.

The heremit and his sonne hanged.

The people much blamed king John, for this extreame dealing, bicause that the heremit was supposed to be a man of great vertue, and his sonne nothing guiltie of the offense committed by his father (if any were) against the king. Moreouer, some thought, that he had much wrong to die, bicause the matter fell out euen as he had prophesied: for the day before the Ascension day, king John had resigned the superioritie of his kingdome (as they take the matter) vnto the pope, and had done to him homage, so that he was no absolute king indéed, as authors affirme. One cause, and that not the least which moued king John the soner to agrée with the pope, rose through the words of the said heremit, that did put such a feare of some great mishap in his hart, which should grow through the disloialtie of his people, that it made him yéeld the soner. But to the matter againe.

King John (after his captains in Flanders had sped so well as before yee haue heard) prepared to make a voiage into Guien, not much regarding the matter, in that the realme stood as yet interdicted. But when he vnderstood by his lords, that they would not go with him except the interdicting might first be released, and he clearlie absolued of the popes curse, to the end that Gods wrath and the popes being fullie pacified towards him, he might with better sped moue and mainteine the warres, he was constreined to change his purpose, and so comming to Winchester, dispatched forth a messenger with letters, signed with the hands of foure and twentie earles and barons, to the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishops of London, Lincolne, and Hereford, as then sojourning in France, requiring them with all the other banished men to returne into England, promising them by his letters patents, not onelie a sure safeconduct for their comming ouer, but that he would also forget all passed displeasures, and frankelie restore vnto euerie man all that by his means had béene wrongfullie taken from them, and as yet by him deteined.

King John writeth to the archbishop & the other bishops to returne.

The archbishop and the other bishops receiuing the kings letters, with all speed made hast to come into England, and so arriuing at Douer the sixteenth day of Julie, with other the banished men, they went to Winchester, where the king yet remained, who hearing that the bishops were come, went forth to receiue them, and at his first méeting with the archbishop of Canturburie, he kneeled downe at his féet, and besought him of forgiuenesse, and that it would please him and the other bishops also to prouide for the releése of the miserable state of the realme. Herewith the water standing in diuerse of their eies on both sides, they entred into the citie, the people greatlie reioising to behold the head of the commonwealth agrée at length with the members. This was in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour 1213.

The bishops do returne.

They came to Winchester the 20 of Julie.

The K. kneeleth to the archbishop.

King John required of the archbishop (hauing as then the popes power in his hands, bicause he was his legat) to be absolued, promising vpon his solemne receiued oth, that he would (afore all things) defend the church and the order of priesthood from receiuing anie wrongs. Also, that he would restore the old lawes made by the ancient kings of England, and namelie those of S. Edward, which were almost extinguished and forgotten. And further, that he would make recompense to all men whom he had by anie meanes indamaged. This done, he was absolued by the archbishop, & shortlie after he sent his oratours to Rome, to intreat with the bishop to take awaie the interdiction of the land. On the morrow after also, the king sent his letters vnto all the shiriffes of the counties within the realme, commanding them to summon foure lawfull men of euerie towne belonging to the demeans of the crowne, to make their appearance at S. Albons, vpon the 4 daie of August, that they and other might make inquisition of the losses which euerie bishop had susteined, what had bæne taken from them, and what ought to be restored to them as due for the same.

The king praieth to be absolued.

He is absolued.

A quest of inquirie.

The archbishop for that time taking his leaue of the king, went to Canturburie, where he restored the

monks

The archbishop taketh possession of his see.

monks to their abbie, and then toke possession of his see, being the two and fortith archbishop that had ruled the same. In the meane time, the king repaired to Portesmouth, there to take the sea to saile ouer into Poictow, committing the rule of the realme vnto Geffrey Fitz Peter or Fitz Peers, lord chefe iustice, and to the bishop of Winchester, commanding them to vse the counsell and aduise of the archbishop of Canturburie, in gouerning things touching the common-wealth. Herewith there came also to the king a great multitude of men of warre, alledging, that they had spent in staieng for him, and his going ouer sea all their monie, so that he must now needs giue them wages, if he would haue them to passe ouer with him into France. The which when he refused to do, he was constreined to take the water with his owne seruants, arriuing about a three daies after at the Ile of Jersey: but perceiuing that none of his lords followed him according to his commandement, as one disappointed of aid, he returned backe againe into England, there to take further order for this their misdemeanour.

The lords refuse to follow the king into France.

Whilest these things were thus in doing, Geffrey Fitz Peter, and the bishop of Winchester were come to S. Albons, togither with the archbishop of Canturburie, and other bishops and peeres of the realme, where the kings peace being proclaimed to all men, it was on his behalfe streitlie commanded, that the lawes of K. Henrie his grandfather should be obserued vniuersallie within his realme, and that all vniust lawes and ordinances should be abrogated. It was also commanded, that no shiriffe, nor forrester, nor other minister of the kings, should vpon paine of life and limme, take violentlie anie thing of any man by wate of extortion, nor presume to wrong anie man, or to fine anie man, as they had afore time beene accustomed to do.

King Henrie the first his lawes.

After this, the king being come backe from his iournie, which he purposed to haue made into Poictow, assembled an armie, and ment to haue gone against those lords which had refused to go with him, but the archbishop of Canturburie comming to him at Northampton, sought to appease his mood, and to cause him to staie, but yet in his furious rage he went forward till he came to Notingham, and there with much adoo, the archbishop following him with threatning to excommunicate all those that should aid him, procured him to leaue off his enterprise.

The archbishop menaceth to excommunicate those that assist the king.

Then the archbishop (about the fiue and twentith day of August) came to London, there to take aduise for the reformation of things touching the good gouernement of the common-wealth. But here whilest the archbishop, with other peeres of the realme deuised orders verie necessarie (as was thought) for the state of the common-wealth, the king doubting least the same should be a bridle for him to restreine his authoritie roiall from doing things to his pleasure, he began to find fault, and seemed as though he had repented himselfe of his large promises made for his reconciliation: but the archbishop of Canturburie so asswaged his mood, and persuaded him, by opening vnto him what danger would insue both to him and to his realme, if he went from the agreement, that he was glad to be quiet for feare of further trouble.

In this hurlie burlie also the lords and peeres of the realme (by the setting on of the archbishop) were earnestlie bent to haue the king to restore and confirme the grant which his grandfather king Henrie the first had by his charter granted and confirmed to his subiects, which to do, king John thought greatlie preiudiciall to his roiall estate and dignitie. The earle of Tholouse hauing lost all his possessions, the citie of Tholouse onelie excepted, came ouer into England, & rendred the said citie into the hands of king John, and receiued at his departure, the somme of ten thousand marks as was reported, by the bountifull gift of king John.

Ralfe Cog. The earle of Tholouse.

Upon the second of October, Geffrey Fitz Peter earle of Essex and lord cheefe iustice of England departed this life, a man of great power and authoritie, in whose politike direction and gouernement, the order of things perteining to the common-wealth chefelie consisted. He was of a noble mind, expert in knowledge of the lawes of the land, rich in possessions, and ioined in blod or affinitie with the more part of all the Nobles of the realme, so that his death was no small losse to the commonwelth: for through him and the archbishop Hubert, the king was oftentimes reuoked from such wilfull purposes, as now and then he was determined to haue put in practise, in so much that the king, as was reported (but how trulie I cannot tell) seemed to reioise for his death, because he might now worke his will without anie to controll him.

Matth. Paris. Geffrey Fitz Peers or Fitz Peter departeth this life.

The same time, to wit, about the feast of saint Michaell, came Nicholas the cardinall of Tusculane into England, sent from the pope, to take awaie the interdiction, if the king would stand to that agreement which he had made and promised by his oth to performe. King John receiued this cardinall in most honorable wise, and gladlie heard him in all things that he had to saie. This legat at his comming to Westminster, deposed the abbat of that place, named William from his rome, for that he was accused both of wasting the reuenues of the house, and also of notable incontinencie. Moreouer the burgesses of the towne of Oxford came vnto him to obteine absolution of their offense, in that through their presumption, the three schollers (of whom ye haue heard before) were hanged there, to the great terror of all the residue. To be short, they were absolued and penance inioined them, that they should strip them out of their apparell at euerie church in the towne, and going barefoted with scourges in their hands, they should require the benefit of absolution of euerie parish preest within their towne, saieng the psalme of Miserere.

A cardinall sent into England.

The burgesses of Oxford require absolution.

After this, the said cardinall called a councell or conuocation of the cleargie, to reforme such things touching the state of the church as should be thought requisite. And though he handled not this matter with such fauour and vprightnesse as the bishops wished on their behalfes, yet he caused king John to restore the most part of all those goods that remained vnspent, and also the value of halfe of those that were consumed and made awaie, vnto those persons as well spirituall as temporall, from whom they had beene taken in time of the discord betwixt him and the pope. But before all things could be thus quieted and set in order betwixt the king and the bishops, manie meetings were had, as at London, Reading, Mallingford, and in other places.

A cõuocation called by the cardinall.

Now the archbishop and prelates for their parts thought this recompense to be but small, in respect of the great losses and hinderances which they had susteined: and to haue the whole restitution delaied, they toke it not well. Howbeit the cardinall leaned so to the kings side (hauing receiued of him to the popes vse the charter of subiection of the realmes of England and Ireland, now bulled with gold, where at the first it was deliuered to Pandulph sealed onelie with wax. But their suit came to little effect, and in the end it fell out in such wise, that their complaint was lesse regarded. Moreouer, the rating of the value which the king should restore vnto the archbishop, and the other bishops, was by agreement of the king and them togither, appointed vnto foure barons indifferentlie chosen betwixt them.

At

Restitution to be made to the bishops.

At length notwithstanding that deuise toke no place: for it was otherwise decréed by the pope, that the king should restore to them the summe of fortie thousand marks, of the which he had paid alreadie twelue thousand, before the returne of the said archbishop and bishops into the realme, and fiftéene thousand more at the late méeting had betwixt them at Reading, so that there remained onelie 13000 behind: for not onelie the king, but also the cardinall had sent to the pope, requiring him to take direction in the matter, and to aduertise him, that there was a great fault in the archbishop and his fellowes. In so much that Pandulph which was sent to him from the legat, declared in fauour of the king, that there was not a more humble and modest prince to be found than king John, and that the archbishop and his fellowes were too hard, and shewed themselues too couetous in requiring the restitution that should be made to them for losses susteined in time of the interdiction.

King John commended to the pope for an humble prince.

Now the cause wherefore the legat and the king did send vnto the pope, was this. There was some grudge betwixt the legat and the archbishop, for that where the pope had written to the legat, how he should (according to the order of the ancient canons of the church) place in euerie bishops sée and abbeie (that was void) méet and able persons to rule and guide the same, the legat presuming on that authoritie granted him by the pope, without the aduise of the archbishop or other bishops, toke onelie with him certeine of the kings chapleins, and comming with them to such churches as were vacant, ordeined in them such persons as were not ing mét to take such charge vpon them, and that according to the old abuse of England, as Matthew Paris saith. Whereupon the archbishop of Canturburie repining at such doings, sent to the legat as then being at Burton vpon Trent, two of his chapleins from Dunstable (where he and his suffragans held as then a synod, after the feast of the Epiphanie) commanding him by waie of appeale, in no wise to meddle with instituting any gouernours to churches, within the precinct of his iurisdiction, where such institutions belonged onelie to him.

Matth. Paris. The presumption of the cardinall.

1214

Burton vpon Trent. Dunstable. A synod. Discord betwixt the cardinall and the archbishop of Canturburie.

Herevpon therefore the legat dispatched Pandulph to Rome vnto the pope as is aforesaid, and the king likewise sent ambassadors thither, as the bishop of Norwich, and the archdeacon of Northumberland, with others, the which in the end so behaued themselues in their suit, that notwithstanding Simon Langton the archbishops brother earnestlie withstood them, as proctor for the bishops, yet at length, the pope toke order in the matter, writing vnto his legat, that he should sée the same fulfilled, and then absolue the realme of the former interdiction. In this meane time, king John made prouision to go ouer into France (as after yee shall heare) but at his going ouer he committed the whole ordering of this matter vnto the legat, and to William Marshall the earle of Penbroke. The legat therefore vpon the receipt of the popes bulles, called a councell at London, and there declaring what was conteined in the same, he toke bands for paiment of the residue of the fortie thousand marks which was behind, being 13000 onelie, as before I haue said.

Walter Gray bishop of Worcester is remoued to the sée of Yorke.

About the same time also, Walter Gray bishop of Worcester was remoued to the gouernement of the sée of Yorke, which had béen vacant euer since the death of the archbishop Geffrey. This Walter was the three & thirtith archbishop that gouerned that sée. But now to returne and speake of the kings affaires in the parts beyond the sea. Ye shall vnderstand, that hauing set his businesse in some good staie at home with the legat, he applied his studie to the perfourmance of his wars abroad, and therefore he first sent monie into Flanders to paie the souldiers wages, which he had sent thither to aid the erle there against king Philip. Which earle came ouer this yeare into England, and at Canturburie the king receiued him, where he did homage to the king for the whole earledome of Flanders: and on the other part, the king as well to the said earle, as to such lords and bishops which came ouer with him, declared his roiall liberalitie by princelie gifts of gold, siluer, iewels, and pretious stones. After his returne, such capteins as remained in his countrie with their bands at the king of Englands paie, made a iournie into France, and wasted the lands that belonged to the earle of Guisnes, wanne the castell of Brumcham, and raced it, taking within it diuerse men of armes and demilances. They also wanne by siege the towne of Aire, and burnt it. The castell of Liens they toke by assault, and slue manie souldiers that defended it, beside those which they toke prisoners.

Monie sent in to Flanders.

Rafe Cog. The earle of Flanders doth homage to K. Iohn.

Matth. Paris. The lands of the erle of Guisnes wasted.

Moreouer, they wasted and destroied the lands which Lewes the French kings sonne was possessed of in those parts. In the meane time, king John hauing prepared a mightie nauie, and a strong armie of valiant soldiers, toke sea at Portsmouth on Candlemas day, with his wife, his sonne Richard, & Elinor the sister of Arthur duke of Britaine. He had not many of his earles or barons with him, but a great number of knights and gentlemen, with whome he landed at Rochell in safetie, within a few daies after his setting forth. He toke ouer with him inestimable treasure, as it was reported, in gold, siluer, and iewels. Immediatlie vpon his arriuall at Rochell, the barons of Poictow reuolted from the French king, and comming in to king John, did homage vnto him, as to their king and souereigne lord.

But howsoeuer it was, after the truce began to expire which he had granted vnto the earls of Marsh and Augi, on the friday before Whitsunday he came with his armie before the castell of Metreuent, which belonged vnto Geffrey de Lucignam, and on the day next insuing, being Whitsun éue, he wanne the same. On Whitsunday he laid siege vnto Nouant, an other castell belonging to the same Geffrey, who as then was lodged in the same, and also two of his sonnes: but within three daies after that the siege was laid, the earle of Marsh came to king John, and did so much preuaile, that through his means, both Geffrey and his two sonnes were receiued to mercie, and king John put in possession of the castell. After this, bicause king John was aduertised, that Lewes the French kings sonne had now besieged Mountcounter, a castell that was apperteining to the said Geffrey, he hasted thitherwards, and came to Parthenay, whither came to him as well the foresaid earle of Marsh, as also the earle of Augi, and both they togither with the said Geffrey de Lucignam, did homage to our king, and so became his liege men. The same time also, the ladie Jane the kings daughter was affianced to the said earle of Marsh his sonne, whereas the French king made means to haue hir married to his sonne: but bicause king John doubted least that suit was attempted but vnder some cloked pretense, he would giue no eare thereto, but rather made this match with the earle of Marsh, in hope so to assure himselfe of the said earle, that he might stand him in no small stéed to defend his cause against his aduersaries of France. But now to the doings in England.

Anno. Reg. 16.

Metreuent. Geffrey de Lucignam.

Nouant.

Mountcounter.

Parthenay.

Jane the daughter of king John married to the erle of Marsh.

¶ Ye haue heard before how pope Innocent (or rather Nocent, who was the root of much mischiefe and trouble, which qualities are nothing consonant to his name) according to that king John had required of him by solemne messengers, directed his bulles vnto his

his legat Nicholas, declaring vpon what conditions his pleasure was to haue the sentence of interdiction released. Wherein first he commanded that the king should satisfie and pay so much monie vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, and to the bishop of London and Elie, as should fullie amount to the summe of 40 thousand markes (with that which alreadie he had paied, which was 27 thousand markes, at two seuerall paiments, as vpon his accounts appeared.) For true contentation and paiment to be made of the residue, he ordeined that the king should be sworne, and also seale to an obligation, and certeine sureties with him (as the bishops of Norwich and Winchester, with the earles of Chester, Winchester, and Marshall) all which things were performed at this present, so that after the assurance so taken for paiment of the od 13 thousand marks behind, residue of the 40 thousand marks, the interdiction was taken vtterlie awaie, and the land solemnelie released by the legat, sitting within the cathedrall church of S. Paule at London, vpon the 29 of June, in the yeare 1214, after the terme of six yeares, three moneths, and 14 daies, that the realme had bene stricken with that dreadfull dart of correction, as it was then esteemed.

The interdiction released.

King Iohn in the meane time remaining still in France, and finding at the beginning fortune fauorable inough vnto him, by reason his power was much increased by the aid of the Poictouins, determined to attempt the winning of Britaine, for this cause specially, that he might by so doing weaken the French kings power, and partlie also to withdraw him from the wars of Flanders, on which side he had procured likewise the French borders to be inuaded with great force, and that not onelie by the earle and such capteins as he had sent thither, and reteined in wages, but also by the emperour Otho, who in proper person came downe into that countrie himselfe.

The emperor Otho.

Herevpon king Iohn went forth with all his power of horssemen, and entering into Britaine, made rodes through the countrie, wasting the same euen to the walles of Naunts: but shortlie after the Britaines assembled togither, vnder the leading of Peter, the son of Robert earle of Dreux (the French kings vncle, who had maried the ladie Adela, daughter to duke Guie of Britaine) and marching forth into the field to defend their countrie from the enimies, came to ioine with them in battell. At the first there was a verie sharpe incounter, but at length the Britains being vanquished and put to flight, a great number of them were taken prisoners, and amongst other their capteins, the foresaid Peter was one, whom king Iohn sent awaie with all the rest vnto Angiers, to be kept in safegard vntill he should returne.

K. Iohn inuadeth Britaine.

The Britaines put to flight.

Peter the erle of Dreux his sonne taken prisoner.

After this, he besieged a castell that stood vpon the banke of the riuer of Loier, called La Roch au moyne, inforcing his whole indeuour to haue woone it. But yet he could atteine his purpose, he was aduertised that Lewes the sonne of king Philip was comming towards him with a great power to raise his siege. Wherefore hauing no great confidence in the Poictouins, and vnderstanding that Lewes brought with him a verie strong armie, he tooke aduise of his councell, who iudged that it should be best for him to breake vp his siege and to depart, which he did, and went streight waies to Angiers. Lewes (after king Iohn was thus retired) brought the Poictouins againe to subiection, and put the chiefe authours of the rebellion to death. In the meane time also his father king Philip with like successe, but in a fought field, vanquished the emperour Otho at the bridge of Bouins on the 28 day of Iulie, as in the history of France more at large appeare. There among other prisoners, the three earles of Flanders Salisburie and Bullogne were taken.

The French kings sonne came to fight with king Iohn.

K. Iohn retireth to Angiers.

The Poictouins subdued by the Frēch.

The battell at the bridge of Bouins.

Now king Iohn being aduertised of that ouerthrow, was marueilouslie sad and sorrowfull for the chance, in so much that he would not receiue any meat in a whole daie after the newes thereof was brought vnto him. At length turning his sorrow into rage, he openlie said, that since the time that he made himselfe & his kingdom subiect to the church of Rome, nothing that he did had prospered well with him. Indeed he condescended to an agreement with the pope (as may be thought) more by force than of deuotion, and therefore rather dissembled with the pope (sith he could not otherwise chuse) than agreed to the couenants with any hartie affection.

The saieng of king Iohn.

But to the purpose. Perceiuing himselfe now destitute of his best frends, of whom diuerse remained prisoners with the French king (being taken at the battell of Bouins) he thought good to agree with king Philip for this present, by way of taking some truce, which by mediation of ambassadours riding to and fro betwixt them, was at length accorded to endure for fiue yeares, and to begin at Easter, in the yeare of our Lord, 1215. After this, about the 19 daie of October he returned into England, to appease certeine tumults which began alreadie to shoot out buds of some new ciuill dissention. And surelie the same spred abroad their blossoms so freshlie, that the fruit was knit before the growth by anie timelie prouision could be hindered. For the people being set on by diuerse of the superiours of both sorts, finding themselues greeued that the king kept not promise in restoring the ancient lawes of S. Edward, determined from thencefoorth to vse force, since by request he might not preuaile. To appease this furie of the people, not onlie policie but power also was required, for the people vndertaking an euill enterprise, specially raising a tumult or ioining in a conspiracie are as hardlie suppressed and vanquished as Hydra the monster hauing manie heads: and therefore it is well said, that

A truce taken betwixt the two kings of England & France.

——comes est discordia vulgi,
Namque à turbando nomen sibi turba recepit.

The Nobles supposing that longer delaie therein was not to be suffered, assembled themselues togither at the abbeie of Burie (vnder colour of going thither to do their deuotions to the bodie of S. Edmund which laie there inshrined) where they vttered their complaint of the kings tyrannicall maners, alledging how they were oftentimes called forth to serue in the wars & to fight in defense of the realme, and yet notwithstanding were still oppressed at home by the kings officers, who (vpon confidence of the lawes) attempted all things whatsoeuer they conceiued. And if anie man complained, or alledged that he receiued wrong at their hands, they would answer by and by, that they had law on their side to do as they had done, so that it was no wrong but right which they did, and therfore if they that were the lords and peeres of the realme were men, it stood them vpon to prouide that such inconueniences might be auoided, and better lawes brought in vse, by the which their ancestours liued in a more quiet and happie state.

A cloked pilgrimage.

There was brought forth and also read an ancient charter made sometime by Henrie the first (which charter Stephan the archbishop of Canturburie had deliuered vnto them before in the citie of London) conteining the grant of certeine liberties according to the lawes of king Edward the confessor, profitable to the church and barons of the realme, which they purposed to haue vniuersallie executed ouer all the land. And therfore being thus assembled in the quere

The charter of K. Henrie the first.

A firebrand of dissention.

of

of the church of S. Edmund, they receiued a solemne oth vpon the altar there, that if the king would not grant to the same liberties, with others which he of his owne accord had promised to confirme to them, they would from thenceforth make warre vpon him, till they had obteined their purpose, and inforced him to grant, not onelie to all these their petitions, but also yeld to the confirmation of them vnder his seale, for euer to remaine most stedfast and inuiolable.

Bernewell. The cheefe cause that moued the lords to this conspiracie, rose by reason the king demanded escuage of them that refused to go with him into Poictow: and they on the other part mainteined, that they were not bound to paie it, for any warres which the king made in the parts beyond the seas. But he to proue that he ought to haue it, declared how in his fathers and brothers time it was paied, and therefore he ought to haue it. Much adoo there was about this matter at the first broching thereof, and more adoo there had beene, if the legats presence had not somewhat stated the parties. But after they had gotten the charter of king Henrie the first at the hands of the archbishop of Canturburie, they made such a sinister interpretation thereof, that supposing it to serue their turnes, they proceeded in their wilfull opinions (as aboue is mentioned.)

Finallie it was determined amongst them, that shortlie after Christmasse, they should go to the king, and require of him that they might haue those lawes restored, which he had promised to them (as is afore said.) But forasmuch as they knew well that their suite would not be thankfullie accepted, in the meane time they prouided themselues of horsse, armour, and other furniture for the warre, thereby to be in the better readinesse and safegard, if in exhibiting their request, the matter did grow to any such inforcement. They appointed also diuerse of the most ancient lords to moue the said matter to the king, in all their names, who was as then at Worcester, and being aduertised of this conspiracie, as soone as the feast of Christmasse was past, he went streight to London: thither came the lords also with like spéed, leauing their men in the townes and villages abroad, to be readie vpon any sudden warning to come vnto them, if néed should so require.

1215
Matt. Paris. Polydor.

The lords present their request to the king. Being come into his presence, they required of him that it might please him, first, to appoint the exercise and vse of those ancient lawes vnto them, by the which the kings of England in times past ruled their subiects: secondlie, that according to his promise, he would abrogate those newer lawes, which euerie man might with good cause name méere wrongs, rather than lawes: and thirdlie they required of him the performance of all other things, which he had most faithfullie of late vndertaken to obserue. The king (though somewhat contrarie to his nature) hauing heard their request, gaue them a verie gentle answer. For perceiuing them readie with force to constreine him, if by gentlenesse they might not preuaile, he thought it should be more safe and easie for him to turne their vnquiet minds with soft remedies than to go about to breake them of their willes by strong hand, which is a thing verie dangerous, especiallie where both parts are of like force. Therefore he promised them within a few daies, to haue consideration of their request.

The K. promiseth to consider of their requests.

And to the intent they might giue the more credit to his words, he caused the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Elie, with William Marshall earle of Penbroke (vnto whome he had giuen his daughter Elianor in marriage) to vndertake for him, and as it were to become his suerties: which willinglie they did. Herewith the minds of the Nobilitie being somewhat pacified, returned home to their houses. The king soone after also, to assure himselfe the more effectuallie of the allegiance of his people in time to come, caused euerie man to renew his homage, and to take a new oth to be faithfull to him against all other persons. And to prouide the more suerlie for himselfe, on Candlemasse day next insuing, he tooke vpon him the crosse to go into the holie land, which I thinke he did rather for feare than any deuotion, as was also thought by other, to the end that he might (vnder the protection thereof) remaine the more out of danger of such as were his foes. In which point of dissimulation he shewed himselfe prudent, obseruing the counsell of the wiseman,

Matth. Paris. The king demandeth a new oth of allegiance of his subiects.

The king taketh on him the crosse.

——— inclusum corde dolorem
Dissimula atq; tace, ne deteriora subinde
Damma feras.

The causes of the discord betwixt the king and his barons. Fabian. Caxton. The earle of Chester. Hector Boet. The kings couetousnesse.

¶ Some say that a great part of this variance that chanced betweene king John and his barons, was bicause the king would without skilfull aduise haue exiled the earle of Chester, and for none other occasion than for that he had oftentimes aduised him to leaue his cruell dealing, and also his accustomed adulterie with his brothers wife and others. Other write, that the same dissention rose by reason of the great cruelties, and vnreasonable auarice, which the king vsed towards all the states and degrées of his subiects, as well towards them of the spiritualtie, as of the temporaltie. The prelats therefore of the realme sore repining at his doings, for that they could not patientlie suffer such exaction to be leuied of their liuings (contrarie as they tooke it to the libertie of the church) found means through practise, to persuade both the kings of Scotland and France to aid and support them against him, by linking themselues togither with sundrie noblemen of England. But these séeme to be coniectures of such writers as were euill affected towards the kings cause.

The repining of the clergie against the K.

Polydor. Now therefore to the sequele of the matter. The king hauing sent awaie the barons with a gentle answer, though he minded nothing lesse than to satisfie them in that they did demand, bicause it made much against his roiall prerogatiue: and therewith foreséeing that the matter would be like to grow at length to be tried by force, he began to dout his owne estate, and therefore prepared an armie, and fortified diuerse castels and places with men, munition, and vittels, into the which he might retire for his safetie in any time of néed. The barons which vnderstood the kings diligence herein, and coniecturing thereof his whole intent, made readie also their power, appointing for their generall one Robert Fitz Walter, a man both excellent in counsell, and valiant in warre. Herewith they came vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, presenting vnto him a booke, wherein was conteined a note of all the articles of their petitions, & required him to vnderstand the kings mind touching the same. The archbishop coueting to extinguish the sedition (whereof he himselfe had beene no small kindler) which was like to grow, if the Nobilitie were not pacified the soner, talked with the king, and exhorted his grace verie instantlie to satisfie the requests of his barons, and herewith did shew the booke of the articles which they had deliuered vnto him.

Robert Fitz Walter.

The archb. of Canturburie moueth the K. to satisfie the requests of the barons.

The king, when he saw what they demanded (which in effect was a new order in things touching the whole state of the common wealth) sware in a great furie, that he would neuer condescend vnto those petitions. Whereof when the barons had knowledge, they gat them strait vnto armour, making their assemblie at Stamford in the Easter weeke, whither they had drawne vnto them almost the whole Nobilitie, and gathered an exceeding great armie. For the commons

The king refuseth to grant their petitions. Matt. Paris.

commons flocked vnto them from euerie part, bicause the king was generallie hated of the more part of his subiects.

It was coniectured that there were in that armie the number of two thousand knights, beside yeomen on horssebacke or demilances (as I may call them) and fotemen apparelled in diuerse sorts of armour. The chiefe ringleaders of this power were these, whose names insue: Robert Fitz Walter, Eustace Uescie, Richard Percie, Robert Ros, Peter de Brewse, Nicholas de Stuteuill, Saer earle of Winchester, Robert erle of Clare, Henrie earle of Clare, Richard earle de Bigot, William de Mowbray, William de Cresley, Ralfe Fitz Robert, Robert de Uere, Foulke Fitz Warren, Will. Mallet, William de Montacute, William de Beauchampe, Simon de Kime, William Marshall the yonger, William Marduit, Robert de Montibigonis, John Fitz Robert, John Fitz Alane, G. Lauale, D. Fitz Alane, W. de Hobrug, D. de Wales, G. de Gaunt, Maurice de Gaunt, Robert de Brakesley, Robert de Mountfichet, Will. de Lanualley, G. de Maundeuile erle of Esser, William his brother, William de Huntingfield, Robert de Gresley, G. constable of Kenton, Alexander de Panton, Peter Fitz John, Alexander de Sutton, Osbert de Bodie, John constable of Chester, Thomas de Muleton, Conan Fitz Helie, and manie other; they had also of councell with them as chiefe the archbishop of Canturburie.

The names of the lords that banded themselues against the king.

Anno Reg.17.

The king as then was at Oxford, who hearing of the assemblie which the barons made, and that they were come to Brakelley, on the mondaie next after the octaues of Easter, he sent vnto them the archbishop of Canturburie, in whom he reposed great confidence, and William Marshall earle of Penbroke, to vnderstand what they meant by that their assembling thus togither. Wherevpon they deliuered to the same messengers a roll conteining the ancient liberties, priuiledges and customs of the realme, signifieng that if the king would not confirme the same, they would not cease to make him warre, till he should satisfie their requests in that behalfe.

Matth. Paris.

The king sendeth to the lords.

The archbishop and the earle returning to the king, shewed him the whole circumstance of that which the barons demanded, who toke great indignation thereat, and scornefullie said; Why do they not aske to haue the kingdome also? Finallie, he affirmed with an oth, that he would neuer grant any such liberties, whereby he should become a slaue. Herevpon the archbishop and the earle of Penbroke returned to the barons, and declared the kings denial to confirme their articles. Then the barons naming their hoast The armie of God and the holie church, set forward, and first came vnto Northampton, and besieging the towne, when they could not preuaile, because the same was well prouided for defense aforehand, they departed from thence, and came towards Bedford to besiege the castell there, in which sir William Beauchampe was capteine, who being secretlie confederate with them, deliuered the place incontinentlie into their hands.

"The barons (said he) haue sworne against me, and will not keepe the peace, vnlesse I will grant to them the liberties of king Edward, which I will not doo, for then should I be no king."

The barons giue a plausible name to their armie.

Northampton besieged.

They wan the towne but not the castell. Matth. West.

Bedford castell deliuered to the barons.

Whilest they remained here a certeine time to fortifie and furnish the castell with necessarie prouision, there came letters to them from London, giuing them to vnderstand, that if they would send a conuenient power of souldiers to defend the citie, the same should be receiued thereinto at some meet and reasonable time in the night season by the citizens, who would ioine with them in that quarell against the king to the vttermost of their powers. The lords were glad of these newes, to haue the chiefe citie of the realme to take part with them, and therfore they sent foure bands of souldiers streightwaies thither, which were brought into the citie in the night season (according to order aforehand taken.) But as Matt. Paris saith, they were receiued into the citie by Algate, the 24 of Maie being sundaie, whilest the citizens were at masse. The next day they made open rebellion, toke such as they knew fauoured the king, brake into the houses of the Iewes, & spoiled them.

The barons hauing thus gotten possession of the citie of London, wrote letters vnto all those lords which as yet had not ioined with them in this confederacie, threatening that if they refused to aid them now in this necessitie, they would destroie their castels, manours, parkes, and other possessions, making open warre vpon them as the enimies of God, and rebels to the church. These were the names of those lords which yet had not sworne to maintene the foresaid liberties, William Marshall earle of Penbroke, Raimulfe earle of Chester, Nicholas earle of Salisburie, William earle Warren, William erle of Albemarle, H. earle of Cornewall, W. de Albenie, Robert de Ueipount, Peter Fitz Herbert, Brian de Lisley, G. de Lucie, G. de Furniuall, Thomas Basset, H. de Braibroke, J. de Basingborne, W. de Cantlow, H. de Cornwall, John Fitz Hugh, Hugh de Neuill, Philip de Albenie, John Marshall, and William Brewer. All these vpon receipt of the barons letters, or the more part of them came to London, and ioined themselues with the barons, vterlie renouncing to aid king John.

Matth. Paris.

The barons write to other of the nobilitie to ioine with them against the king.

Also the plees in the eschequer ceased, and the shiriffes staied from executing their office. For there was none that would paie anie monie to the kings vse, nor anie that did obeie him, in somuch that there remained with him but onelie seuen horssemen of all his traine at one time (as some write) though soone after he had a great power, which came to him to the castell of Windsore, where he then laie, and meant to haue led the same against the lords with all speed. But hearing now of this new rebellion of the Londoners, he changed his purpose and durst not depart from Windsore, being brought in great doubt least all the other cities of the realme would follow their example. Herevpon he thought good to assaie if he might come to some agreement by waie of communication, and incontinentlie sent his ambassadours to the barons, promising them that he would satisfie their requests, if they would come to Windsore to talke with him.

The king left desolate of freends.

Polydor.

Howbeit, the lords hauing no confidence in his promise came with their armie within three miles of Windsore, and their pitcht downe their tents in a medow betwixt Stanes and Windsore, whither king John also came the 15 daie of June, and shewed such friendlie countenance towards euerie one of them, that they were put in good hope he meant no deceipt. Being thus met, they fell in consultation about an agreement to be had. On the kings part (as it were) sate the archbishops of Canturburie and Dublin, the bishops of London, Winchester, Lincolne, Bath, Worcester, Couentrie, Rochester, and Pandulph the popes Nuncio, with Almerike master of the knights templers: the earles of Penbroke, Salisburie, Warren, Arundell, Alane de Galoway, William Fitz Gerald, Peter Fitz Herbert, Alane Basset, Hugh de Neuill, Hubert de Burgh seneschall of Poictou, Robert de Ropley, John Marshall, and Philip de Albenie. On the barons part, there were innumerable, for all the nobilitie of England was in a maner assembled there togither.

The lords incamped betwixt Stanes and Windsore.

K. John commeth to them to talk of some pacification. Matth. Paris.

Finallie, when the king measuring his owne strength with the barons, perceiued that he was not able to resist them, he consented to subscribe and seale to such articles concerning the liberties demanded, in forme for the most part as is conteined in the two charters Magna Charta, and Charta de Foresta, beginning

Magna Charta and Charta de Foresta.

ginning *Iohannes Dei gratia, &c.* And he did not onlie grant vnto them their petitions touching the forsaid liberties, but also to win him further credit, was contented that they should chose out certeine graue and honourable personages, which should haue authoritie and power to sée those things performed which he then granted vnto them.

There were twentie fiue of those that were so elected, namelie these. The earles of Clare, Albemarle, Glocester, Winchester, and Hereford: also earle Roger, earle Robert, earle Marshall the yonger, Robert Fitz Walter the yonger, Gilbert de Clare, Eustace de Vescie, Hugh Bigot, William de Mowbray, the maior of London, Gilbert de la Vale, Robert de Ros, John constable of Chester, Richard de Percie, John Fitz Robert, William Mallet, Geffrey de Saie, Roger de Mowbray, William de Huntingfield, Richard de Mountfichet, and William de Albenie. These fiue and twentie were sworne to sée the liberties granted and confirmed by the king to be in euerie point obserued, but if he went against the same, then they should haue authoritie to compell him to the obseruing of euerie of them.

Moreouer, there were other that were sworne to be obedient, and as it were assistant vnto these fiue and twentie péeres in such things as they should appoint, which were these. The earle of Arundell, the earle Warren by his attornie, Henrie Dotlie, Hubert de Burgh, Matthew Fitz Herbert, Robert de Pinknie, Roger Huscarle, Robert de Newburgh, Henrie de Pont Audoin, Rafe de la Hay, Henrie de Bzentfield, Warren Fitz Gerald, Thomas Basset, William de Buckland, William de saint John, Alane Basset, Richard de Riuers, Hugh de Boneuale, Jordain de Sackuille, Ralfe Musgraue, Richard Siflewast, Robert de Ropeley, Andrew de Beauchampe, Walter de Dunstable, Walter Foliot, Foukes de Bzent, John Marshall, Philip Daubnie, William de Perca, Ralfe de Normandie, William de Percie, William Agoilum, Engerand de Patellis, William de Cirenton, Roger de Zuche, Roger Fitz Barnard, and Godfrie de Grancombe. It was further ordered, that the chatelains or constables (as I may call them) of the foure castels of Northampton, Killingworth, Notingham, and Scarborow, should be sworne to the fiue and twentie péeres, to gouerne those castels in such wise as they should haue in commandement from the said fiue and twentie péeres, or from the greater part of them: and that such should be placed as chatelains in the same, as were thought to be most true and faithfull vnto the barons and the realme. ¶ It was also decreed, that certeine strangers, as Flemings and other, should be banished out of England.

The chatelains of foure castels.

The king herevpon sent his letters patents vnto the shiriffes of all the counties of this realme, commanding them to see the ordinances and liberties which he granted and confirmed, to be diligentlie obserued. And for the more strengthening of this his grant, he had gotten the pope to confirme a like charter granted the yeare before. For the pope (sith king John was become his obedient vassall, and the apostolike king) easilie granted to gratifie both him and his lords herein, and so was the grant of the liberties corroborate & made good with a double confirmation, and so sealed, that it was impossible for them to be separated in sunder, the kings grant being annexed to the popes bull.

Immediatlie also vpon the confirmation now made by the king, diuerse lords came to him, and required restitution of such possessions, lands, and houses, as he had in his hands, the right whereof (as they alledged) appertained to them: but he excused the matter, and shifted them off, till by inquest taken, it might appeare what right euerie man had to those things which they then claimed: and furthermore assigned them a daie to be holden at Westminster, which was the sixteenth day of Julie. But yet he restored at that time the castell of Rochester vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, the barons hauing obteined a great peece of their purpose (as they thought) returned to London with their charter sealed, the date whereof was this: Giuen by our owne hand, in the medow called Kuningsmede or Rimemede, betwixt Stanes and Windsore, the fifteenth of Iune, in the eighteenth yeare of our reigne.

Rochester castell restored to the archb. of Canturburie.

Great reioising was made for this conclusion of peace betwixt the king and his barons, the people iudging that God had touched the kings heart, and mollified it, whereby happie daies were come for the realme of England, as though it had béene deliuered out of the bondage of Aegypt: but they were much deceiued, for the king hauing condescended to make such grant of liberties, farre contrarie to his mind, was right sorowfull in his heart, cursed his mother that bare him, the houre that he was borne, and the paps that gaue him sucke, wishing that he had receiued death by violence of sword or knife, in stéed of naturall nourishment: he whetted his teeth, he did bite now on one staffe, and now on an other as he walked, and oft brake the same in péeces when he had done, and with such disordered behauiour and furious gestures he vttered his grefe, in such sort that the Noble men verie well perceiued the inclination of his inward affection concerning these things, before the breaking vp of the councell, and therefore sore lamented the state of the realme, gessing what would follow of his impatiencie and displesant taking of the matter.

Mat. Paris.

The kings impatiencie to sée himselfe bridled by his subiects.

Herevpon they said among themselues, Wo be »
to vs, yea rather to the whole realme that wanteth a »
sufficient king, and is gouerned by a tyrant that séeketh the subuersion therof. Now hath our souereigne »
lord made vs subiect to Rome, and to the Romish »
court, so that we must henceforth obteine our protection from thence. It is verie much to be feared, »
least we do féele hereafter some further peece of mischéefe to light vpon vs suddenlie. We neuer heard »
of any king that would not gladlie indeuor to withdraw his necke from bondage & captiuitie, but ours »
of his owne accord voluntarilie submitteth himselfe to become vassall to euerie stranger. And thus the »
lords lamenting the case, left the king, and returned »
to London (as before yee haue heard.)

But the king disquieted not a little, for that he was thus driuen to yéeld so farre vnto the barons, notwithstanding as much as was possible he kept his purpose secret, deuised by what means he might disappoint all that had bene done, and promised on his part, at this assemblie betwixt him and the lords a pacification (as yee haue heard.) Wherefore the next day verie late in the euening, he secretlie departed to Southampton, and so ouer into the Ile of Wight, where he toke aduice with his councell what remedie he might find to quiet the minds of his lords and barons, and to bring them vnto his purpose. At length after much debating of the matter, it was concluded by the aduise of the greater part, that the king should require the popes aid therein. And so Walter the bishop of Worcester, & John the bishop of Norwich, with one Richard Marish his chancellor, with all speed were sent as ambassadors from the king vnto pope Innocent, to instruct him of the rebellion of the English Nobilitie, and that he constreined by force had granted them certeine lawes and priuileges, hurtfull to his realme, and preiudiciall to his crowne.

The king departeth into the Ile of Wight.

He sendeth ambassadors to the pope.

Moreouer, sith that all this was done by the authoritie

thoritie of the pope, the king beſought him to make the ſame void, and to command the barons to obeie him being their king, as reaſon required they ſhould. There were alſo ſent by him other meſſengers, as Hugh de Boues and others, into diuerſe parts beyond the ſea, to bring from thence great numbers of men of war and ſouldiers, appointing them to meet him at Douer, at the feaſt of ſaint Michaell next inſuing. He ſent likewiſe vnto all his chateleins and conſtables of caſtels within the realme, requiring them to prouide themſelues of all things neceſſarie for defenſe of the holds committed to their charge, if they ſhould chance to be beſieged, though it were on the nert morrow.

Hugh de Boues.

Matth.Paris.

His ambaſſadours and other meſſengers being thus diſpatched, and hauing but few perſons left about him, or in maner none, except ſuch of the biſhop of Norwich his ſeruants as he had borrowed of him, he fell to take priſes as any ſhips came by ſuſpected not to be his frends, ſo ſeeking to win the fauour of the mariners that belonged to the cinke ports, and ſo lay cloſe in the Ile of Wight and there about the ſea-coaſts for the ſpace of three moneths togither. In which meane time, manie things were reported of him, ſome calling him a fiſher, ſome a merchant, and ſome a pirat and rouer. And manie (for that no certeine newes could be heard of him) iudged that he was either drowned, or dead by ſome other means. But he ſtill looking for ſome power to come ouer to his aid, kept himſelfe out of the way, till the ſame ſhould be arriued, and diſſembled the conceit of his reuenge and hart-grudge, till opportunitie ſerued him with conuenient ſecuritie to put the ſame in execution. Wherein he ſhewed himſelfe diſcreet and prouident, and did as in ſuch a caſe one wiſeman doth counſell another, ſaieng,

———ſapiens iramque coërcet,
Sæpè etiam vtiliter cedit, placidiſque furentem
Demulcet dictis, & dulcibus allicit hoſtem
Blanditijs, donec deceptum in retia mittat.

Polydor.

The lords all this while lay at London, and began to doubt the matter, bicauſe they could heare no certeine newes where the king was become: for doubting (as I ſaid) the ſuertie of his perſon, he conueied himſelfe ſecretlie from one place to another, lodging and taking his diet oftentimes more meanlie than was decent for his eſtate: and ſtill he longed to heare how his ambaſſadours ſped with the pope, who in the meane time comming vnto Rome, and declaring their meſſage at full, tooke it vpon their ſolemne oth, that the right was on the kings ſide, and that the fault reſted onelie on the lords, touching the whole controuerſie betweene them and him, who ſought with great rigour and againſt reaſon to bridle him at their pleaſures.

The ambaſſadours cõming to the popes preſence declare their meſſage.

Matth.Paris.

They ſhewed alſo a note of certeine articles conteined in the charter, which ſeemed to make moſt for the kings purpoſe, and withall declared that the king in open aſſemblie, where he and the barons met to talke of ſuch matters, had proteſted that the kingdome of England ſpeciallie apperteined (as touching the ſouereingtie) vnto the church of Rome, wher vpon he neither could nor ought without knowledge of the pope to ordeine anie thing anew, or change ought within that kingdome in preiudice thereof. Wherefore whereas he put himſelfe and all the rights of his kingdome by way of appealing vnder the protection of the apoſtolike ſee: the barons yet without regard had to the ſame appeale, did ſeize into their poſſeſſion the citie of London, and getting them to armour, inforced the king to confirme ſuch vnreaſonable articles, as there appeared for him to conſider.

The popes anſwer vnto his indignation) made forthwith this ſhort anſwer: And is it ſo, that the barons of England do go about to expell their king, which hath taken vpon him the croſſe, and is remaining vnder the protection of the apoſtolike ſee? And do they meane indeed to tranſlate the dominion that belongeth to the church of Rome vnto another? By S. Peter we cannot ſuffer this iniurie to paſſe vnpuniſhed. Herevpon (crediting the ambaſſadours words) by the aduice of his cardinals, he decreed that all thoſe priuiledges, which the king had granted vnto the lords and barons of this realme, as inforced thereto by their rebellious attempt, ſhould be accounted void and of none effect. Alſo he wrote vnto the lords, admoniſhing them by his letters that they ſhould obeie their king, vpon paine of his curſſe if they ſhould attempt anie thing that ſounded to the contrarie.

the kings ambaſſadours.

¶ At the ſame time there was in the court of Rome (as Hector Boetius ſaith) a cardinall named Gualo or Wallo, a verie couetous perſon, and ſuch a one (as in that place ſome are neuer wanting) which for monie paſſed not what he did to further anie mans ſuit, without regard either to right or wrong, by whoſe chiefe trauell and means the pope was greatlie induced to fauour king Johns cauſe, and to iudge with him in preiudice of the lords purpoſes, as before is expreſſed.

Hect.Boetius. Cardinall Gualo.

But to proceed. The ambaſſadours being diſpatched, and hauing the popes preſcript, and ſuch other his letters with them as they had obteined of him, returned with all ſpeed into England vnto the king (who was come a litle before vnto Windſore caſtell) and there declared vnto him how they ſped. K. John being ioifull in that they had brought the matter ſo well about for his purpoſe, cauſed the popes decree to be declared vnto the barons, commanding them ſtreitlie to obeie the ſame. The barons taking the matter grieuouſlie to be thus mocked, with great indignation both blamed king Johns vniuſt dealing, and the popes wrongfull iudgement, in that he had pronounced againſt them, without hearing what they had of right to alledge for themſelues. Wherevpon out of hand (notwithſtanding the popes prohibition and preſcript to the contrarie) they determined to trie their cauſe by dint of ſword, and with all ſpeed aſſembled their powers, which for the greater part they had latelie diſmiſſed and ſent home. They furniſhed the caſtell of Rocheſter with a ſtrong garriſon of men, and placed therein as capteine one William Albeney, a verie ſkilfull warriour.

Polydor. The ambaſſadeurs returne from the pope.

The popes decree is declared to the lords.

The barons will trie their quarel by dint of ſword.

King John, after he vnderſtood that the barons (contemning the popes decree and inhibition) were more offended and bent againſt him than before, ſent once againe to the pope, to aduertiſe him of their diſobedience and great contumacie ſhewed in refuſing to ſtand to his preſcript. This done, he returned to the Ile of Wight, and ſailed from thence to Douer, where diuerſe of thoſe his commiſſaries which he had ſent to hire ſoldiers in forren parts returned to him, bringing with them out of diuerſe countries ſuch a multitude of ſouldiers and armed men, that the onelie ſight of them ſtroke the harts of all the beholders with great feare and terror. For out of the parties of Poictou and Gaſcoine, there came men of great nobilitie, and right worthie warriours, as Saucrie de Mauleon, Geffrey and Oliuer de Buteuile two brethren, hauing vnder them great numbers of good ſouldiers and tall men of warre. Alſo out of Brabant there came Walter Buc, Gerard de Sotignie, and one Godeſtall, with three legions of armed men and croſſebowes. Likewiſe there came out of Flanders other capteins, with diuerſe bands of ſouldiers, which Ferdinando earle of Flanders (latelie returned out of the French captiuitie) for old frendſhips

The K. ſendeth eftſoons to the pope.

The king returneth into the Ile of Wight.

Matt.Paris. Polydor.

The arriuall of forren ſouldiers to the kings aid.

Sauerie de Mauleon.

Ferdinando erle of Flanders.

sake furnished and sent ouer to aid him against his subiects, according as he had requested.

Wil. de Albenie capteine of Rochester castell.

King Iohn besiegeth the castell of Rochester.

King Iohn then hauing recouered strength about him, and being aduertised that William de Albenie was entred into the castell of Rochester with a great number of knights, men of armes and other souldiers, hasted thither with his whole armie, and besieged them within, inforcing himselfe by all waies possible to win the castell as well by battering the walles with engines, as by giuing thereto manie assaults: but the garison within (consisting of nintie and foure knights beside demilances, and other souldiers) defended the place verie manfullie, in hope of rescue from the barons, which laie as then at London: but they comming forward one daies iournie vnto Dartford, when they heard that the king was comming forward in good araie of battell to meet them, vpon consideration had of their owne forces, for that they were not able to match him with footmen, they returned backe againe to the citie, breaking that assured promise which they had made and also confirmed by their solemne oths, which was that if the castell should chance to be besieged, they would not faile but raise the siege.

Bernewell.

At length they within for want of vittels were constreined to yeld it vp vnto the king, after it had béene besieged the space of three score daies: during which time they had beaten backe their enimies at sundrie assaults, with great slaughter and losse. But the king hauing now got the possession of that hold,

Rochester castell is yelded to the king.

vpon greefe conceiued for the losse of so manie men, and also bicause he had line so long about it yer he could winne it, to his inestimable costs and charges, was determined to haue put them all to death that had kept it. But Sauerie de Mauleon aduised him otherwise, lest by such crueltie, the barons in any like case should be occasioned to vse the same extremitie towards such of his people, as by chance might fall into their hands. Thus the king spared the Nobles and gentlemen, sending William de Albenie, William de Lancaster, William de Emeford, Thomas de Muleton, Osbert Gifford, Osbert de Bobie, Odinell de Albenie, and diuerse other to the castell of Corfe, there to be kept as prisoners. But Robert Charnie, Richard Gifford, and Thomas de Lincolne were sent to Nottingham, and so other were sent to other places. As for all the demilances or yeomen (if I shall so call them) and the arcubalisters which had slaine manie of his men during the siege (as Matthew Paris saith) the king caused them to be hanged, to put other in feare that should so obstinatlie resist him.

The counsell of Sauerie de Mauleon.

Arcubalisters those ỳ beare crossebowes.

Bernewell.

Neuertheless (as the booke that belonged to Bernewell abbie saith) there was not any of them hanged, sauing one arcubalister onelie, whome the king had brought vp of a child. But howsoeuer the king dealt with them after they were yelded, true it is (as by the same booke it appeareth) there had béene no siege in those daies more earnestlie inforced, nor more obstinatlie defended: for after that all the limmes of the castell had béene reuersed and throwne downe, they kept the maister tower, till halfe thereof was also ouerthrowne; and after kept the other halfe, till through famine they were constreined to yéld, hauing nothing but horsefleth and water to susteine their liues withall.

Here is to be remembred, that whilest the siege laie thus at Rochester, Hugh de Boues a valiant knight, but full of pride and arrogancie, a Frenchman borne, but banished out of his countrie, came downe to Calice with an huge number of men of warre and souldiers to come to the aid of king Iohn. But as he was vpon the sea with all his people, meaning to land at Douer, by a sudden tempest which rose at that instant, the said Hugh with all his companie was drowned by shipwracke. Some after the bodie of the same Hugh with the carcases of other innumerable, both of men, women, and children, were found not farre from Yermouth, and all along that coast. There were of them in all fortie thousand, as saith Matthew Paris, for of all those which he brought with him, there was (as it is said) not one man left aliue.

Hugh de Boues drowned.

The king (as the fame went, but how true I know not) had giuen by charter vnto the said Hugh de Boues, the whole countrie of Northfolke, so that he ment to haue expelled the old inhabitants, and to haue peopled it with strangers. But whether this was so or not, sure it is that he was verie sorowfull for the losse of this succor and aid which thus perished in the seas, though it happened verie well for his subiects of England, that should haue béene sore oppressed by such multitude of strangers, which for the most part must néeds haue liued vpon the countrie, to the vtter vndoing of the inhabitants whersoeuer they should haue come.

Rafe Cog.

Héere is to be noted, that during the siege of Rochester (as some write) there came out of France to the number neere hand of seauen thousand men sent from the French king vnto the aid of the barons, at the suit of Saer de Quincie earle of Winchester and other ambassadours that were sent from the barons, during the time of this siege, although it should seeme by Matthew Paris, that the said earle was not sent till after the pope had excommunicated the barons (as after yée shall heare.) The Frenchmen that came ouer at this first time landed at Orwell, and at other hauens there neere adioining.

About this season, the canons of Yorke (bicause the archbishops sée there had remained void a long time) obteining licence of the king, assembled togither about the election of an archbishop. And though the king had once againe earnestlie moued them to preferre Walter Graie bishop of Worcester, yet they refused so to do, and therefore chose Simon de Langton, brother to the archbishop of Canturburie, which election was afterward made void by the earnest trauell of the king to the pope, bicause his brother the said archbishop of Canturburie was known to fauour the part of the barons against him, so that the said Walter Graie was then elected and promoted to the guiding of the sée of Yorke, according to the kings speciall desire in that behalfe.

Walter Graie elected archb. of Yorke.

About the same time also, pope Innocent being certified, how the barons of England would not obeie his prescript, iudged them enimies to the church and gaue commandement to Peter the bishop of Winchester, to the abbat of Reading, and to the subdeacon Pandulph, to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against them. But they could not at the first execute the popes commandement herein, by reason that the archbishop of Canturburie, who fauoured the barons cause, would not permit them. Wherefore the same archbishop was interdicted out of the church, and from saieng diuine seruice, and also being cited to appeare at Rome, was in danger to be depriued of his miter; had not certeine cardinals intreated for him, and obteined his pardon. The archbishop being gone to Rome, as well to excuse himselfe in this matter, as to be present at the generall councell there holden at that time (for he was readie to go take the sea thitherwards when the bishop of Winchester and Pandulph came to him with the popes letters) the said bishop of Winchester & Pandulph proceeded to the pronouncing of the excommunication against the barons, renewing the same euerie sundaie and holiday: albeit the barons (bicause none of them were expresselie named in the popes letters)

The archb. of Canturburie fauoureth the barons part.

Matth. Paris.

The barons denounced accursed by the popes commandement.

letters) made none account of the censure, reputing it as void, and not to concerne them in any manner of point. But now to returne to king Iohn.

K. John diuideth his armie in two parts.

After he had wonne the castell of Rochester (as before you haue heard) he hasted to S. Albons, and there diuided his armie into two parts, appointing the one to remaine about London, whilest he himselfe with the other might go into the north to waste and destroie the possessions of certeine lords there, which (as he was informed) went about to raise an armie against him. He made captains of that armie which he left behind him, his brother William earle of Salisburie, Sauerie de Mauleon, Will. Brewer, Walter Buc, and others. He himselfe departed from S. Albons about the 21 day of December, leading his said armie northwards: in which were chiefe captains these that follow, William erle of Albemarle, Philip de Albeney, and John Marshall. Also of strangers, Gerard de Sotigam, and Godfall, with the Flemings, the crossebowes, and others.

Polydor. Matth. Paris.

K. John goeth northward. Matth. Paris.

The first night he late at Dunstable, and from thence passing forwards towards Northampton, he destroied by the waie all the manours, places and houses, which belonged to the aduersaries, and so kept on his iournie till he came to Notingham, where he late in the castell on Christmasse day, and in the morning (being S. Stephans day) he went to Langar, and lodged there that night, sending his summons in the morning to the castell of Beauer, willing them within to yeeld. This castell apertained to William Albeney, who had committed the custodie thereof vnto his sonne Nicholas de Albeney preest, to sir William de Stodham, and to sir Hugh Charnelles knights: the which came to the king with the keies of the castell, and surrendered the same vnto him, with condition that he should be good to their master the said William Albeney, and grant vnto them their horsses and armour, wherwith they would remaine with him vnder his peace and protection. On the next morrow (being S. Johns day) the king went to the castell, and receiuing the same, deliuered it to the keeping of Geffrey Buteuile, and his brother Oliuer.

Notingham. 1216

Beauer castle summoned to yeeld.

William de Albeney.

Stodham.

Charnelles.

The castell of Beauoir rendered to the king.

After this the castell of John Lacie at Dunnington was taken and laid flat to the ground, by commandement of the king, who hauing accomplished his will in those parties, drew towards Yorkeshire, and at his comming thither destroied the houses, townes and manours of those lords and gentlemen which were against him. It is horrible to heare, and lothsome to rehearse the crueltie which was practised by the souldiers and men of warre in places where they came, who counting no honour or renowme more excellent, nor glorie (as warriours say)

Dunnington castell taken and raced.

Matth. Paris.

Maior nulla quidem quàm bello parta videtur,
Horrida Mauortis tractare ferociter arma,
Hostilique suam temerare in sanguine dextram,

and therfore were wholie bent to spoile and ransacke the houses of the people without pitie or compassion, besides the robberies, spoiles and great outrages vsed by the souldiers generallie against the common people. Few there were in that countrie of great linage or wealth, whom the king for their assembling themselues with the barons either spoiled not, or put not to execution. Thus with his armie (to the great desolation of the countrie) he passed forth to the borders of Scotland, and entring that realme, tooke the castell of Barwike, and other places of strength in those parts, meaning to haue wonne more from the Scots, if other vrgent businesse had not called him backe againe. This being done, he committed the countrie which lieth betwixt the riuer of These, and the confines of Scotland, to the keeping of Hugh de Balioll and Philip de Hulcotes, assigning to them such conuenient number of men of warre as was thought expedient, and the custodie of the castels in Yorkeshire he deliuered to Robert de Vepount, to Brian de Lisle, and to Geffrey de Lucie.

K. John taketh the castell of Barwike.

Hugh de Baliol & Philip de Hulcotes,

Robert de Vepount, Brian de Lisle, Geffrey de Lucie.

Finallie, when he had so ordered things in the North parts as stood with his pleasure, so that there remained no more but two castels, that is to saie, Mountsorrell, and another in Yorkeshire that apperteined to Robert de Ros in possession of the barons, he returned by the borders of Wales into the south parts: and by all the way as he passed, he shewed great crueltie against his aduersaries, besieging and taking their castels and strong houses, of the which some he caused to be fortified with garrisons of souldiers to his owne vse, and some he raced. The like feats were wrought by the other armie in the parts about London: for William earle of Salisburie, and Foukes de Brent, with the other captains which the king had left behind him there, perceiuing that the citie would not easilie be wonne by anie siege, first furnished the castell of Windsor, Hertford, and Barkhamsted, with such strong garrisons of souldiers as might watch, vpon occasion giuen to assaile those that should either go into the citie, or come from thence: they marched forth with the residue of the armie, and passing through the counties of Essex, and Hertford, Middlesex, Cambridge, Huntington, they wasted the countries, and made the townes become tributaries to them. As for the houses, manour places, parkes, and other possessions of the barons, they wasted, spoiled and destroied them, running euen hard to the citie of London and setting fire in the suburbs.

Mountsorrell betwixt Leicester & Lugborough.

The earle of Salisburie with his armie inuadeth the countries about London.

In this meane time, whilest the king went forwards on his iournie northwards, vpon the 18 of December last past, the castell of Hanslap was taken by Foukes de Brent, which apperteined vnto William Mandut. On the same day also was the castell of Tunbridge taken by the garrison of Rochester, which castell of Tunbridge belonged to the earle of Clare. Moreouer, the foresaid Foukes de Brent comming vnto Bedford, wan both the towne and castell: for they that had the castell in keeping, after 7 dales respit (which they obteined at the hands of the said Foukes) when rescue came not from the lord William Beauchampe their maister, they deliuered it vnto the said Foukes. Unto whom K. John gaue not onlie that castell, but also committed to his keeping the castels of Northampton, Oxford and Cambridge.

The castell of Hanslap.

Tunbridge castell.

Bedford take by Foukes de Brent.

Will. Beauchampe.

Castels deliuered to the keeping of Foukes de Brent.

The king had this Foukes in great estimation, and amongst other waies to aduance him, he gaue to him in marriage Margaret de Riuers, a ladie of high nobilitie, with all the lands and possessions that to hir belonged. Moreouer, to William earle of Albemarle the king deliuered the custodie of the castels of Rockingham, Sawey and Witham. To one Ranulfe Teutonicus, the castell of Barkehamsted, and to Walter Godzeuill seruant to Foukes de Brent, he betooke the keeping of the castell of Hertford. Thus what on the one part, and what on the other, the barons lost in maner all their possessions from the south sea vnto the borders of Scotland, the king seizing the same into his hands, and committing them to the keeping of strangers, and such other as he thought more trustie and conuenient. All this while the barons laie at London banketting and making merrie, without attempting anie exploit praise-worthie. But yet when they heard by certeine aduertisement, what hauocke and destruction was made of their houses & possessions abroad, they could not but lament their miseries, and amongst other their complaints which they vttered one to another, they sore blamed the pope, as a cheefe cause of all

Foukes de Brent aduanced by marriage.

Rockingham, Sawey, and Witham.

Barkhamsted

Hertford castell.

these euils, for that he maintained and defended the king against them.

The barons accursed by name.

Indeed about the same time pope Innocent, who before at the instant suit of king John had excommunicated the barons in generall, did now excommunicate them by name, and in particular, as these. First all the citizens of London which were authors of the mischefe that had happened by the rebellion of the said barons. Also Robert Fitz Walter, Saer de Quincie earle of Winchester, R. his sonne, G. de Mandeuille, and W. his brother the earle of Clare, and G. his sonne, H. earle of Hereford, R. de Percie, G. de Uescie, I. constable of Chester, W. de Mowbraie, Will. de Albenie, W. his sonne, P. de Breuse, R. de Tresley, I. his sonne, Ranulfe Fitz Robert, R. earle Bigot, H. his sonne, Robert de Uere, Foulke Fitz Warren, W. Mallet, W. de Mountacute, W. Fitz Marshall, W. de Beauchampe, S. de Kime, R. de Montbigons, and Nicholas de Stuteuille, with diuerse other.

The armie which king John had left behind him in the south parts, vnder the leading of the earle of Salisburie and other, laie not idle, but scowring the countries abroad (as partlie yee haue heard) came to S. Edmundsburie, and hauing intelligence there, that diuerse knights, ladies and gentlewomen that were there before their comming, had fled out of that towne, and for their more safetie were withdrawne into the Ile of Elie, they followed them, besieged the Ile, and assailed it on each side, so that although they within had fortified the passages, and appointed men of warre to remaine vpon the gard of the same in places where it was thought most needfull; yet at length they entred vpon them by force, Walter Bucke with his Brabanders being the first that set foot within the Ile towards Herbie. For by reason the waters in the fenes and ditches were hard frosen, so that men might passe by the same into the said Ile, they found means to enter, and spoiled it frō side to side, togither with the cathedrall church, carieng from thence at their departure a maruellous great prey of goods and cattell.

Ralfe Cog.

The Ile of Elie spoiled. Polydor. Bernewell.

The barons of the realme being thus afflicted with so manie mischeefes all at one time, as both by the sharpe and cruell warres which the king made against them on the one side, and by the enmitie of the pope on the other side, they knew not which way to turne them, nor how to seeke for releefe. For by the losse of their complices taken in the castell of Rochester, they saw not how it should any thing availe them to ioine in battell with the king. Therefore considering that they were in such extremitie of despaire they resolued with themselues to seeke for aid at the enimies hands, and there vpon Saer earle of Winchester, and Robert Fitz Walter, with letters vnder their seales were sent vnto Lewes the sonne of Philip the French king, offering him the crowne of England, and sufficient pledges for performance of the same, and other couenants to be agreed betwixt them, requiring him with all speed to come vnto their succour. This Lewes had married (as before is said) Blanch daughter to Alfonse king of Castile, neece to king John by his sister Elianor.

The lords send to the French kings sonne, offering to him the crowne.

Now king Philip the father of this Lewes, being glad to haue such an occasion to inuade the relme of England, which he neuer loued, promised willingly that his sonne should come vnto the aid of the said barons with all conuenient speed (but first he receiued foure and twentie hostages which he placed at Campaine for further assurance of the couenants accorded) and herewith he prepared an armie, and diuerse ships to transport his sonne and his armie ouer into England. In the meane time, and to put the barons in comfort, he sent ouer a certeine number of armed men, vnder the leading of the chatelaine of saint Omers and the chatelaine of Arras, Hugh Thacon, Eustace de Neuille, Baldwin Brecell, William de Wimes, Giles de Pelum, W. de Beamont, Giles de Hersie, Biset de Fersie, and others, the which taking the sea, arriued with one and fortie ships in the Thames, and so came to London the seauen and twentith of Februarie, where they were receiued of the barons with great ioy and gladnesse.

French men sent ouer to the aid of the barons.

The saturday after the Epiphanie, saith Rafe Cog.

Moreouer the said Lewes wrote to the barons, that he purposed by Gods assistance to be at Calice by a day appointed, with an armie redie to passe ouer with all speed vnto their succours.

Rafe Cog.

The fridaie before Candlemasse day, Sauarie de Mauleon, and other capteines of the kings side, laid siege to the castell of Colchester, but hauing intelligence that the barons which laie at London made forward with all speed to come to succour that castell, on the Wednesday after Candlemasse day, being the third of Februarie, they raised their siege, and went backe towards S. Edmundsburie.

In the meane while, the K. being gone (as yee haue heard) to the borders of Scotland, a brute was raised that he was dead, and secretlie buried at Reading. But this rumour had not time to worke any great alteration, for after he had dispatched his businesse in the north, as he thought expedient, he returned, and comming into the east parts about the midst of Lent himselfe in person besieged the castell of Colchester, and within a few daies after his comming thither, it was deliuered vnto him by Frenchmen that kept it, with condition that they might depart with all their goods and armour, vnto their fellowes at London, and that the Englishmen there in companie with them in that castell, might likewise depart vpon reasonable ransoms.

But although that couenant was kept with the Frenchmen, yet the Englishmen were staied and committed to prison. Whereupon when the Frenchmen came to London, they were apprehended and charged with treason for making such composition, whereby those Englishmen that were fellowes with them in arms were secluded from so beneficiall conditions as they had made for themselues. They were in danger to haue beene put to death for their euill dealing herein, albeit at length it was concluded that they should remaine in prison till the comming of Lewes, vnto whose pleasure their cause should be referred.

After this the castell of Hidingham was woone, which belonged vnto earle Robert de Uere. Then the king prepared to besiege London, but the Londoners were of such courage, that they set open their gates, and hearing of the kings approach, made readie to issue forth to giue him battell: wherof the king being aduertised, withdrew backe, but Sauerie de Mauleon was suddenlie set vpon by the Londoners, lost manie of his men, and was sore hurt and wounded himselfe.

The king perceiuing that it would not preuaile him to attempt the winning of the citie at that time, drew alongst the coast, fortified his castels, and prepared a great nauie, meaning to encounter his enimie Lewes by sea: but through tempest the ships which he had got togither from Yarmouth, Dunwich Lin, and other hauens, were dispersed in sunder, and manie of them cast awaie by rage and violence of the outragious winds.

King John once againe sendeth to the pope.

Somewhat before this time also, when he heard of the compact made betwixt the barons and his aduersaries the Frenchmen, he dispatched a messenger in all hast to the pope, signifieng to him what was in hand and practised against him, requiring furthermore the said pope by his authoritie to cause Lewes to

to staie his iournie, and to succour those rebels in England which he had alreadie excommunicated. This he needed not have done, had he beene indued with such prudence and prowesse as is requisit to be planted in one that beareth rule, of whom it is said,

Cui si quando Deus rerum permittat habenas,
Imperij decus, eunc aurea secula sunt,
Tunc floret virtus, terrásque Astrea revisit,
Pax viget, & vitium duris cohibetur habenis,

whereas by meanes of defects in the contrarie, he bare too low a saile, in that he would be so foolish as being a king, to suffer vsurped supremasie to be carued of his kingdome. But let vs see the consequence. The pope desirous to helpe king Iohn all that he might (bicause he was now his vassall) sent his legat Gualo into France, to dissuade king Philip from taking anie enterprise in hand against the king of England. But king Philip though he was content to heare what the legat could saie, yet by no meanes would be turned from the execution of his purpose, alledging that king Iohn was not the lawfull king of England, hauing first vsurped and taken it awaie from his nephue Arthur the lawfull inheritour, and that now sithens as an enimie to his owne roiall dignitie he had giuen the right of his kingdome awaie to the pope (which he could not do without consent of his nobles) and therefore through his owne fault he was worthilie depriued of all his kinglie honor. For the kingdome of England (saith he) neuer belonged to the patrimonie of S. Peter, nor at anie time shall. For admit that he were rightfull king, yet neither he nor anie other prince may giue awaie his kingdome without the assent of his barons, which are bound to defend the same, and the prerogatiue roiall, to the vttermost of their powers. Furthermore (saith he) if the pope do meane to maintaine this errour, he shall giue a perilous example to all kingdomes of the world. Herewithall the Nobles of France then present, protested also with one voice, that in defense of this article they would stand to the death, which is, that no king nor prince at his will and pleasure might giue awaie his kingdome, or make it tributarie to anie other potentate, whereby the Nobles should become thrall or subiect to a forren gouernour. These things were done at Aions in the quindene after Easter.

Anno. Reg. 18. Cardinall Gualo. Matth. Paris.

The French kings allegations to the popes legat Gualo.

Matth. West.

Matth. Paris.

Lewes on the morrow following, being the 26 of Aprill, by his fathers procurement, came into the councell chamber, and with frowning looke beheld the legat, where by his procurator he defended the cause that moued him to take vpon him this iournie into England, disproouing not onelie the right which king Iohn had to the crowne, but also alledging his owne interest, not onelie by his new election of the barons, but also in the title of his wife, whose mother the queene of Castile remained onelie aliue of all the brethren and sisters of Henrie the second late king of England (as before ye haue heard.) The legat made answer hereunto, that king Iohn had taken vpon him the crosse, as one appointed to go to warre against Gods enimies in the holie land, wherefore he ought by decree of the generall councell to haue peace for foure yeares to come, and to remaine in suertie vnder protection of the apostolike see. But Lewes replied thereto, that king Iohn had by warre first inuaded his castels and lands in Picardie, and wasted the same, as Buncham castell and Liens, with the countie of Guisnes which belonged to the see of the said Lewes.

Lewes the Frēch kings sonne mainteineth his pretended title to the crowne of England.

cc

cc

The priuilege of those that take vpon them the crosse.

Matth. Paris.

But these reasons notwithstanding, the legat warned the French king on paine of cursing, not to suffer his sonne to go into England, and likewise his sonne, that he should not presume to take the iournie in hand. But Lewes hearing this, declared that his father had nothing to do to forbid him to prosecute his right in the realme of England, which was not holden of him, and therefore required his father not to hinder his purpose in such things as belonged nothing to him, but rather to licence him to seeke the recouerie of his wiues right, which he meant to pursue with perill of life, if need should require.

The legat perceiuing he could not preuaile in his suite made to king Philip, thought that he would not spend time longer in vaine, in further treating with him, but sped him forth into England, obteining yet a safeconduct of the French king to passe through his realme. Lewes in like maner, purposing by all meanes to preuent the legat, first dispatched forth ambassadours in all hast vnto the court of Rome to excuse himselfe to the pope, and to render the reasons that most speciallie moued him to proceed forward in his enterprise against king Iohn, being called by the barons of England to take the crowne thereof vpon him. This done, with all conuenient speed he came downe to Calice, where he found 680 ships well appointed and trimmed, which Eustace surnamed the monke had gathered and prepared there readie against his comming.

The French kings sonne sendeth to the pope.

He commeth to Calice.

Lewes therefore forthwith imbarking himselfe with his people, and all necessarie prouisions for such a iournie, tooke the sea, and arriued at a place called Stanchorre in the Ile of Thenet, vpon the 21 day of Maie, and shortlie after came to Sandwich, & there landed with all his people, where he also incamped vpon the shore by the space of three daies. In which meane time there came vnto him a great number of those lords and gentlemen which had sent for him, and there euerie one apart and by himselfe sware fealtie and homage vnto him, as if he had beene their true and naturall prince.

He taketh the sea.

He landeth in Kent.

The lords do homage vnto him.

King Iohn about the same time that Lewes thus arriued, came to Douer, meaning to fight with his aduersaries by the way as they should come forward towards London. But yet vpon other aduisement taken, he changed his purpose, bicause he put some doubt in the Flemings and other strangers, of whome the most part of his armie consisted, bicause he knew that they hated the French men no more than they did the English. Therefore furnishing the castell of Douer, with men, munition, and vittels, he left it in the keeping of Hubert de Burgh, a man of notable prowesse & valiancie, and returned himselfe vnto Canturburie, and from thence tooke the high waie towards Winchester. Lewes being aduertised that king Iohn was retired out of Kent, passed through the countrie without anie incounter, and wan all the castels and holds as he went, but Douer he could not win.

Matth. Paris.

At his comming to Rochester, he laid siege to the castell there, and wan it, causing all the strangers that were found within it to be hanged. This done, he came to London, and there receiued the homage of those lords and gentlemen which had not yet done their homage to him at Sandwich. On the other part he tooke an oth to maintaine and performe the old lawes and customes of the realme, and to restore to euerie man his rightfull heritage and lands, requiring the barons furthermore to continue faithfull towards him, assuring them to bring things so to passe, that the realme of England should recouer the former dignitie, and they their ancient liberties. Moreouer he vsed them so courteouslie, gaue them so faire words, and made such large promises, that they beleeued him with all their harts. But alas! *Cur vincat opinio verum?*

Rochester castell wonne.

Lewes commeth to London.

The rumour of this pretended outward courtesie being once spred through the realme, caused great numbers of people to come flocking to him, among whom

whome were diuerse of those which before had taken part with king Iohn, as William earle Warren, William earle of Arundell, William earle of Salisburie, William Marshall the yonger, and diuerse other, supposing verelie that the French kings sonne should now obteine the kingdome, who in the meane time ordeined Simon Langton afore mentioned, to be his chancellour, by whose preaching and exhortation, as well the citizens of London as the barons that were excommunicated, caused diuine seruice to be celebrated in their presence, induced thereto, bicause Lewes had alreadie sent his procurators to Rome before his comming into England, there to shew the goodnesse of his cause and quarell.

Noblemen reuolting frō K. Iohn vnto Lewes.

Simon Lāgton chancellor to Lewes.

But this auailed them not, neither toke his excuse any such effect as he did hope it should: for those ambassadors that king Iohn had sent thither, replied against their assertions, so that there was hard hold about it in that court, albeit that the pope would decrée nothing till he hard further from his legat Gualo, who the same time (being aduertised of the proceedings of Lewes in his iournie) with all diligence hasted ouer into England, and passing through the middle of his aduersaries, came vnto king Iohn, then sojourning at Glocester, of whome he was most ioifullie receiued, for in him king Iohn reposed all his hope of victorie. This legat immediatlie after his comming did excommunicate Lewes by name, with all his fautors and complices, but specíallie Simon de Langton, with bell, booke, and candle, as the maner was. Howbeit the same Simon, and one Gernase de Horing deane of S. Pauls in London, with other, alledged that for the right and state of the cause of Lewes, they had alreadie appealed to the court of Rome, and therefore the sentence published by Gualo they toke as void.

Cardinall Gualo commeth ouer into England.

At the same time also, all the knights and men of warre of Flanders and other parts beyond the seas, which had serued the king, departed from him, the Poictouins onelie excepted: and part of them that thus went from him resorted vnto Lewes, and entred into his wages; but the residue repaired home into their owne countries, so that Lewes being thus increased in power, departed from London, and marching towards Winchester, he wan the castels of Rigat, Gilford, and Farnham. From thence he went to Winchester, where the citie was yelded vnto him, with all the castels and holds thereabout, as Wolueley, Odiham, and Beaumere.

The more part of the strangers depart from the seruice of K. Iohn.

Castels won by Lewes.

¶ Whilest the said Lewes was thus occupied in Suffex, about the subduing of that countrie vnto his obeisance, there was a yong gentleman in those parts named William de Collingham, being of a valorous mind, and loathing forren subiection, who would in no wise do fealtie to Lewes, but assembling togither about the number of a thousand archers, kept himselfe within the woods and desert places, whereof that countrie is full, and so during all the time of this warre, shewed himselfe an enimie to the Frenchmen, slaieng no small numbers of them, as he toke them at any aduantage. O worthie gentleman of English bloud! And O

William de Collingham a gentleman of Suffex.

Grándia quæ aggreditur fortis discrimina virtus!

In like manner, all the fortresses, townes, and castels in the south parts of the realme were subdued vnto the obeisance of Lewes (the castels of Doner and Windsore onelie excepted.) Within a little while after, Will. de Mandeuille, Robert Fitz Walter, and William de Huntingfield, with a great power of men of warre, did the like vnto the countries of Esser and Suffolke. In which season, king Iohn fortified the castels of Wallingford, Corfe, Warham, Bitkow, the Vies, and diuerse others with munition and vittels. About which time letters came also vnto Lewes from his procurators, whom he had sent to the pope, by the tenor whereof he was aduertised, that notwithstanding all that they could do or say, the pope meant to excommunicate him, and did but onelie staie till he had receiued some aduertisement from his legat Gualo.

Castels fortified by king Iohn.

The chéefest points (as we find) that were laid by Lewes his procurators against king Iohn were these, that by the murther committed in the person of his nephue Arthur, he had béene condemned in the parlement chamber, before the French king, by the péeres of France, and that being summoned to appeare, he had obstinatelie refused so to do, and therefore had by good right forfeited not onelie his lands within the precinct of France, but also the realme of England, which was now due vnto the said Lewes as they alledged, in right of the ladie Blanch his wife, daughter to Elianor quéene of Spaine. But the pope refused all such allegations as they produced for proofe hereof, & seemed to defend king Iohns cause vertepithilie; but namelie, in that he was vnder the protection of him as supreme lord of England: againe, for that he had taken vpon him the crosse (as before yée haue heard.) But now to returne where we left.

The points wherewith king Iohn was charged.

About the feast of saint Margaret, Lewes with the lords came againe to London, at whose comming, the tower of London was yelded vp to him by appointment, after which the French capteins and gentlemen, thinking themselues assured of the realme, began to shew their inward dispositions and hatred toward the Englishmen, and forgetting all former promises (such is the nature of strangers, and men of meane estate, that are once become lords of their desires, according to the poets words,

Asperius nihil est humili cum surgit in altum)

they did manie excessiue outrages, in spoiling and robbing the people of the countrie, without pitie or mercie. Moreouer they did not onelie breake into mens houses, but also into churches, and toke out of the same such vessels and ornaments of gold and siluer, as they could laie hands vpon: for Lewes had not the power now to rule the greedie souldiers, being wholie giuen to the spoile.

The French men begin to shew themselues in their kind. Iuuen. sat. 9.

But most of all their tyrannie did appeare in the east parts of the realme, when they went through the countries of Esser, Suffolke and Northfolke, where they miserablie spoiled the townes and villages, reducing those quarters vnder their subiection, and making them tributaries vnto Lewes in most seruile and slauish manner. Furthermore, at his comming to Norwich, he found the castell void of defense, and so toke it, without any resistance, and put into it a garison of his souldiers. Also he sent a power to the towne of Lin, which conquered the same, and toke the citizens prisoners, causing them to paie great summes of monie for their ransoms. Moreouer, Thomas de Burgh, chateleine of the castell of Norwich, who vpon the approch of the Frenchmen to the citie, fled out in hope to escape, was taken prisoner, and put vnder safekéeping. He was brother vnto Hubert de Burgh capteine of Douer castell.

The castell of Norwich left for a prey to Lewes.

Lin.

Thomas de Burgh taken prisoner.

Now when Lewes had thus finished his enterprises in those parts, he returned to London, and shortlie thereupon created Gilbert de Gaunt earle of Lincolne, appointing him to go thither with all conuenient speed, that he might resist the issues made by them which did hold the castels of Notingham and Newarke, wasting and spoiling the possessions and lands belonging to the barons neere adioining to the same castels. This Gilbert de Gaunt then, togither with Robert de Ropeley, comming into that countrie, toke the citie of Lincolne, and brought all the countrie vnder subiection (the castell onlie excepted.)

Gilbert de Gaunt made earle of Lincolne.

Lincolne wonne.

After

Holland in Lincolnshire inuaded.

After that, they inuaded Holland, and spoiling that countrie, made it also tributarie vnto the French. Likewise, Robert de Ros, Peter de Bruis, and Richard Percie, subdued Yorke and all Yorkeshire, bringing the same vnder the obeisance of Lewes. The king of Scots in like sort subdued vnto the said Lewes all the countrie of Northumberland, except the castels which Hugh de Balioll, and Philip de Hulcotes valiantlie defended against all the force of the enimie.

Yorkeshire subdued to Lewes.

And as these wicked rebels made a prey of their owne countrie, so the legat Guallo not behind for his part to get something yer all should be gone, vpon a falconish or wolvish appetite fleeced the church, considering that,

Ἦ ἦ ἄρα παραμείσεται μινύθη λέ τοι ὄργον,
——μελέτη λέ τι ὄργον ὄφέλλει,

and toke priories of euerie cathedrall church & house of religion within England, that is to say, for euerie priorie fiftie shillings. Moreouer, he sequestred all the benefices of those persons and religious men, that either aided or counselled Lewes and the barons, in their attempts and enterprises. All which benefices he spedilie conuerted to his owne vse, and to the vse of his chapleins.

The legat Gualo gathereth priores. Sequestratiõ of benefices.

In the meane time, Lewes was brought into some good hope thorough meanes of Thomas de Burgh, whom he toke prisoner (as before you haue heard) to persuade his brother Hubert to yeld vp the castell of Douer, the siege whereof was the next enterprise which he attempted. For his father king Philip, hearing that the same was kept by a garrison, to the behoofe of king John, wrote to his sonne, blaming him that he left behind him so strong a fortresse in his enimies hands. But though Lewes inforced his whole indeuour to win that castell, yet all his trauell was in vaine. For the said Hubert de Burgh, and Gerard de Sotigam, who were chefe capteins within, did their best to defend it against him and all his power, so that despairing to win it by force, he assaied to obteine his purpose, by threatning to hange the capteins brother before his face, if he would not yeld the sooner. But when that would not serue, he sought to win him by large offers of gold and siluer. Howbeit, such was the singular constancie of Hubert, that he would not giue anie eare vnto those his flatering motions. Then Lewes in a great furie menaced that he would not once depart from thence, till he had won the castell, and put all them within to death, and began to assaile it with more force than before he had done.

Lewes trauelleth in vaine to take Douer. Rafe Cog.

The barons also, which at this season lay at London, making a rode to Cambridge, toke the towne, and after went forth into Northfolke and Suffolke (as it were to gather vp such scraps as the French had left) spoiling those countries verie pitifullie, churches and all. They constreined the townes of Yermouth, Dunwich, & Gipswich, to pay to them great summes of monie by waie of ransoming. And at length returning by Colchester, they vsed like practises there. From thence they returned to London, and shortlie after, vnder the conduct of the earle of Neuers (vpon a sudden) going to Windsore, they laid a strong siege about that castell; in the which was capteine Ingelard de Athie, with sixtie valiant knights, & other men of war of their suit, the which manfullie stood at defense.

Yermouth, Dunwich, & Gipswich ransomed.

In the moneth of August, Alexander king of Scotland came through the countrie vnto the siege of Douer, and there did homage vnto Lewes, in right of his tenure holden of the kings of England, and then returned home, but in his comming vp, as he came by castell Bernard in the countrie of Haliwerkfolke (which apertained vnto Hugh de Balioll) he lost his brother in law the lord Eustace de Vescie, who was striken in the forehead with a quarrell, as he rode in companie of the king nere vnto the same castell, to view if it were possible vpon anie side to win it by assault.

Alexander K. of Scots doth homage to K. Lewes.

This Eustace had married the sister of K. Alexander.

About the same time, or rather in the yeare last past as some hold, it fortuned that the vicount of Melune a French man, fell sicke at London, and perceiuing that death was at hand, he called vnto him certeine of the English barons, which remained in the citie, vpon safegard thereof, and to them made this protestation: I lament (saith he) your destruction and desolation at hand, because ye are ignorant of the perils hanging ouer your heads. For this vnderstand, that Lewes, and with him 16 earles and barons of France, haue secretlie sworne (if it shall fortune him to conquere this realme of England, & to be crowned king) that he will kill, banish, and confine all those of the English nobilitie (which now do serue vnder him, and persecute their owne king) as traitours and rebels, and furthermore will dispossesse all their linage of such inheritances as they now hold in England. And because (saith he) you shall not haue doubt hereof, I which lie here at the point of death, do now affirme vnto you, and take it on the perill of my soule, that I am one of those sixteen that haue sworne to performe this thing: wherefore I aduise you to prouide for your owne safeties, and your realmes which you now destroie, and kepe this thing secret which I haue vttered vnto you. After this speech was vttered he streightwaies died.

Matth. Paris.

The vicount of Melune discouereth the purpose of Lewes.

The vicount of Melune dieth.

When these words of the lord of Melune were opened vnto the barons, they were, and not without cause, in great doubt of themselues, for they saw how Lewes had alredie placed and set Frenchmen in most of such castels and townes as he had gotten, the right whereof indeed belonged to them. And againe, it greeued them much to vnderstand, how besides the hatred of their prince, they were euerie sundaie and holiedaie openlie accursed in euerie church, so that manie of them inwardlie relented, and could haue bin contented to haue returned to king John, if they had thought that they should thankfullie haue bene receiued.

The English nobilitie beginneth to mislike of the match which they had made with Lewes.

In this yeare, about the 17 of Julie, pope Innocent died, at whose death (being knowen in England) all they that were enimies to king John greatlie reioised, for they were in great hope that his successour would haue rather inclined to their part, than to the kings. But it fell out otherwise, for Honorius the third that succeeded the same foresaid Innocent, mainteined the same cause in defense of king John, as earnestlie or rather more than his predecessour had done, sending with all speed his buls ouer into England to confirme Gualo in his former authoritie of legat, commanding him with all indeuour to proceed in his businesse, in maintening the king against Lewes, and the dissolall English nobilitie that aided the said Lewes. But now to our purpose.

The death of pope Innocent.

Honorius the third chosen pope.

King John lieng all this while at Winchester, and hauing knowledge how his aduersaries were dailie occupied in most hard enterprises, as in besieging sundrie strong and inuincible places, sent forth his commissioners to assemble men of warre, and to allure vnto his seruice all such, as in hope of prey, were minded to follow his standard, of the which there resorted to him no small number. So that hauing gotten togither a competent armie for his purpose, he brake forth of Winchester, as it had bene an hideous tempest of weather, beating downe all things that stood in his waie, sending forth his people on ech side to wast the countries, to burne vp the townes and villages, to spoile the churches & churchmen. With which successe still increasing his furie, he

The hauocke which king John made in the possessions of his aduersaries.

he turned his wi ole violence into Cambꝛidgeſhire, where he did ercæding great hurt. Then entring into the countries of Noꝛthfolke and Suffolke, he committed the like rage, waſt, and deſtruction, in the lands and poſſeſſions that belonged vnto the earle of Arundell, to Roger Bigot, William de Huntingfield, and Roger de Creſſey.

Noꝛthfolke and Suffolke.

The barons in the meane time that lay at ſiege beꝛe the caſtle of Windſoꝛe, hearing of that hauocke which king Iohn had made in the eaſt parts of the realme, ſecretlie in the night ſeaſon raiſed their camps, and leauing their tents behind them, with all ſpæd made towards Cambꝛidge. But king Iohn by faithfull eſpials, hauing aduertiſement of their intent, which was, to get betwirt him and the places of his refuge, withdꝛew him and got to Stamfoꝛd, yer they might reach to Cambꝛidge, ſo that miſſing their purpoſe, after they had taken ſome ſpoiles abꝛoad in the countrie, they returned to London. King Iohn from Stamfoꝛd, marched toward Lincolne, bicauſe he heard that the caſtell there was beſieged.

The ſiege raiſed from Windſoꝛ.

But thoſe that had beſieged it, as Gilbert de Gaunt, and others, hearing that king Iohn was comming towards them, durſt not abide him, but fled, and ſo eſcaped. The king then turned his iournie towards the marches of Wales, and there did much hurt to thoſe places that belonged to his aduerſaries. After this alſo, and with a verie puiſſant armie he went eaſtſwnes eaſtwards, and paſſing thꝛough the countries, came againe into the counties of Noꝛthfolke and Suffolke, waſting and afflicting all that came in his waie, and at length comming to Lin, was there ioifullie receiued. Then kæping foꝛth noꝛthwards, he ſpoiled the townes and abbeies of Peterburgh and Crowland, where a number of the kings enimies were withdꝛawne into the church, but Sauerie de Mauleon, being ſent foꝛth to ſæke them, found them in the church the moꝛrow after S. Michaell, and dꝛew them out by foꝛce, ſpoiled the houſe, and getting a great bootie and pꝛey of cattell and other riches, he with his people conueied the ſame awaie at his departing, after he had ranſacked euerie coꝛner of the church, and other the houſes and places belonging to that abbeie.

Gilbert de Gaunt fleeth from the face of king Iohn.

Lin.

The abbeies of Peterburgh & Crowland ſpoiled.

Bernewell.

Thus the countrie being waſted on each hand, the king haſted foꝛward till he came to Welleſtreme ſands, where paſſing the waſhes he loſt a great part of his armie, with hoꝛſſes and carriages, ſo that it was iudged to be a puniſhment appointed by God, that the ſpoile which had bæne gotten and taken out of churches, abbeies, and other religious houſes, ſhould periſh, and be loſt by ſuch means togither with the ſpoilers. Yet the king himſelfe, and a few other, eſcaped the violence of the waters, by following a good guide. But as ſome haue written, he toke ſuch græfe foꝛ the loſſe ſuſteined at this paſſage, that immediatlie there vpon he fell into an ague, the foꝛce and heat whereof, togither with his immoderate fæding on rawe peaches, and dꝛinking of new ſider, ſo increaſed his ſickneſſe, that he was not able to ride, but was faine to be carried in a litter pꝛeſentlie made of twigs, with a couch of ſtrawe vnder him, without any bed oꝛ pillow, thinking to haue gone to Lincolne, but the diſeaſe ſtill ſo raged and grew vpon him, that he was inforced to ſtaie one night at the caſtell of Laſoꝛd, and on the next day with great paine, cauſed himſelfe to be caried vnto Newarke, where in the caſtell thꝛough anguiſh of mind, rather than thꝛough foꝛce of ſickneſſe, he departed this life the night beforꝛe the nineteenth day of October, in the yeare of his age fiftie and one, and after he had reigned ſeauentæne yeares, ſix moneths, and ſeauen and twentie daies.

The loſſe of the kings carriages.

Matth. Paris. Matth. Weſt.

King Iohn falleth ſicke of an ague: Matth. Paris.

Laſoꝛd. Matth. Weſt. Matt. Paris.

King Iohn departed this life.

¶ There be which haue wꝛitten, that after he had loſt his armie, he came to the abbeie of Swineſhead in Lincolneſhire, and there vnderſtanding the cheapneſſe and plentie of coꝛne, ſhewed himſelfe greatlie diſpleaſed therewith, as he that foꝛ the hatred which he bare to the Engliſh people, that had ſo traitoꝛouſlie reuolted from him vnto his aduerſarie Lewes, wiſhed all miſerie to light vpon them, and thereupon ſaid in his anger, that he would cauſe all kind of graine to be at a farre higher pꝛice, yer manie daies ſhould paſſe. Where vpon a mꝛonke that heard him ſpeake ſuch woꝛds, being mꝛoued with zeale foꝛ the oppꝛeſſion of his countrie, gaue the king poiſon in a cup of ale, wherof he firſt toke the aſſaie, to cauſe the king not to ſuſpect the matter, and ſo they both died in manner at one time.

Caxton.

There are that wꝛite, how one of his owne ſeruants did conſpire with a conuert of that abbeie, and that they pꝛepared a diſh of peares, which they poiſoned, thꝛæe of the whole number excepted, which diſh the ſaid conuert pꝛeſented vnto him. And when the king ſuſpected them to be poiſoned indeed, by reaſon that ſuch pꝛetious ſtones as he had about him, caſt foꝛth a certeine ſweat, as it were bewꝛaieng the poiſon, he compelled the ſaid conuert to taſt and eat ſome of them, who knowing the thꝛee peares which were not poiſoned, toke and eat thoſe thꝛee, which when the king had ſeene, he could no longer abſteine, but fell to, and eating gꝛedilie of the reſt, died the ſame night, no hurt happening to the conuert, who thoꝛough helpe of ſuch as bare no good will to the K. found ſhift to eſcape, and conueied himſelfe awaie from danger of receiuing due puniſhment foꝛ ſo wicked a dæd.

Giſburn & alij

Beſide theſe repoꝛts which yee haue heard, there are other that wꝛite, how he died of ſurfeting in the night, as Rafe Niger; ſome, of a bloudie flix, as one ſaith that wꝛiteth an addition vnto Roger Houeden. And Rafe Cogheſhall ſaith, that comming to Lin, (where he appointed Sauerie de Mauleon to be capteine, and to take oꝛder foꝛ the foꝛtifieng of that towne) he toke a ſurfet there of immoderat diet, and withall fell into a laſke, and after his laſke had left him, at his comming to Laſoꝛd in Lindſey, he was let bloud: furthermoꝛe to increaſe his other græfes and ſoꝛrowes foꝛ the loſſe of his carriage, iewels and men, in paſſing ouer the waſhes, which troubled him ſoꝛe; there came vnto him meſſengers from Hubert de Burgh, and Gerard de Sotegam capteins of Douer caſtell, aduertiſing him, that they were not able to reſiſt the foꝛceable aſſaults and engins of the enimies, if ſpædie ſuccour came not to them in due time. Whereat his græfe of mind being doubled, ſo as he might ſæme euen oppꝛeſſed with ſoꝛrow, the ſame increaſed his diſeaſe ſo behementlie, that within a ſmall time it made an end of his life (as beforꝛe yee haue heard.)

The variable repoꝛts of wꝛiters, concerning the death of king Iohn.

The men of warre that ſerued vnder his enſignes, being foꝛ the moꝛe part hired ſouldiers and ſtrangers, came togither, and marching foꝛth with his bodie, each man with his armour on his backe, in warlike oꝛder, conueied it vnto Woꝛceſter, where he was pompouſlie buried in the cathedꝛall church beforꝛe the high altar, not foꝛ that he had ſo appointed (as ſome wꝛite) but bicauſe it was thought to be a place of moſt ſuertie foꝛ the loꝛds and other of his fꝛends there to aſſemble, and to take oꝛder in their buſineſſe now after his deceaſſe. And bicauſe he was ſomewhat fat and coꝛpulent, his bowels were taken out of his bodie, and buried at Croxton abbeie, a houſe of monks of the oꝛder called *Præmonſtratenſes*, in Staffoꝛdſhire, the abbat of which houſe was his phyſician.

Bernewell.

¶ How ſoeuer oꝛ where ſoeuer oꝛ when ſoeuer he died, it is not a matter of ſuch moment that it ſhould impeach

impeach the credit of the storie: but certeine it is that he came to his end, let it be by a surfet, or by other meanes ordeined for the shortening of his life. The manner is not so materiall as the truth is certeine. And suerlie, he might be thought to haue procured against himselfe manie molestations, manie anguishes & verations, which nipt his hart & gnawd his very bowels with manie a sore symptome or passion: all which he might haue withstood if fortune had beene so fauourable, that the loialtie of his subiects had remained towards him inuiolable, that his Nobles with multitudes of adherents had not with such shamefull apostasie withstood him in open fight, that forren force had not weakened his dominion, or rather robbed him of a maine branch of his regiment; that he himselfe had not fought with the spoile of his owne people to please the imaginations of his ill affected mind; that courtiers & commoners had with one assent performed in dutie no lesse than they pretended in veritie, to the preseruation of the state and the securitie of their souereigne: all which presupposed plagues concurring, what happinesse could the king arrogate to himselfe by his imperiall title, which was through his owne default so imbezelled, that a small remanent became his in right, when by open hostilitie and accursed papasie the greater portion was pluckt out of his hands.

Here therefore we see the issue of domesticall or homebred broiles, the fruits of variance, the gaine that riseth of dissention, whereas no greater nor safer fortification can betide a land, than when the inhabitants are all alike minded. By concord manie an hard enterprise (in common sense thought impossible) is atchiued, manie weake things become so defended, that without manifold force they cannot be dissolued. From diuision and mutinies do issue (as out of the Troiane horsse) ruines of roialties, and decaies of communalties. The sinewes of a realme is supposed of some to be substance and wealth; of other some policie and power; of other some conuenient defenses both by water and land: but a most excellent description of a well fortified countrie is that of Plautus, set downe in most pithie words and graue sentences; no lesse worthie to be written than read and considered. The description is this.

Plaut. in Perf.

Si incolæ bene sunt morati pulchrè munitũ regnũ arbitror:
Perfidia & peculatus ex vrbe & auaritia si exulent,
Quarta inuidia, quinta ambitio, sexta obtrectatio,
Septimum periurium, octaua indulgentia,
Nona iniuria, decima quod pessimum aggressu scelus:
Hæc nisi inde aberũt cẽtuplex murus reb. secundis parũ est.

And therefore no maruell though both courtiers and commoners fell from king Iohn their naturall prince, and toke part with the enimie; not onelie to the disgrace of their souereigne, but euen to his ouerthrow, and the depopulation of the whole land; sith these maine bulworks and rampiers were wanting; and the contrarie in most ranke sort and detestable manner extended their virulent forces.

But we will surceasse to aggrauate this matter, sith the same is sufficientlie vrged in the verie course of the historie concerning his acts and deeds, continued to the verie day of his death, and the verie time of his burtall, whereof I saie thus much, that whether it was his will to be interred, as is aforesaid, or whether his corpse being at the disposing of the suruiuers, to elect the place as a conuenient storehouse for a princes bones, I leaue it as doubtfull, and therfore vndetermined, esteeming the lesse to labour therein, because the truth can hardlie by certeintie be winnowed out, but by coniecturall supposals aimed and shot at. Notwithstanding, in my poore iudgement it is verie likelie (first in respect of the time which was superstitious and popish; secondlie by reason of the custome of funerall rites then commonlie vsed) that he was buried in the said place for order sake, & his bodie (if I may presume so farre by warrant of mine author) wraped in a monks cowle and so laid in his graue or tome. For the manner was at that time, in such sort to burie their Nobles and great men, who were induced by the imaginations of monks and fond fansies of freers to beleeue, that the said cowle was an amulet or defensiue to their soules from hell and hellish hags, how or in what wiener sort they died; either in sorrow and repentance for sinne, or in blasphemie, outrage, impatiencie, or desperation.

This forme of funerals was frequented in Wales, hauing beene first brewed and broched in England, from whence (if we may giue credit to our late Chronographers) as from a poisoned spring it spred it selfe into Wales. For the first abbeie or frierie that is read to haue beene erected there, since the dissolution of the noble house of Bangor, which fauoured not of Romish dregs, was the Tiwy Gwyn, which was builded in the yeare 1146. Afterwards these vermine swarmed like bees, or rather crawled like lice ouer all the land, and drew in with them their lewsie religion, tempered with I wot not how manie millians of abhominations; hauing vtterlie forgotten the lesson which Ambrosius Telesius had taught them [who writ in the yeare 540, when the right christian faith (which Joseph of Arimathia taught the Ile of Aualon) reigned in this land, before the proud and bloodthirstie monke Augustine infected it with the poison of Romish errors] in a certeine ode, a part whereof are these few verses insuing,

Humf. Lhloyd, Dauid Powell.

Gwae'r offeiriad byd,
Nys angreifftia gwyd,
Ac ny phregetha:
Gwae ny cheidw ey gail,
Ac efyn vigail,
Ac nys areilia:
Gwae ny theidw ey dheuaid,
Rhae bleidhie Rhiefeniaid,
Ai ffon grewppa.

Wo be to that preest yborne,
That will not cleanelie weed his corne,
And preach his charge among:
Wo be to that shepheard (Isaie)
That will not watch his fold alwaie,
As to his office dooth belong:
Wo be to him that dooth not keepe,
From rauening Romish wolues his sheepe,
With staffe and weapon strong.

Thus in English almost word for word.

This (as not impertinent to the purpose) I haue recorded, partlie to shew the palpable blindnes of that age wherein king Iohn liued, as also the religion which they reposed in a rotten rag, esteeming it as a Scala cœli or ladder to life; but speciallie inferred to this end, that we may fetch some light from this cléere candle (though the same séeme to be duskish & dim) whereby we may be lead to conceiue in reason and common sense, that the interrement of the king was according to the custome then in vse and request, and therefore by all likelihoods he was buried as the péers and states of the land were wont to be in those dales, after the maner aboue mentioned.

But to let this passe as a cold discourse of a coffen of bones couered with clods of claie; you shall vnderstand that he left behind him posteritie of both seres. For he had issue by his wife quæne Isabell two sonnes, Henrie who succéeded him in the kingdome, and Richard; three daughters, Joane married to Alexander king of Scotland, Isabell coupled in matrimonie with the emperour Frederike the second,

King Iohns children.

cond, and Elianor whome William earle of Glocester had to wife. He had also another daughter (as some haue left in writing) called Elianor.

He was comelie of stature, but of loke and countenance displeasant and angrie, somewhat cruell of nature, as by the writers of his time he is noted, and not so hardie as doubtfull in time of perill and danger. But this seemeth to be an enuious report vttered by those that were giuen to speake no good of him whome they inwardlie hated. Howbeit some giue this witnesse of him (as the author of the booke of Bernewell abbeie and other) that he was a great and mightie prince, but yet not verie fortunate, much like to Marius the noble Romane, taking of fortune both wales: bountifull and liberall vnto strangers, but of his owne people (for their dailie treasons practised towards him) a great oppressour, so that he trusted more to forreiners than to them, and therfore in the end he was of them vtterlie forsaken.

Herelie, who soeuer shall consider the course of the 76
historie written of this prince, he shall find, that he hath verie little beholden to the writers of that time in which he liued: for scarselie can they afford him a good word, except when the trueth inforceth them to come out with it as it were against their willes. The occasion whereof (as some thinke) was, for that he was no great friend to the clergie. And yet vndoubtedlie his deeds shew he had a zeale to religion, as it was then accounted: for he founded the abbeie of Beaulieu in the new forrest, as it were in recompense of certeine parishchurches, which to inlarge the same forrest he caused to be throwne downe and ruinated.

He builded the monasterie of Farendon, and the abbeie of Hales in Shropshire; he repaired Godstow where his fathers concubine Rosamund lais interred; he was no small benefactor to the minster of Lichfield in Staffordshire; to the abbeie of Crokesden in the same shire, and to the chappell at Knaresburgh in Yorkshire. So that (to say what I thinke) he was not so void of deuotion towards the church, as diuers of his enimies haue reported, who of mere malice conceale all his vertues, and hide none of his vices; but are plentifull inough in setting forth the same to the vttermost, and interpret all his doings and sayings to the worst, as may appeare to those that aduisedlie read the works of them that write the order of his life, which may seeme rather an inuectiue than a true historie: nevertheless, sith we cannot come by the truth of things through the malice of writers, we must content our selues with this vnfriendlie description of his time. Certeinelie it should seeme the man had a princelie heart in him, and wanted nothing but faithfull subiects to haue assisted him in reuenging such wrongs as were done and offered by the French king and others.

Matth. Paris. Polydor. & alij.

Moreouer, the pride and pretended authoritie of the clergie he could not well abide, when they went about to wrest out of his hands the prerogatiue of his princelie rule and gouernement. True it is, that to maintaine his warres which he was forced to take in hand, as well in France as elsewhere, he was constreined to make all the shift he could deuise to recouer monie, and because he pinched their purses, they conceiued no small hatred against him; which when he perceiued, and wanted peraduenture discretion to passe it ouer, he discouered now and then in his rage his immoderate displeasure, as one not able to bridle his affections, a thing verie hard in a stout stomach, and thereby missed now and then to compasse that which otherwise he might verie well haue brought to passe.

It is written, that he meant to haue become feudarie (for maintenance sake against his owne disloiall subiects, and other his aduersaries) vnto Miramumeline the great king of the Saracens: but for the truth of this report I haue little to say, and therefore I leaue the credit thereof to the authors. It is reported likewise, that in time when the realme stood interdicted, as he was abroad to hunt one day, it chanced that there was a great stag or hart killed, which when he came to be broken vp, proued to be verie fat and thicke of flesh; Oh (saith he) what a plesant life this deere hath led, and yet in all his daies he neuer heard masse. To conclude, it may seeme, that in some respects he was not greatlie superstitious, and yet not void of a religious zeale towards the maintenance of the cleargie, as by his bountifull liberalitie bestowed in building of abbeies and churches (as before yee haue hard) it may partlie appeare.

Matth. Paris.

In his daies manie learned men liued, as Geffrey Vinesaufe, Simon Fraxinus *alias* Ash, Adamus Dorensis, Gualter de Constantijs first bishop of Lincolne and after archbishop of Rouen, John de Oxford, Colman surnamed Sapiens, Richard Canonicus, William Peregrine, Alane Teukesburie, Simon Thurualc, who being an excellent philosopher but standing to much in his owne conceit, vpon a sudden did so forget all his knowledge in learning, that he became the most ignorant of all other, a punishment (as was thought) appointed him of God, for such blasphemies as he had wickedlie vttered, both against Moses and Christ. Gerualsius Dorobernensis, John Hanvill, Nigell Worcker, Gilbert de Hoiland, Benet de Peterburgh, William Parnus a monke of Newburgh, Roger Houeden, Hubert Walter, first bishop of Salisburie and after archbishop of Canturburie, Alexander Theologus, of whome yee haue heard before, Gerualsius Tilberiensis, Sylvester Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote manie treatises, Joseph Deuonius, Walter Mapis, Radulfus de Diceto, Gilbert Legley, Mauricius Morganius, Walter Morganius, John de Fordeham, William Leicester, Joceline Brakeland, Roger of Crowland, Hugh White *alias* Candidus that wrote an historie intituled *Historia Petroburgensis*, John de saint Omer, Adam Barking, John Gray an historiographer and bishop of Norwich, Walter of Couentrie, Radulphus Niger, &c. Se Bale *Scriptorum Britannicæ centuria tertia.* Bale.

Thus farre king John.

Henrie

Henrie the third, the eldest sonne of king Iohn.

HEnrie, the third of that name, the eldest sonne of K. Iohn, a child of the age of nine yeres, began his reigne ouer the realme of England the nineteenth day of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1216, in the seuenth yeare of the emperour Frederike the second, and in the 36 yeare of the reigne of Philip the second king of France. Anno Reg. 1. 1216

William Marshall earle of Penbroke.

Immediatlie after the death of his father king Iohn, William Marshall earle of Penbroke, generall of his fathers armie, brought this yong prince with his brother and sisters vnto Glocester, and there called a councell of all such lords as had taken part with king Iohn. Anon after it was once openlie knowne, that the sonnes and daughters of the late deceassed prince were brought into a place of safetie, a great number of the lords and chiefe barons of the realme hasted thither (I meane not onelie such as had holden with king Iohn, but also diuerse other, which vpon certeine knowledge had of his death, were newlie reuolted from Lewes) in purpose to aid yong king Henrie, to whome of right the crowne did apperteine.

Thither also came Uallo or Guallo the popes legat (an earnest defender of the kings cause) with Peter bishop of Winchester, & Iocelin bishop of Bath: also Ranulph earle of Chester, William Ferrers earle of Derbie, John Marshall, and Philip de Albenie, with diuerse other lords and peeres of the relme, and a great number of abbats and priors, who by and by fell to councell togither what waie should be best to take, for the good order of things now in so doubtfull and perilous a time as this. The peeres of the realme being thus assembled, William earle of Penbroke, bringing the yong king into their presence, and setting him before them, spake these words following. Matth. Paris.

The earle of Penbroks short and *sweet oration as it is borrowed out* of maister Fox.

BEhold right honourable and welbeloued, although we haue persecuted the father of this yong prince for his euill demeanor, and worthilie, yet this yong child whome heere you see before you, as he is in years tender, so is he pure and innocent from those his fathers doings. Wherefore, in so much as euerie man is charged onelie with the burthen of his owne works and transgressions, neither shall the child (as the scripture teacheth vs) beare the iniquitie of his father: we ought therefore of dutie and conscience to pardon this yong and tender prince, and take compassion of his age as yee see. And now, for so much as he is the kings naturall and eldest sonne, and must be our souereigne king, and successour in this kingdome, come and let vs appoint him our king & gouernour, let vs remoue from vs this Lewes the French kings sonne, and suppresse his people, which are a confusion and shame to our nation: and the yoke of their seruitude let vs cast from off our shoulders.

When the barons had heard this earles words, after some silence and conference had, they allowed of his saiengs, and immediatlie with one consent, proclaimed the yong gentleman king of England, whome the bishops of Winchester and Bath did crowne and annoint with all due solemnities at Glocester, vpon the day of the feast of the apostles Simon & Iude, in presence of the legat. Being thus crowned, he was committed to the gouernance of his brother in law, the foresaid William Marshall earle of Penbroke, who to win the good will of the people towards the yong king, sent forth messengers with letters into all parts of the realme, to signifie the newes of the kings coronation, with an offer also of pardon to all such of the barons side as would turne to his part: and likewise of great rewards to those, which hauing hitherto continued faithfull, would so remaine vntill this trouble should be ouerpast. By this means it came to passe, that his frends greatlie reioised at these newes, and manie of those which till that time had aided the Frenchmen, reuolted from them, and in hope of pardon and reward turned to king Henrie.

It is reported by writers, that amongst other things, as there were diuerse which withdrew the hearts of the Englishmen from Lewes, the consideration of the confession which the * vicount of Melune made at the houre of his death, was the principall. The order whereof, in the later end of the life of king Iohn, yee haue heard. Truelie how little good will inwardlie Lewes and his Frenchmen bare towards the English nation, it appeered sundrie waies. And first of all, in that they had them in a manner in no regard or estimation at all, but rather sought by all means to spoile and keepe them vnder, not suffering them to beare anie rule, nor putting them in trust with the custodie of such places as they had brought them in possession of. Secondlie, they called them not to councell, so often as at the first they vsed to do, neither did they proceed by their directions in their businesse, as before they were accustomed. * See pag. 193. col. 2.

The pride of the Frenchmen procureth them hatred.

med. Thirdlie, in all manner of their conuersation, neither Lewes nor his Frenchmen vsed them so familiarlie, as at their first comming: but (as their manner is) shewing more loftie countenances toward them, they greatlie increased the indignation of the English lords against them, who might euill abide to be so ouer-ruled.

To conclude, where great promises were made at their entring into the land, they were slowe inough in performing the same, so as the expectation of the English barons was quite made void: for they perceiued dailie that they were despised & scoffed at for their disloialtie shewed to their owne naturall prince, hearing now and then nips and tawnts openlie by the Frenchmen, that as they had shewed themselues false and vntrustie to their owne lawfull king, so they would not continue anie long time true vnto a stranger. Thus all these things laid togither, gaue occasion to the English barons to remember themselues, and to take iust occasion to reuolt vnto king Henrie, as before we haue mentioned. But now to the purpose of the historie.

We haue heard how Lewes had spent long time in vaine about the besieging of the castell of Douer, for although he plagued them within verie sore, yet Hubert de Burgh and Gerard de Sotigam bare themselues so manfullie, and therwith so politikelie, that their aduersaries could not come to vnderstand their distresse & danger within the castell, in so much that despairing to win it in anie short time, euen before the death of king John was knowne (as some write) Lewes was contented to grant a truce to them that kept this castell, till the feast of Easter next insuing: but (as it appeareth by other) this truce was not concluded till after the death of king John was signified to Lewes, who greatlie reioising therat, supposed now within a short time, to bring the whole realme vnder his subiection: and therefore raising his siege from Douer, in hope to compasse enterprises of greater consequence, he came backe vnto the citie of London.

When they within the castell of Douer saw the siege remoued, they came forth, and burnt such houses and buildings as the Frenchmen had raised before the same castell, and comming abroad into the countrie, got togither such vittels and other necessarie prouision, as might serue for the furnishing of their fortresse for a long season. After that Lewes was returned vnto London, he remained not long there, but with a great armie marched forth vnto Hertford, where he besieged the castell, which was in the keeping of Walter de Godardule seruant in household vnto Fouks de Brent, who defended the place from the feast of S. Martine, vntill the feast of S. Nicholas, and then deliuered it by composition, that he and his people might depart with all their goods, horsse and armour. From thence Lewes went vnto Berkehamsted, and besieged the castell, which was valiantlie defended by a Duch capteine named Waleron, who with his people behaued himselfe so manfullie, that a great number of Frenchmen and other of them without, were left dead in the ditches. At an issue also made vpon the side, towards the north where the barons lay, they spoiled the carriage and trusse of the said barons, and tooke therewithall the standard of William Mandeuile. Finallie about the 20 day of December, they yet yelded the place vnto Lewes, bicause they were no longer able to keepe, it their liues, goods, horsse and armour saued.

Lewes hauing furnished this castell with a sufficient garrison, returned backe towards London, and comming to S. Albons, constreined the abbat to giue vnto him foure score marks of siluer, for a fine, in recognisance of doing his homage till the feast of the purification of our ladie next insuing. Which pore abbat was made to beleeue, that he ought to take this dealing to be an act of great courtesie, the earle of Winchester being an earnest meane for him that he might so easilie escape. About the same time was a generall truce taken betwixt the king and Lewes, and all their partakers, till the 20 day after Christmasse, for the obteining of which truce (as some write) the castell of Berkehamsted was surrendered vnto the same Lewes, as before ye haue heard. Bernewell. A truce.

After Christmasse, and whilest the truce yet dured, Lewes and the barons assembled at the councell which they held at Cambridge, & the lords that tooke part with the king met likewise at Orford, and much talke there was, and great trauell imploied to haue concluded some agreement by composition betwixt the parties, but it would not be, nor yet anie longer truce (which was also sought for) could be granted: whereupon Lewes besieged the castell of Hidingham, the which togither with the castels of Norwich, Colchester, and Orford, were surrendered vnto him, to haue a truce granted vntill a moneth after Easter next insuing. And so by this meanes all the east part of the realme came vnto the possession of Lewes. For the Ile of Elie was won by his people a litle before the last truce, whilest he himselfe lay in siege at Berkehamsted, except one fortresse belonging to the same Ile, into the which the souldiers that serued there vnder the king were withdrawen. But yet although Lewes might seeme thus partlie to preuaile, in hauing these castels deliuered into his hands, yet being aduertised that dailie there reuolted diuerse of the barons of England vnto king Henrie, which before had taken part with him: he stood in great doubt and feare of the rest, and therefore furnished all those castels which he had woone with conuenient garrisons, and namelie the castell of Hertford, and after went to London, there to vnderstand what further trust he might put in the rest of the English lords and barons: for as diuerse had alreadie forsaken him, as it is said, so the residue were doubtfull what they were best to do. 1218 Polydor.

For first they considered, that the renouncing of their promised faith vnto Lewes, whome they had sworne to maintaine as king of England, should be a great reproch vnto them: and againe they well saw that to continue in their obedience towards him, should bring the realme in great danger, sith it would be hard for any louing agreement to continue betweene the French & Englishmen, their natures being so contrarie. Thirdlie, they stood somewhat in feare of the popes curse, pronounced by his legat, both against Lewes and all his partakers. Albeit on the other side, to reuolt vnto king Henrie, though the loue which they did beare to their countrie, and the great towardnesse which they saw in him greatlie moued them; yet sith by reason of his yong yeares, he was not able either to follow the wars himselfe, or to take counsell what was to be done in publike gouernement, they iudged it a verie dangerous case. For whereas in wars nothing can be more expedient than to haue one head, by whose appointment all things may be gouerned: so nothing can be more hurtfull than to haue manie rulers, by whose authoritie things shall passe and be ordered. The perplexitie in which the barons stood.

Wherefore these considerations staied and kept one part of the English lords still in obedience to Lewes, namelie, for that diuerse of the confederats thought that it stood not with their honours so to forsake him, till they might haue some more honorable colour to reuolt from their promises, or that the matter should be taken vp by some indifferent agreement to be concluded out of hand betwixt them. Herevpon

Matth. Paris.

Hertford castell deliuered to Lewes.

The castell of Berkehamsted surrendred.

Matth. Paris.

vpon they reſorted in like maner vnto London, and there with Lewes toke councell what was to be done with their buſineſſe touching the whole ſtate of their cauſe. ¶ Here ye ſhall note, that before the concluding of this laſt truce, Fouks de Brent the capteine of the caſtell of Bedford gat togither a number of ſouldiers out of the garriſons of the caſtels of Oxford, Northampton, Bedford, and Windſor, and comming with them to S. Albons the 22 of Februarie, he ſpoiled the towne & abbie, in like maner as he had done all the townes and villages by the way as he paſſed through the countrie, from Bedford vnto S. Albons.

S. Albons deſtroied.

The meſſengers which Lewes had remaining in the court of Rome, ſignified vnto him about the ſame time, that except he departed out of England, the ſentence of excommunication, which Gualo or Walo the legat had pronounced againſt him, ſhould be confirmed by the pope on Maundie thurſdaie next inſuing. Wherevpon Lewes was the more inclined to yéld to the truce before mentioned, that he might in the meane time go ouer into France to his father, who had moſt earneſtlie written and ſent in commandement to him, that in any wiſe he ſhould returne home to talke with him, and ſo about midlent after the truce was concluded, he prepared himſelfe, and ſailed ouer into France, and as Polydor ſaith (but with what authoritie I know not) the king of Scots went alſo with him.

Polydor.

After his departure ouer, William earle of Saliſburie, William earle of Arundell, William earle Warren, and diuerſe other reuolted to king Henrie. Moreouer, William Marſhall earle of Penbroke ſo trauelled with his ſon William Marſhall the yonger, that he likewiſe came to take part with the yong king: whereby the ſide of Lewes and his Frenchmen was ſore weakened, and their harts no leſſe appalled for the ſequele of their affaires. Lewes returned yet into England before the truce was expired. The lords that held on the kings part in the abſence of Lewes, were not forgetfull to vſe opportunitie of time: for beſide that they had procured no ſmall number of thoſe that before time held with Lewes to reuolt from him to the kings ſide, they at one ſelfe time beſieged diuerſe caſtels, and recouered them out of their aduerſaries hands, as Marlebrough, Farneham, Wincheſter, Ciceſter, and certeine other, which they ouerthrew and raced, becauſe they ſhould not be taken and kept againe by the enimie. For ye muſt vnderſtand, that the going ouer of Lewes now at that time, when it ſtood him moſt vpon to haue bene preſent here in that troubleſome ſeaſon (which he ought to haue regarded with ſingular circumſpection, and warilie to haue watched, for

Virtus eſt, vbi occaſio admonet, diſpicere)

brought no ſmall hinderance to the whole ſtate of all his buſineſſe, in ſo much that he was neuer ſo highlie regarded afterwards among the Engliſhmen as before.

Matth. Paris. Noble men reuolting frō Lewes.

About the ſame time Ranulfe earle of Cheſter, William earle of Albermarle, William earle Ferrers, Robert de Vetpount, Brian de Liſle, William de Cantlow, Philip de Marc, Robert de Gaugi, Fouks de Brent, & others aſſembled their powers, and comming to Mountſorell beſide Loughborough in Leiceſterſhire, beſieged the caſtell there, the capteine whereof was one Henrie de Braibroke. This Henrie defended the place right manfully, and doubting to be in diſtres by long ſiege, ſent with all ſpéed to the earle of Wincheſter, Saer de Quincie as then being at London with the Frenchmen, requiring him to ſend ſome ſuccour to remoue the ſiege. Herevpon the earle of Wincheſter, to whom that caſtell belonged, required Lewes that ſome conuenient power might be ſent, whereby the ſiege might be remoued. Wherefore vpon councell taken with deliberate aduiſe, it was ordeined that an armie ſhould be ſent thither with all ſpéed, not onlie to raiſe the ſiege, but alſo to ſubdue that countrie vnto the obedience of Lewes. Herwith there went out of London 600 knights, and with them aboue twentie thouſand men in armour, grædie (as it ſeemed) to haue the ſpoile of other mens goods.

Matth. Paris. The earle of Cheſter.

The caſtell of Mountſorell beſieged.

Henrie Braibroke.

Saer de Quincie erle of winchester.

Their chiefe capteins were theſe: Saer de Quincie earle of Wincheſter, Robert Fitzwater, and others, and they did ſet forward vpon the laſt of Aprill, which was the mondaie before the Aſcenſion daie, paſſing through S. Albons, where they lodged the firſt night, and ſo to Dunſtable, and by the waie ſuch ſouldiers as were vſed to ſpoile and pillage, plaied their parts, not ſparing to rob and ranſacke as well religious houſes as other. From Dunſtable kéeping on their iournie northwards, at length they came to Mountſorell, but the earle of Cheſter and the other lords, aduertiſed of their approch, were retired before to Notingham, determining there to abide, till they might vnderſtand what waie the enimies would take.

The earle of Cheſter raiſeth his ſiege.

In the meane time the earle of Wincheſter and the other barons, finding their enimies departed and the ſiege raiſed, determined forthwith to go vnto Lincolne, where Gilbert de Gaunt and other had kept ſiege a long time before the caſtell, but yet in vaine. For there was a noble ladie within that caſtell named Nichola, who demeaned hir ſelfe ſo valiantlie in reſiſting all aſſaults and enterpriſes, which the enimies that beſieged hir could attempt by anie meanes againſt hir, that they rather loſt than wan honour and eſtimation at hir hands dailie. Therefore Robert Fitzwater and the other leaders of this armie, to the end they might get that caſtell out of hir and other their enimies hands, toke their iournie forward, and paſſing through the vale of Beauuere, all things there that came to ſight fell into the hands of the grædie ſouldiers. For the French footmen, which were as it had bene the ſcum & refuſe of their countrie, leaſt nothing vntouched that they might lay hands vpon, not ſparing church or churchyard, nor hallowed place more than common or prophane. For they were ſo poore and ragged, that they had ſcarſe anie tatters to couer their priuie parts withall. Finallie comming vnto Lincolne, they aſſaulted the caſtell with all maner of engins, and aſſaied by all waies poſſible whereby they hoped to aduance their purpoſe.

Bernewell.

The poore eſtate of the French ſoldiers.

Thus whiles the barons with the Frenchmen were much buſied about the ſiege of Lincolne caſtell, W. Marſhall earle of Penbroke, by the aduiſe of the legat Gualo or Walo, and of Peter biſhop of Wincheſter, and other of the councell with king Henrie, cauſed ſummons to be giuen to all capteins and chateleins on the kings part, to be at Newarke vpon mondaie in Whitſunwéeke, with ſuch power as they might make, from thence to march to Lincolne, there to raiſe the ſiege, and deliuer the countrie from imminent oppreſſion. Wherevpon there aſſembled at the daie and place prefixed, a great puiſſance of people deſirous to fight for the defenſe of their countrie againſt the Frenchmen and other aduerſaries, rebels to the pope, and excommunicated perſons, ſo that when the muſter was taken, there was numbered 400 knights, 250 croſſebowes, beſides demilances and horſſemen in great numbers, which for néed might haue ſupplied and ſerued in ſtéed of men of armes, being verie well furniſhed for the purpoſe, and armed at all points.

Summons to raiſe an armie for the king.

The chiefe capteins of this companie were theſe: William Marſhall earle of Penbroke, and his ſon

The capteins of the kings armie.

William Marshall the yonger, Peter bish. of Winchester, a man right skilfull in feats of warre, Ranulph earle of Chester, William earle of Salisburie, William earle Ferrers, William earle of Albemarle, besides barons, as William de Albenie latelie released out of captiuitie, John Marshall, William de Cantlow, and William his sonne, Fouks de Brent, Thomas Basset, Robert de Veipount, Brian de Lisle, Geffrey de Lucie, Philip de Albenie, with manie other chateleins and constables of sundrie castels.

The legat accurseth Lewes & his complices.

The legat being there present also on the fridaie in the Whitsunweeke aforesaid, reuested in a white albe, accompanied with the cleargie, accursed in solemne wise Lewes the French kings sonne, with all his sautours and complices, & especiallie those which held siege before the castell of Lincolne, with all the citie: and the more to incourage all those that should passe forth in this armie, to raise the siege, he granted to them free remission of all their sins, whereof they were trulie confessed, and by authoritie which he had from almightie GOD, and the apostolike see, he promised to them the guerdon of euerlasting saluation. Herewith when the armie had receiued absolution, and the legats blessing, euerie man marched forth in his order and place appointed, and comming to Stow, an eight miles from Lincolne, they lodged there all night.

In the morning they passed forth towards Lincolne, vnder the conduct of the said earle of Penbroke as generall of the whole armie, who being come thither, compassed about the citie with his armie. And to cause the enimie the soner to leaue the siege of the castell, he assaulted the gates of the citie, inforcing his power to beare downe and breake them open. The Frenchmen perceiuing all the danger to be about the gates, withdrew a little from the assailing of the castell, and resorting to the walles of the citie, did their best with shooting and casting of stones and other things, to driue their aduersaries from the gates.

Fouks de Brent.

Thus whiles they were occupied on both parts, Fouks de Brent entered into the castell by a posterne gate on the backeside, and a great number of souldiers with him, and rushing into the citie out of the castell, he began a fierce battell with the citizens within the citie: which when the Frenchmen perceiued, by the noise and crie raised at their backs, they ran to the place where the skirmish was, doing their best to beat backe the aforesaid Foukes de Brent with his companie. But in the meane time the Englishmen, vnder the leading of Sauerie de Mauleon, a Poictouin (of whom you haue heard in the life of king John) brake open the gates and entred the citie. Then the fight was sore increased and maintened for a time with great furie: so that it was hard to iudge who should haue the better. But at length the Frenchmen and those English lords that were with them, being sore laid at on ech side, began to retire towards the gates, and finallie to turne their backs and so fled awaie: but being beset round about with the kings horsemen, they were streightwaies either slaine or taken for the most part of them.

The Frenchmen put to flight at Lincolne.

The earle of Perch slaine.

Amongst other that were there slaine, the earle of Perch a Frenchman was one, who being gotten into a churchyard manfullie defended himselfe till his horse was killed vnder him, and lastlie himselfe was also beaten downe and slaine. There were taken of Englishmen, Saer de Quincie erle of Winchester, and Humfrey de Bohun earle of Hereford,

Noble mẽ taken prisoners.

Gilbert de Gaunt by the gift of Lewes.

Gilbert de Gaunt earle of Lincolne by the gift of Lewes, Richard de Montfichet, William de Mowbraie, William de Beauchampe, William de Wanduit, Oliuer de Harecourt, Roger de Cressie, William de Coleuill, William de Ros, William de Ropeley, Ralfe Chanduit, and diuerse other: so that of knights there were taken to the number of foure hundred, beside such multitude of demilances, and other horsemen and footmen, as could not well be numbered. Moreouer, all the prouision, trusse, and baggage laden in carts, clothsackes, and males belonging to the barons and Frenchmen was taken, and the citie was spoiled, rifled and sacked.

Lewes his faire.

This enterprise and discomfiture at Lincolne, which was in derision called Lewes his faire, chanced the 14 kalends of June, being saturdaie in the Whitsunweeke. Manie honest matrons of the towne were drowned, as they were got into boates to auoid the danger of their persons, wanting skill how to guide the same boates. The earle of Penbroke the same daie before he receiued any repast, rode backe in post to the king, whom he had left at Stow, and there declared the ioifull newes of his good speed, in vanquishing of the enimies. On the next morrow, newes came to the king, that they which had kept the castell of Mountsorell were fled out of the same, and had left it void. Whereupon immediatlie he sent in commandement vnto the shiriffe of Notinghamshire, that going thither in his owne person, he should ruinat the said castell, & make it plaine with the ground.

The K. commandeth ỹ castell of Mount sorell to be raced.

The Frenchmen which escaped with life from the slaughter of Lincolne, as the Marshall of France, the chateleine of Arras, with others, made towards London with all possible speed, in hope to escape so well as they might: but manie of them, and namelie the footmen were slaine by the countrie people where they passed, and that in great numbers: for the husbandmen fell vpon them with clubs and swords, not sparing those whom they got at aduantage. Two hundred knights or men of armes (as we may call them) getting to London, presented vnto Lewes the sorowfull report of their misaduenture, and were of him not moaned, but blamed and sore rebuked, for that they had fled, and shamefullie left the residue of their companies to be distressed, taken, and slaine by the aduersaries, where if they had manfullie stood to it, they might happilie haue saued their fellowes, and obteined victorie.

Milites.

¶ The chronicle of Dunstable sheweth in déed that Simon de Peschie and Henrie Braibroc, perceiuing that Fouks de Brent was entered into the citie, and that they were now assailed both afront, and on the backes, they withdrew, and getting togither 80 French knights or men of armes (if we shall so call them) departed out of the citie, and fleeing through the countrie by Lin and saint Edmundsburie, at length got through to London. How soeuer they were welcomed of Lewes, certeine it is, that the lords that toke part with king Henrie, were put in no small hope by the atchiuing of this so great a victorie, to bring within a short time all the realme to the obedience of king Henrie: and hereupon marching forth into the countrie, put the people in such feare, that they submitted themselues vnto the gouernment of king Henrie in all places where soeuer they came.

Chr. Dunstab.

On the other part, Lewes who all this season remained at London, being sore dismaied for the losse of his people, began to feare euerie daie more and more, least by some practise he should be betraied and deliuered into his enimies hands. Therefore he went about to make himselfe as strong as was possible, & fortifieng the citie, sent messengers into France, to require his father to send him more aid. His father sore to heare of his sons distresse, and loth that he should take the foile, caused his daughter the wife of Lewes, to prepare a power of men, that the same might

Lewes sendeth to his father for aid.

might passe with all speed ouer into England to the aid of hir husband. For the French king himselfe would not seeme to aid his sonne, because he was excommunicated: but his daughter in law, hauing licence and commission thereto, gat togither three hundred knights, or men of armes, whome with a great number of other souldiers and armed men, she sent downe to Caleis, where Eustace the monke had prouided a nauie of ships to conueie them ouer into England. But how they sped you shall heare anon.

In armie prepared in Frãce to come to the succour of Lewes.

Polydor.

In the meane time the earle of Penbroke approched towards London, purposing to assaile the citie now in this opportunitie of time, letting passe no occasion that might further his procedings, night and day studieng how to recouer the realme wholie out of the Frenchmens hands, and to set the same at libertie: so that what was to be deuised, he did deuise, and what was to be done, that he did, not forslowing anie occasion or opportunitie that might be offered. The English barons also calling to mind the benefit which they had receiued at the Frenchmens hands in time of their most need, sought now by all means possible, some waie how to procure a peace betwixt king Henrie and the said Lewes, thinking by that means to benefit themselues, and to gratifie him in lieu of his former courtesie bountifullie shewed in a case of extremitie, which because it was obteined in a wished time was the more acceptable, whereas being lingered it had beene the lesse welcome, as one saith,

The diligence of the earle of Penbroke.

Gratia quæ tarda est ingrata est, gratia nám̃
Quum fieri properat, gratia grata magis.

Anson in epig.

Herupon they caused dailie new articles of agreement to be presented in writing vnto the said Lewes, as from king Henrie. But while these things were a doing, the earle of Penbroke and other the lords that tooke part with king Henrie, hauing aduertisement, that a new supplie of men was readie to come and aid Lewes, they appointed Philip de Albenie and John Marshall to associat with them the power of the cinque ports, and to watch for the comming of the aduersaries, that they might keepe them from landing, who on saint Bartholomews day set forth frõ Caleis, in purpose to arriue in the Thames, and so to come vp the riuer to London. Howbeit Hubert de Burgh capiteine of the castell of Douer, togither with the said Philip de Albenie and John Marshall, with other such power as they could get together of the cinque ports, hauing not yet aboue the number of 40 ships great & small, vpon the discouering of the French fleet, which consisted of 80 great ships, besides other lesser vessels well appointed and trimmed, made forth to the sea. And first coasting aloofe from them, till they had got the wind on their backs, came finallie with their maine force to assaile the Frenchmen, and with helpe of their crossebowes and archers at the first ioining, made great slaughter of their enimies, and so grapling togither, in the end the Englishmen bare themselues so manfullie, that they vanquished the whole French fleet, and obteined a famous victorie.

Matth. Paris.

Eustace the monke was found amongst the capteins, who although he offered great summes of gold for his ransome, so that he might haue had his life saued, and also to serue king Henrie, yet the English capiteins would none of that: but Richard the bastard sonne of king John, tooke him, and cut off his head, and sent it vnto king Henrie his brother, as a witnesse of this their atchieued victorie. This Eustace was a Fleming borne, and sometime a monke, but renouncing his cowle to receiue such heritage as fell to him by the death of his brethren, deceassing without issue, he became a notable pirat, and had done in his dais much mischefe to the Englishmen, and therefore was now rewarded according to his demerits. For

Matth. Paris.

Hubert de Burgh assaileth the French fleet.

The French fleet is vanquished.

Eustace the monke taken and beheaded.

Richard base sonne to king John.

Eustace the monke what he was.

Raro antecedentem scelestum
Deseruit pede pœna claudo.

Hor. lib. 3. car. od. 2.

The spoile and prey of the French ships was verie rich, so that the Englishmen being loden with riches and honour, vpon their safe returne home were receiued with great ioy and gladnesse. But Lewes, after he vnderstood of this mischance happening to his people that came to his aid, began not a little to despaire of all other succour to come vnto him at any time hereafter: wherfore he inclined the sooner vnto peace, so that at length he tooke such offers of agreement as were put vnto him, and receiued furthermore a sum of monie for the release of such hostages as he had in his hands, togither with the title of the kingdome of England, and the possession of all such castels and holds as he held within the realme. ¶ The French chronicle (to the which the chronicle of Dunstable and Matthew Paris do also agrée) affirmeth that he receiued fifteene thousand marks. Moreouer, the popes legat absolued Lewes and all those that had taken his part in the offense of disobedience shewed in attempting the warre against the popes commandement.

A rich spoile.

In accord betwixt K. Henrie & Lewes.

The English chronicle saith a thousand pounds.

Matth. Paris.

Then Lewes with all his complices that had bin excommunicated sware vpon the holie euangelist, that they should stand to the iudgement of holie church, and from thencefoorth be faithfull vnto the pope and to the church of Rome. Moreouer, that he with his people should incontinentlie depart out of the realme, and neuer vpon euill intent returne againe. And that so farre as in him laie, he should procure his father king Philip, to make restitution vnto king Henrie of all the right which he had in the parts beyond the sea: and that when he should be king of France, he should resigne the same in most quiet manner.

On the other part, king Henrie tooke his oth togither with the legat, and the earle of Penbroke gouernour of the realme, that he should restore vnto the barons of his realme, and to other his subiects, all their rights and heritages, with all the liberties before demanded, for the which the discord was moued betwixt the late king John and his barons. Moreouer, all prisoners on both parts were released and set at libertie, without paieng anie ransome: yea and those which had couenanted to paie, and vpon the same were set at libertie before the conclusion of this peace, were now discharged of all summes of monie which then remained vnpaid.

This peace was concluded on the eleuenth day of September, not farre from Stanes, hard by the riuer of Thames, where Lewes himselfe, the legat Guallo, and diuerse of the spiritualtie with the earle of Penbroke lord gouernor of the realme, and others, did meet and talke about this accord. Now when all things were ordered and finished agreeable to the articles and couenants of the peace, so farre as the time present required, the lords of the realme (when Lewes should depart homeward) attended him to Douer in honorable wise, as apperteined, and there tooke leaue of him, and so he departed out of the realme about the feast of saint Michaell.

The prelats are fined.

King Henrie by this meanes being put in full possession of the reime, according to the prescript of that article conteined in those conditions of the peace latelie specified, pardoned all those that had aided his aduersarie Lewes during the wars, except certeine of the spiritualtie, which were put to such fines, that they were compelled to laie all that they had to pledge, to leuie such summes of monie, as they might with the same obteine the kings fauour againe: and beside that, to sue to Rome for their entier absolution

at the popes owne hands. Amongst other, Hugh bishop of Lincolne returning into England, was compelled to paie a thousand marks to the popes vse for recouerie of his bishoprike, & an hundred marks also to the legat of good and lawfull monie. Such cheuance made the legat amongst them of the church, as well persons secular as regular, that he got togither twelue thousand marks towards his charges, whereby it appeared, that he lost no time in England. But to proceed.

Anno Reg. 2. What cheuance the legat made.

The realme now being quiet and in all outward felicitie, a number of vnrulie persons, such as delighting in idlenesse, knew not how to liue in time of peace, assembled themselues togither and (appointing Fouks de Bzent, who was a man of great stomach and more rashnesse, to be their capteine and ringleder) began to make warre against the king, and to spoile the townes and countries about them, so that their euill doings might haue caused no small perill to haue insued by some great ciuill sedition, if the earle of Penbzoke had not in time preuented their attempts. For he assembling the kings power, hasted towards the rebels, and what by his owne authoritie, and by the reuerend regard of some bishops in his companie; more than by vsing any force of armes, he staid the matter for that time, so that no further mischæse followed of this mutinie.

Fouks de Bzent.

Matth. Paris.

Besides the foresaid Fouks de Bzent, there were other of the Nobilitie also which practised the like disorder, as William earle of Albemarle, Robert de Veipount, Bzian de Lisle, Hugh de Baliol, Philip de Marc, and Robert de Gaugi, the which Robert withheld the castell of Newarke that belonged to the bishop of Lincolne, and would not deliuer it, till the king with William Marshall erle of Penbzoke had laine at siege before it an eight daies, in the end of which terme by mediation of frends the matter was taken vp, and the bishop recouered his castell, paieng to the said Robert de Gaugi an hundred pounds sterling for the victuals which he left within the same castell.

The castell of Newarke restored to the bishop of Lincolne.

Soone after this, Ranulph earle of Chester was sent into the holie land by king Henrie, with a goodlie companie of souldiers and men of warre, to aid the christians there against the infidels, which at the same time had besieged the citie of Damieta in Aegypt, in which enterprise the valiancie of the same earle after his comming thither, was to his great praise most apparant. There went with him in that iournie Saer de Quincie earle of Winchester, William de Albente earle of Arundell, besides diuerse barons, as the lord Robert Fitz Walter, John constable of Chester, William de Harecourt, and Diuer Fitzroie sonne to the king of England, and diuerse other.

Matt. Paris. The earle of Chester goeth into the holie land.

Sonne to K. John belike.

The next yeare, which was after the birth of our lord 1219, William Marshall the foresaid earle of Penbzoke died, gouernour both of the realme and also of the kings person, a man of such worthinesse both in stoutnesse of stomach and martiall knowlege, as England had few then liuing that might be compared with him. He was buried in the new temple church at London vpon the Ascension day. The same yeare also Wallo or Guallo the legat returned to Rome, and Pandulph, who (as before is expressed) did the message so stoutlie from pope Innocent to king John, was also made bishop of Norwich.

Anno Reg. 3. 1219

The deceasse of the earle of Penbzoke.

He is buried in the temple church.

Pandulph made bishop of Norwich.

Moreouer, the gouernement of king Henrie after the death of William Marshall the elder, earle of Penbzoke, was committed vnto Peter bishop of Winchester: for the yong king was almost destitute of any of his kindred that were worthie to haue the rule of him: forasmuch as his mother quæne Isabell was latelie maried to Hugh Bzune the earle of Marsh in France, vnto whome she was promised before king John toke hir to wife, as in the life of the same king John is mentioned.

The bishop of Winchester gouernour to the king.

Quæne Isabell married to the earle of Marsh.

The bishop of Winchester being now in the possession of the kings person, doubting least he had taken a greater charge vpon him than he might well answer, caused diuerse sage and honourable personages to be admitted of the kings councell, to assist him in the administration of the common-wealth and good gouernance of the realme. Which being done, a parlement was holden at London, wherein a subsidie was granted to the king of two shillings to be gathered and leuied of euerie ploughland within his dominions, towards the relieuing of the great charges which he had susteined by the warres against the foresaid Lewes.

A parlement and a subsidie. R. Fabian.

About the same time also he began the building of the new worke of the church at Westminster. In which meane time the citie of Damieta afore mentioned, was wone by the christian princes, and Ranulph earle of Chester returned home, leauing the earle of Arundell with a great number of souldiors behind him there in aid of the christians against the Saracens, which dailie attempted the recouerie of the same. Moreouer, in the yeare insuing, which was of our lord 1220, and vpon the seauententh day of Maie being Whitsunday, the king was eftsones solemnelie crowned at Westminster, to the end it might be said, that now after the extinguishment of all seditious factions, he was crowned by the generall consent of all the estates and subiects of his realme.

The new church of westm. begun. Anno. Reg. 4. Matth. West.

The earle of Chester returneth home. Polydor.

1220

The K. crowned the second time.

The same yeare also was the bodie of Thomas archbishop of Canturburie translated, and Hugh bishop of Lincolne canonized for a saint. In like manner in the vigile of Peter and Paule, the king finding the castels of Rokingham and Sauuete at that present vnpurueied of victuals, toke the same into his hands against the will of William of Albemarle which before held the same. ¶ This yeare also was a proclamation made in London, and throughout all the realme, that all strangers should auoid the land before the feast of saint Michaell then next following except those that came with merchandize. Furthermore Ranulph earle of Chester, after he was come from the holie land, began to build the castels of Chartleie and Bæston, and afterward he also builded the abbeie of Dieu Lenceresse, commonlie called Delacresse of the white order. Toward his charges susteined about the building of which castels and abbeie, he toke toll throughout all his lordships of all such persons as passed by the same with any cattell, chaffre or merchandize.

Matth. Paris.

Ran. Higd. A proclamation to auoid strangers.

The castles of Chartley & Bæston built. Ran. Higd.

This yeare deceassed Henrie de Boun earle of Hereford, and Saer de Quincie earle of Winchester in their iournie which they made into the holie land. Also the same yeare the præsts or canons that inhabited within the kings castell of old Salisburie, remoued with the bishops see vnto new Salisburie, which by the king was made a citie. The bishop Richard procured this remouing, through the kings helpe, who was verie willing thereunto, as it seemed by his charters largelie granted in that behalfe. After this, king Henrie held his Christmasse at Oxenford, at what time William de Fortz earle of Albemarle meaning to trouble the kings peace, and to set things in a new broile, departed from the court in the night season, without leaue or licence, and hasted with all speed vnto the castell of Bitham, where he assembled a sort of youthfull persons, giuen to lewd demeanor, and wearie of quietnesse (as to whome theft and robberies were verie pleasant) by whose helpe he spoiled diuers townes and villages about him, as Tenham and Deping, with others.

Anno Reg. 5. 1221

Salisburie.

Matth. Paris.

The earle of Albemarle.

The castell of Bitham.

There

There were of counsell with him also (as was thought) Fouks de Brent, Philip de Marc, Peter de Mauleon, Engellard de Athie, and manie other, who priuilie sent men to his aid, and furthered him in his tumultuous affaires, that they might participat with him the sweetnesse of the spoile, which is the marke whereat euerie one shooteth that is

——iners & inops, qui viuere luxuriosè
Vult quamuis nequeat, non respondente crumena,
Proinde animam vendit pretio, seséque periclis
Obijcit, vt raptis alienis victor ouánsque
Ad proprios referat prædam & spolia ampla penates.

In the meane time the countrie people withdrew to the churches, and gat their goods into the churchyards. Moreouer, the péeres of the realme assembled themselues in councell at Westminster where the king was present, whither the earle of Albemarle was summoned to come, who faining as though he had meant to haue gone thitherward directlie, turned suddenlie his waie to the castell of Fodringhey, and tooke it vpon the sudden, furnishing it also with a garrison of souldiers, to be kept hereafter to his owne vse. That castell was in the kéeping of the earle of Chester, who at that instant had but few souldiers there in garrison, wherby it was the soner surprised. When these newes were brought to the king, he raised a power and came with all spéed to the castell of Biham, vpon the wednesdaie next after the feast of Candelmasse, and then compassing the same about with a strong siege, he constreined them within by force of such engins as they vsed in those daies, that finallie on the eight daie of Februarie they came forth, and submitted themselues and all that they had vnto the kings pleasure. Who caused them to be safelie kept, till he might take further aduisement what should be done with them.

The castell of Fodringhey.

The castell of Biham péelded.

In the meane while also came the earle of Albemarle, who by the helpe & means of the archbishop of Yorke, and the legat Pandulph, purchased peace at the kings hands, the rather indeed bicause he had faithfullie serued both the king and his father king John in their wars, before that time. All those men of armes & souldiers also, which had submitted themselues and remained as prisoners, were pardoned. Which ouer-great clemencie caused other vnrulie persons to attempt the like offense of rebellion shortlie after. At the very selfe same time the Welshmen began to sturre, and vnder their prince and leader Leolin they entered vpon the English marches, and with great cruelties spoiled and robbed the same, whereupon it was determined by the councell, that the king (as he was comming toward the castell of Biham) should diuide his armie, and so he did, sending one part thereof against the Welshmen: whervpon Leolin, after he vnderstood that the kings power came toward him, as one not able to resist the same, cast off his armour, and submitted himselfe to his mercie.

Matth. Paris. Old seruice remembred.

The Welshmen begin to stur.

Polydor.

There be which write, that where prince Leolin had besieged the castell of Buet belonging to Reginald de Breuse, the same Reginald besought the K. to helpe to remoue that siege. The king contented with his request, came with a puissant armie into those parts, and therewith the siege was raised, for the Welshmen (according to their accustomed maner) fled. The king then entring further into the countrie, came to the place where Mountgomerie now standeth, and perceiuing the site of the same to serue well for fortification, he caused a castell to be builded there, to restreine the Welshmen from their accustomed trade of harrieng the countrie. And so after he had foraied those quarters, and taken order for the full accomplishment of that castell, he returned, the Nobles granting to him of euerie knights fée two markes of siluer.

Matth. Paris.

Reginald de Breuse.

Mountgomerie castle built.

Escuage paid.

Things being thus in quiet, the king (who by dailie experience of matters grew to more knowledge from time to time) began now of himselfe to order his affaires for his owne behalfe, namelie touching the estate of his kingdome: and bicause he was minded to assaie the recouerie of those places which his father had lost in France, he ordeined Sauerie de Mauleon to be his lieutenant in Guien, whereof a great part as yet remained in his hands, and moreouer sent ambassadours vnto the French king, requiring of him restitution of those places which he had taken from his father.

Polydor.

K. Henrie requireth restitution of his right of the Frēch king.

These orators being come into France, and admitted to the kings presence, receiued answer, that nothing ought to be restored, which by law of armes was rightlie conquered: and other redresse at that time would none be granted. ¶ But a maruell it was to consider here at home, in how short a space the state of the English common-wealth was changed, and from a troubled fourme reduced to a flourishing and prosperous degrée: chiefelie by the diligent hæd and carefull prouision of the king himselfe. So much auailleth it to haue him that ruleth, to attend that which belongeth to his office.

The French kings answer

After this, to the intent that whiles he might be occupied in warres abroad, he should not be troubled with ciuill discord at home, he deuised to ioine in affinitie with the Scots, giuing his sister Ione in mariage vnto Alexander the king of Scotland, and Hubert of Burgh on the other side married the sister of the same Alexander called Margaret. These mariages were solemnized at Yorke on the morrow after the feast of S. Iohn Baptist, in the presence of a great number of the Nobles both of England and Scotland. A councell also was holden by the archbishop of Canturburie at Oxford for reformation of the state ecclesiasticall and the religion of monks. ¶ In which councell two naughtie felowes were presented before him, that of late had bene apprehended, either of them naming himselfe Christ, and preached manie things against such abuses as the clergie in those daies vsed. Moreouer, to proue their errour to haue a shew of truth, they shewed certeine tokens and signes of wounds in their bodies, hands and fét, like vnto our sauiour Iesus that was nailed on the crosse. In the end being well apposed, they were found to be but false dissemblers, wherefore by dome of that councell, they were iudged to be nailed vnto a crosse of wood, and so those to whom the execution was assigned, had them forth to a place called Arborberie, where they nailed them to a crosse, and there left them till they were dead. The one of them was an Hermophrodite, that is to say, both man and woman. Also there were two women condemned, of whom the one had taken vpon hir to be that blessed virgine Marie, and the other fained hir selfe to be Marie Magdalene.

Matt. Westm. Matth. Paris. Marriages contiued.

Anno Reg. 6. 1222.

A councell or synod at Oxford.

Two dissembling persons apprehended. Matt. Westm.

They are executed.

Two women counterfeiting themselues to be, the one our ladie, the other Marie Magdalene. Ralfe Cog.

Ralfe Coghshall sheweth this matter otherwise, and saith, that there were two men and two women brought before the archbishop at this councell, of the which one of the men being a deacon, was accused to be an apostata, & for the loue of a woman that was a Iew, he had circumcised himselfe: & being herof conuicted & disgraded, he was committed to the secular power, & so burnt by the seruants of Fouks de Brent. The other being a yong man, was accused of contemning the sacraments of the church, & that he suffered himselfe to be crucified, hauing the prints of the fiue wounds appearing in his bodie, and counterfeiting himselfe to be Christ, reioised to haue the two women giue out and spread the rumour abroad, that he was Christ in déed, one of the which women being verie aged, was also accused of witcherie, hauing

ning with hir sorcerie and witchcraft brought that yong man vnto such wicked follie and madnesse. They two being hereof conuicted, were closed vp betwixt two walles, where they remained till they died, the other woman being sister to the yong man, was pardoned and let go, bicause she had reuealed the diuelish practise of the other.

This yeare also was the building of the steeple belonging to the church of S. Paule in London finished. And this yeare also vpon saint James day the citizens of London kept a plaie of defense and wrestling at the hospitall of saint James, against other their neighbours of the suburbes, and the quarters next adioining. In the end whereof it so fortuned, that the Londoners had the vpper hand: and amongst other that were put to the foile, the steward of the abbat of Westminster with his folkes went awaie with the worst, to their great greefe. Whereupon the same steward deuised an other game of wrestling to be holden at Westminster on Lammas day next following, and that whosoeuer could get the vpper hand there, should haue a ram for the price, which the steward had prepared.

Matth. Paris.

Matt. Paris. Matth. West.

A bell-wedder some saie.

At the day appointed, there was a great assemblie, and the steward had got togither out of all parts the best wrestlers that might be heard of, so that there was hard hold betwixt them and the Londoners. But finallie, the steward vpon desire of reuenge, procured them to fall togither by the eares without any iust cause, so that the Londoners were beaten and wounded, and constreined to flee backe to the citie in great disorder. The citizens sore offended to see their people so misused, rose in tumult, and rang the common bell to gather the more companie to them. Robert Serle maior of the citie would haue pacified the matter, persuading them to let the iniurie passe, till by orderlie plaint they might get redresse, as law and iustice should assigne. But a certeine stout man of the citie named Constantine Fitz Arnulfe, of good authoritie amongst them, aduised the multitude not to harken vnto peace, but to seeke reuenge out of hand (wherein he shewed himselfe so farre from true manhood, that he bewraied himselfe rather to haue had a womans heart,

——quod vindicta
Nemo magis gaudet quàm fœmina)

still prosecuting the strife with toth and naile, and blowing the coles of contention as it were with full bellowes, that the houses belonging to the abbat of Westminster, and namelie the house of his steward might be ouerthrowne and beaten downe flat with the ground.

A riot committed vnder pretense of wrestling.

Robert Serle maior of London.

Constantine, a citizen of London procureth the citizens to reuenge their cause by waie of rebellion. Matth. Paris.

This lewd counsell was soone receiued and executed by the outragious people, & Constantine himselfe being cheefe leader of them, cried with a lowd voice, Mount ioy mount ioy, God be our aid and our souereigne Lewes. This outragious part comming to the notice of Hubert de Burgh lord cheefe iustice, he gat togither a power of armed men, and came to the citie with the same, and taking inquisition of the cheefe offendors, found Constantine as constant in affirming the deed to be his, as he had before constantlie put it in practise, whereupon he was apprehended and two other citizens with him. On the next day in the morning Fouks de Brent was appointed to haue them to execution: and so by the Thames he quietlie led them to the place where they should suffer. Now when Constantine had the halter about his necke, he offered fifteene thousand marks of siluer to haue beene pardoned, but it would not be. There was hanged with him his nephue named also Constantine, and one Geffrey, who made the proclamation deuised by the said Constantine. The crie also which Constantine vsed to the setting forward of his vnlawfull enterprise in the name of Lewes most of all offended the kings freends, as the lord cheefe iustice and others, who not satisfied with the death of the three before remembred persons, but also entring the citie againe with their bands of armed men, apprehended diuerse of those whome they tooke to be culpable, not onelie putting manie of them into prison, but also punishing other of them, as some with losse of a foot, some of an hand, and other of their eie-sight. The king furthermore to reuenge this matter, deposed all the magistrats of the citie, and ordeined new in their romes. Which caused great hartburning against diuerse of the Nobilitie, but cheefelie the lord Hubert and Fouks de Brent, on whome in time they hoped to haue reuenge.

The lord cheefe iustice taketh inquisition of the riot.

Constantine apprehended.

He is executed

As this broile vered the citie of London, so in this yeare there chanced great tempest of thunder, lightning and raine, whereby much hurt was done in diuerse parts of the realme, and at sundrie times, as by throwing downe of steeples, churches, and other buildings, with the rotwalting of trees, as well in woods as orchards, verie strange to consider, cheefelie on the eight day of Februarie at Grantham in Lincolneshire, where there chanced (beside the thunder) such a stinke and filthie sauour to follow in the church, that the people fled out, for that they were not able to abide it. Likewise in the day of the exaltation of the crosse, a generall thunder happened throughout the realme, and therupon followed a continuall season of foule weather and wet, till Candelmas next after, which caused a dearth of corne, so as wheat was sold at twelue shillings the quarter. Likewise on the day of saint Andrew an other terrible tempest of thunder happened through the realme, throwing downe and shaking buildings in manie places, in so much that at Pillerdeston in Warwikeshire, in a knights house, the ladie thereof and sir other persons were destroied by the same. And a turbarie thereby compassed about with water and marresse was so dried vp, that neither grasse nor mire remained, after which insued an earthquake. Moreouer on the euen of saint Lucie, a mightie wind raged, which did much hurt in sundrie places of the realme. Furthermore, about this time there appeared in England a wonderfull comet or blasing starre. The sea also rose with higher tides and springs than it had beene accustomed to do. All which wonders were afterward iudged to betoken and signifie the losse which the christians sustained the same yeare in Aegypt, when they were constreined to surrender the citie of Damieta into the Saracens hands, which latelie before (as yee haue heard) they had woone with long and chargeable siege. After the yeelding vp of Damieta, William de Albenie earle of Arundell (whome Ranulfe earle of Chester left behind him in the holie land) with manie souldiers and men of warre (when he returned from thence) came now homewards towards England, and died by the waie.

Great tempest

A generall thunder.

Great dearth of corne.

An other tempest of thunder

Polydor.

A comet or blasing star.

The losse of the citie of Damieta.

William de Albenie earle of Arundell departed this life

About the same time John the sonne of Dauid earle of Anguish in Scotland, sister sonne vnto Ranulfe earle of Chester, married the daughter of Leolin prince of Wales, as it were to procure a finall accord betweene the said Leolin and Ranulfe. After which marriage, king Henrie held his Christmasse at Orenford, and shortlie after the twelfetide came to London: where assembling a councell of his barons, he was earnestlie required by the bishop of Canturburie and other peeres, to confirme the liberties, franchises, and free customes of the realme, for which the warres in his fathers time had beene moued: which to denie (as the archbishop seemed to alledge, should haue beene ashamed so to open his mouth, to the disaduantage of his souereigne, but that it is likelie he forgat the old posie, namelie that,

Anno Reg. 7. John Scot marrieth the daughter of Leolin prince of Wales.

1223

A councell at London.

Note the rediculle of this bish. to broch new contention.

Imago

Imago rex eſt animata Dei.)
he might not with anie reaſon, ſith he had couenanted (and all the baronage with him) to ſée the ſame obſerued, by the articles of the peace concluded with Lewes, when the ſame Lewes departed the realme.

The anſwer of William Brewer to the archbiſhops demand.

Herevpon William Brewer one of the kings councell, hearing the archbiſhop ſo earneſt in theſe matters, told him, that ſith theſe liberties were procured & extorted rather by force than otherwiſe, of the king being vnder age, they were not to be obſerued. Wherevnto the archbiſhop replied, that if he loued the king, he would be loth to ſéeke to trouble the quiet ſtate of the realme. The king perceiuing the archbiſhop to be chafed, & taking the tale himſelfe, made a courteous anſwer, and further aduiſe had in the matter, ſent forth writs to the ſhiriffe of euerie countie, commanding them by inquirie of a ſufficient iurie impanelled, to make certificat within the quindene of Eſter, what were the liberties in times paſt of his grandfather K. Henrie, vſed within the realme of England.

Ihab accuſeth Helias.

An inquiſition.

Matth. Paris.

The ſame yeare, whiles William Marſhall earle of Penbroke was buſie in Ireland in war againſt Hugh Lacie, Leolin prince (or king) of Wales, as ſome haue intitled him, tooke by force two caſtels that belonged to the ſame earle: whereof when he was aduertiſed, with all ſpéed he returned out of Ireland, raiſed an armie, and recouered the ſaid caſtels, putting to death all ſuch as he found in the ſame, to requite Leolin with the like damage as he had ſhewed him before in his abſence. This done he entered into the land of Leolin, waſting and ſpoiling the ſame, whereof when the ſaid Leolin was informed, he aſſembled an hoſt of Welſhmen, and comming into the field gaue battell, but the victorie reſted on the earle of Penbroks ſide: ſo that there were taken and ſlaine in this bickering to the number of 9000 Welſhmen. There was in this yeare a conſpiracie alſo begun by the earle of Cheſter, and other Noble men, againſt Hubert de Burgh lord chiefe iuſtice of England, by whoſe counſell (as it was thought) the king was more ſtreict towards the nobilitie and other his ſubiects, in ſtaieng his grant to confirme the charter of liberties, than otherwiſe he would haue beene, if the ſame Hubert and other had not aduiſed him to the contrarie.

The earle of Penbroke recouereth his caſtels taken by the prince of Wales.

The prince of Wales diſcomfited.

A conſpiracie againſt the lord chiefe iuſtice.

In this ſeaſon alſo John de Brien king of Ieruſalem, and the lord great maiſter of the knights hoſpitallers came into England, where they were honorablie receiued of king Henrie, and liberally rewarded. The cauſe of their comming was to require aid of the king for the recouerie of the holie land out of the poſſeſſion of the Saracens. In like maner about the ſame time Leolin prince of Northwals, with certeine Engliſh lords, as Hugh Lacie and others, vpon an hatred which they bare towards king Henrie for his fathers ſake, ſuppoſing that ſo euill a ſtocke as they tooke him to be, could not bring forth anie good branch, ſought by open warres to bring William Marſhall earle of Penbroke and other barons that were faithfull friends to the king vnto their purpoſe: but the whole countrie riſing againſt them, they were diſappointed to their owne confuſion, and ſo they could neuer bring that to paſſe which they ſo earneſtlie intended.

Matt. Paris. The king of Ieruſalem commeth into England.

1223

The death of the French king.

Ambaſſadors ſent into France.

In this yeare Philip the French king departed this life, and after him ſucceeded Lewes his ſonne, vnto whom king Henrie ſent in ambaſſage the archbiſhop of Canturburie with three other biſhops, to require, that (according to his oth made and receiued at his returne out of England) he would reſtore and deliuer vp to him the dukedome of Normandie, with other ſuch lands and poſſeſſions as his father in times paſt had taken from king John, and ſtill did wrongfullie withhold. K. Lewes anſwered herevnto, that he held Normandie & the other lands by good right and iuſt title, as he could well proue and iuſtifie, if king Henrie would come to the parlement in France to heare it. And as touching the oth which he had ſworne in England, he affirmed that the ſame was firſt broken by king Henrie, both in that his men which had béene taken at Lincolne were put to grieuous ranſoms, and alſo for that their liberties for which the warre firſt began, were not obſerued, but denied to the Engliſh ſubiects, contrarie to that which was concluded at the agréement betwixt them at the ſame time made.

Moreouer, king Henrie ſent other ambaſſadours to Rome, who purchaſed a bull of the pope, wherby he was adiudged to be of age ſufficient to receiue the gouernement of the kingdome of England into his owne hands, thereby to order and diſpoſe all things at his pleaſure, & by the aduiſe of ſuch councellours as he ſhould elect and chooſe to be about him. Wherevpon after the ſaid ambaſſadours were returned, all thoſe earles, barons and nobles, which held anie caſtels, honors, manors or places apperteining to the king, were commanded to deliuer and reſigne the ſame to his vſe, which cauſed much trouble, as after ſhall appeare. For diuerſe Noble men, whoſe harts were filled with couetouſneſſe, would not obeie the popes order herein, but ſore repined; yet not ſo much againſt the king as againſt the lord Hubert de Burgh, by whoſe councell the king was moſt led and ruled. And therefore they did put him in all the blame, as one that ſhould ſet the king againſt them, and ſtaie him from ſuffering them to inioy thoſe liberties, which they from time to time ſo much laboured to haue had to them granted and confirmed.

Anno Reg. 8.

Upon this occaſion therfore, they ſued to the king for the reſtitution of the ancient lawes according to his promiſe, who to pacifie them for the time, gaue them a gentle anſwer, aſſuring them, that he would perfourme all that he had promiſed, ſo ſone as opportunitie would permit and ſuffer him ſo to do. Howbeit, afterwards by the aduiſe of certeine old councellours, which had béene of the priuie councell with king John his father, he found a ſhift to diſappoint them of their demands, by requiring them on the other ſide, to reſtore vnto him thoſe things which they had in times paſt receiued of his anceſtors. Furthermore, bicauſe he would the more eaſilie obteine his purpoſe, and make the reſidue afraid to follow a ſuit ſo diſpleaſant and irkeſome, he thought beſt to begin with the chiefe authors and firſt procurers of the ſaid petitions, and to take from them whatſoeuer they held belonging to his crowne.

Polydor.

The king giueth a gentle anſwer to his lords.

1224

The king demanded reſtitution of parcels of inheritance belonging to the crowne.

Herevpon therefore aſſembling a great power about him, he demanded of Ranulph earle of Cheſter the reſtitution of certeine lordſhips which ancientlie apperteined to the crowne of the realme, which earle not being as then able to reſiſt, readilie obeied the kings pleaſure, and reſigned them all. By this entrance of the king into the execution of his purpoſe, diuerſe of the reſt of the barons were brought into ſuch feare, that they were contented alſo to do the like, ſo that by this meanes the lords being cut ſhort and weakened in power, ſurceaſed as then from moleſting the king anie further with the demand of other lands or liberties.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie alſo threatened them with the dart of excommunication, if they went about to diſquiet the realme with anie ciuill commotions, though no man was more deſirous to haue that matter go forward than he, as appeered by his diligent trauell therein (hoping as now in ſhort proceſſe of time, and that by courteous meanes, to perſuade

perſuade the king to his purpoſe) but the king droue him off with faire words, and minded nothing leſſe than to alter anie one of the lawes which he knew to be profitable to himſelfe and his ſucceſſours after him. Whereupon diuerſe miſliking his dealing herein, withdrew themſelues ſecretlie, ſome into one place, and ſome into an other, to the intent they might auoid the datlie ſight of ſuch abuſes, as they for the moſt part could not well abide to beare.

Diſcord betwixt Sauerie de Mauleon and the earle of Saliſburie.

Whileſt king Henrie thus politikelie prouided for his affaires at home, Sauerie de Mauleon made prouiſion in Guien to withſtand ſuch perils and dangers as he ſaw moſt likelie to inſue by the practiſes of the Frenchmen. But as he was moſt buſilie occupied about the purueiance of ſuch things as ſhould be verie neceſſarie for his doings, there ſprang a great diſſention betwixt him and William the earle of Saliſburie, who was ſent ouer into that countrie with commiſſion to ſurueie the ſtate thereof, and by colour of the ſame commiſſion, toke vpon him to order all things at his owne pleaſure. Whereas the foreſaid Sauerie de Mauleon (being a man of high parentage in thoſe parts where he was borne) iudged it to be a matter nothing ſtanding with his honour, that another man ſhould order things at his will and commandement within the countrie, whereof he himſelfe had the chiefe charge, as the kings lieutenant; and therefore determined not to ſuffer it anie longer.

Sauerie de Mauleon renoūceth to the French king.

Herevpon verelie aroſe the contention betwixt them, which the Engliſh ſouldiers that were there, did greatlie increaſe, fauouring the earle as the kings vncle, and contemning the lieutenant as a ſtranger borne, by meanes whereof the foreſaid Sauerie doubting leaſt if he ſhould fight with his enimies, and through ſuch diſcord as was now amongſt them, be put to the worſe, the fault ſhould be laid wholie on his necke: he ſecretlie departed and fled to Lewes the French king, who was latelie come to the crowne of France by the death of his father king Philip, as you before haue heard: wherein he dealt wiſelie in reſpect of ſafetie. For

Quid poterit iuſta tutius eſſe fuga?

Matth. Paris. Matt. Weſtm. Fouks de Bzent an enimie to reſt and quietneſſe.

About the ſame time Fouks de Bzent, being a man of an vnquiet mind, readie to miſchiefe and loth to liue in peace (as ſome ſaie) conſpired againſt the king of England, and aduertiſed the king of France that if he would boldlie begin the warres againſt king Henrie in France, he would not faile but raiſe warre againſt him here in the middeſt of his realme of England, hauing diuerſe noble men in a readineſſe, that would willinglie take his part. But how ſoeuer it fell out, certeine it is that this Fouks hauing fortified his caſtell of Bedford, attempted manie enterpriſes greatlie to the preiudice of the kings peace, aſwell in robbing and ſpoiling the countrie about him, as otherwiſe.

Matth. Paris. Henrie Bzaibzoke taken by Fouks de Bzent, and impriſoned.

And now fearing to be puniſhed therefore by order of law, he ſhewed his malice againſt ſuch as had the execution of the ſame lawes chiefflie in their hands. Herevpon he toke priſoner Henrie Bzaibzoke, one of the kings iuſtices of his bench, and led him to his caſtell of Bedford, and there ſhut him vp cloſe as his lawfull priſoner. Indeed the ſaid Henrie de Bzaibzoke, with Martine de Patelhull, Thomas de Multon, and other of the kings iuſtices were come to keepe their circuit at Dunſtable. Where, vpon information giuen and preſented before them, Fouks de Bzent was condemned to the king in great ſummes of monie. Wherewithall this Fouks toke ſuch indignation and diſpleaſure, that he commanded his men of warre which laie in the caſtell of Bedford, to ride vnto Dunſtable, and there to apprehend the ſaid iuſtices, and to bring them vnto Bedford, where (as he ſaid) he meant to commen further with them. But they hauing knowledge of his purpoſe, fled quicklie out of the towne, ſeeking to eſcape euerie man which waie he might beſt deuiſe. Howbeit, the ſouldiers vſed ſuch diligence, that Henrie de Bzaibzoke fell into their hands, & ſo was brought captiue to Bedford as their maiſter had commanded them.

Bedford caſtell beſieged.

The king aduertiſed hereof by the grieuous complaints of his ſubiects, was as then at Northampton (where he had aſſembled his parlement) and thervpon hauing gathered ſpeedilie a power, with all expedition he haſted towards Bedford. At his coming thither, he beſieged the caſtell on ech ſide, and at length after two moneths, though not without much adoo, he wan it, and hanged them all which were taken within, being in number 80 or aboue: and amongſt other William de Bzent, the brother of the ſaid Fouks was one. There were but three that eſcaped with life, who were pardoned, vpon condition they ſhould paſſe into the holie land, there to ſerue among the Templers. The ſiege began on the Aſcenſion euen, and continued till the 15 daie of Auguſt, being the feaſt daie of the aſſumption of our ladie.

He was in the borders of Wales, where the earle of Chester was lord.

Fouks himſelfe, whileſt the ſiege continued, laie aloofe in Chelhire, and on the borders of Wales, as one watching to doo ſome miſchiefe: but after the caſtell was woone, he got him to Couentrie, and there was yer long apprehended, and brought to the king, of whom he obteined pardon of life, but yet by the whole conſent of the nobles and peeres of the realme, he was exiled the land for euermore, and then went to Rome, where he knew to purchaſe his pardon eaſilie inough for mony, of what crime ſoeuer he ſhould be iudged culpable. His wife, becauſe ſhe neuer conſented to his doings, nor yet willinglie to the marriage had betwixt hir and him, was acquited of all blame, and ſo likewiſe was his ſonne Thomas.

The end of Fouks de Bzent.

Howbeit at length the foreſaid Fouks, hauing obteined his purpoſe at Rome (by meanes of his chapleine Robert Paſlew an Engliſhman, who was his ſollicitor there) as he returned towards England in the yeare inſuing, was poiſoned and died by the waie, making ſo an end of his inconſtant life, which from the time that he came to yeares of diſcretion was neuer bent to quietnes. Which may be reported of him, not to his honour or renowme (for alas what fame is gotten by giuing occaſions of euill) but to his euerlaſting ſhame and infamie, for the ſame ſhall neuer die, but remaine in perpetuall memorie, as one ſaith right well,

Plaut. in Perſa.

Hominum immortalis eſt infamia,
Etiam tunc viuit cùm eſſe credas mortuam.

But now to leaue theſe things, and returne to the doings in France where we left. We ſhall vnderſtand, that after Sauerie de Mauleon was reuolted to the French king, the ſaid king with all ſpeed determined to make warre vpon king Henrie, and to win from him certeine townes and fortreſſes within the countrie of Poictou.

Dunſtable.

The French writers affirme, that king Lewes recouered out of the Engliſhmens hands the townes of Niort, S. Johns d'Angeli, & Rochell, before Sauerie de Mauleon reuolted from the French part. Indeed, the chronicle of Dunſtable ſaith, that after the truce toke end, this yeare the French king raiſed an armie, and toke Niort, and after they of S. John d'Angeli ſubmitted themſelues vnto him. From whence he went to Rochell, within the which at that preſent was the ſaid Sauerie de Mauleon with ſeuentie knights, and Richard Graie, with Geffrey Neuill, who had in their retinue ſixtie knights. Theſe with the forces of the towne ſallied forth, & encountring with the French armie, ſlue manie of their aduerſaries,

uersaries, and lost some of their owne people. Yet after this, the French K. besieged the towne, and in the end wan it, whilest the king of England being occupied about the besieging of Bedford castell, neglected to send them within Rochell necessarie succours.

The Poictouins send to king Henrie.

But Polydor Virgil writeth, that now after that Sauerie de Mauleon was become the French king his man, the Poictouins sent vnto king Henrie, signifieng, that they were readie to reuolt from the French kings subiection, and yeeld themselues vnto him, if he would send vnto them a power of men to defend their countrie from the Frenchmen. Now king Henrie hauing receiued these letters, interteined them that brought this message verie courteouslie, and promising them to send ouer aid with all expedition, he caused his naule to be made readie for that voiage. In the meane time, the French king sent forth an armie vnder the leading of Sauerie de Mauleon, who then tooke Niort and Rochell, placing in the same sundrie garrisons of souldiers, but cheefelie he fortified Rochell, which had beene long in the Englishmens hands, and alwaies serued them to verie good purpose, for the handsome landing of their people, when any occasion required. The French king therefore hauing got it, fortified it, and meant to keepe it, to the intent the Englishmen should not haue hereafter in time of warre, so necessarie a place for their arriuall in those coasts.

Rochel won.

Matth. Paris.

Anno Reg. 9. A parlement. 1225

King Henrie holding his Christmasse at Westminster, called his high court of parlement there the same time, and demanded a releefe of monie, toward the maintenance of his warres in France, and had granted to him the fiftéenth penie in value of all the moueable goods to be found within the realme, as well belonging to the spiritualtie as temporaltie, but vnder condition that he should confirme vnto his subiects their often demanded liberties. The king vpon desire to haue the monie, was contented to condescend vnto their requests, and so the two charters were made, and by the king confirmed, the one intituled Magna Charta, & the other Charta de Foresta. Thus at this parlement were made and confirmed these good lawes and laudable ordinances, which haue beene from time to time by the kings and princes of this realme confirmed, so that a great part of the law now in vse dependeth of the same. The same charters also were directed and sent forth into euerie countie within the realme to be proclaimed.

A fiftéenth granted to the king.

Magna Charta and Charta de Forresta confirmed.

It was moreouer decreed, that at a certeine daie after Easter, there should be an inquisition taken by the inquest of a substantiall iurie, for the seuering of forrests, the new from the old, so as all those grounds which had beene made forrests, since the daies of king Henrie the grandfather of this Henrie the third, should be disforrested. And thereupon after Easter, Hugh de Neuill, and Brian de Lisle, were sent forth as commissioners, to take that inquisition. By force whereof, manie woods were asserted and improued to arable land by the owners, and so not onelie men, but also dogs, which for safegard of the game were accustomed to lose their clawes, had good cause to reioise for these confirmed liberties.

Forrests.

In the meane time, and about the feast of the purification, king Henrie (hauing iust occasion to pursue the warre, for recouerie of those townes taken, as before you haue heard by the Frenchmen) sent ouer his brother Richard, whom he had made earle of Cornewall and Poictow, with a mightie naule of ships vnto Gascoigne. This earle, hauing in his companie the earle of Salisburie, Philip de Albente, and others, with prosperous wind and weather arriued at Burdeaux with foure hundred sailes, and there landing his men, went straight vnto the towne of saint Machaire, situated vpon the banke of Garon, where, vpon his first comming, he gat the castell, and sacked the towne, and then passing further, wan diuerse other townes, as Longuile, Bergerat, and other, and after went with great diligence to besiege and recouer Rochell, or rather Rioll. The French king aduertised of the earls arriuall, and of these his atchiued enterprises, sent forth by and by the earle of Champaigne with a mightie armie into Guien to aid his people there.

Matth. Paris. Polydor.

Towns won by the Englishmen.

The earle of Marsh, saith Matth. Paris.

The earle of Cornewall vnderstanding of the comming of that French armie, tooke a part of his host, and therewithall went to meet his enimies, and lieng in ambush for them by the way, had them at a good aduantage, and slue great numbers of them. After this, the earle of Champaigne keeping his men within their trenches and campe, without attempting anie other exploit, the earle of Cornewall thought it sufficient, if he might keepe the Gascoignes in obedience, which had alreadie practised a rebellion, by sending letters and messengers for the same intent vnto the French king, and therefore breaking vp his siege before the Rioll, he staied a while from exploiting anie further enterprise. About the same time, the earle of Salisburie returning homwards out of Gascoigne, was so tossed and turmoiled on the seas by tempests of weather, that he fell sicke therof, and within a few daies after his arriuall died.

Polydor. Three hundred saith Gaguin.

The French men taken at aduantage.

The earle of Cornewall raiseth his siege from the Rioll.

The death of the earle of Salisburie. Matth. Paris.

¶ This yeare also, there came forth a decree from the archbishop of Canturburie, and his suffragans, that the concubines of préests and clearkes within orders (for so were their wiues then called in contempt of their wedlocke) should be denied of christian buriall, except they repented whilest they were aliue in perfect health, or else shewed manifest tokens of repentance at the time of their deaths. The same decree also prohibited them from the receiuing of the par at masse time, & also of holie bread after masse, so long as the préests kept them in their houses, or vsed their companie publikelie out of their houses. Moreouer, that they should not be purified when they should be deliuered of child, as other good women were, vnlesse they found sufficient suertie to the archdeacon, or his official, to make satisfaction at the next chapter or court to be holden, after they should be purified. And the préests should be suspended, which did not présent all such their concubines as were resiant within their parishes. Also, all such women as were conuict to haue dealt carnallie with a préest, were appointed by the same decree to do open penance. Where the question may be asked, whether this decree was extended to préests wiues or no? Whereunto answer may be made, that as a quadrangle in geometrie comprised in it a triangle, and a quaternion in arithmetike conteineth a ternion; so in logike a vniuersall proposition comprehendeth a particular. But it is said here, that all such women as had carnall knowledge with a préest, were to be punished, therefore some, and consequentlie all préests wiues. But yet this seemeth not to be the meaning of that decree, for préests were allowed no wiues, naie Siricius the pope iudged that all such of the cleargie as had wiues could not please God, because they were *In carne*, which words he and the residue of that litter restreined to marriage, admitting in no case that churchmen should inioy the rights of matrimonie. Wherin they offer God great iniurie, in seeking to limit that large institution of wedlocke, wherein all estates are interressed; and they seeme likewise to bridle nature, and to compell hir within certeine precincts, wherein they offer intollerable iniurie to all mankind, considering that

Préests concubines forbidden christian buriall.

——*ad venerem compellimur exercendam*
Non modò nos, verùm omne animal, terræq; marisq;,

Naturæ

Naturæ imperio: facias peiora necesse est,
Si non fœminei sorberis ab ore barathri.

This yeare, or (as some saie) in the next, the king granted to the citizens of London free warren, that is to saie, libertie to hunt within a certeine circuit about London, & that all weires in the Thames should be plucked vp and destroied. Also in this tenth yeare of his reigne, king Henrie granted to the citizens of London, that they might haue and vse a common seale. About the time of the making of which ordinances, Otho the cardinall of S. Nicholas in Carcere Tulliano came as legat from pope Honorius into England to king Henrie, presenting him with letters from the pope. The tenour whereof when the king had well considered, he declared to the legat, that without the whole assent of the estates of his realme, he could do little in that which the pope as then required.

Anno Reg. 10.

A legat from the pope. Matth. Paris.

A parlement called.

Herevpon therefore he caused a parlement to be summoned at Westminster, there to be holden in the octaues of the Epiphanie: this legat also moued the king in the behalfe of Fouks de Brent, that he might be restored to his possessions, and inioy his wife as before time he had done: but the king declared that for his manifest treason committed he was iustlie exiled, and not onlie by his, but by the sentence of the nobles and other estates of the whole realme: which answer when the legat had heard, he left off to solicit the king for Fouks, and from thencefoorth talked no more of that matter. Shortlie after by waie of prorie, the said legat gathered a dutie which he claimed of the spiritualtie, that was of euerie conuentuall church within the realme two markes of siluer.

1226

The king is sicke.

In this yeare the king held his Christmasse at Winchester, and after comming to Marlebridge, chanced there to fall sicke, so that he laie in despaire of life for certeine daies togither. In the meane time also came the daie appointed for the parlement to begin at Westminster, where the legat and other of the spiritualtie and temporaltie being assembled, the said Otho shewed the popes letters, and according to the tenour and purport of the same, was earnestlie in hand to haue the priests to grant the yearelie paiment of a certeine pension or tribute to the pope, towards the maintenance of his estate, which they generallie denied. When he saw that this bait would not take, he onelie demanded a tenth part of all their spirituall liuings for maintenance of the wars against the Saracens, which was easlie granted, as more reasonable than the first.

Matt. Westm. Matth. Paris. The cardinals request.

¶ Here by diuerse credible writers of good credit, it should appeare, that the pope demanded to haue assigned vnto him out of euerie cathedrall church two prebends, one out of the portion belonging to the bishop, & an other out of the portion belonging to the deane and chapiter: and likewise of the abbeies, where there were seuerall portions, that is to saie, so much of the conuent as belonged to the finding of one monke, and as much also of euerie abbats liuing as should counteruaile the same. The cardinall vsed follie persuasions to induce the prelats to assent to this grant, alledging that the church of Rome was run in great slander for taking of monie in dispatch of suiters causes, which arose by meanes there was no maintenance of liuing sufficient for the churchmen there: and therefore he added, how it was the parts of naturall children to releeue the necessitie of their louing mother, and that except the charitable deuotion of them and other good and well disposed persons were shortlie extended, they should want necessarie maintenance for the sustentation of their liues, which shuld be altogither an vnseemelie thing for the dignitie of the Romane church.

The clergie resorting togither to take aduise what answer they should make, at length vpon their resolute determination, Iohn the archdeacon of Bedford was appointed to tell the tale for them all: who comming before the cardinall, declared boldlie vnto him, that the demand which he had proponed, touched the king especiallie, and generallie all the nobilitie of the realme, which were patrons of anie churches. He added furthermore, how the archbishops and bishops, and manie other of the prelats of England (sithens the king by reason of his sickenesse could not be there) were also absent, so that they which were there present, being but as it were the inferiour part of the house, neither might nor ought to make anie resolute answer as then in this matter. Immediatlie herewith also came the lord Iohn Marshall, and other messengers from the king vnto all the prelats that held anie baronies of the king, streightlie commanding them, that they should in no wise bind and indanger his laie fee vnto the church of Rome, whereby he might be depriued of his due and accustomed seruices, and so euerie man herevpon departed and went home.

The answer of Iohn the archdeacon of Bedford.

This yeare, the plees of the crowne were pleaded in the tower of London. And on the sixteenth daie of March in this tenth yeare of his reigne, the king granted by his charter insealed, that the citizens of London should passe toll free through all England, and if anie of them were constreined in anie citie, borough or towne within the realme, to paie toll, that then the shiriffes of London might attach anie man of the said citie, borough or towne, where such toll was exacted, being found within the liberties of London, and him reteine with his goods and cattels, till the citizens that paid such toll were satisfied, by restitution of the same, with all costs and charges susteined in the suit. Howbeit, about the same time, the king constreined the Londoners to giue vnto him the summe of fiue thousand marks as a fine, for that they had aided and succoured his aduersarie Lewes against him, and lent to the said Lewes at his departure out of the realme a like summe. But it may rather be thought they gaue vnto the king the said fiue thousand marks for his fauour shewed in granting vnto them the aboue mentioned freedoms and liberties. At the same time, he had also twelue hundred pounds of the burgesses of Northampton, besides the fifteenth, which not onelie they, but also the Londoners, and all other generallie through the realme, paid accordinglie as it was granted.

Fabian.

A grant to the citizens of London.

Math. Paris.

In Februarie, the king called a parlement at Oxford, in the which he made open declaration vnto all the assemblie, that he was now of lawfull age to gouerne of himselfe, without anie to haue rule ouer him, and so whereas before he was gouerned first by the earle of Penbroke lord protector, whilest he liued, & after by the bishop of Winchester and others, he now remoued them from him by the counsell of the lord chiefe iustice, taking the regiment wholie to himselfe, & to such as should please him from thencefoorth to appoint. Also in the same parlement, he did cancell and disanull the two charters before mentioned, after that the same had béene vsed through the realme for the space of two yeares, pretending them to be of no value, sith they were sealed and signed whilest he was vnder age. This déed of the king was gréeuouslie taken, and all the blame put in the lord chiefe iustice. Herewith all such also as claimed anie manner charters of liberties, were appointed to remoue the same (a practise onelie to get monie) and to get them confirmed with the kings new seale, the old being made void and pronounced of none effect.

Anno Reg. 11.
1227

A parlement at Oxford.

The king of lawfull age. Matth. Paris. Polydor.

The charters cancelled.

In this yeare died the French king Lewes the eighth, and his son Lewes the ninth succeeded him,

The death of Lewes the French king.

a child of twelue yeares of age, by reason of whose infancie diuerse peeres of the realme began to withdraw their obedience from him, as Theobald earle of Champaigne, Hugh earle of Marh, and Peter duke of Britaine. Howbeit, the earle of Champaigne was easilie reduced againe to his former obedience, by the high wisedome and policie of the queene mother, who had the gouernement of hir sonne the yong king and his realme committed vnto hir. But the earle of Marh constant in his purpose, came ouer to king Henrie, whose mother he had married, and declared vnto him, that now was the time for him to recouer those places, which king Philip had vniustlie taken from his father king John: and to bring the same to passe, he offered himselfe and all that he could make, in the furthering of this voiage. The K. being thus pricked forward with the earle of Marh his words, determined without delaie to take in hand the warre.

The earle of Marh commeth ouer to the king and offereth him his seruice.

Polydor.

¶ Here authors varie, for some write, that king Henrie sent ouer certeine persons, as the archbishop of Yorke, the bishop of Careleill, and the Lord Philip Dalbenie, to vnderstand the minds of the Normans, the Britains and Poictouins. And for that those that were sent, brought word againe that the said people were not greatlie minded to forsake the French gouernment, he surceassed from attempting any exploit at that time. Other write, that gathering a great summe of monie of his subiects, towards the maintenance of his charges, he prepared a nauie of ships, and sailed ouer with the said earle of Marh into Britaine, and there walked the confines of the French dominions, and that when the French king was readie with an armie to succour his subiects, he suddenlie retired to his ships, and returned into England, without atchiuing anie enterprise worthie of remembrance, so that whether he went himselfe or sent, it forceth not: for certeine it is that he profited nothing at that season, either by sending messengers to procure him friendship, or by going ouer himselfe to make an entrie to the warres.

Matth. Paris. Ambassadors sent into France.

Polydor.

When the French affaires were thus at a staie, within a few moneths after, Richard earle of Cornewall returned forth of Gascoigne into England, and shortlie after, because he heard and was crediblie informed, that a certeine manour place which Walerane the Duchman, capteine of Berkamsted castell held, by the gift and assignement of king John, appertained to his earledome of Cornewall, he seized the castell into his hands. So that Walerane being thus dispossessed, exhibited his bill of complaint to the king, who incontinentlie sent to the earle, commanding him to make restitution, which he vtterlie refused to do. But forthwith, comming to the king, and without reteining any aduocate, he declared his right which he offered to auerre in open presence, & in any of the kings courts, before what soeuer peeres of the realme should be there assembled.

The earle of Cornewall returneth home. Matth. Paris.

The earle of Cornewall.

This addition [the peeres of the realme] nothing pleased the king and his councell, namelie the lord cheefe iustice, by whose aduice the king meant to haue apprehended the earle the same night, after he was withdrawne to his lodging. But the earle warned thereof, secretlie departed, accompanied onelie with one man, and neuer drew bridle out of his horses mouth, vntill he came to Reading (whither his seruants resorted to him) and from thence he rode straight to Marlebridge, where he found his deare freend William earle Marshall, to whome he did impart the danger likelie to haue befallen him. Then they drew to the erle of Chester, & taking order with him for the raising of an armie, there met shortlie after at Stamford the persons whose names hereafter insue; Ranulfe earle of Chester, William Marshall earle of Penbroke, Richard earle of Cornewall the kings brother, Gilbert earle of Glocester, William earle Warren, Henrie earle of Hereford, William earle Ferrers, William earle of Warwike, and diuerse barons, lords and knights, hauing there with them a great puissance of warlike personages.

He departeth from the court secretlie.

He ioineth himselfe with the earles of Chester and Penbroke and others.

They meet at Stamford with an armie

The king hauing vnderstanding as well of their demeanor, as also what they required by their letters and messengers to him dailie sent, thought good for a time to pacifie their furie, and thereupon appointed a day at Northampton, where he would meet, and minister such iustice vnto them, as should be thought reasonable, and to stand with their good willes and contentation. Whereupon, the parties comming to Northampton at the day assigned, he granted to the earle his brother (at the instant desire of the lords) all his mothers dowrie, with all those lands which belonged to the earle of Britaine within England, and withall, those lands also that apperteined to the earle of Bullongne deceassed. Thus the matter being pacified, euerie man departed to his home, whereas if the king had beene froward (as he was mild and patient, knowing that

A day appointed to meet at Northampton, for a treatie of pacification.

The kings grant to his brother.

——*non solis viribus æquum* Val. Flac. lib. 4.
Credere, sæpè acri potior prudentia dextra)

warres had immediatlie beene raised betwixt them, namelie, because manie of the lords bare a secret grudge towards the king, for that he had reuoked certeine liberties which in the begining of his reigne he had granted to be holden, though now to take awaie the enuie which might be conceiued towards him for his doing, he alledged, that he did not infringe any thing that he had then granted, but such things as his gouernours had suffered to passe whilest he was vnder age, and not ruler of himselfe: he caused them therefore to redéeme manie of the same priuileges, whereby he gained great finance for the setting to of his new seale (as before yee haue heard declared.)

Moreouer, in this yeare there were sent certeine persons from pope Gregorie the ninth (that succéeded Honorius) into all the parts of Europe, to moue by preaching the christian people to make a iournie into the holie land against the Saracens. Such a multitude by means hereof did assemble togither from all parts, and that within a short time, as the like had sildome times beene heard of. It is said, that amongst them there should be to the number of fortie thousand Englishmen, of whome Peter bishop of Winchester, and William bishop of Excester were the cheefe. Capteins also of that great multitude of crossed souldiers that went forth of sundrie countries were these, Theobald earle of Champaigne, and Philip de Albenie, through whose negligence the sequele of this noble enterprise came but to small effect. But to proceed.

The pope exhorteth the christians to make a iournie against the Saracens

Matth. Paris fiftie thousand.

Polydor.

About this time the king minding the benefit of the commonwealth, caused the weights and measures generallie within the land to be reformed after one standard. Furthermore, he created Hubert de Burgh earle of Kent, the which Hubert how much praise so euer he got at the beginning for his valiantie shewed in the defending of Douer castell, and in vanquishing the French fleet that was comming to the succour of Lewes by battell on the sea, it is certeine, that now he purchased himselfe double as much hatred and euill will, because that being of secret councell with the king, and thereby after a sort sequestred from the lords, he was knowne to dissuade the said prince from restoring of the ancient lawes and customes vnto the people, which the barons oft required: whereby it came to passe, that the more he grew in fauour with the prince, the further he came into the enuie of the Nobilitie, and hatred of the peo-

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Matth. Paris. Weights and measures. Polydor. Hubert de Burgh created earle of Kent.

ple, which is a common reward to such as in respect of their maister do little regard the profit of others, as the prouerbe saith,

Plus quis honoratur hostis tum multiplicatur.

Stephan archbishop of Canturburie departed this life.

Furthermore, vpon the ninth of Julie Stephan the archbishop of Canturburie died, after he had gouerned that see the terme of 21 yeares, after whome succéeded Richard Wethersheid deane of Paules, who was the three and fortith archbishop of that see.

Richard Wethersheid elected in his place.

Matth. Paris.

Walter Helmesham.

The monks of Canturburie had first elected one of their owne conuent, named Walter de Helmesham: which election was made by the same monks the third daie of August next insuing the death of their said archbishop Stephan, but the king would not consent that he should haue the place for diuerse causes, which he obiected: as first, for that he knew him to be such a man as should be vnprofitable, both to him and to his kingdome. Secondlie, bicause his father was a theefe, and thereof being conuict, suffered death vpon the gallowes. Thirdlie, for that he himselfe had stood against king John in time of the interdiction.

On the other side, the bishops suffragans to the church of Canturburie obiected also against him, that he had vsed the familiar companie of a nunne, and begot of hir certeine children. Moreouer they alledged, that no election without their consent, could be good, nor ought to take place. But the monke making his appeale, stood in it, and taking with him certeine of his fellow monks of Canturburie, went to Rome, and there made supplication to the pope, that his election by his authoritie might be ratified and confirmed. Whereof the king and the other bishops being aduertised, did put their obiections in writing vnder their seales, & sent the same to Rome to be exhibited to the pope by the bishops of Westchester and Rochester, and John the archdeacon of Bedford, who vsed such means, that his election was iudged void, & then the said Richard Wethersheid was out of hand elected & confirmed. In that yeare also, a grant was made to the citizens of London, that they should haue and vse a common seale.

A new trouble about the election of the archbishop of Canturburie.

Fabian.

In this meane while, Hugh the earle of March so laboured with the Normans and Poictouins in the behalfe of the king of England, that they began to incline to his purpose: whereupon he sent his letters by secret meanes vnto king Henrie, signifieng to him, that if it would please him to come ouer with an armie to make warre against the French king, they would be readie to turne vnto his side, and receiue him as their souereigne. King Henrie taking aduise what to answer and do herein, with his welbeloued councellour Hubert of Burgh, thought it not good to attempt anie thing rashlie in this matter, bicause the dealings of the Normans were neuer without some fraud: but yet to satisfie the request of his frends, he promised to come ouer shortlie vnto them, if in the meane time he might perceiue that they remained stedfast in their purpose, giuing them furthermore manie great and hartie thanks for their good meaning and singular kindnesse towards him.

Polydor.

The earle of March worketh to induce the Normans & Poictouins to fauour the king of England.

The Normans write to the king of England.

Matt. Paris.

Now things beyond the sea standing in this order, it happened in the moneth of August, that the soldiers which laie in garrison within the castell of Mountgomerie, toke in hand to stocke vp a wood not farre from the said castell, through which lay an highwaie, where oftentimes manie felonious robberies and murders were committed by the Welsh. As the souldiers were busie at worke in stocking vp the wood, there came vpon them an ambushment of Welshmen, which not onlie draue them awaie from their worke, but also toke and slue diuerse of them, constreining the residue to flée into the castell, which immediatlie the Welshmen inuironed also about with a strong siege, thinking to find the defendants vnprouided.

The Welshmē besiege the castell of Montgomerie.

They within aduertised Hugh de Burgh, the lord cheefe iustice (to whome the castell belonged by the kings late gift) of the exploit and enterprise attempted by their enimies, with all possible hast: whereupon the king at request of the said Hubert leuied a power, and came to raise the siege. But the Welshmen hearing of the kings approch, fled awaie like sheepe, so that comming to the castell, he found no resistance: howbeit, for so much as he saw the foresaid wood to be troublesome and an annoiance to the said castell, he willed it to be destroied. True it is, that the same wood was verie thicke and rough, and further it conteined also fiue leagues or fifteene miles in length: yet by such diligence as was vsed, the same was wasted, stocked vp, and quickelie rid out of the waie by fire and other means, so that the countrie was made plaine a great waie about.

The king with an armie commeth to the succour of them within the castell.

After this, the king departed forth into the Welsh confines, and comming to an abbeie of the white monks called Cride, caused it to be burnt, bicause it serued as a refuge for his enimies. Then by the aduise of the lord chiefe iustice Hubert de Burgh, he set in hand to build a castell there, bicause the place séemed verie fit for fortification. But after the king with his armie had laine there three months, through lacke of vittels (the Welshmen still cutting the Englishmen off as they went abroad to fetch in forrage and other prouision) he was constreined to fall to agréement with Leolin their prince, and receiuing of the said prince the summe of three thousand marks, he was contented that so much of the castell as was alreadie builded, should be raced and made flat againe with the ground, before his departure from thence. Herevpon, manie men toke occasion to iest at the lord chiefe iustice and his dooings about this castell, who at the beginning named it Huberts follie.

The abbeie of Cride burnt.

The king beginneth to build a castell.

He is cōstreined to agrée with the Welshmen.

Amongst other also that were taken prisoners by the Welshmen, whilest the king thus vainelie spent his time about the building of that fort, William de Bréuse a right valiant man of warre was one, who being taken by Leolin prince of Wales, was by him cruellie put to death (as after shall appeare) for the which act, and other such iniuries receiued at the same Leolins hands, king Henrie at length greeuouslie punished him. ¶ For the most part of this summer season, great thunders happened in England: the element also séemed as though it had burned with continuall flames: steeples, churches, and other hie buildings were striken with lightning, and the haruest was sore hindered by continuall raine. Also in the middest of the day there came a wonderfull darkenesse vpon the earth, that the brightnesse of the aire seemed to be couered and taken awaie.

The lord William de Bréuse taken prisoner.

Matt. Paris. Strange sights in the aire.

Polydor.

In the thirteenth yeare of this king, Stephan the popes chapleine and his Nuncio came ouer vnto king Henrie, requiring to haue towards the maintenance of the popes warres against the emperour Frederike, a tenth part of all the moueable goods within the realmes & countries of England, Wales, and Ireland, as well of spirituall persons as temporall. Whereupon, a parlement or assemblie of the lords was called at Westminster, on the second sundaie after Easter, which was the 29 of April. At which parlement, when the popes buls were read, and the matter therein conteined plainelie opened and examined, to the end it might appeare vpon what necessarie causes the pope was constreined to pursue the said wars, and to aske releese of faithfull christian people, being members of the holie church: the king, bicause he had by his procurators at Rome afore hand promised & bound himselfe to such paiment of tenths, sate still, and answered not to the contrarie

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1229

A parlement or a councell holden.

(whereas

(whereas the hope of a great number was reposed in him, that by his deniall the popes request should haue béene frustrat) so that when by his silence he was adiudged to consent, yet the temporall lords & laie men vtterlie denied to agree vnto such paiment, not willing in any wise to bind their baronies and temporall possessions vnto the church of Rome.

The temporal lords refuse to aid the pope with monie.

Howbeit, the bishops, abbats, priors, and other ecclesiasticall persons, after they had shewed themselues to rest doubtfull (not without great grudging and murmuring in the meane time, for the space of three or foure daies togither) at length, for feare of excommunication, consented to be contributorie, but in such sort, as they had escaped for a farre more reasonable summe, if Stephan Segraue one of the kings councell had not by compact (as was thought) made with the Nuncio, wrought so in the matter, that the tenths were finallie granted, to the great impouerishment and inestimable damage of the church and realme of England. After this, the Nuncio shewed the procuratorie letters, whereby he was authorised to gather those tenths, and that not after a common manner, but by a verie straight and hard valuation.

Stephan de Segraue.

The tenths of the spiritualtie granted to the pope.

And for the more sure waie of proceeding herein, he had letters of authoritie from the pope, to excommunicate all such as should withstand him or his deputies in proceeding with those affaires. He shewed himselfe moreouer verie extreame in collecting of this monie, and namelie towards the prelats of the church, insomuch that appointing him a certeine day in the which vnder paine of excommunication they should make paiment, diuers for want of readie monie, were compelled to make shift with the chalices, and other vessels and ornaments belonging to their churches, and other were glad to take vp monie vpon interest, and for that shift there were come ouer with the Nuncio diuerse wicked vsurers vnder the name of merchants, which when they saw those that stood in need like to be excommunicate for want of readie monie, they would offer themselues to lend vnto any that would borow, after the rate of one noble for the loane of twentie by the moneth, so bringing the needie into their snares, to their irrecouerable losses and vndoing. Hereby the land was filled with bitter cursings (though in secret) by those that wished such vnreasonable exactors neuer to see good end of the vse of that monie.

Vsurers.

From that day forward there wanted not in England certeine vsurers called Caursini, which sought nothing else but the wealth of such persons as they might get into their snares, namelie those whome the church of Rome doth ver and put to trouble with hir exactions and paiments. The earle of Chester onlie stood manfullie against the paiment of those tenths, insomuch that he would not suffer his lands to be brought vnder bondage, neither wold he permit the religious men and préests that held of his fee to pay the same, although the rest of England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland were compelled to be contributorie thereto, hauing onelie this comfort, that not they alone, but also other forren regions were driuen to do the like. Thus did the locusts of Rome from time to time sucke the sweetnesse of the land, and all to mainteine the pompe and pride of the same, wherein what other practises did they vse, than as one truelie testifieth?

Matth. Paris.

The earle of Chester wold not permit the tenths to be gathered with in his land.

Cuncti luxuriæ atq; gulæ, furtisq; dolisq;
Certatim incumbunt, &c.

But to let this passe: king Henrie purposing to saile ouer into Britaine and inuade France, came to Portsmouth about Michaelmasse, with such an armie assembled out of England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, as the like for number of people had not béene knowne to haue passed ouer with any of his ancestors: howbeit when he should come to the verie point of imbarking his people, with vittels, armor, and other prouision, there were not ships sufficient to passe ouer the one halfe of the armie: wherefore when the king saw this default, he was sore offended, but chéefelie with Hubert the earle of Kent, lord chéefe iustice, insomuch that he openlie called him old traitor, and laid to his charge how he had thus vsed the matter of purpose, onelie to pleasure the queene of France, of whome (as he said) he had receiued fiue thousand marks to hinder his proceedings. In this heat if the earle of Chester and other had not béene at hand, he had suerlie slaine the chéefe iustice euen there with his drawne sword, who was glad to auoid his presence, till his angrie mood was somwhat ouerpassed.

King Henrie prepareth to passe ouer into France.

The earle of Kent fallen in to the kings displeasure.

In the meane time there arriued Henrie earle of Britaine on the ninth of October, which should haue conducted the king into his countrie. But sith winter was come vpon them, he aduised him to stay till the next spring, and so he did. Then euerie man was licenced to depart home, and the earle of Kent reconciled againe into fauour. The erle of Britaine in like maner did homage to the king for Britaine, and the king restored him to all his rights in England, and further giuing him fiue thousand marks to defend his countrie against the enimies, sent him home againe in most courteous and louing maner. In this yeere of our Lord 1230 king Henrie held his Christmasse at Yorke, togither with the king of Scots, whome he had desired to come thither at that time, that they might make merrie: and so for the space of three daies togither, there was great banketting and sport betweene them. On the fourth day they toke leaue either of other, the king of Scots with rich gifts returning towards his countrie, and the king of England towards London.

Henrie earle of Britaine. The kings iournie deferred.

Anno. Reg. 14. 1230

Matth. Paris. The king of Scots kept Christmasse with the king of England at Yorke.

Upon the fiue and twentith day of Januarie also, while the bishop of London was at high masse within the church of S. Paule in London, a sudden darknesse ouershadowed the quiere, and therwith such a tempest of thunder and lightning, that the people there assembled thought verelie the church and steeple had come downe vpon their heads. There came moreouer such a filthie sauour and stinke withall, that partlie for feare, and partlie for that they might not abide the sauour, they voided the church, falling on heapes one vpon another, as they sought to get out of the same. The diears and canons forsoke their deskes, so that the bishop remained there onelie with one deacon that serued him at masse. Afterward, when the aire began to cleare vp, the people returned into the church, and the bishop went forward and finished the masse.

Matth. Paris. A strange tempest at London.

See Iohn Stow, pag. 261. of his large collectiõ printed 1580.

Matth. Paris.

In the meane time the king leuied a great summe of monie of the prelats of his land towards his iournie into France: he had also a great releefe of the citizens of London. And the Iewes were constreined to giue to him the third part of all their moueable goods. In the moneth of Aprill, Leolin prince of Wales caused William de Breuse, whom he had taken prisoner long before (as aboue is mentioned) to be hanged on a paire of gallowes, for that he was taken (as was reported) in adulterie with the wife of the said prince. And on the last day of Aprill, the king with a puissant armie toke the sea at Portesmouth, and landed at saint Malos in Britaine on the third day of May, where he was right ioifullie receiued of Henrie earle of that countrie. After he was thus arriued in Britaine, he entered into the French dominions, with the said earle, and the earle of Marsh his father in law, doing much hurt within the same. His armie dailie increasing by the great numbers

The king gathereth monie towards his iourne into France.

Matth. Paris. The Lord W. de Breuse hanged.

The king saileth ouer into France.

of Normans and other, which at the fame of the king of Englands arriuall in thofe parts, came flocking from diuerfe places to aid him.

Two brethrẽ of the Paganels or Painelles. Matth. Paris.

Amongſt other, there were two brethren that were Normans, Fouke and William, of the familie and furname of the Paganelles or Painelles, being men of great birth and eſtimation in their countrie, which brought with them threſcore knights or men of armes, right worthie and valiant in feats of war. Theſe Noble men would faine haue perſuaded the king to haue entred into Normandie, for that (as they affirmed) it ſhould be an eaſie matter for him to ſubdue the whole countrie: whereto the king would gladlie haue conſented, if the earle of Kent had not aduiſed him otherwiſe. After this, they beſought him at the leaſtwiſe to grant them two hundred knights or men of armes of his armie, with whoſe aid they doubted not to be able (as they ſaid) to expell all the Frenchmen out of Normandie, but neither would this be obteined, ſo that thoſe Norman lords remained without comfort, whileſt the French king cauſed their caſtels and manours to be ſeized vnto his vſe.

The earle of Kent beginneth now to beare the blame for euerie thing amiſſe.

Polydor.

During this time, king Lewes (who a few daies afore had taken from the duke of Britaine the townes of Ardone, Campanell, and Beleſme) being now certified by his eſpials, of the landing and inuaſion made by the king of England, haſted forth with his armie into the countrie of Anion, and there by the ſide of the Loire, incamped, to ſtaie the king of England, that he ſhould not paſſe ouer the ſame riuer into Poictou, ſuſpecting leaſt the Poictouins (whom he had alwaie in ſome geloufie) would reuolt vnto him. But the king of England aduertiſed of his approch, paſſed that riuer ſooner than anie man would haue iudged, and incamped firſt in the countrie of Poictou, and after drew into the confines of Xantonge, the French king ſtill following, and by the waie deſtroieng the townes of Fountney, and Aillars, perteining to one Guie de Rochfort, a capteine belonging to the earle of March. Afterward alſo he paſſed the riuer of Charent, and walked all the countrie of Xantonge. Where (if we may beleeue ſome writers) the two kings ioined battell, which continued a long time right fierce & cruell: but at length the Engliſhmen giuing backe, the victorie remained on the French ſide, a great number of their aduerſaries being ſlaine and taken.

He toke the towne and caſtell of Angiers, ſaint Jame, Bonneroy, & Beleſme.

The annales of Aquitaine.

Poictou and Xantonge.

The French get the vpper hand.

After this battell, they ſaie alſo that a peace was concluded betwixt them. But other writers haue recorded, that the matter was firſt taken vp by a truce without anie battell, bicauſe both the kings being yoong men, and as yet not verie ſkilfull in martiall affaires, were content to giue eare vnto queene Blanch, to Philip erle of Bollongne, and to Ranulfe earle of Cheſter, which three toke vpon them to intreat a peace, and preſcribe the couenants of agréement, by which meanes they were at the laſt accorded. Amongſt other things which were concluded at this preſent time, the duke of Britaine, and the earle of March were made frends again with the French king, and receiued eſtſones into his fauour. Thus ceaſſed the warres for that time betwixt the kings of England and France, as ſome haue witneſſed. ¶ Howbeit if we ſhall beleeue other, which wrote and liued in thoſe daies, there was no peace at that time concluded: but after that king Henrie had paſſed through Anion and Poictou without battell, he came into Gaſcoigne, where he receiued the homages and fealties of manie noble men in thoſe parties, and returning into Poictou, not onelie had the like alſo of ſundrie lords and men of honour in that countrie, but alſo toke the caſtell of Mirabeau by aſſault, thorough the manhood of the Engliſhmen, who choſe rather with deſperat aduentures to make entrance to honour, than by timorouſneſſe or want of courage to purchaſe reproch; for they knew verie well, that

Qui cupiunt fortes fieri, diſcrimina oportet
Multa pati, & multos coguntur ferre labores,

and therefore they made triall of their valiantneſſe euen with obteinement of victorie to the diſcomfiture of the enimie, who gaped after the conqueſt.

Math. Paris.

Mirabeau.

This done, and order taken for the ſafe keeping of thoſe quarters, he returned into Britaine, & coming to the citie of Naunts, remained a while there, ſpending the time vainelie in pleaſure and banketting. Finallie in the moneth of October he toke the ſea, and returning into England after manie perils, landed at Portelſmouth, the 27 of October, leauing behind him in Britaine 500 knights or men of armes, a thouſand yeomen or ſtipendarie ſouldiers, for defenſe of the countrie againſt the Frenchmen, and appointed for their capteine the earle of Cheſter, the earle Marſhall, and the earle of Albemarle, with certeine other valiant and approued warriours, who after the departure of the king, made two rodes into the French countries, but firſt into Anion, where they remained 15 daies without battell, taking and deſtroieng the caſtell of Gonner, alſo Newchatell vpon the riuer of Sart, and finallie laden with plentie of rich ſpoiles, they returned into Britaine, from whence they ſet forth. Shortlie after they entred into Normandie, deſtroieng the caſtell of Pontorſon, & burning the towne: which enterprize when they had accompliſhed at their wils, they returned eſtſones into Britaine, where they were ioifullie receiued.

King Henrie returneth into Britaine.

He ſaileth home into England.

The earle of Cheſter left the kings lieutenant in Britaine.

what feats he wrought.

Pontorſon burnt.

The erle of Cheſter in this meane while ſtrengthened & fortified the caſtell of S. James de Bewmerõ, which (bicauſe it belonged to the right of his wife) the earle of Britaine had (ſith the kings comming ouer) reſtored vnto him. ¶ In this yeare vpon the 14 of Maie, a marueilous eclipſe of the ſunne chanced immediatlie after the riſing thereof, ſo that the earth ſeemed as it had beene couered againe with ſhade of night. On the 22 daie of Nouember, the moone was likewiſe eclipſed, being as then 13 daies old.

S. James de Bewmeron.

A ſtrange eclipſe.

Anno Reg. 15.

Furthermore, whileſt the king was in France, there came ouer into England the duke of Saxonie coſen to the king, and of the citizens of London was honourablie receiued. He was a man of ſuch high and tall ſtature, that men toke great pleaſure to behold him. In the ſame yeare alſo in the moneth of Julie, an Iriſh king that was gouernour of Connagh, vnderſtanding that both the king of England, and the earle Marſhall were gone ouer into France, and ſo Ireland left without anie great aid of men of warre on the Engliſh part, raiſed a mightie armie, and with the ſame entered into the marſhes of the Engliſh dominion, ſpoiling and burning the countrie before him. Whereof when Geffrey de Maurith lord chiefe iuſtice of Ireland was aduertiſed, he called to him Walter de Lacie and Richard de Burgh, aſſembling therewithall a mightie armie, which he diuided into three parts, appointing the ſaid Walter de Lacie, and Richard de Burgh, with the two firſt parts, to lie in ambuſh within certeine woods, thorough the which he purpoſed to draw the enimies, and marching forth with the third, which he reſerued to his owne gouernement, he profered battell to the Iriſhmen, the which when they ſaw but one battell of the Engliſhmen boldlie aſſaied the ſame.

The duke of Saxonie cõmeth into England.

The king of Connagh.

Geffrey de Maurith lord chiefe iuſtice of Ireland. Walter de Lacie, Richard de Burgh.

The Engliſhmen according to the order appointed, feigned as though they had fled, and ſo retired ſtill backer and backer, till they had trained the Iriſh within danger of their other two battels, which comming forth vpon them, did ſet on them egerlie, whileſt the other which ſeemed before to flee returned backe againe, and ſet vpon them in like maner, by meanes whereof the Iriſhmen being in the midſt, were

The Iriſhmẽ vanquiſhed by ỹ Engliſhmen in battell.

were beaten downe on all parts, and vtterlie vanquished, with losse of 20 thousand men (as it was crediblie reported.) The king of Connagh was also taken and committed to prison.

1221

A fiftenth and tenth granted to the king.

Polydor.

Englishmen sent to Spain against the Saracens.

In the meane time king Henrie hauing spent a great deale of treasure in his iournie made into France, there was granted vnto him a fiftenth of the temporaltie, with a disme and a halfe of the spiritualtie, towards the furnishing out of a new power of men to be sent into Spaine against the Saracens, which made sore warres vpon the christians in that countrie, whereupon king Henrie being required of the K. of Aragon to aid him with some number of souldiers, he sent a great power thither with all speed, and so likewise did the French king. By means whereof the Spaniards, being ioined with Englishmen and Frenchmen, obteined a noble victorie, in vanquishing those their enimies. Thus saith Polydor. But other write that the king on the seauen and twentith of Januarie, holding a parlement at Westminster (where the Nobles both spirituall and temporall were assembled) demanded escuage of all those that held any baronies of him, that is to saie, foxren knights fées, fortie shillings, or three marks.

Matth. Paris.

Escuage demanded.

The archb. of Canturburie standeth against the K. in defense of his clergie.

Moreouer, the archbishop of Canturburie (as they say) stood against the king in this demand, mainteining that the clergie ought not to be subiect vnto the iudgement of laie men, sith this escuage was granted in the parts beyond the seas without their consent. Whereupon the matter as touching the bishops was deferred till the quindene of Easter, albeit that all the laitie, and other of the spiritualtie consented to the kings will. ¶ About this time also there chanced to rise a great strife and contention betwixt Richard the archbishop of Canturburie, and Hubert the earle of Kent, who as gardian to the yong erle of Gloucester had got into his hands the castell of Tunbridge, with the towne, and certeine other possessions which belonged to the archbishops see, and therefore did the archbishop complaine to the king of the iniurie which he sustained.

Contention betwixt the archb. and the earle of Kent.

Matth. Paris.

Now when he perceiued no hope likelie to come for any redresse at the kings hands, he toke an other way: and first by his pontificall authoritie accursed all those that withheld the same possessions, and all their mainteiners (the king excepted) and therewith appealing to the pope, he went to prosecute his appeale at Rome, whither the king and the earle sent also their procurators, and made the pope their arbitratour to iudge of the matter. In the end pope Gregorie hauing heard the whole processe of the controuersie, iudged the right to remaine with the archbishop, who hauing then obteined his desire, hasted toward England: but as he was returning homewards, he died by the way, not farre from Rome, whereby the popes iudgement toke no place: for whilest the see was void, there was none that would follow the suit: and such was the end of this controuersie for this time.

Ralfe Neuill elected arch. of Canturburie.

After the decease of this archbishop Richard, the monks elected Ralfe Neuill bishop of Chichester the kings chancellor, an vpright man, and of iust dealing in all his doings. In whome also it is to be noted, he would not giue one halfepenie to the monks towards the bearing of their charges in their iournie to Rome, which they should take vpon them from thence to fetch his confirmation, according to the manner, least he should burthen his conscience with the crime of simonie which he greatlie abhorred, although some imputed this to proceed rather of a closed spice of couetousnesse. Which practise of his maketh greatlie to the confounding of the indirect means now vsed to aspire vnto promotions, for the obteinment whereof no remedie is forborne; no, though the same be repugnant to reason, and vtterlie against conscience and honestie. But this is the temptation of auarice and ambition, which poison the minds of men in such sort, that rather than they will want their wished aduancement, they will vse these meanes that may further them most, namelie, frendship, monie, and mightie mens countenance; which one noteth verie well in a distichon of neat deuise, saieng,

Artis, honestatis, recti, præcepta, decus, vim,
Conculcat, superant, spernunt, fauor, æra, potentes,

But to the purpose from whence we are digressed. When the monks came to the popes presence, vpon inquirie made, and chéefelie by report of Simon Langton, who (as some thinke) gaped for the dignitie, he vnderstood that the said Ralfe Neuill should be a man vnlearned, a courtier, hastie and short of word, and that which most displeased the pope, it was to be feared, that if he should be preferred to that rowme, he would go about to deliuer the realme of England from the thraldome of the pope, and the court of Rome (into the which being made tributorie by king John it had latelie bæne brought) that (as he should alledge) it might serue God and holie church in the old accustomed libertie.

Simõ Langetons report of the conditions of Ralfe Neuill.

To bring this to passe (hauing the king thereto greatlie inclined, and all the realme readie to assist him in the same) he would not sticke to put his life in ieopardie, namelie vpon confidence of the right and appeales of Stephan the late archbishop of Canturburie, made in solemne wise before the altar of S. Paule in the cathedrall church of London, when king John resigning his crowne into the hands of the legat, made that writting obligatorie most execrable to the whole world.

Sée before in pag. 177, & 178.

The pope maketh void the election.

When the pope had heard this tale told, he streit disanulled the election and request of the confirmation of the said Ralfe Neuill, granting libertie to the monks to chose some other which might proue a wholsome shéepheard for the soule of man, profitable to the church of England, and a faithfull sonne to the see of Rome, and so the monks returning home, made relation to the couent how they had sped. After this, the monks elected the prior of their house named John to be their archbishop, who going to Rome for his confirmation, was persuaded in the end to renounce his election: so that at length one Edmund that was treasurer of the colledge of Salisburie, was elected, confirmed, and consecrated, a man of great zeale, being the foure & fortith archbishop that had gouerned that see.

The earle of Cornewall marrieth the countesse of Gloucester.

The earle of Penbroke departed this life.

Polydor.

This yeare the kings brother the earle of Cornewall married the countesse of Gloucester, widow to the late earle Gilbert, and sister to William Marshall earle of Penbroke, the which erle of Penbroke shortlie after the same marriage departed this life, and was buried on the fiftenth day of Aprill, in the new temple at London, nére vnto his father. Moreouer, Leolin prince of Wales about this season enterprising to inuade the English confines, burned and wasted the countrie in most cruell wise. Whereof the king being aduertised, hasted forth by great iournies, with purpose to reuenge such iniuries. But the enimies hearing of his comming (according to the custome of their countrie) withdrew into the mounteins, bogs, and marishes. Wherefore the king (seeing that he could not haue them at his pleasure, and least he should be thought to spend time in vaine) came backe, and left behind him a small troope of souldiers to resist their attempts, if they should happen to rise vp any more.

Leolin prince of Wales inuadeth the English borders.

The Welshmen hauing intelligence that the king was returned home, brake forth againe as before in-

to the English marshes, and not onelie tooke preies and booties, but went about to destroie with fire and sword all that stood in their way. Howbeit in their returne, and as they ranged abroad somewhat vnadvisedlie, they were intrapped by the souldiers which the king had left there for the defense of the countrie, and put to flight neere the castell of Mountgomerie, with great slaughter & losse of their people. But Leolin nothing dismaied therwith, assembled a greater power than he had before, and began forthwith to rob and spoile within the English marshes with paganish extremitie. Which thing when it came to the understanding of the king, he was verie sore displeased, that so meane a man as Leolin was, should put him to so much trouble, therefore he raised a farre greater armie than he had done at anie time before, and with the same came to the citie of Hereford.

The welshmen put to flight.

The king goeth against the welshmen. Matt. Paris.

In the meane time Leolin comming neere vnto the said castell of Mountgomerie, by the practise of a traitorous monke, trained forth the English souldiers which laie in garrison there, and counterfeiting to flee, till he had laid them vp in bogs and mires with their horsses, so as they could not helpe themselues, he fell vpon them, and so slue and tooke a great number of them euen as he could haue wished. The king aduertised hereof, hasted the faster forward, and comming into those parts, as he passed by an abbeie of the Cisteaux order (of which house the monke was that had betraied the Englishmen of Mountgomerie) he burned a grange that belonged to the same abbeie, and further spoiling the same abbeie it selfe, he had set it on a light fire also, if the abbat therof had not redeemed it with the summe of three hundred marks of siluer. After this, he caused Mawds castell to be repaired and fortified, which the Welshmen in times past had ouerthrowne, and when the worke was finished, he left there a strong garrison of souldiers to keepe backe the Welshmen from making their accustomed incursions.

The English men distressed.

Mawds castell repaired.

Matth. Paris.

Whilest the king was thus occupied in Wales, there was some busines in France: for in the moneth of June, the French king with an armie came to inuade the countrie of Britaine, but earle Henrie with the earle of Chester and the other English captains found meanes to take and destroie all the cariages and wagons which came with vittels and other prouision to serue the French armie. When the Frenchmen perceiued they could not haue their purpose, by mediation of the archbishop of Reimes, and the earle of Bollongne on the French part, and by consent of the earles of Britaine and Chester on the English part, a peace was concluded, or rather a truce to indure for three yeares betwixt the two kings of England and France. This agréement was made the fift daie of Julie, and then the earles of Britaine and Chester, with Richard Marshall, came ouer into England, and rode to the king, whom they found at Mawds castell, where he remained till the worke was finished, and then in the moneth of October returned into England.

Henrie earle of Britaine, and the earle of Chester distresse the French kings cariages.

A truce taken.

Anno Reg. 16. 1232

Matth. Paris.

In this meane time no small grudge arose among the people, by reason that their churches were occupied by incumbents that were strangers, promoted by the popes and their legats, who neither instructed the people, nor could well speake anie more English than that which serued for the collection of their tithes, in somuch that for the insolencie of such incumbents as well the Noble men and those of good reputation, as other of the meaner sort, by an vndiscréet presumption attempted a disorderlie redresse, confederating themselues togither, and taking vpon them to write and direct their letters vnto bishops and chapters, commanding them by waie of inhibition, not to seeme to interrupt those that should seize vpon the beneficed strangers, or vpon their reuenues.

An vnorderlie & presumptuous attempt

They also tooke vpon them to write vnto such religious men and others, which were farmers vnto anie of those strangers, forbidding them to stand accountable vnto the said strangers, but to reteine the rents and profits in their hands to answer the same vnto such as they should appoint for the receipt therof. The superscription of their letters was this. ¶ *Tali episcopo, & tali capitulo, vniuersitas eorum, qui magis volunt mori quàm à Romanis confundi, salutem.* That is to say, To such a bishop and chapter, all those which had rather die than be confounded by the Romans, send greeting. In the seale wherewith the said letters were sealed, were two swords ingrauen.

The superscription of their letters.

This matter went so farre forth, that there were sundrie persons armed and disguised like mummers, which enterprised not onelie to take diuerse of those strangers that were beneficed men, but also came to their barnes, threshed vp their graine, and either made sale therof, or gaue it awaie for God his sake, shewing counterfeited letters vnder the kings seale, which they had procured for their warrant, as they did pretend. At length the pope vpon complaint made vnto him of such violent doings, wrote to king Henrie, blaming him not a little for suffering such disorders to be committed within his realme, commanding him vpon paine of excommunication to cause a diligent inquirie to be had of the offendors, and to see them sharpelie punished, to the example of others.

Masking threshers.

The pope complaineth to the K. in blaming him.

The pope commandeth the offendors to be accursed.

Moreouer he sent letters to the bishop of Winchester, and to the abbat of saint Edmundsburie, to make the like inquisition, and to accurse all those that should be found culpable within the south parts of England, as he did to the archbishop of Yorke, to the bishop of Durham, and to an Italian named John a canon of Yorke, to do the like in the north parts, so that the offendors should remaine accursed, till they came to Rome, there to fetch their absolution. Hereupon therefore a generall inquisition was taken, as well by the king as by the bishops, and manie found guiltie, some in fact, and some in consent: amongst which number there were both bishops and chapleins to the king, with archdeacons and deanes, knights, and manie of the laitie.

Inquisition taken.

There were some shiriffes and bailiffes also, which by the kings commandement were arrested and put in prison, and diuerse of all sorts did keepe themselues out of the waie, and would not as yet be found. In like maner, Hubert earle of Kent, lord chéefe iustice, was accused to be chiefe transgressour in this matter, as he that had giuen forth the kings letters patents to those disguised and masking threshers, who had taken vpon them so to sequester other mens goods, whereto they had no right. There came also to the king one sir Robert de Twing, a knight of the north parts (which named himselfe William Wetherse, and had led about a companie of the foresaid maskers) protesting that he had done it vpon iust cause to be reuenged vpon the Romans, which went about by sentence of the pope, and manifest fraud to spoile him of the parsonage of a certeine church which he held, and therfore he said he had rather stand accursed without iust cause for a time, than to lose his benefice without due iudgement. Howbeit the king and the other commissioners counseled him in the end to go to Rome to purchase his absolution, sith he was fallen in danger of excommunication, and there to sue for his pardon in the popes consistorie. And to incourage him the better so to do, the king wrote also in his fauour to the pope, testifieng the right which he claimed to the church, whereby at length he obteined his suit (as after ye shall heare.)

The earle of Kent put in blame.

Sir Robert de Twing.

Polydor.

The king called a parlement at Westminster, wherein

A parlement.

A subsidie demanded, and denied.

wherein declaring what charges he had béene at diuers waies, he required to haue a subsidie granted him, for the releefe of his want, which was flatlie denied, the Nobles and other estats excusing the paiuertie amongst all degrees of men, by manie euident reasons. Herevpon the bishop of Winchester being a verie eloquent and faire-spoken man, openlie counselled the king to fauour his people, whom he had alreadie made poore and bare with continuall tributes and exactions. And if it were so that he stood in such need as was alledged, that then he should take into his hands againe such possessions and things, which during the time of his young yeeres he had bestowed vpon his seruants, without any good aduised consideration, for lacke of ripe iudgement and discretion, and againe to take from certeine couetous persons, who now were become horseleeches and caterpillers in the commonwealth, all such offices as they held, and had verie much abused, causing them to yeald vp their accounts, and to vse them after the manner of sponges, so that where he had in times past made them full of moisture, he might now wring them drie, following herein the example of Vespasian. And by this means it was not to be douted but he should haue inough of his owne, without doing iniurie to any man.

The bishop of Winchesters counsell giuen to the king.

The king followeth the bishop of winchesters counsell.

The king gaue verie good eare to the bishops words, and following his counsell, caused his receiuers, treasurers, and other such as had medled with anie of his receipts to come to a reckoning. And vnderstanding by the auditors appointed to take their accounts, that the most part of them had receiued much more and by other means than they had entered into their reckoning, he compelled them to restore it out of hand with interest. Also he caused the magistrats to be called to a reckoning, and manie of them being conuicted of fraud, were condemned to make restitution. And among other Ranulfe Brton treasurer of his chamber was put beside his office, and fined at a thousand marks, in whose place was set Peter de Riuales, or after some copies de Drniales, a Poictouin, nephue or rather sonne to the bishop of Winchester, by whose aduice the king toke a more strait account of his officers, and often remoued such as he iudged guiltie.

Matth. Paris. Ranulfe Brton, Peter de Riuales.

The earle of Kent discharged of his office of chiefe iustice. Matth. Paris.

At the same time also, Hubert earle of Kent was deposed from the office of high iustice, and Stephan Segraue appointed in his roome. The said Hubert (bicause he refused to answer a certeine dutie which was demanded of him to the kings vse) ran so farre into his displeasure, that he durst not abide his sight, but for safegard of himselfe got him to the abbeie of Merton, and there toke sanctuarie. The king hearing of this, his demeanor, was so highlie offended withall, that he sent to the Londoners, willing them to go thither and fetch him to his presence. The Londoners, which in no wise loued him, bicause of the death of their citizen Constantine, were verie readie to accomplish this commandement, insomuch that where the maior ouernight late declared to them the effect of the kings commission, there were twentie thousand of them in armor gotten forward earlie in the morning towards Merton, in full hope now to be reuenged of him, for the small good-will that he had borne vnto their citie heretofore.

The earle of Kent taketh sanctuarie.

The citizens of London their good deuotion towards the earle of Kent.

But the king being informed by the earle of Chester and others, that if the Londoners being thus in armor, and in so great a number, should commit any other outrage by the way, the matter might grow to some such inconuenience as would not easilie be staied, he sent to them a countermand to returne backe to the citie againe, which they did, though sorie in their hearts that they might not go through with their desired enterprise. Furthermore (see héere the mutabilitie of fortune and hir inconstancie, whereof complaint hath béene made by our forefathers time out of mind, saieng,

Passibus ambiguis fortuna volubilis errat,
Et manet in nullo certa tenáxq; loco;
Sed modò læta manet, vultus modò sumit acerbos,
Et tantùm constans in leuitate sua est.) *Ouid. lib. 2. de trist. 5.*

now that the erle of Kent was thus out of the kings fauour, there were few or none of those whome he had before bæne beneficiall vnto, that shewed themselues as frends and louers vnto him, but all forsoke & were readie to saie the worst of him, the archbishop of Dubline excepted, who yet obteined of the king respit for him to make answere vnto such things as should lawfullie be obiected against him, both for the debt which should be due to the king, and also vpon points of treason, which were now laid to his charge. ¶ Wherin we may see what hath béene the course of the world in former ages touching frends, who in the spring of a mans felicitie like swallowes will flie about him; but when the winter of aduersitie nipeth, like snailes they kæpe within their shels; thereunto the poet verie well alluding, saith, *Hor. lib. car. 1. od. 35.*

——diffugiunt cadis
Cum fœce siccatis amici,
Ferre iugum pariter dolosi.

After this, as the said Hubert would haue gone to S. Edmundsburie in Suffolke, where his wife as then remained, he was apprehended at Burntwood in Esser, within a chappell there (as saith Fabian.) But (as Matthew Paris saith) sir Robert de Cranecombe, with three hundred armed men was sent to apprehend him by the kings commandement, and so he was taken in a village belonging to the bishop of Norwich in Esser, and by the kings commandement cast into prison, but yet afterwards he was reconciled to the kings fauor, when he had lien foure moneths in prison, and thirteene moneths banished the court. Matth. Paris.

A subsidie granted in a parlement holden at Lambeth. Anno Reg. 17.

In this yeare, on the exaltation of the crosse, at Lambeth, in the assemblie of the states there, a subsidie was granted to the K. of the fortith part of euerie mans goods towards the discharge of his debts which he owght to the earle of Britaine. Also in the beginning of the seauentéenth yeere of his reigne, Ranulfe earle of Chester and Lincolne departed this life the six and twentith day of October, whose bodie was buried at Chester, and his bowels at Wallingford where he died. This earle Ranulfe was thrice married, first to Constance daughter and heire to Conan earle of Britaine and Richmund, and so in right of hir was intituled earle of those two places: which Constance had bæne first married vnto Geffrey the third sonne of king Henrie the second, by whom she had issue Arthur (as before yée haue heard.) But by earle Ranulfe she had no issue at all, but was from him diuorced, and afterwards married vnto Guy vicount de Towars. Then after earle Ranulfe was so diuorsed from the said Constance, he married a ladie named Clemence, and after hir decease, he married the third time the ladie Margaret, daughter to Humfrey de Bohun earle of Hereford and Esser, constable of England.

Matth. Paris. Ranulfe earle of Chester deparieth this life.

Erle Ranulfe thrice maried.

This Clemence was daughter to erle Ferrers.

Howbeit he neuer had issue by any of those his wiues, so that John Scot his nephue by his sister Mawd succéeded him in the earldome of Chester, and William Albenie earle of Arundell, nephue to him by his sister Mabell, had the manour of Barrow, and other lands that belonged to the said Ranulfe, of the yerelie value of fiue hundred pounds. Robert Quincie, he that married his sister Hauise, had the earledome of Lincolne, and so of a baron became an earle who had issue by his wife, Margerie countesse of Lincolne, that was maried to Edmund Lacie earle of

The partition of his lands.

of Lincolne. William earle Ferrers and of Darbie, that had married Agnes, sister to the said Ranulfe, had the castell and manour of Chartley, togither with other lands for his pourpart.

Here is also to be remembred, that the afore mentioned earle Ranulfe (or Randulfe whether ye list to call him) atchiued manie high enterprises in his time, as partlie in this booke ye haue alreadie heard: he held sore warres against the Welshmen, till at length an agréement was concluded betwixt him and Leolin prince of Wales. I remember I haue read in an old record, that vpon a time as this earle passed into Wales with an armie, his chance was to be ouerset by the Welshmen, so that he was driuen to retire into a castell, wherein the Welshmen did besiege him. And as it fortuned at that time, Roger Lacie the constable of Chester was not then with him, but left behind at Chester to sée the citie kept in order (for as it should séeme, their solemne plaies which commonlie are vsed at Whitsuntide were then in hand, or else their faire which is kept at Midsummer.)

This Roger Lacie is surnamed Helle.

Wherefore the earle sent a messenger in all possible hast vnto his constable, praieng him with spéed to come to his succour in that extreame point of necessitie. Lacie made no delaie, but assembling all the forreners, plaiers, musicians, and others which he could find within that citie fit to weare armor, went forth with them, and in most spædie maner marched toward the castell, where the Welshmen kept the earle besieged, who now perceiuing such a multitude of men comming towards them, incontinentlie left the siege and fled awaie. The earle then being thus deliuered out of that present danger, came forth of the castell, returned with his constable vnto Chester, and in recompense of that seruice, gaue vnto his said constable Roger Lacie, the rule, order, and authoritie ouer all the forreners, plaiers, musicians, and other strangers resorting to Chester at the time, when such publike plaies (or else faire) should be kept & holden.

John Lacie the sonne of the said Roger married Alice the daughter of Gilbert de Aquila, and after hir decease, he married the ladie Margaret, the daughter of Robert Quincie earle of Lincolne, of whom he begat Edmund Lacie constable of Chester, which Edmund after the decease of his father, married Alice the daughter of the marquesse of Saluces in Italie, which ladie was surnamed the quéene, of whom he begat Henrie Lacie earle of Lincolne, which Henrie married the ladie Margaret, daughter to William Long espe earle of Salisburie, by whom he had two sons, Edmund and John, and two daughters, Alice and Joan, which Alice Thomas earle of Lancaster married, who claimed and had the same rights and priuiledges which ancientlie belonged to the said Roger Lacie, and other the constables of Chester, concerning the fines of forreners and others. ¶ This haue I the more willingly declared, that it may appeare in what estimation and credit the Lacies constables Chester by inheritance liued in their time, of whose high valiancie, and likewise of other of that familie, highlie commended for their noble chiualrie in martiall enterprises ye may read in sundrie histories at large.

But now to returne and speake of other doings, which chanced about the time in which the said Ranulfe earle of Chester departed this life. The king in the meane while seized into his hands a great portion of the treasure which Hubert de Burgh earle of Kent had committed to the kéeping of the templers. But whereas there were that trauelled to haue had him put to death, the king in respect of the seruice which he had done to him and to his predecessors king Richard and king John, granted him life, with those lands which he had either by purchase, or by gift of king John, but neuertheles he caused him to be kept in free prison at the castell of the Vées, vnder the custodie of foure knights belonging to the earles of Cornewall, Warren, Penbroke, and Ferrers, which foure earles were become sureties for him.

The earle of Kent kept in prison within the castell of Vées.

This yeare also about the same time, to wit, the morow after S. Martins daie, chanced great thunder and lightning, which continued for the space of 15 daies togither, to the great terrour and feare of the people, and namelie of the Londoners, which haue that kind of weather so familiar to them, that if there be anie abroad in the land, they haue their part thereof. Moreouer on the 23 of March, was heard an other great and terrible tempest of thunder, and after followed a maruellous wet summer with manie flouds. Also on the 8 daie of Aprill, in the parts about Hereford and Worcester, there appeared foure sunnes in the element, beside the naturall sunne, of red colour, and a great circle of christaline colour, the which compassed with his largenesse as it had béene the whole circuit almost of the whole realme of England, from the sides whereof went forth certeine halfe circles, in whose sections appeared the said foure sunnes. The naturall sunne was at the same time in the east part of the firmament, for it was about the first houre of the daie, or betwixt six and seuen in the morning, the aire being the same time verie bright and cleare. The bishop of Hereford, and sir John Mounmouth knight, and manie others beheld this wonderfull sight, and testified the same to be most true. And after this there followed the same yeare in those parts cruell warre, slaughter, terrible bloudshed, & a generall trouble through England, Wales, and Ireland. About the same time, to wit, in June, in the south parts of England nére to the sea coast, two huge dragons appeared fighting in the aire, and after a long fight the one ouercame the other, and followed him, flieing into the depth of the sea, & so they were séene no more.

Matth. Paris. A great thunder.

1 2 3 3

A wet summer.

Foure sunnes beside the accustomed sun. Matth. Paris.

Matth. Paris. A strange wonder.

Moreouer in this yeare great variance and strife rose betwixt the king and his barons, for the king tooke great displeasure against all other his officers, & so much the more mistrusted them, for that he found himselfe deceiued in the earle of Kent, to whom he had committed a further credit than to anie other, and had made him high iustice of England, onelie for the good will that he alwaies bare to him. Therefore perceiuing this, he was doubtfull whom he should trust, discharging the most part of those Englishmen that bare any office about him, and in their romes placed strangers, as Poictouins and Britains, of the which there came ouer vnto him manie knights and other, to the number of 2000, which he placed in garrisons within castels of diuerse places of the land, and committed the order of all things for the most part to the bishop of Winchester, and to his nephue or sonne Peter de Riuales.

Polydor. The king beginneth to fauour strangers. The bishop of Winchester.

Herwith he offended so much the minds of his Nobles, that Richard Marshall erle of Penbroke (chiefe of that familie, & boldest to speake, now that Ranulfe of Chester was gone) as well in his owne name, as in the names of other, tooke vpon him openlie to reprooue the kings doings herein, as pernicious and dangerous to the state of the realme. Hereunto the bishop of Winchester (whose counsell as it séemed he followed) made answer, that the king had done nothing in that behalfe vnaduisedlie, but vpon good and déepe consideration: for sith he might perceiue how the English nobilitie had first pursued his father with malicious hatred & open war, and now that he found diuerse of them whom he had brought vp and aduanced to high honours, vnfaithfull in the administration of their offices, he did not without iust cause re-

The earle of Penbroke. Strangers alwaies odious to ỹ home borne.

ceiue

ceiue into his fauour strangers, and preferre them before those of his owne nation, which were not so faithfull in his seruice and obedience as they.

This answer of the bishop so pricked and wounded the minds of the English Nobilitie, that manie of them (amongst whome the said earle of Penbroke was the chéefe) began an open rebellion, some of them resorting to one place, and some to an other, to gather people for their purpose. The names of such barons as stirred vpon this occasion were these; Richard Marshall earle of Penbroke afore named, Gilbert Basset and his brethren, men of great honor and right hardie capteins: also Richard Sward a warlike personage, trained vp in feats of armes from his youth, with Walter Clifford a worthie knight, and manie others. The king hauing knowledge of their doings proclaimed them all traitors, confiscated their goods, and sent for a great power of men out of Flanders to serue him in his warres.

The lords withdrew into Wales. Matth. Paris. Polydor.

The king proclaimed them traitors.

Strangers sent for.

Whilest king Henrie thus prouided himselfe of an armie, the lords with their capteine Richard Marshall ioined themselues to Leolin prince of Wales, & doubting the comming of the king, spoiled all the marshes nert adioining to England, leauing no vittels nor cattell any where about in those parts wherby the kings armie might haue relefe, and further made all things readie for their owne defense so well as they could deuise. The earle of Kent about the same time, by helpe of two yeomen that attended vpon him, escaped out of the castell of Uães, and toke sanctuarie in the next church: but when those that had the charge of him and the castell in keeping, missed him, and heard where he was, they fetcht both him, and the two yeomen that holpe him to make the escape out of the church, and bringing them backe to the castell, imprisoned the earle.

Matth. Paris. The earle of Kent escapeth and taketh sanctuarie.

He is fetcht out.

And though the bishop of Salisburie came thither and threatened to accurse them, if they would not deliuer the earle, and restore him to sanctuarie againe: they made answer, that they had rather the earle should hang for himselfe, than they for him. And so bicause they would not deliuer him, the bishop did excommunicate them, and after riding to the court, and taking with him the bishop of London, and other bishops, preuailed so much by complaint exhibited to the K. that the earle was restored to the church againe the eightéenth day of October: but so, as the shiriffe of the shire had commandement to compasse the church about with men, to watch that no relefe came vnto him, whereby he might be constreined through famishing to submit himselfe. Notwithstanding, shortlie after there came a power of armed men, and fetcht the said earle from thence (setting him on horsebacke in faire complet armour) and so conueied him into Wales, where he ioined with other of the kings enimies, the thirtith day of October.

He is restored to sanctuarie.

Anno Reg. 18. The earle of Kent rescued and conueied into wales.

Within a few daies after came the king with his armie, and entring into Wales, for want of vittels was constreined to retire backe to the marshes, betwixt Worcestershire & Salopshire, where staieng certeine daies togither in those parts, his souldiers straied abroad in the countrie vnaduisedlie, and keeping no watch nor ward about their campe, were surprised in the night by their enimies, and slaine on euerie side. The slaughter had béene greater, but that the residue which laie in campe, brake forth about midnight, and in a plumpe togither fled into a castell which was nére at hand, called Grossemound, in the which the king himselfe was lodged. There were slaine aboue fiue hundred men, and all the trusse and baggage of the campe lost. Yet Matthew Paris saith there were but two knights slaine, which cast awaie themselues by their owne wilfulnesse, that would

Polydor. The king entreth into Wales with an armie.

needs stand to it and make resistance, where the residue being spoiled of all that they had with them, got awaie by flight, as the bishops of Winchester and Chichester, the lord chéefe iustice Stephan Segraue, Peter de Riuales treasurer, Hugh Bigot earle of Norfolke, William earle of Salisburie, William lord Beauchampe, and William Dalbenie the yonger, who were witnesses of this losse amongst the residue.

Hereof it came to passe, that manie of the kings armie (speciallie those which had lost their horsses, armour, monie, and other furniture, with their vittels) returned into their countrie, to their great confusion. For the Welshmen and other outlawes, hauing spoiled the campe, returned with the cariages and sumpters which they had taken, into places of safe refuge. The king hauing receiued this losse, and oftentimes tried fortune nothing fauourable vnto him in those parts, by reason of the streits and disaduantage of the places, thought good to reserue the reuenge of his receiued iniuries vntill a more conuenient time, and therevpon returned to Glocester, and furnished diuers castels and fortresses in the borders of Wales, with garrisons of souldiers, namelie Poictouins, and other strangers to defend the same against William Marshall, and the other his complices, who vpon occasions dailie sought to suppresse and distresse the said strangers.

Polydor.

The king returneth out of wales.

And beside other encounters, in the which manie of those Poictouins and other strangers were slaine and oppressed by the said William Marshall and his adherents, it chanced that vpon saint Katherins day, the said William Marshall comming nére to the castell of Monmouth to viewe the same, was in danger to haue remained prisoner in the enimies hands, through an issue made by sir Baldwine de Guines, capiteine of that castell, with his Poictouins and Flemings. But by such rescue as came to his aid, he was deliuered out of their hands, and the Poictouins and other of the garrison discomfited. At this skirmish sir Baldwine himselfe being sore wounded, was borne out of the field into the castell, losing fiftéene knights of his part, and a great sort of other which were taken prisoners, besides no small number that were slaine in the place.

The earle of Penbroke in danger.

He is rescued.

The Poictouins discomfited.

The same yeare chanced a great dearth, by reason that the growth of all things was much hindered with the extreame cold weather. Also there happened about the beginning of November great thunder and lightning, and therewith followed an earthquake to the great feare of the inhabitants of the towne of Huntington and other places thereabouts. After this, came a great dearth amongst the people, being commonlie a nære companion to great famine and dearth.

Dearth.

Tempests.

An earthquake.

A death.

Richard Marshall erle of Penbroke in this meane time ceassed not to waste the marshes of England nert adioining to Wales, and dailie diuerse of the English Nobilitie repaired to him, so that the king was sore troubled in his mind. It chanced at the same time, that one John of Monmouth a right valiant capteine, who led the kings armie, received a great ouerthrow at the hands of Richard Marshall. For whereas the foresaid John, hauing assembled a mightie host, made great hast towards his enimies, in hope to haue come vpon them at vnwares, and therefore marching by night, that he might be readie to assaile them somewhat afore the breake of the day, which in the summer season is the most silent time of all the night, it chanced farre otherwise than he looked it should haue done. For the earle of Penbroke, hauing knowledge by his spies of his aduersaries intent, laie himselfe with his people within a wood in ambush by the way, where the said John should passe,

and

and setting vpon him as he approched, put his people in such feare by the sudden incounter, that they knew not what capteine or ensigne they might follow, and so immediatlie fell to running awaie. The slaughter was great on euerie side, both of Poictouins and others. Diuerse of them fleeing also into the next woods, were receiued by such as were laid there to cut them off, and so slaine or taken out of hand. Howbeit their chiefe capteine the forenamed John of Monmouth escaped, with a few other in his companie. This ouerthrow chanced the morrow after Christmasse daie.

Matth. Paris.

John Monmouth receiueth an ouerthrow.

1234

Polydor.

The next daie Richard Marshall hauing thus got the victorie, destroied certeine houses and lordships there in the marshes which belonged to the said John of Monmouth. About the same time also, Richard Sward with other outlawes destroied the possessions belonging to the earle of Cornewall beside Wrehull, and burned a place there called Segraue, where Stephan de Segraue the lord chiefe iustice was borne, and likewise a village belonging to the bishop of Wincheſter, not farre from Segraue aforesaid. This was the maner of those outlawes, that they hurt no person, but onelie those councellers about the king by whom they were exiled, and therefore bearing stomach against them, they did not onlie excogitate but also execute this reuenge; which till they had obteined, they were no lesse ill apaid, than well pleased when the same was past, for

Matth. Paris.

——minuit vindicta dolorem.

Immediatlie within the octaues of the Epiphanie, the earle Marshall and Leolin prince of Wales wasted and robbed all the marshes betwixt Wales and Shrewsburie, a part of which towne they also burnt. King Henrie being hereof certified as yet soiourning at Glocester, was sore troubled in his mind, and calling togither his councell, asked aduise what waie he might best take to redresse such iniuries. After sundrie opinions amongst them declared, they agreed all in one sentence, that it should be most expedient to appease the minds of the rebels with gentle offers, to grant them pardon of their offenses, wiselie to winne them to tractableneſſe, and not roughlie afflicting them to exasperat their fiersenesse, sith,

A part of the towne of Shrewsburie burnt.

Polydor.

——sæpe acri potior prudentia dextra.

Also to banish from his court diuerse that bare great rule, and namelie Peter the bishop of Wincheſter, and his sonne or nephue Peter de Riuales, by the counsell of which two persons all things had bene changed in the kings house. Moreouer, to put from him such strangers as bare offices, and to restore Englishmen againe to the same.

The king allowing this aduise to be good, followed it accordinglie, and first of all discharging the bishop of Wincheſter of all publike administration of things, he commanded him to repaire home to his diocesse, and to see to the gouernement thereof, as to his dutie apperteined. He also banished from his presence Peter de Riuales, Stephan Segraue, Robert Passelew, and diuerse others of his chiefe councellers, by whose means he had procured the euill will of his Nobilitie. Then receiued he againe his old seruants & officers, & finallie sent the archb. of Canturburie, the bishops of Chester & Rochester vnto the barons in Wales, to offer them peace & pardon of all iniuries past, if they wold returne to his obedience. Thus in the end there was a truce taken betwixt the king and the rebels, to begin at Candlemasse, and to indure vntill Easter next insuing, in which meane time, Richard the earle of Penbroke, hearing that Maurish Fitz Gerald, with Walter Lacie, Richard Burgh and others wasted his lands and possessions in Ireland (according to such commission as they had receiued of late from king Henrie and his councell)

Matth. Paris.

Matth. Paris.

The earle of Penbroke passeth ouer into Ireland.

passed ouer thither, and there incountering with his enimies, was sore wounded and taken prisoner, hauing entered the battell verie rashlie, and with a small companie of his people about him, onlie by the traitorous persuasion of Geffrey Maurish, who with other fled at the first brunt, and left him in maner alone, to stand to all the danger. Those that thus tooke him, brought him into his owne castell, the which the lord chiefe iustice Maurice Fitz Gerald had latelie wone. This incounter, in which Richard Marshall was thus taken, chanced on a saturdaie, being the first of Aprill; and on the 16 of the same moneth, by reason of the wound which he had receiued, he departed this life.

He is taken prisoner.

Geffrey Maurish.

The death of the earle of Penbroke.

We find also that the bishop of Wincheſter, and his sonne (or kinsman as some haue called him) Peter de Riuales had procured the king to send commission vnder his seale vnto the foresaid noble men in Ireland, that if the said Richard Marshall earle of Penbroke chanced to come thither, they should do their best to take him, and in reward of their paines, they should inioy all his lands and possessions which he held in that countrie. But after his death, and when the king had remoued those his councellers from him, he confessed he had put his seale to a writing, but that he vnderstood what were the contents thereof he vtterlie denied. Finallie, this was the end of the worthie earle of Penbroke Richard Marshall, a man worthie to be highlie renowmed for his approued valiancie. His death suerlie was greatlie bewailed of king Henrie, openlie protesting that he had lost the worthiest capteine that then liued.

After this, the lords that had remained in Wales, by safe conduct came to the king, and through the diligent trauell of the archbishop of Canturburie, he receiued them into fauour. Amongst them were these men of name, Gilbert Marshall the brother of the foresaid Richard Marshall, Hubert earle of Kent, Gilbert Basset, and Richard Sward, beside diuerse other. Vnto Gilbert Marshall he deliuered his brothers inheritance, and vpon Whitsundaie made him knight, giuing vnto him the rod of the office of Marshall of his court, according to the maner, to vse and exercise as his ancestors had done before him. And herewith the earle of Kent Gilbert Basset and Richard Sward were receiued againe into the court, and admitted to be of the kings priuie councell.

Polydor. Matth. Paris.

Gilbert Marshall earle of Penbroke.

Soone after this, Peter de Riuales, Stephan Segraue, & Robert Passelew were called to accounts, that it might appeare how the kings treasure was spent, and how they had vsed themselues with the kings seale. The two last remembred kept themselues out of the waie, and could not be found. Stephan Segraue shrowding himselfe in secret within the abbeie of Leicester, and Robert Passelew feining himselfe sicke, kept within the new temple at London. Peter de Riuales also, with his father the bishop of Wincheſter, tooke sanctuarie at Wincheſter, for they were afraid least their bodies should not be in safetie if they came abroad, because they vnderstood that their manours and grange places were spoiled and burnt by those that bare them displeasure. Howbeit at length, vnder the protection of the archbishop of Canturburie, they came to their answer, & were sore charged for their vniust dealing, traitorous practise, and great falshod vsed in time of their bearing office, and (as it appeareth by writers) they could but soorlie cleare themselues in those matters wherewith they were charged: but yet by reason of their protection they were restored to the places from whence they came, or else otherwise shifted off the matter for the time, so that we read not of anie great bodilie punishment which they should receiue as then. In the end they were pardoned & reconciled to the

Officers called to accounts.

the kings fauor, vpon paiment of such fines as were assessed vpon them.

The truce ended. Welshmen sent ouer to the aid of the earle of Britaine.

This yeare, because the truce ended betwixt the kings of England and France, king Henrie sent ouer to aid the earle of Britaine, threescore knights, and two thousand Welshmen, the which when the French king came with his armie to enter and inuade Britaine, did cut off and take his cariage laden with vittels, armor, and other prouision, ouerthrowing also no small number of the Frenchmen, and taking from them their horsses, they returned backe in safetie, without any great damage receiued. Notwithstanding this, the French king inforcing againe his power, waxed too strong for the earle of Britaine, so that he was constreined to take a truce to indure till the feast of all saints, that he might in the meane time vnderstand if the king of England would come ouer with some puissant armie to his aid or no: but because it was perceiued in the end that the said earle of Britaine sought nothing else but how to get monie out of king Henries coffers, and to doo him no pleasure for it, because he was in manner at an other agreement alreadie with the king of France, king Henrie refused to satisfie his requests at such time as he came ouer vnto him (after the taking of that truce) for more monie. Herewith also the said erle being offended, got him backe into his owne countrie, and shortlie after apparantlie submitted himselfe to the French king, which (as the report went) he had doone before in secret.

The earle of Britaine submitteth himselfe to the French king. Anno Reg. 19.

1235

Polydor. Fabian.

These things being thus brought to passe, and all troubles quieted, the king as then being at London, there was brought before him by one Tolie, a complaint exhibited against the * Iewes of Norwich, which had stolen a yong child, being not past a twelue moneths old, and secretlie kept him an whole yeare togither, to the end that he might (when Ester came) crucifie him in despite of our sauiour Iesus Christ, and the christian religion. The matter as it hapened fell out well for the lad: for within a few daies before that those cursed murtherers purposed to haue shed this innocents blood, they were accused, conuicted and punished, whereby he escaped their cruell hands.

*See the like in pag. 56. col. 2.

Matth. Paris.

About the same time, to wit the seauenth of Februarie died Hugh de Wels bishop of Lincolne, a great enimie to monks and religious men. Robert Grosted was then preferred to his roome, a man of great learning, and trained vp in scholes euen from his infancie.

The emperor Frederike marieth the king of Englands sister.

The same yeare, the emperour Frederike the second, maried the ladie Isabell the kings sister. This Isabell was a most beautifull ladie, of comelie personage, and of age about one and twentie years. She was affianced by procuracie, about the seauen and twentith of Februarie. And after Easter, the archbishop of Cullen, and the duke of Louane came ouer from the emperour, to haue the conueiance of hir vnto the emperors presence. There was such a feast holden, so sumptuous seruice, so rich furniture, and roiall banketting kept the day before hir departure from London towards the sea side, that more could not be imagined. The same feast was kept at Westminster on the first day of May, and the day following she did set forward, and by easie iournies came to Sandwich, the king bringing hir thither with three thousand horsses. Finallie, she toke the sea the eleuenth of May, the king taking leaue of hir not without teares, when they thus departed the one from the other. And so with prosperous wind and weather shee arriued at Antwerpe, and from thence passed forward, till shee came to hir husband the emperour, by whom shee was receiued with great ioy and comfort at Worms, where the marriage was consummate vpon a sundaie, being the two and twentith day of Julie, or (as Matthew Westminster saith) the seauen and twentith of May, being Whitsunday.

A great and sumptuous feast.

This yeare the bishop of London pronounced the sentence of excommunication against certeine vsurers called Caorsini. But because the same vsurers shadowed themselues vnder the pretext of the popes merchants (as they named themselues) they preuailed so much by the fauour of the court of Rome, that the said bishop being sicke and feeble, was cited peremptorilie in the parts beyond the seas, before iudges chosen forth by the same vsurers, to make answer for such high iniurie as he had here doone to the popes factors. The bishop willing by the example of Sem, rather to couer his fathers shame, than to reueale it to the whole world, did quietlie put vp the matter: and with commendable patience receiued the proffered wrong, hauing learned this lesson, that

Gaudet patientia duris,

and to pacifie the trouble, suffered their wickednesse, commending in the meane while the cause vnto his patrone S. Paule. And when he preached of the force of faith, he vttered this saieng: If an angell preach contrarie doctrine to vs in these things, let him be accursed.

Matth. Paris. Vsurers called Caorsini, of whome see more in pag. 211. col. 1.

The bishop of London his doctrine.

In the twentith yeare of king Henries reigne, in the Aduent time, the noble baron the lord Robert Fitz Water departed this life, and so likewise did a noble yong man descended of most noble parentage, one Roger de Somerie. On the fourteenth day of Januarie insuing, the king married the ladie Elianor, daughter to the earle of Prouance named Raimond. This marriage was solemnized at Canturburie, and in the octaues of S. Hilarie next insuing being sunday, shee was crowned queene of England at Westminster. At the solemnitie of this feast and coronation of the queene, all the high peeres of the realme, both spirituall and temporall, were present there to exercise their offices as to them apperteined.

Anno Reg. 20.

1236

King Henrie marrieth the ladie Elianor daughter to the earle of Prouance. Matth. Paris.

The citizens of London were there in great arraie, bearing afore hir in solemne wise, three hundred and threescore cups of gold and siluer, in token that they ought to wait vpon hir cup. The archbishop of Canturburie (according to his dutie) crowned hir, the bishop of London assisting him as his deacon. The earle of Chester bare the sword of saint Edward before the king, in token that he was earle of the palace, and had authoritie to correct the king, if he should see him to swarue from the limits of iustice, his constable of Chester attended vpon him, and remoued where the presse was thicke, with his rod or warder. The earle of Penbroke high Marshall bare the rod before the king, and made roome before him, both in the church and in the hall, placing euerie man, and ordering the seruice at the table. The wardens of the cinque ports bare a canopie ouer the king, supported with foure speares.

The earle of Chester.

The constable of Chester.

The earle of Penbroke.

The wardes of the cinque ports.

The earle of Leicester held the bason when they washed. The earle of Warren, in the place of the erle of Arundell, because he was vnder age, attended on the kings cup. M. Michaell Bellet was Butler by office. The earle of Hereford exercised the roome of high Marshall in the kings house. The lord William de Beauchampe was almoner. The chiefe iustice of the forrests on the right hand of the king remoued the dishes on the table, though at the first he was staied by some allegation made to the contrarie. The citizens of London serued out wine to euerie one in great plentie. The citizens of Winchester had ouersight of the kitchin and larderie. And so euerie person (according to his dutie) exercised his roome: and because no trouble should arise, manie things were suffered, which vpon further aduise taken therin were reformed. The chancellor and all other ordinarie officers

The earle of Leicester.

Erle Warren.

The earle of Hereford.

Lord William Beauchampe

The citizens of London.

The citizens of Winchester.

ficers kept their place. The feast was plentifull, so that nothing wanted that could be wished. Moreouer, in Tuthill field roiall iusts were holden by the space of eight daies togither. And sone after the king called a parlement at London, where manie things were enacted for the good gouernment of the realme, and therewith the king demanded a subsidie.

A parlement at London. Polydor.

¶ About the same time wonderfull strange sights were séene. In the northparts of England, not farre from the abbie of Koch or Kupie, there appeared comming forth of the earth companies of armed men on horssebacke, with speare, shield, sword, and baners displaied, in sundrie formes and shapes, riding in order of battell, and incountering togither: and this sight was séene sundrie daies ech after other. Sometime they séemed to ioine as it had béene in battell, and fought sore; and sometime they appeared to iust and breake staues, as it had béene at some triumphant iusts of tornie. The people of the countrie beheld them a farre off, with great wonder: for the thing shewed so liuelie, that now and then they might see them come with their emptie horsses sore wounded and hurt: and then men likewise mangled and bléeding, that pitie it was to see them. And that which séemed more strange and to be most maruelled at, the prints of their fét appeared in the ground, and the grasse troden downe in places where they had béene séene. The like sight was also séene more apparentlie in Ireland, and in the parts thereabout.

Strange sights. Matth. Paris.

Immediatlie followed, or rather préceded passing great tempests of raine, which filled the earth full of water, and caused monstrous flouds: for this raine continued all the space of the moneths of Januarie, Februarie, and a great part of March; and for eight daies it rained (as some write) in maner without ceassing: and vpon the tenth of Februarie, immediatlie after the change of the mone, the Thames rose with such an high tide, that boats might haue bene rowed vp and downe in Westminster hall. In the winter before, on the twentith of December, there chanced a great thunder, and on the first fridaie in December, which was the fift of that moneth, there was a counterfet sunne séene beside the true sunne. Moreouer, as in the spring préceding there happened sore and exceeding great raines, so in the summer following there chanced a great drouth, continuing by the space of foure moneths or more.

Great raine. Matth. Paris.

Matth. West.

A great thunder.

A drie summer.

This yeare was a parlement holden at Merton, a towne in Surrie, distant from London 7 miles, where was an abbete of regular canons founded by one Gilbert a lord of Normandie, that came into the realme with William conquerour. At this parlement, diuerse good & profitable lawes were made and established, which yet remaine in vse, bearing the name of the place where they were first ordeined.

Gilbert Norman founder of Merton abbeie.

Anno Reg. 21.

¶ In the beginning of the 21 yeare of king Henries reigne, on the morrow after the feast of S. Martine, and certeine daies after, the sea burst out with such high tides and tempests of wind, that the marrish countries néere to the same were drowned vp and ouerflowen: and beside great heards and flocks of cattell that perished, there was no small number of men lost and drowned. The sea rose continuallie in flowing the space of two daies and one night, without ebbing, by reason of the mightie violence of contrarie winds. At Wisbech also, and in villages thereabouts, the people were drowned in great numbers, so that in one village there were buried an hundred corpses in one daie. Also the daie before Christmasse éeue, there chanced a great wind, with thunder and raine, in such extreame wise, that manie buildings were shaken and ouerthrowen.

High tides. Matth. Paris.

Wisbech people perishing by rage of waters.

In a parlement holden at Westminster about the octaues of the Epiphanie, the king required a subsidie of his subiects, which request was not verie well taken, but yet at length, vpon promise that he would be good lord vnto them, and not séeke to infringe and disanull the grants which he had made by pretense of want of the popes confirmation (as it was thought he meant to do) they agréed to giue him the thirtith part of all moueable goods, as well of the spiritualtie as the temporaltie, reseruing yet to euerie man his readie coine, with horsse and armour, to be imploied for the profit of the common-wealth. In consideration of which grant, the king being of perfect age, and in his owne rule and full gouernance, of his frée and méere good will, at the request, and by counsell of the lords of his realme, confirmed the liberties and customes conteined in the two charters, the one called Magna charta, and the other Charta de foresta, with this addition following added in the end.

A subsidie.

1237

The confirmation of the charters, *vnder the kings acknowledgement and* subscription of witnesses.

NVnc autem concessimus, & hac præsenti charta confirmauimus omnibus prædictis de regno nostro, omnes libertates & liberas consuetudines contentas in chartis nostris, quas eis fidelibus nostris fieri fecimus cùm in minori essemus ætate, scilicet in Magna charta nostra, quàm in charta de Foresta. Et volumus pro nobis, & hæredibus nostris, quòd præfati fideles nostri, & successores, & hæredes eorum habeant, & teneant in perpetuum omnes libertates & liberas consuetudines prædictas, non obstante quòd prædicta charta confecta fuerint cùm minoris essemus ætatis, vt prædictum est, hijs testibus, Edmundo Cant. archiepiscopo, & omnibus alijs in Magna charta nominatis. Dat. per manum venerabilis patris Cicestrien sis episcopi, cancellarij nostri 28 die Ianuarij, Anno Regni nostri 21.

Besides the confirmation of these charters, the king further to win the fauour of his people, was contented to remoue and sequester from him diuerse of his councellours that were thought not to be well minded towards the aduancement of the common-wealth, and in their places to admit the earle of Waren, William de Ferrers, and John Fitz Geffrey, who were sworne to giue to the king faithfull counsell, and in no wise to go out of the right waie for any respect that might otherwise moue them. ¶ About the first daie of March, there began sore raine and tempestuous weather, whereof insued great flouds, as before in the beginning of the yeare passed, had chanced, though not doing so much hurt as before.

Matth. Paris.

John Scot also earle of Chester and Huntington died at Deren hall the seuenth daie of June, without issue, and was buried at Chester. He was poisoned by the diuelish practise of his wife daughter to Leolin prince of Wales (as Matt. Paris saith.) He had foure sisters, of whom the first named Margaret was married to Allen of Gallowaie, by whom she had issue a daughter named Denorgoill; which Denorgoill was married to John Balioll, by whom she had issue John Balioll that was afterward king of Scotland. The second named Isabell, was married to Robert le Bruis. The third named Mawd, died without issue. And the fourth called Alda, was married to Henrie Hastings. But bicause the land perteining to the earledome of Chester, should not go amongst rocks and diskaues, hauing such roiall prero-

John Scot earle of Chester departed this life.

Ran. Higd.

His sisters.

gatiues

gatiues belonging thereto, the king setzed them into his owne hands, and in recompense assigned other lands to the forsaid sisters, as it had bæne by way of exchange.

Now sith the earles of Chester (I meane those of the line of Hugh Lupus) toke end in this John Scot; I haue thought it not impertinent for the honor of so noble a linage, to set downe the descent of the same earles, beginning at the foresaid Hugh the first that gouerned after the conquest, as I haue sæn the same collected out of ancient records, according to their true succession in seauen descents one after another, as here followeth.

The true genealogie of the famous *and most honourable earles of* Chester.

HUgh Lou or Lupus, first earle of Chester after the conquest, nephue to William Conquerour by his sister Margaret, wife to Richard Vicount of Auranches, married a noble ladie named Armetruda, by whom he had issue Richard that succæded him in the earledome, Robert abbat of saint Edmundsburie, and Otuell. He departed this life about the yære of our Lord 1102, when he had bæne earle about 40 yæres.

2 Richard Lupus eldest son to Hugh Lupus, and second earle of Chester, married Maud the daughter of Stephan erle of Blois, Charters and Champaigne, and sister to K. Stephan. This Richard with his brother Otuell was drowned in the seas, in the yære of our Lord 1120, as before hath bæne shewed, after he had bæne earle about nintæne yeares.

3 Ranulfe or Randulfe the first of that name called Bohun, and otherwise Westheins, the sonne of John de Bohun, and of Margaret, sister to Hugh Lupus, succæded Richard, as cousin and heire to him in the earldome of Chester, and was the third earle in number after the conquest. He married Maud the daughter of Auberie de Vere earle of Gisney and Orenford, by whome he had issue Ranulfe surnamed Geruous the fourth earle of Chester. He died about the yere of our Lord 1130, after he had continued earle eight yeares.

4 Ranulfe or Randulfe Bohun, the second of that name, and fourth erle in number after the conquest, surnamed Geruous, succæded his father, and married Alice, daughter to Robert erle of Glocester, base sonne to king Henrie the first by whome he had issue Hugh Kevelocke, the fift earle of Chester. He deceassed about the yeare of our Lord 1153, when he had bæne earle 29 yeares.

5 Hugh Bohun otherwise Kevelocke, the sonne of the said Ranulfe, was the first earle of Chester after the conquest, and second of that name. He married Beatrice, daughter to Richard Lucie lord cheefe iustice of England, by whom he had issue Ranulfe the third of that name, and foure daughters, Mawd married to Dauid that was earle of Angus and Huntingtou and lord of Galloway, Mabell maried to William Dalbegnie earle of Arundell, Agnes maried to William Ferrers earle of Derbie, and Hauisa ioined in marriage with Robert Quincie, a baron of great honour. This Hugh died about the yeare 1181, when he had bæne earle eight and twentie yeares.

6 Ranulfe Bohun the third of that name, otherwise called Blundeuille, the sonne of Hugh Keuelocke, was the sixt earle of Chester after the conquest. He was also earle of Lincolne, as next cousine and heire to William Romare earle of Lincolne. He had three wiues (as before yee haue heard) but yet died without issue, about the yeare of our Lord 1232, after he had bæne earle 51 yeares.

7 John Scot, the sonne of Dauid earle of Angus & Huntington, was in the right of his mother the seuenth earle of Chester after the conquest. He died without issue (as before yee haue heard) by reason whereof, the erldome came into the kings hands in the yeare 1237. Thus much may suffice (with that which is said before) touching the descent of the earles of Chester. And now to proceed.

The same yeare that John Scot died, cardinall Otho (by some writers named Othobon) about the feast of S. Peter and Paule came into England from pope Gregorie. He was receiued with all honour and solemne reuerence as was decent, yea and more than was decent, the king mæting him at the sea side. His comming was not signified afore to the nobles of the realme, which caused them to mislike the matter, and to grudge against the king, seeing that he did all things contrarie to order, breaking law, faith, and promise in all things. He hath coupled himselfe (said they) in mariage with a stranger, without consent of his frends and naturall subiects, and now he bringeth in a legat secretlie, who will take vpon him to make an alteration in the whole state of the realme. Cardinall Otho or Othobon.

The lords grudge at the king for receiuing the cardinall without their knowledge.

But this legat shewed himselfe a verie sober and discreet person, not so couetous as his predecessors, in so much that he refused diuerse gifts which were offered vnto him, though some he receiued, and indeed commanded the other to be reserued for him. He also distributed liberallie the vacant rents vnto such as he brought with him, as well persons worthie as vnworthie, and pacified such controuersies as were sprong betwixt the nobles and peeres of the realme, so that he made them frends. ¶ An act memorable & to be kept in record, that the instrument and seruant of so bad a maister as he serued, namelie the pope, should be the procurer of so good a worke: considering that from the see of Rome full tides and violent streames of seditions haue flowed, and verie seldome any occasion or means made to plant peace among men, which is the daughter of loue, and the worthiest thing that is, as one saith verie well in these words:

Gignit amor pacem, pax est dignissima rerum.

The legat praised for his sober behauiour.

The bishop of Winchester, the earle of Kent, Gilbert Basset, Stephen Stiward & others were by him accorded, who had borne secret grudge ech to other a long time, which hatred was at point to haue broken forth, and shewed it selfe in perilous wise at a tornie holden at Blie in the beginning of Lent, where the Southernmen stroue against the Northerne men, and in the end the Southerne men preuailed, and

A tournie at Blie.

toke diuerse of their aduersaries, so that it seemed not to be a triumphant iustes, but rather a sharpe challenge and incounter betwixt enimies. But amongst all others, earle Bigot bare himselfe verie stoutlie.

Earle Bigot.

Anno Reg. 22. The legat holdeth a synod at London.

After that the legat had thus agréed the noblemen, he assembled a synod at London, the morrow after the octanes of S. Martin, wherein manie ordinances were newlie constituted for the state of the cleargie, but not altogither verie acceptable to diuerse yong préests and scholers (as some write) in somuch that the legat afterwards comming to Oxford, and lodging in the abbie of Osnie, it chanced as certeine scholers préssed to the gates thinking to come in and do their dutie (as they toke the matter) vnto the legat, the porter kept them backe, and gaue them ouerthwart words, whereupon they rushed in vpon him, & so began a fraie betwixt them and the legats men, who would haue beaten them backe.

1238 The legat commeth to Oxford.

A fraie betwixt the legats men, and the scholers of Oxford.

It fortuned in this hurlie burlie, that a poore Irish scholer being got in nére to the kitchin dresser, besought the cooke for Gods sake to giue him some releefe: but the cooke (as manie of that calling are cholerike fellowes) in a great furie toke vp a ladle full of hot broath out of a kettell wherein flesh had béene sodden, and threw it right vpon the Irishmans face, which thing when another Welsh scholer that stood by beheld, he cried out; What meane we to suffer this villanie, and therewithall toke an arrow, and set it in his bow, which he had caught vp in his hand at the beginning of the fraie, and drawing it vp to the head let flie at the cooke, and so slue him there outright.

A cookes almes.

The legats cooke slaine.

Herevpon againe noise and tumult rose round about the house, the legat for feare got him into the belfraie of the abbeie, where he kept himselfe close till the darke of the night had fraied the vprore, and then stale forth, and taking his horsse escaped as secretlie as he could ouer the Thames, and rode with all spéed to the court, which laie not far off at Abington, and there made his complaint to the king, in such lamentable wise, that he forthwith sent the earle Waren with a power of armed men, to fetch awaie the residue of the legats seruants which remained behind in the abbeie, and to apprehend the chiefe offendors.

The legat complaineth to the king.

The earle Waren sent to apprehend the offendors.

The earle comming thither, toke thirtie scholers, with one master Odo a lawier, and brought them to Wallingford castell, and there committed them to prison. The legat also in reuenge of the iniurie in this wise to him done, pronounced the curse against the misdoers, and handled the matter in such wise, that the regents and masters of the Vniuersitie were at length constreined to come vnto London, & there to go bare-foted through Cheapside, vnto the church of S. Paule, in such wise to aske him forgiuenesse, and so with much adoo they obteined absolution. This legat among other things demanded some after the tenth part of all spirituall mens yearelie reuenues, towards the maintenance of the wars against the Saracens in Asia.

The legat curseth.

The regents of ỹ Vniuersitie absolued. Polydor.

Moreouer, the emperour of Constantinople, namelie, Baldwine sonne to Peter earle of Auserre, being expelled out of his empire, came this yeare into England, to sue for aid: but at his first arriuall at Douer, he was told, that he had not done well to come so presumptuouslie into the land of another prince, without his safe conduct. But when the said emperour séemed to be sorie for his offense, and to excuse his innocencie and sincere meaning, the king was pacified, & willed him to come to London, where at his comming thither, being the 22 date of Aprill, he was honorablie receiued, and at his departure with rich gifts highlie honored, so that he had awaie with him to the value of about seuen hundred marks as was reported. About this time also, Elianor the kings sister (that was sometime wife vnto William Marshall earle of Penbroke) was now by the kings meanes married the second time to Simon Montfort, a man of high parentage and noble prowesse.

Matth. Paris. The emperor of Constantinople cõmeth into England.

The countesse of Penbroke, sister to the king married to Simon de Montfort. Polydor.

This Simon was indowed with such vertue, good counsell, courteous discretion, and other amiable qualities, that he was highlie fauoured as was supposed, both of God and man: in somuch that he might right well, as for birth, so also for education and good demeanour be counted (as he deserued) a notable Noble man, for he was so qualified as standeth with the nature of true nobilitie, according to that of the poet,

——non census, nec clarum nomen auorum,
Sed probitas magnos ingeniumque facit.

Notwithstanding all which noble indowments concurring in him, he was banished out of France, vpon displeasure, which Blanch the quéene mother conceiued against him. But now comming into England, he was ioifullie receiued of king Henrie, who not onelie gaue vnto him (as aboue is mentioned) his sister in mariage with the earledome of Leicester in name of a dowrie, but also aduanced him vnto offices of greatest honour within the realme of England. Howbeit, this marriage was verie displeasant vnto Edmund the archbishop of Canturburie, bicause that the foresaid Elianor, after the death of hir first husband, had vowed perpetuall chastitie, and betaken hir (as was said) to the mantell and the ring.

The archbishop of Canturburie displeased with the marriage.

As the prelat was not pleased with this match, so the king was as highlie offended with the archbishop for not fauouring the cause, in somuch that the archbishop went soone after to Rome, where he not onelie complained of certeine iniuries receiued latelie at the kings hands, but also signified the estate of this marriage, to procure a diuorce. In like manner, Richard the kings brother found great fault with the king for the same matter, but chieflie, for that he stroke it vp without making him and other of the Nobles of councell therein. To be short, it was not long yer this grudge grew so far, that ciuill war was verie likelie to haue followed thereupon. But when the king saw that all the lords leaned to his brother, he sought to pacifie the matter by courteous means, and so by mediation of the legat, the king and his brother were reconciled, to the great griefe of the lords, which had brought the matter now to that point, that the king could not haue so resisted their force, but that they were in good hope to haue deliuered the realme out of bondage from all manner of strangers, as well of those Romans that were beneficed men, as of anie other.

He goeth to Rome to cõplaine of the king.

The earle of Cornewall is also offended for the same marriage. Matth. Paris.

Simon the earle of Leicester also perceiuing how the matter went, made shift another waie to get all the monie he could in prest or otherwise (in somuch that he had of one burges of Leicester, named Simon Curleuath, fiue hundred markes) and leauing his wife in the castell of Kelingworth, he secretlie departed out of the realme, and got him to Rome, to purchase a confirmation of his marriage, which he easilie obteined, notwithstanding the archbishop of Canturburies former and verie vehement information against him, and so hauing brought his purpose about, in the latter end of this yeare, he returned into England, and was ioifullie receiued, first of the king and after of his wife, whome he found at Kelingworth, nére to the time of hir trauell, and shortlie after deliuered of a yong sonne, whom they called Simon after the name of his father.

The earle of Leicester gaethereth monie.

He goeth to Rome to get a dispensation or rather confirmation of his marriage.

At the same time, Frederike the emperour going into Italie, had a great number of English souldiers with him, which king Henrie furnished for his aid, vnder

Aid sent forth of England to the emperour.

vnder the leading of a right valiant warriour, named Henrie de Trubleuille, with whome went also John Wansell, whose valiancie in that iournie well appeared, and William Hardell a citizen of London was treasurer and paimaister to the souldiers. Herewith the pope was sore offended, and wrote his mind thereof to the king, who forthwith returned an eloquent answer, requiring him to be more fauourable to the emperour, considering his cause was such as could not iustlie offend his holinesse. About the same time, or rather (as by some writers it should appeare) somwhat before, the kings sister Ioane quéene of Scotland, comming into England to sée hir brother, fell into a sickenesse, and died.

Henrie Trubleuille. John Wansel Wil. Hardell.

Moreouer, the archbishop of Canturburie returned into England, who at his comming to Rome, obteined little or nothing touching the suit which he had before the pope, for (as some haue written) the legat Otho being his heauie frend, had so stopped the popes eares from hearing any of his complaints, that all his whole trauell did come to none effect. In like manner, Peter des Roches bishop of Winchester died this yeare in his manor at Farnham, about the ninth of June, which prelat had gouerned that see about 32 yeares. He was a man of great wisedome and dexteritie in ordering of weightie affaires touching the state of temporall regiment. He builded manie godlie monasteries, as the abbeies of Hales, Tikborne and Seleborne, with the hospitall at Portesmouth. He made also a notable testament, and besides his bequests which were great, he left his bishoprike so stored and throughlie furnished, that there was not so much diminished of that which he found at his comming in value, as the cattell that serued to draw the verie ploughs.

The bishop of winchester departeth this life.

About this time, a learned esquire, or rather a clearke of the vniuersitie of Oxenford, bearing some malice toward the king, fained himselfe mad, and espieng thereby the secret places of his house at Woodstoke where he then laie, vpon a night by a window he got into the kings bedchamber, and comming to the beds side, threw off the couerings, and with a dagger strake diuers times into a pillow, supposing that the king had beene there, but as GOD would, that night the king laie in another chamber with the quéene. In the meane time, one of the quænes chambermaids named Margaret Biset, hauing espied the traitor, made an outcrie, so that the K. seruants which came to vnderstand what the matter meant, presentlie apprehended the said clearke, who being conueied to Couentrie, was there arreigned, and by lawfull proofe had of his malicious intent, was condemned, and executed as a traitor. At his death he confessed, that he was sent from William de Marisch the sonne of Geffrie de Marisch to murther the king by such manner of means, not caring what had become of himselfe so he might haue dispatched his purpose.

Matth. Paris. A naughtie wretch meant to haue destroied the K.

*Sée his end in pag. 230.

¶ These practises of treason *In summo gradu*, which cannot be committed without irrecouerable detriment to the whole estate (specially where succession is vncerteine) are of an old brewing, though they be neuer so newlie broched. And trulie, if the curssed miscreant which vndertaketh an enterprise of this qualitie, had the grace to consider how manie murthers he committeth by implication in giuing the roiall person of the prince a deadlie wound; I doubt not, if he were a man and not a ranke diuell, he would be weaned from that outragious villanie. For, in wounding and killing the prince, he is guiltie of homicide, of parricide, of christicide, nay of deicide. And therefore a thousand woes light on his hart that shall stretch out his hand, naie, that shall once conceiue in thought a murther so heinous, as both God and nature doth abhorre; specially if it be commensed against a christian prince, and such a one as to whome true and vndefiled religion is no lesse pretious and déere than life it selfe. Princes therefore had need to sée to the safegard of their persons, sithens the safetie of manie millians dependeth thereupon. For certeine it is, that the state of a poore priuat man is lesse perillous by manie degrées than the state of a potentat, which is ment by this true allegorie following.

Quatiunt altas sæpè procellæ,
Aut euertit fortuna domos;
Minùs in paruis fortuna furit,
Raros patitur fulminis ictus
Humida vallis.

Seneca in Oct. & Hippol.

In the three and twentith yeare of his reigne, king Henrie held his Christmasse at Winchester, where a great grudge arose betwixt him and Gilbert the earle of Penbroke, by reason that the said earle with his seruants (hauing tipstaues) in their comming to the court, were not suffred to enter within the gates but were kept backe by the porters and other. Of which iniurie when he had complained, the king made him such an ouerthwart answer, that the earle perceiuing him not to like verie well of his seruice, departed forthwith, and rode into the North countrie, so that from that day forth, neither he nor his brother Walter loued the king as they ought to haue done. Soone after this departure of earle Gilbert, vpon Candlemas day the king gaue the earldome of Leicester vnto Simon de Mountfort, and inuested him thereinto, hauing first pacified earle Almerike that was elder brother to the same Simon. Yet about the beginning of the next August, the king was so incensed against earle Simon, that both he and his wife were glad to get them ouer into France, till the kings wrath were more pacified.

Anno Reg. 23. 1239. Matth. Paris. Variance betwixt the king and the earle of Penbroke.

Simon earle of Leicester fled ouer into France.

Upon the sixteenth day of June, the kings eldest sonne named Edward, and after surnamed Longshanke by the Scots in mockage, because he was a tall and slender man, was borne at Westminster, who after his fathers decease, succeeded him in the kingdome. ¶ Before the birth of this Edward, there appeared earlie in the morning certeine daies togither before the sunne was vp, a star of a large compasse, the which with swift course was caried through a long circuit of the aire, sometimes shewing as it had borne fire with it, and sometimes leauing as it were smoke behind it, so that it was after iudged, that the great déeds which were to be atchiued by the same Edward, were by this wonderfull constellation foreshewed and signified.

The birth of king Edward the first.

Polydor. A strange star.

About the same time, by reason of an accusation made by a prisoner against Ranulfe Briton (sometime the kings chancellour, but now leading a priuat life, being a canon of the cathedrall church of saint Paule in London) the same Ranulfe (by commandement from the king sent to the maior of the citie William Joiner) was taken out of his house, had to the tower, and there imprisoned, whervpon the deane of Paules, maister G. Lucie, in absence of the bishop accursed all those that had presumptuoullie attempted to laie hands on the said Ranulfe, and further, he put his owne church of saint Paule vnder interdiction.

Matth. Paris.

Ranulfe Briton taken out of his house, and led to the tower.

To conclude, through threatning of excommunication to be pronounced against the king, and other for this fact by the legat and the bishops of the realme as namelie, Canturburie and London, the king was compelled to release and set at libertie the foresaid Ranulfe. Finallie, the prisoner that had accused the said Ranulfe and other, being one of the kings pursuants, when for his wicked doings he came to suffer death, openlie confessed, how he had accused those persons, onelie in hope to deferre his owne execution,

cution, being conuicted as accessarie to the treason of the clearke that suffered at Couentrie the last yeare. He had accused not onelie the said Bzlton, but diuers of the nobilitie also to be priuie and giltie of the same conspiracie. ¶ This yeare for the space of foure moneths togither, fell exceeding great raine, yet at length it began to hold vp about Easter.

Great raine.

In this while, the lords of the realme practised sundrie drifts likewise, as men that would faine haue beene rid of the legats companie: but the king did what he could on the otherside (by sending to the pope for licence) to haue him remaine still here, who began now indeed to looke to his owne profit, as by way of procuracies and other meanes, so that he got togither great summes of monie, although in the beginning he seemed to forbeare, and not to seeke for anie such gaine. Also, he tooke vpon him to bestow benefices without consent of the patrones that were temporall men, whereupon complaint was made to the pope, namelie, by one sir Robert de Twing, who claimed as patrone the presentation of the rectorie of Luthun in Yorkeshire, and could not be permitted to inioy it, by reason of the popes prohibition, but vpon the hearing of his title in the popes consistorie, he obteined letters from the pope to be restored, and also an inhibition, that from thencefoorth no person should be promoted to anie spirituall benefice or church, without consent of the patrone. The king and the peeres of the realme vnderstanding themselues to be touched in this wrong offered to this knight, had written in his fauour to the pope, so that his suit had the better successe.

The legat beginneth to looke to his owne cõmoditie.

Sir Robert de Twing.

Moreouer, the Iewes in this yeare, for a murther which they had secretlie committed, were greeuouslie punished, namelie by the purse to buy their peace, & they were glad to giue the king the third part of all their goods. The legat also assembled a synod of the clergie at London vpon the last of Julie, in the which he demanded procuracies, but the bishops vpon deliberation had in the matter, answered, that the importunatnes of the Romane church had so often consumed the goods of the English church, that they could no longer suffer it, and therefore said they; Let them giue you procuracies which vnaduisedlie haue called you into the realme, if they will, for of vs you shall be sure to come by none at all, howbeit he got his demand of the abbats and other religious men.

The Iewes punished by the purse.

A synod holden at London.

About the feast of the assumption of our ladie, Thomas earle of Flanders, vncle to the queene, arriued at Douer, and was receiued of the king with great ioy and gladnesse, who rode thitherward to meet him, and so brought him to London, where the citizens came forth also, and meeting him in the waie, brought him into the citie with all honour that might be deuised. He did homage to the king (as authors write) and at his departure had in reward fiue hundred marks, and a pension assured him of as much yearelie out of the escheker of the kings free gift. This earle Thomas was sonne to the earle of Sauoy, and a little before his comming into England, he had married Ione countesse of Flanders, which had first beene coupled in marriage with Ferdinando, as in the life of king Iohn may further appeare.

Anno Reg. 24.
1240
Matth. Paris. Matth. West.

In the 24 yeare of his reigne, king Henrie held his Christmasse at Winchester, where he made Baldwine de Riuers knight, and inuested him with the right of the earledome of the Ile of Wight, in the presence of the earle of Cornewall, who procured him this honour, because he had the wardship of him, and married him to his daughter in law the ladie Amicia, that was daughter to his wife the countesse of Glocester by hir former husband. The earle of Leicester also, meaning to go into the holie land, returned out of France, where he had remained a certeine time as an exile, but was now receiued honorablie of the king and other peeres of the realme, and after that he had seene the king and done his dutie as apperteined, he went to his possessions to make monie for his furniture necessarie to be had in that iournie, for the which he sold at that time his woods about Leicester, vnto the knights of the Hospitall, and to the canons of Leicester, receiuing of them for the same about the summe of a thousand pounds.

Baldwin de Riuers earle of the Ile of Wight.

The woods about Leicester sold.

About the same time, to wit, the 14 of Aprill, died Leolin prince of Wales, and then followed contention betwixt his sons Griffin and Dauid for the principalitie, which at length Dauid obteined through king Henries support (though he were the yonger brother) bicause he was begot in lawfull bed on the sister of king Henrie. The whole countrie of Wales was maruellouslie in trouble about their quarels. At length, a daie of meeting was appointed betwixt them, to grow by waie of talke vnto some quiet end; and Griffin meaning no deceit, came in peaceable wise with Richard bishop of Bangor and others to the place assigned, where they should haue met. But Dauid by a traine tooke Griffin, and committed him to prison, whereupon afterwards, the yeare insuing, by continuall plaint and earnest suite of the bishop of Bangor, king Henrie entred Wales with an armie, and constreined Dauid to submit himselfe, and to deliuer the said Griffin into his hands, and further also to put in sureties to appeare at London, there to receiue such order in the kings courts, as to him by law should be orderlie awarded. Griffin ap Maddocke and diuerse other great lords of Wales ioined with the king in this iournie against Dauid, as in the next yeare ye shall further heare.

Leolin prince of wales departeth this life.

Griffin ap Maddocke.

About the same time, there was great strife and contention still remaining betwixt the emperour Frederike and pope Innocent the fourth that succeeded Celestine the fourth, in somuch that fore and mortall warre followed. But king Henrie by the procurement of the legat Otho, aided the pope with monie, though he was somewhat loth to do it, bicause the said emperour had married his sister. Indeed, the emperour wrote to the king to staie his hand, but the diligence of that legat was such in furthering his masters businesse, that the monie was gone ouer yer the emperours letters came. At this time also, Edmund the archbishop of Canturburie greatlie disalowed the often exactions and subsidies which the legat caused dailie to be leuied of the English clergie. Howbeit, in hope to haue his purpose the rather against the monks of Canturburie, with whom he was at variance, he first granted to the legats request made on the popes behalfe in a synod holden at Reading, for the hauing of the fift part of spirituall mens reuenues, and so by his example others were inforced to do the like.

King Henrie aided the pope with monie against the emperour.

Furthermore he gaue eight hundred marks to the pope, but whether of his owne free will, or by constreint, I cannot saie; but now vtterlie misliking all things done by the legat contrarie to his mind, after he had done and said that he could for redresse, and when he saw no hope at hand for anie reformation either in the king or legat, who esteemed not his words, as a man not longer able to see his countrie so spoiled, he went ouer into France, and got him vnto Pontney, there to remaine in voluntarie exile, after the example of his predecessour Thomas Becket, whose doings he did follow in verie manie things. Verelie the collections of monie, which the pope in these dates by his legats gathered here in this realme, were great and sundrie, so that (as it appeareth by historiographers of this time) the cleargie and other found themselues sore grieued, and repined not a little against such couetous dealings and vnmeasurable

measurable exactions, in so much that they spake to the king of it, and said; Right famous prince, whie suffer you England to be made a prey and desolation to all the passers by, as a vineyard without an hedge, common to the waifaring man, and to be destroied of the boares of the field, sith you haue a sufficient priuilege that no such exactions should be made in this kingdome? And suerlie he is not worthie of a priuilege which abuseth the same being granted. The king answered those that went thus about to persuade him, that he neither would nor durst gainsaie the pope in any thing: and so the people were brought into miserable despaire.

Complaint to the king of the collections made for the pope.

The answer of the king.

There be that write how that there were other occasions of the archbishops departure out of the relme of the which this should be one; when he saw religion not to be regarded, and that precepts were had in no honor, neither that it laie in his power to reforme the matter, sith the king gaue no eare to his admonitions, he determined to absent himselfe till the king (warned by some mishap) should repent him of his errours, and amend his misdoings. Other some an other cause hereunto, which was this; whereas the king by the insample of other kings (begun by William Rufus) vsed to keepe bishops sees, and other such spirituall possessions in his hands, during the vacation, till a conuenient person were to the same preferred, the archbishop Edmund, for that he saw long delaies made oftentimes yer any could be admitted to the rome of those that were deceassed, or by any other means depriued, he was in hand with the king, that the archbishop of Canturburie might haue power onlie to prouide for successors in such romes as chanced to be vacant, aboue the tearme of six moneths, which thing the king for a certeine summe of monie granted: but afterward perceiuing what hinderance he susteined thereby, he reuoked that grant, so much to the displeasure of the archbishop, that he thought god no longer to continue in the realme.

The cause that moued archbishop Edmund to depart the realme.

Matth. West. Matth. Paris. Polydor.

At his comming to Pontney, he so seemed to despise all worldlie pompe and honor, giuing himselfe wholie to diuine contemplation, to fasting and prayer, that the former opinion, which men had conceiued of his vertues, was maruellouslie confirmed. At length being sore vexed with sickenesse, supposing that he might recouer helth by changing of aire and place, he caused himselfe to be conueied into an other house of religion, named Soisie, two daies iournie from Pontney, where finallie he died the sixteenth of November, and his bodie was brought againe to Pontney, and there buried, where also through sundrie miracles shewed (as they say) at his graue, he was reputed a saint, and at length canonized by pope Innocent the fourth. He was borne at Abingdon, beside Drenford, and thereby some named him saint Edmund of Abingdon, and some S. Edmund of Pontney, after the place where he was inshrined. The see of Canturburie was void more than three yeares after his decease, till at length by the kings commandement, the monks of Canturburie elected one Boniface of Sauoie vncle to quéene Elianor, being the archbishop which ruled that church.

The death of Edmund archbishop of Canturburie surnamed of Pontney.

A Charterhouse monke apprehended.

¶There was this yeare a certeine person of honest conuersation, and sober, representing in habit one of the Carthusian monks, taken at Cambridge, being accused for that he refused to come to the church to heare diuine seruice, and vpon his examination, because he answered otherwise than was thought conuenient, he was committed to secret prison, and shortlie after sent vp to the legat to be of him examined. This man openlie protested, that Gregorie was not the true pope, nor head of the church, but that there was another head of the church, and that the church was defiled, so that no seruice ought to be said therein, except the same were newlie dedicated, and the vessels and vestments againe hallowed and consecrated; The diuell (said he) is loosed, & the pope is an heretike, for Gregorie, which nameth himselfe pope, hath polluted the church.

Hereupon (in the presence and audience of the abbat of Euesham, maister Nic. de Fernham, and diuerse other worshipfull personages) the legat said vnto him being thus out of the waie; Is not power granted to our souereigne lord the pope from aboue, both to lose and bind soules, sith he executeth the rome of S. Peter vpon earth? Now when all men looked to heare what answer he would make, beléeuing his iudgement to depend vpon the same, he said by way of interrogation, and not by way of assertion; How can I beléeue, that vnto a person spotted with simonie and vsurie, and haplie wrapt in more græuous sins, such power should be granted as was granted vnto holie Peter, who immediatlie followed the lord, as sone as he was made his apostle, and followed him not onelie in bodilie footsteps, but in clærenesse of vertues. At which word the legat blushed, & said to some of the standers by; A man ought not to chide with a fole, nor gape ouer an ouen.

In this season the king sent his iustices itinerants in circuit about the land, the which vnder pretext of iustice punished manie persons, and so leuied great summes of monie to the kings vse. Sir William of Yorke prouost of Beuerley was assigned to visit the south parts, and sir Robert de Lexinton the north parts. Also Richard earle of Cornewall the kings brother, with a nauie of ships sailed into Syria, where in the warres against the Saracens, he greatlie aduanced the part of the christians. There went ouer with him the earle of Salisburie William Longespæ, and William Basset, John Beauchampe, Geffrey de Lucie, John Neuill, Geffrey Beauchampe, Peter de Breuse, and William Furniuall. The erle of Montford also went ouer the same time: but where the earle of Cornewall toke the sea at Marsiles, the earle of Leicester passed through Italie, and toke the water at Brandize, and with him went these persons of name, Thomas de Furniuall, with his brother Gerard de Furniuall, Hugh Wake, Almerike de S. Aumond, Wischard Ledet, Punchard de Dewin, and William de Dewin that were brethren, Gerard Pesmes, Fouke de Baugie, and Peter de Chauntenaie. Shortlie after also, John earle of Albemarle, William Fortis, and Peter de Mallow a Poictouin, men for their valiancie greatlie renowned, went thither, leading with them a great number of christian souldiors.

Justices itinerants. William de Yorke, Robert Lexinton iustices.

The earle of Cornewal goeth into the holy land.

The earle of Leicester goeth thither also.

The earle of Albemarle.

In this yeare and vpon the day of S. Remigius, was the church of S. Paule in the citie of London dedicated by Roger bishop of that citie, the king and a great number of bishops and other Noble men being present, which were feasted the same day by the said bishop Roger and the canons. Moreouer, there died the same yeare the countesse Isabell, wife to Richard earle of Cornewall, and two earles, William earle Warren, and John earle of Lincolne, also the lord John Fitz Robert, one of the cheefe barons in all the north parts of the realme. ¶Also in Februarie there appeared a comet or blasing starre verie dreadfull to behold, for the space of thirtie daies together. Moreouer, on the coast of England there was a great battell amongst the fishes of the sea, so that there were eleauen whales or thirlepooles cast on land, beside other huge and monstruous fishes, which appeared to be dead of some hurts; and one of those mightie fishes, comming into the Thames aliue, was pursued by the fishers, and could scarse passe through the arches of London bridge. At length with darts and other such weapons, they slue him before

The dedication of the church of S. Paule in London.

The death of Isabell the countesse of Cornewall.

The lord John Fitz Robert.

A comet.

A battell betwixt fishes. Matth. Paris.

The kings manour at Woxtlake.

the kings manour at Woxtlake, whither they followed him. There was also a great sound heard this yeare in sundrie parts of England at one selfe time, as if it had beene the noise of some mightie mountaine that had fallen into the sea. And vpon the seuenth of Maie there chanced a great boisterous wind that sore troubled the skie.

A great wind.

An oth receiued.

This yeare the king caused the citizens of London, and the gardians of the cinque ports, and manie other to receiue an oth to be true and faithfull to his sonne prince Edward. The friers preachers and minors, and other men of the church that were diuines, absolued such as had taken on them the crosse, receiuing of them so much monie as would suffice to haue borne their charges in that iournie, and this not without slander redounding to the church. The same meanes to get monie was practised also by the legat Otho, hauing authoritie therto of the pope. The same yeare the seneshall of Aquitaine came ouer to the king, and let him know, that if timelie prouision were not had, all those countries on the further side of the sea wold be lost. No other incident chanced the same yeare neither in warre abroad, nor in the state of gouernement of the common-wealth at home, whereof any great accompt is to be made, but that the legat Otho got great summes of monie diuerse waies, of religious men to the popes behoofe: wherevpon certeine abbats made complaints to the king, but in place of comfort they receiued discomfort, & after knowledge thereof giuen to the legat, he was more extreame with them than he was before.

The seneshall of Aquitaine.

Shortlie after one of the popes familiars and kinsman named maister Peter Rosso came from Rome, taking England in his waie to go into Scotland, and vsed in both such diligence in the popes cause, that he got a fifteenth granted here, which he spedilie gathered. About the same time one Peter de Supino was sent into Ireland, and there likewise he got a vintiesme, bringing from these the summe of 115 marks, and aboue. But the collection which Peter Rosso got out of the Scotish confines doubled that summe, as was thought. In his returne also from thence, visiting the houses of religion, and searching the consciences of religious persons, by new shifts he craftilie got yet more monie to the popes vse, causing them to sweare to keepe this mysterie secret, as it were some priuitie of confession for the space of one halfe yeare, whereby he turned the harts of manie men from the loue of the church of Rome, wounding them with great greefe and remorse of conscience to see this pillage.

Peter Rosso.

Peter de Supino got a vintiesme, that is the 20 part of prælats benefices.

Anno Reg. 25. 1241

In the 25 yeare of his reigne, king Henrie kept his Christmasse at Westminster, at which time the legat was sent for to returne vnto Rome, and after he had beene honorablie feasted of the king, on the 4 daie of Christmasse he departed from London towards the sea side, after he had remained here aboue three yeares. Peter of Sauoie that was vncle to the quéene came into England, and was honorablie receiued and interteined of king Henrie, who had giuen to him the earledome of Richmont. His sonne Boniface was this yeare also elected archbishop of Canturburie, a tall gentleman and of a goodlie personage, but neither so learned nor otherwise meet for that rome. But such was the kings pleasure, who in fauour of the quéene, to whom he was cosen germane sought to aduance him, and getting the popes fauour in that behalfe, procured the monks & bishops to grant their consents, although much against their minds, if they might haue had their owne wils.

Boniface de Sauoie elected archb. of Canturburie. Matth. Paris.

The earle of Cornewall returning out of the holie land in safetie, after he had settled things there, by concluding an abstinence of warre betwixt the Saracens and christians about the octaues of S. John Baptist, he arriued in Sicill, and hearing there in what place the emperour as then soiourned, he repaired vnto him, of whom and of his sister the empresse he was most ioifullie receiued. Within a few daies after, he went to the court of Rome, to trie if he might driue some agreement betwixt the emperour and the pope, but finding the pope to hard, and nothing conformable, except he might haue had all his owne will (which was, that the emperour should haue submitted himselfe to the popes pleasure, and stand vnto what soeuer order the church should appoint) he returned backe to the emperour without concluding any thing with the pope, declaring vnto him as he had found. After this he remained two moneths with the emperour, & then taking his leaue was honoured with great gifts at his departure, and so returning towards England, at length arriued at the towne of Douer on the morrow after the feast of the Epiphanie in the yeare following.

The earle of Cornewall an intercessor for a peace to be had betwixt the pope and the emperour.

He returneth into England.

About the same time that the earle of Cornewall was in his returne forth of the holie land, new warres suddenlie arose in Wales, which happened well for king Henrie. There were diuerse of the Welshmen that could not well like of the gouernement of Dauid, and therefore sore lamenting the captiuitie of his brother Griffin, whom before (as ye haue heard) he had by a traine taken and kept still as prisoner, began to make warre vpon the said Dauid, and those that toke his part, the which on the other side sought to oppresse their aduersaries, so that there insued much bloudshed and slaughter betweene the parties. The wife also of the said Griffin, and such other noble men as were become enimies vnto Dauid, sent and writ vnto king Henrie, requiring his aid, that Griffin might be deliuered out of his brothers hands, promising him great helpe and furtherance, with large conditions of submission, and assurance furthermore to be at his commandement, and to receiue him for their true and souereigne lord.

Warres betweene the Welshmen.

King Henrie vnderstanding all their doings and intents, thought that this contention betweene the two brethren for the title of Wales would serue verie well for his purpose, and therefore he hasted forth with a spedie armie of men in that countrie, purposing to reduce the same vnder his obeisance. Herewith Senena or Guenhera, the wife of Griffin (and other of the Welsh Nobilitie, that toke part with hir) concluded a league with king Henrie, vpon certeine conditions as the same are conteined in an instrument or charter, the tenour whereof beginneth as followeth.

King Henrie goeth into Wales with an armie.

Conuenit inter dominum Henricum tertium regem Anglorum illustrem ex vna parte, & Senenam vxorem Griffini, filij Leolini, quondàm principis Northwalliæ, quem Dauid frater eius tenet carcerimancipatum, cum Owino filio suo, nomine eiusdem Griff. ex altera, &c.

Articles of agreement betweene Henrie the third of that name, king of England of the one partie, and Senena the wife of Griffin, the sonne of Leolin, sometimes prince of Northwales, whom Dauid his brother deteineth in prison, with Owen his sonne, in the name of the said Griffin of the other partie.

IN primis, the said Senena vndertaketh, that the said Griffin hir husband will giue vnto the king six hundred markes, vpon condition that the king do cause the said Griffin and Owen his sonne to be deliuered from the prison wherein they are kept, and will stand to the iudgement of the kings court, whether by law he ought 1

ought to be imprisoned or no.

2 Item the said Griffin and his heires will stand to the iudgement of the kings court, for and concerning that portion of the inheritance of the said Leolin his father, which of right ought to apperteine vnto him.

3 Item the said Senena vndertaketh for the said Griffin and his heires, that the said Griffin and his heires shall yeeld and paie yearelie to the king for the same lands, the summe of three hundred markes. Whereof the first third part to be paid in monie, the second in kine, and the third in horsses, by the estimation of indifferent men, and the same to be paid yearlie at Michaelmas and Easter by euen portions, by the hands of the shiriffe of the countie of Salop for the time being.

4 Item the said Senena vndertaketh further for the said Griffin and his heires, that they and euerie of them shall obserue the peace against the said Dauid, and suffer him quietlie to inioy such portion of his fathers inheritance as to him shall be found to be due.

5 Item the said Senena doth further vndertake for the said Griffin hir husband and his heires, that in case anie Welshman hereafter shall happen to rebell against the king, they at their owne costs and charges shall compell the said offendor to make satisfaction to the king for his disobedience.

6 Item for the performance of the premisses, the said Senena will deliuer vnto the lord the king, Dauid and Roderike hir sonnes for pledges, with prouiso that if the said Griffin and Owen or either of them shall happen to die before their deliuerie out of the said prison, it shall be lawfull for the said Senena to haue one of hir sonnes released, the other remaining with the king for pledge.

7 Item the said Senena hath sworne vpon the holie Euangelist, that the said Griffin hir husband and his heires, and euerie of them shall accomplish and performe all the premisses on their behalfe, and further vndertaketh that the said Griffin hir husband, vpon his deliuerie out of prison, shall take the same oth.

8 Item the said Senena in the name of the said Griffin hir husband, submitteth hir selfe concerning the obseruation of the premisses vnto the iurisdiction of the reuerend fathers the bishops of Hereford and Lichfield, so that the said bishops or either of them at the kings request shall compell the said Griffin and his heires to obserue all and singular the premisses on their behalfe, by sentence of excommunication vpon their persons, and interdiction vpon their lands.

9 Lastlie, the said Senena doth vndertake and promise (Bona fide) to see and procure the full performance of all the premisses, and that the said Griffin hir husband and his heires shall allow and performe the same, and thereof shall deliuer his instrument in writing to the king in forme aforesaid. To this charter both parties put their seales, Griffin and Senena to that part which remained with the king, and the K. to that part which remained with Senena.

Finallie, for the performance of the articles in this instrument or writing conteined, the said ladie in name of hir husband, procured diuerse Noblemen to become suerties or pledges, that is to saie, Ralfe de Mortimer, Walter de Clifford, Roger de Monthualt seneshall of Chester, Mailgun ap Mailgun, Meredoc ap Robert, Griffin ap Maddoc of Bromefield, Howell and Meredoc brethren, Griffin ap Wenuwen: which persons vndertoke for the said ladie, that the couenants on hir part should be performed, and thervpon they also bound themselues by their writings obligatorie vnto the said king, in forme following.

Omnibus hoc scriptum visuris Rogerus de monte alto seneschallus Cestriæ salutem. Sciatis quòd ego me constitui plegium, &c.

TO all and singular, to whome this writing shall come, Roger de monte alto the steward of Chester sendeth greeting. Know yee that I haue constituted my selfe pledge for Senena the wife of Griffin the sonne of Leolin, sometimes prince of Northwales, and haue vndertaken for hir to our souereigne lord Henrie king of England, that the said Senena shall accomplish and performe all and singular those couenants and articles, agreed vpon betweene our said souereigne lord and the said Senena, for and concerning the deliuerance of the said Griffin hir husband and Owen his sonne out of the prison of Dauid his brother, and the portion of inheritance due vnto the said Griffin, which the said Dauid keepeth from him by force. In witnesse whereof to this present writing I haue put my seale. Dated at Salop, the mondaie before the feast of the Ascension of the blessed virgin Marie, in the 15 yeare of his reigne.

But now to our purpose. When Dauid vnderstood of the kings approach with so puissant an armie, he was brought into great perplexitie, and the more in deed, not onelie bicause there chanced the same yeare for the space of foure moneths togither a great drouth, so that the marishes and bogges were dried vp and made passable for the kings people, but also for that manie of the Welsh Nobilitie, as chiefelie Griffin Maddoc and others, sought his destruction in fauour of his brother Griffin (whose deliuerance they earnestlie wished) and for that he stood excommunicate by the pope. All which things well considered, caused him to doubt of a further mischéefe to hang ouer his head: wherevpon he sent to the king, signifieng that he would deliuer his brother Griffin frælie into his hands, but letting him withall to wit by manie good reasons, that if he did set him at libertie, he should minister manie new occasions of continuall warres.

Dauid driuen to his wits end.

Moreouer, this couenant Dauid required at the kings hands, that the king should reserue him so to his peace vnder the bond of fidelitie and hostages, that he should not disherit him: which when as the king courteouslie granted, Dauid sent vnto him his brother Griffin, to dispose of him as he should thinke requisite. The king receiuing him, sent him to London, vnder the conduct of sir John de Lerinton, togither with other mo (whome he had receiued as hostages both of Dauid and others the Nobles of Wales) appointing them to be kept in safetie within the tower there. There was also a charter or deed made by the same Dauid vnto king Henrie, conteining the articles, couenants, and grants made betwixt the said prince and the foresaid Dauid, as followeth.

Dauid deliuereth his brother to the K.

The charter of the articles of Dauids submission to the king.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus, ad quos præsentes literæ peruenerint, Dauid filius Leolini salutem. Sciatis quòd concessi domino meo Henrico regi Angliæ illustri, &c.

TO all christian people, to whom these present letters shall come, Dauid the sonne of Leolin sendeth greeting. Know ye that I haue granted and promised to deliuer

liuer vnto the lord Henrie the noble king of England, Griffin my brother with his sonne and heire whom I kæpe in prison, and all other prisoners, who by occasion of the said Griffin lie in durance.

2 Item I shall stand to the iudgement of the kings court, aswell in that case, whether the said Griffin ought to be deteined prisoner or no, as also for and concerning the part of the inheritance of the said Leolin my father, claimed by the said Griffin according to the customes of Wales: so that the peace be mainteined betweene me and the said Griffin.

3 Item I and the said Griffin, and either of vs shall hold our portions of land, of our said soueregne the king in Capite, acknowleging him chiefe lord therof.

4 Item I shall restore vnto Roger de monte alto steward of Chester, his land of Montalt or Mould, with the appurtenances.

5 Item I shall likewise restore to all other barons, all such lands, lordships and castels, as were taken from them since the beginning of the warres betweene the lord John king of England, and the said Leolin prince of Wales my father, sauing the right of all couenants and grants by writing, to be reserued vnto the iudgement and determination of the kings court.

6 Item I shall giue and restore vnto our soueregne lord the king all his charges in this present votage laid out.

7 Item I shall make satisfaction for all damages & iniuries done by me, or anie of my subiects vnto the king or his, according to the consideration of the kings court, and shall deliuer such as shalbe malefactours in that behalfe.

8 Item I shall restore vnto the said lord the king all the homages, which the late king John his father had, & which the said lord the king of right ought to haue, especiallie of all the noble men of Wales: and if the king shall set at libertie anie of his captiues, the possessions of that man shall remaine to the king.

9 Item the land of Elsmer with the appurtenances shall remaine to the lord the king and his heires for euer.

10 Item I shall not receiue or suffer to be receiued within my countrie of Wales, any of the subiects of England, outlawed or banished by the said lord the king, or his barons of Mercia.

11 Item for confirmation and performance of all and singular the premisses on my behalfe, I shall prouide by bonds and pledges, and by all other waies and meanes as the said lord the king shall award, and will accomplish the commandement of the said king, and will obeie his lawes.

In witnesse whereof to this present writing I haue put my seale: dated at Alnet by the riuer of Elwey, in the feast of the decollation of S. Iohn Baptist, in the fiue & twentith yeere of the reigne of the said king. For the obseruation of these 11 articles, the said prince Dauid and Edniuet Vachan were sworne. Also the said prince Dauid submitted himselfe to the iurisdiction of the archbishop of Canturburie, and of the bishops of London, Hereford, and Couentrie, for the time being. That all, or one of them, whom the king shall appoint, may excommunicate him, and interdict his land vpon breach of anie the said articles. And thereupon he procured the bishops of S. Bangor, and S. Asaph to make their charters to the lord the king, whereby they granted to execute and denounce all sentences, aswell of excommunication as of interdiction sent from the foresaid archbishop, bishops, or anie of them.

The said Dauid also sent priuilie to the king, to desire him that he would suffer him being his nephue, and the lawfull heire of Leolin his father, to inioy the principalitie of Wales rather than Griffin, which was but a bastard, and no kin vnto the king. Giuing him withall to vnderstand, that in case he did set Griffin at libertie, he should be sure to haue the war renewed. Wherupon the king knowing these things to be true, and vnderstanding also that Griffin was a valiant stout man, and had manie frends and fauorours of his cause, inclined rather to assent vnto Dauids request than otherwise to be in danger of further troubles, & therfore willinglie granted the same.

Shortlie after Dauid did send his brother Griffin vnto the king, and other pledges for himselfe, for performance of the said articles, whom the king sent forthwith to the towre of London, there to be safelie kept, allowing to Griffin a noble a daie for his finding. And within few dais after Michaelmas, prince Dauid comming to the kings court did his homage, and swore fealtie, who for so doing, and in that he was the kings nephue, was sent home againe in peace. When Griffin saw how all things went, and that he was not like to be set at libertie, he began to deuise waies and meanes to escape out of prison. Matth. Paris. page, 765.

Wherefore deceiuing the watch one night, he made a long line of hangings, couerings, and sheets, and hauing gotten out at a window, let downe himselfe by the same from the top of the towre: but by reason that he was a mightie personage and full of flesh, the line brake with the weight of his bodie, and so falling downe headlong of a great height, his necke and head was driuen into his bodie with the fall: whose miserable carcasse being found the morow after, was a pitifull sight to the beholders. The king being certified thereof, commanded Griffins sonne to be better loked vnto, and punished the officers for their negligence. Matth. Paris. page, 830.

About the same time there chanced a controuersie to rise betwixt the king and the bishop of Lincolne, for the bestowing of the benefice of Thame, the which John Mansell the kings chapleine had gotten in possession by the kings fauour, through procuision granted of the pope, where the bishop alleging priuileges to the contrarie, had granted it to an other. At length the king hauing his fathers trouble before his eies, and doubting the bishops words, threatning some euill mishap to follow, if he should stand long in the matter against the said bishop, gaue ouer his tenour: and therewithall prouided John Mansell of a farre more rich benefice, that is to saie, of the personage of Maidstone, whereinto the bishop spedilie inuested him. John Mansell.

This yeare manie noble men ended their liues, as well such as were gone with the earles of Cornewall and Leicester into the holie land, and others remaining still at home. Amongst which number were these: William Fortz earle of Albemarle, Walter Lacie, one of the chiefest nobles in all Ireland, Stephan de Segraue, Gilbert de Basset and his sonne and heire named also Gilbert. Moreouer, John Biset high iustice of the forrests, and Peter de Mallow, Hugh Wake, Robert Marmion, Peter de Bruis, Guischard de Laidec, Eustace Stoutuill, Eudo Hamon surnamed Pecham, Baldwin de Betun, John Fitz John steward in household to earle Richard, John de Beau lieu, Gerard de Furniuall. There died also the ladie Elianor the countesse of Britaine, wife vnto Geffrey, that was sometime earle of Britaine (which countesse had béene long kept prisoner at Brillow) with diuerse other. Death of noble men. Lacie left no issue male behind him, so that his daughters inherited his lands.

Moreouer, there died this yeare Roger bishop of London, and Hugh bishop of Chester. Also Gilbert Marshall earle of Penbroke, in a torneie which he had attempted at Hereford against the kings licence, was by an vnrulie horsse cast, and so hurt, that immediatlie he died thereof. Neither was this yeare onelie mournefull to England for the losse of such high

high estates, but also in other places manie notable personages departed out of this transitorie life. As two popes, Gregorie the ninth and his successour Celestine the fourth, besides cardinals: amongst the which, Robert Somercote an English man was one.

Cardinall Somercote an Englishman.

¶ About the later end of this 25 yeare, the first daie of October, there appeared a right fore eclipse of the sunne, verie strange to the beholders.

An eclipse.

¶ In the 26 yeare died the empresse Isabell, wife vnto Frederike the emperour.

In this yeare also began the wars againe betwixt king Henrie, and Lewes the king of France, for the quarell of Hugh earle of March, who refused to doo homage vnto Alfonse the brother of king Lewes, which Alfonse had married the onelie daughter and heire of Raimund earle of Tholouse, and therefore should succéed the same earle in his estate and inheritance. His brother king Lewes had also giuen vnto him the earledome of Poictou, with all the lands of Aluergne: and bicause the earle of March would not doo homage vnto him, king Lewes made warre vpon the earle of March, who thervpon sought to procure king Henrie (whose mother he had married) to come ouer with an armie vnto his aid.

Anno Reg. 26. The death of the empresse Isabell.

1242

Wars renued betwixt the kings of England & France. The earle of March. Gaguinus. Matth. West.

King Henrie being sollicited with letters, not onelie from his father in law, but also from diuerse other noble men of Poictou, who willinglie would haue béene vnder his gouernement, asked aduise of his councell what he ought to doo in the matter. Some were of opinion, that sith there had béene a truce taken betwixt the kings, it were not reason in anie wise to breake the same: but some other thought, that sith the Frenchmen in times past had taken from king John his lawfull heritage in Normandie and Poictou, and wrongfullie deteined the same still in their possession without restitution, it could not be at anie time vnlawfull vpon occasion giuen to recouer the same out of their hands. This opinion was allowed for good, and the best that might be both of the king & also of the earle of Cornewall, who was latelie returned from his iournie which he had made into the holie land.

Sundrie optimons in the kings councellers.

But now all the staie rested in gathering of monie, which being earnestlie demanded in a parlement begun at Westminster the tuesdaie before Candlemasse, was as stiffelie denied, alledging in excuse their often paiments of subsidies and releefes, which had béene gathered sith the comming of the king to his crowne, as the thirtenth, fiftenth, sextenth and fortieth parts of all their moueable goods, besides charugage, hidage, and sundrie escuages, namelie the great escuage granted for the marriage of his sister the empresse: and also beside the thirtieth within foure yeares last past, or thereabouts, granted to him, which they thought remained vnspent, bicause it could not be vnderstood about what necessarie affaires for the common-wealth it should be laid forth and imploied, whereas the same was leuied vpon condition, that it should remaine in certeine castels, and not to be expended but by the aduise of foure péeres of the realme, as the earle of Warren, and others. Moreouer, they alledged, that the escheats and amercements which had béene gathered of late were such as must néeds fill the kings coffers: & so to conclude, they would not consent to grant any subsidie.

Charugage a certeine duttie for euerie plowland.

Howbeit, the king so handled the matter with the richer sort, and namelie those of the spiritualtie, that partlie by gift and partlie by borrowing, he got togither a great masse of treasure, and so prepared an armie and ships to passe ouer into Gascoine with all conuenient spéed. In the meane time, bicause he would leaue things in more quietie at home, he sent the bishop of Durham into Scotland, by whose diligence a marriage was concluded betwixt the lord Alexander eldest sonne to the king of Scots, and the ladie Margaret daughter to king Henrie. Moreouer the marshes of England adioining to Scotland were committed to the king of Scots as warden of the same, to kéepe and defend whilest king Henrie should abide in the parts beyond the seas. The archbishop of Yorke, in the kings absence, was also appointed chéefe gouernour of the realme.

The bishops of Durham sent into Scotland.

The king of Scots warden of the English marshes.

The archbishop of Yorke gouernor of the realme.

When this prouision was once readie, about the middest of Maie, the king tooke the sea, togither with the quéene his wife, his brother Richard earle of Cornewall, and seauen other earles, and about three hundred knights or men of armes. The Poictouins had written to him that he néeded not bring ouer with him any great armie of men, but rather plentie of monie to reteine such as he should find there readie to serue him at his comming. Whereupon he tooke with him thirtie barrels of sterling coine: and at length (but not without contrarie winds) he arriued on the coast of Gascoine, in the mouth of the riuer of Garon, and taking land, was ioifullie receiued of the people, and namelie of Reignold lord of Pons.

Thirtie barrels of English coine.

The king passeth ouer into France.

The French king aduertised that the king of England was come ouer into France, to the aid of the earle of March, and other his subiects against him, prepared a mightie armie, in the which were reckoned to be to the number of foure thousand men of armes, well prouided and armed at all points, besides twentie thousand esquires, gentlemen, yeomen and crossebowes: and with the same immediatlie he entred the dominions of the earle of March, and tooke from him diuerse townes and castels, as Fountney, wherein he tooke one of the earls sonnes: also Meruant with diuers other. In the meane while the king of England was aduanced forward and come nere vnto Taillborge, lieng with his armie in the faire medow by the riuer side of Charent fast by the castell of Thonay: & he had there with him in campe sixtéene hundred knights, or rather men of armes, and twentie thousand footmen, with seauen hundred that bare crossebows. He made there his two halfe brethren, the sonnes of the earle of March knights, and gaue to the one of them fiue hundred marks, and to the other six hundred marks yearelie, to be paid out of his escheker, till he had otherwise prouided for them in lands and reuenues equall to that pension.

The French king inuadeth the earle of Marches land.

The number of the English armie.

Now the French king being aduertised that king Henrie laie thus nére to Taillborge, marched thitherwards with all his puissance latelie reenforced with new supplies, and approching to Taillborge, had the towne deliuered vnto him. This chanced about the latter end of Julie. Then after the French king had gotten possession of Taillborge, he ment to passe the water, and if by mediation of a truce politikelie procured by the earle of Cornewall (and as it were at a narrow pinch) the king of England had not found means to remoue in the night season, he had béene in great danger to haue béene taken, through want of such aid as he loked to haue had at the hands of the Poictouins and other his confederats. But yet he got awaie (though with some staine of honour) and withdrew to Xaintes, whither also the French king followed, and comming nére to the towne, there was a sharpe incounter begun betwixt the French and the English, wherein the Englishmen were victors, and in which by the Frenchmens owne confession, if the English power had béene like to theirs in number, they had fullie atchiued the honour of a fought field, and for a light skirmish a sound and perfect victorie.

Taillborge.

Xaintes.

An encounter betwixt the English and French.

The high prowesse and valiancie of the earles of Leicester, Salisburie, Norfolke, with other Noblemen,

The valiancy of the earle of Leicester and others.

men, as John de Burgh, Warren de Mount Chenill or Cheincie, Hubert Fitz Matthew, and Ralfe Fitz Nicholas did in this fight right well apeare: and likewise other of the English nation bare themselues so manfullie, that they deserued no small commendation. Amongst other also sir John Mansell the kings chapleine, and one of his priuie councell did right worthilie, taking prisoner with his owne hands one Peter Drige a gentleman in good place. There was moreouer taken on the French part sir John de Barris a man of good accompt, by William de Sey, beside sundrie others. On the English part was slaine Gilbert de Clare, and Henrie Hasting taken prisoner, with other, to the number of twentie knights, or men of armes, if I may so call them.

John Mansell.

Sir John Barris. wil. de Sey. Gilbert de Clare slaine.

After this incounter, by reason the French armie increased by new bands still resorting to their king, the earle of March secretlie sought meanes to be reconciled vnto him: and finallie by the helpe of the duke of Britaine, his old acquaintance and frend at need, his peace was purchased, so that he had his lands againe to him restored, except certeine castels, which for further assurance the French king reteined in his hands by the space of three yeares. The king of England, perceiuing himselfe to too much deceiued in that he had put such confidence in the earle of March and others of that countrie, which should haue aided him at this present, and againe aduertised, that the French king meant to besiege him within the citie of Xaintes, departed with all spéed from thence, and came to Blaie, a towne in Gascoigne, situat néere to the riuer of Garon, & distant seuen leagues from Burdeaux.

The earle of March is reconciled to the French king.

Now whilest he laie here at Blaie, there came vnto him the countesse of Bierne (a woman monstruous big of bodie) bringing with hir to serue the king, hir sonne, and three score knights, in hope to get some of his sterling monie, whereof she knew him to haue plentie: and so couenanting for hir intertainment, remained still with him, and receiued euerie daie 13 pounds sterling, and yet she neuer pleasured him the worth of a groat, but rather hindered him, in making him bare of monie, which she receiued, pursed vp and toke awaie with hir when she departed from him. But if to hir making and stature she had bin indued with the courage of Uoadicia, whom she exceeded (as it should seeme) in proportion, or with the prowesse of Elfleda, hir seruice had béene no lesse beneficiall to the K. than anie skilfull capteins marching vnder his banner. So that we sée in this woman a desire rather to satisfie hir hydropicall humor of couetousnesse, than anie true affection to set forward the kings affaires; therefore it may well be said of hir in respect of hir grædinesse to get from the king for hir owne commodities sake, that she was

Matth. Paris. The countesse of Bierne.

The reuolting of other French lords

Sée pag. 42, 43, 44. & pag. 152. of the history of England.

Vt mare, quod das deuorat, nunquam abundat,
Nunquam rependit.

In the meane time the lords de Pons, Mirabeau and Mortaigne suddenlie reuolted, & submitted themselues to the French king, with the vicount of Towars, and all other the lords and knights of Poictou, and the marches therabouts, that not long before had procured king Henrie to come ouer to their aid. The citie of Xaintes was likewise rendred to him immediatlie vpon king Henries departure from thence. At which season the French king meant to haue followed him to Blaie, but by reason of a great death which chanced in his armie, he was constreined to alter his purpose. Suerlie, as authors haue recorded, what through pestilence and vnwholesomnesse of the aire, a great manie of Frenchmen died at that time, and dailie more fell sicke. The number of them that died (as Matth. Paris, & Matth. Westminster affirme) amounted to twentie thousand persons, beside foure score of the Nobilitie that bare banners or penons. King Lewes himselfe also began to ware diseased and crasie, so that he was constreined to renew the truce with king Henrie, & therewith departed home.

Death in the French camp.

Truce renued betwixt the two kings. Polydor.

King Henrie remained at Blaie vntill the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, and then went to Burdeaux to visit the quéene, who in this meane while was brought to bed about midsummer of a yong ladie, whom they named Beatrice after the quéens mother. Now whilest king Henrie was thus occupied in Poictou and Gascoine, William Marisch, the sonne of Geffrie Marisch (by commandement sent from the king) was put to death at London, with sixteene of his complices on the euen of S. James the apostle. This William Marisch falling in to the kings displeasure, got him to the sea, and plaied the rouer, kéeping the Ile of Lundaie in the west countrie, till finallie he was taken and brought prisoner vnto the towre, where he was charged with sundrie articles of treason, as that he should hire that counterfeit mad man which sought to haue murthered the king at Woodstoke, as before ye haue heard. Howbeit when he should die, he vtterlie denied that euer he was priuie to anie such thing. He was first had from Westminster to the towre, & from thence drawne to the gibet, and there hanged till he was dead, and after being cut downe, had his bowels ripped out and burned, and when his head was cut off, the bodie was diuided into foure quarters, and sent vnto foure of the principall cities of the realme. His complices were also drawne through the citie of London vnto the same gibet, and there hanged.

The queéne of England deliuered of a daughter.

William Marisch executed

Sée pag. 123.

In the time of this warre also betwixt England and France, there was much hurt done on the sea betwixt them of the cinque ports and the Frenchmen of Normandie, and other: as the Calois men and the Britons, which did make themselues as strong as they could against the Englishmen by sea. Whereupon diuerse incounters chanced betwixt them, but more to the losse of the Englishmen, than of the Frenchmen: in so much that they of the ports were constreined to require aid of the archb. of Yorke the lord gouernour of the realme. About which time, and after the king was withdrawen to Burdeaux, diuers noble men, as the earles of Norfolke and Winchester, with others, got licence to returne into England. Some after whose arriuall, escuage was gathered through the realme towards the bearing of the kings charges. Moreouer, in this yeare of the king there died sundrie noble men of naturall infirmities, as the earle of Warwike, Gilbert de Gaunt, Baldwin Wake, Philip de Kime, and Roger Bertram of the north, with diuerse other. Howbeit the king himselfe returned not home, but late all the winter time at Burdeaux, meaning to attempt manie enterprises, but he brought none to passe, sauing that in protracting the time, he spent much monie, and to little purpose.

The seas troubled with men of warre.

Escuage gathered 20. shillings of euerie knights fée. Matth. West. Death of noble men.

About the beginning of the seuen and twentith yeare of his reigne, his brother the earle of Cornewall, misliking the order of things which he saw dailie in the king his brothers proceedings, would néeds returne backe into England, but chiefli when he perceiued that his councell & aduise could not be heard. The king was sore offended herewith, but he could not well remedie the matter, nor perswade him to tarie. And so the said earle of Cornewall, togither with the earles of Penbroke and Hereford, and diuerse other noble men toke the sea, and after manie dangers escaped in their course, at length on S. Lucies daie they arriued in Cornewall, though some of the vessels that were in the companie were driuen by force of the tempestuous weather vpon other contrarie coasts. ¶ About this season also, that is to saie,

Anno. Reg. 27.

The earle of Cornwal and other returne home.

on

on the day of S. Edmund the king, there happened a maruellous tempest of thunder and lightening, and therwith followed such an exceeding raine (which continued many daies togither) that riuers rose on maruellous heigth, and the Thames it selfe, which seldome riseth or is increased by land floods, passing ouer the banks, drowned all the countrie for the space of six miles about Lambeth, so that none might get into Westminster hall, except they were set on horsebacke.

Prouision of graine and victuals taken vp and sent to the king.

About the same time the king sent ouer into England to the archbishop of Yorke lord gouernour of the realme, to cause prouision of graine and bakon, to be conueied ouer vnto him, which he appointed to be taken out of the possessions of the archbishoprike of Canturburie, and other bishoprikes that were vacant, and out of other such places as seemed to him good to apoint. Herevpon were sent ouer to him ten thousand quarters of wheat, fiue thousand quarters of otes, with as manie bakons. Also there was sent vnto him great prouision of other things, as cloth for apparell and liueries, but much of it perished in the sea by one meane or other, that little thereof came to his vse, who remained still at Burdeaux to his great cost and charges, and small gaine, sauing that he recouered certeine townes and holds there in Gascoigne that were kept by certeine rebels. At which time, bicause he was inclined rather to follow the counsell of the Gascoignes and other strangers than of his owne subiects, and gaue vnto them larger entertainment, not regarding the seruice of his owne naturall people: he was maruellouslie euill spoken of here in England, and the more in deed, bicause his iournie had no better successe, and was yet so chargeable vnto him and all his subiects. The Noblemen that remained with him, as the earles of Leicester and Salisburie, with other, were constreined to borrow no small summes of monie to beare out their charges: and so likewise the king himselfe ran greatlie in debt, by taking vp monie towards the discharging of his importable expenses.

1243

The king led by strangers.

He is euill spoken of.

A truce taken for fiue years.

At length by mediation of such as were commissioners a truce was concluded betwixt him and the French king for fiue yeares, and then he returned toward England, but he arriued not there till the ninth of October, although the truce was concluded in March vpon S. Gregories day: for beside other occasions of his staie, one chanced by such strife and debate as rose amongst the Gascoignes, which caused him to returne to land, that he might pacifie the same when he was alreadie imbarked, and had hoised his saile immediatlie to set forward. He left in Guien for his lieutenant one Nicholas de Mueles or Moles, to defend those townes, which yet remained vnder his obeisance, for he put no great confidence in the people of that countrie, the which of custome being vered with continuall warre, were constreined not by will, but by the change of times, one while to hold on the French side, and an other while on the English. In deed the townes, namelie those that had their situation vpon the sea coasts, were so destroied and decaied in their walles and fortifications, that they could not long be any great aid to either part, and therefore being not of force to hold out, they were compelled to obeie one or other, where by their willes they would haue done otherwise.

Nicholas de Mueles his lieutenant in Gascoigne.

This was the cause that the K. of England, oftentimes vpon trust of these townes, which for the most part were readie to receiue him, was brought into some hope to recouer his losses, and chæfelie for that he was so manie times procured to attempt his fortune there, at the request of the fickle-minded Poictouins, who whilest they did seeke still to purge their offenses to the one king or to the other, they dallie by new treasons defamed their credit, and so by such means the king of England oftentimes with small aduantage or none at all, made warre against the French king, in trust of their aid, that could, or (vpon the least occasion conceiued) quickelie would do little to his furtherance. And so thereby king Henrie as well as his father king John, was oftentimes deceiued of his vaine conceiued hope.

In this seauen and twentith yeare of king Henries reigne, diuerse noble personages departed this life, and first about the beginning of Januarie, deceassed the lord Richard de Burgh, a man of great honour and estimation in Ireland, where he held manie faire possessions, by conquest of that noble gentleman his worthie father. Also that valiant warriour Hugh Lacie, who had conquered in his time a great part of Ireland. Also the same yere on the seauenth of Maie, Hugh de Albenie earle of Arundell departed this life, in the middest of his youthfull yeares, and was buried in the priorie of Wimundham, which his ancestours had founded. After his decease, that noble heritage was diuided by partition amongst foure sisters.

Death of Noble men.

Hugh Lacie.

About the same time, to wit, on the twelfth day of Maie, Hubert de Burgh earle of Kent departed this life at his manor of Banstude, and his bodie was conueied to London, and there buried in the church of the Friers preachers, vnto the which Friers he had beene verie benesicall. Amongst other things, he gaue vnto them his goodlie palace at Westminster adioining neere to the palace of the earle of Cornewall, which the archbishop of Yorke afterwards purchased. The monks of the Cisteaux were this yeare somewhat vered by the king, bicause they had refused to aid him with monie towards his iournie made into Gascoigne. Also the plees of the crowne were kept and holden in the tower of London. And in the night of the six and twentith day of Julie, starres were seene fall from the skie after a maruellous sort, not after the common manner, but thirtie or fortie at once, so fast one after another and glansing to and fro, that if there had fallen so manie verie starres in deed, there would none haue beene left in the firmament.

Fabian.

Matth. Paris.

Stars fallen after a strange manner.

In the eight and twentith yeare of king Henries reigne, the queenes mother the ladie Beatrice countesse of Prouance arriued at Douer on the fourteenth day of Nouember, bringing with hir the ladie Sancia hir daughter, and in the octaues of S. Martine they were receiued into London in most solemne wise, the streets being hanged with rich clothes, as the maner is at the coronations of princes. On S. Clements day, Richard earle of Cornewall the kings brother married the said ladie Sancia, which marriage was solemnized in most rotall wise, and with such sumptuous feasts and banketings, as greater could not be deuised. Finallie, the queens mother the countesse of Prouance, being a right notable and worthie ladie, was honored in euerie degree of hir sonne in law king Henrie in most courteous and sumptuous manner, and at hir departure out of the realme, which was after Christmasse, she was with most rich and princelie gifts honourablie rewarded.

Anno Reg. 28.

The countesse of Prouance mother to the queene commeth ouer into England.

The earle of Cornewall maried to the ladie Sancia.

About the same time also, whereas William de Ralegh was requested to remoue from the see of Norwich vnto Winchester, and consenting therevnto, without the kings licence, obteined his confirmation of the pope: the king was highlie displeased therewith, bicause he ment it to another. Wherevpon when the said William Ralegh was returned from Rome to be installed, the king sent commandement to the maior and citizens of Winchester, that they should not suffer him to enter the citie. Where-

William Ralegh bishop of Norwich.

He is consecrated bish. of Winchester by the pope.

vpon

vpon he being so kept out, accursed both the citie and cathedrall church with all the monks and others that fauoured the prior, which had intruded himselfe onelie by the kings authoritie, and not by lawfull election and means, as was supposed.

1244

He steleth out of the realme.

At length the said bishop vpon greefe conceiued that the king should be so beanie lord vnto him, got into a ship at London, and stale awaie into France, where he was well receiued of the French king, and greatlie cherished. Also he found such means that the pope in fauour of his cause wrote letters both to the king and to the queene, naming hir his cosen, but which waie that kindered should come about, as yet it was neuer knowen. The bishop to shew himselfe thankefull for such freendship, gaue the pope aboue fiue thousand marks (as is said) and the pope bicause he would not be accompted a disdainefull person, turned not backe one pennie of that which was so gentlie offered him. At length partlie at contemplation of the popes letters, and partlie by reason the bishop humbled himselfe in answering the articles which the king had obiected against him in cause of the controuersie betwixt them, he granted him his peace, and receiued him into the land, restoring to him all that had beene taken and deteined from him.

He giueth to the pope 6000 marks.

Moreouer, in this meane while the pope trusting more than inough vpon the kings simplicitie and patience, who indeed durst not in any case seeme to displease him, had sent an other collector of monie into England named Martine, not adorned with power legantine, but furnished with such authorities and faculties as had not beene heard of. He was lodged in the temple, where he shewed what commission he had to gather vp the popes reuenues, and to exact monie by sundrie maner of meanes, and so fell in hand therewith, vsing no small diligence therein, vnto the great greefe and hurt of conscience of manie: he had power to stale the bestowing of benefices, till he was satisfied to the full contentation of his mind. Benefices of small value he regarded not greatlie, but such as were good liuings in deed felt his beanie and rauenous hands extended towards them. He had power also to excommunicate, to suspend, and to punish all such as should resist his will, although neuer so wilfullie bent, in so much that it was said, he had sundrie blankes vnder the popes bulled seale, bicause that vpon the sudden he brought forth such as seemed best to serue for his purpose. He vsed this his vnmeasurable authoritie to the vttermost, and therein did not forget his owne profit, but tooke palfries and other presents of religious men.

Martine the popes collector.

¶ But to declare all the practises of this the popes agent, as it would be too long and tedious a processe, so it is nothing strange that these his landloping legats and Nuncios haue their manifold collusions to cousen christian kingdoms of their reuenues. For if they were not furnished with forlike fraud and wolfish rauine, they were no fit factors for him; sith it is required that like maister haue like man. And therefore he is aptlie described in the likenesse of a man, his head and face excepted, wherein he resembleth a woolfe; besides that, he is set forth with a crosiers staffe in his hand, at the hooke whereof hangeth his Judas purse, wherein are powched vp his pilfered Peter pence, and I wot not what extorted paiments and pretended duties. As for his deceits and crafts, he hath more varietie of them, than the cat of the mounteine hath spots in his skin, or the pecocke hath eies in his taile. Wherevpon it is trulie said of a late poet,

Antithesis de Christi & papæ facinorib. sub anthore anonymo.

Sydera nemo potest quot sint numerare polorum,
Quot neq; vere nouo gramina campus habet,
Sic quoq; nemo potest vafri ludibria papæ
Eius & innumeros commemorare dolos:
Huic scopus immensum seducere fraudibus orbem,
Huic scopus humanum ludificare genus.

But to proceed, when men saw such vnreasonable couetousnes and polling, by the popes procurement; some of the nobilitie of the realme, not abie longer to beare it, came to the king, and exhibited to him their complaint hereof, namelie for that the popes procurator bestowed diuers rich prebends and other roms in churches vpon strangres knowne to be infamed for vsurie, simonie, and other heinous vices, which had no respect to preaching, nor to keeping of any hospitalitie, for maintenance whereof their ancestors had giuen forth their lands to the inriching of the church, not meaning to haue the same bestowed on such maner of persons. The king vnderstood that truth it was which was told him, and therefore writ to the pope in humble wise, beseeching him of his fatherlie care to take order for some redresse therein.

The nobles complaine to the king of the popes collector

The king writeth to the pope.

About this time the king began to renew his imagination for the following of the warres against the French king, and therefore asked the aduise of his councell how he might best attempt the recouerie of those lands in France which were wrongfullie deteined from him. The most part of all his ancient counsellors were of this opinion, that to make warre againe in trust of others aid, as had beene attempted so often before without any profit, should be no wisedome, and therefore he ought either to forbeare, or els so to prouide himselfe of power sufficient, without trusting to the support of strangers, as he might be able with his owne puissance and force to atchiue his enterprise, for otherwise his trauell should prooue but vaine and to verie small effect. The king persuaded with these sound reasons, thought not good to attempt any thing more touching the said warre vnaduisedlie: and to the end it should not be said how he trusted in vaine vpon the aid of strangers, he caused all such possessions as the Normans held in England to be confiscated, to the intent that as well the Normans as Britons and Poictouins might well vnderstand, that he minded not from thenceforth to credit the false promises of rebels, as he that would now vse onelie the seruice of his owne people the Englishmen, which in respect of others painted promises he had before contemned.

Polydor.

The king asketh counsell how to proceed in his warres against the French king.

The possessions of the Normans confiscated.

The occasion that moued the king so to disherit the Normans, did chéefelie rise of the French kings dealing, who about the same time calling to him all those that had lands in England, required them either to sticke vnto him inseparablie, either else to the king of England, sith no man might serue two maisters. Wherevpon some forsaking their lands in England, liued on those which they had in France, and other forsoke those liuings which they had in France, and came ouer into England to liue on those possessions which they had here. But in the French kings doings was no inforcing of men, either to forsake the one or the other: wherfore the procéedings of the king of England seemed somewhat more iniurious, and partlie sounded to the breach of the truce. Howbeit all was passed ouer without apparant trouble.

Matth. Paris.

The occasion why the Normans were disherited.

Whilest all things were thus in quiet, and the king himselfe not troubled with any outward wars, the Welshmen (who though they were subdued, yet could not rest in quiet) receiued againe the fornamed Dauid to their prince, the which for a policie determined himselfe to make offer to the pope to hold his land of him, yéelding therefore yearelie vnto him the summe of fiue hundred marks (as is said) to the end that vnder the wings of the popes protection he might shadow himselfe, and be defended against all men. At length by large gifts of no small summes of monie he purchased letters of the pope in his fauour, to

Polydor. Matth. Paris, Matt. VVest.

Dauid prince of wales meaneth to submit himselfe to the pope.

to the prejudice of the crowne of England, as touching the right which the king of England had to the dominion of Wales, as by the tenour thereof it may appeare, beginning as here insueth. *Illustri viro domino Henrico Dei gratia regi Angliæ, &c.*

Matth. Paris pag. 880.

Thus Dauid being incouraged herewith and such other of the Welshmen as toke his part, at time appointed did set vpon the kings capteins as they straggled abroad, whom at the first brunt they put to flight, and slue manie of them here and there as they toke them at aduenture. The Englishmen when night was come, and that the Welshmen withdrew to rest, assembled themselues againe togither, and in the morning with new recouered force both of mind and bodie, came vpon the Welshmen, and began with them a new battell, which continued the space of three houres togither, till at length the Welshmen, which rashlie had entred the fight, began to shrinke backe, and fled to their wonted places of refuge, the woods and marshes. Their chiefe capteine Dauid fled into Scotland, hauing lost in that battell the most part of all his souldiers which he had there with him. At his comming into Scotland, and whilest he there remained, he incensed king Alexander against king Henrie to his vttermost power, putting into his head how reprochfullie the Englishmen did speake of the Scots, reproning them of cowardnes & lacke of stomach; also that they liued according to the prescript of the English nation, as subiects to the same: and manie other things he forged, which had béene able to haue moued a most patient man vnto indignation and displeasure.

The Welshmen discomfited.

Dauid fled into Scotland.

He prouoketh the king of Scots to make warre against England.

Finallie, either by the prouoking of this Dauid, or by some other occasion, king Alexander meant to make warres vpon king Henrie indeed, and in raising an armie made a rode into England, and did some hurt by incursions, and further signified to king Henrie, as some write, that he neither ought nor would hold anie part or portion of Scotland of the king of England. King Henrie sore offended herewith, purposed in time to be reuenged, and shortlie after called a parlement at Westminster, in the which he earnestlie moued the lords and other states to aid him with monie towards the furnishing of his coffers, being emptied (as they knew) by his excéeding charges in his last iournie into Gascoigne. He would not open his meaning which he had to make warre to the Scots, bicause he would haue his enterprise secretlie kept, till he should be readie to set forward.

The king of Scots inuadeth England.

Matth. Paris.

King Henrie requireth an aid of monie of his subiects.

But although the king had got the pope to write in his fauour vnto the lords both spirituall and temporall, to aid him in that his demand of monie, there was much adoo, and plaine deniall made at the first, to grant at that time to anie such paiment as was demanded: and eftsoones they fell in hand with deuising new orders, and namelie to renew againe their suit for the confirmation of the ancient liberties of the realme, so as the same might be obserued, according to the grant thereof before made by the kings letters patents, without all fraud or contradiction. They also appointed, that there should be foure lords chosen of the most puissant and discréetest of all other within the realme, which should be sworne of the kings councell, to order his businesse iustlie and trulie, and to see that euerie man had right without respecting of persons. And these foure chiefe councellors should be euer attending about the king, or at the least three or two of them: also that by the view, knowledge and witnesse of them, the kings treasure should be spent and laid forth, and that if one of them chanced to fall awaie, an other should be placed in his rome by the appointment of the residue.

New orders deuised by the lords.

They would also that the lord chiefe iustice and the lord chancellour should be chosen by the generall voices of the states assembled, and bicause it was needfull that they should be oftentimes with the king, it was thought they might be chosen out of the number of those foure aboue rehearsed conseruators of iustice. And if the king at anie time chanced to take the seale from the lord chancellour, whatsoeuer writing were sealed in the meane time should be of none effect. They aduised also, that there should be two iustices of the benches, two barons of the exchéker, and one iustice for the Iewes; and these for that present to be appointed by publike voices of the states, that as they had to order all mens matters and businesse, so in their election the assents of all men might be had and giuen: and that afterwards, when vpon anie occasion there should be anie elected into the rome of anie of these iustices, the same should be appointed by one of the afore mentioned foure councellors.

Unreasonable requests.

But as the Nobles were busie in three wéekes space about the deuising of these ordinances and other, to haue béene decréed as statutes, the enimie of peace and sower of discord, the diuell, hindred all these things by the couetousnesse of the pope, who had sent his chapleine master Martin, with authoritie to leuie also an aid of monie for his néed to mainteine his wars withall against the emperour; and the emperour on the other part sent ambassadours to the king, to staie him and his people from granting anie such aid vnto the pope: so that there was no lesse hard hold and difficultie shewed in refusing to contribute vnto this demand of the popes Nuncio, than vnto the kings. At length yet in another sitting, which was begun three wéekes after Candlemasse, they agreed to giue the king escuage to run towards the marriage of his eldest daughter, of euerie knights fée holden of the king twentie shillings to be paid at two termes, the one halfe at Easter, and the other at Michelmasse.

The pope sendeth for some aid of monie to mainteine wars against the emperour.

Escuage grãted the king.

After this, the king minding to inuade the Scots, caused the whole force of all such as ought to serue him in the wars to assemble, and so with a mightie host he went to new castell vpon Tine, meaning from thence to inuade the same, in reuenge of such iniuries as the Scots had done vnto him and his subiects, and namelie, for that Walter Cumin a mightie baron of Scotland and other noble men had built two castels nære to the English confines, the one in Galowaie, and the other in Louthian, and further had receiued and succoured certeine rebels to the king of England, as Geffrey de Marisch or Marris an Irish man, and others. The king of Scots was aduertised of king Henries approch, and therefore in defense of himselfe and his countrie, had raised an huge armie. Herevpon certeine noble men vpon either side, sorie to vnderstand that such bloudshed should chance as was like to follow (and that vpon no great apparant cause) if the two kings ioined battell, toke paine in the matter to agrée them, which in the end they brought to passe, so that they were made frends and wholie reconciled. There was a publike instrument also made thereof by the king of Scots vnto king Henrie, signed with his seale, and likewise with the seales of other noble men, testifieng his allegiance which he ought to the king of England, as superiour lord, in forme following.

The R. with an armie goeth towards Scotland.

The king of England and Scotland made frends.

The charter of Alexander king of Scotland made to Henrie the third.

Alexander Dei gratia rex Scotiæ, omnibus Christi fidelibus hoc scriptum visuris vel audituris, salutem. Ad vestram volumus venire notitiam, nos pro nobis & hæredibus nostris concessisse, & fideliter promi-

promisisse charissimo & ligio domino nostro Henrico tertio Dei gratia regi Angliæ illustri domino Hiberniæ, duci Normaniæ & Aquitaniæ, & comiti Andegauiæ, & eius hæredibus, quòd in perpetuum bonam fidem ei seruabimus, pariter & amorem. Et quòd nunquam aliquod fœdus iniemus per nos vel per aliquos alios ex parte nostra, cum inimicis domini regis Angliæ vel hæredum suorum, ad bellum procurandum vel faciendum, vnde damnum eis vel regnis suis Angliæ & Hiberniæ, aut cæteris terris suis eueniat, vel possit aliquatenus euenire: nisi nos iniustè grauet: stantibus in suo robore conuentionibus inter nos & dictum dominum regem Angliæ initis vltimo apud Eboracum in præsentia domini Othonis tituli S. Nicholai in carcere Tulliano, diaconi cardinalis, tunc apostolicæ sedis legati in Anglia. Et saluis conuentionibus super matrimonio contrahendo inter filium nostrũ & filiam dicti domini regis Angliæ.

Et vt hæc nostra concessio & promissio pro nobis & hæredibus nostris perpetuæ firmitatis robur obtineant, fecimus iurare in animam nostram Alanum Ostiarium, Henricũ de Baliol, Dauid de Lindesey, Wilhelmum Gifford, quòd omnia prædicta bona fide firmiter & fideliter obseruabimus. Et similiter iurare fecimus venerabiles patres, Dauid, Wilhelmum, Galfridum, & Clementem sancti Andreæ Glasconiensem, Dunkeldensem, Dublinẽsem episcopos: & præterea Malcolmum comitem de Fife, fideles nostros, Patricium comitem de Dunbar, Malisium comitem de Strathern, Walterum Cumin comitem de Menteth, Wilhelmum comitem de Mar, Alexandrum comitem de Buchquhan, Dauid de Hastings comitem de Athol, Robertum de Bruis, Alanum Ostiarium, Henricum de Baliol, Rogerum de Mowbray, Laurentium de Abirnethiæ, Richardum Cumin, Dauid de Lindesey, Richardum Siward, Wilhelmum de Lindesey, Walterum de Morauia, Wilhelmum Gifford, Nicholaum de Sully, Wilhelmum de veteri Ponte, Wilhelmum de Brewer, Anselmum de Mesue, Dauid de Graham, & Stephanum de Suningam.

Quòd si nos vel hæredes nostri, contra concessionem & promissionem prædictam (quod absit) venerimus, ipsi & hæredes eorum nobis & hæredibus nostris nullum contra concessionem & promissionem prædictam auxilium vel consilium impendent, aut ab alijs pro posse suo impendi permittent. Imò bona fide laborabunt erga nos & hæredes nostros, ipsi & hæredes eorum, quòd omnia prædicta à nobis & hæredibus nostris net non ab ipsis & eorum hæredibus firmiter & fideliter obseruentur in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium tam nos quàm prædicti prælati, comites & barones nostri præsens scriptum sigillorum suorum appositione roborauimus. Testibus prælatis, comitibus & baronibus superiùs nominatis, Anno regni nostri, &c.

and keepe vnto him good faith and loue for euer, and that we shall not enter into any league with our selues, or by others in our behalfe with the enimies of our said souereigne lord the king of England, or of his heires, to procure or make warre, whereby any damage may happen to come to them or to their kingdoms of England and Ireland, or to their other lands, except vniustlie they doo molest and oppresse vs. The couenants alwaies standing in force, which were concluded betwixt vs at our last being togither at Yorke, in the presence of Otho decon cardinall of saint Nicholas *In carcere Tulliano*, then legat of the see apostolike in England, and sauing the couenants made vpon the contract of the mariage betwixt our sonne & the daughter of the said king of England.

And that this promise and grant for vs and our heires may haue the force and confirmation of an euerlasting assuredneſſe, we haue caused these to sweare on our behalfe: Alan Porter, Henrie de Balioll, Dauid de Lindesey, Wil. Gifford, that we shall in good faith obserue all the premisses faithfullie and substantiallie, and we haue likewise caused to sweare the reuerend fathers, Dauid, William, Geffrey, & Clement, Bishops of S. Andrewes, Glascew, Dunkeld, and Dublane: and furthermore our faithfull subiects Patrike earle of Dunbar, Malcolme earle of Fife, Malisius earle of Stratherne, Walter Cumin earle of Menteth, William earle of Mar, Alexander earle of Buchquhan, Dauid de Hastings earle of Athol, Robert de Bruis, Alan Porter, Henrie de Balioll, Roger de Mowbraie, Laurence de Abirnethi, Richard Cumin, Dauid de Lindesey, Richard Siward, William de Lindesey, Walter de Murraie, William de Gifford, Nicholas de Sully, William de Veipont, William de Brewer, Anselme de Mesue, Dauid de Graham, and Stephan de Suningham.

The lords sweare to see the couenants performed.

And if that either we or our heires, against the foresaid grant and promise, shall doo anie thing to the breach therof (which God forbid) they and their heires shall not imploie either aid or counsell against the said grant and promise, nor shall suffer other to imploie any such aid or counsell, so far as they may hinder them therein: yea rather they and their heires shall in good faith and plaine meaning endeuour against vs and our heires, that all the premisses may firmelie and faithfullie be obserued and kept of vs and our heires, and likewise of them and their heires for euer. In witnesse whereof aswell we our selues, as the said prelats, our earles and barons haue confirmed this writing by putting their seales vnto the same, the prelats earles and barons before rehearsed beeing true witnesses therevnto, In the yeare of our reigne, &c.

The seales of king Alexander himselfe, of William de Brewer, William de Veipont, William de Lindesey, Stephan de Suningham, and the seales of the rest were set to afterwards, and the writing sent ouer to the king of England at Christmasse next insuing, by the prior of Tinmouth, who had trauelled diligentlie and faithfullie in this negotiation to the honour of both parts. This writing also was sent to the pope, that he might confirme the same in manner as followeth.

The same in English.

ALexander by the grace of God, king of Scotland, to all faithfull christian people that shall see or heare this writing, sendeth greeting. We will that it be knowne to you, that we for vs and our heires haue granted and faithfullie promised to our most deare and liege lord Henrie the third, by the grace of God, the noble king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandie and Guien, and earle of Aniou, and to his heires, that we will beare

A requeſt made to the pope that he *would vouchſafe to confirme the foreſaid charter.*

SAnctiſsimo in Chriſto patri I. Dei gratia ſummo pontifici, Alexander eadem gratia rex Scotiæ, comes Patricius, comes de Strathern, comes Leuenox, comes de Anegui, comes de Marra, comes de Atholia, comes de Ros, comes de Catnes, comes de Buth, Rogerus de Mowbray, Rogerus de Abirnethia, Petrus de Mauuere, Richardus Cumin, Wilhelmus de veteri Ponte, Robertus de Bruis, Rogerus Auenel, Richardus de Sully, Wilhelm. de Murray de Dunfel, Wilhelmus de Muref de Petin, Iohannes Biſet iuuenis, Wilhelmus de Lindeſey, Iohannes de Vallibus, Dauid de Lindeſey, Wilhelmus Gifford, Duncanus de Ergatilia, I. de Matreuers, Hemerus filius eius, Rogerus comes Wintonienſis, H. comes Oxonienſis, W. de Veſcy, Richardus Siward, Wilhelmus de Ros, Rogerus de Clere, Henricus filius comitis de Brettere, Euſtacius de Stoutville, Malcolmus de Fif comes de Mentethſhire, Walterus filius Alani, Walterus Olifar, Barnardus Fraſer, Henricus de Bailliol, Dauid Cumin, Dauid Mareſchallus, Dauid filius Ranulfi, Wilhelmus de Fortere, Ioannes de Bailliol, & Robertus de Ros, ſalutem & debitam cum omni honore reuerentiam.

Sanctitati veſtræ ſignificamus, nos ſacramentum corporaliter præſtitiſſe coram venerabili patre Othone, tituli S. Nicolai in carcere Tulliano diacono cardinalium, in Anglia, Scotia, & Hibernia, nunc Apoſtolicæ ſedis legato, ac chartam noſtram confeciſſe, quæ ita incipit: Sciant præſentes & futuri, quòd ita conuenit in præſentia domini Othonis ſancti Nicolai, &c. Quæ charta penes dominum regem Angliæ, & nos remanet chyrographata. Item aliam quæ ſic incipit: Ad omnium veſtrum notitiam volumus peruenire. Cùm vt ex forma præcedentium noſtrarum pateat obligationum ſubiecimus nos iuriſdictioni veſtræ, vt nos & hæredes noſtros, per cenſuram eccleſiaſticam poſſitis coërcere, ſi aliquo tempore contra memoratam pacem venerimus.

Etſi nonnunquam continget, quòd quidam noſtrum omnes vel vnus contrauenire temerè præſumpſerint vel præſumere nituntur vel nitentur; & ex hoc tam animabus noſtris quàm hæredum noſtrorum graue poſsit generari periculum, & corporibus noſtris & rebus non minimum immineret detrimentum: ſanctæ paternitati veſtræ ſupplicamus, quatenus alicui ſuffraganeorum archiepiſcopi Cantuarienſis detis in mandatis, vt nos, & hæredes noſtros ad præfatæ pacis obſeruationem compellat, prout in inſtrumentis inde confectis pleniùs continetur. Aliàs ſuper eadem pace quod canonicum fuerit auctoritate veſtra ſtatuat contradictores, &c. Et ad iſtius petitionis noſtræ conſummationem præſenti ſcripto ſigilla noſtra appoſuimus.

In Engliſh thus.

The letter of the lords to pope Innocent.

TO our holie father in Chriſt I. by the grace of God, the higheſt biſhop, Alexander by the ſame grace king of Scotland, earle Patrike, the earle of Stratherne, the earle of Leuenox, the earle of Angus, the earle of Mar, the earle of Athole, the earle of Ros, the earle of Catneſſe, the earle of Buch, Roger de Mowbray, Laurence de Abirnethie, Peter de Mauuere, Richard Cumin, William de Veipont, Robert de Bruis, Roger Auenel, Nicholas de Sulley, William de Murray de Dunfel, William de Murray de Petin, Iohn Biſet the yoonger, William de Lindeſey, Iohn de Valeis, Dauid de Lindeſey, William Gifford, Duncan de Ergile, Iohn de Matreuers, Eimere his ſonne, Roger earle of Wincheſter, Hugh earle of Oxford, William de Veſcy, Richard Siward, William de Ros, Roger de Clere, Henrie Fitz conte de Brettere, Euſtace de Stouteuille, earle Malcolme of Fife, the erle of Mentethſhire, Walter Fitz Alaine, Walter Olifard, Barnard Fraſer, Henrie de Baillioll, Dauid Cumin, Dauid Mareſchall, Dauid Fitz Randulfe, William de Fortere, Iohn de Bailioll, and Robert Ros, ſend greeting and due reuerence with all honour.

We doo ſignifie vnto your holineſſe, that we haue receiued a corporall oth before the reuerend father Otho, deacon cardinall of S. Nicholas *In carcere Tulliano*, legat to the ſee apoſtolike, in England, Scotland and Ireland, and haue made our charter or deed, which beginneth thus; *Sciant præſentes, &c.* Which charter or deed indented and ſealed, remaineth with the king of England, and with vs. Alſo another deed or writing that beginneth thus; *Ad omnium veſtrum notitiam volumus peruenire.* Whereas therefore by the forme of our precedent deeds obligatorie, we haue ſubmitted our ſelues to your iuriſdiction, that you may bridle and reſtraine vs, and our heires by the eccleſiaſticall cenſures, if at any time we go againſt the ſaid peace.

And if it happen at any time, that any of vs all, or one of vs, ſhall fortune to preſume raſhlie and vnaduiſedlie to go againſt it, or be about, or herafter ſhall be about ſo to preſume, and therby may procure great perill as well to the ſoules of our owne ſelues, as of our heires, & no ſmall danger may alſo be readie through the ſame our default to light vpon our bodies & goods, we beſeech your holie fatherhood, that you will giue in commandement vnto ſome of the ſuffragans of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, that he doo compell vs and our heires vnto the obſeruing of the ſame peace, accordinglie as in the inſtruments thereof more fullie is conteined, or elſe to order by your authoritie vpon the ſame peace, that which ſhall be agreeable to the canons, &c. And to the performance of this our petition, we haue to this preſent writing ſet our ſeales.

When all things were throughlie concluded, and order taken in what ſort the aſſurances of this accord ſhould paſſe, the king of Scots returned into the inner parts of his realme, and the king of England likewiſe returned to London. At the ſame time alſo, the Welſhmen were verie buſie: for hearing that the kings of England and Scotland were agreed, they doubted leaſt all the burthen of the warre would be turned againſt them. Wherefore (as it were to preuent the matter) they began to waſt the Engliſh confines. The king aduertiſed thereof, ſent Hubert Fitz Matthew with three hundreth knights or men of armes to defend the Engliſh marches againſt the

The Welſhmen ſtirre coles.

Welshmen, that made dailie war against those that dwelled on the marshes, and namelie against the erle of Herford, which chéeflie occasioned this warre, by deteining the land which apperteined vnto the wife of prince Dauid, as in the right of hir purpartie.

Matth.Paris. Whereupon when the Welshmen vnderstood that the king had broken vp his armie and was returned to London, they inuaded their enimies, namelie the said earle of Herfords men and the Mortimers, sleaing and cutting in péeces two valiant and noble knights, and maiming the third, they slue and ouerthrew of the footbands about an hundred, so that all the English armie was disordered, and the Welshmen with victorie returned to their places of refuge. Which when the foresaid Hubert Fitz Matthew vnderstood, the morrow after he made forth with his thrée hundred waged men of armes, in hope to hem in and take the Welshmen at aduantage: but he was preuented and by them distressed, in so much that he was constreined with losse of men and horsses to returne to his holds, and scarse could be suffered to remaine there in safetie. This yeare Rafe Neuill bishop of Cicester and chancellour of England departed this life.

The decease of the bishop of Cicester.

Anno.Reg.29. P.V. In the 29 yeare of his reigne, king Henrie hauing spent much treasure with the great preparation of wars which he had taken in hand against the Scots, and also bicause he was constreined to be at further charges for the Welsh wars, he called a parlement to begin on the third daie of Nouember, in the which he demanded a great relefe of monie, but the same being generallie denied of all men, he exacted it in particular of the richer sort of his subiects, & amongst other he caused the citizens of London to giue vnto him 15 hundred marks for a fine, bicause they had receiued a banished man, one Walter Bukerell into their citie, contrarie to the law and order: but this they denied, affirming that his brother had got his pardon, as by the kings owne letters patents they could proue, but they were answered, that the king was vnder age when these letters were purchased, and therefore were of none effect. About the same time, sir Nicholas de Molis or Mules seneshall of Gascoigne, hauing warres against the king of Nauarre, got the victorie in battell. ¶ About the midst of Nouember, great thunder and lightning chanced, with a maruellous vntemperat season for the space of 15 daies togither, as a signe of some misfortune to succeed.

A subsidie of the richer sort.

Matth.Paris.

The citizens of London.

The seneshall of Gascoine vanquished the king of Nauarre.

Anno, 1242. as Matt. West. saith, & Matth. Paris.

1245

On S. Hughs daie died Margaret countesse of Penbroke the widow of Gilbert Marshall late earle of Penbroke, & sister to the king of Scots, and shortlie after the bishop of Excester William de Brewer likewise deceased, as yet being in his flourishing age, a man in manners, parentage, and knowledge right honorable, and highlie commended. ¶ On the daie of S. Marcellus was the quéene deliuered of a man child, which at the font was named Edmund.

In Lent following néere to the castell of Mountgomerie in Wales, thrée hundred Welshmen were slaine by them that lay in garrison there by a policie of the capteine, which fayning a counterfeited flight, drew the Welshmen within danger of an ambush, which he had laid to surprise them vnwares as it came euen to passe according to his deuise. Dauid that tooke himselfe for king of Wales, coueting to be reuenged of this displeasure, ceassed not daie nor night to make incursions and to exploit enterprises to the damage of the marchers, the which valiantlie resisted the enimies, and droue them oftentimes into the mounteines, woods, bogs, and other places of refuge, and oftentimes the enimies hauing the aduantage of place, did much displeasure to the Englishmen.

Dauid king or prince of Wales.

Vpon a time as they (being got to the heigth of an hill, to cast downe stones and throw darts vpon the Englishmen that assailed them beneath) chanced amongst other to slea with a mightie stone (which they threw downe by the side of the hill) sir Hubert Fitz Matthew a right valiant knight, and a man of great accompt for his knowledge and seruice in warres. Thus the wars continued betweene the parties, and oftentimes the Welshmen by the sudden inuasions got the better: their prince Dauid comming to the castell of Monthault besieged it, and within a short time wan it, slaieng or taking all those whome he found within it. The owner thereof the lord Roger de Monthault by chance was not at home, which happened well for him, where otherwise he had béene in great danger: but néere to the castell of Mountgomerie, the Welshmen yet were erstsons ouerthrowne and 200 of them slaine by an ambush that brake forth vpon their backs. About the middest of Lent the prelats of England were summoned to come to a generall councell, the which pope Innocent had appointed to be holden at the feast of S. John Baptist next following.

Sir Hubert Fitz Matthew slaine.

The castell of Monthault taken by the Welshmen.

A generall councell.

It chanced that about this time, a post comming from the pope with letters to his Nuncio maister Martin, conteining instructions how he should proceed for the gathering of monie, was staied at Doner, by the practise of such noble men as were gréeued to sée anie such summes of monie to be conueied out of the realme in sort as was vsed. He was had into the castell and his letters taken from him, wherein such secrets were conteined for the getting of monie, as ought not to haue béene reuealed. Maister Martin hearing that the post was thus staied and imprisoned, made a gréeuous complaint vnto the king, so that the post was set at libertie, had his letters to him restored, & so came vnto maister Martin, and deliuered them vnto him that he might vnderstand the popes pleasure, which others to his griefe vnderstood now as well as himselfe.

The popes letters staied.

The king this yeare caused inquisition to be made through euerie countie within the realme, to vnderstand the true valuation of all such benefices and spirituall promotions as were in the hands of anie incumbents that were strangers borne, and such as had béene preferred by the court of Rome, and the whole summe of all their reuenues was found to be fortie thousand marks. On Whitsundaie the king made the earle of Glocester, Gilbert de Clare knight, and 40 other yong gentlemen that attended vpon him. And perceiuing by the late inquisition what great reuenues the beneficed strangers had and possessed within the realme, and againe considering the excéeding great summes of monie which the court of Rome had recouered of his subiects, he began to detest such couetous dealing. And herevpon a letter was deuised by the whole bodie of the realme, wherein were conteined, the sundrie extortions and manifold exactions of the popes legats, and other of his chapleines, which vnder colour of his authoritie they had vsed. There were appointed also to go with these letters vnto the generall councell, certeine honorable and discréet personages, as Roger Bigod earle of Northfolke, John Fitz Geffrey, William de Cantlow, Philip Basset, and Ralfe Fitz Nicholas, with other, the which presenting the same letters vnto the said assemblie, should declare the gréefe of the whole realme, and require some redresse and easement therein.

The valuatiõ of benefices taken, that perteined to strangers.

This Gilbert was erle of Glocester, Hereford & lord of Clare.

Ambassadors sent to the generall councell.

These were barons.

Moreouer, it chanced that there was a great number of lords, knights, and gentlemen assembled togither at Dunstable and Luiton, to haue kept a martiall iusts, and triumphant tornie, but they had a countercommandement from the king, not to go forward with the same: whereupon, when they were disappointed

Iusts and tornie appointed, and by the kings commandement disappointed.

disappointed of their purpose herein. Upon occasion of their being altogither, on the morrow after the feast of Peter & Paule, they sent from them Fouke Fitz Warren, to declare vnto maister Martine the popes Nuncio, as then lodging at the temple in London, in name as it were of all the whole bodie of the realme, that he should immediatlie depart out of the land. Fouke doing the message somewhat after a rough manner, maister Martine asked him what he was that gaue forth the said commandement, or whether he spake it of himselfe or from some other. This commandment (saith Fouke) is sent to thee, from all those knights and men of armes which latelie were assembled togither at Dunstable and Luiton.

Fouke Fitz Warren commandeth the popes Nuncio to auoid the realme.

Maister Martine hearing this, got him to the court, and declaring to the king what message he had receiued, required to vnderstand whether he was priuie to the matter, or that his people toke it vpon them so rashlie without his authoritie or no. To whome the king answered, that he had not giuen them any authoritie so to command him out of the realme: but indeed (saith he) my barons dow scarselie forbeare to rise against me, bicause I haue mainteined and suffered thy pilling and iniurious polling within this my realme, and I haue had much adow to staie them from running vpon thee to pull thee in peeces. Maister Martine hearing these words, with a fearefull voice besought the king that he might for the loue of God, and reuerence of the pope, haue free passage out of the realme: to whome the king in great displeasure answered, Hye diuell that brought thee in carrie thee out, euen to the pit of hell for me. Howbeit at length, when those that were about the king had pacified him, he appointed one of the marshals of his house, called Robert North or Nores, to conduct him to the sea side, and so he did, but not without great feare, sithens he was afraid of euerie bush, least men should haue risen vpon him and murthered him. Wherevpon, when he came to the pope, he made a grieuous complaint, both against the king and others.

The kings answer vnto the popes Nuncio.

Matth. Paris. Matth. West. The popes Nuncio sent out of the realme.

S. Peters church at Westminster.

The church of saint Peter at Westminster was inlarged, and newlie repared by the king, speciallie all the east part of it, the old wals being pulled down, and builded vp in more comelie forme. ¶ The generall councell, according to the summons giuen, was holden this yeare at Lions, where it began about midsummer, in which the English ambassadors being arriued, presented to the pope their leters, directed from the whole bodie of the realme of England, requiring a redresse in such things, wherewith (as by the same letters it appeared) the realme found it selfe sore annoied. The pope promised to take aduise therein, but sith the matter was weightie, it required respit. Finallie, when they were earnest in requiring a determinate answer, it was giuen them to vnderstand, that they should not obteine their desires, whereupon in great displeasure they came awaie, threatening and binding their words with oths, that from thencefoorth they would neuer paie, nor suffer to be paid, anie tribute to the court of Rome, nor permit the reuenues of those churches, whereof they were patrones, to be pulled awaie, by any prouision of the same court.

The English ambassadors come to the councell.

The English ambassadors threaten the pope, that he should not haue any tribute out of England.

The pope hearing of these things, passed them ouer patientlie, but he procured the English bishops to set their seales vnto that charter, which king John had made concerning the tribute, against the mind of the archbishop of Canturburie Stephan Langton, who at that time, when king John should seale it, spake sore against it. When king Henrie was informed hereof, he was grieuouslie offended; and sware in a great chafe, that although the bishops had done otherwise than they ought, yet would he stand in defense of the liberties of his realme, and would not so long as he had a day to liue, paie anie dutie to the court of Rome, vnder the name of a tribute. In this meane while, the king with a puissant armie inuaded the Welsh rebels, to reduce them to some quiet, whereas with their continuall incursions and other exploits, they had sore harried, vexed, and wasted the lands of the kings subiects. Matth. Paris.

The king inuades Wales. He buildeth a castell at Gannoke.

Herevpon the king being entred the countrie, inuaded the same, vnto the confines of Snowdon, and there he began to build a strong castell at a place called Gannoke, remaining there about the space of ten weeks, during the which, the armie suffered great miserie through want of vittels and other prouisions namelie apparell, and other helps to defend themselues from cold, which sore afflicted the souldiers and men of warre, bicause they laie in the field, and winter as then began to approch. Moreouer, they were driuen to keepe watch and ward verie strouglie, for doubt to be surprised by sudden assaults of the enimies, the which watched vpon occasion euer to doo some mischefe.

The deceasse of the countesse of Orenford, and of the earle of Deuonshire.

The morrow after the Purification of our ladie, Isabell de Boulbec countesse of Orenford departed this life, and likewise the morrow after saint Valentines day died Baldwine de Riuers earle of Deuonshire and of the Wight. Moreouer, Geffrey de March, a man sometime of great honour and possessions in Ireland, after he had remained long in exile, and suffered great miserie, ended the same by naturall death. Also Raimond earle of Prouance, father to the quéenes of England and France deceassed this yeare, for whome was kept in England a most solemne obsequie. Also in the weeke after Palme sundaie, died a right noble baron, and warden of the north parts of England, the lord Gilbert Humfreuile, leauing behind him a yong sonne, the custodie of whome the king forthwith committed to the earle of Leicester, not without the indignation of the earle of Cornewall, who desired the same.

Geffrey de March deceaseth.

The deceasse of Raimond earle of Prouance.

The deceasse of the lord Humfreuile.

Anno Reg. 30.

Finallie, after that the king had lien at Gannoke about the fortifieng of the castell there, the space of ten weekes, and saw the worke now fullie finished, he appointed forth such as should lie there in garison, and therewith, on the morrow after the feast of Simon and Jude, he raised his field, and returned towards England, leauing the Welshmen in great miserie, and like to starue for want of necessarie food. For the Ile of Anglesey, which is as a nurse to the Welshmen, those Irishmen that came to the kings aid, had vtterlie wasted and destroied. Againe, the king of purpose had consumed all the prouision of corne and vittels which remained in the marshes, so that in Cheshire, and other the parts adioining, there was such dearth, that the people scarse could get sufficient vittels to sustein themselues withall.

The king returneth forth of Wales.

Irishmen destroied Anglesey.

A dearth.

The king also gaue forth commandement, that no prouision of corne or vittels should be conueied vnto the Welshmen, out of any parts, either of England or Ireland, on paine of forfeiting life, lands & goods. Moreouer, he caused the wine pits in Wales to be stopped vp and destroied. The king hauing thus ordered his businesse, returned into England, and shortlie after, taking displeasure with the lord Maurice, cheefe iustice of Ireland, bicause he had not made such speed as had beene conuenient in bringing the Irishmen to his aid, he discharged him of the office of cheefe iustice, and placed in his roome John Fitz Geffrey. In this thirtith yeare of king Henries reigne, Walter earle Marshall and of Penbroke departed this life: and shortlie after, to wit, three daies before Christmasse, his brother Anselme that succeeded him in the inheritance, deceassed also without issue: and so all the fiue sonnes of the great earle William Marshall, being departed this world with-

Wine pits destroied in wales.

The lord Maurice cheefe iustice of Ireland.

John Fitz Geffrey lord iustice of Ireland. Matth. Paris.

The decerse of walter erle Marshall.

out holes of their bodies begotten, the whole heritage descended to the sisters, and so was diuided amongst them as coparteners.

1246 The king this yeare held his Christmas at London, and had there with him a great number of the nobilitie of his realme, which had beene with him in Wales, that they might be partakers of pastime, mirth and pleasure, as they had beene partakers with him in suffering the displeasures of heat, cold, and other paines abroad in the fields and high mountaines of Wales, considering with himselfe (as the truth is) that

Mal. Par. in suo cap.

——vita est quàm proxima letho,
Quàm merito spernenda animam si nulla voluptas
Mulceat, at q̃ leuent solatia nulla laborem.

But that no pleasure should passe without some staine of greefe, there was a rumor spred abroad, that the pope conceiued fresh rancor in his stomach against the king and realme of England, for the complaints which had beene exhibited in the councell at Lion by the English orator, for the oppression done to the church of England: that thereupon, minding now to be reuenged, as was said, he earnestlie moued the French king to make warre against the Englishmen and to subdue them vnder his dominion: which enterprise the French king vtterlie refused, both for that he and the king of England were cosens, and againe, because the king of France had no full title or right to make claime to England.

The pope requireth the French king to make warre against England.

The French king refuseth to gratifie the pope therein.

Further, there was as then a truce betwixt England and France, and before that England could be subdued, much guiltlesse blood should be spilt. Also, the christians in the holie land were sore oppressed, and looked dailie for the arriuall of the king of France, and therefore he would be loth to attempt any new enterprise to hinder his iornie thither. But about the feast of the Epiphanie, other news came out of Prouance, that troubled the king of England worse than the other before, as thus, That the countesse Beatrice his wiues mother had deliuered vp the countie of Prouance into the French kings hands, together with sixteene castels, which in right of the queene ought to haue remained vnto the king of England. For the safe keeping whereof to his vse, the said countesse Beatrice had receiued yearelie for the ferme of fiue yeares last past, the summe of foure thousand marks of the king of England, and yet now in the deliuering of them, with the residue of the countrie vnto the French king, she neuer made any mention of his right.

The countesse of Prouance dealeth vnnaturallie with the king of England hir sonne in law.

Shortlie after also, Charles the French kings brother maried the ladie Beatrice, yongest daughter of earle Raimond, and had with hir the same countie of Prouance, and so was intituled earle thereof, as in the French historie appeareth. Moreouer, the archbishop of Canturburie procured a grant from the pope to recouer for one yeare the first fruits of all cures that chanced to be void within the citie, diocesse, and prouince of Canturburie, by and during the tearme of seauen yeares then next following, till the summe of ten thousand marks were leuied, towards the discharge of the said archbishops debts. The collection of the which ten thousand marks was assigned by the popes bulles vnto the bishop of Hereford, who should also leauie two thousand marks of the reuenues belonging to the church of Canturburie, to be conuerted to the same vse. The king at the first was sore offended herewith, but shortlie after, he was pacified and so the archbishop had his will.

Charles the French kings brother is made earle of Prouance.

The archb. of Canturburie purchaseth grant of the pope to leuie monie.

After this, about the beginning of the next spring, Dauid prince of Wales departed this life, after great pensifenesse of mind, for the destruction and miserie into the which his countrie had beene brought through the present warres with the Englishmen.

Dauid prince of wales departeth this life.

After his decease, the Welshmen elected to succeed in his place, the sonne of Griffin, whom king Henrie had retained in seruice, and honourablie vsed, euen of a child: but now that he heard that the Welshmen had elected him to their prince, he stale away, and fled into Wales. ¶ On the day of the purification of our ladie, a robberie was committed vpon certeine Iewes at Oxenford, for the which fact, fiue and fortie of the Oxenfords were put in prison, but at the suit of Robert bishop of Lincolne, they were deliuered by the kings commandement, because no man impeached them of anie breach of peace, or other crime. The citizens of London also about the beginning of the spring, were compelled to pale a talage, wherewith they found themselues sore aggreeued.

Ap Griffin chosen prince of Wales.

Iewes robbed in Oxenford.

The Londoners pale a talage.

About the middest of Lent, there was a parlement holden at London, wherein diuerse statutes and ordinances were deuised, as penalties for those that offended in other mens parks and warrens: but the cheefest occasion of assembling this parlement, was to take aduise in matters touching the greeses wherewith the church of England seemed to be oppressed by the pope and the court of Rome. The pope indeed to quiet the English ambassadors, and to put the king and realms in some good hope of releese and deliuerance out of such oppressions, as were opened vnto him in the face of the whole councell, did not onelie promise largelie, but also caused diuerse priuileges to be made and deliuered vnto the said ambassadors verie fauorablie, in the behalfe of their requests. But yet the same notwithstanding, sith the breaking vp of the said generall councell, and return to the ambassadors, manie things were done, to the increasing and continuation of the former greeses, so that they stood in doubt of further oppressions to follow, rather than in hope of the promised redresse. Hereupon they concluded eftsoones to write vnto the pope, and to the cardinals, both in name of the king, of the bishops and prelats, of the earles, barons, and other estates of the temporaltie, and of the abbats and priors. In the meane time, the pope for a while somewhat relented in the point of bestowing benefices here in England, for when any of his freends or kinsmen was to be preferred to any benefice within this realme, he would sue to the king for his grant and good will, that such a one might be admitted, and not seeme of himselfe to grant it without the kings consent.

A parlement.

A statute against hunters

The earle of Sauoy in the presence of the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Hereford and others, did homage to the king of England, acknowledging to hold of him certeine fees, as those of Suse, Aurillian, S. Maurice de Chablais, and the castell of Bard, which he might well do, not preiudicing the right of the empire, sith he held nothing of the same empire, except Aigues and the passages. This yeare, the office of the earle Marshall was giuen to Roger Bigod earle of Northfolke, in right of his wife the countesse, that was eldest daughter vnto the great earle William Marshall. ¶ Moreouer, in this yeare the king holding his Easter at London, honored Harold king of Man with the order of knighthood. About the same time, diuerse noble men of Wales submitted themselues, and were receiued vnto the kings peace. ¶ On saint Markes day was a great frost and snow, which nipped the leaues of trees and hearbes in such extreame wise, that for the more part they withered and faded awaie.

The earle of Sauoy doth homage to the K. of England

Roger Bigod intitled to the office of earle Marshall.

Matth. Paris.

Harold king of Man.

Welshmen receiued to the kings peace, vpon their submission.

Furthermore, because the pope vnderstood, that diuerse rich beneficed men were of late dead in England intestate, as Robert Hailes the archdeacon of Lincolne, Almerike the archdeacon of Bedford, and John Hotolpe archdeacon of Northhampton, he ordeined a decree, that all such spirituall persons

A decree of the pope.

sons as died intestate, their goods should remaine to the pope. The execution of which decrée he commanded to the friers preachers and minors: but the king would not suffer it to take place, bicause he saw that it should redound to the preiudice of him and his kingdome. Wherein the popes oppression and wrong offered to the dead (by whose decease their suruiuing frends should be benefited) and his cruell couetousnes extending to the verie senseles corpse doth manifestlie appeare, so that it is verified of him, by waie of comparison,

Carnivorax tumidis vt gaudet hyæna sepulchris,
Sic inflat putidis ille cadaueribus.

Also, where the pope required a talage of the clergie, the king flatlie forbad it by his letters inhibitorie.

In this meane while, William Powis chapleine, and sir Henrie de Lamere knight, which were sent with the second letters, deuised in the late parlement (as you haue heard) to be preferred vnto the pope and cardinals, returned againe without obteining anie sowardlie answer, but rather (as they declared) they found the pope sharp and rough in speech, saieng, The king of England which now kicketh against the church, & beginneth to plaie Frederiks part, hath his counsell, & so likewise haue I, which I intend to follow. Other answer they cold not obteine. Againe, the Englishmen that were sutors in the court of Rome, were strangelie vsed, and could not get anie dispatch in their businesse, but were rather put backe as schismatikes, and with rebukes reuiled. Herevpon the king called a parlement at Winchester, to haue the aduise of his lords in this matter, where how soeuer they agreed, proclamation was immediatlie set forth, and published in euerie shire & countie through the realme, that no man should consent to the popes contribution, nor send anie monie out of the realme to his aid. When the pope heard of this, he wrote verie sharplie to the bishops, commanding them on paine of excommunication and suspension, to satisfie his Nuncio remaining at the new temple in London, before the feast of the Assumption of our ladie. And whereas the king minded to haue stood in the matter through threats of his brother the earle of Cornewall, and of certeine prelats, namelie, the bishop of Worcester (who had authoritie as was said to interdict the land) he yelded and suffered the pope to haue his will, to the great griefe and discomfort of manie.

A proclamation inhibiting monie to be sent to the pope.

A sore tempest of haile.

On S. Margarets daie, there fortuned a maruellous sore tempest of haile, raine, thunder and lightning, which being vniuersall through the realme, did much hurt, & continued the space of 16 houres together without ceasling. This yeare, sundrie noble personages departed this world, as Isabell the kings mother, wife to the earle of March in Poitou. Also, the countesse of Albemarle, the daughter of Alaine of Galloway, and sister to the countesse of Winchester: wherevpon, a great part of Gallowaie that belonged to hir (for that she died without issue) remained to Roger de Quincie earle of Winchester, that married the eldest sister. Moreouer, John lord Neuill died this yeare, which had béene chiefe forrester of England: but he was not onelie put out of that office for certeine transgressions, but also out of the kings fauor before he died, where (at first) none was more estéemed in the court than he. The bishop of Salisburie, named master Robert de Bingham, died also this yeare, and sir Richard de Argenton knight, a right noble personage, which in the holie land had shewed good proofe of his high valiancie, manhood, & prowesse: likewise sir Henrie Baillioll of the north, and diuerse other.

Isabell the kings mother departeth this life.

Roger de Quincie earle of winchester.

John lord Neuill departed this life with diuers other.

Anno Reg. 31. In the beginning of the one and thirtith yeare of king Henries reigne, the pope sent into England to haue the third part of one yeares profit of euerie beneficed man that was resident, and of euerie one not resident the one halfe. The bishop of London should haue séene this aid and collection leuied, but it would not be granted. And in a parlement called this yeare on the morrow after the Purification of our ladie, it was ordeined, that new letters sealed with the common seale of the citie of London should be sent by sufficient messengers, from all the estates of the realme, vnto the pope and cardinals, requiring a moderation to be had in such exactions as were intollerable for the realme to beare. Whilest this parlement yet lasted, there came ouer the lord Peter of Sauoy earle of Richmond, bringing with him certein yong ladies and damsels, to be bestowed in marriage on such yong lords and gentlemen as were wards to the king.

1247 Matth. Paris.

Intollerable exactions.

Peter de Sauoy earle of Richmond.

On S. Valentines euen, a great earthquake happened here in England, and namelie about London, on the Thames side, with the which manie buildings were ouerthrowen. These earthquakes, the seldomer they chance in England, the more dreadfull the same are, and thought to signifie some great alteration. A little before this earthquake, the sea had ceassed from ebbing and flowing for the space of three moneths together, by a long tract neere to the English shore, to the great maruell of many, for either it flowed not at all, or else so little that it might not be perceiued. And after the earthquake, there followed such a season of foule weather, that the spring seemed to be changed into winter, for scarse was there anie daie without raine, till the feast of the translation of S. Benet.

An earthquake.

A strange wonder.

Continuall raine.

There were at this time diuerse ordinances decréed and enacted by waie of prohibition, to restreine the authoritie of spirituall persons, as that no ecclesiasticall iudge should determine in causes of anie temporall man, except touching causes of matrimonie and testaments. They were also prohibited to sue anie actions touching tithes, before anie spirituall iudge, and the writ whereby they were prohibited, was called an *Indicauit*. Sundrie other such ordinances were deuised, which for breuenesse we omit. What spéed or answer so euer the messengers had that were sent to Rome with the letters deuised in the late parlement, truth it is, that the pope sent ouer into England such of his agents as gathered no small sums of monie amongst the cleargie, as one Marinus, and an other named Johannes Anglicus a frier minor, the which were not intituled by the name of legats, to saue the priuileges which the king had, that no legat might come into the realme without his licence. The comming ouer of these men, bicause it was to gather monie, contented not manie mens minds, as well appeared in a parlement called at Oxford about reformation thereof, but yet notwithstanding it was there agreed, that the pope should haue eleuen thousand marks to be leuied amongst them of the spiritualtie, exempt persons and places reserued.

Acts made to restrain presumptuous authoritie of the spiritualtie.

The popes collectors.

A shift by forbearing the name of legat.

About the same time, Baldwine naming himselfe emperour of Constantinople, came againe into England, to procure some new aid of the king, towards the recouerie of his empire, out of the which he was was expelled by the Grækes. ¶ Also, there arriued in England a cardinall that was bishop of Sabine, hauing first receiued an oth, that he came not for anie hurt to the king or his realme, for otherwise being a legat he might not be suffered to enter the land: he came this waie to passe ouer into Norwaie, whither he went to crowne and annoint Hacon king of that realme. There arriued here with him the three halfe brethren to the king, Guy de Lucignan, William de Valence, & Athelmare a prælat, with their sister Alice. All these were begotten by Hugh

The emperor of Constantinople commeth into England.

A cardinall cõmeth into England, receiuing an oth not to preiudice ỹ realme.

The kings halfe brethren came to se the king.

Hugh Bigun earle of March, of quéene Isabell the kings mother, and were therefore soluullie receiued of the king, with faithfull promise, that he would be to them a beneficiall good brother, which his saiengs with effectuall dæds he after fullie performed. The cardinall hauing saluted the king, toke leaue of him and came to Lin, where he staied at the point of three moneths, making such purchase amongst religious men, that what by procuracies and other shifts, he got as was thought, a foure thousand marks towards his charges, and so departed. Edmund Lacie earle of Lincolne, and Richard de Burgh, as then wards to the king, were married vnto two of those yong ladies of Prouance, which Peter de Sauoy earle of Richmond brought ouer with him, whereat manie of the English nobilitie grudged.

The cardinall maketh shift for monie.

William de Valence marrieth lord Wontchēcies daughter.

Also, about the thirteenth of August, the ladie Jone daughter to the lord Guarine de Monchencie, was married vnto William de Valence the kings halfe brother. The same ladie was heire to hir fathers lands, by the death of hir brother the sonne of the said lord Guarine. Sir William de Bueles knight a Norman borne, was made seneshall of Gascoigne about this season, and was sore vexed with wars by Gaston the sonne of the countesse of Bierne and others, which Gaston shewed himselfe verie vnthankefull, for the king had giuen both to him and to his mother (a woman of a monstrous stature) verie large interteinement to serue him in his wars at his last being in that countrie (as before ye haue heard.) The archbishop of Canturburie suspended the prests of his prouince, bicause they would not consent (according to the grant which he had purchased of the pope) that he should haue the first fruits for one yeare, of euerie benefice that chanced to be vacant within the same prouince. The earles of Cornewall and Penbroke got much monie by waie of a collection, towards the releefe of the warres in the holie land, hauing purchased of the pope certeine buls of indulgence for the same. Sir Fouke de Newcastell a valiant knight, and cosen germane to the king on the mothers side died at London, during the time of the parlement.

Gaston de Bierne maketh war against the kings lieutenant.

Prests of the prouince of Canturburie suspended.

Sir Fouke de Newcastell the kings cosen by his mother departeth this life.

On the thirteenth of October was a portion of the holie bloud of Christ (as it was then supposed) shewed in most reuerent wise in a solemne procession, for the king comming to the church of S. Paule in London, receiued there the same bloud conteined in a christalline glasse, the which he bare vnder a canopie supported with foure staues, through the streets, vnto the abbeie church of Westminster. His armes were also supported by two lords as aids to him all the waie as he went. The maisters of the Templers and Hospitallers had sent this relike to the king. To describe the whole course and order of the procession and feast kept that daie, would require a speciall treatise. But this is not to be forgotten, that the same daie the bishop of Norwich preached before the king in commendation of that relike, pronouncing six years and one hundred and sixteene daies of pardon, granted by the bishops there present, to all that came to reuerence it.

Pardon granted by bishops

Also the same daie and in the same church, the king made his halfe brother William de Valence, and diuerse other yong bachelers, knights. Unto the said William de Valence, for his further aduancement and maintenance, he gaue the castell of Hertford, and the honor therto belonging, with great treasure: & to the elder brother Guy de Lucignan, which about the same time returned into France, he gaue verie great and honorable gifts, lading his sumpters with plate and treasure of sterling monie, which in those daies in all countries was verie much esteemed. The earle of Winchester remaining in Gallowaie, where he had faire possessions in right of his wife, was besieged of his owne tenants, within a castell wherein he lodged, and being in danger either to die through famine, or else at the discretion of the enimies, he burst forth, and making way with his sword, escaped, and comming to the king of Scots, complained of the iniurie done to him by his people, wherevpon the king toke such order, that the rebels were punished, and the earle set in quiet possession of his lands againe.

Knights made.

Anno Reg. 32.

The earle of Winchester besieged in Galloway by his owne tenants.

Toward the latter end of November, William earle Ferrers & of Derbie departed this life, a man of great yeares and long troubled with the gout, a iust man and a peaceable. The same moneth the countesse his wife died also, a woman of yeares, vertue and fame like to hir husband: Thomas Becket the archbishop of Canturburie did minister the priests office at their marriage. Their eldest sonne William succéeded his father in the earledome, a good man and a discreet, but vexed with the gout verie pitifullie, hauing that disease also as it were, by inheritance from his father. There died likewise other of the nobilitie, as Richard de Burgh, and William Fitz Ham. Beatrice the countesse of Prouance mother to the queene, and Thomas de Sauoy late earle of Flanders, came into England to visit the king and queene and were honorablie receiued, and at their departure backe towards home, richlie rewarded. This yeare in the octaues of the Purification, a parlement was holden at London, where all the nobilitie of the realme in manner was present, There were nine bishops, as the archbishop of Yorke, with the bishops of Winchester, Lincolne, Norwich, Worcester, Chichester, Elie, Rochester and Carlell, with the earls of Cornewall, Leicester, Winchester, Hereford, Northfolke, Oxford, Lincolne, Ferrers, and Warwike, with Peter de Sauoy earle of Richmond, besides lords and barons. The archbishop of Canturburie was at the court of Rome, & the bishop of Duresme was letted by sickenesse.

William earle Ferrers departeth this life.

1248

The countesse of Prouance commeth into England.

A parlement.

In this parlement king Henrie earnestlie required a subsidie, in releefe of the great charges which he had diuerse waies susteined, wherevpon he was streightwaies by the péeres of the realme noted both of couetousnesse, vnthankfulnesse, and breach of promise, bicause he neuer ceassed gathering of monie, without regard had to his people: and where he had promised manie things, as that he would not be burdenous vnto them, and such like; he had performed verie little of those his gaie promises. Manie misdemeanors, and wrongfull doings, to the gréeuance of his people were opened and laid before him, as cherishing and inriching of strangers, & vsing his prerogatiues too largelie, to the great decaie & hinderance of the common-wealth. The king abashed herewith, and supposing that the confession of his fault should make amends, & aswage the displesure which his Nobles and other had conceiued at his misgouernance, to content them all with one answer, he promised that he would reforme all that was amisse, and so quieting the minds of his barons, the parlement was prorogued till the quindene of the natiuitie of S. John Baptist. Wherein his prudence and wisedome was to be commended, but his patience deserueth exceeding great praise, whereby he shewed himselfe princelike-minded, in that he could tollerate the exprobration and casting of his faults in his face, euen by such as should rather haue concealed than disclosed them: wheras it had stood with his roialtie to haue giuen them the counterchecke, and in angrie mood to haue tamed their malapertnesse: but that he prouidentlie considered that

A subsidie demanded. Polydor. Math. Paris.

The king charged for his immoderate inriching of strangers.

The parlemēt prorogued.

——*parit ira furorem,*
Turpia verba furor, verbis ex turpibus exit

Rixa,

Rixa, ex hac oritur vulnus, de vulnere lethum:
——patientia virtus,
Qua quicúng, caret, careat probitate necesse est.
Qui nil ferre potest, hominum commercia vitet.

An ordinance for monie.

About the same time, by reason that the sterling monie was generallie so clipped, that the inscription was cut off for the most part euen to the inner circle, a proclamation was set forth, that no péeces thereof should passe from one to an other, nor be receiued as currant and lawfull monie, except the same were of iust weight and fashion. Herewith also inquirie was made for those that had so defaced it, and sundrie Iewes bankers, and cloth-merchants of Flanders were found giltie. Also, the French king caused serch to be made within his realme for the same offendors, and such as were found giltie, were hanged, so that he was more seuere in punishing those falsifiers of the king of Englands coine, than the king of England was himselfe.

Inquirie made for washers & clippers of monie.

The parlement began againe at the day appointed, but nothing to accompt of was then concluded, but rather a displeasure kindled betwixt the king and his barons, for that they loked for a reformation in his doings, and he for monie out of their coffers, which would not be granted, and so that parlement brake vp. The king hereupon for want of monie, was driuen to so hard a shift, that he was constreined to sell his plate and iewels (which the Londoners bought) so much to his hinderance, that diuers péeces (the workemanship whereof was more worth than the value of the stuffe) were sold notwithstanding after the rate as they weied.

Matth. Paris. The parlemẽt dissolued.

The king driuen to sell his plate.

This yeare, the king caused a faire to be kept at Westminster at saint Edwards tide, to indure fortéene daies, and to the end that the same should be the more haunted with all manner of people, he commanded by proclamation, that all other faires, as Elie, and such like holden in that season, should not be kept, nor that any wares should be shewed within the citie of London, either in shop or without, but that such as would sell, should come for that time vnto Westminster: which was done, not without great trouble and paines to the citizens, which had not rome there, but in booths and tents, to their great disquieting and disease, for want of necessarie prouision, being turmoiled so pitifullie in mire and dirt, through occasion of raine that fell in that vnseasonable time of the yeare. The bishop of Elie complained sore of the wrong done to him by suspending his faire at Elie aforesaid.

S. Edwards faire at westminster.

Sir Richard Sward deceaseth.

Sir Richard Sward died this yeare, after he had laien a long time vered with the palsie, which sir Richard had in his daies bene a right worthie and famous knight. There died also the bishops of Bath and saint Dauids. In the first day of June, the mone immediatlie vpon the setting of the sunne, was almost wholie eclipsed, so that little of hir might appeare. The towne of Newcastell vpon Tine was almost wholie consumed with fire, togither with the bridge there. The archbishop of Canturburie remaining still with the pope by his procurator the deane of Beauueis, denounced all them accursed which went about to impeach him of receiuing the first fruits of benefices that voided, which he had by the popes grant, the king and quéene, with their children, and the kings brother the earle of Cornewall onelie excepted out of that curse.

Death of bishops.

An eclipse.

Newcastell burnt by casuall fire.

The archb. of Cant. curseth.

Anno Reg. 33. An erthquake

There chanced another earthquake foure daies before Christmasse, namelie in the west countrie about Bath and Welles, which shooke and ouerthrew some buildings, speciallie the tops and summets of steeples, turrets and chimnies were shaken therwith, and not the bases or lower parts. ¶ In Christmasse following, the earle of Leicester returned out of Gascoigne, where he had béene as generall against Gaston de Bierne, whome he had so afflicted and put to the worse, that the same Gaston was glad to sue for an abstinence of warre, where before he had done much hurt to the kings subiects. The said earle had also with the aid of the kings subiects apprehended an other rebell, one William Berthram de Egremont who had done much hurt in the parts of Gascoigne, and in the confines there, whome he had left in prison within the castell of the Rioll.

1249

The bishop of Durham resigneth his bishoprike.

This yeare a little before Candlemas, the bishop of Durham being a man of great yeares, by licence obteined of the pope, resigned his miter, reseruing to himselfe onelie three manors, Houeden with the appurtenances, Stocton and Euerington. The king hauing the last yeare receiued of his subiects a denall of a generall subsidie to be granted him, practised this yeare to get some releése at their hands, in calling each of them apart: but first he got two thousand marks of the citie of London, and after fell in hand with the abbats and priors, of whome he got somewhat, though sore against their willes. By occasion of two merchant strangers of Brabant, which chanced to be robbed about the parts of Winchester, whilest the king was there, vpon their importunate suit and complaint, there was a great nest of thæues broken, amongst the which were manie wealthie persons and freeholders, such as vsed to passe on life and death of their owne companions, to whom they were fauourable inough you may be sure: also, there were some of the kings seruants amongst them. About thirtie of those offendors were apprehended, and put to execution, besides those that escaped, some into sanctuarie, and some into voluntarie exile, running out of and vtterlie forsaking the countrie.

Matth. Paris. The king practiseth to get monie.

A nest of thæues broke.

The archbish. of Rone.

About Easter, the archbishop of Rone came ouer into England, and doing homage for such reuenues as belonged to his church here within this realme, had the same restored vnto him. In June there fell such abundance of raine, speciallie about Abington, that the willow trées, milles, and other houses standing nére to the water side, were borne downe and ouerturned, with one chapell also: and the corne in the field was so beaten to the ground, that bread made thereof after it was ripe, séemed as it had bene made of bran.

Matth. Paris. Great raine.

The earle of Salisburie & other go into the holie land.

About the same time, William de Longespée earle of Salisburie, and Robert de Uér, with other Englishmen, to the number of two hundred knights, hauing taken on them the crosse, went into the holie land, the said earle being their chéefe capteine, and had so prosperous spéed in their iornie, that they arriued safe and sound in the christian armie, where (the French king being chéefe thereof) they were receiued ioifullie. But yet (as Matthew Paris writeth) the pride and disdaine of the Frenchmen was so great, that vpon spite and enuie conceiued at the Englishmens glorie, which bare themselues right worthilie, the Frenchmen vsed the Englishmen nothing frendlie; & namelie the earle of Arras sticked not to speake manie reprochfull words against the said William de Longespée and his people, whereat they could not but take great indignation.

Matth. Paris.

The spite of the French towards the Englishmen.

Also the same season, the earle of Leicester, who had likewise receiued the crosse, deferred his iournie for a time, and sailing into Gascoigne, mightilie there subdued the kings enimies, as Gaston de Bierne, also one Rusteine, and William de Solares. This yeare died Peter de Geneure, a Prouancois borne, whome the king had preferred in marriage vnto the ladie Maud, daughter and heire of Walter Lacie a man of faire possessions in Ireland. Of which marriage there came issue a sonne and a daughter. Also about Whitsuntide died a noble baron of the north parts,

Peter de Geneure.

The deceasse of Roger Fitz Iohn.

parts, named the lord Roger Fitz Iohn, whose sonne and heire being yong, was giuen in wardship to William de Valence the kings halfe brother. Also this yeare Hugh earle of March, father to the same William de Valence died in Cipres, whilest the French armie wintered there, as then going into the holie land.

The death of Hugh le Brun.

Anno Reg. 34. The archb. of Canturburie inthronized.

In the feast of All saints, the archbishop Bonifacius was inthronized at Canturburie, and kept a solemne feast, at the which the king and queene, with the more part of all the prelats of the land were present.

A tornie holden at Brackley, or (as some copies haue) at Barkley.

About this season was a great tornie and iusts holden at Brackley, where the earle of Gloucester (contrarie to his accustomed maner) fauoured the part of the strangers, wherby they preuailed. In somuch that William de Valence handled one sir William de Odingesselles verie roughlie, the same sir William being a right worthie knight. About the same time,

1250

Edmond son to Richard earle of Cornwall borne.

the countesse of Cornewall at Berkehamsted was deliuered of a sonne named Edmund. This yeare about the beginning of the spring, the kings brother the earle of Cornewall with other Noble men of the realme, as the earle of Gloucester, Henrie Hastings baron, & Roger Thurkebie, went ouer into France in princelie arraie and furniture to visit the pope, who held his court still at the citie of Lions. The bishop of Lincolne also and the bishop of Worcester went thither. For what cause the other went, it was not openlie knowne. But the bishop of Lincolne went thither about such businesse as he had in hand against the Templers, Hospitalers, and such other which had appealed from him to the court of Rome, where he could not bring his purpose to passe, for his aduersaries with monie had purchased the iudges fauour. And so the bishop returned, hauing spent his trauell and monie in vaine.

An ambassage sent to the pope.

The king taketh on him the crosse.

On the 6 of March being sundaie, the king tooke vpon him the crosse, with his brother de Valence, and a great number of other Noble men, and amongst other the abbat of Burie, to the prejudice (as was thought) of his order. Roger de Monthault, a baron of great honour, meaning verelie to go in that iournie, to recouer monie towards his necessarie furniture, set and sold the most part of his liuings. His woods and possessions, which he had about Couentrie, he sold and let to fee farme vnto the couent there. The like chieuance was made by sundrie noble men, which prepared themselues to go in that iournie.

The lord Roger de Monthault.

Upon the 27 day of Aprill those that had taken on them the crosse, assembled at Bermondsey besides London, to treat of their setting forward, determining that the same should be at Midsummer next: but by the popes letters which the king procured, they were commanded to staie till the king himselfe went. Thus their iournie for that time was disappointed. There was of them and their retinues that meant thus to haue gone, fiue hundreth knights, besides yeomen or demilances and other common souldiers in great numbers. Gaston de Bierne was so driuen to his shifts by the high prowesse of the earle of Leicester, that in the end he was constreined to come ouer into England, and submit himselfe to the king, whom he found at Clarendon, where he gat such mercie at the kings hands, that he was pardoned and restored to his lands. But the earle of Leicester put the king in possession of the castels of Fronsacke, Egremount, and others, and banished Ruskein, and William de Solares, with diuerse other stubborne and disloiall rebels, depriuing them of their lands and inheritance in that countrie.

Gaston de Bierne submiteth himself to the king.

The earle of Leicester his seruice in Gascoigne.

The bishop of Lincolne did excommunicat a preest within his dioceese, that was accused of incontinencie. And because the same preest continued fortie daies without seeking to be reconciled, the bishop sent to the shiriffe of Rutland, within whose bailiwike the same preest dwelled, to apprehend him as a disobedient and rebellious person: but the shiriffe winked at the matter, and would not execute the bishops commandement, whereupon the bishop did also excommunicat the shiriffe: whereof the king being informed, toke displeasure, and sending to the pope, procured an inhibition, that no archbishop nor bishop should compell anie officer belonging to the king, to follow anie suit afore them, for those things that apperteined to the kings iurisdiction, or giue sentence against them for the same.

The bishop of Lincolne.

An inhibition procured by the king of the pope.

The mondaie before the Rogation weeke, Richard the kings brother earle of Cornewall, returned from the court of Rome, where he had beene about certeine businesse vnknowne to most men: but whatsoeuer the same was, the pope gaue him most courteous and honorable interteinement for his welcome, and made him great cheare during his abode at Lions, where the popes court as then laie. ¶ About this season, the k. to rid himselfe out of debt, wherein he was indangered to certeine merchants, lessened the charges of his houshold, and kept but a meane port, diminishing euen the accustomed almesse of the poore, and also the great number of tapers and lights in his chappell, so that he was noted with the blame of too much niggardlie sparing and pinching: but in that he discharged his debt to the merchants, he was thought to doo wiselie and charitablie, for that he would not see them hindered to whom he was so indebted; besides the opinion that he had concerning himselfe, namelie that

The earle of Cornewall returneth from the pope.

The king seeketh to bring himselfe out of debt.

Profectum faciunt rarum qui debita stringunt.

About the same time also, he caused the Iewes to giue vnto him a great portion of their goods, so that they were greatlie impouerished. There was one of them named Aaron borne in Yorke, the which since the kings last returne out of Gascoigne, had paied to the king the summe of thirtie thousand markes, ouer and besides two hundred marks which he had giuen to the queene, as the same Aaron protested to Matthew Paris, vpon his faith and truth which he bare to his law. In the Whitsunweeke was a generall chapter holden of the friers preachers at London in Holborne, where out of sundrie parts of the world were assembled aboue foure hundred of them, and they had meat and drinke found them of almesse, because they possessed nothing of their owne. On the first daie the king came into their chapter, that he might be partaker of their praiers, and found them meat and drinke that day, and dined there with them, to doo them the more honour. Another day the queene likewise fed them, and afterwards the bishop of London, the abbats of Westminster, S. Albon, and Waltham, with others.

The Iewes constreined to helpe the king with monie.

Matth. Paris.

A generall chapter of friers preachers.

About the same season the citizens of London found themselues greeued verie sore, for such liberties as the king granted to the abbat of Westminster, to the great hinderance and decaie of the franchises of their citie. The maior and communaltie resisted all that they might against those liberties, and finallie by the good helpe and fauour of the lords, as the earles of Cornewall and Leicester, they obteined their purpose. This yeare maister William de Kilkennie, a sober, faithfull and learned man, was made keeper of the great seale. ¶ The same yeare vpon inquisition made by Geffrey de Langley, one of the kings councell of transgressors in forrests and chases, manie that had offended were presented, and most grieuouslie punished by imprisonment, fines, and exceeding great amercements, and namelie in the north countrie.

Matth. Paris. Strife betwixt the Lõdoners and the abbat of Westminster.

William de Kilkennie keeper of the great seale.

On the nineteenth of Maie died Robert de Lexinton clearke, the which hauing continued a long time

Robert de Lexinton departeth this life.

time in the office of a iudge, purchased to himselfe great fame, and also most large possessions. But certeine yéeres before his death, because he was diseased with the palsie, he gaue ouer that office, and drew himselfe into a quiet trade of life, so ending his daies in praiers and doing of almesdeeds. About the feast of S. Margaret died Henrie Hastings a noble baron, and one Robert de Mulchampe a man of great renowme in the north parts. Also Walter bishop of Winchester departed this life, about the feast of S. Matthew, in whose place (through the kings earnest suit) his halfe brother Athelmare was promoted to succeed. Moreouer, in the east parts, that valiant erle of Salisburie William de Longespee, with Robert de Ueer, and others, was slaine in that vnfortunate battell in the which the Saracens vanquished the christian armie, and toke Lewes the French king prisoner.

The lord Henrie Hastings deceaseth.
Robert Mulchampe.
Athelmarle the kings halfe brother made bishop of Winchester.
The earle of Salisburie slaine by the Saracens.

On the first day of October, the moone vpon hir change, appearing exceeding red and swelled, began to shew tokens of the great tempest of wind that followed, which was so huge and mightie, both by land & sea, that the like had not bene lightlie knowne, and sildome or rather neuer heard of by men then aliue. The sea forced contrarie to hir naturall course, flowed twice without ebbing, yelding such a roring noise, that the same was heard (not without great wonder) a farre distance from the shore. Moreouer, the same sea appeared in the darke of the night to burne, as it had béen on fire, and the waues to striue and fight togither after a maruellous sort, so that the mariners could not deuise how to saue their ships where they laie at anchor, by no cunning nor shift which they could deuise. At Hertburne three tall ships perished without recouerie, besides other smaller vessels. At Winchelsey, besides other hurt that was done in bridges, milles, breakes and banks, there were three hundred houses, and some churches drowned with the high rising of the water course. The countrie of Holland beyond the sea, and the marish land in Flanders, sustained inestimable damage, and in manie other places; by reason that riuers beaten backe and repelled (by the rising of the sea) swelled so high that they ouerflowed their chanels, and much hurt was done in medowes, bridges, milles, and houses.

A mightie wind.
Matth. Paris.
The sea seemeth to burne
Ships lost.
Hertburne.
Winchelsey.

Anno Reg. 35.
The practise of the bishops to disappoint the archbi. of Canturburie of his purpose

About the beginning of the fiue and thirtith yeare of king Henries reigne, the bishops of England, vnderstanding that the archbishop of Canturburie was about to purchase of the pope a grant to gather monie through his whole prouince of the cleargie and people for synods and procuracies, they thought to preuent him, and therefore made a collection euerie one through his owne dioceese, of two pence in euerie marke which any beneficed man might dispend, which monie so collected, they ment to imploie about charges in the popes court, for the staie of the archbishops suit, that the grant should not passe.

In erthquake at S. Albons.

About the same time, to wit, vpon saint Lucies day, there was a great earthquake at S. Albons, and in the parts thereabouts with a noise vnder the ground, as though it had thundred. This was strange and maruellous, because the ground there is chalkie and sound, not hollow nor lose, as those places be where earthquakes for the most part happen. Doues, rookes, and other birds that sat vpon houses, and in boughes of trées fearing this strange wonder, flickred vp, and flue to and fro, shewing a token of feare as if a gosshauke had bene ouer their heads.

The pope sueth for licence to soiorne at Burdeaux.

The pope required by solemne messengers sent to the king of England, that he might come to the citie of Burdeaur in Gascoigne, & there for a time remaine. The king wist not well what answer to make, for loth he was to denie anie thing that the pope should require, and againe he was not willing for sundrie respects, that the pope should come so néere vnto him. Indeed, manie were in doubt, least if he came to Burdeaur, he would also come into England, and rather impaire the state thereof than amend it by his presence, sith by such vsurers and licentious liuers as belonged to him, the realme had alreadie bene sore corrupted. Howsoeuer the matter went, there was delaie and such means deuised and made, that the pope came not there at that time.

The popes presence more like to impaire than amend things.

On Christmasse day in the night, great thunder and lightning chanced in Northfolke and Suffolke past measure, in token as was thought of some euill to follow. ¶ The king kept his Christmasse at Winchester, but without any great port or liberalitie, for hospitalitie with him was greatlie laid aside. About this time, Guy de Lusignan the kings halfe brother came ouer into England, after his returne out of the holie land, and was of the king ioifullie receiued. Towards the releefe of his expenses made in that iournie, the king gaue him fiue hundred pounds which he got of the Iewes. Moreouer, he gaue to his brother Geffrey the custodie of the baron Hastings lands, and so by such liberall and bounteous gifts as he bestowed on them and other strangers, he greatlie incurred the hatred of his naturall people the Englishmen.

1251
Thunder and lightening.
Guy de Lusignan brother to the king.

On the day of the Epiphanie, the earle of Leicester came to the king in great hast out of Gascoigne giuing him to vnderstand, that the Gascoignes were reuolted in such number, that if spéedie succour were not prouided, the whole countrie would fall from the English subiection. Hereupon the king furnished him with monie, and the earle himselfe got all that he could make of his owne reuenues, and likewise of the Umfreuilles lands, the heire whereof he had in custodie. He made no long abode, but with all speed returned, and reteined two hundred Rutters out of the duke of Brabants countries, and with them certeine crosbowes. These were eger souldiers, and bloudie, but yet the Gascoignes prepared themselues to resist them all that they might: howbeit the earle put them still to the worse. Before his last returne from thence, he had raced the castell of Fronsacke flat with the ground, and likewise left desolate the castell of Egremount.

The earle of Leicester returneth.
He had of the king 3000 marks.
Rutters.

About this season, one of the kings iustices named Henrie de Bath fell in the kings displeasure, because he was accused that he had not exercised his office vprightlie, but to his owne priuat gaine, and peruerted iustice through bribes, vpon occasion of a suit moued betwixt him and one Euerard de Trumpington: he was appealed of falshood and treason by Sir Philip Darcie knight. His wife was of kin to the Ballets and Samfords, the which procured him great frendship at the hands of the earle of Cornewall, and of John Mansell, and other of the kings councell. But for all that they could do, he was in great danger to haue lost his life at the parlement holden that yeare, and begun on the sirtenth day of Februarie. For the king was so sore moued against him, that he caused proclamation to be made, that if any man had any thing to laie against the said Henrie de Bath, they should come forth, and their information should be heard. Hereupon diuerse came and presented their complaints, and amongst other, one of his owne fellowes, that was a iustice also, declared that he had suffered an offendor conuict, to escape vnpunished, for a bribe, which he receiued to the preiudice of the king, and the danger of his associats the other iustices, whereas it is required of one put in trust with the administration of lawes, to be vncorrupt and sound in iudgement, according to this true position,

A iustice accused for taking bribes.

Iudicis

Iudicis est recti nec munere nec prece flecti.

The king herewith rose vp in a great fume, and said openlie: If any man will slea Henrie of Bath, he shall not be impeached for his death: for I do here plainelie declare him acquit and guiltlesse for the same. Herewith diuerse would haue run vpon him to haue murdered him, but that John Pansell staied their outrage, shewing them that the king might well hereafter repent the words which he spake thus in his furie, and those that should do any violence vnto the man, were not like to escape punishment: for both the bishop of London would suerlie accurse them, and other of his friends would not faile to seeke reuenge by temporall force: and thus was Henrie of Bath in the kings high displeasure for the time. Howbeit at length, through intercession of the earle of Cornewall, and the bishop of London, he was put to his fine, and pardoned.

Henrie de Bath put to his fine.

About the same time, Athelmare the kings halfe brother was confirmed bishop of Winchester by the pope, although he was thought scarselie sufficient to haue the place, for lacke of learning and ripe yeares. About this time also, the bishops assembling at Dunstable, tooke aduise togither, how to preuent the archbishop of Canturburie, that he should not visit: and in the end they concluded to send their procurator vnto the court of Rome, to trie what purchase might be made there for monie to staie the licence, and not to sticke for the disbursing of foure thousand marks, if need required. Their procurator did so much in the matter, that he found the pope fauourable vnto his cause, though no determinate answer was giuen of a long time, till at length, to gratifie the archbishop and his kin, as the duke of Sauoy and other, the pope granted him licence to visit, but not generallie: for he might not visit anie parish church, except the person required him thereto. And whereas he had libertie to visit conuentuall churches, yet might he not receiue for procuracies aboue foure marks. For this moderation to be had, the procurator for the bishops gaue vnto the pope six thousand marks.

Athelmare or Odomare bishop of winchester confirmed.

A conuocatiō of the bishops.

Six thousand marks giuen to the pope.

The same yeare the bishop of Lincolne visited the religious houses within his diocesse, to vnderstand what rule was kept amongst them, vsing the matter somewhat strictlie (as they thought:) for he entred into the chambers of the monks & searched their beds. And comming to the houses of the nuns, he went so neere as to cause their breasts to be tried, that he might vnderstand of their chast liuings. In Lent following he was suspended by the pope, bicause he would not suffer an Italian that had no skill of the English tong to inioy a prebend in his church, which the pope had giuen to the same Italian. In this season, Wales was brought to be subiect vnto the English lawes, and that part which ioineth to Chesshire, was committed to the custodie of Alain lord Zouch, the which gaue, for hauing of the profits thereof to farme, 1 hundred marks, and supplanted lord John Graie which should haue had it for fiue hundred. Certeine vsurers and strangers borne called Caorsini, had bought faire houses at London, and so remained there as inhabitants, occupieng their trade without controlment, for the prelats durst not speake against them, bicause they alleged themselues to be the merchants of the popes highnesse: and the citizens durst not trouble them bicause they were defended by certeine noble men, whose monie (as was said) they occupied, to gaine after the manner of the court of Rome. Howbeit at length they were called before the ciuill magistrate by the kings procurement, and grieuouslie accused for their vnlawfull occupieng of vsurie, and some of them committed to prison, the residue hid themselues out of the way, till at length for a summe of monie they were licenced to be at rest, and so continued for a season. The Iewes reioised hereat, to haue fellowes with them in their miserie.

The bishop of Lincolne visiteth abbeies.

The bishop of Lincolne suspended by the pope,

Wales subiect to the English lawes.

Alain lord Zouch.

Vsurers called Caorsini.

In this season also there depended a controuersie betwixt the archbishop of Canturburie with the bishop of London and his canons of Paules, so that the said bishop of London & the deane of Paules, and other of the canons were excommunicated. But the bishop perceiuing which way the world went, reconciled himselfe: as for the deane, he stood long in the matter, & at length went himselfe to the pope to vtter his greefe. This controuersie hanged long betwixt them, and was handled in such wise, that laie-men laughed at their doings, for now and then whom the pope commanded to be absolued, their aduersaries by colour of the popes authoritie would command to be excommunicated. The first day of Julie the earle of Leicester in Gascoigne ouercame manie of the kings enimies, and tooke from them a fortresse called Chattellon.

Controuersie betwixt prelats.

The earle of Leicester prospereth in Gascoigne.

On S. Dunstans day there was a maruellous sore tempest of weather, the aire being darkened on euerie side from the foure corners thereof, and withall chanced such a thunder as few the like had beene heard of. First it began as it had beene a great way off, but after it burst out with such terrible crackes as was wonderfull. But one amongst the rest exceeded, and withall such lightening flashed forth, as put men in great feare and terror. The chimnie of the chamber, wherein the queene and hir children then were, was beaten downe to dust, and the whole building sore shaken. This was at Windsore, where in the parke, okes were rent in sunder, and turned vp by the roots, and much hurt donne; as milles with the millers in them, sheepfolds with their shepheards, and plowmen, and such as were going by the way were destroied and beaten downe. About the same time the sea on the coasts of England arose with higher tides than the naturall course gaue, by the space of six feet.

A sore tempest of thunder & lightening.

Windsore.

High tides.

About Michaelmasse queene Dowager of Scotland, that was daughter to Monsieur de Couste a Frenchman, came through England to returne into France where she was borne, and was of the king honorablie receiued and welcomed. This yeare the nunrie of Marran not far from Lin was founded by the ladie Isabell countesse of Arundell. ¶ Also this yeare the lord William de Cantlow departed this life, in whose heritage his son also named William succeeded. ¶ Moreouer, John Cobham & Geffrey Spenser (that was a man of great fame, and one of the kings councell) departed this life, Cobham before Easter, and Spenser shortlie after the same feast. Also in the octaues of Pentecost, Paule Peiuer or Peure departed this life, he was one of the kings cheefe councellors, and lord steward of his house. This man at the first was not borne to anie great possessions, but by purchase atteined to great reuenues. The ladie Ione his wife compounded with the king for the marriage of hir son named Paule, after his father, but the lord John Graie paied the monie, being fiue hundred marks, and so discharging hir of that debt, maried hir sonne to one of his daughters at his manor of Eiton, and afterwards at London married the mother of his sonne in law, wherewith the king was sore displeased, for he had giuen the marriage of hir vnto a stranger, one Stephan de Salines, so that the lord Graie was glad to giue to the king the summe of fiftie marks, by way of a fine to haue his good will.

The nunrie of Marran founded.

Paule Peiuer.

The lord Will. Graie marrieth the wife of Paule Peiuer.

In the six and thirtith yeere of king Henries reigne, the church of Hales was dedicated of the foundation of Richard earle of Cornewall. At which dedication he kept a solemne feast on the euen of saint Leonard being Sunday. There was present the king and the queene,

Anno Reg. 36. Matth. Paris.

The church of Hales dedicated.

quæne, and almost all the Nobilitie of England, both spirituall and temporall. The building of that church, all charges accounted, stood the earle in ten thousand marks, as he himselfe confessed vnto Matthew Paris. ¶ About the same time the earle of Leicester and Guie de Lusignan the kings halfe brother came into England out of France, and landed at Douer, whome the king receiued with great ioy and gladnesse. He gaue to his brother at his returne great rewards, as he was euer accustomed. In the feast of the Conception of our ladie at a iustes holden at Rochester, the strangers were put to the worse, and well beaten by the English batchlers and men of armes, so that the dishonour which they did to the Englishmen at Brakley was now recompensed with interest. For the strangers fleeing to the citie for succour, were met by the way by the English knights seruants and yeomen, which fell vpon them, beat them sore with clubs and staues, and handled them verie euill. Hereof sprang a great hatred betwixt the Englishmen and strangers, which dailie grew and increased more and more, the rather because the king had them in so good estimation, and reteined so manie of them within the realme.

The charges of the building of the church of Hales.

Tournies and iusts in those daies were handled in more rough manner than is vsed in our time.

1252

The king did celebrate the feast of Christmasse at Yorke, whither came Alexander the yong king of Scots, and was there made knight by the king of England, and on saint Stephans day he married the ladie Margaret, daughter to the king of England, according to the assurance before time concluded. There was a great assemblie of noble personages at that feast. The queene Dowager of Scotland mother to king Alexander, a French woman of the house of Coucie, had passed the sea, & was present there with a faire companie of lords and gentlemen. The number of knights that were come thither on the king of Englands part were reckoned to be at the point of one thousand. The king of Scots had with him three score knights, and a great sort of other gentlemen comparable to knights. The king of Scots did homage to the king of England at that time for the realme of Scotland, and all things were done with great loue and fauour, although at the beginning some strife was kindled about taking vp of lodgings.

The house of Coucie.

The king of Scots did homage to the K. of England.

This assemblie of the princes cost the archbishop verie deerelie, in feasting and banketting them and their traines. At one dinner it was reported he spent at the first course three score fat oxen. ¶ At request of the K. of Scots, the K. of England receiued Philip Lunell againe into fauour, or rather Louell (as I take it) one of his councell, against whome he had conceiued displeasure in the yeare last past, for such briberie as he was thought to be giltie of for shewing fauour to the Iewes. The king of Scots when he should depart, toke his leaue in most courteous maner, and led with him his new married wife, on whome attended sir Robert Nozice knight marshall of the kings house, and sir Stephan Bausan, and also the ladie Mawd, the widowe of the lord William Cantlow, with others. On the octaues of the Epiphanie chanced an exceeding great wind, which did much hurt in diuerse places of the realme. The bishop of Rochester returning frō the court of Rome, brought with him a bull, authorising him to receiue to his own vse the fift part of the reuenues of all the beneficed men within his dioceese.

Sir Robert Nozice, and sir Stephan Bausan.

In exceeding great wind.

The bishop of Rochest. bull.

In this meane while the earle of Leicester remaining in England, the Gascoignes made sore warre against such as he had left behind him, and withall gaue information to the king that the earle of Leicester was a traitor, and one that had spoiled the kings subiects: and furthermore by his vniust dealings had giuen to the Gascoignes cause of rebellion. The king to boult out the truth of this matter, sent first his chapleine Henrie Wingham, and afterwards sir Nicholas de Moles de Valence, as commissioners to inquire of the earles doing, who went and returned without finding any manifest crime in the earles demeanor. The earle was much offended that his innocencie should be thus suspected; but at length being appointed to returne into Gascoigne, he obeied and hauing a great summe of monie, he reteined a power of men of warre, as well Frenchmen as others, and meaning to be reuenged of those that had giuen the information against him, he strengthened himselfe with the aid of the king of Nauarre, and of the earle of Bigorre and other, so that he oppressed his aduersaries on ech hand, and so abated their pride, that if conuenientlie they might, they would haue yeelded themselues to some other prince, and vtterlie haue renounced the K. of England for euer. Whereby it should seeme that he was throughlie reuenged of them euen to their no small smart, not in word and threatning, but with sword and bloud-shedding, defending his innocencie, and manfullie shewing his warlike mind. But yet he had purchased to himselfe a greater portion of praise, if he had not with weapon but with wisedome made a conquest of the enimie: according to this sound counsell of a sage writer;

The earle of Leicester danteth his enimies.

Ingenio stude as magè quàm superare furore,
Ingenio vires cedunt, prudentia victrix
Cuncta domat.

Mal. Pal. in suo cap.

On the thirteenth day of March, the new moone was seene, whereas the prime change by naturall course should not haue beene till the fiftéenth day following; and for the space of fiftéene daies that then next insued, the sunne, the moone, and starres appeared of a red colour. And herewith the whole face of the earth seemed as it had beene shadowed with a thicke mist or smoke, the wind notwithstanding remaining north and northeast. Then began a sore drought, continuing a long time, the which together with morning frosts; and northerlie winds, destroied the fruits and other growing things, which were blasted in such wise, that although at the first it was a verie forward yeare, and great plentie towards of corne and fruit, yet by the means aforesaid, the same was greatlie hindered and speciallie in the summer season, when the sunnes heat increased, and the drought still continued.

A strange wonder of the new moone.

A great drought.

The residue of such fruits as then remained, withered awaie, so that scarse a tenth part was left, and yet there was indifferent store. For if the abundance which the blossomes promised had come forward, the trées had not beene able to haue borne the same. The grasse was so burned vp in pastures and medowes, that if a man toke vp some of it in his hands, and rubbed the same neuer so little, it streight fell to pouder, and so cattell were readie to starue for lacke of meat. And because of the exceeding hot nights, there was such abundance of fleas, flies, and gnats, that people were vered and brought in case to be wearie of their liues. And herewith chanced manie diseases, as sweats, agues, and other. In the haruest time fell there a great death and murren amongst cattell, and speciallie in Northfolke, in the fens and other parts of the south. This infection was such, that dogs and rauens feeding on the dead carrens, swelled streightwaies and died, so that the people durst eat no beefe, least the flesh happilie might be infected.

Manie diseases reigned.

A murren of cattell.

Also this was noted not without great wonder, that yong heifers and bullockes followed the milch kine, & as it had beene calues sucked the same kine. Also appletrées and peartrées, now after the time of yeelding their ripe fruit, began againe to blossome, as if it had beene in Aprill. The cause of the death of cattell was thought to come hereof. After so great a

The cause of the death of cattell.

The charges of the building of the church of Hales.

The king of Scots did homage to the K. of England.

drought (which had continued by all the space of the moneths of Aprill, Maie, June, and Julie) when there followed good plentie of raine, the earth began to yeeld hir increase most plentifullie of all growing things, though not so wholesome nor of such kindlie substance, as in due time and season she is accustomed to bring forth, and so the cattell which before were hungerstarued, fed now so greedilie of this new grasse sprong vp in vndue season, that they were suddenlie puffed vp with flesh, and such vnnaturall humors, as bred infections amongst them, whereof they died.

The bishop of Lincolne. The bishop of Lincolne would haue inforced all the beneficed men within his diocesse to be preests, but they purchased a licence from Rome, to remaine at the Vniuersities for certeine yeares, without taking the order of preesthood vpon them. ¶ The king meaning to go (as he pretended) into the holie land, had grant of the pope to leuie a tenth of his subiects both spirituall and temporall. The Gascoignes sore repining at the earle of Leicester his streict gouernance (who handled them more roughlie than they had beene accustomed) sent the archbishop of Burdeaux ouer into England to exhibit a complaint against him in all their names. The earle of Leicester aduertised thereof, followed him, and comming to the court, found the archbishop readie to aduouch the information which he had made against the said earle, chiefelie in that he had sought the destruction of those to whom the earle of Cornewall when he was ruler there, had granted life and peace, and whom sir Henrie Trubleuile, and Waleran the Dutchman, late stewards of Gascoigne, vnder the king, had cherished and mainteined. With manie other things the archbishop charged him, the which the earle wittilie refelled and disproued, so as he was allowed in his iustification by those that stood by, as the earle of Cornewall and others.

The Gascoigns meane to complaine of the earle of Leicester.

The earle disprooueth the allegations of his accusers.

The bishop of Lincolns authoritie to institute vicars in churches impropriate. The bishop of Lincolne got authoritie of the pope to institute vicarages in churches impropriat to religious men, where no vicars were; and where such were as seemed to slenderlie prouided of sufficient allowance, to augment the same as he thought expedient: which his authoritie he vsed more largelie than stood with the pleasure of religious persons, because he shewed great fauour to the vicars. The copie of the letters which the bishop had procured of the pope, authorising him herein, followeth as we find the same in the chronicles of Matthew Paris.

The tenor of the popes grant.

INnocentius episcopus, &c. Cùm sicut accepimus in tua ciuitate & diocæsi, nonnulli religiosi & alij collegiati ecclesias perochiales in proprios vsus obtineant, in quibus nimis exiles aut nullæ taxatæ sunt vicariæ; fraternitati tuæ per authoritatem summam mandamus, quòd in ijsdem ecclesijs de ipsarum prouentibus vicarias instituas, & institutas exiles adaugeas vice nostra: prout iuxta consuetudinem patriæ secundũ Deum videtur expedire, non obstantibus si prædicti exempti sint, aut aliàs muniti apostolicis priuilegijs siue indulgentijs, per quæ id impediri vel differri possit; & de quibus speciale oporteat in præsentibus fieri mentionem: contradictores per censuras ecclesiasticas apostolica potestate compescendo. Datum Lugduni 7 Octob. pontificatus nostri, An. 8.

The earle of Leicester sent eftsoones into Gascoigne. The earle of Leicesser was eftsoones sent into Gascoigne by the king, who had not cared if he had fallen into his enimies hands, as should appeare. But the earle hired souldiers in France, and comming into Gascoigne, preuailed against his enimies, though in one conflict he was in danger of losing both life and the honour of the field. But yet through his good hap, Gods fauour, and the valiancie of himselfe and some of his retinue, he got the vpper hand, and put his enimies to flight, taking Rusteine, one of the cheefe ring-leaders, whom he caused to be presented to the king.

Rusteine taken.

At the same time had the king inuested his son Edward with the duchie of Aquitaine to the offense of the earle of Cornewall, to whom by charter he had before giuen and confirmed the same. In a iusts holden at Walden, sir Arnold de Monteinie a right valiant knight was slaine by sir Roger de Lemborne, for which mischance all the Nobles there assembled made great lamentation, and namelie the said sir Roger: but yet he was suspected to be in blame, because the socket of his staffe was polished, & not abated. Hereby it should appeare, that in qualitie of weapon, and not in maner of their running togither, these iusts and tornies in those daies practised differed from the verie order of warre.

The kings eldest son Edward created duke of Aquitaine.

Sir Arnold de Monteinie slaine.

The 17 of September the cathedrall church of Elie was dedicated, which the bishop of that see named Hugh had builded of his owne proper costs and charges, togither with the palace there. The king and a great number of the peeres & nobles of the realme both spirituall and temporall were present at this solemne feast, which was kept in most plentifull manner. The 13 day of October, the king held a great feast at London, and had called the states of the realme, then and there to assemble in parlement, wherein he opened to them the popes grant, which he had obteined of the tenths due to the church, to be receiued by him for three yeares, towards his charges in his iournie which he meant to make into the holie land. The bishops, and namelie Lincolne, vtterlie refused to be contributarie to his grant.

The church of Elie dedicated.

Parlement.

The king demandeth the tenths of the spiritualtie.

They alledged sundrie reasons for their excuse, as the pouertie of the English church being alreadie made bare, with continuall exactions and oppressions; but cheeflie they excused themselues by the absence of the archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke, of whom the one was beyond the sea, and the other at home in the north parts. All th' other English bishops were there, except Hereford & Chester, which Chester was sicke, and therefore without the consent of those that were absent, and namelie their primat the archbishop of Canturburie, they could not conclude vpon any generall point touching the kings demand. And although the king fretted and stormed against them, yet could he not bring them to his purpose, so that the parlement for that time was dissolued. Yet before their departure from London, he communed with the bishops apart, to see if he might persuade them to giue him some portion of monie towards his charges: but they had tuned their strings all after one note, discording all from his tenor, so that not a penie could be got of them: wherefore he toke high displeasure against them, reuiling them in most reprochfull maner, and amongst other he vpbraided his halfe brother (the elect of Winchester) of great vnthankefulnesse, who also amongst the residue stood against him.

The bishops refuse to yeeld to the popes grant.

The king highlie offended with the bishops.

The king hauing this repulse at the bishops hands, began to fall in talke with the lords of the temporaltie touching the troubles in Gascoigne, where things were in broile by the hard dooings of the earle of Leicester, against whom the Gascoignes ceassed not to make warre still, and of late hauing besieged him in the castell of Mountalbon, droue him to such shift, that to escape the present danger he was glad to set at libertie certeine rebels, which he had before taken captiues.

The king assaieth to get monie of the lords temporall.

captiues. Therefore to reduce that countrie vnto quietnesse, the king determined to go thither himselfe, and to remoue the earle of Leicester out of his office: but when he came to the pith of the matter, which was to desire their aid both of men and monie, the lords would not agree to grant him anie. And where he sought to burthen the erle of Leicester with misgouerning things against his honour, they excused the same earle, and so the lords also departed in displeasure of the king as well as the bishops. Howbeit the king got of the Londoners by way of princelie praier twentie thousand marks of gold at that time. And to their further greese for better meane to be reuenged against the bishop of Elie, he caused the said Londoners to keepe saint Edwards faire for fiftéene daies togither at Westminster, and in the meane time to keepe their shops shut through all the citie. Which thing (by reason of the foule weather chancing at that time) was verie greeuous vnto them, albeit there was such repaire of people thither, that London had not beene fuller to the iudgement of old ancient men neuer at anie time in their daies to their remembrance.

The Londoners helpe at a pinch.

This yeare died sir Nicholas Samford knight, a man of great reputation and valiancie. Also on the twentith day of October, the countesse of Winchester daughter to the earle of Hereford departed this life at Grobie, a manour place belonging to hir husband the earle of Winchester, a little besides Leicester, and was buried at Brakelie. The said earle shortlie after married an other wife in hope of issue. For neither by this his last wife, neither by his first that was daughter to the lord Alane de Galowaie had he any children. Also the same yeare, that noble ladie Margaret countesse of Lisle surnamed Riuers, sometime wife to Fouks de Brent, departed out of this world, about the second day of October. In the seauen and thirtith yeare of king Henries reigne, one of the popes notaries called Albert came into England to offer vnto Richard earle of Cornewall the kings brother, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicill. But the earle supposing it not to stand with his honour, to depriue his nephue Henrie, sonne to the emperor Frederike the second, by his wife the empresse Isabell that was sister to the said erle, refused to take that honour vpon him.

The death of sir Nicholas Samford.

The countesse of Winchester departeth this life.

Matth. Paris.

The deceasse of the countesse de Lisle de Wight.

Anno Reg. 37.

The pope offereth the kingdome of Sicill vnto the earle of Cornewall.

About the same time, that is to say, on the octaues of saint Martin, Boniface the archbishop of Canturburie arriued in England, comming from the court of Rome, where he had beene long resiant. ¶ At the same time there chanced a great occasion of strife betwixt the said archbishop, and the bishop of Winchester. For where maister Eustace de Lin, officiall to the said archbishop had first excommunicated, and after for his contumacie caused to be attached a preest which by authoritie of the elect of Winchester as diocesane there, was entred into possession of an hospitall in Southwarke, as gouernour thereof, by the name of prior, without consent of the officiall: who pretended title as patrone in his maisters name. The said elect of Winchester caused a riotous sort of persons after the maner of warre to seeke reuenge hereof, the which after manie outrages done, came to Lambeth, and there by violence tooke the said Eustace out of his owne house, and led him to Farnham, where he was kept as prisoner.

The archbishop thus serued at his first comming ouer, and taking the same but for a homlie welcome, was maruellouslie offended, and comming to London accompanied with the bishops of Chichester and Hereford, in the church of saint Marie bowe, being reuested in pontificalibus, pronounced all those accursed, which were authours or fauourers of such a rash and presumptuous deed, and further commanded all the bishops within his prouince, by vertue of their obedience, to denounce the same in their churches euerie sundaie and holie day. The bishop of Winchester on the other part, sent commandement to the deane of Southwarke, to resist the archbishop to his face, and to denounce his cursse to be void, vaine, and of no force, but deuised of a craftie purpose and wicked meaning. The archbishop continuing in his conceiued displeasure, went to Drenford, and there on the morrow after saint Nicholas day, renewed the same curse in solemne wise before all the learned men, students, and scholers of the Uniuersitie.

Howbeit, at length the matter was taken vp betwixt them, for the king in his brothers cause, and the queene for hir vncle the archbishop, toke some paine to agree them: and so in the octaues of the Epiphanie they were made freends, and those absolued that were excommunicated, in which number William de Ualence, and John de Warren were thought to be conteined, as those that should be present in vsing the force against the officiall (as before ye haue heard.) By inquirie taken about this time by the diligence of the bishop of Lincolne, it was found that the yéerlie profits and reuenues of spirituall promotions and liuings resting in strangers hands preferred by the popes prouisions, amounted to the summe of threescore and ten thousand marks, which was more by two third parts, than the kings reuenues belonging to his crowne.

1253

The archb. of Canturburie and the bishop of Winchester made freends. William de Ualence, and John de Warren.

The value of spirituall liuings in strangers hands.

The earle of Gloucester and the lord William de Ualence went ouer into France in most triumphant manner, to conclude a marriage betwixt the sonne of the said earle of Gloucester, and the daughter of the lord Guie of Engolesme. Which marriage the king had motioned for the affection which he bare towards the aduancement of his linage, by the mothers side. Whereat bicause they were strangers, the English nobilitie somewhat repined. And whereas like lustie yong gentlemen they attempted a iusts and tornie to shew some proofe of their valiant stomachs, they were well beaten by the Frenchmen, that disdained to see yong men so presumptuous, to prouoke old accustomed warriours to the triall of such martiall enterprises. About the beginning of Lent, the new moone was seene foure daies before shée ought to haue appeared by hir due and common course.

The new moone appeared before hir time.

The king by a shift got of the Londoners 1000 marks. For as it happened about the same time the youthfull citizens (for an exercise and triall of their actiuitie) had set forth a game to run at the quintine, and whosoeuer did best, should haue a peacocke which they had prepared for a prise. Certeine of the kings seruants, bicause the court laie then at Westminster, came (as it were in spite of the citizens) to the game, and giuing reprochfull names to the Londoners (which for the dignitie of the citie and ancient priuileges which they ought to haue inioied were called barons) the said Londoners not able to beare so to be misused, fell vpon the kings seruants, and bet them shrewdlie, so that vpon complaint, the king caused the citizens to fine for their rash doings. Wherein the Londoners followed the counsell of him that in a case of strife, said

Running at the quintine.

The Londoners called Barons.

Tu ne cede malis sed contra audentior ito,
Audaces fortuna iuuat,

Moreouer, about the same time, the king vpon displeasure conceiued against the earle of Leicester, had caused him to resigne his office of the wardenship of Gascoigne: and bicause the earle had it by patent, the king not able to find any iust cause of forfeiture, agreed to paie vnto him for the resignation no small portion of monie. And whereas the Gascoignes had charged the earle with too much streict

The earle of Leicester resigneth his gouernment of Gascoigne.

handling of them, whereby they were occasioned to raise tumults, the matter was now nothing at all amended. For after the earle had resigned, they continued still in rebellion, so that the Rioll with S. Millions and other places were taken by the aduersaries out of the kings hands, and great slaughter of people made in those parts: wherefore the king minding to go thither, caused muskers to be taken, and men put in a readinesse according to the custome, that he might vnderstand what number of able men furnished for the warre were to be had. He also toke order that euerie man that might dispend yearlie fifténe pounds in lands should be made knight.

The Rioll, S. Millon, townes in Gascoigne.

Knights to be made.

Moreouer, for the better preseruation of peace and quietnesse amongst his people, he appointed watch to be kept by night in cities and borough townes. And further by the aduise of the Sauoisines, which were about him, he ordeined that if any man chanced to be robbed, or by any meanes damnified by any théefe or robber, he to whom the kéeping of that countrie chéefelie apperteined where the robberie was done, should competentlie restore the losse: and this was after the vsage of Sauoy, but was thought more hard to be obserued here, than in those parts, where are not so manie bypaths and starting corners to shift out of the waie. ¶ The Gascoignes continued in their seditious doings, and namelie Gascon de Bierne, who renouncing his dutie and obedience to the king of England ioined himselfe to the king of Spaine, through his helpe to be the stronger & more able to annoie the English subiects. The euill intreating vsed towards the Gascoignes which brought hither wines, in that the same were oftentimes taken from them by the kings officers, and other, without readie monie allowed for the sale, gaue occasion to them to grudge and repine against the king.

In ordinance against robbers.

The cause moued the Gascoignes to rebellion.

A parlement.

In the quindene of Easter a parlement began at London, in which all the states being assembled, the matter was moued for aiding the king with some releése of monie towards the iournie which he ment to make into the holie land: and so at length it was agréed that a tenth part of all the reuenues belonging to the church was granted to him for thrée yeares space, and that escuage should be leuied for that yeare, after thrée markes of euerie knights fée, and the king on the other part promised faithfullie to obserue and mainteine the grant of the great charter, and all the articles conteined within the same. For further assurance whereof, on the third day of Maie, in the great hall at Westminster, in the presence and by the assent of the king and the earles of Norfolke, Hereford, Oxford, Warwike, and other Noble men, by the archbishop of Canturburie as primate, and by the bishops of London, Elie, Lincolne, Worcester, Norwich, Hereford, Salisburie, Durham, Excester, Carliell, Bath, Rochester, and S. Danies, reuested and apparelled in pontificalibus, with tapers, according to the maner, the sentence of excommunication was pronounced against all transgressors of the liberties of the church, and of the ancient liberties and customes of the realme of England, and namelie those which are conteined in the great charter, and in the charter of forrest.

A tenth granted of the spiritualtie. Escuage granted.

Magna charta.

Whilest the sentence was in reading, the king held his hand vpon his breast with glad and chéerefull countenance, and when in the end they threw awaie their extinct and smoking tapers, saieng, So let them be extinguished and sinke into the pit of hell which run into the dangers of this sentence; the king said, So helpe me God, as I shall obserue and keepe all these things, euen as I am a christian man, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and annointed. But afterward when he through other counsell brake his promise therein, he was aduised by some to giue a portion of that monie which he got at this time, to the Pope, that he might of him be absolued.

Godlie counsell no doubt.

Immediatlie after the breaking vp of the parlement, that is to saie, about the first of June, the king being earnestlie called vpon by messengers sent from the Gascoignes to prouide in time for the defense and safegard of that countrie, sith otherwise he stood in danger to lose it, with all spéed he resolued to go thither; and thereupon caused summons to be giuen to all those that held of him by knights seruice, to prepare to be at Portesmouth, with horsse and armour in the octaues of the Trinitie. Herewith he made great prouision of ships, the which being assembled, and the armie likewise come togither, through lacke of conuenient wind he was inforced to stay a long time, to his great gréese and no lesse charges.

The king purposeth to go himselfe into Gascoigne.

Finallie, on the 6 of August he toke the sea, leauing his brother the earle of Cornewall, and the quéene in charge with gouernance of the realme, and of his sonne the lord Edward. There departed with him from Portesmouth thrée hundred sailes of great ships, besides a number of other smaller vessels. And thus accompanied, he toke his course to Gascoigne, & about our ladie day named hir Assumption, he arriued at Burdeaux, where he was of the citizens honorablie receiued. Immediatlie after his arriuall there, he caused the towne of the Rioll to be compassed about with a strong siege, within the which a great number of rebels were inclosed, which valiantlie defended the place in hope of rescue, which Gaston de Bierne that was fled to the king of Spaine had promised to procure for them. But the king of England to preuent them in that point, sent the bishop of Bath, and his trustie chapleine sir John Mansell vnto the said king of Spaine, to conclude frendship and aliance with him, so that the lord Edward his eldest sonne might marrie the king of Spaine his daughter.

He taketh the sea.

He arriueth at Burdeaux.

Ambassadors sent into Spaine.

After long treatie, by the diligence of the said ambassadors, a full conclusion followed of their motion. And whereas the king of England had giuen and assigned the dominion of Gascoigne to his said sonne the lord Edward, the king of Spaine in the instrument that conteined the couenants of the marriage, resigned and quite claimed all the right and title within Gascoigne which he had or might haue by the gift of king Henrie the second, and by confirmation of the kings, Richard and John. In this meane while, the townes and castels which the rebels held, were won and deliuered into the kings hands, and herewith followed a great dearth in the kings armie, so that a hen was sold for sir pence sterling, a pound weight in bread was at two pence or thrée pence, a gallon of wine at two shillings, a come of foure bushels of wheat at twentie shillings, so that a knight with his esquire, and costrell with his two horsses, might scarse be competentlie found for two shillings in siluer. Wherefore the king to relieue his people there with him on that side the sea, sent the prior of Newbourgh with other into England, to cause prouision of vittels and other necessaries to be conueied and brought vnto him into Gascoigne, and so there was a great quantitie of graine and powdred flesh taken vp and sent awaie with all conuenient spéed.

A marriage concluded betwixt the K. of Englands sonne & the K. of Spaines daughter.

A dearth in the kings campe.

The earle of Leicester came to the king, bringing with him out of France where he had remained for a time, a faire companie of souldiers and men of warre to the kings aid, and was verie courteouslie receiued. The Gascoignes then perceiued the kings power to increase, and saw how not onelie the castels wherein they trusted to haue refuge were woone and gotten out of their hands by the king of England, but also that their vines (wherein chéeflie consisted their hope of sustentation) were burned vp and destroied,

The Gascoigns begin to humble themselues.

stroied, they began to humble themselues, and so by little and little returned to their due obedience, after that the authors of their seditious tumults were either apprehended, or chased out of the countrie.

The bishop of Chichester Richard Witz and Grosted b. of Lincolne depart this life

This yeare died Richard Witz the bishop of Chichester, a man of great vertue and singular knowledge. Also that famous clearke Robert Grosted bishop of Lincolne departed this life on the day of S. Denise in the night, at his manor of Bugdon, whose learning coupled with vertue and vprightnesse of life wan to him perpetuall commendation. He was a manifest blamer of pope and king, a reprouer of prelats, a corrector of monks, a director of prests, an instructor of clearkes, a sustейnor of scholers, a preacher to the people, a persecutor of incontinent liuers, a diligent searcher of the scriptures, a contemnor and a verie mallet of such strangers as sought preferment in this realme by the popes prouisions: in housekeeping liberall, in corporall refection plentifull, and in ministring spirituall food, deuout and godlie affected: in his bishoplike office diligent, reuerend, and neuer wearied: a singular example of a bishop, specially in those daies, and at whose life our reformed bishops may fetch light to abandon their darkenesse, and to amend that which is amisse in them, sith

The praise of Grosted.

Validiora sunt exempla quàm præcepta,
Et plenius docemur vita quàm verbo.

Leo papa.

Moreouer there died in Gascoigne, William de Uescie a baron of great fame in the north parts. Also in the spring and summer of this yeare was a great drought, and in the haruest season fell such wet, that great floods by the rising of the riuers, and ouerflowing their banks, did much hurt in sundrie places of the realme. Againe in the later end of haruest about Michaelmasse, there was eftsones such a drought, that men could get no grinding at the milles, but were constreined to go in some places a daies iournie off, to haue their corne ground. In the eight and thirtith yeare of king Henries reigne, the quéene was deliuered of a daughter which was called Katherin, bicause the same was borne on saint Katherins daie.

The L. wil. Uescie departeth this life.

Great wet.

Great drout.

Anno Reg. 38.

The ladie Katherin the kings daughter borne.

On S. Lucies daie, there fell a great snowe, and withall a winters thunder, for a token of some euill to follow. The king to settle the state of the countrie of Gascoigne in better order, tarried there all the winter, and repared certeine decaied townes and castels. The quéene kept hir Christmasse at London, where she laie in child-bed, and was purified on the euen of the Epiphanie, making a roiall feast, at the which manie great lords were present, as the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishop of Elie, the earls of Cornewall and Glocester, and manie other. She sent ouer at the same time to hir husband for a new yeers gift the summe of fiue hundred marks of hir owne reuennes, towards the maintenance of his warres.

Winter thunder.

1254

The quéenes liberalitie towards the K.

A strang sight in the aire.

On the euen of the Circumcision of our Lord, in the night season, whilest the aire was most cleare and bright with shining starres, the mone being eight daies old, there appeared in the element the perfect forme and likenesse of a mightie great ship, which was first séene of certeine monks of saint Albons, who remaining at saint Amphibalus, were got vp to behold by the starres, if it were time for them to go to mattens; but perceiuing that strange sight, they called vp such of their acquaintance as lodged néere at hand, to view the same. At length it séemed as the bourds and toints thereof had gone in sunder, and so it vanished awaie. There followed a maruellous sore later end of a winter, through cold and ouersharpe weather, which continued till the feast of S. Gregorie in March next insuing. Also there chanced the same yeare a great murren and death of shéepe and deere, so that of whole flocks and heards scarse the one halfe escaped.

Redborne.

A death of shéepe.

Whilest the king remained still in Gascoigne, he sent for his wife quæne Elenor, with his eldest sonne Edward, but bicause he could not make an end of all his businesse that winter, he continued there the summer also. And forsomuch as he stood in néed of monie, to haue some reasonable pretense to demand a subsidie, in the beginning of March, he sent to his brother Richard the earle of Cornewall (which was come ouer before chéefelie for that purpose) certeine instructions, to declare how there was like to follow great warre, by means of Alfonse the tenth of that name king of Castile, who manaced verie shortlie to inuade the confines of Gascoigne perteining to the English dominion, and therefore he required of his faithfull subiects some aid of monie, wherby he might be able to resist his aduersarie the said K. of Castile. Earle Richard did what he could to persuade the people to this paiment, but he cast his net in vaine before the face of the feathered foule, as the old prouerbe saith,

The king demandeth a subsidie.

Apparens rete fugére volucria quæq.

For though he set forth the matter to the vttermost in the presence of the Nobles and other estates, yet would they not heare of anie paiment to be made, as those that smelled out the feined fetch and forged tale of the kings néed. For they had intelligence that there was an agreement concluded betwixt him and the king of Spaine. And for the same cause the quéene and the lord Edward were gone ouer, that the king of Spaine might haue a sight of him, as he had required, when the couenants of the marriage were accorded.

The states of the realme were twise assembled at London about the grant of this paiment, but all in vaine; so that they were constreined to passe it ouer with silence, and to surceasse in the matter to their great griefe, and namelie the earle of Cornewall, who had taken great paines therein. Yet for that he would not returne with emptie hand, he leuied by rigorous means a great summe of the Iewes (of whom a maine multitude inhabited at that season in London) and therewith returning to his brother king Henrie, shewed him how he had sped. The king was not a little offended with them that thus had denied to helpe him with monie, insomuch that vpon euerie light occasion, he was readie to reuenge his displeasure towards them, in taking awaie such grants of priuileges and liberties as before he had made. But now to auoid suspicion of his feined pretense of war betwixt him and king Alfonse, he sent his sonne Edward into Castile vnto the same Alfonse, vnder a color to compound with him for peace, whereas the verie occasion of his going thither, was to purchase him the ladie Elenor to wife, that was sister to the said king Alfonse.

The king offended with them that refused to helpe him with monie.

Edward the kings sonne is sent to the K. of Castile.

At his comming to the court of Spaine, he was verie honorablie receiued of the king, and in the end, vpon conference had of his message, obteined his suit, so that king Alfonse was content to bestow vpon him his daughter in marriage, with the countie of Pontieu in France, which she held in right of hir mother quéene Jone, the second wife of Ferdinando the king of Castile, father vnto this king Alfonse, which Jone was the onelie daughter and heire of Simon earle of Pontieu, and had issue by hir husband the said Ferdinando two sonnes, Ferdinando and Lewes, with one daughter; to wit, the foresaid Elenor, the which by reason hir brethren died yoong, was heire to hir mother. The lord Edward hauing dispatched his businesse according to his desire, returned with a ioifull hart to his father, and declared to him what he had done. His father most glad thereof, for

He marrieth the ladie Elenor daughter to K. Alfonse.

Ran. Higd. Polydor.

Edward the kings sonne created prince of Wales, and earle of Chester. Matth. Paris.

an augmentation of honour, created him prince of Wales and earle of Chester, and appointed him to be his deputie and generall lieutenant both in Guien and in Ireland, and gaue to him the townes of Bristow, Stamford and Grantham. Hereof came it, that euer after the kings eldest sonne was made immediatlie vpon his birth prince of Wales and earle of Chester. He created also his other sonne named Edmund earle of Lancaster.

Edmund the kings yonger sonne created duke of Lancaster.

About this season were certeine ships driuen by force of wind and weather into certeine hauens on the north coasts of England towards Barwike, which ships were of a verie strange forme and fashion, but mightie and strong. The men that were aboord the same ships were of some farre countrie, for their language was vnknowne, and not vnderstandable to any man that could be brought to talke with them. The fraught and balast of the ships was armour and weapon, as habergeons, helmets, speares, bowes, arrowes, crosbowes and darts, with great store of vittels. There laie also without the hauens on the coast diuerse other ships of like forme, mold and fashion. Those that were driuen into the hauens were staied for a time by the bailiffes of the ports. But finallie, when it could not be knowne what they were, nor from whence they came, they were licenced to depart without losse or harme in bodie or goods.

Ships of a strange mold.

Gaston de Bierne attempteth to take the citie of Baion.

About Candlemasse, Gaston de Bierne, assembling togither a multitude of the kings enimies, thorough the intelligence of some of the citizens of Baion that fauoured not the king, wrought so, that certeine of his number entred that citie, meaning to haue bereft the king of the dominion thereof. But other of the citizins (namelie those of the meaner sort which fauoured the king) made such resistance, that the enimies which were entred, were apprehended, and diuerse of them suffered punishment, as they had well deserued. After this, there chanced a mutinie in the English armie, bicause the kings brethren and the bishop of Hereford take vpon them to punish certeine Welshmen, for that without commission they had beene abrod to spoile within the French confines. Therfore in asmuch as the punishment seemed to exceed the degree and qualitie of the offense; and againe, for that the earle of Hereford being constable of the host by inheritance ought to haue had the order of all corrections in cases of such offenses, the Englishmen were in mind to haue slaine all the Poictouins in despite of the kings brethren, if the king had not in humble wise sought to haue appeased their furie.

A mutinie in the English armie.

The wind continuing this yeare for the space of three moneths and od daies northerlie, did greatlie hinder the growth and increase of floures and fruits: and about the first of Julie there fell such a storme of haile and raine, as the like had not beene seene nor heard of in those daies, breaking downe the tiles and other couerings of houses, with boughes of trees, by the violent abundance and force of the water and hailestones, which continued aboue the space of an houre powring and beating downe incessantlie. After this, when the king had remained a whole yeare in Guien, he returned homewards through France, and comming vnto Charters, was honorablie there receiued of Lewes the French king, as then latelie returned out of the holie land, and from thence he was roiallie by the same king Lewes brought vnto Paris. The countesse of Cornewall went ouer with a noble traine of lords, gentlemen, and others, to be present at the meeting of hir two sisters, the quenes of England and France, so that the roialtie of the assemblie on eth part was great.

A mightie storme of haile.

Anno. Reg. 39. The king returneth homwards thorough France

The countesse of Cornewall.

After that king Henrie had continued there for his pleasure certeine daies, he returned to England,

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landing at Douer in Christmasse weeke. This iournie into Gascoigne was verie costlie, and to small purpose (as writers haue recorded) for the kings charges amounted to the summe of 27 hundred thousand pounds and aboue, except lands and rents, which he gaue vnaduisedlie to those which little deserued, but rather sought the hinderance both of him and his realme, besides the gift of 30 thousand marks, which he bestowed vpon his halfe brethren by the mothers side, not reckoning the lands nor rents, neither yet the wards nor the horses, nor iewels which he gaue to them besides, being of price inestimable. Thus in two iournies which he made, the one into Poictou, which countrie he lost; and the other into Gascoigne, which he hardlie preserued; he spent more treasure than a wise chapman would haue giuen for them both if they had beene set on sale (as Matthew Paris writeth) so that it might be verified in him that is meant by the old prouerbe,

Qui procul excurrit, sed nil mercatur ibidem,
si via longa fuit, rediens tristatur hic idem.

Moreouer to increase the kings vaine charges, so it fell out, that pope Innocent bearing grudge towards Conrade king of Sicill, offered that kingdome (as before is partlie touched) to Richard duke of Cornewall, who refused the offer, aswell for other causes, as chieflie for that the pope would not agree to such conditions as earle Richard thought necessarie for his assurance. Wherevpon the pope granted that kingdome vnto king Henrie, with manie goodlie promises of aid to his furtherance for atteining the possession thereof. King Henrie ioifullie receiued that grant, and called his sonne Edmund openlie by the name of K. of Sicill, and to furnish the pope with monie for the maintenance of his war against Conrade, he got togither all such sums as he could make, aswell out of his owne coffers, and out of the exchequer, as by borrowing of his brother earle Richard, and likewise what he could scrape from the Iewes, or otherwise extort by the rapine of the iustices itinerants: all which he sent to the pope, who not content herwith (when he began excuses to want) wrote againe to the king for more.

The pope offereth y kingdome of Sicill vnto the king of England.

The K. maketh great shift for monie to send to the pope.

He sendeth to the pope a warrant to take vp monie.

The king through the instinct of the diuell, to answer the popes auarice, sent him letters patents obligatorie, signed with his roiall seale, by which he might take by way of lone such summes of monie, as would largelie serue his turne of the merchants Italians, willing him not to sticke at the disbursing of treasure, nor at the great quantitie of the interest rising vpon the vsurie, for he would discharge all: and herevnto he bound himselfe vnder paine to forfeit his kingdome and other his heritages. The pope consenting hereunto, accepted this large offer. If he did well herein (saith Matthew Paris) the Lord the iudge of all iudges iudge it, to whom apperteineth the care of all things. To conclude, much monie was spent, for the pope spared not the king of Englands purse, though little good was done therewith. At length Conrade died, not without suspicion of poison. The pope being aduertised of his death, reioised greatlie, as he well vttered in plaine words, saieng; Let vs all that be the children of the Romish church reioise, for now two of our greatest enimies are dispatched out of the waie; the one a spirituall man, that is to saie, Robert bishop of Lincolne; and the other a laie-man, that is Conrade king of Sicill. But yet the pope missed of his purpose, for Manfred the bastard sonne of the emperour Frederike the second, was shortlie after proclaimed king of Sicill, and so the second errour was greater than the first.

Matth. Paris.

The pope is liberall of an other mans purse.

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" Manfred proclaimed king of Sicill.

About the quindene of Easter, there was a parlement holden at London, at the which were assembled all the states of the realme in greater number than had

A parlement.

had beene commonlie seene. This parlement was chéeflie called, to let them vnderstand the kings necessitie of monie for discharging of his debts, and to require them of their aid towards the same. But whereas he requested more than was thought good with reason, they would not agree thereunto, but desired that he would confirme, and without all cauillation sweare to obserue the liberties which by the charter he had promised to hold. Moreouer they required, that by the common councell of the realme they might chuse to them the cheefe iustice, the chancellour and treasuror, but they were answered plainelie by some of the priuie councell, that this request would at no hand be granted.

The states refuse to grant a subsidie.

Furthermore, the prelats complained, that they were driuen to paie the tenths which they promised conditionallie, as it were now by constreint and of dutie, to the preiudice of the liberties of the church. The Nobles also found themselues greeued for the exactions which they saw at hand, but finallie, after manie things had beene debated touching these matters, the parlement was adiourned till Michaelmas next, and euerie man departed to his home, with no great trust of the kings good will towards them, nor anie hartie thanks receiued of him for their paines, as may be thought by that which writers haue recorded. Two Noble men, to whom the custodie and guiding of the king and queene of Scots was committed, that is to say, Robert de Ros, and John de Baliol, were accused, for misusing themselues in the trust and charge which they had taken vpon them. King Henrie was the same time at Notingham. The information came forth by a physician, who was sent from the queene of England, vnto hir daughter the queene of Scots, to be about hir for gard of hir health, but bicause the same physician (whose name was Reignold of Bath) perceiued the queene of Scots to be impaired in health through anguish of mind, by reason of the misdemeanor of such as had the gouernement of hir and hir husband, he sticked not to blame and reproue them in their doings, for the which he was poisoned, as some thinke: for the truth was, he shortlie after sickened and died, signifieng vpon his death-bed vnto the queene of England what he misliked and thought amisse in those that had the doings about hir daughter and hir husband the Scotish king.

The parlemẽt adiourned.

Rob. de Ros & Iohn Baliol accused.

Reignold de Bath a physician.

An eclipse.

The moone suffered a maruellous eclipse on the night following the day of S. Margaret in Julie. It began afore midnight, and continued foure houres.

The earle of Glocester & John Mansell sent into Scotland.

The king in the behalfe of his daughter the queene of Scots raised a power, and drew northwards, sending before him the earle of Glocester, and John Mansell that was his chapleine and one of his councell. These two so vsed the matter, that they came to Edenburgh, where the king and queene of Scots then laie in the castell, into the which they entred, and altred the order of the houshold, so as stood with the contentation of the king and queene, which were in such wise vsed before that time, that they were not suffered to lie together, nor scarse come to talke together.

Robert de Ros summoned to appeare.

Robert de Ros was summoned to appeare before the king of England, to answer to such things as might be laid to his charge. At the first he withdrew himselfe, but afterwards he came in, and submitted himselfe to the kings pleasure. Diuerse of the nobles of Scotland tooke it not well, that the earle of Glocester and John Mansell should thus come into the castell of Edenburgh, and order things in the kings house in such sort at their pleasure: wherevpon they assembled a power, and besieged the castell, but at length perceiuing their owne error, they raised their siege and departed. John de Baliol being accused of the like crime that was laid to the charge of his fellow Robert de Ros, for a peece of monie bought his peace and was pardoned, but the lands of Robert de Ros were seized into the kings hands. Finallie, the king and queene of England came to an enterview with the king of Scots and the queene their daughter, and setting all things with them in such order as was thought conuenient, they returned towards the south parts.

A shift to get monie of the bishops deuised by the bish. of Hereford.

In the meane season, the bishop of Hereford deuised a shift to helpe the K. with monie, towards the paiments of his debts, by obteining certeine autentike seales of the prelats of this land, wherewith he signed certeine instruments and writings, wherein was expressed, that he had receiued diuerse summes of monie for dispatch of businesse perteining to them and to their churches, of this and that merchant of Florence or Siena, whereby they stood bound for repaiment thereof by the same instruments and writings so made by him their agent in their names. This shift was deuised by the said bishop of Hereford, with licence obteined thereunto of the king, and also of the pope, vnto whome for the same intent the said bishop was sent, with sir Robert Walerãne knight. The pope was the soner persuaded to grant licence for the contriuing of such manner of shift, bicause the monie should go to the discharging of the kings debts, into the which he was run, by bearing the charges of the warres against the king of Sicill.

A parlement.

About the feast of saint Edward, the parlement began againe at London, in which the states treated of a subsidie to be granted to the king, but they could not conclude thereof, neither would Richard earle of Cornewall disburse anie monie at that season to his brother the king, bicause he allowed not the maner of laieng it out for the warres against Manfred, being taken in hand without his consent. The same yeare, the king by the procurement of his brother Richard earle of Cornewall, had seized the liberties of the citie of London into his owne hands, vnder colour that the maior had not done his dutie in the iust punishing of bakers for breaking of the assises of their bread. Herevpon, where the maior and communaltie of the citie had by the kings grant the citie to farme, with diuerse customes and offices, at a certeine rate and stinted summe of monie; now the king set officers therein at his pleasure, which were accomptable to him for all the reuenues and profits that grew within the citie.

Richard earle of Cornewall standeth against his brother for the grant of a subsidie.

The liberties of London seized into the kings hands.

But whereas the malice which the earle of Cornewall bare to the citie, was, for that they would not exchange with him certeine grounds that belonged to their communaltie, they were glad to agree with him, and paie vnto him sir hundred marks. After which agreement concluded, about the nintenth date of Nouember, they were shortlie after restored to their liberties. This chanced before the kings comming ouer, who at his comming to London, lodged in the tower, and vpon new displeasure conceiued against the citie for the escape of a prisoner (being a clearke conuict) out of Newgate, which had killed a prior, that was of aliance to the king, as cousine to the queene, the king sent for the maior and the shirifs to come before him to answer the matter. The maior laid the fault from him to the shiriffes, for so much as to them belonged the keeping of all the prisoners within the citie: and so the maior returned home againe, but the shiriffes remained there as prisoners by the space of a whole moneth or more, and yet they excused themselues, in that the fault cheefelie rested in the bishops officers: for whereas the prisoner was vnder his custodie, they at his request had granted him licence to imprison the offendor within their ward

The shiriffes of London imprisoned.

ward of Newgate,but so as his officers were charged to see him safe kept. The king notwithstanding demanded of the citie three thousand marks for a fine.

The king demandeth mone of the Iewes.

Moreouer, whereas he stood in great need of monie, he required by way of a tallage eight thousand marks of the Iewes,charging them on paine of hanging, not to deferre that paiment. The Iewes sore impouerished with grieuous and often paiments excused themselues by the popes vsurers,and reproued plainelie the kings excessiue taking of monie,as well of his christian subiects as of them. The king on the other side, to let it be knowne that he tared not his people without iust occasion,and vpon necessitie that droue him thereto, confessed openlie, that he was indebted by his bonds obligatorie, in three hundred thousand marks: and againe, the yearelie reuenues assigned to his sonne prince Edward, arose to the summe of fifteene thousand marks and aboue, where the reuenues that belonged vnto the crowne were greatlie diminished,in such wise,that without the aid of his subiects,he should neuer be able to come out of debt. To be short,when he had fleeced the Iewes to the quicke, he set them to farme vnto his brother earle Richard,that he might pull off skin and all;but yet considering their pouertie,he spared them,and neuertheless, to relieue his brothers necessitie,vpon a pawne he lent him an huge masse of monie. These shifts did the king vse from time to time, not caring with what exactions and impositions he burthened the inhabitants of his land, whereby he procured vnto himselfe the name of an oppressor and couetous scraper.But what wonder is it in a king, sith

The kings debt 300000 marks.

The earle of Cornewall lendeth the king monie.

Hor.lib.2. serm. *Maxima pars hominum morbo iactatur eodem?*

About the same time,Lewes the French king sent vnto king Henrie for a present an elephant, a beast most strange and wonderfull to the English people, sith most seldome or neuer any of that kind had béene séene in England before that time.The French queene also sent for a present vnto the king of England an ewer of pearle like to a peacocke in forme and fashion, garnished most richlie with gold, siluer, and saphires to furnish him forth in all points of fine and cunning workemanship, to the verie resemblance of a liuing peacocke. ¶ Manie wonders chanced about this time.The sea rose with most high tides, riuers were so filled with abundance of water, by reason of the great continuall raine,that maruellous flouds followed thereupon. A comet also appeared, and manie high buildings were striken by force of tempests.The death of Walter archbishop of Yorke followed these prodigious wonders, who had gouerned that see the space of fortie yeares. After him succeeded one Seuall the 34 archbishop of that citie.

An elephant sent to the K.

An ewer of pearle, peraduenture an agat.

Strange wonders.

High tides.

A comet.

The deceasse of Walter archbishop of Yorke.

About the feast of S.Etheldred, the ladie Elianor wife of prince Edward the kings son, came to London, where she was honorablie receiued of the citizens, & conueied through the citie to S.Iones without Smithfield,and there lodged for a season,and yet long she remoued to the Sauoy. It was not long after,that the king seized the liberties of the citie of London into his hands, for certeine monie which the queene claimed as due to hir of a certeine right to be paid by the cittizens,so that about the feast of S.Martine in Nouember, they gaue vnto the king foure hundred marks,and then had their liberties to them againe restored, and the kings vnder-treasurer discharged, which for the time was made custos or keeper of the citie.

Elianor the wife of prince Edward cõmeth to the citie.

The liberties of the citie restored to the Londoners.

About the same time came another legat from the pope, namelie, one Ruscand a Gascoigne borne, to whom,with the archb. of Canturburie, and the bishop of Hereford, the pope had granted authoritie to collect and gather the tenths of the spiritualtie within

A legat from the pope named Ruscand a Gascoigne.

Tenths gathered for the pope.

England, Scotland, and Ireland, to the vse of the pope and the king, notwithstanding all priuiledges, for what cause or vnder what forme of words so euer the same had passed. This Ruscand also absolued the king of his vow made to go into the holie land, to the end he might go against Manfred king of Sicill. He also preached the crosse against the same Manfred, promising all those remission of their sins which should go to war against Manfred, as well as if they should go into the holie land, to warre against Gods enimies there, whereat faithfull men much maruelled,that he should promise as great meed for the shedding of christian bloud, as the bloud of infidels.

The crosse preached against Manfred.

The crafftie and slie fetches which were vsed in this season by this Ruscand the bishop of Hereford,and other their complices, to get monie of the prelats and gouernors of monasteries within this realme, were wonderfull, & verie grieuous to those that felt themselues oppressed therewith; and namelie, for the debt which the said bishop of Hereford had charged them with,they being not priuie to the receipt, nor hauing any benefit thereby. Ruscand called a councell at London, & propounded great causes why the prelats ought to aid the pope, and so thereupon demanded great summes of monie. Amongst other summes, he demanded six hundred marks of the house of S. Albons.

A councell called at London by the legat.

To conclude, his demands were esteemed vnreasonable,so that the bishops and abbats were in a maruellous perplexitie, perceiuing into what miserable state by reason of immoderate exactions the church of England was brought. The bishop of London sticked not to saie, that he would rather lose his head, than consent that the church should be brought to such seruitude as the legat went about to inforce.And the bishop of Worcester openlie protested,that he would sooner suffer himselfe to be hanged, than to see the church subiect to such oppression by their examples. Other also taking a boldnesse vnto them,affirmed,that they would follow the steps of Thomas sometime archbishop of Canturburie, which for the liberties of the church suffered himselfe to haue his braines cut out of his head.Yet were those prelats euill troubled, for the king was against them on the one side, and the pope gaping after monie was become their vtter enimie on the other: neither were the Noble men much moued with pitie towards the church their mother(as the terme then went)now thus in miserie.

Math.Paris. The churchmen being pinched by their purses, fret and fume against the popes proceedings in that behalfe.

The bishops would rather become martyrs,than lose their mone.

Finallie,the prelats appealed from Ruscand,vnto the popes presence, and would not obeie the wilfull and violent oppressions of the same Ruscand, so that much adoo there was, and a great complaint made to the king by Ruscand, of the stubborne disobedience of the prelats, and namelie of the bishop of London. The king was in a great chafe with him, and threatned that he would cause the pope to punish him according to that he well deserued: but the bishop answered thereto; Let the pope and king(saith he)which are stronger than I am, take from me my bishoprike, which by law yet they cannot do: let them take awaie my miter,yet an helmet shall remaine.

Ruscand complaineth to the king of the frowardnesse of the prelats.

The bishop of London his saiengs.

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This yeare after S. Lukes daie, the king assembled a great number of the nobilitie at London, and thither came the bishop of Bologna la grasse from the pope, bringing with him a ring,with the which he inuested Edmund the kings sonne king of Sicill and Naples. About the same time, the burgesse of Darbie obteined of the king for a summe of monie to haue the iustices itinerants to hold their assises at Darbie for the countie of Darbie, and likewise the shiriffes to kéepe their tournies there, and not at Nothingham,as before they had béene accustomed for both the shires. But now to returne to the bishops.

Anno Reg. 40

Edmund the kings sonne inuested king of Sicill and Naples. Chro. Dun.

In

In the meane time, the bishop of Hereford and Ruscand sought to set variance and discord amongst the English prelats, whereby being diuided in parts, and not consenting togither, they should be lesse able to giue true information to the pope, how the verie truth rested. But finallie, bicause the archbishop of Canturburie was in the parts beyond the sea, and for that also the sée of Yorke was vacant, and diuerse bishops were absent, the councell was prorogued till the feast of S. Hilarie, and so they departed euerie man to his home in a maruellous doubt what waie were best for them to take, sith they saw themselues in great distresse, if Ruscand did suspend or excommunicate any of them either iustlie or otherwise. For sure they were, that the king as a lion lieng in wait whome he might deuoure (to get monie) after fortie daies were past, if they submitted not themselues, would spoile them of all their goods as forfeited. So that the pope and the king seemed as though the shepheard and woolfe had béene confederate togither to the destruction of the poore flocke of shéepe, threatning euerie mans vndoing, to their owne inriching: and not ceasing, till with fulnesse they were forced to fall from the flesh, much like bloudsucking horseleeches, of whose nature it is notablie noted, that

Non missura prius carnem, quàm plena cruoris,
Quando hæret teneræ mollis hirudo cutis:
Sic ignara dolis emungitur ære caterua,
Imbelles populi quid nisi præda manent?

Thus by reason of couetous greedinesse to get monie for the furnishing of the popes warres against Manfred king of Sicill, both the pope and the king of England ran in slander and hatred of the English nation, namelie, of the spiritualtie, so that such as recorded the acts and doings of that time, spared not to make manifest to the world by their writings, how iniuriouslie they were handled, blaming the practises of the court of Rome in plaine terms, and affirming that the pope had power in those things which worke to edification, and not to destruction. About this season, John lord Grey, being one of the chéefe councellors to the king, a right honourable knight, and for his good demeanor and high valiancie greatlie commended of all, withdrew himselfe from the court, either by reason of age that desireth rest, or rather (as was thought) for that he doubted to beare blame for such errors as were dailie committed by them that bare rule about the king, which could not but bring the authors into great infamie at length, and therefore was he loth to be partaker with them of such slander as might haue redounded to him also, if he had still continued and taried amongst them.

Also, vpon the two and twentith of November, were brought vnto Westminster a hundred and two Iews from Lincolne, that were accused for the crucifieng of a child in the last summer, in despight of Christes religion. They were vpon their examination sent to the towre. The child which they had so crucified was named Hugh, about an eight yeares of age. They kept him ten daies after they got him into their hands, sending in the meane time vnto diuerse other places of the realme, for other of their nation to be present at the crucifieng of him. The murther came out, by the diligent search made by the mother of the child, who found his bodie in a well, on the backe side of the Iews house, where he was crucified: for she had learned, that hir sonne was lastlie seene plaieng with certeine Iews children of like age to him, before the doore of the same Iew. The Iew that was owner of the house, was apprehended, and being brought before sir John de Lexinton, vpon promise of pardon, confessed the whole matter. For they vsed yearelie (if they could come by their preie) to crucifie one christian child or other. The king vpon knowledge had hereof, would not pardon this Iew that had so confessed the matter, but caused him to be executed at Lincolne, who comming to the place where he should die, opened more matter concerning such as were of counsell and present at the crucifieng of the poore innocent. Whereupon at length also eightéene of them that were so brought to London, were conuinced, adiudged and hanged, the other remained long in prison.

The councell prorogued.

The K. lieth in wait for mens goods.

Matth. Paris.

The Lord Gray forsaketh the court.

Iewes accused & executed for crucifieng a child at Lincolne named Hugh.

Eightéene Iews hanged

1256

When the feast of saint Hilarie was come, the clergie met againe at London, and fell to intreat of their former businesse, at what time one maister Leonard *alias* Reignold that was chosen prolocutor for all the prelats, amongst other answers made to the legat Ruscand, when the same Ruscand alledged that all churches were the popes; Truth it is said Leonard, to defend, and not to vse and appropriate them to serue his owne turne; as we saie, that all is the princes, meaning that all is his to defend, and not to spoile: and such was the intent of the founders. Ruscand sore offended herewith, said, he would that euerie man should speake afterwards for himselfe, that as well the pope as the king might vnderstand what euerie man said in their businesse and matters. The prelats were striken in a dumpe herewith, for they perceiued how the matter went: they appealed yet against the demands that were made by Ruscand, who would not change a word of that he had written, in which was conteined, that the prelats had acknowledged themselues to haue borrowed of the merchant strangers, no small summes of monie, and the same to be conuerted to the vse of their churches, which was most vntrue as all men well vnderstood: whereupon the prelats affirmed, and not without reasonable cause, that there was a greater occasion in this cause of martyrdome, than in that of Thomas sometime archbishop of Canturburie.

The prolocutors answer to the popes legat.

The prelats appeale.

Marke the cause of martyrdome.

Ruscand at length, perceiuing their manner, became somewhat more mild, and promised that he would talke with the pope of this matter. But first there was sent to Rome the deane of Pauls in London, and certeine others, as attornies or agents for the whole clergie of England. These sped so in their suit, that the pope tooke order that if the prelats paid the monie by force of the contriued writings, whereby they stood bound for them, their houses, and churches; then, to ease their burthen, they might reteine in their hands such parcell of tenths as they ought to paie to the king, for furnishing of his wars against the Saracens, amounting to the summe which they should be constreined to paie for the bonds made to the merchants, by the bishop of Hereford (as before is recited.)

The deane of saint Paules sent to Rome on the behalfe of the prelats.

In this season the deuotion, which manie had conceiued of the pope and the church of Rome, began to wax cold, reputing the vertue which he shewed at his entring into the papasie, to be rather a colourable hypocrisie, than otherwise, sith his proceedings answered not to his good beginnings: for as it was manifest, where suters brought their complaints into the court of Rome, such sped best as gaue most bribes, and the two priors of Winchester, the one expelled, and the other got in by intrusion, could well witnesse the same: and all the world knoweth that the viperous generation of Romanists, reckoning from the ringleader to the simplest shaueling, haue made gaine the scope of their holinesse, and as it is truelie said,

Wens deuotion towards the pope waxeth cold.

Quæ libet arripiunt, lucri bonus est odor ex re
Qualibet, imponunt, hos scelus omne iuuat:
Accipiunt quoduis, si non sonat ære crumena,
Siue siligo adsit, sordida siue pecus, &c.

Antith. de præl. Christi, &c.

This yeare died William of Yorke bishop of Salisburie,

The b. of Salisburie departeth this life.

lisburie, which had bene brought vp in the court, euen from his youth. This bishop first caused that custome to be receiued for a law, whereby the tenants of euerie lordship are bound to owe their suit to the lords court, of whom they hold their tenements.

Suit of court when it was first receiued for a law.

In the feast of Easter this yeare, the king adorned Magnus king of Man, with the order of knighthood, and bestowed vpon him great gifts and honors.

Matth. Paris. Magnus king of Man.

¶ The countesse of Warren Auelia or Atelia (as some bookes haue) sister to the king by his mother, departed this life in hir flourishing youth, vnto the great griefe of hir brother, but speciallie of hir husband Iohn earle of Waren that loued hir intierlie.

¶ About the midst of Maie, the Iewes that were in the towre, and in other prisons for the murther of the child at Lincolne, and had beene indited by an inquest vpon the confession of him that had suffered at Lincolne, were now dismissed and set at libertie, to the number of foure and thirtie of them. ¶ In Whitsuntide was holden a great iusts at Blie, where the lord Edward the kings eldest sonne first began to shew proofe of his chiualrie. There were diuerse ouerthrowen and hurt, and amongst other William de Longspee was so bruised, that he could neuer after recouer his former strength.

A proclamation for knighthood.

The king caused a proclamation to be set forth, that all such as might dispend fiftéene pounds in lands, should receiue the order of knighthood; and those that would not or could not, should paie their fines.

A sore tempest of wind and raine.

This yeare, three daies after the feast of S. Ciricus, a maruellous sore tempest of wind, raine, haile, and thunder chanced, that did exceeding much hurt. Mill-wheeles by the violence of waters were carried away, and the wind-milles were no lesse tormented with the rage of wind. Arches of bridges, stackes of haie, houses that stood by water sides, and children in cradels were borne awaie, that both wonderfull and no lesse pitifull it was to see. At Bedford the riuer of Ouse bare downe sir houses togither, and did vnspeakeable hurt thereabouts.

The king of Scots commeth into England.

Alexander the third king of Scots with his wife quéene Margaret, came about the beginning of August into England, and found the king at his manor of Woodstoke, where he solaced him a season, and had the lands of the earle of Huntington restored vnto him, which his grandfather king William in his time lost and forfeited. Here he did homage to king Henrie. Vpon the day of the decollation of S. Iohn, the two kings with their quéenes came to London, where they were honorablie receiued, and so conueied vnto Westminster. On the day of S. Augustine the bishop, being the eight and twentith of August,

John Mansell feasted the two kings.

Iohn Mansell the kings chapleine besought the two kings, and other states, to dine with him on the morow following, which they granted, and so he made a maruellous great dinner. There were seuen hundred messes serued vp, but the multitude of ghests was such, that scarse the same sufficed; his house was not able to receiue them all, and therefore he caused tents and booths to be set vp for them. The like dinner had not beene made by any chaplesne before that time. All those that came were worthilie receiued, feasted and interteined, in such sort, as euerie man was satisfied.

Orders deuised for the appearance of shiriffes.

About foure daies before the feast of S. Edward, K. Henrie came into the exchéker himselfe, & there deuised order for the appearance of shiriffes, and bringing in of their accompts. At the same time also, there

The shiriffes fined.

was fiue marks set on euerie shiriffes head for a fine, because they had not distreined euerie person that might dispend 15 pounds land, to receiue the order of knighthood, as was to the same shiriffes commanded.

The king of

The king of Scots, after he had remained a while with the king of England, returned backe into Scotland, and left his wife behind with hir mother till she should be brought to bed, for she was as then great with child.

Scots returneth into his countrie.

In the 41 yeare of the reigne of king Henrie, his brother Richard earle of Cornewall was elected emperour, by one part of the Cornoisers: and diuerse lords of Almaine comming ouer into this land (vpon the daie of the innocents in Christmasse) presented vnto him letters from the archbishop of Colen, and other great lords of Almaine, testifieng their consents in the chosing of him to be emperour, and withall, that it might stand with his pleasure to accept that honor. Finallie, vpon good deliberation had in the matter, he consented thereunto: whervpon the lords that came with the message, being right glad of their answer, returned with all spéed to signifie the same vnto those from whom they had béene sent. The treasure of this earle Richard now elected king of Almaine, was estéemed to amount vnto such a summe, that he might dispend euerie day a hundred marks, for the terme of ten yeares togither, not reckoning at all the reuenues which dailie accrewed to him of his rents in Almaine and England.

Anno Reg. 41. Richard earle of Cornewall elected emperour. 1257

The great treasure of Richard king of Almaine.

In this meane time the vnquiet Welshmen, after the death of their prince Dauid, chose in his stéed one Leolin, that was son to the same Griffin that brake his necke as he would haue escaped out of the towre of London; and herewith they began a new rebellion, either driuing out such Englishmen as late there in garisons within the castels and fortresses, or else entring into the same by some traitorous practise, they slue those which they found within them, to the great displeasure of their souereigne lord Edward the kings eldest sonne, who coueting to be reuenged of their rebellious enterprises, could not bring his purpose to passe, by reason of the vnseasonable weather and continuall raine which fell that winter, so raising the waters & setting the marishes on flouds, that he could not passe with his armie.

The Welshmen chose them a gouernour, and rebell against the king.

Moreouer, his father the king wanted monie and treasure to furnish him withall, howbeit prince Edward borrowed of his vncle erle Richard foure thousand marks towards the maintenance of that war. The rebellion of the Welshmen speciallie rose by the hard dealing of sir Geffrey de Langlie knight, the kings collector amongst them, who handled them so streightlie, that in defense of their countrie, lawes, and liberties (as they pretended) they put on armour. They toke and destroied the lands and possessions which were great and large, of Griffin Brunet, being fled for safegard of his life vnto the king of England. There were of those Welsh rebels at the point of twentie thousand men, and of them ten thousand were horsemen, the which perceiuing the season to make for their purpose, defended themselues so manfullie, that they droue backe prince Edward and his armie, & so continuing the wars, did much hurt to the English marishes. Their power so increased, that at length they diuided the same in two equall parts, the better to recouer bittels, and in either armie there were estéemed thirtie thousand armed men, after the maner of their countrie, of the which there were fiue hundred men of armes in either host, with barded horsses all couered in iron. Thus being of such puissance, they did much mischéefe to the Englishmen that inhabited on the marshes, neither were the lords marchers able to resist them, although the earle of Gloucester aided the same lords all that he might.

Sir Geffrey de Langlies hard dealing, cause of the Welshmens rebellion.

Matth. Paris. The number of the welsh enimies.

The Welshmen diuide their power into two parts.

King Henrie being hereof aduertised, sent with all spéed Stephan Bauzan, a man skilfull in feats of warre, with a great number of soldiers into Wales, against the rebels, who comming into that countrie, and entring into the lands of a Welsh lord named

Nic. Treuet. Stephan Bauzan, alias Baucan.

Rise

Kise Vaughan, was intrapt by such ambushments as his enimies laid for him, and thereby was slaine with the more part of his armie. This ouerthrowe chanced by the treason of Griffin de Bzunet, who at that present reuolting from the English side to his countrimen, instructed them in all things, how they might vanquish their enimies. At that time, Northwales and Southwales ioined in league and frendlie amitie togither, which commonlie was not seene in those daies, they being for the more part at variance, the one rather seking still how to indamage the other: but now in defense of their liberties (as they pretended) they agreed in one.

Englishmen ouerthrowne.

Northwales and Southwales ioined togither in league.

The king more moued herewith, determined to go himselfe into Wales, that he might take worthie punishment of those his aduersaries, that could neuer be sufficientlie chastised. Whereupon raising a great power, he hasted forth, and comming into Wales, put the rebels in such feare, that they withdrew to their accustomed places of refuge, I meane the woods and maresshes. The king would faine haue had them forth, that he might haue punished them according to their deserts, and therefore to bring his purpose the better to passe, he sent for an armie of soldiers into Ireland, and tarried for their comming at the castell of Bzecknoke, but the yeare was farre spent per his people could be gathered, so that by the aduise of his lords he strengthened certeine castels, and so returned for that yeare into England, leauing the lord Roger Mortimer his lieutenant in Wales, to resist the rebels. But now let vs speake of other doings which chanced in the meane while that the warres thus continued and lasted betwixt England and Wales.

The king passeth himselfe in person into Wales.

The lord Mortimer the kings lieutenant in Wales Polydor.

Pe shall vnderstand, that in the Lent season, the archbishop of Messina came as legat from the pope hither into England, with letters of procuration, to demand and receiue, and also with power, to punish such as should denie and seeme to resist, and so being here arriued with a great traine of seruants and horses, he sent forth his commandements in writing to euerie prelat, to prouide him monie by way of prorie so that of the house of S. Albons, and of the celles that belonged thereunto, he had one and twentie marks, and when the monks of S. Albons came to visit him in his house, they could not be permitted to depart, but were kept as prisoners, till they had satisfied his couetous demand: for whereas they alledged that they had not brought any monie with them, he asked them whie they were such beggers, and further said, Send ye then to some merchant, that will lend you monie, and so it was done: for otherwise they might not haue libertie to depart. This archbishop was of the order of the Friers preachers, in whome (saith Matthew Paris) we had hoped to haue found more abundant humilitie. About the same time, there appeared at London a new order of Friers, not knowen till those daies, hauing yet the popes autentike bulles, which they openlie shewed, so that there seemed a confusion of manie orders, as the same Matthew Paris recorderh, and bicause they were apparelled in sackecloth, they were called sacked Friers.

Legat from Rome. Matth. Paris.

A new order of Friers.

About the middest of Lent, there was a great parlement holden, to the which the maisters of the Vniuersitie of Oxford were summoned, that peace might be concluded betwixt them and the bishop of Lincolne, which had them in suit about their liberties. There came to the same parlement, the earle of Gloucester, and sir John Mansell, latelie returned out of Almaine, where they had beene on ambassage from Richard the elect king of Almaine. Thither came also the same elect king of Almaine, and almost all the Nobilitie of the realme, so that scarse might the citie of London receiue the number that repaired to that parlement. The king of Almaine meant to take his leaue at that time of the lords and peeres of the realme, purposing shortlie after, to take his iournie towards Almaine, and to ordeine the bishop of London gouernor of all his lands and possessions within England. Matth. Paris.

Parlement.

In this parlement, the lord Edmund the kings yonger sonne was shewed as king of Naples and Sicill, for the obteining of the possession of which dominions and kingdoms, his father king Henrie demanded no small subsidie and aid of monie, both of the temporaltie and also of the spiritualtie, but namlie, he required to haue the tenths of spirituall mens liuings for the terme of fiue yeares, according to the new tarations without any deductions to be allowed except necessarie expenses: also, the fruits for one yeare of benefices that chanced to fall void within the said terme of fiue yeare. Moreouer, sundrie other duties he required to haue of the spirituall men, sore to their greeuance, and speciallie, bicause they knew that such tyrannie first toke beginning from the pope. In the end (though loth they were to consent) yet conditionallie that the king would confirme the liberties conteined in the great charter, and obserue the same throughlie, now after it had beene so manie times brought out and redeemed, they offered to giue him towards his instant necessitie two and fiftie thousand marks, to the irrecouerable danger of impouerishing the church. And yet, as it is said, the king refused the gift, as that which he thought not to be sufficient.

The lord Edmund the kings sonne.

A subsidie demanded.

The offer of ℔ spiritualtie.

¶ Truelie it should seeme, that there was a great vntowardlie disposition in the subiects of that time, for the helping of their king with necessarie aid of monie, towards such great charges as he had beene diuers waies occasioned to be at, since his first comming to the crowne. But bicause it was perceiued that he bestowed no small quantitie of his treasure to the aduancing of his kinsfolke and aliance, namelie strangers, and againe defraied great summes in vaine hope to obteine the kingdoms of both the Sicils which the pope offered to him freelie inough in words, as before ye haue heard, the English subiects conceiued a great misliking of the whole gouernement, and namelie, for that he seemed to be led and ruled by the aduise and counsell of those strangers, who being not throughlie acquainted with the nature of the English people, nor fullie instructed in the lawes and customes of the realme, caused him to do manie things, that procured both to him and them much ill will, as well of the hie states as of the commons, which as occasion serued, they were readie inough to discouer, and therefore they were verie inquisitiue, both to learne what he receiued, and also in what sort he bestowed that which he did receiue and take.

It was therefore knowne, that since he first began to waste his treasure, his charges amounted vnto the summe of 950000 marks, as the bookes of accompts remaining in the hands of the clearks of his closet plainelie witnessed, and yet of all those vaine expenses no great aduantage was growne thereby to the king or realme, but rather disaduantage, as the most part of men then toke it, and no maruell: for there was such hart-burning amongst the nobilitie, one enuieng an others aduancement, & repining at each others doings, that it was not possible to bring any good drift forward amongst men so far at ods togither. But we will let this passe as a thing manifest inough to them that shall well consider the course of that time, and will returne to the parlement aboue mentioned.

Before the end of this solemne assemblie of states, the

The archbish. of Cullen and other ambassadors of Almaine.

the archbishop of Cullen with a duke, & an other bishop came ouer out of Almaine, vnto their elect king Richard, to whome they did fealtie and homage, as to their souereigne liege lord and gouernor, which thing once done, he gaue to the said archbishop fiue hundred marks to beare his charges, with a rich miter set with stones, & furnished with plates of beaten gold; which miter when the archbishop had set it vpon his head; He hath (saith he) giuen a rich gift to me and to my church, and verelie, euen as I haue put this miter on my head, so will I set on his head the crowne of the kingdome of Almaine; he hath mitered me, and I will crowne him. The other lords of Almaine, which at the same time did homage vnto earle Richard, were also presented with great and rich gifts.

Six archbish. present at London in time of the parlement.

Heere is further to be noted, that there were present at this parlement six archbishops, Canturburie, Yorke, Dubline, Messina, Tarento and Cullen. The archbishop of Messina was come to the king to set him on dotage for the businesse about the conquest of Naples and Sicill. At the feast of Ester next following, the archbishop of Cullen returned into his countrie, and the third day after Easter, the elect king of Almaine toke his leaue, and departed toward Yarmouth, where he purposed to take the sea, to saile ouer into Almaine, but by reason of contrarie winds he was driuen to remaine there a long time, to his great greefe and inestimable charges before he could passe ouer; yet finallie, about the latter end of Aprill, he got forth to the sea, and landed at Dordreigh the first of Maie next insuing.

The elect K. of Almaine taketh his leaue of the king his brother.

He landeth at Dordreigh.

A synod.

About the same time, the archbishop of Canturburie called a synod of the bishops and abbats inhabiting within his prouince, that inuocating the grace of the Holie-ghost, they might foresee some redresse for releefe of the English church, now in these late yeares sore disquieted by new oppressions, more greeuous than had beene accustomed: for the king by counsell, or rather by the whispering of some flatterers and enimies to the realme, was so induced, that he permitted certeine euill customs, as thornie brembles to increase in the fruitfull garden of pleasure, and to choke vp the trees that brought forth fruit in great plentie. Moreouer in this yeare, king Henrie

Matth. Paris.

caused the walles of the citie of London, which were sore decaied and destitute of turrets, to be repated in more seemelie wise than before they had beene, at the common charges of the citie.

A decree made by the pope.

There was an ordinance made at Rome by the pope and his cardinals (which verie diligentlie foresaw to aduance their temporall commodities, not much passing for other mens aduantages) that euerie one which should be chosen an exempt abbat, should come to the court of Rome to be there confirmed, and receiue the popes blessing, by which heinous ordinance, religion was laid open to great danger, and the church depriued of temporall prosperitie (as saith Matthew Paris) for by this means (saith he) it was needfull for religious men, to chose to their gouernour a man not religious, but rather halfe temporall, and such a one as to whome rather Justinians lawes than Christes which conuerteth soules should be familiar. The monks of Durham, who onlie with the canons of Gisborne resisted the wicked proceedings of the popes exactors, and stood therefore interdicted a long time, at length, after manie altercations, were absolued. Oh (saith Matth. Paris) if in that their tribulation they might haue had fellows, and in their constant doings aidors, how happilie had the church of England triumphed ouer hir tormentors and oppressors!

Matth. Paris. The monks of Durham that were excommunicated are now absolued.

Matth. Paris.

You haue heard how Richard earle of Cornewall being elected king of Almaine, sailed thither, where on the Ascension day last, he was crowned king by the archbishop of Cullen, of whom, and diuerse other great princes of Germanie he was holden for their lawfull king and gouernour (as in the Dutch histories you may find more largelie expressed) though other of them had chosen Alfonse king of Castile, the which Alfonse wrote to the king of England, as his confederate and alie, requiring aid of him against the said Richard that was his owne brother, to the which vnreasonable request the king would in no wise consent.

Moreouer, in this fortie one yeare of king Henries reigne, by reason of a roll closed in greene wax and found in the kings Wardrobe at Windsor, containing as it were an information against the maior and shiriffes of London, for oppression and wrongs done to the communaltie of the citie, the king toke great displeasure, and caused streit inquisition to be made, as well by Fouke Wots, as Ward Wots, & diuerse other means. At length, the maior and shiriffes, with the chamberlaine of the citie, were discharged by John Mansell, one of the kings iustices, afore whom and other the kings councell, the inquisition was taken, and then was the custodie of the citie assigned vnto the constable of the tower, and in place of the shiriffes were appointed Michaell Tonie, and John Audrian. At length, the maior, shiriffes and Aldermen that were accused, perceiuing the kings displeasure towards them, submitted themselues wholie to his mercie, sauing to them and to all other the citizens their liberties & franchises, and so in the exchequer chamber at Westminster afore the king, there sitting in iudgement vpon the matter, they were condemned to paie their fines for their offenses committed, and further, euerie of them discharged of his ward and office. Shortlie after was William Fitz Richard by the kings commandement made maior, and Thomas Fitz Thomas, and William Grapigate shiriffes.

Fabian. An information against the lord maior of London.

The lord maior and shiriffes of London discharged.

The lord maior and shiriffes fined.

The archbishop of Yorke was accursed by the popes commandement through all England, with booke, bell and candle, that by such terror his constancie might be weakened. But the archbishop (saith Matthew Paris) informed by the example of Thomas Becket, and by the example and doctrine of saint Edmund sometime his instructor, and also taught by the faithfulnesse of blessed Robert, late bishop of Lincolne, despaired not of comfort from heauen, in bearing patientlie the popes tyrannie; neither would he bestow the wealthie reuenues of his church vpon Italians, being vnworthie persons and strangers; neither would he obeie and incline to the popes will like a faint-harted person, by leauing and setting apart the rigor of the law, least therby he might seeme to result from his pastorlike office, and animate the woolfe of Rome to breake into the sheepfold of the church, whose purpose was to sucke the verie bloud quite and cleane out of euerie veine, yea to bite out bowels and all. Which qualitie to rest in him, woefull experience hath taught, and the testimonie of written verities hath shewed, among which this one for the truth thereof is worthie to be reported euen to the praise of the deuiser for his prettie deuise therein comprised, and here set downe as fit for the purpose:

Matth. Paris. The archbish. of Yorke accursed.

The constancie of the archbishop of Yorke.

Non pontifex sed potifex,
Non potifex sed panifex,
Non panifex sed carnifex,
Est papa pater pontifex.

About the beginning of the two and fortith yeare of king Henries reigne, the lord James Audelie that had beene ouer with the king of Almaine, and was latelie returned home in companie of the lord Henrie, sonne to the said king (who came backe from his father about the feast of saint Michaell last past) vnderstanding how the Welshmen in his absence had burnt,

burnt, wasted, and destroied his lands, possessions, and castels, which belonged vnto him in the confines of Wales, he meant to be reuenged of those iniuries, and inuading them, he slue a great number of them, so reuenging the death of those his frends, seruants and tenants, whome they before had murthered. The Welshmen were not so discouraged herewith, but that they brake vpon him out of their starting-holes and places of refuge through the marishes, and slaieng their enimies horsses, put them backe to their power, & ceassed not to do what mischefe they could, by spoiling, killing, and burning houses and castels where they might come vnto them, and so the realme of England was dailie put to losses & hinderances. For out of Wales, England was accustomed to be furnished with horsses, cattell, and other things, to the great profit of both the countries. About the same time there was an ambassage sent from the king of England to the French king by the bishop of Worcester, the elect of Winchester, the abbat of Westminster, the earle of Leicester, & Hugh Bigod earle Marshall, with Peter de Sauoy, and Robert Walcron. The effect of their message was to require restitution of those countries, lands, cities, and townes which had bene euicted out of the hands of king John and others, apperteining by right of inheritance to the king of England. These lords did their message, but as was thought, they had no towardlie answer, but rather were put off with trifling words & scornefull tawnts, so that they returned shortlie againe all of them, the abbat of Westminster onelie excepted, who remained there behind for a fuller answer, not onelie to those requests exhibited on the part of the king of England, but also on the behalfe of the king of Almaine. The marshes towards Wales in this season were brought almost desert, by reason of the continuall wars with the Welshmen, for what with fire & sword, neither building nor liuing creature, nor any other thing was spared, that fire & sword might bring to raine.

The lord Audelie warreth vpon the welshmen.

Ambassadors sent into France.

The marshes of wales sore impouerished.

In this yeare was an exceeding great dearth, in so much that a quarter of wheat was sold at London for foure and twentie shillings, whereas within two or three yeares before, a quarter was sold at two shillings. It had bene more deerer, if great store had not come out of Almaine, for in France and in Normandie it likewise failed. But there came fiftie great ships fraught with wheat and barlie, with meale and bread out of Dutchland, by the procurement of Richard king of Almaine, which greatlie releeued the poore; for proclamation was made, and order taken by the king, that none of the citizens of London should buy any of that graine to laie it vp in store, whereby it might be sold at an higher price vnto the needie. But though this prouision did much ease, yet the want was great ouer all the realme. For it was certeinelie affirmed, that in three shires within the realme, there was not found so much graine of that yeares growth, as came ouer in those fiftie ships. The proclamation was set forth, to restreine the Londoners from ingrossing vp that graine, and not without cause: for the wealthie citizens were euill spoken of in that season, bicause in time of scarsitie they would either staie such ships as fraught with vittels were comming towards the citie, and send them some other way forth; or else buy the whole, that they might sell it by retaile at their plesure to the needie. By means of this great dearth and scarsitie, the common people were constreined to liue vpon hearbs & roots, and a great number of the poore people died through famine, which is the most miserable calamitie that can betide mortall men, and was well marked euen of the heathen, but notablie by Ouid, who making a description of famine, setteth

A great dearth. Matth. Paris.

1258

The greedie dealing of the Londoners to the hurt of the cõmon-weith.

hir forth in most ouglie and irksome sort, intending therby the dreadfulnes of that beastie plague, saieng:

Quæsitámque famem lapidoso vidit in antro, *Ouid. lib. 8. Meta. fab. 11.*
Vnguibus & raris vellentem dentibus herbas,
Hirtus erat crinis, caua lumina, pallor in ore,
Labra incana situ, scabri rubigine dentes,
Dura cutis, per quam spectari viscera possent,
Ossa sub incuruis extabant arida lumbis,
Ventris erat pro ventre locus, pendêre putares
Pectus & à spinæ tantummodo crate teneri,
Auxerat articulos macies, genuúmque tumebat
Orbis, & immodico prodibant tubere tali, &c.

This yeare after Easter a parlement was holden at London, in the which manie weightie matters were intreated of touching the kings causes, namelie, about the conquest of the realme of Naples, the pope hauing sent a messenger named Yurtred for the discharge of monie, which the pope had receiued of merchants, as it were to the kings vse, and entred bonds for the paiment thereof. Also, whereas the king was sore disquieted for the warre which the Welshmen made against him, he asked aduise of the states, how he might proceed to seeke his iust reuenge of them, who by reason of their good hap were become verie stout and loftie, and had of late by the expiring of a truce which had beene accorded betwixt them, spoiled and wasted the most part of Penbrokeshire, of which iniurie the earle of Penbroke, namelie William de Valence, sore complained.

A parlement. Matth. Paris.

Yurtred, a messenger frõ the pope.

The Welshmen spoile Penbrokeshire.

But whereas the king knowing him to be rich, willed him to lay out some great portion of monie, towards the maintenance of his wars, the erle toke great displeasure therewith, as though the king had made that request by the suggestion and setting on of some of the English lords, in somuch that words passed in displeasant sort betwixt him and the earles of Glocester and Leicester, so far forth, that the earle of Penbroke called the earle of Leicester traitor, who therewith made towards him, to haue reuenged the iniurie, and so would haue done indeed, if the king had not beene moderator betwixt them. Finallie at this parlement the lords told the king that they might not aid him with any great summes of monie, except it should redound to their great impouerishment: they told him also, that he had not done wiselie to enter into couenants, for the purchase of the kingdome of Naples for his sonne, without their consents.

Variance betwixt the earle of Penbroke and others.

They also declared to him, what articles it should be good for him to propone vnto the pope, if he would haue him to continue in bearing the charges of the wars against Manfred. But when those articles were afterwards presented to the pope, he allowed them not, & so the matter remained without any certeine assurance of the promises, which had beene and still were from time to time made to set the king on dotage. The archbishop of Yorke had his crosse taken from him by the popes commandement, but the archbishop would not yet bow his knee vnto Baall, to bestow the benefices of his church vpon aliens, and such as were vnworthie persons, as it had beene to cast pearles vnto swine. ¶ There came from the pope as his Nuncio, vnto king Henrie, a frier minor named Mansuetus, furnished with great power and authoritie, in somuch that he toke vpon him to absolue men for changing their vowes, and to iustifie those that were excõmunicated persons, false periured, and such like. Whereupon, manie of euill disposition presumed to offend: for easinesse to purchase pardon bred boldnesse in manie, howbeit the wise semed to laugh at such doings.

The archbishop of Yorke deprriued of his crosse.

Mansuetus the popes Nuncio.

The parlement still continued, till the sundaie after the Ascension day, with hard hold betwixt the king and the lords, who laid it sore to his charge, that

he had not performed the promises which he made touching the obseruing of the liberties conteined in the great charter. They also complained greatlie of his misgouernance, in that he so much aduanced the Poictouins and other strangers, to the impouerishment of himselfe and the whole realme, and further, mainteined them so far forth, that they were readie to offer wrong vnto other, vpon presumption of his fauour and bearing with them, he hauing by commandement restreined that no processe should passe out of the chancerie against certeine of them that were his cosins, as the earle of Penbroke and others. Finallie, when the lords were in doubt which way to worke for their owne safeties, they caused the parlement to be prorogued, till the feast of saint Barnabe, then to begin againe at Oxford. In the meane time the lords of the realme, as the earles of Glocester, Leicester, Hereford and Northfolke, with other, did confederate themselues togither, bicause they stood in feare to be intraped by the kings subtill sleights, and by the craftie wiles of those strangers whom he reteined against them.

The parlemẽt prorogued.

In the same yeare by the wind, which continuallie certeine months togither kept northerlie, the flours, with other growing things, were so hindered, that scarselie they appeared to anie purpose, till the most part of June was past, whereupon the hope of receiuing the fruits of the earth was quite taken away, & so vpon the great dearth that happened, a sore death and mortalitie followed, for want of necessarie food to sustein the pining bodies of the poore people. They died so thicke, that there were great pits made in churchyards to laie the dead bodies in one vpon an other.

Vnlate growth

Vnderth accompanied with a death.

About the feast of the Ascension, Seuall the archbishop of Yorke departed this life, who constantlie had resisted the tyrannie of the court of Rome, in defense of his church, suffering in this world manie grieuous tribulations, but now was remoued from thense vnto the kingdome of heauen, to be crowned with the elect for his good deseruings, as was then certenlie beleeued. About this time, a great number of Poictouins were come into England, by reason of their aliance and cosinage to the king, the which by the kings fauour being highlie aduanced, began to wax proud thereof, and to require to be restored vnto such lands and liuings as before time they had possessed: namelie the kings halfe brethren, Athelmare or Odomare, that was a preest, with William, Geffrey and Guie, these were the sonnes of Hugh le Brun earle of Marsh, by his wife queene Isabell, the mother of king Henrie, and being come into England, they shewed themselues verie loftie & high-minded, partlie, bicause of their cosinage to the king, & partlie by reason of his courteous interteining of them, insomuch that forgetting themselues, they began to despise (vpon a presumptuous pride) the English nobilitie, looking still for preferment of honor aboue all other. And suerlie Odomare obteined at the first a great peece of his purpose, being made by the kings gift bishop of Winchester, and by that means bare a stout port, and greatlie holpe and mainteined his other brethren.

Seuall archb. of Yorke departeth this life.

Matth. Paris.

The kings halfe brethren.

The English barons not well able to suffer such presumption in strangers, who seemed to haue them in derision, complained to the king, in so much that at length, as well for a reformation hereof, as in other things, a parlement was called (as before you haue heard) first at London, and after reformed to Dronford, there to be assembled about the feast of saint Barnabe in the moneth of June. This (of some writers) is named *Insanum parliamentum*, that is to say, The mad parlement; for at this parlement (to the which the lords came with great retinues of armed men, for the better safegard of their persons) manie things in the same yeare enacted contrarie to the kings pleasure, and his roiall prerogatiue. For the lords at the first determined to demand the confirmation of the ancient charter of liberties, which his father king John had granted, and he himselfe had so often promised to obserue and mainteine, signifieng plainelie, that they meant to pursue their purpose and intent herein, not sparing either for losse of life, lands or goods, according to that they had mutuallie giuen their faiths by ioining of hands, as the manner in such cases is accustomed. Besides the grant of the great charter, they required other things necessarie for the state of the common-wealth, to be established and enacted.

Insanum parliamentum.

The demand of the lords.

It was therefore first enacted, that all the Poictouins should auoid the land, togither with other strangers, and that neither the king nor his sonne prince Edward should in anie secret manner aid them against the people. Moreouer, that the king & his sonne should receiue an oth, to stand vnto the decrees and ordinances of that parlement, and withall spéed to restore the ancient lawes and institutions of the realme, which they both did, rather constreined therevnto by feare, than of anie good will. Thus not onelie the king himselfe, but also his sonne prince Edward receiued an oth, to obserue the ordinances of that parlement. But John earle Warren, and the kings halfe brethren, namelie the earle of Penbroke refused that oth; and likewise the lord Henrie, sonne to the king of Almaine, excused himselfe by his fathers absence, without whose consent he would not receiue it, vnto whome this answer was made, that if his father would not consent to the agrément of the baronage, he should not possesse one furrowe of land within this realme.

Ordinances made.

In oth exacted of the king

Also, whereas the earle of Leicester resigned the castels of Killingworth and Odiham into the kings hands, which he had latelie receiued by his gift, and newlie repaired, the earle of Penbroke and his other brethren sware depelie, that they would for no mans pleasure giue ouer such castels, rents, and wardships of theirs, as they had of the kings gift. But the earle of Leicester told the earle of Penbroke flatlie and plainlie, that he should either render them vp, or else he should be sure to lose his head. This saieng was confirmed by the generall voices of all other the barons, bicause it was a speciall article concluded amongst other in that parlement. The kings halfe brethren, perceiuing which waie the world went, stood in doubt of themselues, and secretlie therevpon departing from Oxenford, first withdrew vnto Winchester, where Odomare, one of the same brethren was bishop, through whose support, and by reason of the strength of such castels as he held, they trusted to be in more safetie: but finallie, perceiuing themselues not to be so out of danger, sith the barons minded to pursue them, about the eightéenth daie of Julie they departed the realme with a great number of other of their countriemen; and amongest those, William de saint Herman the kings caruer was one.

The earle of Leicester threatneth the earle of Penbroke.

The kings halfe brethren shift awaie.

They depart the Realme.

Henrie Montfort, sonne to the earle of Leicester, vnderstanding of their departure out of the realme, followed; and hearing that they were arriued at Bullogne, he landed in those parts, & by such frendship as he found there amongst those that bare good will vnto his father, he got togither a power, and after a manner besieged the Poictouins within Bullogne, laieng watch for them in such sort, both by sea and land, that there was no waie left for them to escape. When they saw themselues in that danger, they sent a messenger with all post hast to the French king, requiring his safe conduct, to passe frælis through his

Henrie Montfort pursueth the kings halfe brethren.

They sent to the French k.

his realme, as they trusted he would be content to grant vnto such, as for refuge and safegard of life should repaire vnto him for comfort. The French king courteouslie granted their request, and so they were in safetie permitted to passe quietlie through the countrie. In the meane while one Richard Gray, chatellaine of Douer castell, a right valiant man and a faithfull, suffered no man to passe that waie vnsearched, according to that which he had in commandement: whereupon he tooke & seized into his hands a great portion of treasure, which was brought thither to be transported ouer to the Poictouins that were fled out of the realme. Also, there was found a great quantitie of treasure in the new temple at London, which they had gathered & hoorded vp there, which also was seized to the kings vse.

Richard Gray capteine of Douer castell, and lord warden of the ports.

But now to returne vnto the doings in the parlement holden at Oxford. It was ordeined (as some write) that the king should chose twelue persons of the realme, and the communaltie of the land should chose other twelue, the which hauing regall authoritie in their hands, might take in charge the gouernance of the realme vpon them, & should from yeare to yeare prouide for the due election of iustices, chancellors, treasurors, and other officers, and see for the safe keeping of the castels which belonged to the crowne. These foure and twentie gouernours appointed as prouiders for the good gouernement of the realme, began to order all things at their pleasure, in the meane time not forgetting to vse things chéeflie to their owne aduantages, as well in prouiding eschets and wards for their sonnes and kinsfolks, as also in bestowing patronages of churches (belonging to the kings gift) at their pleasures, so that these prouiders séemed to prouide all for themselues, in so much that neither king nor Christ could receiue ought amongst them: and as for iustice they regarded nothing lesse, their minds were so rauished with desire of priuat wealth; which who so hunteth after, being in place of magistracie, he must néeds neglect the law and course of equitie, and therefore this counsell is good which a good writer giueth in this behalfe, saieng;

Matt. VVest.

Foure and twentie gouernours.

The abuses of those gouernours.

Si iustus vult esse aliquis non vtile quærat,
Iustitia est multis laudata, domestica paucis.

M. Pal. in Virg.

Fabian.

Here be that write, how there were but twelue of these gouernours chosen; whose names were as followeth. First, the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishop of Worcester, Roger Bigod earle of Northfolke and marshall of England, Simon de Mountfort earle of Leicester, Richard de Clare earle of Glocester, Humfrey Bohun earle of Hereford, the earles of Warwike and Arundell, sir John Mansell chéefe iustice of England, sir Roger lord Mortimer, sir Hugh Bigod, sir Peter de Sauoy, sir James Audeley, and sir Peter de Mountfort. To these was authoritie onelie giuen to punish and correct all such as offended in breaking of any the ordinances at this parlement established.

It was not long after the finishing of this parlement, but that strife and variance began to kindle betweene the king and the earles of Leicester and Glocester, by reason of such officers as the said earles had remoued, and put others in their roomes: among the which John Mansell was discharged of his office, and sir Hugh Bigod, brother to earle Marshall, admitted in his roome. Also bicause the foresaid gouernours had knowledge that the king minded not to performe the ordinances established at Oxford, they thought to make their part as strong as was possible for them to do, and therefore vpon the morrow after the feast of Marie Magdalene, the king as then being at Westminster, the earle Marshall, the earle of Leicester, and diuerse other came to the Guildhall of London, where the maior and aldermen, with the commons of the citie were assembled, and there the lords shewed the instrument or writing sealed with the kings seale, and with the seales of his sonne prince Edward, and of manie other lords of the land, conteining the articles of those ordinances which had béene concluded at Oxford, willing the maior and aldermen to set also thereunto their common seale of the citie. The maior and aldermen vpon aduise amongst them taken, required respit till they might know the kings pleasure therein, but the lords were so earnest in the matter, and made such instance, that no respit could be had; so that in the end the common seale of the citie was put to that writing, and the maior with diuerse of the citie sworne to maintaine the same, their allegiance saued to the king, with their liberties and franchises, according to the accustomed manner.

The abuses of those gouernours.

Contention betwixt the earles of Leicester and Glocester.

The lords come to the Guildhall to haue their ordinances confirmed.

Upon the ninth day of August, proclamation was made in diuerse places of the citie, that none of the kings takers should take any thing within the citie, without the will of the owner, except two tunnes of wine, which the king accustomablie had of euerie ship comming from Burdeaux, paieng but 40 shillings for the tun. By meanes of this proclamation, nothing was taken by the kings officers within the citie and liberties of the same, except readie paiment were made in hand, which vse continued not long. Hereupon the king held a parlement at Westminster, and another at Winchester, or else prorogued and remoued the same thither. Also sir Hugh Bigod lord chéefe iustice, with Roger Turkesey, and other called Itinerarij, kept the terme for plées at saint Sauiours: for you must vnderstand, that in those daies they were kept in diuerse places of the realme, which now are holden altogither at Westminster, and iudges ordeined to kéepe a circuit, as now they kéepe the assises in time of vacation. The foresaid iudges sitting on that maner at saint Sauiours, punished bailiffes, and other officers verie extremelie, which were conuict afore them for diuerse trespasses, and specialie for taking of mercîaments otherwise than law gaue them. After this, the same sir Hugh came vnto the Guildhall, and there sat in iudgement, and kept plæs without order of law; yea contrarie to the liberties of the citie, he punished bakers for lacke of true size, by the tumbrell; where before they were punished by the pillorie, & manie other things he vsed after such manner, more by will than good order of law.

A proclamation against purueiers.

A parlement.

The iustices sit at S. Sauiours.

Bailiffes and other officers punished.

Bakers punished.

There was a bruite raised (whether of truth or otherwise we leaue to the credit of the authors) that the Poictouins had practised to poison the most part of the English nobilitie. Indéed diuers of them were grieuouslie tormented with a certeine disease of swelling and breaking out, some died, and othersome verie hardlie escaped, of which number the earle of Glocester was one, who laie sicke a long time at Sunning a place besides Reading. At length he recouered: but his brother William died of the same disease, and vpon his death-bed laid the fault to one Walter Scotenie, as the occasioner of his death, which afterwards cost the said Walter his life. For although he was one of the chéefe councellors, and steward also to the said earle of Glocester, yet being had in suspicion, and therupon apprehended and charged with that crime, when in the yeare next following in June he came to be arreigned at Winchester, and put himselfe to be tried by a iurie, the same pronounced him guiltie: and when those that were impanneled vpon that iurie were asked by the iudges how they vnderstood that he should be giltie, they answered, bicause that where the said Walter was neuer indebted, that they could heare of, either to William de Valence, or to any of his brethren, they were fullie certified that he had late receiued no

Matth. Paris. The Poictouins suspected to haue poisoned the English lords.

Walter Scotonie arreigned and condemned.

small sum of monie of the said W. de Valence to poison both his maister and other of the English nobilitie as was to be thought, sith there was no other apparant cause why he should receiue such a gift at the hands of their enimie the said William de Valence, and so was the said Walter executed at Winchester aforesaid.

He suffereth.

A late harvest

The harvest was verie late this yeare, so that the most part of the corne rotted on the ground, and that which at length was got in, remained yet abroade till after Allhallowentide, so intemperate was the weather, with excessiue wet and raine beyond all measure. Herevpon the dearth so increased, that euen those which had of late releeued other, were in danger to starue themselues. Finallie solemne fasts and generall processions were made in diuerse places of the realme to appease Gods wrath, and (as it was thought) their praiers were heard, for the weather partlie amended, and by reason the same serued to get in some such corne as was not lost, the price thereof in the market fell halfe in halfe. A good and memorable motiue, that in such extremities as are aboue the reach of man to redresse, we should by and by haue recourse to him that can giue a remedie against euerie casualtie. For

Dearth of corne increaseth.

Fasts & processions vsed.

Electitur iratus voce rogante Deus.

Richard Gray the chattellaine of Douer loking diligentlie vnto his charge, toke a thousand marks which the bishop of Winchester had sent thither to haue bene transported ouer into France. Erlotus the popes Nuncio perceiuing the trouble that was like to insue within the realme would no longer tarie, but wiselie departed and got him home. Herewith certeine wise personages were sent to Rome on the part of the king and baronage, to informe the pope in what state the realme stood, and to giue him to vnderstand how greeuouslie the people had bene handled by the practise of certeine Romane prelats promoted in this land.

Richard Gray lord warden of the ports.

Erlotus the popes Nuncio returneth home.

This yeare neere to Carmardin Patrike of Chauton lord of Kedwelli, Hugh de Viun, and diuerse other both horsmen and footmen were slaine through treason by the Welshmen: yet it should appeare by Matthew Paris that the Englishmen procured this mischeefe to light on their owne heads, through their disloiall dealing. For where they were come to the place to talke of an agreement, some of the marchers supposing they had bene too strong for the Welshmen, persuaded the said lord of Kedwellie to assaile them vpon the sudden, in hope to haue destroied them all: but in the end the Englishmen were distressed through the valiancie of Dauid one of the sonnes of the great Leolin and other capteines of the Welsh nation. Neuertheless Matthew Westminster saith brieflie, that the English men were treasonablie slaine: so that it seemeth that Matthew Paris speaketh rather of an affection and good will which he bare to the Welsh procéedings in those daies, than otherwise.

Matth.Paris.

The lord of Kedwellie slaine.

Matth.Paris.

For who so marketh the course of his historie, shall perceiue that he had no good liking of the state in those daies, neither concerning the ecclesiasticall nor temporall policie, in somuch that he sticketh not to commend the Welshmen greatlie for their holding togither, against the oppression (as he meaneth it) of the English gouernement, and no doubt there was cause that moued him to such misliking, namelie the often paiments and collections of monie by the popes agents, and other such misorders as dailie were permitted or rather maintained to the impouerishing of both estates spirituall and temporall.

Matth.Paris not well affected towards the gouernement of the realme as it then stood.

Godfrey de Kinton archbishop of Canturburie.

Godfrey de Kinton was consecrated archbishop of Canturburie at Rome, about the feast of Christmasse last past, and so returned from thence home to his cure. There was an ordinance made about this time, for punishment to be had of the extortion of shiriffes, so that aswell the receiuer as the giuer of bribes was punishable. Which law if it were now executed vpon all officers & occupiers whatsoeuer, there would not be so much wealth and substance, so great riches and treasure raked vp togither in the possession of some few men, as the old sage saieng importeth,

An ordinance against extortion.

Quisquis dicatur rapidos milui imitator.

The bishops of Worcester and Lincolne, with the earles of Norfolke and Leicester, were sent ouer in ambassage vnto a councell holden at Cambrey, for a league and peace to be concluded betwixt the kingdoms of England and France, and also the empire: but bicause the French king looked to haue the king of England there, when he heard that the same king came not, he also staied at home, and so no conuention followed at that assemblie.

Anno Reg. 43. Ambassadors sent to the councell at Cambrey.

Ione countesse of Penbroke, the wife of William de Valence the kings halfe brother, demanded hir right of dower, in such lands as belonged to hir by title of inheritance. At length she had to the value of fiue hundred marks assigned hir of the same lands, notwithstanding hir heritage amounted to the sum of a thousand marks and aboue of yearelie reuenues, but for that she should not aid hir husband with part thereof, the one halfe was thought sufficient for hir maintenance. About Aduent next insuing, she went ouer vnto hir husband, either for the desire she had to inioy his personall presence, or for that she thought hirselfe not well dealt with, to be abridged of those reuenues, which by right of inheritance were hir owne. In the first night of December, there chanced a maruellous sore tempest of lightning and thunder, with mightie winds and raine, as a token and signe of the troubles that after followed, the more noted, for that thunder in the winter season is not commonlie heard of. Guy de Rochford a Poictouin, to whom about two yeares before the king had giuen the castell of Rochester, was now banished the realme, and depriued of all that he held in this land.

Ione countesse of Penbroke.

A great tempest of lightning and thunder.

Guy de Rochford banished.

About this season there rose great variance amongst the scholers of Oxford being of sundrie countries, as Scotishmen, Welshmen, Northern men, and Southern men: who fell so farre at square, that they raised baners one against an other, and fought togither, in somuch that diuerse were slaine, and manie hurt on both parties. ¶ The Welshmen this yeare, notwithstanding their good successe had in these late wars, considered with themselues, that if the barons of England did once ioine in one knot of freendship, they would with maine force easilie subdue them, therefore to preuent that which might chance vnto them by stubborne resistance, they made suit to be receiued into the kings peace, offering to giue vnto him the summe of foure thousand markes, and to his sonne the lord Edward three hundred marks, and to the quéene two hundred marks. Yet the king would not accept those offers, and so the matter depended in doubtfull balance a certeine time. The Welshmen in the meane season attempted not any exploit, but rather sate still in hope to come at length to some reasonable agreement. ¶ The monks of Winchester meaning to prouide themselues of a bishop, now that Athelmare *alias* Odomare the kings halfe brother was banished the realme, elected one Henrie de Wingham the kings chancellor, in hope that the K. would be contented with his election, and so he was, but yet conditionallie, that if the pope would allow his said halfe brother for bishop, then should the other giue place.

Variance and debat betwixt the students of Oxford.

The Welshmen seeke to agree with the king.

Henrie de Wingham elected bishop of Winchester.

About the feast of S. Hilarie, when knowledge was giuen that king Richard of Almaine meant to returne into England, there were sent ouer vnto him

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Ambassadors sent to the K. of Almaine.

him the bishop of Worcester, the abbat of saint Edmundsburie, Peter de Sauoy, and John Mansell, as ambassadours from the baronage and communaltie of the realme, to require of him an oth, to stand vnto and obeie the ordinances of the late parlement holden at Oxenford. When the said ambassadors came before his presence, and declared to him the effect of their message, he beheld them with a sterne loke, and frowning countenance, saieng (and binding it with an oth) that he would neither be sworne, nor kéepe any such ordinances as had béene made without his consent; neither would he make them of counsell how long his purpose was to staie within the realme, which the ambassadours required also to vnderstand. Herevnto he further added, that he had no péere in England, for he was the sonne of the deceased king, and brother of the king that now reigned, and also earle of Cornewall, and therefore if the barons of England ment to reforme the state of the kingdome, their duetie had béene first to haue sent for him, and not to haue proceéded so presumptuouslie in such a weightie cause, without his presence or consent. When one of the ambassadours was about to haue made answer somewhat roundlie, and also nippinglie vnto this spéech vttered by the king of Almaine, he was staied by one of his associats. And so the ambassadours vnderstanding his mind, returned with all conuenient spéed.

His protestation to their demand.

The king of Almaine had assembled a great host of men on the further side the sea, meaning with all expedition to haue passed hither into England: but when he had aduertisement giuen that there was a power raised in England, and bestowed both by sea and land to resist him, he changed his purpose by aduise of his frends, so that he consented to receiue such manner of oth as the barons required, and herewith taking the sea, he arriued at Douer on saint Julians daie with his owne houshold-seruants, bringing with him no traine of strangers, except onelie two earles of Almaine, which brought with them but onelie three knights, and he himselfe had but eight knights: his brother king Henrie was readie to receiue him, and brought him from Douer vnto Canturburie, for neither of them was suffered to enter into the castell of Douer, the lords hauing them in a gelousie, least they should be about to breake the ordinances which were concluded. On the morow after, the king of Almaine receiued the oth in the presence of Richard earle of Gloucester and others, within the chapter house of Canturburie. And on the day of the Purification of our ladie, the two kings with their quenes and a great number of noble personages made their entrie and passage into the citie of London.

He changeth his purpose and commeth ouer into England.

He receiueth an oth not to infringe the statutes of Oxford.

In the octaues of the said Purification, the parlement began at London, to the which came the earle of Leicester from the parts of beyond the sea, where he had for a certeine time remained. There came also an ambassador from the French king, one that was deane of Burges, and so there was an earnest treatie had touching a peace to be concluded betwixt the two kings of England and France, which on the day of saint Valentine was accorded and put in articles, with condition that the same should remaine firme and stable, if the kings would assent to that which had béene talked of and agreed vpon by their speciall and solemne agents. For the further perfecting of this agreement and finall peace betwixt the kings of England and France, about the begining of Aprill, the earls of Gloucester and Leicester, John Mansell, Peter de Sauoy, and Robert Walerane were sent ouer into France, hauing also with them letters of credence, to conclude in all matters as had béene talked of by their agents. But when the countesse of Leicester would not consent to quite claime and release hir right in such parcels of Normandie as belonged to hir, which king Henrie had couenanted with the residue to resigne vnto the French king. The earle of Gloucester fell at words with the earle of Leicester, about the stubborne demeanor which his wife shewed in that matter, and so by reason that either of them stood at defiance with the other (although by meane of frends they staied from further inconuenience) they returned backe without concluding any thing in that whereabout they were sent.

The countesse of Leicester.

Contention betwixt the earles of Gloucester and Leicester.

About the same time there was a certeine mansion house by waie of deuotion giuen vnto the friers that are called preachers within the towne of Dunstable, so that certeine of them thrusting themselues in there, began to inhabit in that place, to the great annoiance of the prior and conuent of Dunstable, as it were by the example of the other order called minors (which in the last preceding yeare, at saint Edmundsburie in Suffolke had practised the like matter against the willes of the abbat and conuent there) they began to build verie sumptuous houses, so that in the eies of the beholders such chargeable workes of building, so suddenlie aduanced by them that professed voluntarie pouertie, caused no small wonder. The said friers building them a church with all spéed, and setting vp an altar, immediatlie began to celebrate diuine seruice, not once staieng for the purchase of anie licence. And so building from day to day, they obteined great aid of such as inhabited neere vnto them, of whome the prior and conuent ought to haue receiued the reuenues that were now conuerted to be imploied on the said friers towards their maintenance. Thus by how much more their house increased, by so much more did the prior and conuent decrease in substance and possessions: for the rents which they were accustomed to receiue of the messuages and houses giuen to the friers, were lost, and likewise the offerings (which were wont to come to their hands) now these friers being newlie entred by occasion of their preachings, vsurped to themselues.

The friers preachers begin to inhabit at Dunstable.

The monks hindred by the the comming of the friers.

Richard Graie constable of the castell of Douer, and lord warden of the cinque ports was this yeare remoued by the lord chéefe iustice Hugh Bigod, who toke into his owne hands the custodie of the said castell and ports. The cause whie the said Richard Graie was discharged, we find to haue fallen out by this means. He suffered a frier minor called Walascho, comming from the pope (because he had the kings letters vnder the great seale) to enter the land, not staieng him, nor warning the lords of his comming, contrarie (as it was interpreted) vnto the articles of their prouisions enacted at Oxenford. This frier indeed was sent from the pope to haue restored Athilmarus or Odomarus (as some write him) the kings halfe brother, vnto the possessions of the bishoprike of Winchester, to the which he had béene long before elected. But the lords were so bent against him, that vpon such suggestions as they laid forth, Walascho refrained from doing that which he had in commandement, and returned to make report that he vnderstood, so that Odomarus was now as farre from his purpose as before.

Richard Gray discharged of his office of lord warden. Walascho a frier sent from the pope.

About the feast of saint Michaell, the bishop of Bangor was sent from Leolin prince of Wales vnto the king of England, to make offer on the behalfe of the said Leolin and other the lords of Wales, of fiftéene thousand pounds of siluer for a peace to be had betwixt the king and them, and that they might come to Chester, and there haue their matters heard and determined, as in time past they had béene accustomed. But what answer at his returne was giuen to this bishop by the king and his nobles, it is vncer-

The bishop of Bangor sent frō the prince of Wales to king Henrie. The Welshmen offer to resort vnto Chester.

teine. In the fortie and fourth yeare of king Henries reigne, the fridaie following the feast of Simon and Jude, in a parlement holden at Westminster, were read in presence of all the lords and commons, the acts and ordinances made in the parlement holden at Oxenford, with certeine other articles by the gouernours thereunto added and annered. After the reading whereof the archbishop of Canturburie being requested with his suffragans to the number of nine bishops, besides abbats and others, denounced all them accursed that attempted in word or deed to breake the said statutes, or anie of them. In the same parlement was granted to the king a taske called scutagium, or escuage, that is to saie, fortie shillings of euerie knights fee throughout England, the which extended to a great summe of monie. For as diuerse writers do agree, there were in England at that time in possession of the spiritualtie and temporaltie beyond fortie thousand knights fees, but almost halfe of them were in spirituall mens hands.

Anno Reg. 44. Parlement.

The statutes of Oxenford read, and the breakers of the same denounced accursed.

Escuage granted.

Knights fees how manie were then in England.

Upon the first day of November the king came vnto Paules, where by his commandement was the folkemote court assembled, and the king (according to the former ordinances made) asked licence of the communaltie of the citie to passe the sea, and promised there in the presence of a great multitude of people, by the mouth of Hugh Bigod his cheefe iustice, to be good and gratious lord vnto the citie, and to mainteine the liberties thereof vnhurt. Herewith the people for ioy made a great shout. The eight day of November he rode through the citie towards the sea side, and vpon the thirteenth daie of November, he tooke the sea at Douer and arriued at Whitsand, and so from thence he rode vnto Paris, where, of the French king he was most honorablie receiued. The cause of his going ouer was cheefelie to conclude some assured peace with the French king, that he should not need to doubt any forren enimies, if he should come to haue warre with his owne people, whereof he saw great likelihoods, and therefore he made such agreement with king Lewes (as in the French historie more at large appeareth) which (to be short) I here omit.

Fabian. A folkemote.

The king asketh licence to passe the seas.

Matth. West. The king saileth ouer into France.

1260

He compoundeth all differences with the French k.

This one thing is here to be noted, that besides the monie which king Henrie had in hand, amounting to the summe of an hundred and fiftie thousand crownes for his resignation then made vnto Normandie, Anion and Maine, it was accorded, that he should receiue yearelie in name of a tribute the sum of ten thousand crownes. ¶ Others write that he had three hundred thousand pounds of small Turon monie, which he receiued in readie paiment, and was promised restitution of lands to the value of twentie thousand pounds of yearelie rent: and that after the decease of the French king, that then was, the countrie of Poictou should returne vnto the English dominion. Some write that immediatlie after king Henrie had concluded his agreement, he began to repent himselfe thereof, and would neuer receiue penie of the monie, nor leaue out in his stile the title of duke of Normandie. But it is rather to be thought that such an agreement was at point to haue beene concluded, or at the least wise was had in talke, but yet neuer concluded nor confirmed with hands and seales, as it ought to haue beene, if they had gone through with it.

Polydor. N. Triuet. Wil. Risang.

Matt. VVest.

In the meane time that king Henrie was thus occupied in France, dissention fell in England betweene prince Edward and Richard earle of Gloucester, for the appeasing whereof a parlement was called at Westminster, to the which the lords came with great companies, and speciallie the said prince and earle. They intended to haue lodged within the citie: but the maior going vnto the bishop of Worcester, to sir Hugh Bigod, and to sir Philip Basset (vnto whome, and to the archbishop of Canturburie, the K. had committed the rule of the land in his absence) required to know their pleasure herein. Whereupon they thought it good to haue the aduise of Richard the king of Almaine, and thereupon went to him, where they concluded, that neither the said prince nor earle nor anie of their partakers should come within the citie, the gates whereof were by the maiors appointment closed and kept with watch and ward both day and night. Soone after also, for the more safegard of the citie, the gates were by the maiors apointment closed and kept with diligent watch and ward both day and night. Soone after also for the more safegard of the said citie, and sure keeping of the peace, the king of Almaine with the said sir Hugh and sir Philip came and lodged in the citie with their companies, and such other as they would assigne, to strengthen the citie if need required. Wherin their prouident consent to withstand so foule a mischeefe as sedition might haue bred in the citie, deserueth high commendation, for it was the next waie to preserue the state thereof against all occasions of ruine, to vnite harts and hands in so sweet an harmonie, which the law of nature teacheth men to doo, and as by this sage sentence is insinuated and giuen to vnderstand,

Manus manum lauat & digitus digitum,
Vir virum & ciuitas seruat ciuitatem.

Prince Edward and the earle of Gloucester are not suffered to come within the citie of London.

Shortlie after, the king returned out of France, and about the feast of S. Marke came to London, and lodged in the bishops palace. And bicause of certeine rumors that were spred abroad sounding to some euill meaning, which prince Edward should haue against his father, the king brought ouer with him a great power of men in armes being strangers, howbeit he brought them not into the citie, but left them beyond the bridge in the parts of Surrie, notwithstanding being entred the citie, he so kept the gates and entries, that none was permitted to enter, but such as came in by his sufferance. The earle of Gloucester by his appointment also was lodged within the citie, and the prince in the palace at Westminster. Shortlie after by the kings commandement he remoued to S. Johns, & all the other lords were lodged without the citie, and the king of Almaine remoued againe to Westminster. In which time a direction was taken betweene the said parties, and a new assemblie and parlement assigned to be kept in the quindene of S. John Baptist, and after deferred or prorogued till the feast of saint Edward, at the which time all things were pacified a while, but so as the earle of Gloucester was put beside the rome which he had amongst other the peeres, and so then he ioined in friendship with the earle of Leicester, as it were by way of confederacie against the residue, and yet in this last contention, the said earle of Leicester tooke part with the prince against the earle of Gloucester.

The king returneth into England.

The earle of Gloucester confederateth himselfe with the earle of Leicester.

This yeare the lord William de Beauchampe the elder deceased. ¶ The lord Edward the kings sonne, with a faire companie of knights and other men of armes, passed the seas to exercise himselfe in iusts, but he himselfe and his men were euill intreated in manie places, so that they lost horsse, armour, and all other things to his great griefe and disliking (as may be esteemed) yet (as some write) he returned home with victorie in the iusts. This yeare at Tewkesburie, a Jew falling by chance into a lake vpon the saturdaie, in reuerence of his sabboth would not suffer any man to plucke him forth, wherof the earle of Gloucester being aduertised, thought the christians should doo as much reuerence to their sabboth which is sundaie, and therefore would suffer no man to go about to take him forth that day, and so lieng still till

Chr. Dunstab.

Matth. West.

A Jew at Tewkesburie falleth into a lake.

Dissention betwixt prince Edward and the earle of Gloucester.

till mondaie, he was there found dead.

Mart. Westm. Death of Noble men.

Diuers Noble men departed this life in this yeare, as the earle of Albemarle, the lord William Beauchampe, Stephan de Longespee lord cheefe iustice of Ireland, and Roger de Turkeby one of the kings cheefe councellors and iustices of the land, William de Kirkham bishop of Durham, and John de Crakehale treasurer of England, a spirituall man, but rich beyond measure: also Henrie de Ba another of the kings iustices of the bench. In the 45 yeare of king Henries reigne, Alexander king of Scotland came to London anon after the feast of S. Edward, with a faire companie of Scotishmen, and shortlie after his wife the quéene of Scots came thither also. Moreouer king Henrie kept a roiall feast at Westminster, where he made to the number of foure score knights, amongst whome, John sonne to the earle of Britaine, who had maried the ladie Beatrice, one of the kings daughters was there made knight. Shortlie after was sir Hugh Spenser made lord cheefe iustice.

Bach rather.

Matth. West. Anno. Reg. 45. The king of Scots commeth to London.

Matt. West.

1261

Chro. Dun.

After Christmasse the K. comming into the towre of London, fortified it greatlie, & caused the gates of the citie to be warded, sending forth commandement to his lords that they should come to the towre, there to hold a parlement; but they denied flatlie so to do, sending him word that if it pleased him, they would come to Westminster, where vsuallie the parlement had béene kept, and not to any other place, wherupon there rose dissention betwixt him and the barons. After the feast of the Purification, at a folkemote holden at Paules crosse (where the king was present in person, with the king of Almaine, the archbishop of Canturburie, and diuerse other of the Nobles) commandement was giuen to the maior, that euerie stripling of the age of 12 yeares and aboue, should before his alderman be sworne to be true to the king and his heires kings of England, and that the gates of the citie should be kept with armed men, as before by the king of Romans was deuised.

Fabian. A folkemote holden at Pauls crosse.

An oth to be true to the king.

About Easter the barons of the land with consent of the peeres, discharged sir Hugh Spenser of his office of cheefe iustice, and placed in his rome sir Philip Basset without the kings assent, he being not made priuie thereunto. Wherupon a new occasion of displeasure was ministred to kindle debate betwixt the king and his lords, but by the policie of the king of Almaine and some prelats, the matter was quieted for a time, till after at Hallowentide next insuing, which was the 46 yeare of K. Henries reigne. At that time the barons toke vpon them to discharge such shiriffes as the king had elected & named gardians of the countries and shires, and in their places put other shiriffes, and besides that would not suffer the iustice which the king had admitted, to do his office in keeping his circuit, but appointed such to do it, as it pleased them to assigne, wherwith the king was so much offended, that he laboured by all means to him possible about the disanulling of the ordinances made at Oxford, and vpon the second sundaie in Lent, he caused to be read at Paules crosse a bull, obteined of pope Urbane the fourth, as a confirmation of an other bull before purchased of his predecessour pope Alexander, for the absoluing of the king, and all other that were sworne to the maintenance of the articles agreed vpon at Oxford. This absolution he caused to be shewed through the realmes of England, Wales & Ireland, giuing streight charge that if any person were found that would disobeie this absolution, the same should be committed to prison, there to remaine till the kings pleasure were further knowne.

The lord Spenser discharged of his office.

Anno Reg. 46. The presumptuous procéedings of the barons against the king.

1262

A bull read at Pauls crosse.

Matth. West. Many gouernours pernicious to a common-wealth.

Suerlie the most part of those péeres which had the rule of the king and kingdome thus in their hand, perceiuing the enormitie that dailie grew of so manifold heads and gouernours, were minded of themselues to dissolue those prouisions and ordinances so made at Oxford, in somuch that there were but fiue which stiffelie stood in defense of the same, that is to saie, the bishop of Worcester, and the earles of Leicester and Gloucester, with Henrie Spenser, and Peter de Montfort, the which by no meanes could be brought to confesse that they might with a safe conscience go contrarie to those ordinances which they had confirmed with their solemne oth, notwithstanding the popes dispensation; whereas the same oth was rather a bond of iniquitie (as saith Matth. Westminster) deuised to conspire against Christ and his annointed, that is to saie, their naturall liege lord and lawfull king, than any godlie oth aduisedlie taken, or necessarie to be receiued of good meaning subiects, yea and of such a friuolous oth it is said, that

In aqua scribitur & in puluere exaratur.

In June the king of Almaine toke shipping and sailed ouer into Dutchland, and king Henrie at a folkemote holden at Paules crosse the sundaie after S. Peters day, had licence to saile into France, and the morrow after he departed from London towards the sea side, with the quéene and other lords, his two sonnes prince Edward and the earle of Lancaster being at that present in Guien. When he had béene a season in France, he went vnto Burdeaux, and there fell sicke of a feuer quartane, by occasion whereof he taried in those parties till S. Nicholas tide next following. There were few that went ouer with him that escaped frée without the same disease, so that in maner all his companie were taken and sore handled therewith. Manie died thereof to the number of threescore, and amongst them as cheefe were these, Baldwine de Lisle earle of Deuonshire, Ingram de Percie, and William de Beauchampe.

The king of Almaine goeth ouer into Germanie. Fabian.

The king hauing licence passeth ouer into France.

He falleth sick of a feuer quartane.

Chro. Dun.

Death of noble men.

In this yeare died Richard the Clare earle of Gloucester, and his sonne sir Gilbert de Clare was earle after him, vnto whome his father gaue great charge that he should mainteine the ordinances of Oxford. In the 47 yeare of king Henries reigne, by reason that a Iew had wounded a christian man at London within Colechurch, in the ward of cheap, not onelie the said Iew was slaine by other christians that followed him home to his house, but also manie other Iewes were robbed and slaine in that furie and rage of the people. The Welshmen with their prince Leolin made wars against the men and tenants of Roger de Mortimer; and toke two of his castels (the one called Kenet) and raced them both to the ground. The said Roger being sore grieued herwith, got such assistance as he could of other lords there in the marches, and watching the Welshmen at aduantage, distressed diuerse companies of them, sometime three hundred, sometime foure hundred, and other whiles fiue hundred. But at one time he lost three hundred of his footmen that were entred the countrie, and so inclosed that they could make no shift to escape.

The earle of Gloucester departeth this life.

Anno Reg. 47.

Iewes slaine.

Matth. Westm. The welshmen warre against the lord Mortimers tenants.

He séeketh his reuenge against them.

Upon the euen of S. Thomas the apostle, the king landed at Douer, and came to London the Wednesdaie before the twelfe day in Christmasse. In this yeare the frost began about S. Nicholas daie, and continued for the space of a moneth and more, so extreamelie, that the Thames was frosen, so that men passed ouer on horsebacke. ¶ The same winter the kings little hall at Westminster, with manie other houses thereunto adioining, was consumed with fire, by negligence of one of the kings seruants. Variance rose betwixt the citizens of London, and the constable of the towre, for that contrarie to the liberties of the citie he toke certeine ships passing by the towre with wheat and other vittels into the towre, making

Fabian.

1263

Thames frosen.

Variance betwixt the citizens of London and the constable of the towre.

making the price thereof himselfe. The matter was had before sir Philip Basset lord cheefe iustice and others, who vpon the sight and hearing of all such euidences and priuiledges as could be brought forth for the aduantage of both the parties, toke order that the constable should (when he lacked prouision of graine or vittels) come into the market holden within the citie, and there to haue wheat two pence in a quarter within the maiors price, and other vittels after the same rate.

Matth. West. Prince Edward goeth against the Welshmen.

Prince Edward the kings sonne returning from the parts beyond the sea, went with a great power (as well of Englishmen as strangers) against the Welshmen towards Snowdon hils: but the enimies withdrawing themselues to their strengths within the woods and mounteines, he could not much indamage them, wherevpon after he had fortified certeine castels in those parts, with men, munition, and vittels, he returned being sent for backe of his father.

The archb. of Canturburie goeth to Rome.

The archbishop of Canturburie foreseeing the trouble that was like to insue betwixt the king and his barons, got licence of the king to go vnto Rome, about such businesse as he fained to haue to do with the pope, and so departed the land, and kept him awaie till the trouble was appeased. Vpon Midlent sundaie, at a folkemote holden at Paules crosse, before sir Philip Basset and other of the kings councell, the maior of London was sworne to be true to the king, and to his heires kings of England, and vpon the morrow at the Guildhall euerie alderman in presence of the maior toke the same oth. And vpon the sundaie following, euerie inhabitant within the citie, of the age of 12 yeares and aboue, before his alderman in his ward was newlie charged with the like oth.

Fabian.

The lord maior of London sworne to be true to the king.

Cloked malice bursteth out.

Then began the displeasure betweene the king and his barons to appeare, which had beene long kept secret, diuers of whom assembling togither in the marches of Wales, gathered vnto them a power of men, and sent a letter vnto the king, vnder the seale of sir Roger Clifford, beseeching him to haue in remembrance his oth and manifold promises made for the obseruing of the statutes ordeined at Oxford. But although this letter was indited and written verie effectuallie, yet receiued they no answer from the king, who minded in no wise to obserue the same statutes, as by euident tokens it was most apparant. Wherevpon they determined to attempt by force to bring their purpose to passe. The king and the queene for their more safegard got them into the towre of London, and prince Edward laie at Clerkenwell, but in such necessitie and discredit for monie, that neither had they any store to furnish their wants, neither was there any man that would trust them with a groat.

The barons raise people.

The lord Clifford.

Chron. Dun.

Prince Edward taketh monie out of the treasurie of the temple.

Prince Edward not able to abide such dishonor, in the feast of the apostle Peter and Paule, taking with him Robert Waleran, and certeine others, went to the new temple, and there calling for the keeper of the treasure-house, as if he meant to see his mothers iewels, that were laid vp there, to be safelie kept, he entred into the house, and breaking the coffers of certeine persons that had likewise brought their monie thither, to haue it in more safetie, he toke away from thence the value of 1000 pounds.

Mart. lib. 11. Hor. lib. car. 3. ode 24.

aquarum cogit egestas!
Magnum paupertes opprobrium iubet
Quiduis & facere & pati,
Virtutisque viam deserit arduæ.

The Londoners rob the house of the lord Gray.

The citizens of London were so offended herewith that they rose in armour against him and other of the kings councell, in somuch that they assailed the lodging of the lord John Gray without Ludgate, and toke out of his stables 32 horsses, and such other things as they might laie hold vpon, keeping such stur that the lord Gray himselfe was forced to flie beyond Fleetbridge. The like rule they kept at the house of John de Pallelew.

John Mansell departing forth of the towre to the Thames, with the countesse de Lisle, and other ladies that were strangers borne, sailed into France, and landed at Whitsand, where the said Mansell hearing that the lord Henrie, sonne to the king of Almaine, that then held with the barons was in those parts, he caused the lord Ingram de Fines to staie him as prisoner, and so he remained, till king Henrie vpon the agreement betwixt him and the barons, found meanes to get him released, and so then he returned into England.

John Mãsell fleeth into France.

But now touching the barons, they proceeded in their businesse which they had in hand with all earnest diligence, of whome these were the cheefe that vndertoke this matter: yong Humfrie de Boun, the lord Henrie son to the king of Almaine, Henrie Montford, Hugh Spenser, Baldwin Wake, Gilbert Gifford, Richard Gray, John Ros, William Marmion, Henrie Hastings, Haimon le Strange, John Fitz John, Godfrey Lucie, Nicholas Segraue, Roger de Leiborne, John Vesie, Roger de Clifford, John de Vaus, Gilbert de Clare, Gilbert de Lacie, and Robert Veyont, the which with one generall consent elected for their cheefe capteins and generall gouernours, Simon de Mountfort earle of Leicester, Gilbert of Clare earle of Glocester, and Robert Ferreis earle of Darbie, and John earle of Warren. On the kings part these persons are named to stand with him against the other. First, Roger Bigod erle of Norffolke and Suffolke, Humfrie de Boun earle of Hereford, Hugh Bigod lord cheefe iustice, Philip Basset, William de Valence, Geffrey de Lucignan, Peter de Sauoy, Robert Walrand, John Mansell, Geffrey Langley, John Gray, William Latimer, Henrie Percie, and manie other. The barons notwithstanding hauing assembled their powers, resolued to go through with their purpose.

The barons that rose against the king.

Their cheefe capteins.

The barons that toke part with the king.

The first enterprise they made was at Hereford, where they toke the bishop of that see named John Breton, and as manie of his canons as were strangers borne. After this they toke sir Matthew de Bezilles shiriffe of Glocester, a stranger borne; and keeping on their waie towards London with baners displaied, so manie as came within their reach, whom they knew to be against the maintenance of the statutes of Oxford, they spoiled them of their houses, robbed them of their goods, and imprisoned their bodies, hauing no regard whether they were spirituall men or temporall. In diuerse of the kings castels they placed such capteins and soldiers as they thought conuenient, and displaced others whom they either knew or suspected to be aduersaries to their purpose.

Risanger noteth this to be 1264.

The barons make hauock.

About Midsummer when they drew neere to London, they sent a letter to the maior and aldermen vnder the seale of the earle of Leicester, willing to vnderstand whether they would obserue the acts and statutes established at Oxford, or else aid and assist such persons as meant the breach of the same. And herewith they sent vnto them a copie of those articles, with a proviso, that if any of them were prejudiciall, or in any wise hurtfull to the realme and commonwealth, that then the same by the aduise of discreet persons should be amended and reformed. The maior bare this letter and the copie of the articles vnto the king, who in this meane time remained in the towre of London, togither with the queene and the king of Almaine, latelie returned out of Almaine, with his sonne prince Edward, and manie other of his councell. The king asked of the maior what he thought of those articles? Who made such answer as the king seemed

seemed well pleased therewith, and so permitted the maior to returne againe into the citie, who toke much paine in keeping the citie in good quiet now in that dangerous time.

The diligence of the lord maior of London.

All such the inhabitants as were strangers borne, and suspected to fauour either of the parties, were banished the citie, but within a while after, prince Edward set them or the most part of them in offices within the castell of Windsore. On the saturdaie next after the translation of saint Benet, as the queene would haue passed by water from the tower vnto Windsore, a sort of lewd naughtipacks got them vnto the bridge, making a noise at hir, and crieng: Out vpon the witch; threw downe stones, cudgels, dirt, and other things at hir; so that she escaped in great danger of hir person, fled to Lambeth, and though feare to be further pursued, landed there, and so she staied till the maior of London with much adoo appeasing the furie of the people, repaired to the queene and brought hir backe againe in safetie vnto the tower. And (as some write) because the king would not suffer hir to enter againe into the tower, the maior conueied hir vnto the bishop of Londons house by Paules, and there lodged hir.

The misdemeanor of lewd persons towards the queene.

Chron. Dunst.

The barons in this meane time hauing got the citie of Worcester and Bridgenorth, with other places, were come in to the south parts, to the end that they might win the castell of Douer, and find some meanes to set the lord Henrie (sonne to the king of Almaine that was prisoner beyond the seas) at libertie. In the meane time the bishops of Lincolne, London and Chester, trauelled betwixt the king and barons for a peace; but the barons would not agree, except that the king and queene would first cause the lord Henrie to be set at libertie, and deliuer into their hands the castels of Windsore, Douer, and other fortresses, and send awaie all the strangers, and take such order that the prouisions of Oxenford might be obserued, as well by the king as others.

Matth. West.

Chron. Dunst. Bishops trauell to make peace.

The king although these conditions seemed verie hard and displeasant to his mind, yet was he driuen to such an extremitie that he granted to accept them, and so an agreement was made and had betwixt him and the lords. But now all the difficultie was to appease the lord Edward, and to remoue the strangers which he had placed in the castell of Windsore, which they had not onelie fortified, but also in manner destroied the towne, and done much hurt in the countrie round about them. There were to the number of an hundred knights or men of armes (as I may call them) beside a great number of other men of warre. But now after that the king had agreed to the peace, the barons entred the citie on the sundaie before S. Margarets daie; and shortlie after the king came to Westminster with the queene, and those of his councell. And immediatlie hereupon, by consent of the king and the barons, sir Hugh Spenser was made cheefe iustice and keeper of the tower. During the time that the lords remained in London, manie robberies and riots were done within the citie, and small redresse had in correcting the offendors, they were so borne out and maintained by their maisters and others.

Strangers kéepe the castell of Windsore.

The great disorder in the citie of London.

The commons of the citie were farre out of order, for in the assemblies and courts, as well at Guildhall as in other places, the matters and iudgement of things went by the voices of the simple and vndiscreet multitude, so that the substantiall and worshipfull citizens were not regarded. The barons on the morrow following the feast of saint James, departed from London toward Windsore, in which meane while prince Edward was gone to Bristow, & there thinking himselfe to be out of danger, by mishap there rose variance betwixt the citizens & his men, so that the whole citie reuolted from him, and prepared to besiege him in the castell, not doubting but easilie to win it. When he saw how the world went, he sent to the bishop of Worcester that was of the barons side, promising that he would agree with the barons, if he would helpe to deliuer him out of the Bristow mens hands. The bishop taking his promise conueied him forth in safetie toward the court; but when he came neere vnto Windsore, he turned thither, greatlie to the misliking of the bishop: yet neuertheless when the barons came forward to besiege that castle, the lord Edward met them not farre from Kingston, offering them conditions of peace. Some write that he was staied and not suffered to returne againe to Windsore, after he had ended his talke with the barons: but howsoeuer it was, the castell was surrendred, with condition that those that were within it should safelie depart, and so they did, and were conueied to the sea by Humfrey de Bohun the yonger. About the same time, Leolin prince of Wales destroied the lands of prince Edward in Cheshire, and the marshes thereabouts. The two castels of Diserd and Gannoc he toke and destroied, being two verie faire fortresses.

Nic. Treuet.

About the feast of the Natiuitie of our ladie, there was a parlement holden at London, at the which all the nobles of the realme both spirituall and temporall were present; and then the citie of London, and the cinque ports ioined in league as confederats with the barons: but the king plainlie protested before all the assemblie, that by the statutes and prouisions (as they termed them) made at Oxenford, he was much deceiued. For contrarie to that which the barons had promised, he felt himselfe rather charged with more debt than anie thing releeued: and therefore sith he had obteined of the pope an absolution of the oth both for himselfe and his people; his request was to be restored vnto his former estate of all such prerogatiues as in time past he had inioied. The barons on the other side stiffelie mainteined, that they could not with safe consciences go against their oth, and therefore they meant to stand in defense of the articles aforesaid euen so long as they had a daie to liue.

Parlement.

Abington.

The kings protestation against the articles at Oxenford.

Thus whilest both parts kept so farre from all hope of agreement, and were now in point to haue departed in sunder, through mediation of some bishops that were present a peace was concluded, and the parties so agreed, that all matters in controuersie touching the articles, prouisions, and statutes made at Oxenford should be ordered and iudged by the French king, whom they chose as arbitrator betwixt them. Hereupon, on the thirteenth of September, both the king and queene, with their sonnes, and diuerse other of the nobles of this land, toke shipping, and sailed ouer to Bullongne, where the French king as then was at a parlement, with a great number of the nobles and peeres of France. The earle of Leicester also with diuerse of his complices went thither, and there the matter was opened, argued, and debated before the French king, who in the end vpon due examination, and orderlie hearing of the whole processe of all their controuersies, gaue expresse sentence, that all and euerie of the said statutes and ordinances deuised at Oxford, should be from thenceforth vtterlie void, and all bonds and promises made by king Henrie, or anie other for performance of them, should likewise be annihilated, forgone, and clearelie cancelled.

The matter put to the French king.

The French king giueth sentence against the barons.

The barons highlie displeased herewith, refused to stand to the French kings award herein, because he had iudged altogither on the kings side. Whereupon after they were returned into the realme, either partie prepared for warre: but yet about the feast of S. Edward,

Abingeon.

Edward, the king and the barons essones met at London, holding a new parlement at Westminster, but no good could be done. Then when the king of Almaine and prince Edward, with others of the kings councell saw that by rapine, oppression, and extortion practised by the barons against the kings subiects, as well spirituall as temporall, the state of the realme and the kings honour was much decaied, and brought in manner vnto vtter ruine, they procured the king to withdraw secretlie from Westminster vnto Windsore castell, of which his sonne prince Edward had gotten the possession by a traine. From Windsore he went to Reading, and from thence to Wallingford, and so to Oxford, hauing a great power with him.

Anno Reg. 48.

Matth. Westm.

The lords that reuolted to the king.

At his being at Oxford there came vnto him the lord Henrie, son to the king of Almaine, John earle Warren, Roger Clifford, Roger Leiborne, Haimond le Strange, and John de Maur, which had reuolted from the barons to the kings side, John Gifford also did the like: but he shortlie after returned to the barons part againe. The kings sonne the lord Edward had procured them thus to reuolt, promising to euerie of them in reward by his charter of grant fiftie pounds lands to aid the king his father and him against the barons.

After this the king went to Winchester, and from thence came backe vnto Reading, and then he marched forth with his armie vnto Douer, where he could not be suffered to come into the castell, being kept out by the lord Richard Gray that was capteine there. Herevpon he returned to London, where the barons againe were entred, through fauour of the commoners, against the will of the cheefe citizens, and here they fell essones to treat of agreement, but their talke profited nothing. And so in the Christmasse weeke the king, with his sonne prince Edward and diuerse other of the councell sailed ouer againe into France, and went to Amiens, where they found the French king, and a great number of his Nobles. Also for the barons, Peter de Montford, and other were sent thither as commissioners, and as some write, at that present, to wit on the 24 daie of Januarie, the French king sitting in iudgement, pronounced his definitiue sentence on the behalfe of king Henrie against the barons: but whether he gaue that sentence now, or the yeare before, the barons iudged him verie parciall, and therefore meant not to stand vnto his arbitrement therein.

Chron. Dun.

Abington.

1264

The king goeth again ouer to the French king.

Fabian.

The king hauing ended his businesse with the French king, returned into England, and came to London the morrow after S. Valentines day. And about seuen or eight daies after, the lord Edward his eldest sonne returned also, and hearing that the barons were gone to the marshes of Wales (where ioining with the Welshmen, they had begun to make warre against the kings freends, and namelie against his lieutenant Roger lord Mortimer, whome they had besieged in the castell of Wigmore) the lord Edward therevpon, with such power as he could get togither, marched thitherwards to raise their siege: but the lord Mortimer perceiuing himselfe in danger, fled priuilie out of the castell, and got to Hereford, whither the prince was come. The barons inforced their strength in such wise that they wan the castell. Prince Edward on the other side tooke the castels of Haie and Huntington that belonged vnto the earle of Hereford yong Henrie de Boun.

Nic. Triuet.

Castels gotten by prince Edward.

The castell of Brecknoc was also deliuered into his hands, which he betooke to the keeping of the lord Roger de Mortimer, with all the territorie thereto belonging. Robert earle of Darbie that tooke part with the barons, besieged the citie of Worcester, and tooke it by the old castell, sacked the citizens goods, and

Worcester taken.

constreined the Iewes to be baptised. The citie of Glocester also was taken by the barons: but prince Edward following them and reparing the bridge ouer Seuerne, which the barons had broken downe after they were come ouer, he entred the castell of Glocester with his people. The next day by procurement of Walter bishop of Worcester, a truce was taken betwixt prince Edward and the barons that had taken the towne, during the which truce the barons left the towne, and the burgesses submitted themselues vnto prince Edward: and so he hauing the castell and towne in his hands, imprisoned manie of the burgesses, & fined the towne at the summe of a thousand pounds. Then he drew towards his father lieng at Oxford, or at Woodstoke, gathering people together on ech hand.

Matth. West. The citie of Glocester recouered, and put to fine.

In the meane time the lords drew towards London, and the new assurance by writing indented was made betweene the commonaltie of the citie and the barons, without consent of any of the rulers of the citie. The commoners herewith apointed of themselues two capteins, which they named constables of the citie, that is to saie, Thomas Piwelsdon & Stephan Bukerell, by whose commandement and tolling of the great bell of Paules all the citie was warned to be readie in harnesse, to attend vpon the said two capteins. About the beginning of Lent the constable of the towre sir Hugh Spenser, with the said two capteins, and a great multitude of the citizens and others went to Thistleworth, and there spoiled the manour place of the king of Almaine, and then set it on fire, and destroied the water milles, and other commodities which he there had. This deed was the cause (as some haue iudged) of the warre that after insued. For where before this time the said king of Almaine had beene, by reason of the alliance betwixt him and the earle of Glocester, continuallie an intreater for peace, he was now euer after this time an vtter enimie vnto the barons, and vnto their side, so farre as laie in his power.

The comoners of the citie of London agree with the barons.

R. Fabian.

The manor of Thistleworth spoiled.

The cheefe cause that set the K. of Almaine so sore against the barons.

The king hearing of this riotous act, and being informed that Peter de Mountfort was at Northampton, assembling people to strengthen the barons part, he got togither such men of warre as he could from all places, and so he had with him his brother Richard king of Almaine, his eldest sonne the lord Edward, William de Valence his halfe brother on the mothers side, & John Comin of Ward in Scotland with a great number of Scots, John Baliol lord of Gallowaie, Robert Bruis lord of Annandale, Roger Clifford, Philip Marmion, John Maur, John Leiborne, Henrie Percie, Philip Basset, and Roger Mortimer.

The lords that followed the king.

Thus the king hauing these Noble men about him, with his armie sped him towards Northampton, and comming thither tooke the towne by force, slue diuerse, and tooke prisoners Peter Mountfort, and Simon Mountfort the earle of Leicesters son, William Ferries, Baldwin Wake, with Nicholas his brother, Berengarius de Wateruile, Hugh Gubiun, Robert Buteuilein, Adam of Newmarch, Robert Newton, Philip Dibie, Grimbald Pauncefoet, Roger Beltram, Thomas Wansell, and diuerse other, to the number of 80 knights (or as Matthew Westminster hath 15 barons, and 60 knights) besides a great number of esquires and burgesses, the which were bestowed abroad in sundrie prisons. The towne (as some write) was taken by this meanes. Whilest diuerse of the capteins within were talking with the king on the one side of the towne towards the medowes, the lord Philip Basset approched the walles nere vnto the monasterie of S. Andrew, and there with his people hauing spades, mattocks, and other instruments prouided for the purpose, vndermined a great

Northampton taken by force.

great paine of the wall, and reuersed the same into ditches, making such a breach, that fortie horsemen might enter afront. Some put the blame in such monks of the abbeie as were strangers, as though they should prepare this entrie for the enimie: but howsoeuer it was, the king got the towne out of his enimies hands.

This also is to be remembred, that where by reason of variance, which had chanced that yere betwixt the scholers of Oxford and the townesmen, a great number of the same scholers were withdrawen to Northampton and there studied. They had raised a banner to fight in defense of the towne against the king, and did more hurt to the assailants than anie other band; wherevpon the king threatned to hang them all, and so had he done indeed, if by the persuasion of his councell he had not altered his purpose, doubting to procure the hatred of their frends, if the execution should haue béene so rigorouslie prosecuted against them: for there were amongst them manie yong gentlemen of good houses and noble parentage. Thus was the towne of Northampton taken on a saturdaie being Passion sundaie euen, and the morrow after the daie of S. Ambrose which is the fift of Aprill. On the monday following, the king led his armie towards Leicester, where the burgesses receiued him into the towne at his comming thither. From thence he marched to Notingham, burning and wasting the houses and manors of the barons and other of his enimies, and specially those that belonged to the earle of Leicester. Here he also gathered more people, and so increased his power: in so much that diuerse Noblemen, as Roger Clifford, Henrie Percie, Richard Gray, Philip Basset, Richard Sward, and Hubert earle of Kent, doubting the lacke of power in their companions, reuolted incontinentlie to the kings side.

Scholers fight against the king.

Some write that Iohn de Balioll and Robert de Bruis, and Peter de Bruis, came to him here and not before Matt. VVest.

He sent his sonne prince Edward into Darbishire and Staffordshire with a strong power, where he wasted the manours and possessions of Robert de Ferrers earle of Darbie, and namelie he ouerthrew and defaced the castell of Tutburie. Wheresoeuer the kings armie, or that which his sonne prince Edward led, chanced to come, there followed spoiling, burning and killing. The barons on the other side sate not still, for the lord Iohn Gifford, with others that were appointed by the earle of Leicester to kéepe Killingworth castell (which was furnished with all things necessarie, marueilouslie, and with such strange kind of engines as had not béene lightlie heard of nor séene in these parts) toke by a policie the castell of Warwike, and William Mandut earle of Warwike, with his wife and familie within it; and leading them to Killingworth, there cõmitted them to prison. The cause was, for that they suspected him that he would take part with the king against them. The castell of Warwike they raced downe, least the kings people should take it for their refuge. In the Passion wéeke the Iewes that inhabited in London being detected of treason, which they had deuised against the barons and citizens, were slaine almost all the whole number of them, and great riches found in their houses, which were taken and caried awaie by those that ransacked the same houses.

The castell of Tutburie defaced.

The castell of Warwike taken.

The castell of Warwike raced.

The Iewes are killed.

After Easter the erle of Leicester, hauing London at his commandement, went to Rochester and besieged that citie, but the capteine thereof Iohn earle of Warren did manfullie resist the enimies; till the king aduertised thereof, with the power of the marshes of the north parts and other came and remoued the siege. This done, he left a conuenient garrison within the citie to defend it, and comming to Tunbridge, wan the castell, and taking the countesse of Glocester that was within it, permitted hir to depart. This done, he repaired to the sea side towards France, to staie there till his brethren, Geffrey and Guie, the sonnes of the earle of Marsh should arriue with some band of souldiers, for whom he had now sent and reuoked into the realme, being latelie before banished by the Nobles, as before yée haue heard. They shortlie after landed, wherevpon the king hauing his power increased, came to Lewes, and pight downe his field not farre from that towne.

Rochester besieged.

N. Triuet. Matth. West.

The kings halfe brethren come out of France to his aid.

The king incampeth at Lewes.

In the end of Aprill the barons hearing where the king was, departed from London with a great multitude of the citizens, whom they placed in the vantward, and marched forth towards the king, and comming nere to the place where he was lodged, set downe their tents, and incamped themselues a little beside him. Either here or by the waie as they came forward, the barons deuised a letter, and sent it vnto the king, conteining an excuse of their doings, and a declaration of their well meanings, both towards him, and the wealth of the realme; and herewith accused those that were about him, and with euill counsell misinformed him, both against them, against the publike wealth of the land, and his owne honor. This letter was dated the tenth of Maie, and subscribed with the names of a great number of noble men, of the which the more part do here insue, but yet not all; Sir Simon de Montfort earle of Leicester and high steward of England, sir Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester, Robert Ferrers earle of Darbie, Hugh Spenser lord chefe iustice, & Henrie Montfort sonne and heire to the earle of Leicester, Richard Grey, Henrie Hastings, Iohn Fitz Iohn, Robert de Aëpont, Iohn Ginuile, Robert Ros, William Marmion, Baldwine Wake, Gilbert Gifford, Nicholas de Segraue, Godfrey de Lucie, Iohn de Veisie, William de Mountchensie, with other. The king answered this letter, in charging them with rebellion, and mouing of open war against him, to the great disquieting of the realme. Also he laid vnto their charge, the burning of the manours, houses and places of his nobles and councellors; and herewith defied them by the same answer, which was dated at Lewes aforesaid on the twelfth of Maie.

The barons send a letter to the king.

The answer to ỹ barons.

He defieth them.

Also the king of Romanes, and prince Edward sent their defiance to the barons at the same time in writing vnder their seales, for that the barons in their letter to the king, had burthened them and other with misleading the king with vntrue informations and sinister counsell. Thus as they writ to and fro such nipping letters, all the treatie of peace was forgotten and laid aside, so that they prepared to battell. The king had indeed the greater number of armed men, but manie of them were vnfaithfull, and cared not greatlie though the losse fell to his side, and so whilest they went to it without order, & vnaduisedlie, they fought at aduenture, & continued but faintly. His capteines made three battels of their armie, the lord Edward led the forward, and with him William de Valence earle of Penbroke, and Iohn de Warren erle of Surrey and Suffer. In the second, the K. of Almaine, with his sonne Henrie were chéftaines. The third the king gouerned himselfe.

Matth. West.

N. Triuet.

The ordering of the battels.

The barons diuided their host into foure battels, the first was vnder the gouernment of the lord Henrie de Montfort and others. The second was led by the lord Gilbert de Clare, the lord Iohn Fitz Iohn, and the lord William de Mountchensie. The third, in which the Londoners were placed, the lord Nicholas de Segraue ruled. The fourth was led by Simon Montfort earle of Leicester himselfe, and one Thomas de Peuelton. Thus being ordered, on the fourtéenth of Maie being Wednesdaie, they ioined in fight, and at the first incounter, the L. Henrie

The battels ioine.

Chron. Dunst.

rie de Hastings, the lord Geffrey de Lucie, & Humfrey de Bohun the yonger were wounded, and the Londoners forthwith were beaten backe: for prince Edward so fiercelie assailed them, that they were not able to abide the brunt. He hated them indeed aboue all other, namelie for that of late they had misused his mother, reuiling hir, and throwing durt and stones at hir, when she passed the bridge (as before ye haue heard) which wrong and abuse by them committed was peraduenture on their parts forgotten, but of prince Edward (as it seemeth) remembred, for

Puluere qui ladit, sed læsus marmore scribit.

Prince Edward pursueth the Londoners.

Herevpon prince Edward now to be reuenged of them, after they began to flie, most egerlie following them, chased & slue them by heaps. But whilest he separated himselfe by such earnest following of the Londoners too farre from the residue of the kings armie, he was the onelie cause of the losse of that field: for the earle of Leicester, perceiuing that the prince with the chiefest force of the kings armie was thus gone after the Londoners (of whom he made no great account) he exhorted his people to shew their valiancie at that instant, and so comming vpon his aduersaries with great courage, in a moment put them to flight. There were taken the king of Almaine, the lords John de Burgh and Philip Basset with all other the chiefest that were about the king, but the king himselfe retired with those few about him that were left, into the priorie of Lewes, and other there were that withdrew into the castell. The barons pursuing them, entered the towne, and tooke or slue so manie as they found within the castell and priorie. At length, prince Edward returned from the chase of the Londoners, whom he had pursued for the space of foure miles, and finding the field lost, began a new battell: but the earle of Surrie, William de Valence, and Guy de Lucignan, with Hugh Bigod and others, hauing with them three hundred armed men, streightwaies fled vnto the castell of Pemsie. Prince Edward then perceiuing slaughter to be made on each hand, cast about the towne, and with his companie got into the priorie to his father.

The kings part put to the worse. Matt. Westm. Nic. Triuet.

Matth. Paris.

Seuen hundred hath Abington.

Prince Edward commeth backe to his father.

In the meane time the barons gaue assault to the castell, but they within valiantlie defended themselues, with whose hardie doings prince Edward incouraged, gathered his people togither againe, and meant eftsoones to giue battell; but the subtill head of the earle of Leicester beguiled them all, for he caused certeine friers to take in hand to be intreators betwixt them, which comming to the king and to the prince his sonne, declared that the barons, to auoid that more christian bloud should not be spilt, would be contented to haue the matter put in compromise of indifferent persons; but if it were so, that the king and his sonne would néeds stand to the vttermost triall of battell, they would not faile but strike off the heads of the king of Almaine and other prisoners, which they would set vpon the ends of their speares in stéed of standards.

Friers suborned to treat a peace.

The king and his people hauing the respect of pitie before their eies, changed their purposed intent to fight, and falling to a parle (which continued for the most part of all the night next following) at length it was agreed vpon, that the French king with three prelats and three other noble men of the temporaltie, should chose forth and name two noble men of France, which comming into England should take a third person to them whom they thought good, and they three should haue the hearing of all controuersies betwixt the king and the barons, and what order so euer they tooke therein, the same should stand, and be receiued for a perfect conclusion and stable decrée. This agrément was confirmed, and prince Edward and Henrie sonne to the king of Almaine were appointed to remaine as hostages with the barons.

An agrément taken. Matth. West.

¶ Other write otherwise of this battell at Lewes, affirming, that not onelie the king of Romans, but also king Henrie himselfe, hauing his owne horsse thrust through on both sides, was taken, and likewise his sonne prince Edward with other on their side, to the number of fiue and twentie barons and bannerets: and that moreouer, there died on the kings side that day in the battell and chase, six thousand and fiue hundred men, as Polydor noteth: howbeit, Richard Southwell saith, there died on both parts onlie 3400. But Matth. Westminster writeth, that as the report went, there died fiue thousand on both sides, and amongst other, these he nameth as chéefe, William de Wilton one of the kings iustices, & the lord Fouke Fitz Waren a baron that tooke the kings part. On the barons side, the lord Rafe Heringander a baron also, and William Blunt the earles standardbearer. Of them that were taken on the kings side, beside such as before are recited, we find these named, Humfrie de Bohun earle of Hereford, William lord Bardolfe, Robert lord of Tatshale, Roger lord Somerie, Henrie lord Percie, John de Balioll, Robert de Bruis, and John Comin, with other barons of Scotland, hauing lost all their footmen whom they had brought with them to the kings aid.

Polydor.

Matth. Westm. Lords taken on the kings side.

Moreouer, it should apeare by some writers, that the king being thus in captiuitie, was constreined to make a new grant, that the statutes of Oxford should stand in force, and if any were thought vnreasonable, the same should be reformed by foure Noble men of the realme of France, two of the spiritualtie and two of the temporaltie. And if those foure could not agrée, then the earle of Anjou and the duke of Burgoigne should be iudges in the matter. ¶ But if either those or the other were appointed to be arbitrators, like it is, that the former report touching the successe of the battell is true; for if both the king and his sonne had béene taken prisoners in the field, the barons would suerlie haue constreined him to haue consented to the obseruance of the statutes, without putting the same in compromise, to be altered at the discretion of any arbitrators, and namelie strangers.

Fabian. N. Triuet. Matth. Westm.

But howsoeuer it was, on the tuesday before the Ascension day, peace was proclaimed in London, betweene the king and the barons; and whereas the king either by constreint for safegard of himselfe or his frends, either vpon assurance of the barons promise, committed himselfe vnto the companie of the same barons, at their comming with him to London they went from this last agrément, and forthwith deuised other ordinances as thus. They ordeined, that two earles and a bishop, which being elected out by the communaltie, should chose to them nine other persons, and of these, three of them should still remaine about the king, and by their order and the other nine, all things should be gouerned both in the court and in the realme. They constreined the king and his sonne prince Edward (menacing to depose the one, and to kéepe the other in perpetuall prison) to consent and agrée to this last ordinance: and so the earles of Leicester and Glocester, and the bishop of Chichester were ordeined there the chéefe rulers, and letters sent with all spéed vnto the cardinall Sabinensis the popes legat, and to the king of France, to signifie to them, that the compromise agréed vpon at Lewes was vtterlie reuoked, and that a new peace in frendlie wise was concluded.

Peace proclaimed.

A new deuise of the barons.

But although the bishops of London, Winchester, and Worcester instantlie required the said legat, that he would helpe to further the same peace, yet he sore rebuked them, in that they would giue their consent, so much to abase and bring vnder the kings roiall power. And bicause he might not be suffered to enter

enter the realme, he first cited them to appeare before him at Bullongne. And whereas they seemed to contemne his authoritie, and appeared not, he both suspended the said three bishops, and excommunicated the said earles of Leicester and Gloucester, and their complices, with the citie of London, and the cinque ports: but the foresaid bishops, earles and barons, feigning to make their appeales to the popes consistorie, or if need were, vnto a generall councell and so forth, though indeed trusting more to the temporall sword, than fearing the spirituall, they did not forbeare to saie and heare diuine seruice in churches and else-where, as before they had done, till the comming of the cardinall Othobone.

The capteines and men of warre, whom the king had left at Tunbridge, immediatlie vpon the agreement concluded betwixt the king and the barons, were commanded by the K. to depart, & repaire euerie man to his home; but they fearing the malice of their enimies, would not breake in sunder, but keeping togither, went strait to Bristowe, and there remained, till the lord Edward the kings sonne was escaped out of captiuitie. But this is to be remembred, that before their departure from Tunbridge, when by report of William de Saie, who escaping from the battell at Lewes, was come thither, they vnderstood how the matter had passed on both sides, and that the Londoners being chased out of the field, were lodged at Croidon, about the euening tide they came thither, and assailing them in their lodgings, slue manie, and wan a great spoile. The earle of Leicester and the barons hauing the rule of the king and realme in their hands, sought to oppresse all such as they knew to be against them, and not to like of their procéedings; namelie, the northerne lords, and those of the marches of Wales, as the lord Mortimer and others: but waxing herewith wilfull, they vsed things with small discretion, which at length brought them to confusion. For the foure sonnes of the earle of Leicester, Henrie, Guie, Simon, and an other Henrie, which had serued right worthilie indeed on the daie of the battell, began to waxe so proud, that in comparison of themselues, they despised all others.

Matth. West.

N. Triuet.

The Londoners spoiled at Croidon.

The lords of the marches of Wales, as Roger de Mortimer, James de Audelie, Roger de Clifford, Roger de Leiborne, Haimon le Strange, Hugh Turberuile, and other that had escaped from the battell at Lewes, began to make against them that had thus vsurped the rule of the land, vnder colour of hauing the king in their hands. The earle of Leicester aduertised hereof, ioined in league with Leolin prince of Wales, and comming with the king into those parts, entered into the castell of Hereford, into the which he remoued the lord Edward from Douer, where he was first kept in ward, after he had yéelded himselfe at Lewes. After this, the earle of Leicester recouered the castell of Haie, and wasting the lands and manours of the lord Mortimer, constreined Hugh Mortimer to yéeld himselfe, so that his castell called Richar, and other his possessions, were committed to the keeping of the lord John Fitz John. Robert de Ferrers earle of Darbie, with a great puissance of horsemen and footmen came to Chester, in fauour of the earle of Leicester, against whome although William de Cousche, and Dauid brother to the prince of Wales, taking the contrarie part with the lord James Audelie and other, came to incounter, yet they durst not abide him, but fled, and lost an hundred of their men.

Matt. West.

The earle of Darbie cometh to Chester with 20 thousand men.

In the meane time, the earle of Leicester procéeding in his businesse, wan the castell of Ludlow, and after marching towards Montgomerie, whither the lords Roger de Mortimer, and James Audelie were withdrawne, he constreined them at length to a feigned agreement, so that they gaue hostages, promising to come to the next parlement that was appointed to be holden, where they were banished the land for a twelue moneths, and all the castels on the marshes, in manner from Bristow to Chester, were deliuered to the earle. After this (as by Nicholas Triuet it appeareth) there was a great assemblie of men of warre made out of all parts of the realme, to resist such strangers as the quéene (remaining in the parts beyond the seas) had got togither, meaning to send them into England to aid the king against the barons, and for that purpose had caused a great number of ships to be brought into the hauen of Dam. But now that the king was in the barons hands, and that such a multitude of horsemen and footmen were assembled on Barham-downe (as a man would not haue thought had béene possible to haue found within the whole relme) to resist the landing of those strangers, the said strangers were sent home againe, without hauing done anie pleasure to the quéene, other than spent hir monie. The king held his Christmas at Woodstoke; and the earle of Leicester, who séemed then to rule the whole realme, kept his Christmasse at Killingworth.

The lords Mortimer and Audelie banished.

An armie lodged on Barham-downe.

Matth. West. 1265

Chr. Dunstab.

After this, a parlement was holden at London in the octaues of saint Hilarie, and manie things were concluded, couenants accorded, and oths taken for performance by the K. and his sonne prince Edward, which shortlie after came to little effect. Yet prince Edward, and Henrie the sonne and heire of the king of Almaine, which had béene kept as pledges about the tearme of nine moneths and od daies, were in the Lent following set at libertie, vpon assurance made, that the said prince Edward should remaine in the kings court, and not depart from thence without licence of the king and certeine of the barons. He was also constreined to giue vnto the earle of Leicester the countie Palantine of Chester, before he might obteine to haue so much libertie. Betwéene Easter and Whitsuntide, the earles of Leicester and Gloucester fell at variance, through the presumptuous demeanour of the earle of Leicesters sonnes, and also bicause the earle of Leicester would not deliuer the king of Almaine and other prisoners vnto the earle of Gloucester, requiring to haue the custodie of them, bicause he had taken them in the battell at Lewes.

Abington.

The earle of Gloucester, perceiuing himselfe not well vsed, secretlie entred into confederacie with the lord Mortimer, and other of the marshes: wherevpon the earle of Leicester hauing thereof some inkeling, came to Hereford, in purpose to haue taken the earle of Gloucester, and to haue put him in safe kéeping, as latelie before he had serued the earle of Darbie. But by the practise of the lord Mortimer, shortlie after the lord Edward or prince Edward (whether yée list to call him) assaieng abroad in the fields an horsse or two, such as he should vse at iusts and tornies, which were appointed to be holden, he mounted at length vpon a light courser, which the said lord Mortimer had sent to him; and bidding the lord Robert Mows and other (that were appointed to attend on him, as his kéepers) farewell, he galloped from them, and could not be ouertaken of them that pursued him, till at length he came to the lord Mortimer, who with a great troope of men was come forth of his castell of Wigmore to receiue him. This was on the thursdaie in Whitsunwéeke.

Prince Edward escapeth awaie. Matth. West.

About the same time, the earle of Warren, with William de Valence earle of Penbroke, the kings halfe brother, and others, who (as yée haue heard) fled from the battell at Lewes, were now returned into the realme, landing first in Southwales with a

power of crossebowes and other men of warre, the which hearing that the lord Edward was thus escaped out of captiuitie, came to Ludlow, and there ioined with him, and so likewise did the earle of Glocester. Now after they had communed togither, and were made frends and confederats, they caused all the bridges to be broken, that the enimies should not come to oppresse them, till they had assembled all their forces, and passing forward towards Glocester, wan the citie, and still came people vnto them from all sides, namelie those lords and capteins, which all the time since the battell of Lewes had laine in Bristow. After this they came to Worcester, and entred there also. When the earle of Leicester was hereof aduertised (who in all this meane time by order taken, was about the king, and ruled all things in the court) he sent in all hast vnto his sonne Simon de Montfort to raise a power of men, the which accordinglie assembled to him much people, and comming with the same vnto Winchester, wan the citie by surrender, spoiled it, and slue the more part of the Iewes that inhabited there. Then he laid siege to the castell, but hearing a feined rumor that prince Edward was comming thither with his power, he departed from thence with his companie, and went to Killingworth.

The earle of Leicesters sonne raiseth an armie.

He wan Winchester.

On the last day of Julie, prince Edward with his host came to Killingworth aforesaid, and there fighting with the said Simon de Montfort and his armie, with little slaughter discomfited the same, and tooke prisoners the erle of Orford, the lords William de Montchensie, Adam de Newmarch, Baldwine Wake, and Hugh Neuill, with diuerse others: the lord Simon himselfe fled into the castell, and so escaped. In this meane while the earle of Leicester hauing raised his power, came to the castell of Monmouth, which the earle of Glocester had latelie taken and fortified: but they that were within it being driuen to yeeld, it was now raced downe to the ground. This done, the earle of Leicester entring into Glamorganshire, and ioining his power with the prince of Wales, wasted and burned the lands of the said earle of Glocester: but hearing what his aduersaries went about in other places, he returned from thence, and came forward towards the said prince Edward, who likewise made towards him, and at Euesham they met on the first day of August, where was fought a verie fierce and cruell battell betwixt the parties.

The armie of the earle of Leicesters sonne is discomfited.

N. Triuet.

The castell of Monmouth taken.

The battell of Euesham.

Polydor.

¶ Some write, that the earle of Leicester placed king Henrie in the front of his battell, whom he had there with him as captiue, and had arraied him in his owne cote-armour, that if fortune went against him, whilest the enimies should be earnest to take the king bearing the semblance of the chéefe capteine, he might himselfe escape: but king Henrie, when they came to ioine, fought not, but called to his people, and declared who he was, whereby he escaped the danger of death, for being knowne of them he was saued. The Welshmen which in great numbers the earle of Leicester had there on his side, at the first onset fled and ran awaie; which their demeanor, when the earle saw, he exhorted those that were about him to plaie the men, and so rushing forth into the preasse of his enimies, he was inclosed about and slaine, togither with his sonne Henrie. Herevpon, his death being knowne, his people tooke them to flight as men vtterlie discomfited. There died in that battell about 4000 men (as Polydor saith.) But Richard Southwell saith, there were killed of knights or rather men of armes 180, and of yeomen or rather demilances 220, of Welshmen 5000, and of such footmen as were of the earle of Leicesters owne retinue 2000, so that there died in all to the number of ten thousand men, as the same Southwell affirmeth. Among whom of noblemen, these are reckoned, Hugh Spenser lord chéefe iustice, the lord Rafe Basset, the lord Peter de Montfort, the lord John Beauchampe, sir William Yorke, the lord Thomas de Esterlie, the lord Walter de Crepings, Guie de Balioll a Frenchman, the lord William de Mandeuill, the lord Roger S. John, the lord Robert Tregoz, and others.

The welshmen fled.

The earle of Leicester slaine.

Matth. Westm.

This ruine fell to the barons by the discord which was sprong latelie before, betwixt the earles of Leicester and Glocester, through the insolencie and pride of the earle of Leicesters sonnes, who (as I said before) despising other of the nobilitie, and forgetting in the meane time the nature of true and vnstained nobleneſſe, wherof it is said and trulie remembred, that

The pride of the earle of Leicesters sons bringeth the barons to confusion.

Nobilitas morum plus ornat quàm genitorum,

spake manie reprochfull words by the said earle of Glocester, and vsed him in such euill sort, that he vpon displeasure thereof, had not onelie procured the scape of prince Edward, but ioined with him in aid, against the said earle of Leicester, and other of the barons, to the vtter confusion, both of them and of their cause. The bodie of the same earle was shamefullie abused & cut in peeces, his head and his priuie members were cut off, and fastened on either side of his nose, and presented vnto the wife of the lord Roger Mortimer.

The people conceiued an opinion, that this earle being thus slaine, fighting in defense of the liberties of the realme, & performance of his oth, as they tooke it, died a martyr: which by the vsuted holinesse of his passed life and miracles ascribed to him after his death, was greatlie confirmed in the nert age. But the feare of the kings displeasure staied the people from hastie honouring him as a saint at this time, where otherwise, they were inclined greatlie thereto, reputing him for no lesse in their conscience, as in secret talke they would not sticke to vtter. There were wounded & taken, besides the other that were slaine at that battell of Euesham, Guie de Montfort, the earle of Leicesters sonne, the lords John Fitz John, Henrie de Hastings, Humfrie de Bohun the yonger, John de Vescie, Peter de Montfort the yonger, and Nicholas de Segraue with others. The king being deliuered out of his aduersaries hands, and likewise the king of Romans, went vnto Warwike, and there increasing his power, determined to pursue his enimies.

Polydor.

Matth. West.

But first, about the Natiuitie of our ladie was a parlement holden at Winchester, where the statuts of Orford were clerelie repealed. Also, all such as had fauoured the barons, and were as then either in prison or abroad, should be disherited. It was also ordeined at this parlement, that the wealthiest citizens of London should be cast into prison, and that the citie should be depriued of hir liberties. Also, that the stulps and cheins, wherewith the streets were fenced, should be had awaie, because that the citizens had aided the earle of Leicester against the king and his realme. All this was done, for the chéefe citizens were committed to ward within the castle of Windsor, till they had paid no small summes of monie for their fines. The liberties of the citie were suspended, and the towre of London was made stronger by the stulps and cheins which were brought into it out of the citie. Moreouer, because Simon de Montfort might not agree with the king, being come to this parlement vpon assurance, he was restored to the castell of Killingworth.

A parlement at winchester.

After this, in the feast of the translation of S. Edward, a parlement was holden at Westminster, and the sentence of disheriting the kings aduersaries was pronounced against them, whose lands the king forthwith gaue vnto his trustie subiects, where he thought good. Some of the disherited men redéemed

A parlement at westminster.

med their possessions, with a portion of monie, in name of a fine. Other of them flocking togither, got them into the woods and desert places, where keeping them out of sight as outlawes, they liued by spoiles and robberies. The chæfest of them was Robert erle of Ferrers, who neuertheless was restored to his lands, but yet with condition, that if afterwards he fell into the like crime, he should forfeit his earldome for euer. The Londoners with much adoo, at length, obteined pardon of the king. The maior and aldermen of the citie were glad to submit themselues, though the commons, without consideration of the great perill which they were in, would haue stood still at defiance with the king, and defended the citie against him. It was no maruell though they were of diuerse and contrarie opinions, for in those dates, the citie was inhabited with manie and sundrie nations which then were admitted for citizens. At length, vpon their submission, the king toke them to mercie, vpon their fine, which was seized at twentie thousand marks.

Erle Ferrers

Fabian. Anno Reg. 50.

The citie of London submitteth hirselfe to the K.

The Londoners put to their fine.

About Allhallowentide, cardinall Othobone came from the pope into England as his legat, to helpe towards some agreement to be had betwixt the king and his barons. He was committed to prison (as some write) by the Londoners, for that he spake against their doings, when they shut their gates against the king; but he was shortlie released as should appeare. On the first day of November in the fiftith yeare of his reigne, king Henrie came to Westminster, and shortlie after, he gaue awaie the number of threescore houses, with the houshold stuffe in the same conteined, so that the owners were compelled to redeeme them againe of those his seruants, to whome he had giuen the said houses, togither with all such lands, goods and cattels, as the same citizens had within any part of England. Then was one called sir Othon made Custos or garden of the citie, who was also conestable of the tower, he chose to be bailiffes, and to be accomptable to the kings vse, John Adrian, and Walter Henrie, citizens of the same citie. The king also toke pledges of the best mens sonnes of the citie, which pledges he caused to be put in the tower, and there kept at the costs of their parents. ¶ The king by aduise of his councell ordeined, that within euerie shire of the relme, there should be a capteine or lieutenant appointed with necessarie allowance of the king for his charges, the which, with the assistance of the shiriffe, should punish and keepe downe the wicked outrage of theeues and robbers, which in time of the late ciuill warres were sprong vp in great numbers, and growen to exceeding great boldnesse; but now, through feare of deserued punishment, they began to cease from their accustomed rapine, and the kings power came againe in estimation, so that peace after a manner toke new rot and increase.

The Londoners pardõed.

1266

Fabian.

Simon de Montfort.

Matth. West. Polydor.

Upon S. Nicholas euen, the king departed from Westminster, towards Northampton, where the cardinall Othobone held a synod, and according to that he had in commandement, pronounced all the kings aduersaries accursed, and namelie all the bishops which had aided the barons against the king, in time of the late warres, of whome afterward he absolued the most part. But John bishop of Winchester, Henrie bishop of London, and Stephan bishop of Chichester were sent to Rome, to purchase their absolution of pope Clement the fourth, as well for other points of disobedience, as cheeflie for that, where the queene had procured a cursse of pope Vrbane the fourth, that was predecessor to this Clement, to accursse all the barons and their supporters, which warred against the king hir husband; the said bishops (to whome the commission was sent to denounce that cursse) for feare of the barons deferred the execution. Walter bishop of Worcester, chancing to fall sicke at that time, died about the beginning of February, confessing first, that he had grieuouslie erred, in maintaining the side of the erle of Leicester against the king, and therefore directed his letters to the popes legat, requiring to be absolued, which his petition the legat granted. Moreouer, in this councell at Northampton, there was published by the cardinall a grant, made to the king by the pope, of the dismes of the english church for one whole yeare then next insuing.

Ons Othon made gardian of the citie of London.

Matth. West.

Nic. Treuet. The legat holdeth a synod at Northampton.

Matt. VVest. This suspension was pronounced in a councell holden by the said cardinall at Paules as Fabian saith. Matth. West.

N. Triuet.

A little before the kings departure from London now in this last time, he ordeined sir John Linde knight, and maister John Waldren clearke, to be gardians of the citie and tower, by the names of seneschals or stewards: but such earnest suit was made to the king, to obteine a perfect pardon for the Londoners, that at length after the aforesaid seneschals had taken suerties for the paiment of their fine, the K. caused his charter of pardon to be made vnder his broad seale, and sent it vnto them, wherein all former trespasses committed by them in the last warres was clearelie pardoned; certeine persons, whose bodies and goods were giuen vnto his eldest sonne Edward, excepted out of the same pardon. This charter was dated at Northampton, the tenth day of January, in the fiftith yere of king Henries reigne. Then also were discharged the foresaid seneschals, and the citizens of themselues chose for maior, William Fitz Richard; and for shiriffs, Thomas de la Fourd, and Gregorie de Rockelleg.

Whilest the king lai at Northampton, the lord Simon de Montfort put himselfe vpon the doome and order of the legat Othobone, and was therefore permitted to be at large in the kings court: but at the kings comming to London, he suddenlie departed out of the court, and rode to Winchelsie, where he associated himselfe with rouers, and after some prizes taken, departed from them, and went into France, where he offered his seruice to the French king, and was receiued. Thus saith Matthew Westminster, and other. But Polydor saith, that by Othobons means, he was reconciled to the kings fauour; and thereupon to auoid occasion of further displeasure, he commanded, that the castell of Killingworth should be restored vnto the king, which the capteine refused to deliuer, hauing fortified it with all manner of prouision, and things necessarie to defend a siege.

The wardens of the cinque ports, which (during the time of the barons warre) had done manie robberies on the sea, as well against the Englishmen as other, were at length reconciled to the king, who was faine to agree with them vpon such conditions as they thought good, because at that time (as the cõmon fame went) they had the dominion of the sea in their owne hands. But in some writers we find it thus recorded, that when certeine prisoners which were kept by the barons of the cinque ports in the castell of Douer, heard how all things prospered on the kings side, they got possession of a tower within the same castell, and toke vpon them to defend it against their keepers; whereof when aduertisement was giuen to the king and to his sonne the lord Edward, they hasted forth to come succour their frends. The keepers of the castell, perceiuing themselues beset with their enimies, sent to the king for peace, who granting them pardon of life and limme, with horsse, armour and other such necessaries, the castell was yelded vnto his hands. From thence, prince Edward departing, visited the sea coasts, punishing diuerse of the inhabitants within the precinct of the cinque ports, and putting them in feare, receiued diuerse to the king

Fabian. The wardens of the fiue ports reconciled to the king. Matth. West.

Douer castell deliuered to the king.

his fathers peace. The inhabitants of Winchelsie onelie made countenance to resist him, but prince Edward with valiant assaults entred the towne, in which entrie much guiltie bloud was spilt, but yet the multitude by commandement of prince Edward was spared. And thus hauing woone the towne, he commanded that from thencefoorth they should abstaine from piracies, which they had before time greatlie vsed. Thus were the seas made quiet, and those of the cinque ports brought to the kings peace, and throughlie reconciled.

Winchelsie won by force.

Matth. westm. The Ile of Orholme.

In this meane while diuerse of the disherited gentlemen, sore repining at the sentence and order giuen against them, had taken the Ile of Orholme in Lincolneshire, whither a great number of euill doers immediatlie resorted, and began to do mischéefe in all the countries next adioining. They toke and sacked the citie of Lincolne, spoiled the Iewes, and slue manie of them, entred their synagog, and burnt the booke of their law. At length prince Edward, or (as other saie) his brother earle Edmund, was sent against them, who compelled them by force to come to the kings peace, which to obserue, they receiued an oth shortlie after at London, but neuertheless were as soone readie to breake and renounce the same, and began a new broile in sundrie parts of the realme. Diuerse of them fortified the castell of Killingworth, prouiding themselues of all things necessarie for defense out of the countries adioining. The king aduertised hereof, sent vnto them a pursеuant, commanding them to cease frō such rebellious attempts, but the messenger had one of his hands cut off, and so with a contemptuous answer was sent back againe.

Abington. Lincolne taken. N. Triuet.

Killingworth castell fortified against the king.

The kings pursеuant had his hand cut off.

Prince Edward in passing through the forrest of Aulton, got sight of sir Adam Gurdon one of the disherited men, with whome he coped and toke him prisoner with his owne hand, yet sauing him, and pardoning the offense of rebellion, in respect of the valiancie which he tried by proofe to rest in him: but his soldiers and complices being there taken, he caused to be hanged vpon trées within the same forrest. Robert earle Ferrers contrarie to his oth of late receiued, accompanied with the lord d'Euille and others, did much hurt by way of open war against the kings frends in the north parts. Against whom the lord Henrie, sonne to the king of Almaine was sent with a great power: the which comming to Chesterfield fell vpon his enimies in such wise on the sudden, that they had not time to arme themselues, and so were distressed and ouercome.

Adam Gurdon.

Matth. Westm.

The battell of Chesterfield.

Yet the lord John d'Euille brake out, and incountring with sir Gilbert Hansard, ouerthrew him, and escaped out of danger. Great slaughter was made on each hand, and in the meane while the Nobles and gentlemen sought to get out of perill by flight. The earle of Darbie got into a church, but he was descried by a woman, and so was taken. There were manie other also taken: amongst them the lord Baldwine Wake, and sir John de la Haie with much paine escaped. This battell was foughten about the midst of Maie, or vpon Whitsun éeue, as the Chronicle of Dunstable saith. Those that escaped, as the lord John d'Euille and others, gaue not ouer yet, but assembling themselues together in companies, keeping within woods and other desert places, brake out oftentimes, and did much mischéefe. On the ninth of August they toke the Ile of Elie, and so strengthned it, that they held it a long time after, spoiling and robbing the countries round about them, as Norffolke, Suffolke, and Cambridgshire.

Euersden.

The bishop of Elie had vndertaken to keepe the Ile to the kings vse, but he now dispossessed therof, he got him awaie, and fell to cursing them that were thus entred against his will, but they semed to passe litle vpon his thundering excommunications. On the 16 of December, they came to the citie of Norwich, and spoiling it, toke manie of the wealthie citizens, and ransomed them at great summes of monie. The lord Henrie Hastings and Simon de Pateshull, with diuerse others, got them into the castell of Killingworth, and dailie went forth at their pleasures, spoiling and wasting the townes about them, or causing them to fine with them to be spared. And this they forced not to do, although the lord Edmund the kings sonne laie in Warwike, to cut them short of such their licentious doings. The king therfore mening to haue the said castels of Killingworth by force, began his siege about the same vpon the éeuen of S. John Baptist. But the lord Henrie Hastings, the capteine of that castell, and other his complices defended it so stronglie, that though the king inforced his power to the vttermost to win it of them, yet could he not anie thing preuaile, till at length vittels began to faile them within, and then vpon the æuen of saint Thomas the apostle before Christmasse, the lord Henrie Hastings deliuered the said castell into the kings hands, vpon condition that he and all other should haue life and limme, horsse and armour, with all things within the place to them belonging. And thus this siege had continued from the 26 of June vnto the 20 day of December.

Norwich sacked.

Chron. Dunst.

The siege of Killingworth castell beginneth.

The lord Hastings.

Anno Reg. 51.

Killingworth castell deliuered to the K.

¶ Here is to be remembred, that at the beginning of the siege, there were within the castell a thousand and seuen hundred armed men, and eight score women, beside lackies and coisterels. Here is also to be remembred, that whilest the siege laie before Killingworth, by the aduise of the kings councell, and of the legat Othobone, there were twelue péeres appointed and chosen forth, which should deuise and make ordinances touching the state of the realme, and the disherited persons, who according to their commission, ordeined certeine prouisions, the which are conteined within the statute intituled Dictum de Kilingworth. The king after that the castell of Killingworth was deliuered to his hand, left therein his sonne Edmund, and went himselfe to Couentrie or (as other haue) to Oxford, and there held his Christmasse. Shortlie after comming to Westminster he held a parlement there, studieng to set a quietnesse in all matters and controuersies depending betwixt him and the barons. In this parlement sentence was giuen against earle Ferrers for the forfeiture of his earledome: then was Edmund the kings yonger sonne put in possession both of the earledome of Darbie and Leicester.

Dictum de Killingworth. Abington. Matth. Westm.

1267

Parlement at westminster.

Earle Ferrers disherited.

On the first of Februarie being sundaie, the king came to S. Edmundsburie, and staieng there till the two and twentith of the same moneth, set forward that day towards Cambridge, where he laie with his armie, the better to bridle them that kept the Ile of Elie against him. He laie there all the Lent season. And in the meane time the earle of Gloucester taking great displeasure, for that he might not haue his will, as well for the banishing of strangers, as for restitution to be made vnto the disherited men of their lands, he began a new sturre, and assembling a great power in the marshes of Wales came neere vnto London, pretending at the first as though he had come to aid the king, at length he got licence of the maior and citizens to passe through the citie into Southwarke, where he lodged with his people, and thither came to him shortlie sir John d'Euille, by Southerie side, bringing with him a great companie.

The earle of Gloucester with an armie commeth to London.

The maior caused the bridge and water side to be kept and watched both day and night with armed men, and euerie night was the drawbridge drawne vp: but within a while the earle vsed the matter so, that

that he was permitted to lodge within the citie with certeine of his men, by reason whereof, he drew more and more of his people into the citie, so that in the end he was maister of the citie, and in Easter weeke toke the keies of the bridge into his hands. The legat comming forth of the towre, repaired to the church of S. Paule, vnder a colour to preach the croisey, but in the end of that his exhortation, he turned his words to the earle of Gloucester, admonishing him to obeie the king as he was bound by his allegiance. And further, whereas the earle had giuen commandement that no victuals should be suffered to be brought into the tower where the popes legat was lodged, he thought himselfe euill vsed in that behalfe, sith he was a mediator for peace, and no partaker. But when the earle seemed to giue small regard to his words, he got him secretlie againe into the tower, with certeine noble men the kings frends, meaning to defend it vnto the vttermost of their powers.

The legat admonisheth the earle of Gloucester to obeie the king.

There entred also into the tower a great number of Iewes with their wiues and children, vnto whome one ward of the tower was committed to defend, which they did in that necessitie verie stoutlie. Manie of the citizens fearing a new insurrection, auoided out of the citie, whose goods the earle seized into his owne vse, or suffered his men to spoile the same at their pleasures. The most part of all the commons of the citie toke part with the earle, and in a tumult got them to the Guildhall, and there chose for their maior or custos of the citie, Richard de Colworth knight, and for bailiffes, Robert de Linton and Roger Marchall, discharging the old maior and shiriffes of their romes. Diuerse aldermen were committed to prison, and their goods sequestred, and much part thereof spoiled. Also all such persons as were prisoners in Newgate, Ludgate, Creplegate, or in any other prison about the citie, for the quarrell of the barons warre, were set at libertie.

The legat & other meane to defend the tower against the earle of Gloucester.

The citizens of London in byroze chose new officers.

Prisoners set at libertie.

The legat perceiuing such disorder, accursed generallie all such as thus troubled the kings peace, shewing themselues enimies to the king and the realme. He also interdicted all the churches within the citie and about it, licencing onlie diuine seruice to be said in houses of religion, and without ringing of any bell or singing: and whilest seruice was in hand, he appointed the church dores to be shut, because none of them that stood accursed, should enter and be present. The king in the meane time laie at Cambridge to defend the countries about from iniuries, which were dailie attempted by them that held the Ile of Elie against him, of whome at one time he distressed a certeine number at Ramsey. And because now after that the earle was thus come to London, another companie of them brake out to rob and spoile, and were stopped by the kings power from entring into the Ile againe, they repaired streight to London, doing mischefe inough by the waie.

The legat accurseth & troublers of the kings peace.

The king laie at Cambridge

Ramsey.

The earle of Gloucester greatlie incouraged by their assistance, fell in hand to assaile the tower, within the which the popes legat Othobone, and diuerse other were inclosed, taking vpon them to defend it against the earle and all his puissance. The king vpon the first newes of the earle of Gloucester his commotion, ingaged the shrines of saints, and other iewels and relikes of the church of Westminster vnto certeine merchants for great summes of monie, with the which sending into France and Scotland, he reteined men of warre to come to his aid. Hereupon his sonne prince Edward came to his succour vnto Cambridge, bringing thither with him thirtie thousand able men out of the north parts, Scots and other. The king then leauing a conuenient number to defend Cambridge, marched from thence toward Windsore. After his comming thither, his armie dailie increased. The earle of Gloucester and his complices began to feare the matter, and sent to him for peace, which could not be granted: whereupon they appointed to giue him batell vpon Houndslow heath. The king comming thither in the morning, found no man there to resist him, and therefore, after he had staied there a certeine space, he marched forth and came to Stratford, where he was lodged in the abbeie: his hoast incamped and laie at Ham and thereabouts.

The king maketh hard shift for monie to hire soldiers & men of war to assist him.

The K. remoueth towards Windsore.

The king commeth to Stratford. Fabian.

This chanced about three weekes after Easter. The souldiers which laie in London and in Southwarke, did much hurt about in the countrie of Southerie, & else-where. They also spoiled the towne of Westminster, and the parish-church there: but the monks and the goods belonging to the abbeie they touched not, but made hauocke in the kings palace, drinking vp & destroieng his wine, breaking the glasse windowes, and defacing the buildings most disorderlie, yea scarse forbearing to set the house on fire. Also there were of them that brake vp & robbed certeine houses in London, of the which misgouerned persons there were foure taken, that ware the cognisance of the earle of Darbie, whose the earle of Gloucester caused to be put in sackes, and so throwne into the Thames.

Matth. Westm.

Westminster spoiled.

Soldiers sacked and throwen into the Thames.

As the king thus laie at Stratford, there came vnto him from the parts of beyond the sea, the earle of Bullongne, and S. Paule, with two hundred men of armes, and their suit of other souldiers. Also there ariued in the Thames a fleet of great vessels fraught with Gascoins, and laie afore the tower, abiding the kings pleasure. ¶ The earle of Gloucester had caused bulworks and barbicans to be made betwixt the tower and the citie; and also in sundrie places where need required ditches and trenches were cast, so that the citie was stronglie fortified. Howbeit now that the said erle and his complices perceiued themselues in manner as besieged, they sought for peace. And by mediation of the king of Almaine, the lord Philip Basset and the legat Othobone, the same was granted, the ordinance of Killingworth in euerie condition obserued. The Londoners were pardoned of their trespasse for receiuing the earle, though they were constreined to paie a thousand marks to the king of Romans, in recompense of the hurts done to him in burning of his house at Thistleworth.

The earles of Bullongne & S. Paule.

A fleet of Gascoins come to the kings aid.

Abington.

A peace concluded.

The Londoners pardoned

Whilest the earle of Gloucester kept the citie of London against the king, one Henrie de Gudresch, steward to the said earle, departing from London, came to the manour house of Geffrey saint Leger at Offeld, which he burnt, and turning from thence came to Brickhill. The lord Reignold Graie that held of the knights part, aduertised hereof, followed him with his retinue of men of warre, and comming vpon his enimie at vnwares, toke the said Henrie, and slue thirtie of the chefest of his companie, some he toke, howbeit manie escaped. But now to our purpose. By this agreement concluded betwixt the king & the earle of Gloucester, he also accepted to his grace the lord John Eineley, the lord Nicholas de Segraue, the lord William Marmion, the lord Richard de Graie, the lord John Fitz John, and the lord Gilbert de Lucie, with others: so that all parts of the realme were quieted, sauing that those in the Isle of Elie would not submit themselues: yet at length by mediation of prince Edward they were reconciled to the king, and all the fortresses and defenses within that Isle by them made, were plucked downe and destroied.

Chron. Dun. Gudresch.

The lord Graie.

But it appeareth by other writers, that immediatlie after the agreement concluded betwixt the earle of Gloucester, prince Edward the kings sonne, by setting

Euersden.

ting workemen in hand to make a cauſſie through the fens with boords and hurdels, entred vpon them that kept the Ile of Elie, ſo that manie of them got out, and fled to London vnto the ſaid earle of Glocester, and other their complices. The reſidue ſubmitted themſelues, as the lord Wake, Simon Mont-fort the yonger, the Pechæs and other, vpon condition to be pardoned of life and member: and further, that prince Edward ſhould be a meane to his father to receiue them into fauour. But by other it may rather ſeeme, that ſome of them kept and defended themſelues within that Ile, till after the agreement made betwixt the king and the earle of Glocester. By order of which agreement there were foure biſhops and eight lords choſen forth, which had beene firſt nominated at Couentrie, to order and preſcribe betwixt the king and the diſherited men a forme of peace and redemption of their lands. And ſo in the Anno Reg. 52. feaſt of All ſaints, proclamation was made of a full accord and agreement, and what euerie man ſhould paie for his ranſome for redéeming his offenſe againſt the king.

In the octaues of S. Martine, the king held a parlement at Marleborough, where the liberties conteined in the booke called Magna charta were cõfirmed, and alſo diuerſe other good and wholeſome ordinances concerning the ſtate of the common-wealth were eſtabliſhed and enacted. ¶ In the moneth of Aprill there chanced great thunder, tempeſtuous raine, and floods, occaſioned by the ſame, verie ſore & horrible, continuing for the ſpace of fiftéene daies togither.

1268

The legat Othobone returneth to Rome. Othobone choſen pope.

The legat Othobone after he had in the ſynods holden at Northampton and London, deuiſed and made manie orders and rules for churchmen, and leuied amongſt them great ſummes of monie, finallie in the moneth of Julie, he tooke leaue of the king and returned to Rome, where after the deceaſſe of Innocent the fift, about the yeare of our Lord 1276 he was choſen pope, and named Adrian the fift, liuing not paſt 50 daies after. He went ſo néere hand to ſearch out things at his going awaie, that he had inrolled the true value of all the churches and benefices in England, and tooke the note with him to Rome.

Abington.

Prince Edward receiueth the croſſe.

Prince Edward the kings ſonne, and diuerſe other great lords of England before this legats departure out of the realme, receiued the croſſe at his hands in Northampton on Midſummer day, meaning ſhortlie after according to promiſe there made, to go into the holie land to warre againſt Gods enimies. In this yeare fell great variance betwéene the corporations or fellowſhips of the goldſmiths and tailors within the citie of London, whereunto enuill words flowing from the tong gaue originall, for

Fabian. A fraie in Lõdon betwéene the goldſmiths and tailors.

Pondus valde graue verboſum vas ſine claue,

ſo that one euening there were aſſembled to the number of fiue hundred in the ſtréets in armour, and running togither made a fowle fraie, ſo that manie were wounded and ſome ſlaine. But the ſhiriffes hearing thereof, came & parted them, with aſſiſtance of other trades, and ſent diuerſe of them being taken vnto priſon, of the which there were arreigned to the number of thirtie, and thirteene of them condemned and hanged.

Anno. Reg. 53. Thames froſen.

In the fiftie & third yeare of king Henries reigne, there was ſuch an exceeding great froſt, beginning at ſaint Andrewes tide, and continuing till it was néere candlemaſſe, that the Thames from the bridge vpwards was ſo hard froſen, that men and beaſts paſſed ouer on feet from Lambeth to Weſtminſter, and ſo weſtward in diuerſe places vp to Kingſton. Alſo merchandize was brought from Sandwich and other places vnto London by land. For the ſhips by reaſon of the yce could not enter the Thames. ¶ And about the feaſt of S. Medard, which falleth on the 6 of

1269

February, fell ſo great abundance of raine, that the Thames roſe ſo high, as it had not done at any time before, to remembrance of men then liuing; ſo that the cellars and vaults in London by the water ſide were drowned, and much merchandize marred & loſt.

Abington.

A parlement holden at London.

About S. Georges day there was a parlement holden at London, for the appeaſing of a controuerſie depending betwixt prince Edward the kings ſon and the earle of Glocester: at the which parlement were preſent almoſt all the prelats and péeres of the realme. At length they put the matter in compromiſe, into the hands of the king of Almaine, vndertaking to be ordred by him high and low touching all controuerſies: and likewiſe for the iournie to be made into the holie land, but the king of Almaine did little in the matter to any great effect. ¶ In the beginning of Lent the king gaue to his ſonne prince Edward the rule of the citie of London, with all the reuennes and profits thereto belonging. After which gift, the ſaid prince made ſir Hugh Fitz Othon conſtable of the towre and cuſtos of the citie of London. ¶ Upon the ninth day of Aprill, Edmund the kings ſonne, ſurnamed Crouchbacke, married at Weſtminſter Auelina the daughter of the earle of Aumarle. Prince Edward commanded the citizens of London to preſent vnto him ſir citizens, of the which number he might nominate two ſhiriffes, and ſo appointed William de Hadſtocke and Anketill de Alberne, which were ſworne to be accomptants as their predeceſſours had béene.

A parlement at Marleborough.

Prince Edward appointeth the maior and ſhiriffes of London.

In thoſe daies a new cuſtome or toll was vſed to be paid, which prince Edward let to farme vnto certeine ſtrangers, for the ſumme of twentie marks by yeare. Wherefore the citizens being gréeued therewith, bought it of him for two hundred marks. Also this yeare there was granted to the king towards his iournie by him purpoſed into the holie land, the twentith penie of euerie mans moueable goods throughout the realme of the laie fée, and of the ſpiritualtie was granted by the aſſent of pope Gregorie the tenth, three diſmes to be gathered within the terme of three yeares. This yeare the kings ſonne the lord Edward obteined a confirmation for the citie of London of the charter of the ancient liberties, ſo that the citizens did then chooſe vnto them a maior and two ſhiriffes, which ſhiriffes by vertue of the ſame charter, had their office to farme, in maner as before time was accuſtomed: ſauing that where they paid afore but three hundred and fiftie pounds, they paid now foure hundred and fiftie pounds. After which confirmation granted and paſſed vnder the kings broad ſeale, they choſe for their maior John Adrian, and for ſhiriffes Walter Potter and John Tailor, the which were preſented the 16 day of Julie vnto the king at Weſtminſter by his ſonne prince Edward, and there admitted and ſworne. Then was ſir Hugh Fitz Othon diſcharged of the rule of the citie. The citizens of their owne free will gaue vnto the king an hundred marks, and to his ſonne prince Edward fiue hundred marks. There was no great diſorder attempted this yeare to the diſquieting of the realme, ſauing that certeine of the diſherited gentlemen that belonged to the earle of Darbie, withdrew vnto the forreſt of the Peake in Darbiſhire, and there making their abode, ſpoiled and waſted the countries next adioining.

In the moneth of Maie, prince Edward the kings ſonne ſet forward on his iournie towards the holie land, and taking the ſea at Douer, paſſed ouer into France, and came to Burdeaux, where he ſtaied a while, and after went to Agues Mortes, and there tooke ſhipping, firſt ſailing (as ſome write) vnto Thunis, where the chriſtian armie, which Lewes the French king as then deceaſſed had brought thither, was

The liberties of the citie confirmed.

The rent of the farme of the ſhiriffes of London increaſed.

Chron. Dunſt.

Anno Reg. 54.

1270

Wil. Riſham.

Prince Edward ſetteth forward towards the holie land.

was readie to depart, and so prince Edward, with the new French king Lewes and other princes passed ouer into Sicill, where he soiourned for the winter time. In this yeare the king was vexed with a greeuous sickenesse: and the Irishmen in rebellion slue a great sort of Englishmen, as well magistrats, as others in that countrie.

Matth. West. The king sick

When the spring of the yeare began to approach, prince Edward estsones toke the sea, and finallie arriued at Acres with a thousand chosen men of warre, though there be writers that affirme, how there arriued with him of sundrie countries fiue thousand horsmen, and double the same number of footmen. But amongst those that went out of England with him, these we find as principall, John de Britaine, John de Vescie, Otes de Grantson, and Robert de Bruse, besides other. Of his noble chiualrie there atchiued, yée shall find a breefe note in the description of the holie land, and therefore here we omit the same. Howbeit this is to be remembred, that whilest the lord Edward soiorned there in the citie of Acres, he was in great danger to haue béene slaine by treason: for a traitorous Saracen of that generation which are called Arsacidæ, and latelie reteined by the same lord Edward, and become verie familiar with him, found means one day as he sat in his chamber, to giue him three wounds, which suerlie had cost him his life, but that one of the princes chamberleins staied the traitors hand, and somewhat brake the strokes, till other seruants came to the rescue, and slue him there in the place.

Anno Reg. 55. 1271

Prince Edward arriueth at Acres. Abington.

Arsacide, of some named Assassini.

Prince Edw. is traitorouslie wounded.

¶ There be that write, how prince Edward himselfe, perceiuing the traitor to strike at his bellie, warded the blowe with his arme: and as the Saracen offered to haue striken againe, he thrust him backe to the ground with his foot, and catching him by the hand, wrested the knife from him, and thrusting him into the bellie, so killed him, though in strugling with him, he was hurt againe a little in the forehead: and his seruants withall comming to helpe him, one of them that was his musician, got vp a trestill and stroke out the braines of the traitor, as he laie dead on the ground, and was blamed of his maister for striking him, after he saw him once dead before his face, as he might perceiue him to be. Some write, that this traitor was sent from the great admerall of Japha, on message to the prince Edward, and had béene with him diuerse times before, & now making countenance to take forth letters, got forth his knife, and attempted so to haue wrought his feat. Whatsoeuer the man was, the prince was in great danger, by reason of the enuenimed knife therewith he was wounded, so that it was long yer he could be perfectlie whole. These Saracens called Arsacidæ, are a wicked generation of men, infected with such a superstitious opinion, that they beléeue heauenlie blisse is purchased of them, if they can by anie means slea one of the enimies of their religion, & suffer themselues for that fact the most cruell death that may be deuised.

Port Japha.

The generation of the Arsacide, or Assassini.

¶ Prince Edward, after he was whole and recouered of his wounds, perceiuing that no such aid came into those parts out of christendome, as was looked for, toke a truce with the enimies of our faith, and returned towards England, as hereafter shall be shewed.

Anno Reg. 56.

1272

¶ On the fourth nones of April (as some saie) or in the moneth of Februarie (as other write) in the six and fiftith yeare of K. Henries reigne at Berkhamsted, died Richard king of Almaine and earle of Cornewall, and was buried in the abbeie of Hailes which he himselfe had founded: he was a worthie prince, and stood his brother king Henrie in great stead, in handling matters both in peace and warre. He left behind him issue begotten of his wife Sancta two sonnes, Edmund and Henrie. This Edmund was he that brought the blood of Hails out of Germanie: for as he was there vpon a time with his father, it chanced that as he was beholding the relikes, and other pretious monuments of the ancient emperors, he espied a box of gold: by the inscription whereof he perceiued (as the opinion of men then gaue) that therein was conteined a portion of the bloud of our sauiour.

Nic. Triuet. Matth. West. The decease of the king of Almaine.

His issue.

Edmund erle of Cornewall.

He therefore, being desirous to haue some part thereof, so intreated him that had the keeping of it, that he obteined his desire, and brought it ouer with him into England, bestowing a third part thereof after his fathers decease in the abbeie of Hailes, as it were to adorne and inrich the same, bicause that therein both his father and mother were buried; and the other two parts he did reserue in his owne custodie, till at length moued vpon such deuotion as was then vsed, he founded an abbeie a little from his manour of Berkhamsted: which abbeie was named Ashrug, in the which he placed monks of the order of Bonhommes, being the first that euer had béene seene of that order here in England. And herewith he also assigned the two other parts of that bloud to the same abbeie. Whereupon followed great resort of people to those two places, induced thereunto by a certeine blind deuotion.

The bloud of Hailes.

Ashrug abbeie built. Bonhommes.

Henrie the brother of this Edmund, and sonne to the foresaid king of Almaine, as he returned from Affrike, where he had béene with prince Edward, was slaine at Viterbo in Italie (whither he was come about businesse which he had to do with the pope) by the hand of Guie de Montfort, the sonne of Simon de Montfort earle of Leicester, in reuenge of the same Simons death. This murther was committed afore the high altar, as the same Henrie kneeled there to heare diuine seruice. The foresaid Guie vpon that murther committed, fled vnto his father in law, the earle of Anguilare, then gouernour of Tuskain. There was at Viterbo the same time Philip king of France, returning homewards from the iournie which his father made into Affrike, where he died. Also Charles king of Sicill was there present, whome the said Guie then serued. Both these kings were put in much blame, for that the murther and wilfull escape was done and suffred in their presence and no pursuit made after the murtherer. Boniface the archbishop of Canturburie, when he had ruled the sea seauen and thirtie yeares, departed this life: and after his decease, about two yeares or more, was one Robert Kilwarbie appointed in his place by pope Gregorie, which Robert was the six and fortith archbishop that had gouerned the see of Canturburie.

The L. Henrie sonne to the K. of Almaine murdered in Italie.

Robert Kilwarbie archb. of Cãturburie

About the moneth of June there fell great debate and discord betwixt the monks of Norwich and the citizens there; which increased so farre, that at length the citizens with great violence assaulted the monasterie, fired the gates, and forced the fire so with reed and drie wood, that the church with the bookes, and all other ornaments of the same, and all houses of office belonging to that abbeie were cleane burned, wasted, and destroied, so that nothing was preserued except one little chapell. The king hearing of this riot, rode to Norwich, and causing inquirie to be made thereof, thirtie yong men of the citie were condemned, hanged and burnt, to the great greefe of the other citizens, for they thought that the prior of the place was the occasion of all that mischéefe, who had got together armed men, and toke vpon him to keepe the belfraie and church by force of armes: but the prior was well inough borne out, and defended by the bishop of Norwich, named Roger, who (as it is likelie) was the maister of the mischéefe, though hands were not laid vpon him nor his adherents: perhaps for feare,

A fraie betwixt the monks and citizens of Norwich.

Thirtie of the citizens of Norwich hanged and burnt.

feare, peraduenture for fauour; & no maruell though the lesse faultie lost their liues as most guiltie, for

——rarus venator ad vrsos
Accedit, tutos conseruat sylua leones,
Debilibus robusta nocent, & grandia paruis,
Ales fulminiger timidos infestat olores,
Accipiter laniat turdos mollesq; columbas,
Versicolor coluber ranas miserisq; lacertas,
Irretit muscas transmittit aranea vespas.

The king returning by saint Edmundsburie, after he had done his deuotions to S. Edmunds shrine, began to ware somewhat crasie: but after hauing a little recouered his health, he called a councell there, wherein he went about to haue taken order for the punishment of rebels: but his sickenesse againe renewing, he brake vp the assemblie, and with all speed hasted to London. Prince Edward vpon his returne out of the holie land came to Chalons in Burgogne, & at the request of the earle he did attempt with his companie to hold a iustes and tournie against the said earle & all other commers. And though through disdaine and spite there was homelie plaie shewed, vpon purpose to put the Englishmen to the foile & reproch; yet by high valiancie prince Edward and his companie bare themselues so worthilie, that in the end the aduersaries were well beaten, and constreined to leaue the honor of that enterprise to the said prince Edward and his partakers. After this, he kept on his iornie till he came vnto Paris, where he was honourablie receiued of the French king, and from thence he went to Burdeaux, and there remained till after his fathers death.

Iustes and tornie holden at Chalons.

In this meane time king Henrie, being returned to London from saint Edmundsburie (as before yee haue heard) his sickenesse so increased vpon him, that finallie he departed at Westminster on the sixteenth day of November, in the yeare of our Sauiour 1272. after he had liued threescore and fiue yeares, and reigned fiftie and six yeares, and seauen and twentie daies. A little before his death, when he perceiued that he could no longer liue, he caused the earle of Gloucester to come before him, and to be newlie sworne to keepe the peace of the land, to the behoofe of his sonne prince Edward. His bodie was buried at Westminster. He had issue by his wife quéene Elianor two sonnes, the foresaid Edward, prince of Wales, that succeeded him; and Edmund earle of Lancaster, by some authors surnamed Crouchbacke, though (as other affirme vntrulie) that this Edmund was the elder brother: but bicause he was a deformed person, therefore his yonger brother Edward was preferred to the kingdome, which was deuised of purpose to conueie a right to king Henrie the fourth, which fetched the descent from the said Edmund, and by force vsurped and held the crowne, as after it may appeare. Moreouer, king Henrie had three daughters by the said Elianor, as Margaret maried to Alexander king of Scots, Beatrice whom the duke of Britaine had to wife, and Catharine which died before she was mariable.

Anno Reg.57.

King Henrie departeth this life.

The earle of Gloucester.

The issue of king Henrie the third.

His proportion of bodie.

He was of bodie well cast and strong, of a good stature in height, well fauoured of face, with the lid of one of his eies comming downe, so as it almost couered the apple of the same eie. Of nature he was courteous, and of stomach rather noble than stout; a deuout prince and liberall towards the poore and needie. Yet he wanted not dispraise in some points, namelie for that in ordering of things and weightie affaires, he vsed small consideration. He was also noted to be a great taker of monie by loanes, tares, and subsidies: but therevnto he was inforced by necessitie, to beare the charges of warre and other publike affaires, than of any couetous mind or purpose to serue his owne turne. ¶ What captcins of honour among the nobilitie liued in his time, it may appeare by the course of the historie of his age.

His conditiõs

Of sundrie learned men these we find mentioned in maister Bales centuries and others. Walter of Couentrie an historiographer: Radulphus Niger that wrote both histories and other treatises, Gerualius de Melkelie, Albricus of London, Robert Curson a man excellentlie learned both in diuine and humaine letters, so that comming to the court of Rome he there grew in such estimation, that he became a cardinall, of whom we find this recorded by Matthew Westminster and Matthew Paris. [At the taking of Damiate, a citie in Aegypt, there was with Pelagius, the cardinall of Alba, the popes legat, maister Robert Curson an Englishman a most famous clerke, borne of a noble house, and cardinall of the church of Rome.] These are reported to florish in the daies both of king John and king Henrie his sonne.

In the said kings time also there liued other learned men, as these; Hugh Kirkestæd, Richard of Elie, Peter Henham, John Giles or de Sancto Egidio an excellent physician, Caducan a Welshman borne and bishop of Bangor, Alexander a singular learned man that wrote diuerse and manie treatises aswell in diuinitie as philosophie and humanitie, both in verse and prose; also Stephan Langton, that for his singular knowledge was made high chancellor of the vniuersitie of Paris, and at length was admitted archbishop of Canturburie, against the will of king John, in which quarell so great trouble insued, as before yee haue partlie heard; Kafe Coggeshall also liued in king Henries daies, that wrote the appendix vnto the chronicle of Ralfe Niger, he was abbat of Coggeshall abbeie in Esser, whereof he toke his surname; William Lanthonie, Peter of S. Saulor, a canon of the house called S. Saulor, or of the trinitie by London; Alexander Hailes a frier of the order of the minors, who wrote manie treatises in diuinitie; Richard surnamed Medicus a most learned physician, and no lesse expert in philosophie and the mathematicals. There be also remembred by maister Bale, Randulfe the earle of Chester, the third and last of that name, who hauing great knowledge and vnderstanding in the lawes of this land, compiled a booke of the same lawes, as a witnesse of his great skill therein: Alexander Wendocke bishop of Chester, John Blund, Edmund Rich, Robert Rich, Henrie Bracton, that excellent lawier, who wrote the booke commonlie called Bracton after his name, intituled *De consuetudinibus Anglicanis*; Richard surnamed Theologus, Walter de Euesham, Ralfe Freborne, Laurence Somercote, brother as it is thought to Robert Somercote, at that time a cardinall of the Romane church; Nicholas Fernham a physician, Robert Bacon a notable diuine, Simon Langton, brother to the archbishop of Canturburie Stephan Langton; Richard Fisaker, Simon Stokes, John of Kent or Kantianus, William Shirwood, Michaell Blaunpaine, John Godard, Vincent of Couentrie, Albertike Aer, Richard Wich, John Basing *alias de* Basingstoke, Roger Waltham, William Senningham, Robert Grosted that learned bishop of Lincolne, whose memorie amongst the learned will remaine while the world lasteth.

Thus farre Henrie the third.

Edward

Edward the first, surnamed Long-shanks, the eldest sonne of Henrie the third.

1272 Anno Reg. 1.

EDward, the first of that name after the conquest, began his reigne ouer this kingdome of England, the 16 day of Nouember, in the yeere of the world, 5239, of our Lord 1272, of the Saxons 814, after the conquest 206, the vacation of the empire after the decease of Frederike the second as yet indured (though shortlie after in the yeare next following, Radulfe of Habspurge was elected emperour) in the third yeare of Philip the third then reigning in France, and Alexander the third yet liuing in gouernement of the Scotish kingdome.

This Edward the first, when his father died, being about the age of 35 yeares, was as then in the holie land, or rather in his iournie homewards: but whersoeuer he was at that present, the nobles of the land, after his father was departed this life, assembled at the new temple in London, and causing a new seale to be made, they ordeined faithfull ministers and officers, which should haue the treasure in keeping, and the administration of iustice for the maintenance of peace and tranquillitie within the land, and on the 22 day of Nouember he was proclaimed king. Who after he had remained a time in the holie land, and perceiued himselfe destitute of such aid as he loked for at the hands both of the Christians and Tartarians, he left in the citie of Aconcerteine stipendarie souldiers, and taking the sea sailed homewards, arriuing first in Sicill, where, of Charles K. of that land he was honorablie receiued and conueied, till he came vnto *Ciuita Vecchia* in Italie, where pope Gregorie as then laie with his court, of whome (as of his old frend that had been with him in the holie land) he obteined that earle Aldebrandino Rosso, and Guy of Montfort, that had murthered the lord Henrie, eldest sonne to Richard king of Almaine, might be sent for. Earle Aldebrandino purged himselfe, but Guy de Montfort was excõmunicated, as a violator of the church, a murderer and a traitor, so as he was disherited euen vnto the fourth generation, till he had reconciled himselfe to the church, as he was inioined.

Matth. West. A new seale made.

Chro. Dun.

Matt. Westm.

1273

Guy de Mõtfort excommunicated.

After this, it is wonderfull to remember with what great honor king Edward was receiued of the cities, as he passed through Tuscaine and Lumbardie. At his comming ouer the mounteins at Chalon in Burgundie, he was at a sulks and tornie, which then was there holden by the Frenchmen against the Englishmen, the honor whereof remained with the Englishmen. In this tornie the fight of the footmen was great: for the Englishmen being sore prouoked, slue manie of the French footmen, but bicause they were but rascals, no great accompt was made of them, for they were vnarmed, gaping for the spoile of them that were ouerthrowen. K. Edward passing forth, came to the French court, where of his cosine germane king Philip he was ioifullie receiued. Here king Edward, doing homage to the French king for the lands which he ought to hold of him in France, passed into Guien.

A tenth was granted of the cleargie to the K. and to his brother Edmund earle of Leicester and Lancaster by the popes appointment for two yeares, a chapleine of the pope a Gascoine borne named Reimond being sent into England for that purpose, who gaue part vnto them, and part thereof he kept to himselfe towards his charges, but the most part was reserued to the popes disposing. ¶ Whilest the king remained in Gascoigne, he had somwhat to do against certeine rebels, as Gaston de Bierne, and other that were reuolted from him. The castels belonging to the said Gaston he subdued, but his person he could not meet with. Finallie, after he had set things in order aswell in Guien as in other places in the parts of beyond the seas, he hasted homewards, and came to London on the second day of August, where he was receiued with all ioy that might be deuised. The streets were hanged with rich cloths of silke, arras, and tapestrie, the aldermen and burgesses of the citie threw out of their windowes handfuls of gold and siluer, to signifie the great gladnesse which they had conceiued of his safe returne: the conduits ran plentifullie with white wine and red, that ech creature might drinke his fill. Upon the 19 day of August in this second yeare of his reigne he was crowned at Westminster, together with his wife quéene Elianor, by the hands of Robert Kilwarbie archbishop of Canturburie.

Anno Reg. 2. Matth. Westm. A disme grãted to the king & his brother.

1274

Nic. Treuet. King Edward his returne home.

Matth. West.

At this coronation were present Alexander king of Scots, and John earle of Britaine, with their wines that were sitters to K. Edward. The king of Scots did homage vnto king Edward for the realme of Scotland, in like maner as other the kings of Scotland before him had done to other kings of England ancestours to this king Edward. At the solemnitie of this coronation there were let go at libertie (catch them that catch might) fiue hundred great horses by the king of Scots, the earles of Cornewall, Gloucester, Penbroke, Warren, & others, as they were alighted frõ their backs. ¶ On S. Nicholas euen there chanced such an earthquake with lightning and thunder, and therewithall the appearing of the burning drake, and a blasing starre called a comet, that the people were brought into no small feare vpon consideration thereof. But now to the point of the historie.

Caxton.

King Edward at the first like a prudent prince chose the wisest and worthiest men to be of his councell, & to purchase the loue of his subiects, whose minds were somewhat offended towards his father (by reason that he refused to kéepe promise with them, touching the restitution of gentle and fauourable lawes) king Edward shewed himselfe so gentle towards all degrees

degrées of men, that he seemed to exceed the reasonable bounds of courteous humanitie, much more than became his roiall estate. After this, he reformed diuerse lawes and statutes, and deuised some new ordinances, greatlie for the wealth of the realme. He held his first parlement at Westminster, where the ordinances were made, called the statute of Westminster the first.

1275 Anno Reg. 3.

A parlement. The statute of Westmunster.

To this parlement was Leolin the prince of Wales summoned to come and do his homage, hauing béene requested first to come to the kings conation, but he refused; and now hauing summons to come to this parlement, he excused himselfe, affirming that he durst not come for feare of certeine noblemen that laie in wait for his life, requiring to haue pledges deliuered for his safe comming and going, the kings sonne, and Gilbert earle of Glocester, with Robert Burnell the lord chancellor. The king was greatlie offended with such a presumptuous demand, but passed it ouer, till after the end of the parlement, & then repairing to Chester he sent effsones messengers to the said Leolin, requiring of him to come & do his homage, but he still detracted time, so that in the end the king raised an armie, meaning to recouer that by force, which otherwise he could not obteine by quiet meanes. ¶ This yeere the people paid a fiftéenth to the king of all their temporall goods, which was said to be granted first to his father.

The prince of wales Leolin.

The king cõmeth to Chester.

Matth. Westm. Wzeton bishop of Herefozd departeth this life.

The same yeere departed this life, John Wzeton bishop of Herefozd, who being verie expert in the lawes of the land, compiled a booke of them called Le Breton. The 11 of September, a generall earthquake chanced betwixt the first houre and the third of the same date, the church of S. Michaell on the hill without Glastenburie, was therwith throwne down to the ground. After this, it rained bloud in the countrie of Wales, as a prodigious euill token to that nation, with whose bloud shortlie after that region was in manie places moistened and stained. For as it chanced shortlie after, Leolin the sonne of Griffin came to haue the gouernment of Wales, who partlie to raise new seditions in England, and partlie to purchase him friendship and aliance in France, sent vnto king Philip, requiring of him that he might haue in marriage the ladie Eleanor daughter to Simon Montfort earle of Leicester, the which together with hir mother and brother Emerike, remained as banished persons in France. The French king granted his request, and sent hir vnder the conduct of hir said brother to be conueied into Wales vnto Leolin, who had promised to marrie hir. But yer they approched to Wales, at the Ile of Sillie both the brother & sister were taken by foure ships of Bzillow, the owners whereof that so tooke them, sent them vnto king Edward. When Leolin vnderstood that his wife was taken from him by the waie as she was comming, he was not a little wroth, and incontinentlie began to make warre vpon king Edwards subiects that bordered nere vnto Wales, killing the people, spoiling their goods, and burning vp their townes and houses on each side.

It rained bloud.

1276 Anno Reg. 4.

The earle of Montforts daughter appointed wife to the prince of wales taken.

Leolin prince of wales beginneth to make warre. Matth. West.

Herewith the king of England was so moued, that although the said Leolin made sute for peace, and offred no small sum of monie to haue the daughter of the earle of Leicester his fianced wife deliuered to him, yet would not the king by any meanes consent to that marriage, nor receiue any monie of him, except he would restore vnto the right owners such lands as he had inuaded and got into his possession, and further repaire such castels as he had destroied. Herevpon grew no small grudge betwixt the Welshmen and Englishmen, so that to represse the inuasion of the enimies in the parts towards Bzillow, Mountgomerie and Chester, the king sent three hundred men in armes on horsebacke. In the quindene of Easter, the king departing from Westminster, hasted towards Wales with a mightie power, and caused the courts of the exchéker and of his bench, to remoue vnto Shrewesburie, that they might be nére vnto him, making forward with all conuenient speed to come to the aid and succour of his liege people.

Matth. Westm. The exchéker and the kings bench remoued to Shrewesburie.

Herevpon entring into Wales he tooke the castell of Rutland, and sent into Westwales a valiant captéine named Paine de Camureys, who with fire and sword wasted that countrie, so that the people offering themselues to the kings peace, deliuered vnto the said Paine the castell of Stridewie with the countrie adioining. Then Leolin the prince of Wales, perceiuing that he was not able to resist the kings power, and knowing that if he did attempt the conflict against him the danger would redound to himselfe & his traine, did as the old verse counsell,

Perutili curâ semper meditare futura,

and therefore made suit for peace, in so much that finallie it was agreed, that commissioners for both parts should talke concerning certeine articles, and whatsoeuer they concluded, aswell the king as the said Leolin should hold the same for firme and stable. The king appointed one of his commissioners, to wit, the lord Robert de Tiptoft, to take an oth for him, & authorised the said Robert, Anthonie Beke, and frier William de Southampton, prior prouinciall of the friers preachers, commissioners, nominated on his behalfe, to receiue the like oth of the said Leolin. Which Leolin appointed commissioners for his part, Tuder ap Edeuenet, and Grono ap Yelin, the which commissioners with good deliberation concluded vpon certeine points and articles, of which the principall were as followeth.

The castell of Rutland taken. Anno Reg. 5.

1277

The castell of Stridewie. Leolin sueth for peace.

N. Triuet. Cõmissioners appointed.

First, that the said Leolin should set at libertie all prisoners which he held in captiuitie for the king of Englands cause frælie, and without all challenge. 1

Secondlie, that to haue peace and the kings of Englands fauour, he should giue vnto the said king fiftie thousand pounds sterling, the daies of the paiment whereof to rest in the kings will and pleasure. 2

Thirdlie, that the land of the foure cantreds without all contradiction should remaine for euer to the king and his heires, with all lands conquered by the king and his people, the Ile of Anglesey excepted, which Ile was granted to the prince, so that he should paie for the same yearelie the summe of one thousand marks, and fiue thousand marks for an income. Prouided, that if the prince chanced to die without issue, then the said Ile to reuert againe into the kings hands. 3

Fourthlie, that the prince shall come to Rothelan or Rothland (as it is commonlie called) there to do fealtie to the king, and before his comming thither, he should be absolued and haue the interdiction of his lands released, and at his being at Rothelan, a date shall be appointed him by the king for his comming to London, there to do his homage. Herevpon was order taken for his safe conduct, aswell in his comming to Rothelan, as to London. There be that write that he was appointed to come vnto London, at the feast of the natiuitie of our Lord. 4

Fiftlie, it was couenanted, that all the homages of Wales should remaine to the king, except onelie of fiue barons which inhabited nére vnto the castell of Snowdon: for otherwise the said Leolin could not conuenientlie call himselfe prince, except he had some barons vnder him. 5

Sixtlie, that he should receiue the title and name of prince so long as he liued, and after his decease the homages of those fiue barons should reuert to the king 6

king and to his heires for euer.

7 N. Triuet. Dauid Leolins brother prouided for.

Seuenthlie the king granted vnto the said Leolin, the lands that belonged to his brother Dauid, for tearme of the said Leolins life, and in recompense thereof was contented to satisfie the said Dauid with other lands in some other place, the which after the decease of the said Leolin or Dauid should reuert to the king and his heires.

An oth to be receiued.

For the assurance of which articles and couenants the prince deliuered for hostages ten persons of the best in Wales, which he could get, without imprisonment, disheriting, or terme of deliuerance; and of euerie cantred twentie persons, of the best and most sufficient, to be chosen by such as the king shall send thither yearelie, & shall from yeare to yeare be sworne vpon the euangelists, in presence of the bailiffes of the said Leolin, that whensoeuer the prince shall breake any of these articles, and vpon admonition doth not reforme himselfe, they shall forsake him, and in all things, being vnto him open enimies, shall beare him deadlie hostilitie.

Leolins brethren.

Besides this, the prince shall (as farre as in him may lie) pacifie his brethren, of the which he had put two in prison, Owen and Roderike: the third named Dauid, escaping his hands, fled into England, and remained many yeares with king Edward, who receiuing him into his seruice, made him knight in this warre, and gaue vnto him a castell at Denbigh in Wales, with lands to the yearelie value of a thousand marks, in recompense of those possessions which he ought to haue had in Anglesey, the which (as before is said) the king granted vnto Leolin for terme of his life, and after his decease to reuert vnto the king and to his heires. Moreouer, he preferred Dauid to the marriage of a iollie widowe, that was daughter to the earle of Darbie.

Dauid rewarded by king Edward.

Dauid preferred in mariage

The article concerning Owen.

As concerning Owen, through the kings fauour he was deliuered out of prison, by force of the articles concluded at this present by the commissioners, vnder this forme and maner: that vpon his being set at libertie, certeine persons appointed by the king should make offer to him, to chose whether he would first compound with his brother, and thereupon come to the king, and beseech him to allow the composition, or else to put himselfe vnder the safe keeping of the king, till according to the lawes and customes of Wales, in the place where he did transgresse, iudgement should be giuen of the matter: and if he were acquit, then might he demand his heritage if he thought it so expedient: and which of these two waies he should chose, the same should be made firme and stable in the kings presence.

All these articles, with other additions, were accorded by the said cõmissioners at Aberconweie, on the tuesdaie before the feast of S. Martine, in the yeare 1277, and letters of confirmation made thereof by the king, dated at Rutland on the tenth daie of November, in the fift yeare of his reigne. Also the said Leolin, by the name of Leolin ap Griffin prince of Wales, with letters vnder his seale, confirmed the aboue said articles on his behalfe, for the releasing of his right to the foure cantreds and other things that should remaine to the king, which letters bare date at Aberconweie, on the foresaid tuesdaie in the said yeare 1277. Also the K. released to the said Leolin, the said summe of fiftie thousand pounds, and the said summe of a thousand marks yearelie to be paid for the Ile of Anglesey, as by his letters dated at Rutland on the said 10 daie of November in the said fift yeare of his reigne more at large it appeareth. Neuertheless by his letters dated at Rutland, on the said eleuenth of the said month of November, it is euident that he receiued of the said Leolin the summe of two thousand marks sterling, by the hands of Thomas Beke keeper of his wardrobe.

Moreouer, the king in the west part of Wales built at the same time a castle at Lamperdeuaur, to keepe vnder the rebellious attempts of the Welshmen. King Edward gaue in mariage by waie of restitution to the fore-remembred Leolin prince of Wales the earle of Leicesters daughter, which was taken (as ye haue heard) at the Ile of Sillie. He also bare all the charges of the feast at the daie of the marriage, and honored the same with the presence of himselfe and the queene. ¶ A subsidie of the twentieth part of euerie mans goods was granted to the king towards his charges susteined in the Welsh warres. Moreouer, in the first yeare of his reigne K. Edward held a parlement at Glocester, in the which were certeine acts and statutes made for the wealth and good gouernment of the realme, which vnto this daie are called the statutes of Glocester. ¶ Alexander king of Scots came into England, to common with K. Edward, of matters touching his kingdome of Scotland. ¶ Shortlie after king Edward went ouer into France, and there receiued certeine townes that were restored to him, but not the moitie of those that were promised to his father, when he released his title vnto the dutchie of Normandie.

The castell of Lamperdeuaur built.

Anno. Reg. 6. 1278

Leolins wife restored to hir husband.

Statutes of Glocester.

Robert Kilwarbie archbishop of Canturburie, was by pope Nicholas aduanced to the dignitie of a cardinall, and made bishop of Portua, so that he went to Rome, and gaue ouer the archbishoprike of Canturburie, to the which through the popes grant frier John Peckham was admitted archbishop. This yeare there was inquirie made in London for such as had clipped, washed, & counterfaited the kings coine, whereupon the Iewes of the citie and diuers goldsmiths that kept the exchange of siluer were indited, and after to the number of two hundreth foure score and seuentéene persons were condemned, and in diuers places put to execution. There were but 3. Englishmen among them, all the residue were Iewes; but diuerse christians that were participants with them in their offenses were put to their fines, and not without iust cause.

The archbish. of Yorke being made cardinal resigneth his archbishoprike

John Peckham archbish. of Yorke.

Clippers of mone.

Anno Reg. 7. Nic. Triuet.

About the same time the king remoued all such shiriffes as were either preests or strangers, and in their places appointed knights to be shiriffes, that were of the same countrie where their offices laie. Moreouer, about this season king Edward builded the castell of Flint, and fortified the castell of Rutland and others, placing garrisons of Englishmen in the same to defend the countrie, and to keepe the Welshmen vnder obedience. But Leolin so smallie regarded all couenants made, and benefits receiued, that shortlie after, vpon the death of his late married wife, being summoned to come to a parlement holden by king Edward, he disdained to obeie, and vpon a verie spite began to make new warre to the Englishmen, in walking and destroieng the countrie: notwithstanding king Edward had so manie waies done him good, and had giuen him iust cause of thankfulnesse, which is the common reward of benefits, and which little recompense whoso neglecteth to make, being but a little lip labour,

Non est laudari dignus, nec dignus amari.

Chron. Dunst.

The castels of Flint & Rutland built.

1279

Leolin beginneth new war

But being put in feare with the kings comming towards him with his power, he laid armor aside, and began eftsones to require peace, which the king now the second time did not denie to grant; because he would not lose time to warre with the mounteins, woods and marishes, the places of refuge for Welshmen in those daies, when they wanted power to abide battell and keepe the fields. About the same time the king gaue vnto Dauid the brother of Leolin the lordship of Frodesham in Cheshire, and made him knight. Moreouer, in this yeare the king held a parlement,

He sueth for peace.

The statute of Mortmaine.

ment, in which the statute of Mortmaine was established.

Frier John Peckham, whome the pope had alreadie consecrated archbishop of Canturburie, being the 47 in number that had gouerned the said see, came this yeare ouer into England to supplie the rome. ¶ Also Walter Gifford archbishop of Yorke departed this life, in whose place succéded William Wickham, the 37 archbishop there. The archbishop of Canturburie held a synod at Reading about the latter end of Julie, wherin he renewed the constitutions of the generall councell, as thus: That no ecclesiasticall person should haue aboue one benefice to the which belonged cure of soule; and againe, that all those that were promoted to any ecclesiasticall liuing, should receiue the order of priesthood within one yere after his being promoted thereunto.

A synod at Reading.

The kings coine amended.

In this yeare the king toke order for the amending of his monie and coine, which in that season was fowlie clipped, washed, and counterfeited by those naughtie men the Iewes, and other, as before you haue partlie heard. The king therefore in the octaues of the Trinitie sent forth commandement to all the shiriffes within the land, that such monie as was counterfeited, clipped or washed, should not be currant from thencefoorth: and furthermore he sent of his owne treasure, good monie and not cliped, vnto certeine cities and townes in the realme, that exchange might be made with the same till new monie were stamped. About the third daie of August, the first exchange was made of the new monie of pence and farthings; but yet the old monie went all this yeare togither with the new, and then was the old coine generallie forbidden, and commandement giuen by publike proclamation, that from thencefoorth it should no more be allowed for currant. Herewith also halfpence, which had beene stamped in the meane time, began to come abroad the same day in which the old monie was thus prohibited.

Ordinances for monie.

The lord Roger Mortimer kept a great feast at Killingworth, with iusts and triumphs of an hundred knights and as manie ladies, to the which resorted lords, knights, & gentlemen from diuerse countries and lands, to shew proofe of their valiancie in the practise of warlike feats and exercises. In the meane season king Edward standing in need of monie, deuised a new shift to serue his turne, as this: namely that wheras he was cheefe lord of many lordships, manours, possessions and tenements, he well vnderstood, that partlie by length and proces of time, and partlie by casualties during the troubles of the ciuill warres, manie mens euidences, as their charters, deeds, copies and other writings were lost, wasted, and made awaie, he therfore vnder colour to put the statute of (*Quo waranto*) in execution, which was ordeined this yeare in the parlement holden at Glocester in August last past (as some write) did now command by publike proclamation, that all such as held any lands or tenements of him, should come and shew by what right and title they held the same, that by such meanes their possessions might returne vnto him, by escheat as cheefe lord of the same, and so to be sold or redeemed againe at his hands.

Anno Reg. 8. 1280

N. Triuet. Polydor. Abington.

A shift to get monie.

This was thought to be so sore a proclamation, as that a more greeuous had not lightlie beene heard of. Men in euerie place made complaint and shewed themselues greeuouslie offended, so that the king by meanes thereof came in great hatred of his people: but the meane sort of men, though they stood in defense of their right, yet it availed them but little, because they had no euidence to shew, so that they were constreined to be quiet with losse, rather than to striue against the streame. Manie were thus called to answer, till at length the lord John Warren earle of Surrie, a man greatlie beloued of the people, perceiuing the king to haue cast his net for a preie, and that there was not one which spake against him, determined to stand against those so bitter and cruell proceedings. And therefore being called afore the iustices about this matter, he appeared, and being asked by what right he held his lands: suddenlie drawing forth an old rustie sword; By this instrument (said he) do I hold my lands, and by the same I intend to defend them. Our ancestors comming into this realme with William the Conquerour, conquered their lands with the sword, and with the same will I defend me from all those that shall be about to take them from me; he did not make a conquest of this realme alone, our progenitors were with him as participants and helpers.

The taieng of the earle of Surrie.

The king vnderstanding into what hatred of his people by this meanes he was fallen, and therfore desirous to auoid ciuill dissention and war that might thereby insue, he left off his begun practise: so that the thing which generallie should haue touched and béene hurtfull to all men, was now suddenlie staied by the manhood and couragious stoutnesse onelie of one man, the foresaid earle, who in his rare act of defending cõmon equitie against the mightie in authoritie (who spared not to offer extreme iniurie) shewed himselfe a verie true and naturall branch of nobilitie,

——cupit quæ grandia semper,
Vilia contemnit, quæ sursum tendere vt ignis
Nititur, & summas penetrat velut ardea nubes.

The archbishop of Canturburie held an other synod at Lambeth, in the which he receiued and confirmed the orders and constitutions decréed and established by the legats Otho and Othobone, in councels by them kept here within this realme, adding diuerse other of his owne: & in the same councell he went about to annihilate certeine liberties belonging to the crowne, as the taking knowledge of the right of patronages and the kings prohibitions *In placitis de catallis*, and such like, which séemed mérlie to touch the spiritualtie. But the king by some in that councell withstood the archbishop openlie, and with menaces staied him from concluding any thing that might prejudice his roiall liberties and prerogatiues.

A synod at Lambeth.

King Edward held a parlement at London, in the which he demanded a fiftenth of the cleargie, which latelie before he had got of the temporaltie. The archbishop of Yorke was content at the first to grant this fiftenth to be paid of the cleargie within his diocesse in two yeares; but the archbishop of Canturburie held off, and required respit till the next parlement to be holden after Easter, and then he granted vnto the king the dismes of all his cleargie for three yeares, that in some point he might be different from the archbishop of Yorke.

A parlement.

The archbishop of Yorke.

The archbishop of Canturburie.

In the ninth yeare of king Edwards reigne, the feast of the round table was kept at Warwike with great and sumptuous triumph. Whilest these things were in doing, Dauid brother to Leolin prince of Wales, forgetting the great benefits which he had receiued at the hands of king Edward, became his aduersarie, and caused his said brother the prince of Wales with a great number of other noble men of that countrie to rebell: and to incourage them the sooner to attempt the warre, he began the first exploit himselfe, taking the said lord Roger Clifford (a right worthie and famous knight) in his castell of Hawardine, vpon Palmesundaie, the said lord being in no doubt of any such matter. Diuerse knights and other that were in the same castell at that time, and made resistance, were slaine.

Anno Reg 9. 1281

The feast of the round table holden at warwike.

Dauid the brother of Leolin reuolteth, and becommeth a rebell.

The lord Clifford taken.

After this the foresaid Dauid returned to his brother the prince, and therewith assembling an armie, they went both togither and besieged the castell of Rutland.

The castell of Rutland besieged.

Rutland. King Edward at the same time being in the parts about Salisburie, where he kept his Easter at the Ties, sent out commissioners to leauie an armie, and commanded such men of warre as he had then in a readinesse, to hast forth to the rescue of the castell of Rutland. And in the meane time, the castell of Lamperdeuaur was taken by Rice ap Malgone and Griffith ap Meridoc. Also diuerse other castels were taken by other of the Welsh nobilitie. Moreouer, about this time by the labour and suit of John the archbishop of Canturburie, Emericke de Montfort, which had béene reteined in prison (sith that he was first taken togither with his sister at the Isle of Sillie by the Britishmen) was now set at libertie and permitted to returne into France. The said archbishop of Canturburie was sent into Wales to persuade Leolin and his brother with the other rebels vnto peace and quietnesse, but returning into England, without bringing anie thing to passe, he denounced them accursed.

The castell of Lamperdeuaur taken.

Emericke de Montfort set at libertie.

Leolin and other the welsh rebels accursed. Anno Reg. 10.

1282

The king entreth into wales.

The king hasted forth to come to the rescue of his people, whereupon Leolin and his brother Dauid retired with their people to Snowdon hilles, and fortified the castell there with a strong garrison of men. The king entring into Wales, when he heard that his enimies were withdrawne into the mounteins, passed forth till he came nere vnto them, where he pitched downe his field, and the next day causing his horsemen to issue forth of the campe, filled all the plaines which compasse the foot of those hilles (aswell on the east side as toward the south) with the same horsemen, and herewith placed his footmen more aloft on the side of the hilles in couert: this done he prouoked his enimie to come forth to fight, but when he saw this would not be, then that he might stop them from all places of refuge, he caused his ships to take the Isle of Anglesey, because the Welshmen vsed to flie thither oftentimes for their safegard, in the which enterprise the mariners of the cinque ports bare themselues right manfullie.

The mariners of the cinque ports.

Meneth.

After this, ioining certeine vessels togither, he caused a bridge to be made in the riuer of Meneth, into the which an other small riuer falleth that riseth at the roots of those hilles of Snowdone, to keepe the enimies from lodging on the further side of that riuer. This bridge conteining rome for threescore armed men to passe afront, was made ouer the riuer of Sient, by the which men saile into the Isle, which by the course of the sea ebbeth and floweth euerie twelue houres. But so it came to passe, that before the bridge was well borded ouer, whilest the king yet remained at Aberconwaie, diuerse of the English nobilitie, to the number of seauen banerets with three hundreth armed men rashlie passed ouer, and as they surueied the foot of the mounteine, the tide began to come in so swiftlie, that where the Englishmen were aduanced a good prettie waie from the water side, they could not now get backe againe to the bridge which as yet was not fullie made vp.

The Welshmen perceiuing this, came downe beside the mounteine, and assailed the Englishmen verie fiercelie, and with their great multitude so oppressed them, that for feare the Englishmen were driuen to take the water, and so by reason they were loaden with armour, manie of them were drowned: and amongst other, that famous knight sir Lucas de Thanie, Robert Clifford, sir William Lindsey, and two gentlemen of good accompt that were brethren to Robert Burnell as then bishop of Bath. There perished in all (as some saie) thirteene knights, seuenteene yong gentlemen, and to the number of two hundred footmen. Yet sir William Latimer, as good hap would, escaped, and diuerse other. This mischance happened on S. Leonards day.

The Englishmen distressed by Wellshmen.

The lord Clifford.

Chron. Dunst.

In this meane time in an other part of the countrie the earle of Gloucester with an armie, made sore warre to the Welshmen, and nere vnto the towne called Lantilaware, fought a sore battell with them, in the which manie of the Welshmen being slaine, the earle lost also fiue knights vpon his partie, as William Valence the yonger, being one of that number, who was the kings cousine. The earle of Gloucester then departing from thence, Leolin the prince of Wales entered into the countrie of Cardigan and Stradwie, destroieng the lands of Rice ap Meridoc, which now held with the king against the said prince. At length, prince Leolin going towards the land of Buelth with a small companie, left his maine armie behind him aloft vpon the top of the mounteine, nere to the water called Waie, and he had set a number of his people to keepe the bridge of Orewin: and so the Welshmen kept on the one side, and the Englishmen on the other, of whome were capteins the lord John Gifford and the lord Edmund Mortimer, the which perceiuing the Welshmen that were readie to defend the bridge, and a great host of them vpon the top of the mounteine, they consulted togither what they were best to do.

The earle of Gloucester maketh warre on the Wellshmen

Anno Reg. 11.

Leolin inuadeth the kings freends.

The lord Gifford and Mortimer.

At length by the couragious exhortation of one Helias Walewaine they drew on the one hand alongst the riuer, where was a ford passable in deed, though not without danger: but yet the Englishmen by the conduct of the same Helias, got ouer by the same ford, so that it bare the name long after of Helias way. And so the Welshmen that kept the bridge (perceiuing the Englishmen to be got ouer vnto that side) fled, whereupon the residue of the English armie passed ouer at the bridge, whereof rose a great noise, which Leolin lurking not farre off might well heare, but yet at the first he could not be brought to thinke that by any possible means the Englishmen were got ouer to that side of the water. But yet perceiuing it to be true, he drue backe toward the heigth of the mounteine againe, neuertheless being discouered by one Stephan de Franketon, named by some writers Sward, he was so narrowlie pursued of the same Stephan, that he was ouertaken and slaine.

Helias Walewaine.

Prince Leolin slaine by Stephan de Franketon.

Stephan not knowing whome he had slaine, returned to the host, the which was now mounting vp the hill to ioine with the Welsh armie that stood still loking for the returne of their prince Leolin (though in vaine) yet they manfullie abode by their tackle, discharging plentie of arowes and darts at the Englishmen as they came vp towards them. The English archers which were mingled amongst the horsemen, paid them home againe with their shot, so that finallie the English horsemen, winning the top of the hill, slue manie of them standing stoutlie at defense, and put the residue to flight. Stephan Sward that had slaine Leolin, after the victorie was atchined, rode to the dead bodie which he had slaine in the beginning of the battell, and vpon view taken of him perceiued who he was, of which good hap the Englishmen were verie ioifull. His head was herewith cut off, which the lord Edmund Mortimer tooke with him vnto Rutland (where the king as then was lodged) vnto whome he presented it: and the king sent it vnto London, appointing that there should be an yuie crowne set vpon it, in token that he was a prince, and so being adorned, a horseman carried it vpon the end of his staffe through Cheapside, holding it as he rode on heigth, that all men might see it, till he came to the tower, & there it was pight vp aloft vpon one of the highest turrets, remaining there a long time after.

Leolins head presented to the king.

Thus was the prophesie fulfilled, which was told

A prophesie fulfilled.

to him by an old woman taken for a southsaier, of whome he required to know how he should spéd in this warre, whereunto she answered, that he should boldlie go forward in them, for he should ride with a crowne on his head through Cheapside: and so by the deceiueable prophesie he was deluded & brought to destruction. The incounter wherein the Welshmen were vanquished (as before ye haue heard) chanced on the fridaie before S. Lucies day. King Edward being certified thus of the victorie, streightwaies marched forth with his people, and appointed at euerie passage certeine bands of souldiers to lie in wait for the enimies. Also at the foot of the hilles he left his horssemen, and mounted vp the hilles himselfe, with the residue of his armie. There were certeine Gascoines, whome the lord John Uescie had brought with him out of their countrie, to serue the king, which burned manie townes, and slue great numbers of the Welshmen, all that came in their waie, and finallie, giuing an assault to Snowdon castell, they wan it in fine by force.

The Gascoins pursue the welshmen egerlie.

In this meane time, the Welshmen, when they saw themselues incloséd, and stopped from all waies to escape, after the maner of wild beasts, fled into the thicke woods & caues, some of them making shift to get downe through the steepe and broken rocks, and some of them séeking to escape by flight, fell into their enimies hands, & were either slaine or taken, and amongst these, about Midsummer was Dauid taken, togither with his wife, his two sonnes, and seauen daughters, and brought to the king, who sent them first to Rutland castell, there to be safelie kept.

King Edward hauing subdued the Welshmen that inhabited in the mounteins, went about all the countrie to conquer the residue, assembling all his armie togither, and then pursuing his aduersaries, made great slaughter of them on each side, so that there were slaine aboue thrée thousand men: then hauing the countrie at his will, he gaue vnto the English lords townes in the middest of Wales, and diuided the countrie into shires, ordeined shiriffes, and other officers as then were vsed in England. At Aberconow he builded a strong castell, where before was an house of white monks, the which he remoued to the Vale roiall in Chesshire, where he builded a faire abbeie of the Cisteaux order, and endowed it with great lands and reuenues. He also made and fortified the castell of Carnaruan fast by Snowdon, and repared againe the towne of Lambaterwhir, otherwise called Abrestwich, which Leolin had before beaten downe. Also he placed English garrisons in the castels and holds by the sea sides, and made Englishmen lords of the grounds and possessions belonging to the same. Rées ap Bouan one of the chéefest and mightiest capteins of all Wales, which during the warres, had done more displeasure to the Englishmen than any other, in spoiling their confines, and making great slaughters vpon them, vnderstanding now both of the death of prince Leolin, and the taking of his brother Dauid, and also perceiuing himselfe pursued on each side, at length yéelded himselfe and his complices to Humfrie de Bohun earle of Hereford, who straightwaies sent him to the king, and the king sent him to London, there to be kept prisoner in the tower.

Wales diuided into shires.

The Vale roiall built by k. Edward the first.

Rées ap Bouan yéeldeth himselfe vnto K. Edward.

Thus king Edward, hauing brought the rebellious Welshmen vnder his correction, appointed his generall lieutenant there, the lord Robert Tiptoft, and when he had set all things in good order, about Michaelmas he came to Shrewesburie, where at a parlement by him there holden, the foresaid Dauid (that was brought thither) as cheefe procurer of all this warre, was condemned of treason, and was afterward executed, according to iudgement pronounced against him, that is to saie, he was hanged drawne and quartered. His head was sent to London, and set vp by the head of his brother Leolin. His quarters were diuided, and sent to be set vp on the gates of foure of the cheefest cities of England. This reward reaped he for his proditorious attempts, before God, angels, and men: an horrible punishment for an heinous offense; and no maruell, sith

Ante Dei vultum nihil vnquam restat inultum.

He is executed.

During these warres, the king had of the temporaltie, the thirtith part of all their goods, and of the spiritualtie, the twentith part, towards the maintenance of the same warres. N. Triuet.

A parlement at Shrewesburie.

Dauid condemned of treason.

The same yeare also after Michaelmas, the king held a parlement at Acton Burnell, wherein those statutes were ordeined, which vnto this daie beare the name of the place where they were made. In the twelfth yeare of this kings reigne, his eldest sonne Alfonse departed this life at Windsore, and on S. Markes daie his sonne Edward, that after succeeded him in the kingdome, was borne at Carnaruan, where the king had builded a strong castell, and was come thither with the quéene at that time, to sée the same. ¶Also this yeare, in the quindene of saint Michaell, the iustices itinerants began to go their generall circuits.

Anno Reg. 12. 1284

Edward the second borne.

Abington.

On Easter daie, which fell this yeare on the ninth of Aprill, being also leape yeare, in the morning about the rising of the sunne, the element was shadowed with such darkenesse and thicknesse of aire, that it séemed to waxe night againe, and suddenlie rose an horrible tempest, first of haile and raine, and after of snow, that couered all the earth; and then followed such thunder and lightning, that men were maruellouslie amazed therewith, considering it séemed to be against the nature of the season, for scarse in Aprill shall yée heare ante such thunder. Yet at length it brake vp, and the element recouered hir accustomed clérenesse.

A great tempest on Easter daie in the morning.

In the thirtéenth yeare of his reigne, king Edward kept his Christmasse at Bristowe, and held there a priuate councell, but no generall parlement; and this was the first time that anie English king can be remembred, to haue kept any solemne feast at Bristow. The king then leauing his court of chancerie at Bristow, with his children, came to London, where he had not béene almost of thrée yeares before. Héere came messengers to him from the French king, requiring him to come in person, with a certeine number of men of warre, to aid him in the warres against the king of Aragon, as of right he ought to do, by reason of the dutchie of Guien which he held of him. The same yeare died William the archbishop of Yorke, after he had gouerned that see six yeares, and then succéeded one John surnamed Romane. About this season, was Marton colledge in Oxenford founded by Walter Marton that was lord Chancellour of England, and after bishop of Rochester. ¶King Edward seized the franchises and liberties of London into his hands, and discharged Gregorie Rokkeslie the maior then being, and appointed for custos and gardian of the citie, one Stephan Sandwich, the which from the day of the conuersion of saint Paule, till the monday following the Purification of our ladie, continued in that office, and was then discharged, and sir John Breton knight charged therewith for the residue of the yeare. There is no certeine knowledge left in records, whie the king tooke such displeasure with the citie, saue that the said Gregorie Rokkeslie then maior, as the fame went, tooke bribes of the bakers, and suffered them to sell bread, lacking six or seauen ounces of weight in a penie lofe. ¶The new worke of the church of Westminster, to the end of the quier, begun (as be-

Anno Reg. 13. 1285

Bristow.

Imbassadors from the French king.

William the archbishop of Yorke deceassed.

John Roman archbishop of Yorke.

Marton colledge in Oxford built.

fore

fore is shewed) in the third yeare of king Henrie, was in this yeare fullie finished.

The death of the Scotish king.

The nineteenth of March, died Alexander king of Scotland, by a fall which he caught as he ran a stirring horse: he left no issue behind him, nor any certeine knowne heire to succeed him, by reason whereof insued great harme to that relme (as in the Scotish historie may more at large appeare.) The manner of whose death (as in Richard Southwell I find it reported) I haue thought good breeflie to touch, for that in recitall thereof, he somewhat disagreeth from the Scotish historie. Rich. South. There went (saith he) a common speach through Scotland all this yeare, before the kings death, that on the same nineteenth of March the daie of iudgement should be: whereupon, as the said king sat at dinner in the castell of Edenburgh, hauing a dish of excellent good lampries before him, he sent part therof to one of the lords that sat at some other table not far from him, and willed him by the gentleman that bare it, to be merrie, and haue in mind that this was the day of doome. The lord sent him thanks againe, and praied the messenger to tell the king merilie, that if this were the daie of doome, they should rise to iudgement spéedilie with their bellies filled with good meats and drinks. After they had dined, and the night began to draw on, he tooke his horsse, and onlie accompanied with three gentlemen, would needs ride to Kingorne, where the queene his new wife then laie, and before he could get vnto Inerkenin, it was darke night, so that he tooke there two guides to lead him the waie: but they had not ridden past two miles, but that the guides had quite lost the waie, so that they were driuen to giue their horsses libertie to beat it out themselues.

Herewithall the king being seuered from his companie, how he ruled his horsse it is hard to saie, but downe he was throwne, and immediatlie died with the vehement fall which he thus caught, either headlong downe one of the cliffes or otherwise, and thus he came to his end, on a mondaie, being saint Cuthberts euen the nineteenth of March (as before is noted) after he had reigned six & thirtie yeares and nine moneths, as the same Southwell saieth; who also (contrarie to that which Hector Boetius writeth) affirmeth, that the same daie was so tempestuous with wind, snow, haile and raine, that he and manie other that then liued and felt it, durst not vncouer their faces, in going abroad against the bitter northerne wind, that droue the snow and sleet most behementlie vpon them. And although that such fowle weather might haue staied him from taking his iournie in that sort, yet he made no accompt thereof, as he that was accustomed to ride as well in fowle weather as faire, and spared neither for tempest, waters, nor craggie rocks, thicke nor thin; for all was one to him, oftentimes taking his iournie in disguised apparell, accompanied onlie with one seruant. But to returne vnto the doings in England.

In this yeare the king tooke escuage, fortie shillings of euerie knights fee, towards the charges of his last wars in Wales. ¶ A parlement was holden at Westminster, at the which were made the statutes called *Additamenta Glocestriæ*, or rather the statutes of Westminster the second. In the fourteenth yeare of king Edward, a citizen of London named Thomas Piwilesdon, who in time of the barons warres had beene a great doer, to stir the people against king Henrie, was now accused, that he with other should go about to make new disturbance within the citie: whereof inquirie being made and had before sir Rafe Standish, then custos or gardian of the citie, the said Piwilesdon and other, to the number of fiftie, were banished the citie for euer. ¶ Also, whereas of old time before this season, the merchant strangers were vsed to be lodged within the dwelling houses of the citizens of London, and sold all their merchandize by procuration of their hosts, for the which their said hosts had a certeine allowance, after the rate of euerie pound: now it was ordeined, that the said merchant strangers might take houses to hire, for to inhabit therein, & for stowage of their wares, & no citizen to intermeddle with them or their wares: by reason whereof they vsed manie deceits, both in vttering counterfeit wares, and also vniust weights. Moreouer, much of those wares, which they should haue waied at the K. beame, they weighed at home within their houses, to the hinderance of the kings custome. Whereupon search being made vpon a sudden, and their weights found and proued false, twentie of the said strangers were arrested and sent to the towre, and their weights burnt, destroied and broken to peeces in Westcheape, on thursdaie before the feast of Simon and Jude. Finallie, the said merchants were deliuered, being put to a fine of a thousand pounds, after sore and hard imprisonment.

Anno Reg. 14. Fabian. Thomas Piwilesdon a citizen of London.

He with other are banished the citie.

A new order for merchant strangers.

Strangers committed to the towre.

1286

The Jewes in one night were generallie apprehended, and put in prison through all the parts of England, and so kept in durance, till they had fined at the kings pleasure. ¶ It is reported that the commons of England granted to the king, the fift part of their moueables, to haue the Jewes banished out of the land: but the Jewes, to put the Englishmen frō their purpose, gaue to the king great summes of monie, whereby they tarried yet a while longer. King Edward went ouer into France vpon the fiue and twentith of Maie, passing through Picardie vnto Amiens, and there the French king, to do him honor, was readie to receiue him. Here king Edward did homage vnto the French king, for the lands which he ought to hold of him in France. And after, he was also present at a parlement, which the said French king held at Paris, in the which he obteined manie things for the liberties of his said lands, as then by diuerse waies wrongfullie oppressed, though such grant continued not long in force. After Whitsuntide, king Edward departed from Paris and went into Gascoigne, togither with his wife queene Elianor, who was with him in all his iournie.

Nic. Triuet. The king passeth ouer into France.

This yeare the king went into Aragon, where his authoritie availed much, in the making of agreement betwixt the kings of Aragon and Naples; whereby Charles king of Naples was then set at libertie, vpon certeine contracts or couenants passed and agreed betwixt them. ¶ The kings mother queene Elianor this yeare forsoke the world, and tooke vpon hir the habit of a nunne at Ambresburie; but yet she still reteined and inioied hir dower by the popes authoritie and dispensation. About this time a squire called Chamberlaine, with his complices, set fire on the merchants bothes, at S. Butolphes faire; and whilest the merchants were about to quench the fire, the said squire and his complices set vpon the said merchants, slue manie of them, and robbed them of their goods. In this yeare fell variance betweene the lord Paine Tiptoft, wardeine of certeine castels in Wales, and a Welsh knight called sir Rees ap Meridoc, so that sundrie skirmishes were foughten betwixt them, and men slaine on both sides, to the great disturbance of the countrie.

Anno Reg. 15.
1287

Rich. South.

Bristow faire robbed.

Variance betwixt the lord Paine Tiptoft, and Rice ap Meridoc.

The cause of this warre rose chéeflie, for that the said lord Tiptoft, and the lord Alane Plucknet, the kings steward in Wales, would haue constreined the said Rées to appeare at counties and hundreds, as the vse in other parts of Wales then was, contrarie to such liberties as he had obteined of the king as he pretended. But when the king wrote vnto the same Rées, requiring him to keepe the peace, till his returne (at what time he promised to reforme all

things in due and reasonable order) Rées hauing alreadie put armour vpon his backe, would not now incline to any peace, but to reuenge his cause, assembled a great multitude of Welshmen, with whose helpe he burnt & destroied manie townes in Wales, so that the K. being then beyond the seas, sent to the earle of Cornewall, whom in his absence he had appointed his lieutenant ouer England, requiring him to send an armie into Wales, to resist the malice and riotous attempts of the Welshmen. The earle shortlie thervpon prepared an armie, and went with the same into Wales, or (as other write) the bishop of Elie, the lord prior of S. Johns, the earle of Glocester, and diuerse barons of the land went thither, and chasing the said Rées, dispersed his armie, and ouerthrew and raced his castels, but by vndermining and reuersing the wals at the castell of Dryslan, with the fall therof, the baron Stafford, and the lord William de Pontchensie, with manie other knights and esquiers, were oppressed and bruised to death. ¶ This N. Triuet. peare, the king at Blankfort in Gascoigne, toke vpon him the crosse, purposing eftsones to make a iournie against Gods enimies.

In the winter of this yeare great flouds chanced, by reason of the exceeding abundance of raine that fell: and the sea alongst the northeast coasts from Humber to Yarmouth, brake into the land, ouerflowing the same by the space of three or foure leagues in breadth (as the author of the Chronicle of Dunstable Chron. Dunst. affirmeth) ouerthrowing buildings, and drowning vp men and cattell that could not auoid the danger by the sudden comming in thereof, namelie, about Yarmouth, Dunwich, and Gipeswich. Likewise in the Pers land of Lincolnshire it did passing great hurt, bringing all the countrie into water. This chanced in the verie night of the beginning of this yéere, to wit, in the feast of the circumcision of our Lord, and in December it brake out againe in Northfolke and Suffolke, where it did much harme, namelie about Yarmouth.

Anno Reg. 16. 1288

This yeare, and likewise the yeare last past, was such plentie of graine, that wheat was sold in some Chron. Dunst. places of this land for twentie pence a quarter, and Nic. Trenet. in some places for sixteene pence, and pease for twelue pence a quarter. The summer this yeare exceeded in heat, so that men thorough the intemperate excesse thereof died in diuers places. ¶ It chanced in Gas- O wonder by thunder! coigne, that as the king & quéene sate in their chamber vpon a bed talking togither, the thunder-bolt comming in at the window behind them, passed through betwixt them as they sate, and slue two of their gentlemen that stood before them, to the great Ri. Southwell. terror of all that were present. ¶ This yeare diuerse of those that robd the faire at Boston, were executed.

Moreouer, whereas Rées ap Meridoc continued still in his mischieuous dooings, at length, the lord deputie of Wales, Robert Tiptoft, vsing both spéedie diligence and timelie counsell, gathered all such Polydor. power as he could make, & passed forth against his Ran. Higd. aduersaries. Whereof when sir Rées was aduertised, N. Triuet. and vnderstanding that the Englishmen were farre fewer in number than his Welshmen, he thought to ouerthrow them at his pleasure, and therefore incouraging his people with manie comfortable words, to shew their manhood vpon the Englishmens approch, he hasted to méet them. The Welshmen being for the more part but yong souldiers, and not trained to kéepe any order of battell, ran fiercelie vpon their enimies, assailing them on the front before, on the sides a flanke, and on the backe behind, inforcing themselues to the vttermost of their power to breake their arraie.

But the Englishmen valiantlie resisted, so that there was a sore battell for a while, and the more outragiouslie the Welshmen assailed, the more stoutlie the Englishmen defended, in kéeping themselues close togither, and beating backe their aduersaries: and at length perceiuing them to faint and wax wearie, they rushed forth into the middle of the Welshmen, & brake them in sunder, so that when they saw themselues thus repelled by the Englishmen, contrarie vnto all their expectation, they knew not what to do, for they durst neither fight nor flée, and so by that meanes were beaten downe on euerie side. Meridoc himselfe was taken, but the most part of all his armie was slaine, to the number of foure thousand men. Thus were the Welshmen worthilie chastised for their rebellion. Sir Rées ap Meridoc was had to Yorke, where at length, after the king was returned out of Gascoigne, he was hanged, drawen and quartered. The Welsh discomfited. Rées ap Meridoc taken.

This yeare on S. Margarets euen, that is, the 9 daie of Julie, fell a wonderfull tempest of haile, that the like had not beene seene nor heard of by any man then liuing. And after, there insued such continuall raine, so distempering the ground, that corne waxed verie deare, so that whereas wheat was sold before at three pence a bushell, the market so rose by little and little, that it was sold for two shillings a bushell, and so the dearth increased still almost by the space of 40 yeares, till the death of Edward the second, in so much that sometime a bushell of wheat London measure was sold at ten shillings. Anno Reg. 17. 1289 Hen. Marl. A sore tempest of haile. Ran. Higd. A great dearth beginneth.

The king, after he had remained and continued three yeares, two moneths, and fiftéene daies in Gascoine, and in other parts there beyond the sea, he returned into England on the fourth day of August, and vpon the euen of the Assumption of our ladie he came to London, where he was most ioifullie receiued, & so came to Westminster: where shortlie after were presented vnto him manie grieuous complaints and informations against diuerse of his iustices, as sir Thomas Weiland, Adam Stretton, and others, the which were had in examination, and thervpon found giltie of manie trespasses and transgressions, in so much that it was giuen him to vnderstand, that there were among them that had giuen consent to the committing of murthers and robberies, and wittinglie had receiued the offendors. Wherevpon, the king caused streight inquirie to be Chron. Dun. made by an inquest of 12 substantiall personages, who found by verdict, that Thomas Weiland lord chéefe iustice of the kings bench, had caused a murther to be done by his seruants, and after succoured and mainteined them: hervpon he was by the kings officers arrested, but escaping their hands, he toke sanctuarie in the church of the friers minors at saint Edmundesburie, and was admitted into their habit, but within fourtie daies after, order was giuen by the king that no kind of vittels should be suffered to be conueied to that house, so that all the friers came forth, except three or foure, and at length he was constreined to take vpon him a laie mans apparell, and comming forth was deliuered to the hands of Robert Malet knight, who had before the custodie of him, and now hauing him againe brought him to the towre of London. At length, he was put to his choise of three waies, which soeuer of them he would take, that is, whether to be tried by his péeres, or to remaine in perpetuall prison, or to abiure the realme: he chose the last, and so bare-foted and bare-headed, bearing a crosse in his hand, he was conueied from the towre to Douer, where taking the sea, he was transported to the further side of the sea; his goods, moueable and vnmoueable, being confiscate to the kings coffers. Thomas Weiland lord chéefe iustice of the kings bench. Robert Malet. William Brampton Roger Leicester. John Luneth

William Brampton, Roger Leicester, John Luneth, associats of the said Thomas, and iustices of the kings

kings bench: also, Robert Lithburie chapleine, and maister of the rolles, being accused of wrongfull iudgements and other trespasses were committed to prison within the tower, and at length with much adoo, escaped with paieng their fines, so that he which paied least, gaue a thousand marks. Moreouer, Salomon of Rochester, Thomas de Sudington, Richard de Boiland, and Walter de Hopton, iustices itinerants, were likewise punished, and for the semblable offenses put to their fines. Sir Rafe de Hingham a iustice also, to whome in the kings absence the ordering of the realme chéefelie apperteined, being accused of diuerse transgressions, and committed to the tower, redeemed his offense for an infinit summe of monie. Adam de Stratton, lord chéefe baron of the ercheker, being conuicted of manie hainous crimes, a man plentifullie prouided both of temporall possessions, and ecclesiasticall reuenues, lost all his temporall liuings, and foure and thirtie thousand marks in readie coine, beside other moueables, in cattell, iewels and furniture of houshold, which were all confiscated, and forfeited wholie: and it was thought he was gentlie dealt with, that he escaped with life, and such spirituall liuings as to him remained. Henrie Bzaie escheator, and the iudges ouer the Iewes, were reported to haue committed manie græuous offenses, but for monie they bought their peace. To conclude, there was not found any amongst all the iustices and officers clære and void of vniust dealing except John de Wetingham, and Elias de Bekingham, who onelie among the rest had behaued themselues vprightlie. When therfore such græuous complaints were exhibited to the king, he appointed the earle of Lincolne, the bishop of Elie, and others, to heare euerie mans complaint, and vpon due examination & triall, to sée them answered accordinglie as right and equitie should require. In which administration of iustice against euill iusticiaries, the king performed the charge imposed and laid vpon all such as are in gouernement and magistracie; namelie,

Nunc igitur reges resipiscite, quærite rectum,
Quorum iudicijs terra regenda data est.

Salomon de Rofka.
Thomas de Sudington.
Richard de Boiland.
Walter Hoptõ
Rafe de Hingham.
Adam de Stratton, L. chéefe baron.
Henrie Bzaie
John de Wetingham, and Elias de Bekingham.
Eob. Hess. in Psal. 2.

In the eighteenth yeare of his reigne, the king married two of his daughters, that is to saie, Joane de Acres vnto Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester, and the ladie Margaret vnto the lord John sonne to the duke of Bzabant. ¶ The king ordeined, that all the woll, which should be sold vnto strangers, should be brought vnto Sandwich, where the staple thereof was kept long time after. In the same yeare was a parlement holden at Westminster, wherein the statutes of Westminster the third were ordeined. It was also decreed, that all the Iewes should auoid out of the land, in consideration whereof, a fiftéenth was granted to the king, and so hérvpon were the Iewes banished out of all the kings dominions, and neuer since could they obteine any priuilege to returne hither againe. All their goods not moueable were confiscated, with their tailles and obligations; but all other their goods that were moueable, togither with their coine of gold and siluer, the king licenced them to haue and conuey with them. A sort of the richest of them, being shipped with their treasure in a mightie tall ship which they had hired, when the same was vnder saile, and got downe the Thames towards the mouth of the riuer beyond Quinborowe, the maister mariner bethought him of a wile, and caused his men to cast anchor, and so rode at the same, till the ship by ebbing of the streame remained on the drie sands. The maister herewith entised the Iewes to walke out with him on land for recreation. And at length, when he vnderstood the tide to be comming in, he got him backe to the ship, whither he was drawne vp by a cord. The Iewes made not so much

Anno Reg. 18. 1290. H. Marle. N. Triuet.
The statutes of Westminster the third established.
The Iewes banished out of England.

haste as he did, because they were not ware of the danger. But when they perceiued how the matter stood, they cried to him for helpe: howbeit he told them, that they ought to crie rather vnto Moses, by whose conduct their fathers passed through the red sea, and therefore, if they would call to him for helpe, he was able inough to helpe them out of those raging flouds, which now came in vpon them: they cried indéed, but no succour appeared, and so they were swallowed vp in water. The maister returned with the ship, and told the king how he had vsed the matter, and had both thanks and reward, as some haue written. But other affirme (and more truelie as should seeme) that diuerse of those mariners, which dealt so wickedlie against the Iewes, were hanged for their wicked practise, and so receiued a iust reward of their fraudulent and mischéeuous dealing. But now to the purpose.

Iewes drowned.
Chro. Dun.

In the foresaid parlement, the king demanded an aid of monie of the spiritualtie, for that (as he pretended) he meant to make a iournie into the holie land, to succour the christians there: wherupon they granted to him the eleuenth part of all their moueables. He receiued the monie aforehand, but letted by other businesse at home, he went not forth vpon that iournie. In the nineteenth yeare of king Edward quéene Elianor king Edwards wife died vpon saint Andrews æuen at Herdebie, or Herdelie (as some haue) nære to Lincolne, the king being as then on his waie towards the borders of Scotland: but hauing now lost the iewell which he most estéemed, he returned towards London to accompanie the corps vnto Westminster, where it was buried in S. Edwards chapell, at the fést of king Henrie the third. She was a godlie and modest princesse, full of pitie, and one that shewed much fauour to the English nation, readie to relæue euerie mans græfe that susteined wrong, and to make them frends that were at discord, so farre as in hir laie. In euerie towne and place, where the corps rested by the waie, the king caused a crosse of cunning workmanship to be erected in remembrance of hir, and in the same was a picture of hir ingrauen. Two of the like crosses were set vp at London, one at Charing, and the other in Westcheape. Moreouer, he gaue in almes euerie wednesday whersoeuer he went, pence a péce, to all such poore folkes as came to demand the same.

The eleuenth part of ecclesiasticall reuenues granted to the K.
Anno Reg. 19. The decease of Q. Elianor
Thom. Walsin.
The praise of the quéene deceassed.
Charingcrosse & other erected.

About the same time, bicause the king should be the more willing to go into the holie land, as he had promised to do, hauing monie to furnish him forth, the pope granted vnto him the tenth of the church of England, Scotland and Ireland, according to the true value of all the reuennes belonging vnto the same for six yeares. He wrote to the bishops of Lincolne and Winchester, that the same tenth should be laid vp in monasteries and abbeies, till the king was entred into the sea, called Mare Maggiore, forwards on his iournie eastwards, and then to be paid to his vse. But the king afterwards caused the collectors to make paiment to him of the same tenth gathered for three yeares, and laid vp in monasteries, although he set not one foot forward in that iournie, as letted through other businesse.

1291

The tenth of spirituall reuenues grãted to the K.

Also, by reason of the controuersie which depended as then betwixt diuerse persons, as competitors of the crowne of Scotland, he went into the north parts and kept his easter at Newcastell, and shortlie after, called a parlement at Northampton; where, by the aduise of the prelats and other of his councell, learned in both the lawes, vpon knowledge had by search of records, and chronicles of ancient time, he caused all the prelats and barons of Scotland to be called afore him, and there in the parish-church of Norham, he declared vnto them his right to the superiorittie of

Controuersie about the crowne of Scotland.

the kingdome of Scotland, and requiring of them, that they would recognise the same, protesting that he would defend the right of his crowne, to the shedding of his owne blood, that a true certificat and information might come to light of his title and rightfull claime, vnto the direct and supreme dominion ouer the realme of Scotland.

He had caused verelie all the historyes, chronicles, and monuments that were to be found within England, Scotland and Wales, to be sought vp and perused, that it might be knowen what right he had in this behalfe. Whereupon it was found by the chronicles of Marianus the Scot, William of Malmesburie, Roger Houeden, Henrie Huntington, Rafe de Diceto, and others, that in the yeare of our Lord 910, K. Edward surnamed Senior, or the elder, subdued to him the kings of Scots and Welshmen, so that in the yeare 921, the same people chose the said Edward to be their king and patrone. And likewise in the yeare 926, Athelstan king of England vanquished Constantine king of Scotland, and permitted him yet to reigne vnder him. Moreouer, Edred the brother of Athelstan, and king of England, ouercame the Scots and Northumbers, the which submitted themselues to him and sware him fealtie. Also Edgar king of England vanquished Kineth the son of Alpine king of Scotland, who sware fealtie to him. Likewise Cnute king of England and Denmarke, in the 16 yeare of his reigne ouercame Malcolme king of Scots, & so became king of foure kingdoms, England, Scotland, Denmarke, and Norwaie.

Furthermore, that blessed king S. Edward, gaue the kingdome of Scotland vnto Malcolme the sonne of the king of Cumberland, to hold the same of him. Againe, William Bastard the Norman conqueror, in the first yeare of his reigne vanquished Malcolme king of Scotland, and receiued of him an oth of fealtie. Also, Will. Rufus did the like vnto Malcolme king of Scots, and two of his sonnes that successiuelie reigned ouer that realme. Also, Alexander succeeded his brother Edgar in the kingdome of Scotland, by consent of K. Henrie the first. Also Dauid king of Scotland did homage to K. Stephan, & William K. of Scots did homage to Henrie, the son of K. Henrie the second, when in his fathers life time he was crowned; and againe, to Henrie the father in the 20 yeare of his reigne, as by an agreement made betwixt them two it doth appeare. Also, Roger Houeden saith, that William king of Scotland came to his souereigne lord king Henrie into Normandie, and likewise to king Richard, and moreouer to king John at Lincolne, doing to them his homage. Also, in the chronicles of S. Albons it is found, that Alexander king of Scotland married at Yorke Margaret the daughter of king Henrie the third, in the 35 yeare of his reigne, and did to him homage.

And further, when king Edward himselfe was crowned at Westminster, in the yeare of our Lord 1274, being the second of his reigne, the last deceassed K. of Scotland, Alexander the third of that name did homage vnto him at Westminster the morrow after the coronation. All which homages and fealties thus done by sundrie kings of Scotland, vnto sundrie kings of England, were directlie and most manifestlie proued to be done for the realme of Scotland, and not onelie for the lands which they held of the kings of England within England, as the Scotish writers would seeme to colour the matter. But things being then fresh in memorie, no such cauillation might be auerred. And so hereupon king Edwards title being substantiallie proued, he was recognised superiour lord of Scotland, of all them that pretended title at that time to that kingdome, by writings thereof made and confirmed vnder their seales, the which being written in French conteined matter as here followeth.

K. Edward recognised for superiour lord of Scotland.

The copie of the charter *in French.*

A Tous ceulx, qui ceste presente lettre verrunt ou orrunt, Florence counte de Holland, Robert de Brus seigneur du Val Danand, Iehan Baliol seigneur de Galloway, Iehan de Hastings seigneur de Abergeuenne, Iehan Comin seigneur de Badenaugh, Patrique de Dunbar counte de la Marche, Iehan de Vescy pur son pere, Nichol de Seules, & Guilaum de Ros, saluz en dieu. Come nous entendons d'auger droyt en reaume d'Escoce, & celle droyt monstrer, chalēger, & auerer deuant celuy, que plus de poer, iurisdiction, & reeson, eust de trier nostre droyt, & l'noble prince sire Edward, par la grace de dieu, roy d'Angleterre, nous a enforme per bonnes & suffisaunt reesons, que aluy apent, & auer doit la souerein seigneurie, du dict reaume d'Escoce, & la cognisaunce de oir, trier & terminer nostre droyt. Nous de nostre propre volunté, sanz nulle maniere de force ou destresse, voluns, otrions, & grantons de receiuré droyt deuaunt luy, come souerein seigneur de la terre. Et voluns ia lemeins, & promettons, que nous auerons, & tendrons, ferme, & estable son fait, & que celuy emportera le reaume, a qui droyt le durra deuant luy. En testimoigne de ceste chose, nous auons mis nous seaules a ceste escript. Fait & donné a Norham, le mardi prochein apres la Ascension, l'an de Grace, 1291.

In English thus.

TO all them that these present letters shall see or heare, Florence earle of Holland, Robert le Bruce lord of Annandale, Iohn Comin lord of Badenaw, Patrike de Dunbar earle of March, Iohn de Baliol lord of Gallowaie, Iohn Hastings lord of Abergeuennie, Iohn de Vesey in stead of his father, Nicholas de Sules, & Walter Ros, send greeting in our Lord. Whereas we intend to haue right in the kingdome of Scotland, and intend to declare, chalenge and proue the same before him that hath the best authoritie, iurisdiction and reason to examine our right, and that the noble prince the lord Edward, by the grace of God king of England, by good and sufficient reasons hath informed vs, that the superior dominion of Scotland belongeth to him, and that he ought to haue the knowledge in the hearing, examining, and defining of our right, we of our free willes, without all violence and constraint, will, consent and grant, to receiue our right before him, as the superior lord of the land. We will also & promise, that we shal haue and hold his deed for firme and stable, and that he shall haue the kingdome, vnto whom before him best right shall assigne the same. In witnesse whereof we haue to these letters put our seales. Giuen at Norham, the tuesdaie next after the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, in the yeare of Grace, 1291.

The recognising therefore made of the superioritie and submission of grant to receiue that, which before the king of England should by law be defined, the said

said king required to haue the castels, and the whole land deliuered vnto his possession, that by peaceable seizine thereof had, his right of superioritie now recognised by their letters and writings, might be the more manifest and apparent to the whole world. They streightwaies agreed to the kings request, and writings thereof were made and confirmed with their seales, being written in French, as followeth.

The copie of the second charter touching the possession of the land, in French.

A Tous iceulx, que ceste presente lettre verrunt ou orront, Florence counte de Holland, Robert de Brus seigneur du Val Danand, Iehan de Baliol seigneur de Galloway, Iehan de Hastings seigneur de Abergeuenny, Iehan Comin seigneur de Badenaw, Patrique Dunbar counte de la Marche, Iehan de Vescy, pour son pere, Nichol de Seules, & Guilaume de Ros, saluz en dieu. Come nous aions otrie, & grdunte, de nostre bonne volunté, & comune assent sans nulle destresse, a noble prince sire Edward, par la grace de dieu, roy de Angleterre quil come souerein seig. de la terre de Escoce puisse oir trier, & terminer nos chalenges, & nos demandes, que nos entendons monstrer, & auerrer pur nostre droyt en la reaume de Escoces & droyt receiuer deuant luy, come souerein seigneur de la terre, promettons ia lemains que son fait auerons & tendrons ferme & estable, & qu' il emportera le reaume, a qui droyt le durra deuant luy.

Mes pour ce que lauandict roy de Ang. ne puist nulle manier conusance faire ne a complier sauns iugement, ne iugement doit estre sauns execution, ne execution ne peult il faire duement, sauns la possession, & seysine de mesme la terre, & de chasteaux. Nous volons, otrions, & grantons, qu il come souereine seigneur, a parfaire les choses auant dictes, ait la seysine de toute la mesme terre, & de chasteaux de Escoce, tant que droyt soit feit & perfourme, as demandans en tiel maniere, que auant ceo qu' il eit le seysine auant dict face bone seurte, & suffisante as demandants & as gardiens, & a la commune du reaume d' Escoce, a faire la reuersion de mesme le reaume, & de chasteaux, oue toute la royauté, dignité, seignourie, franchises, coustomes, droitures, leys, vsages, & possesions, & touz manieres des apurtenances, en mesme le estate, quils estoient quant la seysine luy fust bailleé, & liuereé a celuy que le droyt emportera par iugemēt de sa royauté, sauue au roy d' Anglterre le homage de celuy, qui serra rey. Ysint quela reuersion soit feit dedans les deux moys apres le iour que le droyt sera trieé & affirmé. Et que les yssues de mesme la terre en le moyne temps resceus, soient sauuement mis en depos & bien gardees par la main le chamberleyn d' Escoce que ore est, & de celuy qui serra assigne a luy de par le rey d' Angleterre, & de sous leur seaus sauue renable sustinance de la terre, & des chasteaux & des ministres du royaume. En testimoigne de cestes choses auandicts, nous auons mis nos seaules a ceste escript. Fait & donne a Norham le mecredie prochein apres l' Ascension, l' an de Grace, 1291.

The same in English.

TO all them that these present writings shall see or heare, Florence earle of Holland, Robert le Bruce lord of Annandale, Iohn de Balioll lord of Galloway, Iohn Hastings lord of Abergeuenny, Iohn Comin lord of Badenaw, Patrike de Dunbarre the earle of March, Iohn de Vescy in stead of his father, Nicholas de Sules, William de Ros, send greeting in our lord. Bicause that of our good will and common assent, without all constraint, we doo consent and grant vnto the noble prince the lord Edward, by the grace of God king of England, that he as superiour lord of Scotland, may heare, examine, define and determine our claimes, chalenges, and petitions, which we intend to shew and prooue for our right, to be receiued before him as superiour lord of the land, promising moreouer, that we shall take his deed for firme and stable, and that he shall inioy the kingdome of Scotland, whose right shall by declaration best appeare before him.

Whereas then the said king of England cannot in this manner take knowledge, nor fulfill our meanings without iudgement, nor iudgement ought to be without execution, nor execution may in due forme be doone without possession and seizine of the said land and castels of the same; we will, consent, and grant, that he as superiour lord to performe the premisses may haue the seizine of all the land and castels of the same, till they that pretend title to the crowne be satisfied in their suit, so that before he be put in possession and seizine, he find sufficient suertie to vs that pretend title, and to the wardens, and to all the communaltie of the kingdome of Scotland, that he shall restore the same kingdome with all the roialtie, dignitie, seigniorie, liberties, customes, rights, lawes, vsages, possessions, and all and whatsoeuer the apurtenances, in the same state wherein they were before the seizine to him deliuered, vnto him to whome by right it is due, according to the iudgement of his regalitie, sauing to him the homage of that person that shall be king: and this restitution to be made within two moneths after the daie in the which the right shall be discussed and established, the issues of the same land in the meane time shall be receiued, laid vp, and put in safe keeping, in the hands of the chamberlaine of Scotland which now is, and of him, whome the king of England shall to him assigne, and this vnder their seales, reseruing and allowing the reasonable charges for the sustentation of the land, the castels and officers of the kingdome. In witnesse of all the which premisses, we haue vnto these letters set our seales. Giuen at Norham the wednesday next after the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, in the yeare of Grace, 1291.

These two letters the king of England sent vnder his priuie seale vnto diuerse monasteries within his realme, in the 19 yēre of his reigne, that in perpetuall memorie of the thing thus passed, it might be registred in their chronicles. Thus by the common assent of the cheefest of the lords in Scotland, king Edward receiued the land into his custodie, till by due and lawfull triall had, it might appeare who was rightfull heire to the crowne there. The homage or fealtie of the nobles of Scotland was expressed in words as followeth. Rich. South.

The

The forme and tenor of the homage doone by the Scots.

BEcause all we are come vnto the allegiance of the noble prince Edward king of England, we promise for vs and our heires, vpon all the danger that we may incurre, that we shall be faithfull, & loiallie hold of him against all maner of mortall men, and that we shall not vnderstand of any damage that may come to the king, nor to his heires, but we shall staie and impeach the same to our powers. And to this we bind our selues & our heires, and are sworne vpon the euangelists to performe the same. Besides this, we haue doone fealtie vnto our souereigne lord the said king in these words ech one by himselfe; I shall be true and faithfull, and faith and loialtie I shall beare to the king of England Edward and his heires, of life, member, and worldlie honour against all mortall creatures.

Master Stephansons booke of Records.

The king hauing receiued as well the possessions of the realme, castels, manours, as other places belonging to the crowne of Scotland, he committed the gouernement and custodie of the realme vnto the bishops of S. Andrews and Glasco, to the lords John Comin, and James Steward, who had put him in possession, so that vnder him they held the same, in maner as they had doone before. But in diuerse castels he placed such capteines as he thought most meetest to keepe them to his vse, till he had ended the controuersie, & placed him in the kingdome, to whom of right it belonged. He also willed the lords of Scotland to elect a sufficient personage to be chancellour of the realme, which they did, naming Alane bishop of Catnesse, whom the king admitted, ioining with him one of his chapleins named Walter Armundesham, so that on the 12 of June, vpon the greene ouer against the the castell of Norham, neere to the riuer of Tweed, in the parish of Upsetelington, before John Balioll, Robert Bruce, the bishops of S. Andrews and Glasco, the lords Comin and Steward, wardens of Scotland; the bishop of Catnesse receiued his seale, appointed him by the king of England as supreme lord of Scotland, and there both the said bishop & Walter Armundesham were sworne trulie to gouerne themselues in the office.

Wardens of the realme of Scotland appointed by K. Edward.

The bishop of Catnesse elected chancellor of Scotland.

He receiueth his seale.

He is sworne.

The morrow after were the wardens sworne and with them as associated Brian Fitz Alane, and there all the earles and lords of Scotland that were present sware fealtie vnto king Edward, as to their supreme souereigne lord, and withall there was peace proclaimed, and publike edicts set forth in the name of the same king, intituled supreme lord of the realme of Scotland. The residue of the Scotish nobilitie, earles, barons, knights, and others, with the bishops and abbats, vpon his comming into Scotland, sware fealtie either to himselfe in person, or to such as he appointed his deputies to receiue the same, in sundrie towns and places, according to order giuen in that behalfe. Such as refused to do their fealties, were attached by their bodies till they should do their fealties as they were bound. Those that came not, but excused themselues vpon some reasonable cause, were heard, and had day giuen vntill the next parlement; but such as neither came, nor made any reasonable excuse, were appointed to be distreined to come.

The wardes sworne.

The Scotish nobilitie doth fealtie to king Edward.

The bishop of S. Andrewes, and John lord Comin of Badenoth, with Brian Fitz Alane, were assigned to receiue such fealties at S. Johns towne. The bishop of Glasco, James lord steward of Scotland, and Nicholas Segraue were appointed to receiue them at Newcastell of Are. The earle of Southerland, and the shiriffe of that countrie, with his bailiffes, and the chatellaine of Inuernesse were ordeined to receiue those fealties in that countie; the chattelaine first to receiue it of the said earle, and then he with his said associats to receiue the same of others. The lord William de Saintclare, and William de Bomille, were appointed to receiue fealtie of the bishop of Whitterne, and then the said bishop with them to receiue the fealties of all the inhabitants of Gallowaie. Amongst other that did their homage to the king himselfe, was Marie quéene of Man, and countesse of Stratherne, vpon the 24 daie of Julie, the king being thus in S. Johns towne, otherwise called Perth. To conclude, he was put in full possession of the realme of Scotland, & receiued there homages and fealties (as before ye haue heard) as the direct and supreme lord of that land.

This done, and euerie thing ordered as seemed most expedient, king Edward returned into the south parts of his realme, to be at his mothers burial, that in this meane time was departed this life. Hir hart was buried in the church of the Graifriers at London, & hir bodie at Ambresburie in the house of the nunnes. ¶ After the funerals were ended, king Edward returned into the north parts againe: he staied a while at Yorke, and during his abode there, Rées ap Meridoc (of whome ye haue heard before) was by order of law condemned & executed. ¶ This yeare after Easter, as the fléet laie before S. Mathewes in Britaine, there rose certeine discord betwirt the Norman mariners, and them of Baion, and so farre the quarell increased, that they fell to trie it by force, the Englishmen assisting them of Baion, and the French kings subiects taking part with the Normans, and now they fraught not their ships so much with merchandize as with armour & weapon. At length the matter burst out from sparkes into open flame, the sequele wherof hereafter shall appeare, as we find it reported by writers.

The kings mother deceased.

Anno Reg. 20. 1292 Nic. Triuet.

But now touching the Scotish affaires. At length the king comming into Scotland, gaue summons to all those that claimed the crowne, to appeare before him at the feast of the natiuitie of S. John Baptist next insuing, that they might declare more at large by what right they claimed the kingdome. Herupon, when the daie of their appearance was come, and that king Edward was readie to heare the matter, he chose out the number of 40 persons, the one halfe Englishmen, and the other Scotishmen, which should discusse with aduised deliberation and great diligence the allegations of the competitors, deferring the finall sentence vnto the feast of S. Michaell next insuing, the which feast being come, after due examination, full triall, and assured knowledge had of the right, the kingdome by all their assents was adiudged vnto John Balioll, who descended of the eldest daughter of Dauid king of Scotland. Robert le Bruce, betwixt whom and the same Balioll at length (the other being excluded) the question and triall onlie rested, was descended of the second daughter of king Dauid, though otherwise by one degrée he was neerer to him in bloud. Thus writeth Nicholas Triuet.

John Balioll obteineth the kingdome of Scotland.

Nic. Triuet.

But others affirme, that after long disputation in the matter, by order of king Edward, there were appointed 80 ancient and graue personages, amongst the which were 30 Englishmen, vnto whom (being sworne and admonished to haue God before their eies) authoritie was giuen to name him that should be king. These 80 persons, after they had well considered vnto whome the right apperteined, declared with one voice, that John Balioll was rightful king.

Polydor.

King

king Edward allowed their sentence, and by his authoritie confirmed vnto the same John, the possession of the kingdome of Scotland, with condition that if he did not gouerne that realme with iustice, then vpon complaint, the king of England might put vnto his hand of reformation, as he was bound to do by his right of superioritie, that in him was inuested. Herevpon king Edward awarded forth his writ of deliuerie of seizine at the suit of the said I. Balioll, to William and Robert, bishops of S. Andrewes and Glasco, to John lord Comin, James lord Steward of Scotland, and to the lord Brian Fitz Alane, wardens of Scotland, commanding them to deliuer vnto the said John Balioll the seizine and possession of that realme, sauing the reléefes and debts due to him of the issues and profits of the same realme, vnto the day of the date of the writ, which was the nineténth day of Nouember, in the twentie yere of his reigne. Also there was another writ made, and directed to such as had the kéeping of the castels in their hands, in forme as followeth.

The copie of the writ for the deliuerie of the castels.

EDwardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ, dux Aquitaniæ, & superior dominus regni Scotiæ, dilecto & fideli suo Petro Burdet, constabulario castri de Berwike salutem. Cùm Iohannes de Baliolo nuper in parlamento nostro apud Berwicum super Tuedam, venisset coram nobis, & petiuisset prædictum regnum Scotiæ sibi per nos adiudicari, & seisinam ipsius regni vt propinquiori hæredi Margaretæ filiæ regis Norwegiæ dominæ Scotiæ iure successionis liberari, ac nos auditis & intellectis petitionibus, & rationibus diligenter examinatis, inuenerimus præfatum Iohannem de Baliolo esse propinquiorem hæredem prædictæ Margaretæ, quo ad prædictum regnum Scotiæ obtinendum: propter quod idem regnum Scotiæ, & seisinam eiusdem, saluo iure nostro, & heredum nostrorum, cùm voluerimus inde loqui, prædicto Iohanni reddidimus: tibi mandamus quòd seisinam prædicti castri de Beruico cum omnibus pertinentijs suis, vnà cum alijs omnibus rebus tibi per chirographum traditis, secundum quod in prædicti castri tibi commissa custodia res huiusmodi recepisti, sine dilatione præfato Iohanni de Baliolo, vel attornatis suis has litteras deferentibus, deliberari facias. Teste meipso apud Beruicum super Tuedam 19 die Nouembris, Anno regni nostri 20.

In English thus.

EDward by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, and superiour lord of the realme of Scotland, to his welbeloued and faithfull seruant Peter Burdet conestable of the castell of Berwike, sendeth greeting. Where Iohn de Balioll late in parlement holden at Berwike vpon Tweed, came before vs, and demanded the said realme of Scotland to be adiudged to him by vs, and seizine of the same realme to be to him deliuered as next heire to Margaret daughter to the king of Norwaie, ladie of Scotland by right of succession. We hauing heard and vnderstood the same petitions; and reasons being diligentlie weighed and examined, we find the said Iohn Balioll to be next heire vnto the said Margaret, as to obteine the said kingdome of Scotland, whervpon we haue deliuered to him the said kingdome of Scotland, and the seizine therof, sauing the right of vs & our heires, when it shall please vs to speake therof. We therefore command you, that you deliuer vp vnto the said Iohn Balioll, or to his attornies, that shall bring with them these our present letters, the seizine of the said castell of Berwike, with all the appurtenances, togither with all other things to you by indenture deliuered accordinglie as you did receiue the same, with the custodie of the said castle to you committed: and this without delaie. Witnesse our selfe at Berwike vpon Tweed the nineteenth day of Nouember, in the twentith yeare of our reigne.

In the same forme of words were writs awarded forth, to all and euerie other the kéepers of castels and manors belonging to the crowne of Scotland, and being at that time in K. Edwards hands, the names of places and the persons that had them in custodie onelie changed. On the same day also in the castell of Berwike was the seale broken, which had béene appointed to the gouernors, during the time that the realme was vacant of a king. It was broken into foure parts, and put into a purse to be reserued in the treasurie of the king of England, in further and more full token of his superioritie and direct supreme dominion ouer the realme of Scotland. The seale broken.

These things were done in presence of the said John Balioll then king of Scotland, John archbishop of Dubline, John bishop of Winchester, Anthonie bishop of Duresme, William bishop of Elie, John bishop of Carleil, William bishop of S. Andrewes, Robert bishop of Glasco, Marke bishop of Man, and Henrie bishop of Aberdene, with diuerse other bishops, besides abbats and priors of both the realmes; Henrie earle of Lincolne, Humfrie earle of Hereford, Roger earle of Norffolke, John earle of Buchquane, Douenald earle of Mar, Gilbert earle of Angus, Patrike earle of March, and Malisius earle of Stratherne; with the foure and twentie auditors of England, and the foure score auditors of Scotland: chapleins also, Henrie de Newmarke deane of Yorke, John Lacie chancellour of Chichester, William de Greenefield canon of Yorke, and John Ercurie notarie, and manie other. John Balioll being thus created K. of Scotland, on the twentith day of Nouember, in the castell of Norham, did fealtie to king Edward for the kingdome of Scotland, in maner as followeth.

The forme of the fealtie of Iohn Balioll *king of Scots to the king of England* in protestation.

HEre you my lord Edward king of England, souereigne lord of the realme of Scotland, that I John de Balioll king of Scotland, which I hold and claime to hold of you, that I shall be faithfull and loiall, and owe faith and loialtie to you, I shall beare of life and member, and of earthlie honour, against all people, and lawfullie I shall acknowledge and do the seruices which I owe to do to you, for the realme of Scotland aforesaid. So God me helpe and his holie euangelists.

Hereof

Hereof also he made letters patents, witnessing that he had thus done fealtie vnto king Edward, which letters he sealed and deliuered in presence of William bishop of saint Andrews, Robert bishop of Glasco, John earle of Bouchquane, William earle of Ros, Patrike earle of March, Walter earle of Menteth, James lord steward of Scotland, Alexander de Ergay, Alexander de Balioll lord of Caures, Patrike de Graham, and William de Saintclere. This done, king Edward appointed Anthonie bishop of Duresme, and the lord John saint John to passe with Balioll into Scotland, and there to put him into the corporall possession of the same realme of Scotland, which they did, and so he was crowned at Scone vpon saint Andrews day, being placed in the marble chaire within the abbeie church there. The solemnitie of which coronation being ended, he returned into England, and comming to Newcastell vpon Tine, where K. Edward in that yeare kept his Christmasse, he there did homage vpon saint Stephans daie vnto the said king Edward, in forme of words as followeth.

Anno Reg. 21. John Balioll crowned king of Scotland.

The forme of the king of Scots *homage to king Edward, in action.*

My lord, lord Edward king of England, superior lord of Scotland, I John de Balioll king of Scotland, do acknowledge and recognise me to be your liegeman of the whole realme of Scotland, with all the appurtenances, and whatsoeuer belongeth thereto, the which kingdome I hold and ought of right and claime to hold by inheritance of you and your heires kings of England, and I shall beare faith and loialtie to you and to your heirs kings of England, of life, of member, and earthlie honour, against all men, which may liue and die.

This homage in forme aforesaid did king Edward receiue, his owne and others right saued. Then did the king of England without delaie restore vnto the said John Balioll the kingdome of Scotland, with all the appurtenances. This yeare, as one Richard Bagley an officer of the shiriffes of London led a prisoner towards the gaile, three persons rescued the said prisoner, and tooke him from the officer, the which were pursued and taken, and by iudgement of law then vsed, were brought into Westcheape, and there had their hands striken off by the wrists. On the 14 daie of Maie fell a wonderfull snow, and therewith blew such an exceeding wind, that great harme was done thereby in sundrie places of England. In the same yeare died frier John Peckham archbishop of Canturburie, and then was Robert of Winchelsie elected archbishop the 48 in number that had ruled that see. About the middle of September following, the earle of Bar a Frenchman, married the ladie Elianor the kings daughter in the towne of Brisstow. ¶ This yeare wheat was sold at London for two shillings a bushell.

1293

Richard Bagley. A prisoner rescued.

The offenders lost their hand.

A great snow and tempest of wind in Maie

The archbishop of Canturburie deceasseth.

The kings daughter maried to the earle of Bar.

This yeare also the war was begun betweene the kings of England and France. For whereas king Edward had furnished forth six ships of warre, and sent them vnto Burdeaux for defense of the coasts thereabouts, two of them, as they sailed alongst the coast of Normandie, and fearing no hurt by enimies, were taken by the Norman fleet, and diuerse of the mariners hanged. The lord Robert Tiptoft that was admerall of the English fleet aduertised therof, got togither a great number of ships, and directed his course with them streight towards Normandie, and finding no ships of the Normans abroad in the seas, vpon a desire to be reuenged, entered the mouth of the riuer of Saine, and set vpon the Norman ships that laie there at anchor, slue manie of the mariners, & tooke six ships awaie with him, and so returning to the sea againe, cast anchor not far off from the land, to prouoke the Frenchmen to come forth with their fleet to giue battell. And as he laie at anchor, it chanced that certeine Norman ships fraught with wine came that waies, as they returned out of Gascoigne. The lord Tiptoft setting on them, tooke them with little adoo, and sleaing neere hand the third part of all the mariners, sent the ships into England.

Two English ships taken.

The lord admerall of England setteth vpō the Norman ships.

The Frenchmen to reuenge this act, prepared a naule, and furnishing the same with souldiers went forth to the sea, to incounter the Englishmen: but yer they met, messengers were sent to and fro, the Englishmen accusing the Frenchmen of truce-breaking, and the Frenchmen againe requiring restitution of their goods taken from them by violence. And now forsomuch as this businesse had beene moued rashlie betwixt the Englishmen and the Normans, without any commission of their princes, their minds therefore were not so kindled in displeasure, but that there had been good hope of agréement betwixt them, if Charles earle of Valois the French kings brother (being a man of a hot nature & desirous of reuenge) had not procured his brother to seeke reuengement by force of armes. Wherevpon the French fleet made foward the Englishmen, who minding not to detract the batell, sharplie incountred their enimies in a certeine place betwixt England and Normandie, where they had laid a great emptie ship at anchor, to giue token where they meant to ioine. There were with the Englishmen both Irishmen and Hollanders, and with the Normans there were Frenchmen and Flemings, and certeine vessels of Genowaies.

Charles earle of Valois procureth warre betwixt England and France.

The fight at the first was doubtfull, and great slaughter made, as in the meeting of two such mightie naules must needs insue. Yet in the end the victorie fell to the Englishmen, and the French ships put to the chase and scattered abroad. The number of ships lost is not recorded by such writers as make report of this conflict, but they write that the losse was great. King Philip being aduertised of this discomfiture of his fleet was sore displeased, and as though he would proceed against king Edward by order of law, he summoned him as his liegeman to appeare at Paris, to answer what might be obiected against him; but withall bicause he knew that king Edward would not come to make his appearance, he prepared an armie.

The English men victors by sea.

K. Edward summoned to appeare at Paris.

In the meane time king Edward sent his brother Edmund earle of Lancaster to be his attornie, and to make answer for him before all such iudges as might haue hearing of the matter: but the iudges meaning nothing lesse than to trie out the truth of the cause, admitted no reasons that the earle could alledge in his brothers behalfe, and so pronounced king Edward a rebell, and decreed by arest, that he had forfeited all his right vnto the duchie of Guien. These things thus done, he sent priuie messengers vnto Burdeaux, to procure the citizens to reuolt from the Englishmen, and appointed constable of France the lord Arnold de Neale to follow with an armie, who comming thither easilie brought them of Burdeaux vnder the French dominion, being alreadie minded to reuolt through practise of those that were latelie before sent vnto them from the French king for that purpose. After this, the said constable brought the people neere adioining vnder subiection, partlie moued by the example of the cheefe and head citie of all the countrie, and partlie induced thereunto by

Edward earle of Lancaster sent to the French king.

K. Edward condemned in the French kings court.

Arnold de Neale sent into Gascoigne with an armie.

bribes

bribes and large gifts. The Englishmen that were in the countrie, after they perceiued that the people did thus reuolt to the French king, withdrew incontinentlie vnto the townes situat nere to the sea side, but speciallie they fled to a towne called the Rioll, which they fortified with all spæd. Thus saith Polydor.

N. Triuet. Nicholas Triuet, writing hereof, declareth the beginning of this warre to be on this manner. The English merchants being diuerslie vexed vpon the seas, made complaint to the king for losse of their merchandize. The king sent Henrie Lacie earle of Lincolne vnto the French king, instantlie requiring, that by his assent there might some waie be prouided with spæd by them and their councell, for some competent remedie touching such harmes and losses by sea as his people had susteind. In the meane time whilest the earle taried for answer, a nauie of the parts of Normandie conteining two hundred ships and aboue, being assembled togither, that they might the more boldlie assaile their enimies, and the more valiantlie resist such as should encounter them, sailed into Gascoigne, determining to destroie all those of their aduersaries that should come in their waie. But as these Normane ships returned backe with wines, glorieng as it were that they had got the rule of the sea onelie to themselues, they were assailed by threescore English ships, which tooke them, & brought them into England the friday before Whitsunday: all the men were either drowned or slaine, those onelie excepted which made shift to escape by botes. The newes hereof being brought into France, did not so much moue the king and the councell to wonder at the matter, as to take thereof great indignation.

Henrie earle of Lincolne.

Ambassadors were appointed to go into England which on the behalfe of the French king, might demand of king Edward restitution of those ships and goods thus taken by his subiects, and conueied into his realme, without all delaie, if he minded to haue any fauour in the French court touching his affairs that belonged to his countrie of Gascoigne. The king of England hearing this message, tooke therein deliberation to answer, and then sent the bishop of London, accompaned with other wise and discréet persons into France, to declare for answer vnto the French king and his councell as followeth; that is, Whereas the king of England hath his regall court without subiection to any man, if there were therefore any persons that found themselues hurt or indamaged by his people, they might come to his court, and vpon declaration of their receiued iniuries, they should haue spædie iustice, and to the end they might thus do without all danger, whosoeuer minded to complaine, he would giue vnto them a safe conduct to come and go in safetie thorough his land: but if this waie pleased not the French king, then he was content there should be arbitrators chosen on both sides, who weieng the losses on both parts, might prouide how to satisfie the complaints: and the king of England would for his part enter into bonds by obligation to stand to and abide their order and iudgement herein, so that the French king would likewise be bound for his part, and if any such doubt fortuned to arise, which could not be decided by the said arbitrators, let the same be reserued vnto the kings themselues to discusse and determine, and the king of England vpon a sufficient safe conduct had, would come ouer to the French K. if he would come downe vnto any hauen towne nére to the sea coast, that by mutuall assent an end might bée had in the businesse: but if neither this waie should please the French king nor the other, then let the matter be committed to the order of the pope, to whom it apperteined to nourish concord among

The bishop of London sent with an answer vnto the French king.

christian princes; or bicause the see was as then void, let the whole colledge of cardinals or part of them take order therein, as should be thought necessarie, that strife and discord being taken awaie and remoued, peace might againe flourish betwixt them and their people, as before time it had done, and bring with it the blessings there vpon depending; namelie, althings that may make an happie & fortunat state, according to the nature of peace, whereof it is said,

Pax est cunctorum mater veneranda bonorum,
Fit sub pace forum, fit felix cultus agrorum,
Pax pietas mentis, pax est pincerna salutis.

The French councell weied nothing at all these offers, and would not so much as once vouchsafe to giue an answer to the English ambassadors earnestlie requiring the same. Finallie, the French K. sent vnto the citie of Aniou, which is knowne to belong vnto the dutchie of Guien, where he there caused the king of England to be cited to make his appearance at Paris, at a certeine daie, to answer to the iniuries and rebellions by him done in the countrie of Gascoigne, at the which daie when he appeared not, the French king sitting in the seat of iudgement in his owne proper person, gaue sentence there against the king of England, for making default, and withall commanded the high constable of France to seize into his hands all the duchie of Guien, and either to take or to expell all the king of Englands officers, souldiers, and deputies, which were by him placed within the said duchie. The king a little before had sent thither a valiant knight, named the lord John saint John, which had furnished all the cities, townes, castels, and places, with men, munition, and vittels, for defense of the same.

The king of England cited to appeare.

Sentence giuen against the king of England.

Anno Reg. 22. 1294

In the meane time the king of England, desirous to be at quiet with the Frenchmen, appointed his brother Edmund earle of Lancaster, as then soiorning in France, to go vnto the French kings councell to procure some agréement, which both might be allowed of the French king, and not be dishonorable vnto him. But when the earle could not preuaile in his suite, he tooke his iournie towards England, vtterlie despairing to procure any peace. But yet he came to the sea side, he was sent for backe againe by the two quéenes of France, Jone wife to king Philip, and Marie his mother in law, which promised to frame some accord betweene the two kings, and so thereupon after diuerse communications by them had in the matter with the said earle of Lancaster, at length it was accorded, that for the sauing of the French kings honour, which séemed to be touched by things done by the king of Englands ministers in Gascoigne, six castels should remaine at the said kings pleasure, as Sanctes, Talemond, Turnim, Pomeroll, Penne, and mount Flaunton. Also there should be set a seruant or sergeant in the French kings name, in euerie citie and castell within all the whole duchie of Guien, except Burdeaux, Baion, and the Rioll. And further, hostages should be deliuered at the French kings pleasure, of all ministers to be placed by the king of England in Gascoigne and other places thorough all the country. These things done, the French king should reuoke the summons published and pronounced in the court of Paris against the king of England. Also he should restore all the castels (his seruants being remoued which he had placed in the same) togither with the pledges incontinentlie, at the request of the same quænes, or of either of them. The king of England hauing a safe conduct should come to Amiens, that there méeting with the French king, peace and amitie might be confirmed betwixt them. Then were there writings made and ingrossed touching the forsaid articles of agréement, one part deliuered to the

The peace of the quænes.

earle

earle, sealed with the seales of the quéenes, and other remained with the foresaid quéenes sealed with the seale of the earle.

Letters patents. The king of England certified hereof, sent his letters patents, directed vnto all his officers and ministers in Gascoigne, commanding them to obeie in all things the French kings pleasure. These letters patents were first sent vnto the earle of Lancaster, that he might cause them to be conueied into Gascoigne when he should sée time. The earle hauing receiued those letters, doubting whether the French K. would obserue the agreement which the quænes had made and concluded, or not; required of them that he might heare the French king speake the word, that he would stand vnto that which they had concluded. Wherevpon in the presence of the said earle and his wife Blanch quæne of Nauar, mother to the French quæne, also of the duke of Burgoigne, Hugh Ueere sonne to the earle of Drenford, and of a chapline called sir John Lacie, the French king promised by the faith of a prince, that he would fulfill the promises of the said quénes, and the couenants by them accorded.

Sir Geffrey Langley. Hervpon a knight of the earles of Lancaster, called sir Geffrey de Langley, was spéedilie sent into Gascoigne with letters from the French king, directed to the constable, to call him backe againe from his appointed enterprise. And the foresaid chapleine sir John Lacie was sent also thither with the letters patents of the king of England, directed vnto his officers there, in forme as is aboue mentioned, wherevpon the lord John saint John the king of Englands lieutenant in Gascoigne, vnderstanding the conclusions of the agreement, sold all such prouisions as he had made and brought into the cities, townes, and fortresses for the defense of the same, and departing out of Gascoigne, came towards Paris to returne that waie into England.

The French kings mind changed. But behold what followed; suddenlie by the enimie of peace was the French kings mind quite changed. And where the king of England was come vnto Canturburie, and kept his Easter there, that immediatlie vpon the receipt of the safe conduct he might transport ouer the seas, and so come to Amiens, according to the appointment made by the agreement; now not onelie the safe conduct was denied, but also the first letters reuocatorie sent vnto the constable to call him backe, by other letters sent after were also made void, and he by the latter letters appointed to kéepe vpon his iournie, so that the constable entring into Gascoigne with a power, found no resistance, the capteins and officers submitting themselues with the townes and fortresses at his pleasure according to the tenor of the letters patents latelie to them deliuered. All the officers and capteins of the fortresses were brought to Paris as captiues and pledges.

His vniust dealing. Within a few daies after, the earle of Lancaster required the quénes, that they would call vpon the king to grant his safe conduct for the king of England, to reuoke the citation or summons, to restore the lands taken from him; and to deliuer the pledges: but the French king by the mouths of certeine knights sent vnto the earle, renounced all such couenants as before had béene concluded. The earle of Lancaster then perceiuing that both he and his brother king Edward were mocked thus at the French kings hands, returned into England, and informed the king & his councell from point to point of all the matter. Herevpon a parlement being called at Westminster, at the which the king of Scotland was present, it was decréed by the states, that those lands which were craftilie taken so from the K. should be recouered againe by the sword. And the king herewith sent vnto the French king a frier preacher named Hugh of Manchester, and a frier minor called William de Gainesbourgh, both being wise and discréet men, and doctours of diuinitie, to declare vnto him, that sith he would not obserue such agréements as had béene concluded betwixt their ancestours; and further had broken such couenants as were now of late agreed vpon betwixt them, by the trauell of his brother Edmund earle of Lancaster: there was no cause whie he ought to account him being king of England, and duke of Guien, as his liegeman, neither did he intend or meane further to be bound vnto him by reason of his homage.

Hugh of Manchester a frier sent to the French king.

The king of England renounceth the French king.

Ambassadors sent into Germanie. About the same time did the king of England send the archbishop of Dubline, and the bishop of Duresme into Germanie, about the concluding of a league with Adolph king of Romans, to whome was giuen a great summe of monie (as was said) vpon couenants, that he should aid the king of England against the French king, with all his maine force, and that neither of them should conclude peace with the said French king without consent of the other. About the Ascension tide, king Edward staied the woolles of this land, aswell belonging to spirituall men as temporall men, till the merchants had fined with him for the same, so that there was a subsidie paied for all sarpliers of woll that went out of the relme, and in semblable wise for felles and hides. He also sent an armie by sea into Gascoigne, vnder the conduct of his nephue John of Britaine that was earle of Richmond, appointing to him as councellours, the lord John saint John, and the lord Robert Tiptoft; men of great wisdome, and verie expert in warlike enterprises.

woolles staied. Fabian.

A subsidie raised of wols

An armie sent to Gascoigne.

He also caused three seuerall fléets to be prepared, and appointed to them three sundrie admerals, for the better kéeping of the seas. To them of Yarmouth and other of those parts, he assigned the lord John Botetourt: to them of the cinque ports, William de Leiborne: and to them of the west countrie, and to the Irishmen, he appointed a valiant knight of Ireland as their chéefteine. This yeare in England was a great dearth and scarsitie of corne, so that a quarter of wheat in manie places was sold for thirtie shillings: by reason whereof poore people died in manie places for lacke of sustinance. About Michaelmas, the English fléet tooke the sea at Portesmouth, and after some contrarie winds, yet at last they arriued within the riuer of Garon, and so passing vp the same riuer, wan diuers townes, as Burge, Blaines, Rions, and others.

N. Triuet.

Three fléets appointed to the sea.

A dearth. Rich. South.

The English armie passeth to Gascoigne.

Townes won. Nic. Triuet. Polydor. Abington.

The kings coffers by reason of furnishing forth of this armie, and other continuall charges which he had susteined, were now in maner emptie: for remedie whereof, William March one of the kings treasurers, purposed with other mens losses to suplie that want. He knew that in abbeies and churches was much monie kept in store, the which if he commanded to be taken from thence, he thought that he should not commit any offense, but rather doo a good déed, that the monie might come abroad to the vse of the people, whereby the souldiers might be satisfied for their wages. Such capteins therefore, as he appointed to worke the feat, placing their soldiers in euerie quarter through the realme, made search at one time, in Julie, at three of the clocke in the afternoone, for all such monie as was hid and laid vp in all hallowed places, and taking the same awaie, brought it vnto the king, who dissembling the matter, as he that stood in néed, excused the act done by his treasurer so well as he could, to auoid the enuie of the people; and not content herewith, he called togither shortlie after, to wit, on saint Matthewes day the apostle, at London, all the archbishops, bishops, deanes, & archdeacons, not

Matth. West. A shift for monie.

Abington.

The treasurer accused.

The K. excuseth himselfe.

Abington.

not in their proper persons, but by two procurators of euerie diocesse. Here when they were once assembled, the king declared vnto them the warres which he was driuen to mainteine against the Frenchmen, & the charges which he was at for the same. He also shewed them, that the earles, barons & knights of the realme, did not onlie aid him with their goods, but put their persons forward to serue him in defense of the land, whereof they were members, euen to the shedding of their bloud, and oftentimes with losse of their liues. Therfore (saith he) you which may not put your persons in perill by seruice in the warres, it is good reason you should aid vs with your goods.

The spiritualtie called to a councell.

The cleargie hauing no speciall head, by reason that the see of Canturburie was void, wist not well how to gouerne themselues. At length Oliuer bishop of Lincolne, required in all their names to haue three daies respit to make answer to the matter, the which time expired, they offered to the king two dismes to be paid within one yeare. The which when the king heard, he toke great disdaine therewith, and threatned by some of his men of war to put the cleargie out of his protection, except they would grant to him the halfe of their goods. The cleargie put in feare herewith, and some of them also desirous to win the kings fauour, granted his request, and so the king at that time got the halfe part of euerie spirituall mans liuing and benefice for one yeares extent, to be paid in portions within three yeares next insuing, beginning at twentie marks benefice, & so vpwards. And the sooner to induce them hereunto, he promised the bishops to grant some thing that might be beneficiall to the cleargie, if they would demand it.

Their offer not liked.

The halfe part of spirituall liuings granted to the king. R. Fabian. Polydor. Abington.

The bishops taking councell togither, required of him that the statute of Mortmain might be repealed, which they saw to be most preiudiciall to their order. But the king answered them, that without the whole consent of a parlement he could not breake that ordinance, which by authoritie of parlement had bene once established, and therefore he wished that they would not require that thing which late not in him to grant, and so by that means he shifted them off. The spiritualtie was not onelie charged with this subsidie, but they of the temporaltie were also burthened. For the citizens and burgesses of good townes gaue to the king the first part of their goods, and the residue of the people gaue the tenth part.

The prelates require to haue the statute of Mortmain repealed

The K. shifteth them off.

N. Triuet.

Moreouer, about the same time, the Welshmen eftsoones rebelled against the king, and in diuerse parts made diuerse rulers amongst them. Those of Northwales which inhabited about Snowdon hils, hauing to their capteine one Madoc, of the line of their former prince Leolin, burned the towne and castell of Carnaruan, sleaing a great multitude of Englishmen, which doubting no such matter, were come thither to the faire. Those of the west part hauing chosen to their ruler one Malgon on the parts of Penbroke and Carmardin shires, did much mischefe. And one Morgan hauing them of Southwals at his commandement, expelled and droue the earle of Gloucester out of his countrie of Glamorgan, which earle had before time disherited the ancestors of the same Morgan. The king therefore to represse the Welshmens attempts, called backe his brother Edmund earle of Lancaster, and the earle of Lincolne, being readie to haue sailed ouer into Gascoine, the which earles as they approched neere vnto the castell of Denbigh vpon saint Martins day, the Welshmen with great force incountred them, and giuing them battell, droue them backe and discomfited their people. Polydor iudgeth that this ouerthrow happened to the Englishmen, the rather for that the armie was hired with such monie as had bene wrongfullie taken out of the abbeis and other holie places, howbeit it is but his opinion onelie.

The Welshmen are vnlie.

Madoc. Carnaruan burnt.

Malgon.

Morgan driueth the earle of Gloucester out of Glamorganshire.

The earles of Lancaster & Lincolne vanquished by the Welshmen.

The king kept his Christmasse at Abercorwey in Wales, and hearing that the new archbishop of Canturburie, doctor Robert Winchelsey, being returned from Rome (where, of pope Celestine he had received his pall) was comming towards him, he sent one of his chapleines named John Berwike with a power of souldiers to conduct him safelie vnto his presence. And after the archbishop had done his fealtie to the king, accordinglie as of dutie and custome he was bound, he was licenced to returne with great honour shewed vnto him at the kings hands. Upon the day of the circumcision of our Lord, was the citie of Baion rendred vnto the lord John saint John, the which the day before had bene taken by the mariners by force of assault. Manie of the citizens which were knowne to be chefe enimies vnto the king of England, were apprehended and sent into England. The castell was then besieged, and after eight daies taken. The lord of Aspermont with diuerse others that held it, were committed to prison. There were also taken two gallies, which the French king had caused to be made, and appointed to be remaining there vpon defense of that citie. Shortlie after the towne of saint John de Sordes was deliuered vnto the Englishmen, who wan manie other townes and fortresses, some by surrender of their owne accord, and some by force and violence. The English armie greatlie increased within a while, after the deceit of the Frenchmen once appeared, for the Gascoins returned vnto the English obedience, in such wise that foure thousand footmen and two hundred horsemen came to aid the English capteins.

Anno Reg. 23. 1295

Baion yelded to the Englishmen.

The castell of Baion won.

Two French gallies taken.

Saint John de Sordes.

The Gascoins aid the Englishmen.

In the meane time, the king of England passing ouer the riuer of Conwey, with part of his armie to go further into Wales towards Snowdon, lost manie carts and other cariages which were taken by the Welshmen, being loden with the prouisions of vittels, so that he with his people indured great penurie, and was constreined to drinke water mixt with honie, and eat such course bread and salt flesh as he could get, till the other part of the armie came vnto him. There was a small quantitie of wine amongst them, which they would haue reserued onelie for the king, & therfore refused to tast therof. But least they should repine at his extraordinarie and seuerall fare, and so take conceits of discontentment for not hauing the like, he considered in a sympathie, that,

Quæ mala cum multis patimur, leuiora videntur,

saieng, that in time of necessitie all things ought to be common, and all men to be contented with like diet. For as touching him (being the cause and procurer of their want) he would not be preferred before any of them in his meats and drinks. The Welshmen compassed him about in hope to distresse him, for that the water was so risen, that the residue of his armie could not get to him. But shortlie after, when the water fell, they came ouer to his aid, and therewith the aduersaries fled.

The king entreth into Wales.

Abington.

The earle of Warwike, hearing that a great number of Welshmen was assembled togither, and lodged in a vallie betwixt two woods, he chose out a number of horsemen, with certeine crossebowes and archers, and comming vpon the Welshmen in the night, compassed them round about, the which pitching the ends of their speares in the ground, and turning the points against their enimies, stood at defense so to kepe off the horsemen. But the earle hauing placed his battell so, that euer betwixt two horsemen there stood a crosbow, a great part of the Welshmen which stood at defense in maner aforesaid with their speares, were ouerthrowne and broken with the shot of the quarels, and then the earle charged the residue with a troope of horsmen, and bare

The earle of Warwike. N. Triuet.

The Welshmen ouerthrowne by the earle of Warwike.

them downe with such slaughter, as they had not sustained the like losse of people (as was thought) at anie one time before.

The woods in wales cut downe.

In the meane while, king Edward to restreine the rebellious attempts of those Welshmen, caused the woods of Wales to be cut downe, wherein before time the Welshmen were accustomed to hide themselues in time of danger. He also repared the castels and holds in that countrie, and builded some new, as

Beaumarise built.

the citie and castell of Bewmarise with other, so that the Welshmen constreined through hunger and famine, were inforced within a while to come to the kings peace. Also at length about the feast of saint Laurence, the Welshman Madoc, that tooke himselfe for prince of Wales was taken prisoner, and being brought to London was committed to perpetuall prison. ¶ By some writers it should appeare,

Madoc taken prisoner. Abington.

that Madoc was not taken, but rather after manie aduentures & sundrie conflicts, when the Welshmen were brought to an issue of great extremitie, the said Madoc came in and submitted himselfe to the kings peace, and was received, vpon condition that he should pursue Morgan till he had taken him and brought him to the kings prison, which was done, and so all things in those parts were set in rest and peace, and manie hostages of the chéefest amongst the

Welshmen imprisoned.

Welsh nobilitie were deliuered to the king, who sent them to diuerse castels in England where they were safelie kept almost to the end of the warres that followed with Scotland.

Polydor.

About the same time Charles de Valois brother to the French king, being sent with an armie into Gascoine, and comming vpon the sudden, found the Englishmen wandering abroad in the countrie out of order, by reason whereof taking them at that aduantage, he caused them to leaue their botics behind them, slue part of them, and chased the residue, the

Charles de Valois chaseth the English men.

which fled to their ships, or to such hauen townes as were in their possession. The capteins of the Englishmen, as John de Britaine earle of Richmond, and

The Earle of Richmond.

the lord John saint John, after they had got togither their souldiers which had béene thus chased, sent two bands vnto Pontesey to defend that towne against the enimies: also other two bands vnto saint Seuere: and they themselues went to Rion to fortifie that place. Charles de Valois aduertised hereof, thought he would not giue them long respit to make themselues strong by gathering any new power, and therfore apointed the constable sir Rafe de Neale, (who had wone the citie of Burdeaux from the Englishmen latelie before) to go vnto Pontesey and be-

Rion besieged

siege that towne, whilest he went vnto Rion, which he besieged and fiercelie assaulted. But the Englishmen and Gascoins did not onelie defend the towne stoutlie, but also made an issue forth vpon their enimies, though (as it happened) the smaller number was not able to sustaine the force of the greater multitude, and so were the Englishmen beaten backe into the towne againe.

Pontsey won.

Whilest they tried their manhood thus at Rion, the constable wone Pontesey or Pontsac vpon Mordone, and came to ioine with the earles de Valois at Rion, and so inforced both their powers to win that towne. The Englishmen and Gascoins, though they were put in some feare, yet they shewed their approued valiancie in defending the towne, till at length when they saw they could defend it no longer, and were in no hope of succour from anie part, they fled out about midnight, and made toward their ships: but diuerse of them were taken by the waie, for the Frenchmen hauing knowledge of their intent, forlaie the passages, and taking some of them that first sought to escape thus by flight, slue them, but there was not many of those. For all the residue, when they perceiued that the Frenchmen had laid betwixt them and their ships, making vertue of necessitie, stood still in defense of the towne, till the Frenchmen entred it by force of assault the friday in Easter weeke. Nic. Triuet. Rion wone.

Some write, that the same night, in which they should flée to their ships, there chanced a great tumult and mutenie betwixt the footmen and horsemen, so that they fought togither, or else might the whole number of them haue escaped. The horsemen that got forth left their horsses behind them readie brideled and sadled, which the Frenchmen vpon entring the towne in the morning tooke, after they had slaine the most part of the footmen. The Frenchmen hauing got a bloudie victorie, saued onelie the capteins and gentlemen, and slue the other, aswell Englishmen as Gascoins. There was taken of knights, sir Rafe Tannie, sir Amis de saint Amand, with his brother sir Rafe de Gorges marshall of the armie, sir Roger Leiborne, sir John Kreting, sir James Kreting, sir Hen. Boding, sir John Mandeuile, sir John Fulborne, sir Robert Godfield, sir Thomas Turberuile, & sir Walter, with three & thirtie esquiers, which were sent all vnto Paris. Sir Adam Kreting was killed, a right valiant knight, by reason of one sir Walter Gifford a knight also, which had dwelled in France manie yeares before as an outlaw. Englishmen taken. Abington. Sir Adam Kreting kild. Sir Walter Gifford.

On the same day was the towne of saint Seuere deliuered vnto the Englishmen, the which Hugh or (as Abington saith) Robert Ueer, brother to the earle of Orenford tooke vpon him to keepe as capteine there with two hundred men of armes. Charles de Valois aduertised thereof, departed from Rion with all spéed, to besiege the foresaid towne of saint Seuere, yer the Englishmen should haue time to fortifie it. But the foresaid Hugh Ueer kept him out the space of thirtéene or (as Abington saith) nine weekes, to the great losse of the Frenchmen, no small part of their people dieng in the meane time, both of pestilence and famine. At length, when vittels began to faile within, a truce was taken for fifteene daies, within the which it might be lawfull for them within the towne to send vnto Baion for succour, which if it came not within that tearme, the towne should be yeelded vnto the Frenchmen, and so it was vpon these conditions, that the Englishmen and other that would depart, should haue libertie to take with them their armour and goods, and be safelie conueied two daies iornie on their waie from the French armie. Also that those which were minded to remaine still in the towne, should not sustaine any losse or damage in their bodies or goods. The pledges also which afore-time were taken out of that towne by the French kings seneschall, should returne in safetie to the towne, and haue their goods restored vnto them. This done, Charles de Valois apointed a garrison of soldiers to remaine there for the keeping of the towne, and then returned backe into France. The Englishmen, which escaped out of those places from the Frenchmens hands, repaired vnto Baion, to defend that towne with their capteins the foresaid erle earle of Richmond and the lord John de S. John, the which of some are vntruelie said to haue béene slaine at Rion. Shortlie after that Charles de Valois was departed and gone out of the countrie, the towne of saint Seuere was recouered by the Englishmen. Saint Seuere taken. Nic. Triuet. Hugh Ueer. Charles de Valois. Saint Seuere besieged. Saint Seuere yeelded by composition. Charles de Valois returneth into France. Polydor.

¶ It should appeare by report of some writers, that Hugh Ueer (whome they wrongfullie name to be earle of Orenford) was sent ouer as then from king Edward to the aid of his capteins in Gascoine, and at his first comming, recouered the towne of saint Seuere, and afterwards so valiantlie defended it against the Frenchmen, that honorable mention is made of him, both by Nicholas Triuet, and also by some The Earle of Oxford then liuing hight Robert Ueer: and not Hugh Ueer.

French

N. Triuet. French writers, for his high manhood therin shewed. But whether he were brother or sonne to the earle of Orford, I can not saie; howbeit about the 27 years of this king Edwards reigne, we find one Hugh Uer, that was a baron, whom I take to be this man, but earle I thinke he was not. For (as Euersden saith) one Robert Uer that was earle of Orford deceassed in the yeare next insuing, and after him succéeded an other earle that bare the same name (as by records it may appeare.) Polydor speaking of the Polydor. siege of S. Seuere, rehearseth not who was capteine as then of the towne, but in the yelding of it vnto Charles de Ualois, after he had laine more than three moneths before it, he agreeth with other writers.

Polydor. Cardinals sent to the kings of England and France to treat a peace. Matth. Westm. In the same yeare Berard bishop of Alba and Simon archbishop of Bourges, two cardinals of the Romane sée, were sent vnto the kings of England and France, to moue them to conclude a peace. They first came into France, and after into England, but perceiuing the minds of the kings nothing inclined to concord, they returned to Rome without any conclusion of their purpose, but not without monie gathered of religious men to beare out their expenses, for they had authoritie by the popes grant to receiue in name of procuracies and expenses, six marks of euerie cathedrall and collegiat church thorough the realme, besides diuerse other rewards. And where any poore chapiter of nunnes or religious persons were not able of themselues, the parish churches next adioining were appointed to be contributorie with them.

The cardinals gather monie.

Nic. Triuet. Polydor. Matth. Westm. Sir Thomas Turberuiles promise to the French king. At the same time sir Thomas Turberuile a knight, and one of those (as before ye haue heard) which were taken at Rion, to saue his life, and to deliuer himselfe out of captiuitie, though he was neuer proued false before, promised king Philip that if he would suffer him to returne into England, he would so worke with king Edward, that he might be made by him admerall of the seas; which thing brought to passe he would deliuer the English naue into the hands of the said king Philip. Herevpon was he set at libertie, and ouer he came into England. And for as much as he had knowne to be a man of singular and approued valiancie, king Edward receiued him verie courteoulie, who remembring his promised practise to the French king, fell in hand by procuring of frends to be made admerall of the seas. But king Edward (as God would haue it) denied that suit.

The French king sendeth forth a fleet against England. Abington. The French king in the meane time hauing prepared his naue, conteining three hundred saile, what with the gallies and other ships (for he had got diuerse both from Merselles and Genoa) sent the same forth to the seas, that vpon such occasion the king of England might also send forth his fleet. But the French naue comming neere to the coast of England, and lieng at anchor certeine daies, looking for sir Thomas Turberuile; when he came not at the day prefixed, the capteines of the French fleet appointed one of their vessels to approch neere to the shore, and to set on land certeine persons that knew the countrie, to vnderstand and learne the cause of such staie. They being taken of the Englishmen and examined, could make no direct answer in their owne excuse, and so were put to death. Some write that they sent fiue gallies towards the shore to suruey the coast, of the which gallies one of them aduansing forth afore hir fellowes, arriued at Hide neere to Romney hauen, where the Englishmen espieng hir, to draw the Frenchmen on land, feined to flie backe into the countrie, but returning suddenlie vpon the enimies, they slue the whole number of them, being about two hundred and fiftie persons. They set fire on the gallie also and burned hir.

Abington. French men slaine. & gallie burnt.

The admerall of the French fleet kindled in anger herewith, sailed streight vnto Douer, and there landing with his people, robbed the towne and priorie. The townesmen being striken with terror and feare of the sudden landing of their enimies, fled into the countrie, and raised people on euerie side, the which being assembled togither in great numbers, towards euening came to Douer, and inuading such Frenchmen as were straied abroad to seeke preies, slue them downe in sundrie places. The French admerall which had beene busie all the day in pilfering the towne, hearing the noise of those Frenchmen that came running towards the sea side, streightwaies got him to his ships with such pillage as he could take with him. The other Frenchmen, which were gone abroad into the countrie to fetch preies, and could not come to their ships in time, were slaine euerie mothers sonne. Some of them hid themselues in the corne fields, and were after slaine of the countrie people. There was little lesse than eight hundred of them thus slaine by one meane and other at that time. There were not manie of the men of Douer slaine, for they escaped by swift flight at the first entrie made by the Frenchmen: but of women and children there died a great number, for the enimies spared none. There was also an old monke slaine named Thomas, a man of such vertue (as the opinion went) that after his decease, manie miracles through him were shewed.

Douer robbed by the French.

The Frenchmen chased to their ships.

Frenchmen slaine about Douer.

Sir Thomas Turberuile, being troubled in his mind that he could not bring his traitorous purpose to passe, began to assaie another waie, which was to procure John Baliol king of Scotland to ioine in league with the French king, but yet any of his practises could be brought about, his treason was reuealed, who being thereof euidentlie conuicted, was put to execution. Nich. Triuet saith, that he had promised the French king to cause Wales to reuolt from king Edward, and that by procurement of the prouost of Paris, he consented to worke such treason. And (as some write) he did not onelie homage vnto the French king, but also left two of his sonnes in pledge for assurance to worke that which he had promised. His secretarie that wrote the letters vnto the French king, conteining his imagined treasons, with other aduertisements touching king Edwards purposes, fearing least the matter by some other meanes might come to light (as the old prouerb saith,

Quicquid nix celat solis calor omne reuelat)

as well to his destruction as his maisters for concealing it, disclosed all to the king. Now he hauing knowledge that he was bewraied by his seruant, fled out of the court, but such diligence was vsed in the pursuit of him, that he was taken within two daies after, and brought backe againe to London, where he was conuicted of the treason so by him imagined, and therefore finallie put to death. ¶ This yeare the cleargie gaue to the king the tenth part of their goods, the citizens a first part, and the commons a twelfth part, or rather (as Euersden saith) the burgesses of good townes gaue the seuenth, and the commons abroad the eleuenth penie.

Sir Thomas Turberuile executed. N. Triuet. Caxton. Abington.

The same yeare died Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloucester, which left issue behind him, begot of his wife the countesse Jone the kings daughter (beside three daughters) one yong sonne named also Gilbert to succeed him as his heire. The countesse his wife, after hir husbands decease, married a knight of meane estate, borne in the bishoprike of Duresme, named sir Rafe Monthermer, that had serued the earle hir first husband in his life time. The king at the first tooke displeasure herewith, but at length through the hie valiancie of the knight, oft times shewed and apparantlie approued, the matter was so well taken, that he was intituled earle of Gloucester,

The death of noble men.

Sir Rafe Monthermer wedded the countesse of Gloucester.

Anno Reg. 24. N. Triuet. 1296

and aduanced to great honor. ¶ John Romane archbishop of Yorke also this yeare died, after whome one Henrie de Newmarke deane of the colledge there succeeded. ¶ Moreouer the same yeare William de Valence earle of Penbroke departed this life, and lieth buried at Westminster, and then Aimer his sonne succeeded him.

The king of Scots concludeth a league with the French king. Polydor.

John king of Scotland affianced his sonne Edward Baliol with the daughter of Charles du Valois brother to the French king, and concluded with the said French king a league against the king of England. Nothing moued the Scotish king so much hereto, as the affection which he bare towards his natiue countrie, for he was a French man borne, and lord of Harecourt in Normandie, which seignorie was after made an earledome by Philip du Valois king of France. The Scotishmen had chosen 12 peeres, that is to saie, foure bishops, foure earles, and foure barons, by whose aduise and counsell the king should gouerne the realme, by whome he was induced also to consent vnto such accord with the French men, contrarie to his promised faith giuen to king Edward when he did homage to him.

Matth. West.

King Edward not fullie vnderstanding the conclusion of this league, required aid of the Scotish king for the maintenance of his warres against France, and receiuing a doubtfull answer, began to suspect the matter: wherevpon he required to haue three castels, as Barwike, Edenburgh, and Rokesburgh, deliuered vnto him as gages till the end of the warre, and if the Scotishmen continued faithfull vnto him, he would then restore the same castels to them againe when the warres were ended. This to do the Scotishmen vtterlie denied, alledging that their countrie was free of it selfe, and acquit of all seruitude or bondage, and that they were in no condition bound vnto the king of Scotland, and therefore they would receiue the merchants of France, of Flanders, or any other countrie without exception, as they thought good.

K. Edwards request made to the Scots is denied. Abington.

The disloiall dealing of the Scots.

There were in the hauen of Berwike at the same time, certeine English merchants, vpon whome the Scots made assault, and wounded some of them, and some of them they slue, and chased the residue, the which returning into England, made complaint, and shewed in what euill maner they had beene dealt with. King Edward heerevpon perceiuing the purposes of the Scots, determined to make warre vpon them with all speed, & to conquer the whole countrie, if they could not cleare themselues of such euill dealing as of them was reported and thought to be put in practise. About the conuersion of saint Paule in Januarie, king Edward sent ouer into Gascoine his brother the lord Edmund earle of Lancaster, with the earle of Lincolne and other, to the number of 26 banerets, and 700 men of armes, besides a great multitude of other people. They arriued at Blay, about the midst of Lent, and staied there till towards Easter. In which meane season, a great sort of Gascoins and other people resorted vnto them, so that they were two thousand men of armes.

Nic. Triuet.

The earle of Lancaster sent into Gascoine. Abington.

Vpon Cene thursdaie, the castell de Lesparre was deliuered vnto the earle of Lancaster, and after that diuers other castels. At his approching neere vnto Burdeaur, vpon the thursdaie in Easter weeke, as he rested to refresh himselfe and his armie in a little village called Bekell, an armie of French men issuing out of Burdeaur, ment to come on the Englishmen at vnwares: but hauing warning, they prepared themselues to battell, so well as the shortnes of time would permit, and so thereupon incountring with their enimies, and fighting a sore battell, at length constreined the French men to returne vnto the citie, and pursuing them as they fled, two English knights being brethren to sir Peter de Mallow and an other that was a Gascoine, entred the citie with two standard-bearers belonging to the earle of Richmond, & to the lord Alane de la Zouch, whom the Frenchmen tooke, closing them within the gates. The other Englishmen being shut out, first fell to the spoile of the suburbs, and then set fire vpon the same. After this were certeine of the citizens that secretlie were at a point with the earle of Lancaster, to haue deliuered the citie into his hands, but their practise being espied, they were taken and executed yer they could performe that which they had promised.

The castell of Lesparre deliuered vnto him. Nic. Triuet.

The Frenchmen forced to retire.

Polydor.

Then the earle perceiuing he should but lose his labor to staie any longer there, vpon certeine weightie occasions returned vnto Baionne, where he shortlie after fell sicke and died. He left behind him three sonnes, Thomas that succeeded him in the earldome of Lancaster, Henrie lord of Monmouth, and John whome he had begot of his wife Blanch, the which before had beene married vnto Henrie earle of Champaigne, and king of Nauar, by whome shee had but one onelie daughter, that was married vnto the French king Philip de Beau. After this the English armie besieged the citie of Aques, but thorough want of vittels he was constreined to raise thence and breake vp the siege. The earle of Arthois being sent of the French king with an armie into Gascoine, incountred with the Englishmen, and chased them with the slaughter of a great number, and after recouered diuers townes and fortresses in the countrie.

The earle of Lancaster deparleth this life.

Aques besieged.

The earle of Arthois sent with an armie to Gascoine. N. Triuet.

Those Englishmen that kept the towne of Burg, being compassed about with a siege by Mounseur de Sully, obteined truce for a certeine space, during the which they sent vnto Blaines for some releefe of vittels, and where other refused to bring vp a ship loden with vittels, which was there prepared, the lord Simon de Montagew, a right valiant chæfetaine, and a wise, toke vpon him the enterprise, and through the middle of the French gallies, which were placed in the riuer to stop that no ship should passe towards that towne, by helpe of a prosperous wind, he got into the hauen of Burg, and so relieued them within of their want of vittels, by meanes whereof, Mounseur de Sully brake vp his siege, and returned into France.

Burg besieged.

The lord Simon de Montagew his enterprise to rescue the garrison of Burg.

The siege is raised.

In the meane time, king Edward not sleeping his businesse, procured Guie earle of Flanders to ioine with him in league against the Frenchmen. This Guie was the son of Margaret countesse of Flanders, whom she had by hir second husband William lord of Dampire in Burgoine. Also king Edward procured Henrie earle of Bar, to whome (as before ye haue heard) he had giuen his daughter Eleanor in marriage, to make warre vpon the Frenchmen, so that at one time the erle of Bar inuaded the countrie of Champaigne, and the earle of Flanders made incursions vpon those countries of France which ioine vnto Flanders. King Philip hereof aduertised, sent forth one Walter de Cresse with a great armie against the earle of Bar, so that besieging the chæfest towne of Bar, he constreined the said earle to leaue off his enterprise in Champaigne, and to returne home, for doubt to lose more there than hee should win abroad.

The king of England concludeth a league with the earle of Flanders.

He concludeth a league also with the earle of Bar.

The earle of Bar inuadeth Champaigne.

But now to touch more at large the circumstances of the occasion that moued the earle of Flanders to make war against the French king, I find (in Iacob Meir) that there was a marriage concluded betwixt the lord Edward the eldest son of king Edward, and the ladie Philip daughter to the foresaid Guie earle of Flanders, which marriage was concluded by Henrie bishop of Lincolne, and the

Mariage concluded.

earle

earle Warren, being sent ouer as ambassadours by king Edward, vnto the said earle Guie for the same purpose. In the yeare following, the said earle of Flanders, togither with his wife, comming to visit the French king at Corbeill, were arrested, and sent to Paris, there to remaine as prisoners, bicause that the earle had affianced his daughter to the French kings aduersarie, without his licence: neither might they be deliuered, till by mediation of the pope (who must needs meddle in the matter by vertue of his peremptorie power, all christendome must bend the bonnet to his holinesse, or rather abhominablenesse,

Ille etenim toto sese iubet orbe colendum,
Cui nisi parueris, crede perire licet.

and suertie had vpon the promise of Amedie earle of Sauoy, they were set at libertie, with these conditions, that they should deliuer vnto the French kings hands their daughter, which was so affianced vnto K. Edwards sonne, and further couenanted, not to conclude any league with the king of England, but in all points t' obserue a certeine peace which was concluded with Ferdinando earle of Flanders, in the yeare 1225. And if earle Guie brake the same peace, then should he be excommunicated, and all his countrie of Flanders interdicted by the archbishop of Reims, and the bishop of Senlis, iudges appointed herein by authoritie of the pope.

The earles daughter being sent for, and brought vnto Paris, the earle and his wife were released, and suffered to returne into Flanders, and shortlie after, the earle made earnest suit to haue his daughter restored vnto him againe, insomuch that he procured pope Boniface to be a meane for him to the French king; but all would not serue, no, though as some say the pope accursed the French king for reteining hir, answer being made, that matters perteining to worldlie gouernement, belonged not to the pope to discusse. Finallie, earle Guie, perceiuing he could not preuaile in that suit, to haue his daughter againe, vpon high displeasure concluded to ioine in league with king Edward & his confederats. Hereupon, at an assemblie or councell kept at Gerardmount, there was a solemne league made and agreed betwixt Adolph the emperour of Almaine, Edward king of England, Guie earle of Flanders, John Duke of Brabant, Henrie earle of Bar, both sonnes in law to king Edward, and Albert duke of Austrich, against Philip king of France, and John earle of Henault his partaker.

March. West.

The merchants of Flanders procured the earle to conclude this league with king Edward, as some write, the rather in respect of the great commodities which rose to their countrie, by reason of the intercourse of merchandize vsed betwixt England and Flanders, and for that through aid of the Englishmen, they might the better withstand the malice, both of the French and of all other their enimies. This league being proclaimed in England, there were sent ouer into Flanders, the treasurer of the exchequer, and diuerse other noble men, to fetch hostages from thence, and to giue to the earle fiftéene thousand pounds of siluer, toward the fortifieng of his castels and holds. King Philip being hereof aduertised, by counsell of the peeres of his realme, sent two honorable personages, as the capteine of Mounstrell, and the capteine of Belquerke, which should attach the earle of Flanders by his bodie, and summon him to yéeld himselfe prisoner at Paris, within the space of fiftéene daies next insuing.

This attachment made, and summons giuen, the earle of Flanders sent his full defiance vnto the French king by the abbats of Gemblois, and Senefles, vnto whome he gaue sufficient letters procuratorie, to authorise them thereto, dated at Male in the yeare of Grace 1296, after the accounts of the chronicles of Flanders, which begin their yere at Easter: and so this chanced in the fiue and twentith yeare of king Edwards reigne, the wednesdaie next after the feast of the Epiphanie. Hereupon was the earle accursed, & Flanders interdicted by the archbishop of Reims, and the bishop of Senlis comming vnto Terwane for that purpose, about the fiftenth day of June, in the yeare 1297. But the lord Robert the earles sonne appealed from that interdiction to the pope, and so the Flemmings take themselues free & out of danger of the same. Earle Guie also obteined of king Edward, that it might be lawfull for them of Bruges, to buy wols, through England, Scotland, and Ireland, as freelie as the Italians might by their priuilege and grant.

But to returne now to the doings of king Edward, who in this meane time, hauing perfect knowledge of the league concluded betwixt the king of France and the king of Scotland, prepared an armie, and first sent ambassadors into Scotland, to giue summons to king John to appeare at Newcastell within certeine daies, that he might there shew the cause whie he had broken the league: and further, to declare vnto him that he was deceiued, if he thought he might serue two maisters, contrarie to the words of the gospell, and according to the old saieng which seldome neuer faileth in consequence,

Deficit ambobus qui vult seruire duobus.

For how much fauour as he purchased at the hands of the French king, so much displeasure might he assure himselfe to procure at the hands of the king of England, whome to obeie, it should be most for his aduantage. The ambassadors that were sent, did their message throughlie, but king John was so farre off from answering any thing that might sound to the maintenance of peace, that shortlie after he sent letters of complaint vnto king Edward, for wrongs which he alledged he had sustained by his means and at his hands. Hereupon king Edward, by aduise of his councell, determined to set forward with his armie into Scotland.

In the meane time, Robert Ros, capteine of Warke castell, reuolted to the Scotish king, moued thereunto through the loue of a Scotish gentlewoman, whome he meant to marrie, notwithstanding he had sworne fealtie vnto king Edward. Whereupon, his brother William de Ros giuing knowledge to king Edward, required to haue some aid, whereby he might defend the castell against the Scotishmen. King Edward sent vnto him a thousand souldiers, (Polydor saith an hundred) the which as they lodged one night in a towne called Prestken, were slaine by the Scotishmen of the garison of Rockesborough, that were led and guided by the said Robert Ros: some of them although but few escaped awaie by flight. King Edward aduertised hereof, hasted forth, and came to the said castell, glad of this (as is reported) that the Scotishmen had first begun the warre, meaning, as it should seeme by their proceedings, to follow the same, for vpon God friday, diuerse Scotishmen entring the borders, burnt sundrie villages, and spoiled the abbeie of Carham.

Furthermore, whilest king Edward kept his castell at Warke, seauen earles of Scotland, as Bouchan, Menteth, Stratherne, Lennor, Ros, Atholl, and Mar, with John Comin the maister of Badenaw, hauing assembled an armie togither of fiue hundred men of armes on horssebacke, and ten thousand footmen in Annandale, vpon monday in Easter weeke entred England, and putting all to fire and sword, approched to Carleill, and laid siege thereunto on each side, passing the water of Eden by a ford vnder Richardston, and did so much preuaile, that they burned

The earle of Flanders arrested.

The pope intermedleth in the matter.

The earle of Flanders forced to agree with the French king.

The earle of Flanders released returneth home.

The French kings answer to the pope.

A new league betwixt the K. of England, the emperour and others against the French king.

The earle of Flanders defieth the French king.

The earle of Flanders accursed.

His sonne appealeth from the interdiction.

Ambassadors sent to the K. of Scots.

Nic. Triuet.

The lord Ros reuolteth to the K. of Scots.

William de Ros continueth faithfull to the king of England.

Englishmen distressed.

Rich. South.

N. Triuet.

Abington.

The Scots inuade England.

Nic. Triuet.

the suburbes, and assaulted the gates, at which enterprise, a gentleman of Galloway as he ventured somewhat neere to the gate, was drawne vp by an iron hooke, of those that stood aloft vpon the gates to defend the same, and there slaine, and thrust through with speares. In the meane time, a spie, the which had beene taken and committed to prison, set fire on the house wherein he was inclosed, and so the flames catching hold vpon the other buildings, a great part of the citie was thereby burned. Yet the men and the women getting themselues to the wals, droue their enimies backe, and so defended the citie from taking. Wherupon, the Scotish lords perceiuing they could not preuaile, left their siege on the thursdaie in Easter weeke, and returned againe into Scotland.

The Scots raise their siege from Carlell.

On the same thursdaie, king Edward with his armie passed the riuer of Tweed, and so entring into Scotland, sent to the burgesses of Berwike, offering them peace vpon certeine conditions, and staied a whole day for an answer: but when he could haue none that liked him, nor that sounded in ante thing to peace, he approched the towne, and lodged in the monasterie of Caldestreime. His armie consisted as some write of foure thousand men of armes on horsbacke, and thirtie thousand footmen, besides fiue hundred men of armes on horssebacke, and a thousand footmen of the bishoprike of Durham. At the same time, there came foure and twentie English ships, the mariners whereof, beholding where the English armie was placed in battell raie, vpon a plaine, the king making there certeine knights, they thought his meaning was to haue giuen forthwith an assalt, and so entring the hauen, and approching to the land, began to fight with the townesmen, where they lost foure of their ships, and were constreined to withdraw with the residue, with helpe of the falling water. Some haue written, that they lost but three ships which were consumed with fire, and that the mariners and souldiers of one of those ships, after they had defended themselues by great manhood from the first houre of the daie, till eleuen of the clocke, escaped awaie, some by the bote of that ship, and some leaping into the water, were saued by the botes of other ships that made in to succour them.

Berwike summoned.

Abington.

The English fleet.

Foure English ships lost.

Abington.

The rumor of the mariners attempt being bruted through the armie, the king passing forward towards the towne, got ouer a ditch, which the Scots had cast to impeach his passage, and so comming to the towne, wan it, not losing any man of renowme, sauing sir Richard Cornewall, the which was slaine by a quarell which a Flemming shot out of a crossebowe, being in the red hall, which the merchants of Flanders held in that towne, and had fortified it in manner of a tower: but when they would not yéeld, and could not easilie otherwise be wone, the house towards euening was set on fire, and so they being thirtie in number, were burned to death within it. Vpon the same night, the king lodged in the castell, which was yéelded vnto him by them that kept it, their liues and limmes saued, and receiuing an oth, that they should not from thencefoorth beare armour against the king of England, they were permitted to depart whither they thought good, their capteine sir William Dowglas excepted, whom the king still kept with him, till the end of the warres. Some write that there should be slaine of Scotishmen at this winning of Berwike, aboue the number of twentie thousand men, Abington saith 8000, but Richard Southwell saith 15000 at the least one with an other, with small losse of Englishmen, not past eight and twentie of all sorts. Yée may read more hereof in the Scotish historie.

Berwike wone.

This sir Richard Cornewall was brother to the erle of Cornewall, Abington.

Caxton.

¶ But before I passe ouer this slaughter, so lamentable and wonderfull, I haue bethought my selfe of a promised apologie for and in the behalfe of Richard Grafton, mentioned before in the reigne of Henrie the second, page 112. col. 1. where I shewed how vnaduisedlie and with vnseemelie modestie for a man of learning, George Buchanan the Scot doth shoot his bolts at the said Grafton, as now by occasion of the matter conuenientlie occurrent shall be shewed. The said Grafton in his large volume of English chronicles, falling vpon the affaires betweene king Edward the first, and John Baliol king of Scotland, among other things there remembred, maketh report that in the said battell of Berwike, the slaughter was so great, that a mill might well haue béene driuen by the space of two daies, with the streames of bloud which at that time ouerranne the ground. At which words George Buchanan giueth a snatch, emboldened so to do, bicause the said Grafton referreth this record to Hector Boetius in his fourteenth booke and second chapter.

R. Grafton, pag. 176.

G. Buchanan rer. Scotic. lib. 8. pag. 243, prope finem.

Abraham Fleming.

Iesu, how the Scot taketh vp the Englishman for halting in his allegation, first for the chapter, conuincing him that Hector Boetius diuided not his booke into chapters, and therefore, where is the second chapter, sith the whole fourteenth booke is a continued discourse without distinction by chapters? Secondlie the said Grafton hath the checke, for setting a lie a flote, Buchanan flatlie affirming that Hector Boetius hath no such matter once mentioned in his annales. Touching the first fault, wherewith the Scot chargeth the Englishman, this is note-worthie, that it should seeme to anie man of meane iudgement, that Buchanan of a prepensed malice and purposed wilfulnesse hath sharpened his stile in this nipping sort against Grafton. For sith it was Graftons meaning to record the truth, so farre forth as he was warranted by the auerment of writers; why should he be cast in the teeth with *Effrænis maledicendi libido*, or dishonestlie termed *Indoctus & impudenter mendax*? Which opprobrious epithets, if they were deserued by an vntrue report of the author; then should Buchanan haue sharpened his tong against Belenden his countriman, the translator of Hector Boetius into their mother tong, from whome Grafton hath deriued his words; sense for sense vnmangled (as he found the same written.)

Now who knoweth not that Bellenden distinguished Hectors annales into chapters, vpon whose authoritie Grafton relieng, and citing his authoritie according to the quotation of his diuision, whie should he rather than Bellenden be barked at, who is the principall in this controuersie? Againe, it could not be hidden from Buchanan, that Bellenden had distributed Boetius into chapters; considering that they were σύγχρονοι, both liuing in the reigne of James the fift of that name king of Scots: so that it might haue pleased him to haue tried Grafton by the Scotish Boetius, and so to haue béene resolued for the second chapter of the fourteenth booke, according to the archdeacon of Murreis translation.

Now for the matter it selfe, touching the effusion of bloud, wherewith a mill might well haue béene driuen for two daies space; Hector Boetius his owne words are these; *Riui sanguinis toto oppido adeo fluxere, vt cum æstu decurrente minor aqua quàm ad molendina circumagenda fuerit, adiuuante aquam sanguine aliqua circumagi sponte cœperint.* Which place, Bellenden hath interpreted after this manner; So lamentabl' slaughter wes throw all the parts of the toun, that ane mill might haif gane two daies ithandlie be stremis of blude. Now examine Graftons words by Bellenden, and Bellendens by Boetius (besides that, marke what Grafton annexeth to the report of this slaughter, who saith that he will not inforce the credit therof vpon any man, but counteth it a Scotish lie rather than

Hector Boetius, pag. 294. lib. impress. Parisijs à Iacobo du Puys, 1574.

than a matter of truth) and then conclude according to equitie, that Grafton is altogither excusable and faultlesse, and Buchanans curious & furious challenge reprooueable. But admit Grafton had fetcht his report from Boetius, as he had it from Bellenden; seemeth it a lie or an vnlikelihood, that the bloud gushing out of the bodies of 25000, or (as Hector Boetius saith) 7000, would not increase to a streame sufficient & able to driue a mill or two about, without any water intermingled therwithall? The Latine copie hath *Riui sanguinis*, riuers of bloud, noting by the word the abundance and also the streaming course of the same, which was able with the violent current thereof to beare awaie the verie bodies of the slaine. To conclude this matter, & to set our Englishman by the truth, and let the Scot go with his lieng tong, which I would he had had the modestie to haue tempered, & to haue proffered a practise of that which himselfe paraphrasticallie preacheth and teacheth others to obserue, saieng;

In paraph. super psal. 39.

(*Linguæ obseraui claustra fræno pertinax*
Obmutui silentio,
Ac temerè ne quid os mali profunderet,
Verbis bonis clausi exitum.)

K. Edward fortifieth Berwike.

And now to the storie. K. Edward remaind at Berwike 15 daies, & caused a ditch to be cast about the towne of 80 foot in breadth, & of the like in depth. In the meane time, about the beginning of Aprill, the warden and reader of the frier minors of Rockesborough called Adam Blunt, came vnto him with letters of complaint from king John, for the wrongs done and offered vnto him and his realme, as well in claiming an vniust superioritie, and constreining him to do homage by vndue and wrongfull meanes, as also by inuading his townes, slaieng and robbing his subiects: for the which causes he testified by the same letters, that he renounced all such homage and fealtie for him and his subiects, as he, or any of them owght for any lands holden within England. The king hearing the letters red, receiued the resignation of the homage, and commanded his chancellor, that the letter might be registred in perpetuall memorie of the thing.

A scotish frier sent to king Edward.

The Scotish king renounceth his homage and fealtie vnto the king of England.

The earles of Scotland before remembred, being assembled togither with their powers at the castell of Jedworth, entred into England the eighth of Aprill, and with fire and sword did much hurt in the countries as they passed. In Riddesdale they besieged the castell of Harbotell by the space of two daies, but when they could not preuaile, they remoued, and passing forth by the east part of the riuer of Tine, thorough Cokesdale, Riddesdale, and Northumberland, vnto Herham, they did much mischefe by burning and harrieng the countries. At Herham they spoiled the abbeie church, and got a great number of the cleargie, as well monks, priests, as scholers, and others, whom they thrust into the schoolehouse there, and closing vp the doores, set fire on the schoole, and burned all them to ashes that were within it. It is wonderfull to read, what beastlie crueltie the Scots vsed in that road which they made at that time in two seuerall parts. For the earle of Boghan, with them of Galloway, entred by Cumberland in like manner as the other did in Riddesdale, burning and murthering all that came in their waie. For whereas all those that were of able age and lustie to get awaie, fled, & escaped their hands; the aged & impotent creatures, women in childbed, and yong children that could not shift for themselues, were vnmercifullie slaine, and thrust vpon speares, and shaken vp in the aire, where they yelded vp their innocent ghosts in most pitifull wise.

The Scots inuade the English borders.

Harbotell.

Rich. South.

The earle of Boghan.

The crueltie of the Scots.

Churches were burned, women were forced without respect of order, condition or qualitie, as well the maids, widowes and wiues, as nunnes that were reputed in those daies consecrated to God, and when they had beene so abused, manie of them were after also murthered, and cruellie dispatched out of life. At length, they came to the nunrie of Lamelaie, & burned all the buildings there, sauing the church, and then returned backe into Scotland with all their pillage and boties by Lauercost, an house of monks, which they likewise spoiled. So that the cruell & bloudie desolation whereof Lucan speaketh in his second booke of ciuill warres, may aptlie be inferred here, as fitlie describing the mercilesse murther of all states and seres without parcialitie vnder the hand of the enimie: for saith he,

The nunrie of Lamelaie burnt.

Luc. lib. 2.

Nobilitas cum plebe perit, latéque vagatur
Ensis, & à nullo reuocatum est pectore ferrum,
Stat cruor in templis, multáque rubentia cæde
Lubrica saxa madent, nulli sua profuit ætas,
Non senis extremum piguit vergentibus annis
Præcipitasse diem, non primo in limine vitæ
Infantis miseri nascentia rumpere fata.

Patrike earle of Dunbar came to the king of England, and submitted himselfe, with all that he had into his hands; but the castell of Dunbar vpon saint Markes day, being assieged of the Scots was rendred vnto them, by treason of some that were within it, of whome, the countesse (wife to the same erle) was the chéefest; for recouerie whereof king Edward sent John earle of Warren, Surrey and Sussex, & William earle of Warwike with a great power, the which laieng siege to that castell, a great host of Scotishmen came vpon them to the rescue of them within, so that there was foughten a verie sore and terrible battell. At length, the victorie abode with the Englishmen, and the Scotishmen were put to flight, the Englishmen following them in chase eight mile of that countrie, almost to the forrest of Selkirke: the slaughter was great, so that (as was esteemed) there died of the Scotishmen that day, to the number of ten thousand.

The castell of Dunbar rendred to the Scots.

Beside 2000 barded horsses they had in that armie 10000 footmen. N. Triuet. Matth. Westm. Abington.

A sore battell fought at Dunbar.

The number slaine. Matth. Westm. Abington.

The morrow after being saturdaie, which was the eight and twentith day of Aprill, at the kings comming thither the castell was surrendred vnto him. There were taken in the same castell three earles, Menteth, Cassels, and Ros; six barons, John Comin the yonger, William Sanclere, Richard Siward the elder, John Fitz Geffrey, Alexander de Norteigne, Edmund Comin of Kilbird, with thirtie knights, two clearks, John de Someruile, and William de Sanclere, and three and thirtie esquires, the which were sent vnto diuerse castels in England, to be kept as prisoners. After the winning of Dunbar the king went to the castell of Rockesborough, which incontinentlie was yelded by the lord Steward of Scotland, the liues and members of all such as were within it at the time of the surrender.

Rockesborough yelded.

Then went king Edward vnto Edenburgh, where he planted his siege about the castell, and raised engines, which cast stones against and ouer the walles, sore beating and bruising the buildings within. But as it chanced, the king writing letters, to aduertise his councell at home of his proceedings, and concerning other businesse, deliuered that packet vnto a Welshman named Lewin, commanding him to go with the same to London in all hast possible, for he knew him to be a verie spéedie messenger and a trustie also (as he tooke it.) But hauing the letter thus deliuered him, togither with monie to beare his charges, he got him to a tauerne, where riotouslie consuming the monie (which he had so receiued) in plate, & making good cheere, in the morning he caused one of his companions to take a target, and beare it afore him in approching the castell, for that he meant (as he colourablie pretended) not to depart, vntill he had

Rich. South.

wrought

wrought some displeasure to them within with his crossebow, which he toke with him for that purpose, so that comming vnto the castell gates, he called to the warders on the walles to call downe to him a cord, that they might plucke him vp to them therewith, for that he had somwhat to say to their capteine touching the secrets of the king of England.

They fulfilling his desire, when he came in, and was brought afore the captein sitting then at breakfast, he said vnto him: Behold sir, here ye may perceiue the king of Englands secrets, and withall raught to him a box, wherein the packet of the kings letters were inclosed, and apoint me (saith he) to some corner of the wall, and trie whether I can handle a crossebow or not, to defend it against your aduersaries. Heere when others would haue opened the box, and haue read the letters, the capteine would in no wise consent thereto, but going into a turret, called to the Englishmen beelow, and willed them to signifie to the king, that one of his seruants being fled to him, sought to bewraie his secrets, whereunto he would by no means agree, and therefore meant to restore both the traitor and the letters. Herevpon, the lord John Spenser, comming to heare what the matter might meane, the capteine caused Lewin to be let downe to him, togither with the letters safe, and not touched by him at all.

When the king vnderstood this, he much commended the honest respect of the capteine, and whereas he had caused engins to be raised to annoie them within (as yee haue heard) he commanded the same to ceasse, and withall, vpon their capteins suit, he granted them libertie to send vnto their king John Baliol, to giue him to vnderstand in what sort they stood.

A welshman hanged.

As touching the Welshman, he was drawne and hanged on a paire of high galowes, prepared for him of purpose, as he had well deserued. A notable example of a traitorous villaine, so to offer the secrets of his souereigne to be known to his enimies: and no lesse excellent a president of an honest and faithfull harted foe, that would not himselfe nor let anie other haue a sight of the contents therein written; a rare point of good meaning and vpright dealing in a souldier, and specially in an enimie; but

multo optimus ille
Militiæ cui postremum est primúmq; tueri
Inter bella fidem.

Striueling castell left void

Now while the messengers were on their waie to Forfair, where the Scotish king then laie, king Edward with a part of his armie went vnto Striueling, where he found the castell gates set open, and the keies hanging on a naile, so that he entred there without any resistance, for they that had this castle in gard, were fled out of it for feare before his comming. The messengers that were sent from them within Edenburgh castell, comming to their king, declared to him in what case they stood that were besieged. King John, for that he was not able to succor them by any manner of means at that present, sent them word, to take the best waie they could for their owne safetie; with which answer the messengers returning, the castell was immediatlie deliuered vnto the lord John Spenser, that was left in charge with the siege, at the kings departure towards Striueling, with the like conditions as the castell of Rockesborough had yelded a little before.

Edenburgh castell deliuered to the king of England.

Thus was that strong castell of Edenburgh surrendred by force of siege, to the king of Englands vse, on the 15 daie, after he had first laid his siege about it. A place of such strength by the heigth of the ground whereon it stood, that it was thought impregnable, and had not beene wone by force at any time, since the first building therof, before that present, so farre as anie remembrance either by writing or otherwise could be had thereof.

Here at Edenburgh, or rather at Rockesborough (as Abington saith) a great number of Welshmen came vnto the king, who sent home the like number of English footmen, of those that seemed most wearie. Moreouer, at Striueling, there came to the king the earle of Ulster, with a great number of Irishmen. Then passing ouer the riuer of Forth, the king came vnto saint Johns towne about Midsummer, and there tarried certeine daies. Whilest these things were a doing, John king of Scotland, perceiuing that he was not of power to resist king Edward, sent ambassadors vnto him to sue for peace: king Edward was content to heare them, and thereupon appointed, that king John should resort vnto the castell of Brechin, there to commen with such of his councell as he would send thither within fiftéene daies next ensuing, to treat of an agréement. King Edward sent thither Anthonie bishop of Durham, with full commission to conclude all things in his name. And within the appointed time came king John, and diuers of his nobles vnto him, the which after manie sundrie treaties holden betwixt them and the said bishop, at length they submitted themselues and the realme of Scotland, simplie and purelie into the hands of the king of England, for the which submission to be firmelie kept and obserued, king John deliuered his son in hostage, and made letters thereof, written in French as followeth.

Saint Johns towne.

The king of Scots sueth for peace.

The bishop of Durham.

The king of Scots submitteth himselfe to the K. of England.

The instrument of the *said submission.*

Ehanper la grace de Dieu, roy de Escoce, á tous ceulx quæ cestes præsentes letres verront ou orront, saluz, &c.

Iohn by the grace of GOD king of Scotland, to all those that these present letters shall see or heare, sendeth greeting. Bicause that we through euill counsell and our owne simplicitie, haue greeuouslie offended our souereigne lord, Edward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitane, in many things; that is to saie, in that, whereas we beeing and abiding vnder his faith and homage, haue bound our selues vnto the king of France which then was his enimie and yet is, procuring a mariage with the daughter of his brother Charles du Valois, and that we might greeue our said lord, and aid the king of France with all our power by warre and other means, we haue at length by aduise of our peruerse counsell defied our said lord the K. of England, and haue put our selues out of his allegiance and homage, & sent our people into England, to burne houses, to take spoiles, to commit murther, with many other damages, and also in fortifieng the kingdome of Scotland, which is of his fee, putting and establishing armed men in townes, castels, and other places, to defend the land against him, to deforce him of his fee, for the which transgressions our said souereigne lord the king, entring into the realm of Scotland with his power, hath conquered and taken the same, notwithstanding al that we could do against him, as by right he may do, as a lord of his fee, bicause that we did render vnto him our homage, and made the foresaid rebellion. We therfore as yet being in our full power and free will, doo render vnto him the land

land of Scotland, and all the people thereof with the homages. In witnesse whereof, we haue caused these letters patents to be made. Yeuen at Brechin the tenth day of Iulie, in the fourth yeare of our reigne, sealed with the common seale of the kingdome of Scotland.

K. Edward passeth forward through Scotland.

After this, king Edward went forward to see the mounteine countries of Scotland, the bishop of Durham euer keeping a daies iournie afore him. At length, when he had passed through Murrey land, and was come to Elgbin, perceiuing all things to be in quiet, he returned towards Berwike, and comming to the abbeie of Scone, he toke from thence the marble stone, whereupon the kings of Scotland were accustomed to sit as in a chaire, at the time of their coronation, which king Edward caused now to be transferred to Westminster and there placed, to serue for a chaire for the priest to sit in at the altar. The king comming to Berwike, called thither vnto a parlement all the nobles of Scotland, and there receiued of them their homages, the which in perpetuall witnesse of the thing, made letters patents thereof, written in French, and sealed with their seales, as the tenor here followeth.

K. Edward bringeth the marble stone out of Scotland.

The nobilitie of Scotland submit themselues to the king.

The instrument of the homages of *the lords of Scotland to K. Edward.*

Touz ceux que cestes lettres verront ou orront, &c. To all those that these present letters shall see or heare, we Iohn Comin of Badenaw, &c. Bicause that we at the faith and will of the most noble prince, and our deerest lord, Edward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, doo vow and promise for vs and our heires, vpon paine of bodie and goods, and of all that we may haue, that we shall serue him well and trulie against all men, which may liue and die, at all times when we shall be required or warned by our said lord the king of England or his heires, and that we shall not know of any hurt to be doone to them, but the same we shall let and impeach with all our power, and giue them warning thereof: and those things to hold and keepe, we bind vs, our heires, and all our goods, and further, receiue an oth thereof vpon the holie euangelists: and after all, we and euerie of vs haue done homage vnto our souereigne lord the king of England in words as followeth; I become your liegeman of life, members, and earthlie honour, against all men which may liue and die. And the same our souereigne lord the king receiued this homage vnder this forme of words; We receiue it for the land of the which you be now seized, the right of vs, or other saued, and except the lands which Iohn Balioll sometime king of Scotland granted vnto vs, after that we did deliuer vnto him the kingdome of Scotland, if happilie he hath giuen to you any such lands.

The forme of their homage.

The words of K. Edward accepting it.

Moreouer, all we, and euerie of vs by himselfe haue done fealtie to our said souereigne lord the king in these words; I as a faithfull & liege man, shall keepe faith and loialtie vnto Edward king of England, and to his heires, of life, member and earthlie honor, against all men which may liue and die, and shall neuer for any person beare armour, nor shall be of counsell nor in aid with any person against him, or his heires in any case that may chance, but shall faithfullie acknowledge, and doo the seruice that belongeth to the tenements the which I claime to hold of him, as God me helpe and all his saints. In witnesse wherof, these letters patents are made and signed with our seales. Yeuen at Warke the foure and twentith of March, in the 24 yeare of the reigne of our said lord the king of England.

Then was Iohn Warren earle of Surrey and Sussex made by king Edward warden of Scotland, Hugh Cressingham treasurer, and William Ormesbie high iustice, whome the king commanded, that he should call all those before him which held any lands of the crowne, and to receiue of them in his name their homages and fealties. Iohn Balioll the late king of Scotland was sent to London, and had a conuenient companie of seruants appointed to attend him, hauing licence to go any whither abroad, so that he kept himselfe within the circuit of twentie miles neere to London. Iohn Comin of Badenaw, and Iohn Comin of Lowan, and diuerse nobles of Scotland were brought into England on the south side of Trent, being warned vpon paine of death not to returne into Scotland, till the king had made an end of his wars with France. After this, at his returne into England, king Edward held a parlement at saint Edmundsburie, which began the morrow after the feast of All saints, in which the cittizens & burgesses of good townes granted vnto him an eighth part of their goods, and of the residue of the people a twelfth part.

Officers appointed in Scotland by king Iohn.

Iohn Balioll sent to London.

Parlements at saint Edmundsburie.

A subsidie granted.

The cleargie by reason of a constitution ordeined and constituted the same yeare by pope Boniface, prohibiting vpon paine of excommunication, that no talages nor other exactions should be leuied or exacted of the cleargie in any manner of wise by secular princes, or to be paid to them of things that perteined to the church, vtterlie refused to grant any manner of aid to the king, towards the maintenance of his wars. Wherevpon the king, to the intent they should haue time to studie for a better answer, deferred the matter to an other parlement to be holden on the morrow after the feast of saint Hilarie.

The pretended excuse of the cleargie.

This yeare after the feast of the Epiphanie, Elizabeth the kings daughter was married vnto king Iohn earle of Holland. Humfrey de Bohun earle of Hereford and Esser was sent to conueie them into Holland, there to take possession of the earledome, as then descended vnto the said Iohn, by the death of his father latelie before slaine by his owne subiects, because he would haue disherited this Iohn, and made a ballard sonne which he had to be his heire. ¶ The day appointed for the parlement to be holden at London being come, and the cleargie continuing in their deniall to grant any subsidie, the king excluded them out of his protection, for the redeeming whereof, manie by themselues, and manie by mediators, did afterwards giue vnto the king a fift part of all their goods. The archbishop of Canturburie being found stiffe in the matter, the king seized all his lands, and commanded all such debts as were found of his in the rolles of the exchekor, to be leuied with all speed of his goods and cattell. Some write, that when the archbishop of Canturburie in name of all the residue, had declared to them whom the king had appointed commissioners to receiue the answer, that whereas they of the cleargie had two souereigne lords and gouernours, the one in spirituall matters and the other in temporall, yet they ought rather to obeie their spirituall gouernour than their temporall. Neuertheless, to satisfie the kings pleasure, they would

Anno Reg. 25. 1297

The earle of Holland marrieth Elizabeth the kings daughter. N. Triuet.

Abington. The archbishop his words.

of

of their owne charges send to the pope, that by his licence and permission, they might grant the king some aid, or else receiue some answer from him, what to doo therein: for (saith the archbishop) we beléeue that
" the king feareth the sentence of excommunication,
" and would be as glad to auoid it as we.

When the commissioners heard this answer, they required that they would appoint some of their owne companie to beare his message vnto the king, for they durst not report it to him: which being doone as the commissioners had required, the king in his furie proceéded against them, in such rigorous manner as ye haue heard, in somuch that the lord cheefe iustice sitting vpon the bench, spake openlie these words;

The declaration of the lord cheefe iustice.

" You sirs that be attornies of my lords the archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, and all other the clergie, declare vnto your masters, and tell them, that
" from henceforth there shall no iustice be doone vnto
" them in the kings court for any manner of thing, al-
" though neuer so heinous wrong be doone vnto them:
" but iustice shall be had against them, to euerie one
" that will complaine and require to haue it.

The clearkelie handling of the matter by the archbi. of Yorke his suffragans.

Henrie de Newarke the elect bishop of Yorke, with the bishops of Durham, Elie and Salisburie, with certeine other, fearing the kings indignation thus kindled against them, ordeined to late downe in the churches, a fift part as ye haue heard, of all their goods, towards the defense of the realme, and maintenance of the kings warres in such time of great necessitie, and so the king receiuing it, they were restored to the kings protection againe. The frends of the bishop of Lincolne found means, that the shiriffe of the shire leuied and toke the fift part of all his goods, and restored to him againe his lands and possessions. Also, all the monasteries within his diocesse, and within the whole prouince of Canturburie, were seized into the kings hands, and wardens appointed, which onelie ministred necessarie finding vnto the monks and other religious persons, and conuerted the ouerplus vnto the kings vse. Whereupon the abbats and priors were glad to follow the court, and sued to redéeme, not their sins, but their goods, with giuing a fourth part thereof. The cleargie suffered manie iniuries in that season, for religious men were spoiled and robbed in the kings high waie, and could not haue any restitution nor remedie against them that thus euill intreated them, till they had redéemed the kings protection. Persons and vicars, and other of the cleargie, when they rode forth any whither, were glad to apparell themselues in laie mens garments, so to passe through the countrie in safetie.

The miserie of churchmen.

The archbish. of Canturburie his goods confiscate.

The archbishop of Canturburie lost all the goods that he had, for he would neither agree to giue any thing, nor to laie any thing downe in the church, that the king might receiue it. Whereupon he was brought to such extreme miserie, that all his seruants went from him, & commandement was giuen forth, that no man should receiue him, neither within monasterie nor without, and so not hauing any one place of all his bishoprike where to laie his head, he remained in the house of a poore person, onelie with one priest and one clearke: yet he stiffelie stood in the matter, affirming certeinlie, that all those which granted any thing, either to the king, or to any other temporall person without the popes leaue, ran without doubt into the danger of the sentence pronounced in the canon.

The obstinate maner of the archbishop of Canturburie.

About the feast of S. Matthew in Februarie, the king called a parlement of his nobles (not admitting thereto any of the cleargie) at Salisburie, and there required certeine of his Nobles to passe ouer into Gascoine, but euerie of them séemed to excuse himselfe, whereat the king being moued, threatened that they should either go, or he would giue their lands to other that would go, with which words manie of them were grieuouslie offended, in so much that the earles of Hereford and Marshall, Humfrie Bohun, and Roger Bigod, declared that they would be readie to go with the king if he went himselfe, or else not. And when the earle Marshall was eftsones required to go, he answered, I will willinglie go with the king, and march before him in the fare ward, as by right of inheritance I am bound. Yea (saith the king) and you shall go with other though I go not. I am not so bound (saith the earle) neither doo I purpose to take the iournie in hand with you.

A parlement at Salisburie

The king then in a great chafe burst out & sware, By God sir earle, either thou shalt go or hang. And I sweare (saith the earle) the same oth, that I will neither go nor hang: and so he departed from the king without leaue taking. Immediatlie hereupon those two earles assembled manie noble men, and other of their frends togither to the number of thirtie baneretz and aboue, so that in all they were found to be fiftéene hundred men of armes appointed and readie for battell, and herewith they withdrew into their countries, and kept such stir there, that they would not permit the kings officers to take neither wols, leather, nor any thing against the owners will, but forbad them on paine of losing their heads to come within their roomes, and withall prepared themselues to resist if need were.

The dissolute demeanor of the two erles.

In this meane time the warre was prosecuted in Gascoine. ¶ The thursdaie before the Purification of our ladie, Henrie earle of Lincolne, and the lord John saint John departing from Waion towards Bellegard, a place besieged as then by the earle of Arthois, to succour them within the same with vittels (whereof they stood in need) as they approched to a wood distant from the fortresse three miles, they diuided themselues into two seuerall battels, the lord John saint John leading the first, and the earle of Lincolne the second. The lord saint John therefore hauing passed the wood with his battell, and entring into the plaine fields, was incountred by the earle of Arthois, who tarried there for him with a great power, where immediatlie at the first ioining of the battels, the earle of Lincolne retired backe: so that the lord John saint John and his companie ouerset with preasse of enimies were vanquished: and the said lord saint John with sir William de Mortimer, sir William Burmengham and other to the number of eight knights, and diuerse esquires were taken, the which were sent to Paris as prisoners.

They had with them 600 men of armes, and 10000 footmen as Abington saith.

Battell betwixt the earle of Lincolne and the earle of Arthois, who had with him 1500 men of armes, as Abington saith.

Other write somewhat otherwise of this battell, as that vpon the first incounter the Englishmen droue backe one regiment of the earle of Arthois his men of armes, whom he diuided into foure parts; but when they once ioined with the second regiment, to the which they were beaten backe, forward they came againe, and so charging the Englishmen, with helpe of their third squadron, which was now come to them also, they easilie put the Englishmen oppressed with multitude vnto flight, & followed them in chase. After this came the Englishmen which were in the rereward, and incountring with the fourth squadron or regiment of the Frenchmen, streightwaies brake the same. Herewith was the night come vpon them, so that one could not know an other, a frend from an enimie, and so both the Englishmen and Frenchmen were dispersed till the moone rose, and the Frenchmen withdrew to their fortresses, and amongst them certeine Englishmen were mingled, which being discouered were taken prisoners, as the lord John saint John, and others.

The slaughter was not great, for there were no footmen on either part, to spoile or kill the men of armes that were throwne beside their horsses: for the English

English footmen remained in the wood, or were withdrawne backe, as before ye haue heard, without attempting any exploit worthie of praise. Indeed some laie the blame in the Gascoine footmen for the losse of this battell, bicause that they withdrew backe, and left the English horsemen in danger of the enimies which had compassed them about on euerie side. Three hundred of the men of armes came through to the towne of Bellegard, but bicause it was night, so that they could not be discerned whether they were frends or foes, they within the towne would not suffer them to enter: wherevpon they departed, and went to S. Seuere foure leagues off. Yet further in the night, other of the Englishmen were receiued into Bellegard, which came thither after the other, and so in the morning they of the garison with their assistance issued forth, and comming to the place where the battell had beene, gathered the spoile of the field, and conueied into their towne such prouision of vittels as they found there.

Matth. West.

Abington.

The earle of Lincolne escaped.

The earle of Lincolne wandred a great part of the night and knew not whither to go. At length about three of the clocke in the morning he came to Perforate, where he had lodged with his armie the night before, & there found a great number of his people right glad of his comming and happie escape out of danger. From thence he returned vnto Baion with the earle of Richmond sir John de Britaine and all his companie that were left. And such was the hap of this iournie. In Lent following, those that were dispersed here and there abroad, resorted to the earle of Lincolne, soiourning at Baion, and in the summer season made a iournie towards Tholouse, spoiling and wasting the countries of Tholouse and other there abouts, and remoued also the siege which those of Tholouse had laid vnto a fortresse called S. Kiternes, in chasing them from the same siege: and towards Michaelmasse they returned to Baion, and there laie all the winter till after Christmasse, and then by reason of the truce concluded, as after appeareth, betwixt the two kings of England & France, they returned home into England.

He commeth home.

He inuadeth the countrie about Tholouse.

The custome of wool raised.

In the same yeare the king raised the custome of woll to an higher rate than had beene paid at any time before: for he toke now fortie shillings of a sacke or sarpler, where before there was paid but half a marke. Moreouer he commanded, that against his iournie which he meant to make ouer into France, there should be two thousand quarters of wheat, and as much of oates taken by the shiriffe in euerie countie within the realme to be conueied to the sea side, except where they had no store of corne, and there should beeues and bakons be taken to a certeine number. In the meane time the earle of Flanders was sore vexed by war which the French king made against him, being entred into Flanders with an armie of three score thousand men, as some authors haue recorded.

Abington. Euersden. Prouision for the kings iournie into France.

Is. Meir. The French king inuadeth Flanders.

Lille besieged.

About the feast of the natiuitie of S. John Baptist, he laid siege to Lille, and shortlie after came the earle of Arthois, being returned out of Gascoine with his power vnto that siege, and was sent forth to keepe the Flemings and others occupied, which laie at Furneis, and in other places thereabouts in low Flanders, with whome he fought and got the victorie. King Edward therefore, to succour his frends prepared to go ouer into Flanders, and therevpon summoned all those that owght him any seruice, & such also as held lands to the value of twentie pounds and aboue, to be readie with horsse and harnesse at London about Lammas to passe ouer with him in that iournie.

The earle of Arthois vanquisheth the Flemings in battell.

N. Triuet.

A rebellion in Scotland by the meanes of one William Waleis.

In the meane time about the moneth of Maie, there began a rebellion in Scotland by the setting on of William Waleis: for the king of Englands iustice William Ormsbie, accordinglie as he had in commission, confined and put to outlawrie a great sort of such Scotishmen, as refused to do fealtie and homage vnto the king of England, the which Scotishmen being thus condemned as outlawes, elected the foresaid William Waleis for their capteine, with whome William Douglas being once associated, the number of them increased hugelie. The earle of Surrey and the treasurer being in England, those outlawes purposed to haue taken the iustice at Scone: but he being warned though almost too late, escaped himselfe with much adoo, leauing the most part of his people as a spoile to the enimies. For William Waleis and his companie killed as manie Englishmen as fell into his hands, and taking certeine religious men, he bound their hands behind them, and constreined them to leape into the riuer, taking pleasure to behold how they plunged.

Englishmen slaine in Scotland.

The king sent the bishop of Durham into Scotland, to vnderstand the certeintie of this rebellion, who returning from thence, informed him of the truth. The king not minding to breake his iournie which he had purposed to make into Flanders, appointed that the earle of Surrey should haue the leading of all such men of warre as might be leuied beyond Trent, to represse the Scotish rebels, and also wrote vnto John Comin earle of Boughan, that remembring their faith and promise, they should returne into Scotland, and do their best to quiet the countrie: they according to his commandement, went into Scotland, but shewed themselues slow inough to procure those things that perteined to peace and quietnesse.

The vnfaithfull dealing of the Scots.

In the meane time, whilest these things were a doing, the bishop of Carleill, and other which laie there vpon the gard of that citie and castell, hauing some mistrust of the loialtie in Robert Bruce the yonger, that was earle of Carrike by his mother, they sent him word to come vnto them at a certeine daie, bicause they had to talke with him of matters touching the kings affairs. He durst not disobeie but came to Carleill togither with the bishop of Gallowaie, & there receiued a corporall oth vpon the holie and sacred mysteries, and vpon the sword of Thomas Becket, to be true to the king of England, and to aid him and his against their enimies in all that he might: and further to withstand that the said king receiued no hurt nor damage so far as in him might lie.

Abington.

Robert Bruce.

Thomas Beckets sword.

This done, he returned againe into Scotland, and for a colour entred into the lands of William Douglas, and burnt part of them, bringing the wife and children of the same William backe with him into Annandale: but shortlie after, he conspired with the Scotish rebels, and ioined himselfe with them, not making his father priuie to the matter, who in the meane while remaind in the south parts of England. He would haue persuaded such knights, gentlemen and other as held their lands of his father in Annandale, to haue gone with him, but they would not breake their faith giuen to the king of England, and so left him. The earle of Surrey assembling togither his power in Yorkeshire, sent his nephue the lord Henrie Percie with the souldiers of the countrie of Carleill before into Scotland, who passing forth to the towne of Aire, went about to induce them of Gallowaie into peace, and hearing that an armie of Scotishmen was gathered togither at a place about foure miles from thence called Irwin, he made thitherward, and comming neere to the Scotish host, might behold where the same was lodged beyond a certeine lake. In that armie were capteins, the bishop of Glasco, Andrew de Murreie steward of Scotland, and William Waleis which (as it should seeme)

Robert Bruce reuolteth to the rebels.

N. Triuet. Three hundreth men of armes, and fiftie thousand footmen saith Abington.

Henrie Percie sent before.

Irwin.

seeme) were not all of one mind.

Discord in the Scotish armie.

Sir Richard Lundie.

There was in the same armie a knight named sir Richard Lundie, which neuer yet had don homage to the king of England, but now fleing from his companie, he came to the English armie, and submitted himselfe with his retinue vnto the king of England, saieng that he ment not to serue amongst them any longer that could not agree togither. The residue of the Scotishmen sued for peace, vpon condition to haue liues, members, goods, cattels and lands saued, with a pardon of all offenses past. The lord Percie vpon pledges & writings heerof deliuered, was contented to grant their requests, so that the king his maister would be therewith pleased, who being hereof certified, bicause he would not gladlie be staied of his iournie into Flanders, granted vnto all things that were thus required.

The Scots sue for peace.

Then after that the earle of Surrie was come to the English campe, bicause William Waleis ceassed not in the meane time to assemble more people, the Englishmen doubting some treason, resolued to giue battell, but whilest they were in mind thus to do, the bishop of Glasco and William Douglas to auoid the note of disloialtie and treason, came and submitted themselues: and so the bishop was committed to ward within the castell of Rokesborough, and William Douglas in the castell of Berwike. It is to be noted, that euen in the verie time that the treatie was in hand betwixt the lord Percie and the Scotish capteins, the Scots of Gallowaie and other set vpon that part of the English campe, where the trusse and baggage laie, which they spoiled and ransacked, slaieng aboue fiue hundreth persons, what of men, women and children, but the alarum being raised, the Englishmen came to the rescue, and chasing the Scots, slue aboue a thousand of them, and recouered the most part of their owne goods, with more which they toke from their enimies.

The bishop of Glasco and William Douglas.

Abington.

In this meane time king Edward at the feast of Lammas held a councell at London, where he receiued the archbishop of Canturburie againe into his fauor, restoring vnto him all his goods and lands. He appointed him and the lord Reinold Grey to haue his eldest sonne prince Edward in keeping, till his returne out of Flanders. But Nicholas Triuet writeth, that the said prince Edward being appointed to remaine at home, as lieutenant to his father, there were appointed vnto him as councellors, Richard bishop of London, William earle of Warwike, and the forenamed lord Reinold Grey, with the lord John Gifford, and the lord Alane Plokenet, men of high wisedome, grauitie and discretion, without making mention of the archbishop of Canturburie in that place. The two earles Marshall and Hereford being commanded to attend the king into Flanders, refused, excusing themselues by messenger.

The archbish. of Canturburie receiued into fauour.

Nic. Triuet.

Gardians appointed to the kings sonne in his fathers absence.

Earles Marshall and Here ford refuse to go ouer with the king into Flanders.

After this, the king caused sir Rafe Monthermer (whom his daughter the countesse of Glocester, in hir widowhood had taken to husband without knowledge of hir father) to be deliuered out of the castell of Bristow, wherein he had beene kept prisoner a certeine time vpon displeasure for the marriage: but now he was not onelie set at libertie, but also restored to his wife, and to all the lands perteining to the earledome of Glocester, appointing him to find 50 men at armes to serue in that iournie into Flanders. He also deliuered the earles of Cassels and Menteth, John Comin, and diuers other Scotishmen, appointing them also to go with him into Flanders. Finallie hauing assembled his armie, ouer the which he made the lord Thomas Berklie constable, and Geffrey Jenuille marshall, he went to Winchelsey, and whilst he laie there before he toke the sea, there was presented vnto him from the earles a writing, which conteined the causes of the greefe of all the archbishops, bishops, abbats, earles, lords, barons, and of all the communaltie, as well for summoning them to serue by an vndue meane, as also for the vnreasonable tares, subsidies, impositions & paiements which they dailie susteined, and namelie the impost augmented vpon the custome of woll seemed to them verie grieuous. For whereas for euerie sacke of whole woll there was fortie shillings paid, and for euerie sacke of broken woll one marke: it was well knowne, that the woll of England was almost in value esteemed to be worth halfe the riches of the realme, and so the custome thereof paid, would ascend to a fift part of all the substance of the land.

The king from the earles of Hereford and Marshall.

The kings answer.

The kings answer thereunto was, that he could not alter any thing, without the aduise of his councell, of the which part were alreadie passed ouer into Flanders, and part were at London; and therfore he required the said earles, that if they would not attend him in that iournie into Flanders, they would yet in his absence do nothing that might be preiudiciall to the realme: for he trusted by Gods fauour to returne againe in safetie, and set all things in good order. At length, about the 21 daie of August, the king toke the sea, and landed in Flanders neere to Sluice, about the 27 day of the same moneth. He was no sooner on land, but that through old enuie and malice depending betweene the mariners of the cinque ports, and them of Vermouth and other quarters, a quarell was picked, so that they fell togither, and fought on the water in such earnest sort, notwithstanding the kings commandement sent to the contrarie, that there were 25 ships burnt and destroied of theirs of Vermouth, and other their partakers: also three of their greatest ships, part of the kings treasure being in one of them, were tolled forth into the high sea, and quite conueied awaie.

The king passeth ouer into Flanders.

Abington.

Debate and fighting betwixt the mariners of the cinque ports and others.

The king from Sluice first went to Bruges, and after to Gaunt, finding the countrie in euill state, by reason that the good towns were not all of one mind: for diuers of them misliked with the doings of the earle, in that he had alied himselfe with the French kings aduersaries. About the beginning of September was Lisle yelded vnto the French king, and after that they of Dolway, Curtray, and Bruges, did likewise submit themselues to the same king. Then was Charles earle of Valois sent to Bruges to fortifie that towne, and to take the English nauie that laie at anchor in the hauen of Dam: but the Englishmen hauing warning thereof, got forth with their vessels into the sea, and so the earle of Valois being disappointed of that preie, set in hand to fortifie Bruges and Dam. But the earle of Aussrich, & Robert de Neuers son to earle Guy, being sent with a power of Englishmen, Flemings, and other souldiors vnto Dam, fought with the Frenchmen, slue foure hundreth of them, besides diuers that were taken, and recouered the towne. They might also haue recouered Bruges, as was thought, if the Englishmen and Flemings had not fallen at strife, & fought togither about diuiding of the preie.

Ia. Meir.

Lisle yelded to the French king.

Charles de Valois sent to Bruges.

Finallie, after this, the French king came to Bruges, and when the king of England and the earle of Flanders had long looked and all in vaine for the emperor Adulfe, who had promised to come to their aid with a great armie; for the charges and wages wherof he had receiued great summes of monie both of the king of England, and also of the earle of Flanders: they concluded in the end (when they perceiued he would not come) to make some agreement with the French king: and so first was a truce taken, from the middest of October, vnto the calends of December, and after by mediation of Charles (surnamed Claudius) king of Sicill, the same truce was prolonged

The emperor Adulfe breaketh promise.

The lord Berkley. A libell deliuered to the

ged as hereafter ye shall heare.

In this meane while, to wit, about the end of August, the earle of Surrey, when he saw that the Scotishmen would not performe promise touching the deliuerie of the pledges, and that William Waleis still moued the people to rebellion, he assembled his armie, & with the same entring Scotland, came vnto Striueling. Then the lord steward of Scotland, and also the earle of Lenox came vnto him, requiring him to staie till they might haue leasure to see if they could bring the people of Scotland vnto the kings peace. But when they could not do it, they returned on the tenth day of September, promising to bring to the aid of the earle of Surrey on the morrow after fortie horssemen, vpon the which day two friers of the order of preachers were sent vnto William Waleis, and to the other Scotishmen lieng beyond the hill aboue the monasterie of Scambeskin, to moue them to the kings peace. But their answer was, that they were not come to haue peace, but to trie the matter by battell.

The pride of Hugh Cressingham.

The English armie without good aduise, thorough the presumptuous pride of the lord Hugh Cressingham, praised to the bridge, and hasting to passe the same, the Scotishmen came vpon them yer the one halfe could get ouer, and so fiercelie assailed them, that the Englishmen were beaten backe and slaine downe. For the Scots, after they saw so manie of the Englishmen to haue passed the bridge, as they thought themselues able to distresse, they made

The Scots assaile the Englishmen.

Abington.

downe to the bridge foot, and with a number of their spearemen on foot, closed it vp, that no more should come ouer to the aid of their fellowes, nor those that were alreadie passed, should returne againe: yet one sir Marmaduke Thweng a right valiant knight, which was one of the first among the men of armes that came ouer, after that he and his companie had driuen downe one wing of their aduersaries, & had followed them in chase a good waie, as purposing to haue gotten the conquest against them, at length perceiuing the companie behind distressed by the Scots, he returned with those few that were about him, and purposing to repasse the bridge, rushed in among the Scots that stood before him with such violence, that he passed thorough them, making waie for himselfe and his folks by great manhood, sauing one of his nephues also which was set on foot & wounded, after his horsse had béene killed vnder him.

The valiancie of sir Marmaduke Thweng.

The Englishmen discomfited.

At length the discomfiture was such, and the Scots preassed so earnestlie to win the bridge also of those Englishmen, which were not yet passed, that at length the earle of Surrey commanded to breake that end of the bridge, where they stood at defense to keepe backe the Scots, for else had there few of the Englishmen escaped. There were slaine (as some haue written) to the number of six thousand men, and amongst other was slaine sir Hugh Cressingham, whose skin (as hath béene reported) the Scots stripped off his dead carcasse, for the malice which they bare toward him. This discomfiture chanced on the 11 day of September. The earle of Surrey, leauing in the castell of Striueling the said sir Marmaduke Thweng, promised him to come to his aid at all times when need should be, within ten weekes space, and herewith taking his horsse, rode in such hast to Berwike, that after his comming thither, his steed being set vp in the stable of the friers minors, neuer after tasted meat, but died: after this, the said earle making no long aboad in Berwike, rode vp to London vnto prince Edward, and left the towne of Berwike as a preie to the Scotishmen: but those yet that had the castell in keeping, defended it manfullie against the Scots, the which assembled togither in campe vnder the leading of Alexander earle of Murrey: and their capteine William Waleis came to Berwike, and finding the towne void of all defense, entred it, but they could not win the castell by any meanes.

The earle of Surrey returneth in hast to Berwike.

The Scots enter Berwike.

The castell holdeth tacke against them.

The Northumberland men conueied their wiues, their children, their cattell, & other goods, which might be remoued, out of the countrie for feare of the enimies inuasion: but when the Scots lingered time, and entred not within the English borders for a season, they brought their goods againe, in hope that the Scots would not come forth of their owne marches at that time. But the Scots hauing aduertisement thereof, about the feast of S. Luke entred the English borders, and did much hurt within the countrie of Northumberland, so that to auoid the danger, all the religious men fled out of the monasteries situat betwixt Newcastell vpon Tine, and Carleill. The Scots spoiled, harried, and burnt vp the countrie, till the feast of saint Martine, and in the oactues of the same feast they drew togither, and went towards Carleill, which towne they summoned, as you shall heare.

The Scots inuade Northumberland, and spoile the countrie.

They sent a præst to them that kept it, commanding them to yéeld: but receiuing a froward answer, they fell to and wasted all that countrie, passing thorough the forrest of Inglewood, Cumberland, and Allerdale, till they came vnto Derwent and Cokermouth, not sparing either church nor chappell. Their meaning was to haue gone into the bishoprike of Durham, but what through sore weather of haile, snow and frost, & what through vaine feare of wrong information giuen by their spials, that the countrie was well prouided of men of warre for defense, they brake off that iournie, and yet there were not past a hundred men of armes, and three thousand footmen in that countrie, which were then also dispersed thorough irksomenesse of long staieng for the enimies. The Scots therefore drew vnto Yerham, and there lodged, not without vexing the canons, although they had granted letters of protection vnto the prior and couent of the same house, to indure for one whole yeare: and likewise letters of safe conduct to passe and repasse for one canon, one squire, and two seruants, when soeuer they should send to them, during that terme: which letters were giuen forth vnder the name of the said earle of Murrey, and William Waleis. From thence they went towards Newcastell, and burnt the towne of Riton. Finallie, perceiuing they could not preuaile in attempting to win the towne of Newcastell, they diuided their spoiles and returned home.

The forrest of Inglewood.

The towne of Riton burne. Anno Reg. 26.

The Scots returne home.

About the same time, to wit, a little before Christmasse, the lord Robert Clifford, with the power of the citie of Carleill, entred Annandale, committing all to the spoile of the footmen, of whome there was a great number. The men of armes on horsbacke, being not past an hundred in all, kept togither, and finding their enimies assembled nére to Annankirke, gaue a charge vpon them, and chased them into a marish, within the which they kept them, till the footmen came in, and assailing them, slue 308 persons, and tooke diuerse of them prisoners, and returning againe to their market, burnt ten villages, and on Christmasse euen returned with their preie and bootie vnto Carleill. In the beginning of Lent they made an other rode, in the which they burnt the church of Annan.

The lord Clifford inuadeth Annandale.

Annankirke.

Scots slaine.

1298

Annankirke burnt.

Whilest these things were in hand, prince Edward the kings eldest son, and other, which had the rule of the realme in the kings absence, sought meanes to pacifie the earles Marshall and Hereford: but they would not agrée, but vpon such conditions as pleased themselues to prescribe, which were, that the king should confirme the great charter, and the charter of

N Triuet.

The froward dealing of the erles of Hereford & Marshall.

forrests, with certeine new articles to be included in the same great charter, and that from thencefoorth the king should not charge his subiects so freelie at his pleasure as before time he had done, without consent of the states of parlement, and that he should pardon his displeasure and malice conceiued against them for denieng to go with him into Flanders. Manie other articles they would that the king should grant, confirme, pardon and establish. The which were all sent ouer into Flanders to the king, that he might peruse them, and declare whether he would agree or disagree to the same. He as one being driuen to the wall, thought good to yeld vnto the malice and iniquitie of the time, to reconcile the offended minds of the peeres and barons of his realme, and granted vnto all the said articles, confirming the same with his charter vnder his great seale. In consideration wherof, the nobles of the realme and commons granted to the king the ninth penie of all their goods: the archbishop of Canturburie, with the cleargie of his prouince, the tenth penie; and the elect of Yorke and those of his prouince, granted the fift penie; towards the maintenance of the war against the Scots, bicause they were nert vnto the danger.

Abington. A subsidie granted.

The king also by his speciall letters required the nobles of the realme, that if they continued in their due obedience to him, as they promised at his departure out of the realme to doo, that then they should resort and appeare at his parlement, to begin at Yorke the morrow after the feast of saint Hilarie, without all excuse or delaie: for otherwise he would accompt them as enimies to the commonwelth of the realme. At which day appeared the earles of Warren and Glocester, with the countesse of Glocester his wife daughter to the king, the earles Marshall, Hereford, and Arundell, Guie sonne to the earle of Warwike in his fathers roome: and of barons, the lord Henrie Percie, the lord John Wake, and the lord John Segraue, with manie of the nobilitie, the which being assembled togither, would that it should to all men be notified, in what manner the king had confirmed the great charter, and the charter of forrests: whereupon the same being read with the articles thereunto added, and put in, the bishop of Carleill, adorned in pontificalibus, did pronounce all them accursed, that went about to violate and breake the same. And bicause the Scotish lords appeared not, being summoned to be there, it was decreed that the armie should come togither at Newcastell vpon Tine, in the octaues of the feast of saint Hilarie nert insuing, so that the generall musters might then and there be taken.

Parlement at Yorke.

Magna charta.

The king laie the most part of this winter at Gant, in the which meane time there chanced sedition betweene th' Englishmen & the Gantners, insomuch that the Welshmen had set fire on the towne, if the king had not staied the matter. But the Flemish writers saie, the Englishmen set fire in foure parts of the towne indeed, that they might the more freelie haue robbed in other parts thereof, whilest the townesmen had gone about to quench the fire. But the townesmen bent on reuenge, assembled togither in great numbers, and falling on the Englishmen slue thirtie of their horssemen, and of their footmen to the number of seuen hundred, or thereabouts. They had also slaine the king, if a knight of Flanders had not made shift to saue him. ¶ Indeed (as should appeare by the same writers) the English footmen had done much hurt in the countrie, and namelie one day they spoiled the towne of Dam, and slue two hundred worthie personages, who had yelded themselues to the king at his first comming into the countrie.

Debate betwixt ℔ kings men and the Gantners.

And although the king caused certeine of those that had done this outrage to be hanged: yet the Flemings bare this & other iniuries in their minds, & meant to be reuenged thereof, before the Englishmen departed out of their countrie, and therefore there drew out of sundrie parts into the citie of Gant by small companies, to the number of foure thousand men of armes, besides a great multitude of footmen, and when they perceiued themselues strong inough (as they tooke the matter) at the day amongst them appointed, and considered in their minds, that

——vnita potentior est vis
Quælibet, at partes in plures secta peribit,

they clustred togither, and vnder the leading of the earles sonnes, William and Robert, they did first set vpon the Englishmen that were in their lodgings, of whom they slue diuerse, and after comming forth into the streets, they ment to haue made slaughter of all the residue: but by the noise that was raised, the king had warning in what state the matter stood, and therewith getting him to armour, came forth of his lodging, and streightwaies his people flocked about him. And furthermore, the footmen which were lodged in the suburbes, hearing of this tumult, got them to armour, & approching the gates, found them shut: but with fire which they kindled with straw, wood, butter and tallow, and other such things, they burnt vp the same gates and so got in, losing not past six persons that were slaine at the first entring.

The Flemings set vpon the Englishmen in their lodgings.

Herewith the earle of Flanders came to the king, and besought him to staie his people from committing further outrage: but the king as he had reason so to doo, blamed him for the outragious attempt of his people, and bad him go to appease them, or he would take paine with them himselfe to his owne smertie, though not greatlie to their ease. The earle went, and preuailed so much, that at length he quieted them, and then was order giuen for restitution of such things as had been taken from any man wrongfullie, according to the order and direction prescribed by certeine discreet persons appointed as commissioners in that behalfe. The king perceiuing himselfe in some danger, and that without the fauour of the Flemings he might hardlie escape out of their countrie, bare manie things, and spake courteouslie, making partlie amends for the harms done by his people, as well abroad in the countries as in the towns. And finallie about Midlent he returned into England, as after ye shall heare.

The earle of Flanders pacifieth his people.

In this meane time, by the kings appointment, the earle of Surrey lord warden of Scotland, with other earles and noble men to him associat, about the feast of saint Hilarie, had assembled an armie at Yorke, hauing first summoned the lords of Scotland to appeare there at the same day, who yet came not, but contrarilie had besieged the castell of Rockelborough. Whereupon the earle of Surrey hasted thitherwards, so that William Waleis and other of the Scotishmen which laie there at siege, raised the same, and departed from thence. The earle of Surrey comming to Rockelborough, and relieuing them that kept it with such things as they wanted, passed forth to Kelsow, and came afterwards to the towne of Berwike, which the Scotishmen had left void. Here came letters vnto them from king Edward, signifieng that he had taken truce with the French king, and that he meant shortlie to returne into England, and therefore commanded them not to make any further enterprise than the defending of the frontiers, and the recouerie of Berwike, till his comming ouer. Hereupon was a great part of the armie discharged, and such onelie remained in Berwike as might suffice for defense thereof.

Nic. Triuet. An armie assembled at yorke.

The Scots besiege Rockelborough.

The earle of Surrey entreth Scotland.

King Edward hauing made an end of his businesse in Flanders, as before ye haue heard, returned now

K. Edward returneth homewards.

now towards England, and came to a towne called Ardenburge, where the most part of such Scotishmen as he had brought with him into Flanders sliped from him, and went vnto Paris. The king being returned into England, remoued the barons of the excheker, and the iustices of the bench vnto Yorke, calling a parlement thither, and gaue summons vnto the lords of Scotland to come to the same: but making default in their appearance, he sent forth his commission and letters to warne his subiects to be readie with horsse and harnesse at Rockesborough in the feast of the Natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptist next insuing. They obeieng his commandement, assembled there at the day appointed.

The Scots summoned to the parlement at Yorke, refused to come.

In armie raised.

There were in this armie now assembled at Rockesborough togither with those of the bishoprike, about three thousand men of armes mounted on barded horsses, besides foure thousand other armed men on horssebacke without bards. There were also a great number of footmen, and yet none but such as came vpon their owne good willes, the which were almost all Welshmen or Irishmen. There came also afterwards fiue hundred men of armes well apparelled, furnished and mounted out of Gascoine, of the which a certeine number were sent to Berwike by the king: where after the battell fought with the Scots, they remained in garison. The earle of Hereford, and the earle Marshall were present with their retinues amongst other in this armie here assembled at Rockesborough, the which vpon suspicion conceiued of that they had heard, thought it not sufficient to haue the kings letters patents touching the confirmation of the two charters, and other the articles aboue mentioned, signed by him, whilest he was out of the realme, and therefore required that he would now within his owne land confirme the same againe. Here the bishop of Durham, Iohn earle of Surrie, William earle of Warwike, and Rafe erle of Glocester, vndertooke for the king, that after he had subdued his enimies, and should be againe returned into the realme, he should satisfie them in that behalfe, and confirme the same articles.

Abington.
The number of men armed in this armie.
Welshmen and Irishmen.
Gascoins.
N. Triuet.
The earles of Hereford and Marshall mistrust the king.

This done, the king marching forth with his armie, came to Temple Hilton, and sent forth the bishop of Durham to take certeine castels therabouts, as Dinton or (as some copies haue) Dzilton, and other two, which enterprise the bishop speedilie accomplished. The English fleet that should haue come from Berwike, and kept alongst the coast to haue furnished the armie with victuals, was staied and holden backe with contrarie winds, so that the armie began to be in great necessitie of victuals. The Scotishmen were aduertised hereof, and supposing that the Englishmen by reason of such want of victuals, had not beene able through feblenesse to make anie great resistance, assembled their powers togither, and came towards the place where the king with his armie was lodged.

Castels won by the bishop of Durham.

At the same time two of the English ships arriued there with victuals, the which being bestowed amongst the souldiors, releeued them greatlie of their hunger. Amongest other the Welshmen had two tunnes of wine deliuered to them for their share, the which they tasted so greedilie, that ouercome therewith they fell to quarrelling with the Englishmen, and begun a fraie, in the which they slue eighteene, and hurt diuerse. The English horssemen herewith being kindled with displeasure, got them to armor, and setting vpon the Welshmen, slue of them to the number of fourescore, and put the other to flight: whereupon the next morning it was said that the Welshmen vpon wrath conceiued hereof meant to depart to the Scots: but yet when the campe remoued, they followed the armie though a farre off, and apart by themselues, insomuch that manie doubted least if the Englishmen had chanced to haue had the worsse at the Scotishmens hands, they would haue ioined with them against the Englishmen. This bloodie broile sprang of intemperancie, and surfetting drunkennesse, which is worthie to be thus disclaimed,

Abington.
A fraie betwixt the welsh and Englishmen.
The Englishmen stand in doubt of the Welshmen.

——animæ lethum, & vitiorum
Nutrix ac scelerum, quid non mortalia cogis
Pectora? Quid per te non audent? Iurgia, lites,
Prælia dira moues, & gaudes sanguine fuso,
Sordidior quæ res, quæ bellua vilior? &c.

The king now hearing that the Scots were comming towards him, raised his field, and went forth to meet them, lodging the next night in a faire plaine. In the morning verie earlie, a great alarme was raised, so that euerie man got him to armour, supposing the Scots to be at hand. The horsse appointed for the kings saddle that day, as the king should haue got vpon him, frighted with some noise, started aside, and threw the king downe with such violence, that he brake two of his ribbes, as the report went. Other write, that his horsse trod on him in the night, as he and his people rested them, keeping their horsses still bridled, to be readie the sooner vpon occasion of any necessitie: but howsoeuer he came by his hurt, he staied not to passe forward in his purposed iournie, but mounting vpon an other horsse, went forth with his armie till he came to a place called Foukirke, where both the armies of England and Scotland met and fought.

N. Triuet.
The battell of Foukirke.

The Scots were diuided in foure schiltrons, as they termed them, or as we may saie, round battels, in forme of a circle, in the which stood their people that carried long staues or speares, which they crossed faintlie togither one within another, betwixt which schiltrons or round batels were certeine spaces left, the which were filled with their archers and bowmen, and behind all these were their horssemen placed. They had chosen a strong ground, somewhat sloeling on the side of a hill. The earles Marshall, Hereford, & Lincolne, which led the fore ward of the Englishmen, at the first made directlie towards the Scots, but they were staied, by reason they found a marish, or an euill fauoured mosse betwixt their enimies and them, so that they were constreined to fetch a compasse towards the west side of the field. The bishop of Durham ruling in the second battell of the Englishmen, consisting of six and thirtie standards or banners, knowing the let of that mosse or marish toward the east side, hasted forth to be the first that should giue the onset: but yet when they approched neere to the enimies, the bishop commanded his people to staie till the third battell, which the king led, might approach. But that valiant knight the lord Rafe Basset of Draiton said to him: My lord bishop, you may go and say masse, which better becommeth you, than to teach vs what we haue to do, for we will do that which belongeth to the order and custome of warre.

Abington.
The order of the Scotish battels.
The earles Marshall, Hereford, and Lincolne led the fore ward.
The bishop of Durham led the second ward.
The lord Basset of Draitons words to the bishop of Durham.

Herewith they hasted forth on that side to charge the first schiltron of the Scots, and the earles with their battell on the other side, and euen vpon the first brunt the Scotish horssemen fled, a few onelie excepted, which staied to keepe the footmen in order. And amongst other was the brother of the lord steward of Scotland, who as he was about to set in order the bowmen of Selkirke, by chance was vnhorssed, and slaine there amongst the same bowmen, and manie a tall mans bodie with him. The Scotish archers thus being slaine, the Englishmen assailed the spearemen; but keeping themselues close togither, and standing at defense with their speares like a thicke wood, they kept out the English horssemen for a while, & fought manfullie, though they were sore beaten with shot of

The Scotish horssemen flee.
Their archers slaine.
These Scotish spearemen were of Galloway as Euerlden saith.

arrowes by the English archers on kot: & so at length galled with shot; and assailed by the horssemen on ech side, they begun to disorder and shrinke from one side to another, and herewith the horssemen brake in amongst them, and so they were slaine and beaten downe in maner all the whole number of them.

Nic. Triuet. Some saie there died of the Scots that daie (being the two & twentith of Julie, and the feast of Marie Magdalene) aboue twentie thousand. Other write that there were slaine at the least to the number of 15 thousand. The Scotish writers alledge that this battell was lost by treason of the Comins and other, as in the Scotish historie ye may more plainlie perceiue, with more matter touching the same battell: after this was the towne of saint Andrews destroied, no man being within to make resistance. And from thence the English armie came through Selkirke forrest vnto the castell of Aire, which they found void: and after they came by the towne of Annan, and take the castell of Lochmabeu, and so returned into England by the west marches, and came to Carleill.

Math. West. saith fourtie thousand. Polydor. N. Triuet.

The towns of S. Andrews.

The castell of Aire.

Abington. About the same time certeine Irish lords, and amongst other as theefe, one Thomas Biset landed in the Ile of Araine, the inhabitants whereof yelded themselues vnto the same Thomas, who (as was iudged) meant to haue aided the Scots: but now hearing of the victorie which king Edward had gotten in a pight field, he sent vnto him to giue him to vnderstand that he was come in his aid, & had won the said Ile of Araine, and therfore besought him that it might please him to grant it vnto him and his heires for euer. Which request the king granted: whereof when the earles Marshall and Hereford were aduertised, they thought this a rash part of the king, considering that he had promised to do nothing anew without their consents and counsell.

Irish lords. The Ile of Araine.

Thomas Biset requireth the Ile of Araine.

The euill opinion of the earles Marshall & Hereford towards the king.

Therefore the king being (as ye haue heard) returned to Carleill, they got licence to depart home with their people, leauing the king still at Carleill, where he remained a time, and held a parlement there, in the which he granted vnto manie of his nobles, the lands and liuings of diuers noble men of the Scots, as to the earles earledomes, to the barons baronies; but Gallowaie and Annandale, with certeine other counties, he assigned to none, reseruing the same (as was thought) vnto the foresaid two earles, least they should thinke themselues euill dealt with, if they had no part bestowed on them amongst the residue.

The kings liberalitie towards his nobles.

The king after this went to Durham, and from thence thought to haue returned streight towards London, but hearing that the Scots meant to make some inuasion, he went to Tinmouth, and remained there till towards Christmasse. Now when the king had laine a certeine time at Tinmouth, he departed from thence, and drew southward, and comming to Cotingham, a little from Beuerlie, held his Christmasse there, and after drew towards London, where in the beginning of Lent, he held a parlement, at the which he was required to keepe promise for the confirmation of the two charters and articles concluded with the earles of Hereford and Marshall. The king was nothing contented that this matter should be so earnestlie called vpon, for loth he was to grant their full requests; and againe to denie them, he stood in doubt how it might be taken: he therefore prolonged time, & would make no answer either to or fro. But when the lords urged him so sore to giue them answer, he got him out of the citie, not making them priuie of his departure, and when they followed him, and seemed not well contented that he should so dissemble with them, he excused himselfe by blaming the aire of the citie to be against his health, and therefore bare them in hand, that he onelie sought to refresh himselfe in some better aire in the countrie more agreeable to his nature: and as for answer to their requests, he willed them to repaire againe to the citie, and they should haue answer by his counsell, so farre as should stand with reason to content them. They returned as he willed them, and had the charters confirmed according to their requests, saiing that this addition was put in the latter end of the same, *Saluo iure corone nostre*. With which addition the lords were offended, and turned home to their houses in as great displeasure towards the king as before.

Anno Reg. 27.

Cotingham.

1299

A parlement. Abington.

The lords call vpon the king to performe promise.

His answer.

The addition put in the conclusion of the articles.

The councell doubting some seditious stir to arise hereof amongst the people, deliuered the charters (so sealed and signed as they were) vnto the shiriffes of London, that the same might be read openlie before the people, which was done in Paules churchyard in presence of a great assemblie there, come togither and gathered for that purpose. The people (than whom the sea in ebbing and flowing is not more inconstant, nor in iudgment more rash, heddie, sudden, and vnaduised, as one saith verie well, & to purpose,

Iudicium vulgi insulsum, imbecillúque mens est,
Quandoquidem inuisa est vulgo sapientia, &c.)

at the first before they heard the addition, gaue manie blessings to the king for those grants: but when they heard with what words he concluded, they cursed as fast as before they had blessed. Before this parlement was dissolued, the lords had warning to returne againe shortlie after Easter, and then they had all things granted and performed as they could wish or desire. The perambulations of forrestes were appointed vnto three bishops, three earles, and three barons.

The articles red in Paules churchyard.

The perambulations of forrests.

About the latter end of June there came ouer a bishop sent from pope Boniface as his Nuncio, and diuerse other with him, to declare the order which the pope as arbitrator indifferentlie chosen betwixt the kings of England and France, for the deciding of all controuersies depending betwixt them, had giuen forth & decréed, which was in effect as followeth.

A bishop sent from the pope.

1 First that king Edward being then a widdower should marrie the French kings sister named Margaret, notwithstanding the degrées of consanguinitie, for the which the pope would dispense.

The popes decrée of peace betwixt the kings of England & France.

2 That the lord Edward the kings eldest sonne should at conuenient time take to wife the ladie Isabell the French kings daughter.

3 That the king of England should make satisfaction for the French ships which his men had taken at the beginning of the war, and that sundrie townes in Gascoine should be put into the popes hands, till it might be vnderstood vnto whome the right appertained. But those two last articles toke small effect, the French king refusing to deliuer any of those townes which he had gotten in possession. Moreouer, these messengers in the popes behalfe required the king that he would set John Baliol, sometime king of Scotland at libertie, and restore those lands vnto his sonne Edward Baliol, which he ought to hold within the realme of England, promising and vndertaking in the popes behalfe to preserue and saue the realme harmelesse from all hurt and damage that might insue by the deliuerie of the said John Baliol.

Nic. Triuet.

The popes request for the releasing to libertie of John Baliol.

King Edward vnderstanding that there was great danger in setting him at libertie, was contented to deliuer him vnto the pope, but he refused to make restitution vnto Baliol of the lands which he demanded. The popes ambassadours receiuing John Baliol at king Edwards hands, toke him ouer with him into France, and there left him in the custodie of the bishop of Cambrie, the popes deputie in that behalfe, where shortlie after he died. After this, according

John Baliol deliuered out of prison at the popes suit.

Polydor. He departeth this life.

ding to the couenants of agreement made betwixt the two kings of England and France, the captiues vpon either part were deliuered. In the feast of the nativitie of our Ladie, the king married the ladie Margaret sister to the French king at Canturburie with great solemnitie. About the feast of S. Martine in winter the king held a parlement at Yorke, meaning to haue gone from thence into Scotland, to haue rescued the castell of Striueling, which the Scotishmen had besieged, and had it surrendred vnto them, yer the king could set forward to come to raise the siege. The same yeare died Henrie Newarke archbishop of Yorke, and Thomas Corbridge a doctour in diuinitie succeded him.

N. Triuet.

The king marieth the Frech kings sister.

A parlement at Yorke.

The decease of the archbishop of Yorke. Anno Reg. 28.

1300

In the eight and twentith yeare of his reigne, in the Christmasse season king Edward set forth a proclamation, forbidding and prohibiting all forren coins to be receiued and paid as sterling monie within his dominion, commanding by the same proclamation, that two peeces of them should go for one sterling, vntill the feast of Easter. There were diuerse monies in those daies currant within this realme, as pollards, crocards, staldings, eagles, leonines, sleepings, and all these were white monies, artificiallie made of siluer, copper, and sulphur, so that it was an ill time for base monies, & much chopping and changing was vsed in buieng and selling of things.

Abington.

A proclamation for monie.

Forren monies forbidden to go as currant.

At Easter following the king vtterlie forbad that any of those monies should be currant at all, and held his exchange in sundrie places, and to be rid of them, men gaue fiue or six of them for one sterling, not caring for them, bicause of their baseneslle, and yet within a yeare after that men had learned the skill by proofe how to trie mettall with melted lead in the fire, they found that two peeces of those base monies were in value worth one sterling, and many became rich by the exchange, which had bought good store of them, when they were so smallie esteemed: but the king caused inquirie to be made of them that vsed such exchange without his licence, and put them to their fines.

At a parlement holden at London in Lent this yeare, the king renewed the confirmation of the charters, and made certeine new statutes concerning fines and goale deliueries, verie profitable to the common-wealth. About the feast of saint Iohn Baptist, king Edward went with an armie into Scotland, and there granted a truce to the Scots that inhabited the mounteine countries to indure for eleuen moneths, that is to saie, till Whitsuntide next insuing. As the king was vpon his iournie forewards in the north parts, his late married wife queene Margaret was deliuered of hir first sonne at Brotherton, a place in Yorkeshire not farre from Pontfret; he was named Thomas, and toke the surname of Brotherton, of the place where he was borne.

Abington.

The king goeth with an armie into Scotland.

Thomas of Brotherton borne the first of June.

Moreouer pope Boniface at the sute of the Scots wrote his letters vnto king Edward, commanding him by the same and by the archbishop of Canturburie, whome he appointed to deliuer the same letters by other letters to him directed, that he should not onelie release and set at libertie all such Scots as he had in prison, but also giue ouer his warres which he made against the realme of Scotland: and if he meant to make anie claime to the same, then to send his procurators vnto the court of Rome, and there to shew what euidence he could for his right thereto, where the mater (as he mainteined) was to be heard, decided, and iudged; and not elsewhere. The archbishop, according to the popes commandement, did the message, and presented the popes letters vnto the king, who deferred the answer vnto the assemblie of the estates in parlement, and hereof the archbishop aduertised the pope accordinglie, as in the letters to him directed he was commanded; which he durst not but satisfie, bicause he was persuaded the popes authoritie to haue bene so ample and peremptorie, that there was no resisting or gainesaieng of him, sith,

Vt medijs ludunt in aquis immania cete,
Et patulo pisces quoslibet ore vorant:
Sic tenet imperium mortales inter, & omnes
Diripit, illicita subdit & arte duces,
Omnibus insultans, sic subijcit impius orbem,
Implicat atque suo regia colla iugo.

Amith, Christ. & Antichrist. pag. 24.

This yeare also on saint Remigius daie, which is the first of October, died Edmund earle of Cornewall, the sonne of earle Richard, that was also king of Almaine; and bicause he left no issue behind him to inherit that earledome, the same returned to the crowne. In the 29 yeare of king Edwards reigne, on saint Oswalds day, or (as some haue written) the friday after the feast of Peter Ad Vincula, his wife queene Margaret was deliuered of hir second sonne, that had to name Edmund of Woodstoke, surnamed so of the place where he was borne. ¶ The king also this yeare after Christmasse held a parlement at Lincolne, to the which the earls and barons of the realme came in armour, to the end (as it is said) that they might procure of the king the more speedie execution of the charter of forrests, which by him had hitherto bene delaied, but now that he perceiued their earnestnesse and importunate suit, he condescended to their willes in all things.

Euersden.

Anno Reg. 29. Matth. Westm. Croxden.

1301

Pope Boniface being sollicited by the instant suit of the Scotishmen, and offended also that the lands in England, which belonged vnto Edward Balioll sonne of John Balioll, were not to the same Edward restored, he eftsones wrote to king Edward; forbidding him from thence forth any further to ver the Scots by wars, bicause that the kingdome of Scotland was surrendred alreadie into his hands by the generall consent of the Scotishmen themselues, and therefore was it in his power to bestow and take away the same to whom or from whom soeuer it should please him.

Pope Boniface prohibiteth the king of England further to ver the Scots.

¶ There were reasons alledged why the king of England seemed to do wrong in challenging as then the kingdome of Scotland: and amongst other, one was, that such homage as had bene done of ancient time to the kings of England, by the kings of the Scots, was onelie meant for Tindale, Penreth, and such other lands as the Scotish kings held within England, and not for the realme of Scotland. And whereas the kings of Scotland had aided the kings of England in their warres against the rebels of the realme of England, and bene present at their coronation, the same was done of spectall fauour, and not of dutie. K. Edward hauing receiued the popes prescript, and well considered the whole contents thereof, sent in writing his answer at large, proouing by euident reasons that the right of proprietie in the kingdome of Scotland, did most iustlie apperteine vnto him, and that the allegations were not true, but forged, which had bene by surmised information presented against him.

N. Triuet.

Beside the kings letters, which he wrote in his owne behalfe, there was an other letter deuised and written by all the lords temporall of the land, assembled in parlement at Lincolne, in which letter they answered in name of all the estates there gathered, vnto that point wherein the pope pretended a right to be iudge for the title of the realme of Scotland, protesting flatlie, that they would not consent that their king should do any thing that might tend to the disheriting of the right of the crowne of England, and plaine ouerthrow of the state of the same realme, and

also hurt of the liberties, customs, and lawes of their fathers, sith it was neuer knowne, that the kings of this land had answered or ought to answer for their rights in the same realme, afore any iudge ecclesiasticall or secular.

The tenour of the foresaid letter *indited and directed to pope* Boniface.

TO our most holie father in Christ, Boniface by Gods prouidence high bishop of the holie Romane and vniuersall church, his deuout sonnes John earle Warren, Thomas erle of Lancaster, Rafe de Monthermer earle of Glocester and Hereford, Humfrey de Bohun earle of Hertford and Essex and constable of England, Roger Bigod earle of Norfolke, and marschall of England, Guie earle of Warwike, Richard earle of Arundell, Idomare de Valence lord of Monterney, Henrie de Lancaster lord of Monmouth, John de Hastings lord of Bergeuennie, Henrie de Percie lord of Topclike, Edmund de Mortimer lord of Wigmor, Robert Fitz Walter lord of Wodham, John de S. John lord of Hannake, Hugh de Vær lord of Swanescampe, William de Bzeuse lord of Gower, Robert de Monthault lord of Hawarden, Robert de Tatelhall lord of Wokeham, Reignold de Grey lord of Ruthin, Henrie de Grey lord of Coduore, Hugh Bardolfe lord of Wormegaie, Robert de Clifford chatellaine of Appelbie, Peter de Malowe lord of Mulgræne, Philip lord of Kime, Robert Fitz Roger lord of Clauerings, John de Mohun lord of Dunester, Almerike de S. Amound lord of Widehaie, William de Ferrers lord of Grobie, Alane de Zouche lord of Alhbie, Theobald de Verdon lord of Webbeley, Thomas de Furniuall lord of Schefield, Thomas de Multon lord of Egremont, William Latimer lord of Corbie, Thomas lord Berkley, Foulke Fitz Warren lord of Witingham, John lord Segraue, Edmund de Eincourt lord of Thurgerton, Peter Corbet lord of Caus, William de Cantelowe lord of Rauensthorpe, John de Beauchampe lord of Hache, Roger de Mortimer lord of Penkethlin, John Fitz Reignold lord of Blenleueny Rafe de Neuill lord of Rabie, Brian Fitz Alane lord of Bedale, William Marshall lord of Hengham, Walter lord Huntercombe, William Martin lord of Cameis, Henrie de Thies lord of Chilton, Roger le Ware lord of Isefield, John de Riuers lord of Augre, John de Lancaster lord of Grisedale, Robert Fitz Paine lord of Lainnier, Henrie Tregoz lord of Garinges, Robert Hipard lord of Lomford, Walter lord Fancomberge, Roger le Strange lord of Ellesmer, John le Strange lord of Cnokin, Thomas de Chances lord of Morton, Walter de Beauchampe lord of Alecester, Richard Talbot lord of Eccleswell, John Butetourt lord of Wendesham, John Engain lord of Colum, Hugh de Poinz lord of Cornealet, Adam L. of Wels, Simon L. Montacute, John L. Sulle, John de Welles or Woelles L. of Candeburie, Edmund baron Stafford, John Louell lord of Hackings, Edmund de N. lord of Elchinhonokes, Rafe Fitz William L. of Grimthorpe, Robert de Scales lord of Neusels, William Tuchet lord of Lewenhales, John Albadan lord of Deuerston, John de Hauerings lord of Grafton, Robert la Ward lord of Whitehall, Nicholas de Segraue lord of Stow, Walter de Tey L. of Stongraue, John de Lisle lord of Wodton, Eustace lord Hacche, Gilbert Peche L. of Corbie, William Painell lord Trachington, Rog. de *Albo monasterio*, Foulke le Strange lord of Corlham, Henrie de Pinkenie lord of Wedon, John de Hodelesion lord of Aneis, John de Huntingfield lord of Bradenham, Hugh Fitz Henrie lord of Rauenswath, John Daleton lord of Sporle, Nicholas de Carrie lord of Mulesford, Thomas lord de la Roche, Wal. de Muncie lord of Thornton, John Fitz Marmaduke lord of Horden, John lord of Kingston, Robert Hastings the father lord of Chebesley, Rafe lord Grendon, William lord of Leiborne, John de Greistocke lord of Morpath, Matthew Fitz John lord of Stokenham, Nicholas de Neuell lord of Wherlton, and John Painell lord of Ateli, with all humble submission.

Hastings I take it.

whiteminster I thinke.

Thus far out of M. Parkins of the inner temple.

The holie mother church, by whose ministerie the catholike sée is gouerned, in hir dœds (as we throughlie beléeue and hold) procedeth with that ripenesse in iudgement, that she will be hurtfull to none, but like a mother would euerie mans right be kept vnbroken, aswell in another, as in hir selfe. Whereas therfore in a generall parlement called at Lincolne of late, by our most dread lord Edward by the grace of God the noble king of England; the same our lord caused certeine letters receiued from you to be read openlie, and to be declared seriouslie afore vs, about certeine businesse touching the condition and state of the realme of Scotland: we did not a little muse and maruell with our selues, hearing the meanings concerning the same, so wondrous and strange as the like we haue not heard at any time before. For we know most holie father, and it is well knowne aswell within this realme of England (as also not vnknowne to other persons besides) that from the first beginning of the realme of England, the certeine and direct gouernment of the realme of Scotland in all temporall causes from time to time belonged to the kings of the same relme of England and relme of Scotland, aswell in the times both of the Britains as also Englishmen, yea rather the same realme of Scotland of old time was in fée to the ancestours of our foresaid lords kings of England, yea and to himselfe.

Out of maister Fox. pag. 427.

The K. goeth to Scotland.

Iohn. Reg. 30. 1302 Truce granted to the Scots.

The king returneth into England.

The pope requireth the K. of England to make peace betweene France

Furthermore, the kings of Scots and the realme haue not béene vnder any other than

than the kings of England, and the kings of England haue answered or ought to answer for their rights in the foresaid relme, or for anie his temporalities before anie iudge ecclesiasticall or secular, by reason of frée preheminence of the state of his roiall dignitie and custome kept without breach at all times. Wherefore, after treatie had, and diligent deliberation of the contents in your foresaid letters, this was the common agreement & consent with one mind, and shall be without faile in time to come by Gods grace, that our foresaid lord the king ought by no meanes to answer in iudgement in any case, or should bring his foresaid rights into doubt, nor ought not to send any procors or messengers to your presence, speciallie seeing that the premisses tend manifestlie to the disheriting of the right of the crowne of England, and the plaine ouerthrowe of the state of the said realme, and also hurt of the liberties, customes and lawes of our fathers, for the keeping & defense of which we are bound by the duetie of the oth made, and we will mainteine them with all power, and will defend them (by Gods helpe) with all strength; and furthermore, will not suffer our foresaid lord the king to do or by anie means attempt the premisses being so vnaccustomed, vnwont, and not hard of afore. Wherefore we reuerentlie and humblie beseech your holinesse, that yee would suffer the same our lord king of England (who among other princes of the world sheweth himselfe catholike and deuout to the Romish church) quietlie to inioy his rights, liberties, customes, and lawes aforesaid: without all impairing and trouble, and let them continue vntouched. In witnesse whereof, we haue set our seales to these presents, as well for vs, as for the whole communaltie of the foresaid relme of England. Dated at Lincolne the twelfth of Februarie, in the yeare of our Lord 1301, *Et anno Edwardi primi 29.*

The pope when he heard and deliberatelie pondered the kings answer, with this letter directed to him from the English barons, waxed cold in the matter, and followed it no further. The truce betwixt the king and the Scots being once expired, the king assembled his armie, and went into Scotland, about the feast of saint Iohn Baptist, and tarieng there all the summer and winter following, his souldiers lost manie of their great horsses for lacke of forrage, which could not be gotten in the cold winter season. He kept his Christmas at Lithquo, and at length at the request and sute of his brother in law the French king, he granted essoones a truce to the Scotishmen, vntill the feast of All saints next insuing.

The k. goeth to Scotland.

Anno. Reg. 30. 1302

A truce granted to the Scots.

When hauing ordered his businesse for that time in Scotland, he returned into England, and about midlent called a parlement at London. Also this yeare pope Boniface vpon displeasure conceiued against the French king, sent vnto king Edward, exhorting him to make warres against the same French king, and to persuade him the more easilie thereunto, he promised him great aid: but the king of England hauing proued the said pope, not the surest man in friendship towards him, forbare to attempt anie forceable exploit against the French king, trusting by some other meanes to recouer his right.

The king returneth into England.

The pope exhorteth the k. of England to make war against Frãce.

This yeare Humfrey Bohun earle of Hereford departed out of this life, after whome succeeded his sonne Humfrey, who afterwards maried the kings daughter, Elizabeth countesse of Holland, after that hir first husband was dead. Tournies, iustes, barriers, and other warlike exercises, which yong lords and gentlemen had appointed to exercise for their passime in diuerse parts of the realme, were forbidden by the kings proclamations sent downe to be published by the shirifs in euerie countie abroad in the realme: the tesse of the writ was from Westminster the sirtenth of Julie. ¶ The citizens of Burdeaux could not beare the yoke of the French bondage, and therefore this yeare about Christmasse expelled them out of their citie. ¶ Shortlie after the French king doubting least the king of England, by the setting on of the pope, should make warres against him for wrongfull deteining of Gascoine, to purchase his fauor, restored to him all that which he held in Gascoine, and so then they of Burdeaux also submitted themselues to the king of England of their owne accord.

The deceasse of the earle of Hereford.

Re. Tur. Tournies prohibited.

Townes restored to the k. in Gascoine.

Now after that the truce with the Scots was expired, which tooke end at the feast of All saints last past, the king sent the lord Iohn Segraue, a right valiant knight (but not so circumspect in his gouernment as was necessarie) with a great armie into Scotland, to haue the rule of the land as lord warden of the same: with him was ioined also Rafe Confreie, treasurer of the armie. These two captens comming to the borders, and hearing that the Scotishmen alreadie were in armes, they entered into Scotland, and in order of battell passed forth to Edenburgh, and hearing nothing of their enimies which kept them still in the mounteins, they deuided their armie into three seuerall battels, two of the which came behind the fore ward vnder the leading of the said Rafe Confreie, the third (that is to say) the fore ward, the lord Segraue led himselfe, in such order that there was the distance of foure miles betwixt their lodgings. This they did to be the more plentifullie serued of vittels.

Polydor. The lord Segraue set with an armie into Scotland.

Abington. Polydor.

But the Scots vnderstanding this order of their enimies, became the more hardie, and thereupon hauing knowledge where the lord Segraue was lodged with his companie, a good way off from the other two parts of the armie, they hasted forwards in the night season, and came néere vnto the place where the same lord Segraue was incamped, a little before daie, making themselues readie to assaile the Englishmen in their campe. But the lord Segraue hauing knowlege of their comming, though he was counselled by some of them that were about him, either to withdraw vnto the other battels, or else to send vnto them to come to his aid, he would follow neither of both the waies; but like a capteine more hardie than wise in this point, disposed his companies which he had there in order to fight, and incouraging them to plaie the men, immediatlie vpon the rising of the sunne, and that his enimies approched, he caused the trumpets to sound to the battell, and gaue therewith the onset.

The fight was sore and doubtfull for a while, till the Englishmen ouercome with the multitude of their enimies began to be slaine on each side, so that few escaped by flight. To the number of twentie worthie knights were taken, with their capteine the said lord Segraue being sore wounded, but he was by chance rescued and deliuered out of the enimies hands, by certeine horssemen, which vnder the leading of the lord

The Englishmen vanquished by the Scots.

Abington.

lord Robert Neuell a right valiant knight (vpon hearing the noise of them that fled) came on the spurs out of the nert campe to the succour of their fellowes. Rafe Confreie after this mishap (as Polydor saith) brought backe the residue of the armie into England, not thinking it necessarie to attempt any further enterprise at that time against the enimies, ouermatching him both in strength and number. This incounter chanced on the first sundaie in Lent. ¶ I remember the Scotish chronicles conteine much more of this enterprise greatlie to their glorie, and more (haplie) than is true, as by conferring the place where they intreat of it, with this that I haue here exemplified out of our writers it may well appeare. The earle Marshall hauing spent largelie whilest he stood in contention against the king, who was now earnestlie called vpon to repaie such summes of monie as he had borowed of his brother John Bigod, who was verie rich by reason of such benefices and spirituall liuings as he had in his hands, the earle bicause he had no children, to whom he might leaue his lands, meant to haue left them vnto his said brother: but when he saw him so importunate in calling for the debts which he owght him; he toke such displeasure therewith, that to obteine the kings fauour, and to disapoint his brother of the inheritance, he gaue vnto the king all his possessions, vpon condition that the king adding thereto other lands in value worth a thousand markes by yeare, should restore them to him againe to inioy during his life, the remainder after his decease to come vnto the king, and further, the king should paie and discharge him of all his debts.

Rafe Cõfreie was slaine at this incounter, as Abington saith.

N. Triuet. The earle Marshall resigneth his lands vnto the king.

King Edward being aduertised of the losse which his men had susteined in Scotland, streightwaies called a parlement, wherein by assent of the states a subsidie was granted, towards the maintenance of his warres, and then the same being leuied he assembled his people, and shortlie after about Whitsuntide entred into Scotland to reuenge the death of his men. The Scots hearing of the kings comming, fled into the mounteins, mosses, and marish grounds, not once shewing any countenance to fight any set battell with the English host, so that the king in maner without resistance passed through the countrie euen vnto Cathnes, which is the furthest part of all Scotland. Manie of the Scots perceiuing their lacke of power to resist the English puissance, came to king Edward, and submitted themselues, with condition that they should inioy their lands which he had giuen awaie to his lords, they redeeming the same with conuenient fines, which was granted.

A subsidie.

The king goeth in person into Scotland.

Cathnes.

The Scots submit themselues to the king.

But Will. Waleis with certeine other, keeping themselues in places where no armie could come to pursue them, would neuer giue eare to any conditions of agreement: so that neither with feare, neither with offer of rewards could this Waleis be induced to follow or behold the English K. ruling the realme of Scotland. King Edward returning backe, came to the castell of Striueling (which the Scotishmen held against him) and besieged it. The king himselfe laie at Dunfersing the most part of the winter: and whilest he laie there, the queene which had lien a long time at Tinmouth came to him, and when the winter was once past, the king himselfe came to the siege, and caused certeine engins of wood to be raised vp against the castell, which shot off stones of two or three hundred weight: but yet would not they within once talke of any surrender. And where the Englishmen filled the ditches with wood and boughs of trees, they set the same on fire, and burnt them to ashes: at length the ditches were filled with stones and earth, so that then the Scots within perceiuing themselues in euident perill to lose the castell, on saint Margarets daie they yelded themselues simplie into the kings hands, as the English writers affirme, though the Scotish writers record the contrarie.

Abington. William Waleis.

Polydor. Hect. Boetius. Ia. Meir.

Anno Reg. 32. Striueling castell besieged.

Abington.

1304

Engins to cast stones.

Finallie, when the king had ordered all his businesse in Scotland at his pleasure, he returned into England, leauing in Scotland for warden the lord John Segraue, or (as other writers haue) sir Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke. At his comming to Yorke he caused the iustices of his bench, and the barons of the excheker to remoue with their courts, and all their clearks and officers, togither with the lord chancellor and his court to London, that the termes might be kept there, as in times past they had beene, whereas now the same had remained at Yorke aboue the space of six yeares, vpon this consideration, that the king and his councell might be neere vnto Scotland to prouide for the defense thereof, as occasion from time to time should require. From Yorke he came to Lincolne, and there remained all the winter, holding a councell, in the which he eftsoones confirmed the articles of Magna charta, touching the liberties, priuileges and immunities of his subiects, the which to declare their thankfull minds towards him for the same, granted to him for the space of one yere the fiftenth part of all their reuenues. Others write that the king had in this yeare of citizens and of the burgesses of good townes, the first penie according to the valued rate of their goods.

Polydor.

Tho. Wals. The earle of Penbroke lord warden of Scotland.

N. Triuet. Polydor.

A fiftenth granted.

About the same time, Thomas Colebrugh or Torbridge archbishop of Yorke departed this life, and one William Greenefield doctour of both the lawes succeeded him. ¶ There died about the same time that valiant knight the lord W. Latimer. ¶ Also John Warren earle of Surrey and Sussex died this yeere & was buried at Lewes. His nephue by his son (named also John) succeeded him, obteining to wife the kings neece by his daughter Elianor that was married to the earle of Bar, as before ye haue heard. Likewise Robert Bruce earle of Carrike, the first of that name died this yeare; who was father to that Robert Bruce that was after K. of Scots. ¶ Moreouer, about this season the king ordeined certeine commissioners of iusticiaries, to make inquisitions through the realme, by the verdict of substantiall iuries vpon all officers, as maiors, shiriffes, bailiffes, erchetors, and other that had misused themselues in their offices, either by extortion, briberie, or otherwise, to the greeuance of the people, contrarie to that they rightlie might doo and iustifie by vertue of their offices: by means of which inquisitions manie were accused and found culpable, and thereupon put to greeuous fines.

The decease of the archbishop of Yorke. Wil. Greenefield made archbishop of Yorke.

Robert Bruce earle of Carrike departeth this life.

N. Triuet. Inquisitions taken of the misdemenors of iustices.

Caxton.

Also the iustices, which were assigned to take these inquisitions, extended the same according to their commission against such as had made intrusions into other mens lands, and for doubt to be impleaded for the same had made alienations ouer into the hands of great men; also against such barretors as vsed to take monie to beat any man, and againe would not sticke to take monie of him whom they had so beaten, to beat him that first hired them to beat the other. The malice of such maner people was now restreined by force of these inquisitions: for such as were found culpable, were worthilie punished, some by death, and some by ransoms: diuerse also for feare to come to their answers fled the realme: also forfeits against the crowne were streightlie looked vnto, found out, and leuied; by reason whereof great summes of monie came to the kings coffers, which holpe well towards the maintenance and charges of his warres. This kind of inquisition was named commonlie Traile baston, which signifieth, Traile or draw the staffe. And forsomuch as the proceeding in this

Iustices fined.

Matth. Westm.

Intrusions punished, and other offenses against the kings peace and iustice.

Forfeits.

Nic. Triuet. Traile baston

this wise against such misdemeanors as then were vsed, brought so great a benefit to the realme in restreining such malefactors, which greatlie (as should seeme) disquieted the state of the commonwealth, I haue thought good to set downe the substance of the same, as followeth.

An extract of the foresaid writ, as it is registred in the booke that belonged to the abbeie of Abington.

REx dilectis & fidelibus suis, Radulfo filio Wilhelmi, & Iohanni de Barton de Riton salutem. Quia quàmplures malefactores, & pacis nostræ perturbatores, homicidia, depredationes, incendia, & alia damna quàmplurima nocte diéq; perpetrantes, vagantur in boscis, parcis, & alijs locis diuersis, tam infra libertates quàm extra, in comitatu Eboracensi, & ibidem receptantur in maximum periculum tam hominum per partes illas transeuntium, quàm ibidem commorantium, in nostri contemptum, ac pacis nostræ læsionem manifestam, vt accepimus: per quorum incursum poterunt peiora peioribus de facili euenire, nisi remedium super hoc citiùs apponatur, nos eorum malitiæ in hac parte obuiare, & huiusmodi damnis & periculis præcauere volentes, assignamus vos ad inquirendum per sacramentum tam militum quàm aliorum proborum & legalium hominum, de contemptu prædicto, tam infra libertates quàm extra, per quos ipsa veritas melius sciri poterit, qui sint illi malefactores & pacis nostræ perturbatores, & eos conduxerunt & conducunt ad verberandum, vulnerandum, malè tractandũ, & interficiendum, plures de regno nostro in feriis, mercatijs, & alijs locis in dicto comitatu, pro inimicitia, inuidia, aut malitia. Et etiam pro eò quòd in assisis iuratis, recognitionibus, & inquisitionibus factis de felonijs positi fuerant, & veritatem dixerunt: vnde per conditionem huiusmodi malefactorum, iuratores assisarum, iurationum, recognitionum, & inquisitionum illarum, pro timore dictorum malefactorum, & eorum minarum, sæpiùs veritatem dicere, seu dictos malefactores indictare minimè ausi fuerunt, & sunt. Et ad inquirendum de illis qui huiusmodi munera dederunt, & dant, & quantum, & quibus, & qui huiusmodi munera receperunt, & à quibus & qualiter, & quo modo, & qui huiusmodi malefactores fouent, nutriunt, & manutenent in comitatu prædicto, & ad ipsos malefactores tam per vos, quàm per vicecomitem nostrum comitatus prædicti arrestandos, & prisonæ nostræ liberandos, & saluò & securè in eadem per vicecomitem comitatus prædicti custodiendos, ita quòd ab eadem prisona nullo modo deliberentur, sine mandato nostro speciali.

Et ideo vobis mandamus, quòd ad certos diem & locum, quos ad hoc prouideritis, inquisitiones illas faciatis. Et assumpto vobiscum sufficienti pasæ comitatus prædicti, si necesse fuerit, dictos malefactores coram vobis sic indictatos, arrestetis, & ipsos prisonæ nostræ liberetis, in forma prædicta: & etiam omnia bona, & catalla ipsorum malefactorũ qui se subtraxerint, & fugam fecerint, postquam de felonijs aliquibus coram vobis solenniter indictati fuerint, per vicecomitem comitatus prædicti, in manum nostram capiatis, & ea ad opus nostrum saluò custodire faciatis, donec aliud inde vobis præceperimus. Mandamus enim vicecomiti nostro comitatus prædicti, quòd ad certos diem & locum, quos vos prouidere duxeritis, venire faciat, coram vobis tot & tales, tam milites quàm alios, quos habere decreueritis, de comitatu illo, tam infra libertates, quàm extra, per quos ipsa veritas melius sciri poterit, & inquiri. Et quod omnes illos quos per inquisitionem culpabiles inuentre contigerit, & quos vos sic liberaueritis, à nobis recipiantur, & quorum nomina eis scire faciatis, assumpto secum sufficienti posse comitatus prædicti, sine dilatione arrestari, & in prisona nostra saluo & securè custodire faciat in forma prædicta, & communitati dicti comitatus, quod simul cum vicecomite prædicto, vobis quotiens̃cúng; opus fuerit in præmissis pareat, assistat, & intendat, prout eis iniungetis ex parte nostra. In cuius rei testimonium, &c. ¶ Hereunto were annexed certeine articles by way of instructions, of what points they should inquire, as partlie aboue is noted out of the addition to *Matthew West*. but not so fullie, as in the said chronicle of *Abington* is found expressed, and heere for breefenesse omitted.

In the three and thirtith yeare of his reigne, king Edward put his sonne prince Edward in prison, because that he had riotouslie broken the parke of Walter Langton bishop of Chester; and because the prince had done this deed by the procurement of a lewd and wanton person, one Pèers Gauaston, an esquire of Gascoine, the king banished him the realme, least the prince, who delighted much in his companie, might by his euill and wanton counsell fall to euill and naughtie rule. Moreouer, the same yeare, William Waleis was taken, and deliuered vnto king Edward, who caused him to be brought to London, where on S. Bartholmewes euen, he was conueied through the streets vnto Westminster, and there arreigned of his treason, and condemned, and thereupon hanged, drawne and quartered, his head was set ouer London bridge, his right side ouer the bridge at Newcastell vpon Tine, his left side was sent to Berwike and there set vp, his right leg was sent to S. Johns towne, and his left vnto Aberden, in which places the same were set vp for an example of terror to others.

Anno Reg. 33. 1305

Prince Edward cõmitted to ward. Caxton. Fabian.

William Waleis taken & put to death. Rich. South.

Also, about the same time, the king of France required the king of England by messengers and letters sent vnto him, that he would banish all the Flemings out of his realme, in like manner as at his instance he had latelie before banished all the Scotishmen out of France. The king of England was contented so to do, and by that means were all the Flemings auoided out of this land at that season, but shortlie after, they returned againe. King Edward accused Robert archbishop of Canturburie vnto the pope, for that he should go about to trouble the quiet state of the realme, and to defend and succour rebellious persons, whereupon the said archbishop being cited to the popes consistorie, was suspended from executing his office, till he should purge himselfe by order of law, of such crimes as were laid and obiected against him. The king also obteined an absolution of the pope, of the oth which against his will he had taken, for the obseruing of the liberties erected by force of him, by the earls and barons of his realme, namelie, touching disforestings to be made.

N. Triuet.

Flemings banished the land, at contemplation of the king of France. Abington.

The archbishop of Canturburie accused by the K. Nic. Triuet.

He is suspended.

This yeare, Robert Bruce, contriuing waies how to make himselfe king of Scotland, the nine & twentith day of Januarie, slue the lord John Comin at Dunfrice, whilest the kings iustices were sitting in iudgement within the castell there, and vpon the day of

Anno Reg. 34. 1306

John lord Comin slaine by Robert Bruce.

of the Annunciation of our ladie, caused himselfe to be crowned king of Scotland at Scone, where the countesse of Boughan, that was secretlie departed from hir husband the earle of Boughan, and had taken with hir all his great horsses, was readie to set the crowne vpon K. Bruces head, in absence of hir brother the earle of Fife, to whom (being in England) sojourning at his manor of Whitwike in Leicestershire, that office of right apperteined. This countesse being afterwards taken the same yeare by the Englishmen, where other would haue had hir put to death, the king would not grant therunto, but commanded that she should be put in a cage made of wood, which was set vpon the walles of the castell of Berwike, that all such as passed by might behold hir; to slender a punishment for so great an offense. But the king counted it no honour to be seuere against that sex whom nature tendereth, though malefactors, and therfore was content with a mild correction tending rather to some shame than smart, to recompense hir offense, whereby she procured against hir selfe no lesse reproch than she sustained, agreeable to the old saieng,

Sæpe suum proprium fecit puer ipse flagellum.

There were present at his coronation foure bishops, fiue earles, and a great multitude of people of the land. Immediatlie vpon the newes brought to the king of Bruces coronation, he sent forth a power of men, vnder the conduct of the earle of Penbroke, and of the lord Henrie Percie, the lord Robert Clifford, and others, to resist the attempts of the Scots, now readie to worke some mischefe, through the incouragement of the new king. Edward prince of Wales was made knight this yeare at London vpon Whitsundaie, & a great number of other yong bachelers with him (297 as Abington writeth) the which were sent streightwaies with the said prince towards Scotland, to ioine with the earle of Penbroke, to resist the attempts of the new king Robert le Bruce and his complices. King Edward himselfe followed. The generall assemblie of the armie was appointed at Carleill, fifteene daies after the Nativitie of saint John Baptist, from thence to march forth vnder the guiding of the prince into Scotland.

In the meane time, Robert le Bruce went abroad in the countries of Scotland, receiued the homages of manie Scotishmen, and got togither an armie of men, with the which he approched neere to saint Johns towne, into the which the earle of Penbroke was a little before entred to defend it, with three hundred men of armes, beside footmen. Then K. Bruce sent to the earle to come out and giue battell, the earle sent vnto him word againe, that he would not fight that daie being sundaie, but vpon the next morow he would satisfie his request. Robert Bruce hereupon withdrew a mile backe from the towne, determining to rest himselfe and his people that night. About euening tide came the earle forth of the towne with his people in order of battell, and assailing his enimies vpon a sudden, slue diuerse yer they could get their armour on their backs. Robert Bruce and others that had some space to arme themselues made some resistance for a while, but at length the Englishmen put them to the worse, so that they were constreined to flee.

The earle following the chase, pursued them euen into Kentire, not resting till he vnderstood that a great number of them were gotten into a castell, which he besieged, in hope to haue found Robert Bruce within it, but he was fled further into the countrie. Howbeit, his wife and his brother Nigell or Neall, with diuerse other were taken in this castell, and sent in safetie vnto Berwike. Also shortlie after, the earle of Atholl was taken, being fled out of the same castell. ¶ But some write, that this earle was taken in the battell last remembred, after long fight and great slaughter of Scots, to the number of seuen thousand, and also that in the chase, the lord Simon de Frisell was taken, with the bishops of saint Andrews and Glasco, the abbat of Scone, and the said earle of Atholl, named sir John Chambres. The bishops and abbat, king Edward sent vnto pope Innocent, with report of their periurie: but others write, that the foresaid bishops and abbat being taken indeed the same yeare, were brought into England, and there kept as prisoners within sundrie castels.

The wife of Robert le Bruce being daughter to the earle of Ulster, was sent vnto the manour of Burstwike, and there honorablie vsed, having a conuenient number of seruants appointed to wait on hir. The earle of Ulster hir father, in the beginning of these last wars, sent vnto king Edward two of his owne sonnes to remaine with him, in such wise as he should thinke conuenient, to assure himselfe of him, that he would attempt nothing against the English subiects. Also it was said, that the ladie hir selfe, the same daie hir husband and she should be crowned, said, that she feared they should proue but as a summer king and quéene, such as in countrie townes the yong folks chose for sport to danse about maipoles. For these causes was she the more courteouslie vsed at the kings hands, as reason no lesse required.

It should appeare by Robert Fabian, that the king was present himselfe at this battell: but other affirme, that prince Edward was there as generall and not his father, and that the battell was fought at Dunchell vpon the riuer of Tay. But neither the Scotish chronicles nor Nicholas Triuet (whom in the historie of this king Edward the first, we haue most followed) make any mention, that either the king or prince should be at the foresaid battell, but that the earle of Penbroke with Robert lord Clifford, and Henrie lord Percie were sent before (as ye haue alreadie heard) with an armie, by whome as appeareth this victorie was obteined, at a place called Methsen. After this was the castell of Lochdore taken, and within it Christopher Seiton, that had married the sister of Robert le Bruce; and because he was no Scot but an Englishman borne, the king commanded that he should be led vnto Dunfrise, where he had killed one of the kings knights, and there to be hanged, drawen and quartered.

The wife of this Christopher Seiton, he appointed to be kept in the monasterie of Thirell in Lindsey; and the daughter of Robert le Bruce, which was also taken about the same time, was sent to the monasterie of Watton. Moreouer, the manour of Seiton in Whitebestroud he gaue vnto the lord Edmund de Mauley, and those other lands that belonged vnto the said Christopher Seiton in Northumberland he gaue vnto the lord William Latimer. The lands that belonged to the new Scotish king he bestowed in this wise, to Henrie Bohun earle of Hereford, which had married one of king Edwards daughters, he gaue the lordships of Annandale; Hert & Hertnes he gaue vnto the lord Robert Clifford, sauing alwaies the right yet that belonged to the church of Durham, Totenham, and Totenhamshire; and the maner of Wrothell in the south parts he gaue to other noble men; and the earledome of Carrike which K. Bruce had holden, as by inheritance from his mother, the king gaue to the lord Henrie Percie, the earledome of Atholl he gaue to Rafe de Monthermer earle of Glocester, who had also married (as before yee haue heard) an other of the kings daughters, after the decesse of hir first husband Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester.

About the feast of saint Michaell, the new Scotish king

The countesse of Boughan set the crowne on Robert Bruce his head.

She is taken.

Hir punishment.

An armie sent into Scotland.

Prince Edward made knight. Three hundred saith Matth. West.

Prince Edward sent into Scotland.

Robert Bruce.

Abington.

It was the next sundaie after midsummer daie.

Rob. Bruce put to flight by the earle of Penbroke.

Rob. Bruce fled into Kentire.

His wife and brother are taken.

The earle of Atholl taken. Fabian.

Nic. Triuet. Matth. West.

Bruces wife whose daughter she was.

The saieng of Robert Bruces wife.

Polydor.

Nic. Triuet.

Matth. West. Methsen. The castell of Lochdore taken, and Christopher Seiton within it. Nic. Triuet. He is executed.

His lands giuen awaie by the king.

The lands of Rob. Bruce giuen awaie. The earle of Hereford.

Lord Clifford

The lord Henrie Percie. Rafe de Mõthermer.

king Robert le Bruce returned forth of the Iles (into the which he had fled) with manie Irishmen and Scots in his companie, and remained a certeine time in Kentire, he sent certeine of his officers, to leuie and gather vp the rents of the fermes due at the feast of saint Martine for such lands and possessions as they held in that countrie, whereof the lord Percie being aduertised, hasted thither; but the new king comming vpon him, slue certeine of his men, toke his horsses and plate, with other things, and droue him into a castell, within the which he besieged him, till at length by a power sent from king Edward, Bruce was constreined to depart. The king in this meane time was come to Lauercost nere to Carleill, and there remained a long time. From thence he sent his iustices vnto Berwike, where they sate in iudgement vpon Nigell Bruce, and the other prisoners taken with him, which were condemned to die, and so they were hanged, drawen and quartered. The earle of Atholl was conueied to London, and although he sued for pardon in respect of that he was of kin to the king, yet was he hanged vpon a gibbet higher than all the residue, his bodie burned vnder the same gibbet, and his head first cut off, was set vpon a pole ouer London bridge for example sake that traitors should looke for no pardon.

The L. Percie put to flight by the Scotish king Bruce.

Nigell or Neall Bruce condemned and executed.

The earle of Atholl executed.

The elect archbishop of Yorke William Greene-field was confirmed this yeare by pope Clement the fift, at the citie of Lions in France, where the same pope was crowned about the same time, and held his court there, liuing cheeflie by the monie which he got of bishops that came to him for their confirmations: he had of the said archbishop of Yorke within one yeare, nine thousand and 500 markes, besides the expenses which he was at whilest he laie there, and so when this archbishop was returned into England, through pouertie he was driuen to gather monie of the persons, preests, and religious men within his prouince at two sundrie times in one yeare, as first, in name of a courtesie and gratious benenolence, and the second time by waie of an aid.

The summes of monie which the pope had of the archbish. of Yorke.

Moreouer, pope Clement ordeined Anthonie bishop of Durham, patriarch of Jerusalem, dispensing with him, so as he held still the bishoprike of Durham, notwithstanding his other promotion; and this was, bicause the bishop was rich, and the pope poore. For this bishop might dispend in yearelie reuenues by purchases & inheritances, besides that belonged to his miter, aboue fiue thousand marks, and he gaue great rewards to the pope, and to his cardinals, by means whereof he obteined in suit against the prior of Durham, so that he had the charge and ouersight of the monasterie of Durham, both the spirituall gouernement and temporall, through informing the pope, that the prior was not able in discretion to rule the house. At his returning home, he caused a crosse of siluer and gilt, adorned with an image of the crucifix, to be borne afore him.

The great reuenues of Anthonie B. of Durham.

But where he appointed certeine persons as his deputies to enter into the priorie of Durham, and to take charge thereof in place of the prior, the monks shut the gates against them, appealing to the pope, and pretending the kings protection, which they had purchased. But those that thus came in the bishops name, accursed the monks, & so departed. The king herewith was highlie offended, so that he caused them to answer the matter afore the iustices of his bench, and for their presumption in pronouncing the cursse, without making the king priuie to their doings, they were put to their fines. And whereas the bishop was summoned to appeare before the king in person at a certeine daie, he made default, and departing out of the realme, got backe againe to the pope, contrarie to the kings prohibition: whereupon

He is kept out of the abbeie at Durham.

He is summoned to appeare before the K. and refuseth.

the liberties of the see of Durham were seized into the kings hands, and the king placed his iustices and chancellor there, and in the yeare next insuing, he exacted of the tenants of the archbishoprike, the thirtenth penie of their goods, and otherwise vexed them with sundrie talages.

The conclusion of the strife betwixt the bishop and monks of Durham.

The conclusion of this matter was this, that the prior was cited by the pope, to appeare at his consistorie, whither he went, hauing the kings letters in his fauour directed to the pope; whereupon, when the pope had examined the matter, and heard the prior speake in his owne person, he perceiued him to be otherwise than he was informed (a sober and discreet man) and therefore restored him againe to the gouernment of his house; but he remained in the popes court, till after the kings death, and finallie died there himselfe in the yeare 1307. But now to returne to other doings of king Edward. We find, that whilest he lay still at Lauercost, he gaue to the earle of Warwike Bernards castell, the which he had by escheat, through forfeiture thereof made by John Balioll late king of Scotland. He also toke and seized into his hands Penreth with the appurtenances.

Bernards castell giuen to the earle of Warwike.

In the octaues of S. Hilarie, the king held a parlement at Carleill, in the which, by the peeres of the realme, great complaint was made of the oppressions done to churches, abbeies, and monasteries, by reason of paiments latelie raised and tared by one maister William or Guilelmo Testa the popes chapleine. Commandement therefore was giuen to the same chapleine, that from thencefoorth he should not leauie anie such paiments; and for further remedie, messengers were made forth vnto the pope, to declare vnto him the inconuenience thereof. This Testa was sent from pope Clement into England with bulles, in the contents whereof it appeared, that the pope had reserued to himselfe the first fruits of one yeares reuenues of euerie benefice that fell void by anie manner of meanes within the realme of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and likewise of all abbeies, priories, and monasteries; so that it may well be said of him & his retinue, according to the processe of all their actions, as it was said of old,

Curia Romana non quærit ouem sine lana.

Anno. Reg. 35. 1307.

A parlement at Carleill.

William Testa the popes chapleine inhibited to leuie monie.

Abington.

But the king and lords of the land thought it against reason, that the pope should take and receiue the profits of those abbeies and monasteries, which had beene founded by their predecessors for the seruice of God, and the maintenance of almesdeeds, and good hospitalitie to be kept: and so the pope changed his purpose, touching abbeies, but granting to the K. the tenth of the English churches for two yeers, he obteined the first fruits of the same churches for himselfe, as before he required. In the same parlement were statutes made concerning religious men, which had their head and cheefest houses in forren regions.

A statute against the religions persons. N. Triuet.

There came also at the same time, a cardinall from the pope, named Petrus Hispanus, to procure the consummation of the mariage, betwixt the prince of Wales, and the French kings daughter; for the same was delaied, by reason that all couenants were not kept on the French kings behalfe, touching the deliuerie of the townes in Gascoine. For whereas in times past, the French king had giuen one of those townes that were taken from the Englishmen, named Bauleon, vnto a French knight; he kept the same still, and would not deliuer it now at the French kings commandement, where-through (as was said) the marriage had beene hitherto deferred. The same cardinall by vertue of his bull, would haue had of euerie cathedrall church, colledge, abbeie, and priorie, twelue marks of sterling monie; and of euerie person of parish churches eight pence of euerie

Petrus Hispanus a cardinall sent frō the pope.

The cause of his comming.

Matth. West. His demand of monie of religious houses.

rie marke of his reuenues. But the English clergie appealed from this eraction, so that by the king and his councell it was ordeined, that he should haue no more than in times past cardinall Othobon did receiue, that is to saie, the halfe of his demand. Moreouer, this cardinall being at Carleill, and hauing made a sermon in praise of peace, vpon the conclusion of marriage betwixt the prince of Wales and the French kings daughter, in the end he reuealed himselfe and the other bishops which were present, and then with candels light, and causing the bels to be rong, they accursed in terrible wise Robert Bruce the vsurper of the crowne of Scotland, with all his partakers, aiders and mainteiners.

The cardinall preacheth.

He accurseth Rob. Bruce. Nic. Triuet.

Neuertheless, Robert Bruce in this meane while slept not his businesse, but ranging abroad in the countrie, slue manie that would not obeie him, and sent forth his two brethren, Thomas that was a knight, and Alexander that was a preest, with part of his armie into an other quarter of the countrie, to allure the people vnto his obedience, partlie with gentlenesse, and partlie with menaces. But the Englishmen came vpon them in the night and tooke them both, so that being brought before the iustices they were condemned, and therevpon hanged, drawen and quartered. ¶ Some write, that Duncan Magdoill, a man of great power in Galloway, tooke these two brethren prisoners, togither with Reginald Crawford (being the principals) on the ninth daie of Februarie, as they with certeine other capteins and men of war came by sea, and landed in his countrie, vpon whome being seuen hundred men, he with three hundred or few aboue that number boldlie gaue the onset, and not onelie tooke the said three persons prisoners, sore wounded as they were, with diuerse other, but also slue Malcolme Makaile a lord of Kentire, and two Irish lords, whose heads, and the foresaid prisoners, he presented vnto king Edward, who caused Thomas Bruce to be hanged, drawen and quartered, but the other two were onelie hanged and quartered at Carleill, where their heads were set vp aloft on the castell and gates of the citie.

Thomas Bruce and Alexander Bruce taken.

Matth. West.

Tho. Bruce executed. Alexander Bruce & Reginald Crawford executed.

After Easter their brother Robert Bruce, calling himselfe king of Scotland, and hauing now augmented his armie with manie souldiers of the out-Iles, fought with the earle of Penbroke and put him to flight, and slue some of his men though not manie. Within a few daies after, he chased also the earle of Glocester, into the castell of Aire, and besieged him within the same, till an armie was sent from king Edward to the rescue: for then the said Robert was constreined to flee, and the Englishmen followed, till he got into the woods and marishes, where they might come neere him without manifest danger, to cast themselues awaie. ¶ The king of England, minding to make a full conquest of the Scots, and not to leaue off vntill he had wholie subdued them, sent his commissions into England, commanding all those that owght him seruice, to be redie at Carleill within three weekes after Midsummer. He sent his sonne Edward into England, that vpon knowledge had what the French king did touching the agreement, he might accordinglie proceed in the marriage to be made with his daughter.

The earle of Penbroke put to flight.

Bruce besiegeth the earle of Glocester.

He is chased frō that siege.

After the prince was departed from the campe, his father king Edward was taken with sore sickenesse, yet he remoued from Carleill, where the same sickenesse first tooke him, vnto Burrough vpon Sand, and there the daie after being the seuenth daie of Julie, he ended his life, after he had reigned 34 yeares, six moneths and one and twentie daies. He liued 68 yeares and twentie daies. His bodie was conueied to London, and in the church of Westminster lieth buried. He had issue by his first wife queene Elianor, foure sons, John, Henrie, Alfonse, & Edward which succeeded him, the other died long before their father. Also fiue daughters; Elianor, Jone, Margaret, and Elizabeth, were bestowed in marriage as before in this booke is expressed: the fift named Marie became a nunne. By his second wife queene Margaret, he had two sonnes, Thomas of Brotherton, and Edmund of Woodstoke, with one daughter named Margaret after hir mother.

The death of K. Edward the first.

He is buried at Westminster.

His issue.

He was tall of stature, some what blacke of colour, strong of bodie, and leane, auoiding grosenesse, with continuall exercise, of comelie fauour, and iettie eies, the which when he waxed angrie, would suddenlie become reddish, and seeme as though they sparkled with fire. The haire of his head was blacke and curled, he continued for the most part in good health of bodie, and was of a stout stomach, which neuer failed him in time of aduersitie. Moreouer, he had an excellent good wit, for to whatsoeuer he applied his studie, he easilie atteined to the vnderstanding thereof: wise he was and vertuous, an earnest enimie of the high and presumptuous insolencie of preests, the which he iudged to proceed chiefle of too much wealth and riches: and therefore, he deuised to establish the statute of Mortmaine, to be a bridle to their inordinate lusts and riotous excesse. He built the abbeie of the vale roiall in Cheshire, he was a constant freend, but if he once tooke displeasure or hatred against any person, he would not easilie receiue him into fauour againe: whilest he had any vacant time from weightie affaires, he spent lightlie the same in hunting.

His stature and forme of bodie.

His qualitie of mind.

He mislked the pride of prelats.

Towards the maintenance of his warres and other charges, besides the subsidies which he leuied of his people, and other reuenues comming to his coffers, he had great helpe, by reason of the siluer mines which in his daies were found in Deuonshire, and occupied greatlie to his profit, as in the records remaining in the excheker, concerning the accompts and allowances about the same it doth and may appeare. For in the accompts of maister William de Wimondham, it is recorded, that betwixt the twelfth daie of August, and the last of October, in the 22 yeare of this king Edwards reigne, there was tried and fined out at Martinestowe in Deuonshire by times, so much of fined siluer, as amounted to the summe of 370 pounds weight, which being brought to London, was there refined by certeine finers, that plate might be forged thereof, for the ladie Elianor duches of Bar, and daughter to the said king, married in the yeare then last past to the duke of Bar, as before ye haue heard.

Siluer mines

The same Wimondham also receiued 82 pounds, for 26 founders of lead, out of the which the siluer was tried, as appeareth by his accompts.

In the 23 yeare of his reigne, there was fined at the place aforesaid 521 pounds & ten shillings weight of siluer by times, which was also brought to London. In the 24 yeare of his reigne, there were taken vp 337 miners, within the wapentake of the Peake in Darbishire, and brought into Deuonshire, to worke there in those siluer mines, as appeareth by the allowance demanded by the said maister William de Wimondham in his roll of accounts, deliuered that yeare into the excheker: and there was brought from thence to London the same yeare of siluer fined and cast in wedges 700 foure pounds, three shillings, one penie weight. In the 25 yeare of his reigne, there were three hundred and fourtie eight miners brought againe out of the Peake into Deuonshire, and out of Wales there were brought also 25 miners, which all were occupied about those siluer mines, beside others of the selfe countrie of Deuonshire, and other places. Also Wil. de Aulton clearke, keeper of the kings mines in Deuonshire and Cornewall, was accomptant of the issues and profits of the kings mines there, from the fourth of March, Anno 26 of his reigne, till the eightenth of Aprill, Anno 27, and

Betwixt the 10 day of Julie, and the 20 day of October the same yeare.

yelded

yéelded vp his account, both of the siluer and lead.

But now to conclude with this noble prince king Edward the first, he was sure not onelie valiant but also politike, labouring to bring this diuided Ile, into one entier monarchie, which he went verie neere to haue atchiued, for whereas he was fullie bent to make a conquest of Scotland, in like case as he had alreadie done of Wales, if he had liued any longer time to haue dispatched Robert le Bruce, that onelie stood in his waie, it was verie likelie that he should haue found none other to haue raised banner against him about the quarrell or title to the claime of that realme. For as he was a right warlike prince of him selfe, so was he furnished with captains and souldiers answerable to his desire, who being able to lead and command them of himselfe, had them at length obedient inough to serue him, although (as partlie yée haue heard) some of the peeres shewed themselues at times disobedient and stubborne, whom yet in the end he tamed well inough, as the earles of Hereford and Northfolke, the which in the thirtith yeare of his reigne resigned their castels and manours into his hands, as by the records of the tower it further may appeare.

Now to follow, as in other kings I haue done heretofore for learned men, these I find to haue flourished in this kings daies, Henrie de Henna a Carmelite frier, Godwine the chantor of the church of Salisburie, Adam de Marisco or Mareis borne in Summersethire an excellent diuine as he was reputed in those daies, Gregorie Huntington a monke of Rameseie verie expert in the tongs; Seuall archbishop of Yorke a man singularlie learned and stout in defending the cause of his cleargie against the pope, Haimo de Feuertham, Peter Swanington, Helias Trickingham, Helias de Euetham, Radulfe Bocking borne in Sussex, Alphred surnamed Anglicus, James Cisterciensis, William of Ware, Robert Orenford, Thomas Docking, John surnamed Grammaticus, Robert Dodeford: but the more part of these are rather to be ascribed vnto the time of Henrie the third, the father of this king Edward, where these that follow are thought to flourish in the time of king Edwards reigne, after the decease of his father king Henrie, Thomas Spot a chronographer, Peter de Ickeham a Kentishman borne as Bale thinketh, John Beckton a doctor of both the lawes, William Hanaberge a Carmelite frier, prouinciall gouernour of his order here in England; Robert Kilwarbie bishop of Canturburie, and after made a cardinall and bishop of Portua; Gilbert surnamed Magnus, a monke of the Cisteaux order; Helias Ros, Walter Recluse, Hugh le Euetham, John Euersden a writer of annales, whome I haue partlie followed in this kings life; William Pagham, Henrie Elleborne, John de Hatda, Roger Bacon a Franciscane frier, an excellent philosopher, and likewise a mathematician, John Derlingon a dominike frier, John Chelmeston, Thomas Borstale a Northfolke man borne, Gregorie Cairugent a monke of Glocester a writer of annales, Gregorie de Bredlington, Thomas Bungey a frier minor borne in Northfolke, an excellent mathematician, prouinciall ruler of his order here in England, he flourished in the daies of king Edward the first, although there were another of the same name that liued in the time of king Edward the third, Hugh de Manchester a Dominike frier, & prouinciall gouernour of his order heere in England, Richard Knapwell a Dominike frier, John Peckham borne in the dioces of Chichester, a Franciscane frier, excellentlie learned, as by his workes it appeareth, he was aduanced by pope Honorius the third, to the archbishops see of Canturburie; Thomas de Illey a Suffolke man borne, and a white or Carmelite frier in the house of Gipeswich, Michaell surnamed Scot, but borne in the bishoprike of Durham (as Leland saith) an excellent phylician, and likewise verie expert in the mathematicals, Hugh de Newcastell a frier minor, professed in the same towne, Thomas Sutton a blacke frier, that is of the order of S. Dominike, John Read an historiographer, William de la Mare a frier minor, Thomas Wicke a chanon of Osney in Oxenford, Simon de Gaunt, William Hothun, prouinciall of the friers Dominiks in England, John de Hide a monke of Winchester, Robert Crouch, a cordelier, or a Franciscane frier, Richard Middleton a frier minor, Thomas Spirman a blacke frier, William Lidlington a doctor of diuinitie, and a Carmelite frier in Stanford, John Fiberie or Beuer, a monke of Westminster, William Makelesfield borne in Chelhire, in a market towne, whereof he beareth the name, a blacke frier by profession, and an excellent philosopher.

Thus farre Edward the first, surnamed Longshanks.

Edward the second, the sonne of Edward the first.

EDward, the second of that name, the sonne of Edward the first, borne at Carnaruan in Wales, began his reigne ouer England the seauenth day of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord 1307, of the world 5273, of the comming of the Sarons 847, after the conquest 241, about the tenth yeare of Albert emperour of Rome, and the two and twentith of the fourth Philip, surnamed Le Beau, as then king of France, and in the third yeare after that Robert le Bruce had taken vpon him the crowne and gouernement of Scotland. His fathers corpse was conueied from Burgh vpon Sands, vnto the abbeie of Waltham, there to remaine, till things were readie for the buriall, which was appointed at Westminster.

1307

Continuation of Matt. West.

Within three daies after, when the lord treasurer Walter de Langton bishop of Couentrie and Lichfield (thorough whose complaint Pèers de Gauestõ had bene banished the land) was going towards Westminster, to make preparation for the same burtall, he was vpon commandement from the new king arrested, committed to prison, and after deliuered to the hands of the said Pèers, being then returned againe into the realme, who sent him from castell to castell as a prisoner. His lands and tenements were seized to the kings vse, but his moueables were giuen to the foresaid Pèers. Walter Reignold that had bene the kings tutor in his childhood, was then made lord treasurer, and after when the see of Worcester was void, at the kings instance he was by the pope to that bishoprike preferred. Also, Rafe bishop of London was deposed from the office of lord Chancellour, and John Langton bishop of Chichester was therto restored. Likewise, the barons of the exchéker were remoued, and other put in their places. And Amerie de Valence earle of Penbroke was discharged of the wardenship of Scotland, and John de Britaine placed in that office, whom he also made earle of Richmond.

The bishop of Couentrie committed to prison.

Officers remoued.

But now concerning the demeanour of this new king, whose disordered maners brought himselfe and manie others vnto destruction; we find that in the beginning of his gouernement, though he was of nature giuen to lightnesse, yet being restreined with the prudent aduertisements of certeine of his councellors, to the end he might shew some likelihood of good proose, he counterfeited a kind of grauitie, vertue and modestie; but yet he could not thoroughlie be so bridled, but that forthwith he began to plaie diuers wanton and light parts, at the first indeed not outragiouslie, but by little and little, and that couertlie. For hauing reuoked againe into England his old mate the said Pèers de Gauestõ, he receiued him into most high fauour, creating him earle of Cornewall, and lord of Man, his principall secretarie, and lord chamberlaine of the realme, thorough whose companie and societie he was suddenlie so corrupted, that he burst out into most heinous vices; for then vsing the said Pèers as a procurer of his disordred doings, he began to haue his nobles in no regard, to set nothing by their instructions, and to take small heed vnto the good gouernement of the commonwealth, so that within a while, he gaue himselfe to wantonnes, passing his time in voluptuous pleasure, and riotous excesse: and to helpe them forward in that kind of life, the foresaid Pèers, who (as it may be thought, he had sworne to make the king to forget himselfe, and the state, to the which he was called) furnished his court with companies of iesters, ruffians, flattering parasites, musicians, and other vile and naughtie ribalds, that the king might spend both daies and nights in iesting, plaieng, banketing, and in such other filthie and dishonorable exercises: and moreouer, desirous to aduance those that were like to himselfe, he procured for them honorable offices, all which notable preferments and dignities, sith they were ill bestowed, were rather to be accounted dishonorable than otherwise, both to the giuer and the receiuer, sith

Pèers de Gauestõ.

Polydor.

Sufficiens honor est homini, cùm dignus honore est,
Qui datur indigno non est honor, est onus, imò
Ludibrium, veluti in scena cùm ludius est rex,
Quippe honor est soli virtuti debita merces.

The yeare next insuing, the Ile of Man was taken by Robert Bruce.

About the thirteenth day of October, a parlement was holden at Northampton, in the which it was ordeined by the kings appointment, that the coine of his father king Edward should be still currant, notwithstanding the baseneslie thereof, as some reputed it, and therefore it was moued in the parlement to haue it disanulled. ¶ Also, order was taken for the buriall of his fathers corpse, which was solemnelie conueied from Waltham, and brought to Westminster the seauen and twentith day of October following, where with all funerall pompe it was interred. Moreouer, at the same parlement, a marriage was concluded betwixt the earle of Cornewall Pèers de Gauestõ, and the daughter of Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester, which he had by his wife the countesse Joane de Acres the kings sister, which marriage was solemnized on All hallowes day next insuing.

Parlement at Northampton.

Pèers de Gauestõ maried

About the two and twentith of Januarie, the king sailed ouer into France, and at Bullongne in Picardie on the foure and twentith day of Januarie, he did homage to the French king for his lands of Gascoine and Pontieu, and on the morrow after, maried Isabell the French kings daughter, and on the seauenth of Februarie he returned with hir into England, and comming to London, was ioifullie receiued of the citizens, and on the fiue and twentith daie of

The k. passeth ouer into France.

1208

He was married the 28 of Februarie, as Tho. de la More writeth.

The king and quæne crowned.

of Februarie, being Shrouesundaie in the leape yeare, they were solemnlie crowned by the bishop of Winchester, bicause that Robert the archbishop of Canturburie was not as then within the realme. There was such preasse and throng of people at this coronation, that a knight called sir John Bakewell *alias* Blackwell, was thrust or crowded to death. ¶ On the day of the circumcision this yeare, a great tempest of thunder and lightning began about euensong time, that continued the most part of the night following.

Tho. Walsin. Sir John Blackwell smothered and thrust to death. Continuation of N. Triuet.

On wednesdaie after the Epiphanie, the knights templers in England were apprehended all in one day by the kings commandement, vpon suspicion of hainous crimes & great enormities by them practised, contrarie to the articles of the christian faith. The order of their apprehension was on this wise. The king directed his writs vnto all and euerie the shiriffes of counties within the realme, that they should giue summons to a certeine number of substantiall persons, knights or other men of good accompt, to be afore them at certeine places within their gouernements, named in the same writs, on the sunday the morrow after the Epiphanie then next insuing, and that the said shiriffes faile not to be there the same day in their owne persons, to execute that which in other writs to them directed, and after to be sent, should be conteined. The date of this writ was the fiftæenth of December.

The order taken for the apprehension of the tẽplers.

The second writ was sent by certeine chapleins, in which the shiriffes were commanded vpon the opening of the same, forthwith to receiue an oth in presence of the said chapleins, to put in execution all that was therein conteined, and not to disclose the contents to any man, till they had executed the same with all expedition, and therewith to take the like oth of those persons, whom by vertue of the first writ they had summoned to appeare afore them. An other writ there was also framed & sent by the same chapleins, by the which the said shiriffes were commanded to attach by their bodies, all the templers within the precinct of their gouernements, and to seize all their lands and goods into the kings hands, togither with their writings, charters, deeds, and miniments, and to make thereof a true inuentarie and indenture, in presence of the warden of the place, whether he were brother of that order, or any other, & in presence of honest men being neighbors; of which indenture, one part to remaine in the custodie of the said warden, and the other with the shiriffe, vnder his seale that should so make seizure of the said goods: and further, that the said goods and chattels should be put in safe custodie, and that the quicke goods and cattell should be kept and found of the premisses as should seeme most expedient, and that their lands and possessions should be manured and tilled to the vttermost commoditie.

Further, that the persons of the said templers being attached, in manner as before is said, should be safelie kept in some competent place out of their owne houses, but not in streight prison, but in such order, as the shiriffes might be sure of them to bring them forth when he should be commanded, to be found in the meane time according to their estate of their owne goods so seized, and hereof to make a true certificat vnto the treasurer and barons of the exchequer, what they had done concerning the premisses, declaring how manie of the said templers they had attached, with their names, and what lands and goods they had seized by vertue of this precept. The date of these two last writs was from Billet the 20 of December, and the returne thereof to be made vnto the exchequer, was the morrow after the Purification. There were writs also directed into Ireland, as we haue there made mention, and likewise vnto John de Britaine earle of Richmond the lord warden of Scotland, & to Eustace de Cotesbach chamberleine of Scotland, to Walter de Pederton iustice of Westwales, and to Hugh Aldighle *alias* Audlie iustice of Northwales, to Robert Holland iustice of Chester, vnder like forme and maner as in Ireland we haue expressed.

The malice which the lords had conceiued against the earle of Cornewall still increased, the more indeed through the high bearing of him, being now aduanced to honour. For being a goodlie gentleman and a stout, he would not once yéeld an inch to any of them, which worthilie procured him great enuie amongst the chéefest pæres of all the realme, as sir Henrie Lacie earle of Lincolne, sir Guie earle of Warwike, and sir Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke, the earles of Glocester, Hereford, Arundell, and others, which vpon such wrath and displeasure as they had conceiued against him, thought it not conuenient to suffer the same any longer, in hope that the kings mind might happilie be altered into a better purpose, being not altogither conuerted into a venemous disposition, but so that it might be cured, if the corrupter thereof were once banished from him.

Here vpon they assembled togither in the parlement time, at the new temple, on saturdaie next before the feast of saint Dunstan, and there ordeined that the said Pèers should abiure the realme, and depart the same on the morrow after the Natiuitie of saint John Baptist at the furthest, and not to returne into the same againe at any time then after to come. To this ordinance the king (although against his will) bicause he saw himselfe and the realme in danger, gaue his consent, and made his letters patents to the said earles and lords, to witnesse the same.

Tho. Walsi. Cõtinuatiõ of N. Triuet.

The tenour of the kings letters patents.

NOtum vobis facimus per præsentes, quòd amodò vsque ad diem dominus Petrus de Gauestonregnum nostrum est abiuraturus & exiturus, videlicet in crastino natiuitatis S. Iohannis Baptistæ proximo sequenti: nos in quantum nobis est nihil faciemus, nec aliquid fieri permittemus, per quod exilium dicti domini Petri in aliquo poterit impediri, vel protelari, quin secundum formam à prælatis, comitibus, & baronibus regni nostri, ordinatam, & per nos libero consensu confirmatam, plenariè perficiatur. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Datum apud Westm. 18 die Maij. Anno regni nostri primo.

These letters were read, heard, and allowed in the presence of all the Noble men of this land, the day and yeare abouesaid. ¶ The archbishop of Canturburie, being latelie returned from Rome, where he had remained in exile in the late deceassed kings daies for a certeine time, did pronounce the said Pèers accursed, if he taried within the realme longer than the apointed time, and likewise all those that should aid, helpe, or mainteine him, as also if he should at any time hereafter returne againe into the land. To conclude, this matter was so followed, that at length he was constreined to withdraw himselfe to Bristow, and so by sea as a banished man to saile into Ireland.

Anno Reg. 2. The earle of Cornewall banished the realms.

The king being sore offended herewith, as he that fauoured the earle more than that he could be with-

The kings fauour towards the earle of Cornwall.

out his companie, threatned the lords to be reuenged for this displeasure, and reasked not to send into Ireland vnto Piers, comforting him both with friendlie messages, and rich presents, and as it were to shew that he meant to reteine him still in his fauour, he made him ruler of Ireland as his deputie there. A wonderfull matter that the king should be so inchanted with the said earle, and so addict himselfe, or rather fix his hart vpon a man of such a corrupt humor, against whome the heads of the noblest houses in the land were bent to deuise his ouerthrow: but the lesse maruell it is that the king bare him such a feruent affection, and set his hart vpon him, considering that

Polydor. Fabian. The earle of Cornewall deputie of Ireland. Hen.Marle.

——vetus autorum sententia, mores
Quòd similes, simile & studium sunt fomes amoris,
Sic vanus vanum, studiosus sic studiosum
Diligit, & socios adeunt animalia cœtus.

The lords perceiuing the kings affection, and that the treasure was spent as lauishlie as before, thought with themselues that it might be that the king would both amend his passed trade of life, and that Piers being restored home, would rather aduise him thereto, than follow his old maners, considering that it might be well perceiued, that if he continued in the incouraging of the king to lewdnesse, as in times past he had done, he could not thinke but that the lords would be readie to correct him, as by proofe he had now tried their meanings to be no lesse. Herevpon to reteine amitie, as was thought on both sides, Piers by consent of the lords was restored home againe (the king meeting him at Chester) to his great comfort and reioising for the time, although the malice of the lords was such, that such ioy lasted not long.

1309 Anno Reg. 3. Hen.Marle.

1310 Anno Reg. 4. The addition to Triuet.

In the fourth yeare of king Edward was a councell holden at London against the templers, the which councell indured from the beginning of Maie, till June. In this councell they confessed the same, but not the fact of the crimes laid to their charge, except two or three ribalds that were amongst them: but bicause they could not cleare themselues, they were adiudged vnto perpetuall penance within certeine monasteries. The king this yeare fearing the enuie of the lords against Piers de Gaueston, placed him for his more safetie in Bambourgh castell, bearing the prelats and lords in hand, that he had committed him there to prison for their pleasures.

The earle of Cornewall placed in Bambourgh castell.

This yeare also there were ordinances made for the state and gouernement of the realme, by the prelats, earles, and barons, which were confirmed with the sentence of excommunication against all them that should go about to breake the same. The king neither allowed of them nor obserued them, although he had confirmed them with his seale, and sent them to all cathedrall churches and counties, to be registred in perpetuall memorie therof. The king indeed was lewdlie led, for after that the earle of Cornewall was returned into England, he shewed himselfe no changeling (as writers do affirme) but through support of the kings fauour, bare himselfe so high in his doings, which were without all good order, that he seemed to disdaine all the peeres & barons of the realme. Also after the old sort he prouoked the king to all naughtie rule and riotous demeanour, and hauing the custodie of the kings iewels and treasure, he tooke out of the iewell-house a table, & a paire of trestels of gold, which he deliuered vnto a merchant called Aimerie de Friscobald, commanding him to conueie them ouer the sea into Gascoine. This table was iudged of the common people, to belong sometime vnto king Arthur, and therefore men grudged the more that the same should thus be sent out of the realme.

Polydor.

Caxton.

1311 The king this yeare raised a great power to go into Scotland. And about the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, hauing with him Piers de Gaueston earle of Cornewall, and the earles of Glocester and Warren, he came to Berwike, which towne he caused to be fortified with a strong wall, and a mightie deepe ditch, and although the other earles would not come to serue him in that voiage, by reason of a new variance risen amongst them, yet he marched forth into Scotland, to seeke his aduersarie Robert le Bruce: but Robert refusing the battell, kept him forth of the waie, so that the king was driuen to returne to Berwike againe, without meeting with his enimie. And he was no sooner come backe, but the said Robert and his people entred into Louthian, fore molesting such as were yelded to the king of England. The king aduertised therof, followed them, but could do no good, & so returned. The earle of Cornewall laie at Rockesbourgh, and the earle of Glocester at Norham to defend those parts. After Candlemasse, the king sent the earle of Cornewall, with two hundred men of armes to S. Johns towne, beyond the Scotish sea, who receiued to the kings peace all those that inhabited beyond that sea vp to the mounteins. The king laie still at Berwike, but the earles of Glocester and Warren, after the beginning of Lent, rode into the forest of Solkirke, and receiued the forresters & other the inhabitants there to the kings peace. ¶ In this fift yeare of the kings reigne, but somwhat before this present, in the yeare 1310, Henrie Lacie earle of Lincolne gouernour of England in the kings absence departed this life, in whose place the earle of Glocester was chosen gouernour, and therefore he returned now into England. This erle of Lincolne was buried in the new worke at Paules. Lieng on his death bed, he requested (as was reported) Thomas earle of Lancaster, who had married his daughter, that in any wise he should stand with the other lords in defense of the commonwelth, and to mainteine his quarell against the earle of Cornewall, which request earle Thomas faithfullie accomplished: for by the pursute of him, and of the earle of Warwike chiefelie, the said earle of Cornewall was at length taken and beheaded (as after shall appeare.) Some write that king Edward the first vpon his death-bed, charged the earles of Lincolne, Warwike, and Penbroke, to foresee that the foresaid Piers returned not againe into England, least by his euill example he might induce his sonne the prince to lewdnesse, as before he had alreadie done.

Rich.Southw. Anno Reg.5.

Berwike fortified.

The king entred into Scotland.

Thomas earle of Lancaster came toward Berwike, to do homage to the king for the earledome of Lincolne fallen to him in right of his wife, now after the decease of hir father the late earle of Lincolne. But he was counselled not to go forth of the realme to the king, so that therevpon rose no small displeasure, and great doubt least there would haue followed ciuill warres about it. Neuertheless, at length the king was persuaded to come ouer the water vnto Hagerston, foure miles distant from Berwike, and there receiued homage of the earle, and so they continued frends, and for that time departed asunder in louing maner. The lords perceiuing the mischeefe that dailie followed and increased by that naughtie man (as they tooke it) the earle of Cornewall, assembled at Lincolne, and there tooke counsell togither, and concluded effsones to banish him out of the realme, and so therevpon shortlie after, about Christmasse (as some write) or rather, as other haue, within the quindene of saint Michaell, he was exiled into Flanders, fore against the kings will and pleasure, who made such account of him, that (as appeared) he could not be quiet in mind without his companie, & therfore about Candlemasse he effsones reuoked

Fabian. Hen.Marle.

Rich.South. The earle of Cornewall banished into Flanders.

uoked him home.

1312 But he being nothing at all amended of those his euill manners, rather demeaned himselfe worse than before he had done, namelie towards the lords, against whome vsing reprochfull speech, he called the earle of Glocester bastard, the earle of Lincolne latlie deceased bursten bellie, the earle of Warwike the blacke hound of Arderne, and the earle of Lancaster churle. Such lords and other more that were thus abused at this earle of Cornewals handes, determined to be reuenged vpon him, and to dispatch the realme of such a wicked person: and thereupon assembling their powers togither, came towards Newcastell, whither the king from Yorke was remoued, and now hearing of their approch, he got him to Tinmouth, where the quéene laie, and vnderstanding there that Newcastell was taken by the lords, he leauing the quéene behind him, tooke shipping, and sailed from thence with his dearelie beloued familiar the earle of Cornewall, vnto Scarborough, where he left him in the castell, and rode himselfe towards Warwike. The lords hearing where the earle of Cornwall was, made thither with all speed, and besieging the castell, at length constreined the constable to yeeld himselfe into their hands, requiring no other condition, but that he might come to the kings presence to talke with him.

Maister Fox. Thom. Walf.

The earle of Cornewall taken.

The king hearing that his best beloued familiar was thus apprehended, sent to the lords, requiring them to spare his life, and that he might be brought to his presence, promising withall that he would see them fullie satisfied in all their requests against him. Whereupon the earle of Penbroke persuaded with the barons to grant to the kings desire, vndertaking vpon forfeiture of all that he had, to bring him to the king and backe againe to them, in such state and condition as he receiued him. When the barons had consented to his motion, he tooke the earle of Cornewall with him to bring him where the king laie, and comming to Dedington, left him there in safe kéeping with his seruants, whilest he for one night went to visit his wife, lieng not farre from thence.

The kings request for his life.

The earle of Penbroks suit to the other lords.

The same night it chanced, that Guie erle of Warwike came to the verie place where the erle of Cornwall was left, and taking him from his kéepers, brought him vnto Warwike, where incontinentlie it was thought best to put him to death, but that some doubting the kings displeasure, aduised the residue to staie; and so they did, till at length an ancient graue man amongst them exhorted them to vse the occasion now offered, and not to let slip the meane to deliuer the realme of such a dangerous person, that had wrought so much mischéefe, and might turne them all to such perill, as afterwards they should not be able to auoid, nor find shift how to remedie it. And thus persuaded by his words, they caused him streitwaies to be brought forth to a place called Blacheslow, otherwise named by most writers, Gauerslie heath, where he had his head smitten from his shoulders, the twentith day of June being tuesdaie. A iust reward for so scornefull and contemptuous a merchant, as in respect of himselfe (because he was in the princes fauour) estéemed the Nobles of the land as men of such inferioritie, as that in comparison of him they deserued no little iot or mite of honour. But lo the vice of ambition, accompanied with a rable of other outrages, euen a reprochfull end, with an euerlasting marke of infamie, which he pulled by violent meanes on himselfe with the cords of his owne lewdnesse, and could not escape this fatall fall: for

Admala patrata sunt atra theatra parata.

Continuation of Triuet.

Gauers heath or Gauerslich

The earle of Cornwall beheaded.

Fabian. Hen. Marle.

When the king had knowledge hereof, he was wonderfullie displeased with those lords that had thus put the said earle vnto death, making his vow that he would see his death reuenged, so that the rancour which before was kindled betwixt the king and those lords, began now to blase abroad, and spred so farre, that the king euer sought occasion how to worke them displeasure. This yeare, the thirteenth of November, the kings eldest sonne named Edward (which succeeded his father in the kingdome by the name of Edward the third) was borne at Windsore.

The kings displeasure.

Anno Reg. 6. K. Edward the third borne.

King Edward now after that the foresaid Piers Gaueston the earle of Cornewall was dead, nothing reformed his maners, but as one that detested the counsell and admonition of his Nobles, chose such to be about him, and to be of his priuie councell, which were knowne to be men of corrupt and most wicked liuing (as the writers of that age report) amongst these were two of the Spensers, Hugh the father, and Hugh the sonne, which were notable instruments to bring him vnto the liking of all kind of naughtie and euill rule.

Polydor.

The Spensers.

By the counsell therefore of these Spensers, he was wholie led and gouerned: wherewith manie were much offended, but namelie Robert the archbishop of Canturburie, who foresaid what mischéefe was like to insue: and therefore to prouide some remedie in time, he procured that a parlement was called at London. In the which manie good ordinances and statutes were deuised and established, to oppresse the riots, misgouernance, and other mischéefes which as then were vsed: and to kéepe those ordinances, the king first, and after his lords receiued a solemne oth, that in no wise neither he nor they should breake them. By this meanes was the state of the realme nowlie restored, and new councellours placed about the king. But he neither regarding what he had sworne, neither weieng the force of an oth, obserued afterwards none of those things, which by his oth he had bound himselfe to obserue. And no maruell: for suerlie (as it should seeme by report of Thomas de la More) the lords wrested him too much, and beyond the bounds of reason, causing him to receiue to be about him whome it pleased them to appoint. For the yonger Spenser, who in place of the earle of Cornwall was ordeined to be his chamberlaine, it was knowne to them well inough, that the king bare no good will at all to him at the first, though afterwards through the prudent policie, and diligent industrie of the man, he quicklie crept into his fauour, and that further than those that preferred him could haue wished.

Fabian. A parlement.

The L. Hugh Spenser the sonne at the first not fauoured of the K.

But now to our purpose. About the same time, to wit, vpon the eleauenth of Maie, the aforesaid Robert archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, nineteene yeares after his first entrance into the gouernment of that see. After him was Walter bishop of Worcester translated vnto the see of Canturburie, and was the nine and fortith archbishop that had ruled the same. ¶ Also William the archbishop of Yorke deceassed, and one William Melton succeeded him the two & fortith archbishop that had gouerned that see. This archbishop Melton, though he was most studious of things perteining to religion, bestowing almost his whole time about the same, yet neuertheless he was not forgetfull of that which belonged to the aduancement of the commonwealth, and therefore being at London vpon a time, Simon the elect bishop of Whitherne came to Yorke, that he might be consecrated of him: wherefore this archbishop gaue commandement to John the bishop of Carleill, to consecrate the said Simon, and in his name to receiue of him his oth of obedience, which commandement the said bishop of Carleill did dulie execute.

Continuation of Triuet. 1313

Polydor.

The bishop of Whitherne consecrated at Yorke by the bishop of Carleill.

The king and quæne this yeare in Maie went ouer into France, where they were present in Paris on

Continuation of Triuet. Thom. Walf.

Whitsundaie at the coronation of Philip sonne to the French king, created that day king of Nauarre. ¶ John de Drokensford bishop of Bath and Welles was appointed warden of the realme till the kings returne. In Julie the king returned backe from his iournie into France, and landed at Sandwich the mondaie before the feast of S. Margaret, hauing dispatched his businesse with the French king in good and honorable maner, for his lands and countrie of Gascoine. ¶ About this season Maurice fitz Thomas, and Thomas fitz John maried two sisters that were daughters to Richard earle of Ulnester. In this meane time, Robert Bruce recouered the most part of all Scotland, winning out of the Englishmens hands such castels as they held within Scotland, chasing all the souldiers which late there in garrison, out of the countrie, and subduing such of the Scots as held on the English part.

Anno Reg. 7. Record. Tur.

Hen. Marle. Mariages.

1314 The successe of Robert Bruce.

King Edward to be reuenged herof, with a mightie armie brauelie furnished, and gorgeouslie apparelled, more seemelie for a triumph, than meet to incounter with the cruell enimie in the field, entred Scotland, in purpose speciallie to rescue the castell of Sterling, as then besieged by the Scotishmen. But at his approching neere to the same, Robert Bruce was readie with his power to giue him battell. In the which king Edward nothing doubtfull of losse, had so vnwiselie ordered his people, and confounded their ranks, that euen at the first ioining, they were not onelie beaten downe and ouerthrowne, by those that coped with them at hand, but also were wounded with shot a farre off, by those their enimies which stood behind to succour their fellowes when need required, so that in the end the Englishmen fled to saue their liues, and were chased and slaine by the Scots in great number.

The king of England passeth into Scotland.

The Englishmen chased.

The king escapeth.

The king escaped with a few about him, in great danger to haue beene either taken or slaine. Manie were drowned in a little riuer called Banokesborne, neere to the which the battell was fought. There were slaine of noble men, Gilbert earle of Gloucester, Robert lord Clifford, the lord Giles Argentine, the lord Paine Tiptoft, the lord William Marshall, the lord Reginald Daincourt, the lord Edmund of Mauley the kings steward, with other lords and barons to the number of 42, and of knights and baronets to the number of 67. There were slaine of all sorts vpon the English part that daie about ten thousand men, ouer and beside the prisoners that were taken. Amongst the which were accounted 22 men of name, as the earle of Hereford, the lord John Segraue, William lord Latimer, Maurice lord Berkley, and others. He that listeth to heare more of this discomfiture may read thereof further at large in the Scotish historie.

The battell of Banokesborne.

The great slaughter of Englishmen. Polydor.

Fabian. Croxden. Addition to Triuet and Matth. Paris.

The king of England hauing escaped from this battell, which was fought on Midsummer day in the yeare aforesaid, came to Yorke, where he held a councell of his lords, to haue their aduise by what means he might best restore his armie, and reuenge the losse which he had susteined at the hands of his enimie R. Bruce. And shortlie after was sir Peter Spalding sent vnto Berwike, with a crew of souldiers to defend the towne against the said Bruce, who intended shortlie to laie siege to that towne, as the king had certeine vnderstanding. Also the Scotishmen aduanced highlie in their minds for the late gotten victorie, passed ouer into Ireland, vnder the conduct of Edward Bruce, the brother of Robert Bruce, sore afflicting that countrie, by spoile, sword, and fire: the villages were robbed, the townes and castels which they wan were sacked, and after fired, so vtterlie to deface them.

Anno Reg. 8. A councel holden at Yorke.

Sir Peter Spalding.

1315 The Scots in Ireland.

The Irishmen being put in great feare herewith, assembled togither, and ioined themselues with such Englishmen as laie there in garrisons, ouer the which the lord John Verminghām as deputie had the cheefe charge. Thus being ioined togither, they made earnest resistance against the attempts of their enimies in defense of the countrie. And so by that means they warred and fought one against an other, with great slaughter on both sides, the Scotishmen on their part doing their best to obteine the gouernement of the countrie, hauing alreadie obteined no small portion thereof, and created Edward Bruce king there; and the Irishmen on the other part, inforcing their whole indeuor to beat the enimie backe, and to rid him out of the countrie. But at length the inuincible obstinatnesse of the Irishmen preuailed, through aid of the Englishmen (as after shall appeare.) Neuertheless in the meane while, as some English thronicles make mention, there died of the Scots in these warres to the number of thirtie thousand, and aboue fifteene thousand Irishmen.

The lord Verminghām.

Great slaughter of Scots in Ireland.

The Scots not onelie thus inuaded Ireland, but also continued their rage against England. For the same yeare about the feast of Peter and Paule, they entered into the bishopsike of Durham, & spoiled the countrie vnto Hartilpole, which towne they robbed of all the goods which they there found, the inhabitants being fled with their ships to the sea. About Maudelentide following, the king of Scots entred England with a mightie armie on the west borders, and comming to Carleill besieged the citie, remaining before it ten daies, but they within so valiantlie defended themselues and their wals, that the Scots lost more than they wan, sauing that during their abode at this siege, they robbed and wasted the countries of Allerdale, Copeland, and Westmerland. The 11 day after their comming thither, when they had assaied all their force and policie to win the citie, and saw themselues nothing to preuaile, but to lose their men and trauell, they raised their field, and returned into Scotland with dishonor, leauing behind them all their engines of warre, so that besides the dishonour which he susteined by the repulse, in lieu of lucre he suffered losse, and therefore this lesson by exemplification would be learned and practised, that

Res bene quisque gerens lucra sit inde ferens.

Ri. Southw.

The bishoprike of Durham spoiled by the Scots.

Anno Reg. 9. Rob. Bruce inuadeth England. Carleill besieged.

The siege raised.

Now as they went their waie, certeine Englishmen following them, tooke John de Murrey, who in the battell of Striueling had for his part 13 English knights prisoners, beside esquiers and others. They tooke also with him one Robert Berdolfe a great enimie of the Englishmen.

John de Murrey taken.

This yeare there fell exceeding great raine and abundance of wet, in the moneths of Julie and August, that the husbandmen of the countrie could not get in that small crop which then stood on the ground, and that which they inned, yelded not the hoped quantitie, as when it came to the threshing well appeared. ¶ On the day of the Assumption of our ladie, John the kings second sonne was borne at Eltham. ¶ A knight of Lancashire called sir Adam Banister raised war in this yeare of king Edwards reigne, against his lord the earle of Lancaster; but about the feast of saint Martine he was taken and beheaded. ¶ Also this yeare, Edward de Bruce brother to the king of Scots, entred into the north parts of Ulnester with a great armie, vpon the day of S. Augustine in Maie, and afterwards burnt Dundalke, and a great part of Argile. The Irishmen also burnt the church of Athird. Moreouer in the battell of Comeran in Ulnester, Richard earle of Ulnester fled, and sir Richard Bourgh, & sir John Mandeuile, and sir Alane fitz Waren were taken prisoners. The castell of Norbrough was also taken, & at Kenils in Meth the lord Roger Mortimer was discomfited by the

Great raine.

John of Eltham borne.

Hen. Marls. Dundalke burnt.

The battell at Comeran.

the foresaid Edward Bruce, and manie of the said sir Rogers men were slaine and taken.

Also in the ninth yeare of king Edwards reigne, before Christmasse, a blasing starre or comet appeared in the north part of the element, by the space of a moneth togither, and after followed dearth and death (as after shall apeare.) Guie earle of Warwike, a man of great counsell and skilfull prouidence, departed this life this yeare, and was buried at the abbeie of Wodstley. ¶ About Midsummer the Scots eftsones entred into England, doing much mischefe with fire and sword, in like sort as they had vsed to do before time, not sparing (as some write) so much as those houses wherin women laie in childbed. At their coming to Richmond, the gentlemen of the countrie that were got into the castell to defend it, compounded with the enimies for a great summe of monie, to spare the towne and countrie about it, without doing further damage thereto at that iournie.

The Scots hauing receiued the monie, turned their march toward the west parts, and iourneing three score miles, came to Fourneis, burning all the countrie thereabouts, and toke awaie with them all the goods and prisoners, both men and women which they might laie hands on, and so returned, reioising most of such iron as they had got in that iournie, for they had great want in Scotland of that kind of metall in those daies. The dearth by reason of the vnseasonable weather in the summer and haruest last past still increased, for that which with much adoo was inned, after when it came to the proofe, yelded nothing to the value of that which in sheafe it seemed to conteine, so that wheat and other graine which was at a sore price before, now was inhanced to a farre higher rate, the scarsitie thereof being so great, that a quarter of wheat was sold for fortie shillings, which was a great price, if we shall consider the allaie of monie then currant. ¶ Also by reason of the murren that fell among cattell, beeues and muttons were vnreasonablie priced.

About this season, the lord Henrie Beaumont a man of high valiancie and noble courage, hauing gotten togither a power of men, entred into Scotland, and after he had taken great booties and spoiles in the countrie, he being intrapped by sir James Dowglas, lost the most part of his men, togither with the prey which they had gotten. The displeasure of these mishaps was increased with the naughtie and bold presumption of sir Gilbert Middleton knight, who being offended that maister Lewes Beaumount was preferred vnto the bishops see of Durham, and Henrie Stamford put from it, that was first elected and after displaced by the kings suit made vnto the pope, toke the said Lewes Beaumont and his brother Henrie on Mingledon moore nere vnto Darington, leading the bishop to Morpath, and his brother the lord Beaumont vnto the castell of Mitford, and so deteined them as prisoners, till they had redeemed their libertie with great sums of monie. Herewith the said sir Gilbert being aduanced in pride, proclaimed himselfe duke of Northumberland, and ioining in frendship with Robert Bruce the Scotish king, cruellie destroied the countie of Richmond. With such traitorous parts William Felton, and Thomas Heton, being not a little stirred, first wan by force the castell of Mitford, and after apprehended sir Gilbert Middleton, with his companion Walter Selbie, and sent them vp to London, where shortlie after they were drawne, hanged and quartered.

Some write that the said sir Gilbert was put to death for robbing two cardinals, to wit, Gancellino the popes chancellour, and Lucas de Fliseo, that were sent from pope John the two and twentith, to consecrate the foresaid Lewes Beaumont bishop of Durham, and to intreat a peace betwixt the realms of England and Scotland, and also to make an agreement betwixt the king and the earle of Lancaster. The which being met with vpon Mingledon moore in Yorkeshire by the said Gilbert, were robbed of such stuffe & treasure as they brought with them, but yet escaped themselues and came to Durham, and from thence sent messengers to Robert Bruce, to persuade him to some agreement. But whereas he would not condescend to any reasonable conditions of peace at that time, they determined to go into Scotland to talke with him themselues: but before they came to the borders, king Robert, who iudged it not to stand with his profit to haue any peace in that season, sent certeine of his people to forbid the cardinals the entrie of his realme. The cardinals being thus iniuriouslie handled, pronounced the Scots by their legantine power accursed, and interdicted their whole realme. And bicause they saw nothing lesse than any hope to do good with king Robert touching any composition or agreement to be had, they returned againe to the pope, without any conclusion of that for the which they were sent.

After that Edward Bruce had atchiued such enterprises in other parts of Ireland, as in the last yere ye haue heard, he went vnto Fenath, and to Skeres in Leinister, and there the lord cheefe iustice Edmund Butler rose against him, with the lord John fitz Thomas, that was after erle of Kildare, sir Arnold Power, and diuerse other, with a great armie. But by reason of discord that chanced amongst them, they scaled their armie, and departed out of the field on the 26 daie of Februarie. Edward Bruce then burned the castell of Leis, and after returning into Vlnester, he besieged the castell of Knockfergus, and slue Thomas Mandeuile, and his brother John, at a place called Down, as they came thither out of England. After this the foresaid Edward returned into Scotland.

In this season vittels were so scant and deere, and wheat and other graine brought to so high a price, that the poore people were constreined thorough famine to eat the flesh of horsses, dogs, and other vile beasts, which is wonderfull to beleeue, and yet for default there died a great multitude of people in diuers places of the land. Foure pence in bread of the courser sort would not suffice one man a daie. Wheat was sold at London for foure marks the quarter and aboue. Then after this dearth and scarsitie of vittels insued a great death and mortalitie of people, so that what by warre of the Scots, and what by this mortalitie and death, the people of the land were wonderfullie wasted and consumed. O pitifull depopulation!

Edward Bruce before the feast of Easter returned againe into Ireland, with the earle of Murrey and other noble men of Scotland, hauing with them a great armie, and besieged the castell of Knockfergus, and after they went to another castell where they toke a baron prisoner: there Edward Bruce laie for a season. Also Richard earle of Vlnester lay in saint Maries abbie by Dublin, where the maior and communaltie of the citie toke him, and put him in prison within the castell of Dublin. They also slue his men, and spoiled the abbie. After this the foresaid Edward Bruce went to Limerike, after the feast of saint Matthew the apostle, and there sojourned till Easter was past.

In the meane while Roger de Mortimer the kings deputie arriued at Waterford with a great armie, by reason wherof Edward le Bruce for feare departed, and got him into the vttermost parts of Vlnester, and John fitz Thomas was made earle of Kildare.

A blasing starre dearth and death.

The decease of Guie earle of Warwike. Croxden.

1316 Rich. South.

Anno Reg. 10. The dearth increased.

The lord Beaumont discomfited. 1317

Lewes Beaumont taken by sir Gilbert Middleton. Caxton.

Sir Gilbert Middleton proclaimeth himselfe duke.

Gancellino and Fliseo cardinals.

Thom. Wals.

Fabian, Caxton.

Polydor.

The curse pronounced against the Scots.

Rich. South.

A pitifull famine. Tho. Wals, Fabian.

A sore mortalitie of people.

John fitz Thomas erle of Kildare.

dare. Also Oconer of Connelgh, and manie other Irishmen of Connagh and Meth were slaine nére to Aurie by the Englishmen of those parts. There was a great slaughter also made of the Irishmen nére vnto Thistildermote, by the lord Edmund Butler, and an other also at Balteham of Dmorth by the same Edmund. The lord deputie deliuered the earle of Ulnester out of prison, and after Whitsuntide banished out of Meth sir Walter Lacie, and sir Hugh Lacie, giuing their lands awaie from them vnto his knights, and they went ouer into Scotland with Edward Bruce, who returned thither about that time. The death still increased as by some writers it should appeare.

Croxden.

Anno Reg. 11. Ri. Southwell. 1318

In the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the second his reigne, vpon the saturdaie night before Midlent sundaie, the towne of Berwike was betraied to the Scots, through the treason of Peter Spalding. The castell held good tacke a while, till for want of victels they within were constreined to deliuer it into the Scotishmens hands, who wan also the same time the castell of Harbotell, Werke, and Medford, so that they possessed the more part of all Northumberland, euen vnto Newcastell vpon Tine, saving that certeine other castels were defended against them. In Maie they entred with an armie further into the land, burning all the countrie before them, till they came to Ripon, which towne they spoiled, and tarieng there three daies, they receiued a thousand marks of those that were got into the church, and defended it against them, for that they should spare the towne, and not put it to the fire, as they had alreadie done the townes of Northalerton and Bourghbridge as they came forwards. In their going backe they burnt Knaresbourgh, and Skipton in Crauen, which they had first sacked, and so passing through the middest of the countrie, burning and spoiling all before them, they returned into Scotland with a maruellous great multitude of cattell, beside prisoners, men and women, and no small number of poore people, which they toke with them to helpe to driue the cattell.

Berwike betraied to the Scots.

Castels won by the Scots.

Northalerton and Bourghbridge burnt.

Anno Reg. 12. Additions to Triuet.

In the 12 yeare of Edward the seconds reignie, in August, the king and the earle of Lancaster came to talke togither in a plaine beside Leicester, where they were made frends to the outward shew, so that in the yeare next following, the said earle went with the king to the siege of Berwike. About the feast of the Natiuitie of our ladie, the two cardinals, which were yet remaining in England, sent forth commandements vnto all the prelats and priests within the realme, that three times in euerie solemne masse, they should denounce Robert Bruce that called himselfe king of Scotland accursed, with all his councellors and fautors, and on the behalfe of the pope, they depriued him by denunciation of all honour, and put all his lands vnder interdiction, disabling all their children [to the second degrée] that held with him, as vnworthie & vnfit to receiue or take vpon them any ecclesiasticall function. They denounced also all the prelats of Scotland and men of religion, exempt, and not exempt, excommunicate and accursed.

The king & the earle of Lancaster made frends.

Rob. Bruce pronounced accursed.

Hen. Marl.

The lord Roger Mortimer returned againe into England, and Alexander Bicnor was made cheefe iustice of Ireland. ¶ Also Edward Bruce, with sir Walter and sir Hugh Lacie, bringing with them a great armie, returned out of Scotland, and arriued at Dundalke, on the day of saint Calixt the pope. But nære to the same place sir John Brimingham, Richard Tute, and Miles of Verdon, with a power of 1324 men incountred them, and slue the said Edward le Bruce, and aboue the number of 8200 men, or (as other haue) but 5800. The said sir John Birmingham brought the head of Edward le Bruce ouer into England, and presented it to the king. Whereupon the king in recompense of his seruice, gaue vnto him the earledome of Louth, to hold to him and his heires males, and the baronie of Athird to him and his heires generall.

Th. Walsing. Continuation of Triuet.

About this season, or somewhat before, about Midsummer (as Southwell saith) a naughtie fellow called John Poldras, or (as some bookes haue) Ponderham, a tanners sonne of Excester comming to Orford, and there thrusting himselfe into the kings hall that stood without the walls, gaue forth that he was sonne and right heire of king Edward the first, and that by meanes of a false nurse he was stolne out of his cradle, and this Edward the second being a carters son was brought in and laid in his place, so that he by reason thereof was all towards hatefullie fostered and brought vp in the north part of Wales. At length being land for, he fled to the church of the white friers in Orford, trusting there to be safe through the immunitie of the place, vnto the which king Edward the first was their founder. But when he could not keepe his toong, but still fondlie vttered his follie, and stood in his opinion, so that great rumor thereof was raised, he was at length taken out of that church, & caried to Northampton, where he was there arreigned, condemned, and had forth to a place in the countrie called the coped oke, where he was drawne, hanged, and as a traitour bowelled. At the houre of his death he confessed, that in his house he had a spirit in likenesse of a cat, which amongst other things assured him that he should be king of England.

In this season, to wit, in the yeare 1319, a great murreine and death of cattell chanced through the whole realme, spreading from place to place, but speciallie this yeare it reigned most in the north, where as in the yeares before it began in the south parts. The king desirous to be reuenged of the Scots, made preparation to leuie a mightie armie, and for want of sufficient numbers of men in other places towards the north parts, the king caused much people to come vnto him out of the south and east parts of the realme, amongst the which the citie of London was constreined to find at their costs and charges two hundred men, sending them to Yorke, where the generall assemblie of the armie was made. From thence, after he had receiued his men from sundrie countries and good townes of his realme, he went to Berwike, & laid siege to the towne. In which meane time the Scots being assembled, came to the borders, passed by the English host, and entring into England, came in secret wise downe into the marches of Yorkeshire, and there slue the people, and robbed them in most cruell wise.

1319 Murren of cattell.

Anno Reg. 13.

The king goeth to Berwike.

The Scots come into the parts of Yorke.

Wherefore the archbishop of Yorke, meaning in time of such necessitie to do his indeuour in defense of his countrie, assembled such power as he could get togither, of clearkes, monks, canons, and other spirituall men of the church, with husbandmen and such other vnapt people for the warres: and thus with a great number of men, and few warlike or discréet chéefeteins, he togither with the bishop of Elie, as then lord chancellour, came forth against the Scots, and incountred with them at a place called Mitton vpon Suale, the twelfth day of October. Here as the Englishmen passed ouer the water of Suale, the Scots set fire vpon certeine stacks of haie, the smoke whereof was so huge, that the Englishmen might not see where the Scots laie. And when the Englishmen were once got ouer the water, the Scots came vpon them with a wing in good order of battell, in fashion like to a chéeld, egerlie assailing their enimies, who for lacke of good gouernement were easilie beaten downe and discomfited, without shewing any great resistance: so that there were slaine to the number

Auesburie.

The discomfiture of Mitton vpon Suale.

Caxton.

Polydor. number of two thousand and the residue shamefullie put to flight.

Auesburie. The archbishop, the lord chancellor, and the abbat of Selbie, with helpe of their swift horsses escaped, and diuerse other. The maior of Yorke named Nicholas Fleming was slaine, & sir William Diremin

Caxton. præst taken prisoner. Manie were drowned, by reason that the Scots had gotten betwixt the Englishmen and the bridge, so that the Englishmen fled betwixt that wing of the Scots and their maine battell, which had compassed the Englishmen about on the one side, as the wing did vpon the other. And bicause so manie spirituall men died in this battell, it was after named of manie writers The white battell. The king of England informed of this ouerthrow giuen by the Scots to the Northerne men, he brake vp his siege incontinentlie, and returned to Yorke.

Polydor. Thus all the kings exploits by one means or other quailed, and came but to euill successe, so that the English nation began to grow in contempt by the infortunate gouernment of the prince, the which as one out of the right waie, rashlie and with no good aduisement ordered his doings, which thing so greeued the noblemen of the realme, that they studied day and night by what meanes they might procure him to loke better to his office and dutie; which they iudged might well be brought to passe, his nature being not altogither euill, if they might find shift to remoue from him the two Spensers, Hugh the father, and Hugh the sonne, who were gotten into such fauour with him, that they onelie did all things, and without them nothing was done, so that they were now had in as great hatred and indignation (sith

——liuor non deerit iniquus
Dulcibus & lætis, qui fel confundat amarum)

both of the lords and commons, as euer in times past was Pers de Gauelton the late earle of Cornwall. But the lords minded not so much the destruction of these Spensers, but that the king ment as much their aduancement, so that Hugh the sonne was made high chamberleine of England, contrarie to the mind of all the noblemen, by reason whereof he bare himselfe so hautie and proud, that no lord within the land might gainsaie that which in his conceit seemed good.

The enuie of the lords towards the Spensers.

1319 Warren of Cattell.

1320 Additions to N. Triuet.

In this thirteenth yeare of his reigne, in June king Edward went ouer into France, where at Amiens he found the French king, of whome he receiued the countie of Pontieu, which the said French king vpon his comming to the crowne had seized into his hands, bicause the king of England had not done to him his homage due for the same. Also this yeare the pope granted to the king of England the tenth of ecclesiasticall reuenues for one yeare, as before that time he had likewise done. ¶ About this season, pope John, being informed of the great destruction and vnmercifull warre which the Scots made vpon the Englishmen, and namelie for that they spared neither church nor chapell, abbeie nor priorie, he sent a generall sentence vnder his bulles of lead vnto the archbishop of Canturburie and Yorke, appointing them that if Robert le Bruce the Scotish king would not recompense king Edward for all such harmes as the realme of England had by him susteined, and also make restitution of the goods that had beene taken out of churches and monasteries, they should pronounce the same sentence against him and his complices.

A tenth of the ecclesiasticall liuings granted to the K.

Anno. Reg. 14. Caxton.

Scots excommunicated

Whereupon when the Scots toke no regard to the popes admonition, the archbishop proceeded to the pronouncing of the foresaid sentence, so that Robert Bruce, James Dowglas, and Thomas Randulfe earle of Murrey, and all other that kept him companie, or them in any wise mainteined, were accursed throughout England euerie day at masse three times. Howbeit, this nothing holpe the matter, but put the king and the realme to great cost and charge, and in the meane season the commons of the realme were sore oppressed by sundrie waies and meanes, diuerse of them lost their goods and possessions, being taken from them vpon surmised and feined quarels, so that manie were vtterlie vndone, and a few singular and misordered persons were aduanced.

1321 Rich. South.

The Scots inuade England.

After the Epiphanie, when the truce failed betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, an armie of Scots entred England, and came into the bishoprike of Durham. The earle of Murrey staied at Darington, but James Dowglas and the steward of Scotland went forth to waste the countrie, the one towards Hartlepole and Cleueland, and the other towards Richmond: but they of the countie of Richmond (as before they had done) gaue a great summe of monie to saue their countrie from inuasion. The Scots at that time remained within England by the space of fiftéene daies or more. The knights and gentlemen of the north parts did come vnto the earle of Lancaster that late the same time at Pomfret, offering to go forth with him to giue the enimies battell, if he would assist them: but the earle séemed that he had no lust to fight in defense of his prince, that sought to oppresse him wrongfullie (as he toke it) and therefore he dissembled the matter, and so the Scots returned at their pleasure without encounter.

Thom. Walf.

About this season, the lord William de Bruce that in the marches of Wales enioied diuerse faire possessions to him descended from his ancestors, but through want of good gouernement was run behind hand, offered to sell a certeine portion of his lands called Gowers land lieng in the marches there, vnto diuerse noble men that had their lands adioining to the same, as to the earle of Hereford, and to the two lords Mortimers, the vncle & nephue, albeit the lord Mowbrate that had maried the onelie daughter and heire of the lord Bruce, thought verelie in the end to haue had it, as due to his wife by right of inheritance. But at length (as vnhap would) Hugh Spenser the yonger lord chamberleine, coueting that land (bicause it laie nére on each side to other lands that he had in those parts) found such means through the kings furtherance and helpe, that he went awaie with the purchase, to the great displeasure of the other lords that had bene in hand to buie it.

The cheefe cause of the variance betwixt y lords and the Spensers.

Hereby such hartburning rose against the Spensers, that vpon complaint made by the erle of Hereford vnto the earle of Lancaster, of their presumptuous dealing, by ruling all things about the king as seemed best to their likings, it was thought expedient by the said earles that some remedie in time (if it were possible) should be prouided. Whereupon the said earls of Lancaster and Hereford, with the lords Roger Tuchet, Roger Clifford, Jocelin Deteuille, Roger Bernsfield, the two Mortimers, Roger the vncle and Roger the nephue, William de Sulis, William de Elmbrige, John Giffard of Brimesfield, and Henrie Tiets, all barons; the which with diuerse other lords and knights, and men of name, assembling togither at Shierborne in Elmedone, sware each of them to stand by other, till they had amended the state of the realme: But yet notwithstanding this their oth, the most part of them afterwards forsaking the enterprise, submitted themselues to the king.

Neuertheless, whether for that the king by a proclamation set forth the sixteenth of March, had commanded (as some write) that the lords Mowbraie, Clifford,

Clifford, and Detenille for disobeieng to make their personall appearance before him, should auoid the land within ten daies next insuing, or for that they meant with all speed to put their enterprise in execution, we find that the earle of Hereford, the lords Mortimer, the vncle and nephue, the lord Roger Damorie, the lord John Mowbraie, the lord Hugh Audelie, and his sonne named also Hugh, the lord Clifford, the lord John Gifford of Brimesfield, the lord Morice Berkeley, the lord Henrie Tieis, the lord John Patrauers, with manie other that were alied togither, hauing the consent also of the earle of Lancaster, on the wednesdaie next after the feast of the Inuention of the crosse, hauing with them to the number of eigth hundred men of armes, fiue hundred hoblers, and ten thousand men on foot, came with the kings banner spread vnto Newport in Wenloks lands, where they toke the castell that belonged vnto the lord chamberleine Hugh Spenser the yonger.

The lords take armes vpon them against the Spensers.

They also toke Kaerdie, Kersillie, Lantrissane, Caluan, Lamblethian, Kenefegis, Neath, Druselan, and Dinenor; part of his men which in the foresaid places they found, they slue, as sir John Iwain, and sir Matthew de Gorges knights, with 15 other of his men that were Welshmen: part they toke and put them in prison, as sir Rafe or Randulfe de Gorges being sore wounded, sir Philip Joice, sir John de Frillingfield, sir John de Dunstable, William de Dunstable, and manie other, of the which the most part were put to their ransome. They toke, spoiled and destroied so much in value of his goods as amounted vnto two thousand pounds. They toke vp in such debts as were owing to him in those parts, to the summe of three thousand pounds, and of his rents to the value neere hand of a thousand pounds. They burnt 23 of his manors which he had in those parts of Wales, with his barnes, and did what hurt they could deuise, burning or taking awaie all his writings and euidences. After they had remained 15 daies there, they came into England, with the like force and disorder inuading his castels, manors and possessions, so that the damage which they did hereunto the said lord chamberleine, amounted to the value of ten thousand pounds.

They inuade the Spensers lands.

The king aduertised of their doings, sent vnto them the archbishop of Canturburie, and the lord Bartholomew de Badelismere lord steward of his house, to request them to desist and leaue off from such their outragious doings, and comming to the parlement which he had alreadie summoned, they might put in their complaints and grieuances, & he would see that they should haue iustice, according as equitie should require. The lord Badelismere forsaking the king, became one of the confederacie with the barons, and so the archbish. was glad to returne alone, leauing the L. Badelismere behind him, who sent the king word by the archbishop, that till they had expelled the Spensers out of the realme, they would not giue ouer their enterprise. On saint Barnabies day they came to a manour of Hugh Spenser the father called Fasterne, in the countie of Wiltshire, and spoiled the same with diuerse and manie other manors, aswell in Wiltshire, as elsewhere, to wit, in Glocestershire, Dorsetshire, Hamshire, Barkeshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Surrie, Cambridgeshire, Huntingtonshire, Leicestershire, Lincolneshire, Cheshire, and Warwikeshire, making such hauocke of all such goods or cattell as belonged to the said Hugh Spenser the father, that he was thought to be indamaged to the value of thirtie thousand pounds, burning his houses, beating, maiming and ransoming his men.

The king sendeth to the lords.

The lord Badelismere reuolteth to the side of the barons.

Furthermore not contented to spoile those places which belonged to him, but hearing that in the abbeie of Stanlie he had laid vp monie and euidences, they brake into that abbeie, and toke out thereof a thousand pounds in readie coine, beside euidences and writings, to the indamaging of him to the value of six thousand pounds, and likewise entring into the castell of Marleburgh, where the said Hugh Spenser the father had laid vp in woll to the number of 36 sacks, they toke the same and other of his goods, as well in plate as apparell, to the value in all of six thousand pounds. And they did not onelie spoile the possessions, houses, goods, and cattels of the two Spensers, wheresoeuer they could heare that the same were to be found, but also they vsed the like disorder against all such as were knowne to be frends or well-willers, to either the father or sonne, sending commissions vnto such as should see the same executed to the most extremitie, so that in this rage of enuie and hot reuenge there was no partialitie, but that one with another, the innocent with the nocent, the guiltlesse with the guiltie went to wracke, and (as the old prouerbe saith concurring with common practise *Quòd sus peccauit succula sæpe luit*) finallie, after they had satisfied their desires in such riotous sort, they raised the people, and constreined them to sweare to be of their accord, and so came forward with the like force towards the parlement that was summoned to be holden at London three weeks after Midsummer. At their comming to S. Albons, they sent the bishops of London, Salisburie, Elie, Hereford, and Chichester, to the king with their humble suit in outward apperance, though in effect and verie deed more presumptuous than was requisite. Their cheefe request was that it might please his highnesse to put from him the Spensers, whose counsell they knew to be greatlie against his honour, and hereof not to faile if he tendered the quiet of his realme. They also required letters patents of him, conteining a generall pardon for the indemnitie of themselues, and all those that had beene in armes with them, so as they should not be impeached by the king for any transgressions past or present, in time hereafter to come.

The barons raise the people and came in armes towards the parlement.

They send to the king.

Their requests.

The king herevnto answered, that as concerning Hugh Spenser the father, he was abroad on his businesse beyond the seas, and that Hugh the sonne was on the sea for the safe keeping of the cinque ports, as by his office he was bound, and that they ought not by any right or custome to be banished, before they haue made answere to the crimes obiected against them. He added further, that their request wanted foundation of law and reason. And if it might be proued that the Spensers had in any wise offended against the statutes and ordinances of the land, they were alwaies readie to make their answere as the lawes of the realme should require. Lastlie he added this with an oth, that he would not be forsworne contrarie to that which at his coronation he had taken vpon him by oth, through granting letters of peace and pardon to such notorious offendors in contempt of his person, and to the trouble and disquieting of the whole realme.

The kings answer.

The barons vpon knowledge had what answer the king made to their requests, forthwith got them to armour, and with a great power of men of armes and other, came to the parlement, which the king had summoned to begin at Westminster three weekes after Midsummer. Their retinue were apparelled in a sute of iakets or coats of colours demie, partie yellow and greene, with a band of white cast ouerthwart. By reason whereof that parlement long after was called The parlement of white bands. Then to see the kings peace kept within the citie, the maior caused a thousand men well armed to watch dailie in diuerse wards, & at diuerse gates of the citie, which watch

Fabian. Caxton.

The order which the lord maior of London tooke.

watch began at foure of the clocke in the morning, and so continued till six at night, and then as manie were appointed to the night watch, continuing the same till the houre of fiue in the morning. And for the more suertie that this night watch should be well and sufficientlie kept, two aldermen were assigned nightlie to ride about the citie with certeine officers of the towne, to see the watchmen well and discreetlie guided. The gates were shut at nine of the clocke & opened againe at seauen in the morning. Also euerie citizen was warned to haue his armour by him, that he might be readie vpon anie occasion when he should be called.

Matt. VVest. Neuertheless the barons being come in forceable wise (as yee haue heard) vnto this parlement, they constreined the earle of Richmond, Arundell, Warren, and Penbroke, to agree vnto their purpose; and likewise some of the bishops they compelled through feare to take an oth to ioine with them in their purpose, for the expelling of the Spensers out of the realme, and so comming all togither before the king, they published certeine articles against the said Spensers, both the father and sonne, whereupon they made an award, that they should be disherited and banished the land during their liues, if by the king and consent of all the lords in parlement assembled, they should not be restored. They had day and place appointed where to passe forth of the land, to wit, at Douer, and not elsewhere, betwixt the daie of his award made, and the feast of the decollation of saint John Baptist, that day to be counted for one. Diuers articles (as before is said) were laid to the charge of those Spensers.

The Spensers banished by the decree of the barons.

1 Articles wher with the barons charged the Spẽsers. Amongst other things it was alledged; First that Hugh Spenser the sonne, being on a time angrie and displeased with the king, sought to allie and confederate himselfe with the lord Giffard of Brimesfield, and the lord Richard Gray to haue constreined and forced the king by strong hand to haue followed his will and pleasure.

2 Secondlie it was alledged, that the said Spensers as well the father as the sonne, had caused the king to ride into Glocestershire, to oppresse and destroie the good people of his land, contrarie to the forme of the great charter.

3 Thirdlie, that where the earle of Hereford, and the lord Mortimer of Wigmore, had gone against one Thlewillin Bren, who had raised a rebellion against the king in Glamorganshire, whiles the lands of the earle of Glocester were in the kings hands, the same Thlewillin yelded himselfe to the said earle, and to the lord Mortimer, who brought him to the king, vpon promise that he should haue the kings pardon, and so the king receiued him. But after that the said earle and lord Mortimer were out of the land, the Spensers taking to them rotall power, toke the said Thlewillin and led him vnto Kardif, where after that the said Hugh Spenser the sonne had his purpartie of the said earle of Glocesters lands, he caused the said Thlewillin to be drawne, headed and quartered, to the discredit of the king, and of the said earle of Hereford and lord Mortimer, yea and contrarie to the lawes and dignitie of the imperiall crowne.

4 Fourthlie, the said Spensers counselled the king to forcludge sir Hugh Audlie, sonne to the lord Hugh Audlie, and to take into his hands his castels and possessions. They compassed also to haue atteinted the lord Roger Damorie, that thereby they might haue enioied the whole earledome of Glocester.

These and other articles of misdemeanour in the Spensers were exhibited, to persuade the king and others, that they were vnprofitable members in the common-wealth, and not worthie of those places which they occupied. Now after that their disherising and banishment was concluded in manner as before is said, the earle of Hereford and other the lords that had prosecuted the quarell against them, came before the king, and humblie on their knees besought him of pardon for all things which they had committed against him, his lawes, or any other person in the pursuit of the said Spensers. The king, being brought into a streit, durst not but grant vnto all that which they requested, establishing the same by statute.

The king goeth to Canturburie. The parlement being thus ended, the king and quéene went to Canturburie, there to visit the shrine of Thomas Becket somtime archbishop there. From thence he went to the Ile of Tenet, that he might meet with his deare & welbeloued councellour Hugh Spenser the yonger, whome he had of late sent in ambassage vnto the French king, and now being returned by sea into those parts, he was desirous to see him, that he might haue conference with him: and so comming togither, they spent certeine daies in commoning of such matters as they thought good. The king calling to him the mariners of the cinque ports, committed to them the custodie of the said Hugh, who for a time kept him with them in their ships, and the king sailing alongst the coast to Porchester, conferred with him of manie things.

He commeth to talke with the lord chamberlaine.

From Porchester the king ment to returne vnto London, there to meet the quéene, who in hir returne from Canturburie would haue lodged one night in the castell of Léeds, which the lord Bartholomew de Badelismere late steward of the kings house had by exchange of the king for other lands, and now taking part with the barons, had left his wife and children with other of his frends and treasure in the same castell. Those that were put in trust with keeping this castell, would neither permit quéene nor other to enter therein, without expresse commandement from their lord and maister, and so they signified not onelie to the quéenes seruants that came before to make prouision for hir, but also declared the same to hir selfe comming thither in person.

The quéene not suffered to lodge in the castell of Léeds.

This chanced verie vnluckilie for the barons: for where the quéene had euer sought to procure peace, loue and concord betwixt the king and his lords, shée toke such displeasure with this deniall made to hir for one nights lodging in that castell, that vpon hir gréeuous complaint sent to the king, he forthwith raised a mightie armie out of Kent and Esser, from the cinque ports, and of the Londoners, and hauing with him his brethren, Thomas earle Marshall, and Edmund earle of Kent, also the earls of Richmond, Penbroke, Arundell, and Atholl, he hasted thither, & laid siege about the castell; constreining them within by all meanes that might be deuised.

The king besiegeth the castell of Léeds.

In the meane time, at the suit of the lord Badelismere, the earle of Hereford, and other lords of the confederacie, came with a great power vnto Kingston, about the feast of Simon and Iude, and there staieng certeine daies for some of their companie that were to come vnto them, they sent vnto the king the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of London, with the earle of Penbroke, requiring him to remoue his siege, till by parlement some order might be taken: but the king would not giue eare to their suit, but continued his siege till the castell was yelded to him. For those that were at Kingston cowardlie leuing their enterprise, came not forward, but returned backe againe. They that were within the castell, hauing simplie submitted themselues to the king, caused twelue or thirtéene of them to suffer death. Amongst other was one Walter Culpepper reckoned for the chéefe of them that defended the castell against the king. The wife of the lord Badelis-

The lords came with a power to raise the siege.

The castell of Léeds yelded

Walter Culpepper executed.

mere,

mere, with his nephue Bartholomew de Burwash was sent to the tower of London, but his sister was sent to Douer castell, there to remaine in safe képing. The castell of Leeds being thus yelded to the king, he entred the same on All halowes daie, and shortlie after the castell of Chilham was deliuered, and the castell of Tunbridge left void by them that had it in keeping. The king thus bestirring him, came into Esser, and seized into his hands the lands of the lord Badelismere, and likewise the lands of such as were his mainteiners, abettors, frends, fauourers, and furtherers; of the which such as he could meet with he put in prison, and herewith summoned an armie to met him at Cirencester about saint Lucies day the virgine. And then about saint Andrews tide he came to London, where the archbishop of Canturburie had called a prouinciall councell.

The lord chãberleine yeldeth himselfe to the law.

At the same time Hugh Spenser the sonne, being latelie come from the sea, yelded himselfe prisoner to the kings ward, beséching the king that he might haue right ministred to him, concerning the wrongs and iniuries to him done by the barons in maner as before ye haue heard, speciallie for the award which in parlement they had procured to be enacted against him, the errours committed in the processe, whereof he besought the king that he might be admitted to shew: as first, in that they made themselues iudges: secondlie, in that he was not called to answer: thirdlie, for that the same award was made without the assent of the prelats, who are péres of the parlement as well as the temporall lords: fourthlie, in that the said barons had no record in their pursuit vpon the causes conteined in that award: fiftlie, in that the award was made against the forme of the great charter of franchises, wherein is conteined that none shall be forejudged nor destroied but by lawfull iudgement of his péers, according to the law of the land. Further, he alledged that it was to be considered, how the said barons and great men being summoned to come in due maner vnto that parlement, they came in forceable wise with all their powers. A like petition was also exhibited on the behalfe of Hugh Spenser the father, for redresse to be had of the wrongs and losses, which in like case he had susteined.

Anno Reg. 15.

The king fauouring inough the causes and petitions of the Spensers, granted their requests, and deliuered the petitions vnto the archbishop of Canturburie and his suffragans, the which at the same time were there assembled in their prouinciall councell aforesaid, requiring to haue their aduise and opinion therein. He likewise requested of the earles and barons that were then with him, and of the counsellers in law, what they thought of this matter. The prelats vpon deliberation had, declared that in their opinion, the said award as touching the disheriting and banishing of the Spensers, the father and sonne was erroneous, and not rightlie decreed, and for themselues they denied that they either did or could thinke it reason to consent thereunto, and therefore they required that it might be repealed, and the kings brother Edmund earle of Kent, John de Britaine earle of Richmond, Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke, and Edmund earle of Arundell, then being in presence of the king, and likewise of the foresaid prelats, affirmed that the said award pronounced against the Spensers was made contrarie to law and right, and therefore as the prelats requested, that the same might be repealed.

The king asketh the opinions of the prelats.

The declaration of the prelats.

The declaration of the earles.

Further, the said earles alledged, that the assent which they gaue in the said award, was for doubt of the vnlawfull force which the barons brought vnto the said parlement, when they made that award, and for that the said earles that now were with the king, had counselled him to suffer the said award to passe, for feare of the said force, and confessed they had done euill, and besought him of pardon for their offenses in so doing. The king thus hauing caused the prelats, earles, barons, and lawiers there present to vtter their iudgements in maner aforesaid, he iudiciallie reuoked and quite disanulled the processe of the said award, made as well touching the banishment, as the disheriting of the Spensers, and restored them to his peace and allegiance, and to their former estates, in all conditions as they inioied the same before the making of the said award, notwithstanding certeine letters to the contrarie of the earle of Lancaster, and other lords of his faction, which for the approuing and ratifieng of the said processe they directed vnder their seales to the king as yet remaining at London.

They wrote also to the prelats, iustices, and barons of the exchéker, to induce the king to giue his assent to that which in the tenor of their letters was conteined. The earle of Hereford, the lord Roger Mortimer of Cherke, & the lord Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, entring the marches of Wales, came to Glocester, and toke that citie. The castell was also deliuered vnto them by the constable thereof. The king hauing his people comming dailie vnto him, whereby his armie was hugelie increased, about the feast of saint Nicholas he set forth from London, and with him there went his brother Edmund earle of Kent, John earle of Richmond, Edmund earle of Arundell, and manie other great lords and barons. The quéene with hir children he left in the tower of London. The lord John de saint John comming to submit himselfe vnto the king, at the intercession of diuerse noble men, with much adoo had his pardon at length granted him.

The barons againe get to armour.

The lord saint John.

The king passing forward, seized into his hands the townes, castels, manors, and goods of them that were against him. But in the meane time the lord Henrie de Tieis, with certeine other that were entred into Glocestershire (hearing that a great multitude of people was assembled out of the countrie of Cirencester by the kings commandement) came thither and chased them home to their houses, putting them in feare of their liues, if they should offer to resist him. The king comming to Crikelade after the feast of saint Lucie the virgin, wrote to the earle of Lancaster an answer of his letters, which he had receiued from him at London, modestlie reproouing him, for that he had so grieuouslie and vndutifullie reproched him, without respect had to his roiall estate, and also presumed to assigne him a daie within the which he should reforme those things which he misliked in him, as if he were his subiect and vnderling, & beside this was now ioined with his aduersaries against him, where on his behalfe there had béene no let nor stale at any time, but that they might be frends & remaine in quiet togither. Wherein though he did more than stood with the dignitie of his roiall title, in somuch as he had the earles life at his commandement, yet for that he tollerated such insolencie of behauiour, as was vnseemelie to be shewed against the person of his prince, the kings clemencie and patience is highlie therein to be commended; though his forbearing and seeking means of quietnesse did neuer a whit amend the malignant mind of the earle, whose hart was so inchanted with ambition and supereminent honour, that he quite forgat this good lesson of submission and due allegiance,

vt nequeas lædi maiori semper obedi.

The lord Tieis.

Cirencester.

The K. writeth to the erle of Lancaster.

From Crikelade the king went to Cirencester, where he held the feast of Christmasse, the earles of Norfolke, Penbroke, Surrie, and other great lords comming

The K. keepeth his Christmasse at Crikelade.

comming thither to ioine their powers with his. Thither came also a great strength of footmen, part of the which vnder the leading of one Robert Aquarij, a right famous capteine, tooke the castell of Bromfield, those that had the keeping of it fleeing forth of it. The king comming to Worcester about Newperes tide, caused the walles of the citie to be repared, committing the custodie thereof vnto William de Longchampe. After the Epiphanie he passed on the side of Seuerne towards Shrewsburie, where, at his comming thither he was honourablie receiued by the burgesses that came forth to meet him in armor, and so conueied him into their towne being strong-lie fensed. In this meane time the Scots now that the truce was ended, entring with a strong power into England, destroied all the countrie to Newcastell vpon Tine with fire and sword. The Welshmen with their capteine Griffin Loitis tooke the castels in Wales, which were kept by the people of the lord Mortimer the elder. They tooke also the castels of Mole, Chirke, and Olono, the keepers whereof comming vnto the king to Shrewsburie submitted themselues to him, who shortlie after sent them to the tower of London. The lord Hugh Audelie the elder, the lord John de Haskings, and diuerse other comming in, and submitting themselues to the king were likewise committed to ward. The lord Roger Damorie entring into the citie of Worcester destroied all that which the K. had appointed to be done, about the fortification thereof.

Earles that came to the king to Cirke land.

1322

The Scots inuade Northumberland.

Castels taken by the Welshmen.

The earle of Lancaster writeth to the erle of Hereford.

The earle of Hereford cōmeth to ioine with the earle of Lancaster.

The earle of Lancaster lieng at Pomfret, and hearing of all this businesse, wrote to the earle of Hereford, and other lords that were with him, that they should make hast to come to him at Pomfret, promising from thencefoorth to be their generall and leader. The earle of Hereford reioising at these newes, togither with all those that were about him, leauing Gloucester and all other strengths which they held in those parts, set forward to passe through the middest of the realme, spoiling by the way mens cattell and goods verie disorderlie, and so came through to the earle of Lancaster. The king getting into his hands all the castels of his aduersaries in those parts, went to Hereford, where he was honorablie receiued of the cleargie and citizens. His armie increased dailie, many comming in vnto him, that before durst not for feare of his aduersaries. The bishop of Hereford was sharplie checked, bicause he had taken part with the kings enimies.

The king sent from hence the lord John Haskings into Southwales, to take in his name the seizine of the castels belonging to the earle of Hereford, the lord Roger Damorie, and the lord Hugh Spenser the yonger, which the barons had the last yeare got into their hands, all which being now taken to the kings vse, were furnished with faithfull garrisons.

¶ The king, after this, comming to Gloucester, condemned the shiriffe of Hereford to be hanged, for that he had taken part against him with the barons. The lord Maurice Berkley came to the king to Gloucester, submitting himselfe to the kings pleasure. After this the king came by Weston vnder edge towards Couentrie, where he had appointed aswell such as he had latlie licenced to depart to their homes to refresh themselues for a time, as also diuerse other, to assemble with their powers to go with him from thence against his aduersaries. The day of this assemblie was the friday next after the first sundaie in Lent. The king from Couentrie went to Merinall, and there lodged in the abbeie for his more ease, writing to William Sutton vnder-constable of Warwike castell, commanding him to be attendant on the shiriffe of Warwike, in helping him to watch the entries and issues to and from the castell of Killingworth that was holden against him. In the meane time certeine of the lords that were gone to the earle of Lancaster besieged Tikehill castell fiftéene daies togither, but preuailed not.

The lord Berkley submitteth himselfe to the K.

They appointed to meet at Couentrie.

wil. Sutton.

Killingworth holden against the K. Tikehil castle besieged.

There were letters intercepted about the same time, which a messenger brought forth of Scotland, three closed and three open, for there were six in all. The king sent them to the archbishop of Canturburie, who by his commandement published them in open audience at London. The first was closed with the seale of the lord Thomas Randulfe earle of Murrie, lord of Annandale and of Man, lieutenant to Robert le Bruce king of Scotland, which conteined a safe conduct for sir Thomas Topcliue chapleine, and one to be associate with him to come into Scotland, and to returne from thence in safetie. The second was sealed with the seale of sir James Dowglas for a like safe conduct for the same persons. The third was closed with the seale of the said earle of Murrie for the safe conduct of the lord John de Powbraie, and the lord John de Clifford, and fortie horsses with their pages for their safe comming vnto the said erle into Scotland, and for their abiding there and returning backe. The fourth was closed with the seale of James Dowglas, directed to king Arthur. The fift was closed with the seale of James Dowglas directed vnto the lord Rafe Neuill. The first had no direction, but the tenour thereof was this as followeth.

Letters intercepted.

King Arthur a name feined of purpose.

The tenor of the said sixt letter lacking a direction.

YOu shall vnderstand my lord, that the communication before hand had, is now brought to effect. For the earle of Hereford, the lords Roger Damorie, Hugh de Audelie the yonger, Bartholomew de Badelesmer, Roger de Clifford, John Gifford, Henrie Teis, Thomas Wanduit, John de Willington, and all other are come to Pomfret, and are readie to make you good assurance, so that you will performe couenant with them, to wit for your comming to aid vs, and to go with vs into England and Wales, to liue and die with vs in our quarell. We therefore beseech you to assigne vs day and place, where we may meet, and we will be readie to accomplish fullie our businesse: and we beseech you to make vs a safe conduct for thirtie horsses, that we may in safetie come to your parts.

The king, when such earles and lords as he had licenced for a time were returned (his brother the earle of Northfolke excepted) & that the most part of those men of warre were assembled that had summons, although diuerse came not at all; about the first sundaie in Lent he set forward towards his enimies, hauing with him to the number of sixtéene hundred men of armes on horssebacke, and footmen innumerable; with this power passing forth towards his aduersaries, he caused proclamation to be made, that he was readie to receiue all men to his peace, that would come and submit themselues, those excepted which had béene at the siege of Tikehill castell, or at the taking of the citie of Gloucester, or at the inuasion made vpon his men at Bridgenorth.

Record. Tur.

The king setteth forward towards his enimies.

He made a proclamation.

At his comming to a little village called Caldwell, he sent afore him certeine bands to Burton vp-

Burton vpon Trent.

on Trent, where he ment to haue lodged: but the earles of Lancaster and Hereford, the lords Roger Damorie, Hugh Audelie the yonger, John de Powbraie, Bartholomew de Badelismere, Roger de Clifford, John Gifford de Brimesfield, Henrie Tieis, and many other being gotten thither before, kept the bridge, and assailing the kings people which he had thus sent before, some of them they slue, and some they wounded, so defending the bridge, that none could passe, and by reason that the waters, and specially the riuer of Trent through abundance of raine that was latelie fallen, were raised, there was no meane to passe by the fords, whereupon the king was constreined to staie the space of three daies, in which meane time, the earles and their complices fortified the bridge at Burton, with barriers and such like defenses, after the maner of warre, but the king at length vpon deliberate aduise taken how to passe the riuer, ordeined, that the earle of Surrie with certeine armed men, should go ouer by a bridge that was three miles distant from Burton, that he might come vpon the backes of the enimies, as they were fighting with those that should assaile them afront.

The earle of Surrie. Peraduenture at Wichnor.

The earles of Richmond & Penbroke.

The earles of Richmond and Penbroke were appointed to passe by a ford, which they had got knowledge of, with three hundred horssemen in complet armour, and the king with his brother the earle of Kent should follow them, with the residue of the armie, sauing that Robert Aquarie or Waters, with certeine bands of footmen was commanded to assaile the bridge, which he did verie manfullie, causing the archers & crossebowes to annoie them that kept it, so as he might draw the whole power of the enimies that waie, till the king and the earles were passed by the ford. But after that the earles of Lancaster and Hereford with their complices, heard that the king was passed with his armie, they came forth with their people into the fields, and put them in order of battell: but perceiuing the great puissance which the king had there readie to encounter them, without more adoo they fled setting fire on the towne, and leauing all their vittels and other things behind them. The kings people comming speedilie forward, and entring the towne, quenched the fire, and fell to the spoile of such things as the enimies for haste had left behind them. The king kept nothing to himselfe, but onelie a faire cup that belonged to the earle of Lancaster, a peece esteemed to be of some great value.

Robert Aquarie.

The K. passeth by a ford.

The earles of Lancaster & Hereford flee and set fire on the towne.

On the same night, being wednesdaie, the king came to Tutburie, and lodged in the castell, sending forth the next day with all speed, letters to the shiriffe of Derbishire and Notinghamshire, aduertising him both of the successe he had against his enimies, and withall, pronouncing them and all their adherents, rebels and traitors to him and his realme, and that for such they should be reputed, taken and vsed. Wherefore he commanded in the same letters or writs, vpon forfeiture of all that the said shiriffe might forfeit, he should pursue the said rebels, that is, the earles of Lancaster and Hereford, the lords Roger Damorie, Hugh Audelie the ponger, John de Powbraie, Bartholomew de Badelismere, Roger de Clifford, John Gifford de Brimesfield, Henrie Tieis, and all and euerie other person or persons that were of their confederacie, or in their companies; causing hue and crie to be raised vpon them, in what part soeuer they might be heard of, and in all places where the said shiriffe should thinke it expedient, and to inioine and streightlie command all and singular persons, the said rebels and enimies to pursue, take and arrest, and them to deliuer vnto the said shiriffe, and that such as were not able to pursue them, yet with hand or horne they should leuie hue and crie against them, in paine that being found negligent herein, to be accompted for fauourers and adherents to the said rebels and traitors, and that the said shiriffe should thervpon apprehend them, and put them in prison. The writ was dated at Tutburie the eleuenth of March, and the like writs were directed and sent forth to all other shiriffes through the realme, and likewise to the bishop of Durham, and to the iustice of Chester.

The K. commeth to Tutburie.

Hue and crie.

Beside this, he directed also other writs to the said shiriffes and others, that although he had beene constreined to passe in forceable wise through diuerse parts of his realme, and the marches of Wales, to suppresse the malicious rebellion of diuerse his subiects, and that as yet he was constreined to continue his iournie in such forceable wise, neuertheles his pleasure was, that the peace should be mainteined and kept throughout his realme, with the statutes, lawes and customes inuiolated, and therfore he commanded the said shiriffes, that they should cause the same to be proclaimed in places where was thought most expedient, as well within liberties as without, inhibiting that any maner of person, of what state or condition soeuer he was, vpon paine that might fall thereon, to attempt any thing to the breach of peace; but that euerie man should seeke to mainteine and preserue the peace and tranquillitie of the people, with the statutes, lawes and good customes of the land, to the vttermost of his power: this alwaies obserued, that the rebels, whersoeuer they might be found, should be arrested, and committed to safe custodie. The date of this writ was at Tutburie aforesaid on the twelfth of March.

Proclamations made for the peace to be kept.

The lord Damorie departed this life.

The lord Roger Damorie laie sicke in his bed at the same time in the priorie of Tutburie, who after he had heard what iudgement the king had pronounced against him, departed this life within two daies after. But the earles of Lancaster and Hereford, with other in their companie that fled from the discomfiture at Burton, lost manie men and horsses in their flieng away, by reason of such pursuit as was made after them. Diuerse of them that had taken part with the lords against the king, came now and submitted themselues vnto him, amongst the which were sir Gilbert de Ellesfield, and sir Robert Holland knights. The king yet had the said Holland in some suspicion, bicause he had promised to haue come to him before. The earle of Lancaster had sent him at this time to raise his tenants in Lancashire, and to bring them vnto him, but he deceiued him, and came not to him at all, whereupon the earles of Lancaster and Hereford, with the other barons, being come vnto Pomfret, fell to councell in the Friers there, and finallie, after much debating of the matter, and considering how by the vntrue dealing of the said Robert Holland, their side was much weakened, it was concluded, that they should go to the castell of Dunstanborough, and there remaine till they might purchase the kings pardon, sith their enterprise thus quailed vnder their hands: and herewith setting forward that waie forth, they came to Borough bridge, where sir Andrew de Herkley with the power of the countesse of Cumberland and Westmerland had forlaid the passage, and there on a tuesdaie being the 16. of March, he setting vpon the barons, in the end discomfited them, and chased their people.

Sir Gilbert de Ellesfield & sir Robert Holland submit themselues to the king.

The earles of Lancaster & Hereford came to Pomfret.

Rich. South. Sir Andrew Herkley.

In this fight was slaine the earle of Hereford, the lord William de Sullie, with sir Roger de Bourghfield, and diuerse others. And there were taken Thomas earle of Lancaster, the lord Roger Clifford son to that lord Roger which died in the battell of Bannockesborne in Scotland, the lord Gilbert Talbot, the lord John Powbraie, the lord Hugh de Willington, the lord Thomas Panduit, the lord Warren de Lisle, the lord Philip Darcie, the lord Thomas Wither,

The earle of Hereford slaine.

The earle of Lancaster taken.

Barons taken.

ther, the lord Henrie de Willington, the lord Hugh de Knouill, the lord Phillip de Beche, the lord Henrie de Leibourne, the lord Henrie de Bradbourne, the lord John de Beckes, the lord Thomas Louell, the lord William fitz William, Robert de Wateuille, John de Strikeland, Donell Heron, Walter Pauelie of Stretton, and a great number of other esquires and gentlemen. This battell was fought on the fiftéenth day of March, in the yeare 1322 after the accompt of them that begin the yeare at the Circumcision, which was in the said fiftéenth yére of this kings reigne.

The battell of Borough bridge.

The bodie of the earle of Hereford was sent to Yorke, two friers of the order of preachers being appointed to loke to it, till the king toke order for the burieng of it. The lord Clifford also, bicause he was wounded with an arrow, was sent vnto Yorke. At the same time, the lord Henrie Percie toke the lord Henrie Tiets, and John de Goldington knight, with two esquires, and within a few daies after, Donald de Mar toke the lord Bartholomew de Badelismere, the lord Hugh Audelie the yonger, the lord John Gifford, the lord William Tuchet, and in maner all those which escaped by flight from this battell were taken in one place or other, by such of the kings seruants and frends as pursued them. Vpon the one and twentith of March, came sir Andrew de Harkley vnto Pomfret, bringing with him the earle of Lancaster and other prisoners. The king was come thither a few daies before, and had the castell yelded to him by the constable, that not manie daies past was appointed to the kéeping thereof by the earle, which earle now being brought thither captiue, was mocked, scorned, and in derision called king Arthur.

The castell of Pomfret is rendred to the king.

On the morrow after being mondaie, the two and twentith of March, he was brought before these noble men, Edmund earle of Kent, John earle of Richmond, Aimer earle of Penbroke, John erle of Surrie, Edmund earle of Arundell, Dauid earle of Atholl, Robert earle of Anegos, the lord Hugh Spenser the father, the lord Robert de Malmesthorp iustice, and others with them associate, before whome he was arreigned of high treason, for that he had raised warre against the king, and defended the passage of Burton bridge, for the space of three daies togither against him, and after when it was perceiued that the king had passed the riuer, he with Humfrie de Bohun earle of Hereford, and other their complices like traitors, set fire on the said towne, and cruellie burnt part of the houses and men of the same towne, and after, the said earle of Lancaster with his complices, arranged himselfe in field with his armie and banners displaid readie to fight against the king, till that perceiuing the kings power to be ouerstrong for him & his partakers to resist, he togither with them fled, committing by the waie diuerse felonies and robberies, till they came to Burrough bridge, where finding certeine of the kings faithfull subiects readie to resist them, they assailed the said faithfull subiects with force of armes and banners displaied, slaieng diuerse of them, till finallie the said earle of Lancaster was caught, and other of his complices, some taken, some slaine, and the residue put to flight, so that there wanted no good will in the said earle of Lancaster and others, whie the king should not haue béene vanquished. Which treasons, murthers, burning of houses, destroieng of the kings people, being plainlie & manifestlie knowne to the earls, barons, lords, and other people of the land, the said earle of Lancaster was thereupon adiudged to die, according to the law in such cases prouided, that is, to be drawne, hanged, and headed. But bicause he was the quænes vncle, and sonne to the kings vncle, he was pardoned of all saue heading, and so accordinglie thereunto suffered at Pomfret the two and twentith of March.

The earle of Lancaster arreigned.

He is found guiltie. Ri. Southwell.

He is beheaded.

Thus the king séemed to be reuenged of the displeasure done to him by the earle of Lancaster, for the beheading of Pœrs de Gaueston earle of Cornewall, whom he so déerelie loued, and bicause the erle of Lancaster was the chéefe occasioner of his death, the king neuer loued him entirelie after. ¶ So that here is verified the censure of the scripture expressed by the wisedome of Salomon, that the anger and displeasure of the king is as the roring of a lion, and his reuenge inuitable. Wherefore it is an hie point of discretion in such as are mightie, to take héed how they giue edge vnto the wrath of their souereigne, which if it be not by submission made blunt, the burthen of the smart insuing will lie heauie vpon the offendor, euen to his vtter vndoing, and losse (perhaps) of life. In this sort came the mightie earle of Lancaster to his end, being the greatest pére in the realme, and one of the mightiest earles in christendome: for when he began to leauie warre against the king, he was possessed of fiue earledomes, Lancaster, Lincolne, Salisburie, Leicester, and Derbie, beside other seignories, lands, and possessions, great to his aduancement in honor and puissance. But all this was limited within prescription of time, which being expired, both honour and puissance were cut off with dishonour and death, for (O mutable state!)

Inuida fatorum series, summisq; negatum
Stare diu.

On the same day, the lord William Tuchet, the lord William fitz William, the lord Warren de Lisle, the lord Henrie Bradborne, and the lord William; Chenie barons, with John Page an esquire, were drawne and hanged at Pomfret aforesaid, and then shortlie after, Roger lord Clifford, John lord Mowbraie, and sir Goscin d' Eeuill barons, were drawne and hanged at Yorke. At Bristow in like manner were executed sir Henrie de Willington, and sir Henrie Montfort baronets; and at Glocester, the lord John Gifford, and sir William Elmebridge knight; and at London, the lord Henrie Teies baron; at Winchelsie, sir Thomas Culpepper knight; at Windsor, the lord Francis de Aldham baron; and at Canturburie, the lord Bartholomew de Badelismere, and the lord Bartholomew de Alhborowham, barons. Also at Cardiffe in Wales, sir William Fleming knight was executed: diuerse were executed in their countries, as sir Thomas Wandit and others.

Lords executed.

But now touching the foresaid earle of Lancaster, great strife rose afterwards amongst the people, whether he ought to be reputed for a saint or no. Some held, that he ought to be no lesse estéemed, for that he did manie almesdœds in his life time, honored men of religion, and mainteined a true quarell till his liues end. Also, his enimies continued not long after, but came to euill end. Others conceiued an other opinion of him, alledging, that he fauoured not his wife, but liued in spouse-breach, defiling a great number of damosels and gentlewomen. If anie offended him, he slue him shortlie after in his wrathfull mood. Apostataes and other euill doers he mainteined, and would not suffer them to be punished by due order of law. All his doings he vsed to commit vnto one of his secretaries, and toke no héed himselfe thereof: and as for the manner of his death, he fled shamefullie in the fight, and was taken and put to death against his will, bicause he could not auoid it: yet by reason of certeine miracles which were said to be done néere the place both where he suffered, and where he was buried, caused manie to thinke he was a saint; howbeit, at length, by the kings cõmandement, the church doores of the priorie where he was buried, were shut and closed, so that no

Auesburie. Nic. Triuet.

man might be suffered to come to the towne to bring any offerings, or to do any other kind of deuotion to the same. Also, the hill where he suffered was kept by certeine Gascoines, appointed by the lord Hugh Spenser the sonne then lieng at Pomfret, to the end that no people should come and make their praiers there in worship of the said earle, whome they toke verelie for a martyr. Caxton.

When the king had subdued the barons, shortlie after, about the feast of the Ascension of our lord, he held a parlement at Yorke, in which parlement, the record and whole processe of the decree or iudgement concerning the disheriting of the Spensers, ordeined by the lords in parlement assembled at London the last summer, was now throughlie examined, and for their errours therein found, the same record and processe was clerelie annihilated and reuersed, and the said Spensers were restored to all their lands and offices, as before. And in the same parlement the lord Hugh Spenser the father was made earle of Winchester, and the lord Andrew de Herklie earle of Carleill. Moreouer, in the same parlement, all such were disherited as had taken part with the earls of Lancaster & Hereford, except the lord Hugh Audelie the yonger, and a few other, the which lord Hugh was pardoned, because he had married the kings neece, that was sister to Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloucester, which was slaine in Scotland, at the battell of Bannockesborne, as before is mentioned.

A parlement at Yorke.

The record touching the banishing of the Spensers reuersed.

Creation of earls.

The lord Audelie pardoned.

At this time also master Robert Baldocke, a man euill beloued in the realme, was made lord chancellour of England. This Robert Baldocke, and one Simon Reding were great fauourers of the Spensers, and so likewise was the earle of Arundell, whereby it may be thought, that the Spensers did helpe to aduance them into the kings fauour, so that they bare no small rule in the realme, during the time that the same Spensers continued in prosperitie, which for the terme of fiue yeares after that the foresaid barons (as before is expressed) were brought to confusion, did wonderfullie increase, and the queene for that she gaue good and faithfull counsell, was nothing regarded, but by the Spensers meanes clerelie worne out of the kings fauour. Moreouer, we find, that in this parlement holden at Yorke, the kings sonne Edward was made prince of Wales, and duke of Aquitaine.

Robert Baldocke is made lord chancellour. Polydor.

The queene giueth good counsell.

The kings eldest sonne created prince of wales.

Also, the king caused the ordinances made by the earles and barons to be examined by men of great knowledge and skill, and such as were thought necessarie to be established, he commanded that the same should be called statutes, and not ordinances. Beside a great subsidie granted to the king by the temporaltie, the cleargie of all the prouince of Canturburie granted fiue pence of euerie marke, and they of the prouince of Yorke foure pence. Aimer earle of Penbroke, being returned home from this parlement holden at Yorke, was arrested by certeine knights, sent with authoritie thereunto from the king, who brought him backe to Yorke, where at length thorough suit of certeine noble men, he was vpon his oth taken to be a faithfull subiect, and in consideration of a fine which he paied to the king, set at libertie. The occasion of his imprisonment came, for that he was accused and detected to be a secret fauourer of the barons cause against the Spensers in time of the late troubles.

Statutes.

A subsidie.

Addition to Triuet.

The earle of Penbroke arrested.

Moreouer, shortlie after the king gathered the first penie of the temporall mens goods thorough England, Ireland and Wales, which had beene granted to him at the foresaid parlement holden at Yorke, towards the defending of the realme against the Scots. This tax was not gathered without great murmur and grudge, the realme being in such euill and miserable state as it then was. ¶ This yeare also the sunne appeared to mans sight in colour like to bloud, and so continued six houres, to wit, from seuen of the clocke in the morning of the last daie of October, vntill one of the clocke in the after noone of the same daie.

Fabian.

Here is to be noted, that during the time whilest the ciuill warre was in hand betwixt king Edward and his barons, the Scots and Frenchmen were not idle, for the Scots wasted & destroied the countrie of the bishoprike of Durham (as before ye haue partlie heard) & the Frenchmen made roades & incursions into the borders of Guien, alledging that they did it vpon good and sufficient occasion, for that king Edward had not done his homage vnto the king of France, as he ought to haue done, for the duchie of Aquitaine, and the countie of Pontieu. But the true occasion that moued them to attempt the warres at that present, was for that they were in hope to recouer all the lands which the king of England held within France, clerelie out of his hands, for so much as they vnderstood the discord betwixt him and his barons, and how infortunatlie he had sped against the Scots, by reason whereof they iudged the time to serue most fitlie now for their purpose. Polydor.

The Scots inuade the bishoprike of Durham.

In the octaues of the natiuitie of saint John Baptist, Robert Bruce entring into England by Carleill, kept on his waie through Cumberland, Coupeland, Kendall, and so into Lancashire, till he came to Preston in Anderneese, which towne he burnt, as he had done others in the countries through which he had passed. There were some of the Scots that forraied the countrie fiue miles on this side Preston southwards, and thus being fourescore long miles within England, they returned homewards, and entred againe into Scotland without incounter, after they had béene at this time within England the space of three weeks and three daies. King Edward being thus beset with two mischiefes both at one time, thought good first to prouide remedie against the neerer danger, which by the Scots was still at hand, and therefore he meant to go against them himselfe, and to send his brother Edmund earle of Kent into Guien, to defend that countrie from the Frenchmen. Herevpon now in the sixteenth yeare of his reigne, after that the Scots were returned home with a great bootie and rich spoile, he got togither a wonderfull great armie of men, and entring into Scotland, passed far within the countrie, not finding any resistance at all (as the most part of our writers do agree) but at length, through famine and diseases of the flix and other maladies that fell amongst the Englishmen in the armie, he was constreined to come backe, and in his waie besieged the castell of Norham, which fortresse he wan within ten daies after he had begun to assault it.

Rich. South. Rob. Bruce inuadeth England.

Hée more hereof in Scotland.

Anno Reg. 16.

The king goeth into Scotland with an armie. Ri. Southw. Merimouth.

Robert Bruce immediatlie after the English armie was retired home, raised a power, and entring into England by Sulwaie sands, laie at a place called Beaumond, not past three miles frō Carleill, by the space of fiue daies, sending in the meane time the most part of his armie abroad to spoile and harrie the countrie on euerie side, and afterwards remouing from thence, he passed towards Blackamore, hauing knowledge by diligent espials, that king Edward was in those parts, giuing himselfe more to passime in hunting there within the woods about Blackamore, than to the good ordering of his people which he had then about him. Wherevpon the Scotish king Bruce, entring into that wild and morish countrie, where he had not beene afore, conueted his enterprise so warilie, and with such diligent industrie, that on saint Lukes daie, comming vpon the English armie at vnwares, he put the same to flight, so that the king himselfe

himselfe was in great danger to haue béene taken prisoner. For (as some authors write) the Scots had almost taken him at dinner in the abbeie of Beighland. Sir John Britaine earle of Richmond was taken at this battell, and the kings treasure was spoiled and carried awaie, with the prouision and ordinance that belonged to the host.

Rich.South.

The king escaping awaie, got to Yorke, and the Scots hauing thus the vpper hand, after they had spoiled the monasterie of Riuale, and taken their pleasure there, they passed forth into Yorkeswold, destroieng that countrie euen almost vnto Beuerlie, which towne they ransomed, receiuing a summe of monie for sparing it, least they should haue burnt it, as they did other. The earle of Carleill being commanded by the king to raise the powers of Cumberland, Westmerland, and Lancashire, did so, and according to that he had in commandement, bringing them belowe the countries vnto Yorke, found the K. there in no plight to giue battell to his enimies, all things being brought about him into great confusion: wherevpon he licenced his people to depart to their homes againe, and the Scots so returned without battell home into their countries, entring into Scotland the morrow after All hallowes daie, after they had remained in England at this time, one whole moneth and foure daies. Some write, that in their returne, they spoiled Northalerton, and diuerse other townes and places as they passed.

Yorkeswoll spoiled by the Scots.

Beuerlie ransomed.

The earle of Carleill raiseth an armie.

Fabian.

A conspiracie to set prisoners at libertie.

In the same yeare, there was a great conspiracie practised by certein persons that had taken part with the barons in the late warres, purposing to set at libertie in one selfe night, all those noble men and others, that were by the king kept in prison for that quarrell. Certeine therefore of those conspirators came to the castell of Walingford, within the which the lord Maurice Berkelie, and the lord Hugh Audlie remained as prisoners. The conspirators found shift to enter the castell by a posterne gate towards the Thames side, howbeit not so secretlie but that the townesmen hauing knowledge thereof, assembled togither, and besieged them that were so entred the castell, till the earles of Kent and Winchester came with a great power to reenforce the siege, so that in the end, they that had made this attempt fled into the chapell of the castell, in hope to be saued through sanctuarie of the place, but they were (against the willes of the deane and præsts of the colledge there that sought to defend them) taken forth by force, so that sir John de Goldington knight, sir Edmund of the Bech chapleine, and an esquire called Roger Walton, were sent to Pomfret, and there put in prison; the esquire was after sent to Yorke, and there drawne and hanged. This enterprise caused all other prisoners to be more streightlie looked vnto.

Sir John Goldington.

In this peare was begun a wicked practise of treason vpon this occasion. Where K. Edward hauing assaied fortune so froward towards him, in chance of warre against the Scots at sundrie times, was thereby taught to doubt the triall thereof any further, and rather to seeke for peace, he appointed Andrew Herkle earle of Carleill, to seeke some means, whereby a peace might be concluded betwixt him and king Robert. The earle by the kings commandement, going into Scotland, and comming vnto king Robert, whome he found at Loghmaban, intreated with him of warre, and not of peace; for whether it were so that he despaired of the state of king Edwards businesse, which prospered neither at home nor abroad; chéefelie by reason of his owne wilfull negligence (as some write) or whether of his owne nature this earle delighted in nothing so much, as in deceipt, craft, and treason: he concluded vpon points with the Scotish king, how, when, and where king Edward should be betraied, and to the end that couenanted faith on either side might be the more suerlie kept and obserued, the sister of K. Robert was affianced vnto the said earle of Carleill: a verie beautifull ladie and a comelie as was anie where to be séene or found.

Polydor.

Rich.Southw. Polydor.

This practise being thus contriued, shortlie after the king got knowledge thereof, though by whome it was not certeinlie knowne: so hard a thing it is for man to conceale and keepe secret that thing which he goeth about, though he studie neuer so much so to do, namelie in matters of treason, which hath a thousand feet to crépe abroad, and which way soeuer it goeth, it leaueth a thousand prints of the footsteps behind it, by the which it may be discouered to the world. When therefore the earle came backe againe to Carleill, he was arrested by commandement from the king, and straightwaies being arreigned of the treason, he was thereof condemned and put to execution. His head was sent vnto London, and there set vpon the bridge, or rather vpon some turret of the tower. So hard a matter it is for traitors to escape the hands of the executioner; vnder whose hatchet they submit their heads to be hewen from their shoulders, euen then when they haue conceiued their traitorous attempts in hart, for God who hath placed princes in thrones of roialtie, to this end hath vouchsafed them a superlatiue degrée of dignitie, that they might be obeied, neither will his iustice permit impunitie to the disloiall enterprises and complots of malefactors, common peace-disturbers, hautie-harted Nemrods, ambitious Hamans, or anie lewd malcontent; for

Acer Dei est oculus ad omnia videndum,
Eius pœnas non effugit mortalis,
Viuere volens ergo nefaciat morte digna.

Treason will euer come to light by one meane or other.

1323 The earle of Carleill put to death.

¶ But there be that write otherwise (as it may well be) thus, that this earle of Carleill, perceiuing the miserie of his countrie, without consent of the king of England, made peace with the king of Scots, vnder this forme, as by Richard Southwell we find recorded. First, the earle promised faithfullie for him and his heires, that they should with all their force and means possible, séeke to mainteine the said king of Scots, his heires and successors, in the peaceable possession of the kingdome of Scotland, and that to their powers they shuld fight against all those that would not agrée vnto that couenant, as against them that should séeme to be enimies vnto the common-wealth of both the realmes of England and Scotland. The king of Scots promised faithfullie for his part, to defend the said earle, his heires, and adherents in the said couenant or paction, and not onelie to keepe peace with England, but also to build a monasterie within Scotland, assigning reuenues thereto, to the value of fiue hundred marks, to celebrate diuine seruice, and to pray continuallie for the soules of them that were dead, by occasion of the passed warres betwixt England and Scotland: and further, that he should giue to the king of England within ten yeares, fortie thousand pounds of siluer; and that the king of England should haue the king of Scots eldest sonne, to marrie him vnto some ladie of his blood, as he should thinke expedient. To the performance of all which couenants well and truelie to be obserued, Thomas Randulfe earle of Murrey sware on the behalfe of the king of Scots, and the earle of Carleill sware for himselfe: and hérewith certeine writings indented were drawne and ingrossed, to the which interchangeablie they set their hands and seales.

Ri. Southwell.

After that the earle of Carleill was returned home, he called to Carleill all the chéefe persons of the countrie, as well spirituall as temporall, and there rather through feare, than otherwise, constrei-

ned them to receiue an oth, that they should aid & assist him to their powers, to see all the couenants aboue said perfourmed and kept. After that these things were knowne to the king and the realme, although some of the communaltie liked well inough of the matter, because they hoped thereby to remaine in peace, especiallie those of the north parts, the king yet and his councell (not without cause) were sore offended, for that he whom the king had so latelie aduanced, should confederate himselfe with the Scots, to the preiudice of the king and his crowne, concluding any couenants of peace without his consent, wherevpon reputing him for a ranke traitor, the king sent vnto the lord Antonie Lucie, to apprehend the said earle by some meanes if he might, and for his paines he should not faile to be well rewarded.

The lord Lucie.

The lord Lucie watching his time, when the earles men were gone some whither abroad, and but few left about him, the morrow after the feast of saint Matthew the apostle, he entred the castell of Carleill, as it were to talke with the earle of some businesse, as his manner was at other times to do. He had with him sir Hugh Lowther, sir Richard Denton, and sir Hugh Moricebie knights, and foure esquiers, beside other priuilie armed, so that leauing some at euerie gate and dore as he entred, he came into the hall, and there finding the earle inditing letters, arrested him. Herewith when certeine of the earles seruants made a noise, and cried, Treason, treason, the porter of the inner gate would haue shut it vpon them that were thus entred, but sir Richard Denton slue that porter with his owne hands, and there was not one more slaine by them in the apprehension of the earle, for all other his seruants yeelded themselues and the house vnto the said lord Lucie, without more resistance.

Howbeit one of his seruants that saw these doings, got awaie, and with all speed ran to the peele of Hethead, and shewed to the earles brother Michaell Herkeley what was chanced to the earle, wherevpon the said Michaell forthwith fled into Scotland, and with him sir William Blunt knight, a Scotishman, and diuerse other that were of the earles priuie councell. The lord Lucie streightwaies sent a messenger to the king vnto Yorke, aduertising him how he had taken the earle, and therefore required to vnderstand further of the kings pleasure. The king forthwith sent the lord Geffrey Scrobe iustice, with a number of armed men vnto Carleill, the which came thither on saint Chaddes daie, and the morrow after, being the third of March, he sat in iudgement vpon the said earle, in the castell of Carleill, and there (as out of the kings mouth) he pronounced sentence against him in this wise; first, that he should be disgraded of his earledome, by the taking awaie from him the sword which the king had gird him with, and likewise of his knighthood, by cutting off his spurs from his heeles, and that after this, he should be drawen from the castell through the citie vnto the place of execution, where felons were accustomed to suffer, and there to be hanged, afterwards headed, and then his head to be sent vnto London, there to be set aloft vpon one of the turrets of the tower, and his quarters to be diuided, one to be set vp at Carleill, an other at Newcastell vpon Tine, the third at Bristow, & the fourth at Douer.

Michaell de Herkley.

The earle of Carleils iudgement.

When he had heard this iudgement, he said; You haue diuided my bodie at your pleasure, and I commit my soule vnto God: and being according to the iudgement drawen to the place where he suffered, he neuer shranke at the matter, but boldlie behaued himselfe, declaring at the verie houre of his death, that his intention in concluding the agreement with the Scots was good, and procéeding not of any euill meaning, but tending onelie to the wealth and quietnes of the realme. Neither could such friers as were permitted to come to him before his arreignement to heare his confession, get any thing more of him, but that his meaning was good, and that which he had concluded with the king of Scots was not done vpon any euill purpose, whereby any hurt might insue, either to the king or to the realme. ¶ Thus haue we thought good to shew the cause of this earles death, as by some writers it hath béene registred; although there be that write, that the ouerthrow at Weighland chanced through his fault, by misleading a great part of the kings host, and that therefore the king being offended with him, caused him to be put to death, albeit (as I thinke) no such matter was alleged against him at the time of his arreignement.

His constancie at his death.

Fabian. Caxton.

About this season was the foundation begun of S. Michaels colledge in Cambridge, by one sir Henrie Stanton knight, chancellour of the exchéker. About the feast of the Ascension, there came as commissioners from the king of England vnto Newcastell, Aimerie earle of Penbroke, and the lord chamberlaine Hugh Spenser the yonger, and other foure personages of good accompt. And from the king of Scots, there came the bishop of saint Andrews, Thomas Randulfe earle of Murrey, and other foure of good credit to treat of peace, or at the least wise of some long truce, and through the good will and pleasure of God, the author of all peace and quietnesse, they concluded vpon a truce, to indure for thirteene yeares, and so about the feast of saint Barnabe the apostle, it was proclaimed in both realmes, but yet so, that they might not traffike togither, because of the excommunication wherewith the Scots were as yet intangled, although as some write, about the same time, the interdict wherein the realme of Scotland stood bound, was by pope John released.

Polydor. Rich. South. Commissioners méet to intreat of peace. A truce concluded. Polydor. Hect. Boetius. Anno Reg. 17.

The French K. being latelie come to the crowne, sent certeine ambassadors vnto king Edward, to wit, the lord Beouille, and one Andreas de Florentia a notarie, to giue summons vnto him from the French king, to come and do homage for the lands which he held in France, as for the duchie of Aquitaine, and the countie of Pontieu. And though the lord chamberleine Hugh Spenser the sonne, and the lord chancellour Robert Baldocke did what they could to procure these ambassadors, not to declare the cause of their comming to the king, yet when they should depart, they admonished the king to come and do his homage vnto the French king, and vpon this admonition the said Andreas framed a publike instrument, by vertue whereof, the French king made processe against the king of England, and seized into his hands diuerse townes and castels in Aquitaine, alledging that he did it for the contumacie shewed by the king of England, in refusing to come to do his homage, being lawfullie summoned, although the king was throughlie informed, that the summons was neither lawfull, nor touched him anie thing at all.

Messengers from the French king. The French king taketh townes in Aquitaine.

About the same time, the lord Roger Mortimer of Wigmor, giuing his keepers a drinke that brought them into a sound and heauie sléepe, escaped out of the tower of London where he was prisoner. This escape of the lord Mortimer greatlie troubled the king, so that immediatlie vpon the first newes, he wrote to all the shiriffes of the realme, that if he chanced to come within their roomes, they should cause hue and crie to be raised, so as he might be staied and arrested, but he made such shift, that he got ouer into France, where he was received by a lord of Picardie, named monsier John de Fieules, who had faire lands in England, and therefore the king wrote to him, reproouing him of vnthankfulnesse, considering

The lord Mortimer breaketh out of the tower.

Polydor.

Ambassadors sent into France.

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he had bene euer readie to pleasure him, and to aduance his profits and commodities, and yet notwithstanding he did succour the said lord Mortimer, and other rebels that were fled out of his realme.

1324
A parlement.

In Lent this yeare, a parlement was holden at London, in the which diuerse things were intreated, amongst other the cheefest was, to determine for the sending of some honorable ambassage to the French king, to excuse the king for not comming to him to do his homage, according to the pretended summons. ¶ In the same parlement, Adam bishop of Hereford was arrested, and examined vpon points of treason, for aiding, succouring, and mainteining the Mortimers, and other of the rebels. This bishop was reckoned to be wise, subtill, and learned, but otherwise, wilfull, presumptuous, and giuen to maintaine factions. At the first, he disdeined to make anie answer at all, and finallie, when he was in manner forced thereto, he flatlie told the king, that he might not make any answere to such matters as he was charged with, except by the licence and consent of his metropolitane the archbishop of Canturburie, and other his peeres. Hereupon, the said archbishop and other bishops made such sute, that he was committed to the keeping of the said archbishop, with him to remaine, till the king had taken order for his further answer.

The bishop of Hereford arrested.

Thom. de la More.

Thom. Walf.

Within few dates after, when the king called him againe before his presence, to make answere to the matters laid against him, the archbishops of Canturburie, Yorke, Dublin, and ten other bishops came with their crosses afore them, and vnder a colour of the priuilege and liberties of the church, tooke him awaie, before he had made anie answere, forbidding all men on paine of excommunication, to laie anie hands vpon him. The king greatlie offended with this bold proceeding of the prelats, caused yet an inquest to be impanelled, to inquire of the bishop of Herefords treasons, and vpon the finding of him guiltie, he seized into his hands all the temporalties that belonged to his bishoprike, and spoiled his manours and houses most violentlie, in reuenge of his disloiall dealings.

The presumptuous demeanor of prelats.

Moreouer, in this parlement, the lands and possessions that belonged sometime to the Templers, and had bene deliuered vnto the knights Hospitalers, otherwise called knights of the Rodes by the king in the seauenth yeare of his reigne (according to the decree of the councell of Vienna) were by authoritie of this parlement assured vnto the said knights, to enioy to them and their successors for euer. Also it was concluded, that the earle of Kent, and the archbishop of Dubline should go ouer as ambassadours into France, to excuse the king for his not comming in person to the French king, to do his homage for the lands he held in France. Moreouer, in the same parlement, the king granted, that all the dead bodies of his enimies and rebels that had suffered and hanged still on the gallowes, should be taken downe, and buried in the churchyards next to the places where the same bodies were hanging, and not elsewhere, by such as would take paine to burie them, as by his writs directed vnto the shiriffes of London, and of the counties of Middlesex, Kent, Glocester, Yorke, and Buckingham it appeared. And not onelie this libertie was granted at that time for the taking down of those bodies, but (as some write) it was decreed by authoritie in the same parlement, that the bodies of all those that from thencefoorth should be hanged for felonies, should incontinentlie be buried, which ordinance hath bene euer since obserued.

Re. Tur. Lands belonging to the templers.

Licence to burie the bodies of the rebels. Record. Tur.

Polydor.

Ambassadors sent into France.

The earle of Kent, and the archbishop of Dubline going ouer into France, could not light vpon anie good conclusion for the matter about the which they were sent, because the same time, or rather somewhat before, the lord Rafe Basset of Draiton, being the kings seneshall in Guien, had ouerthrowne a certeine towne, newlie fortified by the Frenchmen on the frontiers, for that the inhabitants, trusting on the French kings fauour and maintenance, refused to obeie the lawes and ordinances of the countrie of Aquitaine, and seemed to despise and set at naught the authoritie of the said lord Basset in that countrie, contrarie to all right, good order or reason. Neuertheless, the French king tooke the matter so greeuouslie, that except the lord Basset might be constreined to come vnto Paris, and there make answer to his offense, he would not hearken to anie other satisfaction. And thereupon, when the ambassadours were returned, he sent his vncle the lord Charles de Valois earle of Anion, with a mightie armie, against the English subiects into Guien, where entring into Agenois, he tooke and seized all that countrie into the French kings hands. The earle of Kent being now gotten into those parts, with a great number of other capteins and men of warre sent thither by the king of England, resisted the enimies verie manfullie, in so much that vpon their approch to the Rioll, a strong towne in those parts, the earle of Kent as then being within it, did issue forth, and giuing them battell, slue (as some write) foureteene hundred of their men, so that they were glad to lodge at the first somewhat further off the towne.

The lord Basset.

Anno Reg. 18. The earle of Anion sent into Guien.

The earle of Kent.

Whilest this siege remained before the towne of the Rioll, the king of England wrote his letters to the duke of Britaine, as one of the peeres of France, declaring the iniurious dealing of the French king, who had sent his vncle the earle of Anion with an armie against his people in Agenois, where he had taken manie townes, destroied his people, and now had besieged his nephue Edmund earle of Kent, within the towne of the Rioll, inforsing his whole puissance wrongfullie to bereaue him of all the duchie of Guien, and against all reason, and the prerogatiue of the peeres of France, to an euill president or example in time to come of the perpetuall seruitude of the said peeres. And although saith the king of England, that the French alledge that we haue been lawfullie summoned to come and do homage, and haue refused so to do, that is not so: for we were neuer in due order required as was conuenient, neither could we do homage, by reason of the great iniuries and hard dealings practised against vs, from the feast of Easter last, till the date of those his present letters (which was the first of October, in this eightéenth yeare of his reigne) and yet, saith he, there was neuer anie lawfull processe had against vs before our peeres, in the great chamber at Paris, as had bene requisite.

Fabian. The king of England writeth to the duke of Britaine. Record. Tur.

Hereupon he requested the duke of Britaine, that for the preseruation and maintenance of the honorable estate of the peeres of France, & for iustice sake he would helpe to aid him, either by waie of request, or other conuenient meanes, so as the said streict dealings and iniurious wrongs may cease, and the estate of the peerelship may be mainteined as was requisite. He wrote likewise to the lord John the infant, the lord of Biskie, and to the ladie Marie of Biskie gouernesse of the king of Castile and Leon, and to James king of Aragon, requesting them to aid him with men of warre, as well horsemen as footmen, against his aduersarie the French king, that most vniustlie went about to depriue him of his inheritance. But howsoeuer the matter went, no aid came to the earle of Kent from any part, till at length, the Frenchmen so reinforced the siege, that the towne was deliuered to the earle of Anion, and a truce taken vpon certeine conditions, that further

The lord of Biskie.

Tho. Wals. A truce take.

further talke might be had, for the conclusion of some peace.

The lord de Sullie sent into France in ambassage.

Then were sent ouer other ambassadors, as the lord John de Sullie a Frenchman borne, and one maister John de Shordich, but the lord Sullie had so strange interteinment for some displeasure which the French king conceiued against him, that if the French quéene had not the beter intreated for him, he had lost his head; and as for the other, he had also returned home without bringing any thing to passe, of that for the which he was sent. After this, the pope sent the archbishop of Vienna, and the bishop of Orange, to the princes of either realme, to exhort them to some agréement, but they could do no good, and so taking monie of the cleargie for their expenses, they returned. After this, about the twentith daie after Christmasse, there was a parlement called at London, in the which the king required to haue the aduise of the lords, how he might worke for sauing of the duchie of Guien, sore molested by the French. Herupon it was concluded, that the bishops of Winchester and Norwich, and John de Britaine earle of Richmond, should go ouer as ambassadors to the French king, who comming into France, after manie argumentations, allegations, and excuses, made on both parts, at length receiued a certeine forme of pacification at the French kings hands, with the which the bishop of Winchester was sent backe to England, the bishop of Norwich, and the earle of Richmond remaining there, till it might be knowen how the king of England would like thereof.

The pope sendeth ambassadors to the kings of England and France.

1325

Other ambassadors sent ouer into France.

Finallie it was thought good, that the quéene shuld go ouer to hir brother the French king, to confirme that treatie of peace vpon some reasonable conditions. She willinglie tooke vpon hir the charge, and so with the lord John Crumwell, & other foure knights, without any other great traine, taking sea, she landed in France, where of the king hir brother she was ioifullie receiued, and finallie she being the mediatrix, it was finallie accorded, that the K. of England should giue to his eldest sonne the duchie of Aquitaine, and the countie of Pontieu, and that the French king receiuing homage of him for the same, he should restore into his hands the said countie, and the lands in Guien, for the which they were at variance, and for those countries which had bene forraied and spoiled, the earle of Anion should fullie see him satisfied, as right did require.

The quéene is sent ouer into France to talke with hir brother the French king.

A peace and concord agréed vpon.

Anno Reg. 19.

Upon the couenants the French king wrote his letters patents into England, and other letters also of safe conduct, as well for the sonne as for the king himselfe, if it should please him to come ouer himselfe in person. Upon which choise great deliberation was had, as well at Langdon, as at Douer, diuerse thinking it best that the king should go ouer himselfe: but the earle of Winchester and his sonne the lord chamberleine, that neither durst go ouer themselues with the king, nor abide at home in his absence, gaue contrarie counsell, and at length preuailed so, that it was fullie determined that the kings eldest sonne Edward should go ouer, which turned to their destruction, as it appeared afterward.

Herevpon the king made a charter of grant vnto his sonne, of the duchie of Guien, and countie of Pontieu, to haue and hold to him & his heires kings of England, with condition, that if he chanced to depart this life whilest his father liued, those lands should returne to his father againe, so as the French king might not marrie the kings sonne at his pleasure, nor apoint vnto him any gardians or gouernours. This ordinance was made at Douer by the kings charter, with consent of the prelats and other noble men of the realme there present, the morrow after the Natiuitie of our ladie, and on the thursdaie following, the kings sonne tooke the sea, and with him Walter bishop of Excester and others in competent number, and about the feast of saint Matthew the apostle, he did homage to his vncle the French king at *Bois de Vincennes*, vnder certeine protestations made, as well on the one part as the other.

The prince of Wales is sent into France.

The summer this yeare proued exceeding hot and drie, so that springs and riuers failed to yéeld their accustomed course of waters, by reason wherof great numbers of cattell and beasts, both wild and tame died, through lacke of conuenient liquor to asswage their vehement thirst. In the beginning of the nert spring, king Edward sent into France vnto his wife and sonne, commanding them, now that they had made an end of their businesse, to returne home with all conuenient speed. The quéene receiuing the message from hir husband, whether it was so that she was staied by hir brother, vnto whome belike she had complained after what manner she was vsed at hir husbands hands, being had in no regard with him: or for that she had no mind to returne home, bicause she was loth to sée all things ordered out of frame by the counsell of the Spensers, whereof to heare she was wearie: or whether (as the manner of women is) she was long about to prepare hir selfe forward, she slacked all the summer, and sent letters euer to excuse hir tarriance. But yet bicause she would not run in any suspicion with hir husband, she sent diuerse of hir folkes before hir into England by soft iournies. A lamentable case, that such diuision should be betweene a king and his quéene, being lawfullie married, and hauing issue of their bodies, which ought to haue made that their copulation more comfortable: but (alas) what will not a woman be drawne and allured vnto, if by euill counsell she be once assaulted? And what will she leaue vndone, though neuer so inconuenient to those that should be most déere vnto hir, so hir owne fansie and will be satisfied? And how hardlie is she reuoked from proceeding in an euill action, if she haue once taken a taste of the same? As verie truly is reported by the comedie-writer, saieng,

A drie summer.

Cattell died.

The king sendeth for his wife and sonne to returne home.

The womans dissimulation.

Aegrè quod mulier incœpit nisi efficere id perpetrat,
Id illi morbo, id illi senio est; ea illi miserè miseria est:
Si benefacere incœpit, eius eam citò odium percipit, Plaut. in Truc.
Nimisq; paucæ sunt defessæ, malè quæ facere occœperint;
Nimisq; paucæ efficiunt, si quid occœperint benefacere;
Mulieri nimio malefacere melius est otium, quàm benè.

But to the purpose. King Edward not a little offended with king Charles, by whose meanes he knew that the woman thus lingered abroad, he procured pope John to write his letters vnto the French king, admonishing him to send home his sister and hir sonne vnto hir husband. But when this nothing auailed, a proclamation was made in the moneth of December, the nineteenth yeare of this kings reigne, that if the quéene and hir sonne entred not the land by the octaues of the Epiphanie nert insuing in peaceable wise, they should be taken for enimies to the realme and crowne of England. ¶ Here authors varie, for some write, that vpon knowledge had of this proclamation, the quéene determined to returne into England forthwith, that she might be reconciled to hir husband.

A proclamation. Fabian.

Polydor.

Others write, and that more truelie, how she being highlie displeased, both with the Spensers and the king hir husband, that suffered himselfe to be misled by their counsels, did apoint indéed to returne into England, not to be reconciled, but to stir the people to some rebellion, wherby she might reuenge hir manifold iniuries. Which (as the proofe of the thing shewed) séemeth to be most true, for she being a wise woman, & considering that sith the Spensers had excluded, put out, and remoued all good men, from and besides the kings councell, and placed in their roomes

such

such of their clients, seruants and frends as pleased them, she might well thinke that there was small hope to be had in hir husband, who heard no man but the said Spensers, which she knew hated hir deadlie.

1326

Wherevpon, after that the tearme prefixed in the proclamation was expired, the king caused to be seized into his hands, all such lands, as belonged either to his sonne, or to his wife.

Sir Robert Walkfare.

About the same time, one sir Robert Walkfare knight, a right hardie man of his hands, but craftie and subtill (who being taken in the warres which the lords raised against the king, had bene committed to prison in the castell of Corfe) found means now to kill the constable of that castell most cruellie, and escaping awaie, got ouer to the quéene into France, and so the number of them that ran out of the realme vnto hir dailie increased. This sir Robert Walkfare was a great procurer of the discord betwixt the king and the lords, and a chéefe leader, or rather seducer of that noble man Humfrie de Bohune earle of Hereford: and whilest other gaue themselues to seeke a reformation in the decaied state of the commonwealth, he set his mind vpon murders and robberies. Diuerse other about the same time fled out of the realme vnto the quéene, and vnto hir sonne the earle of Chester. But in the meane time, Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester,

The bishop of Excester cõmeth from the quéne.

which hitherto had remained with the quéene in France, stale now from hir, and got ouer into England, opening to the king all the counsell and whole mind of the quéene: which thing turned first of all vnto his owne destruction, as shall after apeare.

Sir Oliuer de Ingham lieutenant of Gascoine.

About the same time, one sir Oliuer de Ingham, a yong, lustie, and valiant knight, was by the kings sonne the duke of Aquitaine (not without his fathers consent) established lord warden of the marches of Guien, the which sir Oliuer gathering an armie of hired soldiers, Spaniards, Aragons, and Gascoins, inuaded the countrie of Agenois (which the French king held yet in his hands contrarie to couenant) and recouering it from the French, clerelie reduced it to the English dominion. Moreouer, sir John Oturum, sir Nicholas Kirkell, and sir John Felton, admerals by the kings appointment, with the fléets of the east, south, and west parts, went to the sea, to apprehend such Frenchmen as they might méet withall. They according to their commission bestirred themselues so, that within few daies they toke sir score saile of Normans, and brought them into England, wherevpon the displeasure sore increased betwixt the two realmes.

Agenois recouered out of the Frenchmens hands.

Ships of Normandie taken.

The king of England stood not onelie in doubt of the Frenchmen, but more of his owne people that remained in France, least they thorough helpe of the French should inuade the land, and therefore he commanded the hauens and ports to be suerlie watched, lest some sudden inuasion might happilie be attempted, for it was well vnderstood, that the quéene meant not to returne, till she might bring with hir the lord Mortimer, and the other banished men, who in no wise could obteine anie fauour at the kings hands, so long as the Spensers bare rule. ¶ The pope lamenting this matter, sent two bishops into England, to reconcile the king and quéene, and also to agree the two kings. These bishops were reuerentlie receiued, but more than reuerence here they obteined not, and so departed as they came.

Anno. Reg. 20.

King Edward vnderstanding all the quéenes drift, at length sought the French kings fauour, and did so much by letters and promise of bribes with him and his councell, that quéene Isabell was destitute in manner of all helpe there, so that she was glad to withdraw into Heinault, by the comfort of John the lord Beaumont, the earle of Heinault his brother,

The lord Beaumont of Heinault.

who being then in the court of France, and lamenting quéene Isabels case, imagined with himselfe of some marriage that might be had betwixt the yong prince of Wales, and some of the daughters of his brother the earle of Heinault, and therevpon required hir to go into Heinault, and he would be glad to attend hir. She gladlie consenting hereto, went thither with him, where she was most ioifullie receiued with hir sonne, and all other of hir traine.

The quéne of England with hir son goeth into Hetnault. Polydor.

The Spensers (some write) procured hir banishment out of France, and that she was aduised by the earle of Arthois chéefelie to repaire into Heinault. Also I find, that the Spensers deliuered fiue barrels of siluer, the summe amounting vnto fiue thousand marks, vnto one Arnold of Spaine a broker, appointing him to conueie it ouer into France, to bestowe it vpon such frends as they had there of the French kings counsell, by whose means the king of France did banish his sister out of his relme. But this monie was met with vpon the sea by certeine Zelanders, and taken, togither with the said Arnold, and presented to the earle of Heinault, vnder whose dominion the Zelanders in those daies remained, of which good hap the earle and quéene Isabell greatlie reioised."

Caxton.

Fabian. A marriage concluded.

In the time that the quéene and hir sonne laie in the court of the earle of Heinault, a marriage was concluded betwixt the prince of Wales, and the ladie Philip, daughter to the said earle, vpon certeine conditions, whereof one was, that the said erle should at his proper costs set ouer into England the said prince of Wales, with a crue of foure hundred men of armes. But whether there was any such mariage as then concluded, and that in consideration thereof, the earle of Heinault aided quéene Isabell and hir sonne, it may be doubted, because other writers make no such report. Neuertheless, certeine it is, that the earls brother sir John de Heinault lord Beaumont, was appointed with certeine bands of men of arms, to the number of foure hundred or fiue hundred, to passe ouer with the said quéene and hir sonne into England, and so therevpon began to make his purueiance for that iournie, which thing when it came to the knowledge of king Edward and the Spensers, they caused musters to be taken through the realme, and ordeined beacons to be set vp, kept and watched, as well in the vallies by the sea side, as within the countries, vpon hilles and high grounds, that the same vpon occasion of the enimies arriuall, might be set on fire, to warne the countries adioining to assemble and resist them.

Caxton. Prouision made in England to resist the quéne.

But quéene Isabell and hir sonne, with such others as were with hir in Heinault, staied not their iournie for doubt of all their aduersaries prouision, but immediatlie after that they had once made their purueiances, and were readie to depart, they toke the sea, namelie the quéene, hir sonne, Edmund of Woodstoke earle of Kent, sir John de Heinault aforesaid, and the lord Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, a man of good experience in the warres, and diuerse others, hauing with them a small companie of Englishmen, with a crue of Heinewiers and Almains, to the number of 2757 armed men, the which sailing forth towards England, landed at length in Suffolke, at an hauen called Orwell besides Harwich, the 25 daie of September. Immediatlie after that the quéene and hir sonne were come to land, it was wonder to see how fast the people resorted vnto them; and first of all, the earle Marshall, in whose lands she first came on shore, repaired vnto hir, so did the earle of Leicester, and diuerse barons & knights of those parts, with all the prelats in manner of the land, as the bishops of Lincolne, Hereford, Dubline, and Elie, the which being ioined with the quéene, made

Tho. Walsin. The quéene with hir sonne land in Suffolke.

Tho. Walsi.

The readinesse of the prelats to assist the quéene.

made a great armie. The archbishop of Canturburie and others aided hir with monie.

After that she had refreshed hir people a little space at saint Edmundsburie, she marched forth to seeke the aduersaries of hir and of the realme, as she bruted it; but they still keeping themselues neere to the kings person, that vnder the shadow of the wings of his protection they might remaine in more safegard, durst not depart from his presence. At the time of the quœnes landing he was at London, and being sore amazed with the newes, he required aid of the Londoners. They answered, that they would do all the honour they might vnto the king, the quéene, and to their sonne the lawfull heire of the land: but as for strangers & traitors to the realme, they would keepe them out of their gates, and resist them with all their forces: but to go forth of the citie further than that they might returne before sunne-setting, they refused, pretending certeine liberties in that behalfe to them granted in times past, as they alledged.

The answer of the Londoners to the king.

The king not greatlie liking of this answer, fortified the tower, and leauing within it his yonger son John of Eltham, and the wife of the lord chamberleine Hugh Spenser the yonger that was his neece, he departed towards the marches of Wales, there to raise an armie against the quœne. Before his departure from London, he set forth a proclamation, that euerie man vnder paine of forfeiting of life & goods, should resist them that were thus landed, assaile, and kill them, the quéene, his sonne Edward, and his brother the earle of Kent onelie excepted; and whosoeuer could bring the head or dead corps of the lord Mortimer of Wigmore, should haue for his labour a thousand marks. The quœnes proclamations on the other part willed all men to hope for peace, the Spensers publike enimies of the realme, and the lord chancellor Robert Baldocke, with their assistants onlie excepted, through whose meanes the present trouble was happened to the realme. And it was forbidden, that no man should take ought from any person, and who so euer could bring to the quéene the head of Hugh Spenser the yonger, should haue two thousand pounds of the quœnes gift.

The king at his departure from London, left maister Walter Stapleton the bishop of Excester behind him, to haue the rule of the citie of London. Then shortlie after, the quéene with hir son, making towards London, wrote a letter to the maior, and the citizens, requiring to haue assistance for the putting downe of the Spensers, not onelie knowne enimies of theirs, but also common enimies to all the realme of England. To this letter no answer at the first was made, wherefore an other was sent, dated at Baldocke the first date of October, vnder the names of Isabell by the grace of God queene of England, ladie of Ireland, and countesse of Pontieu, and of Edward eldest sonne to the king of England, duke of Guien, earle of Chester, of Pontien and of Muttrell. This letter being directed to the maior and communaltie of London, conteining in effect, that the cause of their landing and entring into the realme at that time, was onelie for the honor of the king and wealth of the realme, meaning hurt to no maner of person, but to the Spensers, was fastened vpon the crosse in Cheape, then called the new crosse in Cheape, on the night before the ninth date of October. Diuerse copies of the same letter were set vp, and fastened vpon windowes and doores in other places of the citie, and one of the same copies was tacked vpon the lord maiors gates.

The king forsaketh London, and goeth towards the marches of Wales.

A proclamation set forth by the king.

The quéenes proclamation.

The bishop of Excester left in charge with the citie of London.

Caxton.

After which letter thus published in the citie, a great number of artificers, and other that loued not to sit in rest vpon such occasion of discord offered, now that things were in broile in other parts of the realme, assembled in great numbers, & with weapon in hand came to the lord maior of the citie, whom they knew to fauor the kings part, & therefore they forced him through feare of some iniurious violence, to receiue an oth to stand to their ordinance, which was to put to death all those that were aduersaries to the quéene, or had by any meanes procured the hinderance of the cities liberties, vnder pretext of which oth they ran and tooke one of the citizens, called John Marshall, who bicause he was verie familiar with the earle of Gloucester, and therefore suspected to haue accused the citizens, they stroke off his head, and spoiled all his goods.

Fabian. Thom. Walsi.

The lord maior forced to take an oth.

John Marshall taken & beheaded.

On the same day, being the fourteenth of October, continuing their rage, they ran to the house of the bishop of Excester, Walter de Stapleton, and setting fire on the gates, they entred and spoiled him of all his plate, iewels, monie and goods. And as it chanced in an infortunate houre for him, the bishop being at the same time returning from the fields, would not seeme to shrinke, although he was admonished of these outragious attempts of the people; but sitting on horsebacke, came to the north doore of S. Paule, where forthwith the furious people laid violent hands on him, threw him downe, and drew him most outragiouslie into Cheapeside, where they proclamed him an open traitor, a seducer of the king, and a destroier of their liberties. The bishop had vpon him a certeine cote of defense, which was called an aketon, the same therefore being plucked beside his backe as all other his garments, they shore his head from his shoulders, and to the like death they put two of his seruants, the one an esquire, and the other a yeoman. The bishops head was set on a pole for a spectacle, that the remembrance of his death, and the cause thereof might continue. His bodie was buried in an old churchyard of the pied friers, without any manner of exequies of funerall seruice done for him.

The bishop of Excester beheaded.

The chiefest cause of the enimitie which the Londoners bare towards this bishop, rose hereof. He being lord treasurer, procured that the iustices itinerants did sit in the citie of London, and where manie of the citizens were found offendors, and iustlie punished, as well by losing their freedoms, as by paieng their fines, and suffering corporall punishments, they conceiued a great displeasure towards him. Moreouer, it was said, that he had raised a great multitude of armed men against the quéene, and hir son the duke of Aquitaine, and therefore did the Londoners (as they affirmed) seeke to preuent his proceedings. ¶ The morrow after that they had thus beheaded the bishop of Excester, they tooke by chance sir John Weston constable of the tower, and from him they tooke the keies of the same tower, and so entering the tower, they set all the prisoners at libertie, and in like case all those that were imprisoned in maner through the land were permitted to go at large, and all the banished men and outlawes were likewise restored home.

The Londoners hauing the tower thus at their commandement, remoued all the officers therein placed by the king, and put other in their roomes, in the name of the lord John de Eltham the kings son, whom they named warden of the citie and land. And yet they ceassed not to commit manie robberies & other outragious & most insolent parts. In the meane time, the king being come to Bristow, left that citie in the keeping of the earle of Winchester. And with the earles of Glocester and Arundell, and the lord chancellor sir Robert Baldocke, he sailed ouer into Wales, there to raise a power of Welshmen in defense of himselfe against the quéene and hir adherents, which he had good hope to find amongest the Welsh-

The king sailed into Wales.

Polydor. His fauour towards the Welshmen.

Welshmen, because he had euer vsed them gentlie, and shewed no rigor towards them for their riotous misgouernance. Againe, he drew the rather into that part, that if there were no remedie, he might easilie escape ouer into Ireland, and get into some mounteine-countrie, marish-ground, or other streict, where his enimies should not come at him.

But now to speake of the quæne, yée must vnderstand, that after she had receiued knowledge from the Londoners, that they were wholie at hir deuotion, she being glad thereof, turned hir iournie toward Wales to follow the king, and comming to Orenford, staied there a while, and still came people to hir from all sides. Héere Adam de Torleton the bishop of Hereford, which latelie before had bæne sore fined by the king, for that he was accused to stirre the people to rebellion, and to aid the barons (as yée haue heard) made a pithie oration to the armie, declaring that the quæne and hir sonne were returned onelie into England, to the intent to persecute the Spensers, & reforme the state of the realme. And sith then that they now were come in maner to an end of the tyrannie of most naughtie men, and of the danger that might growe dailie thereof, he exhorted them with patient minds to beare the small trauell that remained in pursuit of the enimies; and as for reward, they might looke for all things by the victorie, and the quénes liberalitie, whose loue was such towards the common-wealth, as she onelie applied all hir endeuours and doings to the aduancement thereof.

The quæne following the king commeth to Orenford. Tho. de la More.

The bishop of Hereford maketh an oration to the quænes armie.

These words spoken, the quæne accompanied with a great power, departed from Orenford, and went straight vnto Glocester, and sent before hir vnto Bristow the earle of Kent, the kings brother, sir John of Hennegew, with other, to take the earle of Winchester. They did their endeuour with such diligence, that the townesmen, compounding to be saued harmlesse in bodie and goods, deliuered the towne and castell vnto the quæne, & to hir sonne the prince. In the meane time, there came to the quæne at Glocester, the lord Percie, the lord Wake, and diuerse other, as well from the north parts, as forth of the marches of Wales, so that hir armie hugelie increased.

The quæne goeth to Glocester.

From Glocester she passed by Berkley, and restored the castell of Berkley (which the earle of Glocester, Hugh Spenser the yonger had held) vnto the lord Thomas Berkley, heire to the lord Maurice Berkley latelie before deceassed in prison, within the castell of Wallingford, togither with all the appurtenances to the honor of Berkley belonging. From thence she went to Bristow, and the morrow after hir thither comming, being the euen of the apostles Simon and Jude, through the instant calling vpon of the people, the earle of Winchester was drawne forth in his cote armor vnto the common gallows, and there hanged. His head was after cut off, and sent to Winchester, whereof he was earle.

The lord Berkley.

The quæne commeth to Bristow.

The earle of winchester executed.

The king in this meane time kept not in one place, but shifting hither and thither, remained in great care. Wherevpon sir Thomas Blunt, an ancient knight, and lord steward of the kings house, tooke his seruants, with vittels, horsses, and armour in great plentie, and came to the quæne, of whome, and likewise of hir sonne he was ioifullie receiued, and diuerse of them which he brought with him were reteined, and the other had letters of protection, and were sent awaie in louing manner. ¶ The king with the earle of Glocester, and the lord chancellor, taking the sea, meant to haue gone either into the Ile of Lundaie, or else into Ireland, but being tossed with contrarie winds for the space of a weeke togither, at length he landed in Glamorganshire, and got him to the abbeie and castell of Neith, there secretlie remaining vpon trust of the Welshmens promises. ¶ Hugoline Spenser, the sonne of the earle of Glocester, defended the castell of Kersilie, against the power of the quæne and of hir sonne till easter following, and then compounding for the safetie of his owne life, and all theirs within that castell, and likewise for the inioieng of their goods, he yéelded it to the hands of the men of warre that held siege before it in the quænes name, and of hir sonne.

Sir Thomas Blunt, lord Steward to the king, reuolteth to the quæne.

But now touching the king, whilest he was thus abroad, and no man wist where he was become, proclamations were made in the quænes armie dailie, in the which he was summoned to returne, and to take the rule of the relme into his hands, if he would be conformable to the minds of his true liege men; but when he appeared not, the lords of the land assembled in councell at Hereford, whither the quéne was come from Bristow, and there was the lord Edward prince of Wales and duke of Aquitaine made warden of England, by common decrée, vnto whome all men, as to the lord warden of the realme, made fealtie, in receiuing an oth of allegiance to be faithfull and loiall to him. After this, they made the bishop of Norwich lord chancellor, and the bishop of Winchester lord treasuror.

A councell at Hereford.

The prince of wales made lord warden of the realme.

A new chancellor and treasuror.

The quæne remained about a moneths space at Hereford, and in the meane while sent the lord Henrie erle of Leicester, and the lord William la Zouch, and one Rice ap Howell, that was latelie deliuered out of the tower where he was prisoner, into Wales, to sée if they might find means to apprehend the king by helpe of their acquaintance in those parts, all three of them hauing lands thereabouts, where it was knowne the king for the more part kept. They vsed such diligence in that charge, that finallie with large gifts bestowed on the Welshmen, they came to vnderstand where the king was, and so on the day of saint Edmund the archbishop, being the sixteenth of Nouember, they tooke him in the monasterie of Neith, neere to the castell of Laturssan, togither with Hugh Spenser the sonne called earle of Glocester, the lord chancellour Robert de Baldocke, and Simon de Reading the kings marshall, not caring for other the kings seruants, whome they suffered to escape.

The king was deliuered to the earle of Leicester, who conueied him by Monmouth and Leadburie, to Killingworth castle, where he remained the whole winter. The earle of Glocester, the lord chancellor, and Simon de Reading, were brought to Hereford, and there presented to the quæne, where on the foure & twentith of Nouember, the said earle was drawne and hanged on a paire of gallowes of fiftie foot in heigth. Then was his head striken off, his bowels taken out of his bodie and burnt, and his bodie diuided in quarters. His head was sent to London, and set vpon the bridge with other, & his quarters were sent to foure seuerall parts of the realme, and there pight vpon poles, to be séene of the people. He was drawne in his owne cote armour, about the which there were letters embrodered plaine to be read, conteining a parcell of the 52 psalme, as followeth.

The king is brought to Killingworth.

Hugh Spenser the yonger executed.

1 *Quid gloriaris in malitia potens?*
2 *Iniquitatem tota die, iniustitiam cogitauit lingua tua, sicut nouacula acuta fecisti dolum,*
3 *Dilexisti malitiam super bonitatem, iniustitiam magis quàm loqui iustitiam,*
4 *Dilexisti omnia verba demersionis lingua dolosa,*
5 *Propterea Deus destruat te in finem, euellat te & emigrare te faciat de tabernaculo tuo, & radicem*

dicem tuam de terra viuentium,
6 *Videbunt iusti & timebunt, & super eum ridebunt, & dicent,*
7 *Ecce homo qui non posuit Deum adiutorem suum, sed sperauit in multitudine diuitiarum suarum, & præualuit in vanitate sua.*

1 WHy boastest thou that thou canst do mischiefe?
2 Thy toong imagineth wickednesse, & with lies thou cuttest like a sharpe rasor,
3 Thou hast loued vngratiousnesse more than goodnesse, and to talke of lies more than righteousnesse,
4 Thou hast loued to speake all words that may doo hurt ô thou false toong,
5 Therefore shall God destroie thee for euer, he shall take thee, and plucke thee out of thy dwelling, and roote thee out of the land of the liuing,
6 The righteous also shall see this, and feare, and shall laugh him to scorne,
7 Lo this is the man that tooke not God for his strength, but trusted vnto the multitude of his riches, & strengthned himselfe in his wickednesse.

Simon de Reading executed.

On the same daie was Simon de Reading drawne and hanged on the same gallowes, but ten foot lower than the other. This Reading being marshall of the kings house, had vsed the queene very vncourteoulie, giuing hir manie reprochfull words, which now were remembred, and therefore may serue for an example, how dangerous a thing it is to speake euill of the higher powers. The common fame went, that after this Hugh Spenser the sonne was taken, he would receiue no sustenance, wherefore he was the soner put to death, or else had he beene conueied to London, there to haue suffered. John earle of Arundell was taken on S. Hughs day, in the parts about Shrewesburie, and the same day seuennight before the execution of the earle of Gloucester, Hugh Spenser the yonger, as well the said earle, who had beene euer a great frend to both the Spensers, as also John Daniell, and Thomas de Pilcheldeure were put to death at Hereford, by procurement of the lord Mortimer of Wigmore, that hated them extreamelie, by reason whereof they were not like to speed much better, for what he willed the same was done, and without him the queene in all these matters did nothing.

Caxton.
The earle of Arundell taken.
Th. Walsing. Execution.
The fauour in which the lord Mortimer was with the quæne.

The chancellour Robert de Baldocke being committed to the custodie of Adam de Torleton bishop of Hereford, remained at Hereford in safe keeping till Candlemasse next, and then the bishop being at London, appointed him to be brought vp, where not without the bishops consent (as was thought) he was taken out of his house by violence, and laid in Newgate, where shortlie after through inward sorow and extreame greefe of mind he ended his life. Thus the quæne and hir companie hauing compassed their businesse in so happie maner as they could wish, she with hir sonne and a great companie of lords and gentlemen repaired vnto Wallingford, where they kept Christmasse togither with great ioy and triumph, the king in the meane while remaining (as ye haue heard) at Killingworth, in a kind of honorable estate, although he was prisoner. ¶ After Christmasse, the quæne with hir son and such lords as were then with them, remoued to London, where at their comming thither, which was before the feast of the Epiphanie, they were receiued with great ioy, triumph, and large gifts, and so brought to Westminster, where the morrow after the same feast, the parlement which before hand had beene summoned began, in which it was concluded and fullie agreed by all the states (for none durst speake to the contrarie) that for diuerse articles which were put vp against the king, he was not worthie longer to reigne, and therefore should be deposed, and withall they willed to haue his sonne Edward duke of Aquitaine to reigne in his place. This ordinance was openlie pronounced in the great hall at Westminster by one of the lords, on the feast day of saint Hilarie being tuesdaie, to the which all the people consented. The archbishop of Canturburie taking his theame, *Vox populi, vox Dei*, made a sermon, exhorting the people to praie to God to bestow of his grace vpon the new king. And so when the sermon was ended, euerie man departed to his lodging. But the duke of Aquitaine, when he perceiued that his mother toke the matter heauilie in appearance, for that hir husband should be thus depriued of the crowne, he protested that he would neuer take it on him, without his fathers consent, and so thereupon it was concluded, that certeine solemne messengers should go to Killingworth to moue the king to make resignation of his crowne and title of the kingdome vnto his sonne.

The king is deposed by act of parlement.
The archbishop of Canturburie preacheth.

There were sent on this message (as some write) three or (as other haue) two bishops, two earles, two abbats, two or (as Tho. de la More and Walsingham haue) foure barons, and for euerie countie, citie, and burrough, and likewise for the cinque ports, certeine knights and burgesses. The bishops that were sent were these (as T. de la More noteth) John de Stratford bishop of Winchester, Adam de Torleton bishop of Hereford, and Henrie bishop of Lincolne. The two earles (as Southwell hath) were Lancaster and Warwike: the two barons, Rose and Courtney: beside these (as he saith) there were two abbats, two priors, two iustices, two friers of the order of preachers, two of the Carmelits, two knights for the commons on the north side of Trent, and two for the other on the south side of the same riuer: two citizens for London, two burgesses for the cinque ports, so as in all there went of this message (as Southwell saith) three and twentie or rather foure and twentie persons of one degree and other.

Thom. de la More. Thom. Wals.

None of the frier minors went, because they would not be the bringers of so heauie tidings, sith he had euer borne them great good will. The bishops of Winchester and Lincolne went before, and comming to Killingworth, associated with them the earle of Leicester, of some called the earle of Lancaster, that had the king in keeping. And hauing secret conference with the king, they sought to frame his mind, so as he might be contented to resigne the crowne to his sonne, bearing him in hand, that if he refused so to do, the people in respect of the euill will which they had conceiued against him, would not faile but proceed to the election of some other that should happilie not touch him in linage. And sith this was the onlie meane to bring the land in quiet, they willed him to consider how much he was bound in conscience to take that waie that should be so beneficiall to the whole realme.

Robert Baldocke ended his life.

The king being sore troubled to heare such displeasant newes, was brought into a maruelous agonie: but in the end, for the quiet of the realme and doubt of further danger to himselfe, he determined to follow their aduise, and so when the other commissioners were come, and that the bishop of Hereford had declared the cause wherefore they were sent, the king in presence of them all, notwithstanding his outward countenance discouered how much it inwardlie grieued him; yet after he was come to himselfe, he answered that he knew that he was fallen into this miserie through his owne offenses, and therefore he

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A parlement.

Rich. South.

he was contented patientlie to suffer it, but yet it could not (he said) but greeue him, that he had in such wise runne into the hatred of all his people: notwithstanding he gaue the lords most heartie thanks, that they had so forgotten their receiued injuries, and ceassed not to beare so much good will towards his sonne Edward, as to wish that he might reigne ouer them. Therefore to satisfie them, sith otherwise it might not be, he vtterlie renounced his right to the kingdome, and to the whole administration thereof. And last lie he besought the lords now in his miserie, to forgiue him such offenses as he had committed against them. Ah lamentable ruine from roialtie to miserable calamitie, procured by them cheefelie that should haue beene the pillers of the kings estate, and not the hoked engins to pull him downe from his throne! So that here we see it verified by triall, that

The kings answer.

——miser atq; infœlix est etiam rex,
Nec quenquam (mihi crede) facit diadema beatum.

The ambassadours with this answer returning to London, declared the same vnto all the states, in order as they had receiued it, wherevpon great ioy was made of all men, to consider that they might now by course of law proceed to the chosing of a new king. And so thervpon the nine and twentith day of Januarie in session of parlement then at Westminster assembled, was the third king Edward, sonne to king Edward the second, chosen and elected king of England, by the authoritie of the same parlement, first (as before is said) confirmed by his fathers resignation: and the first day of his reigne they agreed to be the fiue and twentith of Januarie, in the yeare 1326 after the account of the church of England, beginning the yeare the fiue & twentith day of March, but by the common account of writers, it was in the yeare 1327. ¶ On the same daie sir William Trussell procurator for the whole parlement did renounce the old king in name of the whole parlement, with all homages and fealties due to him, so that the same fiue and twentith day of Januarie hath beene reputed and taken for the first day of the beginning of king Edward the third his reigne, so that whatsoeuer chanced before that day, is ascribed to be done during the reigne of his father.

Polydor.

Merimuth.

But now to make an end of the life, as well as of the reigne of king Edward the second, I find that after he was deposed of his kinglie honour and title, he remained for a time at Killingworth, in custodie of the earle of Leicester. But within a while the quæne was informed by the bishop of Hereford, (whose hatred towards him had no end) that the erle of Leicester fauoured hir husband too much, and more than stood with the suertie of hir sonnes state, wherevpon he was appointed to the keeping of two other lords, Thomas Berkley, and John Matreuers, who receiuing him of the earle of Leicester the third of Aprill, conueied him from Killingworth vnto the castell of Berkley, situate not farre off from the riuer of Seuerne, almost the midwaie betwixt Glocester and Bristow.

Thom. de la More.

But forsomuch as the lord Berkley vsed him more courteoulie than his aduersaries wished him to do, he was discharged of that office, and sir Thomas Gourney appointed in his stead, who togither with the lord Matreuers conueied him secretlie (for feare least he should be taken from them by force) from one strong place to another, as to the castell of Corfe, and such like, still remouing with him in the night season, till at length they thought it should not be knowne whither they had conueied him. And so at length they brought him backe againe in secret maner vnto the castell of Berkley, where whilest he remained (as some write) the quæne would send vnto him courteous and louing letters with apparell and other such things, but she would not once come neere to visit him, bearing him in hand that she durst not, for feare of the peoples displeasure, who hated him so extreamelie. Howbeit, she with the rest of hir confederats had (no doubt) laid the plot of their deuise for his dispatch, though by painted words she pretended a kind of remorse to him in this his distresse, it would seeme to be faultlesse in the sight of the world, for

Sir Thomas Gourney.

Proditor illudit verbis dum verbera cudit.

But as he thus continued in prison, closelie kept, so that none of his frends might haue accesse vnto him, as in such cases it often happeneth, when men be in miserie, some will euer pitie their state, there were diuerse of the nobilitie (of whome the earle of Kent was cheefe) began to deuise means by secret conference had togither, how they might restore him to libertie, discommending greatlie both quæne Isabell, and such other as were appointed gouernours to the yong king, for his fathers streit imprisonment. The quæne and other the gouernours vnderstanding this conspiracie of the earle of Kent, and of his brother, durst not yet in that new and greene world go about to punish it, but rather thought good to take awaie from them the occasion of accomplishing their purpose. And hereupon the quæne and the bishop of Hereford wrote sharpe letters vnto his keepers, blaming them greatlie, for that they dealt so gentlie with him, and kept him no streictlier, but suffered him to haue such libertie, that he aduertised some of his frends abroad how and in what manner he was vsed, and withall the bishop of Hereford vnder a sophisticall forme of words signified to them by his letters, that they should dispatch him out of the waie, the tenor whereof wrapped in obscuritie ran thus:

The earle of Kent conspireth to deliuer his brother.

Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est:

To kill Edward will not to feare it is good.

Which riddle or doubtfull kind of speech, as it might be taken in two contrarie senses, onelie by placing the point in orthographie called *Coma*, they construed in the worse sense, putting the *Comma* after *Timere*, and so presuming of this commandement as they tooke it from the bishop, they lodged the miserable prisoner in a chamber ouer a foule filthie dungeon, full of dead carrion, trusting so to make an end of him, with the abhominable stinch thereof: but he bearing it out stronglie, as a man of a tough nature, continued still in life, so as it seemed he was verie like to escape that danger, as he had by purging either vp or downe auoided the force of such poison as had beene ministred to him sundrie times before, of purpose so to rid him.

Whereupon when they sawe that such practises would not serue their turne, they came suddenlie one night into the chamber where he laie in bed fast asleepe, and with heauie featherbeds or a table (as some write) being cast vpon him, they kept him down and withall put into his fundament an horne, and through the same they thrust vp into his bodie an hot spit, or (as other haue) through the pipe of a trumpet a plumbers instrument of iron made verie hot, the which passing vp into his intrailes, and being rolled to and fro, burnt the same, but so as no appearance of any wound or hurt outwardlie might be once perceiued. His crie did moue manie within the castell and towne of Berkley to compassion, plainelie hearing him vtter a wailefull noise, as the tormentors were about to murther him, so that diuerse being awakened therewith (as they themselues confessed) prated heartilie to God to receiue his soule, when they vnderstood by his crie what the matter ment.

Tho. Wals.

Thom. de la More.

K. Edward the second murthered.

The quæne, the bishop, and others, that their tyrannie might be hid, outlawed and banished the lord Matreuers, and Thomas Gourney, who flieng vnto Marcels, three yeares after being knowne, taken,

and brought toward England was beheaded on the sea, least he should accuse the chiefe doers, as the bishop and other. John Matreuers, repenting himselfe, laie long hidden in Germanie, and in the end died penitentlie. Thus was king Edward murthered, in the yeare 1327, on the 22 of September. The fame went that by this Edward the second, after his death manie miracles were wrought. So that the like opinion of him was conceiued as before had beene of earle Thomas of Lancaster, namelie amongst the common people. He was knowne to be of a good and courteous nature, though not of most pregnant wit.

The fond opinion of the ignorant people.

The nature & disposition of king Edward the second.

And albeit in his youth he fell into certeine light crimes, and after by the companie and counsell of euill men, was induced vnto more heinous vices, yet was it thought that he purged the same by repentance, and patientlie suffered manie reproches, and finallie death it selfe (as before ye haue heard) after a most cruell maner. He had suerlie good cause to repent his former trade of liuing, for by his vndiscreet and wanton misgouernance, there were headed and put to death during his reigne (by iudgement of law) to the number of 28 barons and knights, ouer and beside such as were slaine in Scotland by his infortunate conduct.

All these mischeefes and manie more happened not onlie to him, but also to the whole state of the realme, in that he wanted iudgement and prudent discretion to make choise of sage and discreet councellors, receiuing those into his fauour, that abused the same to their priuate gaine and aduantage, not respecting the aduancement of the common-wealth, so they themselues might atteine to riches and honour, for which they onelie sought, in somuch that by their couetous rapine, spoile, and immoderate ambition, the hearts of the common people & nobilitie were quite estranged from the dutifull loue and obedience which they ought to haue shewed to their souereigne, going about by force to wrest him to follow their wils, and to seeke the destruction of them whome he commonlie fauoured, wherein suerlie they were worthie of blame, and to taxt (as manie of them did) the deserued punishment for their disobedient and disloiall demeanors. For it was not the waie which they toke to helpe the disfigured state of the common-wealth, but rather the readie meane to ouerthrow all, as if Gods goodnesse had not beene the greater it must needs haue come to passe, as to those that shall well consider the pitifull tragedie of this kings time it may well appeare.

His issue.

But now to proceed with that which remaineth touching this infortunate prince. He had issue by his wife queene Isabell two sonnes, Edward which was made king whilest he was yet aliue, and John which died yong: also two daughters, Elianor which died before she came to yeares able for mariage; and Ione which was after giuen in mariage vnto Dauid king of Scotland. He was indifferentlie tall of stature, strong of bodie, and healthfull, neither wanted there in him stoutnesse of stomach, if his euill councellors had beene remoued, that he might haue shewed it in honorable exploits, which being kept backe by them, he could not do. So that thereby it appeareth of what importance it is to be trained vp in youth with good and honest companie. ¶ It is said that he was learned, insomuch that there remaine verses, which (as some haue written) he made whilest he was in prison. Certeine it is he fauored learning, as by the erection of Oriall colledge in Oxford, & S. Maries hall, which were of his foundation, it may well be gathered.

Oriall & S. Maries hall in Oxford.

Learned men we find recorded by Bale, to liue in this kings time these as follow. John Duns that subtill logician, borne (as Leland hath gathered) in a village in Northumberland called Emildune, three miles distant from Alnwike, although other hold the contrarie, the Scots claiming him for their countrieman, and the Irishmen for theirs; Robert Walsingham a Carmelite frier that writ diuerse treatises, John Wilton an Augustine frier, Walter Winterborne, Rafe Locksley, Nicholas Stanford, William Whitley, Thomas Ioice, Walter Ioice, William Gainesburgh, Robert Baston borne not farre from Nottingham a Carmelite frier of Scarburgh, the same whome king Edward toke with him into Scotland to write some remembrances of his victories, although being taken by the Scots, he was constreined by Robert Bruce to frame a dittie to a contrarie tune; John Horminger a Suffolke man borne, William Rishanger a monke of S. Albons an historiographer, Rafe Baldocke bishop of London wrote also an historie, which was intituled *Historia Anglica*; Richard Bliton a Lincolnshire man borne a Carmelite frier, John Walsingham borne either in Walsingham or Brunham (as Bale supposeth) a Carmelite frier also, and wrote diuerse treatises; Thomas Chabham a canon of Salisburie and a doctor of diuinitie, Robert Plimpton borne in Deuonshire a regular canon, Thomas Castleford a monke of Pomfret, William Mansfield, John Canon, Robert Grime, William Askettle of Beuerley, Geffrey of Cornewall, John Gatisdene, Theobald Anglicus, Stephan Eiton or Edon, John Goldstone borne in Yorkeshire, John Winchelsey, Nicholas de Lyra a Iew by birth of those that had their habitations in England, who wrote verie manie treatises, to his great commendation for his singular knowledge and zeale, which he shewed in disproouing the Rabines that still sought to keepe the Iewish nation in blindnesse and vaine hope, in looking for another Messias; Rafe Acton an excellent diuine, John Dumbleton a logician, Thomas Langford borne in Maldon in Essex a logician, Osbert Pickenam a Carmelite frier of Lin in Norfolke, Nicholas Okeham a graie frier, William Ockam a frier minor that wrote diuerse treatises, and namelie against John Duns, and likewise against John the three and twentith pope of that name in fauour of the emperour Lewes of Bauier, Richard Walingford, Thomas Haselwood a canon of Leeds in Kent wrote a chronicle called *Chronicon compendiarium*, Robert Barew, Robert Perscrutator borne in Yorkeshire a blacke frier and a philosopher or rather a magician, Richard Belgraue a Carmelite, Brinkley a minorite; and others.

Ex centuria 4. Bale.

Sée in Scotland.

Thus far infortunat Edward the second.

Edward

Edward the third, who came to the crowne by the resignation of his father Edward the second.

EDward the third of that name, the sonne of Edward the second, and of Isabell the onelie daughter of Philip le Beau, & sister to Charles the fift king of France, began his reigne as king of England, his father yet liuing, the 25 daie of Januarie, after the creation 5293, in the 1327 peare of our lord 1327, after the account of them that begin the yeare at Christmasse, 867 after the coming of the Saxons, 260 after the conquest, the 13 yeare of the reigne of Lewes the fourth then emperour, the seuenth of Charles the fift king of France, the second of Andronicus Junior emperour of the east almost ended, and about the end of the 22 of Robert le Bruce king of Scotland. He was crowned at Westminster on the day of the Purification of our ladie next insuing, by the hands of Walter the archbishop of Canturburie.

Gouernours appointed.

And bicause he was but fourtæne yeares of age, so that to gouerne of himselfe he was not sufficient, it was decréed that twelue of the greatest lords within the realme should haue the rule and gouernment till he came to more perfect yeares. The names of which lords were as followeth. The archbishop of Canturburie, the archbishop of Yorke, the bishops of Winchester and of Hereford, Henrie earle of Lancaster, Thomas Brotherton earle marshall, Edmund of Woodstoke earle of Kent, John earle of Warren, the lord Thomas Wake, the lord Henrie Percie, the lord Oliuer de Ingham, & the lord John Ros. These were sworne of the kings councell, and charged with the gouernement as they would make answer. But this ordinance continued not long: for the quéene, and the lord Roger Mortimer tooke the whole rule so into their hands, that both the king and his said councellors were gouerned onelie by them in all matters both high and low. Neuertheless, although they had taken the regiment vpon them, yet could they not foresée the tumults and vprores that presentlie vpon the yong kings inthronizing did insue: but needs it must come to passe that is left written where children weare the crowne, & beare the scepter in hand,

Væ pueri terræ sæpissimè sunt ibi guerræ.

The franchises of the citie of London confirmed.

He confirmed the liberties and franchises of the citie of London, and granted that the maior of the same citie for the time being might sit in all places of iudgement within the liberties thereof for chéefe iustice, aboue all other, the kings person onelie excepted; and that euerie alderman that had béene maior should be iustice of peace through all the citie of London and countie of Middlesex; and euerie alderman that had not béene maior, should be iustice of peace within his owne ward. He granted also to the citizens, that they should not be constreined to go forth of the citie to anie warres in defense of the land, and that the franchises of the citie should not be seized from thencefoorth into the kings hands for anie cause, but onelie for treason and rebellion shewed by the whole citie. Also Southwarke was appointed to be vnder the rule of the citie, and the maior of London to be bailiffe of Southwarke, and to ordeine such a substitute in the same borough as pleased him.

Records of Burie.

In the first yeare of this kings reigne, we find in records belonging to the abbeie of S. Edmundsburie in Suffolke, that the inhabitants of that towne raised a sore commotion against the abbat & monks of the same abbeie, and that at seuerall times, as first on the wednesdaie next after the feast of the conuersion of S. Paule, in the said first yeare of this kings reigne, one Robert Forton, Richard Draiton, and a great number of other, assembling themselues together in warlike order and araie, assaulted the said abbeie, brake downe the gates, windowes, and doores, entered the house by force, and assailing certeine monks and seruants that belonged to the abbat, did beat, wound, and euill intreat them, brake open a number of chests, coffers, and forsets, tooke out chalices of gold and siluer, books, vestments, and other ornaments of the church, beside a great quantitie of rich plate, and other furniture of household, apparell, armour, and other things, beside fiue hundred pounds in readie coine, & also three thousand florens of gold.

All these things they tooke and caried awaie, together with diuerse charters, writings, & miniments, as three charters of Knute sometime king of England, foure charters of king Hardiknute, one charter of king Edward the confessor, two charters of king Henrie the first, & other two charters of king Henrie the third, which charters concerned as well the foundation of the same abbeie, as the grants and confirmations of the possessions and liberties belonging thereto. Also they tooke awaie certeine writings obligatorie, in the which diuerse persons were bound for the paiement of great summes of monie, and deliuerie of certeine wines vnto the hands of the said abbat. Moreouer they tooke awaie with them ten seuerall buls, concerning certeine exemptions and immunities granted to the abbats and monks of Burie by sundrie bishops of Rome.

Furthermore, not herewith contented, they tooke Peter Clopton prior of the said abbeie, and other monks forth of the house, and leading them vnto a place called the Leaden hall, there imprisoned them, till the thursdaie next before the feast of the Purification of our ladie, and that daie bringing them backe againe into the chapter-house, deteined them still as prisoners, till they had sealed a writing, conteining that the abbat and conuent were bound in ten thousand pounds to be paid to Oliuer Kempe and others by them named. And further, they were constreined

to seale a letter of release for all actions, quarels, debts, transgressions, suits and demands, which the abbat might in anie wise claime or prosecute against the said Oliuer Kempe and others in the same letters named.

For these wrongs and other, as for that they would not permit the abbats bailiffes and officers to kéepe their ordinarie courts as they were accustomed to do, as well three daies in the wéeke for the market, to wit, mondaie, wednesdaie and fridaie, as the Portman mote euerie tuesdaie three wéeks, and further prohibit them from gathering such tols, customes, and yearelie rents, as were due to the abbat for certeine tenements in the towne, which were let to farme, the abbat brought his action against the said Forton, Draiton, and others, and hauing it tried by an inquest, on the fridaie next after the feast of saint Lucie the virgine, in a sessions holden at Burie by John Stonore, Walter Friskney, Robert Haberthorpe, & John Bousser, by vertue of the kings writ of oier and determiner to them directed, the offendors were condemned in 40000 pounds, so that the said Richard Draiton, and others there present in the court, were committed to prison in custodie of the shiriffe Robert Walkefare, who was commanded also to apprehend the other that were not yet arrested, if within his bailiwike they might be found, and to haue their bodies before the said iustices at Burie aforsaid, on thursdaie in Whitsunwéeke next insuing.

Beside this, there was an other indictement and action of trespasse found there the same daie against the said Richard Draiton and others, for a like disorder and riot by them committed, on the thursday next after the feast of the Purification of our ladie, in the same first yeare of this king, at what time they did not onelie breake into the abbie, and beat the abbats men, but also toke the abbat himselfe, being then at home, with certeine of his monks, kéeping both him and them as prisoners, till the next daie that they were constreined to seale certeine writings. And amongst other, a charter, in which it was conteined, that the abbat and his conuent did grant vnto the inhabitants of the towne of Burie, to be a corporation of themselues, and to haue a common seale with a gild of merchants and aldermen: also they were compelled to seale another charter, wherein was conteined a grant to the said inhabitants, that they should haue the custodie of the towne gates, and likewise the wardship of all pupils and orphans within the same towne, beside diuerse other liberties.

The second riot.

Moreouer, they were in like manner constreined to seale three seuerall obligations, in which the abbat and conuent were bound to the said inhabitants, as to a communaltie of a corporation, in seauen thousand pounds, as in two thousand by one obligation, and in two thousand by an other, and in three thousand by the third obligation: and further they were driuen to seale a letter of release of all trespasses, and other things that might be demanded against the said inhabitants, with a generall acquittance of all debts. Beside this, the said riotous persons toke at the same time forth of the abbie great riches, as well in plate, armor, bookes, & apparell, as in other things. They also brake downe two houses or messuages, that belonged to the abbeie, and situate within the towne of Burie: they also destroied his fish-ponds, and toke out such store of fish as they found in the same: they cut downe also three score ashes there growing on the soile that belonged to the said abbat, and did manie other great outrages and enormities, so that it was found by the inquest, that the abbat was damnified to the value of other fortie thousand pounds.

The third riot.

These riots may seeme grieuous and verie strange, but yet the same were not so heinouslie taken, as an other which the said inhabitants of Burie attempted against the said abbeie in manner of a plaine commotion, vpon saint Lukes day in the same yeare, at what time (as by the records of that abbeie it should appeare) both the abbat and his house were in the kings speciall protection, and the said inhabitants prohibited by his letters to attempt anie iniurie against him or his conuent. But neuertheles we find that not onelie the inhabitants of Burie, but also a great number of other misgouerned persons, that resorted to them from places there about, arraied and furnished with horsse, armor and weapons, after the manner of warre, came and assaulted the abbeie gates, set fire on them, and burned them with diuerse other houses nére adioining, that belonged to the abbeie, and continued in that their riotous enterprise all that day and the night following.

The manour of Holderneſſe barne.

The same night also they burnt a manor of the abbats called Holderneſſe barne, with two other manors called the Almoners barne, and Haberdone, also the granges that stood without the south gate, and the manour of Westlie, in which places they burned in corne & graine, to the value of a thousand pounds.

The manour of westlie burnt.

The next daie they entered into the abbeie court, and burnt all the houses on the north side, as stables, brewhouses, bakehouses, garners, and other such necessarie houses and conuenient romes of offices; and on the other side the court, they burnt certeine houses belonging to the Almonrie. On the next daie they burned the mote hall, and Bradford hall, with the new hall, and diuerse chambers and sollers to the same halles annexed, with the chapell of saint Laurence at the end of the hospitall hall. Also the manor of Eldhall, the manor of Horninger, with all the corne and graine within and about the same.

The next day they burnt the soller of the Sollerer, with a chapell there: also the kitchin, the larder, and a part of the farmarie. On the thursdaie they burnt the residue of the farmarie, and the lodging called the blacke lodging, with a chapell of S. Andrew therein. In executing of all these riotous disorders, one Geffrie Norman was an aider, who with diuerse other persons vnknowne, departed forth of the towne of Burie, and by the assent of the other his complices he burnt the manor of Fornham. The same day also other of their companie, as William the sonne of James Peketon, Rafe Grubbe, Richard Kerie, and a great number of other persons vnknowne, by the assent and abbetment of the other that committed the said disorders, burnt two manors belonging also to the said abbeie in great Berton, with all the corne and graine there found.

The manour of Fornham burnt.

Vpon knowledge had of these great riots, and perillous commotions, there was a commission directed from the king, vnto Thomas earle of Northfolke high marshall of England, to Thomas Bardulfe, Robert Norlie, Peter Wedall, John Howard, and John Walkfare, authorising them with the power of the countesse of Suffolke and Norffolke, to apprehend, trie and punish such lewd disordered persons, and rebellious malefactors, which had committed such felonious enterprises, to the breach of the kings peace, and dangerous disquieting of his subiects: but the said commissioners proceéded not according to the effect of their commission in triall of anie felonies by the same persons committed and done, but onelie caused them to be indicted of trespasse: albeit Robert Walkfare, and John Clauer, with their associats iustices of peace, in their sessions holden at Clueden the tuesdaie next after the feast of the apostles Simon and Jude, in the said first yeare of this

king

K. Edward the third proceeded in such wise against the said malefactors, that Iohn de Berton coordwainer, Robert Forton, and a great number of other were indicted of felonie, for the misdemenours afore mentioned, and the indictements so found were after sent and presented vnto Iohn Stonore, Walter de Friskenie, Robert Malberthorpe, and Iohn Boulser, who by vertue of the kings commission of oier and determiner to them directed, sat at S. Edmundsburie the wednesdaie next after the feast of saint Lucie the virgine; and then and there sent forth precepts to the shiriffe, commanding him to apprehend the said Berton, Forton, and others, that were indicted of the foresaid felonies, and also to returne a sufficient iurie to trie vpon their arreignment the said malefactors by order of law, the fridaie next after the said feast of S. Lucie. Herevpon Alane de Latoner, and Robert Dalling, with seauentæne others, being arreigned, were found guiltie, and suffered death according to the order appointed for felons.

One Adam Winiot stood mute, and refused to be tried by his countrie, and so was pressed to death, as the law in such case appointeth. Diuerse other were saued by their bookes, according vnto the order of clerkes convict, as Alexander Bird person of Hogeset, Iohn Kugham person of little Welnetham, Iohn Berton coordwainer, and diuerse other. Some were reprieued, as one woman named Iulian Barbor, who being big bellied was respited, till she were deliuered of child. Benedict Sio and Robert Russell were reprieued, and committed to the safe keeping of the shiriffe, as triers or appeachers (as we tearme them) of other offendors: and bicause there was not anie as yet attached by their appeales, they were commanded againe to prison. One Robert de Creswell was saued by the kings letters of speciall pardon, which he had there readie to shew. As for Robert Forton, Adam Cokefield, and a great number of other, whome the shiriffe was commanded to apprehend, he returned that he could not heare of them within the precinct of his bailiffewicke, wherevpon exigents were awarded against them, and the shiriffe was commanded, that if he might come to attach them, he should not faile but so to doo, and to haue their bodies there at Burie before the said iustices, the thursdaie in Whitsunweeke, next insuing.

Diuerse also were arreigned at the same time of the said felonies, and thereof acquited, as Michaell Scabaille, Rafe Smeremonger, and others. Indeed The common people often deceiued by lewd informations. those that were found guiltie, and suffered, were the cheefe authors and procurors of the commotion, bearing others in hand, that the abbat had in his custodie a certeine charter, wherein the king should grant to the inhabitants of the towne of Burie, certeine liberties, whereby it might appeare that they were free, and discharged from the paiment of diuerse customes and exactions, wherevpon the ignorant multitude easilie giuing credit to such surmised tales, were the soner induced to attempt such disorders as before are mentioned. ¶ Thus haue yee heard all in effect that was done in this first yeare of king Edward the third his reigne, by and against those offendors. But bicause we will not interrupt matters of other yeares with that which followed further of this businesse, we haue thought good to put the whole that we intend to write thereof here in this place.

Yee shall therefore vnderstand, that diuerse of those, against whome exigents were awarded, came in, and yelded their bodies to the shiriffes prison, before they were called on the fift countie daie. Albeit a great manie there were that came not, and so were outlawed. Rob. Forton pardoned. Robert Forton got the kings pardon, and so purchasing forth a supersedeas, the suit therevpon against him was staied. The shiriffe therefore in Whitsunweeke, in the second yeare of this kings reigne, made his returne touching Benedict Sio, Robert Russell, & Iulian Barbor, so that he deliuered them vnto the bailiffes of the libertie of the abbat of Burie, by reason of an ancient priuilege, which the A priuilege. abbat claimed to belong to his house. The bailiffes confessed they had receiued the said prisoners, but forsomuch as they had beene arreigned at a Portmane Portman mote. mote, which was vsed to be kept euerie three weeks, and vpon their arreignment were found guiltie of certeine other felonies by them committed within the towne of Burie, and therevpon were put to execution, Adam Finchman the kings attournie there The abbats officers blamed. tooke it verie euill, & laid it grieuouslie to the charge of the abbats officers, for their hastie and presumptuous proceeding against the said prisoners, namelie, bicause the said Sio and Russell were reprieued, to the end that by their vtterance, many heinous offenses might haue beene brought to light.

On the same daie, that is to wit, the thursdaie in Whitsunweeke, the foresaid Robert Forton, and diuerse other came in, and were attached by the shiriffe to answer the abbat to his action of trespasse, which he brought against them, and putting the matter to the triall of an inquest, they were condemned in A condemnation. sixtie thousand pounds, to be leuied of their goods and chattels, vnto the vse of the abbat, and in the meane time they were committed to prison. But first they made suit that they might be put to their fines for their offenses committed against the kings peace, and their request in that behalfe was granted, so that vpon putting in sufficient sureties for their good abearing, their fines were assessed, as some at more and some at lesse, as the case was thought for to require.

Thus rested the matter a long season after, vntill the fift yeare of this kings reigne, in which the thursdaie next after the feast of the blessed Trinitie, the K. being himselfe in person at S. Edmundsburie afore- In agreemẽt. said, a finall agreement and concord was concluded betwixt the said abbat and his conuent on the one partie, and Richard Draiton and others of the inhabitants of that towne on the other partie, before the right reuerend father in God Iohn bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England, and the kings iustices Iohn Stonore and Iohn Cantbridge sitting there at the same time, by the kings commandement. The effect of which agreement was as followeth.

The articles of agreement betweene the moonks of Burie and the inhabitants of Burie.

FIrst, wheras the said abbat had recouered by iudgement before the said Iohn Stonore and other his associats iustices of oier and determiner in the said towne of Burie, the summe of seuen score thousand pounds for trespasses to him and his house committed and doone by the said Richard Draiton, and other the inhabitants of Burie: now at the desire of the said king, and for other good respects him mouing, he pardoned and released vnto the said Richard Draiton, and to other the inhabitants of Burie, to their heires, executors, and assigns the summe of 122333 pounds, eight shillings eight pence, of the said totall summe of 140000 pounds.

And further the said abbat and conuent granted and agreed for them and their successors, that if the said Richard Wraiton, & other the inhabitants of the said towne of Burie, or any of them, their heires, executors or assignes, should paie to the said abbat & conuent, or their successors within twentie yeares next insuing the date of that present agreement, 2000 marks, that is to saie, 100 marks yearelie at the feasts of S. Michaell & Easter, by euen portions: that then the said Richard & other the inhabitants of the towne of Burie should be acquited & discharged of 4000 marks, parcell of 17666 pounds, thirteene shillings foure pence residue behind for euer.

Moreouer, whereas the said abbat and conuent, & the said abbat by himselfe, since the 19 yeare of the reigne of king Edward the second vnto that present time, had sealed certeine charters, deeds, & writings, as well with the proper seale of the abbat, as with the common seale of the abbat & conuent, if the said Richard and the inhabitants of the said towne of Burie did restore vnto the said abbat & conuent all the same writings, or take such order, that neither the abbat nor conuent be impleaded, or in any wise hindered, indamaged nor molested by force of the same: and further if neither the said Richard, nor any the inhabitants of the said towne, nor their heires, executors, nor assignes, shall go about to reuerse the iudgements against them, at the suit of the said abbat, nor shall seeke to impeach the executions of the same iudgements by anie false or forged acquitances or releases, nor implead nor molest any of the iurie, by whom they were conuict, that then they and their heires, executors & assignes shall be acquited & discharged of ten thousand pounds parcell of the said 17666 pounds, 13 shillings foure pence.

And furthermore, if the said Richard and other the inhabitants of the said towne of Burie, do not hereafter maliciouslie rise against the said abbat or conuent, nor seeke to ber them by any conspiracie, confederacie, or by some other secret vniust cause, nor likewise euill intreat any man by reason of the inditement found against them, nor yet claime to haue any corporation of themselues within that towne, that then the said Richard, & the said inhabitants, their heires, successors & assignes, shall remaine acquited and discharged of all the residue of the said 17666 pounds, thirteene shillings foure pence for euer. And the said abbat and conuent do grant for them & their successours, that their intention is not, that if any singular person of his owne priuate malice, shall rise against the said abbat and conuent, their successors, monks, bailiffes, or seruants, to do them, or any of them iniurie or displeasure; that those which be not partakers of the offense, shall be in any wise punished for the same, so that the offendors be not mainteined by any of the same towne, but that the inhabitants there, do assist the abbat and conuent their successours, bailiffes, seruants & officers, that the same offendors may be punished, according to their demerits, as reason and law shall allow.

This was the effect of the agreement at length had and made betwixt the abbat and monks of Buris on the one part, & the inhabitants of that towne on the other part, and for the more confirmation therof, it pleased the king to put his seale to the charter conteining the same agreement. ¶ But how soeuer it chanced, it should appeare by such records as came to the hands of master John Fox, as he alledgeth in the first tome of his booke of acts and monuments, this agreement was but scarslie kept: for diuerse of the former offendors, bearing grudge towards the abbat for breaking promise with them at London, did confederat themselues togither, and priuilie in the night comming to the manour of Chennington where the abbat then did lie, burst open the gates, and entring by force, first bound all his seruants, and after they had robbed the house, they toke the abbat, and hauing him, secretlie conueied him to London, and there remouing him from street to street vnknowne, had him ouer the Thames into Kent, and at length transported him ouer vnto Dist in Brabant, where they kept him for a time in much penurie, thraldome and miserie, vntill at length the matter being vnderstood, they were all excommunicate, first by the archbishop, & after by the pope. At the last, his frends hauing knowledge where he was, they found meanes to deliuer him out of the hands of those theeues, and finallie brought him home with procession, and so he was restored to his house againe.

This might come to passe before the agreement was made in the fift yeare of the kings reigne as afore is mentioned, and so thereupon he might be restored.

Thus much touching those troubles betwixt the townesmen of Burie & the abbat and monks there, and now we will returne to other generall matters touching the publike state of the realme. ¶ And first you shall vnderstand, that in the beginning of this kings reigne the land trulie seemed to be blessed of God: for the earth became fruitfull, the aire temperate, and the sea calme and quiet. This king though he was as yet vnder the gouernement of other, neuertheless he began within a short time to shew tokens of great towardnesse, framing his mind vnto graue deuises, and first he prepared to make a iorne against the Scotishmen, the which in his fathers time had done so manie displeasures to the Englishmen, and now vpon confidence of his minoritie, ceassed not to inuade the borders of his realme. And namelie the verie selfe night that followed the day of this kings coronation, they had thought by skaling to haue stolne the castell of Norham: but Robert Maners capteine of that place, vnderstanding of their enterprise afore hand by a Scotishman of the garison there, so well prouided for their comming, that where fiftéene of them boldlie entred vpon the wall, he slue nine or ten of them, and toke fiue.

Rich. South. Rob. Maners capteine of Norham castell.

This was thought an euill token, that they should still be put to the worsse in this kings time, sith they had so bad successe in the verie beginning of his reigne: but they continuing in their malicious purposes, about saint Margarets tide inuaded the land with three armies, the earle of Murrey hauing the leading of one of the same armies, and James Douglas of another, and the third was guided by the earle of Mar. King Edward aduertised hereof, assembled not onelie a great power of Englishmen, but also required John lord Beaumont de Heinault, whome he had latelie sent home right honorablie rewarded for his good assistance, to come againe into England, with certeine bands of men at armes, and he should receiue wages and good interteinement for

The Scots inuade England.

The lord Beaumont of Heinault.

for them. The lord Beaumont, as one that loued deeds of armes, was glad to accomplish king Edwards request: and so thereupon with seauen hundred men at armes, or fiue hundred (as Froissart saith) came ouer into England againe, to serue against the Scots. Caxton.

The generall assemblie of the armie was appointed to be at Yorke, and thither came the said lord Beaumont with his people, and was ioifullie receiued of the king and his lords. Here whilest not onelie the Scotish ambassadours (which had béene sent to treat of peace, were heard to tell their message) but also whilest the councell toke some leisure in debating the matter how to guide their enterprise, which they had now in hand: vpon Trinitie sundaie, it chanced that there arose contention within the citie of Yorke, betwixt the English archers, and the strangers, which the lord Beaumont of Heinault had brought with him, insomuch that fighting togither there were slaine to the number of foure score persons of those archers, which were buried within the church of saint Clement in Fosgate. ¶Some write that there were slaine to the number of three hundred Englishmen: yet bicause the Henuiers came to aid the king, their peace was cried vpon paine of life. And further, it was found by an inquest of the citie, that the quarrell was begun by the Englishmen, the which (as some write) were of the Lincolneshire men, of those that sometime belonged to the Spensers, and to the earle of Arundell, so that there was cause, whie they bare euill will to the Henuiers which had aided (as yée haue heard) to bring the said earle and Spensers to their confusion.

A fraie betwixt the English archers and the Henuiers. Caxton. Froissart. Caxton. Froissart.

In this meane time the Scots being entred into England, had done much hurt, and were come as farre as Stanop parke in Wiredale: and though they had sent their ambassadours to treat with the king and his councell for peace, yet no conclusion followed of their talke. At the same time, bicause the English souldiours of this armie were cloathed all in cotes and hoods embrodered with floures and branches verie séemelie, and vsed to nourish their beards: the Scots in derision thereof made a rime, which they fastened vpon the church doores of saint Peter toward Stangate, conteining this that followeth. Stanop parke. Caxton.

A rime in derision of the Englishmen.

Long beards, hartlesse, Painted hoods, witlesse,
Gaie cotes, gracelesse, Make England thriftlesse.

The king when he saw it was but a vaine thing to staie anie longer in communication with the ambassadors about peace, departed from Yorke with his puissant armie, and getting knowledge how the Scots were closelie lodged in the woods of Stanop parke, he came and stopped all the passages, so it was thought that he should haue had them at his pleasure, but through treason (as was after reported) of the lord Roger Mortimer, after that the Scots had béene kept within their lodgings for the space of fifteene daies, till they were almost famished, they did not onelie find a waie out, but about two hundred of them vnder the leading of the lord William Douglas, assailing that part of the English campe where the kings tent stood, in the night season, missed not much of either taking the king or sleeing him: and hauing done hurt inough otherwise, as in the Scotish chronicle is also touched, they followed their companie, and with them returned into Scotland without impeachment. Froissart. The lord Dowglas.

It is said, that Henrie earle of Lancaster, and John the lord Beaumont of Heinault would gladlie haue passed ouer the water of Wire, to haue assalted the Scots, but the earle of March through counsell of the lord Mortimer, pretending to haue right to the leading of the fore ward, and to the giuing of the first onset, would not suffer them. Howsoeuer it was the king missed his purpose, and right pensiue therefore, brake vp his field, and returned vnto London. ¶Walter bishop of Canturburie departed this life in Nouember, and then Simon Mepham was aduanced to the gouernement of that sée. The lord Beaumont of Heinalt was honorablie rewarded for his paines and trauell, and then licenced to returne into his countrie, where he had not bæne long, but that through his means then (as some write) the marriage was concluded betweene king Edward, and the ladie Philip daughter to William earle of Heinault, and neece to the said lord Beaumont, who had the charge to sée hir brought ouer thither into England about Christmasse: where in the citie of Yorke vpon the euen of the Conuersion of saint Paule, being sundaie, in the latter end of the first yeare of his reigne, king Edward solemnlie maried hir. The lord Beaumont returned home. Polydor. Fabian. 1328

In the second yeare of his reigne, about the feast of Pentecost, king Edward held a parlement at Northampton, at the which parlement by euill and naughtie counsell, whereof the lord Roger Mortimer and the queene mother bare the blame, the king concluded with the Scotish king both an vnprofitable and a dishonorable peace. For first, he released to the Scots their fealtie and homage. Also he deliuered vnto them certeine old ancient writings, sealed with the seales of the king of Scots, and of diuerse lords of the land both spirituall and temporall: amongst the which was that indenture, which they called Ragman, with manie other charters and patents, by the which the kings of Scotland were bound as feodaries vnto the crowne of England; at which season also there were deliuered certeine iewels, which before time had béene wone from the Scots by the kings of England, and among other, the blacke crosier or rod is specially named. Anno Reg. 2. A parlement at Northampton. A dishonorable peace. Ragman. Fabian. Caxton. The blacke crosse.

And not onelie the king by his sinister councell lost such right and title as he had to the realme of Scotland, so farre as by the same councell might be deuised, but also the lords and barons, and other men of England that had anie lands or rents within Scotland, lost their right in like manner, except they would dwell vpon the same lands, and become liege men to the king of Scotland. Hereupon was there also a marriage concluded betwixt Dauid Bruce the sonne of Robert Bruce king of Scotland, and the ladie Jane sister to king Edward, which of diuerse writers is surnamed Jone of the tower, and the Scots surnamed hir halfe in derision, Jone Make-peace. This marriage was solemnised at Berwike vpon the date of Marie Magdalen. The queene with the bishops of Elie and Norwich, the earle Warren, the lord Mortimer, and diuerse other barons of the land, and a great multitude of other people were present at that marriage, which was celebrate with all the honour that might be. A marriage concluded. Jone Make-peace. Ri. Southwell.

After the quindene of saint Michaell, king Edward held a parlement at Salisburie, in which the lord Roger Mortimer was created earle of March, the lord John of Eltham the kings brother was made earle of Cornwall, and the lord James Butler of Ireland earle of Ormond, who about the same time had married the earle of Herefords daughter. But the earle of March toke the most part of the rule of all things perteining either to the king or realme into his owne hands: so that the whole gouernment rested in a manner betwixt the queene mother and him. The other of the counsell that were first apointed, were in manner displaced; for they bare no rule to speake of at all, which caused no small grudge to arise against the queene and the said earle of March, who mainteined such sorts, and kept among them such Tho. Walsin. Adam Merimuth. Polydor. Creations of earles. The earle of March ruleth all things at his pleasure. Caxton.

such retinue of seruants, that their prouision was wonderfull, which they caused to be taken vp, namelie for the quæne, at the kings price, to the sore oppression of the people, which tooke it displesantlie inough.

The earle of Lancaster.

There was like to haue growen great variance betwixt the quæne and Henrie earle of Lancaster, by reason that one sir Thomas Wither, a knight perteining to the said earle of Lancaster, had slaine Robert Holland, who had betraied sometime Thomas earle of Lancaster, and was after committed to prison by earle Henries meanes, but the quæne had caused him to be set at libertie, and admitted him as one of hir councell. The quæne would haue had sir Thomas Wither punished for the murther, but earle Henrie caused him to be kept out of the waie, so that for these causes and other, Henrie the earle of Lancaster went about to make a rebellion, and the quæne hauing knowledge thereof, sought to apprehend him: but by the mediation of the earles Marshall and Kent, the matter was taken vp, and earle Henrie had the kings peace granted him for the summe of eleuen thousand pounds, which he should haue paid, but he neuer paid that fine, though it was so assessed at the time of the agreement.

Robert Holland slaine.

The archbishop of Canturburie was the chiefe procuror of the agreement & reconciliation of the earle (as Merimuth saith.)

Adam Merimuth.

There were diuerse lords and great men that were confederat with him, the lord Thomas Wake, the lord Henrie Beaumont, the lord Foulke Fitz Warrein, sir Thomas Rosselin, sir William Trussell, and other, to the number of an hundred knights.

1229 Anno Reg. 3.

¶ In the third yeare of his reigne, about the Ascension tide, king Edward went ouer into France, and comming to the French king Philip de Valois, as then being at Amiens, did there his homage vnto him for the duchie of Guien (as in the French historie appeareth.) ¶ The same yeare Simon the archbishop of Canturburie held a synod at London, wherein all those were excommunicated that were guiltie to the death of Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester, that had bene put to death by the Londoners, as in the last kings time ye haue heard. ¶ This bishop of Excester founded Excester colledge in Oxford, & Harts hall. But now to the purpose.

The king about the beginning, or (as other saie) about the middle of Lent, held a parlement at Winchester, during the which, Edmund of Woodstoke earle of Kent the kings vncle was arrested the morrow after saint Gregories day, and being arreigned vpon certeine confessions and letters found about him, he was found giltie of treason. There were diuerse in trouble about the same matter, for the earle vpon his open confession before sundrie lords of the realme, declared that not onelie by commandement from the pope, but also by the setting on of diuerse nobles of this land (whome he named) he was persuaded to indeuour himselfe by all waies and meanes possible how to deliuer his brother king Edward the second out of prison, and to restore him to the crowne, whome one Thomas Dunhed, a frier of the order of preachers in London, affirmed for certeine to be aliue, hauing (as he himselfe said) called vp a spirit to vnderstand the truth thereof, and so what by counsell of the said frier, and of three other friers of the same order, he had purposed to worke some meane how to deliuer him, and to restore him againe to the kingdome. Among the letters that were found about him, disclosing a great part of his practise, some there were, which he had written and directed vnto his brother the said king Edward, as by some writers it should appeare.

Tho. Walsi. Ri. Southwell. Additions to Meri.

Thom. Dunhed a frier.

Thom. Walf.

1330 Anno Reg. 4.

The bishop of London and certeine other great personages, whome he had accused, were permitted to go at libertie, vnder suerties taken for their good demeanour and forth comming. But Robert de Touton, and the frier that had raised the spirit for to know whether the kings father were liuing or not, were committed to prison, wherein the frier remained till he died. The earle himselfe was had out of the castell gate at Winchester, and there lost his head the 19 day of March, chiefelie (as was thought) thorough the malice of the quæne mother, and of the earle of March: whose pride and high presumption the said earle of Kent might not well abide. His death was the lesse lamented, bicause of the presumptuous gouernement of his seruants and retinue, which he kept about him, for that they riding abroad, would take vp things at their pleasure, not paieng nor agreeing with the partie to whome such things belonged; in so much that by their meanes, who ought to haue done their vttermost for the inlargement of his honour, he grew in greater obloquie and reproch: a fowle fault in seruants so to abuse their lords names to their priuat profit, to whome they cannot be too trustie. But such are to be warned, that by the same wherin they offend, they shall be punished, euen with seruants faithlesse to plague their vntrustinesse, for

Qui violare fidem solet, & violetur eidem.

The earle of Kent beheaded.

Naughtie seruants bring their master into displeasure.

The yong quæne Philip was brought to bed at Woodstoke the 15 day of June of hir first sonne, the which at the fontstone was named Edward, and in processe of time came to great proofe of famous chiualrie, as in this booke shall more plainelie appeare. He was commonlie named when he came to ripe yeares prince Edward, & also surnamed the Blacke prince. The sirteenth day of Julie chanced a great eclipse of the sunne, and for the space of two moneths before, and three moneths after, there fell exceeding great raine, so that through the great intemperancie of weather, corne could not ripen, by reason whereof, in manie places they began not haruest till Michaelmas, & in some places they inned not their wheat till Alhallontide, nor their pease till saint Andrews tide.

The Blacke prince borne.

Croxden. An eclipse.

A late haruest

On Christmasse euen, about the breake of day, a maruellous sore and terrible wind came forth of the west, which ouerthrew houses and buildings, ouerturned trees by the roots, and did much hurt in diuerse places. ¶ This yeare shortlie after Easter, the king with the bishop of Winchester, and the lord William Montacute, hauing not past fiftæne horsses in their companie, passed the sea, apparelled in cloakes like to merchants, he left his brother the earle of Cornewall his deputie & gardian of the realme till his returne. Moreouer, he caused it to be proclaimed in London, that he went ouer on pilgrimage, and for none other purpose. He returned before the later end of April, and then was there holden a turnie at Dertfort.

A mightie wind.

The mondaie after saint Matthews day in September, the king held a solemne iusts in Cheapeside, betwixt the great crosse and Soperlane, he with 12 as chalengers answering all defendants that came. This solemne iusts and turnie continued three daies. The quæne with manie ladies being present at the same, fell beside a stage, but yet as god hap would they had no hurt by that fall, to the reioising of manie that saw them in such danger, and yet so luckilie to escape without harme. ¶ Also in a parlement holden at Notingham about saint Lukes tide, sir Roger Mortimer the earle of March was apprehended the seuentæenth day of October within the castell of Notingham, where the king with the two quænes, his mother and his wife, and diuerse other were as then lodged. And though the keies of the castell were dailie and nightlie in the custodie of the said earle of March, and that his power was such, as it was doubted how he might be arrested (for he had, as some writers affirme, at that present in retinue nine score knights, beside esquiers, gentlemen and yeomen) yet at length by the kings helpe, the lord William Montacute, the lord Humfrie de Bohun, and his brother sir

Additions to N. Triuet.

sir William, the lord Rafe Stafford, the lord Robert Ufford, the lord William Clinton, the lord John Neuill of Hornbie, and diuerse other, which had accused the said earle of March for the murther of king Edward the second, found means by intelligence had with sir William de Eland constable of the castell of Nottingham, to take the said earle of March with his sonne the lord Roger or Geffrey Mortimer, and sir Simon Bereford, with other.

Sir Hugh Trumpington or Turrington (as some copies haue) that was one of his chéefest frends with certeine other were slaine, as they were about to resist against the lord Montacute, and his companie in taking of the said earle. The manner of his taking I passe ouer, bicause of the diuersitie in report thereof by sundrie writers. From Nottingham he was sent vp to London with his sonne the lord Roger or Geffrey de Mortimer, sir Simon Bereford, and the other prisoners, where they were committed to prison in the tower. Shortlie after was a parlement called at Westminster, chéefelie (as was thought) for reformation of things disordered through the misgouernance of the earle of March. But whosoeuer was glad or sorie for the trouble of the said earle, suerlie the quæne mother toke it most heauilie aboue all other, as she that loued him more (as the fame went) than stood well with hir honour. For as some write, she was found to be with child by him. They kept as it were house togither, for the earle to haue his prouision the better cheape, laid his purse with hirs, so that hir takers serued him as well as they did hir both of vittels & cariages. Of which misvsage (all regard to honour and estimation neglected) euerie subiect spake shame. For their manner of dealing, tending to such euill purposes as they continuallie thought vpon, could not be secret from the eies of the people. And their offense herein was so much the more heinous, bicause they were persons of an extraordinarie degree, and were the more narrowlie marked of the multitude or common people,

Maister Fox.

Claudi.

——nam lux altissima fati
Occultum nil esse sinit, latebrásq; per omnes
Intrat, & obtrusos explorat fama recessus.

The earle of March attainted.

But now in this parlement holden at Westminster he was attainted of high treason expressed in fiue articles, as in effect followeth.

1 First, he was charged that he had procured Edward of Carnaruan the kings father to be murthered in most heinous and tyrannous maner within the castell of Berklie.

2 Secondlie, that the Scots at Stanop parke through his means escaped.

3 Thirdlie, that he receiued at the hands of the lord James Dowglas, at that time generall of the Scots, great summes of monie to execute that treason, and further to conclude the peace vpon such dishonorable couenants as was accorded with the Scots at the parlement of Northampton.

4 Fourthlie, that he had got into his hands a great part of the kings treasure, and had wasted and consumed it.

5 Fiftlie, that he had imprompted vnto him diuers wards that belonged vnto the king: and had béene more priuie with quæne Isabell the kings mother, than stood either with Gods law, or the kings pleasure.

These articles with other being proued against him, he was adiudged by authoritie of the parlement to suffer death, and according thereunto, vpon saint Andrewes æuen next insuing, he was at London drawne and hanged, at the common place of execution, called in those daies The elmes, & now Tiborne, as in some bookes we find. His bodie remained two daies and two nights on the gallowes, and after taken downe was deliuered to the friers minors, who buried him in their church the morrow after he was deliuered to them, with great pompe and funerall exequies, although afterwards he was taken vp and carried vnto Wigmore, whereof he was lord. He came not to his answer in iudgement, no more than any other of the nobilitie had done, since the death of Thomas earle of Lancaster.

Adam Meremuth. The earle of March executed.

Sir Simon de Bereford knight that had béene one of the kings iustices, was drawne also and hanged at London, vpon S. Lucies daie. In this parlement holden at Westminster, the king toke into his hand, by aduise of the states there assembled, all the possessions, lands and reuenues that belonged to the quæne his mother, she hauing assigned to hir a thousand pounds by yeare, for the maintenance of hir estate, being appointed to remaine in a certeine place, and not to go elsewhere abroad: yet the king to comfort hir, would lightlie euerie yeare once come to visit hir. ¶ After that the erle of March was executed (as yée haue heard) diuerse noble men that were departed the realme, bicause they could not abide the pride and presumption of the said earle, now returned: as the sonne and heire of the earle of Arundell, the lord Thomas Wake, the L. Henrie Beaumont, sir Thomas de Rosselin, sir Foulke fitz Warren, sir Griffin de la Pole, and diuerse other.

Sir Simon Bereford executed.

Some bookes haue 3 thousand pounds.

Ad. Merem.

1331
Anno Reg. 5.

In the fift yeare of K. Edwards reigne, Edward Balioll came forth of France into England, and obteined such fauour through the assistance of the lord Henrie Beaumont, the lord Dauid of Strabogie earle of Athole, the lord Geffrey de Mowbrate, the lord Walter Cumin, and others, that king Edward granted him licence to make his prouision in England to passe into Scotland, with an armie of men to attempt the recouerie of his right to the crowne of Scotland, with condition that if he recouered it, he should acknowledge to hold it of the king of England as superiour lord of Scotland. The comming awaie of Edward Balioll out of France is diuerslie reported by writers: some saie that he was aided by the French king, whose sister he had married: and other saie, that he being in prison in France, for the escape of an Englishman, one John Barnabie esquier, which had slaine a Frenchman by chance of quarelling in the towne of Dampierre, where the same Barnabie dwelled with the said Edward Balioll, so it came to passe that the lord Henrie Beaumont hauing occasion of businesse with the French king, that fauoured him well, came ouer to France, and there vnderstanding of Baliols imprisonment, procured his deliuerance, and brought him ouer into England, and caused him to remaine in secret wise at the manor of Sandhall vpon Ouse in Yorkeshire with the ladie Uescis, till he had purchased the kings grant for him to make his prouision of men of war and ships within the English dominions.

Edward Balioll commeth into England

Caxton.

John Barnabie.

The lord Beaumont.

1332
Anno Reg. 6.

In the sixt yeare of king Edwards reigne, Reignold earle of Gelderland married the ladie Elianor sister to this king Edward the third, who gaue vnto the said earle with hir for hir portion, fiftéene thousand pounds sterling. ¶ Isabell the kings daughter was borne also this yeare at Woodstoke. ¶ After that Edward Balioll had prepared and made readie his purueiances for his iournie, and that his men of warre were assembled and come togither, being in all not past fiue hundred men of armes, and about two thousand archers, and other footmen, he toke the sea at Rauenspurgh in Yorkeshire, and from thence directing his course northward, he arriued at length in Scotland, where he atchiuing great victories (as in the Scotish chronicle yée may read more at large) was finallie crowned king of that realme.

Croxden.

The earle of Gelderland.

Edward Balioll crowned k. of Scotland.

It may séeme a wonder to manie, that the king of

of England would permit Edward Baliol to make his prouision thus in England, and to suffer his people to aid him against his brother in law king Dauid that had married his sister (as before ye haue heard.) Indeed at the first he was not verie readie to grant their suit that moued it, but at length he was contented to dissemble the matter, in hope that if Edward Baliol had good successe, he should then recouer that againe, which by the conclusion of peace during his minoritie, he had through euill counsell resigned out of his hands. The Scots neuertheless in December chased their new king Edward Baliol out of Scotland, so that he was faine to retire into England, and celebrated the feast of the Natiuitie at Carleill, in the house of the friers minors, and the morrow after being S. Stephans day, he went into Westmerland, where of the lord Clifford he was right honorablie receiued, to whome he then granted Douglas Dale in Scotland, which had beene granted to the said lord Cliffords grandfather in the daies of king Edward the first, if he might at anie time recouer the realme of Scotland out of his aduersaries hands.

The cause that moued K. Edward to aid Edward Baliol.

Rich. South. Edward Baliol chased out of Scotland.

1333

After this, he went and laie a time with the ladie of Gines, that was his kinswoman. Finallie about the tenth day of March, hauing assembled a power of Englishmen and Scotishmen, he entred Scotland, and besieged the towne of Berwike, during the which siege, manie enterprises were attempted by the parties: and amongst other, the Scots entred England by Carleill, doing much mischiefe in Gilleland, by burning, killing, robbing and spoiling. The king aduertised hereof, thought himselfe discharged of the agreement concluded betwixt him and Dauid Bruce, the sonne of Robert Bruce that had married his sister, & therfore toke it to be lawfull for him to aid his cosen Edward Baliol the lawfull K. of Scots. And herewith assembling an armie, came to the siege of Berwike, togither with his brother Iohn of Eltham earle of Cornewall, and other noble men, seeking by all meanes possible how to win the towne: and finallie discomfited an armie of Scots, which came to the rescue theerof vpon Halidon hill, in sleaing of them what in the fight and chase, seuen earles, nine hundred knights and baronets, foure hundred esquiers, and vpon 32 thousand of the common people: and of Englishmen were slaine but 15 persons, as our English writers make mention. The Scotish writers confesse, that the Scotishmen lost the number of 14 thousand.

Anno Reg. 7.

Berwike besieged.

The victorie of Englishmen at Halidon hill.

Berwike deliuered.

On the morrow following, being S. Margarets day, the towne of Berwike was rendered vnto king Edward with the castell, as in the Scotish chronicle ye may read, with more matter touching the siege and battell aforesaid, and therfore here in few words, I passe it ouer. King Edward hauing thus sped his businesse, left a power of men with Edward Baliol, vnder the conduct of the lord Richard Talbot, and returned himselfe backe into England, appointing the lord Percie to be gouernor of the towne of Berwike, and sir Thomas Grey knight his lieutenant. The lord Iohn Darcie lord cheefe iustice of Ireland, leauing the lord Thomas Bourgh his deputie in that countrie, passed ouer with an armie into Scotland, to aid the king, who (as ye haue heard) was there the same time in person. And so by the king on one side, and by the Irishmen on an other, Scotland was subdued, and restored vnto Baliol, who the morrow after the octaues of the Natiuitie of our ladie, held a parlement at saint Johns towne, in the which he reuoked and made void all acts, which the late king of Scots Robert Bruce had inacted or made: and further ordeined, that all such lands and possessions as the said Bruce had giuen to any maner of person, should be taken from them, and restored to the former and true inheritour.

The lord Richard Talbot

The lord iustice of Ireland cõmeth into Scotland.

In this yeare about the twelfth of October, Simon Mepham archbishop of Canturburie, departed this life, in whose place succeeded Iohn Stretford, being remoued from the see of Winchester, whereof he was bishop, before that he was thus called to the see of Canturburie. After Candlemas the king of England repaired towards Yorke, there to hold a parlement, to the which (beginning on the mondaie in the second weeke in Lent) when Edward Baliol doubting to be surprised by his aduersaries, could not come, yet he sent the lord Henrie de Beaumont, and the lord William de Montacute, to make excuse for him. The king of England passing further into the north parts, held his Whitsuntide at Newcastell vpon Tine, with great roialtie: and shortlie after, Edward Baliol king of Scots came thither, and vpon the nintéenth daie of June made his homage vnto the king of England, and sware vnto him fealtie in the presence of a great number of Nobles and gentlemen there assembled, as to his superiour and chiefe lord of the realme of Scotland, binding himselfe by that oth, to hold the same realme of the king of England, his heires and successors for euer. He also gaue and granted vnto the king of England at that time fiue counties next adioining vnto the borders of England, as Berwike and Rockesburgh, Peplis, and Dunfres, the townes of Hadington and Gedworth with the castell, the forrests of Silkirke, Etherike, and Gedworth, so as all these portions should be clerelie separated and put apart from the crowne of Scotland, and annexed vnto the crowne of England for euer. And these things were confirmed and roborated with oth, scepter, and witnesse sufficient.

Adam Merimuth. 1334

Anno Reg. 8. Adam Merimuth.

Parlement at Yorke.

Edward Baliol doth homage vnto the king of England for Scotland.

Which things done in due order, as was requisite, the king of England returned home, and the kings went backe into Scotland. And then were all such lords restored againe to their lands and possessions in Scotland, which in the daies of Edward the second had beene expelled from the same: and now they did their homage vnto the king of Scotland for those lands as apperteined. ¶ Immediatlie after, the king of England called a councell of his lords spirituall and temporall at Notingham, commanding them to meet him there about the thirtenth daie of Julie, there to consult with him of weightie causes concerning the state of the realme. This yeare on saint Clements daie at night, which fell on the three and twentith of Nouember, through a maruellous inundation & rising of the sea all alongst by the coasts of this realme, but especiallie about the Thames, the sea bankes or walles were broken and borne downe with violence of the water, and infinite numbers of beasts and cattell drowned, fruitfull grounds and pastures were made salt marishes, so as there was no hope that in long time they should recouer againe their former fruitfulnesse.

Inundation of the sea.

In this meane time the French king was appointed to haue made a viage against the Saracens, enimies of our faith, and had sent to the king of England, requiring him of his companie in that iournie. But the king of England being otherwise occupied with the affaires of Scotland, made no direct answer therevnto, so that the French king perceiuing that the king of England was not in all things well pleased with him, thought good before he set forward on that iournie to vnderstand his meaning, and thervpon sent ettsones vnto him other ambassadours. These ambassadours arriued here in England and had audience, but nothing they concluded in effect, saue that the king promised to send his ambassadors ouer into France, to haue further communication in-

Ambassadors from the French king.

in the matter touching such points of variance as depended betwixt them.

Although Edward Baliol by the puissance of the king of Englands assistance had got the most part of the realme of Scotland into his hands, yet diverse castels were holden against him, and the Scots daily slipped from him, and by open rebellion molested him diverse waies. The king of England aduertised thereof called a parlement at London, wherein he toke order for his iournie into Scotland, had a tenth and a fifteenth granted him, and so about Alhallontide he came to Newcastell vpon Tine, with his armie, and remained there till the feast of saint Katharine, and then entring into Scotland, came to Rockesburgh, where he repared the castell which had beene aforetime destroied. After the third daie of Christmasse was past, the king of England entred into Ethrike forrest, beating it vp and downe, but the Scots would not come within his reach: wherevpon he sent the king of Scots that was there present with him, and the earles of Warwike and Drenford, and certeine other barons and knights with their retinues vnto Carleill, to keepe and defend those west parts of the realme from the Scots.

Rich. South. A parlement at London.

The king entreth into Scotland with an armie 1335

In their iournie thitherwards, they went by Pelis to apprehend certeine Scots, whome they heard to be lodged and abiding thereabouts, but when they found them not, they wasted the countrie, and turned streight to Carleill, where after the Epiphanie there assembled an armie forth of the counties of Lancaster, Westmerland, and Cumberland, by the kings appointment, which armie togither with the king of Scots and the other lords there found, entred Scotland, and did much hurt in the countrie of Galloway, destroieng townes and all that they found abroad, but the people were fled and withdrawne out of their waie. And when they had taken their pleasure, the king of Scots returned backe to Carleill. This yere there fell great abundance of raine, and thervpon insued moren of beasts: also corne so failed this yeare, that a quarter of wheat was sold at fortie shillings.

Hen. Marle.

A dearth and death of cattell.

Finallie, when the king had finished his businesse in Scotland, as to his seeming stood with his pleasure, he returned into England, and shortlie after he sent the archbishop of Canturburie, sir Philip de Montacute, and Geffrey Scrope vnto the French king, to conclude a firme amitie & league with him. These lords comming into France, were not at the first admitted to the French kings presence, till they shewed themselues halfe greeued with that strange dealing: for then finallie were they brought vnto him, who gentlie receiued them, and caused the matter to be intreated of about the which they were sent, in furthering whereof, such diligence was vsed, that finallie a conclusion of peace and concord was agreed, and so farre passed, that proclamation thereof should haue beene made in Paris, and in the countrie thereabout the nert day: but scarse were the English ambassadours returned vnto their lodgings, when they were sent for backe againe, and further informed, that the French king minded to haue David king of Scotland comprised in the same league, so that he might be restored vnto his kingdome, and the Baliol put out. The English ambassadors answered, that their commission extended not so farre, and therfore they could not conclude any thing therein. Herevpon all the former communication was reuoked, and clerelie made void, so that the English ambassadors returned home into England without anie thing concluded.

Anno Reg. 9.

Ambassadors sent into France.

Ambassadors from the French king

About the feast of the Ascension, the king held a parlement at Yorke, ordeining for his iournie into Scotland, and also deuising by authoritie thereof diuerse profitable statutes for the common-wealth. About midsummer, he came with his armie vnto Newcastell vpon Tine, whither came to him from Carleill the king of Scots, and there order was taken, that the king of England, and his brother the earle of Cornwall, the earls of Warwike, Lancaster, Lincolne, and Hereford, with all their retinues, and the earle of Gulikerland, that had married the kings sister, and with a faire companie was come to serue the king in these warres, should passe to Carleill, and on the twelfe of Julie enter Scotland. The king of Scots, the earles of Surrie, and Arundell, and the lord Henrie Percie, a baron of great might and power, being all of kin vnto the king of Scots, with their retinues should go to Berwike, and there enter the same day aboue mentioned, and as it was appointed, so it was put in practise. For both kings on the same day entring Scotland in seuerall parts passed forward without resistance at their pleasures, wasting and burning all the countries, both on this side, and beyond the Scotish sea. The Welshmen spared neither religious persons nor their houses, making no more accompt of them than of others: the mariners of Newcastell also burnt a great part of the towne of Dundee.

Ri. Southwell. A parlement.

The Welshmen.

Dundee burnt.

The earle of Pamure about the same time comming into England, to serue the king in his warres, toke vpon him to passe into Scotland with a band of an hundred men of armes, beside seauen or eight knights which he brought ouer with him, and certeine Englishmen to be his guides from Berwike, but he was assailed before he could get to Edenburgh, by the earles of Murrey and Dunbarre, and the lord William Dowglas: so that notwithstanding the strangers bare themselues verie manfullie, yet oppressed with multitude, they were forced to giue place, but yet still fighting and defending themselues till they came to Edenburgh, and there taking the hill where the ruines of the castell stood, kept the same all the night following. But the nert day they despairing of all succours, and hauing neither meat nor drinke, at length yeelded themselues, whom the earle of Murrey receiuing right courteouslie, shewed them such fauour, that without ransome he was contented they should returne into their countries: and for more suertie, he conueied the said earle of Pamure (whome the Scotish books call earle of Gelderland) and his companie backe to the borders; but in his returne, or shortlie after, the same earle of Murrey that toke himselfe for gouernour of Scotland, was encountred by the Englishmen that laie in garrison within Rockesburgh, and by them taken prisoner. The lord William Dowglas being there also with him escaped, but James Dowglas brother to the said lord William Dowglas, was at that bickering slaine with diuerse other.

The earle of Pamure.

Fourdon.

The earle of Murrey take. Rich. Southw.

Fourdon.

About the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, diuerse of the Scotish nobilitie came and submitted themselues to the king, namelie the earle of Atholl and others, but earle Patrike of Dunbarre, and the earle of Rosse, the lord Andrew de Murrey, the lord William Dowglas, and the lord William de Beth, and manie other would not come in, but assembling themselues togither, did all the mischefe they could vnto those that had receiued the kings peace. The earle of Atholl in the winter season, besieging the castell of Kildrummie beyond the Scotish sea was set vpon by the earles of Dunbarre and Rosse, so that they slue him there in field, for his men fled from him (through some traitorous practise as was thought) and left him and a few other in all the danger. ¶ The king of England being returned forth of Scotland, remained for the most part of the winter in the north parts, and held his Christmasse at Newcastell vpon Tine,

Scots submit them to the king of England.

The castell of Kildrummie.

The earle of Atholl slaine.

time, and after the Epiſt anie hauing aſſembled an armie readie to paſſe into Scotland, to reuenge the earle of Athols death, which he toke verie diſpleaſantlie, there came in the meane time ambaſſadors both from the pope and the French king, and found the king of England at Berwike, readie with his armie to ſet forwards into Scotland. But theſe ambaſſadors did ſo much by intreatie with the two kings of England and Scotland, that about the feaſt of the Purification, a truce was agréed vpon to indure till midlent.

1336

Anno Reg. 10.

A truce granted to the Scots.

Then was a parlement to be holden at London, and herewith articles were deuiſed, and certeine petitions put forth, vpon the which if the parties in the meane time could agree, the peace accordinglie might be eſtabliſhed, if not, then the warre to be proſecuted as before. The chiefeſt article and petition which the Scots proponed, as deſirous to be therein reſolued, was to vnderſtand which of the two that claimed the crowne of Scotland, to wit, Edward Baliol, and Dauid Bruce, had moſt right thereto. But when in the parlement time the lord Maurice de Murrey ſlue ſir Geffrey de Roſſe a Scotiſh knight, that was ſhiriffe of Aire and Lenarke, being of the Baliols ſide, for that in time of open warre the ſame ſir Geffrey had ſlaine his brother, vpon reſpect of this preſumptuous part, and by reaſon of ſuch ſtoutneſſe as the Scots otherwiſe ſhewed, no concluſion of peace could be brought to effect.

The ſtoutnes of Scots hindered the concluſion of the peace.

Before the feaſt of the Aſcenſion, the king of England ſent forward the king of Scots, the earles of Lancaſter, Warwike, Oxford, and Anegos, and diuerſe lords and capteins with an armie, the which after Whitſuntide entring into Scotland, paſſed ouer the Scotiſh ſea, and comming to ſaint Johns towne (which the Scots had burnt, deſpairing to defend it againſt the Engliſh power) they ſet in hand to fortifie it, compaſſing it with déepe diches and a ſtrong rampier of earth. ¶ About the ſame time the king called a parlement at Northampton, where leauing the prelats and other to treat of ſuch matters as were proponed, he himſelfe rode northwards, and comming to Berwike, toke with him a ſmall band of men of armes, and ſetting forward, paſſed forth till he came to ſaint Johns towne, where he found the king of Scots, and other his nobles greatlie wondering at his comming thither ſo vnlooked for. After he had reſted there a little, he toke with him part of the armie, and paſſed forward ouer the mounteines of Scotland euen vnto Elgen in Murrey and Inuernes, further by manie miles than euer his grandfather had gone.

An armie ſent into Scotland.

S. Johns towne fortified.

Adam Merimuth.

The K. goeth into Scotland.

In his returne he burnt the towne of Aberden, in reuenge of the death of a right valiant knight called ſir Thomas Roſſelin, that comming thither by ſea toke land there, and was ſlaine by the enimies: he burnt diuerſe other townes and places in this voiage, ſpoiling and waſting the countries where he came, not finding anie to reſiſt him. About Lammas the earle of Cornewall with the power of Yorkeſhire and Northumberland, and the lord Anthonie Lucie with the Cumberland and Weſtmerland men entred Scotland, and deſtroied the weſt parts, as Carrike, and other which obeied not the Baliol. The lord William Douglas ſtill coaſted the Engliſhmen, doing to them what damage he might. At length this armie loden with preies and ſpoile returned home, but the earle of Cornewall with his owne retinue came through to ſaint Johns towne, where he found the king being returned thither frō his iournie which he had made beyond the mounteins. The king ſtaied not long there, but leauing the king of Scots with his companie in that towne, he went to Striueling, where, on the plot of ground vpon which the deſtroied caſtell had ſtood, he built an other fortreſſe, called a Pile. And now, becauſe he had ſpent a great deale of treaſure in thoſe warres of Scotland, he ſummoned a parlement to be holden at Nottingham, in which there was granted vnto him a tenth of the cleargie, and likewiſe of the citizens and burgeſſes of good townes, and a fiftéenth of other that dwelt forth of cities and boroughes.

Aberden burnt. Tho. Walſin.

Sir Thomas Roſſelin ſlain.

The earle of Cornewall.

The lord Douglas.

Striueling caſtell built or rather repaired.

About the latter end of October, John of Eltham earle of Cornewall the kings brother departed this life at ſaint Johns towne in Scotland: his bodie was afterwards conueied to Weſtminſter, & there buried with all ſolemne funerals. The Scotiſh writers affirme that he was ſlaine by his brother king Edward for the crueltie he had vſed in the weſt parts of Scotland, in ſleaing ſuch as for ſafegard of their liues fled into churches. Moreouer, in December there deceaſſed at S. Johns towne aforeſaid, Hugh de Freſnes, that in right of the countelſe of Lincolne was intituled earle of Lincolne. He died of the flix, or (as was ſaid) through exceſſiue cold, which in thoſe quarters in that cold time of the yeare ſore afflicted the Engliſh people. ¶ In the meane time, about the feaſt of ſaint Luke the euangeliſt, the king went with an armie into Scotland toward the caſtell of Bothuille, and comming thither repared the ſame, which by the Scots had latelie before béene deſtroied. The baron Stafford at the ſame time comming towards the king with a power of men, toke Douglas Dale in his waie, taking in the ſame a great preie of cattell and other things.

The deceaſſe of the earle of Cornewall.

The deceaſſe of Hugh de Freſnes earle of Lincolne.

Walter Giſburgh. Thom. Walſ.

The lord Stafford.

Before Chriſtmaſſe the king returned into England, but the king of Scots remained all the winter in ſaint Johns towne with a ſober companie. When the king had ſetled the ſtate of Scotland vnder the gouernement of the Baliol, thoſe Scotiſhmen which toke part with the Baliol, ordeined as it were in recompenſe of king Edwards friendſhip a ſtatute, whereby they bound themſelues to the ſaid king Edward and his heires kings of England, that they ſhould aid and aſſiſt him againſt all other princes: and whenſoeuer it chanced that either he or any king of England being rightfull inheritor, had any wars againſt any prince, either within the land or without, the Scotiſhmen of their owne proper coſts and expenſes ſhould find three hundred horſſemen, & a thouſand footmen well and ſufficientlie arraied for the warre, the which thirtéene hundred men the Scots ſhould wage for a whole yeare: & if the king of England ended not his warres within the yeare, then he to giue wages to the ſaid number of thirtéene hundred Scots, as he doth to other of his ſouldiers and men of warre. There be that write, that the king of England ſhould not onlie fortifie ſaint Johns towne about this time, as before is mentioned, but alſo ſaint Andrews, Cowper, Aberdine, Dunfermeling, with certeine other caſtels, leauing gariſons of men in the ſame. But for ſo much as ye may read ſufficientlie of thoſe troubles, in Scotland; and of the returne of king Dauid forth of France, and how his realme was recouered out of the Baliols hands in the Scotiſh chronicles: we néed not here to make anie long diſcourſe thereof.

A ſtatute ordeined by the Scots in fauour of the K. of England.

Polydor.

Townes fortified by king Edward in Scotland.

The quéene was deliuered of hir ſecond ſonne at Hatfield, who was therfore named William of Hatfield, who liued but a ſhort time, departing this world when he was but yong. The king being returned home out of Scotland, ſought by all waies poſſible how to recouer monie, both to ſupplie his charges for the Scotiſh wars, and alſo to furniſh the other wars which he meant to take in hand againſt the French king: he got ſo much into his hands (as it is reported by writers) that it was verie ſcant and hard to come by throughout the whole realme: by reaſon of which ſcarſitie

Th. Walſing. Croxden.

1337

The king ſtudieth to gather monie to maintéine his warres.

Great cheapnesse of wars and scarsitie of monie.

scarsitie and want of monie, or vpon some other necessarie cause, vittels, and other chaffer and merchandize were exceeding cheape: for at London a quarter of wheat was sold for two shillings, a fat ore for six shillings eight pence, a fat sheepe for six pence or eight pence, halfe a dozen of pigeons for one penie, a fat goose for two pence, a pig for one penie, and so all other vittels after the like rate.

This yeare was the warre proclamed betwixt England and France, chefelie by the procurement of the lord Robert Dartois, a Frenchman, as then banished out of France, vpon occasion of a claime by him made vnto the earldome of Artois. This lord Robert after he was banished France, fled ouer vnto king Edward, who gladlie receiued him and made him earle of Richmond. ¶ All the goods of the Italians were by the kings commandement this yeare confiscate to his vse, and so likewise were the goods of the monks of the Cluniake and Cisterceaux orders. ¶ This yeare also a comet or blasing starre appeared, with long and terrible streames passing from it. In the eleauenth yeare of his reigne,

1338
Anno Reg. 11.

the king held a parlement at Westminster, about the time of Lent, during the which, of the earledome of Cornewall he made a duchie, and gaue it vnto his eldest sonne Edward, that was then earle of Chester, whom also (as some write) he created at the same time prince of Wales.

Thom. Wals. Ran. Higd. Polydor. Fabian.

Moreouer in reward of seruice, there were six noble men at this parlement aduanced to the honour and title of earles, as the lord Henrie sonne to the earle of Lancaster was created earle of Derbie, or after some writers, earle of Leicester; William Bohun was created earle of Northampton, William Montacute earle of Salisburie, Hugh Audeley earle of Glocester, William Clinton earle of Huntingdon, and Robert Ufford earle of Suffolke. This creation was on the second sundaie in Lent, and the same day were twentie knights made, whose names for breuenesse we do here omit. In this parlement it was enacted, that no man should weare any manner of silke in gowne, cote, or doublet; except he might dispend of god and sufficient rent an hundred pounds by yeare, which act was not long obserued. For the nature of man is such, that of it owne corrupt & euill inclination, it withstandeth good things, and choseth rather to follow what soeuer is forbidden, yea though the same be starke naught and offensiue to law and conscience: which preposterous and ouerthwart disposition the poet noteth well, saieng,

Creations of noble men.

Additions to Hen. Marle. Croxden.

In act of arraie, against sumptuous apparell.

——aliúdq; cupido
Mens aliud suadet: video meliora, proboq;,
Deteriora sequor.

It was also ordeined by the aduise of this parlement, that Henrie of Lancaster newlie created erle of Derbie should go ouer into Gascoine, there to remaine as the kings lieutenant. But Richard Southwell saith, that the earle of Salisburie, and not the earle of Derbie was appointed to go into Gascoine at that time, and the earle of Warwike into Scotland. Moreouer in this parlement it was enacted that no woll of the English growth should go forth of the land, but be here wrought and made in cloath: and further an act was ordeined for receiuing of strangers that were clothworkers, and order taken, that fit and conuenient places should be assigned forth to them where to inhabit, with manie priuileges and liberties, and that they should haue wages and stipends allowed them, till they were so setled as they might gaine commodiouslie by their occupation and science: but now to returne againe to other matters.

In act for restraint of transporting ouer wools. Adam Merimuth.

Rich. South.

The castell of Bothuile taken.

The Scots this yeare tooke the castell of Bothuile by surrender, so as the Englishmen that were within it, departed with their liues and goods saued. Diuerse other castels and fortresses were taken by the Scots in Fife, and in other parts, but the countrie of Galloway was by them speciallie sore afflicted, because the people there held with their lord Edward Baliol. Herevpon it was agreed in this last parlement, that the earle of Warwike being appointed to go thither, should haue with him the power beyond Trent northwards. But when about the Ascension tide the Scots had besieged the castell of Striueling, the king of England in person hasted thitherwards, of whose approach the Scots no sooner vnderstood, but that streightwaies they brake vp their siege, and departed thence: the king therefore returned backe into the south parts. About the same time sir Eustace de Marwell knight, lord of Carlauerocke, reuolted from Edward Baliol vnto Dauid le Bruse his side, and so that part dailie increased, and also the warre continued, with damage inough vnto both parts.

Sir Eustace Marswell.

In the beginning of September the earle of Warwike with an armie entred Scotland by Berwike, and the lord Thomas de Wake, and the lord Clifford, with the bishop of Carleill accompanied with the Westmerland and Cumberland men, entred by Carleill, and within two daies after met with the earle of Warwike, as before it was appointed, and so ioining togither, they passed forwards, spoiling and wasting Teuidale, Mofetidale, and Nidesdale. The lord Anthonie Lucie with a part of the armie entred into Galloway, and after he had wasted that countrie, he returned to the armie, which by reason of the exceeding great weat that fell in that season, they could not keepe on their iournie into Douglasdale, and to Aire, as they had appointed: but hauing remained in Scotland twelue daies, they returned altogither vnto Carleill. Edward Baliol was not with them in this iournie, but remained still in England.

The earle of Warwike inuadeth Scotland.

The Scots in reuenge hereof made diuerse rodes into England, withdrawing still with their prey and booties, before the English power could assemble to giue them battell. About Alhallontide, the Scots besieged the castell of Edenburgh, but the bishop of Carleill, the lord Randoll Dacres of Gillesland, with the power of the counties of Cumberland and of Westmerland, and the king of Scots Edward Baliol, with the lord Anthonie Lucie, and such companie as they brought from Berwike, meeting at Rockesburgh, marched forth vnto Edenburgh, and chasing the Scots from the siege, tooke order for the safe keeping of the castell from thenceforth, and returned into England. In this meane time things happened so well to the purpose of king Edward, that by practise he alienated the hearts of the Flemings from the obedience of their earle, being altogither an earnest freend to the French king. He therefore vnderstanding the minds of his people, sought to winne them by some gentle treatie, and so did euen at the first, concluding an agreement with them of Gaunt, which were fullie at a point to haue entred into league with the king of England, as with him whose freendship by reason of the traffike of merchandize, (and namelie of the English wools) they knew to be more necessarie for their countrie than the French kings.

The castell of Edenburgh besieged.

The siege is raised.

The K. practiseth with the Flemings.

Although by the helpe of the bishop of Tournie the earle of Flanders caused them to staie from concluding or ioining in anie such bonds of amitie with the king of England for that time, yet he doubted the arriuall of some power out of England, and thereupon appointed his bastard brother Guie of Rickenburgh, and certeine other noble men and captains, with a crue of men of warre to lie in the Ile of

The bishop of Tournie.

Ia. Meir.

The Ile of Cadsant.

Cadsant, to defend the passage there, and to see that no English ships should come or go that waie by the seas: whereof the king of England being aduertised, sent thither the earle of Derbie, the lord Lewes Beauchampe, the lord Reginald Cobham, also the lord William sonne to the earle of Warwike, the lord Walter de Mannie an Hanneuier, and other lords, knights, and capteins, with a power of fiue hundred men of armes, and two thousand archers, the which comming to the foresaid Ile of Cadsant, found the Flemings, about fiue thousand in number, readie arranged on the towne dikes and sands, in purpose to defend the entrie, which they did a certeine space right valiantlie: but in the end they were discomfited, and three thousand of them slaine in the streets, hauen, and houses. Sir Guie the bastard of Flanders was taken with diuerse other knights and gentlemen, the towne was burnt, and the goods with the prisoners were carried into England. This chanced on a sundaie the daie before the feast of saint Martine in November. Where the lord Walter de Mannie might haue had 11 thousand pounds sterling for the ransome of the said sir Guie, and other prisoners, the king bought them of him in the fourteenth yeare of his reigne for eight thousand pounds sterling, as by records in the tower it appeareth.

In armie sent by sea into Flanders.

Foure thousand saith Ia. Meir.

Froissard.

About the feast of saint Martine in winter, there came vnto London two cardinals, sent by the pope to treat for a peace betwixt the kings of England, and France. ¶ The archbishop of Canturburie, with the bishops of Winchester, Elie, Chichester, Conentrie, & the cõmoners of the citie of London met them on Shoters hill. The duke of Cornewall with the earle of Surrie, and manie other of the nobilitie receiued them a mile without the citie. The king himselfe receiued them at the lesser hall doore of his palace at Westminster, and brought them into the painted chamber, where they declared their message: whereupon the king caused a parlement to be summoned at London, to begin the morrow after Candlemasse day. The king held his Christmasse at Gildford, and within the octaues of the same feast he toke his iournie towards Scotland, or rather (as other haue) he sent thither the earles of Salisburie, Glocester, Derbie, and Angos, with three barons, the lords Percie, Neuill, and Stafford, the which with twentie thousand men besieged the castell of Dunbar.

Two cardinals come into England.

Additions to Meri.

1339
Ri. Southwell.
The castell of Dunbar besieged.
Anno Reg. 12.

This siege began euen in the beginning of the twelfth yeare of king Edwards reigne, and continued for the space of nineteene weeks, with small gaine and lesse honour to the Englishmen, in so much that the same brake vp vnder a colour of a truce, when there was no hope of winning the place, and that the noble men that laie there at siege, hasted to make an end, that they might attend the king in his iournie ouer into Brabant. The morrow after Candlemasse day the parlement began, in which there was a grant made to the king by the laitie of the one halfe of their wolles through the whole realme for the next summer, which he receiued, and likewise he leuied of the cleargie the whole, causing them to paie nine marks of euerie sacke of the best woll. But after the rate of the one halfe he toke in whole hands so euer it was found, aswell merchants as others. After this, he toke a fifteenth of all the communaltie of his realme in woll, the price of euerie stone conteining fourteene pounds rated at two shillings. The one and twentith of March the two cardinals toke the sea at Douer, and in their companie went ouer the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Durham to treat of a peace, if by any good meanes the two kings might be made frends. But as it appeared, their trauell was in vaine, for although they abode togither for a time on the frontiers, doing their best indeuor, yet their trauell nothing auailed, as by that which followeth is most manifest.

A parlement.

Croxden.
A subsidie.

The cardinals returne.

The Flemings that fauoured king Edward, were put in such comfort by the late victorie obteined by the Englishmen in the Ile of Cadsant, that falling to their former practise, one Jaques or Jacob van Arteueld an honimaker of the towne of Gant, was chosen amongst them to be as it were the defender of the people, and namelie of the weauers, and other clothworkers. Finallie, his authoritie grew so hugelie amongst all the whole number of the commons in Flanders, that he might do more with them than their earle; and yet the earle to reconcile the people to his fauour, ceassed not to vse all courteous means towards them that he could deuise, as releasing customes and duties of monie, pardoning offenses, forfeitures, and other such like, but all would not auaile him. The king of England had so won them by the meanes of the said Jaques van Arteueld, that in the end John archbishop of Canturburie, & Richard the bishop of Durham, came into Flanders as ambassadors from king Edward, and trauelled so earnestlie to draw the Flemings vnto an amitie with their maister king Edward, that finallie a league was concluded betwixt the countrie of Flanders, and the said king at Gant, in the presence of the earle of Gelderland, as then being there. The cheefe authors of this league were the said Jaques van Arteueld, and a noble man of Flanders, called Siger de Courtrey.

James or Jacob Arteueld, a honimaker of Gant.

His authoritie among the commons.

A league betwixt England & Flanders.
Ia. Meir.

Siger de Courtrey.

But this Siger being immediatlie after apprehended by the earle of Flanders, was put to death. Which act procured the earle so much hatred of the people, that shortlie after comming to Bruges, and attempting to force the towne to his will, he was forced himselfe to flee from thence, for otherwise he had beene either taken or slaine; the commons of the towne & namelie the fullers, of whome he had slaine some there in the streets, rose so fast vpon him. Hereupon fleeing home to his house, he toke his wife, and a sonne which he had, and fled with them into France, so forsaking his countrie which was now gouerned by Jaques van Arteueld, as though he had beene immediatlie lord thereof. After this, the earle returned home againe, as it were with the French kings commission, to persuade the Flemings to renounce the league concluded with the king of England: but he could bring nothing to passe, but was still in danger to haue beene arrested and staied of his owne subiects, both at Gant and in other places, but namelie at Dixmue, where if he had not made the more hast awaie, he had beene taken by them of Bruges. Amongst other of his stuffe which he left behind him in that hastie departure, his signet was forgotten, and not missed till he came to saint Omers, whither he fled for his safegard.

The Fullers of Gant.

The earle of Flanders fleeth into France.

He returneth home.

Dixmue.

He excuseth fleeth.

Thus ye may perceiue that Flanders rested wholie at king Edwards commandement, who to establish amitie also with the duke of Brabant, and other princes of the empire, about the middest of Julie sailed ouer vnto Antwerpe, with his wife queene Philip, his sonne the prince of Wales, and a great number of other of the peeres and barons of his realme, where he was most ioifullie receiued of the duke of Brabant, and other lords of the empire. There was sent to the emperour to procure his frendship, from the king of England, the marques of Gulike with certeine noble men of England, and also certeine of the duke of Gelderland his councell, the which marques was made at that time an earle, & the earle of Gelderland was made duke. This duke of Gelderland named Reginald had married the ladie Isabell sister of king Edward, and therefore in fauour of the king his brother in law, trauelled most earnestlie to procure

Flanders wholie at the deuotion of K. Edward.

K. Edward saileth to Antwerpe.

Froissard.
The marques of Gulikerland.

The earle of Gelderland created duke.

procure him all the frends within the empire that he could make.

K. Edwards confederates.

The princes and lords then, with whom king Edward was alied and confederated at that time, I find to be these; the dukes of Brabant and Gelderland, the archbishop of Cullen, the marquesse of Gulike, sir Arnold de Baquehen, and the lord of Valkenburgh, who all promised to defie the French king, in the king of Englands quarrell, and to serue him with notable numbers of men, where and whensoeuer it should please him to appoint. The aliance of the earle of Heinault first procured the king of England all these frends, vnto the which earle he had sent ouer the bishop of Lincolne and other in ambassage, immediatlie after that he had resolued to make warres against France, by the counsell and aduise of sir Robert Dartois, as in the French historie more plainlie appeareth. In this meane season was quæne Philip brought to bed at Antwerpe of hir third sonne, which was named Lionell. ¶ The king of England earnestlie followed his businesse, and had manie treaties with his frends and confederats, till at length he made sure to him the frendship of all those townes & countries, which lie betwixt France and the riuer of Rhene: onelie the cities of Tournie and Cambrie held of the French kings part, though Cambrie belonged to the empire.

Lionell that was after duke of Clarence borne.

Additions to Adam Merimuth.

A parlement at Northampton.

A subsidie vpon woll.

The cleargie granteth a tenth.

In this twelfth yeare of king Edwards reigne at a councell holden at Northampton by the duke of Cornewall, lord warden of England in absence of the king his brother, and by manie of the prelats and barons of the realme, there was granted to the king a subsidie in woll, to the great burthen of the commons: but for so much as the cleargie of the land was not present at that councell, it was ordeined that they should be called, and so they assembled in a conuocation at London the first day of October, in which the cleargie granted to the king a tenth for the third yeare then to come, ouer and besides the two tenths before granted, and that the tenth of this present yeare should be paid in shorter time than it was appointed: but they flatlie denied to grant their wools, which neuertheless the laitie paid, and that to their great hinderance, for it rose double to a fifténe.

Great raine.

From the beginning of October, to the beginning of December this yeare, fell such abundance of raine that it hindered greatlie the husbandmen in sowing of their winter corne: and in the beginning of December came such a vehement frost continuing the space of twelue weeks, that it destroied vp all the séed almost that was sowne, by reason whereof small store of winter corne came to prowe in the summer following: but though there was no plentie, yet all kinds of graine were sold at a reasonable price, through want of monie.

1339
Anno Reg. 13.

The Frenchmen inuade & coasts of this land.

Plimmouth burnt.

The Frenchmen by sea sore troubled the sea coasts of this realme, speciallie where the champion countries stretch towards the sea coasts. At Hastings in the feast of *Corpus Christi*, they burnt certeine fishermens houses, and slue some of the inhabitants. Also in the hauens about Deuonshire and Cornewall, and towards Bristow, they toke and burnt certeine ships, killing the mariners that came to their hands, and in the Whitsun-weeke they landed at Plimmouth, and burnt the more part of the towne: but

The earle of Deuonshire.

Hugh Courtnie earle of Deuonshire, a man almost fourescore yeares of age, and other knights and men of the countrie came against these Frenchmen, fleaing such as came into their hands to the number of fiue hundred, as was estéemed, and chased the residue. ¶ The Scots also about the same time did much

Rich. South.

hurt and great mischéefe to the Englishmen both by sea and land.

William Dowglas.

In the beginning of Julie the lord William Dowglas, with a number of men of warre, returned from France home into England, and to him vpon his returne the castell of Cowper was deliuered, with all the countrie thereabouts. After this, comming to the siege of S. Johns towne, which the gouernour the earle of Murrey, the erle of March, Patrike de Dunbarre, and other of the Scotish lords had besieged, at length it was surrendered by sir Thomas Athred capiteine there of the English garison, departing in safetie home into England. Three daies before the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, there chanced in the night season such a mightie and sudden inundation of water at Newcastell vpon Tine, that it bare downe a péece of the towne wall, six perches in length, nére to a place called Walknow, where a hundred and twentie temporall men with diuerse préests and manie women were drowned and lamentablie perished.

Hect. Boetius.

A flood.

But now to return to the king, which all this while remained in Brabant. We haue heard how the citie of Cambrie held with the French king: wherfore the K. of England assembling togither a mightie strong armie aswell of Englishmen as of the low countries of Dutchland, ment to besiege it, but first he sent the archbishop of Canturburie with the bishops of Lincolne and Durham vnto Arras, as commissioners from him to méet there with the archbishop of Rouen, and the bishops of Langres and Beauuais, appointed to come thither as commissioners from the French king, to treat with the Englishmen of a peace, but they could not agrée vpon anie conclusion, wherevpon king Edward, comming forward with his power, approached to Cambrie, and planted his siege round about it. But the bishop, not meaning to deliuer the citie vnto king Edward nor vnto anie other that should demand it to the behoofe of the emperour Ludouike of Bauiere, as then excommunicated of the pope, had receiued into the towne fiue thousand Frenchmen, with the French kings eldest sonne, the duke of Normandie latelie returned out of Guien, and the lord Theobald Maruise, with certeine companies of Sauoisins, so that the citie was so defended, that the king of England perceiuing he should but lose time, leuied his siege, and entred into France, pitching his field at a place called Flaminguerie.

Cõmissioners sent to treat of peace.

They cannot agrée.

Cambrie besieged.

Ia. Meir.

The king raiseth his siege and entreth into France.

Flaminguerie.

In the meane time had the French king not onelie made himselfe strong by land, but also by sea, hauing sent forth a strong naule of ships and galies towards the coasts of England, which arriuing at Southampton the mondaie after Michaelmas day, toke and spoiled the towne, and the morrow after set fire vpon it in fiue places, so that a great part of it was burnt. Also thirtéene sailes of the French fléet met with fiue English ships, and after a sore fight which continued nine houres, toke two of those fiue being tall and goodlie ships, the one called the Edward, and the other the Christopher; the other three being smaller vessels, as two of them barks and the other a caruell escaped by their swiftnesse of sailing. There was slaine in that fight vpon both parts about the number of six hundred men.

Fabian. Thom. Walsi.

Southamptõ burnt.

Two English ships taken.

The French king himselfe hearing that the king of England would inuade his realme, made his generall assemblie of his armie at Peronne; and when he heard that he was entred France, he remoued towards him with his whole power, being at the point of an hundred thousand men, as in the French chronicle yee may read more at large. The king of England had not past three score thousand in his armie at the most: but whilest he laie there vpon the borders of France, his people did much hurt, making roads abroad beyond the water of Some, burning

The French kings armie.

Iacob. Meir.

Townes burnt by the Englishmen in France.

The towne of Guise burnt.

The earle of Heinault.

and spoiling abbies, towns, and villages, as Dignie, saint Benoit, Ribemont in Thieraſſe, saint Gouan, Marle, and Creſſie. Also the lord Beaumont of Heinault burnt the towne of Guise, though his daughter was as then within the same towne wife vnto Lewes earle of Blois: his brother William earle of Heinault was latelie before deceassed, leauing the earledome to his sonne named also William, who continued with the king of England so long as he laie before Cambrie, & kept him within the bounds of the empire, as though his allegiance had bound him to no lesse, but after the said king was passed the riuer of Lescault, otherwise called the Skell, and in Latine *Scaldis*, which diuideth the empire from the kingdome of France, he would no longer serue the king of England, but departed from him for feare to offend the French king, accounting that the matter perteined not now to the empire, but to the priuate quarell and businesse of the king of England: notwithstanding his vncle the said sir John like a faithfull gentleman continued still in king Edward his seruice.

The armies approch nere togither.

Froissard.

The two armies of England and France approched within foure miles togither, so that euerie man thought that there would sure haue béene battell betwixt them, as there had béene in déed, if the French king had béene willing; yet some saie, that he of himselfe was disposed thereto: but his councellors aduised him to the contrarie, by reason of certeine signs and tokens which they misliked, as the starting of an hare amongst them, and such like. Also it was said

Robert king of Sicill dissuadeth the French king to fight with the king of England.

that Robert king of Naples being then come into France, whose knowledge in astronomie was knowne to be great, dissuaded the French king by his letters, that in no wise he should fight with the king of England, for he had vnderstanding by art of the heauenlie influences and disposition of the bodies aboue, that if the French king fought with this Edward king of England, he should assuredlie be put to the worse. Whether this was the cause, or anie other, sure it is that the Frenchmen had no mind to fight, so that these two mightie armies departed in sunder without battell, and the king of England re-

The armies retire without battell.

turned into Flanders, sorie in déed that he had not with him halfe the number that the French king had, yet in trust of the valiancie of his souldiers, chosen out of the pikedst men through England and all the low countrie on this side the Rhene, he ment verelie to haue incountered his enimies, if they had come forward.

A councell at Bruſſels.

At his comming backe into Brabant, there was a councell called at Brussels, where were present all those lords of the empire which had béene with him in that iournie, as the dukes of Brabant, Gelderland, and Gulike, the marques of Blankbourgh, the earle of Bergen, the lord Beaumont of Heinault otherwise called sir John de Heinault, the lord of Valkenbourgh, and manie others. Thither came also Jaques Arteueld chéefe gouernour of Flanders. Here in councell taken how the king of England might best maintein the wars which he had begun thus against the French king, he was aduised that he should in anie wise require them of Flanders to aid him, and in his quarell to defie the French king, and to go with him against the said French king, and if they would thus do, then should he promise them to recouer and deliuer into their hands the towns of Lisle, Dowaie, and Bethon. The king of England, according to this aduise to him giuen, made such request to the Flemings, who thereupon desired time to consult togither, what they might do therein, and finallie they declared for answer, that they would gladlie so do, but yet whereas they were bound by faith and oth, and in the summe of two millians of florens in the popes chamber, not to make nor moue any warre against the king of France, whosoeuer he were, on paine to lose that summe, and beside to run in the sentence of cursing, they besought him, that it might stand with his pleasure, to take vpon him the title and armes of France, as the same apperteined to him of right, and then would they obey him as rightfull K. of France, and require of him acquittances in discharge of their bonds, and he to pardon them thereof, as rightfull king of France.

The motiō of the Flemings to haue the K. of England to take vpon him the title to the crowne of France.

The king of England, though he had full cause to claime the crowne of France, in right of his mother quæne Isabell, yet to take vpon him the name and armes of that realme, before he had made conquest of any part thereof, he thought it stood not with much reason: but yet after he had caused the matter to be throughlie debated amongst them of his councell, as well to satisfie the Flemings, as for other respects, he saw it should be the best waie that might be taken to the aduancement of his purpose. Then he answered the Flemings, that if they would sweare, and seale to this accord, and promise to mainteine his warre, he would be contented to fulfill their desire, and also he promised to get for them againe the townes of Lisle, Dowaie, and Bethune. Herevpon was a day assigned to met at Gant: the king came thither, and the most part of the said lords, and all the councellors of the good townes & places in Flanders were there assembled, and so all the foresaid matters were rehearsed, sworne, and sealed, and the armes of France were then quartered with those of England, and from thencefoorth he toke vpon him the name of king of France, in all his writings, proclamations, and commandements. This is noted by Christopher Okland, where speaking of the mingling of the French and English armes, he saith amongst other things;

The kings answer to the Flemings.

Theſe townes had béene ingaged to the king of Frãce for monie.

The quartering of the armes of England & France.

——*vt hæres*
Legitimus regni Celtarum, insignia gentis
Ille suis immiscet atrox, quod auunculus orbus
Carolus è vita ad superas migrauerat oras, &c.

In Angl. prælia sub Edwardo 3.

¶ Sith then that we be come to this place, it shall not be much amisse to rehearse somewhat of the right and title whereby king Edward did thus claime the crowne of France, hauing of purpose omitted to speake thereof, till now that he intituled himselfe with the name, & toke vpon him to beare the armes also of France, vpon occasion before expressed. It is well knowne that Philip le Beau king of France had issue by his wife quæne Jone three sons, Lewes surnamed Hutine, Philip le Long, and Charles le Beau: also two daughters, the one dieng in hir infancie, and the other named Isabell liued, and was maried vnto Edward the second of that name king of England, who begot of hir this Edward the third, that made this claime. The three sonnes of the foresaid Philip le Beau reigned ech after other, as kings of France. First after Philip the father, succéeded his eldest sonne Lewes Hutine, who had issue by his first wife Margaret, daughter to Robert duke of Burgogne, a daughter named Jone, the which was anon giuen in mariage vnto Lewes earle of Eureux: but she liuing not long, died without issue. Hir father the said Lewes Hutine married after the decease of his first wife, an other wife named Clemence, daughter to Charles Martell, the father of K. Robert of Sicill, whom he left great with child when he died. The child being borne proued a son, & was named John, but liued not manie daies after. Then Philip the Long was admitted vnto the crowne of France, though manie stood in opinion that Jone the daughter of Lewes Hutine, which yet was aliue, ought to haue inherited the kingdome after hir father: and namelie Odo duke of Burgogne, vncle to the said Jone, was most earnest in that matter, in fa-

Polydor.

The issue of Philip le Beau.

Lewes Hutine.

Philip le Long.

uour of his néece. But might ouercame right, so that he was constreined to be quiet. Philip le Long, after he had reigned fiue yeares, died also, and left no issue behind him. Then lastlie Charles le Beau toke vpon him the kingdome, and the seuenth yeare after died, his wife big bellied, which shortlie after brought forth a maiden named Blanch, that streightwaies hasting to follow hir father, liued no while in this world. By this means then the bloud roiall in the heires male of Philip le Beau was extinguished in his sonne the foresaid Charles le Beau, whereof the contention toke beginning about the right to the crowne of France, betwixt the Frenchmen and Englishmen, which hangeth as yet vndecided till these our daies. For king Edward auerred that the kingdome of France apertained vnto him as lawfull heire, because that he alone was remaining of the kings stocke, and touched his mothers father Philip le Beau, in the nert degrée of consanguinitie, as he that was borne of his daughter Isabell.

Charles le Beau.

Therefore immediatlie after the decease of the said Charles le Beau, by ambassadours sent vnto the pæres of France, he published to them his right, requiring that they would admit him king according therevnto: but his ambassadours could neuer be quietlie heard, and therefore returned home without anie towardlie answer, which moued him in the end to attempt the recouerie of his lawfull inheritance by force, sith by law he could not preuaile, and now by aduise of his frends to take vpon him both the title and armes of France, to signifie to the world what right he had to the same. After that this league therefore was concluded with them of Flanders, and that king Edward had taken vpon him the name of king of France with the armes; the duke of Gelderland and Jaques van Arteueld went vnto all the good townes and iurisdictions of Flanders, to receiue their oths of fidelitie vnto king Edward, persuading with the people, that the supreme rule belonged vnto him, sauing to the townes their ancient lawes and liberties, and to their earle his right of proprietie.

King Edward signifieth his right to the crowne of France.

Ia. Mair. King Edward toke vpon him the title & armes of the K. of France.

The Flemings sweare fealtie to the king of England.

About the latter end of this thirteenth yeare of K. Edwards reigne, the mariners and sea-men of the cinque ports, getting them aboord into a number of small ships and balingers, well trimmed and appointed for the purpose, passed ouer to Bullongne, where they toke land one day in a thicke foggie weather, and setting on the Base towne, they burnt nineteene gallies, foure great ships, and to the number of twentie smaller vessels, togither with their tackle and furniture. They set fire also on the houses that stood nére to the water side, and namelie they burnt one great house, wherein laie such a number of oares, sailes, armour, and crossebowes, as might haue sufficed to furnish so manie men as could be well aboord in nineteene gallies. There were manie slaine on both parts in atchiuing this enterprise, but more of the Frenchmen than of the Englishmen. About the same time the quéene of England was deliuered of hir fourth sonne in the towne of Gaunt, the which was named John, first created earle of Richmond, and after duke of Lancaster. He was borne about Christmasse, in the thirteenth yere of king Edwards reigne.

Additions to Nic. Triuet.

John of Gaunt borne.

1340 Anno Reg. 14.

When king Edward had finished his businesse with the Flemings at Gaunt, he left his wife quéene Philip there still in that towne, and returned himselfe vnto Antwerpe, and shortlie after about the feast of Candlemasse toke the sea, and came backe into England, to prouide for monie to mainteine his begun warres. And herevpon about the time of Lent following, he called his high court of parlement at Westminster, in the which he asked of his commons towards his charges, for the recouerie of his right in France, the fift part of their moueable goods, the customes of wols for two yeares to be paid aforehand, and the ninth sheafe of euerie mans corne. At length it was agreed, that the king should haue for euerie sacke of woll fortie shillings, for euerie three hundred woll fels fortie shillings, and for euerie last of leather fortie shillings, and for other merchandize after the rate; to begin at the feast of Easter, in this fouretéenth yeare of the kings reigne, and to indure till the feast of Pentecost then next following, and from that feast till the feast of Pentecost, then next insuing into one yeare: for which the king granted, that from the feast of Pentecost, which was then to come into one yeare, he nor his heires should not demand, assesse, nor take, nor suffer to be assessed or taken, more custome of a sacke of woll of any Englishman, but halfe a marke, and vpon the woll fels and leather the old former custome.

Parlement.

Hen. Marl. Polydor.

A subsidie.

Beside this, the citizens and burgesses of cities and good townes, granted to giue the ninth part of all their goods; and the forren merchants and other not liuing of gaine, nor of breeding cattell, nor of sheepe, should giue the fiftéenth part of all their goods lawfullie to the value: for the which he granted that as well now in time of warre as of peace, all merchants, denizens and forreiners (those excepted that were of the enimies countries) might without let safelie come into the realme of England with their goods and merchandize, and safelie tarie, and likewise returne, paieng the customs, subsidies, and profits, resonable thereof due, so alwaies that the franchises and free customs granted by him or his predecessours reasonablie to the citie of London, and other cities, burroughes, and townes, might alwaies to them be saued. Moreouer, there was granted vnto him the ninth sheafe, the ninth fléece, and ninth lambe, to be taken by two yeares nert comming. And for the leuieng thereof, the lords of euerie shire through the land, were appointed to answer him, euerie one for the circuit within the which he dwelled. And bicause the king must néeds occupie much monie per the receit of this subsidie could come to his hands, he borowed in the meane time manie notable summes of diuerse cities, and particular persons of this land, amongst the which he borrowed of the citie of London 20000 marks, to be paied againe of the monie comming of the foresaid subsidie.

The citie of London lendeth the king monie.

In the meane while, now that king Edward was come backe into England, the warres were hotlie pursued against his frends, that had their lands nére to the borders of France, and namelie against sir John de Heinault lord Beaumont, for the French men burned all his lands of Chimate, except the fortresses, and toke from thence a great preie. All the frontiers were full of men of warre, lodged within townes in garrison, as at Tournie, Mortaigne, S. Amond, Dowaie, Cambrie, and in other smaller fortresses. These men of warre laie not idle, but were doing oftentimes in Flanders, and sometime otherwhere, neither was the countrie of Heinault spared, though the earle (as we haue heard) did not onelie refuse to serue the king of England against France, but also when the same king entred France, he resorted to the French king, and serued him; yet by the suggestion of the bishop of Cambrie, who complained of the Hainuiers, for the damages which they had done him, the French garrisons of the frontiers thereabouts were commanded to make a road into that countrie, which they did, burning the towne of Alper, and brought from thence a great bootie. The earle of Heinault sore moued therewith to haue his lands so spoiled and burnt, defied the French king, and ioining with his vncle the lord Beaumont, entred with an armie into Thieraste, toke & destroied

The frontiers of France full of men of warre.

The towne of Alper burnt.

The erle of Heinault defieth the French king.

Townes burnt in Thieraſſe.

Aubenton, with Mawbert, Fonteine, Daubecuille, and diuerſe other.

In this meane time the French king procured the pope to pronounce his curſſe against the Flemings for their rebellion, and to ſuſpend all diuine ſeruice that ought to be ſaid in anie hallowed place, ſo that there were no prieſts to be found that would take vpon them to ſaie anie diuine ſeruice: whereupon the Flemings ſent ouer into England certeine meſſengers to giue notice to king Edward how they were intreated, but he ſent them word that he would bring at his comming ouer vnto them, prieſts that ſhould ſaie maſſes and other ſeruice, whether the pope would or not, for he had priuilege ſo to do. ¶ In Aprill, William Melton archbiſhop of Yorke departed this life, after whome variance roſe in the election of a new gouernour to that church, ſo that two were elected, William la Zouch, and William Killeſbie: but at length William la Zouch toke place, being the 43 archbiſhop that had ſit in that ſeat. ¶ The earles of Saliſburie and Suffolke, which were left in Flanders by king Edward to helpe the Flemings, ſhortlie after Eſter, or (as other haue) in the time of Lent, were diſcomfited by the garriſon of Liſle, and taken priſoners as they would haue paſſed by that towne, to haue ioined with Jaques Arteueld, meaning to beſiege Tournie; but now by the taking of thoſe two earles that enterpriſe was broken. The duke of Normandie with a great armie entered into Heinault, burning and waſting the countrie, euen to the gates of Valenciennes and Quesnoy. And thus were they occupied in thoſe parts, whileſt the king of England prepared himſelfe with all diligence to returne into Flanders.

Flanders interdicted.

Ad. Merim.

Adam Merimuth. Iac. Meir.

The earles of Saliſburie & Suffolke taken.

The countrie of Heinault inuaded.

Gaguin.

The French king being aduertiſed, that the king of England meant ſhortlie to returne into Flanders with a great power, in purpoſe to inuade the realme of France on that ſide, aſſembled a nauie of foure hundred ſhips vnder the leading of three expert capteins of the warres by ſea, as ſir Hugh Kirſell, ſir Peter Bahuchet, and a Geneweis named Barbe Noir, appointing them to the coaſts of Flanders to defend the king of England from landing there, if by any meanes they might. Theſe three capteins or admerals came and laie with their ſhips in the hauen of Sluiſe, for that it was ſuppoſed the king of England would arriue there, as his meaning was indeed, whereupon when his men, ſhips, and prouiſions were once readie in the moneth of June, he toke the ſea with two hundred ſaile, and directing his courſe towards Flanders, there came vnto him the lord Robert Morley, with the north nauie of England, ſo that then he had in all about three hundred ſaile, or (as other ſaie) two hundred and three ſcore.

A great nauie prepared by the French king.

The king of England taketh the ſea.

Polydor. Ia. Meir.

The French nauie laie betwixt Sluiſe and Blanebergh, ſo that when the king of England approched, either part deſcried other, & therewith prepared them to battell. The king of England ſtaied, till the ſunne which at the firſt was in his face, came somewhat weſtward, and ſo had it vpon his backe, that it ſhould not hinder the ſight of his people, and ſo therewith did ſet vpon his enimies with great manhood, who likewiſe verie ſtoutlie incountered him, by reaſon whereof inſued a ſore and deadlie fight betwixt them. The nauies on both ſides were diuided into three battels. On the Engliſh part, the earles of Glocester, Northampton and Huntington, who was admerall of the fleet that belonged to the cinque ports, and the lord Robert Morley admerall of the northerne nauie had the guiding of the fore ward, bearing themſelues right valiantlie, ſo that at length the Engliſhmen hauing the aduantage, not onlie of the ſunne, but alſo of the wind and tide, ſo fortunatlie, that the French fleet was driuen into the ſtreights of the hauen, in ſuch wiſe that neither the ſouldiers nor mariners could helpe themſelues, in ſomuch that both heauen, ſea, and wind, ſeemed all to haue conſpired againſt the Frenchmen. And herewith manie ſhips of Flanders ioining themſelues with the Engliſh fleet, in the end the Frenchmen were vanquiſhed, ſlaine and taken, their ſhips being alſo either taken, bowged, or broken.

The king of England ſetteth vpon his enimies.

Additions to Triuet.

The victorie of the Engliſh men at the battell of Sluiſe.

When night was come vpon them, there were thirtie French ſhips, that yet had not entred the battell, the which ſought by couert of the night to haue ſtolne awaie, and one of them being a mightie great veſſell, called the James of Dœpe, would haue taken awaie with hir a ſhip of Sandwich that belonged to the prior of Canturburie: but by the helpe of the earle of Huntington, after they had fought all the night till the next morning, the Engliſhmen at length preuailed, and taking that great huge ſhip of Dœpe, found in hir aboue foure hundred dead bodies. To conclude, verie few of the French ſhips eſcaped, except ſome of their ſmaller veſſels, and certeine gallies with their admerall Barbenoir, who in the beginning of the battell got forth of the hauen, aduiſing the other capteins to do the like, thereby to auoid the danger which they wilfullie imbraced. There died in this battell fought (as ſome write) on midſummer daie, in the yeare aforeſaid, of Frenchmen to the number of 30000, of Engliſhmen about 4000, or (as other haue that liued in thoſe daies) not paſt 400, amongſt whom there were foure knights of great nobilitie, as ſir Thomas Wonhermere, ſir Thomas Latimer, ſir John Boteler, and ſir Thomas Poinings.

Additions to Triuet.

The James of Dœpe.

Barbenoir, Gaguin. Auesburie. Tho. Walſi. Adam Merimuth.

Froiſſard. Ia. Meir. R. Southw.

The number ſlaine. Rich. South.

It is ſaid alſo, that the king himſelfe was hurt in the thigh. The two Engliſh ſhips that had beene taken the yeere before, the Edward and the Chriſtopher, were recouered at this time, amongſt other of the French ſhips that were taken there. ¶ Sir Peter Bahuchet was hanged vpon a croſſe pole faſtened to a maſt of one of the ſhips. Through the wilfulneſſe of this man, the Frenchmen receiued this loſſe (as the French chronicles report) becauſe he kept the nauie ſo long within the hauen, till they were ſo incloſed by the Engliſhmen, that a great number of the Frenchmen could neuer come to ſtrike ſtroke, nor to vſe the ſhot of their artillerie, but to the hurt of their fellows. Howſoeuer it was, the Engliſhmen got a famous victorie, to the great comfort of themſelues, and diſcomfort of their aduerſaries. ¶ The king of England, after he had thus vanquiſhed his enimies, remained on the ſea by the ſpace of three daies, and then comming on land, went to Gant, where he was receiued of the queene with great ioy and gladneſſe.

The king goeth to Gant.

Rich. South. Froiſſard.

In this meane while had the duke of Normandie beſieged the caſtell of Thuine Leueſques, neere to Cambrie, which was taken by ſir Walter of Mannie, a lord of Heinault, at the firſt beginning of the warres, and euer ſince till that time kept to the king of England his vſe. The earle of Heinault, who had beene of late both in England with king Edward, and alſo in Almaine with the emperour, to purchaſe their aſſiſtance for the defenſe of his countris againſt the inuaſions of the Frenchmen, was now returned home, and meaning to reſcue ſuch as were beſieged in Thuine, ſent for ſuccours into Flanders, and into Almaine, and in the meane time leuieng ſuch power as he could make with his owne countrie, came therewith to Valenciennes, whither forthwith reſorted vnto him the earle of Namure with two hundred ſpeares, the duke of Brabant with ſir hundred, the duke of Gelderland, the earle of Bergen, the lord of Valkenburgh, and diuerſe other, the which togither with the earle of Heinault went and lodged alongſt by the riuer of Leſtault ouer againſt the French hoſt, which kept ſiege (as ye haue heard) vnder

The riuer of Leſtault, or the Scelle.

vnder the conduct of the duke of Normandie before Thuine Leuesques, that is situate vpon the same riuer.

The Flemings.

There came also to the aid of the earle of Heinault Jaques Arteueld, with his three score thousand Flemings. Now it was thought that they would haue fought yer they had departed in sunder, but they did not. For after it was knowne how the king of England was arriued in Flanders, and had discomfited the French fleet, the duke of Brabant and others thought good to breake vp their enterprise for that time, and to resort vnto the king of England, to vnderstand what his purpose was to do. Neither were the Frenchmen hastie to giue battell, so that after the capteins of Thuine Leuesques, sir Richard Limosin knight an Englishman, and two esquiers, brethren to the erle of Namure, John and Thierrie, had left their fortresse void, and were come ouer the riuer by boats vnto the earle of Heinaults campe, the armies on both sides brake vp and departed, the Frenchmen into France, and the other to Valenciennes, and from thence the princes and great lords drew to Gaunt, to welcome the king of England into the countrie, of whome they were right ioifullie receiued: and after they had communed togither of their affaires, it was appointed by the king, that they should meet him at Villefort in Brabant at a date prefired, where he would be readie to consult with them about his proceedings in his warres against his aduersaries the Frenchmen.

Sir Richard Limosin.

The armies breake vp.

The assemblie of the princes at Villefort.

At the day appointed, there came to Villefort the dukes of Brabant, and Gelderland, the earle of Heinault, Gulike, Namure, Blackenheim, Bergen, sir Robert Dartois earle of Richmond, the earle of Vaikenburgh, and Jaques Arteueld, with the other rulers of Flanders, and manie others. Here it was ordeined, that the countries of Flanders, Brabant, and Heinault, should be so vnited and knit in one corporation, that nothing should be done amongst them in publike affaires, but by common consent, and if anie warres were moued against anie of them, then should the other be readie to aid them, against whome anie such warre was moued: and if vpon anie occasion anie discord rose betwixt them for anie matter, they should make an end of it amongst themselues; and if they could not, then should they stand to the iudgement and arbitrement of the king of England, vnto whome they bound themselues by oth to keepe this ordinance and agreement.

The couenats betwixt the k. of England & his cõfederats

The French king being informed that the king of England ment to laie siege vnto Tournie, as it was indeed deuised at this councell holden at Villefort, toke order for the furnishing thereof with men, munition, and vittels in most defensible wise. There were sent to that towne the best men of warre in all France, as the erle of Ewe constable of France, the yong earle of Guines his sonne, the earle of Foiz and his brethren, the earle Amerie de Narbon, with manie other, hauing with them foure thousand souldiers. Sir Godmar du Foie was there before as capteine of the towne, so that it was prouided of all things necessarie. Notwithstanding, the king of England (according as it was appointed at the councell holden at Villefort about the feast of Marie Magdalen) departed from Gaunt, and came to Tournie, hauing with him seuen earles of his owne countrie, as Darbie, Penbroke, Hereford, Huntingdon, Northampton, Glocester, and Arundell, eight prelats, eight and twentie baronets, two hundred knights, foure thousand men of armes, and nine thousand archers, besides other footmen. He lodged at the gate called saint Martine, in the waie that is toward Lisle and Dowaie.

Froissard.

Tournie furnished with a strong power of men.

Tournie besieged.

Anon after came the dukes of Brabant and Gelderland, the earle of Gulike, the marquesse of Blanqueburgh, the marquesse of Nulle, the earls of Bergen, Sauines, and Heinault: also Jaques Arteueld, who brought with him about fortie thousand Flemings. So that there was at this siege to the number of six score thousand men, as some writers affirme. There was also an other armie of Flemings, as of the townes of Ypres, Poperingue, Furnes, Cassell, of the Chateleinie, & of Bergis, being to the number of fortie thousand, appointed to make warre against the Frenchmen that kept saint Omers, and other townes there on the frontiers of Arthois, which armie was led by the earle of Richmond, otherwise called the lord Robert Dartois, and by sir Henrie de Flanders, the which approching one day to saint Omers, were sharplie fought with; for within saint Omers at that time laie a strong power of Frenchmen with the duke of Burgoine, the earle of Armenacke and others.

The great number of people at the siege of Tourne. Ia. Meir.

The earle of Richmond.

The Flemings were not willing to serue, for neither had they any trust in their capteine the said erle of Richmond, neither would they willinglie haue passed out of their owne confines, but onlie to defend the same from the inuasion of their enimies: yet through much persuasion, forward they went, diuided into sundrie battels contrarie to their manner. The enimies perceiuing some aduantage, issued forth vpon them, and assailed them verie stoutlie, insomuch that the earle of Armenacke setting vpon them of Ypres, ouerthrew them, and chased them vnto a towne called Arques, which they had a little before set on fire and burned. An other companie of Frenchmen, skirmishing with them of Franks, Furnes, and Bergis, put them also to the worse. Contrarilie, those Frenchmen that encountered with the lord Robert Dartois, and them of Bruges whome he led, susteined great losse, and were beaten backe into the citie: the duke of Burgoine himselfe being in no small danger for a time, so sharpe the bickering was betwixt them, and the euent so variable. Wherefore it is notablie and fitlie said in this behalfe, that

The Frenchmen set vpon ye Flemings.

The variable fortune of fights.

Additions to Adam Merimuth.

——incerti fallax fiducia Martis. Sil. Ital. lib. 6.

There be that write, that this fight continued from three of the clocke till euentide, and that the earle of Richmond was twise put to flight, for his people did leaue him in the plaine field: but at length by the aduise of sir Thomas Vthred, whome the king of England had appointed to attend the said earle, with manie Englishmen and archers, he assembled his people eftsoones togither againe, and setting on his enimies. Now when it was almost night, neere to the gates of saint Omers, he finallie ouercame them, where were slaine of the French part fifteene barons and fourescore knights, beside a great number of other people. Diuerse also were slaine on the earle of Richmonds part at this last encounter, and among other an English knight, that bare armes eschecked siluer and gules.

Sir Thomas Vthred.

Finallie, as the earle of Richmond returned towards his campe, which laie in the vale of Cassell, he met with certeine Arteuines and Frenchmen, which had beene chasing the other Flemings, and though it was late in the euening, that one could not take good view of an other, yet here they fought againe, and so diuerse of the Frenchmen were taken and killed, and amongst other that were caught, was a knight of Burgoine, named sir William de Nillie. But when the earle of Richmond and those that were with him came to the place where the campe laie, they found that all the residue of the Flemings were fled and gone. And when the said earle came to Cassell, the people were readie to haue slaine him, their former malice towards him being now much increased

The earle of Richmond in danger to be slaine.

with

with the euill successe of this passed enterprise, so that he was glad to get him thence, and to repaire vnto king Edward, that laie yet at the siege before Tournie, during which siege manie proper feats of armes were done betwixt those within and them without: for few daies passed without the atchiuing of some enterprise.

The great armie raised by the French king.

Also the French king, hauing made his assemblie at Arras, and got thither a mightie host, as well out of the empire as of his owne subiects, came and lodged at the bridge of Bouuins, three leagues from Tournie. There were with him the king of Bohem, the duke of Lorreine, the bishop of Mentz, the earles of Bar, mount Belliard, & Sauoie, also the dukes of Burgogne and Burbone, with a great number of other earles and lords, so that the greatest puissance of all France was iudged to be there with the king. Whilest he laie incamped thus at Bouuins, and the king of England at Tournie, manie exploits were atchiued betwixt their people, who laie not idle, but still rode abroad and oftentimes met, and then that part which was weakest paied for the others charges, so that manie were slaine & taken on both sides as well of the nobilitie as other. Also diuerse townes were sacked and burned on the frontiers of France, during this siege at Tournie, namelie at the pursuit of the earle of Heinault, as Seclin, S. Amond, Orchies, Landas, and other.

The ladie Jane de Valois treateth for a peace.

At length at the suit of the ladie Jane de Valois, sister to the French king, and mother to the earle of Heinault, trauelling still betwixt the parties to bring them vnto some accord, it was granted that either partie should send certeine sufficient persons to intreat of the matter, which should méet at a little chappell, standing in the fields called Esplotin, and hereto also was a truce granted for three daies. For the English part were apointed the duke of Brabant, the bishop of Lincolne, the duke of Gelderland, the earle of Gulike, and sir John de Heinault lord Beaumont. For the French part, the king of Bohem, Charles erle of Alanson brother to the French king, the bishop of Liege, the earle of Flanders, and the earle of Arminacke: and the ladie of Valois was still among them as a mediatrix, by whose meanes chéefelie they at length did agrée vpon a truce to indure for a yeare betwéene all parties and their men, and also betwéene them that were in Scotland, in Gascoigne, and Poictou.

A truce accorded.

It was agréed also by these commissioners, that there should other commissioners of either part foure or fiue meet at Arras at a daie appointed, and thither also should the pope send his legats, to treat of a perpetuall peace and full agréement to be made betwixt the two kings of England and France. There was also consideration had of the Flemings, so that they were released of all such summes of monie as they were by any bonds indangered to paie by forfeiture, or otherwise, for any matter before that time vnto the crowne of France. Also they were released of the interdiction and cursse of the church, and then also was their earle restored home. It was further accorded, that the French king should restore vnto the king of England certeine townes and places in Guien, which in the beginning of these warres the earle of Alanson had taken from the Englishmen, as Penne in Agenois, and others. Also whereas the French king had seized the countie of Pontieu into his hands, which was the dower of quéene Isabell, the mother of king Edward, he should also restore the same vnto king Edward, to hold it as he did before.

The Flemings released of debts, and of the interdiction.

Polydor.

Restitution of townes to the king of England.

Gaguin.

The siege raised from Tournie.

Herevpon was the siege raised from Tournie, after it had continued there the space of ten weekes and foure daies. They within stood in great danger for lacke of vittels to haue béene constreined to the surrendring of the towne, if this truce had not béene concluded, which caused the French king the sooner to agrée, in like case as the lacke of monie caused the king of England to take his truce, which otherwise (as was thought) he would not haue done: so that by the violent constraint of necessitie they were forced thus to do, against which there is no trieng of matteries, nor strugling to make it scape and obeie: for

A necessitate omnia in seruitutem rediguntur.

The earle of Flanders feasteth the K. of England. Ia. Meir.

After he had raised his siege he went to Gant, and thither came also the earle of Flanders being now resorted home to his countrie, and made the king of England great cheare, feasting and banketting him right princelie, togither with the quéene. Finallie, after that king Edward had refreshed himselfe a while at Gant, he toke a verie few with him, and came into Zealand; and there taking the seas to passe ouer into England, he was sore tossed by force of outragious stormes of wind and weather. Yet at length after three daies and three nights sailing, in the night of the feast of saint Andrew, he came on land at the tower of London about cocke-crowing, and with him the earle of Northampton, the lord Walter de Mannie, the lord John Darcie, the sonne of the lord John Beauchampe, Giles Beauchampe, with two chapleins that were his secretaries, sir William Killesbie, and sir Philip Weston, beside a few others.

The king goeth into Zealand.

Continuation of Triuet.

After his arriuall he sent for the bishop of Chichester that was lord chancellor, for the bishop of Couentrie and Lichfield being lord treasurer, and for such of the iudges as were then in London. The lord chancellor and the lord treasurer he streightwaies discharged of their offices, threatening to send them into Flanders, there to remaine as pledges for monie that he there ought, or if they refused to go thither, then to kéepe them prisoners in the towne. But when the bishop of Chichester declared to him the danger of the canon established against such as imprisoned bishops, he suffered them to depart: but the iudges, to wit, John de Stonore, Richard de Willoughbie, William de Shareshull, and also Nicholas or (as other haue) Matthew de la Bech, who was before gardian of his sonne, and lieutenant of the tower: also John de Pultnie, and William de Pole merchants; and the chiefe clerkes of the chancerie, John de saint Paule, Michaell de Wath, Henrie de Stretford, and Robert de Chikewell; and of the escheker, John de Thorpe, and manie other, were committed to diuerse prisons, but yet bicause they were committed but onelie vpon commandement, they were within a while after deliuered.

Auesburie

Judges and other officers committed to the tower.

The lord Wake was also committed, but shortlie after, he was deliuered to his great honor, as Walsingham writeth. Robert de Bourchier was made lord chancellor, and Richard de Sadington lord treasurer: all the shiriffes of shires, and other officers also were remoued, and other put in their places, and iustices apointed in euerie shire, to inquire vpon the defaults of collectors and other officers, so that few or none escaped vnpunished, howsoeuer they had demeaned themselues, so streictlie those iustices proceéded in their commissions. The king indeed was sore offended with those whom he had put in trust to leuie monie, and to sée it conueied ouer to him into the low countrie, bicause that for want therof in time of néed, he was constreined to take truce with his aduersarie the French king, and leaue off his enterprise, which he was in good forwardnesse to haue gone through withall, if he had not béene disapointed of treasure which he had commanded to be sent ouer vnto him, which was not done but kept backe, in whom soeuer the fault rested.

New officers made in place of other that were discharged.

There were some of his secretaries, namelie, sir William Killesbie, which stirred him to take no small

The K. offended with the

the archb. of Canturburie.

small displeasure against the archbishop of Canturburie Iohn Stratford, who thereupon withdrew him into the priorie of Christes church at Canturburie, and there remaining for a season, wrote his mind to the king, exhorting him not to give too light credit vnto such as should counsell him to haue those in contempt that were faithfull and true to him, for in so doing, he might haplie lose the loue and good will of his people. Neuertheles, he wished that he should trie out in whose hands the wols and monie remained, which were taken vp to his vse, and that vpon a iust accompts had at their hands, it might appeare who were in fault, that he had not monie brought to him, whilest he laie at siege before Tournie, as he had appointed; and that when the truth was knowne, they that were in fault might be worthilie punished. And as for his owne cause, he signified, that he was readie to be tried by his peeres, sauing alwaies the state of holie church, and of his order, &c. Further, he besought the king, not to thinke euill of him, and of other good men, till the truth might be tried, for otherwise, if iudgement should be pronounced, without admitting the partie to come to his answere, as well the guiltlesse as the guiltie might be condemned.

1341

The archbish. writeth to the king.

Anno Reg. 15. A letter sent to the deane of Paules.

The king neuertheless still offended towards the archbishop, caused Adam bishop of Winchester to indite a letter against him, directed from the king to the deane and chapiter of Paules, openlie to be published by them: the effect whereof was, to burthen the archbishop with vnthankfulnesse, and forgetting of his bounden duetie towards his souereigne lord and louing maister, namelie, in that where he promised the king to see him throughlie furnished with monie, towards the maintenance of his warres: when it came to passe, none would be had, which turned not onelie to the hinderance of the kings whole proceedings, but also to his great discredit, and causing him to run greatlie in debt by interest, through borrowing of monie, for the paiment of the wages of his men of warre, when through the archbishops negligence, who had the chéefe rule of the land, the collectors and other officers slacked their duetie, whereby there was no monie sent ouer, according to that was appointed: and whereas now, since his comming ouer, he had sent to the archbishop to come vnto him, that by his information, he might the better learne who they were that neglected their duetie, he disobedientlie refused to come, pretending some feare of bodilie harme, through the malice of some that were about the king. Whereupon, when Rafe lord Stafford, lord steward of the kings house, was sent with a safe conduct, for him to come in all safetie to the court, he flatlie made answer that he would not come, except in full parlement.

The archbishop refuseth to come to the court.

Manie other misdemeanors was the archbishop charged with towards the king in that letter, as maliciouslie slandering the king for vniust oppression of the people, confounding the cleargie, and greuing the church with exactions, leuies of monie, tolles and tallages. Therefore, sith he went about to slander the kings royall authoritie, to defame his seruants, to stirre rebellion among the people, and to withdraw the deuotion and loue of the earles, lords, and great men of the land from the king: his highnesse declared, that he meant to prouide for the integritie & preseruation of his good name (whereof it is said trulie,

Dulcius est ære pretiosum nomen habere)

and to meet with the archbishops malice. And herewith diuerse things were rehersed to the archbishops reproch, which he should do, procure, and suffer to be done, by his euill and sinister counsell, whilest he had the rule of the realme in his hands vnder the king: wherein he had shewed himselfe not onelie an acceptor of gifts, but also of persons, in gratifieng diuerse that nothing had deserued sundrie waies forth, and presuming to do rashlie manie other things to the detriment of the kings roiall state, and hurt of his regall dignitie, and to no small damage of the people, abusing the authoritie and office to him committed, so that if he persisted in his obstinate wilfulnesse, and rebellious contumacie, the king by those his letters signified, that he meant to declare it more apparantlie in due time and place, and therefore commanded the said deane and chapiter of Paules, to publish all those things openlie, in places where they thought conuenient, according to their wisedome giuen to them by God, so as he might haue cause to commend therein their carefull diligence. ¶ This letter was dated at Westminster the tenth of Februarie, in the fifteenth yeare of his reigne ouer England, and second ouer France.

Where the Londoners would not permit the kings iustices to sit within the citie of London, contrarie to their liberties, the king appointed them to sit in the tower; and when they would not make anie answer there, a great tumult was raised by the commons of the citie, so that the iustices being in some perill (as they thought) feigned themselues to sit there till towards Easter. Whereupon, when the king could not get the names of them that raised the tumult, no otherwise but that they were certeine light persons of the common people, he at length pardoned the offense. After this, those iustices neither sat in the tower, nor elsewhere, of all that yeare.

A parlement.

In the quindene of Easter, the king held a parlement at London, in the which, the prelats, earls, barons, and commons, presented manie petitions; as to haue the great charter of liberties, and the charter of forrests dulie obserued, and that they which brake the same should be discharged of their offices, if they were the kings officers, and that the high officers of the king should be elected and chosen by their peeres in parlement. The king withstood these petitions a certeine time, yet at length he granted to some of them; but as concerning the election of his officers, he in no wise would consent, but yet he was contented that they should receiue an oth in parlement, to do iustice to all men in their offices, &c. Upon which article and others, a statute was made and confirmed with the kings seale.

Adam Merimuth.

The emperor woone frō the king of Englands frendship.

In the meane while, the French king had with brybes woone Lewes of Bauaria, that named himselfe emperour, from further fauouring the king of England; in so much that, vnder a colourable pretense of finding himselfe greeued, for that the king of England had without his knowledge taken truce with the French king, he reuoked the dignitie of being vicar in the empire, from the king of England, but yet signified to him, that where the French king had at his request put the matter in controuersie betwixt him and the king of England into his hands, to make an end thereof, if it so pleased the king of England, that he should treat as an indifferent arbitrator betwixt them, he promised to do his indeuour, so as he doubted not, but that by his means he should come to a good agréement in his cause, if he would follow his aduise. And to receiue answer hereof, he sent his letters by one Eberhard a chapleine of his, the reader of the friers heremits to S. Augustins order, requesting the king of England to aduertise him by the same messenger, of his whole mind in that behalfe.

The emperor offereth to be a meane to conclude a peace.

The king for answer, signified againe by his letters to the emperour, that for the zeale which he had to make an accord betwixt him and his aduersarie Philip de Valois, that named himselfe French king, he could not but much commend him, and for his part

The kings answer.

he

he had euer wished, that some reasonable agreement might be had betwixt them: but sith his right to the realme of France was cléere and manifest inough, he purposed not to commit it by writing vnto the doubtfull iudgement or arbitrement of anie. And as concerning the agréement which the emperour had made with the French king, bicause (as he alledged) it was lawfull for him so to do, sith without the emperors knowledge he had taken truce with the same French king, he said, if the circumstances were well considered, that matter could not minister any cause to moue him to such agreement: for if the emperour remembred, he had giuen to him libertie at all times to treat of peace, without making the emperour priuie thereto (so that without his assent, he concluded not vpon any finall peace) which he protested that he neuer meant to do, till he might haue his prouident aduise, counsell, and assent thereunto. And as concerning the reuoking of the vicarship of the empire from him, he tooke it done out of time; for it was promised, that no such reuocation should be made, till he had obteined the whole realme of France, or at the least, the more part thereof. ¶ These in effect were the points of the kings letters of answer vnto the emperour. Dated at London the thirtenth of Julie, in the second yeare of his reigne ouer France, and fiftéenth ouer England.

The decease of the lord Geffrey de Scrope, & of the bishop of Lincolne.

This yeare, about Midsummer, or somwhat before, at Gant in Flanders, died the lord Geffrey Scrope the kings iustice, and Henrie bishop of Lincolne, two cheefe councellors to the king. The quéene after hir returne into England, was this yeare brought to bed in the tower of London of a daughter named Blanch, that died yong, and was buried at Westminster. ¶ In this meane while, during the warres betwixt France and England, the French king in fauour of Dauid king of Scotland, had sent men of warre into Scotland, vnder the conduct of sir Arnold Dandreghen, who was after one of the marshals of France, and the lord of Garrentiers, with other, by whose comfort and helpe, the Scots that tooke part with king Dauid, did indeuor themselues to recouer out of the Englishmens hands, such castels and fortresses as they held within Scotland, as in the Scotish historie ye shall find mentioned, and how about this time, their king the foresaid Dauid returned forth of France into Scotland by the French kings helpe, who hauing long before concluded a league with him, thought by his friendship to trouble the king of England so at home, that he should not be at great leisure to inuade him in France.

The commissioners that met at Arras.

But now to tell you what chanced of the méeting appointed at Arras. For the cómissioners that shuld there treat of the peace, when the day assigned of their méeting was come, there arriued for the king of England the bishop of Lincolne, the bishop of Duresme, the earle of Warwike, the erle of Richmond, sir Robert Dartois, sir John of Heinault, otherwise called lord Beaumont, and sir Henrie of Flanders. For the French king, there came the earle of Alanson, the duke of Burbon, the earle of Flanders, the earle of Blois, the archbishop of Sens, the bishop of Beauuois, and the bishop of Auxerre. The pope sent thither two cardinals, Naples and Cleremont; these commissioners were in treatie fiftéene daies, during the which, manie matters were put forth and argued, but none concluded: for the Englishmen demanded largelie, and the Frenchmen would depart with nothing, sauing with the countie of Pontieu, the which was giuen with quéene Isabell in marriage to the king of England. So the treatie brake, the commissioners departed, and nothing done, but onelie that the truce was prolonged for two yeares further.

This truce was prolonged about the feast of the decollation of S. John, to indure till Midsummer next following, as the addition to Ad. Merimuth hath.

Thus were the wars partlie appeased in some part of France, but yet was the truce but slenderlie kept in other parts, by reason of the duke of Britaine. For whereas contention arose betwixt one Charles de Blois, and John earle of Mountfort, about the right to the duchie of Britaine, as in the historie of France maie more plainelie appeare; the earle of Mountfort, thinking that he had wrong offered him at the French kings hands, who fauoured his aduersarie Charles de Blois, alied himselfe with the king of England. And (as some write) after he had woone diuerse cities and townes within Britaine, he came ouer into England, and by doing homage to king Edward, acknowledged to hold it of him, as of the soueréigne lord thereof, so that he would promise to defend him and that duchie against his aduersaries: which the king promised him to do. After this, the French king made such warres against this earle of Mountfort, that he was at length taken prisoner in the towne of Naunts, and committed to safe kéeping within the castell of Loure at Paris. But his wife being a stout woman, and of a manlie courage, stood vp in the quarrell of hir husband, and présented a yong sonne which she had by him, vnto such capteins and men of warre as serued hir husband, requiring them not to be dismaid with the infortunate chance of hir husbands taking; but rather like men of good stomachs, to stand in defense of his right, sith whatsoeuer happened to him, the same remained in that yong gentleman his sonne: meaning that although the enimies should deale tyrannicallie with him, & without regard of his nobleneſſe practise his ouerthrow; yet there was hope in hir son, as increase of yeares should minister strength and courage, both to be reuenged on his fathers enimies, and to ad an inlargement of glorie and renowne to his présent honor by practises of his prowesse: which to be singular the séemelie symmetrie or goodlie proportion of his person and his iolie countenance séemed to testifie; for

The occasion of the wars of Britaine.

Fortes creantur fortibus, & bonis:
Est in iuuencis, est in equis patrum
Virtus; nec imbellem feroces
Progenerant aquilæ columbam.

Mar. lib. 4. Ode 4.

This countesse of Mountfort was sister vnto Lewes earle of Flanders, and named Margaret, and not Claudia (as some write.) She was verie diligent in hir businesse, and spared no trauell to aduance hir cause, so that she wan not onelie the harts of the men of warre, but also of the people of Britaine, the which fauoured hir husband, and lamented the mishap of his taking. She first furnished such cities, townes, castels, and fortresses as hir husband had in possession, with men, munition and vittels, as Renes, Dinaunt, Guerand, Hanibout, and others. This done, she sent ouer into England, sir Emerie de Clisson, a noble man of Britaine, to require the king of England of succors, with condition, that if it pleased him, hir sonne John should marrie one of his daughters. ¶ The king of England glad to haue such an entrie into France, as by Britaine, thought not to refuse the offer, & thereupon granted to aid the countesse: & forthwith raising a power, sent the same ouer into Britaine, vnder the conduct of the lord Walter of Mannie, and others: the which at length, after they had continued long vpon the sea, by reason of contrarie winds, arriued in Britaine; in which meane time, a great armie of Frenchmen were entred into Britaine, and had besieged the citie of Renes, and finallie woone it by surrender, & were now before the towne of Hanibout, which with streit siege, and sore brusing of the walles, they were nére at point to haue taken, and the countesse of Mountfort within it; if the succours of England had not arriued there, euen at such time as the Frenchmen were in talke with them within, about the surrender. But after that the Eng-

Ia. Meir.

Froissard.

lish

lish fleet was seene to approch, the treatie was sone broken off, for they within had no lust then to talke anie further of the matter.

The english succour arriued in good time.

The lord of Mannie, and the Englishmen arriuing at Hanibout thus in time of imminent danger, wherein the countesse, and the other within that towne were presentlie beset, greatlie recomforted the said countesse, as she well shewed by hir chearefull countenance in receiuing them. Shortlie after their arriuall, a certeine number of the English archers, issuing forth, beat the Frenchmen from an engine which they had reared against the walles, and set fire vpon the same engine. To conclude, the Frenchmen liked the Englishmen so well, that shortlie after being wearie of their companie, they raised their siege to get themselues further from them: and in an other part of the countrie indeuoured themselues to win townes and castels as they did indeed, hauing their armie diuided into two parts, the lord Charles de Blois gouerning the one part, and a Spaniard called the lord Lewes de Spaine the other (which was the same that thus departed from the siege of Hanibout, after the arriuall of the Englishmen) and then winning the townes of Dinant and Guerand, passed into the countrie of Britaine Britonant, and there not farre from Quinpercorentine, were discomfited by the Englishmen, who followed them thither. Of sir thousand Genowaies, Spaniards, and Frenchmen, which the lord Lewes of Spaine had there with him, there escaped but a few awaie. A nephue which he had there with him named Alfonse was slaine, howbeit he himselfe escaped, though not without sore hurts.

Archers.

Charles de Blois.

Lewes de Spaine.

Britaine Britonant.

This yeare, the fift of June queene Philip was deliuered of a sonne at the towne of Langley, the which was named Edmund, and surnamed Langley of the place where he was thus borne. Also about the same time was a great iustes kept by king Edward at the towne of Dunstable, with other counterfeited feats of warre, at the request of diuerse yong lords and gentlemen, whereat both the king and queene were present, with the more part of the lords and ladies of the land. ¶ The lord Charles de Blois, hauing in the meane time wone Uannes, and other townes, brought his armie backe vnto Hanibout, and eftsones besieged the same, and the countesse of Mountfort within it. But for so much as it was well fortified, and prouided of all things necessarie to defend a siege, the Englishmen being returned thither againe after the ouerthrow of the lord Lewes de Spaine, it could not be easilie wone. At length, by the labour of certeine lords of Britaine, a truce was taken for a time, during the which, the countesse of Richmond came ouer into England, to commune with king Edward, touching the affaires of Britaine, who appointed sir Robert Dartois earle of Richmond, the earles of Salisburie, Pembroke, and Suffolke, the lords Stafford, Spenser, and Bourchier, with others, to go with hir ouer into Britaine, who made their prouision, so that they might take the sea, to come thither against the time that the truce betwixt the countesse and the lord Charles de Blois should be expired.

Edmund of Langley that was after duke of yorke is borne. Fabian.

Iustes and tornie at Dunstable.

Hanibout besieged.

1342 Anno Reg. 16. The countes of Richmond commeth ouer into Englād. An armie sent into Britaine

Additions to Adam Merimuth, and Nic. Triuet.

There be that write, how the lord Walter de Mannie, toke a truce indeed with the lord Charles de Blois, to indure till Allhallontide next insuing, but with condition, that if the king of England were contented therewith, then the same to be firme and fullie ratified, otherwise not. Wherupon, when about the beginning of Julie, the said lord Walter came ouer into England, bringing with him the lord of Lions, and other such prisoners as he had taken, and signified to king Edward what he had concluded touching the truce, the king liked not thereof, and so sent ouer the earles of Northampton and Deuonshire, the lord Stafford, and sir William de Killesbie his chapleine, and one of his secretaries, with fiue hundred men of armes, and a thousand archers, which taking ship, on the vigill of th'Assumption of our ladie, sailed forth towards Britaine. The Frenchmen therfore vnderstanding that this succour was comming, apointed the lord Lewes of Spaine, sir Charles Grimaldo, and sir Antonie Doria, with three thousand Genowaies, and a thousand men of armes, imbarked in two and thirtie great ships, to lie on the sea in wait to incounter with the English fleet, as the same should approch towards Britaine.

The earle of Northampton and Deuonshire.

Genowaies reteined in the French kings wages.

About Easter, the countesse of Mountfort with the English armie, apointed to attend hir, toke the sea at Southampton, and at length met with the lord Lewes of Spaine, and his fleet, where betwixt them was fought a sore battell. Of the Englishmen there were six and fortie vessels, but the lord Lewes of Spaine had nine great ships, and of more force than anie of those which the Englishmen had, and also he had three gallies. They began to fight about euensong time, and continued till that night parted them, and had gone together againe in the morning, if by a tempest that rose about midnight, the same night, they had not beene scattered in sunder. The Spaniards and Genowaies toke awaie with them foure English ships, which being victellers, were left behind. And bicause the same Spaniards and Genowaies were able to abide the sea better than the Englishmen, by reason of their great ships, they kept the maine sea; but the Englishmen were aduised by their mariners to drawe vnto the land, and so they did, arriuing at a little hauen, not farre from Uannes, where comming on land, they streightwaie made towards that citie, and besieged it, not ceasling to assault it both day and night, till at length they wan it, by giuing the assault in two places at once, whilest an other number of them set vpon it in a third place, where was no suspicion, and so entred.

The English men and Genowaies meet and fight on the Seas.

Uannes won

After this, the most part of the Englishmen departed from Uannes, as some with the countesse, to bring hir vnto Hanibout, and some with the earls of Salisburie, Suffolke, and Cornewall, who went and laid siege to Rennes, so that the earle of Richmond remained in Uannes, with the lords Spenser and Stafford, to keepe it, hauing a certeine number of archers and other men of warre with them. The lord Clifton, and sir Henrie de Leon, which were within Uannes, when it was taken by the Englishmen, and found means to escape, were abashed at the matter, that they had so lost the citie, wherevpon they secretlie assembled a great power of men thereabouts, and came againe vnto Uannes, and so fiercelie assailed the gates and wals, that in the end they entred by more force. The earle of Richmond was sore hurt, but yet he escaped out at a posterne gate, and the lord Stafford with him, but the lord Spenser was taken by sir Henrie de Leon.

Additions to Nic. Triuet.

Other write otherwise, both of the landing, and also concerning the misfortune of the lord Spenser, alledging letters sent from the earle of Northampton (whome the same authors repute as generall of that armie into Britaine) directed to the king, in which was signified, how that within the octaues of the Assumption of our ladie, they arriued on the coast of Britaine, neere to the towne and castell of Brest, in the which the dutchesse of Britaine with hir children were of the enimies besieged, both by sea and land, by sea with thirteene great gallies, by land by the lord Charles de Blois, the earls of Sauoie and Foiz. But the gallies perceiuing the English fleet to be approched vpon them, yer they were aware, so that they were compassed in, to their great danger, three

of

of the same gallies fled, and so escaped, the residue got vp into a riuer of the same hauen, where they that were abord, left their vessels and fled to the land, and as well they, as the other that held siege before Brest and such as kept a castell there, not farre off, called Goule forrest, packed awaie without anie more adoo. The English mariners following the gallies (that were withdrawn vp the riuer) with their small boats and barges, set fire on the gallies, and so burnt them.

Thus all the Englishmen came on land, and leauing the lord Saie capteine in the said castell of Goule forrest, they passe forward into the countrie, and comming to a castell commonlie called Monsieur Relix, gaue an assault thereto, where manie of their men of warre were wounded, and sir James Louell slaine. After this, staieng a time for the comming of their confederats, which after a fortnights space came to them on the mondaie, being the morrow after Michaelmas date, they heard that the lords Charles de Blois was comming in all hast with a power of three thousand men of armes, twelue hundred Genowaies, & a great multitude of commons to raise the siege. Wherevpon the earle of Northampton with his armie marched softlie towards them, and chosing a plot of ground conuenient for his purpose, fought with his enimies, slue and toke of them at the least three hundred men of armes. The earle of Northampton lost not any noble man in this fight, the lord Edward Spenser onelie excepted.

But now as touching the earle of Richmont, Froissard saith, that he comming to Hanibont, after he had thus lost Vannes, toke the sea, and sailed into England: but by reason of being tossed on the seas, his wounds rankled so, that shortlie after his comming to London he died, & was buried in the church of S. Paule. The king of England was sore displeased with his death, and immediatlie after passed ouer himselfe into Britaine with a great armie: and landing there the nine and twentith of Nouember, at the same place where the earle of Richmond did land at his arrinall there, not far from Vannes, he went straight and besieged Vannes, but perceiuing that it would not be woone but by long siege, he left the earle of Arundell, and the lord Stafford to continue the siege, whilest he went to Rennes to aid his people, which still laie at the siege thereof. Before the kings arrinall in Britaine, those that were there vnder the earle of Northampton, as the lord Hugh Spenser, and the lord Richard Talbot, with their retinues, fought with the Frenchmen neere to Morleis, where a few Englishmen, scarse fiue hundred, discomfited a mightie power of Frenchmen, estéemed to be aboue fiftie thousand, of whome some they slue, and some they toke. Among other was taken the lord Geffrey de Charnie, accompted for one of the best and sagest knights in France, whome the lord Richard Talbot toke and sent into England.

But now as touching the kings doings, we find, that whilest he remained for this winter season in Britaine, his people forraied the countrie foure daies iournie in length, and two daies iournie in bredth. After his comming to Rennes, he staied not past fiue daies, but leauing them whome he found there to continue the siege, he went himselfe to Naunts, where he had knowledge, that the lord Charles de Blois was. At his comming thither, he inuironed the citie about with a strong siege, & made manie fierce assaults to the walles and gates, but could not preuaile, then leauing certeine of his lords there to continue the siege, he raised with the residue, and went to Dinan, which towne with sore and fierce assaults he lastlie woone, and after that drew againe towards Vannes, for that he was informed, how the duke of Normandie was comming downe towards him, with an armie of fortie thousand men. Hereupon he sent for them that laie at siege before Naunts to come vnto him, and suffered them at Rennes to keepe their siege still, till they heard other word from him.

The duke of Normandie with foure thousand men of armes, and thirtie thousand other men of warre, comming into Britaine to aid the lord Charles of Blois, was aduertised, that the king of England was with the most part of all his power withdrawen to Vannes, and there laie at siege, sore constreining them within: wherefore he also drew thitherwards, and approching to the place, incamped with his armie ouer against the king of England, inclosing his field with a great trench. The king of England supposing he should haue battell, sent vnto those which laie at siege before Rennes, commanding them to come from thence vnto him: so that by this meanes all the powers, both of the king of England, and of the duke of Normandie, generall to his father the French king in those warres of Britaine, being assembled before Vannes, had fought some great and bloudie battell, as was supposed, for the whole triall of the right of Britaine, if the cardinals of Cleremont and Preneste, as legats from pope Clement the sixt, had not taken vp the matter, by concluding a truce betwixt them, for the tearme of three yeares.

Commissioners apointed to treat with these cardinals, on the behalfe of the king of England were these, Henrie of Lancaster earle of Derbie, William Bohun earle of Northampton, William Montacute earle of Salisburie, Rafe lord Stafford, Bartholomew lord Burghese, Nicholas lord Cantelow, Reginald lord Cobham, Walter lord of Mannie, Maurice lord Berkeley, and maister John Offord archdeacon of Elie. For the French king, Odo duke of Burgogne, and Piers duke of Burbon were deputed commissioners. Such diligence was vsed by the parties, that finallie they agréed vpon this truce of three yeares, with certeine articles for meane to conclude some finall peace, as that there should be sent from either king some personages of their bloud and others, vnto the court of Rome, with sufficient authoritie, to agree, confirme, and establish vpon all controuersies and dissentions betwixt the said kings, according to the agreement of the pope, and such as should be so sent to treat thereof.

It was further agréed, that they should haue libertie to declare and pronounce their arguments and reasons before the pope, but not to haue power to decide and giue sentence, but onlie by waie of some better treatie and order of agréement to be made. And these commissioners were apointed to appeare before the pope, afore the feast of saint John Baptist next insuing, and the pope to dispatch the businesse before Christmasse after, if by consent of the said nobles, the terme were not proroged. And if it so were that the pope could make no agréement, yet should the truce indure the prefixed terme, to wit, till the feast of S. Michaell the archangell, and for the space of three yeares then next insuing, betwixt the kings of France, England and Scotland, the earle of Heinault and their alies, as the dukes of Brabant, and of Gelderland, also the marques of Gulikerland, the lord Beaumont, otherwise called sir John de Heinault, and the people of Flanders, in all their lands and dominions, from the date of the charter made hereof, by all the said terme aforesaid, to be obserued, holden and kept. Also, the king of Scots, and the earle of Heinault were apointed to send certeine persons, as commissioners for them, vnto the said court of Rome.

This truce was also accorded to be kept in Britaine, betwixt the said kings and their adherents, in which

The king passeth ouer into Britaine.

Vannes besieged.

Additions to Triuet.

In armie of Frenchmen discomfited by a few Englishmen.

Naunts besieged.

The duke of Normandie commeth downe into Britaine.

Additions to Triuet. Commissioners for the king of England.

Commissioners for the French king.

1343.

A truce for three yeares.

The conditions of the truce.

which countrie, as well as in Guien, and other places, euerie man should remaine in possession of that which he held at the time of concluding this truce, saue that the citie of Vannes should be deliuered into the hands of the cardinall, to be kept by them in the popes name, during the truce, and then to dispose thereof, as should seeme to them good. Manie other articles were comprised in the charter of this truce, too long heere to rehearse, all the which were confirmed with the oths of the said dukes of Burgoigne, and Barbone, on the French kings behalfe; and of the earles of Derbie, Northampton and Salisburie, the lord Burghersh, and the lord of Mannie, for the king of England. In witnesse whereof, the said cardinals caused the charter to be made, putting thereunto their seales, the nineteenth daie of Januarie, in the yeare 1343 in presence of diuerse prelats, and of the earles of Bullongne, Ausserre, Sancerre, Juignie, and Porcien, the lord Miles de Nohers, the lord Ingram de Coucie, and the foresaid lords, Cantelowe, Cobham, and Berkeley, with manie other lords, barons, nobles, and gentlemen.

Anno Reg. 17.

When this truce was thus confirmed, manie of the English armie returned home through France, so to passe ouer by the narrow seas into England, but the king himselfe, with a few other, taking their ships to passe by long seas, were maruellouslie tormented by tempest, so that their ships were scattered and driuen to take land at diuerse hauens. The dutchesse of Britaine with hir sonne and daughter, came on land in Deuonshire. Sir Peers de Veele, and his sonne sir Henrie Veele, and sir John Raine knights, were drowned, togither with the ship in which they passed. The king escaping verie hardlie, landed at Weimouth, and on the fift day of March came to London to the queene. In the quindene of Easter, he held a parlement at Westminster, in which he created his eldest sonne Edward prince of Wales. In this parlement were diuerse matters talked of, and specially concerning wools, and of the assessement of a certeine price of them, more and lesse, according to the seuerall parts of the realme, and of the customes to be made of them, to wit, three marks and an halfe, for euerie sacke to be transported forth of the realme.

The king of England returneth by sea forth of Britaine.

Shipwracke.

A parlement.

The kings eldest sonne created prince of Wales.

Also in the same parlement were ambassadors appointed forth, such as should go to the pope to treat of peace (as in the charter of the truce among other articles it was conteined) whose names follow, John bishop of Excester, Henrie de Lancaster earle of Derbie, Hugh le Dispenser lord of Glamorgan, cousins to the king; Rafe lord Stafford, William de Norwich deane of Lincolne, William Trussell knight, and master Andrew de Offord a ciuillian. These persons were sent with commission to the pope, to treat with him, not as pope, nor as iudge, but as a priuat person, and a common freend to both parts, to be a meane or mediator, to find out some indifferent end of all controuersie betwixt the parties. The date of their commission was at Westminster, the foure and twentith of Maie, in this seauenteenth yeare of the kings reigne.

Ambassadors appointed to go to the pope.

Moreouer, in this parlement a grieuous complaint was exhibited, by the earles, barons, knights, burgesses, and other of the commons, for that strangers, by vertue of reseruations and prouisions apostolike, got the best benefices of this land into their hands, and neuer came at them, nor bare any charges due for the same, but diminishing the treasure of the realme, and conueieng it forth, sore indamaged the whole state. The bishops durst not, or would not giue their consents in exhibiting this complaint, but rather seemed to stand against it, till the king compelled them to giue ouer.

Herevpon, a letter was framed by the lords of the temporaltie and commons, which they directed vnto the pope in all humble manner, beseeching him to consider of the derogation done to the realme of England, by such reseruations, prouisions, and collations of benefices, as had been practised here in England. And therefore, sith the churches of England had beene founded and endowed by noble and worthie men in times past, to the end the people might be instructed by such as were of their owne language, and that he being so farre off, and not vnderstanding the default, had (like as some of his predecessors more than in times past had beene accustomed) granted by diuerse reseruations, prouisions, and collations, the churches and spirituall promotions of this land vnto diuerse persons, some strangers, yea, and enimies to the realme, whereby the monie and profits were carried forth, the cures not prouided for, almes withdrawne, hospitalitie decaied, the temples and other buildings belonging to the churches ruinated and fallen downe, the charitie and deuotion of the people sore diminished, and diuerse other grieuous enormities thereby growne cleane contrarie to the founders minds: wherefore, vpon due consideration therof had, they signified to him, that they could not suffer such enormities any longer, & therefore besought him wholie to reuoke such reseruations, prouisions, collations, to auoid such slanders, mischeefes, and harmes as might insue, and that the cures might therewith be committed to persons meet for the exercise of the same: further also, beseeching him without delaie, to signifie his intention, sith they meant to imploie their diligence to remedie the matter, and to see that redresse might be had according to reason. The date of these letters was in full parlement at Westminster, the eight and twentith of Maie, in the yeare of Grace 1343.

Beside these letters, were other written, and sent from the king, conteining in summe, the tenor of the other aboue mentioned, and one sir John Shordich, knight a graue personage and well seene in the law, was appointed to go with the same, who comming to Auignion, and there presenting his letters in the popes priuie chamber, where the pope sat, with all his cardinals about him, receiued no great courteous welcome, after his letters were once read. And whie? Euen bicause the cõtents of the same misliked his mind, tending to the impairing of his vsurped profits & cõmodities from time to time in this land,

Ambitiosus enim sibi totum vendicat orbem,
Seq; (scelus) Christo clamitat esse parem.

Sir John Shordich sent to the Pope.

Now when the knight made answer to such words as he heard the pope vtter, and charged him with giuing the deanrie of Yorke vnto one that was reputed the kings enimie, the pope said; Well, it is not vnknowne to vs who made and indited these letters, and we know that thou madest them not, but there is one that pincheth at vs, and we shall punish him well inough: we know all. Herevnto he added thus much more, that there was a knight that spake defamous words of him, and the church of Rome, wherewith he seemed highlie offended. To conclude, he said, that he would answer the letters of the king and commons, as touching the points conteined in the same. The cardinals, after they had heard these things, departed as if they had beene sore offended and troubled therewith: and the knight taking his leaue of the pope, departed also forth of the chamber, and without anie longer abode, got him awaie toward Burdeaur, about other of the kings businesse, doubting least if he had staied longer, he might haue beene kept there against his will. The pope sent answer indeed, but neuertheless, the king proceeded in prohibiting such prouisions, and collations within

The Popes words to sir John Shordich.

Of benefices inhibited by the king.

his realme, on paine of imprisonment and death to the intrudors thereby, as after ye shall perceiue.

Iusts in Smithfield.

This yeare about Midsummer, there were solemne iusts proclaimed by the lord Robert Morley, which were holden in Smithfield, where for challengers, came forth one apparelled like to the pope, bringing with him twelue other in garments like to cardinals, which toke vpon them to answer all commers, for three courses. On the defendants side, ran the prince of Wales, with manie earls, barons, knights and esquires innumerable, so that those iusts continued three daies togither, to the great pleasure of the beholders. ¶ This yeare, king Edward ordeined a certeine new coine of gold, which he named the floren, that is, the penie of six shillings eight pence, the halfe penie of the value of three shillings foure pence, and the farthing of the value of twentie pence. This coine was ordeined for his wars in France, the gold whereof was not so fine as the noble, which in the fourteenth yeare of his reigne he had caused for to be coined. This yeare, the king caused a great number of artificers and labourers to be taken vp, whome he set in hand to build a chamber in the castell of Windsore, which was called the round table, the fashion whereof, from the center or middle point, vnto the compasse throughout, the one halfe was (as Walsingham writeth) an hundred foot, and so the diameter or compasse round about, was two hundred foot. The expenses of this worke amounted by the weeke, first vnto an hundred pounds, but afterward by reason of the wars that followed, the charges was diminished vnto two and twentie pounds the weeke (as Thomas Walsingham writeth in his larger booke, intituled, the historie of England) or (as some copies haue) vnto 9 pounds. This yeare also, W. Montacute earle of Salisburie conquered the Ile of Man, out of the hands of the Scots, which Ile the king gaue vnto the said earle, and caused him to be intituled, and crowned king of Man. ¶ This Ile (as Robert Southwell noteth) was wone by the Scots, about the second yeare of Edward the second his reigne, who in the yeare before, to wit, anno Christi 1307, had giuen the same Ile vnto Peers de Gauestон, whom he had also made earle of Cornewall.

1344
Anno Reg. 18.

Th. Walsing. A chamber built within the castell of Windsore, called the round table.

I Stow out of Henrie de Leicester. The Ile of Man.

Moreouer, about the beginning of this eightéenth yeare of his reigne, king Edward held a solemne feast at his castell of Windsore, where betwixt Candlemasse and Lent, were atchiued manie martiall feats, and iusts, tornaments, and diuerse other the like warlike passimes, at the which were present manie strangers of other lands, and in the end thereof, he deuised the order of the garter, and after established it, as it is at this daie. There are six and twentie companions or confrers of this felowship of that order, being called knights of the blew garter, as one dieth or is deprriued, an other is admitted into his place. The K. of England is euer cheefe of this order. They weare a blew robe or mantell, & a garter about their left leg, richlie wrought with gold and pretious stones, hauing this inscription in French vpon it, *Hони soit qui mal y pense*, Shame come to him that euill thinketh. This order is dedicated to S. George, as cheefe patrone of men of warre, and therefore euerie yeare do the knights of this order keepe solemne his feast, with manie noble ceremonies at the castell of Windsore, where king Edward founded a colledge of canons, or rather augmenting the same, ordeined therein a deane with twelue canons secular, eight peticanons, and thirteene vicars, thirteene clearks, and thirteene choristers.

Iusts & tornies holden at Windsore.

The order of the garter founded.

The knights haue certeine lawes and rules apperteining to their order, amongst the which this is cheefelie to be obserued (as Polydor also noteth) that they shall aid and defend one another, and neuer turne their backes or runne awaie out of the field in time of battell, where he is present with his souereigne lord, his lieutenant or deputie, or other capteine, hauing the kings power roiall and authoritie, and vnder as his banners, standards, or pennons are spred. The residue of the lawes and rules apperteining vnto this noble order, I dow here purposelie omit, for that the same in * an other place more conuenient is expressed, so far as may be thought expedient. But now touching these six and twentie noble men ¶ knights, which were first chosen and admitted into the same order, by the first founder thereof, this king Edward the third, their names are as followeth.

* Loke in the description of Britaine.

First the said noble prince king Edward the third, the prince of Wales duke of Cornewall and earle of Chester his eldest sonne, Henrie duke of Lancaster, the earle of Warwike, the capitall de Beuch *alias* Buz or Beufe, Vale earle of Stafford, William Montacute earle of Salisburie, Roger lord Mortimer, John lord Lisle, Bartholomew lord Burwash or Berghesech, the lord John Beauchampe, the lord de Pahun, Hugh lord Courtnie, Thomas lord Holand, John lord Graie, Richard lord Fitz Simon, sir Miles Stapleton, sir Thomas Walle, sir Hugh Wrottesley, sir Nele Loring, sir John Chandos, James lord Audelie, sir Otes Holand, sir Henrie Eme, sir Sanchet Dabrichcourt, sir Walter Panell. ¶ Christopher Okland speaking of the first institution of this honorable order, doth saie, that after foure daies were expired in the said exercises of chiualrie, the king besides the rich garter which he bestowed vpon them that tried maisteries, did also giue them a pretious collar of S S. but whether this collar had his first institution then with the garter he saith nothing, belike it was an ornament of greater antiquitie. Oklands words are these as followeth;

In Angl. prælijs sub Edwardo 3.

——— concertatorilus ampla
Præmia dat princeps, baccatas induit illis
Crura periscelides, quas vnio miscus Eous
Commendat, flammis interlucente pyropo.
Præterea ex auro puro, quod odorifer Indus
Miserat, inserta donabat iaspide gemma,
Si formam speciesque duplicato ex sygmate torques.

¶ The cause and first originall of instituting this order is vncerteine. But there goeth a tale amongst the people, that it rose by this means. It chanced that K. Edward finding either the garter of the queene, or of some * ladie with whom he was in loue, being fallen from hir leg, stooped downe and toke it vp, whereat diuerse of his nobles found matter to iest, and to talke their fansies merilie, touching the kings affection towards the woman, vnto whome he said, that if he liued it should come so passe, that most high honor should be giuen vnto them for the garters sake: and there vpon shortlie after, he deuised and ordeined this order of the garter, with such a posie, whereby he signified, that his nobles iudged otherwise of him than the truth was. Though some may thinke, that so noble an order had but a meane beginning, if this tale be true, yet manie honorable degrees of estates haue had their beginnings of more base and meane things, than of loue, which being orderlie vsed, is most noble and commendable, sith nobilitie it selfe is couered vnder loue, as the poet Ouid aptlie saith,

The occasion that moued K. Edward to institute the order of the garter.
* The countes of Salisburie.

Nobilitas sub amore iacet.

William de Montacute earle of Salisburie king of Man, and marshall of England, was so bruised at the iusts holden here at Windsore (as before ye haue heard) that he departed this life, the more was the pitie, within eight daies after. ¶ The king about the same time, to wit, in the quindene of Candlemasse, held a councell at London, in the which with good aduise and sound deliberation had vpon the complaint of the commons to him before time made, he gaue out

Additions to Adam Merimuth, and Triuet.

out streict commandement, that no man, on paine of imprisonment and death, should in time to come, present or induct anie such person or persons, that were so by the pope promoted, without the kings agreement, in preiudice of his roiall prerogatiue. Herevpon, he directed also writs to all archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, deanes, archdeacons, officials and other ecclesiasticall persons, to whome it apertained, inhibiting them in no wise to attempt anie thing in preiudice of that ordinance, vnder pretext of anie bulles, or other writings, for such manner of prouisions to come from the court of Rome. Other writs were also directed to his sonne the prince of Wales, and to all the shiriffes within the realme, for to arrest all such as brought into the land any such buls or writings, and to bring them before the kings councell or his iustices, where they might be punished according to the trespasse by them committed.

About the same time, the king ordeined a certeine coine of fine gold, and named it the floren, which coine was deuised for his warres in France, for the gold thereof was not so fine as was the noble, which in the fourteenth yeare he had caused to be coined: but this coine continued not long. ¶ After the feast of the holie Trinitie, the king held a parlement at London, in the which he asked a tenth of the cleargie, and a fifteenth of the laitie, about which demand there was no small altercation, but at length he had it granted for one yeare. ¶ At the same time, the archbishop of Canturburie held a conuocation of all the cleargie at London, in the which manie things were in talke about the honest demeanor of churchmen, which sildome is obserued, as the addition to Nicholas Triuet saith. About the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, the king disanulled the florens, to the great commoditie of his kingdome, ordeining a greater floren of halfe a marke, and a lesser of three shillings foure pence, and the least of all of twentie pence, and these were called nobles, and not without cause, for they were a noble coine, of faire & fine gold.

Coine changed.

This yeare, on the seauenteenth date of Nouember, the pope in Auinion created the lord Lewes de Spaine, ambassador for the French king, prince of the Iles called *Fortunate*, for what purpose it was not knowne, but it was doubted, not to be for anie good meaning towards the kingdome of England, the prosperitie whereof, the same pope was suspected not greatlie to wish. ¶ About the beginning of Lent the same yeare, the said pope had sent an archbishop and a bishop, ambassadors to the king, who met them at Dipping in Kent, and to the end they should not linger long within the realme, he quicklie dispatched them without effect of their message. ¶ This yeare, shortlie after Easter, the duke of Britaine, that had beene deteined prisoner by the French king, and escaped out of prison, came ouer into England. ¶ And about the same time, the king ordeined the exchange of monies at London, Canturburie, and Yorke, to the great commoditie of his people.

1345
Anno Reg. 19.

About Midsummer, or (as other haue) Michaelmas, the earle of Derbie, with the earle of Penbroke, the lord Rafe Stafford, the lord Walter de Mannie, the lord John Graie of Codnore, and diuerse other lords, knights, and esquires, to the number of fiue or six hundred men of armes, and as manie archers, sailed ouer into Gascoine, to assist the kings subiects there against the Frenchmen. This earle of Derbie, being generall of the armie, after his arriuall in Gascoine, about the beginning of December, wan the towne of Bergerat by force, hauing put to flight the earle of Lisle, as then the French kings lieutenant in Gascoine, who laie there with a great power, to defend the passage: but being driuen into the towne, and hauing lost the suburbes to the Englishmen, he fled out in the night, and so left the towne, without anie souldiers to defend it, so that the townesmen yelded it vnto the earle of Derbie, and sware themselues to be true liege men vnto the king of England. After this, the earle of Derbie passed further into the countrie, and wan diuerse castels and towns, as Lango, le Lake, Mounburant, Monguise, Punach, Lalieu, Forsath, Pondair, Beaumont in Laillois, Bounall, Auberoch and Liborne, part of them by assault, and the residue by surrender. This done, he returned to Burdeaux, hauing left capteins and souldiers in such places as he had wone.

Auesburie. Ad. Merimuth. Polychron.

Fiue hundred men of armes, and two thousand archers saith Froissard.

Froissard.

Bergerat wonne.

This yeare, the king sent forth a commission vnto certeine persons in euerie countie within the realme, to inquire what lands and tenements euerie man, aboue fiue pounds of yeerelie reuenues, being of the laie fee, might dispend; because he had giuen order, that euerie man which might dispend fiue pounds and aboue, vnto ten pounds of such yeerelie reuenues in land of the laie fee, should furnish himselfe, or find an archer on horsebacke, furnished with armour and weapon accordinglie. He that might dispend ten pounds, should furnish himselfe, or find a demilance or light horseman (if I shall so terme him) being then called a hobler with a lance. And he that might dispend fiue and twentie pounds, should furnish himselfe or find a man at armes. And he that might dispend fiftie pounds, should furnish two men at armes. And he that might dispend an hundred pounds should find three men at armes, that is, himselfe, or one in his steed, with two other. And such as might dispend aboue an hundred pounds, were appointed to find more in number of men at armes, accordinglie as they should be assessed, after the rate of their lands which they might yearelie dispend, being of the laie fee, and not belonging to the church.

About this season, the duke of Britaine, hauing with him the earles of Northampton and Drenford, sir William de Killesbie one of the kings secretaries, and manie other barons and knights, with a great number of men of armes, passed ouer into Britaine, against the lord Charles de Blois, where they tarried a long time, and did little good to make anie accompt of, by reason that the duke, in whose quarrell they came into those parts, shortlie after his arriuall there, departed this life, and so they returned home into England. But after their comming from thence, sir Thomas Dagworth knight, that had beene before, and now after the departure of those lords and nobles, still remained the kings lieutenant there, so behaued himselfe against both Frenchmen and Britains, that the memorie of his worthie doings deserueth perpetuall commendation. Sir John de Heinault lord Beaumont, about the same time, changed his cote, and leaning the king of Englands seruice, was reteined by the French king.

Additions to Nic. Triuet.

The duke of Britaine departed this life.

The lord Beaumont of Heinault forsaketh the K. of England his seruice.

In this nineteenth yeare of king Edward I find, that about the feast of the Natiuitie of saint John Baptist, he sailed ouer into Flanders, leauing his sonne the lord Lionell, warden of the realme in his absence. He tooke with him a great number of lords, knights, and gentlemen, with whome he landed at Sluse. The cause of his going ouer was, to further a practise which he had in hand with them of Flanders, the which by the labour of Jaques Arteueld, meant to cause their earle Lewes, either to do homage vnto king Edward; or else if he refused, then to disherit him, and to receiue Edward prince of Wales for their lord, the eldest sonne of king Edward.

The king goeth ouer into Flanders.

Ia. Mair.

King Edward promising to make a dukedome of the countie of Flanders, for an augmentation of honour to the countrie, there came vnto Sluse to the king, Jaques van Arteueld, and a great number of

Froissard.

A councell holden in the king of Englands ship.

other, appointed as councellors for their chéefest townes. The king with all his navie lay in the hauen of Sluse, where, in his great ship called the Catharine, a councell was holden vpon this foresaid purpose: but at length, those of the councellors of the chéefest townes misliked the matter so much, that they would conclude nothing, but required respit for a moneth, to consult with all the cõmunaltie of the countries and townes, and as the more part should be inclined, so should the king receiue answer. The king and Jaques Arteueld would faine haue had a shorter daie, and a more towardlie answer, but none other could be gotten.

Herevpon the councell brake vp, and Jaques Arteueld tarieng with the king a certeine space, after the other were departed, promised him to persuade the countrie well inough to his purpose, and suerlie, he had a great gift of eloquence, and had thereby induced the countrie wonderfullie, to consent to manie things, as well in fauour of king Edward, as to his owne aduancement: but this suit which he went now about to bring to passe, was so odious vnto all the Flemings, that in no wise they thought it reason to consent vnto the disheriting of the earle. At length, when Jaques Arteueld should returne vnto Gant, king Edward appointed fiue hundred Welshmen to attend him as a gard, for the preseruation of his person, bicause he said, that one Gerard Denise deane of the weauers, an vnquiet man, maliciouslie purposed his destruction.

Ia. Meir. Welshmen appointed to Jaques Arteueld for a gard against Gerard Denise.

Capteins of these Welshmen were John Matreuers, and William Sturine or Sturrie, and so with this crue of souldiers Arteueld returned vnto Gant, and earnestlie went in hand with his suit in king Edwards behalfe, that either the earle should do his homage to the king of England to whome it was due; or else to forfeit his earledome. Then the foresaid Gerard, as well of his owne mind, as procured thereto by the authoritie of earle Lewes, stirred the whole citie against the said Arteueld, and gathering a great power vnto him, came and beset Arteuelds house round about vpon each side, the furie of the people being wonderfullie bent against him, crieng; Kill him, Kill him that hath robbed the tresurie of the countrie, and now goeth about to disherit our noble earle.

Jacob Arteuelds house beset.

Jaques van Arteueld perceiuing in what danger he was, came vnto a window, and spake to that inraged multitude, in hope with faire and courteous words to appease them, but it could not be: wherevpon he sought to haue fled out of his house, but the same was broken vp, and so manie entred vpon him, that he was found out, and slaine by one Thomas Denise (as some write.) But other affirme, that on a sundaie in the after noone, being the 17 of Julie, a cobler, whose father this Jaques van Arteueld had sometime slaine, followed him, as he was fleeing into a stable where his horses stood, & there with an axe cloue his head asunder, so that he fell downe starke dead on the ground. And this was the end of the foresaid Jaques van Arteueld, who by his wisedome and policie had obteined the whole gouernment of all Flanders. This woefull end was allotted vnto him by destinie, whose decree nothing is able by any shift to auoid, as is notablie said of the poet in this distichon;

Froissard. Ia. Meir.

Jacob van Arteueld slaine.

M. Palin scor.

Nil extra fatum est, metiturque omnia summi
Mens regis, cuius sine numine fit nihil vsquam.

There were slaine also ten other persons that were of his councell, and diuerse of the Welshmen in like manner; but the other escaped, and got awaie vnto king Edward, as yet remaining at Sluse, vnto whome those of Bruges, Cassell, Curtrike, Ypres, Aldenard, and other townes, did afterwards send their orators to excuse themselues, as nothing guiltie nor priuie to the death of his frend, and their worthie gouernor Jaques van Arteueld, requiring him not to impute the fault vnto the whole countrie, which the rash and vnaduised Gantiners had committed, sith the countrie of Flanders was as readie now to do him seruice and pleasure as before, sauing that to the disheriting of their earle they could not be agréeable, but they doubted not to persuade him to do his homage vnto the king of England, and till then they promised not to receiue him. They put the king also in hope of a mariage to be had, betwixt the sonne of their earle, and some one of the kings daughters. Herewith the king of England (who was departed from Sluse, in great displeasure with the Flemings) became somewhat pacified in his mood, and so renewed the league eftsoons with the countrie of Flanders: but the earle would neuer consent to do homage vnto the king of England, but still sticked to the French kings part, which purchased him much trouble, and in the end cost him his life, as after shall appeare.

Ambassadors from the good townes in Flanders vnto king Edward.

But now to returne vnto the earle of Derbie, whome we left in Gascoigne. We shall vnderstand, that shortlie after he was come backe to Burdeaux, from the conquest which he had made of Bergerat, and other townes thereabouts; the earle of Lisle, who (as ye haue heard) was the French kings lieutenant in that countrie, assembled an armie of twelue thousand men, & comming before Auberoch (a towne in Gascoigne) besieged it, sore pressing them within, in somuch that they were in great danger to haue béene taken, if the earle of Derbie, hauing knowlege in what case they stood, had not come to their rescue, who with three hundred speares or men of armes, as we maie call them, and six hundred archers, approching néere to the siege, laid himselfe closelie within a wood, till the Frenchmen in the euening were at supper, & then suddenlie set vpon them in their campe, and discomfited them, so that the earle of Lisle was taken in his owne tent, and sore hurt. There were also taken the earle of Valentinois, and other earles, vicounts, and lords of great accompt, to the number of nine, besides those that were slaine. The residue were put to flight and chased, so that the Englishmen had a faire iournie, and wan great riches by prisoners and spoile of the enimies campe.

Froissard.

Auberoch besieged.

The French armie distressed, and the earle of Lisle taken.

After this, the earle of Derbie, being returned to Burdeaux, and hauing put the captiues in safe kéeping, assembled his power, and marching forth into the countrie, towards the Rioll (a towne in those parts which he meant to besiege) he wan diuerse townes and castels by the way, as saint Basill, Roch, Million, Montsegure, Aguillon, & Segart. At length he came to the towne of the Riioll, which he besieged, and laie about it nine weekes yer he could win it, and then was the same towne surrendered into his hands, but the castell was still defended against him for the space of eleuen weekes, at which time being sore oppressed & vndermined, it was yéelded by them within conditionallie, that they should depart onelie with their armour. After this, the earle of Derbie wan Montpesance, Pauleon, Ville-Franche in Agenois, Miremont, Thomines, the castell of Damassen, and at length came before the citie of Angolesme the which made appointment with the earle, that if no succors came from the French king within the space of a moneth, that then the citie should be surrendered to the king of Englands vse: and to assure this appointment, they deliuered to the earle foure and twentie of their chéefe citizens as hostages.

Towns won by the earle of Derbie.

Angolesme.

In the meane time, the earle laid siege to Blaues, but could not win it. His men rode abroad into the countrie, to Mortaigne, Pirabeau, and Annay, but wan little, and so returned againe to the siege of Blaues.

Blaues.

Blaues. Now when the month was expired, that they of Angolesme should yéeld, the earle sent his two marshals thither, who receiued the homage and fealtie of the citizens, in the king of Englands name, and so they were in peace, and receiued againe their hostages. At length when the earle of Derbie saw that he did but lose his time in the besieging of Blaues, which sir Gutschart Dangle, and sir Guilliaume de Rochfort, being capteins within, did so valiantlie defend, that he could obteine no aduantage of them, he raised his siege, and returned vnto Burdeaur, hauing furnished such townes as he had wone in that iournie with conuenient garisons of men to defend them against the enimies, and to kéepe frontier warre, as they should sée cause.

Froissard saith they were an hundred thousand. Gio. Villani writeth that they were a six thousand horsmen and fiftie thousand footemen, of Frenchmen, Gascoignes & Lombardes.

The French king being sore moued at the conquests thus atchiued by the earle of Derbie, raised a mightie armie, and sent the same forth, vnder the leading of his sonne the duke of Normandie, into Gascoigne, to resist the said earle, and to recouer againe those townes which he had wone in those parts. The duke of Normandie being come to Tholouz, where generall assemblie was appointed, set forward with his armie, and winning by the waie Miremount, and Ville Franche in Agenois; at length came to the citie of Angolesme, which he inuironed about with a strong siege, continuing the same, till finallie, the capiteine named Iohn Normell, required a truce to indure for one daie, which was granted, and the same was the daie of the Purification of our ladie, on the which, the same capiteine, with the souldiers of the garrison departed, and left the citie in the citizens hands. The Frenchmen, because they had granted the truce to indure for that daie without exception, permitted them to go their waies without let or vexation. The cittizens in the morning yéelded the citie to the duke. After this, he wan the castell of Damassen, Thonins, and Port S. Marie; Thonins by surrender, and the other two by force of assaults. Then he came to the strong castell of Aiguillon, which he besieged, and laie there at a long season. Within was the earle of Penbroke, the lord Walter de Mannie, sir Franke de Halle, and diuerse knights and capteins, which defended themselues, and the place so stoutlie, that the Frenchmen could win little aduantage at their hands.

Annales de Burgoigne. 1346 Anno Reg. 20.

Angolisme recouered by the Frenchmen.

Damassen. Thonins.

Aiguillon besieged.

Gio. Villani.

While the siege continued before this fortresse, the seneshall of Guien departed from the campe, with eight hundred horssemen, and foure thousand footmen, purposing to win a castell, belonging to a nephue of the cardinall Della Motte, a twelue leagues distant from Aiguillon. The archdeacon of Unfort, owner of that castell, went to the Rioll, where the earle of Derbie with his armie as then was lodged, to whome he made suit, to haue some power of men to rescue his castell. The earle appointed to him a sufficient number, both of horssemen, and also of English archers, with whome the said archdeacon rode all the night, and the next morning betimes, being the one and thirtith of Julie, they came to the castell where the Frenchmen were arriued the daie before, and had fiercelie assailed the castell, doing their best to win it by force. But the Englishmen without anie delaie, immediatlie vpon their comming, set vpon the Frenchmen, and gaue them so sharps and fierce battell, that in the end, the Frenchmen were discomfited: the seneshall with manie other gentlemen were taken prisoners, beside those that were slaine. To conclude, the number of them that were slaine, and taken prisoners in the whole, amounted to foure hundred horssemen, and two thousand footmen. Sir Godfrey de Harcourt being constreined to flée out of France, to auoid the French kings displeasure, came ouer vnto the king of England, who receiued him verie ioifullie, for he was knowne to be a right valiant and a wise personage. He was brother to the earle of Harecourt, lord of saint Saniour le Vicount, and of diuerse other townes in Normandie. A little before that he fell into the French kings displeasure, he might haue done with the king of France, more than anie other lord within that realme.

The archdeacon of Unfort.

Frenchmen discomfited.

In this twentith yeare of his reigne, king Edward vpon complaint of the people made against purueiours of vittels for his houshold (the which vnder colour of their commissions, abused the same, in taking vp among the commons all manner of things that liked them, without making paiment for the same, further than the said commissions did allow them) he caused inquirie to be made of their misdemeanors, and such as were found to haue offended, of whome there was no small number, some of them were put to death on the gallowes, and other were fined, so to teach the rest to deale more warilie in their businesse from thencefoorth. ¶ About the same time, he caused all the iustices within his dominions to renounce and giue ouer all their pensions, fées, and other bribing benefits and rewards, which they vsed to receiue of the lords and great men of the land, as well prelats, as of them of the temporaltie, to the end that their hands being free from gifts, iustice might more frélie haue course, and be of them dulie and vprightlie ministred. Also this yeare in the Lent season, the king held a parlement at Westminster, and tooke into his hands all the profits, reuenues, and emoluments, which the cardinals held within this land: for he thought it not reason, that they which fauoured the pope and the French king, being his aduersaries, should inioy such commodities within his realme.

Additions to Adam Merimuth.

Purueiers punished.

Iustices.

Parlement.

Cardinals.

After this, in the moneth of Julie following, he tooke shipping, and sailed into Normandie, hauing established the lord Percie, and the lord Neuill, to be wardens of his realme in his absence, with the archbishop of Yorke, the bishop of Lincolne, and the bishop of Duresme. The armie which he had ouer with him, was to the number of foure thousand men of armes, and ten thousand archers, beside Irishmen, & Welshmen, that followed the host on foot. The chéefest capteins that went ouer with him were these. First his eldest sonne Edward prince of Wales, being as then about the age of thirtéene yeares, the earles of Hereford, Northampton, Arundell, Cornewall, Huntington, Warwike, Suffolke, and Orford; of barons the lord Mortimer, who was after erle of March, the lords, Iohn, Lewes, and Roger Beauchampe; also the lords Cobham, Mowbraie, Lucie, Basset, Barkeley, and Willoughbie, with diuerse other lords, besides a great number of knights and other worthie capteins. They landed by the aduise of the lord Godfrey of Harecourt, in the Ile of Constantine, at the port of Hague saint Wast, néere to saint Saniour le Vicount. The earle of Huntington was appointed to be gouernour of the fleet by sea, hauing with him a hundred men of armes, and foure hundred archers.

Froissard. The king passeth ouer into Normandie.

John Villani saith there were 2500 horssemen, and 30000 footmen and archers, that passed ouer with the K. but when he commeth to speake of the battell, he séemeth to increase the number.

After that the whole armie was landed, the king appointed two marshals, the lord Godfrey of Harecourt, and the earle of Warwike, and the earle of Arundell was made constable. There were ordeined three battels, one to go on his right hand, following by the coast of the sea; and another to march on his left hand, vnder the conduct of the marshals; so that he himselfe went in the middest with the maine armie, and in this order forward they passed towards Caen, lodging euerie night togither in one field. They that went by the sea, tooke all the ships they found in their waie, and as they marched forth thus,

The ordering of the kings armie.

what by water & land, at length they came to a towne
Harflew. called Harflew, which was giuen vp, but yet neuertheleſſe it was robbed, and much goods found in it.
Chierburge. After this they came to Chierburge, which towne they wan by force, robbed it, and burnt part of it, but the caſtell they could not win. Then came they to
Mountburge Mountburge and toke it, robbed it & burnt it cleane. In this manner they paſſed forth, and burnt manie townes and villages in all the countrie as they went.
Carentine. The towne of Carentine was deliuered vnto them againſt the will of the ſoldiers that were within it. The ſoldiers defended the caſtell two daies, and then yelded it vp into the Engliſhmens hands, who burnt the ſame, and cauſed the burgeſſes to enter into their ſhips. All this was done by the battell that went by the ſea ſide, and by them on the ſea together.

On the other ſide, the lord Godfrie of Harecourt, with the battell on the right hand of the king, road forth ſix or ſeuen leagues from the kings battell, in burning and exiling the countrie. The king had with him (beſide thoſe that were with the marſhals) 3000 men of armes, ſix thouſand archers, and ten thouſand men on foot. They left the citie of Conſtance, and came to a great towne called ſaint Lo, a
Saint Lo. rich towne of draperie, hauing manie wealthie burgeſſes within it: it was ſone taken and robbed by the Engliſhmen vpon their firſt approch. From thence the king marched ſtreight to Caen, wherein were capteins Raſe earle of Ewe and Guines conſtable of France, & the earle of Tankeruile. Theſe noble men meant to haue kept their defenſes on the walles, gate, bridge, and riuer, and to haue left the ſuburbes void, becauſe they were not cloſed, but onelie with the riuer: but they of the towne ſaid they would iſſue forth, for they were ſtrong inough to fight with the king of England.

When the conſtable ſaw their good willes, he was contented to follow their deſire, and ſo forth they went in good order, and made good face to put their liues in hazard: but when they ſaw the Engliſhmen approch in good order, diuided into three battels, & the archers readie to ſhot, which they of Caen had not ſeene before, they were ſore afraid, and fled awaie toward the towne without any order or arraie, for all that the conſtable could do to ſtaie them. The Engliſhmen followed, and in the chaſe ſlue manie, and entered the towne with their enimies. The conſtable, and the earle of Tankeruile toke a tower at the bridge foot, thinking there to ſaue themſelues, but perceiuing the place to be of no force, nor able long to hold out, they ſubmitted themſelues vnto ſir Thomas Holland. ¶ But here whatſoeuer Froiſſard doth report of the taking of this tower, and of the yelding of theſe two noble men, it is to be proued that the ſaid earle of Tankeruile was taken by one ſurnamed
Peter Legh. Legh, anceſtor to ſir Peter Legh now liuing, whether in the fight or within the tower, I haue not to ſaie: but for the taking of the ſaid earle, and for his other manlike prowes ſhewed here and elſewhere in this iournie, king Edward in recompenſe of his agreeable ſeruice, gaue to him a lordſhip in the counſtie of Cheſter called Hanley, which the ſaid ſir Peter Legh now liuing doth inioy and poſſeſſe, as ſucceſſor and heire to his anceſtor the foreſaid Legh, to whom it was ſo firſt giuen.

But to returne now to the matter where we left.
Caen taken. The Frenchmen being entred into their houſes, caſt downe vpon the Engliſhmen below in the ſtreets, ſtones, timber, hot water, and barres of iron, ſo that they hurt and ſlue more than fiue hundred perſons. The king was ſo moued therewith, that if the lord Godfrie of Harecourt had not aſſwaged his mood, the towne had beene burnt, and the people put to the edge of the ſword: but by the treatie of the ſaid lord Godfrie, proclamation was made, that no man ſhould put fire into any houſe, nor ſlea any perſon, nor force any woman, and then did the townesmen and ſouldiers ſubmit themſelues, and receiued the Engliſhmen into their houſes. There was great ſtore of riches gotten in this towne, and the moſt part thereof ſent into England, with the fleet which the king ſent home with the priſoners, vnder the guiding of the earle of Huntington, accompanied with two hundred men of armes, and foure hundred archers.

40000 clothes, as Gio. Villani writeth, were got by the Engliſhmen in one place and other in this iournie.

When all things were ordred in Caen as the king could deſire, he marched from thence in the ſame order as he had kept before, burning and exiling the countrie. He paſſed by Eureux & came to Louiers,
Louiers. which the Engliſhmen ſone entred and ſacked without mercie. Then went they forth and left Roan, and came to Giſors, the towne they burnt, but the caſtell
Giſors. they could not get: they burnt alſo Vernon, and at
Vernon. Poiſſie they repared the bridge which was broken, and ſo there they paſſed ouer the riuer of Saine. The power of the Engliſhmen increaſed dailie, by ſuch
Gio. Villani. numbers as came ouer forth of England in hope to win by pillage. Alſo manie gentlemen of Normandie, and other of the French nation, which loued not nor owght any good will vnto the French king, came to the king of England, offering to ſerue him, ſo that there were in his armie foure thouſand horſſemen and fiftie thouſand footmen with the Normans, and of this number there were thirtie thouſand Engliſh archers, as Giouan Villani writeth. The Engliſh marſhals ran abroad full to Paris, and burnt S. Germans in Laie: alſo Mountioy, and S. Clowd, and petie Bullongne by Paris, & the quænes Burge.
S. Germans in Laie. S. Clowd. In the meane time had the French king aſſembled a mightie armie vpon purpoſe to fight with the Engliſhmen. ¶ The lord Godfrey of Harecourt, as he rode forth with fiue hundred men of armes, and 13 hundred archers, by aduenture incountered with a great number of the burgeſſes of Amiens on horſſebacke, who were riding by the kings commandement to Paris. They were quickelie aſſailed, and though they defended themſelues manfullie for a while, yet at length they were ouercome, and eleuen hundred of them ſlaine in the field, beſide thoſe that were taken. The Engliſhmen had all their cariage and armour. Thus paſſed forth the king of England, and came into Beauuoiſin, and lodged neere vnto the
Beauuois. citie of Beauuois one night in an abbeie called Poiſſeni, and for that after he was diſlodged, there were
Burners executed. that ſet fire in the ſame abbeie, without any commandement giuen by him; he cauſed twentie of them to be hanged that were the firſt procurers of that fire.

There were ſlaine in all (without and within the towne 5000 men, as Gio. Villani writeth.

So long the king of England paſſed forward, that finallie he approched neere to the water of Some, the which was large and deepe, and all the bridges broken and the paſſages well kept, whereupon he cauſed his two marſhals with a thouſand men of armes, & two thouſand archers, to go along the riuer, to the end to find ſome paſſage. The marſhals aſſaied diuerſe places, as at Piqueney, and other where, but they could
Piqueney. not find any paſſage vncloſed, capteins with men of warre being ſet to defend the ſame, in ſomuch that the marſhals returned to the king, and declared what they had ſeene and found. At the ſame inſtant time
The French kings armie was the French king come to Amiens, with more than a hundred thouſand men, and thought to incloſe the king of England, that he ſhould no waie eſcape, but be conſtreined to receiue battell in ſome place greatlie to his diſaduantage.

The king of England well perceiuing himſelfe in danger, remoued from the place where he was incamped, and marched forward through the countries

of

of Pontiew and Aimew, approching vnto the good towne of Abuile, and at length by one of the prisoners named Gobin de Grace, he was told where he might passe with his armie ouer the riuer of Some, at a ford in the same riuer, being hard in the bottome, and verie shallow at an eb water. The French king vnderstanding that the K. of England sought to passe the riuer of Some, sent a great baron of Normandie, one sir Godmare du Foy, to defend the passage of the same riuer, with a thousand men of armes, and six thousand on foot with the Genowaies. This sir Godmare had with him also a great number of them of Mutterell and others of the countrie, so that he had in all to the number of twelue thousand men, one and other, and hearing that the king of England was minded to passe at Blanchetake (which was the passage that Gobin Agace had informed the king of England of) he came thither. When the Englishmen approched, he arranged all his companie to defend the passage.

Sir Godmare du Foy.

Gobin Agace

And suerlie when the Englishmen at the lowe water entered the ford to passe ouer, there was a sharpe bickering, for diuerse of the Frenchmen incountred the Englishmen on horssebacke in the water, and the Genowaies did them much hurt, and troubled them sore with their crosbowes: but on the other side, the English archers shot so wholie togither, that the Frenchmen were faine to giue place to the Englishmen, so that they got the passage and came ouer, assembling themselues in the field, and then the Frenchmen fled, some to Abuile, some to saint Riquier. They that were on foot could not escape so well as those on horssebacke, insomuch that a great number of them of Abuile, Mutterell, Arras, and S. Riquier were slaine and taken, for the chase indured more than a great league. There were slaine in all to the number of two thousand. When the K. of England had thus passed the riuer, he acquitted Gobin Agace, and all his companie of their ransomes, and gaue to the same Gobin an hundred nobles, and a good horsse, and so the king road forth as he did before.

The Englishmen wan the passage ouer the water of Some.

Caxton.
The number slaine.
Froissard.

His marshals road to Crotaie by the sea side, and burnt the towne, and tooke all such wines and goods as were in the ships and barks which lais there in the hauen.

Crotay burnt

One of the marshals road to the gates of Abuile, and from thence to S. Riquier, and after to the towne of Rue saint Esperit. This was on a fridaie, and both the marshals returned to the kings host about noune; and so lodged all togither about Cressie in Pontiew, where hauing knowledge that the French king followed to giue him battell, he commanded his marshals to chose a plot of ground, somewhat to his aduantage, that he might there abide his aduersaries. In the meane time the French king being come with all his puissance vnto Abuile, and hearing how the king of England was passed ouer the riuer of Some, and discomfited sir Godmare du Foy, was sore displeased in his mind: but when he vnderstood that his enimies were lodged at Cressie, and meant there to abide him, he caused all his people to issue out of Abuile, and earlie on the saturdaie in the morning, auoid after sunne rising he departed out of the towne himselfe, and marched towards his enimies. The king of England vnderstanding that his aduersarie king Philip still followed him, to giue him battell, supposing that the same saturdaie he would co not offer it, rose betimes in the morning, and commanded euerie man first to call vpon God for his aid, then to be armed, and to draw with speed into the field, that in the place before appointed they might be set in order of battell. Beginning his enterprise at inuocation or calling vpon God, he was the more fortunate in his affaires, and sped the better in the progresse of his actions, as the issue of the warre shewed. A notable example to euerie priuat man, to remember to call vpon God when he purposeth anie thing, for as the poet saith, and that verie christianlie,

——nihil est mortalibus ægris
Vtilius, quàm cœlestem, sanctéq; piéq;
Orando sibi quærere opem.

Mar. Pal. in sag.

Beside this, he caused a parke to be made and closed by the wood side behind his host, in the which he ordeined that all the carts and carriages should be set, with all the horsses (for euerie man was on foot.) Then he ordeined three battels, in the first was the prince of Wales, and with him the earle of Warwike, the lord Godfrey of Harecourt, the lord Stafford, the lord de la Ware, the lord Bourchier, the lord Thomas Clifford, the lord Reginald Cobham, the lord Thomas Holland, sir John Chandos, sir Bartholomew de Burowash, sir Robert Neuill. They were eight hundred men of armes, and two thousand archers, and a thousand of other with the Welsh men. In the second battell was the earle of Northhampton, the earle of Arundell, the lords Ros and Willowbie, Basset, S. Albine, Pulton, and others. The third battell the king led himselfe, hauing with him seauen hundred men of armes, and two thousand archers, and in the other battell were to the number of eight hundred men of armes, and twelue hundred archers. Thus was the English armie marshalled according to the report of Froissard. When euerie man was gotten into order of battell, the king leapt vpon a white hobbie, and rode from ranke to ranke to view them, the one marshall on his right hand, and the other on his left, desiring euerie man that daie to haue regard to his right and honour. He spake it so courteouslie, and with so good a countenance, that euen they which before were discomforted, tooke courage in hearing him speake such sweet and louing words amongst them. It was nine of the clocke yer euer he had thus visited all his battels, & thereupon he caused euerie man to eat and drinke a little, which they did at their leisure.

Giouñ Villani saith, that when they should ioine in battell, the Englishmen were 30000. archers English & Welsh, beside other footmen with axes & iauelins, and not fullie 4000 horssemen.

Froissard. The kings deme anor before ỹ battell,

The French king, before he approched nære to his enimies, sent forth foure skilfull knights to view the demeanor of his enimies, the which returning againe, made report as they had sæne, and that for so much as they could gesse, the Englishmen ment to abide him, being diuided into three battels, readie to receiue him and his puissance, if he went forward in purpose to assaile them. Here was the French king counselled to stay and not to giue battell that day, but to aduise all things with good deliberation and regard, to consider well how and what way he might best assaile them. Then by the marshals were all men commanded to staie, and not to go anie further, they that were formost and next to the enimies taried, but they that were behind would not abide but rode forth, and said they would not staie till they were as far as the formost: and when they before saw them behind come forward, then they marched on also againe, so that neither the K. nor his marshals could rule them, but that they passed forward still without order, or anie good arraie, till they came in sight of their enimies: and as sone as the formost saw their enimies, then they reculed backe, whereof they behind had maruell, and were abashed, supposing that the formost companie had bæne fighting. Then they might haue had rome to haue gone forward, if they had bæne minded. The commons, of whome all the waies betwixt Abuile and Cressie were full, when they saw that they were nære their enimies, they tooke their swords and cried; Downe with them, Let vs slea them all. There was no man, though he were present at the somme, that could imagine or shew the truth of the euill order that was among the French

The disorder among the Frenchmen.

parts,

parte, and yet they were a maruellous great number.

The Englishmen which beheld their enimies thus approching them, prepared themselues at leisure for the battell, which they saw to be at hand. The first battell, whereof the prince was ruler, had the archers standing in maner of an herse, and the men of armes in the botome of the battell. The earle of Northampton and the earle of Arundell with the second battell, were on a wing in good order, readie to comfort the princes battell if need were. The lords and knights of France came not to the assemblie togither, for some came after, in such hast and euill order, that one of them troubled another. There were of Genowaies crosbowes to the number of twelue or fiftéene thousand, the which were commanded to go on before, and with their shot to begin the battell; but they were so werie with going on foot that morning six leagues armed with their crosbowes, that they said to their constables; We be not well vsed, in that we are commanded to fight this daie, for we be not in case to doo any great feat of armes, we haue more need of rest. These words came to the hearing of the earle of Alanson, who said; A man is well at ease to be charged with such a sort of rascals, that faint and faile now at most need.

Charles Grimaldi & Anthonie or Othone Doria were captains of these Genowaies, which were not past six thousand, as Gio. Villani saith. Polydor. Froissard.

The earle of Alanson.

Also at the same instant there fell a great raine, and an eclipse with a terrible thunder, and before the raine, there came flieng ouer both armies a great number of crowes, for feare of the tempest coming: then anon the aire began to wax cleare, and the sunne to shine faire and bright, which was right in the French mens eies, and on the Englishmens backs. ¶ When the Genowaies were assembled togither, and began to approch, they made a great leape and crie, to abash the Englishmen, but they stood still and stirred not at all for that noise. Then the Genowaies the second time made an other leape and huge crie, and stepped forward a little, and the Englishmen remoued not a foot. The third time againe the Genowaies leapt, and yelled, and went forth till they came within shot, and fiercelie therwith discharged their crosbowes. Then the English archers stept forth one pase, and let flie their arrowes so wholie and so thicke togither, that it séemed to snowe. When the Genowaies felt the arrowes persing their heads, armes and breasts, manie of them cast downe their crosbowes, and cut the strings, and returned discomfited. When the French king saw them flée awaie, he said: Slea these rascals, for they will let and trouble vs without reason.

Raine and thunder with an eclipse.

The Genowaies.

The battell is begun.

Then ye might haue seene the men of armes hatte dasht in amongst them, and killed a great number of them, and euer the Englishmen shot where they saw the thickest prease: the sharpe arrowes ran into the men of armes, and into their horsses, and manie fell horsse and man amongst the Genowaies, and still the Englishmen shot where they saw the thickest prease, and when they were once downe they could not recouer againe. The throng was such that one ouerthrew another; & also among the Englishmen, there were certeine of the footmen with great kniues, that went in among the men of armes, and killed manie of them as they laie on the ground, both earles, barons, knights, and esquires. The valiant king of Boheme being almost blind, caused his men to fasten all the reines of the bridels of their horsses ech to other, and so he being himselfe amongst them in the formost ranke, they ran on their enimies.

The king of Boheme.

The lord Charles of Boheme sonne to the same king and late elected emperour, came in good order to the battell, but when he saw how the matter went awrie on their part, he departed and saued himselfe. His father by the meanes aforesaid went so far forward, that ioining with his enimies he fought right valiantlie, and so did all his companie: but finallie being entred within the prease of their enimies, they were of them inclosed and slaine, togither with the king their maister, and the next daie found dead lieng about him, and their horsses all tied ech to other. The earle of Alanson came right orderlie to the battell, and fought with the Englishmen, and so did the earle of Flanders also on his part. These two lords coasted the English archers, and came to the princes battell, and there fought right valiantlie a long time. The French king perceiuing where their banners stood, would faine haue come to them, but could not, by reason of a great hedge of archers that stood betwixt them and him. This was a perillous battell and sore foughten: there were few taken to mercie, for the Englishmen had so determined in the morning.

The earle of Alanson.

Certeine Frenchmen and Almaines perforce opened the archers of the princes battell, and came to fight with the men of armes hand to hand. Then the second battell of the Englishmen came to succor the princes battell, and not before it was time, for they of that battell had as then inough to doo, in somuch that some which were about him, as the earle of Northampton, and others sent to the king, where he stood aloft on a windmill hill, requiring him to aduance forward, and come to their aid, they being as then sore laid to of their enimies. The king herevpon demanded if his sonne were slaine, hurt, or felled to the earth? No (said the knight that brought the message) but he is sore matched. Well (said the king) returne to him and them that sent you, and saie to them that they send no more to me for any aduenture that falleth, so long as my son is aliue, for I will that this iournie be his, with the honor thereof. With this answer the knight returned, which greatlie incouraged them to doo their best to win the spurs, being half abashed in that they had so sent to the king for aid. At length when it drew toward euening, and that the Frenchmen were beaten downe and slaine on ech hand, king Philip as it were by constreint departed out of the field, not hauing as then past three score persons about him, of whome the lord John of Heinault was one, by whose persuasion he cheefelie consented to ride his waie for his owne safegard, when he saw the losse was such as on that daie it could not be recouered.

The princes battell pearsed.

The earle of Northampton sendeth to the king.

The kings answer.

The French king departeth out of the field.

The slaughter of the Frenchmen was great and lamentable, namelie for the losse of so manie noble men, as were slaine at the same battell, fought betweene Crecie and Broy on the saturdaie next following the feast of saint Bartholomew being (as that yeare fell) the 26 of August. Among other which died that daie, these I find registred by name as cheefest, John king of Boheme, Rafe duke of Lorraine, Charles of Alanso brother germane to king Philip, Charles earle of Blois, Lewes earle of Flanders, also the earle of Harecourt, brother to the lord Geffrie of Harecourt, with the earles of Auserre, Aumerle, and saint Poule, beside diuerse other of the nobilitie. The Englishmen neuer brake out of their battels to chase any man, but kept themselues togither in their wards and ranks, and defended themselues euer against such as came to assaile them. This battell ended about euening.

Great slaughter of Frenchmen. Caxton. Iac. Meir. Polydor. Froissard.

Noble men slaine.

When the Frenchmen were clearelie ouercome, and those that were left aliue fled and gone, so that the Englishmen heard no more noise of them, king Edward came downe from the hill (on the which he stood all that day with his helmet still on his head) and going to the prince, imbraced him in his armes, and kissed him, saieng; Faire sonne, God send you good perseuerance in this your prosperous beginning, you haue

The king of England commeth downe from the hill.

" haue noblie acquit your selfe, you are well worthie to
" haue the gouernance of a realme committed to your
" hands for your valiant doings. The prince inclined himselfe to the earth in honouring his father, as he best could. This done, they thanked God togither with their souldiers for their good aduenture. For so the king commanded, and willed no man to make anie boast of his owne power, but to ascribe all the praise to almightie God for such a noble victorie; séeming herein to be affected as Dauid was in the foure and fortith psalme; for he also referreth the happie successe of warre, and all victorie, vnto almightie God, and not to the strength of a multitude of men, saieng:

Georg. Buch. paraph. in psal.

Tu nos ab hoste subtrahis, sternis solo
Infensa nobis agmina.
Non ergo semper iure te cantabimus
Nostræ salutis vindicem?

¶ On the sundaie in the morning, there was such a mist, that a man could not see an acres breadth before him. Then by the kings commandement there departed from the host fiue hundred speares, and two thousand archers, to trie if they might heare of anie Frenchmen gathered togither in anie place nere vnto them.

On the same morning there were departed out of Abuile and S. Requier in Pontiew, the commons of Roan and Beauuais, with other that knew nothing of the discomfiture the daie before. These met with the Englishmen, supposing they had bene Frenchmen, and being fiercelie assailed of them, after sore fight, and great slaughter, the Frenchmen were discomfited and fled, of whome were slaine in the hedges & bushes, more than seuen thousand men. The archbishop of Roan, and the grand prior of France, ignorant also of the discomfiture the day before, & supposing (as they were informed) the French should not haue foughten till that sundaie, were likewise incountred (as they came thitherward) by the Englishmen, with whome they fought a sore battell, for they were a great number, but yet at length they were not able to sustéine the puissant force of the Englishmen, and so the most part of them were slaine, with the said archbishop and grand prior, and few there were that escaped.

Frenchmen slaine the day after the battell.

The archb. of Rouen and the lord grand prior of France slaine

On that sundaie morning, the Englishmen met with diuerse Frenchmen, that had lost their waie on the saturdaie, and wist not where the king nor their capteins were become. They were all slaine in maner, so manie as the Englishmen could mæt with, insomuch that of the commons and fotmen of the cities and good townes of France (as was thought) there were slaine this sundaie foure times as manie as were slaine on the saturdaie in the great battell. When those Englishmen that were sent abroad thus to view the countrie, were returned againe, and signified to the king what they had séene and done, and how there was no more appearance of the enimies, the king to search what the number was of them that were slaine, and vpon the view taken, it was reported vnto him, that there were found dead eleuen princes, foure score baronets, 12 hundred knights, and more than thirtie thousand other of the meaner sort. Thus was the whole puissance of France vanquished, and that chéeflie by force of such as were of no reputation amongst them, that is to say, the English archers, by whose sharpe and violent shot the victorie was atchiued, to the great confusion of the French nation. ¶ Of such price were the English bowes in that season, that nothing was able to withstand them; whereas now our archers couet not to drawe long and strong bowes, but rather to shoot compasse, which are not mæt for the warres, nor greatlie to be feared, though they come into the field.

The king of England with his armie kept still his field, vntill mondaie in the morning, and then dislodged, and came before Motureell by the sea, and his marshals ran towards Hedin. The next daie they road toward Bullongne, & at Wisam the king and the prince incamped, and tarried a whole daie to refresh their people, and on the wednesdaie being the thirtith day of August, he came before the strong towne of Calis, and there planted his siege, and erected bastides betweene the towne and the ritter, and caused carpenters to make houses and lodgings of great timber, which were couered with reed & brome, so manie and in such order, that it séemed a new towne, and in it was a market place appointed of purpose, in the which the market was dailie kept of vittels, & all other necessarie things euerie tuesdaie and saturdaie, so that a man might haue bought what he would of things brought thither out of England & Flanders. ¶ But now, forsomuch as we haue spoken of this iournie and inuasion made by king Edward into France, in this nineteenth yéere of his reigne, accordinglie as we haue gathered out of Froissard, and diuerse other authors, I haue thought good to make the reader partaker of the contents of a letter written by a chapleine of the said king, and attendant about him in the same iornie, conteining the successe of his procéedings after his departure from Poissie, which letter is inserted with others in the historie of Robert de Auesburie, and Englished by maister Iohn Fox as followeth.

Calis besieged.

A letter of W. Northbourgh the kings confessor describing the kings voiage into France.

In the Acts and monuments.

SAlutations premised. We giue you to vnderstand, that our souereigne lord the king came to the towne of Poissie the daie before the Assumption of our ladie, where was a certeine bridge ouer the water of Saine broken downe by the enimie, but the king tarried there so long, till that the bridge was made againe. And whiles the bridge was in reparing, there came a great number of men at armes, and other souldiers well armed, to hinder the same. But the earle of Northampton issued out against them, and slue of them more than a thousand, the rest fled awaie: thankes be to God. And at another time, our men passed the water (although with much trauell) and slue a great number of the common souldiers of France, about the citie of Paris, and countrie adioining, being part of the French kings armie, and throughlie well appointed: so that our people haue now made other good bridges vpon our enimies, God be thanked, without anie losse and damage to vs. And on the morrow after the Assumption of our ladie, the king passed the water of Saine, and marched toward Poissie, which is a towne of great defense, and stronglie walled, and a maruellous strong castell within the same, which our enimies kept. And when our vauntgard was passed the towne, our rergard gaue an assault therevnto, and tooke the same, where were slaine more than three hundred men at armes of our enimies

part.

part. And the next daie following, the earle of Suffolke, and sir Hugh Spenser, marched forth vpon the commons of the countrie assembled and well armed, and in fine discomfited them, and slue of them more than two hundred, & toke three score gentlemen prisoners, beside others.

And after that, the king marched toward grand Villiers, and while he was there incamped, the kings vantgard was descried by the men at armes of the K. of Boheme: wherevpon our men issued out in great hast and ioined battell with them, but were inforced to retire. Notwithstanding, thanks be vnto God, the earle of Northampton issued out, and rescued the horssemen with the other soldiers: so that few or none of them were either taken or slaine, sauing onlie Thomas Talbot, but had againe the enimie in chase within two leagues of Amiens: of whome we toke eight, and slue twelue of their best men at armes: the rest being well horssed, toke the towne of Amiens. After this the king of England marched toward Pountife, vpon Bartholomew day, and came to the water of Some, where the French king had laid fiue hundred men at armes, and three thousand footmen, purposing to haue kept and stopped our passage: but thanks be to God, the K. of England and his host entered the same water of Some, where neuer man passed before, without losse of any of our men; and after that incountered with the enimie, and slue of them more than 2000, the rest fled to Abuile, in which chase were taken manie knights, esquiers, & men at armes. The same day sir Hugh Spenser toke the towne of Crotaie, where he & his soldiers slue 400 men at armes, & kept the towne, where they found great store of vittels.

The same night incamped the king of England in the forrest of Cressie vpon the same water, for that the French kings host came on the other side of the towne, nere vnto our passage: but he would not take the water of vs, & so marched toward Abuile. And vpon the fridaie next following, the king being still incamped in the said forrest, our scuriers descried the French K. which marched toward vs in foure great battels; and hauing then vnderstanding of our enimies (as Gods will was) a little before the euening tide, we drew to the plaine field, and set our battels in arraie: and immediatlie the fight began, which was sore and cruell, & indured long, for our enimies behaued themselues right noblie. But thanks be giuen vnto God, the victorie fell on our side, & the king our aduersarie was discomfited with all his host & put to flight: where also was slaine the king of Boheme, the duke of Lorraine, the earle of Alanson, the earle of Flanders, the earle of Blois, the earle of Harecourt, with his two sons, the earle of Daumarle, the earle de Neuers, and his brother the lord of Tronard, the archbishop of Nilsnes, the archbishop of Sens, the high prior of France, the earle of Sauoie, the lord of Horles, the lord de Guies, le seigneur de Saint Nouant, le seigneur de Rolinburgh, with six earles of Almaine, and diuerse other earles, barons, knights, and esquiers, whose names are vnknowne. And Philip de Valois himselfe, with an other marques, which was called lord elector among the Romans, escaped from the battell. The number of the men of armes which were found dead in the field, beside the common soldiers and footmen, were a thousand, fiue hundred, fortie and two: and all that night the king of England with his host aboad armed in the field, where the battell was fought.

On the next morrow, before the sunne rose, there marched towards vs another great host mightie & strong, of the Frenchmen: but the earle of Northampton, and the earle of Norffolke issued out against them in three battels, & after long and terrible fight, them likewise they discomfited by Gods great helpe and grace (for otherwise it could neuer haue bene) where they toke of knights and esquiers a great number, and slue aboue two thousand, pursuing the chase three leages from the place where the battell was fought. The same night also the king incamped himselfe againe in the forrest of Cressie, and on the morrow marched toward Bullongne, and by the way he toke the towne of Staples: and from thence he marched toward Calis, where he intendeth to plant his siege, and laie his batterie to the same. And therfore our souereigne lord the king willeth and commandeth you, in all that euer you may, to send to the said siege vittels conuenient. For after the time of our departing from Caen, we haue trauelled through the countrie with great perill & danger of our people, but yet alwaies had of vittels plentie, thanks be to God therefore. But now (as the case standeth) we partlie need your helpe to be refreshed with vittels. Thus fare you well. Written at the siege before the towne of Calis, the fourteenth daie of September.

But now touching the siege of Calis, and to returne where we left, ye shall vnderstand, that (as ye haue heard) the English campe was furnished with sufficient prouision of meat, drinke, apparell, munition, and all other things necessarie: and oftentimes also the soldiers made roads and forrais into the borders of France next adioining, as towards Guines, and saint Omer, ye euen to the gates of that towne, and sometime to Bullongne. Also the earle of Northampton fetched a bootie out of Arthois, and as he returned toward the host, he came to Terrouan, which towne the bishop had fortified and manned, deliuering the custodie therof vnto sir Arnold Dandrehen: for when he heard the Englishmen approched, he durst not tarrie within the citie himselfe, but got him to saint Omers. Sir Arnold stood valiantlie to his defense, and would not yeeld, till by verie force the Englishmen entered the citie, slue the soldiers, and toke their capteine the said sir Arnold prisoner. The citie was put to sacke, and after set on fire. And when the Englishmen were departed, there came a number of Flemings from the siege, which they had laid

Iac. Meir.

Terrouan.

Terrouan woon by force.

laid before S. Omers, and began a new spoile, and fired such houses belonging to the canons and other, which the Englishmen had spared. Thus were those confines in most miserable case, for no house nor other thing was in safegard, but such as were conteined within closure of strong townes and fortresses.

Froissard.

The king of England would not assaile the towne of Calis by giuing anie assault to it, for he knew he should but lose his labour, and waste his people, it was so strong of it selfe, and so well furnished with men of warre. Capteine thereof also was one sir John de Vienne, a valiant knight of Burgoigne, hauing with him diuerse other right hardie and expert capteins, knights, and esquiers. When the said sir John de Vienne saw the manner of the English host, and what the kings intention was, he constreined all the poore and meane people to depart out of the towne. The king of England perceiuing that this was done of purpose to spare vittels, would not driue them backe againe to helpe to consume the same, but rather pitied them; and therefore did not onelie shew them so much grace to suffer them to passe through his host, but also gaue them meat and drinke to dinner, and moreouer two pence sterling to euerie person: which charitable deed wan him much praise, and caused manie of his enimies to praie right hartilie for his good successe and prosperitie. A most notable example of pitie and compassion, teaching other to be in like sort affected, and also to know, that

Sir John de Vienne capteine of Calis.

The king of Englands pitie towards the poore.

Spernit cælorum regem spretor miserorum.

The duke of Normandie sent for.

The French king meaning to raise the siege from Calis, which the king of England kept there, sent for his sonne the duke of Normandie, which had line long at the siege of Aiguillon, and now by commandement of his father left it sore against his will. In this meane while, the earle of Derbie remained in the citie of Burdeaux, and there had held him during all the time that the siege laie before Aiguillon. When he once vnderstood that the siege was raised, and that the duke of Normandie had broken vp his campe, he sent into Gascoigne for all knights and esquires that held of the English part. Then came to Burdeaux the lord Dalbret, the lord de Lespare, the lord de Rosam, the lord of Pusident, the lord of Puniers, and a great sort more of the lords and nobles of Gascoigne, so that the earle had twelue hundred men of armes, two thousand archers, and three thousand other footmen. They passed the riuer of Garon, betwixt Burdeaux and Blaie, and toke their waie to Xanctonge, so to go vnto Poictiers, and toke by the waie the towne of Mirabell by assault: they wan also the towne and castell of Aunaie, Surgieres and Benon. Also they toke Maraunt in Poictow by force, they burnt also the towne of Lusignen, but the castell they could not win. Moreouer, they did win the bridge, towne, and castell of Tailburge, and slue all that were found within it, because a knight of the English part was slaine in the assaulting. From thence the earle of Derbie went and laid siege to saint John Dangelie, which was yelded to him by composition.

The earle of Derbie assembleth an armie

Towns won by the earle of Derbie.

At last he made three assaults, but could not win it, and so from thence he came to Bourge saint Mariment, the which was woone by force, and all that were within it slaine; and in like manner the towne of Montreuill Bonin was woone, and the most part of them within slaine, that toke vpon them to defend it, which were 200 coiners of monie that wrought in the mint, which the French king kept there. From thence he passed forward with his host, and finallie came before the citie of Poictiers, which was great and large, so that he could not besiege it but on the one side. The third daie after his comming thither, he caused the citie to be assaulted in three places, and the greatest number were appointed to assaile the weakest part of the citie. As then there were no expert men of warre within Poictiers, but a great multitude of people vnskilfull and not vsed to any feats of warre, by reason whereof the Englishmen entered in at the weakest place. When they within saw the citie woone, they fled out at other gates, but yet there were slaine to the number of seauen hundred persons, for all that came in the Englishmens waie were put to the sword, men, women, and children. The citie was sacked and rifled, so that great store of riches was gotten there, as well of the inhabitants as other that had brought their goods thither for safegard of the same. The earle of Derbie laie there ten or twelue daies, and longer might haue laine, if his pleasure had so beene, for there was none that durst go about to disquiet him, all the countrie trembled so at his presence.

The citie of Poictiers woon by force.

At his departure from Poictiers he left the citie void, for it was too great to be kept: his souldiers and men of warre were so pestered with riches, that they wist not what to do therewith: they esteemed nothing but gold and siluer, and feathers for men of warre. The earle visited by the waie as he returned homewards to Burdeaux the towne of saint John Dangelie, and other fortresses which he had woone in going towards Poictiers, and hauing furnished them with men, munition, and vittels necessarie, at his comming to Burdeaux he brake vp his host, and licencing his people to depart, thanked them for their paines and good seruice. All this while the siege continued still before Calis, and the French king amongst other deuises which he imagined how to raise the K. of England from it, procured the Scots to make warre into England, insomuch that Dauid king of Scotland, notwithstanding the truce which yet indured betwixt him and the king of England, vpon hope now to do some great exploit, by reason of the absence of king Edward, intangled thus with the besieging of Calis, he assembled the whole puissance of his realme, to the number of fortie or threescore thousand fighting men (as some write) and with them entered into England, burning, spoiling, and wasting the countrie, till he came as far as Durham.

Saint John Dangelie.

The king of Scots inuadeth England. Polydor.

The lords of England that were left at home with the queene for the sure keeping and defense of the realme, perceiuing the king of Scots thus boldie to inuade the land, and in hope of spoile to send forth his light horsemen to harrie the countrie on ech side him, assembled an host of all such people as were able to beare armour, both priests and other. Their generall assemblie was appointed at Newcastell, and when they were all togither, they were to the number of 1200 men of armes, three thousand archers, and seauen thousand other, with the Welshmen, and issuing out of the towne, they found the Scots readie to come forward to incounter them. Then euerie man was set in order of battell, and there were foure battels ordeined, one to aid another. The first was led by the bishop of Durham, Gilbert de Vnfreuile earle of Anegos, Henrie lord Percie, and the lord Henrie Scrope: the second by the archbishop of Yorke, and the lord Rafe Neuill: the third by the bishop of Lincolne, John lord Mowbraie, and the lord Thomas de Rokebie: the fourth was gouerned by the lord Edward Baliol capteine of Berwike, the archbishop of Canturburie, and the lord Ros: beside these were W. lord d' Eincourt, Robert de Ogle, and other. The queene was there in person, and went from ranke to ranke, and incouraged hir people in the best manner she could, and that done she departed, committing them and their cause to God the giuer of all victorie.

The English lords assemble a power to fight with the Scots. Froissard.

Tho. Walf. Froissard. The queenes diligence.

Shortlie herevpon the Scots set forward to begin

gin the battell, and likewise did the Englishmen, and therewith the archers on both parts began to shot: the shot of the Scots did little hurt, but the archers of England sore galled the Scots, so that there was an hard battell. They began at nine of the clocke, and continued still in fight till none. The Scots had sharpe and beaute axes, & gaue with the same great and mightie strokes, howbeit finallie the Englishmen by the helpe of God obteined the victorie, although they lost manie of their men. There were diuerse of the nobles of Scotland slaine, to the number of seuen earles, beside lords. The king was taken in the field sore wounded, for he fought valiantlie. He was prisoner to an esquier of Northumberland, who assone as he had taken him, rode out of the field with him, accompanied onelie with eight of his seruants, and rested not till he came to his owne castell where he dwelled, being thirtie miles distant from the place of the battell.

The Scots fight with axes.

The Englishmen obteine the victorie.

The king of Scots taken.

There was taken also beside him, the earles of Fife, Sutherland, Wighton, and Menteth, the lord William Douglas, the lord Uescie, the archbishop of S. Andrewes, and another bishop, with sir Thomelin Foukes, and diuerse other men of name. There were slaine of one and other to the number of 15 thousand. This battell was fought beside the citie of Durham at a place called Neuils crosse, vpon a saturdaie next after the feast of saint Michaell, in the yeare of our Lord 1346. Of this ouerthrow Christopher Okland hath verie commendablie written, saieng,

Hect. Boetius. Ri. Southwell. Fabian. Froissard.

Neuils crosse.

haud omine dextro
Iam Scotus intulerat vim Dunelmensibus agris,
Cùm formidandum sæuus bellum instruit Anglus,
Aggreditúrque hostem violantem fœdera sacra.
Nominis incerti Scoticæ plebs obuia gentis
Sternitur, & trisli gladio cadit impia turba,
Fruslrà obluctantur Scotiæ comitésque ducésque,
Quorum pars iacet occumbens; pars cætera capta
Captiuum corpus dedit vincentibus, auro
Et pacto pretio redimendum, bellicus vt mos
Postulat. At Dauid Scotiæ rex captus ad vrbem
Londinum fidei pendens dignissima fractæ
Supplicia, adductus celebri concluditur arce.
Exiguus numerus volueri pede fisus equorum
Effugit in patriam, testis certissimus Anglos
Deuicisse suos, & tristia funera narrant.

In Angl. prælijs sub Edwardo 3.

¶ He that will see more of this battell, may find the same also set forth in the Scotish historie, as their writers haue written thereof. And for somuch as by the circumstances of their writings, it should seeme they kept the remembrance of the same battell perfectlie registred, we haue in this place onelie shewed what other writers haue recorded of that matter, and left that which the Scotish chronicles write, to be seene in the life of king Dauid, without much abridging therof. The Englishmen after this victorie thus obteined, tooke the castels of Roxburgh and Hermitage, and also without any resistance subdued the countries of Anandale, Galloway, Mers, Tiuidale, and Ethrike forrest, extending their marches forth at that time vnto Tokburnes Peth, and Sowtray hedge, and after vnto Tarlinlips, and crosse Caue.

See in Scotland.

Hector Boet. Countries of Scotland subdued by the Englishmen. Froissard.

The queene of England being certeinelie informed that the king of Scots was taken, & that John Copland had conueied him out of the field, no man vnderstood to what place, she incontinentlie wrote to him, commanding him forthwith to bring his prisoner king Dauid vnto hir presence: but John Copland wrote to hir againe for a determinate answer, that he would not deliuer his prisoner the said king Dauid vnto any person liuing, man or woman, except onelie to the king of England, his souereigne lord and master. Herevpon the queene wrote letters to the king, signifieng to him both of the happie victorie chanced to his people against the Scots, and also of the demeanor of John Copland, in deteining the Scotish king. King Edward immediatlie by letters commanded John Copland to repaire vnto him where he laie at siege before Calis, which with all conuenient spéd he did, and there so excused himselfe of that which the queene had found hirselfe greeued with him, for deteining the king of Scots from hir, that the king did not onelie pardon him, but also gaue to him fiue hundred pounds sterling of yearelie rent, to him & to his heires for euer, in reward of his good seruice and valiant prowes, and made him esquire for his bodie, commanding him yet vpon his returne into England to deliuer king Dauid vnto the queene, which he did, and so excused himselfe also vnto hir, that she was therewith satisfied and contented. Then the queene, after she had taken order for the safe kéeping of the king of Scots, and good gouernement of the realme, tooke the sea and sailed ouer to the king hir husband still lieng before Calis.

John Copland rewarded.

Whilest Calis was thus besieged by the king of England, the Flemings which had latelie before besieged Betwine, and had raised from thence about the same time that the battell was fought at Cressie, now assemble togither againe, and doing what damage they might against the Frenchmen on the borders, they laie siege vnto the towne of Aire. Moreouer, they wrought so for the king of England (earnestlie requiring their frendship in that behalfe) that their soueregne lord Lewes earle of Flanders being as then about fiftéene yeares of age, fianced the ladie Isabell daughter to the king of England, more by constraint indeed of his subiects, than for any good will he bare to the king of England: for he would often saie, and openlie protest, that he would neuer marrie hir whose father had slaine his: but there was no remedie, for the Flemings kept him in maner as a prisoner, till he granted to follow their aduise. But the same weeke that the mariage was appointed to be solemnized, the earle as he was abroad in hawking at the hearon, stale awaie and fled into France, not staieng to ride his horsse vpon the spurs till he came into Arthois, and so dishonorablie disappointed both the king of England, and his owne naturall subiects the Flemings, to their high displeasure.

Ia. Meir. The Flemings.

Froissard. 1347 Anno Reg. 21.

The earle of Flanders cõstreined to promise mariage to the king of Englands daughter.

While the king laie thus before Calis, diuerse lords and knights came to see him out of Flanders, Brabant, Heinault, and Almaigne. Amongst other came the lord Robert of Namur, and was reteined with the king as his seruant, the king giuing him three hundred pounds sterling of yearelie pension out of his coffers to be paid at Bruges. During the time that the siege thus continued before Calis, the lord Charles de Blois, that named himselfe duke of Britaine, was taken before a castell in Britaine, called la Roch Darien, and his armie discomfited, chéeflie by the aid of that valiant English knight sir Thomas Dagworth, who had beene sent from the siege of Calis by king Edward to assist the countesse of Montfort and other his frends against the said Charles de Blois, that with a gret armie of Frenchmen and Britains, had the same time besieged the said castell of Roch Darien, cõstreining them within in such forceable maner, that they stood in great need of present succors. The said sir Thomas Dagworth aduertised hereof, with three hundred men of armes, and foure hundred archers of his owne retinues, beside certeine Britaines, approched to the siege, and on the 20 of June earlie in the morning, a quarter of an houre before day, suddenlie set vpon the enimies, who hauing knowledge of his comming, were readie to receiue him as the day before, but being now surprised

The lord Charles de Blois taken prisoner.

Sir Thomas Dagworth. Froissard.

Sir John Hartille an English knight was also there with him.

John Copland refuseth to deliuer the K. of Scots.

prised thus on the sudden, they were greatlie amazed: for they that were within Roch Darien, as sone as the appearance of daie had discouered the matter vnto them, so that they might know their frends from their enimies, they issued forth, and holpe not a litle to the atchiuing of the victorie, which was cléerelie obteined before sunne-rising, and the French armie quite discomfited, greatlie to the praise of the said sir Thomas Dagworth and his companie, considering their small number, in comparison of their aduersaries, who were reckoned to be twelue hundred good men of armes, knights, and esquiers, beside six hundred other armed men, two thousand crossebowes, six hundred archers of the countrie of Britaine, and footmen of commons innumerable.

There were taken, besides the lord Charles de Blois naming himselfe duke of Britaine, diuerse other lords and men of name, as monsieur Guie de la Vaall sonne and heire to the lord la Vaall, which died in the battell, the lord of Rochefort, the lord de Beaumanour, the lord of Loiacke, with other lords, knights, and esquiers, in great numbers. There were slaine the said lord de la Vaall, the Vicount of Rohan, the lord of Chasteau Brian, the lord de Maletreit, the lord de Quinkin, the lord de Rouge, the lord of Dercuall and his sonne, sir Rafe de Montford, and manie other worthie men of armes, knights and esquiers, to the number of betwixt six and seuen hundred, as by a letter written by the said sir Thomas Dagworth, and registred in the historie of Robert de Auesburie doth appeare.

In this meane while, king Philip hauing dailie word how the power of his enimie king Edward did increase by aid of the Easterlings and other nations, which were to him alied, and that his men within Calis were brought to such an extreme point, that without spéedie rescue they could not long keepe the towne, but must of force render it ouer into the hands of his said enimie, to the great preiudice of all the realme of France, after great deliberation taken vpon this so weightie a matter, he commanded euerie man to meet him in their best arraie for the warre, at the feast of Pentecost in the citie of Amiens, or in those marches. At the daie and place thus appointed, there came to him Odes duke of Burgoigne, and the duke of Normandie eldest sonne to the king, the duke of Orleance his yongest sonne, the duke of Burbon, the earle of Fois, the lord Lois de Sauoie, the lord John of Heinalt, the earle of Armnacke, the earle of Forrest, and the earle Valentinois, with manie others.

Fabian.

The French king assembleth an armie Froissard.

These noble men being thus assembled, they toke councell which waie they might passe to giue battell to the Englishmen: it was thought the best waie had bene through Flanders, but the Flemings in fauor of the king of England denied, not onelie to open their passages to the Frenchmen, but also had leuied an armie of an hundred thousand men of one and other, and laid siege to Aire, and burnt the countrie all about. Wherepon there were manie sharpe bickerings and sore incounters betwixt the Flemings and such Frenchmen as king Philip sent forth against them both, now, whilest the French armie laie about Amiens, and also before, during all the time that the siege lay at Calis. For all the French townes vpon the frontiers were stuffed with strong garrisons of souldiers, as Lisle, saint Omers, Arras, Bullongne, Aire and Pontremill, and those men of war were euer readie vpon occasion to attempt sundrie exploits. After this, when the armie of the Flemings was broken vp, and returned home, or rather diuided into parts, and lodged along on the frontiers, the French king with two thousand men one and other came forward, taking his way through the countrie

The Flemings besiege Aire.

Ja. Meir.

The French K. cometh towards Calis.

called la Belme, and so by the countrie of Frankeberge, came streight to the hill of Sangate, betwixt Calis and Wisant.

The king of England had caused a strong castell to be made betweene the towne of Calis and the sea, to close vp that passage, and had placed therein three score men of armes, and two hundred archers, which kept the hauen in such sort that nothing could come in nor out. Also considering that his enimies could come neither to succour the towne, nor to annoie his host, except either by the downes alongst the sea side, or else aboue by the high waie, he caused all his nauie to drawe alongst by the coast of the downes, to stop vp that the Frenchmen should not approch that waie. Also the erle of Derbie being come thither out of Guien, was appointed to keepe Newland bridge, with a great number of men of armes and archers, so that the Frenchmen could not approch anie waie, vnlesse they would haue come through the marishes, which to do was not possible.

The earle of Derbie.

Fifteene hundred of the commons of Tournie wan a tower, which the Englishmen had made and kept for the impeachment of the Frenchmens passage by the downes, but that notwithstanding, when the marshals of France had well viewed all the passages and streets through the which their armie must passe, if they meant to fight with the Englishmen, they well perceiued that they could not come to the Englishmen to giue them battell, without the king would lose his people, wherevpon (as Froissard saith) the French king sent the lord Geffrey de Charnie, the lord Eustace de Ribaumont, Guie de Nele, and the lord de Beauiew vnto the king of England, which required him on their maisters behalfe to appoint certeine of his councell, as he would likewise appoint certeine of his, which by common consent might aduise betweene them an indifferent place for them to trie the battell vpon: wherevnto the king of England answered, That there he was and had béene almost a whole yeare, which could not be vnknowne to his aduersarie their maister, so that he might haue come soner if he would: but now, sith he had suffered him there to remaine so long, without offer of battell, he meant not to accomplish his desire, nor to depart from that, which to his great cost he had brought now at length to that point, that he might easilie win it. Wherefore if the French K. nor his host could not passe those waies which were closed by the English power, let them séeke some other passage (said he) if they thinke to come hither.

The request of the French lords to the king of England.

His answer.

In this meane while came two cardinals frō pope Clement, to treat a peace betwixt the two kings, wherevpon commissioners were appointed, as the dukes of Burgoigne and Burbone, the lord Lewes de Sauoie, and the lord John de Heinault, otherwise called lord Beaumont, on the French part: and the earles of Derbie and Northampton, the lord Reginald Cobham, and the lord Walter de Mannie, on the English part. These commissioners and the legates (as intreators betwéene the parties) met and communed three daies togither, but agréed not vpon anie conclusion, and so the cardinals departed; and the French king perceiuing he could not haue his purpose, brake vp his host and returned to France, bidding Calis farewell. After that the French king with his host was once departed from Sangate, without ministring anie succour to them within the towne, they began to sue for a parlée, which being granted, in the end they were contented to yéeld, and the king granted to receiue them and the towne on these conditions; that six of the chéefe burgesses of the towne should come forth bareheaded, barefooted, and barelegged, and in their shirts, with halters about their necks, with the keies of the towne and castell in

Cardinals sent to intreat of peace.

They depart.

The French K. returneth into France.

The conditions of the surrender of Calis.

their hands, to submit themselues simplie to the kings will, and the residue he was contented to take to mercie.

This determinate resolution of king Edward being intimated to the commons of the towne, assembled in the market place by the sound of the common bell before the capteine, caused manie a weeping eie amongst them: but in the end, when it was perceiued that no other grace would be obteined, six of the most wealthie burgesses of all the towne agreed to hazard their liues for the safegard of the residue, and so according to the prescript order deuised by the K. they went forth of the gates, and were presented by the lord Walter de Mannie to the king, before whom they kneeled downe, offered to him the keies of the towne, and besought him to haue mercie vpon them. But the king regarding them with a fell countenance, commanded streight that their heads should be stricken off. And although manie of the noble men did make great intreatance for them, yet would no grace be shewed, vntill the queene being great with child, came and kneeled downe before the king hir husband, and with lamentable cheere & weeping eies intreated so much for them, that finallie the kings anger was aswaged & his rigor turned to mercie (for *Flectitur iratus voce rogante Deus*) so that he gaue the prisoners vnto hir to do hir pleasure with them. Then the queene commanded them to be brought into hir chamber, and caused the halters to be taken from their necks, clothed them anew, gaue them their dinner, and bestowing vpon ech of them six nobles, appointed them to be conueied out of the host in safegard, and set at libertie.

Six burgesses of Calis presented to the king.

The queene obteined their pardon.

Thus was the strong towne of Calis yelded vp into the hands of king Edward, the third of August, in the yeare 1347. The capteine the lord John de Vienne, and all the other capteins and men of name were staied as prisoners, and the common soldiers and other meane people of the towne were licenced to depart and void their houses, leauing all their armor and riches behind them. The king would not haue any of the old inhabitants to remaine in the towne, saue onlie a priest, and two other ancient personages, such as best knew the customes, lawes and ordinances of the towne. He appointed to send ouer thither amongst other Englishmen, there to inhabit, 36 burgesses of London, and those of the wealthiest sort, for he meant to people the towne onelie with Englishmen, for the better and more sure defense thereof. The king and queene were lodged in the castell, and continued there, till the queene was deliuered of a daughter named Margaret.

Calis yelded to the king of England.

Calis made a colonie of Englishmen.

The queene brought to bed in the castell of Calis. Polydor.

The cardinals, of whome ye heard before, being come as legats from pope Clement to moue communication of peace, did so much in the matter, that a truce was granted betwixt the realme of England & France, for the terme of twelue moneths, or two yeares (as Froissard saith.) But the English chronicle and Iacobus Meir saie to agree, that this truce was taken but for nine moneths, though afterwards the same was proroged. To the which truce all parties agreed, Britaine excepted, for the two women there would not be quieted, but still pursued the war the one against the other. After that this truce was accorded, the king with the queene his wife returned into England, and left as capteine within Calis one sir Amerie of Pauie an Italian knight, or (as other bookes haue) he was but capteine of the castell, or of some one of the towers of that towne, which seemeth more like to be true, than that the king should commit the whole charge of the towne vnto his gouernement, being a stranger borne, and therefore Iacobus Meir is the more to be credited, that writeth how sir Amerie of Pauie was left but in charge with the castell onelie, and that the towne was committed to the keeping of the lord John Beauchampe, and Lewes his brother.

Caxton. Ia. Meir. A truce.

Women hard to agree.

Sir Amerie de Pauie.

But now that there was a peace thus concluded betwixt the two kings, it seemed to the English people that the sunne brake forth after a long cloudie season, by reason both of the great plentie of all things, and remembrance of the late glorious victories: for there were few women that were housekeepers within this land, but they had some furniture of household that had beene brought to them out of France, as part of the spoile got in Caen, Calis, Carenten, or some other good towne. And beside houshold stuffe, the English maides and matrones were bedecked and trimmed vp in French womens iewels and apparell, so that as the French women lamented for the losse of those things, so our women reioised of the gaine. In this 22 yeare, from Midsummer to Christmasse for the more part it continuallie rained, so that there was not one day and night drie togither, by reason whereof great floods insued, and the ground therewith was sore corrupted, and manie inconueniences insued, as great sickenes, and other, in somuch that in the yeare following in France the people died wonderfullie in diuerse places. In Italie also, and in manie other countries, as well in the lands of the infidels, as in christendome, this grieuous mortalitie reigned to the great destruction of people. ¶ About the end of August, the like death began in diuerse places of England, and especiallie in London, continuing so for the space of twelue moneths following. And vpon that insued great barrennesse, as well of the sea, as the land, neither of them yelding such plentie of things as before they had done. Wherupon vittels and corne became scant and hard to come by.

1348 Thom. Walsi.

Anno Reg. 22. Great raine.

1349 Anno Reg. 23. A great mortalitie.

Dearth.

About the same time died John Stretford archbishop of Canturburie, after whome succeeded John Offord, who liued not in that dignitie past ten moneths, and then followed Thomas Bredwardin, who deceassed within one yeare after his consecration, so that then Simon Islep was consecrated archbishop by pope Clement the sixt, being the 53 archbishop that had sit in that seat. Within a while after, William archbishop of Yorke died: in whose place succeeded John Torshie, being the 44 archbishop that had gouerned that church. Moreouer in this 23 yeare of king Edwards reigne, the great mortalitie in England still continuing, there was a practise in hand for recouering againe of Calis to the French kings possession. The lord Geffrie of Charnie lieng in the towne of S. Omers, did practise with sir Amerie de Pauie, to be receiued into the towne of Calis by the castell, secretlie in the night season. The Italian gaue eare to the lord Geffrie his suite; and to make few words, couenanted for the summe of twentie thousand crownes to betraie the towne vnto him, in such sort as he could best deuise.

A practise to betraie Calis.

¶ Here writers varie: for Froissard saith that king Edward had information thereof, before that sir Amerie de Pauie vttered the thing himselfe; but the French chronicles, and also other writers affirme, that the Italian aduertised the king of all the drift and matter betwixt him & the lord Geffrie of Charnie, before he went through with the bargaine. But whether by him or by other, truth it is the king was made priuie to the matter at Hauering Bower in Esser (where he kept the feast of Christmasse) & thereupon departing from thence, he came to Douer, and the daie before the night of the appointment made for the deliuerie of the castell of Calis (hauing secretlie made his prouision (he toke shipping, and landed the same night at Calis, in so secret maner, that but few of the towne vnderstood of his arriuall, he brought

Diuersitie in writers.

Fabian.

Froissard.

The king secretlie passeth ouer to Calis.

brought with him out of England three hundred men of armes, and six hundred archers, whom he laid in chambers and towers within the castell, so closelie that few or none perceiued it, the maner he knew by sir Amerie de Pauie his aduertisements (accordinglie as it was agréed betwixt them) that the lord Geffrie of Charnie was appointed to come and enter the towne that night, for the king had commanded sir Amerie to proceed in merchandizing with the said lord Charnie, and onelie to make him priuie of the day & houre in the which the feat should be wrought.

The lord Geffrie de Charnie.

1350

The lord Geffrie de Charnie being couenanted that he should be receiued into Calis the first night of the new yeare, departed from S. Omers, where he had assembled fiue hundred speares, the last day of December toward night, and so in secret wise he passed forth, till about the middest of the next night after, he approched nere to Calis, and sending an hundred men of armes to take possession of the castell, and to paie the Italian his twentie thousand crownes, came to the posterne of the castell, where sir Amerie de Pauie hauing let downe the posterne bridge, was readie to bring them in by the same posterne, and so the hundred men of armes entered, and sir Edward de Rentie deliuered to the Italian his twentie thousand crownes in a bag, who when he had cast the crownes into a coffer (for he had no leisure to tell them) he brought the Frenchmen into the dungeon of the castell, as it were to possesse them of the cheefest strength of the fortresse. Within this dungeon or tower was the king of England closelie laid, with two hundred men of armes, who issued out with their swords and axes in their hands, crieng Mannie to the rescue, for the king had so ordeined, that both he and his sonne should fight vnder the banner of the lord Walter de Mannie, as cheefe of that enterprise.

Sir Edward de Rentie.

The king crieth Mannie to the rescue.

Then were the Frenchmen greatlie abashed, in such wise, that perceiuing how no defense might aduance them, they yelded themselues without any great shew of resistance. Herewith the Englishmen issued out of the castell into the towne, and mounted on horsseback, for they had the French prisoners horsses, and then the archers road to Bullongne gate, where the lord Geffrie was with his banner before him of gules three scutchens siluer. He had great desire to be the first that should enter the towne: but shortlie the king of England with the prince his son was readie at the gate, vnder the banner of the lord Walter de Mannie to assaile him. There were also other banners, as the earles of Stafford and Suffolke, the lord John Montacute brother to the earle of Salisburie, the lord Beauchampe, the lord Berkley, and the lord de la Ware. Then the great gate was set open, and they all issued forth crieng Mannie to the rescue. The Frenchmen perceiuing that they were betraied, alighted from their horsses, and put themselues in order of battell on foot, determining to fight it out like valiant men of war. The king perceiuing this, caused his people likewise to be set in order of battell, & sent three hundred archers to Newland bridge, to distresse those Frenchmen, which he heard should be there. This was earelie in the morning but incontinentlie it was daie: the Frenchmen kept their ground a while, and manie feats of armes were done of both parts, but the Englishmen euer increased out of Calis, and the Frenchmen diminished, so that finallie they were ouercome, as well in the one place, as in the other.

The earles of Stafford and Suffolke, the lords Montacute, Berkley and la Ware.

The Frenchmen alight on foot.

Sir Eustace de Ribaumõt a right valiant knight.

It chanced that in the hotell of the fight, the king was matched with sir Eustace de Ribaumont, a right strong and hardie knight. There was a sore incounter betwixt him and the king, that maruell it was to behold them. At length they were put asunder, for a great companie of both parts came that waie, and there fought fiercelie togither. The Frenchmen did behaue themselues right valiantlie, and especiallie sir Eustace de Ribaumont: he strake the king that daie twise vpon his knees, but finallie he was taken prisoner by the king himselfe. The lord Geffrie of Charnie was also taken prisoner, and wounded right sore, but the king of his noble courtesie caused him to be dressed by surgions, and tenderlie loked vnto. There were slaine, sir Henrie de Blois, and sir Pepin de la Ware, with other, to the number of six hundred. Monsieur de Memorancie escaped with great danger. Froissard saieth, that this battell was fought in the yeare 1348, vpon the last of December, towards the next morning being Newyeares daie: but (as Auesburie & Walsingham haue, who begin the yeare at our ladie day) this enterprise chanced 1349, and so consequentlie in the 23 yeare of this kings reigne. All the prisoners were brought to the castell of Calis, where the K. the nert night gaue them a super, & made them right hartie cheare, and gaue to sir Eustace de Ribaumont a rich chaplet of pearles, which he then did weare on his owne head, in token that he had best deserued it for his manfull prowes shewed in the fight; & beside that in fauour of his tried valiancie, he acquit him of his ransome, and set him at libertie. This fact of the king was roiall in deed, and his clemencie greatlie to be commended; & therfore it is well said to this purpose,

He is taken prisoner by the king of England.

The lord Geffrie de Charnie is taken.

Sir Eustace de Ribaumont.

Gloria consequitur reges sic bella gerentes,
Sic certare parit decus immortale duello.

About the end of August the death in London ceassed, which had bin so great & vehement within that citie, that ouer & beside the bodies buried in other accustomed burieng places (which for their infinit number cannot be reduced into account) there were buried that yeare dailie, from Candlemasse till Easter, in the Charterhouse yard of London, more than two hundred dead corpses. Also this yeare, by the earnest sute of the two cardinals which were sent (as ye haue heard) from pope Clement the first, a peace was concluded for one yeare. There met nere vnto Calis for the treatie of this peace, the foresaid two cardinals, as mediators; and for the king of England, the bishop of Norwich treasuror and high chancellor of the realme, with others came thither as commissioners; and in like maner for the French king, there appeared the bishop of Lion, and the abbat of S. Denise.

Anno Reg. 24. The death ceaseth. Auesburie.

Commissioners meet to talke of peace.

¶ This yeare in August died Philip de Valois the French king. Here is to be noted, that all those that were borne, after the beginning of that great mortalitie whereof ye haue heard, wanted foure cheefe teeth (when they came to the time of growth) of those 32 which the people before that time commonlie vsed to haue, so that they had but 28. In this 24 yeare of this kings reigne, there was a combat fought in lists within the kings palace of Westminster, betwixt the lord John, bastard sonne to Philip king of France, & a knight of the towne of Ypres in Flanders; but the bastard had the vpper hand, and vanquished his aduersarie. ¶ About the feast of the decollation of saint John Baptist, king Edward aduertised of a fleet of Spaniards returning forth of Flanders, that was laden with clothes and other riches, assembled a conuenient power of men of armes and archers, & at Sandwich toke the sea with them, sailing forth, till vpon the coast of Winchelsie he met with the Spaniards, and there assailed them; so that betwixt him and those Spaniards, there was a sore fight, and long continued, to the great losse of people on both parts; but in the end, the bright beame of victorie shone vpon the English sailes, so that all the Spaniards were slaine, for they were so proud and obstinat (as Walsingham affirmeth) that they would not yeld, but rather chose to die, & so they did indeed,

When borne with fewer teeth than in times past. Caxton. Tho. Walsin. Polychron.

A combat.

Auesburie. Thom. Wals.

A Spanish fleet.

Spaniards vanquisht by the K. of England by sea.

either on the Englishmens weapons points, or else were they drowned there in the sea, sir and twentie of their ships were taken, in the which was found great store of good ware and riches. And so the king thought himselfe well reuenged of the Spaniards, which in the last yeare about Allhallontide, had entred into the riuer of Garons, as it runneth vp towards Burdeaux, and there finding manie ships fraught with wines, slue all the Englishmen they found aboord, and toke awaie the ships with them: which iniurie moued the king to enterprise this exploit now at this time against them. Thom. Walsi. Aluesburie.

About the beginning of August, sir Raoull de Cahors, and diuerse other knights and esquiers, to the number of six score men of armes, fought before a castell called Auleon, with sir Thomas Dagworth, and there slue the same sir Thomas, and to the number of one hundred men of armes with him. Froissard. Sir Thomas Dagworth slaine.

There were sent solemne messengers this yeare vnto Auignion, for the establishing of a peace, mentioned betwixt the king of England and France, at the sute of the pope, so that king Edward should haue resigned his title and claime to the crowne of France, and the French king should haue giuen ouer vnto him the whole duchie of Guien, to hold the same freelie, without knowledging of resort or superioritie, or doing any manner of homage for the same: but such delaies were made, and the sute so prolonged by the pope, that the erale of Derbie, who with others was sent to him about this matter, returned without spéed of his purpose for the which he went. Ambassadors sent to the pope.

Anno Reg. 25. 1351

In the fiue and twentith yeare of king Edwards reigne, the Frenchmen hauing laid siege vnto the towne of saint John Dangeli, the lord Albrets son, hauing assembled six hundred men of armes, Gascoigns and Englishmen, meant to worke some feat for releefe of them within, wher vpon, as he was marching through the countrie of Xaintonge neere vnto Xaincts the eighth of April, or (as other haue) the first, he was incountered by the lord Guie de Nœll, one of the marshals of France, & other French lords, where at length, the Frenchmen were discomfited, manie also slaine, and diuerse taken prisoners, of which number was the said marshall, with his brother the lord William, and sir Arnold de Dandrehen, beside others, to the number of 300 men of armes, but yet the siege remained, till for want of vittels the towne was rendered to the Frenchmen. Froissard.

The same yeare in October, an English archer of the garison of Calis, named John of Dancaster, by licence of the lord deputie of Calis, toke with him threescore persons men of armes and archers, and in the night that goeth before the feast daie of S. Vincent, in the last quarter of the same night, he coming to the castell of Guines, found as well the watch as others fast asleepe, whereupon he passed a water that adioined to the castell, wading vp to the girdle, and so came to the wall, where he & his companie rearing vp ladders, mounted by the same so secretlie, that slaieng the watch, being not past three or foure persons that were on the wals, they entred the castell, and finding the Frenchmen asleepe, slue those that vpon their wakening made any defense, and toke the residue, whome they suffered to depart: and by this meanes they wan the castell, finding great store of vittels within, and so as they found it, they kept it to the king of Englands vse. The French histories declare, that one Guilliam de Beauconroy that was capteine of this castell, betraied the place to the Englishmen, for a summe of monie, and when the French king required restitution bicause the truce was not yet expired, he was shifted off with this forged answer, that nothing was excepted by the assurance of the truce, concerning things that should be bought and sold. The Frenchman that betraied it, was shortlie after put to execution at Amiens. The castell of Guines wonne. Polydor.

In this yeare were the first peces of siluer called grotes and halfe grotes of foure pence & two pence the pece stamped, by the kings appointment, through the counsell of William de Edington bishop of Wincester lord treasuror. Before that time, there were no other coines, but the noble, halfe noble, and quarter noble, with the peces of siluer called sterlings. Bicause these new peces wanted of the weight of the old sterling coine, the prices as well of vittels as of other wares, did dailie rise, and seruants and workemen waring more craftie than before time they had bene, demanded great wages. Grotes and halfe grotes first coined.

¶ This yeare, vpon the euen of the Assumption of our lodie, sir John Bentlie knight, as then lord warden of Britaine, fought with the lord Guie de Nœll, marshall of France (latelie ransomed out of captiuitie) in the parts of Britaine, neere to a place called Mouron, betwixt Rennes and Pluremell, where the said marshall was slaine, togither with the lord of Briquebeke the Chateline of Beauuais, and diuerse other both Britains and Frenchmen. 1352 Anno Reg. 26. Mouron.

In the seuen and twentith yeare of his reigne, K. Edward held a parlement at Westminster, after the feast of Easter, in which an ordinance was deuised, what wages seruants and labourers should be allowed, prohibiting them to receiue aboue the rate which they were accustomed to take before the yeare of the great mortalitie. Seruants and labourers were in deed growen to be more subtill than before time they had béene; but by reason of the prices of things were inhanced, it is like they demanded greater wages than they had done before time: and one cause of the dearth was imputed to the new coine of monie, being of lesse weight in the value thereof, than before it had béene, so that the bishop of Wincester being lord treasuror, who had counselled the king to ordeine those grotes and halfe grotes, was euill spoken of amongst the people. In this parlement there were statutes also made, that clothes should in length and in breadth through the realme, beare the same assise, as was ordeined in the parlement holden at Northampton. Also, that all weares, milles, and other lets, should be remoued forth of riuers, that might be any hinderance of ships, boats, or lighters to passe vp and downe the same. But these good ordinances toke little or none effect, by reason of bribes that walked abroad, and frendship of lords and great men, that sought rather their owne commoditie, than the common-wealths. 1353 Anno Reg. 27. Tho. Walsi. In the printed booke of statutes it should appeare, that this parlement was rather holden in the 25 yeare of this kings reigne. Statutes for making of clothes. Weares and milles.

Shortlie after the feast of Pentecost, the earle of Derbie and Lancaster was made duke of Lancaster, and Rafe lord Stafford was created earle of Stafford. Whereas there had bene a treatie betwixt the lords of Britaine, and the king of England, not onelie for the deliuerance of the lord Charles de Blois, but also for the matching of his eldest sonne in mariage with one of king Edwards daughters, and so to inioy the dukedome in peace: this matter was so far forwards, that in the yeare last passed, the said lord Charles, leauing two of his sonnes and a daughter in pledge for the paiment of fortie thousand florens, agréed vpon for his ransome; he was permitted to returne into Britaine to prouide that monie: and withall, to procure a dispensation, that his eldest sonne might marrie with one of K. Edwards daughters, notwithstanding that otherwise they were within the degrees of consanguinitie, prohibiting them to marrie. Herevpon this yeare about Michaelmas, he returned into England with the same dispensation: but bicause about the same time the Britains had taken by stealth an Iland with a castell therein, that the Englishmen had kept, & put all those which they found Creations of noble men. The lord Charles of Blois.

found therein, to the sword, the said lord Charles, other wise duke of Britaine, lost the kings fauour, so that he would heare no more of anie such aliance, by waie of marriage, as had bæne communed of before: by reason whereof the British lords, that were in great number come ouer with the lord Charles de Blois, were constreined to returne home, without atchiuing anie part of their purpose, leauing the said lord Charles and his children behind them still hære in England.

Debate betwixt the dukes of Brunswike & Lancaster.

On the fourth day of September, the duke of Brunswike and the duke of Lancaster should haue fought a combat in Paris, about words the duke of Lancaster should speake, in derogation of the duke of Brunswikes honor, for the which the said duke had appealed him in the court of France: but when they were readie to haue tried it, and were on horssebacke with their speares in hand within the lists, at point to haue runne togither, the French king caused them to staie, and taking on him the matter, made them frends, and agreed them. This yeare the king by aduise of his councell remoued the mart or staple of wools from the townes in Flanders, and caused the same to be kept at Westminster, Chichester, Lincolne, Bristowe, Canturburie and Hull. This was done in despite of the Flemings, bicause they held not the couenants and agreements which they had made with the king, in the life time of Jaques Arteueld, by whose prouision the said mart or staple had bæne kept in sundrie townes in Flanders, to their great aduantage and commoditie.

Auesburie. Tho. Walsi. affirmeth that this remouing of the staple of wools was the 28 yeare of K. Edwards reigne.

Fabian.

Sir Walter Bentlie committed to the tower.

Sir Walter Bentlie, vpon his comming ouer forth of Britaine, where he had bæne the kings lieutenant, was committed to the tower, where he remained prisoner for the space of twelue moneths, bicause he refused to deliuer vp the castels within his gouernement, vnto sir John Auenell knight, being appointed to receiue the same, to the vse of the lord Charles de Blois, at the same time when the treatie of agreement was in hand, betwixt the king, and the said lord Charles. But after, when it was perceiued what damage might haue insued by deliuerie of those castels, sir Walter was set at libertie vpon sureties yet they were bound for his forth comming, and that he should not depart the realme: at length, he was receiued againe into the kings fauour. In the summer of this seauen and twentith yeare, was so great a drought, that from the latter end of March, fell little raine, till the latter end of Julie, by reason whereof, manie inconueniences insued: and one thing is specially to be noted, that corne the yeare following waxed scant, and the price began this yeare to be greatlie inhanced. Also bæues and muttons waxed dære for the want of grasse, and this chanced both in England and France, so that this was called the dære summer. The lord William duke of Bauiere or Bauarie, and earle of Zeland, brought manie ships into London, fraught with rie, for releefe of the people, who otherwise had, through their present pinching penurie, if not vtterlie perished, yet pittifullie pined.

A great drought.

A dearth.

Caxton. Corn brought out of Zeland.

1354
Anno Reg. 28.
Thom. Walsi. Auesburie.

In the eight and twentith yeare of king Edwards reigne, vpon a treatie that was holden by commissioners, appointed by the two kings of England and France, after Easter, they were in maner fullie agreed vpon a peace, so that nothing wanted, but putting vnto their seales. In the articles whereof it was conteined, that the king of England should inioy all the lands of his dutchie of Aquitaine, without holding the same of anie by homage, or resort, and in consideration thereof he should resigne all his claime to the crowne of France. Hærevpon were ambassadors sent from either king, vnto the pope, and a truce taken, to indure till the feast of saint John Baptist in the yeare next following. Ambassadors for the king of England were these: Henrie duke of Lancaster, John earle of Arundell, the bishops of Norwich and London, and the lord Guie de Brian. For the French king, the archbishop of Rouen lord chancellor of France, the duke of Burbon, and others: but when the matter came to be heard before the pope about Christmasse, all went to smoke that had bæne talked of: for the Frenchmen denied that the articles were drawne according to the meaning of their commissioners, and the pope also winked at the matter, so that the English ambassadors (when they saw that nothing would be concluded) returned home all of them) the bishop of Norwich excepted who departed this life there) and so their iournie came to none effect.

A truce betwixt England and France.

Ambassadors to the pope.

1355
Anno Reg. 29.

This yeare, the tenth of Februarie, there rose a sore debate betwixt the scholers and townesmen of Oxenford. The occasion rose by reason of the falling out of a scholer with one that sold wine: for the scholer perceiuing himselfe euill vsed, powred the wine on the drawers head, knocking the pot about his pate, so as the bloud ranne downe by his eares. Hærevpon began a sore fraie betwixt the scholers and townesmen, which continued for the most part of two daies togither. There were twentie townesmen slaine, beside those that were hurt: but at length, there came a great number of countrimen forth of the villages next adioining, to aid the townesmen, entring the towne with a blacke banner, and so fiercelie assailed the scholers, that they were constreined to flæ to their houses and hostels, but their enimies pursuing them, brake vp their doores, entered their chambers, slue diuerse of them, and threw them into priuies, tare their bookes, and bare awaie their goods. The scholers hærewith toke such displeasure, that they departed the Vniuersitie: those of Merton colledge, and other the like colledges onelie excepted.

Debate betwixt the scholers & townesmen of Oxenford.

The bishop of Lincolne inhibited præsts to celebrate diuine seruice in presence of anie laie man within that towne of Oxenford; and the king sending his iustices thither, to take knowledge of this disorderlie riot, there were diuerse, both of the townesmen and scholers indited, and certeine of the burgesses committed to ward. ¶ This yeare, the first sundaie in Lent, the king held a rotall iustes at Woodstoke, for ioy of the quænes purifieng, after the birth of hir first sonne, the lord Thomas, whome the bishop of Durham (named Thomas) held at the fontstone: he was borne the seauenth of Januarie last past. In the parlement holden at Westminster this yeare after Easter, the king toke vpon him to make an end of the quarrell betwixt the scholers and townesmen of Oxenford, and sauing to euerie man his right, pardoned the scholers of all transgressions: and this he signified into euerie shire, by writs directed to the shiriffes, they to proclame the same for more notice of the thing. And so in the summer following, the Vniuersitie began againe to flourish, students resorting thither from each side, and falling afresh to their academicall exercises, which they næded not to haue discontinued, if either partie, I meane the townesmen or scholers, would haue tolerated and borne one with another, and not so rashlie haue vndertaken the reuenge of one anothers wrath and iniurie; but,

Thom. Walsi. Auesburie. The quarrell appeased betwixt the scholers and townesmen at Oxenford.

Oderunt pacem stulti & certamina quærunt.

In this parlement, the processe of the iudgement had and made against Roger Mortimer, late earle of March, was reuoked, adnihilated, and made void, so that the lord Roger Mortimer was restored to the title and possessions of the earledome of March, as cousine and heire to his grandfather the said erle of March. Moreouer, to this parlement came the bishop of Carpentras, and the abbat of Clugnie, being sent

from pope Innocent the first, to make suite to haue the truce proroged betwixt the two kings, of England and France, to whome the king himselfe in person, made this resolute answer, that he would not agree to anie longer truce; for that, when diuerse times, at the Frenchmens suite, he had consented to haue truce by mediation of two cardinals, sent to him about the same matter, his aduersaries in the meane time, whilest such truces indured, had done much harme and damage by subtill practises to persons and places beyond the sea, that were vnder his rule and gouernement, yet he said he would deliberate hereof with his councell, and after intimate his pleasure to the pope, and to them of France by messengers which he would send ouer for that purpose: and so these ambassadors within foure daies after their comming, were thus dispatched with answer. Herewith in this parlement it was ordeined, that the prince of Wales, being as then about foure and twentie yeares of age, should passe ouer into Gascoigne, and haue with him a thousand men of armes, and two thousand archers, with a great number of Welshmen.

Auesburie. A nauie prepared.

About the same time the king caused fortie ships to be prouided, rigged, and made readie at Rutherhiue, furnished with vittels for one quarter of a yeere, and euerie of the said ships had principall streamers of the duke of Lancasters armes, who was appointed with a great power of chosen men of armes and archers to passe to the sea with the same ships, but few or none of his companie knew whither; horsses they had none. He had with him two of the kings sonnes, Lionell of Antwerpe, and John of Gant, the elder of them being about sixteene yeares of age. Also, there went with him the earles of Northampton, Parch, and Stafford, beside manie lords, barons, & knights. On the tenth of Julie, he made saile to Greenewich, and there and at Sandwich he staied, till the Assumption of our ladie, the wind for the most part continuing all that while at west and south, contrarie to his iournie, as it might appeare. At length with much difficultie he came to Winchelsie, & after to the Wight. It was thought, that the dukes purpose was to passe into Normandie, to ioine with the king of Nauarre, who was at variance with the French king. But after it was knowen by espials that they were made frends, the duke of Lancaster doubting crooked measures, and hauing with him no horsemen, returned home without further attempt.

The duke of Lancaster.

Record. Tur.

On saint Benelmes daie being fridaie, and the 17 of Julie, master Humfrie Carleton professor of diuinitie, and John Carleton the yonger, doctor of the lawes, on the behalfe of the Vniuersitie of Orford, and John saint Frideswide maior, John Bereford, and John Norton, burgesses of the said towne of Orford, on the behalfe of the communaltie of the same towne, came before the kings councell at Westminster in the councell chamber there, nere to the excheker, where the allegations on both parties being heard, and vpon request made, that it might please his maiesties councell, according to the submissions by both parties made vnto the king and to his councell, to take order in the matter in controuersie betwixt them, concerning the late tumult and businesse which had chanced in the said towne, by the disorder of the communaltie of the same, in breaking downe, and burning vp of houses, in taking awaie the bookes and other goods of the said maisters and scholers, & in committing other transgressions. The councell hauing consideration thereof, to auoid the decaie that might haue insued to the said towne, made this end betwixt them, that the said towne (John Bereford, being in the kings prison, and Robert Lardiner onelie excepted) should be bound to

The end and award made of the quarrell betwixt the Vniuersitie and townesmen of Oxford.

paie vnto the said maisters and scholers, damnified in the said tumult and businesse, for amends, and reformation of iniuries and losses susteined (death and maime excepted) two hundred and fiftie pounds, beside the goods taken and borne awaie, to be restored againe, and this monie to be paid to the said chancellor, maisters and scholers, on that side the mondaie next before the feast of saint James, or else sufficient suerties put in for the paiment thereof, at certeine termes, as the parties should agree vpon: and in respect thereof, the said John Bereford, and John Norton, shall be releassed out of prison of the Marshalsea, at the baile of the said maior, and of Robert de Wenkes, and John Dimmoks, till the next sessions of gaole deliuerie, with condition, that the said summes of monie be paid, or suerties put in for the paiment thereof, as before is said, or else the bodies of the said John Bereford, & John de Norton, shall be returned to the said prison, within three daies after the feast of Peter ad Vincula, there to remaine in manner as before they did.

It was also ordeined by the councell, with the assent of the said Humfrie and John Carleton, that all and euerie manner of persons of the said towne of Orford, and the suburbes of the same, indited and arreigned of the felonies and transgressions before mentioned, that should yeld themselues to the kings prison to be tried by law, and also all other that were at that present in prison, which the said Humfrie and John de Carleton should name (John de Bereford and Robert Lardiner excepted) might be let to baile, vpon sufficient suerties, that should vndertake for them, bodies for bodies, to appeare at the next sessions of gaole deliuerie, there to be tried, according to the order of law. And further it was ordered, that all such goods and cattels as were taken and carried awaie from the said maisters and scholers in the said tumult and businesse, by the men of the said towne and suburbes, in whose hands, and in what places soeuer within the said towne and suburbes, by inquisitions, informations, or other meanes, they should or might be found, should be deliuered to the said chancellor, and procurators of the said Vniuersitie, to be by them restored vnto those persons, to whome they belonged. This was the effect of the order taken at that day and place, before the reuerend fathers, John archbishop of Yorke primat and chancellor of England, William bishop of Winchester lord treasuror, Thomas de Brembre lord keeper of the priuie seale, and Dauid de Wollore master of the rolles, Henrie de Ingelbie clearke, and other of the kings councell then and there present.

Tho. Walsi. The prince of Wales goeth ouer into Gascoigne.

The prince of Wales (as ye haue heard) being appointed to passe ouer into Gascoigne, set forward from London the last date of June, and comming to Plimmouth, where his nauie was appointed to be made readie, he staied there, for want of conuenient wind and weather a long time after. Finallie, hauing with him the earles of Warwike, Suffolke, Salisburie & Orford, also the lord John Chandois, sir Robert Knols, sir Franke de Hall, the lord James Audelie, with diuerse other of the nobilitie, and of men of armes and archers a great number, then in parlement to him assigned, he first set from Plimmouth on the daie of the Natiuitie of our ladie. They were in all three hundred saile, and finding the wind prosperous, they passed ouer into Gascoigne, where of the Gascoignes they were ioifullie receiued. In August, the Englishmen that were in Britaine, warring against the Frenchmen, that toke part with the lord Charles de Blois, slue manie of them, & toke the lord of Beaumanor, the vicount of Roan, and diuerse other. ¶ This yeare also, about Michaelmasse, the king hauing summoned an armie to be

readie

readie at Sandwich, passed ouer to Calis with the same. There went ouer with him his two sonnes, Lionell of Antwerp earle of Ulster, and Iohn of Gant earle of Richmond. He found at Calis a thousand men of armes that came to serue him for wages, forth of Flanders, Brabant, and Almaigne, so that he had about three thousand men of armes, and two thousand archers on horsebacke, beside archers on foot a great number. The citie of London had sent to him five hundred men of armes, and five hundred archers all in one sute or liuerie, at their owne costs and charges. On the second of November, he set from Calis, marching forth towards saint Omers, wasting the countrie by the waie as he passed.

The citie of London.

The king inuadeth Fráce. The lord Bousicant.

The French king being at the same time within the towne of saint Omers, sent the lord Bousicant vnto the king of England, that vnder colour of communication, he might view the kings power, who made such report thereof, vpon his returne backe to the French king, that he determined not to fight with the king of England, but rather to passe before him, and so to destroie vittels, that for want thereof, the king of England should be constreined to returne. And as he determined, so it came to passe, for the vittels were so cut off, that the Englishmen for three full daies togither, dranke nothing but water. When therefore king Edward had followed his enimies so farre as Heiden, where he brake the parke, and burnt the houses within and about the parke, although he entered not into the towne nor castell, at length, for default of vittels, he returned backe, and came againe to Calis on saint Martins day, being the tenth after his setting forth from thence.

Froissard.

The king for want of vittels returneth

Auesburie.

The morrow after being thursdaie, and the twelfe of November, the constable of France, and other Frenchmen, came to the end of the cause of Calis, with letters of credence, offering battell on tuesdaie next following vnto the king of England, in presence of the duke of Lancaster, the earles of Northampton, and the lord Walter de Mannie, who in the kings behalfe declared to the constable, that the king of England, to eschew shedding of bloud, would fight with the French king bodie to bodie, so to trie their right: and if he liked not of that match, then if he would chose three or foure knights to him that were nerest to him in bloud, he should chose the like number. But when this offer would not be accepted, the English lords offered battell the next day, being fridaie, or else on saturdaie following, at the Frenchmens choice: but the constable of France and his companie, continuing in their first offer, refused both those daies. Then the English lords accepted the daie by them assigned, with condition, that if they brought not king Edward to giue battell that day, they would yeld themselues prisoners, so that the Frenchmen would likewise vndertake for their king. The constable hauing no answer readie, staied a while, and after flatlie refused to make any such couenant. Finallie, when the English lords perceiued their aduersaries, not to meane battell, as their words at the first pretended, they brake off, and both parties returned home. The king of England staied till the tuesdaie, and paid the strangers their wages, and so came backe into England. On the first of November, whilest the king was thus abroad in Picardie, the Scots verie earlie in the morning of that daie, came priuilie to Berwike, entred by stealth into the towne, and sleaing three or foure Englishmen, tooke it, with all the goods and persons within it, those excepted, which got to the castell.

The constable of France demandeth battell.

The answer made to him.

Berwike taken by Scots

In a parlement summoned this yeare, the monday after the feast of saint Edmund the king, the lords and commons granted to king Edward fiftie shillings of euerie sacke of woll, that should be caried ouer the sea, for the space of six yeares next insuing. By this grant it was thought, that the king might dispend a thousand markes sterling a day, such vent of wols had the English merchants in that season. ¶ The parlement being ended, the king about S. Andrews tide set forward towards Scotland, and held his Christmasse at Newcastell. About which time by letters sent from the prince, the king was aduertised of his procéedings after his arriuall in Gascoigne, where being ioifullie receiued of the nobles, and other the people of that countrie (as before yée haue heard) he declared to them the cause of his thither comming, and toke aduise with them how to procéd in his businesse; and so about the tenth of October, he set forward to passe against his enimies, first entring into a countrie called Juliake, which together with the fortresses yelded to him, without anie great resistance. Then he rode through the countie Armignac, wasting and spoiling the countrie, and so passed through the lands of the vicounts de la Riuiere, and after entered into the countie de l'Estrac, and passing through the same, came to the countie of Comminges, finding the towne of S. Matain void, being a good towne & one of the best in that countrie.

The procédings of the prince of Wales in Aquitaine.

After this, he passed by the land of the earle of Lisle, till he came within a league of Tholouse, where the earle of Armignac, being the French kings lieutenant in those parts, and other great lords and nobles were assembled. The prince with his armie tarried there two daies, and after passed ouer the riuer of Garonne, and after ouer an other riuer thereabouts, a league aboue Tholouse, lodging that night a league on the other side of Tholouse: and so they passed thorough Tholouse, dailie taking townes & castels, wherein they found great riches, for the countrie was verie plentifull. Vpon Alhallowes éuen, they came to castell Naudarie, and from thence they tooke the waie to Carcasson, into the which a great number of men of armes and commons were withdrawne. But vpon the approch of the Englishmen, they slipt awaie, and got them to a strong castell that stood nére at hand. The third day after, the Englishmen burnt the towne, and passing forth, trauersed all the countrie of Carcassonois, till they came to the towne of Narbonne. The people there were fled into the castell, in which the vicount of Narbonne was inclosed, with five hundred men of arms. The prince staied there two dates. The pope sent two bishops towards the prince, to treat with him of peace, but because the prince would not hearken to anie treatie without commission from his father, they could not get anie safe conduct to approch nérer.

Carcasson.

Narbonne.

Two bishops sent from the pope to the prince of Wales.

The prince hauing aduertisments here, that his enimies were assembled, and followed him, he turned backe to meet them, but they had no will to abide him: for although the earle of Armignac, the constable of France, the marshall Cleremont, and the prince of Orange, with diuerse other nére to Tholouse, made some shew to impeach the prince his passage, yet in the end they withdrew, not without some losse, for the lord Bartholomew de Burwasch *alias* Burgherssh, sir Iohn Chandois, the lord James Audeley, and sir Thomas Felton, being sent forth to view them, skirmished with two hundred of their men of armes, and toke of them five and thirtie. After this, they had no mind to abide the English power, but still thranke awaie, as the prince was readie to follow them, and so he perceiuing that the Frenchmen would not giue him battell, he withdrew towards Burdeaux, after he had spent eight wéekes in that his iournie, and so comming thither, he wintered there, whilest his capteins in the meane time toke diuerse townes and castels abroad in the countrie. ¶ And now to the end yee may haue more plaine in-

A parlement.

Tho. Walsi. The prince of wales goeth ouer into Gascoigne,

information of the princes doings in those parties, I haue thought good to make you partakers of a letter or two, written by sir John Winkefield knight, attendant on the prince there in Gascoigne.

The copie of sir Iohn Winkefields letters.

My lord, as touching the newes in these parts, may it please you to vnderstand, that all the earles, barons, baronets, knights, and esquiers, were in helth at the making hereof, and my lord hath not lost either knight or esquier in this voiage, except the lord John Lisle, who was slaine after a strange manner with a quarrell, the third day after we were entered into our enimies countries, he died the fiftenth of October. And please it you to vnderstand, that my lord hath ridden through the countrie of Arminac, and hath taken many fensed townes, and burnt and destroied them, except certeine which he hath fortified. After this, he marched into the vicountie of Rouergne, where he tooke a good towne named Pleasance, the chiefest towne of that countrie, which he hath burnt and destroied, with the countrie round about the same. This done, he went into the countie d'Astrike, wherin he tooke manie townes, wasted and destroied all the countrie. After this, he entred into the countie of Cominge, and tooke manie townes there, which he caused to be destroied & burnt, togither with all the countrie abroad. He tooke also the towne of S. Matan, which is the chæfest towne of that countrie, being as large in compasse as Norwich.

Afterward, he entered into the countie of Lisle, and tooke the most part of the fensed townes therin, causing diuerse of them to be burnt and destroied as he passed. And after entring into the lordship of Tholouse, we passed the riuer of Girond, and an other a league aboue Tholouse, which is verie great: for our enimies had burnt all the bridges, as well on the one side of Tholouse, as the other, except the bridges within Tholouse, for the riuer runneth through the towne. And the constable of France, the marshall Cleremont, and the earle of Arminac, were with a great power within the towne the same time. And Tholouse is a great towne, strong, faire, and well walled, and there was none in our host that knew the ford there: but yet by the grace and goodnesse of God we found it. So then we marched through the seigniorie of Tholouse, & tooke manie good townes inclosed, and burnt and destroied them, and all the countrie about.

Then we entred into the seigniorie of Carcason, and we tooke manie good towns, before we came to Carcason, which towne we also tooke, which is greater, stronger, & fairer than Yorke. And as well this towne as all other townes in the countrie were burnt and destroied. And after we had passed by manie iournies through the countrie of Carcason, we came into the seigniorie of Narbon, and we tooke manie townes, and wasted them, till we came to Narbon, which towne was holden against vs, but it was wonne by force, and the said towne is little lesse than London, and is situat vpon the Græcish sea, for that the distance from the said towne vnto the Græcish sea is not past two leagues, and there is an hauen and a place to arriue at, from whence the water cõmeth vp to Narbon. And Narbon is not but eleuen leagues distant from Mountpellier, & eightæne from Eguemorts, & thirtie from Auignion. And may it please you to vnderstand, that the holie father sent his messengers to my lord, that were not past seuen leagues frõ him, and they sent a sergeant at armes, that was sergeant at armes attendant on the dore of our holie fathers chamber, with their letters to my lord, praieng him to haue a safe conduct to come to declare to his highnesse their message from the holie father, which was to treat betwixt my L. and his aduersaries of France: and the said sergeant was two daies in the host before my lord would see him, or receiue his letters. And the reason was, bicause he had vnderstanding, that the power of France was come forth of Tholouse toward Carcason, so that my lord was driuen to turne backe towards them suddenlie, and so did.

He meaneth the Meranine sea.

On the third daie when we should haue come vpon them, they had knowlege giuen before day, and so retiring, got them to the mounteins, hasting fast toward Tholouse; and the countrie people that were their guides to lead them that waie, were taken as they should haue passed the water. And bicause the popes sergeant at armes was in my keeping, I caused him to examine the guides that were so taken; and for that the guide which was thus examined, was the constables guide, and his countrieman, he might well see and know the countenance of the Frenchmen vpon this examining him. And I said to the same sergeant, that he might well declare to the pope, and to all them of Auignion, that which he had heard or seene. And as touching the answer which my lord made to them that were sent to treat with him, you would be well apaid if you vnderstood all the maner; for he would not suffer in any wise that they should come nærer vnto him. But if they came to treat of any matter, he would that they should send to the king his father: for my lord himselfe would not do any thing therin, except by commandement from my lord his father.

And of my lords turning backe to follow after his enimies, and of the passage of the riuer of Garonne, and of the taking of castels and townes in this iournie, and of other things which he hath done against his enimies in pursuit of them in this iournie, being things right worthie and honorable, as manie know verie well, in like maner

maner as sir Richard Stafford, & sir William Burton can more plainelie declare, than I to you can write, for it were too much to put in writing. And my lord rode thus abroad in the countrie of his enimies eight whole weekes, and rested not past eleuen daies in all those places where he came. And know it for certeine, that since this warre began against the French king he had neuer such losse or destruction as he hath had in this iournie: for the countries and good townes which were wasted at this iournie, found to the king of France euerie yeare more to the maintenance of his warre than halfe his realme hath don beside, except the exchange of his monie which he maketh euerie yeare, and the aduantage and custome which he taketh of them of Poictou, as I can shew you by good remembrances, which were found in diuerse townes in the receiuers houses: for Carcason and le Moignes, which is as great as Carcason, and two other townes in the coasts of Carcason, found to the king of France yærelie wages for a thousand men of armes: and beside that 100000 old crowns to mainteine the warre.

And know you, that by the remembrances which we found, that the townes in Tholouse which are destroied, and the townes in the countrie of Carcason, and the towne of Narbonne and Narbonnois did find euerie yeare with the sums aforesaid, in aid of his warre, foure hundred thousand old crownes, as the burgesses of the great townes & other people of the countrie which ought to know it, haue told vs. And so by Gods assistance if my lord had wherewith to mainteine this warre, and to make the kings profit and his owne honor, he should well inlarge the English marches, and gaine manie faire places: for our enimies are greatlie astonied. And at the making hereof, my lord hath appointed to send all the earles and baronets to abide in certeine places on the marches, to make roads, and to annoie his enimies. Now my lord, at this present I know none other newes to send, but you may by your letters command me as yours to my power. My right honorable lord, God grant you good life, ioy, and health, long to continue. Written at Burdeaux, the tuesdaie next before Christmasse.

The tenor of an other letter written by *sir Iohn Wingfield, directed to sir Richard Stafford* knight, who had beene in Gascoigne, *and there leauing his familie, was now returned* into England.

1356 RIght deare sir, and right louing frend, touching newes after your departure, you may vnderstand, that there be taken and yelded fiue townes inclosed, to wit, port saint Marie, Cleirac, Tonings, Burgh, saint Pierre, Chastiell Sacret or Satrat and Brassake. Also seauentæne castels, to wit, Coiller, Baset, Lennake, two castels called Boloines, which ioine the one nære to the other, Mounioy, Uiresch, Frechenet, Mountender, Pudelschales, Mounpoun, Montanac, Maleclare, Cenamont, Leistrake, Plassac, Cont Destablison, and Mounriuell. And will it please you to know that my lord John Chandois, my lord James Audeley, and your men that are with them, and the other Gascoignes that are in their companie, & my lord Baldwine Butetort, & that companie, & my lord Reignald Cobham, toke the said towne, which is called Chastiell Sacret or Satrat, by assault: and the bastard of Lisle which was capteine of the said towne was also slaine there, as they assaulted it, being striken with an arrow thorough the head: and my lord Reignold is returned backe toward Languedocke: and my lord Baldwin towards Brassacke, with their companies: and the lords John & James, and those of their companie remaine in Chastiell Satrat, and haue vittels plentie of all sorts to serue them betweæn this and Midsummer, except fresh fish and cabages as they haue certified vs by letters, wherefore yæ næd not take care for your men.

And there be in that towne more than thræe hundred glaiues, and thræe hundred yeomen, and a hundred and fiftie archers. And they haue rid before Agen, and burnt and destroied all their milles, and haue burnt and broken downe all their bridges that lie ouer Garon, and haue taken a castell without the same towne, and haue fortified it. And monsieur John Darminake, and the seneschall of Agenois, which were in the towne of Agen, would not once put forth their head, nor anie of their people, and yet haue they bæne twise before that towne. And monsieur Busgaud was come, Buscicaut. and monsieur Ernald de Spaine, and Grimoton de Chambule, with thræe hundred glaiues, and thræe sergeants Lombards, and they are in the towne of Muschacke, which is in Cressie, and it is but a mile from Chastiell Satrat or Sacret, and a league from Brassake, and yæ may well thinke that there will be good companie one with another.

And further may it please yæ to know, that monsieur Bartholomew is at Coniake with six score men of armes of my lords house, & six score archers, & the capitall de Buche or Beuf, the L. Monferrant, & the L. of Crotonie, which haue with them 300 glaiues, & six score archers, and two hundred sergeants, beside them which are in Tailbourgh, Tanney, and Rochford, so that when they are togither, they may be well six hundred glaiues, and at the making hereof, they were vpon a iournie towards Aniou and Poictou, and the earles of Suffolke, Oxford, and Salisburie, the lord of Museden, monsieur Ellis de Pomiers, and other Gascoignes, with the which are well more then fiue hundred glaiues, and two hundred sergeants, and thræe hundred archers, and they were at the making The capitall de Beuf.

hereof

hereof toward the parties of Mostredame de Rochemade, and haue bæne forth aboue twelue daies, and were not returned at the sending of these presents. My lord John Chandois, my lord James, and my lord Baldwin, and those which be in their companie are also forth vpon a iournie toward their parties; my lord Reinold and those of the houshold, with the Gascoigns which be in their companie, are also forth vpon a iournie towards their parties.

The earle of Warwike hath bæne at Tonings & Clerake, to take those towns, and at the making hereof was gone towards Mermande to destroie their vines, and all other things which he can destroie of theirs. My lord is at Leiborne, and the lord of Pomiers at Fronsak, which is but a quarter of a leage from Leiborne: and my lords people lie as well at saint Milion, as at Leiborne, and monsieur Berard de Bret is there with him, and my lord looketh for newes which he should haue, and according to the news that he shall haue, he will behaue himselfe: for as it seemeth, he standeth much on his honor. At the making hereof, the earle of Arminac was at Auignion, and the king of Aragon is there also: & of all other parleis which haue bæne in diuerse places (wherof you know) I can not certifie you at the making herof. Right dære sir, other thing I can not send vnto you, but that you remember your selfe to send newes to my lord prince as soone as in anie wise you may, and so the Lord grant you good life and long. Written at Leiborne the 21 of Januarie.

¶ These letters haue I thought good to make the reader partaker of, as I find them in the chronicle of Robert Auesburie, to the end ye may perceiue how other writers agree therewith, sith the same letters may serue as a touchstone to trie the truth of the matter. And so now I will returne to speake of the kings doings in the north part where we left him. On the fourteenth of Januarie K. Edward hauing his armie lodged nære the towne of Berwike, and his nauie readie in the hauen to assaile the Scots that were within the towne, he entered the castell which the Englishmen had in their hands, the lord Walter de Hannie being their capteine, who had gotten certeine miners thither from the forrest of Deane, and other parts of the realme, which were busie to make passage vnder the ground by a mine, through which the Englishmen might enter into the towne. Herevpon, when the Scots perceiued in what danger they stood, and knew that they could not long defend the towne against him, they surrendered it into his hands without further resistance.

Hector Boet. In the Scotish histories it is recorded, that when those which were within the towne of Berwike, heard how that an armie of Englishmen came to the succours of the castell, they raced the walles and burnt the houses of the towne, and so departed with all the spoile which they had gotten there. But how soeuer it was, king Edward being againe possessed of the towne, he set men aworke to repare it, and

Anno Reg. 30.

The resignation of the realme of Scotland made by the Baliol.

passing forth to Rorburge, there met with him the rightfull king of Scots Edward Baliol, who transferred & resigned all the right, title and interest, which he had or might haue to the crowne and realme of Scotland into king Edwards hands: which resignation he confirmed by his letters patents thereof made and giuen vnder his hand and seale, dated the 25 of Januarie 1356, requiring king Edward to perseuere in pursute of his title to the vttermost.

King Edward hauing thus receiued the resignation and release of the crowne of Scotland, marched forth with his armie, till he came to Hadington, burning and destroieng the countrie on ech side round about him, as he passed. And whilest he laie there, abiding for his ships, his men of warre were not idle, but ranged abroad in the countrie, and did all the damage to their enimies that they could deuise. At length his armie which he had at the same time on the sea, arriued on that coast, and landing, spoiled a church of our ladie, called the White kirke: but being returned to their ships, there arose such a tempest and vehement north wind, that manie of their vessels rushing and beating against the banks and sands, were drowned togither with the men that were within them, for displeasure whereof king Edward fell to the spoile of the countrie againe, not sparing one place more than another: by reason wherof, as well abbeis as all other churches and religious houses both in Hadington, in Edenborough, and thorough all other the parts of Louthian, whersoeuer he came, were defaced and put to sacke. At length when he had accomplished his will, and so set things in order, he returned backe into England with the foresaid Edward Baliol in his companie, whome he kept with him, for doubt least he should reuolt, and procure some new trouble. In the moneth of Julie the duke of Lancaster being sent to the aid of the K. of Nauarre, came into Constantine, which is a portion of Normandie, & there ioined with the lord Philip of Nauarre, brother to the king of Nauarre, and with the lord Godfrie de Harecourt, the which being returned into France, and restored to the French kings fauour, was latelie againe reuolted, vpon displeasure taken for the death of his nephue the lord John de Harecourt, as in the French histories ye may read more at large. They were in all about the number of foure thousand fighting men, and being assembled togither, they went to Liseur, to Orbec, to Ponteau, & rescued the castell there, which had bæne besieged by the lord Robert de Hotetot maister of the crossebowes in France, more than two moneths: but now hearing that the Englishmen and Nauarrois approched, he departed from thence, leauing behind him for hast his engins and artillerie.

K. Edward fore afflicted the Scots.

The duke of Lancaster sent to aid the king of Nauarre.

Paulus Aemilius.

Froissard.

The castell of Orbec rescued.

The duke of Lancaster passed forward vnto Bretueill, which he caused to be relieued and furnished with necessarie things as was conuenient. And then leauing the citie of Eureux, which was as then in the Frenchmens hands, latelie yelded to them after a long siege, he went forward with the lord Philip de Nauarre in companie till they came to Vernueill in Perch, and there toke both the towne and castell, and robbed the towne and burnt a great part therof. The French king, who had assembled a mightie armie, being aduertised of these matters, hasted forward towards the duke of Lancaster, fullie purposing to giue him battell. The duke and the lord Philip de Nauarre, hauing knowledge that the French king followed them, withdrew towards the towne of the Eagle, and the king still went after them, till he came to Tuebeuf two leages from the towne of the Egle, and there it was shewed to him that he could not follow his enimies any further, by reason of the thicke forrests, which he could not passe without great danger of his person and losse of his people. Then returned he with all his host, and toke from the Nauarrois the castell of Thilliers, and also the castell of Bretueill, which was yelded to him after two moneths siege.

The citie of Eureux yelded to the Frenchmen.

Vernueil.

The French K. commeth to giue the duke of Lancaster battell.

About

Froissard. The prince of Wales inuadeth the French dominions.

About the same time, that is to saie, in Julie, the prince of Wales, hauing assembled an armie of men of warre, to the number of eight thousand, entred into the French dominions, and first passing through Auuergne, at length he came into the countrie of Berrie, wasting and burning the townes and villages as he went, taking easie iournies for the better releefe of his people, and destruction of his enimies: for when he was entered into anie towne that was sufficientlie stored of things necessarie, he would tarie there two or three daies to refresh his soldiers and men of warre, and when they dislodged, they would strike out the heads of the wine vessels, and burne the wheat, oates and barlie, and all other things which they could not take with them, to the intent their enimies should not therewith be sustained and nourished.

The citie of Burges.

After this, they came before the citie of Burges, and there made a great skirmish at one of the gates, and there were manie feats of armes done. The host departed from thence, without doing anie more, and comming to a strong castell called Issoldune, they fiercelie assailed it, but could not win it: the gentlemen within defended the walles and gates so manfullie. Then passed they forward, and came to Vierzon, a great towne and a good castell, but it was nothing stronglie fortified; and therefore was it wone perforce, the people within it being not sufficient to resist the valiant puissance of the Englishmen. Here they found wine and other vittels in great plentie, and hereupon they taried there three daies to refresh themselues at ease. But before they departed, the prince had aduertisement giuen him that the French king was come to Chartres, with an huge assemblie of men of warre, and that all the townes and passages aboue the riuer of Loire were closed and kept. Then was the prince counselled to returne and passe by Touraine and Poictow, and so that waie to Burdeaux.

Issoldune assaulted.

Vierzon wonne.

The passages stopped.

The prince returneth.

The prince following their aduise that thus counselled him, set forward toward Remorentine. The French king had sent into that countrie to kéepe the frontiers there, the lord of Craon, the lord Boucicquault, and the heremit of Chaumount, the which with three hundred men of armes had followed the Englishmen six daies togither, and could neuer find anie conuenient occasion to set vpon them: for the Englishmen gouerned themselues so sagelie, that their enimies could not lightlie assaile them, but to their owne disaduantage. One day the Frenchmen laid themselues closelie in an ambush néere to the towne of Remorentine, at a maruellous streict passage, by which the Englishmen must néeds passe.

On the same daie there were departed from the princes battell, by licence of the marshals, certeine capteins, Englishmen and Gascoignes, as the lord Bartholomew de Burgherse or Burwalsche (as some write him) the lord of Mucident Gascongne, monsieur Petiton de Courton, the lord de la Ware, the lord Basset, sir Daniell Passelew, sir Richard Ponchardon, sir Noell Loring, the yong lord Spenser, and two of the Danbreticourts, sir Edward, and an other, who hauing with them two hundred men of armes, went forth to run before Remorentine, that they might view the place. They passed forth alongst by the Frenchmen which laie in ambush, as yée haue heard, and they were not aduised of them, and they were no sooner passed, but that the Frenchmen brake out, and galloped after the Englishmen with great random, hauing their speares in their rests.

Remorentine.

The Englishmen and the Gascoignes hearing horsses to come galloping after them, turned, and perceiuing them to be their enimies, stood still to abide them. The Frenchmen couragiouslie gaue the charge, and the Englishmen as valiantlie defended them, so that there insued a great skirmish, which continued a long while, so that it could not be easilie iudged who had the better, nor on which side the fortunate issue of the present conflict would then fall (for

A skirmish.

mandibile dies Martis)

till that the battell of the English marshals approched, the which when the Frenchmen saw comming by a wood side, they fled streightwaies towards Remorentine, and the Englishmen followed in chase so fast as their horsses might beare them, and entered the towne with the Frenchmen: but the French lords and the one halfe of their companie got into the castell, and so saued themselues. The prince hearing what had happened, came into the towne, and there lodged that night, sending sir John Chandois to talke with the capiteines of the castell, to know if they would yeeld: and bicause they refused so to do, on the next morrow he caused his people to giue an assault to the place, which continued the most part of the day, but yet missing their purpose, he commanded that they should draw to their lodgings, and rest them for that night.

The Frenchmen fled.

The prince lodgeth in the towne of Remorentine.

In the morning as soone as the sunne was vp, the marshals caused the trumpets to sound, and those that were appointed to giue the assault againe, prepared themselues to it. The prince himselfe was present personallie at this assault, so that the same was inforced to the vttermost: but when they saw that by assaults they could not win the castell, they deuised engines, wherewith they cast wild fire into the base court, and so set it on fire, which increased in such vehement sort, that it toke into the couering of a great tower, which was couered with reed: and then they within perceiuing they must either yeeld or perish with fire, came downe and submitted themselues to the prince, who as prisoners receiued them. The castell of Remorentine being thus wone and defaced with fire, the prince left it void, and marched forth with his armie as before, destroieng the countrie, and approched to Anion and Touraine. The French king came forwards toward the prince, and at Ambois heard how the prince was in Touraine, meaning to returne through Poictow. He was dailie aduertised of the princes doings by such as were appointed to coast him euer in his iournie.

The castell of Remorentine assaulted.

It is set on fier.

They within submitted themselues.

The French king followeth the prince of Wales.

Then came the king to Yaie in Touraine, and his people were passed the riuer of Loire at sundrie passages, where most conuenientlie they might. They were in number twentie thousand men of armes; of noble men there were six and twentie, dukes and earles, beside a great number of other lords and barons: the foure sonnes of the king were there, as the lord Charles duke of Normandie, the lord Lewes after duke of Anion, the lord John after duke of Berrie, and the lord Philip which was after duke of Burgongne. The French king doubting least the prince should escape by spéedie iournies out of his countrie, before he could come to giue him battell, remoued to Chauuignie, and there passed the riuer of Creuse by the bridge, supposing that the Englishmen had beene before him, but they were not. Some of the Frenchmen taried behind at Chauuignie for one night, and in the morning followed the king. They were about two hundred men of armes vnder the leading of the lord Craon, the lord Raoull de Coucie, and the earle of Joignie. They chanced to incounter with certeine of the auaunt currours of the English armie, which remoued that day from a little village fast by. Those Englishmen were not past three score men of armes, but well horsed, and therefore perceiuing the great number of the Frenchmen, they fled towards the princes battell, which they knew was not farre off. Capteins of the Englishmen were two knights of

Froissard. Seuen thousand chosen men saith Tho. Walsh.

Chauuignie.

of Henault, the lord Eustace Dambreticourt, and the lord John of Guistelles.

The Frenchmen beholding them in this wise to flée, rode after amaine, and as they followed in chase, they came on the princes battell before they were aware. The lord Raoull of Coucie went so far forward with his banner, that he entred vnder the princes banner, and fought right valiantlie, but yet he was there taken, and the earle of Joignie, also the vicount of Vzce, the lord Chauuignie, and diuerse other, so that the most part of those Frenchmen were either taken or slaine, and verie few escaped. The prince vnderstood by the prisoners, that the French king was so farre aduanced forward in pursute of him, that he could not auoid the battell. Then he assembled his men togither, and commanded them to kéepe order, and so rode that day being saturdaie from morning till it was toward night, & then came within two leagues of Poictiers: and herewith sending forth certeine capteins, to search if they could heare where the king was, he incamped himselfe that night in a strong place amongst hedges, vines, and bushes. They that were sent to discouer the countrie, rode so far, that they saw where the French king with his great battell was marching, and setting vpon the taile of the Frenchmen, caused all the host to stir: whereof knowledge being giuen to the king, the which as then was entring into Poictiers, he returned againe, and made all his host to do the like, so that it was verie late yer he and his people were bestowed in their lodgings that night. The English rerrours returning to the prince, declared what they had séene and done. So, that night, the two armies being lodged within a small distance either of other, kept strong and sure watch about their campes.

The lord Raoull de Coucie taken.

Frenchmen distressed.

On the morrow after being sundaie, and the eighteenth daie of September, the French king caused his host to be diuided into three battels or wards, and in each of them were sixteene thousand armed men, all mustered and passed for armed men. The first battell was gouerned by the duke of Orleance, wherein were six and thirtie banners, and twise as manie penons. The second was led by the duke of Normandie and his brethren, the lord Lewes & the lord John. The third the French king himselfe conducted. And while these battels were setting in arraie, the king caused the lord Eustace de Ribaumount, and two other noble men to ride on before, to see the dealing of the Englishmen, and to aduise of what number they were. Those that were thus sent, rode forth and beheld the order of the Englishmen at good leisure: and returning, informed the king, that as they could iudge, the enimies were about two thousand men of armes, foure thousand archers, and fifteene hundred of others, and that they were lodged in such a strong place, and so well fenced with ditches and hedges, that it would be hard assaulting them therein.

The ordering of the French battell.

The cardinal of Piergort the popes legat, as then lieng in the citie of Poictiers, came that morning to the king, and required him to abstéine from battell, till he might vnderstand whether the prince would condescend vnto such conditions of peace as he himselfe should thinke reasonable, which if it might be brought to passe, the same should be more honorable for him, than to aduenture so manie noble men as were there with him at that present in hazard of battell. The king was contented that the cardinall should go to the prince, and sée what he could do with him. The cardinall rode to the prince, and talked with him till he was contented to come to a treatie. The cardinall returned to the French king, and required of him that a truce might be granted till the next daies sun-rising: which truce obteined, he spent that daie in riding to and fro betwixt them.

The cardinal of Piergort.

The prince of Wales contented to come to a treatie.

The prince offered to render vnto the kings hands all that he had wone in that voiage, as well townes as castels, and also to release all the prisoners, which he or any of his men had taken in that iournie: and further he was contented to haue béene sworne not to beare armour against the French king within the termie of seuen yeares next following. But the French king would not agree thereunto: the vttermost that he would agree vnto, was this, that the prince and an hundred of his knights should yéeld themselues as prisoners vnto him, otherwise he would not haue the matter taken vp. But it was the French kings hap after (notwithstanding his hautines) to be taken captiue, as Okland noteth, saieng,

... seruilia sub iugum missus
Discéret vt domino regi parére Britannus.

The offer of the prince of Wales.

The French kings presumptuous demand.

But the prince in no wise could be brought to any such vnreasonable conditions, and so the cardinall could not make them frends, although he trauelled earnestlie betwixt them all that daie. When it drew towards night, he returned toward Poictiers.

The Englishmen were not idle, whilest the cardinall was thus in hand to bring the parties to some good agréement, but cast great ditches, and made hedges, and other fortifications about the place where their archers stood, and on the next morning, being mondaie, the prince and his people prepared themselues to receiue battell, as they had done before, hauing passed the day before and that night in great defect of necessarie things, for they could not stir abroad to fetch forrage or other prouisions without danger to be surprised of their enimies. The cardinall came againe earlie in the morning vnto the French king, and found the French armie readie in order of battell by that time the sunne was vp, and though he eftsones fell in hand to exhort the king to an agréement, yet it would not be. So he went to the prince, and declared to him how he could do no good in the matter, and therefore he must abide the hazard of battell for ought that he could sée: wherewith the prince was content, and so the cardinall returned vnto Poictiers.

The Englishmen fortifie their campe.

The cardinall trauelled in vaine.

¶ Here is to be remembred, that when (as Thomas Walsingham writeth) this cardinall of Piergort was sent from the pope to trauell betwixt the parties for a peace to be had, and that the pope exhorted him verie earnestlie to shew his vttermost diligence and indeuour therein: at his setting forth to go on that message, the said cardinall (as was said) made this answer: Most blessed father (said he) either we will persuade them to peace and quietnesse, either else shall the verie flintstones crie out of it. But this he spake not of himselfe, as it was supposed, but being a prelate in that time, he prophesied what should follow; for when the English archers had bestowed all their arrowes vpon their enimies, they tooke vp pebles from the place where they stood, being full of those kind of stones, and approching to their enimies, they threw the same with such violence on them, that lighting against their helmets, armor, and targets, they made a great ringing noise, so that the cardinals prophesie was fulfilled, that he would either persuade a peace, or else the stones should crie out thereof.

Tho. Walf. A prophesie of a prelate.

The woorthie prince like a couragious chiefteine, when he saw that he must néeds fight, required his people not to be abashed at the great number of their enimies, sith the victorie did not consist in the multitude of men, but where God would send it: and if it fortuned that the iournie might be theirs and his, they should be the most honored people of the world: and if they should die in that righteous quarrell, he had the king his father and also his brethren, in like case as they had frends and kinsmen, that would seeke their reuenge. And therefore he desired them that

The exhortation of the prince.

that daie to shew themselues like valiant men of warre: and for his part he trusted in God and saint George, they should see in his person no default. These or the like words did this most gentle prince speake, which greatlie comforted all his people.

Noble men with the prince of Wales.

There were with him of earles, Warwike, Suffolke, Salisburie, Stafford; of lords, Cobham, Spenser, Audeley, Berkley, Basset, Warren, de la Ware, Bradeston, Burwasch, Felton, Mallow, and diuerse other: also sir John Chandois, by whome he was much counselled, sir Richard Stafford, sir Richard of Penbruche, and manie other knights and valiant esquires of England. Moreouer, there was of Gascoigne, the capitall of Buz or Beuf, the lords of Prumes, Burguenrie, Chaumount, de Lespare, Rosen, Ponferant, Landuras, the Souldich of Lestrad or Lescard, and other: and of Heinault, sir Eustace Daubreticourt, sir John de Guistelles, and other strangers. All the princes companie passed not the number of eight thousand men one and other, of the which (as Iacobus Meire saith) three thousand were archers: though Froissard (as I haue rehearsed before) reporteth the number of archers to be more, as in one place six thousand, and in an other place foure thousand.

The capitall de Beuf.

The number of the prince his armie.

The number of the French.

The French king hauing in his armie three score thousand fighting men, wherof there were more than three thousand knights, made so sure account of victorie, as anie man might of a thing not yet had, considering his great puissance, in regard to the small number of his aduersaries: and therefore immediatlie after that the cardinall was departed, he caused his battels to march forward, and approching to the place where the Englishmen stood readie to receiue their enimies, caused the onset to be giuen. There were certeine French horsemen, to the number of three hundred, with the Almains also on horsebacke appointed to breake the arraie of the English archers, but the archers were so defended and compassed about with hedges and ditches, that the horsemen of the French part could not enter to do their feat, and being galled with the sharpe shot of the English bowes, they were ouerthrowne horsse and man, so that the vaward of the Frenchmen, wherein was the duke of Athens, with the marshals of France, the lord John de Cleremont, and the lord Arnold Dandrehen or Odenhen, began to disorder within a while, by reason of the shot of the archers, together with the helpe of the men of armes, amongst whom in the forefront was the lord James Audeley, to performe a vow which he had made, to be one of the first setters on.

The battell is begun.

The force of the English archers.

The lord James Audeley.

There was the lord Arnold Dandrehen taken prisoner, and the lord John de Cleremont slaine, so that the noble prowesse of the said lord James Audeley, breaking through the Frenchmens battell with the slaughter of manie enimies, was that day most apparant. The loiall constancie of the noble earles of Warwike and Suffolke, that fought so stoutlie, so earnestlie, and so fiercelie, was right manifest. And the prince himselfe did not onelie fulfill the office of a noble chéefteine, but also of a right valiant and expert souldiour, attempting what soeuer any other hardie warriour would in such cases haue done. Neither was this battell quicklie dispatched, nor easilie brought to end; but it was fought out with such obstinate earnestnesse, that three times that daie were the Englishmen driuen to renew the fight, through the multitude of enimies that increased and came still vpon them.

Tho. Walsi. The earles of Warwike and Suffolke.

Finallie, the marshals battell was quite discomfited: for the Frenchmen and Almains fell one vpon an other, and could not passe forth; and those that were behind, if could not get forward, retired backe: and while the marshals battell being on horsebacke thus assailed the English armie with great disaduantage, and was in the end beaten backe, the two battels of the dukes of Normandie and Orleance came forward, and likewise assailed the Englishmen, but could not preuaile. The archers shot so fercelie, that to conclude, the Frenchmen behind, vnderstanding the discomfiture of the marshals battell, and how their fellowes before could not enter vpon their enimies, they opened and ran to their horsses, in whome they did put more trust for their safegard by galloping on them awaie, than in their manlike hands for all their late brauerie and great boasts. One thing sore discouraged the Frenchmen, and that was this: beside those Englishmen that were within the closure of their campe, there were certeine men of armes on horsebacke, with a number of archers also on horsebacke, appointed to coast vnder the couert of a mounteine, adioining to the place, where they thought to strike into a side of the duke of Normandies battell, so that with the terrour hereof, and with the continuall shot of the English archers, the Frenchmen not knowing where to turne themselues, sought to saue their liues by flight.

The marshals battell put to ẏ worst.

The Frenchmen seeke to saue themselues by flight Polydor.

The prince of Wales, perceiuing how his enimies (for the more part of them) were fleeing awaie as men discomfited, sent out his horsemen as well on the one hand as on the other, and he himselfe with his whole power of footmen rushed forth, and manfullie assailed the maine battell of the Frenchmen, where the king himselfe was, who like a valiant prince would not flee, but fought right manfullie: so that if the fourth part of his men had done halfe their parts as he did his, the victorie by likelihod had rested (as Froissard saith) on his side: but he was forsaken of his three sonnes, and of his brother the duke of Orleance, which fled out of the battell with cleare hands. Finallie, after huge slaughter made of those noblemen, and other which abode with him euen to the end, he was taken, and so likewise was his yongest sonne Philip, and both put in great danger to haue beene murthered after they were taken, by the Englishmen and Gascoignes, striuing who should haue the king to his prisoner, where in deed a knight of Flanders or rather Artois, borne in saint Omers, called sir Denise Morbecke, tooke him, but he was straightwaies taken from the same sir Denise by other that came in the meane season, better prouided (belike) of strength, and lead him awaie vnresisted.

Froissard. The valiantie of the French king.

The French king taken.

Ia. Meir. Sir Denise Morbecke. Froissard.

There were slaine in this battell, of noblemen, the dukes of Burbon and Athens, the marshall Cleremont, sir Geffrey Charnie that bare the chéefe standert of France, the bishop of Chaalons, sir Eustace de Ribaumont, with diuerse other to the number of eight hundred lords, knights, and gentlemen of name. In all there died on the French part fiue thousand of one and other. The chase was continued euen to the gates of Poictiers, and manie slaine and beaten downe in the street before the gates, which the citizens had closed, for doubt least the Englishmen should enter with them that fled thither for safegard. There were taken beside the king and his sonne, the lord Iaques de Burbon earle of Ponthieu, brother to the duke of Burbon that was slaine there, the erle of Ew, the lord Charles his brother earle of Longuile, the archbishop of Sens, the earles of Hainolme, Hales bruch, Tentadore, Tankeruille, Estampes, and Dampmartine: also Archembald Dowglas a noble man of Scotland, sonne to the honorable lord William Dowglas that was killed in Spaine, the marshall Dandrehen or Odenhen (as Iacobus Meir saith) with others to the number of seuentéene hundred earles, lords, knights, and gentlemen, beside those of the meaner sort; so that the Englishmen

Noblemen slaine.

Ia. Meir.

Polydor. The chase.

Froissard. Annales de France.

Archembald Douglas take Iacob. Meir.

Prisoners taken.

had twise as manie prisoners as they themselues were in number: and therefore it was deuised amongst them, to put the most part of their prisoners to ransome there in the field, and so they did for doubt of further danger, the multitude being so great as it was.

Thus was the prince of Wales victor in that notable battell fought in the fields of Beaumoir and Malpertuse, two leagues from Poictiers, the nineteenth day of September being monday, in the yere a thousand, three hundred, fiftie and six, which began in the morning and ended at none. But bicause the Englishmen were scattered abroad in chase of their enimies, the princes banner was set vp in a bush, to draw all his men togither. It was almost night yer they were all returned from the chase. The prince made a great supper in his lodging that night to the French king, and to the most part of his nobles that were taken prisoners, and did all the honour that he could deuise to the king. And where he perceiued by his chere and countenance, that his heart was full of pensiue greefe, carefull thought and heauinesse, he comforted him in the best maner that he might, and said to him: as followeth.

The, battell of Poictiers when it was.

The prince supperth the prisoners.

The meeke and comfortable oration *of the English prince to the French* king being taken prisoner.

MOst noble king, there is no cause wherefore your grace should be pensiue, though God this day did not consent to follow your will. For your noble prowes and dignitie roiall, with the supreme type of your kinglie maiestie, remaineth whole and inuiolate, and what soeuer may rightlie be called yours; so that no violent force of time shall blot out or diminish the same. The almightie God hath determined that the chance of warre shall rest in his disposition and will, as all other things. Your elders haue atchiued both by land & sea manie noble enterprises. The whole compasse of Europe, all the east parts of the world, all places and countries, both far & neere, are full of monuments, witnessing the noble victories atteined by the French people.

The cause of godlie liuing and religion, the dignitie and preheminence of christianitie hath bene defended and augmented by you, against the most mightie and puissant capteins of the infidels, enimies to the said christian religion. All ages shall make mention of your worthie praises, no nation there is but shall confesse it selfe bounden at one time or other for benefits receiued at your hands; nether is there any people but such as hope to be hereafter bounden to you for relefe and benefits, to proceed from you in time to come. One or two battels happilie haue chanced among so manie triumphs otherwise than you would haue wished; chance would it should be so, which may infeeble and make weake the power of horsses, armor, and weapon: your inuincible courage and roiall magnanimitie lieth in your power to reteine: nether shall this day take any thing from you or yours. And this realme of France which hath procreat and brought forth and nourished so many of my noble progenitors, shall perceiue my good meaning towards hir, as not forgetfull of mine elders, and toward your maiestie (if you will vouchsafe that I should glorie of that name) a most humble kinsman. There are manie occasions of loue and freendship betwixt you and my father, which I trust shall take place, for I know all his thoughts and inward meanings: you shall agree and come to an attonement right easilie togither, & I praie God he neuer take me for his sonne, except I haue you in the same degree of honor, reuerence, and faithfull loue, which I owe towards him.

The king (as reason would) acknowledged this to proceed of great courtesie shewed toward him in the prince, and thanked him accordinglie. And the prince perfourming in deed that which he spake with word, ceassed from further vsing of fire, or other indamaging of the French dominions, and taking his waie through the countries of Poictou and Xaintonge, by easie iournies, he and his people came to Blaie, and so passed ouer the water to Burdeaux in good safetie with all their riches and prisoners. The prince gaue to the lord James Audelie (who had receiued in the battell manie sore wounds) fiue hundred marks of yearelie reuenues assigned forth of his lands in England. The which gift the knight granted as freelie as he had receiued it vnto foure of his esquiers, which in the battell had bene euer attendant about his person, without whose aid & valiant support, he knew well that he had bene slaine sundrie times in the same battell by his enimies, and therefore thought it a dutie of humanitie and gratitude to make them amends with some temporall recompense, that had saued his life, than the which nothing is more deere, nor of greater price in the world, as the poet saith,

——nihil est vita pretiosius ipsa.

The French king thanketh the prince.

The prince returneth to Burdeaux. Froissard.

The lord Audelie rewarded.

When the prince heard that he had so done, he merueiled what his meaning was therby, and caused him to be brought before his presence, and demanded of him wherefore he had so lightlie giuen awaie that reward which he had bestowed vpon him, and whether he thought that gift to meane for him or not. The lord Audelie so excused himselfe in extolling the good seruice done to him by his esquiers, through whome he had so manie times escaped the dangers of death, that the prince did not onelie confirme the resignation of the fiue hundred marks giuen to the esquiers, but also rewarded the lord Audelie with six hundred marks more of like yearelie reuenues, in maner and forme as he had receiued the other.

When the newes of this great victorie came into England of the ouerthrow of the Frenchmen, and taking of the French king, ye may be sure there was great ioy shewed by outward tokens, as bonfiers made, feasts and bankets kept, through the whole realme. Likewise the Gascoignes and Englishmen being come to Burdeaux, made great reuell and pastime there, spending freelie that gold and siluer which they had wone in the battell of Poictiers, and elsewhere in that iournie. ¶ This yeare in April the prince of Wales toke shipping with his prisoners at Burdeaux, and on the first of May arriued at Plimmouth. On the foure and twentith day of May he was with great honour ioifullie receiued of the citizens into the citie of London, and so conueied to the palace of Westminster, where the king sitting in Westminster hall, receiued the French king, and after conueied him to a lodging appointed for him, where he lai a season; but after he was remoued to the

Bonfiers.

1357

Anno Reg. 31. Additions to Adam Merimuth.

The prince bringeth the French king ouer into England.

the Sauoie, which was at that time a goodlie house, perteining to the duke of Lancaster, though afterwards it was burnt and destroied by Wat Tiler, Jacke Straw, and their companie. In this place the French king laie, and kept house a long time after.

A iusts holden in Smithfield

In the winter following were roiall iustes holden in Smithfield, at the which were present the kings of England, France, and Scotland, with manie great estates of all their three kingdoms, of the which the more part of the strangers were as then prisoners. It was reported, that the French king could not so dissemble nor cloake his inward thought, but that there appeared some tokens of greefe in his countenance, whilest he beheld these warlike pastimes. And when the king of England, & his sonne

The French K. sorowfull.

prince Edward with comfortable words required him after supper to put all pensiue cares out of his fantasie, and to be merrie and sing as other did, he should make this answer with a smiling countenance, alluding to the complaint of the Israelits in time of their captiuitie vnder the gentiles, & saieng,

Psalm. 137. *Quomodo cantabimus canticum in terra aliena?*

Thom. Wals. Froissard.

About the same time there came ouer into England two cardinals, the one called Talirand being bishop of Alba (commonlie named the cardinall of Pierregort) and the other named Nicholas intituled cardinall of S. Vitale or (as Froissard saith) of Dargell, they were sent from pope Innocent the first, to intreat for a peace betwixt the kings of England and France: but they could not bring their purpose to anie perfect conclusion, although they remained here for the space of two yeares: but yet onelie by good means they procured a truce betweene the said kings, and all their assistants, to indure from the time of the publication thereof, vnto the feast of S. John Baptist, which should be in the yeare 1359: out of the which truce was excepted the L. Philip of Nauarre, and his alies, the countesse of Montfort, and the whole duchie of Britaine.

Cardinals sent into England.

A truce for two yeares.

The French king remoued to Windsor.

Anon after, the French king was remoued from the Sauoie vnto the castell of Windsor with all his houshold, and then he went on hunting and hawking there about at his pleasure, and the lord Philip his sonne with him, all the residue of the prisoners abode still at London, but were suffered to go vp and downe, and to come to the court when they would. In the same yeare the duke of Lancaster besieged the citie of Rennes in Britaine, in the title of the countesse of Richmond, & hir yong sonne John of Montfort, that claimed to be duke of Britaine. Those that were within the citie, as the vicount of Rohan, and Berthram de Claiquin (who as then was a lustie yong bacheler) and others defended themselues manfullie for a time, but yet at length they were compelled to render the citie into their enimies hands.

Rennes besieged.

Tho. Walsi.

About the same time two Franciscane friers were burnt at London, for matters of religion. ¶ Moreouer queene Isabell, mother vnto king Edward the third, departed this life the seauen and twentith daie of August, and was buried the seauen and twentith daie of November, in the church of the friers minors at London, not yet dedicated. ¶ Dauid king of Scotland, shortlie after the truce was concluded betwixt England and France, was set at libertie, paieng for his ransome the summe of one hundred thousand marks (as Fourdon saith) but whether he meaneth Scotish or sterling monie, I cannot saie. He also was bound by couenant now vpon his deliuerance, to cause the castels in Nidesdale to be raised, which were knowne to be euill neighbors to the English borderers, as Dunfrise, Dalswinton, Morton, Dunsdere, and nine other.

1357 Anno Reg. 31

Fourdon. The king of Scots ransomed.

Polydor.

His wife queene Jone made such earnest suite to hir brother king Edward for hir husbands deliuerance, that king Edward was contented to release him vpon the paiment of so small a portion of monie, and performance of the couenants, for the raising of those castels; although Froissard saith, that he was couenanted to paie for his deliuerance within the tearme of ten yeares, fiue hundred thousand nobles, and for suertie of that paiment to send into England sufficient hostages, as the earles of Dowglas, Murrey, Mar, Sutherland, and Fife, the baron of Uescie, and sir William Camoise. Also he couenanted neuer to weare armour against king Edward, within his realme of England, nor to consent that his subiects should so doo: and further should vpon his returne home, doo the best he could to cause the Scots to agree that their countrie should hold of him in fee, and that he and his successours, kings of Scotland, should doo homage to the king of England, and his successors for the realme of Scotland.

Froissard.

1358 Anno Reg. 32.

In this two and thirtith yeare, as witnesseth the French chronicles, sir Robert Knolles, James Pipe, and one Thomlin Foulke, with other capteins and men of warre as souldiours to the king of Nauarre vpon the tenth day of March earlie in the morning scaled the walles of the citie of Auxerre, and behaued them so manfullie, that they were maisters of the towne before the sunne was vp. They got exceeding much by the spoile of that citie, and by ransoming the prisoners which they tooke there. At length after they had remained eight daies in that citie, and taken their pleasures of all things within it, they wrought so with the citizens, that to haue possession of their citie againe, and to haue it saued from fire, they agreed to giue to sir Robert Knolles, and to his companie, fiftie thousand motons of gold, which amounted to the summe of twelue thousand and fiue hundred pounds sterling or there about; and yet was it agreed, that the Englishmen should burne the gates, and throw downe the walles in diuers places. In Aprill next insuing, the towne of Daubignie sir le Petre was likewise woone by the Englishmen; and the second daie of Maie Chastelon sir Loigne was taken by the said sir Robert Knolles, and put to sacke as the other were. From thence they went to Newcastell vpon Loire. Thus did the Englishmen and other, in title of the K. of Nauarre, greatlie indamage the realme of France, dailie winning townes and castels, ransoming the people, and wasting the countries in most miserable wise, as in the historie of France you may read more at large.

Annales de France.

The citie of Auxerre taken by sir Robert Knolles.

Daubignie sir le Petre. Chastelon. Newcastell vpon Loire.

In this meane while there was talke of peace betwixt the king of England, and the king of France, and articles thereof drawne in this forme, that the whole countries of Gascoine, Guien, Poictou, Touraine, Xaintonge, Piergourd, Quercie, Limosin, Angolisinois, Calis, Guines, Bullogne, and Ponthieu, should remaine to the king of England wholie without doing homage or paieng anie releefe for the same: but on the other part, he should renounce all his right, which he might by anie manner of meane claime to the countries of Normandie, Anjou, or Maine. And further, that the French king should paie a certeine summe of monie for his ransome, and deliuer sufficient pledges for the same, and so depart into France. These articles were sent ouer into France, that the three states there might confirme them, which they refused to doo. Whereupon when the truce ended, the warres were againe renued. ¶ The king held this yeere the feast of S. George at Windsor, in more sumptuous manner than euer it had beene kept before.

Talke of a peace, and articles thereof drawne. Caxton.

In the same yeare also, frier John Lille bishop of

Thom. Wals.

The bishop of Elie.

Elie, being (as he toke it) somewhat wronged by the ladie Blanch de Wake, and other that were of hir counsell, when the last yeare against the kings will vnto the popes court, where exhibiting his complaint, he caused the pope to excommunicate all his aduersaries, sending to the bishop of Lincolne and other of the cleargie, that if they knew any of them so excommunicated to be dead and buried, they should draw them out of their graues: which was done.

Excommunication.

And because some of those that were excommunicated were of the kings councell, the king toke such displeasure therewith, that he grieuouslie disquieted the prelats. Wherevpon there were sent from the court of Rome on the behalfe of the bishop of Elie, certeine persons, which being armed, met the bishop of Rochester lord treasurer, deliuering to him letters from the pope, the contents of the which were not knowen, and forthwith they shranke awaie: but the kings seruants made such pursute after them, that

Such as deliuered the popes letters hanged.

some of them they toke, and bringing them before the kings iustices, vpon their arreignement they were condemned, and suffered death on the gallowes.

Discord betwixt priests and friers.

Great discord rose also about this time, or rather afore, betwixt the cleargie, and the foure orders of friers, as in the booke of acts & monuments set forth by maister Iohn Fox ye may read more at large.

Th. Walsing. John of Gant married.

In this yeare John of Gant earle of Richmond, sonne to the king, the nineteenth day of Maie married the ladie Blanch daughter to Henrie duke of Lancaster at Reading; and because they were cousins within the degrees of consanguinitie, forbidden by the church lawes to marrie, a dispensation was procured of the pope to remoue that obstacle and let.

1359
Anno Reg. 33.

Windsore castell repared. Additions to Triuet.

In this yeare the king set workemen in hand to take downe much old bildings belonging to the castell of Windsore, and caused diuerse other faire and sumptuous works to be erected and set vp, in and about the same castell, so that almost all the masons and carpenters that were of any accompt within this land, were sent for and imploied about the same works, the ouersæer whereof was William Wickham the kings chaplein, by whose aduise the king toke in hand to repare that place, the rather in deed because he was borne there, and therefore he toke great pleasure to bestow cost in beautifieng it with such buildings, as may appeare euen vnto this daie.

A solemne iusts at London.

Moreouer, this yeare in the Rogation wæke was solemne iusts enterprised at London, for the maior and his foure and twentie brethren as challengers did appoint to answer all commers, in whose name and steed the king with his

Caxton. The K. with his foure sons are of the chalengers part.

foure sonnes, Edward, Lionell, John, and Edmund, and nineteene other great lords, in secret manner came and held the field with honor, to the great pleasure of the citizens that beheld the same.

¶ Ye haue heard how the Frenchmen refused the peace, which was accorded betwixt K. Edward & their king, as then prisoner here in England. Wherupō K. Edward determined to make such warre against the realme of France, that the Frenchmen with all their harts should be glad to condescend and agree to reason: and

The French K. remoued. He departed frō Hertford the 29 of Iulie. Polydor.

first he commanded all manner of Frenchmen (other than such as were prisoners) to auoid out of England. He also appointed the French king to be remoued from the castell of Hertford, where he then remained, vnto the castell of Somerton in Lincolneshire, vnder the gard and conduct of the lord William Deincourt, being allowed fourtie shillings the day for the wages of two and twentie men at armes, twentie archers, & two watchmen: as thus, for himselfe and sir John Birketon baronets, either of them foure shillings the daie; for three knights, sir William Colleuill (in place of the lord Robert Colleuill, that could not trauell himselfe by reason of sickenesse) sir John Deincourt, and sir Saer de Rochfort, ech of them two shillings the daie; seuentéene esquiers ech of them twelue pence the day, eight archers on horsse backe euerie of them six pence the day, and twelue archers on foot three pence, and the two watchmen either of them six pence the day, which amounteth in the whole vnto nine and thirtie shillings the day; and the od twelue pence was allowed to the said lord Deincourt to make vp the summe of 40 shillings. ¶ This haue I noted the rather, to giue a light to the reader to consider how chargeable the reteining of men of war in these daies is, in respect of the former times. But now to our purpose.

The king prepareth to make a iourney into France. Froissard.

The king meaning to passe ouer himselfe in person into France, caused a mightie armie to be mustered and put in a readinesse, and sent before him the duke of Lancaster ouer to Calis with foure hundred speares, and two thousand archers, where the said duke ioined with such strangers as were alreadie come to Calis in great numbers, and togither with them entered into the French dominions, and

The duke of Lancaster.

passing by saint Omers & Bethune, came to Mount saint Eloie, a goodlie abbeie and a rich, two leagues distant from Arras, and there the host tarried foure daies, and when they had robbed and wasted all the countrie thereabout, they rode to Braie, and there made a great assault, at the which a baronet of England was slaine with diuerse other.

Braie assaulted.

When the Englishmen saw they could win nothing there, they departed, and following the water of Some, came to a towne called Chersie, where they passed the riuer, and there tarried Alhallowen daie, & the night following.

The kings arriuall at Calis.

On the same daie the duke of Lancaster was aduertised, that the king was arriued at Calis the seuentéenth daie of October, commanding him by letters to draw towards him with all his companie. The duke according to the kings commandement obeied, and so returned toward Calis. The king being there arriued with all his power, toke counsell which way he should take. Some aduised him first to in-

Froissard.

uade Flanders, and to reuenge the iniurious dealing of the earle and the Flemings: but he would not agree to that motion, for he purposed fullie either by plaine force to make a conquest of France, or else vterlie to destroie and wast the countrie throughout with fier and sword. Herevpon he set forwards the fourth of Nouember, and passing through the countries of Arthois, and Vermendois, he came before the citie of Reimes. There went ouer with him in this iournie, & with the duke of Lancaster, his foure

Froissard.

sonnes, Edward prince of Wales, Lionell earle of Ulster, John earle of Richmond, and the lord Edmund his yongest sonne. Also there was Henrie the said duke of Lancaster, with the earles of March, Warwike, Suffolke, Hereford (who also was earle of Northampton) Salisburie, Stafford, and Orford, the bishops of Lincolne, and Durham, and the lords Percie, Neuill, Spenser, Birdilton, Rosse, Mannie, Cobham, Powbray, de la Ware, Willoughbie, Felton, Basset, Fitz Water, Charleton, Audelie, Burwasch, and others, beside knights and esquiers, as sir John Chandois, sir Stephan Goussanton, sir Nowell Loring, sir Hugh Hastings, sir John Lisle, sir Richard Pembruge, and others.

Reimes besieged.

The siege was laid before Reimes about saint Andrewes tide, and continued more than seuen wækes: but the citie was so well defended by the bishop and the earle of Porcien, and other capiteins within it, that the Englishmen could not obteine their purpose, and so at length, when they could not haue forrage nor other necessarie things abroad in the countrie for to serue their turne, the king raised his field, and departed with his armie in good order of battell, taking the way through Champaigne, and so passed by Chaalons, and after to Perie on the riuer of

1360

Polydor.

Seine,

Anno Reg. 34. Tonnere wonne.

Seine. From Perie he departed and came vnto Tonnere, which towne about the beginning of the foure and thirtith yeare of his reigne was wonne by assault, but the castell could not be wonne, for there was within it the lord Fiennes constable of France, and a great number of other good men of war, which defended it valiantlie.

After the king had rested there fiue daies, and that his men were well refreshed with the wines and other such things, which they found in that towne in good plentie, he remoued and drew towards Burgognie, comming to a towne called Guillon or Aguillon, where he lay from Ashwednesday vnto Midlent, hauing good prouision of all maner of vittels by the means of an esquier of his called John Alanson, which had taken the towne of Flauignie not farre thence, wherein was great store of bread and wine and other vittels: and still the marshals rode forth, and oftentimes refreshed the host with new prouision. The Englishmen had with them in their carriages, tents, pauillions, milles, ouens, and forges; also boates of leather cunninglie made and deuised, able to receiue three men a peece, and to passe them ouer waters and riuers. They had at the least six thousand carts with them, and for euerie cart foure horsses which they had out of England.

Guillon.

Flauignie.

The number of carriages.

In this meane while, the Frenchmen made certeine vessels forth to the sea, vnder the gouernance of the earle of S. Paule, the which vpon the fifteenth daie of March landed earlie in the morning at Winchelsie, and before sunne rising entred the towne, and finding the inhabitants vnprouided to make anie great resistance, fell to and sacked the houses, slue manie men, women and also children, and after set fier on the towne; and vpon knowledge had that the people of the countrie next adioining were assembled, and comming to the rescue, he caused his men to draw to their ships, and so they taking their pillage and spoile with them, got them aboord, not without some losse of their companie, which were slaine in the towne by such as resisted their violence. Whilest the king laie at Aguillon, there came to him Anscaume de Salilans chancellor of Burgognie, Jaques de Vienne, and other lords of the countrie, being sent from their duke, to agree with the king for the sparing of the lands and seignories apperteining to the duchie of Burgognie.

Caxton. Additions to Ad. Merimuth.

Winchelsie burnt by the French.

A Compositiõ made to spare the countrie of Burgognie.

The chancellor, and the other Burgognian lords found the king so agreeable to their request, that a composition was made betwixt him and the countrie of Burgognie, so that he should make to them an assurance for him, and all his people, not to ouerrun or indamage that countrie, during the space of three yeares, and he to haue in readie monie the summe of two hundred thousand florens of gold, which of sterling monie amounted to the summe of fiue and thirtie thousand pounds. When this agreement was ingrossed vp in writing, and sealed, the king dislodged, and all his host, taking the right waie to Paris, and passing the riuer of Ponne, entered into Gastinois, and at length by easie iournies, vpon a tuesdaie being the last of March in the weeke before Easter, he came and lodged betweene Pont le Herie, and Chartres, with his people in the countrie there aboutes.

Franks hath Paradine, in Les Annales de Burgognie. Froissard.

The king of England draweth towards Paris

Here the duke of Normandie made meanes for a treatie of peace, which was laboured by a frier called Simon de Langres prouincial of the friers Jacobins and the popes legat: he did so much, that a treatie was appointed to be holden on good fridaie in the Valederie of Longegimew, where appeared for the king of England the duke of Lancaster, the erls of Warwike and Northampton, with sir John Chandois, sir Walter de Hannie, and sir William Cheinie knights: and for the French king thither came the earle of Eu constable of France, and the marshall Bouciquaut, with other; but their treatie came to none effect: wherfore the king vpon the tuesdaie in the Easter weeke remoued nearer vnto Paris, and vpon the fridaie following, being the tenth of Aprill, by procurement of the abbat of Clugnie newlie come from pope Innocent the sixt, the foresaid commissioners eftsones did meet to treat of an agreement, but nothing they could conclude, the parties in their offers and demands were so farre at ods.

A treatie.

Upon the sundaie next following, a part of the kings host came before the citie of Paris, and imbattelled themselues in a field fast by saint Marcilles, abiding there frõ morning till three of the clocke in the after none, to see if the Frenchmen would come forth to giue battell: but the French would not taste of that vessell. For the duke of Normandie (well considering what losse had insued within few yeares past vnto the realme of France, by giuing battell to the Englishmen, and taught by late triall and feeling of smart to dread imminent danger, for

Vulnĕribus didicit miles habere metum)

would not suffer anie of his people to issue forth of the gates, but commanded them to be readie onelie to defend the walles and gates, although he had a great power of men of warre within the citie, beside the huge multitude of the inhabitants. The Englishmen to prouoke their enimies the soner to saile forth, burnt diuerse parts of the suburbs, and rode euen to the gates of the citie. When they perceiued that the Frenchmen would not come forth, about three of the clocke in the afternoone they departed out of the field and withdrew to their campe, and then the king and all the English host remoued towards Chartres, and was lodged at a place called Dones. Thither came to him the bishop of Beauuois then chancellor of Normandie, with other, and so handled the matter with him, that a new daie of treatie was appointed to be holden at Bretignie, which is little more than a mile distant from Chartres, vpon the first day of Maie next insuing.

The English men before Paris.

Polydor. The suburbs of Paris burnt.

Froissard. The bishop of Beauuois.

In which daie and place appointed, the foresaid duke of Lancaster, and the said earles and other commissioners met with the said bishop, and other French lords and spirituall men to him associate, on the behalfe of the duke of Normandie then regent of France, to renew the former communication of peace, in full hope to bring it to a good conclusion; because king Edward began to frame his imagination more to accord with his aduersaries, than he had done of late, chéefelie for that the duke of Lancaster with courteous words and sage persuasions, aduised him not to forsake such reasonable conditions as the Frenchmen were contented now to agree vnto, sith that by making such manner of warre as he had attempted, his souldiers onelie gained, and he himselfe lost but time, and consumed his treasure: and further he might warre in this sort all the daies of his life, before he could atteine to his intent, and lose perhaps in one daie more than he had gained in twentie yeares.

A new treatie

The duke of Lancaster perswadeth the king to agree.

Such words spoken for the wealth of the king and his subiects, conuerted the kings mind to fansie peace, namelie by the grace of the Holie-ghost chéefe worker in this case. For it chanced on a daie, as he was marching not farre from Chartres, there came such a storme and tempest of thunder, lightening, haile and raine, as the like had neuer béene séene by anie of the English people. This storme fell so hideous in the kings host, that it seemed the world should haue ended: for such vnreasonable great stones of haile fell from the skie, that men and horsses were

An hideous storme & tempest of wether

slaine therewith, so that the most hardie were abashed. There perished thousands thereby, as some haue written. Then the king remembring what reasonable offers of agreement he had refused, vpon remorse of conscience (as by some writers should appeare) asked forgiuenesse of the damage done by sword and fire in those parts, and fullie determined to grant vnto indifferent articles of peace, for releefe of the christian inhabitants of that land: and so shortlie after, by the good diligence of the commissioners on both parts, an vnitie and finall peace was accorded, the conditions whereof were comprised in fortie and one articles, the chiefe whereof in effect were these.

A peace concluded.

The articles.

Fabian. Froissard.

1 First that the king of England should haue and enioy (ouer and beside that which he held alreadie in Gascoigne and Guien) the castell, citie, and countie of Poictiers, and all the lands and countrie of Poictou, with the fee of Touars, and the lands of Belleuille; the citie and castell of Xaintes, and all the lands and countrie of Xaonconge on both sides the riuer of Charent, with the towne and fortresse of Rochell, with their appurtenances; the citie and castell of Agent, and the countrie of Agenois; the citie and castell of Piergort, and all the land and countrie of Perigueur; the citie and castell of Limoges, and all the lands and countrie of Limosin; the citie and castell of Cahors, and the lordship of Cahorsin; the castell and countrie of Tarbe; the lands countrie and countie of Bigorre; the countie, countrie, and lands of Saure; the citie and castell of Angolesme; and the countie, land, and countrie of Angolesmois; the citie, towne and castell of Rodais; and all the countie, and countrie of Rouergne; and if there were in the duchie of Guien any lords, as the earles of Foix, Arminacke, Lisle, and Perigueur, the vicounts of Carmain, and Limoges, or other holding any lands within the foresaid bounds, it was accorded that they should do homage and other customarie seruices due for the same vnto the king of England.

Homages and seruices.

2 It was also agreed, that Calis and Guines, with the appurtenances, the lands of Pontreuill on the sea with the countie of Ponthieu, wholie and entirelie should remaine vnto the king of England. All the which countries, cities, townes, and castels, with the other lands and seignories, the same king should haue and hold to him and his heires for euer, euen as they were in demaine or fee, immediatlie of God, and free without recognizing any maner souereingtie to any earthlie man. In consideration whereof, king Edward renounced all such claimes, titles and interest as he pretended vnto any part of France, other than such as were comprised within the charter of couenants of this peace first agreed vpon at Bretignie aforesaid, and after confirmed at Calis, as appeareth by the same charter dated there the foure & twentith date of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1360.

The date of the charter of the peace.

3 It was also couenanted, that the French king should paie vnto the king of England thirtie hundred thousand crownes in name of his ransome: for assurance of which paiment, & performance of all the couenants afore mentioned, and other agreed vpon by this peace, the dukes of Orleance, Anion, Berrie, and Burbon, with diuerse other honorable personages, as earles, lords, and burgesses of euerie good towne, some were appointed to be sent ouer hither into England to remaine as hostages.

The French kings ransome.

Hostages.

4 It was further agreed, that neither the French king nor his successors should aid the Scots against the king of England or his successors; nor that king Edward nor his heirs kings of England should aid the Flemings against the crowne of France.

The French not to aid the Scots.

5 And as for the title or right of the duchie of Britaine, which was in question betweene the earles of Blois and Mountfort, it was accorded, that both kings being at Calis, the parties should be called before them, and if the two kings could not make them frends, then should they assigne certeine indifferent persons to agree them, and they to haue halfe a yeares respit to end the matter: and if within that terme those that should be so appointed to agree them, could not take vp the matter betwixt the said earles, then either of them might make the best purchase for himselfe that he could, by helpe of frends, or otherwise: but alwaies prouided, that neither of the kings nor their sonnes should so aid the said earles, whereby the peace accorded betwixt England and France, might by any meanes be broken or infringed. Also, to whether of the said earles the duchie of Britaine in the end chanced to fall by sentence of iudges, or otherwise, the homage should be done for the same vnto the French king.

Britaine.

All these ordinances, articles and agreements, with manie mo (which here would be too long to rehearse) were accorded and ratified by the instruments and seales of the prince of Wales on the one part, and of the duke of Normandie regent of France on the other part, as by their letters patents then sealed further appeared, bearing date, the one at Loures in Normandie the sixteenth daie of Maie in the yeare of Grace 1360, and the other at Paris the tenth day of the same moneth, and in the yeare aforesaid. Ouer & beside this, both the said princes tooke on them a solemne oth, to see all the same articles and couenants of agreement throughlie kept, maintained and performed. This done, king Edward imbarked himselfe with his foure sonnes and the most part of his nobles at Hunfleu the twentith daie of Maie, and so sailed into England, leauing behind him the earle of Warwike to haue the gouernement of all the men of warre which he left behind him, either in Guien or in any other place on that side the sea.

The king of England returneth home.

The earle of Warwike.

There died in this iournie diuerse noble men of this land, as the earles of March and Orford, the lord John Grate then steward of England, and the lord Geffrie de Saie, with diuerse other. The eight of Julie next insuing, the French king hauing licence to depart, landed at Calis, and was lodged in the castell there, abiding till the king of England came thither, which was not till the ninth day of October next after. On the foure and twentith daie of October, both the kings being in two trauerses and one chappell at Calis, a masse was said before them, and when they should haue kissed the par, either of them in signe of greater frendship kissed the other, & there they were solemnelie sworne to mainteine the articles of the same peace; and for more assurance thereof, manie lords of both parts were likewise sworne to mainteine the same articles to the vttermost of their powers. Whilest these kings laie thus at Calis, there was great banketting and chere made betwixt them.

Tho. Walsin.

The French king goeth ouer to Calis.

The kings receiue a solemne oth to see the peace performed.

Also the duke of Normandie came from Bullongne to Calis, to visit his father, and to see the king of England, in which meane time two of king Edwards sonnes were at Bullongne. Finallie, when these two kings had finished all matters in so good order and forme that the same could not be amended nor corrected, and that the French king had deliuered his hostages to the king of England, that is to saie, sir dukes, beside earles, lords, and other honorable personages, in all to the number of eight and thirtie: on the morrow after the taking of their oths, that is to saie on the fiue and twentith daie of October, being sundaie, the French king was freelie deliuered, and the same daie before none he departed from Calis, and rode to Bullongne. The king of England brought him a mile forward on his waie, and then tooke leaue of him in most louing maner. The prince atten-

The duke of Normandie.

The number of the French hostages.

attended him to Bullongne, where both he and the duke of Normandie with other were eftsons sworne to hold and maintaine the foresaid peace without all fraud or colourable deceit: and this done, the prince returned to Calis. Thus was the French king set at libertie, after he had beene prisoner here in England the space of foure yeares, and as much as from the nineteenth daie of September, vnto the fiue and twentith of October. When the king of England had finished his businesse at Calis, according to his mind, he returned into England, and came to London the ninth daie of November.

The French king set at libertie.

¶ Thus haue yee hard the originall begining, the processe, and issue of sundrie conflicts and battels, and speciallie of two, one of John the French king vnluckilie attempted against England; the other of Dauid the Scotish king as vnfortunatlie ended. For both kings were subdued in fight, vanquished, and taken prisoners; with a great number of their noblemen, whereas they were in hope to haue gone awaie with the conquest, and to haue had renowme for their reward. Of which ouerthrow giuen to both these kings, with the clemencie of king Edward (in whose hands though their liues laie to be disposed as he list, yet he was so far from violating the same, that he shewed himselfe a wonderfull fauourer of their estates, and in fine not onelie put them to their reasonable ransoms, but restored them to their rotalties, from the which their sinister lot had deposed them) Christopher Okland hath left this remembred:

In Angl. prel. sub Edwardo. 3.

Plantageneta duos reges iam illustris habebat
Captiuos, tenuit comites custodia mitis
Multos ambabus claro regionibus ortos
Sanguine, quos seuo bello cepere Britanni.
Attamen Eduardi viguit clementia regis
Tanta, & tanta animo virtus innata sedebat,
Vt pretio & pacto dimitteret ære redemptos
In patriam ad propria consanguinitatis amicos.

Strange wonders.

In this foure and thirtith yeare of king Edward, men and cattell were destroied in diuerse places of this realme, by lightening and tempest; also houses were set on fier and burnt, and manie strange and wonderfull sights seene. ¶ The same yeare Edward prince of Wales married the countesse of Kent, which before was wife vnto the lord Thomas Holland: and before that, she was also wife vnto the erle of Salisburie, and diuorsed from him, and wedded to the same lord Holland. She was daughter vnto Edmund earle of Kent, brother to king Edward the second, that was beheaded in the beginning of this kings reigne, as before yee haue heard. And bicause the prince and she were within degrees of consanguinitie forbidden to marrie, a dispensation was gotten from the pope to remoue that let. In this yeare also was a great death of people (namelie of men, for women were not so much subiect thereto.) This was called the second mortalitie, bicause it was the second that fell in this kings daies.

A great death.

Hen. Marl. The primat of Ardmach departed this life.

This yeare also by the death of Richard fitz Rase primat of Ardmach, that departed this life in the court of Rome; and also of Richard Kilminton deceassed here in England, the discord that had continued for the space of three or foure yeares betwixt them of the cleargie on the one part, and the foure orders of friers on the other part, was now quieted and brought to end. Moreouer, this yeare appeared two castels in the aire, of the which the one appeared in the southeast, and the other in the southwest, out of which castels about the houre of none sundrie times were seene hosts of armed men (as apeared to mans sight) issuing forth, and that host which sailed out of the castell in the southeast seemed white, and the other blacke. They appeared as they should haue fought either against other, and first the white had the

1361

Additions to Triuet, and Adam Merimuth. A strãge sight in the aire.

vpper hand, and after was ouercome, and so banished out of sight.

About the same time, the souldiors which were discharged in France and out of wages, by the breaking vp of the warres, assembled togither, and did much hurt in that realme, as in the French histories yee may read. Their cheefe leaders were Englishmen and Gascoignes subiects to the king of England. Froissard.

Anno Reg. 35. A parlement.

The king assembled the states of his realme in parlement at Westminster in the feast of the Conuersion of S. Paule, and there was declared vnto them the tenor and whole effect of the peace concluded betwixt England and France, wherewith they were greatlie pleased, and hereupon the nobles of the realme, and such Frenchmen as were hostages, came togither at Westminster church on the first sundaie of Lent next following: and there such as were not alreadie sworne, receiued the oth for performance of the same peace, in a right solemne manner, hauing the tenour of their oths written in certeine scrols; and after they had taken their oths vpon the sacrament and masse booke, they deliuered the same scrols vnto certeine notaries apointed to receiue and register the same. Caxton.

The mortalitie yet during, that noble duke Henrie of Lancaster departed this life on the eeuen of the Annunciation of our ladie, and was buried at Leicester. ¶ John of Gant the fourth son to the king, who had married his daughter the ladie Blanch, as before yee haue heard, succeeded him in that dutchie as his heire in right of the said ladie. The same yeare also died the lord Reginold Cobham, the lord Walter fitz Warren, and three bishops, Worcester, London, and Elie. This yeare vpon the fifteenth day of Januarie there rose such a passing wind, that the like had not beene heard of in manie yeares before. It began about euensong time in the south, and that with such force, that it ouerthrew and blew downe strong and mightie buildings, as towers, steeples, houses and chimnies. This outragious wind continued thus for the space of six or seauen daies, whereby euen those buildings that were not ouerthrowne and broken downe, were yet so shaken, that they without reparing were not able long to stand. After this followed a verie wet season, namelie in the summer time and haruest, so that much corne and haie was lost and spoiled, for want of seasonable weather to gather in the same. Tho. Walsi. Adam Merimuth.

1362

Caxton.

A mightie wind.

Anno Reg. 36.

The lord Lionell the kings sonne went ouer into Ireland, to be deputie to his father there, and was created duke of Clarence, and his brother Edmund was created earle of Cambridge; also Edward prince of Wales was by his father king Edward inuested duke of Guien, and did homage vnto his father for the same, in like manner and forme as his father and other kings of England were accustomed to do for the said dutchie to the kings of France. And afterwards about the feast of Candlemasse next insuing, the said prince sailed into Gascoigne, and arriued at Burdeaux, taking vpon him the gouernment and rule of the countrie. Moreouer this yeare, the fiue first daies of Maie, were kept roiall iusts in Smithfield by London, the king and queene being present, with a great multitude of the nobles and gentlemen of both the realms of England and France; at which time came hither Spaniards, Cipriots, and Armenians, requiring aid of the king against the infidels, that sore molested their confines. ¶ The staple of wols was this yeare remoued to Calis.

Creations of the kings sonnes to degrees of honor Hen. Marle.

1

The prince of Wales passeth ouer into Guien. Thom. Wals. Additions to Ad. Merim.

Iusts in Smithfield.

The Staple of wols remoued to Calis.

Also the sixteenth of October, a parlement began, that was called at Westminster, which continued till the feast date of S. Brice, on which date, the king at that time fiftie yeares then past, was borne; whereupon, as it were in the peare of his iubile, he shewed him-

A parlement.

A pardon.

himselfe more gratious to his people, granting pardon to offendors, and reuoking outlawes. Moreouer, it was ordeined in this parlement, that no maner of person, of what estate or degrée soeuer he was, the king, the quéene, and dukes onelie excepted, should haue any purueiers of vittels, nor should take vp any thing without readie paiment, and those that from thencefoorth did contrarie to this ordinance, should be extremelie punished. There was granted to the king in this parlement six and twentie shillings eight pence of euerie sacke of woll that was to be transported ouer the sea, for three yeares next insuing.

A statute against purueiers.

A subsidie.

Furthermore, at the suite of the commons it was ordeined and established by an act in this parlement deuised, that men of law should plead their causes, and write their actions and plaints in the English tong, and not in the French, as they had béene accustomed to do, euer since the Conquerors time. It was ordeined also, that schoolemasters should teach their scholers to construe their lessons in English, & not in French, as before they had béene vsed. The K. shewed so much curtesie to the French hostages, that he permitted them to go ouer to Calis, and there being nére home, to purchase friendship, by oft calling on their frends for their deliuerance. They were suffered to ride to and fro about the marches of Calis, for the space of foure daies togither, so that on the fourth daie before sunne setting, they returned into Calis againe. The duke of Anjou turning this liberte to serue his owne turne, departed from thence, and went home into France, without making his fellowes priuie to his purpose.

Lawiers to plead their cases in English. Caxton.

Schoolemasters to teach scholers to construe their lessons in English.

1363

Anno Reg. 37. Thom. Wals.

This yeare a parlement was called by the king, which began the ninth of October, from the which none of the noble men could obteine licence to be absent. In this parlement all rich ornaments of gold and siluer vsed to be worne in kniues, girdels, ouches, rings, or otherwise, to the setting forth of the bodie, were prohibited, except to such as might dispend ten pounds by yeare. Moreouer that none should weare any rich clothes or furres, except they might dispend an hundred pounds by yeare. ¶ Moreouer it was enacted, that labourers and husbandmen should not vse any deintie dishes, or costlie drinks at their tables. But these, and such other acts as were deuised and established at this parlement, toke none effect, as after it appeared. In this yeare, there came into England to speake with king Edward concerning their weightie affaires, three kings, to wit, the king of France, the king of Scotland, & the king of Cypres: they were honorablie receiued, and highlie feasted.

Additions to Adam Merimuth.

A statute of arate against costlie apparell.

Three kings come into England about businesse with K. Edward.

The king of Scotland, and the king of Cypres after they had dispatched their businesse for the which they came, turned backe againe; but the French king fell sicke, and remained here till he died, as in the next yeare ye shall heare. He arriued here in England, about the latter end of this yeare, and came to Eltham (where king Edward as then laie) on the foure and twentith day of Januarie, and there dined. After diner, he toke his horsse and rode toward London, and vpon Blacke heath, the citizens of London clad in one kind of liuerie, and verie well horsed, met him, and conueied him from thence through to London, to the Sauoy, where his lodging was prepared.

1364

Anno. Reg. 38.

About the beginning of March, in this eight and thirtith yeare, the forenamed French king fell into a grieuous sickenesse, of the which he died the eight day of Aprill following. His corps was conueied into France, and there buried at S. Denise: his exequies were kept here in England in diuerse places right solemnelie, by king Edwards appointment.

The death of the French king.

Fabian.

This yeare, by reason of an extreme sore frost, continuing from the seuen and twentith day of September last passed, vnto the beginning of Aprill, in this eight and thirtith yeare (or rather from the seuenth day of December till the nineteenth day of March, as Walsingham and other old writers do report) the ground laie vntild, to the great hinderance and losse of all growing things on the earth. This yeare on Michaelmasse day, before the castell of Aulroy, not far distant from the citie of Uannes in Britaine, a sore battell was fought betwixt the lord Charles de Blois, and the lord John of Mountford. For when there could be no end made betwixt these two lords, touching their title vnto the duchie of Britaine, they renewed the wars verie hotlie in that countrie, and procured all the aid they might from each side. The king of France sent to the aid of his cousine Charls de Blois a thousand speares; and the earle of Mountford sent into Gascoigne, requiring sir John Chandois, and other Englishmen there to come to his succour. Sir John Chandois gladlie consented to this request, and thereupon got licence of the prince, and came into Britaine, where he found the earle of Mountford at the siege of the foresaid castell of Aulroy. In the meane time, the lord Charles de Blois, being prouided of men, and all things necessarie to giue battell, came and lodged fast by his enimies.

The battell of Aulroy.

Froissard.

The earle of Mountford aduertised of his approch, by the aduise of sir John Chandois and other of his capteins, had chosen out a plot of ground to lodge in, and meant there to abide their enimies. With the lord Charles of Blois was that valiant knight sir Berthram de Cleaquin or Guesclin (as some write him) by whose aduise there were ordeined three battels, and a reregard, and in each battell were appointed a thousand of good fighting men. On the other part, the earle of Mountford diuided his men likewise into three battels and a reregard. The first was led by sir Robert Knols, sir Walter Hewet, and sir Richard Burle or Burlie. The second by sir Oliuer de Clisson, sir Eustace Daubreticourt, and sir Mathew Gournie. The third the earle of Mountford him selfe guided, and with him was sir John Chandois associat, by whom he was much ruled: for the king of England, whose daughter the earle of Mountford should marie, had written to sir John Chandois, that he should take good héed to the businesse of the said earle, and order the same as sagelie as he might deuise or imagine.

Three thousand and six hundred fighting men, as Walsing. saith.

In ech of these three armies were fiue hundred armed men, and foure hundred archers. In the reregard were appointed fiue hundred men of warre, vnder the gouernance of sir Hugh Caluerlie. Beside sir John Chandois, & other Englishmen recited by Froissard, there was the lord William Latimer, as one of the chiefe on the earle of Mountfords side. There were not past sixtéene hundred good fighting men on that side, as Thomas Walsingham plainelie writeth. Now when the hosts were ordred on both sides (as before we haue said) they approched togither, the Frenchmen came close in their order of battell, and were to the number of fiue and twentie hundred men of armes, after the manner of that age, beside others. Euerie man had cut his speare (as then they vsed, at what time they should ioine in battell) to the length of fiue foot, and a short ax hanging at his side. At the first incounter, there was a sore battell, and trulie the archers shot right fiercelie, howbeit their shot did litle hurt to the Frenchmen, they were so well armed and furnished: the archers perceiuing that (being big men and light) cast awaie their bowes, and entered in amongst the Frenchmen that bare the axes, and pluckt them out of their hands, wherwith they fought after right hardlie. There was done manie a noble feat of armes, manie taken, and rescued againe.

The worthie actiuitie of the English archers.

Against

Against the earle of Montfords battell, fought the battell which the lord Charles de Blois ruled, and at the first, the earle of Montfords part was sore oppressed, and brought out of order in such sort, that if sir Hugh Caluerlie had not in time relæued them, the losse had runne on that side, but finallie so long they fought, that all the battels assembled and ioined each to other, except the reregard of the Englishmen, whereof (as is said) sir Hugh Caluerlie was chefe. He kept alwaies his battell on a wing, and euer succoured where he saw néed. At length, the Frenchmen not able to indure the valiant doings of their aduersaries, began to breake. First the earle of Auxerres batell was discomfited, and put to flight, and the said earle sore wounded, and taken prisoner, but the battell of sir Berthram de Cleaquin as yet stood manfullie at defense, howbeit at length the Englishmen perforce opened it, and then was the said sir Berthram taken prisoner, vnder the banner of sir John Chandois.

Sir Hugh Caluerlie.

The earle of Auxerre take prisoner.

Sir Berthrã de Cleaquin.

Herewith also, all the other battels of the Frenchmen and Britaines, on the part of the lord Charles de Blois, were cleane discomfited, and put out of arraie, so that such as resisted, and stood at defense, were slaine and beaten downe, and amongst others, the lord Charles was there slaine himselfe, and all other either taken or slaine, except those that escaped by flight, amongst the which there were not manie of the nobilitie. For (as Thomas Walsingham saith) there were slaine about a thousand men of armes, and there were taken two earles, seuen and twentie lords, and fiftéene hundred men of armes. The chase was followed to the citie of Reimes, eight great leagues from the place where the battell began. After this victorie, the earle of Montford conquered manie townes and castels in Britaine, whereof the French king being aduertised, sent his brother the duke of Anion, vnto the wife of the lord Charles of Blois now deceassed, to comfort hir in such an heauie case, and to take order for things as should be thought expedient, vntill further prouision might be made.

Shortlie after, there were sent vnto the earle of Montford, the archbishop of Reimes, the marshall Boucicquault, and the lord of Cran, as commissioners, to commune with him of a finall agréement. Whereupon, after he had signified the matter vnto the king of England, and vnderstood his pleasure therein, this treatie was so handled, that peace thereof followed, and the parties were agreed in the moneth of Aprill next insuing. ¶ This yeare (as some haue written) king Edward finished his warres vpon S. Stephans daie, and began the foundation of S. Stephans chappell at Westminster in memorie thereof, which chappell was afterwards finished by king Richard the second that succeeded him. ¶ In the nine and thirtith yéere of king Edwards reigne, and in the moneth of Februarie, in the citie of Angolesme, was borne the first sonne of prince Edward, and was named after his father, but he departed this life the seuenth yeare of his age.

Ambassadors sent to ỹ earle of Montford.

The variance for Britaine compounded.

Fabian.

1365

Anno Reg. 39. Fabian.

Tho. Walſ.

Also this yeare, the seuen and twentith of Julie, Ingeram de Guines lord de Coucie a Frenchman, married the ladie Isabell daughter to K. Edward. The solemnization of the marriage feast was kept at Windsor in most roiall and triumphant wise. The said lord Coucie was created earle of Bedford, with an yearelie annuitie of thirtie markes, going forth of the issues and profits of that countie, ouer and beside a thousand marks by yeare, assigned to him and his said wife, and to the heires male of their bodies begotten, to be paid forth of the exchecker. About this time, there was a treatie also for marriage to be had, betwixt the lord Edmund earle of Cambridge, and the ladie Margaret, daughter and heire to the earle of Flanders, which treatie went so far, that the earle came ouer to Douer, where the king was readie to receiue him, and there the earle promised by words of affiance, to giue his said daughter vnto the said lord Edmund in marriage: and after that the earle had béene at Douer, the space of three daies, passing the time in great solace and banketting, when he had finished his businesse, he returned backe againe into his countrie.

The lord Coucie marieth the king of Englands daughter. Polychron.

The earle of Flanders.

Froissard. Ia. Mair. A treatie of mariage for the earle of Cambridge.

Whilest the king was thus at Douer with the earle of Flanders, the lord Lattimer came from the lord John de Montford, to vnderstand his pleasure, touching the offers that were made for peace, vpon whose returne with answer, the peace was concluded as before yee haue heard. This yeare was Peter king of Castile chased out of his realme, by his bastard brother Henrie, which was aided in that enterprise by sir Berthram de Cleaquin latelie deliuered, and other Frenchmen; so that the said Henrie was crowned at Burgus, vpon Easter daie: wherefore the said Peter was constreined to flee, and so came to Burdeaux to sue for aid at the hands of the prince of Wales. This yeare by the kings commandement, a restraint was ordeined, that Peter pence should not be from thencefoorth anie more gathered within this realme, nor anie such paiment made at Rome, which had béene vsed to be paid there, euer since the daies of Ine, king of Westsaxons, which ordeined this paiment toward the maintenance of a schole for English scholers. But howsoeuer this paiment was abrogated at this time by king Edward, it was after renewed againe, and the monie gathered in certeine shires of this realme, till the daies of king Henrie the eight, so greatlie preuailed the vsurped power of that beast of Rome, which had poisoned the princes of the world with the dregs of his abhomination, whose glorie shall end in shame, his honor turne to horror, and his ambitious climing vp aloft aboue all principalitie (to be compeere with God) shall haue an irrecouerable ruine; as long agone, and of late likewise hath béene and now is prophesied of him, that he may readilie read his owne downefall into hell:

The lord Lattimer.

The king of Castile chased out of his realme. Froissard.

Peter pence.

Ine king of Westsexons.

In rapidas acherontis aquas, qui gloria mundi
Papa fuit, lapsu corruet ille graui:
Corruet vt rapidum descendit ab æthere fulmen,
Corruet in stygios tempus in omne lacus.

In this yeare fell great abundance of raine in the time of haie haruest, so that much corne and haie was lost. ¶ There was also such fighting amongst sparrowes in that season, that they were found dead on the ground in great numbers. Also, there followed great mortalitie of people, the sickenesse being so sharpe and vehement, that manie being in perfect health ouer night when they went to bed, were found dead in the morning. Also, manie died of the small pocks, both men, women, and children. ¶ Moreouer this yeare, Simon Islep archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, and Simon Langham bishop of Elie succeeded in his place. This yeare at Burdeaux, was borne the second sonne of prince Edward named Richard, on the third daie of Aprill; his godfather at the font stone was James K. of Maiorke. ¶ Peter the king of Spaine, who (as yee haue heard) was expelled out of his realme by his bastard brother, made such earnest sute to the prince of Wales for aid to be restored home, that finallie the prince aduertising his father king Edward of the whole matter, by aduise from him, determined to bring home the said king Peter, and to restore him againe to his kingdome, by force of armes, in despite of all his aduersaries.

A raine haruest. Caxton.

Death.

K. Richard the second borne.

Froissard.

The prince indéed was verie desirous to take this enterprise vpon him, both of a certeine pitifull affection

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tion to relieue the miserable state of king Peter, and also of an ardent desire which he had to purchase a glorious fame thorough martiall deeds, and noble acts of chiualrie. Therfore hauing this occasion to imploie his time in such exercises, and now commanded thereto of his father, he was exceedinglie glad in his mind, and with all speed that might be, made his prouision both of a sufficient armie of men of warre, and also of all other things necessarie for the furniture of such an enterprise: but first, he toke good assurance of king Peter, for the paiment of the soldiers wages: so the king left at Baionne three of his daughters, Beatrice, Constance, and Isabell as pledges, for performance of all the couenants agreed betwixt him and the prince.

1367 Anno Reg. 41.

Thus when the prince, by the aduise and counsell of sir John Chandois, and sir Robert Knols (by whome he was much ruled) had taken direction in his businesse, for that his iournie into Spaine, in each condition as was thought behouefull, he with the king of Spaine in his companie, passed forth with a puissant armie, and came to the streicts of Roncevalle, at the entrie into Nauarre, and obteining so much freendship of the king of Nauarre, as to haue the passages of his countrie opened, they entered into his realme thorough the same, as freends, without finding any resistance. In this meane time, Henrie king of Spaine, hauing knowledge that the prince of Wales was thus comming against him, to restore his brother king Peter to his former degree, by aduise of sir Bertram de Cleaquin, got a great number of soldiers out of France, by whose aid he might the better defend himselfe against his enimies.

The prince setteth forward towards Spaine.

He entreth into Nauarre.

Now it chanced, that whilest the prince of Wales was passing thorough Nauarre, toward the entrie of Spaine, certeine of those Frenchmen, vnder the leading of sir Oliuer Mannie, toke the king of Nauarre prisoner, as he was riding from one towne to an other. Manie marueiled at that chance, and some there were that thought he suffered himselfe to be taken for a cautele, because he would not aid the prince of Wales any further, nor conduct him thorough his realme, as he had promised to do. But the prince nothing dismaid herewith, passed forward, by the guiding of a knight of Nauarre, called sir Martin de Care, and finallie came to the confines of Spaine, and lodged at Victoria, not far from his enimies. For king Henrie of Spaine, vnderstanding which waie the prince drew, came forward to incounter him, and pight downe his field, not far from the borders of his realme, at a place called saint Muchaule: and thus were both the hosts lodged within a small distance the one against the other.

The king of Nauarre taken by the Frenchmen.

Sir Martin de Care.

Saint Muchaule.

King Henrie had sent to the prince an herauld of armes with a letter, requiring to know of him for what cause he moued warre against him, sith he had neuer offended him. The prince taking deliberation for answer of this letter, kept the messenger with him, and perceiuing that king Henrie came not forward, but laie still at saint Muchaule, stronglie incamped, he remoued from Victoria, and came to a towne called Viana, where he staied two daies to refresh his people, and after went forward, and passed the riuer which diuideth the realmes of Castile and Nauarre, at the bridge of Groigne. King Henrie aduertised hereof, departed from saint Muchaule, and came before the towne of Nauarret, situat on the same riuer. Not manie daies before the prince passed the riuer at Groigne, king Henrie had sent forth two of his brethren, the earle Dom Teille, and the lord Sanches, with six hundred horsemen, to view the princes host.

The king of Spaine sendeth to the prince.

Victoria. Viana.

Polydor.

They chanced to incounter two hundred English horsemen, whom after long and sharpe fight they distressed, & slue sir William Felton, one of the chiefe leaders of those Englishmen, and toke sir Thomas Felton his brother, sir Hugh Hastings, and diuerse other, both knights and esquiers. Whether that king Henrie was greatlie incouraged by this good lucke in the beginning, or that he trusted thorough the great multitude of his people, which he had there with him, to haue the vpper hand of his enimies, true it is, that he coueted sore to giue them battell; and although he might haue wearied the prince, and constreined him for want of vittels to haue returned, or to haue fought with him at some great aduantage, if he had deferred the battell, as the marshall of France Dandrehen gaue counsell, yet he would néeds fight in all the hast, and therefore did thus approch his enimies.

Sir William Felton slaine. Froissard.

The prince perceiuing that his aduersarie came forward to incounter him, dispatched the herauld with an answer to the letter which he had of him receiued, conteining in effect, that for great considerations, he had taken vpon him to aid the rightfull K. of Spaine, chased out of his realm by violent wrong, and that if it might be, he would gladlie make an agreement betwixt them; conditionallie, that king Henrie of necessitie must then forsake the administration, and all the title of the kingdome of Spaine, which by no rightfull meane he could inioy, and therefore if he refused thus to do, he was for his part resolued how to proceed. The herauld departed with this answer, and came therewith vnto king Henrie, and deliuered it vnto him, as then lodged with his puissant armie at Nauarre, so that then both parties prepared themselues to battell.

The prince hauing with him thirtie thousand men of Englishmen, Gascoignes, and other strangers, ordeined three battels, of the which, the first was led by the duke of Lancaster, and with him was sir John Chandois constable of Guien, sir William Beauchampe son to the earle of Warwike, the lord Dalbret, sir Richard Dangle, and sir Stephan Cousenton, marshals of Guien, & diuerse other. The middle ward was gouerned by the prince, and with him was the foresaid Peter king of Spaine, and diuerse other lords and knights of England, Poictou, and other countries, as the vicounts of Chatelareault and Rochcort, the lords of Partnie, Pinan, Taneboton, and others, sir Richard Pontchardon, sir Thomas Spenser, sir John Grendon, and a great sort more, whose names it would be to long to rehearse. The rereward was vnder the gouernance of the king of Maiorques, & with him were associat the earls of Armiacke, Dalbreth, Piergort, Gominges, the captoll of Buefz, sir Robert Knols, and manie other valiant lords, knights, and esquiers.

The number of the princes armie.

The chieftens of the same armie.

King Peter.

On the second day of Aprill, the prince with his battell thus ordered, remoued from Groigne, and marching that day two leagues forward, came before Nauarret, and there toke his lodging, within a small distance from his enimies, so that both parties prepared to giue battell the next day in the morning, commanding that euerie man at the sounding of the first trumpet, should apparell themselues, that they might be readie vpon the next sound to be set in order of battell, and to go against their enimies. The Spaniards verie earlie in the morning drew into the field, and ordeined three battels in this wise. The first was led by sir Bertram de Cleaquin, wherein were all the Frenchmen and other strangers, to the number of foure thousand knights and esquiers, well armed and appointed, after the manner of France. In the second battell was the earle Dom Tielle, with his brother the lord Sanches, hauing with them fifteene thousand men on foot, and on horsebacke. The third battell and the greatest of all was gouerned by king Henrie

The order of the Spaniards.

The Spaniards put to flight.

Henrie himselfe, hauing in that battell seuen thousand horssemen, and threescore thousand footmen, with crossebowes, darts, speares, lances, and other abillements of war: so in all three battels he had fourescore and six thousand men on horssebacke and on foot.

The number of y Spanish armie.

The prince of Wales, at the breaking of the daie was readie in the field with his people arranged in order of battell, and aduanced forward with them toward his enimies, an hosting pace; and as they passed a little hill, they might see as they were descending downe the same, their enimies comming likewise towards them, in good order of battell. When they were approached neere together, and readie to ioine, the duke of Lancasters battell incountered with the battell of sir Bertram de Cleaquin, which two battels verie eagerlie assailed each other, so that there was betwixt them a sore conflict, and well continued. The erle Dom Teille, and his brother the lord Sanches, vpon the first approach of the princes battell towards them, fled out of the field, and with them two thousand speares, so that the residue of their battell were shortlie after discomfited, for the capitall of Buz otherwise Beuf, and the lord Clisson, came vpon them on foot, and slue and hurt manie of them, so that they brake their arraie, and fled to saue themselues.

The duke of Lancaster.

The capitall of Benf.

This chance discomforted the hearts of the Spaniards right sore, but yet king Henrie like a valiant gentleman came forward, and incouraged his men all that he might, so that there was a cruell battell, and well foughten a long time. For the Spaniards with slings cast stones in such fierce manner, that they claue therewith manie an helmet and basenet, hurt manie, and ouerthrew them to the earth. On the other part, the English archers shot freshlie at their enimies, galled and slue the Spaniards, and brought them to great confusion: yet king Henrie nothing abashed herewith, whersoeuer he perceiued his men to shrinke, thither he resorted, calling vpon them, and exhorting them to remember their estimations and duties, so that by his diligence and manfull incouragement, thrise that daie did he staie his people, being at point to giue ouer, and set them in the faces of his enimies againe. Neither did the souldiers alone manfullie behaue themselues, but the capteins also stoutlie laid about them. King Peter like a lion pressed forward, coueting to meet with his brother Henrie, that he might seeke his reuenge on him with his owne hands. Cruell was the fight, and tried throughlie with moll eger and fierce minds.

The archers.

King Peter.

At length, when the Spaniards were no longer able to sustein the force and violence of the Englishmen, Gascoignes, & other which were there against them, they brake their arraie, and fled; so that neither the authoritie nor bold exhortation of king Henrie, could cause them to tarrie anie longer: whereupon, when he saw himselfe forsaken of his people, and that few abode with him to resist his enimies, he also to saue himselfe fled out of the field, being fullie persuaded, that if he had beene taken, no ransome should haue saued his life. The battell that was best fought, and longest held togither, was that of the strangers, which sir Bertram de Cleaquin led. For if the Spaniards had done halfe their parts as well as the Frenchmen, & other in this battell, the matter had gone harder against the Englishmen than it did: yet finallie, by the noble courage of the duke of Lancaster, and the valiant prowesse of sir John Chandois, sir Hugh Caluerlie, & others, the Frenchmen were put to flight, and their battell quite discomfited. The slaughter in this battell was great, both of them that were slaine in the field, and of those that were drowned in the riuer that runneth by the towne of Nauarret.

The Spaniards put to flight.

After that the battell was ended, and that such as had followed the chase were returned, the prince caused the fields to be searched, to vnderstand what number had beene slaine in the battell: they that were appointed to take the view, vpon their returne reported, that there was dead of men of armes fiue hundred and threescore, and of commons about seauen thousand, and fiue hundred of the English part: there were slaine of men of name, but foure knights, two Gascoignes, one Almaine, and the fourth an Englishman, and of other meane souldiers, not past fortie (as Froissard saith.) But others affirme, that there were slaine of the princes part about sixteene hundred; which should seeme to be more like a truth, if the battell was fought so sore and fiercelie, as Froissard himselfe doth make report. Howbeit, there be that write, how the duke of Lancaster wan the field by great fortune and valiancie, yer the prince came neere to his enimies. But howsoeuer it was, the Englishmen obteined the victorie in this battell, fought on a saturdaie being the third of Aprill, in the yeare 1367. There were taken prisoners, to the number of two thousand, and amongst them the erle of Dene, sir Bertram de Cleaquin, the marshall Dandrehen or Odenhen, and manie other men of name.

The number slaine at this battell at Nauarret.

Fabian.

Caxton.

Froissard.

Caxton.

After the battell, king Peter went to Burgus, and was receiued into the citie, and shortlie after, that is to say, on the wednesdaie following, the prince came thither, and there held his Easter with king Peter, and tarried there aboue three weekes. In the meane time, they of Affurgus, Toledo, Lisbone, Cordoua, Galice, Siuill, and of all other places of the kingdome of Spaine, came in, and did homage vnto king Peter, promising him to be true to him euer after: for they saw that resistance would not auaile so long as the prince should be in the countrie. After this, the prince was in hand with king Peter, for the souldiers wages, by whose aid he was thus restored into his former estate. King Peter went vnto Siuill, to make shift for monie accordinglie, promising to returne againe, within a few weekes, and to see euerie man paid, according as he had couenanted. For when he was driuen out of his realme, and came to Burdeaux to craue aid of the prince, he promised, that so soone as he should be restored to his kingdome, he would see the souldiers contented of their wages, and bound himselfe thereto, both by his oth and writing giuen vnder his seale. But when he obteined his purpose, he forgat all frendlie dutie, and was so farre from performing his promise, that he cloaked his ill meaning with a feigned tale, and sent the prince a message spiced with hypocrisie and vnthankfulnesse, two foule faults in a priuat man, much more odious in a prince and great state, as the poet wiselie and truelie saith in this distichon:

Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
Crimen habet, quanto maior qui peccat habetur.

King Peters dissimulation.

The prince tarried for the returne of king Peter, both weekes and moneths, but could not heare anie tidings of him. He therefore sent vnto him, to vnderstand the cause of the staie: his answer was, that he had prouided monie, and sent it by certeine of his men toward the prince, but the companions that serued vnder the prince, had met with it by the way, and taken it from them that had the conueiance of it: he therefore required the prince to rid the realme of those snaphances, and to leaue behind him some of his officers, to whome in name of him he would make paiment of such monie as was due. This answer pleased not the prince, but there was no remedie, for other at that present he could not haue, for anie likelihood he saw: and therefore, taking order with king Peter how the paiment should be made,

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he prepared to returne into Gascoigne. The order therefore taken betwixt them, was this. Within foure moneths next insuing, king Peter should paie the one halfe of the wages due to the soldiers for this iournie, vnto such as the prince should leaue behind him to receiue the same, and the other halfe within one yeare.

Tho. Walsi.

The prince was compelled to breake his plate, and to make monie thereof to paie his soldiers, namelie, the companions, which he had called forth of France, so that he left himselfe bare of all riches, to kéepe touch with them, although king Dampeter failed in his promise each waie forth. For where the prince should haue had in recompense towards his charges, the countie of Algezara, and other lands, by the said Dampeters assignement, so that he sent one of his knights to take seizine of the same lands, he was neuertheles disappointed, for he could not come by any peaceable possession of those lands, and so returned greatlie impouerished, hauing spent in this iournie all that he could make. In the meane time the bastard Henrie, hauing escaped out of the field by flight, got him into France, and there through fauor of the duke of Anlou, so purchased for himselfe, that he got togither a certeine number of Britains and other soldiers, & comming to the frontiers of the princes land in Gascoigne, got a towne in Bigore, called Bannieres, and made war vpon the princes subiects.

The prince put to his shifts for default of paie.

The prince obteining passage for himselfe and his men, of the kings of Aragon and Nauarre, returned to Burdeaux, and then did the bastard Henrie forsake his garrison at Bannieres, and went into Arragon, and there got the king of Arragons assistance: & finallie, in the yeare 1369, returning into Spaine, recouered the kingdome, and slue his brother king Peter, as in the historie of Spaine it may appeare, which for that it apperteineth not to this historie of England, I do here passe ouer. This yeare, in the moneth of March, appeared a blasing starre, betwixt the north and west, whose beames stretched towards France as was then marked, threatning (as might be thought) that within a small time after it should againe be wrapped and set on fire with new troubles of warre, and euen then, that countrie was not in quiet, but harried in diuerse parts, by such soldiers as had béene with the prince in Spaine, & were now out of wages. The leaders of which people were for the more part Englishmen and Gascoignes, as sir Robert Briquet, sir John Tresmelle, Robert Cenie, sir Gaollard Vigier, the bourge of Bertueill, the bourge Camois of Comünges, as Denise Sauage thinketh, the bourge of Lespare, Nandon or Nawdon of Bargerant, Bernard de la Salle, Drigo, Lamut, and manie other.

The prince returneth into Gascoigne.

1368
Anno Reg. 42.
A blasing starre.
Polychron.
Polydor.

Froissard.

In this 42 yeare of king Edwards reigne, his second son the lord Lionell duke of Clarence and earle of Vlster passed the sea, with a noble companie of lords, knights, and gentlemen, and went thorough France into Lombardie, there to marrie the ladie Violant, daughter to the duke of Millane. He was honorablie receiued in all places where he came, and speciallie at Paris, by the dukes of Berrie and Burgognie, the lord Coucie and other, the which brought him to the court, where he dined and supped with the king, and lodged within the palace. On the next day he was had to a place where the quéene lodged, and dined with hir, and after was conueied to the court againe, and supped that night with the king, and on the morow following, he toke his leaue of the king and quéene the which gaue to him great gifts, and likewise to the noble men of England that came ouer with him, to the value of twentie thousand florens and aboue: he was conueied from place to place, with certeine of the French nobilitie, till he came to the borders of the realme, and then entring into Sauoy, he came to Chamberie, where the earle of Sauoy was readie to receiue him, and there he remained foure daies, being highlie feasted amongst the ladies and damosels: and then he departed, and the earle of Sauoy brought him to Millane, to do him the more honor, for his sister was mother to the bride, which the duke should marrie.

The duke of Clarence goeth into Italie.

The ladie Violant.

His interteinement in Sauoy.

His receiuing into Millane.

To speake of the honorable receiuing of him into the citie of Millane, and of the great feast, triumph, and banketting, and what an assemblie there was in Millane of high states, at the solemnizing of the mariage betwixt him and the said ladie Violant, it were too long a processe to remember. The gifts that the father of the bride, the lord Galeas gaue vnto such honorable personages as were there present, amounted in value to an inestimable summe. ¶ The writers of the Millane histories affirme, that this mariage was celebrated on the fiftéenth daie of June, in the yeare 1367, which being true, the same chanced in the 41 yeare of this kings reigne, and not in this 42 yeare, though other authors agrée, that it was in the yeare 1368. But to returne to other doings where we left.

Corio in the historie of Millane.

Ia. Meir. Froissard. Caxton.

Ye haue heard how the prince of Wales could get no monie of the king of Spaine, for the wages of his men of warre, which he had reteined to serue him in the reducing of the said king home into his countrie: wherfore the prince hauing béene at great charges in that iournie, was neither able to satisfie them, nor maintein his owne estate, without some great aid of his subiects, and therefore he was counselled to raise a subsidie called a fuage, through all the countrie of Aquitaine, to run onelie for the space of fiue yeares. To this paiment, euerie chimnie or fire must haue béene contributorie, paieng yearelie one franke, the rich to haue borne out the poore. And to haue this paiment granted, all the states of the countrie were called togither at Niort. The Poictouins, and they of Xainctonge, Limosin, Rouergne, and of Rochell, agréed to the princes request, with condition, that he should kéepe the course of his coine stable, for the terme of seuen yeares.

Froissard.

The prince of Wales constreined to burden his subiects with a fore subsidie.

Coine not to be inhanced nor abased.

But diuerse of the other parts of Guien refused that ordinance, as the earles of Arminake, and Gominges, the vicount of Carmaigne, the lords Dalbret, de la Barde, Cande, Pincornet, and diuerse other great barons: but yet to depart quietlie from the assemblie, they required a time to take better aduise, and so they repairing into their countries, determined neither to returne againe according to their promises, nor to suffer any fuage to run amongest them at all, and were so much offended with the motion, that they sought occasion forthwith to reuolt from the English obeisance and submission, knowing that

Pastores tondere boni haud deglubere cultris
Villosum assuescunt pecus.

The demand of this fuage the cause of the Gascoignes reuolting to the French king.

And therefore diuerse lords of them went to the French king, and there exhibited into the chamber of the peeres of France, their complaints of the grieuous impositions & wrongs, which the prince went about to laie vpon them, affirming that their resort ought of speciall duty to be to the crowne of France, and to the king there, as to their lord Peramount. The French king, who would not seeme to breake the peace betweene him and the king of England, dissembled the matter, and told them that he would peruse the tenor of the charters and letters of the peace, and so far forth as he might by permission of the same, he would be glad to do them good. The earles of Arminake, Perigourd, Gominges, and the lord Dalbret, with other that were come thither about this matter, were contented with this answer, and so staied

staied in France, till they might vnderstand further, both of the French kings mind, and of the princes doings. ¶ This yeere in October, was Simon Langham archbishop of Canturburie elected to the dignitie of a cardinall, and then William Witleslie, bishop of Worcester, was remoued vnto the see of Canturburie.

The earle of Saint Paule

About the same time, the earle of saint Paule, one of the hostages in England, stale from hence, without taking any leaue, or saieng farewell. At his comming into France, he greatlie furthered the suite of the lords of Gascoigne, & finallie so much was done on their behalfe, that the French king was contented that the prince of Wales should be appealed, and summoned to appeare before the French king as iudge in that point, for reformation of the wrongs which he offered to them that had made their resort vnto him, as reason was they should. This appeale was written, and dulie examined.

1369

The prince of wales appealed to appeare.

The tenor of the said prince of Wales *his appeale or summons of appearance before* the French king, &c.

CHarles by the grace of God king of France, to our nephue the prince of Wales and Aquitaine, send greeting. So it is, that diuerse prelats, barons, knights, vniuersities, communalties, and colledges of the marches and limits of the countrie of Gascoigne, and the dwellers and inhabitants in the bounds of our realme, besides diuerse other of the duchie of Aquitaine, are resorted, and come to our court, to haue right of certeine greefes, and vnlawfull troubles, which you, by vnaduised counsell, and simple information, haue purposed to dow vnto them, whereof we greatlie maruell. Therfore, to withstand, and to redresse such things, we are so conioined to them, that we haue thought good, by our roiall power, to command you to repaire to our citie of Paris, in proper person, and there to shew and present your selfe before vs, in the chamber of our peeres, that you may be constreined to dow right to your people, concerning the greefes which they alledge that you are about to oppresse them with, who claime to haue their resort into our court: and that you faile not thus to dow, in as spedie manner as yee can, immediatlie vpon the light and hearing of these present letters. In witnesse whereof, we haue to the same set our seale. Yeuen at Paris, the fiue and twentith day of Januarie.

Anno Reg. 43.

These letters were giuen to a knight and a clerke, to beare and present to the prince, which according to that they had in charge, went to Burdeaux, and there getting licence to come before his presence, they read the letters, wherewith he was not a little chafed, and openlie told them for a plaine answer, that he meant to accomplish the French kings request, for his comming to Paris, but that should be with his helmet on his head, and three score thousand armed men, to beare witnesse of his appearance. The messengers perceiuing the prince to be sore offended with their message, got them awaie, without taking their leaue: but before they were passed the limits of the English dominion, they were staied by commandement of the prince, and committed to prison, within the citie of Agen.

The prince's answer to the messenger.

About the same time, the duke of Berrie returned into France, hauing licence of king Edward for an whole yeare; but he bare himselfe so wiselie, that he returned not againe at all: for he excused himselfe, till time that the warre was open. In like manner, the more part of all the other hostages, by one meane or other were returned into France, and some indeed were deliuered vpon their ransomes, or other considerations, so that the French king being deliuered of that obstacle, was the more readie to breake with the king of England, and therefore vpon knowledge had of the princes answer, to those that he sent with the appeale, by such of the messengers seruants as were returned, and declared how their maisters were delt with, he couertlie prepared for the warre.

The duke of Berrie.

The lord Chandois.

The lord John Chandois, and other of the princes councell foresaw what would insue of leauieng the suage, and therefore counselled the prince, not to proceed any further in it. But he hauing onlie regard to the releefe of his souldiers and men of warre, would needs go forward with it. ¶ Indeed, if he might haue brought it to passe, as it was denied, that euerie houlholder should haue paid a franke for chimniage, the summe would haue growne to twelue hundred thousand frankes by the yeare, which had beene a great releefe, and that made him the more earnest, because he might haue beene able so to haue paid his debts.

Chimniage.

Now, when it was perceiued certeinlie that open rebellion would therof insue, and that king Edward was certified of the whole state of the matter, and how diuerse of the lords of Aquitaine were withdrawne vnto the court of France, in manner as before yee haue heard, he deuised a letter, which he caused to be published through all the parts of Aquitaine the effect whereof was this; That where the people of that countrie found themselues greeued for such exactions as were demanded of them, he meant therefore vpon examination of their iust complaints, to see their wrongs redressed. And further, he was contented to pardon all such as were withdrawne to the French king, so that within a moneths space they would returne home; requiring them, that in no wise they should stirre anie seditious tumult, but to remember their oths of allegiance, and to continue in the same, according to their bounden duties; and as for him, he would be readie to see them eased, that would shew by plaine proofe how they had beene otherwise greeued than reason might beare. This was his meaning, and this was the aduise of all his councellours.

A letter published by the prince to appease the Gascoignes.

But this courteous letter little auailed, for dailie the Gascoignes reuolted from the prince, and turned to the French part. Moreouer, another occasion of grudge chanced to renew the malice betwixt the K. of England, and the French king. For whereas yee haue heard, that the earle of Flanders had affianced his daughter and heire to the lord Edmund of Langlie, earle of Cambridge, a shift was made, namelie by the earles mother the countesse of Arthois, who was all French, that notwithstanding the same affiance, she was married to Philip duke of Burgognie, who was surnamed the Hardie, by this occasion, as I. Meir saith. It chanced, that whilest he was prisoner in England with his father, he was vpon a time appointed to wait at the table, where his father and the king of England sat togither at meat. And bicause a noble man of England that was appointed likewise to attend at the same table, serued first the king of England before the king of France, this Philip vp with his fist, and tooke the English lord a blow on the eare, saieng; Wilt thou serue the king

Ia. Meir.

Philip duke of Burgognie marieth ye erle of Flanders daughter.

The cause of his surname le Hardie.

of England first, where the French king sitteth at the same table: the Englishman out with his dagger, & would haue striken the said Philip, but the king of England streictlie charged him to the contrarie, and praising the deed of the yong stripling, said vnto him, *Vous estes Philip le hardie*, Thou art (said he) the hardie Philip. And so from that daie he bare that name euer after. There be other that saie, how he tooke that surname, bicause in the batell of Poictiers he abode still with his father till the end of the battell, without shewing any token of feare, or faintnes of courage.

The earles of Armiñacke & Perigord. Froissard.

The earles of Armiñacke and Perigord, with the other lords of Gascoigne, that had made their appeale (as ye haue heard) to the chamber of the peeres of France, when they vnderstood that the prince had imprisoned the messengers, that brought to him the French kings letters, began to make warre on the princes lands. The first enterprise they made, was the discomfiting of the lord Thomas Wake seneshall of Rouergne, as he was riding from Agen vnto the citie of Rodais, with threescore spears, and two hundred archers in his companie. Also the French king being now prouided for the war, and vnderstanding the minds of the people within certeine townes vnder the dominion of the Englishmen, in his high court of parlement holden at Paris, proceeded in iudgement vpon the appellation before made by the earles of Armiñacke, Perigord, and others, against prince Edward. And moreouer he sent ouer into England the earle of Salisbuch, and a knight called sir William Dorman, to signifie to the king of England, how he thought himselfe not honorablie vsed, & that the king of England did but slenderlie kéepe the couenants of the peace, considering that he did not find meanes to reforme such of his subiects Englishmen and Gascoignes, as dailie robbed and wasted the countries & lands belonging to the crowne of France.

The L. Wake discomfited.

Fabian.

The French king proceedeth against the prince in iudgement of the appeale. Froissard.

These ambassadors were staied for the space of two moneths, & still they complained of the wrongs that the Englishmen had done, contrarie to the couenants of the peace, but the king made small account thereof, bicause he perceiued it was a forged matter that they alledged, and so in the end sent them awaie. At Douer being vpon their returne, there met them a Britaine that was comming with letters of defiance to the king of England from the French king, and as he had in commandement, he declared to them the effect of his message, wherevpon with all spéed they passed ouer to Bullongne, and were glad they had so escaped. The Britaine came to the court, and deliuered the defiance to the king, according to the instructions which he had receiued. When the king had heard the letters read, and perceiued by good view taken of the seale and signet, that the same were of authoritie, he licenced the messenger to depart, and fell in councell with the peeres of his realme, what he should do in so weigthie a matter. Wherevpon it was thought necessarie by them, that he should assemble his court of parlement, and so he did. In the which (vpon declaration made how iniuriouslie the French king after manie wrongfull dealings had now broken the peace, and sent his defiance vnto the king in so despitefull wise as might be) there was granted towards the maintenance of the warre thus begun, three fifteens of the temporaltie, and three dismes of the spiritualtie, to be paied in three yeares.

The French king sent to defie the king of England.

Polydor.

A parlement assembled.

Three fifteens and three tenths granted. Fabian. Froissard.

At the selfe same time that the defiance was made to the king here in England, the earle of S. Paule, and Guie de Chatillon maister of the crosbowes in France, entered into the countie of Ponthieu, tooke Abuile, and an English knight called sir Nicholas Louaigne seneshall of that countrie vnder the king of England, as then being within it. They tooke also saint Valerie, Crotoie, Rue, Pont saint Remie, and to be short, reduced the whole countrie of Ponthieu vnder the French obeisance, which had remained in possession of the Englishmen for the space of a hundred and twelue yeares, euer since Edward the first had the same assigned to him in name of a dowrie, with his wife quéene Elianor, sister to Alfonse K. of Castile. And yet were the people of that countrie readie now to reuolt to the French dominion, notwithstanding their former long continued obeisance to the Englishmen: for other wise could not the Frenchmen so easilie haue come to their purpose, but that the people were couenanted before to receiue them, and betraie those few Englishmen that were amongst them.

The countie of Ponthieu taken by the French king.

Sir Nicholas Louaigne taken.

About the same time also, it fell so ill for the Englishmen, that the prince of Wales was troubled with a sore sickenesse, that had continued long with him, euer since his being in Spaine, by reason whereof his enimies were the more bold to make attempts against him, and dailie went about to allure and intise his subiects of the marches of Guien to reuolt from him, in somuch that the citie of Cahors, and diuerse other townes thereabout turned to the French part. Thus was the peace which had béene so suerlie made, and with so manie solemne oths confirmed, violated and broken, and the parties fallen togither by the eares againe in sundrie places, and namelie in Aquitaine, where sundrie armies were abroad in the fields, diuers sieges laid, manie townes taken, often incounters and skirmishes made, sometime to the losse of the one part, and sometime of the other, and the countries in the meane time harried and spoiled, that maruell it is to consider, and too long a processe it should be to rehearse the tenth part of such chances as dailie happened amongst them, so that it might well haue béene said of that sore & tumultuous time:

O quàm difficiles sunt sint pace dies.

The prince of Wales diseased with sickenesse.

The citie of Cahors reuolteth.

King Edward sent ouer into Gascoigne the earls of Cambridge and Penbroke, with a certeine number of men of armes and archers, the which arriuing in Britaine, passed through that countrie by licence of the Duke, and came to the prince as then lieng at Angolesme in Poictou, by whom they were sent to ouerrun the earle of Perigords lands, and so they did, and after laid siege to Bardille, hauing with them about three thousand men one and other. There came with them forth of England foure hundred men of armes, foure hundred archers, and (as Froissard saith) beside their capteins, these earles which he nameth, to wit, the lord of Tabestone (or rather Bradstone as I take it) sir Bilan Stapleton, sir Thomas Balaster, and sir John Triuet. Whilest the said earles went thus to make warre against the earle of Perigord, sir Hugh Caluerlie with two thousand men of warre was sent also to ouerrun the lands of the earle of Armiñacke, and of the lord Albret; sir John Chandois laie in the marches of Thoulouse at Mountaubon, & afterwards besieged Terrieres, and in the end wan it; and so likewise did the earles of Cambridge and Penbroke win Burdille, by reason of a saillie that they within made forth, and passed so far from their fortresse, that the Englishmen got betwixt them and home.

Succors sent into Gascoigne.

Bardille besieged.

Sir Hugh Caluerlie.

Sir John Chandois.

Bardille woone.

Sir Robert Knols came from such lands as he had in Britaine, to serue the prince now in these warres of Gascoigne, and was by him made chéefe gouernor of all his men of warre, who bare himselfe right worthilie in that charge. The first iournie which he made at that time, was into Quercie, hauing with him beside his owne bands, certeine knights of the princes retinue, as sir Richard Ponchardon, sir Stephan Gouselton, sir Noell Loring, sir Hugh Hastings, sir John

Sir Robert Knols.

John Triuet, sir Thomas Spenser, sir Thomas Balaster, sir Nicholas Bond, sir William le Poine seneschall of Aigenois, sir Baldwin de Freuille, and others. At their comming into Quercie, they besieged a strong fortresse called Durmell, within the which were diuerse capteins of the companions, as Aimon d'Ortigo, the little Mechin, Jaques de Bray, Perot de Sauoie, and Arnaudon de Pons, the which so valiantlie defended the place, that although the lord Chandois, accompanied with sir Thomas Felton, the capitall of Beuf, sir John de Pommiers, sir Thomas Percie, sir Eustace Daubreticourt, and others came with their retinues from Montaubon, to reenforce that siege, yet could they not obteine their purpose, but raising from thence after fiue weekes siege (constreined thereto through want of vittels) they marched streight to a towne called Domme, which they besieged, hauing in their armie fiftéene hundred men at armes, beside two thousand archers and brigands, so called in those daies, of an armor which they ware named brigandines, vsed then by sotmen, that bare also targets, or pauoises, and certeine darts or iauelines to throw at their enimies.

Be. Gerard.

The towne and castell of Domme were so strong of themselues, and so well prouided of men of warre that were appointed to the gard of the same, with the lord thereof called sir Robert de Domme, that after the English capteins perceiued they should but lose time to linger about the winning of that towne, they raised their siege, and marching further into the countrie, wan Gauaches, Freins, Rochmador, and Ville Franche, vpon the marches of Toulouzain, greatlie to the displeasure of the duke of Anion that lay at the same time in the citie of Toulouze, & could not remedie the matter. ¶ But to recite euerie particular enterprise, as the same was atchiued by the English capteins and men of warre in that season, it should be more than the purpose of this volume might permit, and therefore I passe ouer diuerse things, which I find registred by Froissard and other writers, onelie aduertising you, that as the Englishmen thus made sore warres against their aduersaries abroad in those quarters: so the Frenchmen on the other part had assembled great numbers of men of warre, not onelie to defend their frontiers, but also by inuasions to win from the Englishmen townes and castels, and to waste such countries as would not turne to their side. Thus were all those countries in troubles of warre.

Aquitaine full of warre.

The two kings also of England and France, signified to their neighbours the causes of this warre, laieng the fault either to other, and excusing themselues as cleare and innocent therein. Edward duke of Gelderland, nephue to the king of England, as sonne to his sister, and the duke of Goliche, cousine to the kings children by their mother, that was daughter to the earle of Heinault, tooke great despite that the French king had broken the peace, as they were throughlie persuaded, and that he had defied king Edward (as before ye haue heard). Whereupon they sent their defiance vnto the French king, threatning to be reuenged on him to the vttermost of their powers. Duke Albert of Bauier, was once minded also to haue aided king Edward in this warre: but afterwards such persuasions were vsed on the French kings part, that he chose to remaine as neuter betwixt them both, refusing to take anie part.

The duke of Bauier.

Among the soldiers also called companions, which serued the prince in this season, there were three capteins, right hardie and verie expert men of warre, Ortigo, Bernard de Wiske, & Bernard de la Sale. These three remaining as then in Limosin, hearing that the duke of Burbons mother, which was also mother to the French quéene, laie within the castell of Belleperch in Burbonnois, with a small companie about hir, rode thither in one daie and a night, so that in the morning they approched the castell, scaled it, and tooke it, with the ladie within it. And though they were after besieged in the same castell by the duke of Burbon and other Frenchmen, yet they defended it, till the earls of Cambridge and Penbroke, with fiftéene hundred speares, and three thousand of other men of warre, came and offered the Frenchmen battell, lodging afore them fiftéene daies. And when they perceiued that the Frenchmen would not issue out of the bastide (in which they laie) to giue battell, the earles of Cambridge and Penbroke caused all them within the castell to come forth, and to bring with them the duches of Burbon, whome they led awaie in sight of hir sonne, leauing the castell void and free for him to enioy.

The duke of Burbons mother taken.

The French king prouided a great number of ships to assemble togither at Harflew, and leuied a great power of men, minding to bestow them aboord in the same ships, that they might saile into England, and make warre against king Edward in his owne countrie. Cheefteine of this armie should haue béene his brother the duke of Burbon, but this iournie was broken, for the Frenchmen were eased of the paine to come to séeke the Englishmen at home in England, they comming ouer into France, and proffering them battell euen at their owne doores. For the king of England hauing leuied a power of archers, and other men of warre, sent them ouer vnder the leading of his sonne the duke of Lancaster. There went with him in this iournie, the earles of Hereford and Salisburie, the lord Ros, the lord Basset, the lord Willoughbie, the lord de la Ware, the lord de la Pole, the lord Walter of Mannie, the lord Henrie Percie, the lord Thomas Grantson, sir Alane Buxhul, sir Richard Sturrie, & diuerse other. They went ouer about Midsummer. And after they had rested a little, the duke set forward and rode forth into the countrie, spoiling and harrieng the same, and when he saw time, returned againe to Calis.

The French king prouideth a nauie.

The duke of Lancaster set into France with an armie.

The French king being at Roan, heard of the arriuall of this armie at Calis, and that his countrie of Picardie was in great danger: he changed his purpose therefore of sending an armie into England, and with all spéed appointed that his power should with his brother the duke of Burgognie turne toward Calis, to resist the duke of Lancaster. Herevpon when the duke of Lancaster heard that the duke of Burgognie was thus comming toward him, he issued forth of Calis, and comming into the baillie beneath the hill of Turneham, there tooke his field, and fortified the place with strong hedges and rampiers, the better to be able to resist his enimies if they would assaile him. The duke of Burgognie came still forward, till he approched verie néere to the duke of Lancasters campe, and pight downe his field aloft vpon the hill of Turneham, so that the fronts of both hosts were within lesse than a mile either of other.

The duke of Lancaster fortifieth his campe.

The duke of Burgognie. Fabian. Froissard.

There was come to the duke of Lancaster a knight of the marches of Almaine, called sir Robert de Namur with an hundred speares: but yet the duke of Lancasters host was but one handfull of men, in respect of the huge number of the French armie, wherin were (as Froissard writeth) foure thousand knights beside others. But yet for all his great puissance and number of men, he would not aduenture to assaile the Englishmen in their lodgings, as it was thought he would haue done, but kept himselfe and his men vpon the hill, from the foure and twentith of August, vnto the twelfth of September, and then dislodged not much to his honour, howsoeuer writers do excuse

Sir Robert de Namur.

cuse it, declaring how his brother had giuen him streight commandement, that in no wise he should fight with the Englishmen: and that when he had sent to his brother for commission either to fight, or to remoue, he was commanded to turne with all spéed vnto Paris, and to breake vp his armie for that time. Some there be that write, how that after both these hostes had lien the one against the other a long space, to the reproofe of both chieftains, it chanced that the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike came thitherward by sea, to be at the battell, which he heard would shortlie follow betweene the two armies: but yer he was come to land, the Frenchmen for feare durst no longer abide, but secretlie in the night departed and fled towards Hesdin, and so to Paris, for the which their flight, the duke of Burgognie was after blamed of his brother the French king.

Caxton.

The earle of Warwike.

Froissard.

In this meane while, that is to saie, on the euen of the Assumption of our ladie, died that noble princesse, the ladie Philip quéene of England. It is said that when she perceiued that she must néeds depart out of this transitorie life, she desired to speake with the king hir husband, and when he was come to hir with a sorowfull hart to sée hir in that state, she tooke him by the hand, and after courteous words of induction, she required of him to grant hir three requests.

The quéene of England departeth this life.

Hir three petitions to the king.

1 The first request was, that all such merchants, and other men, with whom she had bargained in any condition, might be answered of all such debts as she ought them, whether they dwelled on this side the sea or beyond.

2 The second request was, that all such ordinances and promises, as she had made to churches, as well within this realme, as in the parts of the further side the sea, might be performed.

3 The third request was, that it might please him to chose out none other sepulchre when God should call him out of this world, but beside hir at Westminster.

The praise of quéene Philip.

The quéenes colledge.

This quéene, to traine the English youth vnto vertuous conuersation, & to giue occasion that they might be brought vp in learning and good instructions, founded a colledge at Oxford, furnishing it with goodlie buildings, and a church, that they might both serue God, and profit in their studies, whereupon it is called the quéenes colledge euen to this daie.

But now to returne to the duke of Lancaster. Ye shall vnderstand that after the departure of the French armie beside the hill of Turneham, the said duke returned to Calis, and there refreshed himselfe and his people the space of three daies. And then he set forward againe, & with him as marshals of the host, was the earle of Warwike, and the lord Roger Beauchampe, with the lords and knights before remembred. They take their iournie to S. Omers, and by Turwin, and then through the countie of saint Paule, still burning the countrie as they went. They rode not past three or foure leages in a daie, and keeping on their waie, they came by saint Riquier, and at the planches vnder Abuile passed the riuer of Some, and then entred into the countrie of Vimew, in purpose to go vnto Harflew, and there to burne the French kings naue. Thus passing forward thorough Vimew, and the countie of Ewe, they entered into the archbishoprike of Roan, and marching forth by Dépe, came vnto Harflew: but the earle of saint Poule, and the lord of Fiennes constable of France which had coasted the English armie in all this iournie, with a great power of men, was gotten before them, and entred into this towne, so that they knew how they should but lose their paine, if they did assaile it, and so therefore after they had lien before it three daies, on the fourth day they dislodged, & went backe

The duke of Lancaster maketh a iournie into France.

S. Riquier.

againe towards Calis, returning through the countrie of Ponthieu, and before Abuile chanced to incounter a number of Frenchmen, which gaue to the duke battell. In the which was taken sir Hugh de Chatellon, master of the crosbowes of France, with other knights, esquiers, and burgesses of that towne, and about sirtéene score of the French part slaine.

Fabian. The master of the crosbowes of France taken.

There be that write otherwise herof, shewing how the said sir Hugh Chatellon was taken by an ambush laid by sir Nicholas Louaine, as the same sir Hugh was come forth of the towne, with not past ten or twelue with him, to see how the passage of Rowraie was kept by them that had charge thereof. How soeuer it came to passe, taken he was, & brought to the duke of Lancaster, that reioised greatlie of that good hap: and so marching forward, he passed the riuer at Blanchetaque, and drew towards the towne of Kew on the sea side, and so to Montreuill, and finallie to Calis. Then were the strangers licenced to depart: and bicause it was far in the winter, as about saint Martines tide, the duke and the most part of his armie returned into England. In this yeare chanced the third mortalitie, which was exceeding great both of men and beasts, that the like had not béene heard of. And amongst other people that perished of that pestilentiall sickenesse, that worthie knight and noble capteine the earle of Warwike died at Calis in the moneth of Januarie, after his returne from Harflew. ¶ The countrie of Aquitaine was full of trouble in this meane time, either part séeking to grieue other to the vttermost of their powers. ¶ John Hastings earle of Penbroke, hauing with him certeine bands of men of warre, recouered diuerse townes and castels in those parts: but when he perceiued how the enimies that were not far from the place where he was lodged, shewed manifest tokens of feare, in marching one while vncertenelie forward, and an other while fetching great compasses about, he somewhat vnwarilie setting vpon them in their campe, was discomfited and put to flight, so that getting him into a place of the Templers, that was closed about with a wall, he remained there in great danger to be taken prisoner of his enimies that assailed him, if the lord John Chandois seneschall of Poictou had not come to the reskue, and pledged him forth.

Froissard.

The third mortalitie. Caxton. Polychron.

The earle of Warwike departeth this like.

1370

Polydor.

But shortlie after, the said lord Chandois was slaine by the enimies (whom first he had ouercome) whilest without good aduise he put off his helmet, and so receiuing a stroke with a glaiue that entered into his head, betwixt his nose and his forhead, he neuer after spake word, not liuing past a day and a night after he was hurt. The death of this right famous, wise, and valiant knight, was bewailed as well of the Frenchmen as Englishmen. The French king himselfe, when he heard that he was slaine, greatlie lamented the mishap, affirming that now he being dead, there was not any left aliue able to agree the kings and realmes of England and France: so much was he feared, esteemed, and beleued of all men. But alas what auailed all their mourning and lamenting against the necessitie of death, sith we know that

Est communis mori, milui nulli parcis honori.

Thom. Walf. Sir John Chandois slaine. Froissard.

After he was thus slaine, sir Thomas Percie was made seneschall of Poictou. By reason of the great wet and raine that fell this yeare in more abundance than had béene accustomed, much corne was lost, so that the price thereof was sore inhanced, in so much that wheat was sold at three shillings foure pence the bushell. But as concerning the death, the west parts of the realme was sorest afflicted with this mortalitie, and namelie at Oxford there died a great number of scholers.

Sir Thomas Percie.

A dearth. Hen. Marle.

Somewhat before this time, the ladie Blanch daughter

The duches of Lancaster. Fabian.

daughter to Henrie duke of Lancaster, departed this life, and was buried on the north side of the high altar in the cathedrall church of saint Paule within the citie of London, where hir husband John of Gant was after also interred. She ordeined for hir husband and for hir selfe a solemne obit to be kept yearelie in that church, where the maior being present with the shiriffes, chamberlaine, and sword-bearer, should offer each of them a pennie, and the maior to take vp a pound, the shiriffes either of them a marke, the chamberleine ten shillings, and the sword-bearer six shillings eight pence, and euerie other of the maiors officers two and twentie pence, and the number of eight officers belonging vnto the shiriffes (and by them to be appointed) eight pence a peece. ¶ This

Polychron. Anno Reg. 44. Froissard. Polychron.

yeare was granted to the king in parlement assembled at Westminster of the spirituall mens liuings a tenth for the space of three yeares, and a fifteenth of the temporaltie during the same tearme.

Sir Robert Knolles with an armie sent into France.

This yeare, after that the king had gotten togither a great summe of monie, as well by borowing of the clergie as of the laitie, he leuied an armie, & sent the same ouer to Calis about Midsummer, vnder the gouernance of that worthie chéefteine sir Robert Knolles, accompanied with the L. Fitz Walter, the lord Granson, sir Alaine Burhull, sir John Bourchier, sir William Neuille, sir Geffrey Wourseley, and diuerse other noblemen, knights, and worthie capteins. About the same time, the king of England con-

Truce with Scots.

cluded an abstinence of warre with the Scots for the tearme of nine yeares, yet so that the Scots might arme themselues, and at their pleasure serue and take wages, either of the English or French, by reason whereof, sir Robert Knolles had in his companie an hundred speares of the realme of Scotland.

When this armie had lien and rested in Calis about the space of seauen daies, sir Robert Knolles caused euerie man to depart the towne, and to take the fields, marching the first daie nére to the castell

Iac. Meir. The number of men of warre in this armie. Froissard.

of Fiennes, and there lodged for that night. The whole number of this armie was not aboue twelue thousand men. Froissard saith, they were but fifteene hundred speares, & foure thousand archers. Within the castell of Fiennes was the constable of France, that was lord thereof, with such a number of souldiers and men of warre, that the Englishmen thought they should but lose their labour to assaile it. And so they passed forth by Turrouane, and toward Arras, riding not past foure leages a daie, bicause of their cariages and sutmen. They toke their lodging euer about none, and laie nére vnto great villages.

The French king had furnished all his townes and fortresses in Picardie with strong garrisons of souldiers, to defend the same against all chances that might happen either by siege or sudden assault. The Englishmen therefore thought not good to linger about the winning of anie of the strong townes, but passed by them, waisting or ransoming the countries.

The suburbs of Arras burnt.

At Arras they shewed themselues before the barriers, and when none would issue to skirmish with them, they set fier on the suburbs, & departed. From

The towne of Roy burnt.

thence they toke the waie by Baupalmes, and so came into Vermendois, and burnt the towne of Roy. Then went they to Han in Vermendois, into the which all the people of the countrie were withdrawne, with such goods as they might carie with them. And in like manner had those done which inhabited about S. Quintine, Peronne, and other

The French mẽ withdraw into their fortresses & strõg townes.

strong townes, so that the Englishmen found little abroad, sauing the barnes full of corne for it was after haruest.

Thus they rode faire and easilie, two or three leages a daie, and sometime to recouer monie of their enimies, they would compound with them within strong townes, to spare the countrie from burning and destruction, for such a summe as they agréed vpon, by which meanes sir Robert Knolles got in that voiage aboue the summe of an hundred thousand frankes. For the which he was after accused to the king of England, as one that had not dealt iustlie in so doing. In this sort passing the countrie, they came before Noion, and after they had rested a while afore the towne, they went forth wasting and burning the countrie, and finallie passed the riuer of Marne, and so entered into Champaigne, and passed the riuer of Aube, and also diuerse times they passed to and fro ouer the riuer of Saine: at length drawing toward Paris, and comming before that citie, they lodged there in the field a day and two nights, and shewed themselues in order of battell before the citie. This was on the twentie fourth daie of September.

The Englishmen before Paris.

The French king was at the same time within the citie, & might behold out of his lodging of S. Paule, the fiers and smokes that were made in Gastenois, through burning the townes and villages there by the Englishmen, but yet he would suffer none of his people to go forth of the citie, although there was a great power of men of warre within the citie, both of such as had coasted the English armie in all this iournie, and also of other which were come thither by the kings commandement, beside the burgesses, and inhabitants of the citie. When sir Robert Knolles perceiued that he should haue no battell, he departed and drew toward Anjou, where they wan by strength the townes of Vaas and Ruellie. But now in the beginning of winter, there fell such discord amongst the English capteins, through couetousnesse and enuie, that finallie they diuided themselues in sunder, greatlie to the displeasure of sir Robert Knolles their generall, who could not rule them.

Thom. Walsi. Sir Symon Winsterworth.

There was a knight among them named sir John Winsterworth, that had the leading of one wing of this armie, a good man of his hands (as we call him) but peruerse of mind, and verie deceitfull, and to sir Robert Knolles (to whome he was much beholden) most vnfaithfull. This knight, perceiuing the wilfull minds of certeine yong lords and knights there in the armie, that repined at the gouernement of sir Robert Knolles, as the Romans did sometime at the gouernance of Camillus (the chéefe of whome were the lord Grantson, the lord Fitz Walter, and others) did his best to pricke them forward, sounding them in the eare, that it was a great reproch for them being of noble parentage, to serue vnder such an old rascall as he was, ech of them being able to guide their enterprise of themselues, without his counsell, by which flattering of them, and disgracing of him, the said Winsterworth did much mischéefe, for

Lingua loquax, odiosa, procax parit omne molestum.

Wermondsey.

Indeed this sir Robert Knolles was not descended of anie high linage, but borne in the countie of Chester of meane offspring, neuertheless through his valiant prowesse, and good seruice in warre, growne to such estimation, as he was reputed worthie of all honour due to a noble and skilfull warrsour, so that it was thought the king could not haue made his choise of one more able or sufficient to supplie the rome of a chéefteine, than of him: but yet, although this was most true, his aduise could not be heard, nor the authoritie appointed him by the king beare anie swaie. For where he counselled that they should now vpon the approching of winter draw forth of France into Britaine, and there remaine for the winter season, they would not so agrée, nor obeie his will. Wherevpon it came to passe, that sir Berthram de Cleaquin, at that time newlie made constable of France, vnderstanding this diuision to grow amongst the Eng-

Sir Robert Knolles borne in Cheshire.

Sir Robert Knolles counsell not followed.

lishmen, and that they were diuided into parts, set vpon them so much to their disaduantage, that he distressed them, and toke or slue the more part of them: but sir Robert Knols with the flower of the archers and men of warre went into Britaine, and there saued himselfe, and those that followed him. ¶ Here you may see, how those that before through amitie and good agreement were of such force as their enimies durst not once assaie to annoie them, now by strife and dissention among themselues were slaine or taken by the same enimies, and brought to confusion. To which purpose it is properlie and trulie said,

Discord what commeth of it. Caxton.

Lis odium gignit, charos concordia stringit.

Froissard. The citie of Limoges besieged.

In this meane time that sir Robert Knols made this voiage through the realme of France, the prince of Wales laid siege to the citie of Limoges, which was reuolted to the Frenchmen. There were with him at the laieng of this siege, his brethren, the duke of Lancaster, and the earle of Cambridge, sir Guichard Dangle, sir Lois de Harecourt, the lord of Pons, the lord of Partenaie, the lord of Pinane, the lord of Tannalbouton, sir Perciuall de Coulongne, sir Geffrie de Argenton, Poictouins: and of Gascoignes, the lord of Mountferrant, the lord de Chaumount, the lord de Longueren, sir Amerie de Tharse, the lords of Pommiers, Mucident de l'Esparre, the Souldich de Lestrade, the lord of Gerond, and manie other: of Englishmen there were, sir Thomas Percie, the lord Ros, the lord William Beauchampe, sir Michaell de la Pole, sir Stephan Goussenton, sir Richard Pontchardon, sir Baldwin Freuille, sir Simon Burlie, sir Dangoulle, sir John Deuereur, sir William Penille or (as some copies haue) Neuille, and manie other. There was also sir Eustace Dambreticourt, and of the companions, sir Perducas Dalbreth, who in the beginning of these warres being turned French, was by the persuasion of sir Robert Knols procured to returne againe to the princes seruice before the siege of Durmelle.

The prince being thus accompanied with these worthie capteins and men of armes, to the number of twelue hundred, beside a thousand archers and other footmen, indeuored by all waies he could deuise to indamage them within. In the end he caused the walles to be vndermined, and quite reuersed into the ditch, ¶ then giuing assault, entered by the breach, and made an huge slaughter of them within, in so much that of men, women, and children (for none were spared in respect of age or ser) there were slaine and beheaded that date aboue three thousand. The bishop with certeine knights and capteins were taken and had their liues granted, though the bishop was in great danger to haue lost his head, because he was a cheefe doer in yeelding the citie before vnto the Frenchmen.

Limoges taken by force.

Polydor. Froissard.

Whilest the prince laie at siege before Limoges (a litle before he wan it) thither came to him his brethren, the duke of Lancaster, and the earle of Cambridge, the lord Ros, sir Michaell de la Pole, sir Robert Rous, sir John Saintlo, and sir William Beauchampe, with a faire number of men of war, spears, and archers. The prince then after he had woone Limoges, and executed some crueltie there to the terrour of other; his maladie which still continued vpon him, rather increased than diminished, so that he was aduised by physicians to returne into England, in hope that change of aire should restore him to health. For the which consideration and other causes of businesse which he had to do with his father, touching certeine weightie affaires he toke the sea, and came ouer into England, leauing the gouernement of Aquitaine vnto his brother the duke of Lancaster, as his lieutenant there: he landed at Plimmouth in the beginning of Januarie.

The prince returned into England. Thom. Walf.

Moreouer in this 44 yeare of king Edward, the king of Nauarre came ouer into England, and at Claringdon found the king, and there talked with him of such matters as they had to conclude betwixt them two. But for that the king of Nauarre could not assure the king of such couenants as should haue passed betwixt them two, it was not thought meet by the kings councell to worke too far vpon his bare word, that had before time shewed apparant proofes of his inconstant dealing. And suerlie this doubt arose not without cause, as his doings shortlie after declared: for although he seemed now at this present to be a verie enimie to the French king, yet shortlie after he was reconciled to him againe, and became his great frend for the time it lasted. This yeare in the moneth of Februarie was a parlement called, in the which there was demanded of the spiritualtie a subsidie of fiftie thousand pounds, and as much of the laitie. The temporall men sone agreed to that parlement, but the cleargie excused themselues with faire words and shifting answers: in somuch that the king toke displesure with them, and deposed certeine spirituall men from their offices of dignitie, as the chancellor, the priuie seale, the treasuror, and such others, in whose romes he placed temporall men.

The king of Nauarre cōmeth ouer into England.

Polydor.

The king of Nauars constancie suspected. Froissard.

1371
Anno Reg. 45.
Caxton.

A subsidie.

Spirituall men deposed.

The bishop of Winchester, and the bishop of Beauuois being both cardinals, were put in commission by pope Gregorie the eleuenth to treat betwixt the kings of England and France for a peace. But albeit they did their indeuour therein, and moued both kings to the vttermost of their powers, yet their motions toke none effect, and therefore was the warre pursued to the vttermost betwixt the parties, ¶ namelie in Aquitaine, where the fortresses were so intermedled one with an other, some English, and some French, that one knew not how to beware of an other, nor to auoid the danger, so that the countrie of Poictou and other the marches thereabout were in great tribulation. Sir Robert Knols, sir Thomas Spenser, sir John Triuet, and sir Hugh Hastings, diuiding their powers insunder, went to recouer townes, some in one quarter, and some in an other, and certeine they assaied, but preuailed not: the inhabitants doubting to be punished for their vntruths, made such stout resistance.

Cardinals appointed to treat of peace.

Polydor.

After this, the duke of Lancaster appointed sir Robert Knols to repaire againe to Calis, and by the waie (if occasion serued) to attempt the recouerie of Ponthieu. Sir Robert taking his iournie through France by Paris, came into the marches of Picardie: and bicause in comparison to this man, all the English capteins were litle feared of the Frenchmen, sir Berthram de Cleaquin, the constable of France, leauing the fortresses in the marches of Aquitaine sufficientlie stuffed with men of warre and munition, followed sir Robert Knols, still readie to assaile the hindermost companies, or else to set on the sides of his enimies. So that there chanced manie skirmishes betwixt them, ¶ manie men were slaine on both parts; but at length, when sir Robert Knols saw no likelihood to atchiue his purposed intent in recouerie of the townes of Ponthieu, as Abuile and other, he drew streight to Calis, and the constable retired backe into France.

The feare which the enimies had of sir Ro. Knols.

Sir Berthram de Cleaquin.

In this 46 yeare, sir Robert Ashton was sent into Ireland as lord deputie there, and in the same yeare, the duke of Lancaster being as then a widower, maried the ladie Constance eldest daughter to Peter king of Spaine, which was slaine by his bastard brother Henrie (as before ye haue heard.) ¶ Also the lord Emund earle of Cambridge maried the ladie Isabell, sister to the same Constance. ¶ Their other sister named Beatrice, affianced to Don Ferdinando, son to Peter king of Portingale, was departed this life

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life a little before this time at Bayonne, where they were all three left as hostages by their father, when the prince went to bring him home into his countrie (as before yée may read.) Froissard writeth, that the duke married the ladie Constance in Gascoigne, and that shortlie after he returned into England with his said wife and hir sister, leauing the capitall de Buefz, and other lords of Gascoigne and Poictou in charge with the rule of those countries. By reason of that marriage, the duke of Lancaster, as in right of his wife being the elder sister, caused himselfe to be intituled king of Castile, and his said wife quéene of the same realme.

The earle of Hereford being sent to the sea, with certeine ships of warre, was incountered by the Flemish fléet, before an hauen in Britaine called the Baie, where was fought a sore battell, and long continued for the space of three houres: howbeit finallie the victorie abode with the Englishmen, notwithstanding that the Flemings were more in number, and better prouided for the matter. There were taken of them fiue and twentie ships, with their Admerall John Peterson. They had béene at Rochell for wine, and now were come to the Baie for salt vpon their returne homeward, and hearing that the Englishmen would come that waie, staied for them, and first gaue the onset. For yée must remember, that by reason that the earle of Flanders had married his daughter to the duke of Burgognie, which he had first promised to the earle of Cambridge, there was no perfect frendship betwixt the realme of England, and the countries of the said earle of Flanders.

Sir Guichard Dangle made knight of the Garter. Polydor. Caxton.

Sir Guichard Dangle a knight of Poictou, that was come ouer with the duke of Lancaster, to procure the king to send some new aid into Aquitaine, was for his approued valiancie and tried truth to the king of England, made knight of the garter. And moreouer at his instance the king rigged a nauie of ships, and appointed the earle of Penbroke as generall, to saile with the same into Aquitaine, and there to remoue the siege which the Frenchmen had laid to Rochell. The earle according to his commission tooke the sea with a fléet of fortie ships prepared for him: but yer he could enter the hauen of Rochell, he was assailed by an huge fleet of Spaniards, and there vanquished, taken prisoner, & led into Spaine.

The earle of Penbroke sét into Guien.

Froissard.

The Spaniards had for capteins foure skilfull warriours, Ambrose Bouquenegre, Cabesse de Vake or Vakadent, Dom Ferand du Pion, and Rodigo de la Rochell, who had vnder their gouernement fortie great carrauels, and thirteene trim barkes throughlie furnished and appointed with good mariners and men of warre.

The earle of Penbroke had with him nothing the like number of ships, nor men: for (as Froissard writeth) he had not past two and twentie knights with him, or (as other haue) not past twelue, being for the more part of his owne retinue or household: and yet those few Englishmen and Poictouins that were there with him, bare themselues right valiantlie, and fought it out to the vttermost. There were slaine sir Simon Houssaye, sir John de Mortague, and sir John Tuchet; and there were taken prisoners, besides the earle himselfe, sir Robert Burlord, sir John Curson, sir Othes de Grandson, sir Guichard Dangle, the lord of Pinane, sir John de Grieures, sir Jaques de Surgiéres, the lord of Tannaibouton, sir John de Hardane, and others. This battell was fought on Midsummer euen, in this six and fortith yeare of king Edwards reigne. The earle had (as Froissard writeth) treasure with him, to haue waged three thousand men of warre, which neuer did anie man good, for (as he was informed) the ship wherein he was aboord, perished with diuerse other being burnt or sunke. ¶ The English writers saie, that it was no maruell though this mishap chanced vnto him, because he had in parlement spoken against men of the church, in giuing counsell that they might be constreined to paie grieuous subsidies, towards the maintenance of the kings warre, and that no lesse heauie paiments and subsidies should be imposed vpon them, than vpon the secular sort. Wherein he seemed to bewraie a malicious mind against the clergie, who as in no age they haue wanted foes, so in his time they found few frends, being a generation appointed and ordeined in their cradels to be contemned of the world, specially of great men, of whose fauour and goodwill it is truelie & rightlie said,

Gratia magnatum nescit habere statum.

By reason of this misfortune thus happened to the English fleet, the Frenchmen recouered manie townes and castels out of the Englishmens hands, in the countries of Poictou, Xaintonge, Limosin, and other the marches of Aquitaine.

Froissard. Yuans a welsh gentleman.

About the same time the French king sent foure thousand men to the sea, vnder the guiding of one Yuans a banished Welsh gentleman, the which landing in the Ile of Gernesey, was incountered by the captein of that Ile called sir Edmund Rous, who had gathered eight hundred men of his owne souldiers togither, with them of the Ile, and boldlie gaue battell to the Frenchmen: but in the end the Englishmen were discomfited, and foure hundred of them slaine, so that sir Edmund Rous fled into the castell of Cornet, & was there besieged by the said Yuans, till the French king sent to him to come backe from thence, and so he did, leauing the castell of Cornet, and sir Edmund Rous within it as he found him.

Sir Edmund Rous.

The prosperous successe of the French men in Poictou.

The Frenchmen this yeare recouered the citie of Poictiers, Rochell also, and the most part of all Poictou, and finallie laid siege to Towars in Poictou, wherein a great number of the lords of that countrie were inclosed, the which fell to a composition with the Frenchmen to haue an abstinence of warre for themselues, and their lands, till the feast of saint Michaell next insuing, which should be in the yeare 1362. And in the meane time they sent to the king of England their souereigne lord, to certifie him what conditions they had agréed vnto, that if they were not aided by him, or by one of his sonnes within the said tearme, then they to yéeld them and their lands to the obeisance of the French king.

Towars in danger to be lost.

Not long before this, the capitall of Buefz was taken prisoner, and sir Thomas Percie, with diuerse other Englishmen and Gascoignes before Soubise by sir Yuans of Wales and other French capteins, so that the countries of Poictou and Xaintonge were in great danger to be quite lost, if spéedie succours came not in time. Whereupon king Edward aduertised of that agréement which they within Towars had made, raised an armie, rigged his ships, and in August tooke the sea, purposing to come before the day assigned, to the succours of that fortresse: but the wind continued for the space of nine wéekes so contrarie vnto his intent, that he was still driuen backe and could not get forward toward the coast of Rochell, where he thought to haue landed, so that finallie when the daie of rescuing Towars came, he nor anie of his sonnes could appeare in those parts, and so to his great displeasure he returned home, and licenced all his people to depart to their houses. By this means was Towars deliuered to the Frenchmen, which ceassed not in such occasions of aduantage to take time, and follow the steps of prosperous fortune.

Th. Walsing.

1373 Anno Reg. 47. The duke of Britaine.

About this season the duke of Britaine being sore displeased in his mind, that the Englishmen soiourned

These foure last remembred came forth of Rochell to aid the earle.

1372 Anno Reg. 46.

ned daillie losses in the parts of Aquitaine, would gladlie haue aided their side, if he might haue got the nobles of his countrie to haue ioined with him, but the lords Clisson and de la Vale, with the vicount of Roan, and other the lords and barons of Britaine, so much fauoured the French king, that he perceiued they would reuolt from him, if he attempted any thing against the Frenchmen. He therefore meaning by one way or other to further the king of England his quarell, and fearing to be attached by his owne subiects, and sent to Paris, dispatched messengers to K. Edward, requiring him to send some power of men of warre into Britaine, to defend him against the malice of such as were altogither French and enimies to England.

The lord Neuill sent into Britaine.

King Edward forthwith sent ouer the lord Neuill, with foure hundred men of armes, and as manie archers, the which arriuing at saint Matthewes de fine Poterne, remained there all the winter. Whereupon the Britaines being sore offended therewith, closed their townes and fortresses against their duke, and shewed much euill towards him. The constable of France sir Berthram de Cleaquin, laieng siege to the towne and castell of Sireth in Poictou, discomfited a number of Englishmen that came to raise his siege, by meanes whereof he got not onelie Sireth, but also Niort, Lucignen, and all other the townes and fortresses which the Englishmen held till that day within Poictou, Xaintonge, and Rochellois. Shortlie after this, the constable returned into France, and was appointed by the king there to go with an armie of men of warre into Britaine, and there to take into his hands all such townes and fortresses as belonged to the duke of Britaine, bicause he had alied himselfe with the king of England, and receiued Englishmen into his countrie, to the preiudice of the realme of France.

Englishmen discomfited by the constable of France.

Townes wonne by him.

The constable of Frãce sent into Britaine

Sir Robert Knols.

The duke being aduertised of the constables comming, was counselled by sir Robert Knols (whom the king of England had sent to aid him) that he should passe ouer into England, and there to be a suter in his owne cause for more aid to be sent into Britaine, to resist the Frenchmen that now sought to bring the whole countrie into their possession. The duke inclining to this aduise, went ouer into England, and in the meane time the constable came and wan the most part of all the townes and fortresses of that duchie, except Brest, where sir Robert Knols was, and certeine other. The earle of Salisburie with a great nauie of ships, well furnished with men of armes and archers, laie vpon the coast of Britaine all that time, and greatlie comforted them within Brest, in somuch that he came on land, and offered battell to the constable if he would haue come forward & receiued it.

The duke of Britaine cõmeth ouer into England.

The earle of Salisburie.

In the moneth of Julie in this seuen and fourtith yeare of king Edwards reigne, the duke of Lancaster was sent ouer vnto Calis with an armie of thirtie thousand men (as some write) but as Froissard saith, they were but thirténe thousand, as three thousand men of armes, and ten thousand archers. This voiage had beene in preparing for the space of three yeares before. The duke of Britaine was there with them, and of the English nobilitie, beside the duke of Lancaster that was their generall, there were the earles of Warwike, Stafford and Suffolke, the lord Edward Spenser that was constable of the host, the lords Willoughbie, de la Pole, Basset, and diuerse others. Of knights, sir Henrie Percie, sir Lewes Clifford, sir William Beauchampe, the Chanon Robertsart, Walter Hewet, sir Hugh Caluerlie, sir Stephan Cousington, sir Richard Ponchardon, and manie other.

Polydor. The duke of Lancaster sent ouer into France with an armie.

Ia. Meir. Froissard.

Noble men that went with him in that iournie.

When they had made readie their cartages and other things necessarie for such a iournie which they had taken in hand, that is to say, to passe through the realme of France vnto Burdeaux, they set forward, hauing their armie diuided into three battels. The earles of Warwike and Suffolke did lead the forward: the two dukes of Lancaster and Britaine, the middle ward or battell, and the rereward was gouerned by the lord Spenser constable of the host. They passed by S. Omers, by Turrouane, and coasted the countrie of Arthois, and passed the water of Some at Corbie. They destroied the countries as they went, and marched not past three leages a day. They assailed none of the strong townes, nor fortresses. For the French king had so stuffed them with notable numbers of men of warre, that they perceiued they should trauell in vaine about the winning of them. At Roy in Vermandois, they rested them seuen daies, and at their departure set fire on the towne, bicause they could not win the church which was kept against them. From thence they drew towards Laon, and so marched forward, passing the riuers of Ysare, Marne, Saine, and Yonne. The Frenchmen coasted them, but durst not approch to giue them battell.

They passed through the countrie without assaulting any townes.

Nere to Ribaumount, about 80 Englishmen of sir Hugh Caluerlies band were distressed by 120 Frenchmen: & likewise beside Soissons, 120 English speares, or (as other writers haue) fiftie speares, and twentie archers were vanquished by a Burgonian knight called sir John de Vienne, that had with him three hundred French speares. Of more hurt by anie incounters I read not that the Englishmen susteined in this voiage. For the Frenchmen kept them aloofe, and meant not to fight with their enimies, but onelie to keepe them from vittels, and fetching of forrage abroad, by reason whereof the Englishmen lost manie horsses, and were in deed driuen to great scarsitie of vittels. When they had passed the riuer of Loire, and were come into the countrie of Berrie, they vnderstood how the Frenchmen laid themselues in sundrie ambushes to distresse them, if they might espie the aduantage: but the duke of Lancaster placing his light horsemen, with part of the archers in the fore ward, and in the battell the whole force of his footmen with the men at armes, diuided into wings to couer that battell, wherein he himselfe was, the residue of the horsemen with the rest of the archers he appointed to the rereward, and so causing them to keepe close togither, marched forth till he came into Poictou, & then in reuenge of the Poictouins that had reuolted from the English obeisance, he began a new spoile, killing the people, wasting the countrie, and burning the houses and buildings euerie where as he passed, & so finallie about Christmasse came to Burdeaux.

Fabian.

The Frenchmen meant not to fight with the Englishmen.

Polydor.

The order of the duke of Lancasters armie in marching.

He cõmeth into Burdeaux. Froissard.

Whilest the duke of Lancaster was thus passing through the realme of France, pope Gregorie the eleuenth sent the archbishop of Rauenna and the bishop of Carpentras as legats from him, to treat for a peace betwixt the realms of England and France. They rode to & fro betwixt the French king and his brethren, and the duke of Lancaster: but the duke and the Englishmen kept on their waie, and so finallie keeping forwards about Christmasse came to Burdeaux. The legats pursued their treatie, but the parties were so hard, that no reasonable offers would be taken. The two dukes of Lancaster and Britaine laie in Burdeaux all the residue of the winter, and the Lent following. The same yeare that the duke of Lancaster made this iournie through France, the king of England sent certeine ambassadors to the pope, requiring him not to meddle with the reseruations of benefices within his realme of England, but that those which were elected bishops might inioy their sees, and be confirmed of their metropolitane,

The archb. of Rauenna sent from the pope.

Caxton.

Messengers sent to the pope about reseruations of benefices.

tropolitane and archbishop, as of ancient time they had bene accustomed.

The pope would not at that present determine anie thing herein, but commanded them that were sent, that they should certifie him againe of the kings pleasure and further meaning, in those articles and other touching him and his realme. Also this yeare it was decreed in parlement, that cathedrall churches might inioy the right of their elections, and that the king should not hinder them that were chosen, but rather helpe them to their confirmations. ¶ In the same parlement was granted to the king a disme of the cleargie, and a fifteenth of the laitie. ¶ Moreouer at the suite of the popes legats, a respit of war was granted betwixt the kings of England and France, but so that the Englishmen lost in Gascoine a great number of castels and townes, by reason of a composition made before, that if they were not rescued by the middest of August, they should then yeeld themselues French: and bicause the truce was agreed vpon to indure till the last of August, the Englishmen toke no heed to the matter. It was further agreed vpon, that in the beginning of September, there should meet in the marches of Picardie, the duke of Lancaster, and other of the English part, as commissioners to intreat of peace; and the duke of Anion and other on the French part, the popes legat to be there also as mediator. When this agreement was thus accorded, the duke of Lancaster, and the duke of Britaine, with the earls of Warwike, Suffolke and Stafford, the lords Spenser, Willoughbie and others, toke the sea at Burdeaux the eight of Julie, and returned into England.

This yeare the fifth of June, died William Wittelsey archbishop of Canturburie, after whose death the monks chose to that see the cardinall of Winchester, with which election the king was nothing contented, so that after much monie spent by the monks to obteine their purpose, at length they were disappointed, and doctor Simon Sudberie was admitted to that dignitie, who before was bishop of London, being the seauen and fiftith archbishop that had ruled that see. He was chosen by the appointment of the king, and consent of the pope. For alredie was that decree worne out of vse, whereby the elections of bishops haue rested in the voices of them of the cathedrall church: for not onelie this Simon archbishop of Canturburie, but other also were ordeined bishops from thencefoorth, by the will and authoritie of the popes and kings of this realme, till at length it came to passe, that onelie the kings instituted bishops, and the bishops ordeined other gouernours vnder them of meaner degrees.

Thus the popes within a while lost all their authoritie, which they had before time within this relme in the appointing of bishops, and other rulers of churches; and in like manner also they lost shortlie after their authoritie of leuieng tenths of spirituall promotions, the which they in former times had vsed, to the great detriment of the realme, which lost nothing by this new ordinance; for the English people were not compelled afterwards to depart with their monie vnto strangers, so largelie as before, to content the greedinesse of that coniurant generation of Romanists, whose insatiable desires would admit no stint, as infected with the dropsie of filthie auarice, for

Omnia des cupido, sua non perit inde cupido,
Quo plus sunt pota plus sitiuntur aqua.

This restraining reformation concerned the benefit of the whole land verie much: for K. Edward the third was the first that caused an act to be made, that none vnder a great penaltie should seeke to obteine anie spirituall promotions within this realme of the pope, or bring anie suites to his court, except by waie of appeale: and that those that were the aiders of any such offendors against this act, should run in danger of the same paine, which act by those kings that succeeded was not onelie commanded to be kept, but also confirmed with new penalties, and is called the statute of Premunire.

Caxton.
1375
Anno Reg. 49.

About Candlemasse there met at Bruges as commissioners for the king of England, the duke of Lancaster, the earle of Salisburie, and the bishop of London. For the French king, the dukes of Anion, and Burgognie, the earle of Salebruce, and the bishop of Amiens with others. Finallie, when they could not agree vpon anie good conclusion for peace, they accorded vpon a truce, to indure to the first of Maie next insuing in all the marches of Calis, and vp to the water of Some; but the other places were at libertie to be still in warre: by report of other writers, the truce was agreed vpon to continue till the feast of All saints next insuing. About the same time that the foresaid commissioners were at Bruges intreating of peace, the duke of Britaine did so much with his father in law king Edward, that about the beginning of Aprill he sent ouer with him into Britaine the earles of Cambridge, March, Warwike, and Stafford, the lord Spenser, sir Thomas Holland, sir Nicholas Camois, sir Edward Twiford, sir Richard Ponchardon, sir John Lesselles, sir Thomas Grandson, sir Hugh Hastings, and diuerse other worthie capteins with a power of three thousand archers, and two thousand men of armes, all verie well furnished to fight.

They landed at saint Matthews or Mahe de fine Poterne, where they toke the castell by force, and the towne by surrender. From thence they went to Pole de Lion, and wan it likewise by force of assault, and then went to Brieu de Taur, a towne stronglie fensed, and well manned. In hope yet to win it, the duke of Britaine and the English lords laid siege to it, but hearing that an English knight, one sir John Deureux was besieged in a fortresse which he had newlie made, by the vicount of Roan, the L. Clisson, and other of the French part, they raised from Brieu de Taur, and hasted forward to the succor of sir John Deureux, earnestlie wishing to find their enimies in the field, that they might giue them battell: but the British lords hearing that the duke and the Englishmen approched, made no longer abode, but got them with all speed vnto Campellie a towne of great strength not farre off, and therein closed themselues for their more safetie. The duke of Britaine hearing that they were fled thither, followed them, and laid siege round about the towne, inforcing himselfe to obteine the place, and so had done in deed by all likelihood verie shortlie, if at the same time, by reason of a truce taken for twelue moneths, he had not beene commanded by the duke of Lancaster, without delaie to cease his war, and breake vp his campe: as he did.

There were sundrie meetings of the commissioners for this treatie of peace, and still they toke longer time for continuance of the truce. And bicause that Britaine and all the other countries of France (as should seeme) were included in this truce, it seemeth that this was some second truce, and not the first truce, which included onelie the marches of Calis, and those parts vp to the water of Some. But howsoeuer it was, the duke of Britaine being in a great forwardnesse to haue recouered his duchie out of the Frenchmens hands, and to haue reduced his rebellious subiects vnder due obeisance againe, was now by this truce concluded out of time, greatlie disappointed, and so brake vp his siege from before Campellie, and sent home the English armie. He went himselfe to Aulroie, where his wife was; and taking order

Cathedrall churches.

Cõmissioners appointed to meet and commune of peace

Death of the archb. of Can.

Simon Sudberie elected archbishop.

The commissioners meet at Bruges.

A truce taken betwixt England & Fraunce.

Fabian.

Froissard.

Tho. Wals. An armie sent ouer into Britaine with the duke.

Towns won

Sir John Deureux.

This truce was cõcluded to indure from midsummer in this 1375, vnto midsummer in ỹ yeare next insuing. Tho. Wals.

The duke of Britaine disappointed by the truce.

The beginning of the statute of Premunire

order for the fortifieng and keeping of those places, which were in his possession, he came backe againe into England, and brought his wife with him.

A litle before the concluding of this truce, the Englishmen and others within the fortresse of saint Sauiour le vicount, in the Ile or rather Close (as they call it) of Constantine, which had bene long besieged, made a composition, that if they were not rescued by a certeine daie, then should they yeld vp the place to the Frenchmen. Now bicause this truce was agreed before the daie appointed for the rescue of that place, with condition that either part should inioy and hold that which at that present they had in possession, during the terme of the truce; the Englishmen thought that saint Sauiour le vicount should be saued by reason of that treatie: but the Frenchmen to the contrarie auouched, that the first couenant ought to passe the last ordinance. So that when the daie approched, the French king sent thither six thousand speares, knights, and esquiers, beside other people: and bicause none appeared to giue them battell, they had the towne deliuered to them.

S. Sauiour le vicount yelded.

Thom. Walſ. Fabian.

¶ In this 49 yeare of K. Edwards reigne, a great death chanced in this land, and in diuerse other countries, so that innumerable numbers of people died and perished of that contagious sickenesse. Amongst other the lord Edward Spenser died the same yeare, a man of great renowme and valiantnesse. Also the earle of Penbroke, hauing compounded for his ransome, as he was vpon his returne from Spaine, comming homewards through France, he fell sicke, and being brought in an horslelitter to Arras, he died there, on the 16 daie of Aprill, leauing a sonne behind him not past two yeares of age, begot of the countesse his wife called Anne, daughter vnto the lord Walter de Mannie. Polydor mistaking the matter, saith that Marie the countesse of Penbroke, who builded Penbroke hall in Cambridge, was wife to this John Hastings earle of Penbroke, whereas in deed she was wife to his ancestor Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke (as Iohn Stow in his summarie hath trulie noted.) She was daughter to C. v earle of saint Pole, a worthie ladie and a vertuous, tendering so much the wealthfull state of this land (a great part wherof consisteth in the good bringing vp of youth, and training them to the knowledge of learning) that for maintenance of students she began the forsaid commendable foundation, about the yeare of Christ 1343, vpon a plot of ground that was hir owne, hauing purchased licence thereto of the king, to whom she was of kin.

The lord Spenser departeth this life. Polydor.

The earle of Penbroke deceaſſeth.

Iohn Stow.

During that grieuous mortalitie and cruell pestilence before remembred, the pope at the instant request of the English cardinals, granted vnto all those that died in England, being shriuen and repentant of their sinnes, cleane remission of the same, by two buls inclosed vnder lead. The duke of Lancaster about the feast of All saints met with the French commissioners againe at Bruges. There was with him the duke of Britaine, the earle of Salisburie, and the bishop of London. For the French king there appeared the duke of Burgognie, the earle of Saleburch, and the bishop of Amiens. And at saint Omers laie the duke of Aniou, the archbishop of Rauenna, and the bishop of Carpentras toke great paine to go to and fro betweene the parties: but they were so far at ods in their demands, and as it were of set purpose on the French behalfe, that no good could be done betwixt them. The French king required to haue Calis raced, and to haue againe fourteene hundred thousand franks, which were paid for the ransome of king John. The king of England demanded to haue all the lands restored to him in Gascoigne and Guien clerelie exempt of all resorts. So when nothing could be concluded touching a finall peace, the truce was renewed to indure till the feast of S. John Baptist next insuing, which should be in the yeare 1376.

Froiſſard. Commiſſioners ertſones met to common of peace.

The demãds on both parts.

1376

In this fiftith yeare, king Edward assembled his high court of parlement at Westminster, in the which was demanded a subsidie of the commons for the defense of the kings dominions against his enimies. Wherevnto answer was made by the common house, that they might no longer beare such charges, considering the manifold burthens by them sustened in time past. And further they said, it was well knowne the king was rich inough to withstand his enimies, if his monie and treasure were well imploied: but the land had bene of long time euill guided by euill officers, so that the same could not be stored with chaffer, merchandize, or other riches. The commons also declared whom they toke and iudged to be chefe causer of this disorder, as the duke of Lancaster, & the L. Latimer lord chamberleine to the king; also dame Alice Perers, whom the king had long time kept to his concubine; and also one named sir Richard Sturrie, by whose sinister meanes and euill counsell the king was misled, and the land euill gouerned. Wherefore the commons by the mouth of their speaker sir Pers de la Mere, required that those persons might be removed from the king, and other more discreet set in their romes about his person, and so put in authoritie, that they might see to his honour and weale of the realme, more than the other had done before them.

1376
Anno Reg. 50.
A parlement.

The lord Latimer. Dame Alice Perers. Sir Richard Sturrie.

The request of the commons.

This request of the commons by support of the prince was allowed, and granted, so that the said persons and other of their affinitie were commanded to depart the court, and other (such as were thought meet by the prince, and the sage peres of the realme) were placed in their steds. ¶ Shortlie after, the commons granted to the king his whole request, so that he had of euerie person, man and woman, being aboue the age of fourteene yeares, foure pence, poore people that liued of almesse onelie excepted. ¶ Likewise the cleargie granted, that of euerie beneficed man, the king should haue twelue pence, and of euerie priest not beneficed foure pence (the foure orders of friers onelie excepted.) But yet this monie could be leuied, the king was constreined to borrow certeine great summes in sundrie places, and therefore he sent to the citie of London for foure thousand pounds. And bicause Adam Staple the maior was not diligent in furthering that lone, he was by the kings commandement discharged on the 22 daie of March, and Richard Whitington mercer chosen in his place.

On the eight of June being Trinitie sundaie (the parlement yet continuing) that noble and famous prince Edward the kings sonne departed this life within the kings palace at Westminster. His bodie was conueied to Canturburie with great solemnitie, and there honorablie buried. He died in the 46 yeare of his age; a prince of such excellent demeanour, so valiant, wise and politike in his doings, that the verie and perfect representation of knighthod appeared most liuelie in his person, whilest he liued, so that the losse of him stroke a generall sorrow into the harts of all the English nation. For such was his towardnesse, or rather perfection in princelie gouernement, that if he had liued and atteined to the crowne, euerie man iudged that he would suerlie haue exceeded the glorious renowme of all his ancestors. This princes death is breefelie touched by C. Okland, who (after mention made of the great victories atchiued by his father the king against his enimies, and concluding him to be verie happie and fortunate in the issue of his attempts) saith

The blacke prince departeth this life.

Polydor. He is buried at Canturburie.

——— inclytus

——inclytus ille monarcha
Vndiq; ter fœlix, nisi quòd trux Atropos occat
Ante diem gnati fatalia stamina vitæ.

Froissard. The French king kept his obsequie in most reuerend wise, in the chapell of his palace at Paris. After his death, the king called to him againe the foresaid persons, that had bene from him remoued, and the said sir Pœrs de la Mere that was speaker in the parlement (as before yée haue hard) for his eloquence shewed in reprouing the misgouernment of the said persons (and namelie of the said dame Alice Peres) was now committed to prison within the castell of Notingham. About the same time the truce was againe prolonged till the first daie of Aprill next following. ¶ King Edward, after the decease of his sonne prince Edward, created the lord Richard, sonne to the said prince, as heire to him, prince of Wales, and gaue to him the earledomes of Chester & Cornewall. ¶ Moreouer, bicause the king waxed feeble and sicklie through langor (as some suppose) conceiued for the death of his sonne, he appointed the rule of the realme to his sonne the duke of Lancaster, ordeining him as gouernour vnder him, and so he continued during his fathers life.

Sir Pœrs de la Mere. Fabian.

The truce prolonged. Polydor.

Polydor.

A riot. Caxton. A great riot happened betwixt the seruants of the earle of Warwike, and the tenants of the abbat of Euesham, so that manie of the said abbats seruants were slaine and hurt. The fish-ponds and warrens belonging to the abbie were broken and spoiled, so that greater hurt would haue followed thereof, if the kings letters had not bene sent downe to the earle, commanding him to staie his men from such misdemeanours. All the nobles of the realme were caused to sweare, that after the kings decease they shuld admit and mainteine Richard prince of Wales for their king and souereigne lord. And vpon Christmasse day, the king caused him to sit at his table aboue all his owne children, in high estate, as representing the personage of the heire apparant to the crowne.

The nobles sworne to the prince of wales.

1377 Anno Reg. 51. Froissard. This yeare being the one and fiftith and last of king Edwards reigne, there were sent againe to Bruges as commissioners to treat of peace on the part of king Edward, John lord Cobham, the bishop of Hereford, and the maior of London. And for the French part thither came the earle of Salebruch, monsieur de Chatillon, and Phillibert Lespoit. And still the two legats were present as mediatours betwixt the parties, moouing a mariage to be had, betwixt Richard prince of Wales, and the ladie Marie, daughter to the French king. But they departed in sunder for this time without anie conclusion. But shortlie after in Lent following, there was a secret meeting appointed to be had at Montreuill by the sea, whither came from the king of England, sir Richard Dangle a Poictouine, sir Richard Stan, & Geffrie Chaucer. For the French king there appeared the lord Coucie, and others. These commissioners treated a long season concerning the mariage, and when they had vnderstanding and felt each others meaning, they departed and made report of the same to their maisters. The truce was againe prolonged till the first daie of Maie.

Comissioners sent to Montreuill.

The truce eftsones prolonged.

Sir Hugh Caluerlie lieutenant of Calis.

And in the meane time, the earle of Salisburie, the bishop of saint Dauie lord chancellour of England, and the bishop of Hereford went ouer to Calis. In like case the lord of Coucie, and sir William Dorman chancellor of France came to Montreuill. But they durst not meet at anie indifferent place on the frontiers, for the doubt that either partie had of other, for anie thing the legats could saie or do. Thus these commissioners abode in that state till the truce was expired. And when the warre was open, then sir Hugh Caluerlie was sent ouer to Calis, to remaine vpon safe keeping of that towne, as deputie there. The earle of Salisburie, and the other commissioners returned into England, and with them the duke of Britaine. On the twelfth day of Aprill this yeare, one sir John Minsterworth knight, was drawne, hanged, headed, and quartered at Tiborne, being first condemned and adiudged to suffer that execution before the maior of London, and other the kings iustices in the Guildhall, for treason by him committed, in defrauding souldiers of their wages: for where he had receiued great summes of monie to make paiment thereof to them, he reteined the same to his owne vse.

Tho. Walsi. Fabian. Sir John Minsterworth beheaded.

Moreouer (as in the fortie foure yeare of this king yée haue heard) he was the chéefe procurer and setter forward of the dissention that rose in the armie, which vnder the leading of sir Robert Knolles was sent into France. And when in that iournie he had lost most of his men, and was escaped himselfe into England, he laid all the blame on sir Robert Knolles, accusing him to the king of heinous treason; so as the king toke no small displeasure against the said sir Robert, insomuch that he durst not returne into England, till he had pacified the kings wrath with monie, and that the knowne fidelitie of the man had warranted him against the malicious and vntrue suggestions of his enimies. Whereupon the said Minsterworth perceiuing his craft to want the wished successe, he fled to the French king, and conspiring with him to annoie the realme of England by bringing the Spanish nauie to inuade the same, at length he was taken in the towne of Pampilona in Nauarre, and brought backe into England, where he tasted the deserued fruit of his contriued treason (as before yée haue heard.)

Thom. Walf.

About this season, there rose in the vniuersitie of Oxenford a learned man John Wiclife, borne in the north parts, who being a secular preest, and a student in diuinitie, began to propone certeine conclusions greatlie contrarie to the doctrine of the church in those daies established, speciallie he argued against monks, and other men of religion that inioied great riches, and large possessions. There were diuerse that gaue good eare to him, insomuch that sundrie learned men of that vniuersitie preached and set forth the doctrine that he taught. ¶ Amongst other articles which they held, these were the chéefe and principall.

Thom. Walsi. John Wiclife.

The chéefest articles preached by Wiclife.

1 That the sacrament of the altar, after consecration, was not the bodie of Christ, but a figure thereof.

2 That the church of Rome was no more head of the vniuersall church than any one other, nor more authoritie was giuen by Christ vnto Peter, than to anie other of the apostles, and that the pope had no more power in the keies of the church than anie other preest whatsoeuer.

3 That temporall lords might both lawfullie and meritoriouslie take the temporall goods and reuenues from the church, if it offended; and if anie temporall lord knew the church to offend, he was bound vnder paine of damnation to take from it the temporalties.

4 That the gospell is sufficient in this life to direct by rule euerie christian man.

5 That all other rules of saints, vnder the obseruing whereof diuers religious do liue, ad no more perfection to the gospell, than washing ouer with lime doth the wall.

6 That the pope, nor anie other prelat of the church, ought to haue anie prisons wherein to punish offendors.

These and manie other opinions did these men hold and mainteine, and diuerse lords and great men of

of the land fauoured their cause. But when these conclusions were brought before the pope, he condemned the number of 23 of those articles as vaine and hereticall, directing his buls to the archbishop of Canturburie, and to the bishop of London, that they should cause the said Wiclife to be apprehended, and examined vpon the said conclusions, which they did in presence of the duke of Lancaster, and the lord Percie, and hearing his declaration, commanded him to silence, and in no wise to deale with those matters from thencefoorth, so that for a time, both he and his fellowes kept silence: but after at the contemplation of diuerse of the temporall lords, they preached and set forth their doctrine againe.

Wiclife & his fellowes maintained by certeine lords.

The same day that Wiclife was conuented thus at London, before the bishops and other lords, thorough a word spoken in reproch by the duke of Lancaster vnto the bishop of London, streightwaies the Londoners getting them to armour, meant to haue slaine the duke, & if the bishop had not staid them, they had suerlie set fire on the dukes house at the Sauoie: and with much adoo might the bishop quiet them. Among other reprochfull parts which in despite of the duke they committed, they caused his armes in the publike street to be reuersed as if he had béene a traitor, or some notorious offendor. The duke and the lord Henrie Percie, whom the citizens sought in his owne house to haue slaine him, if he had béen found, hearing of this riotous stur and rebellious commotion, forsoke their dinner and fled to Kenington, where the lord Richard, sonne to the prince, togither with his mother then remained, exhibiting before their presence, a grieuous complaint of the opprobrious iniuries done vnto them, by the wilfull outrage of the Londoners. For this and other causes, the citizens were sore hated of the duke, in so much that he caused the maior & aldermen that then ruled to be discharged of their rowmes, and other put in their places.

The duke of Lancaster in danger by the Londoners.

The lord Percie.

The king being more grieuouslie vexed with sickneslie from daie to daie, either increasing by the course therof, or renewed by some new surfet, finallie this yeare departed out of this transitorie life at his manour of Shéne, now called Richmond, the 21 daie of June, in the yeare of our Lord 1377, after he had liued 65 yeares, & reigned fiftie yeares, foure moneths, & 28 daies. His corpse was conueied from Shæne by his foure sonnes, namelie Lionell duke of Clarence, John of Gant duke of Lancaster, Edmund of Langlie duke of Yorke, and Thomas of Woodstoke earle of Cambridge, with other nobles of the realme, and solemnelie interred within Westminster church, with this epitaph in his memoriall:

Tho. Walsi. The deceasse of K. Edward the third.

Fabian, pag. 262, 263.

Hic decus Anglorum, flos regum præteritorum,
Forma futurorum, rex clemens, pax populorum,
Tertius Edwardus, regni complens iubileum,
Inuictus pardus, pollens bellis Machabeum.

His issue.

He had issue by his wife quéne Philip 7 sonnes, Edward prince of Wales, William of Hatfield that died yong, Lionell duke of Clarence, John of Gant duke of Lancaster, Edmund of Langlie earle of Cambridge & after created duke of Yorke, Thomas of Woodstoke erle of Buckingham after made duke of Glocester, and an other William which died likewise yong. He had also three daughters, Marie that was maried to John of Mountford duke of Britaine, Isabell wedded to the lord Coucie earle of Bedford, and Margaret coupled in mariage with the earle of Penbroke.

His praise.

This king, besides other his gifts of nature, was aided greatlie by his sæmelie personage. He had a prouident wit, sharpe to conceiue and vnderstand: he was courteous and gentle, doing all things sagelie and with good consideration, a man of great temperance and sobrietie. Those he chiefelie fauoured and aduanced to honour, and rowmes of high dignitie, which excelled in honest conuersation, modestie, and innocencie of life, of bodie well made, of a conuenient stature, as neither of the highest nor lowest sort: of face faire and manlike, eies bright and shining, and in age bald, but so as it was rather a sæmelinesse to those his ancient yeares than any disfiguring to his visage; in knowledge of martiall affaires verie skilfull, as the enterprises and worthie acts by him atchiued do sufficientlie witnesse.

His proportion of bodie.

In what estimation he was had among strangers it may appeare, in that he was not onelie made vicar of the empire by the emperour Lewes of Bauiere, but also after the decease of the same emperour, diuerse of the electours, as Lewes marques of Brandenbourgh, Robert or Rupert count Palatine of the Rhene, and the yong duke of Saxonie, with Henrie archbishop of Mentz, elected him to succéd in place of the said emperour Lewes. Neuertheless, he giuing them hartie thanks for the honour which they did vnto him herein, refused to take the charge vpon him, alledging that he could not haue time to suplie the rowme, by reason of the warres that he had in France, to recouer his right which he had to that realme.

This is noted by writers to be a token of great wisedome in this noble king, that would not go about to catch more than he might well gripe. Examples of bountious liberalitie, and great clemencie he shewed manie, and the same verie notable; so that in maner he alone amongst all other kings was found to be one, subiect to none, or at the least, to verie light and small faults. But yet he was not void of euill haps: for whereas, during the terme of fortie yeares space he reigned in high felicitie, and as one happie in all his doings: so in the rest of his time that followed, he felt a wonderfull change in fortune (whom writers compare to the mone for hir variablenesse, and often alterations, as neuer at a staie, saieng,

Prosperitie vnstable.

Vultus fortunæ variatur imagine lunæ,
Crescit, decrescit, in eodem sistere nescit)

shewing hir selfe froward to him in most part of his proceedings: for such is the state of this world, seldome doth prosperitie continue, and guide the sterne of our worldlie doings, as it well appeared by this noble prince. For in the first yeares of his reigne, after he once began to gouerne of himselfe, he recouered that which had béene lost in Scotland, by great victories obteined against his aduersaries in that land, and passed further into the same, than euer his grandfather king Edward the first had done before him, subduing the countrie on each hand, so that he placed gouernors, and bestowed offices, lands, and liuings in that realme at his pleasure.

¶ Amongst other (as I remember) there is yet remaining a charter vnder his great seale conteining a grant made vnto John Eure and his heires for his good seruice done in those parts, of a manour called Ketnes in the countie of Forfar (which lieth in the north of Scotland) with a market euerie mondaie, and a faire for three daies togither at Michaelmasse, as the euen, the daie, and the morrow after. Also he granted to the same John Eure, free warren thoroughout the same lordship. This John Eure was ancestor vnto the lord Eure that now liueth, who hath the same charter in his possession. ¶ As for this kings victories in France, the same were such as might séeme incredible, if the consent of all writers in that age confirmed not the same. But as these victories were glorious, so yet they proued not so profitable in the end: for whereas he had sore burdened his subiects with taskes and subsidies, at length they waxed wearie, and began to withdraw their forward minds to helpe him with such summes

Iohn Stow vpon conference referreth this to the last peare of king Edward the first.

as had béene requisit for the maintenance of the warres, which the Frenchmen prolonged of purpose, and refused to trie their fortune any more in pight fields, wherby when he was constreined to be at continuall charges in such lingering warres, to defend that which he had erst gotten by force, and couenants of the peace; the sinewes of warre, to wit monie, began to faile him, and so the enimies recouered a great part of that which before time they had lost, both on the further side the seas, and likewise in Scotland.

This must nèds be a great grèefe vnto a prince of such a stout and valiant stomach, namelie sith he had béene so long time before accustomed to find fortune still so fauourable vnto him in all his enterprises. But finallie the thing that most grèeued him, was the losse of that most noble gentleman, his dèere sonne prince Edward, in whom was found all parts that might be wished in a worthie gouernour. But this and other mishaps that chanced to him now in his old yeares, might sèeme to come to passe for a reuenge of his disobedience shewed to his father in vsurping against him, although it might be said, that he did it by constreint, and through the aduise of others. But whether the remorse hereof, or of his other offenses moued him, it may sèeme (as some write) that the consideration of this worlds mutabilitie, which he tried to the full, caused him (as is thought) to haue in mind the life in the world to come, and therefore of a pure deuotion founded the church and college of saint Stephan at Westminster, and another at Cambridge called The kings hall, giuing thereunto lands and reuenues, to the maintenance of them that would giue themselues vnto learning.

Towards the maintenance of his warres, and furnishing forth of such other charges and expenses as he toke in hand to beare out, he had some helpe by the siluer mines in Deuonshire and Cornewall, in like manner as his grandfather king Edward the first had. For one Matthew Crowthorne kèper of his mines in those parts, yèelded diuerse accounts of the issues and profits of the same, betwèene the second and fiftèenth yeare of his reigne, as well for the siluer as for the lead, after the siluer was fined from it. Also John Moneron succèeding in the same office, accomptant of the profits of the same mines, from Michaelmasse in the nintèenth yeare of his reigne, vnto the second of Nouember in the three and twentith yeare, yèelded vpon his accounts, both the siluer and the lead thereof remaining. Moreouer he let by indenture in the two and thirtith yeare of his reigne, vnto John Ballancer, and Walter Goldbeater, his mines of gold, siluer, and copper, in the countie of Deuonshire, for terme of years. There is an account thereof remaining, and by the same (as it appeareth) was answered for the first yeare twentie markes. The second yeare the patentèes died, and the king then disposed the same to others. In the eight and twentith yeare of his reigne, he committed by indenture his said mines in Deuonshire, to one maister John Hanner, and one Herman Rainesthorpe of Boheme, minors, yèelding to the king the tenth part of the oare, as well of the gold and siluer, as of the lead and copper that should be gotten forth of the said mines.

Mines of gold & siluer.

In this kings daies, there liued manie excellent men, both in learning, in vertue, and in martiall prowesse, as partlie is touched in this discourse of his reigne; and first, the said noble and most valiant king, the prince of Wales his sonne surnamed the blacke prince, the duke of Lancaster John of Gant sonne to the king, and his father in law duke Henrie, Edmund earle of Cambridge, and after duke of Yorke; the earles of Warwike, Huntington, Salisburie, Stafford, Northampton, Arundell and others; the lord Reginald Cobham, the lord Basset, the lord Thomas Holland, the lord Walter de Mannie and Henuier, the lord Edward Spenser, the lord John Chandois, the lord James Audeley, Sir John Copland, sir Thomas Felton, sir Robert Knolles, who (as I haue said) being borne in Cheshire of meane parentage, through his manlie prowesse, and most skilfull experience in the warres, grew to be right famous.

Moreouer, sir Hugh Caluerlie borne in the same shire, the capitall de Beuse a Gascoigne, sir Thomas Percie, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Baldwine Freuill, sir John Harleston, sir James Pipe, sir Thomas Dagworth, & that valiant English knight sir John Hawkewood, whose fame in the parts of Italie shall remaine for euer, where (as their histories make mention) he grew to such estimation for his valiant atchiued enterprises, that happie might that prince or common-wealth accompt themselues, that might haue his seruice, and so liuing there in such reputation, sometimes he serued the pope, sometimes the lords of Millane, now this prince or common-wealth, now that, and other whiles none at all, but taking one towne or other, would kèepe the same, till some liking entertainment were offered, and then would he sell such a towne, where he had thus remained, to them that would giue him for it according to his mind. Barnabe lord of Millane gaue vnto him one of his base daughters in marriage, with an honorable portion for hir dower.

This man was borne in Esser (as some write) who at the first became a taylor in London, & afterwards going to the warres in France, serued in the roome of an archer, but at length he became a capteine and leader of men of war, highlie commended and liked of amongst the souldiers, in so much that, when by the peace concluded at Bretignie, in the yeare 1360, great numbers of soldiers were discharged out of wages, they got themselues togither in companies, and without commandement of any prince, by whose authoritie they might make warre, they fell to of themselues, and sore harried and spoiled diuerse countries in the realme of France, as partlie yée haue heard: amongst whome this sir John Hawkewood was one of the principall capteins, & at length went into Italie, to serue the marques of Montferrato, against the duke of Millane: although I remember that some write, how he came into that countrie with the duke of Clarence, but I thinke the former report be true: but it may well be, that he was readie to attend the said duke at his comming into Italie. And thus much concerning such famous capteins as serued this noble king Edward the third, although for brèefenesse I passe ouer diuerse other, no lesse famous and worthie for their high manhood and tried valiancie to be remembred, than these afore mentioned.

Of learned men, these we find by Iohn Bale registred in the Centuries; John Baconthorp borne in Blackney in Northfolke, a frier Carmelite, and prouinciall of his order, so excellentlie learned, as well in diuinitie, as in both the ciuill and canon lawes, that he procèeded doctor in either facultie at Orenford and Paris, and wrote diuerse treatises, to his high and singular commendation; William Ockam, John Bloxham a Carmelite frier, Nicholas Triuet borne in Northfolke, sonne to sir Thomas Triuet knight, & one of the kings iusticiers, proued excellentlie learned, and wrote diuerse treatises, and amongst other, two histories, and one booke of annales, he was by profession a blacke frier, and departed this life about the second yeare of this king

Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ 1328; William Alnewike borne in Northumberland, in the towne whereof he toke name, a frier Minor; John Tanet borne in the Ile of Tanet, an excellent musician, and a monke in Canturburie; Hugh of saint Neot, a Carmelite frier in Hertfordshire, a notable diuine as those daies gaue; William Alton borne in Hampshire, a blacke frier and a diuine.

Furthermore, Richard Stradley borne in the marches of Wales, a monke and a diuine, writing certeine treatises of the scripture; William Herbert a Welshman and a frier Minor, wrote also certeine godlie treatises of diuinitie; Richard Comington a frier of the order of the Cordeliers, a preacher, and a writer of diuinitie; William Exeter a doctor of diuinitie, and a prebendarie canon in Exeter, whereas it is thought he was borne; Lucas Bosden a westerne man, and by profession a Carmelite frier; Thomas Walleis a Dominike frier, a great diuine, as by such bookes as he wrote it may appeare; Thomas Pontius a monke of Canturburie, John Ridewall a graie frier, Henrie Cossesay or Cossey a frier Minor, Geffrie Alexant borne in Yorkeshire, a frier Carmelite; John Euersden, a monke in Burie in Suffolke, an historiographer; Simon Burneston, a doctor of the Vniuersitie of Cambridge, and prouinciall of the friers Dominike or blacke friers, as they called them here in England; Walter Burlie a doctor of diuinitie, who in his youth was brought vp, not onlie in Martine college in Oxford, but also in the Vniuersities and schooles abroad beyond the seas, in France and Germanie, & afterwards for his wisedome, good demeanor & learning, he was reteined with the bishop of Vlmes in Suabenland, a region in high Germanie.

Amongst other treatises which he compiled, being manie, and namelie of naturall philosophie, he wrote a commentarie of the ethikes of Aristotle, and dedicated the same vnto the said bishop, a worke which hath bene highlie estéemed, not onelie in the Vniuersities of Italie, Germanie and France, but also here in our Vniuersities of England. To conclude, such was the fame of this doctor Burlie, that when the ladie Philip, daughter to the earle of Heinault should come ouer into England to be married to king Edward, this doctor Burlie was reteined by hir, and appointed to be hir almoner, and so continued in great estimation, in so much that after Edward prince of Wales, eldest sonne to king Edward commonlie called the blacke prince, was borne, and able to learne his booke, the said Burlie among other was commanded to be one of his instructors.

By reason hereof, sir Simon Burlie, of whom I haue made some mention heretofore in this kings life, and more intend to speake, as occasion serueth in the nert king, being sonne to sir John Burlie, nére kinsman to the said doctor Burlie, was admitted among other yong gentlemen, to be scholefelow with the said prince, by occasion whereof he grew in such credit and fauour with the said prince, that afterwards when his son Richard of Burdeaux, that succéeded king Edward his father, was borne, the said prince for speciall trust and confidence which he had in the said sir Simon Burlie, committed the gouernance & education of his son the said Richard vnto him, whereby he was euer after highlie in fauour with the said Richard, and no lesse aduanced by him, when he came to inioy the crowne of this realme.

But now to other learned men of that age. John Barwike a frier Minor, and reader to his fellowes of that order in Oxford; William Nottingham, Roger Glacton, borne in Huntingtonshire, an Augustin frier; John Polested borne in Suffolke, a Carmelite frier in Ipswich or Gippeswich as they write it; Walter Bingham a frier also of the order of those Dominikes, which they called pied friers; Roger of Chester a monke of that citie and an historiographer; Thomas de Hales a frier Minor, Robert Eliphat a graie frier, Geffrie Grandfield an Augustine or blacke frier, Hugh Wirlie a Carmelite frier of Norwich, William Eincourt a blacke frier of Boston, Hugh Ditton borne in Cambridgeshire a frier preacher, Adam Carthusianus a doctor of diuinitie, John Luttrell an excellent philosopher and well séene in the mathematicals, Walter Cotton and Thomas Eckleston both graie friers, John Folsham a Carmelite frier in Norwich, Benet of Northfolke, William Southhampton so called of the towne where he was borne, a blacke frier.

Moreouer, John Burgh a monke wrote an historie, and certeine homilies; Adam Nidzard a master of art, Edmund Albon, Robert Counton a graie frier, William Lillie a frier Minor, John Repingale borne in Lincolneshire a Carmelite or white frier, as they called them; Christopher Mothusensis a blacke frier, Richard Aungerule borne in Suffolke, who was bishop of Duresme, and lord chancellor of England; John Mandulth, Walter Heminford a canon of Gisborne an historiographer, John Olnie borne in Glocestershire, in an Ile so called, whereof he toke his surname a Chartreux monke; Thomas Staueshaw a frier Minor in Bristow, Robert of Leicester taking that surname of the towne where he was borne, a Franciscane or graie frier; John of Northhampton borne in that towne, and a Carmelite frier, an excellent mathematician.

Adde to the foresaid learned men, Robert Worsop borne in Yorkeshire, and a blacke frier in Tickill; William Brunlard a blacke frier, Richard Chichester, a monke of Westminster wrote an excellent chronicle, beginning the same at the comming in of the Saxons, about the yeare of our Lord 449, and continued it till the yeare 1348; Richard Rolle *alias* Hampole an excellent diuine wrote many treatises; John Guent a Welshman, a Franciscane frier, and prouinciall of the order; Rodulph Radiptorius a frier Minor, Robert Holcoth a blacke frier, borne in Northampton, excellentlie learned, and wrote manie works, both of diuinitie and other arguments; William Wiluerlie a logician or rather a sophister, John Teukesburie, Thomas Bradwardin borne in Hartfield, a towne within the diocesse of Chichester, archbishop of Canturburie succeeding John Offord, he wrote against the Pelagians; Richard Wetherset, William Breton a graie frier, a Welshman borne, as Bale supposeth; John of saint Faith, borne in Northfolke, a Carmelite frier of Brumham.

Furthermore, John Godwicke borne also in Northfolke, an Augustine frier of Lin; William Rothwell a blacke frier, Geffrie Waterton monke of Burie, Richard Fitz Rafe, whom some take to be an Irishman, but a student in Oxford, and scholer to John Baconthorpe profited highlie, & wrote manie treatises, he was first archdeacon of Lichfield, and after chancellor of the Vniuersitie of Oxford, and at length archbishop of Ardmachan in Ireland; Richard Kilington a doctor of diuinitie, William Grisant a notable physician, surnamed of the countrie where he was borne Anglicus, he led the later end of his life at Marseilles in Prouance, & had a son that was abbat of the regular canons of that citie, who at length was aduanced to gouerne the sée of Rome, & named Urbane the fift; John Paschall borne in Suffolke, a Carmelite frier in Gippeswich, and by K. Edward the third preferred to the bishoprike of Landaffe; Adam Woodham a frier Minor, Simon Henton a blacke frier, William de Pagula; of John Wicliffe ye haue heard before.

Pope Urban the fift.

Moreouer,

Moreouer, Geffrie Hardebie a blacke frier of Leicester, William Binham, Roger Counwey a Welshman borne in Counwey a grey frier, Richard Billingham, William Dorock a lawier, John Billingworth an excellent philosopher, astronomer, and physician; Willam of Couentrie a frier Carmelite, professed and borne in the same citie; Ranulfe Higden a monke of Chester and borne in those parts, an historiographer; John Eastwood *alias* Aschenton an excellent philosopher, Thomas Ratclife borne in Leicester, and an Augustine frier in Leicester towne; Bartholomew Glanuille descended of noble parentage, as of the linage of those Glanuilles that were sometimes earles of Suffolke, as Bale saith; Robert Computista a monke of Burie, John Wilton a monke of Westminster, Simon Wichingham a frier Carmelite of Norwich, John Weir a northerne man borne a notable diuine.

Furthermore, Simon Islep, founder of Canturburie colledge in Oxenford, wrote diuerse treatises, he was archbishop of Canturburie, as before yee haue heard; George Chadley, John of Tinmouth vicar of that towne in the bishoprike of Durham, Peter Babion, Walter Wiborne or Wimborne, Nicholas de Lin borne in the towne of that name in Northfolke, a Carmelite frier by profession, but as excellent an astronomer as was in those daies: John Ridington borne in Lincolneshire a frier minor in Stafford, Adam a monke of the Cisteaux order, Roger Wilhelpedale a mathematician, Simon de Feuersham parson of Birton in Kent, Matthew Westmonasterienses, who wrote the booke called *Flores historiarum*; John Elin a Carmelite borne in Northfolke, liued in these daies, but departed this life in king Richard the seconds daies; Thomas de Sturey an Augustine frier, Sertorious Gualensis a Welshman borne.

Moreouer, Simon de Dunsted a gray frier, borne in Northfolke, prouinciall of the gray friers in England; Thomas Stubs borne in Yorkeshire a blacke frier, Robert Langland a secular preest borne in Salopshire in Mortimers Cliberie, Lewes Kaerleon a Welshman an excellent astronomer and mathematician, John Garanson, Nicholas Durham a Carmelite frier of Newcastell, William Fleet an heremite wrote sundrie treatises, exhorting his countrimen of England to repentance, to auoid the vengeance else likelie to come; John Stafford a frier minor, borne in Stafford, whereof he toke name; Thomas Rugsted a blacke frier, Rase Strode an excellent logician, William de sancta Fide, or of saint Faith, so called of the towne in Northfolke, where he was borne, a Carmelite frier.

To conclude, John Mandeuille knight, that great traueller, liued in those daies, and departed this life at Liege, the seuententh of Nouember, in the yeare 1372. Thomas of Douer a monke of the abbeie there, Henrie Knighton wrote an historie intituled *De gestis Anglorum*, John Stokes borne in Suffolke an Augustine frier, John Hornebie a frier Carmelite of Boston, Henrie Bederike or (as other rather will) of Burie an Augustine frier, Simon Alcocke a diuine, Utred Balton borne in the marches of Wales a monke of Durham, William Jordan an Augustine frier, John Hilton a frier minor, William de Lincolne a Carmelite, borne and professed in that citie, whereof he toke his surname; Adam Saxlingham a frier of the same order, but borne in Northfolke; Simon Mepham a prebend of Chichester, and a great diuine; John Bamton a Carmelite, and student in Cambridge; John Wichingham a gray frier: and diuerse other, which for that we are not certeine in what age they liued, we here passe ouer.

Thus farre Edward the third, sonne to Edward the second and queene Isabell.

Richard the second, the second sonne to Edward prince of Wales.

Richard, the second of that name, and sonne to prince Edward, called the blacke prince, the sonne of king Edward the third, a child of the age of eleuen yeares, began to reigne ouer the realme of England the two and twentith daie of June, in the yeare of the world 5344, of our Lord 1377, after the conquest 310, about the two and thirtith yeare of the emperour Charles the fourth, and in the foureténth yeare of Charles the fift king of France, and about the seuenth yeare of the reigne of Robert the second king of Scotland: he was named Richard of Burdeaux, because he was borne at Burdeaux in Gascoigne, whilest his father ruled there. The day before it was vnderstood, that his grandfather king Edward was departed this life, being the one and twentith of June (on which daie neuertheless he deceassed) the citizens of London hauing certeine knowledge that he could not escape his sickenesse, sent certeine aldermen vnto Kingston, where the prince with his mother the princesse then laie, to declare vnto the said prince their readie good wils, to accept him for their lawfull king and gouernour, immediatlie after it should please God to call to his mercie his grandfather, being now past hope of recouerie of health. Wherefore they

Thom. Walf.

The Londoners sent to K. Richard, commending themselues to his fauour before ỹ death of K. Edward.

Anno Reg. 1. 1377

Fabian.

beſought him, to haue their citie recommended vnto his good grace, and that it would pleaſe him to viſit the ſame with his preſence, ſith they were readie in all ſorts to honour and obeie him, and to ſpend both liues and goods in his cauſe, if need required.

Moreouer, they beſought him, that it might pleaſe his grace to make an end of the diſcord betwixt the citizens, and the duke of Lancaſter, which through the malice of ſome had beene raiſed, to the commoditie of none, but to the diſcommoditie of diuerſe. When John Philpot, one of the foreſaid aldermen, that had the words in all their names, had ended his oration, he was anſwered by the prince and his councell, that he would indeuour himſelfe in all things to ſatiſfie their requeſts, and ſo were they ſent home to bring a toſull anſwer of their meſſage to the citie. The morrow after, there were ſent to London from the king, the lord Latimer, ſir Nicholas Bond, ſir Simon Burlie, & ſir Richard Adderburie, knights, to bring them ſorowfull newes of the aſſured death of king Edward, who (as we haue ſaid) deceaſſed the day before; but comfortable newes againe, of the great towardlineſſe and good meaning of the yong king, who promiſed to loue them and their citie, and to come to the ſame citie, as they had deſired him to do. And further, that he had ſpoken to the duke of Lancaſter in their behalfe, and that the duke had ſubmitted himſelfe to him in all things touching the cauſe; whereupon the kings pleaſure was, that they ſhould likewiſe ſubmit themſelues, and he would do his indeuor, that an agreement might be had to the honor of the citizens, and profit of the citie.

John Philpot.

The duke of Lancaſter & the Lõdoners ſubmit their quarels to the kings order.

The citizens liked not of this forme of proceeding in the dukes matter, becauſe the king was yong, and could not giue order therein, but by ſubſtitutes: yet at length with much adoo, they were contented to ſubmit themſelues, as the duke had done before, though not, till that the knights had vndertaken vpon their oth of fidelitie and knighthood, that their ſubmiſſion ſhould not redound to the temporall or bodilie harme of any of them, conſenting to the kings will in this point. And ſo with this caution they toke their iournie towards Sheene, where they found the new K. with his mother, the duke of Lancaſter & his brethren, vncles to the king, and diuerſe biſhops, about the bodie of the deceaſſed king. When it was knowen that the Londoners were come, they were called before the king, by whom the matter was ſo handled, that the duke and they were made frends. After this, when the king ſhould ride through the citie towards the coronation, the ſaid duke and the lord Percie riding on great horſes before him, as by vertue of their offices appointed to make way before, vſed themſelues ſo courteouſlie, modeſtlie, and pleaſantlie, that where before they two were greatlie ſuſpected of the common people, by reaſon of their great puiſſance in the realme, and huge rout of reteiners, they ordered the matter ſo, that neither this day, nor the morrow after, being the day of the kings coronation, they offended any maner of perſon, but rather by gentle and ſweet demeanour they reclaimed the harts of manie, of whome before they were greatlie had in ſuſpicion, and thought euill of. ¶ But now, ſith we are entred into the matter of this kings coronation, we haue thought good breefelie to touch ſome particular point thereof (as in Thomas Walſingham we find it) though nothing ſo largelie here, as the author himſelfe ſetteth it forth, becauſe the purpoſe of this worke will not ſo permit.

The maner & order of the kings coronation.

The king, in riding thorough the citie towards Weſtminſter, on the 15 daie of Julie being wedneſdaie, was accompanied with ſuch a traine of the nobilitie and others, as in ſuch caſe was requiſite. Sir Simon Burlie bare the ſword before him, and ſir Nicholas Bond lead the kings horſe by the bridle on foot. The noiſe of trumpets and other inſtruments was maruellous, ſo that this ſeemed a day of ioy and mirth, a day that had beene long looked for, becauſe it was hoped, that now the quiet orders and good lawes of the land, which thorough the slouthfulneſſe of the aged king deceaſſed, and couetouſneſſe of thoſe that ruled about him, had beene long baniſhed, ſhould now be renewed and brought againe in vſe. The citie was adorned in all ſorts moſt richlie. The water conduits ran with wine for the ſpace of three houres togither. In the vpper end of Cheape, was a certeine caſtell made with foure towers, out of the which caſtell, on two ſides of it, there ran forth wine abundantlie. In the towers were placed foure beautifull virgins, of ſtature and age like to the king, apparelled in white veſtures, in euerie tower one, the which blew in the kings face, at his approching neere to them, leaues of gold: and as he approched alſo, they threw on him and his horſſe florens of gold counterfeit.

When he was come before the caſtell, they toke cups of gold, and filling them with wine at the ſpouts of the caſtell, preſented the ſame to the king and to his nobles. On the top of the caſtell, betwixt the foure towers, ſtood a golden angell, holding a crowne in his hands, which was ſo contriued, that when the king came, he bowed downe & offered to him the crowne. But to ſpeake of all the pageants and ſhewes which the citizens had cauſed to be made, and ſet forth in honour of their new king, it were ſuperfluous: euerie one in their quarters ſtriuing to ſurmount other, and ſo with great triumphing of citizens, and ioy of the lords and noble men, he was conueied vnto his palace at Weſtminſter, where he reſted for that night. The morrow after being thurſdaie, and the 16 day of Julie, he was fetcht to the church with proceſſion of the biſhops and monks, and comming before the high altar, where the pauement was couered with rich clothes of tapiſtrie, he there kneeled downe and made his praiers, whileſt two biſhops ſong the Letanie, which being finiſhed, the king was brought to his ſeat, the quére ſinging an antheme, beginning, *Firmetur manus tua.*

That done, there was a ſermon preached by a biſhop touching the dutie of a king, how he ought to behaue himſelfe towards the people, and how the people ought to be obedient vnto him. The ſermon being ended, the king receiued his oth before the archbiſhop and nobles: which done, the archbiſhop hauing the lord Henrie Percie lord marſhall going before him, turned him to euerie quarter of the church, declaring to the people the kings oth, and demanding of them, if they would ſubmit themſelues vnto ſuch a prince & gouernor, and obeie his commandements: and when the people with a lowd voice had anſwered that they would obeie him, the archbiſhop vſing certeine praiers, bleſſed the king; which ended, the archbiſhop came vnto him, and tearing his garments from the higheſt part to the loweſt, ſtriped him to his ſhirt. Then was brought by earles, a certeine couerture of cloth of gold, vnder the which he remained, whileſt he was annointed.

The archbiſhop (as we haue ſaid) hauing ſtriped him, firſt annointed his hands, then his head, breſt, ſhoulders, and the ioints of his armes with the ſacred oile, ſaieng certeine praiers, and in the meane time did the quére ſing the antheme, beginning, *Vnxerunt regem Salomonem, &c.* And the archbiſhop added another praier, *Deus Dei filius, &c.* Which ended, he and the other biſhops ſong the hymne, *Veni creator ſpiritus*, the king kneeling in a long veſture, & the archbiſhop with his ſuffraganes about him. When the hymne was ended, he was lift vp by the archbiſhop, and clad firſt with the coate of ſaint Edward, and after with his mantell,

mantell, a ſcoale being caſt about his necke, the archbiſhop in the meane time ſaieng certeine prayers appointed for the purpoſe. After this, the archbiſhop and biſhops deliuered to him the ſword, ſaieng, *Accipe gladium, &c.*

When that prayer was ended, two earles girded him with the ſword, which done, the archbiſhop gaue to him bracelets, ſaieng, *Accipe armillas, &c.* After this, the archbiſhop did put vpon him an vppermoſt veſture, called a pall, ſaieng, *Accipe pallium, &c.* In the meane time, whileſt the archbiſhop bleſſed the kings crowne, he to whoſe office it apperteined, did put ſpurs on his heeles. After the crowne was bleſſed, the archbiſhop ſet it on his head, ſaieng, *Coronet te Deus, &c.* Then did the archbiſhop deliuer to him a ring, with theſe words, *Accipe annulum, &c.* Immediatlie herewith came the lord Furniuall by vertue of his office, offering to him a red gloue, which the archbiſhop bleſſed, and putting it on his hand, gaue to him the ſcepter, with theſe words, *Accipe ſceptrum, &c.* Then did the archbiſhop deliuer to him in his other hand a rod, in the top whereof ſtood a doue, with theſe words, *Accipe virgam virtutis, &c.* After this the archbiſhop bleſſed the king, ſaieng, *Benedicat de Deus, &c.*

Theſe things done, the king kiſſed the biſhops and abbats, by whome he was lead afterwards vnto his ſeat, the biſhops beginning to ſing (*Te deum*) which ended, the archbiſhop ſaid to him, *Sta & retine amodò locum, &c.* When theſe things were finiſhed, they began maſſe, the biſhop of Worceſter read the epiſtle, and the biſhop of Elie the goſpell. At the offertorie, the king roſe from his ſeat, and was brought to offer. He therfore offered firſt his ſword, and after ſo much gold as he would, but no leſſe than a marke, by reaſon of the cuſtome; for more he might offer to God and S. Peter, but leſſe he could not. After this, he offered bread and wine, with which he and the archbiſhop did after communicate. This done, the earle, to whome it apperteined to beare the ſword before the king, redéemed the ſword which the king had offered with monie, and receiuing the ſame, bare it afore the king. When maſſe ſhould be ſong, the king was brought againe to the altar, & there kneeling downe, and ſaieng *Confiteor* to the archbiſhop, did communicate, and ſo was brought backe to his ſeat. The wardens of the cinque ports by their office, as well in time of the proceſſion, as when he was annointed alſo at maſſe time, and as he returned from the church to the palace to dinner, held ouer him a large canopie of blew veluet, faſtened vnto foure ſtaues at the foure corners.

In the meane time, ſir John Dimmocke that claimed to be the kings champion, had béen at the kings armorie and ſtable, where he had choſen according to his tenure, the beſt armour ſaue one, and the beſt ſtéed ſaue one: albeit, ſir Baldwine Freuill claimed the ſame office, but could not obteine it; ſo that the ſaid ſir John Dimmocke hauing armed himſelfe, and being mounted on horſſebacke, came to the abbeie gates, with two riding before him, the one carrieng his ſpeare, and the other his ſhield, ſtaieng there till maſſe ſhould be ended. But the lord Henrie Percie lord marſhall, appointed to make waie before the king with the duke of Lancaſter lord Steward, the lord Thomas of Woodſtoke lord conſtable, and the lord marſhals brother ſir Thomas Percie, being all mounted on great horſſes, came to the knight, and told him, that he ought not to come at that time, but when the king was at dinner, and therefore it ſhould be good for him to vnarme himſelfe for a while, and take his eaſe and reſt, till the appointed time were come.

The knight did as the lord marſhall willed him, and ſo after his departure, the king hauing thoſe lords riding afore him, was borne on knights ſhoulders vnto his palace, and ſo had to his chamber, where he reſted a while, being ſomewhat faint with trauell, and toke a ſmall refection. After this, comming into the hall, he created foure new earles, before he ſat downe to meat; to wit, his vncle the lord Thomas de Woodſtoke earle of Buckingham, to whome he gaue a thouſand marks a yeare out of his treaſurie, till he prouided him of lands to the like value. The lord Gutſhard de Engoleſme, that had béene his tutor, was created earle of Huntington, to whome he gaue likewiſe a thouſand marks annuitie, till he were prouided of lands of like value. The lord Mowbraie was created earle of Nottingham, and the lord Henrie Percie earle of Northumberland. He made alſo nine knights the ſame daie.

To ſhew what roiall ſeruice was at this feaſt, it paſſeth our vnderſtanding to deſcribe: but to conclude, the fare was excéeding ſumptuous, and the furniture princelie in all things, that if the ſame ſhould be rehearſed, the reader would perhaps doubt of the truth therof. ¶ In the midſt of the kings palace was a marble piller raiſed hollow vpon ſteps, on the top whereof was a great gilt eagle placed, vnder whoſe feet in the chapiter of the piller, diuers kinds of wine came guſhing forth at foure ſeuerall places all the daie long, neither was anie forbidden to receiue the ſame, were he neuer ſo poore or abiect. On the morrow after the coronation, there was a generall proceſſion of the archbiſhop, biſhop, and abbats then preſent, with the lords, and a great multitude of people, to praie for the king and the peace of the kingdome.

At the going forth of this proceſſion, the biſhop of Rocheſter preached, exhorting them, that the diſſentions and diſcords which had long continued betwixt the people and their ſuperiours, might be appeaſed and forgotten, prouing by manie arguments, that the ſame highlie diſpleaſed God. He admoniſhed the lords, not to be ſo extreme and hard towards the people. On the other part, he exhorted the people in neceſſarie cauſes, for the aid of the king and realme, chéerefullie, and without grudging, to put to their helping hands, according to their bounden duties. He further exhorted thoſe in generall that were appointed to be about the king, that they ſhould forſake vice, and ſtudie to liue in cleanneſſe of life and vertue. For if by their example the king were trained to goodneſſe, all ſhould be well; but if he declined through their ſufferance from the right waie, the people and kingdome were like to fall in danger to periſh. After the ſermon and proceſſion were ended, the lords and prelats went to their lodgings.

But now, bicauſe the Engliſhmen ſhould haue their ioies mingled with ſome ſorrowes, it chanced that the Frenchmen (which about the ſame time that the kings grandfather departed this life, were waſting on the ſeas) within ſir or ſeauen daies after his deceaſſe, burnt the towne of Rie. Whereupon, immediatlie after the coronation, the earles of Cambridge and Buckingham were ſent with a power vnto Douer, and the earle of Saliſburie vnto Southampton: but in the meane time, to wit, the one and twentith of Auguſt, the Frenchmen entring the Ile of Wight, burnt diuerſe townes in the ſame. And though they were repelled from the caſtell, by the valiant manhood of ſir Hugh Tirrell capteine thereof, who laid no ſmall number of them on the ground; yet they conſtreined the men of the Ile to giue them a thouſand marks of ſiluer to ſaue the reſidue of their houſes and goods, and ſo they departed from thence, ſailing ſtill along the coſts, and where they ſaw aduantage, ſet on land, burning ſundrie townes néere to the ſhore, as Portſmouth, Dartmouth, and Plimmouth.

Froiſſard. Rie burnt by ỹ Frenchmen

Tho. Walſ. The Frenchmen ſpoile the Ile of Wight. Sir Hugh Tirrell.

Froiſſard. Tho. Walſ. Portſmouth, Dartmouth, & Plimmouth, burnt by the French.

They made countenance also to haue set on Southhampton, if sir John Arundell, brother to the earle of Arundell had not bene readie there with a number of men of armes and archers, by whom the towne was defended, and the enimies chased to their ships.

Hastings burnt.

From thence the Frenchmen departed, and sailing towards Douer, burnt Hastings; but Winchelsie they could not win, being valiantlie defended by the abbat of Battell, and others. After this, they landed one day not far from the abbeie of Lewes, at a place called Rottington, where the prior of Lewes, and two knights, the one named sir Thomas Cheinie, and the other sir John Falleslie, hauing assembled a number of the countrie people, incountred the Frenchmen, but were ouerthrowen; so that there were slaine about an hundred Englishmen; and the prior, with the two knights, and an esquier called John Brokas, were taken prisoners, but yet the Frenchmen lost a great number of their owne men at this conflict, and so with their prisoners retired to their ships and gallies, and after returned into France.

An ouerthrow giuen by the French to the Englishmen.

Polydor.

But now touching the doings about the new K. You shall vnderstand, that by reason of his yong yeares, as yet he was not able to gouerne himselfe, and therefore John duke of Lancaster, and Edmund earle of Cambridge, with other peeres of the realme, were appointed to haue the administration. He was of good disposition and towardnesse, but his age being readie to incline which way soeuer a man should bend it, those that were appointed to haue the gouernement of his person, did what late in them now at the first, to keepe him from all maner of light demeanor. But afterwards, when euerie one began to studie more for his owne priuate commoditie, than for the aduancement of the common-wealth, they set open the gates to other, which being readie to corrupt his good nature, by little and little grew familiar with him, and dimming the brightnesse of true honour, with the counterfeit shine of the contrarie, so maskered his vnderstanding, that in the end they brought him to trace the steps of lewd demeanor, and so were causers both of his and their owne destruction. This seemeth to be touched by C. Okland, who speaking of the death of the old king and the erection of the new, saith of him according to our annales, as followeth:

The duke of Lancaster & the earle of Cambridge appointed protectors.

In Angl. prel.

Vndecimum puer hic nondum transegerat annum,
Cùm iuuenile caput gessit diademate cinctum.
Qui postquam princeps iustis adoleuerat annis,
Dicere non facile est quantum distaret auitis
Moribus atque animo, fuit hic quàm disparemente,
Dissimili ingenio claræ matrique patrique.

The Frenchmen not ignorant of such mischéefes as were like to grow in England, suffered no time to passe, but toke occasions of aduantage when they were offered. ¶ Among other enterprises I find, that shortlie after the decease of king Edward, the duke of Burgognie wan Arde, and two or three other fortresses in those marches. The Scots this yeare also wan the castell of Berwike by stealth one morning, but shortlie vpon knowledge had, the earles of Northumberland and Notingham, the lords Neuill, Lucie, Graistoke, & Stafford, with other lords, knights, and esquiers, came with their powers in all hast thither, and entring the towne, besieged the castell, and finallie, assaulting them that kept it, wan it of them by force, and slue all those Scotishmen which they found within it, except Alexander Ramsie their capteine. When the Englishmen had thus recouered the castell, they entered into Scotland, in hope to find the Scots, and to fight with them whom they knew to be assembled.

Froissard.

Berwike castell wone by the Scots.

Berwike castell recouered by the Englishmen.

The English host was three thousand men of armes, & seuen thousand archers, but they sent forth sir Thomas Pulgraue with three hundred speares, and three hundred archers, to Meuros, to trie if he might vnderstand any thing of the Scots in those parts, with whom the earle Dowglas, hauing with him seuen hundred speares, and two thousand of other called yomen with glaiues and other weapons, incountered by chance and distressed him & his companie. Sir Thomas Pulgraue himselfe, and sir Score other, were taken prisoners, besides those that were slaine, the residue escaped by flight, making the best shift they could for themselues. The lord Neuill, sir Thomas Triuet, sir William Scrope, and diuerse other valiant capteins of England, were sent into Gascoigne this yeare, which first landed at Burdeaux, on the euen of the Natiuitie of our ladie, where after they had rested them a while, they went and raised the siege, which the Frenchmen had held before Mortaigne in Poictou a long time before.

An ouerthrow giuen by the Scots to the Englishmen.

The siege of Mortaigne raised.

Gouernour of this siege at the first, was Puan or Owen of Wales, but he was murthered one morning as he sat alone viewing the castell, and combing his head, by one of his owne countriemen, which vnder colour to serue him, was become with him verie familiar. This Owen or Puan whether ye will (for all is one) was sonne to a noble man of Wales, whom K. Edward had put to death for some offense by him committed, where this Puan got him into France, being as then verie yong, and was brought vp in the French court, and proued an expert man of warre, so that great lamentation was made for his death by the Frenchmen. But the Englishmen, although they misliked the maner of his death, yet they were not greatlie sorrowfull for the chance, sith they were rid thereby of an extreame enimie.

After that the Englishmen had raised the Frenchmen from the siege of Mortaigne, they returned to Burdeaux, and after recouered sundrie castels and fortresses in the marches of Burdelois, and about Baionne. Also they aided the king of Nauarre, against the king of Castile, and made a road into the confines of Castile. But shortlie after, a peace was concluded betwixt those two kings, so that the lord Charles of Nauarre should marrie the daughter of the king of Castile vpon certeine conditions: and so the Englishmen had their wages trulie paid them to their full contentation, and thereupon returned.

About Michaelmasse began a parlement that was summoned at Westminster, which continued till the feast of saint Andrew. In this parlement the foresaid sir Peter de la Mere and other the knights that had bene so earnest against dame Alice Peres in the last parlement holden by king Edward the third, so prosecuted the same cause now in this parlement, that the said dame Alice Peres was banished the realme, and all hir goods moueable and vnmoueable forfeited to the king, bicause contrarie to that she had promised by oth in the said last parlement, she had presumed to come within the court, and to obteine of the king what soeuer was to hir liking.

A parlement. Thom. Walf.

There were two tenths granted by the clergie to the king in this parlement, and two fifteenes of the temporaltie, to be paid the same yeare; and two citizens of London, William Walworth, and John Philpot were appointed to haue the keeping of that monie, to the end it might be imploied to the kings necessarie vses, for the defense of the realme. Sir Hugh Caluerlie being deputie of Calis, comming one morning to Bullongne, burnt certeine ships which late there in the hauen, to the number of six and twentie, besides two proper barkes, being vessels of no small accompt: and hauing spoiled and burnt the most part of the base towne, he returned to Calis with a great rich botie of goods and cattell.

Two citizens of London appointed to keepe the subsidie granted by parlement.

Sir Hugh Caluerlie a valiant capteine.

Also, where the castell of Marke, in absence of the capteine

captaine sir Robert de Salle, that was gone ouer into England, was lost through negligence of them that were left in charge within it; the same sir Hugh Caluerlie made such speed in the matter, that he recouered it againe the same daie it was lost, by force of assault, taking the Frenchmen prisoners that were gotten into it, and hanging certeine Picards stipendarie soldiers in the said castell, vnder the said sir Robert de Salle, for that whilest the Englishmen were gone forth, to see the shooting of a match which they had made amongst themselues, a little off from the castell, those Picards being left within, shut the gates against them, and receiued in the Frenchmen, with whome they had practised in treason, keeping the Englishmen forth, to whome the safe keeping of that castell was committed.

Marke castell recouered by sir Hugh Caluerlie, the same daie it was lost.

1378

This yeare was a bull sent from the pope vnto the vniuersitie of Oxenford, to apprehend John Wicklike, parson of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, within the diocesse of Lincolne. Also, there were other bulles to the same effect, sent vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, and to the bishop of London. Likewise to the king were letters directed from the pope, to require his fauour against the said Wickliffe, so greeuouslie was the pope incensed against him, and not without cause, for if his conclusions in doctrine toke effect, he well perceiued his papisticall authoritie would shortlie decaie. As for the popish cleargie, to them not onelie the sect but also the name of Wickliffe was so odious, that in recording his opinions and sectaries, they exceed the bounds of all modestie, aggrauating such reports as they infer concerning him or his with more than hyperbolicall lies: as appeareth by that long and tedious discourse which he wrote, that compiling certeine annales intituled *De euentibus Angliæ*, prefixeth this verse in the front of his volume, in letters of red vermilon, as desiring to haue his name notoriouslie knowne to the world;

John Wicklike.

Autoris nomen capitales litteræ pandunt:

Hen. de Knighton canon. abbat. Leicest. in annal. lib. de Rich. secundo.

He (I say) in that copious treatise hauing spoken as maliciouslie & viperouslie as he might both of Wickliffes life, which he concludeth to be lewd; of his opinions, which he auoucheth to be hereticall; and of his fauourers and followers, to whom (at his pleasure) he giueth vnreuerent epithets (all which to prosecute at length, as by him they are in ample sort laid downe, would but detect the mans malignitie, and procure an ouerthrow of credit to be attributed vnto his declarations) he maketh vp his mouth with a tristichon of poeticall imitation, to bring Wickliffe and his adherents into perpetuall obloquie and defamation, saieng as followeth in verse and prose;

Si totum membrana solum, calamus nemus omne,
Et Thetis encaustum, scriptor & omnis homo,
Istorum facinus scribere non poterunt.
Maledictus conuentus eorum, quoniam pertinax, propterea Deus destruat eos, in finem euellat, & emigrare faciat de tabernaculis fidelium suorum, & radicem eorum de terra regni; & hoc videant iusti, & lætentur; vt dicere possint; Ecce populus qui se exaltauit super electos doctores Domini, & sperauit in multitudine vanitatis suæ: confundantur & pereant cum doctrina eorum in æternum, &c.

But of Wickliffes life and doctrine to read at large, I remit the reader to the acts and monuments of the church, published by maister Iohn Fox: and now will we returne to matters of state and policie. There went forth this yeare a verie great nauie of ships to the sea, vnder the guiding of the earle of Buckingham, the duke of Britaine, the lord Latimer, the lord Fitz Walter, sir Robert Knolles, and other valiant capteins, meaning to haue intercepted the Spanish fleet that was gone to Sluse in Flanders, but thorough rage of tempest, and contrarie winds, they were driuen home, although twise they attempted their fortune: but sir Hugh Caluerlie, deputie of Calis, slept not his businesse, doing still what displeasures he could to the Frenchmen. Shortlie after Christmasse, he spoiled the towne of Estaples the same daie the faire was kept there, to which a great number of merchants of Bullongne were come to make their markets, but the sellers had quicke vtterance, for that that might easilie be caried awaie, the Englishmen laid hands on, and caused the owners to redeeme the residue with great sums of monie, which they vndertoke to paie; or else sir Hugh threatned to haue burnt all that was left, togither with the houses.

The nauie setteth forth, and is beaten backe by tempest.

Exploits done by sir Hugh Caluerlie.

We haue heard, how at the first the duke of Lancaster was one of the cheefe about the yong king in gouernement of his person and realme, who prudentlie considering, that sith there must needs be an alteration in the state, & doubting least if any thing chanced otherwise than well, the fault and blame might be cheefelie imputed to him, and thanks (howsoeuer things went) he look'd for none, he gaue therefore the slip, obteining licence of the king to depart, and so got him home to his castell of Killingworth, permitting other to haue the whole swaie: for before his departure from the court, there were with his consent ordeined such as should be attending on the kings person, and haue the rule and ordering of matters perteining to the state, as William Courtnie, then bishop of London (though shortlie after remoued to the archbishops see of Canturburie) Edmund Mortimer earle of March, & diuerse other, of whome the people had conceiued a good opinion: but yet bicause the bishop of Salisburie, and the lord Latimer were admitted amongst the residue, the commons murmured greatlie against them.

The duke of Lancaster misliking the maners of the court, getteth himselfe home to ỹ castell of Killingworth

The earle of Northumberland resigned his office of lord marshall, in whose place succeeded sir John Arundell, brother vnto the earle of Arundell. ¶ The duke of Lancaster, although retired from the court, yet desirous to haue the monie in his hands that was granted the last parlement, at length obteined it, vpon promise to defend the realme from inuasion of all enimies for one yeares space: he therefore prouided a great nauie to go to the sea, hiring nine ships of Baionne, to assist his enterprise herein, the which in making saile hitherwards, incountred with the Spanish fleet, and toke foureteene vessels laden with wines and other merchandize. But in the meane time, one Mercer a Scotishman, with certeine saile of Scots, Frenchmen, and Spaniards, came to Scarburgh, and there toke certeine ships, and led them awaie to the sea, as it were in reuenge of his fathers imprisonment, named John Mercer, who before being caught by certeine ships of the north parts, and deliuered to the earle of Northumberland, was committed to prison within the castell of Scarburgh.

John Philpot Alderman of London setteth forth a fleet at his own charges, to recouer certeine English ships taken by the Scots.

John Philpot that worshipfull citizen of London, lamenting the negligence of them that should haue prouided against such inconueniences, made forth a fleet at his owne charges, stronglie furnished with men of warre and munition necessarie: the men of warre meeting with the same Mercer, accompanied with his owne ships, and fifteene other Spaniards that were newlie ioined with him, set vpon them, and so valiantlie behaued themselues, that they toke the said Mercer with all them that were then in his companie, so recouering againe the ships that were taken from Scarburgh, besides great riches which were found aboord, as well in the fifteene Spanish ships, as the other that were of the old retinue, belonging to the same Mercer. John Philpot was afterwards blamed of the lords, for presuming thus far, as to set forth a nauie of men of warre, without the

the aduise of the kings councell: but he made his answer in such wise vnto the earle of Stafford, and others that laid the fault to his charge, that he was permitted to depart, without further trouble for that matter.

Before all such prouision as the duke of Lancaster prepared for his iournie to the sea could be readie, the earles of Salisburie and Arundell sailed ouer into Normandie, where, by such composition as was taken betwixt the king of England and the king of Nauarre, who of new was become enimie to the French king, the towne of Chierburg was deliuered vnto the said earles, who sending knowledge thereof backe into England, there were sent ouer such as should haue in charge the keeping of that towne; and so the two earles returned. ¶ We find, that the king of Nauarre, hauing beene heere in England with the king and his councell, had agreed with the king for a certeine yearelie rent, to demise vnto him the said fortresse of Chierburg, whereby the Englishmen might haue free entrie into Normandie, when they would, as well to aid the king of Nauarre in his necessitie, as to worke anie enterprise that should be thought expedient to the aduantage of the king of England as occasion serued. But the obteining of possession of Chierburg brought not so much ioy to the English nation, as the mishap that happened at the going forth of the said earles did cause lamentation and heauinesse.

Chierburg deliuered to the Englishmen.

Additions to Adam Merimuth.

For vpon the first entring into the sea, it fortuned that sir Philip, and sir Peter Courtenie, discouered a certeine number of ships that were enimies, and vndiscreetlie entered amongst them, there suddenlie came vpon them the Spanish fleet, so that the English ships that were in companie with the said Philip and sir Peter, were not able to make their partie good, in somuch that finallie after that sir Philip had lost diuerse of his men that were there slaine, he got awaie by flight himselfe, though greeuouslie wounded, but sir Peter was taken prisoner with a fewe other knights that were with him; and the most part of all the valiant esquiers of Summersetshire & Deuonshire, being there abroad with him, were slaine and drowned, which was estéemed no small losse to the whole common-wealth.

The English nauie is ouermatched and ouercome by the Spanish fleet.

Thus were the Englishmen occupied in this first yeare of king Richard with troubles of warre, and not onelie against the Frenchmen, but also against the Scots. For euen in the beginning of the same yeare, the Scots burnt Rokesburgh, in reuenge whereof the new earle of Northumberland entered Scotland with ten thousand men, and sore spoiled the lands of the earle of March for the space of three daies togither; bicause the said earle of March was the chéefe author and procurer of the burning of Rokesburgh, & so for that time th' Englishmen were well reuenged of those enimies. But at an other time, when the Northerne men would néeds make a road into Scotland, entring by the west borders, they were incountered by the Scots and put to flight, so that manie of them being slaine, the Scots toke the more courage to inuade the borders, till at length, Edmund Mortimer earle of March came at the daie of truce, and toke an abstinence of warre betwixt both nations for the time, though the same continued not long.

Rokesburgh burnt by the Scots.

Anon after Midsummer, the duke of Lancaster with a strong power toke the sea, and landing in Britaine, besieged the towne of saint Mallo de Lisle, a fortresse of great importance. There went ouer with him the earles of Buckingham, Warwike, Stafford, and diuerse other of the English nobilitie, the which made their approches, and fiercelie assailed the towne, but it was so valiantlie defended, that in the end, the duke with his armie raised from thence, and returned without atchiuing his purpose. ¶ About the same time, there was a notable and hainous murther committed within saint Peters church at Westminster, by occasion of variance betweene the lord Latimer and sir Rafe Ferrers on the one partie, and two esquiers, the one called Robert Hall and the other John Shakell on the other partie, about a prisoner which was taken at the battell of Nazers in Spaine, called the earle of Deane, who (as some write) was taken by one sir Franke de Hall at the said battell; and bicause he remained in his hands at the death of the said sir Franke, he bequeathed him vnto his sonne the said Robert Hall esquier.

Hall & Shakerlie hath Grafton.

Polydor.

But as other write, the said earle was taken by the said Robert Hall himselfe & John Shakell iointlie, and iudged to be their lawfull prisoner, by the sentence of the prince of Wales, and sir John Chandois that was master to the said esquiers. Whereupon afterwards the said earle obteined so much fauor, that by leauing his sonne and heire in gage for his ransome, he returned into Spaine, to prouide monie to discharge it; but he was so slow in that matter, after he was at libertie, that he departed this life before he made any paiment, and so his lands fell to his sonne that remained in gage for the monie with the two esquiers. Whereupon it happened afterwards, that the duke of Lancaster, desirous to haue the yong earle in his hands (in hope through his meanes the better to accomplish his enterprise which he meant to take in hand against the king of Castile, for the right of that kingdome) procured his nephue king Richard to require the said earle of Deane, at the hands of the said esquiers.

Thom. Walf.

Anno Reg. 2. The duke of Lancaster saileth into Britaine with a great power. Additions to Adam Merimuth.

But they refused to deliuer him, keeping their prisoner forth of the waie, so that none will were he was become: the esquiers therefore were committed to the tower, out of the which they escaped vnto Westminster, and there registred themselues for sanctuarie men. The duke of Lancaster was herewith sore offended, and their enimies the said lord Latimer and sir Rafe Ferrers toke counsell togither, with sir Alane Borhull and others, how they might be reuenged of this despite. This sir Alane Borhull was constable of the tower, and therefore it greeued him not a little, that the esquiers had broken from him, and kept themselues thus at Westminster, vnder protection of that priuileged place. Herevpon it was concluded, that sir Rafe Ferrers, and the said Alane Borhull, taking with them certeine men in armour, to the number of fiftie persons, should go and fetch them by force from Westminster, vnto the tower againe.

The morrow therefore after saint Laurence daie, being the eleuenth of August, these two knights accompanied with certeine of the kings seruants and other, to the number afore mentioned, came into the church at Westminster, whilest the said esquiers were there hearing of high masse, which was then in celebrating; and first laieng hands vpon John Shakell, vsed the matter so with him, that they drew him forth of the church, and led him streight to the tower. But when they came to Robert Hall, and fell in reasoning with him, he would not suffer them to come within his reach, and perceiuing they meant to take him by force, he drew out a falcheon or short sword which he had girt to him, and therewith laid so freelie about him, trauersing twise round about the monks quier, that till they had beset him on ech side, they could do him no hurt.

The pope inciteth to the king for aid.

Newdike castell burnt by the Scots.

Howbeit, at length when they had got him at that aduantage, one of them clone his head to the verie braines, and an other thrust him through the bodie behind with a sword, and so they murthered him among them,

A cruell murther in westminster church.

them. They slue also one of the monkes that would haue had them to haue saued the esquiers life. Much adw was about this matter, for the breaking thus of the sanctuarie, in somuch that the archbishop of Canturburie, and fiue other bishops his suffragans, openlie pronounced all them that were present at this murder accursed, and likewise all such as aided or counselled them to it, chiefflie and namelie sir Alane Borhull, and sir Rafe Ferrers, capteins and leaders of them. The king, the quæne, and the duke of Lancaster were yet excepted by speciall names. The bishop of London a long time after, euerie sundaie, wednesdaie, and fridaie, pronounced this excommunication in the church of S. Paule at London.

The duke of Lancaster (though excepted in the same) yet in behalfe of his frends was not a little offended with the bishops doings, in so much that in a councell holden at Windsore (to the which the bishop of London was called, but would not come, nor yet ceasse the pronouncing of the cursse, albeit the king had requested him by his letters) the duke said openlie, that the bishops froward dealings were not to be borne with, but (saith he) if the king would command me, I would gladlie go to London, and fetch that disobedient prelat, in despite of those ribaulds (for so he termed them) the Londoners. These words procured the duke much euill will, as well of the Londoners, as of other: for it was commonlie said, that whatsoeuer had bæne done at Westminster, concerning the murther there committed in the church, was done by his commandement.

A parlement at Glocester.

About the feast of S. Luke, a parlement was holden at Glocester, for the displeasure (as was thought) which some of the councell had conceiued against the Londoners, or rather (as some toke it) for feare of them, least if any thing were done contrarie to their minds, they should be about to hinder it, if the parlement had bæne kept nære them: for manie things (as some iudged) were meant to haue bæne put forth and concluded in this parlement, albeit few in effect came to passe of those matters that were surmised, sauing that it was inacted, that the king should haue a marke of the merchants for euerie sacke of their wolles, for this present yeare; and for euerie pounds worth of wares that was brought in from beyond the seas, and here sold, six pence of the buiers. ¶ Also, certeine priuileges were granted in this parlement to merchant-strangers, that they might buie and sell in grosse, or by retaile within this realme, as in the printed booke of statutes it appeareth.

The pope sendeth to the king for aid.

This yeare came messengers from the new elected pope Urbane, with letters to require the kings assistance and aid against such cardinals as he named schismatikes, that had elected an other pope whome they named Clement, which cardinals sent likewise their messengers with letters, to beseech the king to aid them with his fauourable assistance: but through persuasion of the archbishop of Canturburie, Urbans request was granted, and Clements reiected.

Berwike castell wone by the Scots.

About the same time, to wit, on thursdaie before the feast of S. Andrew th'apostle, the Scots by stelth entred by night into the castell of Berwike, and slue sir Robert Bointon, a right valiant knight, that was constable thereof, permitting his wife, children, and seruants to depart, with condition, that within three wækes next insuing, they should either paie them three thousand marks, or else yæld their bodies againe to prison.

The morrow after, the same Scots fetched a great bootie of cattell out of the countries next adioining, but immediatlie after the earle of Northumberland being aduertised hereof, hasted thither with foure hundred armed men, and assaulting the castell on each side, after two houres defense, wan it, slaieng of the defendants about eight and forie, reseruing onelie one of the whole number alue, that he might informe the Englishmen thoroughlie of the Scotishmens purposes. At this enterprise was the earle of Northumberlands eldest sonne, spreading there first his banner, and doing so valiantlie, that he deserued singular commendation; as likewise did sir Alane de Heton, and sir Thomas de Ilderton, with those of the surname of the Herons, euerie of these hauing their quarters assigned to assault. Thus was the castell recouered the ninth daie after the Scots had entered the same, so that they enioied not long that victorious exploit.

Alexander Ramsie was onlie saued as Froissard saith

Berwike castell recouered by the earle of Northumberland.

And bicause this enterprise was taken in hand against the couenant of the truce, the earle of Northumberland, before he attempted to recouer the castell, sent to the earle of March in Scotland, to vnderstand if he would auow that which his countrimen had done, touching the winning of that castell, who sent him knowledge againe, that he neither vnderstood of their enterprise, nor would be partaker with them therein: but if it so pleased the earle of Northumberland, he would come himselfe, and helpe to recouer it to the K. of Englands vse, out of those Scotishmens hands, which without publike authoritie had made that exploit. This yeare, sir Robert Rous, capteine of Chierburg, was called home, after he had taken sir Oliuer de Clisson, and atchiued manie other worthie aduentures against the kings enimies. In his place was sent sir John Herleston, to remaine vpon the gard of that castell. Also, sir Hugh Caluerlie, deputie of Calis, that had so valiantlie borne himselfe against the Frenchmen, was likewise discharged; and comming home, was made admerall, being ioined in commission in that office with sir Thomas Percie.

Sir Robert Rous a baltat capteine.

1370

Sir William Montacute earle of Salisburie was sent ouer to Calis, to be the kings lieutenant there, who shortlie after his comming thither fetcht a great bootie of cattell out of the enimies countrie adioining, so that Calis was furnished with no small number of the same. ¶ Sir Hugh Caluerlie, and sir Thomas Percie, going to sea, toke seauen ships laden with merchandize, and one ship of warre. ¶ The archbishop of Cassils in Ireland, returning from Rome, brought with him large authoritie of binding and losing, granted to him by pope Urbane, in fauour of whome at his comming to London, in a sermon which he preached, he declared to the people, how the French king, holding with the antipape Clement, was denounced accursed; and therefore now was the time for Englishmen to make warre in France, hauing such occasion, as greater could not be offered; speciallie, sith it was like that the excommunicated king should haue no courage to make resistance. This is I will not saie the diuinitie (for what heauenlinesse can there be in such damnable doctrine, to set people together by the eares?) of the Romanists; so farre off are they from the studie of peace and concord betwixt man and man, that they set whole monarchies and empires vp to the mid leg in streams of blood, imitating their great grandfather Sathan, who hath bæne a makebate and a murtherer from the beginning: renouncing the footsteps of Christ with open mouth, and forswering to follow him either in demeanour or doctrine, and therefore;

Quis nisi mentis inops, vt sanctum tale probabit?
Hæccine mens Christi? Talia nulla docet.

The sanctuarie at westminster confirmed by parlement.

In a parlement holden at Westminster this yeare after Easter, it was ordeined, that the priuileges and immunities of the abbeie of Westminster should remaine whole and inuiolate; but yet there was a prouiso against those that toke sanctuarie, with purpose to defraud their creditors, that their lands

lands & goods ſhuld be anſwerable to the diſcharging of their debts. In the ſame parlement was granted to the king a ſubſidie, to be leuied of the great men of the land. To the end the commons might be ſpared, the dukes of Lancaſter and Britaine paid twentie markes, euerie earle ſir marks, biſhops and abbats with miters as much, and euerie monke three ſhillings foure pence: alſo, euery iuſtice, ſhiriffe, knight, eſquier, parſon, vicar, and chapleine, were charged after a certeine rate, but not any of the commons that were of the laitie.

A ſubſidie to be paid by the great men, & the commons not.

Ye haue heard how ſir John Harleſton was ſent to Chierburg as capteine of that fortreſſe, who iſſuing abroad on a day, with ſuch power as he might take forth, leauing the fortreſſe furniſhed, came to a place, where within a church and in a mill, the Frenchmen had laid vp, as in ſtorehouſes, a great quantitie of vittels, for prouiſion; which church and mill the Engliſhmen aſſaulted ſo valiantlie, that notwithſtanding there were within a good number of the enimies, that did their beſt to defend themſelues, yet at length they were taken, and ſir John Harleſton with his companie, returned with the vittels towards Chierburg, but by the way they were incountred by one ſir William de Bourds, whome the French king had appointed to lie in Pountburg with a ſtrong power of men of war, to countergariſon Chierburg.

Anno Reg. 3. A notable exploit done by ſir John Harleſton.

Herevpon inſued a ſore conflict, and manie an hardie man was beaten to the ground. And although it ſeemed that the Engliſhmen were ouermatched in number, yet they ſtucke to it manfullie. Their capteine ſir John Harleſton, fighting in the foremoſt preſſe, was felled, and laie on the ground at his enimies feet in great hazard of death. The Engliſhmen neuertheleſſe continued their fight, till at length ſir Geffrie Worſlie, with a wing of armed ſoldiers with axes, came to the reſcue (for to that end he was left behind, of purpoſe to come to their aid if need required) with whoſe comming the Frenchmen were ſo hardlie handled, that to conclude, they were broken inſunder, beaten downe and wholie vanquiſhed: there were of them ſlaine aboue ſix ſcore, and as manie taken priſoners, among which number was their cheefe capteine ſir William de Bourdes taken, and brought to Chierburg with the reſidue, and there put in ſafe keeping. This exploit was atchiued by the Engliſhmen, on ſaint Martins day in winter, in this third yeare of king Richard his reigne.

A policie.

But leaſt any ioy ſhould come to the Engliſh people in that ſeaſon, without ſome mixture of greefe, one ſir J. Clearke a right valiant knight, & fellow in armes with ſir Hugh Caluerlie, chanced this yeare to lie in garriſon in a caſtell in Britaine, where was an hauen, & diuerſe Engliſh ſhips lieng in the ſame, whereof the French gallies being aduertiſed, came thither, to ſet thoſe ſhips on fire, appointing one of their gallies firſt to attempt the feat, and if fortune ſo would, to traine the Engliſhmen forth, till they ſhould fall into the laps of foure other gallies which they laid as it had beene in ambuſh. Now as the enimies wiſhed ſo it came to paſſe, for the Engliſhmen perceiuing their veſſels in danger to be burnt of the enimies, ran euerie man aboord to ſaue the ſhips and goods within them; and amongſt the reſt, ſir John Clearke their capteine, meaning to take ſuch part as his men did, got aboord alſo, and ſtreight falling in purſute of the gallie that withdrew for the purpoſe aforeſaid, the Engliſhmen were ſhortlie incloſed with the other gallies before they were aware, not knowing what ſhift to make to auoid the preſent danger.

Sir John Clearke a valiant capteine.

Sir John Clearke, perceiuing how the caſe ſtood, laid about him like a giant, cauſing his companie ſtill to draw backe againe, whileſt he reſiſting the enimies, did ſhew ſuch proofe of his valiancie, that they were much aſtoniſhed therewith. To be ſhort, he ſo manfullie behaued himſelfe, that the moſt part of his companie had time to recouer land; but when he that had thus preſerued others ſhuld leape forth of the ſhip to ſaue himſelfe, he was ſtriken in the thigh with an ax, that downe he fell, and ſo came into the enimies hands, being not able to recouer that hurt, for his thigh was almoſt quite cut off from the bodie, ſo that he died of that and other hurts preſentlie, leauing a remembrance behind him of manie worthie acts through his valiancie atchiued, to his high praiſe and great commendation. The barke of Porke was alſo loſt the ſame time, being a proper veſſell; and now taken ſuddenlie, ſanke with all that were aboord in hir, both Engliſhmen, and the enimies alſo that were entered into hir, thinking to carrie hir awaie.

About the ſame time the duke of Britaine returning into his countrie, vnder the conduct of ſir Thomas Percie and ſir Hugh Caluerlie, landed at a hauen not far from ſaint Malo, the fourth day of Auguſt, being receiued with vnſpeakeable ioy of the Britaines, as well lords as commons, ſo that the louing harts which they bare towards him, might well appeare, although the loue which he bare to the king of England had cauſed his ſubiects, in fauor of France, to keepe him manie yeares forth of his dukedome as a baniſhed prince, but at length, they being ouercome with irkeſomneſſe of his long abſence, with generall conſents ſent for him home, ſo that there were but few of the Britiſh nobilitie that withdrew their dutifull obedience from him, and thoſe were onlie ſuch as firmelie linked in ſeruice with the French king, were loth to forgo ſuch romes and dignities as vnder him they inioied; namelie, the conſtable of France, ſir Berthram de Cleaquin, the lord Cliſſon, the lord de Rohen, and the lord Rochfort, and certeine others.

The duke of Britaine reſtored to his dukedome.

The lord de la Vall amongſt other, came to him (as we find in Thomas Walſingham) offering him his ſeruice as well as the reſidue. At his landing, he was likelie to haue loſt all ſuch furniture, as well of vittels, apparell, hangings, bedding, armour, and other things, which either he or his traine had brought with them. For the French gallies eſpieng their time, immediatlie as he and his companie were ſet on land, before the ſhips in which the ſaid furniture was fraught, could enter the hauen, which was ſomewhat ſtreight and narrow, came vpon them, and had them at ſuch aduantage, that if ſir Hugh Caluerlie with his archers had not cauſed the maſter of his ſhip, euen againſt his will to returne againe to the reſcue, the gallies had taken and gone awaie with the other ſhips; but through the manfull prowes of ſir Hugh, the gallies were repelled, & the ſhips ſaued: for according to his wonted valiancie he would not returne, till he ſaw all other in ſafetie, & then defending himſelfe ſo well as he might, withdrew into the hauen, and landed ſafelie with the reſidue.

Sir Hugh Caluerlie.

About the ſame time was an hainous murther committed in London, of a merchant Genowes, whom certeine Engliſh merchants vpon ſpite and enuie, which they bare towards him, cauſed to be ſlaine one euening in the ſtreet before his own gates. The cauſe that moued the merchants ſo to procure his death was, for that he vndertooke to furniſh this land, hauing the ſtaple allowed him at Southhampton, of all ſuch wares as came forth of Leuant, ſo plentifullie as was to be had in any place in all the weſt parts of chriſtendome. In the ſummer of this yeare, a greeuous mortalitie afflicted the north parts of this land, ſo that the countrie became almoſt deſolate. And to the increaſe of that miſerie, the Scots thinking the time to ſerue their turne, innaded the borders, and moſt cruellie harried, robbed, and ſpoiled the

An hainous murther of a merchant ſtranger.

Great death in the north countrie.

Great ſpoile by the Scots in the death time.

the same, not letting passe any part, of most cruell murthering of the people that were left aliue, and not made awaie by that sore contagious sickenesse. The number of cattell was infinite which they droue out of the land with them, not sparing heards of swine which they toke at this time, where they neuer medled with that kind of cattell before that present.

Before the Scots made this iournie into England, whilest the mortalitie was most in force, they calling to certeine of the English borderers, asked of them how it came to passe, that so great a death reigned amongst them. The Englishmen, as good, plaine, and simple meaning men, told them, that trulie they knew not the cause, for Gods iudgements were hid from them in such behalfe. But one thing they knew, that all calamitie, death, and aduersitie that chanced vnto them, came by the speciall grace of God, to the end that being punished for their sinnes, they might learne to repent and amend their wicked liues. The Scots hearing this, when they should enter this land, vnderstanding lewdlie what the Englishmen had told them concerning the disease, and the grace of God, deuised a blessing forsooth to be said euerie morning, of the most ancient person in euerie familie, as; *Benedicite*, said he; *Dominus*, said the residue. Then began he againe, saieng; God and saint Mango, saint Romane and saint Andro, shield vs this daie fra Gods grace, and the fewle death that Englishmen dien vpon. Thus the senseless men misconstruing this word the grace of God, praied for their owne destruction, which if not in this world, yet for their brutish crueltie vsed at that present, against the miserable creatures, whom the hand of God had spared in time of that greeuous mortalitie, it is to be feared, least in another world it came to them, as the verie words of their praiers imported.

About the same time, John Schakell esquier was set at libertie, the king compounded with him for his prisoner, giuing fiue hundred marks in redie monie, and lands to the value of a hundred marks by yeare. When he should bring forth his prisoner, and deliuer him to the king, this is to be noted, as a thing verie strange and wonderfull. For when he should appeare, it was knowne to be the verie groome that had serued him in all the time of his trouble, and would neuer vtter himselfe what he was before that time, hauing serued him as an hired seruant all that while in prison, and out of prison, in danger of life, when his other maister was murthered, where, if he would haue vttered himselfe, he might haue bene entertained in such honorable state, as for a prisoner of his degree had bene requisit, so that the faithfull loue and assured constancie in this noble gentleman was highlie commended and praised, and no lesse maruelled at of all men.

A notable example of a faithfull prisoner.

About the feast of S. Nicholas, in this third yeare of king Richards reigne, there went to sea an armie of men, that should haue passed ouer into Britaine, to the aid of the duke there, vnder the conduct of sir John Arundell, sir Hugh Caluerlie, sir Thomas Percie, sir William Elmham, sir Thomas Morewes, sir Thomas Banester, & manie other knights and esquires, too long to rehearse, a sufficient power vndoubtedlie to haue done a great enterprise: but they were no sooner on the sea, but suddenlie there arose such an hideous tempest of wind and stormes, that they looked presentlie to be all cast awaie, they were scattered here and there, and driuen they wist not whither. The ship wherein sir John Arundell was aboord, chanced to be cast on the coast of Ireland, and there driuen to forsake his ship, that was readie to be broken in péces by rage of waues, beating it there against the rocks: he was drowned before he could win to land, in an Ile, neere to the which they had thrust in the ship.

The English nanie scattered by a terrible tempest.

To the like end came sir Thomas Banester, sir Nicholas Trumpington, and sir Thomas Dale, impeaching each others, as they leapt forth of the ship: also one Pusard an esquire, a most séemelie personage and a bold; and an other esquier named Denioke, being almost out of danger, were fetched awaie by the surges of the sea, and so perished, with manie other. Robert Rust a cunning seaman, belonging to Blacknie in Northfolke, & maister of the ship wherein sir John Arundell was imbarked, was the first that got to land, giuing example to others how to shift for themselues. But when he saw his chéefe captein, the said sir John Arundell got forth to the sands, and as one thinking himselfe past all danger, to shake his wet garments about him; the said Rust waieng the dangerous state wherein the said sir John Arundell yet stood, came downe, and raught to him his hand, inforsing himselfe to plucke him to the shore: but whilest he toke care for an other mans safetie, and neglected his owne, he lost his life, and so they both perished togither; for through a mightie billow of the raging seas, they were both ouerthrowne, and with returning of the waues backe, drawne into the deepe, so that they could neuer recouer foot-hold againe, but were drowned.

The said Rust was much lamented, because he was not onelie knowne to be a skilfull maister, but also counselled the said sir John Arundell in no wise to go to sea, at what time he would néeds set forward, forsing the said Rust and the marriners to hoist vp sailes and make awaie. They that scaped to land in that Ile, found nothing there to releeue their miseries, but bare ground, so that diuerse starued through cold, wanting fier and other succour: the residue that were lustie and wise withall, ran vp and downe, and sometime wrestling, and otherwise chafing themselues, remained there in great miserie, from the thursdaie, till sundaie at none next insuing. At what time, when the sea was appeased and waxen calme, the Irishmen that dwelled ouer against this Ile on the maine, came and fetched them thence, and releeued them the best they could, being almost dead, through trauell, hunger, and cold.

The excelle and sumptuous apparell, of sir John Arundell.

The said sir John Arundell lost not onelie his life, but all his furniture and apparell for his bodie, which was verie sumptuous, so that it was thought to surmount the apparell of any king. For he had two and fiftie new suites of apparell of cloth of gold or tissue, as was reported, all the which, togither with his horses & geldings, amounting to the value of ten thousand marks, was lost at the sea. And besides this, there were lost at the same time fiue and twentie ships, with men, horsses, and other riches, which attended him in that voiage. Yet sir Thomas Percie, and sir Hugh Caluerlie, with sir William Elmham, and certeine others escaped, but cruellie tormented with vnmercifull tempest: and before sir Thomas Percie could get to land, after the sea was quieted, he was assaulted by a Spaniard, against whome he so defended himselfe, that in the end he toke the Spanish vessell, and brought hir, with all that he found aboord in hir, vnto the next shore, and sold the same for an hundred pounds, and without long delaie, toke the sea, & passed ouer to Brest, of which fortresse he was capteine, iointlie with sir Hugh Caluerlie, and therefore doubting least some inconuenience might chance thereto now in both their absence, he made the more hast, not taking rest till he came thither, notwithstanding his passed painefull trauels. Sir Hugh Caluerlie was neuer in his life in more danger of death, than at that time: for all that were in his ship (as Froissard writeth) were drowned, except

There were drowned aboue a thousand men in one place and other, as the additions to Ad. Merimuth doo testifie.

cept himselfe & seauen mariners. We find, that there were drowned in one place & other, aboue a thousand Englishmen in that most vnluckie voiage. ¶ Some writers impute this calamitie to light on the said sir John Arundell & his companie, for the lasciuious and filthie rule which they kept before their setting forth, in places where they laie, till their prouision was readie; who not content with that which they did before they tooke ship, in rauishing mens wiues, maids and daughters, they caried them aboord, that they might haue the vse of them whilest they were vpon the sea,

(Sæua libido furens, quid non mortalia cogis
Pectora? Quidue tuo non est violabile telo?)

and yet when the tempest rose, like cruell and vnmercifull persons they threw them into the sea, either for that they would not be troubled with their lamentable noise and crieng, or for that they thought so long as they had such women aboord with them (whome they had abused so long) God would not ceasse the rage of the tempest. But it should appeare that this tempest was generall, for where the Spanish and French fleets were abroad at the same time, being assembled togither to annoie the coasts of this land, their ships were likewise tossed and turmoiled, so as no small number of them were lost, in so much that the damage which they susteined, was thought far to passe that which hapned to the English nauie.

Outragious wickednesse iustlie punished.

1380

In this yeare about Christmasse, sir William de Montacute earle of Salisburie, after he had remained twelue moneths space at Calis, the kings lieutenant there was called home, & sir John Deuereux a right valiant knight, and an old man of warre, was sent thither in his place. ¶ Also, sir John Harleston was called home from Chierburg, and sir William Windesore a noble knight was sent thither to be capteine of that fortresse. ¶ After the Epiphanie, was a parlement called at London, which continued till the beginning of the kalendes of March. ¶ Also whereas the yeare before there had bene certeine bishops, earles, barons, and iustices appointed, to haue the gouernement and rule about the king; now at the request of the lords and commons in this parlement assembled; the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike was chosen to remaine continuallie with the king, as cheefe gouernour, both of his person, and to giue answer to all strangers that should come hither about any businesse whatsoeuer, and further to haue the rule and order of all things, in lieu of those that were chosen thereto before: it was perceiued that they had sought to inrich themselues, & had done little to the aduancement of the kings honor, or state of the common-wealth, but rather emptied the kings cofers.

Sir John Deuereux made deputie of Calis.

The earle of Warwike elected protector.

The archbishop of Canturburie made lord chancellour.

In this parlement also, the lord Richard Scrope gaue ouer the office of chancellor, and Simon Sudburie archbishop of Canturburie tooke it vpon him. ¶ In this parlement was granted a tenth by the cleargie, and a fifteenth by the laitie, with condition that from henceforth, to wit, from the kalends of March, to the feast of S. Michaell, which then should be in the yeare 1381, there should be no more parlements, but this condition was not performed, as after appeared. In the octaues of Easter, the lord Maleran earle of saint Paule married the kings halfe sister, the ladie Jone de Courtnie: the solemnization of this marriage was holden at Windsore, with great triumphing. ¶ The princesse that was mother to the bride, was greatlie against the marriage, but the bride hir selfe had such a liking to the earle, that the king was contented that they should match togither, and set him free of his ransome which he should haue paid, for that he had bene taken prisoner in the marches of Calis, and further, gaue with his sister by wate of endowment, the towneship and manour of Bierleet.

The kings halfe sister married the earle of saint Paule.

On the seuenth of June, a combat was fought afore the kings palace at Westminster, on the pauement there, betwixt one sir John Annesle knight, and one Thomas Katrington esquier: the occasion of which strange and notable triall rose hereof. The knight accused the esquier of treason, for that where the fortresse of saint Sauiour within the Ile of Constantine in Normandie, belonging sometime to sir John Chandois, had bene committed to the said Katrington, as capteine thereof, to keepe it against the enimies, he had for monie sold and deliuered it ouer to the Frenchmen, where he was sufficientlie prouided of men, munition and vittels, to haue defended it against them; and sith the inheritance of that fortresse and landes belonging thereto, had apertained to the said Annesle in right of his wife, as nerest cousine by affinitie vnto sir John Chandois, if by the false conueiance of the said Katrington, it had not bene made awaie, and alienated into the enimies hands: he offered therefore to trie the quarrell by combat, against the said Katrington, wherevpon was the same Katrington apprehended, and put in prison, but shortlie after set at libertie againe.

A combat betwixt sir John Annesle and Thomas Katrington.

Whilest the duke of Lancaster, during the time that his father king Edward late in his last sickenesse, did in all things what liked him, & so at the contemplation of the lord Latimer (as was thought) he released Katrington for the time, so that sir John Annesle could not come to the effect of his sute in all the meane time, till now. Such as feared to be charged with the like offenses staied the matter, till at length, by the opinion of true and ancient knights it was defined, that for such a forren controuersie that had not risen within the limits of the realme, but touched possession of things on the further side the sea, it was lawfull to haue it tried by battell, if the cause were first notified to the constable and marshall of the realme, and that the combat was accepted by the parties. Herevpon was the day and place appointed, and all things prouided readie, with lists railed and made so substantiallie, as if the same should haue indured for euer. The concourse of people that came to London to see this tried, was thought to exceed that of the kings coronation, so desirous men were to behold a sight so strange and vnaccustomed.

Triall by combat in what case lawfull.

The king, his nobles, and all the people being come togither in the morning of the daie appointed, to the place where the lists were set vp, the knight being armed and mounted on a faire courser seemelie traped, entered first as apellant, staieng till his aduersarie the defendant should come. And shortlie after was the esquier called to defend his cause in this forme: Thomas Katrington defendant, come and appeare to saue the action, for which sir John Annesle knight and apellant hath publikelie and by writing appealed thee. He being thus called thrise by an herald at armes, at the third call did come armed likewise; and riding on a courser trapped with traps imbrodered with his armes, at his approching to the lists he alighted from his horsse, lest according to the law of armes the constable should haue challenged the horsse if he had entered within the lists. But his shifting nothing auailed him, for the horsse after his maister was alighted beside him, ran vp & downe by the railes, now thrusting his head ouer, and now both head & breast, so that the earle of Buckingham, because he was high constable of England, claimed the horsse afterwards, swearing that he would haue so much of him as had appeared ouer the railes, and so the horsse was adiudged vnto him.

The order of the combat.

The earle of Buckingham claimeth the horsse.

But now to the matter of the combat (for this challenge of the horsse was made after, as sone as the esquier was come within the lists) the indenture

was

was brought forth by the marshall and constable, which had beene made and sealed before them, with consent of the parties, in which were conteined the articles exhibited by the knight against the esquier, and there the same was read before all the assemblie. The esquier (whose consetence was thought not to be cleare, but rather guiltie, and therefore seemed full of troublesome and grudging passions, as an offendor alreadie convinced, thought (as full well he might)

Multa miser timeo, quia fert mala præterita.

went about to make exceptions, that his cause by some means might haue seemed the sounder. But the duke of Lancaster hearing him so state at the matter, sware, that except according to the conditions of the combat, and the law of armes, he would admit all things in the indentures comprised, that were not made without his owne consent, he should as guiltie of the treason forthwith be had forth to execution. The duke with those words wone great commendation, and auoided no small suspicion that had beene conceiued of him as partiall in the esquiers cause. The esquier hearing this, said, that he durst fight with the knight, not onelie in those points, but in all other in the world whatsoeuer the same might be: for he trusted more to his strength of bodie, and fauour of his freends, than to the cause which he had taken vpon him to defend. He was in deed a mightie man of stature, where the knight among those that were of a meane stature was one of the least. Freends to the esquier, in whom he had great affiance to be borne out through their assistance, were the lords Lattimer and Basset, with others.

Before they entered battell, they toke an oth, as well the knight as the esquier, that the cause in which they were to fight, was true, and that they delt with no witchcraft, nor art magike, whereby they might obteine the victorie of their aduersarie, nor had about them any herbe or stone, or other kind of experiment with which magicians vse to triumph ouer their enimies. This oth receiued of either of them, and therewith hauing made their praiers deuoutlie, they began the battell, first with speares, after with swords, and last lie with daggers. They fought long, till finallie the knight had bereft the esquier of all his weapons, and at length the esquier was manfullie ouerthrowne by the knight. But as the knight would haue fallen vpon the esquier, through sweat that ran downe by his helmet his sight was hindered, so that thinking to fall vpon the esquier, he fell downe sideling himselfe, not comming neere to the esquier, who perceiuing what had happened, although he was almost ouercome with long fighting, made to the knight, and threw himselfe vpon him, so that manie thought the knight should haue beene ouercome: other doubted not but that the knight would recouer his feet againe, and get the victorie of his aduersarie.

The esquier is ouerthrowne.

The king in the meane time caused it to be proclamed that they should staie, and that the knight should be raised vp from the ground, and so meant to take vp the matter betwixt them. To be short, such were sent as should take vp the esquier; but comming to the knight, he besought them, that it might please the king to permit them to lie still, for he thanked God he was well, and mistrusted not to obteine the victorie, if the esquier might be laid vpon him, in manner as he was earst. Finallie, when it would not be so granted, he was contented to be raised vp, and was no sooner set on his feet, but he cheerfullie went to the king, without anie mans helpe, where the esquier could neither stand nor go without the helpe of two men to hold him vp, and therefore was set in his chaire to take his ease, to see if he might recouer his strength.

The knight at his comming before the king, besought him & his nobles, to grant him so much, that he might be esftsones laid on the ground as before, and the esquier to be laid aloft vpon him: for the knight perceiued that the esquire through excessiue heat, and the weight of his armor, did marueilouslie faint, so as his spirits were in manner taken from him. The king and the nobles perceiuing the knight so courageouslie to demand to trie the battell forth to the vttermost, offring great summes of monie, that so it might be done, decreed that they should be restored againe to the same plight in which they laie when they were raised vp: but in the meane time the esquire fainting, and falling downe in a swoone, fell out of his chaire, as one that was like to yeeld vp his last breath presentlie among them. Those that stood about him cast wine and water vpon him, seeking so to bring him againe, but all would not serue, till they had plucked off his armor, & his whole apparell, which thing proued the knight to be vanquisher, and the esquier to be vanquished.

The esquier fainteth.

The knight is iudged the vanquisher.

After a little time the esquier began to come to himselfe, and lifting vp his eies, began to hold vp his head, and to cast a ghostlie looke on euerie one about him: which when it was reported to the knight, he commeth to him armed as he was (for he had put off no peece since the beginning of the fight) and speaking to him, called him traitor, and false periured man, asking of him if he durst trie the battell with him againe: but the esquier hauing neither sense nor spirit whereby to make answer, proclamation was made that the battell was ended, and euerie one might go to his lodging. The esquier immediatlie after he was brought to his lodging, and laid in bed, began to wax raging wood, and so continuing still out of his wits, about nine of the clocke the next day he yeelded vp the ghost. ¶ This combat was fought (as before yee haue heard) the seuenth of June to the great reioising of the common people, and discouragement of traitours.

About the same time, or rather somewhat before, the lord Oliuer de Clisson, with a number of ships and gallies of France and Spaine, toke the sea, and comming on the coast of England, landed in diuerse places of the west countrie, and also in the south parts, spoiling and burning sundrie townes, taking such ships and vessels as they might laie hold vpon, and so continued to indamage the English people that inhabited neere to the sea side, all that summer following.

The French men spoile & burne diuerse townes in the west countrie.

Anno Reg. 4.

¶ In the beginning of the fourth yeare of this king, Thomas of Woodstoke earle of Buckingham, vncle to the king, with an armie of seauen or eight thousand men of armes and archers, was sent ouer to Calis, that he might inuade France, and passe through the same to come into Britaine vnto the aid of the duke there. ¶ You haue heard how the French king had seized into his hands the more part of the duchie of Britaine, because that the duke had ioined himselfe in league with the king of England: but yet there were diuerse of the good townes, and also manie of the barons and nobles of the countrie which kept themselues as neuters a long season; but at length, longing to see the returne of their naturall lord and duke, sent for him into England, requiring him to repaire home, and to see to the quieting of the troubled state of his countrie.

Froissard.

The earle of Buckingham sent into Britaine to aid the duke against the French king.

The duke being thus earnestlie desired to returne home, by the aduise of the king of England and his councell, granted to their request that had so instantlie required him, both by letters and sufficient messengers: whereupon he toke the sea, and sailing forth, arriued in Britaine, hauing with him sir Robert Knolles, and a certeine number of Englishmen both armed men and archers (as before yee haue heard.) The king also promised to send him a new

suplie verie shortlie, which was not forgotten. But fortune was so contrarie, that sir John Arundell generall of those that were sent, and manie of his companie, were drowned by force of tempest, and the other driuen backe againe into England (as before ye haue heard.) In the meane time, though the duke of Britaine with aid of his subiects, did manfullie defend his townes and countrie against the Frenchmen, yet he was in doubt to be oppressed by the great puissance of the Frenchmen, if aid came not the sooner. Which being signified ouer into England, moued the king and his councell to appoint the earle of Buckingham to take vpon him this voiage. He landed at Calis three daies before the feast of Marie Magdalene.

There went ouer with him in that armie, the earls of Stafford and Deuonshire, the lord Spenser constable of the host, the lord Fitz Walter marshall, the lord Basset, the lord Bourchier, the lord Ferrers, the lord Morlie, the lord Darcie, sir William Windsore, sir Hugh Caluerlie, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Hugh de la Sente, sir Thomas Percie, sir Thomas Triuet, sir Hugh Tirell, sir William Farrington, sir John and sir Nicholas Dawbriticourt, Thomas Camois, Rafe Neuill sonne to the lord Neuill, sir Henrie bastard Ferrers, sir Hugh Broe, sir Geffrie Mowrlie, sir William Clinton, sir Juon Fitz Warren, and diuerse other. After they had rested them at Calis two daies, they remoued the third day out of the towne, and came to Marqueignes, where they remained three daies, till all their companie, carriages, and prouisions were come to them out of Calis: from thence they remoued and came before Arde, where the earle of Buckingham made knights these that follow: the earle of Deuonshire, the lord Morlie, the son of the lord Fitz Walter, sir Roger Strange, sir John Ipre, sir John Colle, sir James Tirell, sir Thomas Ramston, sir John Neuill, and sir Thomas Ros or Rollie, as some copies haue. These persons were made knights, because they went in the vaward, which was sent to win a strong house called Follant, which the owner had fortified against them. But though he defended himselfe manfullie for a time, yet in the end both he and all his companie were taken prisoners.

Knights made by the earle of Buckingham at his entrie into France.

After this the duke passed by saint Omers, shewing himselfe (about a mile off) with his host in order of battell aloft vpon a mounteine. Some of the Englishmen rode to the barriers, requiring that some of them within would come forth and breake staues with them, but they could not be answered. The same day that the Englishmen thus came before S. Omers, the earle of Buckingham made againe new knights, as sir Rafe Neuill, sir Bartholomew Bourchier, sir Thomas Camois, sir Foulke Corbet, sir Thomas Danglure, sir Rafe Petipas, sir Lewes saint Albine, and sir John Paulie or rather Paulet. These Englishmen rode through the countrie, demanding iusts and deeds of armes, but they could not be answered. In deed the townes of the frontiers were well replenished and stuffed with men of war, and still were the Englishmen coasted, but they kept themselues so close together, without breaking their order, that their enimies could find them at none aduantage.

Knights againe made.

The tournie of the English armie through France.

They passed by Tirwine and by Betwine, where they lodged one day. They made but easie iournies, and seemed to require nothing but battell. They passed by Arras, by Miramont, and so to Clerie on the water of Some, and taried there three daies, and in other places about in that countrie. The fourth day they dislodged, and drew towards Cambraie, and so to S. Quintines, & after vp towards Reimes. They found little riches, and small store of vittels abroad in the countrie, for the French king had abandoned all to his men of warre, who either wasted or conueied all things of any value into the fortresses and walled townes. The Englishmen therefore sent to them of Reimes, requiring to haue some vittels sent to the host, for the which they would spare the countrie from wasting: but they of Reimes would not consent hereunto. Wherupon the Englishmen began to light them such candels, as their eies within the citie aked to behold the same a far off.

Moreouer, the Englishmen approched so neere to the walles and diches of the citie, that they brought awaie twentie thousand head of cattell, which the citizens had gotten within the compasse of their diches; and further sent to them within, that if they would not send bread and wine forth to vittell the host, in that behalfe they would burne all their corne: for doubt whereof, the citizens sent forth to the host sir charets laden with as much bread and wine as they might carie. Thus was their corne saued from destruction, and the Englishmen by soft and easie iournies drew towards the citie of Trois, in the which was the duke of Burgognie, with the dukes of Burbon and Bar, the earle of Ewe, the lord Coucie, sir John de Vien high admerall of France, and a great number of others of the French nobilitie. They had made a bastide without the towne able to receiue a thousand men of armes, but vpon the Englishmens approch to assault it, they did forsake that strength, and withdrew to the towne. Sir Thomas Triuet was here made a baronet. Also there were certeine new knights made, as sir Peter Berton, sir John and sir Thomas Paulie or Paulet, sir John Stingulie, sir Thomas Dortingues, sir John Vassecoque, sir Thomas Braile, sir John Braulin, sir Henrie Vernier, sir John Coleuile, sir William Euerat, sir Nicholas Stingulie, and sir Hugh Lunit.

The citizens of Reimes saue their corne fields from destroieng by sending vittels to the English host.

Sir Thomas Triuet created a baronet.

Knights created.

Verne or Vernon.

The English host perceiuing the Frenchmen to withdraw into the towne, drew togither, and stood in order of battell for the space of two houres, and then returned to their lodgings. The nert day they remoued to Maillerois le vicount neere vnto Sens, and there they remained two daies, and after drew into Gastinois, and so into Beause. They were coasted all the waie by a great power of men of war, as many or more in number as they were themselues. But the French king being a politike prince, wiselie considered what losses the realme of France had sustained afore time, by giuing battell to the Englishmen, and therefore was fullie resolued, that in no wise he would giue licence to his people to fight with the earle of Buckingham; but thought better (as he had learned by good experience) to keepe his townes close against his enimies, and so in the end to wearie them, than by giuing battell to put things in hazard, whereas he knew they could not take from him his countries by this kind of warre, though they sore indamaged the same for a time.

The policie of the French king.

There chanced manie small skirmishes amongst those that rode forth to discouer the countrie, but no notable incounter at all. For the Englishmen in those daies were cats not to be catched without mittens (as Iacob Meir in one place saith) & againe the French men were as warie how they aduentured to come neere them, peraduenture for feare, as in the reigne of king Edward the 3, as C.O. noteth, saieng,

Contra aciem magnam tremebundo corde Valesius
In campum aduectum & vicina cõgerat arua,
Non tamen Angligenas aduersum est ausus aperto
Tendere Marte feris confligere fortiter armis.

In Anglorelig. sub Edwardo 3.

Onelie they sought how to inclose them vp in the countrie, and to famish them, that they might then fight with them at some great aduantage; but still the English host passed forward, holding on their

voiage

voiage towards Britaine by Mandosme, Pont Volaine, and so ouer the riuer of Sartre. In this meane while the French king Charles the fift was taken with a sore sickenesse, whereof he departed this life the same daie that the English armie passed ouer the riuer of Sartre, which was on the six and twentith of September, his brethren the dukes of Anjou, Berrie, Burbon, and Burgognie were at Paris with him at the houre of his death, where as a little before they had béene abroad in the countrie with their powers, to defend the cities and townes of importance against the Englishmen, and méant indeed (if they could haue espied their aduantage; and gotten licence thereto of the king) to haue giuen their enimies battell. But now they were otherwise occupied: howbeit they had left their men abroad in the countrie to coast the Englishmen as they had done before. All the French power was assembled in the citie of Mans, vnder the leading of the duke of Bar, the lord Coucie, and others.

The death of Charles the 5 French king.

Tho. Walsi.

In this meane while that the earle of Buckingham was passing through the realme of France, the French and Spanish gallies did much mischéefe on the coast of England: but about the latter end of June, by a fléet of Englishmen of the west countries part of them were forced to retire, and take harbour in an hauen in Ireland called Kingsale, where being assailed of the Englishmen and Irishmen, they were vanquished; so that to the number of foure hundred of them were slaine, and their chéefe captains taken, as Gonsalue de Uerse, and his brother John Martin de Potrigo, Turgo lord of Mozants; also the lord of Reith, Pœrs Martin of Uermew, John Modit of Uermew, the seneschall of Margarie, the seneschall of S. Andrew, Cornelis of S. Sebastiano, Paschale de Biskey, John Martinis, Sopogorge of S. Sebastiano, and diuerse other.

The French and Spanish gallies chased from the coast of England to Kingsale in Ireland and there vanquished.

There were taken foure of their barges with a ballenger, and one and twentie English vessels recouered, which they had robbed and taken awaie from their owners. There scaped yet foure of their notable captains frō the hands of our men, Martin Grantz, John Peris Mantago, John Husce Gitario, and one Garcias of S. Sebastiano, so that the malice of those robbers ceased not. For they with the French gallies still lieng on the seas, when they espied anie aduantage, would land their people, and do what mischéefe they could, in taking preies, and burning townes and villages, although now and then they came short to their vessels againe, losing sometimes an hundred, sometimes fourescore that were ouertaken by the Englishmen that came forth against them. But among other inuasions which they made this summer on the coasts, we find that they burnt the towne of Winchelsie, & put the abbat of Battell to flight with his people, comming to succor that towne and toke one of his monks that was there in armor with the abbat. ¶ Some write also, that they burnt Rie, Hastings, and Portsmouth. Finallie, their boldnesse so farre increased, that in August they entring with their gallies into the riuer of Thames, came vp to Grauesend, where they burnt the most part of the towne, and on the other side of the riuer, as well in Essex as Kent, they burnt and spoiled diuerse places, and with their prisoners and boties returned without receiuing anie hurt, bringing with them to France, both rich spoiles and good prisoners.

Diuerse townes on the English coasts destroied and burnt.

The abbat of Battell in rescuing Winchelsie is put to flight.

Grauesend burnt.

But to returne to the earle of Buckingham where we left. The English armie drew still towards Britaine, but with so small doubt of their aduersaries, that they laie three or foure daies sometimes still in one place. At their approching to the marches of Britaine, they came to Uitrie, a towne situate at the first entring into that countrie, and from thence went to Chateau Brilant, and there rested, whither came to them certeine knights sent from the duke of Britaine, which signified to the erle of Buckingham what the dukes meaning was. Indeed by the death of the French king, the dukes malice was greatlie abated towards the Frenchmen, so that he had not much passed if the Englishmen had béene at home againe. Moreouer, his townes were not determined to receiue the Englishmen, as enimes to the crown of France: so that he was in a perplexitie how to order his businesse. At length, to shew himselfe a stedfast frend to the Englishmen, and one that was no changeling, he determined by their support, to force all those to allow the league which he had established with the Englishmen, who had denied to beare armour against the crowne of France. And first, because they of Naunts were the ringleaders of that rebellious demeanour, he appointed first to besiege their citie. They hauing knowledge thereof, sent into France for aid.

The siege of Naunts by the Englishmen.

The dukes of Anjou, Berrie, Burgognie, and Burbon, brethren to the late king, and vncle to his sonne the yong king, hauing the gouernance of the realme vnder him, sent six hundred speares with all speed to strengthen them of Naunts, which defended the citie in such wise from the puissance of the Englishmen, who enuironed the same with a strong siege, that in the end, because the duke came not to them (according to his promise) the siege was raised the morrow after New yeares daie, two moneths and foure daies after the same was first laid. The duke of Britaine would gladlie haue come to the siege of Naunts, in strengthening of the English host, but he could not persuade his lords to aid him in anie such enterprise. And therefore now that the earle of Buckingham had broken vp his siege, he caused him to be lodged in the citie of Nannes, & his men abroad in the countrie, some here, and some there, acquitting himselfe as well towards them as he might.

The siege at Naunts broken vp.

But suerlie the hearts of the Britains were wonderfullie changed, and in no wise would consent to haue anie warre with the Frenchmen, if anie reasonable peace might be concluded. For manie that hated the father, bare good will and heartie loue towards the sonne, whose yong yeares and great towardnesse allured the hearts of manie to wish him well. Herevpon was meanes made for a peace, which by the duke of Anjou his consent (who bare the greatest rule in France in that season) a finall accord was made, betwixt the yong king and the duke of Britaine, so that the duke should come and do his homage vnto the French king, and sweare to be true and faithfull vnto him: also that he should rid the Englishmen out of his countrie, and helpe them with ships and vessels to transport them home into England.

A peace betwixt the French king and the duke of Britaine.

The articles of the peace.

The earle of Buckingham, when he vnderstood of this peace, was not a little displeased in his mind, considering that the duke of Britaine had delt so vnlustlie with him and his nephue the king of England. But the duke still excused him by his subiects, as though if he had not thus agreed, he should haue béene in danger to haue lost his heritage of that countrie. Finallie, the earle after he had ships prouided for his passage, the eleuenth of Aprill departed out of Nannes, and came to the hauen where his ships laie, and so went aboord in like maner as other of his men did from other hauens, and shortlie after (when the wind serued) toke the sea, and returned into England, sore displeased with the duke of Britaine for his great vntruth and dissimulation (as he toke it) notwithstanding all excuses to cloake the matter by him alledged.

The earle of Buckingham returned into England.

The English host entreth into Britaine.

Whilest the Englishmen were thus occupied in warres against the Frenchmen (as before ye haue heard) the Scots could not rest in quiet, but in reuenge for a ship, which the townesmen of Newcastell and Hull had taken on the sea, knowing them to be pirates, determined to do what mischefe they could vnto the English borders: for the losse of that ship grieued them, bicause it was esteemed to be verie rich, the goods that were in it being valued at seuen thousand marks. Herevpon the Scots entring by the west borders, inuaded & spoiled the countries of Westmerland and Cumberland, and comming into the forrest of Inglewood, they tooke awaie with them such a number of beasts and cattell, that they were reckoned at fourtie thousand heads of one and other. Besides this, they cruellie slue all such as they could laie hands vpon, and burnt vp all the townes, villages, and houses as they passed: and not content herewith, they stale vpon the towne of Penreth, when the faire was kept there, slaieng, taking, and chasing awaie the people, and after gathering togither all the goods and riches there found, tooke it awaie with them, whereof there was such plentie as might haue satisfied the couetous desire of a most greedie armie. They returned by Carleil, but hearing that there were gotten into it a great number of men out of the countries adioining, they durst not staie to make any attempt against that towne, but compassed their waie to escape with their booties home into their countrie, which they did, although they lost some of their companie as they passed by an ambushment of certeine archers of Westmerland and Cumberland, that were laid for them of purpose. When the earle of Northumberland would haue gone forth to reuenge those iniuries done to the countrie by the Scots, he was written to from the king and his councell, to forbeare till the daie of truce, at what time it might be knowen what was further to be done in the matter.

The Scots inuade the English borders and spoile whole countries carrieng awaie great booties.

About Michaelmasse the duke of Lancaster, the earles of Warwike, and Stafford, with other lords and men of honor, hauing with them a great power of souldiers and men of warre, went into the north parts, and comming to the borders, they laie there till they had consumed no small summes of monie, and indamaged the countrie as much as if the Scotish armie had inuaded the same. The good they did, was, that after long treatie with the Scotish commissioners, a truce was agreed vpon till Easter following, which being concluded, they returned home without any more adoo. For the space of halfe a score yeares togither now last past, the Englishmen euerie yeare had one or two such treaties with the Scots about the incursions and rodes which they yearelie made into the English borders, sore indamaging the inhabitants of those north parts of the realme, notwithstanding any truce or abstinence of warre that might be concluded.

An armie lingering in the north parts greatlie impouerisheth the countrie.

Additions to Adam Merimuth.

Whilest the armie (as ye haue heard) laie idle in the north parts, there were certeine letters found by a poore man about London, who deliuered them vnto the worthie citizen Iohn Philpot, who calling vnto him certeine other worshipfull citizens, opened one of them, in which was conteined matter of high treason: and perceiuing by the seale that it belonged vnto sir Rafe Ferrers knight, one of the kings priuie councell, deliuered that letter with foure other letters closed with the same seale, first to the lord chancellor, and after to the king, the which being read and the seale knowne to be the said sir Rafe Ferrers his seale, manie greatlie maruelled that so ancient a knight, and one in whom so great trust was put, should go about any such treasons.

Treason in letters written by sir Rafe Ferrers to certeine French lords.

One of the letters was directed to sir Bertram de Cleaquin, an other to the lord de la Riuer the chamberlaine of France, an other to the lord Clisson, and an other to the patrone of the gallies, and to the capteine of the armie of Frenchmen and Spaniards, which at the same time walking alongst the coasts, did much hurt in diuerse places of the land. Forthwith the said Philpot and others were sent in post from the king to the duke of Lancaster, that for so much as the said sir Rafe Ferrers was then in the north parts with him, intreating with the Scots, he should arrest him and put him in safe keeping, which commandement the duke did accomplish, and committed him to be safelie kept in the castell of Duresme, but shortlie after in the next parlement he was set at libertie, foure barons being bound for his forth comming, till time that he might more euidentlie declare his innocencie.

About the feast of S. Martine, was a parlement holden at Northampton to the more trouble of them that came to it, bicause in that season of the yeare they were constreined to come where there was no store of fewell to make them fiers: and beside that, lodgings were verie streit for so great a multitude. But the cause that moued the councell to appoint this parlement there, was to the end that they might the more freelie proceed to the triall of Iohn Kirkbie a citizen of London, that had murthered the Genowais (as before ye haue hard) which Kirkbie was condemned at this parlement, and drawne and hanged in the sight of the Londoners that were come thither, which execution if it should haue bene done at London, the lords doubted least some tumult might haue bene raised by the citizens, who were reckoned in those daies verie rash and presumptuous in their doings.

A parlement at Northampton.

Iohn Kirkbie executed for murthering a merchant stranger.

But now to the effect of this parlement. There was a new and strange subsidie or taske granted to be leuied for the kings vse, and towards the charges of this armie that went ouer into France with the earle of Buckingham; to wit, of euerie priest secular or regular six shillings eight pence, and as much of euerie nunne, and of euerie man & woman married or not married being 16 yeares of age (beggers certeinlie knowne onlie excepted) foure pence for euerie one. Great grudging & manie a bitter curse followed about the leuieng of this monie, & much mischefe rose thereof, as after it appeared. ¶ In this fourth yeare of king Richards reigne, immediatlie after Christmasse, Thomas Brantingham bishop of Exeter and lord treasurer, was discharged of his office of treasurership, and sir Robert Hales lord of S. Johns was aduanced in his place, a right noble and manlie knight, but not beloued of the commons.

A grieuous subsidie.

Twelue pence as some haue.

1381
Thom. Wall.

About this time did Iohn Wicliffe chieflie set forth his opinion touching the sacrament of the altar, denieng the doctrine of transubstantiation, and that it ought not in any wise to be worshipped in such sort as the church of Rome then did teach. ¶ There were ambassadors sent into Germanie, to treat with the emperour for a marriage to be had, betwixt the king of England, and the emperours sister. About the beginning of March they returned, bringing with them the cardinall, intituled of saint Pyared, and the duke of Tarsilia, and other nobles that came from the emperor, to treat with the king & his councell about the same marriage. This cardinall, whether he passed the bounds of his commission and authoritie to him granted by the pope (as some write) or whether he was furnished with such faculties, he was verie liberall in bestowing of them abrode on all such as would come with monie. Indulgences, which the pope had vsed onelie to reserue for himselfe to bestow, this man granted the same liberallie, both biennals and triennals. He gaue also letters confessionall,

Wicliffes opinion.

The cardinall of Pyared.

Triennals.

sionall, to all those that would paie for them, admitting aswell beneficed men as other, to be the popes chapleins. He made notaries for monie, and denied not altars portatiue to anie that would pay for them.

All for monie.

He receiued fortie pounds, besides other gifts, of the monks of the Cisteaux order, to grant to them a generall licence to eat flesh indifferentlie, as well abroad, as they had bene accustomed to do at home within their monasteries. To those that were excommunicate he gaue absolution: those that had vowed to go in pilgrimage to Rome, to the holie land, or to saint Iames, he would not first release them, till he had receiued so much monie, according to the true valuation, as they should haue spent in their iornies: and to be breefe, nothing could be asked, but for monie he was readie to grant it. And when he was requested to shew by what power he did all these things, with great indignation he answered, that he would let them vnderstand at Rome, if they would needs know the authoritie which he had. At length his males were so filled with siluer, that his seruants disdained to make them anie answer, except they brought gold saieng; Bring vs gold, for we are full of your siluer. But at his departure he toke all awaie with him, both gold and siluer in such abundance as was marueilous. This hath bene the practise of the Romanists from time to time, whereupon grew this common byword (taring the polling and shauing shifts of that execrable sea, gaping gulfe, and insatiable sea)

Curia Romana non quærit ouem sine lana.

But now to returne to other matters concerning the state of the realme. After the returne of the earle of Buckingham, it was ordeined by aduise of the councell, that the duke of Lancaster should eftsones go as ambassador from king Richard into Scotland, to see if he might renew the truce (which shortlie would haue bene expired) for three yeeres longer. Also whereas there was variance and open war mainteined, betwixt Iohn king of Castile, and Iohn king of Portingale, the earle of Cambridge, the lord William de Beauchampe, the lord Botreux, and sir Mathew Gournie, were sent into Portingale with fiue hundred armed men, and fiue hundred archers to aid the king of Portingale against the king of Castile, who was sonne to the bastard Henrie: for the duke of Lancaster reioised greatlie, that he might haue such a freend as the king of Portingale, to ioine with him in aid against the king of Castile; meaning (as sone as opportunitie would serue) to go ouer with an armie to chalenge his right, and pursue his claime to the crowne of Castile and Leon, against the vsurper, in right of his wife queene Constance, eldest daughter to the late lawfull king Peter, whom Henrie the bastard as before (yee haue heard) did still persecute, till he had bereft from him both his life and kingdome.

An armie sent into Portingale to aid the king there against the K. of Castile.

It was meant therefore that if the duke of Lancaster could compasse his purpose, for the which he went at that time into Scotland, to the honour of the king and realme, then should he shortlie after follow his brother of Cambridge with a great power, to trie what chance God would send to him, against his aduersarie the king of Castile. ¶ In the meane time other incidents fell within the realme in the fourth yeare of king Richard, sore to the disquieting of the same, and vtter disappointing for that time of the duke of Lancasters intent. The commons of the realme sore repining, not onelie for the pole grotes that were demanded of them, by reason of the grant made in parlement (as yee haue heard) but also (as some write) for that they were sore oppressed (as they toke the matter) by their land-lords, that demanded of them their ancient customes and seruices, set on by some diuelish instinct & persuasion of their owne beastlie intentions, as men not content with the state whereunto they were called, rose in diuerse parts of this realme, and assembled togither in companies, purposing to inforce the prince to make them free, and to release them of all seruitude, whereby they stood as bondmen to their lords and superiours.

The cõmons by reason of the great subsidie and other oppressions rise in diuerse parts of the realme.

Villaines.

Where this rebellion of the commons first began, diuerse haue written diuerslie. One author writeth, that (as he learned by one that was not farre from the place at that time) the first beginning should be at Dertford in Kent: for when those pole shillings, or rather (as other haue) pole grotes, were to be collected, no small murmuring, cursing, and repining among the common people rose about the same, and the more indeed, through the lewd demenour of some vndiscreet officers, that were assigned to the gathering thereof, insomuch that one of those officers being appointed to gather vp that monie in Dertford aforesaid, came to the house of one Iohn Tiler, that had both seruants in his house, and a faire yong maid to his daughter. The officer therefore demanding monie for the said Tiler and for his wife, his seruants, and daughter, the wife being at home, and hir husband abroad at worke in the towne, made answer that hir daughter was not of age, and therefore she denied to paie for hir.

The beginning of the rebellion at Dertford in Kent.

Now here is to be noted, that this monie was in common speech said to be due for all those that were vndergrowne, bicause that yong persons as well of the man as of the womankind, comming to the age of fouretéene or fiftéene yeares, haue commonlie haire growing forth about those priuie parts, which for honestie sake nature hath taught vs to couer and keepe secret. The officer therefore not satisfied with the mothers excuse, said he would feele whether hir daughter were of lawfull age or not, and therewith began to misuse the maid, and search further than honestie would haue permitted. The mother streightwaies made an outcrie, so that hir husband being in the towne at worke, and hearing of this ado at his house, came running home with his lathing staffe in his hand, and began to question with the officer, asking who made him so bold to keepe such a rule in his house: the officer being somewhat presumptuous, and highminded, would forthwith haue flowne vpon this Tiler; but I. Tiler auoiding the officers blow, raught him such a rap on the pate, that his braines flue out, and so presentlie he died.

Great noise rose about this matter in the streets, and the poore folks being glad, euerie man arraied himselfe to support Iohn Tiler, & thus the commons drew togither, and went to Maidestone, and from thence to Blackheath, where their number so increased, that they were reckoned to be thirtie thousand. And the said Iohn Tiler toke vpon him to be their cheefe capteine, naming himselfe Iacke Straw. ¶ Others write, that one Thomas Baker of Fobbings was the first that procured the people thus to assemble togither: and that one of the kings seruants named Iohn Leg, with three of his fellowes, practised to feele yong maids whether they were vndergrowne (as yee haue hard the officer did at Dertford) which dishonest and vnseemelie kind of dealing did set the people streight in such a rage and vprore, that they cared not what they did to be reuenged of such iniuries.

The commõs of Esser begin the commotiõ as Wal. saith.

But Thomas Walsingham affirmeth, that the first sparkes of this rebellion kindled in Esser, where the inhabitants of two townes onelie at the first, that were the authors and first stirrers of all this mischeefe, did send vnto euerie little towne about, that all manner of men, as well those that were aged, as others that were in their lustiest time and youthfull

yeares, should come to them with speed, setting all excuses apart, in their best arraie and furniture for warre, threatening to such as came not, that their goods should be spoiled, their houses burnt or cast downe, and they to lose their heads when they were taken. The terror of this threatning caused the ignorant people to flocke to them by heaps, leauing all their businesse, letting plough and cart stand, forsaking wife, children, and houses, so that in a short time there were fiue thousand gotten together of those commons and husbandmen, of which number manie were weaponed onelie with staues, some with rustie swords and billes, and other with smokie bowes, more ruddie than old yuorie, not hauing past two or three arrowes, and the same hapilie with one feather a peece.

The armor of the Essex rebels

Among a thousand of those kind of persons, yée should not haue séene one well armed: and yet by reason of their multitude, when they were once got together, they thought the whole relme had not beene able to resist them; and supposed that they could with facilitie (in respect of the aduerse part) make the states of the land stoope to them, and by their permission to reteine or compulsion to resigne their romes of dignitie. But the fond conceited rout considered not the euent of this insurrection, that the worst would be their owne; for the old saieng is true, namelie,

Læditur a stimulo quicunq; fricatur ab illo.

Moreouer, to make their part the stronger, these Essermen sent ouer into Kent, aduertising the people there of their enterprise, and therefore willed them to make them readie to ioine with them for their obteining of libertie, and reforming of the euill customs of the realme. Whether the Kentishmen through persuasions of their neighbors of Essex, by occasion of that which had chanced at Dertford (as before yée haue heard) or (as it may be) the same chancing at that selfe time, they being moued as well by the one as the other, vp they got (as yée haue heard) and gathering their power out of the next quarters adioining, by the like policie which had béene practised by the Essermen, they stirred vp the most part of the countrie to ioine with them, and forthwith stopping the waie that led to Canturburie, and arresting all such as passed by the same, they caused them to sweare that they should be true to king Richard, and to the commons, & neuer to receiue anie king that should be called John. And this was for the enuie which they bare to John of Gant the duke of Lancaster, who in right of his wife Constance, that was daughter to king Peter of Castile, did name himselfe king of Castile.

The oth ministred by the rebels to all passengers.

Also they caused them to sweare that they should be readie to come to them whensoeuer they sent for them, and induce all their neighbours to take part with them. And further, that they should neuer yeld to anie tax to be leuied in the realme, except a fiftéenth onelie. Thus it came to passe, that after it was spred abroad what stur these Essex and Kentishmen kept; the commons also in the counties of Suffer, Hertford, Cambridge, Suffolke, and Norffolke, and other shires about, buckled vp and ran together on heapes, so that the number of those vnrulie people marueilouslie increased, in such wise as now they feared no resistance, and therefore began to shew proofe of those things which they had before conceiued in their minds, beheading all such men of law, iustices, and iurors as they might catch, and laie hands vpon, without respect of pitie, or remorse of conscience, alledging that the land could neuer enioy hir native and true libertie, till all those sorts of people were dispatched out of the waie.

The Ommõs of other shires hearing of the stur in Kent & Essex, rise in like maner.

Lawiers, iustices & iurors brought to blockam feast by the rebels.

This talke liked well the eares of the common vplandish people, and by the lesse conueieng the more, they purposed to burne and destroie all records, euidences, court-rolles, and other minuments, that the remembrance of ancient matters being remoued out of mind, their landlords might not haue whereby to chalenge anie right at their hands. Their number still increased: for all such as were in debt or danger of law for their misdemeanors and offenses, came out of all coasts vnto them, so that when the Essermen, and other of the hither side the Thames, were passed ouer and ioined with the Kentishmen, & those that were assembled on that side the riuer vpon Blackheath; they were estéemed to be an hundred thousand, hauing diuerse capteins besides the said Jacke Straw, as William Wraw, Wat Tiler, Jacke Shéepheard, Tom Pilner, and Hob Carter. Whilest they were lodged on Blackheath, the king sent to them certeine knights, to vnderstand of them the cause of their gathering thus together, to whome answer was made, that they were come together to speake with the king, about certeine causes and businesse, & therefore they bad the messengers returne, and declare to the king that there was no remedie but he must needs come and speake with them.

In huge number of ye rebels

Fabian.

Capteins of the Essex and Kentish rebels

The rebels send to the K. to come speak with them.

When this tale was told to the king, there were some that thought it best that he should go to them, and know what their meaning was: but Simon de Sudburie the archbishop of Canturburie, that was lord chancellor, and also sir Robert Hales lord of S. Johns, and as then lord treasurer, spake earnestlie against that aduise, and would not by anie meanes that the king should go to such a sort of barelegged ribalds; but rather they wished that he should take some order to abate the pride of such vile rascals. After the commons vnderstood that the king would not come to them, by reason of the contrarie aduise giuen to him by those two persons, the lord chancellor and the lord treasurer, they were marueilouslie moued against them, and sware that they would not rest till they had got them, & chopped off their heads, calling them traitors to the king and realme.

Ill counsell.

Neuertheless there be that write, that the king (to cut off the branches of such mischefe now in the first budding thereof) to satisfie in part the desire of those rude people, went downe the riuer in his barge to Rethereth, and there nére the shore keeping himselfe still on the water, talked with a great number of them that came downe to the riuer side. But, forsomuch as he would not come forth of his barge to them on land, which they séemed most to desire, they were in a great rage, and so for that they could not haue him amongst them (as they wished) in furious wise they ran to the citie, and at the first approach, they spoiled the burrough of Southwarke, brake vp the prisons of the Marshalsea, & the Kings bench, set the prisoners at libertie, & admitted them into their companie.

Froissard.

The rebels spoile Southwarke, and set all prisoners at large.

This was on Corpus Christi daie, as the same authors write, that the king should thus talke with them: but their first entring into Southwarke, was on Corpus Christi euen, as Thomas Walsingham saith, passing at their pleasure to and fro the bridge all that night: for although the lord maior, and other of the best citizens would gladlie haue closed the gates against them, yet they durst not do it, for feare of the commons of the citie, who séemed to fauour the cause of the rebels so apparantlie, that they threatned to kill both the lord maior, & all other that would take vpon them to shut the gates against the commons. The Londoners liked better of the commons, for that they protested the cause of their assembling together, was not but to séeke out the traitors of the realme, and when they had found them forth, and punished them according to that they had deserued, they ment to be quiet. And to giue the more credit

The cõmons of London aiders of the rebels.

Ill rebels pretend reformatiõ but indeed purpose destruction both of king and countrie.

credit to their saiengs, they suffered none of their companie to rob or spoile, but caused them to paie for that they toke.

On the morrow being Corpus Christi day, on the which day it is reported that the king should talke with them at Rethereth (as before ye haue heard) after that they saw that they could not haue him to come and talke with them on land, as they wished, and that now they had filled their heads full with the fume of such wines as they dranke in euerie mans celler that was set open for them, enter who would: they fell in talke with the Londoners of manie lewd deuises, as of the apprehending of traitors, and speciallie concerning such misliking as they had of the duke of Lancaster, whom they hated aboue all other persons. And hereupon agréeing in one mind, after diuerse other of their outragious doings, they ran the same day to the said dukes house of the Sauoie, to the which in beautie and statelinesse of building, with all maner of princelie furniture, there was not any other in the realme comparable, which in despite of the duke, whom they called traitor, they set on fire, and by all waies and means indeuoured vtterlie to destroie it.

The Sauoie the duke of Lancasters house burnt by the rebels.

The shamefull spoile which they there made was wonderfull, and yet the zeale of iustice, truth, and vpright dealing which they would seeme to shew, was as nice and strange on the other part, speciallie in such kind of misgouerned people: for in that spoiling of the dukes house, all the iewels, plate, and other rich and sumptuous furniture which they there found in great plentie, they would not that any man should fare the better by it of a mite, but threw all into the fire, so to be consumed; and such things as the fire could not altogither destroie, as plate and iewels, they brake and crashed in péeces, throwing the same into the Thames. One of them hauing thrust a faire siluer péece into his bosome, meaning to conueie it awaie, was espied of his fellowes, who toke him, and cast both him and the péece into the fire; saieng they might not suffer any such thing, sith they professed themselues to be zealous of truth and iustice, and not théeues nor robbers.

Strange dealing of the rebels.

The iustice of the rebels.

There were 32 of them, that being gotten into the celler of the Sauoie, where the dukes wines laie, dranke so much of such sweete wine as they found there, that they were not able to come forth, but with stones & wood that fell downe as the house burned, they were closed in, so that out they could not get. They laie there shouting & crieng seuen daies togither, and were heard of manie, but none came to helpe them, and so finallie they perished. Now after that these wicked people had thus destroied the duke of Lancasters house, and done what they could deuise to his reproch; they went to the temple, and burnt the men of lawes lodgings, with their bookes, writings, and all that they might lay hand vpon. Also the house of saint Johns by Smithfield they set on fire, so that it burned for the space of seuen daies together. On Friday a great number of them, esteemed to 20 thousand, went to the manor of Heiburie that belonged vnto the lord of saint Johns, and setting fire on it, sought vtterlie to destroie the whole buildings about it.

The lawiers lodgings in the temple burnt by the rebels.

They were now diuided into three parts, one vnder the leading of Jacke Straw, toke in hand to ruinate that house, and an other number of them lay on mile end greene, and the third companie kept vpon the tower hill, and would not suffer anie vittels to be conueied into the tower, where the king at that time was lodged, and was put in such feare by those rude people, that he suffered them to enter into the tower, where they sought so narowlie for the lord chancelor, that finding him in the chappell, they drew him forth togither with the lord treasuror, and on the tower hill without reuerence of their estates and degrees, with great noise and fell cries, they stroke off their heads. There were also beheaded at the same time by those rude people, one of the kings seruants that was a sergeant at armes called John Leg, who had vsed himselfe somewhat extremelie in gathering vp of the pole monie, as by one writer it appeareth. Also to make vp the messe, they beheaded a Francis- Thom. Walf.
cane Frier, whom they had taken there at the same time, for malice of the duke of Lancaster, because he was verie familiar with him. ¶ Some write that this frier was confessor, and other say that he was physician to the king; but what soeuer he was, the commons chopped off his head, to beare the other companie, not sparing for anie respect that might be alledged in any of their behalfes.

The lord chancellor and the lord treasuror drawne out of the tower and put to death by the rebels.

On the same day also they beheaded manie others, as well Englishmen as Flemings, for no cause in the world, but onelie to satisfie the crueltie of the commons, that then were in their kingdome, for it was a sport to them, when they gat any one amongst them, that was not sworne to them, and séemed to mislike of their doings, or if they bare but neuer so little hatred to him, streightwaies to plucke of his hood, with such a yelling noise as they toke vp amongst them, and immediatlie to come thronging into the streets, and strike off his head. Neither had they any regard to sacred places; for breaking into the church of the Augustine friers, they drew forth thirteene Flemings, and beheaded them in the open streets; and out of the parish churches in the citie, they toke forth seuentéene, and likewise stroke off their heads, without reuerence either of the church or feare of God.

The raging rebels make a pastime to kill men.

No respect of place with the rebels.

But they continuing in their mischéeous purpose, shewed their malice speciallie against strangers, so that entring into euerie street, lane, and place, where they might find them, they brake vp their houses, murthered them which they found within, and spoiled their goods in most outragious manner. Likewise they entered into churches (as before ye haue heard) into abbeies, monasteries, and other houses, namelie of men of law, which in semblable sort they ransacked. They also brake vp the prisons of newgate, and of both the counters, destroied the books, and set prisoners at libertie, and also the sanctuarie-men of saint Martins le grand. And so likewise did they at Westminster, where they brake open the eschequer, and destroied the ancient bookes and other records there, doing what they could to suppresse law, and by might to beate downe equitie and right, as it is said,

Tunc ius calcatur violentia cum dominatur.

The outragious dealing of the rebels.

They that entered the tower, vsed themselues most presumptuouslie, and no lesse vnreuerentlie against the princesse of Wales, mother to the king: for thrusting into hir chamber, they offered to kisse hir, and swaght downe vpon hir bed, putting hir into such feare, that she fell into a swone, and being taken vp and recouered, was had to the water side, and put into a barge, & conueied to the place called the quéenes wardrobe, or the tower riall, where she remained all that day and the night following, as a woman halfe dead, till the king came to recomfort hir. It was strange to consider, in what feare the lords, knights & gentlemen stood of the cruell procéedings of those rude & base people. For where there were six hundred armed men, and as manie archers in the tower at that present, there was not one that durst gainesaie their doings.

Finallie, when they had eased their stomachs, with the spoiling, burning, and defacing of sundrie places, they became more quiet, and the king by the aduise of such as were then about him, vpon good deliberation of counsell, offered to them pardon, and his

The king offereth the rebels pardon.

peace,

peace, with condition that they should cease from burning and ruinating of houses, from killing and murthering of men, and depart euerie man to his home without more adoo, and there to tarrie for the kings charters confirmatorie of the same pardon. The Essexmen were content with this offer, as they that were desirous to see their wiues and children, being ware wearie of continuall trauell and paines which they were constreined to take. The king went Froissard. forth vnto Mile end, and there declared vnto the commons that they should haue charters made to them of his grant, to make them all free. And further that euerie shire, towne, lordship and libertie should haue banners of his armes deliuered vnto them, for a confirmation of his grant. Herevpon they seemed well appeased, and the king rode to the quænes wardrobe, otherwise called the tower roiall, to visit his mother, and so did comfort hir so well as he could, and taried with hir there all night.

The Essexmen satisfied with the kings promises, immediatlie departed homeward; howbeit they appointed certeine of their companie to remaine still and tarie for the kings charters. The Kentishmen also remained, and were as busie in maner the next day being saturdaie, in all kind of mischiefous dealings, as they had béene before, to wit, in murthering of men, ouerthrowing and burning of houses. The king therefore sent vnto them such as declared in what sort their fellowes were gone home well satisfied, & from thencefoorth to liue in quiet, and the same forme of peace he was contented to grant to them, if it liked them to accept the same. Herevpon their chéefe capteine Wat Tiler, a verie craftie fellow, and indued with much wit (if he had well applied it) said, that peace indeed he wished, but yet so, as the conditions might be indited to his purpose.

He was determined to driue off the king and his councell (because he was of greater force than they) with cauils and shifts till the next daie, that in the night following he might the more easilie haue com- The wicked purpose of the rebels. passed his resolution, which was, hauing all the power sort of the citie on his side, to haue spoiled the citie, and to set fire in foure corners of it, killing first the king and the lords that were about him: but he that resisteth the proud, and giueth his grace to the humble, would not permit the vngratious deuises of the naughtie and lewd lozzell to take place, but suddenlie disappointed his mischeefous drift. For whereas diuerse formes of charters had béene drawne according to the effect of the agréement with the Essexmen, and none of them might please this lordlie rebell, at length the king sent to him one of his knights called sir John Newton, to request him to come to him, that they might talke of the articles which he stood vpon to haue inserted in the charter, of the which one was to haue had a commission to put to death all lawiers, escheaters, and other which by any office had any thing to doo with the law; for his meaning was that hauing made all those awaie that vnderstood the lawes, all things should then be ordered according to the will and disposition of the common people. It was reported in deed, that he should saie with great pride the day before these things chanced, putting his hands to his lips, that within foure daies all the lawes of England should come forth of his mouth. The wretches had vtterlie forgotten all law, both diuine and humane; otherwise they would haue béene content to liue vnder law, and to doo vnto others as they would be doone vnto, as the verie law of nature (than which there cannot be a better guide) teacheth,

Quod tibi vis fieri mihi fac, quod non tibi, noli,
Sic potes in terris viuere iure poli.

Arrogant and proud words of a villen. When therefore the said sir John Newton called vpon him to come awaie to the king, he answered as it were with indignation: If thou (saith he) hast so much hast to returne to the king, thou maist depart, » I will come at my pleasure. When the knight therefore was come from him, he followed indeed, but somewhat slowlie. And when he was come nére to the place in Smithfield where the king then was, with certeine lords and knights, & other companie about him, the said sir John Newton was sent to him againe, to vnderstand what he meant. And because the knight came to him on horsebacke, & did not alight from his horsse, Wat Tiler was offended, & said in his furie, that it became him rather on foot than horsbacke to approach into his presence. The knight not able to abide such presumptuous demeanour in that proud and arrogant person, shaped him this answer: It is not amisse that I being on horsebacke, should » come to thée sitting on horsebacke. »

With which words Wat Tiler taking indignation, drew out his dagger, menacing to strike the knight, calling him therewith traitor: the knight disdaining to be misused at the hands of such a ribald, told him that he lied falselie, and with that plucked forth his dagger. Wat Tiler being among his men, shewed that he would not beare that iniurie, and forthwith made towards the knight to run vpon him. The king perceiuing the knight in danger, bad him alight from his horsse, and deliuer his dagger to Wat Tiler: but when that would not pacifie his proud and high mind, but that he would néeds flée vpon him, the maior of London William Walworth, and other knights and esquiers that were about the king, told him that it should be a shame for them all, if they permitted the knight in their presence before the eies of their prince so to be murthered: wherfore they gaue counsell to succor him forthwith, and to apprehend the vile naughtie ribald. The king though he was but a child in yeares, yet taking courage to him, commanded the maior to arrest him. The maior being a man of incomparable boldnesse, forthwith rode to him and arrested him, in reaching him such a blow on the head, that he sore astonied him therewith: and streightwaies other that were about the king, as John Standish an esquier, and diuers more of the kings seruants drew their swords, and thrust him through in diuerse parts of his bodie, so that he fell presentlie from his horsse downe to the earth, and died there in the place.

William Walworth maior of London a stout courageous man.

The death of Wat Tiler capteine of the rebels.

When the commons beheld this, they cried out; Our capteine is traitorouslie slaine, let vs stand together and die with him: let vs shoot and reuenge his » death manfullie: and so bending their bowes, made » them readie to shoot. The king shewing both hardinesse and wisedome at that instant, more than his age required, set his spurs to his horsse, and rode to them, saieng; What is the matter my men, what meane you? Will you shoot at your king? Be not troubled nor offended at the death of a traitor and ribald; I will be your king, capteine and leader, follow me into the fields, and you shall haue all things that you can desire. This did the king, to the end he might appease them, least they should haue set fire on the houses there in Smithfield, and haue attempted some further mischéefe, in reuenge of the displeasure which they tooke for the death of their chéefe leader. They moued with these the kings words, followed him and the knights that were with him, into the open fields, not yet resolued whether they should set vpon the king and slea him, or else be quiet, and returne home with the kings charter.

The king persuadeth the rebels.

In the meane time, the lord maior of London was returned into the citie, with one man onelie attending vpon him, and cried to the citizens; Oh yée good and vertuous citizens, come forth out of hand, and helpe your king readie to be slaine, & helpe me your maior

Vehement words of the maior of London to the citi-

zens crieng for aid against the rebels.

maior standing in the same perill; or if yee will not helpe me for some faults committed by me against you, yet forsake not your king, but helpe and succour him in this present danger. When the worshipfull citizens and other, that in their totall hearts loued the king, had heard these words, incontinentlie they put themselues in strong and sure armor, to the number of a thousand men, and gathering themselues together into the streets, tarried but for some lord or knight that might conduct them to the king: and by chance there came vnto them sir Robert Knolles, whome all of them requested that he would be their leader, least comming out of arraie and order, they might the sooner be broken, who willinglie led one part of them, and certeine other knights led other of them, clad in faire bright armour vnto the kings presence. The king with the lords, knights and esquires, not a little reioised at the comming of those armed men, and streightwaies compassed the commons about, as they had beene a flocke of sheepe that should haue beene closed within some fold, till it pleased the sheepheard to appoint forth, which should be thrust into pasture, and which taken to go to the shambels.

In an armie without a capteins.

The rebels quite discouraged throw downe their weapons at the comming of the Londoners in aid of the king.

There was to be seene a maruellous change of the right hand of the lord, to behold how they throwing downe staues, bils, ares, swords, bowes and arowes, humblie began to sue for pardon, which a little before gloried to haue the life of the king and his seruants wholie and altogither in their hands, power, and disposition. The poore wretches sought to hide themselues in the corne that grew in the fields, in ditches, hedges, and dennes, and whersoeuer they might get out of the way, so to safe gard their liues. The knights that were with the king would gladlie haue beene doing with them, and requested licence of him to strike off the heads of some one or two hundred of them, that it might be a witnesse in time to come, that the force of the order of knighthod was able to do somewhat against the carters and ploughmen: but the king would not suffer them, alledging that manie of them were come thither by compulsion, and not of their owne accord, and therfore it might come to passe that those should die for it, that had nothing offended: but he commanded that there should be proclamation made in London, that the citizens should haue no dealings with them, nor suffer anie of them to come within the citie that night, but to cause them to lie without doores.

Abraham Fleming out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.

¶ In the report of this commotion chronographers do somewhat varie, as by this present extract out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leceister abbeie, liuing at the time of this tumult may appeare: which Abraham Fleming hath faithfullie and trulie translated out of the annales of the said canon written in parchment in old Latine letters, as followeth. Upon a saturdaie, these malcontents [to wit, Thomas Baker the first mouer but afterwards the principall leaders, Jacke Straw, Jacke Miler, Jacke Carter, Jacke Trewman, and their trecherous traine] met togither in Smithfield, whither also the king repaired in the morning, who although in yeares he was but yong, yet in wisedome and discretion he was well growne. The ringleader of this tumultuous rowt, whose right name was Wat Tiler, which he had now changed into Jacke Straw, approched nere the king, in so much that he might in a maner touch him, being the mouth of all the residue, and hauing in his hand a drawne dagger, which he tossed from hand to hand, boy-like plaieng with it, & watching due time therewith, if not to stab, yet suddenlie to smite the king, if he denied their requests. Whereupon they that were next and about the king were greatlie afeard, least his pretended mischefe should come to passe.

Now he craued of the king that all warrens, waters, parks and woods should be common, so that as well poore as rich might freelie in any place whersoeuer practise fishing in ponds, poles, riuers, or any waters, and might hunt deere in forrests and parkes, and the hare in the fields, with diuerse other requests, which he would haue granted without contradiction or gainesaieng, and exercise without controlment. Now when the king in the grant hereof by deliberation vsed some delaie, Jacke Straw drew nearer vnto him, and speaking vnto him certeine threatening words, tooke hold of the horsses bridle whereon the king rode, vpon what presumptuous enterprise I wot not. Which John Walworth a burgesse of London beholding, and fearing present death to hang ouer the kings head, caught a weapon in his hand, and therwith thrust Jacke Straw through the throte, which when another that was by being an esquier, named Rafe Standish did see, with his weapon also ran him through the sides; in so much that he fell flat on his backe to the ground, and beating with his hands to and fro a while, at last he gaue vp his vnhappie ghost.

Then a great clamor and lamentable outcrie was made, and heard a great while togither, saieng; Our guide is dead, our capteine is dead. And indeed so he was, being dragged by the hands and feet in a vile and contemptible sort into saint Bartholomewes church hard by. Then did manie of the vnrulie multitude withdraw themselues, and vanishing awaie betooke them to their heeles, being about the number (as it was thought) of ten thousand. Then the king minding to make amends and to requite receiued courtesie, knighted the said John Walworth, & Rafe Standish, with foure burgesses more of the citte, namelie John Philpot, Nicholas Brembre, John Laund, and Nicholas Twifield, girding them about the waist with the girdle of knighthod, which was the maner of their graduating. Then the king hauing ordeined and made the foresaid sir knights, commanded that the residue of the curssed crue should depart and get them into the field, that meeting togither in a companie, he might fall vnto a treatie of agreement with them.

The rowt being there assembled, behold a multitude of armed men ran rushing out of the citie, sir Robert Knols being their capteine, who with these his soldiers compassed & hedged in the poore caitiues distressed in the field like sheepe that haue lost their sheepheard. Then the king of his accustomed clemencie, being pricked with pitie, would not that the wretches should die, but spared them being a rash and foolish multitude, and commanded them euerie man to get him home to his owne house; howbeit manie of them, at the kings going awaie suffered the danger of death. In this miserable taking were reckoned to the number of twentie thousand. Thus saith Knighton, not as an eie-witnesse, but as taught by heare-saie, whereby he compiled the greatest part of his annales, as he himselfe confesseth, seeming sorie that he was so constreined, as by part of the octastichon at the fot of the first page, intituled *Lamentum compilatoris*, appeareth in maner and forme following:

Sum cæcus factus subita caligine tactus,
Nec opus inceptum iam corrigo forsan ineptum,
Me metuo dubium pro veris sæpe locutum,
Plus audita loquor quàm mihi visa sequor, &c.

All the foresaid villanies notwithstanding against the king and the state, tending wholie to the subuersion of law and ciuill gouernement, albeit the wretches deserued no sparke of fauour, but extreame seueritie of iudgement to be executed vpon them; yet (as we haue heard) besides the great clemencie of the king, exhibited vnto them in remitting their offense,

offense, and acquiting them from the rigor of the law, he granted and gaue to them the charter, which they had requested, faire written and sealed, to auoid a greater mischiefe, & commanded it for a time to be deliuered them, knowing that Essex and Kent were not so pacified, but that if they were not the soner contented, and that partlie after their minds, they would vp againe. The tenor of the charter which was gotten thus by force of the king was as followeth.

The forme of the kings charter *of Manumission.*

The like there was granted to them of other countries as well as to these of Hertfordshire in the same forme, the names of the counties changed.

Richardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & dominus Hiberniæ: omnibus balliuis & fidelibus suis, ad quos præsentes litteræ peruenerint, salutem. Sciatis quòd de gratia nostra speciali manumisimus vniuersos ligeos & singulos subditos nostros & alios comitatus Hertfordiæ, & ipsos & eorum quemlibet ab omni bondagio exuimus, & quietos facimus per præsentes, ac etiam perdonamus eisdem ligeis ac subditis nostris omnimodas felonias, proditiones, transgressiones, & extortiones, per ipsos vel aliquem eorum qualitercunque factas siue perpetratas, ac etiam vtlagarias & vtlagarias, si qua vel quæ in ipsos, vel aliquem ipsorum fuerit vel fuerint hijs occasionibus promulgata vel promulgatæ, & summam pacem nostram eis & eorum cuilibet inde concedimus. In cuius rei testimonium, has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud London 15 die Iuny. Anno regni nostri quarto.

The commons hauing obteined this charter departed home, but ceassed not from their riotous demeanour in sundrie parts of the realme, and especiallie at saint Albons, where after the townesmen were returned home, they kept such a coile against the abbat and monks, to haue certeine ancient charters deliuered them that concerned their liberties, and to haue such new made and deliuered to them as might serue their purpose; that bicause such old charters as they requested were not to be had, the abbat and monks loked euerie houre when their house should be set on fire and burnt ouer their heads. The prior and certeine other as well monks as late men that were seruants to the abbat, fled for feare of the rage of those misgouerned people, knowing that they hated them deadlie, and therefore loked for no courtesie at their hands. They had obteined the kings letters vnto the abbat, commanding him to deliuer vnto them such charters as they had giuen information to be remaining in his hands, so that vnder colour thereof, they called for those writings in most importunate wise, threatning sore, if they were not brought to light, vtterlie to destroie the house by setting it on fire.

The townesmen of saint Albons not yet quieted.

But to speake of all the vnrulie parts of those vnrulie people, it were too long a processe: yet at length after they vnderstood how their grand capteine and chéefe ringleader Wat Tiler was slaine, they began somewhat to allwage their presumptuous attempts, the rather for that there came a knight with the kings letter of protection in behalfe of the abbat and his house, and yet they were not so calmed, but that they continued in requiring to haue charters made to them by the abbat, of the like forme and effect to that which the king had made, concerning the infranchising them from bondage, whereby they that obteined such charters toke themselues to be discharged of all seruices and accustomed labors, so that they meant not to doo any further works, nor yeld such customes as before time they vsuallie had béene accustomed to doo and yéeld vnto their lawfull lords.

Neither did the townesmen of S. Albons, and the tenants of other townes and villages thereabout, that belonged to the abbeie of S. Albons, thus outragiouslie misdemeane themselues, but euerie where else the commons kept such like stur, so that it was rightlie called the hurling time, there were such hurlie burlies kept in euerie place, to the great danger of ouerthrowing the whole state of all good gouernment in this land. For euen the selfe same saturdaie after Corpus Christi day, in Suffolke there were got togither to the number of fiftie thousand men, by the setting on of John Wraw, a naughtie lewd priest, that had bæne first among the Essexmen at London, and was sent downe in all post hast from Wat Tiler, to stir the commons in those parts to commit the like mischéefe as he had séene begun about London. These fellowes therfore, after they were assembled togither, fell to the destroieng of the manors and houses of men of law, & such lawiers as they caught, they slue, and beheded sir John Cauendish lord chiefe iustice of England, and set his head vpon the pillorie in the market place in S. Edmundsburie.

The hurling time.

The outragious dealings of the Suffolke rebels.

Sir John Cauendish lord chiefe iustice beheaded.

Also sir John of Cambridge the prior of saint Edmundsburie, as he would haue fled from them, was taken not far from Wildenhale, and likewise beheaded, his bodie being left naked in the open field, and no man presuming to burie it, during the space of fiue daies, for feare of the cruell commons. His head was set vpon a pole, and caried before John Wraw and other of those wicked people; the which comming to Burie, and entring the towne in maner of a procession, when they came into the market place where the pillorie stood, as it were in token of the old friendship betwixt the lord chiefe iustice, and the said prior, they made sport with their heads, making them sometime as it were to kisse, other whiles to sound in either others eare. After they had taken their passime inough herewith, they set both the heads againe aloft vpon the pillorie. After this, they beheaded an other monke called Dan John de Lakinghuith, whose hed was likewise set by the other two vpon the pillorie. Moreouer, they caused the monks to come forth and bring vnto them all such obligations, in which the townesmen stood bound vnto the monasterie for their good abearing; likewise such charters of liberties of the towne of Burie, which king Cnute the founder of the said monasterie, and his successors had granted to the same: which writings when they had brought forth, and protested that they knew of no more, the commons would scarselie beléeue them, and therefore called the townesmen forth, and bad them séé if that there were all such writings as they thought stood with their aduantage to haue brought to light. The townesmen feigned as though they had bæne sorie to see such rule kept against the monks, where in déed they had set the commons in hand with all these things. To conclude, the commons toke this order with the monks, that if the townesmen might not obteine their ancient liberties, by the hauing of those writings, they should declare what the same liberties were, which they were wont to inioy, and the abbat of Burie, Edmund Brumfield, being then in prison at Notingham whom they purposed to deliuer (so that he should celebrat diuine seruice in his monasterie on Midsummer date next) within fourtie daies after his comming home, should confirme with his seale such charter as was to be deuised and made concerning the same liberties of the said townesmen, and the couent should likewise put therevnto their common seale.

The prior of S. Edmundsburie slaine.

This Edmund Brumfield was committed to prison by the K. for his presumptuous intrusion into the abbacie of Burie.

Moreouer, they constreined the monks to deliuer vnto

vnto the townesmen, a crosse and a chalice of fine gold, and other iewels that belonged to the abbeie, being in value aboue the worth of a thousand pounds in monie, the which was to remaine in the hands of the townsmen, vpon this condition, that if Edmund Brumfield being deliuered out of prison inioied the dignitie of abbat there, and with all put his seale together with the conuent seale within the time limited, vnto a writing that should conteine the liberties of the towne, that then the same crosse, chalice, and other iewels should be restored vnto the monasterie, or else the same to remaine for euer to the townesmen as forfeited. Such were the doings of those rebels in and about the towne of Burie: and the like disorders & breach of peace followed by the commotions of the commons in Cambridgeshire, and in the Ile of Elie, resembling the others in slaughters of men, destroieng of houses, and all other sorts of mischefe.

John Litlester capteine of ỹ Norfolke rebels.

In like maner in Norfolke there was assembled an huge number of those vnrulie countrie people, which vnder the guiding of a dier of cloth, commonlie called John Litlester, that had dwelt in Norwich, attempted and did all such vngratious feats, as they had heard that other did in other parts of the realme, yea and greater also, putting forth their hands vnto rapine and robberie. And whereas they were wholie conspired togither, and bent to commit all kind of mischefe, yet esteeming their owne authoritie to be small, they purposed to haue brought William Ufford earle of Suffolke into their felowship, that if afterwards they might happilie be impeached hereafter, for such their naughtie and most wicked doings, they might haue had some shadow or colour, as it were through him, while they had delt in such vnrulie sort. But the earle aduertised of their intention, suddenlie rose from supper, and got him awaie by vnknowne waies, still fleeing from the commons, till at length he got to S. Albons, and so from thence to the king.

The earle of Suffolke escapeth from the rebels.

The Norfolk rebels compell the noblemen & gentlemen to be sworne to them.

The commons missing of their purpose for the hauing of him, laid hold vpon all such knights and other gentlemen as came in their waie, and were found at home in their houses, compelling them to be sworne to them, and to ride with them through the countrie, as the lord Scales, William lord Norlie, sir John Brewes, sir Stephan Hales, and sir Robert Salle: which sir Robert continued not long aliue among them, for he could not dissemble as the residue, but began to reproue openlie their naughtie doings, for the which he had his braines dasht out by a countrie clowne, one that was his bondman, and so he ended his life, who if he might haue come to haue tried his manhood and strength with them in plaine battell, had beene able to haue put a thousand of those villaines in feare, his valiancie and prowesse was such. The residue taught by his example that they must either dissemble or die for it, were glad to currie fauour, praising or dispraising all things as they saw the commons affected, and so comming into credit with their chéefteine John Litlester, that named himselfe king of the commons, they were preferred to serue him at the table, in taking the assaie of his meats and drinks, and doing other seruices, with knéeling humblie before him as he sat at meat, as sir Stephan Hales who was appointed his caruer, and others had other offices assigned them.

Sir Robert Salle slaine by one of his own villains.

The capteine of the Norfolke rebels forceth the noblemen and gentlemen to serue him at the table.

At length, when those commons began to waxe wearie of taking paines in euill doings, they toke counsell togither, and agreed to send two knights, to wit, the lord Norlie, and sir John Brewes, and three of the commons, in whom they put great confidence, vnto the king, to obteine their charter of manumission and infranchising, and to haue the same charter more large than those that were granted to other countries. They deliuered great summes of monie vnto those whome they sent, to bestow the same for the obteining of pardon, and such grants as they sued for, which monie they had got by force of the citizens of Norwich, to saue the citie from fire and sacking. These knights as they were on their iournie, at Ichingham not farre distant from Newmarket, not looking for anie such thing, met with sir Henrie Spenser bishop of Norwich, a man more fit for the field than the church, a better skilled (as may appéere) in armes than in diuinitie. This bishop had aduertisements at his manor of Burlie néere to Okam in the parties about Stamford, of the sturre which the commons in Norfolke kept, and thereupon resolued streightwaies to see what rule there was holden. He had in his companie at that time, not passing eight lances, and a small number of archers.

A warlike bishop.

The bishop méeting thus with the knights, examined them streightwaies if there were anie of the traitours there with them. The knights at the first were doubtfull to bewraie their associats: but at last imboldened by the bishops words, declared that two of the chéefe doers in the rebellion were there present, and the third was gone to prouide for their dinner. The bishop streightwaies commanded those two to be made shorter by the head, and the third he himselfe went to séeke, as one of his shéepe that was lost; not to bring him home to the fold, but to the slaughter-house, as he had well deserued (in the bishops opinion) sith he had so mischéeuoulie gone astraie, and alienated himselfe from his dutifull allegiance. These persons being executed, and their heads pight on the end of poles, and so set vp at Newmarket, the bishop with the knights toke their waie with all spéed towards Northwalsham in Norfolke, where the commons were purposed to staie for answer from the king: and as he passed through the countrie, his number increased, for the knights and gentlemen of the countrie, hearing how their bishop had taken his speare in hand, and was come into the field armed, ioined themselues with him.

Spenser bish. of Norwich goeth as capteine against the rebels.

When therefore the bishop was come into the place where the commons were incamped, he perceiued that they had fortified their campe verie stronglie with ditches, and such other stuffe as they could make shift with, as dores, windowes, boords, & tables, and behind them were all their cartages placed, so that it séemed they meant not to flie. Herewith the bishop being chafed with the presumptuous boldnesse of such a sort of disordered persons, commanded his trumpets to sound to the battell, and with his speare in the rest, he charged them with such violence, that he went ouer the ditch, and laied so about him, that through his manfull doings, all his companie found means to passe the ditch likewise, and so therewith followed a verie sore and terrible fight, both parts doing their best to vanquish the other. But finallie the commons were ouercome, and driuen to séeke their safegard by flight, which was sore hindered by their cartages that stood behind them, ouer the which they were forced to clime and leape so well as they might. John Litlester and other chéefe capteins were taken aliue. The bishop therefore caused the said Litlester to be arreigned of high treason, and condemned, and so he was drawne, hanged, and headed according to the iudgement.

The fortifieng of the rebels campe.

The bishop is the first man that chargeth the rebels in their campe.

The Norfolke rebels vanquished.

The bishop heard his confession, and by vertue of his office absolued him: and to shew some parcell of sorrowing for the mans mischance, he went with him to the galowes. But it séemed that pitie wrought not with the bishop, to quench the zeale of iustice: for he caused not Litlester onelie to be executed, but sought for all other that were the chéefe doers in that rebellion,

rebellion, causing them to be put vnto death, and so by that meanes quieted the countrie. ¶ To recite what was done in euerie part of the realme in time of those hellish troubles, it is not possible: but this is to be considered, that the rage of the commons was vniuersallie such, as it might seeme they had generallie conspired togither, to doo what mischeefe they could deuise. As among sundrie other, what wickednesse was it, to compell teachers of children in grammar schooles to sweare neuer to instruct any in their art? Againe, could they haue a more mischeefous meaning, than to burne and destroie all old and ancient monuments, and to murther and dispatch out of the waie all such as were able to commit to memorie, either any new or old records? For it was dangerous among them to be knowne for one that was lerned, and more dangerous, if any men were found with a penner and inkhorne at his side: for such seldome or neuer escaped from them with life.

Anno Reg. 5.

But to returne to saie somewhat more concerning the end of their rebellious enterprises, you must vnderstand, how after that Wat Tiler was slaine at London in the presence of the king (as before ye haue heard) the hope and confidence of the rebels greatlie decaied: and yet neuertheless, the king and his councell being not well assured, granted to the commons (as ye haue heard) charters of manumission and infranchisement from all bondage, and so sent them awaie home to their countries: and forthwith herevpon he assembled an armie of the Londoners, and of all others in the countries abroad that bare him good will, appointing none to come, but such as were armed and had horsses, for he would haue no footmen with him. Thus it came to passe, that within three daies he had about him fourtie thousand horssemen, as was esteemed; so that in England had not beene heard of the like armie assembled togither at one time. And herewith was the king aduertised, that the Kentishmen began eftsoones to stir, wherewith the king and the whole armie were so grieuouslie offended, that they meant streight to haue set vpon that countrie, and to haue wholie destroied that rebellious generation. But thorough intercession made by the lords and gentlemen of that countrie, the king pacified his mood, and so resolued to proceed against them by order of law and iustice, causing iudges to sit and to make inquisition of the malefactors, and especiallie of such as were authors of the mischeefes.

The capteine once slaine the soldiers faint.

An armie of fortie thousand horssemen.

The Kentishmen eftsoones rebell.

And about the same time did the maior of London sit in iudgement, as well vpon the offendors that were citizens, as of other that were of Kent, Esser, Southser, Norfolke, Suffolke, and other counties, being found within the liberties of the citie; and such as were found culpable, he caused them to lose their heads, as Jacke Straw, John Kirkbie, Alane Tredera, and John Sterling, that gloried of himselfe, for that he was the man that had slaine the archbishop. This fellow (as it is written by some authors) streight waies after he had done that wicked deed, fell out of his wits, and comming home into Esser where he dwelt, tied a naked sword about his necke, that hong downe before on his brest, and likewise a dagger naked, that hanged downe behind on his backe, and so went vp and downe the lanes & streets about home, crieng out, and protesting, that with those weapons he had dispatched the archbishop; and after he had remained a while at home, he came to London againe, for that he shuld receiue (as he said) the reward therefore of the act which he had committed: and so indeed, when he came thither, and boldlie confessed that he was the man that had beheaded the archbishop, he lost his head in steed of a recompense: and diuerse other both of Esser and Kent, that had laid violent hands vpon the archbishop came to the like end at London, where they did the deed, being bewraied by their owne confessions.

Jack Straw and his adherents executed.

Here is to be remembred, that the king, after the citie of London was deliuered from the danger of the rebels (as before ye haue heard) in respect of the great manhood, and assured loialtie which had appeared in the maior, and other of the aldermen, for some part of recompense of their faithfull assistance in that dangerous season, made the said maior William Walworth knight, with fiue other aldermen his brethren, to wit, Nicholas Bramble, John Philpot, Nicholas Twiford, Robert Launder, and Robert Gaton, also John Standish, that (as ye haue heard) holpe to slaie Wat Tiler. Moreouer, the king granted, that there should be a dagger added to the armes of the citie of London, in the right quarter of the shield, for an augmentation of the same armes, and for remembrance of this maior his valiant act, as doth appeare vnto this daie; for till that time, the citie bare onelie the crosse, without the dagger.

The maior and fiue aldermen knighted.

The armes of London augmented, by additiõ of the dagger.

Although the kings authoritie thus began to shew it selfe, to the terror of rebels; yet the commons of Esser eftsoones assembled themselues togither, not far from Hatfield Peuerell, and sent to the king to know of him if his pleasure was, that they should inioy their promised liberties: and further, that they might be as free as their lords, and not to come to any court, except it were to the great leet, twise in the yeare. When the king heard such presumptuous requests, he was in a great chafe, & dispatched the messengers awaie, with a sore threatning answer, saieng that bondmen they were, and bondmen they should be, and that in more vile manner than before, to the terrible example of all other that should attempt any the like disorders: and forthwith, the earle of Buckingham, and the lord Thomas Percie, brother to the earle of Northumberland, were sent with an armie to represse those rebels, whome they found fortified within woods, hedges and ditches verie stronglie, but with small adoo they were put to flight, & about fiue hundred of them slaine; the residue saued themselues as well as they might, by succour of the woods. There were eight hundred horsses also taken, which those rebels had there with them, to draw and carrie their baggage.

The commons of Esser rebell afresh.

The rebels of Esser are scattered & slaine.

Those of the rebels that escaped, were not yet so tamed by that ouerthrow, but that assembling themselues togither in a rowt, they made towards Colchester: and comming thither, would haue persuaded the townesmen to haue ioined with them in a new rebellion. But when they could not bring their purpose to passe, they marched towards Sudburie. The lord Fitz Walter, and sir John Harleston, vnderstanding which waie they tooke, followed them with a compañie of armed men, and suddenlie setting vpon them as they were making their proclamations, slue of them so manie as it liked them, and the other they saued, and suffered to depart, or else committed them to prison. After this, the king came to Hauering at the bowre, and from thence to Chelmisford, where he appointed sir Robert Trisilian to sit in iudgement of the offendors and rebels of that countrie, whereupon an inquest being chosen, a great number were indicted, arreigned, & found giltie, so that vpon some one gallowes there were nine or ten hanged togither.

Fabian.

In euerie countrie were like inquiries made, and the cheefe offendors apprehended and put to death in euerie lordship through the realme, where anie of them were detected, by ten, twelue, twentie, thirtie, yea and in some places by fortie at once; so that the whole number grew to fiftéene hundred and aboue. At the first, when the kings iustices began to sit in Esser, Kent, and at London, by reason of the multi-

The rebels executed in euerie lordship.

tude

tude that were to be executed, they onelie chopped off their heads, but afterwards when that kind of death seemed too close and secret for so open offenses, they proceeded according to the accustomed law of the realme, by condemning them to be drawne and hanged, and according thervnto they were executed.

The king calleth vnto his letters of infranchising granted to the bondmen.

In the meane time, the king by the aduise of his councell, directed his letters reuocatorie into euerie countie there, to be proclamed in euerie citie, borrow, towne, and place, as well within the liberties as without; by the which letters he reuoked, made void and frustrate his former letters of infranchising the bondmen of his realme, and commanded that such as had the same letters, should without delaie bring them in, and restore them to him and his councell to be cancelled, as they would answer vpon their faith and allegiance which they ought to him, and vpon paine of forfeiting all that they had. The date of which letters reuocatorie was at Chelmesford, the second daie of Julie, in the fift yeare of his reigne.

The king remoueth to S. Albons.

When the king had quieted the countie of Essex, and punished such as were the cheefe sturrers of that wicked commotion in those parts, he went to saint Albons, to see iustice done vpon such as had demeaned themselues most presumptuouslie against the kings peace in that towne, namelie against the abbat and his house, who sought to defend themselues vnder a colour of freendship, that they trusted to find in some persons about the king. But that trust deceiued them, and procured the more displeasure against them, for that they would not sue for fauour at the abbats hands in time, by submitting themselues vnto his will and pleasure. To be breefe, the king came thither with a great number of armed men and archers, and caused his iustice sir Robert Trisilian to sit in iudgement vpon the malefactors, that were brought thither from Hertford gaile.

John Ball.

Thither was brought also to the king from Couentrie, John Ball preest, whome the citizens of Couentrie had taken, and now here at saint Albons they presented him to the kings presence, whereupon he was arreigned and condemned, to be drawne, hanged, and headed for such notable treasons as he was there conuicted of. He receiued iudgement vpon the saturdaie the first daie that the said sir Robert Trisilian sat in iudgement, but he was not executed till the mondaie following. This man had beene a preacher the space of twentie yeares, and bicause his doctrine was not according to the religion then by the bishops mainteined, he was first prohibited to preach in anie church or chappell; and when he ceassed not for all that, but set forth his doctrine in the streets & fields where he might haue audience, at length he was committed to prison, out of the which he prophesied that he should be deliuered with the force of twentie thousand men, and euen so it came to passe in time of the rebellion of the commons.

John Ball his prophesie.

When all the prisons were broken vp, and the prisoners set at libertie, he being therefore so deliuered, followed them, & at Blackeheath when the greatest multitude was there got togither (as some write) he made a sermon, taking this saieng or common prouerbe for his theame, whereupon to intreat,

When Adam delu'd, and Eue span,
Who was then a gentleman?

John Ball his sermon to the rebels.

and so continuing his sermon, went about to proue by the words of that prouerbe, that from the beginning, all men by nature were created alike, and that bondage or seruitude came in by iniust oppression of naughtie men. For if God would haue had anie bondmen from the beginning, he would haue appointed who should be bond & who free. And therefore he exhorted them to consider, that now the time was come appointed to them by God, in which they might (if they would) cast off the yoke of bondage, & recouer libertie. He counselled them therefore to remember themselues, and to take good hearts vnto them, that after the manner of a good husband that tilleth his ground, and riddeth out thereof such euill weeds as choke and destroie the good corne, they might destroie first the great lords of the realme, and after the iudges and lawiers, questmongers, and all other whom they vndertooke to be against the commons, for so might they procure peace and suertie to themselues in time to come, if dispatching out of the waie the great men, there should be an equalitie in libertie, no difference in degrees of nobilitie, but a like dignitie and equall authoritie in all things brought in among them.

When he had preached and set forth such kind of doctrine, and other the like fond and foolish toies vnto the people, they extolled him to the starres, affirming that he ought to be archbishop and lord chancellour, where he that then enioied that rome, meaning sir Simon de Sudburie that then was aliue, was a traitor to the king and realme, and worthie to lose his head, whersoeuer he might be apprehended. Manie other things are reported by writers of this John Ball, as the letter, which vnder a kind of darke riddle he wrote to the capteine of the Essex rebels, the copie whereof was found in one of their purses that was executed at London.

The tenor of the said seditious *preests letter.*

IOhn Schæpe S. Marie præst of Yorke, and now of Colchester, græteth well John nameleſſe, and John the Miller, and John Carter, & biddeth them that they beware of guile in Bourrough, & stand togither in Gods name, & biddeth Piers ploughman go to his worke, and chastise well Hob the robber, & take with you John Trewman and all his fellowes, and no mo. John the Miller Y ground small, small small, the kings sonne of heauen shall paie for all. Beware or yee be wo, know your freend from your foo, haue inough and saie ho, and doo well and better, flee sinne and seeke peace, and hold you therein, and so biddeth John Trewman and all his fellowes.

This letter he confessed himselfe to haue written, as Thomas Walsingham affirmeth, with manie other things which he had done and committed, to the disquieting of the realme, for the which he was drawne, hanged, and beheaded at saint Albons, the fifteenth of Julie, being monday, in this fift yeare of king Richards reigne. On the same daie, the kings iustice sir Robert Trisilian sat vpon the rebels of saint Albons, and other of the countrie of Hertford, afore whome, by such policie as he vsed, there were a great number indicted, and diuerse being arreigned, were found guiltie, as William Grindecob, William Cadindon, John Barbor, and certeine others, which were hanged and drawne, to the number of fifteene persons in all; diuerse cheefe men of the towne were committed to prison, as Richard Wallingford, John Garleeke, William Berewill, Thomas Putor and others of the countrie about. There were committed to prison to the number of fourescore persons, the which neuertheleſſe, by the kings pardon, were released and dismissed.

John Ball executed at S. Albons.

The hatred which the townesmen had conceiued

against the abbat and conuent of S. Albons, was swerlie great, and manie deuises they had to haue saued those that were executed. And where as well the townesmen, as other of the abbats and conuents tenants, both of Hertfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, had gotten of the abbat and conuent letters of discharge, from doing anie bound seruice, the king directed his letters vnto certeine commissioners, as to John Ludowicke, John Westwicombe, John Benting, Richard Perers, Walter Saunford, Richard Gifford, Thomas Eidon, and William Eccleshall, commanding them to cause proclamation to be made in all such townes and places as were thought necessarie, through the whole countries of Buckingham and Hertford, that all and euerie person and persons that ought and had beene accustomed to do or yeeld anie manner of seruices, customes, or duties, whether they were bondmen or free, vnto the said abbat and couent of S. Albons, should do and yeeld the same seruices, customes, and duties, in such like forme & manner, as they had beene vsed to do, before the time of the late troubles, & not to chalenge or claime any libertie or priuilege which they inioied not before the same troubles, vpon their faith & allegiance in which they stood bound to him, and vpon paine to forfeit all that they might forfeit: and in case anie were found to do contrarie thervnto, the same commissioners had authoritie, and were commanded to arrest and imprison them, till for their further punishment, order might be taken and agreed vpon in that behalfe accordinglie.

The king calleth in by proclamation all such letters of manumission, as the abbat of saint Albons had granted to his bondmen.

On saint Margarets daie, the king being readie to take his iournie to Berkhamsted, in the great court of the abbeie of S. Albons had all the commons of the countie of Hertford before him, that had summons there to appeare, all that were betwixt fiftéene and threescore yeeres of age, where they take an oth togither from thencefoorth, to be faithfull subiects vnto him, and neuer to rise or make anie commotion, to the disturbance of his peace; and rather to die, than to consent vnto anie rebellious persons, whome they should to the vttermost of their powers do their best, to apprehend and deliuer them to the kings prison, that they might be forth comming. After they had receiued this oth, they were licenced to depart, and the king rode to Berkhamsted, where he remained for a time, and went to Esthamsted to recreate himselfe with hunting, where he was informed, that those which were hanged at S. Albons, were taken from the gallowes, and remoued a good waie from the same: with which presumption he was so stirred, that he sent forthwith his letters to the bailiffes of the towne of S. Albons, commanding them vpon the sight of the same, to cause cheines to be made, and to bring the said bodies backe vnto the gallowes, and to hang them in those chaines vpon the same gallowes, there to remaine, so long as one peece might sticke to another, according to the forme of the iudgement giuen. The test of this writ thus directed to the bailiffes of saint Albons, was at Esthamsted the third of August, in the fift yeare of this kings reigne, and in the yeare of our lord a thousand three hundred foure score and one.

The commõs of Hertfordshire sworne to the king.

The townesmen of S. Albons durst not disobeie the kings commandement, and so hanged vp againe in chaines the dead bodies of their neighbors, greatlie to their shame and reproch, when they could get none other for anie wages to come néere the stinking carcasses, but that they were constreined themselues to take in hand so vile an office. And such was the end of the tumults at S. Albons, where as well as in other places, the vnrulie commons had plaied their parts. To conclude and make an end of these diuelish troubles, to the end it may appeare, in what danger as well the K. as the whole state of the realme stood, by the mischéeuous attempts of the vnrulie people, I haue thought good to declare the confession of Jacke Straw one of their chéefe captcins (and next in reputation amongst them vnto Wat Tiler) when he came to be executed in London, according to iudiciall sentence passed against him.

The confession of Jacke Straw at the time of his death.

¶ At the same time (said he) that we were assembled vpon Blackeheath, and had sent to the king to come vnto vs, our purpose was to haue slaine all such knights, esquiers, and gentlemen, as should haue giuen their attendance thither vpon him: and as for the king, we would haue kept him amongst vs, to the end that the people might more boldlie haue repaired to vs, sith they should haue thought, that what soeuer we did, the same had beene done by his authoritie. Finally, when we had gotten power inough, that we needed not to feare anie force that might be made against vs, we would haue slaine all such noble men, as might either haue giuen counsell, or made anie resistance against vs, specíallie the knights of the Rhodes; and lastlie we would haue killed the king and all men of possessions, with bishops, monks, chanons, and parsons of churches, onelie friers Mendicants we would haue spared, that might haue sufficed for ministration of the sacraments. And when we had made a riddance of all those, we would haue deuised lawes, according to the which the subiects of this realme should haue liued, for we would haue created kings, as Wat Tiler in Kent, and other in other countries. But bicause this our purpose was disappointed by the archbishop of Canturburie, that would not permit the king to come to vs, we sought by all meanes to dispatch him out of the waie, as at length we did. Moreouer, the same euening that Wat Tiler was killed, we were determined, hauing the greatest part of the commons of the citie bent to ioine with vs, to haue set fire in foure corners of the citie, and so to haue diuided amongst vs the spoile of the cheefest riches that might haue beene found at our pleasure. And this (said he) was our purpose, as God may helpe me now at my last end.

Thus may you see, after what sort they were conspired to the destruction of the realme, and to haue aduanced and inriched themselues; not considering or foreséeing the euill successe of their tumultuous broile, and that it would tend but little to their profit in the end, by a common spoile to amend their state, and to become mightie and rich with goods euill gotten, which though for a time (if lucke had serued them to haue possessed) they had enioied, yet could they not long prosper nor bring good vnto the possessors: for

Non habet euentus fordida præda bonos.

And lest this one mans confession might séeme insufficient, diuerse other of them confessed the same, or much what the like in effect, when they saw no remedie but present death before their eies. To declare the occasion whie such mischeefes happened thus in the realme, we leaue to the iudgement of those that may coniecture a truth thereof, by conferring the manners of that age & behauiour of all states then, sith they that wrote in those daies, may haplie in that behalfe misse the trueth, in construing things according to their affections. But truelie it is to be thought, that the faults, as well in one degrée as an other, specíallie the sinnes of the whole nation, procured such vengeance to rise, whereby they might be warned of their euill doings, and séeke to reforme the same in time conuenient. But as it commeth still to passe, when the danger is once ouershot, repentance likewise is put ouer, and is no more regarded, till an other scourge commeth eftsones to put men in remembrance of their duetie; so in like manner (as séemeth) it chanced in this kings daies, as by

The cause of the late tumults.

that

that which followeth may more plainelie appeare.

In this meane time that these troubles were at the hottest in England, the duke of Lancaster being in Scotland, so behaued himselfe (in the treatie which he had in hand with the Scots) dissembling the matter so, as if he had not vnderstood of any trouble in England at all, that finallie before the Scots had knowledge thereof, a truce was concluded to indure for two yeares, or (as other haue) for three yeares. When he had made an end there, and that all things were agreed vpon and passed, for the confirmation of that accord, he returned to Berwike, but at his comming thither, the capteine sir Matthew Redman would not suffer him to enter the towne, because of a commandement giuen to him from the earle of Northumberland, lord warden of the marches: wherefore the duke was glad to returne into Scotland againe, obteining licence of the Scots to remaine amongst them, till the realme of England was reduced to better quiet. Herevpon, the commons in England that fauored him not, toke occasion to report the worst of him that might be deuised, calling him now in time of their rebellious commotions, a traitor to the realme, declaring that he had ioined himselfe to the Scots, and meant to take part with them against his owne natiue countrie.

A truce with Scotland. Tho. Walsi. Froissard.

The capteine of Berwike will not suffer the duke of Lancaster to enter into the towne.

The king indeed had sent commandement, during the time of the rebellious troubles, vnto the earle of Northumberland, that he should haue good regard to the safe keeping of all the townes & castels vnder his rule, & not to suffer any person to enter the same, hauing forgotten to except the duke of Lancaster being then in Scotland: wherevpon the duke toke no small displeasure with the earle of Northumberland, as after he well shewed at his comming home. But before he returned forth of Scotland, he wrote to the king to vnderstand his pleasure, in what sort he should returne, humbling himselfe in such wise, as he made offer to come with one knight, one esquier, and a grome, if it should please the king so to appoint him; or if it so were that by his presence it was thought the realme was like to fall in any trouble, he was readie to depart into exile, neuer to returne into his countrie againe, if so be that through his absence the king and realme might inioy peace and quietnesse.

The king hearing such offers, wrote to him, that his pleasure was to haue him to returne home, with all his whole traine; and if the same were not thought sufficient to gard him, he should take of euerie towne by the which he passed, a certeine number of men to attend him vnto the next towne for his safegard, and so it was done, the king sending him commission to that effect, and thus comming to the court, he was of the king right honorablie receiued. Within few daies after his comming, he exhibited a grieuous complaint against the earle of Northumberland, for abusing him in diuerse sorts, in time of the late troubles, so as his honour was greatlie thereby touched, for which the earle was sent for, and commanded to come vnto Berkhamsted, where all the lords in maner of the land were assembled in councell.

The duke of Lancaster chargeth the earle of Northumberland with sundrie crimes.

Here, after the duke had laid diuerse things to the earles charge, for his disobedience, vnfaithfulnesse, and ingratitude; the earle after the manner of his countrie, not able to forbeare, brake out into reprochfull words against the duke, although he was commanded by the king to cease, where the duke kept silence in humble maner, at the first word, when the K. commanded him to hold his peace, so that by reason of the earles disobedience in that behalfe, he was arrested. But yet the earls of Warwike and Suffolke vndertaking for his appearance at the next parlement, he was suffered to depart, and so the councell brake vp. About the feast of All saints the parlement began, to the which the duke of Lancaster came bringing with him an exceeding number of armed men, and likewise the earle of Northumberland with no lesse companie came likewise to London, & was lodged within the citie, hauing great friendship shewed towards him of the citizens, who promised to assist him at all times, when necessitie required, so that his part seemed to be ouerstrong for the duke, if they should haue come to anie triall of their forces at that time.

The duke of Lancaster & the earle of Northumberland come to the parlement with great troops of armed men.

The Londoners, frends to the earle of Northumberland.

The duke laie with his people in the suburbs, and euerie daie when they went to the parlement house at Westminster, both parts went thither in armour, to the great terror of those that were wise and graue personages, fearing some mischiefe to fall forth of that vnaccustomed manner of their going armed to the parlement house, contrarie to the ancient vsage of the realme. At length, to quiet the parties and to auoid such inconueniences, as might haue growen of their dissention, the king toke the matter into his hands, and so they were made frends, to the end that some good might be done in that parlement, for reformation of things touching the state of the realme, for which cause it was especiallie called: but now after it had continued a long time, and few things at all concluded, newes came that the ladie Anne sister to the emperour Wenslaus, & affianced wife to the king of England, was come to Calis, wherevpon the parlement was prorogued till after Christmas, that in the meane time the marriage might be solemnized, which was appointed after the Epiphanie: and forthwith great preparation was made to receiue the bride, that she might be conueied with all honor vnto the kings presence.

The lords sit in armour in the parlement house.

The K. maketh an agreemẽt betweene the duke of Lancaster & the earle of Northumberland.

Such as should receiue hir at Douer repaired thither, where at hir landing, a maruellous and right strange wonder happened; for she was no sooner out of hir ship, and got to land in safetie with all hir companie, but that forthwith the water was so troubled and shaken, as the like thing had not to any mans remembrance euer beene heard of: so that the ship in which the appointed queene came ouer, was terriblie rent in peeces, and the residue so beaten one against an other, that they were scattered here and there after a wonderfull manner. Before hir comming to the citie of London, she was met on Blackheath by the maior and citizens of London in most honorable wise, and so with great triumph conueied to Westminster, where (at the time appointed) all the nobilitie of the realme being assembled, she was ioined in marriage to the king, and crowned queene by the archbishop of Canturburie, with all the glorie and honor that might be deuised. There were also holden for the more honour of the same marriage, solemne iusts for certeine daies togither, in which, as well the Englishmen as the new quenes countriemen shewed proose of their manhood and valiancie, whereby praise & commendation of knightlie prowesse was atchiued, not without damage of both the parties.

The emperours sister affianced to K. Richard, is receiued at Douer.

A water-shake.

1382

The kings marriage with the emperors sister.

After that the solemnitie of the marriage was finished, the parlement eftsones began, in the which many things were inacted, for the behoofe of the commonwealth. And amongst other things it was ordeined, that all maner manumissions, obligations, releasses, and other bonds made by compulsion, dures, and menace, in time of this last tumult and riot against the lawes of the land, and good faith, should be vtterlie void and annihilated. And further, that if the kings faithfull liege people did perceiue any gathering of the cõmons in suspected wise, to the number of six or seauen, holding conuenticles togither, they should not staie for the kings writ in that behalfe for their warrant, but forthwith it should be lawfull for

them to apprehend such people, assembling togither, and to laie them in prison, till they might answer their doings. These and manie other things were established in this parlement, of the which, the most part are set forth in the printed booke of statutes, where ye may read the same more at large.

In time of this parlement William Afford the earle of Suffolke, being chosen by the knights of the shires, to pronounce in behalfe of the commonwealth, certeine matters concerning the same: the verie daie and houre in which he should haue serued that turne, as he went vp the staires, towards the vpper house, he suddenlie fell downe and died in the hands of his seruants, busie about to take him vp, whereas he felt no greefe of sickenesse when he came into Westminster, being then and before merrie and pleasant inough, to all mens sights. Of his sudden death, manie were greatlie abashed, for that in his life time, he had shewed himselfe courteous and amiable to all men. ¶ The parlement shortlie thereupon tooke end, after that the merchants had granted to the king for a subsidie certeine customes of their wools, which they bought and sold, called a maletot, to endure for foure yeares. ¶ The lord Richard Scrope was made lord chancellor, & the lord Hugh Segraue lord treasurer.

The sudden death of the earle of Suffolke.

About the same time, the lord Edmund Mortimer earle of March, the kings lieutenant in Ireland, departed this life, after he had brought in manner all that land to peace and quiet, by his noble and prudent gouernement. In this season, Wicliffe set forth diuerse articles and conclusions of his doctrine, which the new archbishop of Canturburie, William Courtneie, latelie remoued from the see of London, vnto the higher dignitie, did what he could by all shifts to suppresse, and to force such as were the setters forth and mainteiners thereof, to recant, and vtterlie to renounce. What he brought to passe, in the booke of acts and monuments set forth by maister I. Fox, ye may find at large. The tuesday next after the feast of saint John Port latine, an other parlement began, in which at the earnest suit and request of the knights of the shires, John Wraie priest that was the chiefe doer among the commons in Suffolke, at Burie, and Mildenhall, was adiudged to be drawen, and hanged, although manie beleeued, that his life should haue beene redeemed for some great portion of monie.

The earle of March his good seruice whilest he was deputie in Ireland.
Wicliffes doctrine.
John Wraie.

A lewd fellow that tooke vpon him to be skilfull in physicke and astronomie, caused it to be published thorough the citie of London, that vpon the Ascension euen, there would rise such a pestilent planet, that all those which came abroad forth of their chambers, before they had said fiue times the Lords praier, then commonlie called the Pater noster, and did not eate somewhat that morning, before their going forth, should be taken with sickenesse, & suddenlie die thereof. Manie fooles beleeued him, and obserued his order: but the nert day, when his presumptuous lieng could be no longer faced out, he was set on horsse backe, with his face towards the taile, which he was compelled to hold in his hand in steed of a bridle, and so was led about the citie, with two torden pots about his necke, and a whetstone, in token that he had well deserued it, for the notable lie which he had made.

A coleprophet serued aright.

About the same time, certeine English ships of Rie; and other places, went to the sea, and meeting prats, fought with them, and ouercame them, taking seuen ships, with three hundred men in them. One of those ships had beene taken from the Englishmen afore time, and was called the falcon, belonging to the lord William Latimer. They were all richlie laden with wine, wax, and other good merchandize. This yeare the maior of London John de Northampton, otherwise called John de Comberton, did punish such as were taken in adulterie, verie extremelie: for first he put them in the prison, called the tunne, that then stood in Cornehill, and after caused the women to haue their haire cut, as theeues in those daies were serued that were apeachers of others, and so were they led about the streets with trumpets & pipes going before them. Neither were the men spared more than the women, being put to manie open shames and reproches. But bicause the punishment of such offenses was thought rather to apperteine vnto the spirituall iurisdiction, than to the temporall, the bishop of London, and other of the cleargie, tooke it in verie euill part: but the maior being a stout man, would not forbeare, but vsed his authoritie herein to the vttermost.

Ships of Rie win a good price.

John de Northampton maior of London, a streict punisher of adulterie in his time.

About the same time also, when the archbishop of Canturburie sate in iudgement vpon a processe that was framed against one John Aston, a maister of art, that was an earnest follower of Wicliffes doctrine, the Londoners brake open the doores, where the archbishop with his diuines sate, and caused them to giue ouer, so that they durst proceed no further in that matter. The same yeere were the fishmongers of London sore disquieted by the foresaid maior, who sought to infringe their liberties, granting licence to forreners to come and sell all manner of fish, as freelie and more freelie than any of the companie of fishmongers: for they might not buie it at the forreners hands to sell it againe by any meanes, and so that companie which before had beene accompted one of the chiefest in the citie, was now so brought downe, as it seemed to be one of the meanest, being compelled to confesse, that their occupation was no craft, nor worthie so to be accompted amongst other the crafts of the citie.

The Londoners fauorers of wicliffes doctrine.
The fishmongers sore troubled by the maior.

In this yeare, the one and twentith of Maie being wednesdaie, a great earthquake chanced about one of the clocke in the after noone; it was so vehement, and namelie in Kent, that the churches were shaken therewith in such wise, that some of them were ouerthrowen to the ground. On the saturdaie after, being the foure and twentith day of Maie, earelie in the morning, chanced an other earthquake, or (as some write) a watershake, being of so vehement & violent a motion, that it made the ships in the hauens to beat one against the other, by reason whereof they were sore bruised by such knocking togither, to the great wonder of the people, who being amazed at such strange tokens, stood a long time after in more awe of Gods wrath and displeasure than before, for these so strange and dreadfull wonders thus shewed amongst them: howbeit when these terrors were forgotten, they followed their former dissolutenes, from the which for a time they were withdrawne through feare of Gods heuie hand hanging ouer their heads; but afterward like swine they wallowed afresh in their puddels of pollusions, & as dogs licked vp their filthie vomit of corruption and naughtinesse, for

Sordida natura semper sequitur sua iura.

A great earthquake.
Churches ouerthrowne by the earthquake.
A waterquake.

About this season, the lord Richard Scrope lord chancellor was deposed from that roome, and the king receiuing the great seale at his hands, kept it a certeine time, and sealed therewith such grants and writings as it pleased him: at length, it was deliuered to Robert Braibrooke bishop of London, who was made lord chancellor. The cause why the lord Scrope was remoued from that dignitie, was this. When the king vpon certeine respects had granted certeine gentlemen the lands and possessions that belonged to the late earle of March, and other that were deceased (which he, during the time of their heires minorities, ought to inioy by the lawes of the realme)

Anno Reg. 6.
The bishop of Londō made lord chancellor in the lord Scrope his roome.

realme) the said lord chancellor refused to seale such grants, alledging that the king being greatlie in debt, which he was to discharge, stood in need of such profits himselfe, and therefore (as he said) he toke not them for faithfull seruants, nor dutifull subiects to his grace, that respecting their owne priuat commoditie more than his or the realmes, did sue for such grants at his hands, aduising them to hold themselues contented with such other things, as it had pleased or might please the king to bestow vpon them: for suerlie he would not consent, that they should inioy such gifts as those were. They that were thus reiected, made their complaint in such sort to the king, that he taking displeasure with the said lord Scrope, deposed him from his office, to the great offense both of the nobles and commons, by whose consent he was preferred vnto that dignitie.

A new rebellion intended in Norffolke is bewraied by one of the conspiracie before it burst out.

About Michaelmasse this yeare, certeine naughtie disposed persons in Norffolke, not warned by the successe of the late rebellion, went about a new commotion, intending to murther the bishop of Norwich, and all the nobles and gentlemen of that countrie. And to bring their wicked purpose the better to passe, they determined to haue assembled togither at S. Faithes faire, and to haue compelled all those that should haue beene present at the same faire, to haue taken part with them, or else to haue lost their liues: and this being done, they would haue taken S. Benets abbeie at Holme, which they would haue kept for a fortresse, to haue withdrawne into vpon anie force that had beene against them. But yer they could bring their purpose to passe, one of the conspiracie bewraieng the matter, they were taken, & lost their heads at Norwich, for their malicious deuises.

About the same time a parlement was called, to the which certeine commissioners from the countrie of Flanders came, to treat of certeine agréements betwixt the king and realme, and the states of their countrie: but bicause those that came ouer at this time, seemed not sufficient to conclude such treatie as then was in hand, they were sent backe to fetch other more sufficient, as from euerie towne in Flanders some such as might haue full authoritie to go through, and confirme the agréements then in hand.

The cõmissioners of Flanders reiected for want of sufficient authoritie.

In this parlement, the maior of London, with a great part of the commoners of the citie, vpon suggestion by them made against the fishmongers, for vsing great deceit in vttering of their fishes, obteined to haue it inacted, that from thencefoorth, none of that companie, nor anie of the vinteners, butchers, grossers, or other that sold anie prouision of vittels, should be admitted maior of the citie; and so by this shift they sought to cut off all meanes from the fishmongers to recouer againe their old former degrée. And bicause it was knowne well inough of what authoritie sir John Philpot knight was within the citie, and that he fauoured those whome the lord maior the said John de Northampton fauoured not, he was put off from the bench, and might not sit with them that were of the secret councell in the cities affaires, whereas neuertheless he had trauelled more for the preseruation of the cities liberties than all the residue. Sir Henrie Spenser bishop of Norwich, receiued buls a little before this present from pope Vrbane, to signe all such with the crosse, that would take vpon them to go ouer the seas with him, to warre against those that held with the antipape Clement, that toke himselfe for pope, and to such as would receiue the crosse in that quarrell, such like beneficiall pardons were granted by pope Vrbane, as were accustomablie granted vnto such as went to fight against the Infidels, Turkes, and Saracens, to wit free remission of sinnes, and manie other graces. The bishop of Norwich that had the disposing of the benefits granted by those buls, to all such as either would go themselues in person, or else giue anie thing toward the furtherance of that voiage, & maintenance of them that went in the same, shewed those buls in open parlement, & caused copies to be written forth, & sent into euerie quarter, that his authoritie & power legantine might be notified to all men, for the better bringing to passe of that he had in charge. And truelie it should appeare, there wanted no diligence in the man to accomplish the popes purpose: and on the other part yée must note, that the priuileges which he had from the pope, were passing large, so that as the matter was handled, there were diuerse lords, knights, esquires, and other men of warre in good numbers, that offered themselues to go in that voiage, and to follow the standards of the church with the bishop, and no small summes of monie were leuied and gathered amongst the people, for the furnishing forth of that armie, as after yée shall heare.

An act against the fishmongers within the citie of London.

Remission of sins granted to as manie as would fight against Clement the antipape.

In this meane time the earle of Cambridge returned home from Portingale, whither (as yée haue heard) he was sent the last yeare, and promise made, that the duke of Lancaster should haue followed him; but by reason of the late rebellion, and also for other considerations, as the warres in Flanders betwixt the erle and them of Gaunt, it was not thought conuenient that anie men of warre should go forth of the realme: and so the king of Portingale not able of himselfe to go through with his enterprise against the king of Spaine, after some small exploits atchiued by the Englishmen, and other of the earle of Cambridge his companie, as the winning of certeine fortresses belonging to the king of Castile, and that the two kings had laine in field, the one against the other by the space of fiftéene daies without battell, the matter was taken vp, and a peace concluded betwixt them, sore against the mind of the earle of Cambridge, who did what in him laie, to haue brought them to a set field: but when there was no remedie, he bare it so patientlie as he might, and returned home with his people, sore offended (though he said little) against the king of Portingale, for that he dealt otherwise in this matter than was loked for. He had affianced his sonne, which he had by the daughter of Peter, sometime king of Castile, vnto the king of Portingales daughter, now in the time of his being there: but although he was earnestlie requested of the said king, he would not leaue his sonne behind him, but brought him backe with him againe into England (togither with his mother) doubting the slipperie faith of those people.

The earle of Cambridge returneth out of Portingale.

The earle of Cambridge his son affianced to the king of Portingals daughter.

1383

In the Lent season of this sixt yeare of king Richards reigne, an other parlement was called at London, in the which there was hard hold about the buls sent to the bishop of Norwich from pope Vrbane, concerning his iournie that he should take in hand against the Clementines (as we may call them, for that they held with pope Clement) whome the Vrbanists (that is, such as held with pope Vrbane) toke for schismatikes. Diuerse there were, that thought it not good that such summes of monie shuld be leuied of the kings subiects, and the same togither with an armie of men to be committed vnto the guiding of a prelat vnskilfull in warlike affaires. Other there were that would néeds haue him to go, that the enimies of the church (as they toke them) might be subdued.

Clementines. Vrbanists.

And although the more part of the lords of the vpper house, and likewise the knights and burgesses of the lower house were earnestlie bent against this iournie; yet at length those that were of the contrarie mind, preuailed; & so it was decreed, that it should forward, and that the said bishop of Norwich should haue the fiftéenth granted to the king in the last par-

lement, to pate the wages of such men of warre as
should go ouer with him: for soldiers without monie
passed not much of pardons, no not in those daies, ex-
cept at the verie point of death, if they were not as-
sured how to be answered of their wages, or of some
other consideration wherby they might gaine. ¶ The
tenth that was granted afore by the bishops at Ox-
ford, was now in this same parlement appointed to
remaine to the king for the keeping of the seas, whi-
lest the bishop should be forth of the realme in follow-
ing those wars.

These things being thus apointed, the bishop sent
forth his letters firmed with his seale into euerie
prouince and countrie of this land, giuing to all par-
sons, vicars, and curats, through this realme, power
and authoritie to heare the confessions of their par-
shioners, and to grant vnto those that would bestow
The crossed souldiers. any parcell of their goods, which God had lent them
towards the aduancing of the iournie to be made by
the crossed souldiers against pope Vrbans enimies,
the absolution and remission of all their sinnes by the
popes authoritie, according to the forme of the bull
before mentioned. The people vnderstanding of so
great and gratious a benefit (as they toke it) thus of-
fered to the English nation, at home in their owne
houses, were desirous to be partakers thereof, and
those that were warlike men, prepared themselues to
go forth in that iournie with all spéd possible. The
residue that were not fit to be warriors, according
to that they were exhorted by their confessors, be-
stowed liberallie of their goods to the furtherance of
those that went: and so, few there were within the
whole kingdome, but that either they went, or gaue
somewhat to the aduancing forth of the bishop of
Norwich his voiage.

The captains that wet with the bishop of Norwich against the antipape. This bishop chose diuerse to be associat with him,
as captains that were expert in warlike enterprises.
The first and principall was sir Hugh Caluerlie an
old man of warre, and one that in all places had
borne himselfe both valiantlie and politikelie; next
vnto him was sir William Farington, who stoutlie
spake in the bishops cause, when the matter came in
question in the parlement house, touching his going
ouer with this croisie. Besides these, there went di-
uerse noble men and knights of high renowme, as
Froissard. the lord Henrie Beaumount, sir William Elmham,
and sir Thomas Triuet, sir John Ferrers, sir Hugh
Spenser the bishops nephue by his brother, sir Mat-
thew Redman capteine of Berwike, sir Nicholas
Tarenson or Traicon, sir William Farington, and
manie other of the English nation: & of Gascogne
there went le sire de Chasteauneuf, and his brother
sir John de Chasteauneuf, Raimund de Marsen,
Guillonet de Paur, Gariot Vighier, John de Cachi-
tan, and diuerse other. Sir John Beauchampe was
appointed marshall of the field, but bicause he was at
that present in the marches of the realme towards
Scotland, he was not readie to passe ouer when the
bishop did. The duke of Lancaster liked not well of
the bishops iournie, for that he saw how his voiage
that he meant to make into Spaine was hereby for
the time disappointed, and he could haue béene better
contented (as apeareth by writers) to haue had the
monie imploied vpon the warres against the king
of Castile that was a Clementine, than to haue it
bestowed vpon this voiage, which the bishop was to
take in hand against the French king, and other in
these néerer parts. Herevpon there were not manie
of the nobilitie that offered to go with the bishop.

The statute against fishmongers repealed, they are restored to their liberties. But to sale somewhat of other things that were
concluded in this last parlement, we find, that the
fishmongers, which through meanes of the late lord
maior John of Northampton and his complices
were put from their ancient customes and liberties,
which they inioied afore time within the citie, were
now restored to the same againe, sauing that they
might not kéepe courts among themselues, as in
times past they vsed, but that after the maner of o-
ther crafts and companies, all transgressions, offen-
ses, and breaches of lawes and customes by them
committed, should be heard, tried, and reformed in the
maiors court. ¶ All this winter the matter touch-
ing the gathering of monie towards the croisie, was
earnestlie aplied, so that there was leuied what of
the disme, and by the deuotion of the people for obtei-
ning of the pardon, so much as drew to the summe of
fiue and twentie thousand franks.

The bishop of Norwich setteth forward with his armie. When the bishop therefore had set things in good
forwardnesse for his iournie, he drew towards the
sea side, and was so desirous to passe ouer, and to in-
uade his aduersaries, that although the king sent to
him an expresse commandement by letters to re-
turne to the court, that he might conferre with him
before he toke the seas; yet excusing himselfe, that
the time would not then permit him to staie longer,
he passed ouer to Calis, where he landed the 23 of Ap-
rill, in this sixt yeare of king Richards reigne. The
armie to attend him in this iournie, rose to the num-
ber of two thousand horssemen, and fiftéene thousand
footmen (as some write) though other speake of a far
lesser number. But it should séeme that they went
not ouer all at one time, but by parts, as some before
the bishop, some with him, and some after him.

Polydor.

Froissard.

500 speares, & 115 other.

Now when he and the capteins before named,
were come ouer to Calis, they toke counsell togither
into what place they should make their first inuasion;
and bicause their commission was to make warre
onelie against those that held with pope Clement, the
more part were of this mind, that it should be most
expedient for them to enter into France, and to
make warre against the Frenchmen, whom all men
knew to be chiefe mainteiners of the said Clement.
But the bishop of Norwich was of this opinion, that
they could not do better than to inuade the countrie
of Flanders, bicause that a litle before, earle Lewes
hauing intelligence that king Richard had made a
confederacie with them of Gaunt, had on the other
part expelled all Englishmen out of his dominions
and countries, so that the merchants which had their
goods at Bruges, and other places in Flanders, sus-
teined great losses. Howbeit there were that replied
against the bishops purpose herein, as sir Hugh Cal-
uerlie and others; yet at length they yéelded thereto,
and so by his commandement they went streight to
Grauelin, the 21 day of Maie, and immediatlie wan
it by assault. Wherupon Bruckburge was yéelded
vnto them, the liues and goods of them within saued.
Then went they to Dunkirke, & without any great
resistance entred the towne, and wan there exceéding
much by the spoile, for it was full of riches, which the
Englishmen pilfered at their pleasure. The earle of
Flanders lieng at Lille was aduertised how the
Englishmen were thus entered his countrie, where-
vpon he sent ambassadors vnto the English host, to
vnderstand why they made him warre that was a
right Vrbanist.

The bishop of Norwich inuadeth Flanders.

Ia. Meir.

Dunkirke won & sacked by the Englishmen.

The earle of Flanders sendeth to the bish. of Norwich to know the cause of his inuasion of Flanders.

The bishop of Norwich for answer, declared to
them that were sent, that he toke the countrie to ap-
perteine to the French king, as he that had of late
conquered it, whom all the whole world knew to be a
Clementine, or at the least he was assured that the
countrie thereabouts was of the inheritance of the
ladie of Bar, which likewise was a Clementine: and
therefore, except the people of that countrie would
come and ioine with him to go against such as were
knowne to be enimies to pope Vrbane, he would
suerlie séeke to destroie them. And whereas the earls
ambassadors required safe conduct to go into Eng-

land

land by Calis, to vnderstand the kings pleasure in this mater, the bishop would grant them none at all; wherefore they went backe againe to the earle their maister with that answer.

The Englishmen after the taking and spoiling of Dunkirke, returned to Graueline and Bruckburge, which places they fortified, and then leauing garrisons in them, they went to Mardike, and toke it, for it was not closed. In the meane time, the countriemen of west Flanders rose in armour, and came to Dunkirke, meaning to resist the Englishmen: whereof when the bishop was certified, with all spéd he marched thither, and comming to the place where the Flemings, to the number of more than twelue thousand were ranged without the towne, he sent an herald vnto them to know the truth, of whether pope they held; but the rude people, not vnderstanding what apperteined to the law of armes, ran vpon the herald at his approching to them, and slue him before he could begin to tell his tale.

The herald of armes sent to ỹ Flemings by the bishop of Norwich is slaine.

The Englishmen herewith inflamed, determined either to reuenge the death of their herald, or to die for it, and therewith ordered their battels readie to fight, and being not aboue fiue thousand fighting men in all, the bishop placed himselfe amongst the horsemen, and set the footmen in a battell marshalled wedgewise, broad behind and sharpe before, hauing with them a banner wherein the crosse was beaten. The archers were ranged on either side: the standard of the church went before, the field gules, and two keies siluer, signifieng that they were souldiors of pope Urbane. Moreouer, the bishop had his penon there siluer and azure quarterlie, a freat gold on the azure, a bend gules on the siluer: and bicause he was yongest of the Spensers, he bare a border gules for a difference. At the approching of the battels togither the trumpets blew vp, and the archers began to shoot against the battell of the Flemings, the which valiantlie defended themselues, & fought egerlie a long time, but at length they were so galled with arrowes which the archers shot at them a flanke, that they were not able to indure, but were compelled to giue backe.

Thom. Walsi.

The order of the bishop of Norwich his battell against the Flemings

They were diuided into two battels, a valward, and a rereward. When the valward began to shrinke, the rereward also brake order, and fled, but the Englishmen pursued them so fast, that they could not escape, but were ouertaken and slaine in great numbers. Some saie, there died of them in the battell and chase fiue thousand, some six thousand; and others write, that there were nine thousand of them slaine: and Thomas Walsingham affirmeth twelue thousand. Manie of them fled into the towne of Dunkirke for succour, but the Englishmen pursued them so egerlie, that they entered the towne with them, and slue them downe in the streets. The Flemings in diuerse places gathered themselues togither againe as they fled, and shewed countenance of defense, but still they were driuen out of order, and brought to confusion. The préests and religious men that were with the bishop fought most egerlie, some one of them slaieng sixtéene of the enimies.

The Flemings discomfited by ỹ Englishmen.

Iac. Meir.

Froissard.

Tho. Walsi.

Préests and religious men hardy soldiers

Iacob. Meir.

There died of Englishmen at this battell about foure hundred. The Flemings had no horsemen amongst them, nor anie number of gentlemen, for they stood in such dread of English bowes, that they durst not come to anie battell with them, but keeping themselues out of danger, set the commons of the countrie in hand to trie what they against the Englishmen were able to do without them. This battell was fought vpon a mondaie being the fiftéenth of Maie. The countrie was put in a wonderfull feare by this ouerthrow, so that the townes and fortresses were in great doubt, and some yelded themselues to the Englishmen, as Berghen and others; some were wone by force, as the castell of Drinchan, and the towne of S. Venant. To be short, the Englishmen became maisters of all the countrie alongst the sea side, euen from Graueline to Sluis, and got such riches by pillage and spoile, as they could not wish for greater. They preuailed so much, that they wan in maner all the close townes within the bailliwikes of Cassell, of Popering, Messines, and Furneis, with the townes of Newport, Blankberke, and diuerse other.

The Englishmẽ subdue diuerse townes in Flanders, and spoile the countrie.

Also entring into the woods Nepse and Rutholt, they found a great bootie of sheepe and beasts, and toke a great sort of prisoners of the countrie people, which were fled into those woods for feare of the enimies: but the Englishmen, plaieng the part of good bloudhounds, found them out, & sent all their booties and preie vnto Graueline and Bruckburge. On the eight daie of June they came before the towne of Ypres, and laid siege thereto, whereat they continued the space of nine wéekes. Thither came to their aid twentie thousand Gauntiners vnder the leading of Francis Akreman, Peter Wod, and Peter Winter: so that they within Ypres were streictlie besieged, but there were within it in garrison diuerse valiant knights & capteins, which defended the towne right manfullie: it was fenced with a mightie rampire, and a thicke hedge, trimlie plashed and wond with thornes, as the manner of fortifieng townes was in ancient time amongst them in that countrie (as Strabo witnesseth.)

The towne of Ypres beliged.

The maner of fortifieng townes in old time.

During the time that the siege laie before Ypres, the Englishmen swarmed abroad in the countrie, for when it was once knowne what good successe the first companie that went ouer had found, there came daillie forth of England great numbers to be partakers of the gaine. Sir John Philpot that fauoured the bishops iournie, prouided them of vessels for their passage, till the bishop vnderstanding that the more part of those that came thus ouer were vnarmed, and brought nothing with them from home, but onelie swords, bowes and arrowes, did write vnto the said sir John Philpot, that he should suffer none to passe the seas, but such as were men able and likelie to do seruice: where a great number of those that were come to him, were fit for nothing but to consume victels, much like the popish shauelings and the Romish rascalitie, of whome the like is spoken thus:

Nos numerus sumus & fruges consumere nati.

Hope of gaine incourageth the soldier.

The multitude of Englishmen and Gauntiners at this siege was great, so that diuerse skirmishes chanced betwixt them, and such as were appointed by the earle to lie in garrisons about in the countrie against them: but still the victorie abode on the English side. Also there was an English préest, one sir John Boring that went to Gaunt with fiue hundred English archers, by whose aid Arnold Yans one of the capteins of Gaunt ouercame his enimies in battell, which were laid in a castell neere to the hauen of Alost, and hoped that no victels might safelie come out of Holland or Zeland to be conueied to Gaunt. The earle of Flanders was not well contented in his mind, that the Englishmen were thus entred into his countrie, and therefore earnestlie laboured to the duke of Burgognie (that had married his daughter, and should be heire of all his dominions and seignories after his decease) to find some remedie in the matter.

Ia. Meir.

Anno Reg. 7.

The duke, whome the matter touched so neere, did so much with his nephue the French king, that eftsoones he raised his whole puissance, and came downe into Flanders, so that the Englishmen perceiuing themselues not of power to incounter with this huge and mightie armie, were constreined after a great assault,

The siege at Ypres broken vp.

sault, which they gaue the eight of August, to raise their siege from Ypres the mondaie after, being S. Laurence daie, and to withdraw into Bruckburge, Berghen, Dixmew, Newport, Cassell, Dunkirke, Graueline, and other places which they had won. But at Newport the townesmen set vp the earles banner, and assailing those that were come into the towne, slue diuerse of them. The Englishmen being sore offended therewith, came running thither with certeine Gauntiners, and made great slaughter of them that had so murthered their fellowes. The towne was sacked, and all the goods aswell church iewels as other were sent awaie, partlie by sea into England, and partlie by waggons vnto Berge. After this, they set fire in more than thirtie places of the towne, so that there remained nothing vnburnt. The Englishmen & Gauntiners that were withdrawne into Berge, got togither all the waggons in the countrie about, placing the same vpon the diches and rampiers, to fortifie the same against their enimies.

Newport sacked and burnt by the Englishmen and Gauntiners.

Thom. Wals.

Some write, that after the breaking of the siege at Ypres, the bishop of Norwich would gladlie haue persuaded the lords and knights that were there with him, to haue entred into Picardie, and there to haue offered the French king battell, before his whole puissance had beene assembled: but sir Thomas Triuet and sir William Elmham with other, would in no wise consent therevnto, so that the bishop taking with him sir Hugh Caluerlie, that did neuer forsake him, bad the other farewell; and first making a road into Picardie, he after withdrew into Graueline, whiles the other went to Bruckburge. But by Froissard, and other writers it appeareth, that sir Hugh was certeinlie at Berge, with other that were retired thither, in purpose to defend it against the French king, who still followed them, and recouered diuerse places out of their hands by force, as Mont Cassell, the castell of Crincham, and other. Also at his comming to Berghen, the said sir Hugh Caluerlie, and other that were within it, perceiuing that they were not able to defend it against such a puissance as the French king had there with him, being greater than euer sir Hugh Caluerlie that ancient capteine wold haue thought that France had beene able to haue set forth, departed, and left the towne to be spoiled of the Britons, and other French souldiers, which executed there all kinds of crueltie. The more part of the Englishmen went to Bruckburge, but sir Hugh Caluerlie went to Graueline, and so to Calis, as one sore displeased in his mind, for that his counsell could not be regarded in all this voiage, which if it had beene followed, would haue brought it to a better issue than now it was, as was supposed.

A couragious & warlike bishop.

The French king with his huge armie driueth the Englishmen out of Flanders.

The French king following the tract of good fortune, that guided his sterne, marched forth to Bruckburge, so that the vaward of his armie came before that towne on Holie rod daie in September, vnder the leading of the earle of Flanders, the duke of Britaine, the lord Oliuer de Clisson high constable of France, and the lord Valeran earle of S. Paule, the which demeaned themselues in such sort, that although the Englishmen within valiantlie defended the Frenchmens assault; yet the third daie after the Frenchmens comming thither, the Englishmen by composition that they might depart with bag and bagage, yelded vp the towne, which on the nineteenth of September being saturdaie, as that yeare came about, was abandoned to the French souldiers, to rifle and spoile at their pleasure, in the which feat the Britons bare the bell awaie, doing more mischefe vnto the poore inhabitants, than with tong can be recited. The duke of Britaine holpe greatlie to make the composition, that the Englishmen might depart in safetie: for the which doing he was in great hatred and obloquie of the souldiers, who affirmed that he was not onelie a friend to the Englishmen, but an enimie to his countrie, and a traitour to the common-wealth.

Bruckburge yelded to the French.

The duke of Britaine a friend to the Englishmen.

The Englishmen comming to Graueline, set it on fire, and departed streight to Calis, leauing the countrie of Flanders to the Frenchmen, and so returned into England, where they were not greatlie commended for their seruice, but were put so farre in blame, that sir Thomas Triuet, & sir William Elmham were committed to prison within the tower of London, as men suspected of euill dealing in the deliuerie of Bruckburge and Graueline to the Frenchmens hands: for immediatlie after that they had left Graueline, the Frenchmen came thither, and fortified it for a countergarison to Calis. ¶ There be that write how the French king offered to giue the bishop of Norwich fifteene thousand marks to race the towne of Graueline, and so to leaue it vnto him, the bishop hauing libertie with all his people and goods to depart in safetie. The bishop required to haue libertie for certeine daies, to make herevnto a full and deliberate answer; which was granted, and in the meane time he sent into England to aduertise the king in what state he stood, and how the French king late before him with a mightie armie: and therefore if he meant euer to trie battell with the Frenchmen, now was the time.

Graueline fortified by the Frenchmen for a countergarison to Calis. Thom. Wals.

In the same summer, the king with the queene went abroad in progresse, visiting in their waie the rich abbeis of the realme, as Burie, Thetford, Norwich, & other; going about a great part of the realme. And when these newes came to him from the bishop of Norwich, he was at Dauentrie in Northamptonshire, and being the same time at supper, he put the table from him, and rising with all hast, got him to horsbacke, and rode in post that night, changing horsse diuerse times, with such spéed that he came to S. Albons about midnight, and making no staie there longer than he had borowed the abbats gelding, hasted forth till he came to Westminster: so that it appeared he would neuer haue rested till he had passed the sea, and giuen battell to the Frenchmen. But after his comming to Westminster, wearied with that hastie iournie, he got him to bed, and liked so well of ease, that he thought good to send a lieutenant in his stead to passe the seas, to deliuer the bishop from danger of his enimies.

The king & queene in progresse.

A great deale cone coled.

Herevpon was the duke of Lancaster sent for, that he might with such power as was readie to passe the seas, go ouer with the same, and giue battell to the French king: but he protracted time, till the respit granted to the bishop to make answer was expired, and so the bishop when he saw no succour come forth of England, raced the towne as the couenant was: but monie he would not or did not receiue, bicause he thought in so doing he should offend the councell. At his comming backe into England, he found the duke of Lancaster at the sea side with a great power of men readie to haue come ouer: although some thought that he deferred time of purpose, for that he misliked of the bishops whole enterprise; and now bicause it had thus quailed, he blamed the bishop for his euill gouernement therein: but sir Hugh Caluerlie he reteined with him a time, doing him all honour, by reason of the old approued valiancie, that had beene euer found in him. And this was the end of the bishop of Norwich his iournie.

The bishop of Norwich returned into England out of Flanders.

The Scots in the meane while sate not still, but made roades into England, toke and burnt the castell of Warke. Moreouer, whilest the siege laie before Ypres, the Frenchmen armed certeine vessels, and sent them to the sea, namelie fiue balengers, as well to intercept such as should passe betweene England

Warke castell burnt by the Scots.

land and Flanders, as also to stop such as were appointed to go ouer into Gascoine, that were soldiers also of the croisie, appointed thither vnder the leading of the lord Bertrigale de la Bret, and certeine others. When they of Portesmouth vnderstood that these fiue ships were abroad, they made forth to the sea, and meeting with their aduersaries, fought with them a sore & cruell battell, and in the end slue all the enimies, nine excepted, and tooke all their vessels. An other fleet of Englishmen tooke eight French ships, which had aboord 1500 tuns of good wines, that comforted the Englishmen greatlie.

Diuerse French ships taken by the Englishmen.

About the feast of All saints was a parlement holden at London, in which was granted to the king one moitie of a fifteenth by the laitie, and shortlie after a moitie of a tenth by the cleargie. Moreouer, the king tooke into his hands the temporalties that belonged to the bishop of Norwich, because he obeied not the kings commandement when he was sent for at the time when he tooke the seas to passe into Flanders. The knights also that had not shewed such obedience to the bishop as was requisit in that iornie, were committed to prison; but shortlie after they were set at libertie vpon suerties that vndertooke for them. ¶ It was also decreed in this parlement, that the erle of Buckingham the kings vncle should go to the borders against Scotland, with a thousand lances, and two thousand archers, to represse the presumptuous attempts of the Scots, who aduertised thereof, sent ambassadors to treat of peace; but they were dispatched home againe, without obteining that which they came to sue for.

A parlement at London.

The temporalties of the bishoprike of Norwich seized into the kings hands for the bishops disobedience.

At the motion and instance of the duke of Britaine, immediatlie vpon the returne of the English armie out of Flanders, there was a meeting of certeine commissioners in the marches of Calis, at a place called Lelleghen, for the treatie of a peace to be concluded betwixt the two realmes of England and France. There appeared for king Richard, the duke of Lancaster, and his brother the erle of Buckingham, sir John Holland brother to the king, sir Thomas Percie, and a bishop. For the French king, thither came the dukes of Berrie and Burgognie, the bishop of Laon, and the chancellor of France. There were also the duke of Britaine, and the earle of Flanders. Also there came a bishop with other commissioners from the king of Spaine: for the Frenchmen would do nothing, except the king of Spaine might be also comprised in the treatie and conclusion. They were three weekes in commoning of an agreement: but when nothing else could be brought to passe, they concluded a truce to indure till the feast of S. Michaell, which should be in the yeare 1384.

A treatie of peace betweene England and France.

A truce taken betweene England and France.

The earle of Flanders was iudged most in blame, for that no peace could be accorded, because he would not that the Gauntiners should be comprised therin, but the Englishmen would not agree either to truce or peace, except regard might be had of the Gauntiners, as their friends and allies. The kings of Spaine and Scotland were comprised in this truce as confederats to the Frenchmen, which should haue signified the same into Scotland, but did not, till great harme followed through negligence vsed in that matter, as after yee shall perceiue. ¶ The same yeare in the night of the feast of the Purification of our ladie, great lightenings and thunders chanced, which put manie in no small feare, so huge and hideous was that tempest. Shortlie after, there rose no small adoo in the citie of London about the election of their maior: for such as fauoured the late maior John de Northampton, otherwise called John de Comberton, stood against sir Nicholas Brambre knight that was chosen to succeed the said John de Northampton, insomuch that a shoomaker who was one of the same John de Northamptons partakers, presumed through a number of voices that were readie to fauour him, to take vpon him as maior: but through the counsell of sir Robert Knolles knight, he was suddenlie apprehended, drawne, and beheaded, as a rebell and troubler of the kings peace.

Tho. Walsin.

Great contention about the election of the maior of London.

Sir Robert Knolles.

In the Lent season, the duke of Lancaster with his brother the earle of Buckingham went towards the borders, hauing with him a mightie power of knights, esquiers, and archers, and after he had remained a certeine time vpon the borders, about Easter he entered Scotland, and comming within three miles of Edenburgh, he staied there three daies, in which meane time the Scots conueied all their goods out of the towne ouer the water of Firth: so that when the armie came thither, they found nothing but bare walles, which greeued the soldiers not a little. The Scots would not come forth to giue anie battell to the Englishmen, but got them into woods and mounteines, or else passed ouer the riuer of Firth, suffering the Englishmen to fight with the vehement cold wether that then sore annoied those parts, in so much that on Easter daie at night, through snow that fell, and such extreame cold and boisterous stormes as sore afflicted the armie, being incamped within the compasse of a marish ground for their more suertie: there died aboue fiue hundred horsses, to let passe the losse of men that perished at the same time, of whom we make no mention. To conclude, after the duke and his brother the earle had remained a time thus in Scotland, and burned certeine townes, they returned into England.

The duke of Lancaster inuadeth Scotland with an armie.

Edenburgh left desolate.

Great death of horsses and men in the English host, by reason of extreme cold.

About the same time, to wit, in the quindene of Easter, a parlement of the nobles was holden at Salisburie, during the which an Irish frier of the order of the Carmelits, being a bacheler in diuinitie, exhibited to the king a bill against the duke of Lancaster, charging him with heinous treasons: as that he meant vpon a sudden to destroie the king, and to vsurpe the crowne, shewing the time, the place, and circumstances of the whole contriued matter. The king being yong both in yeares and discretion, when he had heard the friers information, called two of his chapleins vnto him, one sir Nicholas Slake, and an other, and asked their aduise what they thought good to be done in such a weightie cause. Now as they were busie in talke about the same, the duke of Lancaster came into the kings chamber after his wonted manner, not vnderstanding anie thing of the matter whereof they were in talke. The king with a sterne countenance beheld the duke, not doing him the honor that he was accustomed. The duke suspecting that the king had somewhat in his head that touched his person, withdrew. In the meane time those two that were thus in counsell with the king, fearing happilie the dukes power, or else vpon good will they bare towards him, persuaded the king that in anie wise he should call him, to see and heare what was laid to his charge.

A parlement at Salisburie.

An Irish frier apeacheth the duke of Lancaster of treason.

The duke, after he had read the bill of his accusation, made such answer, and so excused himselfe in declaring his innocencie, that the king gaue credit to his words, and receiued his excuse. Herewith the duke besought the king, that the frier might be kept in safe gard, till the time came that he might purge himselfe of that he had charged him with; and that the lord John Holland the kings halfe brother might haue the custodie of him, till the day appointed that the duke should come to his full triall. The night before which day, the said lord Holland, and sir Henrie Greene knight, came to this frier, and putting a cord about his necke, tied the other end about his priuie members, & after hanging him vp from the ground, laid a stone vpon his bellie, with the weight whereof,

A miserable & cruell torture.

and

and peise of his bodie withall, he was strangled and tormented, so as his verie backe bone burst in sunder therewith, besides the straining of his priuie members: thus with thrée kind of tormentings he ended his wretched life. On the morow after, they caused his dead corps to be drawne about the towne, to the end it might appeare he had suffered worthilie for his great falshod & treason. Which extreame punishment and exquisite kind of execution, had it not béene meritoriouslie inflicted vpon so impudent an offendor, had deserued perpetuall record of vnaccustomed crueltie, with this vehement exclamation,

O fera barbaries ætuo non nota priori,
Sed nec apud sæuos inuenienda Scythas.

But now to the parlement. At length, when the K. had obteined of the laitie a grant of an halfe fifteenth the same parlement was dissolued. In the summer following the borderers of England and Scotland made rodes ech into others countries, to the great disquieting of both the realmes. Among other rodes that the Englishmen made, shortlie after Easter (as Froissard saith) the earles of Northumberland and Nottingham, raising an armie of 2000 speares, and six thousand archers, entered Scotland by Rockesburgh, burnt the countrie euen to Edenburgh, and so returned without damage. In the meane time came messengers from the French king, to aduertise the Scots of the conclusion of the truce. But the Scots prouoked with this last inuasion made by the Englishmen into their countrie, would not heare of any truce, till they had in part reuenged their displesure vpon the Englishmen: and so with certeine men of armes of France, that latelie before were come thither, not yet vnderstanding of any truce, they rode into Northumberland, doing what mischiefe they might: so that for the summer season of this yeare, either part sought to indamage other (as Walsingham saith) though Froissard writeth, that through the earnest trauell of the messengers that came to intimate the abstinence of war taken, the parties now that their stomachs were well eased with the interchange of indamaging either others confins, agréed to be quiet, and so the truce was proclamed in both realmes, and accordinglie obserued.

I rode into Scotland.

One mischiefe asketh another.

Anno Reg. 8. About the beginning of August in the eighth yéere of this kings reigne, the duke of Lancaster went ouer againe into France, to treat of peace; but after he had remained there a long time, & spent no small store of treasure, he returned with a truce, to indure onelie till the first date of Maie then next insuing. While the duke of Lancaster was forth of the relme, John de Northampton, that had borne such rule in the citie of London, whilest he was maior, and also after (as partlie ye haue heard) was accused by a chapleine (that he had in his house) of seditious stirs, which he went about, so that being arreigned thereof, he was in the end condemned to perpetuall prison, and the same not to be within the space of one hundred miles at the least of the citie of London. All his goods were confiscated, and so he was sent to the castell of Tintagill in Cornewall, and the kings officers seized vpon his goods & cattels. ¶ About the feast of saint Martine, a parlement was called at London, in which, monie was demanded of the cleargie and temporaltie, towards the maintenance of the kings wars.

The duke of Lãcaster sent into France to treat of a peace.

John de Northampton late maior of London cõdemned to perpetuall prison and all his goods confiscated.

A combat.

During this parlement also, a combat was fought within lists betwirt an English esquier, named John Walsh, and an esquier of Nauarre that accused the said Walsh of treason, though not iustlie, but moued through displeasure, conceiued of an iniurie done to him by the same Walsh, whilest he was vnder capteine or vicedeputie (as we may call him) of Chierburgh, in abusing the Nauarrois wife. Whereupon when the Nauarrois was vanquished and confessed the truth, he was adiudged by the king to be drawne vnto the place of execution and hanged, notwithstanding that the quæne and diuerse other made sute for him. ¶ Henrie Knighton maketh report hereof in somewhat a differing maner: but the issue of his tale falleth out to be like to the other. On a wednesdaie (saith he) at S. Andrews tide, John Wallise of Grimsbie fought in lists with Nartilet of Nauarre esquier, at Westminster, in presence of K. Richard & of John the god duke of Lancaster: in so much that the said John Wallise slue his aduersarie, wherevpon at the kings cõmandement being made knight, he was inriched with manie gifts, as well of the kings and the dukes bestowing, as also of other great men and pæres of the realme. As for Nartilet, after he was slaine, he was presentlie drawne, hanged, and headed.

The appellant being vanquished, is adiudged to be hanged.

Abraham Fleming out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.

Furthermore before the said parlement was dissolued, newes came forth of the north parts, that the Scots had wone the castell of Berwike: for which the earle of Northumberland, that was capteine thereof, was put in high blame, for that he had not committed the keeping thereof to more circumspect persons. The duke of Lancaster, who bare no god will to the said earle, was well appaid that he had so god matter to charge his aduersarie withall, so that through his meanes the earle of Northumberland was sore accused, and had much adw to escape the danger of being reputed a traitor. Wherevpon great occasion of malice and displeasure grew betwixt those two noble personages, as after it well appeared. But howsoeuer the matter was handled, the earle was licenced by the king to go into his countrie, and séeke to recouer possession of the castell thus latelie lost. Wherevpon raising an armie, & besieging the Scots that were within the castell, he so constreined them, that for the summe of 2000 marks they surrendred the fortresse into his hands, their liues and goods saued: and so the earle of Northumberland recouered the castell out of the Scotishmens hands, being taught to commit it to more warie kéepers than the other before.

Berwike castell wone by the Scots.

Berwike castell recouered by the earle of Northumberland.

1385

The king being incensed against the duke of Lancaster, meant that he should haue béene arrested and arreigned of certeine points of treason before sir Robert Trisilian chéefe iustice (as Thomas Walsingham saith) and peraduenture there might be some such report, that such was the kings meaning: but yet how this may stand, considering he was to be tried by his pæres, in case that any the like matter had béene pretended, I sée not. But how soeuer it was, he being warned thereof by some of the councell, got him to his castell of Pomfret, which he fortified, and banded himselfe so with his frends, that it appeared he would defend his cause with force of armes, rather than to come to his triall by order of law afore such a iudge: and by reason hereof, it was greatlie doubted, least some ciuill warre would haue broken forth. But through the earnest labour of the kings mother, that (notwithstanding hir indisposition of bodie to trauell, by reason of hir corpulencie) riding to and fro betwixt them, made an agréement betwixt the king hir sonne, and the duke, to hir great comfort and contentation of mind, and no lesse suertie of quietnesse to the whole realme.

The duke of Lancaster getteth him to his castell of Pomfret, and fortifieth it.

The princesse of Wales maketh an atonement betwéene the king and the duke of Lancaster.

About the same time the French king had a great fleet of ships in Flanders, so that it was doubted least he meant some inuasion into England. Wherevpon there was sent to the sea the lord of S. Johns, and sir Thomas Percie with a strong nauie, but they did no god, suffering the French fleet diuerse times to passe by them, and not once offering to set vpon them. But the ships of Portesmouth & Dertemouth, bestirred

The ships of Portsmouth & Dartmouth did better seruice than the kings great naule.

bestirred themselues better: for entering into the riuer of Saine, they drowned foure of their enimies ships, and toke other foure, with a barke of the lord Clissons, one of the fairest that was to be found either in France or England. In these vessels the Englishmen had a rich preie of wines, and other merchandizes. ¶ The king vpon some occasion toke great displeasure against William Courtnie archbishop of Canturburie, so storming against him, as few durst speake anie thing in his excuse. The lord chancellor Michaell de la Pole seeming to fauour his cause, was likelie to haue run in high displeasure. Sir Thomas Triuet, and sir John Deuereux intreating for him, were sore rebuked at his hands. Yet at length, after that the archbishop was withdrawne, and had kept him close for a time, he was thorough mediation of some frends reconciled to the kings fauour.

Iac. Meir. Froissard. The French king aideth Scots against Englishmen.

About the same time the French king sent into Scotland the admerall of France, with a thousand men of armes, knights, and esquiers, besides crossebowes and other to ioine with the Scots, and to make warres in England. The Scots incouraged with this new aid, sent to them out of France, leuied a power, & so togither with the Frenchmen, entered into the English confines, and began to rob & spoile, and further toke certeine castels and houses of defense. The king of England aduertised hereof, assembled an huge power of men of warre, and first sent before him the duke of Lancaster with part of the armie, and afterward followed himselfe, with all conuenient speed that might be. At his comming into the parts about Yorke, he was informed that the Scots and Frenchmen were withdrawne vpon the duke of Lancasters approch towards them, but the king thought to keepe on his iournie. Whilest he was lodged in those parts, a great mischance happened, by reason of variance that fell betwixt certeine persons of the retinue of sir John Holland brother vnto the earle of Kent and halfe brother to the king, and other of the retinue of the lord Richard Stafford sonne to the earle of Stafford.

The Scots inuade the frontiers of England. Anno Reg. 9.

The K. goeth with an armie against the Scots.

Variance betweene sir John Hollands seruants and the lord Richard Stafford.

The cause of their falling out was about a knight of Boheme, called sir Miles, that was come to see the quæne. This knight kept companie most an end with the lord Richard Stafford: and chancing to be at words with two of sir John Hollands seruants, there came two archers perteining to the lord Stafford, which blamed them, that were so about to misuse the stranger in words, as they toke it: the strife hereby grew to that point in the end, that one of the archers shot at one of sir John Hollands seruants, and slue him. This mishap being reported to sir John Holland, set him in such a furie (by reason of the loue which he had to his seruant) that immediatlie he rushed forth of his lodging, to reuenge his death, and through misfortune meeting with the lord Stafford, slue him, and doubting in what sort his deed might be taken, fled streight vnto Beuerlie, and there toke sanctuarie. The erle of Stafford toke this misaduenture right heauilie, as reason was: yet bicause he would not trouble the host, nor disappoint the iournie which they had in hand, vpon the kings promise that he would do vpright iustice in the matter, as should be thought meet and conuenient, he bare his greefe so patientlie as he might, so that he wan himselfe much praise for his wisedome therein shewed.

The lord Richard Stafford slaine by sir John Holland.

Hect. Boetius.

The king aduancing forwards with his armie, came to the borders, and entring into Scotland, passed thorough Mers and Louthian, wasting and spoiling all the townes, houses and villages in his waie. The abbeies of Melros, Driburgh, and Newbottell were burnt, and those monks and other people that were found in the same were slaine. At his comming to Edenburgh, he found all the people fled out of the towne, but the houses and buildings he consumed with fire, togither with the church of saint Giles. At the humble sute of his vncle the duke of Lancaster, Holie rod house was preserued from hurt, for that the same duke in time of the rebellion of the commons here in England, was lodged in that house, and found much gentlenesse and friendship in the abbat and conuent; so that he could do no lesse than requite them with kindnesse, at whose hands he found kindnesse; for we are bound in conscience to tender them by whome we haue beene benefited (vnlesse we will be counted vnciuill, according to the old adage)

Arbor honoretur cuius nos vmbra tuetur.

Edenburgh burnt by king Richard.

Thus when the king had reuenged the displeasure afore receiued at the Scots and Frenchmens hands, (and remained in Edenburgh fiue daies) he returned without proffer of battell, or anie notable incounter. The admerall of France was earnestlie in hand with the Scotish lords to perswade them to haue giuen battell to the English armie, till he and diuers other knights of France were brought to the top of a mounteine, from whence they might behold all the English armie, as the same passed vnderneath them by a passage that laie by the foot of that mounteine: for after that they had viewed the puissance of the Englishmen, and (as neere as they could) numbered them, they had no such eger minds to fight with them as before, for they esteemed them to be six thousand men of armes, and three score thousand archers, and other men of warre; where the Scots and Frenchmen were not past a thousand speares, and thirtie thousand of all other sorts, and the most part of those but euill armed. Therefore they determined vpon an other point, which was, to inuade England in an other quarter, whilest the Englishmen burnt vp their countrie, and so they set forward towards the west borders, and passing ouer the mounteins that diuide Northumberland from Scotland, they entered into Cumberland, doing much hurt in the lands that belonged to the lord Mowbraie, to the earles of Nottingham, and Stafford, to the baron of Graistocke, and to the Musgraues.

The French admerall perswadeth the Scots to fight with the English host.

Cumberland sore spoiled by the Scots.

Lastlie, they came to Carleill, and boldlie assalted the citie: but sir Lewes Clifford, and sir Thomas Musgraue, Daute Holgraue, and diuerse other worthie capteins being within it, so defended the walles and gates, that their enimies got small aduantage: and finallie hearing that the English armie was returning homewards, the Scots and Frenchmen drew backe into Scotland, doubting to be inclosed by the Englishmen, as they had beene in deed, if the duke of Lancaster and his brethren (vncles to the king) might haue beene beleeued, who counselled the king to pursue the enimies, and stop the passages through which they must needs passe in their comming backe. But the earle of Orenford being most in fauour and credit with the king in those daies, as one that ruled all things at his pleasure, did aduise him to the contrarie, by putting him in beleefe (as was said) that his vncles went about to bring him in danger to be lost and surprised of his enimies, whereupon he toke the next way home, and so brake vp his iournie.

Carleill assalted by the Scots.

God counsell neglected.

When the Scots and Frenchmen were returned into Scotland, the Scotish king hauing conceiued a iust displeasure towards the French admerall, for that by his meanes the realme of Scotland had susteined such damage in that season, caused him and his Frenchmen to be despoiled of the most part of their goods, and sent them so awaie out of his countrie, that the Scots might receiue some comfort by those warres. In this yeare was the battell of Algeberota in Portingale, where king John of Portingale

Polydor.

A noble reuenge.

There were 600 Englishmen who with their bowes did great seruice as by one author it appeareth.

gale discomfited a great host of Spaniards and Frenchmen by the helpe and policie of certeine Englishmen which he had there with him, vnder the leading of two esquiers Norberie and Hartell. There were slaine diuers earls & great lords of Spaniards, but for that our writers do not rightlie note the Spanish names, but write them corruptlie as strangers vse to do, we here omit them. The king of Portingale (after this victorie obteined against his enimies) sent six gallies vnto the king of England to aid him against his aduersaries, the which were well receiued and highlie made of by the Londoners and other, so that the Portingales had no cause to repent of their comming hither.

The king of Portingale sendeth six gallies to K. Richards aid.

The French king this yeare besieged and wan the towne of Dam, after he had béene at great charges about it. Whilest his nauie returned from Scluis, where the same had laien at anchor a long time, the ships by tempest were scattered & wether-driuen, so that in the feast daie of the exaltation of the crosse, two of their gallies, a great ship, a barge, and seauen balengers were cast on shore about Calis, & the Calisians tooke fiue hundred Frenchmen and Normans that escaped to land. An other day 72 French ships (as they were comming from Scluis, to passe by Calis, were met with by them of Calis, who behaued themselues so manfullie, that they tooke 18 of those French ships, and a great barke, in which three score armed men were slaine before it could be taken. Within three daies after this, the Calisians met 45 other French ships, and after six houres fight obteined the victorie, taking three of the most principall vessels, whereof one being a hulke of Eastland was hired by the Normans, to gard the residue. The other two that were taken were of such mold, that they could not enter into the hauen at Calis, and therefore were sent to Sandwich, the one of them being a new ship, which the lord Clifton had bought at Scluis, paieng for hir 3000 franks. ¶ Henrie Knighton saith it was prised or valued at 20000 florens, it was so tall, big, and large a vessell; and therefore of great capacitie.

A good victorie of them of Calis against the French fleet.

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.

On saint Denise daie the soldiors of Calis and other English fortresses thereabouts, made a secret iournie into France, and got a botte of foure thousand sheepe, and three hundred head of great cattell, which they droue towards their holds; and as the lord de Rambures gouernour of Bullongne would haue recouered the preie, he was vnhorsed with the rencounter of an English speare, and being relieued by his companie, and mounted againe, withdrew himselfe, not attempting to trie any further masteries, and so the Englishmen safelie passed forth with their botte of cattell, and aboue a hundred good prisoners which they had taken at this rode. In this 9 yeare about the feast of S. Martine, the king called his high court of parlement at Westminster, in the which amongst other things there concluded, he created two dukes, a marques, and fiue earles. First Edmund Langlie earle of Cambridge the kings vncle was created duke of Yorke, Thomas of Woodstoke his other vncle earle of Buckingham was created duke of Glocester, Robert Uére earle of Orford was made marques of Deuelin, Henrie of Bollingbroke sonne and heire to John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster was created earle of Derbie: Edward Plantagenet sonne and heire to the Duke of Yorke was made earle of Rutland, Michaell lord de la Pole chancellor of England was created earle of Suffolke, & sir Thomas Mowbraie earle of Notingham was made earle marshall.

The lord Mortimer erle of March

Also by authoritie of this parlement, Roger lord Mortimer earle of March, sonne and heire of Edmund Mortimer earle of March, and of the ladie Philip eldest daughter and heire vnto Lionell duke of Clarence, third sonne to king Edward the third, was established heire apparant to the crowne of this realme, and shortlie after so proclaimed. The which earle of March, anon after the end of the same parlement, sailed into Ireland to his lordship of Ulster, whereof he was owner by right of his said mother: but whilest he remained there to pacifie the rebellions of the wild Irish, a great number of them together assembled, came vpon him and slue him, togither with the most part of his companie. This Roger earle of March had issue Edmund, Roger, Anne, Ales, & Eleanor, which Eleanor was made a nunne. The two sonnes died without issue, and Anne the eldest of the daughters was married to Richard earle of Cambridge, sonne vnto Edmund of Langlie before remembred: the which Richard had issue by the said Anne, a son called Richard, that was after duke of Yorke, and father to king Edward the fourth; also a daughter named Isabell, afterwards married to the lord Bourcher. This Richard earle of Cambridge was put to death by Henrie the fift, as after ye shall heare.

proclaimed heire apparant to the crowne.

The earle of March slaine by the wild Irish.

The issue of the foresaid earle of March.

Moreouer, in this yeare Henrie of Bollingbroke earle of Derbie married the daughter and heire of Humfrie Bohun earle of Hereford, in whose right he was after made duke of Hereford, and by hir he had issue Henrie that after him was king of this relme, the ladie Blanch duches of Bar, and the ladie Philip married to the king of Denmarke: also Thomas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, and Humfrie duke of Glocester. ¶ The Gauntiners still mainteined warre against the earle of Flanders during his life, and after his decease against Philip duke of Burgogne, by such aid and comfort as they had from time to time of the king of England, till finallie this yeare about the eightenth date of December, a peace was concluded betwixt the said duke and the towne of Gaunt: and sir John Bourchier that had laine a long season there, as capteine vnder the K. of England, and Peter de Bois one of the chéefe capteins of the Gauntiners (before the concluding of this peace) were safelie conducted to Calis by vertue of the duke of Burgogne his safe conduct, and so they came ouer into England, and the king gaue vnto Peter de Bois a pension of an hundred marks sterling, yearelie to be paid to him out of the staples of the woolles in London.

Froissard.

The king of Armenia cõmeth into England for aid against the Turks.

This yeare king Richard holding his Christmasse at Eltham, thither came to him Leo king of Armenia, whose countrie and realme being in danger to be conquered of the Turks, he was come into those west parts of christendome for aid and succour at the hands of the christian princes here. The king honorablie receiued him, and after he had taken counsell touching his request, he gaue him great summes of monie and other rich gifts, with a stipend (as some write) of a thousand pounds yearely to be paid to him during his life. After he had remained here two moneths space, he tooke leaue of the king and departed. The chiefest point of his errand was, to haue procured a peace betwixt the two kings of England and France, but destinie would not permit so good a purpose to take effect: for the hatred which either nation bare to other, would not suffer their lofte minds to yeeld in any one point, further than seemed good in their owne opinions.

Thom. Walf.

In this ninth yeare of king Richard (though by other writers it should séeme to be rather in the yeare following) the duke of Lancaster with a great power of men of warre went into Spaine, and lead with him thither his wife the ladie Constance, & a daughter which he had by hir named Katharine, and two other daughters which he had by his former wife. He had

Thom. Walf. Froissard. Ia. Meir.

1386

The duke of Lancaster goeth into Spaine with an armie.

had béene about the preparing of an armie, and all furniture necessarie for this iournie two or three yéeres before, and therefore hauing now seauen gallies and eightéene ships sent to him out of Portingale (which arriued at Brisstow) he caused all such vessels as he had prouided to resort likewise thither, where making his generall assemblie, when all his men of warre were come togither, he bestowed them aboord, with all their horsses and purueiances, and causing sailes to be hoisted vp, set forward on his long wished iournie. This was in the moneth of Maie, when the seas were calme, the aire sweet, and the winds pleasant and agréeable to his purpose. He appointed for admerall of his whole fléet sir Thomas Percie; and sir John Holland that was after created earle of Huntington and had married one of his daughters was ordeined constable of the hoast; and sir Thomas Moreaux hauing married his bastard daughter was one of his marshals.

There were that attended him in this iournie manie other lords and knights of honor, as the lord Lucie, the lord Talbot, the lord Basset, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Fitz Walter, the lord Poinings, the lord Bradston, the lord of Pómiers a Gascoigne, the lord Ponne fitz Warren, Henrie lord Beaumont, William lord Beauchampe, sir Richard Burlie that was another of the marshals of the armie, sir Hugh Spenser, sir William Windsore, sir John Daubreticourt, sir Hugh Hastings, sir William Farrington, sir Thomas Tresham, sir Pauburin de Liniers, sir Thomas Worcester, sir John Sowtrie, sir Robert Clinton, sir Philip Tirrell, sir Lewes Rochester, Huguelin Caluerlie, Dauid Holgraue, Thomas Alerie, Hobequin Beaucesser, and diuerse other: they were in all to the number of fiftéene hundred men of armes, whereof a thousand at the least were knights and esquiers, besides foure thousand archers, and other men of warre, so perfectlie appointed and arraied, as could be thought méet and conuenient. Of this chosen companie attendant vpon the duke of Lancaster, & of this his voiage into Spaine, the said C. Okland speaketh no lesse trulie & according to the report of our annales, than honorablie:

In Angl. prelij.

Ocyus instructa pro bello classe futuro,
Milite stipatus generoso trajcit æquor
Fluctisonum, cum vxore pia natisq; duabus, &c.

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.

¶Henrie Knighton reporteth of this voiage as followeth, in somewhat a differing sort from this alreadie laid downe. On Easter daie (saith he) John the duke of Lancaster with his wife came to the king, to take their leaue; to the which duke the king gaue a crowne of gold, and the quéene likewise gaue an other crowne of gold to the duchesse. Besides this, the king commanded his people that they should call him king of Spaine, and doo him honour in all things. He had with him a power of 20000 chosen men; of which number noted in the marshals bill or scroll, 2000 were men of armes, and 8000 were archers.

Thom. Walf. The duke of Lancaster landeth at Brest and winneth two bastides from the Frenchmen.

As they passed by Britaine, they landed at Brest, the capteine whereof, at that time named sir John Roche, finding himselfe greatlie annoied by the Frenchmen that were lodged in two bastides erected before the castell, declared to the duke in what state he stood. Whereupon he caused the said bastides to be assailed, which was done by the lord Fitz Walter, and others, who bare themselues so manfullie, that the bastides were woone, broken downe, and a great preie with prisoners obteined, although not without losse of diuerse valiant personages. Thus were they within Brest castell deliuered of their vnfrendlie neighbours by the duke of Lancaster and his people. Who hauing done their feat toke the seas, and sailed forth till they came on the coasts of Gallis, where on S. Laurence æuen, they arriued in

Anno Reg. 10. The duke of Lancaster landeth at Groigne. Froissard.

the hauen of Groigne, otherwise called Cozon, and there they vnshipped all their prouisions, determining to inuade the countrie on that side. ¶ Here, because it is not vnprofitable to know the absolute truth of things done, by the collection of writers, I haue translated the beseeging of Brest, as the same is set downe by Henrie Knighton in his annales, in a larger and more ample sort, with a fuller certificat of circumstances than hath hitherto béene declared. At the same time (saith he) the duke of Britaine had laid siege both by sea and land, to a certeine towne in Britaine, in old time subiect to the king of England, which was called Brest, with a great multitude of Frenchmen and Britains. Now on the twelfth of the kalends of Julie, he began to build a fort before the said towne of Brest, of a wonderfull bignesse, the walles thereof being ten foot thicke, and seauen towres about it. A thousand workemen did worke daie by daie vpon it, and to defend the said workemen (that they might not be hindered in their businesse by the citizens) ten thousand fighting men were appointed. So that this fort was begun and ended in nineteene daies space, and called the Dowehouse, because a dowehouse stood in the same place before. Furthermore he stored this fort with all necessaries, as vittels, armour, guns, and other engins, and he placed therin as capteine of the warriors the lord John Maletret with a hundred and fiftie armed men, and as manie other soldiors, the whole number being three hundred.

Le Groigne Cozone.

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.

The good duke of Lancaster hauing knowledge hereof, directed his fléet or nauie towards the hauen of Brest, where when he had arriued, they all fled from the siege, both by sea and land, those onlie, which were in the fort, remaining behind. Now the prior of S. James in Calis desired the good duke that he might giue the first assault against the fort; who taking the repulse with his retinue, he ceased and gaue ouer. In like sort did manie more giue the assault to the same for the space of two daies and more: in so much that some digging vnder the wals, and vndermining the foundations of one towre, the same fell downe vpon sir Robert Swinarton a valiant knight of Staffordshire, and manie more, among whome was John de Bolton a couragious gentleman and an esquire by degrée of Yorkeshire. As for those that were vpon the towre, they also came tumbling downe, and were presentlie slaine.

In the meane time the lord Maletret gardian of the fort, sent word to the duke of Lancaster, that he would yeeld and surrender the hold into his hands vpon condition, that he and all his might freelie depart with such armour, goods, chatels and victuals as they had reposed and laid vp in store for their necessarie prouision: whereunto the good duke (as he was alwaies good) verie gentlie agréed; vpon condition also, that before their departure, they should ruinate the said fort, and laie it euen with the ground; and should likewise allow and paie him towards his costs and charges defraied in the siege of the same, twentie thousand scutes of gold. Then might you sée the people flocking from all parts of the countrie, some with beires, some with cabbins, some with carts, and some with crutches to fetch awaie the dead and the wounded: in so much that there was not one, either slaine outright, or deadlie maimed, for whome his frends did not mone and lament. Yea, the lord Maletret himselfe was so mangled and hurt, that he could not go on his legs, but as he leaned on mens shoulders, and was borne vp on either side. It was reported, that manie dead bodies were hidden in heaps of salt, to the end that the Englishmen should not glorie and triumph in the multitude of the slaine, of whome [in sight] the number amounted to aboue

150. Thus farre goeth Henrie Knighton, whose report giueth no small light to the matter vnder hand. After the duke had remained a moneth at Groigne, he went to Compostella, and there soiourned for a season, during the which, his constable sir John Holland woone diuerse townes and fortresses which the enimies kept: diuerse yeelded to the duke with better will, for that the duchesse his wife was there with him, whom they knew to be right inheritour to the realme. ¶ At Monson a towne on the confines betwirt Spaine and Portingale, the king of Portingale and the duke of Lancaster met, where they communed and toke counsell togither for the more spéedie proceeding in their enterprise against their aduersaries of Castile. Also there was a mariage concluded betwirt the said king of Portingale, and the ladie Philip daughter to the said duke, which marriage shortlie after was wholie consummated, the said ladie being first married by procuration at Compostella, and after sent into Portingale right honorablie accompanied.

Philip the dude of Lancasters daughter married to the king of Portingale.

The duke continued at Compostella all the winter season, till towards March, and then (according to appointment taken betwirt him, and the king of Portingale, at their being togither at Mouson, for their iournie to be made into Castile) the said king assembled an armie of a thousand men of armes, and ten thousand other souldiers, with the which entring the confines of Castile, he first toke the towne of Feroule, and after ioining with the duke, who had in the meane while by his marshall taken the townes of Ruelles, Mille Lopes, Pounceuoide, Dighos, Baionne in la Paroll, Ribadan, Maures, Besanses, and Ozens, with others in the countrie of Gallis, they marched forth with their whole powers both togither, and passing ouer the riuer of Dure, entered into the countrie de Campo.

The king of Portingale & the duke of Lancaster ioining their armies togither inuade Castile.

¶ Here the English writers make mention of a battell, which the constable of Castile should giue to the duke, and that the victorie remained on the dukes side, and the Spaniards chased out of the field. But Froissard (who liued in those daies, and learned that which he wrote of those that were with the duke in his iournie) maketh no remembrance of any such thing, but that contrarilie the king of Castile following the aduise of such Frenchmen as were sent into Spaine to aid him, caused all the riches of the countrie to be brought into the walled townes and fortresses, which he stuffed with men of warre, to defend them from the Englishmen and Portingales; and further to cut off their vitels, and to keepe them from hauing forrage abroad in the countrie, vnlesse such as were sent were garded with the greater troops for their suertie and defense.

Variance amongst writers.

Thus bestowing the most part of all such men of warre, both Frenchmen and Spaniards, as he could make in places most conuenient for that purpose, he fullie determined not to giue battell till his enimies had wearied themselues in keping of the fields, and that a new power was come to his aid out of France, which he dailie looked for. By which meanes it came to passe, that the Englishmen not vsed to such hot aire as they found in those parts in that season of the yeare (for it was about Midsummer) fell dailie into manie perillous diseases, whereof no small number died; and other became so faint, that they were not able to helpe themselues, that to consider the miserie in which they were, it would haue rued the harts of their verie foes. Herevpon was the duke constreined to fall to a communication for a peace, which in the end was accorded, though not at this instant.

Great death in the English host in Spaine by reason of the great heat of that countrie.

Howbeit a truce was granted, in such wise as it might be at the Englishmens choise to returne into their countrie either by sea or by land, thorough France. Such as passed through Spaine to France, had safe conducts sealed and signed by the king of Spaine; but scarse the halfe of those that came out of England with the duke, returned thither againe, they died so fast, aswell after the breaking vp of their campe, as before. Amongst other, there died before the breaking vp of the campe, one of the greatest barons of all the companie, named the lord Fitz Walter; and afterwards within the towne of Mille Arpent, there died (as Froissard saith) three great barons of England, and men of great possessions: sir Richard Burlie a knight of the garter, who had béene as it were high marshall of the armie, the lord Poinings, and sir Henrie Percie cousine germane to the earle of Northumberland.

Froissard. The lord Fitz walter.

I thinke that none of these three were barons but onlie the lord Poinings.

In the towne of Noie deceased sir Mauburin de Linters a Poictouin, and in the towne of Ruelles died the lord Talbot, and so here and there (saith Froissard) there died in all twelue great lords, foure score knights, two hundred esquiers, and of the meaner sort of souldiers aboue fiue hundred. After that the armie was broken vp, the duke of Lancaster and the duchesse his wife went into Portingale, and there remained a season, and then taking the sea, sailed to Baionne in the marshes of Gascoigne, where he rested a long time after. ¶ In this meane while, there was communication and offers made for a marriage to be had betwirt the duke of Berrie, vncle to the French king; and the ladie Katharine daughter to the duke of Lancaster, and of the duchesse his wife the ladie Constance.

The duke of Lancaster returneth out of Portingale into Gascoigne.

When the king of Spaine vnderstood of that treatie, he began to doubt, least if that marriage toke place, it might turne to his disaduantage; and therefore to be at quietnesse with the duke of Lancaster, whose puissance he doubted, and whose wisedome he perfectlie vnderstood, by politike meanes and earnest suite, at length concluded a peace with him on this wise; That his eldest son Henrie should haue in mariage the ladie Katharine daughter to the duke of Lancaster, begot on his wife the duchesse Constance, and be intituled prince of Austurgus. In consideration of which marriage to be had, and all claimes to cease, which the duke in right of his wife might challenge or pretend; it was agreed, that the said duke should receiue yearelie the summe of ten thousand marks, to be paid to him, or to his assignes in the citie of Baionne in Gascoigne, during the terme of the liues of the said duke and duchesse; and further to haue in hand the summe of two hundreth thousand nobles. ¶ Henrie Knighton in his relation of this composition betwéene these persons of great estate, doth say, that it was told him by one of the good duke of Lancasters owne household, and attendant vpon him in this voiage into Spaine, that the Spanish king did send seuen and fourtie mules loden with coffers full of gold for the second paiment whereupon they were agreed. As touching the first paiment (saith Knighton) I asked no question of the partie. So that (besides the annuitie, which mine author reporteth to be 16000 marks, during the parties liues iointlie, and 12000 marks, if it fortuned that the dukes daughter should suruiue and outliue hir husband) it should séeme there were other large allowances, which if they were (as it is likelie) after this rate, it was a right rotall munificence. And to this report of Knighton doth Ch. Okland make a kind of allusion, who speking of the conditions of peace betweene the duke of Lancaster, and the king of Spaine, saith:

Causæ diffidens extemplò Hispanus, agebat
De pace, acceptis & conditionibus, offert
Argenti ac auri plaustrorum protinus octo
Iustum onus, argentique decem soluenda quotannis
Millia nummorum, &c.

In Anglicis sub Rich. 2.

A marriage concluded betwéene the prince of Spaine, and the duke of Lancasters daughter.

Fabian.

Ab. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.

This

The aforesaid agreement and marriage was not concluded, till about the thirteenth yeare of king Richards reigne, so that in the meane while manie incidents chanced in England and in other regions, which in their time and places shall be touched, as to purpose serueth.

Iacob. Meir. Froissard.

And first it is not to be forgotten, that the Frenchmen neuer shewed more vanitie than they did this yeare, since the linage of the Capetes began first to rule in France. All the ships that they could prouide from the confines of Spaine, vnto the mouth of the Rhene, all alongst the coast, they assembled at Sluis and thereabouts, and made so great preparation for the warre, that the like had not béene heard of (meaning, as they boasted, and made their vants) to passe ouer into England, and to deuoure the whole countrie, in doing sacrifice to the soules of their elders with the blond of the English people. Howbeit these words were wind, & to them accorded the prouerbe,

Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.

A mightie great nauie of French ships at Sluis purposing to inuade Englād.

There were numbred in the moneth of September about Sluis, Dam, and Blankberke 1287 ships, besides those which were rigged in Britaine by the constable, who had caused an inclosure of a field to be made of timber, like railes or barriers, that when they were landed in England, they might therewith inclose their field, and so lodge more at suertie, and when they remoued, it was so made with ioints, that they might take it vp in péces and easilie conueie it with them.

The description of the inclosure.

This inclosure or wall of wood was twentie foot in heigth, and conteined in length or in compasse, when it was set vp, three thousand pases, and at the end of euerie twelue pases stood a turret able to receiue ten men, that was higher than the rest of the wall by ten foot at the least. There were appointed to haue

Thom. Walsi.

passed ouer in those ships twentie thousand men of armes, twentie thousand crosbowes, and twentie thousand other men of warre. To haue séene the great apparell, furniture and prouision, the shipping, trussing, bearing, and carrieng to and fro of things needfull for this iournie, a man might haue meruelled; for suerlie the like hath sildome bene remembred. All that was done there on that side the sea by the Frenchmen, was notified into England, so that the Frenchmen were not more occupied to prepare themselues to inuade England, than the Englishmen were to make themselues readie to defend their countrie from all danger of enimies; so that euerie hauen towne, especiallie alongst the west, south, and eastcoasts, were kept and warded with notable numbers of armed men and archers.

Tho. Walsi.

The prouision of ỳ Englishmen to resist ỳ great power of Frenchmen.

¶ Notwithstanding the great confidence which the French king reposed in the fortification which he had imbarked, thinking thereby to haue wrought great wonders, to the discomfiture of the English: yet (contrarie to his expectation) it so fortuned, that about Michaelmas, the lord William Beauchampe capteine of Calis toke two ships; whereof one was loden with a péce of the said inclosure or wall of wood, and in the same ship was the maister carpenter of the inclosure, being an Englishman borne, but banished his countrie before that time for some offense. He also toke another ship, wherein were engins, guns, gunpowder & other instruments of war. Not long after this, two more ships were taken likewise, whose burthen was parcels of the foresaid frame or inclosure: so that three ships were met withall and seized vpon, each of them loden with one kind of stuffe. Whereof king Richard hearing, he caused the said inclosure to be reared and set vp about Winchelsie towne. In the meane while, namelie in September, the foresaid armie came into Flanders, and arriued at the hauen of Sluis, intending to

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.

make their progresse into England: but by prolonging of the time there, they were driuen to great distresse and want of bittels: for it was reported that a loafe of bread, sold in England for a penie, was sold there for eightéene pence; and a hens eg for a penie: so that in the end of November they returned to France, milling their purpose as much as if they had neuer ment it.

There were readie within the realme at that season, in one part and other 100000 archers, and ten thousand men of armes, besides those that were gone into Spaine with the duke of Lancaster. All this preparation lasted for the more part of the summer, euen till the beginning of winter: and still the French king that was come downe into Flanders, staied for the comming of his vncle the duke of Berrie: who at length in the moneth of November came to Sluis, hauing protracted time, of purpose, that he might by the excuse of winter, cause this iornie to be put off till another season. Wherin he shewed more wit than all the councellors which the French king had about him: for if he had not politikelie shifted off the matter, the king had landed here in England, to the great danger of his person and losse of his people. And yet if we shall beléeue writers that liued in those daies, by reason of the brute that was spred through the realme, of that huge preparation which the French king made to inuade this land, no small feare entered into the harts of manie, namelie of the Londoners, who (as if the enimies had bene alredie landed) bestirred them, in making what prouision they might for their defense, though it séemed by their manner of doings, they stood in doubt least the whole realme had not béene able to make sufficient resistance.

The Londoners specially afraid of the Frēch forces.

Dissention among the nobleмen.

In déed diuerse were the more afraid, for that they perceiued how the barons and great lords agreed not in manie points among themselues, and so being not of one mind, the wiser sort doubted least through their disagreeing in that troublesome time, some danger might grow to the state of the whole realme.

Froissard.

Notwithstanding, no small number of others wished nothing more, than that the French king in going forward with his purpose, might haue come ouer, not doubting but that he should haue found such a welcome, as would haue bene little to his ease. About the feast of saint Michaell, a parlement was called and holden at London, and withall great numbers of men of armes & archers were appointed to come and lie about London, that they might be readie to march forthwith against the enimies whensoeuer it chanced them to land. Thus all the townes and villages twentie miles in compasse round about London, were full of men of armes and archers, lieng as it had bene in campe; and wanting both bittels and monie, they were driuen to spoile and to take by violence what they might get. At length, after they had laine thus to small purpose a long season, they were licenced to depart home, with commandement to be readie to returne againe vpon the first summons. Manie of them were constreined through necessitie, to sell their horsses, and armour, and some to spoile and to rob as they went homewards, not sparing what they might laie their hands vpon. Although the men of warre were dismissed home, the parlement yet continued, and the lords still remained at London, hearkening still for the French kings comming.

Tho. Walsin. A parlement at London.

Robert Uéer marquesse of Dubline created duke of Ireland.

The lord Robert Uéer earle of Orenford, whome the king in the last parlement had made marquesse of Dubline, was now in this parlement created duke of Ireland: the other lords sore enuieng so high preferment in a man that so little deserued, as they toke it. For by reason of the kings great affection

which he bare not onelie to this noble man, but also to the lord Michaell de la Pole, whom he had latelie created earle of Suffolke, and after aduanced him to the office of lord chancellor (as before ye haue heard) not onelie the lords, but also the commons sore grudged at such their high preferrement, in somuch that in this present parlement, the knights & burgesses in the lower house, exhibited a bill against the lord chancellor, of diuerse crimes which they laid to his charge, and so vsed the matter, with the helpe of the lords, that in the end in some respect they had their willes against him, contrarie to the kings mind, as after may appeare.

And where the king had demanded a relefe of monie towards the maintenance of his estate, and charges of the warres, it was answered, that he néeded not any tallage of his subiects, sith he might furnish himselfe with such a summe at the hands of the said earle, that was iustlie indebted vnto him therein, as they were able well to proue. But the king was nothing herewith contented, conceiuing no small displeasure, aswell against them of the lower house, as against the lords in the vpper, for fauouring them in the lower, in matters that went so sore against his mind. Herevpon (as was said, whether trulie or otherwise, the lord knoweth) by a conspiracie begun betwixt the king & such as were most in fauour with him, it was deuised, that the duke of Gloucester (as principall (and such other lords as fauored the knights and burgesses in their sute, against the earle of Suffolke, and were otherwise against the king in his demand of monie, should be willed to a supper in London, there to be murthered.

But the duke comming by some meanes to vnderstand of this wicked practise, had no desire to take part of that supper, where such sharpe sauce was prouided, and withall gaue warning to the residue, that they likewise should not come there, but to content themselues with their owne suppers at their lodgings. It was said, that sir Nicholas Brember, who had béene maior the yeare before, had promised his assistance in the execution of this horrible fact: but thorough the commendable constancie of Richard Exton that was maior this yeare, being moued by the king for his furtherance therein, and denieng flatlie to consent to the death of such innocent persons, that heinous practise was omitted. This matter being brought to light, the hatred and malice which men bare to such councellors of the king greatlie increased, and the duke of Gloucester and such as withstood the king, dailie grew more and more into the peoples fauour.

Richard Exton iustlie cõmended.

A subsidie granted and appointed to be spent according to ỹ discretion of the nobilitie.

Howbeit at length, through the earnest sute of some of the great lords, there was granted to the king halfe a tenth and halfe a fifteenth, which should not be spent at the pleasure of the prince, but by the order and appointment of the said lords, & so at length the earle of Arundell was appointed to receiue it, to furnish him with a nauie to the seas. But before this paiment might be granted, there was much adoo, & hard hold: for where the said earle of Suffolke then lord chancellor, at first had demanded of the commons in the kings name, foure fifteens (for with lesse (said he) the king could not mainteine his estate and the warres which he had in hand) the whole bodie of the parlement made answer thereto, that without the king were present (for he was then at Eltham) they could make therein no answer at all: and herewith they toke occasion at length to say further, that except the said earle of Suffolke were remoued from the office of chancellorship, they would meddle no further with any act in this parlement, were it neuer of so small importance.

The king being aduertised hereof, sent againe to the commons, that they should send vnto Eltham (where he laie) foure of the wisest and best learned of the common house, the which in the name of the whole house should declare vnto him their minds. And then the house was in no small feare, by reason of a brute that was raised, how the king sought meanes to intrap and destroie them that followed not his purpose. Herevpon aswell the lords of the vpper house as the commons of the lower assembled togither, and agréed with one consent, that the duke of Gloucester, and Thomas Arundell bishop of Elie, should in the name of the whole parlement be sent to the king vnto Eltham: which was done, and the king was well contented that they should come. When they came before his presence, with humble reuerence they declared their message, which consisted in these points: That the lords and commons assembled at that present in parlement, besought him of his lawfull fauour, that they might liue in peace and tranquillitie vnder him.

Dissention betweene the king and the parlement house.

The duke of Gloucester and the bishop of Elie sent to ỹ K. at Eltham frõ the whole bodie of the parlement.

Their requests to the king.

They further declared, that one old statute and laudable custome was approued, which no man could denie, that the king once in the yeare might lawfullie summon his high court of parlement, and call the lords and commons thereunto, as to the highest court of his realme, in which court all right and equitie ought to shine as the sunne being at the highest, whereof poore and rich may take refreshing; where also reformation ought to be had of all oppressions, wrongs, extortions, & enormities within the realme; and there the king ought to take counsell with the wise men of his realme, for the maintenance of his estate, and conseruation of the same. And if it might be knowen that any persons within the realme or without, intended the contrarie; there must also be deuised how such euill wæds may be destroied. There must also be studied and foreséene, that if any charge do come vpon the king and realme, how it may be honorablie borne and discharged.

And ofter it néed require.

The causes & conditions of a parlement.

Further, they declared that till that present, his subiects (as was thought) had louinglie demeaned themselues towards him, in aiding him with their substance to the best of their powers, & that their desire was to vnderstand how those gods were spent. And further they said, they had one thing to declare vnto him, how that by an old ordinance it was enacted, that if the king should absent himselfe fourtie daies, not being sicke, and refuse to come to the parlement, without regard to the charges of his people, and their great paines, they then may lawfullie returne home to their houses: and therefore sith he had béene absent a long time, and yet refused to come among them, it was greatlie to their discomfort. To this the king (as we find) made this answer: Well, we do perceiue that our people and commons go about to rise against vs: wherefore we thinke we cannot do better than to aske aid of our cousine the French king, and rather submit vs vnto him than to our owne subiects.

Absence of the king from the parlement for the space of 40 daies.

The kings answer.

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The lords answered, that it should not be good for him so to do, but a waie rather to bring him into extreame danger, sith it was plaine inough, that the French king was his ancient enimie and greatest aduersarie, who if he might once set foot in the realme of England, he would rather despoile and dispossesse the king of his kingdome, than put his helping hand to relieue him. He might (they said) call to remembrance, how his noble progenitour king Edward the third, his grandfather, and prince Edward his father had trauelled in heat and cold, with great anguish and troubles incessantlie, to make a conquest of France, that rightfullie apperteined vnto them, and now to him, in which wars he might likewise remember how manie lords, noble men, and

good

good commons of both realmes had lost their liues, and what charges both the realmes likewise bare in mainteining those warres: and now (the more pitie) greater burthens were laid vpon the necks of the English subiects for the supportation of his charges, by reason whereof, they were so low brought (said they) that they haue not to pate their rents, and so by such meanes was his power decaied, his lords brought behind hand, and all his people fore impouerished. And as that king cannot be pore that hath rich people, so cannot he be rich that hath pore commons. And as he toke hurt by such inconueniences chancing through euill councellors that were about him, so the lords and noblemen sustained no lesse hurt each one after his estate and calling. And if remedie were not in time prouided through his helping hand, the realme must nedes fall in ruine, and the default should be imputed to him and to those his euill councellors.

Wealth of the people is the glorie of the prince and suertie of his reigne.

By these and the like persuasions the king was induced to come to the parlement, and according to his appointment he came indeed. Some after his comming was John Fordham bishop of Durham discharged of his office of lord treasurer, and in his place was appointed one John Gilbert bishop of Hereford, that was a frier of the order of preachers, a man more eloquent than faithfull, as some reported of him. Also the earle of Suffolke was discharged of his office of lord chancellor, and Thomas Arundell bishop of Elie placed in his rome, by whole consent of parlement. The same earle of Suffolke was charged with manie & verie great enormious crimes, frauds, falshoods, and tresons, which he had practised, to the great preiudice of the king and realme, and therevpon was committed to ward in the castell of Windsore. Notwithstanding they adiudged him not to death (as some write) nor disgraded him of the honor of knighthod, but condemned him to paie a fine of twentie thousand marks, and also to forfeit one thousand pounds of yerelie rents which he had purchased.

Change of officers by the parlement.

The earle of Suffolke grieuouslie charged by the parlement house for sundrie offenses.

But other write, that notwithstanding the king was sore offended for the accusations brought against the said earle of Suffolke and others, whome he loued, and was loth to heare anie euill of: yet he was constreined at length, after he had shifted off the matter by sundrie deuises, to appoint certeine persons with full power and authoritie to heare, and in iudgement to determine those matters. The duke of Gloucester therfore, and the earle of Arundell were appointed as iudges; which (whilest the king as yet was absent, who got him forth of the waie of purpose, bicause he would not be present at the condemnation of those whome he most entierlie loued and fauoured) went earnestlie in hand with their businesse, and so at length (as Walsingham saith) the earle of Suffolke was conuicted, & found giltie of sundrie crimes, trespasses, and naughtie parts: for which it was thought that he deserued to lose his life & goods, but yet he was suffered (as the same Walsingham saith) to go abroad vnder suertie, certeine great men being bound for him in great sums of monie. But what order soeuer was taken for the punishment of him, sure it is he was displaced from his office of chancellorship, as before yee haue heard.

Furthermore, the lords, and other estates in this parlement, considering that through couetousnesse of the new deposed officers, the kings treasure had beene imbezeled, lewdlie wasted, & prodigallie spent, nothing to his profit: there were in this parlement thirteene lords chosen, to haue ouersight vnder the king of the whole gouernment of the realme, as by their commission in the statutes of the tenth yeare of this king it doth in the booke of statutes at large appeare. Of those thirteene there were three of the new officers named, as the bishop of Elie lord chancellor, the bishop of Hereford lord treasurer, and Nicholas abbat of Waltham lord keeper of the priuie seale: the other ten were these, William archbishop of Canturburie, Alexander archbishop of Yorke, Edmund Langlie duke of Yorke, Thomas duke of Glocester, William bishop of Winchester, Thomas bishop of Exceter, Richard earle of Arundell, Richard lord Scrope, and John lord Debereur. But this participation of the gouernement fell out to be inconuenient, as by processe of the storie shall appeare, euen to those vnto whome it was allotted: so that no small a do happened among them and their partakers: according to the old prouerbe, which saith;

Væ sibi quando canes veniunt os rodere plures.

Thirteene lords appointed by parlement to haue the gouernement of the realme vnder the king.

Moreouer, at the kings instance and earnest sute it was granted, that Robert de Uær late marquesse of Dubline, and now newlie created duke of Ireland, should haue and receiue to his owne vse thirtie thousand marks, that the Frenchmen were to giue for the heires of the lord Charles de Blois, that remained here in England, which Charles in times past chalenged as his rightfull inheritance the dutchie of Britaine, against the earle of Montfort. This grant was made to the duke of Ireland, with condition, that being furnished with this monie, he should passe ouer into Ireland, before the next Easter, there to recouer such lands as the king had giuen to him. For aswell the lords as the commons were so desirous to haue him gone, that they wished the realme rather to spare so much treasure, than to haue his presence about the king, to allure him to follie. The same time the king of Armenia sued for a safe conduct to come againe ouer into this land, to speake with the king as it had been about the mouing of some peace betwixt the two realms of England and France; but sith his meaning was suspected to be to no good end, but to benefit himselfe by receiuing of some great gifts at the kings bountifull hands, his sute was not granted.

The king of Armenia sueth for a safe conduct to come into England which is denied him.

In this meane time also, whilest the French king with such a companie of dukes, earls and other lords, as had not beene heard of, still continued in Flanders, staieng as well for a conuenient wind, as for the comming of the duke of Berrie; it chanced that certeine English ships, as they wafted the seas, met with two of the French ships, that were sailing towards Sluis, and fighting with them, toke them, and brought them both to Sandwich. There was found aboord the same ships, a maister gunner, that sometime had serued the Englishmen at Calis, when sir Hugh Calverlie was lieutenant there; also diuerse great guns and engins to beat downe wals were found and taken in the same ships, with a great quantitie of powder that was more worth than all the rest.

Two of the French kings ships taken with a great price in them.

Guns were inuented little more than six yeares before this time, to wit, An. 1380.

About the same time, or rather somewhat before, the Englishmen also toke certeine hulks and sir carikes of the Genowais, laden with great riches: but bicause they were merchants, they found such fauor at the kings hands through means of Michaell de la Pole then lord chancellor (whome they had made their frend) that they had their vessels and all their goods restored, and freightwaies they passed with the same vnto Sluis, where the enimies laie, to make sale of their wares there. Wherevpon much murmuring rose among the kings subiects, taking it in euill part, that they should be suffered so to go their waies to releeue the enimies of the realme, with such goods as were once brought into the Englishmens possession, and specially the lord chancellor was verie euill thought of, for shewing so much fauour vnto those strangers.

Restitution of merchants goods taken.

The French king still remaining in Flanders, tarieng for the comming of the duke of Berrie, and also for a conuenient wind, at length on the euen of All saints, the wind came about very fauourable for the Frenchmens purpose: whereupon they weied anchors, and launched from the hauen of Sluis, but they were not past twentie miles forward on their way, when the wind suddenlie turned contrarie to their course againe, and brought them backe with such violence, that diuerse of them as they should enter the hauen, were broken and bruised, and so by this occasion, and the counsell of the duke of Berrie togither, the French king brake vp his iournie for that yeare, and returned into France. ¶ Ye haue heard what was done by the states assembled in parlement against the earle of Suffolke, whom the most part of the realme so greatlie hated, but yet neuertheless, the king had such an affection towards him, that immediatlie after the parlement was dissolued, he vndid all that had beene enacted against him, receiuing him into more familiaritie than before, and caused him to continue with the duke of Ireland, and Alexander Neuill archbishop of Yorke, which two lords trauelled most earnestlie to moue the king against the other lords, and to disannull all that had beene done in the last parlement.

The French fleet setting forward towards England is driuen backe by contrarie winds.

The kings inordinate affection towards the duke of Ireland and the earle of Suffolke.

There increased therefore in the king an inward hatred, which he conceiued against the lords, these men putting into his eare, that he was like no king but rather resembled the shadow of one; saieng, it would come to passe that he should be able to do nothing of himselfe, if the lords might inioy the authoritie which they had taken vpon them. The king gaue credit to these tales, and therefore had the lords in great gelousie, notwithstanding they were thought to be his most true and faithfull subiects, and the other craftie, deceitfull, and vntrustie; but such an affection had the king to them, that no informations, nor accusations, though neuer so manifestlie proued, could bring them out of his fauour, in so much as at the feast of Christmasse next following, he caused the earle of Suffolke to sit with him at his owne table, in robes accustomablie appointed for kings to weare, and not for meaner estates, which was much noted, and no little increased the enuie against him.

1387

About the beginning of March in this tenth yeare, Richard earle of Arundell, being appointed lord admerall, & Thomas Mowbraie earle of Notingham, the earle of Deuonshire, and the bishop of Norwich (as Froissard saith) went to the sea with a warlike power of men of armes and archers, so well trimmed and appointed as was possible. For the lord admerall vnderstanding that the duke of Glocester, and manie other noblemen would see the musker of his men, vsed all diligence, and spared for no costs, to haue the most choisest and pikedst fellowes that might be gotten, not following the euill example of others in times past, which receiued tag and rag to fill vp their numbers, whom they hired for small wages, and reserued the residue to their purses. And when to the aduancement of the realms commoditie they should haue incountered the enimies, they shifted off all occasions thereto, and onelie prolonged time, without atchiuing any enterprise auaileable, to the end they might receiue the whole wages, and keepe themselues from danger, which they should hardlie haue auoided, when they had not about them such able men as were like to match the enimies: but the earle of Arundell contrarilie got the ablest men he might, not sparing his owne purse, to the end that by their seruice he might atchiue some worthie enterprise, to redound vnto the commoditie of his countrie.

The earle of Arundell goeth to the sea with 500 men of armes and a thousand archers as Froissard noteth.

A great abuse in choise of souldiers.

After the duke of Glocester had beheld so faire and chosen a power of men of warre, they were streightwaies appointed to get them on shipbord, & so being imbarked, the whole nauie passed forth to the Thams mouth, where they staied to watch for the fleet of Flanders, that was readie to come from Rochell with wines. At length, vpon a sundaie, being the euen of the Annuntiation of our ladie, the Flemish fleet was discouered a good way off, by one that was mounted into one of the tops of a ship of the English fleet. The earle of Arundell greatlie reioising at those newes, forthwith with his whole fleet made to the sea. When the Flemings approched neere to our nauie, they made saile, as if they would set vpon the same; and our men of purpose made countenance as if they would haue retired, as mistrusting themselues to be able to match their aduersaries, who coueting rather a safe passage than battell, passed by: but the Englishmen hauing once got the wind fit for their purpose, suddenlie set vpon the Flemish ships, and fought with them right fiercelie: at length, after a sore conflict which indured foure houres, the victorie fell to the Englishmen.

A good policie.

A great victorie of the English nauie against the Flemish fleet. Ia. Meir. Tho. Walsi.

There were taken fourescore ships, with diuerse capteins and men of armes, namelie their chiefe admerall, named John Buicke, a perfect good seaman, and one that had afortime done much hurt to the English nation. Diuerse of their ships were bouged, and some escaped from the battell. But the earle of Arundell pursued them so egerlie for the space of two daies togither, that at length he tooke them, and brought them backe to his nauie, so that what in the battell and in the chase, there were taken of great and small, to the number of an hundred vessels, all fraught with wines, so that there was found abord the same nine thousand tuns, or rather (as other saie) nineteene thousand, which togither with the vessels were streight sent vnto Orwell hauen, and to other hauens abroad in the realme, beside that which fell to the kings share, as due to him by his prerogatiue. Part of the Flemish fleet escaping (as before ye haue heard) was pursued vnto the hauen of Sluis and Blankerke.

Ia. Meir. Thom. Walsi.

The citizens of Middleburgh came to the earle, and requested him that they might buie those wines of him, and paie for the same after the rate of an hundred shillings the tunne, alledging how they were the kings frends, and stood in need of wines: but the earle of Arundell, thinking it more reason that those which had borne the charges of his iournie, to wit, the commons of the realme of England should haue the commoditie thereof than any other, he denied their sute. But yet to shew them some pleasure as his frends, he gaue them twentie tuns to make merrie with. As for that which fell to the earles share, he vsed such bountifulnesse in bestowing it among his frends, that he left not to himselfe so much as one tunne. He wan therefore no small praise, that forbearing his owne commoditie, which he might haue reaped in selling those wines to strangers, he had more regard to the profit of the commons, whereby they might vnderstand, that that which they had laid forth towards the setting forward of his iournie, was not altogither lost nor cast awaie. By this meanes (besides the commendation which he drew to himselfe) he also wan the harts & good will of the people, whose frendship is purchased by gifts and good deeds, sith they make profit the metrod of amitie, & bound in beneuolence with receiued benefits, as the poet saith,

The liberalitie of the earle of Arundell.

Vulgus amicitias vtilitate probat.

All the countrie of Flanders neere to the sea coasts, was in great feare: for the Englishmen landed, and euerie day went abroad into the countrie, burning diuerse townes and villages, as Mude, Osburge, Houckam, Monachacedam, & others. And at length, after they had taken their pleasure in the countrie, for

Diuers rodes made into Flanders by the Englishmen, & great spoile done.

for the space of ten daies togither, they hoised vp sailes, and returned with all their preie and bootes, which being sold, and vttered abroad in the realme, made wine so plentifullie here in England, that it was sold for thirtéene shillings foure pence the tun, and twentie shillings the best and choisest. The earle of Arundell not satisfied with this happie atchiued enterprise, but minding to do more seruice to the benefit of his countrie, gathered his ships together, and hiring new souldiers to supplie the romes of them that were hurt, maimed, or slaine, turned his sailes towards the castell of Brest, which séemed to be a keie to the lesse Britaine, and being (as yee haue heard) in the Englishmens possession, the Frenchmen were about to raise vp and build farre greater and stronger bastillions, than those were that the duke of Lancaster had taken and destroied, as he sailed forward on his iournie toward Spaine.

wine sold for thirtéene shillings foure pence the tun.

The earle of Arundell saileth into Britaine with a great power.

One of these two new bastiles the earle of Arundell wone by force from them that kept it: and because it séemed necessarie to be kept for a defense to the castell, if it were in the Englishmens hands, he committed it to the custodie of certeine Englishmen. The other being not yet finished, but begun in sumptuous wise to be builded, he set on fire and burned. This done, furnishing the garison with sufficient vittels and munition to serue them for one whole yeare, he returned home into England, with great praise and commendation of the commons for his doings. But the duke of Ireland, the earle of Suffolke, sir Simon de Burlie, and sir Richard Sturrie, that still continued about the king, séemed rather to enuie the earle of Arundels good name, than otherwise to commend him and others to the king, that had béene forth in that iournie, in so much that when the earle of Nottingham, otherwise called earle Marshall, that had béene euer the kings playfellow, and of equall age to him, came now to the court, hoping to be right welcome, and to receiue great thankes at the kings hands, he had no good countenance shewed vnto him, neither of the king, nor of the duke of Ireland, who disdaining once to talke with him, séemed to enuie the worthie prowesse in other, which he knew defectiue and wanting in himselfe.

Enuie & follower of vertue & prowesse

Shortlie after, by the counsell of those lords and knights that remained about the king, the lord Henrie Percie, sonne to the earle of Northumberland, was sent to the seas, to beate backe the attempts of the enimies, but he was slenderlie appointed to atchiue anie great enterprise. This was done of some enuious purpose, because he had got a name amongest the common people, to be a verie hardie and valiant gentleman, as well among Englishmen, as Scots. But he either ignorant, or not much waieng of that which they craftilie had imagined against him, boldlie and valiantlie executed the businesse inioined him, and hauing remained abroad, during the whole time of his appointed seruice, returned safelie home. ¶ About the same time, a frier Carmelite, named Walter Diske, that had béene confessor to the duke of Lancaster, obteined in fauour of the same duke, at pope Vrbans hands, certeine faculties, to be distributed to such as would praie & paie for them. Among other of those faculties, one was, to make all those whome he thought good, the popes chapleines, according to forme of law, and the custome vsed in the court of Rome.

The lord Percie sent to the seas.

Frier Pateshull forsaking his profession, preacheth openlie against his owne order.

Now because such as obteined this fauour, inioied great liberties, manie were glad to bestow largelie, to be so preferred, the frier being redie to admit those that offered most. Among other, one Peter Pateshull, a frier of the Augustines order, was made by him the popes chapleine, a man not vnlearned, and one that fauoured Wicliffes doctrine, and thereupon forsaking his priuate profession, gaue himselfe to a publike trade of life, which might séeme to him more holie, commendable, and sure. Héerevpon, he tooke vpon him to preach against his owne order, namelie in a sermon which he made in saint Christophers church in London. He inueied so earnestlie against the abuses and heinous crimes which the friers, sometimes his brethren, vsed to put in practise, that it was an horror to heare. There were present an hundred at the least of Wicliffes opinion at his sermon. Now in the meane while that he so laid forth what he knew against his late brethren, some persons there were that ran to the Augustine friers, and declared the whole matter; whereupon a dozen of the hardiest and lustiest fellowes among them came to the church, where this Pateshull was preaching, and hearing what was said, they began to be sore moued, insomuch that one of them more zealous in his religion than the other, stepped forth, and gainesaid those things which the preacher proponed. Wickleuists.

When the Wicleuists perceiued this, they set vpon him that so disquieted the congregation, and laieng hands on him, threw him downe, trode him vnder their feet, and lent him manie a good bufket: and chasing all the other friers awaie, they were fullie bent to haue killed them, and set their house on fier, crieng out with lowd voices; Let vs destroie these murtherers, let vs burne these Sodomits, and hang vp such traitors of the king and realme. And running thus with such a furious noise and outrage, they purposed verelie to haue set fire on the friers lodgings, but that through the humble praier of frier Thomas Ashborne, and one that was his fellow, being reputed for two good men, and doctors of diuinitie, they were staied. The comming also of one of the shiriffes of London holpe much to appease them, so that by his persuasion, they returned home to their houses. But Peter Pateshull, being mainteined among them, was counselled, sith he was interrupted in his sermon, to set downe in writing all such matters as he was about to intreat of, & what he knew further. He therefore deuised a libell, in which he accused diuerse of his brethren, of murthering sundrie of their fellowes.

A libell by frier Pateshull against his brethren.

And for more proofe to be giuen to his saiengs, he told the names of them that were made awaie, and the names also of the murtherers, and shewed where those that were murthered were buried. He affirmed further, that the said friers his brethren of late, were Sodomits and traitors, both to the king and realme, and manie other things he declared (too too bad) in that his writing or libell which he fastned vpon the church doore of S. Paule in London, that the more confusion might thereby redound vnto his late brethren, the friers aforesaid. In the beginning of the same libell he protested, that he was got forth of the diuels dungeon, and through the grace of God escaped from amongst wicked and filthie persons; by reason whereof, and for that he was an auoucher of the veritie, he said, he was sure to suffer great aduersities at the friers hands, if they might laie hold on him. But he thanked pope Vrbane, for that through his grant he had obteined such libertie, that by help of his frends, he might lawfullie withdrawe himselfe from the hands of his enimies.

There were diuerse men of good worship that mainteined this Pateshull, and caused a transcript of this libell to be written forth, affirming all to be true that was therein mentioned. Amongst other that thus fauoured this cause, were diuerse knights, as sir William Neuill, Sir Lewes Clifford, sir John Clanbowe, sir Richard Sturrie, and sir Thomas Latimer, and the chiefest of all was one sir John Montacute,

The fauorers of frier Pateshull.

tacute, who caused all the images to be taken downe and set aside in corners, which John Aubrie, and his successour sir Alane Burhull, or any their ancestors had set vp in their chappell of Chenelcie. ¶ About the same time, the duke of Ireland sought to be diuorsed from his lawfull wife, a trim yong ladie, daughter to the ladie Isabell, that was one of king Edward the third his daughters; and toke to wife one Lancegrone a Bohemer one of the quenes maids; by reason whereof, great occasion of slander and reproch grew, and diuerse lords, speciallie the duke of Gloucester, that was vncle to the ladie that was forsaken, toke great displeasure herewith. But sith the king allowed of all the duke of Irelands doings, the duke of Gloucester dissembled such iniuries done to his neece for the time, till opportunitie might serue to reuenge the same.

The duke of Ireland vnderstood all these things, and therefore was the more circumspect for his owne safetie, and studied how by some meanes he might dispatch the duke of Gloucester out of the waie, as the man whom he most feared; least his life should be his destruction, by one means or other. Easter was now past, the time (as ye haue heard) appointed before the which the duke of Ireland should haue transported ouer into Ireland, & yet was he not set forward. But least somewhat might be thought in the matter, and for feare of some stir to be raised by the lords of the realme, that wished him gone, according to the order prescribed at the last parlement, the king as it were to bring him to the water side, went with him into Wales, where being out of the waie, they might deuise how to dispatch the duke of Gloucester, the earles of Arundell, Warwike, Derbie, and Nottingham, with others of that faction. There were with the king, beside the duke of Ireland, Michaell de la Pole earle of Suffolke, Robert Trisilian lord chiefe iustice, and diuers other, which doubtfull of their owne safegards did what they could (as writers report) to moue the king forward to the destruction of those noblemen.

Dissention betwixt the king & the nobles.

1388 Anno Reg. 11.

After the king had remained in those parties a good while, he returned, and brought the duke of Ireland backe with him againe so that it seemed his voiage into Ireland was now quite forgotten.

Grafton.

About the same time, Robert Trisilian lord chiefe iustice of England came to Couentrie, and indicted there two thousand persons. The king and the quéne came to Grobie, and thither came by his commandement the iustices of the realme. There were also with him at the same time, Alexander archb. of Yorke, Robert Uere duke of Ireland, Michaell de la Pole earle of Suffolke, Robert Trisilian, & his fellowes; of whom it was demanded, if by the lawes of the realme the king might reuoke the ordinances made in the last parlement, to the which he had giuen his consent in manner by constraint; and they made answer that he might. Then were the iustices commanded to come vnto Nottingham, where the king appointed to meet them, and thither he came according to his appointment, and held a solemne councell in the castell of Nottingham, the morrow after S. Bartholomews day.

Certeine questions in law demanded of the iustices.

A councell holden at Nottingham.

In this councell were the aforesaid archbishop of Yorke, the duke of Ireland, the earle of Suffolke, Robert Trisilian iustice, Robert Bramble iustice, and sundrie other, all which iustices were commanded to set their hands vnto the question vnder written, that by meanes thereof, those persons that were about the king thought they might haue good occasion to put the duke of Gloucester, and other lords that were his complices vnto death, which in the last parlement were ordeined to haue the gouernance of the realme, and all such as were consenting to the same. Diuerse of the iustices refused to subscribe, but yet they were constreined to do as the rest did, among the which was John Belknap, who vtterlie refused, till the duke of Ireland, and the earle of Suffolke compelled him thereto; for if he had persisted in the refusall, he had not escaped their hands, and yet when he had set to his seale, he burst out into these words; Now (said he) here lacketh nothing but a rope, that I might receiue a reward worthie for my desert, and I know, if I had not done this, I might not haue escaped your hands, so that for your pleasures and the kings I haue done it, and deserued thereby death at the hands of the lords. Which indeed shortlie followed, for in the next parlement he was condemned and executed. All this remained in record.

Iustice Belknap compelled to subscribe.

Iustice Belknaps words.

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An act of councell touching this matter, in manner as followeth.

Additions to Polychron.

Memorandum that on the fiue and twentith day of August, in the 11 yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, at the castell of Notingham aforesaid, Robert Trisilian lord chiefe iustice of England, Robert Belknap lord chiefe iustice of the cõmon plæs, John Holt, Roger Fulthorpe, & William Borough, knights and associats of the said Robert Belknap, and John Lockton one of the kings sergeants at the law, being personalie required in presence of the lords and other witnesses vnder written by our said souereigne lord the king, in that faith and allegiance in which to him they were bounden, that they should trulie answer to certeine questions vnderwritten, and vpon the same by their discretions, to saie the law.

Questions in law demãded of the iustices.

1 First, it was asked of them, whether the new statute, ordinance, and commission made in the last parlement held at Westminster, be hurtfull to the kings prerogatiue. Wherevnto all of one mind answered, that they were hurtfull, and speciallie bicause they be against the kings will.

2 Item, it was inquired of them, how they ought to be punished, that procured the said statute, ordinance, and commission to be made. Wherevnto with one assent they answered, that they deserued death, except the king of his grace would pardon them.

3 Item, it was inquired, how they ought to be punished, which moued the king to consent to the making of the said statute, ordinance, and commission. Wherevnto they answered, that vnlesse the king would giue them his pardon, they ought to lose their liues.

4 Item, it was inquired of them what punishment they deserued, that compelled the king to the making of that statute, ordinance and commission. Wherevnto they gaue answer, that they ought to suffer as traitors.

5 Item, it was demanded of them how they ought to be punished that interrupted the king so, that he might not exercise those things that apperteined to his regalitie and prerogatiue. Wherevnto answer was made, that they ought to be punished

nished as traitors.

6 Item, it was inquired of them, whether that after the affaires of the realme, and the cause of the calling togither of the states of the parlement, were once by the kings commandement declared and opened, and other articles on the kings behalfe limited, vpon which the lords and commons of the realme ought to intreat and proceed: if the lords neuertheles would proceed vpon other articles, and not meddle with those articles which the king had limited, till time the king had answered the articles proponed by them, notwithstanding the king inioined them to the contrarie: whether in this case the king might rule the parlement, and cause them to proceed vpon the articles by him limited, before they proceeded any further? To which question it was answered, that the king should haue in this part the rule, for order of all such articles to be prosecuted, vntill the end of the parlement. And if any presumed to go contrarie to this rule, he was to be punished as a traitor.

7 Item, it was asked, whether the king when soeuer it pleased him might not dissolue the parlement, and command the lords and commons to depart from thence or not? Wherevnto it was answered that he might.

8 Item, it was inquired, that for somuch as it was in the king to remoue such iustices and officers as offend, and to punish them for their offenses; whether the lords commons might, without the kings will, impeach the same officers and iustices, vpon their offenses in parlement or not? To this answer was made, that they might not, and he that attempted contrarie, was to suffer as a traitor.

9 Item, it was inquired, how he is to be punished, that moued in the parlement, that the statute wherin Edward, the sonne of king Edward, great grandfather to the king that now is, was indicted in parlement, might be sent for; by inspection of which statute, the said new statute or ordinance and commission were conceiued, and deuised in the parlement?

To which question, with one accord, as in all the residue they answered, that as well he that so summoned, as the other, which by force of the same motion, brought the said statute into the parlement house, be as publike offendors and traitors to be punished.

10 Item, it was inquired of them, whether the iudgement giuen in the parlement against Michaell de la Pole earle of Suffolke, were erronious and reuocable, or not?

To which question likewise with one assent they said, that if the same iudgement were now to be giuen, the iustices and sergeant aforesaid would not giue the same: bicause it seemed to them, that the said iudgement is reuocable and erronious in euerie part.

In witnesse of the premisses, the iustices & sergeant aforesaid to these presents haue set their seals, these being witnesses; Alexander archbishop of Yorke, Robert archbishop of Dubline, John bishop of Durham, Thomas bishop of Chester, John bishop of Bangor, Robert duke of Ireland, Michaell erle of Suffolke, John Ripon clearke, and John Blake.

Now beside these iustices and sergeant, there were called at that present vnto Nottingham, all other iustices of the realme, and the shiriffes. Also, diuerse of the citie of London, which the king knew would incline to his will, the rather; for that some of them, hauing aforetime confessed treason against the king by them imagined, and obteining pardon for the same, were readie at his commandement, to recompense such fauour, in the accomplishment of whatsoeuer they knew might stand with his pleasure. Hereupon, they being impanelled to inquire of certeine treasons that were supposed to be committed by the lords, which in the last parlement had so caused things to passe, contrarie to the kings pleasure, indicted the same lords of manie crimes informed against them, ¶ The Londoners indeed were euill reported of in those daies, by some writers, for their vnstablenesse, one while holding on the kings part, and with such as were cheefe in counsell about him; and an other while on the lords side that were of a contrarie faction: according as the streame of their affections draue them, and as they were carried awaie perforce by the flood of their variable willes, whereby they were diuided into differing passions, as they were assaulted by sundrie and vncerteine desires: which is the nature of the people, as the poet noteth, saieng:

Scinditur incertum studia in contraria vulgus.

Thom. Wals.

The lords indicted of diuerse offenses

But now, as concerning the cause whie the shiriffes were called hither, it was cheeflie to vnderstand what power of men they might assure the king of, to serue him against the lords and barons, whome he toke to be his enimies: and further, that where he meant to call a parlement verie shortlie, they should so vse the matter, that no knight might be chosen, but such as the king and his councell should name. But answer was made herevnto by the shiriffes, that the lords were so highlie beloued of the commons, that it laie not in their powers to assemble any great forces against the lords; and as for chosing the knights of the shires, they said that the commons would vndoubtedlie vse their ancient liberties, and priuileges, in chosing such as they thought meetest. But yet, after that the indictments were found, according to the desire of the king and his councellors, and that those which had beene called about this matter, were licenced to depart home; the king and the duke of Ireland sent messengers into euerie part of the realme, to reteine men of warre to assist them in the quarell against the lords, if need were. Manie made answer, that sith they knew the lords to be faithfull and loiall to the king, euen from the bottome of their hearts, and were readie to studie, to deuise, and to do all things that might tend to his honor, and wealth of the realme; they might not by anie meanes beare armour against them. But a great number of other, that toke it that they were reteined for a good and necessarie purpose, promised to be readie, whensoeuer it should please the king to send for them.

why the shiriffes of all shires were sent for to the court.

Soldiers reteined on all sides by the king against the lords.

The lords being in this meane while aduertised of these doings, were striken with great heauinesse, for that not knowing themselues (as they toke it) giltie of anie offense, the king should thus seeke their destruction. Herewith the duke of Gloucester, meaning

to

The duke of Glocesters protestation vpon his oth.

to mitigate the kings displeasure, receiued a solemne oth before the bishop of London, and diuerse other lords, protesting by the same oth, that he neuer imagined, nor went about any thing, to the kings hinderance, but to his power had alwaies done what he might to aduance the kings honor, prosperous state and good liking, except onelie that he had giuen no good countenance to the duke of Ireland, whom the king so much loued. And suerlie for that the said duke had dishonored his kinswoman, and the kings also, he was firmelie determined to reuenge that iniurie vpon him; and herewith he besought the bishop of London to declare what his words were vnto the king.

The bishop comming to the king, made report of the duke of Glocesters protestation, confirmed with his oth, in such wise, as the king began somewhat to be persuaded that it was true. But when the earle of Suffolke perceiued that, fearing least the reconciliation of the king and the duke his vncle should turne to his vndoing, he began to speake against the duke, till the bishop bad him hold his peace; and told him,

Stout words of the bishop of London.

that it nothing became him to speake at all. And when the earle asked why so; Because (said the bishop) thou wast in the last parlement condemned for an euill person, and one not worthie to liue, but onelie it pleaseth the king to shew thée fauour. The king offended with the bishops presumptuous words, commanded him to depart & get him home to his church, who forthwith departed, and declared to the duke of Glocester what he had heard and séene. Herevpon, the great misliking that had bene afore time betwixt the king and the lords, was now more behementlie increased, the duke of Ireland, the earle of Suffolke, the archbishop of Yorke, the lord chiefe iustice Robert Trisilian, and others, still procuring, stirring, and confirming the kings heauie displeasure against the lords.

The duke of Glocester considering to what conclusion these things tended, came secretlie to conference with the earles of Arundell, Warwike, and Derbie, who were in like danger, if they prouided not more spédilie for their safetie, whereupon he discouered to them the perill wherein they all stood in common, so that when they weied what was the most expedient meane to safe gard their liues, they gathered their power togither, determining to talke with the king with their armour vpon their backes, for their more suertie, as well concerning his pretense to bring them to their deaths, as for the fauour which he bare to those whom they reputed to be traitors, both to him, and to the whole state of the realme, whereby the same could not auoid spédie ruine, if remedie were not the sooner prouided. The king on the other part toke aduise, how he might apprehend these lords (whom he toke to be plaine traitors) ech one apart, before they might gather their strengths about them; and first, he sent the earle of Northumberland and others, vnto the castell of Reigate, to take the earle of Arundell, who laie there at that present. But howsoeuer it fortuned, the earle of Northumberland came backe, and failed to accomplish that which he had in commandement.

The lords confer how to preuēt the perils pretended against them.

The earle of Northumberland sent to apprehend the earle of Arundell.

After this, a great number were sent by night, to haue laid hands on him, and to haue brought him to the kings presence; or in case he resisted, to haue slaine him, if by any meanes they might: but he being warned by a messenger, that came to him from the duke of Glocester, conueied himselfe awaie, and with such bands as he had got togither, rode all that night, so that in the morning hauing passed thirtie miles, not without great trauell, and all spéed possible, he was in the morning aduanced to Haringie parke, where he found the duke of Glocester, and the earle of Warwike, with a great power of men about them. ¶ At the same time the king was about to set forward towards Canturburie, there to performe some vow of pilgrimage, which he had vndertaken to make vnto the shrine of Thomas Becket. But a brute was raised, and a slander (belike) contriued, to bring him in further hatred of his subiects, that he meant to steale ouer into France, vnto the French king, hauing promised to deliuer vp into his hands the towne of Calis, with the castell of Guines, and all the fortresses which his predecessors had possessed in those parties, either by right from their ancestors, or by warlike conquest.

The earle of Arundell toileth with the other lords.

Howbeit this his iournie to Canturburie was suddenlie staied, vpon knowledge had of the gathering togither of the lords in Haringie parke, wherewith the king being sore amazed, called togither such as he trusted, to vnderstand what their opinion was of the matter; and vnderstanding that the purposed intention of the lords, for which they were so assembled, was to this end (as they pretended) to bring him vnto a better trade of life, and more profitable order of gouernement, he was streight striken with no small feare, demanding of them their aduise, what was best for him to do in such troublesome state of things. Some were of this mind, that it should be best to séeke to appease the lords with faire promises, assuring them, that they should haue their desires. Other thought it better to assemble the kings friends, and ioining them with the Londoners, to go forth and trie the hazard of battell with the lords. Among them that were of this mind, the archbishop of Yorke was the chiefest. But other that were thought to vnderstand more of the world than he did, iudged it not wisedome so to do, considering that if the king lost the field, then should great harme and dishonor follow; and if the victorie fell to his side, yet could he gaine naught, but lose a great number of his subiects.

Councell taken how to deale against the lords.

This was in November, at what time the king, vpon his returning from Canturburie, meant to haue holden a parlement; but through those stirs, neither his iournie to Canturburie, nor the parlement went forward: yet he caused order to be giuen, that no citizen of London should sell to the duke of Glocester, the earle of Arundell, or any other of the lords, any armour, bowes, arrowes, or other munition, or matter that might tend to the furniture of warre, vpon a great paine. But notwithstanding, the lords went forward with their businesse; and before they approched the citie of London, they sent to the king the archbishop of Canturburie, the lord John Louell, the lord Cobham, and the lord John Deuereux, requiring to haue deliuered vnto them such as were about him, that were traitors and seducers both of him and the realme, that sought nothing else, but to trouble both poore and rich, and to sow discord and variance betwixt the king and his nobles. And further, they declared that their comming was for the honor and wealth both of the king and realme.

The lords send messengers to the king.

But the king being ruled altogither by the duke of Ireland, the earle of Suffolke, and two or three other, was fullie persuaded that the lords intended to bring him vnder their gouernement, and therfore he was counselled to make the French king his sure friend in all vrgent necessities. And to be assured of him, it was reported, that those councellors aduised him to render vp into the French kings hands the towne of Calis, and all that he had else in possession, on the further side of the sea. Howsoeuer this matter went, truth it is, that the king sent for the maior of London, requiring to know of him how manie able men they thought the citie could make. The maior answered, that he thought verelie the citizens might make

A rash answer of the maior of London.

make in time of næd, fiftie thousand men, within an houres respit. Well said the king, then I beseech you go and prooue what will be done. But when the maior began to attempt the matter, he was answered generallie, that they would neuer fight against the kings frends, and defenders of the realme (as indeed they toke the lords to be) but against the enimies of the king and realme they would alwaies be readie to fight, and shew what resistance they were able. This answer the maior reported to the king.

The Londoners refuse to fight against the lords.

At the same time there was about the king the lord Rafe Baslet, who said thus to the king flatlie and plainelie: Sir, I haue béene, and euer will be
" your true liege man, and my bodie and goods shall euer be at your graces commandement, in all iustice and trueth. But neuertheless, hereof I assure you, that if my hap be to come into the field, I will without faile alwaies follow the true part; and it is not I that will aduenture to haue my head broken for the duke of Irelands pleasure. Likewise, the earle of Northumberland, being at that time in the court, spake these words to the king; Sir, there is no doubt but these lords, who now be in the field, alwaies haue béene your true and faithfull subiects, and yet are, not intending to attempt anie thing against your state, wealth, & honor. Neuertheless, they féele themselues sore molested and disquieted, by the wicked deuises of certeine persons about you, that séeke to oppresse them. And verelie without faile, all your realme is sore grœued therewith, both great and small, as well lords as commons; and I sée not the contrarie, but they mind to aduenture their liues with the lords that are thus in armes, speciallie in this case, which they reckon to be yours and your realmes. And sir, now yée be in the chéefe place of your realme, and in the place of your coronation, order your selfe now therefore wiselie and like a king. Send to them to come before your presence in some publike place, where they may declare vnto you the intent and purpose of their comming, accompanied with so great a number of people into these parts, and I beléeue it verelie, they will shew such reasons that you will hold them excused.

The earle of Northumberlands and the lord Baslets words to the king in the behalfe of the lords.

The archbishop of Canturburie, and the lord chancellor bishop of Elie, and other of the bishops also there present, affirmed the earles aduise to be good. And the king considering wiselie the case as it stood, began to be appeased, and accorded to follow their aduise, desiring the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Elie, to aduertise them of his pleasure, which was, that he willed them to come to him to Westminster, on sundaie then next following; and so they repairing to the lords, made report to them of the kings mind and purpose. But the duke of Gloucester, and the other lords, were so fullie bent in their opinion, that they swore all whole togither, that they would neuer giue ouer their enterprise, so long as they had a penie to spend, in maintenance of their cause: and if it chanced anie of them to depart this life, the ouerliuers should persist therein, vntill the time that they had brought their purpose to some good effect.

The lords take an oth togither, to prosecute their purposed enterprise.

And bicause they doubted least the king might stirre the citie of London against them, they determined first to aduertise the maior and the citie, how their comming was onlie to reforme certeine great enormities, which they set downe in writing, & sent it to the maior and citizens, beséeching them of their fauour and counsell therin. This done, they determined yet to keepe their daie on the sundaie following, to appeare before the kings presence: but this was not got of them, till that the lord chancellor, with diuerse other noblemen of good credit, had vndertaken vpon their oths for the kings behalfe, that no fraud nor deceipt, no perill nor euill pretense should be put in practise against the lords, wherby they might come to losse either of life, limme, or goods, or otherwise, through the kings means; but that if he should go about anie such things, the said lord chancellor, and other the mediators should forwarne the lords therof.

The lords séeke the fauour of the Londoners.

Thom. Walsi.

When therefore the lords were readie, according to couenant, to come vnto Westminster, they were secretlie aduertised, that there was an ambush laid in a place called the Mewes, and so they staied, and came not at the appointed houre. Wherevpon, when the king demanded, how it fortuned that the lords kept not promise, the bishop of Elie lord Chancellor made him this answer; Bicause saith he, there is an ambush of a thousand armed men or more laid in such a place (and named it) contrarie to couenant, and therefore they neither come nor hold you for faithfull of your word. The king hearing this, was astonied, and said with an oth, that he knew of no such thing, & withall sent to the shiriffes of London, commanding them to go to the Mewes, and (vpon search made) if they found anie force of men there assembled, to take and kill all such as they could late hands vpon. But sir Thomas Triuet, and sir Nicholas Brambre, knight, that had in déed assembled such a number of men, when they vnderstood what order the king had giuen therein, they sent their men backe to London.

In ambush at Mewes.

The lords, after this, receiuing a safe conduct from the king, and perceiuing all to be safe and cleare, came vnto Westminster with a strong power of men about them. The king, when he heard they were come, apparelled himselfe in his kinglie robes, and with his scepter in hand came into the great hall at Westminster. The lords as soone as they had sight of him, made to him their humble obeisance, & went forth till they came to the nether steps, going vp to the kings seat of state, where they made their second obeisance; & then the king gaue them countenance to come nearer to him, & they so did, kneeling downe before him, & forthwith he rose from his place, and louinglie welcomming them, toke each of them by the hand, and that done sate him downe againe. Herewith the bishop of Elie lord chancellor, as mouth to the king, declared vnto these lords in effect as followeth. My lords (said he) our souereigne lord the king, hearing that you were assembled in Haringie parke, in other maner than was conuenient, would not forthwith run vpon you with force to destroie you, as he might easilie haue done, if he had not wished your safetie; for no man doubteth, but if his pleasure had béene to gather an armie, he might haue had more people than you could haue got to haue taken part with you against him, and so happilie much bloud might haue béene spilt, which thing certeinlie our souereigne lord the king vtterlie abhorreth: and therefore vsing patience and mildnesse, he hath rather chosen to talke with you in peaceable wise, that he may vnderstand the cause whie yée haue assembled so great a number of people togither.

The lords come before the kings presence in Westminster hall.

The lord chancellor speaketh for the king to the lords.

The lords for answer herevnto said, that they assembled their forces togither, for the profit both of the king and realme, and speciallie to take awaie from him such traitors as remained continuallie about him; to wit, Robert de Uær duke of Ireland, Alexander Neuill archbishop of Yorke, Michaell de la Pole erle of Suffolke, Robert Trisilian that false iustice, and sir Nicholas Brambre that disloiall knight of London: for so they tearmed them all. And to prooue their accusations true, they threw downe their gloues, protesting by their oths to prosecute it by battell. Naie (saith the king) not so, but in the nert parlement, which we do appoint before hand to begin the morow after the Purification of our ladie, both they and you appearing, shall receiue (according to law) all that which reason shall appoint. And now to you my

The answer of the lords & their grefes.

The king reproueth the lords doings.

my lords I speake, by what meane or by what reason durst you so presumptuouslie take vpon you within this my land to rise thus against me? Did you thinke to feare me with such your presumptuous boldnesse? Haue I not armed men sufficient to haue beaten you downe, compassed about like a sort of deere in a toile? If I would: trulie in this behalfe I make no more account of you, than of the vilest skullions in my kitchen.

When he had said these words, with much more, he lift vp the duke of Gloucester that all this while kneeled afore him, and commanded the residue to rise also.

The king taketh both parties into his protection.

After this, he led them courteouslie to his chamber, where they sate and dranke togither. And finallie it was concluded, that they should all meet togither againe at the next parlement, and ech one to receiue according to iustice: and in the meane time the king tooke aswell the duke of Gloucester, as the duke of Ireland into his protection, so that neither part in the meane time should hurt the other, nor presume to make any gathering of people vntill the time prefixed: and so this councell brake vp, and the lords departed.

Grafton.

These things yet were done in absence of the forenamed persons whom the lords accused, for they durst not appeare in presence of the lords; for if they had béene espied, they had smarted for it, as was thought, without any respect that would haue béene had of the kings presence. And now, for somuch as it should be well knowne through all the citie, that these lords had nothing offended him with their comming, the king caused a proclamation to be made, the tenour whereof was as followeth.

A proclamation clearing the *lords of treason.*

RIchard by the grace of God, &c. We will that it be knowne to all our liege people throughout our realme of England, that whereas Thomas duke of Gloucester, Richard earle of Arundell, & Thomas earle of Warwike, haue bæne defamed of treason by certeine of our councellors; we as it apperteineth, diligentlie searching the ground & cause of this defamation, find no such thing in them, nor any suspicion thereof: wherfore we declare the same defamation to be false, and vntrue, and do receiue the same duke and earles into our speciall protection. And bicause these accusers shall be notoriouslie knowne, their names are Alexander archbishop of Yorke, sir Robert Uære duke of Ireland, Michaell de la Pole earle of Suffolke, Robert Trisilian lord chiefe iustice, and sir Nicholas Brambre of London knight, who in like case shall remaine till the next parlement, and there shall stand to their answers. But in the meane time we likewise take them into our protection, streictlie charging and commanding, that no maner of person charge any of the forenamed, either priuilie or apertlie, in word or deed, to hurt them, or cause any hurt to be done to them, but all quarels & demands against them to be remitted, vntill the next parlement prefixed.

Now to haue all things in more perfect readinesse and remembrance when the estates should be assembled, certeine of the lords were appointed to sit in the meane time, to deuise how they might proceed orderlie in redresse of such matters, as seemed to require some spedie reformation: neither did they thinke it good to depart in sunder, for feare to be intraped through the malicious practise of their aduersaries. Which doubt of theirs seemed afterwards to stand them in steed of great wisedome. For immediatlie after, their said aduersaries came to the king, and declared how they were dailie in danger of their liues, by reason of the malice which the lords had conceiued against them onelie for the kings sake, and not for any matter of their owne. And whereas the king had promised that they should appeare at the nert parlement, which was at hand, they told him plainelie that they neither durst nor would put their bodies in such manifest danger. The king considering hereof, withdrew himselfe from the companie of the lords that were assigned to sit at London, to deliberate of matters that were to be talked of and ordered in the parlement; and so that councell was deferred and laid aside: and the kings councellors that stood in danger of their liues through the malice of the lords confederated with the duke of Gloucester, got them from the court, and withdrew some into this place and some into that.

The earle of Suffolke fleeth ouer to Calis.

Among other the earle of Suffolke fled ouer vnto Calis in secret wise, by the helpe of a knight called sir William How, who holpe to conueie him thither. He had changed his apparell, and shauen his beard, and so disguised, counterfeited himselfe to be a poulter, and to sell certeine foule which he had gotten, by which means he was not knowne, till at length comming to the gates of the castell (whereof his brother sir Edmund de la Pole was capteine) he discouered to him (scarselie knowing who he was, by reason he was so disguised) the whole occasion of his repairing thither, requiring him to kæpe his counsell, and that he might remaine with him in priuie maner for a time, till he might heare more how things went in England, from whence he was thus fled, to auoid the bloudie hands of his enimies, that sought his life. His brother doubting what might be laid to his charge if he should conceale this matter from the lord William Beauchampe lord deputie of the towne, Streightwales aduertised him thereof, who tooke order that the earle should forthwith be sent backe againe into England to the king, who receiued him with small thanks to them that brought him ouer, so that (as some write) his brother being one, was committed to prison for disclosing him. But yet bicause it should not séeme that he imprisoned him for that cause, he was shortlie after set at libertie, and returned againe to his charge at Calis. The earle was also permitted to go whither he would, although the king had vndertaken to present him and others at the nert parlement to answer their offenses, as the same might be laid to their charge.

Grafton.

¶ But here it may be doubted by the vncertentie of writers, whether the earle of Suffolke thus fled ouer to Calis, before the iournie at Ratcote bridge, or after. But whether it chanced either after or before, it is certeine that since the time that the lords had forced the king to promise to exhibit him and others at the nert parlement to abide their trials, he durst not openlie remaine in the court, but taking leaue of the king departed from him. Wherupon the king being out of quiet for the absence of him and other his best beloued councellors, whom he so much esteemed, and namelie of the duke of Ireland, and the said earle of Suffolke, he appointed one Thomas Molineux constable of the castell of Chester, a man of high valiancie, and great power in the parties of Chelhire and Lancashire, to raise an armie of men, with the assistance of the shiriffe of Chelhire, to whom his commission

A commission to the shiriffe of Chelhire to safe conduct the duke of Ireland to the kings presence.

mission of authoritie in that behalfe, vnder the great seale was directed, to the end that they might conueie the duke of Ireland in all safetie vnto the kings presence.

The shiriffe hauing receiued this commission, togither with the foresaid Thomas Molineux raised a power, and such as refused to serue, in respect of such good will as they bare to the lords, he committed to prison, commanding the gaolors to keepe them streict in irons with bread and water till his returne. Moreuer, the king sent to sir Rafe Vernon, & sir Richard Ratcliffe, willing them to assist the other. And so thus they set forward with the number of fiue thousand men. When the lords vnderstood that the duke of Ireland was marching towards London, with such a power of men, meaning to ioine with the Londoners, and so to make as it had beene an inuincible armie, they bestirred themselues, and fell in hand to arme their men, and to exhort one another, that now they should not be negligent in their owne defense, but make hast for the dispatching of those that craftilie had gone about to conspire their deaths. And so these lords, to wit, the duke of Glocester, the earles of Derbie, Arundell, Warwike, and Notingham, assembled their powers out of all quarters, to incounter with the duke of Ireland; and when they had got their companies togither, they forelaied all the waies by which he was thought to come.

The lords seeke to stop the passage of the duke of Ireland.

But the duke of Ireland hauing with him Molineux, Vernon, and Ratcliffe, rode forward in statelie and glorious araie, with an armie (as ye haue heard) of fiue thousand men, supposing that none durst come forth to withstand him. Neuertheless when he came to Ratcote bridge, not past foure miles from Cheping Norton (which bridge if he could haue passed, he had beene out of the danger of all enimies) he suddenlie espied where the armie of the lords laie, not far distant from him, readie in the midst of a vallie to abide his comming. Some of the earle of Derbies companie had broken the bridge, & so stopped his passage. He therefore perceiuing his enimies intention, staied, and caused the kings banner to be spred, and began to set a good countenance of the matter, and to exhort his people to shew themselues valiant; and herewith caused the trumpets to sound. But when it appeared that as some were readie to fight in his quarell, so there were other that quite forsoke him, and said flatlie they would not fight against so manie noble men, in so vniust a cause: he being thereof aduertised, began to wax faint-harted, and to prepare himselfe to escape by flight; and declaring no lesse openlie vnto them, said: Before we come to ioine, I will seeke to withdraw my selfe out of the waie, and saue my selfe if I can; for me they onlie seeke, against you they haue no quarell, so that I being shifted awaie, you shall easilie be preserued. Herewith one of the knights said to him; You haue brought vs out of our countrie, you haue procured vs to giue you our promise, you haue caused vs to take this iournie in hand: here therefore are we readie to fight & win the victorie with you, if our hap be such; or if fortune will not so fauour vs, we are readie to spend our liues with you. No said he, ye shall not so do, and forthwith striking his horsse with spurs, he fled from them for feare which had set wings on his heeles, as one saith:

The duke of Ireland his souldiers reuolt frō him.

The duke of Ireland flieth frō his armie.

Virg. Aeneid. 9. ——*pedibus timor addidit alas.*

Herevpon manie that were with him, cursing this his demeanour, prepared to yeeld themselues to the lords. But Thomas Molineux determined to fight it out, sith the lords were not yet all come togither to that place, but onelie the earle of Derbie and certeine others. Neuertheless, after he had fought a while, and perceiued it would not auaile him to tarie longer, as one despairing of the victorie, betooke him likewise to flight, as the duke of Ireland had led him the waie: and plunging into the riuer, which was at hand, it chanced that sir Thomas Mortimer being present amongst other at the same place, willed him to come out of the water vnto him; for if he would not, he threatened to shoot him through with arrowes in the riuer where he stood. If I come (said Molineux) will ye saue my life? I will make thee no such promise (said sir Thomas Mortimer) but notwithstanding, either come vp, or thou shalt presentlie die for it. Well then (said Molineux) if there be no other remedie, suffer me to come vp, and let me trie with hand-blowes, either with you or some other, and so die like a man. But as he came vp, the knight caught him by the helmet, plucked it off his head, & streightwaies drawing forth his dagger, stroke him into the braines, and so dispatched him. This was the end of sir Thomas Molineux, which through his bold and rash aduenture, in a most dangerous and desperat case, he pulled vpon himselfe; and might as well haue auoided as incurred, if the same prouident care of safetie had taken him in the head that moued the duke of Ireland to take flight for his indemnitie: wherein he seemed to remember that there is no safe attempting of any perilous enterprise without dread of danger: for he that can tell when a thing is to be feared, can tell in like sort when it is to be vndertaken; as the wiseman verie sententiouslie saith:

Thomas Molineux slaine.

Animus vereri qui scit, scit tuto aggredi.

In the meane time, the duke of Ireland (as ye haue heard) seeking to escape by flight, came to the riuers side; but finding the bridge broken, he galoped till he found an other bridge, where he found a number of archers readie to stop his passage. When he saw that he was thus inclosed with his enimies on the one side, and the riuer of Thames on the other, he thought to put all in aduenture; and casting awaie his gantlets, and sword (to be the more nimble) gaue his horsse the spurres, and lept into the riuer; but missing the ford, and not able to land with his horsse on the further side, he forsoke him, and swimming ouer so well as he might, got to the banke, and so escaped. It was now night, and therefore his enimies hauing no knowledge of the countrie, followed him not; but his horsse, helmet, curasses, gantlets, and sword being found, it was thought verelie that he had beene drowned. The nert newes heard of him, was that he had passed the seas, and was got into Holland, where he had no great friendlie welcome, by reason that Albert duke of Bauiere, who was lord of that countrie, bare such good will to his cosins of England, the dukes of Lancaster, Yorke, and Glocester, that he commanded this duke of Ireland to depart forth of his countrie, as immediatlie therevpon he did, from thence resorting to the bishoprike of Utrecht, and after into other countries, till finallie he ended the course of his life, as after in place conuenient shall appeare.

The duke of Ireland flieth into Holland.

But now to returne to the armies where we left them. After the duke was fled, and Thomas Molineux slaine (as before ye haue heard) the armie of the lords set vpon the people that were come with the duke of Ireland (as hath beene said) forth of Cheshire, Lancashire, and Wales; and taking them as enimies, spoiled them of their horsse, armor, bowes and arrowes. The knights and esquiers had their armor and horsses againe to them restored, and were reteined with the lords to serue them: but the commons without either armor or weapon were sent home, and had no other harme done vnto them. The duke of Irelands cariage being taken, letters were found in his trunkes or males, which the king had written to him, exhorting him with all speed to repaire vnto London, with what power he might

Letters found in the duke of Irelands trunks.

make, and there he should find him readie to liue and die with him. Such was the conclusion of this battell, which happened nere vnto Burford, fast by Bablake, to the great reioising of manie through the realme, for that the enimies thereof (as they toke the matter) were thus ouerthrowne. But yet the escaping awaie of the duke of Ireland did somewhat mitigate their ioy, for what was become of him it was vncerteine. After this the duke of Gloucester, and the other lords went to Oxford, being sorie that their fortune was not to haue taken the duke of Ireland.

Burford.

At the same time, or rather before, the archbishop of Yorke, and the lord chiefe iustice sir Robert Trisilian, fearing the indignation of the lords, withdrew out of the waie, and durst not be seene. But now the lords, who after the iournie at Radcote bridge, were come (as ye haue heard) to Oxford; we find that the same time a brute was raised (whether of truth or not, we haue neither to affirme nor denie) how there was a messenger taken being sent from the French king with letters, in which was conteined a licence of safe conduct, for the king of England, the duke of Ireland, and others, to come to Bullongne, with a certeine number limited, where they should find the French king come downe thither readie to receiue them, to the end that for a certeine summe of monie, which the French king should giue to the king of England, the towne of Calis, and all the fortresses in those parts, which were in the Englishmens hands, should be deliuered to the Frenchmen; and further that the king of England should do his homage to the French king, for the lands which he held in Gascoigne, and so to haue acknowledged himselfe his liege man. The lords (as was reported) hauing got these letters, and taken counsell togither how to proceed in their businesse, to bring the same to good end, remoued from Oxford, and on Christmas euen they came to S. Albons, and there staied that daie and the next.

Tho. Walsi.

A brute raised that king Richard meant to yeeld vp Calis into the French kings hands.

On saint Stephans daie they toke their waie to London with an armie of fortie thousand men, as some write; & comming into the fields besides Clerkenwell, mustered their men, being diuided in three seuerall battels verie well appointed with armor and weapon, that it was a beautifull sight to behold them. The king kept his Christmas, not at Westminster, but in the Tower; not douting but there to be defended what chance soeuer should happen. The lords mistrusting the Londoners, lodged them with their people in the suburbs. They sent yet two knights, and two esquiers, vnto the maior and aldermen of the citie, to vnderstand whether they were minded to take part with them, or with the duke of Ireland, and his adherents, traitors (as they tearmed them) both to the king and the realme. The Londoners were now in no small feare and perplexitie, not knowing well what waie was best for them to take, weieng diuers perils; as first the kings displeasure, if they opened their gates vnto the lords; and if they shut them forth, they feared the indignation and wrath of the commons that were come thither with the lords, and were readie to breake downe their wals and gates, if they were neuer so little prouoked. Besides this, they stode most in doubt, least if the wealthiest citizens should not giue their consent to receiue the lords into the citie, the meaner sort, and such as wished rather to see some hurlie burlie than to continue in peace, would seeke by force to set open the gates, and make waie for the lords and their people to enter, that they might make hauocke, and spoile whatsoeuer might be found of value in the rich mens houses.

The lords come to London with a great armie.

K. Richard keepeth his Christmas in the Tower of London.

The lords send to the maior and citizens of London to vnderstand their meaning.

The Londoners in great perplexitie which part to take.

These doubts with all the circumstances being well weied and considered, the maior Nicholas Exton, and certeine of the chiefe men in the citie, went forth to the lords, and offered them to lodge in the citie at their pleasure, with all things necessarie as they should deuise. The maior caused also wine, ale, bread, and cheese, to be distributed among the armie, so as ech one had part, which courtesie turned greatlie afterwards to the commoditie of the citie. The lords vpon search made, perceiuing that there was no guile meant by laieng of men in ambushes within the citie to intrappe them, or otherwise, but that all was sure inough and cleare without anie such euill meaning, they entred the citie and there abode quietlie. Then went the archbishop of Canturburie and others betwixt the king and the lords to make peace betwixt them. But the king at the first seemed little to esteeme the matter, saieng to the archbishop; Well let them lie here with their great multitude of people hardlie till they haue spent all they haue, and then I trust they will returne poore inough and needie, and then I doubt not but I shall talke with them, and vse the matter so as iustice maie require.

The lords enter into London.

The kings words touching the lords proceedings.

The lords being informed hereof, were maruellouslie mooued, and sware that they would not depart till they had spoken with him face to face, and forthwith they sent part of their companies to watch the Thames, for feare the king should scape their hands, and then laugh them to scorne. When the king then perceiued himselfe to be inclosed on ech side, he talked eftsoones with the archbishop and his associats that were messengers betwixt him and the lords, willing them to declare to the lords that he would be contented to treat with them in reasonable order; whereupon they required that he should on the morow next insuing come vnto Westminster, where he should vnderstand their demands. When the king heard that, he refused to come vnto Westminster, but willed that they should come to him there in the Tower. The lords sent him word againe, that the Tower was a place to be suspected, for that they might there be surprised by some guilefull practise deuised to intrap them. The king hereunto made answer, that they might send some two hundred men, or so manie as they should thinke good, to make a through search, whether they needed to feare anie such thing; and this accordinglie was done: they hauing the keies of the gates and of all the strong chambers, turrets, and places within the Tower sent vnto them.

The lords refuse to come into ỹ Tower but after search made they come thither to the kings presence.

On the fridaie, the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Derbie, and Notingham, came to the king, where he was set in a pauilion richlie arraied; and after their humble salutations done, and some talke had betwixt them, they went at the kings request with him into his chamber, where they recited vnto him the conspiracie of their aduersaries, through which they had bin indicted. They also shewed forth the letters which he had sent to the duke of Ireland, to leaue an armie vnto their destruction. Likewise the letters, which the French king had written to him, conteining a safe conduct for him to come into France, there to confirme things to the diminishing of his honor, to the decaie of his power, & losse of his fame. ¶ During the time of this communication also, the earle of Derbie desired the king to behold the people that were assembled in sight before the Tower, for the preseruation of him and his realme: which he did, and maruelling to see such a goodlie armie and strength, as he declared to them no lesse, the duke of Gloucester said vnto him; Sir this is not the tenth part of your willing subiects that haue risen to destroie those false traitors, that haue misled you with their wicked and naughtie counsell.

R. Grafton.

Thom. Walf.

The lords open their greefes to the king.

The king being brought to his wits end, aswell with those things which the lords had charged him with, as otherwise with the sight of that great mul-

titude of people, seemed greatlie amazed. Where-vpon the lords, vnder condition that the next daie he should come to Westminster to heare more of their minds, and to conclude further for the behoofe of the common-wealth of the realme, began to take leaue of him, meaning so to depart: but the king desired them to tarrie all night with him and the queene. The duke thinking to make all sure, made excuse that he durst not be absent from all those folks, which they had brought with them, for feare that some disorder might arise, either in the armie, or in the citie: yet at the kings instance, the earles of Notingham and Derbie taried there all night. The king before his going to bed, was quite turned concerning his determination and promise made to go the next daie to Westminster, through such whispering tales as was put into his eares, by some that were about him, telling him that it stood neither with his safetie, nor honour, so lightlie to agree to depart from the tower, vnto such place as the lords had thus appointed him, to serue more for their purpose than for suertie of his person.

R. Grafton.

Tho. Walsing. The inconstancie of the king

When the lords therefore vnderstood that he would not keepe promise with them, they were greatlie offended, insomuch as they sent him flat word, that if he would not come (according to promise) they would suerlie chose another king, that would and ought to obeie the faithfull counsell of his lords. The king with this message being touched to the quicke, to satisfie their minds, and to auoid further perill, remoued the next morning vnto Westminster, where the lords comming before his presence, after a little other talke, they declared vnto him, that aswell in respect of his owne honour, as the commoditie & wealth of his kingdome, it was behouefull, that such traitors, and most wicked & slanderous persons, as were nothing profitable, but hurtfull to him, and his louing subiects, should be remoued out of his court; and that other that both could and would serue him more honorablie and faithfullie were placed in their romes. The king, although sore against his mind, when he saw how the lords were bent, and that he wanted power to withstand their pleasures, condescended to do what they would haue him.

The K. is compelled to condescend to the lords request.

So when he had granted thereto, they iudged that Alexander Neuill archbishop of Yorke, John Fourdham bishop of Durham lord treasurer, Thomas Rushoke a frier of the order of the preachers, bishop of Chichester, and confessor to the king, were worthie to be auoided the court. But the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of Chichester would abide no reckonings, but got them out of the waie, and fled, it was not knowne whither. The lords did expell out of the court the lord Zouch of Haringworth, the lord Burnell, the lord Beaumont, Albrey de Ver, Baldwin de Bereford, Richard Aderburie, John Worth, Thomas Clifford, and John Louell knights. These were dismissed out of the court, and remoued from the king, but not discharged, for they were constreined to put in suerties to appeare at the next parlement. There were also certeine ladies expelled the court, as those that were thought to do much harme about the K. to wit, the ladie Poinings, wife to John Worth of Mowen, and the ladie Moulinge, with others, which also found suerties to answer at the next parlement, to all such things as might be obiected against them. Moreouer there were arrested and committed to seuerall prisons, sir Simon Burlie, William Elmham, John Beauchampe of Holt steward of the kings house, sir John Salisburie, sir Thomas Triuet, sir James Barneis, sir Nicholas Dagworth, and sir Nicholas Brambre knights. Also Richard Clifford, John Lincolne, Richard Mitford the kings chapleins, and Nicholas Sclake deane of the kings chapell, whose word might do much in the court. There was also apprehended John Blake an apprentise of the law: all which persons were kept in streict ward till the next parlement, in which they were appointed to stand vnto their triall and answers.

Certeine persons put out of the court.

Certeine ladies expelled the court.

Shortlie after, to wit, the morrow after the Purification of our ladie, the parlement began, the which was named the parlement that wrought wonders. The king would gladlie haue prorogued the time of this parlement, if by anie meanes he might. The lords came to the same parlement, with a sufficient armie for their owne safeties. On the first day of this parlement, were arrested as they sat in their places, all the iustices (except sir William Skipworth) as sir Roger Fulthrop, sir Robert Belknap, sir John Carie, sir John Holt, sir William Brooke, and John Aloston the kings sergeant at law, all which were sent to the tower, and there kept in seuerall places. The cause whie they were thus apprehended, was for that, where in the last parlement, diuerse lords were made gouernours of the realme, both by the assent of the same parlement, and also by the aduise and counsell of all the iustices then being, and indentures tripartite thereof made, of the which one part remained with the king, an other with the lords so chosen to gouerne the realme, and the third part with the iustices: and yet notwithstanding, the said iustices at a councell holden at Notingham (as yee haue heard before) did go contrarie to that agreement. Wherevpon it was now determined, that they should make answer to their doings.

The parlement that wrought wonders.

R. Grafton. Thom. Walsin. R. Grafton.

The iustices arrested & sent to the tower.

why the iustices were apprehended.

Moreouer, in the beginning of this parlement, were openlie called Robert Vére duke of Ireland, Alexander Neuill archbishop of Yorke, Michaell de la Pole earle of Suffolke, sir Robert Trisilian lord cheefe iustice of England, to answer Thomas of Woodstoke duke of Gloucester, Richard earle of Arundell, Henrie earle of Derbie, and Thomas earle of Notingham, vpon certeine articles of high treason, which these lords did charge them with. And forsomuch as none of these appeared, it was ordeined by the whole assent of the parlement, that they should be banished for euer, and their lands and goods moueable and vnmoueable to be forfeit and seized into the kings hands, their lands intailed onelie excepted. Shortlie after was the lord cheefe iustice, Robert Trisilian found in an apothecaries house at Westminster, lurking there, to vnderstand by spies dailie what was done in the parlement: he was descried by one of his owne men, and so taken and brought to the duke of Gloucester, who caused him forthwith the same daie to be had to the tower, and from thence drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged.

The duke of Ireland & his associats attainted of treason by this parlement.

Trisilian cheefe iustice descried by his owne man is executed at Tiburne.

On the morrow after, sir Nicholas Brambre, that sometime had beene maior of London, was brought forth to iudgement and condemned, although he had manie frends that made suite to saue his life. This man had done manie oppressions within the citie of London (as was reported.) In his maioraltie, he caused great & monstruous stocks to be made to imprison men therein, and also a common axe to strike off the heads of them which should resist his will and pleasure, for he was so highlie in the kings fauour, that he might do what he would. And the report went, that he had caused eight thousand or more to be indicted, which before had taken part with the lords, intending to haue put them all to death, if God had not shortened his daies. Manie other euill fauoured reports went abroad of him, as that he meant to haue changed the name of London, and to haue named it little Troie, of which citie baptised with that new name, he purposed to be intituled duke. But these were forged rumors deuised and spred abroad

in those daies, as manie other were, partlie by the vaine imagination of the people, and partlie of purpose, to bring those whome the king fauoured further out of the peoples liking. But now touching sir Nicholas Brambre: in the end being thus called to answer his transgressions, he was found giltie, and had iudgement, neither to be hanged, nor drawne, but to be beheaded with his owne axe which before he had deuised: seruing him herein as Phalaris the tyrant sometime serued Perillus, the inuentor of that exquisite torment of the brasen bull, wherein the offendor being put (and the counterfet beast by force of fier made glowing hot) hauing his tong first cut out, through extreamitie of paine made a bellowing alwaies as he cried, as if it had béene the verie noise of a naturall bull. Of which strange torment Perillus himselfe first tasted, suffering death by an engine of his owne deuising, which he thought should haue purchased him a good liuing, whereof the poet saith:

Sir Nicholas Brambre executed with an axe of his owne deuise.

Ouid. li. 1. de art.

Vt Phalaris tauro violentus membra Perilli
Torruit, infelix imbuit autor opus.

After this, sir John Salisburie, & sir James Berneis, both knights and lustie yong men, were by iudgement of parlement drawne and hanged. Then followed John Beauchampe of the Holt, lord steward of the kings house, that had serued king Edward the third, and his sonne Lionell duke of Clarence: who likewise by decrée of this parlement was drawne and hanged. Also John Blake esquier, who in an infortunate houre stood against the lords in the councell at Notingham, was now drawne and hanged, and so was one Thomas Uske. Last of all (or as some hold, first of all) was sir Simon Burlie beheaded, although the earle of Derbie did what he could to saue his life, by reason whereof, great dissention rose betwixt the said earle, and the duke of Gloucester: for the duke being a sore and a right seuere man, might not by any meanes be remoued from his opinion and purpose, if he once resolued vpon any matter. Some spite he bare (as was thought) towards the said sir Simon Burlie, both as well for the faithfull frendship, which was growne betwixt the duke of Ireland, and the said sir Simon, as also for that he looked to haue had such offices and rowmes which sir Simon inioied, by the kings gratious fauour and grants thereof to him made, as the Wardenship of the cinque ports, and constableship of the castell of Douer, and the office of high chamberleine.

Diuerse that stood against the lords executed.

The duke of Gloucester a seuere man.

Sir Simon Burlie.

¶ But now, bicause of all these which were condemned and executed at this parlement, in our common chronicles there is least written; and in Froissard, and diuerse priuate pamphlets I haue read most of this sir Simon, I haue thought good to set downe some part of his life, so largelie as this volume may well beare, although a great deale more briefe than where I found it. This sir Simon was the son of sir John Burlie knight of the garter, and brought vp in his youth vnder his kinsman doctor Walter Burlie, who (as in the latter end of king Edward the third you haue heard) was one of the chiefe that had charge in the bringing vp of the Blacke prince, eldest sonne to the said king Edward. By this occasion he grew into such fauour with the prince, that afterwards the said prince committed vnto him the gouernance of his sonne Richard of Burdeaux, who as he was of a gentle and courteous nature, began then to conceiue so great loue and liking towards him, that when he came to the crowne and was king, he aduanced him highlie to great honours and promotions, in somuch that at one time & other he was made knight of the garter, constable of Douer, lord Warden of the cinque ports, lord chamberleine, * earle of Huntington, and also one of the priuie councell to the king.

* Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton, fol. 191.

Neither was there any thing done concerning the affaires apperteining vnto the state without his counsell, appointment, and direction, wherein he so much fauoured and leaned to the partie of the duke of Ireland, that he was sore enuied, and greatlie hated of diuerse of the rest of the nobilitie, specialle of the kings vncle the duke of Gloucester, who vpon malice that he bare to the man, not so much for his owne demeanour, as for his alies, and peraduenture for desire of his rowmes, more than of his life, caused him to be accused of diuerse offenses against the crowne, realme, and church; namelie, for that he had (as they surmized against him) spoiled and wasted the kings treasure, and withholden the pate of the souldiers and men of warre, whereupon he was arrested, called to account, & hauing no clerke allowed him to make vp the same, was found in arrerages 250000 franks. And although for one part thereof he demanded allowance of monie, which he had defraied and laid out in Almaine, and in Boheme, about the kings marriage, and for the residue desired daies of paiment, yet he could obteine neither. Further, he was accused that the duke of Ireland and he had gathered great summes of monie, conueied the same to Douer, and from thence sent it in the night by sea into Germanie.

Froissard.

Lastlie, the archbishop (forsooth) and the monks of Canturburie charged him that he sought the meanes to remoue the shrine of the archbishop Thomas, otherwise called Thomas Becket, from Canturburie vnto Douer, vnder a colour of feare, least the Frenchmen being assembled in Flanders to inuade England, should land in Kent and take Canturburie, and spoile it, where indeed (as they surmized against him) he meant to send it ouer the seas vnto the king of Boheme. Herevpon he was first committed to the tower, and before the king or his other frends could procure his deliuerance, he was without law or iustice, before any of the residue (as some hold) brought forth and beheaded on the tower hill, by commandement of the duke of Gloucester, and other of his faction, quite contrarie to the kings will or knowledge, in somuch that when he vnderstood it, he spake manie sore words against the duke, affirming that he was a wicked man, and worthie to be kept shorter, sith vnder a colour of doing iustice, he went about to destroie euerie good and honest man. The king was also offended with the duke of Yorke, for his brothers presumptuous doings, though the said duke of Yorke being verelie a man of a gentle nature, wished that the state of the common-wealth might haue béene redressed without losse of any mans life, or other cruell dealing: but the duke of Gloucester, and diuerse other of the nobilitie, the lesse that they passed for the kings threatening speach, so much more were they readie to punish all those whom they tooke to be their enimies. Indeed the said sir Simon Burlie was thought to beare himselfe more loftie, by reason of the kings fauour, than was requisite, which procured him enuie of them, that could not abide others to be in any condition their equals in authoritie.

Thom. Walf.

It should appeare by Froissard, that he was first of all, in the beginning of these stirs betwixt the king and the lords, committed to the tower, and notwithstanding all the shift that either the king, or the duke of Ireland, or anie other of his frends could make for him, by the duke of Gloucesters commandement he was cruellie beheaded, so greatlie to the offense of the king, and those that were his trustie councellors, that thereupon the king caused the duke of Ireland the sooner to assemble an armie against the said duke and his complices, therby to restraine their presumptuous proceedings. But whether he was thus at the first or last executed, to please the king the better, now at this parlement, amongst others that were condemned

demned in the same: his lands were giuen to the king, a great part whereof he afterwards disposed to diuerse men as he thought expedient. But yet in the parlement holden in the one and twentith yeare of this kings reigne, the act of atteindor of the said sir Simon was repealed: and at an other parlement holden in the second yeare of king Henrie the fourth, all his lands which then remained vngranted and vnsold, were restored to sir John Burlie knight, sonne and heire of sir Roger Burlie, brother to the said Simon, of whom lineallie is descended Thomas Eins esquier, now secretarie to the queenes maiesties councell in the north parts. And thus far touching sir Simon Burlie, of whom manie reports went of his disloiall dealings towards the state, as partlie ye haue heard, but how trulie the lord knoweth. Among other slanderous tales that were spred abroad of him, one was that he consented to the deliuering of Doner castell by the kings appointment to the Frenchmen for monie. But as this was a thing not like to be true, so (no doubt) manie things that the persons aforesaid, which were executed, had béene charged with, at the least by common report among the people, were nothing true at all; although happilie the substance of those things, for which they died, might be true in some respect.

Sir William Elmham that was charged also for withdrawing of the soldiers wages, discharged himselfe therof, and of all other things that might be laid to his charge. As touching the iustices, they were all condemned to death by the parlement, but such meanes was made for them vnto the queene, that she obteined pardon for their liues. But they forfeited their lands and goods, and were appointed to remaine in perpetuall exile, with a certeine portion of monie to them assigned for their dailie sustentation: the names of which iustices so condemned to exile were these, Robert Belknap, John Holt, John Crate, Roger Fulthorpe, William Burgh, and John Lokton. Finallie, in this parlement was an oth required and obteined of the king, that he should stand vnto and abide such rule and order as the lords should take: and this oth was not required onelie of the king, but also of all the inhabitants of the realme. ¶ In these troubles was the realme of England in these daies, and the king brought into that case, that he ruled not, but was ruled by his vncles, and other to them associat.

Grafton.

The iustices condemned to perpetuall exile.

The king taketh an oth to performe the lords orders.

In the latter end of this eleuenth yeare was the earle of Arundell sent to the sea with a great nauie of ships and men of warre. There went with him in this iournie, of noble men, the earles of Notingham & Deuonshire, sir Thomas Percie, the lord Clifford, the lord Camois, sir William Elmham, sir Thomas Morteur, sir John Daubreticourt, sir William Shellie, sir John Warwike or Berwike, sir Stephan de Liberie, sir Robert Sere, sir Peter Montberie, sir Lewes Clanbow, sir Thomas Coque or Cooke, sir William Paulie or Paulet, & diuerse others. There were a thousand men of armes, and three thousand archers. The purpose for which they were sent, was to haue aided the duke of Britaine (if he would haue receiued them) being then essoines run into the French kings displeasure, for the imprisoning of the lord Clisson constable of France.

The earle of Arundell sent to the sea with a great nauie, in aid of the duke of Britaine.

Peraduenture Malnere, it may be Mongomerie.

But after that (contrarie to expectation) the duke of Britaine was come to an agreement with the French king, the earle of Arundell drew with his nauie alongst the coasts of Poictou, and Saintonge, till at length he arriued in the hauen that goeth vp to Rochell, and landed with his men at Marrant, foure leagues from Rochell, and began to pilfer, spoile, and fetch booties abroad in the countrie. The Frenchmen within Rochell issued forth to skirmish with the Englishmen, but they were easilie put to flight, and followed euen to the bariers of the gates of Rochell. ¶ Perot le Bernois a capteine of Gascoigne, that made warre for the king of England in Limosin, and lay in the fortresse of Galuset, came forth the same time, and made a roade into Berrie with foure hundred spears. The earle of Arundell, after he had laine at Marrant fifteene daies, returned to his ships, and finallie came backe into England, and Perot le Bernois likewise returned to his fortresse. ¶ About the same time was a truce taken betwixt the parties English and French on the marches of Aquitaine, to begin the first daie of August, and to indure till the first of Maie next insuing.

Anno Reg. 12.

The earle of Arundell returneth out of France.

¶ In this yeare 1388, in Lent, the Scots entred into the westerne borders, & what with killing as also with burning they did much mischiefe. Moreouer they shewed extreme crueltie against young children and sucklings, against women bigge with child and in trauell, against weake and wearish men and crooked with age, in the countrie of Gilotsland, within the lordship of the lord Dacres, gathering them togither into houses, and shutting them vp, and locking the doores, they burned without mercie or pitie to the number (as it was said) of two hundred and aboue.

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leceister abeie.

O Scotish crueltie and more than barbarous bloudthirstinesse.

This yeare in August, the Scots inuaded the countrie of Northumberland, and at Otterburne ouerthrew a power of Englishmen, which the earle of Northumberland and his sonnes had leauied against them. In this battell the earle Dowglas chiefe of that armie of Scots was slaine, and the lord Henrie Percie, and his brother sir Ralfe, sonnes to the said earle of Northumberland, were taken prisoners, as in the Scotish chronicles ye may read more at large. After the feast of the natiuitie of our ladie, a parlement was holden at Cambridge, in the which diuerse statutes were ordeined; as For the limiting of seruants wages; For punishment of vagarant persons; For the inhibiting of certeine persons to weare weapons; For the debarring of vnlawfull games; For maintenance of shooting in the long bow; For remouing of the staple of woolles from Middleburgh vnto Calis; For labourers not to be receiued, but where they are inhabiting, except with licence vnder seale of the hundred where they dwell. There was also an act made, that none should go forth of the realme, to purchase anie benefice with cure or without cure, except by licence obteined of the king; and if they did contrarie hereunto, they were to be excluded out of the kings protection. There was granted to the king in this parlement, a tenth to be leuied of the clergie, and a fifteenth of the laitie. Moreouer, during the time of this parlement, as sir Thomas Triuet was riding towards Barnewell with the king, where the king lodged, by forcing his horsse too much with the spurs, the horsse fell with him so rudelie to the ground, that his entrails within him were so burst and perished, that he died the next daie after. Manie reioised at this mans death, as well for that men iudged him to be exceeding haultie and proud; as also for that he was suspected not to haue dealt iustlie with the bishop of Norwich, in the iournie which the bishop had made into Flanders: but speciallie men had an ill opinion of him, for that he stood with the king against the lords, counselling him in the yeare last past to dispatch them out of the way. ¶ Sir John Holland, the kings brother on the mothers side, that was latelie returned out of Spaine, where he had béene with the duke of Lancaster, was now made earle of Huntington.

An ouerthrow giuen to the Englishmen by the Scots at Otterburne.

Fabian. Caxton.

A parlement at Cambridge.

Sir Thomas Triuet slaine with the fall of his horsse.

¶ In Julie, whiles the king was at Sheene, there swarmed togither in his court great multitudes of flies and gnats, insomuch that in maner of skirmishing they incountered ech other; and making great slaughters on both sides, were in the end swept a-

1389

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abeie.

Battell and slaughter betweene flies.

waie from the place where they lay dead, with brushes and beesoms by heaps. This was deemed an unluckie prognosticat of some mischiefe like to fall vpon the necke of the land.

Commissioners sent to treat a truce betweene England, France, and Scotland.

Also in this twelfth yeare, were commissioners appointed to meet at Balingham, betwixt Calis and Bullongne, to treat a truce to be had betwixt the realmes of England, France and Scotland. Walter Skirlow bishop of Durham, that had beene latelie before remoued from Bath vnto Durham, from whence John Fordham had beene translated vnto Elie, was sent as head commissioner for the king of England, and with him were ioined sir Jhon Clanbow, and sir Nicholas Dagworth, knights, and Richard Rowhale clearke, a doctor of law. By Froissard it appeareth that the earle of Salisburie was one, & sir Thomas Beauchampe lord deputie of Calis appointed likewise as an assistant with them. The bishop of Baieux, the lord Valeran earle of S. Poule, sir Guillam de Melin, sir Nicholas Braque, and sir John le Mercier came thither for the French king. And for the king of Scots there appeared the bishop of Aberdeine, sir James and sir Dauid Lindsey, and sir Walter Sankler, knights. After long treatie, and much a do, at length a truce was concluded to begin at Midsummer next, and to last three years after.

Froissard.

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.

¶ In this yeare of Grace 1389, in the Lent time, there sprang a pitifull strife in Oxford, the variance in the yeare before being not fullie allaied, but both sides alwaies prouoking ech other. For the Welsh scholers being euermore quarelous, and hauing the southerlie scholers taking their parts, rose against the scholers of the north, so that to and fro manie a deadlie mischiefe happened betweene them. In the end, this strife did so increase, that there was a daie of skirmish appointed and agreed vpon by both sides to be tried in the field. But by the meanes of Thomas of Woodstoke duke of Gloucester all this starre was appeased, and manie of the Welsh scholers banished from the vniuersitie. ¶ On the thursdaie before Easter (being mawndaie thursdaie) the lord Beaumont gardian of Carleill in the west marches entred Scotland fortie leagues, & spoiling Fowike, made waste at his pleasure, and brought awaie with him manie Scots prisoners & captiues. ¶ About this time a truce of three years was taken betweene king Richard, the kings of France, Scotland, Spaine, Portingale, and of Nauarre. This truce began on the first daie of August in the neerer parts of the realme both by sea and land; and on the fifteenth of August in the further parts, because knowledge could not be giuen thereof without some long time.

Scholers of Oxford togither by the eares.

Truce of 3. years betweene six kings.

The Scots in the time of treatie spoile the countrie of Northumberland.

Whilest the commissioners were occupied in the marches betwixt Calis and Bullongne about this truce, the Scots entring into Northumberland, did much mischiefe, leading awaie manie prisoners, men and women, besides other great booties and preies which they got abroad in the countrie. The lord Thomas Molbraie earle of Notingham was sent with fiue hundred spears to reuenge those attempts of the enimies: but for that his power was small in comparison to theirs, he preuailed litle or nothing against them. Sir John Clanbow, and sir Richard Rougle clerke, toke the French kings oth; and the earle of saint Paule that had maried the ladie Maud Courtnie with other noblemen, came into England, and receiued the kings oth here for the confirming of this last mentioned truce. The Scots might not without much adoo be persuaded to accept this truce, being readie the same time with an armie to enter into England, but yet through the diligence of such Frenchmen as went thither for that purpose, at length they agreed.

The Scots hauing prouided an armie to inuade England are hardlie persuaded to accept the truce.

This yeare the king by counsell of some that were about him, called the nobles and great men of the realme togither, and as they were set in the councell chamber staieng till he came: at length he entring into the same chamber, and taking his place to sit among them, demanded of them, of what age he was now? Whereto answer was made, that he was full twentie years old. Then (said he) I am of years sufficient to gouerne mine owne house and familie, and also my kingdome: for it seemeth against reason that the state of the meanest person within my kingdome should be better than mine. Euerie heire that is once come to the age of twentie years, is permitted, if his father be not liuing, to order his businesse himselfe: then that thing which is permitted to euerie other person of meane degree by law, why is the same denied vnto me? These words vttered he with the courage of a prince, not without the instigation and setting on of such as were about him, whose drift was by discountenancing others to procure preferment to themselues, abusing the kings tender years and greene wit, with ill counsell for their aduantage: where as it had beene more meete to haue giuen him those precepts which Claudianus hath in his tract of the institution of a prince; and among others this:

The kings question to his lords and others in the councel chamber.

Non tibi quid liceat, sed quid fecisse decebit
Occurrat, mentémq; domet respectus honesti.

Claudian.

When the barons had hard the words of the king, being therewith astonied, they made answer, that there should be no right abridged from him, but that he might take vpon him the gouernment as of reason was due. Well said he, yee know that I haue beene a long time ruled by tutors, so as it hath not beene lawfull to me to doo anie thing, were it of neuer so small importance, without their consents. Now therefore I will, that they meddle no further with matters perteining to my gouernment, & after the maner of an heire come to lawfull age, I will call to my councell such as pleaseth me, and I will deale in mine owne businesse my selfe. And therfore I will first that the chancellor resigne to me his seale. When the archbishop of Yorke (who in the yeare last past had beene remoued from Elie vnto Yorke, and Alexander Neuill displaced) had deliuered vnto him the seale, the king receiuing it of him, put it in his bosome, and suddenlie rising, departed forth of the chamber, & after a little while returning, sat downe againe, and deliuered the seale to the bishop of Winchester, William Wickham, and so made him chancellor, although sore against the same bishops will. He made also manie other new officers, remouing the old, and vsed in all things his owne discretion and authoritie. The duke of Gloucester, the earle of Warwike, & other honorable and worthie men, were discharged and put from the councell, and others placed in their roomes, such as pleased the king to appoint. At the same time he made fiue new iustices.

The king taking vpō him the gouernement of all things displaceth diuers officers & setteth others in their roomes.

Anno Reg. 13. wicksteuns increase.

Wickham bishop of Winchester made L. chancelor.

¶ Of this assuming the regiment to himselfe, as diuerse diuerslie report: so Henrie Knighton a man liuing in those daies, and committing to writing the occurrents of that tumultuous time, saith as followeth. In the moneth of Maie, the king held a councell at Westminster, and in the feast of the Inuention of the crosse, comming personallie to the councell house he remoued all the great officers (contrarie to expectation and thinking) from their offices, and at his pleasure placed in their roomes whome he list. He remoued the archbishop of Yorke lord chancellor, and put in his place the bishop of Winchester: he remoued the bishop of Hereford lord treasurer, and put another in his place: he remoued the clearke of the priuie seale, and all other: so likewise did he the iustices of either bench. But least the affaires of the realme should in the meane while be hindered, he commanded the iustices of law to follow and prose-

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.

The duke of Lancaster returneth into England from Galcongne.

cute

cute things requisite as they were wont, till such time as he was better aduised touching the prouiding of other iustices. The erle of Arundell likewise, vnto whome the gouernment of the parlement was committed, and the admeraltie of the sea, was remoued; and the earle of Huntington put in his roome. In like sort dealt the king with the residue of his officers, saieng that he ought not to be inferior in degrees of lesse account than an other ordinarie heire whatsoeuer within the realme of England; sith the law and custome of the realme of England auerreth, that euerie heire being in the gardianship of anie lord, when he is growne to be one and twentie yeares of age, ought presentlie to inioy the inheritance left him by his father, and is lawfullie to possesse his patrimonie, and freelie to dispose and order his owne goods and chattels to his liking. But now it is come to passe, that I thus manie yeares haue liued vnder your counsell and gouernement; and now first to God, secondlie to you, I giue manifold thanks, that you haue gouerned and supported me, mine inheritance, and my realme of England, as well within as without, & speciallie against our enimies round about vs, all renowme of honour and praise to vs and our kingdome alwaies safelie reserued. But now God hath so dealt for vs, that we are of full age, so that we are two and twentie yeares old at this present: and we require that we may freelie and at libertie from this time forward rule and gouerne both our selues and our inheritance; and we will haue our kingdome in our owne hands, and officers and seruitors of our owne appointing at our pleasure; secondlie, as shall seeme to vs more auaileable, by Gods grace, to elect, chose, and preferre vnto offices such as we do well like of, and at our pleasure to remoue such as be presentlie reliant, and in their romes to substitute and set others whersoeuer and whomsoeuer we list. The king hauing thus spoken, there was not one that went about to breake him of his will, but they all glorified God, who had prouided them such a king, as was likelie to proue discreet and wise.

Anno Reg. 13. Wickleuists increase.

In this season, the followers of Wickliffes doctrine maruellouslie increased, speciallie in the diocesse of Sarum, where they had manie that toke vpon them as ministers, both to preach the word, and to dispense the sacraments. This they did in secret: but they were discouered by one that had bene of their fellowship, who declared to the bishop of Salisburie at his manor of Sonning, all the whole circumstances thereof, as he knew. There were of them that preached in those daies earnestlie against pilgrimages, calling such images as the people had in most veneration, as that at Walsingham, and the rood of the north doore at Paules in London, rotten stocks, and woorme eaten blocks, through which the vnskilfull people being mocked and deceiued, were compelled most manifestlie to commit idolatrie. The bishops (saith Thomas Walsingham) hearing, beholding, and knowing these things with much more, to be true, did little or nothing to redresse the same, saue onlie the bishop of Norwich who stirred coles, swearing and staring, that if anie of that sect presumed to preach anie peruerse doctrine within his dioceese, he would cause them either to hop headlesse, or to frie a fagot for it: he was therefore not a little praised and extolled by the monks and other religious men (as should appeare) for that his zeale.

The duke of Lancaster returneth into Englād fourth of Gascoigne.

In Nouember, the duke of Lancaster came forth of Gascoigne into England, after he had remained first in Spaine, and after in Gascoigne, three yeares together. Of his successe in Spaine is spoken before, & likewise of the agreement betwixt the king of Castile, & the said duke, which was not in all points confirmed, till a little before his returne now into England. About the same time the king had called a councell of his nobilitie at Reading, to the which the duke of Lancaster made the more hast to come, because he knew that the king would shew no good countenance to some of the noblemen; and therefore he doubted least malicious offenses might arise betwixt them, which to appease he meant the best he could, and his trauell came to good effect: for he did so much, that as well the king as the lords departed from the councell as frends, the lords taking their leaues of him in louing maner, and he courteouslie bidding them farewell: and so each of them resorted vnto their homes well pleased for that present. ¶ The king held his Christmasse this yeare at Woodstoke, and the duke of Lancaster laie at his castell of Hertford.

A councell holden at Reding where ỹ duke of Lancaster reconcileth the king and the lords.

1390

At the same time the lord John de Hastings earle of Penbroke, as he was practising to learne to iust, through mishap was striken about the priuie parts, by a knight called sir John S. John, that ran against him, so as his inner parts being perished, death presentlie followed. The losse of this earle was greatlie bemoned by men of all degrees, for he was liberall, gentle, humble, and courteous to each one, aboue all the other yong lords in the land of his time. Of this earles ancestors this is reported for a thing strange and maruelous, that from the daies of Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke, that was one amongst other that sat in iudgement of Thomas earle of Lancaster, there was not anie earle of Penbroke succeeding the same Aimer de Valence, vnto the daies of this yong earle by misfortune thus slaine, that euer saw his father, nor yet anie of their fathers might reioise in the sight of anie of their sonnes, being still called hence, before the time came for them so to do.

The earle of Penbroke as he was learning to iust is wounded to death.

¶ Now here, because this John Hastings, being the last of that surname and armes of the whole blood, which of that line inioied anie title of honor, I thinke it not vnfit for this place (since other occasion will not be giuen therefore) to talke of the Hastings somwhat higher than this man: though not from the shell to perpetuate the memorie of them, the which I haue now done, least otherwise by ingrate oblivion it might neuer hereafter come to light. In which I will not begin from the first honourable Hastings, whose bloud by manie descents continued, is thought by most ancient monuments, which I haue seene and read, to haue béene a baron before the conquest in this land, and to haue borne the same cote in the field, which this now slaine earle of Penbroke did: whereof hereafter in my descriptions and lines of the earles of Penbroke I will make more ample discourse in a new booke (if God giue good successe therein) onelie at this time making some small repetition from that Henrie Hastings, from whome the Hastings (in respect of the mariage of Alda daughter to Dauie earle of Huntington, brother to William king of Scots) did descend: who (amongst others) in the reigne of Edward the first, made title to the kingdome of Scotland. The originall of which name in this treatise I will neither flatteringlie defend, nor obstinatlie reiect, to haue growne from Hastings the Dane, who in the reigne of Alured (long before the conquest, about the yeare of our redemption 890) came with Rollo into England, and for a certeine space infested this nation, departing aside to France. And now to the purpose.

Francis Thin, out of diuerse ancient monuments belonging to the Hastings and others.

Henrie lord Hastings (who bare for his armes gold a manche gules) married Alda (or Ada) the fourth daughter of Dauid earle of Huntington, she being one of the heires to John Scot earle of Chester, & of Huntington (which died without issue) son of the said Dauid, and brother to the said Ada. To this Henrie

and

and Ada did Henrie the third king of England, in the two & twentith of his reigne (in place of the portion of hir brothers lands, which should haue descended to hir as parcell of the earledome of Chester, for that the king would not haue the said earledome diuided amongst diuaues) giue in exchange certeine lands mentioned in this deed following.

The grant of Henrie the third, to Henrie Hastings and Ada his wife, for the exchange of lands for hir part of the earledome.

Omnibus, ad quos, &c: salutem. Sciatis quòd concessimus pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, Henrico de Hastings, & Adæ vxori eius, pro rationabili parte sua, quæ prædictam Adam contingent, de hæreditate Iohannis quondam comitis Cestriæ fratris ipsius Adæ in Cestershire, faciẽdo eis rationabile excambium, ad valentiam prædictæ partis ipsam Adam contingentis de prædicto com. Cestershire. Et ad maiorem securitatem cõcessimus eidem Henrico & Adæ manerium nostrum de Bremesgraue cum pertinentibus in comitatu Wigorniæ, manerium nostrum de Bolisoure cum castris & pertinentibus in com. Derby, manerium nostrum de Mounteffeld cum Soka cũ pertinentibus in comitatu Notingham, manerium de Worsfeld cum pertinentibus in com. Salop. manerium Strattondale. *de Stratton cum pertinentibus in eodem com. manerium de Wiggutton cum pertinent. in com. Staffford, & manerių de Woluerhamton cũ pert. in eodẽ com. in tenentiam. Tenendum eisdem Henrico & Adæ & hæredibus ipsius Adæ, quo vsq; prædicta pars ipsam Adam contingens & de prædicta hæreditate extenta fuerit, & rationabile excambium in prædictis terris vel alias eis assignauerimus. In cuius, &c. Teste rege apud Ditton 11. Iunij, anno regni nostri 22.*

The which manours the said Henrie and Ada did hold during the life of the said Ada, in peaceable and quiet possession. After hir death the said Henrie goeth into Gascoigne, where he remained steward vntill the comming of Henrie the third, at what time the said Henrie surrendered his office, but the king importunate with him still to reteine the same, he flatlie denied it, and would no longer remaine there, suddenlie returning into England without licence or knowledge of the king, for which contempt the king grieuouslie incensed, in reuenge and for satisfaction of the same, made the same lands to be extended by Thomas Pallew and others, who by the kings processe extended part thereof to a treble value, after which extent returned into the chancerie, the king seized the manour of Bremesgraue, Bolesoure, Strattondale in Norton, & left in his hands the manours of Lierton, Oswardbecke, Cundoner, Wourfeld, and Wigutton, whereof the said Henrie died seized. Two yeares before which grant of the lands before said to this Henrie, to wit, in the twentith yeare of Henrie the third, the said Henrie Hastings made his petition to serue in the pantrie (as he was bound by tenure) at the coronation of euerie prince, the record whereof in the ancient written booke of the earls of Huntington, is in these words following.

The record by which Henrie Hastings executed the office of the panteller.

Vicesimo Henr. tertij quo coronata fuit regina Elionara filia Hugonis comitis Prouinciæ apud Westm. factæ sunt contentiones magnæ de seruitijs ministralibus, & de iuribus pertinentibus ad eorum ministeria, sed respectuatur, iuribus singulis saluis, vt tumultus requiesceret vsq; ad quindena Paschæ sequẽtis, &c. Et Henricus de Hastinges, cuius officium seruiendi de mappis à veteri vendicauit officiũ illud, & habuit. Nam quamuis Thurstanus vendicauit officium illud, asserens suum esse debere à veteri, tamen rex repulsat, & admisit Henricum de Hastinges, ea die assignans eisdem diem de contentione finienda ad prædictum terminum. Extractas verò post prandium mappas tanquam suas ad officium pertinentes recepit.

This Henrie had by Ada his wife, his sonne & heire Henrie Hastings, from whome Buchanan doth saie that Henrie Hastings now earle of Penbroke is descended, whereof I will not now here dispute.

Henrie Hastings knight, sonne of Henrie, after the death of his father, finding himselfe greeued that the inheritance, which should haue descended vnto him from his mother, was so withholden from him for the offense of his father, contrarie to law and iustice, and without iudgement, but by the kings power, pursued a bill against the king, therby to haue remedie and restitution, for the supposed false returne of the extent which was made against his father; and vpon the same bill, this Henrie Hastings obteined a new writ to make a fresh extent directed to maister Thomas of Wimundham, Robert de la Laie, Robert de Solham, Hugh Peche, & Thomas de Braie, to vnderstand if the remnant of the lands to him descended, beside that by the king extended, would counteruaile the value of such lands as he should haue by descent from and of the earle and earledome of Chester, which matter neuer being ended in his time, was afterward prosecuted of the Hastings from parlement to parlement, vntill the thirtie fourth yeare of Edward the first, as more plainelie shall after appeare. Of this Henrie, Hollingshed intreateth much in the reigne of Henrie the third: this man (being he that in the time of Edward the first, made title to the crowne of Scotland) maried Ione one of the daughters of William Cantulpe lord of Aburgauenie, in the right of Eua, one of the daughters and heires of William Bewsa or Brewcusa, for I find both written, of which Ione this Henrie had issue John Hastings his sonne and heire, Edmund which maried Isabell, & had great possessions in Wales: Ada first maried to Robert de Champane: Lora maried to sir Thomas the sonne of sir John de Latimer, and Ione which was a nun at Notingham.

John Hastings knight, sonne of the last Henrie, was borne at Asleghe, in the yere of our Lord 1262, and in the six & fortith yeare of the reigne of Henrie the third. This man after his fathers death did (in the yeare of our Lord 1274, and the second yeare of the reigne of Edward the first, being the kings ward) demand the execution of his office of the pantrie, at the coronation of queene Elianor wife to Edward the first, but could not execute the same by reason of his nonage, and also for that he was in ward to the said king. After, when he was growne to full yeares, there arose in the yeare of our Lord 1305, and in the thirtie third yeare of the reigne of Edward the first, great contention betweene Antonie Beake bishop of Durham, this John Hastings, John Baliol, and Robert Bruse, for the manors of Penrith, Castlesoure, Salghill regis, Lange Worthbie, Carlaton, and of Werkine Tinehale, whereof Henrie king of Scots (kinsman of the said Robert Bruse, John Baliol, and John Hastings, whose heire they were) died seized in his demesne of fee. In which

which suites after manie delaies made, and manie summons against the said bishop, the plée went without daie, because the bishop must go to Rome. But after his returne the sute being reuiued and continued, it went once more without daie, because the king seized the same into his hands, and held it all the time of his reigne. These things thus done, and Edward the first departed, this John Hastings as yet not hastie to renew his sute of the land, but rather to execute his right of the pantrie, did in the first yeare of Edward the second, demand the executing of that office, at the coronation of the said Edward the second and Isabell his wife at Westminster, which he obteined, and laid the clothes and napkins in the great hall by him and other his knights, one the tables whereat the king, the queene, and other great states should dine, which (according as I haue seene noted) was in this sort.

The order and number of clothes laied at the kings table, and how Iohn Hastings had them for his fee.

AD altam sedem ipsius regis tres mappas, & super alias mensas in eadem aula 28 mappas, vnde qualibet pecia continebat 4, & in parua aula coram regina, & alibi in illa parua aula 14, quarū qualibet pecia continebat 3. Et dum fuerūt ad comestum, mappas per se & suos custodiebat, & post comestum illas trahebat, & deferre faciebat seruientes ad seruiendum, & istas cum suis loquelis habebat sine voluntate vel cum voluntate, & eas detinebat per totum festum coronationis, licèt petitæ erant deliberatione, primò à seneschallo regis, postea ab ipso rege, per quod idem rex præcepit domino Willielmo Martin, & alijs seneschallis suis, quòd plenam & celerem iusticiam ei facerent, & deliberationem de mappis prædictis si fuerit faciendum. Qui inde postea nihil facere voluerunt, aut non curauerunt toto festo coronationis prædictæ, nec postea in congregationibus. Per quod postea dominus Iohannes de Hastings fecit petitiones suas domino regi, & concilio suo, quòd feodum suum mapparum prædictarum ei deliberaretur, pro vt ei de iure fuerit deliberandum. Et quòd fecit seruitium suum debito modo, prout antecessor suus fecit longo tempore Henrici regis, quando habuit feodum suum, tempore quādo desponsauit Elionaram filiam comitis Prouinciæ, tanquam pertinens ad manerium suum de Asheley in comitatu North. pro vt patet in Memorandum ipsius regis in camero suo de scaccario diuersis locis in istis verbis.

✠ *Williame de Hastinges tient demye fee de chiualer in Asheley du roy a fayre le seruice per seriante deestree panetre le roye*, which is found in the fourth leafe of Chester beginning, *Le counte Roger le Bigot*, in the title of eschetes of seriantie in the countie of Northfolke. Touching which it is thus further found in the same place. ✠ *Henrie de Hastings tient en Asheley du roye per sergiante de la panetre, fo. Syesme.* ✠ *Henrie de Hastings tient vn seriante de la panetre le roy en Asheley, & vaute per an. C. sol. fol. 9.* ✠ *Williame de Haslings tient vn fee de chiualer en Asheley seriante deestree despenser en le despenscleroy. fo. 4.* ✠ *Henrie de Haslings tient vn terr en la ville de Asheley per le seruice deestree le despenser.*

Which petitions and all other petitions for his part of his land in the kings hands, by the censure made in the time of Henrie the 3, the said John Hastings lord of Aburgauennie did pursue from parlement to parlement, vntill the parlement holden at Yorke after Michaelmas, where supplication was made to the king, by him and others, that he might remaine with the king in Gascoigne, as his steward or marshall: which if he would performe, all his forsaid petitions and all other petitions which were reasonable, should be granted vnto him. By occasion whereof he granted vnto the kings and the nobles request: so that the king would find him pledges due therefore, and that he might obteine iustice in his inheritances, and those his lawfull sutes, which had beene hitherto denied vnto him, which thing the king faithfullie promised in euerie respect to be performed towards him: whereupon he sailed into Gascoigne, in the yeare of Christ 1302, being the 31 of Edward the first, the wednesdaie after the feast of S. Lucie. But for this faire shew, it seemeth he sped neuer the better: for which cause not being restored in the 34 yeare of Edward the first, he pursued his sute afresh, and had from the king at Yorke this definitiue sentence, deliuered by the mouth of Walter Laughton, then the kings treasuror (as I find by such notes as I haue seene) that he should seeke the records of the chancerie, and bring them to the next parlement, which the said John did. At what time he brought forth the former grant of Henrie the third, of the said lands giuen in recompense of his part of the earledome of Chester. After which yet it was agreed by the king and his councell for diuerse considerations (and mostlie (as I suppose) because he had refused to serue in Gascoigne, and onelie went as it were inforced) notwithstanding all that the said John could alledge, that he should take nothing for his petition, but further to be in the kings mercie for his false claime: the whole processe whereof I haue seene in an ancient written monument of French. All which (as I gather) was done in the life of Edward the first (notwithstanding that I haue a little vnorderlie before treated of the executing of his office of the pantrie at the coronation of Edward the second, sonne to Edward the first) as may be confirmed by Piers Longtoft in these verses:

Et pour peril eschеuer toutz apres promist
Ke Iean de Hastin cheualier e lit
Emerie de la Bret barone ne pas petit
Alant in Gascoigne touz sans contredit
Pour la terme attendue del trevis auant dit.

This John married two wiues both called Isabell, whereof the first was Isabell de Valence, one of the daughters and heirs of William Valence earle of Penbroke & lord of Aburgauennie, but how the said Wil. Valence came to the honor of Aburgauennie, since William Cantelupe before named was once lord thereof, and much about that time, I can not yet certeinlie learne. But yet I following good authoritie haue set downe this Valence to be lord of Aburgauennie, & that he gaue the same to one John Hastings, which must nèds be this man, marieng his daughter. The other wife of this John Hastings, was Isabell the daughter of Hugh Spenser earle of Wincheſter. By his first wife he had sir children, to wit, John Hastings his heire, William Hastings that maried Elianor the daughter of sir William Martin, which died without heires; Henrie Hastings that was a clerke, and Elizabeth Hastings maried to Roger Greie lord of Ruthine sonne of sir John Greie, of whom is descended Henrie earle of Kent now liuing. Ione maried to Edmund Mortimer, by whom she had no issue, being after maried to William de Huntingfield, by whom she had Roger de Huntingfield: and Margaret Hastings maried to William the sonne of William Martin lord of Kemmies. By Isabell Spenser his second wife, he had three children, to wit, Hugh Hastings lord of Folliot,

Registrum comitum de Huntington.

Folliot, of whom shall be more intreated, when we come to the last John Hastings erle of Penbroke slaine at tilt, as before. Thomas Hastings, and Pelagia de Huntington. His first wife Isabell Valence died 1305, being the 31 of Edward the first, and was buried at the frier minors in Couentrie. His second wife ouerliuing hir husband, was after maried to sir Rafe Monthermer, for which mariage the said Rafe was fined by Edward the second at a thousand marks, as appeareth in the rols of the chancerie of 13 of Edward the second: she died the 9 of Edward the third, & was buried in the frier minors of Salisburie. This John Hastings departed this life 1313, the first yeare of the reigne of Edward the second.

John Hastings lord Hastings and Aburgauennie, was borne in the fifteenth yeare of Edward the first, in the yeare of Christ 1287. For at the death of his father, which happened (as before) in the first yeare of Edward the second, he was found to be of the age of six & twentie years, which if it be added to the yeare of our Lord 1287, make vp the full number of 1313, in which his father died. This man in the eight yeare of Edward the second at the parlement holden at London in the Carmelite friers, being about the yeare from the birth of Christ 1314, renewing the sute to the king (after the death of Antonie Beke bishop of Durham, which happened in the yeare of our Lord 1310) for the lands, whereof his father had the said bishop in sute, and which were after seized into the kings hands, as before appeareth, in the life of his father. It was then found vpon search, that sir John Ballioll (who was partie to the said sute before) had the realme of Scotland by award: by reason of certeine lands that he gaue to sir Antonie de Beke the bishop of Durham: for which cause it seemed king Edward the first seized the same lands into his hands as forfeit to him, in that they were after the maner of a bribe giuen to the said bishop, to support the sute of the said John Ballioll for the obteining of the crowne of Scotland. And for that cause this John Hastings was counselled by such as willed him well, that he should surceasse his sute, and so he did. This John Hastings maried Julian the daughter of Thomas lord Leiburne the sonne of William lord Leiburne, and had by hir Laurence de Hastings: after which this John Hastings died in the eightéenth yeare of Edward the second, and in the yeare of our Lord 1325. His wife Julian liued manie yeers after, and surrendred hir life in the fortie one yeare of Edward the third, and in the yeare of our Lord 1366.

Laurence Hastings lord Hastings and Aburgauennie, was also afterward earle of Penbroke, he was borne about the thirteenth yeare of Edward the second, being also about the yeare of our redemption 1320: which is proued by this, that the said Laurence was fiue yeares old at the death of his father, which (as before is said) happened in the yeare 1325, and in the eightéenth of Edward the second, at what time he was seized as the kings ward, and committed to the gouernement of tutors, apointed him by the said Edward the second. This Laurence Hastings for the nobilitie of his race, the actiuitie of him selfe, the largenesse of his possessions, and his familiaritie with the king, was created earle of Penbroke, about the one and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third. He maried Anne or Agnes the third daughter of sir Roger Mortimer the first earle of March, by whom he had issue John Hastings.

John Hastings earle of Penbroke lord Hastings Aburgauennie and Weifford in Ireland, the sonne of Laurence Hastings the first earle of Penbroke of that name, did in the fortie one yeare of Edward the third, being about the yeare of our Lord 1369, infeoffe diuerse persons of the manor of Lidgate in Suffolke, of which towne was John Lidgate the monke of Berie and famous poet of England surnamed. After which in the fortie six yeare of Edward the third, and in the yeare of our Lord 1371, when the Frenchmen besieged Rochell, he was sent with an armie of men to the rescue of the same. But being set vpon by the Spanish naule in the hauen of Rochell, they slue and tooke manie of the English, burnt their naule, and carted the earle with sundrie other prisoners into Spaine; where this earle a long time remained prisoner. Which misfortune was iustlie supposed to haue fallen vpon him, because he was a man of euill life, giuen greatlie to lecherie, an infringer of the liberties of the church, and a persuader of the king that he should (for his warres) more grieuouslie exact manie subsidies and contributions vpon the clergie than vpon the laitie. After that he had béene long prisoner in Spaine (by the space almost of three yeares) he was ransomed for a great summe of monie, by Bertram Cleikine, and died (as I conieture by some sufficient proofe) betweene Paris and Calis, as he came into England, in the fortie ninth yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord 1374: so that he neuer fullie paied his ransome. He had two wiues, Margaret the daughter of Edward the third, & Anne the daughter of sir Walter Mannie and of Margaret Segraue made dutchesse of Northfolke in the time of Richard the second: but when he maried these wiues, I can not certeinlie find. And in the earle of Kents booke (which treateth of the contention of the Hastings and the Greies, for bearing of the armes of Hastings) there is no mention made (as farre as my memorie serueth) of the said Margaret; the reason whereof I suppose to be, for that this John Hastings had no issue by hir: and that booke onelie serued to conueie a lineall descent from the Hastings to intitle the Greies. This John Hastings had by his second wife (Anne) a sonne called John Hastings, which after succéeded his father in all his inheritances.

But before I saie anie more of the Hastings, I thinke it not amisse to giue some warning of an error in Polydor of Vrbin, writing that Anne the countesse of Penbroke (wife to this man, for none of the earles of Penbrokes had anie wife so named within the compasse of years wherein Polydor appointeth this time) descended of a noble house of S. Paule in France, a woman of great vertue, and a louer of learning and of learned men, founded a house in Cambridge, to this daie called Penbroke hall: which in truth was not builded by hir, but by Marie the wife of Odomare or Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke, who was slaine at tilt in the one & twentie yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord 1374: which was thirtie seauen yeares before the death of this John Hastings earle of Penbroke: which Marie was in verie déede the daughter of Guie earle of S. Paule, the kinswoman of Edward the third, and a French woman. This woman being in one daie (& that the daie of hir mariage) a maid, a wife, & a widow (hir husband being that daie slaine at tilt) did in hir widowhood (in the one & twentith yeare of Edward the 3, in the yeare of our Lord 1374) erect that house in Cambridge vpon hir owne ground, and appointed the same to be called the hall of Marie Valence, or Penbroke hall: by meanes whereof it was long after called *Aula Valentiæ Mariæ.*

Now to returne (where I left) to the last wife of this John Hastings called Anne, she (after the death of hir husband) did at the coronation of Richard the second, in the yeare of Christ 1382, being about the fift yeare of the reigne of the said Richard, sue by petition to execute by hir deputie the office of the pantler,

panteler by reason of the manor of Ashley, which she had for hir ioincture, whereunto she was admitted, & by hir deputie sir Thomas Blunt knight did performe the same: as this record doth testifie, in which is set both hir petitions, and the iudgement thereof in this forme.

The record whereby dame Anne *Hastings clameth the office of* the pantrie.

ITem Anna quæ fuit vxor Iohannis Hastings nuper comes Penbrochiæ porrexit in curia quandam petitionem suam in hæc verba. A treshonore seigneur le duc de Lancast. & seneschall d' Angliter supplie Anne que fuit le femme Iohn de Hastinges nadgares countie de Penbroke, qui cõme le mannor de Asheley in le com. de Northfolke soit tenens de nostre seigneur le roy par le seruice de faire le office de napperie al coronement le roy, quel mannor soel tient en dower del dowement son dit baron. Ore pleast luy accepter del faire son office person deputie, a ceste coronement nostre seigneur le roye, pernant les fees du dit office ceasta scauoir les nappes quant il sont sustreytz. Et quia post ostensionem verisimilium euidentiarum & rationum ipsius Annæ, ac proclamationem in curia prædicta debitè factam, in hac parte nullus huiusmodi clamor ipsius Annæ contradixit: considerat um fuit quòd ipsa ad officium prædictum per sufficientem deputatum suum faciendum admitteretur, & sic officium illud per Thomam Blunt militem, quem ad hoc deputauit, dicto die coronationis in omnibus perfecit, & peracto prandio mappas de mensis subtractis pro feodo suo recepit.

Thus this much touching this John Hastings earle of Penbroke and dame Anne Mannie his wife.

John Hastings (the sonne of John Hastings last recited) was earle of Penbroke lord Hastings Aburgauennie & Weilford, who being verie yong at the time of his fathers death, was ward first to Edward the third, and then to Richard the second, but neuer saw his full age of one and twentie yeares, nor euer possessed the lands whereunto he was borne: for not long after that he had married Philip the second daughter of Edmund Mortimer (earle of March Vlster and lord of Wigmore) he was [about the nineteenth yeare of his age, the fifteenth yeare of king Richard the second, and the yeare of our redemption 1391, being a youthfull and lustie yong gentleman (but tender and slender) in the Christmasse time, when the K. held that feast at Woodstoke in Oxfordshire] willing to learne to iust, whervpon in the parke then incountring with a knight called John saint John (a valiant and stout person) he was slaine when they ran togither, as the said knight did cast his speare from him, and so the said earle receiuing this manner of death, no man knew whether it happened by mishap or of purpose. To which John Hastings now slaine, Margaret Segraue duchesse of Northfolke his grandmother (by his mother the daughter of sir Walter Mannie) was executrix and disposer of all his substance. After his death, his widow the ladie Philip was married to Richard earle of Arundell, & after that to John lord saint John, being the same man (as I suppose) which slue hir first husband this John Hastings. But here before the death of this John I must not forget, that though he were within age at the coronation of Richard the second, as not being past nine or ten yeares old; he sued to execute at the said coronation, the offices which his ancestors had afore performed. But because his mother had the manor of Ashley in dower (as is before expressed) he did not sue to serue in the pantrie, but leauing that, demandeth the carieng of the second sword and the golden spurs before the king. The records of both which I haue here set downe.

The petition for the second sword *which the earle of Arundell also claimed to beare,* was in this sort.

IOhannes de Hastings nuper comes Penbrochiæ protulit quandam petitionẽ in hæc verba. A treshonoree seigniour le duc de Lancastre & seneschall d' Angleterre, John fitz & heyre John de Hastinges counte de Penbroke, que cõme il tient le Chastell de la ville de Tynbye, le grange de Kingswood, le cõmote de Craytrath, le mannor de Chastell Martin, & le mannor de Traygaire per seruice de porter le second espee deuant le roy a son coronement: qui pleast a luy, accepter a son dit office a faire ore a ceste coronement. Et super hoc Richardus comes Arundell & Surrey exhibuit in curia quandã aliam petitionẽ in hæc verba. A roy de Chastell & de Lion duc de Lancastre & seneschall d' Angleterre, supplie Richard counte de Arundell & Surrey, de luy receuer a faire son office, a porter le second espee deuant le roy ore a son coronement, que luy appertient de droit pur le countie de Surrey. Quibus petitionibus intellectis & auditis, & hinc inde dictorum comitum rationibus, pro eo quòd dictus Iohannes comes Penbrochiæ (qui infra ætatẽ in custodia regis existit) ostendit curiæ meliores & verisimiliores rationes pro se, quàm prædictus comes Arundell pro ipso monstrauit. Dominus rex declarata coram eo materia prædicta, præcepit Edmundo comiti mariscallo, quòd ipse gladium prædictum ista vice in nomine iure prædicti comitis Penbrochiæ deferret, saluo iure alterius cuiuscunq;. Qui quidem mariscallus gladium illum ex hac causa die coronationis gestabat calcaribus deauratis.

The other bill exhibited for the golden spurs, *is registred in this order.*

IOhannes filius & hæres Iohannis de Hastings nuper comitis Pẽbrochiæ exhibuit in curia quandam petitionem in hæc verba. A treshonore seigneur le roy de Chastell, &c. Et seneschall d' Angliterre, supplie Iohne fitz & heyre Iohne Hastings nadgares counte de Penbroke, de estre receue a son office de porter les grandes esperon, d'oores deuant le roy nostre seigneur ore a son coronement, en mannor cõme William le marischall son ancester les porta il coronoment de roy. Edw. audita & intellecta billa prædicta, pro eo quòd Iohannes est infra ætatem & in custodia domini regis, quanquam sufficientes ostendit curiæ recorda & euidẽtias, quòd ipse seruitium prædictum de iure facere deberet; consideratum extitit, quòd esset ad voluntatem regis, quis dictum seruitium ista vice in iure ipsius Iohannis faceret. Et super hoc rex assignabat Edmundum comitẽ mariscallum, ad deferẽdum dicto die coronationis prædicta calcaria in iure ipsius hæredis. Saluo iure alterius cuiuscunque, & sic idem comes mariscallus illa calcaria prædicta in dicto die coronationis coram ipso domino rege deferebat.

In

In this John Haſtings ended all the honorable titles of the Haſtings, bicauſe this man dieng without iſſue, his inheritances were diſperſed to diuerſe perſons: for the honour of Penbroke came to Francis at court by the kings gift, the baronies of Haſtings and Weliford came to Reinold Greie of Ruthine, the baronie of Aburgauennie was granted to William Beauchampe of Bedford: for all which lands, and for the bearing of the armes of this ſame John Haſtings without difference, great contention grew betwéene ſir Edward Haſtings knight (deſcended of Iſabell Spenſer) and Reinold Greie lord Greie of Ruthine, ſonne of Reinold Greie, ſonne of Roger Greie, that married Elizabeth daughter of Iſabell Valence, for both the ſaid lord Greie and ſir Edward Haſtings were deſcended by two venters (as partlie before and partlie hereafter ſhalbe ſhewed) from one man John Haſtings, huſband to both ſaid Iſabels. For the explanation whereof, and lineall deſcent to conueie the ſaid ſir Edward Haſtings from the ſaid John Haſtings, firſt lord of Aburgauennie of that ſurname; I muſt here repeat a little of that which I haue alreadie written: which is, that the ſaid John Haſtings firſt lord of Aburgauennie, hauing two wiues, both Iſabels, by his firſt wife Iſabell Valence had Elizabeth maried to Roger Greie, and by his ſecond wife Iſabell Spenſer, he had iſſue ſir Hugh Haſtings knight, from whome we are to deduce the ſaid ſir Edward Haſtings in this ſort. Hugh Haſtings knight lord of Folliot (in the right of his wife) being ſonne of the ſecond wombe of Iſabell Spenſer, and John Haſtings ſonne of Henrie Haſtings married Margerie the daughter and heire of ſir Richard Folliot, by whom he came to be lord of Folliot, and alwaies bare the armes of Haſtings with a difference of a ſecond brother of a ſecond venter. This marriage was procured and made by Iſabell his mother, who purchaſed the ſaid ward for him. This Hugh died in the yeare of Chriſt 1347, in the one and twentith yeare of Edward the third, and was buried in the church of Elſing, in Elſrug in Northfolke which he builded; his wife Margerie died in the yeare 1349, being the three and twentith yeare of Edward the third, and was buried in the chappell of Fornewell. This Hugh had iſſue by his wife Hugh Haſtings his heire, and a daughter married to ſir Robert de la Mare.

Hugh Haſtings knight, the ſonne of Hugh and Margerie Folliot did marrie the daughter of Adam de Eueringham, by whom he had Hugh Haſtings his ſonne and heire, and two daughters, the one married to Winkfield, and the other to a knight called Elmham. This Hugh died at Calkewelhell or Gwines, and was buried in the friers of Doncaſter, in the yeare of our Lord 1369, about the foure & fortith yeare of Edward the third. This man for him and his heires in difference from the other Haſtings, earles of Penbroke his kinſmen by the halfe blood, did beare the Haſtings armes with the labell, quartered with the armes of Folliot. Hugh Haſtings knight the ſonne of Hugh and Margaret Euerингham married Anne the daughter of Edward Spenſer earle of Gloceſter, by whom he had iſſue Hugh Haſtings and Edward Haſtings, which contended with Reinold Greie lord of Ruthine. This Hugh toke his pilgrimage to Jeruſalem & died in Spaine, after whoſe death dame Anne Spenſer his wife was maried to Thomas lord Morleie. Hugh Haſtings eldeſt ſon of Hugh Haſtings and dame Anne Spenſer, married the daughter of ſir Wil. Blunt knight; this Hugh died at Calis at the mariage of Richard the ſecond, to Iſabell the daughter of the king of France, about the 19 yeare of the reigne of the ſaid Richard, being the yeare of our redemption 1395; who dieng without iſſue, all his right and title came to his brother Edward.

Edward Haſtings knight brother of the laſt Hugh began the contention with Reinold Greie lord of Ruthine, for the right of the lands, honors, and armes without difference of the laſt John Haſtings earle of Penbroke. This ſute began about the eight yeare of Henrie the fourth, and continued at leaſt vntill the fift yeare of Henrie the fift, if not longer; but in the end (notwithſtanding manie falſe pedegrees counterfeited by this Haſtings, and his vncle Henrie biſhop of Norwich, one of the houſe of the Spenſers) yet it was adiudged againſt the ſaid ſir Edward Haſtings in the marſhals court, that the lands, honors, and armes without difference, as the laſt John Haſtings earle of Penbroke did beare them, with the armes of William Valence earle of Penbroke, ſhould be onelie borne by the ſaid lord Greie of Ruthine and his heires, as being of the whole blood, and nert heire to the ſaid laſt John Haſtings earle of Penbroke: and that the ſaid Edward Haſtings ſhould vtterlie be barred to beare the armes of Haſtings, but quartered with the armes of Folliot, as onelie deſcending of the halfe blood to the ſaid laſt earle of Penbroke of that name. And that all other pedegrees what ſo euer (except this) are falſe, and of purpoſe contriued, as appeareth by a notable booke and monument thereof remaining in the hands of Henrie Greie now earle of Kent (deſcended of the ſaid Reinold Greie of Ruthine) conteining all the proceſſe, examinations, witneſſes, pedegrees & iudgements thereof, more plainelie maie appeare. In which contention there was ſhewed a matter by the depoſition of ſir William Ho knight not vnworthie to be remembred (though it touch not the Haſtings) concerning armorie and bearing of differences in armes, which was, that the ſaid ſir William ſaid on his oth in the tenth yeare of Henrie the fourth, that before the times of Edward the third, the labell of three points was the different appropriat and appurtenant for the cognizance of the nert heire; but the ſame king made his ſons to beare the entire armes with labels of three points, with certeine differences in the ſaid labels, to be knowen the one from the other, except his ſonne the duke of Gloceſter, who bare a border about the armes of France and England. And thus, this much Francis Thin touching the name of Haſtings.

In this yeare Thomas earle of Lancaſter, for the opinion which had béene conceiued of him, by reaſon of miracles and other reſpects, was canonized for a ſaint. The mondaie nert after the feaſt of ſaint Hilarie, a parlement was begun at Weſtminſter, in which there was a bill exhibited by the commons, that the lords and great men of the realme ſhould not giue to their men badges to weare as their cognizances; by reaſon that through the abuſe thereof, manie great oppreſſions, imbraſeries, vnlawfull maintenances, and wrongs were practiſed, to the hinderance of all good orders, lawes, and iuſtice. The lords would not conſent altogither to laie downe their badges; but yet they agreed that none ſhould weare any ſuch cognizance except their ſeruants of houſhold, and ſuch as were in ordinarie wages by the yeare. ¶ In the ſame parlement, certeine perſons that had gone about ſome new rebellion in Kent, being apprehended, were condemned, and ſo were drawne and hanged. ¶ There was alſo an act made againſt ſuch as ſhould paſſe the ſeas, to purchaſe proviſions (as they termed them) in any church or churches. And if any from thenceforth attempted ſo to do, he ſhould be reputed and taken as a rebell. Alſo there was an act prouided againſt thoſe that committed any wilfull murder, that none ſhould preſume

The earle of Lancaſter canonized for a ſaint.

A bill againſt wearing of badges.

No reteiners to weare badges.

An act againſt mediators for wilfull murderers.

to

to sue for their pardon. A duke or an archbishop that so sued, should forfeit to the king an hundred pounds. Likewise an earle or a bishop, an hundred marks, &c.

Moreouer, in this parlement it was granted, that the king should haue of euerie sacke of woll fortie shillings, of the which ten shillings should be applied presentlie to the kings vses, and thirtie shillings residue of the fourtie shillings should remaine in the hands of the treasurors, towards the bearing forth of the charges of wars when any chanced. ¶ Also there was a subsidie granted of six pence in the pound, foure pence to the vse last mentioned, and two pence to be imploied at the kings pleasure. In the same parlement, John duke of Lancaster was created duke of Aquitaine, receiuing at the kings hand the rod and cap, as inuestures of that dignitie. Also the duke of Yorke his sonne and heire was created earle of Rutland. In the fift of March a sore and terrible wind rose, with the violence whereof, much hurt was done, houses ouerthrowne, cattell destroied, and trees ouerturned. After this insued great mortalitie by pestilence, so that much youth died euerie where, in cities and townes, in passing great numbers. Herewith followed a great dearth of corne, so that a bushell of wheat in some places was sold at thirteene pence, which was thought to be at a great price. ¶ About the feast of S. Peter ad Vincula, John duke of Lancaster caused a great meeting of the nobles and peeres of the realme to hunt at Leicester in the forrest and all the parkes there to him apertеining. On the saturdaie the king and queene were present, the archbishop of Yorke, the duke of Yorke, Thomas Woodstoke duke of Glocester, the earle of Arundell John of Holland, the earle of Huntington, with other bishops, lords and ladies a great manie, and on thursdaie next following the king departing from thence towards Nottingham sojourned with the lord of Beaumont besides Loughborrow.

In this thirteenth yeare of king Richards reigne, the christians toke in hand a iournie against the Saracens of Barbarie, through sute of the Genowais, so that there went a great number of lords, knights, and gentlemen of France and England, the duke of Burbon being their generall. Out of England there went one John de Beaufort bastard son to the duke of Lancaster (as Froissard hath noted) also sir John Russell, sir John Butler and others. They set forward in the latter end of this thirteenth yeare, and came to Genoa, where they remained not long, but that the gallies and other vessels of the Genowais were readie to passe them ouer into Barbarie. And so about Midsummer in the beginning of the fourteenth yeare of this kings reigne, the whole armie being imbarked, sailed forth to the coasts of Barbarie, where neare to the citie of Affrike they landed, at which instant the English archers (as some write) stood all the companie in good stead, with their long bowes, beating backe the enimies from the shore, which came downe to resist their landing.

After they had got to land, they inuironed the citie of Affrike (called by the moores Mahemedia) with a strong siege: but at length constrained with the intemperancie of the scalding aire in that hot countrie, breeding in the armie sundrie diseases, they fell to a composition vpon certeine articles to be performed in the behalfe of the Saracens, and so 61 daies after their first arriuall there, they toke the seas againe, & returned home, as in the histories of France and Italie is likewise expressed. Where, by Polydor Virgil it may seeme, that the lord Henrie of Lancaster, earle of Derbie, should be capteine of the English men, that (as before ye haue heard) went into Barbarie with the Frenchmen, and Genowais. It should otherwise appeare by other writers, who affirme that the said earle made a iournie in deed the same time against the miscreants, not into Barbarie, but into Prutzenland, where he shewed good proofe of his noble and valiant courage: for ioining with the maisters and knights of the Dutch order there, the armie of the Lithuanians that came against the said order was vanquished, and foure chiefe leaders of the Lithuanians were taken prisoners, three other being slaine, with three hundred of their chiefest and best approued soldiers. Through the policie also and worthie manhood of the earle of Derbie, there was a certeine citie taken, where the said earle and his men first entring vpon the walles, did set vp his banner: other being slouthfull, or at the least vnskilfull how to deale in such exploits. There were taken and slaine foure thousand of the common people, and amongst them that were found dead, the king of Polognies brother was one. The castell of the same citie was besieged fiue weekes space: but by reason of sickenesse and such infirmities as chanced in the armie, the maisters of Prutzen, and Liefland would not tarie any longer, but brake vp their siege and returned. The maister of Liefland led with him into his countrie three thousand prisoners.

In the meane time, whilest the christians were thus occupied, as well against the infidels in Barbarie, as in the east parts towards Littawe, a roiall iusts and martiall turnament was proclaimed to be holden within Smithfield in London, to begin on sundaie next after the feast of saint Michaell. And because this triumphant pastime was published, not onelie in England, but also in Scotland, in Almaine, in Flanders, in Brabant, in Heinault, & in France, manie strangers came hither forth of diuerse countries, namelie Ualeran erle of saint Paule, that had married king Richards sister the ladie Mauld de Courtnie, and William the yong erle of Osteruant, sonne to Albert de Bauiere earle of Holland and Heinault. At the daie appointed, when all things were prepared, there issued forth of the tower about three of the clocke in the after none sixtie coursers apparelled for the iusts, and vpon euerie one an esquier of honor, riding a soft pace. Then came forth foure and twentie ladies of honour (three score saith Froissard) mounted on palfries, riding on the one side richlie apparelled, and euerie ladie led a knight with a chaine of gold. Those knights being on the kings part, had their armor and aparell garnished with white hearts and crownes of gold about their necks, and so they came riding through the streets of London vnto Smithfield, with a great number of trumpets and other instruments before them.

The king and the queene, with manie other great states were readie placed in chambers richlie adorned to see the iusts: and when the ladies that led the knights, were come to the place, they were taken downe from their palfries, and went vp into chambers readie prepared for them. Then alighted the esquires of honor from their coursers, & the knights in good order mounted vpon them. And so when their helmets were set on their heads, and that they were redie in all points, after proclamations made by the heraults, the iusts began, and manie commendable courses were run, to the great pleasure, comfort, and recreation of the king, the queene, and all other the beholders. The prise that daie on the answerers part was giuen to the earle of saint Paule; and on the chalengers side, to the earle of Huntington. On the mondaie, the king himselfe, with dukes, earls, lords, and knights, came to the iusts, he being chefe of the inner part. That daie the prise was giuen to the erle of Osteruant, for the best doer of the vtter part: and of the inner part, to a knight of England called sir Hugh Spenser. On the tuesdaie, all manner of e-

Thom. Walsi. The earle of Derbie his exploits in his iournie against the infidels of Prutzenland.

A roiall iusts holden in Smithfield at London.

The manner of the iusts in Smithfield.

Siluer saith Froissard.

The duke of Lancaster made duke of Aquitaine.

Great tempest.

Great plague.

Great dearth.

Ab. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.

A roiall hunting.

A iournie against the Saracens.

Anno Reg. 14.

The English archers good seruice.

squiers iusted, and likewise on the wednesday all maner of knights and esquires that would, on which daie was a sore and rude iusts, enduring till night. And so manie a noble course and other martiall feats were atchiued in those foure daies, to the great contentation and pleasure of manie a yong batcheler desirous to win fame, & also highlie to the kings honour, who by all that season held his court in the bishops palace by Paules church, keeping open housholde for all honest persons that thither resorted, especiallie euerie night after the iusts were ended, a right sumptuous and princelie supper was prepared for the strangers and other, and after supper, the time was spent in dansing and reuelling after the most courtlike maner. On the thursdaie, the king made a supper to all the lords, knights, and gentlemen strangers, and the quæne to all the ladies and gentlewomen. On the frisdaie the duke of Lancaster feasted at dinner all the said lords, knights, and gentlemen strangers, in most sumptuous and plentifull maner. On the saturdaie, the king and all the whole companie departed from London vnto Windsore, where new feasting began, and speciallie the king did all the honour that might be deuised vnto the earls of saint Paule and Oxeruant. The earle of Oxeruant, at the earnest request of the king, receiued of him the order of the Garter, for the which he was euill thought of afterwards by his frends, namelie the French king and others. Finallie, after the king had thus feasted the strangers and others at Windsore, each man tooke leaue of the king, the quæne, and the kings vncles, and other lords and ladies, and so departed, the strangers into their owne countries, and other home to their houses, or whither they thought best.

The king kept open housholde in the bishop of London his palace by Paules church.

The K. feasteth the strangers.

The duke of Lancaster feasteth the strangers.

Abr. Fl. out of *Angl. prel. sub Rich. 2.*

¶ This solemne iusts or tornement being touched, or rather in ample maner described by Ch. Okland, is reported of him to haue béene kept for actiuitie sake, and to set the youth & lustie bloods of the court on worke, who otherwise (because the king was yong and loued to liue in peace and ease, feats of armes and warlike prowesse both abroad and at home languished and laie as it were a fainting) through idlenesse and want of exercise, degenerating and growing out of kind from their wonted warlike valiantnesse, should giue themselues to filthie lecherie, riot, sléepe, loitering pastimes, and slouthfulnesse, all which do greatlie impaire prowesse. Whereupon (saith he)

Rege priùs de re consulto, ludicra diri
Martis opus simulatum inter se bella mouebant,
Atq; dies totos viginti quattuor hastis
Assumptis, studio statuunt decurrere fixo.
Deinde idem numerus procerum pars prima lacessens
Mittit ad externas gentes qui talia pandant.
Ludus ab Angligenis mense exercebitur vno
*Hasticus. Vrbi hærens * fabrorum dictus * agellus*
Extra Londini muros, spatiosus & amplus
Est locus: hic stadium cursuris, certáq; meta
Ponitur, huc veniant quacunq; ex gente creati
Sanguine magnorum heroum. Certamine victor
Qui fuerit, terris prosternens corpora plura,
Aut plures hastas frangens, donabitur auri
Multa vi, capiet quàm plurima ditia dona
Præmia virtutis, Richardo hæc dante brabæa, &c.

* Smithfield.

Hauing thus described the place where the iusts should be kept, with the rewards, and other circumstances; he toucheth the countries from whence the forren nobilitie came, that should vndertake triall of chiualrie with these foure and twentie challengers: who at the daie appointed (saith he) came prancing out of the Towre vpon their great barded horses through the broad streets, and their ladies of honor with them gorgiouslie decked with bracelets, owches, cheines, iewels, spangles, and verie sumptuous attire: a goodlie sight for the people to behold. At last, when they were come to Smithfield, and althings readie, the trumpets sounded to the exercise; and both parties, as well the English as the outlandish chenaliers ran togither, and tried their strengths till they did sweat and were tired, their horsses panting and brateng with the violence of their bodilie motion; their staues being crasht in sunder, flue vp into the aire, and the broken stocke or stumpe hitting the aduersarie ouerthrew him to the ground; the beholders with ioy of heart gaue a shout thereat, as greatlie delighted with the sight. Then came the night and brake off the first daies tornement. On the next daie when they should renew and fall afresh vnto it againe, they shewed themselues in courage equall to their ancestors, and handled their matters so well, that they got them great renowme. The third daie came, and the multitude of people still gathered togither wondered at the right valiant deeds of the valorous horssemen, how they did tosse, hoisse vp, and wind their speares, and with what force they vsed their armes, what courage appeared in their statelie horsses, and how the verie heauens rang with the ratling of their armor, and the strokes giuen to and fro. Euerie daie brought with it his portion of pleasure, both to the contenders, and to the beholders. When the time was expired of this tried chiualrie, necessarie occasion moued the king of England to set his mind on other matters, so that commending the prowesse of the outlandish lords, he bestowed vpon them massie cheines of gold, & loding them with other gifts of great value, dismissed them into their countries. But the English challengers required nothing but renowme for their reward, being allured onelie with the loue of praise; and thus when these pastimes of chiualrie were quite ended, euerie man got him home to his owne house. Thus farre Christopher Okland, touching the description of this *Hippomachia ludicra inter concertatores Anglos & externos.*

1391

Thom. Walsi.

Ambassadors from the French king for a perpetuall peace. Froissard.

Ambassadors were sent from the French king, vnto the king of England, to make an ouerture of peace to be had, and to indure for euer betwixt the two realmes of England and France, sith that by warre it was aparant inough, that neither realme, could greatlie benefit it selfe, but rather sore indamage either other, as afore time it had come apparantlie to passe. Therefore the matter being well considered, both parts séemed well affected towards some good conclusion by treatie to be had of a full and perfect peace. About the same time, by the king with the aduise of his councell, proclamation was made and published at London, that all beneficed men abiding in the court of Rome, being Englishmen borne, should returne home into England before the feast of S. Nicholas, vnder paine to forfeit all their benefices; and such as were not beneficed, vnder a paine likewise limited. The Englishmen hearing such a thunder clap a farre off, fearing the blow, left the popes court, and returned into their natiue soile.

A proclamatiõ that all English beneficed men in Rome should returne into England.

The pope troubled with such a rumbling noise, sent in all hast an abbat as his nuncio vnto the king of England, as well to vnderstand the causes of this proclamation, as of statutes deuised and made latelie in parlement against those that prouided themselues of benefices in the court of Rome by the popes buls, which séemed not a little preiudiciall to the church of Rome: in consideration whereof the said nuncio required that the same statutes might be repealed and abolished, so farre as they tended to the derogation of the church liberties: but if the same statutes were not abolished, the pope might not (said his nuncio) with a safe conscience otherwise do than procéed against them that made those statutes, in such order as the

The pope sendeth his nuncio to king Richard.

the canons did appoint. Moreouer the said nuncio declared to the king certeine dangerous practises betwixt the antipape and the French king, as to make the duke of Touraine the French kings brother king of Tuscane and Lombardie, and to establish the duke of Anjou in the kingdome of Sicile.

The popes nuncio openeth to the king the Frech kings priuie practises.

Moreouer, he gaue the king to vnderstand, that if the French king might compasse by the antipapes meanes to be chosen emperour, he would seeke to vsurpe vpon ech mans right, and therefore it stood the king of England chiefly in hand to prouide against such practises in time. And as for the treatie of peace which the Frenchmen seemed so much to fauour, it was to none other end, but that vpon agreement once had, they might more conuenientlie compasse their purpose in the premisses. Furthermore the nuncio earnestlie besought the king of aid in the popes behalfe against the French king, if (as he threatned to do) he should inuade him in Italie with open force. The king seemed to giue fauourable eare vnto the nuncio, and after aduise taken, appointed to staie till after Michaelmasse, at what time a parlement was appointed to be assembled, wherein such things as he had proponed should be weied and considered, and some conclusion taken therein.

Nuncio.

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.

A fore bridle for the clergie.

About this time or in the yeare 1391, according to Henrie Knightons account, there was a prophane statute made against the church & churchmen; namelie, that no ecclesiasticall person or persons should possesse manors, glebeland, houses, possessions, lands, reuenues or rents whatsoeuer, at the hands of the feoffer, without the kings licence & the chiefe lords. And this statute extended it selfe, as well to parishchurches, chappels, chanteries, as abbeies, priories, & other monasteries whatsoeuer: likewise to citizens of cities, to farmers, & burgesses, hauing such rents or possessions for the common profit. For men in those daies, that would bestow land or liuelod vpon church, fraternitie, or conuent, and were not able for cost and charges to procure a mortmane, vnder the kings licence and chiefe lords; were wont to feoffe some speciall men, in whom they had confidence and trust; vnder whose name and title, churchmen, or anie other fraternitie or conuent might inioy the profit of the gift, and might haue the commoditie thereof in possession. And it was prouided by that statute, that all and euerie as well persons ecclesiasticall as parishioners, both citizens, burgesses, and farmers, or anie other whatsoeuer, hauing such rents, possessions, manors, or anie reuennes whatsoeuer, in the hands of such feoffers, without the licence of the king and chiefe lords; that either they should obteine and get a licence of the king and the chiefe lords to make it a mortmaine; or else set such things to sale, & raise profit of them, on this side or before the feast of Michaelmasse next insuing: or the said feast being past and expired, that then the king and the chiefe lords, in things not ordered and disposed accordinglie, may enter and seize vpon the same, and them haue and hold at his and their pleasure.

The duke of Gloucester his iournie into Prutzen land.

The duke of Gloucester in great fauor with the commons.

About the same time, the duke of Gloucester went into Prutzen land, to the great griefe of the people, that made account of his departure, as if the sunne had beene taken from the earth, doubting some mishap to follow to the common wealth by his absence, whose presence they thought sufficient to stay all detriments that might chance, for in him the hope of the commons onelie rested. In his returne home, he was sore tormented with rough weather and tempestuous seas. At length he arriued in Northumberland, and came to the castell of Tinmouth, as to a sanctuarie knowen to him of old, where after he had refreshed him certeine daies, he toke his iournie homewards to Plaschie in Eller, bringing no small ioy for his safe returne to all the kingdome. ¶ On the ninth of Julie the sunne seemed darkened with certeine grosse and euill fauored clouds comming betwixt it and the earth, so as it appeared ruddie, but gaue no light from none till the setting thereof. And afterwards continuallie for the space of six weeks, about the middest of the daie, clouds customablie rose, and sometimes they continued both daie and night, not vanishing awaie at all. ¶ At the same time, such a mortalitie and death of people increased in Northfolke, and in manie other countries of England, that it seemed not vnlike the season of the great pestilence. In the citie of Yorke there died eleuen thousand within a short space. ¶ Henrie Persie earle of Northumberland lieutenant of Calis, was called home from that charge, and created warden of the marches against Scotland, and Robert Nowbraie was sent to Calis to be the kings lieutenant there.

Anno Reg. 15.

A great death in Yorke and sundrie other places.

A parlement at London.

On friday next after All soules day, the parlement began at London, in which the knights would in no wise agree, that the statute made against spirituall men, for the prouiding themselues of benefices in the court of Rome should be repealed: but yet they agreed thus much, that it should be tollerated, so as with the kings licence such spirituall men might purchase to themselues such benefices till the next parlement. ¶ In this parlement aforsaid, there was granted vnto our lord the king one tenth of the clergie, and one fifteenth of the people towards the expenses of John duke of Lancaster, who in Lent next following went ouer into France to the citie of Amiens for a finall peace betweene the kingdoms of England and France: where the king of France met him with a shew of great pompe and honor, sending before him first of all to welcome him thither the citizens of the same citie on horssebacke in a verie great number. Then afterwards, he sent earles and barons a great manie to the same end, then his two vncles, last of all went the king himselfe to meet him, and saluting him called him by the name of The most worthie warrior of all christendome, the inuincible worthinesse of the king onelie excepted. And the duke had seauenténe daies (by couenant) to compasse this treatie of peace: at last he returned, hauing attendant vpon him in his traine the bishop of Durham, and the sonne of the duke of Yorke the earle of Rutland, with a thousand horssemen, set forth in a wonderfull sumptuous sort with goodlie furniture. ¶ Also conditionallie a whole tenth and a whole fifteenth were granted to him, if it chanced that he made anie iournie that yeare against the Scots.

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.

¶ In this yeare, the duke of Gelderland sent to the king of England letters of commendation & praise, wherein also were prouocations and stirrings vp to warre and warlike actiuitie, and to the exercise of kinglie nobleneſſe, the tenor whereof followeth:

The tenor of the said dukes letter to king Richard.

Magnifice princeps, innata vobis probitas, & prudentum consilia (vt opinamur) simul agerent in officium, quòd singula hæreditaria iura, quæ ex natalitio vestram magnificant regiam maiestatem, temporibus vestræ discretionis altissima prouidentia munirentur illæsa; et si quæuis oppugnaret violentia, clypeo militari studeat regalis industria fortiter defendere sua iura. Et quòd vestram regiam personam cõtingamus in affinitate, ni vetet Deus ipse, quin semper parati erimus vobis in vestris iuribus defendendis assistere cum duobus milibus lanceariũ,

quando & quotiens disponemini ad bellica conuolare. Nec perire debeant iura propter verba aut promissa, quomodolibet ad hoc laborat versutia Gallicorum. Sanè serenissime princeps in orbem volat fama, nec ambigitur quòd propter lanam & innumerabilia vestra singularia commoda, sine quibus non viuit oriens neque auster, regna singula in pecunijs vos salutant. In comparatione igitur ad alios reges vobis confert Deus ipse diuitias centuplatas. Probitas etiam militaris, & arcuum asperitas, sine pari, taliter huc vsque extulere gentem magnanimam occidentis, quòd timor non paruus vestros inuadit aduersarios; & ad hunc diem impariter victoriosè dimicauit cum Gallicis Angliæ gens austera. In pusillanimitate igitur (potentissime princeps) contra naturam non obdormiat cor leonis; sed & quales vobis contulit vires natura, ipsas applicare dignemini actibus bellicosis, in defensionem reipublicæ, iuris hæreditarij sustentationem, augmentúmque meriti, & incomparabiliter chronicabilem probitatem cordis magnanimi tanti regis.

The same letter in plaine phrase
verbatim Englished by A. F.

MOst mightie prince, your roiall proweſſe and the counſels of the ſage, ſhould altogither (as we thinke) moue you in dutie, by the moſt profound & deepe foreſight of your diſcretion in time to mainteine and defend all and ſingular your rights & inheritance vnharmed, which by birth doo magnifie and make great your roiall maieſtie, and if anie violence whatſoeuer gainſtand & aſſault the ſame, your kinglie diligence ſhould indeuor with the ſhield of a warrior valiantlie to defend your title and right. And bicauſe we are neere you, & doo as it were touch your roiall perſon in aliance, vnleſſe God himſelfe doo forbid and hinder vs, we will alwaies be readie in all your rights to aſſiſt and aid you with two thouſand pikes, when and how often ſoeuer you ſhall be diſpoſed to ruſh out to battell. Your right ought not to be loſt for words and promiſes, howſoeuer the craftineſſe of the French labor to this purpoſe. Trulie moſt excellent prince, your renowme doth flie into the world, neither is it doubted but for your wooll ſake, and other your ſingular commodities being innumerable (without the which the eaſt and the ſouth can not liue) all realmes with their coines doo greet you. In compariſon therefore of other kings God himſelfe hath beſtowed vpon you riches a hundred fold. Your warlike proweſſe alſo, & the roughneſſe of your bowes, being peereleſſe, haue hitherto ſo extolled the couragious nation of the weſt, that no ſmall feare dooth inuade your aduerſaries; and to this day the ſterne people of England haue (none like them) victoriouſlie incountered with the French. Therefore ô moſt puiſſant prince, let not the hart of a lion ſleepe in cowardlineſſe againſt nature: but what force and valiantneſſe nature hath giuen you, the ſame vouchſafe to put in practiſe with feats of armes in defenſe of your common wealth, the maintenance of your right by inheritance, the increaſe of your deſert, and the peereleſſe proweſſe of ſo great a kings couragious hart right worthie to be chronicled.

The flix gotten by exceſſiue feeding on fruits.

The price of corne that had continued at an high rate, almoſt for the ſpace of two yeares, began to fall immediatlie after harueſt was got in, to the great reliefe of the poore, which before through immoderate eating of nuts and apples, fell into the diſeaſe called the flix, whereof manie died, and ſuerlie (as was thought) the death and dearth had beene greater, if the commendable diligence of the lord maior of London had not beene, in relieuing the commons by ſuch prouiſion as he made for corne to be brought to London, from the parties of beyond the ſeas, where otherwiſe neither had the countrie beene able in anie thing to haue ſufficed the citie, nor the citie the countrie. H. Knighton referreth this ſcarſitie to the yeare 1390, and maketh a large diſcourſe both of the miſeries which it brought with it, as alſo of the cauſe whereby it was procured, and of the notable meanes whereby the ſame in moſt places was remedied.

The lord maior of London commended for his carefull prouiſion of corne from beyond the ſeas in the time of dearth.

In this yeare (ſaith he) was a great dearth in all parts of England, and this dearth or ſcarſitie of corne began vnder the ſickle, and laſted till the feaſt of ſaint Peter ad vincula, to wit, till the time of new corne. This ſcarſitie did greatlie oppreſſe the people, and chieflie the commoners of the poorer ſort. For a man might ſee infants and children in ſtreets and houſes, through hunger, howling, crieng, and crauing bread: whoſe mothers had it not (God wot) to breake vnto them. But yet there was ſuch plentie and abundance of manie yeares before, that it was thought and ſpoken of manie houſekéepers and husbandmen, that if the ſéed were not ſowen in the ground, which was horded vp and ſtored in barnes, lofts, and garners, there would be inough to find and ſuſteine all the people by the ſpace of fiue yeares following. But the cauſe of this penurie, was thought to be the want of monie in a great manie. For monie in theſe daies was verie ſcant, and the principall cauſe hereof was, for that the woll of the land lay a ſléepe and hong heauie in ſome mens hands by the ſpace of two yeares; and in others three yeares, without a chapman. For it was enacted in a certeine parlement, that the merchants of England ſhould not paſſe out of the land with woll and other merchandize, but ſhould bring the ſame vnto twelue places within the realme appointed for the ſame purpoſe, that the merchants ſtrangers might haue recourſe thither with their commodities and ſo by exchange ſhould tranſport our merchandize for theirs. By meanes whereof the merchants of England did forbeare to buy woll and other wares vntill the next parlement inſuing, wherein it was granted them to traffike whither they would with their commodities.

The cauſe of the ſcarſitie was not want of bread or corne.

Wooll ſold dogcheape by the ſtone.

In theſe daies woll was dogcheape: for one ſtone of good woll of the choſen and pikéd ſort, was ſold for three ſhillings, and in Leiceſter and Kent at ſome times for two ſhillings or two and twentie pence. This ſcarſitie of victuals was of greateſt force in Leiceſter ſhire, & in the middle parts of the realme. And although it was a great want, yet was not the price of corne out of reaſon. For a quarter of wheat, when it was at the higheſt, was ſold at Leiceſter for 16 ſhillings 8 pence at one time, and at other times for a marke or fourtéene ſhillings: at London and other places of the land a quarter of wheat was ſold for ten ſhillings, or for litle more or leſſe. For there arriued eleuen ſhips laden with great plentie of victuals at diuerſe places of the land, for the reliefe of the people. Beſides this, the citizens of London laid out two thouſand marks to buy food out of the common cheſt of orphans: and the foure and twentie aldermen, euerie of them put in his twentie pound a

Prouiſion againſt ſcarſitie to relieue the poore.

péece

peace for necessarie prouision, for feare of famine, likelie to fall vpon the citie. And they laid vp their store in sundrie of the fittest and most conuenient places they could chuse, that the needie, and such as were wrong with want, might come & buy at a certeine price so much as might suffice them and their familie: and they which had not readie monie to pate downe presentlie in hand, their word and credit was taken for a yeares space next following, and their turne serued. Thus was prouision made that people should be relieued, and that none might perish for hunger.

O charitie of London!

On Christmasse day, a dolphin that came forth of the sea vp the Thames vnto London-bridge, was espied of the citizens as he plaied in the water, and being followed & pursued, with much adoo was taken. He was ten foot long, and a monstrous growne fish, so as the sight of him was strange to manie that beheld him. He was thought by his comming so farre into the landward, to foreshew such stormes and tempests as within a weeke after did raginglie follow.

A dolphin taken at London bridge.

1392

We haue heard how the matter for a treatie of peace had béene first broched by the French king, by sending ambassadors to the king of England, to moue the same. Which motion being throughlie considered of the estates assembled in this last parlement, it was decreed, that it should go forward (as before ye haue heard) and so about Candelmasse, the lord Thomas Persie, sir Lewes Clifford, and sir Robert Briquet, with diuerse other in their companie, were sent ouer to the French king, and comming to Paris, found him lodged in his house of Loure, where they declared to him the good affection of the king their maister toward peace. And the better to bring it to passe, they shewed that king Richards desire was to haue some place and time appointed for commissioners to meet, with authoritie to treat and conclude vpon articles, as should be thought expedient. The French king greatlie honored these ambassadors, in feasting and banketting them for the space of six daies together, and for answer, concluded with them, that he himselfe, with his vncles and other of his councell, would be at Amiens by the middest of March next insuing, there to abide the king of Englands comming, and his vncles, if it should please them thither to come.

Ambassadors sent to the French king to treat of peace.

The English ambassadors said there was no doubt, but that either the king himselfe, or his vncles should be there at the day assigned, with full authoritie to conclude anie agreement that should seeme reasonable, and so those ambassadors returned with great gifts presented on the kings behalfe to ech of them, sir Robert Briquet excepted, vnto whome it seemed the French king bare no great good will, for that being a Frenchman borne, he had euer serued the Nauarrois or Englishmen, and was now one of king Richards priuie chamber. The king of England (as some write) was once minded to haue passed the seas himselfe, to haue met the French king at Amiens, at the time appointed, but finallie the duke of Lancaster, the bishop of Durham, and others, were sent thither with a traine neere hand of a thousand horsses. At their comming into France, they were roiallie receiued: for the French king had made no lesse preparation for the duke of Lancasters comming, than if he had béene emperor. The duke of Lancaster verelie was esteemed to be a verie mightie prince, and one of the wisest and sagest princes in all christendome, in those daies; so that it seemed the French king reioised greatlie, that he might come to haue conference with him. There were with the French king heere at Amiens, his brother the duke of Thouraine; his vncles, the dukes of Berrie, Burbon, and Burgognie, & a great number of earles, lords, and other nobles of the realme of France. Before the Englishmens comming, for auoiding of strife and debate that might arise betwixt the English and French, a proclamation was set forth conteining certeine articles, for the demeanor which the French men should obserue towards the Englishmen.

Sir Robert Briquet a Frenchman of king Richard his priuie chamber.

The dukes of Lancaster & Yorke, the earls of Derbie and Huntington, the lord Thomas Persie, the bishops of Durham and London were sent ouer, as Froissard saith.

A roiall ambassage.

The duke of Lancaster, a prince of great renowme.

Whilest they there remained, all the Englishmens charges were borne by the French king, from their setting forth from Calis, till they came backe thither againe. As touching their treatie, manie things were proponed, diuerse demands made, and some offers, though to small purpose, for they take not effect, insomuch as they departed without concluding anie thing, further than that the truce which was to end at Midsummer next, was prolonged to continue one yéere more, that in the meane time, the lords and estates of the realme of England might assemble, and with good aduise deliberate, whether it were more expedient to agree vnto a determinate peace, or to pursue the doubtfull chances of warre. And such was the end of that roiall ambassage, to the furnishing forth whereof, the king demanded an aid as well of the abbats and priors, as of the cities and good townes through the whole realme.

The truce prolonged for a peare. Thom. Walsi.

Anon after the returne of the duke of Lancaster, and other the ambassadors that had béene at Amiens, a councell of the lords and chiefe estates of the realme was called at Stamford, the which (as if it had béene vnto a parlement) there came forth of euerie good towne certeine persons appointed to deliberate and take aduise in so weightie a matter, as either to conclude vpon peace, or else vpon warre. But in the end they brought little or nothing to passe, sauing that they agreed to haue the truce to indure for twelue moneths longer: both kings sware to obserue the same, afore such as were appointed to see their othes receiued. About the same time came the duke of Gelderland into this realme, being the kings cousine, a right valiant and hardie gentleman: he was honorablie receiued and welcomed of the king, and of his vncles, the dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester. This duke of Gelderland counselled the king not to conclude peace, either with the Frenchmen or Scots, except vpon such conditions as might be knowne to be both profitable and honorable to him and his realme, promising that if he had occasion to make warre against either of those two nations, he would be readie to serue him with a conuenient power of men at armes of his countrie. After he had béene here a time, and highlie feasted and banketted, aswell by the king as other great estates of the realme, he returned home, not without diuerse rich gifts.

A councell at Stamford.

The duke of Gelderland commeth into England.

The duke of Gelderland dissuadeth the king from peace with the French and Scots.

The king about this season sent to the Londoners, requesting to borrow of them the summe of one thousand pounds, which they vncourteoullie refused to lend: and moreouer they fell vpon an Italian or Lombard (as they termed him) whom they beat and néere hand slue: bicause he offered to lend the king that monie. Whereof when the king was aduertised, he was sore moued against them, and calling together the most part of the péeres and noble men of his realme, declared vnto them the froward dealings of the Londoners, complaining sore of such their presumption. The lords and great men, séeming not greatlie to fauour the Londoners, gaue counsell that the insolent pride of those presumptuous persons might with speed be repressed. The citizens of London in those daies (as should appeare) vsing their authoritie to the vttermost, had deuised and set forth diuerse orders and constitutions to abridge the libertie of forreners that came to the citie to vtter their commodities. Religious men that wrote the doings of that age, séemed also to find fault with them, for that they fauored Wiclifes opinions, & therefore did

The Londoners refuse to lend the king a thousand pounds.

charge them with infidelitie, and mainteining (I know not how) of Lollards & heretikes: but howsoeuer the matter, went they fell at this present into the kings heauie displeasure.

A great fire kindled about a litle sparke.

Some there be that write, how the king piked the first quarell against the maior and shiriffes, for a riot committed by the vnrulie citizens, against the seruants of the bishop of Salisburie: for that where one of the same bishops seruants had taken a horsse-lose frō a bakers man, as he passed by in Flēetstrēet with his basket to serue his maisters customers, and would not deliuer it againe, but brake the bakers mans head, when he was earnest to haue recouered the lose, the inhabitants of the strēt rose, and would haue had the bishops man to prison for breaking the kings peace: but he was rescued by his fellowes, and escaped into Salisburie house, that stood there within the allie, and as then belonged to his master the bishop of Salisburie, being at that time high treasuror of England. The people being set in a rage for the rescue so made, gathered togither in great multitudes about the bishops palace gate, and would haue fetched out the offendor by force.

A riot by the Londoners vpon the bishop of Salisburies men.

To conclude, such a hurling was in the strēt, that the maior, with the shiriffes, & diuers aldermen came thither with all spēd, to take order in the matter, and to sée the peace kept; but after the cōming thither of the maior, the commons of the citie resorted to the place in far greater numbers than before; and the more they were, the worsse they were to rule, and would not be persuaded to quiet themselues, except the bishops seruant, whose name was Walter Romane, might be had out of the house, and committed to prison: but at length, after manie assaults, lifts, & other indeuours made to haue broken vp the gates of the house, the maior & aldermen, with other discrēt commoners apeased the people so, as they brought them to quiet, and sent euerie man to his house.

Walter Romane.

The bishop was then at Windesor where the court laie, who being informed of this matter, by a grēeuous report, and happilie in worsse manner than the thing had happened indeed, toke such indignation therewith, that taking with him Thomas Arundell archbishop of Yorke, then lord chancellor of England, he went to the king and made an heinous complaint against the citizens for their misdemeanor, so that his displeasure was the more kindled against the citizens, in so much that, whether in respect of this last remembred complaint, or rather for their vncourteous densall to lend him the thousand pounds, and misusing the Lombard that offered to lend the same, I cannot saie; but sure it is, that the maior and shiriffe, and a great sort more of the citizens, were sent for to come to the court, where diuerse misdemeanors were obiected and laid to their charge: and notwithstanding, what excuse they pretended, the maior and shiriffes with diuerse other of the most substantiall citizens, were arrested. The maior was committed to the castell of Windesor, and the other, vnto other castels and holds, to be safelie kept, till the king, by the aduise of his councell, should determine further what should be done with them.

The bishop of Salisburie maketh a grēeuous cōplaint of the Londoners to the king.

The maior & shiriffes of London sent for to windsore to the king, & there imprisoned.

The liberties of London seized.

A gardian appointed to gouerne the citie of London.

The liberties of London seized into the kings hands, and the authoritie of the maior vtterlie ceassed, the king appointing a warden to gouerne the citie, named sir Edward Darlingrug knight, that should both rule the citie, and see that euerie man had iustice ministred, as the case required. This sir Edward Darlingrug began to gouerne the citie of London by the name of lord warden, the one and twentith of June, on which day the king entered into the 16 yeare of his reigne: by reason it was thought that the said sir Edward Darlingrug was ouerfauourable to the citizens, he continued in his office but till the first of Julie, and being then discharged, one sir Baldwine Radington, a right circumspect and discrēt knight, was put in that rome, who knew how both to content the kings mind, and to comfort the citizens, and put them in hope of the kings fauour in time to be obteined, to the releefe of their sorow and heauinesse.

Anno Reg. 16. Sir Edward Darlingrug lord warden of London.

Darlingrug remoued, & sir Baldwine Radington made lord warden of London.

At length, the king, through suite and instant labour made by certeine noble men, specialliē the duke of Gloucester, began somewhat to relent and pacifie himselfe, as touching his rigorous displeasure against the Londoners, calling to mind the great honour he had diuerse waies receiued at their hands, with the great gifts which they had likewise bestowed vpon him, whereupon he purposed to deale the more mildlie with them, and so sent for diuerse of the chiefe citizens to come vnto Windesor, where he then kept his court, there to shew forth the priuileges, liberties, and lawes of their citie, as well the new as old, that with the aduise of his councell, he might determine which should remaine in force, and which should be abolished. Hereupon, when the said priuileges, and liberties were laid forth, to the view of such persons as had to consider of them, some were ratified, some permitted by tolleration, and some vtterlie condemned and abrogated.

The liberties of London in part confirmed in part condemned.

Neither might they recouer at that present, either the person or dignitie of their maior, nor obteine the kings entire fauour, till they had satisfied the king of the damages and iniuries by them done, either to him or his people. And where he had bēene at great charges, in preparing forces to chastise them, as he was determined, if they had not submitted themselues vnto him, they were sure that their purses must answer all that he had laid forth about that matter. They therfore with humble submission, in recompense & satisfaction of their trespasses, offered to giue him ten thousand pounds, but they were for this time sent home, and appointed to returne againe at a certeine day, not vnderstanding what they must pay, till the king with the aduise of his councell had taken further order for them. At length, through such dailie suite as was made for the quieting of the kings hot displeasure towards the Londoners, he was contented to pardon all offenses past. But first, the citizens were told, that the king meant to come from his manor of Shene, to the citie of London, and then vndoubtedlie, vpon knowledge had of their good meanings, hereafter to beare themselues like louing subiects, they should obteine his fauour.

A sweet sacrifice.

The citizens aduertised hereof, did not onelie prepare themselues to meet him, and to present him with gifts in most liberall manner; but also to adorne, decke, and trim their citie with sumptuous pageants, rich hangings, and other gorgeous furniture, in all points like as is vsed at anie coronation. At the day appointed, there met him (beside other) foure hundred of the citizens on horsebacke, clad in one liuerie, presenting themselues in that order, vpon the heath on this side Shene, and in most humble wise, craning pardon for their offenses past, besought him to take his waie to his palace of Westminster, thorough the citie of London. This suite made by the recorder, in name of all the citizens, he gratiouslie granted, and so held on his iournie, till he came to London bridge, where vnto him was presented a passing faire steed, white, saddled, brideled, and traped in rich cloth of gold, parted with red and white. And likewise to the quēene was giuen a milke white palfrie, saddled, brideled, and traped in the same sort, as the other was. These presents were thankefullie accepted, and so both the king and the quēene passing forward, entered the citie, prepared and hanged with rich clothes (as before you haue heard) the citizens standing

He was met with procession of the bishop & clergie at S. Georges church in Southwarke.

Gifts presented to the K. by the Londoners to pacifie his displeasure conceiued against them.

K. Richard roiallie receiued into London.

standing on ech side the streets in their liueries, crieng; King Richard, king Richard.

At the standard in Cheape, was a right sumptuous stage ordeined, on which were set diuerse personages, and an angell that put a rich crowne of gold, garnished with stone and pearle vpon the kings head, as he passed by, and likewise an other on the quænes head. This done, the king rode to Paules, and there offered, and so toke his horsse againe, and rode to Westminster, where the maior and his companie taking their leaue, returned to London. On the morrow, the maior and his brethren went againe to Westminster, and there presented the king with two basens gilt, & in them two thousand nobles of gold, beseeching him to be good and gratious lord to the citie; he receiued their present in courteous manner, and gaue them manie comfortable words. The third daie after, they receiued a new confirmation of all their old liberties (at the least such as might be an aid to the citie, and no detriment to forreners) wherefore, by counsell of their frends, they ordeined a table for an altar of siluer and gilt, ingrauen with imagerie, and inameled in most curious wise, conteining the storie of saint Edward, it was valued to be worth a thousand marks. This was presented to the king, the which he shortlie after offered to the shrine of saint Edward within the abbeie. The Londoners beléeued, that by these gifts they had bene quite rid of all danger; but yet they were compelled to giue the king after this, ten thousand pounds, which was collected of the commons in the citie, not without great offense and grudging in their minds.

More gifts by the Lõdoners to the king.

Tho. Walsin. The liberties of London ratified by king Richard.

¶ You haue heard hitherto, what means was made by the maior, aldermen, and whole bodie of the commonaltie of London to procure the kings maiesties (in whose disfauour they were deeplie drowned) gratious reconciliation. Wherein though there hath bene large matter deliuered; yet to set forth the dignitie thereof the fuller, take heere by the waie the report of Henrie Knighton. In the yeare (saith he) 1392, the king called a great councell on the morrow after Trinitie sundaie at Stamford, about certeine affaires concerning the Frenchmen, in which councell he assembled togither all the old soldiers of his relme, that by the aduise of the elder sort he might see what were best for him to doo in the premisses. The king also held a great councell at Nottingham, on the feast of S. John the Baptist, whereat he caused the maior of London with the foure and twentie aldermen, the two shiriffes, and foure and twentie of the best commoners of the citie in the second degrée to be conuented before him. Heere he charged them that they had forfeited a certeine bond of 9000 pounds to the king, besides the losse of their liberties and priuileges. Which obligation or bond they had made in former time to the king, their deserts requiring the same. Now the king, after rehearsall made of their new offenses & faults, discharged the maior, the two shiriffes, and the rest of his officers of their offices, and sent the maior and the two shiriffes to certeine places of custodie as his prisoners, defeating the citie of London of the honour of all their priuileges; in so much that a citizen or freeman should haue no more prerogatiue than a forrener or stranger. He apointed also the lord Edward Balerige to be gouernor therof, to keepe and see kept the kings lawes and his liege people within London in due order, vntill such time as the king had otherwise prouided for them. And he set them a day to answer the king and his councell to certeine interrogatories on the feast of S. Marie Magdalen then next insuing, at Windsore. In the meane while, at the mediation of certeine frends and welwillers, the kings indignation was somewhat mitigated and allwaged towards them; insomuch that at length he released the maior and the shiriffes, and sent them home to their houses; setting ouer them notwithstanding a new keeper or gouernour of the citie, and reseruing in his hand all the priuileges of the citie. In the meane time, on the sundaie next after the feast of the Assumption of the blessed virgin Marie; all the wealthiest and worthiest commoners of the citie came to the king, and submitted themselues and all their goods to his grace, and then did he first receiue and take them into his fauour. On the wednesdaie insuing, the king was purposed to come into London, and the citizens in multitudes innumerable met him on horssebacke; & they that had no horsses went out on fot to welcome him thither; women also and infants shewed themselues vnto him; likewise the bishop of London, with all the clergie, no order, degree, condition, estate, or ser of ecclesiasticall dignitie being excused, went out in procession to meet the king and the quéene with great reioising. It was reported how in that procession there were aboue fiue hundred boies in surplisses. Moreouer, the citizens of London trimmed the outsides of their houses and chambers in euerie street through which the king and the quæne were to passe, from S. Georges to Westminster. As for the houses of the welthier sort, they were brauelie garnished with cloth of gold, siluer, tissue, veluet, & other sumptuous stuffe whatsoeuer by any possible means could be gotten. In Cheapside there was a conduit, out of the which two spouts ran with read wine & white, and vpon the conduit stood a little boie apparelled in white like an angell, hauing a golden cup in his hand, who presented wine to the king and quæne to drinke as they passed by. In the meane time they offered to the king a golden crowne of great value, and another golden crowne to the quéene; and a while after passing forwards, they presented to the king a golden tablet of the Trinitie, to the value of eight hundred pounds; and to the quæne another golden tablet of S. Anne, whome she had in speciall deuotion and reuerence, bicause hir owne name was Anne. Such, and so great, and so wonderfull honors did they to the king, as the like in former times was neuer done to ante king of this realme: and so going forward, they brought the king and the quéene to Westminster hall. The king sitting in his seat roiall, & all the people standing before him; one in the kings behalfe as his speaker, gaue the people thanks for the great honour and princelie presents which they had bestowed vpon the king; and being bidden to fall euerie man to his businesse and affaires, it was told them that in the nert parlement they should haue their finall answer.

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leceister abbeie.

At the same time, the duke of Gloucester, hauing receiued monie to leauie an armie, which he should haue conueied ouer into Ireland, of which countrie, a good while before that present, the king had made him duke, was now readie to set forward, when suddenlie through the malice of some priuie detractours about the king, he was contermanded, and so his iournie was staied, to the great hinderance and preiudice of both the countries of England and Ireland: for euen vpon the fame that was brúted of his comming into Ireland, in manner all the Irish lords determined to submit themselues vnto him, so greatlie was his name both loued, reuerenced, and feared, euen among those wild and sauage people. This yeare Robert Uére, late earle of Oxenford, and duke of Ireland, departed this life at Louaine in Brabant, in great anguish of mind, & miserable necessitie: which yong gentleman (doubtlesse) was apt to all commendable exercises and parts fit for a noble man, if in his youth he had bene well trained and brought vp in necessarie disciplins.

The duke of Gloucester made duke of Ireland.

His iournie into Ireland vnluckilie staied.

Uére, late duke of Ireland, dieth at Louaine.

This

1393

Ino.Walsi. A parlement at Wincheſter

This yeare after Chriſtmaſſe, a parlement was called at Wincheſter, in which onelie a grant was made by the cleargie, of halfe a tenth, for the expenſes of the duke of Lancaſter & Gloceſter, that were appointed to go ouer into France, to treat of peace, betwixt the two kingdomes. The courts of the kings bench and chancerie, which had béene remoued from Weſtminſter to Yorke, either in diſfauour onelie of the Londoners, or in fauour of the citizens of Yorke, for that the archbiſhop of that citie, being lord chancellor, wiſhed to aduance (ſo farre as in him laie) the commoditie and wealth thereof, were neuertheleſſe about this ſeaſon brought backe againe to Weſtminſter, after they had remained a ſmall time at Yorke, to the diſpleaſure of manie. ¶ This yeare, the lord Auberie de Uære, vncle to the late duke of Ireland, was made earle of Drenford. ¶ The two and twentith of Februarie, John Eures, conſtable of Douer caſtell, & lord ſteward of the kings houſe departed this life, in whoſe roome the lord Thomas Perſie that before was vicechamberlaine was created lord ſteward; and the lord Thomas Beaumont was made conſtable of Douer, and lord warden of the cinque ports: and the lord William Scrope was made vicechamberlaine, who about the ſame time, bought of the lord William Montacute the Ile of Man, with the regalitie therof, for it is a kingdome; as Thomas Walſingham affirmeth.

The chancerie and kings bench kept at Yorke and frō thence remoued to Londō.

Eures.

The Ile of Man.

The dukes of Lancaſter & Gloceſter ſent to Frāce to treat of a peace.

The dukes of Lancaſter and Gloceſter went ouer vnto Calis, and downe to Bullongne came the dukes of Berrie and Burgognie. Theſe noblemen were ſufficientlie furniſhed with authoritie, to conclude a perfect peace, both by ſea and land, betweene the two realmes of France and England, and all their alies. The place appointed for them to treat in, was at Balingham, where tents and pauilions were pight vp, for the eaſe of both parties. They met there twiſe or thriſe a weeke, in a faire tent prepared for the purpoſe, about nine of the clocke in the forenoone. This was about the beginning of Maie. When they entered firſt into communication, and had ſéene each others authoritie, one of the firſt demands that the Frenchmen made, was to haue Calis raced, in ſuch wiſe, as there ſhould neuer be anie habitation there after that time. The dukes of Lancaſter and Gloceſter anſwered herevnto, how they had no authoritie to conclude ſo farre, but that England ſhould hold Calis ſtill, as in demeſne, and true inheritance; and therefore, if they purpoſed to enter any further in the treatie of peace, they ſhould ceaſſe from that demand and ſpeake no more thereof. When the dukes of Berrie and Burgognie heard their two couſins of England anſwer ſo roundlie, they ſpake no more of that matter.

The French comiſſioners would haue Calis raced to the ground.

The demand of the Engliſh cōmiſſioners.

Then the dukes of Lancaſter and Gloceſter demanded to haue reſtitution of all ſuch lands as had béene deliuered, either to king Richard, or to king Edward the third, or to anie their deputies or commiſſioners, and alſo to haue fullie paid the ſumme of florens that was left vnpaid, at the time when the warre reuiued betwixt England and France: and this the Engliſh lawiers proued to ſtand with equitie and reaſon. But neuertheleſſe, the lords and chancellor of France argued to the contrarie, and ſo agrée they could not, inſomuch as the Frenchmen required, that if the Engliſhmen meant to haue anie concluſion of peace, they ſhould draw to ſome nearer points. At length, the foure dukes toke order, that all their demands on either ſide ſhould be ſet downe in writing, and deliuered to either partie interchangeablie, that they might be regarded at length, and ſuch as ſhould be found vnreaſonable, to be raced or reformed. After they had communed togither diuerſe times, and remained there fiftéene daies, they appointed to aduertiſe the two kings of their whole doings, and after nine daies ſpace to meet againe. The French dukes rode to Abbeuille, where the French king then laie: and the Engliſh dukes returning to Calis, wrote to the king of England, of all the whole matter. The duke of Gloceſter was harder to deale with in each behalfe, concerning the concluſion of peace, than was the duke of Lancaſter, for he rather deſired to haue had warre than anie peace, except ſuch a one as ſhould be greatlie to the aduantage and honour of the realme of England: and therefore the commons of England vnderſtanding his diſpoſition, agreed that he ſhould be ſent, rather than anie other. For where in times paſt the Engliſhmen had greatlie gained by the warres of France, as well the commons, as the knights and eſquires, who had by the ſame mainteined their eſtate, they could not giue their willing conſents, to haue anie peace at all with the Frenchmen, in hope by reaſon of the wars, to profit themſelues, as in times paſt they had done. The French king & nobles of France were greatlie inclined to peace, and ſo likewiſe was the king of England, & the duke of Lancaſter. But the Frenchmen were ſo ſubtill, and vſed ſo manie darke and coloured words, that the Engliſhmen had much adoo to vnderſtand them: which offended much the duke of Gloceſter. But neuertheleſſe, at the daie prefixed, theſe foure dukes met againe at Balingham, and with the French lords came the king of Armenie, newlie returned into France forth of Grecia, for into his owne countrie he durſt not come, the Turkes hauing conquered it, the ſtrong towne of Conich, which the Genowaies held, excepted.

The English gentlemen mainteined by the French warres.

The ſubtiltie of the French men.

The commiſſioners met againe.

The king of Armenie.

The king of Armenie would gladlie that peace might haue béene eſtabliſhed betwixt France and England, in hope to procure the ſoner ſome aid of the kings to recouer his kingdome. But to conclude after that the dukes, and other with them aſſociat as aſſiſtants, had diligentlie peruſed and examined the articles of their treatie, they would not paſſe nor ſeale to anie, till all darke and obſcure words were clerelie declared, opened, and made perfect, ſo that no generall peace might be concluded. Notwithſtanding, as Froiſſard ſaith, a truce for foure yeares ſpace, vpon certeine articles was agreed to be kept as well by ſea as by land. It was thought, that when they were at point to haue growne to agreement concerning manie articles, if the French king had not newlie fallen into his former diſeaſe of frenſie, there had better effect followed of this treatie; but by occaſion of his ſickneſſe, each man departed, before that anie principall articles could be fullie ordered and made perfect. The ſame time, ſir Thomas Perſie the yonger was made lord warden of Burdeaux and Aquitaine.

Obſcure and doubtfull words to be opened.

A truce for foure yeares betweene England and France.

In September, much hurt was done, thorough exceeding great thunder, lightening, and tempeſts, which chanced in manie parts of England, but ſpeciallie in Cambridgeſhire, where manie houſes were burned, with no ſmall quantitie of corne. Great inundations and flouds of water followed ſhortlie after in October, which did much hurt at Burie, and Newmarket in Suffolke, where it ouerthrew walls of houſes, and put men and women in great danger of drowning. In Eſſex alſo in September, great mortalitie fell by peſtilence amongſt the people, whereof manie died. ¶ The towne of Chierburg was reſtored againe to the king of Nauarre, who had ingaged it to the king of England, for two thouſand markes. ¶ A parlement was holden at Weſtminſter, which began in the octaues of ſaint Hilarie. ¶ The king purpoſing to go ouer into Ireland, required a ſubſidie, the cleargie granted to him a whole tenth, toward the furniſhing forth of that iournie, if he

Anno Reg. 17. Great tempeſts.

Much hurt done by great flouds in Suffolke.

A great plage in Eſſex.

1394

Order taken, that the demands on either ſide ſhould be ſet downe in writing, the better to be conſidered of.

he went himselfe; if he went not, yet they agreed to giue to him the moitie of a tenth. In time of this parlement, there appeared great euill will to remaine betwixt the duke of Lancaster and the earle of Arundell, for the duke imposed to the earle, that about the Exaltation of the crosse, he laie with a companie of armed men in the castell of Holt by Chester, the same time that the countrie there rose against the duke, with their capteine Nicholas Clifton, and his complices, whome he ment (as the duke alledged) to haue aided against him: but this the earle flatlie denied, and with probable reasons so excused himselfe, as the quarrell at length was taken vp, and the parties for the time well quieted.

Variance betweene the duke of Lancaster and the earle of Arundell.

The death of queene Anne.

This yeare on Whitsundaie being the seauenth of June, queene Anne departed this life, to the great greefe of hir husband king Richard, who loued hir intirelie. She deceassed at Shene, and was buried at Westminster, vpon the south side of saint Edwards shrine. The king tooke such a conceit with the house of Shene, where she departed this life, that he caused the buildings to be throwne downe and defaced, where, as the former kings of this land, being wearie of the citie, vsed customablie thither to resort, as to a place of pleasure, and seruing highlie to their recreation. Thus the king, the duke of Lancaster, and his sonne the earle of Derbie, were widowers, all in one season: for the ladie Constance duchesse of Lancaster daughter to Peter king of Spaine, deceassed the last yeare, whilest hir husband the duke of Lancaster was at the treatie in France: at the same time also deceassed the countesse of Derbie, wife to the lord Henrie earle of Derbie. ¶ Moreouer, in this yeare 1394, Isabell duchesse of Yorke departed this life, that was halfe sister to the duchesse of Lancaster, being borne of one mother. She was buried at Langleie.

The K. defaceth the house of Shene because the queene died there.

Anno Reg. 18. A proclamation that all Irishmen should returne into their countrie

This yeare in August, was a proclamation set forth, that all Irishmen should auoid this land, and returne home into their owne countrie, before the feast of the Natiuitie of our ladie, on paine of death. The occasion of which proclamation was, for that such multitudes of Irishmen were come ouer into this region, in hope of gaine, that the countries in Ireland, subiect to England, were in manner left void of people, so that the enimies spoiled and wasted those countries at their pleasure, finding few or none to withstand them. And where king Edward the third had placed in Ireland his bench and iudges, with his excheker, for the good administration of iustice and politike gouernement to be vsed there, he receiued from thence yearelie in reuenues and profits, comming to his owne cofers, the summe of thirtie thousand pounds: the king now laid forth no lesse a summe to repell the enimies, which by absence of those that were come ouer hither, could not otherwise be resisted, sith the power of the rebels was so increased, and the force of the countries subiect, thorough lacke of the former inhabitants, so diminished. ¶ About the feast of the Natiuitie of our ladie, the king set forward to passe into Ireland, hauing made such preparation for that iournie, as the like for Ireland had not beene heard of at anie time before. There went out with him the duke of Gloucester, the earles of March, Notingham, and Rutland, the lord Thomas Persie lord steward, and diuerse other of the English nobilitie.

The English pale in Ireland almost left desolate.

The yearelie reuenues of Ireland in K. Edward the third his daies.

The duke of Lancaster saileth into Aquitaine with an armie.

The duke of Lancaster, that in the thirteenth yeare of king Richards reigne had beene created by authoritie of parlement, duke of Aquitaine, was about this present time sent thither, with fiue hundred men of armes, & a thousand archers, to take possession of that duchie, according to the kings grant, by his letters patents thereof had, made, and confirmed with his seale, in presence of the most part of all the nobles and great lords of England, to hold all that countrie to the said duke and his heires for euer in as large manner and forme, as his father king Edward the third, or anie other kings of England, or dukes of Aquitaine before time had holden, and as king Richard at that season had & held the same, the homage alwaies yet reserued to the kings of England for euer. But all this notwithstanding, at his comming thither, so farre were the Gascoignes, and other people of those marches from receiuing him with ioy and triumph, that they plainelie told him, they would not attorne to him, nor be vnder his iurisdiction at anie hand, although he had brought ouer with him commissioners sufficientlie authorised, both to discharge them of their former allegiance to the king, and to inuest him in possession of that duchie, in maner and forme as before is said.

The Gascoignes flatlie refuse to accept the duke of Lancaster for their souereigne.

But now to returne to king Richard, ye shall vnderstand, that when all his prouision and roiall armie was readie, about Michaelmas, he tooke the sea, and landed at Waterford the second of October, and so remained in Ireland all that winter: his people were lodged abroad in the countrie, and lay so warilie as they might. For although the Irishmen durst not attempt anie exploit openlie against the Englishmen, after the kings arriuall with so puissant an armie, yet they would steale sometimes vpon them, where they espied anie aduantage, and disquiet them in their lodgings. But when the English still preuailed, diuerse of the greatest princes among them came in, and submitted themselues. Amongst other, foure kings are mentioned, as the great Onell king of Meth, Bzine of Thomond king of Thomond, Arthur Macmur king of Linetster, and Conhur king of Cheueno and Darpe: these kings were courteouslie interteined and much made of by king Richard, who kept his Christmas this yeare at Dubline. And after that feast was ended, he held a parlement there, to the which all his subiects of Ireland, vnto whom it apperteined, resorted, as well those that had continued vnder the English gouernement afore time, as those that were latelie yelded.

K. Richard passeth ouer into Ireland with a mightie armie.

Froissard.

Foure Irish kings submit themselues to K. Richard.

1395

A parlement holden in Ireland.

Also at the same time, after the octaues of the Epiphanie, the duke of Yorke, lord warden of England, now in the kings absence, caused a parlement to be called at Westminster, to the which was sent forth of Ireland the duke of Gloucester, that he might declare to the commons the kings necessitie, to haue some grant of monie to supplie his want, hauing spent no small quantitie of treasure in that iournie made into Ireland. The dukes words were so well heard and beleeued, that a whole tenth was granted by the clergie, and a fifteenth by the laitie; but not without protestation, that those paiements were granted of a meere good will, for the loue they bare to the king, and to haue his businesse go forwards, which because it required great expenses, both for that his owne roiall person was abiding in Ireland about the subduing of the rebels, as also because his retinue and power could not be maintained without excessiue charges; they seemed to be no lesse desirous to haue the same ended, than they which were dailie agents in the same, not without feare of misfortune likelie to befall them, hauing to deale with a people of such barbarous and rebellious behauior.

A parlement at Westminster, king Richard being in Ireland.

The wicklefists wrote against the clergie.

At the same time, those that followed Wickliffes opinions, set vp publikelie on the church dore of Paules in London, and the church dores of Westminster, certeine writings, conteining accusations of the clergie, and conclusions, such as had not commonlie beene heard, against ecclesiasticall persons, and the vse of the sacraments, as the church then maintained. They were incouraged thus to do, as it was

was said, by some noble men, and knights of great worship, as sir Richard Sturrie, sir Lewes Clifford, sir Thomas Latimer, sir John Montacute, & others, who comforted & pricked forward those kind of men, then called heretikes & Lollards, to the confounding of monks, friers, and other religious persons, by all waies they might. Herevpon, the archbishop of Yorke, the bishop of London, and certeine other as messengers from the whole state of the clergie, passed ouer into Ireland, where, to the king they made a grieuous complaint, as well against those that had framed and set forth such writings, as against them that mainteined them in their doings, and therefore besought him with spéed to returne home into England, there to take such order, for the restreining of those misordered persons, as vnto the relefe of the church might be thought expedient, being then in great danger of sustaining irrecouerable losse and damage, if good reformation were not the soner had. King Richard hearing these things, vpon good deliberation had in the matter, determined to returne home, but first on the day of the Annuntiation of our ladie, he made the foure aboue remembred kings, to wit, Onell, Brine of Thomond, Arthur of Mackmur, and Conhur, knights, in the cathedrall church of Dublin, and one likewise sir Thomas Orphen, sir Joatas Pado, and his cosine sir John Pado.

The clergie complaine to the king of the wicklewists, and their fauorers.

K. Richard knighteth the foure Irish kings, and others. Froissard.

This done, and now after that they were set in quiet in that countrie (the rebels not being so hardie as to stirre, whilest such a mightie armie was there readie at hand to assaile them) the king about Easter came backe into England without anie more adoo, so that the gaine was thought nothing to countervaile the charges, which were verie great: for the king had ouer with him in that iournie, foure thousand men of armes, and thirtie thousand archers, as Froissard saith he was informed by an English esquier that had béene in that iournie. The king at his comming ouer, did not forget what complaint the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of London had exhibited to him, against those that were called Lollards, and heretiks, whereupon immediatlie, he called before him certeine of the noble men, that were thought and knowne to fauour such kind of men, threatning terriblie, if from thence forth they should in anie wise comfort and relieue them. He caused sir Richard Sturrie to receiue an oth, that he should not mainteine from that day forward anie such erroneous opinions, menacing him, and as it were, couenanting with him by an interchangeable oth, that if euer he might vnderstand, that he did violate and breake that oth, he should die for it a most shamefull death.

K. Richard returneth out of Ireland.

K. Richards dealings against the fauorers of the wicklewists.

¶ By the report of H. Knighton it should séeme, that this sect (as he calleth them) mightilie increased, to the no small offense of the lords temporall and spirituall, whereupon after sundrie complaints, and serious solicitations for the supplanting of them, commissions were granted, and the tenore of them (as it should séeme though not absolutelie, yet in part executed. Now therefore liften what mine author saith, whose addition, though by his owne supputation of yeares it require to be placed elsewhere; yet for the consonancie of the matter, and because writers varie greatlie in their accounts of time, I haue here inserted the same, as in a verie conuenient place of the historie. The noblemen and the commons (saith Henrie Knighton) séeing the slip of the church, with these & other innumerable errors, & verie lewd opinions as it were on all sides from day to day with ceasselesse violence and force to be shaken; besought the king in the parlement, that redresse might be had herof; lest the arke of the faith of all the church by such violences and inforcements giuen in those daies, should through want of gouernement be battered without remedie, and the glorious realme of England by corrupting of faith should by little and little be drawne into a distresse of grace and losse of honor. Wherefore the king vsing the sound counsell of the whole parlement, commanded the archbishop of Canturburie, & the rest of the bishops of the realme, to execute their charge and office, all and euerie of them in his and their diocesse, according to the canon lawes, more seuerelie and zealouslie; to correct the offendors, to examine their English boks more fullie and substantiallie, to rot out errors with all their indeuors, to bring the people into an vnitie of the right faith, to weed vp out of the church all netles, thistles, and brambles wherewith she is disgraced; and to beautifie hir with lillies and roses; and should cause an establishment of his roiall power more boldlie and stoutlie. And the king forthwith commanded, without delaie, that his letters patents should be sent abroad into all and euerie shire of his kingdome; and appointed in euerie shire certeine searchers for such boks and their fauourers; charging them to aplie a spédie remedie vnto these disorders, and to lay vp the rebels in the verie nert gaoles, till the king sent vnto them. But verie slow execution or none at all followed, because the houre of correction was not yet come. [Howbeit, to prepare and make an entrance to the purposed reformation and correction of those enormities, he gaue out a commission against the Wicklewists, a copie whereof followeth both in Latine and English. Whereby the world may sée how the springing church of Christ was hated and abhorred of the antichristian rout.]

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leicester abbeie.

Copia regiæ commissionis aduersus Lollardos & Lollardorum sequaces.

Richardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & dominus Hiberniæ, dilectis sibi magistro Thomæ Brightwell in theologia doctori, decano collegij noui operis Leicestriæ, & Gulielmo Chesulden prebendario prebendæ eiusdem collegij, ac dilectis & fidelibus nostris Richardo de Barow Chinall, & Roberto Langham, salutem. Quia ex insinuatione credibili certitudinaliter informatur, quòd ex insana doctrina magistrorum Iohannis Wickliffe dum vixit, Nicholai Herford, Iohannis Liston, & suorum sequaciũ, quàm plures libri, libelli, schedulæ, & quaterni, hæresibus & erroribus manifestis in fidei catholicæ læsionem, & sanæ doctrinæ derogationem, expressè, & palàm, & notoriè redundantes, frequentius compilantur, publicantur, & conscribuntur, tam in Anglico quàm in Latino, ac exinde opiniones nefariæ sanæ doctrinæ contrariantes, oriuntur, crescunt, & manutenentur, ac prædicantur, in fidei orthodoxæ eneruationem, ecclesiæ sanctæ subuersionem, & ex consequenti (quod absit) quàmplurium incredulitatem, eorúmq; animarum periculum manifestum. Nos zelo fidei catholicæ, cuius sumus & esse volumus defensores in omnibus (vt tenemur) moti salubriter & inducti, nolentes huiusmodi hæreses aut errores infra terminos nostræ potestatis, quatenùs poterimus, oriri, seu quomodolibet pullulare: assignamus vos coniunctim & diuisim, ad omnes & singulos libros, libellos, schedulas, & quaternos huiusmodi doctrinã dictorũ Iohannis, Nicholai, Iohannis, & sociorum sequacium, seu opinionum aliquam minùs sanam continentes, vbicúnq;, & in quorumcúnq; manibus,

bus, possessione, seu custodia inueniri poterunt, infra libertates vel extra, inuestigandum, capiendum, & arrestandum, & penes concilium nostrum cum omni celeritate possibili deferri faciendum, vt tunc ibidem de ijsdem ordinare valeamus, prout de auisamento concilij nostri prædicti fore viderimus faciendum: ac etiam ad proclamandum, & ex parte nostra firmiter inhibendum, ne quis cuiuscúnq; status, gradus, seu conditionis fuerit, sub pœna imprisionamenti & forisfacturationum, quæ nobis forisfacere poterit, aliquas huiusmodi prauas & nefarias opiniones manutenere, docere, pertinaciterque defendere, clàm vel palam, seu huiusmodi libros, libellos, schedulas, & quaternos detinere, scribere, vel scribi facere, aut emere vel vendere præsumat quouis modo; sed omnes & singulos huiusmodi libros, libellos, schedulas, & quaternos secum habitos & inuentos, ad mandatum nostrum vobis reddat, seu reddi faciat indilatè. Et ad omnes illos, quos post proclamationem & inhibitionem prædictis contrarium inueneritis facientes, & huiusmodi nefarias opiniones manutentes, coràm vobis præfato Thoma decano & Gulielmo euocandum, & diligenter examinandum: & cùm inde legitimè conicti fuerint, ministris proximis q; prisonis committendum, in ijsdem detinendum, quoúsque à suis erroribus, hæresibus, & prauis opinionibus resipiscant, seu nos pro deliberatione eorundem aliter duxerimus ordinandum. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quòd dicta præmissa cum omni diligentia & efficacia intendatis, & ea faciatis & exequamini in forma prædicta. Damus autem tàm vniuersis & singulis viris ecclesiasticis, quàm vicecomitibus, maioribus, balliuis, ministris, & alijs fidelibus & subditis nostris, tàm infra libertates quàm extra tenore præsentium firmiter in mandatis, quòd vobis, & cuilibet vestrum, in præmissis faciendis assistentes sint, consulentes, & auxiliantes, prout decet. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium vicesimo tertio die Maij, anno regni nostri vndecimo.

A copie of the kings commission against the Lollards or Wickleuists and their followers: Englished by A.F.

RIchard by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to his beloued, maister Thomas Brightwell doctor in diuinitie, deane of the college of the new worke of Leicester, and to William Chesulden prebendarie of the prebend of the same college; and to our beloued and trustie subiects, Richard of Barow Chinall, and Robert Langham; greeting. For so much as we are certeinelie informed by credible report, that by the vnsound doctrine of maister Iohn Wickliffe, whiles he liued, of Nicholas Herford, Iohn Liston, and their followers, many bookes, libels, scheduls, & pamphlets expresselie, euidentlie, and notoriouslie swarming with manifest heresies and errors to the hurt of the catholike faith, & the abolishment of sound doctrine, are commonlie compiled, published, and written, as well in English as in Latine, and therevpon wicked opinions contrarie to sound doctrine, doo spring, grow, and are mainteined and preached to the weakening of the right faith, the ouerthrow of holie church, and consequentlie (which God forbid) the misbeleefe of a great many, & the manifest danger of their soules. We being moued with zeale to the catholike faith, whereof we are, and will be defenders in all things, as we are bound, vnwilling that such heresies or errors within the limits of our iurisdiction, so far as we are able, should grow, or by any meanes spring vp: doo assigne you iointlie and seuerallie, all and singular the bookes, libels, scheduls, & pamphlets conteining such doctrine of the said Iohn, Nicholas, Iohn, and their fellow-followers, or any of their corrupt opinions, whersoeuer, & in whose hands, possession, or keeping soeuer they shalbe found within the liberties or without; them to search, take, arrest, and cause to be brought before our councell with all possible speed, that then and there we may take order for the same accordinglie, as by the aduise of our foresaid councell we shall see requisite to be doone. And also to proclaime, and on our behalfe firmelie to forbid all and euerie one, of whatsoeuer state, degree, or condition he be, vnder paine of imprisonment and forfeitures, which to vs he shall forfeit, any of these wicked and lewd opinions to mainteine, teach, obstinatlie to defend, priuilie or openlie, or any of these bookes, libels, scheduls & pamphlets to keepe, write, or cause to be written; but all and euerie such booke and bookes, libels, scheduls, and pamphlets with them had & found, at our commandement vnto you to deliuer, or cause to be deliuered without delaie. And all them, whome after proclamation and inhibition you shall find dooing contrarie to the premisses, and such lewd opinions mainteining, to call foorth before you the said Thomas the deane, & William, and them to examine: & when they shalbe lawfullie conuinced therein, to commit them to the next officers & prisons, there to be kept, till they haue recanted their errors, heresies, and wicked opinions; or till we for their deliuerance shall otherwise thinke order to be taken. And therefore we command, that you intend the said premisses, with all diligence and effect, and the same doo and execute in forme aforesaid. We doo also giue in streict commandement and charge, to all and euerie as well churchman & churchmen, as shiriffes, majors, bailiffes, officers, and other our trustie subiects, as well within the liberties as without, by the tenor of these presents, to assist, counsell, and helpe you and euerie of you in doing the premisses, as it is conuenient. In witnesse whereof, we haue caused these our letters patents to be made. Witnesse our selues at Westminster the twentie third day of Maie, and the eleuenth yeare of our reigne.

Archbishop of Canturburies visitatiõ.

¶ About this time, or (as Henrie Knighton saith) in the yeare 1392, maister William Courtenie archbishop of Canturburie, brother to the earle of Deushire visited the dioceese of Lincolne, and on the feast of saint Faith the virgine he visited maister Iohn Bokingham bishop of Lincolne in the cathedrall church of Lincolne, with the chapter, and an hundred of the canons, and he came to Leicester abbeie in visitation, the sundaie before the feast of All saints, where he abode all the tuesdaie, and on the æue also of

of All saints being mondaie, calling togither all the canons of the said monasterie, with the chaplines of his owne chappell, euerie of them hauing in their hands burning candels. The same archbishop confirmed sentence of excommunication against the Lollards or Wicklevists, with their fauourers, which either now mainteined or caused to be mainteined, or hereafter did maintaine or should maintaine the errours and opinions of master John Wickliffe, in the diocesse of Lincolne. On the morrow next after All saints, the same bishop flashed out his sentence of excommunication like lightning in open sight, with a crosse set vpright, with candels burning bright, and with bels rong alowd, and namelie against those of Leicester towne that had to too much defiled and infected the said towne and countrie. The archbishop departing from thence, went to saint Peters church, to a certeine anchoresse named Matildis there kept as in a closet, whom he reproouing about the foresaid errors and opinions of the Lollards, and finding hir answers scarse aduisedlie made, cited hir that she should appeare before him, on the sundaie next insuing, in saint James his abbeie at Northampton, to answer vnto the foresaid erronious and prophane points. Now she appeared at the day appointed, and renouncing hir errours, and hauing penance iniоined hir, she went awaie reformed. But till the second day before the feast of saint Lucie, she kept hir selfe out of hir closet, and then entred into the same againe. Other Lollards also were cited, and appeared at Oxford, and in other places, as the archbishop had commanded them: who renouncing their superstitious errours, and forswearing their prophane opinions, did open penance. Also one William Smith was made to go about the market place at Leicester, clothed in linnen [or in a white sheet] holding in his right arme the image of the Crucifix, and in his left the image of saint Katharine, bicause the said Smith had sometimes cut in peeces and burned an image of saint Katharine, whereof he made a fire to boile him hearbes in his hunger.

wicklevists excommunicated.

A ridiculous penance.

In those daies there was a certeine matrone in London, which had one onelie daughter, whome manie daies she instructed and trained vp to celebrat the masse, and she set vp an altar in hir priuie or secret chamber with all the ornaments thereunto belonging, and so she made hir daughter manie daies to attire hir selfe like a priest, and to come to the altar, and after hir maner to celebrate the masse. Now when she came to the words of the sacrament, she cast hir selfe flat on hir face before the altar, & * made not the sacrament; but rising vp, dispatched the rest of the masse euen to the verie end, hir mother helping hir therein, and doing hir deuotion. This errour a long time lasted, till at last by a certeine neighbour that was secretlie called to such a masse, it was told abroad, and came to the bishops eares, who causing them to appeare before him, talked with them about that errour, and compelled the yong woman openlie to shew the priestlie shauing of hir haire, whose head was found to be all bare and bald. The bishop sighing and sorrieng that such an errour should happen in the church in his time, made manie lamentations, and hauing iniоined them penance, dispatched and sent them away. Thus far Henrie Knighton. [It is not to be doubted, but that in these daies manie of the female sex be medling in matters impertinent to their degree, and inconuenient for their knowledge; debating & scanning in their priuat conuenticles of such things as wherabout if they kept silence, it were for their greater commendation; presuming, though not to celebrat a masse, or to make a sacrament; yet to vndertake some publike peece of seruice incident to the ministerie; whose ouer-sawcie rashnesse being bolstered and borne vp with abbettors not a few, whether it be by ecclesiasticall discipline corrected, I wot not; but of the vniformed presbiterie I am sure it is lamented.]

*For the papists saie that the sacrificing preest is the maker of his maker, namelie God.

Woldnesse of women in ecclesiasticall matters taxed.

A fierie apparition of diuerse likenesses.

A certeine thing appeared in the likenesse of fier in manie parts of the realme of England, now of one fashion, now of another, as it were euerie night, but yet in diuerse places all November and December. This fierie apparition, oftentimes when any bodie went alone, it would go with him, and would stand still when he stood still. To some it appeared in the likenesse of a turning wheele burning; to othersome round in the likenesse of a barrell, flashing out flames of fier at the head; to othersome in the likenesse of a long burning lance; and so to diuerse folks at diuerse times and seasons it shewed it selfe in diuerse formes and fashions a great part of winter, speciallie in Leicestershire and Northamptonshire: and when manie went togither, it approched not neere them, but appeared to them as it were a far off. In a parlement time there was a certeine head of wax made by the art of necromancie (as it was reported) which head at an houre appointed to speake, vttered these words following at three times, and then ceassed to speake any more. These be the words; first, The head shall be cut off; secondlie, The head shall be lift vp aloft; thirdlie, The feet shall be lift vp aloft aboue the head. This happened in the time of that parlement which was called the mercilesse parlement, not long before the parlement that was named the parlement which wrought wonders. In April there was seene a fierie dragon in manie places of England; which dreadfull sight as it made manie a one amazed, so it ministred occasion of mistrust to the minds of the maruellors, that some great mischeefe was imminent, whereof that burning apparition was a prognostication. In this kings daies (as saith Thomas Walsingham) whose report, bicause I am here dealing with certeine prodigious accidents importing some strange euents, I am the more bold to interlace) about the troublesome time when discord sprang betweene the king and his youthlie companions with the duke of Lancaster, in the moneth of Maie, there happened a conjunction of the two greatest planets, namelie Jupiter and Saturne, after the which did follow a verie great commotion of kingdoms, as in the processe of this historie may appeare.

A head of wax wrought by necromancie speaketh.

A fierie dragon seene in diuers places.

Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Walsin. in Rich. 2. pag. 341.

A coniunctiō of Jupiter & Saturne.

The French king about this time summoned a conuocation of the French cleargie, to decide and search out the power of the two popes, which of them had fuller right and authoritie in S. Peters chaire, for the schisme and diuision betweene the two popes was not yet ended. The French clergie wrote in the behalfe of Clement their pope, & cōfirmed their script or writing with the vniuersitie seale of Paris. Which writing Charles the French king sent ouer to Richard king of England, that touching these doubts and difficulties he with (the councell of his cleargie might deliberat. Wherefore king Richard summoned a conuocation at Oxford of the lerneder diuines as well regents as not regents of the whole realme; who wrote for and in the behalfe of Vrbane their pope of Rome, and confirmed their writing with the vniuersitie seale of Oxford, & sent it ouer sea to Paris vnto the French king. But nothing was done further in the premisses, both popes, vnder the shrowd or shelter of schisme prenailing betweene them, iustifieng their title & interest. [This is the last record found in Henrie Knighton, who for that which he hath done touching chronographie, hath written (the blindnesse of the time wherein he liued, and his order considered) though not so well as the best, yet not so ill as the worst: and whose collections, if they were laid togither,

A schisme betweene two popes for the dignitie of S. Peters chaire

togither, would afford a large augmentation to maters of chronicle: but D spite that so abruptlie he breaketh off, and continueth his annales no further than this yeare, 1395.]

This yære, the Danes that laie rouing on the seas did much hurt to the English merchants, taking and robbing manie English ships, and when the hauen townes alongst the coasts of Northfolke, made forth a number of ships, and ventured to fight with those pirats, they were vanquished by the Danes, so that manie were slaine, and manie taken prisoners, which were constreined to paie great ransoms. The enimies also found in ransacking the English ships, twentie thousand pounds, which the English merchants had aboord with them to buy wares with, in place whither they were bound to go. ¶ In the same yeare, William Courtneie archbishop of Canturburie, having more regard to his owne priuat commoditie, than to the discommoditie of others, purchased a bull of the pope, whereby he was authorised to leanie through his whole prouince foure pence of the pound of ecclesiasticall promotions, as well in places exempt, as not exempt, no true nor lawfull cause being shewed or pretended, why he ought so to do; and to see the execution of this bull put in practise, the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of London, were named and apointed.

The Danes rob the English merchats on the seas.

Great prises woone by the Danish pirats of the Englishmen.

Manie that feared the censures of such high executioners, chose rather to paie the monie forthwith, than to go to the law, and be compelled hapilie, mauger their good willes. Some there were that appealed to the see of Rome, meaning to defend their cause and to procure that so vnlawfull an exaction might be revoked. Specially, the prebendaries of Lincolne stood most stiffelie against those bishops, but the death of the archbishop that chanced shortlie after, made an end of those so passing great troubles. This yeare, John Waltham bishop of Salisburie, and lord treasuror of England departed this life, and by king Richard his appointment had the honor to haue his bodie interred at Westminster amongst the kings. After this decease, Roger Walden that before was secretarie to the king, and treasuror of Calis, was now made lord treasuror.

Waltham bishop of Salisburie buried at Westminster amongst the kings.

Anno Reg. 19.

We haue heard, that in the yeare 1392, Robert Uër duke of Ireland departed this life in Louaine in Brabant. King Richard therefore this yeare in November, caused his corps being imbalmed, to be conueied into England, and so to the priorie of Colnie in Esser, apointing him to be laid in a coffine of cypresse, and to be adorned with princelie garments, hauing a chaine of gold about his necke, and rich rings on his fingers. And to shew what loue and affection he bare vnto him in his life time, the king caused the coffine to be opened, that he might behold his face bared, and touch him with his hands: he honored his funerall exequies with his presence, accompanied with the countesse of Drenford, mother to the said duke, the archbishop of Canturburie, and manie other bishops, abbats, and priors: but of noble men there were verie few, for they had not yet digested the enuie and hatred which they had conceiued against him.

The duke of Irelads corps conueied from Louaine into England, and there rotallie interred.

Froissard.

In this meane while, the duke of Lancaster was in Gascoigne, treating with the lords of the countrie, and the inhabitants of the good townes, which vtterlie refused to receiue him otherwise than as a lieutenant or substitute to the king of England, and in the end addressed messengers into England, to signifie to the king, that they had beene accustomed to be gouerned by kings, and meant not now to become subiects to anie other, contrarie to all reason, sith the king could not (sauing his oth) alien them from the crowne. The duke of Lancaster vsed all waies he might deuise, how to win their good wils, and had sent also certeine of his trustie councellors ouer hither into England, as sir William Perreer, sir Peter Clifton, and two clearkes learned in the lawe, the one called maister John Huech, and the other maister John Richards a canon of Leicester, to plead and sollicit his cause.

The Gascoignes send vnto K. Rich. signifieng vnto him, that they ought not to be diuided from the crowne.

But to be breefe, such reasons were shewed, and such matter vnfolded by the Gascoignes, whie they ought not be separated from the crowne of England, that finallie (notwithstanding the duke of Glocester, and certeine other were against them) it was decreed, that the countrie and duchie of Aquitaine should remaine still in demesne of the crowne of England, least that by this transporting thereof, it might fortune in time, that the heritage thereof should fall into the hands of some stranger, and enimie to the English nation, so that then the homage and souereignetie might perhaps be lost for euer. Indeed, the duke of Glocester, being a prince of an high mind, & loth to haue the duke of Lancaster at home, being so highlie in the kings fauor, could haue beene well pleased, that he should haue enioied his gift, for that he thought thereby to haue borne all the rule about the king, for the duke of Yorke was a man rather coueting to liue in pleasure, than to deale with much businesse, and the weightie affaires of the realme.

The grant of the duchie of Aquitaine to the duke of Lancaster reuoked.

About the same time, or somewhat before, the king sent an ambassage to the French king, the archbishop of Dublin, the earle of Rutland, the earle Marshall, the lord Beaumont, the lord Spenser, the lord Clifford named Lewes, and twentie knights with fortie esquiers. The cause of their going ouer, was to intreat of a marriage to be had betwixt him, and the ladie Isabell, daughter to the French king, she being as then not past eight yeares of age, which before had beene promised vnto the duke of Britaines sonne: but in consideration of the great benefit that was likelie to insue by this communication and aliance with England, there was a meane found to vndo that knot, though not presentlie. These English lords, at their comming to Paris, were ioifullie receiued, and so courteouslie interteined, banketted, feasted, and cherished, and that in most honorable sort, as nothing could be more: all their charges and expenses were borne by the French king, and when they should depart, they receiued for answer of their message, verie comfortable words, and so with hope to haue their matter sped, they returned.

Ambassadors sent into France to treat a marriage betweene king Richard & the French K. daughter.

But now when the duke of Lancaster had, by laieng forth an inestimable masse of treasure purchased in a manner the good wils of them of Aquitaine, and compassed his whole desire, he was suddenlie countermanded home by the king, and so to satisfie the kings pleasure, he returned into England, and comming to the king at Langleie, where he held his Christmasse, was receiued with more honor than loue, as was thought; whereupon he rode in all hast that might be to Lincolne, where Katharine Swinford as then laie, whom shortlie after the Epiphanie, he toke to wife. This woman was borne in Heinault, daughter to a knight of that countrie, called sir Paon de Ruet: she was brought vp in hir youth, in the duke of Lancasters house, and attended on his first wife the duchesse Blanch of Lancaster, and in the daies of his second wife the duchesse Constance, he kept the foresaid Katharine as his concubine, who afterwards was married to a knight of England, named Swinford, that was now deceassed. Before she was married, the duke had by hir three children, two sonnes and a daughter; one of the sons was named Thomas de Beaufort, & the other Henrie, who was brought vp at Aken in Almaine,

Thom. Walf.

1396

The duke of Lancaster marrieth a ladie of a meane estate, whome he had kept as his concubine

prooued a good lawyer, and was after bishop of Winchester.

For the loue that the duke had to these his children, he married their mother the said Katharine Swinford, being now a widow, whereof men marueled much, considering hir meane estate was farre vnmet to match with his highnesse, and nothing comparable in honor to his other two former wiues. And indeed, the great ladies of England, as the duches of Gloucester, the countesses of Derbie, Arundell and others, descended of the blood roiall, greatlie disdeined, that she should be matched with the duke of of Lancaster, and by that means be accompted second person in the realme, and preferred in rome before them, and therefore they said, that they would not come in anie place where she should be present, for it should be a shame to them that a woman of so base birth, and concubine to the duke in his other wiues daies, should go and haue place before them. The duke of Gloucester also, being a man of an high mind and stout stomach, misliked his brothers matching so meanlie, but the duke of Yorke bare it well inough, and verelie, the ladie hir selfe was a woman of such bringing vp, and honorable demeanor, that enuie could not in the end but giue place to well deseruing. About this season, the doctrine of of John Wickliffe still mightilie spred abroad heere in England. ¶ The schisme also still continued in the church, betwixt the two factions of cardinals French and Romane, for one of their popes could no sooner be dead, but that they ordeined an other in his place.

wicklewists increase.

In this eighteenth yeare also, was a wonderfull tempest of wind in the months of Iulie and August, and also most specialtie in September, by violence whereof, in sundrie places of this realme, great and wonderfull hurt was done, both in churches and houses. ¶ The ambassadors that had beene latelie in France, about the treatie of the marriage (as before yee haue heard) went thither againe, and so after that the two kings by sending to and fro were growne to certeine points and couenants of agreement, the earle marshall, by letters of procuration, married the ladie Isabell, in name of king Richard, so that from thencefoorth she was called queene of England. Amongst other couenants and articles of this marriage, there was a truce accorded, to indure betwixt the two realms of England and France, for tearme of thirtie yeares. The pope wrote to king Richard, beseeching him to assist the prelats against the Lollards (as they termed them) whom he pronounced to be traitors, both to the church and kingdome, and therefore he besought him to take order for the punishment of them, whom the prelats should denounce to be heretikes.

The earle marshall affieth ỹ French kings daughter, in ỹ name of king Richard.

Anno Reg. 20.

A truce for 30 yeares betweene England and France.

Tho. Walsin.

The popes letters to K. Rich. against ỹ wicklewists

At the same time, he sent a bull reuocatorie concerning religious men, that had either at his hands or at the hends of his legats or nuncios purchased to be his chapleins, and accompting themselues thereby exempt from their order; so that now they were by this reuocatorie bull, appointed to returne to their order, and to obserue all rules thereto belonging. This liked the friers well, namelie the minors, that sought by all means they might deuise, how to bring their brethren home againe, which by such exemptions in being the popes chapleins, were segregated & diuided from the residue of their fraternitie or brotherhood. The king in this twentith yeare of his reigne, went ouer to Calis with his vncles the dukes of Yorke and Gloucester, and a great manie of other lords and ladies of honour, and thither came to him the duke of Burgognie, and so they communed of the peace. There was no enimie to the conclusion thereof but the duke of Gloucester, who shewed well by his words that he wished rather war than peace, in somuch as the king stood in doubt of him, least he would procure some rebellion against him by his subiects, whome he knew not to fauour greatlie this new aliance with France.

K. Richard goeth ouer to Calis.

The king after the duke of Burgognie had talked with him throughlie of all things, and was departed from him, returned into England (leauing the ladies still at Calis) to open the couenants of the marriage and peace vnto his subiects, and after he had finished with that businesse, and vnderstood their minds, he went againe to Calis, and with him his two vncles, of Lancaster and Gloucester, and diuerse prelats and lords of the realme; and shortlie after came the French king to the bankside of Arde, accompanied with the dukes of Burgognie, Berrie, Britaine and Burbon. There was set vp for the king of England a right faire and rich pauilion a little beyond Guisnes within the English pale; and another the like pauilion was pight vp also for the French king on this side Arde, within the French dominion; so that betweene the said pauilions was the distance of three score & ten pases, and in the midwaie betwixt them both, was ordeined the third pauilion, at the which both kings comming from either of their tents sundrie times should meet and haue communication togither.

The maner of the interview betweene king Richard and the French king.

Fabian.

The distance betwixt the two tents was beset on either side in time of the interview with knights armed with their swords in their hands; that is to say, on the one side stood foure hundred French knights in armor with swords in their hands, and on the other side foure hundred English knights armed with swords in their hands, making as it were a lane betwixt them through the which the two kings came and met, with such noble men as were appointed to attend them. And a certeine distance from the two first pauilions, were appointed to stand such companies of men as either of them by appointment had couenanted to bring with them. The two kings before their meeting, receiued a solemne oth for assurance of their faithfull and true meaning, to obserue the sacred lawes of amitie one toward an other in that their interview, so as no damage, violence, molestation, arrest, disturbance, or other inconuenience should be practised by them, or their friends and subiects: and that if anie disorder rose through anie mishape, arrogancie, or strife moued by anie person, the same should be reformed, promising in the words of princes to assist one an other in suppressing the malice of such as should presume to do or attempt anie thing that might sound to the breach of friendlie amitie, during the time of that assemblie eight daies before, and seuen daies after.

Froissard.

Fabian.

The oth of the two kings.

On the six and twentith of October, the king of England remoued from Calis toward the castell of Guisnes, and with him the duke of Berrie, who was sent to take his oth. The morow after, being the euen of Simon and Jude, the kings met, and the lords of France, to wit, the duke of Berrie, Burgogne, Orleans, and Burbon, the earle of Sauoie, the vicount of Meaux, and others conueied the king of England; and from him were sent to conduct the French king diuerse of the English lords, as the two dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester, foure earles; to wit, of Derbie, Rutland, Notingham, and Northumberland. After the two kings were come togither into the tent for that purpose prepared, it was first accorded betwixt them, that in the same place where they thus met, should be builded of both their costs a chapell for a perpetuall memorie, which should be called The chapell of our ladie of peace. On saturdaie being the feast daie of the apostles Simon and Jude, the kings talked togither of certeine articles touching

The chapell of our ladie of peace.

ching the treatie of peace, and hauing concluded vpon the same, they receiued either of them an oth vpon the holie Euangelists, to obserue and keepe all the couenants accorded vpon.

The French K. giueth his daughter to king Richard in marriage.

On the mondaie the French king came to the king of England his pauillion, and the same time was brought thither the yong quéene Isabell daughter to the French king, who there deliuered hir vnto king Richard, who taking hir by the hand kissed hir, & gaue to hir father great thanks for that so honorable and gratious a gift, openlie protesting, that vpon the conditions concluded betwixt them, he did receiue hir, that by such affinitie both the realmes might continue in quietnesse, and come to a good end and perfect conclusion of a perpetuall peace. The quéene was committed to the duchesses of Lancaster & Glocester, to the countesses of Huntington and Stafford, to the marchionesse of Dublin daughter to the lord Courcie, to the ladies of Namure, Poinings, and others; which with a noble traine of men and horsses, conueied hir to Calis: for there were twelue charrets full of ladies & gentlewomen. This done, the kings came togither into the king of Englands pauillion to dinner. The French king sate on the right side of the hall, and was roiallie serued after the maner of his countrie, that is to saie, of all maner of meats appointed to be serued at the first course in one mightie large dish or platter, and likewise after the same sort at the second course. But the king of England was serued after the English manner. When the tables were taken vp, and that they had made an end of dinner, the kings kissed ech other, and toke their horsses. The K. of England brought the French king on his waie, and at length they toke leaue either of other, in shaking hands and imbracing on horsseback. The French king rode to Arde, and the king of England returned to Calis.

The order of the French kings seruice at table.

¶ We haue omitted (as things superfluous to speake of) all the honorable demenor and courteous interteinement vsed and shewed betwixt these princes and noble men on both parts, their sundrie feastings and banketings, what rich apparell, plate, and other furniture of cupbords and tables, the princelie gifts and rich iewels which were presented from one to an other, striuing (as it might séeme) who should shew himselfe most bountcous and liberall: beside the gifts which the king of England gaue vnto the French king, and to the nobles of his realme (which amounted aboue the summe of ten thousand marks) the K. of England spending at this time (as the fame went) aboue three hundred thousand marks. After the kings returne to Calis on wednesdaie next insuing, being All hallowes daie, in solemne wise he married the said ladie Isabell in the church of saint Nicholas, the archbishop of Canturburie doing the office of the minister.

The expences of king Richard at this interview.

The mariage solemnized at Calis.

The thursdaie after, the dukes of Orleance and Burbon came to Calis to sée the king & the quéene: and on the fridaie they toke their leaue and departed, and rode to saint Diners to the French king. On the same daie in the morning the king and the quéene toke their ship, and had faire passage: for within three houres they arriued at Douer, from whence they sped them towards London, whereof the citizens being warned, made out certeine horssemen well appointed in one liuerie of colour, with a deuise imbrodered on their sléeues, that euerie companie might be knowne from other, the which with the maior and his brethren, clothed in skarlet, met the king and quéene on Blackeheath, and there doing their duties with humble reuerence attended vpon their maiesties till they came to Newington: where the king comanded the maior with his companie to returne, for that he was appointed to lodge that night at Kennington.

The maior of London and the citizens meete the K. & the quéene on Blackeheath.

Shortlie after, to wit, the thirteenth of November, the yong quéene was conueied from thence with great pompe vnto the Tower, at which time there was such preasse on London bridge, that by reason thereof, certeine persons were thrust to death: among the which the prior of Liptrie, a place in Essex was one, and a worshipfull matrone in Cornehill an other. The morow after she was conueied to Westminster with all the honor that might be deuised, and finallie there crowned quéene vpon sundaie being then the seauenth of Januarie. On the two and twentith of Januarie was a parlement begun at Westminster, in which the duke of Lancaster caused to be legitimated the issue which he had begot of Katharine Swinkort, before she was his wife. ¶ At the same time Thomas Beaufort sonne to the said duke, by the said Katharine, was created earle of Summerset. ¶ There was an ordinance made in the same parlement, that iustices should not haue anie to sit with them as assistants. ¶ Moreouer, there was a tenth granted by the clergie to be paied to the kings vse at two seuerall termes in that present yeare. In this yeare the king contrarie to his oth reuoked the iustices forth of Ireland, whom by constraint (as before ye haue heard) he was inforced to banish, thereby to satisfie the noble men that would haue it so.

Certeine thrust to death in the preasse on London bridge. Iohn Stow.

The quéens coronation. 1397

The duke of Lancaster his bastards made legitimate by parlement.

The iustices reuoked out of exile.

In this twentith yeare of his reigne king Richard receiuing the summes of monie (for the which the strong towne of Brest was ingaged to him) by euill counsell (as manie thought) deliuered it vnto the duke of Britaine, by reason whereof no small sparke of displeasure arose betwixt the king and the duke of Glocester, which kindled vp such a flame (as it was easie to do) finding matter inough to feed vpon in both their brests, that finallie it could no longer be kept downe, nor by anie meanes quenched. In the moneth of Februarie, the king holding a sumptuous feast at Westminster, many of the soldiors that were newlie come from Brest preased into the hall, and kept a rome togither. Whom as the duke of Glocester beheld, and vnderstood what they were, to remember how that towne was giuen vp contrarie to his mind and pleasure, it grieued him not a little: and therefore as the king was entred into his chamber, and few about him, he could not forbeare, but brake forth, and said to the king: Sir, saw ye not those felowes that sate in such number this daie in the hall, at such a table? The king answered that he saw them, and asked the duke what they were? To whom the duke made this answer: Sir, these be the soldiors that came from Brest, and haue nothing now to take to, nor yet know how to shift for their liuings, and the worse, for that (as I am informed) they haue béene euill paied. Then said the king; That is against my will, for I would that they should haue their due wages; and if anie haue cause to complaine, let them shew the matter to the treasuror, and they shall be reasonablie answered: and herewith he commanded that they should be appointed to foure certeine villages about London, there to remaine, and to haue meate, drinke, and lodging vpon his charges till they were paied.

Brest yéelded vp to the duke of Britains.

Priuie grudge betwixt the king and the duke of Glocester.

The talke betwixt the king and the duke of Glocester.

Out of a French pamphlet.

Thus as they fell into reasoning of this matter, the duke said to the king: Sir, your grace ought to put your bodie in paine to win a strong hold or towne by feats of war, yer you take vpon you to sell or deliuer anie towne or strong hold gotten with great aduenture by the manhood and policie of your noble progenitours. To this the king with changed countenance answered and said: Uncle, how say you that? And the duke boldlie without feare recited the same againe, not changing one word in anie better sort. Wherupon the king being more chafed, replied; Sir, thinke

cc thinke you that I am a merchant, or a verie sole, to sell my land? By saint John Baptist no: but truth it cc is, that our cosine the duke of Britaine hath satisfied vs in all such summes of monie as our progenitors cc lent vnto him, and to his ancestors, vpon gage of cc the said towne of Brest, for the which reason and con- cc science will no lesse but that the towne should there- cc vpon be to him restored. Upon this multiplieng of words in such presumptuous maner by the duke a- gainst the king, there kindeled such displeasure be- twixt them, that it neuer ceassed to increase into flames, till the duke was brought to his end.

The earle of saint Paule his counsell to K. Richard.

The earle of saint Paule at his last comming into England to receiue king Richards oth for obser- uing the truce, had conference with the king of di- uerse matters. The king by wate of complaint, she- wed vnto him how stiffe the duke of Glocester was in hindering all such matters as he would haue go forward, not onlie seeking to haue the peace broken betwixt the realmes of England & France, but also procuring trouble at home, by stirring the people to rebellion. The earle of saint Paule hearing of this stout demeanor of the duke, told the king that it should be best to prouide in time against such mi- cheefs as might insue thereof, and that it was not to be suffered, that a subiect should behaue himselfe in such sort toward his prince. The king marking his words, thought that he gaue him good and faithfull counsell, and thereupon determined to suppresse both the duke and other of his complices, and toke more diligent regard to the saiengs & doings of the duke than before he had done. And as it commeth to passe that those which suspect ante euill, do euer deeme the worst; so he toke euerie thing in euill part, insomuch that he complained of the duke vnto his brethren the dukes of Lancaster and Yorke, in that he should stand against him in all things and seeke his destruc- tion, the death of his counsellors, and ouerthrow of his realme.

Polydor.

The dukes of Lancaster & yorke excuse the duke of Glocester to the king.

The two dukes of Lancaster and Yorke to deliuer the kings mind of suspicion, made answer, that they were not ignorant, how their brother of Glocester, as a man sometime rash in words, would speake oftentimes more than he could or would bring to ef- fect, and the same proceeded of a faithfull hart, which he bare towards the king, for that it grieued him to vnderstand, that the confines of the English domi- nions should in anie wise be diminished: therefore his grace ought not to regard his words, sith he should take no hurt thereby. These persuasions quie- ted the king for a time, till he was informed of the practise which the duke of Glocester had contriued (as the same went amongst diuerse persons) to im- prison the king. For then the duke of Lancaster and Yorke, first reproouing the duke of Glocester for his too liberall talking, vttering vnaduisedlie words that became not his person, and which to haue con- cealed had tended more to the opinion of vertue, than to lash out whatsoeuer his vnstaied mind affoorded, which is a great fault (as in effect the poet noteth:

Eximia est virtus præstare silentia rebus,
At contra grauis est culpa tacenda loqui)

and perceiuing that he set nothing by their words, were in doubt least if they should remaine in the court still, he would vpon a presumptuous mind, in trust to be borne out by them, attempt some outra- gious enterprise. Wherefore they thought best to de- part for a time into their countries, that by their ab- sence he might the sooner learne to staie himselfe for doubt of further displeasure. But it came to passe, that their departing from the court was the casting awaie of the duke of Glocester. For after that they were gone, there ceassed not such as bare him euill will, to procure the K. to dispatch him out of the way.

The duke in deed sore stomached the matter, that his counsell might not be followed in all things, and speciallie for that he saw (as he toke it) that the king was misled by some persons that were about him, otherwise than stood with his honor: for refor- mation whereof, he conferred with the abbat of saint Albons, and the prior of Westminster. The abbat was both his cosine and godfather: and hauing on a daie both the duke and the prior at his house in saint Albons, after dinner he fell in talke with the duke and prior, and amongst other communication requi- red of the prior to tell truth, whether he had ante vi- sion the night before or not. The prior seemed loth to make a direct answer; but at length being earnestlie requested as well by the abbat as the duke, he decla- red that he had a vision in deed, which was, that the realme of England should be destroied through the misgouernement of king Richard. By the virgine Marie, said the abbat, I had the verie same vision. The duke hereupon disclosed vnto them all the se- crets of his mind, and by their deuises presentlie con- triued an assemblie of diuerse great lords of the realme at Arundell castell that daie fortnight, at what time he himselfe appointed to be there, with the earles of Derbie, Arundell, Marshall, and Warr- wike: also the archbishop of Canturburie, the abbat of saint Albons, the prior of Westminster, with di- uerse others.

A conspiracie betweene the duke of Glo- cester, and the abbat of saint Albons.

Out of an old French pam- phlet belong- ing to Iohn Stow.

These estates being come to Arundell castell at the daie appointed, about the verie beginning of the one and twentith yeare of king Richards reigne, they sware ech to other to be assistant in all such matters as they should determine, and therewith re- ceiued the sacrament at the hands of the archbishop of Canturburie, who celebrated masse before them the morow after. Which done, they withdrew into a chamber, and fell in counsell togither, where in the end they light vpon this point; to take king Richard, the dukes of Lancaster & Yorke, and commit them to prison, and all the other lords of the kings councell they determined should be drawne and hanged. Such was their purpose which they ment to haue accom- plished in August following. But the earle marshall that was lord deputie of Calis, and had married the earle of Arundels daughter, discouered all their coun- sell to the king, and the verie daie in which they should begin their enterprise. The king bad the earle mar- shall take heed what he had said, for if it proued not true, he should repent it: but the earle constantlie hereunto answered, that if the matter might be pro- ued otherwise, he was contented to be drawne and quartered.

Anno Reg. 21.

The purpose of the conspira- tors.

The earle marshall dis- closeth the conspiracie.

The king hereupon went to London, where he dined at the house of his brother the earle of Hun- tington in the street behind All hallowes church vp- on the banke of the riuer of Thames, which was a right faire and statelie house. After dinner, he gaue his councell to vnderstand all the matter; by whose aduise it was agreed, that the king should assemble forthwith what power he might conuentientlie make of men of armes & archers, and streightwaies take horsse, accompanied with his brother the earle of Huntington, & the earle marshall. Hereupon at six of the clocke in the afternoone, the iust houre when they vsed to go to supper, the king mounted on horsse- backe, and rode his waie; whereof the Londoners had great maruell. After that the king began to ap- proch the dukes house at Plashie in Esser, where he then laie, he commanded his brother the earle of Huntington to ride afore, to know if the duke were at home, and if he were, then to tell him that the king was comming at hand to speake with him.

The earle of Rutland saith R. Grafton.

The earle with ten persons in his companie amen- ding his pase (for the king had made no great hast

all

all the night before, as should appeare by his tournie) came to the house, and entering into the court, asked if the duke were at home, and vnderstanding by a gentlewoman that made him answer, that both the duke and duchesse were yet in bed, he besought hir to go to the duke, and to shew him that the king was comming at hand to speake with him, and forthwith came the king with a competent number of men of armes, and a great companie of archers, riding into the base court, his trumpets sounding before him. The duke herewith came downe into the base court, where the king was, hauing none other apparell vpon him, but his shirt, and a cloke or a mantell cast about his shoulders, and with humble reuerence said that his grace was welcome, asking of the lords how it chanced they came so earlie, and sent him no word of their comming: The king herewith courteouslie requested him to go and make him readie, and appoint his horsse to be sadled, for that he must needs ride with him a little waie, and conferre with him of businesse. The duke went vp againe into his chamber to put vpon him his clothes, and the king alighting from his horsse, fell in talke with the duchesse and hir ladies. The earle of Huntington and diuerse other followed the duke into the hall, and there staied for him, till he had put on his raiment. And within a while they came forth againe all together into the base court, where the king was deliting with the duchesse in pleasant talke, whom he willed now to returne to hir lodging againe, for he might staie no longer, and so tooke his horsse againe, and the duke likewise. But shortlie after that the king and all his companie were gone forth of the gate of the base court, he commanded the earle marshall to apprehend the duke, which incontinentlie was done according to the kings appointment.

The duke of Gloucester arrested.

¶ Here we find some variance in writers. For as by an old French pamphlet (which I haue seene) it should appeare, the king commanded first, that this duke should be conueied vnto the tower, where he ment to commen with him, & not in any other place: but neuertheless, the king shortlie after appointed, that he should be sent to Calis, as in the same pamphlet is also conteined. Other write, that immediatlie vpon his apprehension, the earle marshall conueied him vnto the Thames, and there being set aboord in a ship prepared of purpose, he was brought to Calis, where he was at length dispatched out of life, either strangled or smothered with pillowes (as some do write.) For the king thinking it not good, that the duke of Gloucester should stand to his answer openlie, because the people bare him so much good will, sent one of his iustices called Willam Kikill, an Irishman borne, ouer vnto Calis, there to inquire of the duke of Gloucester, whether he had committed any such treasons as were alledged against him, and the earles of Arundell and Warwike, as after shall be specified. Iustice Kikill hearing what he confessed vpon his examination, wrote the same as he was commanded to do, and therewith speedilie returned to the king, and as it hath beene reported, he informed the king (whether trulie or not, I haue not to say) that the duke franklie confessed euerie thing, wherewith he was charged. Where vpon the king sent vnto Thomas Mowbraie earle marshall and of Notingham, to make the duke secretlie awaie.

Out of an old French pamphlet.

The earle prolonged time for the executing of the kings commandement, though the king would haue had it done with all expedition, wherby the king conceiued no small displeasure, and sware that it should cost the earle his life if he quickly obeied not his commandement. The earle thus as it seemed in maner inforced, called out the duke at midnight, as if he should haue taken ship to passe ouer into England, and there in the lodging called the princes In, he caused his seruants to cast featherbeds vpon him, and so smother him to death, or otherwise to strangle him with towels (as some write.) This was the end of that * noble man, fierce of nature, hastie, wilfull, and giuen more to war than to peace: and in this greatlie to be discommended, that he was euer repining against the king in all things, whatsoeuer he wished to haue forward. He was thus made awaie not so sone as the brute ran of his death. But (as it should appeare by some authors) he remained aliue till the parlement that next insued, and then about the same time that the earle of Arundell suffered, he was dispatched (as before ye haue heard.) His bodie was afterwards with all funerall pompe conueied into England, and buried at his owne manor of Plashie within the church there, in a sepulchre which he in his life time had caused to be made, and there erected.

* For he was son to a king, and vncle to a king.

The same euening that the king departed from London towards Plashie, to apprehend the duke of Gloucester, the earle of Rutland and the earle of Kent were sent with a great number of men of armes and archers to arrest the erle of Arundell; which was done easilie inough, by reason that the said earle was trained with faire words at the kings hands, till he was within his danger: where otherwise he might haue beene able to haue saued himselfe, and deliuered his frends. The earle of Warwike was taken, and committed to the tower the same day that the king had willed him to dinner, and shewed him verie good countenance. There were also apprehended and committed to the tower the same time, the lord John Cobham, and sir John Cheinie knights. The earle of Arundell was sent to the Ile of Wight, there to remaine as prisoner, till the next parlement, in the which he determined so to prouide, that they should be all condemned, and put to death. And for doubt of some commotion that might arise amongst the commons, he caused it by open proclamation to be signified, that these noblemen were not apprehended for any offense committed long agone, but for new trespasses against the king, as in the nert parlement should be manifestlie declared and prooued.

The earle of Arundell apprehended.

Shortlie after, he procured them to be indicted at Notingham, suborning such as should appeale them in parlement, to wit, Edward earle of Rutland, Thomas Mowbraie earle marshall, Thomas Holland earle of Kent, John Holland earle of Huntington, Thomas Beaufort erle of Summerset, John Montacute earle of Salisburie, Thomas lord Spenser, and the lord William Scrope lord chamberleine. In the meane time, the king fearing what might be attempted against him by those that fauoured these noblemen that were in durance, sent for a power of Cheshire men, that might day and night keepe watch and ward about his person. They were about two thousand archers, paid weekelie, as by the annales of Britaine it appeareth. The king had little trust in any of the nobilitie, except in his brother the earle of Huntington, and the earle of Rutland sonne to the duke of Yorke, and in the earle of Salisburie: in these onelie he reposed a confidence, and not in any other, except in certeine knights and gentlemen of his priuie chamber.

The names of the appellants.

A gard of Cheshire men about the king.

In the meane time, whiles things were thus in broile, before the beginning of the parlement, diuers other, beside them of whom we haue spoken, were apprehended and put in sundrie prisons. The parlement was summoned to begin at Westminster the 17 of September, and writs therevpon directed to euerie of the lords to appeare, and to bring with them a sufficient number of armed men and archers in their best arraie: for it was not knowen how the dukes of Lancaster and Yorke would take the death

The lords appointed to come in warlike manner to the parlemẽt.

of their brother, nor how other peres of the realme would take the apprehension and imprisonment of their kinsemen, the earles of Arundell and Warwike, and of the other prisoners. Suerlie the two dukes when they heard that their brother was so suddenlie made awaie, they wist not what to saie to the matter, and began both to be sorowfull for his death, and doubtfull of their owne states: for sith they saw how the king (abused by the counsell of euill men) abstained not from such an heinous act, they thought he would afterwards attempt greater misorders from time to time. Therefore they assembled in all hast, great numbers of their seruants, frends, and tenants, and comming to London, were receiued into the citie. For the Londoners were right sorie for the death of the duke of Glocester, who had euer sought their fauour, in somuch that now they would haue bene contented to haue ioined with the dukes in seeking reuenge of so noble a mans death, procured and brought to passe without law or reason, as the common brute then walked: although peraduenture he was not as yet made awaie.

Polydor.

The dukes of Lancaster & Yorke assemble their powers to resist the kings dealings.

Here the dukes and other fell in counsell, and manie things were proponed. Some would that they shuld by force reuenge the duke of Glocesters death, other thought it meet that the earles Marshall and Huntington, and certeine others, as chefe authours of all the mischefe should be pursued and punished for their demerites, hauing trained vp the king in vice and euill customes, euen from his youth. But the dukes (after their displeasure was somewhat asswaged) determined to couer the stings of their griefes for a time, and if the king would amend his maners, to forget also the iniuries past. In the meane time the king late at Eltham, and had got about him a great power (namelie of those archers, which he had sent for out of Chelshire, in whome he put a singular trust more than in any other.)

Caxton. Fabian. Polydor.

There went messengers betwixt him and the dukes, which being men of honour did their indeuour to appease both parties. The king discharged himselfe of blame for the duke of Glocesters death, considering that he had gone about to breake the truce, which he had taken with France, and also stirred the people of the realme to rebellion, and further had sought the destruction and losse of his life, that was his soueraigne lord and lawfull king. Contrarilie, the dukes affirmed, that their brother was wrongfullie put to death, hauing done nothing worthie of death. At length, by the intercession and meanes of those noble men that went to and fro betwixt them, they were accorded, & the king promised from thencefoorth to do nothing but by the assent of the dukes: but he kept small promise in this behalfe, as after well appeared.

The king and the dukes reconciled.

Caxton.

When the time came, that the parlement should be holden at Westminster, according to the tenour of the summons, the lords repaired thither, furnished with great retinues both of armed men and archers, as the earle of Derbie, the earle Marshall, the earle of Rutland, the lord Spenser, the earle of Northumberland, with his sonne the lord Henrie Persie, and the lord Thomas Persie the said earles brother, also the lord Scrope treasuror of England, & diuerse other. All the which earles and lords brought with them a great & strong power, euerie of them in their best araie, as it were to strengthen the king against his enimies. The dukes of Lancaster and Yorke were likewise there, giuing their attendance on the king with like furniture of men of armes & archers. There was not halfe lodging sufficient within the citie & suburbes of London for such cõpanies of men as the lords brought with them to this parlement, called the great parlement: in somuch that they were constreined to lie in villages abroad ten or twelue miles on ech side the citie.

The great parlement.

In the beginning of this parlement, the king greatlie complained of the misdemeanour of the peres and lords of his realme, as well for the things done against his will and pleasure, whiles he was yong, as for the streit dealing, which they had shewed towards the quéene, who was three houres at one time on hir knées before the earle of Arundell, for one of hir esquiers, named John Caluerlie, who neuertheles had his head smit frõ his shoulders, & all the answer that she could get, was this: Madame, praie for your selfe, and your husband, for that is best, and let this sute alone. Those that set forth the kings grœuances, as prolocutors in this parlement were these: John Bushie, William Bagot, and Thomas Greene. The king had caused a large house of timber to be made within the palace at Westminster, which he was called an hall, couered aboue head with tiles, and was open at the ends, that all men might see through it. This house was of so great a compasse, that scarse it might stand within the rome of the palace. In this house was made an high throne for the king, and a large place for all estates besides to sit in. There were places also made for the appellants to stand on the one side, and the defendants on the other, and a like rome was made behind for the knights and burgesses of the parlement. There was a place deuised for the speaker, named sir John Bushie, a knight of Lincolnshire, accompted to be an exceeding cruell man, ambitious, and couetous beyond measure.

The kings grœuances opened in this parlement.

Tho. Walsing. John Bushie, William Bagot, Thomas Greene.

A new house made within the palace of westminster for the areignment of the lords indicted.

Additions to Polychron.

Sir John Bushie speaker.

Immediatlie after, ech man being placed in his rome, the cause of assembling that parlement was shewed, as that the king had called it for reformation of diuerse transgressions and oppressions committed against the peace of his land by the duke of Glocester, the earles of Arundell, Warwike, and others. Then sir John Bushie stept forth, and made request on the behalfe of the communaltie, that it might please the kings highnesse for their heinous acts attempted against his lawes and roiall maiestie, to appoint them punishment according to their deserunings, and specially to the archbishop of Canturburie (who then sat next the king) whome he accused of high treason, for that he had euill counselled his maiestie, inducing him to grant his letters of pardon to his brother the earle of Arundell, being a ranke traitor.

The archbishop of Canturburie sitting in parlement is accused of treason by the speaker.

When the archbishop began to answer in his owne defense, the king willed him to sit downe againe and to hold his peace, for all should be well. Herewith sir John Bushie besought the king, that the archbishop should not be admitted to make his answer, which if he did, by reason of his great wit and good vtterance, he feared least he should lead men awaie to beléeue him: so the archbishop might be heard no further. Sir John Bushie in all his talke, when he proponed any matter vnto the king, did not attribute to him titles of honour, due and accustomed, but inuented vnused termes and such strange names, as were rather agreeable to the diuine maiestie of God, than to any earthlie potentate. The prince being desirous inough of all honour, and more ambitious than was requisite, seemed to like well of his speech, and gaue good eare to his talke.

Impudent flatterie.

Thus when the archbishop was constreined to keepe silence, sir John Bushie procéeded in his purpose, requiring on the behalfe of the commons, that the charters of pardons granted vnto the traitors, to wit, the duke of Glocester, and the earles of Arundell and Warwike, should be reuoked by consent of all the estates now in parlement assembled. The king also for his part protested, that those pardons were not voluntarilie granted by him, but rather extorted

by

by compulsion, and therefore he besought them that euerie man would shew forth their opinions what they thought thereof. There were two other persons of great credit with the king, besides sir John Bushie, that were, as before yee haue heard, verie earnest to haue those charters of pardon reuoked and made void, to wit, sir William Bagot, and sir Thomas Greene. Tho. Walsi.

But because this matter seemed to require good deliberation, it was first put to the bishops, who with small adoo gaue sentence, that the said charters were reuocable, and might well inough be called in: yet the archbishop of Canturburie in his answer hereunto said, that the king from whome those pardons came, was so high an estate, that he durst not saie, that anie such charters by him granted, might be reuoked: notwithstanding, his brethren the bishops thought otherwise: not considering (saith Thomas Walsingham) that such reuoking of the kings charters of pardon should sound highlie to the kings dishonor: forsomuch as mercie and pardoning transgressions is accompted to be the confirmation and establishing of the kings seat and roiall estate.

The temporall lords perceiuing what the bishops had done, did likewise giue their consents, to reuoke the same pardons: but the iudges with those that were toward the law, were not of this opinion, but finallie the bishops pretending a scrupulositie, as if they might not with safe consciences be present where iudgement of bloud should passe, they appointed a laie man to be their prolocutor to serue that turne. To conclude, at length all maner of charters of pardon were made void, for that the same seemed to impeach the suertie of the kings person. When sir John Bushie and his associats had obteined that reuocation, it was further by them declared, that the earle of Arundell had yet an other speciall charter of pardon for his owne person, which he had obteined after the first. And therefore sir John Bushie earnestlie requested in name of the communaltie that the same might likewise be reuoked. The charters of pardō granted to ꝑ lords made void by parlement.

The question then was asked of the bishops, who declared themselues to be of the like opinion, touching that charter, as they were of the other. At that selfe time the archbishop of Canturburie absented himselfe from the parlement, in hope that the king would be his frend, and stand his verie good lord, for that he had promised nothing should be done against him in the parlement whilest he was absent. But neuertheless, at the importunate sute of the said sir John Bushie and others, the archbishop was condemned vnto perpetuall exile, and appointed to auoid the realme within six weekes. And therewith the king sent secretlie to the pope for order that the archbishop might be remoued from his see to some other, which sute was obteined, and Roger Walden lord treasurer was ordeined archbishop in his place, as after shall appeare. Thom. Walf. The archb. of Canturburie condemned to perpetuall banishment. Six daies saith Grafton.

On the feast daie of saint Matthew, Richard fitz Aleine, earle of Arundell, was brought forth to sweare before the king and whole parlement to such articles as he was to be charged with. And as he stood at the bar, the lord Neuill was commanded by the duke of Lancaster, which sat that daie as high steward of England, to take the hood from his necke, and the girdle from his waste. Then the duke of Lancaster declared vnto him, that for his manifold rebellions and treasons against the kings maiestie he had beene arrested, and hither to kept in ward, and now at the petition of the lords and commons, he was called to answer such crimes as were there to be obiected against him, and so to purge himselfe, or else to suffer for his offenses, such punishment as law appointed. The earle of Arundell areigned. The duke of Lācaster high Steward of England at this areignement.

First, he charged him, for that he had traitorouslie rid in armour against the king in companie of the duke of Gloucester, and of the earle of Warwike, to the breach of peace, and disquieting of the realme. His answer hereunto was, that he did not this vpon anie euill meaning towards the kings person, but rather for the benefit of the king and relme, if it were interpreted aright, and taken as it ought to be. It was further demanded of him, whie he procured letters of pardon from the K. if he knew himselfe guiltlesse? He answered, that he did not purchase them for anie feare he had of faults committed by him, but to staie the malicious speach of them that neither loued the king nor him. He was againe asked, whether he would denie that he had made anie such rode with the persons before named, and that in companie of them he entred not armed vnto the kings presence against the kings will and pleasure? To this he answered, that he could not denie it, but that he so did. The earle of Arundell his answers to the points of his indictmēt.

Then the speaker sir John Bushie, with open mouth, besought that iudgement might be had against such a traitour: and your faithfull commons (said he to the king) aske and require that so it may be done. The earle turning his head aside, quietlie said to him; Not the kings faithfull cōmons require this, but thou, and what thou art I know. Then the eight appellants standing on the other side, cast their gloues to him, and in prosecuting their appeale (which alreadie had beene read) offered to fight with him man to man to iustifie the same. Then said the earle, If I were at libertie, and that it might so stand with the pleasure of my souereigne, I would not refuse to proue you all liers in this behalfe. Then spake the duke of Lancaster, saieng to him; What haue you further to saie to the points before laid against you? He answered, that of the kings grace he had his letters of generall pardon, which he required to haue allowed. Then the duke told him, that the pardon was reuoked by the prelates and noble men in the parlement, and therefore willed him to make some other answer. The earle told him againe that he had an other pardon vnder the kings great seale, granted him long after of the kings owne motion, which also he required to haue allowed. The duke told him, that the same was likewise reuoked. After this, when the earle had nothing more to saie for himselfe, the duke pronounced iudgement against him, as in cases of treason is vsed. The earle of Arundell condemned.

But after he had made an end, and pausd a little, he said: The king our souereigne lord of his mercie and grace, because thou art of his bloud, and one of the peeres of the realme, hath remitted all the other paines, sauing the last, that is to saie, the beheading, and so thou shalt onelie lose thy head; and forthwith he was had awaie, & led through London vnto the Tower hill. There went with him to see the execution done sir great lords, of whome there were three earles, Notingham (that had married his daughter) Kent (that was his daughters son) and Huntington, being mounted on great horsses, with a great companie of armed men, and the fierce bands of the Cheshire-men, furnished with ares, swords, bowes and arrowes, marching before and behind him, who onelie in this parlement had licence to beare weapon, as some haue written. When he should depart the palace, he desired that his hands might be losed to dispose such monie as he had in his purse, betwixt that place and Charingcrosse. This was permitted, and so he gaue such monie as he had in almes with his owne hands, but his armes were still bound behind him.

When he came to the Tower hill, the noble men that were about him, moued him right earnestlie to acknow-

acknowledge his treason against the king. But he in no wise would so do, but maintained that he was neuer traitour in word or deed: and herewith perceiuing the earles of Notingham and Kent, that stood by with other noble men busie to further the execution (being as yee haue heard) of kin and alied to him, he spake to them, and said: Trulie it would haue beseemed you rather to haue beene absent than here at this businesse. But the time will come yer it be long, when as manie shall meruell at your misfortune as do now at mine. After this, forgiuing the executioner, he besought him not to torment him long, but to strike off his head at one blowe, and feeling the edge of the sword, whether it was sharpe inough or not, he said; It is verie well, do that thou hast to do quicklie, and so kneeling downe, the executioner with one stroke, strake off his head: his bodie was buried together with his head in the church of the Augustine friers in Broadstreet within the citie of London.

The execution of the earle of Arundell.

The death of this earle was much lamented among the people, considering his sudden fall and miserable end, where as not long before among all the noblemen of this land (within the which was such a number, as no countrie in the world had greater store at that present) there was none more esteemed: so noble and valiant he was, that all men spake honour of him. After his death, as the fame went, the king was sore vexed in his sleepe with horrible dreames, imagining that he saw this earle appeare vnto him threatning him, & putting him in horrible feare, as if he had said with the poet to king Richard;

Ouid. *Nunc quóq; factorum venio memor vmbra tuorum,*
Insequor & vultus ossea forma tuos.

With which visions being sore troubled in sleepe, he cursed the daie that euer he knew the earle. And he was the more vnquiet, because he heard it reported, that the common people tooke the erle for a martyr, insomuch that some came to visit the place of his sepulture, for the opinion they had conceiued of his holinesse. And where it was bruted abroad as for a miracle, that his head should be growne to his bodie againe, the tenth daie after his buriall, the king sent about ten of the clocke in the night, certeine of the nobilitie to see his bodie taken vp, that he might be certified of the truth. Which done, and perceiuing it was a fable, he commanded the friers to take downe his armes that were set vp about the place of his buriall, and to couer the graue, so as it should not be perceiued where he was buried.

The earle of Warwike arreigned of treason.

But now to returne to the parlement. After the death of this earle, the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike was brought forth to abide his triall by parlement, and when his accusers charged him in like points of treason, such as before were imposed to the earle of Arundell; he answered that he neuer meant euill to the kings person, nor thought that those rodes and assemblies that were made in companie of the duke of Gloucester, the earle of Arundell, and others, might not be accompted treason. But when the iudges had shewed him, that they could not be otherwise taken than for treason, he humblie besought the king of mercie and grace. The king then asked of him whether he had rid with the duke of Gloucester, and the earle of Arundell, as had beene alledged? He answered that he could not denie it, and wished that he had neuer seene them. Then said the king, Do ye not know that you are guiltie of treason? He answered againe, I acknowledge it; and with sobbing teares besought all them that were present, to make intercession to the kings maiestie for him.

Then the king and the duke of Lancaster communed, and after the king had a while with silence considered of the matter, he said to the earle; By saint John Baptist, Thomas of Warwike, this confession that thou hast made, is vnto me more available than all the duke of Gloucesters and the earle of Warwikes lands. Herewith the earle making still intercession for pardon, the lords humblie besought the king to grant it. Finallie the king pardoned him of life, but banished him into the Ile of Man, which then was the lord Scropes, promising that both he, and his wife, and children, should haue good interteinment. Which promise notwithstanding was but slenderlie kept, for both the earle and the countesse liued in great penurie (as some write) and yet the lord Scrope, that was lord chamberleine, had allowed for the earles diet foure thousand nobles yeerelie paid out of the kings coffers.

On the mondaie next after the arreignement of the earle of Warwike, to wit, the foure and twentie of September, was the lord John Cobham, and sir John Cheinie arreigned, and found guiltie of like treasons for which the other had beene condemned before: but at the earnest instance and sute of the nobles, they were pardoned of life, and banished, or (as Fabian saith) condemned to perpetuall prison. ¶ The king desirous to see the force of the Londoners, caused them (during the time of this parlement) to muster before him on Blacke heath, where a man might haue seene a great number of able personages. And now after that the parlement had continued almost till Christmasse, it was adiourned vntill the quinden of S. Hilarie, then to begin againe at Shrewesburie.

The parlement adiourned to Shrewsburie

The king keepeth his Christmasse at Lichfield. 1398

The king then came downe to Lichfield, and there held a roiall Christmasse, which being ended, he tooke his iournie towards Shrewesburie, where the parlement was appointed to begin in the quinden of saint Hilarie, as before yee haue heard. In which parlement there holden vpon prorogation, for the loue that the king bare to the gentlemen and commons of the shire of Chester, he caused it to be ordeined, that from thencefoorth it should be called and knowne by the name of the principalitie of Chester: and herewith he intituled himselfe prince of Chester. He held also a roiall feast, keeping open household for all honest commers, during the which feast, he created fiue dukes and a duchesse, a marquesse, and foure earles. The earle of Derbie was created duke of Hereford, the earle of Notingham that was also earle marshall duke of Norfolke, the earle of Rutland duke of Aubemarle, the earle of Kent duke of Surrie, and the earle of Huntington duke of Excester; the ladie Margaret marshall countesse of Norfolke, was created duchesse of Norfolke; the earle of Somerset marques Dorset, the lord Spenser earle of Gloucester, the lord Neuill surnamed Daurabie earle of Westmerland, the lord William Scrope lord chamberleine earle of Wiltshire, and the lord Thomas Persie lord steward of the kings house earle of Worcester.

Chesshire made a principalitie.

K. Richard prince of Chester.

Creation of dukes and earles.

And for the better maintenance of the estate of these noble men, whome he had thus aduanced to higher degrees of honour, he gaue vnto them a great part of those lands that belonged to the duke of Gloucester, the earles of Warwike, and Arundell. And now he was in good hope, that he had rooted vp all plants of treason, and therefore cared lesse who might be his freend or his foo, than before he had done, esteeming himselfe higher in degree than anie prince liuing, and so presumed further than euer his grandfather did, and tooke vpon him to beare the armes of saint Edward, ioining them vnto his owne armes. To conclude, what soeuer he then did, none durst speake a word contrarie thereunto. And yet such as were cheefe of his councell, were esteemed of the commons to be the worst creatures that might be,

K. Richard beareth saint Edward his armes.

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as the dukes of Aumarle, Norfolke and Excester, the earle of Wiltshire, sir John Bushie, sir William Bagot, and sir Thomas Greene: which three last remembred were knights of the Bath, against whom the commons undoubtedlie bare great and priuie hatred.

The L. Reginald Cobham condemned.

But now to proceed. In this parlement holden at Shrewsburie, the lord Reginald Cobham, being a verie aged man, simple and vpright in all his doings, was condemned for none other cause, but for that in the eleuenth yere of the kings reigne he was appointed with other to be attendant about the king as one of his gouernours. The acts and ordinances also deuised and established in the parlement holden in the eleuenth yeare were likewise repealed. Moreouer, in this parlement at Shrewesburie, it was decréed, that the lord John Cobham should be sent into the Ile of Gernesie, there to remaine in exile, hauing a small portion assigned him to liue vpon. The king so wrought & brought things about, that he obteined the whole power of both houses to be granted to certeine persons, as to John duke of Lancaster, Edmund duke of Yorke, Edmund duke of Aumarle, Thomas duke of Surrie, John duke of Excester, John marquesse Dorset, Roger earle of March, John earle of Salisburie, and Henrie earle of Northumberland, Thomas earle of Glocester, and William earle of Wiltshire, John Hussie, Henrie Chelmeswike, Robert Teie, and John Goulofer knights, or to seauen or eight of them. These were appointed to heare and determine certeine petitions and matters yet depending and not ended: but by vertue of this grant, they proceeded to conclude vpon other things, which generallie touched the knowledge of the whole parlement, in derogation of the states therof, to the disaduantage of the king, and perillous example in time to come.

The authoritie of both houses in parlement granted to certeine persons.

Thom. Walsi.

When the king had spent much monie in time of this parlement, he demanded a disme and a halfe of the clergie, and a fiftéenth of the temporaltie. Finallie, a generall pardon was granted for all offenses to all the kings subiects (fiftie onelie excepted) whose names he would not by anie meanes expresse, but reserued them to his owne knowledge, that when anie of the nobilitie offended him, he might at his pleasure name him to be one of the number excepted, and so kéepe them still within his danger. To the end that the ordinances, iudgements, and acts made, pronounced and established in this parlement, might be and abide in perpetuall strength and force, the king purchased the popes buls, in which were conteined grieuous censures and curses, pronounced against all such as did by anie means go about to breake and violate the statutes in the same parlement ordeined. These buls were openlie published & read at Paules crosse in London, and in other the most publike places of the realme.

The K. procureth the popes buls against the breakers of his statuts.

Manie other things were done in this parlement, to the displeasure of no small number of people, namelie, for that diuerse rightfull heires were disherited of their lands and liuings, by authoritie of the same parlement: with which wrongfull doings the people were much offended, so that the king and those that were about him, and chéefe in councell, came into great infamie and slander. In déed the king after he had dispatched the duke of Glocester, and the other noblemen, was not a little glad, for that he knew them still readie to disappoint him in all his purposes: and therefore being now as it were careles, did not behaue himselfe (as some haue written) in such discréet order, as manie wished: but rather (as in time of prosperitie it often happeneth) he forgot himselfe, and began to rule by will more than by reason, threatning death to each one that obeied not his inordinate desires. By means whereof, the lords of the realme began to feare their owne estates, being in danger of his furious outrage, whome they took for a man destitute of sobrietie and wisedome, and therfore could not like of him, that so abused his authoritie.

Rightfull heires disherited.

Polydor. K. Richard his euill gouernment.

Herevpon there were sundrie of the nobles, that lamented these mischéefes, and spetiallie shewed their greefes vnto such, by whose naughtie counsell they vnderstood the king to be ruled; and this they did, to the end that they being about him, might either turne their copies, and giue him better counsell; or else he hauing knowledge what euill report went of him, might mend his maners misliked of his nobles. But all was in vaine, for so it fell out, that in this parlement holden at Shrewsburie, Henrie duke of Hereford accused Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke, of certeine words which he should vtter in talke had betwixt them, as they rode togither latelie before betwixt London and Brainford, sounding highlie to the kings dishonor. And for further proofe thereof, he presented a supplication to the king, wherein he appealed the duke of Norfolke in field of battell, for a traitor, false and disloiall to the king, and enimie vnto the realme. This supplication was red before both the dukes, in presence of the king: which done, the duke of Norfolke tooke vpon him to answer it, declaring that whatsoeuer the duke of Hereford had said against him other than well, he lied falselie like an vntrue knight as he was. And when the king asked of the duke of Hereford what he said to it: he taking his hood off his head, said; My souereigne lord, euen as the supplication which I tooke you importeth, right so I saie for truth, that Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke is a traitour, false and disloiall to your roiall maiestie, your crowne, and to all the states of your realme.

The duke of Hereford appealeth the duke of Norfolk of treson.

Thom. Walsi.

Then the duke of Norfolke being asked what he said to this, he answered: Right déere lord, with your fauour that I make answer vnto your cosine here, I saie (your reuerence saued) that Henrie of Lancaster duke of Hereford, like a false and disloiall traitor as he is, doth lie, in that he hath or shall say of me otherwise than well. No more said the king, we haue heard inough: and herewith commanded the duke of Surrie for that turne marshall of England, to arrest in his name the two dukes: the duke of Lancaster father to the duke of Hereford, the duke of Yorke the duke of Aumarle constable of England: and the duke of Surrie marshall of the realme vndertooke as pledges bodie for bodie for the duke of Hereford: but the duke of Northfolke was not suffered to put in pledges, and so vnder arrest was led vnto Windsor castell, and there garded with kéepers that were appointed to sée him safelie kept.

The duke of Surrie marshall and the duke of Aumarle constable of England.

Now after the dissoluing of the parlement at Shrewsburie, there was a daie appointed about six weeks after, for the king to come vnto Windsor, to heare and to take some order betwixt the two dukes, which had thus appealed eche other. There was a great scaffold erected within the castell of Windsor for the king to sit with the lords and prelats of his realme: and so at the daie appointed, he with the said lords & prelats being come thither and set in their places, the duke of Hereford appellant, and the duke of Norfolke defendant, were sent for to come & appeare before the king, sitting there in his seat of iustice. And then began sir John Bushie to speake for the king, declaring to the lords how they should vnderstand, that where the duke of Hereford had presented a supplication to the king, who was there set to minister iustice to all men that would demand the same, as apertéined to his roiall maiestie, he therefore would now heare what the parties could say one against

The order of the proceeding in this appeale.

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an other, and withall the king commanded the dukes of Aumarle and Surrie, the one being constable, and the other marshall, to go vnto the two dukes, appellant and defendant, requiring them on his behalfe, to grow to some agréement: and for his part, he would be readie to pardon all that had bene said or done amisse betwixt them, touching anie harme or dishonor to him or his realme: but they answered both assuredlie, that it was not possible to haue anie peace or agréement made betwixt them.

When he heard what they had answered, he commanded that they should be brought forthwith before his presence, to heare what they would say. Herewith an herald in the kings name with lowd voice commanded the dukes to come before the king, either of them to shew his reason, or else to make peace togither without more delaie. When they were come before the king and lords, the king spake himselfe to them, willing them to agree, and make peace togither: for it is (said he) the best waie ye can take. The duke of Norfolke with due reuerence hereunto answered it could not be so brought to passe, his honor saued. Then the king asked of the duke of Hereford, what it was that he demanded of the duke of Norfolke, and what is the matter that ye can not make peace togither, and become friends?

Then stood forth a knight, who asking and obteining licence to speake for the duke of Hereford, said, Right deare and souereigne lord, here is Henrie of Lancaster duke of Hereford and earle of Derbie, who saith, and I for him likewise say, that Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke is a false and disloiall traitor to you and your roiall maiestie, and to your whole realme: and likewise the duke of Hereford saith and I for him, that Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke hath receiued eight thousand nobles to pay the souldiers that keepe your towne of Calis, which he hath not done as he ought: and furthermore the said duke of Norfolke hath béene the occasion of all the treason that hath béene contriued in your realme for the space of these eightéene yeares, & by his false suggestions and malicious counsell, he hath caused to die and to be murdered your right déere vncle, the duke of Gloucester, sonne to king Edward. Moreouer, the duke of Hereford saith, and I for him, that he will proue this with his bodie against the bodie of the said duke of Norfolke within lists. The king herewith waxed angrie, and asked the duke of Hereford, if these were his words, who answered: Right déere lord, they are my words; and hereof I require right, and the battell against him.

The obiection against the duke of Norfolke.

There was a knight also that asked licence to speake for the duke of Norfolke, and obteining, it began to answer thus: Right déere souereigne lord, here is Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke, who answereth and saith, and I for him, that all which Henrie of Lancaster hath said and declared (sauing the reuerence due to the king and his councell) is a lie; and the said Henrie of Lancaster hath falselie and wickedlie lied as a false and disloiall knight, and both hath béene, and is a traitor against you, your crowne, roiall maiestie, & realme. This will I proue and defend as becommeth a loiall knight to do with my bodie against his: right déere lord, I beséech you therefore, and your councell, that it maie please you in your roiall discretion, to consider and marke, what Henrie of Lancaster duke of Hereford, such a one as he is, hath said.

The king then demanded of the duke of Norfolke, if these were his words, and whether he had anie more to saie. The duke of Norfolke then answered for himselfe: Right déere sir, true it is, that I haue receiued so much gold to paie your people of the towne of Calis; which I haue done, and I do auouch that your towne of Calis is as well kept at your commandement as euer it was at anie time before, and that there neuer hath béene by anie of Calis anie complaint made vnto you of me. Right déere and my souereigne lord, for the voiage that I made into France, about your marriage, I neuer receiued either gold or siluer of you, nor yet for the voiage that the duke of Aumarle & I made into Almane, where we spent great treasure: Marie true it is, that once I laid an ambush to haue slaine the duke of Lancaster, that there sitteth: but neuertheless he hath pardoned me thereof, and there was good peace made betwixt vs, for the which I yéld him hartie thankes. This is that which I haue to answer, and I am readie to defend my selfe against mine aduersarie; I beseech you therefore of right, and to haue the battell against him in vpright iudgement.

The duke of Norfolke his answer for himselfe.

After this, when the king had communed with his councell a little, he commanded the two dukes to stand forth, that their answers might be heard. The K. then caused them once againe to be asked, if they would agrée and make peace togither, but they both flatlie answered that they would not: and withall the duke of Hereford cast downe his gage, and the duke of Norfolke tooke it vp. The king perceiuing this demeanor betwixt them, sware by saint John Baptist, that he would neuer séeke to make peace betwixt them againe. And therfore sir John Bushie in name of the king & his councell declared, that the king and his councell had commanded and ordeined, that they should haue a daie of battell appointed them at Couentrie. ¶ Here writers disagrée about the daie that was appointed: for some saie, it was vpon a mondaie in August; other vpon saint Lamberts daie, being the seuentéenth of September, other on the eleuenth of September: but true it is, that the king assigned them not onlie the daie, but also appointed them lists and place for the combat, and therevpon great preparation was made, as to such a matter apperteined.

The combat appointed to be done at Couentrie. The French pamphlet. Iohn Stow. Fabian.

At the time appointed the king came to Couentrie, where the two dukes were readie, according to the order prescribed therein, comming thither in great arraie, accompanied with the lords and gentlemen of their linages. The king caused a sumptuous scaffold or theater, and roiall lists there to be erected and prepared. The sundaie before they should fight, after dinner the duke of Hereford came to the king (being lodged about a quarter of a mile without the towne in a tower that belonged to sir William Bagot) to take his leaue of him. The morow after, being the daie appointed for the combat, about the spring of the daie, came the duke of Norfolke to the court to take leaue likewise of the king. The duke of Hereford armed him in his tent, that was set vp nére to the lists, and the duke of Norfolke put on his armor, betwixt the gate & the barrier of the towne, in a beautifull house, hauing a faire perclois of wood towards the gate, that none might sée what was done within the house.

Anno Reg. 22.

The duke of Aumarle that daie, being high constable of England, and the duke of Surrie marshall, placed themselues betwixt them, well armed and appointed; and when they saw their time, they first entered into the lists with a great companie of men apparelled in silke sendall, imbrodered with siluer, both richlie and curiouslie, euerie man hauing a tipped staffe to keepe the field in order. About the houre of prime came to the barriers of the lists, the duke of Hereford, mounted on a white courser, barded with greene & blew veluet imbrodered sumptuouslie with swans and antelops of goldsmiths worke, armed at all points. The constable and marshall came to the barriers, demanding of him what he was, he answered;

The order of the combat.

"answered; I am Henrie of Lancaster duke of Hereford, which am come hither to doo mine indeuor against Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke, as a traitor vntrue to God, the king, his realme, and me. Then incontinentlie he sware vpon the holie euangelists, that his quarrell was true and iust, and vpon that point he required to enter the lists. Then he put vp his sword, which before he held naked in his hand, and putting downe his visor, made a crosse on his horsse, and with speare in hand, entered into the lists, and descended from his horsse, and set him downe in a chaire of greene veluet, at the one end of the lists, and there reposed himselfe, abiding the comming of his aduersarie.

Some after him, entred into the field with great triumph, king Richard accompanied with all the peeres of the realme, and in his companie was the earle of saint Paule, which was come out of France in post to see this challenge performed. The king had there aboue ten thousand men in armour, least some fraie or tumult might rise amongst his nobles, by quarelling or partaking. When the king was set in his seat, which was richlie hanged and adorned; a king at armes made open proclamation, prohibiting all men in the name of the king, and of the high constable and marshall, to enterprise or attempt to approch or touch any part of the lists vpon paine of death, except such as were appointed to order or marshall the field. The proclamation ended, an other herald cried; Behold here Henrie of Lancaster duke of Hereford appellant, which is entred into the lists roiall to doo his deuoir against Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke defendant, vpon paine to be found false and recreant.

The duke of Norfolke houered on horssebacke at the entrie of the lists, his horsse being barded with crimosen veluet, imbrodered richlie with lions of siluer and mulberie trees; and when he had made his oth before the constable and marshall that his quarrell was iust and true, he entred the field manfullie, saieng aloud: God aid him that hath the right, and then he departed from his horsse, & sate him downe in his chaire which was of crimosen veluet, courtined about with white and red damaske. The lord marshall viewed their speares, to see that they were of equall length, and deliuered the one speare himselfe to the duke of Hereford, and sent the other vnto the duke of Norfolke by a knight. Then the herald proclamed that the trauerses & chaires of the champions should be remoued, commanding them on the kings behalfe to mount on horssebacke, & addresse themselues to the battell and combat.

The duke of Hereford was quicklie horsed, and closed his bauier, and cast his speare into the rest, and when the trumpet sounded set forward couragiouslie towards his enimie sir or seuen pases. The duke of Norfolke was not fullie set forward, when the king cast downe his warder, and the heralds cried, Ho, ho. Then the king caused their speares to be taken from them, and commanded them to repaire againe to their chaires, where they remained two long houres, while the king and his councell deliberatlie consulted what order was best to be had in so weightie a cause. Finallie, after they had deuised, and fullie determined what should be done therein, the heralds cried silence; and sir John Bushie the kings secretarie read the sentence and determination of the king and his councell, in a long roll, the effect whereof was, that Henrie duke of Hereford should within fifteene daies depart out of the realme, and not to returne before the terme of ten yeares were expired, except by the king he should be repealed againe, and this vpon paine of death; and that Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke, bicause he had sowen sedition in the realme by his words, should likewise auoid the realme, and neuer to returne againe into England, nor approch the borders or confines thereof vpon paine of death; and that the king would staie the profits of his lands, till he had leuied thereof such summes of monie as the duke had taken vp of the kings treasuror for the wages of the garrison of Calis, which were still vnpaid.

The combat staied by the king.

The king his dome betwixt the two dukes

When these iudgements were once read, the king called before him both the parties, and made them to sweare that the one should neuer come in place where the other was, willinglie; nor keepe any companie to gither in any forren region; which oth they both receiued humblie, and so went their waies. The duke of Norfolke departed sorowfullie out of the relme into Almanie, and at the last came to Venice, where he for thought and melancholie deceassed: for he was in hope (as writers record) that he should haue beene borne out in the matter by the king, which when it fell out otherwise, it greeued him not a little. The duke of Hereford toke his leaue of the king at Eltham, who there releassed foure yeares of his banishment: so he toke his iornie ouer into Calis, and from thence went into France, where he remained.

¶ A wonder it was to see what number of people ran after him in euerie towne and street where he came, before he toke the sea, lamenting and bewailing his departure, as who would saie, that when he departed, the onelie shield, defense and comfort of the commonwealth was vaded and gone.

The duke of Hereford beloued of the people.

At his comming into France, king Charles hearing the cause of his banishment (which he esteemed to be verie light) receiued him gentlie, and him honorablie interteined, in so much that he had by fauour obteined in mariage the onelie daughter of the duke of Berrie, vncle to the French king, if king Richard had not beene a let in that matter, who being thereof certified, sent the earle of Salisburie with all speed into France, both to surmize by vntrue suggestion, heinous offenses against him, and also to require the French king that in no wise he would suffer his cousine to be matched in mariage with him that was so manifest an offendor. This was a pestilent kind of proceeding against that nobleman then being in a forren countrie, hauing beene so honorablie receiued as he was at his entrance into France, and vpon view and good liking of his behauiour there, so forward in mariage with a ladie of noble linage. So sharpe, so seuere, & so heinous an accusation, brought to a strange king from a naturall prince, against his subiect, after punishment inflicted (for he was banished) was inough to haue made the French king his fatall foe, & vpon suspicion of assaieng the like trecherie against him, to haue throwne him out of the limits of his land. But what will enuie leaue vnattempted, where it is once setled? And how are the malicious tormented with egernes of reuenge against them whom they maligne, wringing themselues in the meane time with inward pangs gnawing them at the hart? whereunto serueth the poets allusion,

The duke of Hereford is honorablie interteined with the French king.

Froissard.

Inuidia Siculi non inuenêre tyranni
Maius tormentum.

Hor. lib. epist. 1.

On Newyeares day this yeare, the riuer that passeth betwixt Suelleston or Snellston, and Harewood, two villages not far from Bedford, sudenlie ceassed his course, so as the chanell remained drie by the space of three miles, that any man might enter into, and passe the same drie fot at his pleasure. This diuision, which the water made in that place, the one part seeming as it were not to come nere to the other, was iudged to signifie the reuolting of the subiects of this land from their naturall prince. It may be, that the water of that riuer sanke into the ground, and by some secret passage or chanell toke

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course

course till it came to the place where it might rise againe as in other places is likewise seene.

Fabian. Ye haue heard before, how the archbishop of Canturburie Thomas Arundell, was banisht the reime, and Roger Walden was made archbishop of that see, who was a great fauourer of the citie of London, the which was ofsomes about this season fallen into the kings displeasure: but by the diligent labour of this archbishop, and of Robert Braibrooke then bishop of London, vpon the humble supplication of the citizens, the kings wrath was pacified. But yet to content the kings mind, manie blanke charters were deuised, and brought into the citie, which manie of the substantiall and wealthie citizens were faine to seale, to their great charge, as in the end appeared. And the like charters were sent abroad into all shires within the realme, whereby great grudge and murmuring arose among the people: for when they were so sealed, the kings officers wrote in the same what liked them, as well for charging the parties with paiment of monie, as otherwise.

Blanke charters.

The death of the duke of Lancaster. In this meane time, the duke of Lancaster departed out of this life at the bishop of Elies place in Holborne, and lieth buried in the cathedrall church of saint Paule in London, on the northside of the high altar, by the ladie Blanch his first wife. The death of this duke gaue occasion of increasing more hatred in the people of this realme toward the king, for he seized into his hands all the goods that belonged to him, and also receiued all the rents and reuenues of his lands which ought to haue descended vnto the duke of Hereford by lawfull inheritance, in reuoking his letters patents, which he had granted to him before, by vertue whereof he might make his attorneis generall to sue liuerie for him, of any maner of inheritances or possessions that might from thenceforth fall vnto him, and that his homage might be respited, with making reasonable fine: whereby it was euident, that the king meant his vtter vndoing.

Tho.Walsi.

This hard dealing was much misliked of all the nobilitie, and cried out against of the meaner sort: but namelie the duke of Yorke was therewith sore moued, who before this time, had borne things with so patient a mind as he could, though the same touched him verie neere, as the death of his brother the duke of Gloucester, the banishment of his nephue the said duke of Hereford, and other mo iniuries in great number, which for the slipperie youth of the king, he passed ouer for the time, and did forget aswell as he might. But now perceiuing that neither law, iustice nor equitie could take place, where the kings wilfull will was bent vpon any wrongfull purpose, he considered that the glorie of the publike wealth of his countrie must needs decaie, by reason of the king his lacke of wit, and want of such as would (without flatterie) admonish him of his dutie: and therefore he thought it the part of a wise man to get him in time to a resting place, and to leaue the following of such an vnaduised capteine, as with a leden sword would cut his owne throat.

The duke of Yorke misliketh the court & goeth home. Hereupon he with the duke of Aumarle his sonne went to his house at Langlie, reioising that nothing had mishappened in the common-wealth through his deuise or consent. The common brute ran, that the king had set to farme the realme of England, vnto sir William Scrope earle of Wiltshire, and then treasuror of England, to sir John Bushie, sir John Bagot, and sir Henrie Greene knights. ¶ About the same time, the earle of Arundels sonne, named Thomas, which was kept in the duke of Exeters house, escaped out of the realme, by meanes of one William Scot mercer, and went to his vncle Thomas Arundell late archbishop of Canturburie, as then sojourning at Cullen. ¶ King Richard being destitute of treasure to furnish such a princelie port as he mainteined, borrowed great summes of monie of manie of the great lords and peeres of his realme, both spirituall and temporall, and likewise of other meane persons, promising them in good earnest, by deliuering to them his letters patents for assurance, that he would repaie the monie so borrowed at a daie appointed: which notwithstanding he neuer paid.

The realme let to farme by the king.

Tho.Walsi.

New exactions. Moreouer, this yeare he caused seuentéene shires of the realme by waie of putting them to their fines to paie no small summes of monie, for redéeming their offenses, that they had aided the duke of Gloucester, the earles of Arundell, and Marwike, when they rose in armor against him. The nobles, gentlemen, and commons of those shires were inforced also to receiue a new oth to assure the king of their fidelitie in time to come; and withall certeine prelats and other honorable personages, were sent into the same shires to persuade men to this paiment, and to see things ordered at the pleasure of the prince: and suerlie the fines which the nobles, and other the meaner estates of those shires were constreined to paie, were not small, but exceeding great, to the offense of manie. Moreouer, the kings letters patents were sent into euerie shire within this land, by vertue whereof, an oth was demanded of all the kings liege people for a further assurance of their due obedience, and they were constreined to ratifie the same in writing vnder their hands and seales.

The paiment of these fines was called a pleasance as it were to please the K. withall, but ſ same displeased manie that were thus constreined to paie against their willes.

The people confirme the oth of allegiance by writing sealed.

Moreouer they were compelled to put their hands and seales to certeine blankes, whereof ye haue heard before, in the which, when it pleased him he might write what he thought good. There was also a new oth deuised for the shiriffes of euerie countie through the realme to receiue: finallie, manie of the kings liege people were through spite, enuie, and malice, accused, apprehended, & put in prison, and after brought before the constable and marshall of England, in the court of chiualrie, and might not otherwise be deliuered, except they could iustifie themselues by combat and fighting in lists against their accusers hand to hand, although the accusers for the most part were lustie, young and valiant, where the parties accused were perchance old, impotent, maimed and sicklie. Whereupon not onelie the great destruction of the realme in generall, but also of euerie singular person in particular, was to be feared and looked for.

Indirect dealings.

Abr.Fl.out of Thom.Walſ. pag.395. ¶ About this time the bishop of Calcedon came into England, with letters apostolicall of admonition, that the faithfull and loiall of the land should of their goods disburse somewhat to the emperour of Constantinople, who was extremelie vexed and troubled by the Tartars, and their capteine called Mozet. And to the intent that the peeres of the land might be made the more willing and toward to bestow their contribution in this behalfe, the pope granted vnto all benefactors (trulie contrite and confessed) full remission, and wrapped in his bitter censures all such as hindered those that were willing to bestow their beneuolence in this case; considering, that although the emperour was a schismatike, yet was he a christian, and if by the infidels he should be oppressed, all christendome was in danger of ruine; hauing in his mind that saieng of the poet full fit for his purpose,

Tunc tua res agitur paries cùm proximus ardet.

Abr.Fl.out of Thom.Walſ. pag.395. ¶ In this yeare in a manner throughout all the realme of England, old baie trées withered, and afterwards, contrarie to all mens thinking, grew greene againe, a strange sight, and supposed to import some vnknowne euent. ¶ In this meane time the king being aduertised that the wild Irish daille wasted and destroied the townes and villages within the English pale, and had slaine manie of the souldiers which laie there in garison for defense of that countrie,

Polydor.

countrie, determined to make effsones a voiage thither, & prepared all things necessarie for his passage now against the spring. A little before his setting forth, he caused a iusts to be holden at Windesor of fourtie knights and fourtie esquiers, against all commers, & they to be apparelled in greene, with a white falcon, and the queene to be there well accompanied with ladies and damsels. When these iusts were finished, the king departed toward Brisslow, from thence to passe into Ireland, leauing the queene with hir traine still at Windesor: he appointed for his lieutenant generall in his absence his vncle the duke of Yorke: and so in the moneth of Aprill, as diuerse authors write, he set forward from Windesor, and finallie toke shipping at Milford, and from thence with two hundred ships, and a puissant power of men of armes and archers he sailed into Ireland. The fridaie next after his arriuall, there were slaine two hundred Irishmen at Fourd in Kenlis within the countie of Kildare, by that valiant gentleman Jenico Dartois, and such Englishmen as he had there with him: and on the morrow next insuing the citizens of Dublin inuaded the countrie of Obrin, and slue thirtie and three Irishmen.

The king also after he had remained about seuen daies at Waterford, marched from thence towards Kilkennie, and comming thither, staied thereabout fourteene daies, looking for the duke of Aumarle that was appointed to haue met him, but he failed and came not, whereupon the king on Midsummer euen set forward againe, marching streight towards the countrie of Macmur the principall rebell in that season within Ireland, who keeping himselfe among woods with three thousand right hardie men, seemed to passe little for any power that might be brought against him. Yet the king approching to the skirts of the woods, commanded his soldiers to fier the houses and villages: which was executed with great forwardnesse of the men of war. And here for some valiant act that he did, or some other fauourable respect, which the king bare to the lord Henrie sonne to the duke of Hereford, he made him knight. ¶ This Henrie was after king of England, succeeding his father, and called by the name of Henrie the fift. There were nine or ten others made knights also at the same time.

Moreouer, there were two thousand & fiue hundred pioners set a worke to cut downe the woods, and to make passages through, and so then the Englishmen entred, and by force got through: for the Irishmen sore feared the English bowes, but yet now and then they espieng their aduantage, assailed oftentimes Englishmen with their darts, and slue diuerse that went abroad to fetch in forrage. The vncle of Macmur hauing a withie or with about his necke, came in and submitted himselfe, and likewise manie other naked and bare legged; so that the king seeming to pitie their miserable state, pardoned them, and afterward he also sent vnto Macmur, promising that if he would come in and require pardon as his vncle had done, he would receiue him to mercie: but Macmur vnderstanding that for want of vittels, the king must needs retire within a short time, he refused the kings offer. The king with his armie remaining in those parts 11 daies, was in the end constreined to come backe, when all their vittels were spent: for more than they brought with them they could not get. They lost manie horses in this iournie for want of prouision and forrage.

As the king was withdrawne towards Dublin, marching through the countrie, in despite of his enimies, that houered still about his armie, Macmur sent to the king, offering to talke of an agreement, if it should please him to send any noble man to meet him at a place appointed. The king herevpon commanded the earle of Gloucester to take with him two hundred lances, and a thousand archers, and to go to trie if he might by persuasion cause him to come in and submit himselfe. The earle went, and comming to talke with him, found him so obstinate, that their parlee streightwaies brake off: so taking leaue each of other, they departed, and the earle returned to the king, to aduertise him what he had done and perceiued by the communication which he had had with Macmur.

The king was sore offended with the obstinatnes of the rebell, that would not agree otherwise: but so as he might remaine still at libertie, without danger to suffer anie maner of punishment for his passed offenses. Wherevpon the king after his comming to Dublin, and that the armie had rested there, and in the countrie neere to the citie, for the space of fifteene daies, he diuided his people into three parts, and sent them abroad into the countrie to pursue the enimies and withall made proclamation, that who so euer could bring Macmur vnto his presence, should haue for his recompense a great reward: for he determined not to depart the countrie, till he had him either dead or aliue. But he knew full little then what incidents to hinder his purposed intention would after follow.

The same daie that he sent abroad his armie thus into three seuerall parts, the duke of Aumarle with an hundred saile arriued, of whose cõming the king was right ioifull; and although he had vsed no small negligence in that he came no sooner according to order before appointed, yet the king (as he was of a gentle nature) courteouslie accepted his excuse: whether he was in fault or not, I haue not to saie; but verelie he was greatlie suspected, that he dealt not well in tarieng so long after his time assigned. But now whilest the king rested at Dublin, his people so demeaned themselues, that the most part of the rebels, what by manhod and policie were subdued, and brought vnder subiection, and (as is to be thought) if no trouble had risen in England to haue called him backe, he meant to haue rid vp the woods, and made some notable conquest at that time vpon the rebels that yet held out. Neuertheless, during the time of his abode there, such was the prowesse of him and his, that the Irish were well tamed, and forced to submit themselues: and yet the kings power made no great slaughter of them, if it be true that Christ. Okl. saith, speaking hereof in few words as after followeth:

Pergit ad indomitos princeps Richardus Hibernos,
Inq; potestatem multo sine sanguine sæuo
Marte reluctantes.

Now whilest he was thus occupied in deuising how to reduce them into subiection, and taking orders for the good state and quiet gouernment of the countrie, diuerse of the nobilitie, aswell prelats as other, and likewise manie of the magistrats and rulers of the cities, townes, and communaltie, here in England, perceiuing dailie how the realme drew to vtter ruine, not like to be recouered to the former state of wealth, whilest king Richard liued and reigned (as they tooke it) deuised with great deliberation, and considerate aduise, to send and signifie by letters vnto duke Henrie, whome they now called (as he was in deed) duke of Lancaster and Hereford, requiring him with all conuenient speed to conueie himselfe into England, promising him all their aid, power and assistance, if he expelling K. Richard, as a man not meet for the office he bare, would take vpon him the scepter, rule, and diademe of his native land and region.

He therefore being thus called vpon by messengers and letters from his frends, and cheeflie through

A iusts at Windesor.

The king saileth ouer into Ireland with a great armie. Fabian. Caxton.

The duke of Yorke lieutenant generall of England, the king being in Ireland. Hen. Marl.

Out of a French pamphlet that belongeth to master Iohn Dee.

Macmur.

Pioners set a worke to cut downe woods.

Macmur sendeth to the K. offering a parlee.

The earle of Gloucester.

Anno Reg. 23. He came to Dublin the 28 of June as Henrie Marl. saith.

The duke of Aumarle.

In Angl. prælijs sub Rich. 2.

The duke of Lancaster solicited to expell king Richard, and to take vpon him the regiment.

the earnest persuasion of Thomas Arundell, late archbishop of Canturburie, who (as before yee haue heard) had beene remoued from his see, and banished the realme by king Richards means, got him downe to Britaine, togither with the said archbishop, where he was ioifullie receiued of the duke and duchesse, and found such freendship at the dukes hands, that there were certeine ships rigged, and made readie for him, at a place in base Britaine, called Le port blanc, as we find in the chronicles of Britaine: and when all his prouision was made readie, he toke the sea, togither with the said archbishop of Canturburie, and his nephue Thomas Arundell, sonne and heire to the late earle of Arundell, beheaded at the Tower hill, as you haue heard. There were also with him, Reginald lord Cobham, sir Thomas Erpingham, and sir Thomas Ramston knights, John Norburie, Robert Waterton, & Francis Coint esquires: few else were there, for (as some write) he had not past fifteene lances, as they tearmed them in those daies, that is to saie, men of armes, furnished and apointed as the vse then was. ¶ Yet other write, that the duke of Britaine deliuered vnto him three thousand men of warre, to attend him, and that he had eight ships well furnished for the warre, where Froissard yet speaketh but of three. Moreouer, where Froissard and also the chronicles of Britaine auouch, that he should land at Plimmouth, by our English writers it seemeth otherwise: for it appeareth by their assured report, that he approching to the shore, did not streight take land, but lay houering aloofe, and shewed himselfe now in this place, and now in that, to see what countenance was made by the people, whether they meant enuiouslie to resist him, or freendlie to receiue him.

The duke of Britaine a great friend to the duke of Lancaster.

The duke of Lancaster & his adherents saile into England.

Additions to Polychron.

Thom. Wals.

Chron. Brit.

Froissard.

Tho. Walsing.

When the lord gouernor Edmund duke of Yorke was aduertised, that the duke of Lancaster kept still the sea, and was readie to arriue (but where he ment first to set foot on land, there was not any that vnderstood the certeintie) he sent for the lord chancellor Edmund Stafford bishop of Exceter, and for the lord treasuror William Scrope earle of Wiltshire, and other of the kings priuie councell, as John Bushie, William Bagot, Henrie Greene, and John Russell knights: of these he required to know what they thought good to be done in this matter, concerning the duke of Lancaster, being on the seas. Their aduise was, to depart from London, vnto S. Albons, and there to gather an armie to resist the duke in his landing, but to how small purpose their counsell serued, the conclusion thereof plainlie declared, for the most part that were called, when they came thither, boldlie protested, that they would not fight against the duke of Lancaster, whome they knew to be euill dealt withall.

The commõs denie to resist the duke of Lancaster.

The lord treasuror, Bushie, Bagot, and Greene, perceiuing that the commons would cleaue vnto, and take part with the duke, slipped awaie, leauing the lord gouernour of the realme, and the lord chancellor to make what shift they could for themselues: Bagot got him to Chester, and so escaped into Ireland; the other fled to the castell of Bristow, in hope there to be in safetie. The duke of Lancaster, after that he had coasted alongst the shore a certeine time, & had got some intelligence how the peoples minds were affected towards him, landed about the beginning of Julie in Yorkshire, at a place sometime called Rauenspur, betwixt Hull and Bridlington, and with him not past threescore persons, as some write: but he was so ioifullie receiued of the lords, knights, and gentlemen of those parts, that he found means (by their helpe) forthwith to assemble a great number of people, that were willing to take his part. The first that came to him, were the lords of Lincolneshire, and other countries adioining, as the lords Willoughbie, Ros, Darcie, and Beaumont.

The duke of Lancaster landeth in Yorkshire.

Additions to Polychron.

At his comming vnto Doncaster, the earle of Northumberland, and his sonne sir Henrie Persie, wardens of the marches against Scotland, with the earle of Westmerland, came vnto him, where he sware vnto those lords, that he would demand no more, but the lands that were to him descended by inheritance from his father, and in right of his wife. Moreouer, he vndertoke to cause the paiment of tares and tallages to be laid downe, & to bring the king to good gouernment, & to remoue from him the Cheshire men, which were enuied of manie; for that the king esteemed of them more than of anie other; happilie, bicause they were more faithfull to him than other, readie in all respects to obeie his commandements and pleasure. From Doncaster hauing now got a mightie armie about him, he marched forth with all speed through the countries, comming by Euesham vnto Berkelie: within the space of three daies, all the kings castels in those parts were surrendred vnto him.

The duke of Lancaster thanketh the lords that aided him.

The duke of Yorke, whome king Richard had left as gouernour of the realme in his absence, hearing that his nephue the duke of Lancaster was thus arriued, and had gathered an armie, he also assembled a puissant power of men of armes and archers (as before yee haue heard) but all was in vaine, for there was not a man that willinglie would thrust out one arrow against the duke of Lancaster, or his partakers, or in anie wise offend him or his freends. The duke of Yorke therefore passing forth towards Wales to meet the king, at his comming forth of Ireland, was receiued into the castell of Berkelie, and there remained, till the comming thither of the duke of Lancaster (whom when he perceiued that he was not able to resist) on the sundaie, after the feast of saint Iames, which as that yeare came about, fell vpon the fridaie, he came forth into the church that stood without the castell, and there communed with the duke of Lancaster. With the duke of Yorke were the bishops of Norwich, the lord Berkelie, the lord Seimour, and other: with the duke of Lancaster were these, Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturburie that had beene banished, the abbat of Leicester, the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, Thomas Arundell sonne to Richard late earle of Arundell, the baron of Greistoke, the lords Willoughbie and Ros, with diuerse other lords, knights, and other people, which dailie came to him from euerie part of the realme: those that came not, were spoiled of all they had, so as they were neuer able to recouer themselues againe, for their goods being then taken awaie, were neuer restored. And thus what for loue, and what for feare of losse, they came flocking vnto him from euerie part.

The harts of the commons wholie bent to the duke of Lancaster.

At the same present there was arrested, and committed to safe custodie, the bishop of Norwich, sir William Elmam, and sir Walter Burlie, knights, Laurence Drew, and John Golofer esquiers. On the morow after, the forsaid dukes with their power, went towards Bristow, where (at their comming) they shewed themselues before the towne & castell, being an huge multitude of people. There were inclosed within the castell, the lord William Scrope earle of Wiltshire and treasuror of England, sir Henrie Greene, and sir John Bushie knights, who prepared to make resistance: but when it would not preuaile, they were taken and brought forth bound as prisoners into the campe, before the duke of Lancaster. On the morow next insuing, they were arraigned before the constable and marshall, and found giltie of treason, for misgouerning the king and realme, and forthwith had their heads smit off. Sir John

The duke of Lancaster marcheth to Bristow.

Scroope lord treasuror, Bushie and Greene executed.

A politike madnesse.

John Russell was also taken there, who feining himselfe to be out of his wits, escaped their hands for a time.

In this meane time, king Richard aduertised, how the duke of Lancaster was landed in England, and that the lords, gentlemen, and commons assembled themselues to take his part, he forthwith caused the lord Henrie, sonne to the said duke of Lancaster, and the lord Humfrie, sonne to the duke of Glocester, to be shut vp fast in the castell of Trimme, and with all spéed made hast to returne into England, in hope with an armie to incounter the duke, before he should haue time to assemble his frends togither. But here you shall note, that it fortuned at the same time, in which the duke of Hereford or Lancaster, whether ye list to call him, arriued thus in England, the seas were so troubled by tempests, and the winds blew so contrarie for anie passage, to come ouer forth of England to the king, remaining still in Ireland, that for the space of six weeks, he receiued no aduertisements from thence: yet at length, when the seas became calme, and the wind once turned anie thing fauourable, there came ouer a ship, whereby the king vnderstood the manner of the dukes arriuall, and all his proceedings till that daie, in which the ship departed from the coast of England, whereupon he meant forthwith to haue returned ouer into England, to make resistance against the duke: but through persuasion of the duke of Aumarle (as was thought) he staied, till he might haue all his ships, and other prouision, fullie readie for his passage.

Out of master Dees French booke.

In the meane time, he sent the earle of Salisburie ouer into England, to gather a power togither, by helpe of the kings frends in Wales, and Cheshire, with all spéed possible, that they might be readie to assist him against the duke, vpon his arriuall, for he meant himselfe to follow the earle, within six daies after. The earle passing ouer into Wales, landed at Conwaie, and sent forth letters to the kings frends, both in Wales and Cheshire, to leaue their people, & to come with all spéed to assist the K. whose request, with great desire, & very willing minds they fulfilled, hoping to haue found the king himselfe at Conwaie, insomuch that within foure daies space, there were to the number of fortie thousand men assembled, readie to march with the king against his enimies, if he had béene there himselfe in person.

But when they missed the king, there was a brute spred amongst them, that the king was suerlie dead, which wrought such an impression, and euill disposition in the minds of the Welshmen and others, that for anie persuasion which the earle of Salisburie might vse, they would not go forth with him, till they saw the king: onelie they were contented to staie fourteene daies to sée if he should come or not; but when he came not within that tearme, they would no longer abide, but scaled & departed awaie: whereas if the king had come before their breaking vp, no doubt, but they would haue put the duke of Hereford in aduenture of a field: so that the kings lingering of time before his comming ouer, gaue opportunitie to the duke to bring things to passe as he could haue wished, and toke from the king all occasion to recouer afterwards anie forces sufficient to resist him.

At length, about eightéene daies after that the king had sent from him the earle of Salisburie, he toke the sea, togither with the dukes of Aumarle, Excester, Surrie, and diuerse others of the nobilitie, with the bishops of London, Lincolne, and Carleill. They landed néere the castell of Barclowlie in Wales, about the feast of saint James the apostle, and staied a while in the same castell, being aduertised of the great forces which the duke of Lancaster had got together against him, wherewith he was marueilouslie amazed, knowing certeinelie that those which were thus in armes with the duke of Lancaster against him, would rather die than giue place, as well for the hatred as feare which they had conceiued at him. Neuertheless he departing from Barclowlie, hasted with all spéed towards Conwaie, where he vnderstood the earle of Salisburie to be still remaining.

K. Richard returneth out of Ireland, and landeth in wales.

Thom. Walsi.

He therefore taking with him such Cheshire men as he had with him at that present (in whom all his trust was reposed) he doubted not to reuenge himselfe of his aduersaries, & so at the first he passed with a good courage: but when he vnderstood as he went thus forward, that all the castels, euen from the borders of Scotland vnto Bristow were deliuered vnto the duke of Lancaster, and that likewise the nobles and commons, as well of the south parts, as the north, were fullie bent to take part with the same duke against him; and further, hearing how his trustie councellors had lost their heads at Bristow, he became so greatlie discomforted, that sorowfullie lamenting his miserable state, he vtterlie despaired of his owne safetie, and calling his armie togither, which was not small, licenced euerie man to depart to his home.

Additions to Polychron.

K. Richard in vtter despaire.

The souldiers being well bent to fight in his defense, besought him to be of good chéere, promising with an oth to stand with him against the duke, and all his partakers vnto death: but this could not incourage him at all, so that in the night next insuing, he stole from his armie, and with the dukes of Excester and Surrie, the bishop of Carleill, and sir Stephan Scrope, and about halfe a score others, he got him to the castell of Conwaie, where he found the earle of Salisburie, determining there to hold himselfe, till he might sée the world at some better staie; for what counsell to take to remedie the mischéefe thus pressing vpon him he wist not. On the one part he knew his title iust, true, and infallible; and his conscience cleane, pure, and without spot of enuie or malice: he had also no small affiance in the Welshmen, and Cheshire men. On the other side, he saw the puissance of his aduersaries, the sudden departing of them whom he most trusted, and all things turned vpside downe: he euidentlie saw, and manifestlie perceiued, that he was forsaken of them, by whom in time he might haue béene aided and relieued, where now it was too late, and too farre ouerpassed.

K. Richard stealeth awaie from his armie, and taketh the castell of Flint.

¶ This suerlie is a verie notable example, and not vnworthie of all princes to be well weied, and diligentlie marked, that this Henrie duke of Lancaster should be thus called to the kingdome, and haue the helpe and assistance (almost) of all the whole realme, which perchance neuer thereof thought or yet dreamed; and that king Richard should thus be left desolate, void, and in despaire of all hope and comfort, in whom if there were anie offense, it ought rather to be imputed to the frailtie of wanton youth, than to the malice of his hart: but such is the deceiuable iudgement of man, which not regarding things present with due consideration, thinketh euer that things to come shall haue good successe, with a pleasant & delitefull end. But in this deiecting of the one, & aduancing of the other, the prouidence of God is to be respected, & his secret will to be wondered at. For as in his hands standeth the donation of kingdoms, so likewise the disposing of them consisteth in his pleasure, which the verie pagans vnderstood right well; otherwise, one of them would neuer haue said,

A spectall note worthie to be well weied.

Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipsos imperium est Iouis
Cuncta supercilio mouentis.

Hor. lib. car. 3. ode. 1.

Sir Thomas Persie earle of Worcester, lord

The earle of Worcester leaueth the K. and fleeth to the duke.

steward of the kings house, either being so commanded by the king, or else vpon displeasure (as some write) for that the king had proclaimed his brother the earle of Northumberland traitor, brake his white staffe, which is the representing signe and token of his office, and without delaie went to duke Henrie. When the kings seruants of houshold saw this (for it was done before them all) they dispersed themselues, some into one countrie, and some into an other. When the duke of Lancaster vnderstood that king Richard was returned forth of Ireland, he left the duke of Yorke still at Bristow, and came backe with his power vnto Berkleie; the second daie he came to Gloucester, and so to Rws, after to Hereford, where came to him the bishop of Hereford, and sir Edmund Mortimer knight. On the sundaie following, he went to Limster, and there the lord Charleton came to him. From thence he went to Ludlow, and the next daie to Shrewsburie, where he rested one daie, and thither came to him sir Robert Leigh, and sir John Leigh, and manie other being sent from Chester, to treat with the duke of Lancaster, for the citie and countie of Chester, that were now readie to submit themselues vnto him in all things.

where fortune fauoureth, thither the peoples fauour fleeth.

There came hither vnto him the lord Scales, and the lord Berdolfe, forth of Ireland, hauing beene spoiled of all they had about them in Wales, as they came through the countrie. From Shrewsburie, he kept on his iournie towards Chester, and lodging one night by the waie, in a towne there in the borders of Wales, he came the second night to Chester, and staied there certeine daies togither, making a iollie muster of his armie there in sight of the citie. The clergie met, & receiued him with procession: he sent forthwith for his sonne & heire, & likewise for the duke of Gloucesters sonne & heire, that were as yet remaining in Ireland, commanding them with all speed to returne home into England. But the duke of Gloucesters sonne, through mischance perished, as he was on the seas to come ouer, for whose losse his mother tooke such greefe, that shortlie after through immoderate sorow she likewise passed out of this transitorie life.

The duke of Lancaster comming to Chester.

In this meane time, king Richard being in the castell of Conwaie sore discomfited, and fearing lest he could not remaine there long in safetie, vpon knowledge had by his trustie frends John Paulet, and Richard Seimour, of the dealings and approch of his aduersaries, sent the duke of Excester to talke with the duke of Lancaster, who in this meane while had caused one of king Richards faithfull and trustie frends, sir Piers a Leigh, commonlie called Perkin a Lee, to lose his head, & commanded the same to be set vp, vpon one of the highest turrets about all the citie; and so that true and faithfull gentleman, for his stedfast faith, and assured loialtie to his louing souereigne, thus lost his life. There came to him about the same time, or somewhat before, the dukes of Aumarle and Surrie, the lord Louell, and sir John Stanleie, beseeching him to receiue him into his fauour.

Perkin a Lee.

¶ By some writers it should seeme, not onelie the duke of Excester, but also the duke of Surrie were sent vnto duke Henrie from king Richard, and that duke Henrie staied them both, and would not suffer them to returne to the king againe, keeping the duke of Excester still about him, and committing the duke of Surrie to prison, within the castell of Chester. The king herewith went to Beaumaris, & after to Carnarnan: but finding no prouision either of vittels or other things in those castels, no not so much as a bed to lie in, he came backe againe to Conwaie, and in the meane time was the castell of Holt deliuered to the duke of Hereford, by those that had it in keeping wherein was great store of iewels, to the value of two hundred thousand marks, besides an hundred thousand marks in readie coine. After this, the duke, with aduise of his councell, sent the earle of Northumberland vnto the king, accompanied with foure hundred lances, & a thousand archers, who comming to the castell of Flint, had it deliuered vnto him; and from thence he hasted forth towards Conwaie. But before he approched nere the place, he left his power behind him, hid closelie in two ambushes, behind a craggie mounteine, beside the high waie that leadeth from Flint to Conwaie.

Out of master Dees booke.

Holt castell deliuered to the duke.

Some write, that the archbishop of Canturburie and the earle of Westmerland met also with the earle of Northumberland to Conwaie.

This done, taking not past foure or fiue with him, he passed forth, till he came before the towne, and then sending an herald to the king, requested a safe conduct from the king, that he might come and talke with him, which the king granted, and so the earle of Northumberland passing the water, entred the castell, and comming to the king, declared to him, that if it might please his grace to vndertake, that there should be a parlement assembled, in the which iustice might be had, against such as were enimies to the common-wealth, and had procured the destruction of the duke of Gloucester, and other noblemen, and herewith pardon the duke of Hereford of all things wherin he had offended him, the duke would be readie to come to him on his knees, to craue of him forgiuenesse, and as an humble subiect, to obeie him in all dutifull seruices. The king taking aduise vpon these offers, and other made by the earle of Northumberland on the behalfe of the duke of Hereford; vpon the earles oth, for assurance that the same should be performed in ech condition, agreed to go with the earle to meete the duke, and here vpon taking their horsses, they rode forth, but the earle rode before, as it were, to prepare dinner for the king at Rutland, but comming to the place where he had left his people, he staied there with them.

The earle of Northumberlands message to the king.

The king leaueth Conwaie castell, and betaketh himselfe to his enimies.

The king keeping on his waie, had not ridden past foure miles, when he came to the place where the ambushes were lodged, and being entred within danger of them, before he was aware, shewed himselfe to be sore abashed. But now there was no remedie: for the earle being there with his men, would not suffer him to returne, as he gladlie would haue done if he might; but being inclosed with the sea on the one side, and the rocks on the other, hauing his aduersaries so neere at hand before him, he could not shift awaie by any meanes, for if he should haue fled backe, they might easilie haue ouertaken him, yer he could haue got out of their danger. And thus of force he was then constrained to go with the earle, who brought him to Rutland, where they dined, and from thence they rode vnto Flint to bed. The king had verie few about him of his frends, except onelie the earle of Salisburie, the bishop of Carleill, the lord Stephan Scrope, sir Nicholas Ferebie, a sonne also of the countesse of Salisburie, and Jenico Dartois a Gascoigne that still ware the cognisance or deuise of his maister king Richard, that is to saie, a white hart, and would not put it from him, neither for persuasions nor threats; by reason whereof, when the duke of Hereford vnderstood it, he caused him to be committed to prison within the castell of Chester. This man was the last (as saieth mine author) which ware that deuise, and shewed well thereby his constant hart toward his maister, for the which it was thought he should haue lost his life, but yet he was pardoned, and at length reconciled to the dukes fauour, after he was king.

A constant seruant.

But now to our purpose. King Richard being thus come vnto the castell of Flint, on the mondaie, the eightéenth of August, and the duke of Hereford being still aduertised from houre to houre by posts, how

how the earle of Northumberland sped, the morow following being tuesdaie, and the nineteenth of August, he came thither, & mustered his armie before the kings presence, which undoubtedlie made a passing faire shew, being verie well ordered by the lord Henrie Persie, that was appointed generall, or rather (as we maie call him) maister of the campe, vnder the duke, of the whole armie. There were come alreadie to the castell, before the approching of the maine armie, the archbishop of Canturburie, the duke of Aumarle, the earle of Worcester, and diuerse other. The archbishop entred first, and then followed the other, comming into the first ward.

The king that was walking aloft on the brates of the wals, to behold the comming of the duke a farre off, might see, that the archbishop and the other were come, and (as he tooke it) to talke with him: whereupon he forthwith came downe vnto them, and beholding that they did their due reuerence to him on their knees, he tooke them vp, and drawing the archbishop aside from the residue, talked with him a good while, and as it was reported, the archbishop willed him to be of good comfort, for he should be assured, not to haue anie hurt, as touching his person; but he prophesied not as a prelat, but as a Pilat. For, was it no hurt (thinke you) to his person, to be spoiled of his roialtie, to be deposed from his crowne, to be translated from principalitie to prison, & to fall from honor into horror. All which befell him to his extreame hart greefe (no doubt:) which to increase, meanes alas there were manie; but to diminish, helps (God wot) but a few. So that he might haue said with the forlorne man in the mercilesse seas of his miseries,

Vt fera nimboso tumuerunt æquora vento,
In medijs lacera naue relinquor aquis.

¶ Some write (as before in a marginall note I haue quoted) that the archbishop of Canturburie went with the earle of Northumberland vnto Conwaie, and there talked with him: and further, that euen then the king offered, in consideration of his insufficiencie to gouerne, freelie to resigne the crowne, and his kinglie title to the same, vnto the duke of Hereford. But forsomuch as those that were continuallie attendant about the king, during the whole time of his abode at Conwaie, and till his comming to Flint, do plainelie affirme, that the archbishop came not to him, till this tuesdaie before his remouing from Flint vnto Chester, it maie be thought (the circumstances well considered) that he rather made that promise here at Flint, than at Conwaie, although by the tenour of an instrument, conteining the declaration of the archbishop of Yorke, and other commissioners sent from the estates assembled in the next parlement, vnto the said king, it is recorded to be at Conwaie, as after ye maie read. But there maie be some default in the copie, as taking the one place for the other.

But whersoeuer this offer was made, after that the archbishop had now here at Flint communed with the king, he departed, and taking his horse againe, rode backe to meet the duke, who began at that present to approch the castell, and compassed it round about, euen downe to the sea, with his people ranged in good and seemelie order, at the foot of the mounteins: and then the earle of Northumberland passing forth of the castell to the duke, talked with him a while in sight of the king, being againe got vp to the walles, to take better view of the armie, being now aduanced within two bowe shotes of the castell, to the small reioising (ye may be sure) of the sorowfull king. The earle of Northumberland returning to the castell, appointed the king to be set to dinner (for he was fasting till then) and after he had dined, the duke came downe to the castell himselfe, and entred the same all armed, his basenet onelie excepted, and being within the first gate, he staied there, till the king came forth of the inner part of the castell vnto him.

The king accompanied with the bishop of Carleill, the earle of Salisburie, and sir Stephan Scrope knight, who bare the sword before him, and a few other, came forth into the vtter ward, and sate downe in a place prepared for him. Forthwith as the duke got sight of the king, he shewed a reuerend dutie as became him, in bowing his knee, and comming forward, did so likewise the second and third time, till the king tooke him by the hand, and lift him vp, saieng; Deere cousine, ye are welcome. The duke humblie thanking him said; My souereigne lord and king, the cause of my comming at this present, is (your honor saued) to haue againe restitution of my person, my lands and heritage, through your fauourable licence. The king herunto answered; Deere cousine, I am readie to accomplish your will, so that ye may inioy all that is yours, without exception.

The dukes behauiour to the king at their meeting.

The dukes demand.

Meeting thus togither, they came forth of the castell, and the king there called for wine, and after they had dronke, they mounted on horsebacke, and rode that night to Flint, and the next daie vnto Chester, the third vnto Nantwich, the fourth to Newcastell. Here, with glad countenance, the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike met them, that had beene confined into the Ile of Man, as before ye haue heard; but now was reuoked home by the duke of Lancaster. From Newcastell they rode to Stafford, and the first daie vnto Lichfield, and there rested sundaie all daie. After this, they rode forth, and lodged at these places insuing, Couentrie, Dantrée, Northhampton, Dunstable, S. Albons, & so came to London: neither was the king permitted all this while to change his apparell, but rode still through all these townes simplie clothed in one sute of raiment, and yet he was in his time exceeding sumptuous in apparell, in so much as he had one cote, which he caused to be made for him of gold and stone, valued at 30000 marks: & so he was brought the next waie to Westminster.

The king and the duke iourenie togither towards London.

K. Richard sumptuous in apparell.

As for the duke, he was receiued with all the ioy and pompe that might be of the Londoners, and was lodged in the bishops palace, by Paules church. It was a wonder to see what great concurse of people, & what number of horses came to him on the waie as he thus passed the countries, till his comming to London, where (vpon his approch to the citie) the maior rode forth to receiue him, and a great number of other citizens. Also the cleargie met him with procession, and such ioy appeared in the countenances of the people, vttering the same also with words, as the like not lightlie beene seene. For in euerie towne and village where he passed, children reioised, women clapped their hands, and men cried out for ioy. But to speake of the great numbers of people that flocked togither in the fields and streets of London at his comming, I here omit; neither will I speake of the presents, welcommings, lauds, and gratifications made to him by the citizens and communaltie.

The dukes receiuing into London.

But now to the purpose. The next day after his comming to London, the king from Westminster was had to the Tower, and there committed to safe custodie. Manie euill disposed persons, assembling themselues togither in great numbers, intended to haue met with him, and to haue taken him from such as had the conueieng of him, that they might haue slaine him. But the maior and aldermen gathered to them the worshipfull commoners and graue citizens, by whose policie, and not without much adoo, the other were reuoked from their euill purpose: albeit, before they might be pacified, they coming to West-

The king cõmitted to the tower.

minster, toke maister John Sclake deane of the kings chappell, and from thence brought him to Newgate, and there laid him fast in irons.

A parlement in the kings name.

After this was a parlement called by the duke of Lancaster, vsing the name of king Richard in the writs directed forth to the lords, and other states for their summons. This parlement began the thirteenth date of September, in the which manie heinous points of misgouernance and iniurious dealings in the administration of his kinglie office, were laid to the charge of this noble prince king Richard, the which (to the end the commons might be persuaded, that he was an vnprofitable prince to the common-wealth, and worthie to be deposed) were ingrossed vp in 33 solemne articles, heinous to the eares of all men, and to some almost incredible, the verie effect of which articles here insue, according to the copie which I haue seene, and is abridged by maister Hall as followeth.

The articles obiected to king Richard, whereby he was counted worthie to be deposed from his principalitie.

1 First, that king Richard wastfullie spent the treasure of the realme, and had giuen the possessions of the crowne to men vnworthie, by reason whereof, new charges more and more were laid on the poore cõmunaltie. And where diuerse lords, as well spirituall as temporall, were appointed by the high court of parlement, to commune and treat of diuerse matters concerning the common-wealth of the realme, which being busie about the same commission, he with other of his affinitie went about to impeach, and by force and menacing compelled the iustices of the realme at Shrewesburie to condescend to his opinion, for the destruction of the said lords, in so much that he began to raise warre against John duke of Lancaster, Richard earle of Arundell, Thomas earle of Warwike, and other lords, contrarie to his honor and promise.

2 Item, that he caused his vncle the duke of Gloucester to be arrested without law, and sent him to Calis, and there without iudgement murthered him, and although the earle of Arundell vpon his arreignment pleaded his charter of pardon, he could not be heard, but was in most vile and shamefull manner suddenlie put to death.

3 Item, he assembled certeine Lancashire and Cheshire men, to the intent to make warre on the same lords, and suffered them to rob and pill, without correction or repreeue.

4 Item, although the king flateringlie, and with great dissimulation, made proclamation throughout the realme, that the lords before named were not attached of anie crime of treason, but onlie for extortions and oppressions done in this realme; yet he laid to them in the parlement, rebellion and manifest treason.

5 Item, he hath compelled diuers of the said lords seruants and frends, by menaces & extreme paines, to make great fines to their vtter vndoing; and notwithstanding his pardon, yet he made them fine anew.

6 Item, where diuerse were appointed to commune of the state of the realme, and the common-wealth thereof, the same king caused all the rols and records to be kept from them, contrarie to promise made in the parlement, to his open dishonor.

7 Item, he vncharitablie commanded, that no man vpon paine of losse of life, and goods, should once intreat him for the returne of Henrie now duke of Lancaster.

8 Item, where this realme is holden of God, and not of the pope or other prince, the said king Richard, after he had obteined diuerse acts of parlement, for his owne peculiar profit and pleasure, then he obteined bulles and extreame censures from Rome, to compell all men streightlie to keepe the same, contrarie to the honour and ancient priuileges of this realme.

9 Item, although the duke of Lancaster had done his deuoire against Thomas duke of Norfolke in proose of his quarrell; yet the said king, without reason or ground, banished him the realme for ten yeers, contrarie to all equitie.

10 Item, before the dukes departure, he vnder his broad seale licenced him to make atturnies to prosecute and defend his causes: the said king after his departure, would suffer none atturnie to appeare for him, but did with his at his pleasure.

11 Item, the same king put out diuerse shiriffes lawfullie elected, and put in their romes diuerse other of his owne, subuerting the law, contrarie to his oth and honor.

12 Item, he borowed great summes of monie, and bound him vnder his letters patents, for the repaiment of the same, and yet not one penie paid.

13 Item, he tared men at the will of him and his vnhapie councell, and the same treasure spent in follie, not paieng poore men for their vittels and viands.

14 Item, he said, that the lawes of the realme were in his head, and sometimes in his brest, by reason of which fantasticall opinion, he destroied noble men, and impouerished the poore commons.

15 Item, the parlement setting and enacting diuerse notable statutes, for the profit and aduancement of the common-wealth, he by his priuie frends and solicitors caused to be enacted, that no act then enacted, should be more preiudiciall to him, than it was to anie of his predecessors: through which pro-uiso he did often as he liked, and not as the law did meane.

16 Item, for to serue his purpose, he would suffer the shiriffes of the shire to remaine aboue one yeare or two.

17 Item, at the summons of the parlement, when knights and burgesses should be elected, that the election had bene full procéeded, he put out diuerse persons elect, and put other in their places, to serue his will and appetite.

18 Item, he had priuie espials in euerie shire, to heare who had of him anie communication; and if he communed of his lasciuious liuing, or outragious doings, he straightwaies was apprehended, and put to a greeuous fine.

19 Item, the spiritualtie alledged against him, that he at his going into Ireland, erected manie notable summes of monie, beside plate and iewels, without law or custome, contrarie to his oth taken at his coronation.

20 Item, where diuerse lords and iustices were sworne to saie the truth of diuerse things to them committed in charge, both for the honor of the reime, and profit of the king, the said king so menaced them with sore threatenings, that no man would or durst saie the right.

21 Item, that without the assent of the nobilitie, he carried the iewels, plate, and treasure, ouer into Ireland, to the great impouerishment of the realme: and all the good records for the common-wealth, and against his extortions, he caused priuilie to be imbesled, and conueied awaie.

22 Item, in all leagues and letters to be concluded or sent to the see of Rome, or other regions, his

his writing was so subtill and darke, that none other prince once beléeued him, nor yet his owne subiects.

23 Item, he most tyrannouslie and vnprincelie said, that the liues and goods of all his subiects were in his hands, and at his disposition.

24 Item, that contrarie to the great charter of England, he caused diuerse lustie men to appeale diuerse old men, vpon matters determinable at the common law in the court Marshall, because that there is no triall, but onelie by battell: wherevpon, the said aged persons, fearing the sequele of the matter, submitted themselues to his mercie, whome he fined and ransomed vnreasonablie at his will and pleasure.

25 Item, he craftilie deuised certeine priuie othes, contrarie to the law, and caused diuerse of his subiects first to be sworne to obserue the same, and after bound them in bonds for kéeping of the same, to the great vndoing of manie honest men.

26 Item, where the chancellor, according to the law, would in no wise grant a prohibition to a certeine person, the king granted it vnto the same, vnder his priuie seale, with great threatenings, if it should be disobeied.

27 Item, he banished the bishop of Canturburie without cause or iudgement, and kept him in the parlement chamber with men of armes.

28 Item, the bishops goods he granted to his successor, vpon condition, that he should mainteine all his statutes made at Shrewesburie anno 21, and the statutes made anno 22 at Couentrie.

29 Item, vpon the accusation of the said bishop, the king craftilie persuaded him to make no answer for he would be his warrant, and aduised him not to come to the parlement, and so without answer he was condemned and exiled, and his goods seized.

These be all the articles of anie effect, which were laid against him, sauing foure other, which touched onelie the archbishops matter, whose working tooward king Richard at length from his crowne. When for so much as these articles, and other heinous and detestable accusations were laid against him in open parlement, it was thought by the most part, that he was worthie to be deposed from all kinglie honor, and princelie gouernement: and to bring the matter without slander the better to passe, diuerse of the kings seruants, which by licence had accesse to his person, comforted him (being with sorrow almost consumed, and in manner halfe dead) in the best wise they could, exhorting him to regard his health, and saue his life.

The king is persuaded to resigne the crowne to the duke.

And first, they aduised him willinglie to suffer himselfe to be deposed, and to resigne his right of his owne accord, so that the duke of Lancaster might without murther or battell obteine the scepter and diademe, after which (they well perceiued) he gaped: by meane whereof they thought he might be in perfect assurance of his life long to continue. Whether this their persuasion proceeded by the suborning of the duke of Lancaster and his fauourers, or of a sincere affection which they bare to the king, as supposing it most sure in such an extremitie, it is vncerteine; but yet the effect followed not, howsoeuer their meaning was: notwithstanding, the king being now in the hands of his enimies, and vtterlie despairing of all comfort, was easilie persuaded to renounce his crowne and princelie preheminence, so that in hope of life onelie, he agreed to all things that were of him demanded. And so (as it should seeme by the copie of an instrument hereafter following) he renounced and voluntarilie was deposed from his roiall crowne and kinglie dignitie, the mondaie being the nine and twentith date of September, and

Fabian.

feast of S. Michaell the archangell, in the yeare of our Lord 1399, and in the three and twentith yeare of his reigne. The copie of which instrument here insueth.

A copie of the instrument touching *the declaration of the commissioners* sent from the states in parlement, vnto king Richard.

THis present indenture made the nine and twentith daie of September, and feast of saint Michaell, in the yeare of our Lord 1399, and the three and twentith yeare of king Richard the second. Witnesseth, that where by the authoritie of the lords spirituall and temporall of this present parlement, and commons of the same, the right honorable and discreet persons here vndernamed, were by the said authoritie assigned to go to the Tower of London, there to heare and testifie such questions and answers as then and there should be by the said honourable and discreet persons hard. Know all men, to whome these present letters shall come, that we, sir Richard Scrope archbishop of Yorke, John bishop of Hereford, Henrie earle of Northumberland, Rafe earle of Westmerland, Thomas lord Berkeleie, William abbat of Westminster, John prior of Canturburie, William Thirning and Hugh Burnell knights, John Markham iustice, Thomas Stow and John Burbadge doctors of the ciuill law, Thomas Erpingham and Thomas Grey knights, Thomas Ferebie and Denis Lopeham notaries publike, the daie and yere aboue said, betweene the houres of eight and nine of the clocke before noone, were present in the chefe chamber of the kings lodging, within the said place of the Tower, where was rehearsed vnto the king by the mouth of the foresaid earle of Northumberland, that before time at Conwaie in Northwales, the king being there at his pleasure and libertie, promised vnto the archbishop of Canturburie then Thomas Arundell, and vnto the said earle of Northumberland, that he for insufficiencie which he knew himselfe to be of, to occupie so great a charge, as to gouerne the realme of England, he would gladlie leaue of and renounce his right and title, as well of that as of his title to the crowne of France, and his maiestie roiall, vnto Henrie duke of Hereford, and that to do in such conuenient wise, as by the learned men of this land it should most sufficientlie be deuised & ordeined. To the which rehearsall, the king in our said presences answered benignlie and said, that such promise he made, and so to do the same he was at that houre in full purpose to performe and fulfill; sauing that he desired first to haue personall speach with the said duke, and with the archbishop of Canturburie his cousins. And further, he desired to haue a bill drawne of the said resignation, that

This promise he made at Flint rather than at Conwaie, as by that which goeth before it may be partlie coniectured.

that he might be perfect in the rehearsall thereof.

After which bill drawne, and a copie thereof to him by me the said earle deliuered, we the said lords and other departed: and vpon the same afternoone the king looking for the comming of the duke of Lancaster, at the last the said duke, with the archbishop of Canturburie and the persons afore recited, entered the foresaid chamber, bringing with them the lords Ros, Aburgenie, and Willoughbie, with diuerse other. Where after due obeisance done by them vnto the king, he familiarlie and with a glad countenance (as to them and vs appeared) talked with the said archbishop and duke a good season; and that communication finished, the king with glad countenance in presence of vs and the other aboue rehearsed, said openlie that he was readie to renounce and resigne all his kinglie maiestie in maner and forme as he before had promised. And although he had and might sufficientlie haue declared his renouncement by the reading of an other meane person; yet for the more suertie of the matter, and for that the said resignation should haue his full force and strength, himselfe therefore read the scroll of resignation, in maner and forme as followeth.

The tenor of the instrument whereby *king Richard resigneth the crowne to* the duke of Lancaster.

IN the name of God Amen: I Richard by the grace of God, king of England and of France, &c: lord of Ireland, acquit and assoile all archbishops, bishops, and other prelats, secular or religious, of what dignitie, degree, state, or condition so euer they be; and also all dukes, marquesses, earles, barons, lords, and all my liege men, both spirituall and secular, of what manner or degree they be, from their oth of fealtie and homage, and all other deeds and priuileges made vnto me, and from all manner bonds of allegiance, regalitie and lordship, in which they were or be bounden to me, or anie otherwise constreined; and them, their heires, and successors for euermore, from the same bonds and oths I release, deliuer, and acquit, and set them for free, dissolued and acquit, and to be harmelesse, for as much as longeth to my person by anie manner waie or title of right, that to me might follow of the foresaid things, or anie of them. And also I resigne all my kinglie dignitie, maiestie and crowne, with all the lordships, power, and priuileges to the foresaid kinglie dignitie and crowne belonging, and all other lordships and possessions to me in anie maner of wise perteining, of what name, title, qualitie, or condition soeuer they be, except the lands and possessions for me and mine obits purchased and bought. And I renounce all right, and all maner of title of possession, which I euer had or haue in the same lordships and possessions, or anie of them, with anie manner of rights belonging or apperteining vnto anie part of them. And also the rule and gouernance of the same kingdome and lordships, with all ministrations of the same, and all things and euerie each of them, that to the whole empire and iurisdictions of the same belongeth of right, or in anie wise may belong.

And also I renounce the name, worship, and regaltie and kinglie highnesse, clearelie, freelie, singularlie and wholie, in the most best maner and forme that I may, and with deed and word I leaue off and resigne them, and go from them for euermore; sauing alwaies to my successors kings of England, all the rights, priuileges and appurtenances to the said kingdome and lordships aboue said belonging and apperteining. For well I wote and knowledge, and deeme my selfe to be, and haue beene insufficient and vnable, and also vnprofitable, and for my open deserts not vnworthie to be put downe. And I sweare vpon the holie euangelists here presentlie with my hands touched, that I shall neuer repugne to this resignation, demission or yeelding vp, nor neuer impugne them in anie manet by word or deed, by my selfe nor none other: nor I shall not suffer it to be impugned, in as much as in me is, priuilie or apertlie. But I shall haue, hold, and keepe this renouncing, demission, and giuing vp for firme and stable for euermore in all and euerie part thereof, so God me helpe and all saints, and by this holie euangelist, by me bodilie touched and kissed. And for more record of the same, here openlie I subscribe and signe this present resignation with mine owne hand.

Now forthwith in our presences and others, he subscribed the same, and after deliuered it vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, saieng that if it were in his power, or at his assignement, he would that the duke of Lancaster there present should be his successour, and king after him. And in token hereof, he tooke a ring of gold from his finger being his signet, and put it vpon the said dukes finger, desiring and requiring the archbishop of Yorke, & the bishop of Hereford, to shew and make report vnto the lords of the parlement of his voluntarie resignation, and also of his intent and good mind that he bare towards his cousin the duke of Lancaster, to haue him his successour and their king after him. ¶ All this doone, euerie man tooke their leaue and returned to their owne.

Upon the morrow after being tuesdaie, and the last daie of September, all the lords spirituall and temporall, with the commons of the said parlement, assembled at Westminster, where, in the presence of them, the archbishop of Yorke, and the bishop of Hereford, according to the kings request, shewed vnto them the voluntarie renouncing of the king, with the fauour also which he bare to his cousine of Lancaster to haue him his successour. And moreouer shewed them the schedule or bill of renouncement, signed with king Richards owne hand, which they caused to be read first in Latine, as it was written, and after in English. This doone, the question was first asked of the lords, if they would admit and allow that renouncement: the which when it was of them granted

K. Richards resignation confirmed by parlement.

granted and confirmed, the like question was asked of the commons, and of them in like manner confirmed. After this, it was then declared, that notwithstanding the foresaid renouncing, so by the lords and commons admitted and confirmed, it were necessarie in auoiding of all suspicions and surmises of euill disposed persons, to haue in writing and registred the manifold crimes and defaults before done by king Richard, to the end that they might first be openlie declared to the people, and after to remaine of record amongst other of the kings records for euer.

All this was done accordinglie, for the articles which before ye haue heard, were drawne and ingrossed vp, and there shewed readie to be read; but for other causes more needfull as then to be preferred, the reading of those articles at that season was deferred. When forsomuch as the lords of the parlement had well considered the voluntarie resignation (of king Richard, and that it was behouefull and as they thought) necessarie for the weale of the realme, to proceed vnto the sentence of his deposing, there were appointed by the authoritie of all the estates there in parlement assembled, the bishop of saint Asaph, the abbat of Glastenburie, the earle of Glocester, the lord Berkleie, William Thirning iustice, and Thomas Erpingham, with Thomas Graie, knights, that they should giue and pronounce the open sentence of the deposing of king Richard. Whervpon the said commissioners taking counsell togither, by good and deliberate aduise therein had, with one assent agreed, that the bishop of S. Asaph should publish the sentence for them and in their names, as followeth.

and vnworthie of the rule and gouernance of the foresaid realms and lordships, and of all rights and other the appurtenances to the same belonging. And for the same causes we depriue him of all kinglie dignitie and worship, and of any kinglie worship in himselfe. And we depose him by our sentence definitiue, forbidding expresselie to all archbishops, and bishops, and all other prelats, dukes, marquesses, erles, barons and knights, and all other men of the foresaid kingdome and lordships, subiects, and lieges whatsoeuer they be, that none of them from this daie forward, to the foresaid Richard as king and lord of the foresaid realmes and lordships, be neither obedient nor attendant.

After which sentence thus openlie declared, the said estates admitted forthwith the forenamed commissioners for their procurators, to resigne and yeld vp vnto king Richard, all their homage and fealtie, which in times past they had made and owght vnto him, and also for to declare vnto him (if need were) all things before done that concerned the purpose and cause of his deposing: the which resignation was respited till the morow following. Immediatlie as the sentence was in this wise passed, and that by reason thereof the realme stood void without head or gouernour for the time, the duke of Lancaster rising from the place where before he sate, and standing where all those in the house might behold him, in reuerend manner made a signe of the crosse on his forhead, and likewise on his breast, and after silence by an officer commanded, said vnto the people there being present, these words following.

The publication of king Richards deposing.

IN the name of God Amen. We John bishop of S. Asaph, John abbat of Glastenburie, Thomas earle of Glocester, Thomas lord Berkeleie, William Thirning iustice, Thomas Erpingham & Thomas Graie knights, chosen and deputed speciall commissaries by the three estates of this present parlement, representing the whole bodie of the realme, for all such matters by the said estates to vs committed: we vnderstanding and considering the manifold crimes, hurts, and harmes done by Richard king of England, and misgouernance of the same by a long time, to the great decaie of the said land, and vtter ruine of the same shortlie to haue beene, had not the speciall grace of our God therevnto put the sooner remedie: and also furthermore aduerting, that the said king Richard by acknowledging his owne insufficiencie, hath of his owne meere voluntæ and free will, renounced and giuen ouer the rule & gouernance of this land, with all rights and honours vnto the same belonging, and vtterlie for his merits hath iudged himselfe not vnworthilie to be deposed of all kinglie maiestie and estate roiall. We the premisses well considering by good and diligent deliberation, by the power, name, and authoritie to vs (as aboue is said) committed, pronounce, decerne, and declare the same king Richard, before this to haue beene, and to be vnprofitable, vnable, vnsufficient,

The duke of Lancaster laieth challenge or claime to the crowne.

IN the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, & of the Holie-ghost. I Henrie of Lancaster claime the realme of England and the crowne, with all the appurtenances, as I that am descended by right line of the blood comming from that good lord king Henrie the third, and through the right that God of his grace hath sent me, with the helpe of my kin, and of my friends, to recouer the same, which was in point to be vndone for default of good gouernance and due iustice.

After these words thus by him vttered, he returned and sate him downe in the place where before he had sitten. Then the lords hauing heard and well perceiued this claime thus made by this noble man, ech of them asked of other what they thought therein. At length, after a little pausing or staie made, the archbishop of Canturburie hauing notice of the minds of the lords, stood vp & asked the commons if they would assent to the lords, which in their minds thought the claime of the duke made, to be rightfull and necessarie for the wealth of the realme and them all: whereto the commons with one voice cried, Yea, yea, yea. After which answer, the said archbishop going to the duke, and kneeling downe before him on his knee, addressed to him all his purpose in few words. The which when he had ended, he rose, & taking the duke by the right hand, led him vnto the kings seate, the archbishop of Yorke assisting him, and with great reuerence

The demand of the archbishop of Canturburie to the commons.

Thom. Walf. The duke of Herefor placed in the regall throne.

reuerence set him therein, after that the duke had first vpon his knées made his praier in deuout manner vnto almightie God. When he was thus placed in his throne to the great reioising of the people, the archbishop of Canturburie began a brefe collation, taking for his theme these words, written in the first booke of kings the ninth chapter; *Vir dominabitur in populo, &c:* handling the same, & the whole tenour of his tale to the praise of the king, whose setled iudgement, grounded wisedome, perfect reason, and ripe discretion was such (said he) as declared him to be no child, neither in yeares, nor in light conditions, but a man able and mete for the gouernement of a realme: so that there was no small cause of comfort ministred to them through the fauourable goodnesse of almightie God, which had prouided them of such a gouernor, as like a discréet iudge shall déeme in causes by skilfull domes, and rule his subiects in vpright equitie, setting apart all wilfull pleasures, and childish inconstancie. This is a summarie of his oration. But because the qualitie of this volume is such, as that it hath set forth matters at large: I will late downe the archbishops words, as they are recorded by Fabian in ample manner as followeth.

The archbishop preached.

The archbishop of Canturburie his oration, framed vpon this text, Vir dominabitur in populo, &c: written in the first booke of kings and ninth chapter.

Abr. Fl. out of Fabian, pag. 351.

THese be the words of the high, and most mightie king, speaking to Samuel his prophet, teaching him how he should chose and ordaine a gouernor of his people of Israell, when the said people asked of him a king, to rule them. And not without cause may these words be said here of our lord the king that is. For, if they be inwardlie conceiued, they shall giue vnto vs matter of consolation and comfort, when it is said that a man shall haue lordship and rule of the people, and not a child. For God threatneth not vs as he sometime threatned the people by Esaie, saieng: *Esa. 3. Et dabo pueros principes eorum, & effeminati dominabuntur eis*, I shall (saith our Lord) giue children to be their rulers & princes, and weake or fearefull shall haue dominion ouer them. But of his great mercie he hath visited vs, I trust his peculiar people, and sent vs a man to haue the rule of vs, & put by children that before time ruled this land, after childish conditions, as by the workes of them it hath rightlie appeared, to the disturbance of all this realme; and for want and lacke of a man. For, as saith the apostle Paule *ad Corinthos, 1. capite 14. Cùm essem paruulus, loquebar vt paruulus, &c: quando autem factus sum vir, euacuaui quæ erant paruuli*, that is to say, When I was a child, I sauored and spake as a child, but at the time when I came vnto the estate of a man, then I put by all my childish conditions.

The apostle saith, he sauored and spake as a child, in whom is no stedfastnesse, or constancie. For a child will lightlie promise, and lightlie he will breake his promise, and do all things that his appetite giueth him vnto, and forgetteth lightlie what he hath done. By which reason it followeth, that needlie great inconuenience must fall to that people, that a child is ruler and gouernour of: nor it is not possible for that kingdome to stand in felicitie, where such conditions reigne in the head and ruler of the same. But now we ought all to reioise, that all such defaults be expelled, and that a man, and not a child, shall haue lordship ouer vs. To whom it belongeth to haue a sure rane vpon his tong, that he maie be knowne from a child, or a man vsing childish conditions: of whom I trust I maie say, as the wise man saith in his prouerbs, *Prouerb. 3. cap. Beatus homo qui inuenit sapientiam, & qui affluit prudentia*, that is to say, Blessed be the man that hath sapience or wisdome, and that aboundeth in prudence. For that man that is ruled by sapience, must nœds loue & dread our Lord God, and who so loueth & dreadeth him, it must consequentlie follow that he must kéepe his commandements. By force whereof he shall minister true iustice vnto his subiects, and do no wrong nor iniurie to any man.

So that then shall follow the words of the wise man the which be rehearsed, *Prouerb. 10. Benedictio Domini super caput iusti, os autem impiorum operit iniquitatem*, that is to sate, The blessing of our Lord God shall light vpon the head of our king, being a iust and righteous man, for the tong of him worketh equitie and iustice; but the tong of the wicked & of sinners couereth iniquitie. And who so worketh or ministreth iustice in due order, he not onlie safegardeth himself, but also holdeth people in a suertie of restfulnes, of the which insueth peace and plentie. And therefore it is said of the wise king Salomon, *Eccles. 10. Beata terra cuius rex nobilis est, vel cuius principes vescuntur in tempore suo*, wich is to be vnderstanded, that blessed & happie is that land, of the which the king or ruler is noble and wise, and the princes be blessed that liue in his time. As who would say, they may take example of him to rule and guide their subiects. For by the discretion of a noble and wise man being in authoritie, manie euils be sequestred and set apart, all dissemblers put to silence. For the wise man considereth and noteth well the great inconueniences which dailie now growe of it, where the child or insipient drinketh the swæt and delicious words vnaduisedlie, and perceiueth not intoxication which they be mingled or mixt with, till he be inuironed and wrapped in all danger, as latelie the experience thereof hath bæne apparent to all our sights and knowledges, & not without the great danger of all this realme. And all was for lacke of wisedome in the ruler, which dæmed & taught as a child, giuing sentence of wilfulnesse and not of reason. So that while a child reigned, selfe-will & lust reigned, and reason with good conscience were outlawed, with iustice, stedfastnesse, and manie other vertues.

But of this perill and danger we be deliuered by the especiall helpe and grace of God,

God, *Quia vir dominabitur in populo*, that is to saie, He that is not a child but perfect in reason. For he commeth not to execute his owne will, but his will that sent him, that is to wit, Gods will, as a man vnto whome God of his abundant grace hath giuen perfect reason and discretion, to discerne & deeme as a perfect man. Wherfore not all onlie of this man we shall saie that he shall dwell in wisedome, but as a perfect man and not a child, he shall thinke, and deeme, & haue such a circumspection with him, that he shall diligentlie fore-looke and see that Gods will be done, & not his. And therfore now I trust the words of the wise man, *Eccles. 10.* shall be verified in our king: saieng, *Iudex sapiens iudicabit populum suum, & principatus sensati stabilis erit*; that is (as saith the wiseman) A wise and discreet iudge shall now deeme his people, and the dominion or lordship of a discreet wiseman shall stand stedfast. Whereupon shall then follow the second verse of the same chapter, saieng, *Secundum iudicem populi, sic & ministri eius*, that is, Like as the head & souereigne is replenished with all sapience and vertue, in guiding of his people, administring to them law, with due and conuenient iustice, so shall the subiects againward be garnished with awe and louing dread, and beare vnto him next God all honour, truth and allegiance.

So that then it may be concluded with the residue of the foresaid verses; *Qualis rector est ciuitatis, tales & inhabitantes in ea*, which is to saie, Such as the ruler of the citie is, such then be the inhabitants of the same. So that consequentlie it followeth, a good master maketh a good disciple. And likewise an euill king or ruler shall lose his people, & the cities of his kingdome shall be left desolate and vnhabited. Wherefore thus I make an end. In sted of a child wilfullie doing his lust and pleasure without reason, now shall a man be lord and ruler, that is replenished with sapience and reason, and shall gouerne the people by skilfull dome, setting apart all wilfulnesse and pleasure of himselfe. So that the word that I began with may be verified of him, *Ecce quia vir dominabitur in populo*. The which our lord grant, & that he may prosperoullie reigne vnto the pleasure of God and wealth of his realme, Amen.

After the archbishop had ended, wishing that it might so come to passe, and the people answered, Amen; the king standing on his feet, said vnto the lords and commons there present: I thanke you my lords both spirituall and temporall, and all the states of this land, and do you to wit, that it is not my will that any man thinke, that I by the waie of conquest would disherit any man of his heritage, franches, or other rights, that him ought to haue of right, nor to put him out of that which he now inioieth, and hath had before time by custome or good law of this realme, except such priuat persons as haue beene against the good purpose, and the common profit of the realme. When he had thus ended, all the shiriffes and other officers were put in their authorities againe, to exercise the same as before, which they could not do whilest the kings roiall throne was void.

The words of the elected king.

Moreouer, a proclamation was made, that the states should assemble againe in parlement on mondaie then next insuing, being the feast daie of saint Faith, which is the first of October; and that the monday then next following, being the 13 of the same moneth, and the feast day of saint Edward the king and confessor, the coronation should be solemnized, and that all such as had to claime any seruice to be done by them at the same by any tenure, they should come to the White-hall in the kings palace, before the steward and constable of England, on saturdaie next before the same day of the parlement, and presenting their petitions that were due & rightfull, they should obteine that to them apperteined. Excuse was also made on the kings behalfe, for calling of a parlement vpon so short a warning, so as the knights and burgesses were not changed, but onelie appointed to assemble againe, as if the other parlement had rather beene continued than dissolued. The cause was alledged to be for easing of the charges that would haue risen, if ech man had beene sent home, and new knights and burgesses called. Thom. Walf.

The coronation proclaimed.

The parlemẽt

These things done, the king rose from his place, and with a cheerefull and right courteous countenance regarding the people, went to White-hall, where the same day he held a great feast. In the afternoone were proclamations made in the accustomed places of the citie, in the name of king Henrie the fourth. On the morrow following, being wednesdaie and first of October, the procurators aboue named repaired to the tower of London, and there signified vnto king Richard the admission of king Henrie. And the aforesaid iustice William Thirning, in name of the other, and for all the states of the land, renounced vnto the said Richard late king, all homage and fealtie vnto him before time due, in manner and forme as apperteined. Which renuntiation to the deposed king, was a redoubling of his greefe, in so much as thereby it came to his mind, how in former times he was acknowledged & taken for their liege lord and souereigne, who now (whether in contempt or in malice, God knoweth) to his face forsware him to be their king. So that in his heuines he might verie well haue said with a greeued plaintife,

King Henrie ỹ fourth proclamed.

Heu quantæ fortes miseris mortalibus instant!
Ah chari quoties obliuia nominis opto!
O qui me fluctus, quis me telluris hiatus
Pertæsum tetricæ vitæ deglutiat ore
Chasmatico?

T. Wals. Amitas querela 5.

Thus was king Richard deprised of all kinglie honour and princelie dignitie, by reason he was so giuen to follow euill counsell, and vsed such inconuenient waies and meanes, through insolent misgouernance, and youthfull outrage, though otherwise a right noble and worthie prince. He reigned two and twentie yeares, three moneths and eight daies. He deliuered to king Henrie now that he was thus deposed, all the goods that he had, to the summe of three hundred thousand pounds in coine, besides plate and iewels, as a pledge and satisfaction of the iniuries by him committed and done, in hope to be in more suertie of life for the deliuerie thereof: but whatsoeuer was promised, he was deceiued therein. For shortlie after his resignation, he was conueied to the castell of Leeds in Kent, & frõ thence to Pomfret, where he departed out of this miserable life (as after you shall heare.) He was semelie of shape and fauor, & of nature good inough, if the wickednesse & naughtie demeanor of such as were about him had not altered it.

K. Richard deprised.

Hall.

His person age.

His chance verelie was greatlie infortunate, which fell into such calamitie, that he tooke it for the best waie he could deuise to renounce his kingdome, for the which mortall men are accustomed to hazard

all

all they haue to atteine thereunto. But such misfortune (or the like) oftentimes falleth vnto those princes, which when they are aloft, cast no doubt for perils that maie follow. He was prodigall, ambitious, and much giuen to the pleasure of the bodie. He kept the greatest port, and maintained the most plentifull house that euer any king in England did either before his time or since. For there resorted dailie to his court aboue ten thousand persons that had meat and drinke there allowed them. In his kitchen there were three hundred seruitors, and euerie other office was furnished after the like rate. Of ladies, chamberers, and landerers, there were aboue three hundred at the least. And in gorgious and costlie apparell they exceeded all measure, not one of them that kept within the bounds of his degree. Yeomen and groomes were clothed in silkes, with cloth of graine and skarlet, ouer sumptuous ye may be sure for their estates. And this vanitie was not onelie vsed in the court in those daies, but also other people abroad in the townes and countries, had their garments cut far otherwise than had beene accustomed before his daies, with imbroderies, rich furres, and goldsmiths worke, and euerie daie there was deuising of new fashions, to the great hinderance and decaie of the common-welth.

Harding.

The noble house-keeping of king Richard.

Excesse in apparell.

Moreouer, such were preferred to bishoprikes, and other ecclesiasticall liuings, as neither could teach nor preach, nor knew any thing of the scripture of God, but onelie to call for their tithes and duties; so that they were most vnworthie the name of bishops, being lewd and most vaine persons disguised in bishops apparell. Furthermore, there reigned abundantlie the filthie sinne of leacherie and fornication, with abhominable adulterie, speciallie in the king, but most chiefelie in the prelacie, whereby the whole realme by such their euill example, was so infected, that the wrath of God was dailie prouoked to vengeance for the sins of the prince and his people. How then could it continue prosperouslie with this king: against whom for the fowle enormities wherewith his life was defamed, the wrath of God was whetted and tooke so sharpe an edge, that the same did shred him off from the scepter of his kingdome, and gaue him a full cup of affliction to drinke; as he had done to other kings his predecessors, by whose example he might haue taken warning. For it is an heauie case when God thundereth out his reall arguments either vpon prince or people.

Ignorant prelats.

Thus haue ye heard what writers do report touching the state of the time and doings of this king. But if I may boldlie saie what I thinke: he was a prince the most vnthankfullie vsed of his subiects, of any one of whom ye shall lightlie read. For although (thorough the frailtie of youth) he demeaned himselfe more dissolutelie than seemed conuenient for his roiall estate, & made choise of such councellors as were not fauoured of the people, whereby he was the lesse fauoured himselfe: yet in no kings daies were the commons in greater wealth, if they could haue perceiued their happie state: neither in any other time were the nobles and gentlemen more cherished, nor churchmen lesse wronged. But such was their ingratitude towards their bountifull & louing souereigne, that those whom he had chiefelie aduanced, were readiest to controll him; for that they might not rule all things at their will, and remoue from him such as they misliked, and place in their roomes whom they thought good, and that rather by strong hand, than by gentle and courteous meanes, which stirred such malice betwixt him and them, till at length it could not be asswaged without perill of destruction to them both.

The duke of Glocester chiefe instrument of this mischiefe, to what end he came ye haue heard. And although his nephue the duke of Hereford toke vpon him to reuenge his death, yet wanted he moderation and loialtie in his doings, for the which both he himselfe and his lineall race were scourged afterwards, as a due punishment vnto rebellious subiects; so as deserued vengeance seemed not to staie long for his ambitious crueltie, that thought it not inough to driue king Richard to resigne his crowne and regall dignitie ouer vnto him, except he also should take from him his guiltlesse life. What vnnaturalnesse, or rather what tigerlike crueltie was this, not to be content with his principalitie: not to be content with his treasure: not to be content with his depriuation: not to be content with his imprisonment: but being so nearelie knit in consanguinitie, which ought to haue moued them like lambs to haue loued each other, wooluishlie to lie in wait for the distressed creatures life, and rauenouslie to thirst after his bloud, the spilling whereof should haue touched his conscience so, as that death ought rather to haue beene aduentured for his safetie, than so sauagelie to haue sought his life after the losse of his roialtie.

But to let this passe to the consideration of the learned: according to our order, I will shew what writers of our English nation liued in his daies, as we find them in Iohn Bales centuries. First Henrie Bederic, otherwise surnamed of Burie, after the name of the towne where he is thought to haue beene borne, an Augustine frier; Simon Alcocke, Athred Bolton a monke of Durham, borne in the borders of Wales beyond Seuerne; William Iordan a blacke frier, John Hilton a frier Minor, John Clipton a Carmelite frier in Nottingham, Henrie Daniell a blacke frier and a good physician, Ralfe Marham, John Marchelete a graie frier or cordelier as some call them, Thomas Brome a Carmelite frier of London, John Bridlington borne in Yorkeshire, William Thorne an Augustine frier of Canturburie, an historiographer, Adam Meremouth a canon of saint Paules church in London, that wrote two treatises of historicall matters, the one intituled *Chronicon 40 annorum*, and the other *Chronicon 60 annorum*; Simon Bredon borne in Winchcombe a doctor of physicke and a skilfull astronomer, John Thompson borne in Norfolke in a village of that name, and a Carmelite frier in Blacknie.

More, Thomas Winterton borne in Lincolnshire, an Augustine frier in Stamford; William Packington secretarie sometime to the Blacke prince an excellent historiographer, Geffraie Hingham a ciuilian, John Boxlesham borne in Cambridgeshire a blacke frier, William Badbie a Carmelite frier, bishop of Worcester, and confessor to the duke of Lancaster; William Folleuill a frier Minor borne in Lincolnshire, John Bourgh parson of Collingham in Nottinghamshire a doctor of diuinitie, and chancellor of the Uniuersitie of Cambridge; William Sclade a monke of Buckfast abbie in Deuonshire, John Thoresbie archbishop of Yorke and lord chancellor of England, was admitted by pope Urbane the fift into the college of cardinals, but he died before K. Richard came to the crowne, about the eight and fourtith yeare of king Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord 1374. Thomas Ashborne an Augustine frier, John Astone an earnest follower of Wickliffes doctrine, and therfore condemned to perpetuall prison; Casterton a monke of Norwich and an excellent diuine, Nicholas Radclife a monke of saint Albons, John Ashwarbie a diuine and a fauourer of Wickliffes doctrine, Richard Maidstone so called of the towne in Kent where he was borne, a Carmelite frier of Ailesford.

Adde to these John Wardbie an Augustine frier, and a great diuine; Robert Waldbie excellentlie learned

learned as well in diuinitie as other arts, for the which he was first aduanced to a bishoprike in Galcoigne, and after he was admitted archbishop of Dublme; William Berton a doctor of diuinitie, & chancellor of the Uniuersitie of Orford, and aduersarie to Wickliffe; Philip Repington abbat of Leicester a notable diuine and defender of Wickliffe, Thomas Lombe a Carmelite frier of Lin, Nicholas Hereford a secular priest, a doctor of diuinitie, and scholer to Wickliffe; Walter Brit also another of Wickliffes scholers wrote both of diuinitie & other arguments, Henrie Herklie chancellor of the Uniuersitie of Orford, an enimie to Wickliffe, and a great sophister; Robert Iuorie a Carmelite frier of London, and the twentith prouinciall of his order here in England; Lankine a Londoner, an Augustine frier, professed in the same citie, a doctor of diuinitie, an aduersarie to Wickliffe.

Adunensis episcopus.

More, William Gillingham a monke of saint Saulours in Canturburie; John Chilmarke a fellow of Marton colledge in Orford, a great philosopher and mathematician; John Sharpe a philosopher, and a diuine, wrote manie treatises, a great aduersarie to Wickliffe; Richard Laningham borne in Suffolke, and a frier of Gipswich, an excellent logician, but a sore enimie to them that fauoured Wickliffes doctrine; Peter Pateshull, of whome ye haue heard before: it is said that he was in the end constreined for doubt of persecution to flie into Boheme; William Woodford a Franciscane frier, a chosen champion against Wickliffe being now dead, procured thereto by the archbishop of Canturburie Thomas Arundell; John Bromyard a Dominicke frier, both a notable lawyer & a diuine, a sore enimie also to Wickliffists; Marcill Ingelne an excellent philosopher and a diuine, one of the first teachers in the Uniuersitie of Heidelberge, which Robert duke of Bauier and countée palantine of the Rhene had instituted about that season; Richard Northall sonne to a maior of London (as is said) of that name, he became a Carmelite frier in the same citie; Thomas Edwardson prior of the friers Augustines at Clare in Suffolke, John Summer a Franciscane frier at Bridgewater, an enimie to the Wickliffists; Richard Withée a learned priest & an earnest follower of Wickliffe, John Swakham a Carmelite frier of Lin, a student in Cambridge, who became bishop of Bangor, a great aduersarie to the Wickliffists.

Finallie, and to conclude, William Egumond a frier heremit of the sect of the Augustins in Stamford; John Tillington a Franciscane frier, a mainteiner of the popes doctrine; William Rimston or Rimington a monke of Salleie, an enimie also to the Wickliffists; Adam Eston well séene in the tongs, was made a cardinall by pope Gregorie the eleauenth, but by pope Urban the first he was committed to prison in Genoa, and at the contemplation of king Richard he was taken out of prison, but not fullie deliuered till the daies of Boniface the ninth, who restored him to his former dignitie; John Beaufu a Carmelite of Northampton, proceeded doctor of diuinitie in Orenford, and was made prior of his house; Roger Twiford *alias* Godlucke, an Augustine frier; John Treuise a Cornishman borne, and a secular préest and vicar of Berklie, he translated the bible; Bartholomew *De proprietatibus rerum*; *Polychronicon* of Ranulph Higden, and diuerse other treatises, Rafe Spalding a Carmelite frier of Stamford; John mone an Englishman borne, but a student in Paris, who compiled in the French tong the Romant of the Rose, translated into English by Geffrie Chaucer, William Shirborne; Richard Wichingham borne in Norfolke, and diuerse other.

Thus farre Richard of Burdeaux, whose depriuation you haue heard; of his lamentable death hereafter, to wit, pag. 516, 517.

Henrie the fourth, cousine germane to Richard the second, latelie depriued.

When king Richard had resigned (as before is specified) the scepter and crowne; Henrie Plantagenet borne at Bullingbroke in the countie of Lincolne, duke of Lancaster and Hereford, earle of Derbie, Leicester, and Lincolne, sonne to John of Gant duke of Lancaster, with generall consent both of the lords & commons, was published, proclamed, and declared king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, the last daie of September, in the yeare of the world 5366, of our Lord 1399, of the reigne of the emperour Wenceslaus the two and twentith, of Charles the first king of France the twentith, and the tenth of Robert the third king of Scots. After that king Richard had surrendered his title, and dispossessed himselfe (which Chr. Okl. noteth in few words, saieng:

——post breue tempus *In Angl. prelijs.*
Exüit insigni sese diademate, sceptrum
Henrico Lancastrensi regale relinquens)

King Henrie made certeine new officers. And first in right of his earledome of Leicester he gaue the office of high steward of England (belonging to the same earledome) vnto his second sonne the lord Thomas, who by his fathers commandement exercised that office, being assisted (by reason of his tender age) by Thomas Persie earle of Worcester. The earle of Northumberland was made constable of England: sir John Scirlie lord chancellor, John Norburie esquier lord treasurer, sir Richard Clifford

New officers made.

The parlemẽt new sũmoned.

lord priuie seale. Forsomuch as by king Richards resignation and the admitting of a new king, all plees in euerie court and place were ceased, and without daie discontinued, new writs were made for summoning of the parlement vnder the name of king Henrie the fourth, the same to be holden, as before was appointed, on mondaie next insuing. Upon the fourth day of October, the lord Thomas second sonne to the king sat as lord high steward of England by the kings commandement in the White-hall of the kings palace at Westminster, and as belonged to his office, he caused inquirie to be made what offices were to be exercised by anie maner of persons the daie of the kings coronation, and what fees were belonging to the same, causing proclamation to be made, that what noble man or other that could claime anie office that daie of the solemnizing the kings coronation, they should come and put in their bils cõprehending their demands. Wherupon diuers offices & fees were claimed, as well by bils as otherwise by speech of mouth, in forme as here insueth.

Record Curtis.

Claiming of offices at the coronation.

First, the lord Henrie the kings eldest sonne, to whome he as in right of his duchie of Lancaster had appointed that office, claimed to beare before the king the principall sword called Curtana, and had his sute granted. John erle of Summerset, to whom the king as in right of his earledome of Lincolne, had granted to be caruer the daie of his coronation, and had it confirmed. Henrie Persie earle of Northumberland, and high constable of England, by the kings grant claimed that office, and obteined it to inioy at pleasure. The same earle in right of the Ile of Man, which at that present was granted to him, and to his heires by the king, claimed to beare on the kings left side a naked sword, with which the king was girded, when before his coronation he entered as duke of Lancaster into the parts of Holdernesse, which sword was called Lancasters sword. Rafe erle of Westmerland, and earle marshall of England, by the kings grant claimed the same office, and obteined it, notwithstanding that the attornies of the duke of Norfolke, presented to the lord steward their petition on the dukes behalfe, as earle marshall, to exercise the same. Sir Thomas Erpingham knight exercised the office of lord great Chamberleine, and gaue water to the king when he washed, both before and after dinner, hauing for his fees, the bason, ewer, and towels, with other things whatsoeuer belonging to his office: notwithstanding Auberie de Uer earle of Orenford put in his petitions to haue that office as due vnto him from his ancestors. Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike by right of inheritance, bare the third sword before the king, and by like right was pantler at the coronation. Sir William Argentine knight, by reason of the tenure of his manour of Wilmundale in the countie of Hertford, serued the king of the first cup of drinke which he tasted of at his dinner the daie of his coronation: the cup was of siluer vngilt, which the same knight had for his fees: notwithstanding the petition which Juon Fitzwarren presented to the lord steward, requiring that office in right of his wife the ladie Maud, daughter and heire to sir John Argentine knight. Sir Thomas Neuill lord Furniuall, by reason of his manour of Ferneham, with the hamlet of Cere, which he held by the courtesie of England after the decesse of his wife, the ladie Jone decessed, gaue to the king a gloue for his right hand, and sustained the kings right arme so long as he bare the scepter.

Curtana.

The earle of Summerset.

The earle of Northumberland.

The Ile of Man.

Lancaster sword.

The earle of Westmerland.

The duke of Norfolke.

Sir Thomas Erpingham.

The earle of Warwike.

Sir william Argentine.

Juon Fitzwarren.

The lord Furniuall.

The lord Graie.

The lord Reginald Graie of Ruthen, by reason of his manour of Ashleie in Norfolke couered the tables, and had for his fees all the tableclothes, as well those in the hall, as else-where, when they were taken vp; notwithstanding a petition exhibited by sir John Draiton to haue had that office. The same lord Graie of Ruthen, bare the kings great spurs before him in the time of his coronation by right of inheritance, as heire to John Hastings earle of Penbroke. John erle of Summerset, by the kings assignement bare the second sword before him at his coronation, albeit that the said lord Graie of Ruthen by petition exhibited before the lord steward demanded the same office, by reason of his castell & tower of Penbroke, and of his towne of Denbigh. Thomas earle of Arundell cheefe butler of England, obteined to exercise that office the daie of the coronation, and had the fees thereto belonging granted to him, to wit, the goblet with which the king was serued, and other things to that his office apperteining (the vessels of wine excepted that laie vnder the bar, which were adiudged vnto the said lord steward, the said earle of Arundels claime notwithstanding.

Great spurs.

The second sword.

The earle of Arundell.

The citizens of London chosen forth by the citie, serued in the hall, as assistants to the lord cheefe butler, whilest the king sate at dinner, the daie of his coronation: and when the king entered into his chamber after dinner, and called for wine, the lord maior of London brought to him a cup of gold with wine, and had the same cup giuen to him, togither with the cup that conteined water to allay the wine. After the king had drunke, the said lord maior and the aldermen of London had their table to dine at, on the left hand of the king in the hall. Thomas Dimocke, in right of his mother Margaret Dimocke, by reason of the tenure of his manor of Scriuelbie, claimed to be the kings champion at his coronation, and had his sute granted; notwithstanding a claime exhibited by Baldwin Freuill, demanding that office by reason of his castell of Tamworth in Warwikeshire. The said Dimocke had for his fees one of the best coursers in the kings stable, with the kings saddle and all the trapers & harnesse apperteining to the same horsse or courser: he had likewise one of the best armors that was in the kings armorie for his owne bodie, with all that belonged wholie thereunto.

The citizens of London.

Thomas Dimocke.

Baldwin Freuill.

John lord Latimer, although he was vnder age, for himselfe and the duke of Norfolke, notwithstanding that his possessions were in the kings hands, by his attornie sir Thomas Graie knight, claimed and had the office of almoner for that daie, by reason of certeine lands which sometime belonged to the lord William Beuchampe of Bedford. They had a towell of fine linnen cloth prepared, to put in the siluer that was appointed to be giuen in almes; and likewise they had the distribution of the cloth that couered the pauement and floors from the kings chamber doore, vnto the place in the church of Westminster where the pulpit stood. The residue that was spread in the church, the sexten had. William le Uenour, by reason he was tenant of the manor of Liston, claimed and obteined to exercise the office of making wafers for the king the daie of his coronation. The barons of the fiue ports claimed, and it was granted them, to beare a canopie of cloth of gold ouer the K. with foure staues, & foure bels at the foure corners, euerie staffe hauing foure of those barons to beare it: also to dine and sit at the table next to the king on his right hand in the hall the daie of his coronation, and for their fees to haue the forsaid canopie of gold, with the bels and staues, notwithstanding the abbat of Westminster claimed the same. Edmund chambers claimed and obteined the office of principall larderer for him and his deputies, by reason of his manour of Skulton, otherwise called Burdellebin Skulton, in the countie of Norfolke. Thus was euerie man appointed to exercise such office as to him of right apperteined, or at the least was thought requisit for the time present. On mondaie then next insuing, when

The lord Latimer.

William le Uenour.

The barons of the cinque ports.

when the states were assembled in parlement, order was taken, that by reason of such preparation as was to be made for the coronation, they should sit no more till the morow after saint Edwards daie. On the sundaie following, being the euen of saint Edward, the new king lodged in the Tower, and there made fortie & six knights of the Bath, to wit: three of his sonnes, the earle of Arundell, the earle of Warwike his sonne, the earle of Stafford, two of the earle of Deuonshires sonnes, the lord Beaumont, the lord Willoughbies brother, the earle of Staffords brother, the lord Camois his sonne, the lord of Maule, Thomas Beauchampe, Thomas Pelham, John Luttrell, John Lisleie, William Haukeford iustice, William Brinchleie iustice, Bartholomew Rachford, Giles Daubenie, William Butler, John Ashton, Richard Sanape, John Tiptoft, Richard Francis, Henrie Persie, John Arundell, William Strall, John Turpington, Ailmer Saint, Edward Hastings, John Greisleie, Gerald Satill, John Arden, Robert Chalons, Thomas Dimocke, Hungerford, Gilbethorpe, Newport, and diuerse other, to the number of fortie and six.

Knights of the Bath.

On the morow being saint Edwards daie, and the thirteenth of October, the lord maior of London road towards the Tower to attend the king, with diuerse worshipfull cittizens clothed all in red, and from the Tower the king rode through the citie to Westminster, where he was consecrated, annointed, and crowned king by the archbishop of Canturburie with all ceremonies and roiall solemnitie as was due and requisit. Though all other reioised at his aduancement, yet suerlie Edmund Mortimer earle of March, which was cosine and heire to Lionell duke of Clarence, the third begotten sonne of king Edward the third, & Richard earle of Cambridge, sonne to Edmund duke of Yorke, which had married Anne sister to the same Edmund, were with these doings neither pleased nor contented: insomuch that now the diuision once begun, the one linage ceassed not to persecute the other, till the heires males of both the lines were clearlie destroied and extinguished.

The lord maior of London.

The earle of March enuied the K. preferment.

At the daie of the coronation, to the end he should not seeme to take vpon him the crowne and scepter roiall by plaine extorted power, and iniurious intrusion: he was aduised to make his title as heire to Edmund (surnamed or vntrulie feined) Crokebacke, sonne to king Henrie the third, and to saie that the said Edmund was elder brother to king Edward the first, and for his deformitie put by from the crowne, to whom by his mother Blanch, daughter and sole heire to Henrie duke of Lancaster, he was nert of blod, and vndoubted heire. But because not onelie his freends, but also his priuie enimies, knew that this was but a forged title, considering they were suerlie informed, not onelie that the said Edmund was yonger sonne to king Henrie the third, but also had true knowledge, that Edmund was neither crokebacked, nor a deformed person, but a goodlie gentleman, and a valiant capteine, and so much fauored of his louing father, that he to preferre him in marriage to the queene Dowager of Nauarre, hauing a great liuelihod, gaue to him the countie palantine of Lancaster, with manie notable honours, high segniories, and large priuileges. Therefore they aduised him to publish it, that he challenged the realme not onelie by conquest, but also because he by king Richard was adopted as heire, and declared by resignation as his lawfull successor, being nert heire male to him of the blod roiall.

Edmund erle of Lancaster vntrulie fained to be surnamed Crokebacke.

But to proceed to other doings. The solemnitie of the coronation being ended, the morow after being tuesdaie, the parlement began againe, and the nert daie sir John Cheinie that was speaker, excusing himselfe, by reason of his infirmitie and sickenesse, not to be able to exercise that rome, was dismissed, and one William Durward esquier was admitted. Herewith were the acts established in the parlement of the one & twentith yeare of king Richards reigne repealed and made void, and the ordinances deuised in the parlement holden the eleuenth yeare of the same king, confirmed, and againe established for good and profitable. ¶ On the same daie, the kings eldest sonne lord Henrie, by assent of all the states in the parlement, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earle of Chester, then being of the age of twelue yeares.

Sir John Cheinie speaker of the parlement dismissed, and William Durward admitted.

Acts repealed.

Acts confirmed.

Upon the thursdaie, the commons came and rehearsed all the errors of the last parlement holden in the one and twentith yeare of king Richard, & namelie in certeine fiue of them.

First, that where the king that now is, was readie to arraigne an appeale against the duke of Norfolke, he doing what perteined to his dutie in that behalfe, was yet banished afterwards without anie reasonable cause. 1

Secondlie, the archbishop of Canturburie, metropolitan of the realme, was forcludged without answer. 2

Thirdlie, the duke of Gloucester was murthered, and after forcludged. 3

Fourthlie, where the earle of Arundell alledged his charters of pardon, the same might not be allowed. 4

Fiftlie, that all the power of that euill parlement was granted and assigned ouer to certeine persons, and sith that such heinous errors could not be committed (as was thought) without the assent and aduise of them that were of the late kings councell, they made sute that they might be put vnder arrest, and committed to safe keeping, till order might be further taken for them. 5

Thus much adoo there was in this parlement, speciallie about them that were thought to be guiltie of the duke of Gloucesters death, and of the condemning of the other lords that were adiudged traitors in the forsaid late parlement holden in the said one and twentith yeare of king Richards reigne. Sir John Bagot knight then prisoner in the Tower, disclosed manie secrets, vnto the which he was priuie; and being brought on a daie to the barre, a bill was read in English which he had made, conteining certeine euill practises of king Richard; and further what great affection the same king bare to the duke of Aumarle, insomuch that he heard him say, that if he should renounce the gouernement of the kingdome, he wished to leaue it to the said duke, as to the most able man (for wisdome and manhod) of all other: for though he could like better of the duke of Hereford, yet he said that he knew if he were once king, he would proue an extreame enimie and cruell tyrant to the church.

Fabian. Sir John Bagot discloseth secrets.

Henrie the fourth suspected not to be well affected towards the church before his comming to the crowne.

It was further conteined in that bill, that as the same Bagot rode on a daie behind the duke of Norfolke in the Sauoy street toward Westminster, the ruke asked him what he knew of the manner of the duke of Gloucester his death, and he answered that he knew nothing at all: but the people (quoth he) do say that you haue murthered him. Whereunto the duke sware great othes that it was vntrue, and that he had saued his life contrarie to the will of the king, and certeine other lords, by the space of three weeks, and more; affirming withall, that he was neuer in all his life time more afraid of death, than he was at his comming home againe from Calis at that time, to the kings presence, by reason he had not put the duke to death. And then (said he) the king appointed one of his owne seruants, and certeine other that

were seruants to other lords to go with him to see the said duke of Gloucester put to death, swearing that as he should answer afore God, it was neuer his mind that he should haue died in the fort, but onelie for feare of the king, and sauing of his owne life. Neuertheless, there was no man in the realme to whom king Richard was so much beholden, as to the duke of Aumarle: for he was the man that to fulfill his mind, had set him in hand with all that was done against the said duke, and the other lords. There was also conteined in that bill, what secret malice king Richard had conceiued against the duke of Hereford being in exile, whereof the same Bagot had sent intelligence vnto the duke into France, by one Roger Smart, who certified it to him by Piers Buckton, and others, to the intent he should the better haue regard to himselfe. There was also conteined in the said bill, that Bagot had heard the duke of Aumarle say, that he had rather than twentie thousand pounds that the duke of Hereford were dead, not for anie feare he had of him, but for the trouble and mischéefe that he was like to procure within the realme.

The duke of Aumarle accused.

The duke of Aumarle his answer vnto Bagots bill.

After that the bill had béene read and heard, the duke of Aumarle rose vp and said, that as touching the points conteined in the bill concerning him, they were vtterlie false and vntrue, which he would proue with his bodie, in what manner soeuer it should be thought requisit. Therewith also the duke of Excester rose vp, and willed Bagot that if he could say anie thing against him to speake it openlie. Bagot answered, that for his part he could say nothing against him: But there is (said he) a yeoman in Newgat one John hall that can say somewhat. Well then (said the duke of Excester) this that I do and shall say is true, that the late king, the duke of Norfolke, and thou being at Woodstoke, made me to go with you into the chappell, and there the doore being shut, ye made me to sweare vpon the altar, to kéepe counsell in that ye had to say to me, and then ye rehearsed that we should neuer haue our purpose, so long as the duke of Lancaster liued, & therefore ye purposed to haue councell at Lichfield, & there you would arrest the duke of Lancaster, in such sort as by colour of his disobeieng the arrest, he should be dispatched out of life. And in this maner ye imagined his death. To the which I answered, that it were conuenient the king should send for his councell, and if they agréed herevnto, I would not be against it, and so I departed. To this Bagot made no answer.

John Hall a yeoman.

After this, the king commanded that the lords, Berkleie, and Louell, and six knights of the lower house, should go after dinner to examine the said Hall. This was on a thursdaie being the fifteenth of October. On the saturdaie next insuing, sir William Bagot and the said John Hall were brought both to the barre, and Bagot was examined of certeine points, and sent againe to prison. The lord Fitzwater herewith rose vp, and said to the king, that where the duke of Aumarle excuseth himselfe of the duke of Glocesters death, I say (quoth he) that he was the verie cause of his death, and so he appealed him of treason, offering by throwing downe his hood as a gage to proue it with his bodie. There were twentie other lords also that threw downe their hoods, as pledges to proue the like matter against the duke of Aumarle. The duke of Aumarle threw downe his hood to trie it against the lord Fitzwater, as against him that lied falselie, in that he had charged him with, by that his appeale. These gages were deliuered to the constable and marshall of England, and the parties put vnder arrest.

Bagot and Hall brought to the barre.

The lord Fitzwater appealeth the duke of Aumarle of treason.

The duke of Surrie stood vp also against the lord Fitzwater, auouching that where he had said that the appellants were causers of the duke of Glocesters death, it was false, for they were constrained to sue the same appeale, in like manner as the said lord Fitzwater was compelled to giue iudgement against the duke of Glocester, and the earle of Arundell; so that the suing of the appeale was done by constraint, and if he said contrarie he lied: and therewith he threw downe his hood. The lord Fitzwater answered herevnto, that he was not present in the parlement house, when iudgement was giuen against them, and all the lords bare witnesse thereof. Moreouer, where it was alledged that the duke of Aumarle should send two of his seruants to Calis, to murther the duke of Glocester, the said duke of Aumarle said, that if the duke of Norfolke affirme it, he lied falselie, and that he would proue with his bodie, throwing downe an other hood which he had borowed. The same was likewise deliuered to the constable and marshall of England, and the king licenced the duke of Norfolke to returne, that he might arraigne his appeale. After this was John Hall condemned of treason by authoritie of the parlement, for that he had confessed himselfe to be one of them that put the duke of Glocester to death at Calis, and so on the mondaie following, he was drawne from the Tower to Tiburne, and there hanged, bowelled, headed, and quartered: his head being sent to Calis there to be set vp, where the duke was murthered.

Fabian.

John Hall executed.

On wednesdaie following, request was made by the commons, that sith king Richard had resigned, and was lawfullie deposed from his roiall dignitie, he might haue iudgement decréed against him, so as the realme were not troubled by him, and that the causes of his deposing might be published through the realme for satisfieng of the people: which demand was granted. Whereupon the bishop of Carleill, a man both learned, wise, and stout of stomach, boldlie shewed forth his opinion concerning that demand; affirming that there was none amongst them worthie or meet to giue iudgement vpon so noble a prince as king Richard was, whom they had taken for their souereigne and liege lord, by the space of two & twentie yeares and more; And I assure you (said he) there is not so ranke a traitor, nor so errant a théef, nor yet so cruell a murtherer apprehended or deteined in prison for his offense, but he shall be brought before the iustice to heare his iudgement; and will ye proceed to the iudgement of an anointed king, hearing neither his answer nor excuse? I say, that the duke of Lancaster whom ye call king, hath more trespassed to K. Richard & his realme, than king Richard hath done either to him, or vs: for it is manifest & well knowne, that the duke was banished the realme by K. Richard and his councell, and by the iudgement of his owne father, for the space of ten yeares, for what cause ye know, and yet without licence of king Richard, he is returned againe into the realme, and (that is worse) hath taken vpon him the name, title, & prehemінence of king. And therfore I say, that you haue done manifest wrong, to proceed in anie thing against king Richard, without calling him openlie to his answer and defense. ¶ As soone as the bishop had ended this tale, he was attached by the earle marshall, and committed to ward in the abbeie of saint Albons.

John Stow. The request of the commons.

Hall. A bold bishop and a faithfull.

Moreouer, where the king had granted to the earle of Westmerland the countie of Richmond, the duke of Britaine pretending a right thereto by an old title, had sent his letters ouer vnto the estates assembled in this parlement, offering to abide such order as the law would appoint in the like case to anie of the kings subiects. Whereupon the commons for the more suertie of the intercourse of merchants, besought the king that the matter might be committed to the ordering of the councell of either of the parties,

The duke of Britaine.

parties, and of his counsell, so as an end might be had therein, which request was likewise granted. After this, the records of the last parlement were shewed, with the appeales, & the commission made to twelue persons, to determine things that were motioned in the same last parlement. Hereupon the commons praied that they might haue iustice Markham, and maister Gascoigne a sergeant at the law ioined with them for counsell, touching the perusing of the records, which was granted them, and day giuen ouer till the next morrow in the White-hall, where they sat about these matters three daies togither.

On the morrow following, being the euen of Simon and Jude the apostles, the commons required to heare the iudgement of king Richard. Whereupon the archbishop of Canturburie appointed to speake, declared how that the king that now is, had granted king Richard his life; but in such wise as he should remaine in perpetuall prison, so safelie kept, that neither the king nor realme should be troubled with him. It was also concluded, that if anie man went about to deliuer him, that then he should be the first that should die for it. After this, the commons praied that the lords and other that were of king Richards counsell, might be put to their answers for their sundrie misdemeanors, which was granted. On Wednesday following, being the morrow after the feast of Simon and Jude, all the processe of the parlement holden the 21 yeere of king Richards reigne was read openlie, in which it was found, how the earle of Warwike had confessed himselfe guiltie of treason, and asked pardon and mercie for his offense: but the earle denied that euer he acknowledged anie such thing by word of mouth, and that he would proue in what manner soeuer should be to him appointed. Therein was also the appeale found of the dukes of Aumarle, Surrie, and Excester, the marquesse Dorset, the earles of Salisburie, and Gloucester, vnto the which ech of them answered by himselfe, that they neuer assented to that appeale of their owne frée wils, but were compelled thereto by the king: and this they affirmed by their othes, and offered to proue it by what manner they should be appointed.

K. Richard appointed to be kept in perpetuall prison. Hall.

The earle of Warwike.

Sir water Clopton.

Sir Walter Clopton said then to the commons; If ye will take aduantage of the processe of the last parlement, take it, and ye shall be receiued thereunto. Then rose vp the lord Morlie, and said to the earle of Salisburie, that he was chiefe of counsell with the duke of Gloucester, and likewise with king Richard, & so discouered the dukes counsell to the king, as a traitor to his maister, and that he said he would with his bodie proue against him, throwing downe his hood as a pledge. The earle of Salisburie sore moued herewith, told the lord Morlie, that he falslie belied him, for he was neuer traitor, nor false to his maister all his life time, and therewith threw downe his gloue to wage battell against the lord Morlie. Their gages were taken vp, and deliuered to the constable and marshall of England, and the parties were arrested, and day to them giuen till another time.

The lord Morlie appeleth the earle of Salisburie.

On mondaie following, being the morrow after All soules day, the commons made request, that they might not be entred in the parlement rols, as parties to the iudgement giuen in this parlement, but there as in verie truth they were priuie to the same: for the iudgement otherwise belonged to the king, except where anie iudgment is giuen by statute enacted for the profit of the common-wealth, which request was granted. Diuers other petitions were presented on the behalfe of the commons, part whereof were granted, and to some there was none answere made at that time. Finallie, to auoid further inconuenience, and to qualifie the minds of the enuious, it was finallie enacted, that such as were appellants in the last parlement against the duke of Gloucester and other, should in this wise following be ordred. The dukes of Aumarle, Surrie, and Excester there present, were iudged to lose their names of dukes, togither with the honors, titles and dignities thereunto belonging. The marquesse Dorset being likewise there present, was adiudged to lose his title and dignitie of marquesse; and the earle of Gloucester being also present, was in semblable maner iudged to lose his name, title and dignitie of earle.

Dukes and others depriued of their titles.

Moreouer, it was further decréed against them, that they and euerie of them should lose and forfeit all those castels, lordships, manors, lands, possessions, rents, seruices, liberties and reuenues, whatsoeuer had béene giuen to them, at or since the last parlement, belonging aforetime to any of those persons whom they had appealed, and all other their castels, manors, lordships, lands, possessions, rents, seruices, liberties, and reuenues whatsoeuer, which they held of the late kings gift, the date of the arrest of the said duke of Gloucester, or at any time after, should also remaine in the kings disposition from thencefoorth, and all letters patents and charters, which they or any of them had of the same names, castels, manors, lordships, lands, possessions, and liberties, should be surrendred vp into the chancerie, there to be cancelled. Diuerse other things were enacted in this parlement, to the preiudice of those high estates, to satisfie mens minds that were sore displeased with their doings in the late kings daies, as now it manifestlie appéered. For after it was vnderstood that they should be no further punished than as before is mentioned, great murmuring rose among the people against the king, the archbishop of Canturburie, the earle of Northumberland, and other of the councell, for sauing the liues of men whom the commons reputed most wicked, and not worthie in anie wise to liue. But the king thought it best, rather with courtesie to reconcile them, than by cutting them off by death, to procure the hatred of their frends and allies, which were manie, and of no small power.

Tho. Walsi.

The hatred which the cõmons had cõmitted against the appellãts.

After that the foresaid iudgement was declared with protestation by sir William Thirning iustice, the earle of Salisburie came and made request, that he might haue his protestation entered against the lord Morlie, which lord Morlie rising vp from his seat, said, that so he might not haue; because in his first answer he made no protestation, and therefore he was past it now. The earle praied day of aduisement, but the lord Morlie praied that he might lose his aduantage, sith he had not entered sufficient plee against him. Then sir Matthew Gournie sitting vnderneath the king said to the earle of Salisburie, that Forsomuch as at the first day in your answers, ye made no protestation at all, none is entered of record, and so you are past that aduantage: and therefore asked him if he would saie any other thing. Then the earle desired that he might put in mainprise, which was granted: and so the earle of Kent, sir Rafe Ferrers, sir John Roch, & sir John Draiton knights, mainprised the said earle bodie for bodie. For the lord Morlie all the lords and barons offred to vndertake, and to be suerties for him; but yet foure of them had their names entered, that is to saie, the lords Willoughbie, Beauchampe, Scales, and Berkelie: they had day till the fridaie after to make their libell.

The earle of Salisburie his request.

Sir Mathew Gournie.

The earle of Salisburie mainprised.

The lord Morlie mainprised.

After this came the lord Fitzwater, and praied to haue day and place to arreigne his appeale against the earle of Rutland. The king said he would send for the duke of Norfolke to returne home, and then vpon his returne he said he would proceed in that matter. Manie statutes were established in this parlement, as well concerning the whole bodie of the

The lord Fitzwalter.

common-wealth (as by the booke thereof imprinted may appeare) as also concerning diuerse priuate persons then presentlie liuing, which partlie we haue touched, and partlie for doubt to be ouer-tedious, we do omit. But this among other is not to be forgotten

The archb. of Canturburie restored to his see.

that the archbishop of Canturburie was not onelie restored to his former dignitie, being remoued from it by king Richard, who had procured one Roger Walden to be placed therein (as before ye haue heard) but also the said Walden was established bishop of London, wherewith he seemed well content.

Thom. Wals. Hall.

Moreouer, the kings eldest sonne Henrie alreadie created (as heire to his father, and to the crowne) prince of Wales, duke of Cornewall, and earle of Chester, was also intituled duke of Aquitaine: and to auoid all titles, claimes, and ambiguities, there

The crowne intailed.

was an act made for the uniting of the crowne vnto king Henrie the fourth, and to the heires of his bodie lawfullie begotten, his foure sonnes, Henrie, Thomas, John, and Humfrie, being named, as to whom the right should descend successiuelie by waie of intaile, in case where heires failed to any of them. By force of this act king Henrie thought himselfe firmelie set on a sure foundation, not néeding to feare any storme of aduerse fortune. But yet shortlie after he was put in danger to haue béene set besides the seat, by a conspiracie begun in the abbat of Westminsters house, which, had it not béene hindred, it is doubtfull whether the new king should haue inioied his roialtie, or the old king (now a prisoner) restored to his principalitie. But God (of whome the poet saith,

humana rotat
Instar volucris pulueris acti
Turbine celeri mobilis aurę)

had purposed a disappointment of their conturation, and therefore no maruell though the issue of their labours were infortunat by their flattering hope.

But now to make an end with this parlement. After that things were concluded and granted, so as was thought to stand with the suertie of the king, and good quiet of the realme, the king granted a free pardon to all his subiects, those excepted that were at the murther of the duke of Gloucester, and such as had committed wilfull murther, or rape, or were knowne to be notorious theeues. And those that were to take benefit by this pardon, were appointed to sue forth the charters therof, betwixt that present and the feast of All saints next insuing, and so was this parlement dissolued. Immediatlie after, the king (according to

Tho. Walsi.

an order taken in the same parlement, to giue to vnderstand vnto all princes and countries about him, by what title and occasion he had taken to him the kingdome) sent ambassadors vnto them to signifie the same. Into Rome were sent, John Trenenant

Ambassadors sent to forren princes.

bishop of Hereford, sir John Cheinie knight, & John Cheinie esquier. Into France, master Walter Skirlow bishop of Durham, and Thomas Persie earle of Worcester. Into Spaine, John Trenour bishop of saint Asaph, and sir William Parre knight. Into Almanie the bishop of Bangor, and two others.

The Scots in time of the late parlement, taking occasion of the absence of the northerne lords, and also by reason of great mortalitie that afflicted the northerne people that yeare, inuaded the borders, tooke

The castell of Warke taken by the Scots. Sir Thom. Greie.

the castell of Warke, that was assigned to the safe keeping of sir Thomas Greie knight, who then was at the parlement, as one of the knights of the shire, by meanes of whose absence, the enimies the sooner (as is to be thought) obteined their desire, and so kept that castell a certeine time, and finallie spoiled it, and ouerthrew it to the ground. Besides all this, they did manie other mischeefes in the countrie,

The death of the duke of Norffolke.

to the vndoing of manie of the kings subiects. This yeare Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norffolke died in exile at Uenice, whose death might haue béene worthilie bewailed of all the realme, if he had not béene consenting to the death of the duke of Gloucester. The same yeare deceassed the duchesse of Gloucester, thorough sorrow (as was thought) which she conceiued for the losse of hir sonne and heire the lord Humfrie, who being sent for forth of Ireland (as before ye haue heard) was taken with the pestilence, and died by the waie.

The duchesse of Gloucester deceaseth.

But now to speake of the conspiracie, which was contriued by the abbat of Westminster as chéefe instrument thereof. Ye shall vnderstand, that this abbat (as it is reported) vpon a time heard king Henrie

Hall.

sate, when he was but earle of Derbie, and yong of yeares, that princes had to little, and religious men too much. He therfore doubting now, least if the king continued long in the estate, he would remoue the great beame that then greeued his eies, and pricked his conscience, became an instrument to search out

what moued the abbat of Westminster to conspire against the king.

the minds of the nobilitie, and to bring them to an assemblie and councell, where they might consult and commen togither, how to bring that to effect, which they earnestlie wished and desired; that was, the destruction of king Henrie, and the restoring of king Richard. For there were diuerse lords that shewed themselues outwardlie to fauor king Henrie, where they secretlie wished & sought his confusion. The abbat after he had felt the minds of sundrie of them, called to his house on a day in the terme time, all such lords & other persons which he either knew or thought to be as affectioned to king Richard, so enuious to the prosperitie of king Henrie, whose names were, John Holland earle of Huntington late duke of Exceter, Thomas Holland earle of Kent late duke of

The lords that conspired against the duke.

Surrie, Edward earle of Rutland late duke of Aumarle sonne to the duke of Yorke, John Montacute earle of Salisburie, Hugh lord Spenser late earle of Gloucester, John the bishop of Carleill, sir Thomas Blunt, and Maudelen a priest one of king Richards chappell, a man as like him in stature and proportion in all lineaments of bodie, as vnlike in birth, dignitie, and conditions.

The abbat highlie feasted these lords, his speciall frends, and when they had well dined, they withdrew into a secret chamber, where they sat downe in councell, and after much talke & conference had about the bringing of their purpose to passe concerning the destruction of king Henrie, at length by the aduise of the earle of Huntington it was deuised, that they should take vpon them a solemne iusts to be enterprised betweene him and 20 on his part, & the earle of

Iusts deuised to be holden at Oxford.

Salisburie and 20 with him at Oxford, to the which triumph K. Henrie should be desired, & when he should be most busilie marking the martiall pastime, he suddenlie should be slaine and destroied, and so by that means king Richard, who as yet liued, might be restored to libertie, and haue his former estate & dignitie. It was further appointed, who should assemble the people, the number and persons which should accomplish and put in execution their deuised enterprise. Hervpon was an indenture sertipartite made,

An indenture sertipartite.

sealed with their seales, and signed with their hands, in the which each stood bound to other, to do their whole indeuour for the accomplishing of their purposed exploit. Moreouer, they sware on the holie euangelists to be true and secret each to other, euen to the houre and point of death.

When all things were thus appointed, the earle of Huntington came to the king vnto Windsore, earnestlie requiring him, that he would vouchsafe to be

He is desired to come and see the iusts.

at Drenford on the daie appointed of their iustes, both to behold the same, and to be the discouerer and indifferent iudge (if anie ambiguitie should rise) of their couragious acts and doings. The king being

thus

thus instantlie required of his brother in law, and nothing lesse imagining than that which was pretended, gentlie granted to fulfill his request. Which thing obteined, all the lords of the conspiracie departed home to their houses, as they noised it, to set armorers on worke about the trimming of their armour against the iusts, and to prepare all other furniture and things readie, as to such an high & solemne triumph apperteined. The earle of Huntington came to his house and raised men on euerie side, and prepared horsse and harnesse for his compassed purpose, and when he had all things readie, he departed towards Oxenford, and at his comming thither, he found all his mates and confederates there, well appointed for their purpose, except the earle of Rutland, by whose follie their practised conspiracie was brought to light and disclosed to king Henrie. For this earle of Rutland departing before from Westminster to see his father the duke of Yorke, as he sat at dinner, had his counterpane of the indenture of the confederacie in his bosome.

The duke of Yorke taketh the indenture from his son.

The father espieng it, would néeds see what it was: and though the sonne humblie denied to shew it, the father being more earnest to see it, by force tooke it out of his bosome; and perceiuing the contents therof, in a great rage caused his horsses to be sadled out of hand, and spitefullie reproouing his sonne of treason, for whome he was become suertie and mainpernour for his good abearing in open parlement, he incontinentlie mounted on horssebacke to ride towards Windsore to the king, to declare vnto him the malicious intent of his complices. The earle of Rutland séeing in what danger he stood, tooke his horsse, and rode another waie to Windsore in post, so that he got thither before his father, and when he was alighted at the castell gate, he caused the gates to be shut, saieng that he must néeds deliuer the keies to the king. When he came before the kings presence, he kneeled downe on his knées, beséeching him of mercie and forgiuenesse, and declaring the whole matter vnto him in order as euerie thing had passed, obteined pardon. Therewith came his father, and being let in, deliuered the indenture which he had taken from his sonne, vnto the king, who thereby perceiuing his sonnes words to be true, changed his purpose for his going to Oxenford, and dispatched messengers forth to signifie vnto the earle of Northumberland his high constable, and to the earle of Westmerland his high marshall, and to other his assured frends, of all the doubtfull danger and perilous ieopardie.

The earle of Rutland vttreth y whole conspiracie to the king.

The conspirators being at Oxenford, at length perceiued by the lacke of the earle of Rutland, that their enterprise was reuealed to the king, and therevpon determined now openlie with speare and shield to bring that to passe which before they couertlie attempted, and so they adorned Maudelen, a man most resembling king Richard, in roiall and princelie vesture, and named him to be king Richard, affirming that by fauour of his keepers he was escaped out of prison, and so they came forwards in order of warre, to the intent to destroie king Henrie. Whilest the confederators with their new published idoll, accompanied with a strong armie of men, take the direct waie towards Windsore, king Henrie admonished thereof, with a few horssemen in the night came to the Tower of London about twelue of the clocke, where in the morning he caused the maior of the citie to apparell in armour the best and most courageous persons of the citie, which brought to him three thousand archers, and three thousand bill-men, besides them that were appointed to keepe and defend the citie.

Magdalen counterfeited to be king Richard.

The K. commeth to the tower of London.

The lords come to windesore.

The conspirators comming to Windsore, entered the castell, and vnderstanding that the king was gon from thence to London, determined with all speed to make towards the citie: but changing that determination as they were on their waie, they turned to Colbroke, and there staied. King Henrie issuing out of London with twentie thousand men, came streight to Hunslo heath, and there pitched his campe to abide the comming of his enimies: but when they were aduertised of the kings puissance, amazed with feare, and forthinking their begun enterprise, as men mistrusting their owne companie, departed from thence to Berkhamsted, and so to Circester, & there the lords tooke their lodging. The earle of Kent, and the earle of Salisburie in one Inne, and the earle of Huntington and lord Spenser in an other, and all the host laie in the fields, whereupon in the night season, the baliffe of the towne with fourescore archers set on the house, where the erle of Kent and the other laie, which house was manfullie assaulted and stronglie defended a great space. The earle of Huntington being in an other Inne with the lord Spenser, set fire on diuerse houses in the towne, thinking that the assailants would leaue the assault and reseue their goods, which thing they nothing regarded. The host lieng without, hearing noise, and seeing this fire in the towne, thought verelie that king Henrie had béene come thither with his puissance, and therevpon fled without measure, euerie man making shift to saue himselfe, and so that which the lords deuised for their helpe, wrought their destruction: for if the armie that laie without the towne had not mistaken the matter, when they saw the houses on fire, they might easilie haue succoured their chéefetains in the towne, that were assailed but with a few of the townesmen, in comparison of the great multitude that laie abroad in the fields. But such was the ordinance of the mightie Lord of hosts, who disposeth althings at his pleasure.

The king goeth forth against them.

They retire.

They come to Circester.

The baliffe of Circester setteth vpon them on their lodgings.

The lords set fire on their lodgings.

Hall. Froissard.

The earle of Huntington and his companie seeing the force of the townesmen to increase, fled out on the backside, intending to repaire to the armie which they found dispersed and gone. Then the earle seeing no hope of comfort, fled into Esser. The other lords which were left fighting in the towne of Circester, were wounded to death and taken, and their heads stricken off and sent to London. Thus writeth Hall of this conspiracie, in following what author I know not. But Thomas Walsingham and diuerse other séeme somewhat to dissent from him in relation of this matter: for they write that the conspirators ment vpon the sudden to haue set vpon the king in the castell of Windsore, vnder colour of a maske or mummerie, and so to haue dispatched him; and restoring king Richard vnto the kingdome, to haue recouered their former titles of honour, with the possessions which they had lost by iudgement of the last parlement. But the king getting knowledge of their pretensed treasons, got him with all spéed vnto London.

Thom. Wals.

A maske.

The conspirators, to wit, the earles of Kent and Salisburie, sir Rafe Lumlie, and others, supposing that the king had not vnderstood their malicious purpose, the first sundaie of the new yeare, which fell in the octaues of the Innocents, came in the twilight of the euening vnto Windsore with foure hundred armed men, where vnderstanding that the king was withdrawne vpon warning had of their purposed intention, they forthwith returned backe, and came first vnto Sunnings, a manor place not farre from Reading, where the quéene wife to king Richard then laie. Here setting a good countenance of the matter, the earle of Kent declared in presence of the quénes seruants that the lord Henrie of Lancaster was fled from his presence with his children and frends, and had

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Harding.

The words of the earle of Kent.

had shut vp himselfe & them in the Tower of London, as one afraid to come abroad, for all the braggs made heretofore of his manhood: and therefore (saith he) my intention is (my lords) to go to Richard that was, is, and shall be our king, who being alreadie escaped forth of prison, lieth now at Pomfret, with an hundred thousand men. And to cause his speech the better to be beléued, he tooke awaie the kings cognisances from them that ware the same, as the collars from their necks, and the badges of cressants from the sleeues of the seruants of household, and throwing them awaie, said that such cognisances were no longer to be borne.

Thus hauing put the quéene in a vaine hope of that which was nothing so, they departed from thence vnto Wallingford, and after to Abington, intising the people by all meanes possible vnto rebellion, all the waie as they went, and sending their agents abroad for the same purpose: at length they came to Circester in the darke of the night, and tooke vp their lodgings. The inhabitants of that towne suspecting the matter, and iudging (as the truth was) these rumors which the lords spred abroad to be but dreams, they tooke thereupon counsell togither, got them to armor, and stopped all the entries and outgates of the Innes where these new ghestes were lodged, insomuch that when they about midnight secretlie attempted to haue come forth, and gone their waies, the townesmen with bow and arrowes were readie to staie them, and kéepe them in. The lords perceiuing the danger, got them to their armor and weapons, and did their best by force to breake through and repell the townesmen. But after they had fought from midnight till three of the clocke in the afternone of the next daie, and perceiued they could not preuaile, they yelded themselues to the townesmen, beséching them to haue their liues saued, till they might come to the kings presence.

The lords yéld themselues.

This request they had obteined, if a préest that was chapleine to one of them, had not in the meane time set fire vpon certeine houses in the towne, to the end that whiles the townesmen should busie themselues to quench the fire, the lords might find meanes to escape. But it came nothing to passe as he imagined, for the townesmen leauing all care to saue their houses from the rage of the fire, were kindled more in furie towards the lords, and so to reuenge themselues of them, they brought them forth of the abbeie where they had them in their hands, and in the twilight of the euening, stroke off their heads. ¶ The earle of Salisburie (saith Thomas Walsingham) who in all his life time had béene a fauourer of the Lollards or Wickleuists, a despiser of images, a contemner of canons, and a scorner of the sacraments, ended his daies (as it was reported) without the * sacrament of confession. These be the words of Thom. Walsi. which are set downe, to signifie that the earle of Salisburie was a bidden ghest to blockham feast with the rest: and (as it should séeme by his relation) the more maligned, bicause he was somwhat estranged frō the corruption of the religion then receiued, and leaned to a sect pursued with spitefulnesse and reuenge.

A priest set fire on the houses of Circester.

Abr. Fl. out of Tho. Walsin. pag. 404.

*He died vnconfessed.

John Holland earle of Huntington (as Thomas Walsingham writeth) was not with the lords at the castell of Windsore, but staied about London to behold the end of his businesse: and hearing how the matter went farre contrarie to that he wished, he sought to flie by sea; but not able to get awaie, by reason the wind being contrarie would not permit him, he tooke his horsse, and hauing a knight with him called sir John Shellie, he road into Esser, attempting to haue fled from thence by sea: but still the wind was so against him, that he was continuallie driuen backe when he was about to make saile, and so comming againe to land, he was taken one euening at Pitwell in Esser, in a mill (that belonged to one of his trustie frends) as he sat there at supper, togither with the said sir John Shellie. The commons of the countrie that tooke him, brought him first to Chelmesford, and after to Plashie, where on the daie of S. Maure, that is the fifteenth of Januarie, about sun setting he was beheaded, in the verie place in which the duke of Glocester was arrested by king Richard. He confessed with lamentable repentance (as writers do record) that diuers & manie waies he had offended God and his prince, bicause that vnderstanding the purpose of the other lords, he had not reuealed the same.

The earle of Huntington taken.

He is beheaded.

The lord * Hugh Spenser, otherwise called earle of Glocester, as he would haue fled into Wales, was taken and carried to Bristow, where (according to the earnest desires of the commons) he was beheaded. Maudelen fléeing into Scotland, was taken by the waie, and brought to the Tower. Manie other that were priuie to this conspiracie, were taken, and put to death, some at Oxford, as sir Thomas Blunt, sir Benet Cilie knight, and Thomas Wintercell esquier; but sir Leonard Brokas, and sir John Shellie knights, John Maudelen, and William Ferbie chapleins, were drawne, hanged, and beheaded at London. There were nineténe in all executed in one place and other, and the heads of the chéefe conspirators were set on polles ouer London bridge, to the terror of others. Shortlie after, the abbat of Westminster, in whose house the conspiracie was begun (as is said) going betweene his monasterie & mansion, for thought fell into a sudden palsie, and shortlie after, without speech, ended his life. The bishop of Carleill was impeached, and condemned of the same conspiracie; but the king of his mercifull clemencie, pardoned him of that offense, although he died shortlie after, more through feare than force of sicknesse, as some haue written. Thus all the associats of this vnhappie conspiracie tasted the painefull penance of their plesant pastime.

* Thomas Spenser, saith Wal. & others.

Hall.

Execution.

Tho. Walsing. Hall.

The abbat of westminster dieth suddēlie. Thom. Walsi.

The bishop of Carleill dieth through feare, or rather thorough greefe of mind, to see the wicked prosper as he tooke it. Hall.

Thus haue yée heard what writers haue recorded of this matter, with some difference betwixt them that write, how the king should haue béene made awaie at a iusts; and other that testifie, how it should haue béene at a maske or mummerie: but whether they meant to haue dispatched him at a mumming, or at a iusts, their purpose being reuealed by the earle of Rutland, they were brought to confusion (as before yée haue heard.) And immediatlie after, king Henrie, to rid himselfe of anie such like danger to be attempted against him thereafter, caused king Richard to die of a violent death, that no man should afterward faine himselfe to represent his person, though some haue said, he was not priuie to that wicked offense. The common fame is, that he was euerie daie serued at the table with costlie meat, like a king, to the intent that no creature should suspect anie thing done contrarie to the order taken in the parlement; and when the meat was set before him, he was forbidden once to touch it; yea, he was not permitted so much as to smell to it, and so he died of forced famine.

The sundrie reports of K. Richar. death.

The lords beheaded.

¶ But Thomas Walsingham is so farre from imputing his death to compulsorie famine, that he referreth it altogither to voluntarie pining of himselfe. For when he heard that the complots and attempts of such his fauourers, as sought his restitution, and their owne aduancement, annihilated; and the chéefe agents shamefullie executed; he tooke such a conceit at these misfortunes (for so Thomas Walsingham termeth them) and was so beaten out of hart, that wilfullie he starued himselfe, and so died in Pomfret

Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Walsi. pag. 404, 405.

Chr. S. Alb.

castell

castell on S. Valentines daie: a happie daie to him, for it was the beginning of his ease, and the ending of his paine: so that death was to him daintie and swæt, as the poet saith, and that verie well in bræfe,

Dulce mori miseris,
Neque est melius morte in malis rebus.

Corn. Gall.

Thom. Walsin. Sir Piers de Exton a murtherer of king Richard.

One writer, which seemeth to haue great knowledge of king Richards doings, saith, that king Henrie, sitting on a daie at his table, sore sighing, said; Haue I no faithfull frend which will deliuer me of him, whose life will be my death, and whose death will be the preseruation of my life? This saieng was much noted of them which were present, and especiallie of one called sir Piers of Exton. This knight incontinentlie departed from the court, with eight strong persons in his companie, and came to Pomfret, commanding the esquier that was accustomed to sew and take the assaie before king Richard, to do so no more, saieng; Let him eat now, for he shall not long eat. King Richard sat downe to dinner, and was serued without courtesie or assaie, wherevpon much maruelling at the sudden change, he demanded of the esquier whie he did not his dutie; Sir (said he) I am otherwise commanded by sir Piers of Erton, which is newlie come from K. Henrie. When king Richard heard that word, he toke the keruing knife in his hand, and strake the esquier on the head, saieng The diuell take Henrie of Lancaster and thee togither. And with that word, sir Piers entred the chamber, well armed, with eight tall men likewise armed, euerie of them hauing a bill in his hand.

The desperat manhood of king Richard

King Richard perceiuing this, put the table from him, & keping to the formost man, wrung the bill out of his hands, & so valiantlie defended himselfe, that he slue foure of those that thus came to assaile him. Sir Piers being halfe dismaied herewith, lept into the chaire where king Richard was wont to sit, while the other foure persons fought with him, and chased him about the chamber. And in conclusion, as king Richard trauersed his ground, from one side of the chamber to an other, & comming by the chaire, where sir Piers stood, he was felled with a stroke of a pollax which sir Piers gaue him vpon the head, and therewith rid him out of life, without giuing him respit once to call to God for mercie of his passed offenses. It is said, that sir Piers of Erton, after he had thus slaine him, wept right bitterlie, as one striken with the pricke of a giltie conscience, for murthering him, whome he had so long time obeied as king. After he was thus dead, his bodie was imbalmed, and sered, and couered with lead, all saue the face, to the intent that all men might see him, and perceiue that he was departed this life: for as the corps was conueied from Pomfret to London, in all the townes and places where those that had the conueiance of it did staie with it all night, they caused dirige to be song in the euening, and masse of *Requiem* in the morning; and as well after the one seruice as the other, his face discouered, was shewed to all that couet ed to behold it.

K. Richard murthered.

He is buried at Langlie.

The dead bodie of K. Richard brought to ỹ Tower.

Thus was the corps first brought to the Tower, and after through the citie, to the cathedrall church of saint Paule bare faced, where it laie three daies together, that all men might behold it. There was a solemne obsequie done for him, both at Paules, and after at Westminster, at which time, both at dirige ouernight, and in the morning at the masse of *Requiem*, the king and the citizens of London were present. When the same was ended, the corps was commanded to be had vnto Langlie, there to be buried in the church of the friers preachers. The bishop of Chester, the abbats of saint Albons and Waltham, celebrated the erequies for the buriall, none of the nobles nor anie of the commons (to accompt of) being present: neither was there anie to bid them to dinner after they had laid him in the ground, and finished the funerall seruice. He was after by king Henrie the fift remoued to Westminster, and there honorablie intomed with quæne Anne his wife, although the Scots vntruelie write, that he escaped out of prison, and led a vertuous and a solitarie life in Scotland, and there died, & is buried (as they hold) in the blacke friers at Sterling. ¶ But Fabian and others do as it were point out the place of his interrement, saieng that he lieth intomed on the south side of saint Edwards shrine, with an epitaph expressing partlie his proportion of bodie and partlie his properties of mind, as after followeth in a rimed heraistichon:

Abr. Fl. out of Fabian pag. 378.

Prudens & mundus, Richardus iure secundus,
Per fatum victus, iacet hic sub marmore pictus,
Verax sermone, fuit & plenus ratione,
Corpore procerus, animo prudens vt Homerus,
Ecclesiæ fauit, elatos suppeditauit,
Quemuis prostrauit, regalia qui violauit.

Forren princes not without cause abhorre to heare of the shamefull murther of king Richard.

When the newes of king Richards deposing was reported in France, king Charles and all his court wondering, detested and abhorred such an iniurie done to an annointed king, to a crowned prince, and to the head of a realme: but in especiall, Walerane earle of saint Paule, which had married king Richards halfe sister, moued with great disdaine towards king Henrie, ceased not to stirre king Charles & his councell to make warres against the Englishmen, and he himselfe sent letters of defiance into England. The earles sute was easilie agreed vnto, and an armie roiall appointed with all spæd, to inuade England. The armie was come downe into Picardie, redie to be transported into England: but when it was certeinelie knowen, that king Richard was dead, and that the enterprise of his deliuerance (which was chæflie meant) was frustrate and void, the armie was dissolued. But when the certeintie of K. Richards death was intimate to the Gascoignes, the most part of the wisest men of the countrie were right pensiue: for they iudged verelie, that hereby the English nation should be brought to dishonour, and losse of their ancient fame and glorie, for committing so heinous an offense against their king and souereigne lord, the memorie whereof (as they thought) would neuer die: and chæflie, the citizens of Burdeaux toke the matter verie sore at the stomach: for they bare exceeding fauour to king Richard, because he was borne and brought vp in their citie, and therefore more than all the residue they shewed themselues to abhorre so heinous a dæd.

How the Gascoignes toke the death of K. Richard.

The Frenchmen hauing vnderstanding hereof, thought with themselues that now was the time for them to practise with the Gascoignes to reduce them from the English obeisance, vnder their subiection. Herevpon came Lewes duke of Burbon vnto Agen, and wrote to diuerse cities and townes, on the confines of Guien, exhorting them with large promises, and faire fagred words, to reuolt from the Englishmen, and to become subiects to the crowne of France; but his trauell preuailed not: for the people vnderstanding that the English yoke was but easie in comparison to the French bondage, determined to abide rather in their old subiection, than for a displeasure irrecouerable to aduenture themselues on a new doubtfull perill; yet it was doubted, least the cities of Burdeaux, Dar, and Bayon, would haue reuolted, if the lords of the marches about those places had leaned to them in that purpose, for they sent their commissioners to Agen, to treate with the duke of Burbon. But forsomuch as the lords, Pomiers, Mucident, Duras, Landuras, Copane, Rosem, & Langurant, were minded to continue still English, those cities durst not without them turne to the French obeisance,

The duke of Burbon.

Froissard.

beſsance, for they could not haue ſtirred out of their gates, but thoſe lords would haue béene readie at their elbowes, to haue caught them by the ſléeues.

King Henrie being aduertiſed of the Frenchmens couert meanings, and alſo of the wauering minds of the Gaſcoignes, ſent Thomas Perſie earle of Worceſter with two hundred men of armes, and foure hundred archers into Guien, to aid and aſſiſt ſir Robert Knols, his lieutenant there. The chiefeſt capteines that accompanied the earle in this iournie were theſe: firſt, his nephue ſir Hugh Haſtings, ſir Thomas Colleuill, ſir William Liſle, John de Graillie baſe ſonne to the capitall de Boeuf, ſir William Draiton, ſir John Daubreticourt: alſo there went with him the biſhop of London, and maſter Richard Doall or Dolleie. The earle at his arriuall ſo wiſelie intreated the noble men, ſo grauelie perſuaded the magiſtrats of the cities and townes, and ſo gentlie and familiarlie vſed and treated the commons, that he not onelie appeaſed their furie and malice, but brought them to louing and vniforme obeiſance, receiuing of them othes of obedience, & loiall fealtie, which done, he returned againe into England with great thanks.

Polydor. Froiſſard.

The earle of Worceſter ſent into Gaſcoigne.

The French king perceiuing he could not bring his purpoſe about, neither by inuading England, nor by practiſing with the Gaſcoignes, ſent a ſolemne ambaſſage into England, requiring to haue his daughter the ladie Iſabell, ſometime eſpouſed to king Richard, reſtored to him againe. King Henrie gentlie receiued thoſe that were ſent to him about this meſſage, and for anſwer, promiſed to ſend his commiſſioners vnto Calis, which ſhould further commune and conclude with them. ¶ This ſéemeth diſſonant from the report of Fabian deriued out of Gagwine. For he ſaith that Charles hearing of the ſuppreſſion of K. Richard, ſent 2 of his houſhold knights into England, requiring king Henrie the fourth, then newlie made king, to ſend home his daughter Iſabell, latelie married vnto king Richard, with ſuch dowrie as with hir was promiſed. In doing of which meſſage king Henrie toke ſuch diſpleaſure, that he threw the ſaid two knights in priſon; where through one of them (named Blanchet) died in England, and the other called Henrie, after great ſickneſſe returned into France: wherefore if Fabian plaie not the fabler, thoſe that were ſent on the ſaid meſſage were not gentlie receiued of king Henrie; vnleſſe to be caſt in priſon and diſcourteouſlie dealt withall ſtand countable for benevolence & gentle interteinment. But to remit this and the like variances among writers to ſuch as can reconcile them, let vs returne to the ſtorie.

Ambaſſadors from the French king.

Abr. Fl. out of Fabian, pag. 364.

It was not inough that K. Henrie was thus troubled now in the firſt yere of his reigne, with ciuill ſedition, and the couert practiſes of Frenchmen; but that the Scots alſo toke vpon them to make open warre againſt him: it chanced (as in the Scotiſh chronicles more at large appeareth) that George of Dunbar, earle of the marches of Scotland, being in diſpleaſure with Robert king of Scots, fled into England, to Henrie earle of Northumberland, wherevpon the Scotiſh king depriued him of all his dignities and poſſeſſions, and cauſed his goods to be confiſcate, and after wrote to the king of England, requiring him if he would haue the truce anie longer to continue, either to deliuer into his poſſeſſion the earle of March and other traitors to his perſon, or elſe to baniſh them out of his realmes and dominions. King Henrie diſcréetly anſwerd the herald of Scotland, that the words of a prince ought to be kept: and his writings and ſeale to be inuiolate: and conſidering that he had granted a ſafe conduct to the earle and his companie, he ſhould neither without cauſe reaſonable breake his promiſe, nor yet deface his honor. Which anſwer declared to the king of Scots, he incontinentlie proclaimed open warre againſt the king of England, with fire and ſword. Herevpon, one ſir Robert Logon, a Scotiſh knight, with certeine ſhips well appointed for the warre, meant to haue deſtroied the Engliſh fléet that was come on the coaſts of Scotland, about Aberden, to fiſh there: but (as it chanced) he met with certeine ſhips of Lin, that fought with him, and toke him priſoner, with the reſidue of his companie, ſo that he quite failed of his purpoſe, and came to the loſſe himſelfe.

George earle of March fléeth into England.

The anſwer of king Henrie to the Scotiſh ambaſſadors.

Open warre proclamed by the king of Scots againſt England. Thom. Walſ.

Robert Logon taken priſoner.

At the ſame time, the Engliſhmen ſpoiled alſo certeine of the Iles of Orkeneie. This ſummer, great death chanced in this land, manie dieng of the peſtilence, wherewith ſundrie places were infected. King Henrie perceiuing that policie oftentimes preuenteth perill, and vnderſtanding the naughtie purpoſes of the Scots, gathered a great armie, and entred into Scotland, burning townes, villages, and caſtels, with a great part of the townes of Edenburgh and Léeth, and beſieged the caſtell of Edenburgh in the end of September, whereof was capteine Dauid duke of Rothſaie, and a prince of the realme, with Archembald earle of Dowglas, hauing with them manie hardie men of warre. Robert duke of Albanie, that was apointed gouernour of the realme, becauſe the king was ſicke and not méet to rule, ſent an herald vnto king Henrie, promiſing him battell within ſir daies at the furtheſt, if he would ſo long tarrie, which king Henrie promiſed to do right gladlie, and gaue to the herald for bringing him ſo acceptable newes, a gowne of ſilke, and a cheine of gold. But king Henrie ſtaied ſir daies, and ſixtéene to, without hearing any word of the gouernors comming. Then the winter beginning to wax cold, and foule weather ſtill increaſing, cauſed the king to breake vp his ſiege, and ſo returned without battell or ſkirmiſh offered.

The Iles of Orkenie ſpoiled by Engliſhmen.

Mortalitie of people.

King Henrie inuadeth Scotland.

The duke of Rothſaie.

The duke of Albanie.

Anno Reg. 2.

In the meane time that the king was thus in Scotland, the Scots made a rode into Northumberland, and burned diuerſe townes in Bamburrough ſhire. At the kings comming backe to Yorke, there were two ſtrangers, the one a Frenchman, and the other an Italian, requiring to accompliſh certeine feats of armes, againſt ſir John Cornewall, and Janico de Artois. Their requeſt was granted, and the ſtrangers were put to the worſt, whereby ſir John Cornewall obteined the kings fauour ſo farre forth, that he married the kings ſiſter, the widow of John Holland, earle of Huntington. Yet ſome ſaid, that the knight and the counteſſe were agréed afore hand, without the kings conſent. In the kings abſence, whileſt he was forth of the realme in Scotland againſt his enimies, the Welſhmen toke occaſion to rebell vnder the conduct of their capteine Owen Glendouer, doing what miſchéefe they could deuiſe, vnto their Engliſh neighbours. This Owen Glendouer was ſonne to an eſquier of Wales, named Griffith Vichan: he dwelled in the pariſh of Conwaie, within the countie of Merioneth in Northwales, in a place called Glindourwie, which is as much to ſaie in Engliſh, as The vallie by the ſide of the water of Dée, by occaſion whereof he was ſurnamed Glindour Dew.

King Henrie returneth home.

The Scots burne in Northumberland.

Iuſts at Yorke.

Sir John Cornewall marrieth the kings ſiſter.

The Welſhmen rebell by the ſetting on of Owen Glendouer.

John Stow.

Owen Glendouer what he was.

He was firſt ſet to ſtudie the lawes of the realme, and became an vtter barreſter, or an apprentiſe of the law (as they terme him) and ſerued king Richard at Flint caſtell, when he was taken by Henrie duke of Lancaſter, though other haue written that he ſerued this king Henrie the fourth, before he came to atteine the crowne, in rome of an eſquier, and after, by reaſon of variance that roſe betwixt him and the lord Reginald Greie of Ruthin, about the lands which he claimed

Tho. Walſ.

claimed to be his by right of inheritance: when he saw that he might not preuaile, finding no such fauor in his sute as he looked for, he first made warre against the said lord Greie, wasting his lands and possessions with fire and sword, cruellie killing his seruants and tenants. The king aduertised of such rebellious exploits, enterprised by the said Owen, and his vnrulie complices, determined to chastise them, as disturbers of his peace, and so with an armie entered into Wales; but the Welshmen with their capteine withdrew into the mounteines of Snowdon, so to escape the reuenge, which the king meant towards them. The king therefore did much hurt in the countries with fire and sword, sleing diuerse that with weapon in hand came forth to resist him, and so with a great bootie of beasts and cattell he returned.

The occasion that moued him to rebell.

The king entreth into Wales, meaning to chastise the rebels.

The emperor of Constantinople cõmeth into Englãd.

The emperour of Constantinople comming into England to sue for aid against the Turkes, was met by the king on Blackheath, vpon the feast day of saint Thomas the apostle, and brought vnto London with great honor. The king bare all his charges, presenting him with gifts at his departure, meet for such an estate. After the feast of the Epiphanie, a parlement was holden, in which an act was made, against those that held opinions in religion, contrarie to the receiued doctrine of the church of Rome; ordeining, that whersoeuer any of them were found and proued to set forth such doctrine, they should be apprehended, and deliuered to the bishop their diocesane; and if they stood stiffelie in their opinions, and would not be reformed, they should be deliuered to the secular power, to be burnt to ashes. The first that tasted the smart of this statute, was one William Hawtrée or Sawtrée a priest, that being apprehended was burnt in Smithfield, in time of this parlement.

1401
A parlement.

One burnt in Smithfield.

Additions of the chronicles of Flanders.

About the same time, king Henrie (according to promise made (as ye haue heard) vnto the French ambassadors, sent ouer into the countrie of Guisnes, Edward earle of Rutland, otherwise in king Richards daies intituled duke of Aumarle, son to Edmund duke of Yorke, Henrie earle of Northumberland, and his sonne the lord Henrie Persie, the lord Ruan Fitzwarren, the bishops of Winchester and Lincolne: where the duke of Burbon, the lords Charles d'Albert, Charles de Hangest, John de Chastelmorant, the Patriarke of Jerusalem, and the bishops of Paris and Beauuois, were readie there to commune with them, and so they assembling togither at sundrie times and places, the Frenchmen required to haue quæne Isabell to them restored, but the Englishmen seemed loth to depart with hir, requiring to haue hir married to Henrie prince of Wales, one in bloud and age in all things to hir equall; but the Frenchmen would in no wise condescend thereto, without their kings consent, who at that present was not in case to vtter his mind, being troubled with his wonted disease. The commissioners then began to treat of peace, and at length renewed the truce to endure for six and twentie yeares yet to come; whereunto the foure yeares passed being added, made vp the number of thirtie yeares, according to the conclusion agreed vpon, in the life time of king Richard.

There was also the erle of Deuonshire, as Froissard saith.

Elie hath Froissard.

Cõmissioners met to treat of peace.

The French king troubled with a frensie.

Truce for 26 yeares.

Some authors affirme, that there was a new league concluded, to continue, during the liues of both the princes. The Frenchmen diuerse times required to haue some dower assigned forth for quæne Isabell, but that was at all times vtterlie denied, for that the marriage betwixt hir and king Richard was neuer consummate, by reason whereof she was not dowable. Neuertheless, she was shortlie after sent home, vnder the conduct of the earle of Worcester, associat with diuerse other noble and honorable personages, both men and women, hauing with hir all the iewels, ornaments, and plate which she brought into England, with a great surplusage besides giuen to hir by the king. She was deliuered betwixt Bullongne and Calis, to Ualeran earle of saint Paule, the French kings lieutenant in Picardie, who being accompanied with the bishop of Chartres, the lord de Hugueuile, the ladie of Ponpenlier sister to the erle of March, the ladie of Lucenburgh sister to the said earle of saint Paule, & diuerse other ladies and gentlewomen, which receiued hir with great ioy and gladnesse, and taking leaue of the English lords and ladies, they conueied hir to the dukes of Burgognie and Burbon, that attended for hir, not far off, vpon a hill, with a great number of people. They first conueied hir to Bullogne, & after to Abuile, from whence the duke of Orleance conueied hir to Paris, vnto the presence of the king hir father, and the quæne hir mother: she was after giuen in marriage vnto Charles, sonne to Lewes duke of Orleance.

Hall.

The Frenchmen demand a dower for quæne Isabell.

Additions of the chron. of Flanders. She is deliuered home.

She is conueied to Paris.

Hir second marriage.

About the same time, Owen Glendouer and his Welshmen did much hurt to the kings subiects. One night as the king was going to bed, he was in danger to haue bæne destroied; for some naughtie traitorous persons had conueied into his bed a certeine iron made with smiths craft, like a caltrop, with three long prickes, sharpe and small, standing vpright, in such sort, that when he had laid him downe, & that the weight of his bodie should come vpon the bed, he should haue bæne thrust in with those pricks, and peraduenture slaine: but as God would, the king not thinking of any such thing, chanced yet to fæle and perceiue the instrument before he laid him downe, and so escaped the danger. ¶ Howbeit he was not so sone deliuered from feare; for he might well haue his life in suspicion, & prouide for the preseruation of the same; sith perils of death crept into his secret chamber, and laie lurking in the bed of downe where his bodie was to be reposed and to take rest. Oh what a suspected state therefore is that of a king holding his regiment with the hatred of his people, the hartgrudgings of his courtiers, and the peremptorie practises of both togither? Could he confidentlie compose or setle himselfe to sleepe for feare of strangling? Durst he boldly eat and drinke without dread of poisoning? Might he aduenture to shew himselfe in great meetings or solemne assemblies without mistrust of mischeefe against his person intended? What pleasure or what felicitie could he take in his princelie pompe, which he knew by manifest and fearefull experience, to be enuied and maligned to the verie death? The state of such a king is noted by the poet in Dionysius, as in a mirror, concerning whome it is said,

Districtus ensis cui super impia
Ceruice pendet, non Siculæ dapes
Dulcem elaborabunt saporem,
Non auium citharæq; cantus.

Hor. lib. ca. 3, Ode. 1.

Anno Reg. 3. Owen Glendouer.

The danger of the king to haue bæne destroied.

This yeare, the eight day of Aprill deceassed the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike. In the moneth of March appeared a blasing starre, first betweene the east part of the firmament and the north, flashing forth fire and flames round about it, and lastlie, shoting forth fierie beams towards the north, forshewing (as was thought) the great effusion of bloud that followed, about the parts of Wales and Northumberland. For much about the same time, Owen Glendouer (with his Welshmen) fought with the lord Greie of Ruthen, comming forth to defend his possessions, which the same Owen wasted and destroied: and as the fortune of that daies worke fell out, the lord Greie was taken prisoner, and manie of his men were slaine. This hap lifted the Welshmen into high pride, and increased meruellouslie their wicked and presumptuous attempts.

1402
The earle of Warwike departeth this life.

A blasing starre.

The lord Greie of Ruthen taken in fight by Owen Glendouer.

About

A brute was spred abroad that king Richard was liuing.

A priest take.

About Whitsuntide a conspiracie was deuised by certeine persons, that wished the kings death, maintening and bruting abroad, that king Richard was aliue, and therefore exhorted men to stand with him, for shortlie he would come to light, and reward such as toke his part with iust recompense. Herewith, there was a priest taken at Ware, or (as some bookes haue) at Warwike, who had a kalendar or roll, in which a great number of names were written, more than were in any wise guiltie of the fact, as afterwards appeared by the same priests confession. For being examined, whether he knew such persons as he had so inrolled, & were there present before him, he said he neuer knew them at all; and being demanded wherefore he had then so recorded their names, he answered, because he thought they would gladlie do what mischiefe they could against king Henrie, vpon any occasion offered in reuenge of the iniuries done to king Richard, by whom they had bene aduanced, and princelie preferred. When therfore there appeared no more credit in the man, he was condemned, drawen, hanged, and quartered, and diuerse that had bene apprehended about that matter, were released, and set at libertie. Shortlie after, the prior of Laund (who for his euill gouernment had bene depriued of his state and dignitie) was likewise executed, not for attempting any thing of himselfe, but onlie for that he confessed, that he knew euill counsell and concealed it. His name was Walter Baldocke, a canon sometime in Dunstable, and by king Richard promoted to the priorship of Laund.

He is executed.

The prior of Laund apprehended.

Also the same time, certeine grete friers were apprehended for treason which they had deuised to bring to passe, and one of them, whose name was Richard Frisebie, being asked what he would do if king Richard had bene aliue, and present with them, answered stoutlie, that he would fight against any man in his quarrell, euen to death. Herevpon, he was condemned, drawen, and hanged in his friers weed, to the great confusion of his brethren; but they made earnest instance to haue his bodie taken downe, and buried with diriges and exequies, and had their sute granted. Sir Roger of Claringdon knight was also put to death about this conspiracie, with two of his seruants, the one an esquier, the other a yeoman. He was base sonne (as was reported) vnto Edward, eldest sonne to king Edward the third, surnamed the blacke prince. On Corpus Christi daie at euensong time, the diuell (as was thought) appeared in a towne of Esser called Wanburie, entring into the church in likenesse of a grete frier, behauing himselfe verie outragiouslie, plaieng his parts like a diuell indeed, so that the parishioners were put in a maruellous great fright.

Grete friers apprehended.

A grete frier hanged in his habit.

Sir Roger Claringdon.

The diuell appeareth in likenesse of a grete frier.

At the same instant, there chanced such a tempest of wind, thunder, and lightning, that the highest part of the rofe of that church was blowen downe, and the chancell was all to shaken, rent, and torne in pèces. Within a small while after, eight of those grete friers that had practised treason against the king, were brought to open iudgement, and conuicted were drawen and headed at London; and two other suffered at Leicester, all which persons had published king Richard to be aliue. Owen Glendouer, according to his accustomed manner, robbing and spoiling within the English borders, caused all the forces of the shire of Hereford to assemble togither against them, vnder the conduct of Edmund Mortimer earle of March. But cõming to trie the matter by battell, whether by treason or otherwise, so it fortuned, that the English power was discomfited, the earle taken prisoner, and aboue a thousand of his people slaine in the place. The shamefull villanie vsed by the Welshwomen towards the dead carcasses, was such, as honest eares would be ashamed to heare, and continent tongs to speake thereof. The dead bodies might not be buried, without great summes of monie giuen for libertie to conueie them awaie.

Eight friers executed.

The earle of March taken prisoner in battell by Owen Glendouer.

The king was not hastie to purchase the deliuerance of the earle March, bicause his title to the crowne was well inough knowen, and therefore suffered him to remaine in miserable prison, wishing both the said earle, and all other of his linage out of this life, with God and his saincts in heauen, so they had bene out of the waie, for then all had bene well inough as he thought. But to let these things passe, the king this yeare sent his eldest daughter Blanch, accõpanied with the earle of Summerset, the bishop of Worcester, the lord Clifford, and others, into Almanie, which brought hir to Colin, and there with great triumph she was married to William duke of Bauier, sonne and heire to Lewes the emperour. About mid of August, the king to chastise the presumptuous attempts of the Welshmen, went with a great power of men into Wales, to pursue the capteine of the Welsh rebell Owen Glendouer, but in effect he lost his labor; for Owen conueied himselfe out of the waie, into his knowen lurking places, and (as was thought) through art magike, he caused such foule weather of winds, tempest, raine, snow, and haile to be raised, for the annoiance of the kings armie, that the like had not bene heard of; in such sort, that the king was constreined to returne home, hauing caused his people yet to spoile and burne first a great part of the countrie. The same time, the lord Edmund of Langlie duke of Yorke departed this life, and was buried at Langlie with his brethren. The Scots vnder the leding of Patrike Hepborne, of the Hales the yonger, entring into England, were ouerthrowen at Nesbit, in the marches, as in the Scotish chronicle ye may find more at large. This battell was fought the two and twentith of June, in this yeare of our Lord 1402.

The suspicion of K. Henrie grounded vpõ a guiltie conscience.

The kings daughter maried into Germanie.

Intemperat weather.

The deceasse of the duke of Yorke.

Archembald earle Dowglas sore displeased in his mind for this ouerthrow, procured a commission to inuade England, and that to his cost, as ye may likewise read in the Scotish histories. For at a place called Homildon, they were so fiercelie assailed by the Englishmen, vnder the leading of the lord Persie, surnamed Henrie Hotspur, and George earle of March, that with violence of the English shot they were quite vanquished and put to flight, on the Rood daie in haruest, with a great slaughter made by the Englishmen. We know that the Scotish writers note this battell to haue chanced in the yeare 1403. But we following Tho. Walsingham in this place, and other English writers, for the accompt of times, haue thought good to place it in this yeare 1402, as in the same writers we find it. There were slaine of men of estimation, sir John Swinton, sir Adam Gordon, sir John Leuiston, sir Alexander Ramsie of Dalehouse, and three and twentie knights, besides ten thousand of the commons: and of prisoners among other were these, Mordacke earle of Fife, son to the gouernour Archembald earle Dowglas, which in the fight lost one of his eies, Thomas erle of Murrey, Robert earle of Angus, and (as some writers haue) the earles of Atholl & Menteith, with fiue hundred other of meaner degrées. After this, the lord Persie, hauing bestowed the prisoners in suer képing, entered Tiuidale, wasting and destroieng the whole countrie, and then besieged the castell of Cocklawes, whereof was capteine one sir John Grenlow, who compounded with the Englishmen, that if the castell were not succoured within three moneths, then he would deliuer it into their hands.

Scots banquished at Homildon.

The number slaine.

Prisoners taken.

The castell of Cocklawes besieged by ỹ lord Persie.

The first two moneths passed, and no likelihod of rescue appeared; but yer the third moneth was expi-

red,

red, the Englishmen being sent for to go with the king into Wales, raised their siege and departed, leauing the noble men prisoners with the earle of Northumberland, and with his sonne the lord Persie, to keepe them to the kings vse. In this meane while, such as misliked with the doctrine and ceremonies then vsed in the church, ceassed not to vtter their consciences, though in secret, to those in whome they had affiance. But as in the like cases it commonlie happeneth, they were bewraied by some that were thought chiefly to fauour their cause, as by sir Lewes Clifford knight, who hauing leaned to the doctrine a long time, did now (as Thomas Walsingham writeth) disclose all that he knew vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, to shew himselfe as it were to haue erred rather of simplenesse and ignorance, than of frowardnesse or stubborne malice. The names of such as taught the articles and conclusions maintained by those which then they called Lollards or heretikes, the said sir Lewes Clifford gaue in writing to the said archbishop. Edmund Mortimer earle of March, prisoner with Owen Glendouer, whether for irksomnesse of cruell captiuitie, or feare of death, or for what other cause, it is vncertaine, agreed to take part with Owen, against the king of England, and toke to wife the daughter of the said Owen.

The prokefors of wicklifs doctrine.

Sir Lewes Clifford bewraieth his fellowes.

The earle of March marieth the daughter of Owen Glendouer.

Strange wonders happened (as men reported) at the natiuitie of this man, for the same night he was borne, all his fathers horsis in the stable were found to stand in bloud vp to the bellies. The morow after the feast of saint Michaell, a parlement began at Westminster, which continued the space of seauen weekes, in the same was a tenth and a halfe granted by the cleargie, and a fifteenth by the communaltie. Moreouer, the commons in this parlement besought the king to haue the person of George earle of March a Scotishman, recommended to his maiestie, for that the same earle shewed himselfe faithfull to the king & his realme. ¶ There was also a statute made, that the friers beggers should not receiue any into their order, vnder the age of fourteene yeares. In this fourth yeare of king Henries reigne, ambassadors were sent ouer into Britaine, to bring from thence the duches of Britaine, the ladie Jane de Nauarre, the widow of John de Montford, late duke of Britaine, surnamed the conqueror, with whom by procurators the king had contracted matrimonie. In the beginning of Februarie, those that were sent returned with hir in safetie, but not without tasting the bitter stormes of the wind and weather, that tossed them sore to and fro, before they could get to land. The king met hir at Winchester, where the seuenth of Februarie, the marriage was solemnized betwixt them.

Anno Reg. 4. A parlement.

George earle of March recommended to the king by parlement.

1403

Ambassadors.

Whilest these things were thus in doing in England, Valeran earle of saint Paule, bearing still a deadlie and malicious hatred toward king Henrie, hauing assembled sixteene or seuentéene hundred men of warre, imbarked them at Harflew, and taking the sea, landed in the Ile of Wight, in the which he burned two villages, and foure simple cotages, and for a triumph of so noble an act, made foure knights. But when he heard that the people of the Ile were assembled and approched to fight with him, he hasted to his ships, and returned home: wherewith the noble men of his companie were displeased, considering his prouision to be great and his gaine small.

The earle of saint Paule in the Ile of Wight.

In the same verie season, John earle of Cleremont sonne to the duke of Bourbon, wan in Gascoigne out of the Englishmens possession, the castels of saint Peter, saint Marie, and the New castell; and the lord de la Bret wan the castell of Carlasin, which was no small losse to the English nation.

The earle of Cleremont in Gascoigne.

Henrie earle of Northumberland, with his brother Thomas earle of Worcester, and his sonne the lord Henrie Persie, surnamed Hotspur, which were to king Henrie in the beginning of his reigne, both faithfull frends, and earnest aiders, began now to enuie his wealth and felicitie; and especiallie they were greeued, because the king demanded of the earle and his sonne such Scotish prisoners as were taken at Homeldon and Nesbit: for of all the captiues which were taken in the conflicts foughten in those two places, there was deliuered to the kings possession onelie Murdake earle of Fife, the duke of Albanies sonne, though the king did diuers and sundrie times require deliuerance of the residue, and that with great threatnings: wherewith the Persies being sore offended, for that they claimed them as their owne proper prisoners, and their peculiar preies, by the counsell of the lord Thomas Persie earle of Worcester, whose studie was euer (as some write) to procure malice, and set things in a broile, came to the king vnto Windsore (vpon a purpose to proue him) and there required of him, that either by ransome or otherwise, he would cause to be deliuered out of prison Edmund Mortimer earle of March, their cousine germane, whome (as they reported) Owen Glendouer kept in filthie prison, chained with irons, onelie for that he toke his part, and was to him faithfull and true.

The request of the Persies

The king began not a little to muse at this request, and not without cause: for in deed it touched him somewhat neere, sith this Edmund was sonne to Roger earle of March, sonne to the ladie Philip, daughter of Lionell duke of Clarence, the third sonne of king Edward the third; which Edmund at king Richards going into Ireland, was proclamed heire apparant to the crowne and realme, whose aunt called Elianor, the lord Henrie Persie had married; and therefore king Henrie could not well heare, that anie man should be earnest about the aduancement of that linage. The king when he had studied on the matter, made answer, that the earle of March was not taken prisoner for his cause, nor in his seruice, but willinglie suffered himselfe to be taken, because he would not withstand the attempts of Owen Glendouer, and his complices, & therefore he would neither ransome him, nor releeue him.

The Persies with this answer and fraudulent excuse were not a little fumed, insomuch that Henrie Hotspur said openlie: Behold, the heire of the relme is robbed of his right, and yet the robber with his owne will not redeeme him. So in this furie the Persies departed, minding nothing more than to depose king Henrie from the high type of his roialtie, and to place in his seat their cousine Edmund earle of March, whom they did not onlie deliuer out of captiuitie, but also (to the high displeasure of king Henrie) entered in league with the foresaid Owen Glendouer. Herewith, they by their deputies in the house of the archdeacon of Bangor, diuided the realme amongst them, causing a tripartite indenture to be made and sealed with their seales, by the couenants whereof, all England from Seuerne and Trent, south and eastward, was assigned to the earle of March: all Wales, & the lands beyond Seuerne westward, were appointed to Owen Glendouer: and all the remnant from Trent northward, to the lord Persie.

The saieng of the L. Persie.

The conspiracies of the Persies with Owen Glendouer.

In indentures tripartite.

A diuision of that which they had not.

This was done (as some haue said) through a foolish credit giuen to a vaine prophesie, as though king Henrie was the moldwarpe, cursed of Gods owne mouth, and they three were the dragon, the lion, and the wolfe, which should diuide this realme betweene them. Such is the deuotion (saith Hall) and not diuination of those blind and fantasticall dreames of the Welsh prophesiers. King Henrie not knowing of

A vaine prophesie.

this new confederacie, and nothing lesse minding than that which after happened, gathered a great armie to go againe into Wales, whereof the earle of Northumberland and his sonne were aduertised by the earle of Worcester, and with all diligence raised all the power they could make, and sent to the Scots which before were taken prisoners at Homeldon, for aid of men, promising to the earle of Dowglas the towne of Berwike, and a part of Northumberland, and to other Scotish lords, great lordships and seignories, if they obteined the vpper hand. The Scots in hope of gaine, and desirous to be reuenged of their old greefes, came to the earle with a great companie well appointed.

The Persies raise their powers.

They craue aid of Scots.

The Persies to make their part seeme good, deuised certeine articles, by the aduise of Richard Scrope, archbishop of Yorke, brother to the lord Scrope, whome king Henrie had caused to be beheaded at Bristow. These articles being shewed to diuerse noblemen, and other states of the realme, mooued them to fauour their purpose, in so much that manie of them did not onelie promise to the Persies aid and succour by words, but also by their writings and seales confirmed the same. Howbeit when the matter came to triall, the most part of the confederates abandoned them, and at the daie of the conflict left them alone. Thus after that the conspirators had discouered themselues, the lord Henrie Persie desirous to proceed in the enterprise, vpon trust to be assisted by Owen Glendouer, the earle of March, & other, assembled an armie of men of armes and archers forth of Cheshire and Wales. Incontinentlie his vncle Thomas Persie earle of Worcester, that had the gouernement of the prince of Wales, who as then laie at London in secret manner, conueied himselfe out of the princes house, and comming to Stafford (where he met his nephue) they increased their power by all waies and meanes they could deuise. The earle of Northumberland himselfe was not with them, but being sicke, had promised vpon his amendement to repaire vnto them (as some write) with all conuenient speed.

The archbish. of Yorke of counsell with the Persies in conspiracie.

Thom. Wall.

The earle of Worcester gouernour to the prince slippeth from him. Hall.

These noble men, to make their conspiracie to seeme excusable, besides the articles aboue mentioned, sent letters abroad, wherein was conteined, that their gathering of an armie tended to none other end, but onlie for the safegard of their owne persons, and to put some better gouernment in the commonwealth. For whereas tares and tallages were dailie leuied, vnder pretense to be imploied in defense of the realme, the same were vainlie wasted, and vnprofitablie consumed: and where through the slanderous reports of their enimies, the king had taken a greeuous displeasure with them, they durst not appeare personallie in the kings presence, vntill the prelats and barons of the realme had obteined of the king licence for them to come and purge themselues before him, by lawfull triall of their peeres, whose iudgement (as they pretended) they would in no wise refuse. Manie that saw and heard these letters, did commend their diligence, and highlie praised their assured fidelitie and trustinesse towards the commonwealth.

The pretense of ỹ Persies, as they published it abroad.

But the king vnderstanding their cloaked drift, deuised (by what meanes he might) to quiet and appease the commons, and deface their contriued forgeries, and therefore he wrote an answer to their libels, that he maruelled much, sith the earle of Northumberland, and the lord Henrie Persie his sonne, had receiued the most part of the summes of monie granted to him by the clergie and communaltie, for defense of the marches, as he could euidentlie proue what should moue them to complaine and raise such manifest slanders. And whereas he vnderstood, that the earles of Northumberland and Worcester, and the lord Persie had by their letters signified to their frends abroad, that by reason of the slanderous reports of their enimies, they durst not appeare in his presence, without the mediation of the prelats and nobles of the realme, so as they required pledges, whereby they might safelie come afore him, to declare and alledge what they had to saie in proofe of their innocencie, he protected by letters sent forth vnder his seale, that they might safelie come and go, without all danger, or anie manner of indamagement to be offered to their persons.

The kings answer to the Persies libell.

But this could not satisfie those men, but that resolued to go forwards with their enterprise, they marched towards Shrewesburie, vpon hope to be aided (as men thought) by Owen Glendouer, and his Welshmen, publishing abroad throughout the countries on each side, that king Richard was aliue, whome if they wished to see, they willed them to repaire in armour vnto the castell of Chester, where (without all doubt) he was at that present, and redie to come forward. This tale being raised, though it were most vntrue, yet it bred variable motions in mens minds, causing them to wauer, so as they knew not to which part they should sticke; and verelie, diuers were well affected towards king Richard, speciallie such as had tasted of his princelie bountifulnes, of which there was no small number. And to speake a truth, no maruell it was, if manie enuied the prosperous state of king Henrie, sith it was euident inough to the world, that he had with wrong vsurped the crowne, and not onelie violentlie deposed king Richard, but also cruellie procured his death, for the which vndoubtedlie, both he and his posteritie tasted such troubles, as put them still in danger of their states, till the first succeeding line was quite rooted out by the contraris faction, as in Henrie the first and Edward the fourth it may appeare.

Note K. Richard is still aliue with the that wish K. Henries ouerthrow.

But now to returne where we left. King Henrie aduertised of the proceedings of the Persies, forthwith gathered about him such power as he might make, and being earnestlie called vpon by the Scot, the earle of March, to make hast and giue battell to his enimies, before their power by delaieng of time should still too much increase, he passed forward with such speed, that he was in sight of his enimies, lieng in campe neere to Shrewesburie, before they were in doubt of anie such thing, for the Persies thought that he would haue staied at Burton vpon Trent, till his councell had come thither to him to giue their aduise what he were best to do. But herein the enimie was deceiued of his expectation, sith the king had great regard of expedition and making speed for the safetie of his owne person, whereunto the earle of March incited him, considering that in delaie is danger, & losse in lingering, as the poet in the like case saith:

Tolle moras, nocuit semper differre paratis,
Dum trepidant nullo firmata robore partes.

The kings speedie diligence.

By reason of the kings sudden cõming in this sort, they staied from assaulting the towne of Shrewesburie, which enterprise they were readie at that instant to haue taken in hand, and forthwith the lord Persie (as a capteine of high courage) began to exhort the capteines and souldiers to prepare themselues to battell, sith the matter was growen to that point, that by no meanes it could be auoided, so that (said he) this daie shall either bring vs all to aduancement & honor, or else if it shall chance vs to be ouercome, shall deliuer vs from the kings spitefull malice and cruell disdaine: for plaieng the men (as we ought to do) better it is to die in battell for the commonwealths cause, than through cowardlike feare to prolong life, which after shall be taken from vs, by sentence of the enimie.

The Persies troubled with the kings sudden comming.

The lord Persie exhorteth his complices to stick to their tackle.

Herevpon

The number of the Perſies armie.

Herevpon, the whole armie being in number abount fourteene thouſand choſen men, promiſed to ſtand with him ſo long as life laſted. There were with the Perſies as chiefteines of this armie, the earle of Dowglas a Scotiſh man, the baron of Kinderton, ſir Hugh Browne, and ſir Richard Vernon knights, with diuerſe other ſtout and right valiant capteins.

The Perſies ſent their articles to the king.

Now when the two armies were incamped, the one againſt the other, the earle of Worceſter and the lord Perſie with their complices ſent the articles (whereof I ſpake before) by Thomas Calton, and Thomas Saluain eſquiers to king Henrie, vnder their hands and ſeales, which articles in effect charged him with

King Henrie charged with periurie.

manifeſt periurie, in that (contrarie to his oth receiued vpon the euangelills at Doncaſter, when he firſt entred the realme after his exile) he had taken vpon him the crowne and roiall dignitie, impriſoned king Richard, cauſed him to reſigne his title, and finallie to be murthered. Diuerſe other matters they laid to his charge, as leuieng of tares and tallages, contrarie to his promiſe, infringing of lawes & cuſtomes of the realme, and ſuffering the earle of March to remaine in priſon, without trauelling to haue him deliuered. All which things they as procurors & protectors of the common-wealth, toke vpon them to prooue againſt him, as they proteſted vnto the whole world.

Procurors & protectors of the common-wealth.

King Henrie after he had read their articles, with the defiance which they annexed to the ſame, anſwered the eſquiers, that he was readie with dint of

The kings anſwer to the meſſengers that brought the articles.

ſword and fierce battell to proue their quarrell falſe, and nothing elſe than a forged matter, not doubting, but that God would aid and aſſiſt him in his righteous cauſe, againſt the diſloiall and falſe forſworne traitors. The nert daie in the morning earlie, being the euen of Marie Magdalene, they ſet their battels in order on both ſides, and now whileſt the warriors loked when the token of battell ſhould be giuen, the

The king offereth to pardon his aduerſaries.

abbat of Shrewesburie, and one of the clearks of the priuie ſeale, were ſent from the king vnto the Perſies, to offer them pardon, if they would come to any reaſonable agréement. By their perſuaſions, the lord Henrie Perſie began to giue eare vnto the kings offers, & ſo ſent with them his vncle the earle of Worceſter, to declare vnto the king the cauſes of thoſe troubles, and to require ſome effectuall reformation in the ſame.

It was reported for a truth, that now when the king had condeſcended vnto all that was reſonable at his hands to be required, and ſeemed to humble himſelfe more than was meet for his eſtate, the earle

The earle of Worceſters double dealing in wrong reporting the kings words.

of Worceſter (vpon his returne to his nephue) made relation cleane contrarie to that the king had ſaid, in ſuch ſort that he ſet his nephues hart more in diſpleaſure towards the king, than euer it was before, driuing him by that meanes to fight whether he would or not: then ſuddenlie blew the trumpets, the kings part crieng S. George vpon them, the aduerſaries cried *Eſperance Perſie*, and ſo the two armies furiouſlie ioined. The archers on both ſides ſhot for the beſt game, laieng on ſuch load with arrowes, that manie died, and were driuen downe that neuer roſe againe.

Hall. The Scots.

The Scots (as ſome write) which had the fore ward on the Perſies ſide, intending to be reuenged of their old diſpleaſures done to them by the Engliſh nation, ſet ſo fiercelie on the kings fore ward, led by the earle of Stafford, that they made the ſame draw backe, and had almoſt broken their aduerſaries arraie. The Welſhmen alſo which before had laine lurking in the woods, mountcines, and mariſhes, hearing of this battell toward, came to the aid of the

The welſhmen come to aid the Perſies.

Perſies, and refreſhed the wearied people with new ſuccours. The king perceiuing that his men were thus put to diſtreſſe, what with the violent impreſſion of the Scots, and the tempeſtuous ſtormes of arrowes, that his aduerſaries diſcharged freelie againſt him and his people, it was no need to will him to ſtirre: for ſuddenlie with his freſh battell, he approched and relieued his men; ſo that the battell began more fierce than before. Here the lord Henrie Perſie, and the earle Dowglas, a right ſtout and hardie capteine, not regarding the ſhot of the kings battell, nor the cloſe order of the ranks, preſſing forward togither bent their whole forces towards the kings perſon, comming vpon him with ſpeares and ſwords ſo fiercelie, that the earle of March the Scot, perceiuing their purpoſe, withdrew the king from that ſide of the field (as ſome write) for his great benefit and ſafegard (as it appeared) for they gaue ſuch a violent onſet vpon them that ſtood about the kings ſtandard, that ſlaieng his ſtandard-bearer ſir Walter Blunt, and ouerthrowing the ſtandard, they made ſlaughter of all thoſe that ſtood about it, as the earle of Stafford, that daie made by the king conſtable of the realme, and diuerſe other.

The earle of March. Tho. Walſ.

Hall. The valiance of the yong prince.

The prince that daie holpe his father like a luſtie yong gentleman: for although he was hurt in the face with an arrow, ſo that diuerſe noble men that were about him, would haue conueied him forth of the field, yet he would not ſuffer them ſo to do, leaſt his departure from amongſt his men might happilie haue ſtriken ſome feare into their harts: and ſo without regard of his hurt, he continued with his men, & neuer ceaſſed, either to fight where the battell was moſt hot, or to incourage his men where it ſeemed moſt need. This battell laſted three long houres, with indifferent fortune on both parts, till at length, the king crieng ſaint George victorie, brake the arraie of his enimies, and aduentured ſo farre, that (as ſome write) the earle Dowglas ſtrake him downe, & at that inſtant ſlue ſir Walter Blunt, and three other, apparelled in the kings ſute and clothing, laieng: I marueil to ſee ſo many kings thus ſuddenlie ariſe one in the necke of an other. The king in deed was raiſed, & did that daie manie a noble feat of armes, for as it is written, he ſlue that daie with his owne hands ſix and thirtie perſons of his enimies. The other on his part incouraged by his doings, fought valiantlie, and ſlue the lord Perſie, called ſir Henrie Hotſpurre. To conclude, the kings enimies were vanquiſhed, and put to flight, in which flight, the earle of Dowglas, for haſt, falling from the crag of an hie mounteine, brake one of his cuiſſons, and was taken, and for his valiantneſſe, of the king frankelie and freelie deliuered.

A ſore battell & well maintained.

The valiant doings of the earle Dowglas.

The high manhood of the king.

The lord Perſie ſlaine.

The earle Dowglas taken priſoner.

There was alſo taken the earle of Worceſter, the procuror and ſetter forth of all this miſchéefe, ſir Richard Vernon, and the baron of Kinderton, with diuerſe other. There were ſlaine vpon the kings part, beſide the earle of Stafford, to the number of ten knights, ſir Hugh Shorlie, ſir John Clifton, ſir John Cokaine, ſir Nicholas Gauſell, ſir Walter Blunt, ſir John Calueleie, ſir John Haſſie of Podington, ſir Hugh Mortimer, and ſir Robert Gauſell, all the which receiued the ſame morning the order of knighthood: ſir Thomas Wendeſleie was wounded to death, and ſo paſſed out of this life ſhortlie after. There died in all vpon the kings ſide ſixteene hundred, and foure thouſand were grieuouſlie wounded. On the contrarie ſide were ſlaine, beſides the lord Perſie, the moſt part of the knights and eſquiers of the countie of Cheſter, to the number of two hundred, beſides yeomen and footmen, in all there died of thoſe that fought on the Perſies ſide, about fiue thouſand. This battell was fought on Marie Magdalene euen, being ſaturdaie. Vpon the mondaie following, the earle of Worceſter, the baron of Kinderton, and ſir Richard Vernon knights, were condemned and behea-

Knights ſlaine on the kings part.

The ſlaughter of Cheſhire men at this battell.

The earle of Worceſter and others beheaded.

ded. The earles head was sent to London, there to be set on the bridge.

The earle of Northumberland was now marching forward with great power, which he had got thither, either to aid his sonne and brother (as was thought) or at the least towards the king, to procure a peace: but the earle of Westmerland, and sir Robert Waterton knight, had got an armie on foot, and meant to meet him. The earle of Northumberland, taking neither of them to be his freend, turned suddenlie backe, and withdrew himselfe into Warkeworth castell. The king hauing set a staie in things about Shrewesburie, went straight to Yorke, from whence he wrote to the earle of Northumberland, willing him to dismisse his companies that he had with him, and to come vnto him in peaceable wise. The earle vpon receipt of the kings letters came vnto him the morow after saint Laurence daie, hauing but a few of his seruants to attend him, and so excused himselfe, that the king (because the earle had Berwike in his possession, and further, had his castels of Alnewike, Warkeworth, and other, fortified with Scots) dissembled the matter, gaue him faire words, and suffered him (as saith Hall) to depart home, although by other it should seeme, that he was committed for a time to safe custodie.

The king returning forth of Yorkeshire, determined to go into Northwales, to chastise the presumptuous doings of the vnrulie Welshmen, who (after his comming from Shrewesburie, and the marches there) had done much harme to the English subiects. But now where the king wanted monie to furnish that enterprise, and to wage his souldiers, there were some that counselled him to be bold with the bishops, and supplie his want with their surplusage. But as it fortuned, the archbishop of Canturburie was there present, who in the name of all the rest boldlie made answer, that none of his prouince should be spoiled by anie of those naughtie disposed persons; but that first with hard stripes they should vnderstand the price of their rash enterprise. But the king neuertheless so vsed the matter with the bishops for their good wils, that the archbishop at length to pleasure him, calling the cleargie togither, got a grant of a tenth, towards the kings necessarie charges.

The Britaines vnder the conduct of the lord of Cassils, spoiled and burnt the towne of Plimmouth, and returned without receiuing anie damage, but immediatlie therevpon, the westerne men manning forth a fleet, vnder the gouernement of one William Wilford esquier, made saile ouer to the coasts of Britaine, where they tooke aboue fortie ships laden with oile, sope, and Rochell wine, to the quantitie of a thousand tunne, or much thereabouts. In returning homewards, they burnt fortie other vessels, and landing at Pennarch, they burnt townes and villages sir leagues within the countrie, togither with the towne of saint Matthew, and all the buildings there, three leagues round about the same towne. About the feast of All saints, a parlement began at Couentrie, and continued there till saint Andrewes tide: but at length, because vittels waxed deere, and lodging was streict, it was adiorned from thence vnto London, there to begin againe in the octaues of the Epiphanie. The same time, a pardon was granted and proclamed, for all such as had taken part with the Persies against the king, and likewise for other offendors, those excepted that had consented to betraie Calis, whom the king sent thither to suffer for their offenses. A little before Christmas the Frenchmen meant to haue robbed and spoiled the Ile of Wight, but when a thousand of them were set on land, and had got togither a great botie of cattell, suddenlie there came vpon them such number of people that they were constreined to withdraw to their ships, leauing their preie behind them, and no small number of their men to paie for their shot, so that they wan little by that iournie, returning home with shame and dishonor.

The earle of Westmerland raiseth a power against the earle of Northumberland.

The king goeth to Yorke.

The earle of Northumberland commeth to the king.

It was spoken like a prelat.

A tenth leuied of the cleargie.

William Wilford.

Ships taken.

Anno Reg. 5.

A parlement at Couentrie.

Adiorned to London.

A pardon.

Frenchmen inuade the Ile of Wight.

They are repelled.

This yeare in the parlement holden at London (beginning the morow after the feast of saint Hilarie, and continuing twelue weeks) the earle of Northumberland was restored vnto his former dignities, lands and goods, the Ile of Man onlie excepted, which by reason of the forfeiture made by the earle of Salisburie, the king had first giuen vnto him, and now depriued him thereof, where all his other lands, possessions, and liuings were wholie to him and his heires restored. By authoritie of the same parlement a subsidie was also granted to the king, of euerie knights fee twentie shillings, whether the same were holden of him by menaltie, or otherwise. Moreouer, euerie man and woman that might dispend in lands the value of twentie shillings or so vpward, aboue the reprises, whether the same lands belonged to the laie fee, or to the church, paied for euerie pound twelue pence: and those that were valued to be worth in goods twentie pounds and vpwards, paid also after the rate of lands, that is, twelue pence for euerie pound. ¶ This seemeth to be that subsidie which Thomas Walsingham calleth a sore surcharging subsidie, or an vnaccustomed tax: the forme and maner whereof (saith he) I had here interlaced, but that the verie granters and authors thereof had rather that the posteritie should be vtterlie ignorant thereof, and neuer heare of it; sithens it was granted vpon this condition, that hereafter it should not be drawne into example; neither might the euidences thereof be kept in the kings treasurie, nor in the exchequer; but the records thereof presentlie (after the iust accounts giuen vp) burned; neither should writs or commissions be sent abroad against the collectors or inquirers hereof for their better inquest.

1404

The parlement beginneth againe.

The earle of Northumberland restored.

The Ile of Man.

A subsidie.

Abr. Fl. out of Tho. Walsin. Hypod. pag. 164.

The Frenchmen about the same time came before the Ile of Wight with a great nauie, and sent certeine of their men to the shore, to demand in name of king Richard, and of his wife quæne Isabell, a tribute or special subsidie in monie, of the inhabitants of that Ile; who answered, that king Richard was dead, and quæne Isabell sometime his wife had béene sent home to hir parents and countrie, without condition of anie dowrie or tribute: wherefore, they answered reasonablie, that none they would giue: but if the Frenchmen had desire to fight, they willed them to come on land, and there should be none to resist them; and after they were on land, they promised to giue them respit for six houres space to refresh themselues, and that time being once expired, they should not faile to haue battell. When the Frenchmen heard of this stout answer made by the Ilandmen, they had no lust to approch néere to the land, but returned without further attempt.

The Frenchmens demand of the Ile of Wight.

The answer of the Ilandmen.

About this season, the duke of Orleance, brother to the French king, a man of no lesse pride than hautinesse of courage, wrote letters to king Henrie, aduertising him, that for the loue he bare to the noble feats of chiualrie, he could imagine nothing either more honorable or cõmendable to them both, than to meet in the field each part with an hundred knights and esquiers, all being gentlemen, both of name and armes, armed at all points, and furnished with speares, axes, swords, and daggers, and there to fight and combat to the yeelding; and euerie person, to whome God should send victorie, to haue his prisoner, & him to ransome at his pleasure, offering himselfe with his companie to come to his citie of Angulesme, so that the king would come to the lands of Burdeaux, and there defend this challenge.

The duke of Orleance his challenge.

The

The answer of king Henrie.

The king of England grauelie answered hereunto, that he maruelled why the duke vnder colour of doing déeds of armes for a vaine-glorie, would now séeke to breake the peace betwixt the realmes of England and France, he being sworne to mainteine the same peace, sith he might further vnderstand, that no king annointed, of verie dutie, was bound to answer anie challenge, but to his péere of equall state and dignitie: and further declared, that when opportunitie serued, he would passe the sea, and come into his countrie of Gascoigne, with such companie as he thought conuenient, and then might the duke set forward with his band, for the accomplishing of his couragious desire, promising him in the word of a prince, not thence to depart, till the duke either by fulfilling his owne desire in manner aforesaid, or by singular combat betwéene them two onelie, for auoiding of more effusion of Christian bloud, should thinke himselfe fullie satisfied. To this and much more conteined in the kings answer, the duke replied, and the king againe retorned, not without tawnts and checks vnfitting for their estates. The duke of Orleance offended highlie (as he might séeme) furnished against the king of England with an armie of six thousand men, entered into Guien, and besieged the towne of Vergi, whereof was capteine sir Robert Antlfield, a right hardie and valiant knight, hauing with him onelie three hundred Englishmen, which defended the fortresse so manfullie, that the duke (after he had laine three moneths) and lost manie of his men, without honour or spoile returned into France.

The duke of Orleance besiegeth Vergi in Guien.

After this, the admerall of Britaine highlie incouraged, for that the last yere he had taken certeine English ships laden with wines, accompanied with the lord du Chastell, a valiant baron of Britaine, and twelue hundred men of armes, sailed forth with thirtie ships from S. Malos, and came before the towne of Dartmouth, and would haue landed; but by the puissance of the townesmen and aid of the countrie, they were repelled, in the which conflict, the lord du Chastell, and two of his brethren, with foure hundred other were slaine, and aboue two hundred taken prisoners and put to their ransoms, amongst whom the lord of Baqueuille the marshall of Britaine was one. All this summer, Owen Glendouer and his adherents, robbed, burned, and destroied the countries adioining nére to the places where he hanted, and one while by sleight & guilefull policie, an other while by open force, he toke and slue manie Englishmen, brake downe certeine castels which he wan, and some he fortified and kept for his owne defense. Iohn Trenor bishop of Assaph, considering with himselfe how things prospered vnder the hands of this Owen, fled to him, and toke his part against the king. About the same time, the Britaines and the Flemings toke certeine ships of ours laden with merchandize, and slue all the marriners or else hanged them.

The lord du Chastell slaine.

Owen Glendouer wasted the English marches.

Crueltie of the Britains & Flemings.

Also, the old countesse of Orford, mother to Robert Uére late duke of Ireland, that died at Louaine, caused certeine of hir seruants, and other such as she durst trust, to publish and brute abroad, thorough all the parts of Essex, that king Richard was aliue, and that he would shortlie come to light, and claime his former estate, honor, and dignitie. She procured a great number of harts to be made of siluer and gold, such as king Richard was wont to giue vnto his knights, esquiers, & frends, to weare as cognizances, to the end that in bestowing them in king Richards name, she might the soner allure men to further hir lewd practises: and where the fame went abroad, that king Richard was in Scotland with a great power of Frenchmen and Scots, readie to come to recouer his realme, manie gaue the more light credit vnto this brute thus set forth by the said countesse.

The countesse of Orford committed to prison.

K. Richard once againe aliue.

The persuasions also of one Serlo, that in times past was one of king Richards chamber, greatlie increased this errour; for the same Serlo, hearing in France (whither he was fled) that his maister king Richard was in Scotland aliue, conueied himselfe thither, to vnderstand the truth of that matter, and finding there one indeed that greatlie resembled him in all lineaments of bodie, but yet was not the man himselfe (as he well perceiued) vpon malice that he bare to king Henrie, aduertised by letters sent vnto diuerse of king Richards frends, that he was aliue indeed, and shortlie would come to shew himselfe openlie to the world, when he had once made his waie readie to recouer his kingdome, to the confusion of his enimies, and comfort of his frends. These forged inuentions caused manie to beléeue the brute raised by the countesse of Orford, for the which they came in trouble, were apprehended and committed to prison. The countesse hir selfe was shut vp in close prison, and all hir goods were confiscat, and hir secretarie drawen and hanged, that had spred abroad this fained report, in going vp and downe the countrie, blowing into mens eares that king Richard was aliue, & affirming that he had spoken with him in such a place and in such a place, apparelled in this raiment and that raiment, with such like circumstances.

Serlo one of K. Richards chamber.

His secretarie executed.

About the feast of saint Iohn Baptist, at the kings commandement, the earle of Northumberland came to Pomfret, and brought with him his nephues, and his nephues sonnes, whereby he cleared himselfe of a great deale of suspicion, manie doubting before his comming that he had giuen euill counsell to the yong men, whereby to moue them to rebellion, and to withstand the king. Sir William Clifford also came with the earle, and brought the foresaid Serlo with him, whom he had apprehended vpon his comming to him at Berwike, in hope to haue found succour at his hands: in consideration whereof the king pardoned the said sir William Clifford of his disobedience shewed, in keeping the castell of Berwike against him, in which doing he had committed manifest treason.

The earle of Northumberland cõmeth to the king.

Sir William Clifford bringeth Serlo to the king.

This Serlo being knowen to be the man that had béene the chiefe murtherer of the duke of Glocester, when he was made awaie at Calis, was diligentlie examined, who were helpers with him in the execution thereof, and after what sort they made him awaie: Serlo knowing there was no waie with him but death, would not vtter any other, but confessed for his owne part, he was worthie for that wicked déed to die ten thousand deaths, and shewed such outward appearance of repentance, that manie sore lamented his case, and promised to hire priests to sing masses, (as the maner was) for his soule, of their owne costs and charges. He was condemned to die at Pomfret, and was drawen from thence through euerie good towne, through which those that had the conuersance of him passed with him till they came to London, where he was executed, confessing euerie thing to be true concerning his wicked pretense, as before is recited: and further, that when he perceiued how their counterfeit practise would come to light and be openlie reuealed, he meant to haue returned into France, but wanting monie, he thought to haue béene relieued with some portion at the hand of the said sir William Clifford, and this caused him to come vnto Berwike, to shew him his necessitie, who to make his owne peace, did apprehend him, and present him to the king, as before ye haue heard.

Serlo examined for the duke of Glocesters death.

He is drawen through euery good towne.

He is executed at Lõdon.

King Henrie wanting monie in the feast of saint Faith the virgine, assembled at Couentrie his high

Anno Reg. 6.

court of parlement, in the which, the lord Stephan Scrope of Masham, and the lord Henrie Fitz Hugh obteined first to haue places of barons. Moreouer, it is to be noted, that this was called The laie mans parlement, bicause the shiriffes were appointed to haue a speciall regard, that none should be chosen knights for the counties, nor burgesses for the cities and townes, that had any skill in the lawes of the land. This was done, and when they came togither to talke of the weightie affaires of the realme, speciallie how the king might be relieued with monie, to beare such charges as he was knowen to be at, as well in defending the realme from the Scots and Welshmen at home, as from the Britains, Flemings, and Frenchmen abroad, it was thought most expedient, that the spiritualtie should be depriued of their temporall possessions, to the releefe of the kings necessitie. Herevpon rose great altercation betwixt the cleargie and the laitie; the knights affirming, that they had oftentimes serued the king, not onelie with their goods, but also with their persons in great dangers and ieopardies, whilest the spiritualtie sat at home, and holp the king nothing at all. Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturburie stoutlie answered herevnto, that the cleargie had alwaie giuen to the king as much as the laitie had done, considering they had oftener giuen their tenths to him than the laitie their fifteens: also, that more of their tenants went forth into the kings warres, than the tenants of them of the laie fee: beside this, they prayed day and night for the kings good successe against his enimies.

The leymens parlement.

Strife betwixt the laitie and spiritualtie.

The archbishop of Canturburie answereth for his brethren.

When the speaker named sir John Cheinie, in replieng by plaine speach, seemed little to estéeme such praiers of the church; the archbishop was set in a great chafe, and with sharpe words declaring what he thought must needs follow, both of the king and kingdome, when praiers and suffrages of churchmen came to be so little set by, he grew to such impatiencie, that he flatlie told the speaker, that although he seemed little to estéeme of the religion of the cleargie, he would not haue him to thinke, that he should take awaie the possessions of the church, without finding such as would séeke to withstand him, for if (said he) the archbishop of Canturburie maie liue, thou shalt haue hot taking awaie any manner of thing that is his. After this, when the archbishop perceiued that the king winked at these matters, he rose from his place and comming before the king, knéeled downe, and besought him to consider, how through the fauour and grace of the almightie God, he had atteined to the kingdome, and therefore he ought to remember his first purpose and intent, which was, to saue vnto euerie man his right, so far as in him laie.

Sir John Cheinie speaker of the parlement.

The archb. chafeth.

He spake like a lord.

He willed him likewise to haue in consideration the oth which he willinglie had receiued, that is, that he should aduance the honor of the church, and the ministers thereof cherish and mainteine. Also, to haue in mind the danger and dishonour that redounded to such as brake their othes: so that he besought him to permit and suffer the church to inioy the priuileges and liberties, which in time of his predecessors it had inioied, requesting him to stand in awe of that king, by whom all kings did reigne; and to feare the censures and condemnation that those incurred, which take and bereft from the church any good or right belonging to it, who most certeinelie (said he) are accursed. When the archbishop had vsed this, or the like speach, the king commanded him to go to his seat againe, assuring him, that his intent and purpose was to leaue the church in as good state, or better, than he found it.

The kings answer to the archbishop.

The archbishop herewith turning to the knights and burgesses of the parlement, said vnto them; You, and such other as you be, haue giuen counsell vnto the king and his predecessors, to confiscate and take into their hands the goods and possessions of the celles, which the Frenchmen and Normans possessed here in England, and affirmed that by the same he and they should heape vp great riches, and indéed those goods and possessions (as is to be proued) were worth manie thousands of gold: and yet it is most true, that the king at this day is not halfe one marke of siluer the richer thereby, for you haue begged and gotten them out of his hands, and haue appropriated the same vnto your selues, so that we may coniecture verie well, that you request to haue our temporalties, not to aduance the kings profit, but to satisfie your owne grædie couetousnesse, for vndoubtedlie if the king (as God forbid he should) did accomplish your wicked purposes and minds, he should not be one farthing the richer the yeare nert after: and truelie, sooner will I suffer this head of mine to be cut off from my shoulders, than that the church should lose the least right that apperteineth to it.

The knights said little, but yet they procéeded in their suit to haue their purpose forward, which the archbishop perceiuing (as an other Argus, hauing his eie on each side, to marke what was done) laboured so to disapoint their doings, that he wan the fauour of certeine of the temporall lords to assist him, who constantlie auouched by their consents, that the church should neuer be spoiled of the temporalties, and herein they acquited the archbishop and prelats, one pleasure for an other, which they had done for them before, when the commons in this parlement required, that all such lands and reuenues as sometime belonged to the crowne, and had béene giuen awaie, either by the king, or by his predecessors king Edward, and king Richard, should be againe restored to the kings vse; vnto which request, the archbishop and other the prelats would in no wise consent: thus by the stout diligence of the archbishop Arundell that petition of the commons, touching the spirituall temporalties, came to none effect. [Yea the knights themselues, who verie instantlie had stood in this error, acknowledging their maliciousnes & guiltinesse herein, besought the archbishop of Canturburie to pardon them; and gaue thanks that by his courageousnesse the church in this so troublesome a time reuiued, calling to mind the saieng of an ethnike, by way of application, to the said archbishops hie praise:

——sub principe duro
Temporibus q̃ malis ausus es esse bonus.]

Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Walsi. Hypod. pag. 167.

Two fifteens granted.

Two fifteens with condition, that the same should be paid vnto the hands of the lord Furniuall, who should see that monie imploied for maintenance of the kings warres.

Letters patents reuoked

Moreouer, at the importunate suite of the commons, the letters patents that had béene made to diuerse persons of annuities to them granted by king Edward and king Richard, were called in, and made void, not without some note of dishonor to the king.

A tenth and a halfe granted by ỹ cleargie.

The cleargie granted to the king a tenth and a halfe, notwithstanding that the halfe of one tenth latelie granted was yet behind, and appointed to be paid vpon saint Martins daie now next comming. About this season, great losse happened in Kent, by breaking in of waters, that ouerflowed the sea banks, as well in the archbishop of Canturburies grounds, as other mens, whereby much cattell was drowned. Neither did England alone bewaile hir losses by such breakings in of the sea, but also Zeland, Flanders, & Holland tasted of the like damage.

Ouerflowing of the sea.

The death of Willia wickham.

William Wickham bishop of Winchester, being a man of great age, deceassed this yeare, leauing behind him a perpetuall memorie of his name, for the notable monuments which he erected, in building two

two colleges, one at Winchester for grammarians, and the other at Oxenford called the new colledge, purchasing lands and reuenues for the maintenance of students there to the great commoditie of the commonwealth: for from thence, as out of a good nurserie, haue come forth diuerse men in all ages excellentlie learned in all sciences. ¶ And heere I haue not thought it impertinent to speake somewhat of this worthie prelat (considering that by him so great a benefit hath returned to the commonwealth) according to such notes as I haue seene collected by that painfull traueller in search of antiquities Iohn Leland, who saith, that as some haue supposed, the said Wickham, otherwise called Perot, was base sonne to one Perot, the towne-clerke of Wickham in Hampshire, of which place he toke his surname, and that one maister Wodall a gentleman, dwelling in the said towne, brought him vp at schole, where he learned his grammar, and to write verie faire, in so much that the constable of Winchester castell, a great ruler in those daies in Hampshire, got him of maister Wodall, and reteined him to be his secretarie, with whome he continued, till king Edward the third, comming to Winchester, conceiued some good liking of the yong man, and toke him to his seruice, and withall vnderstanding that he was minded to be a churchman, he first made him parson and deane of saint Martins in London, then archdeacon of Buckingham.

But for so much as his seruice was right acceptable to the king, as he that with great dexteritie could handle such affaires of the state, or other matters of charge as were committed to his hands, the king still kept him about his person, as one of his cheefe chapleins of houshold, and imploied him in sundrie offices, as occasions serued: and first he made him surueior of his works and buildings, namelie at Windsor, in reparing of that castell, and also at Quinburrough, where, by the kings appointment, a strong fortresse was raised, for defense of the realme on that side. After this, he was aduanced to the keeping of the priuie seale, made ouerseer of the wards and forrests, also treasuror of the kings reuenues in France, and at length was made bishop of Winchester. Yet the Blacke prince did not greatlie fauour him, whereupon Wickham procured to keepe him occupied in warres beyond the seas. But at length Iohn duke of Lancaster, and Alice Perers king Edwards concubine, conceiuing some great displeasure against him, found meane to procure the king to banish him the realme, and then he remained in Normandie and Picardie for the space of seauen yeares, or thereabout, and might not be restored so long as king Edward liued. But after his decease, about the second yeare of king Richard the seconds reigne, he was restored home, and purchased a generall pardon for all matters past that might be surmized against him, or laid to his charge.

He was also at one time treasuror of England (as Leland gathereth.)

After wards he bare himselfe so vprightlie in that dangerous time, when such misliking and priuie enuie reigned betwixt the king and his nobles, that both parts seemed to like of him, insomuch that when the king made him lord chancellor, there was not a nie that greatlie repined thereat; and verelie in that the king made choise of him before others to occupie that place, it argueth there was not so euill a disposition in the king, nor lacke of discretion in order of gouernment, as writers seeme to charge him with. But where other could not so well beare iniuries at others hands as happilie Wickham could, the fire of dissention cheeflie kindled thereof. For if the duke of Ireland, and the earle of Suffolke, with those of that faction could haue refrained to shew their displeasures, when the duke of Gloucester and other his complices pinched at them (for that they saw the king haue them in more estimation than they wished) matters might haue beene qualified peraduenture with lesse adoo, and without danger to haue insued to either part. But howsoeuer it went with them, it may doubtlesse be easilie coniectured, that Wickham was a man of singular wisedome, and politike forecast, that could from meane degree in such wise clime aloft, and afterwards passe through the chances and changes of variable fortune, keeping himselfe euer so in state, that he grew at length to be able to furnish the chargeable expenses of two such notable foundations which he left behind him, to make his name immortall. But leauing the consideration hereof to others, I will returne to the purpose from whence I haue thus far stepped.

In this first yeare, the fridaie after saint Valentines daie, the earle of March his sonnes earlie in the morning were taken forth of Windsor castell, and conueied awaie, it was not knowne whither at the first, but such search and inquirie was made for them that shortlie after they were heard of, and brought backe againe. The smith that counterfeited the keies, by the which they that conueied them thence got into the chamber where they were lodged, had first his hands cut off, and after his head striken from his shoulders. The ladie Spenser, sister to the duke of Yorke and widow of the lord Thomas Spenser, executed at Bristow (as before yee haue heard) being apprehended and committed to close prison, accused hir brother the duke of Yorke, as cheefe authour in stealing awaie the said earle of March his sonnes. And further, that the said duke ment to haue broken into the manor of Eltham the last Christmasse, by scaling the wals in the night season, the king being there the same time, to the intent to haue murthered him. For to proue hir accusation true, she offered that if there were anie knight, or esquier, that would take vpon him to fight in hir quarrell, if he were ouercome, she would be content to be burnt for it.

1405

The earle of Marches sonnes. Thom. Walsin.

The ladie Spenser cõmitted to ward.

She accuseth hir brother the duke of Yorke.

One of hir esquiers named William Maidstone, hearing what answer his ladie and mistresse propounded, cast downe his hood, and proffered in hir cause the combat. The duke likewise cast downe his hood, readie by battell to cleare his innocencie. But yet the kings sonne lord Thomas of Lancaster arrested him, and put him vnder safe keeping in the Tower, till it were further knowne what order should be taken with him, and in the meane time were all his goods confiscate. The same time was Thomas Mowbraie earle marshall accused, as priuie to the purpose of the duke of Yorke, touching the withdrawing of the earle of March his children, who confessed indeed that he knew of the dukes purpose: but yet in no wise gaue his consent thereunto, and therefore besought the king to be good and gratious lord vnto him for concealing the matter, and so he obteined pardon of that offense.

William Maidstone esquier offred to fight in his ladies quarrell.

The earle marshall accused.

The king had assembled at the same time the most part of the nobilitie at London, to consult with them for diuerse weightie matters, concerning the state of the common-wealth, and about some aid of monie which he required: but the lords shewed themselues not willing to satisfie his requell. He therfore caused the spirituall lords as well as the temporall, to meet at S. Albons in the Lent season, about the same matter; but yet obteined not his purpose, by reason the barons were sore against him, and so at length on Palme sundaie they went their waie, each man to his home, hauing gratified the king in nothing concerning his demand. In the meane time, to wit the fifteenth of March at a place in Wales called Huske, in a conflict fought betwixt the Welshmen and

The K. wanteth monie & can get none of the lords.

and certeine of the princes companie, the sonne of Owen Glendouer was taken, and fiftéene hundred Welshmen taken and slaine. Also in Maie about the feast daie of S. Dunstane, was the chancellor of the said Owen taken prisoner, and a great number of other taken and slaine. The prisoners were brought vp to London, where the chancellor was committed to safe kéeping in the Tower.

Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Walf. Hypod. pag. 159.

¶ This was a shrewd discomfiture to the Welsh by the English, on whome sinister lot lowred, at such time as more than a thousand of them were slaine in a hot skirmish; and such shamefull villanie executed vpon the carcasses of the dead men by the Welshwomen; as the like (I dó beléeue) hath neuer or sildome béene practised. For though it was a cruell déed of Tomyris quéene of the Massagets in Scythia, against whome when Cyrus the great king of Persia came, and had slaine hir sonne, she by hir policie trained him into such streits, that she slue him and all his host; and causing a great vessell to be filled with the bloud of Cyrus and other Persians, did cast his head thereinto, saieng; Bloud thou hast thirsted and now drinke thereof thy fill: againe, though it was a cruell déed of Fuluia the wife of Marcus Antonius (at whose commandement Popilius cut off the head and hands of that golden mouthed orator Tullie, which afterwards were nailed vp ouer the place of common plées at Rome) to hold in hir hands the tong of that father of eloquence cut out of his head after the same was parted from his shoulders, and to pricke it all ouer with pins and nédels: yet neither the crueltie of Tomyris nor yet of Fuluia is comparable to this of the Welshwomen; which is worthie to be recorded to the shame of a sex pretending the title of weake vessels, and yet raging with such force of fiercenesse and barbarisme. For the dead bodies of the Englishmen, being aboue a thousand lieng vpon the ground imbrued in their owne bloud, was a sight (a man would thinke) grieuous to loke vpon, and so farre from exciting and stirring vp affections of crueltie; that it should rather haue moued the beholders to commiseration and mercie: yet did the women of Wales cut off their priuities, and put one part thereof into the mouthes of euerie dead man, in such sort that the cullions hong downe to their chins; and not so contented, they did cut off their noses and thrust them into their tailes as they laie on the ground mangled and defaced. This was a verie ignominious déed, and a worse not committed among the barbarous: which though it make the reader to read it, and the hearer to heare it, ashamed: yet bicause it was a thing done in open sight, and left testified in histozie; I sée little reason whie it should not be imparted in our mother tong to the knowledge of our owne countrimen, as well as vnto strangers in a language vnknowne. And thus much by waie of notifieng the inhumanitie and detestable demeanour of those Welshwomen, after the conflict betwéene the English and the Welsh, whereof desultorie mention is made before pag. 520, where Edmund Mortimer earle of March was taken prisoner.

Iust. lib. 1. Herod. lib. 1. Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 7.

Ualeran earle of S. Paule, by the assent of the French king, assembled fiue hundred men of armes, fiue hundred Genowaies with crossebowes, and a thousand Flemings on fot, with the which he laid siege to the castell of Marke, three leagues from Calis, vpon the fiftéenth daie of Julie. Capteine of the castell as then for the king of England was one sir Philip Hall, hauing with him foure score archers, and foure and twentie other soldiers, which defended the place so manfullie, that the earle retired into the towne, and there lodged, fortifieng it for feare of rescue that might come from Calis. The next daie he gaue an other assault to the castell, and toke the vtter court, wherin was found a great number of horses, kine, and other cattell. The next daie there issued forth of Calis two hundred men of armes, two hundred archers, and three hundred footmen, with ten or twelue wagons laden with vittels and artillerie, conducted by sir Richard Aston knight, lieutenant of the English pale for the earle of Summerset, capteine generall of those marches.

The castell of Marke besieged about the middest of Maie as Iac. Meir. saith. Sir Philip Hall.

The Frenchmen aduertised that the Englishmen were comming to remoue the siege, issued not forth of their lodgings, but kept them within their closure. Neuertheles, the Englishmen shot so sharpelie and closelie togither, that the Flemings and footmen began to flie: the men of armes fearing the slaughter of their horses, ran awaie with a light gallop. The Genowaies which had spent the most part of their shot at the assaults made to the castell, shewed small resistance, and so all the number of the French part were slaine and put to slight. The earle of S. Paule and diuerse other escaped awaie, and by S. Omers got to Therouenne, or (as others saie) to saint Omers. But there were taken to the number of three or foure score, and amongst other the lord de Dampier seneshall of Ponthieu, monsieur de Weriners, monsieur de Mineles, monsieur de Notelles, monsieur John de Hangests capteine of Bullongne, the lord de Rambures, monsieur Lionell Darreis capteine of Graueling, monsieur Peter Kasser capteine of Arde, also Combernard capteine of Tirouan, Bold Chanon capteine of Pontoire, John Chanon capteine of Lisle, Stenebecke capteine of Kalingham, the bastard of Burneuill capteine of Burburgh. There were slaine about 60, and among them as cheefe sir Robert Berengueuill, the lord of Quercus, Morell de Saucules, the lord Courbet de Rempetret, and others.

The earle of S. Paule put to flight. Ia. Meir.

The Englishmen had the spoile of the earls campe, and being returned to Calis, within fiue daies after there issued forth about fiue hundred men, meaning to haue wone the towne of Arde with a sudden assault, which they gaue to it in the night time. But sir Manfrid de Bois, and the lord Kigine, did so valiantlie defend it, that the Englishmen with losse of fortie of their men were constreined to returne vnto Calis, after they had burnt the dead bodies in an old house, for that the enimies should not perceiue what losse the Englishmen had susteined. After this, the French king, to auoid perils, laid in garison at Bullongne, and in other places, the marques of Pount, sonne to the duke of Bar, the earle of Dampnie, and sir John Harpadan a knight of great renowme and estimation. The duke of Burgognie likewise sent a a number of soldiers vnto Graueling, vnder the leading of one John Vandenwall, and to other fortresses alongst the coast he sent new supplies, for doubt of the Englishmens inuasions.

Arde assaulted by Englishmen.

The marques du Pount.

The king of England in deed hearing of the preparation made for warre by the Frenchmen, leuied foure thousand men which he sent vnto Calis, and to the sea, of the which 3000 were vnder the conduct of the kings sonne. The lord Thomas of Lancaster, and the earle of Kent, the two and twentith daie of Maie (as some write) came vpon the coast of Flanders, and entring the hauen of Sluis, burnt foure great ships which they found there lieng at anchor. On the fift daie after their comming into that hauen they went on land, thinking to haue fought with the duke of Burgognie. But as other write, after they had besieged the castell that stood in the mouth of the hauen, and losing three score of their men, amongst which they name one to beare the title of earle of Penbroke (whom they buried for the time in the church of Pude) fiue daies after their comming

An armie sent to Calis and to the sea.

Chr. Fland. Ia. Meir.

The English men besieged the castell of Sluis.

ming thither they determined to depart from thence, pretesting the castell would not easilie be wonne, but first they spoiled the countrie about them, and burnt Yeis fleet, otherwise called Condekirke, and diuerse other places thereabout.

This done, they toke vp the bodie of him whom the Flemish writers call the earle of Penbroke, and got them againe to the sea, for that they were aduertised how the duke of Burgognie meant to besiege Calis. Whereupon raising their siege thus from Sluis castell, they returned vnto the defense of the towne of Calis, so much desired of the French nation. As they returned homewards, they met with three caricks of Genoa, of the which one hauing the wind with hir, meant to haue ouerthrowne the ship wherein the lord Thomas of Lancaster was aboord: but by the good foresight of the maister of the ship that ruled the sterne, suddenlie turning the same, the violent waue of that huge vessell comming so vpon them, was auoided; but yet the caricke stroke off the nose of the English ship, and bruised hir on the side. Then began the fight verie cruell, till the earle of Kent came to the rescue: and so finallie after a great conflict and bloudie battell betwixt the caricks and English ships, the victorie remained with the Englishmen, who taking the caricks, turned their sailes towards Normandie, where they arriued and burnt the townes of Hoggue, Mountburge, Berflie, saint Potronils and other, to the number of thirtie sir, passing forth into the countrie without resistance, the space of thirtie miles, spoiling all that came in their waie. This done, they returned, and brought the caricks into the chamber at Rie, where one of them by misfortune of fire perished, to the losse & no gaine of either of the parties.

A great fight by sea. Three caricks are taken. Townes in Normandie burnt.

John duke of Burgognie hauing obteined licence to besiege Calis, prepared an armie of six thousand men of armes, fifteene hundred crosbowes, & twelue thousand footmen, the which being assembled, and all necessarie prouision readie at saint Omers, he was by the French king countermanded, and not suffered to proceed anie further in that weightie enterprise. And this was thought to be partlie the cause of the malice that he conceiued against the duke of Orleance, supposing that through him (enuieng his glorie) he was thus disappointed of his purpose. Whilest such doings were in hand betwixt the English and French, as the besieging of Marke castell by the earle of saint Paule, and the sending forth of the English fleet, vnder the gouernance of the lord Thomas of Lancaster, and the earle of Kent, the king was minded to haue gone into Wales against the Welsh rebels, that vnder their chéefteine Owen Glendouer, ceassed not to doo much mischéefe still against the English subiects.

The duke of Burgognie prepareth to besiege Calis.

The chéefest cause of the malice betwixt the dukes of Burgognie & Orleance.

But at the same time, to his further disquieting, there was a conspiracie put in practise against him at home by the earle of Northumberland, who had conspired with Richard Scrope archbishop of Yorke Thomas Mowbraie earle marshall sonne to Thomas duke of Norfolke, who for the quarrell betwixt him and king Henrie had béene banished (as ye haue heard) the lords Hastings, Fauconbridge, Berdolfe, and diuerse others. It was appointed that they should meet altogither with their whole power, vpon Yorkeswold, at a daie assigned, and that the earle of Northumberland should be chéefteine, promising to bring with him a great number of Scots. The archbishop accompanied with the earle marshall, deuised certeine articles of such matters, as it was supposed that not onelie the commonaltie of the Realme, but also the nobilitie found themselues greeued with: which articles they shewed first vnto such of their adherents as were nére about them, & after sent them abroad to their frends further off, assuring them that for redresse of such oppressions, they would shed the last drop of blod in their bodies, if néed were.

A new cõspiracie against king Henrie by the earle of Northumberland & others.

The archbishop not meaning to staie after he saw himselfe accompanied with a great number of men, that came flocking to Yorke to take his part in this quarrell, forthwith discouered his enterprise, causing the articles aforsaid to be set vp in the publike streets of the citie of Yorke, and vpon the gates of the monasteries, that ech man might vnderstand the cause that moued him to rise in armes against the king, the reforming whereof did not yet apperteine vnto him. Herevpon knights, esquiers, gentlemen, yeomen, and other of the commons, as well of the citie, townes and countries about, being allured either for desire of change, or else for desire to see a reformation in such things as were mentioned in the articles, assembled togither in great numbers; and the archbishop comming forth amongst them clad in armor, incouraged, exhorted, and (by all meanes he could) pricked them forth to take the enterprise in hand, and manfullie to continue in their begun purpose, promising forgiuenesse of sinnes to all them, whose hap it was to die in the quarrell: and thus not onelie all the citizens of Yorke, but all other in the countries about, that were able to beare weapon, came to the archbishop, and the earle marshall. In déed the respect that men had to the archbishop, caused them to like the better of the cause, since the grauitie of his age, his integritie of life, and incomparable learning, with the reuerend aspect of his amiable personage, moued all men to haue him in no small estimation.

The archbishop of Yorke one of the chéefe conspirators.

The archbishop in armor.

The estimation which men had of the archbishop of Yorke.

The king aduertised of these matters, meaning to preuent them, left his iournie into Wales, and marched with all spéed towards the north parts. Also Rafe Neuill earle of Westmerland, that was not farre off, togither with the lord John of Lancaster the kings sonne, being informed of this rebellious attempt, assembled togither such power as they might make, and togither with those which were appointed to attend on the said lord John to defend the borders against the Scots, as the lord Henrie Fitzhugh, the lord Rafe Eeuers, the lord Robert Umfreuill, & others, made forward against the rebels, and comming into a plaine within the forrest of Galtrée, caused their standards to be pitched downe in like sort as the archbishop had pitched his, ouer against them, being farre stronger in number of people than the other, for (as some write) there were of the rebels at the least twentie thousand men.

The earle of Westmerland and the lord John of Lancaster the kings sonne prepare themselues to resist the kings enimies.

The forrest of Galtrée.

When the earle of Westmerland perceiued the force of the aduersaries, and that they laie still and attempted not to come forward vpon him, he subtillie deuised how to quaile their purpose, and forthwith dispatched messengers vnto the archbishop to vnderstand the cause as it were of that great assemblie, and for what cause (contrarie to the kings peace) they came so in armour. The archbishop answered, that he toke nothing in hand against the kings peace, but that whatsoeuer he did, tended rather to aduance the peace and quiet of the common-wealth, than otherwise; and where he and his companie were in armes, it was for feare of the king, to whom he could haue no free accesse, by reason of such a multitude of flatterers as were about him; and therefore he maintened that his purpose to be good & profitable, as well for the king himselfe, as for the realme, if men were willing to vnderstand a truth: & herewith he shewed forth a scroll, in which the articles were written whereof before ye haue heard.

The subtill policie of the earle of Westmerland.

The archbishops protestation why he had on him armes.

The messengers returning to the earle of Westmerland, shewed him what they had heard & brought from the archbishop. When he had read the articles,

he

he shewed in word and countenance outwardly that he liked of the archbishops holie and vertuous intent and purpose, promising that he and his would prosecute the same in assisting the archbishop, who reioising hereat, gaue credit to the earle, and persuaded the earle marshall (against his will as it were) to go with him to a place appointed for them to commune togither. Here when they were met with like number on either part, the articles were read ouer, and without anie more adoo, the earle of Westmerland and those that were with him agreed to doo their best, to see that a reformation might be had, according to the same.

The earle of Westmerlands politike dealing.

The earle of Westmerland vsing more policie than the rest: Well (said he) then our trauell is come to the wished end: and where our people haue bene long in armour, let them depart home to their wonted trades and occupations: in the meane time let vs drinke togither in signe of agreement, that the people on both sides maie see it, and know that it is true, that we be light at a point. They had no sooner shaken hands togither, but that a knight was sent streight waies from the archbishop, to bring word to the people that there was peace concluded, commanding ech man to laie aside his armes, and to resort home to their houses. The people beholding such tokens of peace, as shaking of hands, and drinking togither of the lords in louing manner, they being alreadie wearied with the vnaccustomed trauell of warre, brake vp their field and returned homewards: but in the meane time, whilest the people of the archbishops side withdrew awaie, the number of the contrarie part increased, according to order giuen by the earle of Westmerland; and yet the archbishop perceiued not that he was deceiued, vntill the earle of Westmerland arrested both him and the earle marshall, with diuerse other. Thus saith Walsingham.

The archbishop of Yorke and the earle marshall arrested. Exton.

But others write somwhat otherwise of this matter, affirming that the earle of Westmerland in deed, and the lord Rafe Eeuers, procured the archbishop & the earle marshall, to come to a communication with them, vpon a ground iust in the midwaie betwixt both the armies, where the earle of Westmerland in talke declared to them how perilous an enterprise they had taken in hand, so to raise the people, and to moue warre against the king, aduising them therefore to submit themselues without further delaie vnto the kings mercie, and his sonne the lord John, who was present there in the field with banners spred, redie to trie the matter by dint of sword, if they refused this counsell: and therefore he willed them to remember themselues well; & if they would not yeld and craue the kings pardon, he bad them doo their best to defend themselues.

Herevpon as well the archbishop as the earle marshall submitted themselues vnto the king, and to his sonne the lord John that was there present, and returned not to their armie. Wherevpon their troops scaled and fled their waies: but being pursued, manie were taken, manie slaine, and manie spoiled of that that they had about them, & so permitted to go their waies. Howsoeuer the matter was handled, true it is that the archbishop, and the earle marshall were brought to Pomfret to the king, who in this meane while was aduanced thither with his power, and from thence he went to Yorke, whither the prisoners were also brought, and there beheaded the morrow after Whitsundaie in a place without the citie, that is to vnderstand, the archbishop himselfe, the earle marshall, sir John Lampleie, and sir Robert Plumpton. ¶ Vnto all which persons though indemnitie were promised, yet was the same to none of them at anie hand performed. By the issue hereof, I meane the death of the foresaid, but specially of the archbishop, the prophesie of a sickelie canon of Bridlington in Yorkeshire fell out to be true, who darklie inough foretold this matter, & the infortunate euent thereof in these words hereafter following, saieng:

Pacem tractabunt, sed fraudem subter arabunt,
Pro nulla marca, saluabitur ille hierarcha.*

* *Archiepiscopus.*

The archbishop of Yorke and the earle marshall, & others put to death. Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Walsin. Hypod. pag. 168.

The archbishop suffered death verie constantlie, insomuch as the common people tooke it, he died a martyr, affirming that certeine miracles were wrought as well in the field where he was executed, as also in the place where he was buried: and immediatlie vpon such bruits, both men and women began to worship his dead carcasse, whom they loued so much when he was aliue, till they were forbidden by the kings freends, and for feare gaue ouer to visit the place of his sepulture. The earle marshals bodie by the kings leaue was buried in the cathedrall church, manie lamenting his destinie; but his head was set on a pole aloft on the wals for a certeine space, till by the kings permission [after the same had suffered manie a hot sunnie daie, and manie a wet shower of raine] it was taken downe and buried togither with the bodie.

The archbishop reputed a martyr.

After the king, accordinglie as seemed to him good, had ransomed and punished by greeuous fines the citizens of Yorke (which had borne armour on their archbishops side against him) he departed fro Yorke with an armie of thirtie and seuen thousand fighting men, furnished with all prouision necessarie, marching northwards against the earle of Northumberland. At his cõming to Durham, the lord Hastings, the lord Fauconbridge, sir John Colleuill of the Dale, and sir John Griffith, being conuicted of the conspiracie, were there beheaded. The earle of Northumberland, hearing that his counsell was bewraied, and his confederats brought to confusion, through too much hast of the archbishop of Yorke, with three hundred horsse got him to Berwike. The king comming forward quickelie, wan the castell of Warkeworth. Wherevpon the earle of Northumberland, not thinking himselfe in suertie at Berwike, fled with the lord Berdolfe into Scotland, where they were receiued of Dauid lord Fleming.

The lords executed.

The earle of Northumberland.

The king comming to Berwike, commanded them that kept the castell against him to render it into his hands, and when they flatlie denied so to doo, he caused a peece of artillerie to be planted against one of the towers, and at the first shot ouerthrowing part thereof, they within were put in such feare, that they simplie yeelded themselues without any maner of condition, wholie to remaine at the kings pleasure. Herevpon the chiefest of them, to wit, sir William Greistoke, sonne to Rafe baron of Greistoke, sir Henrie Beinton, and John Blenkinsop, with foure or fiue other were put to death, and diuerse other were kept in prison. Some write that the earle of Northumberland at his entring into Scotland, deliuered the towne of Berwike vnto the Scots, who hearing of king Henries approch, and despairing to defend the towne against him, set fire on it and departed. There was not one house that was left vnburnt, except the friers and the church.

Berwike castell yeelded to the king.

The sonne of the lord Greistoke and others put to death. Exton.

After that the king had disposed things in such conuenient order as stood with his pleasure at Berwike, he came backe, and had the castell of Alnewike deliuered vnto him, with all other the castels that belonged to the erle of Northumberland in the north parts, as Prodhow, Langlie, Cockermouth, Aluham, and Newsted. Thus hauing quieted the north parts, he tooke his iournie directlie into Wales, where he found fortune nothing fauourable vnto him, for all his attempts had euill successe, in somuch that losing fiftie of his cariages through abundance of raine and waters, he returned; and comming to Worcester,

The castell of Alnewike yeelded to the king.

The K. passeth into Wales.

He loseth his cariages.

He returneth-

ster, he sent for the archbishop of Canturburie, and other bishops, declaring to them the misfortune that had chanced to him, in consideration whereof he requested them to helpe him with some portion of monie, towards the maintenance of his warres, for the taming of the presumptuous and vnquiet Welshmen.

Hall. The marshall Mõtmerãcie sent to aid Owen Glendouer.

In the meane time, the French king had appointed one of the marshals of France called Montmerancie, and the master of his crosbowes, with twelue thousand men to saile into Wales to aid Owen Glendouer. They tooke shipping at Brest, and hauing the wind prosperous, landed at Milford hauen, with an hundred and fourtie ships, as Thomas Walsingham saith; though Enguerant de Monstrellet maketh mention but of an hundred and twentie. The most part of their horsses were lost by the waie for lacke of fresh water. The lord Berkleie, and Henrie Paie, espieng their aduantage, burnt fifteene of those French ships, as they laie at road there in the hauen of Milford: and shortlie after the same lord Berkleie, and sir Thomas Swinborne, with the said Henrie Paie, tooke other fourteene ships, as they came that waie with prouision of vittels and munition forth of France to the aid of the other.

Carmarden wone by the French.

In the meane while the marshall Montmerancie, with his armie, besieged the towne of Carmarden, and wan it by composition, granting to the men of warre that kept it against him, licence to depart whither they would, & to take with them all their moueable goods: the castell of Penbroke they assaulted not, esteeming it to be so well manned, that they should but lose their labour in attempting it. Notwithstanding they besieged the towne of Hereford well, which neuertheless was so well defended by the earle of Arundell and his power, that they lost more than they wan, and so they departed towards the towne of Denbigh, where they found Owen Glendouer abiding for their comming, with ten thousand of his Welshmen. Here were the Frenchmen totallie receiued of the Welsh rebels, and so when all things were prepared, they passed by Glamorganshire towards Worcester, and there burnt the suburbes: but hearing of the kings approch, they suddenlie returned towards Wales.

Hereford well manfullie defended.

Enguerant de Monstrellet saith they burnt the townes but could not win the castell.

The suburbs of worcester burnt.

The king with a great puissance followed, and found them imbattelled on a high mounteine, where there was a great vallie betwixt both the armies, so that either armie might plainelie perceiue the other, and either host loked to be assailed of his aduersarie, & therefore sought to take the aduantage of ground. Thus they continued for the space of eight daies from morning till night, readie to abide, but not to giue battell. There were manie skirmishes, and diuerse proper feats of armes wrought in that meane while, in the which the French lost manie of their nobles and gentlemen, as the lord Patroullars de Tries, brother to the marshall of France, the lord Matelonne or Martelonne, the lord de la Valle, and the bastard of Bourbon, with other, to the number (as some haue written) of fiue hundred. But Enguerant de Monstrellet affirmeth, that vpon their returne into France, there wanted not aboue three score persons of all their companies.

French lords slaine.

After they had laine thus one against an other the space of eight daies (as before is said) vittels began to faile, so that they were inforced to dislodge. The French and Welshmen withdrew into Wales, and though the Englishmen followed, yet impeached with the desart grounds and barren countrie, thorough which they must passe, as our felles and craggie mounteins, from hill to dale, from marish to wood, from naught to worse (as Hall saith) without vittels or succour, the king was of force constrained to retire with his armie, and returne againe to Worcester, in which returne the enimies tooke certeine cariages of his laden with vittels. The Frenchmen after the armies were thus withdrawne, returned into Britaine, making small brags of their painefull iournie.

The Frenchmen returne home.

Anno Reg. 7.

This yeare at London, the earle of Arundell married the bastard daughter of the king of Portingale, the king of England and the quéene with their presence honoring the solemnitie of that feast, which was kept with all sumptuous rotaltie, the morrow after saint Katharins daie. ¶ And on the daie of the Conception of our ladie, the ladie Philip king Henries daughter was proclamed quéene of Denmarke, Norwaie, and Sweden, in presence of such ambassadors, as the last summer came hither from the king of those countries, to demand hir in marriage for him, and had so trauelled in the matter, that finallie they obteined it. ¶ On the daie of the translation of saint Martine, the towne of Roiston was on fire. This yeare the first of March a parlement began, which continued almost all this yeare: for after that in the lower house they had denied a long time to grant to any subsidie: yet at length, a little before Christmasse, in the eight yeare of his reigne they granted a fifteenth to the losse and great damage of the communaltie, for through lingering of time, the expenses of knights and burgesses grew almost in value to the summe that was demanded.

Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Walsin. Roiston burned.

1406

A parlement.

A fifteenth grãted by the temporaltie.

Moreouer, by the clergie a new kind of subsidie was granted, to the king, to be leuied of stipendarie priests and friers mendicants, and other such religious men as song for the dead, celebrating (as they termed it) anniuersaries: euerie of them gaue halfe a marke, in releefe of other of the clergie that had still borne the burthen for them before. Wherupon now they murmured and grudged sore, for that they were thus charged at that present. The same time the earle of Northumberland, and the lord Bardolfe, warned by the lord Dauid Fleming, that there was a conspiracie practised to deliuer them into the king of Englands hands, fled into Wales to Owen Glendouer. This cost the lord Fleming his life: for after it was knowne that he had disclosed to the earle of Northumberland what was meant against him, and that the earle therevpon was shifted awaie, certeine of the Scots slue the said lord Fleming.

A new kind of subsidie granted by the cleargie.

The lord Fleming lost his life for giuing knowledge to the earle of Northumberland of that which was meant against him.

Wherevpon no small grudge rose betwixt those that so slue him, and the said lord Flemings friends. For this and other matters, such dissention sprong vp amongst the Scotish nobilitie, that one durst not trust another, so that they were glad to sue for a truce betwixt England and them, which was granted to indure for one yeare, as in some bokes we find recorded. This truce being obteined, Robert king of Scotland (vpon considerations, as in the Scotish historie ye may read more at large) sent his eldest son James intituled prince of Scotland (a child not past nine yeares of age) to be conueied into France, vnder the conduct of the earle of Orkenie, and a bishop, in hope that he might there both remaine in safetie, and also learne the French tong.

Dissention amõg the Scotish nobilitie.

Eleuen yeares saith Harding.

The prince of Scotland staid here in England.

But it fortuned, that as they sailed neare to the English coast about Flamborough head in Holdernesse, their ship was taken and staied by certeine mariners of Claie (a towne in Norffolke) that were abroad the same time; and so he and all his companie being apprehended the thirtith of March, was conueied to Windsore, where though he had letters from his father, which he presented to the king, conteining a request in his sonnes behalfe for fauour to be shewed towards him, if by chance he landed within any of his dominions: yet was he deteined, and as well he himselfe as the earle of Orkenie was committed to safe

safe keeping in the Tower of London, but the bishop got away and escaped (as some write) by what means I know not. By the Scotish writers we find that this chanced in the yeare 1404, that is, two yeares before the time noted in diuerse English writers, as Thomas Walsingham and other. But Harding saith it was in the ninth yeare of king Henries reigne, to wit, in the yeare 1408.

But whensoeuer it chanced, it is to be thought, that there was no truce at that present betweene the two realmes, but that the warre was rather open, sith diuerse English rebels still remained in Scotland, and were there succored to the high displeasure of king Henrie. ¶ By authoritie of the parlement that all this time continued, the Britons that serued the queene, with two of hir daughters were banished the realme. Robert Halome chancellor of Oxford, as then being in the popes court at Rome, was created archbishop of Yorke. ¶ Moreouer the same time, the pope gaue vnto Thomas Langlie the bishoprike of Durham, which by the death of Walter Skirlow was then void. In the summer of this yeare, the ladie Philip the kings yonger daughter was sent ouer to hir affianced husband, Erike king of Denmarke, Norwaie, and Sweden, being conueied thither with great pompe, and there married to the said king, where she tasted (according to the common spech vsed in praieng for the successe of such as match together in mariage) both ioy and some sorrow among. There attended hir thither Henrie Bowet bishop of Bath, and the lord Richard brother to the duke of Yorke.

There was a suits held at London, betwixt the earle of Kent, and the erle of Marre a Scotishman; also sir John Cornewall, and the lord Beaumont, against other two Scotish knights, whereof the honor remained with the Englishmen. In the parlement which yet continued, the duke of Yorke was restored to his former libertie, estate and dignitie, where manie supposed that he had beene dead long before that time in prison. Edmund Holland earle of Kent was in such fauour with king Henrie, that he not onelie aduanced him to high offices and great honors, but also to his great costs and charges obteined for him the ladie Lucie, eldest daughter, and one of the heirs of the lord Barnabo of Millane, which Barnabo paied to him 100000 ducates, in the church of S. Marie Oueries in Southwarke, by the hands of Don Alfonso de Cainuola, vpon the day of the solemnization of the marriage, which was the foure and twentith of Januarie.

¶ In this yeare Roger of Walden departed this life; who hauing beene tossed vp and downe with sundrie changes of fortune, tried in a short time how inconstant, vncerteine, variable, wandering, vnstable, and flitting she is; which when she is thought firmelie to stand, she slipperinglie falleth; and with a dissembling loke counterfaiteth false ioies. For by the meanes of hir changeablenesse, the said Roger of a poore fellow, grew vp to be high lord treasuror of the realme, and shortlie after archbishop of Canturburie; but by what right, the world knoweth, considering that the lord Thomas Arundell was then liuing. Anon after he was deposed from his dignitie, and lead the life of an ordinarie priuat man a long time; within a while after againe he was promoted and made bishop of London, which see he had not possessed a full yeare, but was depriued, and Nicholas Hobwith succeeded in his rome. So that hereby men are taught not to be proud of their preferment, nor to reckon of them as of perpetuities, sithens they may be as soone dispossessed as possessed of them; and for that all estates & degrees depend vpon Gods power and prouidence, whereof the poet diuinelie saieth,

Ludit in humanis diuina potentia rebus,
Et certam præsens vix habet hora fidem.

Ouid. lib. de Pont. 4.

In this yeare the seuenth of May was Thomas Langlie consecrated bishop of Durham after the decease of Walter Skirlow. In which place he continued one and thirtie yeares. He among other his beneficiall deeds beautified the church of Durham forever with a chanterie of two chapleines. Besides which for the increase of learning (wherwith himselfe was greatlie furnished) he built two schooles, the one for grammar to instruct youth, whereby in following time they might be made more able to benefit themselues and serue their countrie: and the other of musicke, wherein children might be made apt to serue God and the church, both which schooles he erected in a parcell of ground cõmonlie called The plaie greene. To which buildings (for he was one that delighted much therein, and like vnto the philosopher Anaragoras supposed that there was not any more earthlie felicitie, than to erect sumptuous palaces, wherby after their death the memorie of the founders might haue continuance) he added manie sumptuous parts of the palace of Durham. In the towne whereof he did also from the ground (of most statelie stone) erect a new gaole with the gate-house to the same, in that place where of old it remained, and then by iniurie of time fallen downe and consumed. This man inioied the see of Durham almost the whole time of three kings, that is; about six yeares and six moneths in the time of Henrie the fourth, nine yeares and fiue moneths in the time of Henrie the fift, and fifteene yeares in the time of Henrie the first; during the gouernment of all which princes, he was all his life time highlie esteemed and reuerenced for his singular wisedome, and for the great authoritie he bare in publike, betweene whome and the maior of Newcastell arose great contention, about a bridge called Tinebridge in the towne of Gateshed or Gotelhed, in Latine called *Caput capræ*. But in the yeare of our redemption 1416, and of Henrie the fift, the fourth, and of his bishoprike the eleuenth, this bishop had the recouerie thereof, as appeareth by the letter of atturnie of the said bishop, made to diuerse to take possession of the same.

In addition of Francis Thin.

The letter of atturnie wherby the bishop authorised diuerse to take possession of Tinebridge.

Thomas Dei gratia episcopus Dunelmensis omnibus ad quos præsentes litteræ peruenerint salutem. Sciatis quòd assignauimus & deputauimus dilectos & fideles nostros Radulphum de Ewrie cheualier seneschallum nostrũ Dunelmiæ, Williamum Chanceler cancellarium, infra comitatum & libertatem Dunelmiæ, ac Williamum Claxton vicecomitem nostrum Dunelmiæ coniunctim & diuisim, ad plenam & pacificam seisinam, de duabus partibus medietatis cuiusdam pontis vocati Tinebridge, in villa nostra de Gateshead, infra comitatum & libertatem Dunelmiæ existentis. Quæ quidem duæ partes medietatis prædictæ, continent & faciunt tertiam partem eiusdem pontis vsque austrum, in prædicta villa de Gateshead. Super quas duas partes nuper maior & communitas villæ Noui castri super Tinam, quandam turrim de nouo ædificare cæperũt, & quas quidem duas partes cum franchesijs, iurisdictionibus, & iuribus regalibus super easdem duas partes medietatis prædictæ, nuper in curia domini regis versus maiorem & communitatem dictæ villæ Noui castri recuperauimus nobis &

Hall.

Robert Halome archb. of Yorke.

The king and the queene brought hir to Lin where she tooke shipping. Tho. Walsi.

Anno Reg. 8. The duke of Yorke restored to libertie.

The earle of Kent in fauor with ye king.

He marrieth a daughter of Barnabo lord of Millane.

Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Walsi. Hypod. pag. 161.

Roger of waldens variable fortune.

& successoribus nostris episcopis Dunelmiæ, & in iure ecclesiæ nostræ sancti Cuthberti Dunelmiæ possidendas de vicecomite Westmerlandiæ, prætextu eiusdē breuis dicti domini regis sibi directi nomine nostro recipiendas; & turrim prædictā ad opus nostrum saluò & securè custodiēdam. Ratum & gratum habiturus quicquid idē Radulphus, Willelmus & Willielmus nomine nostro fecerint in præmissis. In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Datum Dunelmiæ per manus Williami Cancellarij nostri 26 Octobris, anno pontificatus nostri vndecimo.

According whereunto in the said yeare, possession was deliuered in the presence of these persons, whose names I thinke not vnmeet for their posterities cause to be remembred, being persons of good credit and of antiquitie, that is to saie, John Lomelie, Rafe Ewraie, Robert Hilton, William Fulthrop, William Tempest, Thomas Suerties, Robert *Cogniers, William Clarton shiriffe of Durham, Robert de *Egle, John Bertram, John Widerington, and John Middleton knights of Northumberland, Christopher Horslie, Will. Osmunderlaw knights of Westmerland; and also in the presence of these esquiers, Robert Hilton, Robert Ewrie, William Bowes, John Coniers, William Lampton the elder, John de Horden, William Lampton the yonger, Hugh Burunghell, John Britlie, William Bellingham, Robert Belthis, Henrie Talboies; Thomas Garbois, John de Hutton, William Hutton, Thomas Toke of Fisburne, and fiue others. This bishop also procured certeine liberties from the pope in the church of Durham, by vertue of which grant they which were excommunicate (and might not inioy the priuilege of any sacraments, in other places throughout the bishoprike) should yet baptise their children in a font of that church, in an especiall place appointed therefore, and also receiue the other sacraments there to be administred vnto them. He died the eight and twentith of November in the yeare of our redemption 1437, and was buried in the church of Durham in the chanterie which he had before erected. Before whose death at his manour of Holdon he builded all the west gates there of goodlie stone and lime, with the chambers thereto belonging on which he placed his armes.]

*Coniers.

*Ogle.

1407 The duke of Orleance besiegeth townes in Galcoigne.

The duke of Orleance hauing leuied a mightie armie, had besieged the townes of Burge and Blaie in Galcoigne, meaning with force to win the same; but so it fortuned, that for the space of eight weekes togither, there passed not one daie without tempest of raine, snow, and haile, mired with winds and lightnings, which killed aswell men as cattell, by reason whereof he lost (as was reported) six thousand men, so that he was constreined to breake vp his camps from before both those townes, and to get him awaie with dishonor, for all his brags and boasts made at his first comming thither. The same time, Henrie Yale and certeine other persons of the fiue ports, with fifteene ships, toke an hundred and twentie prises, which laie at anchor in and about the coast of Britaine, laden with iron, salt, oile, & Rochell wines.

Henrie Yale a valiant sea man.

In this season also billes were set vp in diuerse places of London, and on the doore of Paules church, in which was conteined, that king Richard being aliue and in health, would come shortlie with great magnificence & power to recouer againe his kingdome: but the contriuer of this deuise was quicklie found out, apprehended, and punished according to his demerits. ¶ The citie of London this yeare in the summer was so infected with pestilent mortalitie, that the king durst not repaire thither, nor come neere to it. Wherupon he being at the castell of Leeds in Kent, and departing from thence, toke ship at Quinburgh in the Ile of Shepie, to saile ouer vnto Lee in Esser, and so to go to Plaschie, there to passe the time till the mortalitie was ceassed.

K. Richard still aliue as was feigned.

As he was vpon the sea, certeine French pirats which laie lurking at the Thames mouth to watch for some preie, got knowledge by some meanes (as was supposed) of the kings passage, and therupon as he was in the middest of his course, they entred among his fleet, and toke foure vessels next to the kings ship, and in one of the same vessels sir Thomas Rampston the kings vicechamberlaine, with all his chamber stuffe and apparell. They followed the king so neere, that if his ship had not beene swift, he had landed sooner in France than in Esser: but such was his good hap, that he escaped and arriued at his appointed port. The lord Camois, that was commanded with certeine ships of warre to waft the king ouer (whether the wind turned so that he could not keepe his direct course, or that his ship was but a slug) ran so far in the kings displeasure, that he was attached & indited, for that (as was surmized against him) he had practised with the Frenchmen, that the king might by them haue beene taken in his passage.

The king in danger to be taken by French pirats.

Sir Thomas Rampston taken.

The king escaped through swiftnesse of his ship.

The lord Camois put in blame.

We haue heard that the pope by vertue of his prouision had giuen the archbishoprike of Yorke vnto maister Robert Halom; but the king was so offended therewith, that the said Robert might in no wise inioy that benefice, and so at length, to satisfie the kings pleasure, maister Henrie Bowet was translated from Bath vnto Yorke, and maister Robert Halom was made bishop of Salisburie then void by remouing of Henrie Chichellie to S. Dauids. The lord Henrie prince of Wales this yeare in the summer season besieged the castell of Abirusewith, and constreined them within to compound with him vnder certeine conditions for truce; but the prince was no sooner from thence departed, but that Owen Glendouer by subtill craft entered the castell, put out the keepers, and charging them with treason for concluding an agreement without his consent, placed other in that fortresse to defend it to his vse.

Henrie Bowet archbishop of Yorke.

Abirusewith.

Owen Glendouer.

About the feast of the Assumption of our ladie, that ancient warriour and worthie knight sir Robert Knols departed this life: he was (as before yee haue heard) borne of meane parentage, but growen into such estimation for his valiant prowesse, as he was thought meet to haue the leading of whole armies, and the rule and gouernment of large prouinces. For not long before his decease, he being gouernour of Aquitaine, incumbred with age, resigned his office vnto sir Thomas Belfort, a right valiant capteine, and therewith returned into England, where he died at a manour place of his in Norffolke, & from thence brought to London in a litter, with great pompe and much torch light, was buried in the church of White friers in Flestreet by the ladie Constance his wife, where was done for him a solemne obsequie, with a great feast, and liberall dole to the poore.

Sir Robert Knols departeth this life. Bermondsey.

S. Albons.

He was buried in ỹ white friers.

Besides the diuerse noble exploits, and famous warlike enterprises atchiued by this valiant sonne of Mars, he (to continue the perpetuall memorie of his name) builded the bridge of Rochester, ouer the riuer of Medwaie with a chapell at the end thereof; he repared also the bodie of the church of the White friers where he was buried, which church was first founded by the ancestour of the lord Greie of Codner. He also founded a college of secular priests at Pomfret, and did manie other things in his life right commendable. Sir Thomas Rampston constable of the tower was drowned, in comming from the court as he would haue shut the bridge, the streame being so big, that it ouerturned his barge. This yeare the

He built Rochester bridge commonlie called Knols bridge.

Thom. Wals.

Anno Reg. 9.

tiventith of October began a parlement holden at Glocester, but remoued to London as should appeare in November; for (as we find) in that moneth this yere 1407, and ninth of this kings reigne, a subsidie was granted by authoritie of a parlement then assembled at London, to be leuied through the whole realme.

Thom. Wals. A subsidie.

The lord Camois arreigned & acquited

The lord Camois was arreigned the last of October, before Edmund earle of Kent that daie high steward of England, and by his peres acquit of the offense, whereof he had bene indicted (as before ye haue heard) and so dismissed at the barre, was restored againe both to his goods, lands, and offices. ¶ This yeare the winter was exceding sharpe through frost and snow that continued & couered the ground by all the moneths of December, Januarie, Februarie, and March, insomuch that thrushes, blackbirds, and manie thousand birds of the like smaller size, perished with verie cold and hunger.

1408

The earle of Northumberland, and the lord Bardolfe, after they had bene in Wales, in France and Flanders, to purchase aid against king Henrie, were returned backe into Scotland, and had remained there now for the space of a whole yeare: and as their euill fortune would, whilest the king held a councell of the nobilitie at London, the said earle of Northumberland and lord Bardolfe, in a dismall houre, with a great power of Scots returned into England, recouering diuerse of the earls castels and seignories, for the people in great numbers resorted vnto them. Herevpon incouraged with hope of good successe, they entred into Yorkeshire, & there began to destroie the countrie. At their cõming to Thresk, they published a proclamation, signifieng that they were come in comfort of the English nation, as to releeue the common-wealth, willing all such as loued the libertie of their countrie, to repaire vnto them, with their armor on their backes, and in defensible wise to assist them.

The earle of Northumb. & the lord Bardolfe returne into Englãd.

The king aduertised hereof, caused a great armie to be assembled, and came forward with the same towards his enimies: but per the king came to Nottingham, sir Thomas, or (as other copies haue) Rafe Rokesbie shiriffe of Yorkeshire, assembled the forces of the countrie to resist the earle and his power, comming to Grimbaut bridge, beside Knaresbourgh, there to stop them the passage; but they returning aside, got to Weatherbie, and so to Tadcaster, and finallie came forward vnto Bramham more, neere to Haizelwood, where they chose their ground meet to fight vpon. The shiriffe was as readie to giue battell as the earle to receiue it, and so with a standard of S. George spred, set fiercelie vpon the earle, who vnder a standard of his owne armes incountred his aduersaries with great manhod. There was a sore incounter and cruell conflict betwixt the parties but in the end the victorie fell to the shiriffe. The lord Bardolfe was taken, but sore wounded, so that he shortlie after died of the hurts. ¶ As for the earle of Northumberland, he was slaine outright: so that now the prophesie was fulfilled, which gaue an inkling of this his heauie hap long before; namelie,

The shiriffe of Yorkeshire.

His hardie corage to fight.

The earle of Northumberland slaine.

Abr. Fl. out of Tho. Walsin. Hypod. pag. 172.

Stirps Persitina periet confusa ruina.

For this earle was the stocke and maine root of all that were left aliue called by the name of Persie; and of manie more by diuerse slaughters dispatched. For whose misfortune the people were not a little sorie, making report of the gentlemans valiantnesse, renowme, and honour, and applieng vnto him certeine lamentable verses out of Lucane, saieng:

Sed nos nec sanguis, nec tantum vulnera nostri
Affecere senis; quantum gestata per vrbem
Ora ducis, quæ transfixo deformia pilo
Vidimus.

For his head, full of siluer horie heares, being put vpon a stake, was openlie carried through London, and set vpon the bridge of the same citie: in like maner was the lord Bardolfes. The bishop of Bangor was taken and pardoned by the king, for that when he was apprehended, he had no armor on his backe. This battell was fought the nintenth day of Februarie. ¶ The king to purge the North parts of all rebellion, and to take order for the punishment of those that were accused to haue succoured and assisted the earle of Northumberland, went to Yorke, where when manie were condemned, and diuerse put to great fines, and the countrie brought to quietnesse, he caused the abbat of Hailes to be hanged, who had bene in armour against him with the foresaid earle.

The abbat of Hails hanged.

In the beginning of March, the king sent Edmund Holland earle of Kent with an armie of men imbarked in certeine ships of warre vnto the sea, because he had knowledge that diuerse rouers were wasting about the coasts of this land, and did much hurt. When the earle had serched the coasts, and could meet with no enimie abrode, he was aduertised by espials, that the pirats hearing of his comming to sea, were withdrawne into Britaine: wherefore the said earle intending to be reuenged on them, whome he sought, directed his course thither, and finding that they had laid vp their ships in the hauens, so as he could not fight with them by sea, he lanched out his boates, and with his fierce souldiers toke land, and manfullie assaulted the towne of Briake standing by the sea side. They within stoutlie defended themselues, doing their best to repell the Englishmen, with throwing darts, casting stones, and shoting quarels; in which conflict the earle receiued a wound in his head, so that he died thereof within fiue daies after.

The earle of Kent sent to the sea.

Briake in Britaine assaulted by the Englishmen.

The earle of Kent wounded to death.

The Englishmen not dismaied with his death, but the more desirous to obteine their purpose, continued their assaults, till by fine force they entered the towne, set it on fire, and slue all that made resistance; and after for want of a generall to command what should be done, they being pestered with preies and prisoners, returned into England. ¶ The countesse of Kent that was daughter (as yee haue heard) to Bernabo viscont lord of Millaine, hauing no issue by hir husband, was now moued by the king after hir husbands death, to marrie with his bastard brother the earle of Dorset, a man verie aged and euill visaged; whereupon she misliking him, meant rather to satisfie hir owne fansie, and therefore chose for hir husband Henrie Mortimer, a goodlie yong bacheller, by whom she had issue a daughter named Anne, maried to sir John Awbemond.

Briake taken by force.

The countes of Kent maketh hir owne choise of hir second husband.

This yeare, the next daie after the feast daie of Marie Magdalen, in a councell holden at London by the cleargie, the doctors of the vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxenford being there, with the rest assembled, debated the matter, whether they ought to withdraw from the pope, paiments of monie, and their accustomed obedience, considering that contrarie to his word and promise so solemnlie made, and with an oth confirmed, he withdrew himselfe from the place where he (according to couenants) should haue bene present, to aduance an agreement and concord in the church. ¶ Upon the euen of the Natiuitie of our ladie, there chanced such floods through abundance of raine, as the like had not bene seene afore by anie man then liuing. Also about the feast of All saints, the cardinall of Burges came into England, to informe the king and the cleargie of the inconstant dealing of pope Gregorie, in like maner as he had informed the French king and the Frenchmen, to the end that he might persuade both these kings,

A disputation betwixt diuines of Oxford & Cambridge for their obedience to the pope.

Anno Reg. 10. The cardinal of Burges cõmeth into England in disfauor of pope Gregorie

kings which were accounted the cheefe in christendome, to put vnto their helping hands, that the same pope Gregozie might be induced to obserue and performe that oth, which he had receiued, so as by the roiall authoritie of those two kings, concord might be had in the church. The French king (as this cardinall alleged) following the aduise of the learned men of the vniuersities of Paris, Bologna, Orleans, Tholouse, and Pontpellier, to auoid the danger of fauouring schisme, determined to obeie neither the one nor the other that contended for the papasie, vntill peace and concord might be restored in Christes church. The king vnderstanding the purpose of the cardinall, shewed him what courtesie might be deuised, offering to beare his charges, so long as it pleased him to remaine in England, and promising him to consider aduisedlie of the matter.

The resolutiõ of the French king concerning the two popes.

1409

This yeare after the Epiphanie, the archbishop of Canturburie called the cleargie of the prouince of Canturburie to a conuocation in Paules church at London, to chose sufficient persons that might go vnto the generall councell, appointed to be kept at Pisa: herevpon were chosen Robert Halom bishop of Salisburie, Henrie Chichleie bishop of saint Dauid, & Thomas Chillingden prior of Christes church in Canturburie. The king before this had sent ambassadors vnto pope Gregozie, and also to the cardinals: to wit, sir John Coluill knight, and maister Nicholas Kirton clearke, with letters, signifieng the greefe he had conceiued for the inconuenience that fell in the christian common-wealth thorough the schisme; and withall putting the pope in remembrance what mischefe and destruction of people had chanced by the same schisme. These and the like matters, to vtter what desire he had to haue an vnitie in the church, he declared frankelie in his letters directed to the pope, so as it might appeare to the world, how soberlie and modestlie he sought to induce the pope to procure peace & concord in the church. ¶ Certeine collections of which letters (as I find them in Thomas Walsingham) I haue here set downe in commendation of this king so excellentlie minded.

A conuocation at S. Paules in London.

Ambassadors appointed to go to the councell at Pisa.

The contents of the kings letters to the pope.

Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Wals. Hypod. pag. 159.

An extract of the kings letter to *pope Gregorie.*

MOst holie father, if the seat apostolicall would vouchsafe by prouidence to consider, how great dangers haue inuaded the whole world vnder the pretext of schisme, and speciallie the slaughter of christian people, which is of aboue two hundred thousand (as it is auouched) by the outrage of warres and battell sprong vp in sundrie parts of the world; & now latelie to the number of thirtie thousand (by meanes of the dissention about the bishoprike of Leods betweene two, one contending vnder the authoritie of true pope, and the other vnder the title of antipape) slaine in a foughten field, whereof we make report with greefe; trulie the said seat would be pensiue in spirit, & with due sorow troubled in mind; yea at the motion of a good conscience, it would rather giue ouer the honour of that apostolicall seat, than suffer such detestable deeds further to be committed, vnder the cloke of dissimulation, taking example of the true and naturall mother, which pleading before king Salomon, chose rather to part with hir owne child, than to see him cut in sunder. And although by that new creation of nine cardinals, against your oth (that we maie vse the words of others) made by you, wherof a vehement cause of wondering is risen, it maie in some sort be supposed (as it is likelie) that your intent respecteth not anie end of schisme; yet farre be it alwaies from the world, that your circumspect seat should be charged by anie person with so great inconstancie of mind, whereby the last errour might be counted worsse than the first, &c.

An extract of the said kings letter to *the cardinals.*

WE being desirous to shew how great zeale we had, & haue, that peace might be granted & giuen to the church by the consent of the states of our realme, haue sent ouer our letters to our lord the pope, according to the tenure of a copie inclosed within these presents effectuallie to be executed. Wherefore we doo earnestlie beseech the reuerend college of you; that if happilie the said Gregozie be present at the generall councell holden at Pisa, about the yelding vp of the papasie, according to the promise and oth by him manie a time made, to fulfill your and our desires, as we wish and beare our selues in hand he will doo; that you will so order things concerning his estate, that thereby God maie chieflie be pleased, and as well Gregozie himselfe, as we, who deseruedlie doo tender his honour and commoditie with all our harts, maie be beholden to giue you and euerie of you manifold thanks.

This yeare certeine learned men in Oxford and other places, publikelie in their sermons mainteined and set forth the opinions and conclusions of Wickliffe. This troubled the bishops and other of the clergie sore, insomuch that in their conuocation house, the six and twentith of June, by a speciall mandat of the lord chancellor in presence of the procurators, regents, and others, as Richard Courtneie, Richard Talbot, Nicholas Zouch, Walter Midford, & such like in great multitude: sentence was pronounced by John Wels, doctor of the canon law against the bookes of John Wickliffe doctor of diuinitie, intituled *De sermone in monte, Triologorum de simonia, De perfectione statuum, De ordine christiano, De gradibus cleri ecclesiæ:* and to these was added the third treatise, which he compiled of logike or sophistrie. These bookes and the conclusions in the same conteined, the chancellor of the vniuersitie of Oxford by common consent and assent of the regents and non regents of the same vniuersitie, reproued, disanulled and condemned, inhibiting on paine of the great curse and depriuation of all degrees scholasticall, that none from thencefoorth should affirme, teach, or preach by anie manner of meanes or waies, the same hereticall bookes (as they tearmed them) conteining anie the like opinions as he taught and set forth in the same bookes.

Wicklifs doctrine maintained by the learned.

Sentẽce pronounced against Wicklifs bookes.

This yeare about Midsummer, there roiall iusts holden at London in Smithfield betwixt the seneschall of Heinault, and certeine Henewers challengers, and the earle of Summerset, and certeine Englishmen

Fabian. Iusts in Smithfield.

Owen Glendouer endeth his life in great miserie.

lishmen defendants. The Welsh rebell Owen Glendouer made an end of his wretched life in this tenth yeare of king Henrie his reigne, being driuen now in his latter time (as we find recorded) to such miserie, that in manner despairing of all comfort, he fled into desert places and solitarie caues, where being destitute of all releefe and succour, dreading to shew his face to anie creature, and finallie lacking meat to sustaine nature, for mere hunger and lacke of food, miserablie pined awaie and died. This yeare Thomas Beaufort earle of Surrie was made chancellor, and Henrie Scrope lord treasurer. A parlement began this yeare in the quindene of saint Hilarie, in which the commons of the lower house exhibited a bill to the king and lords of the vpper house, conteining effect as followeth.

Anno Reg. 11.
Officers made.

1410

A parlement.

A supplication to the king.

Tho. Walsi. Fabian.

TO the most excellent lord our K. and to all the nobles in this present parlement assembled, your faithfull commons do humblie signifie, that our souereigne lord the king might haue of the temporall possessions, lands & reuenues which are lewdlie spent, consumed and wasted by the bishops, abbats, and priors, within this realme, so much in value as would suffice to find and sustaine one hundred and fiftie earles, one thousand & fiue hundred knights, six thousand and two hundred esquiers, and one hundred hospitals more than now be.

Thom. Walsi.

The king (as some write) vpon aduised consideration hereof had, misliked of the motion, & thereupon commanded that from thenceforth they should not presume to studie about anie such matters. An other thing the commons sued to haue granted vnto them, but could not obteine: which was, that clearks conuicted should not from thence forth be deliuered to the bishops prison. Moreouer they demanded to haue the statute either reuoked, or qualified, which had beene established by authoritie of parlement, in the second yeare of this kings reigne, against such as were reputed to be heretiks, or Lollards. By force whereof it was prouided, that whersoeuer such manner of persons should be found and knowne to preach or teach their erronious doctrine, they should be attached with the kings writ, and brought to the next goale: but the king seemed so highlie to fauour the clergie, that the commons were answered plainelie, they should not come by their purpose, but rather that the said statute should be made more rigorous and sharpe for the punishment of such persons.

King Henrie a fauorer of the clergie.

John Badbie burnt. Tho. Walsi.

During this parlement one John Badbie a tailor, or (as some write) a smith, being conuict of heresie, was brought into Smithfield, and there in a tun or pipe burnt to death, in pitifull manner. The kings eldest sonne the lord Henrie prince of Wales being present, offered him his pardon, first before the fire was kindled, if he would haue recanted his opinions; and after when the fire was kindled, hearing him make a roring noise verie pitifullie, the prince caused the fire to be plucked backe, and exhorting him being with pitifull paine almost dead, to remember himselfe, and renounce his opinions, promising him not onelie life, but also three pence a daie so long as he liued to be paid out of the kings coffers: but he hauing recouered his spirits againe, refused the princes offer, chosing rather to tast the fire, and so to die, than to forsake his opinions. Whereupon the prince commanded, that he should be put into the tun againe, from thenceforth not to haue anie fauour or pardon at all, and so it was done, and the fire put to him againe, and he consumed to ashes.

The prince being present at the execution offereth him pardon.

Notable constancie of Badbie.

The king demanded in this parlement, that it might be granted to him, to haue euerie yeare in which he held no parlement a tenth of the clergie, and a fiftéenth of the laitie; but the estates would not agree thereunto, by reason thereof, the parlement continued till almost the middle of Maie. At length they granted to giue him a fiftéenth, not without great murmuring and grudging of the commonaltie. About this season died the lord Thomas Beaufort earle of Surrie. The eleuenth of April or thereabouts, the towne of saint Diners was burnt by casuall fire togither with the abbeie, in which towne was such strange and maruellous prouision of engines, and all manner of furniture and preparation for the winning of Calis, as the like had neuer beene séene nor heard of. Some write, that they of Calis standing in doubt of such purueiance, & great preparation deuised to annoie them, procured a yong man to kindle a fire, whereby all that dreadfull prouision was consumed to ashes, and so they within Calis deliuered of a great deale of care and feare which they had thereof.

The kings demand in the parlement.

A long parlement.

A fiftenth granted.

Earle of Surrie deceaseth.

Preparation made to win Calis. Thom. Walsi.

¶ But Tho. Walsingham maketh a full & compleat declaration, both concerning the dukes deuise, & also of the Calesians deliuerance from the danger of the same; which because it perfecteth the report of this present matter, I haue thought good to set downe word for word as I find it in his Hypodigme. About the ninth of April (saith he) the towne of saint Audomare was burned with the abbeie, wherein was hidden and laid vp the execrable prouision of the duke of Burgognie, who had vowed either to destroie the towne of Calis, or else to subdue it to the will and pleasure of the French. There a great manie engines to this daie no where séene, there an exceeding sort of vessels conteining poison in them were kept in store, which he had aforehand prouided to cast out to the destruction of the said towne. For he had gathered togither serpents, scorpions, todes, and other kinds of venémous things, which he had closed and shut vp in little barrels, that when the flesh or substance of those noisome creatures was rotten, and dissolued into filthie matter, he might laie siege to Calis, and cast the said barrels let out of engines into the towne; which with the violence of the throw being dasht in péeces, might choke them that were within, poison the harnessed men touched therewith, & with their scattered venem infect all the stréets, lanes, & passages of the towne. In the meane time, a certeine yong man allured with couetousnesse of gold, or lead with affection and loue towards the kings towne, asked of the gouernours what reward he should deserue, that would discharge and set frée the towne from so great a feare, and would burne all the prouision which they suspected. Herevpon they leuied a summe of that yellow metall (namelie gold) wherewith the yongman contented, went his waie, and with fire readie made for the purpose, did not onelie burne the said venemous matter and infected stuffe, but also togither with the monasterie almost the whole towne.]

The engines of the duke of Burgognie against Calis that shot out barrels of poison.

Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Walsi. Hypod. pag. 175.

Moreouer this yeare sir Robert Umfreuill vice-admerall of England, annoied the countries on the sea coasts of Scotland: for comming into the Forth with ten ships of warre, and lieng there fourtéene daies togither, he landed euerie daie on the one side of the riuer or the other, taking preies, spoiles & prisoners; notwithstanding the duke of Albanie, and the earle Dowglas were readie there, with a great power to resist him: he burnt the galliot of Scotland (being a ship of great account) with manie other vessels

Sir Robert Umfreuill viceadmerall. Harding.

His exploit in Scotland.

sels lieng the same time at the Blackeneſh ouer against Lieth. At his returne from thence, he brought with him fourteene good ships, and manie other great praises of cloathes, both woollen, and linnen, pitch, tarre, woad, flower, meale, wheat and rie, which being sold abroad, the markets were well holpen thereby, so that his surname of Robert Pendmarket seemed verie well to agree with his qualities, which name he got by this occasion.

His surname Robert Pendmarket.

About foure yeares before this, he burnt the towne of Peples on the market daie, causing his men to meat the cloathes which they got there with their bowes, & so to sell them awaie, whereupon the Scots named him Robert Pendmarket. Shortlie after his returne from the sea now in this eleuenth yeare of king Henries reigne, he made a road into Scotland by land, hauing with him his nephue yong Gilbert Umfreuill earle of Angus (commonlie called earle of Kime) being then but fourteene yeares of age, and this was the first time that the said earle spread his banner. They burnt at that time Jedworth, and the most part of Tiuidale. This yeare there died of the bloudie flix in the citie of Burdeaux fourteene thousand persons, and so sore raged that disease in Gascoigne and Guien, that there wanted people to dresse their vines, and presse their grapes.

By what occasion he came by that surname.

The earle of Angus Umfreuill cõmonlie called erle of Kime.

1411

Anno Reg. 12. A great death by the flix.

John Prendergest knight, & William Long scowred the seas, so as no pirat durst appeare, but that merchants & passengers might passe to & fro in safetie. But yet through disdaine of some that enuied their good successe, the same Prendergest and Long were accused of robberies which they should practise, in spoling such ships as they met with, of diuerse things against the owners wils. Prendergest was driuen to take sanctuarie at Westminster, and could not be suffered to lodge in anie mans house for feare of the kings displeasure, commanding that none should receiue him; and so was constreined to set vp a tent within the porch of saint Peters church there, and to haue his seruants to watch nightlie about him for doubt to be murthered of his aduersaries: but his associat William Long late still at the sea, till the lord admerall hauing prepared certeine vessels went to the sea himselfe in person to fetch him: but yet he could not catch him vntill he had promised him pardon, and vndertaken vpon his fidelitie that he should haue no harme: but notwithstanding all promises, vpon his comming in he was shut vp fast in the Tower, and so for a time remained in durance. The archbishop of Canturburie minding in this season to visit the vniuersitie of Oxenford, could not be suffered, in consideration of priuileges which they pretended to haue.

John Prendergest and William Long.

Long committed to the Tower.

The archbishop of Canturburie not suffred to visit the vniuersitie of Oxenford

1412

The realme of France in this meane while was disquieted, with the two factions of Burgognie and Orleance, in most miserable wise, as in the French histories it maie further appeare. Neither could the king, being a lunatike person, and feeble of braine, take any full order for reforming of such mischefs, so that the whole state of the kingdome was maruellouslie brought in decaie: neither take those troubles end by the death of the duke of Orleance (murthered at length through the practise of the duke of Burgognie) but rather more perilouslie increased. For the yong duke of Orleance Charles, sonne to duke Lewes thus murthered, alied himselfe with the dukes of Berrie and Burbon, and with the earles of Alanson & Arminacke, whereby he was so stronglie banded against the duke of Burgognie, whom he defied as his mortall foe and enimie, that the duke of Burgognie fearing the sequele of the matter, thought good (because there was a motion of marriage betwixt the prince of Wales & his daughter) to require aid of king Henrie, who foreseeing that this ciuill discord in France (as it after hapned) might turne his realme to honor and profit, sent to the duke of Burgognie, Thomas earle of Arundell, Gilbert Umfreuill earle of Angus (commonlie called the earle of Kime) sir Robert Umfreuill, vncle to the same Gilbert, sir John Oldcastell lord Cobham, sir John Greie, and William Porter, with twelue hundred archers.

France disquieted with two factions.

The duke of Orleance murthered.

The earles of Arundell and Angus with others sent to aid the duke of Burgognie.

They tooke shipping at Douer, & landed at Sluis, from whence with speedie iournies in the latter end of this twelfth yeare of king Henries reigne they came to Arras, where they found the duke of Burgognie, of whom they were ioifullie receiued, & from thence he appointed them to go vnto Peron, where he assembled a power also of his owne subiects, and remouing from thence, he marched through the countrie, by Roie, Bretueill, Beaucis, and Gisors, till he came with his armie vnto Pontois, where he remained about the space of three weeks. From Pontois the two and twentith of October, the duke of Burgognie marched towards Paris, and passing the riuer of Saine at Pont Meulene, he staid not till he came to Paris, into the which he entred the 23 of October, late in the euening. The duke of Orleance laie at the same time at saint Denis, with the more part of his armie, & the residue kept the towne of S. Clou, where a bridge laie ouer the riuer of Saine. On the 9 of Nouember, with hard & sharpe fight the Englishmen got the towne of saint Clou, with the bridge, slue & drowned nine hundred souldiors that were set there to defend that passage, besides 400 that were taken prisoners. They tooke also aboue 12 hundred horsses, which they found in the towne, with great riches, whereof the men of warre made their profit.

Anno Reg. 13.

Saint Clou taken by the helpe of the Englishmen.

Among other prisoners, sir Panserd de Bos a valiant capteine was taken, and shortlie after put to death, as diuerse other were, which the Burgognians bought of the Englishmen that had taken them prisoners. The tower that stood at the end of the bridge could not be woone. At an other bickering also, it chanced that the Englishmen, vnder the leading of the earle of Angus or Kime, had the vpper hand, and tooke manie prisoners, whom the duke of Burgognie would that they should haue béene likewise put to death as traitors to their countrie, but the said earle of Angus answered for himselfe, and the residue of the Englishmen, that they would rather die all in the place, than suffer their prisoners to be vsed otherwise than as men of war ought to be, that is, to haue their liues saued, and to be ransomed according as the law of armes required, and by that meanes they were preserued. The duke of Burgognie hauing the world at will (for the duke of Orleance immediatlie after the losse of saint Clou, departing from saint Denis, got him into the high countries) sent home the Englishmen with hartie thanks, and great rewards.

Sir Panserd de Bos put to death.

Harding.

This yeare, the king created his brother Thomas Beaufort earle of Dorset; and his sonne the lord Thomas of Lancaster, that was lord steward of England, and earle of Aubemarle, he created duke of Clarence. John duke of Burgognie, hauing now the gouernance both of the French king and his realme, so persecuted the duke of Orleance and his complices, that finallie they for their last refuge required aid of king Henrie, sending ouer vnto him certeine persons as their lawfull procurators (of the which one was called Albert Aubemont, a man of great wit, learning, & audacitie) to offer in name of the confederates vnto the said king Henrie and to his sonnes, certeine conditions, which were made and concluded the yeare of our Lord 1412, the eight of Maie. The names of the chiefe confederats were these, John duke of Berrie and earle of Poicton, Charles duke of Orleance, and Valois erle of Blois, and Beaumont

Recor. Turris. Creations of noblemen.

Hall.

The Orleantiall facriõ sueth to the K. of England for aid.

The confederates of the Orleantiall faction.

lord of Coucie and Ach, John duke of Bourbon, and Auuergne earle of Clearmont forest, and Lisle lord of Beauteu, and Castreau Chinon, John duke of Alanson, Barnard earle of Arminacke, and others. The effect of the articles which these confederats were agreed, vpon touching their offer to the king of England, were as followeth.

The articles of couenants which *they offered to the king of England.*

1 FIrst, they offered their bodies, finances, and lands, to serue the king of England, his heires, and successors, in all iust causes and actions, sauing alwaies their allegiance, knowing that he would not further inquire of them.

2 Secondlie, they offered their sonnes and daughters, neeces and nephues, and all other their kinsfolks to be bestowed in marriages according to the pleasure of the king of England.

3 Thirdlie, they offered their castels, townes, treasures, & all their other goods, to serue the forsaid king.

4 Fourthlie, they offered their frends, alies, and well-willers to serue him, being the most part of all the nobles of France, churchmen, clearkes, and honest citizens, as it should well appeare.

5 Fiftlie, they offered to put him in possession of the duchie of Guien, which they were readie to protest to belong vnto the king of England, in like and semblable wise, in libertie and franchises, as any other king of England his predecessor had held and inioied the same.

6 Sixtlie, that they would be readie to recognise the lands which they possessed within that duchie, to hold the same of the king of England, as of the verie true duke of Guien, promising all seruices and homages after the best maner that might be.

7 Seuenthlie, they promised to deliuer vnto the king, as much as laie in them, all townes and castels apperteining to the roialtie and seigniorie of the king of England, which are in number twentie townes and castels: and as to the regard of other townes & fortresses which were not in their hands, they would to the vttermost of their powers, helpe the king of England and his heires to win them out of his aduersaries hands.

8 Eightlie, that the duke of Berrie, as vassall to the king of England, and likewise the duke of Orleance his subiect and vassall, should hold of him by homage and fealtie, the lands and seigniories hereafter following, that is to saie; the duke of Berrie to hold onelie the countie of Ponthieu during his life, and the duke of Orleance to hold the countie of Angulesme during his life, and the countie of Perigourt for euer, and the earle of Arminacke to hold foure castels vpon certeine suerties and conditions, as by indenture should be appointed. For the which offers, couenants and agreements, they requested of the king of England to condescend vnto these conditions insuing.

The conditions which they requested of the king of England.

1 FIrst, that the king of England, as duke of Guien should defend and succor them as he ought to do, against all men, as their verie lord and souereigne, and speciallie vntill they had executed iustice fullie vpon the duke of Burgognie, for the crime which he committed vpon the person of the duke of Orleance.

2 Secondlie, that he should assist them against the said duke of Burgognie and his fautors, to recouer againe their goods, which by occasion of the said duke and his frends they had lost and bene depriued of.

3 Thirdlie, that he should likewise aid them in all iust quarels, for recouering of damages done to their frends, vassals and subiects.

4 Fourthlie, to helpe and assist them for the concluding and establishing of a firme peace betwixt both the realmes, so far as was possible. ¶ And further they besought the king of England to send vnto them eight thousand men, to aid them against the duke of Burgognie and his complices, which dailie procured the French king to make war vpon them, seeking by all waies & meanes how to destroie them.

The king of England louinglie interteined the messengers, and vpon consideration had of their offers, as well for that he detested the shamefull murther of the duke of Orleance (which remained vnpunished by support of such as mainteined the duke of Burgognie, who (as it appeared) would keepe promise no longer than serued his owne turne) as also for that the same offers seemed to make greatlie both for his honor and profit, thought that by the office of a king he was bound in dutie to succour them that cried for iustice, and could not haue it; and namelie sith in right they were his subiects and vassals, he ought to defend them in maintenance of his superioritie and seigniorie. Herevpon as duke of Guien, he toke vpon him to succor and defend them against all men, as their verie lord and souereigne, and so sending awaie the messengers, promised to send them aid verie shortlie.

The king of England taketh vpō him to defend the Orleantiall faction.

This feat was not so secretlie wrought, but that it was knowne streightwaies in France. Wherefore the French kings councell sent the earle of saint Paule downe into Picardie, with fifteene hundred horsemen, and a great number of footmen, who approching to Guisnes, attempted to assault the castell, but was repelled and beaten backe, so that he retired to the towne of saint Quintines, as one that neuer wan gaine at the Englishmens hands, but euer departed from them with losse and dishonor. In this meane season the French king being led by the duke of Burgognie, pursued them that toke part with the duke of Orleance, commonlie called Armincks, and after the winning of diuerse townes he besieged the citie of Burges in Berrie, comming before it vpon saturdaie the eleuenth of June, with a right huge armie. Within this citie were the dukes of Berrie and Bourbon, the earle of Auxerre, the lord Dalbret, the archbishops of Sens and Burges, the bishops of Paris and Chartres, hauing with them fifteene hundred armed men, and foure hundred archers and arcubalisters.

The earle of saint Paule assaulteth the castell of Guisnes.

His fortune against Englishmen.

There were with the king at this siege, his sonne the duke of Aquitane, otherwise called the Dolphin, the dukes of Burgognie and Bar, and a great number of other earles, lords, knights, and gentlemen; so that the citie was besieged euen till within the faux burges of that side towards Dun le Roie. The siege continued, till at length through mediation of Philibert de Lignac, lord great maister of the Rhodes, and the marshall of Sauoie, that were both in the kings campe, trauelling betwixt the parties, there were appointed commissioners on both sides to treat for peace, to wit the master of the crosbowes, and the seneschall of Heinalt, and certeine other for the king; and the archbishop of Burges, with the lord of Gaucourt & others for the Orlientiall side. These cōming togither on a fridaie, the fifteenth of Julie in the Dolphins tent, vsed the matter with such discretion, that they concluded a peace, & so on the wednesdaie next following, the campe brake vp, & the king returned.

A peace concluded betwixt the two factions of Burgognie & Orleance.

Whilest these things were a doing in France, the lord

The prince of Wales accused to his father.

lord Henrie prince of Wales, eldest sonne to king Henrie, got knowledge that certeine of his fathers seruants were busie to giue informations against him, whereby discord might arise betwixt him and his father: for they put into the kings head, not onelie what euill rule (according to the course of youth) the prince kept to the offense of manie: but also what great resort of people came to his house, so that the court was nothing furnished with such a traine as dailie followed the prince. These tales brought no small suspicion into the kings head, least his sonne would presume to vsurpe the crowne, he being yet aliue, through which suspicious gelousie, it was perceiued that he fauoured not his sonne, as in times past he had done.

Iohn Stow.

The suspicious gelousie of the king toward his son.

The prince sore offended with such persons, as by slanderous reports, sought not onelie to spot his good name abrode in the realme, but to sowe discord also betwixt him and his father, wrote his letters into euerie part of the realme, to repwue all such slanderous deuises of those that sought his discredit. And to cleare himselfe the better, that the world might vnderstand what wrong he had to be slandered in such wise: about the feast of Peter and Paule, to wit, the nine and twentith daie of June, he came to the court with such a number of noble men and other his frends that wished him well, as the like traine had bene sildome seene repairing to the court at any one time in those daies. He was apparelled in a gowne of blew satten, full of small oilet holes, at euerie hole the needle hanging by a silke thred with which it was sewed. About his arme he ware an hounds collar set full of SS of gold, and the tirets likewise being of the same metall.

The prince goeth to the court with a great traine.

His strange apparell.

The court was then at Westminster, where he being entred into the hall, not one of his companie durst once aduance himselfe further than the fire in the same hall, notwithstanding they were earnestlie requested by the lords to come higher: but they regarding what they had in commandement of the prince, would not presume to dw in any thing contrarie therevnto. He himselfe onelie accompanied with those of the kings house, was streight admitted to the presence of the king his father, who being at that time greeuouslie diseased, yet caused himselfe in his chaire to be borne into his priuie chamber, where in the presence of three or foure persons, in whome he had most confidence, he commanded the prince to shew what he had to saie concerning the cause of his comming.

The prince cōmeth to the kings presence.

His words to his father.

The prince kneeling downe before his father said: Most redoubted and souereigne lord and father, I am at this time come to your presence as your liege man, and as your naturall sonne, in all things to be at your commandement. And where I vnderstand you haue in suspicion my demeanour against your grace, you know verie well, that if I knew any man within this realme, of whome you should stand in feare, my duetie were to punish that person, thereby to remoue that greefe from your heart. Then how much more ought I to suffer death, to ease your grace of that greefe which you haue of me, being your naturall sonne and liege man: and to that end I haue this daie made my selfe readie by confession and receiuing of the sacrament. And therefore I beseech you most redoubted lord and deare father, for the honour of God, to ease your heart of all such suspicion as you haue of me, and to dispatch me here before your knees, with this same dagger [and withall he deliuered vnto the king his dagger, in all humble reuerence; adding further, that his life was not so deare to him, that he wished to liue one daie with his displeasure] and therefore in thus ridding me out of life, and your selfe from all suspicion, here in presence of these lords, and before God at the daie of the generall iudgement, I faithfullie protest clearlie to forgiue you.

"
"
"

The kings words to the prince his son

The king moued herewith, cast from him the dagger, and imbracing the prince kissed him, and with shedding teares confessed, that in deed he had him partlie in suspicion, though now (as he perceiued) not with iust cause, and therefore from thencefwrth no misreport should cause him to haue him in mistrust, and this he promised of his honour. So by his great wisedome was the wrongfull suspicion which his father had conceiued against him remwued, and he restored to his fauour. And further, where he could not but greeuouslie complaine of them that had slandered him so greatlie, to the defacing not onelie of his honor, but also putting him in danger of his life, he humblie besought the king that they might answer their vniust accusation; and in case they were found to haue forged such matters vpon a malicious purpose, that then they might suffer some punishment for their faults, though not to the full of that they had deserued. The king seeming to grant his resonable desire, yet told him that he must tarrie a parlement, that such offendors might be punished by iudgement of their peeres: and so for that time he was dismissed, with great loue and signes of fatherlie affection.

Eiton.

The princes request to haue his accusors to answer their wrōgful slanders.

¶Thus were the father and the sonne reconciled, betwixt whom the said pickthanks had sowne diuision, insomuch that the sonne vpon a vehement conceit of vnkindnesse sprong in the father, was in the waie to be worne out of fauour. Which was the more likelie to come to passe, by their informations that priuilie charged him with riot and other vnciuill demeanor vnseemelie for a prince. Indeed he was youthfullie giuen, growne to audacitie, and had chosen him companions agreeable to his age; with whome he spent the time in such recreations, exercises, and delights as he fansied. But yet (it should seeme by the report of some writers) that his behauiour was not offensiue or at least tending to the damage of anie bodie; sith he had a care to auoid doing of wrong, and to tedder his affections within the tract of vertue, whereby he opened vnto himselfe a redie passage of good liking among the prudent sort, and was beloued of such as could discerne his disposition, which was in no degree so excessiue, as that he deserued in such vehement maner to be suspected. In whose dispraise I find little, but to his praise verie much, parcell whereof I will deliuer by the waie as a metyard whereby the residue may be measured. The late poet that versified the warres of the valorous Englishmen, speaking of the issue of Henrie the fourth, saith of this prince (among other things) as followeth:

Abr. Fl. out of *Angl. prælijs.*

——procero qui natu maximus hæres
Corpore, progressus cùm pubertatis ad annos
Esset, res gessit multas iuueniliter audax,
Asciscens comites quos par sibi iunxerat ætas,
Nil tamen iniustè commisit, nil tamen vnquam
Extra virtutis normam, sapientibus æquè
Ac alijs charus.

In Angl. prælijs, sub Hen. 4.

About the same time, Iohn Prendergest knight, being restored to the kings fauour, with thirtie ships scowred the seas, tooke good prises of wine and vitels, which releeued the commons greatlie. Amongst other enterprises, he landed vpon the sudden at Craal on the faire day, tooke the towne, and robbed the faire, so as they that were come thither to sell their wares, had quicke vtterance and slow paiment. King Henrie vnderstanding that the French king by setting on of the duke of Burgognie in pursuing the contrarie faction, had besieged the citie of Burges (as before yee haue heard) determined with all speed to aid the duke of Orleance, & so about the feast of the Assumption

Sir Iohn Prendergest restored to the kings fauour is sent to sea.

The duke of Clarence sent to aid ỹ duke of Orleance.

tion of our ladie, he sent ouer an armie of eight hundred men of armes, and nine thousand archers, vnder the leading of his second sonne the duke of Clarence accompanied with Edward duke of Yorke, Thomas earle of Dorset, and diuerse other noble men and worthie capteins. They landed in the Baie de la Hogue saint Wast, in the countrie of Constantine. The Englishmen swarmed like bées round about the countrie, robbing and spoiling the same.

Enguerant. Shortlie after their departure from the place where they landed, there came to them six hundred armed men of Gascoignes that were inrolled at Burdeaux. When newes thereof came to the French court, being then at Auxerre, incontinentlie the earles of Alanson and Richmond were dispatched to go vnto the English campe, bicause they had euer bene partakers with the duke of Orleance, to giue them thanks for their paines, and to aduertise them of the peace that had bene latelie concluded betwixt the parties, and therefore to take order with them, that they might be satisfied, so as they should not spoile & waste the countrie, as they had begun. But whereas the Englishmen were greedie to haue, and the duke of Orleance was not rich to paie, they marched on towards Guien in good order, and what by sacking of townes, and ransoming of rich prisoners, they got great treasure, and manie good preies and booties.

The earle of Alanson and Richmond sent to ỹ duke of Clarence.

The duke of Clarence marcheth toward Guien.

Enguerant. Being passed the riuer of Loire they spoiled the towne of Beaulieu, and with fire and sword wasted the countries of Touraine and Maine. The lord de Rambures appointed to resist such violence, was easilie vanquished. Moreouer, to the aid of the duke of Orleance, the king of England sent ouer to Calis the earls of Kent and Warwike, with two thousand fighting men, which spoiled and wasted the countrie of Bullennois, burnt the towne of Samer de Bois, and toke with assault the fortresse of Rustalt, and diuerse other. This yeare, the king abased the coines of his gold and siluer, causing the same to be currant in this realme, at such value as the other was valued before, where indeed the noble was worsse by foure pence than the former, and so likewise of the siluer, the coines whereof he appointed to be currant after the same rate. ¶ In this yeare, and vpon the twelfth day of October, were three flouds in the Thames, the one following vpon the other, & no ebbing betweene: which thing no man then liuing could remember the like to be seene.

The lord of Rambures.

The earles of Kent & Warwike sent ouer to Calis.

Fabian. Coine changed.

Abr. Fl. out of Fabian pag. 388. Three flouds without ebbing betweẽ.

¶ In this kings time, and in the eighth yeare of his reigne (as Richard Grafton hath recorded) a worthie citizen of London named Richard Whitington, mercer and alderman, was elected maior of the said citie, and bare that office three times. This man so bestowed his goods and substance, that he hath well deserued to be registred in chronicles. First he erected one house or church in London to be a house of praier, and named the same after his owne name, Whitington colledge, remaining at this daie. In the said church, besides certeine preests and clearks, he placed a number of poore aged men and women, builded for them houses and lodgings, and allowed them wood, coles, cloth, and weekelie monie to their great releefe and comfort. This man also at his owne cost builded the gate of London called Newgate in the yeere of our Lord 1422, which before was a most ougly and lothsome prison. He also builded more than the halfe of S. Bartholomews hospitall in west Smithfield. He builded likewise the beautifull librarie in the graie friers in London now called Christs hospitall, standing in the north part of the cloister thereof, where in the wall his armes be grauen in stone. He also builded for the ease of the maior of London, his brethren, and the worshipfull citizens, on the solemne daies of their assemblie, a chapell adioining to the Guildhall; to the intent that before they entered into anie of their worldlie affaires, they should begin with praier and inuocation to God for his assistance: at the end ioining to the south part of the said chapell, he builded for the citie a librarie of stone, for the custodie of their records and other bookes. He also builded a great part of the east end of Guildhall; and did manie other good deeds worthie of imitation. By a writing of this mans owne hand, which he willed to be fixed as a schedule to his last will and testament, it appeareth what a pitifull and relenting heart he had at other mens miseries, and did not onelie wish but also did what he could procure for their releefe. In so much that he charged and commanded his executors, as they would answer before God at the daie of the resurrection of all flesh, that if they found anie debtor of his, whome if in conscience they thought not to be well worth three times as much as they owght him, and also out of other mens debt, and well able to paie, that then they should neuer demand it; for he clearelie forgaue it: and that they should put no man in suite for anie debt due to him. A worthie memoriall of a notable minded gentleman.

Abr. Fl. out of R. Grafton. pag. 433, 434. in folio.

Whitington college erected.

Charitie.

Newgate builded.

S. Bartholomew hospitall.

Guildhall chapell.

Guildhall inlarged.

Pée haue heard how the duke of Clarence and his armie did much hurt in the realme of France, in places as he passed: whereupon at length, the duke of Orleance being earnestlie called vpon to dispatch the Englishmen out of France, according to an article comprised in the conclusion of the peace, he came to the duke of Clarence, rendering to him and his armie a thousand gramersies, and disbursed to them as much monie as he or his frends might easilie spare; and for the rest being two hundred and nine thousand frankes remaining vnpaid, he deliuered in gage his second brother, John duke of Angolesme, which was grandfather to king Francis the first, that reigned in our daies, sir Parcell de Burges, and sir John de Samoures, sir Archembald Uiliers, and diuerse other, which earle continued long in England, as after shall apeare. When this agreement was thus made betwixt the dukes of Orleance and Clarence, the English armie with rich preies, booties and prisoners came to Burdeaux, making warre on the frontiers of France, to their great gaine. In this meane while, the lord of Helie, one of the marshals of France, with an armie of foure thousand men, besieged a certeine fortresse in Guien, which an English knight, one sir John Blunt kept, who with three hundred men that came to his aid, discomfited, chased, and ouerthrew the French power, toke prisoners twelue men of name, and other gentlemen to the number of six score, and amongst other, the said marshall, who was sent ouer into England, and put in the castell of Willebet, from whence he escaped, and got ouer into France, where seruing the duke of Orleance at the battell of Agincourt, he was slaine among other.

Anno Reg. 14.

The duke of Orleance cõmeth to ỹ English armie.

The lord of Helie marshall of France.

Sir John Blunt.

In this fourteenth and last yeare of king Henries reigne, a councell was holden in the white friers in London, at the which, among other things, order was taken for ships and gallies to be builded and made readie, and all other things necessarie to be prouided for a voiage which he meant to make into the holie land, there to recouer the citie of Jerusalem from the Infidels. For it greeued him to consider the great malice of christian princes, that were bent vpon a mischeefous purpose to destroie one another, to the perill of their owne soules, rather than to make war against the enimies of the christian faith, as in conscience (it seemed to him) they were bound. He held his Christmas this yeare at Eltham, being sore vexed with sickenesse, so that it was thought sometime, that

Fabian. The k. meant to haue made a tournie against the Infidels.

The king is vexed with sickenesse.

that he had beene dead: notwithstanding it pleased God that he somwhat recouered his strength againe, and so passed that Christmasse with as much ioy as he might.

1413 Parlement.

The morrow after Candlemas daie began a parlement, which he had called at London, but he departed this life before the same parlement was ended: for now that his prouisions were readie, and that he was furnished with sufficient treasure, soldiers, capteins, victels, munitions, tall ships, strong gallies, and all things necessarie for such a roiall iournie as he pretended to take into the holie land, he was eftsones taken with a sore sickenesse, which was not a lepresie, striken by the hand of God (saith maister Hall) as solish friers imagined; but a verie apoplexie, of the which he languished till his appointed houre, and had none other greese nor maladie; so that what man ordeineth, God altereth at his good will and pleasure, not giuing place more to the prince, than to the poorest creature liuing, when he seeth his time to dispose of him this waie or that, as to his omnipotent power and diuine prouidence seemeth expedient. During this his last sickenesse, he caused his crowne (as some write) to be set on a pillow at his beds head, and suddenlie his pangs so sore troubled him, that he laie as though all his vitall spirits had beene from him departed. Such as were about him, thinking verelie that he had beene departed, couered his face with a linnen cloth.

The K. sick of an apoplexie. Hall.

Hall.

The prince his sonne being hereof aduertised, entered into the chamber, tooke awaie the crowne, and departed. The father being suddenlie remoued out of that trance, quicklie perceiued the lacke of his crowne; and hauing knowledge that the prince his sonne had taken it awaie, caused him to come before his presence, requiring of him what he meant so to misuse himselfe. The prince with a good audacitie answered, Sir, to mine and all mens iudgements you seemed dead in this world, wherefore I as your nert heire apparant tooke that as mine owne, and not as yours. Well faire sonne (said the king with a great sigh) what right I had to it, God knoweth. Well (said the prince) if you die king, I will haue the garland, and trust to keepe it with the sword against all mine enimies, as you haue done. Then said the king, I commit all to God, and remember you to do well. With that he turned himselfe in his bed, and shortlie after departed to God in a chamber of the abbats of Westminster called Jerusalem, the twentith date of March, in the yeare 1413, and in the yeare of his age 46, when he had reigned thirteene yeares, fiue moneths and od daies, in great perplexitie and little pleasure [or fourteene yeares, as some haue noted, who name not the disease whereof he died, but refer it to sickenesse absolutelie, whereby his time of departure did approach and fetch him out of the world: as Ch. Okl. saith, whose words may serue as a funerall epigramme in memoriall of the said king Henrie:

The prince taketh awaie the crowne before his father was dead

He is blamed of the king.

His answer.

A guiltie conscience in extremitie of sickenesse pincheth sore.

The death of Henrie the fourth.

Abr. Fl. out of Angl. præl. sub Hen. 4.

Henricus quartus bis septem rexerat annos
Anglorum gentem summa cum laude & amore,
Iamq; senescenti fatalis terminus æui
Ingruerat, morbus fatalem accersera horam.]

Fabian.

We find, that he was taken with his last sickenesse, while he was making his praiers at saint Edwards shrine, there as it were to take his leaue, and so to proceed forth on his tournie: he was so suddenlie and greeuouslie taken, that such as were about him, feared least he would haue died presentlie, wherfore to releeue him (if it were possible) they bare him into a chamber that was nert at hand, belonging to the abbat of Westminster, where they laid him on a pallet before the fire, and vsed all remedies to reuiue him. At length, he recouered his speech, and vnderstanding and perceiuing himselfe in a strange place which he knew not, he willed to know if the chamber had anie particular name, whereunto answer was made, that it was called Jerusalem. Then said the king; Lauds be giuen to the father of heauen, for now I know that I shall die heere in this chamber, according to the prophesie of me declared, that I should depart this life in Jerusalem.

Whether this was true that so he spake, as one that gaue too much credit to solish prophesies & vaine tales, or whether it was fained, as in such cases it commonlie happeneth, we leaue it to the aduised reader to iudge. His bodie with all funerall pompe was conueied vnto Canturburie, and there solemnlie buried, leauing behind him by the ladie Marie daughter to the lord Humfrie Bohun earle of Herford and Northhampton, Henrie prince of Wales, Thomas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, Humfrie duke of Glocester, Blanch duchesse of Bauier, and Philip queene of Denmarke: by his last wife Jane, he had no children. This king was of a meane stature, well proportioned, and formallie compact, quicke and liuelie, and of a stout courage. In his latter daies he shewed himselfe so gentle, that he gat more loue amongst the nobles and people of this realme, than he had purchased malice and euill will in the beginning.

He is buried at Canturburie.

His issue.

His stature.

But yet to speake a truth, by his proceedings, after he had attained to the crowne, what with such taxes, tallages, subsidies, and exactions as he was constreined to charge the people with; and what by punishing such as moued with disdeine to see him vsurpe the crowne (contrarie to the oth taken at his entring into this land, vpon his returne from exile) did at sundrie times rebell against him, he wan himselfe more hatred, than in all his life time (if it had beene longer by manie yeares than it was) had beene possible for him to haue weeded out & remoued. And yet doubtlesse, worthie were his subiects to tast of that bitter cup, sithens they were so readie to ioine and clappe hands with him, for the deposing of their rightfull and naturall prince king Richard, whose cheefe fault rested onlie in that, that he was too bountifull to his frends, and to mercifull to his foes; speciallie if he had not beene drawne by others, to seeke reuenge of those that abused his good and courteous nature. ¶ But now to returne to the matter present. The duke of Clarence immediatlie vpon knowlege had of his father king Henrie the fourth his death, returned out of Guien into England, with the earle of Angolesme, and other prisoners.

Now will we rehearse what writers of our English nation liued in the daies of this king. That renowmed poet Geffrie Chaucer is worthilie named as principall, a man so exquisitlie learned in all sciences, that his match was not lightlie found anywhere in those daies; and for reducing our English tong to a perfect conformitie, he hath excelled therein all other; he departed this life about the yeare of our Lord 1402, as Bale gathereth: but by other it appeareth, that he deceased the fiue and twentith of October in the yeare 1400, and lieth buried at Westminster, in the south part of the great church there, as by a monument erected by Nicholas Brigham it doth appeare. John Gower descended of that worthie familie of the Gowers of Stitenham in Yorkeshire (as Leland noteth) studied not onelie the common lawes of this realme, but also other kinds of literature, and great knowledge in the same, namelie in poeticall inuentions, aplieng his indeuor with Chaucer, to garnish the English tong, in bringing it from a rude vnperfectnesse, vnto a more apt elegancie: for whereas before those daies, the learned vsed to write onelie in Latine or French, and not in English, our tong remained verie barren, rude, and vnperfect; but now

John Stow.

by

by the diligent industrie of Chaucer and Gower, it was within a while greatlie amended, so as it grew not onelie verie rich and plentifull in words, but also so proper and apt to expresse that which the mind conceiued, as anie other vsuall language. Gower departed this life shortlie after the decesse of his dere and louing frend Chaucer; to wit, in the yeare 1402, being then come to great age, and blind for a certeine time before his death. He was buried in the church of saint Marie Oueries in Southwarke.

Moreouer, Hugh Legat borne in Hertfordshire, and a monke of saint Albons, wrote scholies vpon Architrenius of John Hanuill, and also vpon Boetius *De consolatione*; Roger Alington, chancellor of the vniuersitie of Oxford, a great sophister, & an enimie to the doctrine of Wickliffe; John Botrell, a logician; Nicholas Gorham, borne in a village of the same name in Hertfordshire, a Dominike frier, first proceeded master of art in Oxenford, and after going to Paris, became the French kings confessor, and therefore hath beene of some taken to be a Frenchman; John Lilleshull, so called of a monasterie in the west parties of this realme whereof he was gouernour; Walter Disse, so called of a towne in Norfolke where he was borne, first a Carmelite frier professed in Norwich, and after going to Cambridge, he there proceeded doctor, he was also confessor to the duke of Lancaster, and to his wife the duchesse Constance, & a great setter forth of pope Vrbans cause against the other popes that were by him and those of his faction named the antipapes; Thomas Waldon, so called of the towne of that name in Essex where he was borne: John Edo, descended out of Wales by linage, and borne in Herefordshire, a Franciscane frier.

Adde to the forenamed, Nicholas Fakingham, borne in Norfolke, a greie frier, proceeded doctor in Oxenford, a great diuine, and an excellent philosopher, prouincall of his order here in England; Laurence Holbeche, a monke of Ramsie, well seene in the Hebrue tong, and wrote thereof a dictionarie; John Colton, archbishop of Ardmach; John Marrie, so called of a village in Yorkeshire where he was borne, a Carmelite of Doncaster; Richard Chefer borne in Norfolke, a diuine, and an Augustine frier in Norwich; John Lathburie, a Franciscane frier of Reading; Nicholas Poutz; Richard Scrope brother to William Scrope, lord treasuror of England, studied in Cambridge, and proceeded there doctor of both the lawes, became an aduocat in the court of Rome, and afterwards was aduanced to the gouernement of the see of Couentrie and Lichfield, and at length was remoued from thence, and made archbishop of Yorke, he wrote an inuective against king Henrie, and at length lost his head, as before ye haue heard; John Wrotham, a Carmelite frier of London, and after made warden of an house of his order in Calis.

Furthermore, John Colbie, a Carmelite frier of Norwich; William Thorpe a northerne man borne, and student in Oxenford, an excellent diuine, and an earnest follower of that famous clearke John Wickliffe, a notable preacher of the word, and expressing his doctrine no lesse in trade of life, than in speech, he was at length apprehended by commandement of the archbishop of Canturburie Thomas Arundell, and committed to prison in Saltwood castell, where at length he died; Stephan Patrington, borne in Yorkeshire, a frier Carmelite, prouincall of his order through England, of which brood there were at that season 1500 within this land, he was bishop of saint Dauids, and confessor to king Henrie the fift, about the fift yeare of whose reigne he deceassed; Robert Walcall, a Carmelite frier of Ludlow, confessor also to the said K. who made him bishop of Hereford; Reginald Langham, a frier minor of Norwich: Actonus Dominicanus; Thomas Palmer, warden of the Blacke friers within the citie of London; Boston of Burie, a monke of the abbeie of Burie in Suffolke, wrote a catalog of all the writers of the church, and other treatises.

Acts and moments of Iohn Fox.

Moreouer, Thomas Peuerell, a frier Carmelite, borne in Suffolke, he was aduanced to the see of Ossorie in Ireland by Richard the second, and after by pope Bonface the ninth remoued to Landaffe in Wales, and from thence called by Henrie the fourth, with consent of pope Gregorie the twelfe, to gouerne the see of Worcester, and so continued bishop of that citie, vntill he ended his life in the yeare of our Lord 1418, which was about the first yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the fift; John Purueie, an excellent diuine, proceeded master of art in Oxenford, he was apprehended for such doctrine as he taught, contrarie to the ordinances of the church of Rome, and was at length compelled by Thomas Arundell, archbishop of Canturburie, to recant at Paules crosse seuen speciall articles, he wrote diuerse treatises, & was the second time committed to prison in king Henrie the fift his daies, by Henrie Chichleie, that succeeded Arundell in gouernement of the church of Canturburie; William Holme, a greie frier (and a good physician for curing diseases of the bodie, what soeuer his physicke was for the soule) he liued vntill Henrie the fift his daies, and deceassed about the fourth yeare of his reigne; Nicholas Bataard, a blacke frier, a doctor of diuinitie professed at Oxenford; Thomas Rudburne, archdeacon of Sudburie, and bishop of saint Dauids in Wales, succeeding after Stephan Patrington, he wrote a chronicle, and certeine epistles (as Iohn Bale noteth.)

See matter Fox, in his booke of Acts and monuments.

Finallie and to conclude, Nicholas Risson, who being sore greeued in mind, as diuerse other in those daies, to consider what inconuenience redounded to the church, by reason of the strife and brawling among the prelats for the acknowleging of a lawfull pope, two or three still contending for that dignitie, wrote a booke, intituled *De tollendo schismate*; John Walter, an excellent mathematician, being first brought vp of a scholer in the college of Winchester, and after studied at Oxenford; Thomas of Newmarket, taking that surname of the towne in Cambridgeshire where he was borne, he for his worthinesse (as was thought) was made bishop of Careleill, well seene both in other sciences, and also in diuinitie; William Auger a Franciscane frier, of an house of that order in Bridgewater; Peter Russell a graie frier, and of his order the prouincall here in England; John Langton, a Carmelite; Robert Wantham a monke of Cernelie in Dorsetshire, wrote a booke in verse, of the originall and signification of words; William Norton, a Franciscane frier of Couentrie; Hugh Sueth, a blacke frier, and a great preacher; Richard Folsham a monke of Norwich; Robert Wimbeldon, a singular diuine, and an excellent preacher, as appeareth by the sermon which he made vpon this text, *Redde rationem villicationis tuæ.*

Acts and monuments.

Thus farre Henrie Plantagenet sonne to Iohn of Gaunt duke of Lancaster.

Henrie

Henrie the fift, prince of Wales, sonne and heire to Henrie the fourth.

Anno Reg. 1.

HEnrie prince of Wales, son and heire to K. Henrie the fourth, borne in Wales at Monmouth on the riuer of Wie, after his father was departed toke vpon him the regiment of this realme of England, the twentith of March, the morrow after proclamed king, by the name of Henrie the fift, in the yeare of the world 5375, after the birth of our sauiour, by our account 1413, the third of the emperor Sigismund: the three and thirtith of Charles the first French king, and in the seuenth yeare of gouernance in Scotland vnder Robert brother to him that (before entrance into his kingdome 1390) had John to name, which by deuise and order of the states was changed into Robert the third, who at Rotsaie (a towne in the Iland of Got, 1406) deceassed by occasion thus. As vpon hope in this gouernor to himselfe conceiued how to come to the crowne, he at the castell of Falkland, latelie had familiar his cosine Dauid the kings elder sonne and heire (a dissolute yong prince) yet to his fathers exceeding sorrow, at whose deceasse the father verie carefull, and caring for the safegard of James his yonger son and heire, from Basse the rocke in a well appointed ship, vnder charge of Henrie Saintclere earle of Orkeneie, into France to his old friend king Charles for good education and safetie this yong prince he sent: who in the course, whether for tempest or tendernes of stomach, toke land in Yorkeshire at Flamborow, that after by wisedome and good consideration of the king and his councell was thought verie necessarie here to be reteined. But by the sudden newes of this staie, the father (at supper as he sat) so stroken at hart that well nie streight had he fallen downe dead, yet borne into his chamber, where for greefe and pine within three daies next he deceassed. The yong king James his sonne after an eightéene yeares staie, in which time he had béene well trained in princehood, at last with right honorable marriage at saint Marie Queries vnto Jone daughter to the earle of Summerset, cosine vnto Henrie the first then king, and with manie other high gratuities here beside was sent and set in his rule and kingdome at home.

Wil. Patten. Buchanan rer. Scoticar. lib. 10.

Such great hope, and good expectation was had of this mans fortunate successe to follow, that within three daies after his fathers deceasse, diuerse noble men and honorable personages did to him homage, and sware to him due obedience, which had not béene seene done to any of his predecessors kings of this realme, till they had béene possessed of the crowne. He was crowned the ninth of Aprill being Passion sundaie, which was a sore, ruggie, and tempestuous day, with wind, snow and sléet, that men greatlie marueiled thereat, making diuerse interpretations what the same might signifie. But this king euen at first appointing with himselfe, to shew that in his person princelie honors should change publike manners, he determined to put on him the shape of a new man. For whereas aforetime he had made himselfe a companion vnto mistrulie mates of dissolute order and life, he now banished them all from his presence (but not vnrewarded, or else vnpreferred) inhibiting them vpon a great paine, not once to approch, lodge, or sojourne within ten miles of his court or presence: and in their places he chose men of grauitie, wit, and high policie, by whose wise counsell he might at all times rule to his honour and dignitie; calling to mind how once to hie offense of the king his father, he had with his fist striken the chéefe iustice for sending one of his minions (vpon desert) to prison, when the iustice stoutlie commanded himselfe also streict to ward, he (then prince) obeied. The king after expelled him out of his priuie councell, banisht him the court, and made the duke of Clarence (his yonger brother) president of councell in his stéed.

A notable example of a worthie prince.

This reformation in the new king Christ. Okl. hath reported, fullie consenting with this. For saith he,

Ille inter iuuenes paulo lasciuior antè,
Defuncto genitore grauis constansq; repentè,
Moribus ablegat corruptis regis ab aula
Assuetos socios, & nugatoribus acrem
Pœnam (si quisquam sua tecta reuiserit) addit,
Atq; ita mutatus facit omnia principe digna,
Ingenio magno post consultoribus vsus, &c.

In Angl. prel. sub Hen. 5.

But now that the king was once placed in the royall seat of the realme, he vertuouslie considering in his mind, that all goodnesse commeth of God, determined to begin with some thing acceptable to his diuine maiestie, and therefore commanded the cleargie sincerelie and trulie to preach the word of God, and to liue accordinglie, that they might be the lanternes of light to the temporaltie, as their profession required. The laie men he willed to serue God, and obeie their prince, prohibiting them aboue all things breach of matrimonie, custome in swearing; and namelie, wilfull periurie. Beside this, he elected the best learned men in the lawes of the realme, to the offices of iustice; and men of good liuing, he preferred to high degrées and authoritie. Immediatlie after Easter he called a parlement, in which diuerse good statutes, and wholesome ordinances, for the preseruation and aduancement of the common-wealth were deuised and established. On Trinitie sundaie were the solemne exequies done at Canturburie for his father, the king himselfe being present thereat.

A parlement.

Thom. Walsin. The funerals of king Henrie the fourth kept at Canturburie.

About the same time, at the speciall instance of the king, in a conuocation of the cleargie holden at Paules in London, it was ordeined, that saint George his date should be celebrate and kept as a double feast. The archbishop of Canturburie, meant to haue honored saint Dunstanes date with like reuerence, but it toke not effect. When the king had setled things much to his purpose, he caused the bodie of king

S. Georges day made a double feast.

Homage done to K. Henrie before his coronation.

The day of king Henries coronation a verie tempestuous day.

king Richard to be remoued with all funerall dignitie conuenient for his estate, from Langlie to Westminster, where he was honorablie interred with queene Anne his first wife, in a solemne tome erected and set vp at the charges of this king. ¶ Polychronicon saith, that after the bodie of the dead king was taken vp out of the earth, this new king (happilie tendering the magnificence of a prince, and abhorring obscure burials) caused the same to be conueied to Westminster in a rotall seat (or chaire of estate) couered all ouer with blacke veluet, & adorned with banners of diuers armes round about. All the horsses likewise (saith this author) were apparelled with blacke, and bare sundrie sutes of armes. Manie other solemnities were had at his interrement, according to the qualitie of the age wherein he liued and died.

Abr. Fl. out of Polychron.

Also in this first yeere of this kings reigne, sir John Oldcastell, which by his wife was called lord Cobham, a valiant capteine and a hardie gentleman, was accused to the archbishop of Canturburie of certeine points of heresie, who knowing him to be highlie in the kings fauour, declared to his highnesse the whole accusation. The king first hauing compassion of the noble man, required the prelats, that if he were a straied sheepe, rather by gentlenes than by rigor to reduce him to the fold. And after this, he himselfe sent for him, and right earnestlie exhorted him, and louinglie admonished him to reconcile himselfe to God and to his lawes. The lord Cobham not onelie thanked him for his most fauourable clemencie, but also declared first to him by mouth, and afterwards by writing, the foundation of his faith, and the ground of his beliefe, affirming his grace to be his supreme head and competent iudge, and none other person, offering an hundred knights and esquiers to come to his purgation, or else to fight in open lists in defense of his iust cause.

The king vnderstanding and persuaded by his councell, that by order of the lawes of his realme, such accusations touching matters of faith ought to be tried by his spirituall prelats, sent him to the Tower of London, there to abide the determination of the clergie, according to the statutes in that case prouided, after which time a solemne session was appointed in the cathedrall church of saint Paule, vpon the three and twentith day of September, and an other the fiue and twentith daie of the same moneth, in the hall of the Blacke friers at London, in which places the said lord was examined, apposed, and fullie heard, and in conclusion by the archbishop of Canturburie denounced an heretike, & remitted againe to the Tower of London, from which place, either by helpe of frends, or fauour of keepers, he priuilie escaped and came into Wales, where he remained for a season.

Sir John Oldcastell escaped out of ỹ Tower.

Titus Liuius. 1414

After this, the king keeping his Christmasse at his manor of Eltham, was aduertised, that sir Roger Acton knight, a man of great wit and possessions, John Browne esquier, John Beuerlie priest, and a great number of other were assembled in armour against the king, his brethren, the clergie and realme. These newes came to the king, on the twelfth daie in Christmasse, whereupon vnderstanding that they were in a place called Ficket field beside London, on the backe side of saint Giles, he streight got him to his palace at Westminster, in as secret wise as he might, and there calling to him certeine bands of armed men, he repaired into saint Giles fields, nere to the said place (where he vnderstood they should fullie meet about midnight) and so handled the matter, that he toke some, and slue some, euen as stood with his pleasure. The capteins of them afore mentioned, being apprehended, were brought to the kings presence, and to him declared the causes of their commotion & rising, accusing a great number of their complices.

Hall. A commotion raised by sir Roger Acton and others. Titus Liuius.

The rebels surprised.

Thom. Walsin.

The king vsed one policie, which much serued to the discomfiting of the aduersaries (as Thom. Walsingham saith) which was this: he gaue order, that all the gates of London should be streictlie kept and garded, so as none should come in or out, but such as were knowen to go to the king. Hereby came it to passe, that the chiefest succour appointed to come to the capteins of the rebels, was by that meanes cut off, where otherwise suerlie (had it not bene thus preuented and staied) there had issued forth of London to haue ioined with them, to the number (as it was thought) of fiftie thousand persons, one and other, seruants, prentises, and citizens, confederate with them that were thus assembled in Ficket field. Diuerse also that came from sundrie parts of the realme, hasting towards the place, to be there at their appointed time, chanced to light among the kings men, who being taken and demanded whither they went with such speed, answered, they came to meet with their capteine the lord Cobham.

By this excessiue number it may appeare, that Walsingham reporteth this matter according to the common fame, and not as one that searched out an exquisite truth.

But whether he came thither at all, or made shift for himselfe to get awaie, it doth not appeare; for he could not be heard of at that time (as Thomas Walsingham confesseth) although the king by proclamation promised a thousand marks to him that could bring him forth, with great liberties to the cities or townes that would discouer where he was. By this it maie appeare, how greatlie he was beloued, that there could not one be found, that for so great a reward would bring him to light. Among other that were taken was one William Murlie, who dwelt in Dunstable, a man of great wealth, and by his occupation a brewer, an earnest mainteiner of the lord Cobhams opinions, and (as the brute ran) in hope to be highlie aduanced by him if their purposed deuise had taken place, apparant by this; that he had two horsses traped with guilt harnesse led after him, and in his bosome a paire of gilt spurs (as it was deemed) prepared for himselfe to weare, loking to be made knight by the lord Cobhams hands at that present time. But when he saw how their purpose quailed, he withdrew into the citie with great feare to hide himselfe; howbeit he was perceiued, taken, and finallie executed among others.

William Murlie.

To conclude, so manie persons herevpon were apprehended, that all the prisons in and about London were full, the chiefe of them were condemned by the cleargie of heresie, and atteinted of high treason in the Guildhall of London, and adiudged for that offense to be drawen and hanged, and for heresie to be consumed with fire, gallowes and all, which iudgement was executed the same moneth, on the said sir Roger Acton, and eight and twentie others. ¶ Some saie, that the occasion of their death was onelie for the conueieng of the lord Cobham out of prison. Others write, that it was both for treason and heresie, and so it appeareth by the record. Certeine affirme, that it was for feined causes surmized by the spiritualtie, more vpon displeasure than truth, and that they were assembled to heare their preacher (the foresaid Beuerlie) in that place there, out of the waie from resort of people, sith they might not come together openlie about any such matter, without danger to be apprehended; as the manner is, and hath bene euer of the persecuted flocke, when they are prohibited publikelie the exercise of their religion. But howsoeuer the matter went with these men, apprehended they were, and diuerse of them executed (as before ye haue heard) whether for rebellion or heresie, or for both (as the forme of the indictment importeth) I need not to spend manie words, sith others haue so largelie treated thereof; and therefore I refer those that wish to be more fullie satisfied herein vnto their reports.

Sir Roger Acton & his complices condemned of treason and heresie.

Whilest

Whilest in the Lent season the king late at Killingworth, there came to him from Charles Dolphin of France certeine ambassadors, that brought with them a barrell of Paris balles, which from their maister they presented to him for a token that was taken in verie ill part, as sent in scorne, to signifie, that it was more meet for the king to passe the time with such childish exercise, than to attempt any worthie exploit. Wherfore the K. wrote to him, that yer ought long, he would tosse him some London balles that perchance should shake the walles of the best court in France. ¶ This yeare, Thom. Arundell archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, a stout prelat, and an earnest mainteiner of the Romish religion: Henrie Chichelie bishop of saint Dauid succeeded the same Arundell in the see of Canturburie, and the kings confessor Stephan Patrington a Carmelite frier was made bishop of S. Dauid. Henrie Persie then but a child, sonne to the lord Henrie Persie surnamed Hotspur, after his fathers decease, that was slaine at Shrewesburie field, was conueied into Scotland, and there left by his grandfather, where euer since he had remained: the king therefore pitied his case, and so procured for him, that he came home, and was restored to all his lands and earledome of Northumberland, which lands before had béene giuen to the lord John, the kings brother.

Eiton. A disdainefull ambassage.

Tho. Walsi.

Persie restored to the erledome of Northumberland.

A case verie strange, and for manie causes alwaies right worthie of remembrance, in this yeare 1414, the second of this kings reigne did befall, which conteining in it so manie matters for knowledge of Gods great power and iustice, of wilfull breaking his diuine lawes, of the easie slip into ruine where his mercie doth not staie vs, the busie bogging of the diuell alwaies, our weakenesse in combat with him, into what outrage and confusion he haleth where he is not withstood, with what tyrannie he tormenteth where he vanquisheth, what the will and power of a souereigne ouer a subiect may force in cases of iniquitie, where by vertue and grace he be not restrained: the zeale of a parent, the pangs of a child, but chéeflie the verie plague of Gods wrath and indignation vpon wilfull and obstinate offendors, all which at those daies though touched in Naples, yet at all times and euerie where so well seruing for example and warning, it hath bene thought verie conuenient the same in our stories also here to be noted, which was thus. At this time newes were brought into France, how king Lancelot (the aduersarie to Lewes king of Sicill) was departed, and in manner thus. It hapned that he fell in loue with a yong damosell his owne physicians daughter (a puzell verie beautifull) and he in hope to inioy hir the easilier, caused hir father for his consent to be talked withall in the matter, which he vtterlie refused to grant, and shewed forth manie reasons for him; but at last all causes & excuses reiected, sith (though constreined) he must néeds assent, feined himselfe willing and content. And forceing talke with his daughter vpon his mind in the matter, chéeflie how meet it were she vsed his counsell how best with the king to keepe hir still in grace, he gaue hir a little box of ointment, and instruction withall, that when the king should come to haue his will, she should afore with that balme annoint all hir woombe; the damosell on good obseruation did after (at opportunitie) as hir father taught hir. Héere vpon so pittifullie came it to passe, that the verie same night the king laie with hir, his bellie and hirs were by and by set as it were all on a sindging fier, with torments of such vnquenchable scorching and burning euen into the verie entrailes, that he of his kingdome, his life, his loue; and she of hir princelie promotion, thus sone both together made a sorowfull end. After the plaie of this lamentable tragedie, the physician fled for his safetie, and straight vpon the newes king Lewes gathered a great assemblie, wherewith to passe towards Naples, and sent before a good companie vnder the lord Longnie marshall of France.

W. P. Le Rosier la second partie.

In the second yeare of his reigne, king Henrie called his high court of parlement, the last daie of Aprill in the towne of Leicester, in which parlement manie profitable lawes were concluded, and manie petitions moued, were for that time deferred. Amongst which, one was, that a bill exhibited in the parlement holden at Westminster in the eleuenth yeare of king Henrie the fourth (which by reason the king was then troubled with ciuill discord, came to none effect) might now with good deliberation be pondered, and brought to some good conclusion. The effect of which supplication was, that the temporall lands deuoutlie giuen, and disordinatlie spent by religious, and other spirituall persons, should be seized into the kings hands, sith the same might suffice to mainteine, to the honor of the king, and defense of the realme, fiftéene earles, fiftéene hundred knights, six thousand and two hundred esquiers, and a hundred almesse-houses, for releefe onelie of the poore, impotent, and needie persons, and the king to haue clérelie to his coffers twentie thousand pounds, with manie other prouisions and values of religious houses, which I passe ouer.

Anno Reg. 2. 1414

A bill exhibited to the parlemẽt against the clergie.

This bill was much noted, and more feared among the religious sort, whom suerlie it touched verie nére, and therefore to find remedie against it, they determined to assaie all waies to put by and ouerthrow this bill; wherein they thought best to trie if they might moue the kings mood with some sharpe inuention, that he should not regard the importunate petitions of the commons. Wherevpon, on a daie in the parlement, Henrie Chichelie archbishop of Canturburie made a pithie oration, wherein he declared, how not onelie the duchies of Normandie and Aquitaine, with the counties of Anion and Maine, and the countrie of Gascoigne, were by vndoubted title apperteining to the king, as to the lawfull and onelie heire of the same; but also the whole realme of France, as heire to his great grandfather king Edward the third.

The archbishop of Canturburies oration in the parlement house.

Herein did he much inueie against the surmised and false fained law Salike, which the Frenchmen alledge euer against the kings of England in barre of their iust title to the crowne of France. The verie words of that supposed law are these, *In terram Salicam mulieres ne succedant*, that is to saie, Into the Salike land let not women succeed. Which the French glossers expound to be the realme of France, and that this law was made by king Pharamond; whereas yet their owne authors affirme, that the land Salike is in Germanie, betwéene the riuers of Elbe and Sala; and that when Charles the great had ouercome the Sarons, he placed there certeine Frenchmen, which hauing in disdeine the dishonest maners of the Germane women, made a law, that the females should not succeed to any inheritance within that land, which at this daie is called Meisen, so that if this be true, this law was not made for the realme of France, nor the Frenchmen possessed the land Salike, till foure hundred and one and twentie yeares after the death of Pharamond, the supposed maker of this Salike law, for this Pharamond deceased in the yeare 426, and Charles the great subdued the Sarons, and placed the Frenchmen in those parts beyond the riuer of Sala, in the yeare 805.

The Salike law.

Melina.

Moreouer, it appeareth by their owne writers, that king Pepine, which deposed Childerike, claimed the crowne of France, as heire generall, for that he was descended of Blithild daughter to king Clo-

chair the first: Hugh Capet also, who vsurped the crowne vpon Charles duke of Lorraine, the sole heire male of the line and stocke of Charles the great, to make his title seeme true, and appeare good, though in deed it was starke naught, conueied himselfe as heire to the ladie Lingard, daughter to king Charlemaine, sonne to Lewes the emperour, that was son to Charles the great. King Lewes also the tenth otherwise called saint Lewes, being verie heire to the said vsurper Hugh Capet, could neuer be satisfied in his conscience how he might iustlie keepe and possesse the crowne of France, till he was persuaded and fullie instructed, that queene Isabell his grandmother was lineallie descended of the ladie Ermengard daughter and heire to the aboue named Charles duke of Lorraine, by the which marriage, the bloud and line of Charles the great was againe vnited and restored to the crowne & scepter of France, so that more cleere than the sunne it openlie appeareth, that the title of king Pepin, the claime of Hugh Capet, the possession of Lewes, yea and the French kings to this daie, are deriued and conueied from the heire female, though they would vnder the colour of such a fained law, barre the kings and princes of this realme of England of their right and lawfull inheritance.

The archbishop further alledged out of the booke of Numbers this saieng: "When a man dieth without a "sonne, let the inheritance descend to his daughter. At length, hauing said sufficientlie for the proofe of the kings iust and lawfull title to the crowne of France, he exhorted him to aduance forth his banner to fight for his right, to conquer his inheritance, to spare neither bloud, sword, nor fire, sith his warre was iust, his cause good, and his claime true. And to the intent his louing chapleins and obedient subiects of the spiritualtie might shew themselues willing and desirous to aid his maiestie, for the recouerie of his ancient right and true inheritance, the archbishop declared that in their spirituall conuocation, they had granted to his highnesse such a summe of monie, as neuer by no spirituall persons was to any prince before those daies giuen or aduanced.

The earle of westmerland perswadeth ℔ king to the conquest of Scotland.

When the archbishop had ended his prepared tale, Rafe Neuill earle of Westmerland, and as then lord Warden of the marches against Scotland, vnderstanding that the king vpon a couragious desire to recouer his right in France, would suerlie take the wars in hand, thought good to moue the king to begin first with Scotland, and therevpon declared how easie a matter it should be to make a conquest there, and how greatlie the same should further his wished purpose for the subduing of the Frenchmen, concluding the summe of his tale with this old saieng: that Who so will France win, must with Scotland first begin. Manie matters he touched, as well to shew how necessarie the conquest of Scotland should be, as also to proue how iust a cause the king had to attempt it, trusting to perswade the king and all other to be of his opinion.

The duke of Excester his wise and pithie answer to the earle of westmerlads saieng.

But after he had made an end, the duke of Excester, vncle to the king, a man well learned and wise, who had beene sent into Italie by his father, intending that he should haue been a preest) replied against the erle of Westmerlands oration, affirming rather that he which would Scotland win, he with France must first begin. For if the king might once compasse the conquest of France, Scotland could not long resist; so that conquere France, and Scotland would soone obeie. For where should the Scots lerne policie and skill to defend themselues, if they had not their bringing vp and training in France? If the French pensions mainteined not the Scotish nobilitie, in what case should they be? Then take awaie

A true saieng.

France, and the Scots will soone be tamed; France being to Scotland the same that the sap is to the tree, which being taken awaie, the tree must needs die and wither.

To be briefe, the duke of Excester vsed such earnest and pithie persuasions, to induce the king and the whole assemblie of the parlement to credit his words, that immediatlie after he had made an end, all the companie began to crie; Warre, warre; France, France. Hereby the bill for dissoluing of religious houses was cleerelie set aside, and nothing thought on but onelie the recouering of France, according as the archbishop had moued. And vpon this point, after a few acts besides for the wealth of the realme established, the parlement was prorogued vnto Westminster. ¶ Some write, that in this parlement it was enacted, that Lollards and heretikes with their mainteiners and fauourers should be *ipso facto* adiudged guiltie of high treason: but in the statute made in the same parlement against Lollards, we find no such words: albeit by force of that statute it was ordeined, that persons so conuicted & executed, should lose their lands holden in fee simple, and all other their goods and cattels, as in cases of felonie.

Ambassadors from ℔ Frech king and from the duke of Burgognie.

During this parlement, there came to the king ambassadors, as well from the French king that was then in the hands of the Orlientiall faction, as also from the duke of Burgognie, for aid against that faction; promising more (as was said) than late well in his power to performe. The king shortlie after sent ambassadors to them both, as the bishop of Durham, and Norwich, with others. Moreouer at this parlement, Iohn the kings brother was created duke of Bedford, and his brother Humfrie duke of Gloucester. Also, Thomas Beaufort, marquesse Dorset, was created duke of Excester. Immediatlie after, the king sent ouer into France his vncle the duke of Excester, the lord Greie admerall of England, the archbishop of Dubline, and the bishop of Norwich, ambassadors vnto the French king, with fiue hundred horse, which were lodged in the temple house in Paris, keeping such triumphant cheere in their lodging, and such a solemne estate in their riding through the citie, that the Parisiens and all the Frenchmen had no small meruell at their honorable port.

Creation of dukes.

Harding.

Ambassadors sent to Frãce.

The French king receiued them verie honorablie, and banketted them right sumptuoullie, shewing to them iusts and Martiall pastimes, by the space of three daies togither, in the which iusts the king himselfe, to shew his courage and actiuitie to the Englishmen, manfullie brake speares and iustilie tourneied. When the triumph was ended, the English ambassadors, hauing a time appointed them to declare their message, admitted to the French kings presence, required of him to deliuer vnto the king of England the realme and crowne of France, with the entier duchies of Aquiteine, Normandie and Anion, with the countries of Poictiou and Maine. Manie other requests they made: and this offered withall, that if the French king would without warre and effusion of christian bloud, render to the king their maister his verie right & lawfull inheritance, that he would be content to take in mariage the ladie Katharine, daughter to the French king, and to indow hir with all the duchies and countries before rehearsed: and if he would not so do, then the king of England did exprese and signifie to him, that with the aid of God, and helpe of his people, he would recouer his right and inheritance wrongfullie withholden from him, with mortall warre, and dint of sword. ¶ This in effect doth our English poet comprise in his report of the occasion, which Henrie the fift

Abr. Fl. out of *In Angl. prel. sub Hen. 5.*

fift toke to arrere battell against the French king: putting into the mouthes of the said king of Englands ambassadors an imagined speech, the conclusion whereof he maketh to be either restitution of that which the French had taken and deteined from the English, or else fier and sword. His words are these,

raptum nobis aut redde Britannis,
Aut ferrum expectes, vltrices insuper ignes.

The Frenchmen being not a little abashed at these demands, thought not to make anie absolute answer in so weightie a cause, till they had further breathed; and therefore praied the English ambassadors to saie to the king their maister, that they now having no opportunitie to conclude in so high a matter, would shortlie send ambassadors into England, which should certifie & declare to the king their whole mind, purpose, and intent. The English ambassadors returned with this answer, making relation of euerie thing that was said or done. King Henrie after the returne of his ambassadors, determined fullie to make warre in France, conceiuing a good and perfect hope to haue fortunate successe, sith victorie for the most part followeth where right leadeth, being aduanced forward by iustice, and set forth by equitie.

And bicause manie Frenchmen were promoted to ecclesiasticall dignities, as some to benefices, and some to abbeies and priories within the realme, and sent dailie innumerable summes of monie into France, for the releefe of their naturall countrimen and kinsfolke, he therefore in fauour of the publike wealth of his realme and subiects, in a councell called at London, about Michaelmas, caused to be ordeined, that no stranger hereafter should be promoted to anie spirituall dignitie or degree within this realme, without his especiall licence, and roiall consent; and all they that should be admitted, should find sufficient suerties, not to disclose the secrets of this realme to anie forren person, nor to minister aid or succour to anie of them with monie, or by anie other meanes. This was confirmed in a conuocation called at the same time by the new archbishop of Canturburie.

Moreouer, such as were to go vnto the generall councell holden at Constance, were named and appointed to make them readie: for the king hauing knowledge from the emperor Sigismund, of the assembling of that councell, thought it not conuenient to sit still as an hearer, and no partaker in so high a cause, which touched the whole state of the christian common-wealth, as then troubled by reason of the schisme that yet continued. Wherefore he sent thither Richard earle of Warwike, the bishops of Salisburie, Bath, and Hereford, the abbat of Westminster, and the prior of Worcester, with diuerse other doctors and learned men of the spiritualtie; besides knights and esquiers. They were in number eight hundred horsses, so well appointed and furnished, as well the men as horsses, that all nations meruelled to see such an honorable companie come from a countrie so far distant.

Diuerse other things were concluded at that present: for the king had caused not onelie the lords of the spiritualtie, but also of the temporaltie to assemble here at London the same time, to treat specallie of his iournie that he purposed to make shortlie into France; and herevpon meanes was made for the gathering of monie, which was granted with so good a will both of the spiritualtie and temporaltie, that there was leuied the summe of three hundred thousand marks English: and herewith order was giuen to gather a great host of men, thorough all his dominions. And for the more increasing of his nauie, he sent into Holland, Zeland, and Frizeland, to conduct and hire ships for the transporting and conueieng ouer of his men and munitions of war, and finallie prouided for armour, victuals, monie, artillerie, cariage, boates to passe ouer riuers couered with leather, tents, and all other things requisite for so high an enterprise.

The Frenchmen hauing knowledge hereof, the Dolphin, who had the gouernance of the realme, bicause his father was fallen into his old disease of frensie, sent for the dukes of Berrie and Alanson, and all the other lords of the councell of France: by whose aduise it was determined, that they should not onelie prepare a sufficient armie to resist the king of England, when so euer he arriued to inuade France, but also to stuffe and furnish the townes on the frontiers and sea coasts with conuenient garrisons of men: and further to send to the king of England a solemne ambassage, to make to him some offers according to the demands before rehearsed. The charge of this ambassage was committed to the earle of Vandosme, to maister William Bouratier archbishop of Burges, and to maister Peter Fremell bishop of Lisieux, to the lords of Puzy and Braquemont, and to maister Gaultier Cole the kings secretarie, and diuerse others.

Anno Reg. 3. Ambassadors out of France

These ambassadors accompanied with 350 horsses, passed the sea at Calis, and landed at Douer, before whose arriuall the king was departed from Windsore to Winchester, intending to haue gone to Hampton, there to haue surueied his nauie: but hearing of the ambassadors approching, he tarried still at Winchester, where the said French lords shewed themselues verie honorablie before the king and his nobilitie. At time prefixed, before the kings presence, sitting in his throne imperiall, the archbishop of Burges made an eloquent and a long oration, dissuading warre, and praising peace; offering to the king of England a great summe of monie, with diuerse countries, being in verie deed but base and poore, as a dowrie with the ladie Catharine in marriage, so that he would dissolue his armie, and dismisse his soldiers, which he had gathered and put in a readinesse.

When his oration was ended, the king caused the ambassadors to be highlie feasted, and set them at his owne table. And after a daie assigned in the foresaid hall, the archbishop of Canturburie to their oration made a notable answer, the effect whereof was, that if the French king would not giue with his daughter in marriage the duches of Aquiteine, Anion, and all other seignories and dominions sometimes apperteining to the noble progenitors of the king of England, he would in no wise retire his armie, nor breake his iournie; but would with all diligence enter into France, and destroie the people, waste the countrie, and subuert the townes with blood, sword, and fire, and neuer ceasse till he had recouered his ancient right and lawfull patrimonie. The king auowed the archbishops saieng, and in the word of a prince promised to performe it to the vttermost.

A proud presumptuous prelat.

The archbishop of Burges much greeued, that his ambassage was no more regarded, after certeine brags blustered out with impatience, as more presuming vpon his prelasie, than respecting his dutie of consideration to whom he spake and what became him to saie, he praied safe conduct to depart. Which the king gentlie granted, and added withall to this effect:

The wise answer of the K. to the bishop.

I little esteeme your French brags, & lesse set by your power and strength; I know perfectlie my right to my region, which you vsurpe; & except you denie the apparant truth, so do your selues also: if you neither do nor will know it, yet God and the world knoweth it. The power of your master you see, but my puis-

Thom. Wall. It is not like that in this councell writers meane of parlement that was adiorned from Leicester to westminster, where it began in the octanes of saint Martin, in this second yeare 1415.

The councell of Constance.

The earle of Warwike and others sent to the generall councell.

Enguerant.

Great preparation for the French wars

"sance ye haue not yet tasted. If I haue louing subiects, I am (I thanke God) not vnstored of the same: and I saie this vnto you, that before one yeare passe, I trust to make the highest crowne of your countrie to stoope, and the proudest miter to learne his humiliatedo. In the meane time tell this to the vsurper your master, that within three moneths, I will enter into France, as into mine owne true and lawfull patrimonie, appointing to acquire the same, not with brag of words, but with deeds of men, and dint of sword, by the aid of God, in whome is my whole trust and confidence. Further matter at this present I impart not vnto you, saving that with warrant you maie depart suerlie and safelie into your countrie, where I trust soner to visit you, than you shall haue cause to bid me welcome. With this answer the ambassadors sore displeased in their minds (although they were highlie interteined and liberallie rewarded) departed into their countrie, reporting to the Dolphin how they had sped.

After the French ambassadors were departed, the king like a prouident prince, thought good to take order for the resisting of the Scots, if (according to their maner) they should attempt anie thing against his subiects in his absence. For that point appointed he the earle of Westmerland, the lord Scrope, the baron of Greistocke, sir Robert Umfreuill, & diuerse other valiant capteins to keepe the frontiers & marches of Scotland, which sir Robert Umfreuill on the daie of Marie Magdalen fought with the Scots at the towne of Gedering, having in his companie onelie three hundred archers, and seuen score spears, where he (after long conflict) slue of his enimies sixtie and odde, toke three hundred and sixtie prisoners, discomfited and put to flight one thousand and more, whome he followed in chase aboue twelue miles, but their hands full of preies and prisoners, retired homeward (not vnhurt) to the castell of Rockesborough, of the which he was capteine.

Harding. An ouerthrow to the Scots by sir Robert Umfreuill.

When the king had all prouisions readie, and ordered all things for the defense of his realme, he leauing behind him for gouernour of the realme, the quéne his mother in law, departed to Southampton, to take ship into France. And first princelie appointing to aduertise the French king of his comming, therefore dispatched Antelope his pursuant at armes with letters to him for restitution of that which he wrongfully withheld, contrarie to the lawes of God and man: the king further declaring how sorie he was that he should be thus compelled for repeating of his right and iust title of inheritance, to make warre to the destruction of christian people, but sithens he had offered peace which could not be receiued, now for fault of iustice, he was forced to take armes. Neuertheleße exhorted the French king in the bowels of Jesu Christ, to render him that which was his owne, whereby effusion of Christian blood might be auoided. These letters chéflie to this effect and purpose, were written and dated from Hampton the first of August. When the same were presented to the French king, and by his councell well perused, answer was made, that he would take aduise, and prouide therein as time and place should be conuenient, so the messenger licenced to depart at his pleasure.

The quéne mother gouernour of the realme.

When king Henrie had fullie furnished his navie with men, munition, & other prouisions, perceiuing that his capteines misliked nothing so much as delaie, determined his souldiors to go a ship-bord and awais. But see the hap, the night before the daie appointed for their departure, he was crediblie informed, that Richard earle of Cambridge brother to Edward duke of Yorke, and Henrie lord Scrope of Masham lord treasurer, with Thomas Grate a knight of Northumberland, being confederat together, had conspired his death: wherefore he caused them to be apprehended. The said lord Scrope was in such fauour with the king, that he admitted him sometime to be his bedfellow, in whose fidelitie the king reposed such trust, that when anie priuat or publike councell was in hand, this lord had much in the determination of it. For he represented so great grauitie in his countenance, such modestie in behauiour, and so vertuous zeale to all godlinesse in his talke, that whatsoeuer he said was thought for the most part necessarie to be done and followed. Also the said sir Thomas Grate (as some write) was of the kings priuie councell.

The earle of Cambridge & other lords apprehended for treason. Thom. Wals.

These prisoners vpon their examination, confessed, that for a great summe of monie which they had receiued of the French king, they intended verelie either to haue deliuered the king aliue into the hands of his enimies, or else to haue murthered him before he should arriue in the duchie of Normandie. When king Henrie had heard all things opened, which he desired to know, he caused all his nobilitie to come before his presence, before whome he caused to be brought the offendors also, and to them said. Hauing thus conspired the death and destruction of me, which am the head of the realme and gouernour of the people, it maie be (no doubt) but that you likewise haue sworne the confusion of all that are here with me, and also the desolation of your owne countrie. To what horror (O lord) for any true English hart to consider, that such an execrable iniquitie should euer so bewrap you, as for pleasing of a forren enimie to imbrue your hands in your bloud, and to ruine your owne native soile. Reuenge herein touching my person, though I séeke not; yet for the safegard of you my deere frends, & for due preseruation of all sorts, I am by office to cause example to be shewed. Get ye hence therefore ye pore miserable wretches to the receiuing of your iust reward, wherein Gods maiestie giue you grace of his mercie and repentance of your heinous offenses. And so immediatlie they were had to execution.

Hall.

King Henries words to the traitours.

This done, the king calling his lords againe afore him, said in words few and with good grace. Of his enterprises he recounted the honor and glorie, whereof they with him were to be partakers, the great confidence he had in their noble minds, which could not but remember them of the famous feats that their ancestors aforetime in France had atchiued, whereof the due report for euer recorded remained yet in register. The great mercie of God that had so gratiouslie reuealed vnto him the treason at hand, whereby the true harts of those afore him made so eminent & apparant in his eie, as they might be right sure he would neuer forget it. The doubt of danger to be nothing in respect of the certeintie of honor that they should acquire, wherein himselfe (as they saw) in person would be lord and leader through Gods grace. To whose maiestie as chéflie was knowne the equitie of his demand: euen so to his mercie did he onelie recommend the successe of his trauels. When the king had laid, all the noble men knéeled downe, & promised faithfullie to serue him, dulie to obeie him, and rather to die than to suffer him to fall into the hands of his enimies.

The earle of Cambridge and the other traitors executed.

This done, the king thought that suerlie all treason and conspiracie had beene vtterlie extinct: not suspecting the fire which was newlie kindled, and ceassed not to increase, till at length it burst out into such a flame, that catching the beames of his house and familie, his line and stocke was cleane consumed to ashes. ¶ Diuerse write that Richard earle of Cambridge did not conspire with the lord Scrope & Thomas Grate for the murthering of king Henrie to

please

please the French king withall, but onelie to the intent to exalt to the crowne his brother in law Edmund earle of March as heire to Lionell duke of Clarence: after the death of which earle of March, for diuerse secret impediments, not able to haue issue, the earle of Cambridge was sure that the crowne should come to him by his wife, and to his children, of hir begotten. And therefore (as was thought) he rather confessed himselfe for need of monie to be corrupted by the French king, than he would declare his inward mind, and open his verie intent and secret purpose, which if it were espied, he saw plainlie that the earle of March should haue tasted of the same cuppe that he had drunken, and what should haue come to his owne children he much doubted. Therefore destitute of comforts in despaire of life to saue his children, he feined that tale, desiring rather to saue his succession than himselfe, which he did in deed: for his sonne Richard duke of Yorke not privilie but openlie claimed the crowne, and Edward his sonne both claimed it, & gained it, as after it shall appeare. Which thing if king Henrie had at this time either doubted, or foreséene, had neuer béene like to haue come to passe, as Hall saith.

The effect of the earle of Cambridges indictement.

But whatsoeuer hath bæne reported of the confession of the earle of Cambridge, certeine it is, that indicted he was by the name of Richard earle of Cambridge of Connesburgh in the countie of Yorke knight, and with him Thomas Graie of Heton in the countie of Northumberland knight; for that they the twentith daie of Julie, in the third yeare of king Henrie the fifts reigne, at Southampton, and in diuerse other places within this realme, had conspired togither with a power of men to them associat, without the kings licence, to haue led awaie the lord Edmund earle of March into Wales, and then to haue procured him to take vpon him the supreme gouernment of the realme, in case that king Richard the second were dead: and herwith had purposed to set forth a proclamation there in Wales, in name of the said earle of March, as heire of the crowne against king Henrie, by the name of Henrie of Lancaster the vsurper, to the end that by such meanes they might draw the more number of the kings liege people vnto the said earle; and further to haue conueied a banner of the armes of England, and a certeine crowne of Spaine set vpon a pallet, and laid in gage to the said earle of Cambridge, by the king, togither with the said earle of March into the parties of Wales aforesaid.

Iewell.

Further, that the said earle of Cambridge, and sir Thomas Graie had appointed certeine of the kings liege people to repaire into Scotland, and to bring from thence one Thomas Trumpington; also an other resembling in shape, fauour, and countenance king Richard, and Henrie Persie, togither with a great multitude of people to fight with the king, and him to destroie in open field. Beside this, that they had meant to win certeine castels in Wales, and to kéepe them against the king: and manie other treasons they had contriued, as by the indictement was specified, to the intent they might destroie the king and his brethren, the dukes of Bedford and Glocester, and other the great lords & peers of the realme. And Henrie Scrope of Masham, of Flaxflet, in the countie of Yorke was likewise indicted, as consenting to the premisses. So that it appeareth their purpose was well inough then perceiued, although happilie not much bruted abroad, for considerations thought necessarie to haue it rather husht and kept secret.

About the selfe same time the lord Cobham with his frends, whether as one of counsell in the conspiracie with the earle of Cambridge or not, was determined to haue made some attempt against the lord of Abergauennie, who being aduertised thereof, got for his defense from Worcester, Persore, Teukesburie, and other places thereabout, to the number of fiue thousand archers, and other armed men, which came to him vnto his castell of Hanleie: whereof when the lord Cobham was aduertised, he withdrew againe to such secret places about Maluerne, as he had prouided for his suertie, to resort vnto: but a priest that belonged vnto him, was taken, and diuerse other, who disclosed to the lord Abergauennie, one of the places where the said lord Cobham with his men vsed to kéepe themselues close. Vnto that place the lord Abergauennie went, where he found in déed monie and armor piled vp betwixt two wals, handsomelie conueied and framed for the purpose; but the lord Cobham with his folkes were withdrawne into some other place, after they once heard, that the earle of Cambridge and the lord Scrope were executed.

But now to proceed with king Henries doings. After this, when the wind came about prosperous to his purpose, he caused the mariners to weie vp anchors, and hoise vp sailes, and to set forward with a thousand ships, on the vigill of our ladie daie the Assumption, and tooke land at Caur, commonlie called Kidcaur, where the riuer of Saine runneth into the sea, without resistance. At his first comming on land, he caused proclamation to be made, that no person should be so hardie on paine of death, either to take anie thing out of anie church that belonged to the same, or to hurt or do anie violence either to priests, women, or anie such as should be found without weapon or armor, and not readie to make resistance: also that no man should renew anie quarell or strife, whereby anie traie might arise to the disquieting of the armie.

Titus Liuius.

The king saileth ouer into France with his host.

Titus Liuius.

A charitable proclamation.

Princelie and wiselie.

The next daie after his landing, he marched toward the towne of Harflue, standing on the riuer of Saine betwéene two hils; he besieged it on euerie side, raising bulwarks and a bastell, in which the two earles of Kent & Huntington were placed, with Cornwall, Graie, Steward, and Porter. On that side towards the sea, the king lodged with his field, and the duke of Clarence on the further side towards Rone. There were within the towne the lords de Touteuill and Gaucourt, with diuerse other that valiantlie defended the siege, doing what damage they could to their aduersaries; and damming vp the riuer that hath his course through the towne, the water rose so high betwixt the kings campe, and the duke of Clarence campe (diuided by the same riuer) that the Englishmen were constreined to withdraw their artillerie from one side, where they had planted the same.

Harding.

The French king being aduertised, that king Henrie was arriued on that coast, sent in all hast the lord de la Breth constable of France, the seneshall of France, the lord Bouciqualt marshall of France, the seneshall of Henault, the lord Lignie with other, which fortified townes with men, victuals, and artillerie on all those frontiers towards the sea. And hearing that Harflue was besieged, they came to the castell of Caudebecke, being not farre from Harflue, to the intent they might succor their frends which were besieged, by some policie or meanes: but the Englishmen, notwithstanding all the damage that the Frenchmen could worke against them, forraied the countrie, spoiled the villages, bringing manie a rich preie to the campe before Harflue. And dailie was the towne assaulted: for the duke of Glocester, to whome the order of the siege was committed, made three mines vnder the ground, and approching to the wals with his engins and ordinance, would not suffer them within to take anie rest.

The king besieged Harflue.

For although they with their countermining somwhat disappointed the Englishmen, & came to fight with them hand to hand within the mines, so that they went no further forward with that worke; yet they were so inclosed on ech side, as well by water as land, that succour they saw could none come to them: for the king lieng with his battell on the hill side on the one partie, and the duke of Clarence beyond the riuer that passeth by the towne, and runneth into Saine on the other partie, beside other lords and capteins that were lodged with their retinues for their most aduantage: none could be suffered to go in, or come forth, without their licence; insomuch that such pouder as was sent to haue béene conueied into the towne by water, was taken by the English ships that watched the riuer.

Titus Liuius.

The capteins within the towne, perceiuing that they were not able long to resist the continuall assaults of the Englishmen, knowing that their wals were vndermined, and like to be ouerthrowne (as one of their bulwarks was alredie, where the earles of Huntington and Kent had set vp their banners) sent an officer at armes forth about midnight after the feast daie of saint Lambert, which fell that yeare vpon the tuesdaie, to beseech the king of England to appoint some certeine persons as commissioners from him, with whome they within might treat about some agréement. The duke of Clarence, to whome this messenger first declared his errand, aduertised the king of their request, who granting thereto, appointed the duke of Excester, with the lord Fitz Hugh, and sir Thomas Erpingham, to vnderstand their minds, who at the first requested a truce vntill sundaie next following the feast of saint Michaell, in which meane time if no succour came to remoue the siege, they would vndertake to deliuer the towne into the kings hands, their liues and goods saued.

Harding. Thom. Walsi.

The seuenteenth of September they within Harflue praie parlée.

The king aduertised hereof, sent them word, that except they would surrender the towne to him the morow next insuing, without anie condition, they should spend no more time in talke about the matter. But yet at length through the earnest sute of the French lords, the king was contented to grant them truce vntill nine of the clocke the next sundaie, being the two and twentith of September; with condition, that if in the meane time no rescue came, they should yeld the towne at that houre, with their bodies and goods to stand at the kings pleasure. And for assurance thereof, they deliuered into the kings hands thirtie of their best capteins and merchants within that towne as pledges. But other write, that it was couenanted, that they should deliuer but onelie twelue pledges, and that if the siege were not raised by the French kings power within six daies next following, then should they deliuer the towne into the king of England hands, and thirtie of the chéefest personages within the same, to stand for life or death at his will and pleasure: and as for the residue of the men of warre and townesmen, they should depart whether they would, without carieng forth either armour, weapon, or goods.

A fiue daies respit.

The king neuertheless was after content to grant a respit vpon certeine conditions, that the capteins within might haue time to send to the French king for succour (as before ye haue heard) least he intending greater exploits, might lose time in such small matters. When this composition was agreed vpon, the lord Bacqueuill was sent vnto the French king, to declare in what point the towne stood. To whome the Dolphin answered, that the kings power was not yet assembled, in such number as was conuenient to raise so great a siege. This answer being brought vnto the capteins within the towne, they rendered it vp to the king of England, after that the third daie was expired, which was on the daie of saint Maurice being the seuen and thirtith daie after the siege was first laid. The souldiors were ransomed, and the towne sacked, to the great gaine of the Englishmen. ¶ Some writing of this yelding vp of Harflue, do in like sort make mention of the distresse whereto the people, then expelled out of their habitations, were driuen: insomuch as parents with their children, yong maids and old folke went out of the towne gates with heauie harts (God wot) as put to their present shifts to seeke them a new abode. Besides that, king Henrie caused proclamation to be made within his owne dominions of England, that whosoeuer (either handicrafte sman, merchantman, gentleman, or plowman) would inhabit in Harflue, should haue his dwelling giuen him gratis, and his heire after him also inioy the like grace and fauour: insomuch that great multitudes flocked to the sea coasts, waiting wind and wether for their transportage into Harflue, where being arriued, wonderfull it is to tell, within how short a time the towne was peopled. This doth *Anglorum prælia* report, saieng (not without good ground, I beléeue) as followeth:

Harflue yelded and sacked.

Abr. Fl. out of *Angl. præl.* *sub Hen.* 5. and Polychron.

——tum flentes tenera cum prole parentes
Virgineúsque chorus veteres liquére penates:
Tum populus cunctus de portis Gallicus exit
Mœstus, inarmatus, vacuus, miser, æger, inópsq;
Vtque nouas sedes quærat migrare coactus:
Oppidulo belli potiuntur iure Britanni, &c.

All this done, the king ordeined capteine to the towne his vncle the duke of Excester, who established his lieutenant there, one sir John Fastolfe, with fiftéene hundred men, or (as some haue) two thousand and thirtie sir knights, whereof the baron of Carew, and sir Hugh Lutterell, were two councellors. And bicause manie of his nobles whilest this siege late before Harflue, fell sicke of the flix and other diseases, diuerse also dead, amongst whom the earle of Stafford, the bishop of Norwich, the lords Polins and Burnell were foure (beside others) the king licenced his brother the duke of Clarence, John earle marshall, and John earle of Arundell, being infected with that disease, to returne into England.

King Henrie, after the winning of Harflue, determined to haue proceeded further in the winning of other townes and fortresses: but bicause the dead time of the winter approched, it was determined by aduise of his councell, that he should in all conuenient spéed set forward, and march through the countrie towards Calis by land, least his returne as then homewards should of slanderous tongs be named a running awaie: and yet that iournie was adiudged perillous, by reason that the number of his people was much minished by the flix and other feuers, which sore vered and brought to death aboue fiftéene hundred persons of the armie: and this was the cause that his returne was the soner apointed and concluded.

Great death in the host by the flix.

But before his departing thence, he entred into the towne of Harflue, & went to the church of saint Martines, and there offered. All the men of warre which had not paid their ransoms, he sware them on the holie euangelists, to yeld themselues prisoners at Calis by the feast of saint Martine in November next. There were two strong towers standing on the hauen side at Harflue, which loking for aid, did not yeld, till ten daies after the towne was rendered. When the king had repared the walles, bulwarks and rampiers about the towne, and furnished it with vittels and artillerie, he remoued from Harflue toward Pontoise, intending to passe the riuer of Some with his armie, before the bridges were either withdrawen or broken. Such vittels and other necessaries as were to be caried with the armie, he

The kings mercifull dealing with the French prisoners.

apointed

appointed to be laid on horſſes, leauing the carts and wagons behind for leſſe incombre.

The French king hearing that the towne of Harflue was gotten, and that the king of England was marching forward into the bowels of the realme of France, ſent out proclamations, and aſſembled people on euerie ſide, committing the whole charge of his armie to his ſonne the Dolphine and duke of Aquitaine, who incontinentlie cauſed the bridges to be broken, and the paſſages to be kept. Also they cauſed all the corne and vittels to be conueied awaie, or deſtroied in all places, where it was coniectured that the Engliſhmen would paſſe. The king of England nothing diſmaied herewith, kept his iournie in ſpite of his enimies, conſtreining them within diuerſe townes and holds to furniſh him with vittels: but yet as he paſſed by the towne of Ew, the garriſon of the towne iſſued forth, and gaue the Engliſhmen a ſkirmiſh, who beat them into the towne with loſſe, namelie of a right valiant man of armes, named Lancelot Piers. There were manie Engliſhmen hurt with quarels ſhot off from the lops and wals, as they purſued the enimies vnto the gates.

Corne & vittels deſtroied where the Engliſhmen ſhould paſſe.

A ſkirmiſh with the garriſon of Ew.

Enguerant.

At length the king approched the riuer of Some, & finding all the bridges broken, he came to the paſſage of Blanchetake, where his great grandfather king Edward the third a little before had ſtriken the battell of Creſſie: but the paſſage was now ſo impeached with ſtakes in the botome of the ford, that he could not paſſe, his enimies beſides there awaie ſo ſwarming on all ſides. He therefore marched forwards to Arames, marching with his armie, and paſſing with his carriage in ſo martiall a maner, that he appeared ſo terrible to his enimies, as they durſt not offer him battell. And yet the lord Dalbreth conſtable of France, the marſhall Boncequault, the earle of Uendoſme great maſter of France, the duke of Alanſon, and the earle of Richmont, with all the puiſſance of the Dolphin laie at Abuſſe, but euer kept the paſſages, and coaſted alofe, like a hauke though eager yet not hardie on hir preie. The king of England kept on his iournie till he came to the bridge of ſaint Marence, where he found aboue thirtie thouſand Frenchmen, and there pitched his field, looking ſuerlie to be fought withall.

Blanchetake.

Wherefore to incourage his capteins the more, he dubbed certeine of his hardie and valiant gentlemen knights, as John lord Ferrers of Grobie, Reginald of Greiſtocke, Piers Tempeſt, Chriſtopher Mortſbie, Thomas Pikering, William Huddleſton, John Holbalton, Henrie Mortimer, Philip Hall, and William his brother, Jaques de Dimond, and diuerſe other: but the French making no ſemblance to fight, he departed in good order of battell by the towne of Amiens, to another towne neere to a caſtell called Bowes, and there laie two daies looking for their bidding of battell euerie houre. From thence he came neere to Corbie, where he was ſtaied that night, for that the common people and pezants mightilie there aſſembled, hauing gotten them ſome head and hartening by meanes of their number that was great, and by truſt of a ſtrength (then ioined vnto them) made of men at armes (manie to tall and well appointed for fight) all of the garriſon of Corbie: a ſtrong towne well walled and warded. Hereupon at a ſtreit (which they had preoccupied) they ſtoutlie from our armie not onelie kept the paſſage, but alſo vpon vs gaue a proud onſet: wherein ſir Hugh Stafford knight lord Bourghchier, chæfteine of a wing to the king vnder his ſtandard of Guien, and as then neereſt to the enimie, though far inferior in number, yet with readie and valiant incounter receiued them. The force and ſlaughter grew great both on the one ſide and the other, by the French in e-

Diuerſe capteins knights

W. P.

Standing in Picardie betweene Amiens & Peron all vpō the riuer of Some.

Sir Hugh Stafford lord Bourghchier.

ſpeciall at firſt right fiercelie purſued, in ſo much as with an hardie charge vpon our men, they had both beat downe the ſtandard, and alſo from vs quite woone it awaie, to their hie incouragement, and our incredible deſpite and diſmaie. Whereat one John Bromley of Bromley in Staffordſhire eſquier, a neere kinſman vnto the lord Bourghchier, was euen ſtreight ſo pearſed at hart, as he could not conteine him, but by and by ran eagerlie vpon the French; and with his ſouldiers (in whom wrath and teene had alreadie inflamed furie and deſire of reuenge) did ſo fiercelie ſet vpon them, that they were not onlie beaten backe, but alſo forced to abandon the place. At this puſh the capteine cutting through the thickeſt, ſtrake downe the champion that bare the ſtandard, and ſo gloriouſlie recouered it againe, and after during the fight (where as manie of the French loſt their liues) couragiouſlie ouer his ſouldiers auanced it himſelfe. The reſt that fled awaie our people purſued in chaſing & ſlaughter vnto Corbie verie gates. So in victorie, honor, and great ioy, with our ſmall loſſe (in compariſon) thanks vnto Gods maieſtie, the chæfteine brought his hoſt into his campe and order againe. The ſingular prowes of this worthie capteine the noble man highlie regarding, in an ample teſtimonie thereof and vpon his owne honorable conſideration, by a faire ancient deed yet extant at theſe daies did giue him reward of fortie pounds annuitie for his life. The monument ſo plainelie declaring the truth of the matter, with the maner and dignitie of the feat, as it was done, hath beene thought verie meet for the ſtorie in hand here now to place it as followeth.

John Bromley. He came of a younger brother in the linage of the right honorable the lord chancelor that now is 1585.

The kings ſtandard recouered.

1585

A copie of the ſaid deed.

Hoc præſens ſcriptum teſtatur, quòd nos Hugo de Stafford dominus le Bourghchier conceſsimus & per præſentes confirmauimus prædilecto conſanguineo noſtro Iohanni Bromley de Bromley armigero, pro ſuo magno auxilio nobis impenſo in oppugnatione contra Francos prope le Corbie; & præcipuè pro ſuo laudabili ſeruitio in recuperatione & ſupportatione vexilli domini regis de Guien ſub noſtra conductione, vnam annuitatem ſiue annualem redditum quadraginta librarum legalis monetæ annuatim percipiendum, durante tota vita naturali prædicti Iohannis de Bromley, de & in omnibus maneriis, terris, & tenementis noſtris cum pertinentibus in comitatu Stafford & Warwik, ad feſta Penthecoſtes & ſancti Martini in hyeme æquis portionibus. Et ſi contingat prædictam annuitatem ſiue annualem redditum quadraginta librarum, à retro fore in parte vel in toto, ad aliquod feſtum quo ſolui debeat, tunc bene licebit prædicto Iohāni & aſſignatis ſuis in prædictis maneriis, ac in omnibus aliis terris & tenementis cum ſuis pertinentibus præſcriptis, diſtringere & diſtrictiones effugare & retinere, quouſque de prædicta annuitate ſimul cum arreragiis, ſi quæ fuerint, plenariè ſibi fuerit ſatisfactum & perſolutum. Et vt hæc noſtra conceſsio, & ſcripti huius confirmatio (durante tota vita prædicti Iohannis de Bromley vt præfertur) rata & ſtabilis permaneat, hoc ſcriptum impreſsione ſigilli armorum meorum roborauī. Hijs teſtibus, Iohanne de Holland, Richardo le Greuyll, Richardo de Horwood, Thoma le Foreſtar, & alijs. Datum apud Madeley decimo die menſis Martij, anno regni regis Henrici quinti poſt conqueſtum quarto.

For

W.P.

For that by the armes in the scale it may the better be knowne of what stem this noble man sprong (a matter which this storie seemes iustlie to require) vnderstand yée thus were the same. In his shield, a cheuorne charged with a mullet; his crest, a swans head couped betweene two wings displaied all out of a crowne supported by two grethounds; about the shield ingrauen, *Signa Hugonis de Stafford militis.* Hereby is gathered that he was a third brother of the duke of Buckinghams house.] This feat thus well done, the king the same daie found a shallow, betweene Corbie and Peron, which neuer was espied before, at which he with his armie and carriages the night insuing, passed the water of Some without let or danger, and therewith determined to make haste towards Calis, and not to seeke for battell, except he were there to constreined, bicause that his armie by sickenesse was sore diminished, in so much that he had but onelie two thousand horssemen and thirteene thousand archers, bilmen, and of all sorts of other footmen.

King Henrie passeth the riuer of Some with his host.

The kings armie but of 15000.

The Englishmen were brought into some distresse in this iornie, by reason of their vittels in maner spent, and no hope to get more: for the enimies had destroied all the corne before they came. Rest could they none take, for their enimies with alarmes did euer so infest them: dailie it rained, and nightlie it freesed: of fuell there was great scarsitie, of flures plentie: monie inough, but wares for their releefe to bestow it on, had they none. Yet in this great necessitie, the poore people of the countrie were not spoiled, nor anie thing taken of them without paiment, nor anie outrage or offense done by the Englishmen, except one, which was, that a souldiour tooke a pix out of a church, for which he was apprehended, & the king not once remoued till the box was restored, and the offendor strangled. The people of the countries thereabout, hearing of such zeale in him, to the maintenance of iustice, ministred to his armie victuals, and other necessaries, although by open proclamation so to do they were prohibited.

The English armie sore afflicted.

Iustice in warre.

Note ỹ force of iustice.

Hall.

The French king cõsulteth how to deale with ỹ Englishmen.

Dolphin king of Sicill.

The French king hearing that king Henrie was passed the riuer of Some, was much displeased therewith, and assembling his councell to the number of fiue and thirtie, asked their aduise what was to be done. There was amongst these fiue and thirtie, his sonne the Dolphin, calling himselfe king of Sicill; the dukes of Berrie and Britaine, the earle of Pontieu the kings youngest sonne, and other high estates. At length thirtie of them agreed, that the Englishmen should not depart vnfought withall, and fiue were of a contrarie opinion, but the greater number ruled the matter: and so Montioy king at armes was sent to the king of England to defie him as the enimie of France, and to tell him that he should shortlie haue battell. King Henrie aduisedlie answered: Mine intent is to do as it pleaseth God, I will not seeke your maister at this time; but if he or his seeke me, I will meet with them God willing. If anie of your nation attempt once to stop me in my iournie now towards Calis, at their ieopardie be it; and yet wish I not anie of you so vnaduised, as to be the occasion that I die your tawnie ground with your red blood.

The French K. sendeth defiance to king Henrie.

K. Henries answer to the defiance.

When he had thus answered the herald, he gaue him a princelie reward, and licence to depart. Upon whose returne, with this answer, it was incontinentlie on the French side proclamed, that all men of warre should resort to the constable to fight with the king of England. Where vpon, all men apt for armor and desirous of honour, drew them toward the field. The Dolphin sore desired to haue beene at the battell, but he was prohibited by his father: likewise Philip earle of Charolois would gladlie haue beene there, if his father the duke of Burgognie would haue suffered him: manie of his men stale awaie, and went to the Frenchmen. The king of England hearing that the Frenchmen approched, and that there was an other riuer for him to passe with his armie by a bridge, and doubting least if the same bridge should be broken, it would be greatlie to his hinderance, appointed certeine capteins with their bands, to go thither with all speed before him, and to take possession thereof, and so to keepe it, till his comming thither.

Those that were sent, finding the Frenchmen busie to breake downe their bridge, assailed them so vigorouslie, that they discomfited them, and toke and slue them; and so the bridge was preserued till the king came, and passed the riuer by the same with his whole armie. This was on the two and twentith day of October. The duke of Yorke that led the vaunt-gard (after the armie was passed the riuer) mounted vp to the heigth of an hill with his people, and sent out scowts to discouer the countrie, the which vpon their returne aduertised him, that a great armie of Frenchmen was at hand, approching towards them. The duke declared to the king what he had heard, and the king there vpon, without all feare or trouble of mind, caused the battell which he led himselfe to staie, and incontinentlie rode forth to view his aduersaries, and that done, returned to his people, and with cheerefull countenance caused them to be put in order of battell, assigning to euerie capteine such rome and place, as he thought conuenient, and so kept them still in that order till night was come, and then determined to seeke a place to incampe & lodge his armie in for that night.

King Henrie rideth forth to take view of the French armie.

There was not one amongst them that knew any certeine place whither to go, in that vnknowne countrie: but by chance they happened vpon a beaten waie, white in sight; by the which they were brought vnto a little village, where they were refreshed with meat and drinke somewhat more plentiouslie than they had beene diuerse daies before. Order was taken by commandement from the king after the armie was first set in battell arraie, that no noise or clamor should be made in the host; so that in marching forth to this village, euerie man kept himselfe quiet: but at their comming into the village, fiers were made to giue light on euerie side, as there likewise were in the French host, which was incamped not past two hundred and fiftie pases distant from the English. The cheefe leaders of the French host were these: the constable of France, the marshall, the admerall, the lord Rambures maister of the crosbowes, and other of the French nobilitie, which came and pitched downe their standards and banners in the countie of saint Paule, within the territorie of Agincourt, hauing in their armie (as some write) to the number of three score thousand horssemen, besides footmen, wagoners and other.

The number of the French mẽ three score thousand. Enguerant.

They were lodged euen in the waie by the which the Englishmen must needs passe towards Calis, and all that night after their comming thither, made great cheare and were verie merie, pleasant, and full of game. The Englishmen also for their parts were of good comfort, and nothing abashed of the matter, and yet they were both hungrie, wearie, sore trauelled, and vexed with manie cold diseases. Howbeit reconciling themselues with God by hosell and shrift, requiring assistance at his hands that is the onelie giuer of victorie, they determined rather to die, than to yéeld, or flee. The daie following was the fiue and twentith of October in the yeare 1415, being then fridaie, and the feast of Crispine and Crispinian, a day faire and fortunate to the English, but most sorrowfull and vnluckie to the French.

The battell of Agincourt, the 25 of October 1415.

In

The order of the French armie.

In the morning, the French capteins made three battels, in the vaward were eight thousand healmes of knights and esquiers, foure thousand archers, and fifteene hundred crosbowes which were guided by the lord de la Breth, constable of France, hauing with him the dukes of Orleance and Burbon, the earles of Ewe and Richmond, the marshall Bouciquault, and the maister of the crosbowes, the lord Dampier admerall of France, and other capteins. The earle of Vandosme with sixteene hundred men of armes were ordered for a wing to that battell. And the other wing was guided by sir Guichard Dolphine, sir Clugnet of Brabant, and sir Lewes Bourdon, with eight hundred men of armes, of elect chosen persons. And to breake the shot of the Englishmen, were appointed sir Guilliam de Saueuses, with Hector and Philip his brethren, Ferrie de Maillie, and Alen de Gaspanes, with other eight hundred of armes.

As manie in the battell.

In the middle ward, were assigned as manie persons, or more, as were in the formost battell, and the charge thereof was committed to the dukes of Bar and Alanson, the earles of Neuers, Vaudemont, Blamont, Salinges, Grant Prée, & of Rullie. And in the rereward were all the other men of armes guided by the earles of Marle, Dampmartine, Fauconberg, and the lord of Lourreie capteine of Arde, who had with him the men of the frontiers of Bolonois. Thus the Frenchmen being ordered vnder their standards and banners, made a great shew: for

The French esteemed six to ons English.

suerlie they were esteemed in number six times as manie or more, than was the whole companie of the Englishmen, with wagoners, pages and all. They rested themselues, waiting for the bloudie blast of the terrible trumpet, till the houre betweene nine and ten of the clocke of the same daie, during which season, the constable made vnto the capteins and other men of warre a pithie oration, exhorting and incouraging them to doo valiantlie, with manie comfortable words and sensible reasons. King Henrie also like a leader, and not as one led; like a souereigne, and not an inferior, perceiuing a plot of ground verie strong & meet for his purpose, which on the backe halfe was fenced with the village, wherein he had lodged the night before, and on both sides defended with hedges and bushes, thought good there to imbattell his host, and so ordered his men in the same place, as he saw occasion, and as stood for his most aduantage.

The order of the English armie and archers.

First, he sent priuilie two hundred archers into a lowe medow, which was neere to the vauntgard of his enimies: but separated with a great ditch, commanding them there to keepe themselues close till they had a token to them giuen, to let driue at their aduersaries: beside this, he appointed a vaward, of the which he made capteine Edward duke of Yorke, who of an haultie courage had desired that office, and with him were the lords Beaumont, Willoughbie, and Fanhope, and this battell was all of archers.

The vaward all of archers.

The middle ward was gouerned by the king himselfe, with his brother the duke of Glocester, and the earles of Marshall, Orenford, and Suffolke, in the which were all the strong billmen. The duke of Excester vncle to the king led the rereward, which was mixed both with billmen and archers. The horsemen like wings went on euerie side of the battell.

Archers the greatest force of the English armie.

Thus the king hauing ordered his battels, feared not the puissance of his enimies, but yet to prouide that they should not with the multitude of horsemen breake the order of his archers, in whome the force of his armie consisted [¶ For in those daies the yeomen had their limbs at libertie, sith their hosen were then fastened with one point, and their iackes long and easie to shot in; so that they might draw bowes of great strength, and shot arrowes of a yard long; beside the head] he caused stakes bound with iron sharpe at both ends, of the length of fiue or six foot to be pitched before the archers, and of eth side the footmen like an hedge, to the intent that if the barded horsses ran rashlie vpon them, they might shortlie be gored and destroied. Certeine persons also were appointed to remoue the stakes, as by the moueing of the archers occasion and time should require, so that the footmen were hedged about with stakes, and the horssemen stood like a bulwarke betweene them and their enimies, without the stakes. This de- Hall.
uise of fortifieng an armie, was at this time first inuented: but since that time they haue deuised caltraps, harrowes, and other new engins against the force of horssemen; so that if the enimies run hastilie vpon the same, either are their horsses wounded with the stakes, or their feet hurt with the other engins, so as thereby the beasts are gored, or else made vnable to mainteine their course.

A politike inuention.

King Henrie, by reason of his small number of people to fill vp his battels, placed his vauntgard so on the right hand of the maine battell, which himselfe led, that the distance betwixt them might scarse be perceiued, and so in like case was the rereward ioined on the left hand, that the one might the more readilie succour an other in time of need. When he had thus ordered his battels, he left a small companie to keepe his campe and cariage, which remained still in the village, and then calling his capteins and soldiers about him, he made to them a right graue oration, moouing them to plaie the men, whereby to obteine a glorious victorie, as there was hope certeine they should, the rather if they would but remember the iust cause for which they fought, and whome they should incounter, such faint-harted people as their ancestors had so often ouercome. To conclude, manie words of courage he vttered, to stirre them to doo manfullie, assuring them that England should neuer be charged with his ransome, nor anie Frenchman triumph ouer him as a captiue; for either by famous death or glorious victorie would he (by Gods grace) win honour and fame.

K. Henries oration to his men.

It is said, that as he heard one of the host vtter his wish to another thus: I would to God there were
" with vs now so manie good soldiers as are at this
" houre within England! the king answered: I would
" not wish a man more here than I haue, we are in-
" deed in comparison to the enimies but a few, but if
" God of his clemencie doo fauour vs, and our iust
" cause (as I trust he will) we shall speed well inough.
" But let no man ascribe victorie to our owne strength
" and might, but onelie to Gods assistance, to whome I
" haue no doubt we shall worthilie haue cause to giue
" thanks therefore. And if so be that for our offenses
" sakes we shall be deliuered into the hands of our eni-
" mies, the lesse number we be, the lesse damage shall
" the realme of England sustaine: but if we should
" fight in trust of multitude of men, and so get the vic-
" torie (our minds being prone to pride) we should ther-
" vpon peraduenture ascribe the victorie not so much
" to the gift of God, as to our owne puissance, and
" thereby prouoke his high indignation and displea-
" sure against vs: and if the enimie get the vpper hand,
" then should our realme and countrie suffer more da-
" mage and stand in further danger. But be you of good
" comfort, and shew your selues valiant, God and our
" iust quarrell shall defend vs, and deliuer these our
" proud aduersaries with all the multitude of them
" which you see (or at the least the most of them) into our
" hands. Whilest the king was yet thus in speech, either armie so maligned the other, being as then in open sight, that euerie man cried; Forward, forward. The dukes of Clarence, Glocester, and Yorke, were of the

A wish.

A noble courage of a valiant prince.

Abr. Fl. out of Fabian pag. 392. and Polychron.

the same opinion, yet the king staied a while, least anie ieopardie were not foreseene, or anie hazard not preuented. The Frenchmen in the meane while, as though they had beene sure of victorie, made great triumph, for the capteins had determined before, how to diuide the spoile, and the soldiers the night before had plaid the Englishmen at dice. The noble men had deuised a chariot, wherein they might triumphantlie conueie the king captiue to the citie of Paris, crieng to their soldiers; Haste you to the spoile, glorie and honor; little weening (God wot) how soone their brags should be blowne awaie.

Hall. Here we may not forget how the French thus in their follie, sent an herald to king Henrie, to inquire what ransome he would offer. Wherevnto he answered, that within two or three houres he hoped it would so happen, that the Frenchmen should be glad to common rather with the Englishmen for their ransoms, than the English to take thought for their deliuerance, promising for his owne part, that his dead carcasse should rather be a prize to the Frenchmen, than that his liuing bodie should paie anie ransome. When the messenger was come backe to the French host, the men of warre put on their helmets, and caused their trumpets to blow to the battell. They thought themselues so sure of victorie, that diuerse of the noble men made such hast towards the battell, that they left manie of their seruants and men of warre behind them, and some of them would not once staie for their standards: as amongst other the duke of Brabant, when his standard was not come, caused a baner to be taken from a trumpet and fastened to a speare, the which he commanded to be borne before him in steed of his standard.

But when both these armies comming within danger either of other, set in full order of battell on both sides, they stood still at the first, beholding either others demeanor, being not distant in sunder past three bow shots. And when they had on both parts thus staied a good while without doing anie thing, (except that certeine of the French horsemen aduancing forwards, betwixt both the hosts, were by the English archers constreined to returne backe) aduise was taken amongst the Englishmen, what was best for them to do. Thereupon all things considered, it was determined, that sith the Frenchmen would not come forward, the king with his armie imbattelled (as yee haue heard) should march towards them, and so leauing their trusse and baggage in the village where they lodged the night before, onelie with their weapons, armour, and stakes prepared for the purpose, as yee haue heard.

These made somewhat forward, before whome there went an old knight sir Thomas Erpingham (a man of great experience in the warre) with a warder in his hand; and when he cast vp his warder, all the armie shouted, but that was a signe to the archers in the medow, which shot wholie altogither at the vauward of the Frenchmen, who when they perceiued the archers in the medow, and saw they could not come at them for a ditch that was betwixt them, with all hast set vpon the fore ward of king Henrie, but yet they could ioine, the archers in the forefront, and the archers on that side which stood in the medow, so wounded the footmen, galled the horsses, and combred the men of armes, that the footmen durst not go forward, the horsemen ran togither vpō plumps without order, some ouerthrew such as were nert them, and the horsses ouerthrew their masters, and so at the first ioining, the Frenchmen were foulie discomforted, and the Englishmen highlie incouraged.

The English gaue the onset.

The two armies ioine battell.

When the French vauward was thus brought to confusion, the English archers cast awaie their bowes, & toke into their hands, axes, malls, swords, bils, and other hand-weapons, and with the same slue the Frenchmen, vntill they came to the middle ward. Then approched the king, and so incouraged his people, that shortlie the second battell of the Frenchmen was ouerthrowne, and dispersed, not without great slaughter of men: howbeit, diuerse were releeued by their varlets, and conueied out of the field. The Englishmen were so busied in fighting, and taking of the prisoners at hand, that they followed not in chase of their enimies, nor would once breake out of their arraie of battell. Yet sundrie of the Frenchmen stronglie withstood the fierceneſſe of the English, when they came to handie strokes, so that the fight sometime was doubtfull and perillous. Yet as part of the French horsemen set their course to haue entred vpon the kings battell, with the stakes ouerthrowne, they were either taken or slaine. Thus this battell continued three long houres.

The vauward of the French discomfited.

Their battell beaten.

The king that daie shewed himselfe a valiant knight, albeit almost felled by the duke of Alanson; yet with plaine strength he slue two of the dukes companie, and felled the duke himselfe; whome when he would haue yelded, the kings gard (contrarie to his mind) slue out of hand. In conclusion, the king minding to make an end of that daies iournie, caused his horsemen to fetch a compasse about, and to ioine with him against the rereward of the Frenchmen, in the which was the greatest number of people. When the Frenchmen perceiued his intent, they were suddenlie amazed and ran awaie like sheepe, without order or arraie. Which when the king perceiued, he incouraged his men, and followed so quicklie vpon the enimies, that they ran hither and thither, casting awaie their armour: manie on their knees desired to haue their liues saued.

A valiant king.

The French rereward discomfited.

In the meane season, while the battell thus continued, and that the Englishmen had taken a great number of prisoners, certeine Frenchmen on horsse backe, whereof were capteins Robinet of Borneuill, Rifflart of Clamas, Iſambert of Agincourt, and other men of armes, to the number of six hundred horsemen, which were the first that fled, hearing that the English tents & pauilions were a good waie distant from the armie, without anie sufficient gard to defend the same, either vpon a couetous meaning to gaine by the spoile, or vpon a desire to be reuenged, entred vpon the kings campe, and there spoiled the hails, robbed the tents, brake vp chests, and caried awaie caskets, and slue such seruants as they found to make anie resistance. For which treason and hastiardie in thus leauing their campe at the verie point of fight, for winning of spoile where none to defend it, verie manie were after committed to prison, and had lost their liues, if the Dolphin had longer liued.

The kings campe robbed.

But when the outcrie of the lackies and boies, which ran awaie for feare of the Frenchmen thus spoiling the campe, came to the kings eares, he doubting least his enimies should gather togither againe, and begin a new field; and mistrusting further that the prisoners would be an aid to his enimies, or the verie enimies to their takers in deed if they were suffered to liue, contrarie to his accustomed gentlenes, commanded by sound of trumpet, that euerie man (vpon paine of death) should incontinentlie slaie his prisoner. When this dolorous decree, and pitifull proclamation was pronounced, pitie it was to see how some Frenchmen were suddenlie stricken with daggers, some were brained with pollaxes, some slaine with malls, other had their throats cut, and some their bellies panched, so that in effect, hauing respect to the great number, few prisoners were saued.

All the prisoners slaine.

When this lamentable slaughter was ended, the

Englishmen

Englishmen disposed themselues in order of battell, readie to abide a new field, and also to inuade, and newlie set on their enimies, with great force they assailed the earles of Marle and Fauconbridge, and the lords of Louraie, and of Thine, with six hundred men of armes, who had all that daie kept togither, but now slaine and beaten downe out of hand. ¶ Some write, that the king perceiuing his enimies in one part to assemble togither, as though they meant to giue a new battell for preseruation of the prisoners, sent to them an herald, commanding them either to depart out of his sight, or else to come forward at once, and giue battell: promising herewith, that if they did offer to fight againe, not onelie those prisoners which his people alreadie had taken; but also so manie of them as in this new conflict, which they thus attempted should fall into his hands, should die the death without redemption.

A fresh onset.

A right wise and valiant challenge of the king.

The Frenchmen fearing the sentence of so terrible a decree, without further delaie parted out of the field. And so about foure of the clocke in the after noone, the king when he saw no aperance of enimies, caused the retreit to be blowen; and gathering his armie togither, gaue thanks to almightie God for so happie a victorie, causing his prelats and chapleins to sing this psalme: *In exitu Israel de Aegypto*, and commanded euerie man to kneele downe on the ground at this verse: *Non nobis Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam.* Which done, he caused *Te Deum*, with certeine anthems to be song, giuing laud and praise to God, without boasting of his owne force or anie humane power. That night he and his people tooke rest, and refreshed themselues with such victuals as they found in the French campe, but lodged in the same village where he laie the night before.

Thanks giuen to God for the victorie.

A worthie example of a godlie prince.

Titus Liuius.

In the morning, Montiole king at armes and foure other French heralds came to the K. to know the number of prisoners, and to desire buriall for the dead. Before he made them answer (to vnderstand what they would saie) he demanded of them whie they made to him that request, considering that he knew not whether the victorie was his or theirs: When Montiole by true and iust confession had cléered that doubt to the high praise of the king, he desired of Montiole to vnderstand the name of the castell nére adioining: when they had told him that it was called Agincourt, he said, Then shall this conflict be called the battell of Agincourt. He feasted the French officers of armes that daie, and granted them their request, which busilie sought through the field for such as were slaine. But the Englishmen suffered them not to go alone, for they searched with them, & found manie hurt, but not in ieopardie of their liues, whom they tooke prisoners, and brought them to their tents. When the king of England had well refreshed himselfe, and his souldiers, that had taken the spoile of such as were slaine, he with his prisoners in good order returned to his towne of Calis.

The battell of Agincourt.

When tidings of this great victorie, was blowne into England, solemne processions and other praisings to almightie God with boune-fires and joifull triumphes, were ordeined in euerie towne, citie, and burrow, and the maior & citizens of London went the morow after the daie of saint Simon and Jude from the church of saint Paule to the church of saint Peter at Westminster in deuout maner, rendring to God hartie thanks for such fortunate lucke sent to the king and his armie. The same sundaie that the king remoued from the campe at Agincourt towards Calis, diuerse Frenchmen came to the field to viewe againe the dead bodies; and the pezants of the countrie spoiled the carcasses of all such apparell and other things as the Englishmen had left: who tooke nothing but gold and siluer, iewels, rich apparell and costlie armour. But the plowmen and pezants left nothing behind, neither shirt nor clout: so that the bodies laie starke naked vntill wednesdaie. On the which daie diuerse of the noble men were conueied into their countries, and the remnant were by Philip earle Charolois (sore lamenting the chance, and moued with pitie) at his costs & charges buried in a square plot of ground of fiftéene hundred yards; in the which he caused to be made three pits, wherein were buried by account fiue thousand and eight hundred persons, beside them that were caried awaie by their frends and seruants, and others, which being wounded died in hospitals and other places.

The same day that the new maior went to Westminster to receiue his oth, the aduertisement of this noble victorie came to the citie in the morning betimes per men were vp from their beds. Register of maiors.

Three graues that held fiue thousand and eight hundred corpses.

After this their dolorous tournie & pitifull slaughter, diuerse clearks of Paris made manie a lamentable verse, complaining that the king reigned by will, and that councellors were partiall, affirming that the noble men fled against nature, and that the commons were destroied by their prodigalitie, declaring also that the cleargie were dumbe, and durst not saie the truth, and that the humble commons durst obeie, & yet euer suffered punishment, for which cause by diuine persecution the lesse number vanquished the greater: wherefore they concluded, that all things went out of order, and yet was there no man that studied to bring the vnrulie to frame. It was no maruell though this battell was lamentable to the French nation, for in it were taken and slaine the flower of all the nobilitie of France.

There were taken prisoners, Charles duke of Orleance nephue to the French king, John duke of Burbon, the lord Boucigualt one of the marshals of France (he after died in England) with a number of other lords, knights, and esquiers, at the least fiftéene hundred, besides the common people. There were slaine in all of the French part to the number of ten thousand men, whereof were princes and noble men bearing baners one hundred twentie and six; to these, of knights, esquiers, and gentlemen, so manie as made vp the number of eight thousand and foure hundred (of the which fiue hundred were dubbed knights the night before the battell) so as of the meaner sort, not past sixteene hundred. Amongst those of the nobilitie that were slaine, these were the chéefest, Charles lord de la Breth high constable of France, Jaques of Chatilon lord of Dampier admerall of France, the lord Rambures maister of the crossebowes, sir Guischard Dolphin great master of France, John duke of Alanson, Anthonie duke of Brabant brother to the duke of Burgognie, Edward duke of Bar, the earle of Neuers an other brother to the duke of Burgognie, with the erles of Marle, Vaudemont, Beaumont, Grandpré, Roussie, Fauconberge, Fois and Lestrake, beside a great number of lords and barons of name.

Noble men prisoners.

The number slaine on the French part. Englishmen slaine.

Of Englishmen, there died at this battell, Edward duke Yorke, the earle of Suffolke, sir Richard Kikelie, and Danie Gamme esquier, and of all other not aboue fiue and twentie persons, as some doo report; but other writers of greater credit affirme, that there were slaine aboue fiue or six hundred persons. Titus Liuius saith, that there were slaine of Englishmen, beside the duke of Yorke, and the earle of Suffolke, an hundred persons at the first incounter. The duke of Glocester the kings brother was sore wounded about the hips, and borne downe to the ground, so that he fell backwards, with his féet towards his enimies, whom the king bestrid, and like a brother valiantlie rescued from his enimies, & so sauing his life, caused him to be conueied out of the fight, into a place of more safetie. ¶ The whole order of this conflict which cost manie a mans life, and procured great bloudshed before it was ended, is liuelie described in *Anglorum prælijs*; where also, besides the manner of disposing

Englishmen slaine.

Rich. Grafton, Titus Liuius.

Abr. Fl. out of *Anglorum prelijs sub Henr. 5.*

spoiling the armies, with the exploits on both sides, the number also of the slaine, not much differing (though somewhat) from the account here named, is there touched, which remembrance verie fit for this place, it were an errour (I thinke) to omit; and therefore here inserted (with the shortest) as followeth.

——equitatus ordine primo,
Magnanimi satrapæ, post hos cecidere secundo
Nauarræ comes, & tuus archiepiscopus (ô Sans)
Præterea comites octo periere cruentis
Vulneribus, trita appellant quos voce barones
Plus centum, clari generis plus mille cadebant
Sexcenti, notiq; decem plus millia vulgi
Ex Francorum, ter centum perdidit Anglus:
Et penes Henricum belli victoria mansit.

Hall. After that the king of England had refreshed himselfe, and his people at Calis, and that such prisoners as he had left at Harflue (as ye haue heard) were come to Calis vnto him, the first daie of Nouember, he with all his prisoners tooke shipping, and the same daie landed at Douer, hauing with him the dead bodies of the duke of Yorke, and the earle of Suffolke, and caused the duke to be buried at his colledge of Fodringhey, and the earle at new Elme. In this passage, the seas were so rough and troublous, that two ships belonging to sir John Cornewall, lord Fanhope, were driuen into Zeland; howbeit, nothing was lost, nor any person perisht. ¶ The maior of London, and the aldermen, apparelled in orient grained scarlet, and foure hundred commoners clad in beautifull murrie, well mounted, and trimlie horsed, with rich collars, & great chaines, met the king on Blackheath, reioising at his returne: and the clergie of London, with rich crosses, sumptuous copes, and massie censers, receiued him at saint Thomas of Waterings with solemne procession.

Titus Liuius. The king like a graue and sober personage, and as one remembring from whom all victories are sent, seemed little to regard such vaine pompe and shewes as were in triumphant sort deuised for his welcomming home from so prosperous a iournie, in so much that he would not suffer his helmet to be caried with him, whereby might haue appeared to the people the blowes and dints that were to be seene in the same; neither would he suffer any ditties to be made and song by minstrels of his glorious victorie, for that he would wholie haue the praise and thanks altogither giuen to God. The news of this bloudie battell being reported to the French king as then soiourning at Rone, filled the court full of sorrow. But to remedie such danger as was like to insue, it was decreed by councell, to ordeine new officers in places of them that were slaine: and first, he elected his chiefe officer for the wars, called the constable, the earle of Arminacke, a wise and politike capteine, and an ancient enimie to the Englishmen. Sir John de Corsie was made maister of the crossebowes. Shortlie after, either for melancholie that he had for the losse at Agincourt, or by some sudden disease Lewes Dolphin of Viennois, heire apparant to the French king, departed this life without issue, which happened well for Robinet of Bourneuill, and his fellowes, as ye haue heard before, for his death was their life, & his life would haue beene their death.

After the French king had created new officers, in hope to relieue the state of his realme and countrie, sore shaken by the late great ouerthrow, it chanced, that Thomas duke of Exceter capteine of Harflue, accompanied with three thousand Englishmen, made a great rode into Normandie, almost to the citie of Rone, in which iournie he got great abundance both of riches and prisoners: but in his returne, the earle of Arminacke newlie made constable of France, intending in his first enterprise to win the spurs, hauing with him aboue fiue thousand horsemen, incountred with the duke. The fight was handled on both parts verie hotlie, but bicause the Englishmen were not able to resist the force of the Frenchmen, the duke was constreined to retire with losse at the least of three hundred of his footmen. A sore conflict.

Howbeit being withdrawen into an orchard, which was stronglie fensed and hedged about with thornes, the Frenchmen were not able to enter vpon the Englishmen; but yet they tooke from them all their horsses and spoile, & assaulted them till it was night, and then retired backe to the towne, not far distant from the place where they fought, called Vallemont: this was vpon the 14 day of March. In the morning vpon the breake of the daie, the Englishmen issued forth of the orchard, where they had kept themselues all the night, & drew towards Harflue, whereof the Frenchmen being aduertised, followed them, & ouertooke them vpon the sands neere to Chiefe de Caux, & there set on them: but in the end, the Frenchmen were discomfited, and a great number of them slaine by the Englishmen, which afterwards returned without more adoo vnto Harflue. The French writers blame the constable for this losse, bicause he kept on the high ground with a number of men of war, and would not come downe to aid his fellowes.

Anno Reg. 4. In this fourth yeare of king Henries reigne, the emperour Sigismund, cosine germane to king Henrie, came into England, to the intent that he might make an attonement betweene king Henrie and the French king: with whom he had beene before, bringing with him the archbishop of Remes, as ambassadour for the French king. At Calis he was honorablie receiued by the earle of Warwike lord deputie there, and diuerse other lords sent thither of purpose to attend him. Moreouer, the king sent thither thirtie great ships to bring him and his traine ouer. At Douer the duke of Gloucester, and diuerse other lords were readie to receiue him, who at his approching to land, entered the water with their swords in their hands drawen; and by the mouth of the said duke declared to him, that if he intended to enter the land as the kings freend, and as a mediator to intreat for peace, he should be suffered to arriue: but if he would enter as an emperour into a land claimed to be vnder his empire, then were they readie to resist him. This was thought necessarie to be done for sauing of the kings prerogatiue, who hath full preheminence within his owne realme, as an absolute emperour.

The emperor Sigismund commeth into England. Titus Liuius. The strange manner of receiuing the emperour at Douer.

When the emperour hereupon answered that he was come as the kings freend, and as a mediator for peace, and not with any imperiall authoritie, he was of the duke and other his associats receiued with all such honor as might be deuised. The king with all his nobilitie receiued him on Blackheath, the seuenth day of Maie, and brought him through London to Westminster with great triumph. Shortlie after there came also into England Albert duke of Holland, who was likewise freendlie interteined. Both these princes, the emperour and the duke of Holland were conueied to Windsore to saint Georges feast, and elected companions of the noble order of the garter, and had the collar and habit of the same to them deliuered, and sat in their stals all the solemnitie of the feast. Shortlie after that the feast was finished, the duke of Holland returned into his countrie; but the emperour tarried still, and assaied all maner of meanes to persuade the king to a peace with the Frenchmen.

Albert duke of Holland cōmeth into England.

But their euill hap, as they that were appointed by Gods prouidence to suffer more damage at the Englishmens hands, would not permit his persuasions to take place: for whereas peace was euen almost entring in at the gates, the king was suddenlie stir-

red

The great modestie of the king.

The death of the Dolphin of France.

Part of those that spoiled the English campe.

1416

red to displeasure vpon a new occasion, for he being aduertised of the losse of his men at the late conflict in the territorie of Rone (as ye haue heard) refused to heare this word peace once named. The emperour like a wise prince passed ouer that time till another season, that some fauourable aspect of the planets should seeme to further his purpose. And when he thought the same was come, he broched againe the vessell of concord and amitie, which he put in so faire a cup, and presented it with such effectuous words, that suerlie the king had tasted it, if word had not been brought about the same time, that Harflue was besieged of the French both by water and land, as it was in deed: for the constable of France incouraged by his late conflict (though the same was not much to his praise) assembled an armie, and vpon a sudden laid siege to the towne. At the same instant Iohn vicount of Narbon the vice-admerall of France, brought the whole nauie to the riuage and shore adioining to the towne, in purpose to haue entered by the waterside; but the duke of Excester defeated his intent, and defended the towne verie manfullie.

The emperor an earnest mediator for peace.

Harflue besieged by the French.

King Henrie aduertised hereof, meant at the first to haue gone with his nauie in person to the succors of his men; but the emperor dissuaded him from that purpose, aduising him rather to send some one of his captains. The king following his louing and reasonable aduertisement, appointed his brother the duke of Bedford accompanied with the erles of March, Marshall, Orford, Huntington, Warwike, Arundell, Salisburie, Deuonshire, and diuerse barons, with two hundred saile to passe into Normandie, for rescue of the towne of Harflue; which thing great diligence shiped at Rie, and after some hinderance by contrarie winds, at length came to the mouth of the riuer of Seine on the daie of the Assumption of our ladie. When the vicount of Narbon perceiued the English nauie to approch, he couragiouslie set forward, and gat the possession of the mouth of the hauen. The duke of Bedford seeing his enimies thus fiercelie to come forward, set before certeine strong ships, which at the first incounter vanquished and tooke two French ships, the captains whereof were to rash and forward.

Titus Liuius.

A great ouerthrow by sea giuen to the French by the duke of Bedford.

The duke followed with all his puissance, and set on his enimies. The fight was long, but not so long as perillous, nor so perillous as terrible (for battels on the sea are desperate) till at length the victorie fell to the Englishmen, so that almost all the whole nauie of France, in the which were manie ships, hulkes, carikes, and other small vessels, to the number of fiue was sunke & taken. Amongst other vessels that were taken three great carikes of Genoa, a citie in Italie, were sent into England. In the same conflict were slaine of the Frenchmen no small number, as appeared by the dead bodies, which were seene euerie daie swimming about the English ships. After this, the duke of Bedford sailed vp to Harflue, & refreshed the towne both with vittels and monie; notwithstanding certeine other French gallies did what they could to haue letted that enterprise. When the erle of Armiacke heard that the puissant name of France was vanquished, he raised his siege & returned to Paris.

The French nauie of fiue hundred vessels vanquished. Titus Liuius.

Titus Liuius. Harflue relieued by the Englishmen.

After this discomfiture and losse, the puissance of the Frenchmen began to decaie, for now the princes and nobles of the realme fell into diuision and discord among themselues, studieng how to reuenge their old priuat iniuries, & refused to take paine for succour of the publike weale and safegard of their countrie: wherevpon their power began to wax slender, their state brought into imminent danger of perpetuall bondage; which thing no doubt had fallen vpon them if king Henrie had longer liued. For as vpon one inconuenience suffered, manie do follow, so was it in France at that time: for the king was not of sound memorie, the warre that was toward both doubtfull and perillous: the princes vntrustie and at discord: with a hundred things more (which might bring a realme to ruine) out of frame and order in France in those daies. After that the duke of Bedford was returned backe againe into England with great triumph and glorie, he was not so much thanked of the king his brother, as praised of the emperour Sigismund, being to him a stranger, which said openlie, that happie are those subiects which haue such a king, but more happie is the king that hath such subiects.

Ciuill discord amongst the nobles of France.

Charles the French king not of sound memorie.

When the emperor perceiued that it was in vaine to moue further for peace, he left off that treatie, and entered himselfe into a league with king Henrie, the contents of which league consisted chiefelie in these articles, that both the said emperour and king, their heires, and successors, should be frends ech to other, as alies and confederats against all manner of persons, of what estate or degree so euer they were (the church of Rome, and the pope for that time being onlie excepted) and that neither they, nor their heires, nor successors should be present in councell or other place, where either of them, or his heires or successors might sustein damage, in lands, goods, honors, states, or persons: and that if anie of them should vnderstand of losse or hinderance to be like to fall or happen to the others, they should impeach the same, or if that laie not in their powers, they should aduertise the others thereof with all conuenient spéd: and that either of them, and their heires and successors should aduance the others honor and commoditie without fraud or deceipt. Moreouer, that neither of them, nor their heires and successors should permit their subiects to leaue warres against the others; and that it should be lawfull and free for ech of their subiects, to passe into the others countrie, and there to remaine and make merchandize, either by sea or land, paieng the customes, gabels, and duties due and accustomed, according to the lawes and ordinances of the places and countries where they chanced to traffike.

Titus Liuius. The emperor entereth into league with king Henrie.

The cõtents of the league.

Furthermore, that neither of the said princes, nor their heires nor successors should receiue any rebell, banished man, or traitor of the others wittinglie; but should cause euerie such person to auoid out of their countries, realmes, dominions, and iurisdictions. Againe, that neither of the said princes, their heires, nor successors should begin any wars against any other person, other than such as they had warres with at that present, without consent of the other his confederate, except in defense of themselues, their countries and subiects, in case of inuasion made vpon them. Also, that it should be lawfull for the king of England, to prosecute his warres against the Frenchmen for recouerie of his right, as should séeme to him expedient; and likewise to the emperor, for recouerie of any part of his right in Fance, so that neither of them did preiudice the others right in that behalfe. Lastlie, that either of them should assist other, in recouerie & conquest of their rights, lands, and dominions, occupied, with-holden, and kept from them, by him that called himselfe king of France, and other the princes and barons of France. This aliance, with other conditions, agréements, and articles, was concluded & established on the nintéenth daie of October, in the yeare of our Lord 2416. This donne, the emperor returned homewards, to passe into Germanie; and the king partlie to shew him honor, and partlie bicause of his owne affaires, associated him to his towne of Calis.

Titus Liuius.

During the time of their abode there, the duke of Burgognie offered to come to Calis, to speake with the emperor and the king, bicause he had knowledge

of the league that was concluded betwixt them: the king sent his brother the duke of Gloucester, and the earle of March to the water of Graueling, to be hostages for the duke of Burgognie: and also the earle of Warwike, with a noble companie to conduct him to his presence. At Graueling ford the dukes met, and after salutations done, the duke of Burgognie was conueied to Calis, where of the emperor and the king he was highlie welcomed and feasted. Here is to be noted, that in June last, the king of England had sent the earle of Warwike, and other, vnto the duke of Burgognie, as then remaining at Lisle, where by the diligent trauell of those English ambassadors, a truce was concluded betwixt the king of England and the duke of Burgognie, touching onlie the counties of Flanders and Arthois, to indure from the feast of saint John Baptist in that present yeare 1416, vnto the feast of saint Michaell, in the yeare next insuing. Which truce at the dukes being now at Calis (when no further agreement could be concluded) was prolonged vnto the feast of saint Michaell, that should be in the yeare 1419. The duke of Gloucester was receiued at Graueling, by the earle Charolois, and by him honorablie conueied to saint Omers, and there lodged that night.

Continuation de la chronicles de Flanders.

A truce betweene the K. and the duke of Burgognie.

The next day, the earle Charolois came with diuerse noble men, to visit the duke of Gloucester in his lodging, and when he entered into the chamber, the dukes backe was towards him, talking with some one of his seruants, and did not see nor welcome the earle at his first entrie; but after he said to him shortlie without any great reuerence, or comming towards him; You be welcome faire cousine, and so passed forth his tale with his seruants. The earle Charolois for all his youth, was not well content therewith, but yet suffered for that time. When the duke of Burgognie had done all his businesse at Calis, after the ninth daie he returned to Graueling, where the duke of Gloucester and he met againe, and louinglie departed, the one to Calis, and the other to saint Omers; for the which voiage the duke of Burgognie was suspected to be enimie to the crowne of France. After the dukes departing from Calis, the emperor was highlie feasted and rewarded, and at his pleasure sailed into Holland, & so rode towards Beame. The king likewise tooke ship, and returned into England on saint Lukes euen.

About the same time, the king sent new ambassadors vnto the generall councell, which still continued at Constance, whither the emperour Sigismund also returned, chiefelie for chasing awaie of that pestilent smoke of schisme then blasted vp betweene John the three and twentith, Gregorie the twelfth, and Benet the thirteenth (as they intituled themselues) the three peruerse prelats, that all at once with such eager malice stroue togither for the sacred see of papasie Gods vicarage (that was) who to be highest here in earth. The infectious smother of this venemous vapor by the spirit of these holie men thus raised vp thorough faction and parts taking, had béene readie to choke all christendome, had not by the wisedome and authoritie of the princes there, the same the sooner béene vented away. Here by the consent also of all nations it was ordeined in this councell, that this realme should haue the name of the English nation, and be called and reputed for one of the fiue principall nations of the councell, which to grant before that time, through enuie, other nations had vtterlie refused.

Titus Liuius. W.P.

The prerogatiue of the English nation in the generall councell.

Thom. Walsi.

The nineteenth of October, the parlement that had béene broken vp, by reason of the emperours coming, began againe at Westminster, and there the king made to them a short and pithie oration, declaring the iniuries latelie done and committed by the French nation, shewing also the iust and lawfull occasion of his warres: signifieng furthermore the great discord and ciuill dissention which reigned amongst the nobilitie of France, rehearsing manie things, for the which it were necessarie to follow the warres now in hand against them, and that without delaie. He therefore desired them to prouide for monie and treasure, that nothing should be wanting when need required: his request herein was granted, for euerie man was willing and glad to further that voiage, so that the cleargie granted two dismes, and the laitie a whole fifteenth. In this parlement also John duke of Bedford was made gouernour or regent of the realme, to hold and enioie the office so long as the king was occupied in the French warres. Moreouer, in this parlement, the king gaue to the duke of Excester a thousand pounds by yeare, to be paid out of his owne cofers; besides fortie pounds yearelie, which he was to receiue of the towne of Excester, of the kings reuenues there, and had the same grant confirmed by authoritie of the parlement, insomuth that some write, that in this parlement he was made duke of Excester, and not before.

The king of Thom. Walsi.

The duke of Bedford regent of England.

Tho. Walsi.

The king kept his Christmasse at Killingworth, and the morrow after Christmasse daie were certeine writings cast abroad, in great mens houses, and almost in euerie inne within the townes of S. Albons, Northampton, and Reading, conteining sharpe reproofes against all estates of the church, and it could not be knowne from whence those writings came, nor who was the author of them. The king verie earnestlie procured all things to be made readie for the warre, meaning to passe the next summer ouer into France, to recouer his right by force, which by no other meane he saw how to obteine. ¶ In this meane while had the Frenchmen hired a great number of Genowaies and Italians, with certeine carickes and gallies well appointed, the which being ioined with the French fléet, laie at the mouth of the riuer of Seine, and vp within the same riuer, both to stop all succour by sea that should come to them within Harflue, and also to wast abroad, and do what damage they could vnto the English, as occasion serued.

Libels against the cleargie.

1417

Anno Reg. 5.

Tit. Liuius.

The king therefore yer he passed ouer himselfe, sent the erle of Huntington to search and scowre the seas. This lustie earle, called John Holland (sonne to the earle of Huntington, otherwise called duke of Excester, beheaded at Circester, in the time of king Henrie the fourth, and cosine to the king) with a great nauie of ships searched the sea, from the one coast to the other, and in conclusion incountred with nine of those great carickes of Genes (the which the lord Jaques the bastard of Burbon had reteined to serue the French king) and set on them sharplie. The conflict was great, and the fight long (continuing the more part of a summers daie) but in conclusion, the Frenchmen and Italians were ouercome and fled. Three of the greatest carickes with their patrons, and monsieur Jaques de Burbon their admerall were taken, with as much monie as should haue paid the soldiers of the whole fléet for halfe a yeare, and three other carickes were bowged.

A great exploit by sea done by the earle of Huntington.

Tit. Liuius.

Tit. Liuius.

The earle returning backe with this good lucke, found the king at Hampton, who receiued him with thankes, as he had well deserued. Shortlie after, vpon the three and twentith of Julie, the king tooke his ship at Portesmouth, accompanied with the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester; the earls of Huntington, Marshall, Warwike, Deuonshire, Salisburie, Suffolke, and Summerset; the lords Rosse, Willoughbie, Fitz Hugh, Clinton, Scrope, Matreuers, Burchier, Ferreis of Grobie, and Ferreis of Chartleie, Fanhope, Graie of Codnore, sir Gilbert Umfreuile sir Gilbert Talbot, and diuerse other; and so hauing wind

The kings oration.

wind and weather to his desire, the first daie of August he landed in Normandie, neere to a castell called Touque, where he consulted with his capteins, what waie was best for him to take concerning his high enterprise.

The number of the armie 16400. of his owne purueiance.

His armie conteined the number of sixteene thousand and foure hundred soldiers and men of warre of his owne purueiance, beside others. The duke of Clarence had in his retinue a hundred lances, and three hundred archers: and beside him, there were three earles, which had two hundred and fortie lances, and seauentéene hundred and twentie archers. The duke of Gloucester foure hundred and seauentie lances, and fouretéene hundred and ten archers. The earles of March, Marshall, Warwike, and Salisburie, each of them one hundred lances, and three hundred archers a peece. The earle of Huntington fortie lances, and six score archers. The earle of Suffolke thirtie lances, and foure score and ten archers. Beside these, there were thirtéene lords, as Aburgauennie, Matreuers, Fitz Hugh, Clifford, Graie, Willoughbie, Talbot, Courtnie, Butcher, Ros, Louell, Ferrers of Chartleie, and Harington, the which had in their retinue the number of fiue hundred and six lances, and fifteene hundred and foure score archers. Also, there were in this armie three score and seauentéene knights, which had vnder them nine hundred and fortie fiue lances, and two thousand eight hundred and fiftie two archers; so that in all, there were fiue and twentie thousand, fiue hundred, and eight and twentie fighting men: of which number euerie fourth man was a lance. Beside the soldiers and men of warre, there were a thousand masons, carpenters, and other labourers.

Tit. Liuius.

The Normans flie to the walled townes.

The Normans hearing of the kings arriuall, were suddenlie striken with such feare, that they fled out of their houses, leauing the townes and villages, and with their wiues and children, bag and baggage, got them into the walled townes, preparing there to defend themselues, & with all spéed sent to the French king, requiring him to prouide for the defense and preseruation of his louing subiects. Héere vpon, the men of war were appointed to resort into the strong townes, to lie within the same in garrisons, to resist the power of the Englishmen, so that all the walled townes and castels in Normandie were furnished with men, munition, and vittels. The king of England, when he had resolued with his counsell for his proceeding in his enterprises, laid siege vnto the castell of Touque. The duke of Glocester that led the fore ward, had the charge of that siege, the which by force of assaults, and other warlike meanes, brought to that point, that they within yelded the place into his hands, the ninth daie of August. The earle of Salisburie, who led the battell, toke the castell of Amberuilliers, the which was giuen to him by the king, and so this earle was the first that had anie territorie giuen him of the king in this new conquest. The king made at the winning of Touque eight and twentie knights, and left sir Robert Kirkelie capteine there.

Touque castell besieged by ỹ Englishmen & taken.

Amberuilliers castell taken.

After this, on deliberate aduise taken how to proceed; the K. set forward toward the towne of Caen in most warlike order, wasting the countrie on euerie side as he passed. Which towne standeth in a plaine fertile countrie, no stronger walled, than deepe ditched, and as then well vittelled and replenished with people: for the citizens fearing the kings comming, had there prouided all things necessarie and defensible. But his maiestie doubting least the Frenchmen, vpon their vnderstanding of his approch to the towne, would haue burned the suburbs and buildings without the walles, sent the duke of Clarence with a thousand men before him, to preuent that mischéefe. The duke comming thither, found the suburbs alreadie set on fire, but vsed such diligence to quench the same, that the most part was saued. He also wan the abbeie church of saint Stephan, which the Frenchmen were in hand to haue ouerthrowne, by vndermining the pillers; but the duke obteining the place, filled vp the mines, and so preserued the church. He also wan a cell of nunnes, verie stronglie fenced, after the manner of warre.

Then came the king before the towne, who caused forthwith to be cast a deepe trench, with an high mount, to keepe them within from issuing forth, and that doone, began fiercelie to assault the towne: but they within stood manfullie to their defense, so that there was sore and cruell fight betwixt them, and their enimies. But when king Henrie perceiued that he lost more than he wan by his dailie assaults, he left off anie more to assault it, and determined to ouerthrow the wals, with vndermining. Wherefore with all diligence, the pioners cast trenches, made mines, & brought timber; so that within a few daies, the wals stood onelie vpon posts, readie to fall, when fire should be put to them. The king meaning now to giue a generall assault, caused all the capteins to assemble before him in councell, vnto whome he declared his purpose, commanding them not before the next daie to vtter it; till by sound of trumpet they should haue warning to set forward towards the wals, least his determination being disclosed to the enimies, might cause them to prouide the better for their owne defense. He also prescribed vnto them, what order he would haue them to keepe, in giuing the assault, and that was this; that euerie capteine deuiding his band into three seuerall portions, they might be readie one to succéed in an others place, as those which fought should happilie be driuen backe and repelled.

Caen besieged.

Tit. Liuius.

The order of the assault.

In the morning next following, being the fourth of September, somewhat before the breake of the daie, he caused his people to approch the wals, and to shew countenance, as though they would giue a generall assault; and whilest they were busied in assailing and defending on both sides, the Englishmen pearsed and brake through the wals by diuerse holes and ouertures made by the pioners, vnder the foundation: yet the king vpon diuerse respects, offered them within pardon of life, if they would yéeld themselues and the towne to his mercie; but they refusing that to do, the assault was newlie begun, and after fore fight continued for the space of an houre, the Englishmen preuailed, and slue so manie as they found with weapon in hand, readie to resist them.

The duke of Clarence was the first that entred with his people, and hauing got the one part of the towne, assailed them that kept the bridge, & by force beating them backe, passed the same, and so came to the wals on the other side of the towne, where the fight was sharpe and fierce betwixt the assailants and defendants; but the duke with his people setting on the Frenchmen behind, as they stood at defense on the wals, easilie vanquished them, so that the Englishmen entred at their pleasure. Thus when the king was possessed of the towne, he incontinentlie commanded all armours & weapons of the vanquished, to be brought into one place, which was immediatlie doone.

Titus Liuius.

Caen taken by the Englishmen.

When the miserable people came before the kings presence, and kneeling on their knées, held vp their hands, and cried; Mercie, mercie: to whome the king gaue certeine comfortable words, & bad them stand vp. All the night following, he caused his armie to keepe themselues in order of battell within the towne, and on the next morning called all the magistrats & gouernors of the towne to the senat house,

where some for their wilfull stubbornesse were adiudged to die, other were sore fined and ransomed. Then he calling togither his souldiers and men of warre, not onelie gaue them great praises and high commendations for their manlie doings, but also distributed to euerie man, according to his desert, the spoile and gaine gotten in the towne, chéeflie bicause at the assault they had shewed good proofe of their manhood and valiant courages.

Diuision of spoile.

After that the towne was thus wonne, the lord Montaintie, capteine of the castell, would not yéeld, but made semblance, as though he meant to defend the place, to the vtterance: but after that he was tharplie called vpon by king Henrie, either to yéeld it, or else that he should be assured to haue all mercie and fauour sequestred from him, he toke better aduise, and thereupon being in despaire of releéfe, made this composition, that if he were not rescued of the French power by a certeine daie, he should render the fortresse into the kings hands, with condition, that he and his souldiers should be suffered to depart with all their goods, the habiliments of warre onelie excepted. Hereupon twelue hostages were deliuered to the king, and when the daie came, being the twentith of September, they within rendred the castell into the kings hands; and thus, both the towne and castell of Caen became English.

The capteine of the castell held out.

Titus Liuius. Caen castell yéelded.

Whilest the king was thus occupied about his warres in Normandie, the Scots in great number, entring England, wasted the countrie with fire and sword wheresoeuer they came. The English lords that were left in trust with the kéeping of those parties of the realme, raised the whole power of the countries, so that there came togither the number of an hundred thousand men vpon Walo moze, where the generall assemblie was made, and as it chanced, the duke of Exceter, vncle to the king, who had latelie before mustered a certeine number of men to conueie them ouer to the king as a new supplie to his armie there, was the same time in the north parts on pilgrimage at Bridlington; and hearing of this inuasion made by the Scots, toke vpon him to be generall of the armie prepared against them, and to giue them battell. Also, the archbishop of Yorke, although he was not able to sit on horsebacke by reason of his great age, caused himselfe to be caried forth in a charet in that iournie, the better to incourage other. But the Scots hearing that the Englishmen approched toward them with such a puissance, withdrew backe into their countrie, and durst not abide the bickering; either because they mistrusted an infortunat euent on their side, by reason of the English prowesse; or else for that they had learned by others ouerthrowes to auoid the like, wherein standeth a profitable point of wisedome, as the poet verie sententiouslie saith,

Titus Liuius. The Scots inuade the English borders.

Titus Liuius. A great armie to resist the Scots.

Thom.Walsin.

The Scots recoile home.

Plautus. *Feliciter sapit qui in alieno periculo sapit.*

The same time, the lord Cobham, sir John Oldcastell, whilest he shifted from place to place to escape the hands of them, who he knew would be glad to laie hold on him, had conueied himselfe in secret wise into an husbandmans house, not farre from S. Albons, within the precinct of a lordship belonging to the abbat of that towne. The abbats seruants getting knowledge hereof, came thither by night, but they missed their purpose, for he was gone; but they caught diuerse of his men, whome they caried streict to prison. The lord Cobham herewith was sore dismaied, for that some of them that were taken were such as he trusted most, being of counsell in all his deuises. In the same place, were found books written in English, and some of those books in times past had beene trimlie gilt, limned, and beautified with images, the heads whereof had beene scraped off, and in the Letanie they had blotted forth the name of one ladie, and of other saints, till they came to the verse *Parce nobis Domine*. Diuerse writings were found there also, in derogation of such honour as then was thought due to our ladie. The abbat of saint Albons sent the booke so disfigured with scrapings & blottings out, with other such writings as there were found, vnto the king; who sent the booke againe to the archbishop, to shew the same in his sermons at Paules crosse in London, to the end that the citizens and other people of the realme might vnderstand the purposes of those that then were called Lollards, to bring them further in discredit with the people.

Sir John Oldcastell. The seruants of the abbat of S. Albons go about to catch the lord Cobham.

In this meane time that the king of England was occupied about Caen, the Frenchmen had neither anie sufficient power to resist him, nor were able to assemble an host togither in their necessitie, by reason of the dissention among themselues: for their king was so simple, that he was spoiled both of treasure and kingdome, so that euerie man spent and wasted he cared not what. Charles the Dolphin being of the age of sixteéne or seauenteéne yeares, bewailed the ruine and decaie of his countrie, he onlie studied the releéfe of the common-wealth, and deuised how to resist his enimies; but hauing neither men nor monie, was greatlie troubled and disquieted in mind. In conclusion, by the aduise and counsell of the earle of Armanacke the constable of France, he found a meane to get all the treasure & riches which his mother queene Isabell had gotten and hoorded in diuerse secret places: and for the common defense and profit of his countrie he wiselie bestowed it in waging souldiers, and preparing of things necessarie for the warre.

Commendation of the Dolphin of France.

The queéne forgetting the great perill that the realme then stood in, remembring onelie the displeasure to hir by this act done, vpon a womanish malice, set hir husband Iohn duke of Burgognie in the highest authoritie about the king, giuing him the regiment and direction of the king and his realme, with all preheminence & souereignetie. The duke of Burgognie hauing the sword in his hand, in reuenge of old iniuries, began to make warre on the Dolphin, determining, that when he had tamed this yong vnbrideled gentleman, then would he go about to withstand, and beat backe the common enimies of the realme. The like reason moued the Dolphin, for he minded first to represse the authours of ciuill discord, before he would set vpon forreine enimies, and therefore prepared to subdue and destroie the duke of Burgognie, as the chéefe head of that mischéefe, whereby the realme was vnquieted, decaied, and in manner brought to vtter ruine. Thus was France afflicted, and in euerie part troubled with warre and diuision, and no man to prouide remedie, nor once put forth his finger for helpe or succour.

The yong Dolphin fisted his old mother of hir treasure, what mischéefe rose vpon it.

The duke of Burgognie chéefe power in France.

King Henrie in the meane time following victorie and his good successe, sent the duke of Clarence to the sea coast, where (with great difficultie) he got the towne of Baieux, whereof the lord Matreuers was appointed capteine. The duke of Glocester also finding small resistance, toke the citie of Liseaux, of which citie sir John Kirkleie was ordeined capteine. King Henrie himselfe taried still at Caen, fortifieng the towne and castell, and put out fiftéene hundred women and impotent persons, replenishing the towne with English people. Where while the king soiourned, he kept a solemne feast, and made manie knights; beside that, he shewed there an example of great pitie and clemencie: for in searching the castell, he found innumerable substance of plate and monie belonging to the citizens, whereof he would not suffer one penie to be touched, but restored the same to the owners, deliuering to euerie man that which was his owne.

Baieux take.

Liseaux taken.

Caen peopled with English inhabitants.

A worthie & rare example of equitie in king Henrie.

When

When the fame of his mercifull dealing herein, of his bountie to captiues, and of his fauourable vſing of thoſe that ſubmitted themſelues to his grace, was ſpred abroad, all the capteins of the townes adioining, came willinglie to his preſence, offering to him themſelues, their townes, and their goods, wherevpon he made proclamation, that all men, which had, or would become his ſubiects, and ſweare to him allegiance, ſhould inioy their goods, and liberties, in as large or more ample maner, than they did before: which gentle interteining of the ſtubborne Normans, was the verie cauſe, why they were not onlie content, but alſo glad to remoue and turne from the French part, and become ſubiects to the crowne of England.

The Normans willinglie ſworne Engliſh.

When the king had ſet Caen in good order, he left there for capteins, the one of the towne, the other of the caſtell, ſir Gilbert Umfreuill earle of Kime or Angus, & ſir Gilbert Talbot, and made bailiffe there ſir John Popham, and ſo departed from Caen the firſt of October, and comming to the caſtell of Courſie, within three daies had it rendred to him. From whence, the fourth of October, he came vnto Argenton; they within that towne and caſtell offered, that if no reſcue came by a daie limited, they would deliuer both the towne and caſtell into the kings hands, ſo that ſuch as would abide and become the kings faithfull ſubiects ſhould be receiued, the other to depart with their goods and liues ſaued whither they would: the king accepted their offer. When the daie limited came, and no ſuccours appeared, they yelded according to the couenants, and the king performed all that on his behalfe was promiſed. The lord Graie of Codnor was appointed capteine there. After this, reſorted dailie to the king, of the Normans, people of all ſorts and degrees, to ſweare to him fealtie and homage. The citie of Sees which was well inhabited, and wherein were two abbeies of great ſtrength, one of them yelded to the king, and ſo likewiſe did diuerſe other townes in thoſe parties, without ſtroke ſtriken.

The caſtell of Courſie rendred.

Argenton builded.

The voluntarie ſubiection of the French.

Sees yelded.

The towne of Alanſon abode a ſiege for the ſpace of eight daies, they within defending it right valiantlie at the firſt; but in the end, conſidering with themſelues, what ſmall hope there was for anie ſuccours to come to remoue the ſiege, they grew to a compoſition, that if within a certeine daie they were not releeued, they ſhould yeeld both the towne and caſtell into the kings hands, which was done: for no ſuccours could be heard of. The king appointed capteine of this towne, the duke of Glocester, and his lieutenant ſir Ralfe Lentall. The duke of Britaine vnder ſafe conduct came to the king, as he was thus buſie in the conqueſt of Normandie, and after ſundrie points treated of betwixt them, a truce was taken, to indure from the ſeuenth daie of Nouember, vnto the laſt of September, in the yeare next following, betwixt them, their ſouldiers, men of warre, and ſubiects. The like truce was granted vnto the queene of Jeruſalem and Sicill, & to hir ſonne Lewes, for the duchie of Anion, and the countie of Maine, the duke of Britaine being their deputie for concluding of the ſame truce.

Alanſon beſieged and yelded vp.

Titus Liuius.

A truce taken betweene king Henrie and the duke of Britaine.

About the ſame time alſo, at the ſute of Charles the Dolphin, a treatie was in hand at Tonque, for a finall peace, but it came to none effect. From Alanſon the king ſet forward towards the towne and caſtell of Faleis, meaning to beſiege the ſame, where the Frenchmen appointed to the keeping of it, had fortified the towne by all meanes poſſible, and prepared themſelues to defend it to the vttermoſt. The earle of Saliſburie was firſt ſent thither before with certeine bands of ſouldiers to incloſe the enimies within the towne, & to view the ſtrength therof. After him came the king with his whole armie, about the firſt of December, and then was the towne beſieged on ech ſide. The king lodged before the gate that leadeth to Caen, the duke of Clarence before the caſtell that ſtandeth on a rocke, and the duke of Glocester laie on the kings right hand, and other lords & noble men were aſſigned to their places as was thought expedient. And to be ſure from taking damage by anie ſudden inuaſion of the enimies, there were great trenches and rampiers caſt and made about their ſeuerall campes, for defenſe of the ſame.

Faleis beſieged.

The Frenchmen notwithſtanding this ſiege, valiantlie defended their wals, and ſometimes made iſſues forth, but ſmall to their gaine: and ſtill the Engliſhmen with their guns and great ordinance made batterie to the wals and bulworks. The winter ſeaſon was verie cold, with ſharpe froſts, & hard weather; but the Engliſhmen made ſuch ſhift for prouiſion of all things neceſſarie to ſerue their turns, that they were ſufficientlie prouided, both againſt hunger and cold: ſo that in the end, the Frenchmen perceiuing they could not long indure againſt them, offered to talke, and agreed to giue ouer the towne, if no reſcue came by a certeine daie appointed. About the ſame ſeaſon was ſir John Oldcaſtell, lord Cobham taken, in the countrie of Powes land, in the borders of Wales, within a lordſhip belonging to the lord Powes, not without danger and hurts of ſome that were at the taking of him: for they could not take him, till he was wounded himſelfe.

Thom. Walſ. Sir John Oldcaſtell taken.

At the ſame time, the ſtates of the realme were aſſembled at London, for the leuieng of monie, to furniſh the kings great charges, which he was at about the maintenance of his wars in France: it was therefore determined, that the ſaid ſir John Oldcaſtell ſhould be brought, and put to his triall, per the aſſemblie brake vp. The lord Powes therefore was ſent to fetch him, who brought him to London in a litter, wounded as he was: herewith, being firſt laid faſt in the Tower, ſhortlie after he was brought before the duke of Bedford, regent of the realme, and the other eſtates, where in the end he was condemned; and finallie was drawen from the Tower vnto ſaint Giles field, and there hanged in a chaine by the middle, and after conſumed with fire, the gallowes and all.

Sir John Oldcaſtell executed.

When the daie was come, on the which it was couenanted that the towne of Faleis ſhould be deliuered, to wit, the ſecond of Januarie, becauſe no ſuccours appeared, the towne was yelded to the king: but the caſtell held out ſtill, into the which the capteine and gouernour both of the towne and caſtell had withdrawne themſelues, with all the ſouldiers; and being ſtreictlie beſieged, the capteine defended himſelfe and the place right ſtoutlie, although he was ſore laid to, vntill at length, perceiuing his people wearied with continuall aſſaults, and ſuch approches as were made to and within the verie wals, he was driuen to compound with the king, that if he were not ſuccoured by the firſt of Februarie, then ſhould he yeeld himſelfe priſoner, and deliuer the caſtell; ſo that the ſouldiers ſhould haue licence to depart, with their liues onelie ſaued. When the daie came, the couenants were performed, and the caſtell rendered to the kings hands, for no aid came to the reſcue of them within. The capteine named Oliuer de Mannie was kept as priſoner, till the caſtell was repared at his coſts and charges, becauſe the ſame, through his obſtinat wilfulneſſe, was ſore beaten and defaced, with vnderminings and batterie. Capteine there, by the king, was appointed ſir Henrie Fitz Hugh.

1418
Faleis rendered vp to king Henrie.

After this, king Henrie returned to Caen, and by reaſon of a proclamation which he had cauſed to be made for the people of Normandie, that had withdrawne

Hiſtoir des ducs de Normandie.

drawne themselues forth of the baliwicks of Caen and Faleis, he granted awaie to his owne people the lands of those that came not in vpon that proclamation, and in speciall, he gaue to the duke of Clarence, during his life, the vicounties of Auge, Orbec, and Ponteau de Mer, with all the lands of those that were withdrawne forth of the same vicounties. This gift was made the sixtenth of Februarie, in this fift yeare of this kings reigne. All the Lent season, the king laie at Baieur with part of his armie, but the residue were sent abroad, for the atchiuing of certeine enterprises, because they should not lie idle.

Tho. Walsin. Titus Liuius.

¶ In this yeare 1418, and in the first yeare of the reigne of this victorious king, Henrie the fift, on Easter daie in the after none (a time which required deuotion) at a sermon in saint Dunstans in the east of London, a great fraie happened in the said church, where through manie people were sore wounded, and one Thomas Petwarden fishmonger that dwelt at Spirots kete was slaine outright; as they (vpon a good intent) did what they could (to their owne perill as vnfortunatlie it befell) to appease the turmoile, and to procure the keeping of the kings peace. Herevpon the church was suspended, and the beginners of the broile, namelie the lord Strange and sir John Trussell knight (betweene whome such coles of vnkindnesse were kindled (at the instigation of their wiues, gentlewomen of euill disposition and at cursed hatred one with another) that their husbands ment at their meeting in the said church to haue slaine one another) were committed to the counter in the Poultrie. Two wise gentlemen (I wisse) and well aduised (no doubt) who without regard of day, place, people, preacher, or perill that might insue; were so forward to become the instruments of their mischieuous wiues malice; the fulfilling wherof they would haue forborne, if with discretion they had pondered the verdict of the poet concerning the said sex:

Abr. Fl. out of Fabian pag. 397. and Iohn Stow pag. 598.

Slaughter and bloudshed in S. Dunstans church on Easter day.

women full of mischeefe.

Fœmina lætalis, fœmina plena malis.

The archbishop of Canturburie, when he had intelligence giuen of this outragious prophanation of the church, caused the offendors to be excommunicat, as well at Paules, as in all other parish churches of London. Shortlie after, to wit on the one and twentith of Aprill, the said archbishop sat at saint Magnus, vpon inquisition for the authors of the said disorder, and found the fault to consist speciallie in the lord Strange and his wife. So that vpon the first daie of Maie next following in Paules church, before the said archbishop, the maior of London, and others, the said offendors submitted themselues to doo penance, and sware to doo it in such sort as to them it was inioined: namelie, as followeth. That immediatlie all their seruants should (in their shirts) go before the parson of saint Dunstans, from Paules to the said saint Dunstans church; and the lord Strange bareheaded, with his ladie barefoted; Reignold Kenwood archdeacon of London following them. Also it was appointed them, that at the consecrating or hallowing of the said church (which they had prophaned) the ladie should fill all the vessels with * water, and offer likewise to the altar an ornament of ten pounds; and the lord hir husband a pix of siluer of fiue pounds. Which doone by waie of a satisfactorie exptation, it is likelie they were absolued: but the lord Strange had first made the wife of the said Petwarden slaine in the fraie, large amends: as Fabian saith, though in what sort he maketh no mention.]

Record. Cant.

The principall offendors punishment.

*Not teares of hir cõplaint (I trust) for sorrow of hir sinne.

Whilest the king of England wan thus in Normandie, his naute lost nothing on the sea, but so scowred the streames, that neither Frenchmen nor Britons durst once appeare; howbeit, on a daie there arose such a storme and hideous tempest, that if the earles of March and Huntington had not taken the hauen of Southhampton, the whole naute had perished; yet the safegard was strange, for in the same hauen, two balingers, and two great carickes, laden with merchandize were drowned, and the broken mast of another caricke was blowen ouer the wall of the towne. When the furie of this outragious wind and weather was allwaged, and the sea waxed calme, the earles of March and Huntington passed ouer with all their companie, and landing in Normandie, they marched through the countrie, destroieng the French villages, and taking preies on each hand, till they came to the king where he then was.

A sore tepest.

A violent tempest of wind.

In the sixt yeare of king Henries reigne, he sent the earle of Warwike, and the lord Talbot, to besiege the strong castell of Dampfront. The duke of Clarence was also sent to besiege and subdue other townes, vnto whome, at one time and other, we find, that these townes vnderwritten were yelded, wherein he put capteins as followeth. In Courton John Aubin, in Barney William Houghton, in Chambis James Neuill, in Becheloum the earle Marshall, in Harecourt Richard Woduill esquier, in Fangernon John S. Albon, in Creuener sir John Kirbie to whom it was giuen, in Anuilliers Robert Hornebie, in Bagles sir John Arthur, in Fresnie le vicont sir Robert Brent.

Anno Reg. 6.

Townes in Normandie yelded to K. Henrie.

The duke of Glocester the same time, accompanied with the earle of March, the lord Greie of Codner, and other, was sent to subdue the townes in the Ile of Constantine, vnto whome these townes hereafter mentioned were yelded, where he appointed capteins as followeth. At Carentine the lord Botreur, at Saint Lo Reginald West, at Valoignes Thomas Burgh, at Pont Done Daue Howell, at the Haie de Pais sir John Aston, at saint Sauueur le vicont sir John Robsert, at Pontorson sir Robert Gargraue, at Hamberie the earle of Suffolke lord of that place by gift, at Briqueuill the said earle also by gift, at Auranches sir Philip Hall baliffe of Alanson, at Mire the lord Patreuers, at S. James de Beumeron the same lord.

After that the duke had subdued to the kings dominion, the most part of all the townes in that Ile of Constantine, Chierburgh excepted, he returned to the king, and forthwith was sent thither againe to besiege that strong fortresse, which was fenced with men, munition, vittels, and strong walles, towers, and turrets, in most defensible wise, by reason wherof it was holden against him the space of fiue moneths, although he vsed all waies and meanes possible to annoie them within, so that manie fierce assaults, skirmishes, issues, and other exploits of warre were atchiued, betwixt the Frenchmen within, and the Englishmen without: yet at length, the Frenchmen were so constreind by power of baterie, mines, and other forceable waies of approchings, that they were glad to compound to deliuer the place, if no rescue came to raise the siege, either from the Dolphin, that then was retired into Aquitaine, or from the duke of Burgognie that then laie at Paris, within the terme of three score and two daies (for so long respit the duke granted) but they trusting further vpon his lenitie and gentlenesse hoped to get a far longer terme.

Chierburgh besieged by the English.

Now were the Dolphin and the duke of Burgognie growen to a certeine agreement, by mediation of cardinals sent from the pope, so that the Englishmen suerlie thought, that they would leauie a power, and come downe to rescue Chierburgh. The duke of Glocester therefore caused his camps to be stronglie intrenched, and manie defensible blockehouses of timber to be raised, like to small turrets, that the same might be a safegard to his people, and

to

to conclude, left nothing vnforeseene nor vndone, that was available for the defense of his armie. The king doubting least some power should be sent downe, to the danger of his brother, and those that were with him at this siege, caused two thousand men to be imbarked in thirtie ships of the west countrie, by order sent vnto certeine lords there.

Chierburgh yelded to the Englishmen.

The Frenchmen within the towne, perceiuing those succors to approch neere to the towne, thought verelie that there had beene a power of Frenchmen comming to their aid: but when they saw them receiued as freends into the English campe, their comfort was sone quailed: and so when the daie appointed came, being the nineteenth of October, or rather about the later end of November (as the historie of the dukes of Normandie hath) they rendred vp both the towne and castell, according to the couenants. The lord Greie of Codnore was made the kings lieutenant there, and after his decease, sir Water Hungerford. About the same time, or rather before, as Titus Liuius writeth, to wit, the two and twentith of June, the strong castell of Dampfront was yelded into the hands of the earle of Warwike, to the kings vse. But the historie writen of the dukes of Normandie affirmeth, that it was surrendred the two and twentith of September, after the siege had continued about it from Aprill last. The king by honorable report of other, and of his owne speciall knowledge, so rightlie ascerteined of the great valure that (for feats at armes and policie in warre) was alwaies found in the person of that John Bromley esquier (spoken of a little here before) for which his maiestie so sundrie waies roiallie rewarded him againe, some specialtie yet of the gentlemans merits togither with the souereignes bountie to him among other, seemes here (at mention of this Dampfront, whereof shortlie after he was capteine) verie well to deserue a place: and to that purpose as the king in Julie went ouer againe, and this John Bromley in June the same yeare, with conduct of charge was sent afore, imploieng himselfe still in venturous actiuitie with great annoie to the enimie: his highnesse for good liking of the same, and for hartening and example to other (in Aprill next following) gaue fourtie pounds land to him and his heires males by letters patents in words as followeth, and remaining yet of record in the Tower of London.

The castell of Dampfront yelded.

W.P.

A copie of the said letters patents.

HEnricus Dei gratia rex Angliæ & Franciæ & dominus Hiberniæ, omnibus ad quos præsentes litteræ peruenerint salutem. Sciatis quòd de gratia nostra speciali & pro bono seruitio quod dilectus seruiens noster Iohannes Bromley nobis impendit & impendet in futurum: dedimus & concessimus ei hospitium de Molay Bacon, infra comitatum nostrum de Baieux, ac omnes terras, tenementa, redditus, hæreditates, & possessiones infra ducatum nostrum Normandiæ, quæ fuerunt Alani de Beaumont nobis rebellis, vt dicitur. Habendum & tenendum præfato Iohanni & hæredibus suis masculis de corpore suo procreatis, hospitium, terras, & tenementa, redditus, hæreditates, & possessiones supradictas, vna cum omnimodis francheseys, priuilegijs, iurisdictionibus, wardis, maritagijs, releuijs, eschetis, forisfacturis, feodis militum, aduocationibus ecclesiarum, & aliorum beneficiorum ecclesiasticorũ quorumcunq; terris, pratis, pasturis, boscis, warẽnis, chaseis, aquis, vijs, stagnis, molẽdinis, viuarijs, moris, mariscis, ac alijs cõmoditatibus quibuscunq; dictis hospitio, terris, tenementis, redditibus, hæreditatibus, & possessionibus pertinentibus siue spectantibus, ad valorem quadraginta librarum sterlingorum per annum, tenendis de nobis & hæredibus nostris per homagium, &c: ac reddendo nobis & eisdem hæredibus nostris apud castrum nostrum de Baieux vnam zonam pro lorica, ad festum Natuitatis sancti Iohannis Baptistæ singulis annis: nec non faciendo alia seruitia, &c. Reseruato, &c. Prouiso semper, &c. Castro seu ciuitati nostro de Baieux, &c. Quòdq; prædictum hospitium, &c. In cuius rei, &c. Teste me ipso apud dictam ciuitatem nostram de Baieux, 18 die Aprilis, anno regni nostri sexto, per ipsum regem.

Yet herein at the noble princes not slaieng his bountie, but rather regarding euer how sutlie new merits do deserue new dignities, and peraduenture the more moued somewhat to reare vp the degree of this esquire, toward the state of his stocke, who a long time before had beene indued with knighthood, and also bicause that vnto the duke of Buckingham he was of bloud, which his behauiour alwaies had from staine so farre preserued, as rather brought to it some increase of glorie, did (in the most worthie wise which to that order belongeth) dub him knight of warfare in field, made him also capteine generall of this strong castell of Dampfront, seneschall and great constable of Bosseuile le Rosse, with other offices and titles of worship, as partlie may appeare by a deed, in which this knight taking patterne at his princes benignitie had giuen an annuitie of twentie pounds to his kinsman Walter Audeley.

Sir John Bromley made capteine of Dampfrõt.

A copie of that writing sundrie waies so well seruing to the truth of the storie was thought right necessarie heere to be added, thus.

OMnibus ad quos hoc præsens scriptum peruenerit, Iohãnes de Bromley miles, capitaneus generalis de Dampfront, seneschallus & magnus constabularius de Bosseuile le Rosse & March ibidem, salutem. Sciatis quòd pro bono & fideli seruitio quod dilectus consanguineus meus Gualterus de Audeley mihi fecerit, tam infra regnum Angliæ quàm extra, & præcipuè contra Francos: dedisse & concessisse, & hac præsenti charta mea confirmasse eidem Gualtero vnum annualem redditum viginti librarum, exeuntem de manerio meo de Bromley, & omnibus alijs terris & tenementis meis infra regnum Angliæ, vna cum herbagio pro quatuor equis habendo infra boscos meos de Bromley & Willoughbridge, & octo carucatis fœni capiendis infra prata mea de Shurlebrooke & Foordsmedo annuatim, durante tota vita prædicti Gualteri, in festo sancti Iacobi apostoli. Et si contingat prædictum annualem redditum, a retrò fore in aliquo festo, durante termino prædicto; tunc bene licebit eidem Gualtero, in manerio meo, & omnibus alijs terris meis prædictis distringere, & districtiones inde captas penes se retinere, quousq; de redditu prædicto, vna cum arreragijs (si quæ fuerint) plenariè fuerit persolutum & satisfactum. Et vlteriùs volo, quòd prædictus Gualterus habebit liberum egressum & regressum cum equis suis prædictis, & ad asportandum fœnum prædictũ, quandocunq; voluerit, per omnes semitas & vias, sine aliqua

aliqua contradictione mei prædicti Iohannis, aut hæredum meorum aliquali. Reddendo inde mihi ipsi Gualtero annuatim in festo sancti Georgij martyris, si tunc fuerim infra regnum Angliæ, vnum par calcarium deauratorum, pro omnibus. Et etiam volo & concedo quòd prædictus Gualterus liber sit, durante tota vita sua, ad volandum, venandum, piscandum, & alias commoditates percipiendum, tam infra manerium meum de Bromley quàm in omnibus alijs manerijs, terris, & tenementis meis infra regnum Angliæ, sine aliqua contradictione vel impedimento mei præfati Iohannis de Bromley militis, hæredum, aut assignatorum meorum aliquali. Et vt fidele testimonium præsentibus habeatur, sigillum meum apposui: hijs testibus, Roberto de Bruyn milite, Iohanne de Holland, Gulihelmo de Brereton, Richardo le Greuill, Iohanne de Egerton, Richardo le Beston, Thoma le Creu, & alijs. Datum apud Dampfront prædicto, 12 die mensis Augusti, anno regni regis Henrici quinti post conquestum sexto.

The old armes of the house of Bromley being quarterlie gules and ore per fesse indented, had in the seale to this deed, an inscutchen charged with a griffin surgiant; his creast, out of a crowne, a demilion supporting a standard charged with a lion passant gardant: about the shield was ingrauen, *Sigillum Iohannis de Bromley militis.* That inscutchen and creast (as like is) giuen him in laudable remembrance for his valiant recouerie of the standard at the sharpe and bloodie skirmish by Corbie.] The earle of Warwike, and the lord Talbot, after the winning of this fortresse, made speed to come vnto the siege of Rone, where they were imploied, as after shall appeare. And in like manner, the duke of Gloucester, hauing once got the possession of Cherburgh, hasted towards the same siege: for the better furnishing of which enterprise, he had first caused an armie of fiftéene thousand men to be brought ouer to him, vnder the leading of his vncle the duke of Exceter, who imbarking with the same, about the feast of the holie Trinitie, was appointed by the king to besiege the citie of Eureux, as the earle of Angus, otherwise called earle of Kime, was sent to win the castell of Villie Leuesche. These townes being deliuered to the kings vse, the duke ordeined capteine of Eureux sir Gilbert Halsall knight.

The king now determining with all speed to besiege Rone, prepared all things necessarie for his purpose. Into this citie the Normans had conueied out of euerie part their monie, iewels, and houshold stuffe, as into the most sure and strongest place of the whole duchie. For since his arriuall, they had not onlie walled that citie, and fortified it with rampiers and strong bulworks, but also furnished it with valiant capteins, and hardie soldiers, to the number of foure thousand, beside such of the citizens as were appointed for the warre, according to their estates, of the which there were at the least fiftéene thousand readie to serue in defense of the citie, as soldiers, and men of warre in all places where they should be assigned. King Henrie, to haue the countrie free, before he would besiege this citie, thought good first to win such townes as laie in his waie, and therefore departing from Caen (where he had kept the feast of saint George) the ninth daie of June, he marched streight vnto the towne of Louiers, and laid his siege about the same. Titus Liuius. Louiers besieged.

They within the towne, being well furnished of all things necessarie for the defending of a siege, manfullie resisted the Englishmens inforcements, which spared not to deuise all waies and means how to approch the walles, and to batter the same with their great artillerie, till at length they brought the Frenchmen to that extremitie, that they were contented to yéeld the towne on these conditions; that if by the three and twentith of June there came no succour from the French king to raise the siege, the towne should be deliuered into the kings hands, the soldiers of the garrison should serue vnder the king for a time, and the townesmen should remaine in their dwellings as they did before, as subiects to the king: but the gunners that had discharged anie péece against the Englishmen should suffer death. When the daie came, and no aid appeared, the couenants were performed accordinglie. From thence went the king with all spéed vnto Pont de Larch, standing vpon the riuer of Seine, eight miles aboue Rone towards Paris: he came thither about the seauen and twentith of June. Louiers yéelded vp.

When the Frenchmen which kept the passage there heard of the kings approach, they gathered togither a great number of men of warre, minding to defend the passage against him, appointing an other band of men (if they failed) to kéepe the further side of the bridge; and to watch, that neither by boate nor vessell he should come ouer the riuer by anie maner of meanes. At his comming néere to the towne, he perceiued that it was not possible to passe by the bridge without great losse of his people, and therfore he retired almost a mile backeward, where, in a pleasant and commodious place by the riuer side he pitched his campe, and in the night season, what with boates and barges, and what with hogsheads and pipes, he conueied ouer the broad riuer of Seine a great companie of his soldiers, without anie resistance made by his enimies. For they which were on the hither side of Seine, thinking that the Englishmen had gone to winne some other place, followed them not, but studied how to defend their towne, which was inough for them to do. The English armie passeth the riuer of Seine.

And to put the Frenchmen in doubt, least the Englishmen should séeke passage somewhere else, the king apointed certeine of the soldiers which had skill in swimming, to go to a place three miles from the siege by the riuer side, and there to enter into the water, making great clamor and noise, as though they had meant to haue passed; but they had in commandement not to trauerse past halfe the riuer, so to procure the Frenchmen to make thitherwards, whilest the king in one place, and his brother the duke of Clarence in another, got ouer their men, and that in such number, before the Frenchmen had anie vnderstanding thereof, that when they made towards them, and perceiued that they were not able to incounter them, they fled backe, and durst not abide the English footmen, which would faine haue béene doing with them. A good policie.

When the king saw that his men were on the other side of the water, he (the next daie earlie) returned to the towne, & assaulted it on both sides. When the inhabitants therefore saw themselues compassed on both sides, contrarie to their expectation, with humble heart and small ioy they rendered vp the towne vnto the kings hands. After this, the king hauing no let nor impediment, determined forthwith to besiege the citie of Rone, and first sent before him his vncle the duke of Exceter, with a great companie of horsemen & archers to view the place, & thervpon with banner displaied came before the citie, and sent Windsore an herauld at armes to the capteins within, willing them to deliuer the citie vnto the king his maister, or else he would pursue them with fire and sword. To whome they proudlie answered, that none they receiued of him, nor anie they would Pont de larch rendred vp to ye Englishmē.

would deliuer him, except by fine force they were thereunto compelled: and herewith there issued out of the towne a great band of men of armes, and incountered fiercelie with the Englishmen, the which receiuing them with like manhood, and great force, draue the Frenchmen into the towne againe to their losse, for they left thirtie of their fellowes behind prisoners and dead in the field.

The duke returned with this good speed and proud answer of the Frenchmen vnto the king, who remained yet at Pont de Larch, and had giuen the towne of Louiers to his brother the duke of Clarence, which made there his deputie sir John Godard knight. After that the duke of Excester was returned to Pont Larch, the French capteins within Rone set fire on the suburbs, beat downe churches, cut downe trees, shred the bushes, destroied the vines round about the citie, to the intent that the Englishmen should haue no releefe nor comfort either of lodging or fewell. When the king heard of these despitefull doings, he with his whole armie remoued from Pont Larch, and the last daie of Julie came before the citie of Rone, and compassed it round about with a strong siege. This citie was verie rich in gold, siluer, and other pretious things, in so much that when the same was taken and seized vpon by the English, the spoile was verie great and exceeding aduantagable: which the compiler of *Anglorum prælia* hath verie well noted, in a few lines, but pithie, saieng:

Angl. præl. sub Hen. 5.

Vltima Rothomagus restat, qua mercibus, auro,
Argento, vasis pretiosis diues abundat:
Rothomagus capitur, iamq; Anglus adeptus opimas
Prædas, in patriam perpulchra trophæa remittit.

The king laie with a great puissance at the Chartreux house, on the east side of the citie, and the duke of Clarence lodged at S. Gernais before the port of Caux on the west part. The duke of Excester toke his place on the north side: at port S. Denis, betweene the dukes of Excester and Clarence, was appointed the earle marshall, euen before the gate of the castell; to whome were ioined the earle of Ormond, and the lords Harington and Talbot, vpon his comming from Dampfront: and from the duke of Excester toward the king, were incamped the lords Ros, Willoughbie, Fitz Hugh, and sir William Porter, with a great band of northerne men, euen before the port of saint Hilarie. The earles of Mortaigne and Salisburie were assigned to lodge about the abbie of saint Katharine. Sir John Greie was lodged directlie against the chapell called mount S. Michaell: sir Philip Læch treasuror of the warres kept the hill next the abbeie, and the baron of Carew kept the passage on the riuer of Seine, and to him was ioined that valiant esquier Jenico Dartois.

On the further side of the riuer were lodged the earles of Warren and Huntington, the lords Neuill and Ferrers, sir *Gilbert Umfreuile with a well furnished companie of warlike soldiers directlie before the gate called Port de Pont. And to the intent that no aid should passe by the riuer toward the citie, there was a great chaine of iron deuised at Pont Larch, set on piles from the one side of the water to the other: and beside that chaine, there was set vp a new forced bridge, sufficient both for cariage and passage, to passe the riuer from one campe to another. The erle of Warwike that had latelie wone Dampfront, was sent to besiege Caudebecke, a towne standing on the riuer side, betweene the sea and the citie of Rone. [A memorable feat in seruice nere to that place was done at that time by a well minded man then noted some after in writing: which matter vnable to be better reported than by him that had so well marked it, nor like to be more trulie expressed than by the ancient simplicitie (and yet effectuall) of the selfe same words wherein they were written, therefore thought meetest to haue them rehearsed as they were in order, thus.

Rone besieged by K. Henrie.

Before Pont S. Hilarie. Titus Liuius.

The order of the siege.

Before the gate called Markenile. Titus Liuius.

Salisburie & Huntington on the other side of the riuer of Seine.

*Umfreuile.

The lord Talbot.

W.P.

The truth of the said memorable feat *as it was reported in writing.*

MEmorandum, that my lord the earle of Warwike did send out my cosin sir John Bromley and my cosin George Umfreuile with an hundred archers, and about two hundred soldiers a streit, to keepe at a little castell called the Strow neere to Caudebecke where they wearen met with aboue eight hundred Frenchmen & the fraie betweene them long yfought, and the Englishmen in great dread and perill: till at length by the might of God and saint George, the feeld did fall to our Englishmen, & the Frenchmen wearen put to flizt, and thear wearen yslaine aboue two hundred Frenchmen, and as manie ytaken prisoners, and their capteine who was ycalled the lord of Estrisles was thear also yslaine, and thear wearen yslaine of our Englishmen my said cosin George Umfreuile and about twentie mo: on whose solles Jesus haue mercie, and thear wearen hurt in the face my said cosin sir John Bromley & my cosin Walter Audeley sore wounded and maimed in the right arme of his bodie, he then being but of the age of eightene yeares. But thankes be giuen to the blessed Trinitee, thear wearen manie noble victories ywon by the said noble erle of Warwike and his folke, as in his officiall booke (written by Maister John le Tucke then present with the said noble earle) is amplie recorded. My said cosin Walter Audeley died at Warwike the seauententh daie of Julie *anno Domini one thousand foure hundred and twentie, and was buried at Acton in Cheshire, neere the bodie of my said cosin sir John Bromley: on whose solles Jesus haue mercie. By me sir Richard Braie, chapleine to my ladie the old countesse of Warwike; *Iesus Maria, Amen, Pater noster, Aue Maria.*

A conflict neere to Caudebecke.

The L. of Estrisles slaine.

George Umfreuile slaine.

Walter Audeley sore wounded.

* And this sir John Bromley departed from this life the fourth day of Sept. 1419. which was in anno reg. 7. as by the office take after his death remaining of record in ỹ castell of Chester doth manifestlie appeare.

After this conflict, this towne was so hardlie handled with fierce and continuall assaults, that the capteins within offered to suffer the English nauie to passe by their towne without impeachment, vp to the citie of Rone. And also if Rone yelded, they promised to render the towne without delaie. Hereupon the English nauie, to the number of an hundred sailes, passed by Caudebecke, and came to Rone, and so besieged it on the water side. There came also to this siege the duke of Gloucester, with the earle of Suffolke, and the lord Aburgauennie, which had taken (as before ye haue heard) the towne of Cherburgh, & lodged before the port of S. Hilarie, nearer to their enimies by fortie rodes than any other person of the armie.

During this siege also, there arriued at Harflue the lord of Kilmaine in Ireland, with a band of fiftene hundred Irishmen, in maile, with darts and skaines after the maner of their countrie, all of them being tall, quicke, and nimble persons, which came and

The lord of Kilmaine capteine of the Irishmen.

and presented themselues before the king lieng still at the siege, of whom they were not onelie gentlie receiued & welcomed; but also because it was thought that the French king and the duke of Burgognie would shortlie come, and either attempt to raise the siege, or vittell and man the towne by the north gate, they were appointed to kéepe the north side of the armie, and speciallie the waie that commeth from the forest of Lions. Which charge the lord of Kilmaine and his companie toilfullie accepted, and did so their deuoir therein, that no men were more praised, nor did more damage to their enimies than they did: for suerlie their quickenesse & swiftnesse of foot did more prejudice to their enimies, than their barded horsses did hurt or damage to the nimble Irishmen. Also the kings cosine germane and alie (the king of Portingale) sent a great naule of well appointed ships vnto the mouth of the riuer of Seine, to stop that no French vessels should enter the riuer, and passe vp the same, to the aid of them within Rone.

The good seruice of the Irishmen at this siege.

Titus Liuius. The king of Portingale sendeth aid to king Henrie.

Thus was the faire citie of Rone compassed about with enimies, both by water and land, hauing neither comfort nor aid of King, Dolphin, or Duke. And yet although the armie was strong without, there lacked not within both hardie capteins and manfull souldiers. And as for people, they had more than inough: for as it is written by some that had good cause to know the truth, and no occasion to erre from the same, there were in the citie at the time of the siege, two hundred and ten thousand persons. Dailie were issues made out of the citie at diuerse gates, sometime to the losse of the one partie, and sometime of the other, as chances of warre in such aduentures happen. The Frenchmen in déed preferring fame before worldlie riches, and despising pleasure (the enimie to warlike prowesse) sware ech to other neuer to render or deliuer the citie, while they might either hold sword in hand or speare in rest.

The number within Rone.

The king of England aduertised of their haultie courages, determined to conquer them by famine, which would not be tamed with weapon. Wherefore he stopped all the passages, both by water and land, that no vittels could be conueied to the citie: he cast trenches round about the wals, and set them full of stakes, and defended them with archers, so that there was left neither waie for them within to issue out, nor for anie that were abroad to enter in without his licence. To rehearse the great paines, trauell and diligence, which the king toke vpon him in his owne person at this siege, a man might wonder. And because diuerse of the souldiers had lodged themselues for their more ease, in places so farre distant one from an other, that they might easlie haue béene surprised by their enimies, yer anie of their fellowes could haue come to their succors; he caused proclamation to be made, that no man vpon paine of death should lodge without the precinct appointed them, nor go further abroad from the campe than such bounds as were assigned.

Titus Liuius.

Now as it chanced, the king in going about the campe, to surueie and view the warders, he espied two souldiers that were walking abroad without the limits assigned, whom he caused straightwaies to be apprehended and hanged vpon a tree of great height, for a terrour to others, that none should be so hardie to breake such orders as he commanded them to obserue. Whilest the king laie thus with his power about the mightie citie of Rone, the Frenchmen sought to indamage as well those that were at that siege, as other of the Englishmen that laie in garrisons within the townes that were alreadie in the king of Englands possession, insomuch that (as some haue written) within the octaues of the Assumption, three notable victories chanced to the Englishmen in three seuerall places. First an hundred Englishmen at Kilbuef toke three great lords of the Frenchmen, besides fourescore other persons, and put three hundred to flight.

King Henrie his iustice.

Thom. Walf.

Three great victories on the English side within a short time together.

Also vpon the thursdaie within the same octaues, foure hundred Frenchmen that were entered within the suburbes of Eureux were repelled by eleuen Englishmen, that toke foure of those Frenchmen prisoners, slue twelue of them, and toke fortie horsses. On the saturdaie following, the Frenchmen toke in hand to steale vpon them that laie in garrison within Louiers, in hope to surprise the towne earlie in the morning: but the capteine perceiuing their purpose, sallied forth with a hundred of his men, and putting the Frenchmen to flight, being a thousand, toke an hundred and fourescore of them being all gentlemen. But to returne to them before Rone. The siege thus continuing from Lammas, almost to Christmas, diuerse enterprises were attempted, and diuerse policies practised, how euerie part might indamage his aduersaries: no parte greatlie reioised of their gaine. But in the meane time vittels began sore to faile them within, that onelie vineger and water serued for drinke.

If I should rehearse (according to the report of diuerse writers) how déerelie dogs, rats, mise, and cats were sold within the towne, and how greedilie they were by the poore people eaten and deuoured, and how the people dailie died for fault of food, and yong infants laie sucking in the streets on their mothers breasts, lieng dead, starued for hunger; the reader might lament their extreme miseries. A great number of poore sillie creatures were put out at the gates, which were by the Englishmen that kept the trenches beaten and driuen backe againe to the same gates, which they found closed and shut against them. And so they late betweene the wals of the citie and the trenches of the enimies, still crieng for helpe and releése, for lacke whereof great numbers of them dailie died.

Extreame famine within Rone.

Howbeit, king Henrie moued with pitie, vpon Christmasse daie, in the honor of Christes Natiuitie, refreshed all the poore people with vittels, to their great comfort and his high praise: yet if the duke of Burgognies letters had not béene conueied into the citie, it was thought they within would neuer haue made resistance so long time as they did; for by those letters they were assured of rescue to come. Diuerse lords of France hauing written to them to the like effect, they were put in such comfort herewith, that immediatlie, to exprésse their great reioising, all the bels in the citie were rong forth chéerefullie, which during all the time of the siege till that present had kept silence. In déed by reason of a faint kind of agréement procured betwixt the Dolphin and the duke of Burgognie, it was thought derelie that a power should haue béene raised for preseruation of that noble citie, the losing or sauing thereof being a matter of such importance.

A vertuous and charitable prince.

Chron. S. Alb.

The king of England, to preuent the enimies purpose, caused a large trench to be cast without his campe, which was pight full of sharpe stakes, with a great rampire fensed with bulworks, and turnepikes, in as defensible wise as might be deuised. Sir Robert Waphorpe, knight, was appointed comptroller, to see this worke performed, which he did with all diligence accomplish; in like case as he had done, when the other trench and rampire strongelie staked and hedged was made at the first betwixt the campe and the citie, to restreine such as in the begining of the siege rested not to pricke forth of the gates on horsse backe. And so by this meanes was the armie defended both behind and before.

A large trech without the campe.

Finallie, the whole number of the Frenchmen within

within the citie were brought to such an extremitie for want of vittels, that they were in danger all to haue starued. Wherevpon being now past hope of relæse, they determined to treat with the king of England, and so vpon Newyeares euen there came to the wals such as they had chosen amongst them for commissioners, which made a signe to the Englishmen lieng without the gate of the bridge, to speake with some gentleman, or other person of authoritie. The earle of Huntington, which kept that part, sent to them sir Gilbert Umfreuile; vnto whom they declared, that if they might haue a safe conduct, they would gladlie come forth to speake with the king. Sir Gilbert repairing to the duke of Clarence, and other of the kings councell, aduertised them of this request.

Herevpon the duke of Clarence with the other councellors resorted to the kings lodging, to informe him of the matter, and to know his pleasure therein; who after good aduisement and deliberation taken, willed sir Gilbert to aduertise them, that he was content to heare twelue of them, which should be safelie conueied into his presence. This answer being brought to the Frenchmen by the said sir Gilbert, on the nert daie in the morning, foure knights, foure learned men, and foure sage burgesses, all clothed in blacke, came forth of the citie, and were receiued at the port saint Hilarie by sir Gilbert Umfreuile, accompanied with diuerse gentlemen and yeomen of the kings houshold, commonlie called yeomen of the crowne, by whome they were conueied to the kings lodging, whome they found at masse, which being ended, the king came out of his trauerse, ternelie, and princelie beholding the French messengers, and passed by them into his chamber. And incontinentlie after he commanded that they should be brought in before his presence, to heare what they had to say.

They within Rone demand parlee.

One of them seene in the ciuill lawes, was appointed to declare the message in all their names, who shewing himselfe more rash than wise, more arrogant than learned, first toke vpon him to shew wherin the glorie of victorie consisted, aduising the king not to shew his manhood in famishing a multitude of poore, simple, and innocent people, but rather suffer such miserable wretches as laie betwixt the wals of the citie, and the trenches of his siege, to passe through the campe, that they might get their liuing in other places, and then if he durst manfullie assault the citie, and by force subdue it, he should win both worldlie fame, and merit great meed at the hands of almightie God, for hauing compassion of the poore, needie, and indigent people.

A presumptuous orator.

When this orator had said, the king who no request lesse suspected, than that which was thus desired, began a while to muse; and after he had well considered the craftie cautell of his enimies, with a fierce countenance, and bold spirit he reproued them, both for their subtill dealing with him, and their malapert presumption, in that they should seeme to go about to teach him what belonged to the dutie of a conquerour. And therefore since it appeared that the same was vnknowne vnto them, he declared that the goddesse of battell called *Bellona*, had three handmaidens, euer of necessitie attending vpon hir, as blod, fire, and famine. And whereas it laie in his choise to vse them all three; yea, two, or one of them at his pleasure, he had appointed onelie the meekest maid of those three damsels to punish them of that citie, till they were brought to reason.

The kings answer to this proud message.

And whereas the gaine of a capteine atteined by anie of the said three handmaidens, was both glorious, honourable, and worthie of triumph: yet of all the three, the yongest maid, which he meant to vse at that time was most profitable and commodious. And as for the poore people lieng in the ditches, if they died through famine, the fault was theirs, that like cruell tyrants had put them out of the towne, to the intent he should slaie them; and yet had he saued their liues, so that if anie lacke of charitie was, it rested in them, and not in him. But to their cloked request, he meant not to gratifie them within so much, but they should keepe them still to helpe to spend their vittels. And as to assault the towne, he told them that he would they should know, he was both able and willing thereto, as he should see occasion: but the choise was in his hand, to tame them either with blod, fire, or famine, or with them all, whereof he would take the choise at his pleasure, and not at theirs.

This answer put the French ambassadors in a great studie, musing much at his excellent wit and hawtinesse of courage. Now after they had dined (as his commandement was they should) with his officers, they vpon consultation had togither, required once againe to haue accesse to his roiall presence, which being granted, they humbling themselues on their knees, besought him to take a truce for eight daies, during the which they might by their commissioners take some end and good conclusion with him and his councell. The king like a mercifull prince granted to them their asking, with which answer they ioifullie returned. After their departure were appointed and set vp three tents, the one for the lords of England, the second for the commissioners of the citie, and the third for both parties to assemble in, and to treat of the matter.

A truce for eight daies.

The commissioners for the English part were the earles of Warwike and Salisburie, the lord Fitz Hugh, sir Walter Hungerford, sir Gilbert Umfreuile, sir John Robsert, and John de Vasques de Almada. And for the French part were appointed, sir Guie de Butteler, and six others. These commissioners met euery daie, arguing and reasoning about a conclusion, but nothing was done the space of eight daies, nor so much as one article concluded: wherfore the Englishmen toke downe the tents, & the Frenchmen toke their leaue: but at their departing they remembring themselues, required the English lords (for the loue of God) that the truce might indure till the sunne rising the nert daie, to the which the lords assented.

Cõmissioners appointed.

When the French commissioners were returned into the citie without any conclusion of agreement, the poore people ran about the streets, crieng, and calling the capteins and gouernors murtherers and manquellers, saieng that for their pride and stiffe stomachs all this miserie was happened, threatning to slea them if they would not agree vnto the king of Englands demand. The magistrats herewith amazed, called all the townesmen togither to know their minds and opinions. The whole voice of the commons was, to yeld rather than to sterue. Then the Frenchmen in the euening came to the tent of sir John Robsert, requiring him of gentlenes to moue the king, that the truce might be prolonged for foure daies. The king thereunto agreed, and appointed the archbishop of Canturburie, and the other seuen before named for his part, and the citizens appointed a like number for them.

The tents were againe set vp, and dailie they met togither, and on the fourth daie they accorded on this wise, that the citie and castell of Rone should be deliuered vnto the king of England, at what time after the middest of the nineteenth daie of that present moneth of Januarie, the said king willed the same; and that all the capteins and other men whatsoeuer, dwelling or being within the said citie and castell, should submit them in all things to the grace of the said king;

The articles cõcerning the yeelding vp of Rone.

king: and further, that they should paie to the said king three hundred thousand scutes of gold, whereof alwaies two should be worth an English noble, or in stead of euerie scute thirtie great blankes white, or fiftéene grotes.

Moreouer it was accorded, that euerie soldier and stranger, being in the said citie and castell, should sweare on the euangelists before their departure, not to beare armour against the king of England, before the first daie of Januarie next to come. Also they within the towne should suffer all the poore people liéng in ditches, or about the ditches of the citie, which for penurie were chased out, to enter the citie againe, and to find them sufficient food till the said nineteenth daie of Januarie. There were diuerse other articles, in all to the number of two and twentie agréed aswell on the behalfe of the citizens, as of king Henrie, who granted, that all the souldiers, strangers, and other within the said citie and castell at that time, being not willing to become his lieges, should depart after that the citie and castell was once yélded, frélie without let, leauing to the said king all their armors, horsses, harnesse, & goods, except the Normans, which if they should refuse to become lieges to him, were appointed to remaine as his prisoners, togither with one Luca Italico, and certeine others.

Luca Italico. The vicar generall of the archbishoprike of Rone for denouncing the king accursed was deliuered to him and detained in prison till he died. Titus Liuius.

When the daie of appointment came, which was the daie of saint Wolstane, sir Guie de Buttler, and the burgesses, deliuered the keies of the citie and castell vnto the king of England, beséeching him of fauour and compassion. The king incontinentlie appointed the duke of Exceter, with a great companie to take possession of the citie, who like a valiant captéine mounted on a goodlie courser first entered into the citie, and after into the castell. The next daie being fridaie, the king in great triumph like a conquerour, accompanied with foure dukes, ten earles, eight bishops, sirtéene barons, and a great multitude of knights, esquiers, and men of warre entered into Rone, where he was receiued by the cleargie, with two and fourtie crosses; and then met him the senat, and the burgesses of the towne, offering to him diuerse faire and costlie présents.

One Alane Blanchart was likewise deliuered to him, & by his cómandement put to death. Trãslator of Titus Liuius.

In this manner he passed through the citie to our ladie church, and there hauing said his orisons, he caused his chapleins to sing this antheme: *Quis est tam magnus dominus:* Who is so great a lord as our God. This done, he came to the castell, where he continued a good space after, receiuing homages and fealties of the burgesses and townesmen, and setting orders amongst them. He also reedified diuerse fortresses, and townes, during which time he made proclamation, that all men which would become his subiects, should inioy their goods, lands & offices, which proclamation made manie townes to yéeld, and manie men to become English the same season.

King Hẽries entrie into Rone.

Titus Liuius.

The duke of Britaine, vnderstanding that if the king of England should continue in possession of Normandie, his countrie could not but be in great danger, if he prouided not to haue him his frend, vpon safe conduct obteined for him & his retinue, came to Rone with fiue hundred horsses, and being honorablie receiued of the king, after conference had betwixt them of diuerse things, at length they agréed vpon a league on this wise, that neither of them should make warre vnto the other, nor to any of the others people or subiects, except he that meant to make war denounced the same sir moneths before. Thus this league being concluded, the duke toke leaue of the king, and so returned into Britaine.

A league concluded betwéene king Henrie and the duke of Britaine.

About the same time, at the sute of certeine bishops and abbats of Normandie, the king confirmed vnto them their ancient priuileges, granted by the former dukes of Normandie and kings of France, except such as were granted by those whome he reputed for vsurpers, and no lawfull kings or dukes. He also established at Caen the chamber of accounts of the reuenues of his dukedome of Normandie. In Rone he began the foundation of a strong tower behind the castell, that from the castell to the tower, and from the tower to his palace, the men of warre appointed there in garrison, might passe in suertie without danger of the citie, if perhaps the citizens should attempt any rebellion.

In this first yeare, whilest these things were adoing in Normandie, quéene Ione late wife of king Henrie the fourth, and mother in law to this king, was arested by the duke of Bedford the kings lieutenant in his absence, and by him committed to safe kéeping in the castell of Léeds in Kent, there to abide the kings pleasure. About the same time, one frier Randoll of the order of Franciscanes that professed diuinitie, and had béene confessor to the same quéene, was taken in the Ile of Gerneseie; and being first brought ouer into Normandie, was by the kings commandement sent hither into England, and committed to the Tower, where he remained till the parson of the Tower quarelling with him, by chance slue him there within the Tower ward. It was reported that he had conspired with the quéene by sorcerie and necromancie to destroie the king.

She was cõmitted to the safe kéeping of Pelham, who appointed hir nine seruants to attend hir & conueied hir to the castell of Pompley. Tho. Walsin. Frier Rãdoll.

Whilest the king remained in Rone, to set things in order for the establishment of good policie in that citie, he sent abroad diuerse of his capteins, with conuenient forces to subdue certeine townes & castels in those parties, as his brother the duke of Clarence, who wan the strong towne of Uernon and Mante. In Uernon was sir William Porter made captéine, and in Mant the earle of March. The earle of Salisburie wan Hunflue, after he had besieged it from the fourth of Februarie vntill the twelfth of March. This towne was giuen afterwards vnto the duke of Clarence. Also the said earle of Salisburie wan the townes of Monster de Villiers, Ew, Newcastell, and finallie all the places in that quarter, which till that present were not vnder the English obeisance. At Newcastell sir Philip Léech was made captéine.

Uernon and Mante taken by the English.

Titus Liuius. Hunflue take.

After Candlemasse, the king departed from Rone to go to Eureux, whither he promised to come in like case, as the Dolphin promised to be at Dreux, to the end that they might aduise vpon a conuenient place where to meet, to intreat of peace to be concluded betwixt the two realms. But the Dolphin by sinister persuasion of some enimies to concord, brake promise, and came not. When the king saw that thorough default of his aduersarie, no treatie would be had, he remoued to Uernon, and there a while remained. Now from Eureux the king had dispatched the earle of Warwike vnto the siege of la Roch Guion, which fortresse he so constreined, that it was yéelded into his hands, the first of Aprill, in the beginning of this seuenth yeare of king Henries reigne, and giuen to sir Guie Buttler late capteine of Rone, of the kings frée and liberall grant.

Anno Reg. 7.

Roch Guion rendered vp.

About the same time, the duke of Exceter laid siege vnto Chateau Gaillard, which siege continued from the last of March, vnto the latter end of September, or (as some write) vnto the twentith of December, as after shall appeare. The duke of Gloucester being sent to win the towne and castell of Yuri, toke the towne by assault, and the castell was deliuered by composition after fortie daies siege. After this the Englishmen ouerran the countrie about Chartres, and did much hurt to their enimies in all places where they came. The hearts of the Frenchmen were sore discouraged with the losse of Rone, and the other townes which yéelded one after another thus to the

Chateau Gaillard besieged.

Yuri taken by assault.

English-

Englishmen, so that such as loued the wealth of their countrie sore lamented the imminent mischæfes, which they saw by the diuision of the nobilitie, like shortlie to fall on their heads, namelie bicause they saw no remedie prepared.

But who euer else was disquieted with this matter, John duke of Burgognie raged and swelled, yea and so much freated therewith, that he wist not what to saie, and lesse to do: for he knew well that he was neither free from disdaine, nor yet deliuered from the scope of malice, bicause that he onelie ruled the king, and had the whole doings in all matters about him. And therefore he considered, that all such mishaps as chanced to the state of the common-wealth would be imputed to his negligence and disordred gouernement. To find some remedie against such dangers at hand, he thought first to assaie, if he might by any reasonable means conclude a peace betwixt the two mightie kings of England and France, which if he might bring to passe, he doubted not to reuenge his quarell easilie inough against the Dolphin Charles, and to represse all causes of grudge and disdaine.

Herewith intending to build vpon this frasle foundation, he sent letters and ambassadors to the king of England, aduertising him, that if he would personallie come to a communication to be had betweene him and Charles the French king, he doubted not but by his onlie meanes peace should be brought in place, and bloudie battell clerelie exiled. King Henrie giuing courteous eare to these ambassadors, sent with them the earle of Warwike as his ambassador, accompanied with two hundred gentlemen to talke with the duke, as then remaining in the French court at the towne of Prouince. The earle was assailed by the waie as he iournied, by a great number of rebellious persons, gotten into armour of purpose to haue spoiled him of such monie and things as he and his companie had about them. But by the high valiancie of the English people, with the aid of their bowes, the Frenchmen were discomfited and chased.

The earle at his comming to Prouince was honorablie receiued, and hauing done the effect of his message, returned; and with him the earle of saint Paule, and the sonne and heire of the duke of Burbon were also sent as ambassadors from the French king, to conclude vpon the time and place of the meeting, with all the circumstances. Wherevpon the king of England agreed to come to the towne of Mante, with condition that the duke of Burgognie, and other for the French king should come to Pontoise, that either part might meet other in a conuenient place betwixt those two townes neere to Meulan. According to this appointment, K. Henrie came to Mante, where in the feast of Pentecost he kept a liberall house to all commers, and sate himselfe in great estate. Vpon the which daie, either for good seruice alreadie by them done, or for the good expectation of things to come, he created Gascoigne de Foix, otherwise called the captau or captall de Buch a valiant Gascoigne, earle of Longueuile; and sir John Grete earle of Tankeruile, and the lord Bourchier earle of Ew.

After this solemne feast ended, the place of enterview and meeting was appointed to be beside Meulan on the riuer of Seine, where in a faire place euerie part was by commissioners appointed to their ground. When the daie of appointment approched, which was the last daie of Maie, the king of England accompanied with the dukes of Clarence, and Gloucester, his brethren, the duke of Exceter his vncle, and Henrie Beauford clerke his other vncle, which after was bishop of Winchester and cardinall, with the earles of March, Salisburie, and others, to the number of a thousand men of warre, entered into his ground, which was barred about and ported, wherein his tents were pight in a princelie maner.

Likewise for the French part came Isabell the French quéene, bicause hir husband was fallen into his old frantike disease, hauing in hir companie the duke of Burgognie, and the earle of saint Paule, and she had attending vpon hir the faire ladie Katharine hir daughter, with six and twentie ladies and damosels; and had also for hir furniture a thousand men of warre. The said ladie Katharine was brought by hir mother, onelie to the intent that the king of England beholding hir excellent beautie, should be so inflamed and rapt in hir loue, that he to obteine hir to his wife, should the sooner agree to a gentle peace and louing concord. But though manie words were spent in this treatie, and that they met at eight seuerall times, yet no effect insued, nor any conclusion was taken by this freendlie consultation, so that both parties after a princelie fashion tooke leaue ech of other, and departed, the Englishmen to Mante, and the Frenchmen to Pontoise.

Some authors write that the Dolphin to staie that no agreement should passe, sent sir Taneguie de Chastell to the duke of Burgognie, declaring that if he would breake off the treatie with the Englishmen, he would then common with him, and take such order, that not onelie they but the whole realme of France should thereof be glad and reioise. Howsoeuer it came to passe, truth it is, that where it was agreed, that they should eft sones haue met in the same place on the third of Julie, the king according to that appointment came: but there was none for the French part, neither quéene nor duke that once appeared; so that it was manifest inough how the fault rested not in the Englishmen, but in the Frenchmen. By reason wherof no conclusion sorted to effect of all this communication, saue onlie that a certeine sparke of burning loue was kindled in the kings heart by the sight of the ladie Katharine.

The king without doubt was highlie displeased in his mind, that this communication came to no better passe. Wherefore he mistrusting that the duke of Burgognie was the verie let and stop of his desires, said vnto him before his departure: Cosine, we will haue your kings daughter, and all things that we demand with hir, or we will driue your king and you out of his realme. Well (said the duke of Burgognie) before you driue the king and me out of his realme, you shall be well wearied, and therof we doubt little. Shortlie after, the duke of Burgognie and the Dolphin met in the plaine fields besides Melun, and there comming togither, concluded aparantlie an open peace and amitie, which was proclamed in Paris, Amiens, and Pontoise.

This agréement was made the first of Julie in the yeare 1419. It was ingrossed by notaries, signed with their hands, and sealed with their great seales of armes: but as the sequele shewed, hart thought not what tong spake, nor mind meant not that hand wrote. Whiles these things were a doing, diuerse of the Frenchmen in Rone went about a conspiracie against the Englishmen, whereof the king being well aduertised, sent thither certeine of his nobles, which tried out these conspirators, caused them to be apprehended, had them in examination, and such as they found guiltie were put to death; and so setting the citie in quietnes, returned to the king, who counted it great honor to kéepe the countries which he wone by conquest in obedience and aw; sith such victories are not obteined without sore labour and toile, both of prince and people, as the poet rightlie saith:

Quærere regna, labor; virtus est parta tueri
Maxima.

In Angl. prel. sub Hen. 5.

The king of England, perceiuing by this new aliance, that nothing was lesse to be loked for, than peace at the hands of the Frenchmen, deuised still how to win townes and fortresses, which were kept against him: and now that the truce was expired, on the thirtith daie of Julie, he being as then within the towne of Mante, apointed certeine bands of souldiers in the after noone to passe out of the gates, giuing onelie knowledge to the capteins what he would haue them to do. And to the intent that no inkling of the enterprise should come to the enimies eare, he kept the gates himselfe as porter. These that were thus sent forth being guided by the earle of Longueuile, otherwise called the captau de Buef, were commanded in as secret maner as they could to draw toward the towne of Pontoise, and to keepe themselues in couert till the darke of the night, and then approch the walles of that towne, and vpon espieng their aduantage to enter it by scaling, hauing ladders and all things necessarie with them for the purpose.

Hall. These bands belonged to the earle of Longueuile & to the lord de Lespar Gascoignes.

Hist. dez ducz de Normand.

The king plaieth the porters part.

This captau was brother to the earle of Foix.

Moreouer, about the closing of the daie and night in the euening, he sent forth the erle of Huntington with other bands of soldiers, to succor and assist the other, if they chanced to enter the towne according to the order taken. Those that were first sent forth (according to their instructions) conueid themselues so closelie to their appointed places, that the enimies heard nothing of their doings. Wherevpon when the night was come, they came in secret wise vnder the walles, and there watched their time till the morning began to draw on. In the meane time, whilest the watch was departed, and before other were come into their places to relieue it, the Englishmen setting vp their ladders, entered and brake open one of the gates to receiue the other that followed.

Hall.

Pontoise surprised by the Englishmen.

The Frenchmen perceiuing that the walles were taken, and their enimies entered into the towne, at the first were sore amazed: but after perceiuing the small number of the Englishmen, they assembled togither and fiercelie assailed them, so that they were constreined to retire to the walles and turrets which they had taken, and with much adoo defended the same; some leaping downe into the diches, and hiding them in the vines, till at length the earle of Huntington, with his companies came to their succors, and entring by the gate which was open, easilie did beat backe the enimies, & got the market place.

Hall.

Which when the lord Lisle Adam capteine of the towne perceiued, he opened the gate towards Paris, by the which he with all his retinue, and diuerse of the townesmen to the number of ten thousand in all, (as Enguerant de Monstr. recounteth) fled towards Paris, taking awaie with them their coine, iewels, and plate. Some of them fleeing towards Beauuois were met with, and stripped of that they had, by Jehan de Guigni, and Jehan de Claw, two capteins that serued the Orlientiall faction.

Hall.

There were within the towne of Pontoise at that time when it was thus taken by the Englishmen, a thousand lances, and two thousand arcubalisters, as Thomas Walsingham affirmeth, and of Englishmen and Gascoignes that went first forth of Mante with the captau de Buef, not past fiftéene hundred, as Hall reporteth: although Enguerant de Monstrellet saith, they were about three thousand. But how manie soeuer they were, they durst not at the first, by reason of their small number (as may be thought) once diuide themselues, or deale with booties, till about the houre of prime, that the duke of Clarence came to their aid with fiue thousand men, who much praising the valiantnesse of the earle and his retinue that had thus wone the towne, gaue to them the chéefe spoile of the which there was great plentie.

Then went the duke forth towards Paris, and comming thither, lodged before it two daies and two nights, without perceiuing anie proffer of issue to be made forth against him by his enimies, and therefore séeing they durst not once loke vpon him, he returned to Pontoise, for the taking of which towne the whole countrie of France, and speciallie the Parisians were sore dismaied: sith now there was no fortresse able to withstand the English puissance; for that the Irishmen ouerran all the Ile of France, did to the Frenchmen damages innumerable (as their writers affirme) brought dailie preies to the English armie, burst vp houses, laid beds on the backes of the kine, rid vpon them, carried yong children before them, and sold them to the Englishmen for slaues. These strange doings so feared the Frenchmen within the territorie of Paris, and the countrie about, that the sorie people fled out of the villages with all their stuffe into the citie.

The duke of Clarence cõmeth before Paris with his armie.

The Irishmẽ spoile the Ile of France.

The French king, and the duke of Burgognie lieng at saint Denis, in this season, departed from thence with the quéene and hir daughter, and went to Trois in Champaigne, there to consult of their businesse, hauing left at Paris the earle of S. Paule, and the lord Lisle Adam, with a great puissance to defend the citie. The king of England immediatlie after that Pontoise was wone (as before yee haue heard) came thither in person, as well to giue order for the placing of a sufficient garrison there for defense thereof; as to proceed further into the countrie for the getting of other townes and places: and so after he had well prouided for the good gouernment, & safe kéeping thereof, the eightenth daie of August he departed out of the same with his maine armie.

And bicause they of the garrison that laie in the castell of Mancon Villers had done, & dailie did diuerse and sundrie displeasures to the Englishmen, he pight downe his field néere to the same, the better to restraine them from their hostile attempts, and withall sent part of his armie to besiege the castell, which put them in such feare, that they despairing of all reléese or succour, and perceiuing they should not be able long to defend the place against the kings puissance, yéelded the place, with all their coine and other goods into the kings hands. The soldiers of that garrison, and the inhabitants, at the contemplation of a certeine ladie there amongst them, were licenced by the king to depart without armor or weapon, onelie with their liues saued. John of Burgh that was after bailiffe of Gisours, was appointed capteine of this castell.

Titus Liuius.

The castell of Mancon Villers besieged and taken.

Titus Liuius.

After this, all the townes and castels within a great circuit offered to yéeld themselues vnto the English obeisance; the strong towne and castell of Gisours onelie excepted, which still held out, & would shew no token of will to yéeld. Hérevpon the king the last of August began to approch the same, but at the first he could not come nére, by reason of the marishes and fennes: but yet such was the diligence of the Englishmen, aduanced by the presence of the king, readie in all places to commend them that were forward in their businesse, and to chastise such as slacked their duetie, that dailie they came nearer and nérer, although the Frenchmen issued forth dailie to encounter them, giuing them manie sharpe skirmishes. For the towne being double walled and fensed with those broad marishes, so incouraged them within, that they thought no force had béene able to haue subdued them.

Gisours besieged & yéelded to the Englishmen.

But at length calling to remembrance, that the king of England came before no towne nor fortresse, from which he would depart before he had brought it vnder his subiection, they offered to come to a parlée, and in the end compounded to render the towne

towne into the kings hands the eight daie of September next insuing, and the castell (bicause it was the stronger péece) they couenanted to deliuer the foure and twentith of the same, if in the meane time no rescue came to raise the siege. Hereupon when no such releese could be heard of, at the daies limited, the soldiers of the garrison, & the more part of the townsmen also submitted themselues, and receiued an oth to be true subiects to the king, and so remained still in their romes. The earle of Worcester was made capteine there.

Thom. Walſ.

Duke of Clarence saith Rich. Grafton.

Titus Liuius.

About the same time, to wit, the thrée and twentith of September (as some write) was castell Galiard surrendred to the hands of the duke of Exceſter, which had bene besieged euer since the last daie of March (as before yée haue heard.) But others write that it held out seauen moneths, and was not deliuered vp till the twentith of December. This castell was not onelie strong by situation, standing vpon the top of a steepe hill, but also closed with mightie thicke walles, and furnished with men, and all maner of munition and things necessarie. The king appointed the lord Ros capteine of it. After that Gisours and castell Galiard were thus yéelded to the English obeisance, all the other townes and castels thereabout, and in the countrie of Veulquessin, shortlie after yéelded to the king, as Gourneie, Chauniount, Neaufle, Dangu, and other small fortresses. Of Gourneie, was sir Gilbert Umfreuile made capteine; at Neaufle, the earle of Worcester; and at Dangu, Richard Woduile. Shortlie after was the castell Daumall yéelded to the earle of Warwike, to whome it was giuen. And thus was the whole duchie of Normandie (Mont saint Michael onelie excepted) reduced to the possession of the right heire, which had bene wrongfullie deteined from the kings of England euer since the daies of king John, who lost it about the yeare one thousand two hundred and seauen.

Normandie brought into ỹ kings subiection, that had bene lost & deteined a long time frō the English.

To satisfie those that be desirous to know what capteins were appointed by the king in diuerse townes that were yéelded to him (of which we haue made no mention heretofore but in generall) here their names do follow, and of the townes, as we find them in the chronicles of maister Hall. At Crewleie, sir Henrie Tanclur an Almaine; at Torignie, sir John Popham, to whome it was giuen; at Chamboie, the lord Fitz Hugh; at Vernueil in Perch, sir John Neuill; at Essaie, sir William Huddleston bailiffe of Alanson; at Crulie sir Lois Robsert; at Conde Norean sir John Fastolfe; at Cawdebecke, sir Lois Robsert; at Dœpe, William lord Bourchier earle of Eu; at Aubemarle, the earle of Warwike, and his deputie thereof William Montfort; at Bell incombre, sir Thomas Ramston lord thereof by gift; at Longueuille, the capitall de Beuf or Buz, earle thereof by gift; at Danuille, sir Christopher Burden; at Couches, sir Robert Narburie; at Chierburg, sir John Gedding; at Bacqueuille, the lord Ros; at Arques sir James Fines, bailiffe of Caux; at Monceaux, sir Philip Leech; at Estrie Pagnie, Richard Abraham; at Sentler Sorget, William Vallet; at Bretueill, sir Henrie Mortimer bailiffe of Hunflew.

But now to returne where we left. The wise and graue personages of the realme of France, sore lamenting & bewailing the miserie of their countrie, saw they had puissance inough to defend their enimies, if they were of perfect concord amongst themselues. And therefore to remoue all rancor and displeasure betwixt the Dolphin, and the duke of Burgognie, they procured a new méeting, which was appointed to be at Monstreau ou fault Yonne, where the two princes at the daie assigned met. But such was the fortune of France, that the duke of Burgognie was there murthered, as he knéeled before the Dolphin: wherevpon insued greater debate than before. For Philip earle of Charolois, the sonne and heire of the said duke, tooke the matter verie grieuouslie, as he had no lesse cause, and determined to be reuenged on the Dolphin, and other that were guiltie of the murther: so that now there was great expectation of slaughter and bloudshed, but no hope for the most part of tranquillitie & peace. France therefore, what with ouerthrowes giuen by the English, & diuision among themselues, was verie sore afflicted; insomuch that one miserie riding on anothers necke, the whole land was in danger of desolation by ciuill dissention & mutuall mutinies; as the poet noteth:

The duke of Burgognie murthered.

——accesit ad ista
Tunc mala Celtarum Burgundio fraude peremptus
Sparsáq; ciuilis tota dissensio terra.

Anglorum prælia sub Henr. 5.

When he had well considered of the matter, and taken aduise with his councell, he first sent ambassadors to the king of England, then lieng at Gisours to treat and conclude a truce betwéene them both for a certeine space, that they might talke of some conclusion of agréement. King Henrie receiued the ambassadors verie courteouslie, and granted that communication might be had of peace, but vtterlie denied anie abstinence from warre, bicause he would not lose time, if the treatie sorted not to good effect. Hereupon hauing his armie assembled at Paunt, he diuided the same into thrée parts, appointing the duke of Glocester with one part to go vnto the castell of S. Germane in Laie, and to laie siege thereunto. The duke according to his commission, comming before that castell, within a while constreined them within by continuall skirmishes and assaults to deliuer vp the place into his hands. An other part of the armie was sent vnto the castell of Montiole, which likewise by such fierce assaults and manfull approches, as the Englishmen made thereto, was shortlie giuen ouer and yéelded. The third part of the hoast went to Meulanc, a verie strong towne compassed about with the riuer of Seine.

Ambassadors sent to king Henrie. Titus Liuius.

A wise and princelie caution.

The castell of S. Germane in Laie and Montiole yéelded to the Englishmen.

But the king deuised to fasten botes and barges togither, and to rere vp certeine frames of timber aloft on the same for defense of his soldiers, that should by that meanes approch the walles, wherewith those that had the towne in kéeping were so put in feare, that their capteine was glad to come to a communication, & agréed to deliuer the towne into the kings hands, if no rescue came before the thirtith daie of October next insuing. On which daie, for that no succours appeared, the towne (according to the couenants) was giuen vp into the kings hands. Sir Thomas Ramston was made capteine there, and after him sir John Fastolfe. The king, whilest these places were besieged, and thus brought vnder his subiection, continued for the most part at Paunt; but yet oftentimes he went forth to visit his campes, and to see that nothing should be wanting, that might further the spéedie dispatch of his enterprises.

A policie for redie bridges.

The strong town of Meulanc yéelded to the English.

About the same time, there came againe ambassadours to him from Charles the French king, & from the yong duke of Burgognie to treat with him of some good conclusion of peace to be had; who had no such trust in their suite, but that he doubted their meaning, and therefore ceassed not to procéed in the winning of townes and castels, as he was in hand. Now when Christmasse approched, the king withdrew to Rone, and there kept the solemnization of that feast, appointing in the meane time his men of warre to be occupied as occasion serued. The earle of Salisburie was sent to besiege the towne of Fresneie, the which after stout resistance made at the first, shortlie after was deliuered to him to the kings vse. The earles Marshall and Huntington, sir John Gréene Cornewall,

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wall, sir Philip Leech, and diuerse other, were sent into the countrie of Maine, where, not farre from the citie of Mens they were incountered by a power of Frenchmen, which the Dolphin had sent against them. There was at the first a sharpe bickering betwixt them, but in the end the victorie remained with the Englishmen; so that manie of the Frenchmen were slaine, and taken, and the residue chased out of the field. There were slaine (as Thomas Walsingham saith) at the point of fiue thousand, and two hundred taken prisoners, among whome was the marshall de Rous, and diuerse other of good account. The two English earles remained there as victors, in the countrie which was by the king to them assigned.

A great victorie on the English side.

Whilest these victorious exploits were thus happilie atchiued by the Englishmen, and that the king late still at Rone, in giuing thanks to almightie God for the same, there came to him ekssones ambassadours from the French king and the duke of Burgognie to moue him to peace. The king minding not to be reputed for a destroier of the countrie, which he coueted to preserue, or for a causer of christian bloud still to be spilt in his quarell, began so to incline and giue eare vnto their sute and humble request, that at length (after often sending to and fro) and that the bishop of Arras, and other men of honor had bene with him, and likewise the earle of Warwike, and the bishop of Rochester had bene with the duke of Burgognie, they both finallie agreed vpon certeine articles, so that the French king and his commons would thereto assent.

King Henrie condescendeth to a treatie of peace.

Now was the French king and the quéene with their daughter Katharine at Trois in Champaigne gouerned and ordered by them, which so much fauoured the duke of Burgognie, that they would not for anie earthlie good, once hinder or pull backe one iot of such articles as the same duke should séeke to preferre. And therefore what néedeth manie words, a truce tripartite was accorded betwéene the two kings and the duke, and their countries, and order taken that the king of England should send in the companie of the duke of Burgognie his ambassadours vnto Trois in Champaigne sufficientlie authorised to treat and conclude of so great matter. The king of England, being in good hope that all his affaires should take good successe as he could wish or desire, sent to the duke of Burgognie his vncle, the duke of Excester, the earle of Salisburie, the bishop of Elie, the lord Fanhope, the lord Fitz Hugh, sir John Robsert, and sir Philip Hall, with diuerse doctors, to the number of fiue hundred horsse, which in the companie of the duke of Burgognie came to the citie of Trois the eleuenth of March. The king, the quéene, and the ladie Katharine them receiued, and hartilie welcomed, shewing great signes and tokens of loue and amitie.

A truce tripartite.

Ambassadors from K. Henrie to the French king.

After a few daies they fell to councell, in which at length it was concluded, that king Henrie of England should come to Trois, and marie the ladie Katharine; and the king hir father after his death should make him heire of his realme, crowne and dignitie. It was also agréed, that king Henrie, during his father in lawes life, should in his stéed haue the whole gouernement of the realme of France, as regent thereof, with manie other couenants and articles, as after shall appere. To the performance whereof, it was accorded, that all the nobles and estates of the realme of France, as well spirituall as temporall, and also the cities and commonalties, citizens and burgesses of townes, that were obeisant at that time to the French king, should take a corporall oth. These articles were not at the first in all points brought to a perfect conclusion. But after the effect and meaning of them was agréed vpon by the commissioners, the Englishmen departed towards the king their maister, and left sir John Robsert behind, to giue his attendance on the ladie Katharine.

The articles of the peace concluded betwéene king Henrie and the French king.

King Henrie being informed by them of that which they had done, was well content with the agréement and with all diligence prepared to go vnto Trois, and thereupon hauing all things in a readinesse, he being accompanied with his brethren the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, the earles of Warwike, Salisburie, Huntington, Eu, Tankeruile, and Longuile, & fiftéene thousand men of warre, went from Rone to Pontoise; & departing from thence the eight daie of Maie, came to saint Denis two leagues from Paris, and after to Pontcharenton, where he left a strong garison of men, with sir William Galcoigne, to keepe the passage; and so then entering into Brie, he tooke by the waie a castell which was kept against him, causing them that so kept it, some to be hanged, and the residue to be led forth with him as prisoners. And after this keeping on his iournie by Prouins, and Nogent, at length he came to Trois.

Thom. Walf.

Titus Liuius.

The duke of Burgognie accompanied with manie noble men, receiued him two leagues without the towne, and conueied him to his lodging. All his armie was lodged in small villages thereabout. And after that he had reposed himselfe a little, he went to visit the French king, the quéene, and the ladie Katharine, whome he found in saint Peters church, where was a verie ioious méeting betwixt them (and this was on the twentith daie of Maie) and there the king of England, and the ladie Katharine were affianced. After this, the two kings and their councell assembled togither diuerse daies, wherein the first concluded agreement was in diuerse points altered and brought to a certeinetie, according to the effect aboue mentioned. When this great matter was finished, the kings sware for their parts to obserue all the couenants of this league and agreement. Likewise the duke of Burgognie and a great number of other princes and nobles which were present, receiued an oth, the tenor whereof (as the duke of Burgognie vttered it in solemne words) thus insueth, accordinglie as the same is exemplified by Titus Liuius De Foro Luuiſiis in Latine.

King Henrie commeth to Trois to the French king.

King Henrie affieth the French kings daughter.

Titus Liuius.

The oth of the duke of Burgognie.

EGo Philippus Burgundiæ dux, per me meósque hæredes, ad sacra Dei euangelia domino regi Henrico Angliæ, Franciæque, pro Carolo rege regenti iuro, quòd humiliter ipsi Henrico fideliter q; cunctis in rebus, quæ rempublicam spectant & Franciæ coronam, obediemus, & statim post mortem Caroli domini nostri, domino Henrico regi suisque successoribus in perpetuum ligei fideles erimus; nec alium quempiam pro domino nostro supremo Franciæ rege, quàm Henricum & suos hæredes habebimus, néque patiemur. Non erimus præterea in consilio vel consensu cuiusquam damni regis Henrici, suorúmue successorum, vbi quicquam detrimenti patiantur capitis siue membri, vel vitam perdant; sed prædicta (quantum in nobis fuerit) quàm citissimis literis vel nuntijs, vt sibi melius prouidere valeant, eis significabimus.

The same in English.

I Philip duke of Burgognie, for my selfe, and for mine heires, do here sweare vpon the holie euangelists of God, to Henrie king of England

England, and regent of France for king Charles, that we shall humblie and faithfullie obeie the said Henrie in all things which concerne the common-wealth and crowne of France. And immediatlie after the decease of our souereigne lord king Charles, we shall be faithfull liegemen vnto the said king Henrie, and to his successors for euer. Neither shall we take or suffer anie other souereigne lord and supreme king of France, but the same Henrie and his heires: neither shall we be of counsell or consent of anie hurt towards the said king Henrie or his successors, whereby they may suffer losse & detriment of life or lim, but that the same so farre as in vs may lie, we shall signifie to them with all spæd, by letters or messengers, that they may the better prouide for themselues in such cases.

The like oth a great number of the princes and nobles both spirituall and temporall, which were present, receiued at the same time. This done, the morow after Trinitie sundaie, being the third of June, the mariage was solemnized and fullie consummate betwixt the king of England, and the said ladie Katharine. Herewith was the king of England named and proclamed heire and regent of France. And as the French king sent the copie of this treatie to euerie towne in France: so the king of England sent the same in English vnto euerie citie and market towne within his realme, to be proclamed and published. The true copie whereof, as we find it in the chronicles of maister Hall, we haue thought good here to set downe, for the more full satisfieng of those that shall desire to perusse euerie clause and article thereof, as followeth.

The articles & appointments of peace *betweene the realmes of England and France.*

HEnrie by the grace of God king of England, heire and regent of France, lord of Ireland, to perpetuall mind of christian people, and all those that be vnder our obeisance, we notifie and declare, that though there hath béene here before diuerse treaties betwéene the most excellent prince Charles our father of France and his progenitors, for the peace to be had betwéene the two realmes of France and England, the which heretofore haue borne no fruit: we considering the great harmes, the which haue not onelie fallen betwéene those two realmes, for the great diuision of that hath béene betwéene them, but to all holy church; we haue taken a treatie with our said father, in which treatie betwixt our said father and vs, it is concluded & accorded in the forme after the manner that followeth.

1 First, it is accorded betwéene our father and vs, that forsomuch as by the bond of matrimonie made for the good of the peace betweene vs and our most dære beloued Katharine, daughter of our said father, & of our most dære mother Isabell his wife; the same Charles and Isabell béene made our father and mother: therefore them as our father and mother we shall haue and worship, as it fitteth and séemeth so worthie a prince and princesse to be worshipped, principallie before all other temporall persons of the world.

2 Also we shall not disturble, disease or let our father aforesaid, but that he hold and possede as long as he liueth, as he holdeth and possedeth at this time, the crowne and dignitie roiall of France, with rents and profits for the same, of the sustenance of his estate and charges of the realme. And our foresaid mother also hold as long as she liueth, the state and dignitie of quæne, after the manner of the same realme, with conuenable conuenient part of the said rents and profits.

3 Also that the foresaid ladie Katharine shall take and haue dower in our realme of England as quænes of England here tofore were wont for to take and haue, that is to saie, to the summe of fortie thousand scutes, of the which two algate shall be a noble English.

4 And that by the waies, manners, and meanes that we without transgression or offense of other made by vs, for to speake the lawes, customes, vsages and rights of our said realme of England, shall done our labour and pursuit, that the said Katharine, all so sone as it maie be done, be made sure to take, and for to haue in our said realme of England, from the time of our death, the said dower of fortie thousand scutes yearelie, of the which twaine algate be worth a noble English.

5 Also if it happe the said Katharine to ouerliue vs, we shall take and haue the realme of France immediatlie, from the time of our death, dower to the summe of twentie thousand franks yearelie, of and vpon the lands, places and lordships that held and had Blanch sometime wife of Philip Beasaill to our said father.

6 Also that after the death of our said father aforesaid, and from thence forward, the crowne and the realme of France, with all the rights and appurtenances, shall remaine and abide to vs, and béene of vs and of our heires for euermore.

7 And forsomuch as our said father is withholden with diuerse sickenesse, in such manner as he maie not intend in his owne person for to dispose for the néeds of the foresaid realme of France: therefore during the life of our foresaid father, the faculties and exercise of the gouernance and disposition of the publike & common profit of the said realme of France, with councell, and nobles, and wisemen of the same realme of France, shall be and abide to vs: so that from thencefoorth we maie gouerne the same realme by vs. And also to admit to our counsell and assistance of the said nobles, such as we shall thinke méet. The which faculties and exercise of gouernance thus being toward vs, we shall labour and purpose vs spædfullie, diligentlie, and trulie, to that that maie be and ought for to be vnto the worship of God, and our said father and mother, and also to the common good of the said realme, and that realme with the counsell & helpe of the worthie and great nobles of the same realme for to be defended, peased and gouerned after right and equitie.

8 Also that we of our owne power shall do the court of parlement in France to be kept and obserued in his authoritie and souereignetie, and in all that is done to it in all manner of places that now or in time comming is or shall be subiect to our said father.

9 Also we to our power shall defend and helpe all and euerie of the péeres, nobles, cities, townes, communalties, and singular persons, now or in time comming, subiects to our father in their rights, customes, priuileges, frædomes, and franchises, longing or due to them in all manner of places now or in time comming subiect to our father.

10 Also we diligentlie and truelie shall trauell to our power, and do that iustice be administred and done in the same realme of France after the lawes, customes, and rights of the same realme, without personall exception. And that we shall kéepe and hold

the subiects of the same realme in tranquillitie and peace, and to our power we shall defend them against all manner of violence and oppression.

11 Also we to our power shall prouide, and do to our power, that able persons and profitable bene taken to the offices as well of iustices and other offices belonging to the gouernance of the demaines, and of other offices of the said realme of France, for the good right and peaceable iustice of the same, and for the administration that shall be committed vnto them; and that they be such persons, that after the lawes and rights of the same realme, and for the vtilitie and profit of our said father, shall minister, and that the foresaid realme shall be taken and departed to the same offices.

12 Also that we of our power, so sone as it may commodiously be done, shall trauell to put into the obedience of our said father, all manner of cities, townes, and castels, places, countries, and persons within the realme of France, disobedient, and rebels to our said father, holding with them which bene called the Dolphin or Armynacke.

13 Also that we might the more commodiously, suerlie and fréelie done, exercise, & fulfill these things aforesaid, it is accorded that all worthie nobles and estates of the same realme of France, as well spirituals as temporals, and also cities notable and communalties, and cittizens, burgesses of townes of the realme of France, that bene obeisant at this time to our said father, shall make these othes that followen.

14 First to vs hauing the faculties, exercise, disposition, and gouernance of the foresaid common profit to our hests and commandements, these shall mekelie & obedientlie obeie and intend in all manner of things concerning the exercise of gouernance of the same realme.

15 Also that the worthie, great, and noble estates of the said realme, as well spirituals as temporals, and also cities and notable communalties, and cittizens and burgesses of the same realme, in all manner of things well and trulie shall kéepe and to their power shall doo to be kept of so much as to them belongeth, or to anie of them, all those things that bene appointed and accorded betweene our foresaid father and mother and vs, with the counsell of them whome vs list to call to vs.

16 And that continuallie from the death, and after the death of our said father Charles, they shall be our true liegemen, and our heires; and they shall receiue and admit vs for their liege and souereigne and verie king of France, and for such to obeie vs without opposition, contradiction, or difficultie, as they bene to our foresaid father during his life, neuer after this realme of France shall obey to man as king or regent of France, but to vs and our heires. Also they shall not be in counsell, helpe, or assent that we lese life or limme, or be take with euill taking, or that we suffer harme, or diminution in person, estate worship, or goods; but if they know anie such thing for to be cast or imagined against vs, they shall let it to their power, & they shall done vs to weeten thereof, as hastilie as they maie by themselfe, by message, or by letters.

17 Also that all maner of conquests that should be made by vs in France vpon the said inobedients, out of the duchie of Normandie, shall be done to the profit of our said father; and that to our power we shall do, that all manner of lands and lordships that bene in the places so for to be conquered, longing to persons obeieng to our foresaid father, which shall sweare for to kéepe this present accord, shall be restored to the same persons to whom they long to.

18 Also that all manner of persons of the holie church, beneficed in the duchie of Normandie, or any other places in the realme of France, subiect to our father, and fauouring the partie of the dukes of Burgognie, which shall sweare to kéepe this present accord, shall inioy peaceablie their benefices of holie church in the duchie of Normandie, or in other places next aforesaid.

19 Also likewise, all maner of persons of holie church, obedient to vs, and beneficed in the realme of France, and places subiect to our father, that shall sweare to kéepe this present accord, shall inioy peaceablie their benefices of holie church in places next abouesaid.

20 Also that all maner of churches, vniuersities, and studies generall, and all colleges of studies, and other colleges of holie church, being in places now or in time comming subiect to our father, or in the duchie of Normandie, or other places in the realme of France subiect to vs, shall inioy their rights and possessions, rents, prerogatiues, liberties, & franchises, longing or due to them in any maner of wise in the said relme of France, sauing the right of the crowne of France, and euerie other person.

21 Also by Gods helpe, when it happeneth vs to come to the crowne of France, the duchie of Normandie, and all other places conquered by vs in the realme of France, shall bow vnder the commandement, obeisance, and monarchie of the crowne of France.

22 Also that we shall force vs, & do to our power, that recompense be made by our said father without diminution of the crowne of France to persons obeieng to him, and fauoring to that partie that is said Burgognie, to whom longeth lands, lordships, rents, or possessions in the said duchie of Normandie, or other places in the realme of France, conquered by vs hither toward, giuen by vs in places and lands gotten or to be gotten, and ouercome, in the name of our said father vpon rebels and inobedients to him. And if so be that such maner of recompense be not made to the said persons, by the life of our said father, we shall make that recompense in such maner and places, of goods, when it happeneth by Gods grace to the crowne of France. And if so be that the lands, lordships, rents, or possessions, the which longeth to such maner of persons in the said duchie and places be not giuen by vs, the same persons shall be restored to them without any delaie.

23 And during the life of our father, in all places now or in time comming subiect to him, letters of common iustice, and also grants of offices and gifts, pardons or remissions, and priuileges shall be written and proceed vnder the name and seale of our said father. And for somuch as some singular case maie fall, that maie not be foreséene by mans wit, in the which it might be necessarie and behouefull, that we do write our letters; in such maner case, if any hap for the good and suertie of our father, and for the gouernance that longeth to vs, as is beforesaid; and for to eschewen perils that otherwise might fall, to the preiudice of our said father, to write our letters, by the which we shall command, charge, and defend after the nature and qualitie of the néed, in our fathers behalfe and ours as regent of France.

24 Also, that during our fathers life, we shall not call nor write vs king of France; but verelie we shall abstéine vs from that name, as long as our father liueth.

25 Also that our said father, during his life, shall name, call, and write vs in French in this maner: *Nostre treschier filz Henry roy d' Engleterre heretere de France.* And in Latine in this maner: *Præclarissimus filius noster Henricus rex Angliæ & hæres Franciæ.*

26 Also that we shall put none impositions or exactions,

eractions, or do charge the subiects of our said father without cause reasonable and necessarie, ne otherwise than for common good of the realme of France, and after the saleng and asking of the lawes and customes reasonable approued of the same realme.

27 Also that we shall trauell to our power to the effect and intent, that by the assent of the three estates of either of the realmes of France and England, that all maner of obstacles maie be done awaie, and in this partie, that it be ordeined and prouided; that from the time that we or any of our heires come to the crowne of France, both the crownes, that is to saie, of France and England perpetuallie be togither in one & in the same person, that is to saie, from our fathers life to vs, and from the tearme of our life thencefoorward in the persons of our heires, that shall be one after an other, and that both realms shall be gouerned from that we or any of our heires come to the same, not seuerallie vnder diuerse kings in one time, but vnder the same person which for the time shall be king of both realms, and our souereigne lord (as it is before said) kéeping neuertheless in all maner of other things to either of the same realmes, their rights, liberties, customes, vsages, and lawes, not making subiect in any maner of wise one of the same realmes, to the rights, lawes, or vsages of that other.

28 Also that thencefoorward, perpetuallie, shall be still rest, and that in all maner of wise, dissentions, hates, rancors, enuies and wars, betweene the same realmes of France and England, and the people of the same realmes, drawing to accord of the same peace, may cease and be broken.

29 Also that there shall be from hencefoorward for euermore, peace and tranquillitie, & good accord, and common affection, and stable friendship betweene the said realmes, and their subiects before said. The same realmes shall kéepe themselues with their councell, helps, and common assistance against all maner of men that inforce them for to doen or to imagine wrongs, harmes, displeasures, or grieuances to them or either of them. And they shall be conuersant and merchandizen freelie and suerlie togither, paieng the customs due and accustomed. And they shall be conuersant also, that all the confederats and alies of our said father and the realme of France aforesaid, and also our confederats of the realme of England aforesaid, shall in eight moneths from the time of this accord of peace, as it is notified to them, declare by their letters, that they will draw to this accord, and will be comprehended vnder the treaties and accord of this peace, sauing neuertheless either of the same crownes, and also all maner actions, rights and reuenues, that longen to our said father and his subiects, and to vs and our subiects, against all maner of such alies and confederats.

30 Also neither our father, neither our brother the duke of Burgognie shall begin, ne make with Charles, cleping himselfe the Dolphin of Viennes, any treatie, or peace, or accord, but by councell and assent of all and ech of vs three, or of other the three estates of either of the said realmes aboue named.

31 Also that we with assent of our said brother of Burgognie, and other of the nobles of the realme of France, the which thereto owen to be called, shall ordeine for the gouernance of our said father seberlie, louinglie, & honestlie, after the asking of his rotall estate and dignitie, by the maner that shall be to the worship of God, and of our father, and of the realme of France.

32 Also all maner of persons, that shall be about our father to do him personall seruice, not onelie in office, but in all other seruices, aswell the nobles and gentlenes as other, shall be such as hath béene borne in the realme of France, or in places longing to France, good, wise, true, and able to that foresaid seruice. And our said father shall dwell in places notable of his obedience, and no where else. Wherefore we charge and command our said liege subiects, and other being vnder our obedience, that they kéepe and do to be kept in all that longeth to them, this accord and peace, after the forme and maner as it is accorded; and that they attempt in no maner wise, any thing that may be preiudiciall or contrarie to the same accord and peace, vpon paine of life and lim, and all that they may forfeit against vs. Yeuen at Troes, the thirtith day of Maie, 1420, & proclamed in London the twentith day of June.

33 Also that we for the things aforesaid, and euerie one of them, shall giue our assent by our letters patents, sealed with our seale vnto our said father, with all approbation and confirmation of vs, and all other of our bloud rotall, and all other of the cities and townes to vs obedient. Sealed with our seales accustomed. And further our said father, besides his letters patents sealed with our great seale, shall make or cause to be made letters approbatorie, and confirmations of the peeres of his realme, and of the lords, citizens, and burgesses of the same, vnder his obedience. All which articles we haue sworne to kéepe vpon the holie euangelists.

On the fourteenth of June being fridaie, there was a solemne procession at London, and a sermon at Paules crosse, in which the preacher openlie declared the effect of the kings mariage, and the articles concluded vpon the same, by reason wherof (he said) there must be a new great seale deuised, and the old broken, and in the new the kings name with a new addition of his title as regent of France, and heire apparent of that kingdome was to be ingrauen. Tho. Walsi.

A league betweene king Henrie & the duke of Burgognie.

Beside the league thus concluded by king Henrie with the French king, and the whole bodie of the realme of France, there was a priuat league accorded betwixt him and the duke of Burgognie, the effect wherof was comprehended in articles as followeth.

1 First, that the duke of Burgognie should procure this peace latelie before concluded, to be obserued firme and stable in all couenants and points therof, so far as he by any meanes might further the same; in consideration whereof, one of the brethren of king Henrie should take to wife one of the said duke of Burgognies sisters.

2 That king Henrie should euer haue in singular fauour the said duke of Burgognie, as his most déere brother, and support him in all his rights.

3 That the said duke, after the decease of king Charles, should take an oth of fealtie to be true to K. Henrie & his heires, according to the forme & tenor therof before expressed, & should in all things be friend to king Henrie and his heires for euer.

4 That king Henrie should do his vttermost indeuour, that due punishment might be had for the murther of duke John, father to the said duke of Burgognie, aswell vpon Charles that named himselfe Dolphin, as vpon others that were guiltie and priuie to that murther.

5 If the said Dolphin chanced to be taken, either in battell or towne besieged, or if anie other chanced so to be taken, that should be proued guiltie or priuie to the murther of the said duke John, he should not be deliuered without iust punishment for his deeds, nor without the consent of the two kings Charles and Henrie, & of the three estates of both the realmes.

6 In consideration of the great diligence, and painfull trauell sustained by the duke of Burgognie, it was also agreed, that he should haue by patent granted of king Charles and queene Isabell a fee of twentie thousand pounds Parisien, of yerelie reuenues, assigned forth neere to the confines of his countrie,

to

to inioy the same to him and to his wife the duches Michaell, and to the heires males betwixt them two, lawfullie begotten, to the obteining whereof, king Henrie should shew all his furtherance; & if it might not be brought to passe till king Henrie had obteined the crowne of France, then should he sée the same performed, vpon the receiuing of his homage.

The king of England, after all the articles of the said treaties and agréements were concluded, passed and sworne vnto, made to the French king, the duke of Burgognie, and other the French lords, a sumptuous banket; and before they departed from the same, he sadlie and with great grauitie made to them a right pithie and sententious oration, declaring to them both how profitable the ioining of the two kingdomes should be to the subiects of the same, and also the right that he had thereto, being by lineall descent of the womans side (which is the surest) rather a Frenchman than an Englishman. And though he was an Englishman borne, yet he assured them to tender the wealth of the realme of France, as much as he would the aduancement of his owne natiue countrie of England.

The effect of king Henries oration to the French king.

Herewith, he inueied against Charles the Dolphin, being the head and onelie mainteiner of all the ciuill discord, whose wicked nature, and cruell disposition, did well appeare in the murther of the late duke of Burgognie. He therefore willed them, according to their dutie, oth, and agréement, to stand with him, and helpe to reduce such a stubborne and disloiall sonne vnto the obeisance of his father king Charles, that he might shew himselfe conformable vnto such orders and decrees, as they had taken, appointed, and agréed vpon: and for his part, he promised to worship, loue, and honor his father in law the said K. Charles, in place of his owne father, according to the true meaning of this concord and agréement, trusting the same to be a peace finall.

And to conclude, he promised, that if they shewed themselues true and loiall to him, according to the same agréement; the Ocean sea should sooner ceasse to flow, and the bright sunne lose his light, than he would desist from doing that which became a prince to do to his subiect, or a father to his naturall child. When he had thus persuaded the nobilitie, and dispatched his businesse at Troies, he with all his armie, hauing with him the French king, and the duke of Burgognie, departed from thence the fourth of June; and vpon the seauenth date of the same moneth, came before the towne of Sens in Burgognie, which held on the Dolphins part: but after foure daies siege, it was yeelded vnto the king, and there he made capteine, the lord Genuille. From thence, he remoued to Montstreau ou fault Yonne, which towne was taken on the three and twentith date of June, by assault, so that manie of the Dolphins part were apprehended, before they could get to the castell.

It was rendered by the tenth of June Titus Liuius.

Sens & Mõstreau besieged and taken.

The siege was laid the 16. of June.

Whilest the siege laie there, and before the towne was entred, the duke of Bedford came thither vnto the king, bringing with him a faire retinue of soldiers out of England. After the getting of the towne, the castell being well vittelled and manned, denied to render, and therefore was it enuironed with a strong siege. During the which, the duke of Burgognie was informed, in what place of the towne the duke his father was buried, who was slaine there (as before you haue heard) and now his corps was taken vp againe by his sonnes appointment, and seared, and so conueied vnto Digeon in high Burgognie, and there buried by his father Philip; to the end that the remembrance of him should remaine to posteritties, by the reseruation of some monument abiding in the place of his interment, after that his bodie was consumed, and his naturall countenance forgotten. Which is the last point of reuerend dutie (as we may well thinke) which pietie of children towards their parents doth require; namelie, that they be decentlie buried when they be departed; and that their graues or tome stones may put vs that are aliue in mind of going the same waie, and to set no more by this flitting life, than standeth with the vncertaintie and shortnesse of the same; as one right well saith:

Cùm tumulum cernis, cur non mortalia spernis?
Esto memor mortis, quo viuis tempore fortis.

Bicause they within the castell of Montstreau, gaue opprobrious words vnto the kings herald that was sent to them, the king caused a gibet to be set vp before the castle, on the which were hanged twelue of those spitefull offendors, all gentlemen & frends to the capteine named monsieur de Guitrie, who at length, perceiuing that by no means he could be succoured; and fearing to be taken by force, began to treat with the king of England, who for the space of eight daies would hearken to none of his offers; but in conclusion, he and his rendred themselues simplie, their liues onelie saued, six weekes after they had béene besieged. The earle of Warwike was made capteine, both of the towne and castell, who fortified it with men, munition, and vittels.

It held not out so long as should appeare by Tit. Liuius, who saith, & it was rendred & fourth of Julie.

[About this time Robert the gouernour of Scotland, the fiftenth yeere after his brothers reigne, and in the thirtith yeare of his owne regiment deceassed, in whose steed and office his sonne Murdac duke of Albanie was by and by chosen, who had sonnes three, Walter, Alexander, and James, whereof the two eldest beginning betimes to be obstinate, grew some after verie graceles and wicked: that in one flagitious feat among the rest by this Walter verie impiouslie against his parents was vttered. The gouernour had a faire, a gentle, and well flieng falcon, whereby he set great store. The sonne verie desirous of the same, made manie meanes and motions to haue hir, not without note of malapert importunitie and lacke of reuerence toward his parents pleasure, which the father dissembling to sée, would not yet in anie wise forgo his hawke. Whereat this child reiecting regard of dutie, and receiuing an vnnaturall hate and heat by broth of iniquitie set a boiling in his brest, came in on a time, where standing a while at a sudden braid, pluckt awaie the bird from his fathers fist, and straight before his face wrang of hir necke. The gouernour heereat sore astonied, for verie greefe gaue a great grone; Well sonne (quod he) since yée cannot bridle your brunts for dutie and reuerence toward me your parent and souereigne, I will bring in one that shall bridle vs both. Hereupon soone after, he with one Calen Campbell, a noble man & of much authoritie (vnto whome this Walter had done a great despight) and with other of the nobilitie fell straight in consultation about the calling home of their king. Which all with one assent they did right well allow, whereby soone after (as is touched afore, and followeth more at large) he was by them in his kingdome right roiallie placed. But this came of it. These mischéefous children Walter and Alexander, the verie cause of their fathers confusion and their owne, within few yeares after condemned by law, vpon a hill by Sterling castell, had their heads chopt off at once. Walters wife with hir two sonnes, Andrew and Alexander, ran for refuge awaie into Ireland; thus for their long iniquities their hires iustlie paid all in a daie.] W.P. Buchan. lib. 10.

Now to proceed in our procesle of France. After the thus winning of the towne and castell of Montstreau; the king departing from thence, came to Melun vpon Seine, the thirteenth daie of Julie, and besie-

Melun besieged by king Henrie.

besieged it round about, hauing then in companie with him the French king, and the yong king of Scots, the dukes of Burgognie, Clarence, Bedford, Gloceſter, and Bar, the prince of Orainge, and one and twentie earles, beſides lords, barons, & knights, equall to lords in degree, to the number of seauen and fiftie, what of England and France; and beſide also fiftéene maiſter soldiers. This siege continued the space almost of seuen moneths, or (as Thomas Walsingham saith) foure téene wéekes, and foure daies, with skirmishing, scaling, assaulting, and defending, to the losse (no doubt) of both parts. Capteine of this towne was one monsieur de Barbason, a Gascoune of such experience and approued valiancie in wars, that his renowme and fame was spred through the world.

The king of Scots in K. Hēries armie

Eightéene wéekes haue the chronicles of Flanders.

Titus Liuius.

Monsieur de Barbason a valiāt captein.

At the first laieng of the siege, he called all the soldiers there in garrison, and likewise the townesmen afore him, and warned them all on paine of death, that none of them should be so hardie, as to treat, or once to motion anie word of surrendring the towne, or of comming to anie composition or agréement with the two kings; except they made him being their capteine priuie thereto, before they attempted anie such thing. ¶ In the meane season, the French quéene, the quéene of England, and the duches of Burgognie, lieng at Corbeill, came diuerse times to visit their husbands, and to sée their frends; whome the king of England highlie feasted, and louinglie interteined, that euerie creature reported great honour of him. This towne of Melun séemed verie strong, both by reason of the riuer of Seine, which compassed part thereof, and also by strong walles, turrets, ditches, and bulworks made about it.

Titus Liuius.

The king therefore, to take awaie all the issues and entries from them within, made a bridge ouer the riuer, able to beare horsses and carriage: and againe, appointed diuerse botes furnished with men of warre, to kéepe the streame; so that they within should haue no waie to come abroad, either by water or land: yet on a daie, the Frenchmen sailed forth, and assailed the English lodgings, where the earle of Warwike was incamped on the east side of the towne, not farre from the duke of Burgognie; but by the valiant prowesse and manlie courage of the Englishmen, the enimies were easilie beaten backe and constreined to retire into the towne againe, with their losse. Héere is to be remembred, that during this siege before Melun, there came to the king the duke of Bauiere, the kings brother in law (but the kings sister that had béene married to him, was not then liuing) and brought with him seauen hundred well appointed horssemen, which were reteined to serue the king, and right worthilie they bare themselues, and therefore most liberallie recompensed at the kings hand, for the time they continued in his seruice.

The duke of Bauiere commeth to king Henrie with a number of horssemen.

The king inforced this siege by all waies and meanes possible, to bring the towne into subiection, as well by mines as otherwise, but they within the towne so valiantlie behaued themselues, as well by countermines (whereby at length they entered into the kings mines) as by other waies of resistance, that by force of assaults it was not thought anie easie matter to win the same. It fortuned on a daie, that whilest there rose a contention betwixt two lords of the kings host, who should haue the honor to go first into the mine, to incounter with the Frenchmen, that now had brought their mine through into the English mines, and made barriers betwixt, that they might safelie come and fight with the Englishmen: the king (to auoid the strife) entered the mine himselfe first of all other, and by chance came to fight hand to hand with the lord Barbason, who was likewise entered the mine before all other of them within the towne.

The trāslator of Tit. Liuius.

K. Henrie and mōsieur Barbason fight hand to hand.

After they had fought a good season togither, at length they agreed to discouer either to other their names; so as the lord Barbason, first declaring what he was; the king likewise told him, that he was the king of England. Whereupon, Barbason perceiuing with whome he had fought, caused the barriers forthwith to be closed, and withdrew into the citie, and the king returned backe to his campe. At length, vittels within the towne began to faile, and the pestilence began to war hot, so that the lord Barbason began to treat; and in conclusion, about the middest of November (as Fabian saith) the towne was yelded vpon certeine conditions, whereof one was, that all that were consenting to the death of the duke of Burgognie, should be deliuered to the king of England, of whome the lord Barbason was suspected to be one. The king sent them vnder the conduct of his brother the duke of Clarence, to the citie of Paris, whereof the French king made him capteine, and so at his comming thither, he toke possession of the Bastill of S. Anthonie, the Loure, the house of Nélle, and the place of Bois de Vincennes.

It was surrendred about Alhalontide, as Thom. Wal. noteth.

Melun yelded vp to king Henrie.

Monsieur de Barbason was accused by the duke of Burgognie, and his sisters as guiltie to their fathers death; but he in open court defended himselfe as not guiltie of that crime, granting indeed and confessing, that he was one of the familiar seruants to the Dolphin, but that he was priuie or consenting to the death of the duke of Burgognie, he vtterlie denied. Whereupon he was not condemned, neither yet acquited, by reason of such presumptions and coniectures as were alledged and brought against him, so that he remained in prison at Paris and else-where, the space of nine yeares, till at length, being brought vnto castell Gaillard, it chanced that the same castell was wone by those of the Dolphins part, and he being as then prisoner there, escaped out of danger, and so by that means was set at libertie, as after shall appeare.

Titus Liuius.

Some write, that he had béene put to death, if he had not appealed from king Henries sentence, vnto the iudgement of the officers at armes; alledging, that by the lawe of armes, no man hauing his brother in armes within his danger, afterwards ought to put him to death for any cause or quarell. And that he was the kings brother in armes he proued it, for that he had fought with him hand to hand within the mines (as before yee haue heard) which combat was thought of equall force by the heralds, as if he had fought with the king bodie to bodie, within solemne lists. The credit of this matter we leaue to the consideration of the readers. The earle of Huntington was made capteine of Melun. In defense of this towne and castell, the French had gotten vnto them manie Scots. At the siege héere the king kept with him yong James of Scotland, who sent to those Scots, that they should come out and yeld them vnto him, and not to stand in armes against their liege lord and king; but they gaue word backe againe, they could not take him for king, that was in the power of another, and so kept them in hold and in their armor still. King Henrie vpon winning of these forts, for their rebellion against their prince, which they would haue to be counted constancie, and for their contemptuous answer vnto him, twentie of the proudest, in example of the rest, caused he there to be hanged at once.

Note this appeale.

A note in law of armes.

W. P.

Melun yeld vp to king Henrie.

From thence the king departed with his armie vnto Corbeill, where the French king and the two quœnes then soiourned; and after, both the kings, accompanied with the dukes of Bedford, Burgognie, Gloceſter, and Exceſter, and the earls of Warwike

and

and Salisburie, with a great number of noble men and knights, set forth towards Paris, whome the citizens in good order met without the gates, and the cleargie also with solemne procession. All the streets were hanged with rich clothes, the two kings rode togither (the king of England giuing the vpper hand to his father in lawe) through the great citie of Paris, to our ladie church, where after they had said their deuotions, they departed vnto their lodgings; the French king to the house of S. Paule, and the king of England to the castell of Louer.

King Henrie is receiued in at Paris.

The next daie, the two quænes made their entrie and were receiued with like solemnities, as their husbands were the day before. During all the season that these two kings laie in Paris, there was a great assemblie called, as well of the spiritualtie, as of the nobles of the temporaltie, in the which, the kings sat as iudges, before whom the duches of Burgognie by hir proctor, appealed the Dolphin, and seauen other, for the murther of duke John hir husband. To the which appeale, the counsell of the other part made diuerse offers of amends, as well of foundations of chantries for preests, to praie for the soule, as recompense of monie to the widow and children: for the finall determination whereof, the kings, to take further aduise and counsell therein, appointed another daie.

The duches of Burgognie hir appeale.

At this same time, the three estates of the realme of France assembled at Paris, and there euerie person seuerallie sware vpon the holie euangelists, to kæpe, support, mainteine and defend the treatie and finall accord, which was concluded betwæne the two kings, and thereto euerie noble man, spirituall gouernour and temporall ruler, set to their seales, which instruments were sent to the kings treasurie of his eschecker at Westminster safelie to be kept, where they yet remaine. The French king at the same time being in good and perfect state of health, openlie there in parlement declared, that peace was concluded, accorded, and made by his frée assent, and with the aduise of all the councell of France, and that he would for his owne part, and that his successors ought for their parts, obserue and kæpe the same, with all the articles therein conteined. And likewise, that all his subiects were bound for euer, to obserue and kæpe the same, without breaking or doing anie thing preiudiciall thereunto.

The oth of the three estates of Fræce.

During the time that the two kings thus sojourned in Paris, the French king kept a small port, verie few, and those of the meaner sort resorting vnto his court: but the king of England kept such a solemne state, with so plentifull an house, and shewed himselfe so bountifull in gifts, and setting forth of warlike shewes and princelie passimes, that all the noble men and other resorted to his palace, to sæ his estate, and to do him honor. He toke vpon him as regent of France, to redresse causes, remoue officers, reforme things that were amisse, and caused a new coine to be made, called a salute, wherein were the armes of France, and the armes of England and France quarterlie stamped. Also, to set all things in quiet, he constituted sir Gilbert Umfreuile capteine of Melun, with a good number of valiant soldiers, to remaine there in garrison, and the earle of Huntington (cosine germane to the king) was deputed capteine at Blois de Vincenes; and the duke of Excester, with fiue hundred men of warre, was assigned to kæpe Paris. Thus had king Henrie (when he was constituted gouernour of the land) the disposing of prouinces, townes, and castels at his pleasure; and the making of lawes and ordinances, standing with the drift of his policie to kæpe both people in due obedience; as *Anglorum prælia* breeflie noteth; saieng:

King Henrie taketh vpon him the office of regent of France.

The coine salute.

Rectorem patriæ postquam rex Gallus & omnes
Vnanimes proceres Henricum constituerunt;
Plantageneta dabat princeps iam iura duabus
Gentibus, effrænes ductis cohibebat habenis.

The duke of Bauier about the same time, with the kings licence, departed into his countrie, both he and his retinue, receiuing large gifts of the kings great liberalitie, and amongst other things, the king gaue him a cup of gold, garnished and set with pretious stones of great price and value. Moreouer, he had a pension giuen him of a thousand markes by yeare, vnder the kings letters patents, to be had and receiued of the kings frée and liberall grant, during the life of the said duke. A right roiall reward & worthie the maiestie of a king, bestowed vpon the said duke; and his retinue, partlie in respect of the aliance betwixt the king and him (for he had maried the kings sister) but speciallie for the notable seruice which they did him at the siege before Melun. So that hereby is commended vnto vs an example of gratitude and beneficence; teaching vs, that to such as haue bæne good and gratious vnto vs, we should be alwaies forward with a right hand and readie mind to make amends in some proportion and measure.

The duke of Bauier & his troope with the kings fauor departeth.

When the king had thus ordered his businesse, he with the quæne his wife, the princes, & nobles of and realme departed from Paris, the first of Januarie, and came to Rone, but first before his departing, he caused processe to be made and awarded forth against Charles the Dolphin, commanding him to apære at the marble table at Paris; where for lacke of appearance, he was with all solemnitie in such case requisite, denounced guiltie of the murther and homicide of John duke of Burgognie, and by the sentence of parlement banished the realme: but the Dolphin withdrew into Languedoc, and after to Poictiers, getting to him such frends as he could; and namelie, he found the earle of Arminacke verie faithfull to him, not onelie aiding him with men, but also with his owne person he continuallie serued him against all his aduersaries.

1421

Sentence against the Dolphin.

The king of England comming to Rone, sojourned there a certeine time, and receiued the homage of all the nobles of Normandie, amongst whome, the earle of Stafford did homage for the countie of Perch, and Arthur of Britaine likewise for the countie of Yurie. He also ordeined his lieutenant generall, both of France and Normandie, his brother Thomas duke of Clarence; and his deputie in Normandie was the earle of Salisburie. When the feast of Christmasse was passed, he departed from Rone, with the quæne his wife, and by Amiens came to Calis, where he toke ship the morow after Candlemasse daie, and landed at Douer, and came to Canturburie, and from thence to Eltham, and so through London to Westminster. I passe ouer to write what ioy and triumph was shewed by the citizens of London, and of all other his subiects in euerie place where he came.

These counties they inioied of the kings gift.

He landed at Douer vpon Candlemasse æue saith Tho. Walsingham.

The king himselfe, to render vnto God his most humble & hartie thanks, caused solemne processions to be obserued and kept fiue daies togither in euerie citie and towne. After that done, he made great purueiance for the coronation of his quæne & spouse, the faire ladie Katharine: which was done the daie of S. Matthew, being the twentie fourth of Februarie, with all such ceremonies and princelie solemnitie as apertеined. Which because it was full of roialtie and honour (the qualitie of the principall personages requiring no lesse) and recorded by writers of former ages, it seemeth necessarie and conuenient in this place to report it, in such sort as it is found at large in some, though others glansinglie passe by it, as a matter of no great obseruation. But it is worth the noting, to consider and take a view of the goodlie order

King Henrie returneth into England with his new wife.

Thomas walsingham saith, she was crowned the first in Lent, which that yere fell vpon the ninth of Februarie.

The coronation of quæne Katharine.

order and reuerend dutifulnesse exhibited on all sides to the new quéene; of whome *Anglorum prælia* saith,

More coronatur maiorum regia coniux,
Ingeminans rex ô viuat, reginâque vulgus,
Altisonis suprema ferit clamoribus astra.

Abr. Fl. out of Fabian, pag. 402,403.

¶ After the great solemnization at the foresaid coronation in the church of saint Peters at Westminster was ended, the quæne was conueied into the great hall of Westminster, and there set to dinner. Upon whose right hand sat at the end of the table the archbishop of Canturburie, & Henrie surnamed the Rich cardinall of Winchester. Upon the left hand of the quéene sat the king of Scots in his estate, who was serued with couered messe, as were the forenamed bishops; but yet after them. Upon the same hand and side, néere the bords end, sat the duchesse of Yorke and the countesse of Huntington. The earle of March, holding a scepter in his hand, knéeled vpon the right side: the earle marshall in like manner on the left of the quéene. The countesse of Kent sat vnder the table at the right fot, and the countesse marshall at the left. The duke of Gloucester sir Humfrie was that daie ouersæer, and stood before the quæne bareheaded. Sir Richard Neuill was that daie caruer to the quéene, the earles brother of Suffolke cupbearer, sir John Steward sewar, the lord Clifford pantler in the earle of Warwikes stéed, the lord Willoughbie buttler in stæd of the erle of Arundell, the lord Graie Ruthin or Riffin naperer, the lord Audleie almoner in stæd of the earle of Cambridge, the earle of Worcester was that daie earle marshall in the earle marshals absence; who rode about the hall vpon a great courser with a multitude of tipped staues about him, to make and kéepe rome in the said hall. Of the which hall the barons of the cinque ports began the table vpon the right hand, toward saint Stephans chappell; and beneath them at the table sat the vowchers of the chancerie. Upon the left hand next to the cupbord sat the maior and his brethren the aldermen of London. The bishops began the table against the barons of the cinque ports; and the ladies against the maior. Of which two tables, for the bishops, began the bishop of London and the bishop of Durham; and for the ladies, the countesse of Stafford, and the countesse of March.

A roiall banket.

The feast was all of fish: for the ordering of the seruice whereof were diuerse lords apointed head officers, as steward, controller, surueior, and other honourable officers. For the which were appointed the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, the lord Fitz Hugh, the lord Furneuall, the lord Graie of Wilton, the lord Ferres of Grobie, the lord Poinings, the lord Harrington, the lord Darcie, the lord Dacres, and the lord de la Ware. These with others ordered the seruice of the feast as followeth; and thus for the first course. Brawne and mustard, eles in burneur, frument with balien, pike in herbarge, lamprie powdered, trowt, codling, plaice fried, martine fried, crabs, lærch lumbard flourished, tartes; and a deuise called a pellican, sitting on hir nest with hir birds, and an image of saint Katharine holding a booke, and disputing with doctors, holding this poesie in hir right hand, written in faire and legible letters, *Madame le Royne*; and the pellican answering,

The first course.

C'e est la signe & du roy, pour tenir ioy,
Et a tout sa gent, elle mette sa entent.

The second course.

The second course was: gellie coloured with columbine flowers, white potage or creame of almonds, breame of the sea, conger, soles, cheuen, barbill and roch, fresh salmon, halibut, gurnard, rochet broiled, smelts fried, creuis or lobster; lærch damaske, with the kings poesie flourished therevpon, *Vne sans plus*; lamprie fresh baked, flampeine flourished with a scutchion roiall, and therein three crowns of gold planted with flourdeluces and floure of camomill wrought of confections: with a deuise of a panther, and an image of saint Katharine with a wheele in one hand, & a scroll with a poesie in the other, to wit,

La royne ma file, in ceste ile,
Per bon resoun, aues renoun.

The third course.

The third course was, dates in compost, creame motle, carpe dore, turbut, tench, pearch with goton, fresh sturgion with welks, porperous rosted, mennes fried, creuisse de eau doure, pranis, éles rosted with lamprie, a léech called the white lærch flourished with hawthorne leaues & red hawes; a marchpane garnished with diuerse figures of angels, among which was set an image of S. Katharine, holding this posie,

Il est escrit, pur voir & eit,
Per marriage pure, cest guerre ne dure.

And lastlie a deuise of a tiger loking in a mirror, and a man sitting on horsse-backe all armed, holding in his armes a tigers whelpe with this poesie; *Per force sans resoun ie ay prise ceste best*: and with his owne hand making a countenance of throwing of mirrors at the great tiger, which held this poesie; *Gile che mirrour ma feste distour*. Thus with all honour was finished the solemne coronation, after which the quéene soiourned in the palace of Westminster till Palmesundaie following; and on the morow she toke hir iournie towards Windsor; where the king and she held their Easter.]

After the solemne feast of the coronation was ended, the king as well to visit certeine places for deuotion by waie of pilgrimage, as also to see in what state and order diuerse parts of his realme stood, departed from the quæne, appointing daie and place where she should méet him, and so iournied forth from place to place, thorough sundrie countries, as well of Wales as England, and in euerie quarter where he came, he heard with diligent care the complaints of suitors, and toke order for the administration of iustice both to high and low, causing manie misdemeanours to be reformed. At length he came to the towne of Leicester, where he found the quæne according to the apointment before taken. Here at Leicester, he held the feast of Easter. ¶ How then standeth this with the report of Fabian, who saith, that the king and quéene kept their Easter at Windsor; and that when the said festiuall time was expired, the king made prouision for his warres in France, during the tearme of Richard Whittinghams meraltie of London, which was in the eight yeare of this king Henries reigne? Suerlie there must nœds be an errour, either in mistaking the yeare or the place: vnlesse we will grant the king and quæne (with their court of attendants) to haue béene *Hîc ibi simul*, which priuilege is granted to none but Ubiquitaries.

Iustice minstred by king Henrie in progresse.

Abr. Fl.

But while these things were thus adoing in England, the duke of Clarence, the kings lieutenant in France and Normandie, assembled togither all the garrisons of Normandie, at the towne of Bernaie, and from thence departed to the countrie of Maine, and at Pont le Gene he passed the riuer of Yonne, and rode through all the countrie to Lucie, where he passed the riuer of Loire, and entered into Aniou, and came before the citie of Angiers, where he made manie knights, that is to saie, sir William Ros, sir Henrie Goddard, sir Rowland Rider, sir Thomas Beaufort, called the bastard of Clarence, and diuerse other; and after that he had forraied, burnt, and spoiled the countrie, he returned with preie and pillage to the towne of Beaufort in the vallie, where he was aduertised, that a great number of his enimies, Frenchmen, Scots, Spaniards, and other were assembled togither, at a place called Uiell Bauge, that is, Old Baugie, with the duke of Alanson, calling himselfe

Anno Reg. 9.

The duke of Clarence made a rode into Aniou.

Uiell Bauge or Baugie.

himselfe lieutenant generall for the Dolphin.

The duke of Clarence had a Lombard resorting vnto him, reteined with the part aduerse (his name was Andrew Forgusa) of whom the duke inquired the number of his enimies, to whome he reported, that their number was but small, & not of puissance to match with halfe the power of his strong armie, intising him with assurance of victorie, to set on the Frenchmen. The duke like a couragious prince, assembled togither all the horsemen of the armie, and left the archers vnder the guiding of the bastard of Clarence, and two Portingales, capteins of Fresnie le vicount, saieng, that he onelie and the nobles would haue the honor of that tournie. When the duke was passed a certeine streict and narrow passage, he espied his enimies ranged in good order of battell, by the monition of the Lombard, which had sold him to his enimies, & his aduersaries had laid such ambushments at the streicts, that the duke by no wale without battell could either retire or flee.

Forgusa, a Lumbard betraieth the duke of Clarence.

The Englishmen seeing this, valiantlie set on their enimies, who were foure to one, by reason whereof at length the Englishmen were oppressed with multitude, and brought to confusion. There were slaine, the duke of Clarence, the earle of Tankeruile, the lord Ros, sir Gilbert Umfreuile earle of Angus, and sir John Lomlie, sir Robert Uerend, and almost two thousand Englishmen: & the earles of Summerset, Suffolke, and Perch, the lord Fitz Water, sir John Berkelie, sir Rafe Neuile, sir Henrie Inglis, sir William Bowes, sir William Longton, sir Thomas Borough, and diuerse other taken prisoners. And of the Frenchmen were slaine aboue twelue hundred of the best men of warre they had, so that they gained not much.

The Englishmen discomfited.

The duke of Clarence and diuerse nobles of England slaine.

The bastard of Clarence which tarried at Beaufort, being informed of the great number of the Frenchmen, made forward with all the archers, to come to the succor of the duke, but they came too late. For the Frenchmen hearing of the approching of the archers fled with their prisoners, and left the bodie of the duke, and other the dead carcases behind them. The archers buried them all sauing the dukes corpse, which with great solemnitie was sent to England, and buried at Canturburie beside his father. After this the Englishmen burnt and spoiled the countrie of Maine, and so returned to Alanson, and after departed euerie man to his garrison. This battell was fought on Easter euen, in the yeare 1421. But now to returne to the king.

After he had kept his Easter at Leicester, he with the queene remoued and went northward, till they came to Yorke, where they were receiued with great ioy of the citizens, and other the nobles and gentlemen of the countrie. The king went vnto Beuerlie, to visit the shrine of saint John, and immediatlie vpon his departure from thence, the sorowfull newes of his brother the duke of Clarences death, came to him, for which he was right pensife. But sith mourning would not auaile, he called to remembrance what he had to do, and thereupon without delaie, sent Edmund earle of Mortaigne, brother to the earle of Summerset into Normandie, giuing to him like authoritie and preheminence, as his brother the late deceassed duke of Clarence had before enioied.

The earle of Mortaigne made lieutenant of Normandie.

After this, he called his high court of parlement, in the which he declared with such great wisedome & grauitie, the acts which had beene done in France, the state of the time present, and what was necessarie to be prouided for the time to come (if they would loke to haue that iewell and high kingdome, for the which they had so long laboured and sought) that the communaltie gladlie granted a fiftéenth, & the clergie beneuolentlie offred a double disme. And bicause no delaie should be in the kings affaires for lacke of paiment, the bishop of Winchester the kings vncle lent vnto him twentie thousand pounds, to be paid him againe of the same dismes. When all things necessarie for this tournie were readie and prepared, he sent his brother the duke of Bedford before him to Calis with all his armie, being (as some write) foure thousand men of armes, and twentie thousand archers and others; though some haue written, that the whole armie passed not twelue thousand of one and other.

The bishop of Winchester lent the king 20000.

The king himselfe shortlie after, about the middle of Maie, passed the seas to Calis, and so from thence he marched through the countrie vnto Bois de Vincennes, where the French king and the queene as then soiourned. The duke of Burgognie also that had receiued him at Monstruell, attended him to Dowall in Ponthieu, and there hauing taken leaue of him for sir daies, returned now againe to him, according to his promise. Then did they consult togither about their affaires, and appointed in all hast to fight with the Dolphin, and to raise the siege of Chartres which he had there planted. Hereupon, the king of England with all his puissance, came to the towne of Mante, and thither repaired the duke of Burgognie; but yer they departed from thence, they had knowledge, that the Dolphin hearing of the puissant armie of the king of England approching towards him, was recoiled with his people towards Towers in Touraine.

King Henrie saileth into France againe.

He tooke sea at Douer the fourth of June, as Titus Liuius saith, and so saie the chronicles of Flanders.

Herevpon the king of England incontinentlie, did not onlie send backe the duke of Burgognie into Picardie, to resist the attempts of sir Jaques de Harecourt, which made war in that countrie for the Dolphin, but also appointed the king of Scots, with the duke of Glocester, to besiege the towne of Dreux. They comming thither about the eightéenth of Julie, planted siege on euerie side, both of the towne and castell; and what with power of battrie, and other forcible meanes, so constreined them within, that on the eight daie of August they compounded, that if no sufficient rescue came to raise the siege, before the end of twelue daies next insuing, both the towne and castell should be deliuered to the king of Englands vse, so as the soldiers might depart with their goods whither they would, except one Englishman, which was knowen to be amongst them, being fled for treason out of the kings dominions.

The king of Scots seruеth king Henrie. Dreux besieged & rendred to the Englishmen.

On the twentith daie of August, which was the day of the apointment, the king of Scots receiued the towne and castell to the behoofe of his souereigne lord the king of England, who (during all the time of the siege) laie at Yorzaumall. The townesmen that would remaine still in their houses, were sworne to be true subiects to the king; and the other which refused, departed with the souldiers. The Englishman that was excepted, was deliuered according to the couenants; and after executed, as he had deserued. The earle of Worcester was made capteine of Dreux, and sir Henrie Mortimer baliffe there. This done, the king hearing that the Dolphin should be at Baugencie, assembling his power, hasted thitherwards: but at his comming into those parties, he found no appearance of enimies in the field, and so he remained there fiftéene daies.

In which meane while, the earle of Suffolke was sent forth to discouer the countrie, and the king wan by assault the towne of Baugencie, and after when vittels began to faile, he marched forward, meaning to pursue the Dolphin. But the Dolphin douting the English puissance, conueied all the vittels forth of those quarters, and retired himselfe to Burges in Berrie, chosing that place as his first refuge, & therefore determined there to remaine, till fortune turning

King Henrie pursueth the Dolphin.

A parlement.

The Dolphin, why called king of Berrie.

ning hir wheele, should looke on them with a more fauorable countenance, hereof in scorne was he commonlie called king of Berrie. The king of England followed, till vittels and forrage began sore to faile on all sides, and then returning, passed towards Orleance, taking the castell of Rouge Mont by assault.

He staied three daies before Orleance, and from thence, for want of vittels, marched through Gastinois, till he came to Vignie sur Yonne, where he remained for a season, to refresh his people that were sore trauelled, in that painefull passed iournie: in which the king lost not onelie manie of his men for lacke of vittels, but also a great number of horsses and carriages. Some haue written, that about the same time, he should win the citie of Sens, otherwise called the kings new towne by surrender; but after he had remained for a time at Vignie, we find that he remoued to Paris, where he was honorablie receiued. ¶ For he came among them as one hauing empire and dominion in his hand, so that to him they were no lesse forward in submission for feare of his indignation, than readie to giue him all the interteinement that they could deuise for the keeping of his fauour: the lacke whereof they knew stood with the hazard of their safetie, as the contrarie tended to their welfare.

Titus Liuius.

Les histories des ducz de Normandie.

Abr. Fl.

Shortlie after, considering with himselfe that the towne of Meaux in Brie, being replenished with enimies, was not to be suffered to remaine in that state, in the middes of his new gotten subiects; he determined to take awaie the open scruple that might poison and infect the members, dwelling hard by: wherefore with a great number of earles and barons in his companie, he came to besiege it. This towne was no lesse well vittelled than manned, and no better manned than fortified; so that the king could neither haue it to him deliuered at his pleasure, nor gaine it by assault, without the great losse of his people: yet neuertheless, he determined not to depart, till he had got it by one meane or other. The riuer of Marne diuided this towne into two parts, so that there was no enterie from the one into the other, but by a bridge, raised vp, and made ouer the riuer, sustained with manie arches. The one part is called the citie, and the other la March, being the strongest and best fortified. The king first lodged a mile off in a castell, and sent the duke of Excester to begin the siege, which he did, according to his instructions, vpon the sixt of October.

The strong towne of Meaux besieged by the Englishmen.

Shortlie after, the king himselfe came, and lodged in the abbeie of Pharon, the duke of Excester in the abbeie de Chage, the earle of March at the greie friers, and the earle of Warwike directlie against that part that is called la Parch. They within defended themselues right valiantlie, so that the Englishmen were not all at their ease, but specialie through lacke of vittels manie died, and manie fell sicke, by reason whereof, no small number returned home into England; where in the meane time, on the first of December, a parlement was called and holden at Westminster, by the duke of Bedford, gouernour of the realme in the kings absence. ¶ In this parlement, a fifteenth was granted to the king towards the maintenance of the warres, the one moitie to be paid at Candlemasse, and the other at Martinmasse, of such monie as at the time of the grant was currant.

A parlement called by the duke of Bedford, the king being in France.

This yeare at Windsore on the daie of saint Nicholas in December, the quéene was deliuered of a sonne named Henrie, whose godfathers were John duke of Bedford, and Henrie bishop of Winchester, and Iaquet, or (as the Frenchmen called hir) Iaqueline of Bauier, countesse of Holland was his godmother. The king being certified hereof, as he laie at

Windsore. The birth of king Henrie the fift.

siege before Meaux, gaue God thanks, in that it had pleased his diuine prouidence to send him a sonne, which might succeed in his crowne and scepter. But when he heard reported the place of his natiuitie; there it that he warned by some prophesie, or had some foreknowledge, or else iudged himselfe of his sonnes fortune, he said vnto the lord Fitz Hugh his trustie chamberleine these words; My lord, I Henrie borne at Monmouth, shall small time reigne, & much get; and Henrie borne at Windsore, shall long reigne, and all lose: but as God will, so be it.

King Henrie prophesieth of his sonne.

The king held his Christmasse at the siege before Meaux, for he would not giue ouer that siege, although his armie was greatlie diminished, by reason of lacke of vittels, extreame cold, foule weather, and other discommodities that bred great store of diseases and sickenesse among his people; notwithstanding, all the helps and means that might be, he deuised to remedie the same: so that beside such as died, as well of sickenesse as by the enimies hand, manie returned home into their countries. But yet he ceased not to continue the siege, beating the walles with his ordinance, and casting downe bulworkes and rampiers on ech side the towne, made approches as well by water as land, with mightie engines deuised of woods to defend the Englishmen, as they approched the walles, and gaue assaults. The walles also were in diuerse places vndermined.

Titus Liuius.

1422

After this, the Englishmen found meanes, by bridges made of boats, to passe the riuer; but yet the souldiers and other within defended their rampiers and breaches most stoutlie, and with guns and quarrels still shot at the Englishmen, of whome they slue manie, and among other the earle of Worcester was slaine, with a bullet of the great artillerie, & the lord Clifford with a quarrell of a crossebow; yet the Englishmen still wan ground, and got nærer and nærer to the walles. They also woone the chiefest part of a bridge from the enimies, and kept watch and ward vpon and about the same. The earle of Warwike had also taken a Vaumure from them of the market place, built on the southside thereof, able to receiue and lodge a good number of men, which seruing to good purpose, for the better bridling of them within, he caused to be kept, and thus were they within Meaux sore oppressed on euerie side.

Herevpon in Februarie, the capteins doubting least the citie could not be defended long, caused all the vittels and goods to be conueied into the market place, and retired all the men of warre into the same, leauing none in the other part of the citie, but the commons, and such as were not able to do any auaileable seruice in the warre. The king aduertised hereof, commanded in all hast to assault the citie, which was quicklie done; so that the citie by fine force was within three houres taken and spoiled; and the same daie the market place besieged round about, and a mill woone adioining vnto the same. In Aprill, the quéene passed ouer into France, with a faire retinue of men, vnder the conduct of the duke of Bedford, the duke of Gloucester remaining lord gouernour of the realme in his place. At hir comming thither, she was so welcommed and honorablie receiued, first of hir husband, and after of hir father and mother, that she appeared to be no lesse loued of hir noble husband, than of hir déere and naturall parents.

Meaux taken by assault.

Anno Reg. 10. Quéene Katharine saileth into France.

Whilest the siege still continued before Meaux, Oliuer Mannie a valiant man of warre of the Dolphins part (which before was capteine of Faleise, and yéelding it, sware neuer to beare armour against the king of England) assembled a great number of men of warre, as well Britaines as Frenchmen, that is to saie, the lord Montborchier, the lord of Coinon, the

Oliuer Mannie.

lord of Chatelgiron, the lord Tintignace, the lord de la Howssaie, and diuerse other, which entered into the countrie of Constantine in Normandie, and robbed and killed the Englishmen, where they might either espie or take them at their due aduantage. But the earle of Suffolke keeper of the marches, hearing of their doings, sent for the lord Scales, sir John Aston bailiffe of Constantine, sir William Hall, sir John Banaster, and many other, out of the garrisons within that territorie, the which incountred with their enimies at a place called *Le parke leuesque*, in English, The bishops parke.

A sore cõflict. There was a sore fight and a long betwixt them, but finallie, the Frenchmen were put to flight, so that in the conflict and chase were slaine, the lord of Coinon, the lord of Chatellgiron, and three hundred other: and there were taken prisoners, the lord de la Howssaie, and sir Oliuer Mannie, with threescore others. The king pardoned sir Oliuer Mannie his life, though he ill deserued so great a benefit, for that he had broken his oth and promise, but he was sent into England, there to learne to speake English, and so being brought to London, shortlie after died, being as then a verie aged man, & was buried in the white friers. Abr. Fl. ¶ But here note (by the waie) the rotall part of this king, who as he tempered all his actions with singular circumspection; so with a pitifull mind he pondered the miserie of his enimies; so that when he might (*Iure belli*, by the law of armes) haue spoiled them of goods and life, he diuerse times spared both; with clemencie cõmonlie making conquest of them, who seemed by open hostilitie scarse conquerable.

The king lieng still before the market place at Meaux in Brie (as ye haue heard) sore beat the wals with his ordinance, and cast downe bulworkes and rampiers on euerie side the towne, so that he had made an open breach for his people to enter. Wherof the lord of Offemont being aduertised, with a companie of chosen persons sent by the Dolphin, assaied in the night season to enter the towne, to the succours of them within. But though diuerse of his people got ouer the walles, by helpe of ladders which they had set vp; yet such was his chance, that as he passed a planke, to haue come to the walles, he fell into a deepe ditch; and in the meane time, the Englishmen perceiuing by the noise what the matter meant, came running to the ditch, toke the lord of Offemont, and slue diuerse of his companie that stood in defense.

Continuation de la chronicles de Flanders. The captens within, perceiuing in what case they stood, by reason their succours were thus intercepted, and doubting to be taken by assault, for that they wanted munition and weapon, began to treat with the king of England, who appointed the earle of Warwike, and the lord Hungerford, to commune with them; and in conclusion an accord was taken, and so the towne and market place with all the goods were deliuered into the king of Englands hands, the tenth daie of Maie, in the yeare 1422. The appointment taken with them of this towne was this, that they should yeld themselues simplie vnto the kings pleasure, their liues onlie saued: and herevpon manie of them were sent ouer into England, amongst whome was the bishop of that towne, which shortlie after his arriuall here fell sicke and died.

Titus Liuius. The conditions of the surrender of Meaux into the kings hands. There were also foure persons excepted, against whome the king might by order of law and iustice proceed as he saw cause, for their faults and trespasses committed. As first, the captein of the towne, named the bastard of Maureu, the which had done manie grieuous oppressions to the people of the countrie thereabouts, in spoiling them of their goods and ransoming them at his pleasure. He had also put diuerse to death most cruellie, when they were not able to paie such finance and ransomes as he demanded. Whereupon, being now put to death himselfe, his bodie was hanged vpon a tree that stood on an hill without the towne, on the which he had caused both husbandmen and townesmen, with other prisoners, to be hanged before time. His standard also, which was wont to be borne before him in battell, was set vp in the same tree. The bailiffe also of the towne, and two of the cheefest burgesses that had been of counsell with him in his vnlawfull doings, were likewise executed. Also beside these, there were found in this towne diuerse that were accused to be guiltie of the duke of Burgognies death, wherefore they were put to their triall, in the parlement at Paris, and some of them being found guiltie, were executed.

When the deliuerie of the strong towne of Meaux was published thorough out the countrie, all the townes and fortresses in the Ile of France, in Lannois, in Brie, & in Champaigne, yelded themselues to the king of England, which appointed in the same valiant capteins, and hardie soldiers. After that he had thus got possession of Meaux, and the other fortresses, he returned againe to Bois de Vincennes, and being there receiued of the king and quéene of France, and of the quæne his wife the thirtith daie of Maie, being Whitsun éuen, they remoued all togither vnto Paris, where the king of England lodged in the castell of Loure, and the French king in the house of saint Paule. These two kings kept great estate with their quénes, at this high feast of Pentecost, but the king of Englands court greatlie exceeded, so that all the resort was thither. The Parisiens that beheld his princelie port & high magnificence, iudged him rather an emperour than a king, and their owne king to be in respect of him like a duke or marquesse. The rotall port of the K. of England.

The Dolphin hauing knowledge by espials where the king of England and his power laie, came with all his puissance ouer the riuer of Loire, and besieged Colneie, a towne situate vpon that riuer, a six score miles distant from Paris, and appointed part of his armie to waste and destroie the confines of the duchie of Burgognie, to the intent to diuide the power of the king of England, from the strength of the duke of Burgognie, supposing (as it came to passe indeed) that the duke would make hast towards Burgognie, to defend his owne lands. In the meane time, they within Colneie were so hard handled, that they promised to render their towne to the Dolphin, if they were not rescued by the king of England within ten daies. King Henrie hearing these newes would not send anie one creature, but determined to go himselfe to the raising of that siege, and so with all diligence came to the towne of Corbeill, and so to Senlis, where (whether it were with heat of the aire, or that he with his dailie labour were feebled or weakened) he began to wax sicke, yea and so sicke, that he was constreined to tarrie, and send his brother the duke of Bedford to rescue them of Colneie, which he did to his high honor. For the Dolphin hearing that the duke of Bedford was comming to raise his siege departed thence into Berrie, to his great dishonor, and lesse gaine. Colneie besieged by the Dolphin. The king falleth sicke. Colneie rescued by the duke of Bedford.

About the same time, the duke of Britaine sent his chancellor the bishop of Nants, with the bishop of Uannes, and others of his councell, as ambassadors from him vnto king Henrie, with full commission, to ratifie and allow for him and his people the peace concluded at Troies: but by reason of the kings grieuous sickenesse, nothing was then done in that matter. Neuertheless, the duke himselfe in person came afterwards to Amiens, and there performed that which he had appointed his ambassadors at this time, in his name, to haue done and accompli-

Titus Liuius. The duke of Britaine sendeth ambassadors to the K. of England.

shed.

The king of England is brought sicke to Bois de Vincennes.

shed. In the meane season, king Henrie waxed sicker and sicker, and so in an horselitter was conueied to Bois de Vincennes, to whome shortlie after repaired the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, & the earles of Salisburie and Warwike, whome the king louinglie welcomed, and seemed glad of their presence.

His aduise vpon his death bed.

Now, when he saw them pensife for his sickenesse, and great danger of life wherein he presentlie laie, he with manie graue, courteous, and pithie words, recomforted them the best he could, and therewith exhorted them to be trustie and faithfull vnto his sonne, and to see that he might be well and vertuouslie brought vp. And as concerning the rule and gouernance of his realms, during the minoritie and yong yeares of his said sonne, he willed them to ioine together in frendlie loue and concord, keping continuall peace and amitie with the duke of Burgognie, and neuer to make treatie with Charles that called himselfe Dolphin of Vienne, by the which anie part either of the crowne of France, or of the duches of Normandie and Guien may be lessened or diminished: and further, that the duke of Orleance, and the other princes should still remaine prisoners, till his sonne came to lawfull age, least returning home againe, they might kindle more fire in one daie than might be quenched in three.

He further aduised them, that if they thought it necessarie, that it should be good to haue his brother Humfreie duke of Gloucester to be protector of England, during the nonage of his sonne, and his brother the duke of Bedford, with the helpe of the duke of Burgognie to rule and to be regent of France, commanding him with fire and sword to persecute the Dolphin, till he had either brought him to reason and obeisance, or else to driue and expell him out of the realme of France. And herewith he protested vnto them, that neither the ambitious desire to inlarge his dominions, neither to purchase vaine renowme and worldlie fame, nor anie other consideration had moued him to take the warres in hand; but onelie that in prosecuting his iust title, he might in the end atteine to a perfect peace, and come to enioie those peeces of his inheritance, which to him of right belonged: and that before the beginning of the same warres, he was fullie persuaded by men both wise and of great holinesse of life, that vpon such intent he might and ought both begin the same warres, and follow them, till he had brought them to an end iustlie and rightlie, and that without all danger of Gods displeasure or perill of soule.

Titus Liuius.

Cheefle Chichelie archb. of Cantur. for dashing ℔ bill against the cleargie, as appeares before, pag. 545, 546.

The noble men present, promised to obserue his precepts, and to performe his desires; but their hearts were so pensife, and replenished with sorrow, that one could not for weeping behold an other. Then he said the seauen psalmes, and receiued the sacrament, and in saieng the psalmes of the passion ended his daies heere in this world, at Bois saint Vincent, the last of August, in the yeare a thousand foure hundred twentie and two. This Henrie was a king, of life without spot, a prince whome all men loued, and of none disdained, a capteine against whome fortune neuer frowned, nor mischance once spurned, whose people him so seuere a iusticer both loued and obeied (and so humane withall) that he left no offense vnpunished, nor frendship vnrewarded; a terrour to rebels, and suppressour of sedition, his vertues notable, his qualities most praise-worthie.

He departed this life the last of August 1422.

The commendation of king Henrie the fift as is expressed by maist. Hall.

In strength and nimblenesse of bodie from his youth few to him comparable, for in wrestling, leaping, and running, no man well able to compare. In casting of great iron barres and heauie stones he excelled commonlie all men, neuer shrinking at cold, nor slothfull for heat; and when he most laboured, his head commonlie vncouered; no more wearie of harnesse than a light cloake, verie valiantlie abiding at needs both hunger and thirst; so manfull of mind as neuer seene to quinch at a wound, or to smart at the paine; not to turne his nose from euill sauour, nor close his eies from smoke or dust; no man more moderate in eating and drinking, with diet not delicate, but rather more meet for men of warre, than for princes or tender stomachs. Euerie honest person was permitted to come to him, sitting at meale, where either secretlie or openlie to declare his mind. High and weightie causes as well betweene men of warre and other he would gladlie heare, and either determined them himselfe, or else for end committed them to others. He slept verie little, but that verie soundlie, in so much that when his soldiers song at nights, or minstrels plaied, he then slept fastest; of courage inuincible, of purpose vnmutable, so wisehardie alwaies, as feare was banisht from him; at euerie alarum he first in armor, and formost in ordering. In time of warre such was his prouidence, bountie and hap, as he had true intelligence, not onelie what his enimies did, but what they said and intended: of his deuises and purposes few, before the thing was at the point to be done, should be made priuie.

He had such knowledge in ordering and guiding an armie, with such a gift to incourage his people, that the Frenchmen had constant opinion he could neuer be vanquished in battell. Such wit, such prudence, and such policie withall, that he neuer enterprised any thing, before he had fullie debated and forecast all the maine chances that might happen, which done with all diligence and courage he set his purpose forward. What policie he had in finding present remedies for sudden mischæues, and what engines in sauing himselfe and his people in sharpe distresses: were it not that by his acts they did plainlie appeare, hard were it by words to make them credible. Wantonnesse of life and thirst in auarice had he quite quenched in him; vertues in deed in such an estate of souereignetie, youth, and power, as verie rare, so right commendable in the highest degree. So staied of mind and countenance beside, that neuer lofte or triumphant for victorie, nor sad or damped for losse or misfortune. For bountifulnesse and liberalitie, no man more free, gentle, and franke, in bestowing rewards to all persons, according to their deserts: for his saieng was, that he neuer desired monie to kepe, but to giue and spend.

Although that storie properlie serues not for theme of praise or dispraise, yet what in breuitie may well be remembred, in truth would not be forgotten by sloth, were it but onlie to remaine as a spectacle for magnanimitie to haue alwaies in eie, and for incouragement to nobles in honourable enterprises. Knowen be it therefore, of person and forme was this prince rightlie representing his heroicall affects, of stature and proportion tall and manlie, rather leane than grose, somewhat long necked and blacke haired, of countenance amiable, eloquent and graue was his speech, and of great grace and power to persuade: for conclusion, a maiestie was he that both liued & died a paterne in princehod, a lode-starre in honour, and mirrour of magnificence: the more highlie exalted in his life, the more deepelie lamented at his death, and famous to the world alwaie. Peter Basset (a cheefe man in his chamber) affirmed that he deceassed of a pleurisie, though the Scots and French set it downe to be of saint Feacres disease, that they saie was a palsie with a crampe, which Enguerant reports to be saint Anthonies fire, but neither of them trulie. ¶ *Anglorum prælia* saith, that it was a sharpe feuer, which happening vnto him (wearied with the broiles of warre) in a verie vnseasonable time of the yeare, namelie the dogdaies, tormented him the sorer, and

Abr. Fl. out of *Angl. præl. sub Hen. 5.*

grew to be not onelie dangerous, but also desperat; for it left him not till life was extinguished: the poets report is, as followeth:

Interea fractum æstu nimióq; labore
Corripit Henricum languentem febris acuta,
Cæli intemperies, sextili Sirius ardens
*Virus *pestiferi fecit ingrandescere *morbi.*

*A pestilent feuer.

His bodie imbalmed and closed in lead, was laid in a chariot roiall, richlie apparelled with cloth of gold. Upon his coffin was laid a representation of his person, adorned with robes, diadem, scepter, & ball, like a king; the which chariot, six horsses drew richlie trapped, with seuerall appointments; the first with the armes of S. George, the second with the armes of Normandie, the third of king Arthur, the fourth of saint Edward, the fift of France, and the sixt with the armes of England and France. On this same chariot gaue attendance James K. of Scots, the principall mourner, king Henries vncle Thomas duke of Exceter, Richard earle of Warwike, the earle of March Edmund, the earle of Stafford Humfrie, the earle of Mortaigne Edmund Beaufort, the lord Fitz Hugh Henrie, the lord Hungerford Walter, sir Robert Robsert lord Bourchier, sir John Cornwall lord Fanhope, and the lord Crumwell were the other mourners. The lord Louell, the lord Audeleie, the lord Morleie, the lord Sowch bare the baners of saints and auowries, as then they were called; the baron of Dudleie bare the standard, and the earle of Longuile the baner. The bachments were carted onelie by capteins to the number of twelue; and round about the chariot rode fiue hundred men of armes all in blacke armour, their horsses barbed blacke, and they with the but ends of their speares vpwards.

Lord Crumwell.

The conduct of this dolorous funerall was committed to sir William Philip, treasuror of the kings houshold, and to sir William Porter, his cheefe caruer, and others. Beside this, on euerie side of the chariot went three hundred persons, holding long torches, & lords bearing baners, banerols, and penons. With this funerall appointment was he conueied from Bois de Vincennes, to Paris, and so to Rone, to Abuile, to Calis, to Douer, from thence thorough London to Westminster, where he was interred with such solemne ceremonies, mourning of lords, praier of priests, and such lamenting of commons, as neuer before then the like was seene in England. Shortlie after this solemne buriall, his sorowfull queene returned into England, and kept hir estate with the yong king hir sonne.

Thus ended this puissant prince his most noble and fortunate reigne, whose life (saith Hall) though cruell Atropos abbreuiated; yet neither fire, malice, nor fretting time shall appall his honour, or blot out the glorie of him that in so small time had done so manie and roiall acts. [In this yeare, the one and twentith of October deceassed the gentle and welbeloued Charles French king the first of that name, who was buried at S. Denis.] ¶So that betweene the death of these two kings, namelie the one of England, the other of France, there was no great space of time; sith Charles departed in October, and Henrie in August: by the priuation of whose liues, which of the two realmes sustained the greater losse, it is a question not to be discussed. Certeine it is that they were both souereigns tenderlie loued of their subiects, as they were princes greatlie fauouring their people. Finallie, in memorie of this Henrie the fift, a king of a roiall hart, and euerie waie indued with imperiall vertues, I find so fit a report conspiring in truth with his properties and disposition, that I thinke it verie conuenient here to be inserted in place of an epitaph:

W.P.

Abr. Fl. out of *Angl. prel.*

Henrici illustris properans mors occupat artus,
Ille suæ patriæ decus immortale per æuum
Venturum, virtutis & indelebile lumen,
Celso animo prorsus, leni quoque pectore ciues
Non solùm, at iustos hostes fideique probatæ
Dilexit, niueo raro iracundior ore.

Of learned men and writers, these I find remembred by Bale and others, to haue liued in the daies of this noble and valiant king Henrie the fift. First, Alaine de Lin, borne in Lin, and professed a Carmelite frier in that towne, he at length became prior of that conuent, proceeded doctor of diuinitie in Cambridge, and wrote manie treatises; Thomas Otterborne that wrote an historie of England, is thought to liue about this season, he was a Franciscan or graie frier, as they called them, a great student both in diuinitie and philosophie; John Seguard an excellent poet, and a rhetorician, kept a schole, and read to his scholers in Norwich, as is supposed, writing sundrie treatises, reprouing as well the profaning of the christian religion in monks and priests, as the abuse of poetrie in those that toke vpon them to write filthie verses and rimes; Robert Rose a frier of the Carmelites order in Norwich commonlie called the white friers, both an excellent philosopher, and diuine, proceeded doctor at Oxenford, promoted to be prior of his house, and writing diuerse treatises: amongst all the sophists of his time (as saith Bale) he offended none of the Wickleuists, who in that season set forth purelie the word of God, as maie appeare by his workes.

Moreouer, John Lucke, a doctor of diuinitie in Oxenford, a sore enimie to the Wickleuists; Richard Caister borne in Norfolke, vicar of saint Stephans in Norwich, a man of great holinesse and puritie in life, fauouring (though secretlie) the doctrine of the Wickleuists, and reprouing in his sermons, the vnchast manners and filthie example that appeared in the cleargie. Of sir John Oldcastell lord Cobham ye haue heard before; William Wallets a blacke frier in Lin, and prouincial of his order here in England, made a booke of moralizations vpon Ouids Metamorphôseis, comparable to postils vpon Aesops Fables; Richard Snetisham, a student in Oxenford, where he profited so greatlie in learning and wisedome, that he was accounted the cheefest in all that vniuersitie, in respect whereof he was made chancellor of the same, chosen also to be one of the twelue to examine and iudge vpon Wickliffes doctrine by the archbishop of Canturburie; John Langdene a monke of Christes church in Canturburie, an other of those twelue; William Tailor a priest, and a master of art in Oxenford, a stedfast follower of Wickliffes doctrine, & burnt for the same in Smithfield at London, the second day of March, in the yeare of our Lord 1422, & last of king Henrie the fift his reigne.

W.P.

Furthermore, Richard Grasdale student in Oxenford, one of those twelue also; William Lindwood a lawier excellentlie learned, as well in the ciuill as canon lawes, aduanced to the seruice of this king, and made by him keeper of the priuie seale, sent in ambassage both to the kings of Spaine and Portingale, about businesse of most weightie importance. It is said that he was promoted to the bishoprike of saint Dauid; Bartholomew Florartus, supposed (as Bale saith) by Nicholas Brigham, to be an Englishman, wrote a treatise called Florarium, whereof he toke his surname; and also an other treatise of abstinence, in which he reprooueth certeine corrupt manners in the cleargie, and the profession of friers mendicants; Adam Hemmelington, a Carmelite frier, studied both in Oxenford and Paris; William Batecombe is placed by Bale about the time of other learned men that liued in this kings time, he was an excellent mathematician, as by the

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the title of his works which he wrote it should appeare.

Titus Liuius de Foro Luuiiis liued also in these daies, an Italian borne: but sith he was both resiant here, and wrote the life of this king, I haue thought good to place him among other of our English writers. One there was that translated the said historie into English, adding (as it were by waie of notes in manie places of that booke) sundrie things for the more large understanding of the historie: a copie whereof I haue seene belonging to Iohn Stow citizen of London. There was also about the same time an other writer, who (as I remember) hath followed the said Liuius in the order of his booke, as it were chapter for chapter, onelie changing a good, familiar and easie stile, which the said Liuius vsed, into a certeine poeticall kind of writing: a copie whereof I haue seene (& in the life of this king partlie followed) belonging to master Iohn Twine of Kent, who (as I was informed) meant to leaue to posteritie some fruits of his labours for the due vnderstanding thereof.

Thus farre Henrie the fift sonne and successor to Henrie the fourth.

Henrie the sixt, sonne and heire to Henrie the fift.

1422 Anno Reg. 1.

After that death had bereft the world of that noble prince king Henrie the fift, his onelie sonne prince Henrie, being of the age of nine moneths, or thereabouts, with the sound of trumpets was openlie proclamed king of England and France the thirtith daie of August, by the name of Henrie the first; in the yeare of the world fiue thousand, three hundred, eightie and nine, after the birth of our Sauiour 1422, about the twelfe yeare of the emperour Frederike the third, the fortith and two and last of Charles the first, and the third yeare of Mordaks regiment (after his father Robert) gouernour of Scotland. The custodie of this yong prince was appointed to Thomas duke of Excester, & to Henrie Beaufort bishop of Winchester. The duke of Bedford was deputed regent of France, and the duke of Glocester was ordeined protectour of England; who taking vpon him that office, called to him wise and graue councellors, by whose aduise he prouided and toke order as well for the good gouernment of the realme & subiects of the same at home, as also for the maintenance of the warres abroad, and further conquest to be made in France, appointing valiant and expert capteins, which should be readie, when need required. Besides this, he gathered great summes of monie to mainteine men of warre, and left nothing forgotten that might aduance the good estate of the realme.

Buchan. lib. 10.

While these things were a doing in England, the duke of Bedford regent of France studied most earnestlie, not onelie to keepe and well order the countries by king Henrie late conquered; but also determined not to leaue off warre & trauell, till Charles the Dolphin (which was now aflote, because king Charles his father in the moneth of October in this present yeare was departed to God) should either be subdued, or brought to obeisance. And suerlie the death of this king Charles caused alterations in France. For a great manie of the nobilitie, which before, either for feare of the English puissance, or for the loue of this king Charles (whose authoritie they followed) held on the English part, did now reuolt to the Dolphin, with all indeuour to driue the English nation out of the French territories. Whereto they were the more earnestlie bent, and thought it a thing of greater facilitie, because of king Henries yong yeares; whome (because he was a child) they estéemed not, but with one consent reuolted from their swome fealtie: as the recorder of the Englishmens battels with forren nations verie aptlie doth note, saieng:

Hic Franci puerum regem neglectui habentes
Desciscunt, violátque fidem gens perfida sacro
Consilio ante datam.

The duke of Bedford being greatlie moued with these sudden changes, fortified his townes both with garrisons of men, munition, and vittels, assembled also a great armie of Englishmen and Normans, and so effectuoulie exhorted them to continue faithfull to their liege and lawfull lord yong king Henrie, that manie of the French capteins willinglie sware to king Henrie fealtie and obedience, by whose example the communaltie did the same. Thus the people quieted, and the countrie established in order, nothing was minded but warre, and nothing spoken of but conquest.

The Dolphin which lay the same time in the citie of Poitiers, after his fathers decease, caused himselfe to be proclamed king of France, by the name of Charles the seuenth: and in good hope to recouer his patrimonie, with an haultie courage preparing war, assembled a great armie: and first the warre began by light skirmishes, but after it grew into maine battels. The Dolphin thinking not to lose anie occa-

Pont Meulan surprised by the Frech. 1423. Enguerant.

sions of well doing, sent the lord Grauile to the towne of Pont Meulan, standing on the riuer of Seine, who comming to the same vpon the sudden, the fourteenth of Januarie, tooke it, and slue a great number of English souldiors, which he found within it.

When the duke of Bedford the regent, aduertised of this sudden surprise, appointed the lord Thomas Montacute earle of Salisburie (a man both for policie and courage, liker to the old Romans than to men of his daies) accompanied with the earle of Suffolke, the lord Scales, the yong lord Poinings, sir John Fastolfe maister of the houshold, with himselfe, and diuerse others, to besiege the said towne of Pont Meulan, which after two moneths siege was rendred to the said earle, and the lord Graule sware to be true to the king of England euer after that day: but shortlie after, forgetting his oth, he turned French againe.

Lord Graule falsified his oth.

The earle of Salisburie appointed sir Henrie Mortimer, and sir Richard Vernon, capteins of the towne, and from thence went into Champaigne, and there besieged the towne of Sens, tooke it, and sir William Marin the capteine within it, and slue all the souldiors that kept it, made capteins there sir Hugh Godding, & sir Richard Aubemond. ¶ In this season, Humfrie duke of Glocester, either striken in loue, or vpon some other occasion, maried the ladie Jaquet or Jaquelin, daughter and sole heire to William of Bauier duke of Holland, which was lawfull wife to John duke of Brabant then liuing, who afterwards (as after ye shall heare) recouered hir out of the dukes hands.

The chances thus happening (as you before haue heard) John duke of Bedford, Philip duke of Burgognie, and John duke of Britaine made a frendlie meeting in the citie of Amiens, where they renewed the old league and ancient amitie made betweene the noble prince king Henrie the fift and them, adding thereto these conditions and agreements, ech of them to be to the other frend and aider; and the enimie of the one to be enimie to the other; and all they to be frends and aiders to the king of England, wellwiller to his wellwillers, and aduersarie to his aduersaries. And (bicause that affinitie is commonlie the bond of amitie) there was concluded a mariage betweene the duke of Bedford, and the ladie Anne sister to the duke of Burgognie, which was after solemnized at Trois in Champaigne, in the presence of the duke of Burgognie brother to the bride, and of hir vncle the duke of Brabant, the earles of Salisburie and Suffolke, and of nine hundred lords, knights, and esquiers, with such feast and triumph, as before that time had not beene seene of the Burgognions.

Affinitie an interteiner of friendship.

Whilest these matters were in hand, the Parisiens, thinking to blind the eies of the duke of Bedford, wrote to him how diuerse castels and fortresses lieng about their territories, were replenished with their enimies, dailie stopping their passages, and robbing their merchants, to their vtter vndoing, if they by his helpe were not relieued. But this was but a glose of the Parisiens, meaning to cause him to go about the winning of some strong hold, whilest they in his absence might bring into the citie Charles the Dolphin, that then called himselfe French king; for so had they appointed, assigning to him the daie of his comming, and the post of his entrie. But their practise being discouered to the duke of Bedford, he with a great power entered into Paris, one daie before the faire was appointed, & two nights before he was looked for of his enimies being vnprouided, and suddenlie caused the conspirators within the citie to be apprehended, and openlie to be put to execution.

The Parisiens preuented of their practises.

This done, putting a mistrust in the Parisiens, he caused the castels and fortresses neere and adioining to the citie, to be furnished with Englishmen. And to auoid all night-watchers about Paris, and the confines thereof, he first tooke into his possession either by assault or composition, the towne of Trainelle and Braie vpon Seine. And bicause two castels, the one called Pacie, and the other Coursaie were also euill neighbors to the Parisiens, he sent sir John Fastolfe great maister of his houshold with a notable armie to win the same castels; which he did, and with preie and prisoners returned backe againe to his maister the regent.

In this verie season, the Dolphin sent the lord William Steward earle of Buchquhane that was constable of France, and the earle of Ventadour in Auuergne, and manie other noble men of his part, to laie siege to the towne of Crauant in the countie of Aurerre, within the parts of Burgognie. Whereof hearing the lord regent, and the duke of Burgognie they assembled a great armie, and appointed the earle of Salisburie to haue the guiding thereof; who with his capteins and men of warre, English and Burgognions, came in good arraie to giue battell to the besiegers. And bicause the riuer of Yonne, which runneth by the said towne, was betweene the English armie, and their aduersaries, they could not well assaile their enimies, which defended the bankes and passages verie stronglie: yet notwithstanding, both horsemen and footmen of the English part couragiouslie put themselues into the riuer, and with fine force recouered the banke, whome the Burgognions incontinentlie followed.

The English armie entreth the riuer and winneth the banke.

When they were all gotten into the plaine, the archers shot, the bill men strake, and long was the fight in doubtfull balance. But in conclusion the Frenchmen not able to resist the force of the English nation, were discomfited, slaine, and chased, leauing a glorious victorie to the Englishmen and Burgognions. There were slaine of the Frenchmen an eighténe hundred knights and esquiers, beside commons: of Scots néere hand three thousand. Amongest the Frenchmen these were chiefest that were slaine: the earle of Lestrake, the earle of Conigens, the earle of Tonnoire, the lord Coquart de Comeron, the bastard of Arminake, the vicount of Touraine, the bastard of Fortresses, the lord de Port, and the lord Memorancie.

Of Scots the lord of saint Johns towne, sir John of Balgarie, sir John Turnbull, sir John Holiburton, sir Robert Lillie, sir William Coningham, sir William Dowglas, sir Alexander Hume, sir William Lillie, sir John Rotherford, sir William Craiford, sir Thomas Seton, sir William Hamilton, and his sonne, John Pillot. There were taken the earle of Buchquhane constable of France, which lost his eie, the earle of Ventadour, sir Alexander Meldrine, sir Lewes Ferignie, and two and twentie hundred gentlemen of the French part. Of Englishmen there were slaine sir John Greie, sir William Hall, sir Gilbert Halsall one of the marshals of the field, Richard ap Madocke, and one and twentie hundred souldiers and men of warre.

After this fortunate victorie was the earle of Salisburie made (by the lord regent) lieutenant and vicegerent for the king and the said lord regent in the countries of France, Brie, and Champaigne; and sir John Fastolf was substituted deputie vnder the lord regent within the duchie of Normandie on this side the riuer of Seine; and withall he was also made gouernour of the countries of Anion and Maine. The earle of Salisburie after fiue moneths siege, wan by surrender the towne and castell of Montaguillon in Brie; the capteins whereof, the one named Pregent of Cotinie, and Guille Bourgois Britons, sware neuer

Anno Reg. 2.

uer to beare armour against the Englishmen on this side the riuer of Loire. In the meane time of that siege, the earle of Suffolke tooke by force the castell of Coucie, and the strong castell of la Roch in Malconnois he got by appointment.

In this second yeare of king Henrie the sixt, James (the first of that name & the hundred & second K. of Scotland, tooke to wife the ladie Jane, daughter to John earle of Summerset deceassed, and sister to John then duke of Summerset, and also cosine germane remoued to king Henrie, and neece to the duke of Winchester, and to the duke of Exceter) was set at libertie, couenanting to paie a small portion of monie more than was allowed to him for his wines marriage monie, and left hostages for the same. But before his departure out of the realme, he did his homage vnto the yong king of England Henrie the sixt at the castell of Windsor, before three dukes, two archbishops, twelue earles, ten bishops, twentie barons, and two hundred knights and esquiers, beside others, in order of words according to the tenour hereafter following.

1424 Ann. 1423, per Buchanan.

Homage done by the king of Scotland to king Henrie the sixt.

The formall recognisance or *acknowledgement of the* said homage.

I James Steward, K. of Scots, shall be true and faithfull vnto you lord Henrie by the grace of God king of England & France, the noble and superiour lord of the kingdome of Scotland; and to you I make my fidelitie for the same kingdome of Scotland, which I hold and claime of you; and I shall beare you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldlie honour against all men; and faithfullie I shall knowledge and shall doo you seruice due for the kingdome of Scotland aforesaid. So God helpe me, and these holie euangelists.

But notwithstanding this his oth, and the great bounteous liberalitie of the mother & vncles of his wife, in bestowing on him abundance of plate & treasure, with rich clothes of arras; he had not béene long at home, but that sone out of France into Scotland ouer came there James Steward, who (after manie of the Scotish nobilitie by diuerse occasions in France consumed) grew to be capteine of the horsemen there. With him came the archbishop of Remes with power and commission for concluding a league betweene France and Scotland, and also of a mariage betweene Lewes the Dolphins sonne and Margaret Jameses daughter, though both verie yong. Which matters accordinglie accomplished, to France againe they got them. So James became as firme French as any of his predecessours.]

Buchan. lib. 10. An. 1425. W.P.

But now to leaue the Scotish king amongst his countriemen in Scotland, and returne to the doings of England. I find that the duke of Gloucester, being protector and gouernour of the realme, prepared an armie of ten thousand men, and sent them ouer to his brother the regent into France; who comming into the territorie of Paris, were ioifullie of him receiued. About the same time the Frenchmen got by stealth diuerse townes out of the Englishmens hands, and amongst other the faire towne of Compiegne was one, and the pretie towne of Crotoie an other. When the duke of Bedford was aduertised hereof, he determined not to let the matter passe in such sort, but with all conuenient spéed sent forth a force to recouer those townes againe. And first the earle of Suffolke with the earle of Lignie, and diuerse other capteins of the Englishmen went to besiege Compiegne, and lodged on the one side of the riuer of Sohame, as the lord Lisle Adham, sir Thomas Rampston, and the prouost of Paris late on the other side. The Frenchmen within the towne well furnished with good souldiers, munition, and vittels, couragiouslie defended themselues.

Compiegne surrendred to the English by a policie.

The Englishmen remembring that Guillam Remond, otherwise called Mariolaine had béen the leader of the souldiers within the towne (which Mariolaine before at Pacie was taken prisoner by sir John Fastolfe) caused him to be brought from Paris vnto the campe, and set him in a chariot with an halter about his necke, and conueied him to the gibet without the towne, sending word to them within, that if they would not without delaie render the towne, their capteine should incontinentlie be strangled afore their faces. Which moued the souldiers so much, by reason of the loue they bare to their old capteine and gouernour, that for the deliuerance of him and partlie of themselues they yélded the towne, so that both he and they might depart with horsse and harnesse onelie in sure conduct and safetie. Yet yer this towne of Compiegne was deliuered, sir Philip Hall, which was sent to Crotoie by the lord regent with eight hundred men to besiege it, got it suddenlie by assault, yer the Frenchmen had either disposed their garrison, or appointed their lodgings.

Compeigne & Crotoie recouered from the French.

About the same time sir John de la Pole brother to the duke of Suffolke, being capteine of Auranches in Normandie, assembled all the garrisons of the base marches of the countrie of Aniou, and came before the citie of Angiers, burnt the suburbes, spoiled and destroied the whole countrie; and hauing as manie prisoners as his men might go awaie with, he was incountered by the earle of Aumarle, the vicount of Narbonne, and six thousand Frenchmen; which finding the Englishmen out of araie, incumbred with carriage of their great spoile, suddenlie set on them, gaue them the ouerthrow, slue three hundred and tooke manie prisoners; as the said sir John de la Pole, sir John Basset, John Auford lieutenant of Faleise, John Clifton, Henrie Mortimer, and other to the number of six hundred.

But though the Frenchmen got here in this place, they went not awaie with like gaine in an other: for the bastard de la Baulme, and the lord Craignar capteins of Courallon, with a great band made rode into Malconnois, whom by chance Matthew * Gough and other Englishmen, which were also abroad in the countrie, met and incountred. There was a sore fight betweene the parties, being of courage and number in maner equall. But after long conflict, the Frenchmen almost all were slaine and taken, and the bastard being well horsed, fled; after whome followed vpon the spurres, Matthew * Gough chasing him euen to his castell gate, and there tooke him: for the which act he was much praised of the erle of Salisburie (to whom he presented the said bastard) and had not onelie the rights giuen him that belonged to the prisoner, but also was rewarded with a goodlie courser at the earles hands.

* Or rather Goche.

* Goche.

About this season, Arthur brother to John duke of Britaine, commonlie called the earle of Richmond, hauing neither profit of the name, nor of the countrie, notwithstanding that king Henrie the fift had created him earle of Purie in Normandie, and gaue him not onelie a great pension, but also the whole profits of the same towne of Purie; yet now, bicause that the duke his brother was returned to the part of the Dolphin, he likewise reuolting from the English obeisance, came to the Dolphin to Poictiers, and there offered himselfe to serue him, whom

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the Dolphin gladlie accepted, reioising more thereof, than if he had gained an hundred thousand crownes: for the Britons within the towne of Yurie, hearing that their maister was ioined with the Dolphin, kept both the towne and castell against the duke of Bedford, furnishing it dailie with new men and munition.

The lord regent aduertised hereof, raised an armie of Englishmen and Normans, to the number of eightéene hundred men of armes, and eight thousand archers and other. He had in his companie the earles of Salisburie and Suffolke, the lords Scales, Willoughbie, and Poinings, sir Reginald Graie, sir John Fastolfe, sir John Saluaine, sir Lancelot Lisle, sir Philip Hall, sir John Pashleie, sir John Greie, sir Thomas Blunt, sir Robert Harling, sir William Oldhall, and manie other, both knights and esquiers, with whom he came before the towne of Yurie, which was well defended, till they within perceiued themselues in danger, by reason of a mine which the Englishmen made, whereupon they yelded the towne. But the capteins of the castell would not presentlie render the place, howbeit they promised to deliuer it, if the same were not rescued at a day assigned by the Dolphin or his power.

Upon this promise, hostages were deliuered into the possession of the lord regent, by whose licence an herald was sent to the Dolphin, to aduertise him of the time determined; who vnderstanding the distresse of his frends, incontinentlie sent John duke of Alanson, as his lieutenant generall, the erle Douglas, whome at their setting forth he made duke of Touraine, and the earle Buchquhane as then constable of France, the erls of Aumarle, Ventadoure, Tonnere, Maulieurier, and Forests, the vicounts of Narbonne, and Touars, the lords of Graville, Gaules, Valicorne, Vannie, Ballaie, Fountains, Pontfort, and manie other noble knights and esquiers, to the number of fiftéene thousand Frenchmen & Britons, besides fiue thousand Scots, whome the earle Dowglas had but latelie transported out of Scotland.

This roiall armie approched within two miles of Yurie. But when the duke of Alanson vnderstood by such as he had sent to view the conduct of the Englishmen, that he could not get anie aduantage by assailing them (although the Dolphin had giuen him streit commandement to fight with the regent) he retired backe with his whole armie to the towne of Vernueill in Perch, that belonged to the king of England; sending word to the garrison, that he had discomfited the English armie, and that the regent with a small number with him by swiftnesse of horsse had saued himselfe. The inhabitants of Vernueill, giuing to light credit hereunto receiued the duke of Alanson with all his armie into the towne.

Vernueil gotten from the Englishmen by creditng a lie.

In the meane time came the daie of the rescues of Yurie, which for want thereof was deliuered to the duke of Bedford by the capteine called Gerard de la Pallier, who presenting vnto the duke of Bedford the keies of the castell, shewed him a letter also signed and sealed with the hands and seales of eightéene great lords, who the daie before promised by the tenour of the same letter to giue the duke battell, "and to raise the siege. Well (said the duke) if their "hearts would haue serued, their puissance was sufficient once to haue proffered, or to haue performed "this faithfull promise: but sith they disdaine to seeke "me, God and saint George willing, I shall not desist to follow the tract of their horsses till one part of "vs be by battell ouerthrowne. And herewith he sent forth the earle of Suffolke with sir hundred horsse-men, to espie the doings of the Frenchmen, and where they were lodged. The earle riding forth, passed by Dampuile, and came to Bretueill, where he heard certeine newes where the Frenchmen had gotten Vernueill, and remained there still.

These newes he sent by post vnto the duke of Bedford, the which incontinentlie vpon that aduertisement set forward in great hast towards his enimies. The Frenchmen hearing of his comming, set their people in arraie, and made all one maine battell without fore ward or rere ward; and appointed foure hundred horsslemen, Lombards and others to breake the arraie of the Englishmen, either behind, or at the sides, of the which was capteine sir Stephan de Vinoiles, called the Hire. The duke of Bedford likewise made one entier battell, and suffered no man to be on horsseback, and set the archers (euerie one hauing a sharpe stake) both on the front of the battell, and also on the sides, like wings. And behind were all their horsses tied togither, either by the reins or by the tailes, with the carts and cartages, to the defense whereof were two thousand archers appointed.

The ordering of their battels.

Herewith either part being come almost to the ioining, the duke of Alanson, on the one side, exhorted his people to plaie the men, declaring vnto them, that the conclusion of this battell should either deliuer them out of vile seruitude, or place them in the vale of bondage. On the other side, the duke of Bedford, to incourage his men, willed them to remember how oft they had subdued those their aduersaries in battell (with whome they should now cope) for the most part, euer being the lesse number against the greater. Againe, he declared how necessarie it was to tame the bold attempts of the presumptuous Dolphin now in the beginning, least if the fire were suffered further to burne, it must haue need of the more water to quench it.

Manie words he vttered, to put them in hope of good successe and victorie. But scarse had he ended his exhortation, when the Englishmen rushed forth, and boldlie set on their enimies, crieng; Saint George, a Bedford, a Bedford: and the Frenchmen likewise cried Montioy saint Denis. Then began the battell right fierce on both sides, continuing for the space of three houres in doubtfull balance, fortune shewing hir selfe so equall, that no eie could iudge to whether part she was more fauourable. But at length, after that those foure hundred horsslemen, which were appointed, as yée haue hard, to breake the arraie of the Englishmen, had passed thorough on the one side vnto the place where the cartages and horsses stood, and could not passe further, by reason of the fierce shot of the English bowes, they falling to the spoile made a hand, and therewith departed. Those archers then that were appointed to keepe the cartages, being now at libertie, came forward, and so fiercelie shot at the thickest preasse of their enimies fighting on foot, that in the end they were not able longer to indure, but were borne downe by fine force, and so vanquished.

The battell of Vernoile, the 28 of August, 1424.

This battell was fought the eight and twentith of August, in the yeare of our Lord a thousand foure hundred twentie and foure, in the which battell were slaine of the Frenchmen the earles of Aumarle, Ventadour, Forest, Marle, the lords Graville, Gaules, Fountaines, Ambois, Touars, Pontenie, Combreste, Brunell, Tumble, and Poisie, beside three hundred knights. The vicount Narbonne was hanged on a gibbet, because he was one of the murtherers of the duke of Burgognie. Of Scots also were slaine, Archembald earle Dowglas, that was made (as before is mentioned) duke of Touraine, James Dowglas sonne to the said Archembald earle of Wigton, John earle of Bouqhen newlie made constable of France, sir Alexander Seldrin, sir Henrie Balgianie, sir John Sterling, William of Homeldon, sir

James

James Graie, sir Robert Randen, sir Alexander Linsate, sir Robert Steward, sir Robert Swinton, and seauen and twentie hundred Scots of name and armes, beside others.

So that in this battell were slaine by report of Montioy king at armes in France, and the English harolds there present, of Frenchmen & Scots nine thousand and seauen hundred: and of Englishmen one and twentie hundred, but no man of name, saue fiue yong esquiers. And there were taken prisoners, John duke of Alanson, the bastard of Alanson, the lord of Faiet, the lord of Hornit, sir Piers Harison, sir Lois de Gaucourt, sir Robert Bruset, sir John Turnebull a Scot, and two hundred gentlemen, beside common soldiers. The Frenchmen within Vernoill, seeing the Dolphins armie thus ouerthrowne, deliuered the towne to the regent, their liues saued. Then was sir Philip Hall appointed capteine there, and the lord regent returned, and came to Rone, and after to Paris.

Fiue thousād saith Aemilius, but Nicholas Giles saith there died but foure thousād on both parts.

Dudley and Charleton two of & English nobilitie were slaine at this battell, as Ia. Meir. saith.

The Dolphin that called himselfe king of France, was sore appalled with the ouerthrow of his armie: for he was driuen out of all the countries in maner, that apperteined to the crowne of France, & might resort to none except to Bourbonois, Aluergne, Berrie, Poictow, Touraine, a part of Aniow, and Languedoc: yet to shew himselfe as king, he erected his court of parlement, his chancerie, & all other courts in the citie of Poictiers, and there established his great seale, with all due circumstances thereto apperteining: where he continued foureteene yeares togither, and then was remoued to Paris, after he had got that citie, and expelled the Englishmen, as after shall appeare.

The duke of Bedford lieng at Paris, sent the lord Scales, sir John Montgomerie, sir John Fastolfe, with two thousand men to winne the countries of Aniow, and Maine, vnto whom were rendred without assault, the strong castels of Beaumont le Vicount, Tenne, Sillie, Osee, Courceriers, Roulle, Valle, Couetemenant, and twentie other, which I doo here passe ouer. Such was then the opinion conceiued of the English puissance, so oft tried, proued, and preuailing, that the Frenchmen thought the Englishmen would haue all which they wished for or wrought for.

The lord Scales sent to conquer Iniow and Maine.

The earle of Salisburie, with the said lord Scales, and the other capteins before named, were appointed with an armie of ten thousand men, to besiege the rich and strong citie of Mans, the chefe citie of all the countrie of Maine; whither when they came, they made their approches, and planted their batterie to the wals, so that with the shot of their great peeces (which kind of engins before that time had not beene much seene nor heard of in France) the citie was within a few daies despoiled of all hir towers and outward defenses. The citizens and soldiers, perceiuing in what danger they stod, & knowing not how to remedie the matter, offered the towne vpon this condition, that all persons which would tarrie within the towne, might abide; and all that would depart with horsse and harnesse onelie, should be permitted: which offers were accepted, and the towne rendered, whereof the earle made capteine the earle of Suffolke, and his lieutenant sir John Fastolfe.

Mans deliuered to the Englishmen.

After this, the earle of Salisburie besieged the faire towne of saint Susan, whereof was capteine one Ambrose de Lore, a right valiant chieftein. The earle caused the towne to be assaulted at his first comming to it: but he lost more than he gained, and therefore left off his assaults, and caused a trench to be cast about the towne, and so planted his batterie, by force whereof he ouerthrew the walles, in such sort that the capteine offered for himselfe and his soldiers 200000 crownes, so that they might depart in their doublets onelie, which summe (because winter approched) was accepted, and the towne yelded. Of this towne sir John Popham was made capteine. Then the erle went to Maine la Iuhez, which towne after fiue weekes siege was yelded, and appointed to the keeping of sir John Montgomerie, knight.

After the feast of the Purification of our ladie, the earle of Salisburie besieged the castell de la Fert Barnard; during which siege a sale was made of the towne of Alanson being in the Englishmens possession, by a Gascoigne that was one of the garrison there. But this sale being opened to the erle of Salisburie by the same Gascoigne at the daie appointed, the lord Willoughbie and sir John Fastolfe, with two thousand men were sent to incounter with the buiers of that towne; so that when Charles de Villiers chefe merchant of this ware, came earlie in a morning with two hundred horsemen, and three hundred footmen, and approached the towne, abiding for the Gascoigne, yet he was aware, the Englishmen had compassed him and his compane round about, and setting vpon the Frenchmen, slue and toke all the whole number of them, saue Peter Danthenazie and fiue and twentie other, which by the swiftnesse of their horsses saued themselues.

After this conflict, the lord Willoughbie returned to the earle of Salisburie, lieng still at siege before the towne de la Fert Barnard, which shortlie after was rendered vp into the erle of Salisburies hands, to whome the lord regent gaue it, to inioie to him and his heires for euer. Beside this, the said earle partlie by assalt, & partlie by composition toke diuers other, as saint Sales; where he made capteine Richard Gethin esquier; Thanceaux Lermitage, where he made gouernour Matthew *Gough; Guerland, of the which he assigned ruler John Banaster; Malicorne, whereof he made capteine William Glasdale esquier; Lisle Soubz Boulton, whereof was made capteine sir Lancelot Lisle knight; Loupelland, whereof was made capteine Henrie Branch; Montseur, of the which was made capteine sir William Oldhall knight; la Suze was assigned to the keeping of John Suffolke, esquier. And besides this, aboue fortie castels and piles were ouerthrowne and destroied. The newes hereof reported in England, caused great reioising among the people, not onelie for the conquest of so manie townes & fortresses, but also for that it had pleased God to giue them victorie in a pitched field: whereof generall processions were appointed, to render vnto God humble thanks for his fauour so bestowed vpon them.

*Or rather Goche.

Generall processions after victorie.

This yeare after Easter, the king called a parlement at Westminster, by aduise of the peeres: and comming to the parlement house himselfe, he was conueied through the citie vpon a great courser, with great triumph, the people flocking into the streets to behold the child, whome they iudged to haue the liuelie image and countenance of his father, and like to succeed him, and be his heire in all princelie qualities, martiall policies, and morall vertues, aswell as in his realmes, seigniories and dominions. In this parlement was granted to the king a subsidie of twelue pence the pound, towards the maintenance of his warres, of all merchandize, comming in or going out of the realme, as well of Englishmen as strangers.

Anno Reg. 3.

A subsidie of tunnage and poundage.

During which parlement, came to London Peter duke of Quimbre, sonne to the king of Portingale, cousine germane remoued to the king; which of the duke of Exceter and the bishop of Winchester his vncles was highlie feasted, he was also elected into the order of the garter. During the same season, Edmund Mortimer, the last earle of March, of

The prince of Portingale commeth to London.

of that name (which long time had bene restreined from his libertie, and finallie wared lame) deceassed without issue, whose inheritance descended to the lord Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to Richard earle of Cambridge, beheaded (as before yée haue heard) at the towne of Southampton. ¶ In the time of this parlement also was sir John Mortimer cousine to the same earle, either for desert or malice, atteinted of treason, and put to execution, of whose death no small slander arose amongst the common people.

After all these things done in England and in France, Humfreie duke of Gloucester, who had married the ladie Jaquet, or Jaqueline of Bauier, countesse of Heinault, Holland, and Zeland (notwithstanding she was coupled in marriage afore to John duke of Brabant, as yet liuing, and had continued with him a long space) passed now the sea with the said ladie, and went to Mons or Bergen in Heinault, where the more part of the people of that countrie came and submitted themselues vnto him, as to their souereigne lord, in right of his said wife, the ladie Jaquet or Jaqueline: with which doing hir former husband was greatlie moued. And likewise the duke of Burgognie, being great friend to the same duke of Brabant, was much offended: who of old familiaritie wrote louinglie to the duke of Gloucester, requiring him to reforme himselfe according to reason, and to forsake his vngodlie life, both in kéeping of an other mans wife, and also in séeking to vsurpe other mens rights and titles.

Herevpon went letters betwixt them for a time, but at length when the duke of Burgognie perceiued that the duke of Gloucester meant to mainteine his interest, & to make warre against the duke of Brabant; he tooke part with the duke of Brabant so earnestlie, that he consented to fight with the duke of Gloucester bodie to bodie within lists in defense of the duke of Brabants quarell, and further aided the duke of Brabant in his warres against the duke of Gloucester, with all his puissance, insomuch that in the end (after the duke of Gloucesters returne into England) the duke of Brabant recouered all the towns in Heinault, which the ladie Jaquet or Jaqueline held against him. And further the same ladie was by composition deliuered by them of the towne of Mons vnto the duke of Burgognie; who caused hir to be conueied vnto Gant, from whence she made shift to escape into Holland, where she was obeied as countesse of the countrie.

Then made she warre in hir owne defense against the dukes of Burgognie and Brabant, who sought to spoile hir of all hir towns and lands: but they procured pope Martin the fift (before whome the matter was) to giue sentence that the first matrimonie with the duke of Brabant was good, and the second with the duke of Gloucester to be vnlawfull. But in the meane time, the lord Fitz Walter was sent ouer to the aid of the ladie Jaquet or Jaquelin, with a power of Englishmen, landed in Zeland, nere vnto the towne of Zerice, against whome came the duke of Burgognie, and incountering with them and other such Hollanders and Zelanders, as were ioined with them, nére to a place called Brewers hauen, there discomfited them; so that of English, Hollanders, and Zelanders, with the said lord Fitz Walter, were slaine seauen or eight hundred, and the residue chased to the water. At length, when the duke of Gloucester vnderstood the sentence pronounced against him by the pope, he began to wax wearie of his wife the said ladie Jaquet, by whome he neuer had profit, but losse, and tooke in a second marriage Eleanor Cobham, daughter to the lord Cobham of Sterborow, which before (as the fame went) was his souereigne paramour, to his slander and dishonour.

A little before this time, sir Thomas Rampston, sir Philip Branch, sir Nicholas Burdet, and other Englishmen, to the number of fiue hundred men of warre, repared and fortified the towne of S. James de Beuuron, situate on the frontiers of Normandie towards Britaine, within halfe a league of the duke of Britains ground, with whome as then they had open warre; and so began to do manie displeasures to his people. Wherevpon Arthur earle of Richmont and Purie, brother to the said duke, and latelie before created constable of France, assembled an huge power of men to the number of fortie thousand (as some haue written) and with the same came before the said towne of S James de Beuuron, and planted his siege verie stronglie about it, inforcing with his great ordinance to ouerthrow the wals. And one day amongst other, he determined to giue the assault, and so did, the which continued a long space verie hot and earnest.

Allen Bowron.

Twentie thousand hath Nicholas Giles.

S. James de Beuuron besieged.

The Britons Britonants were come downe into a low bottome, where there was a little pond or fishpoole, and they must néeds passe by a streict waie to come to the walles in great danger. On that side of the towne was a little bulworke, which sir Nicholas Burdet kept, hauing with him a fortie or eightie fighting men: and ouer against the same bulworke there was a gate well furnished also with English souldiers; so that the Britons which came downe into the ditches in great number to giue the assault, heard on either side them the Englishmen (within the said bulworke and gate) make a great noise, in crieng Salisburie and Suffolke; with the which crie the Britons being maruelouslie astonied, began to recoile in great disorder. And therewith the said sir Nicholas Burdet issued forth vpon them, and pursuing them right valiantlie, slue them downe, so that there died of them what by the sword, and what by drowning in the said poole, about seauen thousand or eight hundred, and to the number of fiftie were taken prisoners. And beside this, those Englishmen gained eightéene standards and one baner.

Sir Nicholas Burdet.

Enguerant de Monstrellet.

Incontinentlie the newes hereof were reported to the constable of France, who was busie at the assault on the other side of the towne, whereof he was sore displeased, and no lesse amazed; so that he caused the retreit to be sounded, for all the siege on that side toward the poole was alreadie raised. After this, vpon counsell taken amongst the Frenchmen, it was determined that they should dislodge: and so about the middest of the nert night, the constable and all the residue of his people departed toward Fougiers, leauing behind them great plentie of artillerie both great and small, with victuals, and all their other prouisions: as fourtéene great guns and fortie barrels of powder, thrée hundred pipes of wine, two hundred pipes of bisket and flower, two hundred frailes of figs and reisins, and fiue hundred barrels of herrings.

Somewhat before this season fell a great diuision in the realme of England, which of a sparkle was like to haue grown to a great flame. For whether the bishop of Winchester called Henrie Beaufort, sonne to John duke of Lancaster by his third wife, enuied the authoritie of Humfreie duke of Gloucester, protectour of the realme; or whether the duke disdained at the riches and pompous estate of the bishop: sure it is that the whole realme was troubled with them and their partakers: so that the citizens of London were faine to kéepe dailie and nightlie watches, and to shut vp their shops for feare of that which was doubted to haue insued of their assembling of people about them. The archbishop of Canturburie and the duke of Quimbre, called the prince of Portingale, rode

Dissention betwixt the duke of Gloucester and the bishop of Winchester.

rode eight times in one daie betweene the two parties, and so the matter was staied for a time. But the bishop of Winchester, to cleere himselfe of blame so farre as he might, and to charge his nephue the lord protectour with all the fault, wrote a letter to the regent of France, the tenor whereof insueth.

The bishop of Winchesters letter *excusatorie.*

RIght high and mightie prince, and my right noble, and after one, lieuest lord, I recommend me vnto you with all my hart. And as you desire the welfare of the king our souereigne lord, and of his realmes of England and France, your owne health, and ours also: so hast you hither. For by my truth, if you tarie, we shall put this land in aduenture with a field; such a brother you haue here, God make him a good man. For your wisedome knoweth, that the profit of France standeth in the welfare of England, &c. Written in great hast on Allhallowen euen. By your true seruant to my liues end, Henrie Winchester.

The duke of Bedford being sore grieued and disquieted with these newes, constituted the earle of Warwike, which was latelie come into France with six thousand men, his lieutenant in the French dominions, and in the duchie of Normandie; and so with a small companie, he with the duchesse his wife returned againe ouer the seas into England, and the tenth daie of Januarie he was with all solemnitie receiued into London, to whome the citizens gaue a paire of basins of siluer and gilt, and a thousand markes in monie. Then from London he rode to Westminster, and was lodged in the kings palace. The fiue and twentith daie of March after his comming to London, a parlement began at the towne of Leicester; where the duke of Bedford openlie rebuked the lords in generall, bicause that they in the time of warre, thorough their priuie malice and inward grudge, had almost moued the people to warre and commotion, in which time all men ought or should be of one mind, hart, and consent: requiring them to defend, serue, & dread their souereigne lord king Henrie, in performing his conquest in France, which was in manner brought to conclusion. In this parlement the duke of Gloucester laid certeine articles to the bishop of Winchester his charge, the which with the answers hereafter do insue; as followeth.

A parlement holden at Leicester.

The articles of accusation and accord *betweene the lord of Gloucester, and the* lord of Winchester.

Articles set forth by the duke of Gloucester, against Henrie bishop of winchester.

HEre insueth the articles, as the kings councell hath conceiued, the which the high and mightie prince my lord of Gloucester hath surmised vpon my lord of Winchester chancellor of England, with the answer to the same.

1 First, whereas he being protectour, and defendour of this land, desired the Tower to be opened to him, and to lodge him therein; Richard Wooduile esquier (hauing at that time the charge of the keeping of the Tower) refused his desire, and kept the same Tower against him vndulie and against reason, by the commandement of my said lord of Winchester; and afterward in approuing of the said refusall, he receiued the said Wooduile, and cherished him against the state and worship of the king, and of my said lord of Gloucester.

2 Item, my said lord of Winchester, without the aduise and assent of my said lord of Gloucester, or of the kings councell, purposed and disposed him to set hand on the kings person, and to haue remoued him from Eltham, the place that he was in, to Windsor, to the intent to put him in gouernance as him list.

3 Item, that where my said lord of Gloucester (to whome of all persons that should be in the land, by the waie of nature and birth, it belongeth to see the gouernance of the kings person) informed of the said vndue purpose of my said lord of Winchester, declared in the article next aboue said, and in letting thereof, determining to haue gone to Eltham vnto the king to haue prouided as the cause required: my said lord of Winchester vntrulie, and against the kings peace, to the intent to trouble my said lord of Gloucester going to the king, purposing his death, in case that he had gone that waie, set men of armes and archers at the end of London bridge next Southwarke: and in forebarring of the kings high waie, let draw the chaine of the stoupes there, and set vp pipes and hurdles in manner and forme of bulwarks: and set men in chambers, cellars, & windowes, with bowes and arrowes and other weapons, to the intent to bring finall destruction to my said lord of Gloucesters person, as well as of those that then should come with him.

4 Item, my said lord of Gloucester saith and affirmeth, that our souereigne lord his brother that was king Henrie the fift, told him on a time, when our souereigne lord being prince was lodged in the palace of Westminster in the great chamber, by the noise of a spaniell, there was on a night a man spied and taken behind a * tapet of the said chamber, the which man was deliuered to the earle of Arundell to be examined vpon the cause of his being there at that time; the which so examined, at that time confessed that he was there by the stirring and procuring of my said lord of Winchester, ordeined to haue slaine the said prince there in his bed: wherefore the said earle of Arundell let sacke him forthwith, and drowned him in the Thames.

* Or hanging.

5 Item, our souereigne lord that was, king Henrie the fift, said vnto my said lord of Gloucester, that his father king Henrie the fourth liuing, and visited then greatlie with sickenesse by the hand of God, my said lord of Winchester said vnto the king (Henrie the fift then being prince) that the king his father so visited with sickenesse was not personable, & therfore not disposed to come in conuersation and gouernance of the people; and for so much, counselled him to take the gouernance and crowne of this land vpon him.

The answer of the bishop.

HEre insue the answers to the accusations made by my lord of Winchester chancellour of England, vnto the causes and matters of heauinesse, declared in the articles against him by my lord of Gloucester.

1 First, as of the refusall made vnto my lord of Gloucester, of opening the Tower to him, of his lodging therein, by the commandement of my said lord of Winchester; he answereth, that in the presence of my said lord of Gloucester before his comming out of his countrie of Heinault, for causes such as were thought resonable, it seemeth lawfull that the Tower should haue beene notablie stored and kept with vittels:

tels: howbeit it was not forthwith executed, and that in likewise after that my said lord of Gloucester, was gone into his said countrie of Heinault, for seditious and odious billes and languages, cast and vsed in the citie of London, sounding of insurrection and rebellion against the kings peace, and destruction aswell of diuerse estates of this land, as strangers being vnder the defense, in so much that in doubt thereof, strangers in great number fled the land. And for the more sure keeping of the said Tower, Richard Wooduile esquier so trusted with our souereigne lord the king that dead is (as well ye know) & also chamberlaine and councellor vnto my lord of Bedford, with a certeine number of defensible persons assigned vnto him, was made deputie there by the assent of the kings councell, being that time at London, for to abide therein, for the safegard thereof; and strictlie charged by the said councell, that during that time of his said charge, he should not suffer any man to be in the Tower stronger than himselfe, without speciall charge or commandement of the king by the aduise of his councell.

2 Item, that sone after (vpon the comming of my said lord of Gloucester into this land from his countrie of Heinault) the said lords of the kings councell were informed, that my said lord of Gloucester grudged with the said maner of inforcing the Tower, and let saie to them of London, that he had well vnderstand that they had béene beautlie threatened for the time of his absence, and otherwise than they shuld haue beene, if he had béene in this land. Wherefore he was right euill contented, and especiallie of the said forcing of the Tower, set vpon them in manner of a chased villain, considering the good equitie and truth that they had alwaies kept vnto the king, offering them therevpon remedie if they would.

3 Item, that after this, Richard Scot lieutenant of the Tower, by the commandement of my said lord of Gloucester, brought vnto him frier Randolph, the which had long before confessed treason done by him against the kings person that dead is, for the which knowlege he was put to be kept in the said Tower, & streictlie commanded vnder great paine giuen vnto the said Scot, to kéepe him streictlie & suerlie, & not to let him out of the said Tower without cõmandment of the king by aduise of his councell. The which frier Randolph, my said lord of Gloucester kept then with himselfe (not witting to the said Scot) as he declared to my said lord of Winchester, sone after that he had brought the said frier Randolph to my lord of Gloucester; saieng to my lord of Winchester, that he was vndone but he helped him, & expressed, as for cause of the withholding of frier Randolph: and saieng moreouer, that when he desired of my said lord of Gloucester, the deliuerance of the said frier Randolph, to lead him againe vnto the Tower, or sufficient warrant for his discharge: my said lord of Gloucester answered him, that his commandement was sufficient warrant and discharge for him. In the which thing aboue said, it was thought to my lord of Winchester, that my said lord of Gloucester toke vpon him further than his authoritie stretched vnto, and caused him to doubt and dread, least that he would haue proceeded further. And at such time as the said Wooduile came vnto him, to aske his aduise and counsell, of lodging my said lord of Gloucester in the Tower; he aduised and charged him, that before he suffered my said lord of Gloucester, or any person to lodge therein stronger than himselfe, he should purueie him a sufficient warrant therof, of the king, by the aduise of his councell.

Frier Randolph.

4 Item, as to the said article of the foresaid causes of heauinesse, my said lord chancellor answereth, that he neuer purposed to set hand on the kings person, nor to remoue him, or that he should be remoued, or put in any manner of gouernance, but by the aduise of the kings councell. For he could not perceiue any manner of goodnesse or of aduantage that might haue growne to him thereof, but rather great perill and charge; and hereof my said lord of Winchester is readie to make proose, in time and place conuenient.

5 Item, as to the third article of the foresaid causes and heauines, my said lord chancellor answereth, that he was oft and diuerse times warned, by diuerse credible persons, aswell at the time of the kings last parlement, holden at Westminster, as before and since, that my said lord of Gloucester purposed him bodilie harme, & was warned therof, and counselled by the said persons, and that diuerse times, to abstéine him from comming to Westminster, as my said lord of Winchester declared vnto my said lord of Gloucester.

6 Item, that in the time of the said parlement, diuerse persons of low estate of the citie of London, in great number assembled on a day vpon the wharfe, at the crane of the vinetrée, and wished and desired that they had there the person of my lord of Winchester, saieng, that they would haue throwen him into the Thames, to haue taught him to swim with wings. Whereof billes and language of slander and threatnings were cast and spokẽ in the said citie by my said lord the chancellor, which caused him to suppose that they that so said and did, willed and desired his destruction, although they had no cause.

7 Item, that after the comming to London of sir Rafe Botiller, and maister Lewes, sent from my lord of Bedford, to the rest of the lords of the councell, they being informed, that my said lord of Gloucester did beare displeasure to my said lord of Winchester, they came to the said lord of Gloucester to his In, the second sundaie next before All hallondaie, and there opened vnto him, that they had knowledge and vnderstanding of the said displeasure, praieng him to let them know if he bare such displeasure against my said lord of Winchester, and also the causes thereof. At the which time (as my said lord of Winchester was afterwards informed) my said lord of Gloucester affirmed that he was heauie toward him, and not without causes that peraduenture he would put in writting.

8 Item, that after the mondaie next before All hallondaie last past in the night, the people of the said citie of London, by the commandement of my said lord of Gloucester, as it was said (for what cause my lord the chancellor wist not) assembled in the citie, armed and arraied, and so continued all the night. Amongst diuerse of the which (the same night by what excitation, my said lord the chancellor wist not) seditious and heauie language was vsed, and in especiall against the person of my lord the chancellor. And so the same mondaie at night, my said lord of Gloucester sent vnto the Ins of court at London, charging them of the court dwelling in the same, to be with him vpon the morrow at eight of the clocke in their best arraie.

9 Item, that on the morrow being tuesdaie next following, my said lord of Gloucester sent earlie vnto the maior and aldermen of the said citie of London, to ordeine him to the number of three hundred persons on horsse backe, to accompanie him vnto such a place as he disposed him to ride, which (as it was said) was vnto the king, to the intent to haue his person, and to remoue him from the place that he was in, without assent or aduise of the kings councell. The which thing was thought vnto my said lord the chancellor, that he ought in no wise to haue done, nor had not béene seene so before.

10 Item,

10 Item, that my said lord the chancellor, considering the things aboue said, and doubting therefore of perils that might haue insued thereof, intending to purueie there against, and namelie for his owne suertie and defense, according to the law of nature, ordeined to let, that no force of people should come on the bridge of London towards him, by the which he or his might haue bene indangered or noied, not intending in any wise bodilie harme vnto my said lord of Glocester, nor to any other person, but onelie his owne defense, in eschewing the perill aboue said.

11 Item, as toward the fourth and fift of the said articles, my lord the chancellor answereth, that he was euer true to all those that were his souereigne lords and reigned vpon him, and that he neuer purposed treason or vntruth against any of their persons, and in especiall against the person of our said souereigne lord Henrie the fift. The which considering the great wisdome, truth, and manhood that all men knew in him, he would not for the time that he was king, haue set on my said lord the chancellor so great trust as he did, if he had found or thought in him such vntruth. The which thing my said lord the chancellor offered to declare and shew, as it belongeth to a man of his estate to do, requiring therevpon my lord of Bedford and all the lords spirituall and temporall in this parlement, that it might be seene that there were iudges conuenient in this case, that they would do him right, or else that he might haue leaue of the king by their aduise to go sue his right, before him that ought to be his iudge.

12 And as toward the letter sent by my lord of Winchester vnto my lord of Bedford, of the which the tenor is before rehearsed, of the which my lord of Glocester complained him of the malicious and vntrue purpose of my said lord of Winchester, as toward the assembling of the people, and gathering of a field in the kings land, in troubling thereof, and against the kings peace: my said lord of Winchester answereth, that if his said letters duelie vnderstand, and in such wise as he vnderstood and meant in the writing of them, it maie not reasonablie be gathered and taken, that my said lord of Winchester intended to gather any field, or assemble people in troubling of the kings land, and against the kings peace, but rather purposed to acquite him to the king in his truth, and to keepe the rest and peace in the kings land, and to eschew rebellion, disobedience and all trouble. For by that that in the beginning of the said letter, he calleth my said lord of Bedford his lieuest lord after one, that is the king, whome he ought to accept of dutie of his truth, the which he hath euer kept, and will keepe.

13 Moreouer, in the said letter he desireth the comming home of my lord of Bedford, for the welfare of the king and of his realmes of England and of France, which stand principallie in keeping of his rest and peace, and praieth my said lord of Bedford to spéd his cõming into England, in eschewing of ieopardie of the land, and of a field, which he dread him might haue followed if he had long taried. As toward those words; If ye tarie, we shall put this land in aduenture with a field, such a brother ye haue here, &c. My said lord of Winchester saith, the soth is: before or he wrote the said letter, by the occasion of certeine ordinances made by the maior and aldermen of London against the excessiue taking of masons, carpentars, tilers, plasterers, and other labourers for their dailie iournies, and approued by the kings deuise and councell, there were sith manie heauinesses and seditious billes vnder the names of such labourers, threatning rising with manie thousands, and menacing of estates of the land, and likewise seditious and euill language sowen, and so continued and likelie to haue insued, of purpose and intent of disobedience and rebellion. To the redressing of which, it seemed to my lord the chancellor, that my said lord of Glocester did not his indeuour nor diligence that he might haue shewed. For lacke of which diligence, they that were disposed to do disobeisance were incouraged & imboldned, so that it was like, that they should haue made a gathering, and that the king and his true subiects should haue bene compelled to haue made a field to haue withstand them; the which field making, had bene aduenturing of this land, and in tokening that it was neuer my said lord chancellors intent, to gather no field, but as truth most stirred him against such as riotoustie would make such assemblie against our souereigne lord, and the weale of this land, he desired so hastilie the comming of my said lord of Bedford: the which he would in no wise haue so greatlie desired, if he would haue purposed him vnto any vnlawfull making of a field; for he wist well, that my said lord of Bedford would most sharplie haue chastised and punished all those, that so would make any riotous assemblie.

When this answer was made, the *duke caused this writing following* openlie to be proclamed.

BE it knowne to all folkes, that it is the intent of my lord of Bedford, and all the lords spirituall & temporall, assembled in this present parlement, to acquite him and them, and to procæd truelie, iustlie, and indifferentlie, without any parcialitie in any maner of matter or quarels, moued or to be moued betwæne my lord of Glocester on that one partie, & my lord of Winchester chancellor of England on that other partie. And for suer keeping of the kings peace it is accorded by my said lord of Bedford, & by my said lords spirituall and temporall, an oth to be made in forme as followeth, that is to saie.

The oth of the lords.

THat my said lord of Bedford, and my said lords, spirituall and temporall, and ech of them shall (as far forth as their cunnings and discretions suffice) trulie, iustlie, and indifferentlie counsell and aduise the king, and also procæd and acquit themselues in all the said matters, and quarels, without that they or any of them shall priuilie and apertlie make or shew himselfe to be partie or parciall therein, not leauing or eschewing so to do for affection, loue, mæd, doubt, or dread of any person or persons. And that they shall in all wise keepe secret all that shall be commoned by waie of councell, in the matters and quarrels aboue said, in the said parlement, without that they or any of them shall by word, writing of the king, or in any wise open or discouer it to any of the said parties, or to any other person that is not of the said councell: but if he haue a speciall commandement or leaue therevnto of the king or my said lord of Bedford. And that ech of them shall with all his might and power, assist by waie of counsell, or else shew it vnto the king, my lord of Bedford, and to the rest of my said lords to put the said parties to reason; and not to suffer that any of the said parties by them, or by their assistance, procæd or attempt by way of fight against the kings peace; nor helpe, assist, or comfort any of them thereto: but let them with all their might and power withstand them, and assist vnto the king, and my said lord of Bedford, in keeping of the

kings peace, and redressing all such maner of proceeding by wate of fight or force.

Dukes: the duke of Bedford, the duke of Norfolke, the duke of Excester. Bishops: the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishop of Carleill, the bishop of Bath, the bishop of Landaffe, the bishop of Rochester, the bishop of Chichester, the bishop of Worcester, the bishop of saint Dauids, the bishop of London, the bishop of Duresme. Earles: the earle of Northumberland, the earle of Stafford, the earle of Orford. Lords: the lord Hungerford, the lord Tiptoft, the lord Poinings, the lord Cromwell, the lord Borough, the lord Louell, the lord Botreur, the lord Clinton, the lord Zouch, the lord Audeleie, the lord Ferreis of Groubie, the lord Talbot, the lord Ros, the lord Greie, the lord Greie of Ruthen, the lord Fitz Walter, the lord Barkeleie. Abbats: the abbat of Waltham, the abbat of Glastenburie, the abbat of S. Augustines in Canturburie, the abbat of Westminster, the abbat of S. Maries in Yorke, the abbat of S. Albons not sworne because he was not present. ¶ Which oth in manner and forme aboue rehearsed, all the lords aswell spirituall as temporall, being in this parlement at Leicester assembled, the fourth day of March, promised vpon their faith, dutie, and allegiance, which they owe to the king their soueregne lord, truelie to obserue and kéepe, according to the true meaning and purport of the same.

The arbitrement.

IN the name of God Amen. We Henrie archbishop of Canturburie, Thomas duke of Excester, John duke of Norfolke, Thomas bishop of Duresme, Philip bishop of Worcester, John bishop of Bath, Humfrie earle of Stafford, William Alnwicke kéeper of the kings priuie seale, Rafe lord Cromwell, arbitrators in all maner of causes, matters and quarrels of beauinesses & grœuances, with all incidents, circumstances, dependents, or conneres being and hanging betwœne the high & worthie prince Humfrie duke of Gloucester on the one partie, and the worshipfull father in God Henrie bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England on the other partie, by either of them, for the pealing of the said quarrels and debates taken and chosen in maner and forme as it is contemed more plainelie in a compromise made therevpon, of the which the tenor insueth in this forme.

1424 Anno Reg. 4. Memorandum, the seauenth daie of March in the fourth yeare of our soueregne lord the king, Henrie the first, the high and mightie prince Humfrie duke of Gloucester at the reuerence of God, and for the good of the king our soueregne lord in this land, & namelie at the reuerence, and especiallie at the request and praier of the mightie and high prince my lord of Bedford his brother, agréed him to put, and putteth all maner matters and quarels indéed, with all their incidents, circumstances, dependents and conneres that touchen him and his person, that he hath in anie wise don, or féeleth himselfe grœued or heauie against my lord his vncle, my lord of Winchester: or else that my lord of Winchester findeth him agrœued against him, in as much as they touch him or his person from the beginning of the world vnto this daie, in the aduise, ordinance and arbitrement of the worthie father in God, Henrie archbishop of Canturburie, the high and noble prince Thomas duke of Excester, and John duke of Norffolke, the worshipfull father in God Thomas bishop of Duresme, Philip bishop of Worcester, John bishop of Bath, the noble lord Humfrie earle of Stafford, the worshipfull persons maister William Alnewicke kéeper of the kings priuie seale, and Rafe lord Cromwell, promising and behighting by the faith of his bodie, & word of his princehod and kings sonne, to don, kéepe, obserue, and fulfill for him and his behalfe, all that shall be declared, ordeined, and arbitrated, by the foresaid archbishop, dukes, bishops, earle, kéeper of the priuie seale, and lord Cromwell in all matters and quarels aboue said.

Granting also and promising ouer that, to be comprehended in the foresaid arbitrement, as toward putting awaie all beauinesses and displeasures, in anie wise conteined, by my lord of Gloucester against all those that haue in anie wise assisted, counselled, or fauoured vnto his said vncle of Winchester, and as toward anie matters that be touching my lord of Gloucester, remitteth it, and the gouernance thereof vnto the king & his councell, they to déeme it by the aduise of his councell, as him thinketh it to be done. In witnesse of the which thing to this present compromise my said lord of Gloucester hath subscribed his name with his owne hand: Humfreie Gloucester. And in like forme my lord of Winchester in an other compromise hath subscribed with his owne hand vnder the word of his priesthod, to stand at the aduise, ordinance, & arbitrement of the persons aboue said, *Mutatis mutandis.*

A decree or order taken by the kings *councell for the pacifieng of the quarels* & variances that were betweene *the duke of Gloucester, and the bishop* of Winchester.

THe causes aforesaid and quarels by vs seene, heard, and diligentlie examined and decréed, by the assent of the said parties, ordeine and award, that my lords of Gloucester, and of Winchester, for any thing done or spoken, by that one partie against that other, or by anie of theirs, or anie other person or persons, afore the seuenth daie of this present moneth of March, neuer hereafter take causes, quarels, displeasures, or beaunesses, that one against the other, ne neither against the counsellers, adherents, or fauourers of that other for anie thing or things that are past. And that my said lord of Gloucester be good lord to my said lord of Winchester, & haue him in loue and affection as his kinsman & vncle. And that my said lord of Winchester haue to my said lord of Gloucester true and sad loue and affection, don and be readie to don him such seruice as apperteineth of honestie to my said lord of Winchester and his estate to don. And that each of them be good lord vnto all those adherents, counsellers, and fauourers of that other, and shew them at all times fauourable loue and affection, as for anie thing by them done or said, before the seauenth daie of March.

And we decrée, ordeine, and award, that my said lord of Winchester, in the presence of the king our soueregne lord, my lord of Bedford, and my lord of Gloucester, and the residue of the lords spirituall and temporall, and commons being in this present parlement, saie and declare in maner and forme that followeth: My soueregne lord, I haue well vnderstand, that I am noised among the states of your land, how that the king our soueregne lord that was, at that time being prince, and lodged in the great chamber at Westminster, by the baieng of a spaniell, there was on a night taken behind a *tapet in the same chamber, a man, that should haue confessed, that he was there by mine excitation and procuring, to haue slaine the foresaid prince there in his bed; wherevpon he was sacked, and forthwith also drowned in the Thames.

*Or hanging.

Further-

Furthermore, I am accused, how that I should haue stirred the king that last died, the time also that he was prince, to haue taken the gouernance of this realme, and the crowne vpon him, his father liuing the same time, being king. Through which language and noising, I feele my name and fame greatlie enblemished in diuerse mens opinions. Where vpon, I take first God to my witnes, and after all the world, that I haue béene at all times, and am true louer, and true man, to you my souereigne lord, and shall be all my life. And also, I haue béene to my souereigne lord that was your father, all the time of his reigne, true man, and for such he toke me, trusted me and cherished me to his liues end; and as I trust, no man will affirme the contrarie, nor neuer in my life procuring nor imagining death nor destruction of his person, ne assenting to any such thing, or like thereto, the time that he was king or prince, or else in other state.

I was likewise true man to king Henrie the fourth, all the time that he was my souereigne lord, and reigned vpon me. In which matters, in all maner of wise that it liketh you my souereigne lord for to command me, I am readie for to declare me: and furthermore, where, how, and when it shall like you, by the aduise of your councell, to alligne me. Wherfore I beseech you my souereigne lord, as humblie as I can, considering that there is no grounded processe, by the which I might lawfullie in these matters abouesaid, be conuict (blessed be God) to hold me, and declare me, by the aduise of all the lords, spirituall and temporall, being in this present parlement, true man to you my souereigne lord, and so to haue bene vnto my souereigne lords that were your father and grandfather, and true man also to haue béene at all times to your said father whilest he was prince, or else in ante other estate, the said slander and noise notwithstanding, and this same declaration to be inacted in this your said present parlement.

The which words declared in maner as it is abouesaid, it seemeth to my said lords the arbitrators, that it is méet, that my said lord of Winchester draw him apart, and in the meane time, the lords being present, be singularlie examined therevpon, and saie their aduise. And if it be assented by them, in maner as my said lord of Winchester desireth, let him be called againe, and that then my lord of Bedford haue these words in effect that follow: Faire vncle, the king my lord by the aduise of his councell, hath commanded me to saie to you, that he hath well vnderstand and considered all the matters which yée haue hære openlie declared in his presence, and therevpon yée desire a petition, that he will declare you, and by the aduise and assent of the lords spirituall and temporall, being in this present parlement, he declareth you a true man to him, and that yée haue so béene to my lord his father, and grandfather, also true man to my lord his father while he was prince, or else in anie other estate, the said dislander and noising notwithstanding, and will that the said declaration be so inacted in this present parlement.

After the which words thus said (as before is declared) it was decréd also by the said lords arbitrators, that the said lord of Winchester should haue these words that follow vnto my said lord of Gloucester: My lord of Gloucester, I haue conceiued to my great beauinesse, that yée should haue receiued by diuerse reports, that I should haue purposed and imagined against your person, honor, and estate, in diuers maners, for the which, yée haue taken against me great displeasure: Sir, I take God to my witnesse, that what reports so euer haue béene to you of me, peraduenture of such as haue had no great affection to me, God forgiue it them, I neuer imagined, ne purposed anie thing that might be hindering or prejudice to your person, honor, or estate: and therefore I praie you, that yæ be vnto me good lord from this time forth; for by my will, I gaue neuer other occasion, nor purpose not to do hereafter by the grace of God. The which words so by him said, it was decréd by the same arbitrators, that my lord of Gloucester, should answer and saie: Faire vncle, sith yée declare you such a man, as yée saie, I am right glad that it is so, and for such a man I take you. And when this was done, it was decréd by the same arbitrators, that euerie each of my lord of Gloucester, and Winchester, should take either other by the hand, in the presence of the king and all the parlement, in signe and token of good loue & accord, the which was done, and the parlement adiorned till after Easter.

At this reconciliation, such as loued peace reioised (sith it is a fowle & pernicious thing for priuat men, much more for noblemen to be at variance, sith vpon them depend manie in affections diuerse, whereby factions might grow to the shedding of blood) though others, to whom contention & hartgrudge is delight, wished to see the vttermost mischéefe that might therof insue, which is the vtter ouerthrow and desolation of populous tribes, euen as with a litle sparkle whole houses are manie times consumed to ashes; as the old prouerbe saith, and that verie well and aptlie;

Sola scintilla perit hæc domus aut domus illa.

But when the great fier of this dissention, betwéene these two noble personages, was thus by the arbitrators (to their knowledge and iudgement) vtterlie quenched out, and laid vnder bord; all other controuersies betwéene other lords, taking part with the one partie or the other, were appeased, and brought to concord, so that for ioy the king caused a solemne feast to be kept on Whitsundaie; on which daie he created Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to the erle of Cambridge (whome his father at Southhampton had put to death, as before yæ haue heard) duke of Yorke, not foreséeing that this preferment should be his destruction, nor that his séed should of his generation be the extreame end and finall conclusion. He the same daie also promoted John lord Mowbraie, and earle marshall, sonne and heire to Thomas duke of Norfolke (by king Richard the second exiled this realme) to the title, name, and stile of duke of Norfolke.

During this feast, the duke of Bedford adorned the king with the high order of knighthood, who on the same daie dubbed with the sword these knights, whose names insue: Richard duke of Yorke, John duke of Norfolke; the earle of Westmerland, Henrie lord Persie, John lord Butler, sonne to the earle of Ormond, the lord Rosse, the lord Matrauers, the lord Welles, the lord Barkelie; sir James Butler, sir Henrie Greie of Tankaruile, sir John Talbot, sir Rafe Greie of Warke, sir Robert Uére, sir Richard Greie, sir Edmund Hungerford, sir Water Wingfield, sir John Butler, sir Reginald Cobham, sir John Passheleu, sir Thomas Tunstall, sir John Chedocke, sir Rafe Langstre, sir William Durie, sir William ap Thomas, sir Richard Carnonell, sir Richard Wooduile, sir John Shirdlow, sir Nicholas Blunket, sir William Cheinie iustice, sir William Babington, sir Rafe Butler, sir Robert Beauchampe, sir Edmund Trafford, sir John June chefe baron, and diuerse others.

After this solemne feast ended, a great aid and subsidie was granted for the continuance of the conquest in France, and so therevpon monie was gathered, and men were prepared in euerie citie, towne, and countrie. During which businesse, Thomas duke of Excester, great vncle to the king, a right sage and

The duke of Excester dieth.

discréet councellor, departed out of this mortall life, at his manor of Grénewich, and with all funerall pompe was conueied through London to Berrie, and there buried. ¶ In the same yeare also died the ladie Elizabeth, halfe sister to the same duke, and of the whole bloud with king Henrie the fourth, maried first to the lord John Holland, duke of Excester, and after to the lord Fanhope, buried at the blacke friers of London.

Fr.Thin. 1425

[Philip Morgan after the death of John Fortham (sometime treasuror of England, bishop of Elie and Durham, both which bishoprikes, for anie thing that I can yet sée, he inioied both at one time) was made bishop of Elie in the yeare of our redemption 1425, in this sort. Henrie the first and manie of the nobilitie had written to the conuent of the church of Elie, to chuse William Alnewicke (doctor of both lawes confessor to the king and kéeper of the priuie seale) to be their bishop. Notwithstanding which (they hauing more regard to their owne priuileges and benefit) chose Peter the prior of Elie to succéed in the place of John Fortham. But none of both these inioied that rome; for Martin bishop of Rome (stepping into the matter to make the third part, neither fauouring the kings motion, nor approuing the monks election) remoued this William Morgan from the sée of Worcester vnto Elie, sometime called Helie: as I haue séene it set downe in Saxon characters in an ancient booke of the liues of saints written in the Saxon tong, about the yeare of Christ 1010, before the time of Edward the confessor, and much about the time of Albo Floracensis. This Morgan sat at Elie nine yeares, twentie and six weeks, and foure daies, departing this life in his manour of Hatfield, in the yeare 1434, and was buried at the Charterhouse of London; being the twentie and fourth bishop that was installed in that place.]

1426

While these things were thus a doing in England, the earle of Warwike, lieutenant for the regent in France, entered into the countrie of Maine, & besieged the towne of Chateau de Loire, the which shortlie to him was rendered, whereof he made captéine Matthew* Gough, esquier. After this, he tooke by assault the castell of Maiet, and gaue it for his valiantnesse to John Winter esquier, and after that he conquered the castell of Lude, and made there captéine William Gladesdale gentleman. Here he was informed, that the Frenchmen were assembled in the countrie of Beausse, whereupon he hasted thitherwards to haue giuen them battell, but they hauing knowledge of his approch, durst not abide to trie the matter with him by a pight field, but fled before he came néere them.

*Or rather Goche.

John winter.

The earle of Warwike made gouernour of the yong king.

The earle in his returne wan the castell of Montdublean by surrender; where he left the valiant lord Willoughbie, and then returned to Paris. During which season, he was ordeined by the three estates of the realme of England, to be gouernour of the yong king in the place of the duke of Excester deceassed: howbeit, he did not as yet returne into England, but remained in France for a season, and atchiued manie worthie enterprises. Whilest the lord regent of France was thus in England, meanes was made by the duke of Burgognie, for the deliuerie of the duke of Alanson, taken at the battell of Vernoille, and now for the summe of two hundred thousand crownes he was set at libertie; but he would not by anie meanes acknowlege the king of England to be his liege and souereigne lord.

Anno Reg. 5.

1427

After that the duke of Bedford had set all things in good order in England, he tooke leaue of the king, and togither with his wife returned into France, first landing at Calis, where the bishop of Winchester (that also passed the seas with him) receiued the habit, hat, and dignitie of a cardinall, with all ceremonies to it apertaining: which promotion, the late K. right déeplie persing into the vnrestrainable ambitious mind of the man, that euen from his youth was euer to checke at the highest: and also right well ascerteined with what intollerable pride his head should sone be swollen vnder such a hat: did therefore all his life long kéepe this prelat backe from that presumptuous estate. But now the king being yong and the regent his frend, he obteined his purpose, to his great profit, and the impouerishing of the spiritualtie of this realme. For by a bull legantine, which he purchased from Rome, he gathered so much treasure, that no man in maner had monie but he: so that he was called the rich cardinall of Winchester.

The bishop of Winchester made a cardinall. W.P.

After that the lord regent was arriued in France, the lord of Ruskinian, marshall of Britaine, assembled a great companie of the British nation, which fortified and repared the towne of Pontorson: and after, the said marshall, with a thousand men, entered into the countrie of Constantine, and comming before the towne of Auranches, was incountered by the Englishmen of that garrison; & after long fight, his people were put to the worse, chased, and discomfited, and he himselfe taken prisoner in the field. The duke of Bedford, hearing that the towne of Pontorson, situate within two leagues of Mont Saint Michaell, was newlie fortified, and stronglie defended, sent thither the earle of Warwike, accompanied with the lord Scales, and other valiant captéins and souldiers, to the number of seauen thousand men, to besiege the towne; who so inuironed it on euerie side, that no man could steale neither in nor out.

The lord of Ruskinian taken and his people slaine and discomfited.

The siege thus long continuing, vittels began to wax scant in the English armie: wherefore the lord Scales, hauing in his companie sir John Harpeleie bailiffe of Constantine, sir William Brearton bailiffe of Caen, sir Rafe Tesson, sir John Carbonell, and three thousand good men of warre, departed from the siege to get vittels, powder, and other things necessarie for their purpose. And as they were returning with their carriages by the sea coast, néere to Saint Michaels Mount, they suddenlie were incountered by their enimies, whereof were chéefe, the baron of Coloses, the lord Dausebost, captéine of the said Mount, the lord Mountabon, the lord Montburchier, the lord of Chateaugiron, the lord of Tintignat, the lord of Chateaubrian, with six thousand men of warre.

The lord Scales and his companie, perceiuing themselues beset on the one side with the sea, & on the other with their enimies, alighted from their horses, and like courageous persons, there in an vnspeakeable furie, set on their enimies. The fight was fierce & cruell. The Englishmen kept themselues close togither; so that their enimies could get no aduantage of them. At the last, the lord Scales cried S. George they flée. Whereupon, the Englishmen tooke such courage, and the Frenchmen that fought before, were so dismaied, that they began to flée in deed. The Englishmen leaped on horsse-backe, and followed them so, that they slue and tooke aboue eleuen hundred persons, among the which were taken the baron of Coloses, the vicount of Rone, and others. The lord of Chateaugiron, with a Scotish captéine, & diuerse other men of name were slaine. After this victorie, the lord Scales with his vittels, prouision, and prisoners, returned to the siege, where he was of the earle and other noble men ioiouslie receiued.

A hot skirmish.

On the corne thursdate.

Engŭerant.

Whilest the siege continued thus before Pontorson, Christopher Hanson, and other souldiers of the garrison of Saint Susan, made a rode into the countrie of Anjou, and came to a castell called Ramfort, which

castell

castell was so priuilie sealed, that the capteine within, and his companie, were taken or slaine, before they knew of their enimies approching. When knowledge hereof was giuen vnto the Frenchmen which were assembled, to the number of twentie thousand, to raise the siege that laie before Pontorson, they left that enterprise, and went to recouer the said castell of Ramfort, and so comming before it, planted their siege so on ech side of it, that at length by composition the Englishmen within, doubting to be taken by force, rendered vp the castell, hauing libertie to depart with bag and baggage.

Shortlie after, the lord of Kair, calling himselfe lieutenant generall for the Dolphin, entred into Maine with an armie of three thousand men, and by force toke the castell of Malicorne, wherof was capteine an Englishman, one Oliuer Odaterbie. In like maner, they toke the little castell of Lude, and therein William Blackborne, lieutenant for William Glasdale esquier. After this, the Frenchmen returned backe to the Dolphin, and kept not on their iournete to Pontorson, for that they vnderstood by espials, that the earle of Warwike, and the Englishmen there, determined to giue them battell, if they once attempted to raise the siege. They within the towne, being streictlie besieged, perceiuing no likelihood of succours, and seeing the English armie dailie increase, fell to treatie for doubt to be taken by force, and so rendered the towne vpon condition, that they might depart with horsse and harnesse onelie. Which being granted to them, the erle like a valiant capteine entered into the towne, and there appointed for gouernors, the lord Ros, and the lord Talbot, and leauing there a conuenient garrison, returned to the lord regent.

Pontorson rendered to the Englishmen.

After the taking of this towne of Pontorson, there was a league and treatie concluded betweene the regent and the duke of Britaine; by the articles of which agréement, the townes of Pontorson and saint James de Beauuron were beaten downe to the ground and raced. When the lord of Kair was departed out of Maine (as ye haue heard) Christopher Hanson, Philip * Gough, Martin Godfrie, called the Scaler, toke by stealth the castell of saint Laurence de Mortiers. At the same time, when the capteine and the most part of his companie were gone forth to heare masse, in a church ouer against the same castell, and keeping themselues close, till the capteine returned, they toke him as he was entered within the first gate, & so was this castell stuffed with Englishmen, and capteine thereof was appointed sir William Oldhall.

* Or rather Goche.

The same season, sir John Fastolfe, gouernour of the countries of Anjou and Maine, assembled a great puissance of men warre, and laid siege before the castell of saint Owen Disais, beside the towne of Lauall; and after he had laine there ten daies, the castell was deliuered, they within departing with their liues and armour onelie to them granted, by the tenor of the composition, which they toke with the same sir John Fastolfe. After the winning of this castell, the Englishmen remoued to the strong castell of Grauile, and after twelue daies, they within offered to yeeld the castell by a daie, if they were not succoured by the Dolphin or his power: the offer was taken and pledges deliuered.

When sir John Fastolfe returned in post to the regent, aduertising him of this composition and agreement; wherefore, the said regent raised a great power to fight with the Frenchmen at the daie appointed, and in his companie were the earles of Mortaigne and Warwike, the lord Ros and Talbot, sir John Fastolfe, sir John Aubemond, sir John Ratcliffe, and diuerse other, to the number of twentie thousand men; and so marched forwards, in hope to meet and ioine battell with their aduersaries. But the French power, being not far off from the place, durst not approch. Wherefore, the regent sent to sir John Fastolfe incontinentlie, to receiue the castell: but they within (contrarie to promise and appointment) had newlie victuled & manned the place, and so forsaking the pledges, and their fellowes in armes, refused to render the fortresse; wherefore, the pledges were brought before their sight, and there before the castell openlie put to death.

Hostages executed for promise broken.

After this the lord Talbot was made gouernour of Anjou and Maine, and sir John Fastolfe was assigned to an other place, which lord Talbot, being both of noble birth, and of haultie courage, after his comming into France, obteined so manie glorious victories of his enimies, that his onelie name was & yet is dreadfull to the French nation, and much renowmed amongst all other people. This lustie and most valiant capteine entered into Maine, where he slue men, destroied castels, burnt townes, and in conclusion suddenlie toke the towne of Lauall. The lord Loehac, and diuerse other, withdrew into the castell, in the which they were so streictlie besieged, that in the end they agréed to paie the lord Talbot an hundred thousand crownes, for licence to depart, with all their bag and baggage.

The lord Talbot, a valiant capteine.

Then was this castell deliuered to the kéeping of Gilbert Halsall, which after was slaine at the siege of Orleance, in whose place Matthew * Gough was made capteine there: who being at the iournie of Senlis, by treason of a miller that kept a mill adioining to the wall, the Frenchmen entered into the towne, and brought it againe into their subiection. Now the duke of Bedford hearing that the towne of Montargis, in the territorie of Orleance, was but slenderlie kept, and not thoroughlie furnished, sent the erle of Suffolke, with his brother sir John Poole, and sir Henrie Billet, hauing in their companie a fiue thousand men, to assalt that towne; but when they came thither and found the towne both well manned and stronglie fortified, contrarie to their expectation, they surceassed from giuing the assault, and onelie laid their siege round about it.

* Or rather Goche.

The earle of Warwike was appointed to lie with a great number of men of warre, at S. Pathelines de Archempe, to incounter the Frenchmen, if they would attempt to aid or victuell those within the towne. The situation of this towne was such, that by reason of waters and marishes, the English armie must néeds seuer it selfe into three parts, so that the one could not easilie helpe the other, but either by boats or bridges. This siege continued aboue two moneths, so that in the meane time the Frenchmen had leasure to prouide for the succour thereof; and so it came to passe, that the constable of France Arthur of Britaine, the lord Boisac one of the marshals, Stephan la Hire, Pothon de Saintreiles, the lord Grauile, and diuerse others, to the number of three thousand horssemen, were sent forth by the Dolphin.

These priuilie in the night season came on that side, where sir John de la Poole and sir Henrie Billet laie, whome they found so out of order, and without good watch, that the Frenchmen entered into their lodgings, slue manie in their beds, and spared none, for their resistance was but small. Sir John de la Poole with his horsse saued himselfe, and sir Henrie Billet escaped by a boat, and eight other with him. The residue fleeing in plumpes, and striuing to passe by a bridge of timber, the which was pestered with preasse of the multitude, brake, and so there were a great number drowned: insomuch that there were slaine by the enimies sword, and drowned in the wa-

A great slaughter by negligence of the watch at Montargis.

ter, fifténe hundred men.

The earle of Warwike hearing of this misfortune, departed from saint Mathelines with all spéed, and comming before Montargis, offered battell to the French capteins, which answered, that they had manned and vittelled the towne, and intended to do no more at that time. The Englishmen héere vpon came softlie backe againe with all their ordinance to the duke of Bedford. Yet had not the French so great cause to vaunt of their successe: for at this verie time, sir Nicholas Burdet, appointed by the duke of Summerset to indamage his enimies in the coasts of Britaine, sent horssemen into euerie part, working all the displeasure to the people that might be deuised. The countrie, through which he passed, was wasted, the townes were burnt, the houses spoiled, and great number of prisoners taken, the small villages were destroied, and the walled towns ransomed, and so without hurt or damage the said sir Nicholas Burdet returned into Normandie.

Sir Nicholas Burdet. Polydor.

These newes being signified to the constable, and other the French capteins, asswaged their great mirth and triumphant ioy, conceiued for the victorie of Montargis, that loth they were to attempt anie further enterprises against the English nation. But the duke of Alanson, who (as ye haue heard) was latelie deliuered out of captiuitie, reuiued againe the dulled spirits of the Dolphin, and somewhat aduanced, in hope of good spéed, the fainting harts of his capteins; so that (some occasion offered) they determined to atchiue a notable feat (as they tooke it) against the Englishmen, which was the recouerie of the citie of Mans out of their hands: for so it happened, that diuers of the chéefe rulers in that citie, and namelie diuerse spirituall persons, meaning to reuolt to the Dolphins side, aduertised him by letters of their whole minds, which letters were conueied vnto him by certeine friers.

The Dolphin glad of those newes, appointed the lords de la Bret and Faiet, marshals of France, accompanied with the lords of Mount Jehan, of Buell, Dornall, Torsie, Beaumanor, the Hire, and his brother Guilliam, with fiue hundred other valiant capteins and souldiers, to the accomplishing of this enterprise; who comming thither at the daie assigned, in the night season approched towards the walles, making a little fire on an hill, in sight of the towne, to signifie their comming, which perceiued by the citizens that nére to the great church were watching for the same, a burning cresset was shewed out of the steeple, which suddenlie was put out and quenched. What nédeth manie words?

The capteins on horssebacke came to the gate, the traitors within slue the porters and watchmen, and let in their frends, whereby the footmen entered first, and the men of armes waited at the barriers, to the intent that if néed required, they might fight it out in open field. Hereby manie Englishmen were slaine, & a great crie and garboile raised through the towne, as in such surprises is wont. The cause of this mischéefe was not knowen to any, but onelie to the conspirators; for the remnant of the citizens being no partakers, imagined, that the Englishmen had made hauocke in the towne, and put all to the sword. The Englishmen on the other side iudged, that the citizens had begun some new rebellion against them, or else had striuen amongst themselues.

Mans lost by treason of the citizens.

The earle of Suffolke, which was gouernour of the towne, hauing perfect knowledge by such as scaped from the wals, how the matter went, withdrew without any tarriance into the castell, which standeth at the gate of saint Vincent, whereof was constable Thomas Gower esquier, whither also fled manie Englishmen; so as for byrging of the enimie, preasse of the number, and lacke of vittels, they could not haue indured long: wherfore they priuilie sent a messenger to the lord Talbot, which then laie at Alanson, certifieng him in how hard a case they were. The lord Talbot hearing these newes, like a carefull capteine in all hast assembled togither about seuen hundred men, & in the euening departed from Alanson, so as in the morning he came to a castell called Guerch, two miles from Mans, and there staied a while, till he had sent out Matthew * Gough, as an espiall, to vnderstand how the Frenchmen demeaned themselues.

* Or rather Goche.

Matthew * Gough so well sped his businesse, that priuilie in the night he came into the castell, where he learned that the Frenchmen verie negligentlie vsed themselues, without taking héed to their watch, as though they had béene out of all danger: which well vnderstood, he returned againe, and within a mile of the citie met the lord Talbot, and the lord Scales, and opened vnto them all things, according to his credence. The lords then, to make hast in the matter, bicause the daie approched, with all spéed possible came to the posterne gate, and alighting from their horsses, about six of the clocke in the morning, they issued out of the castell, crieng saint George, Talbot.

* Goche.

The Frenchmen being thus suddenlie taken, were sore amazed, in so much that some of them, being not out of their beds, got vp in their shirts, and lept ouer the walles. Other ran naked out of the gates to saue their liues, leauing all their apparell, horsses, armour, and riches behind them, none was hurt but such as resisted. ¶ Hard shift was made on all hands for safetie of life, & happie was he that could find a place of refuge where to lurke vnspide and vnhurt of the enimie; who in the execution of their vengeance were so peremptorie, that it was a matter of great difficultie or rather impossibilitie to escape their force. To be short, there were slaine and taken, to the number of foure hundred gentlemen, the priuat souldiers were frankelie let go. After this, inquisition was made of the authors of the treason, and there were found & condemned thirtie citizens, twentie priests, and fiftéene friers, who according to their demerits were all hanged.

Mans recouered.

Abr. Fl.

Traitors executed.

The citie of Mans being thus recouered, the lord Talbot returned to Alanson, and shortlie after the earle of Warwike departed into England, to be gouernour of the yong king, in steed of Thomas duke of Excester, latelie departed to God, and then was the lord Thomas Montacute earle of Salisburie sent into France, to supplie the roome of the said earle of Warwike, who landed at Calis with fiue thousand men, and so came to the duke of Bedford as then lieng in Paris, where they fell in councell togither concerning the affaires of France, and namelie the earle of Salisburie began maruellouslie to phantasie the gaining of the citie & countrie of Orleance.

Anno Reg. 6.

Duke of Excester deceassed.

1428

This earle was the man at that time, by whose wit, strength, and policie, the English name was much fearefull and terrible to the French nation, which of himselfe might both appoint, command, and do all things in manner at his pleasure, in whose power (as it appeared after his death) a great part of the conquest consisted: for suerlie, he was a man both painefull, diligent, and readie to withstand all dangerous chances that were at hand, prompt in counsell, and of courage inuincible, so that in no one man, men put more trust; nor any singular person wan the harts so much of all men.

Montacute earle of Salisburie a politike and valiant man.

Herevpon, after this great enterprise had long béene debated in the priuie councell, the earle of Salisburies deuise therein was of them all granted and allowed, so that he being replenished with good hope of victorie, and furnished with artillerie & munition

apper-

apperteining to so great an enterprise, accompanied with the earle of Suffolke, and the lord Talbot, and with a valiant armie, to the number of ten thousand men; departed from Paris, and passed through the countrie of Beaulle. There he toke by assault, the towne of Genuille, and within fiue daies after had the castell deliuered vnto him, by them that were fled into it for their safegard. He also toke the towne of Baugencie, suffering euerie man which would become subiect to the king of England, to inioie their lands and goods. The townes of Meun vpon Loire, and Jargeauly, hearing of these doings, presented to them the keies of their townes vpon like agréement.

W.P. Les grandes chroniques de Britaigne.

[About Maie in this 1428, the towne of Maunts and territories there with a fearefull earthquake were shaken, houses castels and strong buildings, in such terrour, as it was thought the end of the world had béene come.]

Anno Reg. 7. Orleance besieged. Bastard of Orleance.

After this, in the moneth of September the earle came before the citie of Orleance, and planted his siege on the one side of the riuer of Loire; but before his comming, the bastard of Orleance, the bishop of the citie, and a great number of Scots, hearing of the earles intent, made diuerse fortifications about the towne, and destroied the suburbes, in which were twelue parish churches, and foure orders of friers. They cut also downe all the vines, trees, and bushes, within fiue leagues of the citie, so that the Englishmen should haue neither refuge nor succour.

After the siege had continued full three weekes, the bastard of Orleance issued out of the gate of the bridge, and fought with the Englishmen; but they receiued him with so fierce and terrible strokes, that he was with all his companie compelled to retire and flee backe into the citie. But the Englishmen followed so fast, in killing and taking of their enimies, that they entered with them. ¶ The bulwarke of the bridge, with a great tower standing at the end of the same, was taken incontinentlie by the Englishmen, who behaued themselues right valiantlie vnder the conduct of their couragious capteine, as at this assault, so in diuerse skirmishes against the French; partlie to keepe possession of that which Henrie the fift had by his magnanimitie & puissance atchiued, as also to inlarge the same. But all helped not. For who can hold that which will awaie? In so much that some cities by fraudulent practises, othersome by martiall prowesse were recouered by the French, to the great discouragement of the English and the appalling of their spirits; whose hope was now dashed partlie by their great losses and discomfitures (as after you shall heare) but cheeflie by the death of the late deceassed Henrie their victorious king; as Chr. Okland verie trulie and agréeablie to the storie noteth:

Delphinus comitésque eius fera prælia tentant,
Fraude domi capiunt alias, virtute receptæ
Sunt vrbes aliæ quædam, sublapsa refertur
Anglum spes retrò, languescere pectora dicas,
Quippe erat Henricus quintus, dux strenuus olim,
Mortuus: hinc damni grauior causa atque doloris.

A bulwarke at Orleance taken. Abr. Fl.

In this conflict, manie Frenchmen were taken, but more were slaine, and the keeping of the tower and bulwarke was committed to William Glasdale esquier. By the taking of this bridge the passage was stopped, that neither men nor vittels could go or come by that waie. After this, the earle caused certeine bulwarkes to be made round about the towne, casting trenches betweene the one and the other, laieng ordinance in euerie place where he saw that any batterie might be deuised. When they within saw that they were enuironed with fortresses and ordinance, they laid gun against gun, and fortified towers against bulwarkes, and within cast new ramplers, and fortified themselues as stronglie as might be deuised.

The bastard of Orleance and the Hire were appointed to see the walles and watches kept, and the bishop saw that the inhabitants within the citie were put in good order, and that vittels were not vainelie spent. In the tower that was taken at the bridge end (as before you haue heard) there was an high chamber, hauing a grate full of barres of iron, by the which a man might loke all the length of the bridge into the citie; at which grate manie of the cheefe capteins stood manie times, viewing the citie, and deuising in what place it was best to giue the assault. They within the citie well perceiued this voting hole, and laid a péece of ordinance directlie against the window.

It so chanced, that the nine and fiftith daie after the siege was laid, the earle of Salisburie, sir Thomas Gargraue, and William Glasdale, with diuerse other went into the said tower, and so into the high chamber, and loked out at the grate, and within a short space, the sonne of the maister-gunner, perceiuing men loking out at the window, toke his match (as his father had taught him) who was gone downe to dinner, and fired the gun; the shot whereof brake, and shiuered the iron barres of the grate, so that one of the same bars strake the earle so violentlie on the head, that it stroke awaie one of his eies, and the side of his cheeke. Sir Thomas Gargraue was likewise stricken, and died within two daies.

The earle of Salisburie slaine.

The earle was conueied to Meun on Loire, where after eight daies he likewise departed this world, whose bodie was conueied into England with all funerall appointment, and buried at Bisham by his progenitors, leauing behind him an onelie daughter named Alice, married to Richard Neuill, sonne to Rafe earle of Westmerland, of whome more shall be said hereafter. The damage that the realme of England receiued by the losse of this noble man, manifestlie appeared; in that immediatlie after his death, the prosperous good lucke, which had followed the English nation, began to decline, and the glorie of their victories gotten in the parties beyond the sea fell in decaie.

Though all men were sorowfull for his death, yet the duke of Bedford was most stricken with heauinesse, as he that had lost his onelie right hand, and cheefe aid in time of necessitie. But sith that dead men cannot helpe the chances of men that be liuing, he like a prudent gouernour appointed the earle of Suffolke to be his lieutenant and capteine of the siege, and ioined with him the lord Scales, the lord Talbot, sir John Fastolfe, and diuerse other right valiant capteins. These persons caused bastilles to be made round about the citie, and left nothing vnattempted, that might aduance their purpose, which to bring to wished effect there was not anie want, as of no cautelous policie, so of no valiant enterprise, tending to the enimies ouerthrow.

In the Lent season, vittels and artillerie began to waxe scant in the English campe, wherefore the earle of Suffolke appointed sir John Fastolfe, sir Thomas Rampston, and sir Philip Hall, with their retinues, to ride to Paris, to the lord regent, to informe him of their lacke, who incontinentlie vpon that information prouided vittels, artillerie, and munitions necessarie, and loded therewith manie chariots, carts, and horsses: and for the sure conueieng of the same, he appointed sir Simon Morhier, prouost of Paris, with the gard of the citie, and diuerse of his owne household-seruants to accompanie sir John Fastolfe and his complices, to the armie lieng at the siege of Orleance. They were in all to the number of fifteene hundred men, of the which there were not past fiue or six hundred Englishmen.

1429

W

Enguerant.

These departing in good order of battell out of Paris,

ris, came to Genuille in Beausse, and in a morning earlie, in a great frost, they departed from thence toward the siege; and when they came to a towne called Rowraie, in the lands of Beausse, they perceiued their enimies comming towards them, being to the number of nine or ten thousand of Frenchmen and Scots, of whome were capteins Charles of Clermont, sonne to the duke of Bourbon then being prisoner in England; sir William Steward constable of Scotland, a little before deliuered out of captiuitie, the earle of Perdriake, the lord John Vandosme, the Vidame of Chartres, the lord of Toures, the lord of Lohar, the lord of Eglere, the lord of Beauiew, the bastard Tremoile, and manie other valiant capteins.

Wherefore sir John Fastolfe set all his companie in good order of battell, and pitched stakes before euerie archer, to breake the force of the horssemen. At their backes they set all the wagons and carriages, and within them they tied all their horsses. In this maner stood they still, abiding the assault of their enimies. The Frenchmen by reason of their great number, thinking themselues sure of the victorie, egerlie set on the Englishmen, which with great force them receiued, and themselues manfullie defended. At length, after long and cruell fight, the Englishmen droue backe and vanquished the proud Frenchmen, & compelled them to flee. In this conflict were slaine the lord William Steward constable of Scotland, and his brother the lord Dorualle, the lord Chateaubriam, sir John Basgot, and other Frenchmen and Scots, to the number of fiue and twentie hundred, and aboue eleuen hundred taken prisoners, although the French writers affirme the number lesse.

1500 English did slaie and vanquish 10000 French.

After this fortunate victorie, sir John Fastolfe and his companie (hauing lost no one man of anie reputation) with all their cariages, vittels, and prisoners, marched forth and came to the English campe before Orleance, where they were ioifullie receiued, and highlie commended for their valiancie and worthie prowesse shewed in the battell; the which bicause most part of the cariage was herring and lenton stuffe, the Frenchmen called it the battell of herrings. The earle of Suffolke being thus vittelled, continued the siege, and euerie daie almost skirmished with the Frenchmen within, who (at length being in despaire of all succours) offered to treat, and in conclusion, to saue themselues and the citie from captiuitie of their enimies, they deuised to submit the citie, themselues, and all theirs vnder the obeisance of Philip duke of Burgognie, bicause he was extract out of the stocke and bloud roiall of the ancient kings of France, thinking by this means (as they did in deed) to breake or diminish the great amitie betweene the Englishmen and him.

The battell of herrings.

This offer was signified by them vnto the duke of Burgognie, who with thanks certified them againe, that he would gladlie receiue them, if the lord regent would therewith be contented. Herevpon he dispatched messengers to the duke of Bedford, who though some counselled that it should be verie good and necessarie for him to agree to that maner of yelding; yet he and other thought it neither conuenient nor honourable, that a citie so long besieged by the king of England, should be deliuered vnto anie other prince, than to him, or to his regent, for that might be a verie bad president to other townes in anie like case. Herevpon the regent answered the Burgognian ambassadors: that after so long a siege on his part, and obstinat a resistance of theirs, he might not receiue rendring and conditions at their apointment. At this answer the duke hong the groine, as conceiuing that our side should enuie his glorie, or not to be so forward in aduancing his honour as he would haue it.

W. P.

In time of this siege at Orleance (French stories saie) the first weeke of March 1428, vnto Charles the Dolphin, at Chinon as he was in verie great care and studie how to wrestle against the English nation, by one Peter Badricourt capteine of Vacouleur, (made after marshall of France by the Dolphins creation) was caried a yong wench of an eightéene yeares old, called Jone Are, by name of hir father (a sorie shepheard) James of Are, and Isabell hir mother, brought by poorelie in their trade of keeping cattell, borne at Dompzin (therefore reported by Bale, Jone Dompzin) vpon Meuse in Lorraine within the dioceese of Thoule. Of fauour was she counted likesome, of person stronglie made and manlie, of courage great, hardie, and stout withall, an vnderstander of counsels though she were not at them, great semblance of chastitie both of bodie and behauiour, the name of Jesus in hir mouth about all hir businesses, humble, obedient, and fasting diuerse daies in the weeke. A person (as their bookes make hir) raised vp by power diuine, onelie for succour to the French estate then depelie in distresse, in whome, for planting a credit the rather, first the companie that toward the Dolphin did conduct hir, through places all dangerous, as holden by the English, where she neuer was afore, all the waie and by nightertale safelie did she lead: then at the Dolphins sending by hir assignement, from saint Katharins church of Fierbois in Touraine (where she neuer had béene and knew not) in a secret place there among old iron, appointed she hir sword to be sought out and brought hir, that with fiue floure delices was grauen on both sides, wherewith she fought & did manie slaughters by hir owne hands. On warfar rode she in armour * cap a pie & mustered as a man, before hir an ensigne all white, wherin was Jesus Christ painted with a floure delice in his hand.

Grand chro. 4.

* From head to foot.

Vnto the Dolphin into his gallerie when first she was brought, and he shadowing himselfe behind, setting other gaie lords before him to trie hir cunning from all the companie, with a salutation (that indeed marr all the matter) she plckt him out alone, who therevpon had hir to the end of the gallerie, where she held him an houre in secret and priuate talke, that of his priuie chamber was thought verie long, and therefore would haue broken it off; but he made them a signe to let hir saie on. In which (among other) as likelie it was, she set out vnto him the singular feats (for soth) giuen hir to vnderstand by reuelation diuine, that in vertue of that sword shée should atchiue, which were, how with honor and victorie shée would raise the siege at Orleance, set him in state of the crowne of France, and driue the English out of the countrie, thereby he to inioie the kingdome alone. Herevpon he hartened at full, apointed hir a sufficient armie with absolute power to lead them, and they obedientlie to do as she bad them. Then fell she to worke, and first defeated indéed the siege at Orleance, by and by incouraged him to crowne himselfe king of France at Reims, that a little before from the English she had wone. Thus after pursued she manie bold enterprises to our great displeasure a two yeare togither, for the time she kept in state vntill she were taken and for heresie and witcherie burned: as in particularities hereafter followeth. But in hir prime time she armed at all points (like a iolie capteine) roade from Poictiers to Blois, and there found men of warre, vittels, and munition, readie to be conueied to Orleance.

Lone de Are Pusell de dieu.

In vita Bundvicæ.

This salutation appeareth after heere.

Les grand chronic.

Heere was it knowne that the Englishmen kept not so diligent watch as they had beene accustomed to do, and therefore this maid (with other French capteins) comming forward in the dead time of the night

night, and in a great raine and thunder entred into the citie with all their vittels, artillerie, and other necessarie prouisions. The next daie the Englishmen boldlie assaulted the towne, but the Frenchmen defended the walles so, as no great feat worthie of memorie chanced that daie betwixt them, though the Frenchmen were amazed at the valiant attempt of the Englishmen, wherupon the bastard of Orleance gaue knowledge to the duke of Alanson, in what danger the towne stood without his present helpe, who comming within two leagues of the citie, gaue knowledge to them within, that they should be readie the next daie to receiue him.

This accordinglie was accomplished: for the Englishmen willinglie suffered him and his armie also to enter, supposing that it should be for their aduantage to haue so great a multitude to enter the citie, whereby their vittels (whereof they within had great scarsitie) might the soner be consumed. On the next daie in the morning, the Frenchmen altogither issued out of the towne, wone by assault the bastile of saint Lou, and set it on fire. And after they likewise assaulted the tower at the bridge foot, which was manfullie defended. But the Frenchmen (more in number) at length toke it, yer the lord Talbot could come to the succours, in the which William Gladesdale the capteine was slaine, with the lord Mollins, and lord Poinings also.

The Frenchmen puffed vp with this good lucke, fetched a compasse about, and in good order of battell marched toward the bastile, which was in the keeping of the lord Talbot: the which vpon the enimies approch, like a capteine without all feare or dread of that great multitude, issued forth against them, and gaue them so sharpe an incounter, that they not able to withstand his puissance, fled (like sheepe before the woolfe) againe into the citie, with great losse of men and small artillerie. Of Englishmen were lost in the two bastiles, to the number of six hundred persons, or thereabout, though the French writers multiplie this number of hundreds to thousands, as their maner is.

The earle of Suffolke, the lord Talbot, the lord Scales, and other capteins assembled togither in councell, and after causes shewed to and fro, it was amongst them determined to leaue their fortresses and bastiles, and to assemble in the plaine field, and there to abide all the daie, to see if the Frenchmen would issue forth to fight with them. This conclusion taken was accordinglie executed: but when the Frenchmen durst not once come forth to shew their heads, the Englishmen set fire of their lodgings, and departed in good order of battell from Orleance. The next daie, which was the eight daie of Maie, the earle of Suffolke rode to Jargeaur with foure hundred Englishmen, and the lord Talbot with an other companie returned to Mehun. And after he had fortified that towne, he went to the towne of Lauall, & wone it, togither with the castell, sore punishing the townsmen for their cankered obstinacie against them.

The siege of Orleance broken vp.

Thus when the Englishmen had seuered themselues into garrisons, the duke of Alanson, the bastard of Orleance, Jone le Pusell, the lord Gawcourt, and diuerse other capteins of the Frenchmen, came the twelfe daie of June, before the towne of Jargeaur, where the earle of Suffolke and his two brethren soiourned, & gaue to the towne so fierce an assault on three parts, that Poitou de Sentrailes, perceiuing an other part void of defendants, scaled the wals on that side, and without difficultie toke the towne, and slue sir Alexander Poole, brother to the erle, and manie other, to the number of two hundred. But the Frenchmen gained not much thereby, for they lost three hundred good men and more. Of the Englishmen fortie were taken, with the earle and his other brother named John.

Prisoners slaine by the French as they were taken.

The Frenchmen, as they returned to Orleance, fell at variance for their prisoners, and slue them all, sauing the earle and his brother. Shortlie after, the same French armie came to Mehun, where they toke the tower at the bridge foot, and put therein a garrison. From thence they remoued to Baugencie, and constreined them that were within the towne to yéeld, vpon condition they might depart with bag and baggage. At the same place there came to the duke of Alanson, the new constable Arthur of Britaine, and with him the lord Dalbret, and other. Also after this the earle of Vandosme came to them, so that by the dailie repaire of such as assembled togither to strengthen the French part, they were in all to the number betweene twentie and three and twentie thousand men.

Nichol. Giles, Fiue thousand saith Hall.

All which being once ioined in one armie, shortlie after fought with the lord Talbot (who had with him not past six thousand men) nere vnto a village in Beausse called Pataie: at which battell the charge was giuen by the French so vpon a sudden, that the Englishmen had not leisure to put themselues in araie, after they had put vp their stakes before their archers, so that there was no remedie but to fight at aduenture. This battell continued by the space of three long houres: for the Englishmen, though they were ouerpressed with multitude of their enimies, yet they neuer fled backe one foot, till their capteine the lord Talbot was sore wounded at the backe, and so taken.

Great losse on ỳ English sids The lords Talbot, Scales, and Hungerford taken.

Then their hearts began to faint, and they fled, in which flight were slaine aboue twelue hundred, and fortie taken, of whome the lord Talbot, the lord Scales, the lord Hungerford, & sir Thomas Rampston were chefe. Diuerse archers, after they had shot all their arrowes, hauing onelie their swords, defended themselues, and with helpe of some of their horsmen came safe to Mehun. This ouerthrow, and specially the taking of the lord Talbot, did not so much reioise the Frenchmen; but it did as much abash the Englishmen: so that immediatlie therevpon, the townes of Jenuile, Mehun, Fort, and diuerse other, returned from the English part, and became French. From this battell departed without anie stroke striken sir John Fastolfe, the same yeare for his valiantnesse elected into the order of the garter. But for doubt of misdealing at this brunt, the duke of Bedford toke from him the image of saint George, and his garter; though afterward by meanes of frends, and apparant causes of good excuse, the same were to him againe deliuered against the mind of the lord Talbot.

Charles the Dolphin that called himselfe French K. perceiuing fortune to smile thus vpon him, assembled a great power, and determined to conquer the citie of Reimes, that he might be there sacred, crowned, and annointed, according to the custome of his progenitours, that all men might iudge that he was by all lawes and decrees a iust and lawfull king. In his waie thitherwards he besieged the citie of Auxerre, the citizens whereof compounded with him to yéeld, if they were not rescued within certeine daies. From thence he came before Trois, and after twelue daies siege had that citie deliuered vnto him, by composition, that the capteine sir Philip Hall (with his people and moueables) might depart in safetie. After that Trois was yéelded, the communaltie of Chaalons rebelled against sir John Aubemond their capteine, and constreined him to deliuer the towne vpon like composition. In semblable manner did they of Reimes, desiring him to giue safe conduct to all the Englishmen safelie to depart. When Reimes

was

was thus become French, the foresaid Charles the Dolphin in the presence of the dukes of Lorraine and Barre, and of all the noble men of his faction, was
The French king crowned. sacred there king of France by the name of Charles the seauenth, with all rites and ceremonies thereto belonging. They of Auxerre, when the terme of their appointment was expired, submitted themselues to him; and so likewise did all the cities and townes adioining.

The duke of Bedford aduertised of all these doings, assembled his power about him, and hauing togither ten thousand good Englishmen (beside Normans) departed out of Paris in warlike fashion, & passing thorough Brie to Monstreau fault Yonne, sent by his herald Bedford, letters to the French king, signifieng to him; that where he had (contrarie to the finall conclusion accorded betweene his noble brother K. Henrie the fift, & king Charles the first, father
Ione taken to be a witch. to him that was the diuelish witch, taken vpon him the name, title, & dignitie of the king of France; and further had by murther, stealing, craft, and deceitfull meanes, violentlie gotten, and wrongfullie kept diuerse cities and townes belonging to the king of England his nephue; for proofe thereof he was come downe from Paris with his armie, into the countrie of Brie, by dint of sword and stroke of battell to proue his writing and cause true, willing his enimie to chose the place, and in the same he would giue him battell.

The new French king being come from Reimes to Dampmartine, studieng how to compasse them of Paris, was halfe abashed at this message. But yet to set a good countenance on the matter, he answered the herald, that he would soner seeke his maister, than his maister should need to pursue him. The duke of Bedford hearing this answer, marched toward the king, and pitched his field in a strong place. The French king though at the first he meant to haue abidden battell; yet when he vnderstood that the duke was equall to him in number of people, he changed his purpose, and turned with his armie a little out of the waie. The duke of Bedford, perceiuing his faint courage, followed him by the hils and dales, till he came to a town not far from Senlis, where he found the French king and his armie lodged; wherefore he ordered his battels like an expert chiefteine in martiall science, setting the archers before, and himselfe with the noblemen in the maine battell, and put the Normans on both sides for wings. The French king also ordered his battels with the aduise of his capteins.

Thus these two armies laie two daies and two nights either in sight of other, without anie great doing, except a few skirmishes, wherein the dukes
The French armie fled in the night. Boheme. light horsemen did verie valiantlie. At length in the dead of the night (as priuilie as might be) the French king brake vp his campe, and fled to Braie. The duke of Bedford had much ado to staie his people in the morning from pursuit of the French armie: but for that he mistrusted the Parisiens, he would not depart farre from that citie, and so returned thither againe. ¶ In this season pope Martin the fift of that name, meaning to subdue the Bohemers that dissented from the church of Rome in matters of religion, appointed Henrie Beaufort Bishop of Winchester & cardinall of saint Eusebie, to be his legat in an armie that should inuade the kingdome of Boheme, and to bring a power of men with him out of England. And because the warre touched religion, he licenced the cardinall to take the tenth part of euerie spirituall dignitie, benefice, and promotion.

This matter was opened in the parlement house, and assented to: wherevpon the bishop gathered the monie, and assembled foure thousand men & aboue, not without great grudge of the people, which dailie were with tallages and aids wearied and sore burdened. As this bishop was come to Douer readie to passe the seas ouer into Flanders, the duke of Glocester hauing receiued letters from the duke of Bedford, conteining an earnest request to releeue him with some spedie aid of men of warre, was constreined to write vnto the bishop of Winchester, willing him in time of such need, when all stood vpon losse or gaine, to passe with all his armie toward the duke of Bedford, to assist him against his aduersaries; which thing done, and to his honour atchiued, he might performe his iournie against the vngratious Bohemers. The cardinall (though not well contented with this countermand) yet least he should run into the note of infamie, if he refused to aid the regent of France in so great a cause, passed ouer with his power, and brought the same vnto his cosine to the citie of Paris.

About the same season, the French king, in hope to be receiued into the townes of Campaigne and Beauuois (by reason of the fauour and good will which the inhabitants bare towards him) was come with an armie towards Campaigne. Whereof the duke of Bedford being aduertised, and hauing now his host augmented with the new supplie, which the cardinall had of late brought vnto him, marched forward with great spead toward the place where he vnderstood the French king was lodged: and comming to Senlis, he perceiued how his enimies were incamped vpon the mount Pilioll, betweene Senlis and Campaigne.

Here might either armie behold the other: wherevpon for the auoiding of dangers that might insue, the campes were trenched, and the battels pitched, and the fields ordered as though they should haue tried the matter by battell: but nothing was done except with skirmishes, in the which the Normans sore vered the Frenchmen; and therefore receiued great commendations & praises of the lord regent: who vndoubtedlie determined to haue giuen battell to his enimies if they would haue abidden it. But after the armies had thus lien either in sight of other, for the space of two daies togither, the French king not determining to aduenture in an open battell the whole chance of the game, least he might thereby receiue a perpetuall checkemate, in the night season remoued his campe, and fled to Crespie, though his number was double to the English armie. The duke Anno Reg. 8.
of Bedford, seeing that the French king was thus cowardlie recoiled with all his power and armie, returned againe to Paris, euer suspecting the deceitfull faith of the Parisiens.

The bishop of Winchester, after that the French king was retreated backe, went into Boheme, and Boheme.
there did somewhat, though shortlie after without anie great praise or gaine he returned into England, more glad of his comming backe than of his aduancing forward. Anon after the pope vnlegated him, The pope did vnlegat the cardinall of winchester.
and set an other in his place, wherewith he was nothing contented. On the first daie of Nouember, being the daie of saint Leonard, king Henrie in the eight yeare of his reigne was at Westminster with all pompe and honour crowned king of this realme of England. In the same yere the French king was receiued into the towne of Campaigne, and shortlie after were the townes of Senlis and Beauuois rendered to him. And the lord Longuenall tooke by fleith the castell of Aumarle, and slue all the Englishmen within it. K. Henries coronation at Westminster.

Also about the same time, the Frenchmen recouered castell Galiard forth of the Englishmens hands, Thom. Walf.
where the lord Barbason was found in a dungeon, inclosed

inclosed within a great grate of iron like to a little chamber, and forthwith they brake open the grate: but Barbason would not come forth; because he had giuen his faith and promise to one Kingston that was capteine of that fortresse for the king of England, to be true prisoner, vntill the Frenchmen had sent to the same Kingston (that was departed vpon such couenants as they were agréed vpon at the deliuerie of that fortresse) willing him to come backe againe vpon safe conduct. Which at their earnest request he did, and withall discharged the lord Barbason of his oth; and so then he came forth, and remained at his libertie, to the great reioising of the Frenchmen, which iudged that he had béene rather dead than aliue all that time of his imprisonment.

About the same time also the French king sought by all meanes possible to breake the amitie betwixt the realme of England, and the house of Burgognie. Whereof the duke of Bedford hauing intelligence, thought it stood him vpon the more earnestlie to looke to his charge; and namelie as it were an anchorhold, he determined to prouide that he might defend and safelie kéepe the duchie of Normandie, and therefore appointing the bishop of Terrowen and Elie, named Lewes of Lutzenburgh, chancellor for king Henrie of the realme of France, to remaine at Paris vpon the defense of that citie, with a conuenient number of Englishmen, he departed into Normandie, and comming to Rone, called a parlement there of the three estates of the duchie, in the which he declared manie things vnto them, touching the happie life, and great frædome which they might be assured to inioy, so long as they continued vnder the English obeisance: and therefore he exhorted them to abide constant in their allegiance, faith, and promise made and sworne to his noble brother king Henrie the fift.

A parlement at Rone called by the duke of Bedford.

Whilest the duke of Bedford was busie to reteine the Normans in their due obedience, the French king departed from Senlis; and comming to the towne of saint Denis, found it in maner desolate, so that he entered there without resistance, and lodged his armie at Mount Martyr and Amberuilliers, nére vnto the citie of Paris; and from thence sent John duke of Alanson, and his sorceresse Jone la Pusell, with three thousand light horsemen to assault the citie, and followed himselfe, in hope to get it, either by force or treatie. But the English capteins euerie one kéeping his ward and place assigned, so manfullie defended themselues, their walles and towers, with the assistance of the Parisiens, that they repelled the Frenchmen, and threw downe Jone their great goddesse into the bottome of the towne ditch, where she lay behind the backe of an asse sore hurt in the leg, till the time that she (all filthie with mire and durt) was drawne out by Guischard of Thienbrone, seruant to the duke of Alanson.

The French got saint Denis.

Jone had a hurt in the leg and a fall, drawen all durtie out of the mire.

The French king, perceiuing that he could not preuaile in this enterprise, left the dead bodies behind him, and taking with him the wounded capteins, returned into Berrie. But in the meane waie, the inhabitants of Laignie submitted themselues vnto him. The duke of Bedford being in Normandie, hearing of this sudden attempt, with all hast possible came to Paris, where he gaue manie great thanks, with high commendations vnto the capteins, souldiers and citizens for their assured fidelitie, great hardinesse & manlie doing. Which his gentle words so incouraged the harts of the Parisiens, that they sware, promised and concluded, to be frends for euer to the king of England and his frends, and enimies alwaies to his foes and aduersaries, making proclamation by this stile: Frends to K. Henrie, frends to the Parisiens; Enimies to England, enimies to Paris. Marie whether this was vttered from their harts, it is hard so to saie, for the sequeale of their acts seemed to proue the contrarie.

Soone after these doings, came to Paris with a great companie Philip duke of Burgognie, and then vpon long consultation had for the recouerie of their losses, it was agreed that the duke of Bedford should raise an armie, & that the duke of Burgognie should be his deputie, and tarie at Paris for the defense of the citie. The duke of Bedford then without any great resistance recouered againe the towne of saint Denis, with diuerse other fortresses. And after this he sent the bastard of Clarence to laie siege to the castell of Torsie, the which (notwithstanding the great strength therof) after six moneths siege, was rendred vp into his hands. During the siege of this castell, sir Thomas Kiriell knight, with foure hundred Englishmen departed from Gourneie in Normandie, and rode by Beauuois, spoiling and wasting the countrie to the suburbes of Cleremont. Whereof the earle of that towne hauing aduertisement, assembled all the men of warre of the garrisons adioining, and with the same set forward to fight with the Englishmen, whom he found in a streit place nére to Beauuois.

Saint Denis by vs recouered againe.

The earle of Cleremont, perceiuing that he could not hurt them with his men of armes, by reason of the strength, came downe on foot with all his companie, and fiercelie set on the Englishmen: but by the terrible shot of the English archers, the Frenchmen in the end were constreined to flée; and the Englishmen perceiuing the matter, streight leapt on horsebacke and followed the chase. In the which were taken two hundred prisoners, and three as manie slaine. The earle escaped by the swiftnesse of his horse. At the same season the earle of Suffolke besieging the towne of Aumarle (whereof was capteine the lord of Rambures) after foure and twentie great assaults, had the towne and castell simplie to him rendred. Thus by little and little the Englishmen recouered manie townes which before they had lost. Howbeit about the verie same time, the Frenchmen stale the towne of Lauall, by treason wrought by a miller, which kéeping a mill that ioined to the wall, suffered the French to passe through his mill into the towne. Shortlie after also sir Steuen de Vignoilles, surnamed la Hire, tooke by scaling the towne of Louiers in Normandie. The Englishmen in the cold moneth of December besieged the towne of Laignie in the which was the Pusell, and diuerse other good capteins.

La Hire.

Laignie besieged by the Englishmen.

[In the moneth of Maie 1430, with a valiant man in feats of armes on the duke of Burgognions side, one Franquet and his band of three hundred souldiers, making all towards the maintenance of the siege, the Pusell Jone and a foure hundred with hir did méet. In great courage and force did she and hir people sundrie times assaile him, but he with his (though much vnder in number) by meanes of his archers in good order set, did so hardilie withstand them, that for the first and second push she rather lost than wan. Wherat this captinesse striken into a fretting chase, called out in all hast the garrison of Laignie, and from other the forts thereabout, who thicke and threefold came downe with might and maine, in armour and number so far exceéding Franquets, that though they had done hir much hurt in hir horsemen; yet by the verie multitude were they oppressed, most in hir furie put to the sword; & as for to Franquet that worthie capteine himselfe, hir rage not appeased, till out of hand she had his head stroken off: contrarie to all manhod (but she was a woman, if she were that) & contrarie to common right & law of armes. The man for his merits was verie much lamented, and she by hir malice then found of what spi-

W. P. 1430 Le Rosier.

rit

rit she was.]

After this the duke of Burgognie accompanied with the earles of Arundell, and Suffolke, and the lord John of Lutzenburgh besieged the towne of Campiegne with a great puissance. This towne was well walled, manned, and victualled, so that the besiegers were constreined to cast trenches, and make mines, for otherwise they saw not how to compasse their purpose. In the meane time it happened in the night of the Ascension of our Lord, that Poiton de Saintreilles, Jone la Pusell, and fiue or six hundred men of armes issued out by the bridge toward Pondedier, intending to set fire in the tents and lodgings of the lord Bawdo de Noielle.

Campiegne besieged.

Abr. Fl. ex Gesnero.

¶ In this yeare of our Lord, among diuerse notable men of learning and knowledge, one Richard Fleming, English borne, a doctor of diuinitie professed in Oxford, did flourish: who by the prouidence of God grew in such fauour with this king Henrie the first, & the nobles néere & about him, that he was preferred to the bishops sée of Lincolne. This man founded Lincolne college in Oxford, in which vniuersitie he had béene a profitable student. Diuerse bookes he wrote (as the vniuersitie librarie doth beare witnesse) whereof these following haue béene séene vnder their names and titles; to wit: A protestation against the Spaniards, the Frenchmen, and the Scots, made in the generall councell holden at Sens: one booke of the Etymologie of England; besides diuerse other treatises, as Gesner reporteth *Ex bibliotheca Oxonij*, aforesaid.]

Richard Fleming bishop of Lincolne.

The bookes that he wrote.

At the verie same time that Campeigne was besieged (as before is said) sir John of Lutzenburgh, with eight other gentlemen, chanced to be néere vnto the lodging of the said lord Bawdo, where they espied the Frenchmen, which began to cut downe tents, ouerthrow pauilions, & kill men in their beds: wherupon they with all speed assembled a great number of men, as well English as Burgognions, and couragiouslie set on the Frenchmen, and in the end beat them backe into the towne, so that they fled so fast that one letted another, as they would haue entered. In the chase and pursute was the Pusell taken, with diuerse other, besides those that were slaine, which were no small number. Diuerse were hurt also on both parts. Among the Englishmen, sir John Montgomerie had his arme broken, and sir John Steward was shot into the thigh with a quarell.

Jone the Pusell taken.

W. P.

[As before ye haue heard somewhat of this damsels strange beginning and proceedings, so sith the ending of all such miraclemongers doth (for the most part) plainelie decipher the vertue and power that they worke, by hir shall ye be aduertised what at last became of hir; cast your opinions as ye haue cause. Of hir louers (the Frenchmen) reporteth one, how in Campeigne thus besieged, Guillaume de Flauie the capteine hauing sold hir afore hand to the lord of Lutzenburgh, vnder colour of hasting hir with a band out of the towne towards their king, for him with speed to come and leauie the siege there, so gotten hir forth he shut the gates after hir, when anon by the Burgognians set vpon and ouermatcht in the conflict she was taken: marie yet (all things accounted) to no small maruell how it could come so to passe, had she béene of any deuotion or of true beléefe, and no false miscreant, but all holie as she made it. For earlie that morning she gat hir to saint Jameses church, confessed hir, and receiued hir maker (as the booke termes it) and after setting hir selfe to a pillar, manie of the townesmen that with a fiue or six score of their children stood about there to sée hir, vnto them (quod she) God children and my déere friends, I tell you plaine one hath sold me. I am betraied and shortlie shall be deliuered to death; I beséech you praie to God for me, for I shall neuer haue more power to do seruice either to the king or to the realme of France againe.

Chroniques de Britaigne.

Saith another booke, she was intrapt by a Picard capteine of Soissons, who sold that citie to the duke of Burgognie, and he then put it ouer into the hands of the lord of Lutzenburgh, so by that meanes the Burgognians approched and besieged Campeigne, for succour whereof as damsell Jone with hir capteins from Laignie was thither come, and dailie to the English gaue manie a hot skirmish, so happened it one a daie in an outsallie that she made by a Picard of the lord of Lutzenburghs band, in the fiercest of hir fight she was taken, and by him by and by to his lord presented, who sold hir ouer againe to the English, who for witchcraft and sorcerie burnt hir at Rone. Tillet telleth it thus, that she was caught at Campeigne by one of the earle of Ligneis soldiers, from him had to Beaureuoir castell, where kept a three months, she was after for ten thousand pounds in monie and three hundred pounds rent (all Turnois) sold into the English hands.

Le Rosier.

In la vie du Charles septiesme.

Fiue thousand pounds frech crowns in monie.

An hundred and fiftie crownes rent.

In which for hir pranks so vncouth and suspicious, the lord regent by Peter Chauchon bishop of Beauuois (in whose diocesse she was taken) caused hir life and beléefe, after order of law to be inquired vpon and examined. Wherein found though a virgin, yet first shamefullie reiecting hir for abominablie in acts and apparell to haue counterfeit mankind, and then all damnablie faithlesse, to be a pernicious instrument to hostilitie and bloudshed in diuelish witchcraft and sorcerie, sentence accordinglie was pronounced against hir. Howbeit vpon humble confession of hir iniquities with a counterfeit contrition pretending a carefull sorow for the same, execution spared and all mollified into this, that from thencefoorth she should cast off hir vnnaturall wearing of mans abilliments, and keepe hir to garments of hir owne kind, abiure hir pernicious practises of sorcerie and witcherie, and haue life and leasure in perpetuall prison to bewaile hir misdeeds. Which to performe (according to the maner of abiuration) a solemne oth verie gladlie she toke.

But herein (God helpe vs) she fullie afore possest of the feend, not able to hold hir in anie towardnesse of grace, falling streight waie into hir former abominations (and yet séeking to ketch out life as long as she might) stake not (though the shift were shamefull) to confesse hir selfe a strumpet, and (vnmaried as she was) to be with child. For triall, the lord regents leuitie gaue hir nine moneths staie, at the end whereof she found herein as false as wicked in the rest, an eight daies after, vpon a further definitiue sentence declared against hir to be relapse and a renouncer of hir oth and repentance, was she thereupon deliuered ouer to secular power, and so executed by consumption of fire in the old market place at Rone, in the selfe same steed where now saint Michaels church stands, hir ashes afterward without the towne walls shaken into the wind. Now recounting altogither, hir pastorall bringing vp, rude without any vertuous instruction, hir campestrall conuersation with wicked spirits, whome in hir first salutation to Charles the Dolphin, she vttered to be our Ladie, saint Katharine, and saint Annes, that in this behalfe came and gaue hir commandements from God hir maker, as she kept hir fathers lambs in the fields (where saints in warres among christen men were (be we sure) neuer so parciall patrons or partners to maintenance of horrible slaughters, rapines and bloudshed) hereto hir murtherous mind in killing of Franquet hir owne prisoner, hir two yeares continuance in hir abominations, and deadlie mischiefe without anie hir trauell or motion betweene the princes for peace, hir

Polydo. 23. in H. 6.

Les grand chron.

Les grandes chronic. le 4. liure.

relapse

relapse at last & falling againe into hir abiured iniquities, by hir virginitie (if it were anie) by hir holie words, hir fasting and praiers what they might be, sith Satan (after S. Paule) can change himselfe into an angell of light, the deepter to deceiue.

These matters may verie rightfullie denounce vnto all the world hir execrable abhominations, and well iustifie the iudgement she had, and the execution she was put to for the same. A thing yet (God wot) verie smallie shadowed, and lesse holpen by the verie trauell of the Dolphin, whose dignitie abroad foulie spotted in this point, that contrarie to the holie degrée of a right christen prince (as he called himselfe) for maintenance of his quarels in warre would not reuerence to prophane his sacred estate, as dealing in diuelish practises with misbeléeuers and witches. Which maladie he full sorrilie saued (like one that to kill the strong sent of onions would chaw a cloue of garlike) so a sir and twentie yeares after, he pact with pope Calixt the third, by whose mandat directed to his three delegats, the bishops of Paris, Reimes, and Conkance, at the cathedrall church of Paris, in presence of Jone (the pusels mother) John and Peter hir brethren, the seuen and twentith daie of November 1455, the validitie and goodnesse of the processe and sentence vpon hir was called in question, and in great solemnitie sit vpon.

Christianissimus rex.

Tillet. This prelate at his death left a hundred and fiftéene crownes in gold, that vnder colour of warres with the infidels he had fleéced from christen princes. Platina.

Wherein the cause was so sincerelie canuassed among them, that afterward, on the eight of Julie 1456, a quite contrarie sentence was there declared: of effect, that this Jone (forsoth) was a damsell diuine, no fault in the Dolphin for his counsell and witcherie practises with hir; the processe, iudgement, and condemnation against hir all wrong and iniurious. And for iustification and remembrance aswell of hir innocencie in life and death, as also of the sinceritie of their later sentence, a new crosse in that old market to be reared. In this tale of Tillets is she further likened to Debora, Jahell, and Judith, and vnto Romane Clelia compared by Polydor, that shames not somewhat also to carpe at hir iudgment, and much pitieth hir paine. But what puritie or regard of deuotion or conscience is in these writers trow yée, who make no consideration of hir heinous enormities, or else any difference betweéne one stirred vp by mercie diuine, or naturall loue, and a damnable sorcerer suborned by Satan? And thus much of this gentle Jone, and of hir good oratours that haue said so well for hir: now iudge as ye list.]

Li.23. in vita H.6.

After the bestowing of this Pusell in sort as yée haue heard, the siege still continued before Campiegne, and the duke of Bedford sent to the duke of Burgognie lieng at the siege, the earle of Huntington, and sir John Robsert (two iollie gentlemen, of no lesse prudence to parle with the enimie, than puissance to incounter them) with a thousand archers (whose activitie, I warrant you, stood not then vpon the first triall) which dailie skirmished with them within, and made such bastiles & fortresses, that the towne had béene rendred into their hands, but that the duke of Burgognie departed from the siege to go into Brabant, to receiue the possession of that duchie, by the death of his cousin Philip the duke of that countrie, as then departed this world.

Anno Reg. 9.

Sir John de Lutzenburgh was left by the duke of Burgognie as generall of the siege before Campiegne, the which he raised within a short space after, contrarie to the minds of the Englishmen, which were verie desirous to haue lien there till the towne had béene rendered, which if the siege had béene continued but eight daies longer, must needs haue come to passe, by reason that pestilence and famine had almost consumed all the souldiers within the towne, so that it remained in maner without defense. After the breaking vp of this siege, John duke of Norfolke tooke againe the townes of Dampmartine, and the Chasse Mongaie, with diuerse other townes. Also the earle of Stafford tooke the towne of Brin countie Robert, and from thence forraged all the countrie to Sens, and after tooke Quesnoie in Brie, Grand Puis, and Rampellon. 1431

During this time, the Frenchmen on the other side tooke Louiers, and Villeneuf. Then also did the towne of Melun rebell, and had such aid of other townes adioining, that the English souldiers were faine to leaue Melun, Montret, and Corbell. Thus did things wauer in doubtfull balance betwixt the two nations English and French. But bicause the English sore mistrusted further danger, it was concluded, that king Henrie in his roiall person with a new armie should come into France, partlie to visit and comfort his owne subiects there, and partlie either by feare or fauour (bicause a child of his age and beautie doth commonlie procure them loue of elder persons) to moue the Frenchmen to continue their due obeisance towards him.

Wherefore after a great host conuenient for that purpose assembled, and monie for maintenance of the warre readie gathered, and the realme set in an order vnder the gouernement of the duke of Glocester protector (which during the kings absence appeased diuerse riots, and punished the offendors) the king with a great power tooke shipping at Douer on saint Georges euen within night, and landed at Calis on the morrow being saint Georges daie, and sundaie, by seuen of the clocke in the morning. He remained in Calis a good space, and from thence he remoued to Rone, being there receiued with all triumph. He taried in that citie a long time, his nobles dailie consulting on their great businesse & weightie affaires.

King Henrie the sixt in person goeth with an armie into France.

S. Albons.

Ed. Hall.

¶ In this kings time, & somewhat about this yeare, a certeine Breton, whome a good honest widow had receiued into hir house, and conceiued well of him in opinion, was by hir mainteined of hir owne purse, & (as Polychronicon saith) she found him of almes and for Gods sake. This charitable deed of hirs deserued a deuout mind to God ward, and a thankfull hart to hir. But (good soule) how was she recompensed? * Euen murthered in hir bed by the hands of that villaine whome so bountifullie she succoured, and motherlike tendered. Vnto which bloudie fact (which was a preparatiue to a further mischéefe bred in his vnnaturall hart) he added another offense: for when he had dispatched the woman, vsing the riddance of hir to his aduantage, and as he had obteined opportunitie (to his thinking) he conueied all that she had awaie with him for his owne releefe. Then being persecuted with guiltinesse of conscience, which troubleth offendors with ceasselesse vexations, and forceth them from place to place to séeke corners of euasion and shift, he tooke priuilege of holie church at saint Georges in Southwarke, where laieng hands on the crosse, as a shield of sufficient safegard, he abiured this land, and by that meanes thought himselfe free from afterclaps.

Abr. Fl. ex Polychron.

A widow without Algate murthered in hir bed by a Breton whome she charitablie releeued.

*O fowle ingratitude.

Neuertheless, God (whose mercifull nature abhorreth the effusion of mans bloud) prepared a punishment for the malefactor, who passing through the suburbs of London, without Algate (the place where he had committed the murther) the women of the same parish and street (as it were inraged) came out with stones, staues, kenell dung, and other things, wherewith they so bethwackt him on all parts of his bodie, that they laid him a stretching, and rid him quite of life. In the wreking of this their teene they were so fell and fierce, that the constables with their assistants (which were no small number) doing what they could by their authoritie and maine strength,

The murther reuenged by women at the appointment of Gods iustice.

were not able to rescue him out of the womens hands; who had sworne in their hearts (as it seemed by the maner of their reuenge which was void of all mercie) to see the end of such a villaine as most vnnaturallie had slaine a woman, a neighbour, a widow, a pitifull woman, a good neighbour, an honest widow; the wretch himselfe being a fugitiue, a stranger borne, a begger, and he to whome she shewed hir selfe the staffe of his support. O singular ingratitude which nature abhorreth, law disalloweth, heauen disclaimeth, God detesteth, humanitie condemneth, and euerie good bodie to the verie death defieth; as the old distichon excellentlie and with good sense noteth;

Lex & natura, cælum, Deus, omnia iura
Damnant ingratum, mœrent illum quoq; natum.

But to returne to the affaires of king Henrie, who in the moneth of November remoued from Rone to Pontoise, and so to saint Denis, to the intent to make his entrie into Paris, and there to be sacred king of France. There were in his companie of his owne nation, his vncle the cardinall of Winchester, the cardinall and archbishop of Yorke, the dukes of Bedford, Yorke, and Norffolke, the earles of Warwike, Salisburie, Orenford, Huntington, Ormond, Mortaigne, and Suffolke. Of Gascoigns, there were the earles of Longuille and Marche, besides manie other noble men of England, Guien, and Normandie. And the chéefe of the French nation were the dukes of Burgognie, and Lewes of Lutzenburgh, cardinall and chancellor of France for king Henrie: the bishops of Beauuois and Noion, both péeres of France, beside the bishop of Paris, and diuerse other bishops; the earle of Vaudemount, and other noble men, whose names were superfluous to rehearse. And he had in a gard about his person three thousand price archers, some on horssebacke, and part on fot.

To speake with what honour he was receiued into the citie of Paris, what pageants were prepared, and how richlie the gates, streets, and bridges on euerie side were hanged with costlie clothes of arras & tapestrie, it would be to long a processe, and therefore I do héere passe it ouer with silence. On the seauentéenth daie of December, he was crowned king of France, in our ladie church of Paris, by the cardinall of Winchester, the bishop of Paris not being contented that the cardinall should do such an high ceremonie in his church and iurisdiction. After all the ceremonies were finished, the king returned toward the palace, hauing one crowne on his head, and another borne before him; and one scepter in his hand, and the second borne before him. As touching other the rotall seruices and princelie appointments, they are verie diligentlie & at large set out in the French chronicle of that time. This coronation of the king, *Anglorum prælia* as manie other good and memorable matters, so this also he hath noted, saieng thereof in comelie breuitie and truth, as after followeth:

Æternæ famæ paulò post rege sepulto,
Parisijs, diadema vias & compita circum
Iunior Henricus portat lepidissimus infans.

This high and ioious feast passed not without some spot of displeasure among the English nobilitie: for the cardinall of Winchester, which at this time would haue no man be equall with him, commanded the duke of Bedford to leaue off the name of regent, during the time that the king was in France, affirming the chéefe ruler being in presence, the authoritie of the substitute to be clerelie derogate, according to the common saieng; In the presence of the higher power, the smaller giueth place. The duke of Bedford toke such a secret displeasure with this doing, that he neuer after fauoured the cardinall, but stood against him in all things that he would haue forward. This was the rot (as some haue thought) of that diuision amongst the English nobilitie, where through their glorie within the realme of France began first to decline.

The next daie after the solemne feast of the kings coronation, were kept triumphant iusts and tornois, in the which the earle of Arundell, and the bastard of S. Paule, by the iudgement of the ladies wone the price. The king kept open hall the space of fiue daies to all commers, and after (because the aire of Paris séemed contrarie to his pure complexion) by the aduise of his councell, he remoued to Rone, where he kept his Christmasse. But before his departure from Paris, the noble men as well of France and Normandie did to him homage, and the common people sware to him fealtie. In this meane time, sir Francis called the Aragoignois, a noble capteine of the English part in Normandie, toke by force and policie the towne of Montargis, with a great preie of treasure and prisoners, and put therein a garrison, leauing it well furnished with vittels and munition.

Montargis reconered by the English.

About the same time, the earle of Arundell, being truelie informed that the lord Bousac marshall of France was come to Beauuois, intending to do some feat in Normandie, assembled the number of three and twentie hundred men, and comming nére to the said towne of Beauuois, sent a great number of light horssemen to run before the towne, to traine out the Frenchmen within; the which issuing out and following the English horssemen vnto their stale, were so inclosed and fought with, that in maner all the number of them, saue a few which fled backe into the towne with the marshall, were slaine or taken. Amongst other of the chéefest prisoners, that valiant capteine Pouton de Saintrails was one, who without delaie was exchanged for the lord Talbot, before taken prisoner at the battell of Patate. There was also taken one called the shepheard, a simple man, and a fillie soule; but yet of such reputation for his supposed holinesse amongst the Frenchmen, that if he touched the wall of any of their aduersaries townes, they beléeued verelie it would incontinentlie fall downe.

The lord Talbot ransomed by exchange.

The hollie shepheard.

This chance succéeded not fortunatlie alone vnto the English nation, for Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwike had a great skirmish before the towne of Gournie, where he discomfited and repelled his enimies: and beside those that were slaine, he toke fortie horssemen, all being gentlemen of name and armes. Like chance happened to the frends of king Charles, towards the marches of Lorraine, where Reigner duke of Bar besieged the towne of Vaudemont perteining to the earle thereof named Anthonie, cousine to the same duke Reigner. This earle, before the dukes approching, left a conuenient crue within the towne to defend it, and with all spéed rode to the dukes of Bedford and Burgognie, being then at the foresaid great triumph at Paris, where he purchased such fauour at their hands, bicause he had euer taken their parts, that not onelie sir John Fastolfe was appointed to go with him, hauing in his companie sir hundred archers, but also the duke of Burgognies marshall named sir Anthonie Toulongon, accompanied with fiftéene hundred other men of warre.

Vaudemont besieged,

When the duke of Bar heard that his enimies were thus comming towards him, like a hardie capteine he raised his siege, and met face to face with the earle and his companie, betwéene whome was a cruell and mortall battell. The horssemen of the French side endured long, but in conclusion the English archers so galled their horsses, and so wounded the men, that the Barrois, Almains, and other of duke Reigners side were compelled to flée. In the chase was taken

King Henrie the sixt crowned in Paris.

Le Rosier historiall.

ken the duke of Bar, the bishop of Metz, the lord of of Roquedemaque, sir Euerard of Salseburgh, the Vicont Dareie, and two hundred other, beside three thousand which were slaine.

In this luckie time also, no lesse occasion of victorie was offered to the Englishmen in an other part, if they could haue vsed it with such circumspect warinesse as had bene expedient. For Robert lord Willoughbie, and Matthew *Gough, a valiant Welshman, with fiftéene hundred Englishmen, laid siege to a towne in Anion called saint Seuerine. Whereof Charles the French king being aduertised, sent with all speed the lord Ambrose de Lore, with manie noble men to the succours of them within the towne, whereof the same lord Ambrose was capteine; and therefore made the more hast to relæue his deputie, and the other being streictlie besieged, but yet staied at the towne of Beaumont, till his whole power might come to him.

*Or rather Goche.

Saint Seuerine besieged.

The Englishmen aduertised of this intent of the capteine, came vpon him in the night, and found the Frenchmens watch so out of order, that a thousand men were entered into the campe before they were espied; by reason whereof the Englishmen found small resistance. But when the daie began to appeare, and that the sunne had set forth his bright beames abroad, that all things might be seene, the Englishmen giuen wholie to spoile, followed not their enimies in chase, but being contented with their preie and gaine, began to retreit toward the siege againe, which the lord Willoughbie still maintained with a part of the armie.

But see the chance. The Frenchmen which were cõming after, hearing by the noise of the people that some fraie was at hand, put spurres to their horsses, and set on the Englishmen pestered with bag and baggage of the spoile and preie which they had gotten in the French campe. The other of the Frenchmen which before had fled, returned againe, and aided their fellowes; so that the Englishmen being taken out of order, were compelled to flée, of whome Matthew *Gough and diuerse other were taken prisoners. And yet of the other part manie were slaine, and a great number taken: amongst whom was the lord de Lore, who (for all that the Frenchmen could do) was kept, and not deliuered. The lord Willoughbie hearing of this mishap, raised his siege, and departed verie sore displeased in his mind, but could not remedie it.

*Goche.

About this season, Nicholas the cardinall of the holie crosse was sent into France, as a legat from Eugenie the fourth as then bishop of Rome, to treat a peace betweene the Englishmen and Frenchmen. But when after great instance and labour made betweene the parties, he saw their obstinate and froward minds, nothing inclined to anie agréement, he wan so much at their hands by earnest suite, that a truce was granted to indure for six yeares to come: but as the same was hardlie granted, so was it of the Frenchmen sone and lightlie broken. For the bastard of Orleance newlie made earle of Dunois, toke by treson the towne of Chartres from the Englishmen, affirming by the law of armes, that stealing or buieng a towne, without inuasion or assault, was no breach of league, amitie, or truce. In which towne he slue the bishop, bicause he was a Burgognian. Hereby did new malice increase, and mortall warre began eftsones to be put in vre.

A legat from Rome sent to treat a peace betwixt the English and French.

A truce for six yeares.

Chartres taken by treason notwithstanding the truce.

Whilest these things were doing in France, the cardinall of Winchester was come backe againe into England, to appease certeine commotions and stirres attempted by sundrie persons vnder colour of religion: but after that William Wandeuile, and John Sharpe the cheefe authors thereof were apprehended and executed by the gouernour and the kings iustices, the residue yelded and confessed their offenses, whereof two articles were these (as some write) that priests should haue no possessions, and that all things by the order of charitie among christian people should be in common. Other thought their opinions were not such errours, but that their enimies spread abroad such rumors of them, to make them more odious to the people.

The two errours.

After that, a parlement was called by the duke of Gloucester, in the which monie was assigned to be leuied, and men appointed, which should passe ouer into France to the aid of the duke of Bedford, for the maintenance of the warres, bicause it was suspected the truce would not long continue. During this parlement, James the king of Scots sent ambassadors to conclude a peace with the duke of Gloucester, who (bicause the king was absent) referred the matter to the three estates. After long consultation, not without great arguments, a peace was concluded. When the parlement was ended, the cardinall well furnished with men & monie, departed out of England, and came to Rone to the king, to whome also resorted the duke of Bedford from Paris, to consult of things not vnlikelie to follow.

A parlement called by the duke of Gloucester the king being in France.

A peace concluded with the Scots.

Herevpon a great councell was kept in the castell of Rone, and manie doubts moued, and few weightie things out of hand concluded. At length, after great disputation, with manie arguments ended, the dukes of Bedford and Yorke, and Edmund late earle of Mortaigne, and now (by the death of John duke of Summerset, leauing behind him a sole daughter and heire, maried to the earle, and called Margaret after the countesse of Richmond) atteined to the name and title of duke of Summerset, approued the reason of those, that held it expedient to haue an armie in a readinesse for defense, least the Frenchmen suddenlie should attempt anie enterprise to the danger of the Englishmen, and losse of those townes and countries that were vnder them.

When all things were agréed, king Henrie came to Calis, from thence to Douer; and so by easie iournies the one and twentith daie of Februarie to London, where he was triumphantlie receiued, and richlie presented, as in the chronicles of Robert Fabian it maie at large appeare. After that the king was departed into England, the duke of Bedford regent of France, and capteine of Calis, taried behind in the marches of Picardie, where he was informed certeine souldiers of Calis grudging at the restraint of woolles, began to murmur against the king and his councell, to some danger of the towne. The duke vpon due examination had, caused diuerse to be put to death, and manie banished that towne and marches for euer.

1432

King Henrie returneth out of France into England.

In the meane time, the ladie Anne duchesse of Bedford departed this life at Paris, by whose death the fast knot of faithfull frendship betwixt the duke of Bedford and his brother in law the duke of Burgognie began somewhat to slacken. Shortlie after, to wit, about the beginning of the nert yeare 1433, the said duke of Bedford being thus a widower, through the persuasion of the lord Lewes of Lutzenburgh bishop of Terwine and Elie, and chancellor of France for king Henrie, agréed to marrie the ladie Jaquet, daughter to Peter earle of saint Paule, and neece to the said bishop, and to the lord John of Lutzenburgh.

The duchesse of Bedford sister to the duke of Burgognie deceased.

The duke of Bedford marieth with the earle of saint Paules daughter.

The mariage was solemnized at Terwine with great triumph. Which ended, the duke with his new spouse (being about the age of seauentéene yeares) came vnto Calis, and so into England, from whence in the moneth of August nert he returned to Paris. The duke of Burgognie, though nothing pleased

with this new alliance contracted by the duke of Bedford, with the house of Lutzenburgh, but yet not able to doo anie thing to let it; bicause of the mariage consummate yet he could find anie power or knowledge to hinder it. Whilest these things were a doing, in some places the French souldiers of the Dolphins, lacking wages (as the time serued) tooke both Englishmen and Burgognians, ransoming and spoiling them at their pleasure. Herewith the regent much moued, prepared for warre after sir moneths the truce had beene taken: and so the warre againe was renewed.

The Frenchmen breake the peace and take the town of Saint Valerie.

The Frenchmen anon as open truce-breakers, raised a crue, and suddenlie tooke the towne of saint Valerie in Normandie, neere to the mouth of the riuer of Some. An other armie, vnder the leading of sir Ambrose de Loze, wasted and destroied all the countrie about Caen. The duke of Bedford on his part sent the earle of Arundell, the earle of Warwikes sonne, the lord Lisle Adam marshall of France for king Henrie, and twelue hundred men of warre with ordinance and munition to besiege the towne of Laignie vpon the riuer of Marne. The earle with shot of canon brake the arch of the bridge, and got from the Frenchmen their bulworke, and set it on fire. Diuerse assaults were attempted, but the towne was well defended: for there were within it an eight hundred men of armes, besides other meane souldiers.

Laignie besieged.

The duke of Bedford herewith gathered an armie of six thousand men, whereof were capteins; Robert lord Willoughbie, sir Andrew Ogard chamberlaine to the duke, sir John Saluaine bailiffe of Rone, sir John Montgomerie bailiffe of Caux, sir Philip Hall bailiffe of Vernoill, sir Richard Ratcliffe deputie of Calis, sir Rafe Neuill, sir Rafe Standish, sir John Hanford, sir Richard Euthin, sir Richard Harington bailiffe of Eureux, sir William Fulthorpe, sir Thomas Griffin of Ireland, Dauid Hall, Thomas Stranguish, Leonard Dermitone esquiers, and Thomas Gerard. All gentlemen of courage, and as forward to giue the French the foile, as the French for their liues to giue them the discomfiture. But vnto which side the victorie should befall, vncerteine it was before the triall of both their chances had determined the doubt by the euent of the conflict.

The duke of Bedford furnished with this armie and companie of worthie capteins came to the siege before Laignie, where he made a bridge of boats, and brought his ordinance so neere the towne, that to all people it seemed not long able to resist. But the earle of Dunois, otherwise called the bastard of Orleance, with diuerse hardie capteins, as valiantlie defended as the Englishmen assaulted. At length the French king, perceiuing this towne to be the three cornerd keie betweene the territories Burgognion, English, and French, and the losse thereof should turne him to irrecouable damage, sent the lord of Rieux, Poiton, the Hire, the lord Gawcourt, and six thousand men, with great plentie of vittels, to the intent either to raise the siege, or else to vittell the towne.

The Frenchmen made a brag, as though they would haue assailed the Englishmen in their campe, but when they perceiued the courage of the lord regent, and the desire he had to fight, they framed themselues so in order of battell, as though they could do all things, and yet in effect did nothing: but that whilest part of them maintained a skirmish, a sort of rude & rusticall persons were appointed to conuete into the towne thirtie oxen, and other small vittels. But this sweet gaine was derelie paied for, if the losse with the gaine be pondered in equall balance: for hauing regard to their 30 leane oxen, in the skirmish were slaine the lord Saintreiles brother to that valiant capteine Poiton de Saintreiles, also capteine John brother to the lord Gawcourt, and fiftie other noble and valiant personages.

The Frenchmen thus politiklie hauing done their feat, in the beginning of August, remoued their armie vnto Fort vnder Yet, where, by a bridge of tuns they passed into the Ile of France. The duke of Bedford (like a wise prince) not minding to leaue the more in ieopardie for hope of the lesse, nor the accident for the substance, raised his siege, and returned to Paris, nothing more minding than to trie his quarrell with dint of sword against the enimies, if they would thereto agree. And herevpon sent Bedford his herald to the lord Gawcourt and other capteins of the French armie, offering them battell and a pitched field within a conuenient time, and where they would appoint. The French capteins answered the English herald, that there was time to gaine, and time to lose: and for choise of times they would vse their owne discretions.

Anno Reg. 12.

Shortlie after, Piers Audebeuse constable of the castell of Rone, corrupted with monie, suffered the marshall of France, with two hundred other, as persons disguised to enter the place by stealth: but they were soone espied, and driuen to the dungeon, where they were constrained to yeeld themselues prisoners: of the which some were hanged, some headed, and some ransomed, at the pleasure of the regent. This pageant thus plaied, the lord regent sent the earle of saint Paule, and Robert lord Willoughbie, with a competent number of men to besiege the towne of S. Valerie, which the Frenchmen a little before had taken. This siege continued the space of three weeks; at the end whereof the Frenchmen within yeelded the towne, and departed with their horse and harnesse onelie to them saued.

1433
The castell of Rone like to be taken by treason of the capteine.

The earle put there in garrison fresh and valiant souldiers, and appointed capteine there, sir John Aubemond. ¶ In the same towne (whether by infection of aire, or by corrupt vittels, which the townesmen did eat) a great pestilence shortlie after happened, which consumed within a small time two parts of the people. The earls of saint Paule, and the lord Willoughbie returning backe to the regent, were ioifullie receiued, and within a while after, the earle departed from Paris to late siege to the castell of Mouchas. But being incamped neere the towne of Blangie, he by a sudden maladie departed this life, the last of August, leauing his seignories to Lewes de Lutzenburgh his sonne and heire. Bicause this dead earle was father in law to the regent, solemne obsequies were kept for him both in Paris and in London.

The lord of saint Paule deceased.

Anno Reg. 12.

In the meane season, the Frenchmen entering into high Burgognie, burnt, tooke, and destroied diuerse townes; whereupon the Burgognians assembled a great armie, both to reuenge their quarrels, and to recouer their townes taken from them. To whome as to his frends the duke of Bedford sent the lord Willoughbie, and sir Thomas Kiriell, with a conuenient number of souldiers, which entering into the lands of Laonnois, were incountered with a great power of their enimies. But after long fight, the Frenchmen were ouerthrowne, and of them left dead in the field an hundred and fortie horsemen, beside prisoners, which after vpon vrgent cause were all killed.

Prisoners killed.

Whilest these things happened thus in France, John lord Talbot gathered togither a crue of chosen men of warre in England, to the number of eight hundred, and sailed into Normandie, and passed by Rone to Paris. In his waie he tooke the strong castell of Joing betweene Beauuois and Gisours, and

1434
The lord Talbot saileth into France.

caused

caused all the Frenchmen within to be taken and hanged, and after raced and defaced the castell. After he had rested himselfe a while at Paris, and taken aduise with the councell there, what waie it should be best for him to take, without prolonging time; he with the lord de Lisle Adam and others, departed from thence, hauing in their retinues sixténe hundred men of warre. And comming to the castell of Beaumont vpon Oise, whereof was capteine sir Amadour de Vignoils brother to the Hire, they found it abandoned by them that had it in képing, who were withdrawne to the towne of Creill.

The lord Talbot.

Thither therefore the lord Talbot followed, who slaieng in a skirmish the said Amadour, he wan at length the said towne of Creill, and after the townes of Pont S. Parence, Neufuile in Esmoie, la Rouge maison, Crespie in Valois, & Cleremont in Beauuois, and after with great riches and good prisoners returned to Paris. Neither had the lord Talbot such good and prosperous successe alone, but the earle of Arundell also at the verie same season tooke the castell of Bomcline, & raced it to the ground, after he got by force the castell of Dozle, & from thence came to S. Selerine, where the lord Ambrose de Loze, being capteine, issued out and fought with the Englishmen so egerlie, that he droue them backe an arrow shot by fine force: but the earle so incouraged his men, that they gaue a fresh onset vpon the Frenchmen, and followed it so fiercelie, that they slue a great number of them, and droue the residue into the towne.

Earle of Arundell.

Louiers besieged.

After this victorie, he besieged Louiers, whereof was capteine the Hire, and his brother, who rendered the towne without assault. Then the earle assembling togither a great armie, returned againe to S. Selerine, & inuironed the towne with a strong siege. When he had lien there almost three moneths, euerie daie attempting or doing somewhat, he finallie gaue so fierce an assault, that by force he entered the towne, and slue John Almaigne, and Guillam saint Albine, the chéefe capteins, and eight hundred other men of warre. The children of le seigneur de Loze were taken prisoners. The earle put new men of warre into the towne, and made capteine there sir John Cornewall. After this, he before the strong towne of Sillie pitched his campe. The inhabitants terrified at the losse of saint Selerine, deliuered him pledges, vpon condition; that if they were not rescued within thirtie daies next, then they (their liues saued) should render the towne into his possession: which offer was receiued.

Saint Selerine won by assault.

The French king, being aduertised hereof by a post, appointed (as some saie) Arthur earle of Richmont (or as other write, John duke of Alanson) with a great companie of men of warre to go to the rescue of this towne. But whether it was the earle or duke, certeine it is at his approching to the siege, he incamped himselfe by a broke side, ouer the which a man might haue striden, & perceiuing how stronglie the English were incamped against him, he thought it not for his profit to giue battell; & so in the night season raised & went his waie without further attempt. When they within the towne knew that their succours failed, they rendered themselues to the mercie of the earle of Arundell, who gentlie receiued them, and leauing a garrison in the towne, departed to Mans, and in his waie tooke the castels of Mellaie and saint Laurence. About this time the lord Willoughbie & sir Thomas Kirtell, returning with great victorie out of Burgognie, passing by the towne of Louiers, latelie reduced to the English obeisance, furnished it both with men and munition.

In insurrection in Normandie.

Among so manie good chances, some euill are accustomed to happen, or else the gainers would not know themselues. And so at this time it happened, that a great number of the common and rusticall people in Normandie dwelling by the sea coast, either prouoked by the French king, or desirous of alteration and change (which thing the commons much couet and desire) made an insurrection, put on harnesse, and by force expelled certeine English garrisons out of their holds, publishing and proclaming openlie, that their onelie purpose and intent was to expell and banish the whole English nation out of their countries and coasts. Wherefore it maie be likelie, that the blacke Mozian will sooner become white, than the people bred in France will heartilie loue an English borne. For it standeth not with their enuious nature to alter their malicious maners; as the old prouerbe saith truelie of them:

Celtica natura semper sequitur sua iura.

These rebels thus frantikelie assembled, with all spéed marched toward Caen, to the intent there both to increase their number, and also to consult what waie they should follow in their new begun enterprise. But the dukes of Yorke and Summerset, then lieng in Normandie, hauing perfect knowledge hereof, immediatlie sent forth the earle of Arundell, and the lord Willoughbie with six thousand archers, and thirténe hundred light horsemen, to staie and kéepe them from making anie further progresse. The earle of Arundell appointed the lord Willoughbie, with two thousand archers, and certeine horsemen to go afore him, and lie in a stale within some couert place. Which done, the earle followed; & so kéeping in the multitude at the backe, droue them before him as deare into a buckestale: and when the miserable wretches came néere to the stale, the earle made a token, whereat a gun shot off for a signe. Therewith the lord Willoughbie set on them before, and the earle behind, shooting so fiercelie, that the poore caitiues, wounded and galled with the shot of arrowes, threw awaie their harnesse, and cried out instantlie for mercie.

The earle of Arundell moued with compassion, caused his souldiers to staie from further slaughter, and apprehending those that were knowen to be stirrers and leaders of the rest, let the other returne home without further damage: but yet, yer the souldiers could be brought backe vnder their standards, there were aboue a thousand of the rebels slaine. And this commotion thus appeased, vpon inquirie of the principall offendors, such as were found guiltie were put to terrible executions; as they had well deserued. During which rebellion, Peter Rokeford and his companie gat by treason the towne of Diepe, and diuerse other holds thereto adioining. After the earle of Arundell had obteined so good successe in his enterprises (as partlie ye haue heard) he attempted another, which was the last worke and finall labour of his liuing daies. For the duke of Bedford, being informed that his aduersaries had gotten the towne of Rue, and therein put a garrison, which sore vexed the countries of Ponthieu, Arthois, and Bolennois, sent word to the earle that he without delaie should besiege the said towne.

The earle obeieng his commandement assembled his people, and came to Gourneie, where he heard tell how there was a castell néere to Beauuois called Gerberoie, the which being fallen in decaie, Charles the French king had appointed sir Stephan de Vignoils, commonlie called the Hire, to repare and newlie to fortifie, bicause it stood commodiouslie to serue as a countergarrison against the English townes and fortresses on those frontiers. The earle aduertised hereof, and perceiuing that this new building would be greatlie preiudiciall to the Englishmen, determined first to dispossesse his enimies of that place, supposing to find small resistance: but he

was deceiued. For there was the said Hire, and three thousand men of warre with him. The erle comming thither, incamped himselfe with fiue hundred horsemen in a little close not farre from the castell.

The Frenchmen, perceiuing that the erle and his horses were wearie, and that his archers were not yet come, determined to set vpon him before the comming of his footmen, the which they knew to be little more than a mile behind. Wherfore for a policie, they set forth fiftie horsemen, as though there had bene no mo within the castell. The erle perceiuing this, sent forth sir Randolfe Standish to incounter them, hauing with him an hundred horses. The Frenchmen fought couragiouslie awhile, and suddenlie came out all the remnant, and slue sir Randolfe Standish and all his companie, and boldlie set on the erle and his band, which manfullie resisted the Frenchmen, till at length the Hire caused three culuerings to be shot off amongst the Englishmen, wherof one strake the erle on the ancle, and so brake his leg, that for paine he fell from his horsse.

Then the Frenchmen entered amongst the Englishmen, tooke the erle lieng on the ground, with sir Richard Wooduile, and six score more, and there were slaine almost two hundred. The residue saued themselues as well as they might. The erle was caried to Beauuois, where of his hurt he shortlie died, & was buried in the frier Minors. He was a man of singular vertue, constancie, and grauitie, whose death in so troublous a season did sore appall the harts of the English people. Thus oftentimes varied the chance of doubtfull warre, so that one time the Englishmen got by assault, and yelded diuerse strong townes, castels, and piles: and at another season the French people, sometime by bargaine, sometime by assault obteined the same againe, or other in their stead.

The erle of Arundell deceassed.

About the moneth of June in this twelfth yeare, Iohn duke of Bourbon and Auuergne, taken prisoner at the battell of Agincourt eightéene yéeres past (as before ye haue heard) now paieng his ransome, which was eightéene thousand pounds sterling, was taken with a most sore and grieuous feuer, the which made an end of his life in the citie of London, on the same daie that was appointed for his departure towards France, whose corpse was inferred in the grate friers of the same citie. ¶ This yeare also about the latter end of Maie, was a méeting appointed to be had at saint Omers betwixt the dukes of Bedford and Burgognie, for the qualifieng of certeine displeasures and grudges betwixt them kindled and mainteined by some flattering taletellers, who raising matters of reproch touching their honors, bred such grudges, that all loue betwixt them ceassed, all affinitie reiected, and all old frendship forgotten; such enuie insueth where enimitie once hath princes harts possessed.

The duke of Bourbon dieth at London.

W. P.

These two dukes come into the towne of saint Omers, the duke of Bedford being then regent of France, sonne, brother, and vncle to kings, thought that the duke of Burgognie should haue come and visited him in his lodging. The duke of Burgognie on the other part, being lord and souereigne of the towne, iudged it as much vnmeet for him to go to the regent where he was lodged. Howbeit by intreatie of frends, to meet in a place indifferent betweene both their lodgings was appointed; which offer not accepted, both parties departed discontent, and neuer after saw nor communed togither. Thus by the proud disdaine & enuious discord of these two high stomached princes, Bedford not minding to haue anie péere, and Burgognie not willing to abide anie superior, shortlie after England much lost, and Burgognie greatlie gained not, as by the sequeale may appeare.

The bastard of Orleance, called the erle of Dunois, the lord Rochford marshall of France, with other, in the beginning of this thirtéenth yeare, tooke the towne of S. Denis by treason, skirmished with them of Paris, and leauing behind them a great garrison, tooke the towne of Howdone, and Pont saint Marence by composition. And at the same time was the towne of Pont Meulan taken by the sudden scaling of two fishermen, who entered vp at a common priuie standing in the wall. Thus warre continuallie lasted betwixt these two mightie nations, English and French, within the realme of France (than which therefore no countrie thought more miserable.) And though the poore people and inhabitants of the good townes and villages, susteined most losse in their substance, yet the men of warre oftentimes paied déerest for the bargaine, being daily slaine, wounded, and taken prisoners: for warre seldome beareth anie other fruit.

Anno Reg. 13.

A towne surprised by entrance of a common priuie.

The fruits of warre.

[It may serue verie well here to recount, how somewhat before these daies, Martin the fift, in the fiftéenth yeare of his popedome, An. 1431, agreeing vpon a generall councell to be holden at Basill the same yeare, did anon after decease: whom Eugenie the fourth succéeding, and liking right well of the time and place, by his authoritie signified and sent with Iulian Cesarine his legat, did confirme the choise. Whereupon as the councell the nintéenth of Iulie the same 1431 was there begun, and his holinesse sone after aduertised how malapertlie his ghostlie children had imbusied themselues in checking at their holie fathers faults, and about reformation of his church at Rome; his sublimitie therat highlie offended (for great cause it had) commanded his legat by and by to dissolue that synod, and in his name to appoint a new at Ferrar, and so come his waie: vnder colour forsooth how that place was méetest for the prelats of the Grécke church, who had to confer with the Latine councell about points of religion, wherein they long had remained at square.

W. P. 1434 Onuphrius Panuinius.

But these Basilien clerks, there still fastlie contening themselues, so smallie regarded this summons of Eugenie (who then with his prelats, as the time was run on, vpon prorogation from Ferrar kept an other councell at Florence 1439) as by a confident countermand cited Eugenie & all his cardinals to come to them at their solemne set councell at Basill. Which his supremasie (for so best became it, notwithstanding sundrie citations) vtterlie contemning to do, they sone after like verie impious imps, first for contumacie accursed his holie fatherhood, then depriued him of his papasie, and out of hand chose another in his office, one Amedeus late duke of Sauoie, who afore that time hauing giuen vp his possessions & dignitie vnto his children, became an heremite in a monasterie of his own building by mount Ceuenna in Sauoie nigh the lake Leman, where he by title of *Decanus militum Iesu Christi*, and ten more of nobilitie with him, had setled themselues to liue.

The vertuous minded man thus chosen pope by spirituall counsell inueigled, left the holie life (such as it was) that he had profest, tooke the papasie vpon him the same 1439, and called Felix the fift, which promotion yet he not long inioied. For after, by his successour Nicholas the fifts ambition, that had subborned emperour Frederike to be a worker in the matter, this sillie Amedeus was cosined of his popes golden crowne for a cardinals felt hat. Then (good man) at last could he find, whether were nérer to christen profession, the life of a vertuous prince ruling in iustice, of a solitarie heremite vertuouslie occupied, of an imperious pope that may know no péere, or of a licentious cardinall to liue as he list. This poore prince had experience of all, & then knew

An. 3. Nichol.

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the best: when well might he lament him, but too late repent him.

1435 And in the fift yeare of this Basilien councell that had a continuance of eleuen yeare (whereof an eight were run yer Felix was chosen, in which Eugenie remaining pope still, though of curst hart he neuer came at them) motion was made among Sigismund the emperour and other christen kings (who for appeasing this schisme betweene the pope and his prelats, were all present by person or proxie) that sith such horror of bloudshed betweene the two nations continuallie so lamentablie raged in France, some mediation might be made for accord: whereof one thing seemed to minister occasion of the more hope, because the duke of Burgognie was willing (so that it were not of his owne suit) to returne and reconcile himselfe with the French king his mortall enimie and ancient aduersarie.]

A solemne tretie of peace at Arras.

Hereupon by authoritie of this generall councell, two graue prelats, the one Nicholas Albergat a Carthusian frier, intituled a præst cardinall of the holie crosse; the other Hugh Lusignan a Cyprian, Græke, bishop cardinall of Preneste in Italie, came to the towne of Arras in Arthois, whither were sent from the king of England, Henrie Beauford cardinall of Winchester, Henrie archbishop of Yorke, William de la Pole earle of Suffolke, and John Holland earle of Huntington, with diuerse other knights and esquiers. And for the French king were there present Charles duke of Bourbon, Lewes erle of Vandosme, Arthur of Britaine constable of France, the archbishop of Reimes, and sir Philip Harecourt. The duke of Burgognie was there in proper person, accompanied with the duke of Guelders, and the earles of Estampes, Lignie, S. Paule, Vaudemont, Neures, and Daniell sonne to the prince of Orange, with a great gard and a gallant companie.

Upon the daie of the first session, the cardinall of S. Crosse declared to the three parties the innumerable mischeefes, that had followed to the whole state of the christian common-wealth by their continuall dissention and dailie discord, exhorting them for the honour of God, & for the loue which they ought to beare towards the aduancement of his faith and true religion, to conforme themselues to reason, and to laie aside all rancor, malice and displeasure; so that in concluding a godlie peace, they might receiue profit and quietnesse heere in this world, and of God an euerlasting reward in heauen. After this admonition, and diuerse daies of communication, euerie partie brought in their demands, which were most contrarie, and farre from anie likelihood of comming to a good conclusion.

The Englishmen would that king Charles should haue nothing but what it pleased the king of England, and that not as dutie, but as a benefit by him of his meere liberalitie giuen and distributed. The Frenchmen on the other part would that K. Charles should haue the kingdome franklie and freelie, and that the king of England should leaue the name, armes, and title of the king of France, and to be content with the dukedomes of Aquitaine and Normandie, and to forsake Paris, and all the townes which they possessed in France, betweene the riuers of Some and Loire, being no parcell of the duchie of Normandie. To be breefe, the demands of all parts were betweene them so farre out of square, as hope of concord there was none at all.

The cardinals seeing them so farre in sunder, minded not to dispute their titles, but offered them reasonable conditions of truce and peace for a season, which notwithstanding, either of frowardnesse, or of disdaine on both parts, were openlie refused. Insomuch that the Englishmen in great displeasure, departed to Calis, and so into England. ¶ One writer affirmeth, that they being warned of a secret conspiracie moued against them, suddenlie departed from Arras, and so returned into their countrie. But what cause so euer hindered their accord and vnitie (sith this and that may be surmized) certeine it is, that the onelie and principall cause was, for that the God of peace and loue was not among them, without whom no discord is quenched, no knot of concord fastened, no bond of peace confirmed, no distracted minds reconciled, no true friendship maintained: for had he beene among them, their dissenting and waiward willes had sounded the sweet harmonie of amiable peace, which of all things that God hath bestowed vpon man is the verie best, and more to be set by than manie triumphs, as the poet excellentlie well saith: Abr. Fl.

——pax optima rerum Sil. Ital. lib. 11.
Quas homini nouisse datum: pax vna triumphis
Innumeris potior, pax custodire salutem
Et ciues æquare potens.

Now whiles this treatie of peace was in hand, the lord Talbot, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Scales, with the lord Lisle Adam, and fiue thousand men of warre, besieged the towne of saint Denis with a strong band. The earle of Dunois hearing hereof, accompanied with the lord Lohac, and the lord Bueill, with a great companie of horsemen hasted thitherwards to raise the siege, and by the waie incountred with sir Thomas Kiriell, and Matthew *Gough, riding also toward saint Denis, betweene whom was a great conflict. But suddenlie came to the aid of the Frenchmen the garrison of Pont Meulan, which caused the Englishmen to returne without anie great harme or damage: sauing that Matthew *Gough by foundering of his horsse was taken, and carried to Pont Meulan.

*Or rather Goche.

*Or Goche.

S. Denis taken by the Englishmen.

In the meane time was the towne of saint Denis rendered to the Englishmen, the which raced the walles and fortifications, sauing the walles of the abbeie, and of the tower called Venin. Shortlie after the towne of Pontois, where sir John Ruppelleie was capteine, rebelled; and by force the Englishmen were expelled, the inhabitants yelding themselues to the French king. This towne was small, but the losse was great, because it was the keie that opened the passage betwixt the cities of Paris and Rone. But now to returne to the communication at Arras, which after the departure of the English commissioners held betwixt the Frenchmen & Burgognians, till at length a peace was concluded, accorded, and sworne betwixt king Charles and duke Philip of Burgognie, vpon certeine conditions, as in the French histories more plainlie appeareth.

A peace betweene Charls of France and the duke of Burgognie.

And after, the duke of Burgognie, to set a best before the king of Englands eies, sent Thoison Dor his cheefe herald to king Henrie with letters, excusing the matter by way of information, that he was constreined to enter in this league with K. Charles, by the dailie outcries, complaints, and lamentations of his people; alledging against him, that he was the onlie cause of the long continuance of the wars, to the vtter impouerishing of his owne people, and the whole nation of France. Therefore sith he could not otherwise do, but partlie to content his owne people, and cheefelie to satisfie the request of the whole generall councell, was in manner compelled for his part to growe vnto a peace and amitie with king Charles.

He likewise wished that king Henrie, vpon reasonable and honorable conditions of agreement offered, should in no wise refuse the same: whereby the long continued warre at length might ceasse and take end, to the pleasure of almightie God, which is

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the author of peace and vnitie: & hereto he promised him his aid and furtherance, with manie gaie words, which I passe ouer. The superscription of this letter was thus. [To the high and mightie prince, Henrie by the grace of God king of England, his welbeloued cousine.] Neither naming him king of France, nor his souereigne lord, according as (euer before that time) he was accustomed to do. This letter was much maruelled at of the councell, after they had throughlie considered all the contents thereof, & they could not but be much disquieted, so far forth that diuerse of them offended so much with the vntruth of the duke, that they could not temper their passions, but openlie called him traitor.

But when the rumor of the dukes reuolting was published amongst the people, they left words, and fell to bestowing of stripes: for being pricked with these euill tidings, they ran in great outrage vpon all the Flemings, Hollanders, and Burgognions, which then inhabited within the citie of London, and the suburbes of the same, and slue and hurt a great number of them before they, by the kings proclamation, could be staied from such iniurious doing: for the king nothing more minded than to saue innocent bloud, and to defend them that had not offended. The officer at armes was willed to tell his maister, that it stood not with his honor to be enimie to the English nation; and that his dutie had béene to kéepe his ancient truth and allegiance, rather than to be occasion of new warre. And what a new reconciled enimie was in respect of an old tried frend, he might shortlie find. [When the messenger with this answer was dispatched, and vpon consultation found, a matter standing both with good policie in forceing the proud subiect to know his obedience, and also with great equitie to twitch a quareller with such pinsars as wherewith afore he had nipt an other, so was it anon brought about, that sundrie of his good townes and cities rebelled against him, whereby (lesse to his liking than to his deseruing) he was verie well made to bite of a chokepeare of his owne grafting.]

Spoile vpon the Burgognian people in London.

W. P.

Anno Reg. 14. The death of the duke of Bedford regent of Frãce

This yeare the fourtenth daie of September died John duke of Bedford, regent of France, a man both politike in peace, and hardie in warre, and yet no more hardie than mercifull when he had the victorie, whose bodie was with all funerall solemnitie buried in the cathedrall church of our ladie in Rone, on the north side of the high altar, vnder a sumptuous and costlie monument. Which tome when king Lewes the eleauenth, by certeine vndiscreet persons was counselled to deface, affirming that it was a great dishonour both to the king and to the realme, to see the enimie of his father and theirs to haue so solemne and rich a memoriall: he answered saieng, What honour shall it be to vs, or to you, to breake this monument, and to pull out of the ground the dead bones of him, whome in his life neither my father nor your progenitours, with all their power, puissance, and frends were once able to make flée one foot backward; but by his strength, wit, and policie, kept them all out of the principall dominions of the realme of France, and out of this noble and famous duchie of Normandie? Wherefore I saie, first, God haue his soule, and let his bodie now lie in rest, which when he was aliue, would haue disquieted the proudest of vs all. And as for the tome, I assure you, it is not so decent nor conuenient, as his honour and acts deserued, although it were much richer, and more beautifull.

A worthy saieng of a wise prince.

Great frost.

The frost was so extreame this yeare, beginning about the fiue and twentith daie of November, and continuing till the tenth of Februarie, that the ships with merchandize arriuing at the Thames mouth, could not come vp the riuer: so their lading there faine to be discharged, was brought to the citie by land. After the death of that noble prince the duke of Bedford, the bright sunne in France toward Englishmen, began to be cloudie, and dailie to darken, the Frenchmen began not onelie to withdrawe their obedience by oth to the king of England, but also toke sword in hand & openlie rebelled. Howbeit all these mishaps could not anie thing abash the valiant courages of the English people: for they hauing no mistrust in God and good fortune, set vp a new saile, began the warre afresh, and appointed for regent in France, Richard duke of Yorke, sonne to Richard earle of Cambridge.

The duke of Yorke made regent of France.

Although the duke of Yorke was worthie (both for birth and courage) of this honor and preferment, yet so disdeined of Edmund duke of Summerset being cousine to the king, that by all means possible he sought his hinderance, as one glad of his losse, and sorie of his well doing: by reason whereof, yer the duke of Yorke could get his dispatch, Paris and diuerse other of the cheefest places in France were gotten by the French king. The duke of Yorke perceiuing his euill will, openlie dissembled that which he inwardlie minded, either of them working things to the others displeasure, till through malice & diuision betweene them, at length by mortall warre they were both consumed, with almost all their whole lines and ofspring.

The Normans of the countrie of Caur, being heartened by the death of the duke of Bedford, began a new rebellion, slue diuerse Englishmen, robbed manie townes that were vnder the English obeisance, and toke the towne of Harflue by assault, and diuerse other townes. But the lord regent being aduertised, sent forth the lord Scales, sir Thomas Kiriell, and the lord Ho, which so afflicted those rebels of Caur, that they slue aboue fiue thousand persons, and burnt all the townes and villages in the countrie, not being walled: so that in that part was neither habitation nor tillage, for all the people fled into Britaine, and all the beasts of the countrie were brought to Caudebecke, where a good sheepe was sold for an English penie, and a Cow for twelue pence. Dailie was skirmishing and fighting in euerie part, in so much that the lord Scales at the Rie beside Rone, discomfited the Hire, and fiftéene hundred valiant Frenchmen; of the which, aboue three hundred were taken prisoners, beside the gaine of seauen faire coursers.

Amongst other of the prisoners, were sir Richard Reginald de Fountaines, sir Alain Gerond, Alain Monsaie, and Geffrie Grane, capteine of the Scots. But yet this victorie and others the like, staied not the Frenchmen from working treason dailie, insomuch that diuers townes turned to the part of K. Charles, and some were taken by practise, as Diepe, Bois, Uincennes, and others. ¶ So that here partlie was accomplished the prophesie of Henrie the fift, giuen out in the ninth yeare of his reigne when he laie at siege before Meaux, that Henrie of Windsore should lose all that Henrie of Monmouth had gotten (for so they are named according to the place of their natiuitie) and this prediction was complet and full by that time the yeares of his regiment were expired.

Abr. Fl. See before pag. 581.

But here is one cheefe point to be noted, that either the disdeine amongest the cheefe péeres of the realme of England (as yée haue heard) or the negligence of the kings councell (which did not foresée dangers to come) was the losse of the whole dominion of France, betweene the riuers of Sone and Marne, and in especiall, of the noble citie of Paris. For where before, there were sent ouer thousands for defense of the holds and fortresses, now were sent hundreds, yea and scores, some rascals, and some not able

1436 able to draw a bowe, or carrie a bill for the lord Willoughbie, and the bishop of Terwine, which had the gouernance of the great citie of Paris, had in their companie not two thousand Englishmen.

Which weakenesse king Charles well perceiued, and therefore by authoritie appointed the constable, Arthur of Britaine, the earle of Dunois, the lords de la Roch, and Lille Adam, with other valiant captains and men of warre, as well Burgognions as French, to go before Paris, trusting by fauour of certeine citizens, with whome he had intelligence, shortlie to be lord of the citie, without great losse or battell. So these captains came before the citie of Paris. But perceiuing that all things succeeded not according to their expectation, they returned to Mont Martyr, and the next daie suddenlie set on the towne of saint Denis, and constreined the Englishmen that kept it, to flee into the abbeie, and into the tower Aenin. In this conflict two hundred Englishmen were slaine, the residue vpon reasonable composition rendered vp the place, and departed to Paris.

Thomas lord Beaumont, who of late was come to Paris with eight hundred men, issued forth with six hundred souldiers, intending to view the doings and number of the French armie; but suddenlie compassed about, within a small space was discomfited and taken, with him fourescore prisoners, beside two hundred slaine in the field, the remnant chased to the verie gates of the citie. The Parisiens, and especiallie the maister of the halles, and some of the vniuersitie, Michaell Lallier, and manie notable burgesses of the citie (who euer with an English countenance couered a French hart) perceiuing the weakenesse of the Englishmen, and force of the French; signified to the French captains their toward minds willing them with all diligence to come & receiue so rich a preie without anie difficultie, readie to be giuen and deliuered into their hands.

The constable delaieng no time, came with his power, lodged by the charter house: and the lord Lille Adam, approching to the walles, shewed to the citizens a charter, sealed with the great seale of king Charles, by the which he had pardoned them their offenses, and granted to them all their old liberties, and ancient priuileges, so that they would hereafter be to him true and obedient: which thing to them declared, they ran about the towne, crieng; S. Denis, liue king Charles. The Englishmen perceiuing this, determined to keepe the gate S. Denis, but they were deceiued: for the cheines were drawne in euerie street, and women and children cast downe stones and scalding water on the Englishmens heads, and the citizens in armour fought with them and chased them from street to street, and from lane to lane, and slue and hurt diuerse and manie of them.

The bishop of Terwine, chancellor there for king Henrie, the lord Willoughbie, and sir Simon Morliher, tooke great paine to appease the people: but when they saw that all auailed not, they withdrew into the bastile of saint Anthonie, which fortresse they had well vittelled, and furnished with men and munitions. Whilest this rumor was in the towne, the earle of Dunois and others scaled the walles, and some passed the riuer by botes, and opened the gate of saint James, by the which the constable with his banner displaied, entered, at whose entrie the Parisiens made great ioy. The bishop and the lord Willoughbie, with their small companie, defended their fortresse ten daies, loking for aid: but when they saw that no comfort appeared, they yelded their fortresse, so that they and theirs, with certeine baggage, might peaceablie returne to Rone. Thus was the citie of Paris brought into the possession of Charles the French king, through the vntrue demeanor of the citizens, who contrarie to their oths, and promised allegiance, like false and inconstant people, so reuolted from the English.

The treson of the Parisiens.

Paris yelded to the French king.

After this glorious gaine, the Frenchmen besieged the towne of Crail vpon Dike, whereof sir William Chamberlaine was captaine; the which with fiue hundred Englishmen issued out of the towne, and after long fight, discomfited his enimies, & slue two hundred, and tooke a great number prisoners: the remnant not liking the market, departed to Campaigne, and other townes adioining. During which season, twelue burgesses of the towne of Crsours sold it for monie vnto Poiton de Xaintrailles. But he had not the castell deliuered, & therefore with all his power he besieged the same; whereof the lord Talbot being aduertised, sent for the lord Scales, and they both with eighténe hundred men releued the castell, tooke the towne, and discomfited their enimies, and slue of them aboue foure hundred persons.

Now according to the old saieng (when the steed is stolen shut the stable dore) the duke of Yorke appointed at the last parlement to be regent of France (after that Paris, Saint Denis, Saint Germans in Laie, and diuerse other townes in France were taken and betraied for lacke of conuenient succours) was sent ouer into Normandie with eight thousand men, and in his companie, the earles of Salisburie, and Suffolke, and the lord Fawconbridge, and diuerse other valiant captains. When he was landed, the earle of Salisburie besieged the castell of Chambois, which shortlie was to him rendered. Then the duke remoued to Rone, where he set good orders, and did great iustice to the countrie; wherefore the Normans in their chronicles highlie extoll him for that point. Howbeit they saie, that he gat by long siege the towne and abbeie of Fecampe, and did none other notable act, during the time of his rule and gouernment.

The duke set into France too late.

In this fourteenth yeare, the duke of Burgognie determined by the aduise of his councell, to attempt the winning of Calis. The prouision was wonderous great which was made for the atchiuing of this enterprise: whereof sir John Ratcliffe, deputie of the towne of Calis, hauing perfect intelligence, aduertised king Henrie, and his councell, who incontinentlie sent thither the earle of Mortaigne, sonne to the duke of Summerset, and the lord Camois, with fiftéene hundred men, and great foison of vittels, that issued out of Calis, and came before Grauelin, where they were incountered with a great number of Flemings, who were shortlie discomfited, foure hundred of them slaine, and six score taken prisoners. Within two daies after, the Englishmen drawe by fine force the lords of Warren and Bado to the barriers of Ard, and discomfited their whole companie, to the number of fiftéene hundred, slue seauen valiant captains, and tooke manie gentlemen prisoners.

The duke of Burgognie prepareth an armie against Calis.

The duke of Burgognie, remaining still in his former purpose, assembled togither, of Flemings, Picards, Hollanders, and Henewers, a great armie, to the number of fortie thousand, so well armed, so well vitteled, so well furnished with ordinance, and garnished in all things, that they thought and blazed amongst themselues, that the Calisians would leaue their towne desolate, and flee for their safegard, hearing onelie of the dukes approch: but they reckoned without their host; and so paid a dearer shot than they looked for. Now when this mightie armie was past the water of Grauelin, the duke intending to begin his feats, assaulted the little poore castell of Die, which hauing in it but fiftie souldiers, whereof twelue sold their liues derelie; the remnant (compelled by necessitie) yelded themselues to the dukes mercie.

The duke of Burgognie with fortie thousand men.

Abr. Fl. See before pag. 581.

mercie. Which to please the Gantois (being of nom-
ber most puissant in all the armie) liberallie gaue to
them, both the castell and prisoners, who (rude & cruell
people) not onelie raced the castell, but also hanged
nine and twentie of the captiues, and had so done
with the residue, if the duke, offended at their cruel-
tie, had not willed a staie.

After this feat done, the Picards besieged the ca-
stell of Marke, & gaue three assaults to it. The Eng-
lishmen within, being in number two hundred and
six, vnder the gouernement of their capteine sir
John Gedding, valiantlie defended the place; vntill
at length, despairing of succours, they yelded them-
selues (their liues & limbs saued.) The castell of Marke
being thus deliuered, was raced to the ground. Then
the duke, accompanied with the duke of Cleues, the
earle of Estampes, the lords of Dantoing, Croie,
Crisquie, Humiers, and manie other barons and
knights, with his great armie, came before Calis,
& placed his siege about the same, most to his aduan-
tage: he gaue three assaults, and gained nothing by
them, but constreined to keepe them further off. At
the first assault, the Hire which was come to see the
duke of Burgognie, was sore wounded and hurt. A
cooling card it was also vnto them, still to see ships
arriued in the hauen out of England, openlie before
their faces, laden with vittels, munition and men.

Calis besie-
ged by the
duke of Bur-
gognie.

The duke on a daie riding about to view the situa-
tion of the towne, to the intent to take his most ad-
uantage (either by assault or otherwise) was quicke-
lie espied, and with the shot of a canon, a trumpetter,
which rode next before him, and three horses in his
companie were slaine out of hand. The lord of Croie,
and a conuenient number with him, was appointed
to besiege the castell of Guisnes, where he got little
profit, and did lesse harme. Moreouer, for the better
aduancing of his enterprise, the duke minded to stop
vp the hauen; so that no succours should enter
there. Herevpon, he caused foure great hulkes to be
fraught with great square stones, cemented and loi-
ned togither with lead, to the intent they should lie
still like a mount, and not seuer in sunder.

The dukes
enterprise to
bar ỹ hauen.

These ships, with the residue of the dukes nauie,
were conueied into the mouth of Calis hauen, and at
a full sea, by craft and policie, were sonke downe to
the ground. But whether God would not that the ha-
uen should be destroied, either the conueiers of the
hulkes knew not the verie chanell; these foure great
ships, at the low water, laie openlie vpon the sands,
without hurting the rode or chanell. Which when the
souldiers perceiued, they issued out of the towne,
brake the ships, and carted both the stones and tim-
ber into the towne. An other deuise the duke had,
which was the building of a strong bastile vpon a lit-
tle mountaine, which he furnished with foure hun-
dred men, and much artillerie, that did impeach the
Englishmen from issuing forth of the towne, to their
great displeasure.

Whilest these things were adoing, there came to
the duke an herald called Penbroke, belonging to
the duke of Gloucester, who declared to the duke of
Burgognie, that the protector of England his mai-
ster (if God would send him wind & weather) would
giue him battell, either there, or in anie other place
within his owne countrie, where he would apoint,
and that with spéed, if God vouchsafed him wind and
weather. The duke answered the herald; Sir, saie to
your maister, that his chalenge is both honorable and
reasonable: howbeit, he shall not néed to take the
paines to séeke me in mine owne countrie, for (God
willing) he shall find me here, till I haue my will of
the towne, readie to abide him and all the power he
can bring. After the herald had receiued this answer,
he was highlie cheered, and had a cup and an hundred
guildens to him giuen in reward, and so he returned
to Calis.

After whose departure, the duke called a councell
in the chefe pauilion of the Gantois, about this mes-
sage of the English herald, where it was determined
with great courage, that they would abide the bat-
tell, if the duke of Gloucester came to offer it. Whilest
this great matter was in consultation, the Calisi-
ans, not well content with the bastile, which the duke
had newlie builded, issued out of the towne in great
number, part on horsebacke and part on foot. The
footmen ran to assault the bastile, and the horsemen
went betweene the armie & the assailants, to stop the
aid and succours that might come. Vpon the sound-
ing of the alarme, the duke himselfe in person was
comming on foot, to releeue his men: but being kept
backe a space by the English horsemen, in that de-
late of time, the bastile was wone by fine force, and
eight score persons of those that kept it slaine, beside
the residue which were taken prisoners, and led to
Calis, with all the ordinance and artillerie, to the
high displeasure of the duke and his prudent councell.
The next daie after, there sprang a rumor in the ar-
mie (no man could tell how) that the duke of Glo-
cester with a great puissance was alreadie imbar-
ked, and would arriue at the next tide. The same
night the duke fled awaie, and sent in all hast to the
lord of Croie, to raise his siege before Guisnes, which
tidings were to him verie joious, for he neither got
nor saued. So these two capteins departed, leaning
behind them, both ordinance, vittels, & great riches.

The duke
of Burgognie
breaketh vp
the siege be-
fore Calis,
and fleeth, the
26 of Julie.

¶ The French writers (to saue the honor of the duke
of Burgognie) saie, that there was a certeine discord
and commotion amongst the Flemings and Duch
nation, affirming, that the great lords and the Pi-
cards (whome the Frenchmen greatlie extoll) would
betraie and sell the Flemings and their frends, and
that for the same cause in a great furie they cried;
Home, home: and would not tarrie for anie request
that the duke could make, and so by their misgouer-
nance, the duke was inforced to raise his siege, and to
depart. The Flemish authors affirme the contrarie,
saieng, that they were readie to abide the comming
of the duke of Gloucester: but the duke of Burgognie
fearing to be intraped betweene the English armie
without, and the garrison within the towne of Calis,
fled awaie in the night, giuing to them no warning
thereof before, so that for lacke of time, and conueni-
ent space to lade and carrie their stuffe, and being
commanded vpon the sudden to dislodge with all
spéed, they left behind them their vittels, tents, and
other things, to their great losse and detriment.

Howsoeuer the matter was, the truth is, that he
fled the six and twentith daie of Julie, in the night.
And the next daie in the morning, the duke of Glou-
cester landed in Calis hauen, & streight went into the
campe, where his enimies the night before were lod-
ged, and there he found manie faire peeces of ord-
nance, and specialtie one called Digeon: so named,
after the chefe towne of Burgognie; beside paui-
lions, wine, beere, meale, and innumerable vittels.
The duke of Gloucester, seeing his enimies reculed,
hauing in his companie fiue and twentie thousand
men, entered into Flanders, burning houses, killing
such as made resistance, destroieng the countrie on
euerie part, setting fire in the townes of Poperinch,
Bailleull, and others. Also, they wasted the suburbes
of diuerse closed townes, and after passed by New-
castell, Rimesture, and Malon chapell: and then en-
tering into Artois, they came to Arques and Blan-
desques, setting fire in euerie part where they came.
Thus they passed by saint Omers, and finallie by
Arde returned to Guisnes: and so to Calis at the six
weeks end, with great booties of cattell and riches.

A gun called
Digeon.

The duke of
Gloucester
spoileth
Flanders.

In

In all this their iournie, they had but small store of bread, which caused much faintnesse and diuerse diseases in the armie, whereof a greater number died than did of the enimies sword: and yet the Flemings write, that they of Bruges distressed to the number of two thousand Englishmen in this iournie. Howbeit, the French writers affirme, that the Englishmen lost more of their companie in the marches about Ard, than they did in all other places where they had béene before, hauing passed through the parties of Flanders, without incounter, or any damage done to them by the enimies. After that, the duke of Gloucester returned into England, where he was aduertised, that James king of Scots had besieged the castell of Rockesburgh with thirtie thousand men: but the capteine thereof, sir Rafe Greie defended it so manfullie, for the space of twentie daies, that king James being then aduertised, that the earle of Northumberland was comming to fight with him, fled with no lesse losse than dishonor, and inough of both.

Barland.

Enguerant.

The king of Scots fled from his siege at Rockesburgh.

Shortlie after that the duke of Burgognie had béene before Calis, at the desire of princes, a truce for a time was moued to be had betweene the king of England & the said duke. For which cause were sent to Graueling for the king of England, Henrie Beauford cardinall of Winchester, John lord Mowbraie duke of Northfolke, Humfrie earle of Stafford, and diuerse other well learned & honorable personages. And for the duke of Burgognie, there appeared the duchesse his wife, the bishop of Arras, the lord of Croie, and diuerse other. At this treatie, a truce was taken for a small time, and for a lesse obserued, which was concluded betweene the king of England, and the duchesse of Burgognie (interlacing the duke and his name.)

Anno Reg. 15.

A truce taken betweene the king of England and the duchesse of Burgognie.

Hall.

Some thinke, that the king of England would neuer enter in league with him, because he had broken his promise, oth, and writing sealed to him, and to his father. Other imagined this to be done of a cautell, to cast a mist before the French kings eies, to the intent he should beléeue that this feat was wrought by the duchesse, without assent or knowledge of the duke or his councell; and so he was not bound to accomplish anie act or thing done in his wiues treatie. Thus may you sée, that princes sometime with such vaine glosses and scornefull expositions will hide their doings, and cloke their purposes; to the intent they would not either be espied, or else that they may plucke their heads out of the collar at their pleasure. But (as the common opinion goeth) he which is a promise-breaker escapeth not alwaies with impunitie. For it is well séene by dailie and vsuall euents both in princes and priuat persons, that for violating their faith, and breaking of promise, manie discommodities arise, and inconueniences not a few do follow. To the due keeping whereof the heathen bare such a religious conscience, that a prophane man in respect of others, preferreth it before sacrifice, the sentence is of great excellencie out of a pagans mouth:

Non boue mactato cœlestia numina gaudent,
Sed quæ præstanda est & sine teste fide.

1427

About this season, quéene Katharine mother to the king of England departed out of this life, and was buried by hir husband in the abbeie of Westminster. This woman, after the death of king Henrie the fift hir husband, being yong and luskie, following more hir owne wanton appetite than frendlie counsell, and regarding more priuate affection than princelike honour, tooke to husband priuilie a galant gentleman and a right beautifull person, indued with manie godlie gifts both of bodie & mind, called Owen Teuther, a man descended of the noble linage and ancient line of Cadwallader last king of the Britains. By this Owen she brought forth three godlie sonnes, Edmund, Jasper, and another that was a monke in Westminster, and liued a small time: also a daughter which in hir youth departed out of this transitorie life.

Katharine mother to king Henrie married Owen Teuther.

King Henrie, after the death of his mother, because they were his brethren of one wombe, created Edmund earle of Richmund, and Jasper earle of Penbroke: which Edmund of Margaret daughter and sole heire to John duke of Summerset begat Henrie, who after was king of this realme, called Henrie the seuenth, of whome ye shall heare more in place conuenient. This Owen, after the death of the quéene his wife, was apprehended and committed to ward, because that (contrarie to the statute made in the first yeare of this king) he presumptuouslie had maried the quéene, without the kings especiall assent, out of which prison he escaped, and let out other with him, but was againe apprehended, and after escaped againe. ¶ Polychronicon saith that he was a squier of low birth and like degrée, the same author also reporteth that he was commanded to Newgate by the duke of Gloucester then lord protector of the realme: out of which prison he brake by the helpe of a preest that was his chapline. Nevertheless he was apprehended afterwards by the lord Beaumont, & brought againe to Newgate, whence (when he had remained there a while) he was deliuered and set at libertie.]

Abr. Fl.

The duchesse of Bedford also, sister to Lewes erle of S. Paule, more for affection than increase of honour, without counsell of hir frends, maried a lustie yong knight, called sir Richard Woduile, to the great displeasure of hir vncle the bishop of Terwine, and the earle hir brother. This sir Richard was made baron of Riuers, and after earle, and had by this ladie manie noble sonnes, and faire daughters, of the which one was the ladie Elizabeth, after quéene of England, by reason she was married vnto Edward the fourth. ¶ Whilest this marriage was a celebrating, Jane late quéene of England, and before duchesse of Britaine, daughter to the king of Nauarre, and wife to king Henrie the fourth, died at the manor of Hauering, and was buried by hir husband at Canturburie. ¶ About the same time, deceassed also the countesse of Warwike, and Henrie archbishop of Yorke.

Quéene Elizabeth.

In this yeare also, the duke of Summerset, accompanied with the lords of Fauconbridge, Talbot, sir Francis Surien, the Arrogonnois, Matthew * Gough, Thomas Paulet, Thomas Harington, Walter Limbrike, John Gedding, William Watton esquiers, and Thomas Hilton bailiffe of Rone, with a great companie of the English partie, besieged the towne of Harflue (latelie before gotten by the Frenchmen) both by water and land: the capteine within the towne was one sir John d'Estouteuille, hauing his brother Robert with him, and a fiue hundred good fighting men. The assailants cast trenches, and so fortified themselues in their campe and lodgings, that when the earles of Ew and Dunois, the valiant bastard of Bourbon, the lord Gawcourt, and other famous capteins, with a foure thousand men, sent to the rescue of them within, came before the towne, they could not succour their frends, nor annoie their enimies by anie meanes they could deuise; & so for feare to lose honour, they returned backe againe, with much trauell and little profit.

* Or rather Goche.

Harflue besieged and won by the Englishmen.

The capteins within the towne perceiuing they could not be aided, did shortlie after render the towne to the duke of Summerset; who after committed it to the keeping of Thomas Paulet, William Limbrike, Christopher Barber, and George saint George, which manie yeares (till the diuision began in England) manfullie and valiantlie defended both the towne and the hauen. But afterward, when this duke of Summerset was regent and gouernour of Nor-

The duke of Summersets infortunatnes

Normandie, he not onlie lost this towne of Harflue, but also the citie of Rone, and the whole duchie of Normandie, whereas now (being but a deputie) he got it to his high praise and glorie. In this yeare was James king of Scots murthered by certeine traitors of his owne subiects [euen in his bedchamber by night, which king (saith Polychr.) had bene prisoner in England fiftene yeares, the murtherers of whom being afterwards taken, were terriblie executed.]

James king of Scots murthered. Abr. Fl. ex Polychr.

The lord Talbot besieged Tankerutle, and after foure moneths had it simplie to him rendered. This towne was no great gaine to the Englishmen, for in the meane season, the French king in his owne person besieged the strong towne of Monstreau fault Yonne; whereof Thomas Gerard being capteine, more for desire of reward, than for feare of enimies, sold the towne to the French king, and had of him great gifts and interteinement, as afterwards was openlie knowen. This towne had bene rescued of the French king sought withall, if one chance had not happened. For the duke of Yorke about that time was discharged of his office, and the earle of Warwike preferred to the same, so that the duke of Yorke, lieng as then at Rone, would haue gladlie rescued the towne, if his authoritie had not surceassed; and the earle of Warwike could not come in time, for the wind was contrarie to him.

The earle of Warwike made regent of France.

This present yeare was a parlement holden at Westminster, in the which manie good and profitable acts for the preseruation of concord at home, and defense against the enimies abroad, were ordeined and deuised. ¶ Arthur of Britaine constable of France, and John duke of Alanson, were sent by the French king into Normandie, with a great armie, to besiege the towne of Auranches, standing vpon the knop of an hill: where after they had laien a certeine space without gaine, the lord Talbot with a valiant companie of men came thither, and offered the enimies battell. Which when they at all hands refused, the lord Talbot perceiuing their faint harts, raised his field, and in the open sight of them all, entered into the towne, and the next daie issued out; and finding the Frenchmen riding abroad to destroie the plaine countrie, he compassed them about, and slue manie of them, and toke diuerse prisoners. Although the Frenchmen got neither honor nor profit by this iournie, yet they enterprised a greater matter, as the winning of Rone; in so much that Pouton de Santrells, and the Hire, with manie other notable capteins, hauing promise of certeine burgesses of that citie to haue entrie made them, secretlie in the night came forward to a towne called Rise or Riz, not past foure leagues from Rone, and there lodged.

The lord Talbot, the lord Scales, and sir Thomas Kirtell hearing of their approch, set out of Rone at midnight, & with great paine came to Rise so couertlie in the morning, that the French suddenlie surprised and set vpon, like men all amazed ran awaie and fled. In the chase were taken the lord of Fontains, sir Aleine Geron, sir Lewes de Balle, and threescore knights, and esquiers, beside others; and there were slaine two hundred and more. The Hire escaped verie narrowlie, by swiftnesse of his horsse, though not vnwounded. The Englishmen returned to the towne of Rise, and found there great number of horsses & other baggages, which they ioiouslie brought with them to Rone.

Anno Reg. 16. The earle of Warwike regent came into France.

On the first daie of November this present yeare, the earle of Warwike, as regent of France, passed the sea, after he had bene seuen times shipped and vnshipped, and landed at Homflue with a thousand freh souldiers, and came to Rone, and then the duke of Yorke returned into England. Betweene the change of these two capteins, the duke of Burgognie (which sore enuied the glorie of the Englishmen) besieged the towne of Crotoy, with ten thousand men and more, hauing with him great plentie of guns and goodlie ordinance. The earle of Warwike aduertised hereof, sent the lord Fauconbridge, sir Thomas Kiriell, sir John Montgomerie, Thomas Limbrike, Thomas Chandois, Dauid Hall, and diuerse other knights and esquiers, and an host of fiue thousand men, which passed the riuer of Some, beside the towne of saint Valerie, wading in the water vp to the chin, so glad were they to rescue their felowes.

Crotoy besieged by the duke of Burgogne.

When the duke of Burgognie was informed of the approching of the lord Talbot, he with all his power (sauing foure hundred, which were left in a bastile by him there newlie builded) fled to Abuile, the bastile was sone gained by the Englishmen, and those within either slaine or taken. After this, the lord Talbot sent to the duke of Burgognie, signifieng that except he would come forth, and bide by a battell, he would vtterlie waste his countrie of Picardie. According whereunto (the duke of Burgognie shrinking) he burnt townes, spoiled and slue manie people in Picardie. But for all those his doings, the duke of Burgognie appeared not, but got him from Abuile to Amiens, so that the lord Talbot abode twentie daies full in Picardie and Arthois, destroieng all afore him, and after returned vntouched. In the meane season, sir Thomas Kiriell had gotten all the dukes cariages and ordinance, and left as much victell in the towne of Croitoy, as would serue six hundred men a whole yeare, and conueied the residue to the earle of Warwike, who highlie praised them for their hardie doings.

Crotoy rescued.

After this, Henrie earle of Portaigne, sonne to Edmund duke of Sumnerset, arriued at Chierburgh with foure hundred archers, & three hundred speares, and passed through Normandie, till he came into the countie of Maine, where he besieged a castell called saint Anian, in the which were three hundred Scots, besides Frenchmen. This castell he toke by assault, slue the Scots, and hanged the Frenchmen, because they were once sworne English. After this he got also another castell, two miles from saint Julians, called Alegerche, which was shortlie after recouered; and the lord of Camelwis, which came to the rescue of the same, in the meane waie was intrapped and taken. Thus flowed the victorie, sometime on the one partie, and sometime on the other. For about the same time the townes of Meaux in Brie, and saint Susan were sold and deliuered to the French part, by the vntruth of the burgesses and inhabitants of the same towns, about the latter end of this sirtenth yeare.

1438

This yeare (by reason of great tempests) raging winds, and raine, there rose such scarsitie, that wheat was sold at three shillings foure pense the bushell, wine at twelue pense the gallon, baisalt at fourtene pense the bushell, and malt at thirtene shillings foure pense the quarter, and all other graines at excessiue prices aboue the old rate. ¶ Whereupon Steuen Brolwne (saith Polychronicon) at the same season maior of London, tendering the state of the citie in this want of breadcorne, sent into Prusse certeine ships, which returned loden with plentie of rie: wherwith he did much good to the people in that hard time, spectallie to them of the citie, where the want of corne was not so extreame as in some other places of the land, where the pore distressed people that were hungerbitten, made them bred of ferne rots, and vsed other hard shifts, till God prouided remedie for their penurie by good successe of husbandrie.]

Anno Reg. 17. Dearth of vittels.

1439

Abr. Fl. ex Polychr.

Bread made of ferne rots.

In the moneth of June, the earle of Huntington (as Steward of Guien) with two thousand archers, and foure hundred speares was sent into Gascoigne, as a supplie to the countrie and cõmons of the same: for

for the king of England and his councell were informed, that the earle of Dunois laie in the frontiers of Tholouse secretlie, by rewards and faire promises practising to procure diuerse townes in Guien to become French. Wherefore this earle (like a politike warrior) altered not onelie the capteins in euerie towne and citie, but also remoued the magistrates, and changed the officers from towne to towne, and rome to rome; so that by this meanes, the earle of Dunois at that time lost both trauell and cost.

A feat of a politike capteine & wise counceller.

In the same moneth also, sir Richard Woduile, sir William Chamberleine, sir William Peito, and sir William Stozie, with a thousand men, were sent to kuffe the townes in Normandie, which at that time had ther of great need: for the English capteins had small confidence in the Normans, and not too much in some of their own nation. For that harlot briberie, with hir fellow couetousnesse, ran so fast abroad with French crownes, that hard was it to remaine vncorrupted. In this yeare, the Dolphin of France alied with John duke of Alanson, and John duke of Burgognie, rebelled against his father king Charles: but in the end, by wise persuasions, and wittie handling of the matter, the knot of that seditious faction was dissolued, and the king with his sonne, and the other confederates openlie and apparantlie pacified. The Englishmen taking aduantage of this domesticall diuision in France, raised an armie, and recouered againe diuerse townes, which had béene surprised from them before, and prepared also to haue recouered the citie of Paris, till they hard of the agréement betwixt the father and the sonne, and then they left off that enterprise.

Twoo shrewd persuaders.

Anno Reg. 18. In November of this yeare, there was such a great frost, and after that so deepe a snow, that all the ground was couered therwith, and all the diches frosen. Which wether put the Englishmen in hope to recouer againe the towne of Ponthoise, by the French king gotten before, by corrupting with monie diuerse burgesses of the towne. Herupon the Englishmen clothed all in white, with John lord Clifford their capteine, came in the night to the diches, passed them without danger by reason of the frost, scaled the walles, slue the watch, and tooke the towne, with manie profitable prisoners. ¶ After the regaining of this towne, the lord Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwike died in the castell of Rone, from whence conueied into England, he was with solemne ceremonies buried at his college of Warwike, in a verie faire and sumptuous sepulchre.

Ponthoise recouered by the English.

Anno Reg. 19. About the beginning of Lent, the duke of Somerset, and the lord Talbot, with other capteins and men of warre to the number of two thousand, which they had assembled in the marches of Normandie towards Rone, marching forward towards Picardie, passed ouer the riuer of Some; and through the towne of Monteruell, came before the fortresse of Folleuile, which the duke besieged, whilest the lord Talbot entered further into the countrie. After that the duke had mounted his great artillerie, and began to batter the hold, the capteine within chanced to be slaine with a shot of the same artillerie, & shortlie after, the batterie being still continued, the rest of the men of warre that serued vnder him yeelded the place, in which the duke left a competent garrison of souldiers, which afterwards sore indamaged the countrie.

Enguerant.

This done, the duke followed the lord Talbot, who was alreadie entered a good waie within the countrie of Santhois, and now ioining their powers together, they came to a fortresse called Lihons in Santhois, which was also rendered vnto them, after they had burnt the church, which the countrie people kept against them, and would not yeeld it, till they were fired out, burnt, and slaine; to the number of three hundred. After the fortresse was deliuered into their hands by composition, the duke with his power laie there about ten daies, sending diuerse troops of his men of warre abroad into the countrie, which spoiled the same, tooke the fortresse of Herbonneres, and the lord thereof within it, who for his ransome, and to haue his subiects and house saued from spoile and fire, compounded with his takers for a thousand saluz of gold, which he paid to them. Finallie, after the duke of Summerset, and the lord Talbot with their power, had laine in Lihons about ten daies, they departed from thence, and returned into Normandie, without anie impeachment.

1441 The duke of Yorke againe made regent of France.

After the death of the earle of Warwike, the duke of Yorke was againe made regent of France, which accompanied with the earle of Orenford, the lord Bourchier called earle of Ewe, sir James of Dromond, the lord Clinton, sir Richard Woduile, & diuerse other noble men, sailed into Normandie. Before whose arriuall, the French king sore grieued with the taking of the towne of Ponthoise, assembled a great armie, and besieged the said towne himselfe in person, inuironing it with bastiles, trenches, and ditches, beating the walles and bulworks with shot of great ordinance, and giuing therevnto diuerse great and fierce assaults. But John lord Clifford, like a valiant capteine, defended the towne so manfullie, that the Frenchmen rather lost than wone.

Ponthoise besieged by the French king, but valiantlie defended.

The duke of Yorke at his landing receiued true aduertisement of this siege, wherevpon he sent for the lord Talbot, and a great number of soldiers, and so came neere to the towne of Ponthoise, and there incamped himselfe; who therewith sent word to the French king, that thither he was come to giue him battell, if he would come out of his strength and bastiles. But the French king by aduise of his councell, determined not to venture his person with men of so base degrée, but meant to keepe his ground, bidding the lord regent to enter at his perill, and in the meane season did what he could to stop the passage of the riuer of Oise, so that no vittels should be brought to the English armie by that waie, in hope so to cause them to recule backe.

The duke of Yorke, perceiuing that the French king minded not to fight, purposed to passe ouer the riuer of Oise, and so to fight with him in his lodging. Wherevpon he remoued his campe, and appointed the lord Talbot and other, to make a countenance, as they would passe the riuer by force at the port of Beaumont: and appointed an other companie in boates of timber and leather, and bridges made of cords and ropes (whereof he had great plentie caried with him in chariots) to passe ouer beneath the abbie. Whilest the lord Talbot made a crie, as though he would assault the gate, certeine Englishmen passed the water in botes, and drew a bridge of cords ouer, so that a great number of them were got to the other side, yer the Frenchmen were aduised what had happened. When they saw the chance, they ran like mad men, to haue stopped the passage, but it was too late: for the most part of the Englishmen were got ouer, in so much that they chased their enimies backe, and slue sir Guilliam de Chastell, nephue to the lord Taneguie du Chastell, and diuerse others.

A policie for a bridge.

The Frenchmen seeing their euill hap irrecouerable, returned to the French king, and told him what had chanced: wherevpon he doubting to be assailed to his disaduantage, thought not good longer to tarrie, but with all speed remouing his ordinance into the bastile of saint Martin, which he had newlie made, dislodged in the night from Maubuisson, and went to Poissie, leauing the lord de Cotignie admerall of France, with three thousand men to keepe the

Enguerant de Monstrellet.

bastile. If he had taried still at Maubuisson, the lord Talbot which had passed the riuer of Oise in two small leather botes, had either taken or slaine him the same night. The Englishmen the next daie in good order of battell came before the towne of Pontoise, thinking there to haue found the French king, but he was gone: and in his lodging they found great riches, and much stuffe which he could not haue space for to carrie awaie for feare of the sudden inuasion.

Edw. Hall.

Then the duke with his power entred into the towne, and sent for new vittels, and repaired the towers and bulworks about the towne, & diuerse times assaulted the bastile of the Frenchmen, of the which he made no great accompt, bicause they were not of power either to assault or stop the vittels or succors from the towne. After this, the duke intending once againe to offer the French king battell, left behind him at Pontoise for capteine there, sir Geruais Clifton, sir Nicholas Burdet, Henrie Chandos, and a thousand soldiers, and therewith remouing with his whole armie, came before Poissie, where he set himselfe and his men in good order of battell readie to fight. There issued out some of the French gentlemen to skirmish with the Englishmen, but to their losse: for diuerse of them were slaine, and foure valiant horsemen taken prisoners. The duke perceiuing the faint hearts of the Frenchmen, and that they durst not incounter in field with the English power, dislodged from Poissie, and came to Paunt, and soone after to Rone.

Anno Reg. 20.

When the regent and the lord Talbot were returned againe into Normandie, the French king considering how much it should redound to his dishonour to let rest the towne of Pontoise in his enimies hands, sith he had bene at such charges and trauell about the winning thereof, he eftsoones assembled all his puissance. And returning suddenlie vnto Pontoise, he first by assault got the church, and after the whole towne, tooke the capteine, and diuerse other Englishmen, and slue to the number of foure hundred, which sold their liues dearelie: for one French writer affirmeth, that the French king lost there three thousand men; and the whole garrison of the Englishmen was but onelie a thousand. Among other that were slaine here of the defendants, was sir Nicholas Burdet knight, chefe butler of Normandie. After this hot tempest, the weather began somewhat to wax more calme: for king Henrie and king Charles agreed to send ambassadors to commen of some good conclusion of peace: so that king Henrie sent the cardinall of Winchester, with diuerse other noble personages of his councell to Calis, with whome was also sent Charles duke of Orleance yet prisoner in England, to the intent that he might be both author of the peace, and also procurer of his owne deliuerance.

Pontoise gotten by the French.

Enguerant. Sir Nicholas Burdet slaine.

The French king sent the archbishop of Reimes, and the earle of Dunois: and the duke of Burgognie sent the lord de Creuecueur, and diuerse other. All these met at Calis, where the duke of Orleance courteouslie receiued the earle of Dunois (his bastard brother) thanking him greatlie for his paines taken in gouerning his lands & countrie, during the time of his captiuitie and absence. Diuerse communications were had, as well for the deliuerance of the duke as for a finall peace; but nothing was concluded, sauing that an other meeting was appointed, so that in the meane season the demands of either partie might be declared to their souereigne lords and maisters: and herevpon the commissioners brake vp their assemblie, and returned into their countries. The Englishmen (as the French writers record) required not onelie to possesse peaceablie the two duches of Aquitaine and Normandie, discharged of all resort, superioritie, & souereignitie against the realme of France, the kings and gouernours of the same; but also to be restored to all the townes, cities, and places, which they within thirtie yeres next before gone and past, had conquered in the realme of France. Which request the Frenchmen thought verie vnreasonable, and so both parties, minding rather to gaine or saue than to lose, departed for that time, as yee haue heard.

After this meeting thus proroged, Philip duke of Burgognie, partlie moued in conscience to make amends to Charles duke of Orleance (as yet prisoner in England) for the death of duke Lewes his father, whome duke John, father to this duke Philip, cruellie murthered in the citie of Paris; and partlie intending the aduancement of his neece, the ladie Marie, daughter to Adolfe duke of Cleue (by the which aliance, he trusted, that all old rancor should cease) contriued wales to haue the said duke of Orleance set at libertie, vpon promise by him made to take the said ladie Marie vnto wife. This duke had bene prisoner in England euer since the battell was fought at Agincourt, vpon the daie of Crispine and Crispinian, in the yeare 1415, and was set now at libertie in the moneth of Nouember, in the yeare 1440, paieng for his ransome foure hundred thousand crownes, though other saie but three hundred thousand.

The cause whie he was deteined so long in captiuitie, was to pleasure thereby the duke of Burgognie: for so long as the duke of Burgognie continued faithfull to the king of England, it was not thought necessarie to suffer the duke of Orleance to be ransomed, least vpon his deliuerance he would not cease to seeke meanes to be reuenged vpon the duke of Burgognie, for the old grudge and displeasure betwixt their two families, and therefore such ransome was demanded for him as he was neuer able to pay. But after the duke of Burgognie had broken his promise, and was turned to the French part, the councell of the king of England deuised how to deliuer the duke of Orleance, that thereby they might displeasure the duke of Burgognie. Which thing the duke of Burgognie perceiuing, doubted what might follow if he were deliuered without his knowledge, and therefore to his great cost practised his deliuerance, paid his ransome, and ioined with him amitie and aliance by mariage of his neece.

This duke being now deliuered, and speaking better English than French, after his arriuall in France, repaired to the duke of Burgognie, and according to his promise and conuention, maried the ladie Marie of Cleue, in the towne of saint Omers, on whome he begat a sonne, which after was French king, and called Lewes the twelfe. [Festered sores that rankle inward, as they may perchance be palliat by sleight of surgerie; so seldome come they to sound cure, but often do burst out againe to greater paine and perill of patient than euer afore: and so befell it betweene these two noble houses of Orleance and Burgognie, who for all this mariage and plausible peace (that continued a twentie yeares) fell out yet after at square vnattonablie:] their children and cousins, to the great vnquieting of much part of christendome, speciallie in the times of king Francis the first, and his sonne Henrie the second, heires of the house of Orleance. For John earle of Angolesme, vncle to this duke Charles, begat Charles, father to the said king Francis: which earle John had bene as pledge in England for the debt of Lewes duke of Orleance, from the last yeare of king Henrie the fourth; till that now his nephue being deliuered, made shift for monie, and ransomed him also, and at

The duke of Orleance deliuered.

Lewes the twelfe. W. P.

at length restored him to his countrie.

In the beginning of this twentith yeare, Richard duke of Yorke, regent of France, and gouernour of Normandie, determined to inuade the territories of his enimies both by sundrie armies, and in seuerall places, and thereupon without delaie of time he sent the lord of Willoughbie with a great crue of soldiers to destroie the countrie of Amiens, and John lord Talbot was appointed to besiege the towne of Diepe; and the regent himselfe accompanied with Edmund duke of Summerset, set forward into the duchie of Anion. The lord Willoughbie, according to his commission, entred into the countrie of his enimies in such wise vpon the sudden, that a great number of people were taken yer they could withdraw into anie place of safegard.

The Frenchmen in the garrisons adioining, astonied with the clamour and crie of the poore people, issued out in good order, and manfullie fought with the Englishmen. But in the end, the Frenchmen seeing their fellowes in the forefront slaine downe, and kild without mercie, turned their backes, and fled: the Englishmen followed, and slue manie in the chase; and such as escaped the sword, were robbed by the earle of saint Paule, who was comming to aid the Englishmen. In this conflict were slaine aboue six hundred men of armes, and a great number taken. The dukes of Yorke and Summerset likewise entered into Anion and Maine, and there destroied townes, and spoiled the people, and with great preies and prisoners repaired againe into Normandie, whither also the lord Willoughbie withdrew, after his valiant enterprise atchiued (as before yé haue heard) with rich spoiles and good prisoners.

Earle of saint Paule frend to ỹ English.

The duke of Summerset vpon further valiance, entered into the marches of Britaine, and toke by fierce assault a towne named la Gerche, appertaining to the duke of Alanson, spoiling and burning the same. This done, he went to Ponzate, where he soiorned two moneths, sending forth dailie his men of warre to destroie the countries of Anion, Traonnois, and Chatragonnois. The French king sent the marshall Loiach with foure thousand men to resist the inuasions of the duke of Summerset, which marshall intended to haue set on the duke in his lodgings in the dead time of the night: but that (as by a wise and hardie capteine) well foresæne, he marched forward, and met the Frenchmen halfe the waie, and after long fight, discomfited them, slue an hundred of the marshals men, and toke thrée score and two prisoners, whereof the chéefe were the lord Daulsignie, sir Lewes de Buell, all the other (almost) were knights and esquiers.

This should be as Enguerant noteth two yeares after this present yere 19, to wit, An. 1440.

After this incounter, the duke toke the towne of Beaumont le vicount, and manned all the fortresses on the frontiers of his enimies, and with rich booties and prisoners returned againe to the duke of Yorke. In this meane time the lord Talbot, besieging the towne of Diepe, inuironed it with déepe trenches; building also vpon the mount Paulet a strong and noisome bastile. But at length perceiuing the towne to be stronglie defended, and that he lacked such furniture of men, vittels, and ordinance as was necessarie for the winning of it, he deliuered the custodie of the bastile, with the gouernance of the siege to his bastard sonne, a valiant yong gentleman, and departed to Rone for aid, monie, and munition. The French king aduertised hereof, sent his sonne the Dolphin of Vienne with the earle of Dunois, and fiftéene thousand men to raise the siege from Diepe.

Thrée thousand hath Nicholas Giles.

Thrée dates they assailed the bastile, in the which six hundred Englishmen were inclosed, and at length bicause powder and weapon failed them within, the Frenchmen wan it, and toke the bastard Talbot prisoner, with sir William Peitow, and sir John Repleie, which shortlie after were redéemed. The other English souldiers, séeing the bastile woone by the Frenchmen, stood all a daie in good order of battell, and in the night following, politikelie saued themselues and returned to Rone, without losse or damage. In the assaulting of the bastile, the Frenchmen saie, they slue two hundred Englishmen; and denie not but that they lost fiue hundred of their owne men, beside those that were hurt. Whilest these things were a doing, Philip duke of Burgognie made sharpe warre against the earle of saint Paule, in taking from him his townes and castels, that made him to renounce his allegiance sworne and promised to the king of England, and returned to the French part.

The earle of saint Paule reuolteth to the French.

The English capteins in Guien besieged the strong towne of Tartas, belonging to the lord Dalbreth their old and ancient enimie. The towne perceiuing that it was not able to resist the force of the Englishmen anie long time, toke appointment, that the towne shuld remaine neuter. For assurance therof, they deliuered Cadet the sonne of the lord de la Breth in pledge, vpon this condition; that if the said lord de la Breth would not assent to the agreement, then he should signifie his refusall to the English capteins within thrée moneths next insuing, and he to haue his pledge, and they to doo their best. The French king, at the request of the lords of Guien, caused the lord de la Breth to signifie his disagrément vnto the earle of Huntington, as then lieutenant to the king of England in the duchie of Aquitaine. And therewith to gratifie the lords of Guien, he assembled an armie of thréescore thousand men, & came to Tholouse, and so to Tartas, to whome the chéeftens of the towne, séeing no succours comming from the king of England, rendred the towne: and Cadet de la Breth, which was left there as a pledge, was also deliuered.

1441
Tartas besieged.

The French king, after the yéelding of Tartas, remoued to saint Seuerine, which towne he toke by force, slue thrée hundred persons, and toke sir Thomas Rampston prisoner. After this, he came to the citie of Arques, toke a bulwarke by force, and had the towne yéelded to him by composition. The capteine, which was the lord of Montferrant, departed with all the English crue to Burdeaux, where he found the earle of Longuile, the Capdau de Beuse, and sir Thomas Rampston, which was a little before deliuered. After this, the fortresses of the Riell and Permandie were also yéelded to the French king: who notwithstanding at length was constreined for lacke of vittels (which were cut off by the Englishmen, that laie abroad in diuerse fortresses for the purpose) to breake vp his armie, & to retire into France. And then after his departure, the Englishmen recouered againe the citie of Arques, & the other townes by the French king gained, and toke prisoner his lieutenant called Reginald Guilliam the Burgognion, and manie other gentlemen, and all the meane souldiers were either slaine or hanged.

The change in warre.

While the French king was in Guien, the lord Talbot toke the towne of Couchet, and after marched toward Gallardon, which was besieged by the bastard of Orleance, otherwise called the earle of Dunois: which earle hearing of the lord Talbots approch, raised his siege, and saued himselfe. The Frenchmen a little before this season, had taken the towne of Eureux by treason of a sisher. Sir Francis the Arragonois hearing of that chance, apparelled six strong fellowes, like men of the countrie, with sacks and baskets, as cariers of corne and vittels, and sent them to the castell of Cornill, in the which diuerse Englishmen were kept as prisoners, and he

The lord Talbot.

The earle of Dunois.

An excellent finesse in warre.

with an ambush of Englishmen laie in a vallie nigh to the fortresse.

The six counterfet husbandmen entered the castell vnsuspected, and streight came to the chamber of the capteine, & laieng hands on him, gaue knowledge to them that laie in ambush to come to their aid. The which suddenlie made forth, and entered the castell, slue and tooke all the Frenchmen, and set the Englishmen at libertie: which thing doone, they set fire in the castell, and departed to Rone with their bootie and prisoners. This exploit they had not atchiued peradventure by force (as haplie they mistrusted) and therefore by subtiltie and deceit sought to accomplish it, which meanes to vse in warre is tollerable, so the same warre be lawfull; though both fraud & bloudshed otherwise be forbidden euen by the instinct of nature to be put in practise and vse; and that doth the poet insinuat in a proper sententious verse, saieng:

Quid. 1. de art. *Fraus absit, vacuas cædis habete manus.*

But now to speake somewhat of the doings in England in the meane time. Whilest the men of war were thus occupied in martiall feates, and dailie skirmishes, within the realme of France: ye shall vnderstand, that after the cardinall of Winchester, and the duke of Gloucester, were (as it seemed) reconciled either to other, yet the cardinall, and the archbishop of Yorke ceassed not to doo manie things without the consent of the king or of the duke, being (during the minoritie of the king) gouernor and protector of the realme, whereas the duke (as good cause he had) greatlie offended, therevpon in writing declared to the king, wherein the cardinall and the archbishop had offended both his maiestie, and the lawes of the realme. This complaint of the duke of Gloucester was conteined in foure and twentie articles, which chieflie rested, in that the cardinall had from time to time, through his ambitious desire to surmount all others in high degrees of honor and dignitie, sought to inrich himselfe, to the great and notorious hinderance of the king, as in defrauding him not onelie of his treasure, but also in doing and practising things greatlie prejudiciall to his affaires in France, and namelie by setting at libertie the king of Scots, vpon so easie conditions, as the kings maiestie greatlie lost thereby, as in particularities thus followeth.

A new breach betweene the duke of Gloucester, and the bishop of Winchester.

A complaint made to king Henrie the sixt, by the duke of Gloucester, vpon the cardinall of Winchester.

1 Ex Ed. Hall. 143, 144, 145. 146.

These be in part, the points and articles, which I Humfrie duke of Gloucester, for my truth & acquitall, said late, I would giue in writing (my right redoubted lord) vnto your highnesse, aduertising your excellencie, of such things in part, as haue béene doone in your tender age, in derogation of your noble estate, and hurt of both your realmes, and yet be doone and vsed dailie.

2 First, the cardinall then being bishop of Winchester, tooke vpon him the state of cardinall, which was naied and denaied him, by the king of most noble memorie, my lord your father (whome God assoile) saieng that he had as leefe set his crowne beside him, as see him weare a cardinals hat, he being a cardinall. For he knew full well, the pride and ambition that was in his person, then being but a bishop, should haue so greatlie extolled him into more intollerable pride, when that he were a cardinall: and also he thought it against his fréedome, of the chéefe church of this realme, which, that he worshipped, as dulie as euer did prince, that blessed be his soule. And howbeit, that my said lord your father (whome God assoile) would haue agreed him to haue had certeine clearks of this land cardinals, and to haue no bishoprikes in England; yet his intent was neuer to doo so great derogation to the church of Canturburie, to make them that were his suffragans, to sit aboue their ordinarie and metropolitan. But the cause was that in generall, and in all matters which might concerne the weale of him, and of his realme, he should haue proctors of his nation, as other kings Christen had, in the court of Rome, and not to abide in this land, nor to be in anie part of his councels, as béene all the spirituall and temporall, at parlements and other great councels, when you list to call them. And therefore, though it please you to doo him that worshop, to set him in your priuie councell after your pleasure: yet in your parlement, where euerie lord both spirituall and temporall, hath his place, he ought to occupie but his place as a bishop.

3 Item, the said bishop, now being cardinall, was assoiled of his bishoprike of Winchester, whereupon he sued vnto our holie father, to haue a bull declaratorie, notwithstanding he was assumpt to the state of cardinall, that the see was not void, where in déed it stood void by a certeine time, per the said bull were granted; and so he was exempt from his ordinarie, by the taking on him the state of cardinall, and the church bishoprike of Winchester, so standing void, he tooke againe of the pope (you not learned thereof ne knowing whereby he was fallen into the case of prouision) so that all his good was lawfullie & clérelie forfeited to you my right doubted lord, with more; as the statute declareth plainelie for your aduantage.

4 Item, it is not vnknowen to you (doubted lord) how thorough your lands it is noised, that the said cardinall and the archbishop of Yorke had and haue the gouernance of you, and all your land, the which none of your true liege men ought to vsurpe nor take vpon them. And haue also estranged me your sole vncle, my cosine of Yorke, my cosine of Huntington, and manie other lords of your kin, to haue anie knowledge of anie great matter, that might touch your high estate, or either of your realmes. And of lords spirituall, of right, the archbishop of Canturburie should be your chéefe councellor, the which is also estranged and set aside. And so be manie other right sad lords, and well aduised, as well spirituall as temporall, to the great hurt of you my right doubted lord, and of your realmes, like as the experience and workes shewen clérelie and euidentlie, more harme it is.

5 Item, in the tender age of you, my right doubted lord, for the necessitie of an armie, the said cardinall lent you foure thousand pounds vpon certeine iewels, prised at two and twentie thousand markes, with a letter of sale, that and they were not quited at a certeine daie, you should léese them. The said cardinall séeing your monie readie to haue quited your iewels, caused your treasuror of England, at that daie being, to paie the same monie, in part of an other armie, in defrauding you my right doubted lord of your said iewels, kéeping them yet alwaie to his owne vse, to your right great losse, and his singular profit and auaile.

6 Item, the said cardinall, then being bishop of Winchester, and chancellour of England, deliuered the king of Scots, vpon certeine appointments (as maie be shewed) presumptuouslie, and of his owne authoritie, contrarie to the act of parlement. I haue heard notable men of law say, that they neuer heard the like thing doone among them: which was to great a defamation to your highnesse, and also to wed his neece to the said king, whom that my lord of

notable

notable memorie, your father, whome God assoile, would neuer haue so deliuered. And there as he should haue paid for his costs fortie thousand pounds, the said cardinall, chancellour of England, caused you to pardon him thereof ten thousand marks, whereof the greater summe he paied you, right a little, what, I report me to your highnesse.

7 Item, where the said cardinall lent you, my redoubted lord, great and notable summes, he hath had and his assignes, the rule and profit of the port of Hampton, where the customers bene his seruants, where (by likelihood and as it is to be supposed) standing the chefe merchant of the wools of your land, that you be greatlie defrauded, and vnder that rule, what wols and other merchandizes haue bene shipped, and maie be from time to time, hard is to estéeme, to the great hurt and prejudice of you my right doubted lord, and of all your people.

8 Item, howbeit that the said cardinall hath diuerse times lent you great summes of monie, since the time of your reigne, yet his loane hath bene so deferred and delaied, that for the most part, the conuenable season of the imploieng of the good lent was passed. So that litle fruit or none came thereof, as by experience both your realmes haue sufficientlie in knowledge.

9 Item, where there was iewels and plate prised at eleuen thousand pounds in weight, of the said cardinall, forfeited to you my right redoubted lord, he gat him a restorement thereof for a loane of a litle parcell of the same: and so defrauded you wholie of them, to your great hurt, and his auaile, the which good might greatlie haue eased your highnesse, in sparing as much of the poore commons.

10 Item, the cardinall being feoffe of my said lord your father (whome God assoile) against his intent, gaue Elizabeth Beauchampe, three hundred markes liuelihood, where that his will was, that and she were wedded within a yeare, then to haue it, or else not, where in deed it was two or three years after, to your great hurt, and diminishing of your inheritance.

11 Item, notwithstanding that the said cardinall hath no maner of authoritie nor interest in the crowne, nor none maie haue by anie possibilitie; yet he presumeth and taketh vpon him in partie, your estate roiall, in calling before him, into great abusion of all your land, and derogation of your highnesse, which hath not bene seene nor vsed in no daies heretofore, in greater estate than he is, without your expresse ordinance and commandement.

12 Item, the said cardinall, nothing considering the necessitie of you my right doubted lord, hath sued a pardon of dismes, that he should paie for the church of Winchester, for terme of his life, giuing thereby occasion to all other lords spirituall, to draw their good will for anie necessitie, to grant anie disme: and so to laie all the charge vpon the temporaltie, and the poore people.

13 Item, by the gouernance and labour of the said cardinall, and archbishop of Yorke, there hath bene lost and dispended much notable and great good, by diuerse ambassadors sent out of this realme. First to Arras, for a feigned colourable peace, whereas by likelinesse it was thought and supposed, that it should neuer turne to the effectuall auaile of you my right doubted lord, nor to your said realmes: but vnder colour thereof, was made the peace of your aduersarie, and the duke of Burgognie. For else your partie aduerse, & the said duke, might not well haue found meanes nor waies to haue communed togither, nor to haue concluded with other their confederations and conspirations made and wrought there, then, at that time, against your highnesse, whereby you might haue (right doubted lord) the greater partie of your obeisance, as well in your realme of France, as in your duchie of Normandie, and much other thing gone greatlie, as through the said colourable treatie, & otherwise, since the death of my brother of Bedford (whome God assoile.)

14 Item, now of late was sent an other ambassadour to Calis, by the labour and counsell of the said cardinall, and archbishop of Yorke, the cause why of the beginning, is to me your sole vncle, and other lords of your kin and councell vnknowen, to your great charge, and against the publike good of your realme; as it openlie appeareth. The which good if it be imploied for the defense of your lands, the merchandizes of the same might haue had other course, and your said lands not to haue stand in so great mischefe as they do.

15 Item, after that, to your great charge, and hurt of both your realmes, the said cardinall & archbishop of Yorke went to your said towne of Calis, and diuerse lords of your kin, and of your councell in their fellowship, and there, as there was naturall warre betweene the duke of Orleance, and the duke of Burgognie, for murther of their fathers, a capitall enimitie like to haue indured for euer: the said cardinall and archbishop of Yorke licenced and suffered the said duke of Orleance, to intreat and common apart with the councell of your said aduersaries, as well as with the duchies of Burgognie: by which meane the peace and aliance was made betweene the two dukes, to the greatest fortifieng of your said capitall aduersaries that could be thought, and consequentlie (my deere redoubted lord) to your greatest charge, and hurt to both your realmes. Vnder colour of which treatie, your said aduersaries in meane time wan your citie of Meaux, and the countrie thereabout, and manie diuerse roades made into your duchie of Normandie, to the great noisance and destruction of your people, as it sheweth openlie.

16 Item, the said archbishop of Yorke, sent with other into this your realme from the said cardinall, after commmunication had with your aduerse partie, at your said towne of Calis, made at his comming into your notable presence at Windesor, all the suasions and colour, all motions in the most apparant wise that he could, to induce your highnesse to your agréement, to the desires of your capitall aduersaries, as I saw there in your noble presence of his writing, at which time (as I vnderstood) it was his singular opinion, that is to saie: that you should leaue your right, your title, and your honour of your crowne, and nomination of you king of France, during certeine yeares, & that you should vtterlie absteine you and be content onelie in writing, with *Rex Angliæ, &c.* to the great note of infamie that euer fell to you or anie of your noble progenitours, since the taking of them first, the said title and right of your realme and crowne of France. To which matter in your presence there, after that it had liked your said highnesse, to aske mine aduise thereupon, with other of your blod and councell; I answerd and said, that I would neuer agrée me thereto to die therfore, and of the same disposition I am yet, and will be while I liue in conseruation of your honour, and of your oth made vnto your said crowne, in time of your coronation there.

17 Item, the said cardinall and archbishop of Yorke, haue so laboured vnto your highnesse, that you should intend to a new daie of conuention, in March or Aprill nert comming, where it is noised to be more against your worship than with it. And where it was euident to all the world, that the rupture and breaking of the said peace, should haue fallen heretofore, of your aduerse partie; because of

the great vntruths. Now by that meane it is like peraduenture to be laid vnto the verie great slander of you my doubted lord, like to come to none other purpose nor effect, than other conuentions haue done afore time: and so by subtilties and councell of your said enimies, your land (they in hope and trust of the said treatie, not mightilie nor puissantlie purueied for) shall be like vnder the colour of the same treatie to be burnt vp and destroied, lost, and vtterlie turned from your obeisance.

18 Item it is said, that the deliuerance of the said duke of Orleance, is vtterlie apointed by the mediation, counsell, and stirring of the said cardinall and archbishop of Yorke; and for that cause diuerse persons bene come from your aduersaries, into this your realme, and the said duke also brought to your citie of London, where as my lord your father (whom God assoile) pesing so greatlie the inconueniences, and harme that might fall, onlie by his deliuerance, concluded, ordeined, and determined in his last will, vtterlie in his wisedome, his conquest in his realme of France. And yet then it is to be done, by as great deliberation, solemnitie and suertie, as may be deuised or thought. And seeing now the disposition of your realme of France, the puissance and might of your enimies, and what aid they haue gotten against you there, aswell vnder the colour of the said treatie, as otherwise; what may or ought to be thought or said, for that laboring the said duke (all things considered) by such particular persons, the lords of your bloud not called therevnto, I report me vnto your noble grace and excellencie, and vnto the said wise true men of this your realme.

19 Item, where that euerie true councellor, specialle vnto anie king or prince, ought of truth and of dutie, to counsell, promote, increase, preser, and aduance the weale and prosperitie of his lord: the said cardinall, being of your councell (my right doubted lord) hath late purchased of your highnesse, certeine great lands and liuelode: as the castell and lordship of Chirke in Wales, and other lands in this your realme; vnto which I was called suddenlie, and so in eschewing the breaking and losse of your armies then againe, seeing none other remedie, gaue therevnto mine assent, thinking that who that euer laboured, moued or stirred the matter first vnto your lordship, counselled you neither for your worship nor profit.

20 More, the said cardinall hath you bound apart, to make him a sure estate of all the said lands, by Easter next comming, as could be deuised by anie learned counsell; or else that suertie not made, the said cardinall to haue and reioy to him, and his heirs for euermore, the lands of the duchie of Lancaster, in Norffolke, to the value of seuen or eight hundred marks by yeare. Which thing seemeth right strange and vnseene, and vnhard wales of anie liege man, to seeke vpon his souereigne lord, both in his inheritance and in his iewels and goods. For it is thought, but if right and extreame necessitie caused it, there should, nor ought no such things to be done: from which necessitie, God (for his mercie) euer preserue your noble person. Wherfore my redoubted lord, seeing that ye should be so counselled, or stirred to leaue your crowne and inheritance in England; and also by fraud and subtill meanes, as is afore rehearsed, so to lose your iewels: in my truth and in mine acquitall (as me seemeth) I may not nor ought not counsell so great an hurt to you and to all your land.

21 Item, it is not vnknowen to you my right doubted lord, how oftentimes I haue offered my seruice, to and for the defense of your realme of France, and duchie of Normandie, where I haue bene put therefro by the labour of the said cardinall, in preferring other after his singular affection. Which hath caused great a part of the said duchie of Normandie, aswell as of your realme of France to be lost, as it is well knowen. And what good (my right doubted lord) was lost on that armie that was last sent thither, which the earle of Mortaigne, your councell of France, hath well & cleerelie declared to your highnesse here before?

22 Item, my right doubted lord, it is not vnknowen, that it had not beene possible to the said cardinall, to haue come to his great riches, but by such meanes, for of his church it might not rise, and inheritance he had none. Wherfore my right doubted lord, sith there is great good behouefull at this time, for the weale and safegard of your realmes, the pouertie, necessitie, & indigence of your liege people; in highnesse vnderstand, like it vnto your noble grace, to consider the said lucre of the said cardinall, and the great deceipts that you be receiued in by the labour of him & of the archbishop, aswell in this your realme as in your realme of France and duchie of Normandie, where neither office, liuelode, nor capteine may be had, without too great good giuen vnto him, wherby a great part of all the losse that is lost, they haue beene the causers of; for who that would giue most, his was the price, not considering the merits, seruice, nor sufficiance of persons. Furthermore, it is greatlie to be considered, how, when the said cardinall had forfeited all his goods, because of prouision, as the statute thereupon more plainelie declareth; by hauing the rule of you my right doubted lord, purchased himselfe in great defraudation of your highnesse, a charter of pardon, the which good and it had be well gouerned, might manie yeares haue sustained your warres, without anie tallage of your poore people.

23 Item, my redoubted lord, whereas I write much thing for the weale of you and of your realms, peraduenture some will saie and vnderstand, that I would or haue written by waie of accusement of all your councell, which God knoweth, I do not: for your highnesse may well see, that I name them that be causers of the said inordinate rule. Wherfore, considering that the said cardinall and archbishop of Yorke bene they, that pretend the gouernance of you, and of your realmes and lordships: please it vnto your highnesse, of your rightwisenesse to estrange them of your councell, to that intent, that men may be at their freedome, to say what they thinke of truth.

24 For truth, I dare speake of my truth, the more dare not do so. And if the cardinall and the archbishop of Yorke, may afterward declare themselues, of that is, and shalbe said of them; you my right doubted lord may then restore them againe to your councell, at your noble pleasure.

When the king had heard the accusations thus laid by the duke of Glocester against the cardinall, he committed the examination thereof to his councell, whereof the more part were spirituall persons; so that what for feare, and what for fauour, the matter was winked at, and nothing said to it: onelie fame countenance was made to the duke, as though no malice had beene conceiued against him. But beneth will breake out, & inward grudge will sone appeare, which was this yeare to all men apparant: for diuers secret attempts were aduanced forward this season against this noble man Humfreie duke of Glocester a far off, which in conclusion came so neere, that they bereft him both of life and land; as shall hereafter more plainelie appeere.

For first this yeare, dame Eleanor Cobham, wife to the said duke, was accused of treason; for that she by sorcerie and inchantment intended to destroie the king, to the intent to aduance hir husband vnto the crowne.

crowne. Upon this, she was examined in saint Stephans chappell before the bishop of Canturburie, and there by examination convict, and iudged to do open penance in three open places within the citie of London. [Polychronicon saith she was inioined to go through Cheapside with a taper in hir hand] and after that adiudged to perpetuall imprisonment in the Ile of Man, vnder the keeping of sir John Stanlie knight. At the same season were arrested, arreigned, and adiudged giltie, as aiders to the duchesse, Thomas Southwell priest, and canon of S. Stephans at Westminster, John Hun priest, Roger Bolingbroke a cunning necromancer (as it was said) and Margerie Iordeine, surnamed the witch of Ely.

Abr. Fl. ex Polychron.

Alias John Hum.

The matter laid against them, was for that they (at the request of the said duchesse) had deuised an image of wax, representing the king, which by their sorcerie by little and little consumed, intending thereby in conclusion to waste and destroie the kings person. Margerie Iordeine was burnt in Smithfield, and Roger Bolingbroke was drawne to Tiborne, and hanged and quartered; taking vpon his death that there was neuer anie such thing by them imagined. John Hun had his pardon, and Southwell died in the Tower the night before his execution: [for (saith Polychr.) he did prophesie of himselfe, that he should die in his bed, and not by iustice.] The duke of Glocester bare all these things patientlie, and said little.

Abr. Fl.

King Edward the fourth borne.

Edward sonne to the duke of Yorke was borne this yeare the nine and twentith of April at Rone, his father being the kings lieutenant in Normandie. ¶ In this yeare was a great fraie in Fléetstréet in the night time, betwéene gentlemen of courts and inhabitants of London; insomuch that much bloud was spilt, diuerse slaine outright, and some mortallie wounded; besides great harme otherwise done and suffered.]

Abr. Fl. A great fraie by night.

¶ Upon the daie of the translation of saint Edward, or the twelfth of October, vpon which daie the maior and his brethren for the yeare following, and daie when the commoners of the citie, after their ancient custome had chosen two aldermen, such as before had béene shiriffes of London and of Middlesex, namelie Robert Clopton draper, and Rafe Holland tailor, and them presented by name vnto the maior and his brethren, then sitting in the vtter chamber where the maiors courts be kept, to the intent that the said maior and his brethren might chose one of the said two, such as they thought most necessarie and worshipfull for the rome; the said maior and his brethren chosing Robert Clopton, brought him after downe vpon his right hand towards the hall. Whereof when certeine tailors there present were aware, and saw that Rafe Holland was not chosen, anon they cried; Nay, nay: not this, but Rafe Holland. Wherewith the old maior being astonished, stood still vpon the staire, and commanded them to keepe silence, and so held on his waie to the east end of the hall, where he sat him downe, and his brethren about him. In the meane time, the said tailors continued their crie, and incensed others of base trades of the citie (as simple persons) to take their part, and to crie as fast as they, not proffering to cease their misrule for all that the maior could saie, no nor yet when the maiors sergeant at armes had cried O-yes. Herevpon the maior, to appease the rumor, sent downe the shiriffes, and commanded them to take the offendors, and send them to the goale; which precept was fulfilled, & about twelue or fiftéene of the principall committed to Newgate, where some of them abode a long time imprisoned; and others that were fined set at libertie. This is reported by Polychronicon, but in somewhat a differing maner.]

Abr. Fl. ex Fabian. 438.

Tailors malepertnesse at the election of an alderman.

1442 Anno Reg. 21.

The councell of England forgat not the late enterprise of the French king, atchiued in the duchie of of Guien, and therefore doubting some other the like attempt, they sent thither sir William Wooduile with eight hundred men, to strengthen the frontiers, and further, set forth a proclamation, that all men which would transport anie corne, chéese, or other vittels thither, should paie no maner of custome or tallage: which licence caused the countrie of Aquitaine to be well furnished of all things necessarie. About this season John the valiant lord Talbot for his approued prowesse and wisdome, aswell in England as in France, both in peace & warre so well tried, was created earle of Shrewesburie, and with a companie of three thousand men sent againe into Normandie, for the better defense of the same.

John lord Talbot created earle of Shrewesburie.

✠ This yéere died Lodowike or Lewes Lischburne, bishop of Elie, being the fiue and twentith that inioied that place, who came to the same after this maner. After the death of Philip Morgan bishop of that sée, the monks of Elie chose for their pastor Robert fitz Hugh bishop of London; but he dieng at saint Osées before his confirmation, neuer possessed the honour thereof. Wherevpon the king directed his letters to the couent of Elie, to make election of Thomas Rudburne (bishop of S. Dauids in Wales) for their bishop. But they contrarie therevnto (taking it now for a custome, hauing so often vsed it before, as did well appeare) made choise of Thomas Bourchier (borne of a noble house, sonne to the countesse of Stafford, chancellor of Oxenford, and bishop of Worcester) to succéed Philip Morgan. Which Bourchier, the king (offended with the monkes for the little regard had to his request) vtterlie refused, and would not admit him vnto that place. Wherevpon there were buls procured from Eugenius the fourth (then bishop of Rome) which were sent into England to confirme the election of the said Bourchier.

Fr. Thin. 1443

But he wiselie fearing to fall into the dangerous statute of Premunire, durst not receiue or execute the tenor of the popes commandement. By reason whereof, least the sée might otherwise remaine void, (if spéedie remedie were not prouided) the king did in commendam bestow the bishoprike of Elie vpon this Lodowike Lischburne archbishop of Rone, by office, *Card. 4. Coronat. Cancellar. Franciæ & Normanniæ*, and kinsman to the said king. Which done, Eugenius (when he saw no other remedie) did reuoke his buls made before to Thomas Bourchier, in the yeare of Christ 1437. This Lodowike remaining bishop six yeares and so manie moneths, died in the yeare as before, the eightéenth of September, at his manor of Hatfield, whose bowels were buried in the said church: his hart was caried to Rone, and there honourablie intombed, and his bodie was committed to the earth, in the church of Elie, betwéene two marble pillors nert to the altar of the relikes.]

In this yeare died in Guien the countesse of Comings, to whome the French king and also the earle of Arminacke pretended to be heire, in so much that the earle entred into all the lands of the said ladie. And bicause he knew the French king would not take the matter well, to haue a Rouland for an Oliuer; he sent solemne ambassadours to the king of England, offering him his daughter in mariage, with promise to be bound (beside great summes of monie, which he would giue with hir) to deliuer into the king of Englands hands, all such castels and townes, as he or his ancestors deteined from him within anie part of the duchie of Aquitaine, either by conquest of his progenitors, or by gift and deliuerie of anie French king, and further to aid the same king with monie for the recouerie of other cities within the same duchie, from the French king; or from anie other person that against king Henrie vniust-

vniustlie kept, and wrongfullie withholden them.

This offer seemed so profitable and also honorable to king Henrie and the realme, that the ambassadours were well heard, honourablie receiued, and with rewards sent home into their countrie. After whome were sent for the conclusion of the marriage into Guien, sir Edward Hull, sir Robert Ros, and John Cralton deane of S. Seuerines, the which (as all the chronographers agrée) both concluded the mariage, and by proxie affied the yong ladie. The French king not a little offended herewith, sent his eldest sonne Lewes the Dolphin of Vienne into Rouergue with a puissant armie, which tooke the earle and his yongest sonne, with both his daughters, and by force obteined the countries of Arminacke, Louuergne, Rouergue, and Moulessonois, beside the cities Seuerac & Cadeac, chasing the bastard of Arminacke out of his countries, and so by reason hereof, the concluded mariage was deferred, and that so long that it neuer tooke effect; as hereafter it may appeare.

The earle of Arminacks daughter affied vnto king Henrie.

The erle with his ladie, his sonne and two daughters taken.

¶ In this yeare was an act made by authoritie of the common councell of London, that vpon the sundaie no maner of thing within the franchises and liberties of the said citie should be bought or sold; neither vittels nor other thing. It was also enacted by the same common councell with full consent, and ratified by the authoritie of the law-makers, that no artificer or handicrafts man should bring his wares, commodities, or worke, vnto anie person or persons to be worne or occupied on that daie: because it was iudged a foule prophanation thereof. And peoples minds giuen to couetousnesse, make no exception of times or places in a case of aduantage and gaine. In consideration whereof, and for the suppressing of this abuse, this law was ordeined and made: the force whereof did principallie extend to tailors and shoomakers (who as on that daie bring home their garments and shoos to the parties for whome they are made) and likewise to all other occupations and trades. But this ordinance (saith mine author) was too good for so bad an age, and therefore died within a short time after the magistrate had giuen it life.

Abr. Fl. ex Fabian. 441.

A law against buieng and selling on the sundaie.

¶ On Candlemasse éue this yeare by lightning in a tempest that fell with claps of thunder at afternoone, Paules steeple was set on fier in the middest of the speare or shaft in the verie timber worke; which was quenched by the painfulnesse of diuerse persons, and specialie by the diligent labour of a préest of Bow in Cheape. Howbeit the same was thought vnpossible to be quenched, but that the grace of God was chéefe worker in the same. This steeple hath diuerse times béene ouerthrowne and defaced, partlie by winds, and partlie by lightning, as may be obserued in the reading of this volume: yea when the same hath béene repared by the choisest workemen, and of the substantiallest stuffe, and all meanes (that stood with the déepe deuise of man) vsed to make it so sure that it might continue, as a monument of perpetuitie for posteritie to wonder at and admire: But to returne to the historie.

Abr. Fl. ex Fabian. 441. & Polychr.

Paules steeple burnt.

Anno Reg. 22.

Whilest England was vnquieted (as you haue heard) and France by spoile, slaughter, and burning sore defaced (a mischéefe in all places much lamented) therefore to agrée the two puissant kings, all the princes of christendome trauelled so effectuouslie by their oratours and ambassadours, that a diet was appointed to be kept at the citie of Tours in Touraine; where for the king of England appeared William de la Pole earle of Suffolke, doctor Adam Molins kéeper of the kings priuie seale, also sir Robert Ros, and diuers other. And for the French king were appointed Charles duke of Orleance, Lewes de Bourbon earle of Vandosme, great maister of the French kings houshold, Piers de Bresse steward of Poictou, and Bertram Beauuan lord of Presignie.

The diet at Tours for a peace to be had betwéene England and France.

There were also sent thither ambassadours from the empire, from Spaine, from Denmarke, & from Hungarie; to be mediatours betwixt the two princes. The assemblie was great, but the cost was much greater, insomuch that euerie part for the honour of their prince and praise of their countrie, set forth themselues, as well in fare as apparell, to the vttermost. Manie mettings were had, and manie things moued for a finall peace: but in conclusion, by reason of manie doubts which rose on both parties, no full concord could be agréed vpon; but in hope to come to a peace, a certeine truce, as well by sea as by land, was concluded by the commissioners for eighteene moneths, which afterward againe was prolonged to the yeare of our Lord 1449.

A truce for 18 moneths.

In treating of this truce, the earle of Suffolke aduenturing somewhat vpon his commission, without the assent of his associats, imagined, that the nert waie to come to a perfect peace, was to contriue a mariage betwéene the French kings kinswoman, the ladie Margaret daughter to Reiner duke of Anion, and his souereigne lord king Henrie. This Reiner duke of Anion named himselfe king of Sicill, Naples, and Jerusalem, hauing onlie the name and stile of those realmes; without anie penie, profit, or fot of possession. This mariage was made strange to the earle at the first, and one thing seemed to be a great hinderance to it; which was, because the king of England occupied a great part of the duchie of Anion, and the whole countie of Maine, apertéining (as was alledged) to king Reiner.

1444

The earle of Suffolke (I cannot saie) either corrupted with bribes, or too much affectioned to this vnprofitable mariage, condescended, that the duchie of Anion and the countie of Maine should be deliuered to the king the brides father, demanding for hir mariage neither penie nor farthing: as who would saie, that this new affinitie passed all riches, and excelled both gold and pretious stones. And to the intent that of this truce might insue a finall concord, a daie of enterview was appointed betwéene the two kings in a place conuenient betwéene Chartres and Rone. When these things were concluded, the earle of Suffolke with his companie returned into England, where he forgat not to declare what an honourable truce he had taken, out of the which there was a great hope that a finall peace might grow the sooner for that honorable mariage, which he had concluded, omitting nothing that might extoll and set forth the personage of the ladie, or the nobilitie of hir kinred.

But although this mariage pleased the king and diuerse of his councell, yet Humfrie duke of Glocester protector of the realme was much against it, alledging that it should be both contrarie to the lawes of God, and dishonorable to the prince, if he should breake that promise and contract of mariage, made by ambassadours sufficientlie thereto instructed, with the daughter of the earle of Arminacke, vpon conditions both to him and his realme, as much profitable as honorable. But the dukes words could not be heard, for the earles doings were onelie liked and allowed. So that for performance of the conclusions, the French king sent the earle of Vandosme, great maister of his house, and the archbishop of Reimes first peere of France, and diuerse other into England, where they were honorablie receiued; and after that the instruments were once sealed and deliuered on both parts, the said ambassadours returned againe into their countries with great gifts and rewards.

The protector misliked this second motion of the kings mariage.

When these things were done, the king both for honour

honour of his realme, and to assure to himselfe mo frends, created John Holland earle of Huntington duke of Exceter as his father was: Humfrie earle of Staffoord was made duke of Buckingham: and Henrie earle of Warwike was elected to the title of duke of Warwike, to whome the king also gaue the castell of Bristowe, with the Ile of Jerneseie, and Garneseie. Also the earle of Suffolke was made marquesse of Suffolke, which marquesse with his wife and manie honorable personages of men and women richlie adorned both with apparell & iewels, hauing with them manie costlie chariots and gorgeous horslitters, sailed into France for the conueiance of the nominated quéene into the realme of England. For king Reiner hir father, for all his long stile had to short a purse to send his daughter honorablie to the king hir spouse.

Creations of estates.

Anno Reg. 23. 1445

This noble companie came to the citie of Tours in Touraine, where they were honorablie receiued both of the French king and of the king of Sicill. The marquesse of Suffolke as procurator to king Henrie, espoused the said ladie in the church of saint Martins. At the which mariage were present the father and mother of the bride; the French king himselfe, which was uncle to the husband; and the French quéene also, which was aunt to the wife. There were also the dukes of Orleance, of Calabre, of Alanson, and of Britaine, seauen earls, twelue barons, twentie bishops, beside knights and gentlemen. When the feast, triumph, bankets and iusts were ended, the ladie was deliuered to the marquesse, who in great estate conueied hir through Normandie vnto Diepe, and so transported hir into England, where she landed at Portesmouth in the moneth of Aprill. This ladie excelled all other, as well in beautie and fauour, as in wit and policie, and was of stomach and courage more like to a man than a woman.

Margaret daughter to Reiner K. of Sicill & Jerusalem married to Henrie the first. Abr. Fl. ex Polychron.

Shortlie after hir arriuall, she was conueied to the towne of Southwike in Hamshire, where she with all nuptiall ceremonies was coupled in matrimonie to king Henrie the first of that name. ¶ On the eightéenth of Maie she came to London, all the lords of England in most sumptuous sort méeting and receiuing hir vpon the waie, and speciallie the duke of Glocester with such honour as stood with the dignitie of his person. Now when she came to Blackheath, the maior, aldermen, and men of occupations, in blew gownes imbrodered with some deuise, expressing their art and trades whereby to be knowne, did all shew themselues, with congratulation of hir comming; from whence they attended hir to London, where with goodlie pageants and sundrie gallant historicall shewes in diuers places erected, she was verie magnificallie welcomed. The maner and order of which pompe in sundrie places exhibited to the high honour of the king, quéene, & states, is verie amplie set forth by Fabian, pag. 423, 424, 425, 426, 427. Upon the thirtith of Maie next following, she was crowned quéene of this realme of England at Westminster, with all the solemnitie thereto apperteining.]

The pettie mislike that second mariage of the king.

This mariage séemed to manie both infortunate and vnprofitable to the realme of England, and that for manie causes. First, the king had not one penie with hir; and for the fetching of hir, the marquesse of Suffolke demanded a whole fiftéenth in open parlement. And also there was deliuered for hir the duchie of Anion, the citie of Mans, and the whole countie of Maine, which countries were the verie states and backestands to the duchie of Normandie. And furthermore, the earle of Arminacke toke such displeasure with the king of England for this mariage, that he became vtter enimie to the crowne of England, and was the chéefe cause that the Englishmen were expelled out of the whole duchie of Aquitaine.

An ominous mariage.

But most of all it should séeme, that God was displeased with this mariage: for after the confirmation thereof, the kings frends fell from him, both in England and in France, the lords of his realme fell at diuision, and the commons rebelled in such sort, that finallie after manie fields foughten, and manie thousands of men slaine, the king at length was deposed, and his sonne killed, and this quéene sent home againe, with as much miseris and sorrow as she was receiued with pompe and triumph: such is the instabilitie of worldlie felicitie, and so wauering is false flattering fortune. Which mutation and change of the better for the worse could not but nettle and sting hir with pensiuenesse, yea and anie other person whatsoeuer, that hauing béene in good estate, falleth into the contrarie: whereto the saieng of the poet giueth credit, in these few words following;

Quem res plus nimio delectauêre secundæ,
Mutatæ quatiunt.

Ouid. 2. de art.

This yeare, after the decease of Henrie Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie, succeeded John Staffoord in that sée, being translated from Bath and Wels. He was the threéscore and one archbishop, as Polydor noteth. During the time of the truce, Richard duke of Yorke and diuerse other capteins repaired into England, both to visit their wiues, children, and frends, and also to consult what should be done, if the truce ended. For the which cause a parlement

Anno Reg. 24. 1446

was called, in the which it was especiallie concluded, that by good foresight Normandie might be so furnished for defense before the end of the truce, that the French king should take no aduantage through want of timelie prouision: for it was knowne, that if a peace were not concluded, the French king did prepare to imploie his whole puissance to make open warre. Héerevpon monie was granted, an armie leuied, and the duke of Summerset appointed to be regent of Normandie, and the duke of Yorke thereof discharged.

The duke of Summerset made regent of Normandie, and the duke of Yorke discharged.

I haue séene in a register booke belonging sometime to the abbeie of saint Albons, that the duke of of Yorke was established regent of France, after the decease of the duke of Bedford, to continue in that office for the tearme of fiue yeares; which being expired, he returned home, and was ioifullie receiued of the king with thanks for his good seruice, as he had full well deserued in time of that his gouernement: and further, that now when a new regent was to be chosen and sent ouer, to abide vpon safegard of the countries beyond the seas as yet subiect to the English dominion, the said duke of Yorke was eftsones (as a man most méet to supplie that rome) appointed to go ouer againe, as regent of France with all his former allowances.

The duke of Yorke appointed to y charge againe.

But the duke of Summerset still maligning the duke of Yorkes aduancement, as he had sought to hinder his dispatch at the first when he was sent ouer to be regent, as before ye haue heard: he likewise now wrought so, that the king reuoked his grant made to the duke of Yorke for enioieng of that office the terme of other fiue yéeres, and with helpe of William marquesse of Suffolke obteined that grant for himselfe. Which malicious deling the duke of Yorke might so euill beare, that in the end the heate of displeasure burst out into such a flame, as consumed at length not onelie both those two noble personages, but also manie thousands of others, though in diuers times and seasons, as in places hereafter (as occasion serueth) it shall more euidentlie appeare. But now to returne to the parlement.

The appointmẽt disappointed, and pointed to the marquesse of Suffolke.

The marques of Suffolke, supposing all men had as well liked his doings (during the time of his legation in France) as himselfe, the second daie of

The marques of Suffolks request.

June

June in the first session of this parlement, in the higher house openlie, eloquentlie, and boldlie declared his paine, trauell, and diligence susteined in his said legation, as well for the taking and concluding an abstinence of warre, as in the making of the marriage; remembring them also that the said truce expired the first of Aprill next, except a finall peace, or a further truce were concluded in the meane season: and therefore he aduised them to prouide and forese things necessarie for the warre (as though no concord should succeed) least happilie the Frenchmen perceiuing them vnprouided, would take their aduantage, and agree neither to peace nor amitie; saieng vnto them further, that sith he had admonished the king and them according to his dutie, if anie thing happened otherwise than well, he was thereof innocent and guiltlesse, and had acquited himselfe like a true and louing subiect, and a faithfull councellour, praieng the lords to haue it in remembrance.

Likewise on the morow after, he descended into the common house, accompanied with certeine lords, and there declared the same matter to the knights, citizens, and burgesses, praieng the commons for his discharge, that as well all his doings and procéedings in the kings affaires beyond the sea, as also his aduertisement and counsell opened to the lords and commons now togither assembled, might be by the king and them inacted and inrolled in the records of the parlement. Whereupon the next daie after, the speaker William Burghleie, and the companie of the lower house, repaired vnto the kings presence, sitting amongst the lords of the vpper house, & there humblie required that the request of the marquesse might be granted. And so likewise the lords made the like petition kneeling on their knées, insomuch that the king condescended to their desires: and so the labours, demeanours, diligences, and declarations of the said marquesse, togither with the desires not onelie of the lords, but also of the commons, as well for the honour of him and his posteritie, as for his acquitall and discharge, were inacted and inrolled in the records of the parlement.

The marques of Suffolke, chéefest in fauour and authoritie with the king and quéene.

By the quéenes meanes shortlie after also was the said marquesse aduanced so in authoritie, that he ruled the king at his pleasure, and to his high preferment obteined the wardships both of the bodie and lands of the counteesse of Warwike, and of the ladie Margaret sole heire to John duke of Summerset, which ladie was afterward mother to king Henrie the seauenth: and besides that, caused the king to create John de Fois, sonne vnto Gaston de Fois, earle of Longuile, and the Capdau de Beuse earle of Kendall, which John had married his néece, and by his procurement the king elected to the order of the garter the said Gaston, and John his sonne, giuing to the sonne towards the maintenance of his degrée, lands and castels, amounting to the summe of one thousand pounds, which lands, name, and stile the issue and line of the said earle of Kendall at this daie haue and inioy.

These things being thus in doing, the French king, seeing that the towne of Mans was not deliuered according to the appointment taken by force of the marriage, raised an armie for to recouer the same. Whereof the king of England being aduertised (least the breach of the truce should come by him) caused the towne to be deliuered without anie force.

A commotion in Norwich.

This yeare was a great commotion in Norwich against the prior of the place. At length the citizens opened the gates to the duke of Norffolke, who came thither to appease the matter, though at the first they would not suffer him to enter. The chéefe offendors were (according to their demerits) grieuouslie punished and executed, and the maior was discharged of his office, and sir John Clifton was made gouernour there, vntill the king had restored the citizens to their ancient liberties. This commotion was begun for certeine new exactions which the prior claimed and toke of the citizens, contrarie to their ancient frédome. But herein a wrong taken for getting of right was worthilie corrected.

The liberties of Norwich seized into the kings hands. Indirect meanes to reforme wrongs.

¶ In the foure and twentith yeare of this kings reigne, the prior of Kilmaine appeached the earle of Ormond of treason. For triall whereof the place of combat was assigned in Smithfield, & the barriers for the same there readie pitcht. Howbeit, in the meane time a doctor of diuinitie, named maister Gilbert Worthington, parson of saint Andrews in Holborne, and other honest men, made such suite with diligent labour and paines-taking to the kings councell, that when the daie of combat approched, the quarell was taken into the kings hands, and there ended. ¶ In the same yeare also, a certeine armourer was appeached of treason by a seruant of his owne. For proofe whereof a daie was giuen them to fight in Smithfield, insomuch that in conflict the said armourer was ouercome and slaine; but yet by misgouerning of himselfe. For on the morow, when he should come to the field fresh and fasting, his neighbours came to him, and gaue him wine and strong drinke in such excessiue sort, that he was therewith distempered, and réeled as he went, and so was slaine without guilt. As for the false seruant, he liued not long vnpunished; for being conuict of felonie in court of assise, he was iudged to be hanged, and so was, at Tiburne.

Abr. Fl. ex Fabian. 343. Polychron. Combats in cases of appeales touching treason.

Drunkennesse the ouerthrow of right and manhood.

Whilest the warres betwéene the two nations of England & France ceassed (by occasion of the truce) the minds of men were not so quiet, but that such as were bent to malicious reuenge, sought to compasse their prepensed purpose, not against forren foes and enimies of their countrie, but against their owne countrie men, and those that had deserued verie well of the common-wealth: and this speciallie for ouermuch mildnesse in the king, who by his authoritie might haue ruled both parts, and ordered all differences betwixt them, but that in déed he was thought to soft for gouernor of a kingdome. The quéene contrariwise, a ladie of great wit, and no lesse courage, desirous of honour, and furnished with the gifts of reason, policie, and wisedome; but yet sometime (according to hir kind) when she had béene fullie bent on a matter, suddenlie like a weather cocke, mutable and turning.

Anno Reg. 25.

The description of the quéene.

This ladie disdaining that hir husband should be ruled rather than rule, could not abide that the duke of Gloucester should do all things concerning the order of weightie affaires, least it might be said, that she had neither wit nor stomach, which would permit and suffer hir husband being of most perfect age, like a yong pupill to be gouerned by the direction of an other man. Although this toy entered first into hir braine thorough hir owne imagination, yet was she pricked forward to the matter both by such of hir husbands counsell, as of long time had borne malice to the duke for his plainnesse vsed in declaring their vntruth (as partlie ye haue heard) and also by counsell from king Reiner hir father, aduising that she and the king should take vpon them the rule of the realme, and not to be kept vnder, as wards and mastered orphanes.

What néedeth manie words? The quéene perswaded by these meanes, first of all excluded the duke of Gloucester from all rule and gouernance, not prohibiting such as she knew to be his mortall foes to inuent and imagine causes and grefs against him and his, insomuch that by hir procurement, diuerse noblemen conspired against him. Of the which diuerse writers

The quéene taketh vpon hir the gouernement, and dischargeth the duke of Gloucester.

ters affirme the marquesse of Suffolke, and the duke of Buckingham to be the chéefe, not vnprocured by the cardinall of Winchester, and the archbishop of Yorke. Diuerse articles were laid against him in open councell, and in especiallie one; That he had caused men adiudged to die, to be put to other execution, than the law of the land alligned. Suerlie the duke verie well learned in the law ciuill, detesting malefactors, and punishing offenses in seueritie of iustice, gat him hatred of such as feared condigne reward for their wicked dooings. And although the duke sufficientlie answered to all things against him obiected: yet because his death was determined, his wisedome and innocencie nothing availed.

The saint quarell piked to the duke of Gloucester.

But to auoid danger of tumult that might be raised, if a prince so well beloued of the people should be openlie executed; his enimies determined to worke their feats in his destruction, yet he should haue anie warning. For effecting whereof, a parlement was summoned to be kept at Berrie, whither resorted all the péeres of the realme, and amongst them the duke of Gloucester; which on the second daie of the session was by the lord Beaumont, then high constable of England, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, and others, arrested, apprehended, and put in ward, and all his seruants sequestred from him, and thirtie two of the chéefe of his retinue were sent to diuerse prisons, to the great admiration of the people. The duke the night after he was thus committed to prison, being the foure and twentith of Februarie, was found dead in his bed, and his bodie shewed to the lords and commons, as though he had died of a palsie, or of an impostéeme.

1447
A parlement at saint Edmundesburie.

The duke of Gloucester suddenlie murthered.

Edw. Hall.

But all indifferent persons (as saith Hall) might well vnderstand that he died of some violent death. Some iudged him to be strangled, some affirme that an hot spit was put in at his fundament, other write that he was smouldered betwéene two featherbeds, and some haue affirmed that he died of verie gréefe, for that he might not come openlie to his answer. His dead corpse was conueied to saint Albons, and there buried. After his death, none of his seruants suffered: although fiue of them, to wit, sir Roger Chamberline knight, Middleton, Herbert, Arteise esquiers, and Richard Nedham gentleman, were arreigned, condemned, and drawen to Tiborne, where they were hanged, let downe quicke, and stripped to haue béene bowelled and quartered: but the marques of Suffolke comming at that instant brought their pardons, shewed the same openlie, and so their liues were saued.

A pardon at a pinch.

Some thinke that the name and title of Gloucester hath béene vnluckie to diuerse, which for their honours haue béene erected by creation of princes to that stile and dignitie, as Hugh Spenser, Thomas of Woodstoke, sonne to king Edward the third, and this duke Humfreie: which three persons by miserable death finished their daies; and after them king Richard the third also, duke of Gloucester in ciuill warre slaine. So that this name duke of Gloucester is taken for an vnhappie stile, as the prouerbe speaketh of Setans horsse, whose rider was euer vnhorsled, & whose possessor was euer brought to miserie. But suerlie, by the pitifull death of this noble duke and politike gouernour, the publike wealth of the realme came to great decaie, as by sequele here may more at large appeare.

Dukes of Gloucester vnfortunate.

W.P. [Oft times it happeth that a man in quenching of smoke, burneth his fingers in the fire:] so the quéene in casting how to kéepe hir husband in bonds, and hir selfe in authoritie, in making awaie of this noble man, brought that to passe, which she had most cause to haue feared, which was the deposing of hir husband, & the decaie of the house of Lancaster, which of likelihood had not chanced if this duke had liued: for then durst not the duke of Yorke haue attempted to set forth his title to the crowne, as he afterwards did, to the great trouble of the realme, and destruction of king Henrie, and of manie other noble men beside. This is the opinion of men, but Gods iudgements are vnsearchable, against whose decrée and ordinance preuaileth no humane counsell.

But to conclude of this noble duke: he was an vpright and politike gouernour, bending all his indeuours to the aduancement of the common-wealth, verie louing to the poore commons, and so beloued of them againe; learned, wise, full of courtesie, void of pride and ambition (a vertue rare in personages of such high estate) but where it is most commendable. But sith the praise of this noble man deserueth a large discourse, and meet for such as haue cunning how to handle the same (sith the ornaments of his mind were both rare & admirable, the feats of chiualrie by him commensed and atchiued valiant and fortunate, his grauitie in counsell, and soundnesse of policie profound and singular, all which with a traine of other excellent properties linked togither, require a man of manifold gifts to aduance them according to their dignitie) I refer the readers vnto maister Foxes booke of Acts and Monuments. Onelie this I ad, that in respect of his noble indowments, and his demeanor full of decencie, which he dailie vsed, it séemeth he might well haue giuen this prettie poesie,

Virtute duce non sanguine nitor.

In this fir and twentith yeare of the reigne of this king, but in the first of the rule of the quéene, I find nothing done worthie of rehersall within the realme of England; but that the marquesse of Suffolke, by great fauour of the king, & more desire of the quéene, was erected to the title and dignitie of duke of Suffolke, which he a short time inioied. For Richard duke of Yorke being greatlie alied by his wife to the chiefe péeres and potentates of the realme, beside his owne progenie, perceiuing the king to be no ruler, but the whole burthen of the realme to rest in direction of the quéene, & the duke of Suffolke, began secretlie to allure his friends of the nobilitie; and priuilie declared vnto them his title and right to the crowne, and likewise did he to certeine wise gouernours of diuerse cities and townes. Which attempt was so politikelie handled, and so secretlie kept, that prouision to his purpose was readie, before his purpose was openlie published; and his friends opened themselues, per the contrarie part could them espie: for in conclusion all shortlie in mischiefe burst out, as ye may hereafter heare.

Anno Reg. 26.

Marquesse of Suffolke made duke.

The duke of Yorke tempering about his title to the crowne.

During these dooings, Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester, and called the rich cardinall, departed out of this world, & buried at Westminster. He was son to John Duke of Lancaster, descended of an honorable linage, but borne in bast, more noble in blod than notable in learning, hautie in stomach, and high of countenance, rich aboue measure, but not verie liberall, disdainefull to his kin, and dreadfull to his louers, preferring monie before friendship, manie things beginning and few performing, sauing in malice and mischiefe; his insatiable couetousnesse and hope of long life made him both to forget God, his prince, and himselfe. Of the getting of his goods both by power legantine, and spirituall briberie, I will not speake; but the kéeping of them, which he chiefelie gathered for ambitious purpose, was both great losse to his naturall prince and native countrie: for his hidden riches might haue well holpen the king, and his secret treasure might haue relieued the communaltie, when monie was scant and charges great.

1448
The death of the bishop of winchester & his descriptiõ.

[Of this catholike clerke such were the déeds, that W. P.

Lib.23. that with king and eche estate else (saith Polydor) the lighter was the losse, because as for his hat he was a prelate proud inough, so for a bishop was there a better sone set in his rome. One William Patin, son and heire to Richard his father, and eldest brother to John that deceassed deane of Chichester, and to Richard that liued and died at Wallo in Derbishire. This William was a person by parentage borne a gentleman, for vertue and learning first consecrate bishop of Winchester, then anon after for wisedome and integritie chosen lord chancellor of England; wherein his prudence made eminent, in warlie weilding the weight of that office at those daies, which were so dangerous for all estates to liue in.

His vertuous disposition was right apparant, and it were but by this the godlie erection of that worthie worke, Magdalene colledge in Oxford, a plot right aptlie chosen out for studie at first, with strength and workemanship sone after builded according, in proportion beautifull outward, and for vse verie commodious within, sorted into a faire mansion for the president, seuerall and meet for a man to that office of worship and grauitie, and also into other romes for the fellowes, officers, and yonger students. Not without a vertuous remembrance of the verie tenderlings, who might appeare to be toward and teachable; whereof part to be trained vp in the diuine science of musike iustlie reported in a distichon, that

Gaudia si superûm res sit mortalibus vlla,
Integra quæ referat; musica sola refert:

the vse of it commendablie seruing by sweet harmonie to praise God in church, and for delectable recreation to a gentlemanlie mind any where else: and part of these yong ones to be taught the grammar in a faire schole well appointed therefore, out of which as out of a nurserie of it owne, for supplement certeine to keepe full the number, these budlings at need from time to time to be dulie deriued and drawen.

Now somewhat in casting vpon this deuout mans deuise and compasse; to consider the companie of students there, that in seuerall sciences and sundrie professions are not a few; then their assigned studies and exercises in them, their steps in rising & reward for diligence, from the lowest logician to the highest degrees of doctrine in schooles, their officers in house, their orders for gouernance in maners, in safegard of health and helpe in sicknesse: and that chiefest is, the reuenues certeine for prouision & maintenance of all, it may be a question not easie to answer: whether at first in this founders meditation vpon such a worke were a mind more magnifike, or a more amplitude of abilitie after in so absolute a forme to performe it, or else a profounder wisedome for perpetuitie into so perfect an order in all points to haue firt it.

It was a fashion at those daies, long also afore, & since, from a learned spirituall man to take awaie the fathers surname (were it neuer so worshipfull or ancient) and giue him for it the name of the towne

Bale. he was borne in: and so was Richard Notingham a learned frier minorite in king Edward the seconds daies called of Notingham where he was borne; John Mineie a learned monke in those daies also, named of an Iland wherein he was borne nie Gloucester; of Barton in Lincolnshire one William Barton in Richard the seconds reigne, for that time a famous doctor and chancellor of Oxford; Walter Diss, of Diss in Suffolke a learned Carmelite frier, confessour to the duke and duchesse of Lancaster in king Henrie the fourths reigne; Richard Hampole of a towne in Yorkeshire, a zelous doctor, and after a vertuous heremit in king Henrie the firts daies.

And after this sort manie hundreds more that had their names so altered; as euen in like maner vnto this reuerend prelat in the prime of his towardnesse was changed his fathers surname Paten to Wainfleet of the towne where hee was borne in Lincolneshire: a matter right proueable aswell by the records of the house there extant, as by a faire deed remaining among other his proper euidences, in the hands of the worshipfull maister Thomas Fanshaw esquier, the quenes maiesties remembrancer in the escheker at Westminster. And as the names of Germin, German, Germi, are but for one name though diuerslie wrested, and all to remember Germanie, the countrie their ancestors came from; and also as Jute, Jud, and Chute, are all but for the race of Jutes, one of the three first Germane nations that came in with Horsus and Hengist; and Caltrap, Caltrop and Calthorp was all but for Caldthorp (that signifieth a cold towne) how euer it be otherwise writed: euen so Paten, Patin, Patten, or Patent, is but a mention of the old Saron name, that trulie at first was Patan: of Pate, the sole of the foot, and thereof Patan to signifie flat soled, as among the Latines they were called Plautus or Plancus: so Cicero of a chiche or tare; Nasones, Labiones and Labieni, well nosed and lipt; & manie more after that sort in manie tongs else so deriued.

willia Wainfleet bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor of England, founder of Magdeline college in Oxford.

An.Dom.448. Malmesburie.

That right manie students skilfull in the profoundest sciences and learned tongs, manie venerable clerks, who in most weightie causes with singular wisedome, succesfe and faith, haue serued their prince and countrie this college hath brought forth: hereto that manie toward wits it still to haue, hath had the good hap (which happilie yet to it doth reteine) may here with modestie a litle be touched, neither to comparison that were contentious folie, nor yet to seeke glorie that cannot be but vaine, but onlie in storie to mind, how vnto purposes vertuouslie deuised and wiselie pursued, Gods goodnesse alwaies giueth cheuing and thrift according.]

¶ In this seuen and twentith yeare of king Henries reigne, as witnesse the English chronicles, a knight of France called sir Lewes de Bueill challenged an esquier of England, named Rafe Challons, to triall of certeine feats of warre. Hereupon (as was thought conuenient) a daie was appointed them to make proofe thereof; the place also was assigned of their meeting, to wit, at a towne in France called Paunt or Paunce, where the French king at the same time was personallie present. But fortune (saith mine author) was to Challons so fauourable, and leaned so much to his side, that he ran the French knight through with the point of his fatall speare:

Abr.Fl. ex Fabian.447.

A combat vpon triall of manhood betweene a French and an Englishman.

Hunc illi finem lingua superba dedit.

The English esquier seeing the infortunate euent of this triall to fall to the shame of the challenger, was so far from reioising at his ouerthrow, that he was touched with christian compassion, & moorned for his enimie, for whome also he kept an obsequie as if he had beene his owne naturall brother, and descended of the same parents. For which mercifull motions of mind inwardlie working, and outwardlie appearing, he was of the king greatlie commended. But doubtfull it is, whether the other, if he had surui-ued, and got the vpper hand, would haue had the like reuerend care of the Englishmans dead bodie, as to haue vouchsafed it a solemne interrement.]

The compassion of the Englishman to his enimie.

As the affaires in France now were neither well Anno Reg. 27.
loked to, nor the gouernours there well aduised, an English capteine called sir Francis Surlennes, surnamed the Aragonois, of the countrie where he was borne, a man for his wit and activitie admitted into the order of the garter, tooke by scaling suddenlie in the night of the euen of our ladie daie in Lent, a towne on the frontiers of Normandie, belonging to the duke of Britaine called Fougiers, spoiling the same, and killing the inhabitants. The duke of Bri-

Sir Francis Surlennes.

Fougiers.

taine,

taine, being hereof aduertised, sent word by the bishop of Reimes to the French king, beseeching him of his aid and counsell in the matter.

The French king forthwith sent his caruer Iohn Hauart, and Iohn Cosinet one of the maisters of his requests to the king of England: and to the duke of Summerset he dispatched Peter de Fonteins the maister of his horsse. To which messengers answer was made aswell by the king as the duke, that the fact was done without their knowledge. And for the truce to be kept, and not onelie restitution, but also amends to be made to the duke of Britaine, a daie of diet was appointed to be kept at Louuiers, where the commissioners on both parts being assembled, the Frenchmen demanded amends, with no small recompense. The Englishmen answered, that without offense, nothing by iustice ought to be satisfied; affirming the doing of sir Francis Sureinnes to be onelie his act, without consent either of the king of England, or of the duke of Summerset his lieutenant and regent.

But whiles with long delaie they talked of this matter at Louuiers, certeine Frenchmen by aduertisement of a wagoner of Louuiers, vnderstanding that the towne of Pont de Larch was but slenderlie manned; the wagoner laded his wagon and passed forward, hauing in his companie two strong varlets clad like carpentars, with great axes on their shoulders. And hereto le seigneur de Bresse with a chosen companie of men of armes, lodged himselfe in ambushment neere to the gate of S. Andrew, and capteine Floquet, accompanied with sir James de Clermont, and another great companie priuilie lurked vnder a wood toward Louuiers. When all things were appointed for the purpose, earlie in a morning about the beginning of October, the wagoner came to the gate, and called the porter by name, praieng him to open the gate, that he might passe to Rone, and returne againe the same night.

Pont de Larch taken by the Frenchmen by a subtill sleight.

The porter (which well knew the voice of his customer) tooke little heed to the other two companions, and so opened the one gate, and sent another fellow of his to open the formost gate. When the chariot was on the draw-bridge betweene both the gates, the chariot-maister gaue the porter monie, and for the nonce let one peece fall on the ground: and while the porter stoped to take it vp, the wagoner with his dagger stroke him in at his throat, so that he cried for no helpe, and the two great lubbers slue the other porters, and with their axes cut the axeltree of the wagon, so that the draw-bridge could not be shortlie drawen vp. This done they made a signe to capteine Floquet, which with all speed entered the towne, slue and tooke all the Englishmen: and amongst other, the lord Fauconbridge capteine of the said towne was taken prisoner. The losse of this place was of no small importance, being the verie keie and passage ouer the riuer of Seine, from France into Normandie, being distant from Rone onelie foure leagues.

When request was made to haue it restored againe to the Englishmen, answer was made, that if they restored vnto the duke of Britaine, the towne of Fougiers, with condigne amends for the damages done there, the towne of Pont Larch should then be againe deliuered, or else not. And shortlie after, in hope of like successe the French king assembled an armie, and diuiding the same in three parts, got by surrender (after sundrie assaults, and losse of diuerse of his men) the townes of Louuiers, & Gerborie, whereof William Harper was capteine. Also the towne, castell, and great tower of Verneueill in Perch were rendered into the French kings hands, after twentie daies of respit granted, to see if rescues would haue come. The French writers affirme the towne to be taken by assault.

The warres renewed before the end of the truce.

Thus was the warre renewed before the terme of truce fullie expired, & the English capteins brought to their wits end, what with appeasing dailie rumors within the townes; and what with studie how to recouer castels lost and taken: for while they studied how to keepe and defend one place, foure or fiue other turned to the French part. The chiefe cause of which reuolting was, for that it was blowen abroad thorough France, how the realme of England, after the death of the duke of Gloucester by the seuerall factions of princes was diuided in two parts; and that William de la Pole latelie created duke of Suffolke, and diuerse other, which were the occasion of the said duke of Gloucesters death, vexed and oppressed the poore people, so that mens minds were not intentiue to outward affaires: but all their studie giuen to keepe off wrongs offered at home.

The king little regarding the matter, & the quæne led by euill counsell, rather furthered such mischiefes as dailie began to grow by ciuill discord, than sought to reforme them: so that the Normans and Gascoignes vnderstanding in what state things stood here, turned to the French part, as hereafter it may appeare. About the same time also, began a new rebellion in Ireland; but Richard duke of Yorke being sent thither to appease the same, so asswaged the furie of the wild and sauage people there, that he wan him such fauour amongst them, as could neuer be separated from him and his linage, which in the sequele of this historie may more plainelie appeare.

A rebellion in Ireland.

The Englishmen, hauing perfect vnderstanding of the vnreadinesse of the realme of England, displaied their banners, and set forth their armies, and in short space got (by yelding) Constance, Gisors, castell Galliard, Ponteau de Mere, saint Lo, Festampe, Newcastell, Tonque, Mauleon, Argenton, Lisieux, and diuerse other townes and places within the countrie of Normandie. Likewise in Guien was the towne of Maulisson rendered to the earle of Fois. These townes were not yelded voluntarilie by the English souldiers: but they were compelled thereto by the inhabitants of the townes, which hauing intelligence of the feeble estate of the realme of England, rose against the capteins, opened the gates to the enimies, or constreined them to render vpon composition. By which inforcement was the rich citie of Rone deliuered: for suerlie the duke of Summerset and the earle of Shrewesburie had well kept that citie, if they had beene no more vexed with the citizens, than they were with their enimies.

The English lose all in France.

Rone yelded to the French men.

For after that the French king had giuen summons to the citie, the inhabitants streightwaies did not onelie deuise which waie they might betraie the citie, but also put on armor, and rebelled openlie against their capteins: who perceiuing the vntruth of them, and their owne danger, retired into the castell or palace, where (for a certeine space) with arrowes & handguns they sore molested the vntrue citizens. But at length, vnderstanding the great puissance of the French king at hand, and despairing of all aid and succour, they yelded vpon condition; that with all their goods and armour they should safelie depart to Caen, and that certeine townes should be deliuered by a day. And till the same townes were rendred, the earle of Shrewsburie and the lord Butler, sonne to the earle of Ormond, were left behind as pledges, which were sent to the castell of Eureux, bicause they sore feared the malice of the citizens of Rone.

Harflue besieged. Sir Thomas Curson.

The Frenchmen, following the successe in hand, came to Harflue, and fiercelie assaulted the walles: but by the high prowesse and vndanted valiancie of the capteine, sir Thomas Curson, they were to their

great losse manfullie by him repelled, and beaten. The Frenchmen learning wit by this great perill, left their scaling, and deuised dailie how to batter the walles, & make the breaches reasonable for them to enter. This siege long continued to the great losse of both parties. When sir Thomas Curson saw no likelihood of gaine, but great apparance of present losse, he fell at composition with the enimies, and so departed with all his goods. After which towne rendered, the fortresse of Hunflue was vpon like composition yelded. And beside these townes surrendred in Normandie, the duke of Britaine recouered againe Fougiers, saint James de Beuuron, and diuerse other.

Harflue yelded to the French.

Anno Reg. 28.

1450

In the meane season the king of England sent into Normandie (with a new supplie of a thousand fiue hundred men) a right valiant capteine called sir Thomas Kiriell, who ioining himselfe with other English capteins recouered the townes of Lisieux and Valongnes, and hauing with him power sufficient (as he tooke it) to keepe the fields, he departed the twelfe of Aprill from Valongnes, meaning to passe towards Baieux, and after to Caen. But the eighteenth daie of the same moneth, he was incountred at a place called Formignie betwixt Carenten and Baieux, by the earle of Cleremont, & other Frenchmen with Scots. At the first onset, the Englishmen receiued their enimies with such manhood, that the Frenchmen were driuen backe, and the Englishmen tooke from them two culuerings.

Sir Thomas Kiriell with a new band into France.

But yet in the end, by the comming of the constable of France, Arthur de Britaine earle of Richmond, who brought with him two hundred or twelue score men of armes, and an eight hundred archers or demilances, the Englishmen were discomfited, put to flight, and slaine, to the number of three thousand, seauen hundred, three score and thirteene, as Enguerant noteth, beside prisoners, of whome there were diuerse personages of accompt, as the said sir Thomas Kiriell himselfe, sir Henrie Norberie, sir Thomas Drew, sir Thomas Kirklie, Christopher Auberton, Arpell, Helice, Alengour, Jennequin, Vacquier, Gobart, Caleuille, and sundrie other. Sir Robert Ver, and sir Patthew * Gough that valiant Welshman, and manie other escaped so well as they might, some to Baieux, some to Caen, and other to other places as best they could.

The Englishmen ouerthrowne at Formignie.

* Or rather Goche.

After this ouerthrow obteined, the French king assembled an armie roiall, and comming before Caen, besieged it on all sides: and after making his approches, fiercelie assalted the walles. But the duke of Summerset, and the other capteins within the towne, manfullie withstood their enimies, shewing both force and great policie in defending and beating backe the assailants. The French king, perceiuing he could not preuaile that waie, sent for all his great ordinance to Paris, which being brought, he dailie shot at the wals, and did some hurt: but to the castell which stood on a rocke, and in it a dungeon vnable to be beaten downe, he did no harme at all.

Caen besieged and yelded to ỹ French.

Though the duke of Summerset was the kings lieutenant, yet sir Dauid Hall, as capteine of this towne for his maister the duke of Yorke owner therof, tooke vpon him the chiefe charge. Sir Robert Ver was capteine of the castell, and sir Henrie Radford capteine of the dungeon. Dailie the shot was great, but more terrible than hurtfull: sauing on a date a stone shot into the towne, fell betweene the duchesse of Summerset, and hir children, which being amazed with this chance, besought hir husband kneeling on hir knees, to haue mercie and compassion of his small infants, and that they might be deliuered out of the towne in safegard. Which intretie made with teares and submission, what eare could but listen to, what heart but yerne at; vnlesse both eare and heart were made of flint or marble, or hewen out of a hard rocke, and so void of all passions, of all remorse, of all affections belonging to humanitie?

The duke pitifull, moued with the sorrow of his wife, and loue of his children, rendered the towne against the mind of sir Dauid Hall, whose counsell and faithfull diligence (in acquiting himselfe to answer the trust committed to him by his maister) if others had followed; the French had susteined more trauell and losse, yer they should haue so easilie atteined their purpose. The conditions of the surrender were, that the duke of Summerset and his might depart in safegard with all their goods and substance. Sir Dauid Hall with diuerse of his trustie frends departed to Chierburgh, and from thence sailed into Ireland to the duke of Yorke, making relation to him of all these doings, which thing kindled so great a rancor in the dukes heart and stomach, that he neuer left persecuting the duke of Summerset, vntill he had brought him to his fatall end & confusion. Such is the nature of rancor and malice, of wrath and anger, which furthereth the hands euen of weaklings, on them to wreake their teene, with whome they are offended & pricked to reuengment, as the poet saith:

Quaslibet infirmas adiuuat ira manus.

The irreconciliable hate betweene the two dukes.

After the obteining of Caen, the earle of Cleremont besieged the citie of Lisieux, whereof was capteine Patthew * Gough with three hundred Englishmen, who in the end deliuered that towne, vpon condition, that he and his people might depart to Chierburgh. Then was Falais besieged, whereof were capteins for the earle of Shrewsburie (that was the owner) Andrew Trollop, and Thomas Cotton esquiers, who being in despaire of all succors, agreed to deliuer it vpon two conditions. The one was, that the earle their maister, which remained in pledge for the performance of certeine appointments, concluded at the deliuerie of Rone (as ye haue hard) should be set at libertie. The other, that if they were not rescued within twelue daies, that then they and their should depart with armor, and all their goods moueable, whither it pleased them.

* Goche.

At the date appointed, the towne was rendered, and so likewise was the towne of Dampfront vpon the semblable agreement. Now rested onelie English the towne of Chierburgh, whereof was capteine one Thomas Gonuille, which suerlie as long as vittels and munition serued, defended the towne right manfullie: but without hope of repaire, consumed, and he els destitute of all comfort and aid, vpon a reasonable composition, yelded the towne, and went to Calis, where the duke of Summerset and manie other Englishmen then soiorned. Thus was Normandie lost clerelie out of the Englishmens hands, after it had continued in their possession the space of thirtie yeares by the conquest of Henrie the fift.

All Normandie lost.

In this duchie were an hundred strong townes and fortresses, able to be kept and holden, beside them which were destroied by the warres; and in the same is one archbishoprike, and six bishoprikes. Some saie that the Englishmen were not of puissance either to man the townes, as they should haue beene; or to inhabit the countrie, which was the cause they could not keepe it. Other saie, that the duke of Summerset for his owne peculiar lucre, kept not halfe the number of souldiours for which he was appointed and allowed, but put the wages in his purse. But the chiefe and onelie cause vndoubtedlie, was the diuision within the realme, euerie great man desiring rather to be reuenged on his foe at home, than on the common enimie abroad, as by that which followeth you may plainelie perceiue.

The state of it.

The causes of the losse.

The mortall mischefe of malice and diuision in a realme.

[For whilest the French thus triumphed in Normandie,

Anno Reg. 2. W. P.

mandie, three cruell enimies among manie (as by ciuill warre and sedition insuing appeared) sore urged the vtter ruine of this reame at home. One was presumption in gouernance, by some that were most vnmet to rule, as the queene with hir priuie counsellors and minions; then the deadlie malice and pride, with insatiable couetise in the states both spirituall and temporall: and lastlie the generall grudge of the people, for the vniuersall smart that through misgouernment euerie where they suffered; who thus forwearied with the peise of burthens too heauie for them anie longer to beare.]

Herewith perceiuing how (through want of prouident wisedome in the gouernour) all things went to wracke, as well within the realme as without; they began to make exclamation against the duke of Suffolke, charging him to be the onelie cause of the deliuerie of Anion, and Maine, the cheefe procuror of the duke of Glocesters death, the verie occasion of the losse of Normandie, the swallower vp of the kings treasure, the remouer of good and vertuous councellours from about the prince, and the aduancer of vicious persons, and of such as by their doings shewed themselues apparant aduersaries to the common-wealth.

The commõs exclame against ỹ duke of Suffolke.

The queene hereat doubting not onelie the dukes destruction, but also hir owne confusion, caused the parlement before begun at the Blackfriers, to be adiourned to Leicester, thinking there, by force and rigor of law, to suppresse and subdue all the malice and euill will conceiued against the duke & hir. At which place few of the nobilitie would appeare: wherefore it was againe adiourned to Westminster, where was a full appearance. In the which session the commons of the nether house put vp to the king and the lords manie articles of treason, misprision, and euill demeanor, against the duke of Suffolke: the effect whereof with his answers here insueth.

The parlemẽt adiourned frõ London to Leicester, and from thence to Westminster.

Edw. Hall.

Articles proponed by the commons against the duke of Suffolke.

FIrst they alleged that he had traitorouslie excited, prouoked, and counselled John earle of Dunois bastard of Orleance, Bertram lord Presignie, William Cosinet, enimies to the king, and freends and ambassadours to Charles, calling himselfe French king, to enter into this realme; and to leauie warre against the king and his people, to the intent to destroie the king and his freends, and to make John his sonne king of this realme, marieng him to Margaret, sole heire to John duke of Summerset, pretending and declaring hir to be next heire inheritable to the crowne, for lacke of issue, of the kings bodie lawfullie begotten.

2 Item, the said duke, being of the kings priuie and neere councell, allured by great rewards and faire promises, made by the said earle of Dunois, caused the king to deliuer and set at libertie, Charles duke of Orleance, enimie to the king, and the kings noble father: which deliuerance was prohibited by expresse words, in the last will of the kings most victorious father.

3 Item, that before the departing of the said duke of Orleance, the aforenamed duke of Suffolke traitorouslie fast cleauing to Charles called the French king, counselled, prouoked, and intised the said duke of Orleance, to moue the same king to make warre against England, both in France and Normandie. According to which procurement & counsell, the said French king hath recouered the whole realme of France, and all the duchie of Normandie, and taken prisoners the earle of Shrewesburie, the lord Fauconbridge, and manie other valiant capteins. ¶ These three articles aforenamed he denied, either for fact or thought.]

4 Further it was alleged, that he being ambassadour for the king of England, to Charles calling himselfe the French king, promised to Reiner king of Sicill, and to Charles d'Angiers his brother, enimies to the king, the release of Anion, with the deliuerance of the countie of Maine, and the citie of Maunt or Mans, without the knowledge of the other ambassadours with him accompanied. Which promise, after his returne, he caused to be performed, to the kings disinheritance and losse irrecouerable, and to the strength of his enimies, and establishment of the duchie of Normandie. ¶ To this article he answered, that his commission was to conclude, and do all things according to his discretion, for the obteining of a peace: & bicause without deliuerie of those countries, he perceiued that the truce could not be obteined, he agreed to the release and deliuerance of them.]

5 Also they had great cause to iudge by the sequele, that the said duke being in France in the kings seruice, and one of the priuiest of his councell there, traitorouslie declared and opened to the capteins and conductors of warre, apperteining to the kings enimies, the kings counsell, puruciance of his armies, furniture of his townes, & all other ordinances, whereby the kings enimies (instructed aforehand by his traitorous information) haue gotten townes and fortresses, and the king by that meanes depriued of his inheritance.

6 Item, the said duke declared to the earle of Dunois, to the lord Presignie, and William Cosinet ambassadours for the French king lieng in London, the priuities of the kings councell, both for the prouision of further warre, and also for the defense of the duchie of Normandie: by the disclosing whereof, the Frenchmen knowing the king secrets, defeated the kings appointments, and they obteined their purpose.

7 Item, that the said duke, at such time as the king sent ambassadours to the French king, for the intreating of peace, traitorouslie before their comming to the French court, certified king Charles of their commission, authoritie, and instructions: by reason whereof, neither peace nor amitie succeeded, and the kings inheritance lost, and by his enimies possessed.

8 Item, the same duke said openlie in the Starchamber before the lords of the councell, that he had as high a place in the councell-house of the French king, as he had there: and was as well trusted there as here, and could remoue from the French king the priuiest man of his councell, if he would.

9 Item, when armies haue beene prepared, and souldiers readie waged to passe ouer the sea, to deale with the kings enimies: the said duke, corrupted by rewards of the French king, hath restreined & staid the said armies to passe anie further.

10 Item, the said duke being ambassadour for the king, comprised not in the league (as the kings allies) neither the king of Aragon, neither the duke of Britaine: but suffered them to be comprised on the contrarie part. By reason whereof, the old amitie of the K. of Aragon is estranged from this realme, and the duke of Britaine became enimie to the same: Giles his brother, the kings sure freend, cast in strong prison, and there like to end his daies.]

All these obiections he vtterlie denied, or faintlie auoided: but none fullie excused. Diuerse other

crimes were laid to his charge, as inriching himselfe with the kings goods and lands, gathering togither and making a monopolie of offices, fées, wards, and farmes, by reason whereof, the kings estate was greatlie diminished and decaied, and he and his kin highlie exalted & inriched: with manie other points, which bicause they be not notable nor of great force or strength, I omit and ouerpasse.

The quéene, which intierlie loued the duke, doubting some commotion and trouble to arise, if he were let go vnpunished, caused him for a colour to be committed to the Tower: where he remained not past a moneth, but was againe deliuered and restored to the kings fauour, as much as euer he was before. This doing so much displeased the people, that if politike prouision had not béene, great mischéefe had immediatlie insued. For the commons in sundrie places of the realme assembled togither in great companies, and chose to them a capteine, whome they called Blewbeard: but yet they had attempted anie enterprise, their leaders were apprehended; & so the matter pacified without anie hurt committed.

The duke of Suffolke cõmitted to the Tower.

Blewbeard capteine of the rebels.

After this outrage thus asswaged, the parlement was adiourned to Leicester, whither came the king and quéene in great estate, and with them the duke of Suffolke as chéefe councellour. The commons of the lower house, not forgetting their old grudge, besought the king, that such persons as assented to the release of Anion, and deliuerance of Maine, might be dulie punished. And to be priuie to that fact, they accused as principall, the duke of Suffolke, with John bishop of Salisburie, and sir James Fines, lord Saie, and diuerse others. When the king perceiued that there was no remedie to appease the peoples furie by anie colourable waies, shortlie to pacifie so long an hatred, he first sequestred the lord Saie being treasuror of England, and other the dukes adherents from their offices and romes, and after banished the duke of Suffolke, as the abhorred rode and common noiance of the whole realme, for tearme of fiue yeares, meaning by this exile to appease the malice of the people for the time, and after (when the matter should be forgotten) to reuoke him home againe.

But Gods iustice would not that so vngratious a person should so escape: for when he shipped in Suffolke, intending to transport himselfe ouer into France, he was incountered with a ship of warre, apperteining to the duke of Excester, constable of the Tower of London, called the Nicholas of the Tower. The capteine of that barke with small fight entered into the dukes ship, and perceiuing his person present, brought him to Douer road, and there on the one side of a cocke bote caused his head to be striken off, and left his bodie with the head lieng there on the sands. Which corps being there found by a chapleine of his, was conueied to Wingfield college in Suffolke, and there buried. This end had William de la Pole duke of Suffolke, as men iudge by Gods prouidence; for that he had procured the death of that good duke of Gloucester, as before is partlie touched.

The wretched death of the duke of Suffolke.

Soone after an other disquiet befell here. Those that fauoured the duke of Yorke, and wished the crowne vpon his head, for that (as they iudged) he had more right thereto than he that ware it, procured a commotion in Kent on this manner. A certeine yong man of a goodlie stature and right pregnant of wit, was intised to take vpon him the name of John Mortimer cosine to the duke of Yorke (although his name was John Cade, or (of some) John Mend-all) [an Irishman as Polychronicon saith] and not for a small policie, thinking by that surname, that those which fauoured the house of the earle of March would be assistant to him. And so in déed it came to passe (as in such cases there is no breéder of a broile but he shall find adherents enow, no lesse forward to further his pernicious enterprise by their folehardines, than himselfe was in the plot of his deuise) though in fine (as it is the vnluckie lot of such tumults) their attempts were withstood, and their offense dulie rewarded, as in processe of the storie shall more at large appeare; according to the wisemans sentence:

Jacke Cades rebellion in Kent.

Sæpe in magistrum scelera redeunt sua.

This capteine assembling a great companie of tall personages, assured them, that the enterprise which he toke in hand, was both honourable to God and the king, and profitable to the whole realme. For if either by force or policie they might get the king and quéene into their hands, he would cause them to be honourablie vsed, and take such order for the punishing and reforming of the misdemeanours of their bad councellours, that neither fifteens should hereafter be demanded, nor once anie impositions or taxes be spoken of. The Kentish people moued at these persuasions & other faire promises of reformation, in good order of battell (though not in great number) came with their capteine vnto the plaine of Blackeheath, betweene Eltham and Grénewich, and there kept the field more than a month, pilling the countrie about; to whome the citie of London at that time was verie fauourable. ¶ And the said capteine (as I find recorded saith Iohn Stow) sent for such citizens of London as it pleased him to command to repaire vnto him, vnder letters of safe conduct, as followeth.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. 653.

The safegard and signe manuell of the *capteine of Kent, sent to Thomas Cocke draper* of London, by the capteine of the great *assemblie in Kent.*

By this our writing insealed, we grant & will permit trulie, that Thomas Cocke of London draper, shall come in good suertie and in safegard to our presence, without anie hurt of his person, and so auoid from vs againe at his pleasure, with all other persons assigned at his denomination with him comming in likewise.

The commandement by the capteine *of Kent, sent vnto Thomas Cocke* aboue said.

For your instruction, first ye shall charge all Lumbards and strangers, being merchants, Genowais, Uenetians, Florentines, and others, this daie to draw them togither, and to ordeine for vs the capteine, twelue harnesses complet of the best fashion, foure & twentie brigandins, twelue battell ares, twelue glaues, six horsses with sadle and bridle completlie harnessed, and a thousand markes of readie monie. And if this our demand be not obserued & done, we shall haue the heads of as manie as we can get of them.

And to the intent the cause of this glorious capteins comming thither, might be shadowed vnder a cloke of good meaning (though his intent nothing so) he sent vnto the king an humble suplication, affirming that his comming was not against his grace, but

but against such of his councellours, as were louers of themselues, and oppressors of the poore commonaltie; flatterers of the king, and enimies to his honor; suckers of his purse, and robbers of his subiects; parciall to their frends, and extreame to their enimies: thorough bribes corrupted, and for indifferencie doing nothing. ¶ Here, bicause a full report of this insurrection maie passe to the knowledge of the readers; it is necessarie to set downe the articles of the commons complaints touching the premisses, whereof a copie was sent to the parlement then holden at Westminster, with their bill of requests concerning abuses to be reformed.

Abr. Fl. ex l. 5. 654, 655, 656, 657, &c.

The complaint of the commons of *Kent, and causes of their assemblie* on the Blackheath.

1 IN primis, it is openlie noised that Kent should be destroied with a roiall power, & made a wild forrest, for the death of the duke of Suffolke, of which the commons of Kent thereof were neuer giltie.

2 Item, the king is stirred to liue onelie on his commons, and other men to haue the reuenues of the crowne, the which hath caused pouertie in his excellencie, and great paiments of the people, now late to the king granted in his parlement.

3 Item, that the lords of his roiall bloud bene put from his dailie presence, and other meane persons of lower nature exalted and made cheefe of his priuie councell, the which stoppeth matters of wrongs done in the realme from his excellent audience, and maie not be redressed as law will; but if bribes and gifts be messengers to the hands of the said councell.

4 Item, the people of this realme be not paid of debts owing for stuffe and purueiance taken to the vse of the kings houshold, in vndoing of the said people, and the poore commons of the realme.

5 Item, the kings menuall seruants of houshold, and other persons, aske dailie goods and lands, of impeached or indicted of treason, the which the king granteth anon, yer they so indangered be conuicted. The which causeth the receiuers thereof to inforge labours and meanes applied to the death of such people, so apeached or indicted, by subtill meanes, for couetise of the said grants: and the people so impeached or indicted, though it be vntrue, maie not be committed to the law for their deliuerance, but held still in prison, to their vttermost vndoing & destruction, for couetise of goods.

6 Item, though diuerse of the poore people and commons of the realme, haue neuer so great right, truth, and perfect title to their land: yet by vntrue claime of infeoffement made vnto diuerse states, gentles, and the kings menuall seruants in maintenances against the right, the true owners dare not hold, claime, nor pursue their right.

7 Item, it is noised by common voices, that the kings lands in France bene aliened and put awaie from the crowne, and his lords and people there destroied with vntrue meanes of treason; of which it is desired, inquiries thorough all the realme to be made how and by whome; & if such traitors maie be found giltie, them to haue execution of law without anie pardon, in example of others.

8 Item, collectors of the fiftéenth penie in Kent be greatlie vered and hurt, in paieng great summes of monie in the exchecker, to sue out a writ called *Quorum nomina*, for the alowance of the barons of the ports, which now is desired, that hereafter in the lieu of the collectors, the barons aforesaid maie sue it out for their ease at their owne costs.

9 Item, the shiriffes and vndershiriffes let to farme their offices and bailiwickes, taking great fuertie therefore, the which causeth extortions donne by them and by their bailiffes to the people.

10 Item, simple and poore people that vse not hunting, be greatlie oppressed by indictements feined & donne by the said shiriffes, vndershiriffes, bailiffes, and other of their assent, to cause their increase for paieng of their said farme.

11 Item, they returne in names of inquests in writing into diuerse courts of the king not summoned nor warned, where through the people dailie leese great summes of monie, well nigh to the vttermost of their vndoing: and make leuie of amercements called the greene war, more in summes of monie than can be found due of record in the kings books.

12 Item, the ministers of the court of Douer in Kent ver and arrest diuerse people thorough all the shire out of Castle ward, passing their bounds and liberties vsed of old time, by diuerse subtill and vntrue meanes and actions falselie feined, taking great fées at their lust in great hurt of the people on all the shire of Kent.

13 Item, the people of the said shire of Kent, maie not haue their free election in the chosing of knights of the shire: but letters bene sent from diuerse estates to the great rulers of all the countrie, the which imbraceth their tenants and other people by force to chose other persons than the cõmons will is.

14 Item, whereas knights of the shire should chose the kings collectors indifferentlie without any bribe taking, they haue sent now late to diuerse persons, notifieng them to be collectors: wherevpon gifts and bribes be taken, & so the collectors office is bought and sold extortionoulie at the knights lust.

15 Item, the people be sore vered in costs and labour, called to the sessions of peace in the said shire, appearing from the furthest and vttermost part of the west vnto the east; the which causeth to some men fiue daies iournie: wherevpon they desire the said apearance to be diuided into two parts; the which one part, to appeare in one place; an other part, in an other place; in releeuing of the greeuances and intollerable labours & verations of the said people.

The requests by the capteine of the *great assemblie in Kent.*

IN primis, desireth the capteine of the commons, the welfare of our souereigne lord the king, and all his true lords spirituall and temporall, desiring of our said souereigne lord, and of all the true lords of his councell, he to take in all his demaines, that he maie reigne like a king roiall, according as he is borne our true and christian king annointed: and who so will saie the contrarie, we all will liue and die in the quarell as his true liege men.

Item, desireth the said capteine, that he will auoid all the false progenie and affinitie of the duke of Suffolke, the which bene openlie knowne, and they to be punished after the custome and law of this land, and to take about his noble person the true lords of his roiall bloud of this his realme, that is to saie, the high and mightie prince the duke of Yorke, late exiled from our said souereigne lords presence (by the motion and stirring of the traitorous and false disposed the duke of Suffolke and his affinitie) and the mightie princes & dukes of Excester, Buckingham, and Norffolke, and all the earles and barons of this land: and then shall he be the richest king christian.

Item, desireth the said capteine and commons punishment vnto the false traitors, the which contri-

ued and imagined the death of the high, mightfull and excellent prince the duke of Gloucester, the which is too much to rehearse; the which duke was proclamed as traitor. Upon the which quarell, we purpose all to liue and die vpon that that it is false.

Item, the duke of Excester, our holie father the cardinall, the noble prince the duke of Warwike, and also the realme of France, the duchie of Normandie, Gascoigne, and Guion, Anjou, and Maine, were deliuered and lost by the meanes of the said traitors; and our true lords, knights, and esquiers, and manie a good yeoman lost and sold yer they went, the which is great pitie to heare, of the great and grieuous losse to our souereigne lord and his realme.

Item, desireth the said capteine and commons, that all extortions vsed dailie among the common people, might be laid downe, that is to saie, the greene wax; the which is falselie vsed, to the perpetuall destruction of the kings true commons of Kent. Also the kings Bench, the which is too grieefull to the shire of Kent, without prouision of our souereigne lord and his true councell. And also in taking of wheat and other graines, beefe, mutton, & all other vittels, the which is importable to the said commons, without the breefe prouision of our said souereigne lord and his true councell, they maie no longer beare it. And also vnto the statute of labourers, and the great extortioners, the which is to saie the false traitors, Sleg, Cromer, Isle, and Robert Est.

These billes when the councell had well perused, they did not onelie disalow and condemne them and the authors, as proud and presumptuous; but also persuaded the king rather to suppresse those rebels by force, than by faire promises. Whereupon the king remoued from Westminster vnto Greenewich, from whence he would haue sent certeine lords with a power to haue distressed the Kentishmen, but the men said to their lords they would not fight against them that laboured to amend the common-weale: wherefore the lords were driuen to leaue their purpose. And because the Kentishmen cried out against the lord Saie the kings chamberline, he was by the king committed to the Tower of London. Then

King Henrie went against the Kentishmen with a great power.

went the king againe to London, & within two dais after went against the Kentishmen with fifteene thousand men well prepared for the war: but the said Kentishmen fled the night before his comming into the wood countrie neere vnto Senocke. Where vpon the king returned againe to London.

The queene (that bare rule) being of his retrait aduertised, sent sir Humfreie Stafford knight, and William his brother, with manie other gentlemen, to follow the Kentishmen, thinking that they had fled: but they were deceiued, for at the first skirmish both the Staffords were slaine, & all their companie discomfited. The kings armie by this time comen to Blackheath, hearing of this discomfiture, began to murmur amongst themselues: some wishing the duke of Yorke at home to aid the capteine his cousine: some vndutifullie coueting the ouerthrow of the king and his councell: other openlie crieng out on the queene and hir complices.

The Staffords slaine at Senocke by Jacke Cade.

This rumor published abroad, caused the king and certeine of his councell (for the appeasing thereof) to commit the lord Saie treasuror of England to the Tower of London; and if other (against whome like displeasure was borne) had beene present, they had beene likewise committed. Jacke Cade vpon victorie against the Staffords, apparelled himselfe in sir Humfries brigandine set full of guilt nailes, and so in some glorie returned againe toward London; diuerse idle and vagarant persons out of Sussex, Surreie and other places, still increasing his number.

Thus this glorious capteine, garded with a multitude of rusticall people, came againe to the plaine of Blackheath, & there stronglie incamped himselfe: to whome were sent from the king, the archbishop of Canturburie, and Humfrie duke of Buckingham, to common with him of his greefes and requests.

These lords found him sober in talke, wise in reasoning, arrogant in hart, and stiffe in opinion; as who that by no means would grant to dissolue his armie, except the king in person would come to him, and assent to the things he would require. The K. vpon the presumptuous answers & requests of this villanous rebell, begining asmuch to doubt his owne meniall seruants, as his vnknowen subiects (which spared not to speake, that the capteins cause was profitable for the common-wealth) departed in all hast to the castell of Killingworth in Warwikeshire, leauing onlie behind him the lord Scales to keepe the Tower of London. The Kentish capteine being aduertised of the kings absence, came first into Southwarke, and there lodged at the white hart, prohibiting to all his retinue, murder, rape, and robberie; by which colour of well meaning, he the more allured to him the harts of the common people.

After that, he entred into London, cut the ropes of the drawbridge, & stroke his sword on London stone; saieng, Now is Mortimer lord of this citie. And after a glosing declaration made to the maior touching the cause of his thither comming, he departed againe into Southwarke, and vpon the third daie of Julie he caused sir James Fines, lord Saie, and treasuror of England, to be brought to the Guildhall, and there to be arreigned: who being before the kings iustices put to answer, desired to be tried by his peeres, for the longer delaie of his life. The capteine perceiuing his dilatorie plee, by force toke him from the officers, and brought him to the standard in Cheape, and there (before his confession ended) caused his head to be striken off, and pitched it vpon an high pole, which was openlie borne before him thorough the streets.

The lord Saie beheaded at the standard in Cheap

And not content herewith, he went to Mile end, and there apprehended sir James Cromer then shiriffe of Kent, and sonne in law to the said lord Saie, causing him likewise (without confession or excuse heard) to be beheaded, and his head to be fixed on a pole: and with these two heads this bloudie wretch entred into the citie againe, and as it were in a spite caused them in euerie street to kisse togither, to the great detestation of all the beholders. After this succeeded open rapine, and manifest robberie in diuerse houses within the citie, and speciallie in the house of Philip Malpas alderman of London, and diuerse other; ouer and besides ransoming and fining of diuers notable merchants, for the suertie of their liues and goods; as Robert Horne alderman, which paid fiue hundred marks. He also put to execution in Southwarke diuerse persons, some for breaking his ordinance, and other being of his old acquaintance, lest they should bewraie his base linage, disparaging him for his vsurped surname of Mortimer.

The maior and other the magistrates of London, perceiuing themselues neither to be sure of goods, nor of life well warranted, determined to repell and keepe out of their citie such a mischieuous caitife and his wicked companie. And to be the better able so to doo, they made the lord Scales, and that renowmed capteine Matthew * Gough priuie both of their intent and enterprise, beseeching them of their helpe and furtherance therein. The lord Scales promised them his aid, with shooting off the artillerie in the Tower; and Matthew Gough was by him appointed to assist the maior and Londoners in all that he might, and so he and other capteins, appointed for defense

* Or rather Goche.

fense of the citie, toke vpon them in the night to keepe the bridge, and would not suffer the Kentishmen once to approch. The rebels, who neuer soundlie slept for feare of sudden assaults, hearing that the bridge was thus kept, ran with great hast to open that passage, where betweene both parties was a fierce and cruell fight.

*Or rather Goche. The skirmish betweene the citizens and the rebels vpon London bridge.

Matthew* Gough, perceiuing the rebels to stand to their tackling more manfullie than he thought they would haue done, aduised his companie not to aduance anie further toward Southwarke, till the daie appeared; that they might see where the place of ieopardie rested, and so to prouide for the same: but this little auailed. For the rebels with their multitude draue backe the citizens from the stops at the bridge foot to the draw bridge, & began to set fire in diuerse houses. Great ruth it was to behold the miserable state, wherein some desiring to eschew the fire died vpon their enimies weapon; women with children in their armes lept for feare into the riuer, other in a deadlie care how to saue themselues, betweene fire water, and sword, were in their houses choked and smothered. Yet the capteins not sparing, fought on the bridge all the night valiantlie: but in conclusion, the rebels gat the draw bridge, and drowned manie, and slue John Sutton alderman, and Robert Veisand, a hardie citizen, with manie other, beside Matthew* Gough, a man of great wit and much experience in feats of chiualrie, the which in continuall warres had spent his time in seruice of the king and his father.

Matthew Goche famous for his acts abroad now slaine on Lōdō bridge.

This sore conflict indured in doubtfull wise on the bridge, till nine of the clocke in the morning: for sometime, the Londoners were beaten backe to saint Magnus corner: and suddenlie againe, the rebels were repelled to the stops in Southwarke, so that both parts being faint and wearie, agreed to leaue off from fighting till the next daie; vpon condition, that neither Londoners should passe into Southwarke, nor Kentishmen into London. Upon this abstinence, this rakehell capteine for making him more friends, brake vp the gailes of the kings Bench and Marshalsie, and so were manie mates set at libertie verie meet for his matters in hand.

A state by assent.

The archbishop of Canturburie being chancellor of England, and as then for his suertie lieng within the Tower, called to him the bishop of Winchester, who for some safegard laie then at Haliwell. These two prelats, seeing the furie of the Kentish people, by their late repulse, to be somewhat asswaged, passed by the riuer of Thames from the Tower into Southwarke, bringing with them vnder the kings great seale, a generall pardon vnto all the offendors, and caused the same to be openlie published. The more people were so glad of this pardon, and so readie to receiue it, that without bidding farewell to their capteine, they withdrew themselues the same night euerie man towards his home.

Proclamatiō of pardon dispersed the rebels.

¶ But Jacke Cade despairing of succours, and fearing the reward of his lewd dealings, put all his pillage and goods that he had robbed, into a barge, and sent it to Rochester by water, and himselfe went by land, and would haue entred into the castle of Quinborow with a few men that were left about him; but he was there let of his purpose: wherefore he disguised in strange attire, priuilie fled into the wood countrie beside Lewes in Sussex, hoping so to scape. The capteine & his people being thus departed, not long after proclamations were made in diuerse places of Kent, Sussex, and Southerie, that whosoeuer could take the foresaid capteine aliue or dead, should haue a thousand markes for his trauell. A copie of which proclamation, touching the apprehension of the said Cade and his complices, hereafter followeth.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 661, 662. in Quart.

* Or rather Goche.

A copie of the said writ and proclamation by the king, for the taking of the said Cade and his felowship.

HEnricus Dei gratia rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & dominus Hiberniæ, vniuersis & singulis custodibus, &c. For so much as one John Cade borne in Ireland, which calleth himselfe John Mortimer & in some writing calleth himselfe capteine of Kent, the which John Cade the last yeare tofore his dwelling in Sussex with a knight, called sir Thomas Dagre, slue there a woman with child, and for that cause toke the greeth of the church, and after for that cause forsware the kings land: the which John Cade also after this, was sworne to the French part, and dwelled with them; which hath now of late time (to the intent to inrich himselfe by robbing and despoiling of the kings liegemen, as it is now openlie knowne, to bring himselfe to great and high estate) falslie and vntruelie deceiued manie of the kings people, and vnder colour of holie and good intents made them to assemble with him against the kings regalitie & his lawes, & nought setting by the kings grace and pardons, granted not onelie to him but to all the kings subiects, the which by his deceit haue assembled with him, the which he with great reuerence receiued on mondaie last passed, and so did all that were assembled with him. Notwithstanding all this, he laboureth now of new to assemble the kings people againe, and to that intent beareth them on hand, that the kings letters of pardon granted to him and them, be not auaileable, nor of none effect, without authoritie of parlement: whereas the contrarie is true, as it is openlie knowne by that, that the king granteth from time to time his charters of pardon to such as him list, of all manner of crimes and offenses both generall and speciall.

The king therefore willeth and commandeth, that none of his subiects giue faith nor credence to the said false informations of the said false traitor, nor accompanie with him in anie wise, nor comfort nor sustein him nor his with vittels, nor with anie other things: but will, whosoeuer of the kings subiects may take him, shall take him; and that who so euer taketh him, and bringeth him quicke or dead to the king or to his councell, shall haue a thousand markes for his labour trulie paid him, without faile or delaie by the prouision of the kings councell. And who so euer taketh anie of those that from this daie forth accompanie with him, shall haue fiue marks for his reward, trulie to be paid in maner and forme aboue said. And ouer this, commanding all constables, ministers, and officers of the said shire, that none of them (on paine of death) take vpon them to execute anie commandement by word or writing sent or made vnto them by the said Cade, calling himselfe Mortimer and capteine, be it to reare any people, or to any other intent: but to arest and make so be arested such, as take vpon them to bring anie such commandement by writing or by word. *Et hoc nullatenus omittatis. Teste me ipso apud Westm. 10 die Iulij, anno regni* 28.]

After which proclamation thus published, a gentleman of Kent named Alexander Eden awaited so his time, that he toke the said Cade in a garden in Sussex: so that there he was slaine at Hothfield, and brought to London in a cart, where he was quartered; his head set on London bridge, and his quarters sent to diuers places to be set vp in the shire of Kent. After this, the king himselfe came into Kent, and there sat in iudgement vpon the offendors: and if he had not mingled his iustice with mercie; more than fiue hundred by rigor of law had beene iustlie put to execution.

Capteine of Kent taken & beheaded.

execution. Yet he punishing onelie the stubborne heads, & disordered ringleaders, pardoned the ignorant and simple persons, to the great reioising of all his subiects. ¶ But saith another, the king sent his commissioners into Kent, and caused inquirie to be made of this riot in Canturburie, where for the same eight men were iudged and executed, and in other townes of Kent and Suller was done the like execution.

Abr. Fl. ex I. St. 663, 664.

This yeare the commons also in diuerse parts of England, as in Suller, Salisburie, Wiltshire, and other places, did much harme to manie persons, among the which, on the nine and twentith of June, William Ascoth bishop of Salisburie (after he had said masse at Edington) was by his owne tenants drawne from the altar, in his albe with his stole about his necke to the top of an hill, and there by them shamefullie murthered, and after spoiled to the naked skin: they renting his bloudie shirt, toke euerie man a pece, and made boast of their wickednesse. The daie before, his chariot was robbed, to the value of ten thousand markes. Soldiours made a fraie against the maior of London the same daie he toke his charge at Westminster, at night comming from saint Thomas of Acres, after he had beene at Paules.]

The bishop of Salisburie murthered.

A fray in Lõdon against the maior.

The French king vnderstanding all the ciuill discord and rebellious stirs in England, made therof his foundation, hoping to get into his hands and possession the duchie of Aquitaine: and therevpon sent the earles of Ponthieuure and Perigort to late siege to the towne of Bergerat, situate vpon the riuer of Dourdon, of which towne was capteine Iohn Gedding, who vpon reasonable conditions rendred the towne. But yet the lord Camois, sir George Seimor, and sir Iohn Arundell, with diuers other valiant capteins, hauing gouernance of the countrie, manned townes, gathered people, and recomforted the fainting harts of the Gascoignes in all that they could, and withall sent letters ouer into England, certifieng to the kings maiestie, that without spedie aid, and readie succours, the whole countrie was like to be conquered and wone out of the Englishmens possession.

Manie letters were sent, and manie faire answers were brought; but releese neither appeared, nor one man of warre was thither shipped: by reason whereof, the Frenchmen pursuing the victorie, got the fortresses of Iansacke, and S. Foie, with diuerse other pces of importance thereabouts. Also, about the same time, the lord Dorual, third sonne to the lord de la Breth, with a great number of men, as well on horssebacke as on fot, departed from Basas, to conquer and destroie the Ile of Medoc. Where vpon the maior of Burdeaur issuing out, and incountring with his enimies, was vanquished, losing six hundred Englishmen and Gascoignes: albeit the Frenchmen gained not this victorie with clere hands, for there were slaine of them to the number of eight hundred persons.

1451 After this, the bastard of Orleance, with his brother Iohn earle of Angolesme, which had bene long prisoner in England, and manie other valiant capteins, besieged the castell of Montguion, which to them was rendered. Afterwards, they besieged the towne of Blaie, standing on the riuer of Garonne, the which in conclusion by verie force was conquered and wone. The bastard of Kendall, capteine of the castell, seeing the towne lost, vpon certeine reasonable conditions deliuered his fortresse to the bastard of Orleance, the French kings lieutenant. After this, the townes of Burgh and Libourne, after fiue weekes siege, were likewise yelded to the Frenchmen. Then was the citie of Acques besieged by the erle of Fois, and the vicount de Lawtrec his brother, and other noble men. So likewise was the strong towne of Rion by the earle of Armnacke, extreame enimie to the realme of England, for breach of the mariage concluded betweene king Henrie and his daughter. The earle of Ponthieuure laid siege to Chatillon in Perigort, and the earle of Dunois inuironned with great puissance the towne of Fronsacke.

The earle of Armnack an open enimie.

The Englishmen perceiuing in what state they stood within the towne, couenanted with the said earle, that if the towne were not succoured, and the Frenchmen fought with before the feast of the natiuitie of saint Iohn Baptist next insuing; that then the towne of Fronsacke should be yelded to them, which was the strongest fortresse in all that countrie, and the verie keie of Guien. Hereof were pledges deliuered, and writings made & sealed. Which agreement once blowne through the countrie, the citie of Burdeaur, and all other townes (except Baion) made the like agreement. So did all the noble men and gentlemen which were subiects and vassals to the crowne of England. Euerie daie was looking for aid, but none came.

And whie? Euen because the diuelish diuision that reigned in England, so incombred the heads of the noble men there, that the honor of the realme was cleerelie forgotten, so that (to conclude) the daie appointed came, but succour looked for came not. By reason whereof, all the townes of Aquitaine (except Baion) deliuered their keies, and became vassals to the French nation; yet the citizens of Burdeaur, in hope of rescue, required a longer daie of battell, which was granted. But at the daie appointed, when no releefe came, they rendred themselues and the citie to their aduersaries, their liues and goods saued, with licence and safe conduct to all persons which would depart and saile into England. Then finallie was the citie of Baion besieged, and with mines and batterie constreined to yeld it selfe into the Frenchmens hands.

Through dissention at home, all lost abroad.

Beside the agreements taken and made with the townes, diuerse noble men made seuerall compositions, as Gaston de Fois, & Capdaw de Buef, whome king Henrie the fift made earle of Longeuile, and knight of the garter; whose ancestors were euer true to England. Which agreed, that he and his sonne Iohn de Fois, whome king Henrie the first made earle of Kendale, and also knight of the garter, should enioy all their lands in Aquitaine, giuen to them by the kings of England, or by the dukes of Aquitaine. And sith their intent was still to serue the king of England, they agreed to deliuer into the custodie of the earle of Fois, the sonne and heire of the said earle of Kendale, being of the age of three yeares; to the intent that if he at his full age denied to become subiect to the French king, or before that time deceassed; that then (after the death of his father and grandfather) all the said lands should wholie remaine to the nert heire of their bloud, either male or female, being vnder the obeisance of the French king or his heires.

Manie other noble men, whose hearts were good English, made like compositions, and some came into England, and others went to Calis, and bare great offices there: as the lord Duras, which was marshall of that towne; and monsieur Vauclere, which was deputie there vnder the earle of Warwike. Thus were the Englishmen clerelie displaced and lost the possession of all the countries, townes, castels, and places within the realme of France; so that onelie Calis, Hammes and Guines, with the marches thereof remained in their hands, of all those their dominions and seignories which they sometime held

All lost in France.

held in the parties beyond the seas. Whereby England suffered a partile but not a totall eclipse of hir glorie, in continuall losing & nothing gaining of the enimie. ¶ Which recouerie was of great facilitie to the French, for that where they came, they found litle or no resistance, but rather a voluntarie submission & yéelding as it were with holding vp of hands, yer they came to handstroks. So that in such victories and conquests consisted small renowme, sith without slaughter & bloudshed hardie enterprises are not atchiued. Notablie therefore speaketh *Anglorum prælia* of these bloudlesse and sweatlesse victories, saieng:

Abr. Fl. ex *Anglorum prelijs sub Hen. 6.*

Delphinus totos (nullo prohibente) per agros
Francorum transit, prius expugnata receptans
Oppida: perfacile est populum dominisse volentem,
Tendentemq; manus vltrò; nec clarior ornat
Gloria vincentem fuso sine sanguine regna.

Anno Reg. 30. John Hooker, alias Vowell. The king receiued into Excester.

[This yeare the king made a generall progresse and came to the citie of Excester, on mondaie the sixteenth of Julie at after none, being the feast daie of saint Kenelme; and was receiued from place to place verie honorablie through the whole countrie. Before he came to this citie, he was met by all the cleargie in their degrées, some three miles, some two miles, and some at the citie, all in their copes, censing all the waies as they went. As sone as he came to this citie, he was first conducted to the cathedrall church in all most honourable order. When he had done his oblations, he was conueied and lodged in the bishops house. During his abode here, there was a sessions kept before the duke of Summerset, and certeine men condemned to die for treason, and had iudgement to be executed to death.

The bishop and his clergie vnderstanding hereof, with open mouth complained vnto the king, that he caused a sessions to be kept within his sanctuarie, contrarie to the priuilege of his church: and that all their doings (being done against law) were of no effect. And notwithstanding the king and his councell had discoursed vnto them the iust and orderlie proceeding, the hainousnesse of the offendors, and the necessitie of their punishment: yet all could not auaile, for holie church nor the sanctuarie might be prophaned (as they said) with the deciding of temporall matters. Whervpon the king in the end yéelding to their exclaimes, released a couple of arrant traitors, and reuersed all his former lawfull procéedings, and so vpon the wednesdaie he departed and returned towards London.]

The bishop & his cleargie against the K. and the duke of Summerset, &c. in defense of their ecclesiasticall priuilege.

The duke of Yorke maketh claime to the crowne.

The duke of Yorke pretending (as yé haue heard) a right to the crowne, as heire to Lionell duke of Clarence, came this yeare out of Ireland vnto London, in the parlement time, there to consult with his spectall frends: as John duke of Northfolke, Richard earle of Salisburie, and the lord Richard his sonne, which after was earle of Warwike; Thomas Courtnete earle of Deuonshire, & Edward Broke lord Cobham. After long deliberation and aduise taken, it was thought expedient, to kepe their chéefe purpose secret; and that the duke should raise an armie of men, vnder a pretext to remoue diuerse counsellors about the king, and to reuenge the manifest iniuries done to the common-wealth by the same rulers. Of the which as principall, the duke of Summerset was namelie accused, both for that he was greatlie hated of the commons for the losse of Normandie: and for that it was well knowne, that he would be altogither against the duke of Yorke in his chalenge to be made (when time serued) to the crowne; insomuch that his goods by the commons were foulie despoiled and borne awaie from the Blacke friers. After which riot, on the nert morrow, proclamation was made through the citie, that no man should spoile or rob, on paine of death. But on the same daie at the standard in Cheape was a man beheaded for doing contrarie to the proclamation.

John Stow.

Ill lod in France.

Therefore, when the duke of Yorke had thus, by aduise of his spectall frends, framed the foundation of his long intended enterprise, he assembled a great hoast, to the number of ten thousand able men, in the marches of Wales; publishing openlie, that the cause of this his gathering of people, was for the publike wealth of the realme. The king much astonied at the matter, by aduise of his councell raised a great power, and marched forward toward the duke. But he being thereof aduertised, turned out of that way, which by espials he vnderstood that the king held, and made streight toward London: and hauing knowledge that he might not be suffered to passe through the citie, he crossed ouer the Thames at Kingston bridge, and so kept on towards Kent, where he knew that he had both frends & well-willers, and there on Burnt heath, a mile from Dertford, and twelue miles from London, he imbatelled, and incamped himselfe verie stronglie, inuironing his field with artillerie and trenches. The king hereof aduertised, brought his armie with all diligence vnto Blackeheath, and there pight his tents.

Whethasted. The duke of Yorke raiseth a power, for recouerie of his right to the crowne.

Whilest both these armies laie thus imbattelled, the king sent the bishop of Winchester, and Thomas Bourchier, bishop of Elie, Richard Woduile, lord Riuers, & Richard Andrew, the képer of his priuie seale, to the duke: both to know the cause of so great a commotion, and also to make a concord; if the requests of the duke and his companie séemed consonant to reason. The duke hearing the message of the bishops, answered; that his comming was neither to damnifie the king in honour, nor in person, neither yet anie good man: but his intent was, to remoue from him certeine euill disposed persons of his councell, bloud-succours of the nobilitie, pollers of the cleargie, and oppressours of the poore people.

Whethamsted

The dukes answer to the kings message

Amongst these, he chéeflie named Edmund duke of Summerset, whome if the king would commit to ward, to answer such articles as against him in open parlement should be both proponed and proued, he promised not onelie to dissolue his armie; but also offered himselfe (like an obedient subiect) to come to the kings presence, and to do him true and faithfull seruice, according to his lotall and bounden dutie. ¶ But a further vnderstanding of the dukes meaning by this his forceable entering of the realme (as himselfe pretended) maie appeare by certeine letters by him written to the king, and also the kings answers vnto the same: both which I thinke good here to set downe, as I find them recorded.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 666, 667. in Quart.

Richard duke of Yorke his letter *to king Henrie.*

PLease it your highnesse to conceiue, that since my departing out of this your realme, by your commandement, and being in your seruice in your land of Ireland, I haue béene informed, that diuerse language hath béene said of me to your most excellent estate, which should sound to my dishonour and reproch, and charge of my person: howbeit, that I haue béene, and euer will be, your true liegeman and seruant. And if there be anie man that will or dare saie the contrarie, or charge me otherwise; I beséech your right wiseneslle to call him before your high presence, and I will declare me for my discharge as a true knight ought to do. And if I do not, as I doubt not but I shall, I beséech you to punish me as the poorest man of your land. And if he be found vntrue in his suggestion and information, I beséech you of your highnesse

highnesse that he be punished after his desert, in example of all other.

Please it your excellencie to know, that as well before my departing out of this your realme, for to go into your land of Ireland, in your full noble seruice, as since, certeine persons haue lien in wait for to hearken vpon me, as sir John Talbot knight at the castell of Holt; sir Thomas Standleie knight in Cheshire; Pulford at Chester; Elton at Worcester; Broke at Gloucester; and Richard, groome of your chamber at Beaumaris: which had in charge (as I am informed) to take me and put me into your castell of Conwaie, and to strike off the head of sir William Oldhall knight, and to haue put in prison sir William Deuereux knight, & sir Edmund Palso knight, without en inlarging, vntill the time that your highnesse had appointed their deliuerance.

Item, at such time as I was purposed for to haue arriued at your hauen of Beaumaris, for to haue come to your noble presence to declare me your true man and subiect, as my dutie is, my landing was stoped and forebarred by Henrie Norice, Thomas Norice, William Buckleie, William Gruff, and Bartholomew Bould, your officers in Northwales, that I should not land there, nor haue vittels nor refreshing for me & my fellowship, as I haue written to your excellencie here before. So farre forth that Henrie Norice, deputie to the chamberlaine of Northwales, said vnto me, that he had in commandement that I should in no wise haue landing, refreshing, nor lodging, for men nor horsse, nor other thing that might turne to my worship or ease: putting the blame vpon William Saie vsher of your chamber, saieng and affirming that I am against your intent, and as a traitor, as I am informed. And moreouer, certeine letters were made and deliuered vnto Chester, Shrewesburie, and to other places for to let mine entrie into the same.

Item, aboue all wrongs and iniuries aboue said done vnto me of malice, without anie cause, I being in your land of Ireland, in your honourable seruice, certeine commissions were made and directed vnto diuerse persons; which for the execution of the same, sat in certeine places, and the iuries impanelled and charged. Vnto the which iuries certeine persons laboured instantlie to haue me indicted of treason, to the intent for to haue vndone me and mine issue, and corrupted my blood, as it is openlie published. Beseeching your maiestie roiall, of your righteousnesse, to doo examine these matters, and there vpon to doo such iustice in his behalfe as the cause requireth: for mine intent is fullie to pursue to your higuesse for the conclusion of these matters.

The answer of king Henrie to the duke of Yorke.

CDoosine, we haue seene the bill that ye toke vs late, and also vnderstand the good humble obedience that ye in your selfe shew vnto vs, as well in word as in deed: wherefore our intent is, the more hastilie to ease you of such things as were in your said bill. Howbeit, that at our more leasure we might answer you to your said bill, yet we let you wit, that for the causes aforesaid, we will declare you now our intent in these matters: sith it is that a long time among the people hath beene vpon you many strange language, and in especiall anon after your disordinate and vnlawfull slaieng of the bishop of Chester, diuerse and manie of the vntrue shipmen and other said (in their maner) words against our estate, making manace to our owne person by your saieng, that ye should be fetched with manie thousands, and ye should take vpon you that, which ye neither ought, nor as we doubt not, ye will not attempt: so farre forth that it was said to our person by diuerse, & especiallie we remember of one Walnes, which had like words to vs.

And also there were diuerse of such false people, that went on and had like language in diuerse of our townes of our land, which by our subiects were taken and dulie executed. Wherefore we sent to diuerse of our courts and places, to hearken and to take heed if anie such maner comming were; and if there had beene, for to resist it: but comming into our land our true subiect as ye did, our intent was not that ye, nor lesse of estate of our subiects, nor none of your seruants should not haue beene letted nor warned, but in goodlie wise receiued: howbeit that peraduenture your sudden comming, without certeine warning, caused our seruants to doo as they did, considering the causes aboue said. And as to the indictement that ye spoke of, we thinke verelie, and hold for certeine warning, caused our seruants to doo as they did, considering the causes aboue said. And as to the indictement that ye spoke of, we thinke verelie and hold for certeine, that there was none such. And if ye may trulie proue that anie person was thereabouts, the matter shall be demeaned as the case shall require: so that he shall know it is to our great displeasure. Vpon this, for the easing of your heart in all such matters, we declare, repute, and admit you as our true and faithfull subiect, and as our faithfull cosine.

Richard duke of Yorke to king Henrie againe.

PLease it your highnesse tenderlie to consider, that great murmur and grudging is vniuersallie in this your realme, in that iustice is not dulie ministred to such as trespasse and offend against you lawes, and in especiall of them that be indicted of treason, and other being openlie noised of the same; whereby great inconueniences haue fallen, and great is like to fall hereafter in your said realme, which God defend: but if by your highnesse prouision conuenable be made for due reformation and punishment in this behalfe. Wherefore I your humble subiect and true liegeman, Richard duke of Yorke, willing as effectuallie as I can, and desiring the suertie and prosperitie of your most roiall person, and the welfare of this your noble realme, counsell and aduertise your excellencie, for the conseruation of good tranquillitie and peaceable rule among all other subiects, for to ordeine and prouide, that true iustice be had, against all such that so be indicted, or openlie named: wherein I offer my selfe, and will put my indeuour for to execute your commandement in the premisses, for the punishing of such offendors, and redresse of the said misrules, to my might and power. And for the hastie execution hereof, like it your highnesse, to addresse these letters of priuie seale and writs to your officers and ministers, to doo, take, and arrest, all such persons so noised and indicted, of what estate, degree, or condition soeuer they be, and them to commit to the Tower of London, and to other of your prisons, there to abide without baile or mainprise, vntill the time they be vtterlie tried, and determined after the course of your lawes.

The answer of king Henrie to the duke of Yorke.

CDoosine, as touching your bill last put vp to vs, we vnderstand well that ye (of good heart) counsell and aduertise vs to the setting vp of iustice,

iustice, and to the spædie punishing of some persons indicted or noised, offering your seruice to be readie at commandement in the same, sith it is that for manie causes moouing vs to haue determined in our soule, to stablish a sad, and a substantiall councell, giuing them more ample authoritie and power than euer we did before this, in the which we haue appointed you to be one. But sith it is not accustomed, sure, nor expedient, to take a conclusion & conduct by aduise or counsell of one person by himselfe for the conseruation, it is obserued that the greatest and the best, the rich and the poore, in libertie, vertue, and effect of your voices be equall. We haue therfore determined within our selfe to send for our chancellour of England, and for other lords of our councell, yea and all other, togither within short time ripelie to common of these and other our great matters. In which communication, such conclusion (by the grace of God) shall be taken, as shall sound to his pleasure, the weale of vs and our land, as well in these matters as in anie other.

After all this adoo, it was so agreed vpon by aduise, for the auoiding of bloudshed, and pacifieng of the duke and his people, that the duke of Somerset was committed to ward, as some saie; or else commanded to keepe himselfe priuie in his owne house Whethamsted for a time. But it should seeme by that which some haue written, that the duke of Yorke was deceiued of the hope which he had, to be aided of the Kentishmen; insomuch that when he saw himselfe ouermatched by the king in number of people, who had got togither thrice as manie men as the duke had there with him, the duke was the more easie to be dealt with. And so comming to the king, and submitting himselfe by mediation of certeine of the nobilitie, he obteined pardon of that his former presumptuous enterprise. And within a few daies after his comming to London with the king, he openlie in the The duke of Yorks reconciliation to the king. church of S. Paule (the king being present) receiued a solemne oth, that from thencefoorth, he should no more commit anie such offense, nor attempt anie thing, either against the king, or any other of his liege people, contrarie to the order of law and iustice.

Howsoeuer the matter went, truth it is, that the duke of Yorke, the first of March, dissolued his armie, brake vp his campe, & came to the kings tent, where contrarie to his expectation, & against promise made by the king (as other write) he found the duke of Somerset going at large and set at libertie, The duke of Yorke accuseth the duke of Somerset. whome the duke of Yorke boldlie accused of treason, briberie, oppression, and manie other crimes. The duke of Somerset not onelie made answer to the dukes obiections, but also accused him of high treason, affirming, that he with his fautors and complices had consulted togither, how to come by the scepter and regall crowne of this realme. By meanes of which words the king remoued streight to London, and the duke of Yorke (as prisoner) rode before him, and so was kept a while. A mutuall charge betweene the two dukes, Yorke & Somerset of hie treason.

The king assembled togither a great councell at Westminster, to heare the accusations of the two dukes, the one obiecting to the other manie heinous and grieuous crimes. But the duke of Somerset, which now conceiued in his mind the thing that shortlie followed, incessantlie erhorted the councell, that the duke of Yorke, by compulsion or otherwise, might be driuen to confesse his offense, that so being attainted of treason, he might suffer execution, and his children to be taken as aduersaries to their natiue countrie; to the intent that by the extinction of him and his sequeale, all ciuill warre and inward diuision might ceasse and be represt: beseeching almightie God, that so great an enimie to the king and his bloud, might neuer escape punishment, nor continue long in life.

The duke of Somerset set forth this matter the more vehementlie, because he knew perfectlie, that the duke of Yorke dailie imagined with himselfe, how to get the crowne, and to depose and destroie both the king and him. But destinie cannot by manie mans deuise be letted, and manie things (to appéerance) declared the duke of Yorkes innocencie in this case. First, his free and voluntarie comming to the king, without constreint, when he was partlie of puissance able to haue incountred with the kings whole power. Secondlie, his humble submission, and reasonable requests, as well on his owne behalfe, as for the poore commons: which might argue that he sought for no souereignetie. Destinie cannot be auoided

Whilest the councell treated of sauing or dispatching of this duke of Yorke, a rumor sprang through London, that Edward earle of March, sonne and heire apparant to the said duke, with a great armie of Marchmen, was comming toward London: which tidings sore appalled the quéene and the whole councell. Beside this, the verie same daie came ambassadours from the chéefe citizens and magistrats of the citie of Burdeaux; whereof the chéefe were, the earle of Kendale, and the lord de Lesparre; which signified to the councell, that if they would send an armie into Gascoigne, the people of the countrie would reuolt from the French part, and eftsoones become English. These two things sore troubled the heads of the councell, which, least inward sedition might hinder outward conquests, set the duke of Yorke at libertie, and permitted him to go to his castell of Wigmore, in the marches of Wales, by whose absence the duke of Somerset rose in such high fauour, both with the king and quéene, that his word onelie ruled, and his voice alone was heard. 1452 Occasion that set the duke of Yorke frée.

¶ Neuertheless the said duke of Yorke had first made his submission, and toke his oth to be true, faithfull, and obedient subiect to king Henrie the first king of England, in saint Pauls church at London, there being present the king, and most of his nobilitie, that is to saie, the dukes of Buckingham, Northampton, and Somerset: the earls of Warwike, Arundell, Salisburie, Shropshire, Deuonshire, Wiltshire, Northumberland, Stafford and Dorset, vicounts of Beaumount and Welles: barons, Fitz Warren, Saimmound, Cobham, Dowglas, and others: bishops, the cardinall, archbishop of Yorke and Canturburie, Winchester, Elie, and London, in these words following. Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 671, 672. in Quart.

The tenor of the duke of Yorks submission to king Henrie, vnder his oth.

I Richard duke of Yorke confesse and beknow, that I am & ought to be humble subiect and liegeman to you my souereigne lord king Henrie the first, and owe therefore to beare you faith and truth, as to my souereigne liege lord, and shall doo all daies vnto my liues end; and shall not at anie time will or assent, that any thing attempted or doone against your most noble person: but where so euer I shall haue knowledge of anie such thing imagined or purposed, I shall with all spæd and diligence possible to me, make that your highnesse shall haue knowledge thereof: and ouer that, doo all that shall be possible to me, to the withstanding and let thereof, to the vttermost of my

my life. I shall not anie thing take vpon me against your roiall estate or obeisance that is due thereto, nor suffer anie other man to do, as farre forth as it shall be in my power to let it: and also shall come at your commandement when so euer I shall be called by the same, in humble and obeisant wise: but if I be letted by anie sickenesse or impotence of my person, or by such other cause as shall be thought by you my souereigne lord reasonable. I shall neuer hereafter take vpon me to gather anie rout, nor to make anie assemblie of your people, without your commandement or licence, or in my lawfull defense. In interpretation or declaration of the which my lawfull defense, I shall report me at all times to your highnesse, and if the case require, to my peeres; nor any thing attempt against anie of your subiects, of what estate, degree, or condition that they be. But when so euer I find my selfe wronged and agreeued, I shall sue humblie for remedie to your highnesse: and proceed after the course of your lawes, and in none otherwise: sauing in mine owne lawfull defense in maner aboue said, and otherwise haue to your highnesse as an humble and true subiect ought to haue him to his souereigne lord.

All these things aboue said I promise you truelie to obserue and keepe, by the holie euangelists conteined in the booke that I laie my hand herevpon, and by the holie crosse I here touch, and by the blessed sacrament of our Lords bodie, that I shall now with his mercie receiue. And ouer I agree me and will, that if I anie time hereafter, as by the grace of our Lord God I neuer shall, anie thing attempt by waie of feat or otherwise against your roiall maiestie, and obeisance that I owe therto, or anie thing take vpon me otherwise than is aboue expressed, I from that time forth be vnabled, held, and taken as an vntrue and openlie forsworne man, and vnable to all maner of worship, estate, and degree, be it such as I now occupie, or anie other that might in anie wise grow vnto me hereafter. And this I haue here promised and sworne, procedeth of mine owne desire and free voluntee, and by no constraining or coaction. In witnesse of all the which things aboue written, I Richard duke of Yorke (aboue named) subscribe with mine owne hand and seale.

C 7 A 1

Anno Reg. 31. 1453

The councell not forgetting the offer of the Gascoignes, and that they might now haue the citie of Burdeaux, with the countrie round about, by request of the inhabitants, appointed the valiant capteine John lord Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, to go thither with an armie: who arriuing in the Ile of Madre, passed forth with his power, being scant three thousand men, and tooke the strong towne of Fronsacke, and diuerse other townes & fortresses. The inhabitants of Burdeaux, hearing of the earles arriuall, sent to him messengers in the darke night, requiring him with all speed to come and receiue the citie. The earle lost not one houre, but hasted forth, & came before that citie, yer the Frenchmen within vnderstood anie thing of the citizens purpose. When they were aduertised that there was a gate set open for the Englishmen to enter, they thought to haue escaped secretlie by a postерne: but they were pursued, slaine, and taken by the lord de Lespar, and other of the English armie.

After the regaining of Burdeaux, there arriued at Blaie the bastard of Summerset, sir John Talbot, lord Lisle by his wife, sonne to the said erle of Shrewesburie, the lord Molins, the lord Harington, the lord Camois, sir John Howard, sir John Montgomerie, sir John Vernon, with two twentie hundred men, with vittels and munitions. When the earle was thus (according to his intent) of all things furnished, first he fortified Burdeaux with Englishmen, and store of vittels; and after that he rode into the countrie abroad, where he obteined cities, and got townes without stroke or dint of sword, for the people alreadie wearied of the French seruitude, and longing sore to returne to the English libertie, seemed to desire nothing more than to haue the earle to receiue them into the English obeisance. Amongst other townes, the towne and castell of Chastillon in Perigort was to him deliuered, the which he fortified with men and ordinance verie stronglie.

The French people sone wearie of the French gouernment.

In the meane time, the French king, being aduertised of all these doings, raised an armie to resist this inuasion made by the erle of Shrewesburie. And first he appointed his capteins to besiege the towne of Chastillon, to the rescue whereof the earle hasted forward, hauing in his companie eight hundred horsemen, vnder the leading of his sonne the lord Lisle, the lord Molins, the lord Camois, sir Edward Hull, sir John Howard, and sir John Vernon. He appointed also fiue thousand footmen, vnder the conduct of the earle of Kendall, and the lord de Lespar, to follow him with all speed. In his waie, he tooke by fine force a tower which the Frenchmen had taken, and slue all that he found within it. And after by the waie, he met fiue hundred Frenchmen going a forraging, of whome he slue the more part, and chased the other to the campe.

The Frenchmen that laie at the siege, perceiuing by those good runners away that the earle approched, left the siege, and retired in good order into the place which they had trenched, ditched, and fortified with ordinance. The earle aduertised how the siege was remoued, hasted forward towards his enimies, doubting most, least they would haue beene quite fled and gone before his comming. But they fearing the displeasure of the French king (who was not far off) if they should haue fled, abode the earles comming, and so receiued him: who though he first with manfull courage, and sore fighting wan the entrie of their campe; yet at length they compassed him about, and shooting him through the thigh with an handgun, slue his horsse, and finallie killed him lieng on the ground, whome they durst neuer looke in the face, while he stood on his feet.

The valiant earle of Shrewesburie and his son manfullie slaine.

It was said, that after he perceiued there was no remedie, but present losse of the battell, he counselled his sonne the lord Lisle, to saue himselfe by flight, sith the same could not redound to anie great reproch in him, this being the first iournie in which he had beene present. Manie words he vsed to persuade him to haue saued his life: but nature so wrought in the son, that neither desire of life, nor feare of death, could either cause him to shrinke, or conueie himselfe out of the danger, and so there manfullie ended his life with his said father. There died also the earles bastard sonne Henrie Talbot, and sir Edward Hull elect to the order of the garter, and thirtie other men of name and right valiant personages of the English nation.

The

The lord Molins was taken prisoner with three score others. The residue of the English people fled to Burdeaux and other places, of whome in the fight were slaine aboue a thousand persons.

Thus at this battell of Chatillon, fought the thirtenth daie of Julie in this yeare, ended his life John lord Talbot, and of his progenie the first earle of Shrewesburie: after that he with much fame and most victorie, had valiantlie made warre, and serued his prince and countrie by the space of foure and twentie yeares, in the parties of beyond the seas, whose corps was left on ground, and after was found by his frends, and conueied to Whitchurch in Shropshire where it was interred. After this discomfiture diuerse lords fled to Burdeaux, but the earle of Candall, the lords of Montferrant, of Rosaine, & of Dangladas entered into the castell of Chatillon, which by the space of ten daies they defended: but in the end despairing of all succours, they rendred the fortresse, and came safe to Burdeaux.

After this, the townes of saint Million, Liborne, and all other, which the erle of Shrewesburie had conquered, rendred themselues to the Frenchmen, Burdeaux onelie excepted. Which citie, being the last refuge of the English people, the French king in person besieged with all his puissance; and in conclusion constreined both the garrisons and inhabitants to yeeld, so that the Englishmen & Gascoignes might safelie depart into England or into Calis, with all their substance; and that the lords de Lesparre, Duras, and thirtie others, should neuer (vpon paine of death) be found within anie of the French kings dominions, which lord de Lesparre being after taken in Gascoigne disguised, was made shorter by the head. When this composition was agreed and sealed, the Englishmen were shortlie transported ouer into England, in the moneth of October this present yeare.

Burdeaux yeelded againe to ỹ French.

Thus was the duchie of Aquitaine, which had continued in the English possession, from the yeare of our Lord 1155, vnto this present yeare, which is neere hand three hundred yeares, by the mariage of Elenor daughter and heire to William duke of Aquitaine, wife to king Henrie the second, finallie reduced and brought againe to the French obedience and seruitude. Within that onlie duchie be foure archbishops, foure and twentie bishops, fifteene earledomes, two hundred and two baronies, and aboue a thousand captainships and baliffewikes: whereby ye may consider, what a losse this was to the realme of England.

Aquitaine lost.

The dignitie and state of that dukedome.

On the thirteenth daie of October this yeare, was the queene deliuered at Westminster of a faire sonne, who was christened, and named Edward.

The queene deliuered of hir son prince Edward.

His mother susteined not a little slander and oblocquie of the common people, who had an opinion that the king was not able to get a child; and therefore sticked not to saie, that this was not his sonne, with manie slanderous words, greatlie sounding to the quenes dishonour; much part perchance vntrulie. After the birth of this child, he highlie aduanced his brethren on his mothers side: for Edmund he made earle of Richmond, which was father to king Henrie the seuenth, and Jasper he created erle of Penbroke, which died without issue. ¶ This yeare, John Stafford archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, and John Kempe archbishop of Yorke was remoued from that see, to succeed in place of the said Stafford, being the three score and second archbishop there, & John Woth bishop of Couentrie and Lichfield was translated to Yorke, being the one and fiftith archbishop of that church.

Abr. Fl. ex I. St. pag. 673.

¶ On Bartholomew daie at the wrestling neere vnto Clerkenwell, a gentleman belonging to the prior of saint Johns, made a rumor or tumult, for the which (by the commandement of the maior) he was arrested by Richard Allie one of the shiriffes, and deliuered to Paris a sergeant. But such resistance was made by parts taking, that the shiriffe was faine to craue helpe of the maior, who with his brethren the aldermen arose from the game, and strengthened the shiriffes. And for the rescue of the said gentleman, one named Calis, came out of saint Johns with a great strength of archers, to resist the maior, in the which frate a yeoman of saint Johns was slaine, and manie other sore hurt. The maior himselfe escaped hardlie, for his cap was smitten from his head with an arrow: but the maior with his citizens put the other to flight, sent the principall of them to Newgate, and then toke his place againe till the games were ended: by which time the citizens had gathered themselues in great number, and fetched him home, neuer maior so strenglie nor so honorablie.]

The maior, shiriffes and aldermen, resisted and abused in a frate neere Clerkenwell.

✲ This yeare was Thomas Bourchier bishop of Elie (sonne to the countesse of Stafford, and brother to Henrie Bourchier earle of Esser) remoued to the see of Canturburie; who in the yeare after the word became flesh and appeared in humane shape 1443, first obteined the see of Elie (although once before he was by the king put backe from thence after his election of the couent thereunto, and confirmation of the pope) being translated from Worcester to the said see of Elie, the twelfth daie of March in the said yeare 1443. This man (after that he had remained at Elie ten yeares, three and twentie weekes, and fiue daies) was (as is before said) in this yeare 1454 remoued to Canturburie by Nicholas the fift then bishop of Rome. After this he was made chancellor, which office he obteined the seauenth of March, in the yeare 1455, being the three and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the sixts reigne. Lastlie he was aduanced to the dignitie of cardinall by pope Paule the second, in the yeare of our Lord 1465, of whome is made a more liberall discourse in a *tretise of the liues of the chancellors of England: a place of no small authoritie and reputation.]

Fr. Thin. Anno Reg. 32. 1454

*In a tretise hereafter following.

After the warres foulie ended in forren parties, ciuill dissention began againe at home, diuided specially into two factions. As K. Henrie descended of the house of Lancaster possessed the crowne from his grandfather king Henrie the fourth (first author of that title) so Richard duke of Yorke, as heire to Lionell duke of Clarence, third sonne to king Edward the third, inforced. By reason whereof, the nobles as well as the common people were into parts diuided, to the vtter destruction of manie a man, and to the great ruine and decaie of this region: for while the one partie sought to destroie the other, all care of the common-wealth was set aside, and iustice and equitie clearelie exiled.

The duke of Yorke (aboue all things) first sought means how to stir vp the malice of the people against the duke of Summerset, imagining that he being made awaie, his purpose should the soner take effect. He also practised to bring the king into the hatred of the people, as that he should not be a man apt to the gouernment of a realme, wanting both wit and stomach sufficient to supplie such a rome. Manie of the high estates, not liking the world, and disalowing the doings both of the king and his councell, were faine inough of some alteration. Which thing the duke well vnderstanding, chiefelie sought the fauour of the two Neuils, both named Richard, one earle of Salisburie, the other earle of Warwike, the first being the father, and the second the sonne.

The duke of Yorke seeks the destruction of the duke of Summerset.

He banded himselfe with the Neuils.

This earle of Salisburie was second son to Rafe Neuill earle of Westmerland, whose daughter the duke of Yorke had maried, and the said Richard was espoused to ladie Alice, the onelie child and sole heire of

The issue of Richard earle of Salisburie.

of Thomas Montacute earle of Salisburie, slaine at the siege of Orleance (as before is declared) of which woman he begat Richard, John, and George: Richard the eldest sonne espoused Anne, the sister and heire of the entire blood to lord Henrie Beauchamp earle and after duke of Warwike, in whose right and title he was created and named earle of Warwike. [Full fraught was this noble man with good qualities right excellent and manie, all which a certeine naturall grace did vnto all estates so farforth recommend, that with high and low he was in singular fauour and good liking, so as (vnsought for) it seemed, in authoritie among them, he grew able to command all alone.] W.P.

Anno Reg. 33. 1455

When the duke of Yorke had fastened his chaine betweene these two strong pillers, he with his frends wrought so effectuouslie, and handled his businesse so politikelie, that the duke of Summerset was arrested in the quéenes great chamber, and sent to the Tower of London, where he kept his Christmasse without great solemnitie. Against whom, soone after in open parlement were laid diuerse and heinous articles of high treason, as well for the losse of Normandie, as for the late mischance which happened in Guien. The king at that time was sicke at Clarendon, and conueied to London, by reason whereof no finall determination proceeded in this weightie cause; but all was put in suspense, till the next assemblie of the high court of parlement. Some doo write, that whilest the king was sicke, the duke of Yorke bare all the rule, and gouerned as regent or viceroie, by authoritie committed to him by the lords of the realme, then assembled in councell; he to see to the preseruation and good gouernement of the common-wealth, during the kings sicknesse, which was so grieuous (as it was said) that he late senseles, and was not able for a time either to go or stand.

The duke of Summerset arrested.

The king sicke.

Whethamsted.

The duke of Yorke having aforehand obteined an absolution of the pope, in discharge of his oth before taken, did now discouer his stomach against the duke of Summerset. But when the king was amended againe, and resumed to him his former gouernement, either of his owne mind, or by the quéenes procurement, the duke of Summerset was set at libertie; by which doing great enuie and displeasure grew. That notwithstanding, the quéene (which then bare the chiefe rule) caused the duke of Summerset to be preferred to the capteinship of Calis, wherwith not onlie the commons, but also manie of the nobilitie were greatlie grieued and offended, saieng, that he had lost Normandie, and so would he doo Calis.

The duke of Summerset set at libertie.

Made deputie of Calis.

The duke of Yorke and his adherents, perceiuing that neither exhortation nor charging him with his crimes preuailed against the duke of Summerset, they meant to mend the matter by open war: & soone after he being in the marches of Wales, accompanied with his speciall friends, the earles of Salisburie, and Warwike, the lord Cobham, and others, assembled a power, and in warlike maner marched toward London. The king informed hereof, assembled likewise a great host, and meaning to méet with the duke, rather in the north parts than about London, where it was thought he had too manie friends, he accompanied with the dukes of Summerset and Buckingham, the earles of Penbroke, Stafford, Northumberland, Deuonshire, Dorset, and Wilshire, the lords Clifford, Sudlie, Berneis, Ros, and others, being in all aboue two thousand men of warre, departed from Westminster the twentith, or (as some haue) the one and twentith of Maie, and late the first night at Wadford.

The duke of Yorke assembled an armie.

Whethamsted.

The king with two thousand.

Of whose doings the duke of Yorke by espials hauing full aduertisement, with all his power, being not full three thousand men (as some write) coasted the countrie, and came to saint Albons the third daie next insuing. The king there had pight his standard in a place called Goselow, otherwise Sandiford, in saint Peters street: the lord Clifford kept the barriers of the towne, to stop, that the duke being assembled in Keie field, should not enter the towne. & The duke of Yorke (saith one moderne chronographer) knowing the strength made against him, abiding in the field aforesaid, from seuen of the clocke in the morning vntill it was almost ten of the clocke without anie stroke smitten on either part, by the aduise of his councell sent vnto the king vnder these words following. Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 675, 676, 677. in Quart.

The duke with three thousand.

Words in writing by the duke of *Yorke to the king.*

PLease it vnto your excellent grace, Richard duke of Yorke, to take him as your true liege man and humble subiect; and to consider and tender at the reuerence of God, and in the waie of charitie, the true intent of my comming, and to be good and gratious souereigne vnto me, & all other your true liege men, which, that with all their power and might will be readie to liue and die with you in your right, and to doo all things as shall like your maiestie roiall to command vs, if it be to the worship of the crowne of England, and the welfare of this your noble realme. Moreouer, gratious lord, please it vnto your maiestie roiall, of your great goodnesse and rightwisenesse, to incline your will to heare & féele the rightwise part of vs your true subiects and liege men. First, praieng and beséeching to our souereigne, Christ Jesus, of his high and mightie power, to giue you vertue of prudence, and that through the praier of the glorious martyr S. Albon giue you verie knowledge of our truths, and to know the intent of our assembling at this time: for God that is in heauen knoweth, our intent is rightfull and true. And therefore we praie vnto that mightie Lord in these words: *Domine fis clypeus defensionis nostræ.* Wherfore gratious lord, please it your maiestie roiall, to deliuer such as we will accuse, and they to haue like as they haue deserued: and this done, you to be honorablie worshipped as most rightfull king and our true gouernour. And if we should now at this time be promised, as afore this time (is not vnknowen) haue béene promises broken which haue béene full faithfullie promised, and therevpon great othes sworne, we will not now ceasse for no such promises, nor oth, till we haue them which haue deserued death, or else we to die therefore.

The answer by the king to *the duke of Yorke.*

KIng Henrie charge and command, that no manner person, of what degrée, estate or what condition soeuer he be, abide not; but that they auoid the field, and not be so hardie to make resistance against me in my owne realme. For I shall know what traitour dare be so bold to raise anie people in mine owne land, wherethrough I am in great disease and heauines. By the faith I owe vnto S. Edward, and vnto the crowne of England, I shall destroie them euerie mothers sonne, and eke they to be hanged, drawne, and quartered, that may be taken afterward of them, in example to make all such traitors to beware for to make anie rising of people within mine owne land, and so traitorouslie to abide their king and gouernour. And for a conclusion, rather than they shall haue anie lord, that here is with me at this time, I shall this day for their sake in this quarell my selfe liue and die.

The

The words of the duke of Yorke *to all gentlemen and other assembled with him.*

SIrs, the king our soueresgne lord will not be reformed at our besæching ne prater, nor will not in no wise vnderstand the intent wherfore we be here assembled and gathered at this time, but onelie is in full purpose to destroie vs all. And therupon a great oth hath made, that there is none other waie, but that he with all his power will pursue vs; and if we be taken, to giue vs a shamefull death, læsing our liuelod and goods, and also our heires shamed for euer. Therefore sirs, now sith it will none other wise be, but that we shall vtterlie die; better it is for vs to die in the field, than cowardlie to be put to an vtter rebuke and shamefull death, for the right of England standeth in vs. Considering also in what perill it standeth at this time, and for to redresse the mischæfe thereof, let euerie man helpe to his power this daie, and in that quarell to quite vs like men, to the crowne of England; praieng and besæching vnto that Lord, the which is eternall, that reigneth in the glorious kingdome celestiall, to kæpe and saue vs this daie in our right, and through the gifts of his holie grace we may be made strong to withstand the great, abhominable, and horrible malice of them that purpose to destroie vs and the realme of England, and put vs to a shamefull death. Praie we therefore to the Lord to be our comfort and our defendour, saieng these words, *Domine scutopeus defensionis nostræ.*]

Whethamsted The duke of Buckingham sent to ỹ duke of Yorke.

But another historie-writer saith, that the king, when first he heard of the duke of Yorks approch, sent to him messengers, the duke of Buckingham, and others, to vnderstand what he meant by his comming thus in maner of warre. The duke of Buckingham to his message was answered by the duke of Yorke and his complices, that they were all of them the kings faithfull liege subiects, and intended no harme to him at all: but the cause of our comming (saie they) is not in meaning anie hurt to his person. But let that wicked and naughtie man the duke of Summerset be deliuered vnto vs, who hath lost Normandie, and taken no regard to the preseruation of Gascoigne; and furthermore, hath brought the realme vnto this miserable estate; that where it was the floure of nations, and the princesse of prouinces [now is it haled into desolation & spoile, not so dreadfull by malice of forren enimie, that indeed vtterlie (as yæ know) sæketh our ruine, as by the intollerable outrages of him that so long ago & euen still appeares to haue sworne the confusion of our king and realme.] If it therefore please the king to deliuer that bad man into our hands, we are readie without trouble or breach of peace, to returne into our countrie. But if the king be not minded so to do, bicause he cannot misse him; let him vnderstand, that we will rather die in the field, than suffer such a mischæse vnredressed.

The duke of Summerset burdned with all things that had happened amisse. W. P.

The king aduertised of this answer, more wilfull than tollerable, appointed him rather to trie battell, than deliuer the duke of Summerset to his enimies. Whereof they ascerteined made no longer staie, but streightwaie sounded the trumpet to battell: or rather (as Hall saith) while king Henrie sent forth his ambassadours to treat of peace at the one end of the towne, the earle of Warwike with his Marchmen entred at the other end, and fiercelie setting on the kings fore-ward, within a small time discomfited the same. The place where they first brake into the towne, was about the middle of saint Peters street. The fight for a time was right sharpe and cruell, for the duke of Summerset, with the other lords, comming to the succours of their companions that were put to the worse, did what they could to beat backe the enimies: but the duke of Yorke sent euer fresh men to succour the wearie, and to supplie the places of them that were hurt, whereby the kings armie was finallie brought low, and all the chæfteins of the field slaine and beaten downe. Edw. Hall.

The first battell of saint Albons. Whethamsted

For there died vnder the signe of the castell, Edmund duke of Summerset, who (as hath bæne reported) was warned long before to auoid all castels: and beside him laie Henrie the second of that name earle of Northumberland, Humfrie earle of Stafford sonne to the duke of Buckingham, John lord Clifford, sir Barthram Antwisell knight, a Norman borne (who forsaking his natiue countrie to continue in his loiall obedience to king Henrie, came ouer to dwell here in England when Normandie was lost) William Zouch, John Boutreur, Rafe Bapthorp, with his sonne William Corwin, William Cotton, Gilbert Faldinger, Reginald Griffon, John Dawes, Elice Wood, John Eith, Rafe Woodward, Gilbert Skarlock, and Rafe Willoughbie esquiers, with manie other, in all to the number of eight thousand, as Edward Hall saith in his chronicle: if there escaped not a fault in the impression, as 8000 for 800, sith hundreds in deed would better agrée with the number of the kings whole power, which he brought with him to that battell, being not manie aboue two thousand, as by writers appeareth.

The duke of Summerset slaine.

Thomas lord Clifford, saith Whethamsted.

Humfreie duke of Buckingham, being wounded, and James Butler earle of Ormond and Wilshire, and Thomas Thorp lord chæfe baron of the escheker, sæing fortune thus against them, left the king alone, and with a number fled awaie. Those that thus fled, made the best shift they could to get awaie through gardens and backesides, through shrubs, hedges and woods, sæking places where to hide themselues, vntill that dangerous tempest of the battell were ouerblowne. Diuerse of the kings house also that could better skill to plaie the courtiers than warriors, fled with the first; and those of the east parts of the realme were likewise noted of too much lacke of courage, for their spædie withdrawing themselues, and leauing the king in danger of his aduersaries: who perceiuing his men thus fled from him, withdrew into a pore mans house to saue himselfe from the shot of arrowes, that flue about him as thicke as snow.

The kings part banquished.

¶This done, saith one historien, the duke of Yorke, the earles of Warwike, and Salisburie, came vnto the king where he was, and besought him on their knees of grace and forgiuenesse for that they had done in his presence, and besought him of his highnesse to take them to grace, and as his true liege men. The king desiring them to cease their people, that there should be no more hurt done, and to obeie his commandement, did cause to be proclamed in the kings name, that all manner of people should cease off their malice, and not to smite one stroke more, and so ceased the battell. And vpon the day next after, the king and the duke of Yorke, the earles of Warwike & Salisburie, came all to London; and were lodged in the bishops palace of London, where they kept their Whitsuntide with great ioy and solemnitie, concluding there to hold a parlement, the same to begin on the ninth daie of Julie next following.]

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 678, 679. in Quart.

Another historien saith, that the duke of Yorke, aduertised of the place into the which the king was withdrawne for the safetie of himselfe, and taking him into his power, comforted him in the best wise he could; assuring him, that now that the common enimie of the realme was dispatched, to wit, the duke

of Summerset, he had cause rather to reioise, than to be sorie, sith his destruction was the kings preseruation. And for himselfe and all his adherents he vndertooke, that they were and would remaine, during life, his most faithfull liege people, readie in all points to serue him, as his trustie and obedient subiects. After he had vsed such words, as wherewith best to comfort him, he brought the king forth of that simple house with all due reuerence shewed toward him first to the shrine, and after to his chamber.

Whilest the duke of Yorke was about thus to comfort the king, the soldiers that had the victorie now in their hands, applied the spoile, namelie, the Northerne men, stripping not onelie those that had borne armor against them, but also the townsmen and other, with whom they might meet. So that it was thought, if the king had taken vp his lodging at his first comming thither, within the abbeie, as he did not (but in the middest of the towne, to prouide the better to resist his enimies) the abbeie had beene spoiled also. This was the end of the first battell at saint Albons, which was fought vpon the thursdaie next before the feast of Pentecost, being the three and twentith day of Maie, in this three and thirtith yeare of the kings reigne. The bodies of the noble men were buried in the monasterie in our ladies chapell, and the meane people in other places. This Edmund duke of Summerset left behind him three sonnes, Henrie, Edmund and John, which to the extremitie of death tooke part with the line of king Henrie.

Battell of S. Albons on thursday the 23 of Maie. Anno Reg. 33.

Foure of the to wit, the duke of Summerset, the earle of Northumberland, and the lord Clifford, were buried in our ladie chapell. Whethamsted

[There was this yeare a great fight & fraie vpon Clift heath, distant about two miles from Excester, betweene Thomas Courtneie earle of Deuonshire, against William lord Bonuile of Shut, and sundrie men of both parts were slaine. But yet the lord Bonuile preuailed & had the victorie, who forthwith came to this citie, and the gates before being shut, were opened and he receiued; which thing so greeued the earle, that he continuallie sought thenceforth to be reuenged. But not long after in the quarell betweene king Henrie the first, and king Edward the fourth, he ended his daies, and was beheaded at Yorke, and was the last of that line.]

John Hooker, alias Vowell.

The duke of Yorke, hauing gotten the victorie, remembred well, that he had published abroad how the onelie cause of this warre was, for the aduancement of the common-wealth, and therefore vsing all courtesie, would not touch the kings person after anie violent sort; but with all honour and due reuerence conueied him to London, and so to Westminster. To which place was summoned a parlement, which began the ninth date of Julie, in the which session, the late duke of Gloucester was openlie declared a true subiect, both to the king and to the realme. Beside this, it was enacted, that no person should either iudge or report anie point of vntruth of the duke of Yorke, the earles of Salisburie and Warwike, or of anie knight, esquier, archer, or other, for comming in warlike araie against the king, at saint Albons; considering their enterprise was onelie to see the kings person in safegard.

A parlement.

But all the blame was put vpon the duke of Summerset, Thomas Thorp, baron of the escheker, and William Iosep esquier, the kings collaterall companion; because that they, vpon malicious purpose, kept a certeine letter from the kings knowledge, and would in no wise suffer it to be deliuered vnto him, notwithstanding the same made to the aduancement of some good peace, had it beene throughlie and aduisedlie read, weied & considered. In which letter they declared, that as faithfull and humble subiects, they required onelie, that it would please the king (whose honor, health, suertie, and preseruation, they chiefelie wished) not to giue credence to their aduersaries malicious suggestions, till their comming to his presence, vnto the which they humblie besought him that they might be admitted as his faithfull liege people, to shew the intent and purpose of their commings; which was to none other end, than to declare their fidelitie and allegiance towards his most roiall person, intending to put themselues with as much diligence and trauell in all things that might aduance his honour, health, and safegard, as any subiect he had liuing.

Whethamsted Collaterall. A letter kept from the king of purpose.

The keeping backe of this letter from the kings sight and knowledge, did minister matter sufficient vnto the parlement, to colour and iustifie for well done all transgressions committed in the late battell and chase at saint Albons. In this parlement also, the duke of Yorke was made protector of the realme, and the earle of Salisburie was appointed to be lord chancellour, and had the great seale to him deliuered, and the earle of Warwike was elected to the office of the capteinship of Calis, and the territories of the same; and thus the rule of the realme rested in the orders of the duke and chancellour, and all warlike affaires remained principallie in the earle of Warwike. And so amongest them it was agreed, that king Henrie should reigne still in name and dignitie, but neither in deed nor in authoritie; not minding to destroie him, least they might suddenlie prouoke the furie of the common people against them, because that of the simple sort of people he was for his holinesse of life, and abundant clemencie, much fauoured and highlie esteemed.

The duke of Yorkes comming against the king iustified.

The duke of Yorke made protector of the realme.

The king to reigne in name but not in authoritie.

In this parlement also it was enacted, that the king should resume, take into his hands againe, haue and reteine into his possession, all honours, castels, lordships, townes, villages, manours, lands, tenements, walks, forests, chases, rents, reuersions, fees, farmes, seruices, issues, profits, counties, aduousons of priories, churches, hospitals, and free chapels, and all other reuenues with their appurtenances, the which had passed from him since the first date of his reigne vnto that present; either by his letters patents, or authoritie of parlement, and manie other meanes, whether by grant, confirmation, or release from him made in fee simple, or fee taile, for tearme of life or yeares, to anie maner of person and persons in England, Wales, Scotland, or the marches; in Ireland, or in the townes of Calis, & Guisnes, & the marches there. And likewise all grants made of such things as are aboue mentioned, being parcell of the duchie of Lancaster; and further all grants of offices, rowmes, fees, wages, or commodities, not accustomed to belong to anie office or charge before the said first date of the kings reigne, were likewise reuoked.

Whethamsted. An act for the K. to reuoke certeine grants.

Diuerse other things were also conteined within this reuocation and generall resumption; with certeine exceptions yet and prouisoes had, as were thought conuenient, and as by the same act it doth appeare. Moreouer, now that the duke of Yorke and his adherents had wrested the whole rule & gouernement into their hands; all such persons as the king either loued, or the queene fauoured, were put beside the priuie councell; and such put in their places, as were knowne to fauour the house of Yorke. Also the officers were changed throughout the realme, at the will and disposition of the protector, chancellour, and capteine of Calis; so that they constituted as it were a triumuirat, ruling all things at discretion of these three. And yet in all their rule I find not that anie mention is made of their deferring of iustice, or of anie polling or briberie: as was openlie proued by such as gouerned before their time. Onlie they were noted of diuerse spirituall persons, and namelie of the abbat of Westminster and his monks, for a great

Shifting of officers.

great offense: bicause they toke out of the sanctuarie at Westminster, John Holland duke of Excester, all against the order taken in the last parlement, and sent him to the castell of Pomfret.

Henrie duke of Summerset.

But now the lord Henrie Beaufort, newlie duke of Summerset by the death of duke Edmund his father, slaine at the battell of saint Albons (as aboue is rehearsed) and Humfrie duke of Buckingham (who then & there lost his sonne and heire) and other of estate taking the part of king Henrie, whose case they did much bewaile & doubt, as perceiuing whereto the courtesie of the duke of Yorke did draw: they therefore thinking it necessarie to purueie for a remedie yer the mischæfe happened, consulted with the quæne. By whose aduise was a great councell called at Greenewich, where the duke of Yorke was discharged of his protectorship, & the earle of Salisburie deprriued also of his office. ¶ This sudden change amongst the nobilitie caused alterations, and seditious attempts in the commonaltie, and in especiall within London: whereof this was one. A yong merchant, which before time had béene in diuerse cities of Italie, and there forbidden by the magistrats (as the law and maner is) to weare anie weapon, now challenged an Italian in Cheapside for wearing a dagger, telling him it was against his owne countrie lawes: whereto bicause the Italian answered somewhat disdainefullie, the merchant not onelie toke by force from him his dagger, but also with the same brake his pate.

The duke of Yorke discharged of his office.

1456

This Italian in great hast complained to the maior, so that at the next court holden at the Guildhall, the merchant was sent for, and vpon charge of his offense, he was commanded to ward. Wherevpon diuerse other light persons within the citie, assembled togither in great plumps, by force constreined the maior to deliuer the prisoner out of Newgate: and not so satisfied, like mad men ran to the seuerall houses of diuerse Venetians, Lucases, and Florentins, and them spoiled, robbed, and rifled without reason or measure. The maior, perceiuing this enormious doing, assembled a number of substantiall and graue citizens; who (not without bloudshed and maiming of sundrie) appeased the rage, and caused the misruled people to depart to their houses. The beginner of this vprore got him to Westminster, and there registred himselfe for a sanctuarie man.

In vprore in the citie of London.

A foule disorder.

The quæne, which now againe ruled all, being aduertised of this vnlawfull misdemeanour, sent the dukes of Excester and Buckingham, with other noble men to London, with a commission oier and terminer, for the inquirie and punishment of so seditious an offense. But when the maior, the two dukes, and the two chæfe iustices were set in the Guildhall vpon their commission, intelligence was giuen, that a number of light persons were approching in armor to rescue the prisoners apprehended for the late robberie and riot, as they were caried to their arraignement. The two dukes and the other commissioners quickelie thense departed, and left their inquirie for that daie, though in déed in no such danger as they doubted: for certeine discréet and sage citizens so handled the matter, that no misorder followed of that furie.

A common councell called.

The maior on the next daie called a common councell, whereof the number was an hundred fourescore and od, who ordeined that all wardens of mysteries shuld assemble their companies in their halles, where exhortation should be to the obseruation of peace; and if they spied any man either readie to stirre a rumor, or make to the deliuerance of such as were in prison, their names should be secretlie written, and so deliuered to the maior: which policie well appeased this outrage. Wherevpon after the commissioners sat in Guildhall, where manie of the robbers were attainted & put to execution, beside diuers great fines set on the heads of diuerse merchants, & paid, for winking at the matter. ¶ This yeare John Kempe archbishop of Canturburie departed this life, & Thomas Bursslier bishop of Elie remoued to his place, being the three score and third archbishop of that sée.

¶ In the moneth of Nouember, in the Ile of Portland not farre from the towne of Weimouth, was séene a cocke comming out of the sea, hauing a great cresst vpon his head, and a great red beard, and legs of halfe a yard long: he stood on the water & crowed foure times, and euerie time turned him about, and beckened with his head, toward the north, the south, and the west, and was of colour like a fesant, & when he had crowed three times, he vanished awaie. And shortlie after were taken at Erith within twelue miles of London, foure great and wonderfull fishes whereof one was called *Mors marina*, the second a sword fish, the other two were whales.]

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. 681.

1457 Fabian.

The French nation, hearing of the ciuall dissention within the realme here, and for an old grudge séeking our annoie, two nauies appointed they to inuade the townes standing vpon the riuage of the sea. The capteins of the one fléet was William lord Pomiers, and of the other sir Peter Bressie, a great ruler in Normandie. These two capteins, taking their course out of the mouth of Saine, seuered themselues, the one westward; and the other eastward, which was sir Peter Bressie, who sailing alongst the coasts of Sussex and Kent, durst not yet take land, but staid in the Downes: and there hauing by espiall perfect notice that Sandwich was neither peopled nor fortified (because that a little before, the rulers of the towne were from thense departed, for to auoid the plague, which sore there afflicted and slue the people) he entered the hauen, spoiled the towne, and after such poore stuffe as he there found rifled and taken, he fearing an assemblie of the countrie, shortlie gat him awaie.

Anno Reg. 35.

Sandwich spoiled by the French.

The lord Pomiers likewise toke his course westward, & by night burning certeine houses in Fulnaie with a little pillage retired into Britaine. The Scots also (busie like flies where no flap to frate them) entered into Northumberland (king James the second being there in person) & burned certeine poore houses, and little cottages: but in the verie middest of their great enterprise, they hearing of the duke of Yorkes marching toward them with a great host, with much paine and no gaine in all hast returned to their countrie. But now to passe ouer outward inuasions, & to intreat of the dailie disorder amongest the nobles at home. So was it, that a great conflict fell betwéene the lord Egremond, & the sonnes of the erle of Salisburie; in which manie persons were slaine, & a great number hurt. The lord Egremond, séeking to get awaie but could not, by force was taken & brought before the councell: where the king and the quæne, to shew themselues indifferent, adiudged him to paie to the earle of Salisburie a great summe of monie; and for his heinous offense against the lawes, was committed to Newgate in London, out of which he escaped, to the great trouble of the shiriffes.

Fulnaie.

The Scots inuade England.

The lord Egremond committed to Newgate.

He made an escape.

The quæne nothing more séeking than the ouerthrow of the duke of Yorke and his friends, and perceiuing she could attempt nothing against him nére to London, because the duke was in more estimation there, than either the king hir husband, or hir selfe: therefore she caused the king to make a progresse into Warwikeshire for his health and recreation. And so in semblance of hawking and hunting, came to Couentrie, where diuerse waies were studied to fulfill the quænes desire: for the accomplishing whereof, the duke of Yorke, the earles of Sa-

A practise to haue intrapped the duke of yorke.

lisburie, and Warwike (whose destructions was chiefelie sought) were sent for to Couentrée by the kings letters, vnder his priuie seale, to which place the said lords without suspicion of danger obedientlie resorted.

But being admonished by secret friends, what was intended against them, they by slight auoided that danger, where otherwise their liues had béene lost without all remedie. And so without bidding anie farewell, they departed from the court; the duke vnto Wigmore in the marches of Wales, the earle of Salisburie to his castell of Middleham in the north, and the earle of Warwike sailed to Calis. The bodies of which thrée noble personages though thus separated, yet their hearts knit in one, and still went messengers & letters betwixt them, to communicat their deuises, and giue signification of their minds and purposes.

Anno Reg. 36. 1458

The bishop abiured for mouing against the popes extortion.

In this yére Reginald Peacocke bishop of Chichester, abiured at Paules crosse, all his bookes burnt, and he himselfe commanded to keepe his owne house during his naturall life: because that he (verie well learned, and better stomached) began to moue questions, not priuilie but openlie, in the vniuersities, concerning the annates, Peter pence, and other iurisdictions & authorities, which the pope vsurped; and not onelie put forth such questions, but declared his mind and opinion in the same. Some saie he held that spirituall persons by Gods law ought to haue no temporall possessions, nor that personall tithes by

W. P.

Gods law were due [nor that christian men were to beléeue in the catholike church, nor in the communion of saints, but to beléeue that a catholike church and a communion of saints there is] and that he held how the vniuersall church might erre in matters of faith; and that it is not of necessitie to beléeue all that which is ordeined by generall councels, nor all that which they call the vniuersall church ought to be allowed and holden of all christian people.

Moreouer, that it was méet to euerie man to vnderstand the scriptures in the true and plaine sense, & none bound to glosses of anie other sense, vpon anie necessitie of saluation. ¶ But because I find a larger report héereof elsewhere, and as more methodicall, so also (as it séemeth) in such forme as it was *Res gesta*, a déed done, it shall not be amisse to insert the same. This bishop was a secular doctor of diuinitie, that had labored manie yéeres to translate the holie scripture into English, & was accused to haue passed the bounds of diuinitie and christian beléefe in certeine articles, of the which he was conuict before the archbishop of Canturburie, and other bishops and clearks, and after vtterlie abiured, reuoked, and renounced those articles openlie at Paules crosse in his mother tong on the fourth day of December, as followeth.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 682, 683, 684, 685, 686. in Quart.

The forme of his abiuration.

IN the name of the trinitie, father, sonne, and holie-ghost, I Reinold Pecocke bishop of Chichester vnworthie, of mine owne power and will without anie maner coaction or dread, confesse and knowledge that I here, before this time, presuming of my naturall wit, and preferring my iudgement and naturall reason before the new and the old testament, and the authoritie & determination of our mother holie church, haue held, written and taught otherwise than the holie Romane and vniuersall church teacheth, preacheth, or obserueth. And one is against the true catholike and apostles faith, I haue written, taught, and published manie & diuerse perilous doctrines, bookes, works, and writings, conteining heresies and errors, contrarie to the faith catholike, and determination of holie church: and spetiallie these heresies and errours following, that is to saie in particular.

In primis, *quòd non est de necessitate fidei credere, quòd dominus noster Iesus Christus post mortem descendit ad inferos.*

Item, *quòd non est de necessitate salutis credere in sanctorum communionem.*

Item, *quòd ecclesia vniuersalis potest errare in his quæ sunt fidei.*

Item, *quòd non est de necessitate salutis credere & tenere illud, quod consilium generale & vniuersalis ecclesia statuit, approbat, seu determinat, in fauorem fidei, & ad salutem animarum, est ab vniuersis Christi fidelibus approbandum & tenendum.*

Wherefore I miserable sinner, which here before long time haue walked in darkenesse, and now by the mercie and infinit goodnesse of God reduced into the right waie, and light of truth, and considering my selfe grieuouslie haue sinned and wickedlie haue informed and infected the people of God, returne and come againe to the vnitie of our mother holie church, and all heresies and errors written and conteined in my said books, works and writings, here solemnelie and openlie reuoke & renounce. Which heresies and errors, and all other spices of heresies I haue before this time before the most reuerend father in God, and my good lord of Canturburie, in diuerse and lawfull forme iudiciallie abiured, submitting my selfe, being then and also now at this time verie contrite and penitent sinner, to the correction of the church and of my said lord of Canturburie.

And ouer this, exhorting & requiring in the name & vertue of almightie God, in the saluation of your soules and mind, that no man hereafter giue faith and credence to my said pernicious doctrines, heresies and errors; neither my said books kéepe, hold, or read in anie wise; but that they all such books, works, and writings suspect of heresies, deliuer in all godlie hast vnto my said lord of Canturburie, or to his commissioners and deputies, in eschewing of manie inconueniences and great perils of soules, the which else might be cause of the contrarie. And ouer this declaration of my conuersion and repentance, I here openlie assent, that my said books, works, and writings, for declaration and cause aboue rehearsed, be deputed vnto the fire, and openlie burnt in example and terror of all other, &c.

After this, he was depriued of his bishoprike, hauing a certeine pension assigned vnto him for to liue on in an abbeie, and sone after died. His books were intituled: 1 Of christian religion, and a booke perteining therevnto. 2 Of matrimonie. 3 Iust expressing of holie scripture, diuided into three parts. 4 The donet of christian religion. 5 The follower of the donet. 6 The booke of faith. 7 The booke filling the foure tables. 8 The booke of worshipping. 9 The prouoker of christian men. 10 The booke of counsell.

In the moneth of Januarie died the earle of Deuonshire in the abbeie of Abindon, poisoned (as men said) being there at that time with quéene Margaret, to appease the malice betwéene the yong lords, whose fathers were slaine at saint Albons, and they that held with the duke of Yorke. The thirtéenth of Aprill there was a great fraie in Flétstreet, betwéene men of court and the inhabitants of the same stréet, in which fraie the quéenes atturnie was slaine. For this fact the king committed the principall gouernours of Furniuals, Cliffords, and Barnards In to prison in the castell of Hertford; and William Taylor alderman of that ward, with manie other were sent to Windsore castell the seuenth of Maie. On thursdaie in Whitsunwéeke, the duke of Summerset with Anthonie Riuers and other foure kept iustes before the quéene in the Tower of London, against thrée esquiers of the quéenes. And in like maner at Gréene-

The quéenes atturnie slain.

Iusting in the Tower of London.

wich

with the sundaie following.]

King Henrie and his councell, perceiuing the duke of Yorke laie still and stirred not, returned to London, and there called a great councell, openlie declaring how the French and Scots (imboldened by the ciuill discord within this realme) attempted to annoie the same, as of late they had shewed aparant tokens, and likelie not ceasse vpon occasions to doo further displeasures, till a perfect concord were concluded betweene him and his frends, and those of the contrarie part and confederacie. And to the intent that he would be the chefe author of peace, he promised of his dignitie so to interteine the duke of Yorke and his frends, that all old grudges should be not onelie inwardlie forgotten, but also outwardlie forgiuen, which should be cause of perpetuall loue and assured amitie.

This deuise was of all men iudged for the best. Whereupon diuerse graue persons were sent to the duke of Yorke, and all other the great estates of the realme, who since the battell of saint Albons neuer met nor communed togither, commanding them for great causes to repaire to the kings court without delaie. At his commandement came to London Richard duke of Yorke, with foure hundred men, and was lodged at Bainards castell being his owne house; and after him came the earle of Salisburie with fiue hundred men, and was likewise lodged at his owne house called the Herbour. Then came the dukes of Excester and Summerset with eight hundred men, and were lodged without Temple barre; and the earle of Northumberland, the lord Egremond, and the lord Clifford came with fifteene hundred men, and lodged without the citie. The earle of Warwike also came from Calis with six hundred men in red iackets, imbrodered with white ragged staues behind and before, and was lodged at the grate friers.

The peeres of the realme called to a treatie.

Thus were all those of the one part lodged within the citie, and those of the other without, in Holborne towards Westminster, and in other places of the suburbs, all vpon wise consideration: for that the Yorke faction and the Lancastrians could not well haue beene mingled without danger of discord. After that these lords were thus come vnto London, the king and the queene shortlie followed, comming thither the seuententh daie of March, and lodged in the bishops palace. Bicause no riotous attempt or bickering should be begun betweene anie of the parties or their retinues, the maior and aldermen of the citie kept great watch, as well by daie as by night, riding about the citie by Holborne, and Fleetstreet, with fiue thousand men well armed and arraied, to see good order and peace on all sides kept.

The prouidence of the citie for safegard of peace.

The lords which lodged within the citie held a dailie councell at blacke friers: the other part sojourning without the walles, assembled likewise in the chapter house at Westminster. At length by the diligent trauell and good exhortation of the archbishop of Canturburie, and other prelats; both parties were persuaded to come to communication, and so did. Where, after long debating of grieuances on both sides, they promising to forget all old rancors, and to be frends each to other, & both obedient to the king, were accorded by award, whereof writings were sealed, signed, and deliuered to effect as followeth.

The lords are brought to agree.

The award made at Westminster *on the three and twentith of March,* Anno regni regis 36.

The clergie were sure in those daies to lose nothing

First, that at the costs, charges, and expenses of the duke of Yorke, the earles of Warwike, and Salisburie, fourtie & fiue pounds of yearelie rent should be assured by waie of a mortisement for euer, vnto the monasterie of S. Albons, for suffrages and obits to be kept, and almes to be imploied for the soules of Edmund late duke of Summerset, Henrie late erle of Northumberland, and Thomas late lord Clifford late slaine in the battell of saint Albons, and buried in the abbeie church, and also for the soules of all other slaine in the same battell. The said duke of Summerset, the earle of Northumberland, and lord Clifford, by vertue of the same award, were declared for true and faithfull liegemen to the king, and so to be holden and reputed in the date of their deaths, aswell as the said duke of Yorke, the earles of Warwike and Salisburie.

by these contentions how soeuer the world went.

Moreouer it was decreed, that the duke of Yorke should giue to Elenor duchesse of Summerset, and to Henrie duke of Summerset hir sonne, the summe of fiue thousand markes of good assignements of debts, which the king owght him for his wages, due during the time of his seruice in Ireland, to be diuided as the king should thinke conuenient, betwixt the brethren & sisters of the said duke of Summerset. Also that the earle of Warwike should giue vnto the lord Clifford, the summe of a thousand markes, in good and sufficient assignements of debts, which the king owght him, to be distributed betwixt the said lord Clifford his brethren and sisters.

Also where Thomas Persie knight, lord Egremond, and Richard Persie his brother, sonnes of the ladie Elenor countesse of Northumberland, had been in a sessions holden within the countie of Yorke before Richard Bingham, and Rafe Pole the kings iustices and other commissioners, condemned vnto the earle of Salisburie in the summe of eight thousand markes; and to the same earle, and to his wife Alice in the summe of fiue thousand marks; and to Thomas Neuill knight, son to the said earle of Salisburie, in the summe of a thousand marks; and to the said Thomas and Mawd his wife, in the summe of two thousand marks; and to John Neuill knight, sonne to the said earle of Salisburie, in the summe of eight hundred marks: for transgressions and trespasses there found to be done by the said lord Egremond, and Richard his brother, vnto the said earle of Salisburie, Alice, Thomas Neuill, Mawd and John Neuill, as by the record appeered.

The lord Egremond.

It was ordeined, that the said earle and his sonnes should release all the said summes of monie, and the executions thereof, and likewise release vnto Rafe Verneie, and John Steward late shiriffes of London, vnto whose custodie the said lord Egremond had beene for the same condemnations committed, and from them escaped, all actions which they or anie of them might haue against the said Verneie and Steward for the same escape. Yet it was decreed by this award, that the said lord Egremond should be bound by recognisance in the Chancerie, to keepe the peace toward the said erle and his wife, children, seruants, and tenants.

They were shiriffes, an. 1456.

Also where diuerse knights, esquiers, and other seruants and tenants to the said earle of Northumberland, and to the said lord Egremond, were by their seuerall obligations bound, by occasion of the said debates, vnto the said duke of Yorke, earle of Salisburie, or anie of their children, to stand to their order and gouernement; it was ordeined that the same obligations should be deliuered to them that so stood bound, before the feast of saint Peter ad vincula next insuing at the citie of Yorke; or else that the parties so bound, should haue sufficient acquitances in discharge of the same obligations.

It was further awarded, that all variances, discords, debates, controuersies, appeales, and actions personals, that were or had beene betwixt any of the

the said persons, or any of their seruants, or tenants, should be for euer determined & ended, sauing to euerie one his title, action and right, which he had by any euidence of arrerages of rents or seruices, accounts, detinues, or debts due by reason of anie lawfull contract or deed, had and made for anie reasonable considerations, other than the variance before said.

And for the more assurance of both parties, it was ordeined that either should release to other all maner of actions, that were mere personals and appeales, which anie of them might haue against the other, by reason of the variances and discords before mentioned.

Also it was decreed, that if anie action, sute or quarell chanced betwixt anie of the seruants or tenants of anie of the parties, for matter or title supposed to be had, occasioned or moued before this time; that from thenceforth, none of the said parties should mainteine, support, or aid any of them that will so sue and moue strife and debate: but should rather so deale, as the matter may be brought to peace and quietnesse.

It was further awarded, that if anie man complained, pretended, or surmised, that this award was not kept, but in some point broken by anie of the parties, for the which breach he would haue a Scire facias, or some other action prosecuted in the kings name vpon anie recognisance made to the king for the performance of this award: yet should not the same Scire facias or action be prosecuted, till the kings councell might be throughlie certified of the matter by the complainant, and vpon consideration sée iust cause whie the same Scire facias, or action ought to be had and prosecuted in the kings name.

And if anie variance rose betwixt the councell of both the parties in making of the recognisances, releases, acquittances, or other writings; the same variance should be determined by the two lords chéefe iustices, that should be fullie instructed of the kings intention in this behalfe.

And besides this, it was notified and declared by the same award, that the parties being seuerallie bound in the Chancerie in great sums to obeie and performe this award, ordinance & iudgement made by the king; it was the kings will and pleasure, that the same recognisances should stand in force, and no parcels of the summes therein conteined to be pardoned in anie wise, without the agréement and consent of the partie, for whose assurance the same recognisance was taken.

And if anie of the said summes, or anie parcell thereof should be recouered by action or execution taken and prosecuted in the kings name, vpon anie of the said recognisances; the partie to whose hinderance the award was broken, should haue the one halfe of the monie so recouered; and the other moitie should be assigned to the treasuror of the kings house. ¶ This ordinance, award and agréement, was giuen vp vnder the kings great seale, at the kings palace of Westminster, the foure and twentith daie of March in the six and thirtith yeare of his reigne.

A solemne procession at Paules. 1459

For the open publishing of this ioifull agréement, there was (vpon our ladie daie in March) a solemne procession celebrated within the cathedrall church of saint Paule in London, at the which the king was present in habit roiall, with his crowne on his head. Before him went hand in hand the duke of Somerset, the earle of Salisburie, the duke of Exceter, and the earle of Warwike; and so one of the one faction, and another of the other: and behind the king the duke of Yorke, and the quéene with great familiaritie in appearance leading hand in hand. [But what shall be said? As goodlie apples corrupted at core, (how faire coated so euer they séeme) can neuer be made to become sound againe: nor rotten walles new plastered without, can euer the more staie their moldering inward, till the putrified matter fret through the crust laie all in the mire: so fared it on all parts in this dissembled and counterfet concord.]

Anno Reg. 37. W. P.

For after this apparant peace (but inward discord) diuerse of the nobles smallie regarding their honors, forgot their oth, and brake their promise boldlie.

Not long after this, of pretensed purpose (as it was thought) a frate was made vpon a yeoman of the earle of Warwiks, by one of the kings seruants, in the which the assailant was sore hurt, but the earles man fled. Hérevpon the kings meniall seruants, séeing their fellow hurt, and the offendor escaped, assembled togither and watched the earle, when he returned from the councell chamber toward his barge, and suddenlie set on him, the yeomen with swords, the blacke gard with spits and fier-forks. After long fight, and manie of the earls men maimed and hurt, by helpe of his frends he gat a wherrie, and so escaped to London. The quéene aduertised hérof, incontinentlie commanded that he should be apprehended and committed to the tower, where (if he had béene taken) he had hortlie ended his daies.

The earle of warwike assaulted.

The quénes purpose.

By this vnhapie frate, there arose anon after such trouble and terrible warre, that the whole realme was thereby disquieted. For after this displeasure done to the earle, and the quéens good mind towards him by his secret frends reuealed; he with all diligence toke his iournie to Warwike, and after into Yorkeshire, where he found the duke of Yorke, and the earle of Salisburie, declaring vnto them the assault made vpon him by the kings seruants, and the pretensed euill purpose of the quéene. After which complaint made, he fearing to be dispossessed of his rome at Calis, with great spéed imbarked himselfe and sailed thither. He was not onelie deputie or lieutenant of Calis, but also high admerall of the seas, which office was to him confirmed for the space of fiue yeares. Wherevpon, whether before his arriuall now at Calis, or shortlie after, I cannot say; but this yeare about the middest of summer, the said earle, hauing with him a foure téene well apointed ships, sailed abroad to scowre the seas, and by chance met with fiue great ships, whereof three were caraks of Genoa, and the other two were of Spaine, bigger in heigth and length than the caraks.

Wherhamsted

The earle of warwike lord admerall.

The earle, though he was scarse able to deale against them, yet he valiantlie incountred them. There was a verie sore and long continued battell fought betwixt them, for it lasted almost the space of two daies. Yet in the end the victorie fell to the English, so that two of those ships being forced to saue themselues by flight, the other three were taken, which the earle brought vnto Calis, with all the merchandize aboord the same; the value whereof in wine, oile, war, iron, cloth of gold, and other riches, was estéemed to the summe of ten thousand pounds & aboue. By reason whereof, that was sold now for twelue pense, which would not haue béene bought before for two shillings. There were taken a great number of prisoners, beside a thousand of the enimies slaine in fight. Of the earles part there were fiftie slaine. The earles fame hereby increased not a little, and manie a blessing he had for this peece of seruice.

A rich pray.

¶ The noble science of Printing was about this time found in Germanie at Pagunce by one John Cuthembergus a knight: one Conradus an Almaine brought it into Rome: William Carton of London mercer brought it into England about the yeare 1471: and first practised the same in the abbie of saint Peter at Westminster; after which time it was likewise practised in the abbies of S. Augustine

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 686, 687.

Printing first inuented.

at

at Canturburie, saint Albons, and other monasteries of England. In a little towne in Bedfordshire there fell a bloudie raine, whereof the red drops appeared in sheets, the which a woman had hanged out for to drie.

It rained bloud.

But now to the former purpose. After that the earle was gone ouer to Calis, the duke of Yorke and the earle of Salisburie, falling in consultation togither, it was at length agreed betwixt them, with aduise of their frends, that the said earle of Salisburie with a warlike companie should march toward the king; and signifie to him by waie of complaint, both the manifest iniurie done to his sonne, and also the vncourteous breach of the sworne amitie and late agreement. In which suit if he preuailed, he should not then let passe the occasion giuen for reuenge of displeasures to him done, both by the quene and hir ministers councellors. After conclusion of this deuise, the earle of Salisburie remoued from Middleham castell, accompanied with foure or fiue thousand men, and toke his waie through Lancashire, to passe that waie towards London.

Anno Reg. 38.

The earle of Salisburie gathereth a power.

Three thousand saith Whethamsted

In the meane season, the quene, assisted and ruled by the dukes of Summerset and Buckingham, hauing a vigilant eie to all hir businesse, imagined that the earle of Warwike had kindled this fier, to the intent to set the crowne on the duke of Yorks head. Wherefore she appointed James Twichet lord Audelie (because his power laie in those parties by the which the earle of Salisburie must passe) to raise an hoast of men with all speed, and to giue battell to the same earle, if he saw cause and place conuenient. She had deuised a cognisance of the white swan, which she willed all such (as she knew to beare fauor vnto hir sonne) to weare, for a signification of their good minds and hartie loue towards him: which cognisance she had giuen to manie gentlemen of Cheshire, and other countries thereabout.

The lord Audelie.

Ex vetusto codice.

The quene hir selfe laie the same time at Eccleshale in Staffordshire, but the K. remained at Coleshill in Warwickeshire, whither the earle of Salisburie meant to come, in pretense to haue communed with him for a reformation of matters depending in controuersie betwixt himselfe, the duke of Yorke, and others. But the quene construing that they ment no good, neither to hir nor hir husband, requested the lord Audelie to apprehend him, if by anie meanes he might. The lord Audelie (according to his commission) assembled aboue ten thousand men of Cheshire and Salopshire, and knowing by his espials which waie the earle kept, approached nere to him vpon a faire plaine called Blorebeath, within a mile of a towne called Draiton in Shropshire. The earle, perceiuing in what ieopardie he stood, determined to abide the aduenture with fame and honour, rather than to flie with shame and reproach; and so incamped himselfe all the night on the side of a little broke, not verie brode, but somewhat deepe.

Whethamsted

Blorebeath.

In the morning earlie, being the daie of saint Cecle, he caused his souldiers to shot their flights towards the lord Audelies companie, which laie on the other side of the said water, and then he and all his people made a signe of retreit. The lord Audelie, supposing his aduersaries had fled in deed, caused his trumpets quicklie to blow vp, and setting forth his vawarde spedilie passed the water. The earle of Salisburie, which knew the sleights of warlike policie, suddenlie returned, and set vpon the lord Audelie and his cheefe captens, yet the residue of his armie could passe the water. The fight was sore and dreadfull. The earle desiring the sauing of his life, and his aduersaries coueting his destruction, fought sore for the obteining of their purpose: but in conclusion, the earles armie, as men not looking for other succours

The 23 of September.

Policie oft times passeth force.

nor meane to escape, but by their owne manhood, so egerlie assaulted their foes, that they slue the lord Audelie and all his capteins, and discomfited all the remnant of his people.

The lord Audelie slaine.

In this battell were slaine foure and twentie hundred persons, but the greatest losse fell vpon the Cheshire men, because one halfe of the shire was on the one part, and the other halfe on the other: of which number were sir Thomas Dutton, sir John Donne and sir Hugh Venables, sir Richard Polineur, sir William Trowtbecke, sir John Legh of the Both, and sir John Egerton, knights; John Done, and John Dutton esquiers. But the earles two sonnes, the one called sir John Neuill, and the other sir Thomas Neuill, were sore wounded, the which soberlie tornieng into the north countrie, were apprehended by the quenes frends, and togither with sir Thomas Harington that was likewise taken, were conueied to Chester; but their keepers deliuered them shortlie after, or else had the Marchmen destroied the goales. Such fauour bare the commons of Wales to the duke of Yorks band, that they could not suffer anie wrong to be offered, or euill word to be spoken against him or his frends.

The number slaine in the battell of Blorebeath.

The earle of Salisburies sonne apprehended.

After this battell at Blorebeath, the said duke of Yorke, perceiuing the destruction of him and his frends was intended, and that his deuises were alreadie disclosed to the king and the quene, he thought now no longer to linger his businesse, but with all diligence to set forward the same. And therfore sending for his cheefe frend the earle of Salisburie, after long conference of their weightie affaires, they determined to raise an armie, and by fine force either to win their purpose, or end their liues in the same. Here vpon were men forthwith assembled, frends sent for, and a puissant armie gathered, both of Northerne and Welshmen, who in good order came into the marches of Wales adioining to Shropshire, determining there to abide their enimies, or to meet them; if occasion serued.

The duke of Yorke assembleth an armie

There came to him from Calis the earle of Warwike, bringing with him from that towne a great number of expert men in martiall feates, whereof two were capteins knowne for men of great experience and approued policie, as they had well declared the same in the warres of Normandie and Guien, the one called Andrew Trollop, and the other John Blunt. The king, hauing aduertisement of the dukes doings, sent forth commissioners to leuie a power in all parts of the realme, where he thought to haue any faithfull frends or fauourers: by reason whereof a great number of men of warre was assembled. Manie for the loue they bare to the king resorted to his side, but more for feare of the quenes displesure, whose frowning countenance was their vndoing, and hir indignation their death.

Andrew Trollop, John Blunt.

The king raiseth an armie.

To be breefe, the king accompanied with the dukes of Summerset and Excester, and other of the line of Lancaster, determined either by force or by policie to bring the duke of Yorke to confusion; and therupon marching forward they came vnto Worcester, where as well to refresh his people, as to take further aduise what was best to be done, he staied for a time. And at length it was determined, that the K. should first send vnto the aduersaries, a messenger of good account, as the bishop of Salisburie Richard Beauchampe, to offer vnto them a cleare and free generall pardon of all trespasses, offenses, and transgressions what soeuer, if they would giue ouer their enterprise, and become true and obedient subiects.

Whethamsted The bishop of Salisburie sent to ỹ duke of Yorke and others.

When the bishop was come vnto them, and had declared his message, they first withdrew themselues apart, and fell togither in councell: and after they gaue answer by the mouth of the erle of Warwike, which

Their answer touching the pardon offred.

which consisted in three points. First, that as concerning the pardon, they durst not trust vnto it, considering they had diuerse pardons before, and the same confirmed by parlement, and yet nothing auaileable to their assurance. Secondlie, that notwithstanding such pardons, those that were about the king, were presumptuous and vnrulie, that they cared not at all to breake the kings commandements, nor were any thing abashed to be noted for the breach thereof.

Thirdlie, although by law of the land, and right of the statute, euerie lord by vertue of the kings writ, being called to the parlement, ought safelie to come, safelie there to remaine, and safelie to depart and returne home: this notwithstanding, the said earle of Warwike himselfe, at a certeine councell holden at Westminster, by vertue of the kings writ of priuie seale, being there in person, & labouring to his knowledge to giue good aduise and counsell for the profit of the common-wealth, was yet in danger of death, if the Lord aboue had not the better prouided for his escape, more than anie humane power or force of the kings pardon. For the which cause (quoth he) sith the kings pardon maie be likened in these daies to a buckler of glasse, or to a staffe of reed, in which is no trust, we dare not commit our selues vnto the defense of anie such pardons. But if anie other waie might be deuised for their suerties, whereunto they might safelie trust (he said) they were readie to come to his grace, and to sue for his fauour.

The king receiuing such answer in these words, or other to the like effect, was nothing contented therewith, and so commanded his standards eftsoones to aduance. But yet before he came neere to the place where they were incamped, the said lords wrote to him a letter in their owne excuse, protesting they meant no harme in the world against his person, as by their demeanors and procedings it might well appeare, who had euer fled & withdrawne themselues from place to place, from towne to towne, from village to village, and from countie to countie. Which might serue for an euident token, that they sought for nothing but onelie their owne safegards & quietnesse of the realme, with so much fauour, as in good and safe suertie they might come to his presence, to declare certeine things which in their opinions might turne to the wealth of the realme: and further to make answer to all things that had beene obiected against them. And now (said they) we are here remaining in the vttermost parts of the land (that is) in the marches towards Wales, not farre from Ludlow, not vpon anie presumptuous meaning, but rather in all humble lowlinesse of mind and bodie to abide his graces comming: which they besought of God might be in some peaceable maner and fauourable in their behalfes.

A letter from the lords to the king.

The king hauing receiued this letter, and coniecturing that some bitter meaning laie vnder so sweet a speech, commanded his armie againe to march forth; and comming within halfe a mile of the aduersaries campe, pitched downe his field, and forthwith caused proclamation to be made, that who so euer of his aduersaries would giue ouer his lewd begun enterprise, and repaire to his presence to sue for mercie, he would pardon him of all offenses. This proclamation, comming to the vnderstanding of them in the duke of Yorks hoast, caused a great number that were there with him against the king, to get awaie & come to the kings side. Moreouer, there rose among the residue great murmuring: so as they seemed verie like to grow to a grieuous mutinie.

A proclamation.

Andrew Trollop forsaketh the lords.

Amongst other of those that came to the kings campe, Andrew Trollop was cheefe, who with the other Calisians, which had long serued the king, and liued a long time by his wages, perceiuing now that they should fight against their souereigne lord himselfe (whose true subiect they estéemed before that time the earle of Warwike euer to haue beene, and in no wise his enimie) in the dead of the night before the daie of the battell secretlie departed from the dukes campe, and submitted themselues to the king, admonishing him of all things deuised against him. Wherof part was, that the duke of Yorke by his expert capteins appointed vpon a waie how to set vpon his enimies, & easilie to discomfit them; so as on the next morning he meant to haue assailed the king and his people, yer they could haue béene readie or warie of his comming.

Whethamsted

But now by the going awaie thus of his capteins and people, that purpose was disappointed. And Andrew Trollop thus departed, he was now as much discomforted, as before by trust in him he was incouraged: for all his counsell and purpose by Andrew disclosed, he thought it better for him & his to depart in suertie, than to abide the imminent danger. Wherupon he with his yonger sonne Edmund earle of Rutland, secretlie fled into Wales, and so passed into Ireland, where he was with all ioy and honour gladlie receiued, all the Irish offering to liue and die with him; as if they had béene his liege subiects, and he their lord and prince naturallie borne.

The estimation of Andrew Trollop.

The duke of Yorke and his complices flée.

The earle of March sonne and heire apparant to the said duke, accompanied with the earles of Salisburie and Warwike, and sir John Wenlocke, got awaie the same night, and came into Deuonshire: where, by the meanes of John Dinham esquier (which after was high treasuror of England, in the daies of king Henrie the seauenth) they bought a ship which cost a hundred and ten marks at Exmouth, and sailed into Gernesele, after came to Calis, where being let in at the posterne, they were ioifullie welcomed of their frends, namelie of sir William Neuill lord Fauconbridge, that was the earle of Warwikes vncle, and brother to the earle of Salisburie, who had the towne and castell in keeping. All these being assembled cast their heads together, and euerie one seuerallie had his deuise for the perfecting of their purpose, whereto there wanted in them neither will nor hardinesse.

But now to returne to the king. When in the morning he was aduertised that the duke of Yorke and his partakers were fled and gone, he caused all his horsemen to follow them; although in vaine: for they were got farre enough out of danger (as before ye haue heard.) The king pardoned all the poore souldiers, sauing certeine ringleaders: of the which some he punished and fined, and some he hanged and quartered. After this he remoued to Ludlow, and there brake vp his host, and spoiling the towne and castell, he sent the duchesse of Yorke with hir two yong sonnes to be kept in ward with the duchesse of Buckingham hir sister. This done, he proclamed these lords, traitors to him, enimies to their countrie, and rebels to the crowne, confiscating their lands, goods, and offices: and committed the gouernance of the north parts to the earle of Northumberland, and to the lord Clifford, as to his trustie and most faithfull frends, & of his towne of Calis he made capteine Henrie the new duke of Summerset.

The lords proclamed traitors.

The duke of Summerset made capteine of Calis.

This duke reioising much in his new office, chose forth diuerse valiant and hardie souldiers, and with great pompe shortlie after tooke the seas, and sailed towards Calis. But when he thought to haue entered the hauen, the artillerie shot so hotlie, both out of the towne, and from Risebanke, that he suffering there a sore repulse, was faine to land at Whitsandbaie; and sent word to the capteins of the towne to receiue him as the kings lieutenant, shewing to them his letters patents. But neither he nor his writing

writing was once regarded: and so of necessitie he resorted to the castell of Guisnes, dailie skirmishing with the garrison of Calis, more to his losse than gaine. Diuerse of the mariners of those ships that went ouer with him, after his arriuall, owing more good will to the earle of Warwike than to this young duke, conueied their ships into the hauen of Calis, and in them diuerse of the earle of Warwikes enimies, as Jamin Findill, John Felow, and diuerse others, the which being presented vnto the earle of Warwike, he caused their heads forthwith to be stricken off.

Hastie heading.

Shortlie after, Richard lord Riuers, and sir Anthonie Woduile his valiant sonne that was after lord Scales, accompanied with foure hundred warlike persons, were appointed to passe ouer to Guisnes, to aid the duke of Summerset against his aduersaries, which laie in Calis. But as they soiourned at Sandwich abiding for wind and weather to transport them ouer, the earles of March and Warwike had knowledge thereof, and sent John Dinham with a small number of men (but a multitude of valiant hearts) vnto the towne of Sandwich, which suddenlie entered the same, and toke the lord Riuers and his sonne also in their beds, robbing houses, and spoiling ships. And beside this, they toke the principall ships of the kings naule, and had them awaie with them to Calis [one excepted called *Grace de Dieu* which might not be had awaie bicause she was broken in the bottome] and there presented them to the earle of March, of whome he was ioifullie receiued. For though in the fight he was sore hurt & maimed in the leg, so as he halted euer after, yet he bare himselfe so worthilie in that enterprise, that his praise was great amongst all men.

John Dinham.

The lord Riuers taken.

John Stow.

¶ Sir Baldwine Fulford vndertoke on paine of losing his head, that he would destroie the earle of Warwike: but when he had spent the king a thousand marks in monie, he returned againe.] After this good fortune thus chanced to the lords, diuerse of the best ships taken in the hauen of Sandwich, were well vittelled and manned, and with them the earle of Warwike sailed into Ireland, to common with the duke of Yorke of their great affaires and businesse. The weather and wind were so fauourable to the earles purpose, that within lesse than thirtie daies he passed and repassed from Calis to Dublin, and backe againe.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 692.

1460

Sir Baldwine Fulford his enterprise.

The duke of Excester, being chéefe admerall of the sea, laie in the west countrie, and durst not once meddle with the earle of Warwikes naule, as he came by; by reason of the mistrust which he had in the capteins and mariners of his owne naule: who by their murmuring well shewed that they wished the earle of Warwikes good successe. ¶ But here is to be remembred, that after the great discomfiture of the lords (as before you haue heard) and proclamation made against them as traitors, the duke of Yorke and the earles of Salisburie and Warwike had conference; and thereupon concluded with one assent, to write a letter excusatorie (supposing thereby to salue vp the sore) in all their names to the king: and so did, as followeth.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 688, 689, 690, 691.

A copie of the said letter excusatorie written by the said duke and earles.

MOst christian king, right high and mightie prince, and our most dread souereigne lord, after as humble recommendations to your high excellencie as will suffice. Our true intent to the prosperitie and augmentation of your high estate, and to the common-weale of this realme, hath beene shewed vnto your highnesse in such writing as we make thereof. And ouer that, an indenture signed by our hands in the church cathedrall of Worcester, comprehending the proose of the truth and dutie that (God knoweth) we beare to your said estate, and to the preheminence and prerogatiue thereof, we sent vnto your good grace by the prior of the said church, and diuerse other doctors, and among other, by maister William Linwood doctor of diuinitie, which ministred vnto vs seuerallie the blessed sacrament of the bodie of Jesus, whereupon we and euerie of vs deposed for our said truth and dutie, according to the tenor of the said indenture.

And since that time we haue certified at large in writing and by mouth, by Garter king of armes, not onelie to your said highnesse, but also to the good and worthie lords being about your most noble presence, the largenesse of our said truth and dutie, and our intent and disposition, to search all the motions that might serue conuenientlie to the affirmation thereof, and to our perfect suerties from such inconuenient and vnreuerent ieopardies as we haue beene put in diuerse times here before. Whereof we haue cause to make, and ought to make such exclamation and complaint, not without reason, as is not vnknowen to all the said worthie lords, and to all this land; and will offer vs to your high presence, to the same intent, if we might so do, with our said suertie, which onelie causeth vs to keepe such fellowship as we do in our lefull manner.

And hereto we haue forborne, and auoided all things that might serue to the effusion of christian bloud, of the dread that we haue of God, and of your roiall maiestie: and haue also eschued to approch your said most noble presence, for the humble obeisance and reuerence wherein we haue, and (during our life) will haue the same. And yet neuertheless we heare, that we be proclamed and defamed in our name vnrightlie, vnlawfullie, and (sauing your high reuerence) vntrulie, and otherwise (as God knoweth) than we haue giuen cause; knowing certeinelie, that the blessed and noble intent of your said good grace, and the righteousnesse thereof is, to take, repute, and accept your true and lawfull subiects; and that it accordeth neither with your said intent, nor with your will or pleasure, that we should be otherwise taken or reputed. And ouer that, our lordships and tenants beene of high violence robbed and spoiled, against your peace and lawes, and all righteousnesse.

We therfore, as we suffice, beseech your said good grace, to take, repute, and receiue thereunto our said truth and intent, which to God is knowne, as we shew it by the said tenor of the same indenture. And not aplie your said blessednesse, ne the great righteousnesse and equitie wherewith God hath euer indued your high nobilitie, to the importune impatience and violence of such persons, as intend of extreame malice to proceed (vnder the shadow of your high might and presence) to our destruction, for such inordinate couetise (whereof God is not pleased) as they haue to our lands, offices, and goods, not letting or sparing therefore, to put such things in all lamentable and to sorowfull ieopardie, as might in all wise take effect, by the mysterie of Gods will and power.

Not hauing regard to the effusion of christian bloud, ne anie tenderneſſe to the noble bloud of this land such as serue to the tuition and defense thereof, ne not waieng the losse of your true liege men of your said realme, that God defend, which knoweth our intent, and that we haue auoided there-from as farre as we may with our suerties; not of anie dread that we haue of the said persons, but onelie of the dread of God and of your said highnesse, and will not vse our said defense vntill the time that we be prouo-

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ked of necessitie, whereof we call heauen and earth vnto witnesse and record, and therein beseech God to be our iudge, and to deliuer vs according to our said intent, and our said truth & dutie to your said highnesse, and to the said common-weale.

Most christian king, right high and mightie prince, and most dread souereigne lord, we beseech our blessed Lord to preserue your honour and estate in ioy and felicitie. Written at Ludlow the tenth daie of October: R. Yorke, R. Warwike, R. Salisburie.

A parlement at Couentrie.

During this time the king called a parlement in the citie of Couentrie, which began the twentith of September, in the which were attainted of high treason, Richard duke of Yorke, Edward erle of March his sonne and heire, Richard earle of Warwike, Edmund earle of Rutland, Richard earle of Salisburie, John lord Clifford, lord Clinton, sir Thomas Harington, sir John Wenlock, Thomas Neuill & John Neuill sons of the earle of Salisburie, James Pickering, John Coniers, Thomas Pat, William Oldhall, and Henrie Ratford knights; John Bowser, Thomas Cooke, John Claie, Richard Giton, Robert Browne, Edward Bowser, Thomas Vaughan, John Roger, Richard Greie, Walter Deuoreux, Walter Hopton, Roger Kinderton, Will. Bowes, Foulke Stafford, the lord Powis, and Alice countesse of Salisburie, their goods and possessions eschеted, and their heires disherited vnto the ninth degree, their tenants spoiled of their goods, maimed and slaine; the towne of Ludlow, belonging to the duke of Yorke, was robbed to the bare wals, & the dutches of Yorke spoiled of hir goods.]

Duke of Yorke and others attainted.

Ludlow spoiled.

But (saith another) when the king should come to giue his consent vnto the acts passed in the same parlement, and that the clerke of the parlement had read that statute of the attaindor of those lords; such was the kings modestie and great zeale vnto mercie, that he caused a prouiso to be put in, and added vnto the same statute, that it might be lawfull vnto him at all times fullie without authoritie of anie other parlement, to pardon the same noble men, and restore them againe to their former estats, degrees, and dignities in all things, so they would come in vnto him, and in the spirit of humblenesse beseech him of grace and fauour. ¶ Wherin the king gaue euident testimonie, that he was indued with those qualities of mind which the poet ascribed vnto Cesar (namelie slow to punish, & sad when he was constreined to be seuere: sith the one commended his lenitie, the other sauoured of tyrannie) in this distichon of like termination:

Whethamsted.

The kings inclination to mercie.

Abr. Fl.

Ouid. de Ponto. lib. 1.

Est piger ad pœnas princeps, ad præmia velox,
Cuiq; dolet quoties cogitur esse ferox.]

Herewith also order was taken for the defense of the hauens & landing places alongst the sea coasts. Sir Simon Montford, with a great crew of men, was appointed to keepe the downes, and the fiue ports; and all men passing into Flanders were vpon paine of death prohibited to passe by Calis, least the lords there should borrow of them anie prest monie, as they did latelie before of the merchants of the staple the summe of eightéene thousand pounds. The lords were not ignorant of all the kings prouisions made against them, but were ascerteined dailie what was done euen in the kings priuie chamber: wherefore first they sent a companie to Sandwich vnder the gouernance of the lord Fauconbridge, who tooke the towne, & sir Simon or Osbert Montford within it, and sent him with all his mates to Calis, where incontinentlie he with twelue of his chiefe fellowes lost their heads on the sand before Risebanke.

Osbert Mōtford esquier saith Whethamsted, who should also haue gone ouer to Guines with fiue hundred soldiers to the aid of the duke of Summerset.

The lord Faucōbridge was chiefe of this enterprise saith Whethamsted.

Thrréene beheaded at once.

¶ The earles at Calis sent to the archbishop of Canturburie, and to the commons of England at large certeine articles in writing, beginning thus: Wor- 694, 695, 696, shipfull sirs, we the duke of Yorke, the earles of March, Warwike, and Salisburie, sued and offered to haue come to the king our souereigne lords most noble presence, to haue declared there afore him for our dutie to God and to his highnesse, and to the prosperitie and welfare of his noble estate, and to the common-weale of all his land as true liege men, the matters following. 697, in Quarto

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 692, 693,

Articles sent from the duke of Yorke, *and the earles, to the archbishop of Can-* turburie and the commons.

IN primis, the great oppression, extortion, robberie, murther, and other violences done to Gods church, and to his ministers thereof, against Gods and mans law.

2 Item, the pouertie and miserie that to our great heauinesse our souereigne lord standeth in, not hauing anie liuelod of the crowne of England whereof he may keepe his honorable houshold, which causeth the spoiling of his said liege men by the takers of his said houshold, which liuelod is in their hands that haue bene destroiers of his said estate, and of the said common-weale.

3 Item, how his lawes be partiallie and vnrightfullie guided, and that by them that should most loue and tender his said lawes, the said oppression and extortion is most fauoured and supported; and generallie, that all righteousnesse and iustice is exiled out of the said land, and that no man dreadeth to offend against the said lawes.

4 Item, that it will please his said good grace to liue vpon his owne liuelod, wherevpon his noble progenitors haue in daies heretofore liued as honorablie and as worthilie as anie christian princes, and not to suffer the destroiers of the said land, and of his true subiects, to liue therevpon, and therfore to lacke the sustenances that should be belonging to his said estate, and find his said houshold vpon his poore commons, without paiement, which neither accordeth with Gods nor mans law.

5 Item, how oft the said commons haue bene greatlie and maruellouslie charged with tares and tallages to their great impouerishing, whereof little good hath either growne to the king or to the said land, and of the most substance thereof the king hath left to his part not halfe so much; and other lords and persons, enimies to the said common-weale, haue to their owne vse, suffering all the old possessions that the king had in France and Normandie, Anion and Maine, Gascoine and Guien, wone and gotten by his father of most noble memorie, and other his noble progenitors, to be shamefullie lost or sold.

6 Item, how they can not cease therewith, but now begin a new charge of imposition and tallages vpon the said people, which neuer afore was séene; that is to saie, euerie township to find men for the kings gard, taking example therein of our enimies and aduersaries of France. Which imposition & tallage, if it be continued to heire, heires, and successors, will be the heauiest charge and worst example that euer grew in England; and the foresaid subiects, and the said heires and successors in such bondage, as their ancestors were neuer charged with.

7 Item, where the king hath now no more liuelod out of his realme of England, but onelie the land of Ireland, and the towne of Calis, and that no king christened hath such a land and a towne without his realme; diuerse lords haue caused his highnesse to write letters vnder his priuie seale, vnto his Irish enimies, which neuer king of England did heretofore,

fore, wherby they may haue comfort to enter into the conquest of the said land, which letters the same Irish enimies sent vnto me the said duke of Yorke, and marueiled greatlie that anie such letters should be to them sent, speaking therin great shame and villanie of the said realme.

8 Item, in like wise the king by excitation and labour of the same lords, wrote other letters to his enimies and aduersaries in other lands, that in no wise they should shew anie fauour or good will to the towne of Calis, whereby they had comfort inough to proceed to the winning thereof. Considered also, that it is ordeined by the labour of the said lords, that no where vittels nor other thing of refreshing or defense should come out of England, to the succour or relefe of the said towne, to the intent that they would haue it lost, as it may openlie appeare.

9 Item, it is deemed and ought greatlie to be demed, that after the same lords would put the same rule of England, if they might haue their purpose and intent, into the hands and gouernance of the said enimies.

10 Item, how continuallie since the pitious, shamefull, and sorrowfull murther to all England, of that noble, worthie, and christian prince Humfreie duke of Glocester the kings true vncle, at Burie, it hath beene laboured, studied, and conspired, to haue destroied and murthered the said duke of Yorke, and the issue that it pleased God to send me of the royall bloud, and also of vs the said earles of Warwike and Salisburie, for none other cause but for the true hart that (God knoweth) we euer haue borne, and beare to the profit of the kings estate, to the common-weale of the same realme, and defense thereof.

11 Item, how the earles of Shrewesburie and Wilshire, and the lord Beaumont, our mortall and extreme enimies now, and of long time past, hauing the guiding about the most noble person of our said souereigne lord, whose highnesse they haue restreined & kept from the libertie & freedome that belongeth to his said estate, & the supporters & fauourers of all the premisses, would not suffer the kings said good grace to receiue and accept vs, as he would haue done, if he might haue had his owne will, into his said presence, dreading the charge that would haue beene laid vpon them, of the miserie, destruction, and wretchednesse of the said realme, whereof they be causes, and not the king, which is himselfe as noble, as vertuous, as righteous and blessed of disposition, as anie prince earthlie.

12 Item, the earles of Wilshire and Shrewesburie, and the lord Beaumont, not satisfied nor content with the kings possessions and his goods, stirred and excited his said highnesse to hold his parlement at Couentrie, where an act is made by their prouocation and labour, against vs the said duke of Yorke, my sonnes March and Rutland, and the earles of Warwike and Salisburie, and the sonnes of the said earle of Salisburie, & manie other knights and esquiers of diuerse matters falselie and vntrulie imagined, as they will answer afore almightie God in the date of doome; the which the said earles of Shrewesburie & Wilshire, and the lord Beaumont prouoked to be made, to the intent of our destruction and of our issue; and that they might haue our liuelod and goods, as they haue openlie robbed and despoiled all our places and our tenements, and manie other true men, and now proceed to hanging and drawing of men by tyrannie, and will therin shew the largenesse of their violence and malice as vengeablie as they can, if no remedie be prouided at the kings highnes, whose blessednes is neither assenting nor knowing thereof.

We therefore, seeing all the said mischiefes, hearing also that the French king maketh in his land great assemblie of his people, which is greatlie to be dread for manie causes, purpose yet againe with Gods grace to offer vs to come againe to the said presence of our said souereigne lord, to open and declare vnto him there, the mischiefes aboue declared; and in the name of the land to sue, in as reuerent and lowlie wise as we can, to his said good grace, to haue pittie and compassion vpon his said true subiects, and not to suffer the same mischiefs to reigne vpon them. Requiring you in Gods behalfe, and praieng you in our owne, therein to assist vs, doing alwaie the duetie of liege men in our persons to our souereigne lord, to his estate, prerogatiue, and prehemminence, and to the suertie of his most noble person, whereunto we haue euer beene and will be as true as anie of his subiects aliue, whereof we call God, our ladie saint Marie, and all the saints in heauen to witnesse.

The earle of Wilshire and other spoiled Newberie.

In the meane time, the earle of Wilshire treasuror of England, the lord Scales & the lord Hungerford went to Newberie, which belonged to the duke of Yorke, and there made inquisition of all them that in anie wise had fauoured the said duke; whereof some were found guiltie, and were drawen, hanged, and quartered, and all the inhabitants of the towne were spoiled of their goods. From thense the earle of Wilshire went to Southampton; where, vnder colour to take the earle of Warwike, he armed fiue great caracks of Jene with souldiers, taking vittels of the kings price without paiment, and put a great part of his treasure into the said caracks, and after sailed about in the sea, and at last stale into Dutchland, sending backe againe his souldiers into England. Then were the kings priuie seales directed to all bishops, abbats, priors, and other states, to lend the king monie, therewith to wage souldiers to keepe the seacoasts.

The earle of Wilshire stale ouer the seas.

Priuie seales for monie.

After the kings nauie was gained, and his captens (as before ye haue heard) on the sea taken; the lords lieng at Calis, being aduertised from the lord Fauconbridge (who after the taking of Montford laie still in Kent) that the people of that countrie and other parts were altogither bent in their fauor [and no lesse addicted to do them seruice both with bodie and goods, than the Irishmen seemed to be at their receiuing of the said duke of Yorke, and his yonger sonne Edmund earle of Rutland, whom they so highlie honoured, that they offered to liue and die in their quarell] they conceiued thereupon so great hope in their frends within the realme, that they determined to passe the sea, and therewith entring their ships with fifteene hundred men landed all at Sandwich.

Abr. Flem.

[But it is to be read in a late writer, that the commons of Kent dreading the like vengeance towards them, as fell vpon them of Newberie, sent priuie messengers to Calis to the foresaid erles, beseeching them in all hast possible to come to their succour. Whereupon the said earles sent ouer into Kent the lord Fauconbridge, to know if their deeds would accord with their woods: so that anon the people of Kent and the other shires adioining, resorted to the said lord Fauconbridge in great number. Wherefore when the earles knew the willing harts of those people, they prepared to come into this land. Against whose comming, a long ballet was fired vpon the gates of Canturburie, made in fauour of the duke of Yorke and the said earles, beginning thus: In the daie of fast and spirituall affliction, the celestiall influence of bodies transitorie, &c.]

Abr. Fl. ex l. Si pag. 697.

The men of Kent sent to Calis for the earles.

Now as they passed through Kent, there came to them the lord Cobham, John Gilford, William Pech, Robert Horne, and manie other gentlemen; so that before they approched to London, their num-

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ber was esteemed aboue fourtie thousand fighting men, for the fame of their landing being once knowen, gentlemen and yeomen resorted to them out of all the south parts of the relme. Upon which rumor, Thomas lord Scales, a man in great fauour with the king & quéene, accompanied with the earle of Kendall a Gascoigne, and the lord Louell, resorted to London with a great companie of armed men, declaring to the maior, that their repaire onelie was to defend and kéepe the citie from spoile of such traitors as the king was crediblie informed were thither comming. To whom the maior answered, that he néeded no fellow helper, either to defend or gouerne the citie to him committed in charge. With which answer the lord Scales and his associats nothing contented, entred into the Tower, dailie deuising waies how to grieue the citizens, whom he perceiued to fauour rather the duke of Yorks part, than the kings.

But shortlie after the earles of March and Warwike, and other of their affinitie, came to London, and were of the maior and citizens ioifullie receiued, to whome resorted Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, the bishops of London, Lincolne, Salisburie, Elie, and Excester, with manie other prelats and religious persons: amongst whome also was the popes legat to treat of peace, if néed so required. Upon good deliberation and aduise had and taken amongst these lords how to go forward with their weightie enterprise, the earles of March and Warwike, William lord Fauconbridge, Henrie lord Bourchier, called earle of Eu, with a great number of men which came out of Kent, Esser, Surrie, and Suller, to the number (as some writers affirme) of fiue and twentie thousand persons, departed from London toward the king lieng at Couentrie, then called the quénes secret harbour, leauing behind them to kéepe the Londoners in their promised frendship, the earle of Salisburie, the lord Cobham, and sir John Wenlocke, which toke such order, and watched the gates and entries on eth side so diligentlie, that no succours might come to the lord Scales lodging in the tower; who toke therewith such displeasure, that he shot out his great ordinance against them within the citie, and they likewise shot at him againe, to the hurt and no pleasure of both parts.

Couentrie the quénes secret harbour.

The king hauing knowledge of all these doings, assembled a great armie, and accompanied with the duke of Summerset (latelie come from Guisnes) and the duke of Buckingham, and diuerse other great lords that toke his part, came to Northampton; where the quéene perceiuing hir puissance to be able to match in fight with the aduersaries, toke vpon hir to incourage hir frends and well-willers: for the king studied of nothing but of peace, quietnesse, and solitarie life. When the whole hoast of the kings part was assembled, the same issued forth of the towne, and passing ouer the riuer of Tine, lodged in the new field betwéene Harsington and Sandiford, stronglie fensing themselues about with high banks, and déepe trenches. On the other part, the lords being herewith aduanced verie néere the place where the kings people laie without Northampton; the bishops that were there with them, by the aduise and consent of the said lords, sent vnto the king the bishop of Salisburie, to vnderstand his mind, and to moue him vnto some treatie of peace, and to admit the archbishop of Canturburie, and the other bishops there present, to be mediatours in the matter, that some good accord might be concluded betwixt the parties, so as an vniuersall peace might be restored in all parts through the whole realme.

The quéene the better capteine.

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The bishop of Salisburie doing this message not so circumspectlie as had béene conuenient, returned without bringing anie towardlie answer; but rather words of high despite and bitter defiance. For the lords that were about the king, trusting in their warlike engines and strength of place, in which they were incamped, though otherwise inferior in number of men, purposed to abide the brunt of battell; and so led with the spirit of rashnesse, sent none other answer backe againe by the bishop, but contumelious words sounding greatlie to the reproch of their aduersaries; who being sore offended therewith, determined to seeke reuenge with dint of sword. The earle of March as then being in the flowre of his lustie and most courageous youth, lieng betwéene Touceter and Northampton, determined to set on the kings armie without longer delaie: and thereupon in the night season remoued his campe toward Northampton, and in marching forward set his men in order of battell: whereof the vant-ward was led by the earle of Warwike, which either by strength or stealth wan a streict which the lord Beaumont kept, going toward the kings campe; and herewith entring freshlie with his people, began the battell about seauen of the clocke the ninth daie of Julie. After him followed the earle of March with the banner of his father. ¶ Others write, that the earle of March led the fore-ward, the erle of Warwike the middle-ward, and the lord Fauconbridge the rere-ward.

The battell of Northamptō.

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Moreouer, that Edmund lord Greie of Ruthen, who was on the kings side, failed in the trust committed to him: for where the enimies could not (without great danger) enter vpon the kings campe, by reason of a mightie trench and rampire pight full of piles and sharpe stakes, wherewith the campe was compassed about: the said lord Graie came with his men, and with helping hands pulled the enimies vp, and receiued them into the field, where the battell was begun with great force & violence. For being now entred the field, they set vpon the kings people so fiercelie, that it séemed they ment either to obteine the victorie, or to die for it, euen all the whole number of them. The fight continued right fierse and cruell, with vncerteine victorie, till the houre of nine: at which time the kings armie was discomfited, and of the same slaine and drowned in the riuer, few lesse than ten thousand; and the king himselfe left comfortlesse alone was taken by the aduersaries, as a man in great miserie.

The L. Graie of Ruthen.

Edw. Hall.

The kings part discomfited.

The K. taken.

At this battell fought at Northampton, were slaine Humfreie duke of Buckingham, John Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, a valiant person, and not degenerating from his noble parents, Thomas lord Egremond, John viscont Beaumont, and sir William Lucie, which made great hast to come to part of the fight, and at his first approch was striken in the head with an ar. Besides these that were slaine, manie were taken prisoners, bicause they left their horses, alighting to fight on foot. The duke of Summerset, and other, which narrowlie escaped, fled with the quéene and prince into the bishoprike of Durham. The earles, hauing got the victorie in this bloudie battell, conueied the king to London, and lodged him in the bishops palace. After whose comming to the citie, the Tower was deliuered to the erle of March, vpon a certeine composition; but the lord Scales suspecting the sequele of the deliuerie thereof, toke a wherrie priuilie, intending to haue fled to the quéene; but he was espied by diuerse watermen belonging to the earle of Warwike (which waited for his forth comming on the Thames) and suddenlie taken, was shortlie slaine with manie darts & daggers, and his bodie left naked and all bloudie at the gate of the clinke, and after was buried in the church adioining.

The Tower deliuered to the earle of March.

The lord Scales slaine

Then were diuerse persons apprehended, and indited of treason, whereof some were pardoned, and some executed. Thomas Thorpe second baron of the escheker,

Thomas Thorpe.

ker, was committed to the Tower, where he remained long after, for that he was knowne to be great frend to the house of Lancaster. ¶ When queene Margaret heard that the K. was taken, she with hir sonne, and eight persons fled to the castell of Hardlagh in Wales, and was robbed by the waie in Lancashire of all hir goods, to the value of ten thousand markes: from thence she went into Scotland. Thus you see what fruits the tree of ciuill discord doth bring forth; that euill tree, which whilest some haue taken paine to plant, and some to proine and nourish, for others confusion (to whome they haue giuen a taste of those apples which it bare, far more bitter than coloquintida) themselues haue beene forced to take such share as befell them by lot. For as it is not possible that a cõmon fier, whose heat & flame is vniuersallie spred, should spare any particular place (for so should it not be generall) no more is it likelie that in ciuill commotions, rebellions, insurrections, and partakings in conflicts and pitched fields (specialliе vnder ringleaders of great countenance and personage, such as be the peeres and states of kingdoms) anie one should, though perhaps his life, yet (a thousand to one) not saue his bloud vnspilt, nor his goods vnspoiled.] During this trouble, a parlement was summoned to begin at Westminster, in the moneth of October next following.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 700.

Anno Reg. 39.

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The duke of Yorke cometh forth of Ireland.

In the meane time the duke of Yorke, aduertised of all these things, sailed from Dubline towards England, and landed at the red banke neere to the citie of Chester, with no small companie: and from Chester by long iournies he came to the citie of London, which he entred the fridaie before the feast of S. Edward the Confessor, with a sword borne naked before him, with trumpets also sounding, and accompanied with a great traine of men of armes, and other of his frends and seruants. At his comming to Westminster he entred the palace, and passing forth directlie through the great hall, staied not till he came to the chamber, where the king and lords vsed to sit in the parlement time, cõmonlie called the vpper house, or chamber of the peeres, and being there entred, stept vp vnto the throne roiall, and there laieng his hand vpon the cloth of estate, seemed as if he meant to take possession of that which was his right (for he held his hand so vpon that cloth a good pretie while) and after withdrawing his hand, turned his face towards the people, beholding their prealling togither, and marking what countenance they made.

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A strange demeanor of the duke of Yorke.

Whilest he thus stood and beheld the people, supposing they reioised to see his presence, the archbishop of Canturburie (Thomas Bourcher) came to him, & after due salutations, asked him if he would come and see the king. With which demand he seeming to take disdaine, answered breefelie, and in few words thus: I remember not that I know anie within this realme, but that it becometh him rather to come and see my person, than I to go and see his. The archbishop hearing his answer, went backe to the king, and declared what answer he had receiued of the dukes owne mouth. After the archbishop was departed to the king that laie in the queenes lodging, the duke also departed, and went to the most principall lodging that the king had within all his palace, breaking vp the lockes and doores, and so lodged himselfe therein, more like to a king than a duke, continuing in the same lodging for a time to the great indignation of manie, that could not in anie wise like of such presumptuous attempts made by the duke, to thrust himselfe in possession of the crowne, and to depose king Henrie, who had reigned ouer them so long a time.

His bold speech.

Maister Edward Hall in his chronicle maketh mention of an oration, which the duke of Yorke vttered, sitting in the regall seat there in the chamber of the peeres, either at this his first comming in amongst them, or else at some one time after, the which we haue thought good also to set downe: though Iohn Whethamsted the abbat of saint Albons, who liued in those daies, and by all likelihood was there present at the parlement, maketh no further recitall of anie words, which the duke should vtter at that time in that his booke of records, where he intreateth of this matter. But for the oration (as maister Hall hath written thereof) we find as followeth. ¶ During the time (saith he) of this parlement, the duke of Yorke with a bold countenance entered into the chamber of the peeres, and sat downe in the throne roiall, vnder the cloth of estate (which is the kings peculiar seat) and in the presence of the nobilitie, as well spirituall as temporall (after a pause made) he began to declare his title to the crowne, in this forme and order as insueth.

Edw. Hall. in Hen. 6. fol. clxxvij, &c.

The duke of Yorks oration made to *the lords of the parlement.*

My singular good lords, marueil not that I approch vnto this throne: for I sit here as in the place to me by verie iustice lawfullie belonging; & here I rest, as to whom this chaire of right appertaineth, not as he which requireth of you fauour, partialitie, or bearing, but equall right, friendlie indifferencie, and true administration of iustice. For I beeing the partie greeued, and complainant, can not minister to my selfe the medicine that should helpe me (as expert leeches & cunning surgians maie) except you be to me both faithfull aiders & also true councellors. Nor yet this noble realme and our naturall countrie shall neuer be vnbuckled from hir dailie feuer, except I (as the principall phylician, and you as the true and trustie apothecaries) consult togither in making of the potion, and trie out the cleane and pure stuffe from the corrupt and putrified drugs.

For vndoubtedlie, the rot and bottome of this long festured canker is not yet extirpate, nor the feeble foundation of this fallible building is not yet espied, which hath beene and is the dailie destruction of the nobilitie, and the continuall confusion of the poore communaltie of this realme and kingdome. For all you know (or should know) that the high and mightie prince king Richard the second, was the true and vndoubted heire to the valiant conqueror and renowmed prince king Edward the third, as sonne & heire to the hardie knight and couragious capteine Edward prince of Wales, duke of Aquitaine and Cornewall, eldest sonne to the said king Edward the third: which king was not onelie in deed, but also of all men reputed and taken for the true and infallible heire to the wise and politike prince king Henrie the third, as sonne and heire to king Edward the second, sonne and heire to king Edward the first, the very heire and first begotten sonne of the said noble and vertuous prince king Henrie the third.

Which king Richard of that name the second, was lawfullie & iustlie possessed of the crowne and diadem of this realme and region, till Henrie of Derbie duke of Lancaster and Hereford, sonne to John of Gant duke of Lancaster, the fourth begotten sonne to the said king Edward the third, and yonger brother to my noble ancestor Lionell duke of Clarence, the third begotten sonne of the said king Edward, by force and violence, contrarie both to the dutie of his allegiance, and also to his homage to him both doone and swoorne, raised warre and battell at the castle of Flint in Northwales, against the said king Richard, and him apprehended, and imprisoned within the Tower of London: during whose life and captiuitie, he wrongfullie vsurped and intruded vpon the roiall power, and high estate of this realme and region, taking vpon him the name, stile, and authoritie of king and gouernour of the same.

And not therewith satisfied, and contented, compassed and accomplished the death and destruction of his naturall prince, and most worthie souereigne lord, not as a common homicide and butcherlie murtherer, but as a regicide, and destroier of his king. After whose pitious death, and execrable murther, the right and title of the crowne, and superioritie of this realme was lawfullie reuerted & returned to Roger Mortimer earle of March, sonne and heire to ladie Philip the onelie child of the aboue rehearsed Lionell duke of Clarence, vnto which Rogers daughter called Anne, my most dearest and welbeloued mother, I am the verie true and lineall heire, which descent all you can not iustlie gainesay, nor yet trulie denie. Then remember this, if the title be mine, why am I put from it? If I be true heire to the crowne (as I am in deed) why is my right withholden? If my claime be good, why haue I not iustice? For suerlie, learned men of great science and knowledge say and affirme, that lineall descent, nor vsurped possession can nothing preuaile, if continuall claime be lawfullie made, or openlie published.

For the auoiding of which scruple and ambiguitie: Edmund earle of March my most welbeloued vncle, in the time of the first vsurper, in deed but not by right called king Henrie the fourth, by his cosines the earle of Northumberland, & the lord Persie, he being then in captiuitie with Owen Glendouer the rebell in Wales, made his title & righteous claime to the destruction of both the noble persons. Likewise my most dearest lord my father, so farre set forth that right and title, that he lost his life & worldlie ioy at the towne of Southhampton, more by power than indifferent iustice. Since whose death, I comming to my full age, haue neuer desisted to pursue my title, and require my right, which by meanes of sinister counsell and vniust detention, I can neither obteine nor recouer. So that of fine force I am compelled to vse power in steed of praier, and force in steed of request; not (as I said before) for my priuat emolument and peculiar profit: but to restore peace, loue, and quietnesse to this our naturall region, which euer since the first vngodlie vsurpation of the afore-named Henrie, vntrulie called king Henrie the fourth, hath bene clerelie banished, and out of the same vniustlie exiled.

What murthers and manslaughters haue bene perpetrated and committed within this countrie, since the beginning of that vngratious vsurpation? What number of noble men haue bene slaine, destroied, & executed since that infortunate daie? It is too lamentable and manifest. For although Henrie of Lancaster earle of Derbie toke vpon him the scepter and the crowne, and wrongfullie bare the name and stile of a king; and was not much tickled with mine vncle the earle of March, at that time being within age: yet was he neuer in suertie of himselfe, nor had or inioied any profit & quietnesse either in mind or in bodie. For suerlie, a corrupt conscience neuer feeleth rest, but looketh when the sword of vengeance will descend and strike. His sonne also called king Henrie the fift, obteined notable victories, and immortall praises for his noble acts doone in the realme of France: yet God (for the offense of his vntrue parent) suddenlie touched him, vnbodieng his soule in the flower of his youth, and in the glorie of his conquest.

And although he had a faire sonne and a yong heire apparant: yet was this orphan such a one (as preachers say) that God threatned to send for a punishment to his vnrulie and vngratious people, saieng by his prophet Esaie; I shall giue you children to be your princes, and infants without wisedome shall haue the gouernance of you. The prophet lied not, if you note all things in an order: for after this Henrie the fift (whose fame no man can iustlie reproue or deface) succeeded his sonne, whom all we haue called our naturall prince, and obeied as his heire. In whose time and wrongfull reigne, I require you diligentlie to consider, with what great torments and afflictions God hath whipped & scourged this miserable Ile: yea with such and so manie scourges and plagues, as no nation (the Aegyptians onelie excepted) were euer tormented or afflicted withall. I will not speake of rebellious murthers and oppressions, which of late haue bene doone and exercised here among vs. But I will declare & manifest to you, how the crowne and glorie of this realme is by the negligence of this sillie man, and his vnwise councell minished, defaced, and also dishonoured.

Is not Normandie, which his father gat, regained & conquered againe, by the insolencie of him & his couetous councell? Is not the whole duchie of Aquitaine, by two hundred and od yeares peaceablie possessed by the kings of this realme, in one

yeare

peare and a little more, gotten out of our hands & seignioríe: What should I speake of Aniou & Maine, or the losse of the Ile of France, with the rich citie of Paris. Alas it is too apparant. Neither will I molest you with the recitall of all the particulars thereof. But now in the middest of this affliction, and to make an end of the same: God of his ineffable goodnesse, loking on this countrie with his eies of pitie & mercie, hath sent me in the truth, to restore againe his decaied kingdome to his ancient fame and old renowme whereof here in open parlement, according to my iust & true title, I haue and do take possession of this roiall throne: not putting diffidence, but firme hope in Gods grace, that by his diuine aid, and assistance of you the peres of this realme, I shall beautifie & maintein the same to the glorie of him, honour of my blood, and to the publike wealth as well of you all here present, as of all the poore commons and subiects of this kingdome and regiment.

When the duke had made an end of his oration, the lords sat still as men striken into a certeine amazednesse, neither whispering nor speaking forth a word, as though their mouthes had been sowed vp. The duke not verie well content with their silence, aduised them to consider throughlie, and ponder the whole effect of his words and saiengs: and so neither fullie displeased, nor yet altogither content, departed to his lodging in the kings palace. While he was declaring thus his title in the higher house among the peres, there happened a strange chance in the verie same, instant amongest the commons in the nether house. A crowne which did hang in the middle of the same to garnish a branch to set lights vpon, without touch of man, or blast of wind, suddenlie fell downe. About the same time also fell downe the crowne which stood on the top of Douer castell. Which chances were construed to be signes, that the crowne of the realme should some waie haue a fall.

Prodigious tokens.

The lords forgot not the dukes demand, and to take some direction therein, diuerse of them, as spirituall and temporall, with manie graue and sage persons of the commonaltie datlie assembled at the Blacke friers, and other places, to treat of this matter, being of so great importance. During which time the duke of Yorke, although he and the king were both lodged in the palace of Westminster; yet would he not for anie praiers or requests once visit the king, till some conclusion were taken in this matter: saieng, that he was subiect to no man, but only to God, vnder whose mercie none here superiour but he. ¶ The king of Scots, partlie incouraged thorough the ciuill discord here in England, and partlie for the displeasure which he had conceiued for the death of Edmund duke of Summerset his mothers brother, this yeare besieged the castell of Rorburgh: and by the breaking of a bombard, as the same was shot off against the castell, he chanced to be slaine. Yet the Scots left not off their enterprise, assaulting the castell till they gat it, and then defended it a long time after, till Richard duke of Glocester wan it againe, and raced it.

The castell of Rorburgh besieged.

The king of Scots thorough misfortune slaine.

After long debating of the matter, and deliberate consultation amongest the peres, prelats, and commons, vpon the vigill of All saints, it was condescended: for so much as king Henrie had béene taken as king by the space of thirtie and eight yeares and more, that he should inioy the name and title of king, and haue possession of the realme during his naturall life. And if he either died, or resigned, or forfeited the same, by breaking or going against anie point of this concord, then the said crowne & authoritie roiall should immediatlie be deuoluted and come to the duke of Yorke, if he then liued; or else to the nert heire of his linage. And that the duke of Yorke from thense forth should be protector and regent of the land. ¶ This was the determination of the parlement to & fro, tending to peace betwéene the king & the duke (which was ratified accordinglie) as by the articles insuing doth appeare.

The determination of the parlement cõcerning the intailing of crowne.

Abr.Fl.ex I.S. pag.700,701, &c.in Quart.

The articles betvvixt king Henrie *and the duke of Yorke.*

BLessed be Jesu, in whose hands and bountie resteth and is the peace and vnitie betwixt princes, and the weale of euerie relme: by whose direction (I know) agreed it is, appointed, and accorded as followeth, betwixt the most high and most mightie prince king Henrie the first king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, on the one partie, and the right high & mightie prince Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke on the other partie: vpon certeine matters of variance moued betwixt them, and especiallie vpon the claime and title vnto the crownes of England and of France, and roiall power, estate, and dignitie apperteining to the same, and lordship of Ireland, opened, shewed, and declared by the said duke, before all the lords spirituall and temporall, being in this present parlement.

First, where the said Richard duke of Yorke hath declared and opened (as is aboue said) title & claime in maner as followeth.

That the right noble and worthie prince, Henrie king of England the third had issue, and lawfullie got Edward the first begotten sonne, borne at Westminster, the fiftéenth kalends of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord 1239; Edmund his second sonne which was borne on S. Markels daie, the yere 1200, the which Edward, after the death of king Henrie his father, intituled & called king Edward the first, had issue, Edward his first begotten sonne, called (after the decease of his father) king Edward the second, the which had issue, Edward the third; which Edward the third had issue, Edward prince of Wales; William of Hatfield his second sonne; Lionell the third, duke of Clarence; John of Gant fourth, duke of Lancaster; Edmund of Langleie fift, duke of Yorke; Thomas of Woodstoke first, duke of Glocester; and William of Windsor seauenth.

The said Edward prince of Wales, which died in the life time of his father, had issue Richard, which succéeded Edward the third his grandsire; Richard died without issue; William of Hatfield the second sonne of Edward the third, died without issue; Lionell the third sonne of Edward the third, duke of Clarence, had issue Philip his daughter and heire, which was coupled in matrimonie vnto Edmund Mortimer earle of March, and had issue Roger Mortimer earle of March hir sonne and heire; which Roger had issue of Edmund erle of March, Roger Mortimer, Anne, Elianor; which Edmund, Roger, and Elianor died without issue.

And the said Anne coupled in matrimonie to Richard earle of Cambridge, the sonne of Edmund of Langleie, the fift sonne of Henrie the third, and had issue Richard Plantagenet, commonlie called duke of Yorke; John of Gant, the fourth sonne of Edward, and the yonger brother of the said Lionell, had issue Henrie earle of Derbie, who incontinentlie after that king Richard resigned the crownes of the

realmes and lordship of Ireland, vnrighteouslie entered vpon the same, then being aliue Edmund Mortimer earle of March, sonne to Roger Mortimer earle of March, sonne and heire of the said Philip, daughter and heire of the said Lionell, the third sonne of the said king Edward the third, to the which Edmund the right and title of the said crownes and lordship by law and custome belonged. To the which Richard duke of Yorke, as sonne to Anne daughter to Roger Mortimer earle of March, sonne and heire of the said Philip, daughter and heire of the said Lionell, the third sonne of king Edward the third, the right, title, dignitie roiall, and estate of the crownes of the realmes of England and France, and the lordship of Ireland perteineth and belongeth afore anie issue of the said John of Gant, the fourth sonne of the same king Edward.

The said title notwithstanding, and without prejudice of the said Richard duke of Yorke, tenderlie desiring the wealth, rest, and prosperitie of this land, and to set apart all that might be trouble to the same, and considering the possession of the said king Henrie the first, and that he hath for his time bene named, taken, and reputed for king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, is contented, agreed, and consenteth, that he be had, reputed, and taken for king of England and France, with the roiall estate, dignitie, and preheminence belonging thereunto, and lord of Ireland during his naturall life. And for that time, the said duke, without hurt or prejudice of his said right, and title, shall take, worship, and honour him for his souereigne lord.

Item, the said Richard duke of Yorke, shall promit and bind him by his solemne oth, in maner and forme as followeth.

The oth of Richard duke of Yorke.

In the name of God Amen: I Richard duke of Yorke, promise and sweare by the faith and truth that I owe to almightie God, that I shall neuer consent, procure, or stirre, directlie or indirectlie, in priuie or apert, neither (as much as in me is) shall suffer to be done, consented, procured, or stirred, anie thing that may sound to the abridgement of the naturall life of king Henrie the first, or to the hurt or diminishing of his reigne or dignitie roiall, by violence, or anie other waie, against his freedome or libertie: but if any person or persons would do or presume anie thing to the contrarie, I shall with all my might and power withstand it, and make it to be withstood, as far as my power will stretch thereunto, so helpe me God and his holie euangelists.

Item, Edward earle of March, and Edmund earle of Rutland, sonnes of the said duke of Yorke, shall make like oth.

Item, it is accorded, appointed, and agreed, that the said Richard duke of Yorke, shall be called and reputed from henceforth, verie and rightfull heire to the crownes, roiall estate, dignitie and lordship aboue said; and after the decease of the said king Henrie, or when he will late from him the said crownes, estate, dignitie, and lordship, the said duke and his heires shall immediatlie succeed to the said crownes, roiall estate, dignitie and lordship.

Item, the said Richard duke of Yorke, shall haue by authoritie of this present parlement, castels, manors, lands, and tenements, with the wards, marriages, reliefes, seruices, fines, amercements, offices, aduousons, fees, and other appurtenances to them belonging, what soeuer they be, to the yearelie value of ten thousand marks, ouer all charges and reprises; whereof fiue thousand marks shall be to his owne state, three thousand fiue hundred marks to Edward his first begotten sonne earle of March for his estate, and one thousand pounds to Edmund earle of Rutland his second sonne for his yearelie sustentation, in such consideration and such intent as shall be declared by the lords of the kings councell.

Item, if anie person or persons imagine or compasse the death of the said duke, and thereof probablie be attainted of open deed done by folkes of other condition, that it be deemed & adiudged high treason.

Item, for the more establishing of the said accord, it is appointed and consented, that the lords spirituall and temporall, being in this present parlement, shall make oths, to accept, take, worship, and repute the said Richard duke of Yorke and his heires, as aboue is rehearsed, and keepe, obserue, and strengthen (in as much as apperteineth vnto them) all the things aboue said, and resist to their power, all them that would presume the contrarie, according to their estates and degrees.

Item, the said Richard duke of Yorke, earles of March, and Rutland, shall permit and make other to helpe, aid, and defend the said lords, and euerie of them, against all those that will quarell, or anie thing attempt against the said lords, or anie of them, by occasion of agreement or consenting to the said accord, or assistance giuing to the duke and earles, or anie of them.

Item, it is agreed and appointed, that this accord, and euerie article thereof, be opened and notified by the kings letters patents, or otherwise, at such times and places, and in maner as it shall be thought expedient to the said Richard duke of Yorke, with the aduise of the lords of the kings councell. The king vnderstandeth certeinelie the said title of the said Richard duke of Yorke, iust, lawfull, and sufficient, by the aduise and assent of the lords spirituall and temporall, and the commons in this parlement assembled; and by authoritie of the same parlement declareth, approueth, ratifieth, confirmeth, and accepteth the said title, iust, good, lawfull, and true, and thereunto giueth his assent and agreement of his free will and libertie.

And ouer that, by the said aduise and authoritie declareth, intituleth, calleth, establisheth, affirmeth, & reputeth the said Richard duke of Yorke, verie true and rightfull heire to the crownes, roiall estate, and dignitie of the realmes of England and of France, and of the lordship of Ireland aforesaid; and that according to the worship and reuerence that thereto belongeth, he be taken, accepted and reputed, in worship & reuerence, by all the states of the said realme of England, and of all his subiects thereof; sauing and ordeining by the same authoritie, the king to haue the said crownes, realme, roiall estate, dignitie, and preheminence of the same, and the said lordship of Ireland during his life naturall.

And furthermore, by the same aduise and authoritie willeth, consenteth and agreeth, that after his decease, or when it shall please his highnesse to late from him the said crownes, estate, dignitie, and lordship, the said Richard duke of Yorke and his heires shall immediatlie succeed him in the said crownes, roiall estate, dignitie, and worship, and them then haue and inioie: anie act of parlement, statute, or ordinance, or other thing to the contrarie made, or interruption, or discontinuance of possession notwithstanding.

And moreouer, by the said aduise and authoritie, establisheth, granteth, confirmeth, approueth, ratifieth, and accepteth the said accord, and all things therein conteined, and thereunto freelie and absolutelie assenteth, agreeth; and by the same aduise and authoritie ordeineth and establisheth, that if anie person or persons imagine or compasse the death of the said duke, & probablie be attainted of open deed done by folks of that condition, that it be deemed and adiudged high treason.

And

And furthermore ordeineth and establisheth by the said aduise and authoritie, that all statutes, ordinances, and acts of parlement, made in the time of the said king Henrie the fourth, by the which he and the heires of his bodie, comming of Henrie late king of England the fift, the sonne and heire of the said king Henrie the fourth, and the heires of king Henrie the fift, were or be inheritable to the said crownes and realmes, or to the heritage of the same, be annulled, repealed, damned, cancelled, void, and of none effect.

And ouer this, the king by the said aduise, assent and authoritie, ordeineth and establisheth, that all other acts and statutes made afore this time by act of parlement, not repealed or annulled by like authoritie, or otherwise void, be in suth force, effect, and vertue, as they were afore the making of these ordinances; and that no letters patents, roialr of record, nor acts iudiciall, made or done afore this time not repealed, reuersed, ne otherwise void by law, be preiudiced or hurt by this present act.]

This agreement put in articles, was ingrossed, sealed, and sworne vnto by the two parties, and also enacted in the parlement. For ioy whereof the king, hauing in his companie the duke of Yorke, road to the cathedrall church of saint Paule in London, and there on the day of All saints with the crowne on his head went solemnelie in procession, and was lodged a good space after in the bishops palace, nere to the said church. And vpon the saturdaie next insuing, Richard duke of Yorke was by sound of trumpet solemnelie proclamed heire apparant to the crowne of England, and protectour of the realme. After this, the parlement kept at Couentrie the last yeare, was declared to be a diuelish councell, and onelie had for destruction of the nobilitie, and was indeed no lawfull parlement: bicause they which were returned, were neuer elected according to the due order of the law, but secretlie named by them which desired rather the destruction than the aduancement of the common-wealth. When these agreements were enacted, the king dissolued his parlement, which was the last parlement that euer he ended.

The duke of Yorke, well knowing that the quene would spurne against all this, caused both hir and hir sonne to be sent for by the king. But she as wont rather to rule, than to be ruled, and thereto counselled by the dukes of Excester and Summerset, not onelie denied to come, but also assembled a great armie, intending to take the king by fine force out of the lords hands. The protector in London, hauing knowledge of all these doings, assigned the duke of Norffolke, and erle of Warwike his trustie frends to be about the king, while he with the earles of Salisburie and Rutland, and a conuenient number departed out of London the second date of December northward, and appointed the earle of March his eldest sonne to follow him with all his power. The duke came to his castell of Sandall beside Wakefield on Christmasse euen, & there began to make muster of his tenants and frends. The quene thereof ascerteined, determined to cope with him yer his succour were come.

Now she, hauing in hir companie the prince hir sonne, the dukes of Excester and Summerset, the earle of Deuonshire, the lord Clifford, the lord Ros, and in effect all the lords of the north parts, with eightene thousand men, or (as some write) two and twentie thousand, marched from Yorke to Wakefield, and had base to the duke, euen before his castell gates. She hauing with him not fullie fiue thousand persons, contrarie to the minds of his faithfull counsellors, would neds issue forth to fight with his enimies. The duke of Summerset and the quenes part, casting vpon their most aduantage, appointed the lord Clifford to lie in one stale, and the earle of Wilshire in another, and the duke with other to keepe the maine battell. The duke of Yorke with his people descended downe the hill in good order and arraie, and was suffered to passe on towards the maine battell.

The duke of Yorke proclamed heire apparant & protectour of the realme.

The parlemẽt at Couentrie made frustrat.

But when he was in the plaine field betweene his castell and the towne of Wakefield, he was inuironed on euerie side, like fish in a net, so that though he fought manfullie, yet was he within halfe an houre slaine and dead, and his whole armie discomfited: with him died of his trustie frends, his two bastard vncles, sir John and sir Hugh Mortimers, sir Danie Hall, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Thomas Neuill, William and Thomas Aparre, both brethren; and two thousand and eight hundred others, whereof manie were yong gentlemen, and heires of great parentage in the south parts, whose kin reuenged their deaths within foure moneths next, as after shall appeare.

The battell at Wakefield.

The duke of Yorke slaine.

Onelie seauen hundred southerne men saith Whethamsted.

In this conflict was wounded and taken prisoner, Richard earle of Salisburie, sir Richard Limbricke, Rafe Stanleie, John Harow, capteine Hanson, and diuerse others. The lord Clifford, perceiuing where the earle of Rutland was conueied out of the field (by one of his fathers chapleins, and scholemaister to the same earle) and ouertaking him, stabbed him to the heart with a dagger as he kneeled afore him. This earle was but a child at that time of twelue yeares of age, whome neither his tender yeares, nor dolorous countenance, with holding vp both his hands for mercie (for his speach was gone for feare) could moue the cruell heart of the lord Clifford to take pitie vpon him, so that he was noted of great infamie for that his vnmercifull murther vpon that yong gentleman.

The cruell murther of the yong earle of Rutland.

But the same lord Clifford not satisfied herewith, came to the place where the dead corpse of the duke of Yorke laie, caused his head to be striken off, and set on it a crowne of paper, fixed it on a pole, and presented it to the quene, not lieng farre from the field, in great despite, at which great reioising was shewed: but they laughed then that shortlie after lamented, and were glad then of other mens deaths that knew not their owne to be so nere at hand. ¶ Some write that the duke was taken aliue, and in derision caused to stand vpon a molehill, on whose head they put a garland in steed of a crowne, which they had fashioned and made of sedges or bulrushes; and hauing so crowned him with that garland, they kneeled downe afore him (as the Iewes did vnto Christ) in scorne, saieng to him; Haile king without rule, haile king without heritage, haile duke and prince without people or possessions. And at length hauing thus scorned him with these and diuerse other the like despitefull words, they stroke off his head, which (as yee haue heard) they presented to the quene.

Whethamsted.

Manie deemed that this miserable end chanced to the duke of Yorke, as a due punishment for breaking his oth of allegiance vnto his souereigne lord king Henrie: but others held him discharged thereof, bicause he obteined a dispensation from the pope, by such suggestion as his procurators made vnto him, whereby the same oth was adiudged void, as that which was receiued vnaduisedlie, to the preiudice of himselfe, and disheriting of all his posteritie. After this victorie by the quene, the earle of Salisburie and all the prisoners were sent to Pomfret, and there beheaded, whose heads (togither with the duke of Yorkes head) were conueied to Yorke, and there set on poles ouer the gate of the citie, in despite of them and their linage. The earle of March, now after the death of his father, verie duke of Yorke, lieng at Gloucester, was wonderfullie amazed, when the sorowfull newes of these mishaps came vnto him: but after

A purchase of Gods curse with ỹ popes blessing.

The prisoners beheaded 1461

The earle of March now duke of Yorke.

after comfort giuen to him by his faithfull louers and assured alies, he remoued to Shrewesburie, declaring to the inhabitants of that towne, and to them of the other townes in those parties the murther of his father, the ieopardie of himselfe, and the present ruine of the common-wealth.

The people on the marches of Wales, for the fauour which they bare to the Mortimers linage, more gladlie offered him their aid and assistance than he could desire the same; so that he had incontinentlie a puissant armie, to the number of three and twentie thousand, readie to go against the quéene, and the murtherers of his father. But when he was setting forward, newes was brought to him, that Jasper earle of Penbroke halfe brother to king Henrie, and James Butler earle of Ormund and Wilshire, had assembled a great number of Welsh and Irish people to take him: he herewith quickned, retired backe and met with his enimies in a faire plaine, nére to Mortimers crosse, not far from Hereford east, on Candlemasse daie in the morning. At which time the sunne (as some write) appeared to the earle of March like three sunnes, and suddenlie ioined altogither in one. Upon which sight he toke such courage, that he fiercelie setting on his enimies, put them to flight: and for this cause men imagined, that he gaue the sunne in his full brightnesse for his badge or cognisance. Of his enimies were left dead on the ground three thousand and eight hundred.

The earle of Penbroke.

The battell of Mortimers crosse.

The cognisáce of bright sunne.

The earles of Penbroke and Wilshire fled, but sir Owen Teuther father to the said earle of Penbroke (which Owen had married king Henries mother, as yée haue heard before) with Dauid Floid, Morgan ap Reuther, and diuerse other were taken, and beheaded at Hereford. The quéene neuertheless incouraged by hir late victorie, with a multitude of northerne people, marched toward London, intending to vndo all that had béene ordeined in the last parlement. These northerne people, after they were once passed ouer the riuer of Trent, spoiled and wasted the countrie afore them, in maner as if they had béene in the land of forren enimies. At length, they approched to saint Albons, hearing that the duke of Northfolke, and the earle of Warwike, with other whome the duke of Yorke had left to gouerne the king in his absence, had (by the kings assent) assembled a great hoast, and were incamped neere to that towne.

Owen Teuther and other taken and beheaded.

Whethamsted.

The northern men enter into S. Albons.

Those northerne lords and other that were with the quéene, made forward, and entring into S. Albons, meant to passe through the towne, and so to coape with their enimies; but finding a sort of archers ranged nére to the great crosse in the market place, to defend their passage, they were receiued with such a storme of arrowes, which came flieng about their eares as thicke as haile, that they were quicklie repelled backe, and with losse driuen to retire in hast vnto the west end of the towne; where, by a lane that leadeth northwards vp to saint Peters street, they made their entrie, and had there also a sharpe incounter against certeine bands of the kings people. But after great slaughter on both parts, they got through, and vpon the heath that lieth at the north end of the towne, called Barnard heath, they had a farre greater conflict with foure or fiue thousand of the kings armie, that séemed as they had bene auant courrers.

They passe through it.

The second battell at S. Albons.

These gaue the onset so fiercelie at the beginning, that the victorie rested doubtfull a certeine time, so that if the easterne and southerne men had continued as they began, the field had bene theirs; but after they had stood to it a prettie while, and perceiued none of their fellowes from the great armie to come and assist them, they began to faint, and turning their backes, fled amaine ouer hedge and ditch, through thicke and thin, woods and bushes, séeking so to escape the hands of their cruell enimies that followed them with eger minds, to make slaughter vpon them, namelie, the northern pickers, now in the chace pursued most hotlie, and bare downe manie, and more had done, if the night comming vpon, had not staied them.

The kings part fleeth.

When the daie was closed, those that were about the king (in number a twentie thousand) hearing how euill their fellowes had sped, began vtterlie to despaire of the victorie, and so fell without anie long tarriance to running awaie. By reason whereof, the nobles that were about the king, perceiuing how the game went, and withall saw no comfort in the king, but rather a good will and affection towards the contrarie part, they withdrew also, leauing the king accompanied with the lord Bonneuille, & sir Thomas Kiriell of Kent; which vpon assurance of the kings promise, tarried still with him, and fled not. But their trust deceiued them, for at the quénes departing from saint Albons, they were both beheaded; though contrarie to the mind and promise of hir husband. Sir Thomas Thorp, baron of the escheker, was also beheaded the same daie, at Highgate, by the commons of Kent.

Such was the successe of this second battell fought at S. Albons, vpon Shrouetuesdaie, the seuentéenth of Februarie, in which were slaine three and twentie hundred men, of whom no noble man is remembred, saue sir John Graie, which the same daie was made knight, with twelue other, at the village of Colneie. Now after that the noble men and other were fled, and the king left in maner alone without anie power of men to gard his person, he was counselled by an esquier called Thomas Ho, a man well languaged, and well séene in the lawes, to send some conuenient messenger to the northerne lords, aduertising them, that he would now gladlie come vnto them (whome he knew to be his verie frends, and had assembled themselues togither for his seruice) to the end he might remaine with them, as before he had remained vnder the gouernement of the southerne lords.

1918, as Iohn Stow noteth.

Sir John Graie slaine.

According to the aduise and counsell of this esquier, the king thought it good to send vnto them, and withall appointed the same esquier to beare the message, who first went and declared the same vnto the earle of Northumberland, and returning backe to the king, brought certeine lords with him, who conueied the king first vnto the lord Cliffords tent, that stood nert to the place where the kings people had incamped. This done, they went and brought the quéene and hir sonne prince Edward vnto his presence, whome he ioifullie receiued, imbracing and kissing them in most louing wise, and yelding hartie thanks to almightie God, whome it had pleased thus to strengthen the forces of the northerne men, to restore his derelie beloued and onelie sonne againe into his possession. Thus was the quéene fortunate in hir two battels, but vnfortunate was the king in all his enterprises: for where his person was present, the victorie still fled from him to the contrarie part. The quéene caused the king to dub hir sonne prince Edward knight, with thirtie other persons, which the day before fought on hir side against his part.

Thomas Ho esquier sent to the northerne lords.

Edw. Hall.

Prince Edward made knight.

This done, they went to the abbeie, where of the abbat and monks they were receiued with hymnes and songs, and so brought to the high altar, and after to the shrine, and so to the chamber in which the king was wont to lodge. The abbat made sute that order might be taken to restreine the northerne men from spoiling the towne: and proclamation indéed was made to that effect, but it auailed not: for they main-

mainteined, that the spoile of things was granted them by couenant, after they were once passed ouer the riuer of Trent: and so not regarding anie proclamation or other commandement, they spared nothing that they could laie hands vpon, if the same were meet for them to carie awaie. The quæne, hauing thus got the victorie, sent to the maior of London, commanding him without delaie to send certeine carts, laden with Lenton vittels, for the refreshing of hir and hir armie. The maior incontinentlie caused carts to be laden, and would haue sent them forward; but the commons of the citie would not suffer them to passe, but staied them at Triplegate, notwithstanding the maior did what he could by gentle persuasions to quiet them.

The northern men spoile the towne of saint Albons.

The quæne sendeth to the maior of London for vittels.

Vittels sent by the maior, and staid by the commons.

During which controuersie, diuerse of the northerne horssemen, came and robbed in the suburbs of the citie, and would haue entred at Triplegate; but they were repelled by the commoners, and three of them slaine. Wherevpon, the maior sent the recorder to Barnet to the kings councell there, to excuse the matter; and the duches of Bedford, the ladie Scales, with diuerse fathers of the spiritualtie, went to the quæne, to asswage hir displeasure conceiued against the citie. The quæne at this humble request, by aduise of hir councell, appointed certeine lords and knights, with foure hundred tall persons, to ride to the citie, and there to view and see the demeanor and disposition of the people: and diuerse aldermen were appointed to meet them at Barnet, and to conuie them to London. But what man purposeth, God disposeth. All these deuises were shortlie altered to another forme, bicause true report came not onelie to the quæne, but also to the citie; that the earle of March, hauing vanquished the earles of Penbroke and Wilshire, had met with the earle of Warwike (after this last battell at saint Albons) at Chipping Norton by Cotsold; and that they with both their powers were cõming toward London. The quæne hauing little trust in Esser, and lesse in Kent, but least of all in London, with hir husband and sonne, departed from saint Albons, into the north countrie, where the foundation of hir aid and refuge onelie rested.

The quæne returneth northward.

The duches of Yorke, seeing hir husband and sonne slaine, and not knowing what should succeed of hir eldest sonnes chance, sent hir two yonger sonnes, George and Richard, ouer the sea, to the citie of Vtrecht in Almaine, where they were of Philip duke of Burgognie well receiued; and so remained there, till their brother Edward had got the crowne and gouernement of the realme. The earles of March and Warwike, hauing perfect knowlege that the king & quæne, with their adherents, were departed from S. Albons, rode straight to London, entring there with a great number of men of warre, the first weeke of Lent. Whose cõming thither was no sooner knowne, but that the people resorted out of Kent, Esser, and other the counties adioining, in great numbers, to see, aid, and comfort this lustie prince and flower of chiualrie, in whome the hope of their ioy and trust of their quietnesse onelie consisted.

The great hope of the people conceiued of the erle of March.

This prudent young prince, minding to take time when time serued, called a great councell, both of the lords spirituall and temporall, and to them repeated the title and right that he had to the crowne, rehearsing also the articles concluded betweene king Henrie and his father, by their writings signed and sealed, and also confirmed by act of parlement; the breaches whereof he neither forgat, nor left vndeclared. After the lords had considered of this matter, they determined by authoritie of the said councell, that because king Henrie had done contrarie to the ordinances in the last parlement concluded, and was insufficient of himselfe to rule the realme, he was therfore to be depriued of all kinglie estate: and incontinentlie was Edward earle of March, sonne and heire to Richard duke of Yorke, by the lords in the said councell assembled, named, elected, and admitted for king and gouernour of the realme.

The earle of March elected king.

On which daie, the people of the earles part, being in their muster in S. Johns field, and a great number of the substantiall citizens there assembled, to behold their order; the lord Fauconbridge, who tooke the musters, wiselie anon declared to the people the offenses and breaches of the late agreement, committed by king Henrie the first; and demanded of the people, whether they would haue him to rule and reigne anie longer ouer them? To whome they with whole voice answered; Naie, naie. Then he asked them, if they would serue, loue, honour, and obeie the erle of March, as their onlie king and souereigne lord? To which question they answered; Yea, yea: crieng (king Edward) with manie great shouts & clapping of hands in assent and gladnesse of the same.

The lord Fauconbridge.

The lords were shortlie aduertised of the louing consent which the commons frankelie and freelie had giuen. Wherevpon incontinentlie, they all with a conuenient number of the most substantiall commons repaired to the erle at Bainards castell, making iust and true report of their election and admission, and the louing assent of the commons. The earle, after long pausing, first thanked God of his great grace and benefit towards him shewed; then the lords and commons for their fauour and fidelitie: notwithstanding, like a wise prince, he alleged his insufficiencie for so great a rome and weightie burthen, as lacke of knowledge, want of experience, and diuerse other qualities to a gouernour apperteining. But yet in conclusion, being persuaded by the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishop of Excester, and other lords then present, he agreed to their petition, and tooke vpon him the charge of the kingdome, as forfeited to him by breach of the couenants established in parlement.

The earle of March taketh vpon him as king.

¶Thus farre touching the tragicall state of this land vnder the rent regiment of king Henrie, who (besides the bare title of roialtie and naked name of king) had little apperteining to the port of a prince. For whereas the dignitie of princedome standeth in souereigntie; there were of his nobles that imbecilled his prerogatiue by sundrie practises, specially by maine force; as seeking either to suppresse, or to exile, or to obscure, or to make him abate: otherwise what should be the meaning of all those foughten fields from time to time, most miserablie falling out both to prince, peere, and people? As at saint Albons, at Blorheath, at Northampton, at Banberie, at Barnet, & at Wakefield; to the effusion of much bloud, and pulling on of manie a plage, which otherwise might haue beene auoided. All which battels, together with those that were tried betweene Edward the fourth, after his inthronization; and Henrie the first after his exterminatiõ (as at Erham, Doncaster, and Tewkesburie) are remembred by *Anglorum prælia* in good order of pithie poetrie, as followeth:

Abr.Fl.

Nobilitata inter plures hæc sunt loca cæde,
Albani fanum, Blorum, borealis & Ampton,
Banbrecum campis, Barentum collibus hærens,
**Experrectorum pagus, fanúmq; secundo*
Albani, propior Scoticis confinibus Exam,
Contiguóq; istis habitantes rure coloni,
Mœrentes hodie, quoties proscindit arator
Arua propinqua locis dentale reuellere terra
Semisepulta virûm sulcis Cerealibus ossa:
Mœsta execrantur planctu ciuile duellum,
Quo periere hominum plus centum millia cæsa,
Nobile Todcastrum clades accepta coëgit

*Wakefield.

Millibus

Millibus enectis ter denis nomen habere.
Vltima postremæ locus est Teuxburia pugnæ,
Oppidulis his accedens certissima testis,
Bello intestino fluuios fluxisse cruoris.]

But now before we proceed anie further, sith the reigne of king Henrie maie seeme here to take end, we will specifie some such learned men as liued in his time. John Leland, surnamed the elder (in respect of the other John Leland, that painefull antiquarie of our time) wrote diuerse treatises, for the instruction of grammarians; John Hainton, a Carmelit or white frier (as they called them) of Lincolne; Robert Colman, a Franciscane frier of Norwich, and chancellor of the vniuersitie of Oxenford; William White a priest of Kent, professing the doctrine of Wickliffe, and forsaking the order of the Romane church, married a wife, but continued his office of preaching, till at length, in the yeare 1428, he was apprehended, and by William bishop of Norwich, and the doctors of the friers mendicants, charged with thirtie articles, which he maintained, contrarie to the doctrine of the Romane church, and in September the same yeare suffered death by fire.

Alexander Carpentar, a learned man, set forth a booke called *Destructorium vitiorum*, wherein he inueieth against the prelats of the church of that time, for their crueltie vsed, in persecuting the poore and godlie christians; Richard Kendall, an excellent grammarian; John Bate, warden of the white friers in Yorke, but borne in the borders of Wales, an excellent philosopher, and a diuine, he was also seene in the Greeke tong, a thing rare in those dates; Peter Baillet, esquier of the priuie chamber to king Henrie the fift, whose life he wrote; John Pole a priest, that wrote the life of saint Walburgh, daughter to one Richard, a noble man of this realme of England, which Walburgh (as he affirmeth) builded our ladie church in Antwerpe; Thomas Ismaelit, a monke of Sion; Walter Hilton, a Chartreaur monke also of Shiene, either of those wrote certeine treatises full of superstition, as Iohn Bale noteth.

Peter Baillet wrote king Henrie the fift his life.

Thomas Walden so called of the towne where he was borne, but his fathers surname was Netter, a white frier of London, and the three and twentith prouincial gouernour of his order, a man vndoubtedlie learned, and thoroughlie furnished with cunning of the schooles, but a sore enimie to them that professed the doctrine of Wickliffe, writing sundrie great volumes and treatises against them, he died at Rone in Normandie, the second of Nouember, in the yeare one thousand foure hundred and thirtie; Richard Ullerston, borne in Lancashire, wrote diuerse treatises of diuinitie; Peter Clearke, a student in Oxenford, and a defendor of Wickliffes doctrine, whereupon when he feared persecution here in England, he fled into Boheme, but yet at length he was apprehended by the imperialists, and died for it, as some write, but in what order, is not expressed.

Fabian and Caxton.

Robert Hounslow, a religious man of an house in Hounslow beside London, whereof he toke his surname; Thomas Walsingham, borne in Norfolke, in a towne there of the same name, but professed a monke in the abbeie of saint Albons, a diligent historiographer; John Tilneie, a white frier of Yermouth, but a student in Cambridge, and prooued an excellent diuine; Richard Fleming, a doctor of diuinitie in Oxenford, of whome more at large before, pag. 604. John Low borne in Worcestershire, an Augustine frier, a doctor of diuinitie, and prouinciall in England of his order, and by king Henrie the first, made first bishop of saint Asaph, and after remoued from thense to Rochester; Thomas Kingsted the yonger, not the same that was bishop, but a doctor of the law, and vicar of Hildenhall in Suffolke, a notable preacher, and wrote diuerse treatises.

John Felton, a doctor of diuinitie of Magdalen college in Oxenford; Nicholas Botlesham, a Carmelit frier borne in Cambridgeshire, and student first in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, and after in Paris, where he proceeded doctor of diuinitie; Thomas Rudburne, a monke of Winchester, and an historiographer; John Holbroke, borne in Surrie, a great philosopher, and well seene in the mathematiks; Peter Paine, an earnest professor of Wickliffes doctrine, and fearing persecution here in England, fled into Boheme, where he remained in great estimation for his great learning & no lesse wisedome; Nicholas Upton, a ciuilian, wrote of heraldrie, of colours in armorie, and of the dutie of chiualrie; William Beckeleie, a Carmelit frier of Sandwich, & warden of the house there, a diuine, and professed degree of schole in Cambridge; John Torpe, a Carmelit frier of Norwich.

John Capgraue borne in Kent, an Augustine frier, proceeded doctor of diuinitie in Oxenford, was admitted prouinciall of his order, and prooued (without controuersie) the best learned of anie of that order of friers here in England, as Iohn Bale affirmeth, he wrote manie notable volumes, and finallie departed this life at Lin in Norffolke, the twelfth of August, in the yere 1464, which was in the fourth yeare of king Edward the fourth; Humfrie duke of Glocester, earle of Penbroke, and lord chamberlaine of England, also protector of the realme, during the minoritie of his nephue king Henrie the first, was both a great fauourer of learned men, and also verie well learned himselfe, namelie in astrologie, whereof (beside other things) he wrote a speciall treatise intituled, *Tabula directionum.*

John Whethamsted, otherwise called Frumentarius, was abbat of saint Albons, and highlie in fauor with the good duke of Glocester last remembred, he wrote diuerse treatises, and among others, a booke as it were of the records of things, chancing whilest he was abbat, which booke I haue seene, and partlie in some parcell of this kings time haue also followed; Roger Onleie, borne in the west countrie (as Bale thinketh) was accused of treason, for practising with the ladie Eleanor Cobham, by sorcerie to make the king awaie, and was thereof condemned, and died for it, though he were innocent thereof, as some haue thought, he wrote a treatise intituled, *Contra vulgi superstitiones*, also another *De sua innocentia*; Nicholas Cantlow, a Welshman borne, descended of an ancient familie in Southwales, as by Bale it should appeare, he became a frier Carmelit in Bristow; Henrie Wichingham, a Carmelit frier of Norwich, a notable diuine, a great preacher, and wrote also sundrie treatises of diuinitie.

John Lidgate, a monke of Burie, an excellent poet, and chiefe in his time in that facultie, of all other that practised the same within this land, he trauelled thorough France and Italie to learne the languages and sciences, how greatlie he profited in atteining to knowledge, the workes which he wrote do sufficientlie testifie; Nicholas Hostresham, an excellent physician; John Blackeneie, a religious man, of the order of the Trinitie intituled, *De redemptione captiuorum*, and prior of an house of the same order, at Ingham in Norffolke, he was surnamed Blackeneie, of the towne where he was borne; Thomas Beckington, bishop of Bath, wrote against the law Salique, by which law the Frenchmen would seclude the princes of this realme from their title vnto the crowne of France; John Baringham, a Carmelite frier of Gipeswich in Suffolke; David Bois, borne in Wales, and a frier Carmelit, professed

lessed in Gloceſter, a doctor of diuinitie.

John Bzome, an Auguſtine frier; Michaell Trigurie, a Cornishman borne, whome for his excellencie and learning, king Henrie the fift appointed to be gouernour of that schole or vniuerſitie, which he inſtituted in the citie of Caen in Normandie, after he had brought it vnder his subiection; John Amundiſham, a monke of saint Albons; Oſwald *Anglicus*, a monke of the Chartreux order; John Kenningale, a Carmelit frier of Norwich; Peter *De ſancta fide*, a Carmelit alſo of Norwich; Reginald Pecocke, biſhop of Chicheſter, of whome ye haue heard before, he was borne in Wales, and ſtudent in Oriall college in Oxenford, where he proceeded doctor of diuinitie, he wrote manie treatiſes touching the chriſtian religion; John ſurnamed Burie of the towne where he was borne, an Auguſtine frier in the towne of Clare in Suffolke.

Robert Fleming, a man perfect in the Greeke and Latine tong [among whoſe works some haue beene ſeene vnder theſe titles: namelie, *Lucubrationum Tiburtinarum lib.* 1. a dictionarie in Greeke and Latine, and a worke in verſe of ſundrie kinds, this man was of moſt fame in the yeare of our Lord 1470, which was in the tenth yeare of Edward the fourth, though he were not obſcure alſo in the daies of this Henrie the ſixt;] Thomas Galcoigne, borne at Hunſleete in Yorkeſhire, of that worſhipfull familie of the Galcoignes there, a doctor of diuinitie, and chancellor of the vniuerſitie of Oxenford; William Stapilhart, borne in Kent, but by profeſſion a white frier in London; Robert Fimingham borne in Norfolke a Franciſcan frier in Norwich; Nicholas Montacute, an hiſtoriographer; John Chandler, chancellor of Welles; William Botoner, deſcended of a good houſe, a knight by degree, and borne in Briſtow, verie ſtudious in antiquities, and other ſciences.

John Stow, a monke of Norwich, but ſtudent in Oxenford, where he proceeded doctor of diuinitie; Thomas Langleie, a monke of Hulme; Nicholas Bungeie, borne in a towne of Norfolke of that name, wrote an hiſtorie, called *Adunationes chronicorum*; Henrie Beaufort biſhop of Wincheſter, baſe ſonne to John duke of Lancaſter, of whome before we haue made ſufficient mention, made cardinall by pope Martine the fourth, in the yeare 1426; Adam Homlington, a Carmelit frier; William Coppinger, maiſter of the vniuerſitie of Oxenford; Thomas Stacie, an expert mathematician, and no leſſe ſkilfull in aſtronomie; John Talaugerne, a monke of Worceſter; William Sutton, an aſtrologian; Robert Balſacke, wrote a booke intituled *De re militari*, that is to ſaie, of warre or chiualrie, ſo that (as is thought) he was both a good ſouldier, and a painefull ſtudent of good letters.

Thomas Dando, a Carmelit frier of Marleburgh, he wrote the life of Alphred king of weſt Saxons; William Graie, borne of the noble houſe of the Graies of Codnor, he went to atteine to ſome excellencie of learning in Italie, where he heard that noble clearke Guarinus Veronenſis read in Ferrara, he was preferred to the biſhoprike of Elie, in the yeere 1454, by pope Nicholas the fift, when Thomas Bourchier was tranſlated from thenſe to Canturburie; John Kempe, archbiſhop of Yorke, and after remoued from thenſe to Canturburie (as before ye haue heard) he was made cardinall of S. Albin, by pope Eugenie the fourth; Adam Molins (as Bale calleth him) keeper of the kings priuie ſeale, excellentlie learned, in time of the ciuill warre betwixt king Henrie, and the duke of Yorke, in which he loſt his head.

Thomas Chillenden, a doctor both of the law ciuill and canon, became at length a monke in Canturburie; Robert Bale, ſurnamed the elder, excellentlie learned in the lawes of the realme, recorder of London, gathered as it were a chronicle of the cuſtomes, lawes, foundations, changes, reſoring magiſtrats, offices, orders, and publike aſſemblies of the citie of London, with other matters, touching the perfect deſcription of the ſame citie; he wrote other works alſo touching the ſtate of the ſame citie, and the acts of king Edward the third; he departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 1461, euen about the beginning of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, vnto whome we will now againe returne.

Thus farre the tragicall hiſtorie of Henrie the ſixt depriued of his roialtie.

Edward the fourth earle of March, ſonne and heire to Richard duke of Yorke.

Anno Reg. 1.

After that this prince Edward earle of March had taken vpon him the gouernement of this realme of England (as before ye haue heard) the morow next inſuing, being the fourth of March, he rode to the church of ſaint Paule, and there offered: and after *Te Deum* ſong, with great ſolemnitie he was conueied to Weſtminſter, and there ſet in the hall with the ſcepter roiall in his hand, whereto people in great numbers aſſembled. His claime to the crowne was declared to be by two maner of waies, the firſt, as ſonne and heire to duke Richard his father, right inheritor to the ſame; the ſecond, by authoritie of parlement, and forfeiture committed by king Henrie. Where vpon it was againe demanded of the commons, if they would admit and take the ſaid erle as their prince and ſouereigne lord, which all with one voice cried; Yea, yea.

The earle of March taketh vpon him as king.

His title declared.

This

This part thus plaied, he entered into Westminster church vnder a canopie with solemne processiõ, and there as king offered; and herewith taking the homages of all the nobles there present, he returned by water to London, and was lodged in the bishops palace; and on the morrow after, he was proclamed king by the name of Edward the fourth, throughout the citie. He is proclamed king.

This was in the yeare of the world 5427, and after the birth of our Sauiour 1461 after our accompt, beginning the yeare at Christmasse; but after the vsuall accompt of the church of England 1460, the twentith of emperour Frederike the third; the nine and thirtith and last of Charles the seuenth French king; and first yeare of the reigne of James the third king of Scots.

Whilest these things were adoing in the south parts, king Henrie being in the north countrie, assembled a great armie, trusting (for all this) to subdue his enimies; namelie, sith their chiefe ringleader the duke of Yorke was dispatched out of the waie. But he was deceiued: for out of the ded stocke sprang a branch more mightie than the stem; this Edward the fourth, a prince so highlie fauoured of the people, for his great liberalitie, clemencie, vpright dealing, and courage, that aboue all other, he with them stood in grace alone: by reason whereof, men of all ages and degrees to him dailie repaired, some offering themselues and their men to leopard their liues with him, and other plentiouslie gaue monie to support his charges, and to mainteine his right.

By which meanes, he gathered togither a puissant armie, to the intent by battell (sithens none other waies would serue) at once to make an end of all. So, his armie and all things prepared, he departed out of London the twelfe daie of March, and by easie iournies came to the castell of Pomfret, where he rested, appointing the lord Fitz Walter to keepe the passage at Ferribridge with a good number of tall men. King Henrie on the other part, hauing his armie in readinesse, committed the gouernance thereof to the duke of Summerset, the earle of Northumberland, and the lord Clifford, as men desiring to reuenge the death of their parents, slaine at the first battell at saint Albons. These capteins leauing king Henrie, his wife, and sonne, for the most safegard within the citie of Yorke, passed the riuer of Wharfe with all their power, intending to stop king Edward of his passage ouer the riuer of Aire.

And the better to bring that to passe, the lord Clifford determined to make a charge vpon them that kept the passage of Ferribridge; and so he departed with his light horsemen from the great armie on the saturdaie before Palmesundaie; and earelie yer his enimies were aware, slue the keepers and wan the bridge. The lord Fitz Walter hearing the noise, suddenlie rose out of his bed, and vnarmed with a pollar in his hand, thinking that it had beene but a fraie amongst his men, came downe to appease the same; but yet he knew what the matter meant was slaine, and with him the bastard of Salisburie brother to the earle of Warwike, a valiant yong gentleman, and of great audacitie. The lord Fitz water slaine.

When the earle of Warwike was informed hereof, like a man desperat, he mounted on his hacknie, and hasted puffing and blowing to king Edward, saieng; Sir, I praie God haue mercie of their soules, which in the beginning of your enterprise haue lost their liues. And because I see no succors of the world but in God, I remit the vengeance to him our creator and redeemer. With that he alighted downe, and slue his horse with his sword, saieng; Let him flee that will, for suerlie I will tarrie with him that will tarrie with me: and kissed the crosse of his sword as it were for a vow to the promise. King Edward, perceiuing the courage of his trustie friend the earle of Warwike, made proclamation, that all men which were afraid to fight, should depart: and to all those that tarried the battell, he promised great rewards, with addition, that anie souldier which voluntarilie would abide, and afterwards, either in or before the fight should seeme to flee or turne his backe, then he that could kill him, should haue a great reward and double wages. A proclamation.

The earle of Warwike.

After this proclamation ended, the lord Fauconbridge, sir Walter Blunt, Robert Horne with the fore-ward, passed the riuer at Castelford, three miles from Ferribridge, intending to haue inuironed the lord Clifford and his companie. But they being therof aduertised, departed in great hast toward king Henries armie; yet they met with some that they looked not for, & were so trapt yer they were aware. For the lord Clifford, either for heat or paine, putting off his gorget, suddenlie with an arrow (as some saie) without an head, was striken into the throte, and immediatlie rendred his spirit; and the earle of Westmerlands brother, and all his companie almost were there slaine, at a place called Dintingdale, not far from Towton. This end had the lord Clifford, which slue the earle of Rutland kneeling on his knees, whose yong sonne Thomas Clifford was brought vp with a shepheard in poore habit, euer in feare to be knowne, till king Henrie the seuenth obteined the crowne, by whom he was restored to his name and possessions. The lord Clifford slain. Dintingdale. Cruelitie paid with sudden mischiefe.

When this conflict was ended at Ferribridge, the lord Fauconbridge, hauing the fore-ward, because the duke of Norfolke was fallen sicke, valiantlie vpon Palmesundaie in the twilight set forth his armie and came to Sarton, where he might apparantlie behold the host of his aduersaries, which were accompted three score thousand men, and thereof aduertised king Edward, whose whole armie amounted to eight and fortie thousand six hundred and three score persons: which incontinentlie with the earle of Warwike set forward, leauing the rere-ward vnder the gouernance of sir John Wenlocke, sir John Winham, and other. And first of all, he made proclamation, that no prisoner should be taken. So the same daie about nine of the clocke, which was the nine and twentith daie of March, being Palmesundaie, both the hostes approched in a faire plaine field, betweene Towton and Sarton. The lord Fauconbridge. Sarton. Whethamsted saith, that K. Henries power exceeded in number king Edwards by twentie thousand men. In heauie proclamatiõ. Palmesundaie field.

When ech part perceiued other, they made a great shout; and at the same instant there fell a small fleete or snow, which by violence of the wind that blew against them, was driuen into the faces of king Henries armies, so that their sight was somewhat dimmed. The lord Fauconbridge, leading K. Edwards fore-ward, caused euerie archer vnder his standard to shot one flight (which before he caused them to prouide) and then made them to stand still. The northerne men feeling the shot, but by reason of the fleet, not well viewing the distance betweene them and their enimies, like forward men shot their sheafe arrowes as fast as they might: but all to losse, for they came short of the southerne men by three score yards.

So their shot almost spent, the lord Fauconbridge marched forward with his archers, which not onelie shot their whole sheafes, but also gathered the arrowes of their enimies, and let a great part flie against their first owners, and suffered a great sort of them to stand, which sore troubled the legs of the northerne men, when the battell ioined. The earle of Northumberland and Andrew Trollop, chiefe capteins of king Henries vawward, seeing their shot not to preuaile, hasted to ioine with their enimies, and the other part slacked not their pase. This battell The earle of Northumberland.

was

was sore foughten, for hope of life was set aside on either part, & taking of prisoners proclamed a great offense, so euerie man determined to vanquish or die in the field.

The obstinate minds of both parts.

This deadlie conflict continued ten houres in doubtfull state of victorie, vncerteinlie heauing and setting on both sides; but in the end, king Edward so couragiouslie comforted his men, that the other part was discomfited and ouercome, who like men amazed, fled toward Tadcaster bridge to saue themselues, where in the mid waie is a little broke called Cocke, not verie broad, but of a great depenesse, in which, what for hast to escape, and what for feare of their followers, a great number was drowned there. It was reported, that men aliue passed the riuer vpon dead carcasses, and that the great riuer of Wharfe whereinto that broke doth run, and of all the water comming from Towton, was coloured with bloud.

King Henries part discomfited.

Cocke or riuer.

The chase continued all night, and the most part of the next daie, and euer the northerne men (as they saw anie aduantage) returned againe, and fought with their enimies, to the great losse of both parts. For in these two daies were slaine (as they that knew it wrote) on both parts six and thirtie thousand seuen hundred threescore & sixteene persons, all Englishmen and of one nation, whereof the chiefe were the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, the lord Dacres, and the lord Welles, sir John Neuill, Andrew Trollop, Robert Horne, and manie other knights and esquiers, and the earle of Deuonshire was taken prisoner, but the dukes of Summerset and Excester fled from the field and saued themselues.

The number slaine in battell of Saxtō, otherwise called Palmesundaie field.

After this great victorie, king Edward rode to Yorke, where he was with all solemnitie receiued; and first he caused the heads of his father, the earle of Salisburie, and other his frends, to be taken from the gates, and to be buried with their bodies: and there he caused the earle of Deuonshire, and three other to be beheaded, and set their heads in the same place. King Henrie, after he heard of the irrecouerable losse of his armie, departed incontinentlie with his wife and sonne to the towne of Berwike, and leauing the duke of Summerset there, went into Scotland, and comming to the king of Scots, required of him and his councell, aid, and comfort.

King Henrie withdraweth to Berwike, & from thence into Scotland.

The yong king of Scots, lamenting the miserable state of king Henrie, comforted him with faire words and friendlie promises, and assigned to him a competent pension to liue on, during his abode in Scotland. King Henrie, in recompense of this courtesie and friendship, deliuered to the king of Scots the towne of Berwike, whereof he had got possession. He faithfullie supported the part of king Henrie, and concluded a mariage betwixt his sister, and the yong prince of Wales, but the same was neuer consummate, as after ye shall heare. When king Henrie was somwhat setled in the reime of Scotland, he sent his wife and his sonne into France to king Reiner hir father, trusting by his aid and succour to assemble an armie, and once againe to recouer his right and dignitie: but he in the meane time made his aboad in Scotland, to see what waie his friends in England would studie for his restitution.

Quéene Margaret with hir sonne goeth into France.

The quéene being in France, did obteine of the yong French king then Lewes the eleuenth, that all hir husbands friends, and those of the Lancastriall band, might safelie and suerlie haue resort into anie part of the realme of France, prohibiting all other of the contrarie faction anie accesse, or repaire into that countrie. ¶ Thus ye haue heard, how king Henrie the first, after he had reigned eight and thirtie yeares & od moneths, was driuen out of this realme. But now leauing him with the princes of his part, consulting togither in Scotland, and quéene Margaret his wife gathering of men in France, I will returne where I left, to proceed with the doings of king Edward.

This yong prince, hauing with prosperous successe obteined so glorious a victorie in the mortall battell at Towton, and chased all his aduersaries out of the realme, or at the least waies put them to silence, returned after the maner and fashion of a triumphant conquerour, with great pompe vnto London; where according to the old custome of the realme, he called a great assemblie of persons of all degrees, and the nine & twentith daie of June was at Westminster with solemnitie crowned and annointed king. ¶ In which yeare, this king Edward called his high court of parlement at Westminster, in the which, the state of the realme was greatlie reformed, and all the statutes made in Henrie the first his time (which touched either his title or profit) were reuoked.

In the same parlement, the earle of Orford far striken in age, and his sonne and heire the lord Awbreie Uére, either through malice of their enimies, or for that they had offended the king, were both, with diuerse of their councellors, attainted, and put to execution; which caused John earle of Orford euer after to rebell. There were also beheaded the same time, sir Thomas Tudenham knight, William Tirell, and John Montgomerie esquiers, and after them diuerse others. Also after this, he created his two yonger brethren dukes, that is to saie, lord George duke of Clarence, lord Richard duke of Gloucester; and the lord John Neuill, brother to Richard earle of Warwike, he first made lord Montacute, and afterwards created him marques Montacute.

Beside this, Henrie Bourchier brother to Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, was created earle of Ellsex; and William lord Fauconbridge was made earle of Kent. To this Henrie lord Bourchier, a man highlie renowmed in martiall feats, Richard duke of Yorke long before this time, had giuen his sister Elizabeth in mariage, of whome he begat foure sonnes, William, Thomas, John, and Henrie: the which William being a man of great industrie, wit, and prouidence in graue and weightie matters, maried the ladie Anne Woduile, descended of high parentage, whose mother Jaquet was daughter to Peter of Lutzenburgh earle of saint Paule, by the which Anne he had lord Henrie earle of Ellsex, one daughter named Cicile, maried to Walter lord Ferrers of Chartleie and an other called Isabell, which died vnmaried.

The earle of Kent was appointed about this time to kéepe the seas, being accompanied with the lord Audeleie, the lord Clinton, sir John Howard, sir Richard Walgraue, and others, to the number of ten thousand, who landing in Britaine, wan the towne of Conquet, and the Isle of Reth, and after returned.

1462
Iohn Stow.

Anno Reg. 2.
The duke of Summerset & other, submit them to king Edward.

When all things were brought in order, and framed as king Edward in maner could wish, Henrie duke of Summerset, sir Rafe Persie, and diuerse other, being in despaire of all good chance to happen vnto king Henrie, came humblie, & submitted themselues vnto king Edward, whome he gentlie receiued. Which clemencie notwithstanding, both the one and the other (when time serued) reuolted from king Edward, and betooke themselues to take part with Henrie, vnto whom they had béene adherents before: because they grew in hope that in the end the confederats, to whom they so closelie did cleaue both in affection and seriousnesse of labour (though they pretended a temporall renunciation of all dutie and seruice for their securitie sake) should haue the honor of victorie against their gainstanders. But as commonlie the euents of enterprises fall out flat contrarie to

mens expectation and hope; so came it to passe with these, whose hope though it were greene and flourie in the prosecuting of their affaires, yet in the knitting vp of the matter and vnluckie successe thereof, it fell out in triall to be a flattering, a false, and a fruitlesse hope: and therefore that is a true and a wise sentence of the comicall poet & well serving the purpose:

Plaut. in Mostel.

Insperata accidunt magis sæpè quàm quæ speres.

1463 Anno Reg. 3.

All this season was king Henrie in Scotland, and quéene Margaret (being in France) found such friendship at the French kings hands, that she obteined a crue of fiue hundred Frenchmen, with the which she arriued in Scotland. And after that she had reposed hir selfe a time, she sailed with hir gallant band of those ruffling Frenchmen toward Newcastell, and landed at Tinmouth. But whether she were afraid of hir owne shadow, or that the Frenchmen cast too manie doubts; the truth is, that the whole armie returned to their ships, and a tempest rose so suddenlie, that if she had not taken a small caruell, and that with good spéed arriued at Berwike, she had béene taken at that present time by hir aduersaries.

The quéene returneth worth of France.

And although fortune was so fauourable to hir, yet hir companie with stormie blasts was driuen on the shore before Banburgh castell, where they set their ships on fire, and fled to an Iland called holie Iland, where they were so assailed by the bastard Ogle, and an esquier called John Manners, with other of king Edward freends, that manie of them were slaine, and almost foure hundred taken prisoners: but their coronell Peter Brezille, otherwise called monsieur de Varenne, happened vpon a fisherman, and so came to Berwike vnto quéene Margaret, who made him capteine of the castell of Alnewike, which he with his Frenchmen kept, till they were rescued.

Shortlie after, quéene Margaret obteined a great companie of Scots, and other of hir friends, and so bringing hir husband with hir, and leauing hir sonne called prince Edward in the towne of Berwike, entered Northumberland, toke the castell of Banburgh, and stuffed it with Scotishmen, and made thereof capteine sir Rafe Greie, and came forward toward the bishoprike of Durham. When the duke of Summerset heard these newes, he without delaie reuolted from king Edward, and fled to king Henrie. So likewise did sir Rafe Persie, and manie other of the kings friends. But manie mo followed king Henrie, in hope to get by the spoile: for his armie spoiled and burned townes, and destroied fields wheresoeuer he came. King Edward aduertised of all these things, prepared an armie both by sea and land.

Banburgh castell.

The duke of Summerset reuolteth.

Some of his ships were rigged and vittelled at Lin, and some at Hull, and well furnished with souldiers were herewith set forth to the sea. Also the lord Montacute was sent into Northumberland, there to raise the people to withstand his enimies. And after this, the king in his proper person, accompanied with his brethren, and a great part of the nobilitie of his realme, came to the citie of Yorke, furnished with a mightie armie, sending a great part thereof to the aid of the lord Montacute, least peraduenture he giuing too much confidence to the men of the bishoprike and Northumberland, might through them be deceiued.

The Lord Montacute then hauing such with him as he might trust, marched forth towards his enimies, and by the waie was incountered with the lord Hungerford, the lord Ros, sir Rafe Persie, and diuerse other, at a place called Hegelie moore, where suddenlie the said lords, in maner without stroke striken, fled; and onelie sir Rafe Persie abode, and was there manfullie slaine, with diuerse other, saieng when he was dieng; I haue saued the bird in my bosome: meaning that he had kept his promise and oth made to king Henrie: forgetting (belike) that he in king Henries most necessitie abandoned him, and submitted him to king Edward, as before you haue heard.

The lord Montacute hegelie moore. Sir Rafe Persie,

The lord Montacute, séeing fortune thus prosperouslie leading his saile, aduanced forward; & learning by espials, that king Henrie with his host was incamped in a faire plaine called Liuels, on the water of Dowill in Eramshire, hasted thither, and manfullie set on his enimies in their owne campe, which like desperate persons with no small courage receiued him. There was a sore foughten field, and long yer either part could haue anie aduantage of the other: but at length the victorie fell to the lord Montacute, who by fine force entered the battell of his enimies, and constreined them to flie, as despairing of all succours. In which flight and chase were taken Henrie duke of Summerset, which before was reconciled to king Edward, the lord Ros, the lord Molins, the lord Hungerford, sir Thomas Wentworth, sir Thomas Hussele, sir John Finderne, and manie other.

Exham field.

The duke of Summerset taken.

King Henrie was a good horseman that day, for he rode so fast awaie that no man might ouertake him; and yet he was so nere pursued, that certeine of his henchmen were taken, their horsses traped in blue veluet, and one of them had on his head the said king Henries helmet, or rather (as may be thought, & as some say) his high cap of estate, called Abacot, garnished with two rich crownes, which was presented to king Edward at Yorke the fourth day of Maie. The duke of Summerset was incontinentlie beheaded at Exham; the other lords and knights were had to Newcastell, and there (after a little respit) were likewise put to death. Beside these, diuerse other, to the number of fiue and twentie, were executed at Yorke, and in other places.

King Henrie fled.

The duke of Summerset beheaded.

Sir Humfrie Neuill, and William Tailbois, calling himselfe earle of Kime, sir Rafe Greie, and Richard Tunstall, with diuerse other, which escaped from this battell, hid themselues in secret places: but yet they kept not themselues so close, but that they were espied and taken. The earle of Kime was apprehended in Riddesdale, and brought to Newcastell, and there beheaded. Sir humfrie Neuill was taken in Holdernesse, and at Yorke lost his head. After this battell called Exham field, king Edward came to the citie of Durham, and sent from thence into Northumberland the earle of Warwike, the lord Montacute, the lords Fauconbridge & Scrope, to recouer such castels as his enimies there held, and with force defended.

The earle of Kime, otherwise Angus, beheaded.

They first besieged the castell of Alnewike, which sir Peter Brezille and the Frenchmen kept, and in no wise would yéeld, sending for aid to the Scots. Wherupon sir George Dolwglas erle of Angus, with thirtéene thousand chosen men, in the day time came and rescued the Frenchmen out of the castell; the Englishmen looking on, which thought it much better to haue the castell without losse of their men, than to lése both the castell and their men, considering the great power of the Scots, & their owne small number; and so they entered the castell and manned it. After this, they woone the castell of Dunstanburgh by force, and likewise the castell of Banburgh. John Gois, seruant to the duke of Summerset, being taken within Dunstanburgh, was brought to Yorke, and there beheaded.

Alnewike castell besieged.

Sir Rafe Greie being taken in Banburgh, for that he had sworne to be true to king Edward, was disgraded of the high order of knighthood at Doncaster, by cutting off his gilt spurs, renting his cote of armes, and breaking his sword ouer his head: and finallie, he was there beheaded for his manifest periurie. After this, king Edward returned to Yorke,

where

where (in despite of the earle of Northumberland, who then kept himselfe in the realme of Scotland) he created sir John Neuill, lord Montacute earle of Northumberland; and in reproch of Jasper earle of Penbroke, he created William lord Herbert earle of the same place. But after, when by mediation of friends, the earle of Northumberland was reconciled to his fauour, he restored him to his possessions, name, and dignitie; and preferred the lord Montacute to the title of marques Montacute: so that in degree, he was aboue his elder brother the earle of Warwike; but in power, policie, & possessions, far meaner.

1464 Anno Reg. 4. King Edward, though all things might seeme now to rest in good case, yet he was not negligent, in making necessarie prouision against all attempts of his aduersarie king Henrie, and his partakers; and therefore raised bulworks, and builded fortresses on ech side of his realme, where anie danger was suspected for the landing of anie armie. He caused also espials to be laid vpon the marches, fore against Scotland, that no person should go out of the realme to king Henrie and his companie, which then soiourned in Scotland. But all the doubts of trouble that might insue by the means of king Henries being at libertie, were shortlie taken away and ended: for he himselfe, whether he was past all feare; or that hee was not well established in his wits and perfect mind; or for that he could not long keepe himselfe secret, in disguised attire boldlie entred into England.

King Henrie taken.

He was no soner entred, but he was knowne and taken of one Cantlow, and brought toward the king, whom the earle of Warwike met on the way by the kings commandement, and brought him through London to the Tower, & there he was laid in sure hold. ¶ But it is worthie the noting, which I haue obserued in a late chronographers report touching this matter; namelie, that king Henrie was taken in Cletherwood, beside Bungerleie Hippingstons in Lancashire, by Thomas Talbot sonne and heire to sir Edward Talbot of Basshall, and John Talbot his cosin of Colebrie, which deceiued him being at his dinner at Wadington hall, and brought him toward London, with his legs bound to the stirrups, where he was met by the earle of Warwike, and arested at Esildon; doctor Manning deane of Windsor, doctor Bedle, and yong Ellerton being in his companie, with their feet bound vnder the horsse bellies were brought also to the Tower of London.]

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 717.

Queene Margaret, hearing of the captiuitie of hir husband, mistrusting the chance of hir sonne, all desolate and comfortlesse departed out of Scotland, and passed into France, where she remained with hir father duke Reiner, till she returned into England to hir harme, as after ye shall heare. The new duke of Summerset, and his brother John, sailed into France, where they also liued in great miserie; till duke Charles, because he was of their kin, as descended of the house of Lancaster by his mother, succoured them with a small pension, which was to them a great comfort. The earle of Penbroke went from countrie to countrie, not alwaies at his hearts ease, nor in safetie of life. [As for his dignitie and reputation, it was the more obscured, for that he had lost the title of his honor, and left at his wits end, doubtfull and vncertein in contrarie factions (as manie more) what to say or do for his best securitie. Neuertheless he concealed his inward discontentment, and as opportunitie of time ministred matter, so he grew in courage, and fell to practises of force (with other complices) therby to accomplish the cloudie conceits of his troubled mind, being persuaded, that temporall misfortunes are, if not vtterlie auoidable, yet manfullie to be withstood, or at least with audacitie & courage to be suffered, as the poet properlie saith:

The earle of Penbroke.

Ab. Flem.

Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.] Vir. Aen. 6.

King Edward being thus in more suertie of his life than before, distributed the possessions of such as toke part with king Henrie the first, to his souldiers and capteins, which he thought had well deserued: and besides this, he left no other point of liberalitie vnshewed, whereby he might allure to him the beneuolent minds and louing hearts of his people. And moreouer, to haue the loue of all men, he shewed himselfe more familiar both with the nobilitie and communaltie, than (as some men thought) was conuenient, either for his estate, or for his honor: notwithstanding the same liberalitie he euer after vsed. The lawes of the realme, in part he reformed, and in part he newlie augmented. The coine both of gold and siluer (which yet at this day is) he newlie deuised, and diuided; for the gold he named roials and nobles, and the siluer he called grotes and halfe grotes.

New coine stamped.

¶ In Michaelmasse terme were made sergeants at law, Thomas Yong, Nicholas Geneie, Richard Neale, Thomas Brian, Richard Pigot, John Grenfield, John Catesbie, and Gwie Fairfar, which held their feast in the bishop of Elies place in Holborne. To the which feast the maior of London, with the aldermen, shiriffes, and commons of diuerse crafts being bidden, repaired. But when the maior loked to be set to keepe the state in the hall, as it had beene vsed in all places of the citie and liberties, out of the kings presence (vnknowne to the sergeants and against their wils, as they said) the lord Graie of Ruthen then treasuror of England was there placed. Whereupon the maior, aldermen, and commons departed home, and the maior made all the aldermen to dine with him. Howbeit he and all the citizens were greatlie displeased that he was so dealt with, and the new sergeants and others were right sorie therefore, and had rather than much good it had not so happened. This was then (as my record reporteth more at large) registred to be a president in time to come.]

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 716. Sergeants feast. Register of maiors.

The maior of London departeth from the sergeants feast.

After that king Edward had reduced the state of the publike affaires vnto his liking; to purchase himselfe a good opinion and fauourable iudgement among the commons, he made proclamations, that all persons, which were adherents to his aduersaries part, & would leaue their armour, and submit themselues wholie to his grace and mercie, should be clerelie pardoned and forgiuen. By this kind of courteous dealing he wan him such fauour of the people, that euer after, in all his warres, he was (thorough their aid and support) a victor and conquerour. When his realme was thus brought into a good & quiet estate, it was thought met by him and those of his councell, that a marriage were prouided for him in some conuenient place; and therefore was the earle of Warwike sent ouer into France, to demand the ladie Bona, daughter to Lewes duke of Sauoie, and sister to the ladie Carlot, then queene of France; which Bona was at that time in the French court.

The earle of Warwike sent into France about a marriage.

The earle of Warwike, comming to the French king, then lieng at Tours, was of him honourablie receiued, and right courteouslie interteined. His message was so well liked, and his request thought so honourable for the aduancement of the ladie Bona, that hir sister queene Carlot obteined both the good will of the king hir husband, and also of hir sister the foresaid ladie: so that the matrimonie on that side was clerelie assented to, and the erle of Dampmartine appointed (with others) to saile into England, for the full finishing of the same. But here consider the old prouerbe to be true, which saith, that marriage goeth by destinie. For, during the time that the earle of Warwike was thus in France, and (according to his instructions) brought the effect of his

commission to passe, the king being on hunting in the forrest of Wichwood besides Stonistratford, came for his recreation to the manor of Grafton, where the duchesse of Bedford then sojourned, wife to sir Richard Woduile lord Riuers, on whome was then attendant a daughter of hirs, called the ladie Elizabeth Graie, widow of sir John Graie knight, slaine at the last battell of saint Albons, as before ye haue heard.

The ladie Elizabeth Graie.

This widow, hauing a suite to the king for such lands as hir husband had giuen hir in iointure, so kindled the kings affection towards hir, that he not onelie fauoured hir suite, but more hir person; for she was a woman of a more formall countenance than of excellent beautie; and yet both of such beautie and fauour, that with hir sober demeanour, sweete looks, and comelie smiling (neither too wanton, nor too bashfull) besides hir pleasant tong and trim wit, she so allured and made subiect vnto hir the heart of that great prince, that after she had denied him to be his paramour, with so good maner, and words so well set as better could not be deuised; he finallie resolued with himselfe to marrie hir, not asking counsell of anie man, till they might perceiue it was no bootie to aduise him to the contrarie of that his concluded purpose; sith he was so farre gone that he was not reuocable, and therefore had fired his heart vpon the last resolution: namelie, to aplie an holesome, honest, and honourable remedie to his affections fiered with the flames of loue, and not to permit his heart to the thraldome of vnlawfull lust: which purpose was both princelie and profitable; as the poet saith:

Vtile propositum est sæuas extinguere flammas,
Nec seruum vitijs pectus habere suum.

Ouid. de rem. am. lib. 1.

But yet the duchesse of Yorke his mother letted this match as much as in hir laie: when all would not serue, she caused a precontract to be alleged, made by him with the ladie Elizabeth Lucie. But all doubts resolued, all things made cléere, and all cauillations auoided, priuilie in a morning he married the said ladie Elizabeth Graie at Grafton beforesaid, where he first began to fansie hir. And in the next yere after she was with great solemnitie crowned quéene at Westminster. Hir father also was created earle Riuers, and made high constable of England: hir brother lord Anthonie was married to the sole heire of Thomas lord Scales: sir Thomas Graie sonne to sir John Graie the quénes first husband, was created marques Dorset, and married to Cicelie heire to the lord Bonuille. The French king was not well pleased to be thus dallied with; but he shortlie (to appease the grefe of his wife and hir sister the ladie Bona) married the said ladie Bona to the duke of Millan.

1465
Anno Reg. 5.

Now when the earle of Warwike had knowledge by letters sent to him out of England from his trustie friends, that king Edward had gotten him a new wife, he was not a little troubled in his mind, for that he toke it his credence thereby was greatlie minished, and his honour much stained, namelie in the court of France: for that it might be iudged he came rather like an espiall, to moue a thing neuer minded, and to treat a marriage determined before not to take effect. Suerlie he thought himselfe euill vsed, that when he had brought the matter to his purposed intent and wished conclusion, then to haue it quaile on his part; so as all men might thinke at the least wise, that his prince made small account of him, to send him on such a fléeueleſſe errand.

The earle of Warwike offended with the kings mariage.

All men for the most part agrée, that this marriage was the onlie cause, why the earle of Warwike conceiued an hatred against king Edward, whome he so much before fauoured. Other affirme other causes; and one speciallie, for that king Edward did attempt a thing once in the earles house, which was much against the earles honestie (whether he would haue defloured his daughter or his néece, the certeintie was not for both their honours openlie reuealed) for suerlie, such a thing was attempted by king Edward; which loued well both to behold and also to féele faire damsels. But whether the iniurie that the earle thought he receiued at the kings hands, or the disdaine of authoritie that the earle had vnder the king, was the cause of the breach of amitie betwixt them: truth it is, that the priuie intentions of their harts brake into so manie small peces, that England, France, and Flanders, could neuer ioine them againe, during their naturall liues.

But though the earle of Warwike was earnestlie inflamed against the king, for that he had thus married himselfe without his knowledge, hauing regard onelie to the satisfieng of his wanton appetite, more than to his honour or suertie of his estate; yet did he so much dissemble the matter at his returne into England, as though he had not vnderstood anie thing thereof: but onelie declared what he had done, with such reuerence, and shew of frendlie countenance, as he had béene accustomed. And when he had taried in the court a certeine space, he obteined licence of the king to depart to his castell of Warwike, meaning (when time serued) to vtter to the world, that which he then kept secret, that is to saie, his inward grudge, which he bare towards the king, with desire of reuenge, to the vttermost of his power. Neuertheleſſe, at that time he departed (to the outward shew) so farre in the kings fauour, that manie gentlemen of the court for honours sake gladlie accompanied him into his countrie.

The earle of Warwike kéepeth his greke secret.

¶ This yeere it was proclamed in England, that the beakes or pikes of shoes and boots should not passe two inches, vpon paine of cursing by the cleargie, and forfeiting twentie shillings, to be paid one noble to the king, an other to the cordwainers of London, and the third to the chamber of London; and for other cities and townes the like order was taken. Before this time, and since the yeare of our Lord 1382, the pikes of shoes and boots were of such length, that they were faine to be tied vp vnto the knees with chaines of siluer and gilt, or at the least with silken laces.]

Abr. Fl. ex L. S. pag. 717.
Long piked shoes forbidden.

In this yeare also, the kings daughter, the ladie Elizabeth, after wife to king Henrie the seauenth, was borne; king Edward concluded an amitie and league with Henrie king of Castile, and John king of Aragon; at the concluding whereof, he granted licence for certeine Cotteshold sheepe, to be transported into the countrie of Spaine (as people report) which haue there so multiplied and increased, that it hath turned the commoditie of England much to the Spanish profit. Beside this, to haue an amitie with his next neighbour the king of Scots, he winked at the losse of Berwike, and was contented to take a truce for fiftéene yeares. Thus king Edward, though for refusall of the French kings sister in law he wan him enimies in France, yet in other places he procured him frends: but those frends had stood him in small stéed, if fortune had not holpe him to an other, euen at his elbow.

1466.
Anno Reg. 6.

Cotteshold sheepe transported into Spaine.

Truce with Scots.

This was Charles earle of Charolois, the sonne and heire apparant vnto Philip duke of Burgognie, which Charles being then a widower, was counselled to be suter vnto king Edward, for to haue in mariage the ladie Margaret, sister to the said king, a ladie of excellent beautie, and indued with so manie worthie gifts of nature, grace, and fortune, that she was thought not vnworthie to match with the greatest prince of the world. The lord Anthonie bastard brother to the said earle Charolois, commonlie called

1467
Anno Reg. 7.

The bastard of Burgognie ambassadour into England.

called the bastard of Burgognie, a man of great wit, courage, and valiantnesse, was appointed by his father duke Philip, to go into England in ambassage, about this sute; who being furnished of plate and apparell, necessarie for his estate, hauing in his companie gentlemen, and other expert in all feats of chiualrie and martiall prowesse, to the number of foure hundred horsses, toke his ship, and arriued in England, where he was of the king & nobles honourablie receiued.

This message being declared, ye may be sure the same was ioifullie heard of the king and his councell; the which by that affinitie, saw how they might be assured of a buckler against France. But yet the earle of Warwike, bearing his heartie fauour vnto the French king, did as much as in him laie by euill reports to hinder this marriage: but this notwithstanding, at length, the king granted to the bastards request; and the said bastard openlie in the kings great chamber contracted the said ladie Margaret, for, and in the name of his brother the said earle of Charolois. After this marriage thus concluded, the bastard challenged the lord Scales, brother to the quéene, a man both equall in hart and valiantnesse with the bastard, to fight with him both on horsse-backe, and on foot: which demand the lord Scales gladlie accepted.

Iusts betwixt the bastard of Burgognie & the lord Scales.

The king causing lists to be prepared in Westsmithfield for these champions, and verie faire and costlie galleries for the ladies, was present at this martiall enterprise himselfe. The first daie they ran togither diuerse courses with sharpe speares, and departed with equall honor. The next day they turneied on horssebacke. The lord Scales horsse had on his chafron a long sharpe pike of steele, and as the two champions coped togither, the same horsse (whether thorough custome or by chance) thrust his pike into the nosethrils of the bastards horsse; so that for verie paine he mounted so high, that he fell on the one side with his maister, and the lord Scales rode round about him with his sword in his hand, vntill the king commanded the marshall to helpe vp the bastard, which openlie said; I can not hold me by the clouds, for though my horsse faileth me, suerlie I will not faile my contercompanion. The king would not suffer them to do anie more that daie.

The morow after, the two noblemen came into the field on foot, with two polaxes, and fought valiantlie: but at the last, the point of the polax of the lord Scales happened to enter into the sight of the bastards helme, and by fine force might haue plucked him on his knees: the king suddenlie cast downe his warder, and then the marshals them seuered. The bastard not content with this chance, and trusting on the cunning which he had at the polax, required the king of iustice, that he might performe his enterprise. The lord Scales refused it not, but the king said, he would aske counsell: and so calling to him the constable, and the marshall, with the officers of armes, after consultation had, and the lawes of armes rehearsed, it was declared for a sentence definitiue, by the duke of Clarence, then constable of England, and the duke of Norffolke, then marshall; that if he would go forward with his attempted challenge, he must by the law of armes be deliuered to his aduersarie, in the same state and like condition as he stood when he was taken from him.

The law of armes.

The bastard hearing this iudgement, doubted the sequele of the matter; and so relinquished his challenge. Other challenges were done, and valiantlie atchiued by the Englishmen, which I passe ouer. Shortlie after came sorowfull tidings to the bastard, that his father duke Philip was dead, who there-

The death of the duke of Burgognie.

vpon taking his leaue of king Edward, and of his sister the new duchesse of Burgognie, liberallie rewarded with plate and iewels, with all spéed returned to his brother the new duke, who was not a little glad of the contract made for him with the said ladie, as after well appeared. In this same yeare, king Edward, more for the loue of the marques Montacute, than for ante fauour he bare to the earle of Warwike, promoted George Neuill their brother to the archbishoprike of Yorke.

George Neuill archbishop of Yorke.

1468. Anno Reg. 8.

Charles duke of Burgognie, reioising that he had so well sped, for conclusion of marriage with king Edwards sister, was verie desirous to sée hir, of whome he had heard so great praise, & wrote to king Edward, requiring him to send his sister ouer vnto him, according to the couenants passed betwixt them. King Edward being not slacke in this matter, appointed the dukes of Excester and Suffolke, with their wiues, being both sisters to the ladie Margaret, to attend hir, till she came to hir husband. And so after that ships, and all other necessarie prouisions were readie, they being accompanied with a great sort of lords and ladies, and others, to the number of fiue hundred horsse, in the beginning of June departed out of London to Douer, and so sailed to Sluis, and from thense was conueied to Bruges, where the marriage was solemnized betwixt the duke and hir, with great triumphs, & princelie feastings. Touching the pompe had and vsed at the setting forward of this ladie on hir voiage it is a note worth the reading; and therefore necessarilie here interlaced for honours sake.

The ladie Margaret sister to king Edward, sent ouer to the duke of Burgognie.

¶ On the eightéenth of June, Margaret sister to K. Edward the fourth began hir iornie from the Wardrobe in London, toward hir marriage with Charles duke of Burgognie: first she offered in the church of saint Paule, and then rode thorough the citie, the earle of Warwike riding before hir, with earles and barons a great number; the duchesse of Norffolke, with other ladies and gentlewomen in great number. And at hir entrie into Cheape, the maior of London and his brethren the aldermen presented hir with a patre of rich basons, & in them an hundred pounds of gold, and that night she lodged at the abbeie of Stratford, where the king then laie: from thense she toke hir iournie to Canturburie.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 719, 720. in Quart.

The king riding after to sée hir shipping, on the first of Julie, she toke the sea at Margate, and there toke leaue of the king hir brother, and departed. There returned backe againe with the king, the duke of Clarence, the duke of Gloucester, the earles of Warwike, Shrewesburie, and Northumberland. And there abode with hir in the ship, the lord Scales, the lord Dacres hir chamberlaine, sir John Woduile, sir John Howard, and manie other famous knights and esquiers. She was shipped in the new Ellen of London, and in hir naule the John of Newcastell, the Marie of Salisburie, and manie other rotall ships, and on the morow landed at Sluis in Flanders. Now as sone as hir ship & companie of ships were entered into the hauen, there receiued hir sir Simon de Lelein and the water bailiffe, in diuerse boats and barks apparelled readie for hir landing.

The first estate that receiued hir was the bishop of Utright well accompanied, and the countesse of Shorne bastard daughter to duke Philip of Burgognie, and with hir manie ladies and gentlewomen; and so proceéding in at the gate of the towne, the same towne was presented to hir, she to be soureigne ladie thereof: also they gaue to hir twelue marks of gold Troie weight, the which was two hundred pounds of English monie: and so proceéded thorough the towne to hir lodging, euerie houlholder

standing in the street with a torch in his hand burning. On the morow the old duchesse of Burgognie came to hir, accompanied with manie great estates. On the third of Julie came the duke of Burgognie to Sluis, with twentie persons secretlie, and was there openlie affianced to the ladie Margaret, by the bishop of Salisburie and the lord Scales, in presence of the lord Dacres, the duchesse of Norffolke, the ladie Scales, and all the knights & esquiers; gentlewomen inuironing the chamber.

On the 8 of Julie (being saturdaie) by the duke of Burgognies appointment, the lady Margaret remoued by water to the Dame. And on the sunday in the morning betwixt fiue and six of the clocke, the mariage was solemnized betwixt them, by the bishops of Salisburie and of Turneie; there being present the old duches of Burgognie, the lord Scales, the lord Dacres, with the knights, esquiers, ladies & gentlewomen that came out of England. The great triumphs, feastings, shewes of pageants, with other strange deuises, and iustings, were such as I haue not read the like, and would be ouer long in this place to set downe.

Abr. Fl.

* Giuen at Richmont on the first of October, An. Dom. 1585. & Anno Reg. 27.

¶ Of this aliance with other more mention is honorablie made in the *declaration of the causes that moued the Quéene of England to giue aid to the defense of the people afflicted & oppressed in the low countries, by the Spaniards, namelie for the maintenance of perpetuall amitie. Which declaration is so set forth in this booke, as the same in the seuen and twentith yeare of hir maiesties reigne was published: vnto which yeare I remit the reader (for the further search thereof) for that it conteineth much memorable matter, touching the manifest causes of concord to be continued betwéene them of the low countries and vs English.]

Fabian. 497. Sir Thomas Cooke.

Sir Thomas Cooke late maior of London, was by one named Hawkins appeached of treason, for the which he was sent to the Tower, and his place within London seized by the lord Riuers, and his wife and seruants clerelie put out therof. The cause was this. The forenamed Hawkins came vpon a season vnto the said sir Thomas, requesting him to lend a thousand markes vpon good suertie, whereunto he answered, that first he would know for whome it should be and for what intent.

At length, vnderstanding it should be for the vse of quene Margaret, he answered he had no currant wares whereof anie shifts might be made without too much losse: and therefore required Hawkins to moue him no further in that matter, for he intended not to deale withall: yet the said Hawkins exhorted him to remember, what benefits he had receiued by hir when she was in prosperitie, as by making him hir wardrober, and customer of Hampton, &c.

But by no meanes the said Cooke would grant goods nor monie, although at last the said Hawkins required but an hundred pounds, he was faine to depart without the value of a penie, and neuer came againe to moue him, which so rested two or three yeares after, till the said Hawkins was cast in the Tower, and at length brought to the brake, called the duke of Exceters daughter, by meanes of which paine he shewed manie things, amongst the which the motion was one that he had made to sir Thomas Cooke, and accused himselfe so farre, that he was put to death.

By meane of which confession, the said sir Thomas was troubled (as before is shewed) when the said sir Thomas had laine in the Tower from Whitsuntide till about Michaelmas, in the which season manie inquiries were made to find him guiltie, and euer quit, till one iurie (by meanes of sir John Fog) indicted him of treason, after which an oier and terminer was kept at the Guildhall, in which sat with the maior the duke of Clarence, the earle of Warwike, the lord Riuers, sir John Fog, with other of the kings councell.

To the which place the said Thomas was brought, and there arreigned vpon life and death, where he was acquited of the said indictement, and had to the counter in Breadstreet, and from thence to the kings bench. After a certeine time that he was thus acquited, his wife got againe the possession of hir house, the which she found in an euill plight; for such seruants of the lord Riuers and sir John Fog, as were assigned to kéepe it, made hauocke of what they liked.

Also at his place in Esser named Giddihall, were set an other sort to kéepe that place, the which destroied his déere in his parke, his conies, and his fish, without reason, and spared not brasse, pewter, bedding, & all that they might carie, for the which might neuer one penie be gotten in recompense, yet could not sir Thomas Cooke be deliuered, till he had paied eight thousand pounds to the king, and eight hundred pounds to the quéene.]

In this meane time, the earle of Warwike bearing a continuall grudge in his hart toward king Edward, since his last returne out of France, persuaded so with his two brethren, the archbishop, and the marques, that they agreed to ioine with him in anie attempt which he should take in hand against the said king. The archbishop was easilie allured to the earles purpose, but the marques could by no meanes be reduced to take ante part against king Edward of a long time, till the earle had both promised him great rewards and promotions, and also assured him of the aid and power of the greatest princes of the realme. And euen as the marques was loth to consent to his vnhappie conspiracie, so with a faint hart he shewed himselfe an enimie vnto king Edward, which double dissimulation was both the destruction of him and his brethren. ¶ And that they were persuasions of no small force, which the earle of Warwike vsed to the archbishop and marques, I haue thought good here to interlace, as I find remembred by Edward Hall in forme following.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. in Edw. 4. fol. cxcviij, &c.

The persuasions of the earle of Warwike vnto his two brethren against king Edward the fourth.

My déere and welbeloued brethren, the incredible faithfulnesse, the secret soberneſſe, and the politike prudence that I haue euer by long continuance of time experimented in you both, doth not onelie incourage my heart, yea and setteth me in great hope of obteining my purpose, but also putteth me out of all dread and mistrust, firmelie beléeuing, and suerlie iudging, that you both will with tooth and naile endeuour your selues, to the vttermost of your power, to bring to effect and purpose the thing that I now shall declare vnto you. Suerlie, I would in no wise that you should thinke, that that which I shall speake to you of king Edward and king Henrie, should rise of any lightnesse or phantasie of my mind, or anie trifeling toie latelie fallen into my imagination; but the true experience and iust iudgement that I haue of them both, their qualities and conditions, in manner compell and constraine me to saie as I say, and to doo as I doo.

For

For suerlie, king Henrie is a godlie, good, and a vertuous person, neither forgetting his frends, nor putting in oblivion anie benefit by him of a meane person receiued, nor yet anie paine for his causes sustained hath he left vnrewarded: to whome God hath sent a sonne, called prince Edward, borne to be of great worthinesse & praise, of much bountifulnesse and liberalitie, of whome men may manie laudable things coniecture, considering the paine, labour, and trauell, that he taketh to helpe his father out of captiuitie and thraldome. King Edward on the contrarie side, is a man contumelious, opprobrious, and an iniurious person; to them that deserue kindnesse he sheweth vnkindnesse, and them that loue him he deadlie hateth, now detesting to take anie paine for the preferment or maintenance of the publike wealth of this realme, but all giuen to pastime, pleasure, and daliance; sooner preferring to high estate men descended of low bloud and base degree, than men of old and vndefiled houses, which haue both supported him and the commonwealth of his realme.

So that I now perceiue, that it is euen come to this point, that he will destroie all the nobilitie; or else the nobilitie must shortlie of verie necessitie destroie and confound him. But reason would, that we that were first hurt, should first reuenge our cause: for it is not vnknowen to you both, how that he, immediatlie after he had obteined the crowne, began first secretlie, & then openlie to enuie, disdaine, and impugne the fame, glorie, and renowme of our house and familie; as who said, that all the honor, preferment, and authoritie that we haue, we had onelie receiued at his hands, and that we had neither obteined dignitie nor rule by our great labour, aid and trauell. Which to all men may seeme vntrue, that consider that our name, chiefe title, and principall authoritie, was to vs giuen by king Henrie the first, and not by him. But if euery man will remember, who first toke part with his father, when hee claimed the crowne (who at that time, for that cause was in great ieopardie, and almost slaine by the kings meniall seruants, and who neuer left this man in prosperitie nor aduersitie, till he had the garland, and the realme in quietnesse) shall manifestlie perceiue, that we and our bloud haue shewed our selues more like fathers to him, than he like a freend to vs.

If we haue receiued any benefits of him, suerlie they be not so much as we haue deserued, nor so much as we looked for; and yet they be much more than he would we should inioy, as ye both well perceiue and know. Let these things ouerpasse, and speake of the vngentle, vntrue, and vnprincelie handling of me in the last ambassage, being sent to the French king for to treat a mariage for him, hauing full authoritie to bind and to lose, to contract and conclude. Which thing when I had finished & accomplished: how lightlie his mind changed, how priuilie he bowed, and how secretlie he maried, both you know better than I. So that by this meanes, I was almost out of all credence in the court of France, both with the king and quæne, as though I had come thither like an espiall, to moue a thing neuer minded; or to treat of a mariage determined before neuer to take effect. Whereby the fame of all our estimation, which all kings and princes haue conceiued in vs (partlie obteined by the vertue & prowesse of our noble ancestors, and partlie atchiued by our owne paines & forward acts) shall now be obfuscate, vtterlie extinguished, and nothing set by.

What worme is touched, and will not once turne againe? What beast is striken, that will not rore or sound? What innocent child is hurt that will not crie? If the poore and vnreasonable beasts, if the selie babes that do lacke discretion, grone against harme to them proffered; how ought an honest man to be angrie, when things that touch his honestie be dailie against him attempted? But if a meane person in that case be angrie: how much more ought a noble man to fume & stirre coales, when the high type of his honour is touched, his fame in maner brought to infamie, and his honour almost blemished & appalled, without his offense or desert? All this brethren you know to be true, the dishonor of one is the dishonor of vs all, and the hurt of one is the hurt of all: wherefore, rather than I will liue vnreuenged; or suffer him to reigne, which hath sought my decaie and dishonor, I will suerlie spend my life, lands, and goods, in setting vp that iust and good man king Henrie the first: and in deposing this vntrue, vnfaithfull, and vnkind prince (by our onelie means) called king Edward the fourth.

Beside all this, the earle of Warwike, being a far casting prince, perceiued somewhat in the duke of Clarence, whereby he iudged that he bare no great good will towards the king his brother; and thereupon, feeling his mind by such talke as he of purpose ministred, vnderstood how he was bent, and so wan him to his purpose: and for better assurance of his faithfull friendship, he offered him his eldest daughter in mariage, with the whole halfe deale of his wines inheritance. And hereupon, after consultation had of their weightie businesse and dangerous affaires, they sailed ouer to Calis, of the which towne the earle was capteine, where his wife & two daughters then sojourned, whome the duke (being in loue with hir perso.) had great desire to visit.

But the earle, hauing in continuall remembrance his purposed enterprise, appointed his brethren, the archbishop and the marquesse, that they should by some meanes in his absence stir vp some new rebellion in the countie of Yorke, and other places adioining, so that this ciuill warre should seeme to all men to haue beene begun without his assent or knowlege, being on the further side of the seas. The duke of Clarence being come to Calis with the earle of Warwike, after he had sworne on the sacrament to keepe his promise and pact made with the said earle whole and inuiolate, he married the ladie Isabell, eldest daugh-

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daughter to the earle, in our ladies church there.

A commotion in Yorkeshire.

Shortlie after, according as had beene aforehand deuised, a commotion was begun in Yorkeshire, to the great disquieting of that countrie. The same chanced by this means.

Saint Leonards hospitall in Yorke.

There was in the citie of Yorke an old and rich hospitall, dedicated to saint Leonard, for the harbourough and releeuing of poore people. Certeine euill disposed persons of the earle of Warwikes faction, intending to set a broile in the countrie, persuaded the husbandmen to refuse to giue anie thing to the said hospitall, affirming that the corne giuen to that good intent, came not to the vse of the poore; but was conuerted to the behoofe of the maister of the hospitall, and the preests, whereby they grew to be rich, and the poore people wanted their due succour and releefe. And not content with these salengs, they fell to dooings: for when the proctors of the hospitall, according to their vsage, went about the countrie to gather the accustomed corne, they were sore beaten, wounded, and euill intreated.

A rebellion.

Shortlie after, the conspiracie of the euill disposed people grew to an open rebellion, so that there assembled to the number of fifteene thousand men, euen readie bent to set on the citie of Yorke. But the lord marquesse Montacute, gouernour and president of that countrie for the king, taking speedie counsell in the matter, with a small number of men, but well chosen, incountred the rebels before the gates of Yorke: where (after a long conflict) he tooke Robert Huldorne their capteine, and before them commanded his head to be striken off, and then (because it was a darke euening) he caused his souldiers to enter into Yorke, and there to refresh them. Heere manie men haue maruelled, whie the marquesse thus put to death the capteine of those people, which had procured this their rebellious enterprise.

Robert Huldorne capteine of the rebels taken and beheaded.

Some saie he did it, to the intent to seeme innocent and faultlesse of his brothers doings. But other iudge, that he did it, for that contrarie to his promise made to his brother, he was determined to take part with king Edward, with whome (as it shall after appeare) he in small space entered into grace and fauour. The rebels being nothing dismaied with the death of their capteine, but rather the more bent on mischeefe, by faire meanes and craftie persuasions got to them Henrie, sonne to the lord Fitz Hugh, and sir Henrie Neuill sonne and heire to the lord Latimer, the one being nephue and the other cousine germane to the erle of Warwike. Although these yong gentlemen bare the names of capteins, yet they had a gouernour that was sir John Conters, a man of such courage & valiantnesse, as few were to be found in his daies within the north parts.

Sir John Conters.

After they saw that they could not get Yorke, because they wanted ordinance, they determined with all speed to march toward London, intending to raise such a toie in the peoples minds, that they should thinke king Edward neither to be a lawfull prince, nor yet profitable to the common-wealth. King Edward hauing perfect knowledge of all the dooings of the earle of Warwike, and of his brother the duke of Clarence, was by diuerse letters certified of the great armie of the northerne men, with all speed comming toward London; and therefore in great hast he sent to William lord Herbert, whom (as yee haue heard) he had created earle of Penbroke; requiring him without delaie to raise his power, and incounter with the northerne men.

The earle of Penbroke.

The earle of Penbroke, commonlie called the lord Herbert, both readie to obeie the kings commandement, according to his dutie, and also desirous to reuenge the malice which he bare to the earle of Warwike, for that he knew how he had beene the onelie let whie he obteined not the wardship of the lord Bonneuilles daughter and heire for his eldest sonne, accompanied with his brother sir Richard Herbert, a valiant knight, and aboue six or seauen thousand Welshmen, well furnished, marched forward to incounter with the northerne men. And to assist him with archers, was appointed Humfrie lord Stafford of Southwike, named but not created earle of Deuonshire by the king, in hope that he would serue valiantlie in that iournie: he had with him eight hundred archers.

The lord Stafford.

When these two lords were met at Cottesholt, they heard how the northerne men were going toward Northampton: whereupon the lord Stafford, and sir Richard Herbert, with two thousand well horsed Welshmen, rode forth afore the maine armie, to see the demeanour of the northerne men: and at length, vnder a woods side, they couertlie espied them passing forward, and suddenlie set on the rere-ward: but the northerne men with such nimblenesse turned about, that in a moment the Welshmen were discomfited, and manie taken, the remnant returned to the armie with small gaine. The northerne men well cooled with this small victorie, went no further southwards, but toke their waie toward Warwike, looking for aid of the earle, which was latelie come from Calis, with his sonne in law the duke of Clarence, and was raising men to aid his frends and kinsfolke.

The Welshmen discomfited.

The king likewise assembled people to aid the erle of Penbroke, but before either part receiued succour from his frend or partaker, both the armies met by chance in a faire plaine, neere to a towne called Hedgecote, foure miles distant from Banberie, where there are three hilles, not in equall quantitie, but lieng in maner (although not fullie) triangle. The Welshmen got first the west hill, hoping to haue recouered the east hill also, which if they might haue obteined, the victorie had beene theirs, as their foolish prophesiers told them before. These northerne men incamped on the south hill; the earle of Penbroke and the lord Stafford of Southwike were lodged in Banberie, the daie before the field, which was saint James daie, and there the earle of Penbroke put the lord Stafford out of an Inne, wherein he delighted much to be, for the loue of a damosell that dwelled in the house: and yet it was agreed betwixt them, that which of them soeuer obteined first a lodging, should not be displaced.

Hedgecote. Bäberie field

Discord what it breedeth.

The lord Stafford in great despite departed with his whole band of archers, leauing the earle of Penbroke almost desolate in the towne, who with all diligence returned to his host, lieng in the field vnpurueied of archers. Sir Henrie Neuill, sonne to the lord Latimer, toke with him certeine light horsemen, and skirmished with the Welshmen in the euening, iust before their campe, where doing right valiantlie, but a little too hardilie aduenturing himselfe, was taken and yelded, and yet cruellie slaine. Which vnmercifull act the Welshmen sore rued the next day per night: for the northerne men sore displeased for the death of this noble man, in the next morning valiantlie set on the Welshmen, and by force of archers caused them quicklie to descend the hill, into the valie, where both the hoasts fought.

The earle of Penbroke did right valiantlie, and so likewise did his brother sir Richard Herbert, in so much that with his polax in his hand, he twise by fine force passed thorough the battell of his aduersaries, and without anie hurt or mortall wound returned. But see the hap, euen as the Welshmen were at point to haue obteined the victorie, John Clappam esquier, seruant to the earle of Warwike, mounted vp the side of the east hill, accompanied onelie

The valiant manhood of sir Richard Herbert.

John Clappam.

onelie with fiue hundred men, gathered of the rascals of the towne of Northampton, and other villages about, hauing borne before them the standard of the earle of Warwike, with the white beare, crieng; A Warwike, a Warwike.

The Welshmen, thinking that the earle of Warwike had come on them with all his puissance, suddenlie as men amazed, fled: the northerne men them pursued, and slue without mercie, so that there died of the Welshmen that daie, aboue fiue thousand, besides them that fled and were taken. The earle of Penbroke, and his brother sir Richard Herbert, with diuerse gentlemen, were taken and brought to Banberie, where the earle with his brother, and other gentlemen, to the number of ten, that were likewise taken, lost their heads. But great mone was made for that noble and hardie gentleman, sir Richard Herbert, being able for his godlie personage and high valiancie, to haue serued the greatest prince in christendome. [But what policie or puissance can either preuent or impugne the force of fate, whose law as it standeth vpon an ineuitable necessitie; so was it not to be dispensed withall; and therfore destinie hauing predoomed the maner of his death, it was patientlie to be suffered, sith puissantlie it could not be auoided, nor politikelie preuented, nor violentlie resisted: for

——sua quenq; dies ad funera raptat.]

The Northamptonshire men, with diuerse of the northerne men by them procured, in this furie made them a capteine, called Robert Hilliard, but they named him Robin of Reddesdale, and suddenlie came to Grafton, where they toke the earle Riuers, father to the quæne, and his son sir John Woduile, whome they brought to Northampton, and there beheaded them both without iudgement. The king aduertised of these mischances, wrote to the shiriffes of Summersetshire, and Deuonshire, that if they might by anie meanes take the lord Stafford of Southwike, they should without delaie put him to death. Herevpon search was made for him, till at length he was found in a village within Brentmarch, and after brought to Bridgewater where he was beheaded.

Robin of Reddesdale.

The erle Riuers and his sonne beheaded.

The lord Stafford of Southwike beheaded.

After the battell was thus fought at Hedgecote commonlie called Banberie field, the northerne men resorted toward Warwike, where the earle had gathered a great multitude of people, which earle receiued the northerne men with great gladnes, thanking sir John Coniers, and other their capteins for their paines taken in his cause. The king in this meane time had assembled his power, and was comming toward the earle, who being aduertised thereof, sent to the duke of Clarence, requiring him to come and ioine with him. The duke being not farre off, with all spæd repaired to the earle, and so they ioined their powers togither, and vpon secret knowledge had, that the king (bicause they were entered into termes by waie of communication to haue a peace) toke small heed to himselfe, nothing doubting anie outward attempt of his enimies.

The earle of Warwike, intending not to lése such opportunitie of aduantage, in the dead of the night, with an elect companie of men of warre (as secretlie as was possible) set on the kings field, killing them that kept the watch, and yet the king was ware (for he thought of nothing lesse than of that which then hapned) at a place called Wolnie, foure miles from Warwike, he was taken prisoner and brought to the castell of Warwike. And to the intent his friends should not know what was become of him, the earle caused him by secret iournies in the night to be conueied to Middleham castell in Yorkeshire, and there to be kept vnder the custodie of the archbishop of Yorke, and other his frends in those parties. King Edward being thus in captiuitie, spake euer faire to the archbishop, and to his other kéepers, so that he had leaue diuerse daies to go hunt. [Which exercise he vsed, as it should séeme, not so much for regard of his recreation, as for the recouerie of his libertie: which men esteeme better than gold, and being counted a diuine thing, doth passe all the wealth, pleasure, and treasure of the world; according to the old saieng:

Non bene profuluo libertas venditur auro,
Hoc cœleste bonum præterit orbis opes.]

King Edward taken prisoner.

Middleham castell.

Abr. Flem.

Now on a daie vpon a plaine when he was thus abroade, there met with him sir William Stanlete, sir Thomas a Borough, and diuers other of his friends, with such a great band of men, that neither his kéepers would, nor once durst moue him to returne vnto prison againe. Some haue thought that his kéepers were corrupted with monie, or faire promises, and therfore suffred him thus to scape out of danger. After that he was once at libertie, he came to Yorke, where he was ioifullie receiued, and taried there two daies: but when he perceiued he could get no armie togither in that countrie to attend him to London, he turned from Yorke to Lancaster, where he found his chamberleine the lord Hastings well accompanied, by whose aid and such others as drew to him, being well furnished, he came safelie to the citie of London.

Sir William Stanlete.

K. Edward is deliuered out of captiuitie.

He commeth to London.

When the earle of Warwike, and the duke of Clarence had knowledge how king Edward by the treason or negligence of them (whome they had put in trust) was escaped their hands, they were in a wonderfull chase: but sith the chance was past, they began eftsones to prouide for the warre, which they saw was like to insue; and found much comfort, in that a great number of men, deliting more in discord than in concord, offered themselues to aid their side. But other good men desirous of common quiet, and lamenting the miserable state of the realme, to redresse such mischiefe as appeared to be at hand by these tumults, toke paine, and road betweene the king, the earle, and the duke, to reconcile them ech to other.

Their charitable motion and causes alledged, bicause they were of the chiefest of the nobilitie, and therfore caried both credit and authoritie with them, so asswaged the moods both of the king, the duke, and the earle, that ech gaue faith to other to came and go safelie without ieopardie. In which promise both the duke and earle putting perfect confidence, came both to London. At Westminster, the king, the duke, and the earle, had long communication togither for to haue come to an agreement: but they fell at such great words vpon rehersall of old matters, that in great furie without any conclusion they departed; the king to Canturburie, and the duke and the earle to Warwike, where the earle procured a new armie to be raised in Lincolneshire, and made capteine thereof sir Robert Welles, sonne to Richard lord Welles, a man of great experience in warre.

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The king aduertised hereof, without delaie prepared an armie, and out of hand he sent to Richard lord Welles, willing him vpon the sight of his letters, to repaire vnto him: which to do he had oftentimes refused, excusing himselfe by sickenesse and feblenesse of bodie. But when that excuse serued not, he thinking to purge himselfe sufficientlie of all offense and blame before the kings presence, toke with him sir Thomas Dimmocke, who had maried his sister, and so came to London. And when he was come vp, being admonished by his frends that the king was greatlie with him displeased, he with his brother in law toke the sanctuarie at Westminster.

Sir Thomas Dimmocke.

But king Edward, trusting to pacifie all this busie tumult without anie further bloudshed, promised both those persons their pardons, causing them vpon his promise to come out of sanctuarie to his presence,

sence, and calling to him the lord Welles, willed him to write to his sonne to leaue off the warre, and in the meane season he with his armie went forward, hauing with him the lord Welles, and sir Thomas Dimmocke. And being not past two daies iournie from Stamford, where his enimies had pitched their field, and hearing that sir Robert Welles, not regarding his fathers letters, kept his campe still, he caused the lord Welles, father to the said sir Robert, and sir Thomas Dimmocke to be beheaded, contrarie to his promise.

Anno Reg. 10.

The lord welles and Thomas Dimmocke beheaded.

Sir Robert Welles, hearing that the king approched, and that his father and sir Thomas Dimmocke were beheaded, though he was somewhat doubtfull to fight, before the earle of Warwike were with his power assembled, yet hauing a yong and lustie courage, manfullie set on his enimies. The battell was sore fought on both sides, and manie a man slaine; till sir Robert, perceiuing his people at point to flie, was busilie in hand to exhort them to tarie, and in the meane time compassed about with enimies was there taken, & with him sir Thomas de Land knight, and manie more. After the taking of their capteine, the Lincolneshire men amazed, threw awaie their coats the lighter to run awaie, and fled amaine, and therefore this battell is called there yet vnto this daie, Losecote field.

Losecote field

The king reioising at this victorie, caused sir Robert Welles, and diuerse other to be put to execution in the same place. The fame went that at this battell were slaine ten thousand men at the least. The earle of Warwike laie at the same time at his castell of Warwike, and meant to haue set forward the next daie toward his armie in Lincolnshire. But when he heard that the same was ouerthrowne, he take new counsell, and with all diligence imagined how to compasse Thomas lord Stanleie, which had maried his sister, that he might be one of the conspiracie. Which thing when he could not bring to passe (for the lord Stanleie had answered him, that he would neuer make warre against king Edward) he thought no longer to spend time in waste; and mistrusting he was not able to meet with his enimies, he with his sonne in law the duke of Clarence departed to Excester, and there tarieng a few daies, determined to saile into France, to purchase aid of king Lewes.

The faithfulnesse of the lord Stanlie.

The duke of Clarence and the earle of Warwike take the sea.

Now resting vpon this point, he hired ships at Dartmouth: and when the same were readie trimmed and decked, the duke and the earle with their wiues, and a great number of seruants imbarked themselues, and first take their course towards Calis, whereof the earle was capteine, thinking there to haue left his wife and daughters, till he had returned out of France. But when they were come before the towne of Calis, they could not be suffered to enter: for the lord Vauclere a Gascoigne, being the earles deputie in that towne, whether he did it by dissimulation, or bearing good will to king Edward (as by the sequele it may be doubted whether he did or no) in steed of receiuing his master with triumph, he bent and discharged against him diuerse peces of ordinance, sending him word he should not there take land.

The earle of Warwike kept out of Calis.

This nauie lieng thus before Calis at anchor, the dutchesse of Clarence was there deliuered of a faire sonne, which child the earles deputie would scarse suffer to be christened within the towne; nor without great intreatie would permit two flagons of wine to be conueied aboord to the ladies lieng in the hauen. The king of England aduertised of the refusall made by monsieur de Vauclere to the earle of Warwike, was so much pleased therewith, that incontinentlie he made him chiefe capteine of the towne of Calis by his letters patents, which he sent to him out of hand, and thereof discharged the earle as a traitor and rebell. Thus was the one in respect of his accepted seruice honorablie aduanced; and the other, in regard of his disloialtie shamefullie disgraced: whereof as the one take occasion of inward delight; so the other could not be void of grudging conceipts,

Monsieur de Vauclere made deputie of Calis.

The duke of Burgognie (vnto whome king Edward had written, that in no wise he should receiue the earle of Warwike, nor anie of his friends within his countries) was so well pleased with the doings of monsieur de Vauclere, that he sent to him his seruant Philip de Cumins, and gaue him yerelie a thousand crownes in pension, praieng and requiring him to continue in truth and fidelitie toward king Edward, as he had shewed and begun. But although monsieur de Vauclere sware in the said Philips presence, trulie to take king Edwards part; yet he sent priuilie to the earle of Warwike lieng at Whitsanbaie, that if he landed, hee should be taken and lost: for all England (as he said) take part against him; the duke of Burgognie, and all the inhabitants of the towne, with the lord Duras the kings marshall, and all the retinue of the garrison were his enimies.

The double dealing of monsieur de Vauclere.

The lord Duras was a Gascoigne also.

The earle, hauing this aduertisement from his feigned enimie, with his nauie sailed toward Normandie, and by the waie spoiled and take manie ships of the duke of Burgognies subiects, and at the last (with all his nauie and spoiles) he take land at Diepe in Normandie, where the gouernor of the countrie friendlie welcomed him, and aduertised king Lewes of his arriuall. The French king, desirous of nothing more than to haue occasion to pleasure the erle of Warwike, of whom the hie renowme caused all men to haue him in admiration, sent vnto him, requiring both him and his sonne in law the duke of Clarence, to come vnto his castell of Ambois, where he then soiourned. The duke of Burgognie, hearing that the duke and earle were thus receiued in France, sent a post with letters vnto king Lewes, partlie by waie of request, and partlie by way of menacing, to dissuade him from aiding of his aduersaries, the said duke and earle.

The earle of Warwike landed at Diepe.

Ambois.

But the French king little regarded this sute of the duke of Burgognie, and therefore answered, that he might and would succour his friends, and yet breake no leage with him at all. In the meane time, K. Edward made inquirie for such as were knowne to be aiders of the earle of Warwike within his realme, of whom some he apprehended as guiltie, and some (doubting themselues) fled to sanctuarie, and other trusting to the kings pardon, submitted themselues, as John marques Montacute, whom he courteoulie receiued. When quéene Margaret that soiourned with duke Reiner hir father, heard tell that the earle of Warwike was come to the French court, with all diligence shée came to Ambois to see him, with hir onelie sonne prince Edward.

John marques Montacute.

With hir also came Jasper earle of Penbroke, and John earle of Oxford, which after diuerse imprisonments latelie escaped, fled out of England into France, and came by fortune to this assemblie. These persons, after intreatie had of their affaires, determined by meanes of the French king to conclude a league and amitie betweene them. And first to begin withall, for the sure foundation of their new intreatie, Edward prince of Wales wedded Anne second daughter to the earle of Warwike, which ladie came with hir mother into France. After which mariage, the duke and the earles take a solemne oth, that they should neuer leaue the warre, till either king Henrie the first, or his sonne prince Edward, were restored to the crowne: and that the quéene and the prince should

The earles of Penbroke & Oxford.

A league.

Edward prince of Wales maried.

should depute and appoint the duke and the earle to be gouernors & conseruators of the common wealth, till time the prince were come to estate. Manie other conditions were agreed, as both reason & the weightinesse of so great businesse required.

Whilest these things were thus in doing in the French court, there landed a damsell, belonging to the duchesse of Clarence; as she said: which made monsieur de Vaucléere beleeue, that she was sent from king Edward to the duke of Clarence and the earle of Warwike with a plaine ouerture and declaration of peace. Of the which tidings Vaucléere was verie glad for the earles sake. But this damsell comming to the duke, persuaded him so much to leaue off the pursute of his conceiued displeasure towards his brother king Edward, that he promised at his returne into England, not to be so extreme enimie against his brother as he was taken to be: and this promise afterward he did keepe. With this answer the damsell returned into England, the earle of Warwike being thereof clearelie ignorant.

The promise of the duke of Clarence.

The French king lent both ships, men, and monie vnto quéene Margaret, and to hir partakers, and appointed the bastard of Burbon, admerall of France, with a great nauie to defend them against the nauie of the duke of Burgognie, which he laid at the mouth of the riuer Saine, readie to incounter them, being of greater force than both the French nauie and the English fleet. And yet king Reiner did also helpe his daughter with men and munition of warre. When their ships and men were come togither to Harflue, the erle of Warwike thought not to linger time: bicause he was certified by letters from his friends out of England, that assone as he had taken land, there would be readie manie thousands to doo him what seruice and pleasure they could or might. And beside this, diuerse noble men wrote that they would helpe him with men, armor, monie, and all things necessarie for the warre, and further to aduenture their owne bodies in his quarell.

The loue which the people bare to the earle of warwike.

Suerlie his presence was so much desired of all the people, that almost all men were readie in armour, loking for his arriuall: for they iudged that the verie sunne was taken from the world when hée was absent. When he had receiued such letters of comfort, he determined with the duke, and the earles of Orford and Penbroke (bicause quéene Margaret and hir sonne were not yet fullie furnished for the iournie) to go before with part of the nauie, and part of the armie. And euen as fortune would, the nauie of the duke of Burgognie at the same time by a tempest was scattered, & driuen beside the coast of Normandie: so that the earle of Warwike in hope of a boune voiage, caused sailes to be halsed vp, and with good spéed landed at Darmouth in Deuonshire, from whence almost six moneths passed he toke his iournie toward France (as before ye haue heard.) When the earle had taken land, he made proclamation in the name of king Henrie the first, vpon high paines commanding and charging all men able to beare armor, to prepare themselues to fight against Edward duke of Yorke, which contrarie to right had vsurped the crowne. It is almost not to be beléeued, how manie thousands men of warre at the first tidings of the earles landing resorted vnto him.

A proclamation.

King Edward waxed with the newes of the earles landing, and the great repaire of people that came flocking in vnto him, sent forth letters into all parts of his realme to raise an armie: but of them that were sent for, few came, and yet of those few the more part came with no great good willes. Which when he perceiued, he began to doubt the matter, and therefore being accompanied with the duke of Glocester his brother, the lord Hastings his chamberlaine, which had maried the earles sister, and yet was euer true to the king his maister, and the lord Scales brother to the quéene, he departed into Lincolnshire. And bicause he vnderstood that all the realme was vp against him, and some part of the earle of Warwikes power was within halfe a daies iournie of him, following the aduise of his counsell, with all hast possible he passed the Washes in great ieopardie, & comming to Lin found there an English ship, and two hulkes of Holland readie (as fortune would) to make saile.

King Edward cōmeth to Lin and taketh ship to passe ouer sees.

Whereupon he with his brother the duke of Glocester, the lord Scales, and diuerse other his trustie friends, entered into the ship. The lord Hastings tarried a while after, exhorting all his acquaintance, that of necessitie should tarie behind, to shew themselues openlie as friends to king Henrie for their owne safegard, but hartilie required them in secret to continue faithfull to king Edward. This persuasion declared, he entered the ship with the other, and so they departed, being in number in that one ship and two hulkes, about seuen or eight hundred persons, hauing no furniture of aparell or other necessarie things with them, sauing aparell for warre. [For it was no taking of leasure to prouide their corporall necessaries (though the want of them could hardlie be borne) in a case of present danger; considering that they were made against by the contrarie faction with such swift pursute. And it had bene a point of extreme follie, to be carefull for the accidents, permitmitting in the meane time the substance vnto the spoile.]

The lord Hastings.

The number that passed ouer with king Edward. Abr. Fl.

As king Edward with saile and ore was thus making course towards the duke of Burgognies countrie (whither he determined at the first to go) it chanced that seuen or eight gallant ships of Easterlings, open enimies both to England and France, were abrode on those seas, and espieng the kings vessels, began to chase him. The kings ship was good of saile, and so much gat of the Easterlings, that he came on the coast of Holland, and so descended lower before a towne in the countrie called Alquemare, and there cast anchor as nére the towne as was possible, bicause they could not enter the hauen at an ebbing water. The Easterlings also approched the English ship, as nére as their great ships should come at the low water, intending at the flood to haue their preie: as they were verie like to haue atteined it in déed, if the lord Gronture, gouernor of that countrie for the duke of Burgognie, had not by chance béene at the same time in that towne.

King Edward arriued at Alquemare.

The lord Gronture.

This lord (vpon knowledge had of king Edwards arriuall there in the hauen, and in what danger he stood by reason of the Easterlings) commanded them not to be so hardie as once to meddle with anie Englishmen, being both the dukes frends and alies. Then did king Edward & all his companie come on land. Who after they had bene well refreshed & gentlie comforted by the lord Gronture, they were by him brought to the Hagh, a rich towne in Holland, where they remained a while, hauing all things necessarie ministred to them by order of the duke of Burgognie, sent vnto the lord Gronture, immediatlie vpon certificat from the said lord Gronture of king Edwards arriuall. [Héere we sée in what perplexities king Edward and his retinue were, partlie by enimies at home in his owne countrie, whose hands he was constreined to flée from by the helpe of the sea; partlie also by aduersaries abroad, séeking opportunitie to offer him not the incounter onelie, but the ouerthrow. And suerly, had not good fortune fauoured him, in preparing readie meanes for him to auoid those imminent dangers; he had doubtlesse fallen among the weapons of his owne countrimen, and so

neuer

neuer haue feared foꝛren foꝛce: but in escaping both the one and the other, euen with shift of so spædie expedition, it is a note (if it be well loked into) of happinesse, if anie happinesse may be in pꝛeseruation from ruine and repꝛoch.]

Edw. Hall. fol.ccix.

Now let all Englishmen (saith Edward Hall) consider (as before is rehearsed) what pꝛofit, what commoditie, and what helpe in distresse, the marriage of the ladie Margaret, king Edwards sister to the duke Charles, did to him in his extreame necessitie; and but by that meane vncurable extremitie: foꝛ his allies and confederats in Castile and Arragon were too far from him, either spædilie to flie to, oꝛ shoꝛtlie to come fro with anie aid oꝛ armie. The French king was his extreme enimie, and frend to king Henrie, foꝛ whose cause in the king of Scots (foꝛ all the leage betweene them) he did put little confidence and lesse trust. The states and all Eastland were with him at open war, and yet by this marriage, God pꝛouided him a place to flie to, both foꝛ refuge and releefe.

Abr. Flem.

[But foꝛ the further and cleerer explanation of these stratagems, oꝛ rather ciuill tumults, it shall not be amisse to insert in this place (sith I cannot hit vpon one moꝛe conuenient) a verie good note oꝛ addition receiued from the hands of maister Iohn Hooker chamberlaine of Excester; the contents whereof are of such qualitie, that they cannot stand in concurrence with anie matter introduced within the compasse of the ninth yeare of this kings reigne (as he had quoted it) and therfoꝛe I thought it meet to transfer the same to this tenth yeare; considering that some part of the matter by him largelie touched, is briefelie in the pꝛemisses alreadie remembꝛed.]

John Hooker, alias Vowell.

¶ This yeare (saith he) was verie troublesome, and full of ciuill wars and great discoꝛds. Foꝛ after that king Edward the fourth was escaped out of pꝛison, at Wolneie besides Warwike, he mustered and pꝛepared a new armie. Whereupon the earle of Warwike and the duke of Clarence, mistrusting themselues, pꝛepared to passe the seas ouer to Calis, and first of all sent awaie the duches of Clarence daughter to the said earle, who was then great with child, and she being accompanied with the loꝛd Fitz Warren, the loꝛd Dinham, and the baron of Carew, and a thousand fighting men came to this citie of Excester the eightéenth daie of March, and was lodged in the bishops palace. Sir Hugh, oꝛ (as some saie) sir William Courtneie, who then fauoured the partie of king Edward the fourth, assembled a great troope and armie of all the frends he could make, and inuironing the citie, besieged the same; he pulled downe all the bꝛidges, rampered vp all the waies, and stopped all the passages, so that no vittels at all could be bꝛought to this citie foꝛ twelue daies togither, which being done vpon a sudden and vnlooked foꝛ, vittels waxed shoꝛt and scant within the citie, and by reason of so great a multitude within the same, the people foꝛ want of food began to murmur and mutter.

Loꝛd Dinhã, and baron Carew, with their power come to Excester.

The duches and the lords of hir companie, mistrusting what might and would be the sequele hereof, began to deale with the maioꝛ, and required to haue the keies of the gates to be deliuered into their hands and that they would vndertake the safe custodie of the citie. Likewise sir William Courtneie did send his messenger to the maioꝛ, and required the gates to be opened and to giue him entrance: oꝛ els he would with sword and fier destroie the same. The maioꝛ and his bꝛethren being in great perplexities, and hauing to answer not onelie the lords within and the knight without, but most of all doubting the common people within, who being impatient of penurie, were deafe to all persuasions and listen to any counsels: did so oꝛder and handle the matter, as that by good spæches and courteous vsages, euerie partie was stoped and staied, vntill by means and mediations of certeine good and godlie men, an intreatie was made, the matter was compounded and the siege raised, and euerie man set at libertie.

The duke of Clarence and the earle of Warwike soiꝛne at Excester, and are pursued of the king.

The next daie after which conclusion, the gates being opened, to wit, the third of Apꝛill 1470, the earle of Warwike and the duke of Clarence came to this citie, and here rested, and soiꝛned themselues vntill sufficient shipping was pꝛouided foꝛ their passage ouer the seas, and then they all imbarked themselues, and passed ouer to Calis. The king in this meane time mustered his armie, and pꝛepared with all spæd all things necessarie to follow and pursue his said aduersaries, and came to this citie, thinking to find them here the foureténth of Apꝛill being saturdaie 1470, with foꝛtie thousand fighting men: but the birds were fled awaie befoꝛe his comming. Neuertheless the king came and entred into the citie, being accompanied with sundꝛie noble men; namelie, the bishop of Elie then loꝛd treasuroꝛ, the duke of Noꝛffolke earle marshall, the duke of Suffolke, the earle of Arundell, the earle of Wiltshire sonne to the duke of Buckingham, the earle of Woꝛcester constable of England, the earle of Shꝛewesburie, the earle Riuers, the loꝛd Hastings, the loꝛd Graie of Codnoꝛ, the loꝛd Audelie, the loꝛd Saie, the loꝛd Sturton, the loꝛd Dacres, the loꝛd Montioie, the loꝛd Stanleie, the loꝛd Ferris, and the baron of Dudleie.

The king is receiued verie honoꝛablie into the citie of Excester.

Befoꝛe whose comming, the maioꝛ being aduertised thereof, toke oꝛder, and gaue commandement to euerie citizen and inhabitant, being of abilitie, to pꝛouide and pꝛepare foꝛ himselfe a gowne of the cities liuerie, which was then red colour, and to be in a readinesse foꝛ receiuing of the king, which was accoꝛdinglie done. And when the king was come nere to the citie, the maioꝛ being verie well attended with foure hundꝛed persons well and seemelie apparelled in the cities liuerie, went to the south gate, and without the same attended the kings comming. Who when he was come, the maioꝛ did his most humble obeisance, and therewith Thomas Dowꝛish then recoꝛder of the citie made vnto his grace an humble oꝛation, congratulating his comming to the citie: which ended, the maioꝛ deliuered vnto the king the keies of the gates and the maces of his office, and therewith a purse of one hundꝛed nobles in gold, which his grace toke verie thankfullie. The monie he kept, but the keies and the maces he deliuered backe to the maioꝛ; and then the maioꝛ toke the mace and did beare it through the citie bare-headed befoꝛe the king, vntill he came to his lodging.

The citizen benevolence to the king.

The next daie following, being Palmesundaie, the king in most pꝛincelie and roiall maner came to the cathedꝛall church of saint Peters, to heare the diuine seruice, where he followed and went in pꝛocession after the maner as was then vsed, round about the churchyard, to the great ioy and comfoꝛt of all the people: he continued in the citie thꝛée daies vntill the tuesdaie then following; who when he had dined toke his hoꝛse and departed backe towards London, and gaue to the maioꝛ great good thanks foꝛ his interteinement. About foure moneths after this, in August, the duke of Clarence and the erle of Warwike returned againe from Calis, with all their retinue, & landed some at Plimmouth, some at Dartmouth, and some at Ermouth: but all met in this citie, and from hence they all passed towards London, and at euerie place they pꝛoclamed king Henrie the first, Which when king Edward heard, he was very much troubled therewith: and not able then to withstand their foꝛce, he passed the seas to his bꝛother in law the duke of Burgognie.

How long the king continued in the citie.

The duke of Clarence and the earle of Warwike arriue on the English coasts.

This yeare also, being verie troublesome, and the gouerne-

The practise of a knight being chiefe iustice at the law to rid himselfe of life.

gouernement vncerteine, men were in great perplexities, & wist not what to do. And among manie there was one speciallie to be remembred, who to rid himselfe out of these troubles, did deuise this practise: his name was sir William Haukesford knight, a man verie well learned in the lawes of the realme, and one of the chiefe iustices at the law: he dwelled at Annozie in Deuonshire, a gentleman of great possessions, and hauing neuer a sonne, the lord Fitz Warren, sir John Sentleger, & sir William Bulleine, who maried his daughters, were his heires. This man being one of the chiefest lawiers in the land, was dailie sought to and his counsell asked: and he considering that when the sword ruled, law had a small course, and finding by experience what fruits insue such counsell as doth not best like the parties, was verie heauie, sorowfull, and in great agonies.

In vniust or surmised charge of the knight against the keeper of his parke.

Herevpon suddenlie he called vnto him the keeper of his parke, with whom he fell out and quareled, because (as he said) he was slouthfull and careles, and did not walke in the nights about the parke, but suffered his game to be spoiled and his deere to be stolen, wherefore he willed him to be more vigilant and carefull of his charge: and also commanded him that if he met anie man in his circuit and walke in the night time, and would not stand nor speake vnto him, he should not spare to kill him what so euer he were. This knight, hauing laid this foundation, and minding to performe what he had purposed for the ending of his dolefull daies, did in a certeine darke night secretlie conueie himselfe out of his house, and walked alone in his parke. Then the keeper in his night walke hearing one stirring and comming towards him, asked who was there? but no answer was made at all.

The keeper killeth his maister the knight with an arrow.

Then the keeper willed him to stand, which when he would not do, the keeper nocked his arrow and shot vnto him, and killed him; who when he perceiued that it was his maister, then he called to remembrance his maisters former commandement. And so this knight, otherwise learned and wise, being affraid to displease man, did displease God, and verie disorderlie ended his life. It is inrolled amongst the records of this citie, of a commission directed to John earle of Deuonshire, & from him sent to the maior of the citie of Excester to be proclamed. The words be these: *Decimoquarto die Aprilis, vz. in vigilia Paschæ, An. 49. Hen. 6. commissio domini regis directa Iohanni comiti Deuon. missa est maiori vt proclamaretur.* And likewise in an other place: *Quatuor marcæ sunt solutæ Iohanni comiti Deuon. ex assensu maioris.* Howbeit, certeine it is there was no such earle of that name, onelie there was John Holland then liuing duke of Excester, wherefore something is mistaken herein.

Abr. Flem.

But was this a practise (think you) beseeming a man of worship, learning, and iudgement, to make awaie himselfe, because he saw a temporall interruption of his prosperitie? Suerlie how much learning so euer he had in the lawes of the land, litle at all or none (as appeareth) had he in suffering the forces of aduersitie, whom the feare of it did so terrifie, that it droue him to his end. Wise therefore is the counsell of the comedie-writer, and worthie of imitation, that a man, when he is in best case and highest degree of welfare, should euen then meditate with himselfe how to awaie with hardnesse, with penurie, perils, losse, banishment, and other afflictions: for so shall he prepare himselfe to beare them with patience when they happen: as souldiers trained vp in militarie exercises at home, are so much the forwarder for the field, & fitter to incounter their foes (with lesse dread of danger) when they come abroad to be tried: and therefore it is wiselie (& to the purpose) said of Virgil:

Aeneid. 5. ——— *superando omnis fortuna ferendo est.*]

But to returne to the princes affaires. When the same was once spred abroad that K. Edward was fled the relme, an innumerable number of people resorted to the earle of Warwike to take his part, but all K. Edwards trustie frends went to diuerse sanctuaries, and amongst other his wife quéene Elizabeth toke sanctuarie at Westminster, and there in great penurie forsaken of all hir friends, was deliuered of a faire son called Edward, which was with small pompe like a poore mans child christened, the godfathers being the abbat and prior of Westminster, and the godmother the ladie Scrope. [But what might be the heauinesse of this ladies hart (thinke we) vpon consideration of so manie counterblasts of vnhappinesse inwardlie conceiued? Hir husband had taken flight, his adherents and hir frends sought to shroud themselues vnder the couert of a new protector, she driuen in distresse forsoke not that simple refuge which hir hard hap forced vpon hir; and (a kings wife) wanted in hir necessitie such things as meane mens wiues had in superfluitie, & (a corosiue to a noble mind) a prince of renowmed parentage was (by constreint of vnkind fortune) not vouchsafed the solemnitie of christendome due and decent for so honorable a personage.]

K. Edwards frends take sanctuarie.

Quéene Elizabeth deliuered of a prince

Ab. Flem.

The Kentishmen in this season (whose minds be euer moueable at the change of princes) came to the suburbs of London, spoiled mansions, robbed béere houses, and by the counsell of sir Geffrie Gates and other sanctuarie men, they brake vp the kings Bench and deliuered prisoners, and fell at Ratcliffe, Lime house, & S. Katharins, to burning of houses, slaughter of people, and rauishing of women. Which small sparkle had growne to a greater flame, if the earle of Warwike with a great power had not suddenlie quenched it, and punished the offendors: which benefit by him done, caused him much more to be estéemed and liked amongst the commons than he was before. When he had settled all things at his pleasure, vpon the twelfe daie of October he rode to the Tower of London, and there deliuered king Henrie out of the ward, where he before was kept, and brought him to the kings lodging, where he was serued according to his degrée.

The Kentishmen make an hurlie burlie.

King Henrie fetched out of the Tower & restored to his kinglie gouernement.

On the fiue and twentith day of the said moneth, the duke of Clarence accompanied with the earles of Warwike and Shrewesburie, the lord Strange, and other lords and gentlemen, some for feare, and some for loue, and some onelie to gaze at the wauering world, went to the Tower, and from thense brought king Henrie apparelled in a long gowne of blew veluet, through London to the church of saint Paule, the people on euerie side the streets reioising and crieng; God saue the king: as though ech thing had succéeded as they would haue had it: and when he had offered (as kings vse to do) he was conueied to the bishops palace, where he kept his houshold like a king. [Thus was the principalitie posted ouer sometimes to Henrie, sometimes to Edward; according to the swaie of the partie preuailing: ambition and disdaine still casting fagots on the fire, whereby the heat of hatred gathered the greater force to the consumption of the péeres and the destruction of the people. In the meane time, neither part could securelie possesse the regalitie, when they obteined it; which highmindednesse was in the end the ouerthrow of both principals and accessaries, according to the nature thereof noted in this distichon by the poet:

Fastus habet lites, offensis fastus abundat,
Fastus ad interitum præcipitare solet.]

When king Henrie had thus readepted and essoons gotten his regall power and authoritie, he called his high court of parlement to begin the six and twentith day of November, at Westminster, in the

A parlement.

K. Edward adiudged an vsurper.

which king Edward was adiudged a traitor to the countrie, and an vsurper of the realme. His goods were confiscat and forfeited. The like sentence was giuen against all his partakers and frends. And besides this it was inacted, that such as for his sake were apprehended, and were either in captiuitie or at large vpon suerties, should be extremelie punished according to their demerits, amongst whome was the lord Tiptoft earle of Worcester lieutenant for king Edward in Ireland, exercising there more extreme cruelties than princelie pietie, and namelie on two infants being sonnes to the earle of Desmond.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 725. The earle Tiptoft beheaded.

[This earle of Worcester, being found in the top of an high tree, in the forrest of Waibridge, in the countie of Huntington, was brought to London, and either for treason to him laid, or malice against him conceiued, was atteinted, and beheaded at the Tower hill; and after buried at the Blacke friers.]

Moreouer, all statutes made by king Edward were clearlie reuoked, and the crownes of the realmes of England and France were by authoritie of the same parlement intailed to king Henrie the first, and to his heires male; and for default of such heires, to remaine to George duke of Clarence, & to his heires male: and further, the said duke was inabled to be next heire to his father Richard duke of Yorke, and to take from him all his landes and dignities, as though he had bene his eldest sonne at the time of his death. Jasper earle of Penbroke, and John earle of Oxford, with diuerse other by king Edward atteinted, were restored to their old names, possessions, and ancient dignities.

The crowne intailed.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 722, 723. The earle of Warwike his housekeeping. Fabian.

Beside this, the earle of Warwike, as one to whom the common-wealth was much bounden [and euer had in great fauour of the commons of this land, by reason of the exceeding household which he dailie kept in all countries where euer he sojourned or late: and when he came to London, he held such an house, that six oxen were eaten at a breakefast, and euerie tauerne was full of his meat, for who that had ante acquaintance in that house, he should haue had as much sod and rost as he might carrie vpon a long dagger] he (I saie) was made gouernour of the realme, with whom as fellow was associat George duke of Clarence. And thus was the state of the realme quite altered. To this parlement came the marquesse Montacute, excusing himselfe, that for feare of death he declined to take king Edwards part, which excuse was accepted. When quéene Margaret vnderstood by hir husbands letters, that the victorie was gotten by their frends, she with hir sonne prince Edward and hir traine entered their ships, to take their voiage into England: but the winter was so sharpe, the weather so stormie, and the wind so contrarie, that she was faine to take land againe, and to deferre hir iournie till another season.

The earle of Warwike instituted gouernour of the realme.

Jasper earle of Penbroke.

About the same season, Jasper earle of Penbroke went into Wales, to visit his lands in Penbrokeshire, where he found lord Henrie sonne to his brother Edmund earle of Richmond, hauing not full ten yeares of age; he being kept in maner like a captiue, but honorablie brought vp by the ladie Herbert, late wife to William earle of Penbroke, beheaded at Banburie (as ye before haue heard.) This Henrie was borne of Margaret the onelie daughter and heire of John the first duke of Summerset, then not being full ten yeares of age, the which ladie though she were after ioined in mariage with lord Henrie sonne to Humfreie duke of Buckingham, and after to Thomas Stanleie earle of Derbie, both being yong and apt for generation, yet she had neuer ante more children, as though she had done hir part to bring forth a man child, and the same to be a king (as he after was indeed) intituled by the name of Henrie the seuenth (as after ye shall heare.)

Margaret countesse of Richmond and Derbie.

The earle of Penbroke tooke this child, being his nephue, out of the custodie of the ladie Herbert, and at his returne brought the child with him to London to king Henrie the first, whome when the king had a good while beheld, he said to such princes as were with him: Lo, suerlie this is he, to whom both we and our aduersaries leauing the possession of all things shall hereafter giue rome and place. So this holie man shewed before the chance that should happen, that this earle Henrie so ordeined by God, should in time to come (as he did indeed) haue and inioy the kingdome and whole rule of this realme of England. ¶ So that it might seeme probable by the coherence of holie Henries predictions with the issue falling out in truth with the same; that for the time he was induced with a prophetical spirit. And suerlie the epithet or title of holie is not for naught attributed vnto him, for it is to be read in writers, that he was by nature giuen to peaceablenesse, abhorring blood and slaughter, detesting ciuill tumults, addicted to deuotion, verie frequent in praier, and not esteeming so highlie of courtlie gallantnesse as stood with the dignitie of a prince. In consideration wherof, he procured against himselfe an apostasie of his people both native and forren; who reuolted and fell from fealtie. And whie? The reason is rendred by the same writer, namelie:

The saieng of king Henrie the first, of Henrie of Richmond after king Henrie the seuenth.

Ab. Flem.

Quod tales homines populus sceleratior odit,
Fastidit, detestatur: non conuenit inter
Virtutem & vitium, lucem fugêre tenebræ.]

The earle of Warwike, vnderstanding that his enimie the duke of Burgognie had receiued king Edward, and meant to aid him for recouerie of the kingdome, he first sent ouer to Calis foure hundred archers on horsebacke to make warre on the dukes countries; and further, prepared foure thousand valiant men to go ouer shortlie, that the duke might haue his hands euen full of trouble at home. And where ye haue heard that the erle of Warwike was kept out of Calis at his fleeing out of England into France, ye shall note that within a quarter of an houre after it was knowne that he was returned into England; and had chased king Edward out of the realme; not onelie monsieur de Vauclére, but also all other of the garrison & towne shewed themselues to be his frends; so that the ragged staffe was taken vp and worne in euerie mans cap, some ware it of gold enameled, some of siluer; and he that could haue it neither of gold nor siluer, had it of whitish silke or cloth: such wauering minds haue the common people, bending like a reed with euerie wind that bloweth.

The ragged staffe.

The duke of Burgognie, hauing an armie readie at the same time to inuade the frontiers of France, to recouer the townes of saint Quintines and Amiens, latelie by the French king taken from him, doubted to be hindered greatlie by the Englishmen, if he should be constreined to haue warre with them: for the duke of Burgognie held not onlie at that season Flanders, but also Bulleine, and Bullennois, and all Artois, so that he was thereby in danger to receiue harme out of Calis on ech side. Therefore he sent ambassadors thither, which did so much with the councell there, that the league was newlie confirmed betwixt the realme of England and the dukes countries; onelie the name of Henrie put in the writing in steed of Edward. This matter hindered sore the suit of king Edward, dailie suing to the duke for aid at his hands, the more earnestlie indeed, because of such promises as by letters were made vnto him out of England, from his assured frends there.

The duke of Burgognie sendeth ambassadors to Calis.

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But duke Charles would not consent openlie to aid king Edward; but yet secretlie vnder hand by others he lent vnto him fiftie thousand florens of the crosse

He aideth K. Edward vnder hand.

crosse of S. Andrew, and further caused foure great ships to be appointed for him in the hauen of de Uære, otherwise called Camphire in Zeland, which in those daies was free for all men to come vnto, and the duke hired for him foureteene ships of the Easterlings well appointed, & for the more suertie toke a bond of them to serue him trulie, till he were landed in England, and fifteene daies after. The Easterlings were glad of this iournie, trusting if he got againe the possession of England, they should the sooner come to a peace, and obteine restitution of their liberties and franchises, which they claimed of former time to haue within this realme. The duke of Burgognie cared not much, on whose side the victorie fell, sauing for paiment of his monie: for he would oft saie, that he was freend to both parties, and either part was freendlie to him.

In deed, as he was brother in law to the one, so was he of kin to the other, as by his grandmother being daughter to John of Gant duke of Lancaster. When therefore all king Edwards furniture and prouision for his iournie were once readie, hauing now with him about two thousand able men of warre, beside mariners, he entered into the ships with them, in the hauen before Flishing in Zeland, vpon the second day of March: and bicause the wind fell not good for his purpose, he taried still aboord for the space of nine dais, before it turned meet for his iournie. But after that the wind once came about (as he wisht) the sails were hoisted vp on the 11 of March being monday, & forward they sailed, directing their course streight ouer towards the coast of Norffolke. On the next day being tuesday, & the twelfe of March, toward the euening, they road before Cromer, where the king sent to land sir Robert Chamberleine, with sir Gilbert Debenham knights, and diuerse other, to the end they might discouer the countrie, and vnderstand how the people within the land were bent towards him, especiallie those countries there next adioining.

W. Fleetwood.

He arriueth on the coast of Norffolke.

Upon their returne, he vnderstood that there was no suertie for him to land in those parties, by reason of the good order which the earle of Warwike, and the earle of Orford especiallie had taken in that countrie to resist him: for not onelie the duke of Norffolke, but all other the gentlemen (whome the earle of Warwike had in anie suspicion) were by letters of priuie seale sent for, and either committed to safe keeping about London, or else inforced to find suertie for their loiall demeanor towards king Henrie: yet those knights and other that were thus sent forth to make inquirie, were well receiued of their frends, and had good cheare. But after the king perceiued by their report, how things stood thereabouts, he caused his ships to make course towards the north parts.

Anno Reg. 11. The earle of Oxford.

The same night following, a great storme of winds and weather rose, sore troubling the seas, and continued till the fourteenth day of that moneth being thursday, on the which day with great danger, by reason of the tempestuous rage and torment of the troubled seas, he arriued at the head of Humber, where the other ships were scattered from him, each one seuered from other; so that of necessitie they were driuen to land in sunder where they best might, for doubt to be cast awaie in that perillous tempest. The king with the lord Hastings his chamberleine, and other to the number of fiue hundred men being in one ship, landed within Humber on Holdernesse side, at a place called Rauenspurgh, euen in the same place where Henrie erle of Derbie, after called king Henrie the fourth landed, when he came to depriue king Richard the second of the crowne, and to vsurpe it to himselfe.

He arriueth at the head of Humber.

He landeth at Rauenspurgh

Richard duke of Gloucester, and three hundred men in his companie, toke land in another place foure miles distant from thence, where his brother king Edward did land. The earle Riuers, and with him two hundred men, landed at a place called Pole, fourteene miles from the hauen where the king came on land. The residue of his people landed some here some there, in place where for their suerties they thought best. On the morrow, being the fifteenth of March, now that the tempest ceased, and euerie man being got to land, they drew from euerie of their landing places towards the king, who for the first night was lodged in a poore village, two miles from the place where he first set foot on land. [As for his traine, though the season of the yeere was naturallie cold, & therfore required competent refection by warmth, it is to be supposed, that all their lodgings were hard inough, sith the principals prouision was sorie inough. But what of that? Better (in cases of extremitie) an hard shift than none at all.]

Touching the folks of the countrie, there came few or none to him. For by the incensing of such as had bin sent into those parts from the erle of Warwike, and other his aduersaries, the people were shrewdlie induced to stand against him. But yet, in respect of the good will that manie of them had borne to his father, they could haue beene content, that he should haue inioied his right to his due inheritance of the duchie of Yorke, but in no wise to the title of the crowne. And hereupon they suffered him to passe, not seeking to annoie him, till they might vnderstand more of his purposed meaning. The king, perceiuing how the people were bent, noised abroad that hee came to make none other chalenge but to his inheritance of the duchie of Yorke: and withall ment to passe first into the citie of Yorke, and so forward towards London, to incounter with his aduersaries that were in the south parts.

Martine de la Mare or Martine of the sea.

He passeth toward Yorke.

For although his neerest waie had beene through Lincolneshire: yet bicause in taking that waie hee must haue gone againe to the water, in passing ouer Humber; he doubted least it would haue bin thought that he had withdrawne himselfe to the sea for feare. And to auoid the rumors that might haue beene spred thereof, to the hinderance of his whole cause, he refused that waie, and toke this other, still bruting it (as before we said) that his comming was not to chalenge the crowne, but onelie to be restored vnto his fathers right and inheritance of the duchie of Yorke, which was descended to him from his father. And here it seemed that the colour of iustice hath euer such a force in it selfe amongst all men, that where before few or none of the commons could be found that would offer themselues to take his part: yet now that he did (as they thought) claime nothing but that which was his right, they began streight to haue a liking of his cause.

And where there were gathered to the number of six or seuen thousand men in diuerse places, vnder the leading chiefle of a priest and of a gentleman called Martine de la Mare, in purpose to haue stopped his passage: now the same persons toke occasion to assist him. And when he perceiued mens minds to bee well qualified with this feined deuise, he marched forth till he came to Beuerleie, which stood in his direct waie as he passed toward Yorke. He sent also to Kingston vpon Hull, distant from thence six miles, willing that he might be there receiued: but the inhabitants, who had bene laboured by his aduersaries, refused in anie wise to grant thereunto.

The earle of Warwike aduertised by messengers of king Edwards arriuall, and of his turning toward Yorke, with all haste wrote to his brother the marquesse Montacute, who had laine at the castell of Pomfret all the last winter with a great number

of souldiers, willing him to consider in what case their affaires stood, and therevpon with all speed to set vpon king Edward, or else to keepe the passages, and to staie him from comming anie further forward, till he himselfe as then being in Warwikeshire busie to assemble an armie, might come to his aid with the same. [Thus laboured the earle of Warwike by policie and puissance, as well of his owne as others power, to further his owne purpose, hauing sworne in heart a due performance of that, which he had solemnlie vowed and promised before.]

See before page 664.

But this notwithstanding, although there were great companies of people of the countries there abouts assembled, yet they came not in sight of the king, but suffered him quietlie to passe; either bicause they were persuaded that he ment (as he in outward words pretended) not to claime anie title to the crowne, but onelie his right to the duchie of Yorke; or else for that they doubted to set vpon him, although his number were farre vnequall to theirs; knowing that not onelie he himselfe, but also his companie were minded to sell their liues dearlie, before they would shrinke an inch from anie that was to incounter them. It maie be that diuerse of the capteins also were corrupted: and although outwardlie they shewed to be against him, yet in heart they bare him right good will, and in no wise minded to hinder him.

K. Edward without interruption passeth forward to Yorke.

So forward he marched, till he came to Yorke, on a monday being the eightéenth day of March.

Thomas Coniers recorder of Yorke.

Before he came to the citie by the space of three miles, the recorder of Yorke, whose name was Thomas Coniers (one knowne in deed not to beare him anie faithfull good will) came vnto him; & gaue him to vnderstand, that it stood in no wise with his suertie, to presume to approch the citie; for either hee should be kept out by force, or if he did enter, he should be in danger to be cast away by his aduersaries that were within. King Edward neuertheless, sith he was come thus farre forward, knew well inough there was no going backe for him, but manfullie to proceed forward with his begun iournie, and therefore kept on his way. And shortlie after there came to him out of the citie, Robert Clifford, and Richard Burgh, who assured him that in the quarell which he pretended to pursue, to wit, for the obteining of his right to the duchie of Yorke, he should not faile but be receiued into the citie.

But immediatlie after came the said Coniers againe, with the like tale and information as he had brought before. And thus king Edward one while put in comfort, and another while discouraged, marched forth till he came to the gates of the citie, where his people staied; whilest he and about sixtéene or seuentéene other such as he thought meetest, went forth and entred the citie with the said Clifford & Burgh. And (as some write) there was a priest readie to saie masse, in which masse time the king receiued the sacrament of the communion, & there solemnlie sware to keepe and obserue two speciall articles: although it was farre vnlike that he minded to obserue either of them: the one was that he should vse the citizens after a gentle and courteous maner: and the other, that he should be faithfull and obedient vnto king Henries commandements.

K. Edward commeth to Yorke.

He receiueth an oth.

For this wilfull periurie (as hath béene thought) the issue of this king suffered (for the fathers offense) the deprivation not onelie of lands and worldlie possessions, but also of their naturall liues, by their cruell vncle K. Richard the third. [And it may well be. For it is not likelie that God, in whose hands is the bestowing of all souereignties, will suffer such an indignitie to be done to his sacred maiestie, and will suffer the same to passe with impunitie, And suerlie, if an oth among priuate men is religiouslie to be kept, sith in the same is an exact triall of faith and honestie; doubtlesse of princes it is verie nicelie and precislie to be obserued: yea they should rather sustéine a blemish and disgrace in their roialtie, than presume to go against their oth and promise, speciallie if the same stand vpon conditions of equitie: otherwise they prooue themselues to be impugners of fidelitie, which is a iewell surpassing gold in price and estimation, as the poet prudentlie saith:

Charior est auro non simulata fides.

When king Edward had thus gotten into the citie of Yorke, he made such meanes among the citizens, that he got of them a certeine summe of monie; and leauing a garison within the citie contrarie to his oth, for feare least the citizens after his departure, might happilie moue some rebellion against him, he set forward the next day toward Todcaster, a towne ten miles from thence, belonging to the earle of Northumberland. The next day he take his waie toward Wakefield and Sendall, a castell and lordship belonging to the inheritance of the dukes of Yorke, leauing the castell of Pomfret vpon his left hand, where the marques Montacute with his armie laie, and did not once offer to stop him.

The marques Montacute suffereth king Edward to passe by him.

Whether the marques suffered him to passe by so, with his good will or no, diuerse haue diuerslie coniectured. Some thinke that it lay not in the power of the marques greatlie to annoie him, both for that the king was well beloued in those parties; & againe, all the lords & commons there for the most part were towards the earle of Northumberland, and without him or his commandement they were not willing to stirre. And therefore the earle in sitting still and not moouing to and fro, was thought to do king Edward as good seruice as if he had come to him, and raised people to assist him; for diuerse haplie that should haue come with him, remembring displeasures past, would not haue béene so faithfull as the earle himselfe, if it had come to the iumpe of anie hazard of battell.

About Wakefield and the parts there adioining, some companie of his frends came to him, whereby his power was increased; but nothing in such numbers as he looked for. From Wakefield he crossed on the left hand, so to come againe into the high waie, and came to Doncaster, and from thence vnto Notingham. Here came to him sir William Parre, and sir James Harrington, with six hundred men well armed and appointed: also there came to him sir Thomas Burgh, & sir Thomas Montgomerie with their aids, which caused him at their first comming to make proclamation in his owne name, to wit, of K. Edward the fourth, boldlie affirming to him, that they would serue no man but a king.

K. Edward commeth to Northampt.

Edw. Hall.

Whilest he remained at Notingham, and also before he came there, he sent abroad diuerse of his auaunt courrers to discouer the countrie, and to vnderstand if there were anie power gathered against him. Some of them that were thus sent, approached to Newarke, and vnderstood that within the towne there, the duke of Excester, the earle of Drenford, the lord Bardolfe, and other were lodged with a great power to the number of foure thousand men, which they had assembled in Esser, Norffolke, Suffolke, and in the shires of Cambridge, Huntington, and Lincolne. The duke of Excester, and the earle of Drenford, with other the chéefe capteins, aduertised that king Edwards forriders had béene afore the towne in the euening, supposed verelie that he and his whole armie were comming towards them.

The duke of Excester with a power at Newarke.

Herevpon, they not thinking it good to abide longer there, determined with all speed to dislodge, and so about two of the clocke after midnight they departed from Newarke, leauing some of their people

ple behind, which either stale awaie from them, and taried of purpose, or could not get awaie so soone as their fellowes. In déed the forriders that so discouered them within the towne of Newarke, aduertised the king thereof in all post hast, who incontinentlie assembled his people, and forthwith marched towards them: but before he came within three miles of the towne, he had knowledge that they were fled and gone from Newarke. Wherupon he returned againe to Notingham, intending to kéepe on his neerest waie towards the earle of Warwike, whome he vnderstood to be departed from London, and to be come into Warwikeshire, where in the countries adioining he was busied in leuieng an armie, with the which he purposed to distresse him.

K. Edward commeth to Leicester.

The king then from Notingham came to Leicester, where three thousand able men, and well furnished for the warre came vnto him. These were such as he knew would liue and die in his quarrell, the most part of them belonging vnto the lord Hastings the kings chamberlaine. And thus he, being more stronglie accompanied than before, departed from Leicester, and came before the wals of the citie of Couentrie, the nine and twentith daie of March. The earle of Warwike was withdrawne into this citie, kéeping himselfe inclosed therein with his people, being in number six or seauen thousand men. The king sent to him, and willed him to come forth into the field, and there to make an end of the quarell in plaine battell: but the earle at that present refused so to do.

The earle of warwike in Couentrie.

K. Edward prouoketh the earle of warwike to fight.

For although, vnder pretense of king Henries authoritie, he was reputed the kings generall lieutenant of the whole realme, whereby he had got such power togither, as was thought able inough to match with the king for number: yet bicause he doubted how they were bent in his fauour, he durst not commit the matter vnto the doubtfull chance of battell, till he had more of his trustie frends about him. The king therefore three daies togither prouoked him to come forth, but when he saw it would not be, he remoued to Warwike an eight miles from Couentrie, where he was receiued as king, and so made his proclamations from that time forth in all places where he came, vnder his accustomed name and title of king.

He cõmeth to warwike.

He lodged here at Warwike, the rather (as was thought) to prouoke the earle to issue forth of Couentrie to giue him battell, howbeit that deuise nothing auailed. But yet there came dailie diuerse persons on the earls behalfe to treat with the king about a peace, that some good composition might haue béene concluded; & the king for the aduancement of peace and tranquillitie within the realme, offered large conditions; as a free pardon of life to the earle, and all his people, with manie other beneficiall articles on their behalfes, which to manie séemed verie reasonable, considering their heinous offenses. But the earle would not accept anie offers, except he might haue compounded so as it pleased himselfe, & as was thought in no wise to stand with the kings honour, and suertie of his estate.

A treatie for peace.

In this meane while, the earle of Warwike still loked for the duke of Clarence, who by the said earls appointment had assembled a power of men of war about London: but when the earle perceiued that the duke lingered forth the time, and did not vse such diligence as was requisit, as one that had béene in doubt of warre or peace, he began to suspect that the duke was of his brother corrupted, and therein he was nothing deceiued. For true it is, that whilest the king was as yet beyond the seas, in the dominion of the duke of Burgognie, the duke of Clarence began to weie with himselfe the great inconuenience into

The duke of Clarence.

the which as well his brother king Edward, as himselfe and his yonger brother the duke of Gloucester were fallen, through the dissention betwixt them: (which had béene compassed and brought to passe by the politike working of the earle of Warwike and his complices.)

As first the disheriting of them all from their rightfull title to the crowne; secondlie the mortall and detestable war that could not but insue betwixt them, to such mischéefe, that to whether part the victorie inclined, the victor should remaine in no more suertie of his owne person or estate after the vpper hand got, than before; and thirdlie he well perceiued alreadie, that he was had in great suspicion, and not heartilie beloued of anie the lords and rulers that were assured partakers with king Henrie and the Lancastrian faction: insomuch they sticked not dailie to go about to breake and make void the appointments, articles, and couenants, made and promised to him, and of likelihood would dailie more and more intend thereto: for in truth he saw, that they purposed nothing so much as the destruction both of him and all his blood.

All which things throughlie considered, with manie other as they were laid afore him by right wise and circumspect persons, which in this behalfe had conference with him, he consented that by some secret waies and meanes a reconciliation might be had betwixt him and his brethren, the king and the duke of Gloucester. The which to bring to some good and full effect, these honorable personages following became dealers therein. First of all the duches of Yorke their mother, the duches of Exceter, and the duches of Suffolke their sisters; the lord cardinall of Canturburie, the bishop of Bath, the earle of Esser; but most spectallie the duches of Burgognie their sister also, and diuerse other right wise and prudent personages, who wrought by mediation of certeine præsts, and others, such as they vsed for messengers betwixt them.

Præsts vsed for priuie messengers.

Finallie, by the earnest trauell and diligence shewed by the said duches of Burgognie (who incessantlie sent to and fro such hir trustie messengers now to the king being on that side the seas, and then to the duke remaining here in England) at length they were made frends, and a perfect agréement concluded and ratified, with assurance betwixt them so stronglie as might be. To the furthering whereof the kings chamberlaine the lord Hastings failed not to do his best, so as by his good diligence, it was thought the king was the sooner induced to wish to ioine eftsoones in true frendship with his said brother of Clarence. And as it well appeared, the duke of Clarence acquitted himselfe faithfullie therein.

K. Edward and his brother of Clarence reconciled vnwitting to the earle of Warwike.

For hearing now that his brother king Edward was landed and comming forward towards London, he gathered his people, outwardlie pretending to passe with them to the aid of the earle of Warwike against his brother: although inwardlie he meant the contrarie, and so accompanied with aboue foure thousand men, he marched forth towards the place where he thought to find his brother. King Edward being then at Warwike, and vnderstanding that his brother of Clarence approched, in an afternoone issued forth of that towne with all his forces, and passed on till he came into a faire large field three miles distant from Warwike towards Banburie, where he might behold his brother of Clarence in good arraie of battell, comming towards him.

The dissimulation of the duke of Clarence.

When they were now within halfe a mile approched togither, the king placed his people in order of battell vnder their banners, and so left them standing still, and appointed them to kéepe their ground, whilest he taking with him his brother of Gloucester, the lord

Scalie. Riuers,

Riuers, the lord Hastings, & a few other, went forth to meet his brother of Clarence: and in like sort the duke of Clarence toke with him a few of the nobilitie that were about him, and leauing his armie in good order, departed from them to meet the king, and so they met betwixt both the hosts, with so sweet salutations, louing demeanor, and good countenances, as better might not be deuised betwixt brethren of so high and noble estate. O what a hearts ioy was this to the people, to see such an accord and mutuall attonement betweene these peeres! It was the onelie pleasure in the world, to the which all other compared are but counterfet, and that doth the psalmist testifie,

The brethren meet louinglie togither.

Nil charitate mutua fratrum, nihil
Iucundius concordia.

Buchan. in psal. 133.

Besides this, the like frendlie intertainment, and courteous demeanour appeared in the salutings of other noble men that were on them attendant; whereof all such as saw it, and loued them, greatlie reioised; giuing God thankes for that ioifull meeting, vnitie, and concord, appearing thus manifestlie betwixt them: and herewith the trumpets and other instruments sounded, & the king withall brought the duke vnto his armie, whom he saluting in most courteous wise, welcomed them into the land; and they humblie thanking him, did to him such reuerence as appertained to the honour of such a worthie personage. This was a godlie and a gratious reconcilement, beneficiall to the princes, profitable to the peeres, and pleasurable to the people, whose part had beene deepest in dangers and losse, if discord had not beene discontinued.

This done, the king leauing his hoast againe, keeping their ground with the same few persons which he toke with him before, went with his brother of Clarence vnto his armie, and saluting them with sweete and courteous words, was ioifullie of them welcomed: and so after this, they all came togither ioining in one. And either part shewing themselues glad thus to meet as frends with the other, they went louinglie togither vnto Warwike with the king, where and in the countrie thereabouts they lodged, as they thought stood most with their ease and safeties. Herewith the duke of Clarence desired aboue all things to procure some good and perfect accord betwixt his brother the king, and the earle of Warwike.

In this was he the more studious, bicause he saw that such an accord should bring great quietnesse to the land, and deliuer the common-wealth of manie dangers that might insue by reason of such numbers of partakers, as well lords as other that were confederat with the earle. The said duke treated with the king present, and sent messengers vnto Couentrie to the earle, mouing as well the one as the other most instantlie to frame their minds vnto a pacification. The king at the instance of his brother was contented to offer large conditions, and verie beneficiall for the earle and his partakers, if they would haue accepted them.

The duke of Clarence séeketh to make peace betwixt the king and the earle of Warwike.

But the earle, whether vtterlie despairing of his owne safetie, if he should agree to anie peace; or else happilie for that he thought it stood with his honour to stand vnto such promises and couenants as he had made with the French king, and with the queene Margaret, and hir sonne prince Edward (to whome he was bound by oth not to shrinke or swarue from the same) he refused all maner of such conditions as were offered. Insomuch that when the duke had sent to him, both to excuse himselfe of the act which he had done, and also to require him to take some good waie with king Edward, now while he might, the earle (after he had patientlie heard the dukes message) he seemed greatlie to abhorre his vnfaithfull dealing, in turning thus from his confederats and alies, contrarie to his oth and fidelitie.

To the messengers (as some write) he gaue none other answer but this, that he had rather be like himselfe, than like a false and periured duke; and that he was fullie determined neuer to leaue warre, till he had either lost his owne life, or vtterlie subdued his enimies. As it was thought, the earle of Oxfords persuasion wanted not, to make him the more stiflie to hold out; and rather to trie the vttermost hazard of warre, than to agree to acknowledge king Edward for his lawfull souereigne lord and king. Wherevpon no apointment nor anie agréement at all could be brought to passe; and so all that treatie, which the duke of Clarence had procured, brake off & toke none effect. There came to the earle of Warwike, whilest he laie thus at Couentrie (besides the earle of Oxford) the duke of Excester, and the lord marquesse Montacute, by whose comming that side was greatlie strengthened, and the number much increased.

The earle of Warwiks answer to the duke of Clarence message.

The king, vpon consideration hereof, and perceiuing he could not get the earle to come forth of Couentrie, departed from Warwike, and eftsoones shewing himselfe with his people before the citie of Couentrie, desired the earle and his power to come forth into the fields, that they might end their quarrell by battell: which the earle and the other lords with him vtterlie refused as then to do. This was the fift of April being fridaie. The king herevpon was resolued to march towards London, where his principall aduersarie king Henrie remained, vsing his kinglie authoritie by diuerse such of the nobilitie as were about him, whereby king Edward was barred and disapointed of manie aids and assistants, which he was sure to haue, if he could once breake that force of the roiall authoritie, that was still thus exercised against him in king Henries name.

K. Edward passeth London.

Wherefore (by the aduise of his brethren and others of his councell) accordinglie as it had beene ordeined before this his last setting forth from Warwike, he kept on his waie towards London, comming to Dantrie on the saturdaie at night: & on the morow being Palmesundaie, he heard seruice in the church there, & after rode to Northhampton, where he was ioifullie receiued. From thense he toke the nert way towards London, leauing continuallie behind him (as he passed forth) a competent band of speares and archers, to beat backe such of the earle of Warwiks people, as peraduenture he might send abroad to trouble him and his armie by the waie. Which prouidence and foresight he thought it not vnnecessarie to vse; for that he knew well enough, that the heart of an enimie, frieng in the fire of hatefull hostilitie, will pretermit no opportunitie either of time or place to laie in wait for his destruction, against whom he beareth an inward grudge, with a desire of vengeance to the death.

In this meane while, that things passed in maner (as before ye haue hard) Edmund duke of Summerset, & his brother John marquesse Dorset, Thomas Courtneie earle of Deuonshire, and others being at London, had knowledge by aduertisements out of France, that quéene Margaret with hir sonne prince Edward, the countesse of Warwike, the prior of S. Johns, the lord Wenlocke, and diuerse others their adherents and partakers, with all that they might make, were readie at the sea side, purposing with all spéed to saile ouer into England, and to arriue in the west countrie. Wherevpon they departed forth of London, and with all hast possible drew westward, there to raise what forces they could, to ioine with those their frends, immediatlie after they should once come on land, and so to assist them against king

Edward

Edward and his partakers.

True it is, that the quéene with hir sonne, and the other persons before mentioned, toke their ships, the foure and twentith daie of March, continuing on the seas before they could land (thorough tempests and contrarie winds) by the space of twentie daies, that is, till the thirtéenth of Aprill: on which daie, or rather on the fourteenth, they landed at Weimouth, as after shall apeare. But now touching king Edwards proceéding forward on his iournie toward London, ye haue to vnderstand, that vpon the tuesdaie the ninth of Aprill he came to saint Albons, from whense he sent comfortable aduertisements to the quéene his wife remaining within the sanctuarie at Westminster, and to others his faithfull frends in and about London, to vnderstand by couert meanes how to deale to obteine the fauour of the citizens, so as he might be of them receiued.

The earle of Warwike, vnderstanding all his dowings and purposes, wrote to the Londoners, willing & charging them in anie wise to kéepe king Edward out of their citie, and in no condition to permit him to enter: and withall he sent to his brother the archbishop of Yorke, willing him by all meanes possible to persuade the Londoners not to receiue him; but to defend the citie against him for the space of two or three daies at the least: promising not to faile but to come after him, and to be readie to assaile him on the backe, not doubting but wholie to distresse his power and to bring him to vtter confusion. The archbishop herevpon, on the ninth of Aprill, called vnto him at Paules, all such lords, knights, and gentlemen, with others that were partakers on that side, to the number in all of six or seauen thousand men in armour.

The archbishop of Yorke.

Herewith also he caused king Henrie to mount on horssebacke, and to ride from Paules thorough Cheape downe to Walbroke, & so to fetch a compasse (as the custome was when they made their generall processions) returning backe againe to Paules vnto the bishops palace, where at that time he was lodged. The archbishop supposed, that shewing the king thus riding thorough the stréets, he should haue allured the citizens to assist his part. True it is, the maior & aldermen had caused the gates to be kept with watch and ward: but now they well perceiued that king Henries power was too weake, as by that shew it had well appeared, to make full resistance against king Edward, and so not for them to trust vnto, if king Edward came forward, and should attempt to enter the citie by force: for it was not vnknowne vnto them, that manie of the worshipfull citizens, and others of the commons in great numbers, were fullie bent to aid king Edward, in all that they might, as occasion serued.

King Henrie sheweth himselfe to the Londoners.

Thus, what thorough loue that manie bare to king Edward, and what thorough feare that diuerse stood in, least the citie being taken by force might haplie haue beene put to the sacke, with the losse of manie an innocent mans life; the maior, aldermen, and others the worshipfull of the citie fell at a point among themselues, to kéepe the citie to K. Edwards vse, so as he might haue free passage and entrie into the same at his pleasure. The archbishop of Yorke, perceiuing the affections of the people, and how the most part of them were now bent in fauour of king Edward vpon the said kings approch towards the citie, he sent forth secretlie a messenger to him, beséching him to receiue him againe into his fauour, promising to be faithfull to him in time to come, and to acquit this good turne hereafter with some singular benefit and pleasure.

The Londoners resolue to receiue king Edward.

The archbishop of yorke.

The king, vpon good causes and considerations therevnto him mouing, was contented to receiue him againe into his fauour. The archbishop hereof assured, reioised greatlie, well & trulie acquiting him concerning his promise made to the king in that behalfe. The same night following was the Tower of London recouered to king Edwards vse. And on the morow being thursdaie, and the eleuenth of Aprill, king Edward quietlie made his entrie into the citie with his power, hauing fiue hundred smokie gunners marching foremost, being strangers, of such as he had brought ouer with him. He first rode vnto Paules church, & from thense he went to the bishops palace, where the archbishop of Yorke presented himselfe vnto him, and hauing king Henrie by the hand, deliuered him vnto king Edward, who being seized of his person, and diuerse other his aduersaries, he went from Paules to Westminster, where he made his deuout praiers, giuing God most heartie thanks for his safe returne thither againe.

The Tower recouered to king Edwards vse.

K. Edward entereth into London.

King Henrie is deliuered to him.

This done, he went to the quéene to comfort hir, who with great patience had abidden there a long time, as a sanctuarie woman, for doubt of hir enimies; and in the meane season was deliuered of a yong prince, whome she now presented vnto him, to his great hearts reioising & comfort. From Westminster the king returned that night vnto London againe, hauing the quéene with him, and lodged in the house of the duchesse his mother. On the morow being good fridaie, he toke aduise with the lords of his bloud, and other of his councell, for such businesse as he had in hand; namelie, how to subdue his enimies as sought his destruction. Thus with consultation preuenting his actions, he obteined fortunate successe, wherwith his hart was the more aduanced to ioine issue with his aduersaries, whome (rather than they should triumph ouer him) he was resolutelie minded to vanquish, if his proceédings might proue prosperous as his present good lucke.

The earle of Warwike, calling himselfe lieutenant of England, vnder the pretensed authoritie of king Henrie, hoping that king Edward should haue much a do to enter into London, marched forth from Couentrie with all his puissance, following the king by Northhampton, in hope to haue some great aduantage to assaile him, spectallie if the Londoners kept him out of their citie, as he trusted they would; for then he accounted himselfe sure of the vpper hand: or if he were of them receiued, yet he hoped to find him vnprouided in celebrating the feast of Easter; and so by setting vpon him on the sudden, he doubted not by that meanes to distresse him. But king Edward, hauing intelligence of the earles intention, prouided all things necessarie for battell; & hearing that the earle of Warwike was now come vnto S. Albons with his armie, he determined to march forth to incounter him before he should approch nere the citie.

The earle of Warwike followeth the king.

The earle of Warwike, accompanied with John duke of Exceter, Edmund duke of Summerset, John earle of Oxford, and John Neuill marquesse Montacute his brother, vnderstanding that king Edward was not onelie receiued into London, but also had got king Henrie into his hands, perceiued that the triall of the matter must néeds be committed to the hazard of battell; and therefore being come to the towne of saint Albons, he rested there a while, partlie to refresh his souldiers, and partlie to take counsell how to proceéd in his enterprise. At length, although he knew that his brother the marquesse Montacute was not fullie well persuaded with himselfe, to like of this quarell which they had in hand; yet the brotherlie affection betwixt them toke awaie all suspicion from the earle, and so he vtterlie resolued to giue battell, meaning to trie whereto all this tumult would grow; and counting it a blemish to his honor, not to prosequute that with the sword, which he had solemnelie

Edw. Hall.

lemnelie vowed to do on his word.]

Gladmore heath.

Herupon remoued they towards Barnet, a towne standing in the midwaie betwixt London and saint Albons aloft on a hill; at the end whereof towards saint Albons there is a faire plaine for two armies to meet vpon, named Gladmore heath. On the further side of which plaine towards saint Albons the earle pight his campe. King Edward on the other part, being furnished with a mightie armie (hauing ioined to that power which he brought with him certeine new supplies) vpon Easter euen the thirteenth of Aprill in the after none marched forth, hauing his said armie diuided into foure battels. He toke with him king Henrie, and came that euening vnto Barnet, ten small miles distant from London; in which towne his foreriders finding certeine of the earle of Warwikes foreriders, beat them out, & chased them somewhat further than halfe a mile from the towne, where, by an hedge side they found readie assembled a great number of the earle of Warwikes people.

The ordering of the kings armie.

The king after this comming to Barnet, would not suffer a man to remaine in the towne (that were of his host) but commanded them all to the field, and with them drew toward his enimies, and lodged with his armie more nere to them than he was aware of, by reason it was darke, so as he could not well discerne where they were incamped, fortifieng the field the best he could for feare of some sudden inuasion. He toke his ground not so euen afore them as he would haue done, if he might haue discouered the place where they had lien; and by reason thereof he incamped somewhat aside slips of them, causing his people to keepe as much silence as was possible, [least making anie noise with the busseling of their armour and weapons or otherwise with their tongs, the enimie might haue come to some knowledge of the kings priuie purpose, and so by preuention haue disappointed his policie by some prouident deuise; which bicause they wanted for the present time, it turned to their disaduantage; after the old prouerbe: *Nescit prodesse qui nescit prouidus esse.*]

K. Edward lodged before his enimies.

Artillerie.

They had great artillerie on both parts, but the earle was better furnished therewith than the king, and therefore in the night time they shot off from his campe in maner continuallie; but doing little hurt to the kings people, still ouershoting them, by reason they laie much nerer than the earle or anie of his men did esteeme. And such silence was kept in the kings campe, that no noise bewraied them where they laie. For to the end it should not be knowne to the enimies, how nere the king with his armie was lodged vnto them, the king would not suffer anie of his gunnes in all that night to be shot off, least thereby they might haue gessed the ground, and so leuelled their artillerie to his annoiance.

A good policie.

Earelie on the next morning betwixt foure and fiue of the clocke, notwithstanding there was a great mist that letted the sight of both parts to discouer the fields, the king aduanced his banners, and caused his trumpets to sound to the battell. On the other part, the earle of Warwike, at the verie breake of the daie, had likewise set his men in order of battell in this maner. In the right wing he placed the marquesse Montacute, and the earle of Oxford with certeine horssemen, and he with the duke of Exceter toke the left wing. And in the middest betweene both, he set archers, appointing the duke of Summerset to guide them as their chiefteine. King Edward had set the duke of Gloucester in the fore-ward. The middle-ward he himselfe with the duke of Clarence, hauing with them king Henrie, did rule & gouerne. The lord Hastings led the rere-ward, and beside these three battels, he kept a companie of fresh men in store, which did him great pleasure before the end of the battell.

Edw. Hall.

The order of the battell of both sides.

Here is to be remembred, that aswell the king on his part, as the earle of Warwike on his, vsed manie comfortable words to incourage their people, not forgetting to set forth their quarels as iust and lawfull; the king naming his aduersaries traitors and rebels, & the earle accounting him a tyrant, & an iniurious vsurper. But when the time came that they once got sight either of other, the battell began verie sharpe and cruell, first with shot, and after by ioining at hand blowes. Yet at the first they ioined not front to front, as they should haue done, by reason of the mist that toke awaie the sight of either armie, and suffered the one not to discerne perfectlie the order of the other; insomuch that the one end of the earle of Warwikes armie ouerraught the contrarie end of the kings battell which stood westward, and by reason thereof (through the valiancie of the earle of Oxford that led the earles vaward) the kings people on that part were ouermatched, so that manie of them fled towards Barnet, and so to London, bringing newes that the erle of Warwike had woone the field.

The valiancie of the earle of Oxford.

[Which report happilie might haue béene iustified and fallen out to be true, had not preposterous fortune happened to the earle of Oxford and his men, who had a starre with streames on their liueries; as king Edwards men had the sunne with streames on their liueries: whereupon the earle of Warwikes men, by reason of the mist not well discerning the badges so like, shot at the earle of Oxfords men that were on their owne part, and then the earle of Oxford and his men cried treason, and fled with eight hundred men.]

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 727.

But touching the kings people which were pursued in the chase as they fled, and were put to the worst, manie were wounded, and manie slaine outright. But the residue of those that fought in other parts could not perceiue this distresse of the kings people, bicause the thicke mist would not suffer them to see anie space farre off, but onelie at hand: and so the kings battell that saw not anie thing what was done beside them, was nothing discouraged. For (a few excepted that stood nert to that part) there was not anie one that will of that discomfiture; and the other of the earle of Warwikes men, that fought in other places somewhat distant from them, were nothing the more incouraged by this prosperous successe of their fellowes, for they perceiued it not. And in like case as at the west end the earles battell ouerreached the kings, so at the east end the kings ouerreached the earls, and with like successe put the earls people in that place to the worse.

The manfull courage of the earle of Warwike.

At length after sore fight, and greater slaughter made on both sides, king Edward hauing the greater number of men (as some write, though other affirme the contrarie) began somewhat to preuaile: but the earle on the other side remembring his ancient fame and renowme, manfullie stucke to it, and incouraged his people, still suplieng with new succors in places where he saw expedient, and so the fight renewed more cruell, fierce, & bloudie than before, insomuch that the victorie remained still doubtfull, though they had fought from morning till it was now far in the daie. K. Edward therefore willing to make an end of so long a conflict, caused new power of fresh men (which he had for this purpose kept in store) to set on his enimies.

The earle of Warwike was nothing abashed herewith, but vnderstanding that this was all the residue of king Edwards power, comforted his men to beare out this last brunt, and in so doing the victorie was sure on their side, and the battell at an end: but king Edward so manfullie and valiantlie assailed his aduersaries, in the middle and strongest part

of

of their battell, that with great violence he bare downe all that stood in his waie: for he was followed and assisted by a number of most hardie and faithfull men of warre, that shewed notable proofe of tried manhood in that instant necessitie. The earle of Warwike (when his souldiers all wearied with long fight, and sore weakened with woundes and hurts receiued in the battell) gaue little heed to his woords (being a man of an inuincible stomach) rushed into the middest of his enimies, whereas he (aduenturing so farre from his companie, to kill and slea his aduersaries, that he could not be rescued) was amongst the preasse of his enimies striken downe and slaine.

The earle of Warwike slaine.

The marquesse Montacute, thinking to succour his brother, was likewise ouerthrowne and slaine, with manie other of good calling, as knights and esquiers, beside other gentlemen. [But some saie that the said marquesse, hauing agreed priuilie with king Edward, did weare his liuerie, whome one of his brother the earle of Warwikes men espieng, fell vpon him and killed him outright.] Some write that this battell was so driuen to the vttermost point, that king Edward was constreined to fight in his owne person, and that the earle of Warwike, which was wont euer to ride on horsebacke from place to place, and from ranke to ranke, comforting his men, was now aduised by the marquesse his brother, to leaue his horsse, and to trie the extremitie by hand strokes, [which may be probable & likelie. But by the report of some it seemeth that he was not slaine in the heat of the conflict, among the rout of the fighting men, but afterwards in this sort. For when he saw the kings power preuaile and his owne sore impaired and past hope of good speed, with the slaughter of his adherents (gentlemen of name) and himselfe in the verie mouth of the enimie in possibilitie to be deuoured, he kept vpon a horsse to flie, and comming into a wood where was no passage, one of king Edwards men came to him, killed him, and spoiled him to the naked skin. Sir William Tirrell knight was killed on the earle of Warwikes part.]

The marquesse Montacute slaine. Abr. Flem.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 727.

The number slaine at Barnet field.

On both parties were slaine (as Ed. Hall saith) ten thousand at the least, where Fabian saith but fiftéene hundred and somewhat aboue. Other write that there died in all about three thousand. Vpon the kings part were slaine, the lord Crumwell, the lord Saie, the lord Montiois sonne and heire, sir Humfrie Bourchier sonne to the lord Berners, and diuerse other knights, esquiers, and gentlemen. The battell indured the space of three hours verie doubtfull by reason of the mist, and in skirmishing and fighting, now in this place, now in that, but finallie the victorie fell on the kings side; and yet it could not be estéemed that his whole armie passed nine thousand fighting men (as some write) where his aduersaries (as by the same writers apeareth) were farre aboue that number. But bicause those that so write, séeme altogither to fauor king Edward, we maie beléeue as we list.

The duke of Summerset, and the earle of Orford fled in companie of certeine northerne men, which had béene at the battell; and (as some write) the earle of Orford kept forth with them, and retired after into Scotland. But yet as well the duke of Summerset, as the said earle of Orford, in fléeing toward Scotland, changed their purpose vpon the waie, and turned into Wales to Jasper earle of Penbroke. The duke of Excester being striken downe and sore wounded, was left for dead in the field, amongst other the dead bodies, bicause he was not knowne, and by reason thereof comming to himselfe, got vp, and in great danger escaped vnto Westminster, and there toke sanctuarie. [But some say, that after hée had lien in the field, spoiled, wounded, and (to sée to) void of life, from seuen of the clocke in the morning, till foure at after none, he was caried to a seruants house of his there by (named Ruthland) where (after his wounds were searched and dressed by a surgian) he was conueied into Westminster sanctuarie.]

The duke of Summerset and the earle of Orford. Hall.

The duke of Excester.

Abr. Flem.

King Edward hauing got this victorie, refreshing himselfe and his people a while at Barnet, returned the same daie vnto London, like a triumphant conqueror, leading with him king Henrie as a captiue prisoner: & so making a solemne entrie at the church of saint Paule, offred his standard. The dead bodies of the earle and marques were brought to London in a coffin, & before they were buried, by the space of three daies late open visaged in the cathedrall church of S. Paule, to the intent that all men might easilie perceiue, that they vnfeinedlie were dead. The common brute ran, that the king was not so ioious of the erles death, as sorowfull for the losse of the marques, whom he full well knew (and no lesse was euident to other) to be his faithfull friend and well-willer; for whose onelie sake, he caused both their bodies to be buried with their ancestors in the priorie of Bisham.

Edw. Hall.

On the tuesdaie in Easter weeke came knowledge to king Edward, that quéene Margaret the wife of king Henrie, with hir sonne prince Edward was landed vpon Easter day at Weimouth in Dorsetshire, accompanied with John Longstrother prior of saint Johns, commonlie called lord treasuror of England, who went ouer into France to fetch them: also the lord Wenlocke, a man made onelie by king Edward, beside diuerse other knights and esquiers, of whome part had béene long forth of the realme, and part newlie gone ouer thither to them, in companie of the lord treasuror. They toke their ships at Hunflue, the foure and twentith of March (as before you haue heard) but through contrarie winds and tempests, they were driuen backe, and constreined to abide for conuenient wind.

Quéene Margaret landeth with a power out of France

Now, although it came sometimes about fit for their purpose, yet it continued not long in that end; so as if there vpon they toke the sea at anie time, they were forced to returne backe againe to land yer they could passe halfe the way ouer. And thus being diuerse times vnder saile, in hope to passe the seas hither into England, they were still driuen backe againe, till the thirtéenth of Aprill being Easter éuen; on which day the wind comming fauorablie about, they toke the seas, and sailed forward towards this land. The countesse of Warwike, hauing a ship of aduantage, arriued before the other at Portesmouth, and from thence she went to Southhampton, meaning to haue gone to Weimouth, where she vnderstood that the quéene was landed: but here had she knowledge of the losse of Barnet field, and that hir husband was there slaine. Whereupon she went no further towards the quéene, but secretlie got hir ouer the water into the new forrest, and toke sanctuarie within the abbeie of Beaulieu.

The countesse of Warwike taketh sanctuarie.

Quéene Margaret, and hir sonne prince Edward, with the other that landed at Weimouth, went from thence to an abbeie néere by called Cérne. Thither came vnto them Edmund duke of Summerset, and Thomas Courtneie earle of Deuonshire, with others, and welcommed them into England, comforting the quéene in the best maner they could, and willed hir not to despaire of good successe; for albeit they had lost one field (whereof the quéene had knowledge the same day being mondaie in easter weeke, the fiftéenth of Aprill, and was therefore right sorrowfull) yet they doubted not but to assemble such a puissance (and that verie shortlie) forth of diuerse parts of the realme, as being faithfull, and wholie bent to spend their liues, and shed the best bloud in their bodies for hir sake, & hir sonnes, it should be hard for king Edward to resist them with all the power he had or could

The duke of Summerset, and the earle of Deuonshire cõfort quéene Margaret.

could make.

Edw.Hall. The presence of these noble men greatlie comforted hir, and relieued hir of the sorrowes that in maner ouerwhelmed hir pensiue heart: for she doubted sore the end of all these proceedings, the which they concluded to follow vpon the aduancement of hir and hirs. Speciallie it misgaue hir, that some euill should chance to hir sonne prince Edward, for thee greatlie weied not of hir owne perill (as she hir selfe confessed) and therefore she would gladlie haue had them either to haue deferred the battell till a more conuenient time: or else that hir sonne might haue béene conueied ouer into France againe, there to haue remained in safetie, till the chance of the next battell were tried: but they being of a contrarie mind, and namelie the duke of Summerset, she at length consented vnto that which they were resolued vpon.

The feare which quéene Margaret had for hir sonne.

Thus euerie man being bent to battell, gathered his power by himselfe, first in Summersetshire, Dorsetshire, and part of Wiltshire, and after in Deuonshire and Cornewall. For the better incouraging of which countries to ioine with them in their quarrell, they repaired to Excester. Here they sent for sir John Arundell, and sir Hugh Courtenie, and manie other in whom they had anie confidence. To be short, they wrought so, that they raised the whole powers of Cornewall and Deuonshire, and with a great armie departing forth of Excester, they toke the right waie to Glastenburie, and from thence to Bath, raising the people in all parts where they came: for those countries had bene so laboured, first by the earle of Warwike, and after by the duke of Summerset, and the earle of Deuonshire (which two noble men were reckoned as old inheritors of the same countries) that the people séemed there greatlie inclined to the fauor of king Henrie.

King Edward, being at London, was dailie aduertised by faithfull espials of all the doings of his aduersaries, and was in no small agonie, bicause he could not learne what waie his enimies ment to take; for he purposed to incounter them in one place or other, before they should approch nære to London. And vpon such resolution, with such an armie as he had got about London, furnished with all artillerie and other prouisions necessarie, he set forward the nintéenth of Aprill, and came to Windsore, where he staied a season, as well to celebrate the feast of saint George, as to abide the comming of such bands as he had appointed to repaire thither vnto him, making there his generall assemblie.

K. Edward setteth forward against his enimies.

The enimies to masker him the more, sent forth their foreriders vnto sundrie townes, both aswell to raise people in the countries about, as to make the king beléeue that their purpose was to passe those waies, where they ment not once to come. And hereupon when they departed from Excester, they sent first their foreriders streight to Shaftesburie, and after to Salisburie, and then they toke the streight waie to Taunton, Glastenburie, and after to Wels, where houering about in the countrie, they sent another time their foreriders to a towne called Puell, and to Bruton, as if their meaning had béene to draw towards Reading, and so through Barkeshire, and Oxfordshire to haue marched streight to London, or else to haue set vpon the king at some aduantage, if it were offered.

But king Edward, considering aduisedlie of the matter, perceiued well that they being in an angle of the realme, if they ment to go to London, they must either hold the streight waie forth by Salisburie, or else drawing vp to the sea side, passe alongst through Hampshire, Sussex and Kent; or happilie if they mistrusted their owne strengths, as not able to match with his puissance, they would then slip on the left hand, and draw towards Cheshire, and Lancashire, there to increase their forces, and peraduenture by the waie to ioine with a power of Welshmen, vnder the leading of Jasper earle of Penbroke, who had béene sent into Wales long afore, to frame and put in a readines the people there to assist king Henries friends at their comming thitherwards. And such was there purpose in deed, for they had great confidence in such aid, as they trusted to haue of the Cheshire and Lancashire men.

King Edward, meaning to approch nérer vnto them, that he might the soner make waie to stop them of their passage, on which hand soeuer they drew, departed from Windesore the morrow after saint Georges day, being the foure and twentith day of Aprill, kéeping forth his iournie, till on saturdaie the twentie and seuenth of Aprill he came to Abington, where he laie sundaie all daie. On mondaie he marched forward to Chichester, where he had sure aduertisement, that they intended to be at Bath the next daie being tuesdaie, and on wednesdaie to come forward to giue him battell. Whereupon king Edward, desirous to sée his people in order of battell, drew them forth of the towne, and incamped in the field three miles distant from thence, still busieng himselfe about his necessarie affaires, affording no time to idlenesse or loitering: for he knew that there was no waie more expedite and readie to tire him in trauell, than to be giuen to negligence and slouth, the two weariers of well doing, as the old saieng is:

Desidia pressus erit in studio citò fessus.

On the morrow, hearing no certeintie of their comming forward, he marched to Walmesburie, still séeking to incounter them: but here he had knowledge, that they hauing changed their purpose, meant not to giue him battell; and therefore were turned aside, and gone to Bristow, where they were receiued, relieued, and well refreshed by such as fauoured their cause, as well with vittels, men, and monie, as good store of artillerie. Whereupon they were so incouraged, that the thursdaie after they toke the field againe, purposing to giue king Edward battell indeed; and for the same intent had sent their foreriders to a towne, distant from Bristow nine miles, called Sudburie, appointing a ground for their field, a mile from the same towne, toward the kings campe, called Sudburie hill.

Sudburie hill.

The king hereof aduertised, the same thursdaie, being the first of May, with his armie faire ranged in order of battell, came towards the place by them appointed for their field: but they came not there. For hearing that king Edward did thus approach, vpon a new change of resolution, they left that waie: albeit some of their herbingers were come as farre as Sudburie towne, and there surprised fiue or six of the kings partie, which were rashlie entred that towne, attending onelie to prouide lodgings for their maisters. The lords thus hauing eftsoones changed their purpose, not meaning as yet to fight with the king, directed their waie streight towards Berkelie, trauelling all that night. From Berkelie they marched forward towards Glocester.

The king in the meane time, on the thursdaie in the after none, came to the same ground called Sudburie hill, and there staied a certeine space, sending forth scowrers, to hearken what they might vnderstand of the enimies, whome he toke to be somewhere at hand. But when he could not heare anie certeintie of them, he aduanced forward, lodging his vant-gard in a vallie beyond the hill, towards the towne of Sudburie, and laie himselfe (with the residue of his people) at the same place, called Sudburie hill. About three of the cloche after midnight, he was

aduer-

aduertised, that his enimies had taken their waie by Berkeleie, towards Glocester. Hærevpon, taking aduise of his councell what was best to do, he was counselled to send some of his seruants with all spæd vnto Glocester, to Richard Beauchampe, sonne and heire to the lord Beauchampe of Powike, to whome he had (before this present) committed the rule and custodie of the towne and castell of Glocester.

The king sent therefore with all spæd vnto him, commanding him to do his best to defend the towne and castell against his enimies, if they came to assaile the same, as it was supposed they intended: and if they so did, he promised to come with his whole armie presentlie to the rescue. The messengers did their diligence, and so being ioifullie receiued into Glocester, the towne and castell, by the vigilant regard of the said Richard Beauchampe, was put in safe keeping. And this message was done in good time, for true it is, there were diuerse in the towne, that could haue bëene well contented that the quëene, and the lords with hir, should haue bëene receiued there, and would haue aduentured to haue brought it to passe, if they had not bëene thus preuented.

Againe, the quëene and the lords with hir had good intelligence, with diuerse in the towne, so as they were put in great hope to haue entred the same: whereupon they trauelled their people right sore all that night and morning, comming before the towne of Glocester vpon the fridaie about ten of the clocke. And when they perceiued that they were disappointed of their purpose, and their entrie flatlie denied, they were highlie therewith displeased; for they knew verie well, that diuerse within the towne bare their good willes towards them: but after they had vsed certeine menacing braueries, and made a shew as if they had meant to assault the gates and walles, & so to haue entred by force, they departed their waies, marching with all spæd possible towards Teukesburie.

Glocester, whie it was not assaulted.

It might be maruelled at, whie they attempted not the winning of Glocester indeed, considering the freends which they knew they had within it. But the cause which moued them chieflie to forbeare, was, for that as well they without, as the other within the towne, knew that king Edward approached at hand, and was readie to set vpon them on the backes, if they had once begun to haue assaulted the towne; and so, neither they within the towne that were the kings freends doubted the enimies forces, nor the enimie indeed durst attempt anie such enterprise against them. About foure of the clocke in the afternoone, they came to Teukesburie, hauing trauelled that night last past, and that daie, six and thirtie long miles, in a foule countrie, all in lanes and stonie waies, betwixt woods, without anie good refreshing, so that as well the men as the horsses were right wearie.

A long march.

And where the more part of their armie consisted of footmen, the capteins could not haue gone anie further, except they would haue left their footmen behind them, and so of necessitie they were driuen to staie there, determining to abide the aduenture that God would send them. For well they knew that the king followed them verie neere at hand, so as if they should haue gone further, and left the most part of their companie behind, as it could not otherwise haue chanced, he would haue bëene readie to haue taken the aduantage wholie, so to distresse them.

The place where ỳ lords incamped.

Hærevpon they pight their field in a close, euen hard at the townes end, hauing the towne and the abbeie at their backes; and directlie before them, and vpon each side of them, they were defended with cumbersome lanes, deepe ditches, and manie hedges, beside hils and dales, so as the place seemed as noisome as might be to approach vnto.

The king on this fridaie, verie erlie in the morning, aduanced his standards, and in good order of battell hauing diuided his armie into three wards, marched through the plaines of Cotteswold. The daie was verie hot, and hauing in his armie aboue three thousand footmen, he trauelled with them and the residue thirtie miles and more. By all which waie, they could find neither horsmeat, nor mans meat, no not so much as water for their horsses, except one little broke, of the which they receiued no great releefe; for what with the horsses and carriages that passed thorough it, the water became so troubled, that it serued them to no vse: and still all that daie king Edward with his armie was within fiue or six miles of his enimies, he in the plaine countrie, and they among the woods.

The painfull march of king Edward with his armie.

King Edward had euer good espials, to aduertise him still what his enimies did, and which waie they tooke. At length he came with all his armie vnto a village called Chiltenham, like a fiue miles distant from Teukesburie, where he had certeine knowledge that his enimies were alreadie come to Teukesburie, and were incamped there, purposing to abide him in that place, and to deliuer him battell. King Edward therevpon made no long delaie, but tooke a little refection himselfe, and caused his people to do the like, with such prouision of vittels as he had appointed to be conueied forth with him for the releefe of himselfe and his armie. This done, he set forward towards his enimies, and lodged that night in a field not past three miles distant from them.

Chiltenham.

On the morrow being saturdaie, and fourth of Maie, he drew towards his enimies, and marshalled his armie, diuided into three battels in this sort. He put his brother the duke of Glocester in the fore-ward, and himselfe in the midle-ward. The lord Marques, and the lord Hastings led the rere-ward. Hærwith he approached the enimies campe, which was right hard to be assailed, by reason of the deepe ditches, hedges, trees, bushes, and cumbersome lanes, therewith the same was fensed, both a front, and on the sides, so as the king could not well approach them to anie aduantage: and to be the better in a readinesse to beat backe the kings power, when he should come to assault them, they were imbattelled in this order.

The ordering of king Edwards battell.

The duke of Summerset, and his brother the lord John of Summerset led the fore-ward. The midle-ward was gouerned by the prince, vnder the conduct of the lord of saint John, and the lord Wenlocke (whome king Edward had aduanced to the degrée of a baron.) The rere-ward was appointed to the rule of the earle of Deuonshire. Thus may yee perceiue, that king Edward was put to his shifts, how (to anie aduantage) to assault his enimies. Neuertheless, he being well furnished with great artillerie, the same was aptlie lodged to annoie the enimies, that they receiued great damage thereby; and the duke of Glocester, who lacked no policie, galled them grieuouslie with the shot of arrowes: and they rewarded their aduersaries home againe with like paiment, both with shot of arrowes, and great artillerie, although they had not the like plentie of guns as the king had. The passages were so cumbersome, that it was not possible to come vpon anie euen hand, to ioine at handblowes.

The ordering of the lords hoast.

The duke of Glocester.

Teukesburie field.

The duke of Glocester, vpon a politike purpose (as some haue written) reculed backe with all his companie, which when the duke of Summerset perceiued, either moued therewith; or else bicause he was too sore annoied with the shot in that place where he and his fore-ward stood, like a knight more courageous than circumspect, came out of his strength with his whole battell, and aduanced himselfe somewhat

The duke of Summerset.

that aside slips the kings vowarde, and by certeine passages afore hand, and for that purpose prouided (to the kings part, although vnknowne) he passed a lane, and came into a faire open close right before the king, where he was imbattelled, not doubting but the prince and the lord Wenlocke, with the midle-ward, had followed iust at his backe. But whether the lord Wenlocke dissembled the matter for king Edwards sake, or whether his hart serued him not, still he stood, and gaue the loking on.

Edw. Hall. The king, or (as other haue) the duke of Glocester, taking the aduantage that he aduentured for, turned againe face to face vnto the duke of Summerset his battell, and winning the hedge and ditch of him, entred the close, and with great violence put him and his people vp towards the hill from whence they were descended. Here is to be noted, that when the king was come before his enimies, yet he gaue the onset, he perceiued that vpon the right hand of their campe there was a parke, and much store of wood growing therein; and doubting least his aduersaries had laid an ambush within that wood, he chose forth of his companies two hundred speares, commanding them to keepe a stale, like a quarter of a mile from the field, to attend vpon that corner of the wood out of the which the ambush, if anie were, was to issue, and to incounter with them, as occasion serued: but if they perceiued that there was no ambush at all, then to imploie their seruice as they should see it expedient and behouefull for the time.

The politike foresight of the king.

This politike prouision for danger that might haue insued (although there was none that waie forth) serued yet before the end of the battell, to great good purpose. For when those speares perfectlie vnderstood that there was no ambush within the wood, and withall saw conuenient time to imploie themselues, they came and brake with full randon vpon the duke of Summerset and his vowarde a flanke, in so violent wise vpon the sudden, that where they had before inough to do with those with whom they were first matched, now with this new charge giuen on them by those two hundred speares, they were not a little dismaied; and to conclude, so discouraged, that streightwaie they toke them to flight. Some fled into the parke, other into the meadow there at hand, some into the lanes, & some hid them in ditches, each one making what shift he could, by the which he hoped best to escape: but manie neuertheles were beaten downe, slaine, and taken prisoners.

The vãtgard of the lords distressed.

The duke of Summerset seeing this vnfortunate chance, as some write, turned to the midle-ward, and there finding the lord Wenlocke standing still, after he had reuiled him, and called him traitor, with his ar he stroke the braines out of his head. The duke of Glocester pursuing after them that fled with the duke of Summerset to their campe, where the rest of their armie stood, entred the trench, and after him the king, where he bare himselfe so knightlie, that thereupon the queenes part went to wracke, and was put to flight; the king and other falling in chase after them, so that manie were slaine, but especiallie at a mill in the meadow fast by the towne a great sort were drowned. Manie ran towards the towne, some to the church, and diuerse to the abbeie, and other to other places, where they thought best to saue themselues. [This was the last fought field or pight battell tried betweene the potentats of this land in king Edward the fourths daies (which chanced on the fourth of Maie, being saturdaie, in the eleuenth yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of our Lord, 1471) as *Anglorum prælia* affirmeth, saieng:

Vltima postremæ locus est Tewxburia pugnæ.]

A terrible stroke.

Abr. Flem.

Edw. Hall. Prince Edward taken. In the winning of the campe, such as stood to it were slaine out of hand. Prince Edward was taken as he fled towards the towne, by sir Richard Crofts, and kept close. In the field and chase were slaine, the lord John of Summerset, called marquesse Dorset, Thomas Courtenie earle of Deuonshire, sir John Delues, sir Edward Hampden, sir Robert Whitingham, and sir John Leukener, with three thousand others. After the field was ended, proclamation was made, that whosoeuer could bring forth prince Edward aliue or dead, should haue an annuitie of a hundred pounds during his life, and the princes life to be saued, if he were brought forth aliue. Sir Richard Crofts, nothing mistrusting the kings promise, brought forth his prisoner prince Edward, being a faire and well proportioned yong gentleman; whom when king Edward had well aduised, he demanded of him, how he durst so presumptuouslie enter into his realme with banner displaied.

Nobles slaine.

Sir Richard Crofts deliuereth the prince in hope that his life should haue bene saued.

Where vnto the prince boldlie answered, saieng;

"To recouer my fathers kingdome & heritage, from his father and grandfather to him, and from him after him to me lineallie descended. At which words king Edward said nothing, but with his hand thrust him from him, or (as some saie) stroke him with his gantlet; whom incontinentlie, George duke of Clarence, Richard duke of Glocester, Thomas Grete marquesse Dorset, and William lord Hastings that stood by, suddenlie murthered: for the which cruell act, the more part of the doers in their latter daies dranke of the like cup, by the righteous iustice and due punishment of God. His bodie was homelie interred with the other simple corpses, in the church of the monasterie of blacke monks in Tewkesburie.

Prince Edward murthered.

After the victorie was thus atchiued, the king repaired to the abbeie church there, to giue God thanks for that good successe, which it had pleased him to blesse him with: and there finding a great number of his enimies, that were fled thither to saue themselues, he gaue them all his free pardon; albeit there was no franchise there for rebels, but that he might haue commanded them to haue bene drawen forth without breach of anie liberties of that church. He granted also that the dead bodies, as well of the lords as other, slaine in that battell, might be buried in the same church, or else where it pleased their frends or seruants, without anie quartering & heading, or setting vp the heads or quarters in any publike places. [O the patience and clemencie of this good king, who (besides the putting vp of wrongs done to him by violence of foes without vengeance) freelie forgaue the offendors, and did so honorable temper his affections!]

There were found in the abbeie and other places of the towne, Edmund duke of Summerset, John Lonstrother lord prior of S. John, sir Thomas Tresham, sir Gerues Clifton, and diuerse other knights and esquiers, which were apprehended, and all of them being brought before the duke of Glocester, sitting as constable of England, and the duke of Norfolke, as marshall in the middest of the towne, they were arreigned, condemned, and iudged to die; and so vpon the tuesdaie, being the seuenth of Maie, the said duke and the lord prior, with the two forenamed knights, and twelue other knights, were on a scaffold, set vp in the middle of the towne for that purpose, beheaded, and permitted to be buried, without anie other dismembring, or setting vp of their heads in anie one place or other.

The duke of Summerset & others beheaded.

The same tuesdaie, the king departed from Tewkesburie towards Worcester, and by the waie had knowledge that quéene Margaret was found in a pore house of religion, not far from thence, into the which she was withdrawen for safegard of hir selfe, on saturdaie in the morning, being the daie of the battell. She was after brought to London as prisoner,

Quéene Margaret taken.

ner, and so kept, till hir father ransomed hir with great summes of monie, which he borowed of Lewes the eleuenth king of France. And bicause he was not able to make repaiment thereof, he sold vnto the said Lewes (as the French writers affirme) the kingdomes of Naples, and both the Sicils, with the countie of Prouance. King Edward being at Worcester, had aduertisements brought forth of the north parts, that the people there were about to assemble in armour against him, in fauour of king Henrie: whereupon he left the right way to London, and rode to Couentrie, meaning to increase the number of his people, and so with a puissant armie to go northwards.

Hereupon, comming to Couentrie the eleuenth of Maie, and remaining there three daies, he well refreshed such as had béene with him at Teukesburie field. Hither was brought to him quéene Margaret, from whence she was conueied to London, there to remaine in safe keeping (as before you haue hard.) Whilest he was busie in sending abroad vnto his friends to leauie an armie, he was aduertised that the commotion in the north was pacified. For after it was knowen abroad, how he obteined the victorie, as well at Teukesburie, as at Barnet, and in manner subdued all his enimies, the capteins that had stirred the people to that rebellion, began to quaile, and forsoke their companies.

Diuerse of them made suite to the earle of Northumberland, that it might please him to be a mediator to the king for their pardon; so that now, there was no rebellion in all the north parts, but that as well the citie of Yorke, as all other places, were at the kings commandement, readie in all things to obeie him as true and loiall subiects. And this was confirmed by the earle of Northumberlands owne mouth, who on the fourteenth of Maie came to the king, as yet remaining at Couentrie: by reason whereof it was not thought néedfull, that the king should trauell anie further northward at that time, either about the pacifieng of the people, or to see execution done vpon the offendors, sith all was there in good tranquillitie and quiet.

Rebellion in the north pacified.

The earle of Northumberland.

But now when all things séemed to be at rest, and no rebellion after so happie victories doubted, newes came to him before his cõming to Couentrie, from the lords of his bloud, abiding at London, that one Thomas Neuill, bastard sonne to that valiant capteine the lord Thomas Fauconbridge (who had latelie before bæne sent to the sea by the earle of Warwike, and after fallen to practise piracie) had spoiled diuerse merchants ships, Portingals and others, in breach of the ancient amitie that long had continued betwixt the realms of England and Portingale; and furthermore, had now got to him a great number of mariners, out of all parts of the land, and manie traitors and misgouerned people from each quarter of the realme, beside diuerse also forth of other countries that delighted in theft and robberies, meaning to worke some exploit against the king.

Thomas Neuill bastard Fauconbridge.

And verelie, his puissance increased dailie, for hauing bæne at Calis, and brought from thence into Kent manie euill disposed persons, he began to gather his power in that countrie, meaning (as was thought) to attempt some great and wicked enterprise. After the kings comming to Couentrie, he receiued aduertisements, that this bastard was come before London, with manie thousands of men by land, and also in ships by water, purposing to rob and spoile the citie. Manie Kentishmen were willing to assist him in this mischieuous enterprise, and other were forced against their wils to go with him, or else to aid him with their substance and monie, insomuch that within a short time, he had got togither sixtéene or seuentene thousand men, as they accompted themselues.

The bastard Fauconbridge before London with an armie.

With these he came before the citie of London the twelfe of Maie, in the quarrell (as he pretended) of king Henrie, whome he also meant to haue out of the Tower, & to restore him againe vnto his crowne & roiall dignitie. And for that intent, he required to enter the citie with his people, that receiuing king Henrie forth of the Tower, they might passe with him through the citie, and so to march streight towards king Edward, whose destruction they vowed to pursue, with all their vttermost indeuors. But the maior and aldermen of the citie would not in anie wise agrée to satisfie their request herein, vtterlie refusing to receiue him or anie of his companie into the citie.

King Edward from time to time by posts was informed of all these doings, & by aduise of his counsell, the fouretenth of Maie, sent to the succors of the maior and aldermen fiftéene hundred of the choisest souldiers he had about him, that they might helpe to resist the enimies, till he had got such an armie togither as was thought necessarie, meaning with all conuenient spéed to come therewith to the rescue of the citie, and preseruation of the quéene, prince, and his daughters, that were within the Tower, not in verie good safegard, considering the euill dispositions of manie within the citie of London, that for the fauour they had borne to the earle of Warwike, and desire to be partakers of the spoile, cared not if the bastard might haue atteined to his full purpose and wished intent.

Succours sent to the citie of London.

On the sixtenth of Maie, king Edward set forth of Couentrie towards London. But here ye haue to vnderstand, that when the bastard could not be receiued into the citie, neither by gentle persuasions, nor grieuous threatnings, he made semblance to passe ouer the Thames at Kingston bridge, ten miles from London, and thitherwards he drew with his whole power by land, leauing his ships afore saint Katharines and thereabouts. His pretense was, to spoile and destroie Westminster, and the suburbs of the citie on that side, and after to assault the citie it selfe, to trie if he might enter by force, and so to be reuenged of the citizens that had refused to receiue him. [Notwithstanding all which stirring of coles & proud port, with hautinesse of hart & violence of hand thinking to beare downe the people, as an inundation or flowing of water streams doth all before it: yet he came short of his purpose, & pulled vpon his owne pate finall destruction: though he thought himselfe a man ordeined to glorie, & was tickled with the like flatring persuasion that one had in his hart, who said:

Magnum iter ascendo, sed dat mihi gloria vires.] *Prop. lib. 4.*

The bastard purpose to spoile the suburbs of London.

Now as he was onwards vpon his iornie, he was aduertised, that king Edward was preparing to come forwards against him, assisted in manner with all the great lords of the realme, and others in great number, more than he had bæne at anie time before. By reason whereof, doubting what might follow, if passing the riuer he should fortune so to be inclosed, that he should be driuen thereby to incounter with the kings power at such ods, he thought it best to alter his purpose; and so returning, came backe againe before London, & mustered his people in S. Georges field, ranged and placed in one entier battell.

The bastard altereth his purpose.

And to the intent they might worke their purposed feat, before the kings comming to the rescue, they resolued with all their forces to assault the citie, and to enter it if they could by plaine strength, that putting it to the sacke, they might conueie the riches to their ships, which laie in the riuer betwixt saint Katharins and Blackewall, nære to Ratcliffe. Hereupon hauing brought certeine pæces of artillerie forth

of their ships, they planted the same alongst the water side, right ouer against the citie, and shot off lustilie, to annoie them within so much as was possible.

The bastard meaneth to enter the citie by force.

But the citizens on the other side lodged their great artillerie against their aduersaries, and with violent shot therof so galled them, that they durst not abide in anie place alongst the water side, but were driuen euen from their owne ordinance. Yet the bastard not meaning to leaue anie waie vnassaied that might aduance his purpose, appointed a great number of his retinue to set fire on the bridge, so to open the passage, and to enter into the citie that way forth; and withall, he caused aboue three thousand other to passe by ships ouer the Thames; giuing order, that when they were got ouer, they should diuide themselues into two battels, the one to assault Algate, and the other Bishops gate, which order accordinglie was executed.

Algate and Bishops gate assaulted.

For they did their best at both places to force the gates, not sparing to bend and discharge such guns as they had brought with them against the same, nor ceasing with arrowes to annoie those that there stood at defense: whereby much hurt was done, as well at the one place as the other, fire being set on both the gates, in purpose to haue burnt them vp, and so to haue entered. The fire which they had kindled on the bridge little availed them, although they burnt there to the number of a three score houses. For the citizens had laid such peeces of ordinance directlie in their waie, that although the passage had beene wholie open, they should haue had hard entering that waie forth. The maior, aldermen, and other worshipfull citizens were in good arraie, and each man appointed and bestowed where was thought needfull.

Houses burnt on the bridge.

The earle of Essex, and manie knights, esquiers, and gentlemen, with their freends and seruants, came to aid the citizens, taking great paine to place them in order, for defense of the gates and walles: and furthermore, deuised how and in what sort they might make a sallie forth vpon the enimies to distresse them: and suerlie, by the intermingling of such gentlemen and lords seruants in euerie part with the citizens, they were greatlie incouraged to withstand their enimies. Yet the rebels, vnder the leading of one Spising, bare themselues so stoutlie at Algate, that they wan the bulworks there, and droue the citizens backe within the portculice, & entered with them, to the number of six or eight: but some of them were slaine with the fall of the portculice that was let downe vpon them, to keepe the residue out, and those that were entered within the gate were suddenlie dispatched.

Herewith they lashed freelie the one part at the other with guns and bowes, although no great hurt was done with shot; till at length Robert Basset alderman (that was appointed to the keeping of this gate, with the most part of the citizens) and the recorder, named Vrsewike, either of them being well armed in strong tackes, commanded the portculice to be drawen vp, and maintenantlie rushed forth vpon their enimies, putting them backe vnto saint Bothulpes church. At the same instant, the earle Riuers, hauing got togither a foure or five hundred men, well chosen and apparelled for the warre, issued forth at the posterne by the Tower, and assailing the Kentishmen, euen vpon the point as they were thus put backe, mightilie laid vpon them.

The valiancie of Robert Basset alderman.

And first he plaged them with the swift and thicke flight of his arrowes, and after ioining with them at handstrokes, slue and toke manie of them prisoners; so that the rebels were fullie put to flight, and followed first to Mile-end, and from thense some vnto Poplar, some to Stratford, and Stepnith, and in maner each waie forth about that part of the citie, the chase being followed for the space of two miles in length. Manie of them were of Essex, and so made their course homewards; but the more part of them fled to the water side, and getting to their ships, passed ouer the Thames to the rest of their companie. The other likewise that were busie to assault Bishops gate, when they vnderstood that their fellowes were discomfited and fled from Algate, they likewise slipped awaie, and made the best shift they could to saue themselues.

There were a seauen hundred of them that fled from Algate, and other places, slaine outright, beside the prisoners. And yet there were fiers burning all at once at Algate, Bishops gate, & on the bridge, and manie houses consumed with the same fiers. But now the bastard, vnder whome that companie was directed that had set fire on the bridge, when he saw that he might not preuaile, and vnderstood the euill succes of those which he had set ouer the Thames, he withdrew also, and left the bridge. Here the hardie manhood of Rafe Josselin alderman is not to be passed with silence; who (after he had valiantlie resisted the bastard & his band that assaulted the bridge) vpon their retire sallied forth vpon them, and following them in chase alongst the water side, till they came beyond Ratcliffe, slue and toke verie manie of them.

Rafe Josselin.

The bastard notwithstanding gathered his companies togither, and with such as were willing to remaine with him incamped on Blackeheath, by the space of three daies next insuing, to wit, the sixteenth, seauentéenth, and eightéenth of Maie, vtterlie despairing of his wished preie, sith he had beene repelled from London, to his vtter confusion. And now to conclude, hearing that king Edward was comming with a right puissant armie, the said bastard and his people durst no longer abide; but brake vp and dispersed themselues, some one waie, and some an other. They of Calis got them thither againe with all speed, and such as were of other countries repaired likewise to their homes, and manie of the Kentishmen went also to their houses. The bastard with his mariners, and such riotous rebels, robbers, and wicked persons, as sought nothing but spoile, got them to shipbord, and with all their vessels drew downe to the coast.

The bastard incampeth on Blackeheath

King Edward, hauing assembled an armie of thirtie thousand men (as some write) and accompanied in maner with all the great lords of England, came to London the one and twentith of Maie, being tuesdaie, where he was honourablie receiued by the maior, aldermen, and other worshipfull citizens: where euen vpon their first meeting with him he dubbed diuerse of them knights; as the maior, the recorder, & other aldermen, and worshipfull commoners of the citie, which had manfullie and valiantlie acquit themselues against the bastard Fauconbridge & his wicked companie of rebels. Moreouer, here is to be remembred, that poore king Henrie the sixt, a little before deprriued (as ye haue heard) of his realme and imperiall crowne, was now in the Tower spoiled of his life, by Richard duke of Gloucester (as the constant fame ran) who (to the intent that his brother king Edward might reigne in more suertie) murthered the said king Henrie with a dagger.

Edw. Hall. King Henrie the sixt murthered in the Tower.

Howbeit, some writers of that time, fauoring altogither the house of Yorke, haue recorded, that after he vnderstood what losses had chanced vnto his freends, and how not onelie his sonne, but also all other his cheefe partakers were dead and dispatched, he toke it so to hart, that of pure displeasure, indignation, and melancholie, he died the three and twentith of Maie. The dead corps on the Ascension euen was conueied with billes and glaues pompouslie (if you

The nine and twentith of Maie.

you will call that a funerall pompe) from the Tower to the church of saint Paule, and there laid on a beire or coffen bare faced, the same in presence of the beholders did bleed; where it rested the space of one whole daie. From thense he was caried to the Blackfriers, and bled there likewise: and on the nert daie after, it was conueied in a boat, without priest or clerke, torch or taper, singing or saieng, vnto the monasterie of Chertsie, distant from London fiftéene miles, and there was it first buried: but after, it was remoued to Windesor, and there in a new vawt, newlie intomed. He reigned eight and thirtie yeares, six moneths and od daies, and after his readeption of the crowne six moneths. He liued two and fiftie yeares, hauing by wife one onelie sonne, called Edward, prince of Wales.

He was of a semelie stature, of bodie slender, to which proportion all other members were answerable; his face beautifull, wherein continuallie was resident the bountie of mind with the which he was inwardlie indued. Of his owne naturall inclination he abhorred all the vices as well of the bodie as of the soule. His patience was such, that of all the iniuries to him done (which were innumerable) he neuer asked vengeance, thinking that for such aduersitie as chanced to him, his sinnes should be forgotten and forgiuen. What losses soeuer happened vnto him, he neuer estéemed, nor made anie account therof; but if anie thing were done, that might sound as an offense towards God, he sore lamented, and with great repentance sorowed for it.

So then verie vnlike it is, that he died of anie wrath, indignation, and displeasure bicause his businesse about the kéeping of the crowne on his head toke no better successe: except peraduenture ye will saie, that it gréeued him, for that such slaughters and mischéues as had chanced within this land, came to passe onelie through his follie and default in gouernment: or (that more is) for his fathers, his grandfathers, and his owne vniust vsurping and deteining of the crowne. But howsoeuer it was, for these before remembred, and other the like properties of reputed holinesse, which was said to rest in him, it pleased God to worke miracles for him in his life time, as men haue listed to report.

Canonizing of kings, dere.

By reason whereof, king Henrie the seauenth sued to Pope Julio the second, to haue him canonized a saint. But for that the canonizing of a king séemed to be more costlie than for a bishop, the said king left off his sute in that behalfe; thinking better to saue his monie, than to purchase a new holie daie of saint Henrie with so great a price, remitting to God the iudgement of his will and intent. ¶ But bicause princes princelie qualified, can not be too highlie praised, I will here record a collection of his commendable conditions, dooings, and saiengs, as I find them set downe to my hand, to his perpetuall renowme; and right worthie of imitation, not onelie of such as are singled out from among infinite thousands, to be magnified with rotaltie; but also of priuat and meane men that conuerse and liue one with an other in the world.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 730, 731, &c.

This king hauing inioied as great prosperitie as fauourable fortune could afford, & as great troubles on the other side as the frowning coold powre out; yet in both the states he was patient and vertuous, that he maie be a patterne of most perfect vertue, as he was a worthie example of fortunes inconstancie. He was plaine, vpright, farre from fraud, wholie giuen to praier, reading of scriptures, and almesdeeds; of such integritie of life, that the bishop which had béene his confessour ten yeares, auouched that he had not all that time committed anie mortall crime: so continent, as suspicion of vnchast life neuer touched him: and hauing in Christmasse a shew of yong women with their bare breasts laid out presented before him, he immediatlie departed with these words: Fie, fie, for shame; forsoth you be to blame.

Before his mariage, he liked not that women should enter his chamber, and for this respect he committed his two brethren by the mothers side, Jasper and Edmund, to most honest & vertuous prelats to be brought vp. So farre he was from couetousnesse, that when the executors of his vncle the bishop of Winchester, surnamed the rich cardinall, would haue giuen him two thousand pounds, he plainelie refused it, willing them to discharge the will of the departed, and would scarselie condescend at length to accept the same summe of monie toward the indowing of his colleges in Cambridge & Eaton. He was religiouslie affected (as the time then was) that at principall holidaies, he would weare sackecloth nert his skin. Oth he vsed none, but in most earnest matters these words: Forsoth and forsoth.

He was so pitifull, that when he saw the quarter of a traitor against his crowne ouer Criplegate, he willed it to be taken awaie, with these words: I will not haue anie christian so cruellie handled for my sake. Manie great offenses he willinglie pardoned, and receiuing at a time a great blow by a wicked man which compassed his death, he onelie said; Forsoth forsoth, yée do fowlie to smite a king annointed so. An other also which thrust him into the side with a sword when he was prisoner in the Tower, was by him pardoned when he was restored to his state and kingdome. Not long before his death, being demanded whie he had so long held the crowne of England vniustlie; he replied: My father was king of England, quietlie inioieng the crowne all his reigne; and his father my grandsire was also king of England, and I euen a child in my cradell was proclamed and crowned king without anie interruption; and so held it fortie yeares well-neere, all the states doing homage vnto me, as to my antecessors: wherefore I maie saie with king Dauid; The lot is fallen vnto me in a faire ground; yea, I haue a goodlie heritage, my helpe is from the Lord which saueth the vpright in heart.

The kings colledge in Cambridge.

This good king, being of himselfe alwaies naturallie inclined to doo good, and fearing least he might séeme vnthanke full to almightie God for his great benefits bestowed vpon him, since the time he first toke vpon him the regiment of his realme, determined about the fir and twentith yeare of his reigne, for his primer notable worke (as by the words of his will I find expressed) to erect and found two famous colledges in the honor and worship of his holy name, and for the increase of vertue, the dilatation of cunning, and establishment of christian faith, whereof the one in Cambridge, to be called his colledge roiall of our ladie and saint Nicholas: and the other at Eaton beside Windsore, to be called his colledge of our blessed ladie.

And for the performance of this his deuout purpose, he infeoffed certeine bishops, with other noble and worshipfull personages, by his letters patents, with lands and possessions, parcell of his inheritance of the duchie of Lancaster, to the cleare value of well néere foure & thirtie hundred pounds by yéere. Which letters patents he after confirmed by his act of parlement, declaring also by his will vnto his said feoffées, his intent and meaning, how the same shuld be imploied vpon the edifications of his said two colledges. Whereof (in my iudgement) the deuise is so excellent, and the buildings so princelie and apt for that purpose, as I cannot omit to set forth vnto you the verie plot of the whole colledge in Cambridge,

euen as I find mentioned almost verbatim in his will, supposing that if the rest of the house had proceeded according to the chappell already finished (as his full intent and meaning was) the like colledge could scant haue beene found againe in anie christian land. The words of the will are thus.

The chappell. As touching the dimensions of the church of my said colledge of our ladie and S. Nicholas of Cambridge, I haue deuised and appointed, that the same church shall conteine in length 288 foot of assise, without anie Iles, and all of the wideneſſe of fortie foot.

The bodie of the church. The quiere. And the length of the same church from the west end vnto the altars at the quiere doore, shall conteine an hundred and twentie foot. And from the prouosts stall, vnto the greece called *Gradus chori* ninetie foot; for thirtie six stalles on either side of the same quiere, answering to threescore and ten fellowes, and ten priests conducts, which must be *De prima forma*. And from the said stalles vnto the east end of the said church, threescore & two foot of assise. Also a reredosse bearing the

The rodloft. rodloft, departing the quiere and the bodie of the church, conteining in length fortie foot, and in breadth fourteene foot. The walles of the same church to be in

The height of the chappell. height ninetie foot imbattelled, vawted, and chaserofted, sufficientlie butteraced, and euerie butterace fined with finials. And in the east end of the same

The east window. church, shall be a window of nine daies, and betwixt euerie butterace a window of fiue daies.

The side chappels. And betwixt euerie of the same butteraces in the bodie of the church, on both sides of the same church, a closet with an altar therein, conteining in length twentie foot, and in breadth ten foot, vawted and finished vnder the soile of the Ile windowes. And the pauement of the church to be inhanced foure foot aboue the ground without. And the height of the pauement of the quiere one foot and an halfe aboue the pauement of the church. And the pauement of the al-

The vestrie. tar three foot aboue that. And on the north side of the quiere a vestrie conteining in length fiftie foot, and in breadth twentie and two foot, departed into two houses beneath, & two houses aboue, which shall conteine in height twentie two foot in all, with an entrie

The cloister. from the quiere vawted. And at the west end of the church a cloister square, the east pane conteining in length an hundred seuentie and fiue foot, and the west pane as much. The north pane two hundred foot, and the south pane as much, of the which the deambulatorie thirteene foot wide, and in height twentie foot to the corbill table, with cleare stories and butteraces with finials, vawted & imbattelled. And the ground thereof foure foot lower than the church ground.

The steeple, And in the middle of the west pane of the cloister a strong tower square, conteining foure and twentie foot within the walles. And in the height one hundred and twentie foot to the corbill table. And foure small turrets ouer that fined with pinacles. And a doore into the said cloister inward, but outward none. And

The base court. as touching the dimensions of the housing of the said colledge, I haue deuised and appointed in the south side of the said church a quadrant, closing to both ends of the same church; the east pane whereof shall con-

The east pane. teine two hundred and thirtie foot in length, and in breadth within the walles two and twentie foot. In the same panes middle, a tower for a gatehouse, conteining in length thirtie foot, and in breadth two and twentie, and in height threescore foot, with three chambers ouer the gate, euerie one ouer the other. And on either side of the same gate foure chambers,

The great gate. euerie one conteining in length fiue & twentie foot, and in breadth two and twentie foot. And ouer euerie of these chambers, two chambers aboue of the same measure or more, with two towers outward, and two towers inward.

The south pane. The south pane shall conteine in length two hundred thirtie and eight foot, and in breadth two and twentie foot within, in which shalbe seuen chambers, euerie one conteining in length nine and twentie foot, and in breadth twentie and two, with a chamber parcell of the prouosts lodging, conteining in length thirtie and fiue foot, and with a chamber in the east corner of the same pane, conteining in length twentie and fiue foot, and in breadth thirtie and two foot. And ouer euerie of all these chambers two chambers, and with fiue towers outward, and three towers inward.

The west pane. The west pane shall conteine in length two hundred and thirtie foot, and in breadth within twentie & foure foot, in which at the end toward the church shall be a li-

The libzarie. brarie, conteining in length an hundred and ten foot, and in breadth twentie and foure foot. And vnder it a large house for reading and disputations, conteining

The disputation house. in length eleuen foot. And two chambers vnder the same librarie, each conteining twentie and nine foot in length, and in breadth foure and twentie foot.

The ward-robe. And ouer the said librarie a house of the same largenesse, for diuerse stuffe of the said colledge. In

The hall. the other end of the same pane a hall, conteining in length an hundred foot, vpon a vawt of twelue foot high, ordeined for the cellar and butterie: and the breadth of the hall six and thirtie foot. On euerie side thereof a baie windowe. And in the nether end of the

The pantrie and butterie. same hall toward the middle of the same pane, a pantrie & butterie, euerie of them in length twentie foot, and in breadth seuentéene foot. And ouer that two

The colledge kitchin. chambers for officers. And at the nether end of the hall toward the west, a goodlie kitchin. And the same pane shall haue inward two towers, ordeined for the waies into the hall and librarie. And in euerie corner of the said quadrant, shall be two corner towers, one inward, and one outward, more than the towers aboue rehearsed.

The prouosts lodging. And at the vpper end of the hall, the prouosts lodging, that is to wit, more than the chambers for him aboue specified, a parlour on the ground, conteining six and thirtie foot in length, and two and twentie foot in breadth, & two chambers aboue of the same quantitie. And westward closing thereto a kitchin for him, a larderhouse, stables, and other necessarie housings and grounds. And westward beyond these houses, and the said kitchin ordeined for the hall, a bakehouse, a brewhouse, and other houses of office: betwixt which there is left a ground square of fourescore foot in euerie pane for wood and such stuffe. And in the

The bakhouse and brewhouse. The wood-yard. The water conduit. middle of the said large quadrant, shall be a conduit, goodlie deuised for the ease of the same colledge. And I will, that the edification proceed in large forme of my said colledge cleane and substantiall, setting apart superfluitie of so great curious workes of intaile and busie moulding.

The precinct of the colledge. And I haue deuised and appointed that the precinct of my said colledge, as well on both sides of the garden from the colledge to the water, as in all other places of the same precinct, be inclosed with a substantiall wall, of the height of fourteene foot, with a large tower at the principall entrie against the middle of the east pane, out of the high street. And in the

The water gate. same tower a large gate, and another tower in the middle of the west end at the new bridge. And the same wall to be creasted, imbattelled, and fortified with towers, as manie as shall be thought conuenient thereunto. And I will that my said colledge be edified of the most substantiall & best abiding stuffe, of stone, lead, glasse, and iron, that maie best be had and prouided thereto. ¶ Thus much I haue inlarged by occasion of reading this good kings will: the cunning deuise whereof I leaue to the considerate iudgement of such as be expert in architecture, heartilie desiring almightie God to put into the heart of some noble prince of this land, one day to make perfect

this

this roiall woorke so charitablie begun.]

But now to returne to king Edward. We shall vnderstand, that after his comming to London, hee rested there but one daie, or two at the most, taking his iournie forthright into Kent with all his armie, following the bastard, and other his complices, to suppresse them, if they were in anie place assembled againe to resist him. But after they were once dispersed, they durst not shew themselues againe in armor, those onlie excepted that were withdrawne vnto Sandwich with the bastard; which for the more part were mariners, about eight or nine hundred, beside certeine other euill disposed persons, that accompanied him as his souldiers, and men of warre, with whose assistance the bastard kept that towne by strength, hauing in the hauen seuen and fortie ships, great and small, vnder his gouernance.

Sandwich kept by the rebels.

But vpon the kings approching nere vnto those parties, they sent to him for pardon, promising that vpon a reasonable appointment, for the safegard of their liues, and other indemnities to be had for their benefit, they would become his faithfull subiects, and deliuer into his hands all the ships. Their offer the king vpon great considerations, and by good deliberate aduise of counsell, thought best to accept: and therevpon (being at that time in Canturburie) hee granted to their petitions, and sent immediatlie vnto Sandwich his brother Richard duke of Gloucester, to receiue them to mercie, togither with all the ships, which according to their promise they deliuered into his hands.

The rebels sue for pardon.

But notwithstanding that (as some write) the bastard Fauconbridge, and other of his companie that were got to Sandwich, had thus their pardons by composition at the kings hands; we find neuertheless, that the said bastard Fauconbridge, being afterwards at sea (a rouing belike, as he had vsed before) came at length into the open hauen at Southhampton, and there taking land, was apprehended, and shortlie after beheaded. This chanced (as should appeare by Fabian) about the latter end of October.

The bastard of Fauconbridge beheaded.

Moreouer, Roger Vaughan that had beene sent by king Edward into Wales, anon after Teukesburie field (being a man of great power in that countrie) to intrap and surprise by some secret sleight the earle of Penbroke, the said earle being thereof aduertised, tooke the same Roger, and without delay stroke off his head.

Roger Vaughan taken and beheaded.

After this, was the earle besieged in the towne of Penbroke by Morgan Thomas; but the siege was raised by Dauid Thomas, brother to the said Morgan, a faithfull friend to the earle; and then the earle by his helpe was conueied to Tinbie, where he got ships, and with his nephue the lord Henrie earle of Richmond sailed into Britaine, where, of the duke they were courteouslie interteined; with assurance made, that no creature should do them anie wrong or iniurie within his dominions. King Edward visiting diuerse places in Kent, sate in iudgement on such as had aided the bastard in the last commotion, of whome diuerse were condemned and executed, as Spiling one of the capteins that assaulted Algate, whose head was set vp ouer the same gate: and so likewise was the head of one Quintine, a butcher, that was an other capteine amongest them, and chiefe of those that assaulted Bishops gate, as some write.

Dauid Thomas.

The earle of Penbroke with his nephue the earle of Richmond saile ouer into Britaine.

Execution.

Moreouer, at Canturburie the maior of that citie was executed, and diuerse other at Rochester, Maidston and Blackeheath: for the lord marshall and other iudges, being appointed to hold their oier and determiner in that countrie of Kent, there were aboue an hundred indicted and condemned. Diuerse also of Essex men that had beene partakers in this rebellion with the bastard, & holpe to set fire on Bishops gate and Algate, were hanged betwixt Stratford and London. Manie also of the wealthie commons in Kent were put to grieuous fines.

Now when the king had made an end of his businesse in that countrie, he returned to London, comming thither againe vpon Whitsun eeuen, being the first of June. And hauing thus within the space of eleuen weekes recouered in maner the whole possession of his realme, being relieued of the most part of all his doubtfull feare, he ment to remoue all stops out of the waie. Wherefore he sent the archbishop of Yorke, brother to the earle of Warwike, and to the marques Montacute ouer to Guisnes, there to be kept in safe custodie within the castell, where he continued a long season, till at length he was by friendship deliuered, and shortlie after (through verie anguish of mind) departed this life; whome Laurence Bath, and after him Thomas Rotheram in the see of Yorke, did ordinarilie succeed. Beside this, John earle of Oxford, which after Barnet field both manfullie and valiantlie kept saint Michaels mount in Cornewall, either for lacke of aid, or persuaded by his friends, gaue vp the mount, and yelded himselfe to king Edward (his life onelie saued) which to him was granted. But to be out of all doutfull imaginations, king Edward also sent him ouer the sea to the castell of Hammes, where, by the space of twelue yeres hee was in strong prison shut vp and warilie loked to.

Fabian.

The archbishop of Yorke.

The earle of Oxford.

1472

Anno Reg. 12.

King Edward was not a litle disquieted in mind, for that the earls of Penbroke & Richmond were not onlie escaped out of the realme, but also well receiued and no worsse interteined of the duke of Britaine: he sent therefore in secret wise graue & close messengers to the said duke, the which should not sticke to promise the duke great and rich rewards, so that he would deliuer both the earles into their hands and possession. The duke, after he had heard them that were sent, made this answer, that he could not with his honor deliuer them, to whome he had giuen his faith to see them preserued from all iniurie: but this (he said) he would do for the king of England, that they should be so loked vnto, as he needed not to doubt of any attempt to be made against him by them, or by their meanes.

Messengers sent to the duke of Britaine.

The king receiuing this answer, wrote louinglie to the duke of Britaine, that he would consider his friendship with conuenient rewards, if it should please him to be as good as his promise. The duke, perceiuing gaine comming by the abode of the two English earles in his countrie, caused them to be separated in sunder, and all their seruants being Englishmen to be sequestred from them, and in their places appointed Britains to attend them. In the thirteenth yere of his reigne, king Edward called his high court of parlement at his palace of Westminster, in the which all lawes and ordinances made by him before that daie were confirmed, and those that king Henrie had abrogated, after his readeption of the crowne, were againe reuiued. Also lawes were made for the confiscation of traitors goods, and for the restoring of them that were for his sake fled the realme, which of his aduersaries had beene atteinted of high treason, and condemned to die.

1473

Anno Reg. 13.

A parlement.

Moreouer, towards his charges of late sustained, a competent summe of monie was demanded, and freelie granted. There was also a pardon granted almost for all offenses; and all men then being within the realme, were released and discharged of all high treasons and crimes, although they had taken part with his aduersaries against him. In this season the duke of Burgognie had sore wars with the French king; and to be the more speedilie reuenged on his aduersarie, he sent ambassadors into England, to

A subsidie.

A pardon.

Ambassadors from the duke of Burgognie

perſuade king Edward to make warre alſo on the French king, for the recouerie of his ancient right to the realme of France, by the ſame French king againſt all equitie withholden and deteined. In which attempt of his, there was ſome ſauour of diſcréet policie, and a prouident forecaſt for his greater ſafetie, beſides the likelie poſſibilitie to obteine that whereto he made chalenge: ſith the huger hoſſs (if the hardier hearts) are of moſt force, according to that ſaieng:

Virtus vnita fortior.

And therefore, by procuring the king of Englands power to ioine with his, he ſuppoſed his purpoſe atchiueable with the more facilitie. King Edward not ſo much for the loue he bare to the duke of Burgognie, as for deſire to be reuenged on the French king, whome he toke to be his enimie for aiding the earle of Warwike, quéene Margaret, and hir ſonne prince Edward, with their complices, gaue good eare to the duke of Burgognie his meſſengers, and finallie (after he had taken aduiſe of his councell) the ſaid meſſengers were anſwered, that king Edward in the beginning of the next yeare would land at Calis with a puiſſant armie, both to reuenge ſuch iniuries as he had receiued at the French kings hands, and alſo to recouer his right, which he wrongfullie deteined from him.

Oppoꝛtunitie not to be neglected.

In déed the time ſerued verie well for the Engliſhmen to atchiue ſome high enterpriſe in France at that preſent. For not onelie the duke of Burgognie as then made warre againſt the French king, but alſo manie great men within the realme of France, miſliking the manners of their king, began to haue ſecret intelligence with the ſaid duke; and namelie Lewes of Lutzenburgh earle of ſaint Paule conſtable of France was ſecretlie confederate with the duke of Burgognie, intending verelie to bring the French king to ſome great hinderance, the better to haue his purpoſe accompliſhed in certeine weightie matters. King Edward vnderſtanding all theſe things, was greatlie incouraged to make a iournie into France, and therevpon with all diligence prepared all things readie for the ſame.

The earle of S. Paule.

But bicauſe he wanted monie, and could not well charge his commons with a new ſubſidie, for that he had receiued the laſt yeare great ſummes of monie granted to him by parlement, he deuiſed this ſhift, to call afore him a great number of the wealthieſt ſort of people in his realme; and to them declaring his néed, and the requiſite cauſes thereof, he demanded of euerie of them ſome portion of monie, which they ſticked not to giue. And therefore the king willing to ſhew that this their liberalitie was verie acceptable to him, he called this grant of monie, A beneuolence: notwithſtanding that manie with grudge gaue great ſums toward that new found aid which of them might be called, A meleuolence. But the king vſed ſuch gentle faſhions toward them, with frendlie praier of their aſſiſtance in his neceſſitie, that they could not otherwiſe do, but frankli and frélie yéeld and giue him a reaſonable and competent ſumme.

A ſhift to recouer monie.

Abr. Flem. ex Edw. Hall. fol. Ccxxvj.

¶ But here I will not let paſſe a prétie conceipt that happened in this gathering, in the which you ſhall not onelie note the humilitie of a king, but more the fantaſie of a woman. King Edward had called before him a widow, much abounding in ſubſtance, and no leſſe growne in yeares, of whome he merilie demanded what ſhe gladlie would giue him toward his great charges: By my troth quoth ſhe, for thy louelie countenance thou ſhalt haue euen twentie pounds. The king looking ſcarſe for the halfe of that ſumme, thanked hir, and louinglie kiſt hir. Whether the ſauor of his breath did ſo comfort hir ſtomach, or ſhe eſtéemed the kiſſe of a king ſo prétious a iewell, ſhe ſwore incontinentlie, that he ſhould haue twentie pounds more, which ſhe with the ſame will paied that ſhe offered it. ¶ This yeare the duke of Exceſter was found dead in the ſea betwéene Douer and Calis, but how he came there the certeintie could not be knowne. John Stow.

1474
Anno Reg. 14.

When all things conuenient for ſuch an enterpriſe were in a readineſſe, the king came to Douer, where he found fiue hundred ſhips and hoies readie to tranſport him and his armie. And ſo the fourth daie of Julie he paſſed ouer, and landed at Calis with great triumph; but his armie, horſſes, and munitions of war ſcarſe paſſed ouer in twentie daies. In this armie (being one of the beſt appointed that had paſſed out of England into France in manie yeares before) were fiftéene hundred men of armes well horſſed, of the which the moſt part were barded and richlie trapped, and manie of them trimmed in one ſute. There were alſo fiftéene thouſand archers with bowes and arrowes, of the which a great number were on horſſbacke. There were alſo a great companie of other fighting men, and of ſuch as ſerued to ſet vp tents and pauilions, to attend the artillerie and to incloſe their campe, and otherwiſe to labour and be imploied in ſeruice.

The k. with an armie paſſeth ouer into France.

In all this armie was there not one page. The king of England was at his arriuall highlie diſpleaſed with the duke of Burgognie, who in the word of a prince had promiſed to meet him at his landing, with two thouſand men of armes and light horſſemen, beſides a great number of lanceknights and halberdiers, and that he would haue begun the warre three moneths before the kings tranſporting; whereas contrarilie the duke laie lingering at the ſiege of Nuſſe, and let paſſe the occaſion of atchiuing a more profitable enterpriſe. King Edward incontinentlie diſpatched the lord Scales in poſt vnto the duke, to put him in remembrance of his promiſe, and to aduiſe him to come and ioine with him before the ſummer were ſpent.

The ſiege of Nuſſe.

The lord Scales.

Before king Edward departed from Douer, he ſent an officer of armes vnto the French king with a defiance. The French king, receiuing the king of Englands letters at the meſſengers hand, read the ſame; and after he had conſidered thereof at leaſure, he called the Engliſh herald aſide, and to him declared the little truſt that was to be put in the duke of Burgognie and the conſtable, by whoſe procurement he knew that king Edward was procured to come at that ſeaſon into France; and therefore it ſhould be better for him to haue peace with an old enimie, than to ſtaie vpon the promiſes and familiaritie of a new diſſembling frend, which peace did highlie pleaſe God, & was the thing that he moſt deſired. ¶ But to giue the greater grace to the matter in hand, it is good to laie downe the forme of the French kings ſpéech to the ſaid herald, to whome he vttered theſe words in his wardrobe, as Edward Hall reporteth.

A defiance ſent to the French king.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. fol. Ccxxvj.

Sir I know and well wot, that the king of England your maiſter, is neither deſcended in theſe parts of his owne frée motion, nor yet of vs required; but onelie entiſed and prouoked by the duke of Burgognie, and ſomewhat inforced by the communs of his realme. But now you may ſée that the ſeaſon of the yeare paſſeth, and the duke of Burgognie is in worſe eſtate, returning from Nuſſe almoſt diſcomforted. The conſtable alſo, with whome the king your ſouereigne lord (I am ſure) hath ſome intelligence, for fauour that your maiſter hath maried his néece, is not ſo ſure a frend as he is taken for. And if all the world knew how I haue promoted him, and what I haue done for him, they would little thinke, that he would ſo vntrulie handle me as he doth. For I aſſure you, he is a déepe diſſembler, & in continuall diſſimulati-

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cc on intendeth to lead his life, interteining all men for his owne profit. And although the king your maister be vnsure of all his other promises, yet of one thing he shall be sure, that is, he shall be euer dissembled withall. And therefore I saie to you, and not to your maister, that he were better haue a peace with an old enimie, than the promises and familiaritie of a new dissembling frend, which peace most pleaseth God, and is the thing that I most doo desire.]

When he had thus said, he gaue the herald three hundred crownes, promising him a thousand crownes if anie good appointment came to passe. This herald was borne in Normandie, who being more couetous of the crownes than secret (according as of dutie by his office he ought to haue bene) promised to doo all things that in him laie, and further shewed waies by the which the French king might enter into the port of treatie for peace, the which he doubted not would sort to a good conclusion. The French king glad to heare these things, gaue to the herald when he should depart, beside the other reward, a piece of crimson veluet of thirtie yards long. The lord Scales, coming to the duke of Burgognie before Nusse, could not persuade him to raise his field, and (as it stood him vpon) to come and ioine with king Edward, till at length constreined thereto by other means, he left Nusse vnconquered, and sending the most part of his armie into Lorraine, came with a small companie to king Edward lieng before Calis.

The office of an herald.

The duke of Burgognie commeth to king Edward

King Edward at the first comming of the duke vnto him, seemed much to reprooue his vnwise dealing, in making so slow hast to ioine with him at this time, sith for his sake, and at his suite, he had passed the seas with his armie, to the intent to make warres in France in reuenge of both their iniuries; the time serving their turnes so well as they could wish or desire, the opportunitie whereof could neuer haplie be recouered againe. The duke after he had excused himselfe, with alledging the dishonour that should haue redounded to him, if he had left the siege of Nusse without meane of some shew of composition, incouraged king Edward to aduance forward with manie golden promises, aswell of his owne part, as of the constable. The king agreed to the dukes persuasion, and so set forward.

But yet when he was entred into the dukes countries, the Englishmen were not so frendlie interteined as they looked to haue bene: for at their comming to Peronne, there were but a few suffered to enter the gates, the remnant were driuen to lodge in the fields, better purueied of their owne, than of the dukes prouision. And at their comming before saint Quintines (which towne the constable had promised to deliuer into the hands of the duke of Burgognie) the artillerie shot off, and they of the towne came forth both on horssebacke and foot to skirmish with them that approached, of the which two or three were slaine. This interteinment seemed strange to king Edward, pondering the last daies promise with this daies doing. But the duke excused the matter, and would haue persuaded him to make countenance to besiege the towne, that the constable might haue a colour to render it into his hands, as though he did it by constraint.

The constable of France a deepe dissembler.

But the king, remembring what had bene told to his herald by the French K. how he should be dissembled with, perceiued the French kings words to be to true, and therefore thought it more sure to heare the faire words of the constable and the duke, than to giue credit to their vntrue and deceitfull doings. The Englishmen returned vnto their campe in a great chafe towards the constable; and the nert daie to increase their displeasure, an other corosiue was ministred, that smarted sorer. For duke Charles of Burgognie toke his leaue suddenlie of king Edward, alledging that he must needs see his armie in Artois, promising shortlie with all his puissance to returne againe to the great commoditie of them both. This departing much troubled the king of England, bicause he looked for no such thing; but thought rather that he should haue had the duke his continuall fellow in armes: and therefore this dissembling and vnstedfast working caused the king to thinke that he neuer thought, and to doo that he neuer intended.

The duke of Burgognie departeth.

The French king in this meane while had assembled a mightie power; ouer the which he had made monsieur Robert de Elkoutaile capteine, whome he sent to Artois, to defend the frontiers there against the king of Englands entrie, and he himselfe tarried still at Senlis: but though he shewed countenance thus of warre, yet inwardlie desirous of peace, according to the aduise giuen him by the English herald, he caused a varlet or yeoman (as I may call him) to be put in a coat armour of France, which for hast was made of a trumpet baner. For king Lewes was a man nothing precise in outward shewes of honor, oftentimes hauing neither officer of armes, trumpet in his court, nor other roiall appurtenances belonging to the port of a prince, which should be glorious and replenished with pompe, as the poet saith:

Regia mirifici fulgent insignia regis.

A messenger sent to the king of England.

This counterfeit herald, being throughlie instructed in his charge, was sent to the king of England, and so passing forth: when he approched the English campe, he put on his coat of armes, & being espied of the outriders, was brought to a tent, where the lord Howard and the lord Stanleie were at dinner, of whome he was courteoulie receiued, and by them conueied to the kings presence, vnto whom he declared his message so wittilie, that in the end he obteined a safe conduct for one hundred horsses, for such persons as his maister should appoint to meet, as manie to be assigned by king Edward in some indifferent place betweene both armies, to haue a like safe conduct from his said maister, as he receiued from him. ¶ The words of which herald are worth the noting, reported in writers as followeth.

Abr. Flex Edw. Hall. fol. Ccxxix, ccxxx.

The heralds oration to the king *vttered with boldnesse of face and* libertie of toong.

RIght high and mightie prince, right puissant and noble king, if your excellent wisedome did perfectlie know, or your high knowledge did apparantlie perceiue, what inward affection and feruent desire the king my maister hath alwaies had, to haue a perfect peace, a sure vnitie, & a brotherlie concord, betweene your noble person and your realme, and his honorable personage and his dominions, you would & (for truths sake) should confesse and saie, that neuer christian prince more thirsted for an amitie, nor yet no louer hath more sought to atteine to the fauour of his paramor, than he hath sought to haue with you a perpetuall frendship, amitie, and aliance: to the intent that the subiects of both the relms, quietlie liuing vnder two princes, confederate and combined togither in an indissoluble confederacie and league, may mutuallie imbrace ech other in their harts, may personallie haue resort and frequent each others

others princes territories and dominions, with their merchandizes and wares: and finallie, the one to liue with the other, as frend with frend, brother with brother, companion with companion, in continuall loue, rest, and tranquilitie. And for his part he doth affirme & saie, that since he receiued first the crowne of his kingdome, and was annointed with the holie ampull, he neuer attempted, nor yet once imagined anie war, or thing preiudiciall toward your roiall person, your realme, or your people.

If you peraduenture will saie, that he supported & maintained the earle of Warwike against your maiestie, he suerlie that doth & will denie: for he aided him against the duke of Burgognie, whom he knew not onelie to be his extreame enimie, but also to laie in wait (both by sea and land) either to take him, or vtterlie to destroie him. Which duke of Burgognie, onelie for his owne cause, hath excited and solicited your highnesse to come ouer the troublous and tempestuous seas, to the intent to cause (yea in maner to compell) the king my master, to condescend to such treatie and appointment, as should be to his onlie profit, and neither to your honour, nor yet to your gaine. For if he & such other as dailie flattered him for their peculiar profits (as he had manie in deed that dailie sucked at his elbow) had once obteined the thing that they breathed for, all your affaires were put in oblivion, and left at large for them, or their assistants, euen as they be at this daie. Hath not the duke of Burgognie caused you first to come into France; after to set forward your armie; and in conclusion, for lacke of his promise, to lose the faire season of the yeare, and to lie in the fields in winter: Which warre (if it continue) shall neither be profitable to you, nor to your nobilitie, nor yet pleasant but painefull to your communaltie: and finallie to both the realmes, and especiallie to merchant men shall bring both miserie, pouertie, and calamitie.

Came the duke of Burgognie from Nusse to Calis, onlie to visit you: Rode he all that post hast onelie to blind you: Returned he backe into Lorraine againe for anie cause, but onelie to leaue you desolate, & to abandon you: Did he or the constable kepe anie one promise with you: Why do you then beleeue, and yet still trust them, in whome you neuer found faith nor fidelitie: But if God will it so ordeine, that you and my master may ioine in league and amitie, I dare both saie and sweare, that the fine steele neuer cleaued faster to the adamant stone, than he will sticke & claspe with you, both in wealth and wo, in prosperitie and aduersitie. And if it shall please you, to harken to anie reasonable treatie, I being a poore man, shall (on ieopardie of my life which is my chiefe treasure) vndertake, that this communication shall sort and come to such an effect, that both you & your nobilitie shall be glad and reioise, and your commons shall be contented and pleased; and they that haue deceiued you, shall be both abashed and ashamed. Most humblie beseeching your highnesse, if your pleasure shall incline this waie, that I may haue a sure safe conduct for one hundred horsses, for such personages as the king my master shall send vnto you with further intimation of his mind and purpose. And if your pleasure shall be to haue the communication in anie place indifferent betweene both the armies, then shall I warrant you the like safe conduct for your men, as you do send for ours.

When he had accomplished his message and instructions, the king of England and his councell highlie commended his audacitie, his tong, and his soberncsse, giuing to him in reward a faire gilt cup, with a hundred angels: deliuering him a safe conduct according to his request and demand, with the which he with speed departed, hauing with him an English herald to bring a like safe conduct from the French king.]

Commissioners appointed to treat of peace.

After that the safe conducts were deliuered on both parts, the ambassadours met at a village beside Amiens. On the king of Englands side, the lord Howard; sir Thomas Saintleger; doctor Morton after bishop of Elie, & chancellor of England, were chefe. For the French king, the bastard of Burbon admerall of France; the lord Saint Pierre; & the bishop of Eureux called Heberge, were appointed as principall. The Englishmen demanded the whole realme of France, or at the least Normandie and whole Aquitaine. The allegations were proued by the Englishmen, and politikelie defended by the Frenchmen, so that with arguments, without conclusion, the day passed, and the commissioners departed, and made relation to their maisters. The French king and his councell would not consent, that the Englishmen should haue one fot of land within France; but rather determined to put him selfe & the whole realme in hazard and aduenture.

Articles of agreement betweene king Edward and the French king.

At the next meeting the commissioners agreed vpon certeine articles, which were of both the princes accepted and allowed. It was first accorded, that the French king should paie to the king of England without delaie seauentie & fiue thousand crownes of the sunne; and yearelie fiftie thousand crownes to be paid at London during king Edwards life. And further it was agreed, that Charles the Dolphin should marrie the ladie Elizabeth, eldest daughter to king Edward, and they two to haue for the maintenance of their estates the whole duchie of Guien, or else fiftie thousand crownes yearelie to be paid within the Tower of London by the space of nine yeares; and at the end of that terme, the Dolphin and his wife to haue the whole duchie of Guien, and of the charge the French king to be clerelie acquit. And it was also concluded, that the two princes should come to an interview, and there take a corporall oth for the performance of this peace, either in sight of other.

Want of monie procureth peace.

On the king of Englands part were comprised as allies (if they would thereto assent) the dukes of Burgognie and Britaine. It was also couenanted, that after the whole summe aforesaid of seuentie and fiue thousand crownes were paid to king Edward, he should leaue in hostage the lord Howard, and sir John Cheinie maister of his horsse, vntill he with all his armie was passed the seas. This agreement was verie acceptable to the French king; for he saw himselfe and his realme thereby deliuered of great perill that was at hand; for not onelie he should haue

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béene assailed (if this peace had not taken place) both by the power of England and Burgognie, but also by the duke of Britaine, and diuerse of his owne people, as the constable and others. The king of England also vnderstanding his owne state, for want of monie, to mainteine the warres, if they should long continue (though otherwise he desired to haue attempted some high enterprise against the Frenchmen) was the more easilie induced to agrée by those of his councell, that loued peace better than warre, and their wiues soft beds better than hard armor and a stonie lodging.

The duke of Gloucester an enimie to peace. Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall fol. Ccxxxj.

But the duke of Gloucester & others, whose swords thirsted for French bloud, cried out on this peace; saieng that all their trauell, paines, & expenses were to their shame lost and cast awaie, and nothing gained but a continuall mocke & dailie derision of the French king and all his minions. This imagination toke effect without delaie. For a gentleman of the French kings chamber, after the peace was concluded, did demand of an Englishman, how manie battels king Edward had vanquisht: He answered, nine: wherein he himselfe personallie had béene. A great honour said the Frenchman. But I praie you (quoth he smiling) how manie hath he lost: The Englishman perceiuing what he meant, said: one, which you by policie, and by no strength, haue caused him to lose.

Well said the Frenchman, you maie ponder in a paire of balance, the gaine of nine gotten battels, and the rebuke of this one in this maner lost: for I tell you, that we haue this saieng; The force of England hath and doth surmount the force of France: but the ingenious wits of the Frenchmen excell the dull braines of Englishmen. For in all battels you haue béene the gainers, but in leagues and treaties our wits haue made you losers: so that you maie content your selues with the losse in treaties, for the spoile that you gat in warres and battels. This communication was reported to the French king, who priuilie sent for the Englishman to supper, and not onlie made him good cheere, but also gaue him a thousand crownes, to praise the peace and to helpe to mainteine the same. Yet neuertheless, he being not a little moued with these brags, declared all the communication to the duke of Gloucester; who sware, that he would neuer haue set foot out of England, if he had not thought to haue made the Frenchmen once to assaie the strength & puissance of the Englishmen: but what so euer he thought, all things were tranferred vnto an other end than he could imagine.]

The duke of Burgognie commeth in hast to the king of England.

When the duke of Burgognie heard that there was a peace in hand betwixt king Edward and the French king, he came in no small hast from Lutzenburgh, onelie accompanied with sixteene horsses into the king of Englands lodging, and began as one in a great chafe sore to blame his doings, declaring in plaine termes how dishonorable this peace should be vnto him, hauing atchiued nothing of that about the which he came. The king of England, after he had giuen him leaue to speake his fansie, answered him somewhat roundlie againe, openlie reprouing him for his promise-breaking and vncourteous dealing with him: where for his cause cheeflie he had passed the seas, and now found him not to kéepe touch in anie one point which he had couenanted. ¶ But to adde more weight to the matter in hand, sith it was so seriouslie debated betwéene the two potentats, let vs heare what talke historiens report to haue béene interchanged betwéene them. The king of England (saith mine author) not a little abashed both at the dukes sudden comming, and his fierce countenance, like one that would rather bite than whine, demanded of him the cause of his sudden comming. The duke sharpelie answered, to know whether he had either entered into anie communication, or onelie had absolutelie concluded a peace betwéene the French king and him. King Edward declared how that for sundrie and diuerse great and vrgent causes, touching as well the vniuersall publike wealth of the whole christianitie, as their owne priuate commoditie and the quietnesse of their realmes, he and the French king had concluded a peace and amitie for terme of nine yeares, in the which were comprised, as fellowes and frends, both he and the duke of Britaine, requiring him to condescend and agrée to the same.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. fol. Ccxxxj.

Oh Lord, oh saint George (quoth the duke of Burgognie) haue you thus done in deed? Haue you passed the seas, entered into France, and without killing of a poore slie, or burning of a sélie shéepecote, and haue taken a shamefull truce? Did your noble ancestor K. Edward the third, euer make armie into France (as he made manie) in the which he did not either gaine victorie in battell, or profit in conquering cities, townes, and countries? That victorious prince, as nere kin to me, as you to king Henrie the fift, I meane whose bloud you haue either rightfullie or wrongfullie (God knoweth) extinguished & destroied, with a small puissance entered into France, conquered whole Normandie, and not alonelie conquered it, but peaceablie kept it, and neuer would either commen or agrée to anie league, vntill he had the whole realme of France offered him; & was thereof made regent and heire apparant. And you without anie thing doing, or anie honour or profit gaining, haue condescended to a peace, both as honourable and as profitable to you as a peascod, and not so wholesome as a pomegranat. Thinke you that I either moued you, or once intised you to take this iournie for my peculiar aduantage or commoditie (which of my power am able to reuenge mine owne causes, without helpe of others) but onelie to haue you recouer your old rights and possessions, which were from you both tortiouslie and wrongfullie withholden? And to the intent that you shall know that I haue no néed of your aid, I will neither enter into your league, nor take truce with the French king, till you be passed the sea, and haue béene there three moneths.

When duke Charles had thus said, he furiouslie threw downe his chaire, and would haue departed. But the king him staid & said: Brother Charles, sith you haue spoken at leasure what you would, you must and shall heare againe what you would not. And first, as concerning our entrie into France, no man liuing knoweth that occasion, neither so well, nor hath cause halfe so well to remember it as you: for if you haue not fullie put your greatest things (to be had in memorie) in your bot of oblivion, you be not yet out of mind how the French king, for all your power, toke from you the faire towne of Amiens, and the strong pile of saint Quintins, with diuerse other townes, which you neither durst nor yet were able either to rescue or defend. Since which time, how he hath plagued you, how he hath taken from you your frends; yea, of your priuie chamber and secret councell (by whome all your secrets be to him reuealed and made open) you know or haue better cause to remember, and not to forget them. And when you determined to besiege the towne of Nusse, you thought your selfe in a great doubt, whether you should lose more at home by your absence (the French king dreaming and waiting like a fox for his preie) or gaine more in Germanie by your power and presence. And to kéepe the woolfe from the fold, that is, the French king from your castels and dominions, was the cheefe and principall cause whie you

"you so faire praid me, so sore laboured and intised me
"to passe ouer the sea, promising mounteins of gold,
"which turned into snow and wasted into water, boa-
"sting and craking to send horssemen and sotmen; and
"yet shewing neither lackie nor page. If we had made
"our enterprise for our selfe solie and in our owne qua-
"rell, thinke you that we would haue expected your
"comming? If the aduenture had béene for to haue
"recouered our right, imagine you that we would
"haue passed the sea so slenderlie as we did, loking for
"your aid? Nay, nay, you should haue well knowen,
"if we had intended a conquest, that we would haue
"so stronglie inuaded & set on the realme of France,
"that what with sauour of burning of townes, and in-
"fection of the aier, corrupted by the multitude of dead
"carcases of our slaine enimies, your countries of
"Flanders & Brabant should haue had causes enow
"to wonder at: trusting that that which we had got-
"ten, we would haue kept as well as anie of our an-
"cestors haue done.

"But bicause the verie occasion of the warre was
"yours, and that you wilfullie (I will not saie coward-
"lie) did not prosecute the same, the French king, who
"neuer offended me nor my subiects (except in main-
"teining the earle of Warwike, for the displeasure
"that you bare him against me) offered me, being de-
"stitute of all your succour and aid, both honourable
"and honest ouertures of peace, which offers I was in
"maner inforced (by verie reason) to incline to and
"accept, and so haue concluded a truce, which (God
"willing) I will both kéepe and obserue. God send you
"ioy (quoth the duke) and so abruptlie ended his talke
"for that time.]

He departeth from the king in a rage.

Herwith (being in a great rage) he bad the king of England farewell, and suddenlie tooke his horsse, and rode againe to Lutzenburgh, promising not to enter into anie league with the French king, till king Edward was passed the seas againe into England, and had béene there three moneths: but this promise was not performed, for of necessitie he tooke a wiser waie, and agréed with the French king vpon a truce im-
"mediatlie after the departure of the English armie
out of his countrie. The constable of France also,
doubting that his vntruth would be disclosed to his
destruction, by means of this agréement betweene
the kings of England and France, as soone as he
heard they were entred into communication there-
of, sent to king Edward, requiring him not to credit
the French kings promises, which he would no lon-
ger obserue, than vntill he should once vnderstand,
that he was on the other side of the sea: and rather
than he should agree for want of monie, he offered to
lend him fiftie thousand crownes. But the king of
England, sith the accord was passed and agréed,
would not change anie thing for the promises of so
slipper a merchant as he knew the constable to be.

The constable of France his offer to K. Edward.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. fol. Ccxxxij, Ccxxxiij.

¶ Then was the constable in maner on all sides
in despaire, but yet he wrote to the French king by
his messengers, beséching him to giue no credit or
beléefe to anie tale told or fained against him, with-
out hearing his answer, affirming that the king had
alwaies knowen his truth and fidelitie toward the
crowne of France, and so should he still find him till
his dieng date; promising and warranting him, if
that it should stand with his pleasure, that he would
so compasse the duke of Burgognie, that they two
should vtterlie destroie the king of England and his
armie yer they returned. The councellors of the
French king made answer, that their master and the
king of England were ioined and confedered in a
sure amitie. Wherfore they would in no wise know
nor condescend to anie thing that might be either
preiudiciall, or once sound to the detriment of the
Englishmen: but they said, that the king their ma-
ster much trusted the constable, and that for his sake
he would talke with them in his priuie chamber. The
French king, before their entrie into his chamber,
caused the lord of Contaie, seruant vnto the duke of
Burgognie, accompanied with the lord of Argen-
ton, one of his priuie councell, to stand secretlie be-
hind a séeling or hanging in his chamber, & he him-
selfe sat in a chaire directlie before that place, so that
what soeuer were purposed to him, they standing be-
hind the cloth, might plainlie sée and easilie heare the
same.

Lewes de Creuell and his fellow entered into the
kings chamber, of nothing thinking lesse than of the
spirits inclosed. They declared what paine their ma-
ster had taken for the French kings sake, to send,
moue and entise the duke of Burgognie to leaue,
and cléerelie to forsake the king of England, which
duke they found in such a rage and furie against
the Englishmen, that at their request he was not
onelie vtterlie determined to forsake and refuse
their amitie, but also would send out aduenturers and
lanceknights, to rob and spoile them in their return-
ning. And in speaking these words (thinking suerlie
much to please the king) the said Lewes counterfei-
ted the fashion and gesture of the duke of Burgog-
nie, and began to stampe with his foot on the ground,
and beat with his fist on the table, swearing by saint
George that the king of England was not extracted
of anie noble house, but was a peomans sonne; and
that when he was not worth one halfepenie, he was
restored to his kingdome, and made king onelie by
his aid, reproouing and reuiling him with such ill
words, and so shamefull termes, that all the hearers
abhorred it.

Shamefull & slanderous words against the K. of England.

The French king, faining that he was thicke of
hearing, caused him to reiterate his saieng againe,
who so counterfeited the verie gesture of the dukes
angrie countenance and roring voice, that no man
hath séene a better counterfeitor or actor in anie co-
medie or tragedie. The lord of Contaie was sore dis-
pleased to sée his master made a iesting stocke; but
he kept all these things secret, till his returne to his
master. When the pageant was plaied, the king bad
the messengers of the constable to haue him com-
mended to his brother their master; and to declare to
him that as newes rose & grew, he would therof ad-
uertise him, & so gaue them licence to depart to their
master, who thought himselfe now to be in great
suertie of his estate, when in déed he was neuer so
neere his fall and perdition: estéeming the duke of
Burgognie to be his assured frend, who hated him
more than a Painime or Turke, accompting also
the French king to haue no ill suspicion in him, who
neither trusted nor yet beléeued anie word, writing
or message that was either written or sent from him.
Such end hath dissimulation, such fruit springeth of
double dealing and craftie conueieng. For if either
the constable had béene faithfull to the king his ma-
ster, as of bounden dutie and allegiance he ought to
be, or else had kept his promise made to the king of
England and duke of Burgognie, and not dallied
and dissembled with them, he had suerlie in his extre-
mitie béene aided, succoured and comforted of one of
these three at the least; where now he was of all three
forsaken, and yet not forsaken, but sought for, loked
for, and watched for; not for his profit or promotion,
but for his vndoing and destruction: whereof he was
the principall procurer, as manie a one besides; vnto
the poet had an eie, when he made this outcrie of
inward griefe seasoned with sorow and repentance:

Heu patior telis vulnera facta meis.]

After the peace was concluded, the Englishmen
were permitted to enter into the towne of Amiens,
and there to buie all such necessarie things as they
wanted,

wanted, and had plentie of wine (for the French king had sent into their armie a hundred carts of the best wine that could be gotten) and good cheere made them of his owne costs. For at the enterie of euerie gate, there were two long tables set on euerie side of the street where they should passe; and at euerie table fiue or six gentlemen of the best companions of all the countrie were appointed to interteine the Englishmen as they entered, not onelie to see them serued without lacking [but also to drinke and make good cheere, and keepe companie with them. And euer as they entered into the towne, they were taken by the bridels and in maner inforced to drinke, whersoeuer they came they paied no monie, but were sent scot free.] This cheere lasted three or foure daies not onelie to the French kings cost, but also to his vnquietnesse at length, doubting to haue béene dispossessed of his towne.

Abr. Flem. ex Edw. Hall. fol. Ccxxxiij.

For on a daie there entered the number of nine thousand Englishmen well armed in sundrie companies, so that no Frenchman durst once forbid them to enter. But finallie, order was taken by the king of England, who meant no deceit, that no greater number should enter than was conuenient, and the other were called backe; so that the French king and his councell were well quieted, and rid of casting further perils than néed required. After this, both the kings enteruiewed togither at Picquenie on the water of Some three leagues aboue Amiens, shewing great courtesie either to other. The letters of both their agréements were opened and red, & then either prince laid his right hand on the missall, and his left hand on the holie crosse (as it was termed) and toke there a solemne oth to obserue and keepe the treatie for nine yeares concluded betweene them, with all their confederates and alies, compriséd, mentioned and specified in the same, and further to accomplish the marriage of their children.

The enterview betwixt king Edward the fourth, & the French king.

There was with either prince twelue noble men at this méeting, which was vpon a bridge cast ouer the water of Some, a grate being set ouerthwart the same in the midst, so from side to side, that the one prince could not come vnto the other; but onelie to imbrace ech other, in putting their armes through the holes of the *grate. There were foure Englishmen appointed to stand with the Frenchmen on the bridge to see their demeanour; and likewise foure Frenchmen were appointed to the Englishmen for the same purpose. There were with the king of England his brother the duke of Clarence, the earle of Northumberland, the bishop of Elie his chancellor, the lord Hastings his chamberleine, and eight others. They had louing and verie familiar talke togither a good space, both afore their companie, and secretlie alone, whilest their companie (of courtesie) withdrew somewhat backe.

*Of timber like to the grate where the lions be kept in the Tower.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. fol. Ccxxxiiij.

¶But it is noteworthie which I read touching both the kings méeting, the manner of their attire, and demeanour; namelie that when the token of méeting by the shot of the artillerie was knowne, the French king with twelue noble men entered the bridge, and came to the closure, with whome was John duke of Burbon, and the cardinall his brother, a prelat more méet for a ladies carpet, than for an ecclesiasticall pulpit, and ten other, amongst whome the lord of Argenton was in like disguised attire as the French king ware, for so was his pleasure that daie to haue him adorned. The king of England and foure other with him were apparelled in cloth of gold frised, hauing on his bonet of blacke veluet a flower delice of gold, set with verie rich and orient stones; he was a goodlie faire and beautifull prince, beginning a litle to grow in flesh. Now when he approched nére the grate, hée toke off his cap, and made a low and solemne obeisance: the French king made to him an humble reuerence, but after his fashion somewhat homelie. King Lewes imbraced king Edward through the barriers, saieng: Cosine you be right heartilie welcome into these parties, assuring you that there is no man in the world that I haue more desired to sée and speake with, than with you: and now lauded be almightie God, we be here met togither for a good and godlie purpose, whereof I doubt not but that we shall haue cause to reioise. The king of England thanked him, and answered to his words so soberlie, so grauelie, and so princelie, that the Frenchmen thereat not a litle mused. The chancellor of England made there a solemne oration in laud and praise of peace, concluding on a prophesie, which said that at Picquenie should be concluded a peace both honorable and profitable to the realmes of England and France.

When the oth was taken and sworne (as before you haue heard) the French king said merilie to king Edward; Brother, if you will take paines to come to Paris, you shall be feasted and interteined with ladies; and I shall appoint you the cardinall of Burbon for your confessor, which shall gladlie absolue you of such sinnes, if anie be commited. The king of England toke these words pleasantlie and thankefullie, for he was informed that the cardinall was a good companion, and a chapleine méet for such a dalieng pastime. When this communication was merilie ended, the French king, intending to shew himselfe like a maister amongst his seruants, made all his companie to draw backe from him, meaning to commune with the king of England secretlie. The Englishmen withdrew them without any commandement: Then the two kings communed alone secretlie, I thinke not to the profit of the constable of France. The French king demanded of king Edward, whether the duke of Burgognie would accept the truce: King Edward answered that he would once againe make an offer; and then vpon the refusall, he would referre and report the truth to them both. Then king Lewes began to speake of the duke of Britaine, whome he would faine haue excepted out of the league. To whom the king of England answered: Brother, I require you to moue no warre to the duke of Britaine; for on my fidelitie, in the time of my néed and aduersitie, I neuer found a more friendlie, sure and stedfast louer than he.

The manerlie English, and vnmanerlie French.

Then king Lewes called his companie againe, and with most lowlie and amiable commendations toke his leaue of the king of England, speaking certeine friendlie words to euerie Englishman: king Edward doing likewise to the Frenchmen. Then both at one time departed from the barriers, & mounted on horsebacke, and departed; the French king to Amiens, and king Edward to his armie. To whom was sent out of the French kings house, all things necessarie for a prince, insomuch that neither torches nor torchets lacked vnsent. When the French king was departed from Picquenie, he called to him the lord of Argenton, saieng: By the peace of God, the king of England is an amorous and a faire prince, he at the first becke would gladlie see Paris, where he might fortune to find such pleasant and talkatiue dames, which with faire words & pleasant pastimes might so allure him to their fantasies, that it might breed occasion in him to come ouer the sea againe, which I would not gladlie see. For his progenitors haue bene too long and too often both in Paris and Normandie. On this side the sea I loue neither his sight nor his companie; but when he is at home I loue him as my brother, and take him as my friend.

French loue.

The French king, after this departing, sore desired to make warre on the duke of Britaine: which he could not do, except he were left out of the treatie.

Wherefore

Wherefore he sent the lord of Bouchage, and the lord of saint Pierre, to the king of England, intreating him by all waies and motions possible, to leaue the duke of Britaine for his aide, and not to haue him comprehended in the league. The king of England hearing them so seriouslie and so feruentlie speake against the duke of Britaine; with an earnest countenance answered, saieng: My lords, I assure you, "if I were peaceablie at home in my realme, yet for "the defense of the duke of Britaine and his countrie, "I would passe the seas againe, against all them that "either would do him iniurie, or make warre vpon "him. The French lords nothing further saieng, much maruelled why the king of England so suerlie claue to the duke of Britains partie: but they knew not (or else at the least remembred not) that Henrie earle of Richmond was within the power and dominion of the duke of Britaine, whome king Edwards phantasie euer gaue him would make once a title to the crowne of England, as next heire to the house of Lancaster. For he knew well, that if the duke of Britaine would transport him into England (where hée had both kinsfolks and friends) with neuer so small an aid (yea, though it were but the shadow of an armie) then were he inforced newlie to begin againe a conquest, as though he had neuer wone the crowne, nor obteined the possession of the realme, which was the verie cause why he stucke so fore to the duke of Britains part.

The same night the lords returned to Amiens, and reported to their maister king Edwards answer, who therewith was not the best pleased. But pleasure or displeasure, there was no remedie but to dissemble the matter. This same night also, there came the lord Howard, and two other of the king of Englands councell, who had béene coadiutors toward the peace, to the French king to supper. The lord Howard said to the French king secretlie in his eare, that if it stood with his pleasure, he could persuade the king of England to come to Amiens, yea, peraduenture as farre as Paris, familiarlie and friendlie to solace himselfe with him, as his trustie friend and faithfull brother. The French king, to whom this motion was nothing pleasant, calling for water, washed, and rose without anie answer making: but he said to one of his councell, that he imagined in his owne conceipt, that this request would be made. The Englishmen began againe to commune of that matter, the Frenchmen politikelie brake their communication, saieng: that the king with all celeritie must march forward against the duke of Burgognie.

Although this motion séemed onelie to increase loue and continuall amitie betwéene the princes; yet the Frenchmen, hauing in their perfect remembrance the innumerable damages and hurts, which they of late daies had susteined by the English nation (whereby continuall hatred increased against them in France) thought by policie and wisedome, with faire words and friendlie countenance, to put by this request, and to motion them rather to depart homeward, than to pricke them forward to Paris; where peraduenture they might be so interteined at this time, that they would at another come thither, both vndesired and vnwelcomed. This peace was said to be made onelie by the Holie-ghost, bicause that on the daie of méeting, a white doue sat on the top of the king of Englands tent: whether she sate there to drie hir, or came thither as a token giuen by God, I referre it to your iudgment. At this treatie and méeting was not the duke of Glocester, nor other lords which were not content with this truce; but the duke came afterwards to Amiens', with diuerse other lords of England, to the French king, which both highlie feasted them, and also presented them with plate and horses well garnished.

King Lewes, considering what gaine the Englishmen had gotten by making warre in France; and what miserie, what calamitie, and what pouertie the French nation had suffered, and manie yeares susteined, by reason of the said warres; determined clearelie rather to pacifie and interteine the English nation by faire words and great rewards (although it were to his great charge) than by too much hardinesse to put himselfe, his nobilitie & realme in hazard, by giuing them battell, as his predecessors had vnwiselie done at Poitiers, and at Agincourt. Wherefore to buie peace, he granted king Edward for a yearelie tribute fiftie thousand crownes, to be paied at London; which, accounting a crowne at foure shillings, amounteth to ten thousand pounds. And to haue the fauour and good will of his chiefe councellors, he gaue great pensions, amounting to the summe of sixtéene thousand crownes a yéere, that is to saie: to his chancellor, to the lord Hastings his chiefe chamberleine, a man of no lesse wit than vertue, and of great authoritie with his maister, and that not without cause; for he had as well in time of aduersitie, as in the faire flattering world, well and truelie serued him: and to the lord Howard, to sir Thomas Montgomerie, to sir Thomas Sentleger, to sir John Cheinie maister of the kings horses, to the marques Dorsset, sonne to the quéene, and diuerse other, he gaue great and liberall rewards, to the intent to kéepe himselfe in amitie with England, while he wan and obteined his purpose and desire in other places.

These persons had giuen to them great gifts, beside yearelie pensions. For Argenton his councellor affirmed of his owne knowledge, that the lord Howard had in lesse than the tearme of two yeares, for reward in monie and plate, foure and twentie thousand crownes; & at the time of this méeting, he gaue to the lord Hastings the kings chiefe chamberleine, (as the Frenchmen write) an hundred markes of sluer, made in plate, whereof euerie marke is eight ounces sterling. But the English writers affirme, that he gaue the lord Hastings foure and twentie dozen bolles, that is to saie, twelue dozen gilt, & twelue dozen vngilt, euerie cup weieng seuentéene nobles: which gift, either betokened in him a great liberall nature, or else a great and especiall confidence that he had reposed in the said lord chamberleine. Beside this, he gaue him yearelie two thousand crownes pension, the which summe he sent to him by Piers Cleret, one of the maisters of his house, giuing him in charge to receiue of him an acquittance for the receipt of the same pension, to the intent that it should appeare in time to come, that the chancelor, chamberleine, admerall, maisters of the horses to the king of England, and manie other of his councell, had bin in fée and pensionaries of the French king, whose yearelie acquittances (the lord Hastings onelie excepted) remaine of record to be shewed in the chamber of accounts in the palace of Paris.

When Piers Cleret had paied the pension to the lord Hastings, he gentlie demanded of him an acquittance for his discharge. Which request when he denied, he then onlie asked of him a bill of three lines to be directed to the king, testifieng the receipt of the pension: to the intent that the king your maister should not thinke the pension to be imbeselled. The lord Hastings, although he knew that Piers demanded nothing but reason, answered him: Sir this gift commeth onelie of the liberall pleasure of the king his maister, and not of my request: if it be his determinat will that I shall haue it, then put you it into my sléeue; and if not, I praie you render to him his

" his gift againe: for neither he nor you shall haue either letter, acquittance, or scroll signed with my hand of the receipt of anie pension, to the intent to brag another daie, that the kings chamberleine of England hath bene pensionarie with the French king, & shew his acquittance in the chamber of accounts, to his dishonor. Piers left his monie behind, and made relation of all things to his maister: which although that he had not his will, yet he much more praised the wisdome and policie of the lord Hastings, than of the other pensionaries, cõmanding him yearlie to be paied, without anie discharge demanding.]

K. Edward returneth into England. Edw. Hall fol. Ccxxxvj.

When the king of England had receiued his monie, and his nobilitie their rewards, he trussed vp his tents, laded his baggage, and departed towards Calis. [But yet he came there, he remembring the craftie dissimulation, and the vntrue dealing of Lewes earle of saint Paule, high constable of France, intending to declare him to the French king in his verie true likenesse and portrature, sent vnto him two letters of credence, written by the said constable, with the true report of all such words and messages as had bene to him sent, and declared by the said constable and his ambassadours. Which letters the French king gladlie receiued, and thankefullie accepted, as the chefe instrument to bring the constable to his death: which he escaped no long season after, such is the end of dissemblers.] When king Edward was come to Calis, and had set all things in an order, he toke ship, and sailed with a prosperous wind into England, and was roiallie receiued vpon Blackheath by the maior of London and the magistrates, and fiue hundred commoners apparelled in murrie, the eight and twentith daie of September, and so conueied through the citie of Westminster, where for a while (after his long labour) he reposed himselfe [euerie daie almost talking with the queene his wife of the marriage of his daughter, whome he caused to be called Dolphinesse: thinking nothing surer than that marriage to take effect, according to the treatie. The hope of which marriage caused him to dissemble, and do things which afterward chanced greatlie to the French kings profit, & smallie to his.]

Edw. Hall fol. Ccxxxvj.

About the same season, the French king, to compasse his purpose for the getting of the constable into his hands, toke truce with the duke of Burgognie for nine yeares, as a contractor in the league, and not comprehended as an other princes alie. The king of England aduertised hereof, sent ouer sir Thomas Montgomerie to the French king, offering to passe the seas againe the next summer in his aid, to make warres on the duke Burgognie; so that the French king should paie to him fiftie thousand crownes for the losse which he should susteine in his custome, by reason that the wolles at Calis (because of the warres) could haue no vent, and also paie halfe the charges and halfe the wages of his souldiers and men of warre. The French king thanked the king of England for his gentle offer, but he alledged that the truce was alreadie concluded, so that he could not then attempt anie thing against the same without reproch to his honour.

Sir Thomas Mõtgomerie.

But the truth was, the French king neither loued the sight nor liked the companie of the king of England on that side the sea; but when he was here at home, he both loued him as his brother, and toke him as his freend. Sir Thomas Montgomerie was with plate richlie rewarded, and so dispatched. There returned with him the lord Howard and sir John Cheinie, which were hostages with the French king, till the English armie were returned into England. King Edward, hauing established all things in good order, as men might iudge, both within his realme and without, was yet troubled in his mind, for that

1475
Anno Reg. 15.

Henrie the earle of Richmond (one of the bloud of king Henrie the first) was alriue, and at libertie in Britaine: therefore to attempt ettsones the mind of Francis duke of Britaine, he sent ouer vnto the said duke, one doctor Stillington, and two other his ambassadors laden with no small summe of gold.

Henrie earle of Richmond.

Ambassadors into Britaine

These ambassadors, declaring their message, affirmed that the king their maister willed to haue the earle of Richmond onelie for this purpose, to ioine with him in aliance by marriage, and so to plucke vp all the leauings of discord betweene him and the contrarie faction. The duke gentlie heard the orators. And though at the first he by excuses denied their request, yet at the length, beleeuing that king Edward would giue to the earle his eldest daughter, the ladie Elizabeth in marriage, he consented to deliuer him, and receiued of the English orators a great summe of monie. But yet they were imbarked with their preie, the duke being aduertised, that the earle of Richmond was not so earnestlie sought for, to be coupled in mariage with king Edwards daughter; but rather that his head might be chopped off with an hatchet, caused his treasuror Peter Landois to conueie the said earle of Richmond into a sanctuarie at S. Malo, where the English ambassadors then laie, onelie staieng for a conuenient wind: who complained, that they were euill vsed, to be spoiled both of their monie and merchandize.

The earle of Richmond taketh sanctuarie.

Yet bicause the matter was so handled, that it seemed the earle escaped into the sanctuarie through their owne negligence, after they had receiued him into their hands; they were sone answered: but yet promise was made, that the earle should be safelie kept, either in the sanctuarie, or else as prisoner in the dukes house, that they should not need to feare him more than his shadow. And thus the king of England purchased for his monie the keeping of his enimie, the space onelie of three daies and no more. King Edward was somewhat displeased with this chance, but yet trusting that the duke of Britaine would (according to promise) see the earle of Richmond safelie kept from doing anie greeuance to him or his subiects, put all doubts therof out of his mind, and began to studie how to keepe a liberall princelie house, and there vpon storing his chests with monie, he imploied no small portion in good housekeeping.

¶ But hauing spoken thus much of the earle of Richmond, whome Edward Hall compareth to a shéepe betraied into the téeth and clawes of the woolfe, you shall vnderstand, that at such time as his troubles were set fresh abroach, and he knowing that he was going towards his death, for verie pensifenesse and inward thought, fell into a feruent and sore ague. In which verie season, one John Cheulet, so estéemed among the princes of Britaine as few were in all the countrie, and in much credit, and well accepted with the duke, was (when these things were thus concluded) for his solace in the countrie. Who being hereof certified, was chafed with the abhomination of the fact, resorted to the court, and familiarlie came to the dukes presence, where he stood so sadlie and so palie, without anie word speaking, that the duke was much abashed, and suddenlie maruelled at his sad and frowning countenance, and demanded of him what should signifie that dumpishnesse of mind, and inward sighing, the which by his countenance manifestlie appeared and was euident. He modestlie answered: Most noble and redoubted lord, this paleness of visage and deadlie loke doth prognosticate the time of my death to approach and be at hand, which if it had chanced to me before this daie, I assure you, it had much lesse hurt me. For then had I not bene reserued to féele the dolorous pangs and sorowfull sighings, which a fact by you done (that I thought impossible

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall fol. Ccxxxvij.

" impossible to be obteined) hath printed in my stomach
" and in my heart deeplie grauen: so that I well per-
" ceiue, that either I shall lose my life, or else liue in
" perpetuall distresse and continuall miserie.

" For you my singular good lord, by your vertuous
" acts and noble feats, haue gotten to you in manner
" an immortall fame, which in euerie mans mouth is
" extolled & aduanced aboue the high clouds. But alas
" me seemeth (I praie you pardon me my rudenesse)
" that now that you haue obteined so high praise
" and glorie, you nothing lesse regard than to keepe
" and preserue the same inuiolate, considering that
" you, forgetting your faith and faithfull promise made
" to Henrie earle of Richmond, haue deliuered the
" most innocent yong gentleman to the cruell tor-
" mentors, to be afflicted, rent in peeces, and slaine.
" Wherefore all such as loue you, of the which number
" I am one, cannot chose but lament & be sorie, when
" they see openlie the fame and glorie of your most re-
" nowned name, by such a disloialtie and vntruth a-
" gainst promise, to be both blotted and stained with a
" perpetuall note of slander and infamie. Peace mine
" owne good John (quoth the duke) I praie thee, beleeue
" me there is no such thing like to happen to the earle of
" Richmond: for king Edward hath sent for him, to
" make of him, being his suspected enimie, his good
" and faire sonne in law.

" Well well (quoth John) my redoubted lord, giue
" credence vnto me: the earle Henrie is at the ve-
" rie brinke to perish, whome if you permit once to set
" but one foot out of your power and dominion, there
" is no mortall creature able hereafter to deliuer him
" from death. The duke being moued with the persuasi-
ons of John Cheulet, which either little beleeued, or
smallie suspected king Edward, to desire the earle
for anie fraud or deceipt, or else seduced by blind auа-
rice and loue of monie, more than honestie, fidelitie,
or wisedome would require, did not consider what he
vnaduisedlie did, or what he aduisedlie should haue
done. Wherefore, with all diligence he sent forth Pe-
ter Landoise his cheefe treasuror, commanding him
to intercept and staie the earle of Richmond, in all
hast possible, as before you haue heard.]

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 752. Sir John Crosbie his gift to the citie.

¶ In this yeare deceassed sir John Crosbie knight, (not long before this, maior of London) and was bu-
ried in the parish church of saint Helen in Bishops
gate street, vnto the reparing of which parish church
he gaue fiue hundred marks, and thirtie pounds to be
distributed to poore housholders in the ward of Bi-
shops gate: to the reparing of the parish church at
Henewoorth in Middlesex fortie pounds: to the repai-
ring of London wall one hundred pounds: toward
the making of a new tower of stone at the south-
end of London bridge, if the same were begun by the
maior and communaltie within ten yeares next af-
ter his decease, one hundred pounds: to the repara-
tions of Rochester bridge ten pounds: to euerie
the prisons in and about London liberallie. Also he
gaue to the wardens and communaltie of the gro-
cers in London two large pots of siluer chased halfe
guilt, weieng thirteene pounds and fiue ounces of
Troie weight, to be occupied in their common hall,
and elsewhere, at their discretions.

I.S. pag. 745. Knights made by the king.

In this yeare were inhanced to the honour of
knighthood, after the custome of England, in the
time of peace the kings eldest son Edward prince of
Wales, duke of Cornewall, and earle of Chester, his
second sonne the duke of Yorke, and with them the
earle of Lincolnes sonne and heire, the duke of Suf-
folke, the lord Thomas Greie, the queenes sonne, and
Richard his brother, the earle of Shrewesburie, the
earle of Wiltshire, master Edward Wooduile, the
lord Neuill, the lord Barkleis sonne and heire, the
lord Audleies sonne and heire, the lord saint Amand,
the lord Stanleis sonne and heire, the lord Suttons
sonne and heire, the lord Hastings sonne and heire,
the lord Ferrers of Charleis sonne and heire, ma-
ster Herbert brother to the earle of Penbroke, ma-
ster Vaughan Brian chiefe iudge, Litilton one of Litilton.
the iudges of the common plees, master Bodring-
ham, master Brian Stapleton, Kneuit, Pilkinton,
Ludlow, Charleton, &c. The same daie the king crea-
ted the lord Thomas marquesse Dorset before din-
ner, and so in the habit of a marquesse aboue the ha-
bit of his knighthood he began the table of knights
in saint Edwards chamber. At that time he ordeined
that the kings chamberleine should go with the anci-
ent and well nurtered knight, to aduertise and teach
the order of knighthood to the esquiers, being in the
baine. The king himselfe came in person and did ho-
nour to all the companie with his noble councell.]

This yeare the duke of Burgognie was slaine by 1476
the Switzers, before the towne of Nancie in Lor- Anno Reg. 16.
raine, after whose death the French king wan all the The death of
townes which the said duke held in Picardie and Ar- the duke of
tois. And bicause that the towne of Bullen and coun- Burgognie.
tie of Bullenois apperteined by right of inheritance
vnto the lord Berthram de la Toure, earle of Au-
uergne, the French king bought of him his right and
title in the same, and recompensed him with other
lands in the countie of Forests, and in other places.
And bicause the forenamed towne and countie were
holden of the earledome of Artois, he changed the
tenure, and auowed to hold the same towne & coun-
tie of our ladie of Bolongne, and therof did homage
to the image in the great church of Bolongne, offe-
ring there an hart of gold, weieng two thousand
crownes; ordeining further, that his heires and suc-
cessors at their entrie into their estates, by them-
selues or their deputies, should offer an hart of like
weight and value, as a relefe and homage for the
same towne and countie.

¶ This yeare was Robert Basset maior of Lon- Abr. Fl. ex
don, who did sharpe correction vpon bakers, for ma- I.S. pag. 745.
king of light bread, he caused diuerse of them to be
set on the pillorie in Cornehill. And also one Agnes Agnes Daintie on the pil-
Daintie a butterwife for selling of butter new and lorie.
old mingled togither, being first trapped with butter
dishes, was then set on the pillorie. ¶ The countesse of
Orford deceassed and was buried at Windsore. ¶ Al-
so this yeare Richard Rawson one of the shriffes of
London, caused to be builded one house in the church
yard of S. Marie hospitall without Bishops gate
of London, where the maior of that citie and his bre-
thren the aldermen vse to sit and heare the sermons
in the Easter holidaies, as in times past appeared
by an inscription on the front of the same house, now
by wethering defaced, which I haue read in these
words: Praie for the soules of Richard Rawson late
Mercer and alderman of London, and Isabell his
wife, of whose goods this worke was made and foun-
ded. Anno Dom. 1488.]

By the diligence of Ralph Josseline maior of 1477
London, the wall about London was new made be- Part of Lõ-
twixt Algate and Creplegate: he caused the More don wall new
field to be searched for claie, and bricke to be made builded.
and burnt there: he also caused chalke to be brought Iohn Rouse.
out of Kent, and in the same More field to be burnt
into lime, for the furtherance of that worke. The ma-
ior with his companie of the drapers made all that
part betwixt Bishops gate and Alhalowes church in
the same wall. Bishops gate it selfe was new built Bishops gat
by the merchants Almans of the Stilliard, and from new builded.
Alhalowes church toward More gate a great part
of the same was builded of the goods, & by the execu-
tors of sir John Crosbie sometimes an alderman of
London, as may appeare by his armes in two places
fixed. The companie of Skinners made that part of
the

the wall betweene Algate and Buries markes towards Bishops gate, as may appeare by their armes in three places fixed: the other companies of the citie made the other deale of the said wall, which was a great worke to be done in one yeare.

Burdet for a word spoken beheaded.

Also this yeare Thomas Burdet an esquier of Arrow in Warwikeshire, sonne to sir Nicholas Burdet (who was great butler of Normandie in Henrie the first daies) was beheaded for a word spoken in this sort. King Edward in his progresse hunted in Thomas Burdets parke at Arrow, and slue manie of his deere, amongst the which was a white bucke, whereof Thomas Burdet made great account. And therefore when he understood thereof, he wished the buckes head in his bellie that moued the king to kill it. Which tale being told to the king, Burdet was apprehended and accused of treason, for wishing the buckes head (hornes and all) in the kings bellie: he was condemned, drawne from the Tower of London to Tiburne, and there beheaded, and then buried in the Greie friers church at London. Wherefore it is good counsell that the wiseman glueth, saieng: Keepe thy tong & keepe thy life, for manie times we see, that speech offendeth & procureth mischefe, where silence is author neither of the one nor the other, as it is trulie and in praise of silence spoken by the poet:

Enguerant.

Register of the Greie friers.

—nulli tacuisse nocet, nocet esse loquutum.]

About this season, through great mishap, the sparke of priuie malice was newlie kindled betwixt the king and his brother the duke of Clarence, insomuch that where one of the dukes seruants was suddenlie accused (I can not saie whether of truth, or vntrulie suspected by the dukes enimies) of poisoning, sorcerie or inchantment, and thereof condemned, and put to execution for the same; the duke which might not suffer the wrongfull condemnation of his man (as he in his conscience iudged) nor yet forbeare but to murmur and reproue the doing thereof, moued the king with his dailie exclamation to take such displeasure with him, that finallie the duke was cast into the Tower, and therewith adiudged for a traitor, and priuilie drowned in a butt of malmesie, the eleuenth of March, in the beginning of the seuententh yeare of the kings reigne.

Anno Reg. 17. George duke of Clarence drowned in a butt of malmesie.

Some haue reported, that the cause of this noble mans death rose of a foolish prophesie, which was, that after K. Edward one should reigne, whose first letter of his name should be a G. Wherewith the king and queene were sore troubled, and began to conceiue a grieuous grudge against this duke, and could not be in quiet till they had brought him to his end. And as the diuell is wont to incumber the minds of men which delite in such diuelish fantasies, they said afterward, that that prophesie lost not his effect, when after king Edward, Gloucester vsurped his kingdome. Other alledged, that the cause of his death was for that the duke, being destitute of a wife, by the meanes of his sister the ladie Margaret, duchesse of Burgognie, procured to haue the ladie Marie, daughter and heire to hir husband duke Charles.

Prophesies diuelish fantasies.

Which marriage king Edward (enuieng the prosperitie of his brother) both gainesaid and disturbed, and thereby old malice reuiued betwixt them: which the queene and hir blood (euer mistrusting, and priuilie barking at the kings linage) ceassed not to increase. But sure it is, that although king Edward were consenting to his death; yet he much did both lament his infortunate chance, & repent his sudden execution: insomuch that when anie person sued to him for the pardon of malefactors condemned to death, he would accustomablie saie, & openlie speake: "Oh infortunate brother, for whose life not one would make suite. Openlie and apparantlie meaning by "such words, that by the meanes of some of the nobili-

tie he was deceiued and brought to confusion.

This duke left behind him two yong infants begot of the bodie of his wife, the daughter of Richard late earle of Warwike: which children by destinie as it were, or by their owne merits, following the steps of their ancestors, succeeded them in like misfortune and semblable euill chance. For Edward his heire, whom king Edward had created earle of Warwike was three and twentie yeares after, in the time of Henrie the seauenth, atteinted of treason, and on the Tower hill lost his head. Margaret his sole daughter maried to sir Richard Pole knight, and by Henrie the eight restored to the name, title, & possessions of the earledome of Salisburie, was at length for treason committed against the said Henrie the eight atteinted in open parlement; and sixtie two yeares after hir father had suffered death in the Tower, she on the greene within the same place was beheaded. In whose person died the verie surname of Plantagenet, which from Geffrie Plantagenet so long in the bloud rotall of this realme had florished and continued.

Edward erle of Warwike sonne & heire to George duke of Clarence.

Margaret duchesse of Salisburie.

After the death of this duke, by reason of great heat and distemperance of aire, happened so fierce & quicke a pestilence, that fifteene yeares warre past consumed not the third part of the people, that onelie foure moneths miserablie and pitifullie dispatched & brought to their graues. So that if the number had beene kept by multiplieng of vnities, & out of them to haue raised a complet number, it would haue moued matter of verie great admiration. But it should seeme that they were infinit, if consideration be had of the comparison, inferred for the more effectuall setting forth of that cruell and ceaseleese contagion. And suerlie it soundeth to reason, that the pestilence should fetch awaie so manie thousands, as in iudgement by proportion of fifteene yeares warre one maie gather; and manie more tw. For euerie man knoweth that in warres, time, place, persons, and meanes are limited: time of warre begun and ended; place circumscribed; persons imbattelled, and weapons also whereby the fight is tried: so that all these haue their limitations, beyond which they haue no extent. But the pestilence, being a generall infection of the aire, an element ordeined to mainteine life, though it haue a limitation in respect of the totall compasse of the world; yet whole climats maie be poisoned: and it were not absurd to saie, that all and euerie part of the aire maie be pestilentlie corrupted; and so consequentlie not limited: wherefore full well it maie be said of the pestilence (procuring so great a depopulation) as one saith of surfetting:

A great pestilence.

Ense cadunt multi, perimit sed crapula plures. *Auson.*

1478. Anno Reg. 18.

The councellors of the yong duchesse of Burgognie sent to K. Edward for aid against the French king. About the same time had the queene of England sent to the ladie Margaret duchesse of Burgognie, for the preferrement of hir brother Anthonie erle Riuers to the yong damsell. But the councell of Flanders, considering that he was but an earle of meane estate, and she the greatest inheritrice of all christendome at that time, gaue but deafe eare to so vnmeet a request. To which desire, if the Flemings had but giuen a liking eare by outward semblance, and with gentle words delaied the suite, she had beene both succoured and defended. Whether king Edward was not contented with this refusall, or that he was loth to breake with the French king, he would in no wise consent to send an armie into Flanders against the French king: but yet he sent ambassadours to him with louing and gentle letters, requiring him to grow to some reasonable order & agreement with the yong duchesse of Burgognie, or at the least to take a truce with hir at his request.

The ambassadours of England were highlie receiued, bountifullie feasted, and liberallie rewarded, but answer to their desire had they none; sauing that shortlie after, the French king would send ambassadours, hostages, and pledges to the king of England their maister, for the perfecting and concluding of all things depending betweene them two; so that their souereigne lord & they should haue cause to be contented and pleased. These faire words were onelie delaies to driue time, vntill he might haue space to spoile the yong damsell of hir townes and countries. And beside this, to staie king Edward from taking part with hir, he wrote to him, that if he would ioine with him in aid, he should haue and inioie to him and his heires the whole countie & countrie of Flanders, discharged of homage, superioritie and resort, to be claimed by the French king, or his successors.

Large offers made to the king of England by the French king.

He also wrote that he should haue the whole duchie of Brabant, whereof the French king offered at his owne cost and charge to conquer foure of the chiefest and strongest townes within the said duchie, & them in quiet possession to deliuer to the king of England: granting further to paie him ten thousand angels toward his charges, with munitions of warre and artillerie, which he promised to lend him, with men and carriage for the conueiance of the same. The king of England refused to make anie warres against those countries that were thus offered to him: but if the French king would make him partner of his conquests in Picardie, rendering to him part of the townes alreadie gotten, as Bologne, Monstrerell, and Abuile, then he would suerlie take his part, and aid him with men at his owne costs and charges.

Thus passed faire words and golden promises betweene these two princes: and in the meane time the yong duchesse of Burgognie was spoiled of hir townes, castels & territories, till at length for maintenance she condescended to marrie with Maximilian sonne to the emperour Frederike, that he might keepe the wolfe from the fold. King Edward in the

1479
Anno Reg. 19.

nineteenth yeare of his reigne began (more than he was before accustomed) to serch the forfeiture of penall lawes and statutes, as well of the cheefe of his nobilitie as of other gentlemen, being proprietaries of great possessions, or abundantlie furnished with goods; likewise of merchants, and other inferior persons. By reason whereof, it was of all men iudged that he would proue hereafter a sore and a rigorous prince among his subiects. But this his new inuented practise and couetous meaning (by reason of forreine affaires and abridgement of his daies in this transitorie life, which were within two yeares after consumed) take some (but not great) effect.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 747, 748. Pestilence.

¶ In this yeare was great mortalitie and death by the pestilence, not onelie in London, but in diuerse parts of the realme, which began in the latter end of September in the yeare last before passed, and continued all this yeare till the beginning of Nouember, which was about fourteene moneths: in the which space died innumerable of people in the said citie & else-where. ¶ This yeare also the maior of London being in Paules, kneeling in his deuotions at saint Erkenwalds shrine, Robert Billeld one of the shiriffes vnaduisedlie kneeled downe nigh vnto the maior: whereof afterward the maior charged him to haue done more than becomed him. But the shiriffe answering rudelie and stubbornlie, would not acknowledge to haue committed anie offense: for the which he was afterward by a court of aldermen fined at fiftie pounds to be paid toward the reparations of the conduits in London, which was trulie paid. ¶ This yere Thomas Ilam one of the shirifs of London newlie builded the great conduit in Cheape, of his owne charges. ¶ This yeare also king Edward began his Christmasse at Woking, and at fiue daies end remoued to Grænewich, where he kept out the other part of his Christmasse with great rotaltie.]

Conduit in Cheape builded.

1480
Anno Reg. 20.

Ambassadours were sent to and fro betwixt the king of England and France, and still the French king fed the king of England with faire words, putting him in hope to match his sonne and heire the Dolphin with the ladie Elizabeth daughter to the king of England, according to the conclusions of agreement had and made at Picquenie betwixt them, although in verie deed he meant nothing lesse. His ambassadours euer made excuses if anie thing were amisse, and he vsed to send change of ambassadours; so that if those which had beene here before, and were returned, had said or promised anie thing (though they were authorised so to doo) which might turne to their masters hinderance, the other that came after, might excuse themselues by ignorance of that matter; affirming that they wanted commission once to talke or meddle with that matter: or if he perceiued that anie thing was like to be concluded contrarie to his mind, for a shift he would call his ambassadours home in great hast, and after send an other with new instructions nothing depending on the old.

Thus the French king vsed to dallie with king Edward in the case of this mariage, onelie to keepe him still in amitie. And certeinelie the king of England, being a man of no suspicious nature, thought sooner that the sunne should haue fallen from his circle, than that the French king would haue dissembled or broken promise with him. But there is none so soone beguiled, as he that least mistrusteth; nor anie so able to deceiue, as he to whome most credence is giuen. But as in mistrusting nothing, is great lightnesse; so in too much trusting, is too much follie: which well appeared in this matter. For the French king, by cloking his inward determinate purpose with great dissimulation and large promises, kept him still in freendship with the king of England, till he had wrought a great part of his will against the yong duchesse of Burgognie. Which king Edward would not haue suffered, if he had put anie great doubt in the French kings faire promises, considering that the crowne of France was in this meane time so much increased in dominions, to the great reenforcement of that realme.

The French king feedeth the king of England with faire words and promises.

¶ On the two and twentith of Februarie were fiue notable theeues put to death, for robbing the church called saint Martins le grand in London, and other places; three of them were drawne to the Tower hill, hanged & burnt, the other two were pressed to death. A sore and seuere kind of execution no doubt, but yet thought by iustice meritorious in the malefactors, for their offenses of sacrilege. Heinous enough had it beene to spoile a priuat man of his goods, and by law of nations punishable with death; but much more horrible, that prophane persons with polluted hands should priuilie or openlie so touch holie & consecrated things, as to take them out of a sacred place, whereto (for holy vses) they were dedicated, & aplie them to the satisfieng of the corrupt concupiscences of their owne hearts, the bottomlesse gulfe whereof bicause no booties nor spoiles could satisfie; it stood with the high praise of iustice that they and their ceaselesse desires were seuered by deserued death; wherefore it is wiselie said by the comicall poet of such greedie guts:

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 748, 749. Fiue theeues for sacrilege seuerelie executed.

Quam quis auidus poscit escam auariter,
Decipitur in transenna peritque auaritia.

Plaut. in Rud.

In this yeare king Edward required great sums of monie to be lent him. The citizens of London granted him fiue thousand marks, which were seized of the fiue and twentie wards: which fiue thousand

marks

marks was trulie repaid againe in the nert yeare following. ¶ Also this yeare on Whitsundaie K. Edward the fourth created the lord Berkleie, vicount Berkeleie, at Greenewich. ¶ In this yeare also an house on London bridge called the common siege, or priuie, fell downe into the Thames, where thorough it fiue persons were drowned. ¶ This yeare the king with his queene kept a roiall Christmas at Windsor.

Scala temporum.

Also this yeere was one Richard Chawrie maior of London, whome king Edward so greatlie fauoured, that he toke him (with certeine of his brethren the aldermen, & commons of the citie of London) into the forrest of Waltham, where was ordeined for them a pleasant lodge of greene boughs, in which lodge they dined with great cheere; & the king would not go to dinner vntill he saw them serued. Moreouer he caused the lord chamberlaine, with other lords, to cheere the said maior and his companie sundrie times whilest they were at dinner. After dinner they went a hunting with the king, and slue manie deare, as well red as fallow, whereof the king gaue vnto the maior and his companie good plentie, and sent vnto the ladie mairesse and hir sisters the aldermens wiues, two harts, six bucks, and a tun of wine to make them merrie with, which was eaten in the drapers hall. The cause of which bountie thus shewed by the king, was (as most men did take) for that the maior was a merchant of wonderous aduentures into manie and sundrie countries. By reason whereof, the king had pearelie of him notable summes of monie for his customes, beside other pleasures that he had shewed vnto the king before times. ¶ This yeere the Scots began to stir, against whom the king sent the duke of Glocester & manie others, which returned againe without any notable battell.]

The king feasteth the maior and aldermen.

Fabian pag. 512.

In this verie season James the third of that name king of Scots sent into England a solemne ambassage for to haue the ladie Cicilie, king Edwards second daughter, to be married to his eldest sonne James, prince of Scotland, duke of Rothsaie, and earle of Carticke. King Edward and his councell, perceiuing that this affinitie should be both honourable and profitable to the realme, did not onelie grant to his desire; but also before hand disbursed certeine summes of monie, to the onelie intent that the marriage hereafter should neither be hindered nor broken. With this condition, that if the said mariage by anie accidentall meane should in time to come take none effect; or that king Edward would notifie to the king of Scots, or his councell, that his pleasure was determined to haue the said marriage dissolued; then the prouost and merchants of the towne of Edenburgh, should be bound for repaiment of the said summes againe. All which things were with great deliberation concluded, passed, and sealed, in hope of continuall peace and indissoluble amitie.

Ambassadors sent by the Scotland.

But king James was knowne to be a man so wedded to his owne opinion, that he could not abide them that would speake contrarie to his fansie: by meanes whereof, he was altogither led by the counsell and aduise of men of base linage, whome for their flatterie he had promoted vnto great dignities and honourable offices. By which persons diuerse of the nobilitie of his realme were greatlie misused and put to trouble, both with imprisonment, exactions, & death; insomuch that some of them went into voluntarie exile. Amongst whome Alexander duke of Albanie, brother to king James, being exiled into France, & passing through England, taried with K. Edward: and vpon occasion moued him to make warre against his brother, the said king James, for that he forgetting his oth, promise, and affinitie concluded with king Edward, caused his subiects to make roads and forraies into the English borders, spoiling, burning, and killing king Edwards liege people.

King Edward, not a little displeased with this vnprincelie doing, prouoked and set on also by the duke of Albanie, determined to inuade Scotland with an armie, as well to reuenge his owne iniuries receiued at the hands of king James, as to helpe to restore the duke of Albanie vnto his countrie and possessions againe. Herevpon all the Winter season he mustered his men, prepared his ordinance, rigged his ships, and left nothing vnprouided for such a iournie: so that in the beginning of the yeare, all things apperteining to the warre, and necessarie for his voiage, were in a readinesse. To be the chiefteine of his hoast, and lieutenant generall, Richard duke of Glocester was appointed by his brother king Edward; and with him were adioined as associats, Henrie the fourth earle of Northumberland, Thomas lord Stanleie lord steward of the kings house, the lord Louell, the lord Greistocke, and diuerse other noble men and worthie knights.

Preparation for warre against Scotland.

1482

Anno Reg. 22. An armie sent into Scotland.

These valiant captains came to Alnewike in Northumberland, about the beginning of Julie, where they first incamped themselues, & marshalled their hoast. The fore-ward was led by the earle of Northumberland, vnder whose standard were the lord Scrope of Bolton, sir John Middleton, sir John Dichfield, and diuerse other knights, esquiers, & souldiers, to the number of six thousand and seauen hundred. In the midle-ward was the duke of Glocester, and with him the duke of Albanie, the lord Louell, the lord Greistocke, sir Edward Woodvile, and other, to the number of fiue thousand & eight hundred men. The lord Neuill was appointed to follow, accompanied with three thousand. The lord Stanleie led the wing on the right hand of the dukes battell with foure thousand men of Lancashire & Cheshire. The lord Fitz Hugh, sir William a Parre, sir James Harrington, with the number of two thousand souldiers, guided the left wing. And beside all these, there were one thousand appointed to giue their attendance on the ordinance.

¶ In this yeare Edmund Shaw goldsmith and maior of London newlie builded Creplegate from the foundation, which gate in old time had bene a prison, wherevnto such citizens and other as were arrested for debt (or like trespasses) were committed, as they be now to the counters, as maie appeare by a writ of king Edward the second, in these words: *Rex vic' Londonsalutem. Ex graui querela capti & detenti in prisona nostra de Creplegate, pro x. li. quas coram Radulpho Sandwico, tunc custode ciuitatis nostræ London, & I. de Blackewell custode recognit. debitorum, &c.* King Edward held his Christmas at Eltham, and kept his estate all the whole feast in his great chamber; and the queene in hir chamber, where were dailie more than two thousand persons. The same yeare on Candlemas day, he with his queene went on procession from saint Stephans chappell into Westminster hall, accompanied with the earle of Angus, the lord Greie, & sir James Liddall, ambassadors from Scotland. And at his proceeding out of his chamber he made sir John Wood vnder-treasuror of England, & sir William Catesbie one of the iustices of the ōmon plēs, knights.]

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 749. Creplegate builded.

Records.

But to returne to the kings affaires concerning Scotland. The roiall armie afore said, not intending to lose time, came suddenlie by the water side to the towne of Berwike, and there (what with force, and what with feare of so great an armie) toke and entered the towne: but the earle of Bothwell, being capteine of the castell, would in no wise deliuer it; therfore the capteins, vpon good and deliberate aduise, planted a strong siege round about it. When this siege was laid, the two dukes and all the other soul-

Anno reg. 23. 1483

Berwike woone by the Englishmen.

diers (except the lord Stanleie, sir John Eldrington treasuror of the kings house, sir William a Parre, and foure thousand men that were left behind to keepe the siege before the castell) departed from Berwike toward Edenburgh; and in marching thitherward, they burnt and destroied manie townes and bastiles. King James having small confidence in his communaltie, and lesse trust in his nobilitie, kept himselfe within the castell of Edenburgh.

The duke of Gloucester entered into the towne, and at the especiall desire of the duke of Albanie saued the towne, and the inhabitants from fire, bloud, and spoile, taking onelie of the merchants, such presents as they gentlie offered to him and his capteins, causing Gartier principall king at armes to make a publike proclamation at the high crosse in the market place of Edenburgh; by the which he warned and admonished king James, to keepe, obserue, and performe, all such promises, compacts, couenants, and agreements, as he had concluded and sealed with the king of England, and also to make sufficient recompense vnto his subiects, for the tyrannie, spoile, and crueltie which he and his people had committed and done, contrarie to the league, within the marches of his realme of England, before the first date of August next insuing: and further without delaie to restore his brother the duke of Albanie to his estate, & all his possessions, offices, and authorities, in as large maner as he occupied & inioied the same before. Or else the duke of Gloucester, lieutenant generall for the king of England, was readie at hand to destroie him, his people, and countries, with slaughter, flame, and famine.

King James would make no answer, neither by word nor writing, but kept himselfe close within the castell. But the lords of Scotland lieng at Hadington with a great puissance, determined first to practise with the duke of Gloucester for a peace, and after by some meanes to allure the duke of Albanie from the English amitie. And vpon this motion, the second date of August they wrote to the duke of Gloucester, requiring that the mariage betweene the prince of Scotland, and king Edwards daughter might be accomplished, according to the couenants: and further, that a peace from thencefwrth might be louinglie concluded betweene both the realmes. The duke of Gloucester answered againe vnto these demands; that for the article of the mariage, he knew not the king his brothers determinate pleasure, either for the affirmance or deniall of the same; but neuertheleſſe he desired full restitution of all the sums of monie prested out in lone vpon the same mariage. And as for peace, he assured them that he wold agree to none, except the castell of Berwike might be to him deliuered: or at the least wise, that he should vndertake that the siege lieng afore the same should not be troubled by the king of Scots, nor by anie of his subiects, nor by his or their procurement or meanes.

The bishop elect of Murreie sent to the duke of Gloucester.

The Scotish lords, vpon this answer and demands of the duke of Gloucester, sent to him the elect of Murreie, and the lord Dernleie, which excused the matter touching the repaiment of the monie: for that the time of the lawfull contract of the said mariage was not yet come, and no date appointed for the monie to be paied before the contract begun. But for further assurance either for the contract to be made, or for the paiment of the monie, they promised thereunto accordinglie (as reason should require) to agree. Secondarilie, as touching the castell of Berwike, they alledged that it apperteined to the realme of Scotland, as the old inheritance of the same.

The duke, notwithstanding all that they could saie, would agree to no peace, except the castell of Berwike might be deliuered to the K. of England. And so the messengers departed. The same daie the archbishop of S. Andrews, the bishop of Dunkeld, Colin earle of Argile, lord Campbell, and lord Andrew lord of Anandale chancellor of Scotland, wrote to the duke of Albanie, a solemne and an autenticall instrument, signed and sealed with their hands and seales, concerning a generall pardon to him and his seruants, vpon certeine conditions to be granted; which conditions seemed to be so reasonable, that the duke of Albanie, desirous to be restored to his old estate, possessions, and natiue countrie, willinglie accepted the same.

But before he departed from the duke of Gloucester, he promised both by word and writing of his owne hand, to dw and performe all such things, as he before that time had sworne and promised to king Edward: notwithstanding anie agréement now made, or after to be made with the lords of Scotland. And for performance of the effect hereof, he againe toke a corporall oth, and sealed the writing before the duke of Gloucester, in the English campe at Leuington besides Hadington, the third date of August, in the yeare 1482. After he was restored, the lords of Scotland proclamed him great lieutenant of Scotland; and in the kings name made proclamation, that all men within eight daies should be readie at Crawshaus, both to raise the siege before the castell, and for the recouering againe of the towne of Berwike.

The duke of Albanie restored home.

He is created great lieutenant of Scotland.

The duke of Albanie wrote all this preparation to the duke of Gloucester, requiring him to haue no mistrust in his dealings. The duke of Gloucester wrote to him againe his mind verie roundlie, promising that he with his armie would defend the besiegers from all enimies that should attempt to trouble them, or else die in the quarell. To be briefe, when the lords of Scotland saw that it boted them not to assaie the raising of the siege, except they should make account to be fought withall, they determined to deliuer the castell of Berwike to the Englishmen, so that thereupon there might be an abstinence of warre taken for a season.

And herewith they sent to the duke of Gloucester a charter indented, which was dated the foure and twentith daie of August, in the said yeare 1482, contracted betweene the duke of Gloucester lieutenant generall for the king of England, & Alexander duke of Albanie lieutenant for James king of Scots; that an especiall abstinence of warre should be kept betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland, as well by sea as by land, to begin the eighth daie of September next comming, & to indure till the fourth daie of November next following. And in the same season, the towne & castle of Berwike to be occupied and remaine in the reall possession of such, as by the king of Englands deputie should be appointed.

The castell of Berwike deliuered.

Hereunto the duke of Gloucester agreed, and so then was the castell of Berwike deliuered to the lord Stanleie, and other thereto appointed; who therein put both Englishmen and artillerie, sufficient to defend it against all Scotland, for six months. The duke of Albanie also caused the prouost and burgesses of Edenburgh, to make a sufficient instrument obligatorie to king Edward, for the true satisfaction and contentation of the same monie, which he also sent by the said prouost to the duke of Gloucester to Alnewike: the verie copie whereof hereafter followeth.

The true copie of the said instrument obligatorie.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. fol. Ccxlvj.

BE it knowne to all men by these present letters, vs Walter Bertraham, prouost of the towne of Edenburgh in Scotland, and the whole

whole fellowship, merchants, burgesses, & communaltie of the same towne, to be bound and obliged by these presents, vnto the most excellent, and most mightie prince Edward, by the grace of God king of England. That where it was communed and agreed betweene his excellencie on the one part, and the right high & mightie prince our souereigne lord, James king of Scots on the other part, that mariage and matrimonie should haue beene solemnized and had betwixt a mightie and excellent prince James the first begotten sonne and heire apparant to our souereigne lord aforesaid, & the right noble princesse Cicilie, daughter to the said Edward K. of England; and for the said mariage to haue beene performed, certeine and diuerse great summes of monie bene paid and contented by the most excellent prince, vnto our souereigne lord aforesaid, as by certeine writings betwixt the said princes therevpon made more at large plainlie appeares.

That if it be the pleasure of the said Edward king of England, to haue the said mariage to be performed and completed, according to the said communication in writing, that then it shall be well and trulie, without fraud, deceipt, or collusion obserued, kept, and accomplished on the partie of our souereigne lord aforesaid, & the nobles spirituall and temporall of the realme of Scotland. And if it be not the pleasure of the said excellent prince Edward king of England, to haue the said mariage performed and completed; that then we Walter, prouost, burgesses, merchants, and commons of the aboue named towne of Edenburgh, or anie of vs, shall paie and content to the king of England aforesaid, all the summes of monie that was paied for the said mariage, at such like termes & daies immediatlie insuing after the refusall of the said mariage, and in such like maner & forme as the said summes were afore deliuered, contented and paied; that then this obligation and bond to be void, and of no strength. Prouided alwaies, that the said Edward king of England, shall giue knowledge of his pleasure and election in the premisses in taking or refusing of the said mariage, or of repaiment of the said sums of monie, to our said souereigne lord, or lords of his councell, or to vs the said prouost, merchants, or any of vs, within the realme of Scotland, being for the time, betwixt this & the feast of Allhalowes next to come.

To the which paiment well and trulie to be made, we bind and oblige vs, & euerie of vs, our heires, successors, executors, and all our goods, merchandizes, & things what soeuer they be, where soeuer, or in what place, by water or by land, on this side the sea or beyond, we shall happen to be found, anie league, anie truce or safegard made or to be made, notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof to this our present writing, and letters of bond, we, the said prouost, burgesses, merchants, and communitie, haue set our common seale of the said towne of Edenburgh, the fourth daie of August, the yeare of our Lord God, 1482. Giuen in the presence of the right mightie prince Richard duke of Glocester, Alexander duke of Albanie, the reuerend father in God James bishop of Dunkeld, & the right noble lord Henrie earle of Northumberland, Colin earle of Argile, Thomas lord Stanleie, maister Alexander English, and others, &c.

So that you see it was conteined in the said instrument or writing, that king Edward should intimate his pleasure vnto the said prouost and burgesses of Edenburgh, before the feast of Allsaints next following, whether he would the mariage should take place, or that he would haue the paiment of the monie. According to which article, king Edward sent Gartier his principall king of armes, and Northumberland herald, to declare his refusall of the mariage, and the election and choise of the repaiment of the monie. They came to Edenburgh eight daies before the feast of Allsaints, where (according to their commission and instructions) Gartier declared the pleasure of the king his maister vnto the prouost and burgesses of Edenburgh, to whom he openlie said as followeth.

Gartier king of armes is sent into Scotland.

The intimation of Gartier king *of armes to the Edenburghers.*

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. fol. Ccxlvij.

I Gartier king of armes, seruant, proctour and messenger vnto the most high and mightie prince, my most dread souereigne lord Edward, by the grace of God king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, by vertue of certeine letters of procuracie here readie to be shewed to me, by my said souereigne lord made and giuen, make notice and giue knowledge vnto you prouost, burgesses, merchants and communaltie of the towne of Edenburgh in Scotland, that whereas it was sometime communed and agreed betweene my said souereigne lord on the one partie, and the right high & mightie prince James king of Scots on the other partie, that mariage and matrimonie should haue beene solemnized, and had betweene James the first begotten sonne of the said king of Scots, and ladie Cicilie, daughter to my said souereigne lord the king of England.

And for the said mariage to haue beene performed, certeine and diuers great sums of monie beene paied and contented by my said souereigne lord, which summes of monie, in case of refusall of the said mariage, by my said souereigne lord to be made and declared, yee the said prouost, burgesses, merchants, and communaltie, and euerie one of you are bound and obliged by your letters, vnder your common seale of your towne of Edenburgh, to repaie vnto his highnes vnder like forme, & at such termes as they were first paied. So that the king my souereigne lord would make notice and knowledge of his pleasure and election in taking or refusing of the said mariage, of the repaiment of the said sums of monie,

before

before the feast of Allhalowes next to come; like as in your said letters, bearing date at Edenburgh the fourth daie of August last past, it was conteined all at large.

The pleasure and election of my said soueraigne lord, for diuerse causes and considerations him mouing, is to refuse the accomplishment of the said mariage, and to haue the repaiment of all such summes of monie, as (by occasion of the said betrusted mariage) his highnesse had paied. The said repaiment to be had of you prouost, burgesses, merchants, and communaltie, and euerie of you, your heires and successours, according to your bond and obligation afore rehearsed. And therefore I giue you notice & knowledge by this writing, which I deliuer vnto you, within the terme in your said letters limited and expressed, to all intents and effects, which thereof may insue.

When Gartier had thus declared all things giuen to him in charge, the prouost and other burgesses made answer, that they now knowing the kings determinat pleasure, would (according to their bond) prepare for the repaiment of the said summes; and gentlie interteining Gartier conueied him to Berwike, from whence he departed to Newcastell, to the duke of Gloucester, making relation to him of all his doings: which duke with all speed returned to Shrithuton, and there abode. Shortlie after Gartiers departing, the duke of Albanie, thinking to obteine againe the high fauour of the king his brother, deliuered him out of captiuitie and prison, wherin he had a certeine space continued (not without the dukes assent, which besieged him in the castell of Edenburgh a little before) and set him at large, of whome outwardlie he receiued great thanks, when inwardlie nothing but reuenging & confusion was in the kings stomach fullie setled. So that shortlie after in the kings presence he was in ieopardie of his life, and all vnprouided for dread of death, constrained to take a small balinger, and to saile into France, where shortlie after riding by the men of armes, which incountered at the tilt, by Lewes then duke of Orleance, after French king, he was with mischarging of a speare by fortunes peruerse countenance pitifullie slaine and brought to death, leauing after him one onelie son named John, which being banished Scotland, inhabited & maried in France, and there died.

How dolorous, how sorrowfull is it to write, and much more painefull to remember the chances and infortunities that happened within two yeares in England & Scotland, betweene naturall brethren. For king Edward, set on by such as enuied the estate of the duke of Clarence, forgetting nature and brotherlie amitie, consented to the death of his said brother. James king of Scots, putting in oblition that Alexander his brother was the onelie organ and instrument, by whome he obteined libertie & freedome, seduced and led by vile and malicious persons, which maligned at the glorie and indifferent iustice of the duke of Albanie, imagined and compassed his death, and exiled him for euer. What a pernicious serpent, what a venemous toade, and what a pestiferous scorpion is that diuelish whelpe, called priuie enuie? Against it no fortresse can defend, no caue can hide, no wood can shadow, no fowle can escape, nor no beast can auoid. Hir poison is so strong, that neuer man in authoritie could escape from the biting of hir teeth, scratching of hir pawes, blasting of hir breth, & filth of hir taile. Notable therefore is the Greeke epigram in this behalfe, touching enuie of this kind, which saith, that a worsse thing than enuie there is not in the world, and yet hath it some goodnesse in it; for it consumeth the eies and the hart of the enuious. The words in their owne tong sententiouslie sound thus:

ὁ φθόνος δὴ κάκιζον, ἔχει δὲ τὶ καλὸν ἐν αὐτῷ,
τήκει γὰρ φθονερῶν ὄμματα καὶ κραδίαν.]

Although king Edward reioised that his businesse came to so good a conclusion with the Scots, yet he was about the same time sore disquieted in his mind towards the French king, whome he now perceiued to haue dallied with him, as touching the agreement of the mariage to be had betwixt the Dolphin and his daughter the ladie Elizabeth. For the lord Howard, being as then returned out of France, certified the king (of his owne knowledge) how that he being present, saw the ladie Margaret of Austrich daughter to duke Maximilian, sonne to the emperor Frederike, receiued into France with great pompe and roialtie, and at Ambois to the Dolphin contracted and espoused. King Edward highlie displeased with such double and vniust dealing of the French king, called his nobles togither, and opened to them his greefes; who promised him for redresse thereof, to be readie with all their powers to make warres in France at his pleasure and appointment.

But whilest he was busie in hand to make his puruetance for warres thus against France, whether it was with melancholie and anger, which he toke with the French kings doings and vncourteous vsage; or were it by any superfluous surfet (to the which he was verie much giuen) he suddenlie fell sicke, and was so grieuouslie taken, that in the end he perceiued his naturall strength in such wise to decaie, that there was little hope of recouerie in the cunning of his physicians, whome he perceiued onlie to prolong his life for a small time. Wherefore he began to make readie for his passage into another world, not forgetting (as after shall appeare) to exhort the nobles of his realme (aboue all things) to an vnitie among themselues. And hauing (as he toke it) made an attonement betwixt the parties that were knowne to be scant frends, he commended vnto their graue wisedoms the gouernment of his sonne the prince, and of his brother the duke of Yorke, during the time of their tender yeares. But it shall not be amisse to adde in this place the words which he is said to haue spoken on his death-bed, which were in effect as followeth.

The words of king Edward vttered *by him on his death-bed.*

My welbeloued and no lesse betrusted frends, councellors, and allies, if we mortall men would dailie and hourlie with our selues reuolue, and intentiuelie in our hearts ingraue, or in our minds serionslie ponder, the fraile and fading imbecillitie of our humane nature, and the vnstableuesse of the same: we should apparantlie perceiue, that we being called reasonable creatures, and in that predicament compared and ioined with angels, be more worthie to be named and deemed persons vnreasonable, and rather to be associate in that name with brute beasts called vnreasonable (of whose life and death no creature speaketh) rather than in that point to be resembled to the angelicall societie and reasonable companie. Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall, fol. Ccxlviij, Ccxlix.

For while health in vs flourisheth, or prosperitie aboundeth, or the glosing world laugheth, which is he, so reasonable of vs all, that can saie (if he will not erre from the truth) that he once in a weeke remembreth his

his fatall end, or the prescribed terme of his indu-
ring; or once prouided by labour, studie, or otherwise,
to set a stedfast and sure order for the securitie, profit,
and continuance either of his possessions & dominions, or of his sequele and posteritie which after him
shall naturallie succéed. Such is the blindnesse of our
fraile and weake nature, euer giuen to carnall con-
cupiscence and worldlie delectations, dailie darke-
ned and seduced with that lithargious and deceiua-
ble serpent called hope of long life, that all we put in
oblition our duetie present, and lesse remember the
politike puruetance for things to come: for blindlie
we walke in this fraile life, till we fall groueling
with our eies suddenlie vpon death.

The vanities of this world be to vs so agréable,
that when we begin to liue, we estéeme our life a
whole world; which once ouerpassed, it sheweth no bet-
ter but dust driuen awaie with a puffe of wind. I
speake this to you of my selfe, and for your selues to
you; sore lamenting and inwardlie bewailing, that I
did not performe & finallie consummate such politike
deuises, & good and godlie ordinances, in my long life
and peaceable prosperitie, which then I follie de-
termined to haue begun, set forward, and completlie
to haue finished. Which now for the extreame paines
and tortures of my angrie maladie, and for the small
terme of my naturall life, I can neither performe,
neither yet liue to sée either to take effect, or to sort
to anie good conclusion.

For God I call to record, my heart was fullie set,
and my mind deliberatlie determined, so to haue a-
dorned this realme with wholesome lawes, statutes
and ordinances; so to haue trained and brought vp
mine infants and children in vertue, learning, actiui-
tie, and policie, that, what with their roiall puissance,
& your frendlie assistance, the proudest prince of Eu-
rope durst not once attempt to moue anie hostilitie,
against them, you, or this realme. But oh Lord, all
things that I of long time haue in my mind reuol-
ued and imagined, that stealing thefe death goeth
about to subuert, and in the moment of an houre
clérelie to ouertred. Wherefore (as men saie) I now
being driuen to the verie hard wall, haue perfect
confidence and sure hope in the approued fidelitie,
and constant integritie, which I haue euer experi-
mented and knowne to be rooted and planted in
the hearts of your loning bodies, towards me and
mine.

So that I may saie and auouch, that neuer prince
bearing scepter and crowne ouer realmes and regi-
ons, hath found or proued more faithfull councel-
lors, nor truer subiects, than I haue done of you;
nor neuer potentate nor gouernour put more affi-
ance and trust in his vassals and seruants, than I,
since the adeption of the crowne, firmelie haue fixed
in your circumspect wisedoms and sober discretions.
And now of very force compelled, lieng in a doutfull
hope, betwéene liuing and dieng, betwéene remem-
brance and oblition, I do require you, and instantlie
moue you, that as I haue found you faithfull, obedi-
ent, and to all my requests and desires (while I was
here in health conuersant with you) diligent and in-
tentiue: so after my death, my hope is with a sure
anchor grounded, & mine inward conceipt vndoob-
tedlie resolued, that the espectall confidence and in-
ward fidelitie, which so long hath continued betwéne
vs, being together liuing, shall not wholie by my
death be extinct and vanished like smoke.

For what auaileth frendship in life, when trust
deceiueth after death? What profiteth amitie in apa-
rant presence, when confidence is fraudulentlie be-
guiled in absence? What loue groweth by coniunc-
tion of matrimonie, if the of spring after do not a-
gree and accord? Or what profiteth princes to ad-
uance and promote their subiects, if after their death,
the bountifulnesse by them shewed, be of the recei-
uers of the same and their sequele neither regarded
nor yet remembred? The parents make the marri-
age for an indissoluble amitie. Princes promote som-
time for fauour, sometime for desert, & sometime for
pleasure: yet (if you will consider) the verie scope, to
the which all gifts of promotions do finallie tend,
is to haue loue, fauour, faithfull counsell, and diligent
seruice, of such as be by them promoted and exalted,
not onelie in their owne liues, being but brefe and
transitorie: but also that they and their progenie,
calling to remembrance the fauor, estimation, and
aduancement, which they of so liberall and munifi-
cent a prince had receiued and obteined, should with
speare and shield, tong and wit, hand and pen, conti-
nuallie studie to defend, counsell and preferre, not
onelie him during his life; but also to serue, assist, and
mainteine his sequele and lineall succession, as the
verie images and carnall portratures of his stirpe,
line, and stemme, naturallie descended.

In this case am I, whome you know, not without
vnspeakable trouble & most dangerous war to haue
obteined the scepter and diademe of this realme and
empire. During which reigne, I haue had either litle
peace, or small tranquillitie: and now when I thought
my selfe sure of a quiet life, and worldlie rest, death
hath blowne his terrible trumpet, calling and sum-
moning me (as I trust) to perpetuall tranquillitie
and eternall quietnesse. Therefore now, for the per-
fect and vnmoueable confidence that I haue euer
had in you, and for the vnfeined loue that you haue
euer shewed vnto me, I commend and deliuer into
your gouernance, both this noble realme, and my
naturall children, and your kinsmen. My children
by your diligent ouersight and politike prouision to
be taught, informed, and instructed, not onelie in the
sciences liberall, vertues morall, and good litera-
ture: but also to be practised in trickes of martiall
actiuitie, and diligent exercise of prudent policie. For
I haue heard clarkes saie, although I am vnletter-
red, that fortunate is that realme where philosophers
reigne, or where kings be philosophers and louers of
wisedome.

In this tender age, you may writh and turne
them into euerie forme and fashion. If you bring
them vp in vertue, you shall haue vertuous princes.
If you set them to learning, your gouernours shall
be men of knowledge. If you teach them actiuitie,
you shall haue valiant capteins. If they practise poli-
cie, you shall haue both politike and prudent rulers.
On the other side, if by your negligence they fall to
vice (as youth is to all euill prone and readie) not
onelie their honor, but also your honestie shall be
spotted and appalled. If they be sluggards and giuen
to slouth, the publike wealth of this realme must
shortlie decaie. If they be vnlearned, they may by
flatterie soone be blinded, and by adulation often de-
ceiued. If they lacke actiuitie, euerie creature (be he
neuer so base of birth) shall foile and ouerthrow them
like dum beasts and beastlie dastards. Therefore I
desire you, and in Gods name adiure you, rather to
studie to make them rich in godlie knowledge, and
vertuous qualities; than to take paine to glorifie
them with abundance of worldlie treasure, and
mundane superfluitie.

And certeinlie, when they come to ripenesse of
age, and shall peraduenture consider, that by your o-
mission and negligent education, they haue not such
graces, nor are indued with such notable qualities
as they might haue béene, if you had performed the
trust to you by me committed: they shall not onelie
deplore and lament their vngarnished estate, and na-
ked condition; but also it may fortune, that they shall

conceiue

conceiue inwardlie against you such a negligent vntruth, that the sequele thereof may rather turne to displeasure than thanks, and sooner to an ingratitude than to a reward. My kingdome also I leaue in your gouernance, during the minoritie of my children, charging you (on your honors oths and fidelitie made and sworne to me) so indifferentlie to order and gouerne the subiects of the same, both with iustice and mercie, that the wils of malefactors haue not too large a scope, nor the harts of the good people by too much extremitie be neither sorowfullie daunted, nor vnkindlie kept vnder. Oh I am so sléepie, that I must make an end. And now before you all I commend my soule to almightie God my sauiour and redéemer, my bodie to the wormes of the earth, my kingdome to the prince my sonne: and to you my louing frends my heart, my trust, and my whole confidence. [And euen with that he fell on sléepe.]

Hauing thus spoken, and set things in good staie, as might be supposed, he shortlie after departed this life at Westminster the ninth of Aprill, in the yeare 1483, after he had reigned two and twentie yeares, one moneth, and eight daies. His bodie was with funerall pompe conueied to Windsore, and there buried. He left behind him issue by the quéene his wife two sonnes, Edward and Richard, with fiue daughters; Elizabeth that was after quéene, married to Henrie the seauenth; Cicilie married to the vicount Welles; Briget a nunne professed in Sion or Dertford, as sir Thomas More saith; Anne married to the lord Thomas Howard, after earle of Surrie, and duke of Norffolke; Katharine wedded to the lord William Courtenie sonne to the earle of Deuonshire. Beside these he left behind him likewise a base sonne named Arthur, that was after vicount Lisle. For the description of his person & qualities I will referre you to that which sir Thomas More hath written of him in that historie, which he wrote and left vnfinished of his sonne Edward the fift, and of his brother king Richard the third: which we shall (God willing) hereafter make you partaker of, as we find the same recorded among his other workes, word for word; when first we haue (according to our begun order) rehearsed such writers of our nation as liued in his daies.

As first, Nicholas Kenton borne in Suffolke a Carmelit frier in Gippeswich, prouinciall of his order through England; Henrie Parker a Carmelit frier of Doncaster, preached against the pride of prelats, and for such doctrine as he set forth, was imprisoned with his fellow Thomas Holden, and a certeine blacke frier also for the like cause; Parker was forced to recant three speciall articles, as Bale noteth out of Leland; John Harding an esquier borne in the north parts, wrote a chronicle in English verse, and among other speciall points therein touched, he gathered all the submissions and homages had and made by the Scotish kings, euen from the daies of king Athelstan [whereby it euidentlie may appeare, how the Scotish kingdome euen in manner from the first establishing thereof here in Britaine, hath beene appertaining vnto the kings of England, and holden of them as their chéefe & superior lords.]

William Iue a doctor of diuinitie and prebendarie of saint Paules in London; Thomas Wilton a diuine, and deane of the said church of Paules in London; Julian Bernes, a gentlewoman indued with excellent gifts both of bodie and mind, wrote certeine treatises of hawking and hunting, delighting greatlie hir selfe in those exercises and passtimes; she wrote also a booke of the lawes of armes, and knowledge appertaining to heralds; John Stamberie borne in the west parts of this realme, a Carmelit frier, and confessor to king Henrie the sixt, he was also maister of Eaton college, and after was made bishop of Bangor, and remoued from thence to the sée of Hereford; John Slueleie an Augustine frier, prouinciall of his order; John Fortescue a iudge and chancellor of England, wrote diuerse treatises concerning the law and politike gouernement.

Rochus a Charterhouse monke borne in London, of honest parents, and studied in the vniuersitie of Paris, he wrote diuerse epigrams; John Phreas borne also in London was fellow of Baliol colledge in Oxenford, and after went into Italie, where he heard Guarinus that excellent philosopher read in Ferrara, he proued an excellent physician and a skilfull lawier, there was not in Italie (whilest he remained there) that passed him in eloquence & knowledge of both the tongs, Greéke and Latine; Walter Hunt a Carmelit frier, a great diuine, and for his excellencie in learning sent from the whole bodie of this realme, vnto the generall councell holden first at Ferrara, and after at Florence by pope Eugenius the fourth, where he disputed among other with the Greékes, in defense of the order and ceremonies of the Latine church; Thomas Wighenhall a monke of the order called Premonstratensis in the abbie of Durham in Norffolke.

John Gunthorpe went into Italie, where he heard that eloquent learned man Guarinus read in Ferrara, after his comming home into England he was deane of Welles, and keéper of the priuie seale; John Hambois an excellent musician, and for his notable cunning therein made doctor of musicke; William Caxton wrote a chronicle called *Fructus temporum*, and an appendix vnto Treuisa, beside diuerse other bookes and translations; John Hilueron a Carmelit frier of Bristow, and prouinciall of his order through England, Ireland, and Scotland, at length (bicause he defended such of his order as preached against endowments of the church with temporall possessions) he was brought into trouble, committed to prison in castell S. Angelo in Rome, where he continued three yeares, and at length was deliuered thorough certeine of the cardinals that were appointed his iudges; Dauid Morgan a Welsh man, treasuror of the church of Landaffe, wrote of the antiquities of Wales, & a description of the countrie.

John Tiptoft, a noble man borne, a great trauseller, excellentlie learned, and wrote diuerse treatises, and finallie lost his head in the yeare 1471, in time of the ciuill warre betwixt the houses of Yorke and Lancaster; John Shirwood bishop of Durham; Thomas Kent an excellent philosopher; Robert Huggon borne in Norffolke in a towne called Hardingham, wrote certeine vaine prophesies; John Warfield a learned physician; William Greéne a Carmelit frier; Thomas Norton borne in Bristow an alcumist; John Peare a monke of Norwich; Richard Porland borne in Norffolke a Franciscane frier, and a doctor of diuinitie; Thomas Milling a monke of Westminster, a doctor of diuinitie and preferred to the bishoprike of Hereford; Scogan a learned gentleman and student for a time in Oxford, of a pleasant wit, and bent to merrie deuises, in respect whereof he was called into the court, where giuing himselfe to his naturall inclination of mirth & pleasant passtime, he plaied manie sporting parts, although not in such vnciuill maner as hath beene of him reported.

Thus farre the prosperous reigne of Edward the fourth, sonne and heire to Richard duke of Yorke.

The hiſtorie of king Edward the fift, and king Richard the third vnfiniſhed, written *by maiſter Thomas More then one of the vnder ſhiriffes* of London, about the yeare of our Lord 1513, accor- *ding to a copie of his owne hand, printed* among his other workes.

1483 KIng Edward the fourth of that name, after that he had liued fiftie & three yeres, ſeuen moneths, and ſix daies, and thereof reigned two and twentie yeares, one moneth, & eight daies, died at Weſtminſter the ninth daie of Aprill, the yeare of our redemption, a thouſand foure hundred foureſcore and three; leauing much faire iſſue, that is to wit, Edward the prince, a thirténe yeares of age; Richard duke of Yorke two yeares ponger; Elizabeth, whoſe fortune and grace was after to be quéene, wife vnto king Henrie the ſeuenth, and mother vnto the eight; Cicilie, not ſo fortunate as faire; Bridget, which repreſenting the vertue of hir, whoſe name ſhe bare, profeſſed and obſerued a religious life in Dertford, an houſe of cloſe nunnes; Anne, that was after honorablie married vnto Thomas, then lord Howard, and after earle of Surrie; and Katharine, which long time toſſed in either fortune, ſometime in wealth, oft in aduerſitie, at the laſt, if this be the laſt (for yet ſhe liueth) is by the benignitie of hir nephue king Henrie the eight, in verie proſperous eſtate, and worthie hir birth and vertue.

She liued at ſuch time as this ſtorie was penned.

This noble prince deceaſſed at his palace of Weſtminſter, and with great funerall honor and heauines of his people from thence conueied, was interred at Windſor. A king of ſuch gouernance & behauior, in time of peace (for in warre each part muſt néeds be others enimie) that there was neuer anie prince of this land, atteining the crowne by battell, ſo heartilie be loued with the ſubſtance of the people: nor hée himſelfe ſo ſpeciallie in anie part of his life, as at the time of his death. Which fauour and affection, yet after his deceaſſe, by the crueltie, miſchiefe, and trouble of the tempeſtuous world that followed, highlie toward him more increaſed. At ſuch time as he died, the diſpleaſure of thoſe that bare him grudge for king Henries ſake the firſt, whome he depoſed, was well allwaged, & in effect quenched, in that manie of them were dead in more than twentie yeres of his reigne, a great part of a long life: and manie of them in the meane ſeaſon growne into his fauour, of which he was neuer ſtrange.

The loue of the people.

He was a goodlie perſonage, and princelie to behold, of heart couragious, politike in counſell, in aduerſitie nothing abaſhed, in proſperitie rather ioifull than proud, in peace iuſt and merciſull, in warre ſharpe and fierce, in the field bold and hardie, and natheles no further (than wiſdome would) aduenturous, whoſe warres who ſo well conſidered, he ſhall no leſſe commend his wiſedome where he voided, than his manhod where he vanquiſhed. He was of viſage louelie, of bodie mightie, ſtrong, and cleane made: howbeit, in his latter daies with ouer liberall diet ſomewhat corpulent and bowelie, and natheleſſe not vncomelie. He was of youth greatlie giuen to fleſhlie wantonneſſe: from which health of bodie, in great proſperitie and fortune, without a ſpeciall grace hardlie refraineth, the poet implieng no leſſe and ſaieng:

Mens erit apta capi tunc cum lætiſſima rerum,
Vt ſeges in pingui luxuriabit humo.

Deſcription of Edward the fourth.

This fault not greatlie grœued the people: for neither could anie one mans pleaſure ſtretch and extend to the diſpleaſure of verie manie, and was without violence, and ouer that in his latter daies leſſed, and well left. In which time of his latter daies this realme was in quiet and proſperous eſtate, no feare of outward enimies, no warre in hand, nor none toward, but ſuch as no man loked for. The people toward the prince, not in a conſtreined feare, but in a willing and louing obedience: among themſelues the commons in good peace. The lords, whome hée knew at variance, himſelfe in his death bed appeaſed: he had left all gathering of monie (which is the onelie thing that withdraweth the hearts of Engliſh men from the prince) nor anie thing intended he to take in hand, by which he ſhould be driuen therto: for his tribute out of France he had before obteined; and the yeare foregoing his death, he had obteined Berwike.

And albeit that all the time of his reigne he was with his people, ſo benigne, courteous, and ſo familiar, that no part of his vertues was more eſtéemed: yet the condition in the end of his daies (in which manie princes by a long continued ſouereignetie decline into a proud port from debonair behauior of their beginning) maruellouſlie in him grew and increaſed: ſo farre forth, that in ſummer (the laſt that euer hée ſaw) his highnes being at Windſor in hunting, ſent for the maior & aldermen of London to him for none other errand, but to haue them hunt & be merrie with him, where he made them not ſo ſtatelie, but ſo frendlie and familiar chœre, and ſent venſon from thence ſo frœlie into the citie, that no one thing in manie daies before gat him either more hearts, or more heartie fauour amongeſt the common people; which oftentimes more eſtéeme and take for greater kindneſſe a little courteſie, than a great benefit.

Hée before pag. 705.

So deceaſſed (as I haue ſaid) this noble king, in that time in which his life was moſt deſired. Whoſe loue of his people, and their entier affection towards him,

him, had bene to his noble children (hauing in themselues also as manie gifts of nature, as manie princelie vertues, as much godlie towardnesse as their age could receiue) a maruellous fortresse and sure armor, if diuision and dissention of their frends had not vnarmed them, and left them destitute, and the execrable desire of souereignitie prouoked him to their destruction: which if either kind or kindnesse had holden place, must nedes haue bene their chefe defense. For Richard the duke of Gloucester, by nature their vncle, by office their protector, to their father beholden, to themselues by oth and allegiance bounden, all the bands broken that bind man and man togither, without anie respect of God or the world, vnnaturallie contriued to bereue them, not onelie their dignitie, but also their liues.

But forsomuch as this dukes demeanor ministreth in effect all the whole matter whereof this booke shall intreat, it is therefore conuenient somewhat to shew you per we further go, what maner of man this was, that could find in his hart such mischiefe to conceiue.

Richard duke of Yorke.

Richard duke of Yorke, a noble man and a mightie, began not by warre, but by law to chalenge the crowne, putting his claime into the parlement, where his cause was either for right or fauor so farre forth aduanced, that king Henrie his bloud (albeit he had a godlie prince) vtterlie reiected, the crowne was by authoritie of parlement intailed vnto the duke of Yorke and his issue male in remainder, immediatlie after the death of king Henrie. But the duke not indouring so long to tarrie, but intending vnder pretext of dissention and debate arising in the realme, to preuent his time, and to take vpon him the rule in king Henrie his life, was with manie nobles of the realme at Wakefield slaine, leauing three sonnes, Edward, George, and Richard.

All three as they were great states of birth, so were they great and statelie of stomach, greedie and ambitious of authoritie, and impatient of partners.

Edward.

Edward reuenging his fathers death, depriued king Henrie, and atteined the crowne.

George duke of Clarence.

George duke of Clarence was a godlie noble prince, and at all times fortunate, if either his owne ambition had not set him against his brother, or the enuie of his enimies *his brother against him. For were it by the queene and lords of hir bloud, which highlie maligned the kings kinred (as women commonlie not of malice, but of nature hate them whome their husbands loue) or were it a proud appetite of the duke himselfe, intending to be king; at the least wise heinous treason was there laid to his charge: and finallie, were he faultie, were he faultlesse, atteinted was he by parlement, and iudged to the death, and there vpon hastilie drowned in a butt of malmesie. Whose death king Edward (albeit he commanded it) when he wist it was done, pitiouslie bewailed, and sorrowfullie repented.

* had not set

Richard the third sonne, of whome we now intreat, was in wit and courage equall with either of them, in bodie and prowesse farre vnder them both, litle of stature, ill featured of limmes, croke backed, his left shoulder much higher than his right, hard fauoured of visage, and such as is in states called warlie, in other men otherwise; he was malicious, wrathfull, enuious, and from afore his birth euer froward. It is for truth reported, that the duchesse his mother had so much ado in hir trauell, that she could not be deliuered of him vncut; and that he came into the world with the feet forward, as men be borne outward, and (as the fame runneth also) not vntothed, whether men of hatred report aboue the truth, or else that nature changed hir course in his beginning, which in the course of his life manie things vnnaturallie committed. So that the full confluence of these qualities, with the defects of fauour and amiable proportion, gaue proofe to this rule of physiognomie:

The description of Richard the third.

Distortum vultum sequitur distorsio morum.

None euill capteine was he in the warre, as to which his disposition was more meetly than for peace. Sundrie victories had he, & sometimes ouerthrowes; but neuer on default as for his owne person, either of hardinesse or politike order. Free was he called of dispense, and somewhat aboue his power liberall: with large gifts he gat him vnstedfast friendship, for which he was faine to pill and spoile in other places, and got him stedfast hatred. He was close and secret, a deepe dissembler, lowlie of countenance, arrogant of heart, outwardlie companable where he inwardlie hated, not letting to kisse whome he thought to kill: despitious and cruell, not for euill will alway, but ofter for ambition, and either for the suertie or increase of his estate.

Friend and foe was much what indifferent, where his aduantage grew, he spared no mans death whose life withstoode his purpose. He slue with his owne hands king Henrie the first, being prisoner in the Tower, as men constantlie said, and that without commandement or knowledge of the king, which would vndoubtedlie (if he had intended that thing) haue appointed that butcherlie office to some other, than his owne borne brother. Some wise men also weene, that his drift couertlie conueied, lacked not in helping forth his brother of Clarence to his death: which he resisted openlie, howbeit somewhat (as men deemed) more faintlie than he that were hartilie minded to his wealth.

The death of king Henrie the first.

And they that thus deeme, thinke that he long time in kings Edwards life forethought to be king; in case that the king his brother (whose life he loked that euill diet should shorten) should happen to decease (as in deed he did) while his children were yong. And they deeme, that for this intent he was glad of his brothers death the duke of Clarence, whose life must needs haue hindered him so intending, whether the same duke of Clarence had kept him true to his nephue the yong king, or enterprised to be king himselfe. But of all this point is there no certeintie, and who so diuineth vpon coniectures, maie as well shot too farre as too short.

Howbeit this haue I by credible information learned, that the selfe night, in which king Edward died, one Mistlebrooke, long yer morning, came in great hast to the house of one Pottier dwelling in Redcrosse-streete without Creplegate: and when he was with hastie rapping quickelie letten in, he shewed vnto Pottier, that king Edward was departed. By my truth man quoth Pottier, then will my maister the duke of Gloucester be king. What cause he had so to thinke, hard it is to saie; whether he being toward him, anie thing knew that he such thing purposed, or otherwise had anie inckeling thereof: for he was not likelie to speake it of nought.

But now to returne to the course of this history. Were it that the duke of Gloucester had of old forethought this conclusion, or was now at erst thereunto moued, and put in hope by the occasion of the tender age of the yong princes, his nephues (as opportunitie & likelihod of speed putteth a man in courage of that he neuer intended) certeine it is that he contriued their destruction, with the vsurpation of the regall dignitie vpon himselfe. And forsomuch as he well wist and holpe to mainteine a long continued grudge and heart-burning betweene the queens kinred and the kings bloud, either partie enuieng others authoritie, he now thought that their diuision should be (as it was in deed) a further beginning to the pursuit of his intent.

May he was resolued, that the same was a sure ground

ground for the foundation of all his building, if he might first (vnder the pretext of reuenging of old displeasure) abuse the anger and ignorance of the tone partie to the destruction of the tother; and then win to his purpose as manie as he could, and those that could not be woone, might be lost yer they loked therfore. For of one thing was he certeine, that if his intent were perceiued, he should soone haue made peace betweene both the parties with his owne bloud. King Edward in his life, albeit that this dissention betweene his frends somewhat irked him: yet in his good health he somewhat the lesse regarded it: bicause he thought whatsoeuer businesse should fall betweene them, himselfe should alwaie be able to rule both the parties.

But in his last sickenesse, when he perceiued his naturall strength so sore infeebled, that he despaired all recouerie, then he, considering the youth of his children, albeit he nothing lesse mistrusted than that that hapned; yet well foreseeing that manie harmes might grow by their debate, while the youth of his children should lacke discretion of themselues, & good counsell of their frends, of which either partie should counsell for their owne commoditie, & rather by pleasant aduise to win themselues fauor, than by profitable aduertisement to do the children good, he called some of them before him that were at variance, and in especiall the lord marquesse Dorset the quenes sonne by hir first husband.

Hastings lord chamberleine maligned of the quene & hir kin.

So did he also William the lord Hastings a noble man, then lord chamberleine, against whome the quene specially grudged, for the great fauour the king bare him: and also for that she thought him secretlie familiar with the king in wanton companie. Hir kinred also bare him sore, as well for that the king had made him capteine of Calis, which office the lord Riuers, brother to the quene, clamed of the kings former promise, as for diuerse other great gifts which he receiued, that they loked for. When these lords, with diuerse other of both the parties, were come in presence, the king lifting vp himselfe, and vnderset with pillowes, as it is reported, on this wise said vnto them.

The oration of the king on *his death-bed.*

MY lords, my deere kinsmen and allies, in what plight I lie you see, and I feele. By which the lesse while I loke to liue with you, the more deepelie am I moued to care in what case I leaue you, for such as I leaue you, such be my children like to find you. Which if they should (as God forbid) find you at variance, might hap to fall themselues at warre, yer their discretion would serue to set you at peace. Ye see their youth, of which I reckon the onelie suertie to rest in your concord. For it sufficeth not that all you loue them, if ech of you hate other: if they were men, your faithfulnesse happilie would suffice. But childhood must be mainteined by mens authoritie, and slipper youth vnderpropped with elder counsell, which neither they can haue but ye giue it, nor ye giue it if ye gree not.

For where ech laboureth to breake that the other maketh, and for hatred of ech of others person impugneth ech others counsell, there must it nedes be long yer anie good conclusion go forward. And also while either partie laboureth to be cheefe, flatterie shall haue more place than plaine and faithfull aduise: of which must needs insue the euill bringing vp of the prince, whose mind in tender youth infect, shall redilie fall to mischeefe and riot, and draw downe with his noble relme to ruine. But if grace turne him to wisedome: which if God send, then they that by euill meanes before pleased him best, shall after fall furthest out of fauour: so that euer at length euill drifts shall draw to nought, and good plaine waies prosper.

Great variance hath there long beene betweene you, not alwaie for great causes. Sometimes a thing right well intended, our misconstruction turneth vnto woorse; or a small displeasure done vs, either our owne affection or euill tongs aggraeueth. But this wot I well, ye neuer had so great cause of hatred, as ye haue of loue. That we be all men, that we be christian men, this shall I leaue for preachers to tell you; and yet I wot neere whether anie preachers words ought more to moue you, than his that is by & by going to the place that they all preach of.

But this shall I desire you to remember, that the one part of you is of my bloud, the other of mine alies; and ech of you with other either of kinred or affinitie; which spirituall kinred of affinitie, if the sacraments of Christs church beare that weight with vs that would God they did, should no lesse moue vs to charitie, than the respect of fleshlie consanguinitie. Our Lord forbid, that you loue together the woorse, for the selfe cause that you ought to loue the better. And yet that happeneth, and no where find we so deadlie debate, as among them, which by nature and law most ought to agree togither. Such a pestilent serpent is ambition and desire of vaine glorie and souereigntie, which among states where she once entereth, creepeth forth so farre, till with diuision and variance she turneth all to mischeefe: first longing to be next vnto the best, afterward equall with the best, & at last cheefe and aboue the best. The nature of ambition.

Of which immoderat appetite of worship, and thereby of debate and dissention, what losse, what sorow, what trouble hath within these few yeares growne in this realme, I praie God as well forget, as we well remember. Which things if I could as well haue foreseene, as I haue with my more paine than pleasure proued, by Gods blessed ladie (that was euer his oth) I would neuer haue woone the courtesie of mens knees, with the losse of so manie heads. But sithens things passed can not be gaine called, much ought we the more beware, by what occasion we haue taken so great hurt afore, that we eftsones fall not in that occasion againe.

Now be those greefs passed, and all is (God be thanked) quiet, and likelie right well to prosper in wealthfull peace vnder

your cosins my children, if God send them life and you loue. Of which two things, the lesse losse were they, by whom though God did his pleasure, yet should the realme alwaie find kings, and peraduenture as good kings.

But if you among your selues in a childs reigne fall at debate, manie a good man shall perish, and happilie he too, and ye too, yer this land find peace againe. Wherfore in these last words that euer I looke to speake with you, I exhort you and require you all, for the loue that you haue euer borne to me; for the loue that I haue euer borne vnto you; for the loue that our Lord beareth to vs all; from this time forward (all grefs forgotten) ech of you loue other. Which I verelie trust you will, if ye anie thing earthlie regard, either God or your king, affinitie or kinred, this realme, your owne countrie, or your owne suertie. And therewithall the king no longer induring to sit vp, laid him downe on his right side, his face towards them: and none was there present that could refraine from weeping.

But the lords recomforting him with as good words as they could, and answering for the time as they thought to stand with his pleasure, there in his presence, as by their words appeared, ech forgaue other, and ioined their hands togither, when (as it after appeared by their deeds) their hearts were farre asunder. As soone as the king was departed, the noble prince his sonne drew toward London, which at the time of his decease kept his household at Ludlow in Wales, which countrie being farre off from the law and recourse to iustice, was begun to be farre out of good rule, and waren wild robbers and reuers, walking at libertie vncorrected. And for this occasion the prince was in the life of his father sent thither, to the end that the authoritie of his presence should refraine euill disposed persons from the boldnesse of their former outrages.

A counterfet and pretended reconcilement.

To the gouernance and ordering of this young prince at his sending thither, was there appointed sir Anthonie Woduile lord Riuers, and brother vnto the queene, a right honourable man, as valiant of hand as politike in counsell. Adioined were there vnto him other of the same partie; and in effect euerie one as he was nerest of kin vnto the queene, so was he planted nert about the prince. That drift by the queene not vnwiselie deuised, whereby hir blood might of youth be rooted into the princes fauour, the duke of Gloucester turned vnto their destruction; and vpon that ground set the foundation of all his vnhappie building. For whome soeuer he perceiued either at variance with them, or bearing himselfe their fauour, he brake vnto them some by mouth, & some by writing.

Lord Riuers.

The duke of Gloucesters incitations.

Nay, he sent secret messengers saieng, that it neither was reason, nor in anie wise to be suffered, that the young king their maister and kinsman, should be in the hands and custodie of his mothers kinred, sequestred in maner from their companie and attendance, of which euerie one ought him as faithfull seruice as they, and manie of them farre more honourable part of kin than his mothers side. Whose blood (quoth he) sauing the kings pleasure, was full vnmetelie to be matched with his: which now to be as who say removed from the king, and the lesse noble to be left about him, is (quoth he) neither honourable to his maiestie nor to vs, and also to his grace no suertie, to haue the mightiest of his frends from him; and vnto vs no little ieopardie, to suffer our well proued euill willers to grow in ouer-great authoritie with the prince in youth; namelie, which is light of beleefe and soone persuaded.

We remember (I trow) king Edward himselfe, albeit he was a man of age & discretion, yet was he in manie things ruled by the bend, more than stood either with his honor, or our profit, or with the cõmoditie of any man else, except onlie the immoderate aduancement of themselues. Which, whether they forer thirsted after their owne weale, or our wo, it were hard (I wene) to gesse. And if some folks frendship had not holden better place with the king, than anie respect of kinred, they might peraduenture easlie haue betrapped and brought to confusion some of vs yer this. Why not as easlie as they haue done some other alreadie, as neere of his roiall blood as we? But our Lord hath wrought his will, and (thanks be to his grace) that perill is past. Howbeit as great is growing, if we suffer this young king in our enimies hand, which without his witting might abuse the name of his commandement, to anie of our vndoing, which thing God [defend] and good prouision forbid.

Of which good prouision none of vs hath anie thing the lesse need, for the late made attonement, in which the kings pleasure had more place than the parties willes. For none of vs (I beleeue) is so vnwise, ouersoone to trust a new frend made of an old foe, or to thinke that an hourlie kindnes, suddenlie contracted in one houre, continued yet scant a fortnight, should be deeper settled in their stomachs, than a long accustomed malice manie yeares rooted. With these words and writings, and such other, the duke of Gloucester soone set on fire them that were of themselues easie to kindle, & in speciallie twaine, Edward duke of Buckingham, and William lord Hastings then chamberleine, both men of honour & of great power; the one by long succession from his ancestrie, the other by his office and the kings fauour. These two, not bearing ech to other so much loue, as hatred both vnto the quenes part: in this point accorded togither with the duke of Gloucester, that they would vterlie remoue from the kings companie all his mothers frends, vnder the name of their enimies.

A consent to worke wickednesse.

Vpon this concluded the duke of Gloucester, vnderstanding that the lords, which at that time were about the king, intended to bring him vp to his coronation accõpanied with such power of their frends, that it should be hard for him to bring his purpose to passe, without the gathering and great assemblie of people and in maner of open warre, whereof the end (he wist) was doubtfull, and in which the king being on their side, his part should haue the face and name of a rebellion: he secretlie therfore by diuers meanes caused the queene to be persuaded and brought in the mind, that it neither were need, and also should be ieopardous, the king to come vp strong.

For whereas now euerie lord loued other, and none other thing studied vpon, but about the coronation and honor of the king: if the lords of hir kindred should assemble in the kings name much people, they should giue the lords, betwixt whome and them had beene sometime debate, to feare and suspect, least they should gather this people, not for the kings safegard, whome no man impugned, but for their destruction, hauing more regard to their old variance, than their new attonement. For which cause they should assemble on the other partie much people againe for their defense, whose power she wist well far stretched: and thus should all the realme fall on a rore. And of all the hurt that thereof should insue, which was likelie

not

not to be little, and the moſt harme there like to fall where ſhe leaſt would, all the woꝛld would put hir and hir kindered in the wight, and ſaie that they had vnwiſelie and vntrulie alſo bꝛoken the amitie & peace, that the king hir huſband ſo pꝛudentlie made, betweene his kin and hirs in his death bed, and which the other partie faithfullie obſerued.

The quæne, being in this wiſe perſuaded, ſuch woꝛd ſent vnto hir ſonne, and vnto hir bꝛother being about the king, and ouer that the duke of Gloceſter himſelfe and other loꝛds the chiefe of his bend, wꝛote vnto the king ſo reuerentlie, and to the quænes frænds there ſo louinglie, that they nothing earthlie miſtruſting, bꝛought the king vp in great haſt, not in good ſpæd, with a ſober companie. Now was the king in his waie to London gone from Noꝛthampton, when theſe dukes of Gloceſter and Buckingham came thither, where remained behind the loꝛd Riuers the kings vncle, intending on the moꝛꝛow to follow the king, and to be with him at Stonie Stratfoꝛd [certeine] miles thence earlie yer he departed. So was there made that night much frændlie chære betweene theſe dukes & the loꝛd Riuers a great while. But incõtinent, after that they were openlie with great courteſie departed, and the loꝛd Riuers lodged, the dukes ſecretlie with a few of their moſt pꝛiuie frænds ſet them downe in councell, wherein they ſpent a great part of the night.

The pꝛactiſes of the duke of Buckingham & Gloceſter.

And at their riſing in the dawning of the daie, they ſent about pꝛiuilie to their ſeruants in their Ins & lodgings about, giuing them commandement to make themſelues ſhoꝛtlie readie, foꝛ their loꝛds were to hoꝛſſe backeward. Upon which meſſages, manie of their folke were attendant, when manie of the loꝛd Riuers ſeruants were vnreadie. Now had theſe dukes taken alſo into their cuſtodie the kees of the In, that none ſhould paſſe foꝛth without their licence. And ouer this, in the high waie toward Stonie Stratfoꝛd, where the king lay, they had beſtowed certeine of their folke, that ſhould ſend backe againe, and compell to returne, anie man that were gotten out of Noꝛthampton, toward Stonie Stratfoꝛd, till they ſhould giue other licence. Foꝛ aſmuch as the dukes themſelues intended foꝛ the ſhew of their diligence, to be the firſt that ſhould that daie attend vpon the kings highneſſe out of that towne. Thus bare they folke in hand.

But when the loꝛd Riuers vnderſtood the gates cloſed, and the waies on euerie ſide beſet, neither his ſeruants noꝛ himſelfe ſuffered to gone out, perceiuing well ſo great a thing without his knowledge not begun foꝛ naught, comparing this manner pꝛeſent with this laſt nights chære, in ſo few houres ſo great a change, maruellouſlie miſliked. Howbeit, ſith he could not get awaie, and kæpe himſelfe cloſe, he would not, leaſt he ſhould ſæme to hide himſelfe foꝛ ſome ſecret feare of his owne fault, whereof he ſaw no ſuch cauſe in himſelfe; he determined vpon the ſuertie of his owne conſcience, to go boldlie to them, and inquire what this matter might meane. Whom aſſone as they ſaw, they began to quarrell with him and ſaie, that he intended to ſet diſſance betweene the king and them, and to bꝛing them to confuſion, but it ſhould not lie in his power.

And when he began (as he was a verie well ſpoken man) in goodlie wiſe to excuſe himſelfe, they tarried not the end of his anſwer, but ſhoꝛtlie toke him, and put him in ward, and that done, fꝛwithwith went to hoꝛſſebacke, and toke the waie to Stonie Stratfoꝛd, where they found the king with his companie, readie to leape on hoꝛſſebacke, and depart foꝛward to leaue that lodging foꝛ them, bicauſe it was to ſtreight foꝛ both companies. And aſſone as they came in his pꝛeſence, they light adowne with all their companie about them. To whome the duke of Buckingham ſaid; Go afoꝛe gentlemen, & yeomen kæpe your roomes. And thus in a goodlie araie, they came to the king, and on their knees in verie humble wiſe ſaluted his grace, which receiued them in verie ioious and amiable manner, nothing earthlie knowing noꝛ miſtruſting as yet.

The loꝛd Greie is quarelled againſt.

But euen by and by in his pꝛeſence they piked a quarrell to the loꝛd Richard Greie, the kings other bꝛother by his mother, ſaieng, that he with the loꝛd marqueſſe his bꝛother, & the loꝛd Riuers his vncle, had compaſſed to rule the king and the realme, and to ſet variance among the ſtates, and to ſubdue and deſtroie the noble bloud of the Realme. Toward the accõpliſhing wherof they ſaid that the loꝛd marqueſſe had entered into the Tower of London, & thence taken out the kings treaſure, and ſent men to the ſea. All which things theſe dukes wiſt well were done foꝛ good purpoſes and neceſſarie, by the whole councell at London, ſauing that ſomewhat they muſt ſaie.

Unto which woꝛds the king anſwered; What my bꝛother marqueſſe hath done I cannot ſaie, but in good faith I dare well anſwer foꝛ mine vncle Riuers and my bꝛother here, that they be innocent of anie ſuch matter. Yea my liege (quoth the duke of Buckingham) they haue kept their dealing in theſe matters farre fꝛo the knowledge of your good grace. And fꝛthwith they areſted the loꝛd Richard and ſir Thomas Vaughan knight, in the kings pꝛeſence; and bꝛought the king and all backe vnto Noꝛthampton, where they toke againe further counſell. And there they ſent awaie from the king, whom it pleaſed them, and ſet new ſeruants about him, ſuch as liked better them than him. At which dealing he wept, and was nothing content; but it boted not.

And at dinner, the duke of Gloceſter ſent a diſh from his owne table vnto the loꝛd Riuers, pꝛaieng him to be of good chære: all ſhould be well inough. And he thanked the duke, and pꝛaied the meſſenger to beare it to his nephue the loꝛd Richard, with the ſame meſſage foꝛ his comfoꝛt, who he thought had moꝛe nëd of comfoꝛt, as one to whome ſuch aduerſitie was ſtrange. But himſelfe had bëene all his daies in vꝛe therewith, & therefoꝛe could beare it the better. But foꝛ all this comfoꝛtable courteſie of the duke of Gloceſter, he ſent the loꝛd Riuers, and the loꝛd Richard, with ſir Thomas Vaughan into the noꝛth countrie, into diuerſe places to pꝛiſon, and afterward all to Pomfret, where they were in concluſion beheaded.

The death of the loꝛd Riuers & other.

In this wiſe the duke of Gloceſter toke vpon himſelfe the oꝛder and gouernance of the yong king, whome with much honoꝛ and humble reuerence he conueied vpward towards the citie. But anon, the tidings of this matter came haſtilie to the quæne a a little beforꝛe the midnight following, and that in the ſoꝛeſt wiſe; that the king hir ſon was taken, hir bꝛother, hir ſonne, & hir other frænds arreſted, and ſent no man wiſt whither, to be done with God wot what. With which tidings the quëne in great fright & heauineſſe, bewailing hir childes reigne, hir frænds miſchance, and hir owne infoꝛtune, damning the time that euer ſhe diſſuaded the gathering of power about the king, gat hir ſelfe in all the haſt poſſible with hir yonger ſonne and hir daughters out of the palace of Weſtminſter, in which ſhe then laie, into the ſanctuarie, lodging hir ſelfe and hir companie there in the abbats place.

The quëne taketh ſanctuarie.

The loꝛd Riuers put in ward.

Now came there one in likewiſe not long after midnight from the loꝛd chamberleine, to doctoꝛ Rotheram the archbiſhop of Yoꝛke, then chancelloꝛ of England, to his place not farre from Weſtminſter. And foꝛ that he ſhewed his ſeruants that he had tidings of ſo great impoꝛtance, that his maiſter gaue

him in charge, not to forbeare his rest, they letted not to wake him, nor he to admit this messenger in, to his bed side. Of whom he heard that these dukes were gone backe with the kings grace from Stonie Stratford vnto Northampton. Notwithstanding sir (quoth he) my lord sendeth your lordship word, that there is no feare: for he assureth you that all shall be well. I assure him (quoth the archbishop) be it as well as it will, it will neuer be so well as we haue seene it.

And therevpon, by and by after the messenger departed, he caused in all the hast all his seruants to be called vp, and so with his owne houshold about him, and euerie man weaponed, he toke the great seale with him, and came yet before daie vnto the queene. About whom he found much beautinesse, rumble, hast and busines, cariage and conueiance of hir stuffe into sanctuarie, chests, coffers, packs, fardels, trussed all on mens backs, no man vnoccupied, some lading, some going, some discharging, some comming for more, some breaking downe the walles to bring in the next waie, and some yet drew to them that holpe to carrie a wrong waie: such made their lucre of others losse, praising a bottie aboue beautie, to whome the poets verse may be well aplied, to wit:

Tibul. lib. 2. eleg. 3. *Ferrea non Venerem sed prædam sæcula laudant.*

The desolate state of the queene.

The queene hir selfe sate alone alow on the rushes all desolate and dismaid, whome the archbishop comforted in best manner he could, shewing hir that he trusted the matter was nothing so sore as she toke it for, and that he was put in good hope and out of feare by the message sent him from the lord chamberleine. Ah wo worth him (quoth she) for he is one of them that laboreth to destroie me and my blood. Madame (quoth he) be yee of good cheere, for I assure you, if they crowne anie other king than your sonne, whome they now haue with them, we shall on the morow crowne his brother, whome you haue here with you. And here is the great seale, which in likewise as that noble prince your husband deliuered it vnto me; so here I deliuer it vnto you, to the vse and behoofe of your sonne: and therewith he betoke hir the great seale, and departed home againe, yet in the dawning of the daie.

By which time, he might in his chamber window see all the Thames full of boates of the duke of Glocesters seruants, watching that no man should go to sanctuarie, nor none could passe vnsearched. Then was there great commotion and murmur, as well in other places about, as specially in the citie, the people diuersly diuining vpon this dealing. And some lords, knights, and gentlemen, either for fauour of the queene, or for feare of themselues, assembled in sundrie companies, and went flockmele in harnesse: and many also, for that they reckoned this demeanor attempted, not so specially against the other lords, as against the king himselfe in the disturbance of his coronation. But then by and by the lords assembled togither at [a certeine place.]

Toward which meeting, the archbishop of Yorke fearing that it would be ascribed (as it was indeed) to his ouermuch lightnesse, that he so suddenlie had yeelded vp the great seale to the queene, to whome the custodie thereof nothing perteined, without especiall commandement of the king, secretlie sent for the seale againe, and brought it with him after the customable maner. And at this meeting the lord Hastings (whose truth toward the king no man doubted, nor needed to doubt) perswaded the lords to beleeue, that the duke of Glocester was sure and faithfull to his prince, and that the lord Riuers, and lord Richard with the other knights, were for matters attempted by them against the duke of Glocester and Buckingham, put vnder arrest for their suertie, not for the kings ieopardie: and that they were also in safegard, and there no longer should remaine, than till the matter were, not by the dukes onelie, but also by all the other lords of the kings councell indifferentlie examined, & by others discretions ordered, and either iudged or appeased.

But one thing he aduised them beware, that they iudged not the matter too farre forth, yer they knew the truth; nor turning their priuate grudges into the common hurt, irriting and prouoking men vnto anger, and disturbing the kings coronation, towards which the dukes were comming vp, that they might peraduenture bring the matter so farre out of ioint, that it should neuer be brought in frame againe. Which strife if it should hap (as it were likely) to come to a field, though both parties were in all other things equall; yet should the authoritie be on that side where the king is himselfe. With these persuasions of the lord Hastings, whereof part himselfe beleeued, of part he wist the contrarie, these commotions were somewhat appeased. But specially by that, that the dukes of Glocester and Buckingham were so neere and came so shortlie on with the king, in none other manner, with none other voice or semblance than to his coronation, causing the fame to be blowen about, that these lords and knights which were taken, had contriued the destruction of the dukes of Glocester and Buckingham, and of other the noble blood of the realme, to the end that themselues would alone demeane and gouerne the king at their pleasure.

Neuertheless he was depriued thereof shortlie after.

And for the colourable proofe thereof, such of the dukes seruants as rode with the carts of their stuffe that were taken (among which stuffe, no maruell though some were harnesse, which at the breaking vp of that houshold must needs either be brought awaie or cast awaie) they shewed vnto the people all the waies as they went; Lo here be the barrels of harnesse that these traitors had priuilie conueid in their carriage to destroie the noble lords withall. This deuise albeit that it made the matter to wise men more vnlikelie, well perceiuing that the intendors of such a purpose would rather haue had their harnesse on their backs, than to haue bound them vp in barrels, yet much part of the common people were therewith verie well satisfied, and said it were almesse to hang them.

When the king approched neere to the citie, Edmund Shaw goldsmith, then maior, with William White, and John Matthew shiriffes, and all the other aldermen in scarlet, with fiue hundred horsse of the citizens, in violet, receiued him reuerentlie at Harnesse; and riding from thence accompanied him into the citie, which he entered the fourth daie of Maie, the first and last yeare of his reigne. But the duke of Glocester bare him in open sight so reuerentlie to the prince, with all semblance of lowlinesse, that from the great obloquie in which he was so late before, he was suddenlie fallen in so great trust, that at the councell next assembled he was made the onelie man, chosen and thought most meet to be protector of the king and his realme, so that (were it destinie or were it follie) the lambe was betaken to the woolfe to keepe.

The kings comming to London.

The duke of Glocester made protector.

At which councell also, the archbishop of Yorke chancellor of England, which had deliuered vp the great seale to the queene, was thereof greatlie reproued, and the seale taken from him, and deliuered to doctor Russell bishop of Lincolne, a wise man and a good, and of much experience, and one of the best learned men vndoubtedlie that England had in his time. Diuerse lords and knights were appointed vnto diuerse romes. The lord chamberleine and some other kept still their offices that they had before. Now all were it so that the protector so sore thirsted for the finishing of that he had begun, that thought euerie daie a yeare till it were atchiued; yet durst he no further

The bishop of Lincolne made lord chancellor.

ther attempt, as long as he had but halfe his preie in his hand.

And why? Well did he weet, that if he deposed the one brother, all the realme would fall to the other, if he either remained in sanctuarie, or should haptlie be shortlie conueied to his fathers libertie. Wherfore incontinent at the nert meeting of the lords at the councell, he proposed to them, that it was a heinous deed of the queene, & procéeding of great malice toward the kings councellors, that she should keepe in sanctuarie the kings brother from him, whose speciall pleasure & comfort were to haue his brother with him. And that by hir done to none other intent, but to bring all the lords in obloquie and murmur of the people.

The protectors oration.

As though they were not to be trusted with the kings brother, that by the assent of the nobles of the land, were appointed as the kings nerest frends, to the tuition of his owns rotall person. The prosperitie whereof standeth (quoth he) not all in keeping from enimies, or ill diet, but partlie also in recreation, and moderate pleasure: which he cannot (in this tender youth) take in the companie of ancient persons, but in the familiar conuersation of those that be neither farre vnder, nor farre aboue his age: and neuertheless of estate conuenient to accompanie his noble maiestie. Wherefore, with whome rather, than with his owne brother?

And if anie man thinke this consideration light (which I thinke none thinks that loues the king) let him consider, that sometime without small things, greater cannot stand. And verelie, it redoundeth greatlie to the dishonor both of the kings highnesse, and of all vs that béene about his grace, to haue it run in euerie mans mouth, not in this realme onlie, but also in other lands (as euill words walke far) that the kings brother should be faine to keepe sanctuarie. For euerie man will weene, that no man will so do for naught. And such euill opinion once fastned in mens harts, hard it is to wrest out, and may grow to more greese than anie man can here diuine.

Wherefore me thinketh it were not worst to send vnto the quéene, for the redresse of this matter, some honorable trustie man, such as both tendereth the kings weale and the honour of his councell, and is also in fauour and credence with hir. For all which considerations, none séemeth more métlie, than our reuerend father here present, my lord cardinall, who may in this matter do most good of anie man, if it please him to take the paine; which I doubt not of his godnesse he will not refuse for the kings sake and ours, and welth of the yong duke himselfe, the kings most honorable brother, and (after my louereigne lord himselfe) my most déere nephue, considered that thereby shall be ceassed the slanderous rumor and obloquie now going, and the hurts auoided that thereof might insue, and much rest and quiet grow to all the realme.

The lord cardinall thought he fittest man to deale with the quéene for the surrendring of hir sonne.

The king comming to London.

And if she be percase so obstinate, and so preciselie set vpon hir owne will, that neither his wise and faithfull aduertisement can not moue hir, nor anie mans reason content hir; then shall we by mine aduise, by the kings authoritie fetch him out of that prison, and bring him to his noble presence, in whose continuall companie he shall be so well cherished and so honorablie intreated, that all the world shall to our honour and hir reproch perceiue, that it was onelie malice, frowardnesse, or follie, that caused hir to keepe him there. This is my purpose and mind in this matter for this time, except anie of your lordships anie thing perceiue to the contrarie; for neuer shall I (by Gods grace) so wed my selfe to mine owne will, but that I shall be readie to change it vpon your better aduises.

The bishop of Lincolne made lord chancellor.

When the protector had said, all the councell affirmed, that the motion was good and reasonable; and to the king and the duke his brother, honorable; and a thing that should ceasse great murmur in the relme, if the mother might be by good means induced to deliuer him. Which thing the archbishop of Yorke, whome they all agreed also to be thereto most conuenient, take vpon him to moue hir, and therein to do his vttermost deuoir. Howbeit, if she could be in no wise intreated with hir good will to deliuer him, then thought he, and such other as were of the spiritualtie present, that it were not in anie wise to be attempted to take him out against hir will.

Reasons why it was not thought meet to fetch the quéens son out of sanctuarie.

For it should be a thing that would turne to the great grudge of all men, and high displeasure of God, if the priuilege of that holie place should now be broken, which had so manie yeares be kept, which both kings and popes so good had granted, so manie had confirmed, and which holie ground was more than fiue hundred yeares ago (by saint Peter in his owne person in spirit accompanied with great multitudes of angels by night) so specially halowed, & dedicated to God (for the prose wherof, they haue yet in the abbeie saint Peters cope to shew) that from that time hitherward, was there neuer so vndeuout a king that durst that sacred place violate, or so holie a bishop that durst it presume to consecrate.

And therefore (quoth the archbishop of Yorke) God forbid that anie man should for anie thing earthlie, enterprise to breake the immunitie & libertie of the sacred sanctuarie, that hath bene the safegard of so manie a good mans life. And I trust (quoth he) with Gods grace, we shall not need it. But for anie maner need, I would not we should do it. I trust that shée shall be with reason contented, and all things in good maner obteined. And if it happen that I bring it not so to passe, yet shall I toward it so farre forth do my best, that ye shall all well perceiue, that no lacke of my deuoire, but the mothers dread and womanish feare shall be the let.

The duke of Buckinghãs words against the quéene.

Womanish feare, naie womanish frowardnes (quoth the duke of Buckingham.) For I dare take it vpon my soule, she well knoweth she néedeth no such thing to feare, either for hir son or for hir selfe. For as for hir, here is no man that will be at war with women. Would God some of the men of hir kin were women too, & then should all be sone in rest. Howbeit there is none of hir kin the lesse loued, for that they be hir kin, but for their owne euill deseruing. And nathelesse, if we loued neither hir nor hir kin, yet were there no cause to thinke that wee should hate the kings noble brother, to whose grace we our selues be of kin. Whose honor, if she as much desired as our dishonor, and as much regard toke to his wealth as to hir owne will, she would be as loth to suffer him to be absent from the king, as anie of vs be. For if she haue anie wit (as would God she had as good will as she hath shrewd wit) she reckoneth hir selfe no wiser than she thinketh some that be here, of whose faithfull mind she nothing doubteth, but verelie beléeueth and knoweth, that they would be as sorie of his harme as hir selfe, and yet would haue him from hir if she bide there: and we all (I thinke) contented, that both be with hir, if she come thence, and bide in such place where they may with their honors be. Now then, if she refuse in the deliuerance of him, to follow the counsell of them, whose wisdome she knoweth, whose truth she well trusteth: it is easie to perceiue, that frowardnesse letteth hir, and not feare. But go to, suppose that she feare (as who maie let hir to feare hir owne shadow) the more she feareth to deliuer him, the more ought we feare to leaue him in hir hands.

For if she cast such fond doubts, that she feare his hurt: then will she feare that he shall be set thence.

For the will some thinke, that if men were set (which God forbid) vpon so great a mischiefe, the sanctuarie would little let them: which good men might (as me thinketh) without sinne somewhat lesse regard than they do. Now then, if the doubt, least he might be fetched from hir, is it not likelie inough that she shall send him some where out of the realme? Verelie I loke for none other. And I doubt not, but ther now as sore mindeth it, as we the let thereof. And if she might happen to bring that to passe (as if were no great maistrie, we letting hir alone) all the world would saie, that we were a wise sort of councellors about a king, that let his brother be cast awaie vnder our noses.

And therefore, I insure you faithfullie for my mind, I will rather (maugre hir mind) fetch him awaie, than leaue him there, till hir frowardnesse and fond feare conueie him awaie. And yet will I breake no sanctuarie therfore. For verelie, sith the priuileges of that place, and other like, haue beene of long continued, I am not he that would be about to breake them. And in good faith, if they were now to begin, I would not be he that should be about to make them. Yet will I not saie naie, but that it is a deed of pitie, that such men as the sea, or their euill debtors haue brought in pouertie, should haue some place of libertie, to keepe their bodies out of danger of their cruell creditors.

Of sanctuaries.

And also, if the crowne happen (as it hath done) to come in question, while either part taketh other as traitors, I will well there be some places of refuge for both. But as for theeues, of which these places be full, and which neuer fall from the craft, after they once fall thereto, it is pitie the sanctuarie should serue them. And much more, mankillers, whome God bad to take from the altar and kill them, if their murther were wilfull. And where it is otherwise, there need we not the sanctuaries that God appointed in the old law. For if either necessitie, his owne defense, or misfortune draweth him to that deed, a pardon serueth, which either the law granteth of course, or the king of pitie maie. Then loke me now how few sanctuarie men there be, whome anie fauourable necessitie compelled to go thither. And then se on the other side, what a sort there be commonlie therin of them, whom wilfull vnthrift inesse hath brought to naught.

What a rabble of theeues, murtherers, and malicious heinous traitors, and that in two places specially; the one at the elbow of the citie, the other in the verie bowels. I dare well auow it, weie the good that they do, with the hurt that commeth of them, and ye shall find it much better to lacke both, than haue both. And this I saie, although they were not abused as they now be, & so long haue be, that I feare me euer they will be, while men be afraid to set their hands to the mendment, as though God & S. Peter were the patrones of vngratious liuing. Now vnthrifts riot & run in debt, vpon boldnesse of these places, yea, and rich men run thither with poore mens goods, there they build, there they spend, & bid there creditors go whistle them. Mens wiues run thither with their husbands plate, & saie they dare not abide with their husbands for beating. Theeues bring thither their stolen goods, and there liue thereon.

Westminster and saint Martins.

The abuse of sanctuaries.

There deuise they new robberies, nightlie they steale out, they rob, and reaue, and kill, and come in againe, as though those places gaue them not onelie a safegard for the harme they haue done, but a licence also to do more. Howbeit, much of this mischiefe (if wise men would set their hands to it) might be amended, with great thanks to God, and no breach of the priuilege. The residue, sith so long ago, I wote nere what pope, and what prince more pitious than politike, hath granted it, & other men since, of a certeine religious feare, haue not broken it, let vs take a paine therewith, and let it a Gods name stand in force, as farre forth as reason will, which is not fullie so farre forth, as may serue to let vs of the fetching forth of this noble man to his honor and wealth, out of that place, in which he neither is, nor can be a sanctuarie man.

A sanctuarie serueth alwaie to defend the bodie of that man that standeth in danger abroad, not of great hurt onlie, but also of lawfull hurt: for against vnlawfull harmes, neuer pope nor king intended to priuilege anie one place, for that priuilege hath in euerie place. Knoweth anie man, anie place wherin it is lawfull one man to do another wrong? That no man vnlawfullie take hurt, that libertie, the king, the law, and verie nature forbiddeth in euerie place, and maketh (to that regard) for euerie man euerie place a sanctuarie. But where a man is by lawfull means in perill, there needeth he the tuition of some spectall priuilege, which is the onelie ground and cause of all sanctuaries.

The vse of sanctuaries.

From which necessitie, this noble prince is farre, whose loue to his king, nature and kinred prooueth; whose innocencie to all the world, his tender youth prooueth; and so sanctuarie, as for him, neither none he needeth, nor also none can haue. Men come not to sanctuarie, as they come to baptisme, to require it by their godfathers; he must aske it himselfe that must haue it, and reason; sith no man hath cause to haue it, but whose conscience of his owne fault maketh him fain, need to require it. What will then hath ponder babe, which and if he had discretion to require it, if need were, I dare say would now be right angrie with them that keepe him there. And I would thinke without anie scruple of conscience, without anie breach of priuilege, to be somewhat more homelie with them that be there sanctuarie men in deed.

For if one go to sanctuarie with another mans goods, whie should not the king, leauing his bodie at libertie, satisfie the partie of his goods, euen within the sanctuarie? For neither king nor pope can giue anie place such a priuilege, that it shall discharge a man of his debts, being able to paie. [And with that, diuerse of the clergie that were present (whether they said it for his pleasure, or as they thought) agreed plainelie, that by the law of God, and of the church, the goods of a sanctuarie man should be deliuered in paiment of his debts, and stollen goods to the owner, and onlie libertie reserued him to get his liuing with the labor of his hands.]

Verelie (quoth the duke) I thinke you say verie truth. And what if a mans wife will take sanctuarie, because she lust to run frō hir husband, I would weet if she could alledge none other cause, he maie lawfullie without anie displeasure to saint Peter, take hir out of saint Peters church by the arme. And if no bodie maie be taken out of sanctuarie, that saith hee will bide there; then if a child will take sanctuarie, because he feareth to go to schole, his maister must let him alone. And as simple as that sample is, yet is there lesse reason in our case than in that; for therein, though it be a childish feare, yet is there at the least wise some feare, and herein is there none at all. And verelie, I haue often heard of sanctuarie men, but I neuer heard earst of sanctuarie children.

And therefore, as for the conclusion of my mind, who so maie haue deserued to need it, if they thinke it for their safetie, let them keepe it. But he can be no sanctuarie man, that neither hath wisdome to desire it, nor malice to deserue it; whose life or libertie can by no lawfull processe stand in ieopardie. And he that taketh one out of sanctuarie to do him good, I saie plainlie, that he breaketh no sanctuarie. When the duke had done, the temporall men whole, and a good

part

part of the spirituall also, thinking no hurt earthlie meant toward the yong babe, condescended in effect, that if he were not deliuered, he should be fetched. Howbeit they thought it all best, in the auoiding of all maner of rumor, that the lord cardinall should first assate to get him with hir good will.

Where vpon all the councell came vnto the Starre chamber at Westminster; and the lord cardinall, leauing the protector with the councell in the Starchamber, departed into the sanctuarie to the quéene, with diuers other lords with him: were it for the respect of his honor, or that she should by presence of so manie perceiue, that this errand was not one mans mind: or were it, for that the protector intended not in this matter to trust anie one man alone; or else, that if she finallie were determined to keepe him, some of that companie had happilie secret instruction, to consent (maugre hir mind) to take him, and to leaue hir no respit to conueie him, which she was litlelie to mind after this matter broken to hir, if hir time would in anie wise serue hir.

When the quéene and these lords were come together in presence, the lord cardinall shewed vnto hir, that it was thought vnto the protector, and vnto the whole councell, that hir keeping of the kings brother in that place, was the thing which highlie sounded, not onelie to the great rumor of the people and their obloquie; but also to the importable greefe and displeasure of the kings royall maiestie, to whose grace it were as singular a comfort, to haue his naturall brother in companie, as it was their both dishonour, and all theirs and his also; to suffer him in sanctuarie, as though the one brother stood in danger and perill of the other [and therefore more conuenient it were they should be togither, than parted asunder; that the world may well thinke and saie both of their kinred and also of them, when they shall see and heare how they keepe continuall companie, and liuen in mutuall amitie (as becometh brethren) which bringeth commodities with it, for number, infinite; and for vse, comfortable and necessarie; as it is truelie said:

Quæ ligat vnanimes fœlix concordia fratres,
O quales fructus vtilitatis habet!]

The cardinall shewed hir likewise, that the councell therefore had sent him vnto hir, to require hir the deliuerie of him, that he might be brought vnto the kings presence at his libertie, out of that place, which they reckoned as a prison; and there should he be demeaned according to his estate: and she in this doing, should both do great good to the realme, pleasure to the councell, and profit to hir selfe, succour to hir frends that were in distresse, and ouer that (which he will well she speciallie tendered) not onelie great comfort and honor to the king, but also to the yong duke himselfe, whose both great wealth it were to be togither, as well for manie greater causes, as also for their both disport & recreation. Which thing the lord protector. esteemed no slight, though it séeme light, well pondering that their youth without recreation and plaie cannot indure; nor anie stranger, for the conuenience of both their ages and estates, so meetlie in that point for anie of them, as either of them for other.

The quéenes answer. My lord (quoth the quéene) I saie not naie, but that it were verie conuenient, that this gentleman, whome yée require, were in companie of the king his brother: and in good faith, me thinketh it were as great commoditie to them both, as for yet awhile, to bée in the custodie of their mother, the tender age considered of the elder of them both, but speciallie the yonger, which (besides his infancie, that also needeth good looking to) hath awhile béene so sore diseased, vered with sickenesse, and is so newlie rather a little amended, than well recouered, that I dare put no person earthlie in trust with his keeping, but my selfe onelie, considering that there is (as physicians saie) and as we also find, double the perill in the recidiuation, than was in the first sickenesse, with which disease nature being sore laboured, forewearied and weakened, wareth the lesse able to beare out and sustéine a new surfet. And albeit there might be founden other that would happilie do their best vnto him, yet is there none that either knoweth better how to order him, than I that so long haue kept him: or is more tenderlie like to cherish him, than his owne mother that bare him. The quéene is loth to part with hir son.

No man denieth, good madame (quoth the cardinall) but that your grace were of all folke most necessarie about your children: and so would all the councell not onelie be content, but glad that ye were (if it might stand with your pleasure) to be in such place as might stand with their honour. But if you do appoint your selfe to tarrie héere, then thinke they it more conuenient that the duke of Yorke were with the king honourablie at his libertie, to the comfort of them both, than héere as a sanctuarie man, to their both dishonour and obloquie, sith there is not alwaie so great necessitie to haue the child to be with the mother: but that occasion may sometime be such, that it should be more expedient to keepe him elsewhere. Which in this well appeareth, that at such time as your déerest sonne then prince, and now king, should for his honor, and good order of the countrie, keepe household in Wales, farre out of your companie: your grace was well content therewith your selfe.

Not verie well content (quoth the quéene) and yet the case is not like; for the tone was then in health, and the tother is now sicke. In which case, I maruell greatlie, that my lord protector is so desirous to haue him in his keeping, where if the child in his sickenesse miscarried by nature, yet might he run into slander and suspicion of fraud. And where they call it a thing so sore against my childes honor, and theirs also, that he bideth in this place: it is all their honours there to suffer him bide, where no man doubteth he shall be best kept; and that is héere, while I am héere, which as yet intend not to come forth and ieopard my selfe after other of my frends, which would God were rather héere in suertie with me, than I were there in ieopardie with them. The queenes mistrust of the lord protector.

What madame (quoth another lord) know you anie thing whie they should be in ieopardie? Naie verelie sir (quoth she) nor whie they should be in prison neither, as they now be. But it is (I trow) no great maruell though I feare, least those that haue not letted to put them in durelle without colour, will let as little to procure their destruction without cause. The cardinall made a countenance to the other lord, that he should harpe no more vpon that string; and then said he to the quéene, that he nothing doubted, but that those lords of hir honorable kin, which as yet remained vnder arrest, should vpon the matter examined, do well inough: and as toward hir noble person, neither was nor could be anie maner ieopardie. The lord Howard, saith Edw. Hall.

Whereby should I trust that (quoth the quéene) in that I am giltlesse? As though they were giltie, in that I am with their enimies better loued than they? When they hate them for my sake, in that I am so nére of kin to the king? And how far they be off, if that would helpe, as God send grace it hurt not, and therefore as for me, I purpose not as yet to depart hence. And as for this gentleman my sonne, I mind that he shall be where I am, till I sée further: for I assure you, for that I sée some men so greedie, without anie substantiall cause to haue him, this maketh me much the more fearder to deliuer him.

Truelie madame, quoth he, and the fearder that you

you be to deliuer him, the fearder bin other men to suffer you to kéepe him, least your causelesse feare might cause you further to conueie him; and manie be there that thinke he can haue no priuilege in this place, which neither can haue will to aske it, nor malice to deserue it. And therefore, they reckon no priuilege broken, though they fetch him out; which if yée finallie refuse to deliuer him, I verelie thinke they will. So much dread hath my lord his vncle, for the tender loue he beareth him, least your grace should hap to send him awaie.

The quéenes replie vpon the lord cardinall.

Sir (quoth the quéene) hath the protector so tender zeale, that he feareth nothing but least he should escape him? Thinketh he that I would send him hence, which neither is in the plight to send out. And in what place could I reckon him sure, if he be not sure in this sanctuaris, whereof was there neuer tyrant yet so diuelish that durst presume to breake? And I trust God is as strong now to withstand his aduersaries, as euer he was. But my sonne can deserue no sanctuarie, and therefore he can not haue it. For soth he hath found a goodlie glose, by which that place that may defend a theefe, may not saue an innocent. But he is in no ieopardie, nor hath no need thereof, would God he had not.

Troweth the protector (I praie God he may proue a protector) troweth he that I perceiue not whereunto his painted processe draweth? It is not honourable that the duke bide here: it were comfortable for them both, that he were with his brother, because the king lacketh a plaifellow. Be you sure: I praie God send them both better plaifellowes than him, that maketh so high a matter vpon such a trifling pretext: as though there could none be founden to plaie with the king, but if his brother that hath no lust to plaie for sickenesse, come out of sanctuarie out of his safegard to plaie with him. As though princes (as yong as they be) could not plaie but with their peeres, or children could not plaie but with their kinred, with whome for the more part they agrée much worse than with strangers.

But the child cannot require the priuilege. Who told him so? He shall heare him aske it, and he will. Howbeit, this is a gaie matter. Suppose he could not aske it, suppose he would not aske it, suppose he would aske to go out. If I saie he shall not; if I aske the priuilege but for my selfe, I say he that against my will taketh him out, breaketh the sanctuarie. Serueth this libertie for my person onelie, or for my goods too? Yée may not hence take my horsse fro me: and may you take my child fro me? He is also my ward: for as my learned counsell sheweth me, sith he hath nothing by descent holden by knights seruice, the law maketh his mother his gardian. Then may no man I suppose take my ward fro me out of sanctuarie, without the breach of the sanctuarie.

And if my priuilege could not serue him, nor he aske it for himselfe, yet sith the law committeth to me the custodie of him, I may require it for him, except the law giue a child a gardian onelie for his goods and lands, discharging him of the cure and safe keeping of his bodie, for which onelie both lands and goods serue. (*) And if examples be sufficient to obteine priuilege for my child, I need not farre to seke. For in this place in which we now be (and which is now in question whether my child may take benefit of it) mine other sonne now king was borne, and kept in his cradle, and preserued to a more prosperous fortune, which I praie God long to continue. And as all you know, this is not the first time that I haue taken sanctuarie.

This that is heere betweén this marke (*) & this marke (*) was not written by him in English but is translated out of this historie which he wrote in Latine.

For when my lord my husband was banished, and thrust out of his kingdome, I fled hither, being great with child, and héere I bare the prince. And when my lord my husband returned safe againe, and had the victorie, then went I hence to welcome him home, and from hence I brought my babe the prince vnto his father, when he first tooke him in his armes. And I praie God that my sonnes palace may be as great safegard vnto him now reigning, as this place was sometime to the kings enimie. In which place I intend to kéepe his brother, sith, &c. (*) Wherefore heere intend I to kéepe him, sith mans law seeketh the gardian to kéepe the infant.

The law of nature will the mother to kéepe hir child, Gods law priuilegeth the sanctuarie, and the sanctuarie my sonne, sith I feare to put him in the protectors hands that hath his brother alreadie, and were (if both failed) inheritour to the crowne. The cause of my feare hath no man to do to examine. And yet feare I no further than the law feareth, which (as learned men tell me) forbiddeth euerie man the custodie of them, by whose death he maie inherit lesse land than a kingdome. I can no more, but whosoeuer he be that breaketh this holie sanctuarie, I praie God shortlie send him need of sanctuarie, when he maie not come to it. For taken out of sanctuarie would I not my mortall enimie were.

The lord cardinall, perceiuing that the quéene wared euer the longer the farther off, and also that she began to kindle and chafe, and spake more biting words against the protector, and such as he neither beléeued, and was also loth to heare, he said to hir for a finall conclusion, that he would no longer dispute the matter: but if she were content to deliuer the duke to him, and to the other lords present, he durst laie his owne bodie & soule both in pledge, not onelie for his suertie, but also for his estate. And if she would giue them a resolute answer to the contrarie, he would forthwith depart therwithall, and thank who so would with this businesse afterwards: for he neuer intended more to moue hir in that matter, in which she thought that he & all other also (saue hir selfe) lacked either wit or truth: wit, if they were so dull that they could nothing perceiue what the protector intended: truth, if they should procure hir sonne to be deliuered into his hands, in whom they should perceiue toward the child anie euill intended.

The lord cardinall vseth an other waie to persuade the quéene.

The quéene with these words stood a good while in a great studie. And forsomuch as hir séemed the cardinall more readie to depart than some of the remnant, and the protector himselfe readie at hand; so that she verelie thought she could not kéepe him, but that he should incontinentlie be taken thense: and to conueie him else-where, neither had she time to serue hir, nor place determined, nor persons appointed, all things vnreadie, this message came on hir so suddenlie, nothing lesse looking for, than to haue him fet out of sanctuarie, which she thought to be now beset in such places about, that he could not be conueied out vntaken, and partlie as she thought it might fortune hir feare to be false, so well she wist it was either néedlesse or bootlesse: wherefore if she should nœds go from him, she deemed it best to deliuer him.

She saileth in a resolution touching hir sonnes deliuerie.

And ouer that, of the cardinals faith she nothing doubted, nor of some other lords neither, whome she there saw. Which as she feared least they might be deceiued: so was she well assured they would not be corrupted. Then thought she it should yet make them the more warilie to looke to him, and the more circumspectlie to see to his suertie, if she with hir owne hands betooke him to them of trust. And at the last she tooke the yong duke by the hand, and said vnto the lords: My lords (quoth she) and all my lords, I neither am so vnwise to mistrust your wits, nor so suspicious to mistrust your truths: of which thing I purpose

purpose to make you such a prose, as if either of both in you, might turne both you and me to great sorow, the realme to much harme, and you to great reproch.

For lo, here is (quoth he) this gentleman, whom I doubt not but I could here kepe safe, if I would, what euer anie man say: & I doubt not also, but there be some abroad so deadlie enimies vnto my blond, that if they wist where anie of it laie in their owne bodie, they would let it out. We haue also experience that desire of a kingdome knoweth no kinred. The brother hath bene the brothers bane: and maie the nephues be sure of their vncle? Ech of these children is the others defense while they be asunder, and ech of their liues lieth in the others bodie. Kepe one safe and both be sure, and nothing for them both more perillous, than to be both in one place. For what wise merchant aduenture th all his goods in one ship?

All this notwithstanding, here I deliuer him and his brother in him, to kepe, into your hands, of whom I shall aske them both afore God & the world. Faithfull ye be that wot I well, & I know well you be wise. Power and strength to kepe him (if you list) lacke ye not of your selfe, nor can lacke helpe in this cause. And if ye can not else-where, then maie you leaue him here. But onelie one thing I beseech you, for the trust which his father put in you euer, & for the trust that I put in you now, that as farre as ye thinke that I feare too much, be you well ware that you feare not as farre too little. And therewithall she said vnto the child; Fare well mine owne swete sonne, God send you good keeping: let me kisse you yet once yer you go, for God knoweth when we shall kisse togither againe. And therewith she kissed him and blessed him, turned hir backe and wept and went hir waie, leauing the child weping as fast. [Howbeit she was sorie afterwards that she had so parted from hir son (when it was past hir power to procure remedie, & no hope of helpe left against afterclaps) which is the common case of all that kind, as the prouerbe saith:

Femineus verè dolor est post facta dolere.]

When the lord cardinall, and these other lords with him, had receiued this yong duke, they brought him into the Star chamber, where the protector toke him in his armes and kissed him with these words: Now welcome my lord euen with all my verie heart. And he said in that of likelihood as he thought. Therevpon forthwith they brought him vnto the king his brother into the bishops palace at Paules, and from thense thorough the citie honourablie into the Tower, out of the which after that daie they neuer came abroad.

O dissimulation.

This that is here betwene this marke (*) & this marke (*) was not written by him in English but is translated out of his historie which he wrote in Latine.

(*) When the protector had both the children in his hands, he opened himselfe more boldlie, both to certeine other men, and also chieflie to the duke of Buckingham. Although I know that manie thought that this duke was priuie to all the protectors counsell, euen from the beginning; and some of the protectors frends said, that the duke was the first mouer of the protector to this matter, sending a priuie messenger vnto him, streict after king Edwards death.

But others againe, which knew better the subtill wit of the protector, denie that he euer opened his enterprise to the duke, vntill he had brought to passe the things before rehearsed. But when he had imprisoned the queenes kinsfolks, & gotten both hir sonnes into his owne hands, then he opened the rest of his purpose with lesse feare to them whome he thought meet for the matter, and speciallie to the duke, who being wone to his purpose, he thought his strength more than halfe increased. The matter was broken vnto the duke by subtill folks, and such as were their craftes-masters in the handling of such wicked deuises: who declared vnto him that the yong king was offended with him for his kinsfolks sake, and if he were euer able he would reuenge them, who would pricke him forward therevnto if they escaped (for they would remember their imprisonment) or else if they were put to death, without doubt the yong K. would be carefull for their deaths, whose imprisonment was grieuous vnto him.

Also that with repenting the duke should nothing auaile, for there was no waie left to redeeme his offense by benefits, but he should sooner destroie himselfe than saue the king, who with his brother and his kinsfolks he saw in such places imprisoned, as the protector might with a becke destroie them all: and that it were no doubt but he would do it in deed, if there were anie new enterprise attempted. And that it was likelie, that as the protector had prouided priuie gard for himselfe, so had he spials for the duke, and traines to catch him, if he should be against him; and that peraduenture from them, whome he left suspected. For the state of things and the dispositions of men were then such, that a man could not well tell whome he might trust, or whome he might feare.

These things and such like, being beaten into the dukes mind, brought him to that point, that where he had repented the way that he had entered; yet would he go forth in the same; and sith he had once begun, he would stoutlie go thorough. And therefore to this wicked enterprise, which he beleeued could not be voided, he bent himselfe, and went through; and determined, that sith the common mischeefe could not be amended, he would turne it as much as he might to his owne commoditie. Then it was agreed, that the protector should haue the dukes aid to make him king, and that the protectors onelie lawfull sonne should marrie the dukes daughter, and that the protector should grant him the quiet possession of the earldome of Hereford, which he claimed as his inheritance, and could neuer obteine it in king Edwards time.

The dukes full resolution, to go thorough with his enterprise.

Besides these requests of the duke, the protector of his owne mind promised him a great quantitie of the kings treasure, and of his houshold stuffe. And when they were thus at a point betweene themselues, they went about to prepare for the coronation of the yong king, as they would haue it seeme. And that they might turne both the eies and minds of men from perceiuing of their drifts other-where, the lords being sent for from all parts of the realme, came thicke to that solemnitie. But the protector and the duke, after that they had sent the lord cardinall, the archbishop of Yorke then lord chancellor, the bishop of Elie, the lord Stanleie, and the lord Hastings then lord chamberlaine, with manie other noble men (*) to common & deuise about the coronation in one place, as fast were they in an other place, contriuing the contrarie, and to make the protector king.

To which councell albeit there were adhibited berie few, and they were secret: yet began there here and there abouts, some maner of muttering among the people, as though all should not long be well, though they neither wist what they feared, nor wherefore: were it, that before such great things, mens hearts of a secret instinct of nature misgiue them; as the sea without wind swelleth of himselfe sometime before a tempest: or were it that some one man, happilie somewhat perceiuing, filled manie men with suspicion, though he shewed few men what he knew. Howbeit somewhat the dealing it selfe made men to muse on the matter, though the councell were close. For by little and little all folke withdrew from the Tower, and drew vnto Crosbies in Bishops gates street, where the protector kept his houshold. The protector had the resort, the king in maner desolate.

While some for their businesse made sute to them that had the doing, some were by their frends secret-

lie

lie warned, that it might happilie turne them to no good, to be to much attendant about the king without the protectors appointment, which remoued also diuerse of the princes old seruants from him, and set new about him. Thus manie things comming together, partlie by chance, partlie of purpose, caused at length not common people onelie, that wond with the wind, but wise men also, and some lords eke to marke the matter and muse thereon; so farre forth that the lord Stanleie that was after earle of Derbie, wiselie mistrusted it, and said vnto the lord Hastings, that he much misliked these two seuerall councels. For while we (quoth he) talke of one matter in the tone place, little wot we wherof they talke in the tother place.

My lord (quoth the lord Hastings) on my life neuer doubt you: for while one man is there, which is neuer thense, neuer can there be thing once moued, that should sound amisse toward me, but it should be in mine eares yer it were well out of their mouths. This ment he by Catesbie, which was of his nere secret councell, and whome he verie familiarlie vsed, and in his most weightie matters put no man in so speciall trust, reckoning himselfe to no man so liefe, sith he well wist there was no man so much to him beholden as was this Catesbie, which was a man well learned in the lawes of this land, and by the speciall fauour of the lord chamberlaine, in good authoritie, and much rule bare in all the countie of Leicester, where the lord chamberlains power chiefelie laie.

Catesbie and his conditions described.

But suerlie great pitie was it, that he had not had either more truth, or lesse wit. For his dissimulation onelie kept all that mischéefe vp. In whome if the lord Hastings had not put so speciall trust, the lord Stanleie & he had departed with diuerse other lords, and broken all the danse, for manie ill signes that he saw, which he now construes all to the best. So suerlie thought he, that there could be none harme toward him in that councell intended, where Catesbie was. And of truth the protector and the duke of Buckingham made verie good semblance vnto the lord Hastings, and kept him much in companie. And vndoubtedlie the protector loued him well, and loth was to haue lost him, fauing for feare least his life should haue quailed their purpose.

For which cause he moued Catesbie to proue with some words cast out a farre off, whether he could thinke it possible to win the lord Hastings vnto their part. But Catesbie, whether he assaied him, or assaied him not, reported vnto them, that he found him so fast, and heard him speake so terrible words, that he durst no further breake. And of truth, the lord chamberlaine of verie trust shewed vnto Catesbie the distrust that others began to haue in the matter. And therefore he, fearing least their motion might with the lord Hastings minish his credence, whereunto onelie all the matter leaned, procured the protector hastilie to rid him. And much the rather, for that he trusted by his death to obteine much of the rule that the lord Hastings bare in his countrie: the onelie desire whereof was the allectiue that induced him to be partner, and one speciall contriuer of all this horrible treason.

Whereupon some after, that is to wit, on the fridaie [being the thirteenth of June] manie lords assembled in the Tower, and there sat in councell, deuising the honourable solemnitie of the kings coronation, of which the time appointed then so nere approched, that the pageants and subtilties were in making daie & night at Westminster, and much vittels killed therfore, that afterward was cast awaie. These lords so sitting togither communing of this matter, the protector came in amongst them, first about nine of the clocke, saluting them courteouslie, and excusing himselfe that he had bene from them so long, saieng merilie that he had bene a sleeper that daie.

An assemblie of lords in the Tower.

After a little talking with them, he said vnto the bishop of Elie; My lord you haue verie good strawberies at your garden in Holborne, I require you let vs haue a messe of them. Gladlie my lord (quoth he) would God I had some better thing as readie to your pleasure as that. And therewithall in all the hast he sent his seruant for a messe of strawberies. The protector set the lords fast in communing, & therevpon praieng them to spare him for a little while, departed thense. And some after one houre, betweene ten & eleuen he returned into the chamber amongst them all, changed with a wonderfull soure angrie countenance, knitting the browes, frowning and fretting, and gnawing on his lips: and so sat him downe in his place.

The behauior of the lord protector in the assemblie of the lords.

All the lords were much dismaid and sore maruelled at this maner of sudden change, and what thing should him aile. Then, when he had sitten still a while, thus he began: What were they worthie to haue that compasse and imagine the destruction of me, being so nere of blood vnto the king, and protector of his roiall person and his realme? At this question, all the lords sat sore astonied, musing much by whome this question should be meant, of which euerie man wist himselfe cleere. Then the lord chamberlaine (as he that for the loue betweene them thought he might be boldest with him) answered and said, that they were worthie to be punished as heinous traitors, whatsoeuer they were. And all the other affirmed the same. That is (quoth he) ponder sorceresse my brothers wife, and other with hir (meaning the queene.)

At these words manie of the other lords were greatlie abashed, that fauoured hir. But the lord Hastings was in his mind better content, that it was moued by hir, than by anie other whome he loued better: albeit his heart somewhat grudged, that he was not afore made of counsell in this matter, as he was of the taking of hir kinred, and of their putting to death, which were by his assent before deuised to be beheaded at Pomfret this selfe same daie, in which he was not ware that it was by other deuised, that he himselfe should be beheaded the same daie at London. Then said the protector: Ye shall all see in what wise that sorceresse, and that other witch of hir councell Shores wife, with their affinitie, haue by their sorcerie and witchcraft wasted my bodie. And therwith he plucked vp his doublet sleeue to his elbow vpon his left arme, where he shewed a wearish withered arme, and small; as it was neuer other.

Herevpon euerie mans mind sore misgaue them, well perceiuing that this matter was but a quarell. For they well wist that the queene was to wise to go about anie such follie. And also if she would, yet would she of all folke least, make Shores wife of hir counsell, whome of all women she most hated, as that concubine whome the king hir husband had most loued. And also, no man was there present, but well knew that his arme was euer such since his birth. Nathelesse, the lord chamberlaine (which from the death of king Edward kept Shores wife, on whome he somewhat doted in the kings life, sauing (as it is said) he that while forbare hir of reuerence toward the king, or else of a certeine kind of fidelitie to his friend) answered and said: Certeinelie my lord, if they haue so heinouslie done, they be worthie heinous punishment.

What (quoth the protector) thou seruest me I weene with ifs and with ands, I tell thee they haue so done, and that I will make good on thy bodie traitor: and therewith as in a great anger, he clapped his fist vpon the bord a great rap. At which token one cried,

Treason,

Treason, without the chamber. Herewith a doore clapped, and in come there rushing men in harnesse, as manie as the chamber might hold. And anon the protector said to the lord Hastings: I arrest thée traitor: What me my lord? (quoth he.) Yea thée traitor quoth the protector. And an other let flie at the lord Stanleie, which shrunke at the stroke, & fell vnder the table, or else his head had béene cleft to the téeth: for as shortlie as he shranke, yet ran the bloud about his eares.

The lord Stanleie wounded.

Then were they all quickelie bestowed in diuerse chambers, except the lord chamberleine, whome the protector bad spéed and shriue him apace, for by saint Paule (quoth he) I will not to dinner till I sée thy head off. It boted him not to aske whie, but beaulie toke a priest at aduenture, & made a short shrift: for a longer would not be suffered, the protector made so much hast to dinner, which he might not go to, vntill this were done, for sauing of his oth. So was he brought forth to the grene beside the chappell within the Tower, and his head laid downe vpon a long log of timber, and there stricken off, and afterward his bodie with the head interred at Windsor beside the bodie of king Edward, both whose soules our Lord pardon. [Thus began he to establish his kingdome in bloud, growing thereby in hatred of the nobles, and also abridging both the line of his life, and the time of his regiment: for God will not haue bloudthirstie tyrants daies prolonged, but will cut them off in their ruffe; according to Dauids words:

Lord Hastings lord chamberleine beheaded.

Impio, fallaci, auidóque cædis
Fila mors rumpet virídi in iuuenta.]

uchan. in psal. 5.

A maruellous case is it to heare either the warnings of that he should haue voided, or the tokens of that he could not void. For the selfe night next before his death, the lord Stanleie sent a trustie messenger vnto him at midnight in all the hast, requiring him to rise and ride awaie with him, for he was disposed vtterlie no longer to bide, he had so fearfull a dreame; in which him thought that a boare with his tuskes so raced them both by the heads, that the bloud ran about both their shoulders. And forsomuch as the protector gaue the boare for his cognisance, this dreame made so fearefull an impression in his heart, that he was throughlie determined no longer to tarie, but had his horsse readie, if the lord Hastings would go with him, to ride yet so farre the same night, that they should be out of danger yer daie.

The lord Stanleies dreame.

Ha good Lord (quoth the lord Hastings to this messenger) leaneth my lord thy maister so much to such trifles, and hath such faith in dreames, which either his owne feare fantasieth, or do rise in the nights rest by reason of his daies thought? Tell him it is plaine witchcraft to beléeue in such dreames, which if they were tokens of things to come, why thinketh he not that we might be as likelie to make them true by our going, if we were caught & brought backe, as frends faile fliers; for then had the boare a cause likelie to rase vs with his tusks, as folke that fled for some falsehood. Wherefore, either is there perill, or none there is in deed: or if anie be, it is rather in going than biding. And in case we should needs fall in perill one waie or other, yet had I rather that men should sée that it were by other mens falsehood, than thinke it were either by our owne fault, or faint heart. And therefore go to thy maister (man) and commend me to him, & praie him be merie & haue no feare: for I insure him I am as sure of the man that he woteth of, as I am of mine owne hand. God send grace sir (quoth the messenger) and went his waie.

Certeine is it also, that in riding towards the Tower, the same morning in which he was beheded, his horsse twise or thrise stumbled with him, almost to the falling. Which thing albeit ech man wote well dailie happeneth to them, to whom no such mischance is toward; yet hath it béene of an old rite and custome obserued, as a token oftentimes notablie foregoing some great misfortune. Now this that followeth was no warning, but an enuious scorne. The same morning yer he was vp, came a knight vnto him, as it were of courtesie, to accompanie him to the councell; but of truth sent by the protector to hast him thitherwards, with whome he was of secret confederacie in that purpose; a meane man at that time, and now of great authoritie.

Ouerthrowes imminent misfortune the lord Hastings.

This knight (I say) when it happened the lord chamberleine by the waie to staie his horsse, & common a while with a priest whom he met in the Tower street, brake his tale, and said merilie to him; What my lord, I pray you come on, whereto talke you so long with that priest? you haue no néed of a priest yet: and therwith he laughed vpon him, as though he would say, Ye shall haue sone. But so little wist the tother what he ment, and so little mistrusted, that he was neuer merier, nor neuer so full of good hope in his life, which selfe thing is oft séene a signe of change. But I shall rather let anie thing passe me, than the vaine suertie of mans mind so nere his death [flattering himselfe with deceitfull conceipts of inward motions of life to be prolonged, euen in present cases of deadlie danger, and beaulie misfortunes offering great mistrust; as he did that is noted for speaking like a fole:

Non est (crede mihi) sapientis dicere, Viuam:
Nascentes morimur, finisq; ab origine pendet.]

Manil. lib. 4. Astro.

Upon the verie Tower wharfe, so neare the place where his head was off sone after, there met he with one Hastings a pursuant of his owne name. And at their méeting in that place, he was put in remembrance of another time, in which it had happened them before to méet in like manner together in the same place. At which other time the lord chamberleine had béene accused vnto king Edward by the lord Riuers the quénes brother, in such wise, as he was for the while (but it lasted not long) farre fallen into the kings indignation, & stood in great feare of himselfe. And forsomuch as he now met this pursuant in the same place, that ieopardie so well passed, it gaue him great pleasure to talke with him thereof, with whom he had before talked thereof in the same place, while he was therein.

And therefore he said: Ha Hastings, art thou remembred when I met thée here once with an heauie heart? Yea my lord (quoth he) that remember I well, and thanked be God, they gat no good, nor you no harme thereby. Thou wouldest say so (quoth he) if thou knewest as much as I know, which few know else as yet, and mo shall shortlie. What meant he by the lords of the quénes kinred that were taken before, and should that daie be beheaded at Pomfret: which he well wist, but nothing ware that the ax hung ouer his owne head. In faith man (quoth he) I was neuer so sorie, nor neuer stood in so great dread in my life, as I did when thou and I met here. And lo how the world is turned, now stand mine enimies in the danger (as thou maiest hap to heare more hereafter) and I neuer in my life so merrie, nor neuer in so great suertie.

The description of the lord Hastings

O good God, the blindnesse of our mortall nature, when he most feared, he was in good suertie; when he reckoned himselfe surest, he lost his life, and that within two houres after. Thus ended this honorable man, a good knight and a gentle, of great authoritie with his prince, of liuing somewhat dissolute, plaine and open to his enimie, & secret to his friend, easie to beguile, as he that of good heart and courage forestudied no perils, a louing man, and passing well beloued: verie faithfull, and trustie inough, trusting to much. Now slew the fame of this lords death swiftlie

swiftlie through the citie, and so forth further about like a wind in euerie mans eare. But the protector, immediatlie after dinner, intending to set some colour vpon the matter, sent in all the hast for manie substantiall men out of the citie into the Towre.

Now at their comming, himselfe with the duke of Buckingham, stood harnessed in old ill faring briganders, such as no man should weene, that they would vouchsafe to haue put vpon their backs, except that some sudden necessitie had constreined them. And then the protector shewed them, that the lord chamberleine, and other of his conspiracie, had contriued to haue suddenlie destroied him, and the duke, there the same day in the councell. And what they intended further, was as yet not well knowne. Of which their treason he neuer had knowledge before ten of the clocke the same forenoone, which sudden feare driue them to put on for their defense such harnesse as came next to hand. And so had God holpen them, that the mischiefe turned vpon them that would haue done it. And this he required them to report.

The protectors proclamation.

Euerie man answered him faire, as though no man mistrusted the matter, which of truth no man beléeued. Yet for the further appeasing of the peoples minds, he sent immediatlie after diner in all the hast one herald of armes, with a proclamation to be made through the citie in the kings name, conteining, that the lord Hastings, with diuerse other of his traitorous purpose, had before conspired the same day to haue slaine the lord protector, and the duke of Buckingham sitting in the councell; and after to haue taken vpon them to rule the king & the realme at their pleasure, and therby to pill and spoile whome they list vncontrolled. And much matter there was in that proclamation, deuised to the slander of the lord chamberleine, as that he was an ill councellor to the kings father, intising him to manie things highlie redounding to the minishing of his honour, and to the vniuersall hurt of the realme.

The like and deeds of the lord chamberleine laid open

The meanes whereby; namelie, his euill companie, sinister procuring, and vngratious example, as well in manie other things, as in the vicious liuing and inordinate abusion of his bodie, both with manie other, and also speciallie with Shores wife, which was one also of his most secret counsell in this most heinous treason, with whom he lai e nightlie, and namelie the night last past next before his death. So that it was the lesse maruell, if vngratious liuing brought him to an vnhappie ending, which he was now put vnto by the most dred commandement of the kings highnesse, and of his honorable and faithfull councell, both for his demerits, being so openlie taken in his fallie conceiued treason, and also least the delaieng of his execution might haue incouraged other mischiefous persons, partners of his conspiracie, to gather and assemble themselues togither, in making some great commotion for his deliuerance: whose hope being now by his well deserued death politikelie repressed, all the realme should (by Gods grace) rest in good quiet and peace.

Now was this proclamation made within two houres after that he was beheaded, and it was so curiouslie indited, & so faire written in parchment, in so well a set hand, and therwith of it selfe so long a processe, that euerie child might well perceiue that it was prepared before. For all the time, betweene his death and the proclaming, could scant haue sufficed vnto the bare writing alone, all had it bene but in paper, and scribled forth in hast at aduenture. So that vpon the proclaming thereof, one that was schoolemaister of Powles, of chance standing by, and comparing the shortnesse of the time with the length of the matter, said vnto them that stood about him; Here is a gaie goodlie cast foule cast awaie for hast. And a merchant answered him, that it was written by prophesie.

Shores wife spoiled of all that she had.

Now then by and by, as it were for anger, not for couetise, the protector sent into the house of Shores wife (for hir husband dwelled not with hir) and spoiled hir of all that euer she had, aboue the value of two or three thousand markes, and sent hir bodie to prison. And when he had a while laid vnto hir (for the maner sake) that she went about to bewitch him, and that she was of counsell with the lord chamberleine to destroie him: in conclusion, when that no colour could fasten vpon these matters, then he laid heinouslie to hir charge, that thing that hir selfe could not denie, and that all the world wist was true, and that nathelesse euerie man laughed at, to heare it then so suddenlie so highlie taken, that shee was naught of hir bodie.

Shores wife put to open penance.

And for this cause (as a goodlie continent prince, cleane and faultlesse of himselfe, sent out of heauen into this vicious world for the amendment of mens maners) he caused the bishop of London to put hir to open penance, going before the crosse in procession vpon a sundaie with a taper in hir hand. In which she went in countenance and pase demure so womanlie; that albeit she were out of all araie, saue hir kirtle onelie, yet went she so faire and louelie, namelie while the wondering of the people cast a comelie rud in hir cheeks (of which she before had most misse) that hir great shame wan hir much praise among those that were more amorous of hir bodie, than curious of hir soule. And manie good folks also that hated hir liuing, & glad were to see sin corrected: yet pitied they more hir penance, than reioised therin, when they considered that the protector procured it, more of a corrupt intent, than anie vertuous affection.

The description of Shores wife.

This woman was borne in London, worshipfullie friended, honestlie brought vp, and verie well maried, sauing somewhat too soone, hir husband an honest citizen, young and goodlie, & of good substance. But forsomuch as they were coupled yer she were well ripe, she not verie feruentlie loued him, for who she neuer longed, which was happilie the thing that the more easilie made hir incline vnto the kings appetite, when he required hir. Howbeit the respect of his roialtie, the hope of gaie apparell, ease, and other wanton wealth, was able soone to pearse a soft tender heart, [so that she became flexible and pliant to the kings appetite and will; being so blinded with the bright glorie of the present courtlie brauerie which shee inioied, that she vtterlie forgat how excellent a treasure good name and fame is, and of what incomparable sweetnesse, euen by the iudgement of him, whose match for wisdome the world neuer bred vp, saieng:

Sunt optanda magis puræ bona nomina famæ,
Nobilis vnguenti quàm pretiosus odor.] Eob. Hess. in Ecles. Sal.

But when the king had abused hir, anon hir husband (as he was an honest man, and one that could his good, not presuming to touch a kings concubine) left hir vp to him altogither. When the king died, the lord chamberleine toke hir, which in the kings daies, albeit he was sore inamoured vpon hir, yet he forbare hir; ether for reuerence, or for a certeine friendlie faithfulnesse. Proper she was and faire; nothing in hir bodie that you would haue changed, but if ye would haue wished hir somewhat higher. Thus saie they that knew hir in hir youth. Albeit some that now see hir (for yet* she liueth) deem hir neuer to haue béene well visaged: whose iudgement seemeth me somewhat like, as though men should gesse the beautie of one long before departed, by hir scalpe taken out of the charuell house.

* Meaning when this storie was written.

For now is she old, leane, withered, and dried vp, nothing left but riuelled skin, and hard bone. And yet being

being euen such, who so well aduise hir visage, might gesse and deuise, which parts how filled would make it a faire face. Yet delighted not men so much in hir beautie, as in hir pleasant behauiour. For a proper wit had she, and could both read well and write, merrie in companie, readie and quicke of answer, neither mute, nor full of bable, somtime tawnting without displeasure, and not without disport. The king would saie that he had three concubins, which in three diuerse properties diuerslie excelled. One the merriest, another the wiliest, the third the holiest harlot in his realme, as one whome no man could get out of the church lightlie to any place, but it were to his bed.

K. Edwards three concubines.

The other two were somewhat greater personages, and natheless of their humilitie content to be nameless, and to forbeare the praise of those properties: but the merriest was this Shores wife, in whom the king therefore toke speciall pleasure. For manie he had, but hir he loued; whose fauour to say the truth (for sin it were to belie the diuell) she neuer abused to anie mans hurt, but to manie a mans comfort and releefe. Where the king toke displeasure, shee would mitigate and appease his mind: where men were out of fauour, she would bring them in his grace. For manie that had highlie offended shee obteined pardon. Of great forfeitures she gat men remission.

Finallie, in manie weightie suites she stood manie a man in great stead, either for none or verie small rewards, and those rather gaie than rich; either that she was content with the deed it selfe well done; or for that she delighted to be sued vnto, and to shew what she was able to do with the king; or for that wanton women and wealthie be not alwaies couetous. I doubt not some shall thinke this woman too slight a thing to be written of, and set among the remembrances of great matters: which they shall speciallie thinke, that happilie shall esteeme hir onelie by that they now see hir.

But me seemeth the chance so much the more worthie to be remembred, in how much she is now in the more beggerlie condition, vnfrended and worne out of acquaintance, after good substance, after as great fauour with the prince, after as great suite and seeking to with all those, that those daies had businesse to speed, as manie other men were in their times, which be now famous onelie by the infamie of their ill deeds. Hir doings were not much lesse, albeit they be much lesse remembred, because they were not so euill. For men vse if they haue an euill turne, to write it in marble: and who so doth vs a good turne, we write it in dust, which is not worst proued by hir: for at this daie she beggeth of manie at this daie liuing, that at this date had begged if she had not beene.

Sir Richard Ratcliffe.

Now was it so deuised by the protector and his councell, that the selfe daie, in which the lord chamberleine was beheaded in the Tower of London, and about the selfe same houre, was there (not without his assent) beheaded at Pomfret, the forenemmbred lords & knights that were taken from the king at Northampton and Stonie Stratford. Which thing was done in the presence, and by the order of sir Richard Ratcliffe knight, whose seruice the protector specially vsed in that councell, and in the execution of such lawlesse enterprises, as a man that had beene long secret with him, hauing experience of the world, and a shrewd wit, short & rude in speech, rough and boisterous of behauiour, bold in mischiefe, as far from pitie as from all feare of God.

This knight bringing them out of the prison to the scaffold, and shewing to the people about that they were traitors (not suffering them to declare & speake their innocencie, least their words might haue inclined men to pitie them, and to hate the protector and his part) caused them hastilie, without iudgement, processe, or maner of order to be beheaded, and without other earthlie gilt, but onelie that they were good men, too true to the king, and too nigh to the queene. Now when the lord chamberleine & these other lords and knights were thus beheaded, and rid out of the waie: then thought the protector, that when men mused what the matter meant, while the lords of the realme were about him out of their owne strengths, while no man wist what to thinke, nor whom to trust, yer euer they should haue space to dispute and digest the matter and make parties; it were best hastilie to pursue his purpose, and put himselfe in possession of the crowne, yer men could haue time to deuise anie waie to resist.

The lord Riuers & other beheaded.

But now was all the studie by what meanes this matter, being of it selfe so heinous, might be first broken to the people, in such wise that it might be well taken. To this councell they toke diuerse, such as they thought meetlie to be trusted, likelie to be induced to that part, and able to stand them in steed either by power or policie. Among whome they made of councell Edmund Shaw knight then maior of London, which vpon trust of his owne aduancement, whereof he was of a proud heart highlie desirous, should frame the citie to their appetite. Of spirituall men they toke such as had wit, and were in authoritie among the people for opinion of their learning, and had no scrupulous conscience. Among these had they Iohn Shaw clearke brother to the maior, and frier Penker, prouinctall of the Augustine friers both doctors of diuinitie, both great preachers, both of more learning than vertue, of more fame than learning. For they were before greatlie esteemed among the people: but after that neuer.

Edmund Shaw maior of London.

Of these two the one had a sermon in praise of the protector before the coronation, the other after, both so full of tedious flatterie, that no mans eares could abide them. Penker in his sermon so lost his voice, that he was faine to leaue off, and come downe in the midst. Doctor Shaw by his sermon lost his honestie, & soone after his life, for verie shame of the world, into which he durst neuer after come abroad. But the frier forced for no shame, and so it harmed him the lesse. Howbeit some doubt, and manie thinke, that Penker was not of counsell in the matter before the coronation, but after the common maner fell to flatterie after: namelie sith his sermon was not incontinentlie vpon it, but at saint Marie hospitall at the Easter after.

Doct. Shaw, Frier Penker.

But certeine it is, that doctor Shaw was of counsell in the begining, so farre forth that they determined that he should first breake the matter in a sermon at Paules crosse, in which he should (by the authoritie of his preaching) incline the people to the protectors ghostlie purpose. But now was all the labor and studie in the deuise of some conuenient pretert, for which the people should be content to depose the prince, and accept the protector for king. In which diuerse things they deuised. But the chéefe thing & the weightiest of all that inuention rested in this, that they should alledge bastardie, either in king Edward himselfe, or in his children, or both. So that he should seeme disabled to inherit the crowne, by the duke of Yorke, and the prince by him.

The chiefest deuise to depose the prince.

To laie bastardie in king Edward, sounded openlie to the rebuke of the protectors owne mother, which was mother to them both; for in that point could be no other color, but to pretend that his owne mother was an adultresse, which notwithstanding, to further this purpose he letted not. But neuertheless he would that point should be lesse and more fauourablie handled: not euen fullie plaine and directlie, but that the matter should be touched aslope craftilie, as

though men spared in that point to speake all the truth, for feare of his displeasure. But the other point concerning the bastardie that they deuised to surmize in king Edwards children, that would he should be openlie declared and inforced to the vttermost. The colour and pretext whereof cannot be well perceiued, but if we first repeat you some things long before done about king Edwards mariage.

After that king Edward the fourth had deposed king Henrie the first, and was in peaceable possession of the realme, determining himselfe to marie (as it was meet both for him selfe & the realme) he sent ouer in ambassage the erle of Warwike, with other noble men in his companie to Spaine, to treat & conclude a mariage betweene K. Edward & the kings daughter of Spaine. In which thing the erle of Warwike found the parties so toward & willing, that he spedily (according to his instructions without any difficultie) brought the matter to verie good conclusion. Now happened it, that in the meane season there came to make a suite by petition to the king dame Elizabeth Greie, which was after his queene, at that time a widow, borne of noble blood, by hir mother, duches of Bedford, yer she maried the lord Wooduile, hir father.

See before pag. 667, 668.

Dame Elizabeth Greie.

Howbeit, this dame Elizabeth hir selfe, being in seruice with queene Margaret, wife vnto king Henrie the first, wis maried vnto one [Iohn] Greie an esquier, whome king Henrie made knight vpon the field that he had on [Barnet heath by saint Albons] against king Edward. But litle while inioied he that knighthod: for he was at the same field slaine. After which done, and the earle of Warwike, being in his ambassage about the afore remembred mariage, this poore ladie made humble suite vnto the king, that she might be restored vnto such small lands as hir late husband had giuen hir in ioincture. Whome when the king beheld, and heard hir speake, as she was both faire and of a goodlie fauor, moderate of stature, well made, and verie wise: he not onelie pitied hir, but also waxed inamoured of hir. And taking hir afterward secretlie aside, began to enter in talking more familiarlie. Whose appetite when she perceiued, she vertuouslie denied him.

But that did she so wiselie, and with so good maner, and words so well set, that she rather kindled his desire than quenched it. And finallie, after manie a meeting, much wooing, and many great promises, she well espieng the kings affection toward hir so greatlie increased, that she durst somewhat the more boldlie saie hir mind, as to him whose hart she perceiued more feruentlie set, than to fall off for a word. And in conclusion, she shewed him plaine, that as she was vnlikelie too simple to be his wife, so thought she hir selfe too good to be his concubine. The king much maruelling at hir constancie (as he that had not been wont elsewhere to be so stiffelie said nate) so much esteemed hir continencie and chastitie, that he set hir vertue in the stead of possession and riches: and thus taking counsell of his desire, determined in all possible hast to marie hir.

A wise answer of a chast and continent ladie.

Now after he was thus appointed, and had betweene them twaine insured hir: then asked he counsell of his other frends, and that in such maner, as they might then perceiue it boted not greatlie to say nate. Notwithstanding the duches of Yorke his mother was so sore moued therewith, that she dissuaded the mariage as much as she possible might; alledging that it was his honour, profit, and suertie also, to marie in a noble progenie out of his realme, whereupon depended great strength to his estate, by the affinitie and great possibilitie of increase of his possession. And that he could not well otherwise do, seeing that the earle of Warwike had so farre moued alreadie: which were not likelie to take it well, if all his voiage were in such wise frustrate, and his appointment deluded. And she said also, that it was not princelie to marie his owne subiect, no great occasion leading thereunto, no possessions, or other commodities depending thereupon; but onlie as it were a rich man that would marie his maid, onelie for a little wanton dotage vpon hir person.

The kings mother.

In which mariage manie no commend the maidens fortune, than the maisters wisedome. And yet therein (she said) was more honestie than honour in this mariage. For somuch as there is betweene no merchant and his owne maid so great difference, as betweene the king and this widow. In whose person, albeit there was nothing to be misliked; yet was there (she said) nothing so excellent, but that it might be found in diuerse other that were more mætlie (quoth she) for your estate, and maidens also; whereas the onelie widowhead of Elizabeth Greie, though she were in all other things conuenient for you, should yet suffice (as me seemeth) to refraine you from hir mariage, sith it is an vnfitting thing, and a verie blemish and high disparagement to the sacred maiestie of a prince, that ought as nigh to approch priesthood in cleanneslie as he doth in dignitie, to be defiled with bigamie in his first mariage.

The kings answer to his mother.

The king, when his mother had said, made hir answer, part in earnest, part in plaie merilis, as he that wist himselfe out of hir rule. And albeit he would gladlie that she should take it well, yet was at a point in his owne mind, toke she it well or otherwise. Howbeit somewhat to satisfie hir, he said, that albeit mariage (being a spirituall thing) ought rather to be made for the respect of God, where his grace inclineth the parties to loue togither, as he trusted it was in his, than for the regard of anie temporall aduauntage: yet neuertheless, him seemed that this mariage, euen worldlie considered, was not vnprofitable. For he reckoned the amitie of no earthlie nation so necessarie for him, as the frendship of his owne, which he thought likely to beare him so much the more hartie fauour, in that he disdeined not to marie with one of his owne land.

And yet if outward aliance were thought so requisite, he would find the means to enter thereinto, much better by other of his kin, where all the parties could be contented, than to marie himselfe whome he should haplie neuer loue; and for the possibilitie of more possessions, leese the fruit and pleasure of this that he had alreadie. For small pleasure taketh a man of all that euer he hath beside, if he be wiued against his appetite. And I doubt not (quoth he) but there be (as ye say) other, that be in euerie point comparable with hir. And therefore I let not them that like them to wed them. No more is it reason, that it mislike anie man, that I marrie where it liketh me. And I am sure that my cousine of Warwike neither loueth me so little, to grudge at that I loue; nor is so vnreasonable, to loke that I should in choise of a wife, rather be ruled by his eie, than by mine owne: as though I were a ward that were bound to marie by the appointment of a gardian.

Libertie preferred before kingdome.

I would not be a king with that condition, to forbeare mine owne libertie in choise of mine owne mariage. As for possibilitie of more inheritance by new affinitie in strange lands, is oft the occasion of more trouble than profit. And we haue alreadie title by that meanes vnto so much, as sufficeth to get and keepe well in one mans daies. That she is a widow, and hath alreadie children; by Gods blessed ladie, I am a bacheler, and haue some too, and so ech of vs hath a proofe that neither of vs is like to be barren. And therefore (madame) I praie you be content, I trust in God she shall bring forth a yong prince that shall please you. And as for the bigamie, let the bishop hardlie

hardlie laie it in my waie when I come to take orders. For I vnderstand it is forbidden a preest, but I neuer wist it yet, that it was forbidden a prince. [This spake he as alluding to the libertie of princes, whose lust standeth oftentimes for law, and their opinion for reason, according to the saieng of the poet;

Claudi. ——— *tunc omnia iure tenebis,*
Cùm poterus rex esse.]

The duches with these words nothing appeased, and seeing the king so set thereon, that she could not pull him backe, so highlie she disdained it, that vnder pretert of hir dutie to Godward, she deuised to disturbe this mariage, and rather to helpe that he should marie one dame Elizabeth Lucie, whome the king had also not long before gotten with child. Wherefore the kings mother openlie obiected against his mariage, as it were in discharge of hir conscience, that the king was sure to dame Elizabeth Lucie and hir husband before God. By reason of which words, such obstacle was made in the matter, that either the bishops durst not, or the king would not proceed to the solemnization of this wedding, till these same were clearlie purged, and the truth well and openlie testified. Wherevpon dame Elizabeth Lucie was then sent for.

Elizabeth Lucie.

And albeit that she was by the kings mother and manie other put in good comfort, to affirme that she was ensured vnto the king: yet when she was solemnlie sworne to saie the truth, she confessed that they were neuer ensured. Howbeit she said his grace spake so louing words vnto hir, that she verelie hoped he would haue married hir. And that if it had not beene for such kind words, she would neuer haue shewed such kindnesse to him, to let him so kindlie get hir with child. This examination solemnelie taken, when it was clerelie perceiued, that there was none impediment: the king with great feast and honourable solemnitie married dame Elizabeth Grese, and hir crowned quæne that was his enimies wife, and manie times had praied full hartilie for his losse, in which God loued hir better than to grant hir hir boone.

The kings mariage.

But when the earle of Warwike vnderstood of this marriage, he toke it so highlie that his ambassage was deluded, that for verie anger and disdaine he (at his returning) assembled a great puissance against the king, and came so fast vpon him yer he could be able to resist, that he was faine to void the realme, and flee into Holland for succor, where he remained for the space of two yeares, leauing his new wife at Westminster in sanctuarie, where she was deliuered of Edward the prince, of whome we before haue spoken. In which meane time the earle of Warwike toke out of prison, and set vp againe king Henrie the first, who was before by king Edward deposed, and that much what by the power of the erle of Warwike, which was a wise man, and a courageous warriour, and of such strength, what for his lands, his alliance, and fauor with all people, that he made kings and put downe kings almost at his pleasure, and not impossible to haue atteined it himselfe, if he had not reckoned it a greater thing to make a king than to be a king.

The king fled

The prince borne.

King Henrie the first set vp.

Of the earle of Warwike.

The earle of Warwike slaine.

But nothing lasteth alwaie: for in conclusion, king Edward returned, and with much lesse number than he had at Barnet on the Easterdate field, slue the earle of Warwike, with manie other great estates of that partie, & so stablie atteined the crowne againe, that he peaceablie enioied it vntill his dieng date: and in such plight left it, that it could not be lost but by the discord of his verie friends, or falshod of his feined frends. I haue rehearsed this businesse about this marriage somewhat the more at length, because it might thereby the better appeare, vpon how slipperie a ground the protector builded his colour, by which he pretended king Edwards children to be bastards. But that inuention, simple as it was, it liked them to whome it sufficed to haue somewhat to saie, while they were sure to be compelled to no larger proofe than themselues list to make.

Now then (as I began to shew you) it was by the protector and his councell concluded, that this doctor Shaw should in a sermon at Pauls crosse signifie to the people, that neither king Edward himselfe, nor the duke of Clarence, were lawfullie begotten, nor were not the verie children of the duke of Yorke, but gotten vnlawfullie by other persons, in adulterie, of the duches their mother. And that also dame Elizabeth Lucie was verelie the wife of king Edward, and so the prince and all his children bastards, that were begotten vpon the quæne. Accoding to this deuise doctor Shaw the sundaie after, at Paules crosse in a great audience (as alwaie assembled great number to his preaching) he toke for his theame; *Spuria vitilamina non agent radices altas*, that is to saie; Bastard slippes shall neuer take deepe root.

Doc. Shaws sermon.

Therevpon when he had shewed the great grace that God giueth, and secretlie infundeth in right generation after the lawes of matrimonie, then declared he, that commonlie those children lacked that grace, and for the punishment of their parents were (for the more part) vnhapie, which were gotten in base, and speciallie in adulterie. Of which, though some, by the ignorance of the world and the truth hid from knowledge, inherited for the season other mens lands, yet God alwaie so prouideth, that it continueth not in their bloud long: but the truth comming to light, the rightfull inheritors be restored, and the bastard slip pulled vp yer it can be roted deepe. And so he did laie for the proofe and confirmation of this sentence certeine insamples taken out of the old testament, and other ancient histories.

This preacher was taught his lesson yer he came into the pulpit.

Then began he to descend into the praise of the lord Richard late duke of Yorke, calling him father to the lord protector, and declared the title of his heires vnto the crowne, to whome it was (after the death of king Henrie the first) installed by authoritie of parlement. Then shewed he that his verie right heire of his bodie lawfullie begotten was onelie the lord protector. For he declared then, that king Edward was neuer lawfullie married vnto the quæne, but was before God husband vnto dame Elizabeth Lucie, and so his children bastards. And besides that, neither king Edward himselfe, nor the duke of Clarence, among those that were secret in the houshold, were reckoned verie suerlie for the children of the noble duke, as those that by their fauours more resembled other knowne men than him. From whose vertuous conditions he said also that the late king Edward was far off.

K. Edward slandered in a sermon.

But the lord protector he said, the verie noble prince, the speciall paterne of knightlie prowesse, as well in all princelie behauior, as in the lineaments and fauour of his visage, represented the verie face of the noble duke his father. This is, quoth he, the fathers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the verie print of his visage, the sure vndoubted image, the plaine expresse likenesse of that noble duke. Now was it before deuised, that in the speaking of these words, the protector should haue comen in among the people to the sermon ward, to the end that those words meeting with his presence, might haue been taken among the hearers, as though the Holie ghost had put them in the preachers mouth, & should haue moued the people euen there to crie; King Richard, king Richard: that it might haue beene after said, that he was specially chosen by God, and in

A marueilous deuise to moue the assemblie.

maner by miracle. But this deuise quailed, either by the protectors negligence, or the preachers ouermuch diligence.

For while the protector found by the waie tarieng least he should preuent those words, and the doctor fearing that he should come yer his sermon could come to these words, hasted his matter thereto, he was come to them and past them, and entred into other matters yer the protector came. Whome when he beheld comming, he suddenlie left the matter with which he was in hand, and without anie deduction thereunto, out of all order and out of all frame, began to repeat those words againe: This is the verie noble prince, the speciall patrone of knightlie prowesse, which as well in all princelie behauior, as in the lineaments & fauor of his visage, representeth the verie face of the noble duke of Yorke his father: this is the fathers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the verie print of his visage, the sure vndoubted image, the plaine expresse likenesse of the noble duke, whose remembrance can neuer die while he liueth.

K. Richard commended by the preacher.

While these words were in speaking, the protector accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, went through the people into the place where the doctors commonlie stand in the vpper storie, where he stood to hearken the sermon. But the people were so farre fro crieng; K. Richard, that they stood as they had beene turned into stones, for wonder of this shamefull sermon. After which once ended, the preacher gat him home, and neuer after durst looke out for shame, but kept him out of sight like an owle. And when he once asked one that had beene his old friend what the people talked of him, all were it that his owne conscience well shewed him that they talked no good; yet when the tother answered him, that there was in euerie mans mouth spoken of him much shame, it so strake him to the heart, that within few daies after he withered and consumed awaie [for verie thought and inward pine, procured by irrecouerable cares, whose nature is noted by obseruation of their effects:

Note ỹ course of Gods iudgement.

Attenuant vigiles corpus miserabile curæ.]

Ouid. lib. 3. met.

Then on the tuesdaie following this sermon, there came to the Guildhall in London the duke of Buckingham, accompanied with diuerse lords and knights mo than happilie knew the message that they brought. And there in the east end of the hall, where the maior keepeth the Hustings, the maior and all the aldermen being assembled about him, all the commons of the citie gathered before them. After silence commanded vpon great paine in the protectors name: the duke stood vp, and (as he was neither vnlearned, and of nature marueilouslie well spoken) he said vnto the people with a cleare and lowd voice in this maner of wise.

The duke of Buckinghams oration to the assemblie of the maior, aldermen, and commoners.

FRiends, for the zeale and heartie fauour that we beare you, we be comen to breake vnto you of a matter right great and weightie, and no lesse weightie than pleasing to God, and profitable to all the realme: nor to no part of the realme more profitable, than to you the citizens of this noble citie. For whie, that thing that we wote well ye haue long time lacked, and sore longed for, that ye would haue giuen great good for, that ye would haue gone farre to fetch; that thing we be come hither to bring you without your labour, paine, cost, aduenture or ieopardie. What thing is that? Certes the suertie of your owne bodies, the quiet of your wiues and your daughters, the safegard of your goods: of all which things in times past ye stood euermore in doubt. For who was there of you all, that would reckon himselfe lord of his own goods among so manie grens & traps as was set therefore, among so much pilling and polling, among so manie taxes and tallages, of which there was neuer end, & oftentimes no need? Or if anie were, it rather grew of riot, and vnreasonable waste, than anie necessarie or honourable charge.

A notable persuasion.

So that there was dailie pilled fro good men and honest, great substance of goods, to be lashed out among vnthrifts; so far forth, that fiftænes sufficed not, nor anie vsuall names of knowne taxes: but vnder an easie name of beneuolence and good will, the commissioners so much of euerie man tooke as no man could with his good will haue giuen. As though that name of beneuolence had signified, that euerie man should paie, not what himselfe of his owne good will list to grant, but what the king of his good will list to take. Which neuer asked little, but euerie thing was hawsed aboue the measure, amercements turned into fines, fines into ransoms, small trespasses into misprison, misprison into treason. Whereof (I thinke) no man loketh that we should remember you of examples by name, as though Burdet were forgotten, that was for a word spoken in hast cruellie beheaded, by the misconstruing of the lawes of this realme, for the princes pleasure.

Burdet.

With no lesse honour to Markam then chefe iustice, that left [the benefit & dignitie] of his office, rather than he would assent to the dishonestie of those, that either for feare or flatterie gaue that iudgement. What Cooke, your owne worshipfull neighbour, alderman and maior of this noble citie, who is of you so either negligent that he knoweth not, or so forgetfull that he remembreth not, or so hard hearted that he pitteth not that worshipfull mans losse? What speake we of losse? His vtter spoile and vndeserued destruction, onelie for that it happed those to fauour him whome the prince fauoured not. We need not (I suppose) to rehearse of these anie mo by name, sith there be (I doubt not) manie here present, that either in themselues or in their nigh friends haue knowne, as well their goods as their persons greatlie indangered, either by feigned quarels, or small matters aggreeued with heinous names. And also there was no crime so great, of which there could lacke a pretext.

Markam.

Cooke.

For sith the king, preuenting the time of this inheritance, atteined the crowne by battell: it sufficed in a rich man for a pretext of treason, to haue beene of kinred or aliance, neer familiaritie, or legier acquaintance with anie of those that were at anie time

time the kings enimies, which was at one time and other more than halfe the relme. Thus were neither your goods in suertie, and yet they brought your bodies in ieopardie, beside the common aduenture of open warre, which albeit that it is euer the will and occasion of much mischæfe, yet is it neuer so mischæuous, as where any people fall at distance among themselues; nor in none earthlie nation so deadlie and so pestilent, as when it hapneth among vs; and among vs neuer so long continued dissention, nor so manie batels in that season, nor so cruell and so deadlie fought, as was in that kings daies that dead is; God forgiue it his soule.

Open warre not so ill as ciuill.

In whose time, and by whose occasion, what about the getting of the garland, kæping it, læsing and winning againe, it hath cost more English bloud, than hath twise the winning of France. In which inward war among our selues, hath bæne so great effusion of the ancient noble bloud of this realme, that scarselie the halfe remaineth, to the great infæbling of this noble land, beside manie a good towne ransacked and spoiled by them, that haue bæne going to the field or comming from thence. And peace long after not much surer than war. So that no time was therein, which rich men for their monie, and great men for their lands, or some other for some feare, or some displeasure were not out of perill. For whom trusted he that mistrusted his owne brother? Whome spared he that killed his owne brother? Or who could perfectlie loue him, if his owne brother could not?

Ciuill warre the occasion of manie great inconuentences.

What maner of folke he most fauoured we shall for his honour spare to speake of. Howbeit this wote you well all, that who so was best, bare alwaie least rule; & more sute was in his daies to Shores wife, a vile and an abhominable strumpet, than to all the lords in England: except vnto those that made hir their proctor. Which simple woman was well named & honest, till the king for his wanton lust and sinfull affection bereft hir from hir husband, a right honest substantiall yong man among you. And in that point, which in good faith I am sorie to speake of, sauing that it is in vaine to kæpe in counsell that thing that all men know, the kings grædie appetite was insatiable, and euerie where ouer all the realme intollerable.

Shores wife more fued vnthan all the lords in England.

For no woman was there anie where, yong or old, rich or poore, whome he set his eie vpon, in whome he anie thing liked, either person or fauour, speech, pase, or countenance, but without anie feare of God, or respect of his honour, murmur or grudge of the world, he would importunelie pursue his appetite, and haue hir, to the great destruction of manie a good woman, and great dolor to their husbands, and their other frends; which being honest people of themselues, so much regard the cleannesse of their house, the chastitie of their wiues, and their children, that them were leuer to læse all that they had beside, than to haue such a villanie donne them. And all were it that with this and other importable dealing, the realme was in euerie part annoied: yet speciallie yæ hære the citizens of this noble citie, as well for that amongest you is most plentie of all such things as minister matter to such iniuries as for that you were nærest at hand, sith that nære hære abouts was commonlie his most abiding.

He directeth his speech to ỹ communaltie of the citie.

And yet be yæ the people, whome he had as singular cause well and kindlie to intreat, as anie part of his realme; not onelie for that the prince (by this noble citie, as his speciall chamber, & the speciall well renowmed citie of this realme) much honourable fame receiueth among all other nations: but also for that yæ (not without your great cost, & sundrie perils & ieopardies in all his warres) bare euen your speciall fauor to his part. Which your kind minds borne to the house of Yorke, sith he hath nothing worthilie acquited, there is of that house that now by Gods grace better shall: which thing to shew you is the whole summe and effect of this our present errand. It shall not (I wot well) need that I rehearse you againe, that yæ haue alreadie heard of him that can better tell it, and of whome I am sure yæ will better beleue it. And reason is that it so be.

London the kings especiall chamber.

I am not so proud, to loke therefore that yæ should reckon my words of as great authoritie as the preachers of the word of God, namlie a man so cunning and so wise, that no man better woteth what he should saie, and thereto so good and vertuous, that he would not saie the thing which he wist he should not saie, in the pulpit namelie, into the which no honest man commeth to lie. Which honorable preacher, yæ well remember, substantiallie declared vnto you at Paules crosse, on sundaie last passed, the right & title that the most excellent prince Richard duke of Glocester, now protector of this realme, hath vnto the crowne and kingdome of the same. For as the worshipfull man groundlie made open vnto you, the children of king Edward the fourth were neuer lawfullie begotten, forsomuch as the king (leauing his verie wife dame Elizabeth Lucie) was neuer lawfullie maried vnto the quæne their mother, whose bloud, sauing that he set his voluptuous pleasure before his honor, was full vnmætlie to be matched with his; and the mingling of whose bloods togither, hath bæne the effusion of a great part of the noble bloud of this realme.

Doct. Shaw commended by the duke of Buckingh.

A slanderous lie confirmed.

Wherby it may well sæme the mariage not well made, of which there is so much mischæfe growne. For lacke of which lawfull coupling, & also of other things which the said worshipfull doctor rather signified than fullie explaned, & which things shall not be spoken for me, as the thing wherein euerie man forbereth to say that he know-

eth in auoiding displeasure of my noble lord protector, bearing (as nature requireth) a filiall reuerence to the duchesse his mother. For these causes (I say) before remembred, that is to wit, for lacke of other issue lawfullie of the late noble prince Richard duke of Yorke, to whose roiall bloud the crowne of England and of France is by the high authoritie of parlement intailed, the right and title of the same is by the iust course of inheritance (according to the cõmon lawes of the land) deuolued & commen vnto the most excellent prince the lord protector, as to the verie lawfullie begotten sonne of the forenamed noble duke of Yorke.

The title of K. Richard to the crowne.

Which thing well considered, and the great knightlie prowesse pondered, with manifold vertues, which in his noble person singularlie abound; the nobles and commons also of this realme, and speciallie of the north part, not willing anie bastard bloud to haue the rule of the land, nor the abusions before in the same vsed anie longer to continue, haue condescended and fullie determined, to make humble petition to the most puissant prince the lord protector, that it maie like his grace (at our humble request) to take vpon him the guiding and gouernance of this realme, to the wealth and increase of the same, according to his verie right and iust title. Which thing I wote it well, he will be loth to take vpon him, as he whose wisdome well perceiueth the labor and studie both of mind and bodie, that come therewith, to whomsoeuer so will occupie the rome, as I dare say hee will, if he take it. Which rome I warne you well is no childs office. And that the great wise man well perceiued, when hee said: *Væ regno cuius rex puer est:* Wo is that realme that hath a child to their king.

The dignitie and office of a king full of care & studie.

Wherefore so much the more cause haue we to thanke God, that this noble personage, which is so rightlie intituled thervnto, is of so sad age, & thereto so great wisedome ioined with so great experience, which albeit hee will bee loth (as I haue said) to take it vpon him, yet shall he to our petition in that behalfe more gratiouslie incline, if ye the worshipfull citizens of this the cheefe citie of this realme, ioine with vs the nobles in our said request. Which for your owne weale (we doubt not) but ye will: and natheless I heartilie pray you so to do, whereby you shall do great profit to all this realme beside, in choosing them so good a king, and vnto your selues speciall commoditie, to whom his maiestie shall euer after beare so much the more tender fauor, in how much he shall perceiue you the more prone and beneuolentlie minded toward his election. Wherin deere friends what mind you haue, wee require you plainlie to shew vs.

When the duke had said, and looked that the people, whome he hoped that the maior had framed before, should after this proposition made, haue cried; King Richard, king Richard; all was husht and mute, and not one word answered therevnto. Wherewith the duke was maruellouslie abashed, and taking the maior nearer to him, with other that were about him priuie to that matter, said vnto them softlie. What meaneth this, that the people be so still? Sir (quoth the maior) percase they perceiue you not well. That shall we mend (quoth he) if that will helpe. And by & by somewhat lowder he rehersed to them the same matter againe in other order, and other words, so well and ornatlie, and natheless so euidentlie and plaine, with voice, gesture, and countenance so comelie, and so conuenient, that euerie man much maruelled that heard him, and thought that they neuer had in their liues heard so euill a tale so well told [insomuch that he seemed as cunning an orator, as he, of whome the poet spake to his high praise & cõmendation, saieng:

Quælibet eloquio causa fit apta suo.]

The election of K. Richard hardlie to be preferred.

But were it for wonder or feare, or that each loked that other should speake first: not one word was there answered of all the people that stood before, but all was as still as the midnight, not somuch as rowning amongest them, by which they might seeme to commune what was best to do. When the maior saw this, he with other partners of that councell drew about the duke, and said that the people had not béene accustomed there to be spoken vnto, but by the recorder, which is the mouth of the citie, and happilie to him they will answer. With that the recorder, called Fitz William, a sad man, & an honest, which was so new come into that office, that he neuer had spoken to the people before, and loth was with that matter to begin, notwithstanding therevnto commanded by the maior, made rehearsall to the commons of that the duke had twise rehearsed to them himselfe.

Fitz William recorder.

But the recorder so tempered his tale, that he shewed euerie thing as the dukes words, and no part his owne. But all this noting no change made in the people, which alwaie after one stood as they had béene men amazed. Where vpon the duke rowned vnto the maior and said; This is a maruellous obstinate silence: and therewith he turned vnto the people againe with these words; Déere friends, we come to moue you to that thing, which peraduenture we not so greatlie néeded, but that the lords of this realme, and the commons of other parties might haue sufficed, sauing that we such loue beare you, and so much set by you, that we would not gladlie do without you, that thing in which to be partners is your weale and honor, which (as it séemeth) either you sée not, or weie not. Wherefore we require you giue vs answer one way or other, whether you be minded, as all the nobles of the realme be, to haue this noble prince, now protector, to be your king or not.

At these words the people began to whisper among themselues secretly, that the voice was neither lowd nor distinct, but as it were the sound of a swarme of bées, till at the last in the nether end of the hall, an ambushment of the dukes seruants and Mashfields, and other belonging to the protector, with some prentises and lads that thrust into the hall amongst the preasse, began suddenlie at mens backes to crie out, as lowd as their throtes would giue; King Richard, king Richard: and threw vp their caps in token of ioy. And they that stood before, cast backe their heads maruelling therof, but nothing they said. Now when the duke and the maior saw this maner, they wisselie turned it to their purpose, and said it was a goodlie crie, & a ioifull, to heare euerie man with one voice, no man saieng naie.

K. Richards election preferred by voices of confederacie.

Wherefore friends (quoth the duke) sith we perceiue it is all your whole minds to haue this noble man for your king (whereof we shall make his grace so effectuall report, that we doubt not but it shall redound vnto your great weale and commoditie) we require

require ye, that ye to morrow go with vs, and we with you vnto his noble grace, to make our humble requeſt vnto him in maner before remembred. And therewith the lords came downe, and the companie diſſolued and departed, the more part all ſad: ſome with glad ſemblance that were not verie merrie, and ſome of thoſe that came thither with the duke not able to diſſemble their ſorrow, were faine at his backe to turne their face to the wall, while the dolor of their hearts burſt out of their eies.

The maiors comming to Bainards caſtell vnto the lord protector.

Then on the morrow after, the maior with all the aldermen, and chiefe commoners of the citie, in their beſt maner apparelled, aſſembling themſelues togither, reſorted vnto Bainards caſtell, where the protector late. To which place repaired alſo (according to their appointment) the duke of Buckingham, and diuerſe noble men with him, beſide manie knights and other gentlemen. And thereupon the duke ſent word vnto the lord protector, of the being there of a great and honourable companie, to moue a great matter vnto his grace. Whereupon the protector made difficultie to come out vnto them, but if he firſt knew ſome part of their errand, as though he doubted and partlie miſtruſted the comming of ſuch a number vnto him ſo ſuddenlie, without anie warning or knowledge, whether they came for good or harme.

Then the duke, when he had ſhewed this to the maior and other, that they might thereby ſée how little the protector loked for this matter, they ſent vnto him by the meſſenger ſuch louing meſſage againe, and therewith ſo humblie beſought him, to vouchſafe that they might reſort to his preſence to propoſe their intent, of which they would vnto none other perſon anie part diſcloſe; that at the laſt he came forth of his chamber, and yet not downe vnto them, but ſtood aboue in a gallerie ouer them, where they might ſée him, and ſpeake to him, as though he would not yet come too néere them till he wiſt what they ment. And thervpon the duke of Buckingham firſt made humble petition vnto him on the behalfe of them all, that his grace would pardon them, and licence them to propoſe vnto his grace the intent of their comming, without his diſpleaſure, without which pardon obteined, they durſt not be bold to moue him of that matter.

In which albeit they ment as much honor to his grace, as wealth to all the realme beſide, yet were they not ſure how his grace would take it, whome they would in no wiſe offend. Then the protector (as he was verie gentle of himſelfe, and alſo longed ſore to wit what they ment) gaue him leaue to propoſe what him liked, verelie trulking (for the good mind that he bare them all) none of them anie thing would intend vnto himward, wherewith he ought to bée greéued. When the duke had this leaue and pardon to ſpeake, then waxed he bold to ſhew him their intent and purpoſe, with all the cauſes moouing them thereunto (as ye before haue heard) and finallie to beſéech his grace, that it would like him, of his accuſtomed goodneſſe and zeale vnto the realme, now with his eie of pitie to behold the long continued diſtreſſe and decaie of the ſame, and to ſet his gratious hands to redreſſe and amendment thereof.

All which he might well do, by taking vpon him the crowne and gouernance of this realme, according to his right and title lawfullie deſcended vnto him, and to the laud of God, profit of the land, & vnto his noble grace ſo much the more honour, and leſſe paine, in that, that neuer prince reigned vpon anie people, that were ſo glad to liue vnder his obeiſance, as the people of this realme vnder his. When the protector had heard the propoſition, he loked verie ſtrangelie thereat, and anſwered; that all were it that he partlie knew the things by them alledged to be true, yet ſuch entire loue he bare vnto king Edward and his children, that ſo much more regarded his honour in other realmes about, than the crowne of anie one of which he was neuer deſirous, that he could not find in his hart in this point to incline to their deſire. For in all other nations, where the truth were not well knowne, it ſhould peraduenture be thought, that it were his owne ambitious mind and deuiſe, to depoſe the prince, and take himſelfe the crowne.

O ſingular diſſimulation of king Richard.

With which infamie he would not haue his honour ſtained for anie crowne, in which he had euer perceiued much more labour and paine, than pleaſure to him that ſo would vſe it, as he that would not, were not worthie to haue it. Notwithſtanding, he not onlie pardoned them the motion that they made him, but alſo thanked them for the loue and hartie fauour they bare him, praieng them for his ſake to giue and beare the ſame to the prince, vnder whom he was, and would be content to liue, and with his labour and counſell (as farre as ſhould like the king to vſe him) he would do his vttermoſt deuoir to ſet the realme in good ſtate, which was alreadie in this little while of his protectorſhip (the praiſe giuen to God) well begun, in that the malice of ſuch as were before occaſion of the contrarie, and of new intended to be, were now partlie by good policie, & partlie more by Gods ſpeciall prouidence, than mans prouiſion, repreſſed.

K. Richard ſpake otherwiſe than he meant.

Upon this anſwer giuen, the duke by the protectors licence, a little rowned aſwell with other noble men about him, as with the maior and recorder of London. And after that (vpon like pardon deſired & obteined) he ſhewed aloud vnto the protector, that for a finall concluſion, that the realme was appointed K. Edwards line ſhould not anie longer reigne vpon them, both for that they had ſo farre gone, that it was now no ſuertie to retreat, as for that they thought it for the weale vniuerſall to take that waie, although they had not yet begun it. Wherefore, if it would like his grace to take the crowne vpon him, they would humblie beſeech him therevnto. If he would giue them a reſolute anſwer to the contrarie, which they would be loth to heare, then muſt they needs ſeeke and ſhould not faile to find ſome other noble man that would. Theſe words much moued the protector, which elſe (as euerie man may wot) would neuer of likelihood haue inclined thereunto.

But when he ſaw there was none other waie, but that either he muſt take it, or elſe he and his both go from it, he ſaid vnto the lords and commons; Sith we perceiue well that all the realme is ſo ſet, whereof we be verie ſorie, that they will not ſuffer in any wiſe king Edwards line to gouerne them, whom no man earthlie can gouerne againſt their willes; & we well alſo perceiue, that no man is there, to whome the crowne can by iuſt title apperteine, as to our ſelues, as verie right heire lawfully begotten of the bodie of our moſt déere father Richard late duke of Yorke, to which title is now ioined your election, the nobles and commons of this realme, which we of all titles poſſible take for the moſt effectuall: we be content and agrée fauourablie to incline to your petition and requeſt, and (according to the ſame) here we take vpon vs the roiall eſtate, preheminence and kingdome of the two noble realmes, England and France: the one from this daie forward by vs and our heires to rule, gouerne, and defend; the other by Gods grace, and your good helpe, to get againe and ſubdue, and eſtablish for euer in due obedience vnto this realme of England, the aduancement whereof we neuer aſke of God longer to liue than we intend to procure.

The protector taketh vpon him to be king.

With this there was a great ſhout, crieng; King Richard, king Richard. And then the lords went vp to the

the king (for so was he from that time called) and the people departed, talking diuerslie of the matter, euerie man as his fantasie gaue him. But much they talked and maruelled of the maner of this dealing, that the matter was on both parts made so strange, as though neither had euer communed with other thereof before, when that themselues wist there was no man so dull that heard them, but he perceiued well inough that all the matter was made betweene them. Howbeit some excused that againe, and said all must be done in good order though: and men must sometime for the maners sake, not be aknowen what they know [though it be hard to outreach the circumspect, wise, & vigilant minded man; as the poet saith:

A made match to consen the people.

Iuuenal. sat. 2.

——non facile est tibi
Decipere Vlyssem.]

For at the consecration of a bishop, euerie man woteth well by the pateng for his buls, that he purposeth to be one, & though he paie for nothing else. And yet must he be twise asked whether he will be bishop or no, and he must twise saie naie, and the third time take it, as compelled thereunto by his owne will. And in a stage plaie, all the people know right well, that one plaieng the Soldan, is percase a sowter; yet if one should can so little good, to shew out of season what aquaintance he hath with him, and call him by his owne name while he standeth in his maiestie, one of his tormentors might hap to breake his head (and worthie) for marring of the plaie. And so they said, that these matters be kings games, as it were stage plaies, and for the more part plaied vpon scaffolds, in which pore men be but the lokers on. And they that wise be will meddle no further. For they that sometime step vp, and plaie with them, when they can not plaie their parts, they disorder the plaie, and do themselues no good.

Thus farre Edward the fift, who was neuer king crowned, but shamefullie by his vncle slaine, as in the processe following appeereth.

Richard the third, third sonne to Richard duke of Yorke, and vncle *to Edward the fift.*

Anno Reg. 1. 1483

(*) This that is here betweene this marke & this marke(*) was not written by maister More in this historie written by him in English, but is translated out of this historie which he wrote in Latine.

(*) The next daie the protector with a great traine went to Westminster hall, & there when he had placed himselfe in the court of the kings bench, declared to the audience, that he would take vpon him the crowne in that place there, where the king himselfe sitteth and ministreth the law, bicause he considered that it was the chiefest dutie of a king to minister the lawes. Then with as pleasant an oration as he could, he went about to win vnto him the nobles, the merchants, the artificers, and in conclusion all kind of men, but especiallie the lawiers of this realme. And finallie, to the intent that no man should hate him for feare, and that his deceitfull clemencie might get him the good will of the people, when he had declared the discommodities of discord, & the cõmodities of concord & vnitie, he made an open proclamation, that he did put out of his mind all enimities, and that he there did openlie pardon all offenses committed against him.

And to the intent that he might shew a proofe therof, he commanded that one Fog, whom he had long deadlie hated, should be brought then before him, who being brought out of the sanctuarie (for thither had he fled for feare of him) in the sight of the people, he toke him by the hand. Which thing the common people reioised at, and praised, but wise men toke it for a vantie. In his returne homeward, whom so euer he met, he saluted. For a mind that knoweth it selfe guiltie, is in a manner detected to a seruile flatterie [which refuseth no dutifulnesse, tend the same to neuer so hie a degrée of indignitie; which one noteth, saieng:

——rides? maiore cachinno
Concutitur; flet, si lachrymas aspexit amici;
Frigescis? friget; si dixeris, æstuo, sudat.]

When he had begun his reigne in the moneth of June, after this mockish election, then was he crowned king in the verie same moneth. And that solemnitie was furnished, for the most part, with the selfe same prouision that was appointed for the coronation of his nephue. (*) But here to shew the maner of his coronation, as the same is inserted in this pamphlet of sir Thomas More, by maister Edward Hall and Richard Grafton (although not found in the same pamphlet) thus we find it by them reported. (*) First, to be sure of all enimies (as he thought) he sent for fiue thousand men of the north against his coronation, which came vp euill apparelled, and worse harnessed, in rustie harnesse, neither defensible, nor scowred to the sale, which mustered in Finsburie field to the great disdaine of the lokers on. [By which beginning it appeered to the world that he had his state in suspicion, otherwise he would not haue procured such a power to be attendant at his commandment, and that at such time as (all weapons laid aside) peace and tranquillitie should haue bene sought after for the comforts of the peoples minds, & the safetie of his owne person; but being verie mistrustfull & fraught with carefull thoughts, he was in a maze betweene hope and feare, according to this verie true saieng:

From this marke(*) to this (*) is not found in sir Thomas More but in maister Hall and Grafton.

Sollicitæ

Sollicitæ mentes spēque metúque pauent.]

The fourth daie of Julie he came to the Tower by water with his wife, and the fift daie he created Thomas lord Howard duke of Norffolke, and sir Thomas Howard his sonne he created earle of Surrie, and William lord Berkeleie was then created erle of Nottingham, and Francis lord Louell was then made vicount Louell, and the king his chamberleine, and the lord Stanleie was deliuered out of ward, for feare of his sonne the lord Strange, which was then in Lancashire, gathering men (as men said) and the said lord was made steward of the king his houshold: likewise the archbishop of Yorke was deliuered, but Yorton bishop of Elie was committed to the duke of Buckingham to kéepe in ward, which sent him to his manour of Brecknocke in Wales, from whence he escaped to king Richard his confusion.

The same night, the king made seuentéene knights of the Bath, whose names insue: Sir Edmund the duke of Suffolks sonne, sir George Greie, the earle of Kents sonne, sir William, the lord Zouches sonne, sir Henrie Aburgauennie, sir Christopher Willoughbie, sir William Berkeleie, sir Henrie Babington, sir Thomas Arundell, sir Thomas Bologne, sir Gerueis of Clifton, sir William Saie, sir Edmund Bedingfield, sir William Enderbie, sir Thomas Lekenor, sir Thomas of Ormon, sir John Browne, sir William Berkeleie. The next daie, being the fift daie of Julie, the king rode through the citie of London toward Westminster with great pompe, being accompanied with these dukes, earles, lords, and knights, whose names follow. Edward prince of Wales, the kings onelie sonne. Dukes: the duke of Norffolke, the duke of Buckingham, the duke of Suffolke. Earles: the earle of Northumberland, the earle of Arundell, the earle of Kent, the earle of Surrie, the earle of Wiltshire, the earle of Huntington, the earle of Nottingham, the earle of Warwike, the earle of Lincolne. Lords: the lord Lisle vicount, the lord Louell vicount, the lord Stanleie, the lord Audleie, the lord Dacres, the lord Ferrers of Chertleie, the lord Powes, the lord Scrope of Upsall, the lord Scrope of Bolton, the lord Greie Codner, the lord Greie of Wilton, the lord Sturton, the lord Cobham, the lord Morleie, the lord Aburgauennie, the lord Zouch, the lord Ferrers of Grobie, the lord Welles, the lord Lomleie, the lord Matreuers, the lord Herbert, the lord Becham. Knights: sir James Tirell, sir William Kneuet, sir Thomas Aborow, sir William Stanleie, sir William Aparre, sir George Browne, sir Robert Middleton, sir John Henningham, sir Nicholas Latimer, sir Thomas Montgomerie, sir Thomas Delamer, sir Gilbert Debnam, sir Terrie Robsart, sir William Brandon, sir John Sauell, sir Henrie Wentford, sir Edward Stanleie, sir Henrie Sentmount, sir William Pong, sir Thomas Bowser, sir Henrie Winkefield, sir Thomas Worsleie, sir John Sentlow, sir Charles of Pilkington, sir James Harrington, sir John Ashleie, sir Thomas Berkeleie, sir Richard Becham, sir William Hopton, sir Thomas Persie, sir Robert Dimmocke, sir John Cheinie, sir Richard Ludlow, sir John Eldrington, sir William Sands, sir Richard Dudleie, sir William Sentlow, sir Tho. Twaights, sir Edmund of Dudleie, sir Rafe Ashton, sir Richard Charlington, sir Thomas Greie, sir Philip Berkeleie, sir Robert Harington, sir Thomas Greffleie, sir Richard Harecourt, sir William Moris, sir Thomas Selenger, sir Richard Hodlesten, sir John Contas, sir William Stoner, sir Philip Courtneie, sir William Gascoigne, sir Richard Amedilton, sir Roger Fines, sir George Uere, sir Henrie Persie, sir John Wood, sir John Aparre, sir John Greie, sir John Danbie, sir Richard Tatlebush, sir John Rudet, sir John Herring, sir Richard Suderbie, sir John Berkeleie, sir James Stranguish, sir Rafe Carnbrecke, sir John Constable, sir Robert Eliard, sir Richard Derell, sir John Gilford, sir John Lekenor, sir John Norleie, sir John Hues, sir John Bologne, sir Edmund Shaw alderman.

Seuentéene knights of the bath created by king Richard.

What péers & states were attendant on him going to his coronation.

On the morow, being the first daie of Julie, the king with quéene Anne his wife, came downe out of the White hall into the great hall at Westminster, and went directlie into the kings Bench. And from thense, the king and the quéene going vpon rate cloth barefoted, went vnto saint Edwards shrine, and all his nobilitie going with him, euerie lord in his degrée. And first went the trumpets, and then the heralds of armes in their rich coats, & next followed the crosse with a solemne procession, the priests hauing fine surplisses and grate amisses vpon them. The abbats and bishops mitred and in rich copes, & euerie of them caried their crosiers in their hands. The bishop of Rochester bare the crosse before the cardinall. Then followed the earle of Huntington bearing a paire of gilt spurres, signifieng knighthood. Then followed the earle of Bedford bearing saint Edwards staffe for a relike.

The ceremonies vsed at king Richards coronation.

After them came the earle of Northumberland bare-headed, with the pointlesse sword naked in his hand, which signified mercie. The lord Stanleie bare the mace of the constableship. The earle of Kent bare the second sword on the right hand of the king naked, with a point, which signified iustice vnto the temporaltie. The lord Louell bare the third sword on the left hand with a point, which signified iustice to the cleargie. The duke of Suffolke followed with the scepter in his hand, which signified peace. The earle of Lincolne bare the ball and crosse, which signified a monarchie. The erle of Surrie bare the fourth sword before the king in a rich scabberd, and that is called the sword of estate. Then went three togither, in the middest went Garter king at armes in his rich cote: and on his left hand went the maior of London, bearing a mace: and on his right hand went the gentleman vsher of the priuie chamber. Then followed the duke of Norffolke, bearing the kings crowne betweene his hands.

Then followed king Richard in his robes of purple veluet, and ouer his head a canopie, borne by foure barons of the cinque ports. And on euerie side of the king there went one bishop, that is to saie, the bishop of Bath, and the bishop of Durham. Then followed the duke of Buckingham bearing the kings traine, with a white staffe in his hand, signifieng the office of the high steward of England. Then there followed a great number of earles and barons before the quéene. And then came the earle of Huntington, who bare the quéenes scepter, and the vicount Lisle bearing the rod with the doue. And the earle of Wiltshire bare the quéenes crowne. Then followed quéene Anne daughter to Richard earle of Warwike in robes like to the king, betweene two bishops, and a canopie ouer hir head borne by the barons of the ports. On hir head a rich coronet set with stones and pearle.

Quéene Anne wife to king Richard and daughter to Richard earle of Warwike, and hir traine.

After hir followed the countesse of Richmond heire to the duke of Summerset, which bare vp the quéenes traine. After followed the duchesse of Suffolke and Norffolke, with countesses, baronesses, ladies, and manie faire gentlewomen. In this order they passed through the palace, and entered the abbeis at the west end; and so came to their seats of estate. And after diuerse songs solemnelie song, they both ascended to the high altar, and were shifted from their robes, and had diuerse places open from the middle

middle vpward, in which places they were annointed. Then both the king and the quæne changed them into cloth of gold, and ascended to their seats, where the cardinall of Canturburie, & other bishops them crowned according to the custome of the realme, giuing him the scepter in the left hand, & the ball with the crosse in the right hand; and the quæne had the scepter in hir right hand, and the rod with the doue in hir left hand.

The king & quæne crowned.

On euerie side of the king stood a duke, and before him stood the earle of Surrie with the sword in his hands. And on euerie side of the quæne standing a bishop, & a ladie kneeling. The cardinall song masse, and after par, the king and the quæne descended, and before the high altar they were both houseled, with one host diuided betweene them. After masse finished, they both offered at saint Edward his shrine, and there the king left the crowne of saint Edward, and put on his owne crowne. And so in order as they came, they departed to Westminster hall; and so to their chambers for a season: during which time the duke of Norffolke came into the hall, his horsse trapped to the ground in cloth of gold, as high marshall, and voided the hall. About foure of the clocke, the king and quæne entered the hall, and the king sate in the middle, and the quæne on the left hand of the table, and on euerie side of hir stood a countesse, holding a cloth of pleasance, when she list to drinke.

And on the right hand of the king sat the bishop of Canturburie. The ladies sat all on one side, in the middle of the hall. And at the table against them sat the chancellor and all the lords. At the table next the cupbord, sat the maior of London; and at the table behind the lords, sat the barons of the ports: and at the other tables sat noble and worshipfull personages. When all persons were set, the duke of Norffolke earle marshall, the earle of Surrie, constable for that daie, the lord Stanlie lord steward, sir William Hopton treasaror, & sir Thomas Persie controllor, came in and serued the king solemnelie, with one dish of gold, and another of siluer, and the quæne all in gilt vessell, and the bishop all in siluer.

Sir Robert Dimmocke the kings champion his challenge in the behalfe of king Richard.

At the second course came into the hall sir Robert Dimmocke the kings champion, making proclamation, that whosoeuer would saie, that king Richard was not lawfull king, he would fight with him at the vtterance, and threw downe his gantlet, and then all the hall cried: King Richard. And so he did in three parts of the hall, and then one brought him a cup of wine couered, and when he had drunke, he cast out the drinke, and departed with the cup. After that, the heralds cried a largesse thrise in the hall, and so went vp to their stage. At the end of dinner, the maior of London serued the king & quæne with swæte wine, and had of each of them a cup of gold, with a couer of gold. And by that time that all was done, it was darke night. And so the king returned to his chamber, and euerie man to his lodging.

When this feast was thus finished, the king sent home all the lords into their countries that would depart, except the lord Stanleie, whome he reteined, till he heard what his sonne the lord Strange went about. And to such as went home, he gaue streight charge and commandement, to see their countries well ordered, and that no wrong nor extortion should be done to his subiects. And thus he taught other to execute iustice and equitie, the contrarie whereof he dailie exercised. He also with great rewards giuen to the Northernemen, which he sent for to his coronation, sent them home to their countrie with great thanks: whereof diuerse of them (as they be all of nature verie greedie of authoritie, & speciallie when they thinke to haue anie comfort or fauour) toke on them so highlie, and wrought such maisteries, that

A gale pretense of iustice and equitie.

the king was faine to ride thither in his first yeare, and to put some in execution, and staie the countrie, or else no small mischefe had insued.

Sir Thomas More againe.

Now fell there mischeefs thicke. And as the thing euill gotten is neuer well kept, thorough all the time of his reigne neuer ceassed there cruell death and slaughter, till his owne destruction ended it. But as he finished his time with the best death and the most rigtehous, that is to wit, his owne; so began he with the most pitious and wicked, I meane the lamentable murther of his innocent nephues, the yong king and his tender brother: whose death and finall infortune hath naitheleſſe comen so farre in question, that some remaine yet in doubt, whether they were in his daies destroied or no. Not for that onelie that Perkin Werbecke by manie folks malice, and mo folks follie, so long space abusing the world, was as well with princes as the power people reputed and taken for the yonger of these two; but for that also that all things were in late daies so couertlie demeaned, one thing pretended, and an other meant.

Perkin Werbecke.

Close dealing is euer suspected.

Insomuch that there was nothing so plaine and openlie prooued, but that yet for the common custome of close and couert dealing, men had it euer inwardlie suspect; as manie well counterfaited iewels make the true mistrusted. Howbeit, concerning the opinion, with the occasions moouing either partie, we shall haue place more at large to intreat, if we hereafter happen to write the time of the late noble prince of famous memorie king Henrie the seauenth, or percase that historie of Perkin in ante compendious processe by it selfe. But in the meane time, for this present matter, I shall rehearse you the dolorous end of those babes, not after euerie waie that I haue heard, but after that waie that I haue so heard by such men and by such meanes, as me thinketh it were hard but it should be true.

King Richard after his coronation, taking his waie to Glocester to visit (in his new honour) the towne of which he bare the name of his old, deuised (as he rode) to fulfill the thing which he before had intended. And forsomuch as his mind gaue him, that his nephues liuing, men would not reckon that he could haue right to the realme: he thought therefore without delaie to rid them, as though the killing of his kinsmen could amend his cause, and make him a kindlie king. Wherupon he sent one John Græne, (whom he speciallie trusted) vnto sir Robert Brakenberie, constable of the Tower, with a letter and credence also, that the same sir Robert should in anie wise put the two children to death.

John Græne Robert Brakenberie constable of the Tower.

This John Græne did his errand vnto Brakenberie, kneeling before our ladie in the Tower. Who plainelie answered, that he would neuer put them to death to die therefore. With which answer John Græne returning, recounted the same to king Richard at Warwike yet in his waie. Wherewith he toke such displeasure & thought, that the same night he said vnto a secret page of his: Ah! whom shall a man trust? Those that I haue brought vp my selfe, those that I had weent would most suerlie serue me, euen those faile me, and at my commandement will doo nothing for me. Sir (quoth his page) there lieth one on your pallet without, that I dare well saie, to doo your grace pleasure, the thing were right hard that he would refuse. Meaning this by sir James Tirrell, which was a man of right goodlie personage, and for natures gifts worthie to haue serued a much better prince, if he had well serued God, and by grace obteined as much truth and good will as he had strength and wit.

The murther of the two yong princes set abroch.

Sir James Tirrell described.

The man had an high heart, & sore longed vpward, not rising yet so fast as he had hoped, being hindered & kept vnder by the meanes of sir Richard Ratcliffe,

Authoritie loueth no partners.

and

and sir William Catesbie, which longing for no mo parteners of the princes fauour; and namelie, not for him, whose pride they wist would beare no pere, kept him by secret driftes out of all secret trust, which thing this page well had marked and knowne. Wherefore this occasion offered, of verie speciall friendship he take his time to put him forward, and by such wise do him good, that all the enimies he had (except the deuill) could neuer haue done him so much hurt. For vpon this pages words king Richard arose (for this communication had he sitting at the draught, a conuenient carpet for such a councell) and came out into the pallet chamber, on which he found in bed sir James and sir Thomas Tirrels, of person like, and brethren of blood, but nothing of kin in conditions.

Then said the king merilie to them; What sirs, be ye in bed so soone? And calling vp sir James, brake to him secretlie his mind in this mischéeuous matter. In which he found him nothing strange. Wherefore on the morow he sent him to Brakenberie with a letter, by which he was commanded to deliuer sir James all the keies of the Tower for one night, to the end he might there accomplish the kings pleasure, in such things as he had giuen him commandement. After which letter deliuered, & the keies receiued, sir James appointed the night next insuing to destroie them, deuising before and preparing the meanes. The prince (as soone as the protector left that name, and take himselfe as king) had it shewed vnto him, that he should not reigne, but his vncle shuld haue the crowne. At which word the prince sore abashed, began to sigh, and said: Alas, I would my vncle would let me haue my life yet, though I leese my kingdome.

Then he that told him the tale, vsed him with good words, and put him in the best comfort he could. But forthwith was the prince and his brother both shut vp, & all other remoued from them, onelie one (called Blacke Will, or William Slaughter) excepted, set to serue them and see them sure. After which time the prince neuer tied his points, nor ought rought of himselfe; but with that yong babe his brother, lingered with thought and heauinesse, vntill this traitorous death deliuered them of that wretchednesse. For sir James Tirrell deuised, that they should be murthered in their beds. To the execution whereof, he appointed Miles Forrest, one of the foure that kept them, a fellow fleshed in murther before time. To him he ioined one John Dighton his owne horsekéeper, a big, broad, square, and strong knaue.

Then all the other being remoued from them, this Miles Forrest, and John Dighton, about midnight (the sélie children lieng in their beds) came into the chamber, & suddenlie lapping them vp among the clothes, so to bewrapped them and intangled them, kéeping downe by force the fether-bed and pillowes hard vnto their mouths, that within a while, smothered and stifled, their breath failing, they gaue vp to God their innocent soules into the ioies of heauen, leauing to the tormentors their bodies dead in the bed. Which after that the wretches perceiued, first by the strugling with the paines of death, and after long lieng still, to be thoroughlie dead, they laid their bodies naked out vpon the bed, and fetched sir James to sée them; which vpon the sight of them, caused those murtherers to burie them at the staire foot, mætlie déepe in the ground, vnder a great heape of stones.

Then rode sir James in great hast to king Richard, and shewed him all the maner of the murther; who gaue him great thanks, and (as some saie) there made him knight. But he allowed not (as I haue heard) the burieng in so vile a corner, saieng, that he would haue them buried in a better place, bicause they were a kings sonnes. To the honourable courage of a king. Wherevpon they saie, that a priest of sir Robert Brakenberies take vp the bodies againe, and secretlie interred them in such place, as by the occasion of his death, which onelie knew it, could neuer since come to light. Verie truth is it, and well knowne, that at such time as sir James Tirrell was in the Tower, for treason committed against the most famous prince king Henrie the seauenth, both Dighton and he were examined, and confessed the murther in maner aboue written: but whither the bodies were remoued, they could nothing tell.

The murther confessed.

And thus (as I haue learned of them that much knew, and little cause had to lie) were these two noble princes, these innocent tender children, borne of most rotall blood, brought vp in great wealth, likelie long to liue, reigne, and rule in the realme, by traitorous tyrannie taken, depriued of their estate, shortlie shut vp in prison, and priuilie slaine and murthered, their bodies cast God wot where, by the cruell ambition of their vnnaturall vncle & his despiteous tormentors. Which things on euerie part well pondered, God neuer gaue this world a more notable example, neither in what vnsuertie standeth this worldlie weale; or what mischefe worketh the proud enterprise of an high heart; or finallie, what wretched end insueth such despiteous crueltie.

The constable of the Tower deliuereth the keies to sir James Tirrell vpon the kings commandement.

The two princes shut vp in close hold.

The two murtherers of the two princes appointed.

The yong K. and his brother murthered in their beds at midnight in the Tower.

For first, to begin with the ministers, Miles Forrest, at S. Martins pécemeale rotted awaie. Dighton in déed yet walketh on aliue in good possibilitie to be hanged yer he die. But sir James Tirrell died at the Tower hill beheaded for treason. King Richard himselfe, as ye shall hereafter heare, slaine in the field, hacked and hewed of his enimies hands, haried on horsse-backe dead, his haire in despite torne and tugged like a curre dog; and the mischéefe that he take, within lesse than three yeares of the mischefe that he did: and yet all (in the meane time) spent in much paine & trouble outward, much feare, anguish and sorow within. For I haue heard by credible report of such as were secret with his chamberleine, that after this abhominable déed done, he neuer had a quiet mind. [Than the which there can be no greater torment. For a giltie conscience inwardlie accusing and bearing witnesse against an offendor, is such a plague and punishment, as hell it selfe (with all the fiends therein) can not afford one of greater horror & affliction; the poet implieng no lesse in this tristichon:

Pœna autem vehemens, ac multo senior illis,
Quas & Cæditius grauis inuenit & Radamanthus,
Nocte diéque suum gestare in pectore testem.

Pers. sat. 3.

The iust iudgement of God seuerelie reuenging the murther of the innocent princes vpon the malefactors.

He neuer thought himselfe sure. Where he went abroad, his eies whirled about, his bodie priuilie fenced, his hand euer vpon his dagger, his countenance and maner like one alwaies readie to strike againe, he take ill rest a nights, late long waking and musing, sore wearted with care and watch, rather slumbered than slept, troubled with fearefull dreames, suddenlie sometime start vp, lept out of his bed, and ran about the chamber; so was his restlesse heart continuallie tossed and tumbled with the tedious impression and stormie remembrance of his abhominable déed. Now had he outward no long time in rest. For hereupon, sone after began the conspiracie, or rather good confederation, betweene the duke of Buckingham and manie other gentlemen against him. The occasion whereupon the king and the duke fell out, is of diuerse folke in diuerse wise pretended.

The outward and inward troubles of tyrants by meanes of a grudging conscience.

This duke (as I haue for certeine béene informed) as soone as the duke of Glocester, vpon the death of king Edward, came to Yorke, & there had solemne funerall seruice for king Edward, sent thither in the most secret wise he could, one *Persall his trustie seruant, who came to John Ward a chamberer of like secret trust with the duke of Glocester, desiring that in

*Persuall, saith Ed. Hall.

in the most close and couert maner, he might be admitted to the presence and speech of his maister. And the duke of Glocester aduertised of his desire, caused him in the dead of the night (after all other folke auoided) to be brought vnto him in his secret chamber, where Persall (after his maisters recommendations) shewed him that he had secret sent him to shew him, that in this new world he would take such part as he would, & wait vpon him with a thousand good fellowes, if need were.

The messenger sent backe with thanks, & some secret instruction of the protectors mind, yet met him againe with further message from the duke his master within few daies after at Nottingham: whither the protector from Yorke with manie gentlemen of the north countrie, to the number of six hundred horsses, was come on his waie to London-ward, & after secret meeting and communication had, eftsoones departed. Whereupon at Northhampton, the duke met with the protector himselfe with three hundred horses, and from thense still continued with him partner of all his deuises; till that after his coronation, they departed (as it seemed) verie great frends at Glocester. From whense as soone as the duke came home, he so lightlie turned from him, and so highlie conspired against him, that a man would maruell whereof the change grew. And suerlie, the occasion of their variance is of diuerse men diuerselie reported.

Causes of the duke of Buckingham and K. Richards falling out.

Some haue I heard say, that the duke a little before his coronation, among other things, required of the protector the duke of Herefords lands, to the which he pretended himselfe full inheritor. And forsomuch as the title, which he claimed by inheritance, was somwhat interlaced with the title to the crowne by the line of king Henrie before depriued, the protector conceiued such indignation, that he reiected the dukes request with manie spitefull and minatorie words. Which so wounded his heart with hatred and mistrust, that he neuer after could indure to looke aright on king Richard, but euer feared his owne life; so far forth, that when the protector rode through London toward his coronation, he feined himselfe sicke, bicause he would not ride with him. And the other also taking it in euill part, sent him word to rise, and come ride, or he would make him be caried. Whereupon he rode on with euill will, and that notwithstanding on the morow, rose from the feast, feining himselfe sicke, and king Richard said it was done in hatred and despite of him.

The duke of Buckingham and king Richard mistrust each other.

And they said, that euer after continuallie, each of them liued in such hatred and distrust of other, that the duke verelie looked to haue bene murthered at Glocester: from which natheless, he in faire maner departed. But suerlie some right secret at that daie denie this: and manie right wise men thinke it vnlikelie (the deepe dissembling nature of both those men considered, and what need in that greene world the protector had of the duke, and in what perill the duke stood, if he fell once in suspicion of the tyrant) that either the protector would giue the duke occasion of displeasure, or the duke the protector occasion of mistrust. And verelie, men thinke, that if king Richard had anie such opinion conceiued, he would neuer haue suffered him to escape his hands. Verie truth it is, the duke was an high minded man, and euill could beare the glorie of another; so that I haue heard of some that say they saw it, that the duke, at such time as the crowne was first set vpon the protectors head, his eie could not abide the sight thereof, but wried his head another way.

But men say, that he was of truth not well at ease, and that both to king Richard well knowne, and not euill taken; nor anie demand of the dukes vncourteoulie reiected; but he both with great gifts, and high behests, in most loning and trustie maner departed at Glocester. But soone after his comming home to Brecknocke, hauing there in his custodie by the commandement of king Richard doctor Morton bishop of Elie, who (as ye before heard) was taken in the councell at the Tower, ward with him familiar, whose wisedome abused his pride to his owne deliuerance, and the dukes destruction. The bishop was a man of great naturall wit, verie well learned, and honorable in behauior, lacking no wise waies to win fauour. He had bene fast vpon the part of king Henrie, while that part was in wealth; and natheless left it not, nor forsoke it in wo, but fled the realme with the quene & the prince, while king Edward had the king in prison, neuer came home, but to the field.

Doctor Morton bishop of Elie, & what pageants he plaied.

After which lost, and that part vtterlie subdued, the other (for his fast faith and wisedome) not onelie was content to receiue him, but also wooed him to come, and had him from thenceforth both in secret trust, and verie special fauour, which he nothing deceiued. For he being (as ye haue heard) after king Edwards death, first taken by the tyrant for his truth to the king, found the meane to set this duke in his top, ioined gentlemen togither in the aid of king Henrie, deuising first the mariage betweene him & king Edwards daughter: by which his faith he declared the good seruice to both his masters at once, with infinit benefit to the realme by the coniunction of those two bloods in one, whose seuerall titles had long disquieted the land, he fled the realme, went to Rome, neuer minding more to meddle with the world; till the noble prince king Henrie the seuenth gat him home againe, made him archbishop of Canturburie, and chancellor of England, whereunto the pope ioined the honour of cardinall. Thus liuing manie daies in as much honor as one man might well wish, ended them so godlie, that his death with Gods mercie well changed his life.

The high honour of doctor Morton.

This man therefore (as I was about to tell you) by the long & often alternate proofe, as well of prosperitie as aduerse fortune, had gotten by great experience (the verie mother and mistresse of wisedome) a deepe insight in politike worldlie drifts. Whereby perceiuing now this duke glad to commune with him, fed him with faire words, and manie pleasant praises. And perceiuing by the processe of their communications, the dukes pride now and then belking out a little breath of enuie toward the glorie of the king, and thereby feeling him easie to fall out if the matter were well handled: he craftilie sought the waies to pricke him forward, taking alwaies the occasion of his comming, and so keeping himselfe so close within his bounds, that he rather seemed to follow him, than to lead him. For when the duke first began to praise and boast the king, and shew how much profit the realme should take by his reigne: my lord Morton answered thus.

Bishop Mortons subtill vndermining of the duke.

Suerlie, my lord, follie were it for me to lie, for if I would sweare the contrarie, your lordship would not (I wene) beleeue; but that if the world would haue gone as I would haue wished, king Henries sonne had had the crowne, and not king Edward. But after that God had ordered him to lese it, and king Edward to reigne, I was neuer so mad that I would with a dead man striue against the quicke. So was I to king Edward a faithfull chapleine, & glad would haue bene that his child had succeeded him. Howbeit, if the secret iudgment of God haue otherwise prouided, I purpose not to spurne against a pricke, nor labour to set vp that God pulleth downe. And as for the late protector and now king. And euen there he left, saieng that he had alreadie medled too much

much with the world, and would from that daie meddle with his booke and his beads, and no further.

Then longed the duke sore to heare what he would haue said, because he ended with the king, and there so suddenlie stopped, and exhorted him so familiarlie betweene them twaine to be bold to saie whatsoeuer he thought; whereof he faithfullie promised there should neuer come hurt, and peraduenture more good than he would weene; and that himselfe intended to vse his faithfull secret aduise & counsell, which (he said) was the onelie cause for which he procured of the king to haue him in his custodie, where he might reckon himselfe at home, and else had he béene put in the hands of them with whome he should not haue found the like fauour. The bishop right humblie thanked him, and said: In good faith my lord, I loue not to talke much of princes, as a thing not all out of perill, though the word be without fault: forsomuch as it shall not be taken as the partie ment it, but as it pleaseth the prince to construe it.

Princes matters perillous to meddle in.

And euer I thinke on Aesops tale, that when the lion had proclaimed that (on paine of death) there should no horned beast abide in that wood: one that had in his forehed a bunch of flesh, fled awaie a great pace. The fox that saw him run so fast, asked him whither he made all that hast? And he answered, In faith I neither wote, nor recke, so I were once hence, because of this proclamation made of horned beasts. What fole (quoth the fox) thou mateſt abide well inough; the lion ment not by thée, for it is no horne that is in thine head. No marie (quoth he) that wote I well inough. But what and he call it an horne, where am I then? The duke laughed merilie at the tale, and said; My lord, I warrant you, neither the lion nor the boze shall pike anie matter at anie thing héere spoken: for it shall neuer come néere their eare.

In good faith sir (said the bishop) if it did, the thing that I was about to say, taken as well as (afore God) I ment it, could deserue but thanke: and yet taken as I weéne it would, might happen to turne me to to little good, and you to lesser. Then longed the duke yet much more to wit what it was. Whereupon the bishop said; In good faith (my lord) as for the late protector, sith he is now king in possession, I purpose not to dispute his title; but for the weale of this realme, whereof his grace hath now the gouernance, and whereof I am my selfe one poze member, I was about to wish, that to those good habilities whereof he hath alreadie right manie, little néeding my praise, it might yet haue pleased God, for the better store, to haue giuen him some of such other excellent vertues, mæt for the rule of a realme, as our Lord hath planted in the person of your grace: and there left againe.

The duke somewhat marueling at his sudden pauses, as though they were but parentheses, with a high countenance said: My lord, I euidentlie perceiue, and no lesse note your often breathing, and sudden stopping in your communication; so that to my intelligence, your words neither come to anie direct or perfect sentence in conclusion, whereby either I might perceiue and haue knowledge, what your inward intent is now toward the king, or what affection you beare toward me. For the comparison of good qualities ascribed to vs both (for the which I my selfe acknowledge and recognise to haue none, nor loke for no praise of anie creature for the same) maketh me not a little to muse, thinking that you haue some other priuie imagination, by loue or by grudge, ingrauen and imprinted in your heart, which for feare you dare not, or for childish shamefastnesse you be abashed to disclose and reueale; and speciallie to mee being your frend, which on my honor dw assure you, to be as secret in this case, as the deafe and dumbe person is to the singer, or the træ to the hunter.

here endeth r Thomas More, & this hat followeth s taken out f master Hall.

The bishop being somewhat bolder, considering the dukes promise, but most of all animated and incouraged because he knew the duke desirous to bee exalted and magnified; and also he perceiued the inward hatred and priuie rancor which he bare toward king Richard: was now boldened to open his stomach euen to the verie bottome, intending thereby to compasse how to destroie, and vtterlie confound king Richard, and to depriue him of his dignitie roiall; or else to set the duke so on fire with the desire of ambition, that he himselfe might be safe and escape out of all danger and perill. Which thing he brought shortlie to conclusion, both to the kings destruction, and the dukes confusion, and to his owne safegard, and finallie to his high promotion.

Bishop Morton buildeth vpō the dukes ambition.

And so (as I said before) vpon trust and confidence of the dukes promise, the bishop said: My singular good lord, since the time of my captiuitie, which being in your graces custodie, I may rather call it a liberall libertie, more than a streict imprisonment, in auoiding idlenesse, mother and nourisher of all vices, in reading bookes and ancient pamphlets I haue found this sentence written, that no man is borne free, and in libertie of himselfe onelie: for one part of dutie he oweth or should owe to his parents for his procreation, by a verie naturall instinct and filiall courtesie: another part to his frends and kinsfolke; for primitie of blood and naturall amitie doth euerie dutie chalenge and demand: but the natiue countrie, in the which he tasted first the sweet aires of this pleasant and flattering world after his nativitie, demandeth as a debt by a naturall bond, neither to be forgotten, nor yet to be put in oblivion.

Which saieng causeth me to consider in what case this realme my natiue countrie now standeth, and in what estate and assurance (before this time) it hath continued: what gouernour we now haue, and what ruler we might haue. For I plainelie perceiue the realme being in this case, must nèds decaie, and be brought to vtter confusion, and finall extermination. But one hope I haue incorporat in my brest, that is, when I consider, and in my mind dw diligentlie remember, and dailie behold your noble personage, your iustice, and indifferencie, your feruent zeale, and ardent loue toward your naturall countrie, and in like manner, the loue of your countrie toward you, the great learning, pregnant wit, and goodlie eloquence, which so much doth abound in the person of your grace, I must nèds thinke this realme fortunate, yea twise more than fortunate, which hath such a prince in store, mèet and apt to be a gouernour, in whose person (being indued with so manie princelie qualities) consisteth and resteth the verie vndoubted similitude and image of true honour.

The duke of Buckingham highlie commended.

But on the other side, when I call to memorie the good qualities of the late protector, and now called king, so violated and subuerted by tyrannie, so changed and altered by vsurped authoritie, so clouded and shadowed by blind and insatiable ambition; yea, and so suddenlie (in manner by a metamorphosis) transformed from politike ciuilitie, to detestable tyrannie: I must nèds saie, & iustlie affirme, that he is neither mèet to be a king of so noble a realme, nor so famous a realme mèet to be governed by such a tyrant [whose kingdome (if it were of more ampleneſſe than it is) could not long continue; neither would the Lord suffer him in his bloudthirstines to abuse the holie and diuine estate of a prince by the cruell title of tyrannie. For such he will ouerthrow, yea he will bring most horrible slaughter vpō them, as it is prophesied:

Dispraise of the lord protector or king in esse.

Impius ad summos quamuis ascendat honores,
Aspice quas clades tempora sæua vehent.

Was not his first enterprise to obteine the crowne begun and incepted by the murther of diuerse noble, valiant true, and vertuous personages? O holie beginning to come to a mischæuous ending! Did he not secondarilie proceed (contrarie to all lawes of honestie) shamefullie against his owne naturall mother, being a woman of much honour and more vertue, declaring hir openlie to be a woman giuen to carnall affection, and dissolute liuing? Which thing if it had beene true, as it was not indeed, euerie good naturall child would haue rather mummed at it, than haue blasted it abroad, and especiallie she being aliue. Declaring furthermore his two brethren, and his two nephues to be bastards, and to be borne in adulterie: yet was he not with all this content.

After that he had obteined the garland, for the which he so long thirsted, he caused the two pore innocents his nephues, committed to him for especiall trust, to be murthered and shamefullie to be killed. The bloud of which selie and litle babes dailie crie to God from the earth for vengeance. Alas, my hart sobbeth, to remember this bloudie butcher, and cruell monster. What suertie shall be in this realme to anie person, either for life or goods vnder such a cruell prince, which regardeth not the destruction of his owne bloud, and then lesse the losse of other? And most especiallie (as oftentimes it chanceth) where a couetous or a cruell prince taketh suspicion, the smallest swaruing that is possible (if the thing be misconstrued) may be the cause of the destruction of manie guiltlesse persons: and in especiall of noble and wealthie personages, hauing great possessions and riches; such a lord is Lucifer when he is entered into the hart of a proud prince, giuen to couetousnesse and crueltie.

Suspicion in a prince how mischæuous it is.

But now my lord to conclude what I meane toward your noble person, I saie and affirme, if you loue God, your linage, or your native countrie, you must your selfe take vpon you the crowne and imperiall diademe of this noble empire, both for the maintenance of the honour of the same (which so long hath flourished in fame and renowme) as also for the deliuerance of your naturall countrimen, from the bondage and thraldome (worse than the captiuitie of Aegypt) of so cruell a tyrant and arrogant oppressor. For thus I dare saie, if anie forren prince or potentate, yea the Turke himselfe would take vpon him the regiment here, and the crowne, the commons would rather admit and obeie him, than to liue vnder such a bloudsucker and child-killer. But how much more ioifull and glad would they be to liue vnder your grace, whome they all know to be a ruler meet and conuenient for them, and they to be louing and obedient subiects, meet to liue vnder such a gouernour? Despise not, nor forsake not so manifest an occasion so louinglie offered.

And if you your selfe, knowing the paine and trauell that appertaineth to the office of a king, or for any other consideration, will refuse to take vpon you the crowne and scepter of this realme: then I adiure you, by the faith that you owe to God, by your honor and by your oth made to saint George, patrone of the noble order of the garter (whereof you be a companion) and by the loue and affection that you beare to your native countrie, and the people of the same; to deuise some waie, how this realme (now being in miserie) may by your high discretion and princelie policie, be brought and reduced to some suertie and conuenient regiment, vnder some good gouernour by you to be appointed: for you are the verie patrone, the onelie helpe, refuge and comfort for the pore amazed and desolate commons of this realme.

The bishop adiureth the duke to release the realme by some deuise from the present euill state.

For if you could either deuise to set vp againe the linage of Lancaster, or aduance the eldest daughter of king Edward to some high and puissant prince, not onelie the new crowned king shall small time inioy the glorie of his dignitie; but also all ciuill war should ceasse, all domesticall discord should sleepe, and peace, profit and quietnesse should be set forth and imbraced. When the bishop had thus ended his saieng, the duke sighed, and spake not of a great while, which sore abashed the bishop, and made him change colour. Which thing when the duke perceiued, he said; Be not afraid my lord, all promises shall be kept, to morrow we will common more: let vs go to supper. So that night they communed no more, not a little to the disquieting of the bishop, which now was euen as desirous to know the dukes mind and intent, as the duke longed the daie before to know his opinion and meaning.

So the next daie, the duke sent for the bishop, and rehearsed to him in maner (for he was both wittie and eloquent) all the communication had betweene them before, and so pansed a while, and after a little season, putting off his bonet, he said: O Lord God creator of all things, how much is this relme of England, and the people of the same, bounden vnto thy goodnesse! For where we now be in veration and trouble with great stormes oppressed, sailing and tossing in a desperate ship, without good master or gouernour: yet by thy helpe good Lord I trust yer long time passe, that we shall prouide for such a ruler, as shall be both to thy pleasure, and also to the securitie and safegard of this noble realme.

A new conference betweene the bishop and the duke.

And then he put on his bonet, saieng to the bishop; My lord of Elie, whose true hart and sincere affection toward me at all times I haue euidentlie perceiued and knowen, and now most of all in our last priuie communication and secret deuising; I must needs in hart thinke, and with mouth confesse and saie, that you be a sure freend, a trustie councellor, a vigilant foresèer, a verie louer of your countrie, and a naturall countrieman: for which kindnes for my part, I most louinglie render to you my hartie thanks now with words, hereafter trusting to recompense and remunerate you with deeds, if life and power shall serue.

And sith, at our last communication, you haue disclosed and opened the verie secrets and priuities of your stomach, touching the duke of Gloucester now vsurper of the crowne; and also haue a little touched the aduancement of the two noble families of Yorke and Lancaster: I shall likewise not onelie declare and manifest vnto you all my open acts, attempts, and doings, but also my priuie intents, and secret cogitations. To the intent that as you haue vnbuckeled the bouget of your priuie meanings, and secret purposes to me: so shall all my cloudie workings, close deuises, and secret imaginations be (as clere as the sunne) reuealed, opened, and made lightsome to you.

The duke openeth himselfe and his secrets to the bishop.

And to begin, I declare, that when king Edward was deceased, to whome I thought my selfe little or nothing beholden (although we two had maried two sisters) bicause he neither promoted, nor preferred me, as I thought I was worthie, and had deserued; neither fauoured nor regarded me, according to my degree and birth (for suerlie I had by him litle authoritie, and lesse rule, and in effect nothing at all: which caused me lesse to fauour his children, bicause I found small humanitie, or none in their parent) I then began to studie, and with ripe deliberation to ponder and consider, how and in what manner this realme should be ruled and gouerned. And first I remembred an old prouerbe worthie of memorie, that often rueth the realme where children rule, and women gouerne.

The duke complaineth of want of preferment in king Edwards daies.

This old adage so sanke and settled in my head, that I thought it a great errour, and extreame mis-

chiefe

chiefe to the whole realme, either to suffer the yong king to rule, or the quéene his mother to be a gouernesse ouer him, considering that hir brethren, and hir first children (although they were not extract of high and noble linage) tooke more vpon them, and more exalted themselues, by reason of the quéene, than did the kings brethren, or anie duke in his realme: which in conclusion turned to their confusion. Then I being persuaded with my selfe in this point, thought it necessarie both for the publike and profitable wealth of this realme, and also for mine owne commoditie and emolument, to take part with the duke of Gloucester; whom (I assure you) I thought to be as cleane without dissimulation, as tractable without iniurie, as mercifull without crueltie; as now I know him perfectlie to be a dissembler without veritie, a tyrant without pitie, yea & worse than the tyrant Phalaris, destitute of all truth and clemencie.

And so by my meanes, at the first councell holden at London, when he was most suspected of that thing that after happened (as you my lord know well inough) he was made protector and defendor both of the king and of the realme, which authoritie once gotten, & the two children partlie by *policie brought vnder his gouernance, he being moued with that gnawing and couetous serpent desire to reigne, neuer ceassed priuilie to exhort and require, yea and sometimes with minatorie tearmes to persuade me and other lords, as well spirituall as temporall, that he might take vpon him the crowne, till the prince came to the age of foure and twentie yeares, and were able to gouerne the realme, as a ripe and sufficient king.

*In vnhappie policie tending to slaughter & bloudshed.

Which thing when he saw me somewhat sticke at, both for the strangenesse of the example (bicause no such president had béene séene) and also bicause we remembred that men once ascended to the highest type of honour and authoritie, will not gladlie descend againe; he then brought in instruments, autentike doctors, proctors, and notaries of the law, with depositions of diuerse witnesses, testifieng king Edwards children to be bastards. Which depositions then I thought to be as true, as now I know them to be feined; and testified by persons with rewards vntrulie suborned. When the said depositions were before vs read and diligentlie heard, he stood vp bareheaded, saieng: Well my lords, euen as I and you (sage and discréet councellors) would that my nephue should haue no wrong; so I praie you do me nothing but right. For these witnesses & saiengs of famous doctors being true, I am onelie the vndubitate heire to lord Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, adiudged to be the verie heire to the crowne of this relme by authoritie of parlement.

Which things so by learned men to vs for a veritie declared, caused me and other to take him for our lawfull and vndoubted prince and souereigne lord. For well we knew that the duke of Clarence sonne, by reason of the atteindor of his father, was disabled to inherit; and also the duke himselfe was named to be a bastard, as I my selfe haue heard spoken, and that vpon great presumptions more times than one: so againe, by my aid and fauour, he of a protector was made a king, and of a subiect made a gouernor. At which time he promised me on his fidelitie (laieng his hand in mine at Bainards castell) that the two yong princes should liue, and that he would so prouide for them, and so mainteine them in honorable estate, that I and all the realme ought and should be content. [But his words wanted weight, which is a foule discredit to a prince, to a péere, yea to a priuat and meane common man, as testifieth this sentence:

Dedecus est rebus cum bona verba carent.

For when he was once crowned king, and in full possession of the whole realme, he cast awaie his old conditions as the adder doth hir skin, verifieng the old prouerbe; Honours change manners, as the parish prest remembreth that he was neuer parish clearke. For when I my selfe sued vnto him for my part of the earle of Herefords lands which his brother king Edward wrongfullie deteined and withheld from me; and also required to haue the office of the high constablehip of England, as diuerse of my noble ancestors before this time haue had, and in long descent continued: in this my first suite shewing his good mind toward me; he did not onelie first delaie me, and afterward denaie me, but gaue me such vnkind words, with such tawnts & retawnts, ye in manner checke and checkemate, to the vttermost proofe of my patience: as though I had neuer furthered him, but hindered him; as though I had put him downe, and not set him vp.

The principall cause why the duke of Buckingham conceiued such inward grudge against king Richard.

Yet all these ingratitudes and vndeserued vnkindnesses I bare closelie, & suffered patientlie, and couertlie remembred, outwardlie dissembling that I inwardlie thought: and so with a painted countenance, I passed the last summer in his last companie, not without manie faire promises, but without anie good deeds. But when I was crediblie informed of the death of the two yong innocents, his owne naturall nephues contrarie to his faith and promise, to the which (God be my iudge) I neuer agreed, nor condescended; O Lord, how my veines panted, how my bodie trembled, and how my heart inwardlie grudged! insomuch that I so abhorred the sight, and much more the companie of him, that I could no longer abide in his court, except I should be openlie reuenged: the end whereof was doubtfull. And so I feined a cause to depart, and with a merrie countenance and a despitefull heart I tooke my leaue humblie of him (he thinking nothing lesse than that I was displeased) and so returned to Brecknocke to you.

But in that iournie (as I returned) whither it were by the inspiration of the Holie-ghost, or by melancholious disposition, I had diuerse and sundrie imaginations how to depriue this vnnaturall vncle, and bloudie butcher, from his roiall seat, and princelie dignitie. First I fantised, that if I list to take vpon me the crowne, and imperiall scepter of the realme, now was the time propice and conuenient. For now was the waie made plaine, and the gate opened, and occasion giuen: which now neglected, should peraduenture neuer take such effect and conclusion. For I saw he was disdeined of the lords temporall, abhorred and accursed of the lords spirituall, detested of all gentlemen, and despised of all the communaltie: so that I saw my chance as perfectlie as I saw mine owne image in a glasse, that there was no person (if I had béene greédie to attempt the enterprise) could nor should haue woone the ring, or got the gole before me. And on this point I rested in imagination secretlie with my selfe two daies at Tewkesburie.

The imaginations of the duke of Buckingham to depriue K. Richard.

From thence so iourneieng, I mused and thought that it was not best nor conuenient to take vpon me as a conqueror. For then I knew that all men, and especiallie the nobilitie, would with all their power withstand me, both for rescuing of possessions and tenures, as also for subuerting of the whole estate, laws and customes of the realme: such a power hath a conqueror, as you know well inough my lord. But at the last, in all this doubtfull case there sprang a new branch out of my head, which suerlie I thought should haue brought forth faire floures; but the sunne was so hot, that they turned to drie weeds. For I suddenlie remembred that the lord Edmund duke of Summerset my grandfather, was with king Henrie the first in the two and thrée degrées, from John

Note the working of ambition in the duke.

duke of Lancaster lawfullie begotten: so that I thought sure, my mother being eldest daughter to duke Edmund, that I was next heire to king Henrie the first of the house of Lancaster.

This title pleased well such as I made priuie of my counsell, but much more it incouraged my foolish desire, and eleuated my ambitious intent; insomuch that I clérelie iudged, and in mine owne mind was determinatlie resolued, that I was indubitate heire of the house of Lancaster, and thereupon concluded to make my first foundation, and erect my new building. But whether God so ordeined, or by fortune it so chanced, while I was in a maze either to conclude suddenlie on this title, & to set it open amongst the common people, or to keepe it secret a while, sée the chance: as I rode betweene Worcester and Bridgenorth, I incountered with the ladie Margaret countesse of Richmond, now wife vnto the lord Stanlie, which is the verie daughter and sole heire to lord John duke of Summerset, my grandfathers elder brother, which was as cleane out of my mind, as though I had neuer séene hir: so that she and hir sonne the earle of Richmond be both bulworke and portcullice betweene me and the gate, to enter into the maiestie roiall and getting of the crowne.

Now when we had communed a little concerning hir sonne, as I shall shew you after, and were departed, shée to our ladie of Worcester, and I to Shrewsburie: I then new changed, and in maner amazed, began to dispute with my selfe, little considering that thus my earnest title was turned to a tittell not so good as Est Amen. Eftsones I imagined whether were best to take vpon me, by election of the nobilitie and communaltie, which me thought easie to be done, the vsurper king thus being in hatred and abhorred of this whole realme; or to take it by power, which standeth in fortunes chance, and difficile to be atchiued and brought to passe. Thus tumbling and tossing in the waues of ambiguitie, betweene the stone and the sacrifice, I considered first the office, dutie, and paine of a king, which suerlie thinke I that no mortall man can iustlie and trulie obserue, except he be called, elected, and speciallie appointed by God as K. Dauid, and diuerse other haue béene.

The office of a king verie hard to discharge.

But further, I remembred that if I once toke on me the scepter, and the gouernance of the realme; that of two extreame enimies I was dailie sure, but of one trustie friend (which now a daies be gone a pilgrimage) I was neither assured nor crediblie ascerteined; such is the worlds mutation. For I manifestlie perceiued, that the daughters of king Edward, and their allies and frends, which be no small number, being both for his sake much beloued, and also for the great iniurie & manifest tyrannie done to them by the new vsurper, much lamented and pitied, would neuer cease to barke if they cannot bite at the one side of me. Semblablie, my cosine the earle of Richmond, his aids and kinsfolks, which be not of little power, will suerlie attempt like a fierce greihound, either to bite or to pearse me on the other side. So that my life and rule should euer hang by a haire, neuer in quiet, but euer in doubt of death, or deposition.

The dukes resolution not to medle in séeking to obteine the crowne.

And if the said two linages of Yorke and Lancaster, which so long haue striued for the imperiall diadem, should ioine in one against me, then were I suerlie mated, and the game gotten. Wherefore I haue clérelie determined, and with my selfe concluded, vtterlie to relinquish all such fantasticall imaginations, concerning the obteining of the crowne. But all such plagues, calamities and troubles, which I feared and suspected might haue chanced on me if I had taken the rule and regiment of this realme, I shall with a reredemaine so make them rebound to to our common enimie that calleth himselfe king, that the best sooper that he hath at tenice shall not well stop without a fault.

For (as I told you before) the countesse of Richmond in my returne from the new named king, méeting me in the high waie, prayed me first for kinred sake, secondarlie for the loue that I bare to my grandfather duke Humfrie, which was sworne brother to hir father, to moue the king to be good to hir sonne Henrie earle of Richmond, and to licence him with his fauour to returne againe into England. And if it were his pleasure so to do, she promised that the earle hir sonne should marrie one of king Edwards daughters, at the appointment of the king, without anie thing to be taken or demanded for the said espousals, but onelie the kings fauour: which request I sone ouerpassed, and gaue hir faire words, and so departed.

But after in my lodging, when I called to memorie with a deliberate studie, and did circumspectlie ponder them, I fullie adiudged, that the Holie-ghost caused hir to moue a thing (the end whereof she could not consider) both for the securitie of the realme, as also for the preferment of hir child, and the destruction and finall confusion of the common enimie king Richard. Which thing, she neither then thought (I am sure) as I by hir words could make coniecture, nor I my selfe cast not hir desire to be so profitable to the realme, as I now do perceiue. But such a Lord is God, that with a little sparkle he kindleth a great fire, and (to the admiration of the world) of impossibilities he maketh possibilities, of small beginnings mightie increasings, of drops great flouds.

The duke of Buckingham resolued to helpe to depose king Richard, and to preferr the crowne of Richmond to the crowne.

And so finallie to declare to you the verie conclusion, to the which I am both bent and set, my mind is, and my power and purse shall helpe, that the earle of Richmond, verie heire of the house of Lancaster (in the quarrell of the which linage, both my father and grandfather lost their liues in battell) shall take to wife ladie Elizabeth eldest daughter to king Edward, by the which marriage both the houses of Yorke and Lancaster may be ioined and vnited in one, to the cléere establishment of the title to the crowne of this noble relme. To which conclusion if the mothers of both parts, and especiallie the earle himselfe, and the ladie will agrée: I doubt not but the *bragging bore, which with his tuskes raseth euerie mans skin, shall not onelie be brought to confusion (as he hath deserued) but that this empire shall euer be certeine of an vndoubtate heire, & then shall all ciuill and intestine warre cease, which so long hath continued to the paring of manie mens crownes, and this realme shall be reduced againe to quietnesse, renowme and glorie.

* The duke of Glocester now king.

This inuention of the duke manie men thought after, that it was more imagined for the inward hatred that he bare to king Richard, than for anie fauor that he bare to the earle of Richmond. But of such doubtfull matter it is not best to iudge, for erring too farre from the mind and intent of the author. But whatsoeuer he intended, this deuise once opened to king Richard was the verie occasion, that he was rounded shorter by the whole head, without attaindor or iudgement. When the duke had said, the bishop which fauoured euer the house of Lancaster, was wonderous ioifull, and much reioised to heare this deuise. For now came the wind about euen as he would haue it, sith all his imagination tended to this effect, to haue king Richard subdued, and to haue the lines of king Edward, and king Henrie the first againe raised and aduanced.

The summe of the dukes purpose.

But lord how he reioised, to thinke how that by this marriage the linages of Yorke and Lancaster should be conioined in one, to the verie stedfastnesse of

of the publike wealth of this realme. And least the dukes courage should swage, or his mind should againe alter, as it did often before (as you may easlie perceiue by his owne tale) he thought to set vp all the sailes that he had, to the intent that the ship of his pretended purpose might come shortlie to some sure port, and said to the duke: My lord, sith by Gods prouision and your incomparable wisedome and policie, this noble coniunction is first moued, now is it conuenient, yea and necessarie, to consider what personages, and what frends we shall first make priuie of this high deuise and politike conclusion: [which is not rashlie & without aduisement to be aduentured, for therin is danger, as the wiseman saith:

Semper habet damnum mentis temerarius ardor.]

By my truth, quoth the duke, we will begin with the ladie Richmond, the earles mother, which knoweth where he is, either in captiuitie, or at large in Britaine. For I heard saie, that the duke of Britaine restored him to libertie, immediatlie after the death of king Edward, by whose means he was restreined. Sith you will begin that waie (said the bishop) I haue an old frend with the countesse, a man sober, secret, and well witted, called Reginald Braie; whose prudent policie I haue knowne to haue compassed things of great importance, for whome I shall secretlie send, if it be your pleasure; and I doubt not but he will gladlie come and that with a good will. So with a little diligence the bishop wrote a letter to Reginald Braie, requiring him to come to Brecknocke with spæd, for great and vrgent causes touching his mistresse: and no other thing was declared in the letter. So the messenger rode into Lancashire where Braie was with the countesse, and lord Thomas Stanlie hir husband, and deliuered the letter: which when he had read, he toke it as a signe or presage of some good fortune to come.

Then he (with the messenger) came to the castell of Brecknocke, where the duke and the bishop declared what thing was deuised, both for to set the relme in a quiet stedfastnesse, as also for the high preferment of the earle of Richmond, sonne to his ladie and mistresse: willing hir first to compasse how to obteine the good will of quéene Elizabeth, and also of hir eldest daughter bearing the same name: and after secretlie to send to hir sonne into Britaine, to declare what high honor was prepared for him, if he would sweare to marrie the ladie Elizabeth assone as he was king, and in rotall possession of the relme. Reginald Braie with a glad heart, forgetting nothing giuen to him in charge, in great hast and with good spéd returned to the countesse his ladie and mistresse.

When Braie was departed, and this great doubtfull bessell once set abroach, the bishop thirsting for nothing more than for libertie: when he saw the duke pleasant and well minded toward him; he told the duke, that if he were in his Ile of Elie, he could make manie frends to further their enterprise: and if he were there and had but foure daies warning, he little regarded the malice of king Richard, his countrie was so strong. The duke knew well all this to be true, but yet loth he was that the bishop should depart: for he knew well, that as long as the bishop was with him, he was sure of politike aduise, sage counsell, and circumspect proceeding. And so he gaue the bishop faire words, saieng, that he should shortlie depart, and that well accompanied for feare of enimies.

The Bishop being as wittie as the duke was wilie, did not tarrie till the dukes companie were assembled, but secretlie disguised, in a night departed (to the dukes great displeasure) and came to his see of Elie; where he found monie and frends; and so sailed into Flanders, where he did the earle of Richmond good seruice, and neuer returned againe, till the erle of Richmond (after being king) sent for him, and shortlie promoted him to the see of Canturburie. Thus the bishop wound himselfe from the duke when he had most need of his aid, for if he had tarried still, the duke had not made so manie blabs of his counsell, nor put so much confidence in the Welshmen, nor yet so temerariouslie set forward (without knowledge of his frends) as he did, which things were his sudden ouerthrowe (as they that knew it did report) [and might perhaps haue beene auoided by the bishops wisdome for the dukes safetie, as his owne, sith

Qui sapit, ille potest alios sapuisse docere.]

When Reginald Braie had declared his message and priuie instruction to the countesse of Richmond his mistresse, no maruell though she were ioious and glad, both of the good newes, and also for the obteining of such a high frend in hir sonnes cause as the duke was. Wherefore she willing not to sléepe this matter, but to further it to the vttermost of hir power and abilitie, deuised a means how to breake this matter to quéene Elizabeth then being in sanctuarie at Westminster. And therevpon she, hauing in hir familie at that time (for the preseruation of hir health) a certeine Welshman called Lewes, learned in physicke, which for his grauitie and experience, was well knowne, and much estéemed amongest great estates of the realme, brake hir mind to him.

For with this Lewes she vsed sometime liberallie and familiarlie to talke, and now hauing opportunitie and occasion to expresse hir hart vnto him in this weightie matter, declared that the time was come that hir sonne should be ioined in marriage with ladie Elizabeth, daughter and heire to king Edward; and that king Richard being taken and reputed of all men for the common enimie of the relme, should out of all honor & estate be dejected, & of his crowne and kingdome be cléerelie spoiled and expelled: and required him to go to quéene Elizabeth (with whome in his facultie he was of counsell) not as a messenger, but as one that came frendlie to visit and consolate hir, and (as time & place should require) to make hir priuie of this deuise; not as a thing concluded, but as a purpose by him imagined.

This physician did not long linger to accomplish hir desire, but with good diligence repaired to the quæne, being still in the sanctuarie at Westminster. And when he saw time propice and conuenient for his purpose, he said vnto hir: Madame, although my imagination be verie simple, and my deuise more foolish; yet for the entier affection that I beare toward you and your children, I am so bold to vtter vnto you a secret and priuie conceit that I haue cast and compassed in my fantasticall braine. When I well remembred and no lesse considered the great losse and damage that you haue susteined, by the death of your noble and louing husband; and the great dolour and sorow that you haue suffered and tollerated, by the cruell murther of your innocent children: I can no lesse do both of bounden duetie and christian charitie, than dailie to studie, and hourelie imagine, not onelie how to bring your hart to comfort and gladnesse, but also deuise how to reuenge the righteous quarell of you and your children on that bloudie bloudsupper, and cruell tyrant king Richard.

And first consider, what battell, what manslaughter, what mischéefe hath risen in this realme by the dissention betwéene the two noble houses of Yorke & Lancaster. Which two families (as I haue contrined) if they may be ioined in one, I thinke, yea and doubt not, but your line shall be againe restored to the primatiue estate and degrée; to your great ioie and comfort, and to the vtter confusion of your mor-

The motion or the coniunction of the two houses of Lancaster & Yorke (deuised by y duke) vrthered.

Bishop Mors deuise to be at his owne libertie in his bishopike of Elie.

The bishop of Elie saileth into Flanders to the earle of Richmond.

Lewes the physician sheweth the quæne the whole conceipt and deuise of the matter.

The coniunction of the two families moued to the Q. by the physician.

tall enimie the vsurper king. You know verie well madame, that of the house of Lancaster, the earle of Richmond is next of blood, who is liuing, and a lustie yong batcheler, and to the house of Yorke your daughters now are heires. If you could agree and inuent the meane how to couple your eldest daughter with the yong earle of Richmond in matrimonie, no doubt but the vsurper of the realme should be shortlie deposed, and your heire againe to hir right restored.

When the queene had heard this friendlie motion (which was as farre from hir thought, as the man that the rude people saie is in the mone) lord how hir spirits reuiued, and how hir heart leapt in hir bodie for ioie and gladnesse! And first giuing laud to almightie God, as the chiefe authour of hir comfort, secondarilie to maister Lewes, as the deuiser of these good newes & tidings, she instantlie besought him, that as he had beene the first inuenter of so great an enterprise, so now he would not relinquish nor desist to follow the same: requiring him further (because he was apperteining to the countesse of Richmond mother to the erle Henrie) that he would with all diligent celeritie resort to hir, then lodging in hir husbands place, within the citie of London: and to declare on the queenes behalfe to the countesse, that all the friends and fautors of king Edward hir husband, should assist and take part with the earle of Richmond hir sonne, so that he would take a corporall oth after the kingdome obteined, to espouse and take to wife the ladie Elizabeth hir daughter, or else ladie Cicilie, if the eldest daughter were not then liuing.

The queenes readinesse to set forward this cõclusion.

Maister Lewes with all dexteritie so sped his businesse, that he made and concluded a finall end and determination of this enterprise betweene the two mothers. And bicause he was a physician, and out of all suspicion and mistrust, he was the common currour and dailie messenger betweene them, aiding and setting forth the inuented conspiracie against king Richard. So the ladie Margaret countesse of Richmond, brought into a good hope of the preferment of hir sonne, made Reginald Braie hir most faithfull seruant, chiefe sollicitor and priuie procurour of this conspiracie; giuing him in charge secretly to inueigle and attract such persons of nobilitie to ioine with hir and take hir part, as he knew to be ingenious, faithfull, diligent, and of actuitie. This Reginald Braie within few daies brought vnto his lure (first of all taking of euerie person a solemne oth to be true and secret) sir Giles Daubneie, sir John Cheinie knight, Richard Gilford, and Thomas Rame esquiers, and diuers other. The countesse of Richmond was not so diligent for hir part, but quéene Elizabeth was as vigilant on the other side, and made friends, and appointed councellors to set forward and aduance hir businesse.

In the meane season, the countesse of Richmond The countesse of Richmond vttereth the matter to Mr Iwike hir chapleine, swearing him to be secret.
tooke into hir seruice Christopher Vrswike, an honest and wise priest, and (after an oth of him for to be secret taken and sworne) she vttered to him all hir mind and counsell, adhibiting to him the more confidence and truth, that he all his life had fauoured and taken part with king Henrie the first, and as a speciall iewell put to hir seruice by sir Lewes hir physician. So the mother, studious for the prosperitie of hir son, appointed this Christopher Vrswike to saile into Britaine to the earle of Richmond, and to declare and reueale to him all pacts and agréements betweene hir & the quéene agréed and concluded. But suddenlie she remembring that the duke of Buckingham was one of the first inuentors, and a secret founder of this enterprise, determined to send some personage of more estimation than hir chapleine.

Herevpon she elected for a messenger Hugh Conweie esquier, & sent him into Britaine with a great sum of monie to hir sonne, giuing him in charge, to declare to the earle the great loue and especiall fauor that the most part of the nobilitie of the realme bare toward him, the louing hearts & benecuolent minds which the whole communaltie of their owne free will frankelie offered, and liberallie exhibited to him, willing and aduising him not to neglect so good an occasion apparantlie offered; but with all speed and diligence, to addict and settle his mind & full intention how to returne home againe into England, where he was both wished and looked for: giuing him further monition and counsell, to take land and arriuall in the principalitie of Wales, where hée should not doubt to find both aid, comfort and friends. Hugh Cõwei esquire sent ouer to the erle of Richmond to informe him of his roiall preferment.

Richard Gilford, least Hugh Conweie might fortune to be taken, or stopped at Plimmouth, where he intended to take his nauigation, sent out of Kent Thomas Rame with the same instructions: and both made such diligence, and had such wind and weather, the one by land from Calis, and the other by water from Plimmouth, that within lesse than an houre both arriued in the duke of Britains court, and spake with the earle of Richmond, which (from the death of king Edward) went at pleasure and libertie, and to him counted and manifested the cause and effect of their message and ambassage. When the earle had receiued this message (which was the more pleasant, bicause it was vnlooked for) he rendered to Iesu his sauiour, his most humble & heartie thanks, being in firme credence and beléefe, that such things as hée with busie mind and laborious intent had wished & desired, could neuer haue taken anie effect, without the helpe and preferment of almightie God. Tho. Rame sent ouer for the same purpose for feare of interception.

And now being put in comfort of his long longing, he did communicate & breake to the duke of Britaine all his secrets, and priuie messages, which were to him declared; aduertising him that he was entered into a sure and stedfast hope, to obteine and get the crowne and kingdome of the realme of England, desiring him both of his good will and friendlie helpe toward the atchiuing of his offered enterprise, promising him when he came to his intended purpose, to render to him againe equall kindnes, and condigne recompense. Although the duke of Britaine before that daie, by Thomas Hutton ambassadour from king Richard, had both by monie and praiers beene solicited and moued to put againe into safe custodie the earle of Richmond, he neuertheless promised faithfullie to aid him; and his promise hée truelie performed. The earle of Richmond maketh the duke of Britaine priuie the matter.

Wherevpon the earle with all diligence sent into England againe Hugh Conweie, and Thomas Rame, which should declare his comming shortlie into England: to the intent that all things, which by counsell might be for his purpose prouided, should be spédilie and diligentlie done; and that all things doubtfull, should of his friends be prudentlie foreséene, in auoiding all engines or snares which king Richard had or might set in disturbance of his purpose: and he in the meane season would make his abode still in Britaine, till all things necessarie for his iournie were prepared, and brought in a readinesse. Hugh Cõwei and Thomas Rame returne into England and deliuer their answer.

In the meane season, the chiefteins of the conuration in England began togither manie enterprises: some in conuenient fortresses put strong garrisons, some kept armed men priuilie, to the intent that when they should haue knowledge of the earles landing, they would begin to stir vp the war: other did secretlie moue and solicit the people to rise & make an insurrection: other (amongst whom John Morton bishop of Elie then being in Flanders was chiefe) by priuie letters and cloked messengers did stirre Preparation to bring in, receiue, & erect the earle to the kingdome.

and

and moue to this new conturation, all such which they certeinlie knew to haue a roted hatred, or to beare cankered malice toward king Richard and his proceedings.

Although this great enterprise were neuer so prudentlie handled, and so secretlie amongst so circumspect persons treated, compassed and conueied; yet knowledge therof came to the eares of king Richard, who with the sudden chance was not a little moued and astonied. First, bicause he had no host readie prepared; secondlie, if he should raise an armie so suddenlie, he knew not where to meet his enimies, or whither to go, or where to tarrie. Wherefore he determined to dissemble the matter, as though he knew nothing, till he had assembled his host; and in the meane season either by the rumour of the common people, or by the diligence of his espials to search out all the counsels, determinations, intents, and compasses of his close aduersaries; or else by policie to intercept and take some person of the same conturation, considering that there is no more secret nor hid espiall, than that which lurketh in dissimulation of knowledge and intelligence, or is hidden in name and shadow of counterfeit humanitie and feined kindnesse. But yet wisedome hath a deuise to auoid & shift off all such deceiuers, as the poet well saieth:

Dissimulatores vitat prudentia vafros.

K. Richards purpose in the case of conturation against him.

The duke of Buckingham deuiseth against king Richard.

And bicause he knew the duke of Buckingham to be the chiefe head and aid of the conturation, hee thought it most necessarie to plucke him from that part, either by faire promises or open warre. Wherevpon he addressed his louing letters to the duke, full of gentle words, & most friendlie speach; giuing further in charge to the messenger that caried the letter to promise the duke (in his behalfe) golden hilles, and siluer riuers, and with all gentle and pleasant means to persuade and exhort the duke to come to the court. But the duke as wilie as the king, mistrusting the faire flattering words, and the gaie promises to him so suddenlie without any cause offered, knowing the craftie casts of king Richards bow, which in diuerse affaires before time he had seene practised, required the king to pardon him, excusing himselfe that he was so diseased in his stomach, that scant he could either take refection or rest.

King Richard not being content with this excuse, would in no wise admit the same; but incontinent directed to the duke other letters, of a more rougher and hautier sort, not without tawnting and biting tearmes, and checking words, commanding him (all excuses set apart) to repaire without anie delaie to his roiall presence. The duke made to the messeng a determinate answer, that he would not come to his mortall enimie, whome he neither loued, nor fauoured: and immediatlie prepared open warre against him, and persuaded all his complices and partakers, that euerie man in his quarter, with all diligence should raise vp people & make a commotion. And by this means almost in one moment Thomas marques Dorset came out of sanctuarie, where since the begining of K. Richards daies he had continued, whose life by the onelie helpe of sir Thomas Louell was preserued from all danger & perill in this troublous world, gathered togither a great band of men in Yorkeshire.

The duke of Buckingham proclaimeth enimie to king Richard.

Sir Edward Courtneie, and Peter his brother bishop of Exceter, raised an other armie in Deuonshire and Cornewall. In Kent Richard Gilford and other gentlemen collected a great companie of souldiers, and openlie began warre. But king Richard, who in the meane time had gotten togither a great strength and puissance, thinking it not most for his part beneficiall, to disperse and diuide his great armie into small branches, and particularlie to persecute anie one of the conturation by himselfe, determined (all other things being set aside) with his whole puissance to set on the chiefe head, which was the duke of Buckingham. And so remouing from London, he toke his iournie toward Salisburie, to the intent that in his iournie he might set on the dukes armie, if he might know him in anie place incamped, or in order of battell arraied.

K. Richards wit in the disposing of his armie.

The king was scarse two daies iournie from Salisburie, when the duke of Buckingham accompanied with a great power of wild Welshmen, whom he (being a man of great courage and sharpe speech) in maner against their willes had rather thereto inforced and compelled by lordlie and streict commandement, than by liberall wages and gentle demenour, which thing was the verie occasion why they left him desolate, & cowardlie forsoke him. The duke with all his power marched through the forrest of Deane, intending to haue passed the riuer Seuerne at Glocester, & there to haue ioined his armie with the Courteis, and other westerne men of his confederacie and affinitie. Which if he had done, no doubt but king Richard had beene in great ieopardie, either of priuation of his realme, or losse of his life, or both.

The duke of Buckingham has power of wild Welshmen (faithsorted) do faile him.

But see the chance. Before he could atteine to Seuerne side, by force of continuall raine and moisture, the riuer rose so high that it ouerflowed all the countrie adioining, insomuch that men were drowned in their beds, and houses with the extreame violence were ouerturned, children were caried about the fields swimming in cradels, beasts were drowned on hilles. Which rage of water lasted continuallie ten daies, insomuch that in the countrie adioining they call it to this daie, The great water; or, the duke of Buckinghams great water. By this flood the passages were so closed, that neither the duke could come ouer Seuern to his adherents, nor they to him. During the which time, the Welshmen lingring idelie, and without monie, vittels, or wages, suddenlie scattered and departed: and for all the dukes faire promises, threatnings, and inforcements, would in no wise either go further nor abide.

A sore flood or high water doing much harme, called the duke of Buckinghas great water.

The duke (being thus left almost post alone) was of necessitie compelled to flie, and in flight was with this sudden fortune maruellouslie dismaid: and being vnpurueied what counsell he should take, and what waie he should follow, like a man in despaire, not knowing what to do, of verie trust & confidence conueied himselfe into the house of Humfrete Banaster his seruant beside Shrewesburie, whome he had tenderlie brought vp, and whome he aboue all men loued, fauoured, and trusted; now not doubting but that in his extreame necessitie he should find him faithfull, secret, and trustie, intending there couertlie to lurke, till either he might raise againe a new armie, or else shortlie to saile into Britaine to the earle of Richmond. [But alas (good duke) the meanes (by occasion of Gods prouidence, shaking men out of their shifts of supposed safetie) failed him, and he fell infortunatlie into the hands of the foming bore, that tare him in peeces with his tuskes.]

The duke of Buckingham proclaimed enimie to king Richard.

Now when it was knowne to his adherents, which were redie to giue battell, that his host was scatred, and had left him almost alone, and was fled, & could not be found; they were suddenlie amazed & striken with a sudden feare, that euery man like persons desperate shifted for himselfe & fled. Some went to sanctuarie, and to solitarie places; some fled by sea, whereof the most part within a few daies after arriued safelie in the duchie of Britaine. Among which number were these persons; Peter Courtneie bishop of Exceter, and sir Edmund Courtneie his brother, by king Henrie the seuenth after created earle of Deuonshire; Thomas marquesse Dorset, John lord Welles,

The dukes adherents & their powers disperssed.

Welles, sir John Bourchier, sir Edward Woodvile, a valiant man in armes, brother to quéne Elizabeth, sir Robert Willoughbie, sir Giles Daubneie, sir Thomas Arundell, sir John Cheinie and his two brethren, sir William Barkelie, sir William Brandon, & Thomas his brother, sir Richard Edgecombe: all these for the most part being knights, John Hallowell, and Edward Poinings, a politike capteine.

At this verie season, John Morton bishop of Elie, and Christopher Urswike priest, and an other companie of noble men sojourned in Flanders; and by letters and messengers procured manie enimies against king Richard, which using a vigilant eie, and a quicke remembrance, being newlie come to Salisburie, hauing perfect notice and knowledge how the duke was fled, and how his complices intended to passe out of the realme; first he sent men of warre to all the next ports and passages, to kéepe streictlie the sea coast, so that no person should passe outward, nor take land within the realme without their assent and knowledge; secondarilie he made proclamation, that what person could shew and reueale where the duke of Buckingham was, should be highlie rewarded; if he were a bondman, he should be infranchised and set at libertie; if he were of frée bloud, he should haue a generall pardon, and be rewarded with a thousand pounds.

A proclamation for the apprehension of the duke of Buckingh. with large rewards to the apprehendor.

Furthermore, bicause he vnderstood by Thomas Hutton, which (as you haue heard) was newlie returned out of Britaine, that Francis duke of Britaine not onelie refused to kéepe the earle of Richmond as a prisoner, at his contemplation, and for his sake; but also that he was readie to aid and succour the said earle, with men, monie, and all things necessarie for his transporting into England: he therefore rigged and sent out ships of warre, well furnished and decked with men and artillerie, to scowre and kéepe that part of the sea that lieth ouer against Britaine, to the intent that if the earle of Richmond would aduenture to saile toward England, either he should be taken captiue, or be beaten and driuen from the coast of England. And moreouer, to the intent that euerie coast, waie, passage, and corner, should be diligentlie watched & kept, he set at euerie doubtfull and suspected place men of warre, to séeke, search, and inquire, if anie creature could tell tidings of the duke of Buckingham; or of anie or his confederation, adherents, fautors or partakers.

K. Richard sendeth forth a naule to scowre the sea ouer against Britaine.

While this busie search was diligentlie applied and put in execution, Humfrete Banaster (were it more for feare of life and losse of goods, or allured & prouoked by the auaricious desire of the thousand pounds) he bewraied his guest and maister to John Mitton then shiriffe of Shropshire; which suddenlie with a strong power of men in harnesse apprehended the duke in a little groue adioining to the mansion of Humfrete Banaster, and in great hast and euill spéed conueied him apparelled in a pilled blacke cloake to the towne of Shrewesburie, where king Richard then kept his household. Whether this Banaster bewraied the duke more for feare than couetous, manie men do doubt: but sure it is, that shortlie after he had betraied the duke his maister; his sonne and heire waxed mad, & so died in a boies kie; his eldest daughter of excellent beautie, was suddenlie striken with a foule leprosie; his second sonne maruellouslie deformed of his limbs, and made lame; his yonger sonne in a small puddle was strangled and drowned; and he being of extreame age, arreigned, and found guiltie of a murther, and by his cleargie saued. And as for his thousand pounds, K. Richard gaue him not one farthing, saieng that he which would be vntrue to so good a maister, would be false to all other: howbeit some saie that he had a small office or a farme to stop his mouth withall.

Humfrie Banaster seruant vnto the duke of Buckingham betraied his maister.

Gods secret iudgements vpon Banaster and his children after the duke was apprehended.

The duke being by certeine of the kings councell diligentlie vpon interrogatories examined, what things he knew preiudiciall vnto the kings person, opened and declared franklie and frélie all the conturation, without dissembling or glosing; trusting, bicause he had trulie and plainelie reuealed and confessed all things that were of him required, that he should haue licence to speake to the king: which (whether it were to sue for pardon and grace, or whether he being brought to his presence, would haue sticked him with a dagger as men then iudged) he sore desired and required. But when he had confessed the whole fact & conspiracie, vpon All soules daie, without arreigment or iudgement, he was at Salisburie in the open market place, on a new scaffold beheaded and put to death.

The duke of Buckingham beheaded without arreigmẽt or iudgement.

This death (as a reward) the duke of Buckingham receiued at the hands of king Richard, whom he before in his affaires, purposes and enterprises had holpen, susteined, and set forward, aboue all Gods forbode. By this all men may easilie perceiue, that he not onelie loseth both his labour, trauell, and industrie (and further staineth and spotteth his line with a perpetuall ignominie and reproch) which in euill and mischiefe afflicteth and aideth an euill disposed person, considering for the most part, that he for his frendlie fauour should receiue some great displeasure or importunate chance. Beside that, God of his iustice in conclusion appointed to him a condigne paine and affliction for his merits and deserts. [Auailable therefore, and for his best aduantage had it béene, to haue followed the wise counsell of him, that willed him, and such as he, to kéepe them from the man that hath power to slaie; so shalt thou doubt (saith he) the feare of death. And if thou come vnto him make no fault, least he take awaie thy life: remember that thou goest in the middest of snares, & that thou walkest vpon the towers of the citie. Which aduise a learned man, in good place, and necessarie seruice about the prince, neatlie comprised in these few verses:

Vtere principibus modicè, nimis esse propinquus
Si cupis, in vitæ multa pericla rues.
Si tua te fortuna facit seruire potenti,
Dispice ne titubes, atque repentè cadas,
Sollicitè vigiles, laquei sunt vndique fusi,
Turribus in summis es situs, ergo caue.] Gu. Ha.

While these things were thus handled and ordered in England, Henrie earle of Richmond prepared an armie of fiue thousand manlie Britons, and fortie well furnished ships. When all things were prepared in a readinesse, and the daie of departing and setting forward was appointed, which was the twelfe daie of the moneth of October, the whole armie went on shipbord, and halsed vp their sailes, and with a prosperous wind toke the sea. But toward night the wind changed, and the weather turned, and so huge and terrible a tempest so suddenlie arose, that with the verie power and strength of the storme, the ships were disparkled, seuered & separated asunder: some by force were driuen into Normandie, some were compelled to returne againe into Britaine. The ship wherein the earle of Richmond was, accoiat onelie with one other barke, was all night tossed and turmoiled.

The earle of Richmonds preparation of ships and souldiers to the sea.

His ships disparkled by tempest.

In the morning after, when the rage of the furious tempest was allwaged, and the ire of blustering wind was some deale appeased; about the houre of none the same daie, the earle approched to the south part of the realme of England, euen at the mouth of the hauen of Pole, in the countie of Dorset, where he might plainelie perceiue all the sea bankes & shores garnished and furnished with men of warre and souldiers, appointed and deputed there to defend his arrinall and landing (as before is mentioned.) Wherefore he gaue streict charge, and sore commandement, that

He séeth all the sea banks furnished with souldiers.

that no person should once presume to take land, and go to shore, vntill such time as the whole navie were assembled and come togither. And while he taried and lingered, he sent out a shipboate toward the land side, to know whether they, which stood there in such a number, and so well furnished in apparell defensiue, were his foes and enimies, or else his frends and comfortors.

He sendeth to know whether they were with him or against him.

They that were sent to inquire, were instantlie desired of the men of warre keeping the coast (which thereof were before instructed & admonished) to descend and take land, affirming that they were appointed by the duke of Buckingham there to await and tarie for the arriuall and landing of the earle of Richmond, and to conduct him safelie into the campe, where the duke not far of laie incamped with a mightie armie, and an host of great strength and power, to the intent that the duke and the earle, ioining in puissances and forces togither, might prosecute and chase king Richard being destitute of men, and in maner desperate, and so by that meanes, and their owne labours, to obteine the end of their enterprise which they had before begun.

A forged tale to intrap the earles messengers.

The earle of Richmond suspecting their flattering requests to be but a fraud (as it was in deed) after he perceiued none of his ships to appeare in sight, he weied vp his anchors, hailed vp his sailes, & hauing a prosperous and streinable wind, and a fresh gale sent euen by God to deliuer him from that perill and ieopardie, arriued safe and in all securitie in the duchie of Normandie, where he (to refresh and solace his soldiers and people) toke his recreation by the space of three daies, and clerelie determined with part of his companie to passe all by land againe into Britaine. And in the meane season he sent ambassadors to the French king, called Charles the eight, which newlie succeded his father king Lewes the eleuenth, not long before departed to God, requiring of him a safe conduct and licence to passe thorough his countrie of Normandie into Britaine.

The earle arriueth in Normandie & passeth by land into Britaine againe.

Charles the .of France his benevolence to the earle of Richmond.

This yong king, hauing compassion of the misfortune of the earle of Richmond, not onelie gentlie granted and assigned to him a pasport; but also liberallie disbursed to him a great summe of monie for his conduct and expenses necessarie in his long iournie and passage. But the earle trusting in the French kings humanitie, aduentured to send his ships home into Britaine, and to set forward himselfe by land on his iournie, making no great hast till his messengers were returned. Which being with that benefit so comforted, and with hope of prosperous successe so incouraged, marched towards Britaine with all diligence, intending there to consult further with his louers & frends of his affaires and enterprises. When he was returned againe into Britaine, he was certified by credible information, that the duke of Buckingham had lost his head; and that the marquesse Dorset, and a great number of noble men of England, had a little before inquired and searched for him there, and were now returned to Vannes.

The earle lamenteth and reioiseth.

When he had heard these newes thus reported, he first sorowed and lamented his first attempt and setting forward of his frends, and in especiall of the nobilitie, not to haue more fortunatelie succeded. Secondarilie, he reioised on the other part, that God had sent him so manie valiant and prudent capteins to be his companions in his martiall enterprises, trusting suerlie and nothing doubting in his owne opinion, but that all his businesse should be wiselie compassed, and brought to a good conclusion. Wherefore he determining with all diligence to set forward his new begun businesse, departed to Rheims, and sent certeine of his priuie seruitours to conduct and bring the marquesse and other noble men to his presence. When they knew that he was safelie returned into Britaine, Lord how they reioised! for before that time they missed him, and knew not in what part of the world to make inquirie or search for him. For they doubted and no lesse feared least he had taken land in England, & fallen into the hands of king Richard, in whose person they knew well was neither mercie nor compassion.

Wherefore in all spedie maner they galoped toward him, and him reuerentlie saluted. Which meeting after great ioy and solace, and no small thanks giuen and rendered on both parts, they aduisedlie debated and communed of their great businesse and weightie enterprise. In the which season the feast of the Natiuitie of our sauiour Christ happened; on which daie all the English lords went with their solemnitie to the chefe church of the citie, and there ech gaue faith and promise to other. The earle himselfe first toke a corporall oth on his honor, promising that incontinent after he should be possessed of the crowne and dignitie of the realme of England, he would be conioined in matrimonie with the ladie Elizabeth daughter to king Edward the fourth. Then all the companie sware to him fealtie, and did to him homage (as though he had beene that time the crowned king, and annointed prince) promising faithfullie, and firmelie affirming, that they would not onelie lose their worldlie substance; but also be depriued of their liues and worldlie felicitie, rather than to suffer king Richard that tyrant longer to rule and reigne ouer them.

The English lords giue faith and promise eyther to other.

The earle of Richmond sweareth to marrie Elizabeth daughter to Edward the fourth, after possession of the crowne.

Which solemne oths made and taken, the earle of Richmond declared and communicated all these doings to Francis duke of Britaine, desiring & most heartilie requiring him to aid him with a greater armie to conduct him into his countrie, which so sore longed and loked for his returne, and to the which he was by the more part of the nobilitie and communaltie called and desired. Which (with Gods aid, and the dukes comfort) he doubted not in short time to obteine; requiring him further to prest to him a conuenient summe of monie; affirming that all such summes of monie which he had receiued of his especiall frends, were spent and consumed in preparation of his last iourneie made toward England; which summes of monie, after his enterprise once atchiued, he in the word of a prince faithfullie promised to repaie and restore againe. The duke promised him aid and helpe. Vpon confidence whereof he rigged his ships, and set forth a nauie well decked with ordinance, and warlikelie furnished with all things necessarie, to the intent to saile forward shortlie, and to lose no time.

In the meane season king Richard apprehended in diuerse parts of the realme certeine gentlemen of the earle of Richmonds faction, & confederation, which either intended to saile into Britaine toward him, or else at his landing to assist and aid him. Amongst whome sir George Browne, sir Roger Clifford, and foure other were put to execution at London, and sir Thomas Sentleger which had married the duchesse of Excester the kings owne sister, and Thomas Rame, and diuerse other were executed at Excester. Beside these persons, diuerse of his household seruants, whome either he suspected or doubted, were by great crueltie put to shamefull death. [By the obseruation of which mens names, the place, and the action here mentioned, with the computation of time, I find fit occasion to interlace a note (newlie receiued from the hands of one that is able to saie much by record) deliuering a summarie (in more ample sort) of their names, whome king Richard did so tyrannicallie persecute and execute: as followeth.]

Diuerse of the earle of Richmonds faction apprehended and executed.

Abr. Flem.

King Richard (saith he) came this yeare to the citie,

tie, but in verie secret maner, whome the maior & his brethren in the best maner they could did receiue, and then presented to him in a purse two hundred nobles; which he thankefullie accepted. And during his abode here he went about the citie, & viewed the seat of the same, & at length he came to the castell: and when he vnderstood that it was called Rugemont, suddenlie he fell into a dumpe, and (as one astonied) said; Well, I see my daies be not long. He spake this of a prophesie told him, that when he came once to Richmond, he should not long liue after: which fell out in the end to be true, not in respect of this castle, but in respect of Henrie earle of Richmond, who the next yeare following met him at Bosworth field where he was slaine. But at his being here, he did find the gentlemen of this countrie not to be best affected towards him, and after his departure, did also heare that the marquesse of Dorset, the bishop of Excester, and sundrie other gentlemen were in a confederacie against him for the aduancing of the erle of Richmond.

Wherefore he sent downe Iohn lord Scrope with a commission to keepe a session; who sat at Torrington, & then & there were indicted of high treason, Thomas marquesse Dorset, Peter bishop of Excester, Thomas Sentleger, and Thomas Fulford knights as principals, and Robert Willoughbie and Thomas Arundell knights, Iohn Arundell deane of Excester, Dauid Hopton archdeacon of Excester, Oliuer abbat of Buckland, Bartholomew Sentleger, William Chilson, Thomas Greenefield, Richard Edgecombe, Robert Burnbie, Walter Courtneie, Thomas Browne, Edward Courtneie, Hugh Lutterell, Iohn Crocker, Iohn Hallewell, and fiue hundred others were indicted as accessaries. All which fled and shifted for themselues, some into Britaine, and some else where; sauing sir Thomas Sentleger, and one sir Iohn Kame; who were brought to Excester, and there at the Carefor were beheaded.]

After this, king Richard called a parlement, in the which he atteinted the earle of Richmond and all other persons which were fled out of the realme for feare, or anie other cause, as enimies to him, and to their naturall countrie; & all their lands, goods, & possessions, were confiscate and seized to the kings vse. And yet not content with this preie, which no doubt was of no small valour and moment, he laid on the peoples necks a great tax and tallage, and suerlie necessitie to that act in maner him compelled. For what with purging and declaring his innocencie concerning the murther of his nephues toward the world, and what with cost to obteine the loue and fauour of the communaltie (which outwardlie glosed, and openlie dissembled with him) he gaue prodigallie so manie and so great rewards, that now both he lacked, and scarse wist honestlie how to borow.

In this troublous season, nothing was more marueiled at, than that the lord Stanleie had not beene taken, and reputed as an enimie to the king; considering the working of the ladie Margaret his wife, mother to the earle of Richmond. But forsomuch as the enterprise of a woman was of him reputed of no regard or estimation; and that the lord Thomas hir husband had purged himselfe sufficientlie to be innocent of all doings and attempts by hir perpetrated and committed: it was giuen him in charge to keepe hir in some secret place at home, without hauing anie seruant or companie: so that from thense forth she should neuer send letter or messenger vnto hir sonne, nor anie of his frends or confederats, by the which the king might be molested or troubled, or anie hurt or preiudice might be attempted against his realme and communaltie. Which commandement was a while put in execution and accomplished, according to his dreadfull commandement.

Yet the wild worme of vengeance wauering in his head, could not be content with the death of diuerse gentlemen suspected of treason; but also he must extend his bloudie furie against a poore gentleman called Collingborne, for making a small rime of three of his vnfortunate councellors, which were the lord Louell, sir Richard Ratcliffe his mischeuous minion, and sir William Catesbie his secret seducer, which meeter or rime was thus framed:

The Cat, the Rat, and Louell our dog,
Rule all England vnder an hog.

Meaning by the hog, the dreadfull wild boare, which was the kings cognisance. But because the first line ended in dog, the metrician could not (obseruing the regiments of meeter) end the second verse in boare, but called the boare an hog. This poeticall scholemaister, corrector of breefs and longs, caused Collingborne to be abbreuiated shorter by the head, and to be diuided into foure quarters.

Here is to be noted, that beside the rime which is reported by some to be the onelie cause for which this gentleman suffered, I find in a register booke of indictements concerning felonies and treasons by sundrie persons committed, that the said Collingborne (by the name of William Collingborne) late of Lidyard in the countie of Wiltshire esquier, and other his associats were indicted in London: for that they about the tenth daie of Julie, in this second yeare of king Richards reigne, in the parish of saint Botulphes in Portsoken ward had solicited and requested one Thomas Yate, offering to him for his paines eight pounds, to go ouer into Britaine vnto Henrie erle of Richmond, Thomas marquesse Dorset, Iohn Cheineie esquier, and others, which in the last parlement holden at Westminster had beene atteinted of sundrie high treasons by them practised within the kings dominion.

Besides this, to declare vnto them that they should doo verie well, to returne into England with all such power as they might get before the feast of S. Luke the euangelist next insuing; for so they might receiue all the whole reuenues of the realme due at the feast of saint Michaell next before the said feast of saint Luke. And that if the said earle of Richmond and his partakers, following the counsell of the said Collingborne, would arriue at the hauen of Pole in Dorsetshire, he the said Collingborne and other his associats would cause the people to rise in armes, and to leuie warre against king Richard, taking part with the said earle and his frends; so that all things should be at their commandements. Moreouer, to moue the said earle to send the said Iohn Cheineie vnto the French king, to aduertise him that his ambassadors sent into England should be dallied with, onelie to driue off the time till the winter season were past, and that then in the beginning of summer king Richard meant to make warre into France, inuading that realme with all puissance: and so by this meanes to persuade the French king to aid the earle of Richmond and his partakers, in their quarell against king Richard.

Further, that the said William Collingborne, being confederate with the said earle and other his adherents, as well within the realme as without, the eightéenth day of Julie, in the said second yeare, within the parish of saint Gregories in Farringdon ward within, had deuised certeine bils and writings in rime, to the end that the same being published, might stir the people to a commotion against the king. And those bils and writings in rime so deuised and written, the same Collingborne the daie and yeare last mentioned, had fastened and set vpon diuerse doores of the cathedrall church of saint Paule, for the more spéedie furthering of his intended purpose. Thus farre

John Hooker, alias Vowel.

K. Richard commeth to Excester, and is receiued with presents.

A prophesie, the memorie whereof did appall the kings spirits.

Lord Scrope by the kings commission kept a session against diuerse indicted of high treson.

More than fiue hundred indicted, whereof some escaped, and some were executed.

1484

The earle of Richmõd atteinted in parlement, and all other that fled ouer sea to take his part.

Anno Reg. 2.

King Richard chargeth the lord Stanleie to keepe his wife in some secret place from dealing against him.

Collingborne executed.

Collingborne indictment.

Collingborne a fauourer of the earle of Richmond.

Collingborne purpose to the erle at his arriuall at Pole in Dorsetshire.

Collingborne indicted to a libeller against king Richard.

farre the indictement. But whether he was giltie in part or in all, I haue not to sate.

King Richard being thus disquieted in mind, and doubtfull for the suertie of his owne estate, called to remembrance that confederations, honest bands and pacts of amitie, concluded and had betwixt princes and gouernours, are the efficient cause that realmes and common wealths are strengthened with double power, that is, with aid of frends abroad, and their owne forces at home. Whereupon he deuised how to conclude a league and amitie with his neighbour the king of Scots: who not long before had made diuerse incursions and roads into the realme of England. And although he had not much gotten; yet verelie he lost not much. And now euen as king Richard could haue wished, he of himselfe made sute for peace or truce to be had betwixt him and king Richard; who willinglie giuing eare to that sute, commissioners were appointed to meete about the treatie thereof, as in the historie of Scotland it maie appeare.

At length they agréed vpon a truce for three yeres, and withall for a further increase of firme frendship and sure amitie (betwixt him and the king of Scots) king Richard entered into a treatie also of alliance for the concluding of a marriage betwixt the duke of Rothsale (eldest sonne to the king of Scots) and the ladie Anne de la Pole daughter to John duke of Suffolke and the duchesse Anne, sister to king Richard: which sister he so much fauoured, that studieng by all waies and meanes possible how to aduance hir linage, he did not onelie thus seeke to preferre hir daughter in marriage; but also after the death of his sonne, he proclamed John earle of Lincolne hir sonne and his nephue, heire apparant to the crowne of England, disheriting king Edwards daughters, whose brethren (as ye haue heard) he most wickedlie had caused to be murthered and made awaie.

The king of Scots standing in néd of frends, although not so greatlie as king Richard, did willinglie consent to that motion of marriage, first brocht by king Richard, insomuch that it toke effect, and by commissioners was passed and concluded, in maner as in the historie of Scotland it likewise appeareth. But albeit that by this league and amitie thus couenanted and concluded, it might be thought, that all conspiracies, conjurations, and confederacies against king Richard had béene extinct, especiallie considering the duke of Buckingham and his allies were dispatched out of the waie, some by death, and some by flight and banishment into farre countries: yet king Richard, more doubting than trusting to his owne people and frends, was continuallie vexed and troubled in mind for feare of the earle of Richmonds returne: which dailie dread and hourelie agonie caused him to liue in dolefull miserie, euer vnquiet, and in maner in continuall calamitie.

Wherefore he intending to be releeued, and to haue an end of all his doubtfull dangers, determined cléerelie to extirpate and plucke vp by the rots all the matter and ground of his feare and doubts. Insomuch that (after long and deliberate consultation had) nothing was for his purpose and intent thought either more necessarie or expedient than once againe with price, praier, and rewards, to attempt the duke of Britaine, in whose territorie the earle of Richmond then abode, to deliuer the said earle into his hands: by which onelie meanes he should be discharged of all feare and perill, and brought to rest and quietnesse both of bodie and mind. Wherefore incontinent he sent certeine ambassadors to the duke of Britaine, which toke vpon them (beside the great and ample rewards that they brought with them into Britaine) that king Richard should yearelie paie and answer the duke of all the reuenues, rents, and profits of the seignories, lands, and possessions, as well belonging and appertaining to the erle of Richmond, as to anie other noble or gentleman, which then were in the earles companie; if he after that time would kéepe them in continuall prison, and restraine them from libertie. A great temptation with large offers.

The ambassadors (furnished with these and other instructions) arriued in Britaine, and came to the dukes house; where with him they could haue no maner of communication concerning their weightie affaires: by reason that he being faint and weakened by a long and dailie infirmitie, began a little to wax idle and weake in his wit and remembrance. For which cause Peter Landoise his chefe treasuror, a man both of pregnant wit and great authoritie, ruled and adiudged all things at his pleasure and commandement, for which cause (as men set in authoritie be not best beloued) he excited & prouoked against him the malice and euill will of the nobilitie of Britaine, which afterward (for diuerse great offenses by him during his authoritie perpetrate & committed) by their meanes was brought to death & confusion.

The English ambassadors moued their message and request to Peter Landoise, and to him declared their maisters commandement, instantlie requiring and humblie desiring him (in whose power it laie to do all things in Britaine) that he would frendlie assent to the request of king Richard: offering to him the same rewards and lands, that they should haue offered to the duke. This Peter (which was no lesse disdeined than hated almost of all the people of Britaine) thought that if he did assent & satisfie king Richards petition and desire, he should be of power and abilitie sufficient to withstand and refell the malicious attempts and disdeinfull inuentions of his enuious aduersaries. Wherefore he faithfullie promised to accomplish king Richards request & desire: so that he kept promise with him, that he might be able to withstand the cankered malice of his secret enimies. Peter Landoise is moued by the ambassadors of king Richard in their sute.

This act that he promised to do, was not for anie grudge or malice that he bare vnto the erle of Richmond: for (as you haue heard before) he deliuered him from the perill of death at saint Malos, when he was in great doubt of life, and ieopardie. But as cause ariseth we euer offend, and that curssed hunger of gold, and execrable thirst of lucre, and inward feare of losse of authoritie, driueth the blind minds of couetous men, & ambitious persons to euils and mischefs innumerable, not remembring losse of good name, obloquie of the people, nor in conclusion the punishment of God for their merits and deserts. Note what loue of lucre or grédie gaping after rewards doth. Séé page. 701.

[Which vengeance of God for such falshod was more to be feared, than the gaie offers of the king to be desired; for the one was sure to fall, the other was likelie to faile. Wherefore it is wisedome to make choise of a frend, by the rule of the wiseman to be obserued in wine, which is drunke with pleasure when it is old. Neither doth it stand with a mans safetie to trust a frend too farre: for occasions maie fall out wherby he shall become an enimie, as the poet saith: Abr. Fl.

Hostis erit forsan qui tuus hospes erat.]

But fortune was so fauourable to the publike wealth of the realme of England, that this deadlie and dolorous compact toke none effect or place. For while posts ran, and letters were sent to and fro for the finishing of this great enterprise betwéene king Richard and Peter Landoise, John Morton bishop of Elie (sojourning then in Flanders) was of all this craftie conueiance certified by his secret and sure frends. Wherefore he sent Christopher Urswike (which at that verie season was come out of Britaine into Bishop Morton preuenteth & defeateth the practises of king Richard and Peter Landoise.

into Flanders) to declare to the earle of Richmond how all the deceit and craftie working was conueied and compassed, giuing him charge to counsell and aduise the earle in all hast possible with all his companie to retire out of Britaine into France.

When these newes were brought to the earle, he then kept house in Vannes, and incontinent dispatched againe Christopher Urswike vnto Charles the French king, requiring him that he and his might safelie passe into France. Which desire being obteined, the messenger shortlie returned to his lord and prince. The earle, well perceiuing that it was expedient and necessarie, with all spéed and diligence to looke to this weightie matter, calling verie few to counsell, he made inquirie and search of all secret & by-waies, & sent before all his noble men, as though for a certeine familiaritie and kindnesse they should visit and comfort the duke, which then (for recreation and change of aire) laie on the borders and confines of France. And secretlie he gaue charge to the earle of Penbroke, which was the leader and conductor of his companie, that when they approched the marches and limits of Britaine, they should diuert and take the next waie into France.

The earle of Penbroke conductor of the earle of Richmonds companie.

The noble men somewhat suspicious of things newlie imagined, without any tarieng, scowring the waies as fast as their horsses could runne, came out of the duchie of Britaine into the duchie of Anjou in the dominion of France, where they taried the erles comming, which two daies after departed out of Vannes, onelie accompanied with fiue seruitors, as though he had gone secretlie to visit a familiar friend of his, in a small village adioining. No man suspected that he would depart, considering that a great multitude of Englishmen were left and continued in the citie. But after that he had passed directlie fiue miles forward, he suddenlie turned into a solitarie wood next adioining, where clothing himselfe in the simple coat of his poore seruant, made and appointed his said minister leader and maister of his small companie, & he as an humble page diligentlie followed and serued his counterfeit gouernor, neither resting nor refreshing themselues, except the batting of their horsses, till they by waies vnknowne, now this way, now turning that way, came to their companie abiding them in Angiers.

The earle of Richmond flieth into France.

The earles small traine for a policie.

The earle apparelled like a page attendeth vpon one of his men as his maister.

The fourth day after the earle of Richmond was thus departed, that craftie merchant Peter Landoise, thirsting still after his preie promised by king Richard, was readie to set forward his crew of souldiers, which he priuilie had consigned, with certeine trustie capteins for that onelie purpose appointed and elected, to performe and atchiue his pretended enterprise; dissembling and feining them to be conducted and hired by him to serue the earle of Richmond, and him to conduct in his returne toward his native countrie: meaning no other thing but to apprehend him, and the other noble men in his retinue, which no such fraud suspected, nor yet anie treason imagined, vnware and vnprouided, and destitute of all aid, and them to cast and commit suddenlie into continuall captiuitie and bondage, to the intent that by this his wretched and naughtie act, he might satisfie the charitable request and louing desire of good king Richard, more for his owne profit than king Richards gaine.

But when this craftie dissembler Peter Landoise, which was no wiser than an old fox, perceiued that the earle was departed (thinking that to be true that he imagined) Lord how currors ran into euerie coast! how light horssemen galloped in euerie street! to follow and deteine him, if by anie possibilitie hee could be met with and ouertaken, and him to apprehend and bring captiue into the citie of Vannes. The horssemen made such diligence, and with such celeritie set forward their tournie, that nothing was more likelie than they to haue obteined, yea and seized their preie. For the earle of Richmond was not entered into the realme of France scarse one houre, but the followers came to the limits and confines of Britaine, and durst aduenture no further, but dainlie (without their desire) sorrowfullie returned.

Peter Landoise his expectation disappointed by the priuie and vnknowne departing of the earle.

At which season were left at Vannes about the number of three hundred Englishmen, which not being called to counsell, and vnware of this enterprise, but knowing of the earles sudden departure, were so incontinentlie astonied, that in maner they were all in despaire, both of him, and their owne fortie and safegard. But fortune turned hir saile, and otherwise it happened than their feare them incumbered. For the duke of Britaine, now being somewhat recouered, was sore displeased, and nothing contented, that the earle of Richmond was in his dominion so vncourteouslie vsed and intreated, that he should be by fraud and vntruth compelled to leaue and flie out of his duchie and countrie, contrarie to his honour. Wherfore he tooke verie great displeasure with Peter Landoise his treasuror, to whome (although he knew not, and was ignorant that all the drift was deuised and deuised by him) he laid the fault, and imputed the crime.

The duke of Britains letter to the earle of Richmond, the cause of his safetie.

Herevpon he sent for Edward Wooduile, and Edward Poinings, valiant esquiers of England, and deliuered vnto them monie sufficient for their conduct, willing them to conueie the rest of the Englishmen being in Britaine, to the erle of Richmonds presence. When the earle was thus furnished, and appointed with his trustie companie, and was escaped all the dangers, labirinths, and snares that were set for him: no marueil though he were iocund and glad of the prosperous successe that happened in his affaires. Wherefore, least he should seeme to be blotted with the note of ingratitude, he sent diuerse of his gentlemen to the duke of Britaine, the which should publish and declare to him on the behalfe of the earle, that he and his were onelie by his benefit and fauour conserued and deliuered from the imminent danger that they were like to be trapped in. Wherefore at that time he rendered vnto him his most hartie thanks in words, trusting and not doubting, but in time to come liberallie to recompense him with acts and deeds.

Edw. Wooduile & Edward Poinings receiue monie of the duke for earles conduct and his companie.

After this, the earle tooke his iournie to Charles the French king, lieng then at Langes vpon the riuer of Loire, to whome (after great thanks giuen for manifold pleasures by him to the earle shewed) hee disclosed and manifested the cause and occasion of his accesse and repaire to his person. After that, hee required of him helpe and succour, to the intent that by his immortall benefit to him at that time shewed, hee might safelie returne vnto the nobilitie of his realme; of whome he was generallie called to take vpon him the crown & scepter of the realme, sith they much hated and abhorred the tyrannie of king Richard. King Charles promised him aid and comfort, and bade him be of good courage, and make good cheare; for he assured him that he would gladlie shew to him his benenolent mind and bountifull liberalitie. Which king from thence remoued to Mountargis, leading with him the earle of Richmond, and all the noble personages of his retinue and faction.

The earle of Richmond goeth to the French king and telleth him the cause of his comming.

¶ This is that Charles the French K. in whose time France was all aflant, for the state of that realme is said, that then it was verie populous in multitudes of men, for wealth and riches euerie particular region most fertile and plentifull, for glorie in armes most florishing & renowmed, a policie well directed, discipline administred, an authoritie dreadfull, and in

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. page 13.

in opinion and hope most mightie; lastlie their generall conditions and faculties so well furnished, as perhaps it was not more happie in these mortall felicities since the daies of Charlemaine. It was newlie amplified in euerie one of the three parts wherein all Gall stood diuided by the ancients: for fortie yéers before vnder Charles the seuenth (a prince for his victories obteined with great dangers called Happie) Normandie and the duchie of Guien, holden by the Englishmen, were reduced to the obedience of the French crowne. And in the last daies of Lewes the eleuenth, the earldome of Prouince, the dukedome of Burgognie, almost all Picardie, togither with the duchie of Britaine, were by a new mariage inuested in the power of Charles the eight.]

Sir John Vere earle of Oxford getteth out of prison, & he with others go to the earle of Richmond.

While the earle was thus attendant in the French court, John Vere earle of Oxford, which (as you haue heard before) was by king Edward kept in prison within the castell of Hammes, so persuaded James Blunt capteine of the same fortresse, and sir John Fortescue porter of the towne of Calis, that he himselfe was not onelie dismissed and set at libertie; but they also abandoning and leauing their fruitfull offices, did condescend to go with him into France to the earle of Richmond, and to take his part. But James Blunt, like a wise capteine, because he left his wife remaining in the castell before his departure, did fortifie the same both with new munitions, and freth souldiers. [And here because the names of Vere and Fortescue are remembred, it shall not be amisse, somewhat out of due place, yet better a little out of order than altogither to omit the same, to adde a supplement for the further perfecting of a report recorded in page 693, and adding some light also to this present place touching the said persons, with others.]

Hall. fol. xlv. Fabr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 733.

¶ Know you therefore, that this sir John Vere earle of Oxford (that withdrew himselfe from Barnet field, and with all speed fled into Scotland) in the yere 1473, and the thirteenth of Edward the fourth, did (after he had sometime soiourned there) saile into France, about the borders whereof he was continuallie houering, as hoping to win some preie (to support his estate) of such passengers as for merchandize cause or otherwise must keepe their course along the sea. Whose good successe therein did not deceitie his mind. For in the end (what of one and other) hee got such riches and other furniture, as he was able to support a chosen number of followers. Wherwith he (being releeued and incouraged to aduenture to set foot in his countrie in despite of king Edward) did with his companie of 397 persons, and with his saile of ships laid in the west countrie the last of september, where (partlie by force of his, and partlie through feare of the inhabitants, but mostlie by a subtill shift) he gat and entered the castell of saint Michaels mount, a place of strength, and such an harborough, as he determined to keepe the same against all assailants. During the time of his remaine there, he would with his companie manie times descend the hill, and come abrode in the countrie, where (for his loue, for his honour, and for the hatred they bare to king Edward) he was well interteined of manie gentlemen and others of the countrie.

The earle of Oxford leueth power and commeth into England.

But this matter vnpossible long to be kept in secret, was at the length brought to the knowledge of king Edward; who being somewhat moued, thought in the beginning to withstand such mischéefe, least suffering too long, & the earle growing to strength, he might be put to as great plunge for the crowne as he had bene twise before: wherwith séeing he was possessed, he grew resolute to keepe it both by policie and puissance, maugre the open violence and priuie practises as well of his professed as secret enimies. For he ran through the pikes yer he could obteine it, and offered his bodie to manie desperate perils in hope to get it: which if he had either feared or shunned, it is a matter of demand whether he had euer had it. For pretious things, as principalities and such like, vnlesse they be hereditarie, as they are hardlie kept, so are they not easilie gotten: for he that desireth to gather a rose, must not be tender ouer his fingers because of thornes; and he that would fast honie fresh out of the hiue, must not be scared with the stinging of bées, as the poet verie swétlie noteth:

Non quisquam fruitur veris odoribus,
Hyblæos latebris nec spoliat fauos,
Si fronti caueat si timeat rubos,
Armat spina rosas, mella tegunt apes.

Shiriffe Wodringham besiegeth the mount that the earle had taken.

Wherefore king Edward gaue in charge to Wodringham, ruler or shiriffe of Cornewall, to assemble such power as he could; and besieging the mount, he should either take or kill the earle of Oxford. The which the shiriffe did accordinglie, but that so feintlie and fauourablie, as he permitted the earle of Oxford (now in distresse) to reuittell the mount, knowing that there was no waie to expell the earle from thence but by famine. These things thus done (the king not pleased, and the earle not displeased) one Fortescue (which surname is deduced from the strength of his shield, whereof that familie had first originall) was with a stronger and faithfuller companie sent by king Edward to laie siege to the castell; which he did, and long continued. For it was not easie to be had, being (of it selfe) by nature stronglie set, by policie well vittelled, and by manhood valiantlie defended: which moued the king to assay an other meanes therefore, and to sée if policie might do that which force could not.

The name of Fortescue whereupon it grew.

Deuises to withdraw the earles power from him.

For which cause, as Fortescue still continued the said siege, the K. supposed it best (if possiblie he might) to weaken the earles part, by withdrawing the strength and hearts of his people from him: which might not be done but with rich promises and strong pardons. On which consideration he sent liberallie pardons to them, and in the end so secretlie wrought with the earles men: that if the earle (fearing the worst, and iudging it better to trie the kings mercie, than to hazard the extreamitie of taking, in which rested nothing but assured death) had not wholie submitted himselfe to king Edward, he had bene by his owne men most dishonestlie betraied, and suddenlie taken prisoner. Whereupon the earle comming forth to Fortescue, did there yeeld himselfe and the castell into the kings hands. At what time (being the fifteenth of February, which from the first entrance of the earle into that castell being the last of september, was about foure moneths and fourteene daies) the same Fortescue entred the mount, & tooke possession thereof, finding it yet sufficientlie vittelled to haue sustained an other siege more than one halfe yeare. After all things were thus quieted, the earle, the lord Beaumont, two brothers of the said earle, and Thomas Clifford, were brought vp as prisoners vnto king Edward. And now to our present historie againe.]

The earle of Oxford submitteth himselfe & yeeldeth the castell into the kings hands.

When the earle of Richmond saw the earle of Oxenford, he was rauished with an incredible gladnesse, that he being a man of so high nobilitie, of such knowledge and practises in feates of warre, and so constant, trustie and assured (which alwaie had stadled for the maintenance and preferment of the house of Lancaster) was now by Gods prouision deliuered out of captiuitie and imprisonment; and in time so necessarie and conuenient come to his aid, succour, and aduancement; in whome more surer than anie other he might put his trust and confidence, and take lesse paine and trauell in his owne person. For it

was not hid from him, that such as euer had taken part with king Edward before this time, came to doo him seruice, either for malice they bare king Richard, or else for feare to liue vnder his cruell rule and tyrannous gouernance.

Not long after, the French king returned againe to Paris, whome the earle of Richmond followed, intending there to solicit his matter to the conclusion. Whereupon he besought king Charles to take vpon him the whole tuition and defense of him and his cause, so that he and his companie being (by his means) aided and comforted, should confesse and saie, their wealth, victorie, and aduancement to haue flowed and budded forth of his bountifulnesse and liberalitie, which they would (God willing) shortlie acquite. In the meane season, diuerse Englishmen, which either fled out of England for feare, or were at Paris to learne and studie good literature and vertuous doctrine, came voluntarilie and submitted themselues to the earle of Richmond, and vowed & sware to take his part. Amongst whom was Richard Fox a priest, a man of great wit and no lesse learning, whome the earle incontinent receiued into secret familiaritie, and in breefe time erected and aduanced him to high dignities and promotions, and in conclusion made him bishop of Winchester.

Diuers Englishmen doo voluntarilie submit themselues to the earle of Richmond in France.

In the meane season, king Richard was crediblie aduertised, what promises and oths the earle and his confederates had made and sworne togither at Reimes, and how by the earles means all the Englishmen were passed out of Britaine into France. Wherefore being sore dismaid, and in a maner desperate, bicause his craftie chieuance toke none effect in Britaine, he imagined & deuised how to infringe and disturbe the earles purpose by an other meane; so that by the marriage of ladie Elizabeth his neece, he should pretend no claime nor title to the crowne. For he thought if that marriage failed, the earles cheefe combe had beene clearlie cut. And bicause that he being blinded with the ambitious desire of rule before this time in obteining the kingdome, had committed and done manie cursed acts, and detestable tyrannies, yet according to the old prouerbe; Let him take the bull that stale awaie the calfe: he thought all facts by him committed in times passed to be but of small moment, and not to be regarded in comparison of that mischeeuous imagination, which he now newlie began and attempted.

K. Richards deuise to infringe and defeat the earle of Richmods purpose.

There came into his vngratious mind a thing not onelie detestable to be spoken of in the remembrance of man, but much more cruell and abhominable to be put in execution. For when he reuolued in his wauering mind, how great a fountcine of mischeefe toward him should spring, if the earle of Richmond should be aduanced to the marriage of his neece: which thing he heard saie by the rumor of the people, that no small number of wise and wittie personages enterprised to compasse and bring to conclusion; he clerelie determined to reconcile to his fauour his brothers wife quéene Elizabeth, either by faire words, or liberall promises; firmelie beléeuing hir fauour once obteined, that she would not sticke to commit (and louinglie credit) to him the rule and gouernance both of hir and hir daughters, and so by that meanes the earle of Richmond of the affinitie of his neece should be vtterlie defrauded and beguiled.

A subtill and lewd practise of king Richard to beguile the earle of Richmond.

And if no ingenious remedie could be otherwise inuented, to saue the innumerable mischeefes which were euen at hand, and like to fall, if it should happen quéene Anne his wife to depart out of this present life, then he himselfe would rather take to wife his cousine and neece the ladie Elizabeth; than for lacke of that affinitie the whole realme should run to ruine, as who said, that if he once fell from his estate and dignitie, the ruine of the relme must néeds shortlie insue and follow. Wherefore he sent to the quéene (being in sanctuarie) diuerse and often messengers, which first should excuse and purge him of all things before against hir attempted or procured, and after should so largelie promise promotions innumerable, and benefits, not onelie to hir, but also to hir sonne lord Thomas Marquesse Dorset, that they should bring hir (if it were possible) into some wanhope, or (as men saie) into a fooles paradise.

The messengers, being men both of wit and grauitie, so persuaded the quéene with great and pregnant reasons, & what with faire and large promises, that she began somewhat to relent, and to giue to them no deafe eare; insomuch that she faithfullie promised to submit and yéeld hir selfe fullie and frankelie to the kings will and pleasure. And so she putting in oblition the murther of hir innocent children, the infamie and dishonour spoken by the king hir husband, the liuing in aduiterie laid to hir charge, the bastarding of hir daughters; forgetting also the faithfull promise and open oth made to the countesse of Richmond mother to the earle Henrie, blinded by auaricious affection, & seduced by flattering words, first deliuered into king Richards hands hir fiue daughters, as lambs once againe committed to the custodie of the rauenous woolfe.

The inconstancie of Q. Elizabeth.

After she sent letters to the marquesse hir sonne, being then at Paris with the earle of Richmond, willing him in ante wise to leaue the earle, and without delaie to repaire into England, where for him were prouided great honours, and honourable promotions; ascerteining him further, that all offenses on both parts were forgotten and forgiuen, and both he and she highlie incorporated in the kings heart. Suerlie the inconstancie of this woman were much to be maruelled at, if all women had béene found constant; but let men speake, yet women of the verie bond of nature will follow their owne ser. [But it was no small allurement that king Richard vsed to ouercome hir (for we know by experience that women are of a proud disposition, and that the waie to win them is by promises of preferment) and therefore it is the lesse maruell that he by his wilie wit had made conquest of hir wauering will. Besides that, it is to be presumed that she stood in feare to impugne his demands by denials, least he in his malicious mood might take occasion to deale roughlie with hir, being a weake woman, and of a timorous spirit.]

Quéene Elizabeth allureth hir sonne the marquesse Dorset home out of France.

Now when king Richard had thus with glorious promises, and flattering words, pleased and appeased the mutable mind of quéene Elizabeth, which knew nothing lesse than that he most intended; he caused all his brothers daughters to be conueied into his palace with solemne receiuing: as though with his new familiar and louing intertetnment they should forget, and in their minds blot out the old committed iniurie, and late executed tyrannie. Now nothing was contrarie and against his diuelish purpose, but that his mansion was not void of his wife, which thing he in any wise adiudged necessarie to be done. But there was one thing that so much feared and staied him from committing this abhominable murther, bicause (as you haue heard before) he began to counterfet the image of a good and well disposed person: and therefore he was afeard least the sudden death of his wife once openlie knowne, he should lose the good and credible opinion which the people had of him, without anie desert, conceiued and reported.

But in conclusion, euill counsell preuailed in a wit latelie minded to mischeefe, and turned from all goodnesse. So that his vngratious desire ouercame

his

his honest feare. And first to enter into the gates of his imagined enterprise, he abstained both from the bed and companie of his wife. Then he complained to diuerse noble men of the realme, of the infortunate sterilitie and barrennesse of his wife, because she brought forth no fruit and generation of hir bodie. And in especiall he recounted to Thomas Rotheram archbishop of Yorke (whome latelie he had deliuered out of ward and captiuitie) these impediments of his queene, and diuerse other, thinking that he would reueale to hir all these things, trusting the sequele hereof to take due effect, that she hearing this grudge of hir husband, & taking therefore an inward thought, would not long liue in this world.

Of this the bishop gathered (which well knew the complexion and vsage of the king) that the queenes daies were short, and that he declared to certeine of his secret frends. After this he procured a common rumor (but he would not haue the author knowne) to be published and spred abroad among the common people, that the queene was dead; to the intent that she taking some conceit of this strange fame, should fall into some sudden sickenesse or greeuous maladie: and to proue if afterwards she should fortune by that or anie other waies to leese hir life, whether the people would impute hir death to the thought or sickenesse, or thereof would laie the blame to him. Now when the queene heard tell that so horrible a rumor of hir death was sprung amongst the communaltie, she sore suspected and iudged the world to be almost at an end with hir. And in that sorowfull agonie she with lamentable countenance and sorowfull cheare, repaired to the presence of the king hir husband, demanding of him what it should meane, that he had iudged hir worthie to die.

The king answered hir with faire words, and with smiling and flattering leasings comforted hir, and bid hir be of good cheere, for (to his knowledge) she should haue no other cause. But howsoeuer that it fortuned, either by inward thought and pensiuenesse of hart, or by infection of poison (which is affirmed to be most likelie) within few daies after the queene departed out of this transitorie life, and was with due solemnitie buried in the church of S. Peter at Westminster. This is the same Anne, one of the daughters of the earle of Warwike, which (as you haue heard before) at the request of Lewes the French king was maried to prince Edward, sonne to king Henrie the sixt. The king thus (according to his long desire) losed out of the bonds of matrimonie, began to cast a foolish fantasie to ladie Elizabeth his neece, making much suite to haue hir ioined with him in lawfull matrimonie.

But because all men and the maiden hirselfe most of all detested and abhorred this vnlawfull, and in maner vnnaturall copulation; he determined to prolong and defer the matter, till he were in a more quietnesse. For all that verie season he was oppressed with great, weightie, and vrgent causes, and businesses on euerie side; considering that dailie, part of the nobilitie sailed into France to the earle of Richmond: other priuilie fauoured and aided certeine of the conturation, so that of his short end few or none were in doubt. And the common people (for the most part) were brought to such desperation, that manie of them had rather be reputed and taken of him in the number of his enimies, than to abide the chance and hazard to haue their goods taken as a spoile of victorie, by his enimies. [In such hatred they had the wretch, wishing his hart in their hands with the hazard of their heads. For how can people saie well or thinke well of tyrants, whose propertie it is to teare them in peeces with their clawes, like a woolfe let lose among a fold of sheepe? Whereto Homer had an eie when he said in plaine sense as here followeth:

Quisquis inhumanis studet inestabilis vti
Moribus huic omnes viuo clam dira precantur:
Huic omnes credunt fas insultare perempto.] *Hom. Odyss. lib. 19.*

Amongst the noble men whome he most mistrusted, these were the principall. Thomas lord Stanleie, sir William Stanleie his brother, Gilbert Talbot, and sir hundred other: of whose purposes although king Richard were not ignorant, yet he gaue neither confidence nor credence to anie one of them; and least of all to the lord Stanleie, because he was ioined in matrimonie with the ladie Margaret, mother to the earle of Richmond, as afterward apparantlie yee may perceiue. For when the said lord Stanleie would haue departed into his countrie to visit his familie, and to recreate and refresh his spirits (as he openlie said, but the truth was, to the intent to be in a perfect readinesse to receiue the earle of Richmond at his first arriuall in England) the king in no wise would suffer him to depart, before he had left as an hostage in the court George Stanleie lord Strange, his first begotten sonne and heire.

What noble men K. Richard most mistrusted.

1485 Anno Reg. 3.

While king Richard was thus troubled and vexed with imaginations of the troublous time that was like to come: lo, euen suddenlie he heard newes, that fire was sprung out of the smoke, and the war freshlie begun; and that the castell of Hammes was deliuered into the hands of the earle of Richmond, by the meanes of the earle of Oxford; and that not onlie he, but also James Blunt capteine of the castell, were fled into France to aid the earle Henrie. Wherefore he, thinking it great policie to withstand the first brunt, sent the most part of the garrison of Calis, to recouer againe by force the castell of Hammes. They which were in the castell, perceiuing their aduersaries to approch, prepared munitions and engines for their defense, and sent also to the earle of Richmond, to aduertise him of their sudden inuasion, requiring him of hastie aid and speedie succour.

The castell of Hammes deliuered vnto the earle of Richmond.

The earle sleeping not this first begun assault, sent the earle of Oxford with an elected companie of souldiers to raise the siege, and rescue the castell: which at their first arriuing pitched their campe not far from their enimies. Now while king Richards men gaue vigilant eie, waiting least the earle of Oxford should take anie aduantage of them that laie on that side of the castell; Thomas Brandon with thirtie approued men of war by a marish, which laie on the other side, entered into the castell. The souldiers within greatlie incouraged, & much comforted by this new succour and aid, grieued the enimies, by shooting from the walles more than they were accustomed to do. Then they of the castell vexed their enimies on the fore part: and the earle of Oxford no lesse molested & vnquieted them on the other part. Which was the occasion that king Richards men offered (of their owne meere motion) licence to all being within the castell to depart in safetie, with bag and baggage, nothing excepted.

Thomas Brandon entereth the castell.

Why king Richard gaue licence to all in the castell to depart in safetie with bag and baggage.

Which condition the earle of Oxford, comming onelie for that purpose to deliuer his louing frends out of all perill and danger, and chieflie of all, his old hostesse Jane Blunt, wife to James Blunt the capteine, would in no wise forsake or refuse: and so leauing the castell bare and vngarnished both of vittels and artillerie, came safelie to the earle of Richmond soiourning in Paris. During this time, king Richard was crediblie informed of his inquisitors and espials, that the earle of Richmond was with long suite in the court of France sore wearied; and desiring great aid, could obteine small reliefe: in somuch that all things went so farre backwards, that such things as were with great diligence (and no lesse deliberation) purposed and determined to be set for-

ward, were now dashed and ouerthrowne to the ground.

King Richard either being too light of credence, or seduced and deluded by his craftie taletellers, greatlie reioised, as though he had obteined the ouer hand of his enimies with triumphant victorie, and thought himselfe neuer so fullie deliuered of all feare and dreadfull imaginations: so that he néeded now no more once for that cause either to wake, or to breake his golden sleepe. Wherefore he called home againe his ships of warre, which he had appointed to kéepe the narrow seas, and dispatched all such souldiers as he had deputed to kéepe certeine garrisons, and to stop certeine passages (as you haue heard before.) Yet least he might for lacke of prouision be suddenlie trapped, he streightlie charged and gaue in commandement to all noblemen, and especiallie such as inhabited néere the sea coast, and on the frontiers of Wales, that (according to the vsage of the countrie) they should kéepe diligent watch and strong ward, to the intent that his aduersaries in no wise should haue anie place opportune easilie to take land, without defense or rebutting backe.

K. Richard calleth home his ships of warre from the narrow seas.

For the custome of the countries adioining néere to the sea is (especiallie in the time of warre) on euerie hill or high place to erect a beacon with a great lanterne in the top, which may be séene and discerned a great space off. And when the noise is once bruted that the enimies approch néere the land, they suddenlie put fire in the lanternes, and make shouts and outcries from towne to towne, and from village to village. Some run in post from place to place, admonishing the people to be readie to resist the ieopardie, and defend the perill. And by this policie the fame is soone blowne to euerie citie and towne, in somuch that aswell the citizens as the rurall people be in short space assembled and armed, to repell and put backe the new arriued enimies. [Whereas if the necessarie vse of this visible warning were neglected, the policie of the enimie might priuilie so preuaile, as that the people should sooner fall into perill irrecouerable, than they could thinke on (much lesse prouide) meanes to auoid it.]

The vse of beacons in countries néere the sea coasts.

But now to returne to our purpose. King Richard thus somewhat eased of his accustomed pensiuenesse, began to be a little more merrie, & take lesse thought and care for outward enimies than he was wont to do; as who say, that he with politike prouision should withstand the destinie which hong ouer his head, and was ordeined in briefe time suddenlie to fall. Such is the force and puissance of diuine iustice, that euerie man shall lesse regard, lesse prouide, lesse be in doubt of all things, when he is most néerest punishment, and next to his mischance for his offenses & crimes. [For though God did forbeare him a while, yet was that forbearance no acquittance, but rather a time of preparing & making vp that which wanted of the plagues that God had purposed in iustice to powre vpon and ouerwhelme him for his fowle offenses, which could not scape heauie iudgment & vengeance; *Nam scelus admissum pœna seuera premit.*]

About this season, while the earle of Richmond was desiring aid of the French king, certeine noble men were appointed to rule the realme of France, during the minoritie of king Charles, which amongst themselues were not of one opinion. Of which dissention, Lewes duke of Orleance was the chiefe stirrer, who bicause he had maried ladie Ioane sister to the French king, tooke vpon him aboue other the rule and administration of the whole realme. By reason of which controuersie, no one man was suffered to rule all. Wherefore the earle of Richmond was compelled to make sute to euerie one of the councell seuerallie one after another, requiring and desiring them of aid and reliefe in his weightie businesse, and so his cause was prolonged and deferred. During which time, Thomas marquesse Dorset, which was (as you haue heard) intised by his mother to returne againe into England, partlie despairing in the good successe of the earle of Richmond, and partlie ouercome and vanquished with the faire glosing promises of king Richard: secretlie in the night season stale out of Paris, and with all diligent expedition toke his iournie toward Flanders.

Dissention among the péeres of France made the earle of Richmond renew his sute and put him to his shifts.

The marques Dorset forsaketh the earle

When relation of his departure was made to the earle of Richmond, and the other noble men, no maruell though they were astonied and greatlie amazed. Yet that notwithstanding, they required of the French king, that it might be lawfull for them in his name, and by his commandement, to take and staie their companion, confederate, and partaker of all their counsell, in what place within his realme and territorie so euer they could find him. Which petition once obteined, they sent out currors into euerie part, amongst whom Humfreie Cheinie (plaieng the part of a good bloudhound) followed the tract of the flier so euen by the sent, that he ouertooke and apprehended him not far from Campeigne; and so what with reason, and what with faire promises, being persuaded, he returned againe to his companions.

The earle of Richmond vnburdened of this misaduenture, least by lingering of daies, and prolonging of time, he might lose the great opportunitie of things to him offered and ministred: also least he should further wound and molest the minds of his faithfull and assured frends, which dailie did expect and tarie for his comming, determined no longer to protract and deferre the time; but with all diligence and celeritie attempted his begun enterprise. And so obteining of king Charles a small crew of men, and borrowing certeine summes of monie of him, and of diuerse other his priuate frends, for the which he left as debter (or more likelie as a pledge or hostage) lord Thomas marquesse Dorset (whome he halse mistrusted) and sir John Bourchier, he departed from the French court, and came to the citie of Rone.

The earle of Richmond hath men and monie of the French king for hostages

While he taried there, making prouision at Harflæt in the mouth of the riuer of Sene for all things necessarie for his naule, tidings were brought to him that king Richard (being without children, & now a widower) intended shortlie to marie the ladie Elizabeth his brothers daughter; and to prefer the ladie Cicilie his sister to a man found in a cloud, and of an vnknowne linage and familie. He toke these newes as a matter of no small moment; and so (all things considered) it was of no lesse importance than he toke it for. For this thing onelie toke awaie from him and all his companions their hope and courage, that they had to obteine an happie enterprise. And therefore no maruell though it nipped him at the verie stomach: when he thought, that by no possibilitie he might atteine the marriage of any of K. Edwards daughters, which was the strongest foundation of his building; by reason whereof he iudged that all his frends in England would abandon and shrinke from him.

The earle is greeued at the newes of king Richards intended marriage with his néece.

Wherefore, making not manie of his counsell, after diuerse consultations, he determined not yet to set forward: but to tarie and attempt how to get more aid, more frends, and more stronger succours. And amongst all other, it was thought most expedient to allure by affinitie in his aid, as a companion in armes, sir Walter Herbert, a man of an ancient stocke, & of great power among the Welsh, who had with him a faire ladie to his sister, of age ripe to be coupled with him in matrimonie. And for the atchiuing of this purpose, messengers were secretlie sent to Henrie earle of Northumberland (which had before

Sir walter Herbert.

A marriage purposed but disappointed

fore maried another sister of sir Walter Herberts) to the intent that he should set forward all this deuise and purpose: but the waies were so narowlie watched, and so manie spies laid, that the messenger proceeded not in his iournie and businesse.

But in the meane season, there came to the earle a more joifull message from Morgan Kidwellie, learned in the temporall law, which declared that Rice ap Thomas, a man of no lesse valiantnesse than actiuitie, and John Sauage an approued capteine, would with all their power be partaker of his quarell. And that Reginald Bzeie had collected and gotten togither no small summe of monie for the paiment of the wages to the souldiers and men of warre: admonishing him also to make quicke expedition, and to take his course directlie into Wales. The earle of Richmond, bicause he would no longer linger and wearie his frends, liuing continuallie betweene hope and feare, determined in all conuenient hast to set forward, and caried to his ships armor, weapons, vittels, and all other ordinances expedient for warre.

The Welshmen offer to aid the earle of Richmond.

After that all things were in readinesse, the earle being accompanied onelie with two thousand men, and a small number of ships, weied vp his anchors, and halsed vp his sailes in the moneth of August, and sailed from Harflet with so prosperous a wind, that the seuenth daie after his departure, he arriued in Wales in the euening, at a place called Milford hauen, and incontinent toke land, and came to a place called Dalle; where he heard saie that a certeine companie of his aduersaries were laid in garrison to defend his arriuall all the last winter. And the earle at the sunne rising remoued to Hereford west, being distant from Dalle not full ten miles, where he was joifullie receiued of the people, and he arriued there so suddenlie, that he was come and entered the towne at the same time when the citizens had but knowledge of his comming.

The earle arriueth at Milford haven.

Here he heard newes, which were as vntrue as they trulie were reported to him in Normandie; that Rice ap Thomas, and John Sauage, with bodie and goods, were determined to aid king Richard. While he and his companie were some what astonied at these new tidings, there came such message from the inhabitants of the towne of Penbroke, that refreshed and reuiued their frosen harts and daunted courages. For Arnold Butler a valiant capteine, which first asked pardon for his offenses before time committed against the earle of Richmond, and that obteined, declared to him that the Penbrochians were readie to serue and giue their attendance on their naturall and immediat lord Jasper earle of Penbroke. The earle of Richmond, hauing his armie thus increased, departed from Hereford west to the towne of Cardigan, being fiue miles distant from thence.

false rumor of newes.

While the souldiers were refreshing and trimming themselues in their campe, strange tidings sprong among them without anie certeine author; that sir Walter Herbert, which laie with a great crue of men at Carmarden, was now with a great armie readie to approch and bid them battell. With which newes the armie was sore troubled, and euerie man assaied his armour and proued his weapon, and were prest to defend their enimies. And as they were in this fearfull doubt, certeine horsemen, which the earle had sent to make inquirie and search, returned and reported all the countrie to be quiet, and no let nor impediment to be laid or cast in their iournie. And euen at the same time, the whole armie was greatlie recomforted, by reason that the comming of Richard Griffith, a man of great nobilitie, the which notwithstanding that he was confederate with sir Walter Herbert, and Richard ap Thomas; yet at that verie instant he came to the earle of Richmond with all his companie, which were of no great number. After him the same daie came John Morgan with his men.

The earle of Richmonds power made stronger by reuolt of confederats.

When the earle aduanced forward in good hast, making no repose or abode in anie one place. And to the intent to passe forward with sure and short expedition, he assaulted euerie place where his enimies had set anie men of warre; which with small force, and lesse difficultie, he brieflie did ouercome & vanquish. And suddenlie he was by his espials ascerteined, that sir Walter Herbert, and Rice ap Thomas were in harnesse before him, readie to incounter with his armie, and to stop their passage. Wherefore like a valiant capteine he first determined to set on them, and either to destroie or to take them into his fauour, and after with all his power and puissance to giue battell to his mortall enimie king Richard. But to the intent his frends should know in what readinesse he was, and how he proceeded forward; he sent of his most secret and faithfull seruants with letters and instructions to the ladie Margaret his mother, to the lord Stanleie and his brother, to sir Gilbert Talbot, and to other his trustie frends; declaring to them that he being succoured and holpen with the aid and relefe of his frends, intended to passe ouer the riuer of Seuerne at Shrewesburie, and so to passe directlie to the citie of London.

The erle sendeth secret word to his mother and other his frends that he meant a direct passage to London & their conference.

Wherefore he required them, as his speciall trust and confidence was fixed in the hope of their fidelitie, that they would meet him by the waie with all diligent preparation; to the intent that he and they, at time and place conuenient, might communicate togither the depenesse of all his doubtfull and weightie businesse. When the messengers were dispatched with these commandements and admonitions, he marched forward toward Shrewesburie: and in his passing, there met and saluted him Rice ap Thomas with a goodlie band of Welshmen, which making an oth and promise to the earle, submitted himselfe wholie to his order and commandement. For the earle of Richmond two daies before made to him promise, that if he would sweare to take his part and be obedient to him, he would make him chiefe gouernour of Wales: which part as he faithfullie promised and granted, so (after that he had obteined and possessed the realme and diademe) he liberallie performed and accomplished the same.

Rice ap Thomas sweareth fealtie and seruice to the earle of Richmond.

In the meane time the messengers, that were sent, diligentlie executed their charge, and laden with rewards of them to whom they were sent, returned to him the same day that he entered into Shrewesburie: and made relation to him that his frends were readie in all points to do all things for him, which either they ought or might do. The earle Henrie brought in good hope with this pleasant message, continued forth his intended iournie, and came to a little towne called Newport, and pitching his campe on a little hill adioining, reposed himselfe there that night. In the euening the same daie came to him sir Gilbert Talbot, with the whole power of the yong earle of Shrewesburie, then being in ward, which were accounted to the number of two thousand men. And thus his power increasing, he arriued at the towne of Stafford, and there paused.

There also came sir William Stanleie accompanied with a few persons. And after that the earle and he had communed no long time togither; he reuerted to his souldiors, whom he had assembled togither to serue the earle: which from thence departed to Lichfield, and lay without the walles in his campe all the night. The next morning he entered into the towne, and was with all honor like a prince received. A daie or two before, the lord Stanleie, hauing in his band almost fiue thousand men, lodged in the

same towne. But hearing that the erle of Richmond was marching thitherward, gaue to him place, dislodging him and his, and repaired to a towne called Aderstone, there abiding the comming of the earle. And this wilie fox did this act, to auoid all suspicion on king Richards part.

The lord Stanleies deuise to auoid suspicion of K. Richard and to saue his sonnes life.

For the lord Stanleie was afraid, least if he should seeme openlie to be a fautor or aider to the earle his sonne in law, before the day of the battell, that king Richard, which yet vtterlie did not put in him diffidence and mistrust, would put to some cruell death his sonne and heire apparant George lord Strange, whome king Richard (as you haue heard before) kept with him as a pledge or hostage, to the intent that the lord Stanleie his father should attempt nothing preiudiciall to him. King Richard at this season keeping his house in the castle of Notingham, was informed that the earle of Richmond, with such banished men as were fled out of England to him, were now arriued in Wales, and that all things necessarie to his enterprise were vnprouided, vnpurueied, and verie weake, nothing meet to withstand the power of such as the king had appointed to meet him.

K. Richard contemneth the earle and his power.

This rumor so inflated his mind, that in maner disdeining to heare speake of so small a companie, he determined at the first to take little or no regard to this so small a sparkle, declaring the earle to be innocent and vnwise, because that he rashly attempted such a great enterprise with so small and thin a number of warlike persons: and therefore he gaue a definitiue sentence, that when he came to that point that he should be compelled to fight against his will, hee either should be apprehended aliue, or else by all likelihood he should of necessitie come to a shamefull confusion; and that he trusted to be shortlie done by sir Walter Herbert, and Rice ap Thomas, which then ruled Wales with equall power and like authoritie.

But yet reuoluing and casting in his mind, that a small war begun and winked at, and not regarded, maie turne to a great broile and trouble; and that it was prudent policie not to contemne and disdeine the little power and small weakenesse of the enimie (be it neuer so small) thought it necessarie to prouide for afterclaps that might happen & chance. [For victorie doth not alwaies follow the greatest multitude, neither is it a necessarie consequent, that the biggest bodie is indued with most force. For we see that the small viper is the huge buls deadlie bane, and a little curre doth catch a bore boisterous and big; as the poet properlie (and to the purpose) verie well saith:

Ouid. *Parua necat morsu spatiosum vipera taurum,*
Acane non magno sæpè tenetur aper.

The king sendeth to his friends for a chosen power of men.

Wherefore he sent to John duke of Norffolke, Henrie earle of Northumberland, Thomas earle of Surrie, and to other of his especiall & trustie friends of the nobilitie, which he iudged more to preferre and esteeme his wealth and honour, than their owne riches and priuate commoditie; willing them to muster and view all their seruants and tenants, and to elect and chose the most couragious and actiue persons of the whole number, and with them to repaire to his presence with all spéed and diligence. Also hee wrote to Robert Brakenberie lieutenant of the Tower, commanding him with his power to come to his armie, and to bring with him (as fellowes in armes) sir Thomas Bourchier, & sir Walter Hungerford, and diuerse other knights and esquiers, in whom he cast no small suspicion.

Now while he was thus ordering his affaires, tidings came that the earle of Richmond was passed Seuerne, & come to Shrewesburie without anie detriment or incumbrance. At which message he was sore moued and broiled with melancholie and dolor, crieng out, & asking vengeance of them that (against their oth and promise) had so deceiued him. For which cause he began to haue diffidence in other, insomuch that he determined himselfe out of hand the same daie to meet with and resist his aduersaries: and in all haste sent out espials to view and espie what waie his enimies kept and passed. They diligentlie doing their dutie, shortlie after returned, declaring to the king that the earle was incamped at the towne of Lichfield.

The earle is incamped at Lichfield.

When he had perfect knowledge where the earle with his armie was sojourning, he hauing continuall repaire of his subiects to him, began incontinentlie without delaie to marshall and put in order his battels (like a valiant capteine and politike leder) and first he made his battels to set forward, fiue and fiue in a ranke, marching toward that way where his enimies (as was to him reported) intended to passe. In the middle part of the armie, he appointed the traffike and cariage perteining to the armie. Then he (inuironed with his gard) with a frowning countenance and cruell visage, mounted on a great white courser, and followed with his footmen, the wings of horsemen coasting and ranging on euerie side: and keeping this arraie, he with great pompe entered the towne of Leicester after the sunne set [full of indignation & malice, which vttered it selfe from the inward hart by the mouth, out of which flowed speaches of horrible heate, tempered with cruell threatnings, equall to his of whome it was thus said long ago:

The order of king Richards armie.

Horrebant ſeuis omnia verba minis.]

The earle of Richmond raised his campe, and departed from Lichfield to the towne of Tamworth thereto nére adioining, and in the mid way passing, there saluted him sir Walter Hungerford, and sir Thomas Bourchier knights, and diuerse other which yeelded and submitted themselues to his pleasure. For they, being aduertised that king Richard had them in suspicion and iealousie, a little beyond Stonie Stratford left and forsoke priuilie their capteine Robert Brakenberie; and wandering by night, and in maner by vnknowne paths, and vncerteine waies searching, at the last came to earle Henrie. Diuerse other noble personages, which inwardlie hated king Richard worse than a tode or a serpent, did likewise resort to him with all their power and strength, wishing and working his destruction, who otherwise would haue béene the instrument of their calling away.

The earle of Richmond remoueth his power to Tamworth.

There happened in this progression to the earle of Richmond a strange chance worthie to be noted. For albeit he was a man of valiant courage, & that his armie increased, and dailie more and more he waxed mightier and stronger; yet he was not a litle afeard, because he could in no wise be assured of his father in law Thomas lord Stanleie, which for feare of the destruction of the lord Strange his sonne (as you haue heard) as yet inclined to neither partie. For if he had gone to the earle, and that notified to king Richard, his sonne had béene shortlie executed. Wherefore he accompanied with twentie light horsemen lingered in his iournie, as a man musing & imagining what was best to be done. And the more to aggrauate his pensiuenesse, it was shewed him, that king Richard was at hand with a strong power & a great armie.

A strange chance that happened to the earle of Richmond.

While he thus heauilie dragged behind his host, the whole armie came before the towne of Tamworth; and when he for the deepe darknesse could not perceiue the steps of them that passed on before, and had wandered hither & thither, séeking after his companie, and yet not once hearing anie noise or whispering of them; he turned to a verie little village, being about three miles from his armie, taking great thought, and much fearing least he should be espied, and so trapped by king Richards scoutwatch. There he

The earle of Richmond put to a shift.

he taried all night, not once aduenturing to aske or demand a question of any creature, he being no more amazed with the ieopardie & perill that was passed, than with this present chance, sore feared that it should be a prognostication or signe of some infortunate plage afterward to succeed. As he was not merie being absent from his armie, so likewise his armie muchmarueled, and no lesse mourned for his sudden absence.

The nert morning earlie in the dawning of the day he returned, and by the conduct of good fortune, espied and came to his armie, excusing himselfe not to haue gone out of the way by ignorance: but that for a policie (deuised for the nonce) he went from his campe to receiue some glad message from certeine of his priuie frends and secret allies. This excuse made, he priuilie departed againe from his host to the towne of Aderston, where the lord Stanleie and sir William his brother with their bands were abiding. There the erle came first to his father in law, in a litle close, where he saluted him, and sir William his brother: and after diuerse and frendlie imbracings, each reioised of the state of other, and suddenlie were surprised with great ioy, comfort, and hope of fortunate successe in all their affaires and doings. Afterward they consulted togither how to giue battell to king Richard if he would abide, whome they knew not to be farre off with an huge host.

The lord Stanleie, the earle of Richmond, & others meet, embrace, and consult.

In the euening of the same day, sir John Sauage, sir Brian Sanford, sir Simon Digbie, and manie other, leauing king Richard, turned and came to the part of the earle of Richmond, with an elect companie of men. Which reuolt all of king Richards part, by men of such experience, did augment and increase both the good hope, and the puissance of the earle of Richmond. In the meane season, king Richard which was appointed now to finish his last labor by the very diuine iustice & prouidence of God (which called him to condigne punishment for his mischeefous deserts) marched to a place meet for two battels to incounter, by a village called Boswoorth, not farre from Leicester: and there he pitched his field on a hill called Anne Beame, refreshed his souldiers, and toke his rest.

The principals of K. Richards power all from him.

The same went, that he had the same night a dreadfull and terrible dreame: for it seemed to him being aslæpe, that he did see diuerse images like terrible diuels, which pulled and haled him, not suffering him to take anie quiet or rest. The which strange vision not so suddenlie strake his heart with a sudden feare, but it stuffed his head and troubled his mind with manie busie and dreadfull imaginations. For incontinent after, his heart being almost damped, he prognosticated before the doubtfull chance of the battell to come; not vsing the alacritie and mirth of mind and countenance as he was accustomed to do before he came toward the battell. And least that it might be suspected that he was abashed for feare of his enimies, and for that cause looked so pitiouslie; he recited and declared to his familiar frends in the morning his wonderfull vision and fearefull dreame.

The dreame king Richard the third foretelleth him of his end.

But I thinke this was no dreame, but a punction and pricke of his sinfull conscience: for the conscience is so much more charged and aggreeued, as the offense is greater & more heinous in degree. [So that king Richard, by this reckoning, must nœds haue a wonderfull troubled mind, because the dœds that he had done, as they were heinous and vnnaturall, so did they excite and stirre vp extraordinarie motions of trouble and vexations in his conscience.] Which sting of conscience, although it strike not alwaie; yet at the last daie of extreame life, it is wont to shew and represent to vs our faults and offenses, and the paines and punishments which hang ouer our heads for the committing of the same, to the intent that at that instant, we for our deserts being penitent and repentant, maie be compelled (lamenting and bewailing our sinnes like forsakers of this world) to cound to depart out of this mischæse life.

Now to returne againe to our purpose. The next daie after, king Richard being furnished with men & all ablements of warre, bringing all his men out of their campe into the plaine, ordered his fore-ward in a maruellous length, in which he appointed both horsemen and footmen; to the intent to imprint in the hearts of them that looked a farre off, a sudden terror and deadlie feare, for the great multitude of the armed souldiers: and in the fore-front he placed the archers like a strong fortified trench or bulworke. Ouer this battell was capteine, John duke of Norfolke, with whome was Thomas earle of Surrie his sonne. After this long vant-gard, followed king Richard himselfe with a strong companie of chosen and approued men of warre, hauing horsemen for wings on both sides of his battell.

King Richard bringeth all his men into the plaine.

The duke of Norfolke and the earle of Surrie on K. Richards side.

After that the earle of Richmond was departed from the communication of his frends (as you haue heard before) he began to be of a better stomach, and of a more valiant courage, and with all diligence pitched his field iust by the campe of his enimies, and there he lodged that night. In the morning betimes, he caused his men to put on their armour, and apparell themselues readie to fight and giue battell; and sent vnto the lord Stanleie (which was now come with his band into a place indifferent betweene both the armies) requiring him with his men to approch nere to his armie, and to helpe to set the souldiers in arraie. But he answered that the earle should set his owne men in good order of battell, while he would arraie his companie, and come to him in time conuenient. Which answer made otherwise than the earle thought or would haue iudged, considering the opportunitie of the time & the weight of the businesse. And although he was therwithall a little vexed, & began somewhat to hang the head; yet he without anie time delateng, compelled of necessitie, after this maner instructed and ordered his men.

The lord Stanleie refuseth to set the earles men in battell raie.

He made his fore-ward somewhat single and slender, according to the small number of his people. In the front he placed the archers, of whome he made capteine John earle of Oxenford. To the right wing of the battell he appointed sir Gilbert Talbot to be the leader. To the left wing, he assigned sir John Sauage, who had brought thither with him a crue of right able personages, clad in white coats and hods, which mustered in the eies of their aduersaries right brimlie. The earle of Richmond himselfe, with aid of the lord Stanleie, gouerned the battell, accompanied with the earle of Penbroke, hauing a good companie of horsemen, and a small number of footmen. For all his whole number exceeded not fiue thousand men, beside the power of the Stanleies, whereof three thousand were in the field, vnder the standard of sir William Stanleie. The kings number was double so much and more. When both these armies were thus ordered, and all men readie to set forward, king Richard called his chiefteins togither, and to them said as followeth.

The earle setteth his men in order and appointeth chæfteins.

The oration of king Richard the third *to the chiefteins of his armie.*

MY most faithfull and assured fellowes, most trustie & welbeloued frends, & elected capteins, by whose wisedome and policie I haue obteined the crowne, and

and type of this famous realme, and noble region: by whose puissance & valiantnesse I haue inioid and possessed the state roiall & dignitie of the same, maugre the ill will and seditious attempts of all my cankered enimies, and insidious aduersaries: by whose prudent & politike counsell I haue so gouerned my realme, people, & subiects, that I haue omitted nothing apperteining to the office of a iust prince; nor you haue pretermitted nothing belonging to the dutie of wise and sage councellors. So that I maie saie, and trulie affirme, that your approued fidelitie & tried constancie, maketh me to beleeue firmelie, and thinke that I am an vndoubted king, and an indubitate prince.

King Richard iustifieth himselfe and his gouernement.

And although in the adeption and obteining of the garland, I being seduced, and prouoked by sinister counsell, and diabolicall temptation, did commit a wicked and detestable act: yet I haue with streict penance and salt teares (as I trust) expiated & cleerelie purged the same offense: which abhominable crime I require you of frendship as cleerelie to forget, as I dailie remember to deplore and lament the same. If ye will euen now diligentlie call to remembrance in what case and perplexitie we dow stand; and in what doubtfull perill we be all intrapped; I doubt not but you in heart will thinke, and with mouth confesse, that if euer amitie and faith preuailed betweene prince and subiects, or betweene subiect and subiect; or if euer bond of alegiance obliged the vassall to loue and serue his naturall souereigne lord; or if anie obligation of dutie bound anie prince to aid & defend his subiects; all these loues, bonds, and duties of necessitie are now this day to be tried, shewed, and put in experience.

For if wise men saie true (as they dow not lie) there is some policie in getting, but much more in keeping; the one being but fortunes chance, & the other high wit and policie. For which cause, I with you, and you with me, must needs this day take labour and paine, to keepe and defend with force, that preheminence and possession, which by your prudent deuises I haue gotten & obteined. I doubt not but you know how the diuell (continuall enimie to humane nature, disturber of concord, & lower of sedition) hath entered into the heart of an vnknowne Welshman (whose father I neuer knew, nor him personallie saw) exciting him to aspire and couet our realme, crowne, and dignitie, and thereof cleerelie to depriue and spoile vs and our posteritie. Ye see further, how a companie of traitors, theeues, outlawes, and runnagates of our owne nation, be aiders and partakers of his feat and enterprise, readie at hand to ouercome and oppresse vs.

He speaketh opprobriouslie of the earle of Richmond.

You see also, what a number of beggerlie Britans and faint-hearted Frenchmen be with him arriued to destroie vs, our wiues and children. Which imminent mischeefs and apparant inconueniences, if we will withstand & refell, we must liue togither as brethren, fight togither like lions, & feare not to die togither like men. And obseruing and keeping this rule and precept, beleeue me, the fearefull hare neuer fled faster before the greedie greihound, nor the sillie larke before the sparrowhawke, nor yet the simple sheepe before the rauenous woolfe; than your proud bragging aduersaries, astonied and amazed with the onelie sight of your manlie visages, will flee, run, and skir out of the field. For if you consider and wiselie ponder all things in your mind, you shall perceiue, that we haue manifest causes, and apparant tokens of triumph and victorie.

The K. would persuade his capteins that the earle of Richmond is no warrior.

And to begin with the erle of Richmond capteine of this rebellion, he is a Welsh milkesop, a man of small courage, and of lesse experience in martiall acts and feats of warre, brought vp by my mothers meanes, and mine, like a captiue in a close cage in the court of Francis duke of Britaine; and neuer saw armie, nor was exercised in martiall affaires: by reason wherof he neither can, nor is able by his owne will or experience to guide or rule an hoast. For in the wit and policie of the capteine consisteth the cheefe adeption of the victorie, and ouerthrow of the enimies. Secondarilie feare not, but put awaie all doubts; for when the traitors and runnagates of our realme, shall see vs with banner displaied come against them, remembring their oth, promise, and fidelitie made vnto vs, as to their souereigne lord and annointed king; they shall be so pricked and stong in the bottome of their scrupulous consciences, that they for verie remorse and dread of the diuine plague, will either shamefullie flee, or humblie submit themselues to our grace and mercie.

Frenchmen & Britans great boasters small rosters.

And as for the Frenchmen and Britans, their valiantnesse is such, that our noble progenitors, and your valiant parts haue them oftener vanquished and ouercome in one moneth, than they in the beginning imagined possiblie to compasse and finish in a whole yeare. What will you make of them? braggers without audacitie, drunkards without discretion, ribalds without reason, cowards without resisting, and in conclusion, the most effeminate and lasciuious people that euer shewed themselues in front of battell; ten times more couragious to flee & escape, than once to assault the breast of our strong & populous armie. Wherefore considering all these aduantages, expell out of your thoughts all douts, auoid out of your minds all feare; and like valiant champions aduance forth your standards, & assaie whether your enimies can decide and trie the title of battell by dint of sword. Aduance (I say againe) forward my capteins, in whome lacketh neither policie, wisedome, nor yet puissance. Euerie one giue but one sure stripe, & suerlie the iournie is ours. What preuaileth a handfull to a whole realme?

Desiring

Desiring you (for the loue that you beare to me) and the affection that you haue to your natiue and naturall countrie, and to the safegard of your prince & your selues, that you will this daie take to you your accustomed courage and couragious spirits, for the defense and safegard of vs all. And as for me, I assure you, this daie I will triumph by glorious victorie, or suffer death for immortall fame. For they be maimed and out of the palace of fame disgraded, dieng without renowme, which dow not asmuch prefer and exalt the perpetuall honour of their natiue countrie, as their owne mortall and transitorie life. Now saint George to borow, let vs set forward, and remember well, that I am he which shall with high aduancements reward and preferre the valiant and hardie champions, and punish and torment the shamefull cowards, and dreadfull dastards.

K. Richards paine confidence and hostelle courage.

This exhortation incouraged all such as fauoured him; but such as were present (more for dread than loue) kissed them openlie, whome they inwardlie hated. Other sware outwardlie to take part with such, whose death they secretlie compassed, and inwardlie imagined. Other promised to inuade the kings enimies, which fled and fought with fierce courage against the king. Other stood still and looked on, intending to take part with the victors and ouercommers. So was his people to him vnsure and vnfaithfull at his end, as he was to his nephues vntrue and vnnaturall in his beginning. [How then was it possible that this princes regiment could long stand, seeing the preseruation and prorogation of his reigne consisted not in the loue of his subiects: In place wherof bicause feare (yea seruile and forced feare succeded) he was the soner forsaken of his people, whose harts fell from him as isicles from a penthouse in a sunnis daie; and in this case the poet saith truelie, and was well worthie of credit when he craued it, saieng:

Credite quem metuit quisq; perire cupit.]

When the earle of Richmond knew by his foreriders that the king was so neere imbatelled, he rode about his armie from ranke to ranke, & from wing to wing, giuing comfortable words to all men, and that finished (being armed at all peces, sauing his helmet) mounted on a little hill, so that all his people might see and behold him perfectlie, to their great reioising. For he was a man of no great stature, but so formed and decorated with all gifts and lineaments of nature, that he seemed more an angelicall creature, than a terrestriall personage. His countenance and aspect was cheerefull and couragious, his haire yellow like the burnished gold, his eies graie shining and quicke; prompt and readie in answering, but of such sobrietie, that it could neuer be iudged whether he were more dull than quicke in speaking (such was his temperance.) Now when he had ouerlooked his armie ouer euerie side, he paused awhile, and after with a lowd voice and bold spirit spake to his companions these, or the like words following.

The person of the earle of Richmond described.

The oration of king Henrie the seauenth to his armie.

If euer God gaue victorie to men fighting in a iust quarrell, or if he euer aided such as made warre for the wealth & tuition of their owne naturall and nutritiue countrie, or if he euer succoured them which aduentured their liues for the releefe of innocents, suppressing of malefactors and apparant offendors; no doubt my fellowes & frends, but he of his bountifull goodnesse will this daie send vs triumphant victorie, and a luckie iournie ouer our proud enimies, and arrogant aduersaries: for if you remember and consider the verie cause of our iust quarell, you shall apparantlie perceiue the same to be true, godlie, and vertuous. In the which I doubt not, but God will rather aid vs (yea and fight for vs) than see vs banquished and ouerthrowne by such as neither feare him nor his lawes, nor yet regard iustice or honestie.

The earles cause iust and right, & therefore likelie of good successe.

Our cause is so iust, that no enterprise can be of more vertue, both by the lawes diuine & ciuill. For what can be a more honest, godlie, or godlie quarrell, than to fight against a capteine, being an homicide and murtherer of his owne bloud or progenie, an extreame destroier of his nobilitie, and to his and our countrie and the poore subiects of the same a deadlie mallet, a furie brand, and a burthen intollerable? Beside him, consider who be of his band and companie: such as by murther and vntrueth committed against their owne kin and linage, yea against their prince and souereigne lord, haue disherited me and you, and wrongfullie deteine and vsurpe our lawfull patrimonie & lineall inheritance. For he that calleth himselfe king, kæpeth from me the crowne and regiment of this noble realme and countrie, contrarie to all iustice and equitie.

A great inditiue to the nobles & gentles assisting the earle.

Likewise, his mates and friends occupie your lands, cut downe your woods, and destroie your manors, letting your wiues and children range abroade for their liuing: which persons for their penance and punishment I doubt not, but God of his goodnes will ether deliuer into our hands, as a great gaine and bootie; or cause them (being græued and compuncted with the pricke of their corrupt consciences) cowardlie to flie, and not abide the battell. Beside this I assure you, that there be ponder in the great battell, men brought thither for feare, and not for loue; souldiers by force compelled, and not with good will assembled; persons which desire rather the destruction than saluation of their maister and capteine: and finallie, a multitude, whereof the most part will be our friends, and the least part our enimies.

For truelie I doubt which is greater, the malice of the souldiors toward their capteine; or the feare of him conceiued of his people. For suerlie this rule is infallible, that as ill men dailie couet to destroie the good; so God appointeth the good men to confound the ill. And of all worldlie goods the greatest is to suppresse tyrants, and releeue innocents; whereof the one is as much hated, as the other is beloued. If this be true (as clearkes preach) who will spare

K. Richards offenses and ill qualities summarilie touched by the earle.

spare yonder tyrant Richard duke of Gloucester, vntruelie calling himselfe king, considering that he hath violated and broken both the lawes of God and man: What vertue is in him which was the confusion of his brother, and murtherer of his nephues? What mercie is in him that sleeth his trustie frends as well as his extreame enimies? Who can haue confidence in him which putteth diffidence in all men?

If you haue not read, I haue heard good clarkes saie, that Tarquine the proud for the vice of the bodie lost the kingdome of Rome; and the name of Tarquine banished the citie for euer: yet was not his fault so detestable as the fact of cruell Nero, which slue his own mother, and opened hir entrailes, to behold the place of his conception. Behold yonder Richard, which is both Tarquine and Nero: yea a tyrant more than Nero, for he hath not onlie murthered his nephue being his king and souereigne lord, bastarded his noble brethren, and defamed the wombe of his vertuous and womanlie mother; but also compassed all the meanes and waies that he could inuent, how to defile and carnallie know his owne niece, vnder the pretense of a cloked matrimonie, which ladie I haue sworne and promised to take to my make and wife, as you all know and beleeue.

K. Richard a notorious tyrant.

If this cause be not iust, and this quarell godlie; let God (the giuer of victorie) iudge and determine. We haue (thanks be giuen to Christ) escaped the secret treasons in Britaine, and auoided the subtill snares of our fraudulent enimies there, passed the troublous seas in good and quiet safegard, and without resistance haue ouergone the ample region & large countrie of Wales, and are now come to the place which we so much desired: for long we haue sought the furious bore, and now we haue found him. Wherefore let vs not feare to enter into the toile, where we may suerlie slaie him; for God knoweth that we haue liued in the vales of miserie, tossing our ships in dangerous stormes: let vs not now dread to set vp our full sailes in faire weather, hauing with vs both God and good fortune.

Incouragements to his armie to plaie the men in a iust cause.

If we had come to conquer Wales and had atchiued it, our praise had been great, and our gaine more: but if we win this battell, the whole rich realme of England, with the lords and rulers of the same, shall be ours; the profit shall be ours, and the honour shall be ours. Therefore labour for your gaine, & sweat for your right. While we were in Britaine, we had small liuings and little plentie of wealth or welfare; now is the time come to get aboundance of riches, and copie of profit; which is the reward of your seruice, and merit of your paines. And this remember with your selues, that before vs be our enimies; and on either side of vs be such, as I neither suerlie trust, nor greatlie beleeue; backward we cannot flee; so that here we stand like sheepe in a fold, circumuented and compassed betweene our enimies and our doutfull friends.

Therefore let all feare be set aside, and like sworne brethren let vs ioine in one; for this daie shall be the end of our trauell, and the gaine of our labour, either by honorable death or famous victorie: and as I trust, the battell shall not be so sowre, as the profit shall be sweet. Remember that victorie is not gotten with the multitudes of men, but with the courages of hearts, and valiantnesse of minds. The smaller that our number is, the more glorie is to vs if we vanquish: if we be ouercome, yet no laud is to be attributed to the victors, considering that ten men fought against one. And if we die so glorious a death in so good a quarell, neither fretting time, nor cancarding oblivion, shall be able to darken or rase out of the booke of fame either our names, or our godlie attempt. And this one thing I assure you, that in so iust and good a cause, and so notable a quarrell, you shall find me this daie rather a dead carrion vpon the cold ground, than a free prisoner on a carpet in a ladies chamber.

Victorie consisteth not in multitude but in manlinesse.

Let vs therefore fight like inuincible giants, and set on our enimies like vntimorous tigers, & banish all feare like ramping lions. And now aduance forward true men against traitors, pitifull persons against murtherers, true inheritors against vsurpers, the scourges of God against tyrants. Displaie my banner with a good courage, march forth like strong and robustious champions, and begin the battell like hardie conquerors. The battell is at hand, and the victorie approcheth; and if we shamefullie recule, or cowardlie flee; we and all our sequele be destroied, and dishonored for euer. This is the daie of gaine, and this is the time of losse; get this daie victorie, and be conquerors: and lese this daies battell, and be villaines. And therefore in the name of God and S. George, let euerie man couragiouslie aduance forth his standard.

These cherefull words he set forth with such gesture of his bodie, & smiling countenance, as though alreadie he had vanquished his enimies, and gotten the spoile. He had scantlie finished his saieng, but the one armie spied the other. Lord how hastilie the soldiers buckled their healmes, how quicklie the archers bent their bowes and frushed their feathers, how readilie the bilmen shooke their billes, and prooued their staues, readie to approach and ioine, when the terrible trumpet should sound the bloudie blast to victorie or death! Betweene both armies there was a great marish then (but at this present, by reason of diches cast, it is growne to be firme ground) which the earle of Richmond left on his right hand; for this intent, that it should be on that side a defense for his part, and in so doing he had the sunne at his backe, and in the faces of his enimies. When king Richard saw the earles companie was passed the marish; he did command with all hast to set vpon them. Then the trumpets sounded, and the souldiers shouted, and the

The battell betweene king Richard, and king Henrie the seuenth, called Bosworth field.

The policie of the earle.

kings

kings archers couragiouslie let flie their arrowes. The earles bowmen stood not still, but paied them home againe.

The terrible shot once passed, the armies ioined and came to hand-strokes, where neither sword nor bill was spared. At which incounter, the lord Stanleie ioined with the earle. The earle of Oxford in the meane season, fearing least while his companie was fighting, they should be compassed and circumuented with the multitude of the enimies, gaue commandement in euerie ranke, that no man should be so hardie, as to go aboue ten foot from the standard. Which commandment once knowne, they knit themselues togither, and ceassed a little from fighting. The aduersaries suddenlie abashed at the matter, and mistrusting some fraud and deceit, began also to pause and left striking; and not against the wils of manie, which had rather had the king destroied, than saued, and therefore they fought verie faintlie, or stood still.

The earle of Oxford, bringing all his band togither on the one part, set on his enimies freshlie againe. The aduersaries perceiuing that, placed their men slender and thin before, but thicke and broad behind, beginning againe hardilie the battell. While the two fore-wards thus mortallie fought, ech intending to vanquish and conuince the other; king Richard was admonished by his explorators and espials, that the earle of Richmond (accompanied with a small number of men of armes) was not far off. And as he approched and marched toward him, he perfectlie knew his personage by certeine demonstrations and tokens, which he had learned and knowen of others that were able to giue him full information. Now being inflamed with ire, and vered with outragious malice, he put his spurres to his horsse, and rode out of the side of the range of his battell, leauing the vant-gard fighting; and like a hungrie lion ran with speare in rest toward him. The earle of Richmond perceiued well the king furiouslie coming toward him, and bicause the whole hope of his wealth and purpose was to be determined by battell, he gladlie proffered to incounter with him bodie to bodie, and man to man.

King Richard set on so sharplie at the first brunt, that he ouerthrew the earles standard, and slue sir William Brandon his standard-bearer (which was father to sir Charles Brandon by king Henrie the eight created duke of Suffolke) and matched hand to hand with sir John Cheinie, a man of great force and strength, which would haue resisted him: but the said John was by him manfullie ouerthrowen. And so he making open passage by dint of sword as he went forward, the earle of Richmond withstood his violence, and kept him at the swords point without aduantage, longer than his companions either thought or iudged: which being almost in despaire of victorie, were suddenlie recomforted by sir William Stanleie, which came to his succors with three thousand tall men. At which verie instant, king Richards men were driuen backe and fled, & he himselfe manfullie fighting in the middle of his enimies, was slaine, and (as he worthilie had deserued) came to a bloudie death, as he had lead a bloudie life.

In the meane season, the earle of Oxford with the aid of the lord Stanleie, after no long fight, discomfited the fore-ward of king Richard, whereof a great number were slaine in the chase and fight: but the greatest number which (compelled by feare of the king, and not of their meere voluntarie motion) came to the field, gaue neuer a stroke, and hauing no harme nor damage, safelie departed, which came not thither in hope to see the king prosper and preuaile, but to heare that he should be shamefullie confounded and brought to ruine. In this battell died few aboue the number of a thousand persons: and of the nobilitie were slaine John duke of Norffolke, which was warned by diuerse to refraine from the field, in so much that the night before he should set forward toward the king, one wrote this rime vpon his gate:

Iacke of Norffolke be not too bold,
For *Dikon thy maister is bought and sold.

*Richard.

Yet all this notwithstanding, he regarded more his oth, his honor, and promise made to king Richard, like a gentleman; and as a faithfull subiect to his prince, absented not himselfe from his maister; but as he faithfullie liued vnder him, so he manfullie died with him, to his great fame and laud. [And therfore, though his seruice was ill imploied in aid of a tyrant (whome it had béene more honorable to haue suppressed than supported) yet bicause he had vpon his fealtie vndertaken to fight in his quarell, he thought it lesse losse of life and liuing than of glorie & honour: so that he might haue said, in respect of his loialtie & promised truth testified with constancie to the death:

Est mihi supplicium causa fuisse pium. Ouid.

There were slaine beside him, Walter lord Ferrers of Chartleie, sir Richard Radcliffe, and Robert Brakenberie lieutenant of the Tower, and not manie gentlemen more. Sir William Catesbie learned in the lawes of the realme, and one of the chéefe councellors to the late king, with diuerse other, were two daies after beheaded at Leicester. Amongst them that ran awaie, were sir Francis vicount Louell, and Humfreie Stafford, and Thomas Stafford his brother, which tooke sanctuarie in saint Johns at Glocester. Of captiues and prisoners there were a great number. For after the death of king Richard was knowne and published, euerie man in manner vnarming himselfe, & casting awaie his abilliments of warre, meekelie submitted themselues to the obeisance and rule of the earle of Richmond: of the which the more part had gladlie so done in the beginning, if they might haue conuenientlie escaped from king Richards espials, which hauing as cléere eies as Lynx, and open eares as Midas, ranged & searched in euerie quarter.

Amongst these was Henrie the fourth earle of Northumberland, which (whether it was by the commandement of king Richard, putting diffidence in him; or he did it for the loue and fauour that he bare vnto the earle) stood still with a great companie, and intermitted not in the battell, which was incontinentlie receiued into fauour and made of the councell. But Thomas Howard earle of Surreie, which submitted himselfe there, was not taken to grace; bicause his father was chiefe councellor, and he greatlie familiar with king Richard, but committed to the Tower of London, where he long remained; and in conclusion deliuered, was for his truth and fidelitie after promoted to high honors, offices and dignities. On the earle of Richmonds part were slaine scarse one hundred persons, among whome the principall was sir William Brandon his standard-bearer. This battell was fought at Bosworth in Leicestershire, the two and twentith date of August, in the yeare of our redemption 1485. The whole conflict indured litle aboue two houres.

King Richard (as the fame went) might haue escaped and gotten safegard by fleeing. For when they, which were next about his person, saw and perceiued at the first ioining of the battell the souldiers faintlie and nothing couragiouslie to set on their enimies; and not onlie that, but also that some withdrew themselues priuilie out of the preasse and departed; they began to suspect fraud and to smell treason; and not onelie exhorted, but determinatlie aduised him to saue himselfe by flight. And when the losse of the battell was imminent and apparant, they brought to him a swift

Duke of Norffolke slaine in the field.

Erle of Surreie cõmitted to the Tower notwithstanding his submission.

How king Richard might haue escaped.

swift and a light horsse, to conueie him awaie. He which was not ignorant of the grudge and ill will that the common people bare toward him, casting awaie all hope of fortunate successe and happie chance to come, answered (as men saie) that on that daie he would make an end of all battels, or else there finish his life. Such a great audacitie and such a stomach reigned in his bodie.

For suerlie he knew that to be the daie, in the which it should be decided and determined whether he should peaceablie obteine and inioy his kingdome during his life, or else vtterlie forgo and be depriued of the same. With which too much hardines he being ouercome, hastilie closed his helmet, and entered fiercelie into the hard battell, to the intent to obteine that daie a quiet reigne and regiment; or else to finish there his vnquiet life, and vnfortunat gouernance. And so this miser at the same verie point had like chance and fortune, as happeneth to such which in place of right iustice and honestie, following their sensuall appetite, loue, and vse to imbrace mischiefe, tyrannie, and vnthriftinesse. Suerlie these be examples of more behemencie, than mans tong can expresse, to feare and astonish such euill persons, as will not liue one houre vacant from doing and exercising crueltie, mischiefe, or outragious liuing.

The deuout behauiour of the earle of Richmond after the victorie.

When the earle had thus obteined victorie, and slaine his mortall enimie, he kneeled downe and rendred to almightie God his hartie thanks, with deuout and godlie orisons; beseeching his goodnesse to send him grace to aduance and defend the catholike faith; and to mainteine iustice and concord amongst his subiects and people, by God now to his gouernance committed & assigned. Which praier finished, he replenished with incomparable gladnesse ascended vp to the top of a little mounteine, where he not onelie praised and lauded his valiant souldiers; but also gaue vnto them his hartie thanks, with promise of condigne recompense for their fidelitie and valiant facts, willing and commanding all the hurt and wounded persons to be cured, and the dead carcasses to be deliuered to the sepulture. Then the people reioised, and claped their hands, crieng vp to heauen; King Henrie, king Henrie.

The lord Stanleie setteth ỳ crowne on king Henries head.

When the lord Stanleie saw the good will and gladnesse of the people, he toke the crowne of king Richard which was found amongst the spoile in the field, and set it on the earles head; as though he had beene elected king by the voice of the people, as in ancient times past in diuerse realmes it hath beene accustomed: and this was the first signe and token of his good lucke and felicitie. ¶ I must put you here in remembrance, how that king Richard (putting some diffidence in the lord Stanleie) had with him as an hostage the lord Strange, his eldest sonne, which lord Stanleie (as ye haue heard before) ioined not at the first with his sonne in latwes armie, for feare the king would haue slaine the lord Strange his heire.

When king Richard was come to Bosworth, he sent a pursenant to the lord Stanleie, commanding him to aduance forward with his companie, and to come to his presence; which thing if he refused to do, he sware by Christes passion, that he would strike off his sonnes head before he dined. The lord Stanleie answered the pursenant that if the king did so, he had more sonnes aliue; and as to come to him, he was not then so determined. When king Richard heard this answer, he commanded the lord Strange incontinent to be beheaded; which was at that verie same season, when both the armies had sight ech of other. But the councellors of king Richard pondered the time and cause, knowing also the lord Strange to be innocent of his fathers offense, & persuaded the king that it was now time to fight, & no time to execute.

The lord Stanleies bold answer to K. Richards pursenant.

Besides that, they aduised him to keepe the lord Strange as prisoner till the battell were ended, and then at leisure his pleasure might be accomplished. So (as God would) king Richard brake his holie oth, and the lord was deliuered to the keepers of the kings tents, to be kept as prisoner. Which, when the field was done, and their maister slaine, and proclamation made to know where the child was, they submitted themselues as prisoners to the lord Strange, and he gentlie receiued them, and brought them to the new proclamed king; where, of him and of his father he was receiued with great ioy. After this the whole campe remoued with bag and baggage.

Proclamation made to bring in the lord Strange.

The same night in the euening, king Henrie with great pompe came to the towne of Leicester; where as well for the refreshing of his people & souldiers, as for preparing all things necessarie for his iournie toward London, he rested and reposed himselfe two daies. In the meane season the dead corps of king Richard was as shamefullie caried to the towne of Leicester, as he gorgeouslie (the day before) with pompe and pride departed out of the same towne. For his bodie was naked and despoiled to the skin, and nothing left about him, not so much as a clout to couer his priuie members, and was trussed behind a pursenant of arms, one Blanch Senglier, or White boze, like a hog or calfe, his head and armes hanging on the one side of the horsse, and his legs on the other side, and all besprinkled with mire and blood he was brought to the graie friers church within the towne, and there laie like a miserable spectacle.

The shamefull carriage of K. Richards bodie to Leicester.

But suerlie considering his mischiefous acts and vngratious doings, men maie wonder at such a caitife, who although he deserued no burtall place either in church or churchyard, chappell or chancell; but otherwise to haue bin bestowed: yet in the said church he was with no lesse funerall pompe & solemnitie interred, than he would to be done at the burtall of his innocent nephues, whome he caused cruellie to be murthered, and vnnaturallie killed. Now when his death was knowne, few lamented, and manie reioiced. The proud bragging white boze (which was his badge) was violentlie rased & plucked downe from euerie signe and place where it might be espied: so ill was his life, that men wished the memorie of him to be buried with his carren corps. He reigned two yeers, two moneths, and one daie [too long by six and twentie moneths, and foure and twentie houres in most mens opinions, to whome his name and presence was as sweet and delectable, as his doings priuelie, and his person amiable.]

K. Richards badge and cognisance euerie where defaced.

As he was small and little of stature, so was he of bodie greatlie deformed; the one shoulder higher than the other; his face was small, but his countenance cruell, and such, that at the first aspect a man would iudge it to sauour and smell of malice, fraud, and deceit. When he stood musing, he would bite and chaw busilie his nether lip; as who said, that his fierce nature in his cruell bodie alwaies chafed, stirred, and was euer vnquiet: beside that, the dagger which he ware, he would (when he studied) with his hand plucke vp & downe in the sheath to the midst, neuer drawing it fullie out: he was of a readie, pregnant, and quicke wit, wilie to feine, and apt to dissemble: he had a proud mind, and an arrogant stomach, the which accompanied him euen to his death, rather chosing to suffer the same by dint of sword, than being forsaken and left helpelesse of his vnfaithfull companions, to preserue by cowardlie flight such a fraile and vncerteine life, which by malice, sickenesse, or condigne punishment was like shortlie to come to confusion.

The description of king Richard.

Thus ended this prince his mortall life with infamie and dishonor, which neuer preferred fame or honestie

neſtie before ambition, tyrannie and miſchiefe. And if he had continued ſtill protector, and ſuffered his nephues to haue liued and reigned, no doubt but the realme had proſpered, & he as much praiſed & loued as he is now had in hatred: but to God, which knew his inward thoughts at the houre of his death, I remit the puniſhment of his offenſes commited in his life; [which if the one be as manifold as the other, Gods iuſtice were not to be charged with crueltie. For by nature he is mercifull, ſlow to anger, and loth to ſmite: but yet euerie ſinne (in reſpect of his righteouſneſſe) being deadlie (much more heinous and horrible) how can he but by iuſtice (which is an eſſentiall vertue in him) puniſh it ſeuerelie? And if he did it with ten thouſand torments, who ſhall be ſo hardie as to expoſtulate and reaſon why he ſo doth?]

But to leaue the tyrant as he died, you ſhall vnderſtand that K. Henrie the ſeuenth cauſed a tome to be made and ſet vp ouer the place where he was buried, in the church of the graie friers at Leiceſter, with a picture of alabaſter repreſenting his perſon, doing that honour to his enimie, vpon a princelie regard and pitifull zeale, which king Richard (moued of an hypocriticall ſhew of counterfeit pitie) did to king Henrie the firſt, whom he had firſt cruellie murthered, and after in the ſecond yeare of his vſurped reigne, cauſed his corps to be remoued from Chertſeie vnto Windſore, and there ſolemnlie interred. And now to conclude with this cruell tyrant king Richard, we may conſider in what ſort the ambitious deſire to rule and gouerne in the houſe of Yorke, was puniſhed by Gods iuſt prouidence.

Sée pag. 690, 691.

For although that the right might ſeeme to remaine in the perſon of Richard duke of Yorke, ſlaine at Wakefield, yet maie there be a fault worthilie reputed in him, ſo to ſéeke to preuent the time appointed him by authoritie of parlement to atteine to the crowne intailed to him and his iſſue; in whome alſo, and not onelie in himſelfe, that offenſe (as maie bée thought) was dulie puniſhed. For although his eldeſt ſonne Edward the fourth, beeing a prince right prouident and circumſpect for the ſuertie of his owne eſtate and his children, inſomuch that not content to cut off all his armed and aparant enimies, he alſo of a gealous feare, made awaie his brother the duke of Clarence, and ſo thought to make all ſure: yet Gods vengeance might not be diſappointed, for (as ye haue partlie heard) he did but further thereby the deſtruction of his iſſue, in taking awaie him that onlie might haue ſtaied the crueltie of his brother of Gloceſter, who inraged for deſire of the kingdome, bereft his innocent nephues of their liues & eſtates.

Sée pag. 659.

Sée pag. 703.

And as it thus well appeared, that the houſe of Yorke ſhewed it ſelfe more bloudie in ſéeking to obteine the kingdome, than that of Lancaſter in vſurping it: ſo it came to paſſe, that the Lords vengeance appeared more heauie towards the ſame than towards the other, not ceaſſing till the whole iſſue male of the ſaid Richard duke of Yorke was extinguiſhed. For ſuch is Gods iuſtice, to leaue no vnrepentant wickednes vnpuniſhed, as eſpecially in this caitiſe Richard the third, not deſeruing ſo much as the name of a man, much leſſe of a king, moſt manifeſtlie appeareth. [At whom we will end, with a compariſon of the like practiſe in Lodowike Sforce, aſpiring to the dukedome of Millane, the name, armes and title therof he toke vpon him, hauing ſecretlie proteſted before, that he receiued them as apertaining to him by the inueſtiture of the king of Romans.

Abr. Flem. ex Guic. pag. 49. Lodowike Sforce duke of Millan by vſurpation.

It was publiſhed that the death of Galeas (his late predeceſſor) happened by immoderate cohabitation, but the vniuerſall iudgment of Italie was, that he died not of infirmities naturall, nor by incontinencie, but by poiſon and violent compulſion. Wherof Theodor de Pauia, one of the phyſicians, aſſiſting when the king viſited him, aſſured the king to ſée moſt aparant and manifeſt ſignes: and if hée were diſpatched by poiſon, there was none that doubted that his vncle was innocent, either directlie or indirectlie; as he, who not content with an abſolute power to be gouernor of the ſtate, but aſpiring according to the common deſires of great men, to make themſelues glorious with titles and honors; and ſpeciallie he iudged, that both for his proper ſuertie and the ſucceſſion of his children, the death of the lawfull prince was neceſſarie, and therefore thought to eſtabliſh in himſelfe the power and name of duke. Wherin ambition and couetouſneſſe preuailed aboue conſcience and law of nature, and the gealous deſire of dominion inforced his diſpoſition (otherwiſe abhorring bloud) to that vile action.

But to end with king Richard ſometimes duke of Gloceſter, a title of dignitie ioined with miſfortune and vnluckineſſe (as is noted * before.) So that for infelicitie it might well be compared vnto the name of Ione, a name vnhapie and much accurſſed for the kingdome of Naples. As for king Richard, better had it bene for him to haue contented his heart with the protectorſhip, than to haue caſt vp his ſnout, or lifted vp his hornes of ambition ſo high (and that with a ſetled intent) as to hacke and hew downe by violent blowes all likelie impediments betwixt him and home. Better (I ſay) had it bene for him to haue dwelt vpon his firſt honor, than to haue wandered in princelineſſe; and better had it bene for him neuer to haue inioied the flattering proſperitie of a king, than afterwards to fall, and neuer to recouer loſſe or ruine, as is noted by the poet, ſaieng:

Sée page 627.

Guic. pag. 12.

Eſt melius nunquam felicia tempora noſſe,
Quàm poſt blanditias fortunæ fata maligna
Nec reparanda pati infortunia ſortis iniquæ.]

T. Wat. in Am. Quer. 7.

¶ In this yere 1483 died William Dudleie who (by the tranſlation of Laurence Booth biſhop of Durham and chancellor of England from the ſée of Durham to the citie of Yorke) was made biſhop of Durham (in place of the ſaid Laurence) by the popes bulles. For by vertue therof, Edward the fourth in the ſixteenth yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of Chriſt 1476, directed his letters patents to the knights and other freemen of that biſhoprike, with all ſolemnitie to inſtall the ſaid William Dudleie (borne of the honorable houſe of the lords Dudleies) in the ſaid biſhoprike of Durham, and to deliuer him quiet poſſeſſion therof, who was conſecrated therevnto in the yeare of Chriſt 1477, in which he worthilie gouerned ſix yeares, and died in this yeare, as before.]

Fr. Thin. The death of of William Dudleie biſhop of Durham, deſcended of the honorable houſe of the Dudleies.

Now of learned men that liued, and wrote in the daies of this vſurper and his nephue king Edward the fift, theſe we find recorded by Iohn Bale. Firſt, John Penketh an Auguſtine frier of Warington in Lancaſhire, a right ſubtill fellow in diſputation, following the footſteps of his maſter John Duns, whome he chiefly ſtudied, he wrote diuers treatiſes, and made that infamous ſermon at Paules croſſe, in fauour of the duke of Gloceſter then protector, to the diſheriting of Edward the fift, his lawfull king and gouernor; John Kent or Caileie borne in South-wales; George Ripleie, firſt a chanon of Bridlington, and after a Carmelit frier in Boſton, a great mathematician, rhetorician, and poet; John Spine a Carmelit frier of Briſtow, that proceéded doctor of diuinitie in Cambridge: and ſuch like.

Thus farre Richard the vſurper, vnnaturall vncle to Edward the fift and Richard duke of Yorke, brethren.

Henrie the seauenth, sonne to Edmund earle of Richmond, which Edmund *was brother by the moothers side to* Henrie the sixt.

Anno Reg. 1.

KIng Henrie hauing thus got the victorie at Bosworth, and slaine his mortall enimie there in the field, did send before his departure from Leicester, sir Robert Willoughbie knight, to the manour of Sheriffehuton in the countie of Yorke, for Edward Plantagenet earle of Warwike, sonne and heire to George duke of Clarence then being of the age of fiftéene yeares; whome king Richard had kept there as prisoner during the time of his vsurped reigne. Sir Robert Willoughbie receiuing the yong earle of the constable of that castell conueied him to London, where he was shut vp in the Tower, for doubt least some vnquiet and euill disposed persons might inuent some occasion of new trouble by this yong gentleman: and therefore king Henrie thought good to haue him sure.

Edward Plantagenet earle of Warwike sonne and heire to George duke of Clarence committed to the Tower.

There was beside him in the castell of Sheriffehuton the ladie Elizabeth eldest daughter to king Edward the fourth, whome king Richard (as ye haue heard) meant to haue married: but God otherwise ordeined for hir, and preserued hir from that vnlawfull copulation and incestuous bed. Shortlie after, she being accompanied with a great number as well of noblemen, as honourable matrons, was with good spéed conueied to London, and brought to hir mother. In the meane season king Henrie remoued forward by soft iournies towards London, the people comming in from all sides to behold him, and excédinglie reioising at his presence, as by their voices and gestures it well apeared.

King Henrie commeth to London.

At his approching nére to the citie, the maior and his brethren, with other worshipfull citizens, being clothed in violet, met him at Shordich, and reuerentlie saluted him: and so with great pompe and triumph he rode thorough the citie to the cathedrall church of S. Paule, where he offered three standards. In the one was the image of saint George, in an other was a red fierie dragon beaten vpon white and grœne sarcenet, and in the third was painted a dun cow vpon yellow tarterne. After his prayers said, and *Te Deum* song, he departed to the bishops palace, and there soiourned a season. Anon after, he assembled togither the sage councellors of the realme, in which councell like a prince of iust faith, and true of promise, to auoid all ciuill discord, he appointed a daie to ioine in marriage with the ladie Elizabeth, heire of the house of Yorke; with his noble personage, heire to the line of Lancaster. Which thing not onelie reioised the hearts of the nobles and gentlemen of the realme, but also gained the fauours and good wils of all the commons.

After this, with great pompe he rowed vnto Westminster, & there the thirtith daie of October he was with all ceremonies accustomed, annointed, & crowned king, by the whole assent as well of the commons as of the nobilitie, and called Henrie the seauenth of that name: which was in the yeare of the world 5452, and after the birth of our Lord 1485, in the fortie and sixt yeare of Frederike the third then emperour of Almaine, Maximilian his sonne being newlie elected king of the Romans, in the second yeare of Charles the eight then king of France, and in the fiue and twentith of king James then ruling the realme of Scotland. For the establishing of all things, as well touching the preseruation of his owne estate, as the commendable administration of iustice and preferrement of the common wealth of his realme, he called his high court of parlement at Westminster the seauenth daie of November, wherein was atteinted Richard late duke of Gloucester, calling and naming himselfe by vsurpation, king Richard the third.

Henrie the seuenth crowned king. 1485

A parlement at westminster, with an atteindor and a pardon generall.

Likewise there was atteinted as chéefe aiders and assistants to him in the battell at Bosworth, aduanced against the present king, John late duke of Norfolke, Thomas earle of Surrie, Francis Louell knight vicount Louell, Walter Deuereux knight late lord Ferrers, John lord Zouch, Robert Harrington, Richard Charleton, Richard Ratcliffe, William Berkeleie of Welete, Robert Middleton, James Harrington, Robert Brakenberie, Thomas Pilkington, Walter Hopton, William Cateshie, Roger Wake, William Sapcote of the countie of Huntington, Humfrie Stafford, William Clerke of Wenlocke, Geffrie saint Germaine, Richard Watkins herald of armes, Richard Reuell of Derbishire, Thomas Pulter of the countie of Kent, John Welsh otherwise called Hastings, John Kendall late secretarie to the said Richard late duke of Gloucester, John Bucke, Andrew Rat, and William Brampton of Burford.

In which atteindor neuertheless there were diuerse clauses and prouisos for the benefit of their wiues and other persons, that had or might claime anie right, title, or interest lawfullie vnto anie castels, manours, lordships, townes, townships, honours, lands, tenements, rents, services, fée farmes, annuities, knights fées, aduousons, reuersions, remainders, and other hereditaments; whereof the said persons atteinted were possessed or seized to the vses of such other persons: with a speciall prouiso also, that the said atteindor should not be preiudiciall to John Cateshie knight, Thomas Reuell, and William Allbie esquiers, in, of, & vpon the manour of Kirkebie vpon Wretheke in the countie of Leicester, nor

in

in, of, and vpon anie other lands and tenements in Kirkebie aforesaid, Melton, Somerbie, Thropsleghfield, and Godebie, which they had of the gift & feoffement of Thomas Dauers, & John Lie. And further, notwithstanding this atteindor, diuerse of the said persons afterwards were not onelie by the king pardoned, but also restored to their lands and liuings.

Moreouer, in this present parlement, he caused proclamation to be made, that all men were pardoned and acquited of their offenses, which would submit themselues to his mercie, and receiue an oth to be true and faithfull vnto him: whereupon manie that came out of sanctuaries and other places were receiued to grace, and admitted for his subiects. After this, he began to remember his speciall frends, of whome some he aduanced to honour and dignitie, and some he inriched with goods and possessions, euerie man according to his deserts and merits. And to begin, his vncle Jasper earle of Penbroke, he created duke of Bedford; Thomas lord Stanleie was created earle of Derbie; and the lord Chendew of Britaine his especiall frend, he made earle of Bath; sir Giles Daubeneie was made lord Daubeneie; sir Robert Willoughbie was made lord Broke. And Edward Stafford eldest sonne to Henrie late duke of Buckingham, he restored to his name, dignitie, & possessions, which by king Richard were confiscat and atteinted. Beside this, in this parlement was this notable act assented to and concluded as followeth; to the pleasure of almightie God, wealth, prosperitie, and suertie of this realme of England, and to the singular comfort of all the kings subiects of the same, in auoiding all ambiguities and questions.

The king aduanceth his frends.

An act for the establishing of the crowne in the line of Henrie the seauenth.

BE it ordeined, established, and enacted by this present parlement, that the inheritance of the crown of this realme of England, & also of France, with all the preheminence, and dignitie roiall to the same apperteining, all other seigniories to the king belonging beyond the sea, with the appurtenances thereto in anie wise due or apperteining, shall rest, remaine, and abide, in the most roiall person of our now souereigne lord king Henrie the seuenth, and in the heires of his bodie lawfullie comming, perpetuallie, with the grace of God so to indure, and in none other.

Beside this act, all atteindors of this king enacted by king Edward and king Richard were annihilated, and the record of the same iudged to be defaced; and all persons atteinted for his cause and occasion were restored to their goods, lands, and possessions. Diuerse acts also made in the time of king Edward and king Richard were reuoked, and other adiudged more expedient for the common wealth were put in their places and concluded. After the dissolution of this parlement, the king remembring his frends left in hostage beyond the seas, that is to wit, the marquesse Dorset, & sir John Bourchier, he with all conuenient speed redeemed them, and sent also into Flanders for John Morton bishop of Elie. These acts performed, he chose to be of his councell a conuenient number of right graue and wise councellors.

The king redeemeth his hostages.

¶ This did he, that he might the more roiallie gouerne his kingdome, which he obteined and inioied as a thing by God elected and prouided, and by his especiall fauour and gratious aspect compassed and atchiued. Insomuch that men commonlie report that seauen hundred nintie & seauen yeres passed, it was by a heauenlie voice reuealed to Cadwalader last king of Britains, that his stocke & progenie should reigne in this land & beare dominion againe. Whereupon most men were persuaded in their owne opinion, that by this heauenlie voice he was prouided & ordeined long before to inioy & obteine this kingdome. Which thing K. Henrie the first did also shew before, as it were by prophetical inspiration, at such time as the earle of Penbroke presented the said Henrie (at that time a proper child) vnto Henrie the first, whome after he had beheld, and a good while viewed the comelinesse of his countenance, and orderlie lineaments of his bodie, he said to such peres as stood about him: Lo, suerlie this is he, to whome both we and our aduersaries, leauing the possession of all things, shall hereafter giue rome and place: & so it came to passe by the appointment of God, to whose gouernement, gift, and disposing, all realmes and all dominions are subiect, as king Dauid confesseth, saieng:

Omnia sunt regno subdita regna Deo.]

Abr. Flem. ex *subsequentib.* See the histor. of Englād pag. 124. See also D. Powels histor. of Wales, pag. 2, and 376, 377, &c.

See before in Edward the fourth, pag. 678.

Gualt. in psal. 103.

Now although by this meanes all things seemed to be brought in good and perfect order, yet there lacked a wrest to the harpe, to set all the strings in a monocord and perfect tune, which was the matrimonie to be finished betweene the king and the ladie Elizabeth, daughter to king Edward. Which like a good prince, according to his oth, & promise, he did both solemnize & consummate shortlie after, that is to saie, on the eightéenth daie of Januarie. By reason of which marriage, peace was thought to descend out of heauen into England, considering that the lines of Lancaster and Yorke were now brought into one knot, and conuered togither, of whose two bodies one heire might succeed to rule and inioie the whole monarchie and realme of England, which before was rent and diuided into factions & partakings, whereby manie a mans life was lost, great spoiles made of peoples goods, wast of wealth, worship, and honor, all which ended in this blessed and gratious conuersion, authorised by God, as our *Anglorum prælia* saith:

Hoc Deus omnipotens pacis confecerat author,
Ciuilisque habuit talem contentio finem.

King Henrie the seuenth taketh to wife Elizabeth eldest daughter of Edward the fourth.

1486

In Hen. 7.

Shortlie after, for the better preseruation of his roiall person, he constituted and ordeined a certeine number, as well of archers, as of diuerse other persons, hardie, strong, and actiue to giue dailie attendance on his person, whom he named yeomen of his gard, which president men thought that he learned of the French king when he was in France. For it is not remembred, that anie king of England before that daie vsed anie such furniture of dailie souldiers.

Yeomen of the gard first brought in.

¶ In this same yéere a new kind of sickenes inuaded suddenlie the people of this land, passing through the same from the one end to the other. It began about the one and twentith of September, and continued vntill the latter end of October, being so sharpe and deadlie, that the like was neuer heard of to anie mans remembrance before that time.

For suddenlie a deadlie burning sweat so assailed their bodies, and distempered their blood with a most ardent heat, that scarse one amongst an hundred that sickened did escape with life: for all in maner as soone as the sweat toke them, or within a short time after, yéelded the ghost. Beside the great number which deceassed within the citie of London, two maiors successiuelie died within eight daies and sir aldermen. At length, by the diligent obseruation of those that escaped (which marking what things had

The sweating sickenesse.

owne them good, and holpen to their deliuerance, vsed the like againe. When they fell into the same disease, the second or third time, as to diuerse it chanced, a remedie was found for that mortall maladie, which was this. If a man on the day time were taken with the sweat, then should he streight lie downe with all his clothes and garments, and continue in his sweat foure and twentie houres, after so moderate a sort as might be.

A remedie for the sweating sickenesse.

If in the night he chanced to be taken, then should he not rise out of his bed for the space of foure and twentie houres, so casting the clothes that he might in no wise prouoke the sweat, but lie so temperatlie, that the water might distill out softlie of the owne accord, and to absteine from all meat if he might so long suffer hunger, and to take no more drinke neither hot nor cold, than would moderatelie quench and asswage his thirstie appetite. Thus with lukewarme drinke, temperate heate, and measurable cloaths manie escaped: few which vsed this order (after it was found out) died of that sweat. Marie one point diligentlie aboue all other in this cure is to be obserued, that he neuer did put his hand or feet out of the bed to refresh or cole himselfe, which to do is no lesse ieopardie than short and present death. Thus this disease comming in the first yeare of king Henries reigne, was iudged (of some) to be a token and signe of a troublous reigne of the same king, as the prose partlie afterwards shewed it selfe.

The king standing in need of monie to discharge such debts, and to mainteine such port as was behouefull, sent the lord treasuror with maister Reginald Braie, and others, vnto the lord maior of London, requiring of the citie a prest of six thousand marks. Whereupon the said lord maior and his brethren, with the commons of the citie, granted a prest of two thousand pounds, which was leuied of the companies, and not of the wards: and in the yeare next insuing, it was well and trulie againe repaid euerie penie, to the good contentation and satisfieng of them that disbursed it. The king considering that the suertie of his roiall estate and defense of the realme consisted cheefelie in good lawes and ordinances to be had and obserued among his people, summoned eftsones his high court of parlement, therein to deuise and establish some profitable acts and statutes, for the wealth and commoditie of his people.

The king requested a prest of six thousand marks.

A parlement summoned & new lawes for the commonwealth enacted.

After this, hauing set things in quiet about London, he tooke his iournie into the North parts, there to purge all the dregs of malicious treson that might rest in the hearts of vnquiet persons, and namelie in Yorkeshire, where the people bare more fauour vnto king Richard in his life time, than those of anie other part of the realme had commonlie done. He kept the feast of Easter at Lincolne; where he was certified that the lord Louell and Humfrie Stafford, and Thomas Stafford, his brother, were departed out of the sanctuarie at Colchester, to what place or whither, no man as yet could tell. The king little regarding the matter, kept on his iournie, and came to Yorke, where as soone as he was once setled, it was openlie shewed and declared for a truth to the king himselfe, that Francis lord Louell was at hand with a strong and mightie power of men, and would with all diligence inuade the citie.

The king goeth into the North.

A rebellion made by the lord Louell and others.

It was also told him, that the forenamed Staffords were in Worcestershire, and had raised a great band of the countrie people and commons there, and had cast lots what part should assault the gates, what men should scale the wals of the citie of Worcester, and who should let the passages for letting of rescues and aiders. The king could not beleeue this report to be true at the first, but after that, by letters of credence sent from his friends, he was fullie persuaded that it was too true, he was put in no small feare, and not without great cause. For he wiselie considered, that he neither had anie competent armie readie, nor conuenient furniture to arme them that were present: and also he was in such place, where he could not assemble anie power, but of those whome he sore mistrusted, as friends to them that were most his enimies; the memorie of king Richard as yet being not amongst them forgotten nor worne out of mind.

Humfrie Stafford. Thomas Stafford.

But because the matter required quicke expedition, he appointed the duke of Bedford with three thousand men not altogither the best armed (for their best plates for the most part were of tanned leather) to march forth against the lord Louell, and to set vpon him without anie lingering of time. The duke hasting forward, approched to the campe of his enimies, & before he would assaile them, he caused the heralds to make proclamation, that all those that would depart from their armour, and submit themselues as subiects vnto their naturall prince and souereigne lord, should be pardoned of all former offenses. The lord Louell vpon this proclamation, either putting mistrust in his souldiers, or fearing himselfe in his owne behalfe, fled priuilie in a night from his companie, and left them as a flocke of sheepe without a sheepeheard.

The duke of Bedford against the lord Louell in armes.

Which departure of the lord when his armie vnderstood, it put the soldiours in such despaire of atchiuing anie further enterprise, that they immediatlie put off their armour, and came directlie vnto the duke, euerie man humblie submitting himselfe, and desiring pardon of his offenses. So in this wise was that dangerous storme and cruell rage of those furious rebels appeased, which was doubted would haue growne to the destruction of manie a man. The lord Louell the procurer of this businesse, escaping awaie got him into Lancashire, and there for a certeine space lay lurking in secret with sir Thomas Broughton knight, which in those parties was a man of no small authoritie and power.

The lord Louell escapeth

Sir Humfrie Stafford also, hearing what had happened to the lord Louell, in great displeasure and sorrowe, and for feare lest his enterprise, and in like manner fled, and toke sanctuarie at Colnham, a village not past two miles from Abindon. But because that sanctuarie was not a sufficient defense (as was proued before the iustices of the kings Bench) for traitours, he was taken from that place, & brought to the Tower, & after put to execution at Tiborne: but his brother Thomas that was with him, was pardoned, because he was thought not to haue attempted anie thing of himselfe other wise than by the euill counsell and persuasion of his elder brother. After that the king had quieted all these commotions and tumults, and reformed the rude and brabling people of the North parts, he returned to London.

Sir Humfr Stafford taken out of Colnham sanctuarie, and executed

Anno Reg. 2.

¶ In this yeare John Persiuall, one of the maior of Londons officers, and his caruer, was chosen one of the shiriffes of London. For when the maior (as the custome of London is) doth elect one of the shiriffes of London for the yeare insuing, by taking and drinking a cup of wine to such a one as he list to name shiriffe; the maior for the time being, whose name was sir Henrie Collet, toke the cup of wine, and dranke vnto the aforesaid John Persiuall his caruer standing bareheaded before him, and waiting vpon his boord, and called him shiriffe of London for the yeare insuing: and forthwith the said maior caused the same Persiuall to sit downe at his owne table, and to couer his head. And the same Persiuall toke vpon him the office of shirinaltie, and after was maior of London, and was made knight.

Abr. Fl. ex epitome Rich. Grafton

One of the maiors officers chosen shiriffe of London and lord maior.

In this meane time, of a small matter, and the same

same altogither false and fained, there was an open path made and beaten forth, for a greater inconuenience to insue. The which matter might séeme verie strange, how such trouble and mischéefe should grow thereof, if the time were not considered, in which it happened. For in those daies manie persons, either borne in the wombe of continuall dissention, or nourished with the milke of ciuill sedition, could not forbeare their vsuall custome of mouing strife, and sowing debate, euer glad to haue anie occasion, though neuer so small, to stirre vp roares of warre, and slaughter of people. Which men if they knew (a matter of weightie conceipt) the hurts thereof, they would be as earnest in seeking after peace as they are grédie in pursuit of warre, specially ciuill warre: but the cause whie they are defectiue therein, is the want of méekenesse and humilitie, as the wiseman saith:

Mite cor horribili seditione vacat.

Sir Richard Simond a fraudulent préest.

Amongst other such monsters and limmes of the diuell, there was one sir Richard Simond préest, a man of base birth, and yet well learned, but not so learned as wilie, nor so wilie as vngratious, delighting in fraud & deceit, euen from his youth. He had a scholer called Lambert Simenell, one of a gentle nature and pregnant wit, to be the organe and chéefe instrument, by the which he might conueie and bring to passe his mischéeuous attempt. The diuell chéefe master of such practises, put in the venemous braine of this disloiall and traitorous préest, to deuise how he might make his scholer the foresaid Lambert to be reputed as right inheritour to the crowne of this realme: namelie, for that the fame went that king Edwards children were not dead, but fled secretlie into some strange place, and there to be liuing: and that Edward earle of Warwike, sonne and heire to the duke of Clarence, either was, or shortlie should be put to death.

Lambert Simenell the counterfeit earle of Warwike.

These rumors though they séemed not to be grounded of anie likelihood to the wiser sort of men, yet incouraged this péeuish préest to thinke the time come, that his scholer Lambert might take vpon him the person and name of one of king Edwards children. And hereupon at Orford, where their abiding was, the said préest instructed his pupill both with princelie behauiour, ciuill maners, and good literature, declaring to him of what linage he should affirme himselfe to be descended, and omitted nothing that might serue for his purpose. Soone after, the rumor was blowne abroad, that the earle of Warwike was broken out of prison. And when the préest sir Richard Simond heard of this, he streight intended now by that occasion to bring his inuented purpose to passe, and changing the childes name of baptisme, called him Edward, after the name of the yong earle of Warwike, the which were both of like yeares, and of like stature.

Thomas Gerardine chancellor of Ireland interteineth the counterfeit earle verie honorable.

Then he with his scholer sailed into Ireland, where he so set forth the matter vnto the nobilitie of that countrie, that not onelie the lord Thomas Gerardine chancellor of that land deceiued through his craftie tale, receiued the counterfeit earle into his castell with all honour and reuerence; but also manie other noble men determined to aid him (with all their powers) as one descended of the blood roiall, and lineallie come of the house of Yorke, which the Irish people euermore highlie fauoured, honoured, and loued aboue all other. By this meanes euerie man throughout all Ireland was willing and readie to take his part, and to submit themselues to him; alreadie reputing and calling him of all hands king. So that now they of this sect (by the aduise of the préest) sent into England certeine priuie messengers to get frends héere.

Also they sent into Flanders to the ladie Margaret, sister to king Edward, & late wife to Charles duke of Burgognie, to purchase aid and helpe at hir hands. This ladie Margaret bare no small rule in the low countries, and in verie déed sore grudged in hir heart, that king Henrie (being descended of the house of Lancaster) should reigne and gouerne the realme of England: and therefore, though she well vnderstood that this was but a coloured matter; yet to worke hir malicious intention against king Henrie, she was glad to haue so fit an occasion: and therfore promised the messengers all the aid that she should be able to make in furtherance of the quarell; and also to procure all the frends she could in other places, to be aiders and partakers of the same conspiracie.

Margaret duchesse of Burgognie sister to king Edward the fourth, hir malicious mind to Lancaster house.

King Henrie aduertised of all these doings, was greatlie vexed therewith: and therefore to haue good aduise in the matter, he called togither his councell at the Charterhouse beside his manor of Richmond, and there consulted with them, by which means best this begun conspiracie might be appeased and disappointed without more disturbance. It was therefore determined, that a generall pardon should be published to all offendors that were content to receiue the same. This pardon was so frelie granted, that no offense was excepted, no not so much as high treason committed against the kings roiall person. It was further agréed in the same councell for the time then present, that the earle of Warwike should personalie be shewed abroad in the citie, and other publike places: whereby the vntrue report falselie spred abroad, that he should be in Ireland, might be among the communaltie proued and knowne for a vaine imagined lie.

A generall pardon excepting no offése.

Order taken that the yong earle of Warwike should be shewed abroad.

In this solemne councell, diuerse & manie things for the wealth of the realme were debated and concluded. And among other it was determined, that the ladie Elizabeth wife to king Edward the fourth, should lose and forfeit all hir lands and possessions, because she had voluntarilie submitted hir selfe and hir daughters wholie to the hands of king Richard, contrarie to hir promise made to the lords and nobles of this realme in the beginning of the conspiracie made against king Richard, whereby she did inough to haue quailed all the purpose of them that ioined with hir in that matter. But though hir fault was greeuous, yet was it iudged by some men that she deserued not by equitie of iustice so great a losse and punishment. Howbeit, this iudgement was altogither affectionate and parciall in hir behalfe; besides that it was reasonable in great measure (all circumstances considered) for she was not lightlie induced to do as she did, neither stood it with the frailtie of a woman to withstand the temptations of a mightie man, or rather a reaching tyrant.

Ladie Elizabeth late wife to king Edward the fourth, adiudged to forfeit all hir lands, for promisebreaking.

But such was hir chance by hir lightnesse and inconstancie, that she wan the displeasure of manie men, and for that cause liued after in the abbeie of Bermondsete beside Southwarke a wretched and a miserable life, where not manie yeares after she deceased, and is buried with hir husband at Windsor. Though fortune thus ruleth manie things at hir pleasure, yet one worke that this queene accomplished cannot be forgotten: for in the life time of hir husband king Edward the fourth, she founded and erected a notable colledge in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, for the finding of scholers and students of the same vniuersitie, and endowed it with sufficient possessions for the long maintenance of the same, which at this date is called the Quénes colledge.

Quéenes colledge in Cambridge founded by the ladie Elizabeth king Edward the fourth his wife.

When all things in this counsell were fullie concluded and agréed to the kings mind, he returned to London; giuing in commandement, that the next sundaie insuing, Edward the yong earle of War-

Edward the right earle of Warwike shewed openlie in procession.

wike should be brought from the Tower through the most publike streets in all London, to the cathedrall church of saint Paule, where he went openlie in procession, that euerie man might see him, hauing communication with manie noble men, and with them especiallie that were suspected to be partakers of the late begun conspiracie; that they might perceiue how the Irishmen vpon a vaine shadowe moued warre against the king and his realme. But this medicine little auailed euill disposed persons. For the earle of Lincolne sonne to John de la Pole duke of Suffolke, and Elizabeth sister to king Edward the fourth, thought it not met to neglect and omit so readie an occasion of new trouble.

Wherefore they determined to vphold the enterprise of the Irishmen, and other complices of this conspiracie: so that consulting with sir Thomas Broughton, and certeine other of his most trustie frends, he purposed to saile into Flanders to his aunt the ladie Margaret duchesse of Burgognie, trusting by hir helpe to make a puissant armie, and to ioine with the companions of the new raised sedition. Therefore after the dissolution of the parlement which then was holden, he fled secretlie into Flanders vnto the said ladie Margaret; where Francis lord Louell landed certeine daies before. Heere after long consultation had how to proceed in their businesse, it was agreed, that the earle of Lincolne, and the lord Louell should go into Ireland; and there to attend vpon the duchesse hir counterfeit nephue, and to honor him as a king, and with the power of the Irishmen to bring him into England.

In ill matter followed to the prosle.

Now they concluded, that if their doings had successe, then the foresaid Lambert (misnamed the earle of Warwike) should by consent of the councell be deposed, and Edward the true earle of Warwike deliuered out of prison and annointed king. King Henrie supposing that no man would haue beene so mad as to haue attempted anie further enterprise in the name of that new found & counterfeit earle, he onelie studied how to subdue the seditious conspiracie of the Irishmen. But hearing that the earle of Lincolne was fled into Flanders, he was somwhat moued therewith, and caused soldiors to be put in a readinesse out of euerie part of his realme, and to bring them into one place assigned, that when his aduersaries should appeare, he might suddenlie set vpon them, vanquish and ouercome them.

The earle of Lincolnes flight into Flanders doubted of king Henrie.

The marques Dorset committed to the Tower.

Thus disposing things for his suertie, he went forwards S. Edmunds burie, and being certified that the marquesse Dorset was comming towards his maiestie, to excuse himselfe of things that he was suspected to haue done when he was in France, he sent the earle of Orford to arrest the said marquesse by the waie, and to conueie him to the Tower of London, there to remaine till his truth might be tried. From thence the K. went forth to Norwich, and tarrieng there Christmasse daie, he departed after to Walsingham, where he offered to the image of our ladie, and then by Cambridge he shortlie returned to London. In which meane time, the earle of Lincolne had gotten togither by the aid of the ladie Margaret about two thousand Almains, with one Martine Sward, a valiant and noble capteine to lead them.

1487

Martin Sward a valiant capteine of the Almains, assistant to the earle of Lincolne.

With this power the earle of Lincolne sailed into Ireland, and at the citie of Diuelin caused yong Lambert to be proclaimed and named king of England, after the most solemne fashion, as though he were the verie heire of the bloud rotall lineallie borne and descended. And so with a great multitude of beggerlie Irishmen, almost all naked and vnarmed, sauing skains and mantels, of whome the lord Thomas Gerardine was capteine and conductor, they sailed into England with this new found king, and landed for a purpose at the pile of Fowdrete, within a little of Lancaster, trusting there to find aid by the means of sir Thomas Broughton, one of the cheefe companions of the conspiracie.

The counterfeit earle of Warwike with all his adherents landeth in England.

The king had knowledge of the enimies intent before their arriuall, and therefore hauing assembled a great armie (ouer the which the duke of Bedford, and the earle of Oxenford were cheefe capteins) he went to Couentrie, where he was aduertised, that the earle of Lincolne was landed at Lancaster with his new king. Heere he toke aduise of his councellors what was best to be done, whether to set on the enimies without further delaie, or to protract time a while. But at length it was thought best to delaie no time, but to giue them battell, before they should increase their power, and therevpon he remoued to Notingham, & there by a little wood called Bowres, he pitched his field.

K. Henries power soone increased.

Shortlie after this came to him the lord George Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, the lord Strange, sir John Cheinie, right valiant capteins, with manie other noble and expert men of warre, namelie of the countries neere adioining; so that the kings armie was wonderfullie increased. In this space the earle of Lincolne being entered into Yorkeshire, passed softlie on his iournie without spoiling or hurting of anie man, trusting thereby to haue some companie of people resort vnto him. But after he perceiued few or none to follow him, and that it was too late now to returne backe, he determined to trie the matter by dint of sword, and herevpon directed his waie from Yorke to Newarke vpon Trent.

The earle of Lincolne entreth Yorkeshire.

But before he came there, king Henrie knowing all his enimies purposes, came the night before the dais of the battell to Newarke; and tarrieng there a little, went three miles further, and pitching his field, lodged there that night. The earle of Lincolne certified of his comming, was nothing abashed, but kept still on his iournie; and at a little village called Stoke, nigh to the king and his armie, set downe his campe. The next daie the king diuided his whole power into three battels, and after in good arraie approached nigh to the towne of Stoke. The earle likewise set forth his armie, and incountring with the kings people in a faire plaine there, met for the triall of such a conflict, set vpon them with a manlie courage, desiring his soldiors to remember his honour and their owne liues.

The battell of Stoke.

Then both the armies ioined and fought verie earnestlie, in so much that the Almains, being tried and expert men of warre, were in all things, as well in strength as policie, equals and matches to the Englishmen. But as for Martine Sward their coronell, few of the Englishmen, either in valiant courage, or strength, and nimblenesse of bodie was to him comparable. On the other side, the Irishmen, although they fought manfullie, and stucke to it valiantlie; yet bicause they were (after the maner of their countrie) almost naked, without anie conuenable furniture of armour, they were striken downe and slaine like dull & brute beasts, which was a great discouragement to the residue of the companie. Thus they fought for a space so sore and so egerlie on both parts, that no man could well iudge to whome the victorie was like to incline.

The armies ioine.

Martine Sward a peerelesse warrior.

But at length the kings fore-ward being full of people, and well fortified with wings, which onelie both began and continued the fight, set vpon the aduersaries with such force and violence, that first they oppressed and killed such capteins, one by one, as resisted their might and puissance: and after that, put all the other to flight, the which were either apprehended as prisoners in their running awaie, or else slaine

The kings power ouercommeth.

slaine and brought vnto confusion in a small moment. Now when this battell was ended, and fought out to the extremitie, then it well appeared, what high prowesse, what manfull stomachs, what hardie and couragious hearts rested in the kings aduersaries. All the capteins of the aduerse part against the king slaine. For there the chiefe capteins, the earle of Lincolne, and the lord Louell, sir Thomas Broughton, Martine Sward, and the lord Gerardine capteine of the Irishmen were slaine, and found dead in the verie places which they had chosen aliue to fight in, not giuing one foot of ground to their aduersaries.

Howbeit some affirme, that the lord Louell toke his horsse, and would haue fled ouer Trent, but was not able to recouer the further side for the highnesse of the banke, and so was drowned in the riuer. There were killed at that battell, with their fiue capteins before rehersed, of that partie about foure thousand. The number of the slaine that were against the king. Of the kings part there were not halfe of them which fought in the fore-ward, and gaue the onset slaine or hurt. Lambert and his maister Simond take. Then was Lambert the yongling, which was falslie reported to be the sonne of the duke of Clarence, and his maister sir Richard Simond priest both taken, but neither of them put to death; bicause that Lambert was but an innocent, and of yeares insufficient of himselfe to do any such enterprise; and the other was pardoned of life, bicause he was a priest, and annointed man; but yet was committed to perpetuall prison.

Lambert was at length made one of the kings falconers, after that he had béene a turnebroch for a space in the kings kitchen. This battell was fought on a saturdaie being the sixtéenth daie of June, in this second yeare of his reigne. In this yéere died Thomas Bourchier archbishop of Canturburie: and Morton bishop of Elie made archbishop of Canturburie and chancellor of England. John Morton bishop of Elie, a man of excellent learning, vertue and policie, succeeded in his place, whom Alexander pope of Rome, the sixt of that name, created a cardinall, and the king created him also chancellor of England. Of which pope (hauing so conuenient a place to speake) it were a fault to omit the ambition, accompanied with other disorders vnbeséeming a successor of Peter (but neither personallie nor locallie) as all the brood of them brag of themselues, & will be intituled with a primasie, vsurped.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag 4,5. Creation of pope Alexander the sixt, Otherwise called Roderike Borgia borne at Venice. ¶ This Alexander the sixt pope of that name, was sometime an ancient cardinall, and one of the greatest in all the court of Rome. One meane that raised him to the seat of the pope, was the difference betwéene the cardinals Ascanius Sforce, and Julian S. Petri ad Vincula: but the chiefest thing that accomplished his election, was, that with a new example for that time, he bought by the consent and knowledge of euerie one, partlie for monie, and partlie with promises of offices and great dignities, manie voices of the cardinals, who reiecting the instruction of the gospell, were not ashamed to passe to him by sale, an authoritie and power to make merchandize of the holie tresures, & that with the name of the celestiall authoritie in the most high part of the temple. Corruption of Cardinals in the election of the pope.

To which abhominable & too too prophane negotiation manie of them were induced by the cardinall Ascanius, but that was not more with persuasions and sutes, than with his example: for that being corrupted with the infinit desire of riches, he made the pope promise him for his hire and recompense of so great wickednesse, the office of vicechancellorship (the principallest place in the court of Rome) together with benefices, castels, and his palace of Rome full of moueables of great valour. But the pope for all this could not auoid; neither for the time to come, the iudgment and iustice of God; nor for the present, the infamie and full hate of men, in whom for this election was no small impressions of astonishment and horror, not onelie for that it was intangled with meanes dishonest, but also bicause the natures and conditions of the man chosen, were (for the greatest part) knowen to manie.

Manie sentences and coniectures were made of his successe. And amongst other, Ferdinand king of Naples, dissembling openlie the griefe he had of that election, signified to the quéene his wife with teares (which he was wont to forbeare euen in the death of his children) that there was created a pope who wold be most hurtfull to Italie, and the whole common weale of christendome. A iudgement not vnworthie of the wisedome of such a prince: for that in Alexander the first (for so would this new pope be called) was a subtiltie, sharpenesse, and expedition of wit most singular, a counsell excellent, a wonderfull efficacie in persuasion, and in all great affaires a iudgement and care incredible. But these vertues were maruellouslie defaced by his vices, for touching his maners and customes, they were verie dishonest, in his administrations he expressed little sinceritie, in his countenance no shame, in his words small truth, in his heart little faith, and in his opinion lesse religion. Of the contrarie, all his actions were defiled with an insatiable couetousnesse, and immoderate ambition, a barbarous crueltie, and a burning desire to raise and make great (by what meanes soeuer) his children, who were manie in number; and amongst others, one no lesse detestable than the father, to whose cursed counsels he became a wicked instrument. Thus much (by waie of digression) of Alexander, a pope (as you heare) well qualified, and therefore forward enough to creat cardinals both in England and elsewhere of like disposition. But to returne to the storie. Pope Alexander the first corrupted with manis vices.

After that the king had got the vpper hand of his enimies, he remoued to Lincolne, and there taried three dais, causing euerie of the same daies solemne processions to be made in rendering thanks to God for his fortunate victorie. Then caused he execution to be done, of such rebels & traitors as were taken in the field, either at the battell, or in the chase. And shortlie after he went into Yorkshire, & there coasted the countrie ouerthwart, searching out such as had aided his enimies, and were thought to be seditious persons, whome he punished, some by imprisonment, some by fines, and some by death: according to the qualitie of their offenses, and as was thought most expedient [not by extremitie of rigor inclining to tyrannie, but by due moderation of iustice tempering execution with clemencie; according to the good rule of iustice prescribed by the wise man, saieng: Thanks giuen to God after victorie. Execution vpon the offendors.

Sobria commissum plectat clementia crimen,
Parua nec at pœnam culpa subire grauem.] Gu. Ha. in decle. cap. 10.

About the middest of August entering into the third yere of his reigne, he came to Newcastell vpon Tine, and from thence sent in ambassage into Scotland Richard Fox, latelie before made bishop of Excester, and with him Richard Edgecombe knight, controller of his house, to conclude some peace or truce with king James of Scotland. The English ambassadors were honorablie receiued, and louinglie interteined of the said king, who gladlie would haue concluded a perpetuall peace with the king of England, if he might haue bene licenced so to haue done: but his people being stedfast in their old accustomed vsage, would not agrée to anie peace, but yet were contented to gratifie their king, that he should take truce with England for the tearme of seuen yeares, which was concluded. Anno. Reg. 3. Fox bishop of Excester sent ambassador into Scotland. A truce with Scotland for seuen yeares.

Then was secret promise made by king James, that he would not onlie obserue peace, & continue in perfect amitie with the king of England during his life, but also would renew againe this truce new taken for other seuen yeers, before the first seuen yeers were fullie expired. The king of Scots indéed was as

as desirous of the king of Englands friendship, as the king of England was of his: because that his subiects bare him much euill will, misliking with all things that either he could doo or saie. [So that his regiment was no longer liked, than they were in a good mood, which was when they were well minded; and that was neuer: for that if by gentlenesse he allured them, they esteemed him a flatterer; if by seueritie, a tyrant. And therefore it stood him vpon to strengthen himselfe against such a people, of whose pleasure & displeasure depended his estate.]

King Henrie returneth out of the north countrie.

K. Henrie after the returne of his ambassadors out of Scotland, came from Newcastell to Yorke, and so toward London, and in the way being at Leicester, there came to him ambassadors from Charles the French king, which declared both the recouerie of certeine townes out of the hands of Maximilian king of Romans, which he had wrongfullie deteined from the crowne of France before that time; and also that their maister king Charles had now warres in hand against Francis duke of Britaine, because that he succoured and maintained diuers noble men, as the duke of Orleance and others, that were rebels and traitors, against him and the realme of France. Wherefore his request was, that for the old familiaritie that had bene betwixt them, he would either assist and helpe him, or else stand neuter betwixt them, neither helping nor yet hurting the one nor the other.

The French kings request for aid against Frãcis duke of Britaine.

Upon good and deliberate aduise taken in this matter, because it was iudged weightie, the king for answer told the French ambassadors, that he would neither spare paine nor cost, to set some reasonable staie betwixt their souereigne lord king Charles, and the duke of Britaine: so that a finall end and some perfect conclusion of friendship might be had betwixt them. And so as sone as the French ambassadors were returned home, the king sent his chapleine Christopher Urswike ouer into France to king Charles, as well to shew that he was glad of the victorie which he had against Maximilian; as to declare what a tempestuous storme of ciuill rebellion himselfe had escaped & ouercome heere in England.

King Henries offer to make an attonement betwixt the French king and the duke.

But the chiefest point of Urswikes errand consisted in this, that he should intimate to the French king, how his maister king Henrie offered himselfe as a mediator betwixt him and the duke of Britaine, to make them friends: and if he perceiued that the French king gaue eare hereunto, then should he go into Britaine, to moue the duke there to be contented, that some reasonable order might be taken for a quietnesse to be had betwixt the French king and him. Whilest Urswike was trauelling in this matter (according to his commission) the king came backe againe to London, where he was receiued of the citizens with great ioy and triumph, they being heartilie glad and greatlie reioising that he with such good successe had subdued his enimies.

Christopher Urswike.

Shortlie after, he deliuered the lord Thomas marques Dorset out of the Tower, receiuing him againe to his former fauor and old familiaritie: because his truth and loialtie by diuers assaies and sundrie arguments had bene throughlie tried, and sufficientlie proued. In which meane time, the king for the great loue that he bare to his wife quéene Elizabeth, caused hir to be crowned and anointed quéene on saint Katharins day in November, with all solemnitie, as in such cases appertaineth. In the meane season Christopher Urswike (according to his commission) trauelled betwéene the French king and the duke of Britaine in the king of Englands name, to make them friends. But although the French king séemed willing enough to haue peace, yet meant he nothing lesse. For he had as manie subtilties in his heart, as there be faces in the world, according to the poet:

The marques Dorset deliuered out of the Tower.

The kings loue to his wife quéene Elizabeth.

Pectoribus fraudes tot sunt quot in orbe figuræ.

For whilest he went about with faire words, courteous letters, and swéet promises to beare the king of England in hand to labour a peace betwixt him and the Britains, he inforced his whole puissance to subdue them, and besieged the citie of Nants. And on the other part, the duke of Orleance being with drawne to the duke of Britaine, and one that ruled most about him, had no liking to heare of peace, but did what he could to hinder it. The English ambassador Christopher Urswike (hauing thus passed from the French king to the duke of Britaine, and backe againe to the French king) returned shortlie after into England, and shewed vnto king Henrie what he had done betwixt them.

The duke of Orleance partaker with the duke of Britaine.

Immediatlie after came to the French king the lord Bernard Daubeneie a Scot borne, which on the French kings behalfe required K. Henrie to make some maner of end of those Brittish warres, whatsoeuer it were. King Henrie being desirous of the same, sent ouer againe into France, John the abbat of Abingdon, sir Richard Edgecombe knight, and the forenamed Christopher Urswike, with full and perfect commission & long instructions how to proceed, in driuing of some agréement betwixt the Frenchmen and the Britons. These orators (according as they had in commandement) first went vnto the French king, and after they had communed with him, sir Richard Edgecombe, and Christopher Urswike departed streight to the duke of Britaine, in full hope to conclude a peace, vpon such offers and articles as they had to propone vnto him.

But all their hope was vaine, for the duke refused to agrée vpon anie such articles and conditions as they offered; and so without concluding anie thing with the duke, they returned backe into France; and from thence signified to the king of England by letters all that they knew, or had done. But in the meane time, Edward lord Wooduile, vncle to the quéene, sued to king Henrie that he might haue a power of men appointed to him, with the which he would steale priuilie ouer without licence or passeport, so that euerie man should thinke that he was fled the realme, without knowledge of the king, for that no warre should arise by his meanes betwixt the realmes of France and England, and yet should the duke of Britaine be aided against the power of the Frenchmen, which sought to banquish him, that they might ioine his countrie vnto the dominion of France: which in no wise ought to be suffered, considering what annoiance & hurt the same might bring to the realme of England in time to come.

1488

Edward lord Woduile asketh the duke of Britaine without the kings cõsent.

Although this request was vtterlie denied, and that the lord Woduile was streightlie commanded by the king to make no such attempt; yet could not all that staie him, but that withdrawing him into the Ile of Wight, whereof he was made ruler and capteine, he there gathered togither a crue of tall & hardie personages, to the number of 400, & with prosperous wind & weather arriued in Britaine, and ioined himselfe with the Britons against the Frenchmen. The French king aduertised herof, was not well pleased in his mind towards the king of England; till K. Henrie by new messengers informed him how guiltlesse he was in the matter, and that by plaine and euident proofes. With the which excuse the French king séemed to be the better pacified, and was content to dissemble the matter.

Lord Woduile gathereth a power in the Ile of Wight.

Then the English ambassadors, renewing the league and amitie betwixt king Henrie & the French king, for the space of twelue moneths, they returned into England, and shewed the king all things that they had either heard or séene; so that he perceiued that the French king dealt craftilie in this matter of

The league renewed betwéene England and France.

Britaine,

Britaine, still motioning peace when he meant nothing else but warre. He therefore called his high court of parlement, in the which it was not onelie determined that the duke of Britaine should be aided with a power of men against the wrongfull inuasions of the Frenchmen, but also there were diuerse summes of monie granted to the furnishing forth and maintenance of the same. And immediatlie hervpon, the king sent his ambassadors into France to certifie the French king what the estates assembled in parlement here in England had decréed.

The king calleth a parlement.

A peremptorie ambassage out of England into France.

Wherefore he required him either to surceasse the warres which he had in hand against the Britons, or else not to be grécued though he condescended to the iudgement and determination of the lords both spirituall and temporall, and commons of his realme, in taking vpon him the defense of the duke of Britaine; promising neuertheless that the English armie should onelie take land within the duchie of Britaine, and séeke to defend the same against all those that did inuade it, and not to make anie warre within the French dominions. This message was nothing regarded of the French king, in so much that the French armie proceéded in oppressing the Britons, destroieng the countrie, and besieging townes.

At length on the seuen and twentith, or (as the chronicles of Anion haue) the eight and twentith daie of Julie, the duke of Britains armie gaue battell to the French host nére to a towne called saint Aulbin, hauing apparelled a thousand and seuen hundred of the Britons in coates with red crosses, after the English fashion, to make the Frenchmen beléeue that they had a great number of Englishmen, although they had but foure hundred onelie with the lord Wooduile. The victorie in this battell fell to the Frenchmen, so that almost all the Englishmen were slaine with the lord Wooduile, beside six thousand Britons. The duke of Orleance and the prince of Oraunge were taken prisoners, which were there on the Britons part. The Frenchmen lost twelue hundred men, and amongst other, that valiant Italian capteine James Galeot.

The battell of saint Aulbin in Britaine, betweene the duke of Britaine and the French king.

Lord Wooduile slaine.

These newes being brought into England, caused king Henrie to make hast in sending forth his armie, and therefore was the lord Broke, with sir John Cheinie, sir John Middleton, sir Rafe Hilton, sir Richard Corbet, sir Thomas Leighton, sir Richard Laton, and sir Edmund Cornewall sent ouer into Britaine with all conuenient speed, hauing with them an eight thousand men, well armed and furnished in warlike wise, to aid the duke of Britaine against the Frenchmen. These lustie capteins being arriued in Britaine, after they had a little refreshed them, marched forward, and comming nere to their enimies, pitched downe their field, not farre from the Frenchmens campe.

King Henrie sendeth forth his armie against the French.

The Frenchmen by experience knowing the Englishmen (so long as they be fresh and lustie) in maner to be inuincible, thought not good to match with them in open battell, till they were somewhat wearied with lieng and lingering abroad in the field. And therefore at the first they sought to wearie them with light skirmishes, appointing their horsemen to giue them alarmes, & some skirmishes; in the which the Frenchmen, by reason of the English archers (which galled both men and horsses) were euer put to the worsse. But behold the mutabilitie of worldlie chances! Whiles this warre was thus set forward, Francis duke of Britaine departed this life, & then the cheefe rulers of Britain, falling at dissention among themselues, tendered not the defense of their countrie, but rather minded the destruction thereof.

When the French be inuincible.

Francis duke of Britaine dieth.

Hervpon the Englishmen, perceiuing in what danger they were, and considering that it was in the middest of winter, a time not meet for men of warre to lie in the cold and frostie fields, they returned into England, within fiue monethes after their first setting forth. So that finallie the French king got the vpper hand of the Britons, and did incorporate that duchie to his realme and crowne of France, as in the historie of France it may appeere at large. ¶ In Julie this yeare was a prest leuied for the king in the citie of London, of foure thousand pounds, which was repaied the yeare next following. In September, the quéene was deliuered at Winchester of hir first sonne, named prince Arthur; and the fiue and twentith of November (next insuing) she was crowned at Westminster with all due solemnitie.

The duchie of Britaine incorporated to the realme of France.

John Stow.

The birth of prince Arthur.

Yée haue heard, how there was in the last parlement monie granted for the furnishing forth of the armie into Britaine; that is to wit, it was agréed, that euerie man should be tared after the rate of his substance, to paie the tenth penie of his goods. Which monie the most part of them that dwelled in the bishoprike of Durham, and in the parties of Yorkeshire refused vtterlie to paie: either for that they thought themselues ouercharged with the same; or were procured to shew themselues disobedient, thorough the euill counsell of some seditious persons, which conspired against the king, to put him to new trouble. Therefore such as were appointed collectors, after that they could not get the monie, according to their extract deliuered to them by the commissioners, they made their complaint priuilie to Henrie the fourth earle of Northumberland, chiefe ruler of the North parts.

Anno Reg. 4.

The collectors of the subsidie complaine to the earle of Northumberland that they cannot get in the tax monie.

1489

The earle forthwith signified to the king all that matter, and the king not willing to pardon them of anie one penie (least the example might do hurt by incouraging others to shew the like stubbornes in other parts of the realme) cõmanded the earle either by distresse or otherwise, to leuie the monie as he should thinke most meet. The rude and beastlie people hearing of this answer from the king, by and by with great violence set vpon the earle by the exciting of a simple fellow named John a Chamber, whome the erle with faire words sought to appease. But they like vnreasonable villaines, alledging all the fault to be in him, as cheefe author of the tax, furiouslie and cruellie murthered both him and diuerse of his houshold seruants. Diuerse affirme that the Northerne men bare against this earls continuall grudge euer since the death of king Richard, whome they entirelie fauoured.

The earle of Northumberland murthered by the northerne rebels at the instigation and setting on of John a Chamber.

Although this offense was great and heinous; yet there succéeded a more mischiefe: for incontinentlie (to cloke this presumptuous murther) the Northerne men got them to armour, and assembling together, chose them a capteine, no lesse seditious than desirous of trouble, called sir John Egremond knight; and passing by the countries, they published and declared that they would bid the king battell onlie in defense of their liberties & common frædome, of the which he went about to bereaue them. But when the matter should come to be tried with blowes, their harts so fainted that they scattered awaie, euerie man séeking to saue himselfe by flight: but that little anailed them.

A rebellion in the north for a tax granted by parlement.

Sir John Egremond capteine rebell.

For the king hearing of this businesse, sent forth Thomas earle of Surreie (whome not long before he had deliuered out of the Tower, and receiued to his speciall fauour) with a crue of men, to chastise those rebels of the north parts, who skirmished with a certeine companie of them, and them discomfited, and toke aliue John a Chamber, the first beginner of this rebellion. The king himselfe road after into Yorkeshire, of whose comming the sturdie rebels were so abashed and afraid, that they fled more and lesse: which afterward were apprehended, and punished

Thomas erle of Surrie sent with a power against the north rebels.

shed according to their demerits. Yet the king of his clemencie pardoned the innocent people, and executed the chiefe procurers. For John a Chamber was hanged at Yorke on a gibbet set vpon a square paire of gallowes like an archtraitor, and his complices and lewd disciples were hanged on the lower gallowes round about their maister, to the terrible example of other.

John a Chãber hanged like an archetraitor.

But sir John Egremond fled into Flanders to the ladie Margaret duchesse of Burgognie, that euer enuied the prosperitie of king Henrie. After this the king returned to London, leauing the earle of Surreie to rule the north parts, and apointed sir Richard Tunstall, a man of great wit and policie, to gather the subsidie to him due of the people. This yeare the king borrowed of euerie alderman of London two hundred pounds, and of the Chamber nine thousand eightie two pounds seuenteene shillings foure pence; which he repaied againe to the vttermost, with great equitie and thankefulnes. [A vertue verie laudable in this good king, and so much the more noteworthie as it is rare; specially in mightie men and great estates of the world, that count what soeuer they can catch their owne, as though the purses of the people were theirs to possesse at pleasure & vse at lust, without conscience or care of restitution. Which foule fault Ecclesiasticus noteth (affirming that all is lost that is lent them) in expresse words, saieng:

Reddere magnates nolunt, quæ mutua sumunt,
Mutua quæ trades interisse scias.]

Gu. Ha. in Eccle. cap. 8.

In this season, the emperour Frederike made warre against the Flemings, namelie against Bruges and certeine townes of Flanders, which had rebelled against his sonne Maximilian king of Romans, their liege and souereigne lord; in so much that they of Bruges had not onelie slaine his officers but imprisoned him within their towne, till they had caused him to pardon all their offenses, and also to sweare neuer to remember, nor reuenge the same in time to come. But his father Frederike the emperour could not suffer such a reproch & dishonour done to his sonne (whose fame & princelie estate as he tendered and had in gelosie; so was it his hart greefe and immoderat veration that he should be abused of open contemners, in such villanous sort as tended highlie to the indignitie of his person, and the aggrauating of their offense and punishment) to passe vnreuenged, & therefore scourged the countrie of Flanders with sharpe and cruell warre.

A rebellion in Flanders.

Maximilian king of Romans imprisoned at Bruges by the townesmen.

The lord of Rauenstein being driuen to take the same oth, that his master Maximilian tooke at Bruges, to shew that the warre was not begun with his assent, forsooke Maximilian his lord, and tooke the townes of Ipre and Sluis, with both the castels of the same hauen, and further did not onelie stir the Gantois, Brugeans, and other towns of Flanders, to rebell against their souereigne lord; but also sent to the French kings lieutenant in Picardie, the lord Cordes, to aid him to conquer such townes of Flanders, as were not of his opinion. The lord Cordes, otherwise called monsieur de Querdes, was glad to haue so good occasion to set foot in Flanders, as he that had sufficient instructions of his maister the French king, vpon anie such offred occasion so to do, sent forthwith to the aid of the Flemings eight thousand Frenchmen, commanding them to conquer such townes, as were in the waie betwixt France and Bruges.

The lord Cordes maketh aduantage of occasion.

The captein, according to his deuise, besieged a little walled towne called Dirmew, to whome came foure thousand Flemings with vittels and artillerie, sent from the lord of Rauenstein. They laid siege on the north side of the towne, in a marish ground then being drie, and so deepelie ditched and rampired their campe about (on which rampire they laid their ordinance) that it was in maner impossible to enter their campe, or do them anie displeasure or damage. The K. of England was dailie aduertised of these doings, which nothing lesse desired than to haue the English pale inuironed with French fortresses. Wherefore to preuent that mischiefe in time, with all expedition he sent ouer to the lord Daubeneie, then his deputie of Calis, the lord Morleie, with a crue of valiant archers & souldiers, to the number of a thousand men, with priuie instructions what they should do.

King Henrie sendeth the lord Daubeneie and the lord Morleis against the French.

At their comming ouer it was bruted abroad, that they were sent onelie to defend the English pale, against all attempts that might vpon the sudden in anie wise be made by the Frenchmen, or Flemings: but their enterprise was all otherwise. For on a tuesdaie at the shutting of the gates at night, the lord Daubneie chiefetein of the armie, the lord Morleie, sir James Tirrell capteine of Guisnes, sir Henrie Willoughbie, sir Gilbert Talbot, and sir Humfreis Talbot marshall of Calis, with diuerse other knights, and esquiers, and other of the garisons of Hammes, Guisnes, and Calis, to the number of two thousand men or thereabouts, issued priuilie out of Calis, & passed the water of Graueling in the morning betimes; and left there for a stale, and to kéepe the passage, sir Humfreie Talbot, with six score archers, and came to Newport, where they found the souereigne of Flanders with six hundred Almaines, and there they staied that night.

Sir Humfrie Talbot with his six score archers.

On the next daie they went toward Dirmew, and by the guiding of a prisoner, that should haue bæne hanged on the nert morning, they issued out of the south gate of the towne of Dirmew, and were conueied by their said guide by an high banke set with willowes; so that the Gantois could not well espie them, and so secretlie gat to the end of their enimies campe, and there pausèd. The lord Daubeneie commanded all men to send their horsses and wagons backe, but the lord Morleie said he would ride till he came to hand strokes. Thus they marched forth till they came to a low banke, and no déepe ditch, where the ordinance laie; and there the archers shot altogither, euerie man an arrow, and so fell prostrate to the ground. The enimies herewith discharged their ordinance, and ouershot them.

The good seruice of a wretch that should haue bæne hanged

A policie.

The Almains lept ouer the ditch with their monice pikes. The Englishmen in the fore-front waded the ditch, and were holpen vp by the Almains, and set on their enimies, and tooke manie prisoners. The other Englishmen hasted by the causie to enter in at the north gate of the campe, where the lord Morleie being on horssebacke in a rich coate, was slaine with a gun. When his death was knowen, euerie man killed his prisoner, and slue all such as did withstand them, to the number of eight thousand men; in so much that of two thousand that came out of Bruges (as the Flemish chronicle reporteth) there came not home one hundred. On the English part was slaine the lord Morleie, and not an hundred more.

The lord Morlie slaine.

The number of the slaine of both parts.

The Englishmen tooke their ordinance and sent it to Newport, with all the spoile and great horsses. And by the waie hearing certeine Frenchmen to be at Ostend, they made thitherward: but the Frenchmen fled, and so they burned part of the towne, and came againe to Newport, where the lord Daubeneie left all the Englishmen that were hurt and returned to Calis, where he buried the bodie of the lord Morleie. The Englishmen got great riches at this field, for they that went forth in cloth, came home in silke, and those that went out on foot, came home on great horsses. The lord Cordes being at Ipre with twentie thousand men, was sore displeased with this ouerthrow; & therefore thinking to be reuenged, besieged

The Englishe souldiers inriched.

the

Newport besieged by the Frenchmen.

towne of Newport right stronglie, and shot dailie at the wals, breaking them in manie places.

But the Englishmen that were hurt at Dirmew field before, and might either stand or draw bowe, neuer came from the wals. On a daie the Frenchmen gaue a great assault to a tower, and perforce entered it, and set vp the banner of the lord Cordes. But see the chance! During the time of the assault, there arriued a barke with foure score fresh English archers, which came streight to the tower, and did so much, that what with the helpe of such as before were wounded and hurt men, and of the courragious harts of the new come archers incouraged greatlie by the women of the towne, crieng; Shot Englishmen, shot: the tower was regained out of the Frenchmens hands, and the banner of the lord Cordes rent in peeces, and in place thereof the penon of saint George set vp. Then the Frenchmen, supposing a great aid of Englishmen to haue beene come to the towne by sea, left the assault.

English archers.

The malicious and lewish words of the lord Cordes.

And the night following, the enuious lord Cordes (which so sore longed for Calis, that he would commonlie saie, that he could be content to lie seuen yeares in hell, so that Calis were in possession of the Frenchmen) brake vp his siege, and returned to Helding with shame. And the Englishmen glad of this victorie returned to Calis. This yeare James the third of that name king of Scots was slaine by his owne subiects, after they had vanquished him in a pight field. About the same time one Adrian an Italian was sent in ambassage from pope Innocent the eight into Scotland, to haue taken vp the variance betwixt the king there and his people. But being arriued here in England, he was informed that king James was slaine, and therfore taried here certeine moneths.

James king of Scots slaine by his owne subiects.

Adrian an Italian made bishop of Hereford, and after of Bath and welles.

And for that he was a man of excellent learning, vertue, and humanitie, the archbishop of Canturburie John Morton so commended him to the king, that he made him first bishop of Hereford, and shortlie after, that resigned and giuen ouer, he promoted him to the bishoprike of Bath and Welles. And after that with these honors he was returned to Rome, he was aduanced by all the degrees of spirituall dignities into the college of the cardinals. And worthie sure he was of great preferment, for by his meanes, learned men were moued to seeke out the vse of eloquent writing and speaking in the Latine tong, he being the first in the time of our fathers that taught the trade to chose and vse apt words and fit termes.

1490

anno Reg. 6. Ambassadors from ye French king to the king of England.

In the first yeare of king Henries reigne there came ambassadors to him from the French king the lord Francis of Lutzenburgh, Charles Marignane, and Robert Gaguine minister of the Bonnehommes of the trinitie. The effect of their comming was to haue concluded a peace with king Henrie, and that with good will the French king might dispose of the mariage of the yong duchesse of Britaine, as he should thinke good; and to make void the contract and former mariage, which by prorie the deputie of Maximilian king of Romans had before time contracted & made with hir. But thereto would not king Henrie giue his consent, euer harping on this string, that the maiden being once lawfullie combined in matrimonie with Maximilian, ought not to be compelled against hir will and promise (yea and contrarie to all law, right and equitie) to take anie other person than him to hir spouse and husband.

Henrie is loth that the French king should marrie ye duchesse of Britaine.

In deed king Henrie was loth that the French king should marrie the duchesse of Britaine himselfe (as he perceiued his meaning was) and so ioine the duchie of Britaine to the crowne of France: and therefore he did what he could to hinder that bargaine. Yet at length it was agreed that a forme of a league should be drawen with conditions, clauses, and couenants. And for full concluding of the same, it was thought expedient, that the king of England should send ambassadors to the French king to finish all matters betwixt them. Whereupon the French ambassadors being dismissed with great rewards, streightwaies Thomas erle of Ormond, and Thomas Goldenston prior of Christes church in Canturburie, were appointed by the king to follow them into France, instructed fullie in althings that he would haue on his behalfe either moued or determined.

In this meane space, Lionell the bishop of Concordia was sent as orator from pope Alexander the first to the French king for certeine matters: and amongst other things, he had in charge to conclude a peace and vnitie betwixt the French king and the king of England. He moouing this matter to the French king, found him nothing strange to incline to his motion. Whereupon the bishop of Concordia conceiuing good hope, and therewith desirous (as became him best bearing that title) to set an attonement betwixt those two kings, toke his iournie towards England, to the intent he might moue king Henrie to be agreeable thereunto, and so comming to Calis, found the English ambassadors there, being so farre on their waie towards the French king; and being honorablie receiued of them into that towne, after they had communed togither, the bishop toke the sea, and was transported ouer into England, and the ambassadors departed towards the French king.

Lionell bishop of Concordia sent from the pope to the French king.

After the bishop of Concordia had talked with king Henrie, and perceiued that (vpon reasonable conditions) he could be content to conclude a peace with all christian princes, and to liue in rest after so manie troubles afore time sustained, the said bishop returned backe into France to sollicit this purpose to some perfect conclusion. But the Frenchmen so handled the matter, that whilest they outwardlie shewed how they desired nothing but frendship and amitie, they allured the yong dutchesse of Britaine to submit hirselfe wholie to their discretion, so that shortlie after she was maried to king Charles. Now the English ambassadors, after they perceiued which waie the wind would blow, returned againe to their countrie, and nothing done or agreed vpon in their matter.

The duchesse of Britaine maried to K. Charles.

King Henrie sore troubled in his mind therwith, determining no more with peaceable messages, but with open warre to determine all controuersies betwixt him and the French king, called his high court of parlement, and there declared the cause why hee was iustlie prouoked to make warre against the Frenchmen: and therefore desired them of their beneuolent aid of men and monie toward the maintenance therof. The cause was so iust, that euerie man allowed it; and to the setting forth of the war taken in hand for so necessarie an occasion, euerie man promised his helping hand. The king commended them for their true and faithfull hearts. And to the intent that he might spare the poorer sort of the commons (whome he euer desired to keepe in fauor) he thought good first to exact monie of the richest sort by waie of a beneuolence.

A parlement wherin king Henrie openeth the iust cause of making warres against France.

Which kind of leuieng monie was first deuised by king Edward the fourth, as it appeareth before in his historie. King Henrie following the like example, published abroad, that by their open gifts he would measure and search their beneuolent hearts and good minds toward him; so that he that gaue most, should be iudged to be his most louing frend; and he that gaue little, to be esteemed according to his gift. By this it appeareth, that whatsoeuer is practised for the princes

who first deuised the exaction of monie called a beneuolence. See pag. 694.

princes profit, and brought to a president by matter of record, maie be turned to the great preiudice of the people, if rulers in authoritie will so adiudge and determine it. But by this means king Henrie got innumerable great summes of monie, with some grudge of the people, for the extremitie shewed by the commissioners in diuers places.

1491. Ye haue heard before, how the lord of Rauenstein, by the aid of Bruges & Gant, had taken the towne and two castels of Sluis, which he kept against his soueregne lord Maximilian, and getting into the hauen certeine ships and barks, robbed, spoiled, & take prisoners the ships and vessels of all nations that passed alongest by that coast, towards the mart at Antwerpe, or into anie part of Brabant, Zeland, or Friseland, and was euer sufficientlie victelled out of France and Picardie. There was a little towne also two miles from Bruges towards the sea, called Dam, which was a bulworke to Bruges, and an hedspring to Sluis. The king of Romans had attempted the wining of this towne diuers times, but missed his purpose; till at length Albert duke of Saronie, a great frend to the king of Romans, by policie found meanes to get it.

Albert the duke of Saxonies policie to get the towne of Dam.

This duke feining himselfe as a neuter betwixt the king of Romans, and the rebels of Flanders, required of the lords of Bruges, that he might enter peaceablie into their towne according to his estate, with a certeine number of men of armes, to communicate with them diuerse matters of great weight, and sent before his cariages and herbengers to make prouision. They of Bruges were in no doubt of him, so that his men of warre entered into the citie in good order, and he followed. They that went before, inquired for innes and lodgings, as though they would haue rested there all the night, and so went forth still in order asking after lodgings, till they came at the gate that leadeth directlie toward Dam, distant from Bruges a Flemish mile, which is called the bulworke of Bruges.

The capteins and inhabitants of Dam suspecting no harme to come out of Buges, thought their frends (knowing some danger towards) had sent them aid, and so nothing mistrusting those that approched their towne, suffered them to enter, and so was the towne of Dam taken by sleight, which could not be wone by open force. This chance sore displeased them of Bruges, for now could they haue no recourse to the sea: so that they must nèds fall into ruine and decaie. The duke of Saronie thus hauing wone the towne of Dam, sent to the king of England, that if it would please him to minister anie aid by sea, hee would besiege Sluis by land. Whereupon the king of England, vpon due consideration of the dukes motion (as he was wise enough in all his enterprises, and no lesse fortunate in the issue of the same) would conclude nothing vpon the sudden, but (as he did alwaies) ruled his affaires by good counsell, like to the wise man commended in the holie scripture:

The duke of Saronie sendeth for aid to king Henrie to win Sluis

Gu. Ha. in Tob. 4. *Consilio sapiens semper sua facta gubernat.*

At last he well remembring that Sluis was a rousenest, and a verie den of thèues to them that trauersed the seas towards the east parts, incontinentlie dispatched sir Edward Poinings a right valiant knight and hardie capteine, with twelue ships well furnished with bold souldiers and sufficient artillerie. Which sir Edward sailed into the hauen, and kept the lord of Rauenstein from starting by sea. The Duke of Saronie besieged one of the castels, lieng in a church ouer against it: and the Englishmen assaulted the lesse castell, and issued out of their ships at the ebbe, neuer suffering their enimies to rest in quiet one day togither, for the space of twentie daies, and euerie day slue some of their aduersaries; and on the English part were slaine one Vere, brother to the earle of Oxford, and fiftie more.

Sir Edward Poinings a valiant capitaine sent into Flanders with an armie

One Vere brother to the earle of Oxford slaine.

The lord of Rauenstein had made a bridge of boates be[illegible]twéne both the castels, to passe from the one to [illegible]other; which bridge one night the Englishmen did set on fire. Then he, perceiuing that he must lose his castels by force, and that the Flemings could not aid him, yéelded the castels to sir Edward Poinings, and the towne to the duke of Saronie, vpon certeine conditions. Sir Edward Poinings kept the castels a while, of whom the Almains demanded their wages, because the duke had nothing to paie. Then these two capteins so handled them of Bruges, that they not onelie submitted themselues to their lord Maximilian; but also were contented to paie and dispatch the Almains. And so sir Edward Poinings taried there a long space, and at length returned to the king before Bullogne.

The first day of Aprill this present yeare, the nobles of the realme assembled in the cathedrall church of S. Paule in London, where the maior of the same citie, his brethren the aldermen, and the craftesmen in their liueries also assembled: to whome doctor Morton chancellor made an oration, declaring how the king of Spaine had wone the great and rich citie & countrie of Granado from the Turks: for ioy whereof *Te Deum* was sung with great solemnitie. ¶ But because it is requisite and necessarie in this ample volume, to set downe the report of accidents as they are to be found at large in our owne English writers: you shall heare for the furtherance of your knowledge in this matter concerning Granado, what Ed. Hall hath left noted in his chronicle. Which although it conteine diuerse actions of superstition, and popish trumperie; yet should it not offend the reader, considering that a people estranged from the true knowledge of God and sincere religion put the same in practise, as supposing principall holinesse to consist in that blind deuotion.

Abr. Fl. ex L. S. pag. 866.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall, in Hen. 7. fo. xxiij. &c.

Granado wone from the Turkes or Saracens.

On the first of Aprill (saith he) this yeare, the king commanded all the nobilitie of his realme to assemble at the cathedrall church of S. Paule in London, where (after *Te Deum* solemnlie sung) the cardinall of Canturburie, standing on the steps before the quier dore, declared to the people, how the famous citie of Granado, which manie yeares had béene possessed of the Moores or Mauritane nation, being infidels & vnchristened people, was now of late besieged a great time by Don Ferdinando and Elizabeth his wife, king and quéene of Spaine, Arragon, and Castile. And the said infidels, by reason of siege brought to great penurie and miserie, for lacke of victels & necessarie viands, perceiuing that all succours were clerelie stopped and excluded from them, and so brought into vtter despaire of aid, or comfort, after long consultation had amongst them, determined to render themselues and their citie to the said king vpon diuerse couenants and conditions, and thereupon sent to him diuerse senators of the citie fullie instructed of their mind and purpose.

The king of Spaine and his councell, considering and sagelie pondering that winter approched & was at hand, and that the christian host had long lien in the fieldes in sore tempests and grœuous stormes (which they gladlie suffered for Christes sake, in whose cause and quarell they made that present warre) remembring also that the citie was of such riches, fame, and estimation, that it conteined an hundred and fiftie thousand houses of name, beside other small houses and cotages; & that it was replenished with people innumerable, and furnished with three score and ten thousand good fighting men; and finallie, perceiuing that he might inioy now the possession of the same, without assault or effusion of christian bloud,

The citie of Granado conteined an hundred and fiftie thousand houses, besides cotages & small dwellings.

blond by the aduise of his councell, he accepted, accorded, and agreed to their offers the twentie and fift of Nouember, in the yeare of Christs incarnation 1491, then being the daie of saint Katharine.

By the which composition, the roiall citie of Granado, with all the holds and fortresses of the realme, and the towers and castels of Alpussarare was rendered into the hands of the said king of Spaine; and that the king of Granado should become subiect and vassall to the king of Spaine, and to relinquish and forsake the vsurped name of a king for euer: and that all the men of warre should frankelie depart out of the citie, and none there to remaine, but artificers and merchants: and all these things to be done before the fiue & twentith day of Januarie. But the time was preuented, for the Moores on the first day of Januarie sent six hundred notable personages out of the citie with their children for hostages into the campe of the king of Spaine, to the intent that he should put no diffidence nor mistrust in the citizens, but that he might peaceablie and quietlie with his people enter into the citie, and take possession of the same. The which hostages were distributed and lodged in the tents and pauillions of the Spanish armie.

Hostages deliuered to the K. of Spaine for his securitie.

The third of Januarie, the lord of Guitterins Cardenes, great master & gouernor of Lion, of the order of S. Iames, departed from the armie, noblie and triumphantlie accompanied with fiue hundred horsmen, and three thousand footmen toward the citie. And as he approched nere to the suburbs, there issued out diuers noble and valiant capteins of the Moores, making to him humble obeisance, and conducted him to a palace adioining to the citie, called the palace of Anararas, and from thense conueied him to the palace roiall of the same citie called Alhambra, whereof hee tooke quiet and peaceable possession, to the behoofe of the king of Spaine, whome the Moores promised and confessed to take and obeie, as their king and souereigne lord. And in signe and token that they thought in their hearts, that which they promised by mouth; they prostrated and humbled themselues before the said great master, and with dolorous lamentation and salt teares deliuered to him the keies of the said palace.

The banquished people humble submit themselues to the kings vicegerent, & deliuer vp the keies of the citie.

When he had the keies, and was also possessed of that strong and magnificent place, he first of all dispatched the house of all the Moores and pagans, and appointed a garrison of valiant and noble christians, to keepe and defend the same: and the same day caused a masse solemnlie to be celebrate in a place of the same palace called Melchita, which done and finished, he tooke possession of all the fortresses, towers, and holds to the said citie and towne of Granado belonging or appertaining. And then he caused to be erected and set vp on the highest tower of the palace (where it might best be seene) the signe and token of the crosse, whereon Christ for vs sinners suffered his bitter passion. At the raising whereof were present an archbishop, and three bishops, with other prelats, which deuoutlie sang this antheme: *O crux, aue spes vnica.*

The said crosse was three times deuoutlie lifted, and at euerie exaltation, the Moores being within the citie, rored, howled, & cried, prostrating themselues, groueling on the ground, & making dolorous noise and pitifull outeries. The armie incamped without the citie, seeing these things, humbled themselues meekelie before the crosse, rendering to almightie God their most humble and heartie thankes. The king of Spaine, being mounted on horsebacke, perceiuing the erection of the crosse, descended from his genet, and kneeled downe on the bare ground; and rendered to God, land, honour, and praise; for that noble and triumphant victorie. And after that the crosse was thus set vp on the high tower, the banner of saint James, and the kings banners were pitched and fired vpon the turrets and pinacles of the citie: an herald standing in the top of the high tower, proclaming and publishing these words following.

The maner of the Spanish kings giuing of thanks for victorie.

Saint James, saint James, saint James; Castile, Castile, Castile; Granado, Granado, Granado. By high and mightie power, lord Ferdinando and Elizabeth, king and quéene of Spaine, haue wone from the infidels and Moores the citie and realme of Granado, through the helpe of our Lord God, & the most glorious virgin his mother, and the vertuous apostle S. James, and the holie father Innocent the eight, togither with the aids and succours of the great prelats, knights, and other gentlemen borne, and commons of their realmes and countries. When the herald had finished, the artillerie sounded, the minstrels blew, the people applauded and clapped their hands for gladnesse, that the earth séemed to tremble and quake vnderneath them.

The Spaniards reioising & triumphing after the conquest of the Moores.

After this ioy ended, there issued out of the citie in maner of procession, seuen hundred and mo christians, as well men, as women and children, which had bin there prisoners and liued in bonds, seruitude, and miserable captiuitie, whereof the most part were naked, wounded, and in maner famished for hunger. To whome the king (of his great liberalitie) gaue both apparell, viands and monie. These poore prisoners comming out of the citie sang this psalme; *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, qui visitauit & fecit redemptionem plebis suæ*; Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, which hath visited and redeemed his people. And so singing forth the psalme, went to the church of saint Faith, which the king Ferdinando had caused to bée most sumptuouslie edified during the time of the siege, being distant from Granado two or three miles.

Now as this poore procession passed by the host, one espied his sonne, and another saw his brother; and the son perceiued the father, and the father found the daughter, which were now deliuered out of miserable seruitude and bondage. But they could not refraine nor bridle themselues from distilling of teares and sobbing, séeing their parents and kinsfolke restored to libertie & frédome. And when these people had said their orisons in the church of saint Faith, and were come to the armie, they kneeled before the king, kissed his fét, crieng with one voice; God grant to the king of Spaine euerlasting life. The next daie after the lord Euerus de Mendoza, earle of Tendiglie, was by the king made capteine of the house roiall and principall tower of the citie of Granado, called Alhambra, hauing to him appointed and assigned one thousand men of armes, and two thousand footmen. Unto the which earle, the great master deliuered the keies of the said palace and tower, and other posts and fortresses.

The lord Euerus de Mendoza made capteine of the house roiall.

On saturday the eight daie of Januarie, in the yeare of our Lord 1492, Ferdinando K. of Spaine & Granado, the quéene, & their eldest son Don John prince of Spaine, the lord Peter of Mendoza, the archbish. of Toledo, the patriarch of Alexandria, the cardinall of Spaine, the lord Peter prince of Lion, the duke of Gaditan, the marques of Villena & Moia, the erle of Capre, the erle of Vienna of Cifuentes, and manie other earles, barons, and nobles, whereof some were Englishmen (whose names I haue not) with ten thousand horsemen, and fiftie thousand footmen, with great triumph and roialtie entered into the citie of Granado, and thereof tooke reall possession & seazine, and caused masse to be song in a great place called Melchita, where hée caused a solemne church to be builded in the honour of God and his

A great number of states with their traine enter triumphantlie into Granado to take reall possession.

mother. When masse was ended, the king and quéne repaired to the palace roiall of Alhambra, the which was wonderfull, both in qualitie & sumptuous building, which house was adorned with rich arras and tapestrie in euerie chamber.

The earle of Tendiglie capteine of the palace, feasted the king and quéne, and all the nobilitie at his owne costes and charges. So the king of Spaine there remained till the countrie was reduced into a good conformitie and order, and diuerse fortresses and castels were made for the safegard and tuition of the realme. And bicause this victorie obteined, was to the glorie of God, and to the publike wealth of all christianitie, the *said cardinall of Canturburie declared to the people, that the king had sent him and the other nobles thither that day, not onelie to notifie and declare to them the veritie of the fact; but also to exhort them to giue lauds and praisings to almightie God, for deliuering so goodlie a citie, so plentifull a countrie, and so notable a region out of the hands of his enimies, and persecutors of his faith and religion. Which declaration ended, the archbishop with the cleargie & the nobles with the communaltie, in most deuout maner went in generall procession, rendering to God for this great atchiued enterprise, glorie, honour, and most reuerent thanks.]

*Namelie doctor Morton, of whom mentiõ is made in the beginning of this historie.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 866.

¶ In the moneth of Maie next and immediatlie following this triumph, was holden a great and valiant iusting within the kings palace of Shine, now named Richmond, the which indured by the space of a moneth, sometime within the said palace, and sometime without, vpon the greene before the gate of the said palace. In which iustes sir James Parker knight, running against a gentleman named Hugh Vaughan, by casualtie was so sore hurt and bruised, that he died thereof. This yeare also two pardoners were set on the pillorie in Cornehill three market daies, for forging of false pardons, wherewith they had deceiued the people, & got much monie. And for that one of them had feined himselfe to be a priest, hee was sent to Newgate, where he died: the other was driuen out of London with shame enough. ¶ Also this yere was Robert Fabian shiriffe of London & alderman, who made a chronicle of England & of France, beginning at the creation of the world, and ending in the third yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, which booke is now imprinted to the end of Richard the third.]

Sir James Parker by casualtie at iustes mortallie wounded.

Two pardoners set on the pillorie.

Robert Fabian.

Maximilian king of Romans, intending to be reuenged on the Frenchmen for the manie iniuries done to him of late (and especiallie for that king Charles had forsaken his daughter ladie Margaret, and purposed to take to wife the ladie Anne of Britaine) bicause he was not rich enough to maintaine the warre of himselfe, he sent his ambassadour, one James Contibald, a man of great wisedome, to require the king of England to take his part against the French king, making diuers great offers on his owne behalfe, if it should please him so to do.

King Henrie and Maximilian agrée to plague the Frenchmen.

King Henrie no lesse desirous than Maximilian to put the French king to trouble, and chieflie to aid the Britains in the extremitie of their businesse, gladlie consented to the request of Maximilian; and promised to prepare an armie with all spéd, and in time conuenient to passe the seas with the same, and inuade the French territories. In this verie season, Charles the French king receiued the ladie Anne of Britaine, as his pupill into his hands, and with great solemnitie hir espoused, hauing with hir in dower, the whole duchie of Britaine.

Anno. Reg. 7.

The cause of Maximilians malice against Charles of France.

Now was Maximilian in great chafe toward the French king, not onelie for that he had refused his daughter, but also had béereued him of his assured wife the said ladie Anne, contrarie to all right and conscience. Wherefore he sent vnto king Henrie, desiring him with all spéd to passe the seas with his armie, that they might pursue the warre against their aduersarie, with fire, sword and blood. King Henrie hearing this, and hauing no mistrust in the promise of Maximilian, with all spéd leuied an armie, and rigged his naule of ships. And when all things were readie, he sent his almoner Christopher Vrswike, and sir John Riseleie knight vnto Maximilian, to certifie him, that the king was in a readinesse, and would arriue at Calis, as soone as he should be aduertised that Maximilian and his men were readie to ioine with him.

Maximilian dealeth dishonestlie with the king of England to his great vexation.

These ambassadors comming into Flanders, perceiued that Maximilian was neither purueied of men, monie, nor armor, nor of any other thing necessarie for the setting forth of warre; sauing onlie that his will was good, although his power was small. King Henrie being aduertised hereof by letters sent to him from his said ambassadors, was sore disquieted in his mind, and was almost brought to his wits end, to consider how his companions in arms should thus faile him at néed; but taking aduise of his counsell, at length he determined not to stay his prepensed iournie, and therfore he so increased his numbers before he toke ship, that he with his owne power might be able to match with his aduersaries. When he had thus gathered and assembled his armie, hée sailed to Calis the first day of October, and there incamped himselfe for a space, to see all his men and prouision in such readinesse, as nothing should be wanting.

In this place all the armie had knowledge by the ambassadours (which were newlie returned out of Flanders) that Maximilian could not set forth anie armie, for lacke of monie: and therefore there was no succour to be looked for at his hand. But the Englishmen were nothing dismaid therewith, as they that iudged themselues able enough to match the Frenchmen without the helpe of anie other nation. In the meane season, although the French king had an armie togither, both for number and furniture able to trie in battell with the Englishmen: yet he made semblance as though he desired nothing more than peace, as the thing much more profitable to him than warre: considering the minds of the Britains were not yet wholie setled.

Maximilian king of Romans breaketh promise with king Henrie in not ioining with him to inuade France.

The dissimulation of the French king.

And againe, he was called into Italie to make warre against the king of Naples, whose kingdome he pretended to apperteine to him by lawfull succession from his father king Lewes, to whome Reine duke of Anion last king of Sicill, of the house of Anion, had transferred his right to that kingdome (as partlie before ye haue heard) wrongfullie and without cause disinheriting his cosine, godsonne and heire, Reine duke of Lorraine and Bar. The lord Chordes hauing commission from his maister the French king to make some entrie into a treatie for peace with the king of England, wrote letters to him before he passed ouer to Calis, signifieng to him that if it might stand with his pleasure to send some of his councellors to the borders of the English pale adioining to France, there should be so reasonable conditions of peace proffered, that he douted not but his grace might with great honour breake vp his campe, and retire his armie home againe.

A motion on the French part for a treatie of peace with the English.

The king of England considering that Britaine was cléerelie lost, and past recouerie, and that Maximilian for lacke of monie, and mistrust which he had in his owne subiects, late still like a dormouse doing nothing; and herewith weieng that it should be honorable to him, and profitable to his people to determine this great warre without bloudshed, appointed the bishop of Excester, and Giles lord Daubenie to

passe

Commissioners sent ouer to Calis about the said peace.

passe the seas to Calis, and so to commun with the lord Chordes of articles of peace, which toke effect as after ye shall perceiue. In the meane time, whilest the commissioners were communing of peace on the marches of France, the king of England (as ye haue heard) was arriued at Calis: from whense after all things were prepared for such a iournie, he remoued in foure battels forward, till he came nére to the towne of Bullogne, & there pitched his tents before it in a conuenient place for his purpose, meaning to assaile the towne with his whole force & puissance.

Bullogne besieged by the Englishmen the king himselfe present.

But there was such a strong garison of warlike souldiers within that fortresse, and such plentie of artillerie, and necessarie munitions of warre, that the losse of Englishmen assaulting the towne (as was doubted) should be greater damage to the realme of England, than the gaining thereof should be profit. Howbeit the dailie shot of the kings battering peeces brake the wals, and sore defaced them. But when euerie man was readie to giue the assault, a sudden rumor rose in the armie that peace was concluded: which brute as it was pleasant to the Frenchmen, so was it displesant to the Englishmen, because they were prest and readie at all times to set on their enimies, and brought into great hope to haue béene inriched by the spoile and gaine to haue fallen to their lots of their enimies goods, beside the glorious fame of renowmed victorie.

why the English preferred warre before peace.

And therefore to be defrauded hereof by an vnprofitable peace, they were in great fume, and verie angrie: and namelie, for that diuerse of the captens to set themselues and their bands the more gorgeoulie forward, had borrowed large summes of monie, and for the repaiment had morgaged their lands and possessions, and some happilie had made through sale thereof, trusting to recouer all againe by the gaines of this iournie. Wherefore offended with this sudden conclusion of peace, they spake euill both of the king and his councell. But the king like a wise prince asswaged their displeasure in part with excusing the matter, alleaging what losse and bloudshed was like to insue both of capteins and souldiers, if the assault should haue béene giuen to the vtterance, especiallie sith the towne was so well furnished with men and munitions. When he had somewhat appeased their minds with these and manie other reasons, he returned backe againe to Calis.

Polydor. Sir John Sauage slaine at this siege.

There were not manie of the English armie lost at this siege of Bullogne, & few or no men of name, sauing that valiant capteine sir John Sauage knight, the which, as he and sir John Riselie rode about the wals of the towne, to view in what place it might be easilliest assaulted, was compassed about by certeine Frenchmen that were issued out of the towne, and there slaine standing at defense, and vterlie refusing to yéeld himselfe as prisoner. But sir John Riselie escaped by flieng awaie. When the K. was thus returned to Calis, he began to smell a certeine secret smoke, which was like to turne to a great flame, without wise foresight, and good loking to. For by the craftie inuention, and diuelish imagination of the ladie Margaret duchesse of Burgognie, a new idolt was set vp in Flanders, and by a forged name called Richard Plantagenet second sonne to king Edward the fourth, as though he had béene raised from death to life.

Richard Plantagenet a counterfeit of adie Margarets imagining.

The newes hereof somewhat troubled him, so that he was with better will content to receiue the honorable conditions of peace offered of his enimie: because he should not be constreined at one time to make warre both at home, and also in a forren region. The conclusion of this agréement made with the Frenchmen, was this: That this peace should continue both their liues; and that the French king should pay to the king of England a certeine summe of monie in hand, according as the commissioners should apoint for his charges susteined in this iournie. Which (as the king certified the maior of London by his letters the ninth of Nouember) amounted to the summe of seuen hundred fortie and fiue thousand duckats: the which is of sterling monie, one hundred foure score and six thousand, two hundred and fiftie pounds. It was also concluded that he should yearelie (for a certeine space) paie or cause to be paid, for the monie that the K. had spent & expended in the defense of the Britans fiue & twentie thousand crowns.

The conclusion of peace betweene the English and French.

Which yearelie tribute the French king (afterwards continuallie occupied in the wars of Italie) yearelie satisfied & paid so long as K. Henrie liued, who after he had taried a conuenient space at Calis, toke the sea, and arriued at Douer, and so came to his manour of Grénewich. Immediatlie after his returne thus into England, he elected into the fellowship of saint George, commonlie called the order of the garter, Alphonse duke of Calabre, sonne and heire to Ferdinando king of Naples. Christopher Urswike the kings almoner was sent to him vnto Naples with the garter, collar, mantell, and other habilments apperteining to the companions of that noble order. The which was reuerentlie receiued of the said duke, who in a solemne presence reuested himselfe with that habit, supposing by the countenance of that apparell to be able to resist his aduersarie the French king, sith he was now made a frend and companion in order with the king of England: but that little availed him, as after it was right apparant. [And here, because in sundrie actions we haue séene and obserued the French kings subtilties, his inconstancie, lacke of truth, honestie, and kinglie modestie; we maie be bold to set downe the description of his person, as we find the same readie drawne to hand; that by a view thereof we maie conclude that his properties were proportioned to his person.

Alphose duke of Calabre made knight of the garter.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 43. The French king described.

It is verie certeine (saith mine author) that king Charles from his infancie was of complexion verie delicate, and of bodie vnsound and diseased, of small stature, and of face (if the aspect and dignitie of his eies had béene taken awaie) fowle and deformed, his other members bearing such equall proportion, that he séemed more a monster than a man: he was not onelie without all knowledge of good sciences, but scarselie he knew the distinct characters of letters: his mind desirous to command, but more proper to anie other thing, for that being inuironed alwaies with his familiars and fauourits, he reteined with them no maiestie or authoritie: he reiected all affaires and businesse, and yet if he did debate and consider in anie, he shewed a weake discretion and iudgement. And if he had any thing in him that caried apparance of merit or praise, yet being thoroughlie weied and sounded, it was found further off from vertue than from vice: he had an inclination to glorie, but it was tempered more with rashnesse and furie than with moderation and counsell: his liberalities were without discretion, measure, or distinction: immoueable oftentimes in his purposes, but that was rather an ill grounded obstinacie than constancie. And that which manie call bountie, deserued more reasonablie in him the name of coldnesse & slacknesse of spirit.]

The birth of Henrie duke of Yorke, after crowned king by the name of Henrie the eight.

This yeare the two and twentith of June, was borne at Grénewich the lord Henrie, second sonne to this king Henrie the seuenth, which was created duke of Yorke, & after prince of Wales, and in conclusion succéeded his father in gouernance of this realme, by the name of Henrie the eight, father to our gratious souereigne quéene Elizabeth. But now to returne to the new found sonne of king Edward,

1492
The malice of the duchesse of Burgognie to the line of Lancaster.

coniured by mens policies from death to life: ye shall vnderstand that the duchesse of Burgognie euer desiring to cast a scorpion in the bosome of king Henrie, not for anie displeasure by him towards hir wrought or done; but onelie bicause he was descended of the house of Lancaster, being an enimie to hir line, began to spin a new web, like a spider that dailie weaueth when his stall is torne: for after that the earle of Lincolne, which was by hir set forth, had missed the cushin, and lost both horsse and spurres, she could not be quiet, vntill she had practised a new deuise to put king Henrie to trouble. And as the diuell prouideth venemous sauce to corrupt stomachs, so for hir purpose she espied a certeine yong man of visage beautifull, of countenance demure, and of wit craftie and subtill.

Perkin warbecke & counterfeit duke of Yorke.

This youths name was Peter Warbecke, one for his faintnesse of stomach of the Englishmen in derision called Perkin Warbecke, according to the dutch phrase, which change the name of Peter to Perkin, of yonglings and little boies, which for want of age, lacke of strength, and manlike courage, are not thought worthie of the name of a man. This yong man trauelling many countries, could speake English and diuerse other languages; & for his baseneſse of birth and stocke, was almost vnknowne of all men; and driuen to seeke liuing from his childhood, was constreined to go and trauell thorough manie countries. The duchesse glad to haue got so meet an organ for the conueieng of hir inuented purpose, as one not vnlike to be taken and reputed for the duke of Yorke, sonne to hir brother king Edward, which was called Richard, kept him a certeine space with hir priuilie.

The readie wit of Perkin to learne all that made for his preferment to honor.

Besides that, she with such diligence instructed him both in the secrets and common affaires of the realme of England, and of the linage, descent and order of the house of Yorke, that like a good scholer, not forgetting his lesson, he could tell all that was taught him promptlie without anie stackering or staie in his words. And besides that, he kept such a princelie countenance, and so counterfeit a maiestie roiall, that all men in manner did firmelie beleeue, that he was extracted of the noble house and familie of the dukes of Yorke. For saerlie, it was a gift giuen to that noble progenie, as of nature planted in the rot, that all the sequels of that line and stocke did studie and deuise how to be equiualent in honour and fame with their forefathers and noble predecessors.

The emulatiõ of the dukes of yorke.

When the duches had framed hir cloath meet for the market, she was informed that king Henrie prepared to make warre against Charles the French king. Wherefore she, thinking that the time serued well for the setting forth of hir malicious inuention, sent this Perkin hir new inuented mawmet, first into Portingale, and so craftilie into the countrie of Ireland; to the intent that he, being both wittie and wilie, might inuegle the rude Irishmen (being at those daies more inclined to rebellion than to reasonable order) to a new seditious commotion. Shortlie after his arriuall in Ireland, whether by his shrewd wit, or the malicious exhortation of the sauage Irish gouernours, he entred so farre in credit with the people of that Ile, that his words were taken to be as true, as he vntruelie with false demonstrations set forth and published them.

Perkin warbecke arriueth in Ireland.

The French king aduertised hereof, then being in displeasure with king Henrie, sent into Ireland for Perkin, to the intent to send him against king Henrie, which was then inuading France (as yee before haue heard.) Perkin thought himselfe aloft, now that he was called to the familiaritie of kings, and therefore with all diligence sailed into France, and comming to the kings presence, was of him roiallie receiued, and after a princelie fashion interteined, and had a gard to him assigned, whereof was gouernour the lord Congreshall: and to him being at Paris, resorted sir George Neuill bastard, sir John Tailor, Rowland Robinson, and an hundred English rebels. Now, after that a peace (as before is said) was concluded betwixt the French king, and the king of England, the French king dismissed Perkin, and would no longer keepe him.

Perkin taketh into France all aslant.

But some haue said (which were there attending on him) that Perkin, fearing least the French king should deliuer him to the king of England, beguiled the lord Congreshall, and fled from Paris by night. But whether the French king knew of his departure or not, the truth is, that he being in maner in despaire, returned to his first founder the ladie Margaret, of whome he was so welcomed to all outward appearance, that it seemed she could not haue reioised at anie earthlie thing more, than she did at his presence, and (as she could well dissemble) she made semblance as though she had neuer seene him before that time. Now as she had sore longed to know not once, but diuerse times in open audience, and in solemne presence, she willed him to declare and shew by what means he was preserued from death and destruction, and in what countries he had wandered and sought frendship; and finallie, by what chance of fortune he came to hir court.

Perkin retorneth to the ladie Margaret his first founder.

This did shee, to the intent that by the open declaration of these fained phantasies, the people might be persuaded to giue credit, and beleeue that he was the true begotten sonne of hir brother king Edward. And after this, shee assigned to him a gard of thirtie persons in murrie and blew, and highlie honoured him as a great estate, and called him the white rose of England. The nobilitie of Flanders did to him all reuerence. [All which port and pompe exhibited in most solemne sort, he was well content to take vpon him, forgetting the baseneſse of his birth, and gloriing in the counterfeit title of honour: much like the iay that would be called a swan, or like the crow that trimming hir selfe with the stolne feathers of a pecocke, would seeme Junos bird; as the poet saith:

Perkin named by the dutches of Burgognie the white rose of England.

1493

——mentito nomine cygnum
Graculus appellat sese, cornicula plumas
Pauonis furata cupit pauo ipsa videri. M.Pal. in virg

¶In this yeare was one Hugh Clopton maior of London, and of the staple, a gentleman, borne at Clopton village, halfe a mile from Stratford vpon Auen by north, who continued (during his life) a bacheler: he builded the great and sumptuous bridge of Stratford vpon Auen, at the east end of the towne. This bridge hath foureteene great arches, and a long cawsie with smaller arches, all made of stone, new walled on each side. At the west end of the bridge, he builded a faire large chappell. Toward the south end of that towne, & neere vnto the same, a prettie house of bricke and timber, where he late, and ended his life. He glased the chancell of the parish church in that towne, and made a waie of foure miles long, three miles from Alesburie towards London, and one mile beyond Alesburie.] Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 865.

Stratford bridge vpon Auen builded

But to returne to Perkin: the brute of whome in England, blowne throughout the realme, sore disquieted the people, insomuch that not onelie the meaner sort, but also manie of the nobles and worshipfull personages beleeued and published it abroad, that all was true which was reported of him. And not onelie they that were in sanctuaries, but also manie other that were fallen in debt, assembled in a companie, and passed ouer the seas into Flanders, to their counterfeit duke of Yorke, otherwise rightlie named Perkin Warbecke. Truelie the realme of England was

Such long and looked for alteration of states.

False rumors occasions of great disquietnes.

was in maner diuided (with the rumor and vaine fable spred abroad of this twise borne duke) into partakings and contrarie factions. And some of the noble men conspired togither, purposing to aid the forsaid Perkin, as the man whome they reputed to be the verie sonne of king Edward; and that the matter was not feigned, but altogither true, iust, and not imagined of anie malicious pretense or euill purpose.

And because the thing was weightie, and required great aid and assistance, therefore they determined to send messengers vnto the ladie Margaret, to know when Richard duke of Yorke might conuententlie come into England; to the intent that they being thereof certified, might be in a readinesse to helpe and succour him at his arriuall. So by the common consent of the conspirators, sir Robert Clifford knight, and William Barleie, were sent into Flanders, which discouered to the duches all the secret intents and priuie meanings of the frends and fautors of the new found duke. The duches gladlie receiued this message, and after shee had heard their errand, shee brought the messenger to the sight of Perkin, who so well counterfeited the gesture, countenance, and maner of Richard duke of Yorke, that sir Robert Clifford beleeued verelie, that he was the second sonne of king Edward; and therefore wrote a letter of credit into England to his complices: and to put them out of doubt, he affirmed that he knew him to be king Edwards sonne by his face, and other lineaments of his bodie.

Anno Reg. 8.

Perkin counterfeiteth the duke of Yorke verie cunninglie.

Upon this letter, the cheefe doers in this businesse spred the signification thereof abroad through the realme, to the intent to stirre the people to some new tumult and commotion: but it was done by such a secret craft, that no man could tell who was the author of that rumor. The king perceiued that this vaine fable was not vanished out of the mad brains of the common people. To prouide therefore against all perils that might thereby insue, he sent certeine knights that were skilfull men of warre, with competent bands of soldiers, to keepe the sea coasts and hauens, to vnderstand who came in and went out of the realme; doubting least some great conspiracie were in brewing against him. He also sent into the low countries certeine persons, to learne the truth of this forged dukes progenie, where some of them that were so sent, comming to Tournie, got knowlege that he was borne in that citie, of base linage, and named Perkin Warbecke.

Perkins true linage.

The king then aduertised not onelie by his espials vpon their returne, but also from other his trustie frends, determined with all sped to haue the fraud published, both in England and forren parts: and for the same cause sent sir Edward Poinings knight, & sir William Warram doctor of the laws vnto Philip archduke of Burgognie, and to his councellors (because he was not of age able to gouerne of himselfe) to signifie to him and them, that the yong man, being with the ladie Margaret, had falselie and vntruelie vsurped the name of Richard duke of Yorke, which long before was murthered with his brother Edward in the Tower of London, by the commandement of their vncle king Richard, as manie men then liuing could testifie.

Imbassadors sent to Philip archduke of Burgognie.

The ambassadors comming to the court of Philip the archduke, were honorablie interteined of him and of his councell, and willed to declare the effect of their message. William Warram made to them an eloquent oration, and in the later end somewhat inueihed against the ladie Margaret, not sparing to declare, how she now in hir later age had brought forth (within the space of a few yeares togither) two detestable monsters, that is to saie, Lambert (of whom yee heard before) and this same Perkin Warbecke, and being conceiued of these two great babes, was not deliuered of them in eight or nine moneths as nature requireth; but in one hundred and eightie moneths, for both these at the lest were fifteene yeers of age, yer she would be brought in bed of them, and shew them openlie; and when they were newlie crept out of hir wombe, they were no infants but lustie youinglings, and of age sufficient to bid battell to kings. Although these tawnts angred the ladie Margaret to the hart, yet Perkin was more vered with the things declared in this oration, and especiallie because his cloaked iuggling was brought to light.

The sum of D. Warrams speech to the archduke.

The duches intending to cast hot sulphur into the new kindled fire, determined with might and maine to arme and set forward prettie Perkin against the king of England. When the ambassadors had done their message, and that the archdukes councell had long debated the matter; they made answer, that to haue the king of Englands loue, the archduke and they would neither aid nor assist Perkin nor his complices in anie cause or quarrell. Yet notwithstanding if the ladie Margaret, persisting in hir rooted malice towards the king of England, would be to him aiding and helping, it was not in their power to withstand it; for because in the lands assigned to hir for hir dower, she might franklie and fréelie order all things at hir will and pleasure, without contradiction of anie other gouernour.

After that the ambassadors were returned with this answer, the king streight sent forth certeine espials into Flanders, which should feigne themselues to haue fled to the duke of Yorke; and thereby search out the whole intent of the conspiracie, and after what sort they meant to proceed in the same. Others were sent also to intise sir Robert Clifford and William Barleie, to returne into England, promising to them pardon of all their offenses, and high rewards, for obeieng the kings request. They that were sent, did so earnestlie and prudentlie aplie their businesse, that they brought all things to passe at their owne desires. For first they learned who were the cheefe conspirators, and after persuaded sir Robert Clifford to giue ouer that enterprise, which had no grounded staie to rest vpon. Albeit William Barleie at the first would not leaue off, but continued his begun attempt; till after two yeares, he repenting him of his follie, & hauing pardon granted him of the king, returned home into his native countrie.

Anno Reg. 9. Espials sent into Flanders from the king for a subtill policie.

When the king had knowledge of the cheefe capteins of this conspiracie (by the ouerture of his espials which were returned) he caused them to be apprehended, and brought to London before his presence. Of the which the cheefe were John Ratcliffe, lord Fitz-Water, sir Simon Montford, sir Tho. Thwaits knights, William Daubeneie, Robert Ratcliffe, Thomas Cressenor, and Thomas Astwod. Also certeine prests & religious men, as sir William Richford doctor of diuinitie, and sir Thomas Poines, both friers of saint Dominikes order, doctor William Sutton, sir William Worseleie deane of Paules, Robert Laborne, and sir Richard Lesseie. Other which were guiltie, hearing that their fellowes were apprehended, fled and toke sanctuarie. The other that were taken were condemned, of the which sir Simon Montford, Robert Ratcliffe, and William Daubenie were beheaded.

The conspiring fautors of the counterfeit duke of Yorke.

Some had their pardons, and the prests also for their order sake; but yet few of them liued long after. The lord Fitz-Water pardoned of life, was conueied to Calis, and there laid in hold, & after lost his head; because he went about to corrupt his keepers with rewards, that he might escape, intending (as was thought) to haue gone to Perkin. [Thus by

Abr. Flem.

the policie and subtile deuise of the king, practised to the point by his espials, the shewes of this conspiracie was rent in sunder. So that the malicious ladie Margaret was not a little swolne with indignation when she saw the course of hir deuise (now that it had passed so far as that it was knowne to people on this side and beyond the seas) stopped, and the confederacie (whereto the speciallie trusted) dissolued. Yet notwithstanding, as women will not (to die for it) giue ouer an enterprise, which of an enuious purpose they attempt; so she put hir irons afresh into the fier to set hir hatred forward: whome a while we will leaue at woorke, and shew some doings betweene England and Flanders.]

King Henrie taking displeasure with the king of Romans, for that he kept not touch in aiding him against the French king, and partlie displeased with the Flemings, but specialle with the ladie Margaret, for keeping and setting forward Perkin Warbecke, not onelie banished all Flemish wares and merchandizes out of his dominions, but also restreined all English merchants from their repaire and traffike into anie of the lands and territories of the king of Romans, or of the archduke Philip, sonne to the same king of the Romans; causing the mart to be kept at Calis, of all English merchandizes and commodities. Wherefore the said king and his sonne banished out of their lands and seigniories all English clothes, yarne, tin, lead, and other commodities of this realme. The restreint made by the king sore hindered the merchants aduenturers; for they had no occupieng to beare their charges, and to support their credit withall.

Flemish wares forbidden.

The mart kept at Calis.

English commodities banished out of Flanders.

And that most greeued them, the Easterlings being at libertie, brought to the realme such wares as they were wont, & so serued their customers throughout the realme. Wherevpon there insued a riot by the seruants of the mercers, haberdashers, & clothworkers in the citie of London, the tuesdate before saint Edwards day. For they perceiuing what hinderance grew to their maisters, in that they were not able so well to keepe them as before they had done, assembled togither in purpose to reuenge their malice on the Easterlings, & so came to the Stilliard, & began to rifle & spoile such chambers & warehouses as they cold get into. So that the Easterlings had much ado to withstand them, & keepe them back out of their gates, which with helpe of carpenters, smiths, and other that came to them by water out of Southwarke, they shored & so fortified, that the multitude of the seruants and prentises, being assembled, could not preuaile.

A riot made vpon the Easterlings.

At length came the maior with a number of men, defensiblie weapoined, to remoue the force; at whose approch those riotous persons fled awaie like a flocke of sheepe. But diuerse of them were apprehended, and vpon inquirie made before the kings commissioners, aboue foure score seruants & apprentises were found to be conspired togither, and sworne not to reueale it; of whome some of the chiefe beginners were committed to the Tower, and there long continued. But in conclusion, bicause none of their maisters, nor anie one householder was found culpable, the king of his clemencie pardoned their offense, and restored them to libertie. [For he thought it no credit to his crowne to take vengeance of such sillie soules by seueritie of death, whom in clemencie pardoning he might restore to a reformed life.]

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 867.

¶ On the two & twentith of Februarie in this yeare were arreigned in the Guildhall of London foure persons, Thomas Bagnall, John Scot, John Heath, and John Renington, the which were sanctuarie men of saint Martins le grand in London, and latelie before were taken out of the said sanctuarie, for forging of seditious bils, to the slander of the king, & some of his councell, for the which three of them were iudged to die; and the fourth named Bagnall, pleaded to be restored to sanctuarie: by reason whereof he was remoued to the Tower till the next tearme: and on the six and twentith of Februarie, the other three with a Fleming, and a yeoman of the crowne, were all fiue executed at Tiborne. ¶ On the eight and twentith of Aprill Ione Boughton widow was burnt in Smithfield, for holding certeine opinions of Iohn Wickliffe. Wheat was sold at London at six pence the bushell, bate salt for three pence halfe penie the bushell, Nantwich salt was sold for six pence the bushell, white herings nine shillings the barrell, red herings at three shillings the cade, red sprots six pence the cade, & Gascoigne wine for six pounds the tun.]

Execution for seditious bils against the kings person.

Little plentie sold good cheape.

Shortlie after sir Robert Clifford, partlie trusting on the kings promise, and partlie mistrusting the desperat begun enterprise, returned suddenlie againe into England. The king certified before of his comming, went streight to the Tower of London the morow after the day of Epiphanie, & there taried till such time as sir Robert Clifford was there presented to his person. This was done for a policie, that if sir Robert accused anie of the nobilitie, they might be called thither without suspicion of anie euill, and their attached and laid fast. Some thought also, that for a policie king Henrie sent sir Robert Clifford ouer as an espie, or else he would not so soone haue receiued him into fauour againe. Neuertheless, there were great presumptions that it was nothing so, for both was he in great danger after his begun attempt, and neuer was so much esteemed with the king afterward as he was before.

1494
Anno Reg. 10.

Policie of K. Henrie against Robert Clifford.

But this is true, vpon his comming to the kings presence, he besought him of pardon, and obteined it; and therewith opened all the maner of the conspiracie, so far as he knew, and who were aiders, fautors, and chiefe beginners of it; amongst whome he accused sir William Stanlete, whome the king had made his chiefe chamberleine, and one of his priuie councell. The king was sorie to heare this, and could not be induced to beleeue that there was so much vntruth in him, till by euident proofes it was tried against him. Then the king caused him to be restreined from his libertie in his owne chamber within the quadrat tower, and there appointed him by his priuie councell to be examined, in which examination he nothing denied, but wiselie and sagelie agreed to all things laid to his charge, if he were faultie therein.

Sir William Stanlete a fauourer of Perkin.

The report is, that this was his offense. When communication was had betwixt him, and the aboue mentioned sir Robert Clifford, as concerning Perkin, which falselie vsurped the name of K. Edwards sonne; sir William Stanlete said, that if he knew certeinlie that the yong man was the indubitate heire of king Edward the fourth, he would neuer fight or beare armour against him. This point argued, that he bare no hartie good will toward king Henrie as then. But what was the cause that he had conceiued some inward grudge towards the king; or how it chanced that the king had withdrawen his speciall fauor from him, manie haue doubted. Some indeed haue gessed, that sir William Stanlie, for the seruice which he shewed at Bosworth field, thought that all the benefits which he receiued of the king to be farre vnder that which he had deserued, in preseruing not onelie the kings life; but also in obteining for him the victorie of his enimies, so that his aduersarie was slaine in the field.

The offense of sir William Stanlete.

Wherefore desiring to be created earle of Chester, and therof denied, he began to disdeine the king. And one thing incouraged him much, which was the riches and treasure of king Richard, which he onlie possessed at the battell of Bosworth; by reason of which

Coniectures of sir William Stanleies alienated mind from king Henrie.

riches

riches and great power of men, he set naught by the king his souereigne lord and maister. The king hauing thus an hole in his coat, doubted first what he should do with him; for both he was to lose the fauour of his brother the earle of Derbie: and againe to pardon him, he feared least it should be an euill example to other, that should go about to attempt the like offense. And so at length, seueritie got the vpper hand, & mercie was put backe, in so much that he was arreigned at Westminster and adiudged to die, and (according to that iudgement) was brought to the Tower hill the sixteenth daie of Februarie, and there had his head striken off.

King Henrie in a quandare.

1495 Sir William Stanleie beheaded.

Abr. Flem.

[This was the end of sir William Stanleie the chiefest helper of king Henrie to the crowne at Bosworth field against king Richard the third, and who set the same crowne first vpon the kings head, when it was found in the field trampled vnder feet. He was a man (while he liued) of great power in his countrie, and also of great wealth; in so much as the common fame ran, that there was in his castell of Holt found in readie coine, plate, and iewels, to the value of fortie thousand markes or more, and his land and fees extended to three thousand pounds by yeare. Neuertheless all helped not; neither his good seruice in Bosworth field, neither his forwardnesse (euen with the hazard of life) to prefer K. Henrie to the crowne, neither his faithfulnesse in cleauing to him at all brunts, neither the bond of aliance betwixt them, neither the power that he was able to make, neither the riches which he was worth, neither intercession of frends, which he wanted not; none of these, nor all these could procure the redemption of his lost life:

See pag. 760.

O fluxum decus hominum, ô variabile tempus.]

John Stow pag. 969.

The king and queene dine at sergeants feast kept at Elie place. A wonder to be noted in a corpse that laie long in the ground.

¶ On the sixteenth of Nouember was holden the sergeants feast at the bishops place of Elie in Holborne, where dined the king, queene, and all the chiefe lords of England. The new sergeants names were maister Mordant, Higham, Kingsmill, Conisbie, Butler, Pakesleie, Frowicke, Drenbridge, & Constable. In digging for to laie a new foundation in the church of saint Marie hill in London, the bodie of Alice Hacknete, which had béene buried in the church the space of 175 yeares, was found whole of skinne, & the ioints of hir armes pliable: which corpse was kept aboue ground foure daies without annoiance, and then buried againe. ¶ Also this yeare (as maister Grafton saith) at the charges of maister John Tate alderman of London was the church of saint Anthonies founded, & annexed vnto the college of Windsor, wherein was erected one notable and frée schoole to the furtherance of learning, and a number of poore people (by the name of almesmen, which were poore, aged, and decaied housholders) releeued, to the great commendation of that worthie man, who so liued in worship, that his death by his worthie doings maketh him still aliue; for he was not forgetfull to beautifie the good state of this citie, in which by wealth he had tasted of Gods blessings.]

Rich. Grafton.

About this same time, diuerse men were punished that had vpon a presumptuous boldnesse spoken manie slanderous words against the kings maiestie, hoping still for the arriuall of the feigned Richard duke of Yorke. After the death of sir William Stanleie, Giles lord Daubenie was elected and made the kings chéefe chamberleine. Also, the K. sent into Ireland (to purge out the euill & wicked séeds of rebellion amongest the wild & sauage Irish people, sowed there by the craftie conueiance of Perkin Warbecke) sir Henrie Deane, late abbat of Langtonie (whome he made chancellor of that Ile) & sir Edward Poinings knight, with an armie of men. The fauourers of Perkin, hearing that sir Edward Poinings was come with a power to persecute them, withdrew

Anno Reg. 11. Lord Daubenie the kings chéefe chamberleine.

Sir Edward Poinings sent into Ireland with an armie.

freightwaies, and fled into the woods and marishes for the safegard of themselues.

Sir Edward Poinings according to his commission, intending to punish such as had aided and aduanced the enterprise of Perkin, with his whole armie marched forward against the wild Irishmen, because that all other being culpable of that offense, fled and resorted to them for succour. But when he saw that his purpose succéeded not as he would haue wished it; both because the Irish lords sent him no succour according to their promises; and also for that his owne number was not sufficient to furnish his enterprise, because his enimies were dispersed amongst woods, mounteins, and marishes: he was constreined to recule backe, sore displeased in his mind against Gerald earle of Kildare, being then the kings deputie.

Now, the cause of this his discontentment was, for that the said earle was suspected to be the meane that he had no succours sent him, and was so informed in déed by such as bare the earle no good will. And therefore suddenlie he caused the earle to be apprehended, and as a prisoner brought him in his companie into England. Which earle being examined, and sundrie points of treason laid to him, he so auoided them all, & laid the burthen in other mens necks, that he was dismissed, and sent into Ireland againe, there to be deputie and lieutenant as he was before.

Gerald earle of Kildare deputie of Ireland apprehended.

The king being now in some better suertie of his estate, did take his progresse into Lancashire the fiue & twentith daie of June, there to make merrie with his mother the countesse of Derbie, which then laie at Lathome in the countrie.

King Henries progresse into Lancashire.

In this meane while, Perkin Warbecke, being in Flanders, sore troubled that his suggling was discouered, yet he determined not to leaue off his enterprise, in hope at length to atteine the crowne of England: and so gathering a power of all nations, some bankrupts, some false English sanctuarie men, some théeues, robbers, and vagabunds, which desiring to liue by rapine, were glad to serue him. And thus furnished, he tooke such ships as his frends had prouided for him: and departing from Flanders towards England, he arriued vpon the Kentish coast, & there cast anchor, purposing to proue how the people there were affected towards him: and therefore he sent certeine of his men to land, to signifie to the countrie his arriuall with such power, that the victorie must incline to his part.

Perkin attempteth to land in Kent in hope of victorie.

The Kentishmen vnderstanding that Perkin was but Perkin, and had none with him (to make account of) but strangers borne, like faithfull subiects determined to fall vpon those that were thus new come to land, and to trie if they might allure the whole number out of their ships, so to giue them battell. But Perkin wiselie considering that the maner of a multitude is not to consult, and sagelie to aduise with themselues in anie deliberate sort, but suddenlie and rashlie to run headlong into rebellion, would not set one foot out of his ship, vntill he saw all things sure. Yet he permitted some of his souldiers to go on land, which being trained forth a pretie waie from their ships, were suddenlie compassed about and beset of the Kentishmen, and at one stroke vanquished and driuen backe to their ships.

Perkins men discomfited.

Of these discomfited soules were taken prisoners an hundred and fortie persons, whereof fiue, Montfort, Corbet, White, Belt, Quintin (or otherwise Genin) being captains were brought to London by sir John Pechie, shiriffe of Kent, tailed in ropes like horsses drawing in a cart, & after vpon their arreignment confessed their offense, and were executed, some at London, and other in the townes adioining to the sea coast. And thus Perkin, missing of his purpose, fled

Perkins captains taken & executed.

Perkin returneth into Flanders.

The death of Cicilie duchesse of Yorke mother to Edward the fourth.

fled backe into Flanders. In this verie season departed to God Cicilie duchesse of Yorke mother to king Edward the fourth, at hir castell of Berkhamsted, a woman of small stature, but of much honour and high parentage, and was buried by hir husband in the college of Fodringeie.

The king being aduertised that his enimies were landed, leauing off his progresse, purposed to haue returned to London; but being certified the next day of the luckie speed of his faithfull subiects, continued his progresse, & did send sir Richard Gilford both to commend the fidelitie and manhood of the Kentishmen, and also to render to them most hartie thanks for the same. He also caused order to be taken for the erecting of beacons, and watching of them. Perkin then perceiuing that he should not be receiued into England, sailed into Ireland, trusting there to augment his numbers, and then to returne towards the coast of England againe, and to take land in the West countrie, if occasion serued; but if not, then he determined to saile streight into Scotland, to seeke frendship there.

Sir Richard Gilford.

Perkin saileth into Ireland and is in sundrie opinions.

After he had therefore staid a while in Ireland, and perceiued that the hope of victorie consisted not in the Irish nation, being naked people, without furniture of armour or weapon, he tooke the sea againe at Corffe, and sailed into Scotland; where comming to the presence of king James, he forged such a painted processe to moue him to beleeue that he was the verie sonne of king Edward: that the Scotish king, whether blinded with errour, or vsing dissimulation, that he might vnder a colourable pretert make war against England, began to haue Perkin in great honour, and caused him openlie to be called duke of Yorke. And to persuade the world that so he was indeed, he caused the ladie Katharine, daughter to Alexander earle of Huntleie, his nigh kinsman, to be espoused to him. [But yer we passe anie further, you shall see and peruse (if you will) the said painted processe of Perkin, as it is left in record by Edward Hall for an example what working force is in words (specially where the hearers are easie to be seduced) and not to be ouer hastie to giue them too quicke & hastie credit. For the poet saith of gaie words void of truth:

Katharine daughter to the earle of Huntleie maried to Perkin.

M. Pal. in Virg.

Verba nitent phaleris, at nullas verba medullas,
Intus habent.

The colourable oration or counterfeit tale that Perkin told the king of Scots to iustifie his false title.

Abr. Flem. ex Edw. Hall fol. xxxviij, xxxix.

I Thinke it is not vnknowne vnto you (most noble king and puissant prince) into what ruine the stocke house, and familie of Edward the fourth, of that name king of England, is now of late brought to and fallen in, either by Gods permission, or by diuine punishment; whose indubitate sonne (if you know not alreadie) I am, and by the power of almightie God, preserued aliue to this houre from the mightie hand of a tyrant. For my father king Edward (when he died) appointed his brother Richard duke of Gloucester to be our gouernour, protector, and defendor; whome the more that he loued & studied to aduance and promote, the better he thought that he would loue, fauour, and tender his children. But alas my vnfortunate chance I may say! how hath his trust bene turned into treason, and his hope into hinderance, all men know and I feele. Our vncle was not the tutor and preseruer of our stocke and linage, but the confounder & destroier of our bloud and progenie. For that tyrant, blinded and glutted with the desire of ruling and souereignetie, commanded Edward my brother & me to be slaine and dispatched out of this mortall life. Wherevpon that person, to whome the weightie and cruell charge was committed and giuen to oppresse and destroie by power innocent infants and giltlesse babes, the more that he abhorred this heinous and butcherlie offense, the more he feared to commit it.

Perkin telleth the king how he was preserued and kept aliue.

And so wauering in mind and doubtfull what to doo, at the length willing in part to stanch the bloudie thirst of the vnnaturall tyrant, and in part to absteine from so heinous & detestable homicide, he destroied my brother and preserued me; like the good preest Joiada, who saued little Joas, when all the children of the bloud roiall were commanded by Athalia the quæne to be slaine and vtterlie destroied. And further, to the intent that my life might be in suertie, he appointed one to conueie me into some strange countrie; where when I was furthest off, and had most need of comfort he forsooke me suddenlie (I thinke he was so appointed to doo) and left me desolate alone without frend or knowlege of anie releefe or refuge. And so king Richard did obteine the crowne as a preie mischæfoulie gotten by the dispatching awaie of my brother and me. So that I thus escaping, by reason of my tender infancie, forgat almost my selfe, and knew not well what I was. But after long wandering from countrie to countrie, and from citie to citie, I perceiued and learned by little and little what was my estate & degree; and so in conclusion came to mine owne aunt the ladie Margaret lieng in Flanders, which was sometime married to Charles duke of Burgognie, which as ioifullie receiued and welcomed me, as if I had come out of hell into heauen, as the onelie type and garland of hir noble stirpe and linage. But forsomuch as she being onelie Dowager of the duchie of Burgognie, and hauing nothing but hir dowrie proper to hir selfe, was not of power to helpe me with men and munitions of warre, as she would gladlie haue done for the recouerie of my fathers relme & rightfull inheritance: I therefore am driuen to seeke further aid and succour.

Perkin telleth the ladie Margaret duchesse of Burgognie his owne aunt.

And therefore by hir counsell and aduertisement, with this small handfull of men of warre and souldiers, I am repaired to your presence for succours; of whome (as the publike fame is spred ouer the whole world) there was neuer man by wrong or iniurie chased or driuen out of his countrie, region, or inheritance, or by extort power and tyrannie kept out of the same (as I my selfe from mine infancie haue bene) whose request was frustrate and denied at your hand. Therefore, by the maiestie of your realme & countrie I desire, & heartilie with

Perkin craueth aid of the Scotish king toward the recouerie of the crowne of England from king Henrie the seuenth.

with praier as I can, I beseech and exhort you to helpe and releeue me now in my extreame necessitie. And if it chance me by your aid and succour to recouer & possesse my fathers realme and dignitie; not onelie I, but all the kings of our linage, which hereafter shall obteine the same, shall be so much obliged and bound vnto you; that they must needs thinke, that doing to you all the pleasure and benefits that they can, yet with all thanks that can be giuen your great kindnesse can neuer in full measure be recompensed.

When he had thus said, the king bad him be of good comfort, and promised him that whatsoeuer he were, it should neuer repent him of his comming to him.]

1496 Shortlie after, hauing this Perkin with him in companie, he entered into England with a puissant armie, and caused proclamation to be made, to spare all those that would submit themselues vnto Richard duke of Yorke. Herewith they began the warre in most cruell maner, with slaughter of men, burning of townes, spoiling of houses, and committing of all other detestable enormities; so that all the countrie of Northumberland was by them in maner wasted, and destroied. At length, when the souldiers were laden with spoiles, and saciate with bloud, perceiuing that no succoures came out of England vnto the new inuented duke, contrarie to that which he had made them to beleeue would come to passe; they determined to retire rather with assured gaine, than to tarrie the vncerteine victorie of that counterfeit duke, and so thereupon they withdrew backe into Scotland inriched with preies and booties.

The Scotish king inuadeth England with a great armie in Perkin his behalfe.

It is said, that Perkin Warbecke, being returned into Scotland with the king of Scots, vnder a cloked pretense should sore lament the great slaughter, spoile, and damage, which had béene done at this last roade made into England; and therefore as one that bare a naturall loue toward his natiue countrie, besought the king of Scots, that from thense forth, he would no more so deface his naturall relme, and destroie his subiects with such terrible fire, flame and hauocke; as who should saie, he being ouercome now with compassion, did bewaile the cruell destruction of his naturall countrie of England. But the Scotish K. told him, that he seemed to take thought for that which appeared to be none of his, sith that not so much as one gentleman or yeoman (for ought he could see) would once shew themselues readie to aid him in the warre begun for his cause, & in his name, within that realme which he pretended so cléerelie to apperteine to him.

The counterfeit compassion of Perkin.

Anno Reg. 12. The king of England being certified of this inuasion, prepared an armie with all diligence to haue resisted the Scots: but they were returned yer the English power could assemble togither. Now when the king was truelie certified that the Scotish king was returned home, he staied all the preparations made at that time to go against him. But yet meaning to be reuenged of the wrongs done to him by king James and his people; he first called a parlement, and in that assemblie of three estates of the realme, he declared the cause of the instant warre, and how necessarie it should be for the suertie and wealth of the realme of England to haue that warre pursued against those enimies that had begun it. To this motion all the nobilitie wholie agréed. And to the maintenance of that warre, a subsidie was by whole assent of the parlement frélie giuen and granted. Which paiment though it was not great, yet manie of the common people sore grudged to pay the same, as they that euer abhorre such taxes and exactions. At the same parlement were diuerse acts and statutes made, necessarie & expedient (as was thought) for the publike weale of the realme.

A parlement of the three estates of the realme.

A subsidie.

1497 In the meane season the king of Scots, perceiuing that the Englishmen would shortlie go about to reuenge the iniuries done to them by him and his people, assembled eftsoones a puissant armie, that he might either defend his realme against the English power, attempting to inuade his countrie, or else afresh to enter into the English borders. And thus these two mightie princes minded nothing more than the one to indamage the other. But the king of England would not deferre one houre by (his good will) till he were reuenged, and therefore prepared a mightie armie to inuade Scotland, and ordeined for chéefteine thereof the lord Daubeneie. But as this armie was assembled, and that the lord Daubenie was forward on his iournie towards Scotland, he was suddenlie staid and called backe againe, by reason of a new commotion begun by the Cornishmen for the paiment of the subsidie which was granted at the last parlement.

1497 The king of England and Scotlād prepare for mutuall warre.

A rebellion in Cornewall for the paiment of a subsidie.

These vnrulie people the Cornishmen, inhabiting in a barren countrie and vnfruitfull, at the first sore repined that they should be so grieuouslie taxed, and burdened the kings councell as the onelie cause of such polling and pilling: and so being in their rage, menaced the chéefe authors with death and present destruction. And thus being in a rore, two persons of the same affinitie, the one called Thomas Flammocke, a gentleman, learned in the lawes of the realme; and the other Michaell Joseph, a smith, men of stout stomachs and high courages, toke vpon them to be capteins of this seditious companie. They laid the fault and cause of this exaction vnto John Morton archbishop of Canturburie, and to sir Reginald Braie; bicause they were chéefe of the kings councell. Such rewards haue they commonlie that be in great authoritie with kings and princes.

The two capteins in this commotion.

The capteins Flammocke and Joseph exhorted the common people to put on harnesse, and not to be afeard to follow them in that quarrell, promising not to hurt anie creature, but onelie to sée them punished that procured such exactions to be laid on the people, without anie reasonable cause, as vnder the colour of a little trouble with the Scots, which (sith they were withdrawne home) they toke to be well quieted and apeased. So these capteins bent on mischéefe, (were their outward pretense neuer so finelie coloured) persuaded a great number of people to assemble togither, and condescended to do as their capteins would agrée and appoint. Then these capteins praising much the hardines of the people, when all things were readie for their infortunate iournie, set forward with their armie, and came to Taunton, where they slue the prouost of Perin, which was one of the commissioners of the subsidie, and from thence came to Welles, so intending to go to London, where the king then soiourned.

The prouost of Perin slaine by the rebels.

When the king was aduertised of these doings, he was somewhat astonied, and not without cause; being thus troubled with the warre against the Scots, and this ciuill commotion of his subiects at one instant. But first meaning to subdue his rebellious subiects; and after to proceed against the Scots, as occasion should serue, he reuoked the lord Daubenie which (as you haue heard) was going against the Scots, and increased his armie with manie chosen and pikked warriors. Also mistrusting that the Scots might now (hauing such opportunitie) inuade the relme againe; he appointed the lord Th. Howard erle of Surrie (which after the death of the lord Dinham was made high treasuror of England) to gather a band

Thomas Howard erle of Surrie high treasuror of England.

band of men in the countie Palatine of Durham, that they with the aid of the inhabitants adioining, and the borderers, might keepe backe the Scots if they chanced to make anie inuasion. The nobles of the realme hearing of the rebellion of the Cornishmen, came to London, euerie man with as manie men of warre as they could put in a readinesse, to aid the king if need should be. In the which number were the earle of Esser, and the lord Montioy, with diuerse other.

James Twichet lord Audelie cheefe capteine of the Cornish rebels.

In the meane time, James Twichet lord Audeleie being confederate with the rebels of Cornewall ioined with them, being come to Welles, and toke vpon him as their cheefe capteine to lead them against their naturall lord and king. From Welles they went to Salisburie, and from thence to Winchester, and so to Kent, where they hoped to haue had great aid, but they were deceiued in that their expectation. For the erle of Kent, George lord of Aburgauenie, John Broke, lord Cobham, sir Edward Poinings, sir Richard Guilford, sir Thomas Bourchier, John Peche, William Scot, and a great number of of people, were not onelie prest and readie to defend the countrie, to keepe the people in due obedience, but bent to fight with such as would lift vp sword, or other weapon against their souereigne lord: insomuch that the Kentishmen would not once come neere the Cornishmen, to aid or assist them in anie maner of wise.

Manie of the Cornishmen take their heels by night.

Which thing maruelouslie dismaid the hearts of the Cornishmen, when they saw themselues thus deceiued of the succours which they most trusted vpon, so that manie of them (fearing the euill chance that might happen) fled in the night from their companie, and left them, in hope so to saue themselues. The capteines of the rebels, perceiuing they could haue no helpe of the Kentishmen, putting their onelie hope in their owne puissance, brought their people to Blacke heath, a foure miles distant from London, and there in a plaine on the top of an hill, they ordered their battels, either readie to fight with the king if he would assaile them, or else to assault the citie of London: for they thought the king durst not haue encountred with them in battell. But they were deceiued: for the king although he had power inough about to haue fought with them before their comming so neere to the citie; yet he thought it best to suffer them to come forward, till he had them farre off from their native countrie, and then to set vpon them being destitute of aid in some place of aduantage.

The citie of London sore afraid of the rebels.

The citie was in a great feare at the first knowledge giuen, how the rebels were so neere incamped to the citie, euerie man getting himselfe to harnesse, and placing themselues, some at the gates, some on the walles, so that no part was vndefended. But the king deliuered the citie of that feare: for after that he perceiued how the Cornishmen were all daie readie to fight, and that on the hill; he sent straight John Earle of Orenford, Henrie Bourchier, earle of Esser, Edmund de la Pole, earle of Suffolke, sir Rise ap Thomas, and sir Humfreie Stanleie, noble warriors, with a great companie of archers and horsemen, to enuiron the hill on the right side, and on the left, to the intent that all bywaies being stopped and foreclosed, all hope of flight should be taken from them. And incontinentlie he himselfe, being as well incouraged with manlie stomachs as furnished with a populous armie and plentie of artillerie, set forward out of the citie, and incamped himselfe in saint Georges field, where he on the fridaie at night then lodged.

On the saturdaie in the morning, he sent the lord Daubeneie with a great companie to set on them earlie in the morning, which first got the bridge at Dertford Strand, which was manfullie defended by certeine archers of the rebels, whose arrowes (as is reported) were in length a full cloth yard. While the earles set on them on euerie side, the lord Daubenie came into the field with his companie, and without long fighting, the Cornishmen were ouercome; and first they toke the lord Daubenie prisoner: but whether it were for feare, or for hope of fauour, they let him go at libertie, without hurt or detriment. There were slaine of the rebels which fought and resisted, aboue two thousand men (as Edward Hall noteth) and taken prisoners an infinite number, & amongst them the blacke smith, and other the cheefe capteins, which were shortlie after put to death. When this battell was ended, the king wanted of all his numbers but three hundred, which were slaine at that conflict.

Blackheath field.

Three hundred slaine, & a thousand fiue hundred taken prisoners, as Iohn Stow saith.

Some affirme, that the king appointed to haue fought with them not till the mondaie, and preuenting the time set on them on the saturdaie before, taking them vnprouided, and in no arraie of battell; and so by that policie obteined the field and victorie. The prisoners as well capteins as other, were pardoned, sauing the cheefe capteins and first beginners, to whome he shewed no mercie at all. The lord Audeleie was drawne from Newgate to the Tower hill in a coate of his owne armes, painted vpon paper reuersed and all to torne, and there was beheaded the foure and twentith of June. Thomas Flammocke & Michaell Joseph were hanged, drawne, and quartered after the maner of traitors, & their heads and quarters were pitched vpon stakes, and set vp in London, and in other places: although at the first, the king meant to haue sent them into Cornewall, to haue beene set vp there for a terror to all others. But hearing that the Cornishmen at home were readie to begin a new conspiracie, least he should the more irritate and prouoke them by that displeasant sight, he changed his purpose, for doubt to wrap himselfe in more trouble than needed.

James lord Audelie ignominiouslie drawne to execution and beheaded.

Anno Reg. 13.

The Scots inuade the English borders.

While these things were adoing in England, the king of Scots being aduertised of the whole matter and rebellion of the Cornishmen, thought not to let passe that occasion: and therefore he eftsones inuaded the frontiers of England, wasting the countrie, burning townes, and murthering the people, sparing neither place nor person: and while his light horsemen were riding to forrate and destroie the bishoprike of Durham, and there burned all about, he with an other part of his armie did besiege the castell of Norham. The bishop of Durham Richard Fox, being owner of that castell, had well furnished it both with men and munitions aforehand, doubting least that would follow which came now to passe. The bishop, after that the Scots made this inuasion, aduertised the king (as then being at London) of all things that chanced in the North parts; and sent in all post haste to the earle of Surrie, to come to the rescue. The earle being then in Yorkeshire, and hauing gathered an armie, vpon knowledge giuen to him from the bishop, with all diligence marched forward, and after him followed other noble men out of all the quarters of the North, euerie of them bringing as manie men as they could gather, for defense of their countrie.

Fox bishop of Durham owner of Norham castell.

What lords & knights with their companies went to the rescue of the castell against the Scots.

Amongst these, the cheefe leaders were, Rafe earle of Westmerland, Thomas lord Dacres, Rafe lord Neuill, George lord Strange, Richard lord Latimer, George lord Lumlete, John lord Scrope, Henrie lord Clifford, George lord Ogle, William lord Conyers, Thomas lord Darcie. Of knights, Thomas baron of Hilton, sir William Persie, sir William Bulmer, sir William Gascoigne, sir Rafe Bigod, sir

Rafe Bowes, sir Thomas a Parre, sir Rafe Ellecker, sir John Constable, sir John Ratcliffe, sir John Sauill, sir Thomas Strangweis, and a great number of other knights and esquiers besides. The whole armie was little lesse than twentie thousand men, beside the naule, whereof the lord Broke was admerall.

When the Scots had diuerse waies assaulted and beaten the castell of Norham, but could make no batterie to enter the same, they determined of their owne accord to raise the siege, and returne; and that so much the sooner in verie deed, bicause they heard that the earle of Surrie was within two daies iournie of them, with a great puissance. Wherefore king James raised his siege, and returned home into his owne realme. When the earle knew of the kings returne, he followed him with all hast possible, trusting suerlie to ouertake him, and to giue him battell.

The earle of Surrie entreth Scotland defacing castels and towers.

When the earle was entred Scotland, he ouerthrew and defaced the castell of Cawdestreimes, the tower of Yetenhall, the tower of Edington, the tower of Fulden: and he sent Norreie king at armes to the capteine of Yaiton castell, which was one of the strongest places betwixt Berwike and Edenburgh, to deliuer him the castell. Which he denied to do, affirming that he was sure of spedie succours.

The earle herevpon laid his ordinance to the castell, and continuallie beat it, from two of the clocke till fiue at night, in such wise, that they within rendered vp the place, their liues onelie saued. The earle caused his minors to rase & ouerthrow the fortresse to the plaine ground. The Scotish king was within a mile of the siege, and both knew it, and saw the smoke, but would not set one fot forward to the rescue. While the erle laie at Yaiton, the king of Scots sent to him Yachemont, and an other herald, desiring him at his election, either to fight with whole puissance against puissance, or else they two to fight person to person; requiring that if the victorie fell to the Scotish king, that then the earle should deliuer for his ransome, the towne of Berwike, with the fishgarths of the same.

The valiant hart of the erle of Surrie reioising at his hap likelie to fight hand to hand with the K. of Scots.

The earle made answer hereto, that the towne of Berwike was the king his maisters, and not his, the which he neither ought nor would laie to pledge, without the king of Englands assent; but he would gage his bodie, which was more pretious to him than all the townes of the world, promising on his honour, that if he toke the king prisoner in that singular combat, he would release to him all his part of the fine and ransome; and if it chanced the king to vanquish him, he would gladlie paie such ransome as was conuenient for the degree of an earle, and thanked him greatlie for the offer: for suerlie he thought himselfe much honored, that so noble a prince would vouchsafe to admit so poore an earle to fight with him bodie to bodie. When he had rewarded and dismissed the heralds, he set his armie in a readinesse, to abide the comming of the king of Scots, and so stood all daie.

But king James not regarding his offers, would neither performe the one nor the other; fearing to cope with the English nation in anie condition; and so thervpon fled in the night season with all his puissance. When the earle knew that the king was reculed, and had beene in Scotland six or seuen daies, being dailie and nightlie vexed with continuall wind and raine, vpon good and deliberate aduise returned backe to the towne of Berwike, and there dissolued his armie, tarieng there himselfe, till he might vnderstand further of the kings pleasure. In the meane time there came an ambassadour to the K. of Scots from the K. of Spaine, one Peter Hialas, a man of no lesse learning than wit & policie, to moue & intret a peace betweene the two kings of England & Scotland [that their people might fall to their necessarie trades of aduantage with quietnesse, and friend with friend, husband with wife, father with children, and maisters with seruants dwell and accompanie: a dissolution and separation of whome one from another is procured by bloudie warre, wherein as there is no pitie, so is there is no pietie, as one saith full trulie:

Nulla fides pietásque virís qui castra sequuntur,
Nulla salus bello.] Lucan. lib. 1.

In ambassadour from the K. of Spaine to treat a peace betwixt England and Scotland.

This Spanish ambassadour so earnestlie trauelled in his message vnto the king of Scots, that at length he found him comformable to his purpose: and therefore wrote to the king of England, that it would please him to send one of his nobilitie or councell, to be associat with him in concluding of peace with the Scotish king. The king of England was neuer dangerous to agree to anie reasonable peace, so it might stand with his honour; and therefore appointed the bishop of Durham doctor For, to go into Scotland about that treatie which Peter Hialas had begun. The bishop (according to his commission) went honorablie into Scotland, where he and Peter Hialas at the towne of Jedworth, after long arguing and debating of matters with the Scotish commissioners, in steed of peace concluded a truce for certeine yeares; vpon condition, that James king of Scots should conuete Perkin Warbecke out of his realme, seignories, and dominions.

About the same time, king Henrie receiued the ambassadors that were sent to him from the French king, and had beene staied at Douer, till the Cornish rebels were vanquished and subdued. Also the lord of Camphire, and other orators of Philip archduke of Austrich, and duke of Burgognie came to him for the conclusion of amitie, and to haue the English merchants to resort againe to their countrie. Which request being verie agreeable to the quietnesse and wealth of his realme, and especiallie at that time, he did fauourablie grant and agree vnto. And so did the Englishmen resort againe into the archdukes dominions, and were receiued into Antwerpe with generall procession: so glad was that towne of their returne. Shortlie after the concluding of the truce betweene England and Scotland, Perkin Warbecke being willed of the king of Scots to depart out of the Scotish dominions, sailed with his wife and familie into Ireland, there determining with himselfe either to repaire into Flanders to his first setter vp the duches of Burgognie, or else ioine and take part with the Cornishmen.

The English merchants receiued into Antwerpe with generall procession.

Perkin is faine to packe out of Scotland.

But howsoeuer it came to passe, whilest he laie in Ireland, he had knowledge from the Cornishmen, that they were readie to renew the warre againe. Wherevpon he minding not to let passe so faire an occasion, hauing with him foure small ships, and not aboue six score men, sailed into Cornewall; and there landed in the moneth of September, and came to a towne called Bodman, and there did so prouoke the wauering people, what with faire words and large promises, that he gathered to him aboue three thousand persons, which immediatlie called him their capteine, promising to take his part, and follow him to the death. Then Perkin well incouraged, made proclamations in the name of king Richard the fourth, as sonne to king Edward the fourth. And by the aduise of his three councellors, John Heron mercer a bankrupt, Richard Skelton a taillor, and John Astelie a scriuener determined first of all to assaie the winning of Exceter.

Perkin Warbeck arriueth in Cornwall.

Another rebellion by the Cornishmen.

Perkins three councellors.

Exceter assaulted by Perkin & the Cornishmen.

Then hasting thither, he laid siege to it, and wanting ordinance to make batterie, studied all waies possible how to breake the gates, and what with casting of stones, heauing with iron barres, and kindling of

of fire vnder the gates, he omitted nothing that could be deuised for the furtherance of his purpose. The citizens, perceiuing in what danger they stood, first let certeine messengers downe by cords ouer the wall, that might certifie the king of their necessitie & trouble. And herewith taking vnto them boldnesse of courage, determined to repell fire with fire, and caused fagots to be brought and laid to the inward parts of the gates, and set them all on fire; to the intent that the fire being inflamed on both sides the gates, might as well keepe out their enimies from entring, as shut in the citizens from fleeing out, and that they in the meane season might make trenches and rampires to defend their enimies in stead of gates and bulworks. Thus by fire was the citie preserued from fire.

The citie of Excester preserued from fire by fire.

When Perkin of verie necessitie compelled to forsake the gates, assaulted the towne in diuerse weake and vnfortified places, and set vp ladders to take the citie. But the citizens, with helpe of such as were come forth of the countrie adioining to their aid, so valiantlie defended the walles, that they slue aboue two hundred of Perkins souldiers at that assault.

The king maketh out his power against Perkin.

The king hauing aduertisement of this siege of Excester, hasted forth with his host, in as much spæd as was possible, and sent the lord Daubeneie with certeine bands of light horsemen before, to aduertise all men of his comming at hand. But in the meane season, the lord Edward Courtneie earle of Deuonshire, and the valiant lord William his sonne, accompanied with sir Edmund Carew, sir Thomas Trenchard, sir William Courtneie, sir Thomas Fulford, sir John Halewell, sir John Croker, Water Courtnie, Peter Edgecombe, William saint Maure, with all spæd came into the citie of Excester, and holpe the citizens, and at the last assault was the earle hurt in the arme with an arrow, and so were manie of his companie, but verie few slaine.

When Perkin saw that he could not win the citie of Excester, sith he sawe it was so well fortified both with men and munitions, he departed from thence, and went vnto Taunton, and there the twentith day of September he mustered his men; as though he were readie to giue battell: but perceiuing his number to be minished, by the secret withdrawing of sundrie companies from him, he began to put mistrust in all the remnant. In deed when the people that followed him, in hope that no small number of the nobilitie would ioine with him, saw no such matter come to passe, they stale awaie from him by secret companies. When the king heard that he was gone to Taunton, he followed after him with all spæd. And by the way there came to him Edward duke of Buckingham, a yong prince of great towardnesse; and him followed a great companie of noble men, knights and esquiers, as sir Alexander Baynam, sir Maurice Barkleie, sir Robert Tame, sir John Guise, sir Robert Pointz, sir Henrie Vernon, sir John Mortimer, sir Thomas Tremaile, sir Edward Sutton, sir Amise Paulet, sir John Birkneill, sir John Sapcotes, sir Hugh Lutterell, sir Francis Cheineie, and diuerse other.

Edward the yong duke of Buckingham and his companie ioine with the king.

At the kings approching to the towne of Taunton, he sent before him Robert lord Broke lord steward of his house, Giles lord Daubeneie his chiefe chamberleine, and sir Rice ap Thomas. But as soone as Perkin was informed that his enimies were readie to giue him battell, he that nothing lesse minded than to fight in open field with the kings puissance, dissembled all the daie time with his companie, as though nothing could make him afraid: and about midnight, accompanied with three score horsemen, he departed from Taunton in post to a sanctuarie towne beside Southampton, called Beaudlie, & there

Perkin fleeth and taketh Beaudlie sanctuarie.

he and John Heron with other registred themselues as persons priuileged. When as king Henrie knew that Perkin was thus fled, he sent after him the lord Daubeneie with fiue hundred horsemen toward the sea side, to apprehend him before he should get away. Although Perkin escaped (as I haue said) vnto sanctuarie, yet manie of his chiefe capteins were taken and presented to the king.

Also the horsemen that were sent, without anie stop or staie came to saint Michaels mount, and there (as chance was) found the ladie Katharine Gordon wife to Perkin, and brought hir streight to the king. At whose beautie and amiable countenance the king much maruelled, and thought hir a preie more meet for a prince, than for the meane souldiers, and sent hir incontinentlie vnto London to the queene, accompanied with a sort of sage matrones and gentlewomen, bicause she was but yong. The common people that had followed Perkin, after that their chéefeteine was fled, threw awaie their armour as people amazed, and submitted themselues to the king, humblie beséeching him of mercie, which he most gentlie granted, and receiued them to his fauour. After this the king road to Excester, and there not onelie commended the citizens, but also hartilie thanked them for doing so well their duties in defending their citie from their enimies. He also put there to execution diuerse Cornishmen, which were the authors and principall beginners of this new conspiracie and insurrection. Neuertheless, he vsed maruellous clemencie also in pardoning a great number of the rebels.

The beautifull ladie Katharine (Perkins wife) presented to the king.

¶ For when king Henrie was come to Excester with a great armie, moued thereunto (as you haue heard) by reason of the rebellion of Perkin Warbecke, who was fled before the kings comming, he staied a few daies about the examination of the said rebellion, and the executing of the chiefe and principall capteins. In the end, the multitude of the offendors being great, and most humblie craning for pardon, the king caused them all to be assembled in the churchyard of saint Peters, where they all appeared bare headed, in their shirts, and with halters about their necks. His grace was then lodged in the treasurors house, lieng fast vpon the churchyard, and out of a faire and large window (made for the purpose) he take the view of them, who shouted and cried out for pardon. At length, when the king had paused, hee made a speach vnto them, exhorting them to obedience, and in hope he should thencefoorth find them dutifull, he pardoned them all: whereat they all made a great shout, gaue the king thanks, and hurled awaie their halters. Yet neuertheless, some returned againe, and ioined themselues with the Cornish people, which had not all submitted themselues, nor sought for pardon.]

Iohn Hooker, alias Vowell.

All Perkins partakers in their shirts with halters about their necks appeare before the king.

Now while he remained at Excester, he considered with himselfe, that he had done nothing, if he could not get into his hands the chiefe head of this trouble and seditious businesse. Wherefore he caused the sanctuarie wherein Perkin was inclosed, to be inuironed with two bands of light horsemen, to watch diligentlie, that Perkin should not escape by anie meanes forth of that place vntaken: and withall attempted by faire promises of pardon and forgiuenes, if Perkin would submit himselfe to him and become his man. Perkin perceiuing himselfe so shut vp, that he could no waie escape, of his owne free will came out of the sanctuarie, and committed himselfe to the kings pleasure. When the king had thus atchiued his purpose, he returned to London, and appointed certeine keepers to attend on Perkin, which should not (the breth of a naile) go from his person; least he should conueie himselfe by anie meanes out of the

Perkin in sanctuarie assaulted.

Perkin submitteth himselfe to the king, and is streictlie kept.

the land [and set new troubles abroch by such practises as he had to fore vsed, for the aduancement of himselfe to the estate of a king, by assuming vnto himselfe the name of a kings sonne, when in deed hee was come of base parentage. But Jacke will bee a gentleman, the long eared asse will be taken for a leopard, & the pelting pismire for a lion, as one saith:

M. Pal. in Virg. *Nunc se asinus pardum vocat & formica leonem.*]

After this, the king caused inquiries to be made, of all such as had aided with men or monie the Cornish rebels, so that diuerse persons as well in Somersetshire as Deuonshire were detected of that offense, which he minded for example sake should tast some part of due punishments for their crimes, according to the qualitie thereof. And therefore he appointed Thomas lord Darcie, Amise Paulet knight, and Robert Sherborne deane of Poules (that was after bishop of Chichester) to be commissioners for assessing of their fines that were found culpable. These commissioners so bestirred themselues, in tossing the coffers and substance of all the inhabitants of both those shires, that there was not one person imbrued or spotted with the filth of that abhominable crime, that escaped the paine which he had deserued: but to such yet as offended rather by constreint than of malice, they were gentle and fauourable, so that equitie therein was verie well and iustlie executed.

Cõmissioners appointed for assessing of their fines that fauoured the Cornish rebels.

1498

¶ In this yeare all the gardens which had béene continued time out of mind, without Moore gate of London, were destroied, and of them was made a plaine field for archers to shoot in. Also this yéere was a great drought, by reason whereof a load of haie, which was before sold at London at fiue shillings, was this yeare sold for ten or twelue more. Also this yeare, one Sebastian Gabato, a Genoas sonne, borne in Bristow, professing himselfe to be expert in knowledge of the circuit of the world, and Ilands of the same, as by his charts and other reasonable demonstrations he shewed, caused the king to man and vittell a ship at Bristow, to search for an Iland which he knew to be replenished with rich commodites. In the ship diuerse merchants of London aduentured small stocks, and in the companie of this ship sailed also out of Bristow three or foure small ships straight with slight and grosse wares, as course cloath, caps, lases, points, and such other.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 872.

Gardens in Moore field laid wast to make archers game.

Price of haie doubled.

Sebastian Gabato his discouerie of an Iland of rich commodities.

Sir Humfrie Gilbert knight, in his booke intituled, A discouerie for a new passage to Cataia, writeth thus; Sebastian Gabato, by his personall experience and trauell, hath described and set forth this passage in his charts, which are yet to be séene in the queenes maiesties priuie gallerie at Whitehall, who was sent to make this discouerie by king Henrie the seuenth, and entered the same fret, affirming that hee sailed verie farre westward, with a quarter of the north, on the north side of *terra de Labrador*, the eleuenth of June, vntill he came to the septentrionall latitude of 67½ degrees, and finding the seas still open, said, that he might & would haue gon to Cataia, if the emnitie of the maister and mariners had not béene. Nevertheless, he went verie farre, euen to a nation inhabited with people more like beasts than men, as appeareth in the peare 1502, and the seuentéenth of this kings reigne, when the said traueller was returned, and presented himselfe to the kings maiestie.]

Anno Reg. 14.

In this yeare the warre had like to haue béene renewed betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland by a small occasion, as thus. Certeine youngmen of the Scots came arriued before Norham castell, & beheld it wonderous circumspectlie, as though they would faine haue béene of counsell to know what was done therein. The keepers not perceiuing anie damage attempted against them for the first time, determined not to moue anie question to them, or once to stirre out. But when they came againe the next day, and viewed it likewise, the kéepers of the castell suspecting some euill meaning, demanded of them what their intent was, and why they viewed and aduised so the castell. The Scots answered them roughlie with disdainfull words, so that the Englishmen fell to and replied with strokes; and after manie blowes giuen and receiued, diuerse Scots were wounded, and some slaine; and the residue ouermatched with multitude of the Englishmen, fled as fast as their horsses could carie them.

England and Scotland like lie to go together by the eares afresh.

The Scotish king hereof aduertised, was highlie displeased, and in all hast signified to king Henrie by his herald Marchemont, in what sort his people (to the breach of the truce) were abused and handled. King Henrie being not in will to breake with anie of his neighbours, excused the matter, affirming that he was not of knowledge to the misdemeanor of those that had the castell in képing; requiring the king of Scots not to thinke the truce broken for anie thing done without his consent; promising in the word of a king to inquire of the truth, and if the offense were found to be begun on the partie of the kéepers of the castell, he assured him that they should for no meed nor fauour escape due correction and punishment.

This answer (though it was more than reasonable) could not pacifie the king of Scots, till the bishop of Durham (that was owner of the castell of Norham) who sore lamented, that by such as he appointed kéepers there, the warre should be renewed) with sundrie letters written to the Scotish king, at length asswaged his displeasure, so that the said king wrote courteoulie to the bishop againe, signifieng that bicause he had manie secret things in his mind, which he would communicate onelie with him touching this matter now in variance; therefore he required him to take the paine to come into his countrie, trusting that he should thinke his labor well bestowed. The bishop was glad, and sent word hereof to the king his maister, who willed him to accomplish the desire of the Scotish king, which he tooke to bee reasonable.

The bishop of Durham asswageth the kings displeasure by leters.

At his comming into Scotland, he was courteoulie receiued of the king himselfe at the abbeie of Melrosse. And there, after the king had (for a countenance) complained much of the vniust slaughter of his men late committed at Norham: vpon the bishops gentle answers thervnto, he forgaue the same, and after began to talke secretlie without witnesses alone with the bishop. And first he declared what iust causes moued him in times past to séeke amitie with the king of England: which now he desired much more to haue confirmed, for further maintenance & increase thereof. Which he doubted not but should sort to a fortunate conclusion, if the king of England would vouchsafe to giue to him in matrimonie his first begotten daughter the ladie Margaret, vpon which point he purposed latelie to haue sent his ambassadors into England, which thing he would the sooner do if he knew the bishops mind therein to bée readie to further his sute. The bishop answered but few words, sauing that when he were returned to the king his maister, he would do the best in the matter that he could.

The bishop of Durham goeth into Scotland.

The Scotish king desireth the ladie Margaret eldest daughter of K. Henrie the seuenth to be his wife.

When the bishop was returned into England, and come to the king, he declared to him all the communication had betwéene king James and him, from point to point in order. The king liked well thereof, as he to whom peace was euer a souereigne solace and comfort. In this meane time Perkin Warbecke, disappointed of all hope to escape out of the Englishmens hands (which was the onelie thing that he most desired) found meanes yet at length to

1499

Perkin warbecke escapeth from his kæpers.

deceiue his kæpers, & tok him to his hæls. But when he came to the sea coasts, and could not passe, he was in a maruellous perpleritie: for euerie byway, lane, and corner was laid for him, and such search made, that being brought to his wits end, and out short of his pretensed iournie, he came to the house of Bethlem, called the priorie of Shene beside Richmond in Southerie, and betoke himselfe to the prior of that monasterie, requiring him for the honour of God, to beg his pardon of life of the kings maiestie.

The prior, which for the opinion that men had conceiued of his vertue, was had in great estimation, pitieng the wretched state of that caitife, came to the king, and shewed him of this Perkin, whose pardon he humblie craued, and had it as frælie granted. Incontinentlie after was Perkin brought to the court againe at Westminster, and was one day set fettered in a paire of stocks, before the doore of Westminster hall, and there stood a whole day, not without innumerable reproches, mocks and scornings. And the next daie he was caried through London, and set vpon a like scaffold in Cheape by the standard, with like gimmes and stocks as he occupied the daie before, and there stood all daie, and read openlie his owne confession, written with his owne hand, the verie copie whereof here insueth.

The confession of Perkin as it was written with his owne hand, which he read openlie vpon a scaffold by the standard in Cheape.

Perkin maketh an anatomie of his descent or linage.

IT is first to be knowne, that I was borne in the towne of Turneie in Flanders, and my fathers name is John Osbecke, which said John Osbecke was controllor of the said towne of Turneie, and my mothers name is Katharine de Faro. And one of my grandsires vpon my fathers side was named Diricke Osbeck, which died. After whose death my grandmother was married vnto Peter Flamin, that was receiuer of the forenamed towne of Turneie, & deane of the botemen that row vpon the water or riuer called le Scheld. And my grandsire vpon my mothers side was Peter de Faro, which had in his kæping the keies of the gate of S. Johns within the same towne of Turneie. Also I had an vncle called maister John Stalin, dwelling in the parish of S. Pias within the same towne, which had maried my fathers sister, whose name was Jone or Jane, with whome I dwelt a certeine season.

Perkins education or bringing vp.

And after I was led by my mother to Antwerpe for to learne Flemish, in a house of a cousine of mine, an officer of the said towne, called John Stienbecke, with whome I was the space of halfe a yeare. And after that I returned againe to Turneie, by reason of warres that were in Flanders. And within a yeare following I was sent with a merchant of the said towne of Turneie, named Berlo, to the mart of Antwerpe, where I fell sicke, which sickenesse continued vpon me fiue moneths. And the said Berlo set me to board in a skinners house, that dwelled beside the house of the English nation. And by him I was from thense caried to Barow mart, and I lodged at the signe of the old man, where I abode for the space of two moneths.

After this, the said Berlo set me with a merchant of Middleborow to seruice for to learne the language, whose name was John Strew, with whome I dwelt from Christmasse to Easter, and then I went into Portingall in companie of sir Edward Bramptons wife, in a ship which was called the quæns ship. And when I was come thither, then was I put in seruice to a knight that dwelled in Lushborne, which was called Peter Vacz de Cogna, with whome I dwelled an whole yeare, which said knight had but one eie. And bicause I desired to see other countries, I toke licence of him, and then I put my selfe in seruice with a Britan, called Pregent Meno, which brought me with him into Ireland. Now when we were there arriued in the towne of Corke, they of the towne (bicause I was arraied with some cloths of silke of my said maisters) came vnto me, & threatned vpon me that I should be the duke of Clarences sonne, that was before time at Dublin.

Perkin a notable landloper.

But forsomuch as I denied it, there was brought vnto me the holie euangelists, and the crosse, by the maior of the towne, which was called John Leweline, and there in the presence of him and others, I toke mine oth (as the truth was) that I was not the foresaid dukes sonne, nor none of his bloud. And after this came vnto me an Englishman, whose name was Stephan Poitron, and one John Water, and laid to me in swearing great oths, that they knew well that I was king Richards bastard sonne: to whome I answered with like oths, that I was not. Then they aduised me not to be afeard, but that I should take it vpon me boldlie: and if I would so dw, they would aid and assist me with all their power against the king of England; & not onelie they, but they were well assured, that the earle of Desmond & Kildare should dw the same.

The Irish would haue Perkin take vpon him to be the duke of Clarences sonne.

They beare Perkin downe with oths that he is king Richards bastard.

For they forced not what part they toke, so that they might be reuenged on the king of England: and so against my will made me to learne English, and taught me what I should dw and saie. And after this they called me duke of Yorke, second sonne to king Edward the fourth, bicause king Richards bastard sonne was in the hands of the king of England. And vpon this the said Water, Stephan Poitron, John Tiler, Hughbert Burgh, with manie others, as the foresaid earles, entered into this false quarell, and within short time others. The French K. sent an ambassador into Ireland, whose name was Loit Lucas, and maister Stephan Friham, to aduertise me to come into France. And thense I went into France, and from thense into Flanders, & from Flanders into Ireland, and from Ireland into Scotland, & so into England.

They call him duke of Yorke.

When

When the night of the same daie (being the fiftenth of June) was come, after he had stood all that daie in the face of the citie, he was committed to the Tower, there to remaine vnder safe keeping, least happilie he might eftsones run awaie, and escape out of the land, to put the king and realme to some new trouble. For he had a wonderfull dexteritie and readinesse to circumuent, a heart full of ouerreaching imaginations, an aspiring mind, a head more wilie (I wisse) than wittie; bold he was and presumptuous in his behauiour, as forward to be the instrument of a mischæfe, as anie deuiser of wickednesse would wish; a fiend of the diuels owne forging, nursed and trained vp in the studie of commotions, making offer to reach as high as he could loke; such was his inordinate ambition, wherewith he did swell as coueting to be a princes pere: much like the tode that would match the bull in drinking, but in the end she burst in peeces and neuer dranke more; as the poet telleth the tale (by the imitation of the fabler) saieng:

M. Pal. in Virg.

——cupiens æquare bibendo
Rana bouem, rupta nunquam bibit amplius aluo.

Anno Reg. 15. Patrike an Augustine Frier.

In this yeare was an Augustine frier called Patrike in the parties of Suffolke, the which hauing a scholer named Rafe Wilford (a shomakers sonne of London as Stow noteth) had so framed him to his purpose, that in hope to worke some great enterprise, as to disappoint the king of his crowne and seat roiall, toke vpon him to be the earle of Warwike, insomuch that both the maister and scholer hauing counselled betweene themselues of their enterprise, they went into Kent, & there began the yong mawmet to tell priuilie to manie, that he was the verie earle of Warwike, and latelie gotten out of the Tower, by the helpe of this frier Patrike. To which saieng when the frier perceiued some light credence to be giuen, he declared it openlie in the pulpit, and desired all men of helpe. But the danger of this seditious attempt was shortlie remoued and taken awaie, the maister and scholer being both apprehended and cast into prison and atteinted.

Rafe Wilford the counterfeit earle of Warwike.

The scholer was hanged on Shrouetuesdaie at saint Thomas Waterings, and the frier condemned to perpetuall prison. For at that time so much reuerence was attributed to the holie orders, that to a preest (although he had committed high treason against his souereigne lord) his life was spared, in like case as to anie other offendor in murther, rape, or theft, that had receiued anie of the three higher holie orders. [The cheefe cause (saith Edward Hall) of this fauour was this, bicause bishops of a long time and season did not take knowledge, nor intermix themselues with the search & punishment of such heinous and detestable offenses: by reason whereof they did not disgrade and depriue from the holie orders such malefactors and wicked persons, which without that ceremonie by the canon lawes could not be put to death.

The counterfeit earle is executed.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall, in Hen. 7. fol. lj. The cause why the clergie neuer so heinouslie offending was so fauoured.

Furthermore, what should a man saie, it was also vsed, that he that could but onelie read (yea although he vnderstood not what he read) how heinous or detestable a crime so euer he had committed (treason onelie excepted) should likewise as affines & alies to the holie orders be saued, and committed to the bishops prison. And to the intent that if they should escape, and be againe taken, committing like offense, that their liues be no more to them pardoned: it was ordeined that murtherers should be burnt on the brawne of the left hand with an hot iron signed with this letter M. and theeues in the same place with this letter T. So that if they, which were once signed with anie of these marks or tokens did reiterate like crime & offense againe, should suffer the paines and punishments which they had both merited and deserued. Which decree was enacted and established in a session of parlement kept in the time of this kings reigne, and taken (as I coniecture) of the French nation, which are wont, if they take anie such offendor, to cut off one of his eares, as a sure token and marke hereafter of his euill doing.]

Burning in the hand when enacted.

Perkin Warbecke (as before ye haue heard) being now in hold, by false persuasions and great promises corrupted his keepers, Stranguish, Blewet, Astwood, and long Roger, seruants to sir John Digbie lieutenant of the Tower. Insomuch that they (as it was at their arreignment openlie proued) intended to haue slaine their maister, and to haue set Perkin and the earle of Warwike at large. Which earle of Warwike had beene kept in prison within the Tower almost from his tender yeares, that is to saie, from the first yeare of the king, to this fiftenth yeare, out of all companie of men & sight of beasts, insomuch that he could not discerne a goose from a capon, and therefore by common reason and open apparance could not of himselfe seeke his owne death and destruction. But yet by the drift and offense of an other he was brought to his death and confusion.

Perkin corrupted his keepers.

Edward Plantagenet earle of Warwike a verie innocent.

For being made priuie of this enterprise deuised by Perkin and his complices, thereunto (as all naturall creatures loue libertie) he assented and agreed. But this craftie deuise and subtill imagination being reuealed, sorted to none effect, so that Perkin and John Awater sometime maior of Corke in Ireland, one of his cheefe founders, and his sonne, were on the sixteenth daie of November arreigned and condemned at Westminster. And on the three and twentith daie of the same moneth, Perkin and John Awater were drawne to Tiburne, where Perkin standing on a little scaffold, read his confession (as before he had done in Cheape side) taking it on his death to be true. And so he and John Awater asked the king forgiuenesse, and died patientlie.

Perkin and John Awater executed at Tiburne.

This was the reward of the feined glose and counterfeit comment of Perkin Warbecke, the which as by his false surmises in his life time had brought manie honourable personages to their deaths, and vndone manie an honest man: so now at his death he brought other of the same sort to their not altogither vndeserued punishment. And amongest others Edward Plantagenet the forenamed erle of Warwike, which (as the fame went) consented to breake prison, and to depart out of the realme with Perkin (which in prisoners is high treason) was the one and twentith daie of the said moneth arreigned at Westminster before the earle of Oxenford then high steward of England of the said treason, which (whether it were by inticement and persuasion of other, or of his owne free will manie doubted, bicause of his innocencie) confessed the fact, and submitted himselfe to the kings mercie; and vpon his confession had his iudgement, and according thervnto the eight and twentith daie of November in the yeare 1499, was brought to the scaffold on the Tower hill, and there beheaded.

Edward Plantagenet the yong earle of Warwike beheaded.

The fame after his death sprang abroad, that Ferdinando king of Spaine would make no full conclusion of the matrimonie to be had betweene prince Arthur and the ladie Katharine daughter to the said Ferdinando, nor send hir into England as long as this earle liued. For he imagined that so long as anie earle of Warwike liued, England should neuer be purged of ciuill warre and priuie sedition; so much was the name of Warwike in other regions had in feare and iealousie. The next yeare after there was a great plague, whereof men died in manie places verie sore; but speciallie and most of all in the citie of London, where died in that yeare thirtie thousand. The foure and twentith of February in this fiftenth

1500
A great plague.

Edward the kings third sonne christened.

yeares of this kings reigne his third son was christened and was named Edward. Also in this yeare was burned a place of the kings, called the manour of Shéene situate nigh the Thames side, which he after builded againe sumptuouslie, and changed the name of Shéene, and called it Richmond; bicause his father and he were earles of Richmond: or (as some note) for that so manie notable and rich iewels were there burnt. He also new builded Bainards castell in London, and repaired Grœnewich.]

The manour of Shéene burnt & Richmond built in place thereof. I.S. pag. 874.

The king, whether to auoid the danger of so great and perilous sickenesse, then raging, or to take occasion to commen with the duke of Burgognie, did personallie take his ship at Douer in the beginning of Maie, and sailed to Calis, whither the duke of Burgognie sent to him honourable personages in ambassage to welcome him into those parties, and to declare that the said duke would gladlie repaire personallie to his presence with such a number as the king should appoint, so that it were within no walled towne nor fortresse. For hauing denied the French king to enter into anie of his fortresses to talke with him, he would be loth now to giue a president to him to desire the like méeting. The king interteining the ambassadours, and thanking the duke of his courteous offer, appointed the place at saint Peters church without Calis.

King Henrie the seuenth saileth to Calis.

Upon tuesdaie in Whitsunweeke the archduke Philip came thither with a conuenient companie. The king and the quœne with manie a lustie lord and ladie rode thither to welcome him. [And when the king approched, the duke at his lighting offered to hold his stirrupe, which the king in no wise would suffer to be done. When the king was descended from his horsse, he and the archduke imbraced each other with most princelie familiaritie, and then the quœne and all the nobls saluted him.] And after most louing interteinments, bankettings, mirth, and pastime shewed amongest them, there was communication of marriages, treating of further strengthening of leagues, requests of tolles in Flanders to be minished: with manie other things touching the commoditie and traffike of both their countries. And when all things were set in order, the two princes toke their leaue, and departed; the king to Calis, and the archduke to S. Diners. After his departing, there came ambassadors from the French king, the lord Gronthouse gouernour of Picardie, and the lord Veruelliers bailiffe of Amiens, which declared to the king the getting of Millaine and taking of the duke. The king highlie feasted them, and rewarded them princelie at their departing.

The king of England and the duke of Burgognie met at saint Peters church without Calis. Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall, in Hen. 7. fol. lij.

Anno Reg. 16. Soone after, when the death was slaked, the king returned againe into England about the end of June. Shortlie after there came to him one Gasper Pons a Spaniard, a man of excellent learning and most ciuill behauiour, sent from Alexander the bishop of Rome to distribute the heauenlie grace (as he termed it) to all such as (letted by anie forceable impediment) could not come to Rome that yeare to the Jubile, which was there celebrate, being the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour, 1500. This beneuolent liberalitie was not altogither freelie giuen. For Alexander loking to the health of mens soules, thought to do somewhat for his owne priuat commoditie, & therefore he set a certeine price of that his grace and pardon. And to the end that the king should not hinder his purpose, he offered part of his gaines to the king.

A yeare of Jubile.

Pope Alexander maketh profit of his great pardon or heauenlie grace, as he termeth it.

And to colour the matter with some fauourable pretert, and to make men the better willing, & more readie to giue franklie, he promised with that monie to make warre against the Turke. By this meanes the pope got a great masse of monie, which he had conueied ouer vnto him by such trustie messengers (doubt you not) as he had appointed; and yet nothing done against the Turks, which in the meane season did much hurt to the christians. [For it was no part of his meaning (what colourable shew soeuer he made of tendering the succourlesse people) to impart anie portion thereof to so good a vse; but rather for the supportation of him and his swarme, who before they will bate an ace of their gorgeous gallantnesse, the whole world shalbe cousened. Such is the collusion of the pope, such be the shameless shifts of him and his cleargie for the maintenance of their owne courtlie brauerie, which is wicked vanitie; farre passing the pompe of anie prince, were the same of neuer so rare magnificence; as he well noteth that said full truelie:

Abr. Flem.

——immenso princeps non visus in orbe est,
Cui tanti fastus tantáue pompa fuit.
Ingreditur quando miseræ Babylonis in vrbes,
Cernitur hic pluſquam regia pompa comes.
Huic equus est ſpumans ostrô, insignis & auro,
Altisono cuius sub pede terra fremit, &c.]

Antich. Christ. & pape. pag. 38, 40.

About this time died three bishops in England, John Morton archbishop of Canturburie, Thomas Langton bishop of Winchester, and Thomas Rotheram archbishop of Yorke. After him succéeded Thomas Sauage bishop of London, a man of great honour and worthinesse: in whose place succéeded William Warham, of whome before is made mention. And Henrie Deane bishop of Salisburie, was made archbishop of Canturburie, and Richard Fox was removed from Durham to the sée of Winchester. Also this yeare two notable mariages were concluded, but not consummate till afterwards, as you shall heare in place conuenient. For king Henrie granted his daughter ladie Margaret to James the fourth king of Scots. And Ferdinando king of Spaine gaue his daughter ladie Katharine to Arthur prince of Wales, sonne and heire aparant to the king of England.

Three bishops dead in one yeare.

Two notable mariages.

1501

Katharine daughter to Ferdinando K. of Spaine affied to Arthur prince of wales.

Among other articles of the mariage concluded with the Scotish king this was one, that no English men should be receiued into Scotland without letters commendatorie of their souereigne lord, or safe conduct of his warden of the marches; and the same prohibition was in like maner giuen to the Scots. This yeare the ladie Katharine of Spaine was sent by hir father king Ferdinando with a puissant nauie of ships into England, where she arriued in the hauen of Plimmouth the second daie of October then being saturdaie. Upon the twelfe of Nouember she was conueied from Lambeth through London with all triumph and honour that might be deuised to the bishops palace, the stréets being hanged, and pageants erected after the maner as is vsed at a coronation: which solemnitie Edward Hall describeth with the sumptuous shewes then glistering in the beholders eies.

Anno Reg. 17

The fourth of October as Stow hath noted.

¶ I passe ouer (saith he) the wise deuises, the prudent spéeches, the costlie works, the cunning portratures, practised and set forth in seuen goodlie beautifull pageants, erected and set vp in diuerse places of the citie. I leaue also the goodlie ballades, the swéet harmonie, the musicall instruments, which sounded with heauenlie noise on euerie side of the streets. I omit further, the costlie apparell both of goldsmiths worke and imbroderie, the rich iewels, the massie chaines, the stirring horsses, the beautifull bards and the glittering trapers, both with belles and spangels of gold. I pretermit also the rich apparell of the princesse, the strange fashion of the Spanish nation, the beautie of the English ladies, the goodlie demeanure of the yong damosels, the amorous countenance of the lustie bachelers. I passe ouer also the fine ingrained clothes, the costlie furs of the citizens, standing

Abr. Flem. ex Edw. Hall fol. liij.

on

on scaffolds, raised from Gracechurch to Paules. What should I speake of the odoriferous scarlets, the fine veluets, the pleasant furres, the massie chaines, which the maior of London with the senat, sitting on horsebacke at the little conduit in Cheape, ware on their bodies and about their necks? I will not speake of the rich arras, the costlie tapestrie, the fine clothes both of gold and siluer, the curious veluets, the beautifull sattens, nor the pleasant silkes which did hang in euerie street where she passed, the wine that ran continuallie out of the conduits, and the graueling of the streets nédeth not to be remembred.]

Whilest this ladie sojourned for hir recreation in the bishops palace of London, being in the meane time visited of the king, the quéene, and the kings mother, there was erected in the bodie of S. Paules church a long bridge made of timber, extending from the west dore of the church to the step at the entring into the quære, which was six foot from the ground. On the said bridge or stage, euen directlie before the consistorie of the church, was a place raised like a mount for eight persons to stand vpon, compassed round about with steps to ascend and descend, which was couered with fine red worsted, and in likewise were all the railes of the said stage. On the north side of this mount was a place decked and trimmed for the king and quéene, and such other as they appointed to haue. On the south side of the same mount stood the maior and the magistrates of the citie.

When all things were prepared and set in order, vpon the fouretéenth of November then being sundaie, the foresaid ladie was led to the said mount, and there prince Arthur openlie espoused hir, both being clad in white, both lustie and amorous, he of the age of fiftéene and more, and she of the age of eightéene or thereabouts, the king and quéene standing priuilie on their stage. After the matrimonie celebrated, the prince and his wife went vp into the quære, and there heard a solemne masse song by the archbishop of Canturburie, associat with nineteene prelats mitred. And after the masse finished, the bride was led homewards to the bishops palace by the duke of Yorke being then a goodlie yong prince, and the legat of Spaine. Next after followed the ladie Cicilie sister to the quéene, supporting the traine of the spouse.

The solemnization of the mariage betweéne Arthur prince of Wales & Katharine daughter to the king of Spaine.

But to speake of all the solemne pompe, noble companie of lords and ladies, and what a sumptuous feast and plentifull was kept, with dansing and disguisings, words might soner faile than matter worthie of rehearsall. Howbeit euerie daie endeth and night insueth, and so when night was come, the prince and his beautifull bride were brought and ioined together in one bed, where they laie as man and wife all that night. ¶ Now when the morning appéered, the prince (as his familiar seruitors, which had then neither cause nor reward to lie or faine, openlie told the tale) called for drinke, which he before times was not accustomed to do. At which thing one of his chamberleines maruelling, asked the cause of his drouth. To whome the prince answered merilie, saieng; I haue this night béene in the middest of Spaine, which is a hot region, and that iournie maketh me so drie: and if thou haddest béene vnder that hot climat, thou wouldest haue béene drier than I.]

Edw. Hall fol. liij.

Shortlie after the king and the quéene, with the new wedded spouses went from Bainards castell by water to Westminster, on whom the maior and communaltie of London in barges gorgeouslie trimmed gaue their attendance. And there in the palace were such martiall feats, valiant iusts, vigorous turneis, and such fierce fight at the barriers, as before that time was of no man had in remembrance. Of this roiall triumph lord Edward duke of Buckingham was chiefe chalenger, and lord Thomas Greie marquesse Dorset chiefe defender, which with their aids and companions bare themselues so valiantlie, that they got great praise and honour, both of the Spaniards, and of their owne countriemen. During the time of these iusts and triumphs, were receiued into London, an earle, a bishop, and diuerse noble personages sent from the king of Scots into England, for conclusion of the mariage betwéene the ladie Margaret and him; which earle by proxie, in the name of king James his maister, affied and contracted the said ladie. Which affiance was published at Paules crosse, the daie of the conuersion of saint Paule: in reioising whereof *Te Deum* was song, and great fiers made through the citie of London.

Margaret eldest daughter to king Henrie affied to James king of Scots.

1502

These things being accomplished, the ambassadors as well of Spaine as Scotland toke their leaue of the king, & not without great rewards returned into their countries. When the ambassadors were departed, he sent his sonne prince Arthur againe into Wales, to kéepe that countrie in good order; appointing to him wise and expert councellors, as sir Richard Poole his kinsman, which was his chiefe chamberleine, also sir Henrie Vernon, sir Richard Crofts, sir Dauid Philip, sir William Vdall, sir Thomas Englefield, sir Peter Newton knights; John Walleston, Henrie Marton, & doctor William Smith, president of his councell, and doctor Charles; of the which two doctors, the one was after bishop of Lincolne, and the other bishop of Hereford.

Prince Arthur is sent into wales.

¶ This yeare John Shaw (who was maior of London) caused his brethren the aldermen to ride from the Guildhall vnto the water side, when he went to Westminster to be presented in the exchéker. He also caused the kitchens and other houses of office to be builded at the Guildhall, where since that time the maiors feasts haue béene kept, which before had béene in the grosers or tailors hall. About Easter, all the Greie friers in England changed their habit, for whereas of long time before they had vsed to weare browne russet of foure shillings, six shillings, and eight shillings the yard; now they were compelled to weare russet of two shillings the yard and not aboue, which was brought to passe by the friers of Grénewich. This yeare, the dike called Turnemill broke, with all the course of Flét dike, were so scowred downe to the Thames, that boates with fish and fewell were rowed vp to Holborne bridge, as they of old time had bene accustomed: which was a great commoditie to all the inhabitants in that part of London. Also the tower nére to the Blacke friers was taken downe by the commandement of the maior. Also this yeare were brought vnto the king three men taken in the new found Ilands, by Sebastian Gabato, before named in Anno 1468. These men were clothed in beasts skins, and eat raw flesh, but spake such a language as no man could vnderstand them, of the which three men, two of them were séene in the kings court at Westminster two yeares after, clothed like Englishmen, and could not be discerned from Englishmen.]

John Stow pag. 874, 875.

The maiors feast first kept at Guildhall.

Woollen cloth of two shillings the broode yard.

Dikes of Lõdon clensed.

Men brought from the new found Ilands.

A few moneths before the mariage of prince Arthur, Edmund de la Poole earle of Suffolke, sonne to John duke of Suffolke, and ladie Elizabeth sister to king Edward the fourth, being bold and rash withall, was indicted of murther, for sleaing of a meane person in his rage & furie. And although the king pardoned him whome he might iustlie haue put to death for that offense; yet bicause he was brought to the barre before the kings Bench, and arraigned (which fact he toke as a great blemish to his honour) shortlie after vpon that displeasure he fled into Flanders vnto his aunt the ladie Margaret, the king not being priuie to his going ouer. Neuertheless, whe-

Edmund erle of Suffolke flieth into Flaanders.

ther he was persuaded by his frends therevnto, whom the king had willed to deale with him therein; or whether vpon trust of his innocencie: true it is that he returned againe, and excused himselfe to the king, so that he thought him to be giltlesse of anie crime that might be obiected against him.

But when the mariage betwixt the prince & the ladie Katharine of Spaine was kept at London, this erle either for that he had passed his compasse in excessiue charges and sumptuousnesse at that great triumph and solemnitie, and by reason thereof was farre run into debt; either else through the procurement of his aunt the foresaid ladie Margaret; or pricked with some priuie enuie, which could not patientlie with open eies behold king Henrie (being of the aduerse faction to his linage) so long to reigne in wealth and felicitie: in conclusion with his brother Richard fled againe into Flanders. This departure of the earle sore vered the king, doubting of some new trouble to insue thereof.

The discontented mind of the earle of Suffolke.

The kings wonted policie now againe practised.

But yet to vnderstand the full meaning of the said earle, the king vsed his old setch: for immediatlie after the earle was fled, he appointed sir Robert Curson, whome he had aduanced to the order of knighthood, and made capteine of Hammes castell, a valiant man and a circumspect, to dissemble himselfe one of that conspiracie; who went into Flanders, to espie what was done there by the ladie Margaret, and hir nephue the earle of Suffolke. After that the said sir Robert Curson was thus gone into Flanders, the king to put him out of all suspicion with the said ladie Margaret and the earle, caused the said earle, and sir Robert Curson, and fiue persons more to be accursed at Paules crosse, the first sunday of November, as enimies to him and his realme.

To be breefe, the king by his meanes, and other such diligent inquisition as he made, tried out such as he suspected, partlie to be deuisers of mischefe against him, and partlie to beare no sincere affection towards his person, so that he could readilie name them whereof a great part were within few daies apprehended and taken. And amongst them William lord Courtneie, sonne to the earle of Deuonshire, which maried the ladie Katharine, daughter to king Edward the fourth; lord William de la Pole, brother to the foresaid earle of Suffolke, sir James Tirrell, & sir John Windam. Both the Williams were rather taken of suspicion, bicause they were so neere of kin to the conspirator, than for anie proued matter. But sir James Tirrell and John Windam, bicause they were traitors, and so attainted, the first daie of Maie after their apprehension, they were on the Tower hill beheaded.

Tirrell and Windam beheaded.

When the earle of Suffolke heard what fortune thus happened to his frends, as one in vtter despaire to haue anie good successe in his pretensed enterprise, wandred about all Germanie and France, to purchase some aid and succour, if by anie means he might. But when he perceiued no stedfast ground to catch anchor hold vpon, he submitted himselfe vnder the protection of Philip archduke of Austrich. But his brother Richard, being a politike man, so wiselie ordered himselfe in this stormie tempest, that he was not intraped either with net or snare. The king not yet out of all doubt of ciuill sedition, bicause a great number of euill disposed persons partakers of this conspiracie, were fled into sundrie sanctuaries, deuised to haue all the gates of sanctuaries and places priuileged shut and locked vp, so that none should issue out from thence to perturbe and disquiet him.

And for that intent he wrote vnto pope Alexander, desiring him by his authoritie to adiudge all Englishmen, being fled to sanctuarie for the offense of treason as enimies to the christian faith, interdicting and prohibiting the refuge and priuilege of sanctuarie to all such, as once had enioied the libertie and protection of the same, and after that fled out, and eftsoones returned againe. Which thing after that the pope had granted, turned to the great quietnesse of the king and his realme. For manie that had offended, for feare to fall into danger, returned to the due subiection of their prince; and other that were yet free from perill, durst not hazard themselues so boldlie as they durst haue done before, vpon hope of such starting holes.

Sanctuaries restrained.

When the king had thus setled things to his owne contentation and pleasure, there suddenlie happened to him a lamentable chance. For that noble prince Arthur, the kings first begotten sonne, after he had beene maried to the ladie Katharine his wife, the space of fiue moneths, departed out of this transitorie life, in his castell of Ludlow, and with great funerall obsequie was buried in the cathedrall church of Worcester. His brother the duke of Yorke was stated from the title of Prince by the space of a moneth, till to women it might appeare whether the ladie Katharine wife to the said prince Arthur was conceiued with child or not. [It is reported that this ladie Katharine thought and feared such dolorous chance to come: for when she had imbraced hir father, and taken hir leaue of hir noble and prudent mother, and sailed towards England, she was continuallie so tossed and tumbled hither and thither with boisterous winds, that what for the rage of the water, and contrarietie of the winds, hir ship was prohibited diuerse times to approach the shore and take land.]

The death of Arthur prince of wales.

Edw. Hall in Hen. 7. fol. lv.

In this eightéenth yeare, the twentie fourth daie of Ianuarie, a quarter of an houre afore three of the clocke at after noone of the same daie, the first stone of our ladie chapell within the monasterie of Westminster was laid, by the hands of John Islip abbat of the same monasterie, sir Reginald Braie knight of the garter, doctor Barnes maister of the rolles, doctor Wall chapleine to the kings maiestie, maister Hugh Oldham chapleine to the countesse of Darbie and Richmond the kings mother, sir Edward Stanhope knight, and diuerse others. Vpon the same stone was this scripture ingraued: *Illustrissimus Henricus septimus rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & dominus Hiberniæ, posuit hanc petram in honore beatæ virginis Mariæ, 24. die Ianuarij, anno Domini* 1502. *Et anno dicti regis Henrici septimi, decimo octauo.* The charges whereof amounted (as some report, vpon credible information as they saie) to foure téene thousand pounds.

Anno Reg. 18. 1503

King Henrie the seuenths chapell at westminster first builded.

Quéene Elizabeth lieng within the Tower of London, was brought a bed of a faire daughter on Candlemasse daie, which was there christened and named Katharine; and the eleuenth of the same moneth the said quéene there deceased, and was buried at Westminster, whose daughter also liued but a small season after hir mother. [King Henrie the seauenth being himselfe a brother of the tailors companie in London, as diuerse other his predecessors kings before him had béene (to weet Richard the third, Edward the fourth, Henrie the first, Henrie the fift, Henrie the fourth, and Richard the second; also of dukes eleuen, earles eight and twentie, and lords eight and fortie) he now gaue to them the name and title of merchant tailors, as a name of worship to indure for euer. This yeare, about the later end of March, the prior of the Charterhouse of Shene was murthered in a cell of his owne house, by meanes of one Godwine, a monke of the same cloister, and his adherents artificers of London. A drie summer, hauing no notable raine from Whitsuntide to the later ladie daie in haruest.

Abr. Fl. ex L. pag. 876.

Six kings of England brethren with the tailors companie in London, before they were intituled merchant tailors

Prior of Shene murthered.

A drie summer.

The eightéenth of Februarie, the king at his palace

lace of Westminster created his onelie sonne Henrie prince of Wales, earle of Chester, &c: who afterward succéeded his father in possession of the regall crowne of this realme. Moreouer, this yeare also, after the decease of that noble quæne, for hir vertue commonlie called good quæne Elizabeth, departed out of this world also sir Reginald Braie knight of the garter, a verie father of his countrie, for his high wisedome and singular loue to iustice well worthie to beare that title. If anie thing had béene done amisse contrarie to law and equitie, he would after an humble sort plainelie blame the king, and giue him good aduertisement, that he should not onelie reforme the same, but also be more circumspect in anie other the like case. Of the same vertue and faithfull plainnesse was John Morton archbishop of Canturburie, which died (as is shewed aboue) two yeares before.

Sir Reginald Braie his death.

Iust cõmendations of Morton archbishop of Canturburie and sir Reginald Braie.

So these two persons were restrainers of the kings vnbridled libertie; whereas the common people (ignorant altogither of the truth in such matters) iudged and reported, that the counsell of those two worthie personages corrupted the kings cleane and immaculate conscience, contrarie to his princelie disposition and naturall inclination; such is euer the errour of the common people. ¶About this time died Henrie the archbishop of Canturburie, whose rome doctor William Warham bishop of London supplied. And to the sée of London William Barnes was appointed, and after his death succéeded one Richard fitz James. This yeare also the lord Casimire marquesse of Brandenburgh, accompanied with an earle, a bishop, and a great number of gentlemen well apparrelled, came in ambassage from the emperor Maximilian, and were triumphantlie receiued into London, and lodged at Crosbies place.

Edw. Hall Hen. 7. fol.

Casimire ambassadour from the emperour Maximilian.

Their message was for three causes, one to comfort the king in his time of heauinesse for the losse of his wife. The second for the renewing of amitie, and the old league. The third (which was not apparant) was to moue the king to marie the emperours daughter, the ladie Margaret, duchesse Dowager of Sauoie. The two first toke effect: for the king vpon Passion sundaie road to Paules in great triumph, the said marquesse riding on his left hand. And there the bishop made to the king an excellent consolatorie oration concerning the death of the quéene. And there also the king openlie sware to kéepe the new renued league and amitie during their two liues. But the third request (whether the let was on the mans side, or on the womans) neuer sorted to anie conclusion.

The ladie Margaret the kings daughter, affied (as yée haue heard) to the king of Scots, was appointed to be conueied into Scotland, by the earle of Surrie: and the earle of Northumberland, as warden of the marches, was commanded to deliuer hir at the confines of both the realmes. And so hereupon, after hir comming to Berwike, she was conueied to Lamberton kirke in Scotland, where the king of Scots, with the flower of all the nobles and gentlemen of Scotland, was readie to receiue hir: to whome the earle of Northumberland (according to his commission) deliuered hir. The said earle of Northumberland that daie, what for the riches of his coat being goldsmiths worke, garnished with pearle and stone, and what for the gallant apparell of his Henchmen, and braue trapers of his horsse, beside foure hundred tall men well horsed and apparelled in his colours, was estéemed both of the Scots and Englishmen more like a prince than a subiect.

The sumptuous araie of the earle of Northumberland.

The mariage betweene the K. of Scots & ladie Margaret king Henries eldest daughter.

From Lamberton, the foresaid ladie was conueied to Edenburgh, and there the daie after, king James the fourth, in the presence of all his nobilitie, espoused hir, and feasted the English lords, and shewed iusts and other pastimes verie honourablie, after the fashion of that countrie. And after all things were finished according to their commission, the erle of Surrie with all the English lords and ladies returned into their countrie. In this yeare the king kept his high court of parlement, in the which diuerse acts estéemed necessarie for the preseruation of the common-wealth were established: and amongst other, it was enacted, that théeues and murtherers duelie conuicted by the law to die, and yet saued by their books, should be committed to the bishops custodie. After this, a subsidie was granted, both of the temporaltie, and spiritualtie, and so that parlement ended.

Anno Reg. 19.

But the king now drawing into age, and willing to fill his chests with aboundance of treasure, was not satisfied with this onelie subsidie, but deuised an other meane how to inrich himselfe, as thus. He considered that the Englishmen little regarded the kéeping of penall lawes, and pecuniall statutes, deuised for the good preseruation of the common-welth. Wherefore he caused inquisition to be made of those that had transgressed anie of the same lawes, so that there were but few noble men, merchants, farmers, husbandmen, graziers, or occupiers, that could cléerlie proue themselues faultlesse, but had offended in some one or other of the same lawes. At the first, they that were found giltie were easilie fined. But after, there were appointed two maisters and surueiors of his forfeits, the one sir Richard Empson, and the other Edmund Dudleie.

The king couetous in his old age. 1504

Richard Empson & Edmund Dudleie.

These two were learned in the lawes of the realme, who meaning to satisfie their princes pleasure, and to sée their commission executed to the vttermost, séemed little to respect the perill that might insue. Whereupon they being furnished with a sort of accusers, commonlie called promoters, or (as they themselues will be named) informers, troubled manie a man, whereby they wan them great hatred, and the king (by such rigorous proceedings) lost the loue and fauour which the people before time had borne towards him; so that he for setting them a worke, and they for executing of it in such extreame wise, ran into obloquie with the subiects of this realme.

Promoters.

¶On the thirteenth of Nouember was holden within the palace of the archbishop of Canturburie, at Lambeth, the sergeants feast, where dined the king and all his nobles. And vpon the same day, Thomas Granger, newlie chosen shiriffe of London, was presented before the barons of the kings exchequer, there to take his oth, and after went with the maior vnto the same feast, which saued him monie in his purse; for if that day that feast had not béene kept, he must haue feasted the maior, aldermen, and others, worshipfull of the citie. This feast was kept at the charge of ten learned men, newlie admitted to bée sergeants to the kings law, whose names were, Robert Brudnell, William Greuill, Thomas Marow, George Edgore, John Pore, John Cutler, Thomas Eliot, Lewes Pollard, Guie Palmis, William Fairefax. On the one and twentith of Nouember at night, began a perilous fier at the signe of the panier vpon London bridge, néere to saint Magnus church; where sir tenements were burned yer the same could be quenched. On the seuenth of Ianuarie, were certeine houses consumed with fire against saint Butolphes church in Thames street. On the fiue and twentith of Ianuarie began a parlement at Westminster, of the which was chosen speaker for the commons, maister Edmund Dudleie.]

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 876. Sergeants feast whereat were the king and all his nobles at dinner.

Fire on London bridge.

Fire.

Parlement.

A new coine of siluer was ordeined of grotes and halfe grotes, which bare but halfe faces; and some péeces of the value of twelue pense were then stamped,

Anno reg. 20.

stamped, though very few of that sort came abroad.

Alum déere. In this yeare, alum, which manie yeares had bene sold for sir shillings an hundred, and lower, arose to fiue nobles an hundred, and after to foure marks, &c.

Sir William Capell, who for this yeare was maior, caused in euerie ward of London a cage with a paire of stocks, therein to punish vagabunds. Also he caused all Hunsditch to be ouerpaued, which manie yeares before lay full noiouslie and perilouslie for all trauellers that way. About Christmas, the more part of the prisoners of the Marshalsee in Southwarke brake out, and manie of them being shortlie after taken, were put to execution, speciallie those which had laine for felonie or treason. On the fifteenth of Aprill, a monie maker, one of the coiners of the Tower, was drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged.

Cages and stockes ordeined.

Hunsditch paued.

Prisoners of the Marshalsee brake out.

¶ In this twentith yeare (saith one of Excester) the king (hauing some need of monie) was by his councell aduised (by way of beneuolence) to leuie the same vpon the whole realme, as well of the cleargie as of the laitie. And for the same, commissioners were assigned accordinglie. For the cleargie, Richard For, sometime bishop of Excester, but now of Winchester, a verie wise, graue, and trustie councellor, was appointed chiefe commissioner, and had the chiefest dealing therein. He at daies and times appointed, assembled the cleargie before him, and (according to the trust committed vnto him) he persuaded them by all the meanes he could, to be liberall contributors to the king, considering his present need, and who (for their causes, & the safetie of all the common-wealth) was now to vse and imploie some monie.

John Hooker, *alias* Vowell. A beneuolence put into the kings head to be leuied ouer the whole land.

The cleargie of two sorts, and both desirous to spare their purses.

The cleargie was of two sorts, the one shewing themselues as they were wealthie, sæmelie, & comelie; the other pretending that which was not, pouertie, barenesse, and scarsitie: but both were of one mind, and deuised all the waies they could to saue their purses. The first being called, alledged that they were dailie at great charges and expenses in keeping of hospitalitie, in mainteining themselues, their house and familie; besides extraordinaries which dailie did grow and increase vpon them: and by that meanes they were but bare and poore, and praied that they might be borne withall, and pardoned for that time.

The other sort alledged, that their liuings were but small and slender, and scarse able to mainteine themselues withall, which compelled them to go bare, and to liue a hard and a poore life, and therefore (they hauing nothing) praied that they might be excused. The bishop when he had heard them at full, and well considered thereof, verie wittilie, and with a prettie dilemma answered them both, saieng to the first: It is true, you are at great charges, and are well beséene in your apparell, well mounted vpon your faire palfreies, and haue your men waiting vpon you in good order; your hospitalitie is good, and your dailie expenses are large, and you are for the same well reported amongst your neighbours; all which are plaine demonstrations of your wealth and abilitie, otherwise you would not be at such voluntarie charges.

The wisdome of bishop Fox in procuring these cleargie men to be contributors to this beneuolence.

"Now hauing store to spend in such order, there is no reason, but that to your prince you should much more be well willing & readie to yéeld your selues contributorie and dutifull, and therefore you must paie. To the other sort he said: Albeit your liuings be not of the best, yet good, sufficient, and able to mainteine you in better estate than you do implote it: but it appeareth that you are frugall and thriftie men; and what others do voluntarilie spend in apparell, house, and familie, you warilie do kéepe, and haue it to lie by you; and therefore it is good reason that of your store you should spare with a good will and contribute to your prince; wherefore be contented, for you shall paie. And so by this prettie dilemma he reduced them to yeeld a good paiment to the king.]

They are persuaded to contribute.

1505

The king after he had gotten a great masse of monie togither, hauing pitie on the people, which oppressed with the sharpe proceedings of his grædie officers, cried daily to God for vengeance, ment to haue depriued them of their offices (as some write) & that such monie as had bæne violentlie eracted, should haue bæne restored and deliuered againe, if he had not bene preuented by death. And yet by his last will he commanded that it should be dulie and trulie performed, but in the meane season many mens coffers were emptied. [¶ Thomas Kneisworth maior of London for this yeare, of his owne goods, builded the conduit at Bishops gate. He gaue to the fishmongers certeine tenements, for the which they be bound to find foure scholers that studie art; two at Oxford, and two at Cambrige, euerie of them foure pounds the yeare. They be bound also to giue to twelue aged poore people of their companie, to euerie one of them at Bartholomew tide a winter garment for euer. Also to giue to the prisoners of Ludgate and Newgate euerie yeare fortie shillings, &c. The fift of Januarie in the night, the kings chamber was fired at Richmond, the which might not be quenched, till manie curteins, carpets, rich beds, and much other stuffe was consumed.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 878.

Conduit at Bishops gate builded.

Richmond on fire.

In this verie season, and the peare of our Lord 1506, Elizabeth quæne of Castile died without issue male, by reason whereof the inheritance of Castile (because that kingdome is not partible) descended to ladie Jane hir eldest daughter by king Ferdinando, the which was maried to Philip archduke of Austrich. Wherefore the yeare following, about the first day of Januarie, hauing a great nauie prepared, he intituled now king of Castile, sailed out of Flanders with his wife towards Spaine; but by a mightie tempest of wind and foule weather, the whole nauie was dispersed and sparkled abroad in diuerse places on the coasts of England. The kings ship with two other vessels were blowne by tempest on the west part of the realme, to the port of Weimouth in Dorsetshire. The king being wearied with the tossing of the seas, as one not accustomed thereto, contrarie to the mind of his councellors, came on land to refresh himselfe.

Anno Reg. 21.

1506

Philip archduke of Austrich landeth in the west parts of England.

When it was knowne that strange ships were arriued in that place, there came thither a great number, as well of gentlemen as commons of the countrie, to beat them backe if they proued to be enimies. But when they perceiued that the king of Spaine was there driuen on land by force of weather, sir Thomas Trenchard knight, chéefe of that companie, went with great humblenesse vnto him, and did what he could to haue him to his house, being not farre off, and so to cause him to stay, till such time as king Henrie might be certified of his arriuall; to whome with all spéed he sent diuerse posts to aduertise him of king Philips landing. In this meane while came people in from all sides, vpon knowlege of this strange princes comming. And among other there came sir John Carew, with a goodlie band of piked men. Which sir John and sir Thomas Trenchard intreated the king of Castile not to depart, vntill such time as he had spoken with the king.

The king of Castile excused him by necessitie of his weightie enterprise: but when he perceiued that if he would proffer to go once aboord to his ships againe, he might be letted, and was like so to bée; hée thought good rather to assent to their humble request and so seeme to gratifie them; than by denieng it to procure their euill willes, and yet neuer the nærer of his purpose. When king Henrie was informed of his landing, he was right glad therof, and wrote vnto

to sir John Carew, and to sir Thomas Trenchard, that they should interteine him in the most honorable sort they could deuise, till he might come himselfe in person to welcome him. Beside this, he sent the earle of Arundell with manie lords and knights to attend vpon him. Which earle (according to the kings letters) receiued him with three hundred horsses, all by torchlight, to the great admiration of the strangers.

The king of Castile interteined honorable.

King Philip seeing no remedie but that he must needs tarie, would no longer gaze after king Henries comming, but toke his iournie toward Windsore castell, where the king laie: and fiue miles from Windsore the prince of Wales, accompanied with fiue earles, and diuerse lords and knights, and other to the number of fiue hundred persons gorgiouslie apparelled, receiued him after the most honorable fashion. And within halfe a mile of Windsore, the king, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, and a great part of the nobilitie of this realme, welcomed him, & so conueied him to the castell of Windsore, where he was made companion of the noble order of the garter. After him came to Windsore his wife queene Jane, sister to the princesse Dowager, late wife to prince Arthur.

King Henrie desireth to haue Edmund de la Poole earle of Suffolke deliuered into his hands.

After the two kings had renewed & confirmed the league and amitie betwixt them, king Henrie desired to haue Edmund de la Poole earle of Suffolke to be deliuered into his hands. To whome the king of Castile answered, that he verelie was not within his dominion: and therefore it laie not in him to deliuer him. In deed he was loth to be the authour of his death that came to him for succour, and was receiued vnder his protection: yet vpon the earnest request and assured promise of king Henrie (that he would pardon him of all executions and paines of death) be granted to king Henries desire; and so incontinentlie caused the said earle secretlie to be sent for. After this, to protract time till he were possessed of his preie, king Henrie conueied the king of Castile vnto the citie of London, that he might see the head citie of his realme.

Then he led him from Bainards castell by Cheape to Barking; and so returned by Watling street againe: during which time there was shot out of the Tower a wonderfull peale of ordinance. But he would not enter into the Tower, because (as ye haue heard before) he had aduowed not to enter the fortresse of anie forren prince, in the which a garrison was mainteined. From London the king brought him to Richmond, where manie notable feates of armes were prooued both of tilt, turnie, and barriers. In the meane season the erle of Suffolke, perceiuing what hope was to be had in forreine princes, and trusting that after his life to him once granted, king Henrie would brèeflie set him at his full libertie, was in maner contented to returne againe into his native countrie.

The king of Castiles vow inuiolablie kept.

When all pacts and couenants betwéene the kings of England and Castile were appointed, concluded, and agréed; king Philip toke his leaue of king Henrie, yéelding to him most heartie thanks for his high chéere and princelie interteinement. And being accompanied with diuers lords of England, he came to the citie of Excester, and so to Falmouth in Cornewall, and there taking ship sailed into Spaine, where shortlie after he died being thirtie yeares of age. He was of stature conuenient, of countenance amiable of bodie somewhat grosse, quicke witted, bold and hardie stomached. The tempest that he suffered on the sea was huge, and wonderfull also vpon the land, insomuch that the violence of the wind blew downe an eagle of brasse, being set to shew on which part the wind blew, from a pinacle or spire of Paules church, and in the falling, the same eagle brake and battered an other eagle that was set vp for a signe at a tauerne doore in Cheapeside.

The death & description of Philip king of Spaine.

Hereupon men that were giuen to gesse things that should happen by marking of strange tokens, deemed that the emperour Maximilian, which gaue the eagle, should suffer some great misfortune: as he did shortlie after by the losse of his sonne, the said king Philip. ¶ And suerlie these prodigious accidents are not to be omitted as matter of course; for they haue their weight, and shew their truth in the issue. Examples in this booke be diuerse, among which one is verie memorable, mentioned in the thirtie & ninth yeare of Henrie the first. At what time the duke of Norke making an oration to the lords of the parlement, for the iustifieng of his title to the crowne, it chanced that a crowne which hong in the middle of the nether house (to garnish a branch to set lights vpon) without touch of man or blast of wind suddenlie fell downe. About which season also fell downe the crowne which stood on the top of Douer castell. Which things were construed to be signes that the crowne of the realme should some waie haue a fall; and so it came to passe.

Prodigious tokens or accidents haue their issue in truth.

See pag. 857.

And because the euents of these foreshewes had their truth, as manie more of the like nature; it shall not be amisse here to ad (by waie of digression) what hath béene obserued in former ages by forren writers in and about such foretokens. The consent of the heauens and of men, pronounced to Italie their calamities to come: for that such as made profession to haue iudgement either by science or diuine inspiration in the things to come, assured with one voice that there were in preparing, both more great mutations and more strange and horrible accidents, than for manie woorlds before had bene discerned in anie part or circuit of the earth. There were seene in the night in Pouille three suns in the middest of the firmament, but manie clouds about them, with right fearefull thunders and lightnings. In the territorie of Aretze, were visiblie seene passing in the aire, infinit numbers of armed men vpon mightie horsses, with a terrible noise of drums and trumpets. The images & figures of saints did sweat in manie parts of Italie.

Abr. Flem. ex Guic. pag. 46.

Three suns seene at once in the night.

In euerie place of the countrie were brought forth manie monsters of men and other creatures, with manie other things against the order of nature concurring all at one time, but in diuerse places: by means whereof the people were caried into incredible feares, being alreadie amazed with the brute of the French powers & furie of that nation, with which (according to the testimonie of histories) they had afore time run ouer all Italie, sacked and made desolate with fire and sword the citie of Rome, and subdued in Asia manie prouinces; and generallie no part of the world which had not felt the vertue of their armes. But albeit these iudgements are oftentimes fallible, and rather coniectures vncerteine, than effects happening: yet the accidents that drew on, brought to them, in the spirits of fraile men, an absolute faith, credit, & religion. So that there is in foreshewes matter of moment worthie to be obserued, howsoeuer the world lulled asléep in the lap of securitie is touched with no feare of change. But alas the Heathen could see the contrarie, and therefore said:

Omnia mortali mutantur lege creata,
Nec se cognoscunt terræ veteribus annis
Exutas variam faciem per secula gentes.]

Manil. lib. Astr. 1.

But to returne to our owne storie. Shortlie after the departing of king Philip, the king of England began to suspect sir George Neuill lord of Aburgauenie, and sir Thomas Greene of Greenes Norton, as partakers in the beginning of the conspiracie with the earle of Suffolke; and so vpon that suspicion they

they were commanded to the Tower. But shortlie after, when they had béene tried and purged of that suspicion, he commanded them both to be set at libertie. But sir Thomas Gréene fell sicke before, and remained in the Tower, in hope to be restored to his health as well as to his libertie, but by death he was preuented. [And here bicause it is good to see the consent of histories in the report of accidents, it shall not be amisse to repeat the entier relation of a late writer stranger touching this casualtie which befell to king Philip, in such sort to be cast vpon the English coasts; as also the promise of the said king to deliuer the duke of Suffolke into the hands of king Henrie, with the cause (as it is supposed) why the king desired to haue him within his owne reach.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 355. King Philip saileth out of Flanders into Spaine.

¶ King Philip was imbarked to saile out of Flanders into Spaine with a great armie by sea; and to reduce his going to a more facilitie and safetie (for he feared least his father in law by the aid of the French would hinder his passage) he practised the Spanish subtilties, and agréed with him to leaue vnto him the managing and policie of the most part of affaires, and that they should take in common the title of king of Spaine, according to the example in the quenes time: and lastlie, that the reuenues and tributes should be diuided in an order certeine & indifferent. By reason of which accord, his father in law, notwithstanding he was not assured of the obseruation, sent him into Flanders manie ships to furnish his voiage: with the which, hauing imbarked his wife, and Ferdinand his second sonne, he toke his course into Spaine with forward winds, which, within two dais turning cleane contrarie, after his nauie had runne a dangerous fortune, and made a wearie resistance against the furie of the sea, his ships were cast vpon sundrie coasts of England and Britaine; his owne person with two or three ships being driuen with manifest perill vpon England into the hauen of Southhampton.

King Philip cast by casualtie of sea vpon the coasts of England.

Whereof Henrie the seuenth then king of that nation being aduertised, sent to him with spéed manie barons to do him honour, and desire him to come to his court, then at London: a request which Philip could not denie, the king of Englands demand béeing no lesse honourable, than his owne estate full of necessitie and nakednesse. He remained in the court of England, vntill all his nauie was reassembled, and essones rigged, making in the meane while betwéene them new capitulations: wherein albeit Philip in all other things held himselfe vsed as a king, yet in this one thing complained, that he was constreined as a prisoner, to consent to redeliuer to K. Henries hands the duke of Suffolke, whom he held prisoner within the castell of Namur, and whom the king of England desired much to haue in his power, for that he quarrelled the title of the crowne, pretending the right of the kingdome to apperteine to him: onelie the king of England assured Philip by the faith and word of a king, that he would not put him to death. Which he did as iustlie performe, as he had honorablie promised, keeping him in prison so long as he liued, and afterwards was beheaded vnder the reigne and commandement of his sonne.]

Philip promiseth to redeliuer to king Henrie the duke of Suffolke.

Anno Reg. 22.

This yeare the king began to be diseased of a certeine infirmitie, which thrise euerie yeare, but specially in the springtime sore vexed him. And bicause for the most part the harme that chanceth to the prince, is parted with his subiects, the sweating sicknesse, which (as ye haue heard) in the first yeare of the king first afflicted the people of this realme, now assailed them againe; howbeit by the remedie found at the begining of it, nothing the like number died thereof now this second time, as did at the first time till the said remedie was inuented. But now the third plage equall to the pestilence insued, by the working of the masters of the forfeitures, and such informers as were appointed thereto. By whose meanes manie a rich & wealthie person by the extremitie of the lawes of the realme were condemned and brought to great losse and hinderance.

The sweting sicknesse eftsones returneth.

A great part of which their vndoings procéeded by the inconuenience of such vnconscionable officers, as by the abuse of exigents outlawed those that neuer heard, nor had knowledge of the sutes commensed against them, of which hard and sharpe dealing (the harme that thereof insueth considered) if the occasion might be taken awaie by some other more reasonable forme and order of law deuised, whereby the parties might haue personall warning, it would both preserue manie an innocent man from vndeserued vexation, and danger of vnmercifull losse of goods; and also redound highlie to the commendation of the prince, and such other as chanced to be reformers of that colourable law, where they be called onelie in the counties without other knowledge giuen to them or theirs at their dwelling houses.

But now to returne. Such maner of outlawries, old recognisances of the peace, and good abearings, escapes, riots, & innumerable statutes penall, were put in execution, and called vpon by Empson and Dudleie; so that euerie man, both the spiritualtie and temporaltie, hauing either lands or substance, were inuited to that plucking banket. For these two rauening woolues had a gard of false periured persons apertaining to them, which were impanelled in euerie quest. Learned men in the law, when they were required of their aduise, would say; To agrée is the best counsell that I can giue you. By this vndue meanes, these couetous persons filled the kings coffers, and inriched themselues. And at this vnreasonable and extort doing, noble men grudged, meane men kicked, poore men lamented, preachers openlie at Poules crosse and other places exclamed, rebuked, and detested. Howbeit the good king in his last daies conserued and pardoned his poore subiects of such vncharitable yokes and ponderous burdens as they were laden withall.

Ed. Hall in Hen. 7. fol. 59.

1507

Sir Gilbert Talbot knight, and Richard Bere abbat of Glastenburie, and doctor Robert Sherborne deane of Poules, were sent as ambassadors from the K. to Rome, to declare to Pius the third of that name newlie elected pope in place of Alexander the first deceased, what ioy and gladnesse had entered the kings heart for his preferment. But he taried not the coming of those ambassadors, for within a moneth after that he was installed, he rendered his debt to nature, and so had short pleasure of his promotion [not beguiling the hopes which the cardinals conceiued of him at the time of his creation, the six & twentith day after his election, which was in short time to die. This popes name was Francis Piccolomini cardinall of Sienna, in whom was no expectation of long life, both for his extreame age, and present sickenesse: a cardinall sure of vnspotted report, and for his other conditions not vnworthie that degrée; who to renew the memorie of Pius secundus his vncle, toke vpon him the name of Pius the third.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 314.

Pag 312.

Pag 307.

He succéeded Alexander the first, who went to supper in a vineyard néere the Vatican to reioise in the delight & pleasure of the fresh aire, & was suddenlie caried for dead to the bishops palace; his sonne also communicating in the same accident, but with better fortune. For the day following, which was the eightenth day of August, the dead corps of the pope (according to custome) was borne into the church of saint Peter, blacke, swolne, and most deformed; most manifest signes of poison. But Valentinois, what by the vigour and strength of his youth, and readie helpe of strong

strong medicines and counterpoisons, had his life saued, remaining notwithstanding oppressed with long and grieuous sickenesse: it was assuredlie beléeued that the accident proceeded of poison, the discourse whereof (according to common report) was in this sort.

A practise of custome by poison to an ill purpose vsed.

The duke Valentinois, who was to be present at that supper, had determined to poison Adrian cardinall of Cornette, reseruing that time and place to execute his bloudie resolution: for it is most certeine that in his father and him were naturall customes to vse poison, not onelie to be reuenged of their enimies, or to be assured of suspicions; but also vpon a wicked couetousnesse, to despoile rich men of their goods, whether they were cardinals or courtiers, although they had neuer done them wrong, as hapned to the cardinall saint Ange, who was verie rich. This maner of rage they would vse also against their greatest friends & familiars, and such as had bin their most faithfull seruants, such as were the cardinals of Capua and Modeno: a recompense vnworthie the merits of good men, and not disagréable to the disposition of such a father and sonne, whereof the one made all things lawfull by vile dispensation; and with the other nothing was dishonest wherein was opportunitie to his purposes. The duke Valentinois sent before certeine flagons with wine infected with poison, which he gaue to a seruant that knew nothing of the matter, commanding that no person should touch them.

A commandement preiudiciall to his maister, as the ignorance of the seruant was the instrument in the euill that happened both to the father and son. Such is the sufferance of God, who in the execution of his iudgements raiseth one murtherer to kill another, & breaketh the brands of the fire vpon the head of him that first kindled it: for the pope comming by aduenture somewhat before supper, and ouercome with the drought and immoderate heat of the time, called for drinke. And bicause his owne prouision was not yet brought from the palace, he that had the infected wine in charge, thinking it to be recommended to his keeping for a wine most excellent, gaue the pope to drinke of the same wine which Valentinois had sent; who arriuing while his father was drinking drunke also of the same wine, being but iust that they both should tast of the same cup which they had brued for the destruction of others. All the towne of Rome ran with great gladnesse to saint Peters about the dead bodie of the pope, their eies not satisfied to sée ded and destroied a serpent, who with his immoderate ambition and poisoned infidelitie, togither with all the horrible examples of crueltie, luxurie, and monstrous couetousnesse, selling without distinction both holie things and prophane things, had infected the whole world.

The pope poisoned with the wine that his owne son had sent to poison the cardinall of Cornetre.

And yet was he accompanied with a most rare, & almost perpetuall prosperitie euen from his young age, to the end of his life; desiring alwaies great things, and obteining most often that he desired. An example of much importance, to confound the arrogancie of those men, who presuming to know and sée perfectlie with humane eies the depth of Gods iudgements, do assure, that what happeneth either good or ill to mortall men, proceedeth either of their merits or faults: as though we saw not dailie manie good men vniustlie tormented, & wicked persons aboue their deseruings liue in ease and honour: wherein who makes an other interpretation, derogates the iustice and power of God, the greatnesse of which being not to be contained within any scripts or tearms present, knoweth how well and largely to discerne in an other time and place the iust from the vniust, and that with rewards and eternall punishments. In the meane time he powreth out his vengeance vpon the imaginers of mischéefe in this life; so prouiding, as that they are caught in their owne snares, and ouertaken with such destruction as they had prepared for others, according to that saieng of the Psalmist:

Effodit puteum, foueámque eduxit ab imo,
Et miser in latebras incidit ipse suas.
In verticem ipsius recurrit
Pernicies, recidúntque fraudes.] Eob. Hess. & G. Buch. in Psal. 7.

At the same time died Giles lord Dawbenie the kings chéefe chamberleine, whose office Charles, bastard sonne to Henrie last duke of Summerset occupied and enioied; a man of good wit, and great experience. Soone after, the king caused Guidebald duke of Vrbine to be elected knight of the order of the garter, in like maner as his father duke Frederike had béene before him, which was chosen and admitted into the order by king Edward the fourth. Sir Gilbert Talbot, and the other two ambassadors being appointed to kéepe on their iournie vnto pope Julie the second, elected after the death of the said Pius the third, bare the habit and collar also vnto the said duke Guidebald; which after he had receiued the same, sent sir Balthasar Castalio, knight, a Mantuan borne, as his orator vnto king Henrie, which was for him installed, according to the ordinances of the order.

The lord Daubenie dieth.

Anno Reg. 23. Guidebald duke of Vrbin in Italie made knight of the garter.

This yeare that worthie prelate Thomas Sauage archbishop of Yorke departed this life at his castell of Cawood: a man beside the worthinesse of his birth highlie estéemed with his prince for his fast fidelitie and great wisedome. He bestowed great cost in repairing the castell of Cawood and the manor of Scrobie. His bodie was buried at Yorke, but he appointed by his testament, that his hart should be buried at Macclesfield in Chesshire, where he was borne, in a chapell there of his foundation, ioining to the south side of the church, meaning to haue founded a college there also, if his purpose had not béene preuented by death. After him succeeded doctor Wenbridge in the archbishops sée of Yorke, being the fiftie and first archbishop that had sat in that sée.

Thomas Sauage archbishop of Canturburie deceassed.

About this same time Lewes the French king, the twelfe of that name (who succéeded Charles the eighth that died at Amboise the night before the eighth daie of Aprill, of a catarrhe, which the physicians call an apoplexie, the same rising in him with such aboundance, as he beheld a match plaied at tennisse, that in few houres he ended at the same place his life: during the which, he had with greater importunitie than vertue troubled the whole world with great apparance of danger to kindle eftsones new fiers of innouation and troubles) maried his eldest daughter named Clare, vnto Francis de Valois Dolphin of Vienne, and duke of Angolesme, which ladie was promised vnto Charles the king of Castile: whereupon by ambassadors sent to and fro betwixt king Henrie and the said king of Castile, a mariage was concluded betwixt the said king of Castile, and the ladie Marie, daughter to king Henrie, being about the age of ten yeares. For conclusion of which mariage, the lord of Barow, & other ambassadors were sent into England from the emperor Maximilian which with great rewards returned. Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 184.

¶ William Browne mercer maior of London this yeare deceassed, and forthwith sir Laurence Ailmer draper was chosen and sworne, and went home in a grate cloake, with the sword borne before him, on the eight and twentith daie of March. Item he toke his oth at the Tower, and kept no feast. William Capell was put in sute by the king for things by him done in his maioralte. Also Thomas Kneisworth that had béene maior of London, and his shiriffes, were sent to the kings Bench, till they were put to their

1508

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 879.

William Capell sued by the king.

Tho. Kneisworth imprisoned.

their fines of foure tæne hundred pounds. In the moneth of June, the citie of Norwich was sore perished, & nære consumed with fier, that began in a Frenchmans house named Peter Johnson, a surgian, in the parish of saint George.

Norwich on fier.

Free schole at Wilfrunehampton.

Stephan Genings merchant tailor, maior of London, founded a fræ grammar schole at Wilfrunehampton in Staffordshire, with conuenient lodgings for the maister and vsher, in the same place where he was borne. He gaue lands sufficient for the maintenance, leauing the ouersight thereof to the merchant tailors in London, who haue hitherto iustlie dealt in that matter, and also augmented the building there. Maister Nichols, who maried the onelie daughter and heire of the aforesaid Stephan Genings, gaue lands to mainteine the pauements of that towne. Also, John Leneson esquier, about Anno 1556, gaue lands, whereof foure pounds should be dealt euerie yeare, on good fridaie, to the poore people of Wilfrunehampton, and six and twentie shillings eight pence yearelie, towards the reparation of the church there.

John Ligh of wilfrunehapton, his rare example of charitie.

Moreouer, about Anno 1566, sir John Ligh a preest, which had serued in that church there, the space of threescore years, for fiue pounds, six shillings eight pence the yeare, without anie other augmentation of his liuing, who would neuer take anie benefice, or other preferment, gaue twentie pounds, to purchase twentie shillings the yeare lands, the same to be giuen yearelie for euer to the poore of Wilfrunehampton vpon good fridaie; & twelue pounds thirtæne shillings foure pence, to purchase a marke a yeare lands, the same to be giuen to the poore of Chirnall, in the countie of Salope, where the said Ligh was borne. This man liued nigh one hundred years. He bestowed besides his owne labour which was great (in bearing of stones, &c.) aboue twentie pounds on the high waies about that towne of Wilfrunehampton.

wilfrunehapton, corruptlie called wolnerhampton.

This towne of Wilfrunehampton, is now corruptlie called Wolnerhampton: for in Anno 996, in king Ethelreds time (who wrote himselfe *Rex Anglorum & princeps Northumbrorum Olympiade tertia regni sui*, for so he wrote the count of his reigne then, which was the fifteenth yeare) it was then called Hampton, as appeareth by an old charter written by the notarie of the said king Ethelred, which charter I haue seene and read. And for that a noble woman named Wilfrune a widow, sometime wife to Althelme duke of Northampton, did obteine of the said king to giue lands vnto the church there which she had founded, the said towne toke the addition of the same Wilfrune, for that charter so nameth hir Wilfrune, and the towne Hampton.

Ex charta Regia

Smart. Hospitall of the Sauoie.

In this yeare was finished the goodlie hospitall of the Sauoie nére vnto Charing crosse, which was a notable foundation for the poore, done by king Henrie the seauenth, vnto the which he purchased and gaue lands for the releeuing of one hundred poore people. This was first named Sauoie place, by Peter earle of Sauoie, father to Boniface archbishop of Canturburie, about the nine and twentith yeare of king Henrie the third, who made the said Peter erle of Richmond. This house belonged since to the duke of Lancaster, and at this time was conuerted to an hospitall, still reteining the first name of Sauoie. King Henrie also builded three houses of Francis cane friers, which are called obseruants, at Richmond, Greenewich, and Newarke; and three other of the familie of Francisceane friers which are called conuentuals, at Canturburie, Newcastell, and Southhampton.]

Rec. of Canturb. church.

Fr. Thin. Thomas Ruthall bishop of Durham.

¶This yeare was Thomas Ruthall made bishop of Durham by Henrie the seauenth, touching whose place of birth (being at Cirencester now Cicester) and himselfe, I will not refuse to set downe what Leland (about the yeare 1542) hath written, not being vnfit heere to be recorded. Cirencester (saith he) in Latine called *Corinium* standeth on the riuer Churne. There haue bene three parish churches, whereof saint Cicilies church is cleane downe, being of late but a chappell. Saint Laurence yet standeth, but it is no parish church. There be two poore almes women endued with land. There is now but one parish church in all Cirencester that is verie faire, the bodie of which church is all new worke, to the which Ruthall bishop of Durham (borne and brought vp in Cirencester) promised much, but (preuented by death) gaue nothing. One Anne Aueling aunt to doctor Ruthall by the mothers side, gaue one hundred markes to the building of that church. King Henrie the first made the hospitall of saint Johns at Cirencester. Thus farre Leland.

The situation of Cicester.

This man thus borne at Cirencester in Glocestershire, and made bishop of Durham, was after the death of king Henrie the seauenth, one of the priuie councell to king Henrie the eight; in whose court he was so continuallie attendant, that he could not steale anie time to attend the affaires of his bishoprike. But yet not altogither careless (though not so much as he ought to haue bene) of the place and cause from whence and for which he receiued so great reuenues, as came vnto his hands from that see. He repaired the third part of Tine bridge next vnto the south, which he might well do; for he was accompted the richest subiect through the realme. To whome (remaining then at the court) the king gaue in charge to write a booke of the whole estate of the kingdome, because he was knowne to the king to be a man of sufficiencie for the discharge thereof, which he did accordinglie.

The bishop was one of K. Henrie the eights priuie councell.

The king commandeth him to write a booke of the whole estate of ỹ kingdom.

Afterwards, the king commanded cardinall Wolseie to go to this bishop, and to bring the booke awaie with him to deliuer to his maiestie. But see the mishap! that a man in all other things so prouident, should now be so negligent: and at that time most forget himselfe, when (as it after fell out) he had most need to haue remembred himselfe. For this bishop hauing written two bookes (the one to answer the kings command, and the other intreating of his owne priuate affaires) did bind them both after one sort in vellame, iust of one length, breadth, and thicknesse, and in all points in such like proportion answering one an other, as the one could not by anie especiall note be discerned from the other: both which he also laid vp togither in one place of his studie.

The bishops booke of his priuat affaires vnaduisedlie deliuered in stéd of the kings.

Now when the cardinall came to demand the booke due to the king: the bishop vnaduisedlie commanded his seruant to bring him the booke bound in white vellame lieng in his studie in such a place. The seruant doing accordinglie, brought forth one of those bookes so bound, being the booke intreating of the state of the bishop, and deliuered the same vnto his maister, who receiuing it (without further consideration or loking on) gaue it to the cardinall to beare vnto the king. The cardinall hauing the booke, went from the bishop, and after (in his studie by himselfe) vnderstanding the contents thereof, he greatlie reioised, hauing now occasion (which he long sought for) offered vnto him to bring the bishop into the kings disgrace.

The bishops owne booke disaduantagable to himselfe.

Wherefore he went forthwith to the king, deliuered the booke into his hands, and breefelie informed the king of the contents thereof; putting further into the kings head, that if at anie time he were destitute of a masse of monie, he should not need to seeke further therefore than to the cofers of the bishop, who by the tenor of his owne booke had accompted his proper riches and substance to the value of a hundred thou-

thousand pounds. Of all which when the bishop had intelligence (what he had don, how the cardinall vsed him, what the king said, and what the world reported of him) he was striken with such greefe of the same, that he shortlie through extreame sorrow ended his life at London, in the yeare of Christ 1523. After whose death the cardinall, which had long before gaped after the said bishoprike, in singular hope to atteine thereunto, had now his wish in effect: which he the more easilie compassed, for that he had his nets alwaies readie cast, as assuring himselfe to take a trout: following therein a prophane mans cautelous counsell, and putting the same in practise; who saith:

The bishop dieth of a sorrowfull and pensiue conceipt.

Ouid.

Cæsus vbiq; valet, semper tibi pendeat hamus,
Quo minimè credis gurgite piscis erit.]

1509
Anno Reg. 24.

The sickneſse which held the king dailie more and more increasing, he well perceiued that his end drew néere, and therefore meaning to do some high pleasure to his people, granted of his frée motion a generall pardon to all men, for all offenses done & committed against anie his lawes or statutes; théeues, murtherers, & certeine other were excepted. He paied also the fées of all prisoners in the gaoles in and about London, abiding there onelie for that dutie. He paied also the debts of all such persons as laie in the counters or Ludgate for fourtie shillings, & vnder; and some he releeued that were condemned in ten pounds. Herevpon were processions generallie vsed euerie daie in euerie citie and parish, to praie to almightie God for his restoring to health and long continuance of the same. Neuertheleſſe, he was so wasted with his long maladie, that nature could no longer susteine his life, and so he departed out of this world the two and twentith of Aprill, in his palace of Richmond, in the yéere of our Lord 1509. His corpse was conueied with all funerall pompe to Westminster, and there buried by the good quæne his wife in a sumptuous chapell, which he not long before had caused to be builded.

The death of king Henrie the seuenth.

He reigned three and twentie yeares, and more than seuen moneths, and liued two and fiftie yeares.

What children he had.

He had by his quéene Elizabeth foure sonnes, and foure daughters, of the which three remained aliue behind him. Henrie his second son prince of Wales, which after him was king, Margaret quéene of Scots, and the ladie Marie promised to Charles king of Castile.

The description of king Henrie the seuenth.

He was a man of bodie but leane and spare, albeit mightie and strong therewith, of personage and stature somewhat higher than the meane sort of men, of a wonderfull beautie and faire complexion, of countenance merie and smiling, especiallie in his communication, his eies graie, his téeth single, and haire thin, of wit in all things quicke and prompt, of a princelie stomach and hautie courage. In great perils, doubtfull affaires, and matters of importance, supernaturall and in maner diuine; for he ordered all his doings aduisedlie and with great deliberation.

Besides this, he was sober, moderate, honest, courteous, bountious, and so much abhorring pride and arrogancie, that he was euer sharpe and quicke to them that were noted with that fault.

Iustice mingled with mercie.

He was also an indifferent and vpright iusticer, by the which one thing he allured to him the hearts of manie people, and yet to this seueritie of his he ioined a certeine mercifull pitie, which he did extend to those that had offended the penall lawes, and were put to their fines by his iustices. He did vse his rigour onelie (as he said himselfe) to daunt, bring low, and abate the high minds and stout stomachs of the wealthie and wild people, nourished vp in seditious factions and ciuill rebellions, rather than for the greedie desire of monie; although such as were scourged with amerciaments cried out, and said it was rather for the respect of gaine, than for anie politike prouision. Indeed he left his coffers well stuffed, for he was no wastfull consumer of his riches by anie inordinat meanes.

To conclude, he had asmuch in him of gifts both of bodie, mind and fortune, as was possible for anie potentate or king to haue. His politike wisedome in gouernance was singular, his wit alwaie quicke and readie, his reason pithie and substantiall, his memorie fresh and holding, his experience notable, his counsels fortunate and taken by wise deliberation, his speech gratious in diuerse languages, his person (as before ye haue heard) right comelie, his naturall complexion of the purest mixture, leagues and confederations he had with all christian princes. His mightie power was dread euerie where, not onelie within his realme but without. Also his people were to him in as humble subiection as euer they were to king; his land manie a daie in peace and tranquillitie, his prosperitie in battell against his enimies was maruellous, his dealing in time of perils and dangers was cold and sober, with great hardinesse. If anie treason were conspired against him, it came out wonderfullie. His buildings most goodlie, and after the newest cast, all of pleasure.

Out of the bishop of Rochesters funerall sermon preached in Paules church at London.

And so this king liuing all his time in fortunes fauour, in high honour, wealth and glorie, for his noble acts and prudent policies is worthie to be registred in the booke of fame, least time (the consumer of all worthie things) should blot out the memorie of his name here in earth, whose soule we trust liueth in heauen, enioieng the fruition of the godhead, & those pleasures prepared for the faithfull. [In memorie of whome, his manifold vertues, with the fortunat successe of his affaires, and the gratious descent of his loines, as they procured a famous report in nations farre and néere; so haue some at the contemplation of his princelinesse, and euerie waie crowned with felicitie, made memorials of his magnificence; to the immortalitie of his high praise and vnblemishable renowme: among whome (for the truth of the report iustifiable by the contents of this historie) one commeth to mind, which may well serue for an epitaph:

Septimus Henricus factis est nomen adeptus
Præclarum claris ventura in secula famæ:
Ciuibus ille suis fuerat charissimus, hostes
Omnes iure ipsum metuebant: numinis almi
Religiosus erat cultor, pietatis & æqui,
Versutos hominésque malos vehementiùs odit.
Viginti totos charus trésque amplius annos
Regibus externis in summo vixit honore:
Magnanimus, iustus rex, prudens atque modestus,
Henrico hæredi moriens sua regna reliquit,
Diuitiásque, immensum argenti pondus & auri.

¶ The altar and sepulture of the same king Henrie the seuenth, wherein he now resteth, in his new chappell at Westminster, was made and finished in the yeare of our Lord 1519, by one Peter T. a painter of the citie of Florence, for the which he receiued one thousand pounds sterling for the whole stuffe and workemanship, at the hands of the kings executors, Richard bishop of Winchester, Richard Fitz James bishop of London, Thomas bishop of Duresme, John bishop of Rochester, Thomas duke of Norfolke treasuror of England, Edward earle of Worcester the king chamberleine, John F. knight, chiefe iustice of the kings Bench, Robert R. knight, chiefe iustice of the common plæs, &c.]

Abr. Fl. ex L. S. pag. 892.
Sepulture of Henrie the seuenth.

Executors to Henrie the seuenth.

Of learned men that liued in this kings daies (as maister Bale noteth them) these are recorded. First George Ripeleie a Carmelite frier at Boston, séene in the mathematikes, he wrote diuerse treatises, and after his decease was accounted a nekromancer; John Erghom borne in Yorke, a blacke frier,

a doctor of diuinitie professed in Oxford, studious of prophesies, as by the title of the works which he wrote it may appeare; John Perstuall a Chartreux monke; Thomas Paillorie a Welshman borne, he wrote (I wote not what) of king Arthur, and of the round table; John Rouse borne in Warwikeshire, a diligent searcher of antiquities, wherupon few libraries were any where to be seene in England and Wales, where he made not search for the same, and wrote sundrie treatises of historicall arguments. He deceased at Warwike the fourteenth of Januarie in the yeare 1491, and was buried in our ladie church there.

Thomas Scrope, otherwise surnamed Bradleie, descended of the noble familie of the Scrops, professed sundrie kinds of religions, as that of the order of saint Benet, and saint Dominike, and likewise he became a Carmelite, and last of all he fell to and preached the gospell in haire and sackecloth, till he understood himselfe to be in the displeasure of Walden and other, that could not awaie with such singularitie in him or other, sounding (as they toke it) to the danger of bringing the doctrine of the Romish church in misliking with the people; for then he withdrew himselfe to his house againe, and there remained twentie yeares, leading an anchors life, but yet after that time he came abroad, and was aduanced to be a bishop in Ireland, and went to the Roades in ambassage, from whence being returned, he went barefoted vp and downe in Norfolke, teaching in townes and in the countrie abroad the ten commandements, he liued till he came to be at the point of an hundred yeares old, & departed this life the fiftéenth day of Januarie in the yeare of our Lord 1491, and was buried at Lesolse in Suffolke.

Dromorensis episcopus.

John Conneis a diuine and an Augustine frier in Norwich, wrote certeine rules of grammar, and other things printed by Richard Pinson; Gefferie surnamed the Grammarian; John Alcocke bishop of Elie, changed a nunrie at Cambridge into a college named Jesus college, about the yeere of Christ 1496. The chiefe cause of suppressing the nunrie is noted to be, for that the abbelle and other of the conuent liued dissolute liues; Stephan Hawes a learned gentleman, and of such reputation, as he was admitted to be one of the priuie chamber to king Henrie the seuenth; William Bintree, so called of a towne in Norfolke where he was borne, by profession a Carmelite frier in Burnham, a great diuine; William Gallion an Augustine frier in Lin, and at length became prouincial of his order.

Robert Fabian a citizen and merchant of London, an historiographer, he was in his time in good estimation for his wisedome and wealth in the citie, so that he bare office and was shiriffe in the yeare 1493; William Celling, borne beside Feuersham in Kent, a monke of Canturburie; Thomas Bourchier descended of the noble linage of the earles of Esser, was first bishop of Elie, and after remoued from thense to Canturburie, succéding John Kemp in that archbishops sée, at length created by pope Paule the second a cardinall; Philip Bromierd a Dominicke frier, a diuine; John Miles a doctor of both the lawes, ciuill and canon, he studied in Oxenford in the college of Brasen nose, newlie founded in the daies of this king Henrie the seuenth by William Smith bishop of Lincolne; Richard Shirborne bishop of Chichester, and imploied in ambassage to diuerse princes, as a man most méet thereto for his singular knowledge in learning and eloquence.

Robert Vidous vicar of Thakestéd in Esser, and a prebendarie canon of Welles, an excellent poet; Peter Kenighall a Carmelit frier, but borne of worshipfull linage in France, hauing an Englishman to his father, was student in Oxenford, and became a notable preacher; John Morton first bishop of Elie, and after archbishop of Canturburie, the sixtie and fourth in number that ruled that sée, he was aduanced to the dignitie of a cardinall, and by king Henrie the seuenth made lord chancellor, a worthie councellor and a modest, he was borne of worshipfull parents in Chelshire, & departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 1500; Henrie Medwall chapleine to the said Morton; Edmund Dudleie borne of noble parentage, studied the lawes of this land, and profited highlie in knowledge of the same, he wrote a booke intituled *Arbor rei publicæ*, the tree of the common wealth: of this man ye haue heard before in the life of this king, and more (God willing) shall be said in the beginning of the next king, as the occasion of the historie leadeth; John Bokingham an excellent scholeman; William Blackeneie a Carmelit frier, a doctor of diuinitie, and a nekromancer.

Thus farre Henrie the seuenth, sonne to Edmund earle of Richmond.

Henrie the eight, ſonne and ſucceſſor to Henrie the ſeuenth.

After the death of the noble prince Henrie the ſeauenth, his ſonne Henrie the eight began his reigne the two and twentith daie of Aprill in the yeare of the world 5475, after the birth of our ſauiour 1509, and in the eightéenth yeare of his age, in the ſixtéenth yeare of Maximilian then being emperour, in the eleuenth yeare of Lewes the twelfe that then reigned in France, and in the twentith yeare of king Iames the fourth as then ruling ouer the Scots. Whoſe title was proclamed by the ſound of a trumpet in the citie of London, the three and twentith daie of the ſaid moneth, with much gladneſſe and reioiſing of the people. And the ſame daie he departed from his manour of Richmond, to the Tower of London, where he remained cloſelie and ſecret with his councell, till the funerals of his father were finiſhed.

1509 Anno Reg. 1.

Henrie the eight proclamed king.

Although this king now comming to the crowne, was but yong (as before is ſaid) yet hauing béene in his firſt yeares trained vp in learning, did for reſpect of his owne ſuertie and good gouernement of his people, prudentlie (by the aduiſe of his grandmother the counteſſe of Richmond and Derbie) elect & chooſe forth of the moſt wiſe and graue perſonages to be of his priuie councell, namelie ſuch as he knew to be of his fathers right déere and familiar frends, whoſe names were as followeth. William Warham archbiſhop of Canturburie and chancellor of England, Richard Fox biſhop of Wincheſter, Thomas Howard earle of Surrie, and treaſuror of England, George Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, and lord ſteward of the kings houſhold, Charles Summerſet lord chamberleine, ſir Thomas Louell, ſir Henrie Wiat, doctor Thomas Ruthall, and ſir Edward Poinings.

Polydor.

Councellors to king Henrie the eight.

These graue and wiſe councellors, fearing leaſt ſuch abundance of riches and welth as the king was now poſſeſſed of, might moue his yong yeares vnto riotous forgetting of himſelfe (for vnto no king at anie time before, was left greater or the like riches, as well in readie coine, as in iewels and other moueables, as was left to him by his father) they therefore his ſaid councellors trauelled in ſuch prudent ſort with him, that they got him to be preſent with them when they ſat in councell; ſo to acquaint him with matters perteining to the politike gouernment of the realme, that by little and little he might aplie himſelfe to take vpon him the rule and adminiſtration of publike affaires, with the which at the firſt he could not well indure to be much troubled, being rather inclined to follow ſuch pleaſant paſtimes as his youthfull yong yeares did more delite in, and therefore could be verie well contented, that other graue perſonages ſhould take paines therein.

King Henries riches.

His councellors good meaning.

The ſame daie alſo that the king came to the Tower, the lord Henrie Stafford brother to the duke of Buckingham was arreſted, and committed to the Tower: and the ſame date alſo doctor Ruthall was named biſhop of Durham. The fiue and twentith daie of Aprill was proclamed, that the kings grace ratified all the pardons granted by his father, and alſo pardoned all ſuch perſons as were then in ſute for anie offenſe whatſoeuer it was; treaſon, murther, and felonie onelie excepted. And now, whereas the performance of the deceaſſed kings will was thought right expedient with all ſpéed to be performed, a proclamation was alſo ſet forth and publiſhed thorough the realme, that if anie man could proue himſelfe to be hurt, and depriued of his goods wrongfullie by the commiſſioners of the forfeitures; he ſhould come and preſent his plaint to the king, being readie to ſatiſfie euerie one of all iniuries ſuſteined.

A proclamation.

After this proclamation was notified abroad, all ſuch as had béene conſtreined either by right or by wrong (as Polydor ſaith) to paie anie thing for anie forfeitures of lawes and cuſtomes by them tranſgreſſed, came flocking to the court, & there declared their greefs, in what ſort they had wrongfullie béene compelled (as they ſurmiſed) to paie this or that ſumme. The councell heard euerie mans complaint, and ſuch as were found to haue paid anie thing without plaine proofe of iuſt cauſe, they toke ſuch order for them, that they had their monie againe. Which being once knowne, it was a ſtrange thing to ſée how thicke other came in; yea euen thoſe that had béene worthilie fined & puniſhed for their diſorderlie tranſgreſſions, making earneſt ſute for reſtitution, feining and forging manie things to make their cauſe ſéeme good, and to ſtand with equitie.

Multitudes of ſuters what ſhifts they made to be heard.

And the better to be heard in their ſute, they made friends as well with bribes and large gifts as otherwiſe, leauing no waies vnaſſaied to compaſſe their deſires. Which greédines in ſuch multitude of ſuters, brought the commiſſioners, and others that had delt in the forfeitures into danger, and did themſelues no good: for the councell perceiuing that it was not poſſible to ſatiſfie them all, refuſed to heare anie further complaints or ſutes for reſtitution: but thought it beſt to commit thoſe to priſon, by whom the complainants pretended themſelues to haue béene wronged. And herevpon was ſir Richard Empſon knight, and Edmund Dudleie eſquier, great councellors to the late king attached, and brought to the Tower, thereby to quiet mens minds, that made ſuch importunate ſute to haue their monie againe reſtored, which in the late kings daies they had béene compelled to

Empſon and Dudleie committed to the Tower.

disburse, thorough the rigorous procédings, as they alleged, of the said two councellors, and others.

Trulie great exclamation was made against them, as often happeneth; that where ante thing is done contrarie to the liking of the people, those that be dealers vnder the prince, and by his commandement procéd in the execution thereof, run in hatred of the multitude. But how so euer it was, their apprehension and committing to prison was thought by the wise to be procured by the malice of them that in the late kings daies were offended with their authoritie. Shortlie after (as Edward Hall saith) were apprehended diuerse other persons, that were called promoters, as Canbie, Page, Smith, Derbie, Wright, Simson, and Stocton; of which the more part ware papers, and stood on the pillorie. [And (as an other saith, who termeth them ringleaders of false quests in London) they rode about the citie with their faces to the horsses tailes, and papers on their heads, and after they had borne set on the pillorie in Cornehill, they were brought againe to Newgate, where they died all within seauen daies after for verie shame.]

Promoters punished.

I.S. pag.893.

When all things were prepared readie for the funerall of the late king, his corps with all sumptuous pompe and solemne ceremonies, was conueied from Richmond to saint Georges field, where the clergie of the citie met it: and at the bridge the maior and his brethren with manie commoners all clothed in blacke likewise met it, and gaue their attendance on the same thorough the citie, to the cathedrall church of saint Paule, where was song a solemne dirge and masse, and a sermon made by the bishop of Rochester John Fisher. The nert daie the corps was had to Westminster, and there the daie following, put into the earth with all due solemnities as apperteined. [Notwithstanding this breefe remembrance of king Henries solemne funerall, might seeme sufficient in the iudgement of some, without further amplification; yet bicause it is good in others opinion (and those not of meanest wit) to set downe things of state at large, if conuenient helps thereto maie be had: therefore you shall haue the whole solemnitie of the said roiall funerall, as it is found recorded by Edward Hall.

The funerall pompe and solemnitie of Henrie the seuenth.

After that all things (saith he) necessarie for the interrement and funerall pompe of the late king, were sumptuouslie prepared and done: the corps of the said deceassed king was brought out of his priuie chamber into the great chamber, where he rested three daies, and euerie daie had there dirige and masse song by a prelat mitred. From thense he was conueied into the hall, where he was also three daies, and had like seruice there; and so three daies in the chappell. And in euerie of these three places, was a hearse of war garnished with baners, and nine mourners giuing their attendance all the seruice time: and euerie daie they offered, and euerie place hanged with blacke cloth. Upon Wednesdaie the ninth daie of Maie, the corps was put into a charriot, couered with blacke cloth of gold, drawne with fiue great coursers all couered with blacke veluet, garnished with cushins of fine gold: and ouer the corps was an image or representation of the late king, laied on cushins of gold, and the said image was apparelled in the kings rich robes of estate, with a crowne on the head with ball and scepter in the hands: the charriot was garnished with baners and pencels of the armes of his dominions, titles and genealogies.

Edw.Hall, in Hen.8.fol.j.

The corps put into a charriot sumptuouslie garnished.

When the charriot was thus ordered, the kings chappell, and a great number of prelats set forward praieng. Then followed all the kings seruants in blacke, then followed the charriot: and after the charriot nine mourners, and on euerie side were caried long torches & short, to the nvmber of six hundred, & in this order they came to saint Georges field, from Richmond. There met with them all the préests and clerks and religious men within the citie & without, which went formost before the K. chappell. The maior and his brethren with manie commoners all clothed in blacke, met with the corps at London bridge, and so gaue their attendance on the same thorough the citie. And in good order the companies passed thorough the citie, whereof the stréets on euerie side were set with long torches, and on the stals stood yong children holding tapers; & so with great reuerence the charriot was brought to the cathedrall church of S. Paule, where the bodie was taken out and caried into the quire, and set vnder a goodlie hearse of war garnished with baners, pencels, and cushins, where was song a solemne dirige and a masse with a sermon made by the bishop of Rochester. During which time, the kings houshold and the mourners reposed them in the bishops palace.

The charriot brought into Paules church.

The nert daie the corps in like order was remoued towards Westminster: sir Edward Howard bearing the kings baner on a courser trapped in the armes of the deceased king. In Westminster was a curious hearse, made of nine principals, all full of lights, which were lighted at the comming of the corps, which was taken out of the charriot by six lords and set vnder the hearse; the image or representation lieng vpon the cushin on a large pall of gold. The hearse was double railed; within the first railes sat the mourners, and within the second raile stood knights bearing baners of saints, and without the same stood officers of armes. When the mourners were set, Gartier king at armes, cried; For the soule of the noble prince king Henrie the seauenth late king of this realme: then the quire began *Placebo*, and so song dirige: which being finished, the mourners departed into the palace, where they had a void, and so reposed for that night. The nert daie were three masses solemnelie song by bishops, and at the last masse was offered the kings baner and courser, his coat of armes, his sword, his target, and his helme: and at the end of masse the mourners offered vp rich palles of cloath of gold and baudekin: and when the quire sang, *Libera me*; the bodie was put into the earth.

Description of the curious hearse at Westminster.

The bodie of the dead king interred.

The order of the pompe and mourners.

Then the lord treasuror, lord steward, lord chamberleine, the treasuror and comptrollor of the kings houshold, brake their staues and cast them into the graue. Then Gartier cried with a lowd voice; Viue le roy Henrie le huictesme, roy d'Angleterre, & de France, sire d'Irland. Then all the mourners, and all other that had giuen their attendance on this funerall obsequie, departed to the palace, where they had a great and a sumptuous feast. Wonder it were to write of the lamentation that was made for this prince amongst his seruants, and other of the wisest sort; and the ioie that was made for his death by such as were troubled by rigour of his law: yet the toward hope which in all points appeared in the yong king did both repaire and comfort the heauie hearts of them, which had lost so wise and sage a prince: and also did put out of the minds of such as were releeued by the said kings death, all their old grudge and rancor, and confirmed their new ioie by the new grant of his pardon.

After that the funerals of the said late king were once ended, great preparation was made for the coronation of the new king, which was appointed on Midsummer daie nert insuing. During the time of which preparation, the king was aduised by some of his councell to take to wife the ladie Katharine, late wife to his brother prince Arthur, least she hauing so great a dowrie as was appointed to hir, might marrie

Ladie Katharine prince Arthur his widow married to his brother king Henrie the eight.

rie out of the realme, which should be to his hinderance. The king being hereto persuaded, espoused the said ladie Katharine the third daie of June, the which marriage was dispensed with by pope Julie, at the suit of hir father king Ferdinando. On the eleuenth daie of this moneth of June, the king came from Greenewich to the Tower ouer London bridge and so by Grace church, with whome came manie a gentleman richlie apparelled, but speciallie the duke of Buckingham, which had a gowne all of goldsmiths worke, verie costlie.

The duke of Buckinghams rich arrate.

On fridaie the two and twentith day of June, the king with the queene being in the Tower of London, made foure and twentie knights of the Bath. And the morow following, being saturdaie the foure and twentith of June, his grace with the queene departed from the Tower through London, the streets being hanged with tapestrie and cloth of arras, verie richlie; and a great part of the south side of Cheape with cloth of gold, & so was some part of Cornehill. The streets were railed & barred on the one side, from ouer against Grace church to Bredstreet in Cheapeside, where euerie occupation stood in their liueries in order, beginning with base and meane occupations, and so ascending to the worshipfull crafts. Highest and laslie stood the maior with the aldermen. The goldsmiths stals vnto the end of the Old change, being replenished with virgins in white, with branches of white wax: the priests and clearkes in rich copes, with crosses and censers of siluer, with censing his grace and the queene also, as they passed. The features of his bodie, his goodlie personage, his amiable visage, princelie countenance, with the noble qualities of his roiall estate, to euerie man knowen, needeth no rehersall, considering that (for lacke of cunning) I cannot expresse the gifts of grace and of nature that God indued him with all.

Ed. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. ij.

A trim sight of virgins in white, with branches of white wax.

Yet partlie to describe his apparell, it is to be noted, his grace ware in his vppermost apparell, a robe of crimsin veluet, furred with ermins, his iacket or coat of raised gold, the placard imbrodered with diamonds, rubies, emerands, great pearles, and other rich stones, a great bauderike about his necke of great balasses. The trapper of his horsse damaske gold, with a deepe purfle of ermins. His knights and esquiers for his bodie in crimsin veluet; and all the gentlemen, with other of his chapell, and all his officers and houshold seruants were apareled in scarlet. The barons of the fiue portes bare the canopie or cloth of estate. For to recite vnto you the great estates by name, the order of their going, the number of the lords spirituall & temporall, knights, esquiers, and gentlemen, and their costlie and rich apparell of seuerall deuises and fashions, who toke vp his horsse best, or who was richest beseene; it would aske long time, and yet I should omit manie things, and faile of the number, for they were verie manie: wherefore I passe ouer. But this I dare well saie, there was no lacke or scarsitie of cloth of tissue, cloth of gold, cloth of siluer, broderie, or of goldsmiths works: but in more plentie and aboundance than hath beene seene or read of at anie time before, and thereto manie and great numbers of chaines of gold, & bauderikes both massie and great.

K. Henries apparell at his coronatiõ.

Also before the kings highnesse rode two gentlemen richlie apparelled, and about their bodies ouerthwart, they bare two robes, the one of the duchie of Guien, and the other for the duchie of Normandie, with hats on their heads powdered with ermins, for the estate of the same. Next followed two persons of good estate, the one bearing his cloke, the other his hat, apparelled both in goldsmiths worke and broderie, their horsses trapped in burned siluer, drawen ouer with cordes of greene silke and gold, the edges and borders of their apparell being fretted with gold of damaske. After them came sir Thomas Brandon maister of the kings horsse, clothed in tissue, brodered with roses of fine gold, and ouerthwart his bodie a great bauderike of gold, great and massie; his horsse traped in gold, leading by a raine of silke; the kings spare horsse trapped bard wise, with harnesse brodred with bullion gold, curiouslie wrought by goldsmiths. Then next followed the nine children of honor vpon great coursers, apareled on their bodies in blue veluet, powdered with floure delices of gold, & chaines of goldsmiths worke, euerie one of their horsses trapped with a traper of the kings title, as of England and France, Gascoigne, Guien, Normandie, Angiou, Cornewall, Wales, Ireland, &c: wrought vpon veluets, with imbroderie, and goldsmiths worke.

The kings traine and the pompe of the same.

Then next following in order, came the quenes retinue, as lords, knights, esquiers, and gentlemen in their degrees, well mounted, and richlie apparelled in tissue, cloth of gold, of siluer, tinsels, and veluets imbrodered, freshlie and goodlie to behold. The quene then by name Katharine, sitting in hir litter borne by two white palfries, the litter couered and richlie apareled, and the palfries traped in white cloth of gold; hir person apparelled in white satin imbrodered, hir haire hanging downe to hir backe of verie great length, beautifull and goodlie to behold, & on hir head a coronall set with manie rich orient stones. Next after, sir honorable personages on white palfries all apparelled in cloth of gold, and then a chariot couered, and the ladies therein all apparelled in cloth of gold. And another sort of ladies, and then another chariot, then the ladies next the chariot, and so in order, euerie one after their degrees in cloth of gold, cloth of siluer, tinsels, and veluet, with imbroderies. Euerie couplement of the said chariots, and the draught harnesses were powdered with ermins mixt with cloth of gold: & so with much ioy & honour they came to Westminster, where was high preparation made, aswell for the said coronation, as also for the solemne feasts and iusts thereupon to be had and done.

The quenes traine and the sumptuousnesse of the same.

The morrow following being sundaie, and also Midsummer daie, this noble prince with his quene at time conuenient, vnder their canopies borne by the barons of the fiue ports, went from the said palace to Westminster abbaie vpon cloth, called vulgarlie cloth of raie; the which cloth was cut and spoiled by the rude and common people, immediatlie after their repaire into the abbaie; where, according to the sacred obseruance & ancient custome, his grace with the quene were annointed and crowned by the archbishop of Canturburie, with other prelats of the realme there present, and the nobilitie, with a great multitude of commons of the same. It was demanded of the people, whether they would receiue, obeie, and take the same most noble prince for their king: Who with great reuerence, loue, and desire, said and cried; Yea yea. After the which solemnitie and coronation finished, the lords spirituall and temporall did to him homage, and returned to Westminster hall with the quenes grace, euerie one vnder their canopies; where, by the lord Marshall & his tipped staues was made rome, and euerie lord, and other noble men, according to their tenures, before claimed and viewed, seene and allowed by the lords, and other of his graces councell, entred into such rome and office that daie, to execute their seruices accordinglie.

The coronation of king Henrie and quene Katharine.

Homage done to the king at his coronatiõ both of the lords spirituall & temporall.

The kings estate on the right hand, & the quenes on the left hand, the cupbord of nine stages, their noble personages being set: first, at the bringing of the first course, the trumpets sounded. And in came the duke of Buckingham, mounted vpon a great courser, richlie traped and imbrodered, and the lord steward in likewise on an horsse trapped in cloth of gold,

riding before the seruice, which was sumptuous, with manie subtilties, strange deuises, with seuerall poses, and manie deintie dishes. At the kings feet vnder the table were certeine gentlemen; and in likewise with the quéene, who there continued, during that long and roiall feast. What should I speake or write of the sumptuous, fine, and delicate meats prepared for this high and honorable coronation, prouided for aswell in the parties beyond the seas, as in manie and sundrie places within this realme, where God so aboundantlie hath sent such plentie and foison? Or of the honorable order of the seruices, the cleane handeling and breaking of meats, the ordering of the dishes, with the plentifull abundance? So that none of anie estate being there did lacke, nor no honorable or worshipfull person went vnfeasted.

Sir Robert Dimmocke the kings champion.

The second course being serued: in at the hall dore entered a knight, armed at all points, his bases rich tissue embrodered, a great plume and a sumptuous of ostrich feathers on his helmet, sitting on a great courser, traped in tissue, and embrodered with the armes of England, and of France, and an herald of armes before him. And passing through the hall, he presented himselfe with humble reuerence before the kings maiestie, to whome Gartier king of heralds cried and said with a lowd voice; Sir knight from whence come you, and what is your pretense? This knights name was sir Robert Dimmocke, champion to the king by tenure of his inheritance, who answered the said king of armes in effect after this maner: Sir, the place that I come from is not materiall, nor the cause of my repaire hither is not concerning anie matter of anie place or countrie, but onelie this: and therewithall commanded his herald to make an Oyes. Then said the knight to the king of armes; Now shall ye heare the cause of my cõming and pretense. Then he commanded his owne herald, by proclamation to saie; If there be anie person, of what estate or degree soeuer he be, that will saie or proue, that king Henrie the eight is not the rightfull inheritor and king of this realme, I sir Robert Dimmocke here his champion, offer my gloue, to fight in his quarell with any person to the vtterance. Which proclamation was made in sundrie places of the hall: and at euerie time his gantlet cast downe, in the maintenance thereof.

The knights answer to the king of heralds.

The maner of the same knights tenure.

After these seuerall proclamations done, and offers made, the said knight or champion eftsones repaired to the kings presence, demanding drinke; to whome the kings grace sent a cup of gold with wine, whereof after this knight had drunke, he demanded the couer of the said cup, which to him also was deliuered: that done he departed out of the hall, with the said cup and couer as his owne. The maner of his tenure is this, that at the coronation of the king, he shall go to the armorie, and there take the kings best harnesse saue one, the best and rich bases sauing one, then of the plumes or other things for the garnishing of his creast or helme; and so to the stable, there taking the next courser or horsse to the best, with like trapers, & so furnished, to enter (as afore) and his office done, to haue all these things with the cup of gold and couer to his owne vse. After the departure of the said champion, the king of armes with all the heralds and other officers of armes, made proclamations in seuerall places of the hall, crieng largesse. Briefle I passe ouer this high and long solemnitie of this honorable coronation and feast, more honorable than of the great Cesar, whome manie historiographers so highlie set out and magnifie.

Sir Stephã Genings maior of London.

Now when the tables were voided, the wafers were brought. Then sir Stephan Genings that time maior of London, whome the king before he sat downe to dinner had dubbed knight, which began the earles table that daie, arose from the place where he sat, to serue the king with ipocras in a cup of gold: which cup, after his grace had dronken thereof, was with the couer giuen vnto the said sir Stephan, like as other his predecessors, maiors of the said citie, were wont to haue at the coronation of the king. Then after the surnap laied, and that the kings grace and the quéene had washed, euerie of them vnder their cloths of estate, the tables being auoided, went vnto their chambers. For the more honour and innobling of this triumphant coronation, there were prepared both iusts and turneis to be done in the palace of Westminster, where, for the kings grace and the quéene, was framed a faire house, couered with tapestrie, and hanged with rich clothes of arrats, and in the said palace was made a curious founteine and ouer it a castell, on the top therof a great crowne imperiall, all the imbatelling with roses and pomegranats gilded.

Iusts and turnements.

Under and about the said castell, a curious vine, the leaues and grapes thereof gilded with fine gold, the walles of the same castell coloured white & greene losengis, and in euerie losing either a rose or a pomegranat, and a sheafe of arrowes, or else H. and K. gilded with fine gold, with certeine arches and turrets gilded, to support the same castell. And the targets of the armes of the defendants, appointed for the said iusts, thereupon sumptuouslie set. And out at seuerall places of the same castell, aswell on the daie of the coronation, as on the said daies of the iusts & turneies, out of the mouthes of certeine beasts or gargels did run red, white, and claret wine. The enterprisers of these iusts, was Thomas lord Howard, heire apparant to the earle of Surrie, sir Edward Howard admerall his brother, the lord Richard brother to the Marques Dorset, sir Edmund Howard, sir Thomas Kneuet, and Charles Brandon esquier. The trumpets blew to the field, the freshyong galants and noble men gorgeouslie apparrelled, with curious deuises of cuts and of embroderies, as well in their coates as in trapers for their horsses, some in gold, some in siluer, some in tinsels, and diuerse other in goldsmithes worke, goodlie to behold.

The enterprisers of the said iusts.

These first entred the field, in taking vp & turning their horsses, netlie and freshlie. Then followed a deuise (caried by strength of men and other prouision) framed like a castell, or a turret, wrought with fine cloth of gold: the top whereof was spred with roses and pomegranats, hanging downe on euerie side of the said deuise; wherein was a ladie, bearing a shield of christall named Pallas. After whom the said lord Howard with his companions followed, armed at all points, their bases and bards, or trapers, were of greene veluet, beaten with roses and pomegranats of gold, brodred with fringes of damaske gold. The said deuise or turret, being brought before the king, the ladie Pallas presented the said persons, whom she named hir scholers, to the kings highnes, beseching the same to accept them as hir scholers, who were desirous to serue him, to the increase of their honours; which said scholers had about them on foot to the number of an hundred persons, freshlie apparrelled, in veluets of sundrie colours, with hose & bonets according to the same. And further, the said ladie desired the king, that it might please his grace, that hir said scholers might be defendants to all commers, which request was granted.

Goodlie shewes & delightfull.

Pallas knights the defendants.

Then came in an other band of horssemen, freshlie and well apparelled in cloth of gold, in siluer, in goldsmithes worke, & broderie, to the number of three score, with trapers according to their garments, with great baudertkes, collars, and chaines of gold about their necks and trauerse their bodies, euerie man with a coife of gold on his head, and a great plume

Another band of horssemen richlie araied

plume of feathers therevpon, some of one colour and some of an other, entering before into the field with drums and fifes a great number, euerie man taking vp his horsse in his best maner, as well for their ladies, as also for laud or praise to be giuen them. After whome followed a good number of footmen, in veluets and other silkes, cut and embrodered, with hose to the same accordinglie, and bonets and other furniture, after a fresh and lustie fashion. Next to them came on horsseback eight persons, whose names were, sir John Pechie, sir Edward Neuill, sir Edward Guildeford, sir John Carre, sir William Parre, sir Giles Capell, sir Griffith Dun, and sir Rouland, armed also at all points, with shields of their owne armes, with rich plumes, and other deuises on their head peces, their bases and trapers of tissue, cloth of gold, siluer and veluet; and next before them, a gentleman on horsseback, in a coat of blue veluet, embrodered with gold, and his horsse trapped in the same sute, with a speare of gold on his thigh, and the same presented to the quéene: saieng, that it was informed those knights of his companie, how that dame Pallas had presented six of hir scholers to the king, but whether they came to learne, or to teach feats of armes they knew not.

Eight knights armed at all points.

He further declared, that his knights were come to doo feats of armes, for the loue of ladies. Wherfore he besought hir grace, to licence those knights to prooue themselues against dame Pallas scholers: and that in case hir scholers brake more speares on the said knights, by the view of the iudges, and the report of the heralds, than the same knights should do on them; then the said scholers of Pallas knights to haue the speare of gold for their prise. And if the knights brake more speares than dame Pallas scholers, the said knights to haue the christall shield. The which request to them granted, the iusts began, where euerie man did acquite himselfe well and valiantlie: but who had the prise of other, I know not. The night coming on, the iusts ended. The next daie approached the foresaid defenders, scholers to Pallas on horsseback, armed * cape a pie, the one side of their bases and bards of their horsses white veluet, embrodered with roses of gold and other embroderies; the other side greene veluet embrodered with pomegranats of gold, euerie one of them on his head pece had an heare of flat gold of damaske, and so presented themselues before the king readie to tourneie.

* From head to foot.

Then immediatlie on the other part came in the forenamed eight knights, readie armed, their bases and bards of their horsse greene sattin, embrodered with fresh deuises of bramble branches, of fine gold curiouslie wrought, powdered all ouer. And after them a great number of hornes blowne, by men apparrelled in greene cloth, with caps and hosen of like sute, as forresters or keepers; & a pagent made like a parke, paled with pales of white and greene, wherein were certeine fallow deare, and in the same parke curious trees made by craft, with bushes, fernes, and other things in likewise wrought, goodlie to behold. The which parke or deuise, being brought before the quéene, had certeine gates thereof opened, the deare ran out therof into the palace, the greihounds were let slip and killed the deare: the which deare so killed, were presented to the quéene and the ladies by the foresaid knights.

Dianas knights.

A conceipt or deuise of a parke with deare, &c.

Crocheman, which the daie before brought in the speare of gold, there declared, that the same knights were seruants to Diana, and being in their pastime of hunting, newes were brought vnto them, that dame Pallas knights were come into those parts, to doo deeds of armes: wherefore they had left their hunting and chase, and repaired also thither, to encounter with the knights of Pallas, and so to fight with them for the loue of ladies, to the vtterance: saieng, that if Pallas knights vanquished the other, or made them to leaue the field, then they to haue the deare killed, and the greihounds that slue them. And in case Dianas knights ouercame the other, they to haue their swords, and none other thing more. Wherevpon the quéene and ladies sent to the king to haue his aduise and pleasure in this behalfe. His grace conceiuing that there was some grudge and displeasure betweene them, thinking if such request were to them granted some inconuenience might insue, would not thereunto agree: so that for the appeasing thereof it was awarded, that both parties should tourneie togither, giuing but some certeine strokes, which done they departed: and so these iusts brake vp, and the prises giuen to euerie man after his deserts.]

The kings wisedome in preuenting an inconuenience

The king pardoned the lord Henrie brother to the duke of Buckingham, committed to the Tower (as yee haue heard) vpon suspicion of treason: but when nothing could be proued against him, he was set at libertie, and at the parlement after created earle of Wilshire. Also this yeare the king ordeined fiftie gentlemen to be speares, euerie of them to haue an archer, a demilance, and a custrell; and euerie speare to haue three great horsses to be attendant on his person, of the which band the earle of Essex was lieutenant, and sir John Pechie capteine. This ordinance continued but a while, the charges was so great; for there were none of them, but they and their horsses were apparrelled and trapped in cloth of gold, siluer & goldsmithes worke. This yeare also was a great pestilence in the towne of Calis, so that the king sent one sir John Pechie with three hundred men to tarrie there vpon the defense of that towne till the sickenesse was ceassed. Furthermore, this yeare the king summoned his parlement in the moneth of Nouember, to begin in the moneth of Januarie next ensuing: whereof sir Thomas Inglefield was chosen speaker.

Henrie ỹ duke of Buckinghams brother created erle of Wilshire.

A great plague in Calis.

A parlement.

At this parlement sir Richard Empson knight, and Edmund Dudleie esquier late councellors vnto king Henrie the seauenth, were atteinted of high treason. They were charged with manie offenses committed in the late kings daies, as partlie before yee haue heard; who being brought before the councell, as they were graue and wise personages, and both of them learned and skilfull in the lawes of the realme: so had they vtterance verie readie whereby to deliuer the conceipts of their minds with singular dexteritie, speciallie in a case of importance; in so much that when the said parties were conuented before the assemblie of the lords, they alleged for themselues right constantlie (in their owne defenses) much good and sufficient matter, of whome Empson (being the elder in yeares) had these words.

Empson and Dudleie atteinted of treason.

Polydor.

A speech vttered by Empson to the lords of the councell to find fauour.

I know (right honorable) that it is not vnknowne to you, how profitable and necessarie lawes are for the good preseruation of mans life: without the which neither house, towne, nor citie can long continue or stand in safetie. Which lawes here in England, thorough negligence of magistrates, were partlie decaied, and partlie quite forgotten and worne out of vse; the mischeefe

mischæfe whereof dailie increasing, Henrie the seauenth a most graue and prudent prince wished to suppresse, and therefore appointed vs to sæ, that such lawes as were yet in vse might continue in their full force; and such as were out of vse might againe be reuiued and restored to their former state; & that also those persons which transgressed the same, might be punished according to their demerits. Wherein we discharged our dueties in most faithfull wise, and best maner we could, to the great aduantage & commoditie (no doubt) of the whole commonwealth. Wherfore we most humblie beseech you in respect of your honours, courtesie, goodnesse, humanitie, and iustice, not to decree any grieuous sentence against vs, as though we were worthie of punishment; but rather to appoint how with thankfull recompense our paines & trauell may be worthilie considered.

Manie of the councell thought that he had spoken well, and so as stood with great reason: but yet the greater number (supposing that the reuiuing of those lawes had proceeded rather of a couetous meaning in the king and them, than of anie zeale of iustice, and hauing also themselues felt the smart latelie before for their owne offenses and transgressions) had conceiued such malice towards the men, that they thought it reason, that such as had béene dealers therein, were worthie to lose their heads, in like sort as they had caused others to lose their monie. Hereupon, their accusors were mainteined, and manie od matters narrowlie sought out against them, as by two seuerall indictments framed against sir Richard Empson (the copies whereof I haue séene) it may well appeare.

Most of the lords of the councell against Empson.

Matters obiected against Empson.

In the one he is charged, that to win the fauour and credit of the late king, not weieng his honor nor the prosperitie of him, or wealth of his realme, hee had (in subuersion of the lawes of the land) procured diuerse persons to be indicted of diuerse crimes and offenses surmised against them, and therevpon to be committed to prison, without due proces of law; who not suffered to come to their answers, were kept in durance, till they had compounded for their fines, to their great importable losses, and vtter impouerishment. Also diuerse vntrue offices of intrusions and alienations, made by sundrie the late kings liege people, into manors, lands, and tenements were found; it being vntrulie alleged, that they held the same of the king *In capite*. And when such persons as were thus vered, offered to trauerse those offices, they could not be admitted thereto, in such due and lawfull forme as in such cases the law prouideth, till they had compounded to paie great fines and ransomes.

Wrong maintained against the kings liege people.

Moreouer the kings wards, after they had accomplished their full age, could not be suffered to sue their liueries, till they had paied excessiue fines and ransomes, vnto their great annoiance, losse, and disquieting, and to no lesse contempt of the said king. And further, whereas diuerse persons had bene outlawed, as well at the sute of their aduersaries, as of the said late king; they could not be allowed to purchase their charters of pardon out of the chancerie, according to the law of the realme, till they were driuen to answer halfe the issues and profits of all their lands and tenements by the space of two yeares, which the king receiued to his vse, by the said Richard Empsons procurement, who informed him that hee might lawfullie take the same, although he knew that it was contrarie to the lawes and customes of the realme. Whereupon the people, vered and molested by such hard dealings, sore grudged against the said late king, to the great perill and danger of his person and realme, and subuersion of the lawes and ancient customes thereof.

Iniurie done to the kings wards.

Also it was alleged against the said Empson, that he had sent forth precepts directed vnto diuerse persons, commanding them, vpon great penalties, to appeare before him, and other his associats, at certeine daies and times within his house in S. Brides parish, in a ward of London, called Farringdon without: where they making their appearances, according to the same precepts, were impleaded afore him and other his said associats, of diuerse murthers, felonies, outlawries, and of the articles in the statute of prouisors conteined; also of wilfull escapes of felonies, and such like matters and articles apertaining to the pleas of the crowne, and common lawes of the realme. And that done, the said persons were committed to diuerse prisons, as the Fléet, the Tower, and other places, where they were deteined, till they had fined at his pleasure, as well for the commoditie of the said late king, as for the singular aduantage of the said sir Richard Empson.

A charge of manifest oppression and extortion.

Moreouer, whereas the said Empson, being recorder of Couentrie, and there sate with the maior and other iustices of the peace, vpon a speciall gaole deliuerie within that citie, on the monday before the feast of saint Thomas the apostle, in the sixteenth yeare of the late kings reigne; a prisoner that had bene indicted of felonie, for taking out of an house in that citie, certeine goods to the value of twentie shillings, was arreigned before them. And because the iurie would not find the said prisoner giltie, for want of sufficient euidence (as they after alleged) the said sir Richard Empson, supposing the same euidence to be sufficient, caused them to be committed to ward, wherein they remained foure daies together, till they were contented to enter bond in fortie pounds a péece, to appeare before the king and his councell, the second returne of the tearme then next insuing, being *Quindena Hilarij*. Whereupon they kéeping their daie, and appearing before the said sir Richard Empson, and other of the kings councell, according to their bonds, were adiudged to paie euerie of them eight pounds for a fine, and accordinglie made paiment thereof, as they were then thought well worthie so to do. But now this matter so long past, was still kept in memorie, and so earnest some were to inforce it to the vttermost against the said Empson, that in a sessions holden at Couentrie now in this first yeare of this kings reigne, an indictment was framed against him for this matter, and thereof he was found giltie, as if therein he had committed some great and heinous offense against the kings peace, his crowne and dignitie.

Empson sometime recorder of Couentrie.

Empson indicted & found guiltie.

Thus haue I thought good to shew what I find hereof, to the end ye may perceiue how glad men were to find some colour of sufficient matter, to bring the said sir Richard Empson, and maister Edmund Dudleie, within danger of the lawes; whereby at length they were not onelie condemned by act of parlement, through malice of such as might séeme to séeke their destruction for priuat grudges; but in the end also, they were arreigned: as first the said Edmund Dudleie in the Guildhall of London, the seuentéenth of Julie; and sir Richard Empson at Northampton in October next insuing: and being there condemned, was from thence brought backe againe to the Tower of London, where he remained till the time of his execution; as after yée shall heare.

heare.

The plague. 1510

This yeare the plague was great, and reigned in diuerse parts of this realme. The king kept his Christmas at Richmond. The twelfe of Januarie, diuerse gentlemen prepared to iust, and the king and one of his priuie chamber called William Compton, secretlie armed themselues in the little parke of Richmond, & so came into the iustes, vnknowne to all persons. The king neuer ran openlie before, and diuerseding well. Maister Compton chanced to be sore hurt by Edward Neuill esquier, brother to the lord of Aburgauennie, so that he was like to haue died. One person there was that knew the king, and cried; God saue the king: and with that, all the people were astonied, and then the king discouered himselfe, to the great comfort of the people. The king soone after came to Westminster, and there kept his Shrouetide with great banketkings, dansings, and other iollie pastimes.

The king ran merily at tilt in his owne person.

Edw. Hall in H.8. fol. vj. The king with other nobles disguised like Robin hods men for disport.

And on a time the king in person, accompanied with the earles of Essex, Wiltshire and other noble men, to the number of twelue, came suddenlie in a morning into the queenes chamber, all apparelled in short coates of Kentish Kendall, with hoodes on their heads & hosen of the same, euerie one of them his bow and arrowes, and a sword and a buckler, like outlawes, or Robin Hoods men. Whereat the queene, the ladies, and all other there were abashed, as well for the strange sight, as also for their sudden comming, and after certeine danses and pastime made, they departed. On Shrouesundaie the same yeare, the king prepared a goodlie banket in the parlement chamber at Westminster, for all the ambassadors, which then were here out of diuerse realmes and countries. The banket being readie, the king leading the queene, entered into the chamber, then the ladies, ambassadours, and other noble men followed in order.

A banket.

The king caused the queene to keepe the estate, and then sate the ambassadours and ladies, as they were marshalled by the K. who would not sit, but walked from place to place, making cheare to the queene and the strangers: suddenlie the king was gone. And shortlie after, his grace, with the earle of Essex, came in apparelled after the Turkie fashion, in long robes of baudekin, powdered with gold, hats on their heds of crimsin veluet, with great rolles of gold, girded with two swords called cimiteries, hanging by great bauderiks of gold. Then next came the lord Henrie earle of Wiltshire, and the lord Fitzwater, in two long gownes of yellow sattin, trauersed with white sattin, and in euerie band of white was a band of crimsin sattin after the fashion of Russia or Russland, with furred hats of graie on their heads, either of them hauing an hatchet in their hands, and boots with pikes turned vp.

The king and others disguised after the Turkish fashion.

And after them came sir Edward Howard then admerall, and with him sir Thomas Parre, in dublets of crimsin veluet, voided low on the backe, and before to the chanell bone, laced on the breasts with chaines of siluer, and ouer that short cloakes of crimsin sattin, and on their heads hats after dansers fashion, with feasants feathers in them: they were apareled after the fashion of Pruslia or Spruce. The torchbearers were apparelled in crimsin sattin and greene, like Morescoes, their faces blacke: and the king brought in a mummerie. After that the queene, the lords, & ladies (such as would) had plaied, the said mummers departed, and put off the same apparell, and soone after entered into the chamber in their vsuall apparell. And so the king made great cheere to the queene, ladies and ambassadours. The supper or banket ended, and the tables voided, the king in communication with the ambassadours, the queene with the ladies toke their places in their degrees.

Then began the dansing, and euerie man toke much heed to them that dansed. The king perceiuing that, withdrew himselfe suddenlie out of the place, with certeine other persons appointed for that purpose. And within a little while after there came in a drum and a fife apparelled in white damaske & greene bonnets, and hosen of the same sute. Then certeine gentlemen followed with torches, apparelled in blue damaske, purfelled with amis greie, fashioned like an albe, and hoods on their heads, with robes and long tipets to the same of blue damaske, in visards. Then after them came a certeine number of gentlemen, whereof the king was one, apparelled all in one sute of short garments, little beneath the points, of blue veluet and crimsin, with long sleeues, all cut and lined with cloth of gold. And the vtter part of the garments were powdered with rassels and sheafes of arrowes of fine ducket gold; the vpper parts of their hosen of like sute and fashion, the nether parts were of skarlet, powdered with timbrels of fine gold, on their heads bonnets of damaske, with siluer flat wouen in the stole, & thereupon wrought with gold, and rich fethers in them, all with visors.

A maske wherein the king was an actor.

Certeine ladies richlie attired and after a strange fashion.

After them entered six ladies, whereof two were apparelled in crimsin sattin and purple, embrodered with gold, and by vinets ran floure delices of gold, with maruellous rich & strange tiers on their heads. Then two ladies in crimsin and purple, made like long slops embrodered and fret with gold after antike fashion: and ouer that garment was a short garment of cloth of gold scant to the knee, fashioned like a tabard all ouer, with small double rolles, all of flat gold of damaske, fret with frised gold, and on their heads skarfs and wrappers of damaske gold, with flat pipes, that strange it was to behold. The other two ladies were in kirtels of crimsin & purple sattin, embrodered with a vinet of pomegranats of gold, all the garments cut compasse wise, hauing but demie sleeues, naked downe from the elbowes, and ouer their garments were vochets of pleasants, rolled with crimsin veluet, and set with letters of gold like charact, their heads rolled in pleasants and tipets like the Aegyptians, embrodered with gold. Their faces, necks, armes, and hands, couered in fine pleasants blacke: some call it Lumbardines, which is maruellous thin; so that the same ladies seemed to be Nigers or blacke Moores. Of these foresaid six ladies, the ladie Marie, sister vnto the king was one, the other I name not. After that the kings grace and the ladies had danced a certeine time, they departed euerie one to his lodging.

The ladie Marie sister to the king.

In this yeare also came ambassadors, not onelie from the king of Arragon and Castile, but also from the kings of France, Denmarke, Scotland, and other places, which were highlie welcomed, and noblie interteined. It happened on a daie, that there were certeine noble men made a wager to run at the ring and parties were taken, and which partie atteined or toke awaie the ring oftnest with certeine courses, should win the wager. Whereof the kings grace hearing, offered to be on the one partie with six companions. The ambassadors hearing thereof, were much desirous to see this wager tried, and spectallie the ambassadours of Spaine, who had neuer seene the king in harnesse. At the daie appointed, the king was mounted on a goodlie courser, trapped in purple veluet cut, the inner side whereof was wrought with flat gold of damaske in the stole, and the veluet on the other side cut in letters: so that the gold appeared as though it had beene embrodered with certeine reasons or posies. And on the veluet betweene the letters were fastened cassels and sheafs of arrowes of

Edw. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. vij. Running at the ring.

The king Henrie roiallie arrated runneth at the ring in the sight of the ambassadours & beareth the prise awaie.

ducket

ducket gold, with a garment, the sléeues compassed ouer his harnesse, and his bases of the same worke, with a great plume of feathers on his head pèce, that came downe to the arson of his saddle, and a great companie of fresh gentlemen came in with his grace richlie armed and decked, with manie other right gorgeoullie apparelled, the trumpets before them goodlie to behold, whereof manie strangers (but speciallie the Spantards) much reioised; for they had neuer sèene the king before that time armed.

On the other side came in another band of gentlemen freshlie apparelled, and pleasant to behold, all apparelled in cloth of gold, checkered with flat gold of damaske, & poudered with roses; and so euerie man ran: but to conclude, the prise was giuen vnto the king. Euerie man did run twelue courses, the king did beare away the ring fiue times, and attained it three. And these courses thus finished, the Spanish ambassadours desired to haue some of the badges or deuises, which were on the kings trapper. His grace therof knowing, commanded euerie of them to take thereof what it pleased them, who in effect toke all or the more part; for in the beginning they thought they had bèene counterfeit, and not of gold; as they were. On May day then next following in the second yeare of his reigne, his grace being yong, and willing not to be idle, rose in the morning verie earlie to fetch maie or grèene boughs, himselfe fresh & richlie apparelled; and clothed all his knights, squiers and gentlemen in white sattin, and all his gard and yeomen of the crowne in white sarcenet: and so went euerie man with his bow and arrowes shooting to the wood, and so repaired againe to the court, euerie man with a grèene bough in his cap.

King Henrie goeth a maieing with other of his courtiers.

Now at his returning, manie hearing of his going on maieng, were desirous to sée him shoot, for at that time his grace shot as strong and as great a length as anie of his gard. There came to his grace a certeine man with bow and arrowes, and desired his grace to take the muster of him, and to sée him shoot; for at that time his grace was contented. The man put the one fot in his bosome, and so did shoot, and shot a verie good shot, and well towards his marke: whereof, not onelie his grace, but all other greatlie marueiled. So the king gaue him a reward for his so doing; which person afterwards of the people, and of them in the court, was called, Fot in bosome. The same yeare in the feast of Pentecost, holden at Grèenwich, that is to say, the thursdaie in the same weeke, his grace with two other with him, chalenged all commers, to fight with them at the barriers with target, and casting the speare of eight fot long; and that done, his grace with the said two aides to fight euerie of them twelue strokes with two handed swords, with and against all commers, none excepted being a gentleman; where the K. behaued himselfe so well, and deliuered himselfe so valiantlie by his hardie prowesse and great strength, that the praise and laud was giuen to his grace, and his aides: notwithstanding that diuerse and strong persons had assailed him and his aides.

The king a good archer.

The king chalengeth all commers at sundrie exercises of actiuitie

From thense the whole court remoued to Windsor, then begining his progresse, & exercising himselfe dailie in shooting, singing, dansing, wrestling, casting of the barre, plaieng at the recorders, flute, virginals, in setting of songs, and making of ballads; he did set two full masses, euerie of them fiue parts, which were song oftentimes in his chappell, and afterwards in diuerse other places. And when he came to Oking, there were kept both iusts and turneies: the rest of this progresse was spent in hunting, hawking, and shoting. ¶ Doctor Colet deane of Poules erected a frée schole in Poules church yard in London, and committed the ouersight thereof to the maisters and wardens of the mercers, bicause himselfe was borne in London, & was sonne to Henrie Colet mercer, sometime lord maior of the citie of London. On Midsummer night, the king came priuilie into Cheape, in one of the cotes of his gard; and on saint Peters night, the king and quéene came riding rotallie to the kings bed in Cheape, there to behold the watch of the citie.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 894. Poules schole.

The king apparelled like one of the gard.

Now when the said progresse was finished, his grace, the quéene, with all their whole traine, in the moneth of October following, remoued to Grèenwich. The king not minded to sée yong gentlemen vnexpert in martiall feates, caused a place to be prepared within the parke of Grènwich, for the quéene and the ladies to stand & sée the fight with battle axes that should be done there, where the king himselfe armed, fought with one Giot a gentleman of Almaine, a tall man, and a good man of armes. And then after they had done, they marched alwaies two and two togithers, and so did their feats and enterprises euerie man verie well. Albeit, it happened the said Giot to fight with sir Edward Howard, which Giot was by him striken to the ground. The morow after this enterprise done, the king with the quéene came to the Tower of London. And to the intent that there should no displeasure nor malice be borne by anie of those gentlemen, which fought with the ax against other; the king gaue vnto them a certeine summe of gold, valued at two hundred markes, to make a banket among themselues w. thall. The which banket was made at fishmongers hall in Thames street, where they all met to the number of foure and twentie, all apparelled in one sute or liuerie, after Almaine fashion; that is to say, their vtter garments all of yellow sattin, yellow hosen, yellow shoes, girdels, scabberds, and bonnets with yellow feathers, their garments and hosen all cut & lined with white sattin, and their scabberds wound about with sattin. After their banket ended, they went by torchlight to the Tower, & presented themselues before the king, who toke pleasure to behold them.

The king fighteth with a battle axe against an Almaine.

From thence the eight day of November, his grace remoued to Richmond, and willed to be declared to all noble men and gentlemen, that his grace with two aides, that is to wit, maister Charles Brandon, and maister Compton, during two daies would answer all commers; with speare at the tilt one daie, and at turneie with swords the other. And to accomplish this enterprise, on the thirteenth day of November, his grace armed at all pèces with his two aides entered the field, their bases and trapers were of cloth of gold, set with red roses, wrought with gold of broderie. The counterpart came in freshlie apparelled, euerie man after his deuise. At these iustes the king brake more staues than anie other, & therefore had the prise. At the turneie in likewise, the honour was his. The second night were diuerse strangers of Maximilian the emperours court and ambassadors of Spaine with the king at super. When they had supped, the king willed them to go into the quéenes chamber, who so did.

The king (with his assistants) chalengeth all commers at tilt.

In the meane season, the king with fifteene other, apparelled in Almaine iackets of crimsin and purple sattin, with long quartered sléeues, and hosen of the same sute, their bonnets of white veluet, wrapped in flat gold of damaske, with visards and white plumes, came in with a mummerie; and after a certeine time that they had plaied with the quéene and the strangers, they departed. Then suddenlie entered sir minstrels richlie apparelled, plaieng on their instruments; and then followed fourteene persons, gentlemen, all apparelled in yellow sattin, cut like Almains, bearing torches. After them came sir disguised in white sattin and grèene, embroidered and set

A rotall mummerie.

A maske of fourteene gentlemen straglie attired.

with

with letters and castels of fine gold in bullion, the garments were of strange fashion, with also strange cuts, euerie cut knit with points of fine gold, and tassels of the same, their hosen cut and tied in likewise, their bonnets of cloth of siluer wound with gold. The first of these six was the king, the earle of Essex, Charles Brandon, sir Edward Howard, sir Thomas Kneuet, and sir Henrie Guilford.

Then part of the gentlemen bearing torches departed, and shortlie returned, after whom came in six ladies, apparelled in garments of crimsin sattin embrodered and trauersed with cloth of gold, cut in pomegranats and yokes, fringed after the fashion of Spaine. Then the said six men danced with these six ladies: and after that they had danced a season, the ladies toke off the mens visors, whereby they were knowen: whereof the quéene and the strangers much praised the king, and ended the pastime. It is to be noted, that at this time the quéene was great with child, & shortlie after this pastime, she toke hir chamber at Richmond, for the which cause the king kept his Christmasse there. And on Newyeares daie the first daie of Januarie the quéene was deliuered of a prince to the great gladnesse of the realme, for the honour of whome fiers were made, and diuerse vessels with wine set for such as would take thereof in certeine streets in London, and generall processions there vpon to laud God. As touching the preparation of the princes christening, I ouerpasse, which was honorablie done, whose godfathers at the font were the archbishop of Canturburie, and the earle of Surreie, & godmother the ladie Katharine countesse of Deuonshire, daughter to king Edward the fourth: his name was Henrie.

The birth of the first begotten sonne of king Henrie the eight.

Against the twelfe daie or the daie of the Epiphanie at night, before the banket in the hall at Richmond, was a pageant deuised like a mounteine, glistering by night as though it had béene all of gold and set with stones, on the top of which mounteine was a tree of gold, the branches and boughes frised with gold, spreading on euerie side ouer the mounteine with roses and pomegranats, the which mounteine was with vices brought vp towards the king, and out of the same came a ladie apparelled in cloth of gold, and the children of honour called the henchmen, which were freshlie disguised, and danced a morice before the king; and that done, reentred the mounteine, which then was drawen backe, and then was the wassaill or banket brought in, and so brake vp Christmasse. Shortlie after and before the quéenes churching, the K. rode to Walsingham. The quéene being churched or purified, the king and she remoued from Richmond to Westminster, where was preparation for solemne iusts in the honor of the quéene; the king being one, and with him three aides: his grace being called Cure loial, the lord William erle of Deuonshire called Bon voloire, sir Thomas Kneuet named Bon espoir, sir Edward Neuill called Valiant desire, whose names were set vpon a goodlie table, & the table hanged in a tree curiouslie wrought, and they were called Les quater cheualiers de la forest saluigne, these foure to run at the tilt against all comers, with other certeine articles compriséd in the said table.

A goodlie deuise of a moueable pageant.

A solemne iusts at Westminster.

A pageant made like a wild forrest erie cunninglie.

A place in the palace was prepared for the king and quéene, richlie hanged, the inner part with cloth of gold, & the vtter with rich cloth of arras. These iusts began the thirteenth daie of Februarie. Now after that the quéene with hir traine of ladies had taken their places, into the palace was conueied a pageant of a great quantitie, made like a forrest with rocks, hils, and dales, with diuerse sundrie trées, floures, hawthornes, ferne, and grasse, with six foresters standing within the same forrest, garnished in cotes and hoods of grœne veluet, by whome laie a great number of speares; all the trées, hearbs, and floures of the same forrest were made of grœne veluet, grœne damaske, & silke of diuerse colours, as sattin & sarcenet. In the middest of this forrest was a castell standing made of gold, and before the castell gate sat a gentleman freshlie apparelled, making a garland of roses for the prise. This forrest was drawen as it were by strength of two great beasts, a lion and an antelop; the lion flourished all ouer with damaske gold, the antelop was wrought all ouer with siluer of damaske, his beames or hornes and tuskes of gold.

These beasts were led with certeine men apparelled like wild men, or woodhouses, their bodies, heads, faces, hands, and legs couered with grœne silke flosshed: on either of the said antelop and lion sat a ladie richlie apparelled, the beasts were tied to the pageant with great chaines of gold, as horses be in the cart. When the pageant rested before the quéene, the foresaid foure knights blew their horns, then the deuise or pageant opened on all sides, and out issued the foresaid foure knights armed at all peces, euerie of them a speare in his hand on horsseback with great plumes on their heads, their bases and trapers of cloth of gold, euerie of them his name embrodered on his base and trapper. On the other part with great noise aswell of trumpets as of drums entered into the field, the erle of Essex, the lord Thomas Howard with manie other cleane armed, their trapers and bases all of crimsin satin embrodered with branches of pomegranats of gold and posies; with manie a fresh gentleman riding before them, their footmen well apparelled: and so the iusts began and endured all that daie.

The foure knights issue out of the pageant all armed.

The morow, being the thirteenth of Februarie after dinner, at time conuenient, the quéene with the ladies repaired to see the iusts, the trumpets sounded, and in came manie a noble man and gentleman richlie apparelled, taking vp their horsses; after whom followed certeine lords apparelled, they and their horsses in cloth of gold and russet tinsell: knights in cloth of gold and russet veluet; and a great number of gentlemen on foot in russet sattin and yellow, and yeomen in russet damaske and yellow, all the nether part of euerie mans hosen scarlet and yellow caps. Then came the king vnder a pauilion of cloth of gold and purple veluet embrodered, and powdered with H. and K. of fine gold, the compasse of the pauilion aboue embrodered richlie, and valanced with flat gold, beaten in wire, with an imperiall crowne in the top of fine gold, his bases and trappers of cloth of gold, fretted with damaske gold, the trapper pendant to the taile. A crane and chafron of steele, in the front of the chafron was a goodlie plume set full of musers or trembling spangles of gold. After followed his three aids, euerie of them vnder a pauilion of crimsin damaske and purple, powdered with H. and K. of fine gold, valanced and fringed with gold of damaske: on the top of euerie pauilion a great K. of goldsmiths worke.

Gorgeous shewes in apparell.

The king vnder a pauilion of cloth of gold and purple veluet, &c.

The number of the gentlemen and yeomen attending on foot, apparelled in russet and yellow, was an hundred threescore and eight. Then next these pauilions came twelue children of honour, sitting euerie of them on a great courser richlie trapped and embrodered in seuerall deuises and fashions, where lacked neither broderie nor goldsmiths worke, so that euerie child and horsse in deuise and fashion was contrarie to other, which was goodlie to behold. Then on the contrarie part entered sir Charles Brandon, first on horsseback in a long robe of russet sattin, like a recluse or religious person, and his horsse trapped in the same sute, without drum or noise of minstrelsie, putting a bill of petition to the quéene, the effect wher-

Sir Charles Brandon on horsseback in a long robe of russet sattin like a religious person.

of

of was, that if it would please hir to licence him to run in hir presence, he would do it gladlie; and if not, then he would depart as he came. After that his request was granted, then he put off his said habit, and was armed at all peces with rich bases and horsse also richlie trapped, and so did run his horsse to the tilt end, where diuerse men on foot apparelled in russet sattin waited on him.

Henrie Guilford esquier in russet cloth of gold, with his deuise.

Next after came in alone yong Henrie Guilford esquier, himselfe and his horsse in russet cloth of gold and cloth of siluer, closed in a deuise, or a pageant made like a castell or a turret, wrought of russet sarcenet Florence, wrought and set out in gold with his word or posie, and all his men in russet sattin & white, with hosen to the same, and their bonets of like colours, demanding also licence of the quene to run; which to him granted, he toke place at the tilts end.

The marquesse Dorset and sir Thomas Bullen like pilgrims.

Then came next the marquesse Dorset and sir Thomas Bullen like two pilgrims from saint James, in taberds of blacke veluet, with palmers hats on their helmets, with long Jacobs staues in their hands, their horsse trappers of blacke veluet, their taberds, hats, and trappers set with scalop shels of fine gold, and strips of blacke veluet, euerie strip set with a scalop shell, their seruants all in blacke sattin with scalop shels of gold in their breasts. Soone after came in the lord Henrie of Buckingham earle of Willshire, himselfe and his horsse apparelled in cloth of siluer, embrodered with his posie or word, and arrowes of gold in a posie, called La maison du refuge, made of crimsin damaske brodered with roses & arrowes of gold, on the top a greihound of siluer, bearing a tre of pomegranats of gold, the branches whereof were so large that it ouerspred the pageant in all parts.

Then entered sir Giles Capell, sir Rouland with manie other knights richlie armed and apparelled. And thus began the iusts, which was valiantlie atchiued by the king and his aids, among whom his grace atteined the prise. These iusts finished, euerie man withdrew, the king was disarmed, and at time conuenient he and the quene heard euensong, and that night all the ambassadors supped with the king and had a great banket. After supper, his grace with the quene, lords & ladies came into the White hall within the said palace, which was hanged richlie, the hall was scaffolded and railed on all parts. There was an enterlude of the gentlemen of his chapell before his grace, and diuerse fresh songs: that done, his grace called to him a great man, or a lord of Ireland called Oneall, whome in the presence of the said ambassadors he made knight: then the minstrels began to plaie, the lords & ladies began to danse. Now in the midst of this passime, when all persons were most attentiue to behold the dansing, the king was suddenlie gone, vnknowen to the most part of the people there, vnlesse it were of the quene and certeine other. Within a little while after his departing, the trumpets at the end of the hall began to sound.

The great Oneall made knight.

Then was there a deuise or a pageant vpon wheels brought in, out of the which pageant issued out a gentleman richlie apparelled, that shewed how in a garden of pleasure there was an arbor of gold, wherin were lords and ladies, much desirous to shew passime to the quene & ladies, if they might be licenced so to do: who was answered by the quene, how she & all other there were verie desirous to see them and their passime. Then a great cloth of arras that did hang before the same pageant was taken away, and the pageant brought more nere. It was curiouslie made and pleasant to behold, it was solemne and rich; for euerie post or piller thereof was couered with frised gold, therin were tres of hathorne, eglantine, rosiers, vines, and other pleasant floures of diuerse colours, with gillofers, and other hearbs all made of sattin, damaske, siluer and gold, accordinglie as the naturall tres, hearbs, or floures ought to be.

A pageant deuised to run vpon wheeles.

In this arbor were six ladies, all apparelled in white satin and grene, set and embrodered full of H. and K. of gold, knit togither with laces of gold of damaske, and all their garments were replenished with glittering spangels gilt ouer, on their heads were bonets all opened at the foure quarters, ouerfrised with flat gold of damaske, the orrelets were of rolles, wrethed on lampas doucke holow, so that the gold shewed through the lampas doucke; the falls of their head set full of new deuised fashions. In this garden also was the king and fiue with him apparelled in garments of purple sattin, all of cuts with H. and K. euerie edge garnished with frised gold, and euerie garment full of posies, made of letters of fine gold in bullion as thicke as they might be, and euerie person had his name in like letters of massie gold. The first Cure loial, the second Bon voloire, the third Bon espoir, the fourth Valiant desire, the fift Bon foy, the sixt Amour loial, their hosen, caps, and coats were full of posies, with H. & K. of fine gold in bullion, so that the ground could scarse appere, & yet was in euerie void place spangles of gold. When time was come, the said pageant was brought forth into presence, and then descended a lord and a ladie by couples, and then the minstrels which were disguised also dansed, and the lords and ladies dansed, that it was a pleasure to behold.

A goodlie shew of the king & fiue other with him.

In the meane season the pageant was conueied to the end of the palace, there to tarie till the danses were finished, & so to haue receiued the lords & ladies againe; but suddenlie the rude people ran to the pageant, and rent, tare, and spoiled the pageant, so that the lord steward nor the head officers could not cause them to abstaine, except they should haue foughten and drawen bloud, and so was this pageant broken. Then the king with the quene and the ladies returned to his chamber, where they had a great banket, and so this triumph ended with mirth & gladnes. At this solemnitie a shipman of London caught certeine letters, which he sold to a goldsmith for three pounds fourtene shillings & eight pence; by reason whereof it apered that the garments were of a great value. After this great ioy came a sorowfull chance, for the yong prince which was borne vpon New yeares day last past, vpon the two and twentith daie of Februarie, being then the euen of saint Matthie, departed this world at Richmond, and from thence was caried to Westminster and buried. The king like a wise prince toke this dolorous chance wonderous wiselie; and the more to comfort the quene he dissembled the matter, and made no great mourning outwardlie: but the quene, like a naturall woman, made much lamentation; howbeit, by the kings good persuasion and behauiour, hir sorow was mitigated, but not shortlie.

The rudenes of the people assembled to see the shewes.

The departure of the kings yong sonne out of this life.

In the moneth of Februarie this yeare came ambassadors from the king of Arragon and Castile, to require an aid of fiftene hundred archers to be sent to the same king, hauing at that time war against the Moores, enimies of the christian faith. The king hearing their message gentlie granted their request. And because the lord Thomas Darcie a knight of the garter, made humble suite to the king to be generall of the crue that should be thus sent into Spaine, the king vpon trust of his approued valiancie granted his desire. There were appointed to go with him the lord Anthonie Greie brother to the marquesse Dorset, Henrie Guilford, Weston Browne, and William Sidneie esquiers of the kings house, sir Robert Constable, sir Roger Hastings, and sir Rafe Elderton, with other gentlmen to be capteins.

Ambassadors from the king of Spaine for aid against the Moores.

Lord Darcie knight of the garter.

In

Anno reg. 2.

In this second yeare, the king being forth on his progresse, heard euerie daie more & more complaints of Empson and Dudleie, set forth and aduanced no doubt by the drift of their deadlie enimies. Wherefore, he sent writs to the shiriffes of London, to put them to execution, and so the seuentéenth daie of August, they were both beheaded at the Tower hill, and both their bodies and heads buried, the one at the White friers, and the other at the Blacke friers. The king about this season was much giuen to plaie at tenisse, and at the dise, which appetite certeine craftie persons about him perceiuing, brought in Frenchmen and Lombards to make wagers with him, & so lost much monie; but when he perceiued their craft, he eschued their companie and let them go.

The seuenth daie hath Iohn Stow.

Empson and Dudleie beheaded.

The king lost much monie at tenise.

Anno. Reg. 3. Ed. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. xj. xij.

¶ On the first daie of Maie the king accompanied with manie lustie batchelers, on great and well doing horsses rode to the wood to fetch Maie, where a man might haue séene manie a horsse raised on high with carrier, gallop, turne, and stop, meruellous to behold: where he & three other, as sir Edward Howard, Charles Brandon, and Edward Neuill, which were challengers with the king, shifted themselues into coats of grene sattin garded with crimsin veluet. On the other part the earles of Esser, of Deuonshire, the marquesse Dorset, & the lord Howard were all in crimsin satin, garded with a pounced gard of grene veluet. And as they were returning on the hill, a ship met with them vnder saile: the maister hailed the king and that noble companie, and said that he was a mariner, and was come from many a strange port, and came thither to sée if anie déeds of armes were to be done in the countrie, of the which he might make true report in other countries. An herald demanded the name of his ship; he answered she is called Fame, & is laden with good Renowme: then said the herald, If you will bring your ship into the baie of Hardinesse, you must double the point of Gentlenesse, and there you shall sée a companie that will meddle with your merchandize. Then said the king, Sithens Renowme is their merchandize, let vs buie it if we can. Then the ship shot a peale of guns, and sailed forth before the kings companie, full of flags and banners, till it came to the tilt yard.

The king and three other courtiers challengers.

Deuise of a ship vnder saile.

At after none, the king and his three fellowes entered into the field, their bards and bases of crimsin and blue veluet, cut in quadrant cuts, embrodered full of pomegranats, and all the waiters in silke of the same colour. The other partie were in crimsin sattin and grene veluet. Then began the trumpets to sound, and the horsses to run, that manie a speare was burst, and manie a great stripe giuen: and for a truth the king exceeded in number of staues all other euerie daie of the three daies. Wherefore on the third daie, the queene made a great banket to the king and all them that had iusted: and after the banket done, she gaue the chiefe prise to the king, the second to the earle of Esser, the third to the earle of Deuonshire, and the fourth to the lord marquesse Dorset. Then the heralds cried; My lords, for your noble feats in armes, God send you the loue of your ladies that you most desire. The king euer desirous to serue Mars, began another iusts the fifteenth daie of the said moneth. The king & his band were all in grene silke, and the earle of Esser and his band in blue, garded with gold, and all the speares were painted of the same colours. There was good running and manie a speare brust: but for all the sport euerie man feared least some ill chance might happen to the king, and faine would haue had him a loker on rather than a doer, and spake thereof as much as they durst: but his courage was so noble that he would euer be at the one end.]

The king brake more staues than the rest and had the prise giuen him.

The lord Darcie and his companie readie at Plimmouth.

In this meane time, the Lord Darcie and other appointed to the viage against the Moores, made such diligence, that they and all their people were readie at Plimmouth by the middes of Maie, and there mustered their souldiers before the lord Broke, and other the kings commissioners. The lord Darcie as capteine generall, ordeined for his prouost marshall Henrie Guilford esquier, a lustie yong man, & welbeloued of the king, for his manifold good seruice. On the mondaie in the Rogation weeke, they departed out of Plimmouth hauen with foure ships roiall, and the wind was so fauourable to them, that the first daie of June, being the euen of the feast of Pentecost, he arriued at the port of Calis in south Spaine; and immediatlie by the aduise of his councell, he dispatched messengers to the king, whom they found beside the citie of Ciuill where he then laie, and declared to him, how the lord Darcie by the king their maisters appointment, was come thither with sixteene hundred archers, and laie still at Calis to know his pleasure. The king of Castile answered them gentlie, that the lord Darcie and all other that were come from his louing sonne were welcome, and hartilie thanked them of their paines, requiring the messengers to returne to their capteine, and tell him that in all hast he would send certeine of his councell to him.

¶ Herevpon they departed from the king, and made report to the lord Darcie, which kept his ship in great estate, and would not land, but onelie suffered such as were sicke and feeble, and few other to go a land. The Englishmen which went aland, fell to drinking of hot wines, & were scarse maisters of themselues, some ran to the stewes, some brake hedges and spoiled orchards and vineyards, and orenges before they were ripe, and did manie outragious déeds: wherefore the chiefe of the towne of Calis came to complaine to the lord Darcie in his ship, which sent forth his prouost marshall, who scarselie with paine refrained the yeoman archers, they were so hot and wilfull, yet by commandement & policie they were all brought on bord to their ships.]

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. xij.

The vnrulie behauiour of the Englishmen.

Then vpon saturdaie, the eight of June, a bishop and other of the kings councell came to Calis, and there abode till wednesdaie, being the euen of Corpus Christi; at which daie, the lord capteine toke land, and was honorablie receiued of the king of Aragons councell, and on the morrow was highlie feasted at dinner and supper. And at after supper, the bishop declared the king his maisters pleasure, giuing to the lord capteine as heartie thankes for his paines and trauell, as if he had gone forward with his enterprise against the Moores. But whereas by the aduise of his councell, circumspectlie considering the suertie of his owne realme, vpon perfect knowledge had that the Frenchmen meant to inuade his dominions in his absence, he had altered his former determination, and taken an abstinence of war with the Moores, till an other time.

The lord Darcie honorablie receiued of the K. of Aragons councell.

He therefore required the lord Darcie to be contented to returne home againe, promising him wages for all his soldiers; and if it should please him to come to the court, he should receiue high thanks of the king, and such chéere as there could be made him. The lord Darcie was nothing pleased with this declaration, but sith he saw there was no remedie, he said, that whatsoeuer the king had concluded, he could not be against it, considering he was sent to him: but suerlie it was against his mind to depart home, without doing anie thing against Gods enimies, with whome he had euer a desire to fight. And as for his comming to court, he said, he could not leaue his men whome he had brought out of their countrie, without an head; and as for the kings banket, it was not the thing that he desired.

The lord Darcie discontented at the bishops declaration.

The lord

On the next daie in the morning, monie was sent to paie the souldiers their wages for their conduction againe into England, with diuerse gifts giuen to the lord Darcie, and other gentlemen; yet notwithstanding, he was highlie displeased: howbeit, like a wiseman he dissembled the matter. The same daie, being the fourteenth daie of June, and fridaie, there chanced a fraie to be begun in the towne of Calis, betwixt the Englishmen, and them of the towne; by reason that an Englishman would haue had for his monie a loafe of bread from a maid that had beene at the bakers to buie bread, not to sell, but to spend in hir mistresse house. Howbeit the Englishman followed hir, as making proffer not to be denied, in so much that the maid perceiuing what he went about, cried out; A force, a force. Then was the common bell rong, and all the towne went to harnesse, and those few Englishmen that were a land, went to their bowes. The Spaniards cast darts, and the Englishmen shot. But the capteins of England, and the lords of the councell for their part, toke such paine, that the fraie was ceassed, and but one Englishman slaine, though diuerse were hurt: and of the Spaniards diuerse were slaine. Thus of a sparkle was kindled a flame to the spoiling of manie; which is no rare thing to see, according to the scriptum est:

Concitat ingentes flammas scintilla minuta.

A shrewd fraie begun vpon a small occasion.

Edw.Hall.

After this, vpon request made by the lords of Spaine, the lord Darcie and all his men the same night went aboord their ships, but Henrie Guilford, Weston Browne, and William Sidneie, yong and lustie esquiers, desired licence to see the court of Spaine: which being granted, they went thither, where they were of the king highlie interteined. Henrie Guilford and Weston Browne were made knights by the king, who also gaue to sir Henrie Guilford a canton of Granado, and to sir Wolfon Browne an egle of Sicill on a chese, to the augmentation of their armes. William Sidneie so excused himselfe, that he was not made knight. When they had soiourned there a while, they toke their leaue of the king and quéene, and returned through France into England.

The Englishmen desire to see the Spanish court.

During which season, the lord Darcie made saile toward England, and arriuing at Plimmouth, came to the king at Windsore, and so this iourneie ended. During the time that the lord Darcie was in Spaine, the ladie Margaret duches of Sauoie, and daughter vnto Maximilian the emperour, and gouernour of Flanders, Brabant, Holland, Zeland, & other the low countries apertеining to Charles the yong prince of Castile, sent in the end of Maie to the king of England, to haue fiftéene hundred archers, to aid hir against the duke of Gelders, which sore troubled the countries aforesaid. The king tenderlie regarding the request of so noble a ladie, most gentlie granted hir request, and appointed sir Edward Poinings, knight of the garter, and comptroller of his house, a valiant capteine and a noble warriour, to be lieutenant and leader of the said fiftéene hundred archers.

The lord Darcie returneth out of Spaine.

The duchesse of Sauoie sendeth to king Henrie for aid against the duke of Gelders.

This gentleman accompanied with his sonne in law the lord Clinton, sir Matthew Browne, sir John Digbie, John Werton, Richard Wethrill, & Shrelleie esquiers, with other gentlemen and yeomen, to the foresaid number of fiftéene hundred, toke their ships a mile beside Sandwich, the eightéenth daie of Julie, and landed at Armew the ninetéenth daie, not without some trouble, by reason of a little storme. From thence they were conducted to Barowe, whither the ladie Regent came to welcome them. On the sundaie, being the seuen & twentith of Julie, they departed to Rollindale, and on thursdaie the last of Julie they came to Buldubse. And the next daie the whole armie of the Almans, Flemings, and other apertеining to the said ladie, met with the Englishmen without Buldubse, where they set forth in order; the ladie Regent being there present, which toke hir leaue of all the capteins, and departed to Buldubse.

The armie, to the number of ten thousand, beside the fiftéene hundred English archers, passed forward; and the tenth daie of August, being saint Laurence daie, came before a little castle, standing on the higher side of the Maze, called Brimnoist, belonging to the bastard of Gelderland. The same night, Thomas Hert, cheefe gouernour of the ordinance of the English part, made his approach; and in the morning, made batterie so, that the assault therevpon being giuen, the fortresse was woone, and the capteine with eightie and od men were slaine, and nineteéne taken; of the which, eleuen were hanged. John Morton, capteine of one hundred Englishmen, and one Guiot an esquier of Burgognie, crieng saint George, were the first that entered; at which assault, there was but one Englishman slaine. On thursdaie, the fourtéenth of August, the armie ferried ouer the riuer of Maze into Gelderland. The next daie, they came to a little towne called Aiske.

Thom. Hert gouernour of the English ordinance.

The fort is woone.

The people were fled, but there was a little castell rased, and cast downe, which was newlie built vp on the side of the said riuer. Vpon the twentith daie of August, they burnt the foresaid towne of Aiske, and all the countrie about it, and came at the last to a towne called Straulle, being verie strong, double diked and walled. Within it were three hundred & sixtie good men of war, beside the inhabitants. At the first, they shewed good countenance of defense but when they saw their enimies approach néere vnto them with rampiers and trenches, they yelded by composition, so that the souldiers might depart with a little sticke in their hands. But the townesmen rested prisoners, at the will of the prince of Castile. And so on S. Bartholomews day the admerall of Flanders, and sir Edward Poinings entred the towne with great triumph.

The towne of Aiske burned.

On the six and twentith daie, the armie came before Uenlow, and sent an herald called Arthois, to summon the towne; but they within would not heare but shot guns at him. On the eight and twentith daie, the armie remoued vnto the north side of Uenlow, and part went ouer the water, and made trenches to the water, & so besieged the towne as streictlie as their number would giue them leaue; but yet for all that they could doo without, they within kept one gate euer open. At length, the English capteins perceiuing that they laie there in vaine, considering the strength of the towne, and also how the armie was not of number sufficient to enuiron the same on each side, wrote to the king, who willed them with all speed to returne, and so they did. Sir Edward Poinings went to the court of Burgognie, where he was receiued right honorablie of the yong prince of Castile and of his aunt the ladie Margaret.

Uenlow besieged by the English.

John Morton, John Fog, John Scot, and Thomas Linde, were made knights by the prince. And the ladie Margaret perceiuing the soldiers coates to be worne and foule with lieng on the ground (for euerie man laie not in a tent) gaue to euerie yeoman a coate of woollen cloth of yealow, red, white, and græne colours, not to hir little laud & praise among the Englishmen. After that sir Edward Poinings had béene highlie feasted and more praised of all men for his valiantnesse and good order of his people, he returned with his crue into England, and had lost by war and sickenesse not fullie an hundred persons. When the Englishmen were departed, the Gelders issued out of the gates of Uenlow, dailie skirmished with

The duchesse of Sauoie bestoweth new coats on the English soldiors.

with the Burgognions, and asked for their archers, and herewith winter began sharplie to approach, and the riuer of Maze by aboundance of raine rose so high, that it drowned vp the trenches: so that all things considered, the capteins without determined to raise their siege, and so they did, and after they had walked all the countrie about Uenlow, they returned euerie man to his home.

In June the king being at Leicester, heard tidings, that one Andrew Barton a Scotishman and pirat of the sea, saieng that the king of Scots had warre with the Portingals, robbed euerie nation, and stoped the kings streames, that no merchant almost could passe. And when he toke Englishmens goods, he bare them in hand that they were Portingals goods, and thus he hanted and robbed at euerie hauens mouth. The king displeased herewith, sent sir Edward Howard lord admerall of England, and lord Thomas Howard, sonne and heire to the earle of Surrie in all hast to the sea, which hastilie made readie two ships, and taking sea, by chance of weather were seuered. The lord Howard lieng in the downes, perceiued where Andrew was making toward Scotland, and so fast the said lord chased him, that he ouertoke him; and there was a sore battell betwixt them. Andrew euer blew his whistle to incourage his men, but at length the lord Howard and the Englishmen did so valiantlie, that by cleane strength they entered the maine decke. The Scots fought sore on the hatches: but in conclusion Andrew was taken, and so sore wounded, that he died there. Then all the remnant of the Scots were taken with their ship called the Lion.

Andrew Barton a Scotish pirat.

A cruell fight on the sea, betweene the said pirat and the lords Howards.

Andrew Bartō slaine.

All this while was the lord admerall in chase of the barke of Scotland, called Jennie Pirwine, which was wont to saile with the Lion in companie, & so much did he with other, that he laid him aboord: and though the Scots manfullie defended themselues, yet the Englishmen entered the barke, slue manie, and toke all the residue. Thus were these two ships taken, and brought to Blackewall the second of August [and all the Scots were sent vnto the bishop of Yorkes place, where they remained at the kings charge, till other direction was taken for them. After this, the king sent the bishop of Winchester, and certeine of his councell, to the archbishop of Yorkes place, where the Scots were prisoners: and there the bishop rehearsed to them, whereas peace was yet betweene England and Scotland, that they contrarie to that, as theeues & pirats, had robbed the kings subiects within his streames. Wherefore they had deserued to die by the law, and to be hanged at the low water marke. Then said the Scots; We acknowledge our offense, and aske mercie and not the law. Then a preest which was also a prisoner, said; My lords we appeale from the kings iustice to his mercie.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall in H. 8. fol. xvj.

The Scots prisoners in the bishop of Yorks place.

Then the bishop asked him if he were authorised by them to saie so, and they cried all; Yea, yea. Then (said he) you shall find the kings mercie aboue his iustice. For where you were dead by the law, yet by his mercie he will reuiue you; wherefore you shall depart out of this realme within twentie daies, vpon paine of death, if you be found after the twentith daie; and praie for the king: and so they passed into their countrie.] Thus was their captiuitie conuerted into libertie, and their liues saued by the kings mercie. The king of Scots hearing of the death of Andrew Barton, and the taking of the two ships, was wonderfull wroth, and sent letters to the king requiring restitution, according to the league and amitie. The king wrote to the king of Scots againe with brotherlie salutation, of the robberies done by the said Andrew, and that it became not a prince to laie breach of peace to his confederat, for doing iustice vpon a pirat and theefe: and that all the Scots that were taken, had deserued to die by iustice, if he had not extended his mercie. And with this answer the Scotish herald departed.

About this season, the French king made sharpe warre against pope Julie: wherefore the king of England wrote to the French king, that he should leaue off to vex the pope in such wise, being his freend and confederat. But when the French king seemed little to regard that request, the king sent him word to deliuer him his lawfull inheritance both of the duchie of Normandie and Guien, and the countries of Anjou & Maine, and also of his crowne of France; or else he would come with such a power, that by fine force he would obteine his purpose: but notwithstanding those writings, the French king still pursued his warres in Italie. Wherevpon the king of England, ioining in league with Maximilian the emperour, and Ferdinando king of Spaine, with diuerse other princes, was resolued by aduise of his councell to make warre on the French king and his countries, and made preparation both by sea and land, setting forth ships to the sea for safegard of his merchants.

King Henrie the eight taketh the popes part against the French king.

¶ The foresaid pope Julie, the kings confederat, was (before his aduancement to the popedome) cardinall of saint Petri ad Vincula, a man mightie in frends, reputation, and riches, who had drawne to him the voices of so manie cardinals, that entering the conclaue, he was with an example all new and without shutting the conclaue, elected pope the verie same night following the decease of his predecessor pope Pius (those that were of the contrarie opinion not daring to oppose against him.) He, either hauing regard to his first name Julie, or (as coniectures were made) to signifie the greatnesse of his conceptions, or lastlie because he would not giue place to Alexander, no not in the excellencie of name, toke vpon him the name of Julie, the second of that name. Amongest all the popes that had passed, it was wondered that by so great consent, they had created for pope, a cardinall who was knowne to be of a disposition rigorous and terrible, and in whome was no expectation of rest and tranquillitie, hauing consumed his youth in continuall trauels, offended manie by necessitie, and exercised hatreds against manis great personages; a man to whose wit nothing was more more familiar, than the inuention of trouble, faction, and conspiracie.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 314. Cardinall S. Petri ad vincula made pope.

Pope Julie a factious fellow and an enimie to peace.

But on the other side, the causes of his election to that degree appeared clerelie, and surmounted all other difficulties: for he had beene of long time a cardinall of great power and might, & with his magnificence, wherein he had alwaies exceeded the residue, and with the greatnesse of his spirit, by the which he did great things, he had not onelie made himselfe mightie in opinion and freends: but by times and degrees had erected high his authoritie in the court of Rome, bearing the name, title, and dignitie of the principall defendor of the ecclesiasticall libertie. But that which serued most to his aduancement, was the promises immoderate and infinite which he made to the cardinals, princes, and barons, and to all others whome he might make profitable to him in that action. Besides, he had the meane to distribute monie, benefices, and spirituall dignities, as well such as were his owne, as those that were the rights of others; for that such was the brute & renowme of his liberalitie, that manie made willing offers to him to dispose as he best liked of their treasures, their names, their offices, and benefices.

Indirect meanes to atteine the popedome.

They considered not that his promises were farre too great, than that being pope he was either able or

ought to obserue, for that he had of so long continuance inioied the name of iust and vpright, that pope Alexander himselfe (his greatest enimie) speaking ill of him, in all other things could not but confesse him to be true of his word. A praise which he made no care to defile and staine, to the end to become pope; knowing that no man more easilie beguileth an other, than he that hath the custome and name neuer to deceiue anie. Which practise of dissimulation was much frequented of those that aspired & possessed the popedom; insomuch that the same was in Alexander the first so notable, that it was a prouerbe ordinarilie in Rome, that the pope did neuer the thing which he said, and his sonne the duke of Valentinois seldome spake that which he ment. Which kind of people (pretend they what they will) are excluded from the rest of Sion, as the psalmist saith:

A prouerbe vpon the popes dissembling, Guicc. 305.

Buch. in Psal. 15.

Quem fraudis expers simplicitas iuuat,
Vrgétque rectum propositi tenax,
Nec mente sæuus grata blandam
Edocuit simulare linguam,
Perpetua requie fruetur.]

1512 Abr. Fl. ex Ed. Hall in Hen. 8 fol. xv.

In this yeare the king kept his Christmasse at Greenewich, where was such abundance of viands serued to all comers of anie honest behauiour, as hath béene few times séene. And against Newyéeres night was made in the hall a castell, gates, towers, and dungeon, garnished with artillerie and weapon after the most warlike fashion: and on the front of the castell, was written Le forteresse dangereux, and within the castell were six ladies, cloathed in russet sattin, laid all ouer with leaues of gold, and euerie one knit with laces of blew silke and gold. On their heads, coifs, and caps all of gold. After this castell had béene caried about the hall, and the quéene had beheld it, in came the king with fiue other, apparelled in coats, the one halfe of russet sattin, spangled with spangles of fine gold, the other halfe of rich cloth of gold, on their heads caps of russet sattin, embroidered with works of fine gold bullion.

Christmasse pastimes or delights at Greenwich.

The king & fiue other assaile the castell.

These six assaulted the castell. The ladies séeing them so lustie and couragious, were content to solace with them, & vpon further communication, to yéeld the castell and so they came downe & danced a long space. And after the ladies led the knights into the castell, and then the castell suddenlie vanished out of their sights. On the date of the Epiphanie at night, the king with eleuen other were disguised, after the maner of Italie, called a maske, a thing not séene before in England: they were apparelled in garments long and broad, wrought all with gold, with visors and caps of gold. And after the banket done, these maskers came in, with six gentlemen disguised in silke, bearing staffe torches, and desired the ladies to dance; some were content, and some refused. And after they had danced, and communed togither, as the fashion of the maske is, they toke their leaue and departed, and so did the quéene, and all the ladies.]

Maskers disguised after the Italian fashion.

A parlement. The summe of the bishop of Canturburies oration in the parlement.

The fiue and twentith date of Januarie began the parlement, where the bishop of Canturburie began his oration with this verse *Iustitia & pax osculatæ sunt.* Upon which words he declared how iustice should be ministred, and peace should be nourished, and by what meanes iustice was put by, and peace turned into warre. And there vpon he shewed how the French king would do no iustice in restoring to the king his right inheritance: wherfore for lacke of iustice, peace of necessitie must be turned into warre. In this parlement was granted two fifteens of the temporaltie, and of the clergie two tenths. After that it was concluded by the whole bodie of the realme in the high court of parlement assembled, that warre should be made on the French king and his dominions. Wherupon was wonderfull spéed made in preparing all things necessarie both for sea and land.

In this parlement was sir Robert Sheffeld knight, sometime recorder of London, speaker for the commons. During this parlement, in the moneth of March, a yeoman of the crowne, one of the kings gard, named Newbolt, slue within the palace of Westminster a seruant of maister Willoughbies, for the which offense the king commanded to be set vp a new paire of gallowes in the same place where the said seruant lost his life; and vpon the same the said Newbolt was hanged, and there remained on the gallowes by the space of two daies. A notable example of iustice, whereby the king verefied the report that was commonlie noised abroad of him; namelie that he could not abide the shedding of mans bloud, much lesse wilfull murther. Wherein he shewed how tender he was ouer his subiects, and also how seuere against malefactors, speciallie mankillers; whome he thought vnworthie of life, that had béene the instruments of others death; according to the law:

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 896.

Newbolt a yeoman of the gard hanged.

——oculos oculis & dentibus esse
Pensandos dentes: sic par erit vltio culpæ.

Gu. Ha. in Ma 5.

¶ In this season one Jerome Bonuise, which was borne in Luke, and was factor in London for merchants of that nation, and had plated bankerupt, and was conueied out of the realme for debt, was now in such fauour with pope Julie, that he made him his collector and proctor in England: & so he kept a great port, and resorted to the king and his councell for the popes affaires (which then was sore troubled by the French king) so that he knew both the popes councell and the kings, and falselie and vntrulie resorted by night to the French ambassadours lieng in London, and to them discouered what the king and the pope intended, which was not so closelie done, but the king knew it: and so he was laid for, & was taken communing with one of the said ambassadours vpon London wall at midnight, and brought to the Tower, where he remained vntill by the sute of his frends he was deliuered, and shortlie for shame voided the realme.]

Edw. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. xvj. Jerome Bonuise the popes collector and proctor in England a false knaue.

The king of Aragon also, hauing at that time warre with the French king, wrote to his sonne in law king Henrie, that if he would send ouer an armie into Biskaie, and so to inuade France on that side, for the recouerie first of his duchie of Guien; he would aid them with ordinance, horsemen, beasts, and cariages, with other necessaries apperteining to the same. The king and his councell putting their affiance in this promise of king Ferdinando, prepared a noble armie all of footmen, and small artillerie, appointing the noble lord Thomas Greie marquesse Dorset to be chéefe conductor of the same. The king dailie studieng to set forth his warre which he had begun against the French king, caused sir Edward Howard his admerall with diligence to make readie diuerse goodlie tall ships, as the Souereigne and others, to the number of eightéene, besides other smaller vessels.

The French king hath his hands full of troubles.

Anno Reg. 4. Sir Edmund Howard lord admerall.

Therewith hauing in his compante sir Weston Browne, Griffith Downe, Edward Cobham, Thomas Windham, Thomas Lucie, William Pirton, Henrie Shirbourne, Stephan Bull, George Witwange, John Hopton, William Gunston, Thomas Draper, Edmund Cooke, John Burdet, and diuerse others, he toke the sea, and scowring the same, about the middest of Maie he came before Portelmouth. About the verie selfe time the lord marquesse Dorset, and other noblemen appointed for the iournie of Biskaie, as the lord Howard sonne and heire to the earle of Surrie, the lord Broke, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Ferrers, the lord John, the lord Anthonie, and the lord Leonard Greies, all three brethren to the marquesse; sir Griffith ap Rice, sir Morris

Noblemen appointed to the viage to Biskaie.

Morris Berkeleie, sir William Sands, the baron of Burford, sir Richard Cornewall brother to the said baron, William Husseie, John Pelton, William Kingston esquiers, sir Henrie Willoughbie, and diuerse others, with souldiers to the number of ten thousand.

Amongst these were fiue hundred Almans clad all in white, vnder the leading of one Guiot a gentleman of Flanders, all which (with the residue aboue named) came to Southampton, and there mustered their bands which were appointed and trimmed in the best maner. On the sixteenth date of Maie they were all bestowed aboord in Spanish ships furnished with vittels, and other necessaries for that iournie. The wind serued so well for their purpose, that they came all in safetie on the coast of Biskaie at the port of Pallagh southwest of Fonterabie; and so the third date of June they landed, and toke the field, imbattelling themselues for their safegard right strong-lie. Within three dates after that the armie was thus aland, there came to the marquesse an earle and an other noble man, to welcome him and his companie.

The Englishnobles arriue on the coast of Biskaie.

Then the lord capteine remoued his field, & toke an other place nearer to Fonterabie, where he laie a long time, looking euerie date to haue aid of horsemen and artillerie of the king of Aragon, but none came. Sir John Stile caused to be bought two hundred mulets and asses of such price as the Spaniards gained greatlie, and when they were put to carie and draw, they would not serue the turne, for they were not exercised thereto before that time: and so for want of beasts to draw such ordinance as the Englishmen had there with them, they lost the doing of some great exploit against the Frenchmen on the frontiers of Gascoigne, for they might haue run a great waie into that countrie, being as then destitute and vnpurueied of men and munitions.

The English campe greatlie hindered for want of beasts to draw their ordinance.

On a daie the Frenchmen made a skrie toward the English campe, but the Englishmen perceiuing them, passed the riuer that was betwixt them, and with arrowes chased the Frenchmen; so that for hast manie of their horsses foundered, and fell, yet they came to Baion: if there had béene anie horsemen amongst the Englishmen, they had sore indamaged their enimies. The king of Nauarre doubting least the Englishmen were come into those parties for no good meaning towards him, sent to the lord marquesse a bishop, and diuerse other, offering to minister vittels vnto the Englishmen for their monie, if it should stand so with his pleasure. The lord marquesse thanked him for the offer, and promised that if they of Nauarre would vittell his people, they should paie them well and trulie for the same.

A gentle offer by the king of Nauarre to the Englishmen.

He said also that he would warrant their passing and repassing in safetie, and that by the Englishmen no preiudice should be done to his realme. Herevpon were the Englishmen vittelled out of Nauarre, to their great comfort. After that the armie had laine thirtie daies in the second campe, there came from the king of Aragon a bishop and other nobles of his councell. This bishop was the same that made the answer to the lord Darcie at Calis the last yeare. The effect of his message was, to desire the lord capteine and his people to take patience for a while, and they should see that such preparation should be made for the furnishing of their enterprise, as should stand with the honour of his maister and their aduancements.

The effect of the bishops message sent from the king of Aragon to the lord marquesse.

The Englishmen sore discontented with their idle lieng still in the field, misliked with his excuses, supposing the same (as they proued in deed) to be nothing but delaies. In the meane time that the Englishmen thus lingered without attempting any exploit, their vittels were much part garlike, & they eating thereof with all their meats, and drinking hot wines, & feeding also on hot fruits, procured their bloud to boile within their bellies, that there fell sicke three thousand of the flix: & thereof died an eightéene hundred persons. The lord marquesse perceiuing this mischeefe, sent to the king of Spaine certeine of his capteins to know his pleasure. The king told them that shortlie the duke of Alua should ioine with them, bringing with him a mightie power; so that they might the more assuredlie proceed in their enterprise. With this answer they returned to the lord marquesse, who liked it neuer a deale; bicause he iudged that the king meant but to driue time with him, as after it proued.

Great death of the flix by vnwonted diet.

The lord marquesse sendeth to the K. of Spaine to performe promise.

In the meane time there began a mutinie in the English campe thorough a false report, contriued by some malicious person; which was, that the capteins should be allowed eight pense for euerie common souldier; where the truth was, that they had allowed to them but onelie six pense. The lord generall aduertised that the souldiers began to gather in companies, found meanes to apprehend the chéefe beginner, and deliuered him vnto William Kingston esquier, then prouost marshall; and so was he put to death to the terrour of all other. Whilest the Englishmen laie thus in campe on the borders of Biskaie towards Guien, the archers went oftentimes a foraging into the French confines almost to Baion, and burnt manie prettie villages. The king of Spaine raised an armie, and sent forth the same vnder the leading of the duke of Alua, which came forward as though he meant to haue come to the Englishmen; who being aduertised of his approch, were marueilouslie glad thereof, in hope that then they should be imploied about the enterprise for the which they were come.

The king of Spaines armie vnder the conduct of the duke of Alua.

But the duke intending an other thing, when he was aduanced forth within a daies iournie of them, suddenlie remoued his armie toward the realme of Nauarre, and entering the same, chased out of his realme the king of that land, and conquered the same to the king of Spains vse, as in the historie of Spaine more plainelie it doth appeare. After that the king of Spaine was thus possessed of the kingdome of Nauarre, he sent vnto the lord marquesse, promising to ioine with him shortlie, and so to inuade the borders of France; but he came not. Wherefore the Englishmen thought themselues not well vsed: for it greeued them much, that they should lie so longidle, sith there was so great hope conceiued at their setting forth, that there should be some great exploit atchiued by them, thorough the aid that was promised by the king of Spaine.

The kingdome of Nauarre gotten to the K. of Spaine.

Thus whilest the armie lingered without remouing, there chanced an affraie to rise betwixt the Englishmen and the townes-men of *Santta Maria*, a village so called, wherevnto such Englishmen as fell sicke, had their resort; and thereupon the alarms brought into the campe, the Englishmen and Almans ran in great furie to the succour of their fellowes: and notwithstanding all that the capteins could do to staie them, they slue and robbed the people without mercie. The Biskaines that could get awaie, fled ouer that water into Guien. The capteins yet so ordered the matter, that all the pillage was restored, and one and twentie souldiers were condemned, which were apprehended as they were fleeing awaie with a bootie of ten thousand duckats into Gascoigne; seauen of them were executed, and the residue pardoned of life, at the sute of certeine lords of Spaine, which were as then present.

A fraie betwéene the Englishmen & the townesmen of *Santta Maria*.

The Frenchmen hearing of this riot came forth

of Baion, to see and vnderstand the maner thereof: but perceiuing that the Englishmen had descried them, suddenlie they returned. The Englishmen followed, & comming to the towne of S. Jehan de Lucie, they burnt and robbed it, & slue the inhabitants. Diuerse other villages they spoiled on the borders of Guien; but bicause they wanted both horsses of seruice, and horsses to draw forth their ordinance, they could not doo anie such damage as they might and would haue done, if they had béene furnished according to their desires in that point. Thus continued the English armie in such wearisome sort till the moneth of October, and then fell the lord marquesse sicke, and the lord Howard had the chéefe gouernance of the armie.

S. Jehans burnt by the English.

Then were sent from the king of Spaine diuerse lords of his priuie councell vnto the said lord Howard, to excuse the matter for that he came not according to his promise, requiring them, that sith the time of the yeare to make warre was past, it might please them to breake vp their campe, and to diuide themselues abroad into the townes and villages of his realme till the spring time of the yeare, that they might then go forward with their first pretended enterprise. The lord Howard shewed well in words that the Englishmen could not thinke well of the king of Spaines fained excuses, and vnprofitable delaies, to his small honor & their great hinderance & losse, hauing spent the king their maister so much treasure, and done so little hurt to his aduersaries. The Spaniards gaue faire words; and so in courteous maner departed.

The English campe in Biskaie breaketh vp.

Then about the end of October it was agréed amongest all the lords of the English hoast that they should breake vp their campe, and so they did. The lord marquesse and his people went to saint Sebastian, the lord Howard and his retinue to Rendre, the lord Willoughbie to Garschang, and sir William Sands with manie other capteins repaired to Fonterabie, and so euerie capteine with his retinue was placed in one towne or other. The king of England aduertised of the king of Spaine his meaning, sent an herald called Windsor with letters vnto his armie, willing his men there to tarie, & promising to send ouer to them right shortlie a new supplie, vnder the guiding of the lord Herbert his chamberleine.

The armie dispersed into sundrie villages.

Vnappeasable rage amongest the English souldiers.

When this letter was read, and the contents thereof notified, the souldiers began to be so highlie displeased; and spake such outragious words, as it was maruell to heare: & not contented with words, they were bent to haue done outragious déeds; insomuch that in their furie they had slaine the lord Howard and diuerse others, if they had not followed their intents: and hereupon they were glad to hire ships, and so imbarked themselues in the moneth of Nouember. When the lord marquesse was brought aboord, he was so weake and féeble of remembrance thorough sickenesse, that he asked where he was. In the beginning of December they landed here in England, and were glad to be at home, and got out of such a countrie, where they had little health, lesse pleasure, and much losse of time. The king of Spaine séemed to be sore discontented with their departure, openlie affirming, that if they had taried vntill the next spring, he would in their companie haue inuaded France.

The English armie returneth out of Biskaie.

The lord admerall in Britaine.

About the same time that the marquesse went into Spaine, that is to wit, about the middest of Maie, sir Edward Howard lord admerall of England, being on the sea afore Portesmouth, made forth againe to the sea, and directing his course towards Britaine on Trinitie sundaie arriued at Berthram baie with twentie great ships, and suddenlie set his men on land, and there wan a bulwarke, which the Britains kept and defended a while; but being ouercome, fled out of their hold, & left it to the Englishmen. Then the lord admerall passed seauen miles into the countrie, burning and wasting townes and villages, and in returning, skirmished with diuerse men of ames, and slue some of them: and notwithstanding that the Britains fought valiantlie in defense of their countrie; yet they were put to the worse, and so the lord admerall returned to his ships.

On the three & twentith daie of Maie being monday, he landed in the morning, and commanded to burne the house of the lord Piers Poguns, with the towne of Conquet, & diuerse other places, and chased the Britains into the castell of Brest: and notwithstanding all the assemblies and shewes that the Britains made, yet they suffered the English peaceablie to returne with their preies and booties. The first of June the Englishmen tooke land in Croiton baie, and then the lords of Britaine sent word to the lord admerall, that if he would abide, they would giue him battell. The admerall rewarded the messenger, and willed him to say to them that sent, that all that day they should find him in that place tarieng their comming.

Conquet and diuerse other places burnt by sir Edward Howard lord admerall of England.

Then to incourage diuerse gentlemen the more earnestlie to shew their valiancie, he dubbed them knights; as sir Edward Broke, brother to the lord Cobham, sir Griffith Downe, sir Thomas Windham, sir Thomas Lucie, sir John Burdet, sir William Pirton, sir Henrie Shirborne, and sir Stephan Bull. When the lord admerall saw the Frenchmen come, he comforted his men with pleasant words, thereby the more to incourage them. The whole number of the Englishmen was not much aboue fiue hundred, where the Frenchmen were at the least ten thousand; and yet when they saw the order of the Englishmen, they were suddenlie astonied.

Diuers gentlemen knighted by the lord admerall.

Then a gentleman of good experience and credit amongest them, aduised the other capteins not to fight; but to retire a little and take a strong ground, there to remaine till the Englishmen returned toward their ships: and then to take the aduantage. And so the capteins began to retire, which when the commons saw, they all ran awaie as fast as they might, supposing that the capteins had séene or knowne some great perill at hand, bicause they were not priuie to the purpose of their capteins. The lord admerall séeing what happened, when the night came departed to his ships. After this the gentlemen of Britaine sent to the admerall for a safeconduct for diuerse persons, which they ment to send to him about a treatie. The lord admerall was of his gentlenesse content to grant their request. Then certeine lords of Britaine tooke a bote, and came to the ship of the lord admerall, where he was set with all his councell of the armie about him.

The request of the Britains was, that it might please him to surcease his cruell kind of warre, in burning of townes and villages: but the admerall plainlie told them, that he was sent to make warre and not peace. Then they required a truce for six daies, which would not be granted; and to their reproofe, the admerall told them, that gentlemen ought to defend their countrie by force, rather than to sue for peace. And thus (making them a banket) he sent them awaie. And after hearing that there was ships of warre on the seas, he coasted from thence alongst the countrie of Normandie, still scowring the sea, so that no enimie durst appeare. And at length he came and laie by the Ile of Wight, to see if ante enimies would apeere. During which time, diuers ships were kept in the north seas, vnder the conduct of sir Edward Ichingham, John Lewes, John Louedale, and others.

The request of the lords of Britaine to the lord admerall.

A truce required for six daies.

This

Iustes at Grænwich.

This yeare also in June, the king kept a solemne iustes at Grænewich, the king & sir Charles Brandon taking vpon them to abide all commers. ¶ First came the ladies all in white and red silke, set vpon coursers trapped in the same sute, freated ouer with gold; after whom followed a founteine curiouslie made of russet sattin, with eight gargils spowting water: within the founteine sat a knight armed at all peces. After this founteine followed a ladie all in blacke silke drooped with fine siluer, on a courser trapped in the same. Then followed a knight in a horselitter, the coursers & litter apparelled with blacke with siluer drops. When the fountein came to the tilt, the ladies rode round about, and so did the founteine, and the knight within the litter. And after them were brought two goodlie coursers apparelled for the iusts: and when they came to the tilts end, the two knights mounted on the two coursers abiding all commers. The king was in the founteine, and sir Charles Brandon was in the litter. Then suddenlie with great noise of trumpets entred sir Thomas Kneuet in a castell of cole blacke, and ouer the castell was written, The dolorous castell, and so he and the earle of Essex, the lord Howard, and other ran their courses with the king and sir Charles Brandon, and euer the king brake most speares, and likelie was so to do yer he began, as in former time; the prise fell to his lot: so luckie was he and fortunat in the proofe of his prowes in martiall actiuitie, whereto from his yong yeers he was giuen, as the poet saith:

Huic erat à teneris annis ars bellica cordi.]

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall fol. xxj. A description of the shewes and triumphs then solemnlie held.

After this, the king hauing prepared men and ships readie to go to the sea vnder the gouernance of sir Anthonie Oughtred, sir Edward Ichingham, William Sidneie, and diuerse other gentlemen, appointed them to take the sea, and to come before the Ile of Wight, there to ioine with the lord admerall, which they did, but in their passage a gallie was lost by negligence of the maister. The king hauing a desire to see his nauie togither, rode to Portesmouth, and there appointed capteins for one of his chiefest ships called the Regent, sir Thomas Kneuet maister of his horsses, & sir John Carew of Deuonshire; and to the Souereigne he appointed for capteins, sir Charles Brandon, and sir Henrie Gilford; and with them in the Souereigne were put threescore of the tallest yeoman of the kings gard. Manie other gentlemen were ordeined capteins in other vessels. And the king made them a banket before their setting forward, and so commited them to God. They were in number fiue and twentie faire ships of great burden, well furnished of all things necessarie.

The king riding to Portesmouth appointeth capteins ouer his ships.

The kings nauie setteth out.

The French king in this meane while had prepared a nauie of thirtie nine saile in the hauen of Brest; and for chiefe he ordeined a great Carrike of Brest, apperteining to the quæne his wife, called Cordelier a verie strong ship, and verie well appointed. This nauie set forward out of Brest the tenth of August, and came to Britaine baie, in the which the same day was the English fleet arriued. When the Englishmen perceiued the Frenchmen to be issued forth of the hauen of Brest, they prepared themselues to battell, and made forth towards their enimie, which came fiercelie forward; and comming in sight ech of other, they shot off their ordinance so terriblie togither, that all the sea coast sounded of it. The lord admerall made with the great ship of Dæpe, and chased hir; sir Henrie Gilford and also sir Charles Brandon made with the great Carrike of Brest, being in the Souereigne, and laid stem to stem to the Carrike; but by negligence of the master, or else by smoke of the ordinance, or otherwise, the Souereigne was cast at the sterne of the Carrike, with which aduantage the Frenchmen shouted for ioy.

The English nauie incountereth with the French vpon the coast of Britaine.

But when sir Thomas Kneuet, who was readie to haue bored the great ship of Dæpe, saw that the Souereigne missed the Carrike, suddenlie he caused the Regent (in the which he was aboord) to make to the Carrike, and to grapple with hir a long boord And when they of the Carrike perceiued they could not depart, they let slip an anchor, and so with the streame the ships turned, and the Carrike was on the weather side, and the Regent on the lie side. The fight was cruell betwixt these two ships, the archers on the English side, & the crossebowes on the French part doing their vttermost to annoie each other: but finallie the Englishmen entered the Carrike, which being perceiued by a gunner, he desperatlie set fire in the gunpowder, as some say; though there were that affirmed, how sir Anthonie Oughtred following the Regent at the sterne, bowged hir in diuerse places, and set hir powder on fire.

A cruell fight betwixt the two nauies.

The English Regent, and the French Carrik burnt togither.

But howsoeuer it chanced, the whole ship by reason of the powder was set on fire, & so both the Carrike and the Regent being grappled togither, so as they could not fall off, were both consumed by fire at that instant. The French nauie perceiuing this, fled in all hast, some to Brest, and some to the Iles adioining. The Englishmen made out boats to helpe them in the Regent: but the fire was so terrible, that in maner no man durst approch; sauing that by the Iames of Hull certeine Frenchmen that could swim were saued. Capteine of this Carrike was sir Piers Morgan, and with him he had in the same nine hundred men: and with sir Thomas Kneuet and sir John Carew were seuen hundred; but all drowned and burnt. The Englishmen that night late in Berthram baie, for the French fleet was dispersed (as ye haue heard.) The lord admerall after this mischance thus happened to these two worthie ships, made againe to the sea, and scowred all alongest the coasts of Britaine, Normandie, and Picardie, taking manie French ships, and burning such as they could not well bring away with them.

The French nauie fleeth.

The king of England hearing of the losse of the Regent, caused a great ship to be made, such a one as the like had neuer béene séene in England, and named it Henrie grace de Dieu. The French king about the same time sent to a knight of the Rhodes called Priour Iehan, a Frenchman borne, of the countrie of Guien, requiring him to come by the streicts of Marrocke into Britaine: the which he did, bringing with him three gallies of force, with diuerse foists and row-gallies, so well ordinanced and trimmed, as the like had not béene séene in these parties before his comming. He had laine on the coasts of Barbarie to defend certeine of the religion, as they came from Tripolie. This yeare in the moneth of Nouember the king called his high court of parlement, in the which it was concluded, that the king himselfe in person with an armie roiall shuld inuade France; wherupon notice being giuen to such as shuld attend, they made their purueiance with all diligence that might be. In this parlement was granted to the king two fifteens, and foure demies: and head monie, of euerie duke ten markes, an earle fiue pounds, a lord foure pounds, a knight foure marks, & euerie man rated at eight hundred pounds in goods, to paie foure marks, and so after that rate, till him that was valued at fortie shillings, paied twelue pence, and euerie man that toke fortie shillings wages twelue pence, and euerie man and woman of fifteene yeares or vpward foure pence. The steeple and lanterne of Bow church in Cheape was this yeare finished. By fire this yeare a great part of the kings palace of Westminster, and the chappell in the Tower of London, and manie other places in England were burned. In Aprill, the king sent a great nauie of twelue thousand

The kings ship roiall called Henrie grace de Dieu

A parlement wherein it was concluded that king Henrie in proper person should inuade France.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 897. Great subsidie.

Bow steeple builded.

Kings palace at westminster burned.

thousand men to the sea. On Maie euen, Edmund de la Pole was beheaded on the Tower hill, his brother Richard was after slaine in France.]

Edmund de la Pole beheaded. 1513

After this parlement was ended, the king kept a solemne Christmasse at Grēenwich with danses and mummeries in most princelie maner. And on the Twelfe daie at night came into the hall a mount, called the rich mount. The mount was set full of rich flowers of silke, and especiallie full of brome slips full of cods, the branches were grēene sattin, and the flowers flat gold of damaske, which signified Plantagenet. On the top stood a goodlie beacon giuing light, round about the beacon sat the king and fiue other, all in cotes and caps of right crimsin veluet, embrodered with flat gold of damaske, their cotes set full of spangles of gold. And foure woodhouses drew the mount till it came before the quēne, and then the king and his companie descended and dansed. Then suddenlie the mount opened, and out came fiue ladies all in crimsin sattin and plunket, embrodered with gold and pearle, with French hoods on their heads, and they dansed alone. Then the lords of the mount toke the ladies and dansed togither: and the ladies reentered, and the mount closed, and so was conueied out of the hall. Then the king shifted him, and came to the quēne, and sat at the banket which was verie sumptuous.

Ed. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. xxij. The description of a rich mount being a Christmasse shew.

After Candlemasse, the king created sir Charles Brandon vicount Lisle. In March following was the kings naule of ships roiall & other set forth to the number of fortie and two, beside other balangers vnder the conduct of the lord admerall, accompanied with sir Walter Deuereux, lord Ferrers, sir Wolstan Brome, sir Edward Ichingham, sir Anthonie Pointz, sir John Wallop, sir Thomas Windam, sir Stephan Bull, William Fitz Williams, Arthur Plantagenet, William Sidneie esquiers, and diuerse other noble and valiant capteins. They sailed to Portesmouth, and there laie abiding wind, and when the same serued their turne, they weied anchor, & making saile into Britaine, came into Berthram baie, and there laie at anchor in sight of the French naule, which kept it selfe close within the hauen of Brest, without proffering to come abroad.

Sir Charles Brandon created vicount Lisle.

The naule set out againe.

The English naule purposing to set vpon the French in the hauen, are defeated by a mischāce.

The English perceiuing the maner of the French men, determined to set on them in the hauen, and making forward in good order of battell, at their first entrie one of their ships, whereof Arthur Plantagenet, was capteine, fell on a blind rocke, and burst in sunder, by reason whereof, all the other staied: and so the English capteins perceiuing that the hauen was dangerous to enter without an expert lodesman, they cast about, and returned to their harborough at Berthram baie againe. The Frenchmen perceiuing that the Englishmen meant to assaile them, moued their ships so neere to the castell of Brest as they could, and placed bulworks on the land on euerie side, to shot at the Englishmen. Also they traped togither foure and twentie great hulkes that came to the baie for salt, and set them on a row, to the intent that if the Englishmen had come to assault them, they would haue set those hulks on fire, and haue let them driue with the streame amongst the English ships.

The lord admerall would haue the king present in person at the encounter, and is rebuked.

Prior Jehan also laie still in Blanke sable baie, and plucked his gallies to the shore, setting his basilikes and other ordinance in the mouth of the baie, which baie was bulworked on euerie side, that by water it was not possible to be woone. The lord admerall perceiuing the French naule thus to lie in feare, wrote to the king to come thither in person, and to haue the honour of so high an enterprise: which writing the kings councell nothing allowed, for putting the king in ieopardie vpon the chance of the sea. Wherefore the king wrote to him sharplie againe, commanding him to accomplish that which appertained to his duetie: which caused him to aduenture things further than wisedome would he should (as after yee shall heare) to his vtter vndoing and casting awaie, God hauing ordeined the means by his prouidence, which the pagans implied (though wanting the light of grace) in the name of destinie, of them counted inuitable. [A destinie lamentable considering the qualitie of the person, with the maner of his dieng. Wherein although manie vainlie dispute, that fortune led him to so miserable an accident: yet if we will lift vp our considerations to God, we shall find that he hath reserued such a prerogatiue ouer all things which he hath created, that to him onelie belongeth the authoritie to dispose all things by the same power wherewith he hath created them of nothing.] And yet the foolish world (doting in blind ignorance, but pretending a singular insight in matters of secrecie) blusheth not to talke or rather to asseuere, casualtie, chancemedlie, misfortune, and such like foolish imaginations: whereas (indeed) the prouidence of God compasseth all things whatsoeuer, for nothing can be priuileged from the ampleneſſe of the same. Guic. pag 325.

Prior Jehan keeping him still within his hold, as a prisoner in a dungeon, did yet sometime send out his small foists to make a shew before the English naule, which chased them to the baie. But because the English ships were mightie vessels, they could not enter the baie: and therefore the lord admerall caused certeine boats to be manned forth, which toke one of the best foists that Prior Jehan had, and that with great danger: for the gallies and bulworks shot so freshlie all at one instant, that it was maruell how the Englishmen escaped. The lord admerall perceiuing that the Frenchmen would not come abroad, called a councell, wherein it was determined, that first they would assaile Prior Jehan and his gallies lieng in Blanke sable baie, and after to set on the residue of the French fleet in the hauen of Brest. Then first it was appointed, that the lord Ferrers, sir Stephan Bull, and other, should go aland with a conueuient number to assault the bulworkes, while the admerall entered with row barges and little gallies into the baie, and so should the Frenchmen be assailed both by water and land. Anno Reg. 5

A consultatiō about the assaulting of Prior Jehan

The lord admerall by the counsell of a Spanish knight called sir Alfonse Charant, affirming that he might enter the baie with little ieopardie, called to him William Fitz Williams, William Cooke, John Collete, and sir Wolstan Brome, as his cheefe and most trustie frends, making them priuie to his intent; which was to take on him the whole enterprise, with their assistance. And so on S. Markes daie, which is the fiue and twentith of April, the said admerall put himselfe in a small row barge, appointing three other small rowing ships, and his owne ship bote to attend him; and therewith vpon a sudden rowed into the baie, where Prior Jehan had moored vp his gallies iust to the ground: which gallies with the bulworkes on the land, shot so terriblie, that they that followed were afraid. But the admerall passed forward, & as soone as he came to the gallies, he entered & droue out the Frenchmen. William Fitz Williams within his ship was sore hurt with a quarell. The baie was shallow, and the other ships could not enter, for the tide was spent.

The admerall roweth into the baie where the Prior laie.

Which thing the Frenchmen perceiuing, they entered the gallies againe with morris pikes, and fought with the English in the gallies. The admerall perceiuing their approch, thought to haue entred againe into his row barge, which by violence of the tide was driuen downe the streame, and with a pike he was throwne

Sir Edward lord Howard admerall drowned.

throwne ouer the bord, and so drowned, and also the forenamed Alfonse was there slaine: all the other boates and vessels escaped verie hardlie awaie: for if they had taried, the tide had failed them, and then all had béene lost. The lord Ferrers and the other capteins were right sorowfull of this chance: but when there was no remedie, they determined not to attempt anie further, till they might vnderstand the kings pleasure, and so they returned into England.

The Frenchmen perceiuing that the English fléet departed from the coasts of Britaine and drew towards England, did come forth of their hauens, and Prior Jehan set forth his gallies and foists, and drawing alongst the coasts of Normandie and Britaine, coasted ouer to the borders of Sussex with all his companie, and there landed, and set fire on certeine poore cotages. The gentlemen that dwelt néere, raised the countrie, and came to the coast, and droue Prior Jehan to his gallies. The king was right sorie for the death of his admerall; but sorrow preuaileth not when the chance is past. Therefore the king hearing that the French nauie was abroad, called to him the lord Thomas Howard eldest brother to the late admerall, and sonne and heire aparant to the earle of Surrie, whome he made admerall, willing him to reuenge his brothers death. The lord Howard humblie thanked his grace of the trust that he put in him, and so immediatlie went to the sea, and scowred the same, that no Frenchman durst shew himselfe on the coast of England, for he fought with them at their owne ports.

The French gallies land in Sussex, and burne certeine cotages.

The lord Thomas Howard made admerall.

The king hauing all his prouisions readie for the warre, and meaning to passe the sea in his owne person, for the better taming of the lustie Frenchmen, appointed that worthie councellor and right redoubted chéefteine, the noble George Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, high steward of his houshold, to be capteine generall of his fore-ward; and in his companie were appointed to go, the lord Thomas Stanleie earle of Derbie, lord Decowreie prior of saint Johns, sir Robert Ratcliffe lord Fitzwater, the lord Hastings, the lord Cobham, sir Rice ap Thomas, sir Thomas Blunt, sir Richard Sacheuerell, sir John Digbie, sir John Askew, sir Lewes Bagot, sir Thomas Cornewall, and manie other knights, esquiers, and souldiers; to the number of eight thousand men. These passed the sea, and came all to Calis about the middle of Maie.

The earle of Shrewesburie sent into France with an armie.

The lord Herbert called sir Charles Somerset, lord chamberleine to the king, in the end of the same moneth followed the said earle of Shrewesburie, with six thousand men: in whose companie were the erls of Northumberland Percie, of Kent Greie, of Wiltshire Stafford, the lord Dudleie, the lord Delaware, and his sonne sir Thomas West, sir Edward Hussleie, sir Edward Dimmocke, sir Dauid Diwen, with manie other knights, esquiers, and gentlemen. After they had soiourned certeine daies in Calis, and that all their necessaries were readie, they issued forth of the towne, so to begin their campe. And first the earle of Shrewesburie and his companie toke the field, and after him the lord Herbert with his retinues in manner of a rere-ward. Then followed that valiant knight sir Rice ap Thomas, with fiue hundred light horsemen and archers on horsebacke, who ioined himselfe to the fore-ward, a gentleman of such spirit and hardinesse, that he is named the floure of the Welshmen, as the poet saith:

Ricius Thomas flos Cambrobritannûm.

These two lords thus imbattelled did remoue the seuentéenth of June to Sandifield, & on the eightéenth they came to Marquison, on the further side of the water, as though they would haue passed streight waies to Bullongne. But they meaning an other thing, the next daie toke an other waie, and so coasted the countrie with such diligence, that the two and twentith of June they came before the strong citie of Terrouan, and pight their tents a mile from the towne. The same night (as certeine capteins were in councell within the lord Herberts tent) the baron Carew was slaine with a bullet shot out of the towne; which sudden aduenture much dismaied the assemblie, but the lord Herbert comforted them with manlie words, and so his death was passed ouer. All the countrie of Artois and Picardie fortified their holds, and made shewes as the English armie passed, but they durst not once assaile them.

The English armie marcheth vnto Terwine.

The baron of Carew slaine.

The citie of Terrouan was stronglie fortified with walles, rampiers, bulworks, and large ditches. The lord Pontremie was gouernour within it, hauing with him six hundred horsemen, and 2500 Almans, besides the inhabitants. The walles & towers were full of ordinance, which oftentimes did much displeasure to the Englishmen. The earle of Shrewesburie planted his siege on the northwest side of the towne, and the lord Herbert on the east side, causing great trenches to be made to couer his people withall: for on that side there was no hill to succour or defend him. The Frenchmen and Almans would diuerse times issue out, but the archers were euer readie to beat them into the citie againe. The earle of Shrewesburie got into an hollow ground or vallie néere to the citie, and likewise the lord Herbert (by reason of his trenches) approched likewise verie néere to the ditches.

The lord Pontremie capteine of Terwine.

Terwine besieged.

The seuen and twentith daie of June being mondaie, sir Nicholas Vaux and sir Edward Belknap, hauing with them foure hundred and three score men set from Guisnes to conduct foure and twentie carts laden with vittels towards the siege at Terrouan; but the duke of Vandosme lieutenant of Picardie with eight hundred horsemen set on them as they passed through Ard, and found them so out of order, that notwithstanding all that the English capteins could do to bring men into arraie, it would not be: for the Frenchmen set on so readilie, that they kept the Englishmen in sunder. Yet the horsemen of Guisnes, being not past foure and twentie in all, toke their speares and ioined with the Frenchmen right manfullie, and likewise three score archers shot freshlie at their enimies; but the Frenchmen were so manie in number, that they obteined the place, slue eight gentlemen, and diuerse archers. Sir Nicholas Vaux and sir Edward Belknap fled toward Guisnes.

Thus were the vittels lost, and yet the Frenchmen went not awaie with cléere hands: for those few archers that closed togither, shot so egerlie, that they slue and hurt diuerse Frenchmen; and on the field laie foure score and seuen great horsses, which died there in the place, and neuer went further. On the fiftéenth day of June the K. departed from Gréenewich, taking his iourneie towards Douer, whither he came by easie iournies, and the quéene in his compánie. After he had rested a season in the castell of Douer, and taken order for the rule of the realme in his absence, he toke leaue of the quéene, and entring his ship the last daie of June, being the daie of saint Paule: he sailed ouer to Calis, where he was receiued with great ioy by the deputie sir Gilbert Talbot and all other there. At his entring into Calis, all the banished men entred with him, and were restored to the libertie of the towne. The king laie in Calis a certeine time, till all his prouisions were readie, but the armie laie in campe at Newnham bridge.

The king in person passeth ouer into France.

On the one and twentith of Julie, the kings maiestis passed forth of Calis, and toke the field, diuiding

The order of the kings armie.

ding the armie which he had there with him into three battels. The lord Lisle marshall of the host was capteine of the fore-ward, and vnder him three thousand men: sir Richard Carew with three hundred kept on the right side of the same fore-ward as a wing thereto: and the lord Darcie with other three hundred men was a wing on the left hand. The fore-riders of this battell were the Northumberland men on light geldings. The earle of Esser was lieutenant generall of the speares, and sir John Pechie was vicegouernour of all the horsemen, and sir John Burdet standard-bearer to the kings spears. An eight hundred Almans went on a plumpe by themselues before the kings battell, and the duke of Buckingham with six hundred men was on the kings left hand, equall with the Almans, in like maner as sir Edward Poinings was on the right hand, with other six hundred men equall with the Almans.

In the kings battell, where was the standard of the armes of England borne by sir Henrie Guilford, there were three thousand; & the lord of Aburgauenie with eight hundred men was wing on the right hand, and sir William Compton with the retinue of the bishop of Winchester, and of maister * Wolsele the kings almoner, being in number eight hundred was in manner of a rere-gard. Sir Anthonie Doughtred and sir John Neuill with the kings speares that followed were foure hundred, and so the whole armie conteined eleuen thousand and three hundred men. The number of the carlages were thirteene hundred, and the number of them that attended the same were nineteene hundred men, and all these were reckoned in the battell: but of good fighting men & souldiers appointed for the purpose, there were not full nine thousand. In this order the king with his armie marched forward through the confines of his enimies to the siege of Terrouan, entring into the French ground the fiue and twentith of Julie being mondaie. On the morrow after as the armie marched forward, by negligence of the carters that mistooke the waie, a great curtall (called the John Euangelist) was ouerthrowne in a deepe pond of water and could not quicklie be recouered.

* This man was afterward cardinall.

The king being aduertised that the Frenchmen approched to fight with him, left the gun (because the maister carpenter vndertooke to weie it shortlie out of the water) & set forward, passing on by Tornohan, which he left on his right hand, and a little beyond pitched downe his field abiding for his enimies, the which (as he was informed) were not far off. On the morrow after being wednesdaie, the Reliefe of the speares brought word that they had aspied the French armie comming forward in order of battell, to the number of eleuen thousand footmen, and foure thousand horsemen. Capteins of this armie were the lord de la Palice, the lord de Pienues, the duke of Longuile, the earle of S. Paule, the lord of Floringes, the lord of Clermont, & Richard de la Pole a banished man, son to John duke of Suffolke. They came within two miles of the kings armie, and there the footmen staied, and came no further.

The French armie approcheth, & their number.

But certeine of the horsemen to the number of three thousand came forward, and at the end of a wood shewed themselues in open sight of the English armie. And thus they stood countenancing the Englishmen. Some of the northerne prickers made to them, and in skirmishing with them, take some of them prisoners. About none the same daie, that valiant Welsh knight sir Rice ap Thomas with his retinue of horsemen being departed from the siege of Terrouan came to the king, and streight waies was sent to the earle of Esser, which with two hundred speares was laid in a stale, if the Frenchmen had come nearer. When they were ioined togither, they drew about the hill, hauing with them sir Thomas Guilford, with two hundred archers on horsebacke, meaning to set on the Frenchmen: which perceiuing that, and doubting least more companie had followed, they suddenlie drew backe, and ioined them with their great battell.

The northern prickers plaie the men.

Then the earle of Esser and the English horsemen followed them, till they came neere to the armie of France, and then scaled and sent forth light horsemen to view the demeanor of the Frenchmen. When the Frenchmen of armes were returned to their battell, then both the horsemen and footmen withdrew in order of battell, and still the English curroys followed them for the space of three leagues, and then returned to the earle, making report to him of that they had seene, who then brake vp his stale, and came to the king, declaring to him how the Frenchmen were gone backe. This was called the drie wednesdaie; for the daie was wonderfull hot, and the king with his armie stood in order of battell, from six of the clocke in the morning till three of the clocke in the after none. And some died for lacke of moisture, and generallie euerie man was burned about the mouth with heat of the stomach; for drinke lacked, and water was not neere.

The drie wednesdaie.

After this the king remoued toward Terronan, and as he was setting forward, the lord Walon of Flanders came to him with his horsemen, which were alreadie in the kings wages. As the armie passed, by negligence the same daie in a lane was ouerthrowne one of the kings bombards of iron, called the red gun, and there left. The king lodged that night two miles from saint Omers on the north side of the towne. On the thursdaie, being the eight and twentith of Julie, the maister carpenter with an hundred carpenters and labourers, without knowledge of the marshall, went to weie vp the great gun that was in the pond (as ye haue heard) and by force of engins drew it vp, and carted it readie to bring awaie: but suddenlie there came an eight hundred Frenchmen with speares, crossebowes, and handguns, which set on the labourers so fiercelie, that notwithstanding their manfull defense, the most part of them were slaine and the residue taken, and both they and the peece of ordinance conueied to Bullongne.

The bombard called the red gun ouerthrowne.

The great gun gotten by the French, by the folish hardinesse of the maister carpenter.

The Frenchmen glad of this chance, assembled a great number to fetch the other gun, which laie yet in the lane. But the lord Berners being capteine of the ploners, and hearing all these things, prepared to recouer that gun; and so in the morrow ment to fetch it. There were appointed to go backe to see him safe conducted, the earle of Esser with his companie of speares, sir Rice ap Thomas with his retinue, and sir John Neuill with the Northumberland men. The Almans also were commanded to retire backe to the succours of them that were gone for the gun. The Almans went forth, till they came within two miles of the place where the gun laie, and further they would not go. The Frenchmen to the number of nine or ten thousand men (as some esteemed) were abroad, and came toward the place where the Englishmen were carting the peece of ordinance.

The Northumberland horsemen hauing espied them, gaue knowledge to the residue of the Englishmen, who prepared themselues to defend their ground against the enimies: and the earle of Esser sent to the lord Walon, willing him with his companie to come to his aid: but the lord Walon sent word againe, that he was come to serue the king of England more than for one daie, and therefore he wished that all the Englishmen would returne, sith that with the great power of France, they were not able to match. This answer was much displeasant to the earle of Esser and the other capteins. In this meane time

The lord Walon sendeth the earle of Esser word that he is come to serue the king of England.

time the forerïders of the French part were come to the hands of the Englishmen, and so they fell in skirmish very hotlie: but at length all things considered, and speciallie the small number of the Englishmen, being not aboue seuen hundred horssemen, it was thought best that they should returne and follow the gun, which they had sent forward.

Herevpon they retreited in order, and not in anie fleing manner, still following the gun. The Frenchmen perceiuing that, pricked forward to the number of two thousand horssemen, & came iust to the backs of the Englishmen, who therewith cast about, and made returne to the Frenchmen. Sir William Tiler and sir John Sharpe were the first that charged, and after all the other Englishmen. The Frenchmen fled immediatlie so fast backe, that happie was he that might be formost. The whole host séeing their horssemen thus had in chase, suddenlie returned. The earle of Esser withdrew to an hill, and there caused his trumpet to blow to the standard for feare of subtile dealing; and when his men were come in, and gathered togither, he returned. On the same date being fridate, the nine and twentith of Julie, the king came to Arkes, & there incamped; whither the earle of Esser came to him, and declared what had beene done that daie, the king thanking him and other the capteins for their paines and diligence.

The king incampeth to Arkes.

The king commeth to the siege.

The king laie here at Arkes till mondaie the first of August, and then remoued to a village midwaie betwixt Terwine and saint Omers, where he lay till thursdaie the fourth of August, and came that daie in good order of battell before the citie of Terwine, & there pight vp his tents and pauillions in most rotall manner, fensing his campe right stronglie with ordinance and other warlike deuises. [The king for himselfe had a house of timber with a chimnie of iron, and for his other lodgings he had great and goodlie tents of blew water worke garnished with yellow and white, diuerse romes within the same for all offices necessarie. On the top of the pauillions stood the kings beasts holding fanes, as the lion, the dragon, the greihound, the antelope, the dun cow: all within the lodging was pointed full of the sunnes rising, the lodging was one hundred and fiue and twentie foote in length.]

Edw. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. 28.

The king lieng before Terwine, his great ordinance did sore beat the towne walles, & they within likewise shot ordinance out of the towne, and slue diuerse Englishmen in the trenches, among which shots they had one gun that euerie daie and night was ordinarilie shot at certeine houres without faile: this gun was of the Englishmen called the whistling gun, but it neuer did harme in the kings field. The siege thus lieng before the citie of Terwine, sir Alexander Bainam a capteine of the miners, caused a mine to be enterprised to enter into the towne: but the Frenchmen perceiuing that, made a countermine, and so destroied the other mine, and diuerse miners slaine within the same. The French armie houered euer a farre to take the Englishmen at aduantage, as they went a forraging; and manie a skirmish was done, and manie good feates of armes atchiued on both sides, and diuerse prisoners taken. Among the Frenchmen were certeine light horssemen called Stradiots, with short stirrops, better hats, small speares, and swords like cimiteries of Turkie: diuerse times the northerne light horssmen vnder the conduct of sir John Neuill skirmished with these Stradiots and toke diuerse of them prisoners, and brought them to the king.

Stradiots described and incountered of the English light horssemen.

While the king laie thus before Terwine, the capteine of Bullongne knowing by his espials, that manie of the garrison of Calis were with the king at the siege, and also that vittels were dailie brought out of England to Calis to succour the campe, imagined a great enterprise, and sent for all the men of warre vnder his dominion and rule, and declared to them what honour they should obteine if they hurted or spoiled the out parts of Calis, the king of England on that side of the sea. The men of warre perceiuing the good courage of the capteine, assented to his purpose, and so with all diligence they, to the number of a thousand men, in the euening set forward, & came to Newnam bridge by three of the clocke in the morning, and found the watchmen that kept the bridge aslepe, & so entred the bulworke and slue the watchmen, and toke the ordinance of the bridge, and then let the bridge fall, so that all entred that would.

The capteine of Bullongne kept six hundred men for a stale at the bridge, & sent the other into the marishes and medows to fetch awaie the beasts and cattell which they should find there. This was done, and some of them came so nére the walles of Calis, that they were escried. And about a six score coupers, bakers, shipmen & other which laie without the towne, hearing the alarme, got togither, & setting on those Frenchmen which were aduanced so nére the towne, slue them downe that abode, chased them that fled euen into Newnam bridge, and recouered the same, and put backe their enimies. About fiue of the clocke in the morning, the gate of Calis called Bullongne gate was opened, and then by permission of the deputie, one Culpeper the vnder-marshall with two hundred archers vnder a banner of saint George issued forth.

watchmen found slæping serued iustlie.

Culpeper vnder-marshall of Calis.

All these in great hast came to Newnam bridge, where they found the other Englishmen that had wonne the bridge of the Frenchmen, and so altogither set forward to assaile the Frenchmen that kept the stale, and taried till the residue of their companie which were gone a forraging vnto Calis walles were come: for the other that had spoiled the marishes were returned with a great bootie. At the first, when the Frenchmen saw the Englishmen approch, they thought they had bene their owne fellowes. But when they saw the banner of saint George, they perceiued how the matter went, & so determined to defend themselues against their enimies; but the Englishmen set so fiercelie on, that finallie the Frenchmen were discomfited, and foure and twentie of them slaine, beside twelue score that were taken prisoners, and all the ordinance and bootie againe recouered.

These prisoners were brought to Calis, & there sold in open market. [Among all other, a couper of the towne of Calis bought a prisoner of this bootie that dwelt in Bullongne, and had of the prisoner an hundred crowns for his ransome. When the monie was paied, the Frenchman praied the couper to see him safe deliuered, and to conduct him out of danger. The couper gentlie granted, and without anie knowledge of his friends, all alone went with the Frenchman till he came beyond the causeie, & there would haue departed: but the Frenchman perceiuing that the couper was aged, and that no reskue was nie, by force toke the couper prisoner, and caried him to Bullongne, & made him paie two hundred crowns for his ransome: thus through follie was the poore couper deceiued. Wherefore it is wisedome for a man to hold fast his possession, and to supplie his want of strength by subtiltie; imitating therein the fox, which although in force he be inferior to the lion, as not able to beare the yerking of his taile, or a pelt of his paw; yet in craft he goeth beyond that boisterous beast, and so escapeth danger, which otherwise he might sustteine.]

Abr. Fl. ex Ed. Hall in H. 8. fol. xxviij.

The follie of a couper.

On the eleuenth day of August, being thursday, the king lieng at the siege of Terwine, had knowledge that Maximilian the emperour was in the towne of

Aire.

The emperor Maximilian and the king of England meet.

Aire. The king prepared all things necessarie to meet with the emperour in triumph. The noble men of the kings campe were gorgeouslie apparelled, their coursers barded with cloth of gold, of damaske and broderie, their apparell all tissue, cloth of gold and siluer, and goldsmiths worke, great chains of bauderikes of gold, and belles of bullion: but in especiall the duke of Buckingham, he was in purple sattin, his apparell and his bard full of antelops and swans of fine gold bullion, and full of spangles, & little bels of gold maruellous costlie and pleasant to behold. The K. was in a garment of great riches in iewels and stone, he was armed in a light armour. The master of his horsse followed him with a spare horsse, the henchmen followed bearing the kings peces of harnesse, euerie one mounted on a great courser.

The kings harnesse and furniture.

The one bare his helmet, the second his grangard, the third his speare, the fourth his are, and so euerie one had something belonging to a man of armes. The apparell of the nine henchmen were white cloth of gold, and crimsin cloth of gold, richlie embrodered with goldsmithes worke, the trappers of the coursers were mantell harnesse coulpened, and in euerie vent a long bell of fine gold, and on euerie pendent a depe tassell of fine gold in bullion, which trappers were verie rich. The king and the emperour met betweene Aire and the campe, in the foulest weather that lightlie hath beene seene. The emperour gentlie interteined the king, and the king likewise him, and after a little communication had betwene them, bicause the weather was foule, they parted for that time. The emperour & all his men were at that date all in blacke cloth, for the empresse his wife was latelie deceased.

A letter of defiance sent by the Scotish king to king Henrie.

Within a day or two after this interuiew, and that the king was returned to his campe, thither came a king at armes of Scotland called Lion, with his cote of armes on his backe, who within short time was by Gartier king of armes brought to the kings presence, where he being almost dismaid to see the king so noblie accompanied, with few words & meetlie good countenance, deliuered a letter to the king, which his grace receiued and read it himselfe; and therewith hauing conceiued the whole contents thereof, made this answer immediatly to the herald.

The king of Englands speach to the Scotish kings herald uttered without premeditation.

Now we perceiue the king of Scots our brother in law, and your master to be the same person whom we euer toke him to be, for we neuer estéemed him to be of anie truth: and so now we haue found it. For notwithstanding his oth, his promise in the word of a king, and his owne hand and seale; yet now he hath broken his faith & promise to his great dishonour and infamie for euer, and intendeth to inuade our realme in our absence, which he durst not once attempt, our owne person being present. But he sheweth himselfe not to be degenerat from the conditions of his forfathers, whose faiths (for the most part) haue euer béene violated, and their promises neuer obserued, further than they list. Therefore tell thy master, first, that he shall neuer be comprised in anie league wherein I am a confederat; and also that I suspecting his truth (as now the déed proueth) haue left an earle in my realme at home, which shall be able to defend him and all his power. For we haue prouided so, that he shall not find our land destitute of people as he thinketh to do: but this saie to thy master, that I am the very owner of Scotland, & that he holdeth it of me by homage. And insomuch as now, contrarie to his bounden dutie, he being my vassall, doth rebell against me, with Gods helpe I shall at my returne expell him his realme, and so tell him.

Sir said the king of armes, I am his naturall subiect, and he is my naturall lord, and that he commandeth me to say, I may boldlie say with fauour, but the commandements of other I may not, nor dare say to my souereigne: but your letters, with your honor sent, may declare your pleasure, for I may not say such words of reproch to him, to whom I owe onelie mine allegiance and faith. Then said the king, Wherfore came you hither? will you receiue no answer? Yes said Lion, but your answer requireth doing and no writing, that is, that immediatlie you should returne home. Well said the king; I will returne to your damage, and not at thy maisters summoning. Then the king commanded Gartier to take him to his tent, and to make him good cheare, which so did, and cherished him well: for he was sore abashed.

After he was departed, the king sent for all the capteins, and before them and his councell caused the letter to be read, the contents wherof were, that king Henrie had not dealt with him uprightlie in sundrie points, as in mainteining of those which had slaine his people of Scotland by sea, and also in succouring bastard Heron with his complices, which had (under truse of daies of méeting for iustice) slaine his warden. Also his wiues legacie was by him withholden: & moreouer, where first he had desired him in fauour of his dere cousin the duke of Gelder, not to attempt anie thing against him; yet had he sent his people to inuade the said dukes countrie, which did what in them lay to destroie and dishinherit the said duke, that had nothing offended against him.

The effect of the Scotish kings letter to K. Henrie. See historie of Scotland, pa. 295, and Edw. Hall, in H.8. fol.xxix,xxx.

And now againe, where he had made the like request for his brother & cousine the most christian king of France: yet notwithstanding, had the king of England caused him to lose his duchie of Millaine, and at this present inuaded his realme with all his puissance, to destroie him and his subiects, whereas yet the said king of France had béene euer frend to him, & neuer giuen him occasion thus to do. In consideration of which iniuries receiued in his owne person, and in his friends, he must néeds seeke redresse, and take part with his brother and cousine the said king of France. Wherefore he required him to desist from further inuasion and destruction of the French dominions, which to do if he refused, he plainlie declared by the same letters, that he would do what he could to cause him to desist from further pursute in that his enterprise, & also giue letters of marque to his subiects for the deniall of iustice made to them by the king of England.

The letters thus sent to the king of England, were dated at Edenburgh the six and twentith daie of Julie, and giuen vnder the signet of the said Scotish king. When the king had thus caused these letters to be read, and throughlie considered of them as apperteined, he sent them straight to the earle of Surrie, which then laie at Pomfret, and caused other letters to be deuised to the king of Scots, the effect whereof was; that although he well perceiued by the kings letters, which he had receiued from him, in what sort, vnder colour of contriued occasions and feined quarrelles, he meant to breake the peace, he did not much maruell thereat, considering the ancient accustomed manners of some his progenitors.

King Henrie his answere to the Scotish kings letters. See historie of Scotland pag. 297. and Edw. Hall in He. 8. fol. 30, 3

Howbeit, if loue and dread of God, nighnesse of blod, honour of the world, law and reason had bound him, it might be supposed, that he would neuer so farre haue proceéded; wherein the pope and all princes christned might well note in him dishonorable demeanor, which had dissembled the matter, whilest he was at home in his realme; and now in his absence thus went about vpon forged causes to vtter his old rancor, which in couert manner he had long kept secret. Neuertheles, vpon mistrust of such vnstedfastnesse, he had put his realme in a readinesse to resist his enterprises, as he doubted not through Gods fauour, and the assistance of his confederats, he should be able to resist the malice of all schismatikes, and their

In euill deed to breake the league of peace.

their adherents, being by generall councell erpreslie excommunicated & interdicted, trusting in time conuenient to remember his friends, & requite his foes.

The king of Nauarre a king without a realme, and why.

Moreouer, he willed him to set before his eies the example of the king of Nauarre, who for assistance giuen to the French king was now a king without a realme. And as touching answere to be made to the manifold griefs in the Scotish kings letters surmised, if law or reason could haue remoued him from his sensuall opinions, he had bene manie times alreadie answered sufficientlie to the same; vnlesse to the pretended griefs therein amongst other comprised, for denieng of a safe conduct to the Scotish ambassadour to haue bene lastly sent vnto him. Whervnto thus he answered; that the same safe conduct had bene granted, if the Scotish herald would haue taken it with him.

The king of Englands answere to the last clause of the Scotish kings letter.

And finallie, as touching the Scotish kings request, to desist from further attempting against the French K. he signified to him, that he knew him for no competent iudge of so high authoritie, as to require him in that behalfe, and therefore God willing he ment with the aid and assistance of his confederats & alies to prosecute his begun attempt. And as the Scotish king should do to him, & to his realme, so it should be hereafter remembred and acquited. These letters were written in the campe before Terwine the twelfe of August, and giuen vnder the kings signet, and therewith deliuered to Lion king of armes, who had of the king 100 angels in reward.

An hundred angels to a Scotish herald for a reward.

Then departed he with his letters into Flanders, there to take ship to saile into Scotland, but yer he could haue a vessell and wind for his purpose, his maister was slaine, as after ye shall heare. In this meane while the Frenchmen being assembled and lodged in campe at Blangie on this side Amiens, the French king appointed that all the horssmen to the number of eight thousand (as Paulus Iouius recordeth) should go with vittels vnto Terwine, and put the same into the towne, if by anie meanes they might, for that those within stood as then in great necessitie for want of vittels.

Fourtéene hundred men of armes hath Monsieur de Langeie.

Monsieur de Piennes appointed by the French king to vittell Terwine.

The charge of this conueie was committed vnto Monsieur de Piennes, because he was lieutenant of those marches: notwithstanding there were amongst the number, other noble men of more high degrée in honor, and also of great prowesse, fame, and experience, furnished with sundrie bands of men at armes of long approued valiancie, and vsed to go awaie with victorie in manie a dangerous conflict and battell, wanting at this present nothing but their old accustomed good fortune. Whilest the Frenchmen were thus prepared to come with vittels to Terwine, the emperour Maximilian came from Aire to the kings campe before Terwine the twelfe of August, wearing a crosse of saint George as the kings souldier, & receiuing of him salarie for seruice; which *Anglorum prælia* noteth as notewoorthie, saieng:

The emperor Maximilian weareth a crosse of saint George as souldier to the king of England.

sub rege Anglorum magnus meret imperator.

The emperour was honourablie receiued, and lodged in a rich tent of cloth of gold prepared for him, according as was conuenient for his estate. He tarried vntill sundaie being the fourtéenth of August, and then returned to Aire: and on the morrow after came againe being mondaie the fiftéenth of August, on which daie there chanced a great fraie betwixt the Almans of the kings campe, and the Englishmen, insomuch that manie were slaine. The Almans ran to the kings ordinance and toke it, and imbattelled themselues, and bent the ordinance against the king and his campe. The English prepared their bowes, and the Almans made redie their pikes: but the captens toke such paines in the matter, that the fraie was appeased.

A fraie betweene the Almans of the kings campe, and the Englishmen well appeased by the discretion of the captens.

Now as this trouble was in hand, the emperour came from Aire, and saw all the demeanour of both parts, and was glad to behold the discréet behauiour of the captens. After that the emperour was thus come to the kings field, the king called a councell, at the which the emperour was present, where it was debated, by what meanes they might best constreine them within to deliuer vp the towne, and especiallie how to kéepe them from vittels & other succours, which the French armie (as it was knowne) meant verie shortlie to minister vnto them. Some were of this mind, and namelie the emperour; that bridges should be made ouer the riuer, to passe ouer a part of the armie to besiege the towne on that side; where otherwise the French armie might vittell the towne at their pleasures.

The king and the emperour consult which waies were best to besiege Terwine, to preuent the vittelling of it.

Others were of a contrarie mind, doubting what might happen, if the armie should be so diuided, least the Frenchmen setting on the backe of the one part of the armie, and they within the towne to sallie out in their faces, some misfortune might happen per the other part could passe the riuer to the succour of their fellowes. Yet at length the former purpose was allowed as most necessarie; and therefore commandement was giuen to the maister of the ordinance, that in all hast he should cause fiue bridges to be made ouer the water for the armie to passe. The carpenters so aplied their woorke that night, that the bridges were made by the next morow, and all the horssemen first passed ouer, and then the king with his whole battell, and the great ordinance followed and passed ouer to the other side of the water. This was on the sixteenth daie of August being tuesdaie.

Fiue bridges made in one night for the armie to passe ouer the riuer at Terwine.

On the same morning the Frenchmen were comming with their conueie of vittels to refresh the towne, hauing appointed one part of their troops to kéepe on that side the riuer where the English armie was first incamped, and where the earle of Shrewesburie still kept his field; that in offering the skirmish on that side, the residue of the horssemen might with more ease and safetie put the vittels and other necessarie things into the towne on the other side. Here might a man haue séene of what force in wars sudden chance is oftentimes. For the king thus with his battell passing the riuer, meaning to besiege the towne on euerie side, and the Frenchmen at that same instant hauing also passed the riuer with other carriages laden with vittels, purposing to releéue the towne on that side, caused no small doubt to be conceiued of eth others meaning, on both parts, least that the one, hauing knowlege of the others purpose, had bene prepared for to hinder the same.

Polydor. The force of sudden chance in warre.

And yet was it nothing so, for neither the king knew of the Frenchmens approch that daie, neither they of his passing ouer the water. But when the king had aduertisement giuen him (by the light horssemen that were sent abroad to discouer the countrie) how the Frenchmen were at hand; he prepared himselfe to the battell, and first set forth his horssemen, and then followed himselfe with his battell of footemen. The French captens being hereof aduised, determined not to fight without their footmen; and therefore with all spéed sent backe their carriages, and staied with their horssemen, vntill the carriages might haue leasure to get out of danger. In the meane time the Englishmen aduanced forward, and their horssemen mounted vp the hill, where the French horssemen were in troope, with thirtie and three standards spred, & might sée the Englishmen comming, and the kings battell marching forward with the Almans.

Edw. Hall. Polydor.

The king with his battell of footmen.

There were amongest the Frenchmen certeine companies of Estradiots, which being placed before the French hoast, as they came downe the hill to

skirmish with the Englishmen saw where the banners of the English horsemen were comming, and the kings battell following vpward, weening verelie that all had béene horsemen, whervpon they cast themselues about and fled. The Frenchmen were so fast in arraie, that the Estradiots could not enter; and so they ran still by the ends of the Frenchmens ranks. Herewith the English horsemen set on, and about an hundred archers on horsse-backe, being lighted beside their horsses, and set by an hedge all alongest a village side called Bomie, shot freshlie at their enimies; & also certeine culuerings being placed on the top of an hill were discharged amongest the thickest preasse of the Frenchmen; so that finallie the French were discomfited: for those that were behind saw the fall of some of their standards, which the Englishmen ouerthrew, and their Estradiots also (in whome they had great confidence) returne.

The Estradiots mistaking footmen for horsemen fled first.

They that were furthest off fled first, and then the Englishmen & Burgognian horsemen, which were with them, egerlie followed the chase, in the which were taken the duke of Longuile, brother to the earle of Dunois that had married the daughter and heire to the marquesse of Rothlois, the lord of Clermont, capteine Baiard, monsieur de Busie, and other, to the number of twelue score prisoners, and all brought to the kings presence with six standards, which were likewise taken. The Burgognians brought not their prisoners to sight. Monsieur de la Palice, and monsieur de Imbrecourt being taken of them and knowne, were put to their ransomes, and licenced mainteinantlie to depart vpon their word. Thus was the power of the French horsemen by the sharpe incounter of the English horsemen, and full sight of the battels of the footmen, following in arraie at the backs of the horsemen, and the discharging of certeine culuerings amongst them, quickelie put to flight without anie great resistance.

A great ouerthrow giuen to the French, king Henrie in person being present.

The emperor incourageth his Almans to plaie the men.

The emperour Maximilian was present with the king, and ware saint Georges crosse, greatlie incouraging the Almans to shew themselues like men, sith the place was fortunate to him and them, to trie the chance of battell in: as they might call to remembrance by the victorie there obteined against the Frenchmen a foure and twentie yeares past. This incounter chancing thus on the sixteenth daie of August, being tuesdaie, in this fift yeare of king Henries reigne, which was the yeare after the incarnation 1513, was called the battell *Des esprons*, by the Frenchmen themselues, that is to saie, the battell of spurres: forsomuch as they in steed of sword and lance vsed their spurres, with all might and maine to pricke forth their horsses to get out of danger; so that in them was verified the old prouerbe, One paire of heeles is worth two paire of hands.

The battell of spurres.

That wing of the horsemen also, which was appointed to skirmish with the Englishmen on the other side the riuer, whilest the other might haue conueied the vittels into the towne, was fiercelie beaten backe by the martiall prowesse of the valiant erle of Shrewesburie, sir Rice ap Thomas, and other worthie capteins, which laie on that side the water. The duke of Alanson, the earle of saint Paule, and monsieur de Florenges, had the leading of those Frenchmen. They within the towne were in great hope of succour this daie, and when they saw the French power approch, they sallied forth on that side where the lord Herbert laie, and skirmished with his people verie proudlie, but they were repelled to the gates of their towne, and manie of them slaine by the high valiancie of the said lord Herbert and his capteins.

After that the Englishmen were returned from the chase of the Frenchmen, whome they had followed a three long miles from the field, the king made sir John Pechie a baneret, and John Carre knight, which was sore hurt: sir John Pechie had his guidon taken, and diuerse of his men hurt, they followed so farre in the chase. After this ouerthrow of the French horsemen, the K. compassed the towne more strictlie on ech side, and the batterie was brought so nigh the wals as might be, wherwith breaches were made in sundrie places, by meanes whereof the lord Pontremie despairing any long time to kéepe the towne, fell to a composition, and yéelded it vp to the kings hands. This incounter and ouerthrow, with the giuing vp of Terwine, is extant to the knowledge of forren nations (to be read) recorded as followeth:

Sir John Pechie made baneret, and John Carre knight.

Terwine yelded vp to king Henrie.

Francorum pugnax equitatus prælia miscet,
Succurrúntque suis, sed frustra infirmior arma
Turba capit; palmam bellando potentior Anglus
Aufert, læthifera transfossis hostibus hasta.
Diruta turrifragis bombardis mœnia præbent
Brutigenæ ingressum facilem, Gallisque timorem
Injciunt, tandem Terrouana deditur Anglo.

Howbeit this yéelding vp of the said towne was with condition, that the souldiers might depart with horsse and armour, & that such townesmen as would there remaine, might haue their liues and goods saued. Thus (I saie) was the citie of Terwine deliuered vp to the king of England, with all the ordinance and munitions then being found within the same. This was on the eightéenth of August. The earle of Shrewesburie entered the same night, and caused the banner of saint George to be set vp in the highest place of the towne in signe of victorie. When the lord Pontremie, and all the souldiers were departed, and that the earle of Shrewesburie had searched all the towne to see that euerie thing was sure, he called the townesmen afore him, and sware them to be true to the king of England. The foure and twentith of August the king himselfe entered the towne with great and roiall triumph, and dined in the bishops palace. At after none he returned to his campe, and on the six and twentith daie of August he remoued againe to Guingate, where he first incamped after the chase of the French horsemen.

The citizens of Terwine sworne to king Henrie.

The king entereth into Terwine.

Here it was determined in councell, that the wals and fortifications of Terwine should be rased, which was done, and the towne burned; except the cathedrall church and the palace. All the ordinance was sent to Aire to be kept there to the kings vse. After this, it was concluded that the king should laie siege to the citie of Tornaie; whervpon he set forward in three battels: the earle of Shrewesburie leading the va-ward, the king and the emperour gouerning the battell, and the lord Chamberleine following with the rere-ward. The first night they incamped beside Aire. Diuerse Englishmen tarieng behind at Terwine for pillage, were surprised by the Frenchmen, which slue some of them, & cast some into the fire. Those that fled escaped verie narrowlie. The king with his armie passed forward towards Tornaie, and by the waie visited the young prince of Castile and the ladie Margaret, gouernor of the prince, in the towne of Lisle, whilest his armie laie abroad in the fields beyond Pont Auandien.

Terwine burnt.

King Henrie marcheth on with his armie to besiege Tornaie.

The king goeth to Lisle to visit the young prince Castile.

There was appointed to attend the king vnto Lisle the duke of Buckingham, the lord marquesse Dorset, the earle of Essex, and the lord Lisle, with diuerse other; the charge of his campe he committed for the time to his councell. Then mounted the king vpon a courser, his apparell & barb were cloth of siluer of small quadrant cuts trauersed and edged with cut cloth of gold, and the border set full of red roses, his armour fresh & set full of iewels. The maister of his horsse sir Henrie Guilford, and the henchmen followed

Sir Henrie Guilford maister of ỳ kings horsse.

followed (as you haue heard before) and the coursers richlie apparelled, and so were manie capteins that waited on the king: by the waie met the king the lord Rauelken with manie noble men. And a mile without the towne there met with him the burgesses of Lisle, and presented to him the keies of the towne, saieng, that the emperor their souereigne lord had so commanded them to do.

The king praised their obedience to their souereigne, and thanked the emperour and them for so high a present as the keies of such a towne. Neuertheless, he had such confidence in them, that he trusted them no lesse than his owne subiects, and so deliuered the keies to the prouost of the towne, which was well accompanied. Then met the king a great number of nobles of Flanders, Brabant, Holland, and Henaud, which noblie receiued him. After them came the countie Palatine or Palsgraue, one of the electors of the empire, with thirtie horses, all his men gorgiouslie apparelled after the fashion of his countrie, and humblie saluted the king. At the gate of Lisle the capiteine of the towne stood with a garrison in armor well appointed, all the streets were set on both sides with burning torches and diuerse goodlie pageants pleasant to behold. Thus he passed thorough the towne with his sword and maces borne before him, and alighted at the hall doore with his sword borne, where met with him the emperour, the prince of Castile, and the ladie Margaret, and humblie saluted him.

The Palsgraue of Rhene & his traine come to receiue the K. of England.

Then for reuerence of the emperour, the king caused his sword to be put vp, and his maces to be laid downe; & so was the king and all other nobles lodged and feasted according to their degrees. In the towne of Lisle was a noise that three gunners with handguns should haue slaine the king: for which rumor manie were attached, but nothing proued. But when these tidings came to the campe, they were neuer merrie till they saw the king againe. Great was the chære, with bankets, plates, comedies, maskes, and other pastimes that were shewed to the king in the court of Burgognie, and so in solace he soiorned there sundaie and mondaie the nineteenth daie of September. On the twentith daie he sent word that his armie should remoue toward Tornaie, and so they remoued to a place conuenient betweene Tornaie and Lisle, and certeine capiteins were appointed to keepe the passage at the bridge of Auandien.

A false rumor of the kings death.

After that the king had taried at Lisle three daies, and had well reposed himselfe, he toke his leaue, and thanked the emperour and the yong prince, the ladie Margaret & all the ladies for all his high chære and solace; and about six of the clocke at night, he departed out of Lisle, and the noble men brought the king forth and so returned, and then the capteine shut the gates. When the king was a mile and more out of the towne, he asked where his campe laie? And no man there could tell the waie, and guide had they none, the night was so darke & misie. Thus the king taried a long while, and wist not whither to go; at last they met with a vitteler comming from the campe, which was their guide and brought them thither. The maister of the ordinance shot diuerse peeces of ordinance, but they were not heard; but in safetie the king with all his companie returned.

The king and his traine ignorant of the waie to his campe by meanes of a misi.

On the one and twentith daie of September the king remoued his campe toward Tornaie, and lodged within three miles of the citie, on a corne ground by the riuer. On which night came to the king the emperour and the Palsgraue, which were lodged in rich tents, and noblie serued of all manner of things necessarie. The people about Tornaie were with their goods fled to the citie, and yet the citie had no men of warre to defend it, but with multitude of inhabitants the same was well replenished. The king commanded sir Rice and his horsemen to view one quarter, and the earle of Eller and his companie another quarter; and the lord Wallon and the lord Lignie the other quarters. Then the two and twentith daie of September, these foure capteins at one time were some openlie with banners displaied before the towne, and there made a long stale, and returned.

Then the king sent Gartier king of armes to summon them to yeeld it ouer into his hands, to whome they made answer, that they receiued no citie of the king of England to keepe, nor anie would they render him, with which answer he departed. Then they fortified their wals, and made prouision for vittels, corne, wine, and artillerie, and for all fortifications that might be gotten. And the citie of it selfe was strong, well walled, and turrited with good bulworks and defenses. But when they saw the king with such a puissance draw neere the citie, they were sore abashed, and called a generall councell. Then the prouost said; Brethren, you know how that the king of England sent an herald to summon vs to render vp to him this citie, or else he would put it and vs to the sword, fier, and bloud. We answered we would be at defense. Now he is come in our sight to fulfill the message sent by the herald, & now is come the time of our defense.

Tornaie summoned by Gartier king of armes.

The prouost of Tornaies words to the distressed townesmen.

Howbeit in this matter standeth three mischeefs, one is our bounden duetie and allegiance that we owe to our souereigne lord king Lewes of France; the second the liues of vs, our wiues, children, and neighbors; the third how to defend the finall destruction of this ancient citie, now likelie to fall, which citie was neuer conquered. Now our citie is whole, your liues in safetie, your goods your owne; determine whether you will haue war or peace. Then the common people cried all; War, war, war. Then said the prouost, Take compassion of wiues and children and of the old folke; consider if you haue no quicke rescue, you cannot continue against yonder puissance, although your courages were neuer so great, this the wisest of the citie and I haue considered. Then suddenlie was there in the councell a vaunt-parler, a botcher, which hearing this, called a great number of his affinitie, and went out of the councell and so out of the gates, and set fire of the suburbs on all sides. When the councell saw the minds of the commons, and that their waies might not be followed, they comforted the people, and mainteined them for their defense.

After this the king approched the citie with his whole armie, and they of the citie issued forth to proffer the skirmish: but the archers beat them backe. Also the carriage men that came with the herbingers, saw where certeine wagons were entring the citie, vnto the which they ran, and toke some of them. At this skirmish the horsse of the lord John Graie was slaine vnder him, as he came to defend the carriage men; but he himselfe had no hurt. The king with his battell planted his siege on the north side the citie. The earle of Shrewsburie with the forward lodged toward the south side of the riuer, and there laie that night. The lord Herbert with the rereward incamped himselfe on the west side, and beat the wals and towers of the citie with the great ordinance. The nert daie after their comming thither, being the three and twentith of September, the earle of Shrewesburie with the fore-ward passed the riuer, & planted his siege on the southside of the citie, stretching to the east end, and bent his ordinance against the walles. And thus was the citie of Tornaie besieged on all parts.

Tornaie besieged by king Henrie.

On the fiue and twentith daie of September, the

king receiued letters from the earle of Surrie with the Scotish kings gantlet, whereby he was certified of the slaughter of the said king, and how all things had béene handled at the battell of Floddon, whereof héereafter yée shall find further mention. The king thanked God of the newes, and highlie commended the prowesse of the earle, and other the capteins: howbeit he had a secret letter, that Cheshiremen and other fled from sir Edmund Howard in the battell, which letter caused great hartburning, and manie words: but the king toke all things in good part, and would that no man should be dispraised. On the six and twentith daie, fiers were made in the hoast, in token of that victorie against the Scots, and on the seauen and twentith daie being tuesdaie, masse was song by them of the kings chapell, with *Te Deum*, and the bishop of Rochester made a sermon, declaring the death of the king of Scots, and lamenting his euill hap and perturie. But now to our purpose of the siege of Tornaie.

See Hall in Henrie.8.fol. 37,38. & historie of Scotland, pag. 297, 298.

¶ The king of England lieng afront before Tornaie, caused his great ordinance to be planted round about the citie, and diuerse trenches were cast, and rampiers made, and the lord Lisle and the lord Willoughbie were appointed to mainteine the ordinance with their bands, and the earle of Kent was lodged before the gate called port Valencien; so that the citizens could not issue out, nor no aid could come in. The ordinance dailie beat the gates, towers, & wals, which made a great batterie: and a few Englishmen assaulted the port coquerell, but they were too few in number; and if they had béene more in number, they had taken the towne, as the Tornasins confessed after. The cittizens of Tornaie considering their estate came togither to councell, and there the prouost said in effect as followeth. Friends and brethren of this noble citie, I cannot too much praise your truth and fidelitie to your souereigne lord the king of France; considering how manfully you haue defended this citie since the beginning of this siege.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall in Hen.8.fo.xliij, xlv.

The citie of Tornaie on all sides besieged.

The prouosts words to the townesmen.

But alas! although it be written on the gates graued in stone, Iammes ton ne a perdeu ton pucellage, that is to saie; Thou hast neuer lost thy maidenhed: yet if this citie had not béene well furnished and euer at the daie appointed sure of rescue, it could not haue continued. Now you see that rescue faileth, our gates be rased, our towers beaten downe, our chiefe tower like to fall, so that if this perilous siege continue, or else if our enimies assault vs, we be not able to defend vs: wherefore now, all these things considered, I would know whether you will treat with the king of England or abide the chance. Then they which at the last councell cried War, war; now cried Peace, peace: yet all were not agréed. Then one wise man said, Sirs if the towne be assaulted once againe with a great number, suerlie it will be taken: you saw the experience at the last assault, and then consider if it be taken by force, who is there that can saie he is sure of his life: but by intreatie, the king of England is so mercifull that we may fortune to saue both life and goods. Then finallie all agréed to treat.

Then the prouost sent to the king a trumpet, desiring a safe conduct for him & certeine other to come and to speake with him: which request was to him granted. Then the prouost of the citie, accompanied with eleuen with him of the best of the citie, came to the armie, & spake with the lords of the councell, and after were led to the kings presence. The prouost knéeled downe and all his companie, and said: Right high, and mightie prince although the citie of Tornaie is strong, well walled, well replenished with people, vittels, artillerie, yea and the people in feare and dread of nothing; yet we know that against your great puissance it can not continue long, although it were ten times as strong as it is. Wherefore we knowing by report your honor, your wisedome, your iustice, & noble hart, are content to become your subiects & vassals, so that we may haue and inioy our old lawes, customes, liberties, and franchises, vnder you; as we haue before this done vnder other princes.

The prouost with eleuen more submit themselues & yéeld vp the citie to the king.

Then said the king; We haue well heard your petition, we will common with our councell & make you answer. And when he had communed with his councell, he answered saieng: Sirs, he that asketh mercie of vs, shall not be denied; and séeing you come to treat, we remit you to our councell. Then they went into the tent of councell, & there the Tornasins fell at a point, and in conclusion they yéelded the citie and ten thousand pounds sterling for the redemption of their liberties, and so departed to the citie, making relation of the king and his noble courage. On thursdaie the nine and twentith daie of September, the king was in his rich tent of cloth of gold vnder his cloth of estate, to whome came the citizens of the citie, and were sworne to him, and became his subiects.

Then the king appointed the lord Lisle, the lord Aburgauenie, & the lord Willoughbie to take possession, which with six thousand men entered the citie, and toke the market place and the wals, and searched the houses for feare of treason. Then maister Thomas Woolsie the kings almoner called before him all the citizens yong and old, and sware them to the king of England, the number whereof was foure score thousand. Thus the king of England by conquest came to the possession of the citie of Tornaie. On sundaie the second daie of October, the king entered the citie of Tornaie at port founteine, and foure of the chiefe of the citie ouer him bare a canopie with all the armes of England. Euerie person was in his best apparell, the ladies & gentlewomen laie in the windowes beholding the king and his nobilitie, euerie cittizen had in his hand a staffe torch. The king himselfe was richlie apparelled in rich armour on a barded courser, his henchmen bearing his péeces of war, as ax, speare, and other, their coursers were barded with the armes of England, France, Ireland, and other the kings dominions all richlie brodered. Thus the king with his nobilitie all richlie apparelled with his sword borne before him, his heralds and sergeants of armes with trumpets and minstrelsie entered the citie, and came to our ladie church, and there *Te Deum* was song.

The possession taken in the king of Englands behalfe

Then the king called to his presence, Edward Guilford, William Fitz Williams, John Dansie, William Tiler, John Sharpe, William Husse, John Sauage, Christopher Garnish, and diuerse other valiant esquiers, and gaue to them the order of knighthood, and then went to his lodging, and at after none he came to the market place, were was prepared for him a rome. Then he caused a proclamation to be made in his name king of England & France, that no man should greéue the citizens. During which proclamation the Tornasins scarse loked vp, nor shewed once to him any amiable countenance, which was much marked. The crie finished, the king departed to his campe, leauing the citie in safe kéeping. This wéeke the king rode to see the castell of Morton, and there his grace toke great pleasure. The king remembring the great chére that the prince of Castile and the ladie Margaret had made him at Lisle, which was but twelue miles English from Tornaie, desired the said prince & ladie, with diuerse other to come to him to his citie of Tornaie, and made preparation for the same, and appointed a iusts, whereof he himselfe would be one; and caused a tilt to be made in the market place.

The king maketh certein gentlemē (for their good seruice) knights

While these things were preparing, the king and his

his councell ordered for the sure keeping of the citie of Tornaie, and there ordeined sir Edward Poinings knight of the order of the garter to be his lieutenant with foure hundred archers, with capteins, horsemen, and artillerie conuenient, and to haue aid of Henaud and other the kings friends adioining; and of his gard he left there foure hundred archers, and ordinance was appointed for the defense of the same. On mondaie the eleuenth daie of October the king without the towne receiued the prince of Castile, the ladie Margaret, and diuerse other nobles of their countries, and them brought into Tornaie with great triumph. The noise went that the lord Lisle made request of mariage to the ladie Margaret duches of Sauoie, and daughter to the emperour Maximilian, which before that time was departed from the king with manie rich gifts and monie borrowed: but whether he proffered mariage or not, the fauoured him highlie. There the prince and duches sojourned with great solace by the space of ten daies.

Sir Edward Poinings made lieutenant of Tornaie.

Justes held at Tornaie for disport of the prince of Castile & the duchesse of Sauoie.

During which time, the eightéenth daie of October began the iusts, the king and the lord Lisle answering all commers: vpon the king attended foure & twentie knights on foot in coats of purple veluet and cloth of gold. A tent of cloth of gold was set in the place for the armorie & Reliefe. The king had a base and a trapper of purple veluet both set full of SS of bullion, and the lord Lisle in the same suite, there were manie speares broken, and manie a good buffet giuen; the strangers, as the lord Walon and lord Emerie and other did right well. When the iusts were done, the king & all the other vnhelmed them, & rode about the tilt, and did great reuerence to the ladies, and then the heralds cried to lodging. This night the K. made a sumptuous banket of an hundred dishes to the prince of Castile and the ladie Margaret, and to all other lords and ladies; and after the banket the ladies danced, and then came in the king and eleuen in a maske, all richlie apparelled with bonets of gold, and when they had passed the time at their pleasure, the garments of the maske were cast off amongst the ladies, take who could take.

The prince & the duchesse returne to Lisle.

On the twentith daie of October, the prince of Castile and the ladie Margaret (with manie great gifts to them giuen) returned to Lisle and all their traine. After that the king was informed that all directions were taken, and euerie thing put in an order for the sure keeping of the citie of Tornaie, he betooke the same to sir Edward Poinings knight, which valiantlie kept it in good order and iustice. The king & his councell before this considering, that the Frenchmen would giue them no battell, and that winter approched, which was no time to lie at siege of other townes, concluded to keepe Tornaie safelie, and to breake vp his campe for that winter, and to begin againe warre in the spring of the yeare. This was a full conclusion taken by the king and his councell, and so the king and all his people (except such as were appointed to be with sir Edward Poinings) departed out of Tornaie the twentith daie of September: and the king and the noble men made such spéed, that shortlie they came to Calis.

The king returneth into England.

Thither came the lord admerall, whome the king heartilie thanked of his paines, and there euerie man was paied his full wages and conduct monie, and ships prepared for the passage; and so the foure and twentith daie of September, the king with a priuie companie toke ship, and the same day landed at Doner, and shortlie after all his people followed; then he with a small companie rode to Richmond in post to the quéene, where was such a louing méeting, that euerie creature reioised. This season began a great mortalitie in London and other places, where much people died. All this winter the kings naule kept the seas, and robbed and spoiled the Frenchmen on their coasts, so that they were euerie sort afflicted by the English, & wist not which way to remedie it, bearing grudge in their hearts, and wishing a generall destruction of their enimies, against whome they did swell with malignitie and indignation, both for their late ouerthrowes and losses aswell of lands as liues; the surrender of Terwin sticking in their stomachs, and the yéelding of Tornaie nipping them at the heart, which had lost the propertie, & was now forced to obeie new lords and new lawes, as our poet saith:

mortalitie.

——dominorum serua nouorum,
**Accipit ecce nouas Henrico principe leges.*

*Vrbs Tornaci.

But now I must returne to speake of the doings in the North parts, betweene the Englishmen and Scots. Whilest the king was occupied in his warres against France in the summer of this yeare (as before is mentioned) yée haue heard how the king of Scots sent his letters vnto the king, as then lieng at the siege before Terwine, and what answer was made thereto by the king. Immediatlie vpon the sending of those his letters conteining in effect a defiance, the king of Scots assembled his people to inuade the English confines: but before his whole power was come togither, the lord Humes that was lord chamberleine of Scotland, on a day in August entered England with seuen or eight thousand men, and getting togither a great bootie of cattell, thought to haue returned therewith into his countrie.

Lord Humes entereth the borders of England.

But as he came to passe through a field ouergrowne with broome, called Hilfield, the English men vnder the leading of sir William Bulmer, and other valiant capteins, hauing with them not past a thousand souldiers, being laid within that field in ambushment, brake forth vpon him: and though the Scots on foot defended themselues right manfullie, yet the English archers shot so wholie togither, that the Scots were constreined to giue place. There were of them slaine at this bickering fiue or six hundred, and foure hundred or more taken prisoners; the lord chamberleine himselfe escaped by flight, but his banner was taken. This was called by the Scots the ill rode. In the meane time was the whole power of Scotland assembled, with the which king James approching to the borders, and comming to Norham castell, laid siege thereto, hauing there with him an hundred thousand men.

Englishmen assaile the Scots.

Scots put to flight.

Lord chamberleine escapeth.

The ill road.

Norham castell besieged.

After he had beaten this castell with his ordinance for the space of six daies togither, the same was deliuered vp into his hands; for the capteine was so liberall of his shot and powder, spending the same so frælie before he had cause so to do, that when it should haue stood him in stead, he had none left to aid him, so that in the end he yelded himselfe without more resistance. In which meane time the earle of Surreie being lieutenant of the north parts of England, in absence of king Henrie, had giuen order to assemble a power of six and twentie thousand men; and comming to Alnwike the third of September being saturdaie, taried there all the next day till the whole number of his people were come, which by reason of the foule way were staied, and could not come forward with such spéed as was appointed. This fourth daie of September then being sundaie, his sonne the lord admerall, with a thousand souldiers and able men of warre, which had bene at sea, came to his father; whereof he greatlie reioised for the great wisedome, manhood, and experience, which he knew to be in him.

Norham castell deliuered.

The earle of Surrie lieutenant of the north raiseth an armie.

The lord admerall ioineth with the earle of Surrie his father.

Then the earle and his councell, with great deliberation appointed his battels in order, with wings, and with horsemen necessarie. First of the fore-ward was ordeined capteine the lord Howard admerall of England, as well with such as came with him from

The lord Howard admerall capteine of the fore-ward.

the sea, as others. First the lord Clifford, the lord Conters, the lord Latimer, the lord Scrope of Upsall, the lord Ogle, the lord Lomlie, sir Nicholas Appleyard maister of the ordinance, sir Stephan Bull, sir Henrie Shirburne, sir William Sidneie, sir Edward Ichingham, sir William Bulmer, with the power of the bishoprike of Durham, sir William Gascoigne, sir Christopher Ward, sir John Euerингham, sir Thomas Petham, sir Walter Griffith, and manie others.

Of the wing on the right hand of the fore-ward, was capteine sir Edward Howard knight marshall of the host, & with him Brian Tunstall, Rafe Brearton, John Laurence, Richard Bold, esquiers: sir John Both, sir Thomas Butler, knights: Richard Done, John Bigod, Thomas Fitz Williams, John Claruis, Brian Stapleton, Robert Warcop, Richard Cholmleie, with the men of Hull, and the kings tenants of Hatfield, and others. Of the wing on the left hand, was capteine sir Marmaduke Constable, with his sonnes and kinsmen, sir William Persie, and of Lancashire a thousand men. Of the rere-ward was capteine the earle of Surreie himselfe, and with him the lord Scrope of Bolton, sir Philip Tilnete, sir George Darcie, sir Thomas Berkleie, sir John Rocliffe, sir Christopher Pikering, Richard Tempest, sir John Stanleie, with the bishop of Elies seruants, sir Brian Stapleton, Lionell Persie, with the abbat of Whitbies tenants, Christopher Clapham, sir William Gascoigne the yonger, sir Guie Dawneie, maister Magnus, maister Dalbies seruants, sir John Normanuile, the citizens of Yorke, sir Ninian Parkanuile, sir John Willoughbie, with others.

Of the wing on the right hand, was capteine the lord Dacres with his power. Of the left hand wing, was capteine sir Edward Stanleie knight, with the residue of the power of the two counties palantine of Chester and Lancaster. Thus was the host appointed and diuided into wards and wings at the first, though afterward (vpon occasion) this order was somewhat altered. And now that euerie man knew what to do, the earle of Surrie with his power comming toward the place where he thought to find the Scotish host, was informed how king James being remoued six miles from Norham, laie imbattelled vpon a great mounteine called Floddon, a place of such strength, as it was not possible for the Englishmen to come neere him, but to their great disaduantage: for at the foot of the same hill on the left hand, there was a great marish ground full of reed and water.

The strength of the place where king James lay incamped, called Floddon.

On the right hand it was defended with a riuer called Till, the course whereof being so swift, and the chanell in some places so deepe, that it might not conuenientlie be passed. On the backe halfe there were such craggie rocks and thicke woods, that it was not possible to assaile him to anie aduantage that waie forth. And on the forepart of the campe, where nature had left an easie entrie for men to come to the same, all his ordinance was planted aloft vpon the sides of such trenches, as he had caused to be cast for defense on that part. The earle of Surrie hereupon, considering with himselfe, that vnlesse he might deuise some policie to cause the Scotish armie to descend the hill, it were not possible for him to accomplish his desire, he called about him his councell, and with them toke aduise in this point.

An herald sent from the earle of Surrie to king James.

At length it was concluded and determined among other things, to send Rouge Crosse, pursuant at armes, with a trumpet to the king of Scots, with a message and certeine instructions: which in substance was, to shew and declare vnto the said king of Scots, that where he (contrarie vnto his oth and leaguе, and vnnaturallie against all reason and conscience) had entered and inuaded this his brothers realme of England, and done great hurt to the same, in casting downe castels, towers, and houses, burning, spoiling, and destroieng the same, and cruellie murthering the king of England his brothers subiects; he the said earle would be readie to trie the rightfulnesse of the matter with the king in battell, by fridaie next comming at the furthest, if he of his noble courage would giue him tarieng and abode. And the same did the said earle promise, as he was a true knight to God, and the king of England his maister.

The lord admerals message to the king of Scots.

And before Rouge Crosse should depart with the said instructions, the lord admerall gaue him in credence to shew the said king of his comming, and part of his companie from the sea with him, and that he had sought the Scotish naule then being on the sea, but he could not meet with them, bicause they were fled into France by the coast of Ireland. And in as much as the said king had diuerse and manie times caused the said lord to be called at daies of truce, to make redresse for Andrew Barton a pirat of the sea, long before that vanquished by the same lord admerall, he was now come in his owne proper person, to be in the vant-gard of the field, to iustifie the death of the said Andrew against him and all his people, and would see what could be laid to his charge the said daie.

Andrew Barton, of whom mention before pag.

Furthermore, that he nor none of his companie should take no Scotish noble man prisoner, nor anie other; but they should die if they came in his danger, vnlesse it were the kings owne person; for he said he trusted to none other courtesie at the hands of the Scots. And in this maner he should find him in the vant-gard of the field, by the grace of God, and saint George, as he was a true knight. Yet before the departing of Rouge Crosse, with the said instructions and credence, it was thought by the earle & his councell, that the said king would faine and imagine some other message, to send an herald of his with the same, onelie to view and ouersee the manner and order of the kings roiall armie, ordinance, and artillerie then being with the earle, whereby might haue insued great danger to the same.

A good policie.

And for the eschuing thereof, he had in commandement, that if anie such message were sent, not to bring anie person comming therewith within three or two miles of the field at the nighest, where the said earle would come, and heare what he would saie. And thus departed Rouge Crosse, with his trumpet, apparelled in his coat of armes. On mondaie the fift daie of September, the earle toke his field at Bolton in Glendale, as he had appointed, where all the noble men and gentlemen met him with their retinues, to the number of six and twentie thousand men. And about midnight next insuing came the trumpet which went to Rouge Crosse, and declared how the king of Scots, after the message done to him by Rouge Crosse, according to his instructions, the said king deteined him, & sent one Ilaie an herald of his with him vnto the earle, to declare to him the kings pleasure; to whom the earle sent Yorke herald at armes, to accompanie the said Ilaie, at a village called Milo, two miles from the field, vntill the comming thither of the said earle the next morow.

Ilaie and Yorke heralds.

On the first daie of September, earlie in the morning, the earle accompanied with the most part of the lords and knights, and gentlemen of the field, euerie man hauing with him but one seruant to hold his horsse, rode vnto the place: and so the said herald met with the earle, and with blunt reuerence declared to him that he was come from his maister the king of Scots, which would know whether the earle

sent

sent anie such message by Rouge Crosse. The earle iustified the same, saieng further; that Rouge Crosse had the same message of him in writing, signed with his owne hand. Wherevnto the said Ilaie said: As to the abiding for battell betweene that and fridaie then next following, the king his maister bade him shew to the earle, that he was as welcome as anie noble man of England vnto the said king, and that if he had beene at home in his towne of Edenburgh, there receiuing such a message from the said earle, he would gladlie haue come, and fulfilled the said earles desire.

The Scotish herald doth his errand to the earle.

And the herald assured the earle, on the king his masters behalfe, that the same king would abide him battel at the daie prefired. Wherof the said earle was right ioious, and much praised the honorable agreement of the said rotall king, and esteemed the same to proceed of an high and honorable courage, promising the herald, that he, and good suertie with him should be bound in ten thousand pounds sterling, to keepe the said daie appointed; so that the king would find an earle of his, and there to a good suretie with him to be bound in like summe, for the performance of the same. And furthermore the earle bade the herald to saie vnto his maister the king; that if he for his part kept not his appointment, then he was content that the Scots should baffull him, which is a great reproch among the Scots, and is vsed, when a man is openlie periured, and then they make of him an image painted, reuersed, with his heeles vpward, with his name, wondering, crieng, and blowing out on him with hornes, in the most despitefull manner they can, in token that he is worthie to be exiled the companie of all good creatures. Then Ilaie deliuered to the earle a little schedule written with the kings secretaries hand vnsigned, as followeth.

Baffailing what it is among the Scots.

The tenor of the said schedule.

AS to the causes alledged of our comming into England against our band and promise (as is alledged) thereto we answere; our brother was bound as farre to vs, as we to him. And when we sware last before his ambassador, in presence of our councell; we expressed especiallie in an othe, that we would keepe to our brother, if our brother kept to vs, and not else. We sweare our brother brake first vnto vs. And since his breach we haue required diuers times him to amend: & latelie we warned our brother, as he did not vs, yet he brake. And this we take for our quarrell, and with Gods grace shall defend the same at your affixed time, which with Gods grace we shall abide.

The Scotish herald is deteined of the English.

And forsomuch as the king kept Rouge Crosse with him, who was not yet returned, the same earle caused the same Ilaie to be in the keeping of sir Humfrie Lisle and Yorke herald in the same village, vntill the time that a seruant of the same Ilaie might ride in all hast to the king of Scots, for the deliuering of the said Rouge Crosse. Then the earle ioious of the kings answer, returned to his campe, and set forward fiue miles, to a place called Woller Haugh, in such order of battell, as euen then he should haue fought, and there lodged for that night, three little miles from the king of Scots. And betweene the king & him was a goodlie & large corne field called Pilfield, which was a conuenient & faire ground for two hosts to fight on: there either host might perceiue other. The earles desire was to procure the Scots to descend the hill into some euen ground, where he might fight with them without disaduantage of place.

But the king, though he had a great desire to fight, yet vpon diuerse considerations, by a diuise of his councell he still kept his ground, and meant not to remoue at all out of his strength. Wherevpon the earle of Surrie not able long to continue in such grounds of disaduantage, by reason of mires, and marishes, amongst the which he lodged with his armie that was almost famished for lacke of sufficient vittels, which could not be recouered in such a barren countrie, determined to seeke all waies possible, if he might constreine the Scotish king to come downe beside the hill. He therefore raised his campe, and leauing his enimies on the left hand, and passing ouer the water of Till, he drew into a more commodious ground, at the end of Barmore wood; to the end he might refresh his souldiers somewhat hereby after they had beene toiled for the space of three daies togither in cloggie mires, and foule filthie waies, to their disease and wearinesse.

The earle of Surrie remooueth his campe ouer the water of Till.

The earle of Surrie being thus lodged, the water of Till ran betwixt the two campes of Scots and Englishmen, diuiding them in sunder: and still by reason the one was within the shot of a culuering of the other, they ceassed not to bestow shot and pouder either at other, though without doing anie great hurt at all. For the English campe on that part which laie toward the Scots, was couered with an hill rising from the hither banke of Till water, with an easie steepenesse to the height of a miles space or thereabouts. Thomas lord Howard sonne and heire to the earle of Surrie, from the top of this hill beholding all the countrie on euerie side about him, declared to his father, that if he did eftsoons remoue his campe, and passe the water of Till againe in some place a little aboue, and by fetching a small compasse come & shew himselfe on the backe halfe of his enimies, the Scotish king should either be inforced to come downe forth of his strength and giue battell, or else be stoped from receiuing vittels or anie other thing out of Scotland.

The lord Howard taketh view of the Scotish armie.

The earle of Surrie desirous of nothing so much as to ioine with the Scots in battell; after he vnderstood that his sonne had informed him nothing but truth, he raised his field: and marching a three miles vpward by the riuer side, passed ouer his armie in two parts at two seuerall bridges, all at one time. King James when he saw this manner of his enimies, and perceiuing what their meaning was, by coniecture of their doings, thought it stood not with his honor to sit still, and suffer himselfe to be forestalled forth of his owne realme: and againe, that it might sore diminish the opinion of his princelie power, if he seemed to remaine as it were besieged within a fortresse, hauing more confidence in strength of the place, than in the manhood of his people: whereupon immediatlie he raised his campe, and got an hill, which he doubted least the enimie should haue taken before him.

The earle of Surrie returneth againe ouer the water of Till.

But by such diligence as he vsed, and by reason of the great smoke which was raised and spred ouer all the countrie, by burning of the litter and cabbins wherein the Scots had lodged, purposelie set on fire to the same intent, he was got to the place whither he intended, before the Englishmen knew for anie certeintie that he was dislodged, though they were as then within a mile of him. Thus king James keeping the tops of the hils, the earle of Surrie with the English armie came to the foot of the same hils, and staieng there a while, for so much as he saw how the

hill

The valiant determination of the earle to incounter the Scots.

hill to the which the Scots were gotten, was neither ſkæpe nor hard to aſcend, he determined to mount the ſame, and to fight with the Scotiſh hoaſt yer they ſhould haue leaſure to fortifie their campe.

Herewith calling his people togither, he made vnto them a breefe oration, declaring vnto them both what neceſſitie there was for them to ſhew their manhood, and what iuſt cauſes they had alſo to fight againſt thoſe enimies, that againſt both the lawes of God and man had moſt cruellie inuaded the relme of England, in the quarrell of a ſchiſmatike, and one that was accurſſed and excommunicated by the cenſures of the church. The Engliſhmen kindled with deſire to fight, the more thorough thoſe words of the earle, required incontinentlie to be led forth againſt the Scots, that they might ſhew what earneſt wils they had to be reuenged; not onelie of new receiued wrongs, but alſo of ancient iniuries; for there ſhould neither heigth of hill, nor anie other obſtacle hinder them, but they would either returne with victorie, or elſe loſe their liues in the paine.

The ordering of the Engliſh armie.

The earle of Surrie conceiued no ſmall hope of victorie in this chearefull readineſſe of his ſouldiors, and therevpon with all ſpeed (as the occaſion then moued him at that inſtant) diuided his armie into three battels, or rather foure: vnto the vant-gard whereof, the lord Howard was capteine, his brother ſir Edmund Howard was ioined as a wing; the earle himſelfe led the midle-ward, and the rere-ward was guided by ſir Edward Stanleie, afterwards created lord Mounteagle. The lord Dacres with a number of horſſemen was ſet apart by himſelfe to ſuccor where need ſhould ſeeme to appeare. The ordinance was placed in the front of theſe battels, & in places betweene, as was thought expedient. In this order, forward they made with manlie courages towards the Scots a good marching pace.

The Scotiſh kings thought at the view of the Engliſh armie.

In the meane time, king James beholding all the demeanor of the Engliſhmen, from the heigth of the hill, thought with himſelfe, that there was offered him that daie a goodlie occaſion of victorie, if he might come to fight with the enimies at ſuch aduantage of place and number. And therfore, being haſtned forward through the ſtrenable force of deſtinie, or rather Gods ordinance, he commanded his ſtandards to be raiſed and ſpred, and euerie man to reſort to his appointed place, that they might forthwith incounter the enimies, that preſumed thus to ſeeke battell. And herewith turning him to the lords and capteins that ſtood about him, he ſpake vnto them manie comfortable words touching the occaſion offered them at that preſent, to gaine both a famous victorie, and to reuenge ſo manifold iniuries and diſpleaſures, as they had ſuſteined diuerſe waies forth at the Engliſhmens hands.

King James and all the reſt alight from horſſebacke.

He had ſcarſe made an end of his tale, but the ſoldiers with great noiſe and clamor cried; Forward, Vpon them; ſhaking their weapons in ſigne of an earneſt deſire they had (as then they ſhewed) to buckle with the Engliſhmen. Wherevpon, without delaie, king James putting his horſſe from him, all other as well nobles as meane men did the like, that the danger being equall, as well to the greateſt as to the meaneſt, and all hope of ſuccour taken awaie, which was to be looked for by flight, they might be the more willing to ſhew their manhood, ſith their ſafegard onelie reſted in the edges and points of their weapons. Then was the whole armie diuided into fiue wards or regiments, to this intent, that the battell wherein the king himſelfe ſtood with his ſtandard, might be incloſed as it were with two wings, on either ſide one. In the right wing, the earles of Huntleie, Crawford, and Montroſſe, were placed as cheefe leaders thereof; and in the left were the earles of Lenor, and Argile, with the lord Hume, lord chamberleine of Scotland, being men of great ſkill in warlike affaires, as was reported.

The order of the Scotiſh hoaſt.

Moreouer, in euerie band (almoſt generallie throughout) there was a knight appointed for capteine and guider, and amongſt them certeine French capteins, the which king Lewes had ſent ouer into Scotland latelie before, to traine the Scots in the practiſe of warres. The ordinance was lodged in places moſt conuenient; though by reaſon they marched downe the hill, their ſhot did ſmall damage to the Engliſhmen comming vpwards towards them, and yet they beſtowed it freſhlie on either ſide one vpon an other.

French capteins in the Scotiſh hoaſt.

The battell is begun, and ſir Edmund Howard incountred with the earles of Lenox and Argile.

Herewith ſir Edmund Howard with his wing was got vp on the hill ſide, with whome the lord Hume and the two foreſaid earles of Lenox and Argile incountered with ſuch violence, that this battell of Scots with ſpeares on foot on that part, beat downe and broke that wing of the Engliſhmen, in ſuch wiſe that ſir Edmund Howard was in maner left alone, and felled to the earth, that (had not baſtard Heron come to his ſuccours at that inſtant) he had beene ſlaine there without all remedie.

Thus hath Iouius, although Hall ſaith, that the lord Dacres ſtood ſtill all day vnfoughten with.

On the other part, the lord Dacres watching to aid where need appeered, came in on the ſides of the Scots, & gaue a charge on them with his horſſemen, wherby ſir Edmund Howard being ſomewhat relieued, eſcaped to the Engliſh vant-gard, which was led (as before is mentioned) by his brother, lord Howard, who being now alſo got aloft on the hill, preaſſed ſtill forward to renew the battell, & to ſuccour thoſe whome he ſaw put to the worſe, ſo that thereby they tooke new courages, & laid about them againe. Herewith the earles of Crawford & Montroſſe came with their battell of ſpeares alſo on foot, and incountring with the ſaid lord Howard, after ſore fight on both ſides continued, with more malicious hatred than force of the parties, both the ſaid earles were ſlaine, beſides a great number of other; the whole battell which they led being put to flight and chaſed out of the field, maimed, wounded, and ſlaine. And though they did what they could to the vttermoſt reſiſtance, in hope to haue bathed their blades in Engliſh blood; yet the contrarie came to paſſe, as in ſtories is left recorded, to the honour of the Engliſh; namelie:

Suſtinet infictos duris vmbonibus ictus,
Imbuit & gladios manante cruore Britannus.

The Scots put to the worſſe in the right wing.

Sir Edward Stanleie and his archers breake the Scots arraie.

On the left hand at the ſame inſtant, ſir Edward Stanlie hauing begun to incounter with the Scots on that ſide, forced them to come downe into a more euen ground; and brought to that point with ſuch inceſſant ſhot of arrowes as his archers beſtowed amongſt them, that to auoid the danger of that ſore and ſharpe ſtorme, the Scots were conſtreined to breake their arraie, & to fight not cloſed togither in order of battell, but inſunder one ſeparated from another, ſo that their ſtandards began to ſhrinke here and there. Which thing when ſir Edward Stanleie perceiued, forthwith bringing about three bands, which he had kept in ſtore for ſuch like purpoſe; he inuaded the open ſides of his enimies by a freſh onſet, and put them in ſuch diſorder, that they were not able anie longer to abide the violence of the Engliſhmen mightilie preaſſing vpon them: ſo that taking themſelues to flight, and running headlong downe the ſteepe deſcent of the mounteine, they eſcaped to the woods and there ſaued themſelues. But the earles of Argile and Lenox, doing what they could to ſtaie their people from running awaie, were ſlaine in the ſame place.

The left wing of the Scots is diſcomfited.

In the meane time, the king, who a little before had ioined with the earle of Surreie, perceiuing that the wings of his battell were diſtreſſed, and that his enimies began to incloſe him on ech ſide, he baſhed nothing

The Scotish kings magnanimitie.

nothing at the matter, but with assured countenance exhorted those that were about him to sticke to him, and to remember their worthie ancestors, in committing nothing that might anie waies forth sound to their reproch. And herewith rushing against his enimies, a new battell more egre than the first began to arise; for that battell being well appointed and armed passed litle for the Englishmens arrowes, in so much that persing the earles battell, they entred well neere so farre within the same, that they were at point to haue ouerthrowne his standards.

A sore fight.

There were on either part a number of tall men of bodie, chosen forth of purpose by the capteins, for the good opinion conceiued of their hardie valiancie, & the battell betwixt them seemed long time doubtfull and variable, now one while fauourable to the one part, and an other while to the other. The king himselfe on foot euen in the foremost ranke, fought right valiantlie, incouraging his people, as well by example as exhortation, to do their deuoirs. Neither did the earle of Surrie for his part faile in the dutie of a right worthie generall. But while the battell was thus foughten in most earnest maner about the standards with doubtfull chance of victorie, the lord Howard and sir Edward Stanleie hauing vanquished the enimies in either wing, returned to the middle-ward, and finding them there thus occupied, they set on, in two parts seuerallie, with great violence.

The king fighteth himselfe right valiantlie.

At the same time, the lord Dacres came with his horsemen vpon the backs of the Scots; so that they being thus assailed behind and before, and on either side, were constreined (as inuironed about) to fight in a round compasse. King James as he beheld sir Adam Forman his standard-bearer beaten downe, thought suerlie then, there was no waie for him but death, and that euen out of hand. Wherefore to deliuer himselfe from such despitefull reproch, as was like to follow, he rushed forth into the thickest preasse of his enimies; and there fighting in most desperat wise, was beaten downe and slaine. And a little beside him, there died with like obstinate wilfulnesse, or (if ye list so to terme it) manhood, diuerse honorable prelats, as the archbishop of saint Andrewes, and two other bishops, besides foure abbats; also of lords and knights of honor a sir and thirtie.

The stout stomach of king James.

He is slaine.

The lord Hume and the earle of Huntleie got horsses, and escaped awaie togither with certeine bands, placed in two the hindermost wards, which of all that daie neuer came to handstrokes, but stood still and gaue the loking on. Thus thorough the power of God, on fridaie being the ninth of September, in the yeare 1513 was James the fourth of that name, king of Scots, slaine at Bramston, and his armie discomfited by the earle of Surrie, lieutenant to Henrie the eight king of England, which a little before had wone the towne of Terwine, and was then preparing to go to besiege Tornaie. There were slaine in this battell on the Scotish part, of all sorts, the number of eight thousand persons at the least: some saie twelue thousand, besides prisoners that were taken, as sir William Scot, chancellor to the said king, and sir John Forman his sergeant porter, with diuerse others. Also in maner, all the Scotish ensignes were taken, and a two and twentie peeces of great ordinance, amongest the which were seauen culuerings of a large assise, and verie faire peeces. King James named them (for that they were in making one verie like to an other) the seauen sisters. This conflict with egernesse on both sides was continued three full houres, as *Anglorum prælia* saith:

Two battels of Scots fought not, but gaue the loking on.

Pau. Iouius. Edw. Hall.

Seuen culuerings called seuen sisters & why.

Iam tres integras pugnatum est cominùs horas.

Though the victorie thus remained with the Englishmen, yet they bought it deere, losing no small number of their people, as well of those that were slaine in the field, as of others that were taken prisoners; for the Scots fought verie stoutlie, and gaue it not ouer for a little, insomuch that there were taken and slaine about fifteene hundred men, as apeared by the booke of wages, when the souldiers were paid. Manie Englishmen that followed ouer rashlie in the chase of the Scots, went so farre, that they wist not which waie to returne, and so were taken of the Scots that were in the two battels that went awaie with cleare hands, and neuer fought. Also, diuerse were taken by the lord chamberleine, which fought with the wing of sir Edmund Howard, and were caried awaie by him and his companie into Scotland, as John Fitton esquier, and others. During the time of the fight, and the night after, manie Englishmen lost their horsses, and such stuffe as they left in their tents and pauilions, by the robbers of Tindale and Tiuidale.

Edw. Hall. The Englishmens ouerrash hardinesse turnes them to hurt.

When the field was done, and that the skouts brought word that there was no more apearance of the Scots, but that they were all auoided and gone, the earle gaue thanks to God, and called to him certeine lords and gentlemen, and them made knights; as sir Edmund Howard his sonne, the lord Scrope, sir William Persie, sir Edward Gorge, and diuerse others. The earle and the lord admerall departed to Bermar wood, & there lodged that night, leauing sir Philip Tilneie knight and diuerse other worthie capteins, with a conuenient power of men, to keepe the place where the field had beene fought, for safegard of the ordinance. The bodie of the king of Scots was not found vntill the next daie, and then being found and knowne by the lord Dacres, there apeared in the same diuerse deadlie wounds, and speciallie, one with an arrow, and an other with a bill. But some saie he died of two, both which were inflicted vpon him to his deadlie bane (and well worthie for truce-breaking) by the sword; as *Anglorum prælia* reporteth:

The bodie of king James found hauing diuerse deadlie wounds.

Vulneribus Scotus acceptis cadit ense duobus,
Perfidiæ meritas fuso dans sanguine pœnas.

The same daie, there appeared some Scots on a hill, but one William Blackenall that had the cheefe rule of the ordinance, caused such a peale to be shot off at them, that the Scots fled; or else the lord admerall, which was come to view the field, had beene in great danger; as was supposed. But now that the Scots were fled, and withdrawne, all the ordinance was brought in safetie to Eitill, and there remained for a time. After that the earle of Surrie had taken order in all things, and set the North parts in good quiet, he returned to the quéene with the dead bodie of the Scotish king cered. When the king was returned into England from his conquest made in France of the cities of Terwine and Tornaie, he forgat not the good seruice of those that had beene with the earle of Surrie at the battell at Bramston: wherefore he wrote to them his louing letters, with such thanks and fauourable words, that euerie man thought himselfe well rewarded.

Scots flie at the peale of guns.

The kings thankfulnesse signified to his good seruitors in war.

On the daie of the Purification of our ladie, at Lambeth, the king created the earle of Surrie duke of Northfolke, with an augmentation of the armes of Scotland, and sir Charles Brandon viscount Lisle he created duke of Suffolke, and the lord Howard high admerall he created earle of Worcester: and after this, he also made sir Edward Stanleie (for his good seruice shewed at Bramston field) lord Mounteagle: and in March following was maister Thomas Wolsie the kings almoner, consecrated bishop of Lincolne. This man was borne at Ipswich, and was a good philosopher, verie eloquent and full of wit; but passinglie ambitious, as by his doings it well apeared. In the time of king Henrie the seauenth

1514

Wolsie described.

uenth it was agréed betwixt the said king and Philip king of Castile (that Charles king Philips eldest son should marrie the ladie Marie, daughter to the said king Henrie, with a dower to hir appointed: but for want of sufficient assurance of the dower, the rest of couenants were made void, and yet had the king highlie prouided for the sending of hir ouer, now after his comming from Tornaie.

Inclosures of the fields about London, cast downe & ouerthrowne.

This yeare the citizens of London, finding themselues grieued with the inclosures of the common fields about Islington, Horton, Shoreditch, and other places nére to the citie, whereby they could not be suffered to exercise their bowes, nor other pastimes in those fields, as before time they had bene accustomed, assembled themselues on a morning, and went with spades and shouels vnto the same fields, and there (like diligent workemen) so bestirred themselues, that within a short space, all the hedges about those towns were cast downe, and the ditches filled. The kings councell comming to the graie friers, to vnderstand what was meant by this doing, were so answered by the maior and councell of the citie, that the matter was dissembled: and so when the workemen had done their worke, they came home in quiet maner, and the fields were neuer after hedged.

Anno Reg. 6. Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 902.

George Monor for this yeare Maior of London, of his godlie disposition reedified the decaied steeple of the parish church of Walthamstow, in the countie of Essex, adding thereunto a side Ile, with a chappell, where he lieth buried. And on the northside of the churchyard there, he founded a faire large almeshouse for an almose priest or schoolemaister, and thirteene poore almes folke, eight men, and fiue women, appointing to the said almes priest or schoolmaister for his yearelie wages, six pounds thirteene shillings foure pence; and to euerie one of the said almes folke seuen pence a weeke, and fiue pounds to be bestowed yearelie amongst them in coles. And ordeined that the said almes priest should on sundaies and festiuall daies, be helping and assistant to the vicar or curat there in celebration of diuine seruice, & on the weeke daies freelie to applie and teach yong children of the said parish, to the number of thirtie, in a schoolehouse by him there builded for that purpose. Moreouer, hée gaue to the parish clearke there for the time being, a yearlie stipend of twentie six shillings eight pence, for euer, and a chamber by the said almes house, to the intent he should helpe the said schoolemaister to teach the said children. And hath giuen faire lands and tenements in the citie of London, for the perpetuall maintenance of the premisses to Gods glorie for euer. He also for the great commoditie of trauellers on foot, made a continuall cause of timber ouer the marshes from Walthamstow to Lockebridge towards London.

Free schoole at walthamstow.

Edw. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. 46. The king and the new duke of Suffolke defenders at the tilt against all commers.

In the moneth of Maie, the king and the new duke of Suffolke were defenders at the tilt against all commers. The king was in a scopelarie mantle, an hat of cloth of siluer, and like a white hermit, and the duke apparelled like a blacke hermit, all of blacke veluet, both their bards were of damaske siluer: and when they had ridden about the tilt, & shewed themselues to the quéene, then they threw off their aparell, and sent it to the ladies for a larges. Then was the king in blacke, and the duke in white, with blacke staues, on the staues was written with white letters, Who can hold that will away: this posie was iudged to be made for the duke of Suffolke, and the duchesse of Sauoie. At these iustes were the duke of Longuile, & the lord Cleremont, and there the king & duke did so valiantlie, that they obteined the prise. At these iustes were broken an hundred and fourteene speares in a short space. The king at this season sent againe into Flanders, for the performance of the marriage of the yong prince of Castile, and the faire ladie Marie his sister, and shewed how he had prepared all things necessarie and conuenient for such an high estate. The councell of Flanders answered, that they would not receiue hir that yeare, with manie subtill arguments; by reason wherof, the perfect loue betwene England and the low countries was much slaked.

A cap of maintenance sent to the king from the pope.

On the nineteenth daie of Maie was receiued into London a cap of maintenance & a sword, sent from pope Julie, with a great companie of nobles and gentlemen, which was presented to the king on the sundaie then next insuing, with great solemnitie in the cathedrall church of saint Paule. Touching this pope (saith Guicciardine) disappointed of so manie hopes) we may laie him in comparison with that which is written by the poets of Anteus, that being tamed by the forces of Hercules, as often as he was throwne to the ground, so often did appeare in him a greater strength and courage; such waxing had the pope amidst his aduersities, for when he séemed most abased and oppressed, it was then that he did most lift vp him selfe with a spirit more constant and resolute, promising better of his fortune than euer.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 490. Pope Julie compared to Anteus.

After he had plaied all his troublesome pageants, and had got by sundrie aspiring practises I wot not what péereless primasie, he fell sicke. And happilie he was then more full of high conceipts and trauelling thoughts than at anie time before: for notwithstanding he had brought his fortune to be equall with his desires, & obteined the thing he aspired vnto, yet his deuises and plots did nothing diminish, but grew increasing by the same meane which should haue satisfied them. He had determined in the beginning of the spring and first opening of the yeare, to send to the enterprise of Ferrara which he so much desired, and his opinion was, that that state was able to make no resistance, both for that it was naked of all succours, and bicause the Spanish armie was to ioine with his companies: he had secretlie bought of Cesar for the price of thirtie thousand duckets, the citie of Sienna for the behoofe of the duke of Urbin, to whome (except Pesera) he would neuer giue anie thing of the estate ecclesiastike, to the end to reserue to himselfe the whole glorie to haue simplie and onelie studied for the exaltation of the church. He agréed to lend to Cesar fortie thousand duckats, receiuing Modona in gage. He threatned them of Lucquois, who in the heat of the affaires of the duke of Ferrara, were become lords of Garfagnana, making instance that they would deliuer it to him.

Guic. pag. 601.

The purposes of pope Julie the second and his death.

He was out of conceit with the cardinall of Medicis, for that he thought him to cleaue more to the king catholike, than to him. And bicause he knew he was not able to dispose of the citie of Florence as he thought, he studied alredie new plots, and new practises to alter that estate. He was ill contented with the cardinall of Sion, from whome he tooke the name of legat, and intoined him to come to Rome, for that in the duchie of Millan he had appropriat to himselfe a yearelie rent of more than thirtie thousand duckats, of the estates and goods of diuerse persons. The better to assure the duke of Urbin of Sienna by intelligences of his neighbours, he had of new taken into his pate Charles Baillon, to chase out of Perousa John Paule, who by affinitie was verie nére ioined to the sonnes of Pandolfe Petruccio successours to the greatnesse of their father. He would of new create duke of Genes, Octauian Fregosa, deposing Janus from that dignitie: an action whereunto did consent the others of the house of Fregosa, bicause for the degrée that his ancestors held in that state, it séemed best to apperteine vnto him.

The popes mal content

He

He studied continuallie either how he might worke out of Italie the Spanish armie, or cut it in peeces by the aid of the Swizzers, whome aboue all others he exalted and imbraced. In this deuise hee had this intention, that the kingdome of Naples being occupied by him, Italie should remaine free from strangers; a speach that often passed out of his mouth: and to that end hee had hindered that the Swizzers did not confederate with the king catholike. And yet, as though it had beene in his power to batter all the world at one time, he continued his accustomed rigour against the French king. And notwithstanding he had hard a message from the queene, yet he stirred vp to make warre, the king of England, to whome he had transferred by publike decree of the councell of Lateran, the name of *Christianissimo*, whereof there was alreadie a bull written, and in it likewise was conteined the priuation of the dignitie & name of the king of France, giuing his kingdome to who could occupie it.

The king of England intituled *Christianissimo* by the pope.

In these conceptions, no lesse strange for their varietie, than great for the importance they drew, and perhaps in other thoughts more secret and singular (for in a mind so fierce and terrible, all sorts of imaginations, how great and vaine so euer they be, are not incredible) after the continuation of his sickenesse for manie daies, he declined towards death: and feeling the end of his mortalitie to hasten on, and the same to preuent the execution of his high thoughts, he caused to call togither the consistorie, which albeit he could not assist in person by reason of his disease; yet by the authoritie of it, he caused to be confirmed the bull which he had published before against such as by simonie would clime vp vnto the popedome. He declared, that the election of his successor apperteined to the college of cardinals, and not to the councell: and that the cardinals schismatikes could haue no presence or communitie there, to whom he protested there to pardon the iniuries they had donne him, and praied to God to forgiue them the wrongs they had donne to his church. After this he besought the college of cardinals, that in his fauor, and for his sake, they would grant to the duke of Vrbin his nephew, the citie of Pesera in patronage or vicarage, alledging the consideration, that by meane of the duke it had beene recouered to the church after the death of John Sforce. In no other matter he expressed anie priuate or particular affection.

Against climing to the popedome by simonie.

Madame Felice the popes daughter hir request.

Insomuch as Madame Felice his daughter (ioining with hir the petitions of manie others) beseeching him with great importunitie, to create cardinall Guido de Montfalcon being hir brother by the mothers side, he answered roundlie, that he was not worthie of that degree. He made not his affections conformable to their desires. In that last action of life he shewed no partialitie in worldlie causes: his present debilitie could diminish nothing of his ancient resolution, but expressed in all things the same constancie and seueritie, togither with that iudgement and force of mind which he had before his sickenesse: in which firme estate and disposition of spirit, he receiued deuoutlie the offices of the church, and the one and twentith daie of Februarie he ended his course of these mortall and present paines. He was a prince of incredible constancie and courage, but so full of furie & vnrulie conceptions, that the reuerence that was borne to the church, the discord of princes, & the conditions of times, did more to stais him from his ruine, than either his moderation or his discretion: worthie no doubt of great glorie, if either he had beene a prince secular, or if that care and intention which he had to raise the church vnto temporall greatnesse by the meane of warre, had beene imploied to exalt it by the meane of peace in matters spirituall.

The description of pope Julie, and his properties.

Neuertheless, he was lamented aboue all his predecessors, & no lesse esteemed of those, who hauing either lost the true consideration of things, or at least ignorant how to distinguish and peise them rightlie, iudged it an office more duelie apperteining to popes to increase the iurisdiction of the see apostolike by armes and blod of christians, than by good example of holie life and due curing and correction of corrupt maners, to trauell for the sauing of those soules, for whom they glorie so much that Jesus Christ hath named them his vicars in earth: and therefore it is a good consequent that he is a branch or rather a brand of the diuell, as one concludeth against him, saieng:

Impius est igitur natus cacodæmone papa,
Turpibus & genijs est homicida satus.

Antith. Christ. & pape pag. 26, 28.

About the same time the warres yet continuing betweene England & France, Prior Jehan (of whom ye haue heard before in the fourth yeere of this kings reigne) great capteine of the French nauie, with his gallies and foists charged with great basiliskes and other artillerie, came on the borders of Sussex in the night season, at a poore village there called Brighthelmston, & burnt it, taking such goods as he found. But when the people began to gather, by firing the beacons, Prior Jehan sounded his trumpet, to call his men aboord, and by that time it was daie. Then certeine archers that kept the watch followed Prior Jehan to the sea, and shot so fast, that they beat the gallie men from the shore; and wounded manie in the foist, to the which Prior Jehan was constreined to wade and was shot in the face with an arrow, so that he lost one of his eies, and was like to haue died of the hurt: and therefore he offered his image of wax before our ladie at Bullongne, with the English arrow in the face for a miracle.

Brighthelmston in Sussex burnt.

Prior Jehan capteine of the French galies shot into the eie with an arrow.

The lord admerall offended with this proud part of the Frenchmen, in making such attempt on the English coasts, sent sir John Wallop to the sea with diuers ships, which sailing to the coasts of Normandie, landed there, and burnt one and twentie villages and townes, with diuerse ships in the hauen of Treaport, Staples, and other where. Men maruelled greatlie at the manfull doings of sir John Wallop, considering he had not past an eight hundred men, and tooke land there so often. In June sir Thomas Louell was sent ouer to Calis with six hundred men to strengthen that towne, and other the fortresses within the English pale, for doubt of anie sudden attempt to be made by the Frenchmen; bicause monsieur de Pontremie, with a mightie armie and great ordinance was come downe neere to Ard: howbeit he taried not long, but raised his campe within a while after his comming thither, and returned without anie more doing. The French king perceiuing what losses he had susteined by the warres against England; and doubting least one euill lucke should still follow in the necke of an other, determined to make sute for peace; and first agreeing with pope Leo, desired him to be a meane also for the procuring of some agreement betwixt him and the king of England.

Sir John Wallop in Normandie.

The French king procureth the pope to be a meane for peace betweene king Henrie and him.

This pope Leo, of that name the tenth, before his election, cardinall of Medicis, bare but seauen and thirtie yeeres of age, which albeit was so much the more maruellous and wonderfull, by how much the election was contrarie to custome; yet the young cardinals were the principall causers of it by their industrie, hauing long time afore secretlie agreed amongst themselues to create the first pope of their number. The most parts and nations of christendome reioised much at this election, euerie one interteining an assured expectation of his vertues, as well

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag 633. Creation of pope Leo the tenth.

well by the preſent and greene memorie of the valor of his late father, as for an vniuerſall reputation that went of his owne inclinations and liberalities. To this eſtimation was ioined a generall opinion of his continencie and life not atteinted, togither with a gladſome hope, that by the example of his father, he would be a furtherer of learning, and beare fauor to wits diſpoſed to ſtudie and knowledge. So that vnto theſe hopes was much helping the manner of the election, being made in his perſon ſincerelie, and without ſimonie or ſuſpicion of other corruption.

Coronation of pope Leo the tenth.

The firſt act of this new pope was his coronation, which was repreſented according to the vſage of his predeceſſors in the church of ſaint John de Lateran. The pompe was ſo great both of his familie and his court, and alſo of the prelates and multitudes that were there, togither with the popular and vniuerſall aſſemblies of people, that by the opinion and iudgement of men, the pride and maieſtie of that action did farre ſurpaſſe all the celebrations done in Rome ſince the tyrannies of the Goths and ſauage nations. In this ſame ſolemnitie the Gonfalon of the church was caried by Alfonſo de Eſte, who hauing obteined a ſuſpenſion of his cenſures & paines, was come to Rome, with great hope, that by the clemencie and facilitie of the pope, he ſhould be able to compound for his affaires. The Gonfalon of the religion of Rhodes was borne by Iulio de Medicis mounted vpon a ſtatelie courſer armed at all points: by his nature he bare an inclination to the profeſſion of armes; but by deſtinie he was drawen to the life eccleſiaſtike, in which eſtate he maie ſerue as a wonderfull example of the variation of fortune.

Pope Leo a poore priſoner the verie ſame daie twelue moneth of his election and inthronization.

One matter that made the memorie of that daie wonderfull, was this conſideration; that the perſon who then in ſo high & rare pompe was honored with the moſt ſupreme and ſouereigne dignitie of the world, was the yéere before, and on the verie ſame daie miſerablie made priſoner. The great magnificence that appeered vpon his perſon, and his expenſes, confirmed in the generalitie and multitude of men, the expectation that was had of him; euerie one promiſing that Rome ſhould be happie vnder a pope ſo plentifullie indued with the vertue of liberalitie, whereof that daie he had giuen an honorable experience, his expenſes being aboue an hundred thouſand ducats. But wiſe men deſired in him a greater grauitie and moderation: they iudged that neither ſuch a maieſtie of pompe was conuenient for popes, neither did the condition of the preſent time require, that he ſhould ſo vnprofitablie diſperſe the treaſures that had beene gathered by his predeceſſour to other vſes.]

The veſſell of amitie betweene the king of Engand & the French being firſt broched by this popes letters, the French king by an herald at armes ſent to the king of England, requiring of him a ſafe conduct for his ambaſſadors, which ſhould come to intreat for a peace and attonement to be concluded betwixt them and their realmes. Vpon grant obteined thereof, the French king ſent a commiſſion with the preſident of Rone and others, to intreat of peace and aliance betwixt both the princes. And moreouer, bicauſe they vnderſtood that the mariage was broken betweene the prince of Caſtile and the ladie Marie, they deſired that the ſaid ladie might be ioined in mariage with the French king, offering a great dowrie and ſuerties for the ſame. So much was offered, that the king moued by his councell, and namelie by Woolſie the biſhop of Lincolne, conſented vpon condition, that if the French king died, then ſhe ſhould (if it ſtood with hir pleaſure) returne into England againe with all hir dowrie and riches.

Mariage concluded.

After that they were accorded vpon a full peace, and that the French king ſhould marrie this young ladie, the indentures were drawen, ingroſſed, & ſealed, and peace thereupon proclamed the ſeuenth daie of Auguſt; & the king in preſence of the French ambaſſadors was ſworne to keepe the ſame: and likewiſe there was an ambaſſage ſent out of England to ſee the French king ſweare the ſame. The dowrie that was aſſigned vnto the bride to be receiued after hir husbands deceaſſe, if ſhe ſuruiued him, was named to be 300000 crownes of yearelie reuenues, & to be receiued out of certeine lands aſſigned forth therefore during all hir naturall life. And moreouer, it was further agreed & couenanted, that the French king ſhould content and paie yearelie vnto king Henrie, during the ſpace of fiue yeares, the ſumme of one hundred thouſand crownes. By concluſion of this peace was the duke of Longuile with the other priſoners deliuered, paieng their ranſoms, and the ſaid duke affied the ladie Marie in the name of his maiſter king Lewes.

A peace concluded betweene England & Fráce

Polydor.

The ladie Marie affied to K. Lewes of France.

In September following, the ſaid ladie was conueied to Douer by the king hir brother & the queene, and on the ſecond daie of October ſhe was ſhipped, and ſuch as were appointed to giue their attendance on hir, as the duke of Norffolke, the marqueſſe Dorſet, the biſhop of Durham, the earle of Surreie, the lord de la Ware, the lord Berners, the lord Monteagle, the foure brethren of the ſaid marques, ſir Maurice Berklie, ſir John Pechie, ſir William Sands, ſir Thomas Bulleine, ſir John Car, and manie other knights, eſquiers, gentlemen and ladies. They had not ſailed paſt a quarter of the ſea, but that the wind aroſe and ſeuered the ſhips, driuing ſome of them to Calis, ſome into Flanders, and hir ſhip with great difficultie was brought to Bullen not without great ieopardie at the entering of the hauen, for the maiſter ran the ſhip hard on ſhore.

But the boats were readie, and receiued the ladie out of the ſhip, and ſir Chriſtopher Garniſh ſtood in the water and toke hir in his armes, and ſo caried hir to land, where the duke of Mandoſme, and a cardinall, with manie other great eſtates receiued hir with great honor. From Bullen with eaſie iournies ſhe was conueied vnto Abuile, & there entered the eighth of October [where ſhe was receiued by the Dolphin with great honour, ſhe was apparelled in cloth of ſiluer, hir horſſe was traped in goldſmiths worke verie richlie. After hir followed 36 ladies all their palfries traped with crimſin veluet embrodered. After them followed one chariot of cloth of tiſſue, the ſecond cloth of gold, & the third crimſin veluet embrodered with the kings armes & hirs, full of roſes. After them followed a great number of archers, and then wagons laden with their ſtuffe. Great was the riches in plate, iewels, monie, aparell, and hangings that this ladie brought into France.]

Edw. Hall in He.8. fol.xlvii

On the morrow following being mondaie, and S. Deniſe day, the mariage was ſolemnized betwixt the French king and the ſaid ladie, with all honour, ioy, & roialtie, both apparelled in goldſmiths worke. Then a great banket and ſumptuous feaſt was made, where the Engliſh ladies were honorablie interteined, according to the dignitie of the perſons, and to the contentment of them that had no dregs of malice or miſliking ſettled in their harts. For vnpoſſible it is, that in a great multitude meeting togither, though all about one matter, be it of pleaſure and delight, there ſhould not be one of a repugnant diſpoſition, and (though not apparantlie perceiued trauelling with grudge) malignant mind; as we ſée ſome apples vnperiſhed and otherſome wormeaten, albeit one bough beare them, and one tree giue them ſap.

The mariage ſolemnized betweene the French king and the ladie Marie ſiſter to K. Henrie.

¶ On the tueſdaie being the tenth daie of October, all the Engliſhmen, except a few that were officers

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall in H.8. fol.xlvii

English gentlemen discharged of their places and offices vnder the quæne.

cers with the said quéene, were discharged; which was a great sorrow for them, for some had serued hir long in hope of preferment, & some that had honest romes left them to serue hir, and now they were without seruice, which caused them to take thought, in so much some died by the waie returning, and some fell mad, but there was no remedie. After the English lords had done their commission, the French king willed them to take no longer paine, and so gaue to them good rewards; and they toke their leaue of the quæne and returned. Then the Dolphin of France called lord Francis duke of Valois, and by his wife duke of Britaine, for the more honour of this mariage before the Englishmen departed from Abuile, caused a solemne iusts to be proclamed, which should be kept at Paris in the moneth of Nouember next insuing.

The Dolphin causeth solemne iusts to be proclamed at Paris.

Namelie, that he with his nine aids should answer all commers, being gentlemen of name and of armes. First to run fiue courses at the tilt with péeces of aduantage, & also fiue courses at randon with sharpe speares, and twelue strokes with sharpe swords; and that done, he and his aids to fight at the barriers with all gentlemen of name and of armes. First sir foines with hand speares, and after that eight strokes to the most aduantage if the speare so long held, and after that twelue strokes with the sword: and if anie man be vnhorsed or felled with fighting on foot, then his horsse and armour to be rendered to the officers of armes: and euerie man of this chalenge must set vp his armes and name vpon an arch triumphant, which shalbe made at the place where the iustes shalbe, and further shall write to what point he will answer, to one or to all.

English nobilitie craue licence of the king to go ouer to the iusts.

When this proclamation was reported in England by the noble men that returned from the mariage: the duke of Suffolke, the marquesse Dorset, and his foure brethren, the lord Clinton, sir Edward Nevill, sir Giles Capell, Thomas Cheneie, and other sued to the king to be at the chalenge, which request he graciouslie granted. Then the lords and knights prepared all things necessarie for their enterprise, and shipped there horsses and harnesse, and did so much by tourneie, that they came to Paris at the end of October, which were hartilie welcomed of the king and the Dolphin: but most of all of the French quæne which then laie at saint Denise, and was not yet crowned nor entered into Paris. The Dolphin desired the duke of Suffolke and the lord marquesse Dorset, to be two of his immediat aids, which thereto assented.

Decrées for the said iusts.

Therefore was erected an arch of wideneſse at the tornels beside the stréet of saint Anthonie, directlie before the bastell, on the which were set foure targets or scutchions, the one siluer, and he that set his name vnder that shield, to run at tilt according to the articles. He that put his name vnder the golden target should run with the sharpe speares and fight with sharpe swords. They that put their names to the blacke shield, should fight on foot with speares and swords for the one hand. And he that touched the tawnie shield should cast a speare on foot with a target on his arme, and after to fight with a two hand sword. On this arch aboue stood the armes of the king & the quæne, and beneath them stood the armes of the Dolphin and his aids, and vnderneath stood the foure scutchions that you haue heard of, and vnder them all the armes and names of such as set their names to anie of the said foure scutchions.

The ladie Marie crowned quéene of France.

While all these things were preparing, the ladie Marie of England the fift daie of Nouember, then being sundaie, was with great solemnitie crowned quæne of France in the monasterie of S. Denise, and the Dolphin all the season held the crowne ouer hir head, bicause it was of great weight to hir greenance, at which coronation were the lords of England, all according to their degrées well interteined. On mondaie the first daie of Nouember, the said quæne was receiued into the citie of Paris after the order that followeth. First the gard of the citie met with hir without saint Denise all in coats of goldsmiths worke, with ships gilt, and after them met hir all the préests and religious, estæmed to be three thousand. The quæne was in a chaire couered about (but not ouer hir person) in white cloth of gold; the horsses that drew it, in cloth of gold; on hir head a coronall all of great pearles, hir necke and breſt full of iewels.

She is receiued into Paris.

Before hir went a gard of Almans after their fashion, and after them all noblemen, as the Dolphin, the duke of Alanson, the duke of Burbon, the duke of Vandosme, the duke of Longeuile, and the duke of Suffolke, the marquesse Dorset, fiue cardinals, and a great number of estates; about hir person rode the kings gard, which were Scots. Thus was this quæne receiued into Paris, and so conueied to the cathedrall church, and there offered, & from thence to the palace, where she offered at the holie chapell; and from thence she went to hir lodging for that night: for whome was prouided a great super, and the heralds cried a largesse, and had to them giuen a ship of siluer and gilt, and other plate, to the value of two hundred marks, and after super began dansing and pastime. On the morow began the iusts, and the Dolphin with his aids entered the field, the apparell and bards were cloth of gold, cloth of siluer, and crimsin veluet kanteled togither all in one sute, they shewed themselues before the king and quéene, who were on a goodlie stage, and the quæne stood so that all men might sée hir, and wondered at hir beautie: but the king was feeble & laie on a couch for weakenesse.

The heralds reward.

Then entered the counter part by a raile for combring the place. These iusts continued three daies, in the which were answered three hundred and fiue men of armes, and euerie man ran fiue courses, and with sharpe speares; diuerse were slaine & not spoken of. At the randon and turneie the duke of Suffolke hurt a gentleman, so that he was like to die. The Marques Dorset stroke monsieur Grue an Albanois with his speare, persed his headpéece, and put him in iopardie. The duke of Suffolke in the turneie ouerthrew a man of armes, horsse & man; and so did the lord Marquesse another, and yet the Frenchmen would in no wise praise them. At this turneie the Dolphin was hurt in the hand, so that he could not performe his chalenge at the barriers, and put one of his aid in his rome. The nert daie after began the fight at the barriers. And bicause the Dolphin was not present, the duke of Suffolke and the lord Marques Dorset that daie began the field, and toke the barriers with speares in his hand abiding all commers.

The time how long these iusts lasted and the maner therof.

The Dolphin brought a man secretlie, which in all the court of France was the tallest & the strongest man, and he was an Alman, and put him in the place of an other person to haue had the duke of Suffolke rebuked. The same great Alman came to the bars fiercelie with face hid, bicause he would not be knowne, and bare his speare to the duke of Suffolke with all his strength, and the duke him receiued and for all his strength put him by strong strokes from the barriers, and with the but end of the speare strake the Alman that he staggered: but for all that the Alman strake stronglie and hardlie at the duke, and the iudges suffered manie more strokes to be foughten than were appointed; but when they saw the Alman reele and stagger, then they let fall the raile betweene them. The lord marquesse Dorset at the same time, euen at the same barre fought with a gentleman of France that he lost his speare, and in maner withdrew. When the raile was let fall, these

The duke of Suffolke incountreth a tall and strong Alman.

two noble men put vp their visers and toke aire, and with swords, the points and edges abated, they came to the barriers.

The duke foiles the Alman.

The Alman fought sore with the duke, which imagined that he was a person set on for the nonce, but the duke by pure strength toke him about the necke, and pomeled him so about the head that the bloud issued out of his nose, and then they were parted, and the Alman was conueied by the Dolphin least he should be knowne. These two noblemen of England that daie fought valiantlie diuerse feats, and the Frenchmen likewise noblie them defended. But it happened the lord Marquesse on a time to put for his aid his yongest brother called the lord Edward Greie of the age of nintéene yeare, and to him was put a gentleman of France of great stature and strength, to the intent to plucke him ouer the barres, but yet the yong lord was of such strength, power, & policie, that he so stroke his aduersarie that he disarmd him, all the face bare. Thus were these enterprises finished to the land of all parties, & the Englishmen receiued much honor and no spot of rebuke, yet they were priuilie set at & in manie ieopardies.

The yong lord Greies prowesse.

For the declaration of this triumph, he that saw it can tell how godlie the coursers trotted, bounded, and quicklie turned: how valiantlie the men of armes behaued themselues, and how the duke of Burbons band was apparrelled and bassed in tawnie velvet, and cloth of siluer cloudie, the band of the earle of saint Paule apparrelled and barded in purple velvet all to cut on purple sattin, the infant of Arragon, sonne to Frederike last king of Naples, and his band all in cloth of gold and siluer paled. This lord was but yong, but yet verie toward. The duke of Uandosme and his band in cloth of gold and plunket velvet. The Dolphin and his aids were euerie daie new apparrelled at his cost, one daie in siluer and gold, another in crimsin velvet and yellow velvet, and another daie in white velvet and græne, some daie mixed with sattin, some daie embrodered, some daie pounced with gold, and so euerie daie in change as the workers fantasie could deuise, but the Englishmen had euer on their apparrell red crosses to be knowne for loue of their countrie.

A description of the pompe and brauerie in apparell at this solemne tilt.

At this triumph the countie Galeas came into the place on a genet trapped in blew satten, and he himselfe likewise apparrelled, and ran a course with a speare, which was at the head fiue inches on euerie side square, that is twentie inches about, and at the butt nine inches square, that is six and thirtie inches, this speare was massie timber, and yet for all that he ran cleane with it a long course and slightlie auoided it to his great honour. Also there was another gentleman called Anthonie Bounarme, which came into the field all armed, and on his bodie brought in sight ten speares, that is to wit, three speares set in euerie stirrop forward, and vnder euerie thigh two speares vpward, and vnder his left arme was one speare backward, and the tenth in his hand; and when he came before the quéene, he let his horsse run, and neuer stopped till he had taken euerie speare after other and broken it on the ground, and he neuer stopped his horsse till all were broken. This gentleman was highlie praised, and so he was worthie. When all this great triumph was done, the lords of England toke their leaue, and were highlie thanked of the king, quéene, Dolphin, and all the lords, and so departed and came into England before Christmas. ¶ In Nouember the quéene was deliuered of a prince which liued not long after.]

Anthonie Bounarme with his ten speares all at once about him.

Touching the accord of peace betwéene England and France, you shall heare the report of Guicciardine, which to this place maketh passage to knowledge, as oile giueth maintenance of light to the lampe. [At the first opening of this practise for peace, there fell out manie difficulties, for that the king of England demanded Bullongne in Picardie, with a great summe of monie: but at last all the differences fell vpon the towne of Tornaie, the king of England striuing to reteine it, and the French obiecting some difficultie: in so much as the king of England dispatched in post to the French king the bishop of Tricaro, whome he charged, without imparting in what nature of particularitie consisted the difficultie, to declare to the king from him, that in regard of so great a benefit, he should not stand vpon so manie subtile difficulties, but to consider that in a prince reason should beare more imperie than passion.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 675.

Difficulties about the practise of peace.

The French king, because he would neither do wrong to his crowne, nor ill content his people, the towne of Tornaie being verie noble and loiall to the crowne of France, caused the matter to be debated in full councell, wherein was an assistance of the principals of his court, who aduised him with one voice to imbrace peace, yea vnder the condition offered. And yet in that time the king catholike did what he could to breake it, offering the king manie plots and deuises, but speciallie to minister to him all his means and fauours to conquer the duchie of Millan. But the answer being returned into England, that the French king stood content with the resolution of Tornaie, the peace succeeded & was concluded in the beginning of August betwéene the two kings during their liues, & a yeare after their death.

The French councell accord for peace.

In the capitulation it was expressed, that Tornaie should remaine to the king of England, to whom the French king should paie six hundred thousand crownes, and that in such sort of distribution, that the French king should make paiment of an hundred thousand franks euerie yeare, vntill the full paiment was satisfied: that they should be bound to defend their estates mutuallie and reciprocallie with ten thousand footmen if the warre went by land, and with six thousand onelie if the warre were made by sea: that the French king should be bound to serue the king of England in all his affaires with twelue hundred lances, and the king of England likewise to minister to his seruices with ten thousand footmen: the expenses to be defraied by either of them that should haue need of the men: both the one and the other of them named the Scotish king, the archduke, & the empire: but Cesar and the king catholike were not named: the Swizzers had a nomination, but it bare a condition, that whosoeuer would defend against the French king, the estate of Millan, Genes, or Ast, should be excluded out of the nomination.

The contents of the capitulation for peace.

This peace, which was made with a wonderfull readinesse, was confirmed by the marriage of the kings sister of England with the French king, vnder condition, that he should acknowledge to haue receiued foure hundred thousand crownes for hir dowrie: the contract or handfastings were made in England, where the king catholiks ambassador was not in presence, for the great hatred the king of England bare to the king his maister. And euen vpon the conclusion and resolution of this peace, came to the court of France the instrument of ratification which Cesar had made, togither with his commission, and the king catholiks, for conclusion of the marriage that was solicited betwéene Ferdinando de Austrich and the second daughter of France not yet foure yeares of age: but the practise of that marriage vanished presentlie by reason of the peace that was now established: and the French king to satisfie better the king of England, gaue order that the duke of Suffolke, capteine generall of the lance-knights that were in his paie, should depart the dominions of France, in whome the honours and recompenses

The French king marrieth the ladie Marie sister to the king of England.

compenses that the king made to him ouercame all occasions of discontentment, the bountie and liberalitie of the one being no greater than the affabilitie and disposition of the other.]

Richard Hun hanged in Lollards ower. Sée Edw.Hall in H.8.fol.lj, &c.

In December, one Richard Hun a merchant taylor of London, that was laid in Lollards tower by commandement of the bishop of London, called Richard Fitz James, and his chancellor doctor Horsse, was found dead, hanging by the necke in a girdle of silke within the said tower. That ye maie vnderstand the cause of his imprisonment, the beginning was this. The same Hun had a child that died in his house, being an infant; the curat claimed the bearing sheet for a mortuarie. Hun answered, that the infant had no propertie in the sheet. Wherevpon, the præst ascited him in the spirituall court. He taking to him counsell, sued the curat in a præmunire: and when this was knowne, meanes was found, that Hun being accused of heresie, was attached, and laid in Lollards tower, where he was found dead, as ye haue heard. Much adoo was made about his death, for the bishop and the chancellor said, that he hanged himselfe.

Hunns death lamented, and of what causes.

But manie of the temporaltie affirmed, that he was murthered, greatlie lamenting the case: for he was well beloued, and namelie of the poore, which cried out against them that were suspected to haue made him awaie. He was a good almes-man, and greatly releeued the needie. The question of his death was so farre put forth, that vpon the suspicion he should be murthered, twelue men were charged before the coroner. After they had taken view of the bodie, the same was burned in Smithfield by the bishops appointment: notwithstanding the coroners quest indicted doctor Horsse, with one John Spalding, otherwise called Belringer, and Charles Joseph the summoner of the murthered; howbeit, vpon his arreignement, through great suit and corruption of monie (as manie iudged) the kings attorneie declared doctor Horsse not to be giltie.

dw.Hall. in 8.fol.lv,vlj. gorgious & ch maske herein the ing was an dor.

This Christmasse on Newyeares night, the king, the duke of Suffolke, & two other were in mantels of cloath of siluer lined with blew veluet, the siluer was pounst in letters that the veluet might be séene thorough, the mantels had great capes like to the Portingall slops, and all their hosen, dublets, and coats were of the same fashion cut, and of the same stuffe. With them were foure ladies in gowns, after the fashon of Sauoie, of blew veluet, lined with cloath of gold, the veluet all cut, and mantels like tipets knit togither all of siluer, and on their heads bonets of burned gold, the foure torch-bearers were in sattin white and blew. This strange apparell pleased much euerie person, and in especiall the quéene. And thus these foure lords & foure ladies came into the quéenes chamber with great light of torches, and danced a great season, and then put off their visors, and were all well knowne, and then the quéene hartilie thanked the kings grace for his goodlie pastime and disport.

tent of cloth f gold with shew of rmed men.

Likewise on the Twelfe night, the king and the quéene came into the hall of Grœnewich, & suddenlie entered a tent of cloath of gold, and before the tent stood foure men of armes, armed at all points with swords in their hands; and suddenlie with noise of trumpets entered foure other persons all armed, and ran to the other foure, and there was a great and a fierce fight. And suddenlie came out of a place like a wood eight wildmen, all apparelled in grœne mosse, made with sleued silke, with otuglie weapons & terrible visages, and there fought with the knights eight to eight; and after long fighting, the armed knights droue the wild men out of their places, and followed the chase out of the hall: and when they were departed, the tent opened, and there came out six lords and six ladies richlie apparelled, and danced a great time: when they had danced their pleasure, they entered the tent againe, which was conueied out of the hall; then the king & the quéene were serued with a right sumptuous banket.

The king and the marquesse Dorset make a challenge at iusts.

On the third day of Februarie, the king made a solemne iusts, and he and the marquesse Dorset would answer all commers, their apparell and bards were of blew veluet and cloath of siluer, all to cut in subtill knots, richlie embrodered, all the seruitours in white & blew silke. The counterpart, which were fourteene in number, richlie apparelled in veluet, cloath of gold, and embroderie, euerie man after his owne deuise. The king was that daie highlie to be praised, for he brake three and twentie speares beside atteints and bare downe to ground a man of armes and his horsse: the lord marquesse and all other did valiantlie, and had much praise, for euerie man did passing well, which is seldome séene in such a case. But the king for a suertie excéeded all other.

A parlement wherein sir Thomas Neuill was prolocutor or speaker.

On the fourth daie of October, the king remœued to Lambeth, and on the morrow began the high court of parlement, sir Thomas Neuill was then speaker. In this parlement were diuerse acts made, but in especiall two, which were much spoken of: the one was the act of apparell, and the other act for labourers: of these two acts was much communing, and much businesse arose. For the labourers would in no wise labour by the daie, but all by taske & in great, and therefore much trouble fell in the countrie, and in especiall in haruest time, for then husbandmen could skarse get workemen to helpe in their haruest. This parlement continued vntill Easter, in the which diuerse subsidies were granted to the king, toward his great costs and charges that he had bœne at in his viage roiall to France.

After Easter the nineteenth daie of the moneth of Aprill, the king deliting to set forth yong gentlemen, called Nicholas Carew, and Francis Bryan, and caused diuerse other yong gentlemen to be on the counter part, and lent to them horsse and harnesse to incourage all youth to séeke déeds of armes. This yeare died at Rome by poison (as was reported) the archbishop of Yorke and cardinall, called doctor Benbrike, who was the kings ambassadour there: this was a wiseman and of a stout courage. The king then gaue the said archbishoprike to Thomas Wolsie, then bishop of Lincolne, who at that time bare all the rule about the king, and what he said was obeied in all places. Now when he was once archbishop, he studied daie and night how to be a cardinall, and caused the king, and the French king to write to Rome for him, and at their requests he obteined his purpose, as you shall heare afterward.

Doctor Benbrike archbishop of Yorke and cardinall poisoned at Rome.

At this time was much communing, and verelie (as it appeared) it was intended, that the king in person would passe the sea to Calis, and there on the marches of the same, the French king and quéene to come and sée the king their brother: and for the same iournie manie costlie works were wrought, much rich apparell prouided, and much preparation made against the nert spring: but death which is the last end of all things let this iournie. For before the nert spring the French king died at the citie of Paris, the first daie of Januarie, when he had bœne married to the faire ladie Marie of England foure score and two daies (whom he so feruentlie loued, that he gaue himselfe ouer to behold too much hir excellent beautie bearing then but eightéene yeares of age, nothing considering the proportion of his owne yeares, nor his decaied complexion; so that he fell into the rage of a feauer, which drawing to it a sudden flur, ouercame in one instant the life, that nature gaue ouer

The K. in person purposed to passe the seas to sée the French king his brother.

Abr.Fl. ex Guic.pag 684.

to preserue anie longer. He was a king iust & much beloued of his people, but touching his condition, neither before he was king, nor after he had the crowne he neuer found constancie nor stabilitie in either fortune.

For, rising from a small duke of Orleance with great happinesse to the crowne, and that by the death of Charles yonger than he, and two of his sonnes, he conquered with a verie great facilitie the duchie of Millan and the kingdome of Naples, and almost all the residue of the regions of Italie, being gouerned for manie yeares by his direction: he recouered with a verie great prosperitie, the state of Genes that was in rebellion: and vanquished with no lesse glorie the armies of the Venetians, being in person at both those victories. But on the other side, euen when he was in his youth and best disposition of bodie, he was then constreined by king Lewes the eleuenth to marrie his daughter that was both barren and deformed; and yet could neuer get the good will nor countenance of his father in law.

The variablenesse of his fortune.

And after his death, such was the greatnesse of the ladie of Burbon, that he could neuer get the institution of the new king, being then in minoritie, being almost compelled to retire himselfe into Britaine: where being taken in the battell of saint Aubin, he liued two yeares in the calamitie of a prisoner. To these afflictions maie be added the siege and famine of Nauarre, the manie discomfits he had in the realme of Naples, the losse of the estate of Millan, Genes, and all the townes which he had taken from the Venetians: and lastlie the grieuous warre he had in France against verie mightie enimies, his eies beholding into what lamentable perils his realme was brought: neuertheless, before he died it seemed he had conquered all his aduersities, and fortune shewed good tokens of hir reconcilement, both for that he had defended his kingdome against mightie enimies, and also established a perpetuall peace and alliance with the king of England, with whome by how much his amitie was great and assured, by so much it gaue him hope to be able to reconquer the duchie of Millan.]

The king of England being aduertised of the French kings death, caused a solemne obsequie to be kept for him in the cathedrall church of S. Paule, with a costlie hearse: at which manie nobles were present. After this he sent a letter to comfort the quéene his sister, requiring to know hir pleasure, whether she would continue still in France, or returne into England. And when he was aduertised of hir mind (which was to returne into England) the duke of Suffolke, sir Richard Wingfield deputie of Calis, and doctor West, with a goodlie band of gentlemen and yeomen, all in blacke, were sent into France, and comming to Paris, were well receiued of the new French king, Francis the first of that name [who was the next heire male of the bloud roiall and of the same line of the dukes of Orleance: he was preferred to the succession of the kingdome before the daughters of the dead king by vertue and disposition of the law Salike, a law verie ancient in the realme of France, which excludeth from the roiall dignitie all women; so long as there is anie issue male of the same line.

The duke of Suffolke and others sent into France to bring the French quéene into England. Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 685.

Francis the first coms to the crowne.

The world had such a hope in his vertues, and such an opinion of his magnanimitie, and such a conceipt of his iudgement and wit, that euerie one confessed, that of verie long time there was none raised vp to the crowne with a greater expectation. He was made the more agreeable to the fansies of men, by the consideration of his age bearing then but two and twentie yeares; his excellent feature and proportion of bodie, his great liberalitie, and generall humanitie, together with the ripe knowledge he had in manie things. But speciallie he pleased greatlie the nobilitie, to whome he transferred manie singular and great fauours. Unto this king Francis de Angoulesme did the foresaid English nobilitie declare the effect of their commission, which was to receiue the quéene Dowager, according to the couenants of the marriage.]

His praises worthie properties.

The councell of France (by the kings appointment) assigned forth hir dowrie, and the duke of Suffolke put in officers, and then was the quéene deliuered to the duke by indenture, who behaued himselfe so towards hir, that he obteined hir good will to be hir husband. It was thought, that when the king created him duke of Suffolke, he perceiued his sisters good will towards the said duke; and that he meant then to haue bestowed hir vpon him; but that a better offer came in the waie. But howsoeuer it was now, he wan hir loue; so as by hir consent, he wrote to the king hir brother, meekelie beseeching him of pardon in his request, which was humblie to desire him of his good will and contentation.

The duke of Suffolke winneth the good will of the quéene Dowager of France. Polydor. Edw. Hall.

The king at the first staid, but after long suite, and speciallie by meane of the French quéene hir selfe, and other the dukes frends, it was agreed that the duke should bring hir into England vnmarried, and at his returne to marrie hir in England: but for doubt of change he married hir secretlie in Paris at the house of Clugnie, as was said. After he had receiued hir with hir dower appointed, & all hir apparell, iewels, and houshold stuffe deliuered, they tooke leaue of the new French king, and so passing thorough France, came to Calis; where she was honourablie interteined, and after openlie married with great honour vnto the said duke of Suffolke. Doctor West (as then nominated bishop of Elie) remained behind at Paris, to go through with the full conclusion of a new league betwixt the king of England, and the new French king.

Anno Reg. 7. The French quéene married to the duke of Suffolke.

¶ The court lieng at Grénewich, the king and the quéene, accompanied with manie lords and ladies, road to the high ground of shoters hill to take the open aire; and as they passed by the waie, they espied a companie of tall yeomen, clothed all in gréne with gréne hods, and bowes and arrowes, to the number of two hundred. Then one of them, which called himselfe Robin hod, came to the king, desiring him to see his men shot; and the king was content. Then he whistled, and all the two hundred archers shot and losed at once; and then he whistled againe, and they likewise shot againe; their arrowes whistled by craft of the head, so that the noise was strange and great, and much pleased the king, the quéene, and all the companie. All these archers were of the kings gard, and had thus apparelled themselues to make solace to the king.

Edw. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. lvj. Robin hod and his two hundred men present themselues to the king & quéen in a maigame.

Then Robin hod desired the king and quéene to come into the grœne wood, and to see how the outlawes liued. The king demanded of the quéene & hir ladies, if they durst aduenture to go into the wood with so manie outlawes. Then the quéene said, that if it pleased him she was content. Then the hornes blew, till they came to the wood vnder shoters hill, & there was an arbor made of boughes with a hall, and a great chamber; and an inner chamber verie well made and couered with floures & sweet hearbs, which the king much praised. Then said Robin hod; Sir, outlawes breakefasts is venison, and therefore you must be content with such fare as we vse. Then the king and quéene sat downe, and were serued with venison and wine by Robin hod and his men, to their great contentation.

Then the king departed and his companie, and Robin hod and his men them conducted; and as they were

A shew of two ladies in a rich chariot drawne with fiue horsses.

were returning, there met with them two ladies in a rich chariot drawen with fiue horsses, and euery horsse had his name on his head, and on euerie horsse sat a ladie with hir name written. On the first courser called Caude, sat Humidite, or Humide. On the second courser called Memcon road ladie Mer. On the third called Pheton sat ladie Vegetiue. On the fourth called Rimphon sat ladie Pleasant. On the fift called Lampace sat sweet Odour. And in the chaire sat ladie Vaie, accompanied with ladie Flora, richlie apparelled, and they saluted the king with diuerse goodlie songs, and so brought him to Grenewich. At this maieng was a great number of people to behold it to their great solace and comfort.

The same after noone, the king, the duke of Suffolke, the marquesse Dorset, and the earle of Essex, their bardes and bases of grene veluet and cloth of gold, came into the field on great coursers, on whome waited diuerse gentlemen in silke of the same colour. On the other side entered sirtene lords and gentlemen, all apparelled richlie after their deuises, and so valiantlie they ran their courses appointed: after that, they ran volant one as fast as he might ouertake another, which was a goodlie sight to see: and when all was done they departed, and went to a goodlie banket. This summer the king toke his progresse westward, and visited his townes and castels there, and heard the complaints of his poore communaltie; and euer as he road he hunted and liberallie departed with venison.]

The king and certeine nobles ran their horsses volant.

This yeare in September, the king being at his manour of Oking, after his returne from his progresse which he made that yeare into the west parts, the archbishop of Yorke came thither to him. Whilest he sojourned there, a letter was brought to the said archbishop from Rome, aduertising him that he was elected cardinall, which letter incontinentlie he shewed to the king, disabling himselfe in words, though his intent was otherwise; and so the king did incourage him, and willed him to take that dignitie vpon him, and called him from thenseforth my lord cardinall. But his hat, bull, nor other ceremonies were not yet come. In November, the king assembled his high court of parlement at Westminster, wherein, diuerse acts made in the sirt yeare were reformed and altered, and especiallie the act of apparell, and the act of labourers, as by the booke of statutes more plainelie appéreth.

The archbishop of Yorke elected cardinall.

A parlement at Westminster.

At the end of this parlement, doctor Warham archbishop of Canturburie, and as then lord chancellour, perceiuing how the new lord cardinall medled further in his office of chancellorship than he could well suffer, except he should aduenture the kings displeasure; for this and for other considerations gaue vp his office of chancellor into the kings hands, and deliuered to him the great seale, which incontinentlie was deliuered by the king vnto the lord cardinall, and so was he made lord chancellor. He was no sooner in that office, but he directed forth commissions into euerie shire, for the execution of the statutes of apparell and labourers, and in all his doings shewed himselfe more loftie and presumptuous than became him. ¶ And he himselfe on a daie called a gentleman named Simon Fitz Richard, and toke from him an old iacket of crimsin veluet and diuerse brooches, which extreame doing caused him greatlie to be hated: and by his example manie cruell officers for malice euill intreated diuerse of the kings subiects, in so much that one Shinning, maior of Rochester, set a yong man on the pillorie for wearing of a riuen or gathered shirt.]

Cardinall Wolsie made lord chancellor.

Edw. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. lvij.

In the end of November, the cardinals hat was sent into England, which the gentlemen of Kent receiued, and brought to London with such triumph, as

The cardinals hat receiued by the Kentish gentlemen with great solemnitie.

though the greatest prince in Europe had béene come to visit the king [much like that of the people at Rome in the yeare 1515, when were séene in the said citie two elephants, a nature of creatures which happilie had not béene séene in Italie since the triumphs and publike plaies of the Romans. Emanuell king of Portingall sent to pope Leo the tenth a verie honorable ambassage, and withall presented him with these huge and statelie elephants, which his ships had brought by sea from India; their entring into Rome was celebrated with a verie great concourse of people, some wondering at the strange forme and stature of the beasts, some marueling to what vses their nature inclined them, and some coniecturing the respects and purposes of such a present, their ignorance making their wonder farre greater than their reason.]

Guic. pag. 682. Two elefants presented to the pope.

No lesse adoo was there at the bringing of the cardinals hat, who on a sundaie (in S. Peters church at Westminster) receiued the same, with the habit, the piller, and other such tokens of a cardinall. And now that he was thus a perfect cardinall, he lobed aboue all estates, which purchased him great hatred and disdaine on all sides. For his ambition was no lesse discernable to the eies of the people, than the sunne in the firmament in a clere and cloudlesse summer daie; which procured against him the more hatred among the noble and popular sort; for that his base linage was both noted and knowne, in so much that his insatiable aspiring to supereminent degrees of dignitie kindled manifest contempt and detestation among such as pretended a countenance of good will and honorable dutie vnto him, though in verie deed the same parties (if freelie and without checke they might haue spoken their fansie) would haue intituled him a proud popeling; as led with the like spirit of swelling ambition, wherwith the rable of popes haue béene bladder like puffed and blowne vp: a diuelish and luciferian vice, in the iudgements of men abhominable, and in the sight of God most damnable; as the poet in this distichon trulie witnesseth:

Dij superi fastum, fastum mortales abhorrent,
Hæc homini leuitas displicet atque Deo.

Gu. Ha.

After the end of the parlement, sir Edward Poinings laboured to be discharged of the keeping of Tornaie, because he could not haue health there: and so he was discharged, and sir William Blunt lord Mountioy was sent thither to haue that rome, and for marshall was appointed sir Sampson Norton. Immediatlie vpon their comming thither chanced a great riot, raised by the souldiers, so that to appease them, the lord Mountioy was put in ieopardie of his life. In conclusion, to quiet them sir Sampson Norton was banished the towne for euer, but what the matter was I haue not found rehearsed by anie writer. After that the citie was appeased, and euerie thing thought to be forgotten, diuerse of the offendors were executed, and diuerse banished the towne, some fled, and were confined both out of England and the towne.

The lord Mountioy made gouernour of Tornaie.

A mutinie amongst the soldiers at Tornaie.

After the parlement was ended, the king kept a solemne Christmasse at his manor of Eltham; and on the Twelfe night, in the hall was made a goodlie castell, wonderouslie set out; and in it certeine ladies and knights, and when the king and quene were set, in came other knights and assailed the castell, where manie a good stripe was giuen; and at the last the assailants were beaten awaie. And then issued out knights and ladies out of the castell, which ladies were rich and strangelie disguised: for all their apparell was in braids of gold, fret with mouing spangls of siluer and gilt, set on crimsin sattin lose and not fastned: the mens apparell of the same sute made like Iulis of Hungarie; and the ladies heads and

The king kept his Christmasse at Eltham.

Courtlie pastime on the Twelf night.

bodies were after the fashion of Amsterdam. And when the dansing was done, the banket was serued in of two hundred dishes, with great plentie to euerie bodie.]

This yeere the new league accorded betwixt king Henrie & the French king was openlie proclaimed through the citie of London by a trumpet. Margaret quéene of Scots eldest sister to the K. came this yere into England, & at Harbottell castell was deliuered of a daughter, begot by hir second husband the lord Archembald Dowglasse earle of Angus. This daughter was called at the fontstone after hir mother Margaret. The said quéene after the death of hir late husband king James married the said earle of Angus, without consent of hir brother king Henrie, or other of hir friends; chéeflie (as some haue thought) for hir sonnes sake, doubting if she should not haue taken hir choise at home, she should haue maried in some other place, and so haue béene sequestred from hir sonne, whose bringing vp apperteined now chéeflie vnto hir. But such contention rose shortlie after in Scotland amongst the lords, that both she and hir husband were glad to séeke succor in England at hir brothers hand, who was contented to releeue them, assigning them the said castell of Harbottell to lie in, with apparell and all other necessaries, till his further pleasure should be knowne. The eightéenth daie of Februarie this yeere, the ladie Marie, daughter to king Henrie the eight was borne at Grénewich. This was she that afterwards was quéene of this realme, & married the king of Spaine. This yeere also died the king of Aragon, father to the quéene; for whom was kept a solemne obsequie in the cathedrall church of Paules.

The birth of Margaret daughter to the queene of Scots, and of the earle Angus afterwards maried to the earle of Lenox.

Edw. Hall. The queene of Scots and the earle of Angus hir husband come into England.

1518

The birth of ladie Marie the kings daughter, afterwards queene.

Anno Reg. 8.

As ye haue heard the last yére how the quéene of Scots with hir husband was come for succor into England, and laie at Harbottell in Northumberland, till the kings pleasure was to send for them; so now know you that he (like a naturall brother) sent for hir and hir husband to come to his court for their solace: for the which kindnesse the earle humblie thanked the king, and promised to giue his attendance on the queene his wife to the court. Wherevpon the king sent William Blacknall esquier, clerke of his spicerie with siluer vessell, plate, and other things necessarie for the conuetance of hir, and sent to hir all manner of officers for hir estate conuenient. Now when she was readie to depart, she asked for hir husband, but he was departed into Scotland, and left hir alone; nothing remembring his promise. Which sudden departing much made hir to muse: howbeit, the lords of England greatlie incouraged hir to kéepe hir promise with the king hir brother.

The king sendeth for the queene of Scots and hir husband to his court.

The queene of Scots comming to London, and so to Greenewich.

Now when she was somewhat appeased, she set forward; and in euerie towne she was well receiued, & so on the third day of Maie she made hir entrie into London, riding on a white palfrete (which the quéene of England had sent vnto hir) behind sir Thomas Parre richlie besséne, and with a great companie of lords and ladies she rode through the citie to Bainards castell, and from thence she was conueied to Grœnewich, and there receiued ioiouslie of the king, the quéene, the French quéene hir sister, and highlie was she feasted. And when the king heard that the earle of Angus hir husband was departed, he said it was done like a Scot. This quéene sometime was at the court, and sometime at Bainards castell, and so she continued in England all this yére.

Three queenes in the English court at once.

The king for the honour of his sister the nineteenth and twentith daie of Maie prepared two solemne daies of iusts: and the king himselfe, and the duke of Suffolke, the earle of Essex, and Nicholas Carew esquier, toke on them to answer all commers. The apparell of them and their horsses was blacke velvet, couered all ouer with branches of honie-suckles of fine flat gold of damaske of lose worke, euerie leafe of the branch moving, the embroderie was verie cunning and sumptuous. On the king was attending in one sute on horssebacke, the lord marquesse Dorset, the earle of Surrie, the lord Aburgauennie, the lord Hastings, sir John Pechie, the lord Ferrers, sir William Fitz Williams, and twelue other knights. All these were in frockes of blew velvet, garded with rich cloth of gold, and their horsse trappers of blew velvet fringed with gold: and on fot were fortie persons all in blew sattin garded with cloth of gold. And so they entred the field with trumpets, drumslades and other minstrelsie. Then in came the counterpartie richlie apparelled, to the number of twelue: and on that daie euerie man did well, but the king did best, and so was adiudged; and so at night they ceased, and came to supper.

The second daie of solemne iusts held by the king and others against all commers.

The king the next daie and his companie were apparelled (horsse and all) in purple velvet, set full of leaues of cloth of gold ingrailed with fine flat gold of damaske embrodered like to rose leaues, and euerie leafe fastned to other with points of damaske gold, and on all their borders were letters of gold bullion. And on the king waited fiue lords, fourtéene knights in frockes of yellow velvet, garded and bound with rich cloth of gold: and thirtie gentlemen were in like apparell on fote, and fortie officers in yellow sattin edged with cloth of gold. Thus with great triumph they entred the field. Then the counterpartie entred all clothed and barded in white satten trauersed with cloth of gold richlie. This daie was manie a great stripe giuen. The king and sir William Kingston ranne togither; which sir William Kingston was a strong and a tall knight, & yet the king by strength ouerthrew him to the ground. And after that the king and his aids had performed their courses, they ranne volant at all commers, which was a pleasant sight to sée. And when night approched, they all disarmed them, and went to the quénes chamber, where was a great banket for the welcome of the quéene of Scots.

A castell builded by the king at Tornaie.

In this moneth of Maie were sent out of England twelue hundred masons and carpenters, and three hundred labourers to the citie of Tornaie: for the king and his councell considered that the garrison that was kept there was chargeable: and therefore it was determined that there should be builded a castell to chastise the citie if they rebelled, and to minish the garrison. And therefore these workemen were sent thither, which this yeere began a strong castell, and wrought still on it. In this yeere, by the cardinall were all men called to accompt that had the occupieng of the kings monie in the warres or elsewhere, not to euerie mans contentation: for some were found in arrerages, and some saued themselues by policie and briberie, and waxed rich, and some innocents were punished. And for a truth, he so punished periurie with open punishment, and open papers wearing, that in his time it was lesse vsed. He punished also lords, knights, and men of all sorts, for riots, bearing and mainteining in their countries, that the poore men liued quietlie: who perceiuing that he punished the rich, complained without number, and brought manie an honest man to trouble and veration.

Justice executed by cardinal Wolsie by diuersitie offendors of sundrie qualities and degrees.

Now when the cardinall at the last perceiued their vntrue surmises, and feined complaints for the most part, he then waxed wearie of hearing their causes, and ordeined by the kings commission diuerse vnder courts to heare complaints by bill of poore people. The one was kept in the White hall, the other before the kings almoner doctor Stokesleie, a man that had more learning than discretion to be a iudge, the

Erection of new courts by the kings commission.

third

third was kept in the lord treasurors chamber beside the starre chamber, and the fourth at the rols at the after none. These courts were greatlie haunted for a time: but at the last the people perceiued that much delaie was vsed in these courts, and few matters ended, and when they were ended, they bound no man by the law; then euerie man was werie of them and resorted to the common law.

It was strange to see the cardinall (a man not skilled in the laws) to sit in the seat of iudgement to pronounce the law, being aided at the first by such as (according to the ancient custome) did sit as associats with him: but he would not sticke to determine sundrie causes, neither rightlie decided nor adiudged by order of law. And againe, such as were cleare cases, he would sometime prohibit the same to passe, call them into iudgement, frame an order in controuersies, and punish such as came with vntrue surmises afore the iudges, & sharplie reproue the negligence of the iudges themselues, which had receiued such surmises, and not well considered of the controuersies of the parties. And such was the administration of the cardinall vnder a colour of iustice at the first: but bicause the same seemed at length to be but a verie shadow or colour in deed, it quicklie vanished awaie, he taking vpon him the whole rule himselfe, for that he saw the king made small account of anie other but onelie of him.

Edw. Hall.

Polydor,

Whereby it came to passe, that manie of the peeres and high estates of the realme withdrew them from the court; as first the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Winchester, which got them home into their dioceses. But yet before their departure (as good fathers of their countrie) they instantlie besought the king that he would not suffer anie seruant to exceed and passe his maister: borrowing that sentence out of the gospell of saint John, where our Sauiour speaking to his disciples, saith to them; Verelie, verelie, I say vnto you, the seruant is not greater than his maister. Hereunto the king, knowing that they meant this by the cardinall, made this answer, That he would diligentlie see, that euerie seruant should obeie, and not command. But the cardinall notwithstanding (during the time of his flattering felicitie) held out, thinking scorne to be countermanded; behauing himselfe more like a prince, than a prelat, so blinded was he with vaineglorie, and drunken with the transitorie delights of the world: obstinate impediments and most horrible hinderances to the permanent ioies of heauen, as the poet saith:

Grafton is contrarie to this.

Delicias mundi fragiles qui mente sequetur,
Perdidit æterni certissima gaudia cœli.

Gu. Ha. in Iac. 4.

After this, the duke of Norfolke departed home into his countrie, and last of all the duke of Suffolke also followed the other. For he hauing spent liberallie in his iournies when he went as ambassador into France, also in the solemnization of his marriage, and in housekeeping since he was maried, borrowed great summes of monie of the king, which he hoped should haue beene forgiuen him: but the cardinall would not haue it so, to the intent that the duke being behind hand in debt, should be the more at commandement. For as wealth maketh men lordlie, so doth want make them lowlie. In the moneth of October, in this eight yeare of king Henrie, Matheu bishop of Sion or Sittin, a cardinall (commonlie called the cardinall of the Swizzes) came into England from the emperour Maximilian.

The duke of Suffolkes hope hindered by the cardinall.

Edw. Hall. An ambassador from the emperour Maximilian.

At the contemplation of this cardinall, the king lent to the emperour a great summe of monie. But the chiefest matter that moued the king to be so free to Maximilian, was bicause the same monie should be imploied on men of warre against the French king, towards whome the king (or rather cardinall Woolsele) of late had conceiued a grudge, as thus. True it is, that the king bestowed the reuenues of the see of Tornaie vpon the cardinall, at what time that see came into the kings hands: and therefore the cardinall being desirous to assure to himselfe the same, made suite to the French king, that he would prouide Guillard the former bishop of Tornaie of some other bishoprike in France, so that he might resigne the bishoprike of Tornaie clearelie into his hands. The French king, perceiuing how much this should make against his purpose, that vpon occasion hoped euer to recouer the possession of Tornaie, would not gratifie the cardinall herein.

Whereupon the cardinall turning the kings mind at his plasure, persuaded him, that the nert way to abate the French kings puissance (which in the begining of his reigne had recouered Millan, and grew euerie daie in power more than other) should bee to mainteine the emperour with monie against him, so as the Frenchmen should be chastised without the trauell of him or his people. Hereupon was Richard Pase sent first into Germanie with a great summe of monie to wage the Swizzes, which vnder the conduct of the emperor Maximilian inuaded the duchie of Millan; but without anie great gaine returned from thence, leauing Millan in the Frenchmens hands at that time. And now for a new relefe was this cardinall of Sion sent from Millan, at whose instance monie was assigned to be deliuered, and certeine Genowaies vndertooke the exchange, which made not paiment thereof at the day, although they had receiued it of the king.

The cardinall an enimie to peace.

In this yeare the king kept his Christmasse at his manor of Grenewich, & on the Twelfe night, according to the old custome, he and the quæne came into the hall: and when they were set, and the quæne of Scots also, there entered into the hall a garden artificiall, called the garden of Esperance. This garden was towred at euerie corner, and railed with railes gilt, all the bankes were set with flowers artificiall of silke and gold, the leaues cut of greene sattin, so that they seemed verie flowers. In the midst of this garden was a piller of antique worke, all gold set with pearles and stones; and on the top of the piller, which was six square, was a louer or an arch embowed, crowned with gold: within which stood a bush of roses red and white, all of silke and gold, and a bush of pomegranats of like stuffe. In this garden walked six knights, and six ladies richlie apparelled; and then they descended and danced manie goodlie danses, and so ascended the garden againe, and were conueied out of the hall, and then the king was serued of a great banket. After this Christmasse the king exercised himselfe much in hawking.

Ed. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. lix. A moueable garden called the garden of Esperance, verie costlie & artificiallie wrought.

¶ This yeare, and about this time, Richard For bishop of Winchester builded and founded Corpus Christi college in Oxford, and minded to haue appointed the same for a house of monks: but Hugh Oldom then bishop of Excester changed his mind from that purpose by these meanes. This Hugh Oldom albeit hee were not the best learned of himselfe, yet verie much and well affected towards learning and learned men; and was minded to haue inlarged Excester college. But being denied the preferment of a scholer, which stood then in election for a roome, his good will was withdrawne from that college, and he would haue ioined with William Smith bishop of Lincolne, who then was in building of Brasen nose college; but it take no effect. And then being aduertised that Richard For bishop of Winchester was in hand to build Corpus Christi college, hee did send his letters vnto him, and offered to ioine with him therein, who was verrie glad thereof and well contented. Now these two bishops conferring togither

Iohn Hooker, *alias* Vowell. Corpus Christi college in Oxford founded by Richard For bishop of Winchester.

that

what maner of house they should build, and to what end and purpose.

Bishop Oldom of Excester is vtterlie against Fox mind to found a college for monks.

Bishop For was of the mind and determination to haue made the college for religious men. But bishop Oldom (whether it was bicause he fauoured not those sects of cloistered monks, or whether hee foresaw anie fall towards of those sects) disuaded bishop For what he could from that his purpose and opinion, and said vnto him; What my lord, shall we build houses, and prouide liuelodes for a compa-
" nie of bussing monks, whose end and fall we our
" selues maie liue to see? No, no, it is more meet a
" great deale, that we should haue care to prouide for
" the increase of learning, and for such as who by their
" learning shall do good in the church and common-
wealth. To this bishop For at length yelded, and so they proceeded in their buildings. Wherin Oldom reserving to For the name of the founder, was contented with the name of a benefactor, and verie liberallie did contribute great masses of monie to the same: and since (according to his wish and desire) the same college hath bene and is the nursse of manie notable good scholers.]

Oldom giueth For the name of founder, & contenteth himselfe with the name of benefactor.

About this season there grew a great hartburning and malicious grudge amongst the Englishmen of the citie of London against strangers; and namelie the artificers found themselues sore grieued, for that such numbers of strangers were permitted to resort hither with their wares, and to exercise handie crafts to the great hinderance and impouerishing of the kings liege people. Besides that, they set nought by the rulers of the citie, & bare themselues too too bold of the kings fauor, wherof they would insolentlie boast; vpon presumption therof, & they offred manie an iniurious abuse to his liege people, insomuch that among other accidents which were manifest, it fortuned that as a carpenter in London called Williamson had bought two stockdoues in Cheape, and was about to pay for them, a Frenchman toke them out of his hand, and said they were not meate for a carpenter.

Hall in H.8. fol.lix.

The insolent sawcinesse of the Frenchmen against the English.

Well said the Englishman I haue bought them and now paid for them, and therefore I will haue them. Naie said the Frenchman I will haue them for my lord the ambassadour. And so for better or worsse, the Frenchman called the Englishman knaue, and went awaie with the stockdoues. The strangers came to the French ambassador, and surmised a complaint against the poore carpenter. And the ambassador came to the lord maior, and said so much, that the carpenter was sent to prison: and yet not contented with this, so complained to the kings councell, that the kings commandement was laid on him. And when sir John Baker knight and other worshipfull persons sued to the ambassador for him, he answered by the bodie of God that the English knaue should lose his life, for he said no Englishman should denie that the Frenchmen required, and other answer had they none.

The diuelish malice of the Frenchmen.

There was also a Frenchman that had slaine a man, and should abiure the realme, and had a crosse in his hand. Then suddenlie came a great sort of Frenchmen about him, and one of them said to the constable that led him; Sir is this crosse the price to kill an Englishman. The constable was somewhat astonied & answered not. Then said another Frenchman, On that price we should be banished all by the masse. This saieng was noted to be spoken spitefullie. Howbeit, the Frenchmen were not alonelie oppressors of the Englishmen. For a Lombard called Francis de Bard, entised a mans wife in Lombard street to come to his chamber with hir husbands plate, which thing she did. After, when hir husband knew it, he demanded his wife, but answer was made he should not haue hir: then he demanded his plate, and in like maner answer was made that he should neither haue plate nor wife. And when he had sued an action against the stranger in the Guildhall, the stranger so faced the Englishman, that he fainted in his sute. Then the Lombard arrested the poore man for his wiues bord, while he kept hir from hir husband in his chamber.

Strangers outface Englishmē against all honestie, equitie, and conscience.

This abuse was much noted, so that the same and manie other oppressions done by them, increased such a malice in the Englishmens harts, that at the last it burst out. For amongst other that sore grudged at these matters, there was a broker in London called John Lincolne, that busied himselfe so farre in the matter, that about Palme sundaie in this eight yeare of the kings reigne, he came to one doctor Henrie Standish with these words; Sir I vnderstand that you shall preach at the sanctuarie spittle on mondaie in Easter weeke, and so it is, that Englishmen, both merchants and other are vndone, for strangers haue more libertie in this land than Englishmen, which is against all reason, and also against the common-weale of the realme. I beseech you therefore to declare this in your sermon, and in so doing ye shall deserue great thanks of my lord maior, and of all his brethren: and herewith he offered vnto the said doctor Standish a bill, conteining this matter more at large.

John Lincolne the author of the insurrection vpō ill Maie daie.

But doctor Standish (wiselie considering that there might more inconuenience rise thereof, than he would wish, if he should deale in such sort) both wiselie refused the bill, and told Lincolne plainlie, that he ment not to meddle with anie such matter in his sermon. Where vpon the said Lincolne went vnto one doctor Bele a chanon of the foresaid spittle, that was appointed to preach likewise vpon the tuesdaie in Easter weeke at the same spittle, whome he persuaded to read his said bill in the pulpit. Which bill in effect conteined how miserablie the common artificers liued, and scarse could get anie worke to find them, their wiues & children: there were such a number of artificers strangers that toke awaie all their liuing in manner. And also how the English merchants could haue no vtterance, for the merchant strangers bring in all silkes, cloth of gold, wine, oile, iron, and such other merchandize, that no man almost buieth of an Englishman.

The greeles particularised in Lincolns bill for the cities behoofe.

Furthermore, they carie out so much English woll, tinne, and lead, that Englishmen who aduenture outward can haue no liuing: which things (said Lincolne) hath beene shewed to the councell, and cannot be heard. And further (said he) the strangers compasse the citie round about, in Southwarke, in Westminster, Temple barre, Holborne, saint Martins, saint Johns street, Algate, Tower hill, and saint Katharins, and forestall the market, so that no good thing for them commeth to the market: which is the cause that Englishmen want and starue, & they liue aboundantlie in great pleasure. Wherfore (said Lincolne) maister doctor, sith you were borne in London, and see the oppression of the strangers, and the great miserie of your owne natiue countrie, exhort all the citizens to ioine in one against these strangers, raueners, and destroiers of your countrie. Maister doctor hearing this, said he much lamented the case, if it were as Lincolne had declared.

Lincolne a great enimie to strangers.

Yes said Lincolne, that it is, and much more. For the Dutchmen bring ouer iron, timber, leather, and weinscot readie wrought; also nailes, locks, baskets, cupbords, stooles, tables, chests, girdles, with points, saddles & painted clothes, so that if it were wrought heere, Englishmen might haue some worke and liuing by it. And besides this, they grow into such a multitude, that it is to be looked vpon: for I saw on a sundaie

Lincolne prosecuteth his information of grieuances by specialties.

sundaie this Lent, sir hundred strangers shooting at the popingaie with crosbowes, and they keepe such assemblies and fraternities togither, and make such a gathering to their common boy, that euerie botcher will hold plée with the citie of London. Well said the doctor, I will doo for a reformation of this matter as much as a préest maie do, and so receiued Lincolns bill, and studied for his purpose. Then Lincolne verie iolous of his enterprise, went from man to man, saieng that shortlie they should heare news, and dailie excited yong people and artificers to beare malice to the strangers. When Easter came, and doctor Bele should preach the tuesdaie in Easter weeke, he came into the pulpit, and there declared, that to him was brought a pitifull bill, and read it in this wise.

The tenor of the bill of complaint

which doctor Bele read in open audi-
ence at the Spitle.

Edw. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. 60.

TO all you the worshipfull lords & maisters of this citie, that will take compassion ouer the poore people your neighbours, and also of the great importable hurts, losses, and hinderances, whereof procœdeth the extreame pouertie to all the kings subiects, that inhabit within this citie and suburbs of the same. For so it is, that the aliens & strangers eat the bread from the fatherlesse children, and take the liuing from all the artificers, and the intercourse from all merchants, whereby pouertie is so much increased, that euerie man bewaileth the miserie of other; for craftsmen be brought to beggerie, and merchants to nœdinesse. Wherfore the premisses considered, the redresse must be of the commons, knit and vnited to one part. And as the hurt and damage grœueth all men, so must all men set to their willing power for remedie, & not to suffer the said aliens so highlie in their wealth; & the naturall borne men of this region to come to confusion'. ¶ Of this letter was more, but the doctor read no further.

An vndiscret preacher.

When he had read this letter, or the chiefest part thereof, comprehending (as ye haue heard) much seditious matter, he began with this sentence, *Cœlum cœli Domino, terram autem dedit filijs hominum,* and vpon this text he intreated, how this land was giuen to Englishmen. And as birds defend their nests, so ought Englishmen to cherish and mainteine themselues, and to hurt and grieue aliens for respect of their common-wealth. And vpon this text *Pugna pro patria,* he brought in, how by Gods law it was lawfull to fight for their countrie. And thus he subtilie moued or rather vndiscrætlie prouoked the people to rebell against strangers. By this foolish sermon, manie a light person toke courage, and openlie spake against strangers. And as vnhap would, there had béene diuerse euill parts plaied of late by strangers, in and about the citie of London, which kindled the peoples rancour the more furiouslie against them.

Now as the diuell would, the sundaie after at Grénwich in the kings gallerie was Francis de Bard, who (as yee haue heard) kept an Englishmans wife and his goods, and yet he could haue no remedie; and with him were Domingo, Anthonie Caueler, and manie more strangers, and there they talking with sir Thomas Palmer knight, iested and laughed how that Francis kept the Englishmans wife, saieng that if they had the maiors wife of London they would keepe hir. Sir Thomas said; Sirs you haue to much fauour in England. There were diuerse English merchants by, who heard them laugh, and were not content, in so much as one William Bolt a mercer said; Well you whoreson Lombards, you reioise and laugh, by the masse we will one daie haue a fling at you, come when it will. And that saieng the other merchants affirmed. This tale was reported about London, and the yong and euill disposed people said they would be reuenged on the merchants strangers as well as on the artificers strangers. ¶ On monday the morow after, the king remoued to his manor of Richmond.]

Note the saucie, brode, shameleſſe, and dishonest boasting of the strangers in their lewdnes

On the eight and twentith daie of Aprill, diuerse yong men of the citie piked quarels to certeine strangers as they passed by the streets, some they did strike, some they buffeted, and some they threw into the kennell: wherfore the maior sent some of the Englishmen to prison, as Stephan Studleie skinner, Bets, Stephanson, and diuerse other. Then suddenlie rose a secret rumour, and no man could tell how it began, that on Mais daie next the citie would rebell and slea all the aliens, insomuch that diuerse strangers fled out of the citie. This brute ran so into euerie mans eares, that it came to the knowledge of the kings councell, wherevpon the lord cardinall sent for the maior, and other of the councell of the citie, giuing them to vnderstand what he had heard.

Anno Reg. 9. Strangers iniuriouslie abused of diuerse yonkers.

The maior, as one ignorant of the matter, told the cardinall that he doubted not but so to gouerne the citie, as peace should be obserued. The cardinall willed him so to doo; and to take good hæd, that if anie such riotous attempt was intended, he should with good policie preuent it. The maior came from the cardinals house at foure of the clocke in the after noone on Maie éeuen, and in all hast sent for his brethren to the Guildhall, yet was it almost seuen of the clocke yer the assemblie was set. Upon conference had of the matter touching the rumour that was spred abroad of the rebellion against the strangers, some thought it necessarie that a substantiall watch should be set, of the honest citizens housholders which might withstand the euill doers, if they went about anie misrule.

The cardinals aduise to the maior in this hurlis burlie.

But other were of this opinion, that it was dangerous to raise men in armour, bicause it was hard to tell whome they might trust: but rather they thought it best that commandement should be giuen to euerie man through euerie ward, to shut in his doores, & to kéepe his seruants within. Before eight of the clocke the recorder was sent to the cardinall with these opinions; who hearing the same, allowed the latter for best and most surest. And then the recorder and sir Thomas More (late vndershirife of London, and now of the kings priuie councell) came to the Guildhall halfe an houre before nine of the clocke, and there shewed the pleasure of the kings councell; wherevpon euerie alderman sent to his ward, that no man should stirre after seauen of the clocke out of his house, but to kéepe his doores shut, and his seruants within, till nine of the clocke in the morning.

Councell taken by the maior and his brethren how to preuent the hurt at hand.

After this commandement giuen, in the euening, (as sir John Mundie an alderman) came from his ward, and found two yong men in Cheape plaieng at the bucklers, and a great manie of yong men looking on them (for the commandement was then scarse knowne) he commanded them to leaue of. And for that one of them asked, why? He would haue had him to the Counter. Then all the yong prentises stept to, and resisted the alderman, taking the yong fellow from him, & cried; Prentises and clubs. Then

Euill Maie daie, as Edw. Hall noteth it.

out

The heat of the hurlie burlie.

out at euerie doore came clubs and weapons. The alderman fled and was in great danger. Then more people arose out of euerie quarter, and forth came seruingmen, watermen, courtiers, and others; so that by eleuen of the clocke, there were in Cheape, six or seuen hundred; and out of Paules churchyard came three hundred, which knew not of the other. So out of all places they gathered, & brake vp the counters, toke out the prisoners that the maior had thither committed for hurting the strangers, and came to Newgate, and toke out Studlete and Petit committed thither for that cause.

The raging madnesse of the mutiners.

The maior and shiriffes were present there, and made proclamation in the kings name, but nothing was obeied. Herewith being gathered in plumpes, they ran thorough saint Nicholas shambles, and at saint Martins gate there met with them sir Thomas More, and others, desiring them to go to their lodgings. And as they were thus intreating, and had almost persuaded the people to depart, they within saint Martins threw out stones, bats, and hot water; so that they hurt diuerse honest persons that were there with sir Thomas More, persuading the rebellious persons to ceasse, insomuch as at length one Nicholas Downes a sergeant of armes being there with the said sir Thomas More, & sore hurt amongst others, in a furie, cried; Downe with them. And then all the misruled persons ran to the doores and windowes of the houses with saint Martins, and spoiled all that they found.

Nicholas Downes sore hurt.

After that, they ran headlong into Cornehill, & there likewise spoiled diuerse houses of the French men that dwelled within the gate of maister Newtas house called Græne gate. This maister Newtas was a Picard borne, and reputed to be a great bearer of Frenchmen in their occupiengs and trades, contrarie to the lawes of the citie. If the people had found him, they would suerlie haue striken off his head: but when they found him not, the watermen and certeine yong prests that were there fell to rifling, and some ran to Blanchapelton, and brake vp the strangers houses, and spoiled them. Thus from ten or eleuen of the clocke, these riotous people continued in their outragious doings till about three of the clocke, at what time they began to withdraw, and went to their places of resort: and by the waie they were taken by the maior and the heads of the citie, and sent some of them to the Tower, some to Newgate, and some to the Counters, to the number of three hundred.

The riotors malicious purpose against one Newtas.

Manie fled, and specially the watermen, prests, & seruingmen, but the prentises were caught by the backs and had to prison. In the meane time, whilest the hottest of this russling lasted, the cardinall was aduertised thereof by sir Thomas Parre: whereupon the cardinall strengthened his house with men and ordinance. Sir Thomas Parre rode in all hast to Richmond, where the king laie, and informed him of the matter; who incontinentlie sent forth hastilie to London, to vnderstand the state of the citie, and was truelie aduertised how the riot was ceassed, and manie of the misdoers apprehended. The lieutenant of the Tower sir Roger Cholmeleie (no great frend to the citie) in a frantike furie, during the time of this vprore, shot off certeine peces of ordinance against the citie. And though they did no great harme; yet he wan much euill will for his hastie doing, because men thought he did it of malice, rather than of anie discretion.

Sir Thomas Parre informeth the king of the riot and rebellion.

About fiue of the clocke the earles of Shrewesburie and Surrie, Thomas Dokercie lord of saint Johns, George Neuill lord of Aburgauennie, and others, which had heard of this riot, came to London with such strength as they could make vpon that sudden, and so did the Innes of court. But before they came, whether with feare of the brute of their coming, or otherwise, the riotous assemblie was broken vp, and manie of the misdoers taken (as ye haue heard.) Then were the prisoners examined, and the sermon of doctor Bele called to remembrance, and he taken and sent to the Tower. Herewith was a commission of oier and determiner directed to the duke of Norffolke, and to diuerse other lords, to the lord maior of London, and the aldermen, and to all the iustices of England, for punishment of this insurrection. [The citie thought the duke bare them a grudge for a lewd prest of his, which the yeare before was slaine in Cheape, insomuch that he then in his furie said; I praie God I maie once haue the citizens in my danger! And likewise the duke thought that they bare him no good will; wherefore he came into the citie with thirtéene hundred men in harnesse to kéepe the oier and determiner.

Certeine lords with their powers come to London about this riot.

A commission of oier and determiner to inquire and punish the offendors. Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall in H.8. fol. lxij.

The cause why the citie thought the duke of Norffolke bare them an old grudge.

Now vpon examination it could neuer be proued of anie méeting, gathering, talking, or conuenticle, at anie daie or time before that daie; but that the chance so happened without anie matter prepensed of anie creature sauing Lincolne, and neuer an honest person in maner was taken but onelie he. Then proclamations were made, that no women should come togither to babble and talke, but all men should kéepe their wiues in their houses. All the stréets that were notable stood full of harnessed men, which spake manie opprobrious words to the citizens, which greeued them sore: and if they would haue béene reuenged, the other had had the worsse: for the citizens were two hundred to one, but like true subiects they suffred patientlie.] Now for the due correction (according to law) of this disorder, all the iustices with all the kings councell learned in the lawes, assembled at the house of sir John Fineux lord cheefe iustice of England nére to saint Brides by Fléetstréet, to take aduise, and conclude vpon the order which they should follow in this matter, and first there was read the statute of the third yeare of Henrie the fift, the effect whereof insueth in these words following.

Sir John Fineux.

The statute made in anno tertio of *Henrie the fift.*

Because that diuers nations comprised within the truces concluded as well by our souereigne lord the king that now is, as by his right noble father, haue bæne robbed and spoiled by the kings lieges and subiects, as well on the maine seas as within the ports and coasts of England, Ireland, & Wales, by reason whereof, the truces and safe conducts haue broken and violated, to the damage, dishonour, and slander of the king, and against his dignitie, & the manslaiers, spoilers, robbers, & violaters of the same truces and safe conducts (as before is declared) haue bæne receetted, procured, counselled, vpholden, and mainteined by diuerse of the kings liege people vpon the coasts: our said souereigne lord the king by the aduise and assent aboue said, and at the praier of the said commons, hath ordeined and established, that all such manslaiers, robbers, spoilers, breakers of truces, and safe conducts granted by the king, and the wilfull receetters, abbetters, procurers, counsellors, sustainers and mainteiners of such persons, hereafter in time to come, being anie

This statute bringeth the rioters within compasse of treason.

anie of the lieges & subiects of this realme of England, Ireland, & Wales, are to be adiudged and determined as giltie of high treason committed against the crowne & dignitie of the king. And further, in euerie hauen and port of the sea, there shall be from hense-forth made and assigned by the king, by his letters pattents, one lawfull officer named a conseruator of truces and safe conducts granted by the king, which officer shall dispend at the least ten pounds in land by yeare, &c: as in the statute more at large is expressed.

The which statute being read and well considered of, bicause there was diuerse leagues of truces betwixt the king and diuerse other princes, as one betwixt him and the French king, and another betwixt him and the archduke of Burgognie, and another betwixt him & the king of Spaine (all the which truces were violated by the said insurrection) it was determined by the whole councell there assembled, that the kings sergeants and attournies should go to the lord chancellor, to haue a sight of all the said leagues and charters of truces, to the intent they might frame their indictments according to the matter. And note that iudge Fineux said, that all such as were parties to the said insurrection, were guiltie of high treason, as well those that did not commit anie robberie, as those that were principall doers therein themselues, bicause that the insurrection in it selfe was high treason, as a thing practised against the regall honour of our souereigne lord the king.

And the same law holdeth of an insurrection (said Fineux) made against the statute of labourers. For so (said he) it came to passe, that certeine persons within the countie of Kent began an insurrection, in disobedience of the statute of labourers, and were attainted therfore of high treason, and had iudgement to be drawne, hanged, and quartered. He shewed where and when this chanced. It was further determined by the said Fineux, and all the iustices of the land, that vpon the said commission of oier and terminer in London, the iustices named in the said commission, might not arreigne the offendors, and proceed to the triall in one selfe daie, no more than might the iustices of peace. But iustices in oier might so do, aswell as the iustices of gaole deliuerie: and as the sufficiencie of the iurors within the citie to passe betwixt the king and the said traitors, the iustices determined, that he that had lands, and goods, to the value of an hundred marks, should be inabled to passe vpon the said indictments. And this by the equitie of the statute of *Anno vndecimo Henrici septimi*, the which will, that no man be admitted to passe in anie inquest in London in a plee of lands, or other action, in which the damages shall passe the value of fourtie shillings, except he be worth in lands or goods the value of an hundred markes.

On saturdaie the second of Maie, in this ninth yeare, all the commissioners, with the lord maior, aldermen, and iustices, went to the Guildhall, where manie of the offendors were indicted, as well of the insurrection, as of the robberies by them committed against the truces. Herevpon they were arreigned, & pleading not guiltie, had day giuen till monday next insuing. On which daie being the fourth of Maie, the lord maior, the duke of Norffolke, the earle of Surrie and others came to sit in the Guildhall, to proceed in their oier and terminer as they were appointed. When the lords were set, the prisoners were brought through the streets tied in ropes, some men, and some lads of thirtene yeres of age. Among them were diuerse not of the citie, some priests, some husbandmen, and labourers. The whole number amounted vnto two hundred fiue score and eightene persons.

The whole number of the rebellious rout.

This daie was John Lincolne indicted as a principall procurer of this mischeuous insurrection, and thervpon he was arreigned, and pleading not giltie, had daie giuen ouer till wednesdaie, or (as Hall saith) till thursday next insuing. He was charged with such matter (as before ye haue heard) concerning his sute vnto doctor Standish, and doctor Bele, for the reading of this bill in their sermons, and opening the matter (as before ye haue heard) all which matter with the circumstances he had confessed on sundaie the third of Maie, vnto sir Richard Cholmleie, sir John Dansie, & sir Hugh Skeuington. Diuers other were indicted this mondaie, and so for that time the lords departed. The next daie the duke came againe, & the erle of Surrie with 2000 armed men, which kept the streets. When the maior, the duke, the earles of Shrewesburie and Surrie were set, the prisoners were arreigned, and thirteene found guiltie, and adiudged to be hanged, drawne, and quartered. For execution whereof were set vp eleuen paire of gallowes in diuerse places where the offenses were done, as at Algate, at Blanchappelton, Gratious street, Leaden hall, and before euerie counter one, also at Newgate, at saint Martins, at Aldersgate, and at Bishopsgate.

What was laid to Lincolnes charge.

Eleuen paire of gallows erected for the executing of the rebels.

Then were the prisoners that were iudged brought to those places of execution: and executed in most rigorous maner, in the presence of the lord Edmund Howard son to the duke of Norffolke, & knight marshall, who shewed no mercie, but extreme crueltie to the poore younglings in their execution: and likewise the dukes seruants spake manie opprobrious words, some bad hang, some bad draw, some bad set the citie on fire, but all was suffered. On thursdaie the seuenth of Maie, was Lincolne, Shirwin, and two brethren called Bets, and diuerse other adiudged to die. Then Lincolne said, My lords, I meant well: for if you knew the mischiefe that is insued in this realme by strangers, you would remedie it, & manie times I haue complained, and then I was called a busie fellow: now our Lord haue mercie on me. They were laid on hardels, & drawne to the standard in Cheape, and first was John Lincolne executed. And as the other had the ropes about their neckes, there came a commandement from the king to respit the execution. Then the people cried, God saue the king, and so was the oier and terminer deferred till another daie, and the prisoners sent againe to ward: the armed men departed out of London, and all things set in quiet.

Edw. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. lxij.

John Lincolne the author of ill Maie daie executed in Cheape side.

On the eleuenth daie of Maie, the king came to his manor of Grenwich, where the recorder of London and diuerse aldermen came to speake with his grace, and all ware gownes of blacke colour. And when they perceiued the king comming out of his priuie chamber into his chamber of presence, they knéeled downe, and the recorder said: Our most naturall, benigne, and souereigne lord, we know well that your grace is displeased with vs of your citie of London, for the great riot late done; we ascerteine your grace, that none of vs, nor no honest person were condescending to that enormitie, and yet we, our wiues, and children, euerie houre lament that your fauour should be taken from vs. And forsomuch as light and idle persons were the doers of the same, we most humblie beseech your grace to haue mercie of vs for our negligence, and compassion of the offendors for their offense and trespasse.

Edw. Hall in H. 8. fol. lxii.

The recorder in the behalfe of the citie speaketh humblie to the K. touching the riot.

" " " "

Trulie said the king, you haue highlie displeased and offended vs, and you ought to waile and be sorie for the same. And where as you saie that you the substantiall

The kings answer wherein their sute is denied.

Order for proceeding against the said offendors.

Manie of the offendors indicted at Guildhall.

Diuers truces betweene the king and sundrie forren princes.

Iudge Fineux interpreteth the said statute.

"stantiall persons were not consenting to the same, it
"appeareth to the contrarie. For you neuer moued to
"let them, nor stirred once to fight with them, which
"you say were so small a number of light persons.
"Wherefore we must thinke, and you can not denie,
"that you did winke at the matter, but at this time we
"will grant to you neither our fauour nor good will,
"nor to the offendors mercie, but resort to the cardi-
"nall our lord chancellour, and he shall make you an
"answer, and declare our pleasure. And with this an-
swer the Londoners departed, and made relation to
the maior.

The quéene of Scots returneth toward Scotland.

On the eightéenth day of this moneth, the quéene of Scots, which had béene at the court, and at Balnards castell, a whole yeare at the kings charge, and was richlie appointed of all things méet to hir estate, both of iewels, plate, tapistrie, arras, coine, horses, & all other things of the kings gift & liberalitie, departed out of London toward Scotland with great riches, albeit she came into England with great pouertie, and she entered into Scotland the thirteenth daie of June, whome hir husband receiued at Berwike, but the Englishmen smallie regarded him. All hir charges within the realme, comming to the court and returning, were of the kings purse.

The king cõmeth to Westminster hall, and there sitteth in iudgement himselfe.

On thursdaie the two & twentith daie of Maie, the king came into Westminster hall, for whome at the vper end was set a cloth of estate, and the place hanged with arras. With him was the cardinall, the dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, the earles of Shrewsburie, of Esser, of Wiltshire, & Surrie, with manie lords and other of the kings councell. The maior & aldermen, with all the chiefe of the citie were there in their best liuerie (according as the cardinall had appointed them) by nine of the clocke. Then the king commanded that all the prisoners should bée brought forth, so that in came the poore younglings and old false knaues bound in ropes all along, one after another in their shirts, and euerie one a halter about his necke, to the number of foure hundred men, and eleuen women. And when all were come before the kings presence, the cardinall sore laid to the maior and communaltie their negligence, and to the prisoners he declared that they had deserued death for their offense. Then all the prisoners togither cried; Mercie gratious lord, mercie. Herewith the lords altogither besought his grace of mercie, at whose sute the king pardoned them all. Then the cardinall gaue vnto them a good exhortation, to the great gladnesse of the hearers.

The kings gratious and generall pardon.

Now, when the generall pardon was pronounced, all the prisoners shouted at once, & all togither cast vp their halters into the hall roofe, so that the king might perceiue they were none of the discréetest sort. Here is to be noted, that diuerse offendors, which were not taken, hearing that the king was inclined to mercie, came well apparelled to Westminster, and suddenlie striped them into their shirts with halters, and came in among the prisoners willinglie, to be partakers of the kings pardon. By which doing, it was well knowne, that one John Gelson yeoman of the crowne was the first that began to spoile, and exhorted other to do the same: and bicause he fled and was not taken, he came in with a rope among the other prisoners, and so had his pardon. This companie was after called the blacke wagon. Then were all the gallowes within the citie taken downe, and manie a good praier said for the king, and the citizens tooke more héed to their seruants. But the kings mercie ministred abundant matter of communication, euerie one (speciallie the pardoned and their allies) sounding the benefit of his rotall clemencie, whereby of dead men they became liuing, and had susteined the seuere sentence of law, had not mercie remitted the fault and the punishment, which breaketh the force of iudgement, as the poet trulie saith:

The blacke wagon that followed ill Maie daie.

Iudicij nervos frangit miseratio clemens.

In June the king had with him diuerse ambassadours, for solace of whome he prepared a costlie iustes, he himselfe & twelue more against the duke of Suffolke and other twelue. His base and bard was the one halfe cloth of siluer, & the other halfe blacke tinsell. On the siluer was a curious lose worke of veluet imbrodered with gold, cut on the siluer, and euerie cut ingrailed with gold, so that that side was gold, siluer, and veluet. On the blacke tinsell side was blacke veluet imbrodered with gold, and cut, and euerie cut was ingrailed with flat gold of damaske. The base and bard were brodered with great letters of massie gold bullion, full of pearles and stones, marueilous rich: all his companie were in like sute, sauing that they had no iewels. The king had on his head a ladies sléeue full of diamonds. On the king attended gentlemen, armourers, and other officers, to the number of an hundred and twentie fiue persons, all in white veluet and white sattin, horsse and harnesse for horssemen, caps and hosen for footmen, all white, at the kings cost. Thus rotallie the king and his companie with his waiters came to the tilts end.

Solemne iustes betweene the king and others.

A gallant and glorious shew

Then entered the duke of Suffolke, with the marques Dorset, the earls of Esser and Surrie, and eight other of his band, in bards and bases of white veluet and crimsin sattin losenged, set full of letters of C. M. of gold, for Charles and Marie, and they tooke the other end of the tilt. Then the trumpets blue, and the king and the duke ran fiercely togither, and brake mante speares, and so did all the other, that it was hard to saie who did best. But when the courses were run, they ran volant one at another, so that both by the report of sir Edward Gilford maister of the armourie, and also of the iudges and heralds, at these iustes were broken fiue hundred and six speares: and then the king the same night made the ambassadours a sumptuous banket, with manie riddels and much pastime. After this great triumph, the king appointed his ghests for his pastime this summer; but suddenlie there came a plague of sickenesse, called the sweating sickenesse, that turned all his purpose.

The king & the duke run personallie.

This maladie was so cruell, that it killed some within three houres, some within two houres, some merrie at dinner, and dead at super. Manie died in the kings court, the lord Clinton, the lord Grate of Wilton, and manie knights, gentlemen, and officers. For this plague Michaelmasse tearme was adiourned. And bicause that this maladie continued from Julie to the midst of December, the king kept himselfe euer with a small companie, and held no solemne Christmasse, willing to haue no resort for feare of infection: but much lamented the number of his people, for in some one towne halfe the people died, and in some other towne the third part, the sweat was so feruent and infectuous. [By the extremitie whereof, and the multitudes with such suddennesse and present mortalitie droping awaie: it should séeme that they little remembred, or at least-wise neglected the preseruatiue remedie vsed in the first great sweating sickenesse in *king Henrie the seuenths time, whereby as then manie a mans life was saued, so now the like benefit (by applieng of the same wholsome meanes) might haue redounded to the patients.]

The sweting sicknesse peremptorie and deadlie.

Abr. Flem.

* Sée before. pag. 763, 764.

In the beginning of this yeare, Trinitie tearme was begun at Drenford, where it continued but one daie, and was againe adiourned to Westminster. This yeare came to Calis from pope Leo, a legat *De latere*, called Laurence Campeius borne in Bullogne

1519

Anno Reg. 12.

The tearme begun at Oxford and adiourned to westminster.

Cardinall Campeius sent from the pope. Polydor.

logne la Graſſe, commonlie called cardinall Campeius, to require the king of aid againſt the Turke. At the requeſt of the king of England, and alſo of the French king (which ſought now to be receiued into frendſhip with the king of England chéeflie by cardinall Woolſies meanes) pope Leo conſtituted the ſaid cardinall Woolſie his legat in England, ioining him in commiſſion with the ſaid Campeius, the which ſtaid at Calis vntill the bulles were brought from Rome touching that matter. There was alſo an other cauſe that ſtaid Campeius at Calis, & that was a ſute which cardinall Woolſie had moued for the obteining of the biſhoprike of Bath, which benefice cardinall Adrian Caſtalian inioied by the collation of king Henrie the ſeuenth.

Edward Hall. Cauſes of cardinall Campeius taieng at Calis.

This cardinall Adrian being fallen in the popes diſpleaſure, withdrew out of the court of Rome vnto Uenice: and in the meane time cardinall Campeius, at the inſtance of cardinall Woolſie, wrote to the pope, that cardinall Adrian might be depriued of that biſhoprike, to the end that cardinall Woolſie might haue the ſame. Which requeſt was accompliſhed, and the bulles ſent vnto Calis; ſo that then cardinall Campeius, after he had remained at Calis three moneths, came ouer into England, and was receiued with all pompe & honour that might be deuiſed. ¶ Inſomuch that cardinall Woolſie had ſent to the legat (whileſt he laie at Calis) red cloth to cloath his ſeruants, which at their comming to Calis were but meanelie apparelled. And when all things were readie, he paſſed the ſea and landed at Douer; and ſo kept forth his iournie toward London.

Hall. Fl. ex Hall in H8. fol. lxiiij.

Cardinall Campeius receiued with great pompe.

At euerie towne as they paſſed, he was receiued with proceſſion, and accompanied with all the lords & gentlemen of Kent. And when he came to Blackeheath, there met him the duke of Norffolke, with a great number of prelats, knights, & gentlemen, all richlie apparelled. And in the waie he was brought into a rich tent of cloath of gold, where he ſhifted himſelfe into the robe of a cardinall, edged with ermins; and ſo toke his mule riding towards London. The night before he came to London, the cardinall of Yorke, to furniſh the carriages of the cardinall Campeius, ſent to him twelue mulets with emptie coffers couered with red: which twelue mulets were led thorough London amongeſt the mulets of Campeius, which were but eight; and ſo theſe twentie mulets paſſed thorough the ſtreets, as though they had béene full of treaſures, apparell, & other neceſſaries.

What trumperie was vſed in the 2d legats chests.

Now when they came into Cheape, one of the mulets brake from hir keeper, and ouerthrew the cheſts, and ouerturned two or three other mulets carriages, which fell with ſuch a violence, that diuerſe of them vnlocked; & out of ſome fell old hoſen, broken ſhoes, and roaſted fleſh, peeces of bread, egges, and much vile baggage. At which ſight the boies cried; Sée, ſée my lord legats treaſure: and ſo the muletters were aſhamed, and toke vp all their ſtuffe and paſſed forth. About three of the clocke in the after none on the twentie ninth day of Julie the ſaid legat entered the citie, and in Southworke met him all the clergie of London, with croſſes, cenſors, and copes, and cenſed him with great reuerence. The maior and aldermen, with all the occupations of the citie in their beſt liueries ſtood in the ſtreets, and him highlie honoured: to whome ſir Thomas More made a breefe oration in the name of the citie.

Now when he came to Paules, there he was receiued with biſhops mitred, and vnder a canopie entered the church: which canopie his ſeruants toke for their fées. And when he had offered, he gaue his benediction to all the people, & toke againe his mule, & ſo with all his traine aforeſaid was conueied to Bath place, and there reſted: where he was welcommed of cardinall of Yorke. On ſundaie next inſuing, theſe two cardinals as legats toke their barges, & came to Grænewich, ech of them had beſides their croſſes two pillers of ſiluer, two little axes gilt, and two cloake-bags embrodered, & the cardinals hats borne before them. And when they came to the kings hall, the cardinall of Yorke went on the right hand: and there the king rotallie apparelled and accompanied, met them euen as though both had come from Rome and ſo brought them both vp into his chamber of preſence.

The glorious ſhewes or pompous port of the two cardinals going to the court.

Then a ſolemne oration was made by an Italian, declaring the cauſe of the legacie to be in two articles, one for aid againſt Gods enimies, and the ſecond for reformation of the clergie. And when maſſe was done, they were had to a chamber, and ſerued of lords and knights, with much ſolemnitie: and after dinner they toke their leaue of the king, and came to London, and rode through the citie togither, in great pompe and glorie to their lodgings.] This cardinall Campeius for his frendſhip ſhewed in helping the cardinall of England to the biſhoprike of Bath, was conſidered (beſides other great rewards) with the biſhoprike of Saliſburie, the profits whereof he receiued, vntill the act was eſtabliſhed, that no forrenner ſhould inioie ante ſpirituall benefice within this realme. But for the chéefeſt errand that this cardinall Campeius came, he could haue no toward anſwer: which was (as you haue heard) to haue leaued a ſumme of monie by waie of tenths in this realme, to the maintenance of the warre in defenſe of the chriſtian confines againſt the Turke.

There were at the ſame time other legats ſent into other parts of Chriſtendome about the ſame matter, as into France, Spaine, and Germanie. For pope Leo calling to remembrance, that the feare conceiued of the Turkes had brought no ſmall gaines to diuerſe of his predeceſſors, he began to feare too. But for that ſuch feare was now to well knowne to be vſed as an ordinarie ſhift of the popes, when they ſtood in néed of monie, this practiſe was at this time vſed in vaine; ſo that Campeius hearing that it toke not place in other parties, left off his earneſt ſute about it, and with great rewards receiued of the king and cardinall, returned to Rome, not without hope yet (by reaſon of promiſes made vnto him by his frends) that the popes requeſt might hereafter be granted, according to his motion. There attended him to Rome one John Clearke a lawier, as ambaſſadour from the king.

Sée after in the extract out of Guicciardine. A craftie feare of the pope.

This man obteined for the cardinall, authoritie to diſpenſe with all men for offenſes committed againſt the ſpirituall lawes, which part of his power legantine was verie profitable and gainefull. For then he ſet vp a court, and called it the court of the legat: in the which he proued teſtaments, and heard cauſes, to the great hinderance of all the biſhops of this realme. He viſited biſhops, and all the clergie exempt and not exempt, and vnder colour of reformation he got much treaſure. For thorough bribes & rewards, notorious offendors were diſpenſed with, ſo that nothing was reformed, but came to more miſchéefe. The example of his pride, cauſed préeſts and all ſpirituall perſons to wax ſo proud, that they ruffled it out in veluet and ſilks, which they ware both in gounes, iackets, doublets, and ſhoes. They vſed open lecherie, and bare themſelues ſo ſtout by reaſon of his authorities and faculties, that no man durſt reproue any thing in them. So that we ſée here verified in proofe how forcible the examples of great men be in the inferior ſort; as the wiſe man truelie ſaith:

The court of the legat erected by the cardinall.

Examples of great ones what it doth.

Qualis erit princeps, talis præfectus habetur,
Nobilitas qualis, plebs quoque talis erit.

Ecc. Ha. in Eccl. cap. 10.

[But before we inferre further proceſſe of other

accidents, it were good to heare a full discourse, for the exact vnderstanding of the popes affaires, whereabouts he addressed so manie cardinals into so manie parts of christendome, as solicitors to obteine succour against the Turke. ¶ Now followeth (saith mine author) the yeare 1518, in which the regions of Italie, contrarie to the precedent of manie yeares before, felt not the least impression or motion of war, yea there appeared the selfe same disposition in all other princes of christendome, betweene whome by the operation of the pope, though happilie more with faire reason, than with substantiall counsels, was solicited an vniuersall expedition of all christendome against the pride of Selim prince of the Turkes.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 756.

The pope soliciteth all the princes of christendome against the Turke.

This man the yeare before, had so inlarged and extended his greatnesse, that comparing with his power, his ambition to be greater, pushed on with manie helpes of nature, it was worthilie to be doubted, that if he were not preuented by the inuasions of the christians, he would in his pride lift vp his victorious hands against them. For Selim discerning that Baiseth his father, reduced to extreme old age, sought to establish the succession of the empire in the person of Acomath his elder brother, drew into rebellion against him, and by force of armes, concurring the corruption of the souldiors of his gard, constreined him to resigne vp to him the authoritie of the gouernment: and not suffering his ambition to staie there, it was beleeued of all men, that for his more absolute assurance he tooke awaie his life by poison: and afterwards giuing an ouerthrow to his brother in an inconter of a battell, he confirmed fullie the seat of his empire, by depriuing him of his life in publike shew, exercising the like rage of crueltie vpon Corcu the yongest brother of all. And being not satisfied according to the tyrannie of the house of Ottomanni, with the bloud and slaughter of all his nephues, or anie others that remained of that line and stocke, he was in thought oftentimes (by the rage and furie of his disposition) to take awaie the life of Soliman his onelie sonne.

The ambition and tyrannie of Selim against his father & affines.

Of these beginnings breeding one warre vpon another, after he had subdued the Aduliti, a people of the mountaines, he passed ouer into Persia against the Sophi, to whome he gaue battell and ouerthrew him, and in that felicitie of warre he tooke the citie of Tauris the souereigne seat of that estate, togither with the greatest part of Persia which he was constreined to abandon, not through the valour of his enimies, who for their disabilitie to support their army were retired into the mountains and places desert, but for the vniuersall dearth and barrennesse of that yeare, he fell into an extreme want of vittels: he returned sone after this expedition to Constantinople, where after he had done execution vpon certeine souldiers seditious, and for certeine moneths had refreshed his armie, he gaue out that he would eftsoons returne to make warre vpon Persia. But indeed he turned his forces against the Soldan king of Soria and Aegypt, a prince not onelie of most ancient reuerence and dignitie for that religion; but most mightie for the amplitude of dominion, most rich in tributes, and verie glorious by the discipline of the Mammelukes, of whose armes and forces that state was possessed with great reputation three hundred yeares.

Selim ouerthroweth the Sophi of Persia.

The state of the Soldan king of Soria and Aegypt.

For that empire, being ruled of the Soldans, they not by succession but by election ascended to it, and to the supreme seat of gouernement were not preferred but men of manifest vertue, and confirmed by all the degrees of warre, in the administration of prouinces and armies, and also the finewes and strengthes of their forces stood not vpon souldiors mercenarie and forreine, but of men elected, who taken of children in the prouinces adioining, and trained vp by succession of yeares in hardnesse of fare, in suffering of labour and toile, and in the exercise of armes and all customes appertaining to the discipline and law of warre, they ascribed and inrolled them in the order of the Mammelukes. There succeeded from hand to hand in this order, not the sons of the Mammelukes that were dead, but others, who being taken of children for slaues, had their rising by the same discipline, and by the same industrie and artes, by the which their predecessours had passed from hand to hand.

These not being in number aboue seuentæne or eightæne thousand, held subiected vnder a most heauie yoke, all the people of Aegypt and Soria, whom they spoiled of the vse of all armes, and practise to manage horsses: yea such was their fiercenelle and valour, that oftentimes they made warre of themselues, for that of their numbers and by their election were chosen the Soldans, and in their power rested all authoritie to distribute the honours, offices, and profits of that most rich empire. By the opportunitie of which, hauing subdued manie nations adioining, and reduced to obedience the Arabians, and mainteined manie warres with the Turkes, they were manie times victorious, but verie seldome or neuer vanquished of others. Against these people did Selim conuert his forces, whome he ouerthrew in manie battels fought in plaine field, wherein was slaine the Soldan, and afterwards in an other battell was taken prisoner the other Soldan his successor, whome he caused to be publikelie murthered with an vnworthie kind of torment. Thus hauing satisfied his bloudie humour with such great slaughters, and also wasted the name of the Mammelukes, he proceeded to the inuasion of Cairo a most populous citie, wherein were resident the Soldans, and in short time subdued vnder his iurisdiction all Soria and Aegypt.

By whose election the Soldans were chosen.

The Turke slaieth the two Soldans and subdueth all Soria and Aegypt.

These drew vnto him so great an increase of imperie, such amplification of tribute and reuenue, and remouing the impediments of so mightie enimies, and of so great reputation, that with great reason he was to be feared of the christians. A feare which tooke his degrees of increasing by this consideration, that to so great a power and valour was ioined a settled impression of ambition to beare rule, & by manie victories, to make glorious his name to all posterities: wherein reading oftentimes the legends and actions of the great Alexander, and Julius Cesar, he seemed to suffer griefe and perplexitie of mind, that his actions & exploits of warre could in no wise hold comparison with so manie great triumphs and victories. In which humour, refurnishing continuallie his armies, and building of new a great number of ships, and leuieng all prouisions necessarie for the warre, it was feared when his preparations were accomplished, that he would inuade Rhodes, the bulwarke of the christians in the east parts, or else the kingdome of Hungaria, made fearefull by the valour of the inhabitants to the nation of the Turks, which at that time was in diuision amongst themselues, and made weake by the minoritie of their king, who was gouerned by the priests and barons of the realme.

The Turks ambition hath no bounds or circumscription.

Others were of opinion, that he had addressed all his thoughts to the inuasion of Italie, taking his incouragement vpon the discord of the potentates and naturall princes, whome he knew to be much shaken with the long warres of those regions. To this was ioined the memorie of Mahomet his grandfather, who with a power farre lesse than his, and with a small nauie sent vpon the coasts of the realme of Naples, had woone by assault the citie of Otronto: and (sauing he was preuented by death) had both o-

pened

The pope put in feare that the Turke will ouerrun the territories of Italie.

pened the way, and established the meane to persecute the regions of Italie with continuall veratiõs: so that the pope together with the whole court of Rome being made astonished with so great successe, and no lesse prouident to eschew so great a danger, making their first recourse vnto the aid and succour of God, caused to be celebrated through Rome most deuout inuocations, which he did assist in presence bare-foted.

And afterwards calling vpon the helpe of men, he wrote letters to all christian princes, both admonishing them of the perill, and persuading them to lay aside all ciuill discords and contentions, and attend spedilie to the defense of religion & their common safetie, which he affirmed would more and more take increase of most grieuous danger, if with the vnitie of minds, and concordances of forces, they sought not to transferre the warre into the empire of the Turks, & inuade the enimie in his owne countrie. Upon this aduise and admonition, was taken the examination and opinion of men of warre, and persons skilfull in the discouerie of countries, the disposing of prouinces, and of the nature and vsage of the forces and weapons of that kingdome, and thereupon a resolution was set downe to make great leuies of monie by voluntarie contributions of princes, and vniuersall imposts of all people of christendome.

The pope betaketh him to his securitie & tuition.

It was thought necessarie that Cesar accompanied with the horsemen of Hungaria and Polonia, nations warlike, and practised in continuall warre against the Turke, and also with the footmen of Germanie, should saile along Danubi into Bossina called ancientlie Misia, and from thence to Thracia, and so to draw neare Constantinople, the seat of the empire of Ottomanes: that the French king with all the forces of his kingdome, the Venetians, and the other potentates of Italie, accompanied with the infanterie of Switzerland, should passe from the port of Brindisi in Albania, a passage verie easie & short, to inuade Greece, a countrie full of christian inhabitants, and for the intollerable yoke of the Turkes, most readie to rebell: that the kings of Spaine, of England, and Portugall, assembling their forces together in Cartagenia, and the ports thereabouts, should take their course with two hundred ships full of Spanish footmen and other souldiers, to the streict of Galipoli, to make rodes vp to Constantinople, hauing first of all subdued the castels and forts standing vpon the mouth of the streict: and the pope to take the same course, imbarking at Ancona, with an hundred ships armed.

Politike deuises to withstand & preuẽt the Turkes purposes.

Why it was generallie thought that his warre would haue ouill succes.

With these preparations, seeming sufficient to couer the land, and ouerspread the sea, it was thought that of a warre so full of deuotion and pietie, there could not be but hoped a happie end, specially adding the inuocation of God, and so manie seuerall inuasions made at one time against the Turkes, who make their principall foundation of defense, to fight in the plaine field. These matters were solicited with no small industrie, and to stop all matter of imputation against the office of the pope, the minds of princes were throughlie sounded, and an vniuersall truce for fiue yeares betweene all the princes of christendome, published in the consistorie, vpon paine of most grieuous censure to such as should impugne it. So that the negociation continuing for all things apperteining to so great an enterprise, he assigned ambassadours to all princes: to the emperour he sent the cardinall S. Sisto, to the French king he dispatched the cardinall of S. Maria in Portico, the cardinall Giles to the king of Spaine, and the cardinall Campeius to the king of England.

This openeth the place of our English histories.

All cardinals of authoritie, either for their experience in affaires, or for opinion of their doctrine, or for their familiaritie with the pope. All which things albeit they were begun with great hope and expectation, and the vniuersall truce accepted of all men, and all men with no little ostentation and brauerie of words, made shew of their readinesse with their forces to aduaunte so good a cause: yet, what with the consideration of the perill esteemed vncerteine and farre off, and extending more to one prince than to another, and what by the difficulties and long tract of time that appeared, to introduce a zeale and vnion so vniuersall, priuat interests and respects particular seemed to preuaile more, than the pietie of the expedition: insomuch that the negociation stood not onelie naked of all hope and issue, but also it was followed verie lightlie, and as it were by ceremonie.

The popes negociation naked of all hope & issue.

This being one propertie in the nature of men, that those things which in their beginnings appeare fearefull, do dailie take such degrees of diminution and banishing, that vnles the first feares be renued by new accidents, they lead men in processe of time to securitie. Which propertie of negligence, both touching the affaires publike, and affection of priuate and particular men was well confirmed by the death that succeeded not long after to Selim, who, hauing by a long maladie suspended the preparations of the warre, was in the end consumed by the passions of his disease, and so passed into the other life, leauing so great an empire to Soliman his sonne, yong in yeares, and iudged to beare a wit and mind not so disposed to the warres, although afterwards the effects declared the contrarie.

The death of Selim, and succession of Soliman.

At this time appeared betweene the pope and the French king a most great and streict coniunction: for the king gaue to wife to Laurence his nephue, the ladie Magdalen noblie descended of the bloud and house of Bullognie, with a yearelie reuenue of ten thousand crownes, whereof part was of the kings gift, and the residue rising of hir owne patrimonie. Besides, the king hauing borne to him a sonne, the pope required that in his baptisme, he would impose vpon him his name. By which occasion Laurence making preparations to go to marrie his new wife, for his more speed, performed his iournie by post into France, where he was receiued with manie amities and much honour of the king, to whome he became verie gratious and of deare account, the rather for that (besides other generall respects) he made a dedication of himselfe wholie to the king, with promise to follow in all accidents, his fortune.]

Alliance betwixt the pope & the French king.

And now to returne to cardinall Woolsie, who grew so into exceeding pride, that he thought himselfe equall with the king. For when he said masse (which he did oftener to shew his pompe, rather than for anie deuotion) he made dukes and earles to serue him of wine, with a say taken, and to hold to him the bason at the lauatorie. Thus was the pride of the cardinall and other priests so past the compasse of reason, that in maner all good persons abhorred and disdeined it [as altogither degenerating from the example of Christ & his poore traine, of whome in name and title they seemed to be professors, but of their maners and trade of life open defiers; yea in such manifest sort, both in apparell and diet, as also in all other respects, that few there were (if they perceiued anie thing by discretion) but saw the euident abuses of their behauiours, tending greatlie to the dishonour of the place which they possessed, as also to the no small offense of the modester sort of the cleargie, wherof some did so well like of this ruffling and masking presbyterie, that they abhorred it as strong poison in their broth.]

The excessiue pride of the cardinall.

It fortuned that the archbishop of Canturburie wrote to the cardinall, anon after that he had receiued

ued his power legantine, the which letter after his old familiar maner he subscribed thus: Your brother William of Canturburie. With which subscription, bicause the archbishop wrote him brother, he was so much offended, as though the archbishop had done him great iniurie, that he could not temper his mood, but in high displeasure said, that he would so worke within a while, that he should well understand how he was his superiour, and not his brother. When the archbishop (being a sober wise man) heard of the messenger that bare the letter, how the cardinall tooke it not well, but so as it might seeme there was a great fault in the letter, and reported the tale as one that misliked the cardinals presumption herein: Peace (said the archbishop) knowest thou not how the man is become mad with too much ioy. And thus the cardinall forgetting to hold the right path of true laud and praise, sought to be feared rather than beloued of all good men.

The cardinall taketh it in scorne to be called brother by the archbishop.

In this meane time the French king greatlie coueting to redeeme the citie of Tornaie out of the hands of the king of England, and knowing that he must make waie thereunto thorough the cardinals frendship, ceassed not with high gifts to win his good will, and moreouer in often writing to him, exalted him with titles of honor, and so magnified him, that the cardinall, as one tickled with vaine-glorie more than can be imagined, thought that he could not do pleasure enough to the French king, that did esteeme so much of him. Hereupon the French king hoping to compasse his desire, after he perceiued the cardinals good will towards him, signified his meaning vnto the said cardinall; who found meanes to breake thereof to the king, in such wise as he was contented to heare the French kings ambassadors, that should be sent hither to talke of that matter.

The French king writeth to cardinall Wolsie.

The French king then vnderstanding the king of England his pleasure, sent ouer the lord Boniuet high admerall of France, and the bishop of Paris as chefe ambassadours, accompanied with a great sort of lustie gentlemen of the French kings court, to the number of foure score and aboue, on whome attended such a companie of other of the meaner sort, that the whole number amounted to twelue hundred one and other, which were thought to be manie for an ambassage. ¶ On mondaie the twentie seuenth daie of September, the earle of Surrie high admerall of England, in a coat of rich tissue cut on cloath of siluer, on a great courser richlie trapped, and a great whistle of gold, set with stones and pearle, hanging at a great and massie chaine baudricke wise, accompanied with an hundred and sirtie gentlemen, richlie apparelled, on goodlie horses came to Blackeheath, and there amiablie receiued the ambassadours of France. The yong gallants of France had coats garded with one colour, cut in ten or twelue parts verie richlie to behold: and so all the Englishmen accoupled themselues with the Frenchmen louinglie togither, and so road to London. After the two admerals followed foure and twentie of the French kings gard, accompanied with foure and twentie of the English gard. And after them a great number of archers, to the number of foure hundred. And in this order they passed thorough the citie to tailors hall, and there the chefe ambassadours were lodged, and the remnant in merchants houses about.

Ambassadors from the French king.

An vnreasonable number for an ambassage.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. lxv.

The ambassadors of Frãce receiued on Blackeheath.

When these lords were in their lodgings, then the French harber men opened their wares, & made the tailors hall like the paund of a mart. At this doing manie an Englishman grudged, but it auailed not. The last daie of September, the French ambassadours tooke their barge, and came to Grenewich. The admerall was in a gowne of cloath of siluer raised, furred with rich sables; and all his companie almost were in a new fashioned garment, called a shemew, which was in effect a gowne cut in the middle. The gentlemen of France were brought into the kings presence, where the bishop of Paris made a solemne oration; which being ended, & answer made thereto, the king highlie interteined the admerall and his companie, and so did all the English lords and gentlemen.]

The French king sendeth to cardinall Wolsie.

The French king & cardinall Wolsie.

The ambassadors after this were dailie in councell, till at length an agreement was concluded, vnder pretense of a marriage to be had betweene the Dolphin of France, and the ladie Marie, daughter to the king of England: in name of whose marriage monie, Tornaie should be deliuered vnto the French king, he paieng to the king of England for the castell which he had made in that citie, six hundred thousand crownes, to be paid in twelue yeares space, that is to saie, fiftie thousand euerie yeare during that terme. And if the marriage chanced not to take effect, then should Tornaie be againe restored to the king of England. For performance of which article, hostages should be deliuered, that is to wit, monsieur de Montmorancie, monsieur de Pontpesac, monsieur de Moie, monsieur de Morret. Moreouer the French king should paie to the lord cardinall of England a thousand marks of yearelie pension, in recompense of his reuenues before time receiued of the bishoprike of Tornaie: and likewise to other of the kings councell he should also giue certeine summes of monie as yearelie pensions, in like maner as his ancestors had done to the councellors of the kings of England before time.

Articles of agrement for the deliuerie of Tornaie.

The French K. agreed to call backe the duke of Albanis out of Scotland, that the suertie of K. James might the better be prouided for, and lesse occasion of trouble ministred to the king of England. And further the French king was contented that the said king James should be receiued as a confederat in this peace. When all things were concluded, the king and the ambassadours road to the cathedrall church of saint Paule in London from Durham place, where the cardinall of England sang the masse in most pompous maner: and after that masse was ended, doctor Pace the kings secretarie made an eloquent oration in praise of peace: and that done, the king and his nobles with the ambassadours went to the bishops palace, and there dined, and after dinner, the king rode againe to Durham place. That night the cardinall of Yorke made to the ambassadors a solemne banket, and them accompanied manie lords and ladies of England. And when the banket was done, in came sir minstrels, richlie disguised, and after them followed three gentlemen in wide and long gownes of crimsin sattin, euerie one hauing a cup of gold in their hands.

Edw. Hall in H. 8. fol. lxv.

The first cup was full of angels and roials, the second had diuerse bales of dice, and the third had certeine paires of cards. These gentlemen offered to plaie at mumchance, and when they had plaied the length of the first bord, then the minstrels blew vp, and then entered into the chamber certeine ladies disguised, on whome attended twelue knights disguised bearing torches. All these thirtie & six persons were in one sute of fine grene sattin, all couered ouer with cloth of gold, vnder tied togither with laces of gold, and masking hoods on their heads: the ladies had tiers made of braids of damaske gold with long haire of white gold. All these maskers danced at one time, and after they had danced, they put off their visors, and so were they all knowne. The admerall and lords of France hartilie thanked the king, that it pleased him to visit them with such disport. When the king & his companie were banketted, and had high chere: and so they departed euerie man to his lodging.

The French ambassadors come to the court.

ging. The eight of October at Grēenewich, was
Doctor Tunstall maister of the rolles.
song a solemne masse by the bishop of Durham, and after masse, doctor Tunstall, maister of the rolles, made an eloquent proposition in praise of the matrimonie to be had betwixt the Dolphin and the ladie Marie. All that daie were the strangers feasted, and at night they were brought into the hall, where was
Ed. Hall in H.8. fol. lxvj.
A pageant verie sumptuous and of notable deuise.
a rocke full of all maner of stones, verie artificiallie made, and on the top stood fiue trées, the first an olyue tree, on which hanged a shield of the armes of the church of Rome; the second a pineaple trée, with the armes of the emperour; the third a rosier, with the armes of England; the fourth a branch of lillies, bearing the armes of France; and the fift a pomegranat trée, bearing the armes of Spaine: in token that all these fiue potentats were ioined togither in one league against the enimies of Christes faith.

In and vpon the middest of the rocke sate a faire ladie, richlie apparelled with a dolphin in hir lap. In this rocke were ladies and gentlemen apparelled in crimsin sattin, couered ouer with floures of purple sattin, embrodered vpon with wrethes of gold, knit togither with golden laces, and on euerie floure a hart of gold mouing. The ladies apparell was after the fashion of Inde, with kerchifes of pleasance, hatched with fine gold, and set with letters of Grēke in gold of bullion; and the edges of their kerchifes were garnished with hanging perle. These gentlemen and ladies sat on the nether part of the rocke, and out of a caue in the said rocke came ten knights, armed at all points, and fought togither a faire tournie. And when they were seuered and departed, the disguisors descended from the rocke, and danced a great space: and suddenlie the rocke moued and receiued the disguisors, and immediatlie closed againe.

Then entered a person called Report, apparelled in crimsin sattin full of tongs, sitting on a flieng horsse with wings and feet of gold called Pegasus. This person in French declared the mening of the rocke,
A statelie or royall banket of two hundred and sixtie dishes.
the trées, and the tournie. After this passime ended, the king and the ambassadours were serued at a banket with two hundred and sirtie dishes, and after that a boldee of spices with sirtie spice plates of siluer and gilt, as great as men with ease might beare. This night the cupbord in the hall was of twelue stages all of plate of gold, and no gilt plate. When that euerie man had bēene plentiouslie serued, the tables were taken vp, and the king with the quēene and all the strangers departed to their lodgings.
Edw. Hall in H.8. fol. lxv.

After diuerse iusts & feasts made for the said ambassadours by the king and lords: sir Thomas Ermew maior of London made to them a costlie dinner at Goldsmiths hall, which dinner they highlie praised, it was so well ordered. And when the time came, they toke their leaue of the king, the quēene, and the kings councell, and deliuered into the kings possession their foure hostages (as you haue heard before.) At which departing the king gaue to the admerall of France a garnish of gilt vessell, a paire of couerd basens gilt, twelue great gilt boles, foure paire
The king of Englands munificence and bountifulnesse to the French ambassadours & gentlemen.
of great gilt pots, a standing cup of gold, garnished with great pearles: and to some other also, he gaue plate, to some chains of gold, to some rich aparell, and to some great horsses with rich bards, so that euerie gentleman was well rewarded; which liberalitie the strangers much praised: and after that all their trusses were readie they departed towards the sea, and toke ship and landed at Bullogne.]

Ambassadors sent from king Henrie to the French king.
Shortlie after their departure, the earle of Worcester, lord chamberleine, the bishop of Elie, the lord of saint Johns, sir Nicholas Vaur, sir John Pechie, sir Thomas Bullen, as ambassadours from the king of England, accompanied with three score and ten knights, gentlemen and yeomen, to the number of foure hundred and aboue, passed the sea to Calis, and so from thense went to Paris, where they were noblie receiued, & being brought to the French kings presence, the bishop of Elie made a solemne oration touching the mariage and peace concluded.

[To interteine the English ambassadours and gentlemen, the French king had made a banketting house in the bastill of Paris betwēene foure old walles. This house was couered with cords streined by craft, and euerie cord was wound about with bor, and so laid crosselwise one ouer an other in fret, and at the métings a great knop gilt with gold foile. Ouer their cords was streined woollen cloaths of light blew: this rose was foure score foot high, and on euerie side three stages high: all the pillers of the stages were couered with antike works, & the brests of the stages curiouslie wrought with armes, viniets, and branches: the rose was set full of starres gilt & furnished with glasses betweene the frets. In this house was two hundred and twelue branches gilt hanged, & on euerie branch a great number of lights of white wax.
Edw. Hall in H.8. fol. lxvi.
A banketting house of the French kings deuised.

Diuerse sorts of maskes were shewed also that night: and at euerie side of the palace a great cupbord of masse plate of much greatnesse was set, the French king welcomming the lords and ambassadours with good countenance.] Here is to be remembred, that immediatlie after the conclusion of the marriage, a rumor was raised, that the Dolphin was dead before, and that this marriage was but a colourable pretext, deuised of the Frenchmen for a policie to come by their purpose: and therefore, after that the English ambassadours had bēene feasted and interteined with banketting and princelie passime, the bishop of Elie, with sir Thomas Bullen, and sir Richard Weston, were appointed to go vnto Contacke to see the Dolphin, where they were honorablie receiued, and brought vnto the presence of the Dolphin, being a goodlie yong child, whome they kissed and imbraced in most louing wise.

1520

The earle of Worcester, and with him sir Nicholas Vaur, sir John Pechie, sir Edward Belknap, and diuerse others at the same time, toke leaue of the French king, and rode to Tornaie to sée the citie deliuered to the Frenchmen. Whereupon, the eight of Februarie, the lord Chatillon came thither with one and twentie hundred men; and after some controuersie moued about the deliuerie of his commission, and sealing an indenture, which the earle had there readie ingrossed, conteining the articles of agreement, in consideration whereof it was deliuered, the capteine sir Richard Jerningham was discharged, and the Frenchmen suffered to enter with drumslads and minstrelsie, but not with standards nor banners, which the Englishmen caused them to roll vp greatlie against their wils. Before they came to the gates, they sealed the indenture, confessing how they receiued the citie as a gift, and not as a right, and deliuered their commission, whereby they were authorised to receiue it, which at the first they refused to do, affirming that it was sufficient for them to shew it.
The maner how Tornaie was deliuered to the French king.

Thus was Tornaie deliuered in this tenth yeare of the kings reigne, on the eight daie of Februarie, & the Englishmen returned into England, sore displeased in their minds. For thereby manie a tall yeoman lacked liuing, the which would not labour after their returne, but fell to robbing, pilfering, shifting, and other extraordinarie meanes of maintenance, whereas before they were stated vpon a certeintie of hope, so long as they had allowance by the king. So that this resignation of Tornaie, though it were answerable to the desire of the French king, and commodious for his people, yet that benefit of theirs bred

to the Englishe soldiors detriment and losse: who wished in their harts to haue left their liues behind them in defense of possession, rather than it should reuert into the hands of them, by whome it was surrendred & giuen vp to the Englishe power, whom (because they were not able to incounter) they let in at their gates by a voluntarie motion and common consent for their better safetie, as a late writer witnesseth:

Angligenæ passis intra sua mœnia portis
Sponte intromittens.

Ed. Hall in H.8. fol. lxvii.

The light and misliked demeanour of diuerse yong gentlemen of England & the French king.

¶ During this time remained in the French court diuerse yong gentlemen of England, and they with the French king rode dailie disguised through Paris, throwing egges, stones, and other foolish trifles at the people, which light demeanour of a king was much discommended and iested at. And when these yong gentlemen came againe into England, they were all French, in eating, drinking, and apparell, yea, and in French vices and brags, so that all the estates of England were by them laughed at: the ladies and gentlewomen were dispraised, so that nothing by them was praised, but if it were after the French turne, which after turned them to displesure, as you shall heare.

After the kings ambassadours were returned, and Tornaie deliuered to the Frenchmen vpon the conditions aforesaid, the hostages that were here left for the paiment of the great summes and performance of the conditions comprised in the league (of the which one was, that if the marriage toke none effect, then the citie of Tornaie should be redeliuered vpon repaiment of the same summes) the said hostages knew not in what case they stood, but when they knew it, they were verie heauie and sorowfull: howbeit, they dissembled the matter in the best wise they could. The king vsed familiarlie these foure hostages,

Preparation for solemne disport.

and on the seuenth daie of Maie prepared a disguising, and caused his great chamber at Grēnwich to be staged, and great lights to be set on pillors that were gilt, with basons gilt, and the rofe was couered with blue sattin set full of presses of fine gold and flowers: and vnder was written *Iammes*, the meaning whereof was, that the flower of youth could not be oppressed.

Into this chamber came the king, and the quēne, with the hostages, and there was a goodlie comedie of Plautus plaied; and that done, there entered into the chamber eight ladies in blacke veluet bordered about with gold, with hopes from the waist downeward, and sleeues ruffed and plited at the elbow, and plaine in the middest, full of cuts, plucked out at euerie cut with fine cambrike, & tired like the Aegyptians verie richlie. And when these ladies had passed about the place, in came eight noble personages in long gownes of taffata set with flowers of gold bullion, and vnder that apparell cotes of blacke veluet embrodered with gold all to cut, and plucked out with cuts of white sarcenet, and euerie man had buskins of blacke veluet full of agglets of gold.

A comedie of Plautus plaied before the king.

Then the eight men danced with the eight ladies all being visarded, and suddenlie the men cast off their large gownes, and then their vnder apparell was seene. And when all was done, euerie lord and ladie put off their visards, and then it was knowne that the king, the duke of Suffolke, and the French quēne were there, which were present at the plaie time. On the eight daie of March was a solemne iustes, the king himselfe, and eight yong gentlemen based and barded in blacke veluet embrodered with gold: against the duke of Suffolke, and eight of his band, all in white satten with drops of gold. And that daie they all ran exceeding well, which the strangers highlie commended.]

Iustes.

About the end of March, the king sent for all the yeomen of the gard that were come from Tornaie, and after manie good words giuen to them, he granted to euerie of them foure pence the daie without attendance, except they were specially commanded.

The soldiers of Tornaie rewarded.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 760.

¶ And here it seemeth requisit to adde the report of a forreine chronicler touching the league of amitie and conditions of the same, knit vp in breuitie and good tearmes as followeth. Now (saith he) the differences betweene the French and Englishe were also reconciled. And for the more stabilitie of which agreement, it was confirmed with a contract of parentage and aliance, wherein the king of England promised to giue his onelie daughter, to whome hauing no sons, there was hope of the descending & succession of the kingdome to the Dolphin the eldest sonne of the crowne of France, adding for a portion foure hundred thousand duckets. Both the one and the other bore yet so tender age, that infinit accidents might happen, before perfection of yeeres would make them able to establish matrimonie. There was made betweene them a league defensiue, wherin were comprehended Cesar, and the king of Spaine, in case they would ratifie it in a certeine time.

The portion giuē with the kings daughter of England.

The king of England bound himselfe to restore Tornaie, receiuing presentlie for defraiments expended vpon that towne, two hundred and threescore thousand duckets, and three hundred thousand to bee defalked of the portion, and to paie three hundred thousand more in the space of twelue yeares. The French king also was bound, that if the peace and the parentage followed not, to render vp againe into the hands of the Englishe, the towne of Tornaie. Manie ambassadours were sent from both the realmes to negociat this league, and to receiue the ratifications and othes, by whome in the courts of both the kings the acts of the accord were dispatched with great solemnitie and ceremonie, with a resolution of an interuiew of both the kings betweene Calis and Bullongne, immediatlie after the restitution of Tornaie.

About the same time, the daughter of the French king, appointed to be married to the king of Spaine, being dead, the former peace and capitulation was eftsoones reconfirmed betweene them, wherein was promised the marriage of the second daughter of France. Both the kings celebrated this contunction with most great demonstrations of perfect amitie: for the king of Spaine, hauing paied in at Lions an hundred thousand duckets, ware publikelie the order of saint Michaell vpon the day of the celebration of the same, and in recompense of that honour: the French king, vpon the daie dedicated to saint Andrew, was honorablie attired in the robes and colour of the golden fleece.

Peace and aliance betwixt the French king and the Spanish solemnitie celebrated.

About this time, John Ja. Triuulce, whome neither old age reduced almost to the last time, nor his vertue so oftentimes expressed in the seruice of the truce of France could anie waie aid or comfort (being both ambitious and impatient, and therefore enuied) following the French court, fell sicke at Charters, where he gaue vp to the king, his innocencie and complaints, and made to God the last reckoning of his aged daies. He was a man in the iudgement of manie, and confirmed by sundrie experiences, of singular valour in the discipline of warre, and ran a race alwaies opposed to the inconstancie of fortune, who (according to hir mutabilitie) made him feele the operation of both hir humors, sometimes reioising in hir fauour, and erst againe finding hir sower and of a bitter taste. By his commandement were written vpon his tome these words, not disagreeable to the variable condition and course of his naturall life:

The death of John Ja. Triuulce, a noble seruitour in the French affaires.

I find the rest within my graue,
Which in my life I could not haue.]

In

The death of the emperour Maximilian. Guic. pag 763.

In this yeare the twelfe of Februarie, died the emperour Maximilian, for whome the king caused a solemne obsequie to be kept in Poules church. ¶ He died at Luiz, a towne vpon the marches of Austrich, where he remained for his delight and pleasure in hunting the wild bore, and other chases of the field.

A description of the emperors qualities.

He liued alwaies vnder one condition of fortune, who manie times fauoured him, in offering him manie faire occasions, & as often wrought against him in not suffering him to take the fruit and effect of them. He was by nature inconstant and remoueable, and had conceipts and impressions verie ill disposed and different from the iudgement of other men, ioined to an excessiue prodigalitie and dissipation of monie.

Matters which cut off from him the effects and successe of all occasions, being otherwise a prince most perfect and instructed in the ordering of warre, secret to laie and dispose a plot, diligent to follow it, of bodie able and suffering, of mind affable and easie, and replenished with manie other excellent gifts and ornaments. Vnto some of these properties, the good seruice which he did the king of England at Terwin giueth proofe, at what time both he and his people marched vnder the English ensigne, and receiued paie as stipendarie souldiors; whose wages the king had a care to paie, as maie appeare by his coining of siluer monie, whereof was scarsitie in his campe, in respect of gold, wherewith the souldiors were well stored, as one doth verie well make report, saieng:

Pro mercede nihil nisi fuluum soluitur aurum,
Auri militibus radiantis copia totis
Tanta fuit castris, vt rex cudisse coactus
Nummum ex argento fuerit.

The French king and the Spanish begin to aspire to the empire.

Assone as the emperour was dead, the French king and the king of Spaine began manifestlie to aspire to the empire, the purchase whereof albeit was a matter of right great importance, and no lesse the emulation running betweene two so mightie princes, yet they ordered their ambition with great modestie, neither vsing words of iniurie, nor threats of armes; but either one labouring by his authoritie, & by his meanes, to draw on his side the electors. The French king sundrie times reasoned touching the election with great comelinesse with the Spanish ambassadours, to whom he said it was a matter both agreeable and conuenient, that either of them seuerallie should seeke by honest meanes to increase the honour of his house by so great a dignitie: which for that in times before had bene transferred into the families of their predecessours, there was now the lesse occasion to breed betweene them two matter of iniurie, nor diminution of their amitie and good will.

But rather he wished, that in the action of the empire, they might follow the example and order of two yong louers, who albeit they follow the quest of one ladie, and either one laboureth by his industrie to carie hir; yet they forbere to come to contention. The king of Spaine alluded with good right, that the empire apperteined to him, as hauing continued by a long succession of time in the house of Austrich, and that it had not beene the custome of the electors to depriue the issue of the emperour, without manifest cause of their disabilitie, neither was there anie in Germanie of that puissance and authoritie to make him equall to stand competitor with him in that election. And least of all did he hold it iust or likelie, that the electors would transport to a forreine or strange prince, so great a dignitie continued by so manie ages in the nation of Germanie.

The king of Spains claim to the empire.

And albeit some particular amongst them, either through the insinuation of monie, or other propertie of corruption, might be allured to another intention, yet he hoped to stop him with force prepared in time conuenient, not doubting also but the other electors also would oppose against him, and the princes and free townes of Germanie would not indure so vniuersall an infamie, specially to suffer it to be laid vpon the person of the French king, which would be no other thing than to make great the puissance of a king enimie vnto their nation, and from whome there was no assertie that the imperiall dignitie would euer returne into Germanie: he thought it would be an action easie to obteine and reduce to perfection, that which had bin solicited by his grandfather, who had alreadie compounded for recompenses and donations, and other diuidents for euerie of the electors.

The French king in hope to be emperor as well as the Spanish.

On the other side, the desire of the French king was as great, and no lesse were his hopes, which toke their principall foundation vpon an opinion he had to corrupt the voices of the electors with his huge summes of monie: especiallie for that there were amongest them both pensionaries to him, and otherwise assured by manie good offices, who incouraging him with the facilitie of the enterprise, pushed him on to imbrace it. And for his part, as mortall men are apt to beléeue the thing they desire, so he nourished that hope with reasons rather aparant than true: he knew that commonlie it was a matter grieuous to the princes of Germanie to haue the emperors mightie; being gealous that in so great a puissance, they would not either in part or in all, quarrell the iurisdictions and authorities imperiall occupied by manie of them. In which reason he persuaded himselfe, that they would in no sort consent to the election of the Spaniard, & so of themselues to subiect themselues to an emperor more mightie than had beene since a long descent and race of emperors. A matter which in his person séemed to be qualified, for that hauing neither estates nor ancient aliances in Germanie, they had no occasion of suspicion of his greatnesse.

The French king builded his hope vpon the humors of the princes of Germanie.

The same reason also made him beléeue well of the conformitie of the free townes, in whome much lesse that the regard of the glorie of the nation would carie it from him, séeing it would helpe to peize the ballance on his side, for that with most men the motions of proper and priuate interest maie do more, than the respect of publike and generall profit. He knewe it was not a little grieuous to manie noble houses of Germanie, pretending to be capable of such a dignitie, to see the empire continue so long time in one house; but much more did it discontent them to suffer that so great an estate, which of right ought sometimes to be giuen to one of them, and sometime to passe to another, should become a perpetuall descent and succession in one line: insomuch as they might call inheritance and succession that election, which durst not leaue the line of the emperors. That in that sort the empire was translated from Albert de Austrich to Frederike his brother, and from Frederike to Maximilian his sonne; and now there was deuise to passe it from Maximilian to the person of Charles his grandchild.

The French king relieth vpon the fauour of the pope.

By these humors and indignations of the princes of Germanie, he toke hope that the discords and gealousies amongst themselues might helpe on his cause, the rather for that it often happeneth in the contentions of men, that he that is excluded, or the partie whome he fauoureth, runneth with a naturall rashnesse rather to call in, and to aduance a third, than to giue place to him that hath opposed against his intention. Moreouer, the French king was not without his hopes in the fauour of the pope, both in regard of the amitie and aliance newlie past betwixt them; and also for that he was not ignorant how inconuenient it would be to the see apostolike to haue the

the imperiall crowne inuested in Charls, nor so much for his owne greatnesse, as for that by the opportunitie and neighbourhood of the realme of Naples to the estate of the church, and the adherencie of the barons of the Gebelins, he had a plaine and open passage to run vp to the gates of Rome.

But in that discourse he considered not that the same reason, which he iudged true against Charles, was also against himselfe: for that the empire being ioined to his person, he was no lesse to be feared of the pope & all others, than Charles. For that though the one of them possessed happilie more realmes and states; yet the other was not to be lesse esteemed, hauing his power not dispersed nor separate in manie places, but was prince of a realme entierlie assembled and united, where the obedience and fidelitie of his subiects was no lesse wonderfull, than his treasure and riches infinite. Neuertheless, not knowing in himselfe that which he considered in another, he had recourse to the pope, and implored his fauor vnder the offer and protestation of his person and kingdoms, with all other deuotions of a louing son. Notwithstanding all this, the French king was abused by his vaine hope, which fed him with fansies of the empire, whereto he was not allotted nor elected.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. in H.8. fol. lxviij, &c.

For on the twentie eight of June was elected to be emperor Charles king of Castile, and nephue to the quéene, by the whole assent of the electors of the empire: namelie, the archbishop of Patence, the archbishop of Cullen, the count Palatine, and the duke of Saxon. Although the French king sent his great maister to cause him to be elected to the high maiestie of the empire; yet his ambassador and great maister of his household (called Gonffier lord of Boisie, and brother to William Gonffier lord Boncuet, admerall of France, which was ambassador in England the last yéere, as you haue heard) did not so his message that it toke anie effect. The king which had sent doctor Pace his secretarie for the aduancement of his nephue the king of Castile, to the dignitie imperiall, because he had the duchie of Austrich, and manie other seignories in Almaine, was verie iotous of this election, and caused a solemne masse to be song at Paules the seuenth daie of Julie: at which masse was present the cardinall Campeius, the cardinall of Yorke, the duke of Buckingham, of Norfolke, & Suffolke, with the ambassadours of Spaine, France, Uenice, and Scotland.

Charles the fift, king of Spaine chosen emperour.

After masse was done, the quier sang *Te Deum*, and then all the lords departed to Bainards castell to dinner, and that night were solemne fires made thorough London, and great plentie of wine giuen by Italians, Dutchmen, and Spaniards for these newes. In this yeare the king with all the knights of his order being in England, rode on double horsses, with the henchmen following the king from Colbrooke to Windsore in gorgious apparell, and there he kept with great solemnitie the feast of saint George, and dined in the hall. The bishop of Winchester prelat of the order sat at the bords end alone. The king was solemnelie serued and the surnap cast like the feast of a coronation. All things were plentious to strangers that resorted thither. At the masse of *Requiem* were offered the banner & other habillements of honour belonging to Maximilian the emperour late deceassed.

After this feast ended, the king came to Richmond, and so to Greenewich, and there laie all Maie. In which moneth the kings councell secretlie communed togither of the kings gentlenesse and liberalitie to all persons: by the which they perceiued that certeine yong men in his priuie chamber, not regarding his estate or degrée, were so familiar and homelie with him, that they forgat themselues. Which

The kings affablenesse & familiaritie with the inferior sort of people grudged at of the councell.

things although the king of his gentle nature suffered, and not rebuked nor reproued it: yet the kings councell thought it not meet to be suffered for the kings honour, and therefore they all togither came to the king, beseeching him to haue more regard to his roialtie.

To whome the king answered, that he had chosen them of his councell, both for the maintenance of his honour, and for the defense of all things that might blemish the same: wherefore if they saw anie about him misuse themselues, he committed it vnto their reformation. Then the kings councell caused the lord chamberleine to call before them diuerse of the priuie chamber, which had béene in the French court, and banished them the court for diuerse considerations, laieng nothing particularlie to their charges, & they that had offices were commanded to go to their offices. Which discharge out of court greeued sore the hearts of these yong men, which were called the kings minions. Then was there foure sad & ancient knights put into the K. priuie chamber, whose names were; sir Richard Wingfield, sir Richard Jerningham, sir Richard Weston, and sir William Kingston; and diuerse officers were changed.

Certeine of the priuie chamber remoued, and others in their roome appointed.

In this summer the quéene desired the king to bring to hir manor of Hauering in the Bower in Esser the gentlemen of France being hostages, for whose welcomming she purueied all things in the most liberall manner: and especiallie she made to the king such a sumptuous banket, that the king thanked hir hartilie, & the strangers gaue hir great praise. The king lieng there did shoot, hunt, and run dailie with the hostages to their great ioy. This yére in September the king laie at his manor of Newhall in Esser, otherwise called Beaulieu, where the king had newlie builded a costlie mansion, there to welcome the quéene, the lords, and the French gentlemen, he made to them a sumptuous banket, and all along the chamber sat a ladie & a lord, or a knight, which were plentiouslie serued.

The king and quéene at Hauering in the Bower.

Newhall in Esser called Beaulieu.

After the banket ended, with noise of minstrels entered into the chamber eight maskers with white beards, and long and large garments of blew sattin paned with sipers, poudered with spangles of bullion gold, and they danced with ladies sadlie, and communed not with the ladies after the fashion of maskers, but behaued themselues grauelie. Wherfore the quéene plucked off their visors, and then appeared the duke of Suffolke, the earle of Esser, the marquesse Dorset, the lord Aburgauennie, sir Richard Wingfield, sir Robert Wingfield, sir Richard Weston, sir William Kingston: all these were somewhat aged, the yongest man was fiftie at the least. The ladies had good sport to see these ancient persons maskers.

A maske of graue and ancient courtiers.

When they departed, the king and the foure hostages of France, and the earle of Deuonshire with sir other yong gentlemen entered the chamber, of the which sir were all in yellow sattin, hose, shoes, and caps, and sir other were in like maner in greene: the yelow sattin was fretted with siluer of damaske, and so was the greene verie richlie to behold: then euerie maske toke a ladie and danced. When they had danced and communed a great while, their visors were taken off, and they knowne, and the king gaue manie broches and proper gifts where he liked.

A maske of youthfull courtiers.

In the moneth of Nouember the king came from Lambeth to Westminster hall, and so to the Starchamber, and there were brought before him the lord Ogle, the lord Howard, sir Matthew Browne, sir William Bulmer, and John Scot of Camerwell, for diuerse riots, misdemeanors, & offenses by them committed: but the king spectallie rebuked sir William Bulmer knight, bicause he being his seruant sworne, refused the kings seruice, and became seruant

The king sitteth in the Starchamber in iudgement.

uant to the duke of Buckingham: yet at length vpon his humble craning of mercie, still kneeling on his knees before his grace, the king pardoned him his offense: and likewise he pardoned the lord Howard, and sir Matthew Browne, their offenses: but bicause the lord Ogles matter concerned murther, he remitted him to the common law. And then he rose and went to his barge, and by the waie made James Parfoid maior of the citie of London knight, and so returned to Lambeth.

The French king desirous to continue the friendship latelie begun betwixt him and the king of England, made meanes vnto the cardinall, that they might in some conuenient place come to an interuiew togither, that he might haue further knowlege of king Henrie, and likewise king Henrie of him. But the same went that the cardinall desired greatlie, of himselfe, that the two kings might meet, who measuring by his will what was conuenient, thought it should make much with his glorie, if in France also at some high assemblie of noble men, he should be seene in his vaine pompe and shew of dignitie: hee therefore breaketh with the king of that matter, declaring how honourable, necessarie, and conuenient it should be for him to gratifie his friend therein, and thus with his persuasions the K. began to conceiue an earnest desire to see the French king, and thereupon appointed to go ouer to Calis, and so in the marches of Guisnes to meet with him.

Note the ambitious humor of the cardinal of Yorke.

Hall.

Then were there sent vnto Guisnes, vnder the rule of sir Edward Belknap three thousand artificers, which builded out of the earth on the plaine before the castell of Guisnes, a most pleasant palace of timber, right curiouslie garnished without and within. Herewith were letters written to all such lords, ladies, gentlemen, and gentlewomen, which should giue their attendance on the king and quéene, which incontinentlie put themselues in a readinesse after the most sumptuous sort. Also it was appointed that the king of England, & the French king, in a campe betwéene Ard and Guisnes, with eightéene aides, should in June next insuing abide all commers being gentlemen, at the tilt, at tourneie, and at barriers, whereof proclamation was made by Orleans king of armes of France here in the court of England, and by Clarenceaux king of armes of England in the court of France, and in the court of Burgognie, and in diuerse other courts and places in Almanie and Italie.

Edw. Hall in H.8. fol. lxix. Preparation for the interteining of the emperour Charles into England.

During the time of these preparations, newes were brought to the king, that Charles his nephue elected emperour of Almanie, would shortlie depart out of Spaine by sea, and come by England to go to Acon or Aix (a citie of fame and renowme in Germanie, for the ancient residence and sepulchre of Charlemaine) where he receiued the first crowne. Wherefore the king hearing of this determination of the emperour, caused great prouisions to be made at euerie hauen, for the receiuing of his welbeloued nephue and friend; & dailie prouisions were made on all sides for these noble méetings of so high princes: and especiallie the quéene of England, and the ladie Dowager of France, made great cost on the apparell of their ladies and gentlewomen.

A deuise of a waggon vpon the sudden.

On the first daie of Februarie being Candlemasse éeuen, as the king and quéene were come from euensong at there manour of Greenwich, before the quénes chamber there blew a trumpet suddenlie, and then entered into the quéens chamber foure gentlemen apparelled in long and large garments of blew damaske bordered with gold, and brought with them a tricke waggon, in the which sat a ladie richlie apparelled, with a canopie ouer hir head: and on the foure corners of the waggon were foure pedestales called armées, euerie péece being of a sundrie deuise. The said ladie put vp a bill to the king, the effect whereof was, that the foure gentlemen present would (for the loue of their ladies) answer all commers at the tilt at a daie by the king to be appointed: which daie was appointed at Shrouetide next insuing. At which daie the foresaid gentlemen valiantlie accomplished their enterprise, with great lauds of the king, the quéene, and the ladies.

The whole maner of the interuiew committed to the cardinall.

Moreouer, now that it was concluded, that the kings of England and France should méet (as yee haue heard) then both the kings committed the order and manner of their méeting, and how manie daies the same should continue, & what preheminence each should giue to other, vnto the cardinall of Yorke, which to set all things in a certeintie, made an instrument, conteining an order and direction concerning the premisses by him deuised and appointed.

The tenour of the said instrument *mad by the cardinall.*

Ab. Fl. ex Ed. Hall in H.8. fol. lxx.

THomas archbishop of Yorke and cardinall, &c. Albeit that by the treatie and méeting of the right high, and right puissant princes, Henrie by the grace of God, king of England, and of France, lord of Ireland, my souereigne lord: and Francis by the same grace, K. of France right christened, made and concluded at London the eight daie of October, the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and eightéene, be among other things concluded and accorded, that the same méeting shall be in place indifferent, and not subiect to any of the said princes. Neuertheless we, considering the honour, profit, and vtilitie, that shall redound by the interuiew of the said two princes, and not onelie to the said two princes, their realmes and subiects, but also to all christendome, after declaration hereupon had with the said princes.

Also considering that the said illustre king of England my souereigne lord, in passing the sea with his retinue, shall susteine great costs and expenses, and dispose himselfe to great labors and dangers, leauing his realme and puissance for certeine time, we haue thought & estæmed, that he should not be wholie satisfied to the honour and dignitie of the same, right illustre king of England my souereigne lord, and should not haue in regard condigne of his labours and dangers, if the said interuiew or méeting after the first treatie shuld be in place indifferent. Wherefore it is that we desiring to weie equallie the honor and dignitie of the said two kings, by vertue and power of the commissions to vs giuen, of whom the tenours shall bée hereafter declared: we haue made, declared, and ordeined certeine articles accepted & approued by the same princes respectiuelie, which they will obserue, and by these presents we make, declare, and ordeine as followeth.

The first article of the interuiew of the two kings & their traine.

And first we declare and ordeine, that before the end of the moneth of Maie next comming, the said illustre king of England shall come personallie to the castle of Guisnes, with his bedfellow the quæne, and his sister

sister the Dowaresse of France: & semblablie the right christened k. of France, shall come in person to his castle of Ard with the quæne & his mother: and some day, houre, and time, within foure daies at the most, after the end of Maie, that shall be assigned by the commissioners of the one and the other partie, the said king of England shall issue out of his castell of Guisnes halfe a mile long, without that that he shall issue out of the limits of his demain of Guisnes, and shall come towards the said castell of Ard: and there within the territorie of the said castell of Guisnes, he shall rest in some place not fortified nor walled, and neere the limits of France, that the said commissioners shall assigne (as aboue said.)

The maner of their meeting and mutuall greeting.

And the said right christened king, parting from his castell of Ard, shall come toward the said king of England the same day, place, time, and houre, that shall tarie him within the demaine of Guisnes, as is said. In the which shall not bee set or dressed anie paulions or tents, and there the said two kings being on horsseback, with their retinue shall see the one the other, and salute each other, and speake together familiarlie, and common in that sort and maner, and so long as shall seeme to them good. And after the said salutation and communication finished for that time, the said illustre king of England shall returne to his castell of Guisnes, and the said right christened king to his castell of Ard.

what both the kings were to doo the morrow after the first interuiew.

Item, for so much that we thinke to be satisfied touching the labours, dangers, & honour of the said king of England, my soueraigne lord of so much, that the said right christened king at the first speaking, he shall come forward vnto, and within his territorie of Guisnes, we will keepe the honour of the said kings: & therefore declare and ordeine, that on the morrow after the first interuiew, the same kings shall meet togither in some fit place, indifferent betweene Ard and Guisnes, that shall be assigned by the said commissioners.

And after the salutation made on the one and the other partie, the said right illustre king of England shall go to the castell of Ard, to see, salute, and visit the quæne of France, and also the sister of the said christened king, with whome he shall dine priuilie. And likewise the said right christened king shall go to the castell of Guisnes, to visit and salute the quæne of England, and the Dowaresse of France, with whome he shall dine. In the which places the said princes shall be receiued familiarlie and amiablie, vnto mutuall loue, and also to the honour of the said princes.

Order for feats of chevalrie and activitie and the place thereto appointed.

Item, as the said serene princes of England & France, be like in force corporall, beautie, & gift of nature, right expert & hauing knowledge in the art militant, right cheualrous in armes, & in the flower and vigor of youth, wherby seemed to vs a right assemblie, that for to adorne and honor the same assemblie, and to shew their forces in armes, they shall take counsell and dispose themselues to doo some faire feat of armes, as well on foot as on horsseback, against all commers: we declare and ordeine, that the place where shall be the said fight and feat of armes, shall be chosen betweene Guisnes and Ard, and assigned by the commissioners of the one and the other partie.

And for a suertie of the persons of the said kings & their companie, the said place shall be apparelled, diched, fortified, and kept of the one and the other partie, by equall number of men of armes, respectiuelie committed and deputed that to doo. And during the time of the said iusts and feats of warre, the same kings and quænes with their retinue, shall see ech other familiarlie, and conuerse and speake togither. And euerie daie towards the euening, after the iusts, triumphs, bankets, & familiar communications doone, the said kings with their retinue shall returne into their castels, that is to say, the king of England into his castell of Guisnes, & the said right christened king into his castell of Ard, and thus they shall doo dailie, during the said fight and feat of armes.

Order for superioritie to be giuen to the king of England and the quæne within the French territorie.

Item, we declare and ordeine, that when the same king of England and the quæne his bedfellow, & the Dowaresse of France his sister, with their retinue, shall go to the territorie and entrie of the foresaid right christened king, the superioritie and preheminence shall be giuen to the said king of England, to the quæne his bedfellow, and to their retinue respectiuelie, during the time that they shall tarie and be there: and semblablie when the said right christened king, and the quæne his bedfellow and his right illustre ladie and mother, with their retinue shall come to the territorie and entrie of the said illustre king of England, the superioritie and preheminence shall be giuen to the said right christened king, to the quæne his bedfellow, and to his mother, and to their retinue during the time that they shall continue and abide there.

Order for restraint of assemblies to the places appointed for the interuiew.

Item, forsomuch as the castels and places where the said interuiew shall be, be so little and narrow, that if entrie and licence to come thither be giuen to all them that would go thither, diuers annoiances, troubles & impechments should follow: wherfore it is so, that we the cardinall aboue said, by these presents declare and ordeine, that none of the retinue of the said kings, quænes, or other lords and nobles, of what estate, qualitie, or condition that he or they be of, shall not come to the said assemblie with more great number of persons or horsse, than shall be written by letters subscribed by the said kings: the which shall conteine the estates and conditions of the persons, as well men as women, and number of seruants and horsse, except the common consent and licence of the said kings.

Item, forsomuch as peraduenture it shall come that the said princes, lords, gentlemen,

tlemen, and houshold seruants, shall see and conuerse togither familiarlie, to the end that it maie ingender betweene them an amitie more firme and stable, for that cause, and that more suerlie and agreeablie they may be togither, as well by day as by night without any danger or feare, which we desire to prouide: we declare and ordeine that two gentlemen, with sufficient companie of equall & like number, be committed and deputed, respectiuelie by the said kings for the keeping and suertie of the waies and watches, that shall be made continuallie during the assemblie of the said kings. The which gentlemen, with their companies, shall ordeine and depute explorators and spies in the vallies, forrests, woods, townes, burrowes, villages, castels, passages, and waies, and other places dangerous and suspect: from time to time, and houre to houre, as well towards Flanders, as Picardie, Artois, & England, to exploit and watch there.

Order for both princes personall securitie going and comming.

And if anie be found suspect, them to repulse and take awaie, to the end that not onelie the said princes, their gentlemen, and houshold-seruants, maie suerlie and without feare visit the one the other, as said is; but also those that shall bring vittels necessarie to the said assemblie, maie without danger, trouble, impechement, or noisance go and come: the which explorators shall be bounden euerie daie in the morning and euening, to make report to the said princes or to their said councellors respectiuelie, of that which they found, and in what estate the waies be. We declare further and ordeine, that all men of armes and of warre, of the one and the other partie, shall not approch nearer than two iournies, to the place where the said interuiew shall be, except the retinue and men of war that be committed and deputed to keepe Bullongne and Calis: and that the same men of warre nor none other, during the assemblie of the said princes, shall not presume to come nearer, vnlesse by the consent, accord, and licence of the said princes.

Order for the limiting of men in armes or garrisons.

Item, we cardinall aboue said, by expresse authoritie and power to vs giuen, by these presents, bind the said princes to doo, fulfill, and accomplish, all and euerie things aboue said herein conteined. Finallie, we declare and ordeine, that ech of the said kings on his partie, shall ratifie, confirme, and approue all and euerie the chapters and articles aboue said, by their letters pattents sealed with their hands. And by the same letters of ratification they shall be bounden, to accomplish with good faith and word of a king, all and euerie the things aboue said: the which letters made, subscribed, and sealed, as is said, they shall giue the one the other, and shall change in the citie of London, within one moneth next after the date of these presents. Made the twelfe of March, the yeare of our Lord a thousand fiue hundred and ninetæne.

The last clause of this instrument for the ratification of the articles therein conteined.

The peeres of the realme receiuing letters to prepare themselues to attend the king in this iournie, and no aparant necessarie cause expressed, why nor wherefore; seemed to grudge, that such a costlie iournie should be taken in hand to their importunate charges and expenses, without consent of the whole bord of the councell. But namelie the duke of Buckingham, being a man of a lofttie courage, but not most liberall, sore repined that he should be at so great charges for his furniture forth at this time, saieng; that he knew not for what cause so much monie should be spent about the sight of a vaine talke to be had, and communication to be ministred of things of no importance. Wherefore he sticked not to saie, that it was an intollerable matter to obeie such a vile and importunate person.

The duke indeed could not abide the cardinall, and speciallie he had of late conceiued an inward malice against him for sir William Bulmers cause, whose trouble was onelie procured by the cardinall; who first caused him to be cast in prison. Now such grieuous words as the duke thus vttered against him, came to the cardinals eare; whereupon he cast before hand all waies possible to haue him in a trip, that he might cause him to leape headlesse. But because he doubted his freends, kinnesmen, and allies, and cheeflie the earle of Surrie lord admerall, which had married the dukes daughter, he thought good first to send him some whither out of the waie, least he might cast a trumpe in his waie. There was great enimitie betwixt the cardinall and the earle, for that on a time, when the cardinall toke vpon him to checke the earle, he had like to haue thrust his dagger into the cardinall.

Great hatred betweene the cardinall, and the duke of Buckingham.

At length there was occasion offered him to compasse his purpose, by occasion of the earle of Kildare his comming out of Ireland. For the cardinall knowing he was well prouided of monie, sought occasion to fleece him of part thereof. The earle of Kildare being vnmarried, was desirous to haue an English woman to wife; and for that he was a suter to a widow contrarie to the cardinals mind, he accused him to the king, of that he had not borne himselfe vprightlie in his office in Ireland, where he was the kings lieutenant. Such accusations were framed against him when no bribes would come, that he was committed to prison, and then by the cardinals good preferment the earle of Surrie was sent into Ireland as the kings deputie, in lieu of the said earle of Kildare, there to remaine rather as an exile, than as lieutenant to the king, euen at the cardinals pleasure, as he himselfe well perceiued.

The earle of Kildare committed to ward.

In the beginning of Aprill, the said earle passed ouer into Ireland, and had with him diuerse gentlemen that had beene in the garrison of Tornaie, and one hundred yeomen of the kings gard, and others, to the number of a thousand men, where he by his manhood and policie brought the earle of Desmond and diuerse other rebels to good conformitie and order. He continued there two yeares, in which space he had manie bickerings and skirmishes with the wild Irish. There rested yet the earle of Northumberland, whome the cardinall doubted also, least he might hinder his purpose, when he should go about to wreake his malice against the duke of Buckingham: and therefore he picked a quarell to him, for that he had seized vpon certeine wards which the cardinall said apperteined of right to the king. And because the earle would not giue ouer his title, he was also committed to prison, & after toke it for a great benefit at the cardinals hands, that he might be deliuered out of his danger.

Edw. Hall.

Good seruice done by the earle of Surrie.

Polydor.

The earle of Northumberland committed to prison.

Now in this meane while, the cardinall ceassed not to bring the duke out of the kings fauour, by such

such forged tales, and contriued surmises, as he datlie put into the kings head: insomuch that (through the infelicitie of his fate) diuerse accidents fell out to the aduantage of the cardinall; which he not omitting, atchiued the thing whereat he so studiouslie (for the satisfieng of his canckerred & malicious stomach) laid full aime. Now it chanced that the duke comming to London with his traine of men, to attend the king into France, went before into Kent vnto a manor place which he had there. And whilest he staid in that countrie till the king set forward, grieuous complaints were exhibited to him by his farmars and tenants against Charles Kneuet his surueiour, for such bribing as he had vsed there amongest them. Wherevpon the duke toke such displeasure against him, that he depriued him of his office, not knowing how that in so doing he procured his owne destruction, as after appeared.

Anno Reg.12.

The king setteth forward towards France.

The kings maiestie persewering in purpose to mèet with Francis the French king, remoued with the quéene, and all his court, the one & twentith day of Maie being mondaie, from his manor of Grèenwich towards the sea side: and so on the fridaie the fiue and twentith of Maie, he arriued at the citie of Canturburie, intending there to kéepe his Whitsuntide. On the morrow after, the emperour being on the sea returning out of Spaine, arriued with all his naule of ships rotall on the coast of Kent, direct to the port of Hieth the said daie by none, where hée was saluted by the viceadmerall of England, sir William Fitz William, with six of the kings great ships well furnished, which laie for the safegard of passage betwixt Calis and Douer. Towards euening the emperour departed from his ships, and entered into his bote, and comming towards land, was met and receiued of the lord cardinall of Yorke with such reuerence as to so noble a prince apperteined.

The emperor Charles the fift landeth in England.

Thus landed the emperour Charles the fift at Douer, vnder his cloth of estate of the blacke eagle, all spread on rich cloth of gold. He had with him manie noble men, and manie faire ladies of his bloud. When he was come on land, the lord cardinall conducted him to the castell of Douer, which was prepared for him in most rotall maner. In the morning, the king rode with all hast to the castell of Douer to welcome the emperour, and entering into the castell, alighted. Of whose comming the emperour hauing knowledge, came out of his chamber, and met him on the staires, where either of them embraced other in most louing maner, and then the king brought the emperour to his chamber. On Whitsundaie earlie in the morning, they toke their horsses, and rode to the citie of Canturburie, the more to kéepe solemne the feast of Pentecost: but speciallie to sée the quéene of England his aunt was the emperour his intent, of whome ye may be sure he was most toifullie receiued and welcomed.

The meéting of the emperor and K. Henrie at Douer castell.

The emperor and K. Henrie kéepe Whitsuntide at Canturburie.

Thus the emperour and his retinue, both of lords and ladies, kept their Whitsuntide with the king and quéene of England, in the citie of Canturburie with all ioy and solace. The emperour yet himselfe séemed not so much to delight in passime and pleasure, but that in respect of his youthfull yeares, there appeared in him a great shew of grauitie: for they could by no meanes bring him to danse amongst the residue of the princes, but onelie was contented to be a loker on. Peraduenture the sight of the ladie Marie troubled him, whome he had sometime loued, and yet through fortunes euill hap might not haue hir to wife. The chiefe cause that moued the emperour to come thus on land at this time, was to persuade that by word of mouth, which he had before done most earnestlie by letters; which was, that the king should not mèet with the French king at anie interuiew: for he doubted least if the king of England & the French king should grow into some great friendship and faithfull bond of amitie, it might turne him to displeasure.

Polydor.

The emperor laboureth to hinder the purposed interuiew.

But now that he perceiued how the king was forward on his iournie, he did what he could to procure, that no trust should be committed to the faire words of the Frenchmen: and that if it were possible, the great friendship that was now in breeding betwixt the two kings, might be dissolued. And forsomuch as he knew the lord cardinall to be wone with rewards, as a fish with a bait: he bestowed on him great gifts, and promised him much more, so that hée would be his friend, and helpe to bring his purpose to passe. The cardinall not able to susteine the least assault by force of such rewards as he presentlie receiued, and of such large promises as on the emperours behalfe were made to him, promised to the emperour, that he would so vse the matter, as his purpose should be sped: onelie he required him not to disalow the kings intent for interuiew to be had, which he desired in anie wise to go forward, that he might shew his high magnificence in France, according to his first intention.

Edw.Hall.

The emperour remained in Canturburie till the thursdaie, being the last of Maie, and then taking leaue of the king, and of his aunt the quéene, departed to Sandwich, where he toke his ships and sailed into Flanders. The same daie, the king made sasse from the port of Douer, and landed at Calis about eleuen of the clocke, and with him the quéene and ladies, & manie nobles of the realme. His grace was receiued into the checker, and there rested. The fourth of June, the king and quéene with all their traine remoued from Calis, to his princelie lodging newlie erected beside the towne of Guisnes, the most noble & rotall lodging that euer before was séene. ¶ For it was a palace, the which was quadrant, and euerie quadrant of the same palace was three hundred and twentie eight foot long of assise, which was in compasse thirtéene hundred and twelue foot about. This palace was set on stages by great cunning & sumptuous worke.

The king lan deth at Calis.

Ed.Hall in H.8 fol.lxxiij.

The descriptiō of the new palace before Guisnes.

At the entering into the palace before the gate, on the plaine grèene, was builded a fountaine of imbowed worke, gilt with fine gold, and bice, ingrailed with antike workes: the old god of wine called Bacchus birling the wine, which by the conduits in the earth ran to all people plentiouslie with red, white, and claret wine, ouer whose head was written in letters of Romane in gold, Faicte bonne chere qui vouldra. On the other hand or side of the gate was set a piller, which was of ancient Romane worke, borne with foure lions of gold, the pillers wrapped in a wreath of gold curiouslie wrought and intrailed, and on the summit of the said piller stood an image of the blind god Cupid, with his bow and arrowes of loue, readie by his séeming to strike the yong people to loue.

The foregate of the same palace or place with great and mightie masonrie by sight was arched, with a tower on euerie side of the same port, rered by great craft, and imbattelled was the gate and tower, and in the feneslers and windowes were images resembling men of warre, readie to cast great stones. Also the same gate or tower was set with compassed images of ancient princes, as Hercules, Alexander, and other by intrailed worke, richlie limmed with gold and albine colours: and well and warilie was made ouer the gate loups, and inforced with battelments, and in the same gate a lodge for the porter, which there appeared, and other sumptuouslie apparelled like vnto kings officers. By the same gate all people passed into a large court faire and beautifull,

The foregate of the said palace.

The large court.

tifull, for in this court appeared much of the outward beautie of this place, for from the first water table, to the raising or reisin pæces, were baie windowes, on euerie side mixed with cleare stories curiouslie glased, the posts or mainels of euerie windowe was gilt.

Thus the outward part of the place lumined the eies of the beholders, by reason of the sumptuous worke. Also the tower of the gate (as seemed) was builded by great masonrie, and by great engine of mans wit, for the sundrie countenances of euerie image that there appeared, some shooting, some casting, some readie to strike, and firing of gunnes, which shewed verie honorablie. Also all the said quadrants, baies, and edifices, were rotallie intrailed, as farre as vnto the same court apertained. And direct against the gate was devised a halpas, and at the entrie of the staire, were images of sore and terrible countenances, all armed in curious worke of argentine. The baie of the same halpas pendant by craft of timber, & vnder it antike images of gold introned with verdor of olifs cast in compasse, mounstring their countenances toward the entring of the palace. The staire of the said halpas was cast of passage by the wents of brode steps, so that from the first fot or lowest step, ante person might without paine go vnto the highest place of the same halpas.

The halpas.

The chambers and loges.

On euerie hand was their chamber dores and enterings into the chambers of the same palace, which were long and large, and well proportioned, to receiue light and aire at pleasure: the roofes of them from place to place, and chamber to chamber were sieled, and couered with cloth of silke, of the most faire and quicke inuention that before time was seene. For the ground was white ingraild, embowed, and batoned with rich clothes of silkes, knit and fret with cuts and braids, and sundrie new casts, that the same clothes of silke shewed like bullions of fine burned gold: and the roses in losenges, that in the same roofe were in kindlie course, furnished so to mans sight, that no liuing creature might but ioy in the beholding thereof. For from the law pece of the said sieling (which pece was gilt with fine gold) were workes in pane paled, all the walles to the crest incountering the cleare stories, the same crest which was of large depnesse, the worke was antike knots with bosses cast and wrought with more cunning than I can write, all which works and ouerages were gilt, and to set it the more to the glorie, the flourishing bise was comparable to the rich ammell.

The hangings & other ornaments.

Also at the fot of the same palace was another crest all of fine set gold, whereon hanged rich & marueious clothes of arras wrought of gold and silke, compassed of manie ancient stories, with which clothes of arras euerie wall and chamber were hanged, & all the windowes so richlie couered, that it passed all other sights before seene. In euerie chamber and euerie place conuenient were clothes of estate, great and large of cloth of gold, of tissue, and rich embroderie, with chaires couered with like cloth, with pommels of fine gold, and great cushins of rich worke of the Turkie making, nothing lacked of honourable furnishment. Also to the same palace was reared a chappell with two closets, the quire of the said chappell sieled with cloth of gold, and thereon fret ingrailed bent clothes of silke, all was then silke and gold. The altars of this chappell were hanged with rich reuesture of cloth of gold and tissue, embrodered with perles. Ouer the hie altar was hanged a rich canopie of marueilous greatnesse, the altar was apparelled with fiue paire of candlesticks of gold, and on the altar an halpas, and thereon stod a crucifix all of fine gold, and on the same halpas stod twelue images of the bignes of foure yeares of age, all gold.

The chappell with appurtenances.

All the copes and vestiments were so rich as might be prepared or bought in the citie of Florens, for they were all but of one pece, so wouen for the purpose, cloth of tissue and powdered with red roses purpled with fine gold. The Orfris set with pearles and precious stones. And all the walles and desks of this chapell were hanged with right cloth of gold, & three rich great crosses there readie to be borne at festiuall times, and basens and censers, gospellers, pares, crewets, holie water vessels, and other ornaments all of gold. Also in the first closet was a trauerse for the kings person of cloth of gold, & in it his place & chaire, with cushins of cloth of gold: before the trauerse was an altar of presence, which altar was adorned with cloth of broderie, and rich pearles and precious stones, set in goldsmiths worke of fine gold. On the altar was a desk or halpas, whereon stood a patible of the crucifix of fine gold, with an image of the Trinitie, an image of the virgine Marie, and twelue other images, all fine gold & precious stones, two paire of candlesticks of fine gold, with the basens, crewets, pares, and other ornaments.

Great cost bpō popish trumperie & superstitious trash.

The kings closet.

The said closet was hanged with tapets embrodered with rich worke fret with pearles and stones, the roofe of the same closet was sieled with worke of inmouled, gilt with fine gold, and senoper, and bise. The second closet was for the queens person, in which was a trauerse of rich cloth of gold, the altar so richlie apparelled, that there lacked neither pearles nor stones of riches. On the altar were twelue great images of gold, the closet hanged with cloth of gold, all other iewels missall I suppose neuer such like were seene, and the roofe of the same closet was sieled with like worke that the kings closet was, as is before rehearsed. And from this palace or place into the mightie & strong fortresse & castell rotall of Guisnes, was a gallerie for the secret passage of the kings person into a secret lodging within the same castell, the more for the king ease. Also to this palace was all houses of offices, that to such an honourable court should apertaine, that is to wit, the lord chamberlein, lord steward, lord treasuror of the houshold, for the comptrollor, the office of greene cloth, wardrobes, iewell house, and office of houshold seruice, as ewrie, pantrie, cellar, butterie, spicerie, pitcher house, larder and poultrie, and all other offices so large and faire, that the officers might & did maruell, as in the craft of viands, by ouens, harthes, veredorses, chimnies, ranges, & such instrumens as there were ordeined.

The queenes closet.

A paimie gallerie.

Houses of offices both honourable and otherwise necessarie.

In this palace (as ye haue heard) was the kings grace lodged, and all the nobles after their degrees. And for that the towne of Guisnes was little, and that all the noble men might not there be lodged, they set vp tents in the field, to the number of twentie and eight hundred sundrie lodgings, which was a goodlie sight. Thus was the king in his palace rotall at Guisnes. Francis the French king was with all his nobles of the realme of France come to the towne of Ard, which was prepared for his comming, manie tents, halles, and pauilions were set and pitched in the field. On the French partie also there was at the same towne of Ard builded the French kings lodging full well, but not finished. Much was the prouision in Picardie on euerie part thorough all. The French king commanded his lodging to bee made a little out of the towne of Ard, in the territorie of an old castell, which by the warre of old time had beene beaten. On the same place was edified a house of solace and sport, of large and mightie compasse, which was chiefli susteined by a great mightie mast, whereby the great ropes and tackle streined, the same mast was staied. All the roofe of the same house hong on the same mast, and with tackle was streined & borne by the supporters of the same mast

Tents erected.

A banketting house for solace and disport.

or trée, the colours of the same was all blew, set with starres of gold foile, and the orbs of the heauens by the craft of colours in the rose, were curiouslie wrought in maner like the skie or firmament, and a cressant stained somedeale towards the towne of Ard, this cressant was couered with frets and knots made of iuie bushes, and box branches, and other things that longest would be grene for pleasure.

Now like as diuerse of the French nobilitie had visited the king of England whilest he laie in Calis, so likewise the lord cardinall, as ambassadour to the king, rode with a noble repaire of lords, gentlemen, and prelates, to the towne of Ard, where he was of the French king highlie interteined, with great thanks, for that by his meanes hée had ioined in friendship with the king of England, to his high contentation and pleasure, as hauing obteined the thing which he had long desired. The noble port, sumptuous shew, and great traine of gentlemen, knights, lords, and number of seruants, in rich apparell & sutes of liueries attendant on the cardinall, made the French men greatlie to wonder at his triumphant doings.

The great pompe of cardinall Wolsie.

The king of England had giuen vnto the said cardinall full authoritie, power, and libertie, to affirme and confirme, bind and vnbind, whatsoeuer should be in question betwéene him and the French king: and the like authoritie, power, and libertie, did the French king by his sufficient letters patents, grant to the same cardinall, which was accepted to be a signe of great loue, that he should commit so great a trust vnto the king of Englands subiect. The date of the méeting was appointed to be on the thursdaie the seauenth of June, vpon which daie the two kings met in the vale of Andren, accompanied with such a number of the nobilitie of both realmes, so richlie appointed in apparell, and costlie iewels, as chaines, collars of SS, & other the like ornaments to set forth their degrees and estates, that a wonder it was to behold and view them in their order and romes, which euerie man kept according to his appointment.

Great credit committed to the cardinall by both the kings.

The interuiew of the two kings in the vale of Andren.

The two kings méeting in the field, either saluted other in most louing wise, first on horssebacke, and after alighting on foot eftsones imbraced with courteous words, to the great reioising of the beholders: and after they had thus saluted ech other, they went both togither into a rich tent of cloath of gold, there set vp for the purpose, in the which they passed the time in pleasant talke, banketting, and louing deuises, till it drew toward the euening, and then departed for that night, the one to Guisnes, the other to Ard. At this méeting of the two kings in open sight, I then well perceiued (saith Hall) the habillements rotall of the French king. His garment was a chemew, of cloath of siluer, culponed with cloath of gold, of damaske, cantell wise, and garded on the borders with the Burgon bands.

Edw. Hall in H.8. fol. lxxvij. The French kings rotall ornaments.

Ouer that he had a cloake of broched sattin, with gold of purple colour, wrapped about his bodie trauerse, bended from the shoulder to the waist, fastned in the lope of the first fould: this said cloake was richlie set with pearles and pretious stones. This French king had on his head a coife of damaske gold set with diamonds, and his courser that he rode on was couered with a trapper of tissue, brodered with deuise, cut in fashion mantell wise, the skirts were embowed and fret with frized worke, and knit with corbelles & buttons tasseled of Turkie making, raines and headstall answering of like worke: and verelie of his person the same Francis the French king, a goodlie prince, statelie of countenance, merie of chéere, browne coloured, great eies, high nosed, big lipped, faire brested, broad shoulders, small legges, & long feet.

The description of the Frenchkings person.

On saturdaie the ninth of June, in a place within the English pale were set vp in a field called the campe, two trées of much honour, the one called the *Aubespine*, that is to saie, the hawthorne in English, for Henrie: and the other the *Framboister*, which in English signifieth the raspis berie, after the signification in French. These trees were curiouslie wrought, the leaues of grene damaske, the branches, boughs, and withered leaues of cloath of gold; and all the bodies and armes of the same cloath of gold laid on timber: they were in height from the foot to the top thirtie foure foot of assize, in compasse about an hundred twentie and nine foot, & from bough to bough fortie three foot: on these trées were flowers and fruits in kindlie wise, with siluer and Uenice gold: their beautie shewed farre.

The description of the two artificiall trées figuring Henrie and Francis.

On the same daie the two kings came to those trées of honour, noblie accompanied, in such rotall sort as was requisit. The campe was in length nine hundred foot, and in bredth three hundred and twentie foot, ditched round about (sauing at the entries) with broad and deepe ditches. Diuerse scaffolds were reared about this campe for the ease of the nobles. On the right side of the field stood the quéene of England, and the quéene of France, with manie ladies. The campe was stronglie railed and barred on euerie end: in the entrie there were two lodgings prepared for the two kings, wherein they might arme themselues, and take their ease. Also in the same compasse there were two great cellars couched full of wine, which was liberallie bestowed on all men. The two kings, as brethren in armes, vndertooke to deliuer all persons at iusts, tournie, and barriers.

The length of the campe.

The two kings make chalenge to all commers at iusts, &c.

With these two kings were associate by the order of armes, the duke of Uandosme, the duke of Suffolke, the countie saint Paule, the marquesse Dorset, monsieur de Roche, sir William Kingston, monsieur Brian, sir Richard Jerningham, monsieur Cauaan, sir Giles Capell, monsieur Buccall, maister Nicholas Carew, monsieur Montasilion, and maister Anthonie Kneuet. On mondaie the eleuenth of June, the two quénes of England and of France came to the campe, where either saluted other right honourablie, and went into a stage for them prepared. At the houre assigned, the two kings armed at all peces mounted on horssebacke, and with their companies entered the field; the French king on a courser barded, couered with purple sattin, broched with gold, & embrodered with corbins fethers round and buckled, the fether was blacke and hatched with gold: on his head péece he bare a sléeue. All the parteners of the French kings chalenge were in like apparell, euerie thing correspondent in cloath of silke embrodered, on his person were attendant on horssebacke noble persons, and on foot foure persons all apparelled in purple sattin.

The two quénes met at the campe.

Ed. Hall in H. fol. lxxvij, &c. The French kings rich arraie at these iusts.

The king of England was vpon a fresh courser, the trappers of cloth of gold, of tissue, the arson mantell wise, and on the brunt of the trapper bard fashion, cut in waues of water worke, and euerie waue raw wrought and frized with damaske gold: this worke was laid lose on russet veluet, and knit togither with points of gold, which waues signified the lordship of the narrow seas. All the parteners of the kings chalenge were in the same suit, their horsses as well as their persons. Attendant on the king on horssebacke were sir Henrie Guilford maister of the kings horsse, sir John Pechie deputie of Calis, sir Edward Guilford maister of the kings armie, and monsieur Poyet of the French court. All these foure were apparelled in the kings liuerie, which was white on the right side, and the left side gold and russet both hose and garment: on him were attendant on foot six honourable knights, twentie esquiers, and officers to the

The king of Englands sumptuous furniture at the same iusts.

the number of an hundred and twelue persons, of the which number all the knights and gentlemen had coats, the one halfe siluer, and the other cloath of gold and russet veluet, and the other officers coats were of right sattin of the same colour, and all their hosen were of the same sute verie costlie.

The two kings enter into the field.

Thus with honour and noble courage these two noble kings with their companies entered into the field, and them presented vnto the quænes. After reuerence done, they rode round about the tilt, and so toke their places appointed, abiding the answers: which was for the first the duke of Alanson and ten men of armes on his band, on coursers barded, the bards couered with white and blacke veluet, fastened the one within the other, garded with Burgon bands of tinsell sattin, as well their garments as their bards. Then entered on coursers barded twelue gentlemen of the band of the lord admerall of France, their garments and bards were russet sattin, broched with gold and white and purple sattin, after the deuise of their pleasure with great plumes. When these bands were entred the field, they shewed themselues about the tilt, and did reuerence vnto the quænes. The band of the duke of Alanson toke first place, they made them prest on both sides, the French king was the first that ran, he did valiantlie and brake speares mightilie.

The king of England runneth against Grandeuile.

Then ran the king of England to monsieur Grandeuile with great vigor; so that the speares brake in the kings hand to the vantplate all to shiuers. And at the second course he gaue the said monsieur Grandeuile such a stroke, that the charnell of his headpéece, although the same was verie strong, was broken in such wise that he might run no more, wherby the king wanted three courses. Then ran the duke de Vandosme, & met his counter part right noblie, and brake speares right valiantlie. The noble duke of Suffolke charged his course, and met right valiantlie his counter part, and furnished the fiue courses right noblie togither like good men of armes. And when all parties of the chalenge had right valiantlie furnished their courses, then ran againe the two noble kings, who did so valiantlie, that the beholders had great ioy, after which courses the heralds cried Desarmee, and the trumpets sounded to lodging.

Monsieur de Swies and his band.

On tuesdaie the twelfe of June at houre conuenient the two quænes toke their stages, and the band of chalenge in the field prest to answer and deliuer all commers, to whome came ten gentlemen armed on barded horses of the band of monsieur de Swies, their bards and apparell cloath of veluet full of friers knots siluer. After they had presented them vnto the quænes, then they toke the end of the tilt, and so course after course they ran to the chalengers right egerlie, and the chalengers of the partie of the two kings deliuered to the end of their articles of tusts. Then entered eleuen men of armes of the band of monsieur de Tremoiell, on horsses barded with yellow veluet, losenged with friers knots of blacke veluet: and after they had saluted the quænes, they likewise toke the end of the tilt, and course after course ran vntill they were deliuered of their chalenges of tusts. Valiantlie this daie was finished.

The attire of the French king and his parteners of chalenge.

On wednesdaie the thirteenth of June, the two hardie kings armed at all pæces, entered into the field right noblie apparelled. The French king and all his parteners of chalenge were arraied in purple sattin, broched with gold and purple veluet, embrodered with little rolles of white sattin, wherein was written, Quando: their bards & garments were set full of the same, and the residue where was no rolles were poudered & set with the letter elle, as thus. L. which in French is she, which was interpreted to be, Quando elle, when she: and insuing the deuise of the first daie, it signifieth togither, Hart fastened in paine endles, when she. The king of England with all the band of parteners of his chalenge were likewise on horsse backe, apparelled in trappers of losenges russet veluet and cloath of siluer of damaske, embrodered and set in euerie losenge a branch of eglantine of gold, the aparell of the persons were of the same correspondent to the traper. This eglantine tree is sweet, pleasant and greene, if it be kindlie and frendlie handeled; but if it be rudelie dealt with, it will pricke and he that will pull vp the whole tree by the top, his hands will be hurt.

The king of England and the parteners of his chalenge.

The two kings with their companies thus apparelled, presented themselues to the quænes, and so toke the end of the tilt. Then entered into the field monsieur Leskew called lord Leskin, with him came eleuen men of armes, himselfe the twelfe on horsses barded and richlie apparelled, and so rode about the tilt and saluted the quænes, and toke the end of the tilt. Monsieur de Leskew and his eleuen companions had their bases and bards all of blacke cloath of gold of damaske all cut on blacke sattin, their garments had mantell sleeues on the left arme, to the wast behind iust to the shoulder, which was praised for the strangenesse. The French king ran to monsieur de Ambois, one of the band of monsieur Leskew, and the king of England charged his course and ran to monsieur Leskew, and so furnished their courses (as they saie) right noblie and valiantlie in breaking speares that were strong. Thus course after course ech with other, his counter partie did right valiantlie: but the two kings surmounted all the rest in prowesse and valiantnesse.

Monsieur Leskew.

This band thus furnished, entered the marquesse de Salons and his band, twelue persons all riding on coursers barded and apparelled in white sattin and blacke, broched with gold and siluer, with cuts and culpins much after tawnie and blacke sattin billots: & after reuerence done to the quænes, they toke the end of the tilt. To the marquesse de Salons ran the king of England, and the king of France to an other of the same band, still course after course ran all the noble men, till the marques de Salons and his band were deliuered, who bare them right valiantlie: then blew the trumpets the retreit, & the two kings them vnarmed and after departed, the French king vnto Ard, and the king of England to his castell of Guisnes.

The marquesse de Salons & his band.

On thursdaie the thirteenth daie of June by the nonetide the two quænes met in the campe & toke their places, the people were come to behold the honour, and to see the two kings, who all readie armed entered the field, to receiue and deliuer all men by answer of tusts. Then entered the earle of Deuonshire, on his band the lord Montacute, lord Herbert, lord Leonard Grete, maister Arthur Pole, maister Francis Bzian, maister Henrie Norris, and foure other all richlie apparelled, the one side blew veluet embrodered with a mans heart burning in a ladies hand holding a garden pot skilling with water on the heart: the other side was white sattin embrodered with letters of gold. This companie rode about the tilt, and did reuerence to the quænes, and so abode at the end of the same.

The two kings armed enter the field.

A deuise of conceipt.

The earle of Deuonshire charged his speare, and the French king likewise charged his course to meet the same earle, and ran so hard togither, that both their speares brake, and so maintained their courses noblie. Then ran the king of England to monsieur Memorancie, and him encountered, & both bare together and gaue great strokes; the kings most noble grace neuer disseuered nor breathed vntill he ran the fiue courses & deliuered his counterpartie. Dukes,

marquelles, knights, esquiers, and others ran as fast as euer they might, there was none that abode when the courses came, vntill the earle of Duonshire and his band were deliuered of demands. Then entered the lord Howard sonne to the duke of Norfolke and eleuen companions apparelled and barded in crimsin sattin full of flames of gold, the borders ribbed with crimsin veluet, and with much honor (after due reuerence done to the quéenes) were brought with heralds of armes about the tilts; and so toke the place to them appointed: right rich was their apparell.

The lord Howard and his eleuen companions in armes.

Then ran the French king and incountered the same lord Edmund, they brake both their staues valiantlie course after course, the incounter ceassed not till they had furnished their fiue courses; so was the lord Edmund deliuered by the French k. Then ran the king of England to a strong gentleman named Rase Brooke and brake his speare, and ran course after course, vntill he had finished his courses right noblie and like a prince of most valiancie. The residue ceassed not vntill they had ech deliuered other of their chalenge. On fridaie the fiftéenth daie of June the king of England mounted on a courser rotall, his person armed at all peeces, his apparell and trappers was the one side rich cloath of gold of tissue, the other side cloath of tissue of siluer, and cloath of gold of tissue entered ound the one with the other.

The king of England and his band with their deuise on their apparell.

The ound is a worke wauing vp & downe, and all the borders as well trapers as other was garded with letters of fine gold, and all the other side that was ound was set with signes called cisers of fine gold, the which were set with great and orientall pearles. The cisers signified letters knit togither in a knot, which was to wit; God my freend, my realme and I maie. This was the deuise and reason thereof. All the kings band were apparelled in like apparell.

The French k. likewise armed at all points mounted on a courser rotall, all his apparell as well bards as garments were purple veluet entered the one with the other, embrodered full of little bokes of white sattin, & in the bokes were written *Ame*. About the borders of the bards and the borders of the garments a chaine of blew like iron, resembling the chaine of a well or prison chaine, which was interpreted to be *liber*, a boke. Within this boke was written (as is said) *Ame*. Put these two togither and it maketh *liberame*. The chaine betokeneth prison or bonds, and so maketh togither in English, Deliuer me of bonds. Then they toke the end of the tilt.

The French king, his furniture and deuise vpon his ornaments.

Monsieur Florengis and his companie.

Readie was monsieur Florengis and with him twelue men of armes with coursers barded: the bards and apparell was crimsin veluet, tawnie veluet, and plunket veluet embrodered borderwise with shæpeheards hookes of cloath of siluer. When they with honour had passed about the tilt (due reuerence to the quéenes and ladies done) the two kings had their speares readie, and then began the rushing of speares. The king of England this daie ran so freshlie and so manie courses, that one of his best coursers was dead that night, this band was deliuered man after man of their pretense of iusts. Then entered bands of monsieur de Rambeurs and monsieur de Puis, ech hauing eleuen persons in number, the one band all white sattin embrodered with blacke, and the other all blacke dropped with siluer drops; who after reuerence done to the quéenes, at the end of the tilt toke their places. Then began a new incounter hard and sore, manie of them bare great strokes of the kings, to their honour: and with such violence they ran, as they set their horsses in a sweating heat, and themselues meeting with full force made the fragments or broken peces of their staues mount aloft in the air like an arow out of a bow; as the poet saith;

Hasta stridentis fracta petit æthera cuspis.

On saturdaie the seuentéenth daie of June, the French king with a small number came to the castle of Guisnes about the houre of eight in the morning. The king being in his priuie chamber had therof knowledge, who with glad hast went to receiue the same French king, and him met and welcomed in friendlie and honorable maner; and after communication betweene them had, the king of England departed, leauing the French king there in the sumptuous place before named. Then was busie the lord chamberleine, the lord steward, and all other officers, to make readie feast and cheare. It were too long to rehearse all; for such a feast and banket was then made, that of long time before the like had not been seene. The king of England thus departing, he toke his horsse, and with a companie of noblemen rode to Ard, where the French quéene and other noblemen receiued him with much honour.

The French king commeth to Guisnes, & the king of England goeth to Ard.

After which receiuing, he was by the said quéene and lords brought into a chamber hanged with blew veluet embrodered with flowers delice of cloth of gold, wherein was a great bed of like worke, from whence he was conueied to another chamber, in the which was a kings state. This chamber was hanged and sieled with cloth of gold, embrodered with great cordels or friers knots of cloth of siluer. In the same chamber were two cupbords, on either side one, furnished with great and goodlie plate gilt. Noble feasting and cheare was there made. After dinner the ladies dressed them to danse, and certeine yong honourable lords of England, apparelled after the maner of Rusland or farre Eastland, whose hosen were of rich gold sattin called aureat sattin, ouerrolled to the knee with scarlet, and on their feet shoes with little pikes of white nailes after the Estland guise, their dublets of rich crimsin veluet and cloth of gold, with wide sleeues lined with cloth of gold: ouer this they had clokes of crimsin veluet short, lined with cloth of gold, on euerie side of the clokes rings of siluer, with laces of Uenice gold, and on their heads they had hats made in the towne of Danske, and purses of seales skinnes, and girdels of the same: all these yong lords had visards on their faces, and their hats were drawne with like hatbands full of damaske gold.

The king of England interteined of the French quéene.

A maske in the French court of Estish lords.

Other ten lords were apparelled in long gownes of blew sattin of the ancient fashion, embrodered with reasons of gold that said Adieu iunesse, Farewell youth: they had tippets of blacke veluet, & hats hanging therby, & on their heads hie violet standing caps, and girdels of silke, and purses of cloth of gold after the ancient maner, with visards on their faces of like anciencie. After all these triumphs and brauaries, great store of spices, fruits, iellies, & banketting viands were brought, which being done and ended, the king toke leaue of the French quéene and ladies, to whome were brought thirtie horsses traped in damaske, white and yellow, and so passed he and his traine the towne of Ard into the field and campe. Right rotallie also was the French k. interteined, and all other after their degree and state. Now when all this solemnitie was ended, the French king toke leaue of the quéene and ladies of the court. The lord cardinall in statelie attire, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, and other great lords, conducted forward the French king, and in their way they incountered and met the king of England and his companie right in the vallie of Anderne, apparelled in their masking apparell, which gladded the French king. After reuerence done, the said two kings departed for that night, the English to Guisnes, and the French to Ard.

The two kings meet

On mondaie, the eightéenth of June, was such an

A great and tempestuous wind prognosticating trouble.

an hideous storme of wind and weather, that manie coniectured it did prognosticate trouble and hatred shortlie after to follow betweene princes. On tuesdaie the nintéenth of June, the two kings came to the campe againe armed at all peeces, and there abode them that would come, so that then began the iustes afresh. On wednesdaie the twentith of June, the two kings began to hold tournies with all the parteners of their chalenge armed at all peeces. The quéene of France and the quéene of England were in the places for them prepared, and there was manie a goodlie battell performed: the kings doing as well as the best, so that the beholders spake of them honor. On thursdaie the one and twentith of June, the two kings likewise kept the tourneies, so that all those noble men that would prooue their valiancies, were deliuered according to the articles of the tourneies, which this daie toke end. On fridaie the 22 of June, the two kings with their retinue did battell on foot at the barriers, and there deliuered all such as put forth themselues to trie their forces. On saturdaie the three and twentith of June, the lord cardinall sang an high solemne masse by note, aloft vpon a pompous stage before the two kings & quéenes, the which being finished, indulgence was giuen to all the hearers. The two kings dined in one chamber that daie, and the two quéenes in another. After dinner, the two kings with their band entered the field on foot before the barriers, & so began the fight, which continued battell after battell, till all the commers were answered. There were deliuered this day thus at the barriers by battell, an hundred and six persons: the two last battels did the kings trie. And so that saturdaie the whole chalenge was performed, and all men deliuered of the articles of iusts, tourneies, and battels on foot at the barriers, by the said two kings and their aids.

Barriers.

The cardinall sang masse before the two kings.

After this, there followed roiall maskes, and on the sundaie the foure and twentith of June, the king of England with foure companies, in euerie companie ten, trimlie appointed in masking apparell, rode to Ard: and likewise the French king accompanied with eight and thirtie persons, as maskers repaired to Guisnes. They met on the waie, & each companie passed by other without any countenance making or disuisarding. They were honorablie received, as well at the one place as the other. And when they had ended their pastime, banketting, and danses, they returned and met againe on the way homeward, and then putting off their visards, they louinglie embraced: and after amiable communication togither, they toke leaue each of other, & for a remembrance gaue gifts either to other verie rich and princelie.

Maskes.

d. Hall in H. 8 fol. lxxxiiij.

¶ During this triumph, much people of Picardie and west Flanders drew to Guisnes, to see the king of England & his honor, to whom vittels of the court were giuen in plentie, the conduit of the gate did run wine alwaies. There were vagabonds, plowmen, labourers, and of the beggerie, wagoners and beggers, that for drunkennesse late in vouts and heapes. So great resort came hither, that knights and ladies, who were come to see the noble feast, were faine to lie in haie and straw, and held them thereof highlie pleased. From the court of the emperour, nor of the ladie Margarets court, nor of Flanders, Brabant, nor Burgognie came neuer a person to answer to the chalenge. By that it seemed that there was small loue betweene the emperour & the French king. Moreouer, monsieur Faiot capteine of Bullongne with monsieur Chattelon, did their deuoir to haue taken the towne of saint Omer, of which doing was thought no goodnesse to the emperour.]

knights and ladies faine to lie in haie and straw.

On mondaie the fiue and twentith of June, the king with the quéene remoued from Guisnes to Calis, where he remained till the tenth of Julie, on which daie he rode to Graueling, and was receiued on the waie by the emperour, and so by him conueied to Graueling, where not onelie the king, but also all his traine was cheared and feasted, with so louing maner, that the Englishmen highlie praised the emperours court. [When the French king and his lords had knowledge of the meeting of the emperour and the king of England in the towne of Graueling, they were therewith greatlie greeued, as by manie things appeared. For as the Englishmen were in France disdained, and in their suites there greatlie deferred, and had little right, and much lesse fauour: so from day to day still more and more began hartburning, and in conclusion open warre did arise betweene the two realmes.]

King Henrie departed from Guisnes to Calis, & from thence to Graueling to visit the emperour. Ed. Hall in H. 8. fol. lxvj.

On Wednesdaie the eleuenth of Julie, the emperour and his aunt the ladie Margaret duchesse of Sauoy came with the king of England to the towne of Calis, and there continued in great ioy and solace, with feasting, banketting, dansing and masking vntill the fouretéenth of Julie. ¶ For the intertei-ning of these estates (the English lords and gentlemen displaced of their lodgings to serue the other and their traine) there was builded a banketting house eight hundred foot compasse, like a theatre, after a goodlie deuise, builded in such maner as (I thinke) was neuer seene, with sirtéene principals made of great masts, betwixt euerie mast foure and twentie foot, and all the outsides closed with bord and canuas.

The emperor commeth to Calis to king Henrie.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 927.

Banketting house without the towne of Calis. Ri. Turpin.

Ouer it, and within round about by the sides, were made three scaffolds or lofts one aboue another for men and women to stand vpon. And in the midst of the same banketting house, was set vp a great piller of timber made of eight great masts, bound togither with iron bands, for to hold them togither: for it was an hundred and foure and thirtie foot of length, and cost six pounds thirteene shillings and fourepence to set it vpright. The banketing house was couered ouer with canuas, fastened with ropes and iron as fast as might be deuised. And within the said house was painted the heauens, with starres, sunne, mone, and clouds, with diuerse other things made aboue ouer mens heads: and there were great images of wickers couered, and made like great men of diuerse strange nations: and diuerse reasons were written by them of the countries that they likened to be of, with the armes of those countries hanging by them.

Goodlie workmanship within the banketting house.

Also there was made as it were manie ships vnder saile, and windmils going, and about the high piller of timber that stood vpright in the middest, was made stages of timber for organs and other instruments to stand vpon, and men to plaie on them, & for other musicians & pageants to be plaied, when the K. of England & the emperor should be at their banket. But in the morning of the same day, the wind began to rise, & at night blew off the canuas, and all the elements, with the starres, sunne, mone, and clouds, and the wind blew out aboue a thousand torches, and other lights of war, that were prepared to giue light to the banket, & all the kings seats that were made with great riches, besides all other things, were all dashed and lost.]

Banketting house defaced by tempest.

The same daie at night that the states were interteined, the king and fiftéene persons were apparelled all in blacke veluet couered with cloth of gold, cut on the veluet, fastened with knots of gold, on the which knots hong spangles of gold like tufts, and bonnets of the same, & clokes of crimsin sattin and cloth of gold wrapped trauerse, and their buskins of the same cloth of gold. All these lustie maskers went to the emperours lodging, and were receiued,

A statelie maske to solace the emperor & his companie.

and in the chamber of presence danced and reuelled, the which at the emperours request, the king and other disguised themselues, whereby the king was knowne: then the king toke his leaue, and departed for that night. On tuesdaie the twelfe of Julie, because the banketting house could not be finished, the emperour and the ladie Margaret supped with the king & the quæne at the checker, where the same night after supper reuelled ninetie and six maskers: after the reuels was a banket, after which banket the king brought the emperour and the ladie Margaret to the staple, and after withdrew him.

This night were eight companies of maskers, and in euerie companie twelue persons all in gold, siluer and veluet, richlie apparelled, but because the rome was small, the shew was the lesse. In these reuels were put in maskers apparell diuerse gentlemen of the French court vnwéeting to the K. or anie other that bare rule. For diuerse yong gentlemen of the French court fauored more the French partie, than the emperours partie; through which meanes they saw and much more heard than they should haue done. On fridaie the thirteenth daie of Julie, the emperour did intend to haue departed from Calis, but the counsell was such that he departed not that night.

French gentlemen in maskers apparell vnwéeting to them that bare rule in the reuels.

On saturdaie the fourteenth of Julie, the emperour toke his leaue of the quæne of England his aunt, and departed toward Graueling, being conducted on his waie by the king of England, to a village towards Flanders called Waell, and there they imbraced and toke their leaue either of other in most louing maner. They did not altogither spend the time thus while they were togither, in vaine pleasures, and sporting reuels; for the charters before time concluded were read ouer, and all the articles of the league tripartite, agréed betwixt the emperour, the king of England, and the French king, were at full declared, to the which the French king had fullie condescended. And for the more proofe thereof, and exemplification of the same, he sent monsieur de Roch with letters of credence to signifie to the emperour, that in the word of a prince he would obserue, fulfill, performe and kéepe all the same articles, for him, his realme and subiects. Shortlie after that the emperour and the king had taken leaue each of other, and were departed, the king shipped, and with the quéene and all other the nobilitie returned safelie into England.

The king returneth into England.

The king kept his Christmas at Grænwith this yeare, with much noblenesse and open court. And the tenth daie of Februarie, in his owne person, iusted with all commers. On Twelfe daie his grace and the earle of Deuonshire, with foure aids, answered at the tourneie all commers, which were sirtéene persons: noble and rich was their apparell, but in feats of armes the king excelled the rest. About this time the king hauing regard to the common welth of his realme, considered how for the space of fiftie yeares past and more, the nobles and gentlemen of England, being giuen to grasing of cattell, and kéeping of shéepe, had inuented a meane how to increase their yearelie reuenues, to the great decaie and vndoing of husbandmen of the land. For the said nobles and gentlemen, after the maner of the Numidians, more studieng how to increase their pastures, than to mainteine tillage, began to decaie husband tacks & tenements, and to conuert arable ground into pasture, furnishing the same with beasts and shéepe, and also déere, so inclosing the field with hedges, ditches, and pales, which they held in their owne hands, ingrossing woolles, and selling the same, and also shéepe and beasts at their owne prices, and as might stand most with their owne priuate commoditie.

1521

Polydor.

An inconuenience of turning arable ground into pasture.

Hereof a threefold euill chanced to the common wealth, as Polydor noteth. One, for that thereby the number of husbandmen was sore diminished, the which the prince vseth chieflie in his seruice for the warres: an other, for that manie townes and villages were left desolate, and became ruinous: the third, for that both woll and cloth made thereof, and the flesh of all maner beasts vsed to be eaten, was sold at far higher prices than was accustomed. These enormities at the first begining being not redressed, grew in short space to such force and vigour by euill custome, that afterwards they gathered to such an vnited force, that hardly they could be remedied. Much like a disease, which in the beginning with little paine to the patient, and lesse labour to the surgeon maie be cured; whereas the same by delaie and negligence being suffered to putrifie, becommeth a desperate sore, and then are medicines nothing auailable, and not to be aplied, according to his opinion that said:

The common wealth hurt three waies thereby.

Helleborum frustra (cùm iam cutis ægra tumescit)
Poscentes videas: venienti occurrite morbo. Pers. sat. 3.

The king therefore causing such good statutes as had bene deuised and established for reformation in this behalfe, to be reuiued and called vpon, toke order by directing forth his commissions vnto the iustices of peace, and other such magistrats, that presentment should be had and made of all such inclosures, and decaie of husbandrie, as had chanced within the space of fiftie yeares before that present time. The iustices and other magistrates, according to their commission executed the same. And so commandement was giuen, that the decaied houses should bee built vp againe, that the husbandmen should be placed effsones in the same, and that inclosed grounds should be laid open, and sore punishment appointed against them that disobeied.

Commission granted for the maintenance of tillage and laieng open of inclosures.

These so good and wholesome ordinances shortlie after were defeated by meanes of bribes giuen vnto the cardinall: for when the nobles and gentlemen, which had for their pleasures imparked the common fields, were loth to haue the same againe disparked, they redéemed their veration with good summes of monie; and so had licence to kéepe their parks and grounds inclosed as before. Thus the great expectation which men had conceiued of a generall redresse, proued void: howbeit, some profit the husbandmen in some parts of the realme got by the moouing of this matter, where inclosures were alreadie laid open, yer mistresse monie could preuent them; and so they inioied their commons, which before had bene taken from them.

Bribes.

After that this matter for inclosures was thus dispatched, the cardinall boiling in hatred against the duke of Buckingham, & thirsting for his bloud, deuised to make Charles Kneuet, that had bene the dukes surueior, and put from him (as ye haue heard) an instrument to bring the duke to destruction. This Kneuet being had in examination before the cardinall, disclosed all the dukes life. And first he vttered, that the duke was accustomed by waie of talke, to saie, how he meant so to vse the matter, that he would atteine to the crowne, if king Henrie chanced to die without issue: & that he had talke and conference of that matter on a time with George Neuill, lord of Aburgauennie, vnto whome he had giuen his daughter in marriage; and also that he threatned to punish the cardinall for his manifold misdoings, being without cause his mortall enimie.

The cardinall deuiseth the destruction of the duke of Buckingham.

The cardinall hauing gotten that which he sought for, incouraged, comforted, and procured Kneuet, with manie comfortable words and great promises, that he should with a bold spirit and countenance obiect and laie these things to the dukes charge, with more if he knew it when time required. Then Kneuet partlie

The cardinall imboldeneth Kneuet against the duke.

partlie prouoked with desire to be reuenged, and partlie mooued with hope of reward, openlie confessed, that the duke had once fullie determined to deuise meanes how to make the king away, being brought into a full hope that he should be king, by a vaine prophesie which one Nicholas Hopkins, a monke of an house of the Chartreux order beside Bristow, called Henton, sometime his confessor had opened vnto him.

The cardinall hauing thus taken the examination of Kneuet, went vnto the king, and declared vnto him, that his person was in danger by such traitorous purpose, as the duke of Buckingham had conceiued in his heart, and shewed how that now there is manifest tokens of his wicked pretense: wherefore, he exhorted the king to prouide for his owne suertie with spæd. The king hearing the accusation, inforced to the vttermost by the cardinall, made this answer; If the duke haue deserued to be punished, let him haue according to his deserts. The duke hervpon was sent for vp to London, & at his comming thither, was streightwaies attached, and brought to the Tower by sir Henrie Marneie, capteine of the gard, the sixteenth of Aprill. There was also attached the foresaid Chartreux monke, maister John de la Car alias de la Court, the dukes confessor, and sir Gilbert Perke priest, the dukes chancellor.

Anno Reg. 13.

After the apprehension of the duke, inquisitions were taken in diuerse shires of England of him; so that by the knights and gentlemen, he was indicted of high treason, for certeine words spoken (as before ye haue heard) by the same duke at Blechinglie, to the lord of Aburgauennie: and therewith was the same lord attached for concelement, and so likewise was the lord Montacute, and both led to the Tower. Sir Edward Neuill, brother to the said lord of Aburgauennie, was forbidden the kings presence. Moreouer, in the Guildhall, within the citie of London, before John Brugge knight, then lord maior of the same citie, by an inquest whereof one Miles Gerrard was foreman, the said duke was indicted of diuerse points of high treason, as by the same indicment it appeareth.

Namelie, that the said duke intending to exalt himselfe, and to vsurpe the crowne, the royall power, and dignitie of the realme of England, and to depriue the kings maiestie thereof, that he the said duke might take vpon him the same; against his allegiance, had the tenth daie of March, in the second yeere of the kings maiesties reigne, and at diuerse other times before and after, imagined and compassed the kings death and destruction at London, & at Thorneburie, in the countie of Glocester. And for the accomplishment of his wicked intent and purpose (as in the indictment is alledged) the twentie and fourth daie of Aprill, in the fourth yeere of the kings reigne he sent one of his chapleins called John de la Court, to the priorie of Henton in Summersetshire, which was an house of the Chartreux monks. The effect or substance of whose message was, to vnderstand of one Nicholas Hopkins, a monke of the same house (who was vainelie reputed by waie of reuelation to haue foreknowledge of things to come) what should happen concerning the matters which he had imagined. Which monke, causing the said de la Court first to sweare vnto him, not to disclose his words to anie maner of person, but onelie to the duke his maister: therewith declared, that his maister the said duke should haue all, willing him for the accomplishment of his purpose, to seeke to win the fauour of the people. De la Court came backe with this answer, and told it to the duke at Thorneburie the morrow after, being the twentie fift of Aprill.

Also the two and twentith of Julie in the same fourth yeare, the duke sent the same de la Court with letters vnto the said monke, to vnderstand of him further of such matters: and the monke told him againe for answer, that the duke should haue all. And being asked as well now, as before at the first time, how he knew this to be true: he said, By the grace of God. And with this answer de la Court now also returning, declared the same vnto the duke, the twentie fourth of Julie at Thorneburie aforesaid. Moreouer, the said duke sent the same de la Court againe to the said monke with his letters, the six and twentith of Aprill, in the fift yeare of the kings reigne, when the king was to take his iournie into France; requiring to vnderstand what should become of these warres: and whether the Scotish king should in the kings absence inuade the realme or not. The monke (among other things) for answer of these letters, sent the duke word, that the king should haue no issue male.

Againe, the said duke the twentith daie of Februarie, in the first yeare of the kings reigne, being at Thorneburie, spake these words vnto Rafe earle of Westmerland; Well, there are two new dukes created here in England, but if ought but good come to the king, the duke of Buckingham should be next in bloud to succéd to the crowne. After this, the said duke on the sixteenth daie of Aprill, in the said first yeare of the kings reigne, went in person vnto the priorie of Henton, and there had conference with the foresaid monke, Nicholas Hopkins, who told him, that he should be king. Wherevnto the duke said, that if it so chanced, he would shew himselfe a iust and a righteous prince. The monke also told the duke, that he knew this by reuelation, and willed him in anie wise to procure the loue of the commons, the better to atteine his purposed intention.

The duke at the same time gaue, and promised to giue yearelie vnto the said priorie, six pounds, therewith to buie a tun of wine. And further he promised to giue vnto the same priorie, in readie monie twentie pounds, whereof ten pounds he gaue in hand, towards the conueieng of water vnto the house by a conduit. And to the said monke Nicholas Hopkins he gaue at that present in reward three pounds, and at an other time fortie shillings, at an other time a marke, and at an other time six shillings eight pense. After this, the twentith daie of March, in the tenth yeare of the kings reigne, he came to the same priorie, & eftsoones had conference with the said monke, to be more fullie informed by him in the matters aboue specified. At what time the monke also told him, that he should be king. The duke in talke told the monke, that he had done verie well, to bind his chapleine John de la Court, vnder the seale of confession, to keepe secret such matter: for if the king should come to the knowledge thereof, it would be his destruction.

Likewise, the twentith daie of October, in the seuenth yeare of the kings reigne, and at diuerse other times, as well before as after, the said duke had sent his chancellor Robert Gilbert chapleine, vnto London, there to buie certeine cloathes of gold, siluer, and veluets, euerie time so much as amounted to the worth of three hundred pounds; to the intent the said duke might bestow the same, as well vpon knights, esquiers, gentlemen of the kings house, and yeomen of his gard, as vpon other the kings subiects, to win their fauours and frendships to assist him in his euill purpose. Which cloathes the said Gilbert did buie, and brought the same vnto the said duke, who the twentith daie of Januarie, in the said seuenth yeare, & diuerse other daies and yeares before and after, did distribute and giue the same vnto certeine of the kings subiects for the purpose afore recited,

The cardinall accuseth the duke of Buckingham to the king.

Edw. Hall.

The duke of Buckingham indicted of treason.

The effect of the dukes indictement.

The duke is indicted of treason in London.

This Hopkins had sent one of the priors of Hentons seruants to the duke the daie afore, to will him to send ouer to him his chancellor, as by an other indictment appeareth.

The monks reuelation was peremptorie to the duke.

But herein the monke lied.

The duke & the monke haue conference saith the indictment.

Robert Gilbert the dukes chapleine and chancellor his errand to London.

recited, as by the indictment it was inferred.

Meanes that the duke vsed to make himselfe strong against the king.

Furthermore, the said duke, the tenth of Julie, in the tenth yeare of the kings reigne, and diuerse other daies and times, as well before as after, did constitute more seuerall and particular officers in his castels, honours, lordships, and lands than he was accustomed to haue, to the end they might be assistant to him, vnder coulour of such offices, to bring his euill purpose to passe. Moreouer, the same duke sent vnto the king the tenth of Maie, in the ninth yeare of his reigne, for licence to reteine anie of the kings subiects, whome it should please him, dwelling within the shires of Hereford, Glocester, and Summersetshire; and also, that he might at his pleasure conuele diuerse armors, and habillements for warre into Wales, to the intent to vse the same against the king as the indictment imported, for the accomplishing of his naughtie purpose, which was to destroie the king and to vsurpe the roiall gouernement and power to himselfe.

Which suite for licence to haue reteiners, and to conuele such armors and habillements of warre, the said Gilbert, the twentith daie of Maie, in the said ninth yeare, and diuerse other daies before and after, at London, and east Greenewich did follow, labouring earnestlie, both to the king and councell, for obteining the same. On the twentith daie of Julie in the said ninth yeare, the said duke sent the said Gilbert vnto Henton aforesaid, to vnderstand of the said

A false prophesieng monke.

monke Nicholas Hopkins, what he heard of him: and the monke sent him word, that before Christmas nert there should be a change, & that the duke should haue the rule and gouernement of all England. And moreouer, the twentith of Februarie, in the eleuenth yeare of the kings reigne, at Blechingleie in the countie of Surrie, the said duke said vnto the said Robert Gilbert his chancellor, that he did expect and tarie for a time more conuenient to atchiue his purpose, and that it might easlie be done, if the nobles of this realme would declare their minds togither: but some of them mistrusted, and feared to shew their minds togither: and that marred all.

He said further at the same time to the said Gilbert, that what so euer was done by the kings father, was done by wrong. And still he murmured against all that the king then presentlie reigning did.

He was in a verie ill mind if this were true.

And further he said, that he knew himselfe to be so wicked a sinner, that he wanted Gods fauour: and therefore he knew, that what so euer he tooke in hand against the king had the worse successe. And furthermore, the said duke (to alienate the minds of the kings subiects from their dutifull obeisance towards the said king and his heires) on the twentith daie of September, in the first yeare of his reigne, being then at London, reported vnto the said Robert Gilbert, that he had a certeine writing sealed with the kings great seale, comprehending a certeine act of parlement, in the which it was enacted, that the duke of Summerset one of the kings progenitors was made legitimate: and further, that the said duke meant to haue deliuered the same writing vnto king Henrie the seuenth, but (said he) I would not that I had so done for ten thousand pounds.

A certeine writing legitimating the duke of Summerset.

And furthermore, the same duke on the fourth of Nouember, in the eleuenth yere of the kings reigne, at east Greenwich in the countie of Kent, said vnto one Charles Kneuet esquier, after that the king had reproued the duke for reteining William Bulmer knight into his seruice, that if he had perceiued that he should haue beene committed to the Tower (as he doubted hee should haue beene) hee would haue so wrought, that the principall doers therein should not haue had cause of great reioising: for he would haue plaied the part which his father intended to haue put in practise against king Richard the third at Salisburie, who made earnest suite to haue come vnto the presence of the same king Richard: which suite if he might haue obteined, he hauing a knife secretlie about him, would haue thrust it into the bodie of king Richard, as he had made semblance to kneele downe before him. And in speaking these words, he maliciouslie laid his hand vpon his dagger, and said, that if he were so euill vsed, he would do his best to accomplish his pretensed purpose, sweating to confirme his word by the blood of our Lord.

See the historie of Richard the third, pag. 744.

Beside all this, the same duke the tenth of Maie, in the twelfe yeare of the kings reigne, at London in a place called the Rose, within the parish of saint Laurence Poultnie in Canwike street ward, demanded of the said Charles Kneuet esquier, what was the talke amongest the Londoners concerning the kings iourneie beyond the seas? And the said Charles told him, that manie stood in doubt of that iournete, least the Frenchmen meant some deceit towards the king. Whereto the duke answered, that it was to be feared, least it would come to passe, according to the words of a certeine holie monke. For there is (saith he) a Chartreux monke, that diuerse times hath sent to me, willing me to send vnto him my chancellor: and I did send vnto him John de la Court my chapleine, vnto whome he would not declare anie thing, till de la Court had sworne vnto him to keepe all things secret, and to tell no creature liuing what hee should heare of him, except it were to me.

The duke discouereth the secrecie of all the matter to his owne vndoing.

And then the said monke told de la Court, that neither the king nor his heires should prosper, and that I should indeuour my selfe to purchase the good wils of the communaltie of England; for I the same duke and my blood should prosper, and haue the rule of the realme of England. Then said Charles Kneuet; The monke maie be deceiued through the diuels illusion: and that it was euill to meddle with such matters. Well (said the duke) it cannot hurt me, and so (saith the indictment) the duke seemed to reioise in the monks words. And further, at the same time, the duke told the said Charles, that if the king had miscaried now in his last sickneslie, he would haue chopped off the heads of the cardinall, of sir Thomas Louell knight, and of others; and also said, that he had rather die for it, than to be vsed as he had beene.

But the end of that toy was heauinesse.

Moreouer, on the tenth daie of September, in the said eleuenth yere of this kings reigne, at Blechingle, in the countie of Surrie, walking in the galleries there with George Neuill knight, lord Aburgauennie, the duke murmuring against the kings counsellors, and there gouernement, said vnto the said George, that if the king died, he would haue the rule of the realme in spite of who so euer said the contrarie; and withall said, that if the said lord Aburgauennie would say, that the duke had spoken such words, he would fight with him, and lay his sword vpon his pate: & this he bound vp with manie great oths. These were the speciall articles & points comprised in the indictment, and laid to his charge: but how true, or in what sort proued, I haue not further to say, either in accusing or excusing him; other than as I find in Hall and Polydor, whose words in effect, I haue thought to impart to the reader, and without anie partiall wrelling of the same either to or fro.

Sauing that (I trust) I maie without offense saie, that (as the rumour then went) the cardinall chieflie procured the death of this noble man, no lesse fauoured and beloued of the people of this realme in that season, than the cardinall himselfe was hated and enuied. Which thing caused the dukes fall the more to be pitied and lamented, sith he was the man of all other

other, that chiefflie went about to crosse the cardinall in his lordlie demeanor, & headie proceedings. But to the purpose. Shortlie after that the duke had beene indicted (as before ye haue heard) he was arreigned in Westminster hall, before the duke of Norffolke, being made by the kings letters patents high steward of England, to accomplish the high cause of appeale of the peere or peres of the realme, and to discerne and iudge the cause of the peres.

The duke of Buckingham arreigned at westminster.

There were also appointed to sit as peeres and iudges vpon the said duke of Buckingham, the duke of Suffolke, the marques Dorset, the earls of Worcester, Dunshire, Essex, Shrewesburie, Kent, Oxford, and Derbie, the lord of saint Johns, the lord de la Ware, the lord Fitz Warren, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Broke, the lord Cobham, the lord Herbert, and the lord Morleie. There was made within the hall at Westminster a scaffold for these lords, and a presence for a iudge, railed and counterrailed about, and barred with degrees. When the lords had taken their place, the duke was brought to the barre, and vpon his arreignement pleaded not guiltie, and put himselfe vpon his peeres. Then was his indictment read, which the duke denied to be true, and (as he was an eloquent man) alledged reasons to falsifie the indictment; pleading the matter for his owne iustification verie pithilie and earnestlie. The kings attourneie against the dukes reasons alledged the examinations, confessions, and proofes of witnesses.

The names of the dukes peeres for his triall.

Polydor. Edw. Hall.

The duke desired that the witnesses might bee brought forth. And then came before him Charles Kneuet, Perke, de la Court, & Hopkins the monke of the priorie of the Charterhouse beside Bath, which like a false hypocrite had induced the duke to the treason with his false forged prophesies. Diuerse presumptions and accusations were laid vnto him by Charles Kneuet, which he would faine haue couered. The depositions were read, & the deponents deliuered as prisoners to the officers of the Tower. Then spake the duke of Norffolke, and said: My lord, the king our souereigne lord hath commanded that you shall haue his lawes ministred with fauour and right to you. Wherefore if you haue anie other thing to say for your selfe, you shall be heard. Then he was commanded to withdraw him, and so was led into Paradise, a house so named. The lords went to councell a great while, and after toke their places.

Edw. Hall. in H.8. fol. lxxxvj.

The duke of Buckingham conuinced of high treason.

Then said the duke of Norffolke to the duke of Suffolke; What say you of sir Edward duke of Buckingham touching the high treasons? The duke of Suffolke answered; He is giltie: & so said the marques and all the other earls and lords. Thus was this prince duke of Buckingham found giltie of high treason, by a duke, a marques, seuen earles, & twelue barons. The duke was brought to the barre sore chasing, and swet maruellouslie; & after he had made his reuerence, he paused a while. The duke of Norffolke as iudge said; Sir Edward, you haue heard how you be indicted of high treason, you pleaded thereto not giltie, putting your selfe to the peeres of the realme, which haue found you giltie. Then the duke of Norffolke wept and said; You shall be led to the kings prison, and there laid on a hardle, and so drawne to the place of execution, and there be hanged, cut downe aliue, your members cut off and cast into the fire, your bowels burnt before you, your head smitten off, and your bodie quartered and diuided at the kings will, and God haue mercie on your soule, Amen.

The duke of Buckinghams iudgement pronounced by the duke of Norffolke. Rich. Grafton. Iohn Stow.

The duke of Buckingham said, My lord of Norffolke, you haue said as a traitor should be said vnto, but I was neuer anie: but my lords I nothing maligne for that you haue done to me, but the eternall God forgiue you my death, and I do: I shall neuer sue to the king for life, howbeit he is a gratious prince, and more grace may come from him than I desire. I desire you my lords and all my fellowes to pray for me. Then was the edge of the axe turned towards him, and he led into a barge. Sir Thomas Louell desired him to sit on the cushins and carpet ordeined for him. He said nay; for when I went to Westminster I was duke of Buckingham, now I am but Edward Bohune the most caitife of the world. Thus they landed at the Temple, where receiued him sir Nicholas Vawse & sir William Sands baronets, and led him through the citie, who desired euer the people to pray for him, of whome some wept and lamented, and said: This is the end of euill life, God forgiue him, he was a proud prince, it is pitie that hee behaued him so against his king and liege lord, whome God preserue. Thus about foure of the clocke he was brought as a cast man to the Tower.

On fridaie the seuentéenth daie of Maie, about eleuen of the clocke, this duke of Buckingham, earle of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton, with a great power was deliuered to John Keime & John Skeuington shiriffes, who led him to the scaffold on Tower hill, where he said he had offended the kings grace through negligence and lacke of grace, and desired all noble men to beware by him, and all men to pray for him, and that he trusted to die the kings true man. Thus meekelie with an axe he toke his death. Then the Augustine friers toke his bodie, and head, and buried them. Alas that euer the grace of truth was withdrawne from so noble a man, that he was not to his king in allegiance as he ought to haue beene! Such is the end of ambition, the end of false prophesies, the end of euill life, and euill counsell; but spectallie the end of malice, which grew to so huge and monstruous a fire in the hautie hart of the proud cardinall, that nothing could allwage it, but the bloud of this noble duke, against whome he had procured this processe in iudgement ended with the execution of death: the torments whereof were (as it seemeth by the sentence of the iudge) much diminished through the mercie of the king.

The duke of Buckingham beheaded on a scaffold at Tower hill.

For though his offense was traitorous, and therfore deserued as law had prouided, and the iudge defined; yet in respect of the offendors person, the kings fauor dispensed with the rigor of iudgement, so that he was beheaded onelie, and his bodie not dismembred. ¶ This duke had begun a great and sumptuous building at his manor of Thornburie, but left the same vnfinished. He made a faire parke hard by the same building, for the which he toke in much and fruitfull ground. Also another parke at Eastwood, one mile off, he inlarged at two times to the compasse of six miles, for the which deed, and such like, he had manie a curse of the poore tenants.] At the time of his death (no doubt) his conscience (giuing in greater euidence than 10000 witnesses) told him whether he was iustlie condemned or no, for a mans dieng day is as a bill of information, putting him in mind of his life well or ill spent, as one saith:

Abr. Fl. ex l. 3. pag. 929. Iohn Leland.

Pectora terribili cùm mors ferit horrida telo,
Quomodo vita tibi sit prius acta ſcies.

Gu. Haſ. in eccl. cap. 11.

A conuenient collection concerning *the high constables of England, which office* ceassed and tooke end at the duke of *Buckingham aboue mentioned.*

The collection of Fr. Thin in this yere 1585.

THe death of this duke of Buckingham, being the last constable of England, doth present apt place to me wherein to insert the names of all such honorable persons as haue béene inuested with that title of the constableship of England, an office of great account, & such as

as sometime was the chéefest place of a temporall subiect in the relme the (high steward excepted) whose power did extend to restreine some actions of the kings. Wherefore being now no such office (for there was neuer anie aduanced thereunto since the beheading of this duke) I thinke it not vnmet to make some memorie of those persons possessing so high a place, least both they and their office might hereafter grow in vtter oblivion: these therefore they were.

Alfgarus Stallere. Alfgarus Stallere, constable to Edward the Confessor, of whome thus writeth the historie of Elie in the second booke written by Richard of Elie a monke of that house, in the time of Henrie the second, whose words although they be somewhat long, I shall not greeue to set downe in this sort. *De famosa villa Estre, alio nomine Plassie vocata, dicendum est quàm miserè ab Elie est destracta. Alfgarus quidem Stallere, quod Latinè dux dicitur, eam inuasit, & vsus estea. Abbas verò Wolfricus & fratres, cùm sedulo frustra requirerent, Edwardum Confessorem adeunt, cui rex mandauit, vt restitueret: sed ille regijs iussis nequaquam obtemperauit. Fratres autem, cùm nec prece nec precio eius animum flectere potuissent, anathematizant eum, nec sententiam super eum vlle die prætermittebant.*

Quod ille diutiùs paruipendens, licèt magnus & potens in regno esset (vti regis constabularius) ab ecclesia eliminatus, & fidelium consortio ad correptionem (vix iam cunctis detestabilis effectus) compulsus peruenire, tandem (plurimùm obiurgatus & correptus à rege) reuersus est in se, & prece tandem nititur obtinere quod iniqua manu cunctatus non est. Illi verò hoc cognoscentes, illi annunt, demiseruntq; ei (quamuis ad suum incommodum) ita vt iureiurando postipsius vitam ab omni suorum inquietudine libera ad ecclesiam possessio rediret. Quod quidem factum est, & scripto Anglici sermonis designatum. Testes rex Edwardus & regina, &c. Which man (after the death of king Edward the Confessor and Harold the vsurper) was when the Normans entered England, as saith the said historie *In ergastulo plurimis alijs ferro astrictus vsque ad mortem.*

Walter of Gloucester. Walter constable of England in the time of William the Conquerour, and of William Rufus succeeded Alfgarus. Here (before I saie anie more) I thinke it not amisse to set downe somewhat touching William Fitz Osberne, or Osbert earle of Hereford, whome manie will haue to be constable in the time of the Conquerour: which truelie I can not as yet be led to beléeue. For although that this William was the onelie man, who both persuaded, incouraged, and procured aid of others to assist William Conquerour for the obteining of England; and that this man was (as we commonlie saie) the onelie right hand, chéefe compeller, and disposer of the kingdome, after that William the Conquerour had obteined the same, being also *Tribunus militum* of all the armie that William Conquerour led into England, and the man that persuaded the bishop of Samborow to compound for the title of the king of Denmarke made vnto England: yet I suppose him not to be constable, but onelie marshall of England; or at the least if he were, it could not be verie long. For that this earle was extreame old, departed the realme, and disposed all the affaires of the Norman bastard beyond the seas, and died about the yeare of our redemption 1072, being about the eight yeare of the reigne of William Conquerour.

Milo of Hereford. Milo the sonne of the said Walter, an enimie to king Stephan (who yet confirmed him in his fathers inheritance) was aduanced first to great honors by Henrie the first: who méeting Mawd the empresse at Bristow, and taking hir for lawfull quéene, did continuallie follow hir faction: for which she, in the first yeare of king Stephan, to honour him for his good seruice (as appeareth by the charter thereof) gaue him the earledome of Hereford, constableship of England, the castell of Bironell, & the forrest of Deane. He was lord also of Brecknocke. He translated the chanons of the monasterie of saint Johns of Lanthonie, in the yeare of our redemption 1103, being the fourth yeare of king Henrie the first, to a place néere Glocester, then called Hide, and since Lanthonie; as Iohn Stow hath well noted out of other authors.

He married Sibilla the daughter of Bernard Newmarch, a nobleman of Normandie, who obteined by conquest the lordship of Brecknocke: by whome he had issue fiue sonnes and thrée daughters. The sonnes were Roger, Walter, Henrie, William and Mahaell. His thrée daughters were, Margaret, married to Humfreie Bohune; Bertha the second was married to Philip Bruse, created by king Stephan lord of Bruse, Gower, Bauld, & Brimble, and in his wiues right lord of Brecknocke; Lucia married to Herebert the sonne of Herebert, base sonne to Henrie the first, who was (in hir right) lord of the forrest of Deane: he died in the eight or (as others haue) the ninth yeare of king Stephan, being the yeare of our redemption 1143.

William Beauchampe. William (the sonne of Walter Beauchampe) shirifie of Worcester, was made high constable of England by king Stephan, in the fift yeare of his reigne, being in the yeare of our redemption 1139, when the king was at Worcester: which honour he tooke from Miles of Glocester; as saith that painefull antiquarie Iohn Stow in his chronicle printed in the yeare of our Lord 1580, fol. 191.

Roger fitz Milo. Roger the sonne of Milo succéeded his father in all his inheritance, as well of the earledome, as otherwise: whereby he was in time following also constable of England, and (as it is most probable) restored to that office by Henrie the second; for that he was a great enimie to king Stephan. He went amongest others with Henrie Fitz Empresse to Dauid king of Scots, who knighted the said Henrie in the foureténth yeare of king Stephan: he married Cicilie the daughter of John Fitz Paine, and died without issue.

Walter fitz Milo. Walter second sonne to Milo, after the death of his brother Roger was earle of Hereford, constable of England, and lord ouer Gwenthie or Wenthie: he builded in the time of Henrie the first the castels of Glocester, Bristow, and Rochester; with the Tower of London: he held the land of Wenthis by long time, who hauing no heire of his bodie gaue the same land to Henrie of Hereford, and forsaking the world toke monasticall habit on him at Lanthonie, where he was buried, dieng without issue.

Henrie of Hereford. Henrie of Hereford the sonne of Milo, after the enterance of Walter his brother into religion, was earle of Hereford, constable of England, and lord of Brecknocke and Deane; who was in Wenthie at a conflict slaine by his owne men, and buried at Lanthonie with Walter the constable: after whose death Henrie the second deputed Iago ap Seisell to the custodie of the land of Wenthie.

William fitz Milo. William the sonne of Milo, and brother to Henrie of Hereford, was constable of England, after the death of his brother, and died without issue.

Mahaell fitz Milo. Mahaell the yongest sonne of Milo, after the death of William, was constable of England, who died without issue: whome I feare not to place as constable, since all historiés agrée that all the sons of Milo did successiuelie inioie that office, after whome the inheritance comming to their sister, whereof the eldest called Margaret (or Margerie) was married to Humfrie Bohune, which line of the Bohunes became afterwards constables of England by inheritance.

Humfrie

Humfrie de Bohune.

Humfrie de Bohune, steward to Henrie the first, (the sonne of Humfrie de Bohune, steward in house to William Rufus, sonne to Humfrie de Bohune that came in with the Conquerour) was (in the right of his wife Margerie one of the daughters and heire of the foresaid Milo) constable of England, he had issue Humfrie de Bohune.

Humfrie de Bohune.

Humfrie de Bohune, constable of England, married Margaret sister to William king of Scots and daughter to the earle of Huntington, mother to Conon earle of Britaine: he had issue Henrie. This Margaret died the third of king John, being the yeare of Christ 1201. And this Humfrie also died in the time of king John, as some haue: or rather (as others haue) in the time of king Richard the first.

Henrie de Bohune.

Henrie de Bohune, the sonne of the said Humfrie and Margaret, was the first earle of Hereford of that name of the Bohunes, contrarie to that receiued error, which hitherto hath made the other Bohunes earle of Hereford: and contrarie to the printed pedegree of the deceased father of the earle of Esser now liuing. For this man, being the first erle of the Bohunes, was made earle of Hereford in the first yeare of king John, as the charter doth witnesse. He was also constable of England, and married Mawd, the daughter and heire of Geffrie lord Ludgarsall sometime earle of Esser, in whose right hir husband was intituled to that honor of the earledome of Esser, by whome he had issue Humfrie his heire. He died about the fourth yeare of Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1220, in his iournie as he went to Jerusalem with other noblemen.

Humfrie de Bohune.

Humfrie de Bohune sonne of Henrie, being the second of that name that was erle of Hereford, was also earle of Esser and constable of England, being by all men termed La bone counte de Hereford. He married Mawd the daughter of the earle of Drie in Normandie, he had issue Humfrie de Bohune that was taken in the yeare of Christ 1265, being the forte & ninth of king Henrie the third at the battell of Euesham, and died in the life of his father, leauing behind him a sonne called Humfrie, heire to him and to his father, which Humfrie the father died in the yeare of our redemption 1275, being the third yeare of king Edward the first.

Humfrie de Bohune.

Humfrie de Bohune the third earle of Hereford of that name, the sonne of Humfrie Bohune slaine at the battell of Euesham, was after the death of his grandfather erle of Hereford and Esser, and constable of England, he married Mawd de Ferens, or Frenis, and had issue Humfrie, this earle died in the yeare of our redemption 1298, being the twentie first of Edward the first, & was buried at Walden with his wife Mawd.

Humfrie de Bohune.

Humfrie de Bohune the fourth erle of Hereford of that name, was earle of Hereford, Esser, and constable of England, he married Elizabeth the daughter to king Edward the first, and widow to John earle of Holland, he had issue John erle of Hereford, Humfrie earle of Hereford, and William earle of Northhampton. This Humfrie taking part with Thomas earle of Lancaster was slaine at Borobridge by a Welshman standing vnder a bridge that thrust him thorough with a speare, in the foureteenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1321.

John de Bohune.

John de Bohune the eldest sonne of this Humfrie, being the fift earle of Hereford, was after the death of his father earle of Hereford, Esser, and constable of England, he married the daughter of Edmund Fitz Alen earle of Arundell, and died without issue in the yeare of Christ 1335, being the ninth yeare of king Edward the third. He was buried in the abbeie of Stratford besides London.

Humfrie de Bohune.

Humfrie de Bohune first earle of Hereford, being brother to John de Bohune, whome he succeded, was after the death of his brother earle of Hereford and Esser, and constable of England, he died without issue in the yeare of our Lord 1361, being the thirtie fift of king Edward the third, and was buried at the Augustine friers in London.

William de Bohune.

William de Bohune seuenth erle of Hereford of that surname, being the sonne of the other Humfrie and brother to the last Humfrie, was at a parlement holden in the tenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being in the yeare of our Lord 1336, created earle of Northhampton, and after the death of his brother Humfrie, he was earle of Hereford and Esser, and constable of England. He was in the eightæenth yeare of Edward the third, being the yere of Christ 1344, sent into Britaine as generall ouer the English armie, to restore John de Montford to the dukedome of Britaine: which he did, putting Charles de Blois to flight. He married Elizabeth some saie Eleanor, one of the daughters and heires of Bartholomew Bladesmere baron of Bedes in Kent, by whome he had issue Humfrie.

Humfrie de Bohune.

Humfrie de Bohune, the eight & last erle of Hereford of that surname of Bohune, was after the death of William his father earle of Hereford, Esser and Northampton, and constable of England. He augmented the castell of Brecnocke, first built by Bernard Newmarch. He in the eight and twentith yere of Edward the third (as Iohn Stow noteth) being the yeare of Christ 1354, reedified the frier Augustines church in London, in which he was buried. He married Jone the daughter of Richard Fitz Alen erle of Arundell, by whome he had issue two daughters and heires, Eleanor the eldest, maried to Thomas of Woodstocke; and Marie the second, maried to Henrie of Bollingbroke, after king of England, by the name of king Henrie the fourth.

Thomas of Woodstocke.

Thomas of Woodstocke the first sonne to king Edward the third, was created earle of Buckingham, in the first yeare of Richard the second at his coronation, being the yeare of our Lord 1377, and after duke of Gloucester, in the eight yeare of Richard the second 1385. He maried Eleanor eldest daughter of Humfreie Bohune (as before) in whose right he was earle of Esser, Northampton, and constable of England, besides which he was also lord of Brecnocke. He had issue one son & foure daughters: his sonne was Humfreie erle of Buckingham, whom K. Richard (after the murthering of his father at Calis) sent into Ireland, where he remained as prisoner vntill the time of king Henrie the fourth, which called him home: who returning into England, died of the plague without issue at Chester: after whome his mother liued not long. Of whose death thus writeth that worthie poet sir Iohn Gower knight, liuing at that time, in his booke of the historie of Richard the second, and Henrie the fourth, commonlie taken as part of his worke intituled & named, *Vox clamantis*:

Interea transit moriens nec in orbe remansit,
Humfredus dictus reddit ille Deo benedictus,
Defuncto nato cito post de fine beato,
Mater transiuit dum nati funera sciuit,
*Primo decessit * Cignus, dolor vnde repressit*
Matrem cum pullo sibi mors nec parcit in vllo.

* The duke of Gloucester, bicause the swan was his cognisance.

The foure daughters, heires to Thomas of Woodstocke & their brother Humfreie, were Anne the eldest, married to Edmund Stafford erle Stafford, who had issue Humfreie erle of Stafford, Hereford, & Northampton, lord of Brecknocke, &c: which Anne after the death of erle Stafford, did the second time marie William vicont Bourchier created erle of Ewe in France: the second daughter was Philip,

lip, which died without issue: the third Jone, was married to Gilbert lord Talbot: the fourth Isabell, was a religious person at the Minories in London. This duke of Glocester was murthered at Calis about the yeare of Christ 1398, being the 22 yeare of Richard the second, touching whose life and death, with the maner thereof, thus writeth the said sir John Gower, in the same booke intituled *Vox clamantis*:

O quàm fortuna stabilis non permanet vna,
Exemplum cuius stat in ordine carminis huius,
Rex agit, & Cygnus patitur de corde benignus,
Ille prostratus non est de rege leuatus,
Ad Plesye captus tunc est velut hostia raptus,
Rex iubet arma geri, nec eo voluit misereri,
Cum sponsa nati lugent quasi morte grauati,
Plúsq; lupo sæuit rex dummodo fœmina fleuit,
Nil pietas munit quem tunc manus inuida punit,
Rex stetit obliquus nec erat tunc vnus amicus,
O regale genus, princeps quasi pauper egenus,
Turpiter attractus iacet & sine iure subactus,
Sunt ibi fautores regis de sorte priores,
Qui Cygnum pendent, vbi captum ducere tendent,
Sic ducendo ducem, perdit sine lumine lucem,
Anglia quæ tota tenebrescit luce remota,
Trans mare natauit, regnum qui semper amauit,
Flent centum mille, quia Cygnus præterit ille,
Calisij portus petit Vnde dolus latet ortus,
Errot quem regis genuit putredine legis,
Carcere conclusus subitò fuit ille recluſus,
Nescit quo fine sit vitæ siue ruinæ,
Tunc rex elatum sumpsit quasi falco volatum,
Vnde suas gentes perdit custode carentes.

A little after which followeth these verses, touching the denaill of buriall to be granted vnto him among the rest of his honourable and roiall ancestors:

Sic nece deuictum, sic corpus ab hoste relictum,
Clam de conclaui, susceperat Anglia naui,
Per mare regreditur, corpus nec adhuc sepelitur,
Náma; sepulturam, defendit rex sibi puram,
Desuper à latere, patris loca iusta tenere,
Dummodo quæsiuit, vix bassa sepulchra subiuit.

Of the maner also of whose death the said sir John Gower hath set downe these three following verses:

Heu quàm tortorum quidam de sorte malorum,
Sic ducis electi plumarum pondere lecti,
Corpus quassatum iugulánt; necant iugulatum.

His wife Elenor died the third of October, in the yeare of our redemption 1399, being the first yeare of king Henrie the fourth, and was buried at Westminster on the south side of king Edward the third with this epitaph:

Icy gist Elenor de Bohune aysne fille & vn des heyres a honorable seigneur monseigneour Humphrey de Bohune, countie de Hereford, & de Essex, & de Northampton, & constable d'Angliterre, femme a puissant & noble prince Thomas Woodstocke, fitz a tresexcellent & trespuissant seigneiur Edwarde roy d'Angliterre pius le cõquest tierce, duc de Glocester, que morust tierce ioure de October lan du grace 1399, de que alme Dieux fait mercye.

Edward Plantagenet. Edward Plantagenet sonne to Edmund of Langleie, was by Richard the second created earle of Rutland, and duke of Albemerle, who being constable of England arriued in the three and twentith yeare of Richard the second, and in the yeare of our Lord 1399 in Ireland, to bring aid to the king being there in warre. Of this man is more liberall discourse in my following treatise of the dukes of England.

Henrie Persie Henrie Persie lord Persie, the first lord, and the first earle of Northumberland of that name, was aduanced to that honourable title of earle at the coronation of king Richard the second, in the yeare of our redemption 1377. He was made high constable of England by Henrie the fourth, then elected but not crowned king of England, because the said earls did giue that ring to the king whereby he was wedded to the kingdome of England, to whome also the king gaue the Ile of man to beare the sword with which he entered the realme. He in the fourth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, being the yeare of Christ 1403, rebelled against the king: but after comming to the king vpon sending for, he was pardoned his life, but commited to safe custodie. After which, in the fift yeare of that king, he was at a parlement holden at London restored to his estate and dignitie, who the yeare following, being the first of Henrie the fourth, and the yeare of Christ 1405, againe rebelled, and after fled into Scotland, to Dauid lord Fleming who receiued him, and in the seuenth yeare of Henrie the fourth, being the yere of our redemption 1506, as saith Iohn Stow.

This Dauid persuaded the erle to flie into Wales, for which cause the Scots slue the said Dauid. After this, in the ninth yeare of Henrie the fourth, he came into England, raised the people, and was slaine at Bromeham neere to Haselwod, in a conflict had with him by Thomas Rockleie shiriffe of Yorkshire. He married two wiues, the first was Margaret daughter to Rafe lord Neuill, by whome he had issue Henrie Persie, surnamed Hotspurre (slaine at the battell of Shrewesburie in the fourth yeare of Henrie the fourth in his fathers life) Thomas and Rafe. His second wife was Mawd, daughter to Thomas lord Lucie, and sister and heire to Anthonie lord Lucie baron of Cockermouth, being before the widow of Gilbert Humfreuill called the earle of Angus. This ladie Mawd gaue to hir husband the lordship and castell of Cockermouth, whereby the earles of Northumberland are bound still to beare the armes of Lucie.

John of Westlord. John duke of Bedford the sonne and brother of kings (for so he calleth himselfe in the precept to summon Reginald lord Grete, & sir Edward Hastings knight, to determine the controuersie for bearing of the armes of Hastings earle of Penbroke in the marshals court) was earle of Richmond and Kendall, and constable of England, being aduanced to that office about the eight yeare of Henrie the fourth his father, being the yeare of our redemption 1406, of whome there is more mention in the following discourse of the protectors of England.

Humfrie Stafford. Humfrie earle of Stafford, Hereford, and Northampton, lord of Brecnocke, Holderneſſe, and of Cambridge, and constable of England, and of Douer castell, in the eight yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ 1430, went into France with Henrie the first to attend his coronation at Paris. He was created duke of Buckingham in the two and twentith yeare of Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ 1444. He was slaine at the battell of Northampton in the eight and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our Lord 1460, he maried Anne daughter to Rafe Neuil erle of Westmerland: he had amongst manie other of his children Humfrie his eldest sonne earle Stafford, hurt (as hath Iohn Stow) with an arrow in the right hand at the battell of saint Albons in the three and thirtith yeare of Henrie the first, being the yeare of our Lord 1455, of which battell of saint Albons thus writeth Iohn Whethamsted a learned abbat of that house:

Dum Maius madidi flos floruit imbribus austri,
Mollibus & Zephyrus refouerat flatibus aruos,
Flora velut regnans herbis ditauerat hortos,
Post glacies inopes hos fecerat & locupletes,
Sic rapidis Stilbon prædonibus vndiq; regnum
Repleuerat nimis, sic latè sparserat ipsos,
Vt villam tandem tantus pernaserat istam

*S. Albons

Illorum

Illorum numerus quòd vix euaderet vnus,
Quin spolium lueret, spoliantes vel trepidaret.
Accidit ex causa spoliatio tam grauis ista,
Mars cœli dominus fuerat tunc, & soror eius
In terris domina belli Bellona vocata,
Vnde malum multis signanter partibus istis
Contigit, & bellum fuit istic grande peractum,
Edmund Beaufort duke of Summerset. *Sanguis & effusus multus, dux est iugulatus*
Illius pugnæ quæ fertur causa fuisse.
Henrie the first. *Bello finito, strepitu quóq; pacificato,*
Indultum est prædæ, prædones quippe fuere
Victores omnes, nulli quasi compatientes.
Tunc rex, tunc proceres, tunc villani quóq; plures,
Ac alij varij fuerant rebus spoliati,
The abbeie of S. Albons. *Attamen ecclesia, simul ecclesiæ bona cuncta*
Intra quæ fuerant, sub clausuráq; iacebant,
Manserunt salua nec ei res defuit vlla.
Laus igitur domino, laus in speciéq; patrono,
Cuius per media stabant sua singula salua,
Saluis & in cunctis simul abbas frater & omnis.
Spiritus ille bonus sine fallo spiritus almus,
Ad villam regem qui direxit venientem
Illius ad medium, nec tunc permiserat ipsum
O tempora, o mores. *Ecclesiam petere, conseruauit sua quæque.*
Sed patronus erat qui pro monachis mediarat,
A raptore locúmq; suum seruauit, & omnem
Ipsius ornatum fedari nec fuit ipsum.
Si rex intrasset, secúmq; ducem sociasset,
Valuas ecclesiæ, paruissent cuncta rapinæ,
Nec poterat furias quisquam compescere plebis.
Laus igitur domino, rursus rursúsq; patrono,
Stat locus iste suo saluus munimine solo,
Saluáq; supposita, sua salua iocalia cuncta.

Rich. Plantagenet duke of Yorke.

John Tiptoft or Tiptoft.

John Tiptoft or Tiptoft knight, the son of John lord Tiptoft, and of Ioice his wife, second daughter to Edmund Charleton lord Powes, was treasuror of the realme in Michaelmasse tearme in the tenth yere of Henrie the fourth, after which he was againe admitted to that office in the one and thirtith and two and thirtith yeare of Henrie the first, from which place being once more remoued, he was the third time aduanced to the honor of lord treasuror of England in the second of Edward the fourth, and continued the same in the third of the said king. He was created earle of Worcester in the time of king Henrie the first. This man in the yeare 1470, being the tenth of king Edward the fourth, toke his part against the duke of Clarence, and Richard Neuill earle of Warwike, at what time the said duke and earle being discomfited, fled to the sea side, and thence sailed to Southhampton, where they thought to haue had the Trinitie a great ship of the earle of Warwikes, but the lord Scales the quenes brother fought with them, and inforced them to flie into France.

Whereupon king Edward the fourth came to Southhampton and caused Tiptoft earle of Worcester to sit in iudgement vpon certeine gentlemen, as Clapham and others, taken at the same skirmish of Southhampton, where the earle caused the bodies of certeine condemned men, after that they were hanged to be thrust thorough the fundament vp to the head with stakes, for the which crueltie he and others fell into indignation of the common people. Before which in the eight yeare of king Edward, he was with John Dudleie made constable of the Tower, during their liues, and the longer liuer of them two.

After this in the said yeare 1470, being the tenth of Edward the fourth, in which Henrie the first readepted the crowne of England, which yeare of Henrie the first is called in the law bookes, the fourtie & ninth yere of the reigne of K. Henrie the first. This earle of Worcester was taken in the top of an high tree in the forest of Welbridge in Huntingtonshire, brought to London, and at a parlement arrested and condemned to death, by sir John Vere earle of Oxford. Wherupon he was beheded at Tower hill, and buried in the blacke friers of London. He had three wiues, whereof the first was called Cicilie the daughter of Richard earle of Salisburie: the second Elizabeth the daughter of Robert Greindoure: the third was Elizabeth, after married to sir William Stanleie, which John had by his third wife Edward lord Tiptoft who died without issue, & so the inheritance went to the sisters of the said earle John Tiptoft.

Lord Beaumont.

And here I thinke it not amisse to say somewhat of the lord Beaumont, who being in our chronicles named constable of England (as may appeare in the fiue and twentith yeare of Henrie the first, in which yeare he arrested Humfrie duke of Glocester) that for any thing that I can yet see or learne, this Beaumont was not constable by patent during his life, but for the present time to execute the princes pleasure, and therefore not meet in this discourse to haue anie speciall place amongest such as were constables of England, either by descent or patent.

Richard Woduile.

Sir Richard Woduile knight, earle Riuers, was high constable of England in the fourth yere of king Edward the fourth, of whom is more large mention in the following discourse of the treasurors of England in the historie of the reigne of quéne Elizabeth.

George Plantagenet.

George Plantagenet, second sonne to Richard duke of Yorke, was created amongst other estates duke of Clarence, in the yeare of our redemption 1461, being the first yeare of king Edward the fourth immediatlie vpon his coronation, and was made constable of England in the time of Edward the fourth. He in the eight of Edward the fourth, about the yeare of Christ 1468, maried Isabell the eldest daughter of Richard Neuill earle of Warwike and Salisburie, by whom he had issue Edward earle of Warwike and Salisburie, borne vpon the sea in the hauen of Calis, who was in the time of Richard the third a continuall prisoner, and so hauing béene a prisoner, and thereto borne by a certeine fatall destinie, was in the yere of our redemption 1485, being the first of king Henrie the seuenth committed to custodie in the Tower, where he continued all the rest of his life, & was beheaded at Tower hill in the fifteenth yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, being the yeare of Christ 1499, & was buried at Bicsam nére to his ancestors. Besides this Edward, this George duke of Clarence had issue a daughter called Margaret, created by king Henrie the eight countesse of Salisburie, who married sir Richard Pole knight of the garter, descended of the ancient familie of the Poles in Wales.

Richard Plantagenet.

Richard Plantagenet, the third sonne to Richard duke of Yorke, was aduanced to the title and honor of the dukedome of Glocester, in the yeare of our redemption 1461, being the first yeare of king Edward the fourth, sone after his coronation. He was high constable of England: he maried Anne second daughter to Richard Neuill earle of Warwike and Salisburie. Which Richard after the death of his brother king Edward the fourth, did by the murther of his nephues ascend to the highest gouernement of England, and was crowned king by the name of Richard the third.

Henrie Stafford.

Henrie Stafford, whome our chronicles do in manie places corruptlie terme Edward, was sonne to Humfrie earle Stafford, & was high constable of England, and duke of Buckingham. This man raising warre against Richard the third vsurping the crowne, was in the first yeare of the reigne of the said Richard, being the yeare of Christ 1483, betraied by his man Humfrie Banaster (to whome being in distresse he fled for succour) and brought to Richard the third then lieng at Salisburie, where the

saide duke confessing all the conspiracie, was behea-
ded without arreignement or iudgement, vpon the
second of Nouember, in the said yere of our redemp-
tion 1483, he maried Katharine the daughter of Ri-
chard Woodvile, sister to quéne Elizabeth wife to
Edward the fourth: & had issue, Edward duke of Buc-
kingham, and Henrie earle of Wiltshire, with two
daughters, which were, Anne maried to George lord
Hastings of whom is descended the erle of Hunting-
ton now liuing, and Elizabeth married to Richard
Ratcliffe lord Fitz Waters, of whome is issued sir
Henrie Ratcliffe knight, now earle of Sussex.

Edward Stafford. Edward Stafford sonne to Henrie duke of Buc-
kingham, being also duke of Bukingham after the
death of his father was constable of England, earle
of Hereford, Stafford, and Northhampton, being in
the first yeare of Henrie the seuenth, in the yeare of
our redemption 1485, restored to his fathers digni-
ties and possessions. He is tearmed in the books of the
law in the said thirtéenth yeare of Henrie the eight
(where his arreignement is liberallie set downe) to
be the floure & mirror of all courtesie. This man (as
before is touched) was by Henrie the seuenth resto-
red to his fathers inheritance, in recompense of the
losse of his fathers life, taken awaie (as before is
said) by the vsurping king Richard the third. He
married Elianor the daughter of Henrie earle of
Northumberland, and had issue Henrie lord Staf-
ford (father to Henrie lord Stafford now liuing) and
three daughters, Elizabeth married to Thomas Ho-
ward earle of Surrie, Katharine married to Rafe
Neuill earle of Westmerland, and Marie married
to George Neuill lord of Aburgauennie. And thus
much by Francis Thin touching the succession of the
constables of England.]

In this meane while, were the emperour and the
French king fallen at variance, so that the warre
was renewed betwixt them: for the pacifieng wherof,
the cardinall of Yorke was sent ouer to Calis, where
Cardinall Wolsie sent ouer to Calis. the ambassadours of both those princes were appoin-
ted to come to him. He arriued there the second of
August. There went ouer with him the erle of Wor-
cester, then lord chamberleine, the lord of S. Johns,
the lord Ferrers, the lord Herbert, the bishop of Du-
resme, the bishop of Elie, the primat of Armacane,
sir Thomas Bullen, sir John Pechie, sir John Hus-
sie, sir Richard Wingfield, sir Henrie Guilford, and
manie other knights, esquiers, gentlemen, doctors,
Edw. Hall in H.8. fol. lxxxvj. and learned men. Thus honourablie accompanied he
rode thorough London the twentie fift date of Julie,
and at Thomas Beckets house the maior and alder-
men toke leaue of him, praieng God to send him
good spéed. Thus passed he to Canturburie, where the
archbishop of Canturburie and others receiued him
in his statelinesse, and brought him vnto his lodging
vnder a canopie to the bishops palace. On the eight
date of Julie he came to Douer. On the twentith
he & the other lords with their retinues toke passage,
and arriued at Calis in safetie, where the lord depu-
tie and the councell receiued them with much honour
and lodged the cardinall in the Staple hall.

Shortlie after his arriuall at Calis, thither came
the chancellor of France, and the countie de Pallice,
with foure hundred horses, as ambassadors from the
French king: and likewise from the emperour came
The emperor & the French king their ambassadours meet at Calis, to treat of a peace. great ambassadors, either partie being furnished
with sufficient commissions to treat and conclude of
peace as should appeare. But yet when it came to the
point, as the one partie séemed conformable to rea-
sonable offers, so the other would not incline that
waie: insomuch that they were neuer at one time a-
greeable to anie indifferent motion that could be
made. There were also the popes ambassadors, wher-
vpon the cardinall would haue furthered a league
betwixt the emperour, the king of England, the king
of France, and the pope: but the popes ambassadors
wanted commission thereto, and therefore were let-
ters sent to Rome in all hast, and the Frenchmen
taried still in Calis, till answer came from thence.
The cardinall rode into Flanders to speake with
the emperour, which as then laie in Bruges. A mile
without Bruges the emperour receiued him, and did
to him as much honour as could be deuised. The
chére was great which was made to the English-
men, and of euerie thing there was such plentie, that
there was no want of things necessarie, insomuch
that of the fare, both for plentifulnesse, delicatnesse,
and statelinesse of seruice, a man might haue said:

Βρόμιόν τα *magnorum dixisses esse deorum.*

The emperor receiueth the cardinall with great honour at Bruges. The cardinall after he had soiorned in Bruges the
space of thirtéene daies, and concluded diuerse mat-
ters with the emperour, and accomplished his com-
mission, he toke leaue of his maiestie, and by con-
uenient iorneis returned to Calis, where the ambas-
sadors of France taried his comming: and immedi-
atlie after his returne to Calis, he treated with them
of peace, but not so earnestlie as he did before. In
fine, nothing was concluded, but onelie that fisher-
men of both the princes might frélie fish on the seas
without disturbance, till the second of Februarie
next. When no conclusion of agréement could be ac-
corded, the cardinall sent to the emperour the lord of
S. Johns, and sir Thomas Bullen knight, to aduer-
tise his maiestie what had béene done, and likewise
to the French king, as then lieng in campe with a
mightie armie in the marches about Cambreie. The
earle of Worcester and the bishop of Elie were sent
to informe him of all things that had béene motti-
oned, exhorting him to incline to peace, but he gaue
little eare thereto: and then after they had béene a
nineténe or twentie daies in his host they returned.
Cardinall Wolsie carrieth the great seale with him to Calis, & there sealeth writs and patents. During the continuance of the cardinall in Calis,
all writs and patents were there by him sealed, and
no shiriffes chosen for lacke of his presence, hauing
there with him the great seale, & full power in things,
as if the king had béene there in person. ¶ Ambassa-
dors comming from the king of Hungarie towards
the king of England, were receiued honourablie of
the Cardinall during his abode in Calis.

After the returne of the English ambassadours,
which the cardinall had sent to the emperour, and to
the French king, he returned into England, hauing
Polydor. (as some write) concluded a new league with the
emperour, and signified by waie of intendment to
the French king in the treatie with his ambassadors,
that the king of England meant him not so much
frendship as of late he had done, for diuerse causes.
But specially this was vttered, that where it was
concluded that the king of Scots should be included
within the league (as before yée haue heard) contra-
rie to that agréement, the said king refused to enter
as a confederate into the same league: and this no
doubt proceeded through counsell of the French king,
by whom he was wholie guided. This quarrell was
laid as an occasion, whie to moue the king of Eng-
land (perceiuing himselfe to be dissembled with) to
withdraw his good will from the French king.

Who when he vnderstood the drifts of the cardi-
nall, and conclusion of the new league confirmed be-
twixt the king of England and the emperour, he con-
demned the cardinall of vntruth, accused him of dis-
simulation, abhorred his practises, as by the which he
lost the fruition of the king of England his frend-
ship, and might no longer inioy it. And herewith he
determined with himselfe neuer to put confidence
in anie Englishman after, nor to bestow anie gifts
or pensions vpon them. For he vsed yerelie to send

to

to diuerse of the kings councell after the maner of his predecessors sundrie gifts and summes of monie: & bicause he had imploied more on the cardinall than on the residue, he was the more offended toward him as the head of all this iniurious doing. Yet he found not himselfe so much grieued, as to vtter anie bitter words towards the king: but contrarilie within a while after, directed his letters vnto him, signifieng that he meant to continue the league as his frend: but it maie be he did this after a dissembling sort, bicause he would not be at warres with two so mightie princes at one time.

Hot warres betweene the emperor and the French king.

In this meane while, the warre was pursued betwixt the emperour & the French king, as well on the confines towards Flanders, as beyond the mounteins in the parties of Lombardie. Tornaie was besieged by the lord Hugh de Moncada, a Spaniard, the which comming vpon the sudden, toke manie abroad in the fields, yer they knew of his approch, and after this, comming before the citie, he inuironed it with a siege, to keepe the citizens from stirring forth, and sent part of his armie with the light horsemen to forlaie the streets and passages, that no succour should come to them within. The French king assembled an armie, in hope to aid them of Tornaie with men, munitions, and vittels, the which armie assaied twise or thrise with all endeuor, to haue approched the citie: but in vaine, for with no small losse the French were repelled by the imperials, which neuertheless felt their part of slaughter, losing sundrie of their capteins, as bastard Emerie, and the capteine of Gant. Finallie, the French armie brake vp, & was dispersed into fortresses. Whereupon they of Tornaie perceiuing the succours which they hoped for, to faile them thus at need, rendered the citie to the emperor the last of Nouember, in this 13 yeare of king Henries reigne.

Tornaie besieged by the emperor his men.

Edw. Hall.

Tornaie deliuered vp to the emperor.

¶ Pope Leo died this yeare suddenlie, on the first of December, as he laie at the village of Magliana whither he went oftentimes for his recreation. He had heard the first reaport of the taking of Millan, which stirred in him such an extreame passion of ioy, that the same night he entered into a small feauer: and for his better remedie he caused himselfe the nert daie to be remoued to Rome: where he died within a verie few daies after, notwithstanding the physicians in the beginning made no great reckoning of his disease. There was great suspicion that he was poisoned by Barnabie Malespina his chamberleine, whose office was alwaies to giue him drinke. And yet though he was made prisoner through the suspicion of the fact & the vehement reasons of the same; yet the matter was dashed and the examination thereof: for that the cardinall de Medicis as soone as he came to Rome, set him at libertie, fearing to fall further in disgrace of the French king, by whose practise it was supposed that Barnabie gaue him the fatall drinke. This was but whispered secretlie, the author being no lesse doubtfull than the coniectures vncerteine.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 813. The death of pope Leo the tenth who (as was suspected) was poisoned.

The maner and order of the popes death.

He died (if we consider the common opinion of men) in verie great glorie and felicitie, not so much for that by the surprising of Millan he saw himselfe deliuered of dangers & expenses intollerable, which hauing drained him of all store of monie and treasure, he was constreined to aduance all meanes and maners for his supplie and releeuing: but also that a verie few daies afore his death he receiued aduertisement of the taking of Plaisanca, and the verie daie he died, newes came to him of the winning of Parma; a matter so greatlie desired by him, that at such time as he debated to moue warre against the Frenchmen, it is verie well remembred that he said vnto the cardinall de Medicis labouring to dissuade him, that as he was in nothing more caried to the desire of that warre, than to recouer to the church those two cities; so when so euer God should bleese him with the effect of that desire, it would not greeue him to die. He was a prince in whom were manie things worthie to be commended & blamed, and in the estate & discourse of his life he deceiued greatlie the expectation that was had of him, when he was created pope, for that in his gouernement was great discretion, but farre lesse bountie than was looked for.]

After the death of the pope, doctor Richard Pace was sent to Rome, to make frends in the behalfe of the cardinall of Yorke, who was brought into a vaine hope thorough the kings fauour and furtherance, to be elected pope. But Adrian the first of that name was chosen before doctor Pace could come to Rome; and so that suite was dashed. ¶ This Adrian bishop of Derchuso (after great contention in the college of cardinals touching the election of a new pope) was preferred to the custome of lotting of voices in the conclaue, without anie affection or parcialitie of voice: he was of nation a Fleming, & in his youth hauing beene schoolemaister to Cesar, and by his meane made cardinall vnder pope Leo, did at that time gouerne Spaine in the absence of Cesar. And as there began some voices to publish for him, so cardinall Vitio one of that election, began vnder an oration speciall, to recount and amplifie his vertues and knowledge, by whose example certeine other cardinals yeelded, and the residue from hand to hand followed, though more by constraint than councell.

Polydor. Cardinall Wolsie maketh meanes to be elected pope.

Guic. pag. 823.

Thus was he chosen with the voices of all the cardinals, and had his creation perfected the same morning. Wherein this was to be wondered at, that euen those that had elected him could giue no reason, why amid so manie troubles & dangers in the estate ecclesiasticke, they had raised to the souereigne see a stranger, a forrener, and of long absence out of the countrie, & wherin were helping no respects of fauor, no consideration of former merits, nor anie conuersation had with anie of the other cardinals: yea they scarselie knew his name, he had neuer beene in Italie, and had no hope nor cogitation to see it: of which straungant maner of dealing, being not able to excuse themselues, they attributed all to the working of the Holie-ghost, who is wont (for so they alleged) to inspire the hearts of the cardinals in the electing of popes: he receiued newes of his election in the towne of Victoria in Biskaie, and would not haue imposed vpon him anie other name than his owne, which he caused to be published vnder Adrian the first.

The election of Adrian to the popedome wondered at, and why.

Now he made his entrie into Rome the nine and twentith of August, with a great concourse of the commons and the whole court: of whome albeit his comming was desired with an vniuersall gladnesse (for that without the presence forsoth of the popes, Rome beareth more a resemblance of a sauage desart than of a citie) yet that spectacle wrought sundrie impressions and diuersities of thoughts in the minds of all men, when they considered that they had a pope for nation and language a stranger, and for the affaires of Italie and the court altogither vnexperienced: and also for that he was not of those regions and countries, who by long conuersation were alreadie made familiar with the customes of Italie. The enuie that stirred vp in men this consideration was redoubled by the accident of the plague, which beginning in Rome at his arriuall, afflicted the citie during the whole season of Autumne, to the great calamitie and losse of the people: a matter which in the fansies of men was construed to an euill prognostication of his pontificacie.]

Pope Adrian the first, commeth to Rome.

Notwithstanding this election of Adrian (as you heare) accomplished; yet doctor Pace kept his iournie according to his commission. This Pace was a right worthie man, and one that gaue in counsell

The description of doctor Pace.

faithfull aduise. Learned he was also, and indued with manie excellent good gifts of nature, courteous, pleasant, and delighting in musike, highlie in the kings fauour, and well heard in matters of weight. But the more the prince fauoured him, the more was he misliked of the cardinall, who sought onelie to beare all the rule himselfe, and to haue no partener; so that he procured that this doctor Pace vnder color of ambassage, should be sent forth of the realme, that his presence about the king should not win him too much authoritie and fauour at the kings hands.

Edw. Hall. Doctor Tunstall made bishop of London.

This yeare was a great death in London and other places of the realme. Manie men of honour and great worship died, and amongest other, the bishop of London, doctor Fitz James, in whose place was doctor Tunstall elected. The earle of Surrie returned out of Ireland, and came to the court the fiue and twentith of Januarie. Manie complaints were made by the merchants to the king and his councell of the Frenchmen, which spoiled them by sea of their goods. For by reason that the wars were open betwixt the emperour, and the French king, manie ships of warre were abroad on both parts, and now and then the Englishmen fell into their hands, and were vsed as enimies; namelie by the Frenchmen, which naturallie hated the Englishmen. The French kings ambassadours promised restitution of euerie thing, but little was restored. In this moneth of Januarie therefore, the king commanded all his ships to be rigged, and made readie, which was done with all diligence.

1523

The title of Defendor of the faith giuen to the king of England and his successors for euer.

On the second daie of Februarie, the king as then being at Grenewich, receiued a bull from the pope, whereby he was declared Defendor of the Christian faith, & likewise his successors for euer. The cardinall of Yorke sang the high masse that daie with all the pompous solemnitie that might be, and gaue cleane remission of sinnes to all that heard it. This title was ascribed vnto the king, bicause he had written a booke against Luther in Germanie; wherevnto the said Luther answered verie sharpelie, nothing sparing his authoritie nor maiestie. ¶ Of which booke published by the king, I will not (for reuerence of his roiallie) though I durst, report what I haue read: bicause we are to iudge honourablie of our rulers, and to speake nothing but good of the princes of the people. Onelie this breefe clause or fragment I will adde (least I might seeme to tell a tale of the man in the moone) that king Henrie in his said booke is reported to rage against the diuell and antichrist, to cast out his fome against Luther, to rase out the name of the pope, and yet to allow his law, &c. I suppresse the rest for shame, and returne to our historie.]

I. S. pag. 930. King Henrie wrote against Luther. Abr. Fl. ex adm. A. G. ad Ang. & Scot. excus. Gen. 1558. in fol. 69.

The king of England and the king of France at variance.

In the meane time, grudges and displeasures still grew and increased betwixt the king of England and the French king, so that their greefs rankled dailie more and more, till at length the duke of Albanie returned into Scotland, contrarie to that which was couenanted by the league. The French king in deed alleaged, that he was not priuie to his going thither; and wrote to the king, that the said duke was entered Scotland without his assent: but it was otherwise iudged & knowne, that he had commission of the French king to go thither. Herevpon, the king was sore offended, and prepared for wars. Musters were made of able men, and a note taken of what substance men were. The king also sent fiue ships to the sea, well trimmed, manned, and victelled.

Christopher Co admerall.

The admerall was one Christopher Co, an expert sea man. His commission was, to safe gard the merchants, and other the kings subiects, that were greeuouslie spoiled and robbed on the sea, by Frenchmen, Scots, and other rouers.

The eight of Februarie, the lord Dacres, warden of the marches fore against Scotland, entered into Scotland with fiue hundred men, by the kings commandement, & there proclamed, that the Scots should come in to the kings peace, by the first of March following, or else to stand at their perils; the duke of Albanie being then within fiue miles with a mightie power of Scots. The eleuenth of Februarie, the lord of Aburgauennie was brought from the Tower to Westminster, and there in the kings bench confessed his indictment of misprision. The lord Montacute was about the same time restored vnto the kings fauour. ¶ On the second of March, certeine noble men of the empire, arriued in England, to passe into Spaine, who were honourablie receiued; and in honour of them, great iusts and triumphs were made, which being finished and done, they toke their leaue and departed on their iournie.

The lord of Aburgauennie arreigned at westminster.

A Scotish rouer taken on the sea by John Arundell.

Duncan Campbell, a Scotish rouer, after long fight, was taken on the sea by John Arundell an esquier of Cornewall, who presented him to the king. He was committed to the Tower, & there remained prisoner a long season. All the kings ships were put in a readinesse, so that by the beginning of Aprill, they were rigged and trimmed readie to make saile. ¶ This yeare died the lord Broke, sir Edward Poinings, knight of the garter, sir John Pechie, and sir Edward Belknap, valiant capteins, which were suspected to be poisoned at a banket made at Ard, when the two kings met last. Wheat was sold this yeare in the citie of London, for twentie shillings a quarter, & in other places for twentie sir shillings eight pence.

Great dearth of corne.

In this yeare Gawan Dowglas, bishop of Dunkell fled out of Scotland into England, bicause the duke of Albanie being come thither, had taken vpon him the whole gouernement of the king and realme there, the sequele of whose doings the bishop fore mistrusted. The king assigned vnto this bishop an honest pension to liue on. And shortlie after, was Clarenceaux the herald sent into Scotland, vnto the duke of Albanie, to command him to auoid that realme for diuerse considerations; & if he would not, then to defie him, sith contrarie to the articles of the league concluded betwixt France & England, he was entered Scotland without his licence. The duke refused to accomplish the kings commandement, and was therefore defied by the said Clarenceaux. The first of March, the French king commanded all Englishmens goods being in Burdeaux, to be attached, and put vnder arrest, and reteined not onelie the monie due to be paid for the restitution of Tornaie, but also withheld the French queenes dower.

Clarenceaux sent into Scotland.

The French k. attacheth the Englishmens goods in Burdeaux.

The cardinall vnderstanding that he was euill spoken of, for vsing his power legantine to such aduantage as he did, in selling graces & dispensations, he thought to bestow some part therof amongst the people freelie, without taking anie thing for the same. Wherevpon, when Lent drew neere, he appointed the preachers at Paules crosse, to declare, that it should be lawfull to all persons for that Lent, to eat milke, butter, cheese, & egs. And to the end that none should haue anie scrupulousnesse of conscience in so doing, he by his authoritie granted remission of sins to all those that did eat white meats: knowing as it were afore hand, that the people giuen to the obseruance of their religious fast, would not easilie be brought to breake the same, contrarie to the ancient custome vsed in their countrie. Neither was he deceiued therein, for so farre were the people from receiuing or accounting this as a benefit, that they toke it rather for a wicked & cursed deed in those that receiued it, & few or almost none could he induce to breake their old order and scrupulous trade in that behalfe.

Polydor.

The cardinals liberalitie by vertue of his spirituall power forth.

The king, vnderstanding how his subiects were handled at Burdeaux by the French kings commandement,

Anno. Reg. 14

The French ambassador is called before the councell.

in indement in breach of the league, the French ambassadour was called before the councell, and the cardinall laid sore to his charge, that contrarie to his promise at all times on the French king his maisters behalfe, affirming that he ment nothing but peace and amitie to be observed in all points with the king of England: yet now the English merchants had not onelie their goods staied at Burdeaux, but also they and their factors were laid in prison, in full breach of all peace and amitie afore time concluded. The ambassadour in words so well as hée could excused his maister, but in the end hée was commanded to kéepe his house: and the French hostages that were appointed héere to remaine for the monie to be paid for the deliuerie of Tornaie, were committed vnto the safe kéeping of the lord of Saint Johns, sir Thomas Louell, sir Andrew Windsor, and sir Thomas Neuill, euerie of them to haue one.

The Frenchmen in London are all arested and put to their fines. Polydor.

Herewith also, all the Frenchmen in London were arrested, committed to prison, and put to their fines: but they were more courteoulie vsed than the Englishmen were in France. For after they had béene in durance ten daies, they were set at libertie, vpon finding suerties to appeare before the maior, or else before the councell at a certeine daie, and to paie the fine vpon them assessed, which fine the king pardoned to diuerse of the poorest sort. But in comparison of the Scotish nation, you would haue said, the Frenchmen were in small displeasure: for not onelie those that were borne in Scotland, but also diuers northernmen borne, within English ground, for enuious spite called Scots, were apprehended, imprisoned, and grieuoulie fined, although some of them by streict inquirie tried to be Englishmen, escaped without paieng the fine.

All the Scots in England apprehended and fined.

The navie setteth forth.

There were sent to the sea, vnder conduct of sir William Fitz Williams viceadmerall, twentie & eight goodlie ships well manned and trimmed for the warres, & seuen other ships were sent toward Scotland, which entered the Forth, and proffered to enter the Scotish ships that laie in the hauens: but the Scots ran their ships aland, and the Englishmen followed with boats, landed, and set the ships on fire, & at Leith toke certeine prisoners, which they brought into England; and still the kings great navie kept the narrow seas: for then was neither peace betwixt England and France, nor open warres. The king vnderstanding that the emperor would come to Calis, so to passe into England, as he went towards Spaine, appointed the lord marquesse Dorset to go to Calis, there to receiue him, and likewise the lord cardinall was appointed to receiue him at Douer.

Cardinall Wolsie his pompe when he receiued the emperour at Douer.

The marques Dorset receiueth the emperour at Graueling.

The cardinall taking his iournie forward on the twentith of Maie, rode through London, accompanied with two earles, six and thirtie knights, and an hundred gentlemen, eight bishops, ten abbats, thirtie chapleins, all in veluet and sattin, and yeomen seuen hundred. The marquesse Dorset was gone ouer before vnto Calis: and the fiue and twentith of Maie being sundaie, the said marquesse, with the bishop of Chichester, the lord de la Ware, and diuerse other at the water of Graueling, receiued the emperour in the name of the king of England, and with all honour brought him to Calis, where he was receiued with procession, by the lord Bernes lieutenant of the towne, with the maior and merchants of the Staple, in the best maner that might be deuised.

The emperor doth at Calis.

On the mondaie he toke ship at Calis, and landed at Douer, where the cardinall with three hundred lords, knights, and gentlemen of England was readie to receiue him, and with all honour that might be, brought him to the castell, where he was lodged. On wednesdaie, being the Ascension éeuen, the king came to Douer, and there with great ioy and gladnesse, the emperour and he met. On the fridaie in the after noone they departed from Douer, & came that night to Canturburie, so from thence by easie iournies to Grénewich, where the quéene received hir nephue with all the ioy that might be. Here the emperour taried certeine daies in great solace and pleasure; and the more to honor his presence, roiall iustes and tourneies were apointed, the which were furnished in most triumphant maner: the king, and the earle of Deuonshire, and ten aids with them, kéeping the place against the duke of Suffolke: the marques Dorset, and other ten aids vpon their part.

Iustes and tournies at Grénwich.

On fridaie being the first of June, the king and the emperour with all their companies, marched toward London, where the citie was prepared for their entrie, after the maner as is vsed at a coronation, so that nothing was forgotten that might set forth the citie. For the rich citizens well apparelled stood within railes set on the left side of the stréetes, and the cleargie on the right side in rich copes, which censed the princes as they passed, and all the stréetes were richlie hanged with clothes of gold, siluer, veluet, and arras, and in euerie house almost minstrelsie: and in euerie stréet were these two verses written in letters of gold, both Latine and English:

Edw. Hall. in H.8. fol. xcviij.

Carolus, Henricus, viuant; defensor vtérq,
Henricus fidei, Carolus ecclesiæ. That is,

Long prosperitie,
To Charles and Henrie,
Princes most puissant:
The one of the faith,
The other of the church,
Chosen defendant.

Sundrie pageants were deuised, and stages verie faire and excellent to behold, with such melodie of instruments, and other tokens of ioy and gladnesse, that wonder it was to consider the manner thereof. The emperour was lodged at the Blacke friers, and all his nobles in the new palace of Bridewell. On Whitsundaie being the eight of June, the emperour and the king rode to the cathedrall church of saint Paule, and there heard masse, which was song by the cardinall that had his trauerse, and cupbord. Before masse, two barons gaue him water, and after the gospell two earles; and at the last lauatorie, two dukes: which pride the Spaniards sore disdained. The emperour thus remained with the king certeine daies and rode to diuerse places with him, being still feasted & banketted, and had all the pleasure shewed to him that might be imagined. At Windsor they taried a whole weeke and more, where on Corpus Christi daie, the emperour ware his mantell of the garter, and sate in his owne stall. On the same daie both the princes received the sacrament, and after that seruice was ended, they toke their corporall othes to kéepe and obserue the league, which was concluded betwixt them. On the morrow after, they departed from Windsor, and by soft and easie iournies they came to Winchester, on the two & twentith of June.

See Ed. Hall in H.8. fo. xcvj. & deinceps.

Note the pride of cardinall Wolsie.

The emperor and the king of England sweare each to other to obserue the league made betwixt them.

Now before the emperour was thus come to Winchester, the earle of Surrie being high admerall of England, was come to Hampton with all the kings navie, & with him the lord Fitz Walter, the baron Curson, sir Nicholas Carew, sir Richard Wingfield, sir Richard Jerningham, Francis Brian, sir William Barentine, sir Adrian Foskew, sir Edward Donne, sir Edward Chamberleine, sir Richard Cornwall, sir Anthonie Poines, sir Henrie Shirborne, and the viceadmerall sir William Fitz Williams, sir Edmund Braie, sir Giles Capell, sir William Pirton, John Cornwallis, sir John Wallop, sir Edward Echingham, sir William Sidneie, Anthonie Browne, Giles Husie, Thomas More, John Russel, Edward Bray, Henrie Owen, George Cobham, Thomas Oldhall, Thomas Louell, Robert

Earle of Surrie high admerall of England.

Jerningham, Anthonie Kneuet, sir John Tremaile, and sir William Skeuington the maister of the kings ordinance, & John Fabian sergeant at armes, by whome this enterprise was chieflie moued, with diuerse others, which in the end of June departed from Hampton, noising that they should onelie scowre the seas for safegard of the emperour and his nauie.

The emperor departeth out of England towards Spaine.

On the first of Julie, the emperours nauie came before Hampton, conteining an hundred and foure score goodlie ships. Then the emperour toke leaue of the king, of whome he had manie great gifts, and notable summes of monie by waie of lone; & so the first of Julie he toke his ship, and made saile to Spaine, where he arriued in safetie the tenth daie after. The

The king boroweth 20000 pounds of the citie.

king borrowed of the citie of London twentie thousand pounds, and deliuered priuie seales for warrant of the repaiment. None were charged but men of good wealth. The like lone was practised through all the realme, not without grudge of manie persons that were called vpon for the same. The earle of Surrie hauing wafted the emperour ouer to the coast of Biscaie, vpon his returne finding the wind fauourable, according to his instructions, made to the coast of Britaine, and landing with his people in number seuen thousand, about fiue miles from Morleis, marched thither, and assaulting the towne, wan it.

The maner of the winning of Morleis in Britaine by the earle of Surrie.

For the maister gunner Christopher Morreis hauing there certeine falcons, with the shot of one of them, stroke the locke of the wicket in the gate, so that it flew open: and then the same Christopher and other gentlemen, with their souldiers, in the smoke of the gunnes pressed to the gates, and finding the wicket open, entered, and so finallie was the towne of Morleis wonne, and put to sacke. The souldiers gained much by the pillage, for the towne was exceeding rich, and speciallie of linnen cloth. When they had rifled the towne throughlie, and taken their pleasure of all things therein, the earle caused them by sound of trumpet to resort to their standards, and after they had set fire in the towne, and burned a great part thereof, the earle retreated with his armie towards his ships, burning the villages by the waie, and all that night lay on land. On the morrow after they toke their ships, and when they were bestowed on bord, the earle commanded sirténe or seuenténe ships small and great, lieng there in the hauen, to be burnt.

Diuerse gentlemen knighted by the erle of Surrie vpō the winning of Morleis.

When the lord admerall had thus wonne the towne of Morleis, he called to him certeine esquiers, and made them knights, as sir Francis Brian, sir Anthonie Browne, sir Richard Cornewall, sir Thomas Wyre, sir Giles Huseie, sir John Russell, sir John Reinsford, sir George Cobham, sir John Cornewallis, sir Edward Rigleie, and diuerse other. After this they continued a while on the coast of Britaine, and disquieted the Britains by entering their hauens, and sometimes landing and doing diuerse displeasures to the inhabitants about the coast. After that the earle had lien a while thus on the coast of Britaine, hée was countermanded by the kings letters, who therevpon brought backe his whole fleet vnto a place called the Cow, vnder the Ile of Wight, and then went on land himselfe, discharging the more part of his people, and leauing the residue with certeine ships vnder the gouernance of the viceadmerall sir William Fitz Williams, to kéepe the seas against the French.

Polydor.

In this meane while, diuerse exploits were atchiued betwixt them of the garrisons in the marches of Calis, & the Frenchmen of Bullongne and Bullognois: but still the losse ran for the most part on the French side. For the English frontiers were well and stronglie furnished with good numbers of men of warre, and gouerned by right sage and valiant capteins, which dailie made inuasions vpon the French confines, and namelie sir William Sands treasuror of the towne of Calis, and sir Edward Gilford marshall, were two that did the Frenchmen most displeasure. On the third of Julie, three hundred French horssemen comming néere to the castell of Guisnes, kept themselues in couert, appointing eight or ten of their companie to shew themselues in sight to the Englishmen within. Wherevpon there went forth eight archers, and fell in skirmish with those horssemen, till there came three other to the rescue of the Frenchmen, and skirmished with the archers on foot.

Sir William Sands and sir Edward Gilford two whips to the Frenchmen.

Her ewith issued out of Guisnes twelue demilances all Welshmen, in rescue of the footmen, and then all the troope of the French horssemen brake forth and set on the Welshmen. The footmen, so long as they had anie arrowes to bestow, shot lustilie, and in the end were driuen to defend themselues with their swords. The Welshmen keeping togither, entered into the band of the Frenchmen, brake their speares, and after fought and laid about them with their swords, so that they made a waie, and escaped from those three hundred French horssemen. Of the French side were slaine three men and fiue horsses, the English archers on foot selling their liues dearlie, were all slaine, for the Frenchmen would not take anie of them prisoners, they were so angrie for losse of their fellowes.

The dalliance of the welshmen against the French.

On the fiue and twentith of Julie, the treasuror and marshall of Calis, with fourtéene hundred footmen, entered the French pale: and finding not monsieur de Foiat for whome they sought, they went to Whitsand baie, set the towne on fire, and assaulting the church, into which the people were withdrawne, wan it, and afterwards set fire on the steeple, bicause that diuerse, hauing shut vp themselues therein, through counsell of a priest that was with them, refused to yéeld, till the fire caused them to leape downe and so manie of them perished, and the rest were taken prisoners, and led to Calis. About two daies before this, to wit, the three and twentith daie of Julie, one Thwaits a capteine of an English ship, with fiue score men, archers and others, tooke land beside Bullongne, and passing vp into the countrie three miles to a towne called Newcastell, forraied all the parts as he went, and in his returne set fire on that towne, and burnt a great part thereof, and came againe to his ship in safetie, notwithstanding fourscore hagbutters, and three hundred other men of warre of the countrie came forth, and pursued the Englishmen verie fiercelie: but the Englishmen putting them backe, got to their ship, and lost not a man.

Moreouer, whilest the warres were thus followed in France, the lord Rosse, and the lord Dacres of the north, which were appointed to keepe the borders against Scotland, burnt the towne of Kelsie, and fourescore villages, & ouerthrew eightéene towers of stone, with all their barnekines. Also the king appointed the earle of Shrewesburie to be his lieutenant generall of the north parts, against the inuasion which was intended by the duke of Albanie, which earle directed his letters to all the shires lieng from Trent northward, that all men should be in a readinesse. Order was taken by the cardinall, that the true value of all mens substance might be knowne, and he would haue had euerie man sworne to haue vttered the true valuation of that they were worth, and required a tenth part thereof to bée granted towards the kings charges now in his warres, in like case as the spiritualtie had granted a fourth part, and were content to liue on the other three parts.

The lords Rosse & Dacres of the north inuade Scotland and spoile the countrie.

The cardinall will haue euerie man sworne to tell what he is worth.

This

This demand was thought grieuous to them of the citie of London, where the cardinall first moued it; so that manie reasons were alleaged by them why they iudged themselues sore dealt with. In the end they brought in their billes, which were receiued vpon their honesties. The king in this meane time, being now entered into wars with France, thought not to suffer his enimies to rest in quiet: and therefore leauied an armie which he sent ouer to Calis, appointing the earle of Surrie to be generall of the same. When the earle was come to Calis, and had taken order in his businesse for that iournie, he set forward with his armie, being diuided into three battels or wards, of the which, the first was led by sir Robert Ratcliffe, lord Fitz Water, the middle ward or battell the earle himselfe guided, and with him his brother the lord Edmund Howard. The reereward was gouerned by sir William Sands, and sir Richard Wingfield, both being knights of the garter. Capteine of the horsemen was sir Edward Guilford.

The earle of Surrie sent with an armie to inuade France.

The Burgognians ioine with the English host.

They entered into the French ground the second of September, being tuesdaie, and toke their iournie toward Heding. By the way there came to them a great power of Burgognians from the ladie Margaret, as then regent of Flanders, according to the articles of the league. All the townes, villages, and castels in the countrie thorough the which they marched, were burned, wasted, and destroied on euerie side of their waie: as the towne and castell of Sellois, the townes of Brume bridge, Senekerke, Botingham, & Manstier, the towne and castell of Merbins, the towne of Dauerne, the castels of Columberge, and Rew, the towne and church fortified of Boards, saint Marie de Bois, the towne of Haus, the towne and castell of Fringes. On the sirteenth daie of September, the earle of Surrie with his armie of Englishmen and Burgognians, came before the castell of Heding, and planted his siege before it. The towne was entered, and part thereof burned by the Burgognians.

The castell of Heding besieged by the Englishmen.

Within the castell was capteine monsieur de Biez, hauing prouided for defense of the place all things necessarie; so that the earle of Surrie, and other the capteins of the hoast, perceiuing they could not within anie short time win it, after they had bin before it eleuen daies, they raised their siege, chiefli bicause they had no great battering pieces to ouerthrow the walles. For the weather was such, and the waies waxed so deepe towards the latter end of that summer, that they could not conueie with them anie great ordinance. From Heding they passed forward, and comming to Dorlens, burned the towne, and raised the castell. From thense they came vnto the towne of Darrier, which they burnt also and spoiled. Thus they burned and spoiled all the waie as they passed. But the weather still waxed worse and worse, so that manie fell sicke through intemperance thereof, and the Burgognians and Spaniards which were in the armie returned into Flanders.

The earle of Surrie returneth with his armie to Calis.

Then the earle of Surrie, perceiuing that he could no longer keepe the field in that season of the yeare, turned backe towards Calis in good order of battell, and came thither the sirteenth of October. He would gladlie in deed (before the departure of the Burgognians and Spaniards) haue passed the water of Somme: but other capteins considering the time of the yeare to be past, and that the whole armie conteined not aboue eightéene thousand men, iudged it more wisedome to returne, and so in the end their opinions were followed. After that the English armie was returned to Calis, the earle of Surrie sent forth sir William Sands, sir Maurice Berkeleie, sir William Fitz Williams, and with them three thousand men, which burned Marguison, the towne of saint Iehans rode, and also Temple towne, with manie villages.

They also brought a maruellous great bootie of goods out of the countrie, which they got at this rode, as foureteene thousand sheepe, a thousand foure hundred oxen and kine, and other great cattell, a thousand three hundred hogs, and eight hundred mares and horsses, besides prisoners. When the earle of Surrie had set things in order, and appointed forth such as he would haue remaine in the garrisons, on that side the sea; he returned, and all the residue of the armie (sauing those that were commanded to tarie) came ouer also with the nauie, and arriued in the Thames; and so euerie man into his countrie at his pleasure. There remained also behind a companie of men of warre called aduenturers, which serued without wages, liuing onelie on that which they could catch & win of the enimies. There were foure hundred of them that went with the armie now this last time into France, and did much hurt vnto the Frenchmen: for they were by practise become expert and skilfull in the points of warre, and dailie exploited one enterprise or other, to their owne aduantage, and hinderance of the enimie.

A great bootie woone by the Englishmen.

The earle of Surrie returneth with his armie into England.

Aduenturers.

The duke of Albanie being in this meane while established gouernour of Scotland, raised an armie of fourescore thousand men and aboue, with the which he approched to the English borders: but made no inuasion. The mistrust that he had in the Scots caused him to staie, and therefore he sent to the French king for sir thousand Almans, the which he dailie looking for (& that in vaine) droue off time till the end of summer was now at hand, and then requiring a truce for certeine moneths, obteined it at the kings hand. The earle of Shrewesburie had in a readinesse eight and twentie thousand men to haue resisted him, if he had entered vpon the English confines. After that an abstinence of warre was taken betwixt England and Scotland, then in October following there came into England three personages of small behauiour (as it seemed) ambassadors out of Scotland: they were smallie regarded, and shortlie departed.

The duke of Albanie leuieth an armie of Scots to inuade England. Polydor.

Truce betwixt England & Scotland. Edw. Hall.

A meane ambassage out of Scotland.

Their commission was onelie to vnderstand, whether the king had assented to the truce or not. Whereupon it was thought that they were sent rather for a countenance onelie of fulfilling the promise made by the duke of Albanie at that present, when the truce was granted, than for anie true meaning to accomplish that which was promised; that is to saie, to agree vnto some vnfeined and perfect conclusion of peace. The king herevpon doubting their old pranks, ordeined the earle of Northumberland Henrie Persie the fift of that name, warden of the whole marches, who thankefullie receiued the honor thereof, and so he departed. But whatsoeuer matter it was that moued him, shortlie after he began to make suite to the king, and ceassed not, till he was of that office discharged: and then the earle of Surrie lord admerall of England was made generall warden, and the lord Marquesse Dorset was made warden of the east and middle marches, and the lord Dacres of the west marches.

The earle of Northumberland warden of the whole marches.

1523

The earle of Northumberland was for this refusall of exercising the office of lord warden, greatlie blamed of his owne tenants, and accounted of all men to be void of the loue and desire that noblemen ought to haue to honor and chiualrie. The lord Marquesse Dorset accompanied with sir William Bulmer, and sir Arthur Darcie, with manie other of the nobilitie, the second of Aprill then being thursdaie before Easter, entered into Tiuidale, and so passing forward ten miles into Gallowaie, burnt on euerie side the townes and villages. All the night he tarried within

The Marquesse Dorset entereth into Scotland and burneth diuerse townes there.

within the Scotish ground, and on the morrow being goodfridaie, he withdrew backe into England with foure thousand neat, hauing burned Grimsleie, Mowhouse, Doukford, Miles, Ackforth, Crowling, Nolwes manour, Pidder, Crowling, Marbottell, Lowbog, Seforth manor, Middell right, Primsted, Broket, Shawes, Harwell, Wide open Haugh, with others.

A parlement holden at the Blackefriers in London. Edw.Hall. in H.8.fol.Cvj.

On the fiftéenth daie of Aprill began the parlement, which was holden as then at the Blackefriers, and that daie the masse of the Holie-ghost was song, all the lords being present in their parlement robes. ¶ Now when masse was finished, the K. came to the parlement chamber, and there sat downe in the seat roiall or throne, and at his fét on the right side sat the cardinall of Yorke and the archbishop of Canturburie, and at the raile behind stood doctor Tunstall bishop of London, which made to the whole parlement an eloquent oration, declaring to the people the office of a king. First he must be a man of iudgement, according to the saieng of the prophet Dauid, *Deus iudicium tuum regi da, &c.* Also he must be a man of great learning, according to the saieng of the prophet, *Erudimini qui iudicatis terram.* According to which saiengs he said, that God had sent vs a prince of great iudgement, of great learning, and great experience: which according to his princelie dutie, forgat not to studie to set forward all things which might be profitable to his people and realme, least might be laid to his charge the saieng of Seneca; *Es rex & non habes tempus esse rex?* Art thou a king and hast no time to be a king? Which is as much to saie, as; Art thou a king, and dwell nothing profitable to thy people? Art thou a king, and seest the people haue an insufficient law? Art thou a king, and wilt not prouide remedie for the mischéefe of thy people?

The oration of doctor Tunstall bishop of London.

These things haue moued the kings most excellent maiestie to call this his high court of parlement, both for the remedie of mischéefs which be in the common law, as recoueries, forren vouchers & corrupt trials, and for making and ordering of new statutes, which maie be to the high aduancement of the common-wealth. Wherefore he willeth his commons to repaire to the common house, and there to elect them a speaker, or their common mouth, and to certifie the lord chancellor of the same, who should thereof make report to the kings most noble grace, and should declare his pleasure when he would haue him presented to his person. This was the cause of the parlement, as he said. But suerlie of these things no word was spoken in the whole parlement, and in effect no good act made, except the grant of a great subsidie were one. But according to this instruction the commons departed to the common house, & chose for their speaker sir Thomas More knight, & presented him on the saturday after in the parlement chamber, where he (according to the old vsage) disabled himselfe both in wit, learning, & discretion, to speake before the king, and brought in for his purpose how one Phormio desired Hanniball to come to his reading, which thereto assented, and when Hanniball was come he began to read *De re militari*, that is, of chevalrie. When Hanniball perceiued him, he called him arrogant fole: bicause he would presume to teach him which was maister of chevalrie, in the feats of warre. So the speaker said, if he should speake before the king, of learning and ordering of a common-wealth and such other like, the king so well learned and of such prudence and experience might saie to him as Hanniball said to Phormio. Wherefore he desired his grace that the commons might chose an other speaker.

The oration of sir Thomas More speaker for commons.

The cardinall answered, that the king knew his wit, learning, and discretion by long experience in his seruice: wherefore he thought that the commons had chosen him as the most meetest of all; and so he did admit him. Then sir Thomas More gaue to the king his most humble thanks, and desired of him two petitions: the one, if he should be sent from the commons to the king on message and mistake their intent, that he might with the kings pleasure resort againe vnto the commons for the knowledge of their true meaning. The other was, if in communication and reasoning, any man in the common house should speake more largelie than of dutie he ought to do, that all such offenses should be pardoned, and that to be entered of record. Which two petitions were granted; and so thus began the parlement and continued as you shall heare.]

This yeare was the citie and the whole Ile of the Rhodes conquered by the Turke, and all the christians displaced: whereof Guicciardin hath discoursed as followeth. ¶ The end of this yeare (saith he) was made no lesse wretched and vnhappie, than slanderous to all christian princes for the losse of the Ile of Rhodes: which Soliman Ottoman tooke by violence, notwithstanding it was defended by the knights of Rhodes, called in other times more ancient the knights of saint John of Jerusalem. And abiding in that place since they were chased out of Jerusalem, notwithstanding they laie betweene two so mightie princes as the Turke & the Soldan; yet their valour had preserued it of long time, and to the right worthie glorie of their order, they had remained as an assured rampier of christian religion in those seas: & yet they were not without their imputations & notes of infamie, for that hauing a continuall custome for the better defending of those shoares, to spoile the vessels of the infidels, they were thought sometimes to make pillage of christian ships.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag 840. Rhodes taken by Soliman Ottoman.

The Turke sent into the Iland a wonderfull great armie, which remaining there manie moneths with no lesse horrour to good men for their cruelties, than terrour to all men for their huge numbers, at last he came thither in person. And drawing to his desire of conquest and glorie, the respect of profit and riches which the victorie would yéeld, he lost not one minute of time to vse them. Wherein his industrie was nothing inferiour to his valour, for sometimes he cast monstrous mines and trenches, sometimes he raised platformes of earth and wood, whose height ouertoped the wals of the towne, and sometimes he afflicted them with most furious and bloudie assaults: insomuch that as these works and engines were not performed without a wonderfull butcherie & slaughter of his souldiors; so also the defense of them was so dangerous to the liues of them within, that manie numbers were diminished, manie bodies maimed and made vnseruiceable, & the residue sore terrified by the calamitie of their companions and frends, to whome they could giue no other propertie of compassion, than to mourne with them in their common miserie.

The Turkes great industrie equiualent to his valour.

Their aduersitie was so much the more intollerable, by how much their trauels were without fruit, their words without comfort, and their valour disfauoured of fortune, & lastlie their store of gunpowder was consumed, which is not the least necessitie for the defense of a place. They saw before their eies huge breaches made into their walles with the artilleries of their enimies, they discerned seuerall mines wrought into manie parts of the towne, and they found by lamentable experience, that the lesse good they did, the more painfullie they laboured, for that their fortune had reduced them to these termes of extremitie, that in abandoning one place to relieue another, they put both in danger, not hauing numbers sufficient to furnish the seruice, and lesse

The manifold calamities & ruines inforced by this warre.

expectation

erpectation of reſcue amid perils ſo raging and deſperate: ſo that, what for that their neceſſities were greater than their hopes, & their defenſe leſſe able by the continuall diminution of their numbers, & laſtlie holding it no breach of honour to preſerue by wiſdome and compoſition, that they could no longer defend by their valour and prowes, they gaue place to their deſtinie, and capitulated with the Turke as followeth. That the great maiſter of their order ſhould leaue the towne to him: that as well he as all his knights ſhould depart in ſafetie, with libertie to carie with them as much of their goods as they could. And for aſſurance of this capitulation, the Turke ſhould withdraw out of thoſe ſeas, his fleet or nauie, and retire his armie by land fiue miles from Rhodes. By vertue of which capitulation Rhodes remained to the Turkes, and the chriſtians paſſed into Sicilie, and ſo into Italie, keeping their faith and profeſſion vnviolated. They found in Sicilie an armie by ſea compounded of a certeine number of veſſels, with great releaſe of vittels and munitions, and readie to hoiſe ſaile at the nert wind to reuittle Rhodes. The ſlowneſſe of this reſcue was laid to the popes fault.

Rhodes rendered vp to the Turke.

Abr. Fl. et Guic. pag. Rhodes taken by Soliman Ottoman.

Soliman's contempt of chriſtian religion.

After they were departed, Soliman for a more contempt of chriſtian religion, made his entrie into the citie vpon the daie of the birth of the ſonne of God: which daie being celebrated in the churches of chriſtians with noiſe of muſike & holie invocations, he converted all the churches of Rhodes dedicated to the ſeruice of Jeſus Chriſt, into Moſqueis (ſo they call their temples) which after all the chriſtian rites and ceremonies were aboliſhed, they made dedicatorie to Mahomet. God cauſe had the chriſtians herevpon with heauie hearts to make their complaint to God by the preſident of the pſalmiſt, lamenting the libertie of the enimies exerciſing the vehemencie of his rage againſt Gods people; & full well with ſwolne eies teſtifieng the ſorrow of their ſoules might (ſadlie ſounding the dumps of their threnomina) ſaie:

Buc. in pſal. 74.

——perde funditùs
Hoſtes proteruos, qui tuum ſacrarium
Manu nefanda polluunt,
Clangunt ſonora buccina, non quæ tuas
Laudes canat, ludibrio
Sed feſta acerbo quæ profanet; in tuis
Vexilla figunt turribus, &c.

The Turke great indeauour ſhewed by his valour.

To vnderſtand more of this hiſtorie touching the taking of Rhodes, what moued the Turke to couet the ſame, his letter comminatorie to Philip de Villiers who toke part againſt him, with other accidents and circumſtances belonging to this martiall action; read the report of Edward Hall, which is verie copious and plentifull in this behalfe. And now will we returne to our owne affaires here in England.]

Ed. Hall in H. 8. fol. cvij, cviij, & deinceps.

Cardinall Wolſie made biſhop of Durham.

About this time the biſhop of Durham departed this life, & the king gaue that biſhoprike to the cardinall, who reſigned the biſhoprike of Bath to doctor John Clerke maiſter of the rolles, and ſir Henrie Marneie that was vicechamberleine, was made lord priuie ſeale, and ſhortlie after was created lord Marneie. In the end of this yeare, doctor Blith biſhop of Cheſter was attached for treaſon, but he acquited himſelfe. About this time the cardinall exerciſed his authoritie (which he pretended by his power legantine) verie largelie, not onelie in proouing of teſtaments in his court, calling the executors and adminiſtrators before him, of what dioceſſe ſoeuer they were, but alſo by prouiſions he gaue all benefices belonging to ſpirituall perſons, and ran thereby within danger of the premunire, as afterward was laid to his charge.

The cardinall exerciſeth his authoritie verie largelie. Polydor.

But after that he perceiued his owne follie and raſh doing herein, contrarie to the lawes, which would not permit that anie ſuch things as were moued within the prouince of Canturburie, might bee concluded without the authoritie of the archbiſhop, he ſent them againe to Poules, and ſate himſelfe at Weſtminſter with his cleargie of the prouince of Yorke. And euen as there was much adoo amongſt them of the common houſe about their agréement to the ſubſidie, ſo was there as hard hold for a while amongſt them of the clergie in the conuocation houſe. Namelie Richard biſhop of Wincheſter, & John biſhop of Rocheſter held fore againſt it, but moſt of all ſir Rowland Philips vicar of Croidon, and one of the canons of Poules, béeing reputed a notable preacher in thoſe daies, ſpake moſt againſt that paiment.

But the cardinall taking him aſide, ſo handled the matter with him, that he came no more into the houſe, willinglie abſenting himſelfe to his great infamie, and loſſe of that eſtimation which men had of his innocencie. Thus the beſwedder giuing ouer his hold, the other yéelded, and ſo was granted the halfe of all their ſpirituall reuenues for one yeare, to bée paid in fiue yeres following, that the burthen might the more eaſilie be borne. The parlement being begun (as ye haue heard) the cardinall on the nine and twentith day of Aprill came into the common houſe, and there ſhewing the great charges that the king neceſſarilie was at, and dailie muſt be at in maintenance of his warres againſt the French and Scots, demanded the ſummes of eight hundred thouſand pounds to bée raiſed of the fift part of euerie mans goods and lands, that is to wit, foure ſhillings of euerie pound.

The cleargie grant halfe of all their ſpirituall reuenues for one yeare.

Anno Reg. 15.

A great ſubſidie demanded by the cardinall in the cõmon houſe.

This demand was inforced on the morrow after, by ſir Thomas More then ſpeaker of the parlement: but he ſpake not ſo much in perſuading the houſe to grant it, but other ſpake as earneſtlie againſt it, ſo that the matter was argued to and fro, and handled to the vttermoſt. There were that proued how it was not poſſible to haue it levied in monie, for men of lands and great ſubſtance had not the fift part of the ſame in coine. And ſith the king by the loane had receiued two ſhillings of the pound, which by this rate amounted to 400000 pounds: and now to haue foure ſhillings of the pound, it would amount in the whole vnto twelue hundred thouſand pounds, which is firſt and laſt ſix ſhillings of the pound, being almoſt a third part of euerie mans goods, which in coine might not be had within this realme.

Hard hold about grant of the great ſubſidie.

For the proofe whereof was alleaged, that if there were in England but twentie thouſand pariſhes, and euerie pariſh ſhould giue an hundred markes, that were but fiftéene hundred thouſand markes, which is but an hundred thouſand pounds; and there be not verie manie pariſhes in England one with another, able to ſpare an hundred markes, out of cities and townes. And where it is written, that in England there be fortie thouſand pariſh churches, it was proued that there were not thirtéene thouſand at this daie. Hard hold there was about this demand, and certeine wiſe and diſcréet perſons were ſent to the cardinall, to moue him to be a meane to the king, that a leſſe ſumme might be accepted: but he anſwered that he would rather haue his tong plucked out of his head with a paire of pinſers, than to moue the king to take anie leſſe ſumme: and ſo with that anſwer they departed, reporting to the houſe the cardinals words. Then euerie daie was reaſoning, but nothing concluded.

There are not 10000 pariſhes in England as Stow hath truelie noted.

The obſtinate anſwer of the cardinall to the motion of the common houſe in the parlement.

Whereupon the cardinall came againe into the lower houſe, and deſired that he might reaſon with them that were againſt the demand: but he was anſwered that the order of that houſe was to heare, and not to reaſon, except amongſt themſelues. There he began to ſhew arguments of the great wealth of the

realme,

realme, so that it might be thought, that he repined and disdained that anie man should be wealthie but himselfe. After he was gone, the commons debated the matter according to their former maner, and so in the end concluded of two shillings in the pound, from twentie pounds vpwards, and from fortie shillings to twentie pounds, of euerie twentie shillings twelue pence, and vnder fortie shillings of euerie head of sixteene yeares and vpward foure pence to be paid in two yeares. When this was notified to the cardinall, he was much therwith offended, so that to please him, at length, the gentlemen of fiftie pounds land and vpward, by the liberall motion of sir John Huseie, a knight of Lincolnshire, were burdened with twelue pence more of the pound of the same lands, to be paid in three yeares.

Sir John Huseie.

The cardinall to moue them thereto, bare them in hand that the lords had agreed to foure shillings of the pound, which was vntrue: for they had granted nothing, but staid till they might vnderstand what the commons would do. The king therefore hauing knowledge of this, and such other notable lies vttered by the cardinall, reproued him therefore verie sharpelie, and said that yer it were long he would loke to things himselfe without anie substitute. A maruellous matter to consider how much the cardinall was coled herewith, and how lowlie for a while he bare himselfe, so that thereby it well appeared how the maisters sharpenesse now and then, doth much to refraine the euill nature of the seruant. But the cardinall within a few daies after, pacifieng the kings displeasure toward him, became nothing the better.

Polydor.

Cardinall Woolsie reproued by the king.

After that the foresaid grant was passed and accorded, the parlement was prorogued till the tenth of June. During which prorogation, the common people said to the burgesses; Sirs, we heare say you will grant foure shillings of the pound, we aduise you to do so that you may go home: with manie euill words and threatnings. In this season the cardinall by his power legantine dissolued the conuocation at Pouls called by the archbishop of Canturburie, calling him and all the cleargie to his conuocation at Westminster, which was neuer seene before in England (saith Hall) whereof maister Skelton a merrie poet wrote:

Edw. Hall in H.8. fol.Cx.

The cardinall dissolueth the archbishop of Canturburies conuocation.

Gentle Paule lay downe thy sweard,
For Peter of Westminster hath shauen thy beard.

When the parlement was begun againe, the gentlemen that saw themselues charged with twelue pence more of the pound for their lands, did so much, that it was granted, that men of fiftie pounds and vpward in goods, should also pay twelue pence of euerie pound in the fourth yeare: which could not bee brought about but with great adoo, and much grudging of the burgesses and commons. The one and thirtith of Julie, the parlement was adiourned to Westminster, & there continuing till the thirteenth of August, was that day at nine of the clock at night dissolued. During the time of this parlement, the seuen and twentith of Aprill, was sir Arthur Plantagenet, baskard sonne to king Edward the fourth, at Bridewell created vicount Lisle, in right of his wife, which was wife to Edmund Dudleie beheaded.

Arthur Plantagenet created vicount Lisle.

In this yeare the fiftéenth of June, Christerne king of Denmarke, with his wife, and a small traine with them, landed at Douer, where he was noblie receiued by the earle of Deuonshire, the bishops of Ercester and Rochester, and diuerse knights and esquiers which brought them to Grenwich, where the king and quéene receiued them with all honor. Now after he had remained at the court certeine daies, he was brought to London, & lodged at Bath place. He saw the watch on saint Peters eeuen, being brought vnto the kings head in Cheape, accompanied with the duke of Suffolke, the earles of Orford, Essex, and Kent, and diuerse other lords and ladies. The citie made to him and to his wife a costlie banket that night, and after he had passed the time a while in London, he resorted againe to the king, and had of him great gifts, and so likewise had his wife of the quéene hir aunt, & then taking their leaue they departed, and were conueied to Douer. And thus after this king had béene in England two and twentie daies, he toke shipping, and sailed againe into Flanders, where he remained as a banished man out of his owne countrie.

The king of Denmarke arriueth in England.

See Edw. Hall in H.8. fol.Cxj.

The citie of London banketteth the K. of Denmarke.

The king of Denmarke departeth out of England into Flanders.

About the same time, the earle of Kildare being restored to the cardinals fauour, and taking to wife the ladie Elizabeth Graie, was sent ouer againe into Ireland to occupie his former office, where by the assistance of his faithfull friend Hugh Ynke archbishop of Dublin, and chancellour of that land, hée brought the countrie into reasonable good order, so far as the rebellious doings of the wild Irish would permit. In this meane while, the warre was earnestlie pursued betweene England & France, & England and Scotland, insomuch that each part did what in them lay to hurt other. On the borders toward Scotland lay the earle of Surrie high admerall of England, and the marques Dorset, with his brethren, sir William Compton, & sir William Kingston, with diuerse other knights and esquiers sent to them by the king, which dailie inuaded the realme of Scotland, and threw downe the castell of Wederborne, the castell of west Nesgate, the castell of Blackater, the tower of Hackwalles, the tower of east Nesgate, & manie other, and burnt to the number of thirtie and seuen villages, and haried the countrie from the east marches to the west, and neuer had skirmish.

Polydor.

The earle of Kildare restored to his office of deputiship in Irelād.

Edw. Hall.

Scotland sore spoiled.

For the Scots, albeit they shewed themselues in plumps, waiting some aduantage, they durst not yet approch to the maine battell of the Englishmen, so that in all this iournie there were but few Englishmen lost. When the lords perceiued that the Scots ment not to make anie inuasion into England this yeare, they toke order for the fortifieng of the frontiers, and so returned. It was thought that the cardinall perceiuing in what fauour sir William Compton was with the king, and doubting least the same might diminish his authoritie, deuised to send him thus into the warres against the Scots. For the said sir William could not well brooke the cardinals presumption, in taking vpon him so highlie, to the derogation of the kings supreme gouernement, and therfore the cardinall in his absence thought to worke him out of fauour: but it would not be. For shortlie after was sir William Compton called home to the court againe,

Polydor.

The Frenchmen burned a ship fraught with stone in the hauen of Calis, vpon hope to haue destroied the hauen; but they missed the chanell in bringing in the ship, and so after that the ship was consumed with fire, the stones were recouered out of the water, and brought into Calis, which serued the Englishmen to good vse. Diuerse enterprises were atchiued betwixt them of the garrisons French and English in those marches. In Julie the lord Sands treasuror of Calis, with other capteins & souldiors, to the number of twelue hundred, entered into the confines of their enimies, and came before Bullongne, where they had a great skirmish, & put their enimies to the worse: and after marching into the countrie, toke diuerse churches and other places which the Frenchmen had fortified, as the church of Oderfall, the steeple of Oding-ham, and the castell of Hardingham, and so after they had bene within the enimies countrie almost two nights and two daies, they came backe to Calis, hauing not lost past a dozen of their men.

The Frenchmen meaning to destroy Calis hauen, are disappointed by missing the chanell.

They rode main into the French ground.

The king of England being aduertised that the duke

duke of Albanie would returne shortlie into Scotland by sea, and bring with him a power of Frenchmen, prepared a fleet of tall and strong ships meet to encounter with the same duke and his power, and appointed for admerall, sir William Fitz Williams, & with him sir Francis Brian, sir Anthonie Poines, sargeant Rot, John Hopton, William Ganston, Anthonie Kneuet, Thomas Weſt, and other, which vsed great diligence to haue met with the said duke of Albanie. And as they laie on the French coast, the foure and twentith of August being sundaie, at seauen of the clocke in the morning, they landed in the hauen of Treiport, and assaulted the Frenchmen that were in certeine bulworks on the shore, and did what they could to impeach the Englishmens landing.

The Englishfleet landeth in Treiport hauen.

But the Englishmen incouraged by their capteins, did so valiantlie (although they were but an handfull of men in comparison of their enimies, as seuen hundred to six thousand) that in the end they repelled the Frenchmen, and wan their bulworks of them, and in the same found diuerse pæces of ordinance, which they seized. And perceiuing that the Frenchmen fled to the towne of Treiport, they followed, and shot at them right egerlie, so that manie of the Frenchmen were slaine and wounded, yer they could get to the towne. The Englishmen assaulted the gates but could not breake them open: yet they set fire on the suburbes, & also burnt seuen ships which laie in the hauen. The English capteins perceiuing how the people of the countrie came downe in great numbers to the rescue of the towne, caused their men to get togither such spoiles as they might bring awaie in that sudden: and then after they had béene on land fiue houres, with like spéd as they came, they retired backe againe to their ships, not without some losse and damage of men both hurt & slaine; as it often happeth, when those be not found vnprouided which a man vnaduisedlie assaileth.

The English set fire on the suburbes of Treiport.

olydor.

In this season the king hauing put an armie of men in a readinesse, caused the same to be transported ouer to Calis, & appointed the duke of Suffolke to haue the leading thereof, and to make a iournie into France. The duke (according to his commission) came to Calis the foure and twentith of August, and there abiding the armie, caused all things to be prepared necessarie for the same, as vittels, munition, and such like. There were appointed to attend him in this iournie, the lord Montacute, and his brother sir Arthur Pole, the lord Herbert sonne to the earle of Worcester, the lord Ferrers, the lord Parneie, the lord Sandes, the lord Barkleie, the lord Powes, and the baron Curson: of knights sir Richard Wingfield chancellour of the duchie of Lancaster, sir John Uær, sir Edward Neuill, sir William Kingston, sir Richard Weston, sir Andrew Winsor, sir Robert Wingfield, sir Anthonie Wingfield, sir Edward Guilford, sir Edward Greuile, sir Edward Chamberleine, sir Thomas Lucie, sir Euerard Digbie, sir Adrian Forcew, sir Richard Cornewall, sir William Courtneie, sir William Sidneie, sir Henrie Owen, and manie others.

olydor.

dw. Hall.

The duke of Suffolke entereth into France with the armie.

The whole armie (as appéred by the musters taken thereof) consisted in six hundred demilances, two hundred archers on horsseback, three thousand archers on foot, and fiue thousand bill men. To these also were adioined seuenteene hundred, which were taken out of the garisons and crewes of Hammes, Guisnes, & Calis, so that in all they were ten thousand and fiue hundred, well armed and appointed for the warrs. Beside them, there were also two thousand six hundred labourers and pioners. When this armie was come ouer to Calis, and all things readie for the iournie, they issued out of Calis and toke the fields. The vant-gard was led by the lord Sandes. Capteine of the right wing was sir William Kingston, & on the left sir Euerard Digbie. The marshall of Calis sir Edward Guilford was capteine of all the horssemen. The duke himselfe gouerned the battell, and sir Richard Wingfield was capteine of the rere-ward.

While the armie laie without Calis, they dailie came into the towne. And so it happened that a simple felow cut a purse, as he made to buie apples, which incontinent was taken, and brought to the maiors house to ward. Which thing diuerse Welshmen perceiuing, and not knowing what apperteined to iustice, ran in great companies to the maiors house, & would haue broken the house. The officers of the towne intreated, but the Welshmen more & more approched. The number of the Welshmen was so great, that the watch of Calis strake alarum. Then the lord deputie and the lord Sands did all that in them laie, to bring them to conformitie. But they were so rude, that they nothing them regarded: the priests brought forth the sacrament, which also was not regarded. Wherefore the lord Ferrers was straightlie commanded to appease their rage, for with him they came thither, which with great paine and intreatie them appeased. And then all the Welshmen were commanded to the field, and to depart the towne, and so were all other capteins: and afterwards diuerse of the head rioters were apprehended and sore punished for example.

A riot at Calis. Edw. Hall, pag. Cxliii.

The first enterprise that the duke attempted, was the winning of a castell called Bell castell, to which the lord Sands, and the lord Ferrers being sent, did so much by the power of battrie, that after the wals were beaten, those that were appointed to giue the assalt, prepared them therto. Which when the Frenchmen within perceiued, they yéelded the place into the Englishmens hands, and themselues to the mercie of the duke, which receiued them as prisoners, and deliuered the castell to sir William Skeuington, the which he caused to be rased downe to the ground the seauen and twentith of September. In this season was the duke of Burbon high constable of France reuolted from seruice of the French king to the seruice of the emperour and the king of England. For after it was knowne that this duke had his mind alienated from the French king, sir John Russell (that was afterward created erle of Bedford) was sent into France vnto the said duke.

Bell castell assaulted.

Bell castell peelded vp to the Englishmen.

Sir John Russell created afterward erle of Bedford.

This gentleman being verie faire spoken, & well languaged, in disguised apparell, ordered himselfe so wiselie and fortunatlie in his iornete, that in couert manner he came to the duke, and so persuaded him, that he continued in his former determination, and auoided the realme of France, as in the French historie ye maie more at large perceiue. The more to incourage the English souldiers, there was a proclamation made in the host the eight and twentith of September, how the said duke of Burbon was become enimie to the French king, and friend to the king of England; so that hauing in his wages ten thousand Almans, he was readie to inuade France in another part, the more to let & disturb the French kings purposes. For the accomplishing wherof there was sent to him monie in no small summes. After this proclamation the nine and twentith of September, the duke of Suffolke remoued to Ard, and so forward into Picardie. At Cordes betwéene Terwine and saint Omers, there came to him the lord of Isilstein, and with him of Spaniards, Almans, Cleueners, and others, three thousand footmen, and fiue hundred horssemen.

The Spaniards ioine with the English armie.

The duke being thus furnished with new aid, marched forward in wet weather, and made bridges, and

and mended the waies where he passed as well as he might, sending out diuerse companies of his men of warre, to take townes, and fetch in booties on euerie side. The Frenchmen were so afraid of the Englishmen, that they fled out of their houses, and left the townes and villages void, conueieng such goods as they could awaie with them, but oftentimes they left good store behind them, so that the Englishmen gained greatlie, and namelie at Anchor, which was a rich towne, and vpon the Englishmens approch the inhabitants fled out of it, and then the Englishmen entred. They tooke also the castell of Bounegard, and put therein a garison, whereof was capteine the lord Leonard Grete, brother to the marquesse Dorset, to conduct vittellers to the armie, which now was farre from anie succours of the English part.

The castell of Bounegard manned by the Englishmen.

The duke passed forward till he came to the towne of Braie, in the which were sixténe hundred men of warre, vnder the gouernance of capteine Adrian, and beside his retinue, there came to the succours of the towne, monsieur Pontdormie, the vicount Lauerdam, the vicount Tourraine, monsieur Aplincourt, and monsieur Dampneie, with fiue hundred horssemen, so that in the towne beside the inhabitants were two thousand good men of warre. This towne standeth on the riuer of Some foure and twentie English miles from Arras, and foureténe of the same miles aboue Amiens. On the twentith of October, the duke caused his ordinance to be brought afore it by foure of the cloche in the morning, the which was so well aplied in making batterie to the walles of the towne, that by nine of the cloche the towne was made assaultable; and then the Englishmen, Flemings & Burgognians made forward, and by the good comfort of the lord Sandes and other capteins, they got the diches, and after entred vpon the walles. The Frenchmen stood at defense with pikes, crossebowes, handguns, and halbards, but they were too weake, for on all parts entred the Englishmen, and suddenlie the Frenchmen fled, and the Englishmen followed.

The towne of Braie besieged.

Braie won by assault.

On the further side of the towne there was a bulworke fortified with ordinance verie stronglie to defend the passage ouer the water of Some, which is there diuided into diuerse branches. The French horssemen being withdrawne to the passage, defended it till the footmen were got ouer the bridge, and then they plucked awaie the plankes of the bridge, so that no man should follow: but the Englishmen cast plankes on the bridge and got ouer, in which passing diuerse were drowned: but such diligence and inforcement was vsed, that they all passed both horssmen and footmen. Then was the bulworke fiercelie assaulted, and finallie taken by the Englishmen, with all the ordinance. There was also taken capteine Adrian and capteine Utterlieu. The English horssemen followed the Frenchmen, and slue & tooke manie of them. Sir Robert Jerningham brake a speare on the lord Pontdormie. The lord Leonard Greie did valiantlie that day, which was come from the castell of Bounegard, and was here at the winning of Braie, which was taken in maner aboue rehearsed the twentith of October.

A traine of gunpowder laid.

The Frenchmen when they perceiued that they should not be able to defend, had laid a traine of gunpowder to set it on fire, in hope to haue destroied manie of the Englishmen as they should be occupied in gathering the spoile; but by reason that they followed their enimies, and got ouer the passage, the fire tooke and set the towne on fire yer the Englishmen returned. Yet much wine was saued which laie in cellars, and stood the Englishmen in good steed. The one and twentith day of October the armie and all the ordinance passed ouer the riuer, and came to a towne called Rappe. All the inhabitants were fled, but they had left good plentie of wine & other riches behind them. The garison that laie at anchor knowing that the duke was passed the water of Some, raised the towne and castell there called Bounegard, and came to the armie now being lodged at Rappe.

Rappe taken.

The duke sent to them of Roie, requiring to haue the towne deliuered to him, which they granted to do, bicause they had no garison of souldiers within to defend the towne. Thither was sent sir Richard Cornewall, with foure hundred men, which receiued the towne and kept it in good quiet, till the duke came thither with his whole armie. On the fiue and twentith daie of October, the duke remoued to a village called Lihome where the souldiers had great pillage. The nert daie they went to Dauenker, and the seuen and twentith daie they came before the towne of Pontdedier, in the which were a thousand footmen, and fiue hundred horssemen vnder the gouernance of monsieur de Roch baron, purposing to defend the towne to the vttermost. But after that sir William Skeuington had made batterie from foure of the cloche in the next morning till eight in the same forenoone, with such force that the wals were ouerthrowne and made assaultable, they within yeelded the towne into the dukes hands, with condition they might go with bag and baggage.

Roie yeelded to the duke of Suffolke.

Lihome taken.

Pontdedier besieged.

Pontdedier yeelded.

The Frenchmen made such hast, and were so glad to be gone, that they left much houshold stuffe behind them, and great plentie of wine. The Englishmen also would not suffer them to beare their standards vnspred, but rent the same in peces: wherewith the lord Roch baron was highlie displeased, but he could not amend it. The duke remained in Pontdedier till the last of October, and then remoued to Roie, where he rested a while with all his armie. On Allhallowes daie, the duke of Suffolke in the chiefe church of Roie made knights, the lord Herbert, the lord Powes, Oliuer Manners, Arthur Poole, Richard Sandes, Robert Jerningham, Robert Salisburie, Edmund Beningfield, Richard Corbet, Thomas Wentworth, William Storton, Walter Hantell, George Warram, Edward Seimor, that was after duke of Summerset. The morow after the armie remoued to a place called Poele.

Knights made by the duke of Suffolke in France.

The souldiers being thus led from place to place, began to murmur among themselues & to grudge, bicause of the winter season, being nothing meet for their purpose to keepe the fields: it grieued them that the Burgognions being prouided of wagons, made shift to send the spoile and pillage home into their countrie being at hand, & they to want such meanes to make the best of those things which they got, so that (as they tooke it) they beat the bush & others had the birds. This grudge was yet by gentle words ceassed for a time. On the first daie of Nouember the whole armie came to a village called Veane, and there rested for that night, and on the morow after they returned againe ouer the water of Some, and came to a place called Beaufford. At this passage the duke made John Dudleie and Robert Utreight knights.

Mutinie amongst the English souldiers.

John Dudleie and Robert Utreight knighted.

On the eight of Nouember the duke remoued to a place called Mont saint Martine, and from thence was sent the lord Sands to the king in post, to aduertise him in what case the armie stood, and the armie remoued to Permont, and there rested for a time. The Welshmen still murmured that they might not returne home now that the winter was thus farre entered. But there were a sort of men of warre, to the number of a thousand persons vnder the leading of sir John Wallop, which had little wages or none, liuing only on their aduentures, & were therefore called aduenturers, and of some they were called

Sir John Wallop.

Aduentures or Kréekers.

called Kréekers, which had as good will to be still abroad, as the Welshmen had desire to returne home. For these Kréekers by spoiling of townes, taking of prisoners, & other such practises of warlike exploits, made their haunts, and dailie brought to the campe, horsses, mares, vittels, cloth, corne, and other necessaries, which might not haue béene missed.

A bitter and nipping frost.

After great raines and winds which had chanced in that season, there followed a sore frost, which was so extreame, that manie died for cold, and some lost fingers, some lost toes, and manie lost nailes beside their fingers, so extreame was the rigour of that frost. ¶ The thirteenth daie of November the duke remoued to a place within two miles of Boghan castell, and still it froze. The Welshmen in the morning set out a shout, and cried; Home, home. The Kréekers hearing that, cried; Hang, hang. Hereof businesse was like to haue insued, but by policie it was ceassed. Sir Edward Guilford capteine of the horssemen

Boghan castell assaulted and yelded.

viewing the castell of Boghan, perceiued that the marishes (wherewith it was inuironed) were so hard frozen, that great ordinance might passe ouer the same. Which he signified to the duke, & therewith the duke was contented that he should trie what successe would come of giuing the attempt to win it. So was the ordinance brought ouer the marish ground, whereof they within being aduertised, immediatlie after three shots of canon discharged against them, they yelded the castell, and all the artillerie within it, of the which there was good store, as three score & sirteene péeces great and small. The kéeping of this castell was deliuered to the seneschall of Henegow.

In this meane while the lord Sands was come to the court, and informed the king of the state of the armie. The king had before his comming heard that his people in the said armie were in great miserie, both by reason of the intemperat weather, & vnseasonable time of the yeare, the lacke of vittels, & such other discommodities: wherefore he caused a new power of six thousand men to be prepared and sent vnto the duke of Suffolke for a releéfe, vnder the leading of the lord Montioie. But yer this power could

The duke of Suffolke breaketh vp his armie and commeth to Calis.

be put in order to passe the sea, and before the duke could haue knowledge againe from the king of his further pleasure, he was constreined to breake vp his armie, and returned by Valencennes, and so through Flanders vnto Calis. He left at Valencennes all the great artillerie. The king was somewhat displeased with the breaking vp of the armie thus contrarie to his mind, but hearing the resonable excuses which the duke & the capteins had to alleage, he was shortlie after pacified. And so after they had remained in Calis a certeine time, vntill their frends had asswaged the kings displeasure, they returned, and all things were well taken, and they receiued into as much fauour as before.

But now to returne to the doings in other parts, as betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, which chanced in this meane while that the duke of Suffolke was thus in France. Ye shall vnderstand, that the Scots hearing that the warre was thus turned into France, thought that nothing should be attempted against them, and therefore waxed more bold, and began to rob and spoile on the marches of England. Wherefore the king sent againe thither the earle of Surrie treasuror and high admerall of England, the which with all spéed comming to the west borders, sent for an armie of six thousand men, with the which entering Scotland by the drie marishes, he ouerthrew certeine castels, piles, and small holds, till he came through the dales to Jedworth, wherein laie a great garrison of Scots, which skirmished with the Englishmen right sharpelie at their first comming, but yet at length the towne, abbeie, and castell were

The Scots spoile the English marches.

The earle of Surrie inuadeth Scotland.

Jedworth arnt.

wone, spoiled, and burned.

After this the earle incamped within the Scotish ground from the two and twentith of September till the fiue and twentith of the same moneth, & then returned backe againe into England. During which time the lord Dacres wan the castell of Fernihirst.

The castell of Fernihirst won by the lord Dacres.

The French king perceiuing that the Scots did not worke anie notable trouble to the Englishmen to staie them from the inuading of France (& the cause was (as he tooke it) for that they lacked the duke of Albanie, whome they named their gouernour) he therefore prouided a navie of ships to haue transported him ouer into Scotland; so that all things were redie for his iournie. But the Englishmen were redie on the sea vnder the conduct of sir William Fitz Williams to stop his passage if he had set forward, wherefore he caused his ships to be brought into Brest hauen, and bruted it abroad, that he would not go into Scotland that yeare.

The king of England being certified that the duke meant not to depart out of France of all that yeare, about the middest of September, commanded that his ships should be laid vp in hauens till the next spring. The duke of Albanie being thereof aduertised, boldie then tooke his ships, and sailed into Scotland with all conuenient spéed, as in the Scotish historie ye maie read more at large. Shortlie after his arriuall there, he wrought so with the Scots, that an armie was leuied, with the which he approched to the borders of England, & lodged at Cawdestreame, readie to enter into England. The king of England hauing aduertisement giuen to him from time to time of the procéedings of his aduersaries, with all diligence caused to be assembled the people of the North parts beyond Trent, in such numbers that there were three thousand gentlemen bearing coats of armes with their powers and strength, which were all commanded to repaire to the erle of Surrie with spéed. The noble marquesse Dorset was apointed with six thousand men to kéepe Berwike, least the Scots should laie siege thereto.

See the historie of Scotland, pag. 309. & sic deinceps.

Berwike chéeflie regarded.

The duke of Albanie hearing of the preparation which the earle of Surrie made against him, sent to him an herald, promising him of his honour to giue him battell; and if he tooke him prisoner, he would put him to courteous ransome, & his bodie to be safe. To whome the earle answered, that much he thanked the duke of his offer, promising him to abide battell if he durst giue it; & that if the said duke chanced to be taken by him or his, he would strike off his head, and send it for a present to his maister the king of England, and bade him that he should trust to none other. At this answer the duke and the Scots tooke great despite. The earle of Surrie being at Alnewicke, there came to him the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, the lords Clifford, Dacres, Lumleie, Ogle, & Darcie, with manie knights, esquiers, gentlemen, and other souldiers and men of warre, to the number of fortie thousand. And from the court there came the maister of the horsse, sir Nicholas Carew, sir Francis Bryan, sir Edward Bainton, and others.

The last of October being saturdaie, in the night before the same daie, the duke of Albanie sent two or three thousand men ouer the water to besiege the castell of Warke, which comming thither with their great ordinance, beat the castell verie sore, and wan the vttermost ward called the Barnekins. On sundaie and mondaie being the first and second of November, they continued their batterie, and then thinking that the place was assaultable, couragiouslie set on the castell, and by strength entered the second ward. Sir William Lisle that was capteine of this castell, perceiuing the enimies to haue wone the

The castell of Warke assaulted by the Scots.

false brales, and that nothing remained but onelie the inner ward or dungeon, incouraged his men to the best of his power, with words of great comfort and manhood, and therewith issued forth with those few that he had left about him (for he had lost manie at other assaults) and what with couragious fighting, and manfull fighting, the enimies were driuen out of the place, and of them were slaine, and namelie of those Frenchmen which the duke had brought forth of France, to the number of three hundred, which laie there dead in sight when the earle of Surrie came thither, besides such as died of wounds, and were drowned.

The Scots & French driuen backe from warke castell.

Then the Scots and Frenchmen remoued their ordinance ouer the water in all hast, and by that time that they were got ouer, the earle of Surrie was come with fiue thousand horssemen, and all his great armie followed. He was sorie that his enimies were gone, and much praised sir William Lisle for his valiancie. The earle would gladlie haue followed his enimies into their owne borders, but his commission was onelie to defend the realme, and not to inuade Scotland; and therefore he staid, not onelie vnto the great displeasure of himselfe, but also of manie a lustie gentleman, that would gladlie haue seene further proofe of the Scotish mens manhood. Shortlie after, the quéene of Scots, mother to the king, sent to hir brother the king of England, for an abstinence of warre, vntill further communication might be had about the conclusion of some good agréement betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, which request to hir was granted; and so the English armie brake vp, and the earle of Surrie returned to the court.

¶ In this season the emperour Charles sent to the king of England two mules trapped in crimsin veluet curiouslie embrodered, all the buckles, stirrops and all such other garnishings were siluer and gilt of maruellous cunning worke. He sent also eleuen genets full goodlie to behold trapped with russet veluet richlie wrought, and foure speares, and two tawelins of strange timber & worke richlie garnished, and fiue brace of greihounds: and to the quæne he sent two mules with rich trappers, and high chaires after the Spanish fashion. All these presents were thankefullie receiued both of the king and quéene.]

Edw.Hall in H.8.fol.Cxvj. A present sent by the emperour to the king.

Whilest the earle of Surrie was in the marches of Scotland, and the duke of Suffolke in France (as before ye haue heard) the cardinall sent out commissions in the moneth of October, that euerie man being worth fortie pounds, should paie the whole subsidie before granted, out of hand, not tarrieng till the daies of paiment limited. This was called an anticipation, that is to meane, a thing taken before the time appointed, and was a new tearme not knowne before those daies: but they paied swételie for their learning. ¶ In December were taken certeine traitors in Couentrie, one called Francis Philip, schoolemaister to the kings henchmen, and one Christopher Pickering clearke of the larder, and one Anthonie Wainuile gentleman, which by the persuasion of the said Francis Philip, intended to haue taken the kings treasure of his subsidie, as the collectors of the same came towards London, and then to haue raised men and taken the castell of Kilingworth, and to haue arreared warre against the king. The said Francis, Christopher, and Anthonie, were hanged, drawne, and quartered at Tiborne the eleuenth of Februarie, and the other were sent to Couentrie, and there executed.

In anticipation.

The archduke of Austrich made knight of the garter.

In this yeare the king sent the lord Morlete, sir William Husete knight, & doctor Lée his almoner to don Ferdinando the archduke of Austrich, with the order of the garter, which in the towne of Nuremberge receiued the same, where all the princes of Germanie were then assembled at a diet or councell. In this meane while, diuerse enterprises and feats of warre were practised and atchiued by them of the garrisons in the marches of Calis, and the Frenchmen of Bullogne, and the borders thereabouts: but the Frenchmen commonlie were put to the worse. Amongest other exploits, it chanced that one Brereton a gentleman, and capteine of a number of the aduenturers, as he went about to spoile the towne of Wast, was taken by the French horsemen, and sold vnto the pezants of the countrie, the which vnmercifullie slue him and sixteene more that were taken with him, after that the men of warre had deliuered them, and were departed. But this murther was reuenged shortlie by other of the aduenturers, which comming vnto the same towne of Wast, toke thirtie eight prisoners of the inhabitants, & slue of them thirtie & six, & burned the towne.

Brereton capteine of the aduenturers taken & slaine.

1524

In this yeare thorough bookes of ephemerides, and prognostications, foreshewing much hurt to come by waters & flouds, many persons vittelled themselues and went to high grounds for feare of drowning: speciallie one Bolton prior of saint Bartholomewes in Smithfield, builded him an house vpon Harow on the hill, onelie for feare of this floud, and thither he went and made prouision of all things necessarie for the space of two moneths. This great raine and waters should haue fallen in Februarie, but no such thing happened, whereby the follie of men was shewed. The astronomers for their excuse did saie, that in their computation they had miscounted in their number an hundred yeares. A legat was sent from the pope to the king to moue him to peace: but the king declared to him the whole circumstance of his title, for the which he made wars against the Frenchmen, and thereof deliuered notes to the said legat, the which departed with the same backe to Rome in post. He had béene first with the French king, and with the emperour, but could not bring them to anie good conformitie, as his desire was to haue done; so that his trauell was without fruite in maner, as it appeared.

Bolton prior of S. Bartholomewes buildeth a house at Harow on the hill to auoid flouds prognosticated that yeare.

Anno Reg. 16 A legat from Rome to treat a peace betwéene king Henrie and the French king.

Manie enterprises, skirmishes, forreis, and other feats of warre were attempted and put in vre betwixt the Englishmen of Calis, Guisnes, and other fortresses there in those marches, and the Frenchmen of Bullogne, and other of the garrisons in the frontiers of Picardie, and still sir William Fitz Williams as then capteine of Guisnes, sir Robert Jerningham capteine of Newnam bridge, sir John Wallop, and sir John Gage were those that did to the Frenchmen most damage. Also monsieur de Bées being capteine of Bullogne, did for his part what he could to defend the frontiers there, and to annoie his enimies. Yet one daie in Maie, sir William Fitz Williams, and sir Robert Jerningham, with seuen hundred men (accounting in that number the Brekers) went to Bullogne, and there skirmished with the Frenchmen, whilest Christopher Co a capteine of foure English ships toke land, and fought with them of base Bullogne on the one side, as the Brekers assailed them on an other.

Christopher Co.

There was a sharpe bickering, and in the end the Frenchmen were driuen backe, and diuerse of them slaine & taken, specially by the Brekers, that wan the barriers of them, & so when the tide was turned, Christopher Co with his men withdrew to his ships, & the Brekers returned to sir William Fitz Williams, who staid for them, and then gathering his men togither by sound of a trumpet, sent forth such as might fetch the drifts of beasts and cattell in the countrie néere adioning, & with the same returned backe in safetie. On the eight of August monsieur de Bées

The Brekers good souldiors.

accompanied

accompanied with diuerse French lords and men of war, to the number of eight hundred footmen, and as manie horssemen, came verie earlie in a morning to a village called Bonnings, within the English pale, and leauing there three hundred horssemen in ambush, road to Balkewell, and there appointed to tarrie with other three hundred men, and the residue of the horssemen and footmen with banner displated went forth and forraied all the countrie.

Sir Robert Jerningham also with foure score horssemen issued forth of Calis, to vnderstand the demeanor of the Frenchmen: but being not able to resist the great number of the Frenchmen, he was chased, and saued himselfe by flight. But this displeasure was shortlie after reuenged by the said Robert, the which comming to Marguison the twelfe of August with three hundred footmen, and three score horssemen, he skirmished with the Frenchmen that stood at defense, chased them into the church, and fired them out of the same, so that the Frenchmen leapt out of the church to their destruction, for of three hundred there were saued but three score aliue. On the one and twentith of Maie being Trinitie sundaie, fiue hundred Scotishmen in the morning verie earlie, entred by seuerall fords into England, and laie couertlie by the high waies, in purpose to haue surprised such market men as came to the faire that day kept at Berwike. They toke diuerse, but finallie being espied, the alarme rose, and they were fought with right sharplie, who defended themselues with such manhood in drawing backe to their aduantage, that if the yong lord of Fulberie had not come to the succours of the Englishmen, the Scots had gone awaie with their bootie. Notwithstanding in the end they were glad to seeke refuge by flight, losing 200 of their number, which were taken in the chase.

On the fift of Julie next insuing, sir John a Fenwike, Leonard Pulsgraue, and bastard Heron, with diuerse other English capteins, hauing with them nine hundred men of war, entred the Mers, minding to fetch out of the same some bootie, and encountring with the Scots being in number two thousand, after sore and long fight, caused them to leaue their ground and to flie, so that in the chase were taken two hundred Scots, and manie slaine, & amongst them were diuerse gentlemen. But sir Rafe a Fenwike, Leonard Pulsgraue, and the bastard Heron, with thirtie other Englishmen well horssed, followed so farre in the chase, that they were past rescues of their companie, whereof the Scots being aduised, suddenlie returned, and set on the Englishmen, which oppressed with the multitude of their enimies, were soone ouercome, and there was taken sir Rafe a Fenwike, Leonard Pulsgraue, and sir other: and bastard Heron, with seauen other were slaine. The residue by chance escaped. The other Englishmen with their 200 prisoners returned safelie into England.

On the seuenth of Julie, the Englishmen fought with like fortune against the Scots that were entered England at the west marches. For in the beginning they put the Scots to the worse, and toke three hundred of them prisoners: but afterwards, bicause the Englishmen that had taken those prisoners, withdrew out of the field with the same prisoners, the Scots perceiuing the number of the Englishmen to be diminished, gaue a new onset on the Englishmen, and them distressed. After this, the Scots sued for a truce, and had it granted to indure till the feast of saint Andrew. This yeare the first of September was doctor Thomas Hanball maister of the rolles receiued into London with earles, and bishops, and diuerse other nobles and gentlemen, as ambassadors from pope Clement, which brought with him a rose of gold for a token to the king. And on the daie of the natiuitie of our ladie, after a solemne masse song by the cardinall of Yorke, the said present was deliuered to the king: which was a tree forged of fine gold, & wrought with branches, leaues, and floures resembling roses. This tree was set in a pot of gold which had three feet of antike fashion. The pot was of measure halfe a pint, in the vppermost rose was a faire saphire loupe persed, the bignesse of an acorne, the tree was of heigth halfe an English yard, and a fot in bredth.

This yeare in Julie the lord Archembald Douglas earle of Angus, which had maried the quéene of Scots sister to the king of England, escaped out of France (where he had remained for a season, in maner as a banished man) and came into England to the king, as then being at Grénewich, and was of him courteoulie receiued. Sir Anthonie Fitz Herbert one of the Justices of the common plees, sir Rafe Egerton knight, and doctor Denton deane of Lichfield, being sent in the begining of this yeare into Ireland as commissioners, behaued themselues so sagelie, that they reformed diuers wrongs, brought sundrie of the wild Irish by faire means vnto obedience, and made (by the kings authoritie) the earle of Kildare deputie of the land; before whome the great Onele bare the sword. And the lord Piers Butler earle of Ormond, which before was deputie, was now made high treasurer of Ireland. In September the said commissioners returned.

During all this season, there were dailie attempts made and practised by the Englishmen in the lowe countries, namelie the English horssemen; & the aduenturers rested not, but dailie made inuasions vpon the French confines. But the aduenturers about the beginning of winter made an enterprise to fetch some bootie from a village lieng towards Mutrell. They were not fullie two hundred men, and of those there were fiue and twentie horssemen. The Frenchmen by chance the same time were abroad vnder the conduct of the earle of Dammartine, which was going to S. Omers with fifteene hundred horssemen, and eight hundred footmen, and perceiuing where the aduenturers were comming, made towards them, and after long & cruell fight ouercame them, and slue most part of them, for that in defending themselues most stoutlie, they had slaine and wounded a great number of the Frenchmen yer they could be ouercome, keeping themselues close together, and might not be broken so long as they had anie arrowes to shot. This was the end of the aduenturers otherwise called Kréekers, being as hardie men as euer serued prince.

In December there came to London diuerse ambassadors out of Scotland, about a peace to be had, and a marriage concluded betweene the king of Scots, and the ladie Marie daughter to the king of England, as in the Scotish historie yee shall find more at large erpressed. Before the feast of Christmasse, the lord Leonard Graie, and the lord John Graie, brethren to the marquesse Dorset, sir George Cobham, sonne to the lord Cobham, William Carie, sir John Dudleie, Thomas Wiat, Francis Pointz, Francis Sidneie, sir Anthonie Browne, sir Edward Seimor, Oliuer Manners, Percivall Hart, Sebastian Mudigate, and Thomas Calen, esquiers of the kings houshold, enterprised a chalenge of feats of armes against the feast of Christmas, which was proclaimed by Winsore the herald, and performed at the time appointed after the best maner, both at tilt, tourneie, barriers, and assault of a castell erected for that purpose in the tiltyard at Grénewich, where the king held a rotall Christmasse that yeare, with great mirth and princelie pastime.

In the moneth of Januarie, the cardinall by his power

The Scots entr England and rob the market-folks going to Berwike faire.

The Scots put to flight and slaine.

The popes ambassadour presenteth the king with a golden rose.

Commissioners sent into Ireland to reforme the countrie.

The earle of Kildare made deputie of Ireland.

The end of the Kréekers.

Sée the histo-rie of Scot-land, pag. 312.

Sée these triumphs in Edw. Hall pag. Cxxxiij.

The friers obseruants impugne the cardinals authoritie.

power Legantine, would haue visited the friers obseruants, but they in no wise would thereto condescend, wherefore nineteene of the same religion were accursed at Paules crosse, by one of their owne religion, called frier Forrest. John Jokin Steward of houshold to the French kings mother, this yere whilest the French king was in Italie, came into England, & was receiued in secret maner into the house of one doctor Larke, a prebendarie of S. Stephans, and oftentimes talked with the cardinall about the affaires betwixt the kings of England and France, motioning waies for a peace to be concluded. When this was knowne abroad, as at the length it was, monsieur de Prate the emperours ambassador misliked such couert doings, and sore grudged thereat. The foure and twentith of Januarie, the president of Rone called monsieur Brinion, came to London as ambassador from the French king, and was lodged with the said John Jokin.

Ambassadors from the emperour and their requests.

On sundaie the fift of March were receiued into London monsieur de Beuer lord of Campher, admerall of Flanders, and maister John de la Cose, president of Malins, & maister John de la Sache, as ambassadours from the ladie Margaret in the name of the emperour. These ambassadors required three things in their suit. First they demanded the ladie Marie the kings onelie daughter to be deliuered out of hand, and she to be named empresse, and to take possession of all the lowe countries, and to be gouernour of the same. Also that all such sums of monie as the king should giue with hir in mariage for a dower to be made to hir, should be paid incontinentlie. Thirdlie, that the king of England himselfe should passe the sea, and make warre in France the nert summer. The two first demands were not agreed to for certeine causes, and as to this last, the king said he would take aduisement.

News of the siege of Pauia & the taking of the French king prisoner.

On thursdaie the ninth of March, at seauen of the clocke in the morning, there came a gentleman in post from the ladie Margaret gouernesse of Flanders, which brought letters conteining how that the foure and twentith of Februarie, the siege of Pauia (where the French king had lien long) was raised by force of battell, and the French king himselfe taken prisoner. The same day the president of Rone, & John Jokin were going to the court (for they had not yet spoken with the king) and in Holburne in their waie heard these tidings, wherupon they returned to their lodging right sorowfull, and within short space after returned to the regent of France. It was thought the king would haue agreed with the French king, if this chance had not happned, for all the people of England grudged against Flanders, for the euill demeanour of the Flemings in time of the warre. Also the king was displeased with them for inhancing his coine there, which caused much monie to be conueied out of this realme dailie ouer into that countrie. Bounfires and great triumph was made in London for the taking of the French king, on saturdaie the eleuenth of March; and on the morow after being sundaie the twelfe of March, the king came to Paules, and there heard a solemne masse, and after the same was ended, the quére sang *Te Deum*, and the minstrels plaid on euerie side.

¶ Here it is conuenient to adde the battell of Pauia, wherein the French king was taken prisoner, most notablie discoursed by Guicciardine, in the fiftéenth booke of his historie: the principall matter wherof, to make the report of Pauia and the French king more perspicuous, it were good to inferre. On the night (saith mine author) before the fiue and twentith of Februarie, a daie dedicated by the christians to the apostle saint Matthew, and also the daie of the natiuitie of the emperour, the imperialles determined to march to Mirabell, where laie incamped certeine companies of horssemen and footmen. In this march they stood vpon this intention, that if the French men mooued, then they had set at libertie the siege of Pauia: and if they mooued not, then to aduenture the fortune of the battell. Therefore the better to aduance this determination, all the beginning of the night they gaue manie alarmes, the more to kéepe trauelled and wearie the French men, making semblance as though they would charge them on that side towards Paw, Thesin, and saint Lazarus.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 902, & sic deinceps.

The battell of Pauia, wherein the French king is taken prisoner.

About midnight euerie souldior, by the commandement of the capteins, put on a white callakin ouer his armor, to be knowne from the Frenchmen. They were cast into two squadrons of horssemen, & foure of footmen. In the first were six thousand footmen equallie compounded of lanceknights, Spaniards, and Italians: this squadron was led by the marquesse of Guast: the second stood onelie vpon certeine bands of Spanish footmen vnder the charge of the marquesse of Pisquaire: the third and fourth squadron were of lanceknights, commanded by the viceroy and the duke of Burbon. They arriued at the parke walles certeine houres before daie, and by the working of their masons, and readie willes of their souldiers, they cast downe to the earth three score fadome of wall: by which breach, being entred within the parke, the first squadron drew towards Mirabell, and the residue of the armie toke the waie to the campe.

While the French king desired to fight in plaine and open field.

As soone as the king vnderstood that they were entred into the parke, thinking they would draw to Mirabell, he issued out of his lodging to fight in plaine and open field, desiring to draw the battell rather to that place than to anie other, for the aduantages which it gaue to the horssemen: he commanded to turne the artilleries toward the enimies, which beating them in flanke, brought great damage to the reregard. But in the meane while, the battell of the imperialles gaue a furious charge vpon the kings squadron, which ordinarilie was the battell: but as the Spaniards went, it was the reregard. The king fought daliantlie, & abode with great courage the violence of his enimies, who with the furie of their harquebuziers forced his men to giue ground, till the rescue of the Switzers came, when the Spaniards were repelled, as well by them as by the horssemen that charged them in flanke. But the viceroy being called in by the marquesse of Pisquaire, who brought to the fight his lanceknights, they were easilie broken, not without great slaughter of the Switzers, who that daie did nothing answer the opinion of valor which aforetimes they had wont so honorablie to exprésse in battelles.

The king kept alwaies the middle of the battell, being inuironed with a great gard of men at armes. And albeit he did what he could to conteine and confirme his people: yet after he had fought long with his owne hands, his horsse being slaine vnder him, him selfe lightlie hurt in the face and in the hand, he was stricken downe to the earth, and taken prisoner by fiue souldiers that knew not what he was. In which misfortune the viceroy préssing into the throng his maiestie disclosed him selfe to him, who with great reuerence kissed his hand, and receiued him prisoner in the emperours name. At the same time the marquesse of Guast with the first squadron had defeated the horssemen that were at Mirabell. And Anthonie de Leua, who (as was said) had to that end cast downe to the earth so great a quantitie and space of wall, as an hundred and fiftie horssemen might sallie forth in front, issued out of Pauia, & so charged the French behind, that he put them wholie to flight. And in that feare they were almost all stripped

The maner how the French king was vanquished and taken prisoner.

ped and trussed, except the reregard of the horsemen, which being led by monsieur de Alanson from the beginning of the battell, retired almost whole.

The number of the French that were slaine in this battell.

It is holden for certeine, that in this battell were slaine more than eight thousand men of the French campe, part by sword, and part of bodies drowned in the riuer of Thesin, seeking their safetie by swimming. Of this generall number were about twentie of the most noble and aparant lords of France, as the admerall, the lord James Chebanes, the lord Palissa, and Trimouille, the master of the horsse, monsieur de Aubignie, monsieur de Boissie, and monsieur de la Escud, who being taken greeuouslie wounded by his enimies, gaue to them his life in steed of a ransome. The prisoners that were taken were the king of Nauarre, the bastard of Sauoie, the lord Montmerancie, Saint Paule, Bryon, Anuall, monsieur de Chandion, monsieur de Imbercourt, Galeas Visconte, Frederike Bossolo, Barnabie Visconte, Guidanes, with manie gentlemen, and almost all the capteins that escaped the slaughter of the sword. There was also taken prisoner Jerome Leandro bishop of Brundusо the popes nuntio; but by commandement of the viceroy, he was eftsones set at libertie: as also monsieur Saint Paule and Frederike Bossolo committed to the castell of Pauia, brake prison a little after, by the corruption of the Spaniards that had them in charge.

The number of the slaine on the imperialles side.

Of the imperialles side the vniuersall slaughter exceeded not seauen hundred bodies; and not one capteine of name except Ferrand Castriot marquesse of Angeo, the marquesse of Pisquaire was wounded in two places, & Anthonie de Leua lightlie hurt in the leg. The preie and spoile of this battell was so great, as there had not bene seene in Italie more rich souldiors.

Of so great an armie there was preserued but the reregard of foure hundred lances, commanded by monsieur de Alanson, they neuer came to the fight, neuer suffered charge, nor neuer were followed, but leauing behind them their baggage, they retired whole to Piemont, their feare making them more hastie to flie, than carefull of their honor. And as one calamitie followeth another, so the losse of the battell was no sooner reaported at Millaine, than Theodor Triuulce, who laie there in garrison with foure hundred lances, departed and toke his waie to Musocquo, all the souldiors following him by troops: insomuch as the same daie that the king lost the battell, all the dutchie of Millaine was made free from the iurisdiction of the French. The daie after the victorie, the king was led prisoner to the rocke of Pisqueton, for that the duke of Millaine, in regard of his proper suretie, consented hardlie that the person of the king should be kept within the castell of Millaine: he was garded with great gelousie and watch, but in all other things (except his libertie) he was vsed and honored as apertained to the state and maiestie of a king.

The French king led prisoner to the rocke of Pisqueton.

Guic. pag. 904.

Now (saith mine author, speaking to the readers of his historie) you haue seene set downe the ouerthrow of the French armie in the battell of Pauia: a wretched successe, where was so great expectation of victorie. You haue seene a mightie king deliuered vp prisoner into the hands of him, with whom he contended for glorie and empirie: a spectacle most tragicall amongst all the calamities that fortune bringeth vpon mans mortalitie. You haue seene the most part of the nobilitie, and honorable capteins of France, slaine in the seruice and presence of their king: a matter that made more lamentable his owne condition and aduersitie. You haue seene the residue of that armie, so vniuersallie perplered with feare and confusion, that the same thing that should haue reteined them in so great affliction, made them the lesse assured, and further off from confidence.

Guic. pag. 915. The moderation and temperance of the emperour vpon the newes of the victorie.

When word came to the emperour of all the former accidents, the eies of euerie man were set to behold with what propertie of affection he would receiue his gladsome news, and to what ends his thoughts were disposed: who so farre as exterior demonstrations made shew, expressed great tokens of a mind much moderated, and verie apt to resist easilie the prosperitie of fortune: yea the signes and inclinations appering so much the more incredible, by how much he was a prince mightie & yong, and as yet had neuer tasted but of felicitie. For after he was informed truelie of so great a victorie, whereof he had the reapport the tenth of March, togither with letters of the French kings owne hand, written rather in the spirit and condition of a prisoner, than with the courage of a king, he went forthwith to the church to make his holie oblations to God with manie solemnities. And the morning following he receiued with signes of right great deuotion the sacrament of the eucharist, and so went in procession to our ladies church out of Madrill, where was his court at that time.

His temperance and moderation was aboue the expectation of his estate, and farre contrarie to the course of the time in matters of that nature: for he would not suffer anie bels to be rong, nor bounfires to be made, nor anie other manner of publike demonstrations, such as are vsed for glorie or gladnesse, alledging with a mind more vertuous than insolent, that such propertie of feasting and reioising was due to victories obteined against infidels, but ought to haue no shew where one christian ouercame another. Neither were the actions and gestures of his person and speaches differing from so great a temperance and continencie of mind, which he well expressed in the answers he made to the congratulations of the ambassadours and great men that were about him: to whome he said he was not glad of the accident according to the glorious operation of flesh and blond, but his reioising was in that God had so manifestlie aided him: which he interpreted to be an assured signe that he stood in his grace and fauour, though not through his owne merit, yet by his celestiall election. The French king being in the custodie of the viceroy of Naples (who much comforted him, and praised his valiantnesse, and praied him to be content, for he should haue a gentle end) desired to write to his mother, which was to him granted. His verie words were these.

A most excellent conceipt and saieng of the emperour.

Ed. Hall in H. 8. fol. Cxxxvj.

The French kings letter to his mother the regent of France.

This he wrote being the emperors prisoner.

TO aduertise you of my infortunat chance: nothing is left but the honour and the life that is saued. And seeing some other news shall recomfort you, I haue desired to write to you this letter, the which liberallie hath been granted to me: beseching you to regard the extremitie of your selfe, in insuing your accustomed wisedome. For I hope that at length God will not forget me, to you recommending your little infants and mine, supplieng you to giue safe conduct, to passe and returne from Spaine, to this bearer that goeth toward the emperor, to know in what wise I shall be intreated. And thus right humbly to your good grace I haue me recommended. This subscri-

hed by your humble and obedient sonne Francis.

Guic.pag. 625. The manifold passions or perplexities of the people in generall.

In this estate of aduersitie the people set before their eies all that feare and despaire could imagine: they doubted least so great a calamitie were not the beginning of a further ruine & subuersion: they saw their king prisoner, and with him either taken or slaine in the battell the chiefteins of the kingdome, which in the imagination of their sorrowes they held a losse irreparable: they beheld their capteins discomfited, and their souldiers discouraged: a calamitie which stoped in them all hope to be readdressed or reassured: they saw the realme made naked of monie and treasure, and inuironed with most mightie enimies: an affliction which most of all caried their thoughts into the last cogitation of desperat ruine: for the king of England, notwithstanding that he had holden manie parlæs and treaties, and shewed in manie things a variation of mind, yet not manie daies before the battell, he had cut off all the negotiations which he had interteined with the king, and had published that he would descend into France, if the things of Italie toke anie good successe.

So that the Frenchmen feared least in so great an opportunitie, the emperour and he would not leuie warre against France, either for that there was no other head or gouernour than a woman, and the little children of the king, of whom the eldest had not yet run eight yeares accomplished: or else bicause the enimies had with them the duke of Burbon, for his owne particular a puissant prince, and for his authoritie in the realme of France verie populat and strong in opinion, a mightie instrument to stirre vp most dangerous emotions. Besides, the ladie regent, as well for the loue she bare to the king, as for the dangers of the realme was not without hir passions both proper and particular: for being full of ambition, and most greedie of the gouernment, she feared that if the kings deliuerie drew any long tract of time, or if anie new difficultie hapned in France, she should be constreined to yeeld vp the administration of the crowne to such as should be delegate and assigned by the voices of the kingdome. Neuertheless amid so manie astonishments and confusions, she drew hir spirits to hir, and by hir example were recomforted the nobles that were of counsell with hir, who toke speedie order to man the frontiers of the realme, and with diligence to leuie a good prouision of monie.

The ladie regent hir selfe was partaker of these griefs and feares.

The ladie regent, in whose name all expeditions and dispatches went out, wrote to the emperour letters full of humilitie and compassion, wherin she forgat not by degrees vehement and inducing to solicit a negociation of accord: by vertue whereof, hauing a little after deliuered don Hugo de Moncado, she sent him to the emperour, to offer him that hir sonne should renounce and disclaime from all rights of the kingdome of Naples, and the estate of Millan, with contentment to refer to the censure and arbitration of the law, the titles and rights of Burgundie, which if it apertained to the emperour, he should acknowledge it for the dowrie of his sister: that he should render to monsieur Burbon his estate togither with his mouables and goods which were of great valour, and also the fruits and reuenues which had bene leuied by the commissioners deputed out of the regall chamber: that he should giue to him his sister in marriage, and deliuer vp to him Prouence, if iudgement of the interest and right were made of his side.

The ladie regents offer to the emperour for the deliuerie of hir sonne.

And for the more facilitie and speedie passage of this negociation, rather than for anie desire she had to nourish hir inclination to the warre, she dispatched immediatlie ambassadours into Italie, to recommend to the pope and the Venetians the safetie of hir sonne. To whome she offered, that if for their proper securitie they would contract with hir, and raise armes against the emperour, she would for hir particular aduance fiue hundred lances, togither with a great contribution of monie. But amid these trauels and astonishments, the principall desire as well of hir, as of the whole realme of France, was, to appease and assure the mind of the king of England, iudging trulie that if they could reduce him to amitie and reconcilement, the crowne of France should remaine without quarrell or molestation. Where, if he on the one side, and the emperour on the other, should rise in one ioint force, hauing concurrent with them the person of the duke of Burbon, and manie other opportunities and occasions, it could not be but all things would be full of difficulties and dangers.

The regent standeth most in feare of the king of Englands displeasure.

Of this the ladie regent began to discerne manie tokens and apparances of good hope: for notwithstanding the king of England immediatlie after the first reaports of the victorie, had not onelie expressed great tokens of gladnesse and reioising, but also published that he would in person passe into France: and withall had sent ambassadours to the emperour to solicit and treat of the moouing of warre iointlie togither: yet proceeding in deed with more mildnesse than was expected of so furious shewes and tokens, he dispatched a messenger to the ladie regent, to send to him an expresse ambassadour: which accordinglie was accomplished, and that with fulnesse of authoritie and commission, such as brought with it also all sorts of submissions & implorations which she thought apt to reduce to appeasement the mind of that king so highlie displeased. He reposed himselfe altogither vpon the will and counsell of the cardinall of Yorke, who seemed to restreine the king and his thoughts to this principall end, that bearing such a hand vpon the controuersies and quarrels that ran betweene other princes, all the world might acknowledge to depend vpon him and his authoritie the resolution and expectation of all affaires.

Note how forren chroniclers could report of cardinall Wolsie.

And for this cause he offered to the emperour at the same time to descend into France with a puissant armie, both to giue perfection vnto the aliance concluded betweene them before, and also to remoue all scruple and gelousie, he offered presentlie to consigne vnto him his daughter, who was not as yet in an age and disposition able for marriage. But in these matters were very great difficulties, partlie depending vpon himselfe, and partlie deriuing from the emperour, who now shewed nothing of that readinesse to contract with him which he had vsed before: for the king of England demanded almost all the rewards of the victorie, as Normandie, Guien, and Gascoigne, with the title of king of France. And that the emperour, notwithstanding the inequalitie of the conditions should passe likewise into France, and communicate equallie in the expenses and dangers. The inequalitie of these demands troubled not a little the emperour, to whome they were by so much the more grieuous, by how much he remembred that in the yeares next before, he had alwaies deferred to make warre euen in the greatest dangers of the French king. So that he persuaded himselfe that he should not be able to make anie foundation vpon that confederation.

The emperours hope to recouer more profit by the French king in peace than warre.

And standing in a state no lesse impouerished for monie and treasure, than made wearie with labours and perils, he hoped to draw more commodities from the French king by the meane of peace, than by the violence of armes and warres, specially ioining with the king of England. Besides, he made not that accompt which he was wont to do of the mariage of his daughter, both for hir minoritie in age,

age, and also for the dowrie for the which he should stand accomptable for so much as the emperour had receiued by waie of loane of the king of England: he seemed by manie tokens in nature to nourish a wonderfull desire to haue children, and by the necessitie of his condition he was caried with great couetousnesse of monie: vpon which two reasons he toke a great desire to marie the sister of the house of Portugall, which was both in an age able for marriage, and with whome he hoped to receiue a plentifull portion in gold and treasure, besides the liberalities of his owne people offered by waie of beneuolence in case the mariage went forward: such was their desire to haue a quéene of the same nation and language, and of hope to procreat children.

For these causes the negociation became euerie daie more hard and desperat betwéene both those princes, wherein was also concurrent the ordinarie inclination of the cardinall of Porke towards the French king, togither with the open complaints he made of the emperour, as well for the interests and respects of his king, as for the small reputation the emperour began to hold of him. He considered that afore the battell of Pauia, the emperour neuer sent letters vnto him which were not written with his owne hand, and subscribed, your sonne and cosine Charles: but after the battell, he vsed the seruice of secretaries in all the letters he wrote to him, inserting nothing of his owne hand but the subscription, not with titles of so great reuerence and submission, but onelie with this bare word Charles. In this alteration of affection in the emperour, the king of England toke occasion to receiue with gratious words and demonstrations, the ambassadour sent by the ladie regent, to whome he gaue comfort to hope well in things to come. And a little afterward, estranging his mind wholie from the affaires which were in negociation betwéene him and the emperour, he made a confederation with the ladie regent, contracting in the name of hir sonne, wherein he would haue inserted this expresse condition, that for the kings ransome and deliuerie, should not be deliuered to the emperour anie thing that at that time should be vnder the power or possession of the crowne of France.

What moued the king of England gratiouslie to receiue the ladie regents ambassadour.

Shortlie after, the viceroy & the other capteins imperiall were induced vpon vrgent reasons to transport the person of the French king into a surer hold, than where presentlie he was kept, iudging that for the ill disposition of others, they could not without perill kéepe him garded in the duchie of Millan: in which feare ioined to their continuall desire so to do, they resolued to conueie him to Genes, and from thense by sea to Naples, where his lodging was prepared within the new castell. This determination brought no little greefe to the king, who from the beginning of his captiuitie, had vehementlie desired to be carried into Spaine: perhaps he had opinion (measuring happilie an other man by his owne nature, or else running with the common errour of mortall men being easilie beguiled in things they desire) that if once he were brought to the presence of the emperour, he doubted not of some easie passage for his libertie, either through the emperours benignitie, or by the conditions he meant to offer. The viceroy was of the same desire for the augmentation of his owne glorie.

Guic. pag. 930. The person of the French king led prisoner into Spaine.

Monsieur Montmerancie sent to the ladie regent.

But being reteined for feare of the French armie by sea, they dispatched by common consent monsieur Montmerancie to the ladie regent, who granted to him six light gallies of those that laie in the port of Marseilles vpon promise to haue them restored as soone as the king was arriued in Spaine. With these gallies, he returned to Portofino, where the kings person was alredie arriued, and ioining them to fiue téene gallies of the emperour, which was the nauie appointed at first to conduct him to Naples, he reduced them all into one fléet, and armed them all with sowmen of the Spanish. The capteins imperials and the duke of Burbon were persuaded, that the kings person should be led to Naples: but of the contrarie, setting vp saile the seuenth of June, they toke such course, that the eight daie they arriued with a happie voiage at Rosa a hauen of Catalognia: their comming brought no small ioy to the emperour, who vntill that daie had vnderstood nothing at all of that resolution.

The emperor commandeth that the French king should be receiued with honour in all places where he should passe.

Now as soone as he was made assured of the kings being there, he dispatched commandements vnto all places where he should passe, to receiue him with great honours: onelie till it should be otherwise determined, he gaue order to kéepe him in the castell of Sciatiua néere to Ualence, a castell ancientlie vsed by the kings of Aragon for the garding of great personages, and wherein had béene kept prisoner for manie yeares the duke of Calabria. But the deliberation to kéepe him in that place, séeming farre too rigorous to the viceroy, and nothing agréeable to the promises he had made to the king in Italie, he woone so much of the emperour, that till he had taken an other counsell, the kings person might remaine nére Ualence in a place apt for hunting and other delights of the field. There he left him lodged with sufficient gard vnder the charge of capteine Alarcon, in whose custodie he had alwaies remained since his vnfortunate daie.

From thence the viceroy, togither with Pontmerancie, went to the emperour to make reapport of the state of Italie, and the discourse of things which till that daie had béene debated with the king, with whome he persuaded the emperour with manie reasons to draw to accord, for that he could not haue a faithfull amitie and coniunction with the Italians. The emperour after he had heard the viceroy and Pontmerancie, determined to conueie the king into Castillo to the castell of Madrill, a place farre remoued from the sea and the confines of France, where being honored with ceremonies & reuerences agréeable to so great a prince, he should neuertheless be kept vnder carefull and strait gard, with libertie to take the aire abroad certeine times of the daie, mounted onelie vpon a mule. The emperour could neuer be brought to admit the king to his presence, if first the accord were not either established, or at least in an assured hope of resolution.

A truce for a time betwéene the emperour and the gouernors of Frãce.

And to the end there might be interposed in the negociation a personage honorable, & almost equall with the king, Pontmerancie was sent in great diligence into France, to bring the duchesse of Alanson the kings sister and a widow, with fulnesse of authoritie to debate and contract. And to the end this negociation of accord were not hindered by new difficulties, there was made a little afterwards a truce vntill the end of December, betwéene the emperour and such as administred the gouernment of France. Moreouer the emperour gaue order that one part of those gallies which were come with the viceroy, should returne into Italie to bring the duke of Burbon into Spaine, without whose presence and printie he gaue out that he would make no conuention: and yet the gallies what for want of monie, and other impediments, were prepared but with slow diligence.

The French king extremelie sicke in the castell of Madrill. Guic. pag. 937.

Whiles the ease of the French king was in demand, but not yet determined, by means of sundrie ouerthwarts that ouerthrew the foundation of euerie purpose tending to his deliuerance; it fortuned that the French king falling sicke in the castell of Madrill and hauing in vaine desired the presence of

the emperour, was caried by his discontentment and melancholie into such extremitie and danger of his life, that the physicians appointed for his cure, told the emperour that they stood desperate of his recouerie, if himselfe in person came not to comfort him with some hope of his deliuerie. The emperour obeieng more compassion than the reason of things, was not curious to condescend to performe so good an office, and as he prepared to visit him accordinglie, his high chancellor seeking to turne him from the iorneie, told him with manie strong reasons, that he could not go to him in honour, but with intention to deliuer him presentlie and without anie couenant: otherwise as it would be a humanitie not roiall but mercenarie, so it would disclose a desire to recouer him, not moued of charitie, but pushed on by his proper interest, as not to lose by his death the occasion of the profit hoped for by the victorie.

This counsell assuredlie was graue and honourable touching the man that gaue it, and no lesse worthie to be followed by so great a prince as the emperour: and yet being more caried by the reasons of others, he toke post to go to him. But for the danger of the king being almost at the extremitie, the visitation was short, and yet for the time accompanied with gratious words ful of hope that he would deliuer him immediatlie vpon his returning to health: in so much that whether it was by the comfort that he breathed into him (in the sicknesse of captiuitie the promise of libertie exceedeth all medicines) or by the benefit of his youth, which with the fauour of nature was stronger than the maladie, he began after this visitation to resume so good disposition, that within few dates he was out of danger, notwithstanding he could not recouer his former health but with verie slowe time.

The emperor visiteth the French king in durance.

And now neither the difficulties that were shewed on the emperours side, nor the hopes which were giuen by the Italians, nor anie other nature of impediments whatsoeuer, could staie the voiage of the ladie Alanson into Spaine. For that as nothing was more hard or heauie to the Frenchmen than to leaue off the practises and negociations of accord begun with those that had power to restore their king: so nothing was more easie to the emperour, than feeding the French with hopes, to draw their minds from taking armes; and by that meane so to keepe the Italians in suspense, as not to dare to enter into new deliberations. And in that cunning maner, sometimes vsing delaies, and sometimes pressing forward the affaires, he thought to keepe the minds of all men confused and intangled. The ladie Alanson was receiued by the emperour with verie gratious demonstrations and hopes: but the effects fell out both hard and heauie. For when she ministred speech to him for the mariage of his sister the widowe with the king: he made answer; that it was a matter which could not be done without the consent of the duke of Burbon.

The ladie Alanson treateth with the emperour for the kings deliuerie.

The other particularities were debated by deputies of both parts, wherein, as the emperour insisted obstinatlie to haue the dutchie of Burgognie restored as appertaining to him: so the French refused to consent, vnlesse he would accept it for dowrie; or else to referre it to the sentence of the law and iustice to decide the true title. And albeit they could easilie haue condescended to the residue, yet for that they were so farre off for the demand of Burgognie, the ladie Alanson returned at last into France, without winning anie other grace, than a fauour to see the king hir brother; who growing more and more into distrust of his deliuerie, desired hir at hir departing to admonish his mother, and all the councell from him, to looke carefullie to the profit of the crowne of France, without hauing anie consideration of him, as if he liued not. But notwithstanding the departure of the ladie Alanson, the sollicitations for the kings deliuerie did not ceasse, for that there remained behind the president of Paris, and the bishops of Ambrum and Tarbe, who had till then followed the negociation but with verie little hope, sith the emperour would not harken to anie condition, if first Burgognie were not rendred, which the king would not be brought to restore, but in a last necessitie.

The French king is carefull ouer the crowne of France.

After this infortunate accident of the French king insued manie troublesome and intricate matters, among which the case of the French king was descanted vpon, and a sollicitation of peace resolued, which conteined these couenants following. That betweene the emperour and the French king should be a peace perpetuall, in which should be comprehended all such as should be named by their common consent. That the French king by the first daie of the next moneth of March, should be set at libertie vpon the marches in the coast of Fontarabie. That within six weeks after he should consigne to the emperour the dutchie of Burgognie, the countie of Charrolois, the iurisdiction of Noiers, the castell Chainro, dependancies of the said dutchie, the vicountie of Flussona, the resort of S. Laurence de la Roche, a dependant of Franch countie, togither with all the apurtenances as well of the said dutchie as vicountie, all which for hereafter should be separate and exempted from the souereignetie of the realme of France. That at the same and verie instant that the king should be deliuered, there should be put into the emperours hands the Dolphin of France, and with him either the duke of Orleance the kings second sonne, or else twelue principall lords of France, whom the emperour did name.

Guic. 961. & deinceps. The treatie of Madrill touching the deliuerie of the French king.

It was left to the election of the ladie regent, either to deliuer the kings second sonne, or the twelue barons, and they to remaine as hostages vntill restitution were made of the lands and places aforesaid, and the peace sworne and ratified, togither with all the articles by the estates generall of France, and inregistred in all the courts of parlement of the kingdome with forme and solemnities necessarie. For the accomplishing wherof, there was set downe a terme of foure moneths: at which time returning the hostages, there should be put into the emperors hands the duke de Angolesme the kings third son, to the end to traine him vp with the emperour, the better to interteine and assure the peace. That the French king should renounce and giue vp to the emperour all his rights to the realme of Naples, togither with all such titles and preeminences as were to come to him by the inuestiture of the church. That he should do the like touching his interest in the state of Millaine, of Genes, of Ast, and likewise of Arras, Tourneie, of the Ile, and of Dowaie. That he should render vp the towne and castell of Hedin as a member of the countie of Artois, with all the munitions, artilleries, and moueables that were in it when it was last taken. That he should disclaime and yeeld vp all souereignetie in Flanders and Artois, and all other places or peeces which the emperour possessed.

What was left to the ladie regents election in this capitulation.

That on the other side, the emperour should resigne and giue vp to him all the right, title, and quarrell which he pretended to anie place possessed by the Frenchmen, and especiallie the townes and castelldomes of Perone, Montdidier, Roie, the counties of Bullongne, Guines, & Ponthieu, with other towns standing vpon the one and other shore of the riuer of Some. That there should be betweene them a league and confederation perpetuall for the defense of their estates, with oblation to aid one another when

Couenants concerning the emperour, and of him to be kept and performed.

when néed required, with 500 men at armes, and ten thousand footmen: that the emperour should promise to giue in marriage to the king the ladie Elianor his sister, whom, as soone as the dispensation should be obteined from the pope, he should contract or handfast with words obligatorie for the present, and afterwards she should be led into France, to consummate the marriage at the same time that according to the capitulations the hostages were to be deliuered: that she should haue for hir portion two hundred thousand crowns, with iewels according to hir estate, the one moitie of the monie to be paid within sixteene moneths, and the other halfe in one yeare after.

Furthermore, that a marriage should be made betweene the Dolphin & the daughter of the K. of Portugall, daughter to the ladie Elianor, at such time as their age will suffer: that the French king should do all that he could to induce the ancient K. of Nauarre to giue vp to the emperour the rights of that kingdome, which in case he would not performe, then the king not to aid him with anie succours. That the duke of Guelders, and the countie of Zulfe, and the principall townes of those estates, should promise with sufficient securitie, to giue themselues to the emperour, after his death. That the king should giue no succour to the duke of Wittenberge, nor likewise to Robert de la March. That he should furnish and rigge for the emperour, both when he should passe into Italie, and two moneths after being so required, twelue gallies, foure ships, & foure gallions, all well munitioned and appointed, except men of war, & the said vessells to be rendred three moneths after accompting from the daie of his imbarking: that in place of the armie by land which the king offered for Italie, he should pate him two hundred thousand crownes in monie, the one halfe within sixteene moneths, and the other halfe within a yeare after.

These couenats restraine a great part of the French kings roialtie.

Againe, that at the time when the hostages should be deliuered, he should be bound to giue bils of exchange for the pate of six thousand footmen for six moneths immediatlie after the emperours arriuall in Italie: that he should also furnish for his seruice fiue hundred lances paied, with a band of artillerie. That he should saue harmelesse the emperour of his promise made to the king of England by pensions, which the French king should pate to him, the arrages whereof amounted to fiue hundred thousand crownes, or else to deliuer so much in readie monie to the emperour. That they should both ioine to beseech the pope to call a generall councell with all speed, to the end to consult vpon an vniuersall peace amongst christians, to aduance an enterprise against the infidels and heretikes, and to grant to all the croisade for three yeares. That within six weeks the king should restore the duke of Burbon in most ample forme, into all his estates, goods moueable and vnmoueable, and fruits and reuenues receiued: nor to molest him for anie thing past, nor constraine him to dwell or go to the realme of France. That it should be lawfull to the said duke of Burbon, to demand by the waie of law and iustice, the earledome of Prouence. That in like sort all those that had followed him, should reenter in safetie into their goods and states, and namelie the bishop of Autun, and monsieur de saint Valier.

The king of England included in this peace.

Moreouer, that the prisoners taken in the warre should be deliuered on both parts within fifteene daies. That there should be restitution made to the ladie Margaret of Austrich of all that she possessed afore the warre. That the prince of Orange should be set at libertie with restauration to the principalitie of Orange, and all that he possessed by the death of his father, which had beene taken from him for following the faction of the emperour. That the like should be done to other barons. That there should be made restitution to the marquesse of Saluse of his estate. That the king as soone as he arriued in the first towne of his realme, should ratifie this capitulation, and be bound to procure the Dolphin to ratifie it when he should come to the age of foureteene yeares. Manie were named by common consent, and chéeflie the Switzers. Onelie there was not one of the potentates of Italie, except the pope, whom they named as conseruator of the accord, and that more for maner sake and ceremonie, than in effect and true meaning. Lastlie, it was expressed in the said capitulation, that in case the king for anie occasion, would not accomplish these matters promised; he should returne true prisoner.

The prince of Orange included also in this peace.

This accord for the parts it conteined, brought no small astonishment to all Christendome. For when it was vnderstood, that the first execution thereof consisted in the deliuerie of the king, all mens opinions were, that being in his libertie, he would not deliuer vp Burgongnie, as being a member of too great importance for the realme of France. And except a few, who had counselled the emperour to it, all his court had the same iudgement, and namelie the Chancellor, who reprehended and detested the matter with so great vehemencie, that notwithstanding he was commanded to signe the capitulation (according to the office of chéefe chancellors) yet he refused to do it, alledging; that in such matters, dangerous and hurtfull as that was, he ought not to vse the authoritie that was giuen him: neither could he be altered from this opinion, notwithstanding the emperour was angrie with him: who séeing him so resolute in his opinion, signed it himselfe, and within few daies after went to Madrill, to confirme the alliance, and make a foundation of amitie and good will with the king, whom he interteined in familiar and priuat sort.

While this accord set all Christendoms in a wonderring.

Great were the ceremonies and demonstrations of amitie betweene them: oftentimes they shewed themselues togither in places publike: and as often did they passe in secret familiar discourses. They went togither in one coch vnto a castell not halfe a daies iournie from thence, where was quéene Eleanor, whom the king married. And yet in all these great signes of peace and amitie, he was obserued with as carefull and streict gard as before, without anie aduantage of libertie. So that he was embraced as a brother, and garded as a prisoner. A matter which made manifest to the world, that it was an accord full of discord, an alliance without amitie, and that vpon euerie occasion their ancient gelousies and passions would be stronger in them, than the regard of that alliance, made more by force than frendship. Manie daies were spent in these offices and ceremonies of amitie, when was brought from the ladie regent the ratification, togither with the declaration, that with the Dolphin of France they would rather giue in hostage the kings second son, than the twelue barons.

The French king marrieth the emperors sister according to a clause in the capitulation.

Then the king departed from Madrill, taking his waie to the frontier of his realme, where was to be exchanged his person for his sonnes, who bare verie small age. There was sent to accompanie him the viceroy the worker and author of his deliuerie, to whome the emperour had giuen the citie of Ast, with other estates in Flanders and in the kingdome of Naples. The king of England hearing that the French king should now be deliuered, sent to him a knight of his chamber, called sir Thomas Chenie, to signifie to him the great ioy and gladnesse, which he conceiued for his restitution to libertie, and the conclusion of the generall peace. For which kindnesse & courteous

The king of England glad of the French kings deliuerance.

courteous remembrance, the French king thought himselfe much bound (as he confesseth himselfe here after) to the king of England, & thanked him greatlie hereafter.

Guic. pag. 966. The maner of the deliuerie of the French king.

After much a do and manie remouings, the French king was come on the confines of Fontarabie, a towne apperteining to the emperour, standing vpon the Ocean sea, and is a frontier betweene Biskaie and the duchie of Guien. And on the other side, the ladie regent was arriued with the children of France, at Baion, not manie leagues from Fontarabie. The torments of the gowt toke hir by the waie, which was the cause that she had lingred some time longer than the daie appointed of permutation. But at last, the eightenth daie of March, the French king accompanied with the viceroy and capteine Alarcon with fiftie horsse, was presented vpon the shore of the riuer that diuideth the realme of France from the kingdome of Spaine. And on the other side, vpon the shore opposite appeared monsieur Lawtrech with the kings children and like number of horsse. There was in the middest of the riuer a great barke made fast with anchors, in which was no person. The king was rowed neere to this barke in a little boat, wherein he was accompanied with the viceroy, capteine Alarcon, and eight others, all armed with short weapons: and on the other side of the barke were likewise brought in a little boat, monsieur Lawtrech with the ostages & eight others, weaponed according to the others.

The French king with the viceroy are imbarked.

After this the viceroy went into the barke with the king, and all his companie: and also monsieur Lawtrech with his eight that accompanied him, so that they were within the barke a like number of both parts, Alarcon and his eight being with the viceroy, and Lawtrech and the others with the person of the king. And when they were all thus within the barke, Lawtrech fetched out of the boat into the barke, the Dolphin, who being giuen to the viceroy and by him committed to capteine Alarcon, was forthwith bestowed in their boate, and after him followed the little duke of Orleance, who was no soner entred the barke, than the French king leaped out of the barke into his boate, which he did with such quickneslie and celeritie, that the exchange or permutation was thought to be done at one selfe instant; so welcome to him was libertie, without the which nothing is sweet, nothing is comfortable, as the poet saith:

Libertas perdulce bonum, bona cætera reddit.

The French K. is not a little glad of his libertie.

Assone as the king was on the other side of the shore, his new libertie making him fearefull of ambush, he mounted vpon a Turkish horsse of a wonderfull swiftnesse, which was prepared for the purpose: and running betweene feare and gladnesse vpon the spurre, he neuer staied till he came to S. John de Lus, a towne of his obedience, foure leagues from the place. And being there readilie relieued with a fresh horsse, he ran with the same swiftnesse to Baion, where, after he had passed ouer the offices of court done to him by his people, he dispatched with great diligence a gentleman to the king of England, to whom he wrote with his owne hand letters of his deliuerie, charging the messenger vnderlie louing commission, to tell the king of England, that as he acknowledged the effect of his libertie to be wrought wholie by him and his operations, so in recompense, he offered to remaine to him a perpetuall and assured friend, and to be guided in all his affaires by his counsell. And afterwards he sent an other solemne ambassage into England, to ratifie the peace which his mother had made with him, as one that reapposed a verie great foundation in the amitie of that king.

The king of England the procurer of the French kings libertie.

Guic. pag. 968. When the French king was gotten into Baion, being required by a gentleman of the viceroys, to ratifie the accord according to the obligation of his word, being come into a place free and assured, he deferred it from one daie to another, interposing reasons and excuses generall: wherin, to the end to hold still the emperour in hope, he sent to aduertise him by a man especiall, that he forbare for the present to accomplish the ratification, not by omission or willing negligence, but vpon this necessitie, that before he proceeded reallie to such an act, he was to labour to reappease and reduce the minds of his subiects ill contented with the obligations he had made, tending to the diminution of the crowne of France. Neuertheless, he would in his time resolue all difficulties, and obserue with fidelitie all that he had promised to him, both in substance and circumstance. By this dealing, no lesse doubtfull for the manner, than dangerous in meaning, might easilie be comprehended what were his intentions, the same being more manifestlie detected at the arriuall of the messengers sent to him not manie daies after, by the pope and Venetians, in whome was no great need of industrie or labour, to sound out the plaine course of his inclination.

The French king is not verie hastie to ratifie the accord.

For, after he had receiued them with manie demonstrations and offices of court, he interteined them seuerallie and apart with sundrie speeches of compassion, such as tended to manifest complaints against the inhumanitie of the emperour: who he said did neuer administer to him during his captiuitie, anie one office apperteining to the ranke of a prince, nor at anie time shewed himselfe touched with that affection and commiseration which one prince ought to expresse in the calamities of another: and much lesse would vse anie course of common comfort, either to relieue the heauinesse of his condition with anie propertie of apt consolation, or once to enter into consideration, that the same accident that had fallen vpon him, might also be as heauilie heaped vpon his owne head. In this complaint, he alleaged the example of Edward king of England called of some Edward Long-shanke. To whome when was presented as prisoner John king of the Frenchmen, taken by the prince of Wales his son in the battell of Poitiers, he did not onelie receiue him with great comfort and compassion of his afflicted case, but also, all the time of his imprisonment within the realme of England, he let him go at libertie vnder a free gard.

The French king complaineth vpon the emperour to the messengers sent from the pope and the Venetians.

The king of England alledged by the French king as a president of humanitie in the case of a captiue king.

Furthermore he had dailie familiar conuersation with him, he would oftentimes haue him to accompanie him on hunting, to communicate in the open aire and solace of the field, and was not curious to call gim to eat with him at his table. And by these humanities much lesse that he lost his prisoner, or ranged him to an accord lesse fauourable; but of the contrarie, by the operation of those graces and good offices, there grew betweene them such a familiaritie and confidence, that the French king, after he had continued manie yeares in France, made a voluntarie voiage into England, to honour and gratifie vnder that propertie of office, the liberalitie and frankenesse of the king. He alleged that as there was onelie remembrance of two kings of France that had beene taken prisoners in battell, king John and himselfe, so the diuersitie of the examples was also worthie of singular memorie, seeing vpon the one was exercised all facilitie and mildnesse of the victor, and to the other were ministred all those rigours and seuerities, which tyrants in the height and pride of their fortune are wont to vse. Herevnto he added manie circumstances discouering the discontentment of his mind, whereupon insued practises wherewith the emperour was not well pleased.

To

To be short, after that this peace was accorded, and the French king deliuered, the emperour maried the ladie Isabell daughter to Emanuell king of Portugall, and had with hir eleuen hundred thousand ducats. Thus farre the French affaires intermixed (as you heare) with our owne, and verie needfull to be added, which here we will end, and returne to England.]

Cardinall Wolsie being still most highlie in the kings fauour, obteined licence to erect a college at Oxford, and another at Ipswich, the towne where he was borne, the which foundations he began rather of a vaine desire of glorie and worldlie praise, than vpon the instinction of true religion and aduancement of doctrine, and therfore sith he was not moued therto in respect of true godlinesse and bountifull liberalitie, he went about to cloth Peter and rob Paule: for he first got licence of the king to suppresse certeine small monasteries, and after got a confirmation of the pope, that he might implote the goods, lands, and reuenues belonging to those houses, to the maintenance of those his two colleges, whereby not onelie he, but also the pope were euill spoken of through the whole realme. In March the king sent Cuthbert Tunstall bishop of London, and sir Richard Wingfield chancellour of the duchie of Lancaster, & knight of the garter, into Spaine, to common with the emperour for great causes, concerning the taking of the French king, and for warres to be made into France on euerie side.

The king being determined thus to make warres in France, & to passe the sea himselfe in person, his councell considered that aboue all things great treasure and plentie of monie must needes be prouided. Wherfore, by the cardinall there was deuised strange commissions, and sent in the end of March into euerie shire, and commissioners appointed, and priuie instructions sent to them how they should proceed in their sittings, and order the people to bring them to their purpose: which was, that the first part of euerie mans substance should be paid in monie or plate to the king without delaie, for the furniture of his war. Hereof followed such cursing, weeping, and exclamation against both king & cardinall, that pitie it was to heare. And to be breefe, notwithstanding all that could be said or done, forged or deuised by the commissioners to persuade the people to this contribution, the same would not be granted. And in excuse of their deniall it was alledged, that wrong was offered, and the ancient customes & lawes of the realme broken, which would not anie man to be charged with such paiment, except it were granted by the estates of the realme in parlement assembled. The like answer was made by them of the spiritualtie, of whome was demanded the fourth part of their goods.

Monsieur de Prate the emperours ambassador, whether offended for admitting of John Jokin into the realme (as before ye haue heard) or for some other cause, the ninth of Aprill departed out of England, not taking leaue of the king, nor of the cardinall, and so much did by safe conduct, that he passed through France in post, and came to the emperour before the ambassadors of England came thither. And whether it was by his report, or otherwise, the accustomed fauour that the emperour shewed to the Englishmen, began then to decaie, as was well perceiued, whatsoeuer the matter was. This yeare at Whitsuntide died Thomas duke of Norffolke, and was honourablie buried at Thetford. The cardinall trauelled earnestlie with the maior and aldermen of London, about the aid of monie to be granted, and likewise the commissioners appointed in the shires of the realme, sat vpon the same: but the burthen was so grieuous, that it was generallie denied, and the commons in euerie place so moued, that it was like to grow to rebellion,

In Essex the people would not assemble before the commissioners in no houses, but in open places, and in Huntingtonshire diuerse resisted the commissioners, and would not suffer them to sit, which were apprehended and sent to the Fleet. The duke of Suffolke sitting in commission about this subsidie in Suffolke, persuaded by courteous meanes the rich clothiers to assent therto: but when they came home, and went about to discharge and put from them their spinners, carders, fullers, weauers, and other artificers, which they kept in worke afore time, the people began to assemble in companies. Whereof when the duke was aduertised, he commanded the constables that euerie mans harnes should be taken from him. But when that was knowne, then the rage of the people increased, railing openlie on the duke, and sir Robert Drurie, and threatned them with death, and the cardinall also. And herewith there assembled together after the maner of rebels foure thousand men of Lanam, Sudberie, Hadleie, and other townes thereabouts, which put themselues in harnesse, and rang the bels alarme, and began still to assemble in great number.

The duke of Suffolke perceiuing this, began to gather such power as he could, but that was verie slender. Yet the gentlemen that were with the duke, did so much that all the bridges were broken, so that the assemblie of those rebels was somewhat letted. The duke of Norffolke being therof aduertised, gathered a great power in Norffolke, and came towards the commons, & sending to them to know their intent, receiued answer, that they would liue and die in the kings causes, and be to him obedient. Herevpon he came himselfe to talke with them, and willing to know who was their capteine, that he might answer for them all: it was told him by one John Greene a man of fiftie yeares of age, that Pouertie was their capteine, the which with his cousine Necessitie, had brought them to that doing. For whereas they and a great number of other in that countrie, liued not not vpon themselues, but vpon the substantiall occupiers, now that they through such paiments as were demanded of them, were not able to mainteine them in worke, they must of necessitie perish for want of sustenance.

The duke hearing this matter, was sorie for their case, and promised them, that if they would depart home to their dwellings, he would be a meane for their pardon to the king. Whereupon they were contented to depart. After this, the duke of Norffolke, and the duke of Suffolke came to Burie, and thither resorted much people of the countrie in their shirts, with halters about their neckes, meekelie desiring pardon for their offenses. The dukes so wiselie demeaned themselues, that the commons were appeased, and the demaund of monie ceased in all the realme, for well it was perceiued that the commons would pay none. Then went the two dukes to London, and brought with them the chiefe capteins of the rebellion, which were put in the Fleet. The king then came to Westminster to the cardinals palace, and assembled there a great councell, in the which he openlie protested, that his mind was neuer to aske anie thing of his commons which might sound to the breach of his lawes, wherefore he willed to know by whose meanes the commissions were so streictlie giuen forth, to demand the first part of euerie mans goods.

The cardinall excused himselfe, and said, that when it was moued in councell how to leuie monie to the kings vse; the kings councell, and namelie the iudges,

The first part of euerie mans substance demanded.

The cardinall erecteth two new colleges.

Polydor.

Edw. Hall.

Ambassadors sent to the emperour.

The emperors ambassador departeth out of England without leaue taking of the king.

Death of the duke of Norffolke. Anno. Reg. 17.

The commissioners for the tax resisted.

A rebellion in Suffolke by the grieuousnesse of the subsidie.

The duke of Norffolke cõmeth with a power against the rebels in Suffolke.

Pouertie and Necessitie capteins of the rebellion.

The capteins of the rebels committed to prison.

The cardinall of Yorke excuseth himselfe touching the streict commission for the tax

ges, said, that he might lawfullie demand ante summe by commission, and that by the consent of the whole councell it was done, and toke God to witnes that he neuer desired the hinderance of the commons, but like a true councellor deuised how to inrich the king. The king indéed was much offended that his commons were thus intreated, & thought it touched his honor, that his councell should attempt such a doubtfull matter in his name, and to be denied both of the spiritualtie and temporaltie. Therefore he would no more of that trouble, but caused letters to be sent into all shires, that the matter should no further be talked of: & he pardoned all them that had denied the demand openlie or secretlie. The cardinall, to deliuer himselfe of the euill will of the commons, purchased by procuring & aduancing of this demand, affirmed, and caused it to be bruted abrode, that through his intercession the king had pardoned and released all things.

The rebels pardoned after their appearance in the Star chamber.

Those that were in the Tower and Fleet for the rebellion in Suffolke, and resisting the commissioners aswell there as in Huntington shire and Kent, were brought before the lords in the Star chamber, and there had their offenses opened and shewed to them: and finallie the kings pardon declared, and thereon they were deliuered. ¶ In this season a great number of men of warre late at Bullongne, and in other places thereabout, which diuerse times attempted to indamage the Englishmen, and to spoile the English pale: but they could neuer spoile the marishes where the greatest part of the cattell belonging to the inhabitants was kept. Tindale men with aid of the Scots, did much hurt in England by robberies, which they exercised: and therefore were sent thither, sir Richard Bulmere, and sir Christopher Dacres, to restreine their doings. Diuerse came to them, and submitted themselues: but the greatest théues kept them in the mounteins of Cheuiot, and did much hurt, yet at length they seuered, and manie of them were taken.

Tindale men great robbers

The cardinall by his power legantine sent one of his chapleins called doctor John Allen, to visit the religious houses of this realme about this season, which doctor practised amongst them greatlie to his profit, but more to the slander both of himselfe and of his maister. On the eightéenth daie of June, at the manor place of Bridewell, the kings sonne (which he had begot of Elizabeth Blunt, daughter to sir John Blunt knight) called Henrie Fitzroie, was created first earle of Nottingham, and after on the selfe same daie he was created duke of Richmond and Sommerset. Also the same daie the lord Henrie Courtneie earle of Deuonshire, and cosine germane to the king, was created marquesse of Excester: and the lord Henrie Brandon sonne to the duke of Suffolke and the French quéene, a child of two yeares old, was created earle of Lincolne: and sir Thomas Manners lord Ros was created earle of Rutland, and sir Henrie Clifford earle of Cumberland, and the lord Fitzwater sir Robert Ratcliffe was created vicount Fitzwater, and sir Thomas Bullen treasuror of the kings houshold was created vicount Rochefort.

K. Henries base sonne created earle and duke in one daie.

The French kings mother as then regent of France, procured a safe conduct for an ambassador to be sent into England to treat of peace, and therewith sent John Jokin called monsieur de Maur, which (as yée haue heard) in the last yeare was kept secret in maister Larks house. By his procurement a truce was granted to indure from the thirtéenth of Julie for fortie daies betwéene England and France both by sea and land. In the later end of Julie came into England the chéefe president of Rone with sufficient authoritie to conclude anie agréement that should be granted. At his sute the king was contented that a truce should be taken, to endure from the fouretéenth of August, till the first of December.

A truce betwéene England & France for fortie daies.

This yeare the king sent doctor Henrie Standish bishop of saint Asse, and sir John Baker knight into Denmarke, to intreat with the nobles of that countrie for the reduction of their king Christierne to his realme and former dignitie: but the Danes hated him so much for his crueltie, that they could not abide to heare of ante such matter, and so these ambassadors returned without spéding of their purpose for the which they were sent.

Ambassadors sent into Denmarke.

But the French ambassadors did so much both by offers and intreaties, that the king condescended to a peace, which being concluded, was proclamed in London with a trumpet the eight of September. By the couenants of this peace the king of England should receiue at certeine daies twentie hundred thousand crownes, which then amounted in sterling monie to the summe of foure hundred thousand pounds sterling, of which one paiment of fiftie thousand pounds was paid in hand. In October were sent into France, sir William Fitzwilliam treasuror of the kings house, and doctor Taylor, as ambassadors from the king of England to the ladie regent, whom they found at the citie of Lion, where, of hir they were honorablie receiued: and in their presence the said ladie regent toke a corporall oth in solemne wise, and according to the custome in such cases vsed, to performe all the articles and couenants passed and concluded in the league and treatie of peace by hir commissioners.

A peace proclamed betwéene England & Fráce.

The ladie regent sworne to performe the articles of the league.

The emperour was nothing pleased, in that the king of England had thus concluded peace with the Frenchmen, and therefore the English merchants were not so courteoulie dealt with, as they had béene afore time. In this winter was great death in London, so that the terme was adiourned: and the king kept his Christmasse at Eltham, with a small number, and therefore it was called the still Christmasse.

A winters death.

The still Christmasse.

1526

¶ In Januarie was a peace concluded betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland for three yeares and six moneths. The cardinall about this time comming to the court, which then laie (as before yée haue heard) at Eltham, toke order for altering the state of the kings house. Manie officers and other seruants were discharged, and put to their pensions and annuities. In which number were fourescore and foure yeomen of the gard, which before hauing twelue pence the daie with checke, were now allowed six pence the daie without checke, and commanded to go home into their countries. Diuers ordinances were made at that season by the cardinall, touching the gouernance of the kings house, more profitable than honorable, as some said, and were called long after, The statutes of Eltham.

The cardinal altereth the state of the kings houshold.

The statutes of Eltham.

On Shroue tuesdaie there was a solemne iusts held at the manor of Grénewich, the king & eleuen other on the one part, and the marquesse of Excester with eleauen other on the contrarie part. ¶ At those iusts by chance of shiuering of a speare sir Francis Bryan lost one of his eies. The eleuenth of Februarie being sundaie, the cardinall with great pompe came to the cathedrall church of Paules, where he sat in pontificalibus vnder his cloth of estate of rich cloth of gold, and there doctor Barnes an Augustine frier bare a fagot for certeine points of heresie alleged against him; and two merchants of the Stillard bare fagots for eating of flesh on a fridaie: and there the bishop of Rochester doctor Fisher made a sermon against Martine Luther, which certeine yeares before, that is to wit, about the yeare a thousand fiue hundred and eightéene, had begun to preach and write against the authoritie of the pope.

Doct. Barnes and two merchants of the Stillard beare fagots.

Yée

Anno Reg. 18.

King Henrie sweareth to performe the leagues concluded.

A secret league betwixt the pope and certeine states of Italie.

Read Guic. ib. 18.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 1067

The pope being abandoned of all hopes, compoundeth with the imperials.

A hard article and to be mervelled how the pope and his cardinals might brooke.

Ye must here note, that the emperour being at Windsor in the fourteenth yeere of the kings reigne couenanted, amongst other things, to take to wife the ladie Marie daughter to the king of England: but now vpon considerations his mind changed, for the which the Englishmen sore murmured against him. On the nine and twentith of Aprill being sundaie, the cardinall song a solemne masse in the kings chappell at Grenewich, and after the same was ended, the king sware in presence of the ambassadors of France, and of the ambassadors of Rome, of the emperour of Venice, and of Florence, to obserue and keepe the peace and league concluded betwixt him and his louing brother, and perpetuall allie the French king, during his life and one yeare after.

In this meane while, there was a secret league concluded betwixt the pope, the Venecians, the Florentins, and Francis Sforza duke of Millan: into the which league the French king also entered, after he was returned into France. There was also place left to the king of England to enter into the same league, and likewise to all other kings and princes: and if the king of England would, he should be admitted as protector of the same. But the emperour might not be admitted, till he had deliuered the French kings children (hauing a reasonable summe of monie for the same) and had restored the duke of Millan to his whole duchie. It was thought indeed, that the emperour being wrongfullie informed against this duke, rather through enuie of some of the emperours capteins, than for anie cause ministred by the duke, dealt verie streightlie with him, & meant to defeat him of his duchie. For redresse whereof, and also to prouide that the emperor should not grow to strong in Italie to the danger of other estates, this league was deuised: by force whereof he might be brought to reason, if he would refuse conuenient offers and indifferent waies of agréement.

This league was concluded the two and twentith of Maie in this yeare. What followed thereof, ye may read more at large in the histories of Italie and France, where the warres are more at large touched, which chanced in that season betwixt the emperour, and the confederats, and how the imperiall armie tooke the citie of Rome, and besieging the pope in castell saint Angelo, constreined him to yéeld, and agree to certeine propositions put vnto him. ¶ Who being by his aduersitie made naked of all helpe present, and lesse expectation to be rescued where was so great want of valour and order, was driuen to run the race of his fortune, compounding the first date of June with the imperials almost vnder the same conditions with the which he might haue accorded before. That the pope should paie to the armie foure hundred thousand duckets in this order: one hundred thousand presentlie to be defraied of the gold, monie, and treasure reserued in the castell: fiftie thousand within twentie daies, and two hundred and fiftie thousand within two moneths: assigning to him for these defraiments, an impost of monie to be charged vpon the whole church state. That he should deliuer into the power of the emperour, to reteine them so long as he thought good, the castell S. Angelo, the rockes of Ostia, of Ciuita Vecchia, of Ciuita Castelano, together with the cities of Parma, Plaisanca, and Modena.

Furthermore, that the pope together with all those cardinals that were with him, which were thirteene in number, should remaine prisoners within the castell, vntill the first paiment of an hundred and fiftie thousand duckets were satisfied. That afterwards they should go to Naples or to Caietta, to expect what the emperour would determine of them. That for assurance of the paiments, whereof the third part apperteined to the Spaniards, he should deliuer in for ostages, the archbishops of Siponto and Pisa, the bishops of Pistoia & Verona, together with James Saluiatio, Simon de Ricasola, and Laurence brother to cardinall Rodolfo. That Ranso de Cero, Albert Pio, Dratio Baillon, the knight Casalo, the ambassadour of England, with all others that were saued within the castell, except the pope and the cardinals, should depart in suertie. That the pope should giue absolution to the Colonnois of the censures they had incurred. And that when he should be led out of Rome, a legat should remaine there for him with authoritie to dispose and administer iustice.

The pope being abandoned of all hopes, compoundeth with the imperials.

During the popes captiuitie, Rome was sore afflicted with the plague, in somuch that the rage thereof so greatlie increased, that the castell of saint Angelo was visited, to the great danger of the life of the pope; about whome died certeine speciall men that did seruice to his person: who amid so manie afflictions and aduersities, saw no other hope remaining to him than in the clemencie of the emperour, appointed for legat with the consent of the capteins, cardinall Alexander of Farneso, who notwithstanding being issued out of the castell, and Rome, refused vnder that occasion to go in the said legation. The capteins desired to carie the person of the pope with the thirteene cardinals that were with him, to Caietto: but he laboured against that resolution with great diligence, petitions, and art.] Guic. pag. 1072

The castell where the pope was prisoner infected with the plague.

¶ In the month of Maie was a proclamation made against all vnlawfull games, according to the statutes made in this behalfe, and commissions awarded into euerie shire for the execution of the same; so that in all places, tables, dice, cards, and bouls were taken and burnt. Wherfore the people murmured against the cardinall, saieng: that he grudged at euerie mans pleasure, sauing his owne. But this proclamation small time indured. For when yong men were forbidden boules and such other games: some fell to drinking, some to feretting of other mens conies, some to stealing of deere in parks, and other vnthriftinesse.] Ed. Hall in H. 8. fol. Cxlix.

Great grudge against strangers for procuring licences to sell woad.

This yeare in the citie of London a great grudge was conceiued against merchants strangers, for that they by vertue of licences, which they had purchased to bring woad into the realme, contrarie to a statute thereof prouided, brought ouer such plentie thereof, and vttered it aswell in the citie, as abroad in the countrie, so franklie, that Englishmens woad laie vnbought. At length the maior called a common councell in the moneth of August, and there were manie billes laied against the strangers, and at last it was enacted, that no citizen nor freeman should buy nor sell in no place, nor exchange nor meddle with certeine strangers, called Anthonie Bonuice, Laurence Bonuice, Anthonie Ciuald, Anthonie Caueler, Francis de Bard, Thomas Calnecant, and a great sort more, whose names I let passe. And if anie person did meddle or occupie with them contrarie to this act, he should lose his freedome and libertie in the citie of London. By which act the strangers were so bridled, that they came to a reasonable point and conclusion. Edw. Hall. H. 8. fol. Cliij.

Maluation of certeine coins as angels, rials, crowns, &c.

In this season the angell noble was full the first part of an ounce Troie, so that six angels were full an ounce, which was fourtie shillings sterling; & the angell was worth two ounces of siluer: so that six angels were worth twelue ounces, which was but fourtie shillings in siluer. By reason of the good weight and low valuation of the English coine, merchants dailie carried ouer great store, because the same was much inhanced there. So that, to meet with this inconuenience, in September proclamation was made throughout all England, that the angell

should go for seuen shillings foure pence, the royall for eleuen shillings, & the crowne for foure shillings foure pence. On the first of November following, by proclamation againe, the angell was inhanced to seuen shillings six pence, and so euerie ounce of gold should be fiue and fourtie shillings, and an ounce of siluer at three shillings and nine pence in value.

Edw.Hall in H.8.fol.Cliiij.

The king kept a solemne Christmasse at Greene-wich with reuelles, maskes, disguisings, & bankets: and the thirtith daie of December, was an enterprise of iusts made at the tilt by six gentlemen, against all comers, which valiantlie furnished the same, both with speare and sword: and like iusts were kept the third daie of Januarie, where were three hundred speares broken. That same night, the king and manie yong gentlemen with him, came to Bridewell, and there put him and fifteene other, all in masking apparell, and then toke his barge, and rowed to the cardinals place, where were at supper a great companie of lords and ladies, and then the maskers danced, and made goodlie passime: and when they had well danced, the ladies plucked awaie their visors, and so they were all knowen, and to the king was made a great banket.

1527

An ambassadour from the emperour.

On the fourteenth of Januarie came to the court don Hugo de Mendoza, a man of a noble familie in Spaine: he came as ambassadour from the emperour to the king, with large commission, for the emperour put it to the kings determination, whether his demands which he required of the French king were reasonable or not. This noble man tarried here two yeeres. ¶ This Christmasse was a goodlie disguising plaied at Graies In, which was compiled for the most part by maister John Ro, sergeant at the law manie yeares past, and long before the cardinall had any authoritie. The effect of the play was, that lord gouernance was ruled by dissipation and negligence, by whose misgouernance and euill order ladie publike weale was put from gouernance: which caused rumor populi, inward grudge and disdaine of wanton souereignetie, to rise with a great multitude, to expell negligence and dissipation, and to restore publike welth againe to hir estate, which was so done.

Abr.Fl. ex Edw.Hall in H.8.fol.Cliiij. A plaie at Graies In.

The argument of the plaie.

This plaie was so set forth with rich and costlie apparell, with strange deuises of maskes & morrishes, that it was highlie praised of all men, sauing of the cardinall, which imagined that the play had beene deuised of him, and in a great furie sent for the said maister Ro, and toke from him his coise, and sent him to the Fleet; and after he sent for the yong gentlemen, that plaied in the plaie, and them highlie rebuked and threatned, and sent one of them called Thomas Moile of Kent to the Fleet, but by means of friends maister Ro and he were deliuered at last. This plaie sore displeased the cardinall, and yet it was neuer meant to him, as you haue heard. Wherfore manie wisemen grudged to see him take it so hartilie, and euer the cardinall said that the king was highlie displeased with it, and spake nothing of himselfe. But what will you haue of a guiltie conscience but to suspect all things to be said of him (as if all the world knew his wickednesse) according to the old verse:

The cardinall is offended at it and punisheth the author and actors of the same.

Conscius ipse sibi de se putat omnia dici.]

Ambassadors frõ the Frẽch king.

The second of March were receiued into London the bishop of Tarbe, Francis vicount of Thurane, and maister Anthonie Uescie second president of Paris, as ambassadours from the French king. They were lodged in Tailors hall. On Shrouetuesdaie the king himselfe in a new harnesse all gilt, of a strange fashion that had not beene seene, and with him eight gentlemen all in cloth of gold of one suite, embrodered with knots of siluer, and the marques of Excester, and eight with him in blew veluet and white sattin, like the waues of the sea, these men of armes came to the tilt, and there ran manie fresh courses, till two hundred fourescore and six speares were broken, and then they disarmed and went to the quenes chamber, where for them was prouided a costlie banket.

Edw.Hall pag. Clv. Iiustes.

Suite by the French ambassadors for the ladie Marie to be married to the duke of Orleance.

The French ambassadours sued (as was said) to haue the ladie Marie daughter to the K. of England, giuen in marriage to the duke of Orleance, second sonne to their maister the French king: but that matter was put in suspense for diuerse considerations. And one was, for that the president of Paris doubted whether the mariage betweene the king and hir mother (she being his brothers wife) was lawfull or not. ¶ While the French ambassadors laie thus in London, it happened one euening as they were comming from the Blacke friers, from supper to the Tailors hall, two boies were in a gutter casting downe rubbish, which the raine had driuen there, and vnwares hit a lackete belonging to the vicount of Thurane, and hurt him nothing, for scantlie touched it his cote. But the French lords toke the matter highlie, as a thing done in despite, & sent word to the cardinall. Who being too hastie of credence, sent for sir Thomas Seimor knight, lord maior of the citie, and in all hast commanded him vpon his allegiance, to take the husband, wife, children, and seruants of the house, and them to imprison, till he knew further of the kings pleasure, and that the two boies apprentises should be sent to the Tower: which commandement was accomplished without anie fauor. For the man, and his wife, and seruants, were kept in the counter till the first daie of Maie, which was six weekes full, and their neighbours of gentlenesse kept their house in the meane time, and one of the apprentises died in the Tower, and the other was almost lame. Of the crueltie of the cardinall, and of the pride of the Frenchmen, much people spake, & would haue beene reuenged on the Frenchmen, if wise men in the citie had not apeased it with faire words.]

Edw.Hall. in H.8 fol.Clv. The dogged nature of the French for a matter of nothing.

The cardinals crueltie.

Ambassadors from the king of Hungarie.

On the fourteenth daie of March were conueied from London to Greenwich by the earle of Rutland and others, the lord Gabriel de Salamanca earle of Ottonburgh, John Burgraue of Siluerberge, and John Faber a famous clearke, after bishop of Uien, as ambassadors from don Ferdinando, brother to the emperour, newlie elect king of Hungarie and Beame, after the death of his brother in law king Lewes, which was slaine by the Turke the last summer, as you haue heard before. This companie was welcomed of the high officers, and after brought into the kings presence, all the nobilitie being present, and there after great reuerence made, maister Faber made a notable oration, taking his ground of the gospell, *Exijt seminator seminare semen suum*, and of that he declared how Christ and his disciples went forth to sow, and how their seed was good that fell into the good ground, and brought forth good fruit, which was the christian faith: and then he declared how contrarie to that sowing, Mahomet had sowne seed, which brought forth euill fruit. He also shewed from the beginning, how the Turkes haue increased in power, what realmes they had conquered, what people they had subdued euen to that daie.

Oration made by maister Faber.

He declared further what acts the great Turke then liuing had done, and in especiall he noted the getting of Belgrad, and of the Rhodes, and the slaieng of the king of Hungarie, to the great rebuke (as he said) of all the kings christened. He set forth also what power the Turke had, what diuersities of companies, what armor, what capteins he had, so that he thought, that without a maruellous great number of people he could not be ouerthrowne. Wherefore he most humblie besought the king, as S. Georges

knight,

knight, and defendor of the faith, to assist the king his master in that godlie warre and vertuous purpose.

The kings answer by the mouth of sir Thomas Moze.

To this oration the B. by the mouth of sir Thomas Moze answered, that much he lamented the losse that happened in Hungarie, and if it were not for the wars which were betweene the two great princes, he thought that the Turke would not haue enterprised that act. Wherefore he with all his studie would take paine, first, to set an vnitie and peace throughout all christendome; and after that, both with monie and men, he wold be redie to helpe toward that glorious warre, as much as any other prince in christendome. After this done, the ambassadours were well cherished, and diuerse times resorted to the court, and had great cheare and good rewards, and so the third date of Maie next insuing, they toke their leaue and departed homeward.

Wet season for a long time by continuall raine.

In the winter season of this yeare fell great abundance of raine, and namelie in September, November, and December. And on the fiftéenth of Januarie it rained so abundantlie, that great flouds thereby insuing, destroied corne fields, pastures, and drowned manie shéepe and beasts. Then was it drie till the twelfe of Aprill, and from thence it rained euerie day or night till the third of June, & in Maie it rained thirtie hours continuallie without ceasing, which caused great flouds, & did much harme, namelie in corne, so that the next yeare it failed within this realme, and great dearth insued.

Anno. Reg. 19. Edw. Hall. in H.8. fo. Clvj.

¶ This time a bill was set vp in London, much contrarie to the honour of the cardinall, in the which the cardinall was warned that he should not counsell the king to marrie his daughter into France: for if hée did, he should shew himselfe enimie to the king and the realme, with manie threatning words. This bill was deliuered to the cardinall by sir Thomas Seimer maior of the citie, which thanked him for the same, & made much search for the author of that bill, but he could not be found, which sore displeased the cardinall. And vpon this occasion the last daie of Aprill at night he caused a great watch to be kept at Westminster, and had there cart guns readie charged, & caused diuerse watches to be kept about London, in Newington, S. Johns stréet, Westminster, saint Giles, Islington, and other places néere London: which watches were kept by gentlemen & their seruants, with housholders, and all for feare of the Londoners bicause of this bill. When the citizens knew of this, they said that they maruelled why the cardinall hated them so, for they said that if he mistrusted them, he loued them not: and where loue is not, there is hatred: and they affirmed that they neuer intended anie harme toward him, and mused of this chance. For if fiue or six persons had made alarm in the citie, then had entred all these watchmen with their traine, which might haue spoiled the citie without cause. Wherefore they much murmured against the cardinall and his vndiscréet doings.]

A caueat to the cardinall by a libell set vp in London.

The citizens of London are hated of the cardinall, and he also of them

The French ambassadors in the name of their maister weare to obserue the league.

See Edw. Hall in H.8. fol. Clv. & deinceps.

The French ambassadors at Grænwich on sunday the fift of Maie, sware in the name of their master the French king to obserue the peace and league concluded betwéene them, for tearme of two princes liues. These ambassadours had great cheare, and iustes were enterprised for the honour and pleasure of them at the kings commandement by sir Nicholas Carew, sir Robert Jerningham, sir Anthonie Browne, and Nicholas Harute esquier chalengers. Against whome ran the marques of Excester, and thirteene with him as defendants. When these ambassadours should returne, they had great rewards giuen them of the king, and so toke their leaue and departed. Shortlie after the king sent sir Thomas Bullen vicount Rochford, and sir Anthonie Browne knight, as ambassadours from him into France, which came to Paris to the bishop of Bath that laie there for the king as legier.

Ambassadors into France.

Then these three went to the court, and saw the French king in person sweare to kéepe the league & amitie concluded betwéene him & the king of England. Also the king sent sir Francis Poins knight ambassadour from him to Charles the emperour, and with him went Clarenceaux king of armes, to demand the one halfe of the treasure and ordinance which was taken at Pauia, forsomuch as that warre was made as well at the kings charge as at the emperours. Also they were commanded to demand one of the French kings sonnes, which lay in hostage with the emperour, that is to wit, the duke of Orleance to be deliuered to the king of England; and further that he shuld call backe his armie out of Italie. And if it were so that he refused these reasonable requests, then should they in the kings name denounce open warre against him. The English merchants liked the matter nothing at all, that there should bée anie warres betwixt the emperour and the king of England. And where they were desired by the cardinall to kéepe their marts at Calis, they would not assent thereto.

In ambassage to the emperor

English merchants.

¶ In this meane time great warres were managed betwéene the pope and other princes, amongest whom the duke of Burbon (of whom you haue heard often mention before in sundrie actions) leuieng a great power, led the same towards Rome, and incamped within the medow néere to the citie, from whence with the insolencie of a souldier hée sent a trumpet to demand passage of the pope through the citie of Rome, to go with his armie to the realme of Naples. The morning following vpon the point of the daie, by the consideration of his case and the aduersities thereof, he found there remained no other hope for his affaires, than to be resolute to releéue the afflictions of his armie, and according to the opportunitie that was offered by the citie of Rome, either to die or to vanquish. In which resolution pushed on more and more by the murmurs and exclamations of his souldiers, in whom he could not discerne which was greater, either their insolencies or their necessities, he drew néere the suburbs by the waie of the mounteine and *Santo Spirito*, where he began to giue a furious assault. Wherein he séemed to haue the fauour of fortune, who made him present his armie in more suertie by the benefit of a thicke mist, which being risen before daie, and increased with degrees of fog and thicknesse, became such a couer to his whole campe, that his souldiers were not discerned till they were néere the place where they began to giue the assault.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 1060

The duke of Burbon incampeth néere Rome.

The duke of Burbon through a last despaire of his estate aduanced before all his companies, either for that he had no other expectation of refuge, in case he returned not victorious, or else by his owne example he thought to call on with a greater courage the lanceknights who, it séemed went not resolutelie to the seruice. But such was his destinie to determine his life & his glorie togither, or rather such the reward of his wilfull forwardnes, which for the most part heapeth wretched effects vpon such as sèke not to accompanie their valour with counsell and discretion. In the beginning of the assault he was striken with a bullet of an harquebuze, of which wound he fell downe dead to the earth, receiuing iustlie vpon his bodie and life the price of the action, which contrarie to all iustice and pietie he went about to execute. But much lesse that his death did abate or diminish, séeing it did inflame and redouble the courage of his souldiers, who fighting with a wonderfull constancie the space of two houres, made waie at last by their hands and weapons to enter the suburbs, wherin they

The duke of Burbon slain at the assault of Rome.

were not onelie holpen by the weakneſſe of the rampires which were great and generall, but alſo they found helpe in the ſlender reſiſtance which the defendants made.

The morall of the foreſaid action worthy the noting.

An experience of right good doctrine to ſuch as haue not as yet gotten by the benefit of examples paſt, the knowledge of things preſent, who in that action maie diſcerne what propertie of difference is betweene the vertue of ſouldiours exerciſed and trained in war, and armies newlie and haſtilie leuied, and compounded of the multitude of a people more wilfull than ſkilfull; and by ſo much leſſe apt to be drawen vnder diſcipline, by how much more by their nature and cuſtome they are ſeldome conformable to anie good order. For there was at the defenſe of the ſuburbs one part of the youth of Rome, vnder the enſignes of the people; notwithſtanding that manie of the Gebelins & faction of Colonno deſired, or at leaſt did not feare the victorie of the imperials. They hoped in regard of their faction, to receiue no harme or offenſe by the victors: the ſame being the cauſe whie they proceeded ſo coldlie in the defenſe. Neuertheleſſe, for that according to the rules of warre, it is a hard matter to take townes without artilleries, there died of the aſſailants, partlie by that want, and partlie through their wilfull forwardneſſe, about a a thouſand footmen; who hauing once by their valor made the waie open to enter in, all the defendants fled before them as men whoſe feare was far aboue anie other ſenſe or paſſion in them.

Rome taken and ſacked.

In which diſorder, ſome tooke the waie which his fortune and not his wit laid out for him: ſome in the aſtoniſhment ſeeking to flie, who durſt no more fight, were ſlaine by the enimie afore he could reſolue vpon the waie of his ſafetie; ſome either better prepared, or more happilie preſerued, found that ſafetie in running away, which they could not but doubt if they had longer endured the fight: and ſome with that reſolution which their preſent calamitie would ſuffer, ran by heapes towards the caſtell, where in place of reſcue they found a feare conformable to their owne: inſomuch as all things being reduced to confuſion and manifeſt flight, the ſuburbs were entierlie abandoned & left a preie to the victors. And the perſon of the pope, who erpected with great deuotion in the palace of Vatican what would be the iſſue of the aſſault, hearing that the enimies were entred, had alſo (with the others) his paſſions of feare & frailtie, and in that timorous contemplation of his owne perill, he fled with certeine cardinalles to the caſtell.

The pope with certeine cardinals flie to the caſtell of ſaint Angelo.

His feare kept him from being reſolute in a perill that was ſo deſperate, neither did he thinke, that with the preſence and maieſtie of his perſon, though it was couered with the valle of the higheſt dignitie on earth, he was able to put by the danger, which the valor and fidelitie of his ſouldiers could not defend with their weapons. There he conſulted with the cardinalles, whether it were more for his ſafetie to remaine there, or during the furie of the aſtoniſhment, to retire with the light horſſemen of his gard into ſome place of more ſuertie by the waie of Rome. But he, who was appointed by deſtinie, to be an example of the calamities that maie thunder vpon popes, and how fraile is the authoritie and maieſtie of that ſee, being certified by the relation of Berard de Padoa, who was fled from the armie imperiall, that the duke of Burbon was dead, and that the whole armie ſtanding abated in courage for the death of their capteine, deſired to come to accord with him. In which matter they ſent out men to parlee with the principalles there, he wretchedlie left there all his counceiles to go awaie, both he and his capteins remaining no leſſe irreſolute in the prouiſions for defenſe, than they had bene ſlow in the erpeditions.

So that the daie following, the Spaniards neither ſeeing order nor councell to defend the quarter beyond Tiber, entred the place without anie reſiſtance. And from thence, not finding anie impediments to ſtop their victorie, the ſame euening they entred the citie of Rome by the bridge Æiſto, where, except ſuch as reapoſed in the confidence of their faction, and certeine cardinalles, who for that they bare a name to embrace the emperours quarrell, beleeued to find more ſuertie than the others, all the reſidue of the court and citie (as happeneth in accidents ſo furious) was conuerted into fleeing and confuſion. But the ſouldiours being within the citie, which they knew wanted nothing to make them right glorious, and well ſatiſfied of all things apperteining to their deſires, they began to omit no time to execute the thing they had ſo dearlie bought. Euerie one ran to pillage with the ſame vnbridled libertie, which in ſuch caſes maketh ſouldiors both inſolent and impious.

The Spaniards enter into Rome by the bridge Æiſto.

The reader is to tollerate the report of this hiſtorie though ſauouring of ſuperſtition.

Where was ſmall care or regard borne either to the name of frends, factions, or fauourers; and much leſſe was reſpected the authoritie of cardinalles and prelats, or dignitie of temples and monaſteries; and laſtlie, not reſerued from violation, the holie reliks brought thither from all parts of the world; yea euen things ſacred, and ſpeciallie dedicated, were profaned from their ſhrines and holie places, and made ſubiect to the furious wils and diſcretion of the ſouldiours. It is not onelie impoſſible to reaccount, but alſo to imagine the calamities of that citie raiſed to a wonderfull greatneſſe, and appointed by Gods ordinance to ſuffer manie fortunes and directions, hauing bene ſacked by the Goths within ix. C. and lxxx yeares. It is hard to particulate the greatneſſe of the preie, both for the generall wealth and riches which the greedie hands of the ſouldiours had made vp in heaps, and for other things more rare and pretious drawne out of the ſtore-houſes of merchants and courtiers. But the matter which made the ſpoile infinit in value, was the qualitie and great number of priſoners redeemed with moſt rich and huge ranſomes.

And to make vp a full tragedie of miſerie and infamie, the lanceknights being ſo much the more inſolent and cruell, by how much they bare hatred to the name of the church of Rome, toke priſoners certeine prelats, whom with great contempt and indignitie they ſet vpon aſſes and leane mules, and with their faces reuerſed to the crowp of the beaſts, they led them thorough the citie of Rome, apparelled with the habits and markes of their dignitie: yea they paſſed manie of them to cruell torments, who either died in the furie of the action, or at leaſt with the painefulneſſe thereof they liued not long after, firſt yeelding a ranſome, and afterwards rendering their liues. The generall ſlaughter as well at the aſſault as in the rage of ſacking, was about foure thouſand bodies. All the palaces of the cardinalles were ſacked, except ſome particulars, who to ſaue the merchants that were retired thither with their goods, together with the perſons and goods of manie others reſerued of the generall calamitie, made promiſe of great ſummes of monie. To whom notwithſtanding was vſed this iniquitie, that ſome of them that had compounded with the Spaniards, were afterwards ſacked by the lanceknights, or at leaſt conſtreined to a ſecond ranſome.

This ſpectacle could no but affoord plentie of hart-greefe.

The ladie marqueſſe of Mantua compounded for hir palace for the ſumme of fiftie thouſand ducats, which were paied by the merchants and others retired thither: of which ſumme the rumor ran, that Ferrand hir ſonne had ten thouſand for his ſhare.

Compoſition with the ſouldiours to ſaue certeine places vnſacked.

The

The cardinall of Sienna dedicated in a perpetuall deuotion to the name of the emperor, after he had agreed with the Spaniards, as well for him selfe as for his palace, was afterwards made prisoner by the lanceknights, who made bootie and preie of his palace; and afterwards leading him all naked with buffets and bastanadoes into the borough, he was driuen to redéeme his life out of their hands, with a promise of fiue thousand duckats. The cardinalles Minerua and Ponsero passed vnder almost the like calamitie, who being prisoners to the lanceknights, were rated at a ransome which they paied, after they had béene in a vile spectacle carted in procession thorough the towne of Rome.

This furie of souldiours executed in a place of so great riches and profit, could endure no dispensation of anie sort or qualitie of men, seeing the prelats and cardinalles, Spanish and Germans, who made themselues assured that the souldiours of their nation would spare them from oppression and taration, were taken and passed by the same measure of miserie and calamitie as others did. Right pitifull were the criengs and lamentations of the women of Rome: and no lesse worthie of compassion, the calamitie of nunnes and virgins professed, whom the souldiours rauished by troopes out of their houses to satisfie their lust, no age, no ser, no dignitie or calling was frée from the violation of souldiours, in whom it was doubtfull whether bare more rule, the humor of crueltie to kill, or the appetite of lust to defloure, or lasslie, the rage of couetousnesse to rob and spoile: yea in the violation of these women might be discerned a confirmation of the iudgements of God hidden from mortall men, for that he suffered to be deliuered vp to the vilenesse of men, barbarous and bloodie, the renowmed chastitie of women professed and virgins.

The shamefull and lamentable abuse which the souldiors offered to the female ser.

To this compassion was ioined the infinite clamors of men forced against all law of humanitie, partlie to wrest from them vnreasonable ransomes, and partlie to disclose their goods which they had hidden from the rauine of the souldiors. All holie things, sacraments and reliks of saints, whereof the churches were full, being despoiled of their ornaments, were pulled downe, and laid vpon the earth, suffring no small prophanations, by the vile hands of the lanceknights. And whatsoeuer remained vpon the preies and spoilings of the imperialles, which were things but base and vile, were raked and caried awaie by the pezants and tenants of the lands of the Colonnois, whose insolencie caried them into Rome during the generall furie. Onelie the cardinall of Colonno arriuing the daie after, preserued in his compassion the honor of manie women that happilie were fled for rescue into his house. The rumor went that the valuation and price of this sacke in gold, siluer, and iewels, amounted to more than a million of duckats, but the matter of ransomes conteined a greater quantitie.]

The value of this sacke in gold, siluer, and iewels.

When Rome was thus taken by the imperials, and the pope brought into captiuitie, therewith the king was so incensed against the emperour by the instigation of the cardinall, that he had determined not to spare anie treasure for the popes deliuerance. There rose a secret bruit in London that the kings confessor doctor Longland, and diuerse other great clerks had told the king that the marriage betweene him and the ladie Katharine, late wife to his brother prince Arthur was not lawfull: wherevpon the king should sue a diuorse, and marrie the duchesse of Alanson sister to the French king at the towne of Calis this summer: and that the vicount Rochford had brought with him the picture of the said ladie. The king was offended with those tales, and sent for sir Thomas Seimor maior of the citie of London, secretlie charging him to see that the people ceassed from such talke.

The kings marriage brought in question.

But what so euer the commons talked, it was determined that the cardinall should go ouer into France as high ambassadour for the king, and to take with him twelue score thousand pounds, to be employed on the warres to be made by the confederats against the emperour, if he would not condescend to such demands as the English ambassadours on the kings behalfe should exhibit vnto him. The third of Julie this triumphant cardinall passed thorough London with twelue hundred horsse towards the sea side, and comming vnto Canturburie rested there, and there declared to the people what had chanced vnto the pope, and caused the monks of Christes church to sing their Letanie after this maner: *Sancta Maria ora pro Clemente papa, &c.* Then he exhorted the people to fast and praie for the popes deliuerance, accordinglie as he had alreadie sent commissions vnto all the bishops within the realme to follow that order, which was to fast three daies in the weeke, and to vse in euerie parish solemne processions. The eleuenth of Julie the cardinall toke shipping at Douer, and landed the same daie at Calis, from whense he departed the two and twentith of Julie, and with him was the bishop of London Cutbert Tunstall, the lord Sands chamberleine to the king, the earle of Derbie, sir Henrie Guilford, sir Thomas Moore, with manie other knights and esquiers, in all to the number of twelue hundred horsse, and of carriages there were foure score wagons, and three score mules and sumpter horsses.

The cardinall goeth ambassadour into France.

A procession.

A new deuised letanie.

Monsieur de Lawtrech.

Sir Robert Jerningham.

He that is desirous to vnderstand with what honour this triumphant cardinall was receiued in all places as he passed thorough Picardie by order giuen by the French king, maie read thereof at large in the chronicles of maister Edward Hall. At Amiens he was receiued by the French king himselfe, and by his mother with all other chéefe péeres of France. There was nothing forgot that might do him honour or pleasure. But to the effect of his businesse. After he had shewed his commission, they fell in councell, and in the end grew to a full conclusion of a league to be accorded and established betwixt the kings of England and France: the couenants and articles whereof were drawne and written vp in a faire charter, which was sealed in solemne wise, and deliuered vnto the cardinals by the kings owne hand.

The cardinall is honourablie receiued by the Frēch king.

A league betweene England and France.

After this, it was agréed, that Odet de Fois, commonlie called monsieur de Lawtrech, should go into Italie with a puissant armie to procure the popes deliuerance, & expell the emperours power out of all the partie of Italie, if he refused such reasonable offers & articls of agréement as were drawen, & should be exhibited to him. In this armie went sir Robert Jerningham, John Carew of Hakam, & 80 other English gentlemen, which were sent by the cardinall from Amiens. When the armie was assembled, the cardinall deliuered the monie which he had brought out of England with him in barrels, with the which the armie was paid two moneths before hand, & the surplusage was deliuered to sir Robert Jerningham, which was called treasuror of the wars. This armie was called in Latine, *Exercitus Angliæ & Gallorum regum pro pontifice Romano liberando congregatus*, that is to saie, The armie of the kings of England and France, gathered for the deliuerance of the bishop of Rome: and so was it reputed.

The name of the armie sent into Italie.

In this meane time the English ambassadors, sir Francis Poins and Clarenceaux the herald, were come into Spaine, and there to the emperour in the towne of Vale Dolisse the first of Julie deliuered

The emperours answer to the ambassadors.

the kings letters, and further declared their message as they had in commandement. The emperor made to them a courteous answer for that time, and said he would take counsell in the matter, and then should they receiue further answer, and in the meane time they might repose them. Within a daie or two after he called to him doctor Lée that was the kings ambassadour legier there with him, & the said sir Francis Poins, and said to them; My lords we haue perceiued the king your maisters demands, which are weightie and of great importance. Wherefore we intend with all spéd to write to the king our vncle, and when we haue receiued answer from him, we shall deliuer you of such things as you require, praieng you in the meane time to take patience.

The emperour protracted time of purpose, bicause he was loth to answer directlie to such grieuous and most irksome complaints, bicause he gessed by the course of things that the French king would shortlie be constrained to agrée to those conditions of peace, which he at the first had offered. But the French king & the cardinall being togither at Amiens, amongst other things determined there betwixt them in counsell, deuised further what articles of offer should be sent to the emperour, which if he refused, then open defiance to be made vnto him in name of both the kings. The articles were these in effect.

Articles proponed to the emperor being in number fiftéene.

1 First that the French king should paie for his ransome 25000 crownes: one writer calleth it two millians. 2 Also that he should release all the pension that he had in Naples, with all the right of the same. 3 Also that he should neuer claime title to the dutchie of Millane. 4 Also he should release the superioritie of Flanders for euer, and the right which he had to the citie of Tornete. 5 Also he should release all the homages of all persons within those countries. 6 Also to withdraw his armie out of Italie. 7 Also to forsake the aid of the Switzers against the emperour. 8 Also to take no more part with Robert de la March against the emperor. 9 Also neuer to aid the king of Nauarre against him, although he had maried the kings sister. 10 Also neuer to aid the duke of Gelderland, nor to chalenge the same dutchie. 11 Also to aid the emperor with ships and men to his coronation. 12 Also to marie the ladie Elenor quéene of Portugall sister to the emperor. 13 Also that the Dolphine should marie the said quénes daughter. 14 Also that if the French king had anie children male by the said quéene, then the dutchie of Burgognie to remaine to the said child being male. 15 Also that the French king should be frend to the emperour & his frends, and enimie to his enimies.

These with manie other articles, which were not openlie knowne, were sent to the bishop of Tarbe, and to the vicount of Thuraine ambassadours with the emperour from the French king. Other articles were also sent to the English ambassadours being in Spaine, as to moue the emperour to some reasonable end with the French king: and that the king of England would release vnto him all the summes of monie due to him, as well by the emperour Maximilian his grandfather as himselfe, and take the French king as debtor for the same. If he would not agrée to these offers, then was it accorded, that the French king should marrie the ladie Marie daughter to the king of England, and they both to be enimies to the emperour. When all these things were concluded, the cardinall tooke his leaue of the French king & his mother, and with great rewards returned, comming to Richmond, where the king then laie, the last of September.

Articles sent to y English ambassadors in Spaine.

The cardinall returneth out of France.

Ambassadors from the French king.

In October, there came ambassadours from the French king into England, the lord Annas de Montmerancie, great maister of the said French kings house, the bishop of Baion chéefe président of Rone, and monsieur de Humiers accompanied with sixtie gentlemen well apointed. These ambassadours were receiued with all honour that might be deuised. On Allhallowes daie the king comming to the cathedrall church of saint Paule, where the cardinall sang masse, sware before the high altar in the présence of the French ambassadours to kéepe and performe the league. On sundaie the tenth of Nouember, the king being elected knight of the order of S. Michaell, receiued at Grénewich the said order by the hands of the great maister of France, and monsieur Humiers that were companions of the same order: in like case as the French king the same daie at Paris receiued the order of the garter by the hands of the lord Lisle, doctor Taylor maister of the rolles, sir Nicholas Carew knight maister of the kings horsses, sir Anthonie Browne knight, and sir Thomas Wriothesleie knight, otherwise called Garter king of armes, the which were sent thither with the whole habit, collar, and other habillements of the order as apperteined.

The king of England receiueth the order of saint Michaell.

The French king receiueth the order of the garter.

After that the French ambassadors had béene highlie feasted, banketed, and interteined, with all honor and passtime conuenient, the great maister and all his companie toke leaue of the king, and with great rewards returned into France, leauing the bishop of Baion behind them, who abode ambassador legier in England. In this moneth of Nouember, Arthur Bilneie, Geffreie Lome, and one Garret that spake against the popes authoritie, were abiured by the cardinall. ¶ By reason of the great wet that fell in the sowing time of the corne, and in the beginning of the last yeare, now in the beginning of this, corne so failed, that in the citie of London for a while bread was scant, by reason that commissioners apointed to sée order taken in shires about, ordeined that none should be conueied out of one shire into an other.

Bilneie and other abiured.

Which order had like to haue bred disorder, for that euerie countrie and place was not prouided alike, and namelie London, that maketh hir prouision out of other places, felt great inconuenience hereby, till the merchants of the Stiliard, and others out of the Dutch countries, brought such plentie, that it was better cheape in London than in anie other part of England, for the king also releéued the citizens in time of their néed with a thousand quarters by waie of lone of his owne prouision. The scarsitie at the first was more than the dearth. For in the beginning of their want, wheat was onelie at fiftéene shillings a quarter, & from thence it rose to twentie shillings, and after to six and twentie shillings eight pence the quarter, till remedie by outward prouision was procured and had. In this meane while the lord Lautrech with his armie was entred into Italie, where how he sped, and what came of that expedition, yee shall find in the histories of France and Italie, and therefore in this place I passe it ouer. Sir Francis Poins knight, in the end of December, returned out of Spaine into England, leauing Clareuceaux behind him to bring further answer.

Dearth of corne in London and elsewhers.

The emperor releaseth 12 preiudiciall articles to the French king.

The emperor at the request of this sir Francis Poins, who made the same in name of his maister the king of England, was contented to release twelue articles, which were reputed most preiudiciall to the French king, onelie to gratifie the king of England: but the cardinall kept the king still in displeasure toward the emperor, for the fauour which he bare to the French king, whose onelie purposes he sought to aduance. The articles which were drawne at Amiens when the cardinall was there, were exhibited to the emperor by the French ambassadors, and bicause

bicause he refused the same, word was sent to Clarenceaux king of armes, to make defiance to the emperor. Wherevpon on the wednesdaie the two and twentith of Januarie, Guien king of armes to the French king, and Clarenceaux king of armes to the king of England, being in the citie of Burges in Spaine, came to the court of Charles the elect emperour, about nine of the clocke in the morning, and there did request of his maiestie, that it would please him to apoint them an houre of audience.

The lord de Chaour by ordinance from his maiestie gaue them answer, that it should be about ten of the clocke before none the same daie. And at the same houre his maiestie came into the great hall of his court accompanied with diuerse prelats, dukes, marquesses, earles, barons, and other great lords and good personages, of diuerse nations of his kingdome and seignories in great number. The emperour sitting in a chaire prepared according to his dignitie, the two kings of armes of France & England being in the nether end of the hall, holding vpon their left arms each one his coat of armes, did make three solemne reuerences accustomed, with knee to the ground. And when they were at the lowest staire before his imperiall maiestie, Clarenceaux king of armes of England, hauing the words in both their names, spake as followeth.

The emperor commeth at the houre of audience.

The words of Clarenceaux king of armes to the emperor.

Sir, following the three edicts inuiolablie kept and obserued by your predecessors emperours of Rome, kings, princes, and capteins, Guien king of armes of the most christened king; and also Clarenceaux king of armes to the king of England our souereigne & naturall lords: we presenting our selues before your sacred maiestie, for to declare certeine things from the said kings our maisters: beseech your maiestie, that hauing regard to the said lawes according to your benignitie and mercie, that it would please you to giue vs sure accesse and good intreating in your countries, lands, and seignories, attending your answer, with sure conduct to returne vnto the countries, lands, and seignories of our said souereigne lords. The emperour then bad them saie on whatsoeuer the kings your maisters haue giuen you in charge: your priuileges shall be kept, none shall do you anie displeasure within my kingdomes or territories. After this, Guien read a writing signed with the hand of the said Guien king of armes.

The emperor gineth the heralds liberte to speake.

A copie of the said writing *read as followeth.*

SIr, the most christened king my souereigne and naturall lord hath commanded me to saie to you, that he hath conceiued a maruellous greefe and displeasure of that, that in place of amitie, which he so much desired to haue with you, the former enmitie in full force still remaineth. By the which he seeth and perceiueth, that the euils and inconueniences long since begun, shall continue and augment, not onelie vnto you, and vnto him, with your vassals and subiects, but also vnto all christendome: and that the forces and youths which the one and the other ought to emploie against the enimies of the faith, shall be spent to the effusion of christian bloud, and in offense vnto God: and that you and he endowed with so manie gratious gifts, shall not inioy the benefits, which it pleased the son of God to leaue to vs, by his testament, which is peace, whereof all goodnesse proceedeth; and in place of the same shall haue war, wherof foloweth all calamities, dangers, inconueniences, pouerties, and miseries.

Herewith you shall submit your selfe vnto them whome yee may command, and shall hazard the bloud and substance of your subiects in the purses of strangers. Euerie one as for himselfe ought to haue regard thereto, and for the short time that we haue here to liue, not to go about to depriue himselfe of that tranquillitie, ioy, good regard and pastime, that the princes may haue by peace: and by following the warre, to be in pouertie, beauinesse, and hazard of losse of goods, honours, and liues: and that worst is, after they haue had euill daies in this world, to be in danger of eternall paine in the world to come, thorough them that haue beene the cause thereof, and that would not yeeld vnto reason.

The inconueniences of warre moued to ỹ emperor.

The king my souereigne lord is readie to put himselfe for his part in all deuoir, and more than so, to haue peace and amitie with you: and by this means peace shall be procured throughout all christendome, whereby men might do God good seruice, in making warre on the Infidels, which will be so thankfull to him, that it will put off the punishment of faults, which haue beene committed heeretofore by reason of the warres, which haue so long indured betweene you two, and not yet like to ceasse, considering the termes which you hold and seeke to mainteine; sith on the one part, certeine aduowing themselues on you, haue assailed and taken by force the citie of Rome, which is the place of the holie and apostolike see, where they haue committed and done all the mischeefe that might be deuised.

The churches and relikes were prophaned, the pope holding saint Peters seat, as vicar of God on earth, taken and put out of his libertie. By means whereof, they that haue committed and executed the said execrable deeds and wickednesse, with their authors and fautors, be fallen and run in paines of right; and they that hold them captiues, beare themselues on you; and he that doth keepe them, hath beene and is of the principall capteins, of whome you haue beene serued in your warres in Italie and other parts. And on the other side, the difference which at this time resteth betweene you and the king my souereigne and naturall lord, is principallie vpon the ransome and recouerie of the princes his sonnes, which you hold for hostages of the same. He hath oftentimes offered, and yet doth offer to paie to you, and giue to you, not onelie that which may be said to be reasonable, and in such cases accustomed, but also more largelie.

The herald prosecuteth the state of Rome & the pope in lamentable sort.

You ought not to stand vpon things which by force and constraint he hath promised, the which iustlie and honestlie he maie not performe nor accomplish: you had a great deale more gained, to haue taken the said ransome which was offered vnto you, than to continue the warre, and to giue occasion of all the euils and inconueniences that dailie happen thereby thorough christendome. You see the king of England, with whome he hath brotherlie amitie for euer, and also the Venetians, Florentines, and duke of Bar, and other princes and potentats, following and holding the partie of the said christian king, for that they see he yeeldeth to reason, and by reason you will not thereto incline, the vniuersall peace can not be concluded in christendome. The enimies of the faith gaine countries: all Italie is in armes, bloud and rapine, and the apostolicall see in trouble: so that if on your part you seeke not remedie, and that things do thus continue as they haue begun, it is to be feared that God will be angrie.

The herald moueth the emperor with the king of Englands example, &c.

And for as much (sir) as to the declarations which the aboue said princes haue offered vnto you, and the presentations which the said christian king hath made vnto you, you haue refused to giue eare, thereby to come to some accord with him, and to content your selfe with a ransome more than reasonable: also for

The herald commmeth to the verie drift of his message.

that

that you will not render vnto his good brother, perpetuall alie and confederat, the king of England, that which is his, set the pope at libertie, and leaue Italie in peace and tranquillitie, he hath commanded me to declare, signifie, and notifie vnto you, his great greefe and displeasure, with his said good brother the king of England, that they will hold and take you for their enimie, declaring all maner of treaties and couenants heretofore passed betweene them and you, in all that concerneth your profit & vtilitie to be nothing, and that for his part he will not obserue nor keepe the same.

What the king of Englād desireth of the emperour in the French kings behalfe.

Naie he hath resolued by all meanes that he may imagine with his good frends, alies, & confederats, & with all his forces to indamage you, your countries, lands, and vassals by warre, or otherwise, in such sort as he maie deuise, vntill the time that you haue restored vnto him his children, with honest meanes and couenants touching his ransome, deliuered the pope, rendered vnto the king of England that you hold of him, and acquited the summe which you owe him, and suffer his alies and confederats to liue in peace, rest, and tranquillitie, and protesteth before God and all the world, that he doth not wish nor desire the warre, but that it wholie displeaseth him, and is not therefore the cause of the euill that is or maie come thereof, considering that he hath put, and will put himselfe vnto all reason, as he hath offered and signified vnto you and to all other christian princes, and yet doth.

And of all this he calleth God (who knoweth all things) to witnesse. And for that vnder colour of the publication of the pretended tretie of Madrill made, he being yet prisoner in Spaine, diuerse of your subiects, and of them of the king of Englands, and of his haue carried their merchandizes and other goods into the kingdomes, streicts, and seignories the one of the other, whereby maie insue great damages, if of them no mention should be made in this present declaration and signification: my souereigne lord and the said king of England be contented that libertie be giuen vnto all subiects being in the said kingdomes, countries, streicts, and seignories, to retire and depart from thence with all their goods and merchandizes within fortie daies after this intimation made. Prouided that you shall do the like vnto their subiects in all & euerie their merchandizes. Giuen the eleuenth daie of November 1527, & signed Guien king of armes.

The king of Englands meaning and the French kings for the returne of the emperours subiects out of their countries, and contrariwise.

The emperour after the defiance giuen by Guien, spake in this sort: I do vnderstand that which you haue read from the king your maister, & I do much maruell why he doth defie me, for he being my prisoner by right warre, and I hauing his faith by reason he can not do it. It is vnto me a nouelti to be defied of him, seeing it is six or seuen yeares that he hath warred against me, and yet giuen me no defiance. And sith that by the grace of God I haue defended my selfe from him (as he hath seene, and euerie one else) without that he hath giuen me anie warning, or considering the reason and iustification whereon I do rest my selfe, for the which I thinke I haue not otherwise deserued towards God: I hope that at this time now you aduertise me of it, being aduertised I shall defend my selfe the better, in such sort that the king your maister shall do me no hurt: for sith he doth defie me, I am halfe assured.

The emperors words to Guien the French kings herald.

How the emperor was affectioned for the pope in his captiuitie.

And touching that which you spake of the pope, none hath beene more sorowfull than I of that which was done, and it was without my knowledge or commandement: and that which hath beene done, was done by vnrulie people, without obedience to anie of my capteins. And yet I aduertise you, that the pope long since is set at libertie, and yesterdaie I had certeine newes of it. And touching the sonnes of your maister, he knoweth that I haue them for pledges; and also my lords his ambassadors know well, that the fault hath not lien in me that they haue not beene deliuered. And as for that of the king of England my good brother and vncle, I beleeue if it be so as you do say, that he is not well informed of things passed: and if he were, yet could I not saie as your writing conteineth. I desire to send him my reasons for to aduertise him of all the truth. And I beleeue when he shall know it, that he will be vnto me as he hath beene.

The emperor seemeth loth to incur the k. of Englands displeasure.

I neuer denied the monie which I borowed of him, and I am readie to paie it as by reason & right I am bound: and thanked be God I haue enough to do it. Neuertheless, if he will make warre against me, it will be to my great displeasure, & I cannot but defend my selfe. I praie to God that he giue me no more occasion than I thinke I haue giuen vnto him. And to the rest, for that your writing is great, and the paper sheweth it selfe to be gentle, seeing that they haue written what they would, you shall giue me the writing, whereby more particularlie I maie answer in another paper, wherein shall be nothing but truth. This answer being made by his maiestie with his owne mouth vnto Guien king of armes, the said Guien toke his cote of armes that he had on his left arme (as before is said) and put it on, and then Clarenceaux king of armes of England said vnto his maiestie, not by writing, but by mouth, as followeth.

The English heralds message deliuered by word of mouth.

SIr, the king my souereigne lord hath commanded me to say vnto you, that seeing the necessitie of peace in the christian religion, as well by reason of the inforcements manie yeers past, begun by the great Turke enimie vnto our faith, which by force of armes hath taken awaie from the christians the citie and Ile of Rhodes, one of the principall bulworks of christendome, and in Hungarie the fortresse of Belgrad, and part of the countrie there, as also by heresies and new sects, of late risen in diuerse places of christendome; and likewise knowing the great warres being kindled in all parts, by meanes of which all christendome is in trouble, confusion, and maruellous diuision, and not long since by your people and ministers and souldiers in your armie, and vnder your capteins the holie citie of Rome hath beene sacked and robbed, the person of our holie father the pope taken prisoner, and kept by your people, the cardinals likewise taken and put to ransome, the churches robbed, bishops, priests, and people of religion put to the sword, and so manie other euils, cruelties, and inhumane facts committed by your people, that the aire and the land are infected therewith.

The report of the herald falleth out iustifiable by Guicciardines discourse, lib. 18.

And it is verie like, that God is verie greatlie stirred and prouoked vnto ire. And to speake after the maner of men, if by amendment it be not pacified, innumerable euils and inconueniences shall happen vnto all christendome. And for that the rot and increasement of the said warre, proceedeth of the contentions and debates betweene you, and the most christened king his good brother and perpetuall alie: to make an end of which debates, the king my souereigne lord hath sent his ambassadors and others, vnto the most christened king his good brother, with whome he hath done so much, that for the loue that he hath borne him, he hath made vnto you so great offers, and so reasonable, that you cannot, nor ought reasonablie

The king of England fauoured the French king.

reasonablie to refuse them, as conditions and offers for his ransome exceeding the ransome accustomed of all kings. And if in this, the consideration of peace had not beene, an euill example might thereof grow for other kings and christened princes subiect vnto the like fortune.

The herald vseth an argument drawne from benefits receiued to moue the emperour.

Of which offers and conditions he hath likewise aduertised you by his ambassadours, praied and besought you for the honour of God, and the wealth of all christendome, for the benefits and pleasures that he hath done vnto you diuerse waies, and that in time of your great need, that it would please you to accept the said offers, and make an end of the said warres, that haue too long endured. Likewise as a christened prince bound to the protection of the pope, and see apostolike, and consequentlie to the deliuerance of his holinesse (whom you cannot, nor ought to keepe prisoner without great offense) that you would restore his holinesse vnto a full and entier libertie. Also he hath oftentimes shewed by diuerse obligations, and other meanes, how you are indebted vnto him in diuerse great summes of monie, that he hath giuen and lent you in your necessitie, requiring you to make paiment.

Of all which things you haue made no account from time to time, but deferred it, and held in suspense the ambassadours of the king my souereigne, without hauing regard to Gods honour, and the necessitie of all christendome, and the reuerence that ye ought to haue vnto the holie seate and person of our holie father the pope, the vicar of God on earth, or vnto the pleasures that you haue receiued of him, or vnto your faith and promise that you so oftentimes haue made. And for this cause the king my said souereigne, by honest reason and iustice constreined, by great and ripe deliberation of his councell, hoping for a finall conclusion, hath caused againe to be presented offers more large and to greater aduantage than the others before, to put you in deuoir, and to auoid and take awaie all occasion to deferre and dissemble to come to reason.

The herald of England sheweth the emperour what is the king of Englands present determination if his offers be refused.

Which offers, and the augmenting of the same, haue beene made and made againe, with all demonstrations and honest resons that haue beene possible, And in the end there hath beene made vnto you instance for the deliuerie of our holie father, whom you haue restreined or caused to be restreined in place of deliuerie, which is very strange, & against the true estate & dutie of a christian prince. So that the king my souereigne, & the most christian king his brother and perpetuall alie, can no longer indure it with their honours and dutie towards God and the church. And seeing you will not condescend to reason, nor accept the said offers being more than reasonable, nor satisfie the king my said souereigne of the debts by you due, as you are bound, he hath concluded with the said most christened king his good brother & perpetuall alie, & other of his confederats, to do his endeuour to constreine you by force & might of armes to deliuer our holie father, & likewise the children of France, whom you hold, in paieng you a reasonable ransome, and to satisfie him of that you owe him.

The disposition of the king of England to the pope and the French king.

Therefore the king my souereigne lord, as a true and constant prince, willing to keepe inuiolablie his faith, which he hath promised vnto the said christian prince, and other his alies, and not willing to leaue the person of our said holie father the pope in captiuitie, as also will not the said christian king: they two do summon you at this time for all, to accept these last offers, for the deliuerance of the said children of France, and for the wealth of an vniuersall peace, & to deliuer the person of our said holie father, & also to paie spedilie and without anie more delaie, the debts by you due vnto the king my souereigne.

And if you refuse these finall offers, and also to deliuer the person of our said holie father, and paie the said debtes, as a good christian prince and louer of peace is bound to do; the king my souereigne, and the said christian king his good brother, not without great sorrow and displeasure, do declare to be your enimies, and so hereafter do hold and repute you for such one, denouncing vnto you warre by sea and land, and defieng you with all their forces.

The defiance intimated to the emperor by the herald of England.

Neuertheless, considering that there be diuerse of your subiects, and great quantitie of their goods in the realmes of England and France, and other lands & lordships of the said princes: likewise there be diuerse of the subiects of the kings of England and France, and of their goods in your kingdomes, countries, lands, and lordships, the which may receiue aswell of the one part as of the other, great and vnrecouerable hurts and damages, if without aduertisements and monition they should be taken and deteined, the kings maiestie my souereigne, and the most christian king of France his good brother be willing that libertie be giuen vnto your subiects being in their kingdomes, countries, and lordships, for to retire and depart with all their goods and merchandize, within fourtie daies after this intimation, so that the like libertie and permission be in like sort granted to their subiects. ¶ To this defiance of the king at armes of England the emperours maiestie did answer in these words.

Libertie granted to the emperors subiects in England and France to returne to their owne countries, and the like demanded on the contrarie part.

The emperours answer to the *English heralds oration.*

I Do vnderstand that which you haue declared, and I cannot thinke that if the king of England were throughlie aduertised of things as they haue passed, and of the reason to which I haue yelded, he would not saie that which you haue said, and therefore mine intention is to aduertise him. As to that which you spake of the pope, I was neuer consenting to his destruction, which was neuer done by my commandement, & I giue you to vnderstand, that he is deliuered, and I am sorie for the harmes that were done at the time when he was taken, of the which I take my selfe not to be in fault, as I haue told the king at armes of France. And as to the deliuerance of the French kings sons, where means haue beene made for their deliuerance, I haue beene readie to giue eare thereto, and the fault resteth not in me, for that the peace hath not beene concluded.

The emperors modestie in this point notable.

But now that ye tell me that the king your maister will force me to deliuer them, I will answer thereto in other sort than hitherto I haue done, and I trust to keepe them in such wise, that by force I shall not need to deliuer them: for I am not accustomed to be forced in things which I do. As to the debt which the king of England hath lent me, I haue neuer denied it, neither do I denie it, but am readie to paie it as right requireth, as I haue caused it to be declared vnto him, and I my selfe haue shewed no lesse to his ambassadors, and deliuered my saieng by writing, and I cannot beleeue, that for such things (which I refuse not to accomplish) he will make war against me, and if he will so do it will grieue me, but yet I must defend my selfe: and I praie God that the king your maister giue me not greater occasion to make him war, than I haue giuen him. You shall deliuer me in writing, that which you haue said, to the which I will answer by writing particularlie.

This answer made by the emperour to the king of armes Clarenceaur, the said Clarenceaur tooke his coat of armes, which he had lieng on his left arme,

The English herald is cõmanded by the emperour to leaue his oration behind him in writing.

arme (as before is said) and put it vpon him. The emperour herewith commanded him to deliuer by writing into the hands of the lord of Buclans all that he had vttered by word of mouth, as is aboue expressed. Which Clarenceaur promised to do, & so he did afterwards, signed with his owne hand, word for word. Clarenceaur hauing thus done his dutie, incontinentlie withdrew: but before his departure, the lord of Buclans said to him, and also to Guien, these words insuing. Behold here this writing in my hand, conteining the articles of the composition betweene the emperour and the pope.

Guic.pag.1085 Accord betweene the pope & the emperours agents.

¶ That the pope should be no partie against the emperour, neither in the affaires of Millaine, nor in the kingdome of Naples. That he should accord vnto the emperour the croisade in Spaine, and a tenth of the reuenues ecclesiastike throughall his dominions. That to assure the obseruation of these things, Ostia should remaine in the hands of the emperour, and Ciuita Vecchia which Andrea Dore had left to him before. That he should assigne ouer to him Ciuita Castellana, a towne which had refused to receiue the imperials, Mario Perusquo procuror of the fiske being entred within the rocke by secret commission from the pope, notwithstanding he made semblance of the contrarie. That he should also deliuer ouer to him the rocke of Furlie, and to put into his hands for ostages Hyppolito and Alexander his nephues, and till they were come from Parma the emperour to be possessed of the cardinals Pisani, Triuulco, and Gaddi, whome they led to the realme of Naples.

Heauie paiments for the pope to discharge.

Furthermore, that he should make present paiment to the lanceknights of three score thousand ducates, and to the Spaniards fiftie & fiue thousand. That in so doing they should let him come out at libertie with all the cardinals, and they to go out of Rome and out of the castell, alwaies interpreting to libertie when soeuer they should be conueied in safetie to Orbietto, Spoletto, or Perousa. That within fiftéene daies after his going out of Rome he should paie the like quantitie of monie to the lanceknights, and afterwards the residue within three moneths to the Spaniards & lanceknights iointlie, according to their shares and portions. Which residue togither with the summes paid amounted to more than three hundred and fiftie thousand ducats.]

This is the true copie (said the lord of Buclans) of the capitulation, made touching the deliuerance of the pope, and how he is deliuered, and departed from castell saint Angelo, the tenth of December last past: put it in your relation. The said king of armes answered; We will so do: and so for that time they parted. ¶ Here, because mention is made of the popes deliuerance out of prison, it shall not be amisse to set downe the maner thereof as it is reported by Guicciardine. All things hauing their orderlie expedition, & the resolution set downe, that the tenth of December the Spaniards should accompanie him into a place of suertie, he fearing some variation either for the ill mind which he knew don Hugo bare to him, or for anie other accident that might happen, the night before he stale secretlie out of the castell in the closing of the euening, disguised in the attire of a merchant. Lewis de Gonsagno who was in the paie of the emperour, taried for him in the medowes with a strong companie of harquebuziers, and with that gard did accompanie him to Montfalcon, where dismissing almost all his bands of footmen, he was led by the same Lewis euen to Orbietto, into which citie he entred by night without the companie of anie one cardinall. An example worthie of consideration, and perhaps neuer happened since the church was great, that a pope should in that sort fall from so great a puissance and reuerence, his eies to behold the losse and sacke of Rome, his person to be turned ouer into captiuitie, and his whole estate reduced to the disposing of an other, and within few moneths after, to be restored & established in his former greatnesse. So great towards princes christian is the authoritie of the pope, and the respect which mortall men do beare to him.]

Guic.pag.1085 The maner of the popes going out of prison.

At the same instant that the heralds were at the emperors court, the emperour called before him the said Guien king at armes of France, and said to him as followeth. Sith it is reason that you enioy your priuileges, you ought also to do your dutie; and therefore I praie you declare to your maister, yea euen to his owne person that which I shall tell you, which is this: that since the treatie of Madrill contrarie to the same, diuerse of my subiects haue béene taken going about their businesses, and other also going to serue me in Italie, which haue béene deteined prisoners, euill intreated, and by force thrust into the gallies: and bicause I haue of his subiects the which I might likewise take, yée shall aduertise him, that if he deliuer vnto me mine, I will deliuer his; if not, as he shall intreat mine, I will intreat his; and that he send me answer hereof within fortie daies: if not, I will take the refusall for an answer.

The emperors words to the French herald.

The king of armes Guien asked if his maiestie ment this concerning the merchants: Whervnto the emperor answered: This is beside that which is conteined in your writing, touching the merchants, to which point (said he) I will answer by writing. And herewith Guien making three obeisances, said; Sir I will gladlie do it. Then said the emperor, Tell the king your maister further, that I beléeue that he hath not béene aduertised of that which I told to his ambassador in Granado, which toucheth him nére. For I told him in such a case so noble a prince, that if he had vnderstood the same, he would haue made me an answer. He shall do well to know it of his ambassador. For by that he shall vnderstand, that I haue kept better faith to him in that I haue promised at Madrill than he to me, and I praie you so tell him, and faile not hereof. Guien answered, Without doubt sir I will do it: and so making his obeisance he departed.

This the emperor interreth to iustifie his owne dealings by waie of comparison

The emperor appointed John le Alemant the baron of Buclans to see that no displeasure nor euill speach were vsed to the said kings of armes, but that they should be well vsed: which was done to their good contentation. After this, the seauen and twentith of Januarie, the said kings of armes came to the said lord of Buclans, who by the emperours appointment deliuered an answer vnto either of them in writing, accordinglie as the emperor had promised, the copies whereof are set forth at large in the annales of Aquitaine, and for breuenesse here omitted. To conclude, the French king tooke such displeasure with the emperours answers made vnto his king of armes Guien, whereby he was charged to do otherwise than by his faith giuen he ought to haue done, that the eight and twentith daie of March being in the citie of Paris, accompanied with a great number of the princes of his blood, cardinals and other prelats and nobles of his realme, and also the ambassadors of diuerse princes and potentates, he called before him Nicholas Perenot lord of Granuelle, vnto whom he said in effect as followeth.

The heralds receiue the emperors answer in writing.

The seauen & twentith saith Guic.pag.1091.

The French kings oration before an *honourable assemblie at Paris.*

This speach of the kings doth wholie concerne the emperor and sauoureth of displeasure.

My lord ambassadors, it hath grieued me, and doth grieue me, that I haue béene constreined to handle you not so courteoustie and gratioustie as for the good and honou-

honourable behauiour, which you haue shewed in dooing your duetie being here with me, you haue deserued at my hands, sith I must néeds saie, yée haue acquit your selfe in euerie behalfe, as well to the honor of your maister, as good contentation of each man else, so that I am assured the fault resteth not in you, while things haue not come to better end and purpose than they haue doone, for the good zeale and affection, which I haue euer proued in you to the aduancement of peace and quieting of things, wherein I doubt not but you haue doone your duetie to the full.

But being informed what your maister the elect emperor, against all right and law, as well diuine as humane, had commanded to be doone vnto my ambassadors, and likewise to the other of the league remaining with him, for the furtherance of things toward a peace, and contrarie to all good customs, which hither to haue béene obserued betwixt princes, not onelie christians, but also infidels, me thought I could not otherwise doo, for the behoofe of mine owne ambassadours, arrested and against reason kept in ward, but to doo the same to you, although I had no mind to vse you euill, for the reasons aboue said, for the which, and for the duetie you haue shewed in dooing that appertained, I assure you my lord ambassador, that beside that I doubt not but your maister will recompense you for the same, yée may be assured that where particularlie in anie thing I may pleasure you, I will doo it with as good a will as you can require me.

And to make answer to that which your maister by word of mouth hath said vnto Guien and Clarenceaux kings of armes of the king my good brother and perpetuall and best alie, and of me vpon the intimation of the warre which hath bæne made by vs, consisting in eight points, I will that each one vnderstand it. First, as to the which he saith he maruelleth that he hauing me a prisoner by iust warre, and hauing also my faith, I should defie him, and that in reason I neither may nor ought to doo it; I answer thereto, that if I were his prisoner here, and that he had my faith, he had spoken true: but I know not that the emperor hath euer at anie time had my faith, that may in anie wise auaile him. For first in what warre so euer I haue béene, I know not that I haue either séene him or encountred with him.

When I was prisoner, garded with foure or fiue hundred harquebuzers, sicke in my bed, and in danger of death, it was an easie matter to constreine me, but not verie honorable to him that should doo it: and after that I returned into France, I know not anie that hath had power to compell me to it: and to doo it willinglie without constraint, it is a thing which I wate more, than so lightlie to bind my selfe thereto. And bicause I will not that my honor come in disputation, although I know well that euerie man of warre knoweth sufficientlie, that a prisoner garded is not bound to anie faith, nor can bind himselfe thereto in anie thing: I doo neuertheless send to your maister this writing signed with mine owne hand, the which my lord ambassadour I praie you read, and afterwards promise me to deliuer it vnto your maister, and not to anie other. And herewith the king caused it to be deliuered to the said ambassador by maister John Robertet, one of the secretaries of the estate, and of his chamber.

The ambassador tooke the writing in his hand, and after excused himselfe to the king, saieng: That as to him, by the letter which his maister & souereigne lord had written vnto him now lastlie, his commission was alreadie expired, and that he had no further commandement nor instructions from his maiestie, but to take leaue of the king with as much spéed as he might, and to returne home. Which he most humblie besought him to permit him to doo, without further charge or commission, although he knew that he was at his commanddement, and that he might at his pleasure constreine him, as séemed to him good. Herevnto the king answered; My lord ambassador, sith you will not take vpon you to read this writing, I will cause it to be read in this companie, to the end that euerie one may vnderstand and know that I am clæred in that, whereof against trueth he goeth about to accuse me.

Beside that, if you afterwards will not beare it, & deliuer it to him, I will send one of my heralds here present to go in companie with you: for whom you shall procure a good & auailable safe conduct, that he maie passe vnto your maister, protesting & demanding, that an act maie be registred before this companie, that if he will not it should come to his knowledge, that I am discharged, in that I doo my best to cause him to vnderstand it accordinglie as I ought to doo, and in such sort as he can not pretend cause of ignorance. After he had made an end of these words, he called to him the said Robertet, and commanded him to reade the said writing with a lowd voice, which was doone word for word.

The French king deliuereth his mind with a corage, as vtter enimie to the emperour.

The copie of the said writing directed to the emperour.

ME Francis, by the grace of God, king of France, lord of Genes, &c. To you Charles, by the same grace, chosen emperour of Rome, and king of Spaine. We doo you to wit, that being aduertised, that in all the answers that you haue made to our ambassadors and heraulds, sent to you for the establishing of peace, in excusing your selfe, without all reason you haue accused vs, saieng, that we haue plight you our faith, and that therevpon (besides our promise) we departed out of your hands and power. In defense of our honour, which hereby might be burthened too much against all truth, we thought good to send you this writing; by which we giue you to vnderstand, that notwithstanding that no man being in ward is bound to kæpe faith, and that the same might be a sufficient excuse for vs: yet for the satisfieng of all men, and our said honor (which we mind to kæpe, and will kæpe, if it please God, vnto the death) that if ye haue charged, or will charge vs, not onelie with our said faith, and deliuerance, but that euer we did anie thing that became not a gentleman that had respect to his honor; that ye lie falslie in your throat: and as oft as ye saie it, ye lie: and we determine to defend our honor to the vttermost drop of our bloud. Wherefore, seeing ye haue charged vs against all truth, write no more to vs hereafter: but appoint vs the field, and we will bring you the weapons. Protesting, that if after this declaration ye write into anie place, or vse anie words against our honor, that the shame of the delaie of the combat shall light on you, seeing that the offering of combat is the end of all writing: Made at our good towne and citie of Paris, the eight and twentith daie of March.

The French kings allegations in defense of his honor charged with vntruth.

The French king giueth the emperor the lie: see Guic. pag 1091

The French k. saith that constraint and necessitie made him tractable to the emperor.

The emperors ambassador refuseth to read the French kings letters sent to his soueraigne.

What induced the French king to vse some discourtesie against the emperors ambassadors.

The king answereth the emperours words vttered to Guien his herald.

March. In the yere of our Lord, one thousand fiue hundred twentie and eight, before Easter. Thus signed. Francis.

This Robertet was one of the secretaries to the estate.

After that Robertet had read this writting there in presence of the emperours ambassadors, the king made further replie vnto the points conteined in the emperours answers to the defiance; and withall to conclude, told the said ambassador, that his master the emperor had constreined him by such message as he had sent to him, to make the answer in truth, which he had made: and further willed him to deliuer vnto the emperour the writing which he had signed with his hand, and to saie to him, that he tolde him for so honorable a prince, that considering the matter wherewith he charged him, and the answer that he made, he would not faile but to answer him like a gentleman, and not by writting like an aduocate. For if he otherwise do (said the king) I will answer his chancellor by an aduocate, and a man of his estate, and a more honest man than he.

Shortlie after, the emperors ambassadors returned home into Spaine in safetie, and well intreted. And vpo their returne, the ambassadors of France were set at libertie, and deliuered beyond Fonterabie, & so came safelie home into France. Then a French herald, appointed to accompanie the ambassadour Grandeuill, brought the writing of the combat vnto the emperor, bicause Grandeuill refused to medle with it. To the which the emperor fiue moneths after, or thereabouts, sent an answer by one of his heralds; who being arriued at Paris, meant vpon the sudden to present his letters vnto the French king. But the king getting intelligence thereof, the tenth of September, sitting within his great hall of his palace at Paris aforesaid, before the table of marble in a roiall seat, addressed and set vp for him sixteene steps in height, appointes to giue audience to the said herald.

The emperor answereth the French kings letters.

On his right hand sate in chaires the king of Nauarre, the duke of Alanson and Berrie, the earle of Foix and Arminacke. And on the same side sate also vpon a bench, the duke of Vandosme a peere of France, lieutenant generall, and gouernor of Picardie, don Hercules de Est, eldest sonne to the duke of Ferrar, duke of Chartres and Montarges, who latelie before had maried the ladie Rener, a daughter of France, the duke of Albanie regent and gouernor of Scotland, the duke of Longueuille, great chamberleine of France. And neere to them vpon another bench sate the presidents and councellors of the court of parlement; and behind them manie gentlemen, doctors, and learned men. On the left hand were set in chaires prepared for them, the cardinall Salnarie the popes legat, the cardinall of Burbon, and duke of Laon, a peere of France, the cardinall of Sens chancellor of France, the cardinall of Lorrain, the archbishop of Narbon, the ambassadors of the kings of England and Scotland, of the seignorie of Uenice, of Millan, of the Cantons, of the Suisses, and of Florence.

What states both native and forren were present in the French kings hall.

On an other bench sate the bishop of Transiluania, ambassador for the king of Hungarie, the bishop and duke of Langres, one of the peeres of France, the bishop & earle of Noion, an other of the peeres of France, th'archbishop of Lion, primat of all France, the archbishop of Burges primate of Aquitaine, the archbishops of Aux and Rouen, the bishops of Paris, Meaux, Lizeux, Mascon, Limoges, Uabres, Conserans and Terbe. And behind them sate the masters of the requests, and the councellors of the great councell. On either side the kings seate stood the earle of Beaumont great master and marshall of France, the lord de Bryon admerall of France lieutenant generall, and gouernor of Burgognie. And behind the same seat were manie knights of the order, that is to wit, the earle of Lauall, lieutenant generall and gouernor of Britaine, the lord of Montmerancie, the lord Daubignie capteine of an hundred lances, and of the Scotish gard, the earle of Brienne, Lignie, and Roussie, the lord of Fleurranges marshall of France, the lord of Russoie, the lord of Genoillac great esquier and master of the artillerie of France, Lois monsieur de Clenes, the lord of Humiers, and the earle of Carpie.

Who stood on either side of the French kings seate roiall.

Behind them was the earle of Estamps prouost of Paris, and with him manie gentlemen of the kings chamber: among the which was the earle of Tancaruill, the lord of Guien, the son of the earle of Roussie, the son of the lord of Fleurranges, the lord de la Rochpot, the lord Donartie great master of the waters and forrests, the lord of Lude, the lord of Jaulie, the lord de Villebon, baillie of Rouen, the baron of Chasteau Morant, the lord de la Loue, the vicount de la Motheaugroing, and the lord of Uertes. And besides these, the maisters and officers of the houshold & gentlemen waiters, with the more part of the two hundred gentlemen or pensioners, as we terme them. At the entrie into the said throne or tribunall seat, were the capteins of the gards, and the prouost of the houshold. And before the king kneeled the vshers of the chamber vpon the one knee: and at the fot of the step that went vp to the kings seate were the prouosts of the merchants and eschewins of the towne of Paris. Beneath in the hall (the gates whereof were still open) there was an infinite number of people of all nations: and in presence of them all, the king made this declaration.

The king sheweth the first cause of this assemblie of honorable personages.

The cause wherefore I haue made this assemblie, is, for that the emperour elect hath sent to me an herald of armes, who (as I coniecture, and as the same herald hath said, and as his safe conduct importeth) hath brought me letters patents and autentike, concerning the suertie of the field for the combat that should be betwixt the said elected emperour and me. And forasmuch as the said herald, vnder colour to bring the suertie of the field, may vse certeine fictions, dissimulations, or hypocrisies, to shift off the matter, whereas I desire expedition, and to haue it dispatched out of hand; so that by the same an end of the warres, which haue so long continued, may be had, to the ease and comfort of all christendome, to auoid the effusion of bloud, and other mischeefes which come thereof: I haue wished it knowne to all christendome, to the end that euerie one may vnderstand the truth, from whence proceedeth the mischefe and the long continuance thereof.

Further cause why the said assemblie was procured.

I haue also caused this assemblie to be made, to shew that I haue not without great cause enterprised such an act; for the right is on my side: and if I should otherwise haue done, mine honor had beene greatlie blemished. A thing which my lords that are of my bloud, and other my subiects would haue taken in euill part. And knowing the cause of the combat, and my right, they will beare with it, as good and loiall subiects ought to do, trusting by Gods helpe to proceed in such sort therein, that it shall plainelie appeare if the right be on my side or not: and how, against truth, I haue beene accused for a breaker of my faith, which I would be loth to do, nor at anie time haue meant so to do. The kings my predecessors and ancestors, whose pictures are ingrauen and set heere in order within this hall, which in their dates haue successiuelie atchiued glorious acts, and greatlie augmented the realme of France, would thinke me vnworthie, and not capable to be their successor, if against mine honor I should suffer my selfe to be charged with such a

note,

note by the emperour, and should not defend my person and honor in the manner and forme accustomed.

The French king in presence of all his states auerth that he euer gaue his faith to anie of his enimies, ergo not the emperour.

And herewith he declared the whole case as it stood. First, how being taken at Pauia by fortune of war, he neuer gaue his faith to anie of his enimies, & consenting to be led into Spaine, caused his owne gallies to be made readie to conueie him thither, where at his arriuall, he was committed to ward within the castell of Madrill, garded with a great number of harquebuziers & others. Which vncourteous dealing sound in the emperor, so much grieued him, that he fell sicke, and late in danger of death. Wherevpon the emperour comming to visit him after his recouerie of health, an accord was made betwixt the deputies of the emperour and the ambassadours of the ladie his mother then regent of France: which accord was so vnreasonable, that no prince being in libertie would haue consented thereto, nor for his deliuerance haue promised so great a ransome. Which trettie yet they constrained him (as he said) to sweare to performe, being prisoner, against the protestation which he diuerse times had made, yea as yet being sicke, and in danger of recidiuation; and so consequentlie of death.

The king prosecuteth the discourtese of the emperour in his declaration.

After this, he was conueied forth on his iournie homewards, still garded & not set at libertie. And it was told him, that after he came into France, it was conuenient that he should giue his faith, for that it was knowne well enough, that what he did or promised in Spaine, it nothing availed. And further he remembred not that the emperour had told him at anie time, that if he performed not the contents of the treatie, he would hold him for a breaker of his faith, & though he had, he was not in his libertie to make anie answer. Two things therefore said he, in this case are to be considered. One, that the trettie was violentlie wrong out from them that could not bind his person, and the which (as to the residue) had beene accomplished by his mother, deliuering his sonnes in hostage. The other thing was his pretended faith, on which they can make no ground, sith he was not set at libertie. And hereunto he shewed manie reasons, to proue that his enimies could not pretend in right that they had his faith.

The field, that is, a place where they may safelie come to fight in lists before indifferent iudges.

Further he said, that in matter of combat there was the assailant, which ought to giue suertie of the field, and the defendant the weapons. Herewith also he caused a letter to be read, which the emperour had written to maister John de Caluimont president of Burdeaux, the said kings ambassadour in the court of the said emperour: the tenor of which letter imported, that the emperour put the said ambassadour in remembrance of speech which he had vttered to the said ambassadour in Granado, repeating the same in substance as followeth. That the king his maister had done naughtilie in not keeping his faith which he had of him, according to the treatie of Madrill: and if the king would saie the contrarie, I will (said the emperour) mainteine the quarrell with my bodie against his. And these be the same words that I spake to the king your maister in Madrill, that I would hold him for a lewd and naughtie man, if he brake the faith which I had of him, &c.

Guic. pag. 1091

Then after the said letter had beene read, he caused also his answer made by way of a cartell to be read, the tenor whereof ye haue heard before. That done, he continued his tale, in declaring what order he had obserued to procure the emperour to the combat, without all shifting delaies: so as if the herald now come from the emperour would vse anie talke, other than to deliuer him an authentike writing for suertie of the field, and not obserue the contents of his safe conduct, he meant not to giue him audience. And herevpon was the herald called to come in, and declare his message. Who apparelled in his cote of armes, made his apparance before the king there sitting, accompanied (as ye haue heard.) Vnto whome the king said.

The French kings talke and communication to the emperors ambassador vttered with indignation.

Herald, dwelt thou bring the suertie of the field, such one as thy maister, being the assailant, ought to deliuer vnto the defendant, being such a personage as I am? The herald hereunto said: Sir, maie it please you to giue me licence to do mine office? Then said the king; Giue me the pattent of the field, and saie what thou wilt. The herald beginning his tale, The sacred. Tush (said the king) shew me the pattent of the field, for I hold thy maister for so noble a prince, that he hath not sent thee without the suertie of the field, sith I haue demanded it; and thou knowest that thy safe conduct conteineth no lesse but that thou shouldest bring it. The herald answered, that he trusted he had brought that which might content his maiestie.

The king replied & said: Herald, giue me the pattent of the field, giue it me: and if it be sufficient, I will receiue it, and after saie what thou wilt. The herald said he had in commandement not to deliuer it, except he might declare that which he had first to saie. The king said: Thy maister can not giue lawes to vs in France. To conclude he told the herald, that he peraduenture might speake things that his maister would not auouch, and that he had not to deale with him, but with his maister. The herald then required that he might haue licence to depart: which the king granted. And withall the king commanded that it might be registred what had passed in this behalfe, for a testimonie that the fault rested not in him in that he receiued not the pattent. The herald likewise for his discharge, required a copie in writing of that which had passed, and the same was granted.

The herald requireth libertie to depart.

Thus far haue I ouerpassed the common bounds of my purpose, in speaking so largelie of this matter of combat, bicause of the rarenesse thereof, chancing betwixt two so mightie princes, although it came not to the effect of triall. And now to returns to that which followed further vpon the defiance, denounced to the emperor by the two kings of armes, Guien and Clarenceaux. Ye shall vnderstand, that the lords and nobilitie, to the number of seuen hundred in whose presence it was giuen, toke it so offensiuelie, that drawing forth their swords, they sware that the same should be reuenged: for otherwise they protested, that the infamie would redound to them and their heires for euer. Herewith the warre was proclamed through all Spaine with baners displaied, in which were painted a red sword, with a burning cresset against the French king and his partakers, but not mentioning the king of England by expresse name. But it was recited in the proclamation, that the king of England had menaced and defied the emperour in the French kings quarell.

1528

The emperor defied by the kings of England and France.

Then were the English merchants in Spaine attached, and their goods put in safetie, till it might be knowne how the emperours subiects were ordered in England. Then likewise were all the ships of the emperours subiects here arrested: and in semblable maner all the Englishmen and their goods and ships were arrested by the ladie regent in the low countries. The common people in England much lamented, that warre should arise betweene the emperour and the king of England, speciallie bicause the emperours dominions had holpen and releeued them with graine in time of their necessitie & want. But cheefelie this matter touched merchants which hanted the emperors dominions. Yet at length were those of the low countries set at libertie, and their goods to them deliuered, in fauour of intercourse of

English merchants staied in Spaine.

merchandize. But forsomuch as the Spaniards were still deteined, the ladie regent also deteined the ships and goods of the English merchants though she set their persons at libertie.

The incõmoditie rising of lacke of intercourse for traficke.

By this meanes the trade of merchandize was in maner fore-let here in England, and namelie the clothes laie on their hands, whereby the commonwealth suffered great decaie, and great numbers of spinners, carders, tuckers, and such other that liued by clothworking, remained idle, to their great impouerishment. And as this warre was displeasant to the Englishmen, so was it as much or more displeasant to the townes and people of the low countries, & in especiall to the townes of Antuerpe & Barrow, where the marts are kept. So that at length there came ambassadours from the ladie regent, the which associating themselues with don Hugo de Pendoza ambassadour for the emperour, came to the king at Richmond the twentie and ninth of March, and there

In abstinence of war granted vpon sute made to the king of England.

moued their sute so effectuallie, that an abstinence of warre was granted, till time that a further communication might be had: and vpon this point letters were sent into Spaine, France, and Flanders, and so this matter continued vntill answers were brought from thense againe.

The emperours ambassadours intreated not so earnestlie to moue the king to haue peace with their maister, but the French ambassadours solicited the king as earnestlie to enter into the warre against him, and suerlie they had the cardinall on their side. But yet the king wiselie considering with other of his councell, what damage should insue therby vnto his subiects, and speciallie to the merchants and clothiers, would not consent so easilie to the purpose of the Frenchmen, though he had twentie thousand pounds sterling out of France, of yearelie pension, to continue frend & alie to the French king. But he protested euer that he would see the relme of France defended to his power, and studie no lesse to haue a peace concluded, which might be as honourable to the French king as to himselfe, and beneficiall vnto their people, of whome by warres, might be made both slaughter and bloudshed, which are companions vnseparable of battell; as the poet well saith:

Hinc breuiter diræ mortis aperta via est.

Creation of the earle of Osserie.

On the two and twentith of Februarie the king created at Windsor sir Piers Butler of Ireland, erle of Osserie. ¶ Also a Dutch craire of Armew chased a French craire vp the Thames from Margate to the Tower wharfe, and there as they fought sir

Sir Edmund Walsingham.

Edmund Walsingham lieutenant of the Tower persecuting them, called his men togither, and entering the ships tooke both the capteins. The kings councell tooke vp the matter betwixt them, for the Fleming chalenged the Frenchman as a lawfull prise. An abstinence of the warre was taken in the beginning of this yeare betwixt Flanders, and the countries of Picardie on this side the riuer of Some to begin the first of Maie & indure till the last of Februarie. By means of this truce all the Englishmen

A truce and the benefits insuing from the same.

might lawfullie passe into the low countries, but not into Spaine: which sore greeued the merchants that haunted those parties. It was further agreed, that if no generall peace could be had, during the time of this truce: then all the merchants should haue respit two moneths after to passe into their owne countries with their wares and merchandizes in safetie.

The sweating sickenesse, whereof died both courtiers and others.

In the end of Maie began in the citie of London the disease called the sweating sickenesse, which afterwards infected all places of the realme, and slue manie within fiue or six houres after they sickened. This sickenesse, for the maner of the taking of the patients, was an occasion of remembring that great sweat which raged in the reigne of this kings grandfather; and happilie men caused the same remedie then vsed to be reuiued. By reason of this sickenesse, the tearme was adiourned, and the circuit of the assises also. There died diuerse in the court of this sickenesse, as sir Francis Poins, which had beene ambassadour in Spaine, and diuerse others. The king for a space remoued almost euerie daie till he came to Tintinhangar, a place of the abbat of saint Albons, and there he with the queene, and a small companie about them, remained till the sickenesse was past. In this great mortalitie died sir William Compton knight, and William Carew esquier; which were of the kings priuie chamber.

Sir William Compton.

¶ A prisoner brake from the sessions hall at Newgate when the sessions was done, which prisoner was brought downe out of Newgate in a basket, he seemed so weake: but now in the end of the sessions he brake thorough the people vnto the Greie friers church, and there was kept six or seauen daies yer the shiriffe could speake with him, and then bicause he would not abiure and aske a crowner, with violence they tooke him thense, and cast him againe in prison, but the law serued not to hang him.]

Abr. Fl. ex L. pag 959. A prisoner brake frõ the sessions hou Register of Greie friers.

We heaue heard how the people talked a little before the cardinals going ouer into France the last yeare, that the king was told by doctor Longland bishop of Lincolne and others, that his mariage with queene Katharine could not be good nor lawfull. The truth is, that whether this doubt was first moued by the cardinall, or by the said Longland, being the kings confessor, the king was not onelie brought in doubt, whether it was a lawfull marriage or no; but also determined to haue the case examined, cleered, and adiudged by learning, law, and sufficient authoritie. The cardinall verelie was put in most blame for this scruple now cast into the kings conscience, for the hate he bare to the emperor, bicause he would not grant to him the archbishoprike of Toledo, for the which he was a suter. And therefore he did not onlie procure the king of England to ioine in freendship with the French king, but also sought a diuorse betwixt the king and the queene, that the king might haue had in marriage the duchesse of Alanson, sister vnto the French king: and (as some haue thought) he trauelled in that matter with the French king at Amiens, but the duchesse would not giue eare thereunto.

Doctor Longland bishop Lincolne.

why the cardinall was suspected to be against the marriage.

Polydor.

But howsoeuer it came about, that the king was thus troubled in conscience concerning his mariage, this followed, that like a wise & sage prince, to haue the doubt clearelie removed, he called togither the best learned of the realme, which were of seuerall opinions. Wherfore he thought to know the truth by indifferent iudges, least peraduenture the Spaniards, and other also in fauour of the queene would saie, that his owne subiects were not indifferent iudges in this behalfe. And therefore he wrote his cause to Rome, and also sent to all the vniuersities in Italie and France, and to the great clearkes of all christendome, to know their opinions, and desired the court of Rome to send into his realme a legat, which should be indifferent, and of a great and profound iudgement, to heare the cause debated. At whose request the whole consistorie of the college of Rome sent thither Laurence Campeius, a preest cardinall, a man of great wit and experience, which was sent hither before in the tenth yeare of this king, as yee haue heard, and with him was ioined in commission the cardinall of Yorke and legat of England.

Edw. Hall.

The king is desirous to be resolued by the opinions of the learned touching his marriage.

Cardinall Campeius sent into England.

This cardinall came to London in October, and did intimate both to the king & queene the cause of his comming: which being knowne, great talke was had thereof. The archbishop of Canturburie sent for the famous doctors of both the vniuersities to Lambeth,

The matter touching the kings marriage debated.

beth, and there were euerie daie disputations and communings of this matter. And bicause the king meant nothing but vprightlie therein, and knew well that the quéene was somewhat wedded to hir owne opinion, and wished that she should do nothing without counsell, he bad hir chose the best clearks of his realme to be of hir counsell, and licenced them to do the best on hir part that they could, according to the truth. Then she elected William Warham archbishop of Canturburie, and Nicholas Weast bishop of Elie, doctors of the laws; and John Fisher bishop of Rochester, and Henrie Standish bishop of saint Asaph, doctors of diuinitie, and manie other doctors and well learned men, which for suertie like men of great learning defended hir cause, as farre as learning might mainteine and hold it vp.

The quéne chooseth lawyers for hir part.

This yeare was sir James Spenser maior of London, in whose time the watch in London on Midsummer night was laid downe. About this time the king receiued into fauour doctor Stephan Gardiner, whose seruice he vsed in matters of great secrecie and weight, admitting him in the roome of doctor Pace, the which being continuallie abroad in ambassages, and the same oftentimes not much necessarie, by the cardinals appointment, at length he toke such greefe therewith, that he fell out of his right wits. The place where the cardinals should sit to heare the cause of matrimonie betwixt the king and the quéene, was ordeined to be at the Blacke friers in London, where in the great hall was preparation made of seats, tables, and other furniture, according to such a solemne session and roiall apparance. The court was platted in tables and benches in manner of a consistorie, one seat raised higher for the iudges to sit in. Then as it were in the midst of the said iudges aloft aboue them three degrees high, was a cloth of estate hanged, with a chaire roiall vnder the same, wherein sat the king; and besides him, some distance from him sat the quéene, and vnder the iudges feet sat the scribes and other officers: the chéefe scribe was doctor Stéeuens, and the caller of the court was one Cooke of Winchester.

Polydor.

Doctor Stephã Gardner. 1529

Doctor Pace falleth out of his wits.

Anno Reg. 21. Edw. Hall.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 959. The maner of the session, & euerie personage of account in his place.

Then before the king and the iudges within the court sat the archbishop of Canturburie Warham, and all the other bishops. Then stood at both ends within, the counsellors learned in the spirituall laws, as well the kings as the quéenes. The doctors of law for the king (whose names yée haue heard before) had their conuenient roomes. Thus was the court furnished. The iudges commanded silence whilest their commission was read, both to the court and to the people assembled. That done the scribes commanded the crier to call the king by the name of king Henrie of England, come into the court, &c. With that the king answered and said, Héere. Then called he the quéene by the name of Katharine quéene of England come into the court, &c. Who made no answer, but rose out of hir chaire.

The king and quéene called into the court.

And bicause shée could not come to the king directlie, for the distance seuered betweene them, shée went about by the court, and came to the king, kneeling downe at his feet, to whome she said in effect as followeth: Sir (quoth she) I desire you to do me iustice and right, and take some pitie vpon me, for I am a poore woman, and a stranger, borne out of your dominion, hauing héere no indifferent counsell, & lesse assurance of frendship. Alas sir, what haue I offended you, or what occasion of displeasure haue I shewed you, intending thus to put me from you after this sort? I take God to my iudge, I haue béene to you a true & humble wife, euer conformable to your will and pleasure, that neuer contraried or gainesaid any thing thereof, and being alwaies contented with all things wherein you had any delight, whether little or much, without grudge or displeasure, I loued for your sake all them whome you loued, whether they were my frends or enimies.

Quéene Katharines lamentable and pithie speech in presence of the court.

I haue béene your wife these twentie yeares and more, & you haue had by me diuerse children. If there be anie iust cause that you can alleage against me, either of dishonestie, or matter lawfull to put me from you; I am content to depart to my shame and rebuke: and if there be none, then I praie you to let me haue iustice at your hand. The king your father was in his time of excellent wit, and the king of Spaine my father Ferdinando was reckoned one of the wisest princes that reigned in Spaine manie yeares before. It is not to be doubted, but that they had gathered as wise counsellors vnto them of euerie realme, as to their wisedoms they thought meet, who déemed the marriage betwéene you and me good and lawfull, &c. Wherefore, I humblie desire you to spare me, vntill I may know what counsell my frends in Spaine will aduertise me to take, and if you will not, then your pleasure be fulfilled. ¶ With that she arose vp, making a lowe curtesie to the king, and departed from thence.

The quéene iustifieth the marriage.

The king being aduertised that shée was readie to go out of the house, commanded the crier to call hir againe, who called hir by these words; Katharine quéene of England, come into the court. With that (quoth maister Griffith) Madame, you be called againe. On on (quoth she) it maketh no matter, I will not tarrie, go on your waies. And thus she departed, without anie further answer at that time, or anie other, and neuer would appeare after in anie court. The king perceiuing she was departed, said these words in effect: For as much (quoth he) as the quéene is gone, I will in hir absence declare to you all, that shée hath béene to me as true, as obedient, and as conformable a wife, as I would wish or desire. She hath all the vertuous qualities that ought to be in a woman of hir dignitie, or in anie other of a baser estate, she is also surelie a noble woman borne, hir conditions will well declare the same.

The quéene departing out of the court is called againe.

With that quoth Wolsele the cardinall: Sir, I most humblie require your highnesse, to declare before all this audience, whether I haue béene the chéefe and first mouer of this matter vnto your maiestie or no, for I am greatlie suspected herein. My lord cardinall (quoth the king) I can well excuse you in this matter, marrie (quoth he) you haue béene rather against me in the tempting héereof, than a setter forward or mouer of the same. The speciall cause that moued me vnto this matter, was a certeine scrupulositie that pricked my conscience, vpon certeine words spoken at a time when it was, by the bishop of Baion the French ambassador, who had béene hither sent, vpon the debating of a marriage to be concluded betweene our daughter the ladie Marie, and the duke of Orleance, second son to the king of France.

The cardinall requireth to haue that declared which was well enough known.

Upon the resolution and determination whereof, he desired respit to aduertise the king his maister thereof, whether our daughter Marie should be legitimate in respect of this my marriage with this woman, being sometimes my brothers wife. Which words once conceiued within the secret bottome of my conscience, ingendered such a scrupulous doubt, that my conscience was incontinentlie accombred, vered, and disquieted; whereby I thought my selfe to be greatlie in danger of Gods indignation. Which appeared to be (as me séemed) the rather, for that he sent vs no issue male: and all such issues male as my said wife had by me, died incontinent after they came into the world, so that I doubted the great displeasure of God in that behalfe.

The king confesseth that the sting of conscience made him mislike this marriage.

Thus my conscience being tossed in the waues of a scrupulous mind, and partlie in despaire to haue

anie other issue than I had alredie by this ladie now my wife, it behoued me further to consider the state of this realme, and the danger it stood in for lacke of a prince to succéed me, I thought it good in release of the weightie burthen of my weake conscience, & also the quiet estate of this worthie relme, to attempt the law therin, whether I may lawfullie take another wife more lawfullie, by whome God may send me more issue, in case this my first copulation was not good, without anie carnall concupiscence, and not for anie displeasure or misliking of the quænes person and age, with whome I would be as well contented to continue, if our mariage may stand with the laws of God, as with anie woman aliue.

The state of the question.

In this point consisteth all this doubt that we go about now to trie, by the learning, wisedome, and iudgement of you our prelats and pastors of all this our realme and dominions now heere assembled for that purpose; to whose conscience & learning I haue committed the charge and iudgement: according to the which I will (God willing) be right well content to submit my selfe, and for my part obeie the same. Wherein, after that I perceiued my conscience so doubtfull, I moued it in confession to you my lord of Lincolne then ghostlie father. And for so much as then you your selfe were in some doubt, you moued me to aske the counsell of all these my lords: whereupon I moued you my lord of Canturburie, first to haue your licence, in as much as you were metropolitane, to put this matter in question, and so I did of all you my lords: to which you granted vnder your seales, heere to be shewed. That is truth, quoth the archbishop of Canturburie. After that the king rose vp, and the court was adiorned vntill another daie.

The king submitteth himselfe to the censures of the learned in this case of diuorse.

Heere is to be noted, that the quéene in presence of the whole court most grieuoustie accused the cardinall of vntruth, deceit, wickednesse, & malice, which had sowne dissention betwixt hir and the king hir husband; and therefore openlie protested, that she did vtterlie abhorre, refuse, and forsake such a iudge, as was not onelie a most malicious enimie to hir, but also a manifest aduersarie to all right and iustice, and therewith did she appeale vnto the pope, committing hir whole cause to be iudged of him. But notwithstanding this appeale, the legats sat woorkelie, and euerie daie were arguments brought in on both parts, and proues alleaged for the vnderstanding of the case, and still they assaied if they could by anie meanes procure the quéene to call backe hir appeale, which she vtterlie refused to do. The king would gladlie haue had an end in the matter, but when the legats drawe time, and determined vpon no certeine point, he conceiued a suspicion, that this was done of purpose, that their doings might draw to none effect or conclusion.

The quéene accuseth cardinall wolsie.

She appeleth to the pope.

The king mistrusteth the legats of séeking delaies.

The next court daie, the cardinals sat againe, at which time the councell on both sides were there readie to answer. The kings councell alleaged the matrimonie not to be lawfull at the beginning, bicause of the carnall copulation had betwéene prince Arthur and the quéene. This matter was verie vehementlie touched on that side, and to proue it, they alleaged manie reasons and similitudes of truth: and being answered negatiuelie againe on the other side, it séemed that all their former allegations were doubtfull to be tried, and that no man knew the truth. And thus this court passed from sessions to sessions, and daie to daie, till at certeine of their sessions the king sent the two cardinals to the quéene (who was then in Bridewell) to perswade with hir by their wisdoms, and to aduise hir to surrender the whole matter into the kings hands by hir owne consent & will, which should be much better to hir honour, than to stand to the triall of law, and thereby to be condemned, which should séeme much to hir dishonour.

The present mariage whie thought vnlawfull.

The cardinals being in the quénes chamber of presence, the gentleman vsher aduertised the quéene that the cardinals were come to speake with hir. With that she rose vp, & with a skeine of white thred about hir necke, came into hir chamber of presence, where the cardinals were attending. At whose comming, quoth she, What is your pleasure with me? If it please your grace (quoth cardinall Wolsei) to go into your priuie chamber, we will shew you the cause of our comming. My lord (quoth she) if yée haue anie thing to saie, speake it openlie before all these folke, for I feare nothing that yée can saie against me, but that I would all the world should heare and sée it, and therefore speake your mind. Then began the cardinall to speake to hir in Latine. Naie good my lord (quoth she) speake to me in English.

Quéene Katharine and the cardinals haue communication in hir priuie chamber.

Forsooth (quoth the cardinall) good madame, if it please you, we come both to know your mind how you are disposed to do in this matter betwéene the king and you, and also to declare secretlie our opinions and counsell vnto you: which we do onelie for verie zeale and obedience we beare vnto your grace. My lord (quoth she) I thanke you for your good will, but to make you answer in your request I cannot so suddenlie, for I was set among my maids at woorke, thinking full little of anie such matter, wherein there néedeth a longer deliberation, and a better head than mine to make answer: for I néed counsell in this case which toucheth me so néere, & for anie counsell or freendship that I can find in England, they are not for my profit. What thinke you my lords, will anie Englishman counsell me, or be freend to me against the K. pleasure that is his subiect? Naie forsooth. And as for my counsell in whom I will put my trust, they be not here, they be in Spaine in my owne countrie.

The quéene refuseth to make sudden answer to so weightie a matter as the diuorse.

And my lords, I am a poore woman, lacking wit, to answer to anie such noble persons of wisedome as you be, in so weightie a matter, therefore I praie you be good to me poore woman, destitute of freends here in a forren region, and your counsell also I will be glad to heare. And therewith she toke the cardinall by the hand, and led him into hir priuie chamber with the other cardinall, where they tarried a season talking with the quéene. Which communication ended, they departed to the king, making to him relation of hir talke. Thus this case went forward from court to court, till it came to iudgement, so that euerie man expected that iudgment would be giuen the nert day. At which daie the king came thither, and set him downe in a chaire within a doore, in the end of the gallerie (which opened directlie against the iudgement seat) to heare the iudgement giuen, at which time all their proceedings were red in Latine.

The king & quænes matter commeth to iudgement.

That done, the kings councell at the barre called for iudgement. With that (quoth cardinall Campeius) I will not giue iudgement till I haue made relation to the pope of all our procédings, whose counsell and commandement in this case I will obserue: the case is verie doubtfull, and also the partie defendant will make no answer here, but doth rather appeale from vs, supposing that we be not indifferent. Wherfore I will adiourne this court for this time, according to the order of the court of Rome. And with that the court was dissolued, and no more done. This protracting of the conclusion of the matter, king Henrie toke verie displeasantlie. Then cardinall Campeius toke his leaue of the king and nobilitie, and returned towards Rome.]

Cardinall Campeius refuseth to giue iudgement.

Whilest these things were thus in hand, the cardinall of Yorke was aduised that the king had set his affection vpon a yong gentlewoman named Anne, the daughter of sir Thomas Bullen vicount Rochford, which did wait vpon the quéene. This was a great

The kings affection and goodwill to the ladie Anne Bullen.

great griefe vnto the cardinall, as he that perceiued aforehand, that the king would marie the said gentlewoman, if the diuorse toke place. Wherfore he began with all diligence to dissappoint that match, which by reason of the misliking that he had to the woman, he iudged ought to be auoided more than present death. While the matter stood in this state, and that the cause of the queene was to be heard and iudged at Rome, by reason of the appeale which by hir was put in: the cardinall required the pope by letters and secret messengers, that in anie wise he should defer the iudgement of the diuorse, till he might frame the kings mind to his purpose.

The secret working and dissimulation of cardinall Wolsele.

Howbeit he went about nothing so secretlie, but that the same came to the kings knowledge, who toke so high displeasure with such his cloked dissimulation, that he determined to abase his degree, sith as an vnthankefull person he forgot himselfe and his dutie towards him that had so highlie aduanced him to all honor and dignitie. When the nobles of the realme perceiued the cardinall to be in displeasure, they began to accuse him of such offenses as they knew might be proued against him, and thereof they made a booke conteining certeine articles, to which diuerse of the kings councell set their hands. The king vnderstanding more plainlie by those articles, the great pride, presumption, and couetousnesse of the cardinall, was sore moued against him; but yet kept his purpose secret for a while. Shortlie after, a parlement was called to begin at Westminster the third of Nouember next insuing.

The king conceiueth displeasure against the cardinall.

Edw. Hall.

Articles exhibited against the cardinall.

In the meane time the king, being informed that all those things that the cardinall had done by his power legantine within this realme, were in the case of the premunire and prouision, caused his atturneie Christopher Hales to sue out a writ of premunire against him, in the which he licenced him to make his atturneie. ¶ And further, the seuentéenth of Nouember the king sent the two dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke to the cardinals place at Westminster, who (went as they were commanded) and finding the cardinall there, they declared that the kings pleasure was that he should surrender vp the great seale into their hands, and to depart simplie vnto Asher, which was an house situat nigh vnto Hampton court, belonging to the bishoprike of Winchester. The cardinall demanded of them their commission that gaue them such authoritie, who answered againe, that they were sufficient commissioners, and had authoritie to do no lesse by the kings mouth. Notwithstanding, he would in no wise agree in that behalfe, without further knowledge of their authoritie, saieng; that the great seale was deliuered him by the kings person, to inioy the ministration thereof, with the rowme of the chancellor for the terme of his life, whereof for his suertie he had the kings letters patents.

The cardinall sued in a premunire.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 966, 967.

The cardinall is loth to part from the great seale.

This matter was greatlie debated betweene them with manie great words, in so much that the dukes were faine to depart againe without their purpose, and rode to Windsore to the king, and made report accordinglie; but the next daie they returned againe, bringing with them the kings letters. Then the cardinall deliuered vnto them the great seale, and was content to depart simplie, taking with him nothing but onelie certeine prouision for his house: and after long talke betweene him and the dukes, they departed with the great seale of England, and brought the same to the king. Then the cardinall called all his officers before him, and toke accompt of them for all such stuffe, whereof they had charge. And in his galerie were set diuerse tables, whereupon laie a great number of goodlie rich stuffe, as whole peeces of silke of all colours, veluet, sattin, damaske, taffata, grograine, and other things. Also, there laie a thousand peeces of fine Holland cloth.

The cardinall is discharged of great seale.

The cardinall alleth all his officers to accounts.

There was laid on euerie table, bookes reporting the contents of the same, and so was there inuentaries of all things in order against the kings coming. He caused to be hanged the walles of the galerie on the one side with cloth of gold, cloth of tissue, cloth of siluer, and rich cloth of bodken of diuerse colours. On the other side were hanged the richest sute of coapes of his owne prouision made for his colleges of Oxford and Ipswich, that euer were séene in England. Then had he two chambers adioining to the gallerie, the one most commonlie called the gilt chamber, and the other the councell chamber, wherein were set vp two broad and long tables vpon trestles, whervpon was set such a number of plate of all sorts, as was almost incredible.

In the gilt chamber were set out vpon the table nothing but gilt plate, and vpon a cupbord and in a window was set no plate but gold, verie rich: and in the councell chamber was all white and parcell gilt plate, and vnder the table in baskets was all old broken siluer plate, and bookes set by them purporting euerie kind of plate, and euerie parcell, with the contents of the ounces thereof. Thus were all things prepared, giuing charge of all the said stuffe, with all other remaining in euerie office, to be deliuered to the king, to make answer to their charge: for the order was such, that euerie officer was charged with the receipt of the stuffe belonging to his office by indenture. To sir William Gascoigne, being his treasuror, he gaue the charge of the deliuerie of the said goods, and therwithall, with his traine of gentlemen and yeomen, he toke his barge at the priuie staires, and so went by water vnto Putneie, where when he was arriued, he toke his mule, & euerie man toke their horsses, and rode streight to Asher, where he and his familie continued the space of three or foure weekes, without either beds, sheets, table cloths, or dishes to eat their meat in, or wherwith to buie anie: the cardinall was forced to borow of the bishop of Carleill, plate and dishes, &c.]

The cardinall of Yorke goeth to Asher, and hath his plentie turned into penurie.

After this, in the kings bench his matter for the premunire, being called vpon, two atturneis, which he had authorised by his warrant signed with his owne hand, confessed the action, and so had iudgement to forfeit all his lands, tenements, goods, and cattels, and to be out of the kings protection: but the king of his clemencie sent to him a sufficient protection, and left to him the bishoprikes of Yorke and Winchester, with plate and stuffe conuenient for his degree. The bishoprike of Duresme was giuen to doctor Tunstall bishop of London, and the abbeie of saint Albons to the prior of Norwich. Also the bishoprike of London being now void, was bestowed on doctor Stokesleie, then ambassadour to the vniuersities beyond the sea for the kings mariage.

John Scute, and Edmund Jennie.

The cardinall condemned in a premunire.

The bishoprike of Duresme giuen to doctor Tunstall.

The ladie Margaret duches of Sauoy aunt to the emperour, and the ladie Lois ducheſſe of Angolesme mother to the French king, met at Cambrese in the beginning of the moneth of June, to treat of a peace, where were present doctor Tunstall bishop of London, and sir Thomas More then chancellor of the duchie of Lancaster, commissioners for the king of England. At length through diligence of the said ladies a peace was concluded betwixt the emperour, the pope, and the kings of England and France. All these met there in the beginning of Julie, accompanied with diuerse great princes and councellors, on euerie part. And after long debating on both sides, there was a good conclusion taken the fift daie of August. In the which was concluded, that the treatie of Madrill should stand in his full strength and vertue, sauing the third and fourth, and the eleuenth and fourteenth

The duchesse of Sauoy, and the duchesse of Angolesme meet about a treatie of peace.

Edw. Hall. in H.8. fo. clxxxvj

tænth articles, which touch the duchie of Burgognie, and other lordships.

Read more hereof in Guic. pag. 1145. & deinceps.

1 Item, it was agréed, that the French king should haue his children againe, paieng to the emperour two millians of crownes of gold, whereof hée should paie at the deliuering of the children, twelue hundred thousand crownes.

2 Item, that the French king should acquit the emperour against the king of England, of fourescore and ten thousand crowns, which the emperour ought to the king of England, and the king of England to deliuer all such bonds and gages as he had of the emperours.

3 Item, as touching the remnant, which was fiue hundred and ten thousand crownes, the emperour should haue fiue and twentie thousand crownes rent yearelie, for which he should haue the lands of the duchesse of Vandosme, lieng in Flanders and Brabant bound.

4 Item, that Flanders and diuerse other countries, should not behold in chiefe, nor haue resort to the crowne of France.

5 Item, that the realme of Naples, the duchie of Millan, and the countie of Ast, should for euer remaine to the emperour.

6 Item, that the French king should withdraw all such souldiors as he had, out of Italie.

7 Item, that the ladie Eleanor should be brought into France, with the French kings children, and in time conuenient should be maried to the French king.

8 Item, that the French king should aid the emperour with twelue gallies to go into Italie.

9 Item, that all prisoners on both parties should be acquited.

10 Item, that the French king should not aid Robert de la March, against the bishop of Luke.

11 Item, that all the goods moueable and vnmoueable, of Charles duke of Burbon, should be restored to his heires, they paieng to lord Henrie, marquesse of Dapenete, and earle of Nassaw, lord chamberleine to the emperour, ten thousand ducats, which he lent to the said duke of Burbon.

12 Item, that John earle of Panthieure, should be remitted to all such goods, as were earle Rene his fathers.

13 Item, the lord Laurence de Gorowood, great master to the emperor, should be restored to the lordships of Chalmont, & Montenalle, which he bought of the duke of Burbon, or to haue his monie againe.

14 Item, Philip de Chalon prince of Orenge and viceroy of Naples, to be restored to all his lands in Burgognie.

15 Item, that the duches of Vandosme, and Lois earle of Naucrs, should haue all such right and actions, as they should haue had before the warre began.

In the emperours countries, when all things were written, sealed, and finished, there was a solemne masse song in the cathedrall church of Cambrein, the two ladies ambassadors of the king of England, sitting in great estate: and after masse the peace was proclamed betweene the three princes, and *Te Deum* song, and monie cast to the people, and great fires made through the citie. The same night the French king came into Cambrein, well and noblie accompanied, and saluted the ladies, and to them made diuerse bankets: and then all persons departed into their countrie, glad of this concord. This peace was

The womens peace.

called the womens peace, for bicause that notwithstanding this conclusion, yet neither the emperour trusted the French king, nor he neither trusted nor loued him, and their subiects were in the same case. This proclamation was proclamed solemnelie by heralds with trumpets in the citie of London, which proclamation much reioised the English merchants, repairing into Flanders, Brabant, Zeland, and other the emperors dominions. For during the wars, merchants were euill handled on both parties, which caused them to be desirous of peace.] On the foure & twentith of Nouember, was sir Thomas More made lord chancellor, & the next day led to the Chancerie by the dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, and there sworne.

Sir Thomas More lord chancellor.

At the daie appointed the parlement began, on which daie the king came by water to his place of Bridewell, and there he and his nobles put on their robes of parlement, and so came to the Blacke friers church, where a masse of the Holie-ghost was solemnelie song by the kings chappell: and after the masse, the king with all the lords of parlement and commons, which were summoned to appeare at that daie, came into the parlement chamber, where the king sate in his throne or seat roiall: and sir Thomas More his chancellor, standing on the right hand of the king behind the barre, made an eloquent oration.

Edw. Hall. in H.8. fo. clxxxv. An oration made in the audience of the parlement by sir Thomas More.

In this oration he declared, that like as a good shéepheard, which not alonelie kéepeth and attendeth well his shéepe, but also foreséeth and prouideth for all things which either may be hurtfull or noisome to his flocke, or maie preserue and defend the same against all perils that may chance to come: so the king which was the shéepheard, ruler and gouernour of his realme, vigilantlie foreséeing things to come, considered how diuers laws before this time were made, now by long continuance of time and mutation of things, verie insufficient and vnperfect: and also by the fraile condition of man, diuerse new enormities were sprong amongest the people, for the which no law was yet made to reforme the same. Which was the verie cause whie at that time the king had summoned his high court of parlement. And hée resembled the king to a shéepheard or heardman for this cause: for if a prince be compared to his riches, he is but a rich man; if a prince be compared to his honour, he is but an honourable man: but compare him to the multitude of his people, and the number of his flocke, then he is a ruler, a gouernor of might & puissance, so that his people maketh him a prince, as of the multitude of shéepe commeth the name of a shéepheard. And as you sée that amongst a great sort of shepe some be rotten & faultie, which the good shéepheard sendeth from the good shepe: so the great wedder which is of late fallen (as you all know) so craftilie, so scabbedlie, yea and so vntrulie iugled with the king, that all men must néedes ghesse and thinke, that he thought in himselfe that he had no wit to perceiue his craftie doing; or else that he presumed that the king would not sée nor know his fraudulent iugling and attempts. But he was deceiued: for his graces sight was so quicke and penetrable, that hée saw him, yea and saw through him, both within and without, so that all things to him was open, and according to his desert he hath had a gentle correction.

wherein the person of the king is properlie reputed a ruler.

Which small punishment the king will not to be an example to other offendors, but clearelie declareth, that whosoeuer hereafter shall make like attempt, or commit like offense, shall not escape with like punishment. And bicause you of the common house be a grosse multitude, and can not speake all at one time: therefore the kings pleasure is, that you shall resort to the nether house, & there amongst your selues, according to the old and ancient custome, to chose an able person to be your common mouth and speaker: and after your election so made, to aduertise his grace thereof, which will declare to you his pleasure, what day he will haue him present in this place. After this done, the commons resorted to the nether house,

Thomas Audleie chosen speaker.

house, and they chose for their speaker Thomas Audleie esquier, and attourneie of the duchie of Lancaster: and the same daie was the parlement adiorned to Westminster.

On the first daie of the same moneth, the king came to the parlement chamber, and all the lords in their robes. And there the commons of the nether house presented their speaker, which there made an eloquent oration, which consisted in two points. The first point was, that he much praised the king for his equitie and iustice, mixed with mercie and pitie, so that none offense was forgotten and left vnpunished, nor in the punishment the extremitie nor the rigor of the law cruellie extended: which should be a cause to bridle all men from doing like offenses, & also a comfort to offendors to confesse their crime and offense, and an occasion of amendment and reconciliation. The second point was, that he disabled himselfe, both for lacke of wit, learning, and discretion to so high an office, beseeching the king to cause his commons to resort eftsones to their common house, and there to chose an other speaker for that parlement.

An oration made by the speaker of the parlement. Edw. Hall. H.8. fo. 2.

To this the king (by the mouth of the lord chancellor) answered; that where he disabled himselfe in wit and learning, his owne ornate oration there made testified the contrarie. And as touching his discretion and other qualities, the king himselfe had well knowne him and his doings since he was in his service, to be both wise and discreet: and so for an able man he accepted him, and for the speaker he him admitted. When the commons were assembled in the nether house, they began to commune of their griefes, wherewith the spiritualtie had before time grieuouslie oppressed them, both contrarie to the law of the realme, and contrarie to all right: and in speciallie they were sore moued with six great causes.

The commõs of the lower house complaine against the clergie.

1 The first for the excessiue fines, which the ordinaries tooke for probats of testaments, insomuch that sir Henrie Guilford knight of the garter, and controllor of the kings house, declared in the open parlement on his fidelitie, that he and others being executors to sir William Compton knight, paied for the probat of his will to the cardinall and the archbishop of Canturburie a thousand markes sterling. After this declaration were shewed so manie extortions done by ordinaries for probats of willes, that it were too much to rehearse.

2 The second was the great polling and extreame exaction, which the spirituall men vsed in taking of corps, presents, or mortuaries. For the children of the defunct should all die for hunger, and go a begging, rather than they would of charitie giue to them the sélie cow which the dead man owght, if he had but onelie one; such was the charitie then.

3 The third cause was, that priests being surueiors, stewards and officers to bishops, abbats, and other spirituall heads, had and occupied farmes, granges, and grasing in euerie countrie, so that the poore husbandmen could haue nothing but of them; and yet for that they should paie déerlie.

4 The fourth cause was, that abbats, priors, and spirituall men kept tan-houses, and bought and sold woll, cloth, and all maner of merchandize, as other temporall merchants did.

5 The fift cause was, bicause that spirituall persons promoted to great benefices, and hauing their liuings of their flocke, were lieng in the court in lords houses, and toke all of the parishioners, and nothing spent on them at all: so that for lacke of residence both the poore of the parish lacked refreshing, and vniuersallie all the parishioners lacked preaching and true instruction of Gods word, to the great perill of their soules.

6 The first cause was, to sée one priest little learned, to haue ten or twelue benefices, & to be resident vpon none; and to know manie well learned scholars in the vniuersities, which were able to preach & teach, to haue neither benefice nor exhibition.

The bishops sticke hard against these billes.

These things before this time might in no wise be touched, nor yet talked of by anie man, except he would be made an heretike, or lése all that he had. For the bishops were chancellors, and had all the rule about the king, so that no man durst once presume to attempt anie thing contrarie to their profit or commoditie. But now, when God had illuminated the eies of the king, and that their subtile doings were once espied; then men began charitablie to desire a reformation: and so at this parlement men began to shew their grudges. Whereupon the burgesses of the parlement appointed such as were learned in the law, being of the common house, to draw one bill of the probats of testaments, another for mortuaries, and the third for non residence, pluralities, and taking of farmes by spirituall men. The learned men toke much paines, and first set forth the bill of mortuaries, which passed the common house, and was sent vp to the lords. To this bill the spirituall lords made a faire face, saieng; that suerlie priests and curats toke more than they should, and therefore it were well done to take some reasonable order: thus they spake, bicause it touched them little.

But within two daies after was sent vp the bill concerning probats of testaments; at the which the archbishop of Canturburie in especiall, and all other bishops in generall both frowned and grunted, for that touched their profit. Insomuch as doctor John Fisher bishop of Rochester said openlie in the parlement chamber these words: My lords, you sée dailie what billes come hither from the common house, and all is to the destruction of the church. For Gods sake sée what a realme the kingdome of Boheme was; and when the church went downe, then fell the glorie of the kingdome: now with the commons is nothing but Downe with the church; and all this me séemeth is for lacke of faith onlie. When these words were reported to the commons of the nether house, that the bishop should saie, that all their doings were for lacke of faith, they toke the matter grieuouslie, for they imagined that the bishop estéemed them as heretikes, and so by his slanderous words would haue persuaded the temporall lords, to haue restrained their consent from the said two billes, which they before had passed, as you haue heard before.

The saieng of John Fisher bishop of Rochester.

Wherefore the commons, after long debate, determined to send the speaker of the parlement to the kings highnesse, with a grieuous complaint against the bishop of Rochester. And so on a daie, when the king was at leasure, Thomas Audleie speaker for the commons, and thirtie of the chéefe of the common house, came to the kings presence in his palace at Westminster, which before was called Porke place; and there verie eloquentlie declared what a dishonor to the king and the realme it was, to saie, that they which were elected for the wisest men of all the shires, cities, and boroughs, within the realme of England, should be declared, in so noble and open presence, to lacke faith: which was equiualent to saie, that they were infidels, and no christians, as ill as Turkes, or Saracens, so that what paine or studie soeuer they toke for the common wealth, or what acts or lawes soeuer they made or stablished, should be taken as lawes made by Painims and heathen people, and not worthie to be kept by christian men. Wherefore he most humbly besought the kings highnesse to call the said bishop before him, and to cause him to speake more discréetlie of such a number as was in the common house.

A complaint made to the king against the bishop of Rochester.

The

The king was not well contented with the saieng of the bishop, yet he gentlie answered the speaker, that he would send for the bishop, and send them word what answer he made, and so they departed againe. After this the king sent for the archbishop of Canturburie and six other bishops, and for the bishop of Rochester also, and there declared to him the grudge of the commons; to the which the bishop answered, that he meant the doings of the Bohemians was for lacke of faith, and not the doings of them that were in the common house. Which saieng was confirmed by the bishops being present, who had him in great reputation: and so by that onelie saieng the king accepted his excuse, and thereof sent word to the commons by sir William Fitz Williams knight, treasuror of his household; which blind excuse pleased the commons nothing at all. After diuerse assemblies were kept betweene certeine of the lords, and certeine of the commons, for the billes of probats of testaments, and the mortuaries; the temporaltie laid to the spiritualtie their owne lawes and constitutions; and the spiritualtie sore defended them by prescription & vsage, to whom this answer was made by a gentleman of Greies inne: The vsage hath euer beene of theeues to rob on Shoters hill, ergo is it lawfull?

The bishops excuse to the kings maiestie.

Hard hold betweene the lords spirituall and temporall about the probats of willes and mortuaries.

With this answer the spirituall men were sore offended, because their doings were called robberies. But the temporall men stood still by their saiengs, insomuch that the said gentleman said to the archbishop of Canturburie, that both the exaction of probats of testaments, and the taking of mortuaries, as they were vsed, were open robberie and theft. After long disputation, the temporall lords began to leane to the commons: but for all that the billes remained vnconcluded for a while. In the meane season, there was a bill assented to by the lords, and sent downe to the commons: the effect whereof was, that the whole realme by the said act did release to the king, all such summes of monie as he had borrowed of them at the loane, in the fifteenth yeare of his reigne (as you haue heard before.) This bill was sore argued in the common house, but the most part of the commons were the kings seruants, and the other were so laboured to by other, that the bill was assented vnto.

The loane of monie released to the king, which he borrowed in anno reg. 15.

When this release of the loane was knowen to the commons of the realme, Lord so they grudged & spake ill of the whole parlement. For almost euerie man counted it his debt, and reckoned suerlie of the paiment of the same. And therefore some made their willes of the same, and some other did set it ouer to other for debt, and so manie men had losse by it, which caused them sore to murmur, but there was no remedie. The king like a good and discreet prince, seeing that his commons in the parlement house had released the loane, intending somewhat to requite the same, granted to them a generall pardon of all offenses; certeine great offenses and debts onelie excepted: also he aided them for the redresse of their griefes against the spiritualtie, and caused two new billes to be made indifferentlie, both for the probats of testaments and mortuaries; which billes were so reasonable, that the spirituall lords assented to them all, though they were sore against there mindes, & in especiall the probats of testaments sore displeased the bishops, and the mortuaries sore displeased the parsons and vicars.

The matter of testaments and mortuaries moderated by the king.

After these acts thus agreed, the commons made another act for pluralities of benefices, non residence, bieng selling and taking of farmes by spirituall persons. Which act so displeased the spiritualtie, that the priests railed on the commons of the common house, and called them heretikes and schismatikes, for the which diuerse priests were punished. This act was sore debated aboue in the parlement chamber, and the lords spirituall would in no wise consent. Wherefore the king perceiuing the grudge of his commons, caused eight lords and eight of his commons to meet in the Star chamber at an after none, and there was sore debating of the cause, in somuch that the temporall lords of the vpper house, which were there, toke part with the commons, against the spirituall lords; and by force of reason caused them to assent to the bill with a little qualifieng. Which bill the nert daie was wholie agreed to in the lords house, to the great reioising of the laie people, and to the great displeasure of the spirituall persons. During this parlement was brought downe to the commons the booke of articles, which the lords had put to the king against the cardinall, the chiefe whereof were these.

Ill against the cleargie both head and taile.

Articles exhibited against the cardinall of Yorke.

1 First, that he without the kings assent had procured to be a legat, by reason whereof he toke awaie the right of all bishops and spirituall persons.

2 Item, in all writings which he wrote to Rome, or anie other forren prince, he wrote *Ego & rex meus*, I and my king: as who would saie, that the king were his seruant.

3 Item, that he hath slandered the church of England in the court of Rome. For his suggestion to be legat was to reforme the church of England, which (as he wrote) was *Facta in reprobum sensum*.

4 Item, he without the kings assent carried the kings great seale with him into Flanders, when he was sent ambassador to the emperour.

5 Item, he without the kings assent, sent a commission to sir Gregorie de Cassado, knight, to conclude a league betweene the king & the duke of Ferrar, without the kings knowledge.

6 Item, that he hauing the French pockes presumed to come and breath on the king.

7 Item, that he caused the cardinals hat to be put on the kings coine.

8 Item, that he would not suffer the kings clerke of the market to sit at saint Albons.

9 Item, that he had sent innumerable substance to Rome, for the obteining of his dignities, to the great impouerishment of the realme.

These articles, with manie more, read in the common house, and signed with the cardinals hand, was confessed by him. And also there was shewed a writing sealed with his seale, by the which he gaue to the king all his moueables and vnmoueables. On the daie of the Conception of our ladie, the king at Yorke place at Westminster, in the parlement time, created the vicount Rochford erle of Wilshire, and the vicount Fitz Water was created earle of Sussex, and the lord Hastings was created earle of Huntington. When all things were concluded in the parlement house, the king came to the parlement chamber the 17 daie of December, and there put his roiall assent to all things done by the lords and commons, and so prorogued his court of parlement till the nert yeare. After the parlement was thus ended, the king remoued to Greenewich, and there kept his Christmasse with the queene in great triumph: with great plentie of viands, and diuerse disguisings and enterludes, to the great reioising of his people.

Creation of earles at Yorke place.

The king, which all this while, since the doubt was moued touching his marriage, abstreined from the queenes bed, was now aduertised by his ambassadors, whom he had sent to diuerse vniuersities for the absoluing of his doubt, that the said vniuersities were agreed, and clerelie concluded, that the one brother might not by Gods law marrie the other brothers wife, carnallie knowen by the first marriage, & that neither the pope nor the court of Rome could

in

A speciall argument in disproofe of the marriage.

in anie wise dispense with the same. For ye must vnderstand, that amongst other things alleged for disproofe of the mariage to be lawfull, euidence was giuen of certeine words, which prince Arthur spake the morrow after he was first married to the quéene, whereby it was gathered, that he knew hir carnallie the night then passed. The words were these, as we find them in the chronicle of master Edward Hall.

In the morning after he was risen from the bed, in which he had laine with hir all night, he called for drinke, which he before time was not accustomed to doo. At which thing, one of his chamberleines maruelling, required the cause of his drought. To whome he answered merilie, saieng; I haue this night béene in the middest of Spaine, which is a hot region, and that iournie maketh me so drie: and if thou haddest béene vnder that hot climat, thou wouldest haue béene drier than I. Againe, it was alleged, that after the death of prince Arthur, the king was deferred from the title and creation of prince of Wales almost halfe a yeare, which thing could not haue béene doubted, if she had not béene carnallie knowen. Also she hir selfe caused a bull to be purchased, in the which were these words *Forsan cognitam*, that is, and peraduenture carnallie knowen: which words were not in the first bull granted by pope Julie at hir second mariage to the king, which second bull with that clause was onelie purchased to dispense with the second matrimonie, although there were carnall copulation before, which bull néeded not to haue béene purchased, if there had béene no carnall copulation, for then the first bull had béene sufficient. To conclude, when these & other matters were laid forth to proue that which she denied, the carnall copulation betwixt hir and prince Arthur, hir counsellors left that matter, and fell to persuasions of naturall reason. And lastlie, when nothing else would serue, they stood stiffe in the appeale to the pope, and in the dispensation purchased from the court of Rome, so that the matter was thus shifted off, and no end likelie to be had therein.

The king therefore vnderstanding now that the emperour and the pope were appointed to méet at the citie of Bononie *alias* Bologna, where the emperour should be crowned, sent thither in ambassage from him the earle of Wilshire, doctor Stokesleie, elected bishop of London, and his almoner doctor Edward Lée, to declare both vnto the pope and emperour, the law of God, the determinations of vniuersities in the case of his mariage, and to require the pope to doo iustice according to truth, and also to shew to the emperour, that the king did moue this matter onelie for discharge of his conscience, and not for anie other respect of pleasure or displeasure earthlie. These ambassadours comming to Bononie were honorablie receiued, and first doing their message to the pope, had answer of him, that he would heare the matter disputed when he came to Rome, and according to right he would doo iustice.

Ambassadors sent to Italie out of England about this intricate matter of the marriage.

The emperours answer to the ambassadors.

The emperour answered, that he in no wise would be against the lawes of God, & if the court of Rome would iudge that the matrimonie was not good, he could be content: but he solicited both the pope and cardinals, to stand by the dispensation, which he thought to be of force inough to proue the mariage lawfull. With these answers the ambassadors departed and returned homewards, till they came on this side the mounteins, and then receiued letters from the king, which appointed the earle of Wilshire to go in ambassage to the French king which then late at Burdeaur, making shift for monie for redéeming of his children: and the bishop of London, was appointed to go to Padoa, and other vniuersities in Italie, to know their full resolutions and determinate opinions in the kings case of matrimonie: and the kings almoner was commanded to returne home into England, and so he did.

The earle of Wilshire ambassador to the French king, & others sent to other places.

¶ You haue heard before how the cardinall was attainted in the præmunire, and how he was put out of the office of the chancellor, & late at Asher. In this Lent season the king by the aduise of his councell licenced him to go into his diocesse of Yorke, & gaue him commandement to kéepe him in his diocesse, and not to returne southward without the kings speciall licence in writing. So he made great prouision to go northward, and apparelled his seruants newlie, and bought manie costlie things for his houshold: and so he might well inough, for he had of the kings gentlenesse the bishoprikes of Yorke and Winchester, which were no small things. But at this time diuerse of his seruants departed from him to the kings seruice, and in especiall Thomas Crumwell one of his chiefe counsell, and chiefe dwer for him in the suppression of abbeies. After that all things necessarie for his iournie were prepared, he toke his waie northward till he came to Southwell, which is in his diocesse, and there he continued this yeare, euer grudging at his fall, as you shall heare hereafter. But the lands which he had giuen to his colleges in Oxford and Ipswich, were now come to the kings hands, by his attendor in the præmunire: and yet the king of his gentlenesse and for fauour that he bare to good learning, erected againe the college in Oxford, and where it was named the cardinals college, he called it the kings college, & indowed it with faire possessions, and put in new statutes and ordinances. And for bicause the college of Ipswich was thought to be nothing profitable, therefore he left that dissolued.

Abr. Flem. ex Edw. Hall. in H.8. fol. cxcj. cxcij.

1520

The cardinall licenced to repaire into Yorkeshire.

Thomas Crumwell aduanced to the kings seruice.

The kings college in Oxford otherwise called Christs church.

In this yeare the emperour gaue to the lord master of saint Johnes of Jerusalem, and his brethren the Iland of Malta lieng betwéene Sicill and Barbarie, there to imploie themselues vpon Christs enimies, which lord master had no place sure to inhabit there, since he was put frō the Rhodes by the Turke that besieged Uienna, but missed of his expectation. For the christians defended the same so valiantlie against the said Turke and his power, that he lost manie of his men by slaughter; manie also miscarried by sickenesse and cold: so that there perished in all to the number of fourescore thousand men, as one of his ballats did afterward confesse, which was to him a great displeasure; and in especiallie bicause he neuer besieged citie before, but either it was yélded or taken. In the time of this siege a metrician did make these two verses in memorie of the same:

Cæsar in Italiam quo venit Carolus anno,
Cincta est ripheis nostra Vienna Getis.]

The number of the Turks that died at the siege of Uienna.

In the beginning of this yeare was the hauing and reading of the new testament in English translated by Tindall, Joie, and others, forbidden by the king with the aduise of his councell, and namelie the bishops, which affirmed that the same was not trulie translated, and that therein were prologs and prefaces sounding to heresie, with vncharitable railing against bishops and the cleargie. The king therefore commanded the bishops, that they calling to them the best learned men of the vniuersities, should cause a new translation to be made, that the people without danger might read the same for their better instruction in the lawes of God, and his holie word. Diuerse persons that were detected to vse reading of the new testament, and other bookes in English set forth by Tindall, and such other as were fled the realme, were punished by order taken against them by sir Thomas More then lord chancellor, who held great hand against such bookes, but still the number dailie increased.

Anno. Reg. 22.

The new testament translated into English.

¶ In this yeare in Maie, the bishop of London caused

Edw. Hall in H.8. fol. Cxcij.

caused all his new testaments which he had bought with manie other bookes, to be brought into Paules churchyard in London, and there were openlie burned. In the end of this yeare, the wild Irishmen, knowing the earle of Kildare to be in England, entered his land, and spoiled and burnt his countrie, with diuerse other countries. And the erle of Osserie being the kings deputie made little resistance, for lacke of power. Wherfore the king sent the earle of Kildare into Ireland, & with him sir William Skeuington knight, master of the kings ordinance, and diuerse gunners with him, which so politikelie ordered themselues, that their enimies were glad to offer amends, and to treat for truce: & so sir William Skeuington the next yeare returned into England, leauing there the earle of Kildare for the kings deputie.

Tindals testaments burned.

The wild Irish spoile the earle of Kildares countrie, &c.

Now I will returne to the execution of the treatie of Cambreie, in the which it was agréed, that the ladie Eleanor and the French kings children should be deliuered when the ransome appointed was paied as you haue heard in the last yeare. Wherefore the French king gathered monie of his subiects with all spéed, and when the monie was readie, he sent the great master of France called Annas de Memorancie and diuerse other nobles to Baion with the monie, and to receiue the ladie and the children. And thither came to them the great constable of Castile and monsieur Prat for the emperour, & there the crowns were weied and touched: and what fault soeuer the Spaniards found in them they would not receiue a great number of them, and so they carried the children backe from Fontarbie into Spaine. Thus the great master of France and his companie laie still at Baion, without hauing his purpose performed, from March till the end of June, and longer had lien if the king of England had not sent sir Francis Bryan to Baion to warrant the paiement: whereupon the date of deliuerance was appointed to be on saint Peters date in June.

The execution of the treatie accorded vpon at Cambreie.

At which date the great master, with one and thirtie mulets laden with the crownes came to the one side of the riuer of Andaie, which riuer departeth Spaine and France, and there taried till the first date of Julie: on which date the ladie Eleanor and the children were put in two great boates, hauing onelie twelue gentlemen of Spaine with them: and in like maner the great master with two great boats, in the which the mony was, and twelue gentlemen with him. All these boats met at a bridge made in the middest of the riuer. The constable of Spaine and his twelue gentlemen met with the great master of France and his twelue gentlemen on the bridge: and after a little salutation, the Frenchmen entered into the two boats where the ladie and the two children were; and the Spaniards into the two boats where the monie was, and then ech part hasted to land. Thus were the French kings wife and children deliuered into his hands, for which deliuerance was great ioy and triumph made in France: and also in Julie were fiers made in London and diuerse other places for the same consideration and cause.]

The deliuerance of the French kings children.

Abr.Fl. ex I. S. pag. 968, 969.

¶ Now will we leaue France, and returne to England, renewing the remembrance of cardinall Wolsele, who after great suit made to the king, was licenced to remoue from Asher to Richmond, which place he had a little before repared with great costs, for the king made an exchange thereof with him for Hampton court. The cardinall hauing licence of the king to repaire to Richmond, made hast thither, and lodged there in the lodge of the great parke, which was a verie prettie house, there he laie vntill the beginning of Lent. Then he remoued into the charterhouse of Richmond, where he laie in a lodging which doctor Collet made for himselfe, vntill he remoued northward, which was in the Passion weeke after, and euerie date he resorted to the charterhouse there, and would sit with one of the most ancient fathers, who persuaded him to despise the vaine glorie of the world.

Cardinall Wolsele remoueth to Richmond.

The cardinall prepareth for his iournie into the north.

Then prepared the cardinall for his iournie into the north, and sent to London for liuerie clothes for his seruants, and so rode from Richmond to Hendon, from thence to a place called the Rie, the next date to Raistone, where he lodged in the priorie; the next date to Huntingdon, and there lodged in the abbeie; the next date to Peterborow, and there lodged in the abbeie, where he abode all the next weeke, & there he kept his Easter, his traine was in number an hundred and threescore persons. Upon Maundie thursdaie he made his maundie, there hauing nine and fiftie poore men, whose feet he washed, and gaue euerie one twelue pence in monie, three els of good canuas, a paire of shoes, a cast of red herrings, and three white herrings, and one of them had two shillings.

On thursdaie next after Easter, he remoued to master Fitz Williams, sometime a merchant-tailor of London, and then of the kings councell; the next weeke he remoued to Stamford, the next date to Grantham, the next date to Newarke, and lodged in the castell that night and the next date also: from thence he rode to Southwell, where he continued most part of all that summer, vntill the latter end of grasse time, and then he rode to Scrobie, where he continued vntill Michaelmasse, and then to Cawood castell within seuen miles of Yorke, whereof we will speake more hereafter. On the sixteenth of Maie, a man was hanged in chaines in Finsburie field, for murthering doctor Piles vicar of saint Brides. The fourth and fift of November was a great wind, that blew downe manie houses and trees, after which wind followed so high a tide, that it drowned the marshes on Essex side and Kent, with the Ile of Thanet, and other places, destroieng much cattell. The nineteenth of September, in the citie of London, a proclamation was made for the restreining of the popes authoritie in England, as followeth.

Vicar of S. Brides slain.

A great wind.

A proclamation published in England in the behalfe of the kings prerogatiue roiall against the pope.

THe kings highnes streictlie chargeth and commandeth, that no maner of person, of what estate, degree, or condition soeuer he or they be of, do purchase or attempt to purchase from the court of Rome or elswhere, nor vse & put in execution, diuulge, or publish anie thing hertofore within this yeare passed purchased, or to be purchased hereafter, conteining mater preiudiciall to the high authoritie, iurisdiction, and prerogatiue roiall of this his said realme, or to the let, hinderance, or impechment of his graces noble & vertuous intended purposes in the premisses, vpon paine of incurring his highnesse indignation, and imprisonment, and further punishment of their bodies for their so doing at his graces pleasure, to the dreadfull example of all other.

what was surmised to be the cause of this proclamation.

Some iudged, that this proclamation was made, bicause the queene (as was said) had purchased a new bull for ratification of hir marriage. Others thought that it was made, bicause the cardinall had purchased

purchased a bull to curse the king, if he would not restore him to his old dignities, and suffer him to correct the spiritualtie, the king not to meddle with the same. Indeed manie coniectured, that the cardinall grudging at his fall from so high dignities, sticked not to write things sounding to the kings reproch, both to the pope, and other princes; for that manie opprobrious words were spoken to doctor Edward Kærne the kings orator at Rome, and that it was said to him, that for the cardinals sake the king should haue the worse spéed in the suit of his matrimonie.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 970. The cardinall at his manor of Cawood keepeth a bountifull house.

¶ Cardinall Wolsete lieng at Cawood, held there an honourable and plentifull house for all commers, and also built & repared the castell, which was greatlie in decaie, hauing artificers and labourers aboue three hundred persons dailie in wages. At length being thereunto persuaded by the doctors of the church of Yorke, he determined to be installed there at Yorke minster, the next mondaie after Alhallowes daie, against which time due preparation was made for the same, but not in such sumptuous wise, as his predecessors before him had vsed. For whereas the cardinall was not abashed to send to the king, requiring him to lend him the mitre and pall which he was wont to weare when he sang masse in anie solemne assemblie: the king vpon sight of his letters, could not but maruell at the proud presumptuousnes of the man, saieng: What a thing is this, that pride should thus reigne in a person that is quite vnder foot.

The cardinall knoweth not that he was to be arrested of treason.

The daie being once knowne vnto the worshipfull gentlemen of the countrie, and other, as abbats, and priors, and notice of his installation, they sent in such prouision of victels, that it is almost incredible, all which was vnknowne to the cardinall, for as much as he was preuented and disapointed of his purpose, by the reason that he was arrested of high treason, as ye shall hereafter heare. So that most part of this former prouision that I speake of, was sent vnto Yorke the same daie of his arrest, and the next daie following: for his arrest was kept as close as could be. The order of his arrest was thus. It was appointed by the king & counsell, that sir Walter Walsh knight, one of the kings priuie chamber, should be sent downe with a commission into the north vnto the earle of Northumberland (who was sometime brought vp in house with the cardinall) and they twaine being iointlie in commission to arrest the cardinall of high treason, maister Walsh toke his horse at the court gate, about none, vpon Alhallowes daie, toward the earle of Northumberland.

Prognostications of the cardinals ruine or fall.

And now haue I occasion to declare what happened about the same time, which peraduenture signified the troubles following to the cardinall. The cardinall sitting at dinner vpon Alhallowes daie, hauing at his bords end diuerse chapleins sitting at dinner, ye shall vnderstand that the cardinals great crosse stood in a corner at the tables end, leaning against the hanging, and when the bords end was taken vp, and a conuenient time for the chapleins to arise, one doctor Augustine a Venetian, and physician to the cardinall, rising from the table with the other, hauing vpon him a great gowne of boisterous veluet, ouerthrew the crosse, which trailing downe along the tappet, with the point of one of the crosses, brake doctor Bonars head that the bloud ran downe, the companie there standing greatlie astonied with the chance.

Doctor Bonars head broken.

The cardinall perceiuing the same, demanded what the matter meant of their sudden amaze? And they shewed him of the fall of his crosse vpon doctor Bonars head. Hath it (quoth he) drawne anie blood? Yea forsooth my lord (quoth they.) With that he cast his eies aside, & shaking his head, said *Malum omen*, & therewith saieng grace, rose from the table, & went to his chamber. Now marke the signification how the cardinall expounded this matter at Pontfret after his fall. First, ye shall vnderstand, that the crosse which he bare as archbishop of Yorke, signified himselfe; and Augustine the physician who ouerthrew the crosse, was onelie he that accused the cardinall, whereby his enimies caught an occasion to ouerthrow him: it fell vpon doctor Bonars head, who was maister of the cardinals faculties and spirituall iurisdictions, and was then damnified by the ouerthrow of the crosse: yea, and more ouer, drawing bloud of him, betokened death, which shortlie after did insue.

How the cardinall expounded the fall of his crosse.

About the time of this mischance, the same verie daie and season, maister Walsh toke his horsse at the court as nigh as could be iudged. Now the appointed time drew neere of his installation, and sitting at dinner vpon the fridaie next before the mondaie on the which daie he intended to be installed at Yorke, the earle of Northumberland and maister Walsh, with a great companie of gentlemen of the earles house, & of the countrie, whome he had gathered together in the kings name, came to the hall at Cawood, the officers being at dinner, and the cardinall not fullie dined, being then in his fruits. The first thing that the earle did after he had set order in the hall, he commanded the porter at the gates to deliuer him the keies thereof. Who would in no wise obeie his commandement, though he were roughlie threatened, and streictlie commanded in the kings name to make deliuerie of them to one of the earles seruants.

The earle of Northumberland arresteth the cardinall.

Sir (quoth he) seeing that ye do but intend to set one of your seruants in my place to keepe the gates, I know no seruant that ye haue but I am as able as he to do it, and kepe the gates to your purpose (what soeuer it be) also the keies were deliuered me by my lord and maister, wherfore I praie you to pardon me, for what soeuer ye shall command me to do in the ministration of mine office, I shall do it with a good will. With that (quoth the earle) hold him a booke (& commanding him to laie his hand thereon:) Thou shalt sweare (quoth he) that thou shalt well and trulie kepe the gates to the kings vse, and to do all such things as we shall command: and that ye shall let passe neither in nor out at these gates, but such as ye be commanded by vs. And with this oth he receiued the keies at the earles hands.

The porters words to the earle.

Of all these doings knew the cardinall nothing, for they stopped the staires, so that none went vp to the cardinals chamber, and they that came downe could no more go vp againe. At the last one escaped, who shewed the cardinall that the earle was in the hall. Whereat the cardinall marueled, and would not beléeue him, but commanded a gentleman to bring him the truth, who going downe the staires, saw the earle of Northumberland, and returned, and said it was verie he. Then (quoth the cardinall) I am sorie that we haue dined, for I feare our officers be not prouided of anie store of good fish, to make him some honorable chéere, let the table stand (quoth he.) With that he rose vp, and going downe the staires, he encountered the earle comming vp with all his traine. And as soone as the cardinall espied the earle, he put off his cap, and said, My lord ye be most hartilie welcome, and so imbraced each other.

The cardinall marueileth at the earls sudden comming.

Then the cardinall toke the earle by the hand, and had him vp into the chamber, whome followed all the number of the earles seruants. From thence he led him into his bed-chamber, and they being there all alone, the earle said vnto the cardinall with a soft voice, laieng his hand vpon his arme: My lord I arrest you of high treason. With which words the cardinall being marueilouslie astonied, standing both

The action of arrest which the cardinall taketh in ill part.

still

still a good space. At last (quoth the cardinall) What authoritie haue you to arrest me? Forsooth my lord (quoth the erle) I haue a commission so to do. Where is your commission (quoth he) that I may see it? Naie sir that you may not (said the erle.) Well then (quoth the cardinall) I will not obeie your rest. But as they were debating this matter betweene them in the chamber, as busie was maister Walsh in arresting doctor Augustine at the doore of the palace, saieng vnto him, Go in traitor or I shall make thee.

The cardinall desireth to see the commission of the arest.

At the last maister Walsh being entred the cardinals chamber, began to plucke off his hood, and after kneeled downe to the cardinall. Vnto whom the cardinall said, Come hither gentleman, & let me speake with you: Sir, heere my lord of Northumberland hath arrested me, but by whose authoritie he sheweth not, if yee be ioined with him I praie you shew me. Indeed my lord (quoth maister Walsh) he sheweth you the truth. Well then (quoth the cardinall) I praie you let me see it. Sir I beseech you (quoth maister Walsh) hold vs excused; there is annexed to our commission certeine instructions, which you may not see. Well (quoth the cardinall) I trow yee are one of the kings priuie chamber, your name is Walsh, I am content to yeeld to you, but not to my lord of Northumberland without I see his commission: the worst in the kings priuie chamber is sufficient to arrest the greatest peere of the realme by the kings commandement, without anie commission, therefore put your commission and authoritie in execution, spare not, I will obeie the kings will; I take God to iudge, I neuer offended the king in word nor deed.

The cardinall committed to the custodie of the earls gentlemen.

Then the earle called into the chamber diuerse gentlemen of his owne seruants, and after they had taken the cardinals keies from him, they put him in custodie of the earles gentlemen, and then they went about the house to set all things in an order. Then sent they doctor Augustine awaie to London with as much speed as they could, who was bound vnto the horsse like a traitor. But it was sundaie toward night yer the cardinall was conueied from Calwood, who lodged that night in the abbeie of Pomfret. The next daie he remoued toward Doncaster, and was there lodged at the Blacke friers. The next daie he was remoued to Shefield parke, where the earle of Shrewsburie with his ladie, and a traine of gentlemen and gentlewomen receiued him with much honour. Then departed all the great number of gentlemen that conducted him thither.

The cardinall honourablie receiued and serued at the earle of Shrewsburies house.

The cardinall being thus with the earle of Shrewsburie, continued there eighténe daies after, vpon whome the earle appointed diuerse gentlemen to attend continuallie, to see that he should lacke nothing, being serued in his owne chamber as honorablie as he had béene in his owne house, and once euerie daie the earle would repaire to him and commune with him. After the cardinall had thus remained with the earle of Shrewsburie about a fortnight, it came to passe at a certeine time as he sat at dinner in his owne chamber, hauing at his boords end a messe of gentlemen and chapleins to keepe him companie, toward the end of his dinner, when he was come to eating his fruits, his colour was perceiued often to change, whereby he was iudged not to be in good health.

The cardinall sickneth sitting at the table.

Whereupon one of his gentlemen said, Sir, me seemes you are not well at ease. To whom he answered with lowd voice, Forsooth no more I am, for I am (quoth he) taken suddenlie with a thing about my stomach, that lieth there along as cold as a whetstone, which is no more but wind, I praie you go to the apothecarie, & inquire of him if he haue anie thing that will breake wind vpward. Then went he to the earle and shewed him what estate the cardinall was in, and what he desired. With that, the earle caused the apothecarie to be called before him, & demanded of him if he had anie thing that would breake wind vpward in a mans bodie. And he answered he had such géere. Then (quoth the earle) fetch me some. Then the apothecarie fetched a white confection in a faire paper, & shewed it to the earle, who commanded one to giue the assaie thereof before him, and then the same to be brought to the cardinall, who receiued it vp all at once into his mouth.

But immediatlie after suerlie, he auoided much wind vpward: Lo (quoth he) ye may see that it was but wind, and now I am well eased, I thanke God, and so rose from the table, and went to his praiers. And that done, there came on him such a loosenesse, that it caused him to go to the stole. And not long after the earle of Shrewesburie came into the galleríe to him, with whome the cardinall met: and then sitting downe vpon a bench, the earle asked him how he did, and he most lamentablie answered him, and thanked him for his good intertainment. Sir (quoth the earle) if ye remember, ye haue often wished to come before the king, to make your answer; and I haue written to the king in that behalfe, making him priuie of your lamentation that yée inwardlie haue receiued for his displeasure, who accepteth all your doings therein, as friends be accustomed to do in such cases: wherefore I would aduise you to plucke vp your hart, and be not agast of your enimies, I doubt not but this your iournie to his highnesse shall be much to your aduancement.

The cardinall falleth into a flux that cost him his life.

Sir William Kingston is sent to fetch vp the cardinall before the king.

The king hath sent for you that worshipfull knight maister Kingston, and with him foure and twentie of your old seruants, now of the gard, to the intent yée may safelie come to his maiestie. Sir (quoth the cardinall) I trow maister Kingston is constable of the Tower. Yea, what of that (quoth the erle) I assure you he is elected by the king for one of your friends. Well quoth the cardinall, as God will, so be it, I am subiect to fortune, being a true man, readie to accept such chances as shall follow, and there an end; I praie you where is maister Kingston. Quoth the earle, I will send for him. I praie you so do (quoth the cardinall) at whose message he came. And as soone as the cardinall espied him, he made hast to encounter him, and at his comming he kneeled to him, and saluted him in the kings behalfe, whome the cardinall bareheaded offered to take vp, and said: I praie you stand vp, kneele not to me, I am but a wretch replet with miserie, not estéeming my selfe but as a vile abiect, vtterlie cast awaie, without desert, as God knoweth.

Talke betwixt the said sir William & the cardinall.

Then said maister Kingston with humble reuerence: Sir, the king hath him commended vnto you. I thanke his highnesse quoth the cardinall, I trust he be in health. Yea (quoth maister Kingston) and he commanded me to saie to you, that you should assure your selfe that he beareth you as much good will as euer he did, and willeth you to be of good chéere. And where report hath béene made, that ye should commit against him certeine heinous crimes, which he thinks to be vntrue, yet he can do no lesse than send for you to your triall, & to take your iournie to him at your owne pleasure, commanding me to be attendant vpon you. Therefore sir I praie you, when it shall be your owne pleasure to take your iournie, I shall be readie to giue attendance. Maister Kingston (quoth he) I thanke you for your newes, and sir, if I were as lustie as I haue béene but of late, I would ride with you in post, but I am diseased with a flux that maketh me verie weake, but I shall with all speed make me readie to ride with you to morrow.

The cardinall extremelie

When night came, the cardinall waxed verie sicke with

with the laske, the which caused him continuallie to go to the stole all that night, in so much that he had that night fiftie stoles: therefore in consideration of his infirmitie, they caused him to tarrie all that day: and the nert daie he toke his iournie with maister Kingston, and them of the gard, till he came to an house of the earle of Shrewesburies called Hardwike hall, where he late all night verie euill at ease. The nerdaie he rode to Notingham, and there lodged that night more sicke: and the nert daie he rode to Leicester abbeie, and by the waie waxed so sicke that he was almost fallen from his mule; so that it was night before he came to the abbeie of Leicester, where at his comming in at the gates, the abbat with all his conuent met him with diuerse torches light, whom they honorablie receiued and welcomed.

To whom the cardinall said: Father abbat, I am come hither to lay my bones among you, riding so ill vntill he came to the staires of the chamber, where he allighted from his mule, and maister Kingston led him vp the staires, and as sone as he was in his chamber he went to bed. This was on the saturday at night, and then increased he sicker and sicker, vntill mondaie, that all men thought he would haue died: so on tuesdaie saint Andrewes euen, maister Kingston came to him and bad him good morrow, for it was about six of the clocke, and asked him how he did: Sir (quoth he) I tarrie but the pleasure of God, to render vp my poore soule into his hands. Not so sir (quoth maister Kingston) with the grace of God, yee shall liue and do verie well, if yee will be of good cheare. Nay in good soth maister Kingston, my disease is such, that I can not liue: for I haue had some experience in physicke.

The cardinall affirmeth by his owne experience in physicke that he can not liue.

Thus it is, I haue a flux with a continuall feuer, the nature whereof is, that if there be no alteration of the same within eight daies, either must insue excoriation of the intrailes, or frantsie, or else present death, and the best of them is death, and (as I suppose) this is the eight daie, & if yee see no alteration in me, there is no remedie, saue (though I may liue a daie or twaine after) but death must insue: Sir (quoth maister Kingston) you be in much pensiuenes, doubting that thing, that in good faith yee need not. Well, well, maister Kingston (quoth the cardinall) I see the matter how it is framed: but if I had serued God as diligentlie as I haue done the king, he would not haue giuen me ouer in my greie haires: but it is the iust reward that I must receiue for the diligent paines and studie that I haue had to do him seruice, not regarding my seruice to God, but onelie to satisfie his pleasure.

The cardinall ascribeth his fall to the iust iudgement of God.

I praie you haue me most humblie commended vnto his roiall maiestie, & beseech him in my behalfe to call to his princelie remembrance all matters proceeding betweene him & me from the beginning of the world, and the progresse of the same, &c. Maister Kingston farewell, I can no more saie, but I wish all things to haue good successe, my time draweth on fast. And euen with that he began to draw his speech at length, & his tong to faile, his eies being set, whose sight failed him. Then they did put him in remembrance of Christ his passion, & caused the yeomen of the gard to stand by to see him die, and to witnesse of his words at his departure: & incontinent the clocke stroke eight, and then he gaue vp the ghost, and departed this present life: which caused some to call to remembrance how he said the daie before, that at eight of the clocke they should lose their master.

Manifest indication of death in the cardinall.

Example of pride and arrogancie.

Here is the end and fall of pride and arrogancie of men exalted by fortune to dignitie: for in his time he was the hautiest man in all his procéedings aliue, hauing more respect to the honor of his person, than he had to his spirituall profession, wherin should be shewed all meekenes, humilitie, and charitie. [An example (saith Guicciardin, who handleth this storie effectuallie, and sheweth the cause of this cardinals ruine) in our dates worthie of memorie, touching the power which fortune and enuie hath in the courts of princes.] He died in Leicester abbeie, & in the church of the same abbeie was buried. Such is the suertie of mans brittle state, doubtfull in birth, & no lesse feeble in life, which is as vncerteine, as death most certeine, and the meanes thereof manifold, which as in number they exceed; so in strangenesse they passe: all degrees of ages & diuersities of sexes being subiect to the same. In consideration whereof, it was notablie said by one that wrote a whole volume of infirmities, diseases, and passions incident to children:

Guicc. pag. 1139.

A primo vitæ diuersos stamine morbos
Perpetimur, diris afficimurque malis:
Donec in occasum redeat qui vixit ab ortu,
Antea quàm discat viuere, vita cadit.

Sebast. Austerius.

This cardinall (as Edmund Campian in his historie of Ireland describeth him) was a man vndoubtedly borne to honor: I thinke (saith he) some princes bastard, no butchers sonne, exceeding wise, faire spoken, high minded, full of reuenge, vitious of his bodie, loftie to his enimies, were they neuer so big, to those that accepted and sought his friendship wonderfull courteous, a ripe scholeman, thrall to affections, brought a bed with flatterie, insatiable to get, and more princelie in bestowing, as appeareth by his two colleges at Ipswich and Oxenford, the one ouerthrowne with his fall, the other vnfinished, and yet as it lieth for an house of students, considering all the appurtenances incomparable thorough Christendome, whereof Henrie the eight is now called founder, bicause he let it stand. He held and inioied at once the bishoprikes of Yorke, Duresme, & Winchester, the dignities of lord cardinall, legat, & chancellor, the abbeie of saint Albons, diuerse priories, sundrie fat benefices *In commendam*, a great preferrer of his seruants, an aduancer of learning, stout in euerie quarell, neuer happie till this his ouerthrow. Wherein he shewed such moderation, and ended so perfectlie, that the houre of his death did him more honor, than all the pompe of his life passed. Thus far Campian. Here it is necessarie to adde that notable discourse, which I find in Iohn Stow, concerning the state of the cardinall, both in the yeares of his youth, and in his settled age: with his sudden comming vp from preferment to preferment; till he was aduanced to that step of honor, which making him insolent, brought him to confusion.

The description of cardinall Wolsete, set downe by Edmund Campian.

¶ This Thomas Wolsete was a poore mans sonne of Ipswich, in the countie of Suffolke, & there borne, and being but a child, verie apt to be learned, by the meanes of his parents he was conueied to the vniuersitie of Oxenford, where he shortlie prospered so in learning, as he was made bachellor of art, when he passed not fifteene yeares of age, and was called most commonlie thorough the vniuersitie the boie bachellor. Thus prospering in learning, he was made fellow of Mawdeline college, and afterward appointed to be schoolemaister of Mawdelin schole, at which time the lord marquesse Dorset had three of his sonnes there at schole, committing vnto him as well their education as their instruction. It pleased the said lord marquesse against a Christmas season to send as well for the schoolemaister, as for his children home to his house for their recreation, in that pleasant and honorable feast.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 904, 905, &c.

The ascending of Thomas Wolsete.

Bachellor of art at fifteens yeares old.

Schoolemaister to the marquesse Dorsets children.

Then being there, the lord their father, perceiuing them to be right well imploied in learning for their time, he hauing a benefice in his gift, being at that time void, gaue the same to the schoolemaster in reward of his diligence at his departure after Christ-

Thomas Wolsey got a benefice.

mas to the vniuersitie, and hauing the presentation thereof, repaired to the ordinarie for his induction, and being furnished of his instruments, made spéed to the benefice to take possession, and being there for that intent, one sir James Paulet knight dwelling thereabouts, toke occasion against him, and set the schoolemaster by the heeles during his pleasure, which after was neither forgotten nor forgiuen.

Thomas Wolsey set in the stocks by sir James Paulet.

Wolseies imprisonment reuenged.

For when the schoolemaster mounted to the dignitie to be chancellor of England, he sent for maister Paulet, & after manie sharpe words, inioined him to attend vntill he were dismissed, and not to depart out of London without licence obteined; so that he continued there within the middle Temple the space of fiue or six yeares, and laie then in the Gate house next the street, which he reedified verie sumptuouslie, garnishing the same all ouer the outside with the cardinals armes, with his hat, cognisances, and other deuises in so glorious a sort, that he thought thereby to haue appeased his old displeasure.

Gatehouse of the middle Temple new builded.

Now after the decease of the lord marquesse, this same schoolemaster considering himselfe to be but a simple beneficed man, and to haue lost his fellowship in the college, which was much to his releefe, thought not long to be vnprouided of some other helpe, and in his trauell thereabouts, he fell in acquaintance with one sir John Naphant, a verie graue & ancient knight, who had a great rome in Calis vnder king Henrie the seuenth: this knight he serued, and behaued himselfe so discreetlie, that he obteined the especiall fauor of his master, insomuch that he committed all the charge of his office vnto his chapleine, and (as I vnderstand) the office was the treasurorship of Calis, who was in consideration of his great age discharged of his rome, and returned againe into England, and thorough his instant labor, his chapleine was promoted to be the kings chapleine, and when he had once cast anchor in the port of promotion, how he wrought, I shall somewhat declare.

Sir John Naphant treasuror of Calis, Thomas Wolsie his chapleine.

Thomas Wolsie was chapleine to Henrie the seuenth.

He hauing there a iust occasion to be in the sight of the king dailie, by reason he said masse before him in his closet, and that being done, he spent not the daie in idlenesse, but would attend vpon those whom he thought to beare most rule in the councell, the which at that time was doctor Fox, bishop of Winchester, secretarie, and lord of the priuie seale: and also sir Thomas Louell knight, a sage councellor, master of the wards, and constable of the Tower: these graue councellors in processe of time perceiued this chapleine to haue a verie fine wit, and thought him a meet person to be preferred to wittie affaires. It chanced at a certeine season that the king had an vrgent occasion to send an ambassador vnto the emperor Maximilian, who lais at that present in the low countrie of Flanders, not farre from Calis.

Thomas Wolsie ambassador to the emperor.

The bishop of Winchester, and sir Thomas Lonell, whome the king counselled and debated with vpon this ambassage, saw they had a conuenient occasion to prefer the kings chapleine, whose wit, eloquence, and learning, they highly commended to the king. The king commanded them to bring his chapleine before his presence, with whome he fell in communication of great matters, and perceiuing his wit to be verie fine, thought him sufficient, commanding him thereupon to prepare himselfe to his iournie; and hauing his depeach, he toke his leaue of the king at Richmond about none; & so comming to London about foure of the clocke, where the barge of Graues end was readie to lanch forth, both with a prosperous tide and wind, without anie abode he entered the barge.

Hauing so done, he passed forth with such spéd, that he arriued at Graues end within little more than three houres, where he tarried no longer than his post horsses were a prouiding, and then trauelled so spédily that he came to Douer the next morning, whereas the passengers were readie vnder saile to Calis, into the which passenger, without tarrieng, he entered, and sailed forth with them, that long before none he arriued at Calis, and hauing post horsses, departed from thense with such spéd, that he was that night with the emperor, and disclosed the whole summe of his ambassage to the emperor, of whome he required spédie expedition, the which was granted him by the emperor; so that the next daie he was clerlie dispatched with all the kings requests fullie accomplished.

The cardinall verie expedite and readie in his ambassage.

At which time he made no longer delaie, but toke post horsses that night, and rode toward Calis, conducted thither with such persons as the emperor had apointed; and at the opening of the gates of Calis, he came thither, where the passengers were as readie to returne into England, as they were before at his iournie forward, insomuch that he arriued at Douer by ten of the clocke before none, and hauing post horsses, came to the court at Richmond the same night, where he taking some rest vntill the morning, repaired to the king at his first comming from his bedchamber to his closet, whom when the king saw, he checked him, for that he was not on his iournie: Sir (quoth he) if it may please your highnesse, I haue alreadie béene with the emperor, and dispatched your affaires (I trust to your graces contentation) and with that presented vnto the king his letters of credence from the emperor.

His returne into England after his ambassage discharged.

The king being in a great maze and wonder of his spédie returne and procéedings, dissembled all his wonder, and demanded of him whether he incountered not his pursuant the which he sent vnto him, supposing him not to be out of London, with letters concerning a verie necessarie matter, neglected in their consultation; Yea forsoth (quoth the chapleine) I met with him yesterdaie by the waie, and hauing no vnderstanding by your graces letters of your pleasure, haue notwithstanding béene so bold vpon mine owne discretion (perceiuing that matter to be verie necessarie in that behalfe) to dispatch the same. And forsomuch as I haue exceéded your graces commission, I most humblie require your graces pardon. The king reioising not a little, said; We do not onelie pardon you thereof, but also giue you our princelie thanks, both for the procéeding therein, and also for your good and spædie exploit, commanding him for that time to take his rest, and repaire againe after dinner for the further relation of his ambassage.

The king marueileth at the cardinals spédie returne.

The ambassador, when he saw time, repaired before the king and councell, where he declared the effect of all his affaires so exactlie, with such grauitie and eloquence, that all the councell that heard him, commended him, estéeming his expedition to be almost beyond the capacitie of man. The king gaue him at that time the deanrie of Lincolne. From thense forward he grew more and more into estimation and authoritie, and after was promoted by the king to be his almoner. After the death of king Henrie the seuenth, and in the flourishing youth of king Henrie the eight, this almoner handled himselfe so politikelie, that he sone found the meanes to be made one of the kings councell, and to grow in fauor with the king, to whome the king gaue an house at Bridewell in Fléetstréet, sometime sir Richard Empsons, where he kept house for his familie; and so dailie attended vpon the king, and in his especiall fauor, who had great sute made vnto him.

Thomas Wolsey dean of Lincolne.

Thomas Wolsey the kings almoner.

Thomas Wolsey of the priuie councell vnto Henrie the eight.

His sentences & wittie persuasions in the councell chamber were alwaies so pithie, that the councell (as occasion moued them) continuallie assigned him

to

to be the expositor to the king in all their procée-dings, in whome the king receiued such a leaning fantasie, for that he was most earnest and readiest of all the councell to aduance the kings will and plea-sure: the king therefore estéemed him so highlie, that all the other councellors were put from the great fa-uor that they before were in, insomuch that the king committed all his will vnto his disposition, which the almoner perceiuing, toke vpon him therefore to dis-charge the king of the weightie and troublesome bu-sinesse, persuading the king that he should not néed to spare anie time of his pleasure for anie businesse that should happen in the councell.

The cardinall presumeth to farre vpon a conceit and flattering opi-nion of his owne qualities and the kings fauor.

And whereas the other councellors would diuerse times persuade the king to haue sometime recourse into the councell chamber, there to heare what was done; the almoner would persuade him to the con-trarie, which delited him much: and thus the almo-ner ruled all them that were before him, such did his policie and wit bring to passe. Who was now in high fauor but maister almoner? And who ruled all vnder the king, but maister almoner? Thus he perseuered in fauor, vntill at last in came presents, gifts, and re-wards so plentifullie, that he lacked nothing that might either please his fantasie, or inrich his coffers.

And thus procéeding in fortunes blissfulnesse, it chanced the warres betwéene the realmes of Eng-land and France to be open, insomuch as the king was fullie persuaded in his most roiall person to inuade his forren enimies with a puissant armie; wherefore it was necessarie that this roiall enter-prise should be spéedilie prouided and furnished, in e-uerie degrée of things apt & conuenient for the same, for the expedition wherof the king thought no mans wit so méet for policie and painefull trauell, as was his almoner, to whome therefore he committed his whole trust therein, and he toke vpon him the whole charge of all the businesse, and brought all things to good passe in a decent order, as all maner of bittels, prouisions, and other necessaries conuenient for so noble a voiage and armie.

The cardinall taketh vpon him the ma-naging of all the kings af-faires.

All things being by him perfected, the king ad-uanced to his roiall enterprise, passed the seas, and marched forward in good order of battell, vntill he came to the strong towne of Terwine, to the which he laid his siege, and assailed it verie stronglie conti-nuallie with such vehement assaults, that within short space it was yéelded vnto his maiestie, vnto the which place the emperor Maximilian repaired vnto the king with a great armie like a mightie prince, ta-king of the king his graces wages: which is a rare thing, and but seldome seene, an emperor to fight vnder a kings banner.

Sée before pag. 821, 822.

Thus after the king had obteined this puissant fort and taken the possession thereof, and set all things there in due order, for the defense and preseruation thereof to his vse, he departed thense, and marched toward the citie of Tornei, and there laid his siege in like maner, to the which he gaue so fierce & sharpe assault, that they were constreined of fine force to render the towne vnto his victorious maiestie: at which time the king gaue the almoner the bishoprike of the same see, towards his paines and diligence sus-teined in that iournie. Now when the king had esta-blished all things agréeable to his will and pleasure, and furnished the same with noble capteines & men of warre for the safegard of the towne, he returned againe into England, taking with him diuerse no-ble personages of France being prisoners, as the duke of Longuile, and vicount Clarimont, with o-ther which were taken there in a skirmish.

Thomas Wolsei bi-shop of Tor-nei in Frãce.

After whose returne, immediatlie the see of Lin-colne fell void, by the death of doctor Smith late bi-shop there, the which benefice his grace gaue to his almoner, late bishop of Tornei elect, who was not negligent to take possession therof, and made all the spéed he could for his consecration: the solemnization whereof ended, he found meanes that he gat the pos-session of all his predecessors goods into his hands. It was not long after that doctor Wenbrike archbi-shop of Yorke died at Rome, being there the kings ambassador, vnto the which see the king immediatlie presented his late and new bishop of Lincolne; so that he had three bishoprikes in his hands in one yere giuen him.

Thomas Wolsei bi-shop of Lin-colne.

Sée pag. 835.

Then prepared he for his translation from the see of Lincolne, vnto the see of Yorke, after which solem-nization done, he being then an archbishop *Primas Angliæ*, thought himselfe sufficient to compare with Canturburie, and therevpon erected his crosse in the court, and euerie other place, as well within the pre-cinct and iurisdiction of Canturburie, as in anie o-ther place. And forsomuch as Canturburie claimeth a superioritie ouer Yorke, as ouer all other bishop-riks within England, and for that cause claimeth as a knowledge of an ancient obedience of Yorke, to abate the aduancing of his crosse, in presence of the crosse of Canturburie: notwithstanding, the archbishop of Yorke nothing minding to desist from bearing thereof, in maner as I said before, caus-ed his crosse to be aduanced, as well in the pre-sence of Canturburie as elsewhere. Wherefore Can-turburie being moued therewith, gaue vnto Yorke a certeine checke for his presumption, by reason whereof, there ingendered some grudge betwéene Yorke and Canturburie; Yorke intending to pro-uide some such meanes, that he would be rather su-perior in dignitie to Canturburie, than to be either obedient or equall to him. Wherefore he obteined to be made priest cardinall, and *Legatus de latere*: vnto whome the pope sent a cardinals hat with certeine buls for his authoritie in that behalfe. Yet you shall vnderstand, that the pope sent him this worthie hat of dignitie, as a iewell of his honor and authoritie, the which was conueied in a barlets budget, who see-med to all men to be but a person of small estima-tion.

Thomas Wolsei arch-bishop of Yorke.

Note the pride of wol-sete and his ambition.

The two archbishops at strife for the preroga-tiue.

Thomas Wolsete car-dinall, see pag. 837.

Wherefore Yorke being aduertised of the basenes of this messenger, & of the peoples opinion, thought it mete for his honor, that this iewell should not be conueied by so simple a person, and therefore caused him to be stopped by the waie immediatlie after his arriuall in England, where he was newlie furnished in all maner of apparell, with all kind of costlie silks, which séemed decent for such an high ambassador, and that done, he was incountered vpon Blackeheath, and there receiued with a great assemblie of prelats, and lustie gallant gentlemen, and from thense con-ducted thorough London with great triumph. Then was great and spédie preparation made in West-minster abbeie, for the confirmation and acceptance of this high order and dignitie, the which was execu-ted by all the bishops and abbats about or nigh Lon-don, with their rich miters and copes, and other orna-ments, which was done in so solemne wise, as had not béene séene the like, vnlesse it had béene at the co-ronation of a mightie prince or king. Obteining this dignitie, he thought himselfe mét to beare rule a-mong the temporall power, & among the spirituall iurisdiction: wherfore, remembring as well the taunts susteined of Canturburie, as hauing respect to the ad-uancement of worldlie honor & promotion, he found the meanes with the king, that he was made lord chancellor of England, and Canturburie which was chancellor dismissed, who had continued in that rome long since before the decease of Henrie the seuenth. Now being in possession of the chancellorship, and indued with the promotions of the archbishop, & car-

The cardinall in all his ac-tions standeth vpon his re-putation.

Thomas Wolsete lord chancellor ar-rogateth all that he may to himselfe by vertue of his promotions.

dinall *De Latere*, hauing power to correct Canturburie, and all other bishops and spirituall persons, to assemble his conuocation when he would assigne, he toke vpon him the correction of matters in all their iurisdictions, and visited all the spirituall houses, hauing in euerie diocesse all maner of spirituall ministers, as commissaries, scribes, apparators, and all other officers to furnish his courts, and preferred by preuention whome he pleased vnto all benefices thoroughout all this realme.

And to the aduancing further of his legantine iurisdiction and honor, he had maisters of his faculties, maisters *Ceremoniarum*, and such other, to the glorifieng of his dignitie. Then had he his two great crosses of siluer, the one of his archbishoprike, the other of his legacie, borne before him whither soeuer he went or rode, by two of the tallest priests that he could get within the realme. And to increase his gaines, he had also the bishoprike of Durham, and the abbeie of saint Albons in commendation. And after, when doctor Fox bishop of Winchester died, he surrendred Durham into the kings hands, and toke to him Winchester. Then had he in his hand (as it were in farme) the bishoprikes of Bath, Worcester, & Hereford, for so much as the incumbents of them were strangers, and made their abode continuallie beyond the seas in their owne countries, or else at Rome, from whence they were sent in legation to this realme vnto the king, and for their reward at their departure, king Henrie the seuenth gaue them those bishoprikes.

Thomas wolseie bishop of winchester, he had also three other bishoprikes in his hands as it were in farme.

But they being strangers, thought it more meet for the assurance to suffer the cardinall to haue their benefices for a conuenient sum of monie paid them yearelie, where they remained, than either to be troubled with the charges of the same, or to be yearelie burthened with the conueiance of their reuenues vnto them: so that all the spirituall liuings and presentations of these bishoprikes were fullie in his disposition, to prefer whom he listed. He had also a great number dailie attending vpon him, both of noblemen & worthie gentlemen, with no small number of the tallest yeomen that he could get in all the realme, insomuch that well was that nobleman and gentleman, that could preferre a tall yeoman to his seruice.

What kind of persons he reteined in his seruice.

Ye shall vnderstand, that he had in his hall continuallie three boords, kept with three seuerall principall officers, that is to saie, a steward which was alwaies a priest; a treasuror a knight; and a comptrollor an esquier; also a cofferer being a doctor; three marshals; three yeomen vshers in the hall, besides two groomes, and almoners. Then in the hall kitchin, two clearks of the kitchin; a clearke comptrollor; a surueior of the dresser; a clearke of the spicerie, the which togither kept also a continuall messe in the hall. Also in his hall kitchin he had of maister cooks two, and of other cooks, labourers and children of the kitchin, twelue persons; foure yeomen of the scullerie, and foure yeomen of the siluer scullerie; two yeomen of the pastrie, with two other pastelers vnder the yeomen.

The order of the cardinals house, and first of his hall.

The hall kitchin.

Then in his priuie kitchin a maister cooke, who went dailie in veluet or in sattin, with a chaine of gold, with two other yeomen and a groome: in the scalding house, a yeoman and two groomes: in the pantrie two persons: in the butterie two yeomen, two groomes, and two pages: and in the pewrie likewise: in the cellar three yeomen, and three pages: in his chandrie two: in the wasarie two: in the wardrobe of beds, the maister of the wardrobe, and ten other persons: in the landrie, a yeoman, a groome, thirtie pages, two yeomen purueiors, & one groome: in the bake-house, a yeoman and two groomes: in the wood-yard a yeoman, and a groome: in the barne one: in the garden a yeoman and two groomes: porters at the gate, two yeomen, and two groomes: a yeoman of his barge: and a maister of his horsse: a clearke of the stable, a yeoman of the same: the sadler: the ferrier: a yeoman of his chariot: a sumpter man: a yeoman of his stirrop: a muleter: sixteene groomes of his stable, euerie of them kept foure geldings.

The priuie kitchin. The scalding house. The pantrie. The butterie. The pewrie. The cellar. The chandrie wasarie, &c.

In the almorie a yeoman and a groome: in his chapell he had a deane, a great diuine, and a man of excellent learning: a subdeane: a repeater of the quire: a gospeller: a pistler: of singing priests ten: a maister of the children: seculars of the chapell, singing men twelue: singing children ten, with one seruant to await vpon the children: in the reuestrie a yeoman, and two groomes, ouer and besides diuerse reteiners that came thither at principall feasts. For the furniture of his chapell, it passeth my capacitie to declare the number of costlie ornaments and rich iewels that were to be occupied in the same continuallie: there hath beene seene in procession, about the hall, foure and fortie verie rich coapes of one sute worne, besides the rich crosses and candlesticks, and other ornaments to the furniture of the same.

Thomas wolseis chappell and such as bare office there.

The furniture of his chappell.

He had two crossebearers, and two pillerbearers in his great chamber: and in his priuie chamber these persons: first the chiefe chamberleine, and vicechamberleine: of gentlemen vshers, besides one in his priuie chamber, he had twelue dailie waiters; and of gentlemen waiters in his priuie chamber he had six, and of lords nine or ten, who had each of them two men allowed them to attend vpon them, except the earle of Darbie, who had allowed fiue men: then had he of gentlemen, of cupbearers, caruers, and sewers, both of the priuie chamber, and of the great chamber, with gentlemen dailie waiters there, fortie persons: of yeomen vshers six: of groomes in his chamber eight: of yeomen in his chamber fiue and fortie dailie: he had also almes men sometime more in number than other sometime.

Officers of credit about Thomas wolseie in his priuie chamber.

There was attending on his boord of doctors and chapleins, besides them of his chappell, sixteene dailie: a clearke of his closet: secretaries two: and two clearks of his signet: and foure counsellers learned in the law. And forsomuch as it was necessarie to haue diuerse officers of the Chancerie to attend vpon him, that is to saie, the clerke of the crowne: a riding clearke: a clearke of the hamper: and a chafer of the war: then a clearke of the checke, aswell vpon the chapleins, as of the yeoman of his chamber: he had also foure footmen which were garnished in rich running coats, whensoeuer he rode in anie iourneie: then had he an herald of armes: and a sargeant of armes: a physician: an apothecarie: foure minstrels: a keeper of his tents: an armorer: an instructor of his wards: two yeomen of the wardrobe of his robes: and a keeper of his chamber continuallie in the court: he had also in his house the surueior of Yorke, and a clearke of the greene cloth.

Attendants on his boord.

Officers of the Chancerie

His footmen.

His herald at armes & other officers.

All these were dailie attending, downe lieng and vprising, and at meales: he kept in his great chamber a continuall boord for the chamberers and gentlemen officers, hauing with them a messe of the yong lords, and another of gentlemen. Besides all these, there was neuer an officer, gentleman, or worthie person, but he was allowed in the house, some three, some two, and all other one at the least, which grew to a great number of persons. Thus farre out of the checker roll, besides other officers, seruants, reteiners, and suters, that most commonlie dined in the hall. After that he was thus furnished, he was sent twise in ambassage to the emperour Charles the fift, for diuerse vrgent causes touching the kings maiestie,

Thomas Wolseie twise ambassador to the emperour Charles.

maiestie, it was thought, that so noble a prince (the cardinall) was most meet to be sent: wherfore being readie to take vpon him the charge thereof, he was furnished in all degrees and purposes, most like a great prince.

For first he proceeded forth furnished like a cardinall: his gentlemen being verie manie in number, were clothed in liuerie coats of crimsin veluet of the best, with chaines of gold about their necks, and his yeomen and meane officers in coats of fine scarlet, garded with blacke veluet an hand broad. Thus furnished, he was twise sent into Flanders to the emperour then lieng in Bruges, whome he did most highlie interteine, discharging all his charges and his mens. There was no house within the towne of Bruges, wherein anie gentleman of the cardinals was lodged, or had recourse, but that the owners were commanded by the emperours officers, that they, vpon paine of their liues, should take no monie for anie thing that the cardinals seruants did take of anie kind of victels, no although they were disposed to make anie costlie bankets.

The emperors munificence notable and worthie his imperiall person.

Commanding furthermore their said hostes, to see that they lacked no such things as they honestlie required for their honestie and pleasure. Also the emperours officers euerie night went through the towne from house to house, whereas anie English gentlemen did repast or lodge, and serued their liueries for all night, which was done in this maner. First, the officers brought into the house a cast of fine manchet, and of siluer two great pots with white wine, and sugar to the weight of a pound: white lights and yellow lights of wax: a boll of siluer with a goblet to drinke in, and euerie night a staffetorch: this was the order of the liueries euerie night. And in the morning, when the same officers came to fetch awaie their stuffe, then would they account with the hostes for the gentlemens costs spent in the daie before. Thus the emperour interteined the cardinall and all his traine for the time of his ambassage there. And that done, he returned into England with great triumph.

The maner of his going to westminster hall dailie in the terme time.

Now of his order in going to Westminster hall dailie in the tearme. First per he came out of his priuie chamber, he heard seruice in his closet, and there said his seruice with his chapleine; then going againe to his priuie chamber, he would demand if his seruants were in a readinesse, and furnished his chamber of presence, and waiting chamber. Being thereof then aduertised, he came out of his priuie chamber about eight of the clocke, apparelled all in red, that is to say, his vpper garment either of fine scarlet, or else fine crimsin taffata, but most cõmonlie of fine crimsin sattin ingrained, his pillion of fine scarlet, with a necke set in the inner side with blacke veluet, and a tipet of sables about his necke, holding in his hand an orenge, whereof the substance within was taken out, and filled vp againe with the part of a sponge, wherein was vineger and other confections against the pestilent aires, the which he most commonlie held to his nose when he came among anie preasse, or else that he was pestered with manie suters.

His owne apparell of crimsin and other sumptuous stuffe.

The tokens and marks of his dignities borne before him.

Before him was borne first the broad seale of England, and his cardinals hat, by a lord, or some gentleman of worship, right solemnlie: & as sone as he was once entered into his chamber of presence, his two great crosses were there attending to be borne before him: then cried the gentlemen vshers, going before him bare headed, and said: On before my lords and maisters, on before, make waie for my lords grace. Thus went he downe through the hall with a sergeant of armes before him, bearing a great mace of siluer, and two gentlemen carieng two great pillers of siluer. And when he came at the hall dore, there was his mule, being traped all in crimsin veluet, with a saddle of the same stuffe, & gilt stirrups. Then was there attending vpon him when he was mounted, his two crosse-bearers: & his piller-bearers in like case vpon great horsses, traped all in fine scarlet. Then marched he forward with a traine of noble men and gentlemen, hauing his footmen foure in number about him, bearing ech of them a gilt pollar in their hands.

His behauior in the court of Chancerie & Starchamber

Thus passed he forth vntill he came to Westminster hall dore, and there lighted, and went vp after this maner into the Chancerie, or into the Starre-chamber: howbeit, most commonlie he would go into the Chancerie, and staie a while at a barre made for him beneath the Chancerie on the right hand, and there commune sometime with the iudges, and some time with other persons: and that done, he would repaire into the Chancerie, and sitting there vntill eleuen of the clocke, hearing of suites, and determining of other matters, from thence he would diuers times go into the Starre-chamber, as occasion serued. There he neither spared high nor low, but iudged euerie state according to his merits and deserts.

His order of going to and cõming from the court.

He vsed also euerie sundaie to resort to the court, then being for the most part of all the yeare at Grenewich, with his former triumphs, taking his barge at his owne staires, furnished with yeomen standing vpon the bails, and his gentlemen being within about him, and landed againe at the three cranes in the Vintrie: and from thense he rode vpon his mule with his crosse, his pillers, his hat and broad seale carried afore him on horssebacke through Thames street, vntill he came to Billingsgate, and there toke his barge againe, and so was rowed to Grenewich, where he was receiued of the lords and chiefe officers of the kings house, as the treasuror, comptrollor and others, and so conueied vnto the kings chamber. Then the court was wonderfullie furnished with noblemen and gentlemen: and after dinner among the lords, hauing some consultation with the king or with the councell, he would depart homeward with the like triumph.

The cardinals house like a princes court for all kind of bra-uerie & sumptuousnesse.

Thus in great honour, triumph, and glorie, he reigned a long season, ruling all things within the realme apperteining vnto the king. His house was resorted to with noblemen and gentlemen, feasting and banketting ambassadors diuerse times, and all other right noblie. And when it pleased the king for his recreation to repaire to the cardinals house (as he did diuerse times in the yeare) there wanted no preparations or furniture: bankets were set forth with maskes and mummeries, in so gorgeous a sort and costlie maner, that it was an heauen to behold. There wanted no dames or damosels meet or apt to danse with the maskers, or to garnish the place for the time: then was there all kind of musike and harmonie, with fine voices both of men and children.

A maske and banket, the king in person present at the cardinals house.

On a time the king came suddenlie thither in a maske with a dozen maskers all in garments like shepheards, made of fine cloth of gold, and crimosin sattin paned, & caps of the same, with visards of good physnomie, their haires & beards either of fine gold-wire silke, or blacke silke, hauing sirtene torch-bearers, besides their drums and other persons with visards, all clothed in sattin of the same color. And before his entring into the hall, he came by water to the water gate without anie noise, where were laid diuerse chambers and guns charged with shot, and at his landing they were shot off, which made such a rumble in the aire, that it was like thunder: it made all the noblemen, gentlemen, ladies, and gentlewomen, to muse what it should meane, comming so suddenlie, they sitting quiet at a solemne banket, after this sort.

The cardinals statelie sitting at table like a prince.

First ye shall vnderstand, that the tables were set in the chamber of presence iust couered, & the lord cardinall sitting vnder the cloth of estate, there hauing all his seruice alone: and then was there set a ladie with a noble man, or a gentleman and a gentlewoman throughout all the tables in the chamber on the one side, which were made and ioined as it were but one table, all which order and deuise was done by the lord Sandes then lord chamberleine to the king and by sir Henrie Gilford comptroller of the kings maiesties house. Then immediatlie after the great chamberleine, and the said comptroller, sent to loke what it should meane (as though they knew nothing of the matter) who looking out of the windowes into the Thames, returned againe and shewed him, that it seemed they were noblemen and strangers that arriued at his bridge, comming as ambassadours from some forren prince.

The cardinall knew not that the king was in the number.

With that (quoth the cardinall) I desire you, because you can speake French, to take the paines to go into the hall, there to receiue them according to their estates, and to conduct them into this chamber, where they shall see vs, and all these noble personages being merie at our banket, desiring them to sit downe with vs, and to take part of our fare. Then went he incontinent downe into the hall, whereas they receiued them with twentie new torches, and conueied them vp into the chamber, with such a noise of drums and flutes, as seldome had beene heard the like. At their entring into the chamber two and two togither, they went directlie before the cardinall, where he sate and saluted him reuerentlie.

The cardinall reuerentlie saluted of the maskers.

To whom the lord chamberleine for them said: Sir, for as much as they be strangers, and can not speake English, they haue desired me to declare vnto you, that they hauing vnderstanding of this your triumphant banket, where was assembled such a number of excellent dames, they could do no lesse vnder support of your grace, but to repaire hither, to view as well their incomparable beautie, as for to accompanie them at mum-chance, and then to danse with them: and sir, they require of your grace licence to accomplish the said cause of their cõming. To whom the cardinall said he was verie well content they should so do. Then went the maskers, and first saluted all the dames, and returned to the most worthie, and there opened their great cup of gold filled with crownes and other pèces of gold, to whome they set certeine pèces of gold to cast at.

Thus perusing all the ladies and gentlewomen, to some they lost, and of some they woone: and marking after this maner all the ladies, they returned to the cardinall with great reuerence, powring downe all their gold so left in their cup, which was aboue two hundred crownes: At all (quoth the cardinall) and so cast the dice and wan them, whereat was made a great noise and ioy. Then quoth the cardinall to the lord chamberleine, I praie you (quoth he) that you would shew them, that me seemeth there should be a nobleman amongst them, who is more meet to occupie this seat and place than I am, to whome I would most gladlie surrender the same according to my dutie, if I knew him.

The cardinall plaieth at dice.

He suspecteth that the king is present and abateth his estate.

Then spake the lord chamberleine to them in French, and they rounding him in the eare, the lord chamberlein said to my lord cardinall: Sir (quoth he) they confesse, that among them there is such a noble personage, whome, if your grace can appoint him out from the rest, he is content to disclose himselfe, and to accept your place. With that the cardinall taking good aduisement among them, at the last (quoth he) me seemeth the gentleman with the blacke beard, should be euen he: and with that he arose out of his chaire, and offered the same to the gentleman in the blacke beard with his cap in his hand. The person to whom he offered the chaire was sir Edward Neuill, a comelie knight, that much more resembled the kings person in that maske than anie other.

He taketh his marks amisse and is deceiued.

The king perceiuing the cardinall so deceiued, could not forbeare laughing, but pulled downe his visar and master Neuels also, and dashed out such a pleasant countenance and cheere, that all the noble estates there assembled, perceiuing the king to be there among them, reioised verie much. The cardinall eftsons desired his highnesse to take the place of estate. To whom the king answered, that he would go first and shift his apparell, and so departed into my lord cardinals chamber, and there new apparelled him: in which time the dishes of the banket were cleane taken vp, and the tables spred againe with new cleane perfumed cloths, euerie man and woman sitting still, vntill the king with all his maskers came among them againe all new apparelled.

The king disvisardeth his face and is verie pleasant.

A new banket vpon the sudden of 200 dishes.

Then the king toke his seat vnder the cloth of estate, commanding euerie person to sit still as they did before: in came a new banket before the king, and to all the rest throughout all the tables, wherein were serued two hundred diuerse dishes, of rosslie deuises and subtilties. Thus passed they forth the night with banketting, dansing, and other triumphs, to the great comfort of the king, and pleasant regard of the nobilitie there assembled. And thus spent this cardinall his time from daie to daie, and yeare to yeare, in such wealth, ioie, triumph, and glorie, hauing alwaies on his side the kings especiall fauour, vntill fortune enuied his prosperitie, and ouerthrew all the foundations of his glorie; which as they were laid vpon sand, so they shronke and slipt awaie, whereby insued the ruine of his estate, euen to the verie losse of his life, which (as a man of a guiltie conscience, and fearing capitall punishment due by law for his vndutifull demeanour against his souereigne) Edward Hall saith (vpon report) he partlie procured, willinglie taking so great a quantitie of a strong purgation, as nature was therewith oppressed, and vnable to digest the same; so that in fine he gaue vp the ghost, and was buried in Leicester abbeie: of whome to saie more I will surceasse, concluding onelie with a description which I find of him not impertinent for this place, sith wholie concerning his person.

¶ This cardinall (as you may perceiue in this storie) was of a great stomach, for he compted himselfe equall with princes, & by craftie suggestion gat into his hands innumerable treasure: he forced little on simonie, and was not pittifull, and stood affectionate in his owne opinion: in open presence he would lie and saie vntruth, and was double both in speach and meaning: he would promise much & performe little: he was vicious of his bodie, & gaue the clergie euill example: he hated fore the citie of London & feared it: it was told him that he should die in the waie toward London, wherefore he feared least the commons of the citie would arise in riotous maner and so slaie him, yet for all that he died in the waie toward London, carrieng more with him out of the world than he brought into it; namelie a winding sheete, besides other necessaries thought meet for a dead man, as christian comelinesse required. This ruine of the cardinall was not so much as once dreampt vpon, when I. Leland the famous antiquarie wrote this welwishing octastichon vnto the said Wolseie (being then in the flowre of his glorie, and the pearle of his pride) as hereafter followeth.

Ab. Fl. ex Edw. Hal. Clxxxxiiij.

The description of the cardinall.

Sic tuus Henricus, regum qui gloria, florens,
Perpetuo studio te colat, ornet, amet:
Sic pia coniung at proceres concordia magnos,
Vt iusto belli fulmine Turca ruat:

Ad Tho. Wolueseg̃ archiepiscopum Iurocanum.

Sic

Sic vasta superum tantorum deniq; moles
Absoluta, summo templa dicata Deo.
Sit bonus (ô fatear) mihi, tutela Camœnæ
Dicetis merito præsidium q; meis.

The king and quéene kept a solemne Christmasse at Grœnwich

After the cardinall was dead, the king remoued from Hampton court to Grœnwich, where he with quéene Katharine kept a solemne Christmasse, and on the Twelfe night he sat in the hall in his estate, whereas were diuerse enterludes, with maskes and disports, and after that a great banket. Now after Christmas he came to his manour of Westminster, which before was called Yorke place: for after that the cardinall was attainted in the præmunire, & was gone northward, he made a feoffement of the same place to the king, and the chapiter of the cathedrall church of Yorke by their writing confirmed the same feoffement, & then the king changed the name and called it the kings manor of Westminster, and no more Yorke place.

The cleargie in danger of a præmunire.

The whole cleargie of England euer supported and maintained the power legantine of the cardinall, wherefore the kings learned councell said plainlie that they were all in the præmunire: the spirituall lords were called by processe into the kings Bench to answer, but before their daie of appearance they in their conuocation concluded an humble submission in writing, and offered the king a hundred thousand pounds to be their good lord, & also to giue them a pardon of all offenses touching the præmunire by act of parlement, the which offer with much labour was accepted, and their pardon promised. In this submission the cleargie called the king supreame head of the church of England, which thing they neuer confessed before, whereupon manie things followed after, as you shall heare.

The offer of the cleargie to the king.

The king first named supreme head.

1531

When the parlement was begun the first daie of Januarie, the pardon of the spirituall persons was signed with the kings hand, and sent to the lords, which in time conuenient assented to the bill, and sent it to the commons in the lower house. Now when it was read, diuers froward persons would in no wise assent to it except all men were pardoned, saieng that all men which had anie thing to do with the cardinall were in the same case. The wiser sort answered, that they would not compell the king to giue them his pardon, & beside that it was vncharitablie done of them to hurt the cleargie, and do themselues no good: wherefore they aduised them to consent to the bill, and after to sue to the king for their pardon, which counsell was not followed, but they determined first to send the speaker to the king yer they would assent to the bill.

Thom. Audleie speaker for the commons.

Whereupon Thomas Audleie speaker for the commons, with a conuenient number of the common house, came to the kings presence, and there eloquentlie declared to the king, how the commons sore lamented and bewailed their chance, to thinke or imagine themselues to be out of his gratious fauor, bicause that he had gratiouslie giuen his pardon of the præmunire to his spirituall subiects and not to them: wherefore they most humblie besought his grace of his accustomed goodnesse and clemencie to include them in the same pardon. The king wiselie answered that he was their prince and souereigne lord, and that they ought not to restraine him of his libertie, nor to compell him to shew his mercie: for it was at his pleasure to vse the extremitie of his lawes or mitigate and pardon the same: wherefore sith they denied to assent to the pardon of the spirituall persons, which pardon (he said) he might giue without their assent by his great seale, he would be well aduised yer he pardoned them, bicause he would not be noted to be compelled to it.

The summe of the kings wise answer.

With this answer the speaker and the commons departed verie sorowfull and pensiue, and some light persons said that Thomas Cromwell, which was newlie come to the fauour of the king, had disclosed the secrets of the commons, which thing caused the king to be so extreame. The king like a good prince considered how sorowfull his commons were of the answer that he made them, and thought that they were not quiet: wherefore of his owne motion he caused a pardon of the præmunire to be drawne, and signed it with his hand, and sent it to the common house by Christopher Hales his attorneie, which bill was sone assented to. Then the commons louinglie thanked the king, and much praised his wit, that he had denied it to them when they vnworthilie demanded it, and had bountifullie granted it when he perceiued that they sorrowed and lamented.

The kings voluntarie inclination to pardon the præmunire.

While the parlement sat, on the thirtith daie of March at afternoone, there came into the common house the lord chancellor and diuerse lords of the spiritualtie and temporaltie, to the number of twelue, and there the lord chancellor said: You of this worshipfull house (I am sure) be not so ignorant, but you know well, that the king our souereigne lord hath married his brothers wife, for she was both wedded and bedded with his brother prince Arthur, and therefore you may suerlie saie that he hath married his brothers wife. If this marriage be good or no manie clerkes do doubt. Wherefore the king like a vertuous prince willing to be satisfied in his conscience, & also for the suertie of his realme, hath with great deliberation consulted with profound clerkes, & hath sent my lord of London here present, to the chiefe vniuersities of all christendome, to know their opinion and iudgement in that behalfe. And although that the vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford had bene sufficient to discusse the cause, yet bicause they be in his realme, and to auoid all suspicion of partialitie he hath sent into the realme of France, Italie, the popes dominions and Venecians, to know their iudgement in that behalfe, which haue concluded, written, and sealed their determinations according as you shall heare read. Then sir Brian Tuke toke out of a box certeine writings sealed, and read them word by word as after insueth, translated out of Latine into the English tong.

Touching the kings marriage.

Namelie Edmund Bonner.

Determinations of diuerse vniuersities *touching the vnlawfulnesse of the* kings marriage, and first the determination *of the vniuersitie of* Orleance.

NOt long since there were put forth to vs the college of doctors, regents of the vniuersitie of Orleance, these two questions that follow. The first, whether it be lawfull by the law of God for the brother to take to wife that woman whom his brother hath left? The second, if this be forbidden by the law of God, whether this prohibition of the law of God may be remitted by the pope his dispensation? We the foresaid college of doctors regents, according to our custome and vsage came manie times togither, and did sit diuerse times vpon the discussing of these foresaid doubts and questions, and did examine and weigh as much as we might diuerse and manie places, both of the old testament and the new, and also the interpretors and declarers both of the law of God and the canon law.

After we had weighed & considered all things exactlie, with good leisure and deliberation we haue all determined and concluded, that these foresaid marriages cannot be attempted, nor enterprised, except a man do wrong, and plaine contrarie to the law of God;

God: yea and that although it be done by pardon and sufferance of the pope. And in witnesse of this conclusion and determination, we haue caused this present publike writing to be signed by the scribe of our said vniuersitie, and to be strengthened & fortified with the seale of the same. Enacted in the chapell of our ladie, the annuntiation, or the good tidings that she had of Christes comming in Orleance, the yeare of our Lord 1529, the 5. daie of Aprill.

The determination of the facultie *of decrees of the vniuersitie of Paris.*

Lawiers of Paris.

IN the name of the Lord so be it. There was put forth before vs the deane and college of the right councelfull facultie of decrées of the vniuersitie of Paris, this question: Whether that the pope might dispense, that the brother might marrie the wife that his brother hath left, if martage betweene his brother now dead and his wife were once consummate: We the deane and college of the said facultie after manie disputations and reasons made of both sides vpon this matter, and after great and long turning and searching of bookes, both of the law of God, and the popes law, and of the law ciuill, we counsell and saie that the pope hath no power to dispense in this foresaid case. In witnesse whereof we haue caused this present writing to be strengthened with the seale of our facultie and with the signe of our scribe or chiefe bedle. Yeuen in the congregation or assemble at saint John Laterenense in Paris the second daie of Maie 1530.

The determination of ciuilians *and canonists of the vniuersitie* of Aniou.

Aniou.

NOt long time since there were proposed vnto vs the rector and doctors regents in law canon and ciuill of the vniuersitie of Aniou, these two questions here following, that is to wit; Whether it is vnlawfull by the law of God & the law of nature for a man to marrie the wife of his brother, that is departed without children, so that the marriage was consummate? And againe, whether it is lawfull for the pope to dispense with such marriage? We the aforesaid rector and doctors haue according to our custome and vsage manie times communed togither, and sitten to dispute these questions, and to find out the certeintie of them. And after that we had discussed and examined manie and diuerse places, aswell of the law of God as of the law of man, which seemed to perteine to the same purpose, and after we had brought reasons for both parties, and examined them: all things faithfullie and after good conscience considered, and vpon sufficient deliberation and aduisement taken, we define and determine that neither by the law of God nor of nature, it is permitted for any christian man, no not euen with the authoritie of the see apostolike, or with anie dispensation granted by the pope, to marrie the wife that his brother hath left, although his brother be departed without children, after that the marriage is once finished and consummate. And for witnes of the aforsaid things, we haue commanded the scribe of our said vniuersitie to signe this present publike instrument, and it to be fortified with the great seale of our vniuersitie. Enacted in the church of saint Peter in Aniou, the yeare of our Lord 1530, the 7 daie of Maie.

The determination of the facultie of *diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Paris.*

Paris.

THe deane and the facultie of the holie diuinitie of the vniuersitie of Paris, to all them to whom this present writing shall come, wisheth safetie in our sauiour Jesu Christ, which is the verie true safetie. Where of late there is risen a great controuersie of great difficultie, vpon the marriage betweene the most noble Henrie the eight king of England defendor of the faith, and lord of Ireland, &c: and the noble ladie Katharine queene of England, daughter to the catholike king Ferdinand, which marriage was not onelie contract betweene hir and hir former husband, but also consummate and finished by carnall intermedling.

This question also was proposed to vs to discusse and examine according to iustice and truth, that is to saie; Whether to marrie hir that one brother dead without children hath left, being so prohibited by the law of God and nature, that it can not be lawfull by the popes dispensation, that any christian man should marrie the wife that his brother hath left? We the foresaid deane and facultie calling to our remembrance, how vertuous, and how holie a thing, and how agreeable to our profession, vnto our dutie of loue and charitie it is for vs to shew the waie of iustice and right, of vertue and honestie, to them which desire to lead and passe ouer their life in the law of our Lord with sure and quiet conscience; could not but be readie to satisfie so honest and iust requests: whereupon after our old wont, we came togither vpon our oth in the church of S. Paturine, and there for the same cause had a solemne masse with deuout praier to the Holie-ghost.

And also we toke an oth, euerie man to deliuer and to studie vpon the foresaid question, as should be to the pleasure of God & according to conscience. And after diuerse & manie sessions or sittings, which were had and continued in the church of saint Paturine, and also in the college called Sorbon, from the eight daie of June to the second daie of Julie; when we had searched and examined through and through, with as much diligence as we could, and with such reuerence and religion or conscience as becommeth in such a matter, both the bookes of holie scripture, and also the most approued interpretors of the same: finallie the generall and synodall councels, decrées and constitutions of the sacre and holie church, which by long custome hath béene receiued and approbate.

We the foresaid deane and facultie, disputing vpon the foresaid question, and making answer to the same, and that after the iudgement and full consent of the most part of the said facultie, haue concluded and determined, that the foresaid marriage with the brothers wife, departing without children, be so forbidden both by the law of God & of nature, that the pope hath no power to dispense with such mariages, whether they be contract or to be contract. And for credence, beléefe, and witnesse of this our assertion and determination, we haue caused the seale of our facultie, with our notaries signe, to be put vnto this present writing. Dated in our generall congregation that we kéepe by an oth at saint Paturines, the yeare of our Lord 1530, the second daie of Julie.

The determination of the vniuersitie *of Burges in Berrie or Biturs.*

Burges.

WE the deane and facultie of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Burges (bicause we will doo according to the example of S. Paule doctor of the gentiles, which doth likewise) will begin our writing with praier for all the beloued of God, among whome you most deare readers, vnto whome we write, be called: grace, peace, and quietnesse of conscience come to you from God the father, and from our Lord Jesu Christ. While we were gathered togither

togither all into one place (in the octaues of Whitsuntide) both in bodie and mind, and were sitting in the house of the said deane, there was a question put to vs againe, which had beene proposed to vs oftentimes before, being no small question, which was this: Whether the brother taking the wife of his brother now dead, and the marriage once consummate and perfect, doth a thing vnlawfull or no?

At the last when we had sought for the truth of the thing, and had perceiued and found it out by much labour and studie of euerie one of vs by himselfe, and by much and often turning of holie bookes, euerie one of vs not corrupt, whereby we might the lesse obeie the truth, began as the holie ghost did put in his mind, to giue euerie man one arbitrement and sentence, which was this. I haue well perceiued in verie truth, without regard or respect of anie person, that those persons which be rehearsed in the 18 chapter of the Leuiticall law, be forbidden by the verie law of nature to contract matrimonie togither, and that this law can in no wise be released by anie authoritie of anie man, by the which there is made an abhominable discouering of his brothers foulenesse. And this is the signe of our common bedell or notarie, and the seale of our foresaid facultie put vnto this present writing the 10 daie of June, in the yeare of our Lord 1530. And because the fot of our writing shall be of one forme and fashion with the head, as we began with praier, so let vs end after the example of S. Paule that we spake of before, and saie, the grace and fauour of our Lord Jesu Christ, the charitie and loue of God and the communication of the holie ghost be with you all, Amen.

The determination of the diuines *in the popes vniuersitie of Bononie.*

Bononie.

GOD best and mightiest taught first the old law and testament with his owne mouth, to forme and fashion according to loue and charitie the maners and life of men. And secondarilie the same God did take afterwards manhood vpon him for to be the redéemer of man, and so made the new law or new testament, not onlie to forme and fashion according to loue and charitie the life and maners of men, but also to take awaie and to declare doubts, the which did arise in manie cases, which when they be once clérelie determined, shall helpe greatlie to perfect vertue and goodnesse, that is to saie, to perfect loue and charitie.

Wherefore we thought it euermore, that it should be our part to follow these most holie doctrines and lawes of our father of heauen, and that we lightned by the light of God aboue & of the holie ghost, should giue our sentence and iudgement in high and doubtfull matters, after that we haue once leisurelie and sufficientlie taken aduisement vpon the cause, and haue clærelie searched out and opened the thing by many reasons and writings of holie fathers, as well for the one part as for the other, doing nothing (as nére as we can) rashlie or without deliberation. Therefore where certeine great and noble men did instantlie desire vs, that we would with all diligence possible loke for this case that after insueth, & afterwards to giue our iudgement vpon the same, according to most equitie, right, and conscience, sticking onelie to the truth.

All the doctors of diuinitie of this vniuersitie, when we had euerie one by himselfe examined the matter at home in our houses, came all togither into one place, and there treated vpon it manie daies with as much cunning and learning as we could, we anon loked on the case togither, we examined it togither, we compared all things togither, we handling euerie thing by it selfe, did trie them euen as you would saie by line and rule, we brought forth all maner of reasons which we thought could be brought for the contrarie part, and afterward solued them, yea euen the reasons of the most reuerend father cardinall Caietane, yea and moreouer the Deuteronomie dispensation of stirring vp the brothers séed, and shortlie all other maner of reasons and opinions of the contrarie part, as manie as séemed to belong to this purpose.

And this question that was asked of vs, was this: Whether it was forbidden onelie by the ordinance of the church, or else by the law of God, that a man might not marrie the wife left of his brother departed without children? And if it were commanded by both the lawes not to be done, whether the pope may dispense with anie man to make such mariage? The which question now that we haue examined both by our selfe secretlie, and also openlie as diligentlie and exactlie as we could possiblie, and discussed it after the best manner that our wits would serue: we determine, giue iudgement, and saie, and as stiflie as we can we witnesse, and without anie doubt do stedfastlie hold, that this marriage should be horrible, accursed, and to be cried out vpon, and vtterlie abhominable not onelie for a christian man, but for an infidell, vnfaithfull or heathen.

And that it is prohibited vnder gréeuous paines and punishments by the law of God, of nature, and of man, and that the pope, though that he almost may do all things, vnto whome Christ did giue the keies of the kingdome of heauen, hath no power to giue a dispensation to anie man for to contract such mariage for anie maner of cause, consideration or suggestion: and all we be readie at all times & in all places to defend & maintaine the truth of this our conclusion. In witnesse whereof we haue made this present writing, and haue fortified the same both with the seale of our vniuersitie, and also with the seale of our college of doctors of diuinitie, and haue subscribed & signed it with our generall and accustomed subscription in the cathedrall church of Bononie, the tenth daie of June, the yeare of our Lord 1530.

The determination of the facultie of *diuinitie in the vniuersitie of* Padua in Italie.

Padua.

THey that haue written for the maintenance of the catholike faith, affirme that God (best and mightiest) did giue the precepts & commandements of the old law with his owne mouth, to be an example for vs, wherein we might sée how we should order our life and maners, and this God had done before he became man: and after that he had put vpon him our manhood, & was become redéemer or buier of mankind, he made the new law or testament, and of his mére liberalitie did giue it vs, not onelie for the cause aforsaid; but also to take awaie and declare all maner of doubts and questions that might arise, the which once opened and declared, what their verie true meaning is, to the intent that thereby we might be made perfectlie good, which be greatlie fruitfull vnto vs and wholesome.

And séeing that this was the mind of God in making these lawes, it hath béene our intent, and euermore shall be, as it becommeth christian men, to follow these most solemne ordinances of the most high workemaister God, & the helpe of his light, that is aboue the capacitie of nature, to vtter our iudgment in all maner of doubts and hard questions. After we had once considered the thing after the best maner, and had by sufficient leisure made it clære by manie euident reasons of both parties, and by manie authorities

thorities of the fathers of the church, determining nothing (as nere as we can) rashlie or without conuenient deliberation. Seeing therefore that certeine great orators or ambassadors did humblie require and praie vs, that we would vouchsafe to search out with all the diligence we could this case following, and afterwards to giue our sentence vpon the same, plainelie and simplie loking onelie on the truth.

After the doctors of diuinitie of this vniuersitie came togither, and after that we had euerie man examined the thing particularlie in our owne houses, and had beaten it with all learning and cunning that we were able: anon when we were togither, we considered, examined, and weied all things by themselues, and brought in all maner of reasons, which we thought might by anie meanes be made to the contrarie, and without all colour or cloke did wholie and clerlie dissolue them and take them awaie. And amongst all, the dispensation by the law of Deuteronomie, of stirring vp the brothers seed, and all maner other reasons and determinations to the contrarie, that seemed to vs to perteine anie thing to that purpose, we vtterlie confuted and dispatched them.

The question that is put vnto vs is this; Whether to marrie the wife of our brother departed without children, is forbidden onelie by the law of the church, or by the law of God also? And if it be forbidden by both these laws, whether the pope maie dispense with anie man for such matrimonie or no? Which question now that we haue discussed it, and as farre as we could, haue made it clere, both priuatlie euerie man by himselfe, and after all togither openlie, we saie, iudge, decree, witnesse, and for a truth affirme, that such marriage is no marriage; yea and that it is abhorred and cursed of euerie christian man, and to be abhominate as a grieuous sinne; and that it is as clere as can be forbidden vnder most cruell penalties by the lawes of nature, of God, and of man; and that the pope, vnto whome the keies of the kingdome of heauen be committed by Christ the sonne of God, hath no power to dispense by the right of law for anie cause, suggestion, or excuse, that anie such matrimonie should be contracted.

For those things which be forbidden by the law of God, be not vnderneath his power, but aboue it; nor he is not the vicar of God as concerning those things, but onelie in such things as God hath not determined himselfe in his law; but hath left them to the determination and ordinance of man. And to mainteine the truth of this our sentence and conclusion, and for the most certeine and vndoubted defense of the same, we all of one mind and accord shall at all times and in euerie place be readie. In witnesse whereof we haue made this writing, and haue authorised it with the accustomed seale of our vniuersitie and also of our college of diuines. Dated at Padua in the church of the heremites of saint Augustine the first daie of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord 1530.

The determination of the vniuersitie of *Tholose*.

Tholose. There was treated in our vniuersitie of Tholose a verie hard question; Whether it be lawfull for the brother to marrie hir which had bene wife to his brother now departed, & that without children? There was besides this an other thing that troubled vs verie sore; Whether, if the pope which hath the cure of Christs flocke, would by his dispensation (as men call it) suffer this, that then at the least wise it might be lawfull? The rector of the vniuersitie called to counsell all the doctors regents, that were at that time at Tholose for to shew their minds on this question, and that not once, but twise: for he iudged that counsell giuing ought not to be hasted nor done vpon head, and that we had need of time and space to do anie thing conuenientlie and as it ought to be.

At the last there came togither into one place all the best learned and cunningest doctors, both of holie diuinitie, and also doctors that were best learned in both lawes; yea, and finallie as manie as had anie experience in anie matter, and were able to do anie thing either by iudgement and discretion, or by eloquence or their excellent wits; and there did sweare that they would obete the sacred and holie councels, and would follow the decrees of the fathers, which no man that hath anie good conscience will violat or breake. And so euerie man said his mind, & the matter was debated and reasoned diffuselie and at large for both parts.

In conclusion, we fell so fast to this point, that this was the sentence and determination that our vniuersitie, with one voice of all, did determine and conclude with most pure and clere conscience, and defiled with no maner of leuen of corruption: That it is lawfull for no man, neither by the law of God, nor by the law of nature, to take hir to wife that his brother hath left: and seeing that it maie not be done by the law of God nor of nature, we answered all, that the pope can lose no man from that law, nor dispense with him. And as for that thing can not be contrarie to our sentence and verdict, that the brother in old time was compelled by the law of Deuteronomie to marrie the brothers wife departed without issue. For this law was but a shadow and a figure of things to come, which vanished awaie as sone as euer the light and truth of the gospell appeared. And because these things be thus, we haue giuen our sentence after this forme aboue, and haue commanded the same to be signed by our notarie which is our secretarie, and to be fortified and authorised by the putting to of our authenticall seale of our vniuersitie aforesaid, at Tholose the calends or first daie of October, the yeare of our Lord 1530.

After these determinations were read, there were shewed aboue an hundred books drawn by doctors of strange regions, which all agreed the kings marriage to be vnlawfull, which were not read, for the daie was spent. Then the chancellor said: Now you of this common house maie report in your countries what you haue seene and heard, & then all men shall openlie perceiue, that the king hath not attempted this matter of will and pleasure, as some strangers report, but onlie for the discharge of his conscience and suertie of the succession of his realme: this is the cause of our repaire hither to you, and now will we depart.

When these determinations were published, all wise men in the realme much abhorred that marriage: but women, and such as were more wilfull than wise or learned, spake against the determination, and said that the vniuersities were corrupt and intised so to do, which is not to be thought. The king himselfe sore lamented his chance, and made no maner of mirth nor pastime as he was wont to do. He dined and resorted to the quéene as he was accustomed, and diminished nothing of his estate, and much loued and cherished their daughter the ladie Marie: but in no wise he would not come to hir bed. When Easter began to draw neere, the parlement for that time ended, and was prorogued till the last daie of March, in the nert yéere. In the parlement aforesaid was an act made, that whosoeuer did poison any person, should be boiled in hot water to the death: which act was made, because one Richard Rose, in the parlement time had poisoned diuerse persons at the bi-

In act of poisoning.

shop

shop of Rochellers place, which Richard, according to the same act, was boiled in Smithfield the tenebr wednesdaie following, to the terrible example of all other.

Anno Reg. 23. When the vniuersitie aforesaid, and a great number of clearks and well learned men had determined the kings marriage to be vnlawfull, detestable, and against Gods law (as you haue heard) the king willing the quéene to haue knowledge of the same, sent to hir diuerse lords of the councell, the last daie of Maie, being the wednesdaie in Whitsun weeke: the which Lords, in hir chamber at Grænewich, declared to hir all the determinations (as you haue heard) and asked hir whether she would (for the quietnesse of the kings conscience) put the matter to foure prelats, and foure temporall lords of this realme, or abide by hir appeale? The quéene answered: The king my father which concluded my marriage, I am sure, was not so ignorant but he asked counsell of clearks and well learned men before he married me the second time: for if he had had anie doubt in my marriage, he would not haue disbursed so great a tresure as he did, & then all the doctors in a maner agréed my marriage to be good, insomuch that the pope himselfe, which knew best what was to be done, did both dispense and ratifie the second marriage, against whose doings I maruell that any person will speake or write.

Message sent to the quéene from the king.

And as to the determination of the vniuersitie, I am a woman, and lacke wit and learning to answer to them, but to God I commit the iudgement of that, whether they haue done iustlie or partiallie: for this I am sure, that neither the kings father, nor my father would haue condescended to our marriage, if it had béene declared to be vnlawfull. And where you saie that I should put the cause to eight persons of this realme for quietnesse of the kings conscience, I pray God send his grace a quiet conscience. And this shall be your answer: that I saie I am his lawfull wife, and to him lawfullie married, and by the order of holie church I was to him espoused as his true wife (although I was not so worthie) and in that point I will abide till the court of Rome, which was prime to the beginning, haue made thereof a determination and finall ending. With this answer the lords departed to the king, which was sorie to heare of hir wilfull opinion, and in especiall that she more trusted in the popes law, than in kéeping the precepts of God.]

Forsomuch as merchant strangers, bringing their wares into the realme, did receiue readie monie for them, and euer deliuered the same monie to other merchants by exchange, not employeng it vpon the commodities of the realme, a proclamation was set forth and made, that no person should make anie exchange, contrarie to the meaning of a statute ordeined in the time of king Richard the second: by reason whereof, clothes and other commodities of this realme shortlie after were well sold, till they fell to exchange againe, and that this proclamation was forgotten. After Whitsuntide, the king & the quæne remoued to Windsor, and there continued till the fourteenth of Julie, on the which daie the king remoued to Woodstocke, and left the quéene at Windsor, where she remained a while, & after remoued to the More, and from thence to Eltamsted, whither the king sent to hir diuerse lords, to aduise hir to be conformable to the law of God, shewing sundrie reasons to persuade hir to their purpose, and one among the rest vsed for that present this communication, as I find it left in writing, in the behoofe of the king.

A proclamation for merchant strangers.

¶ Madam, the kings highnesse hath commanded vs repairing vnto you, on his highnesse behalfe to shew vnto you thus much, that his maiestie hauing heretofore sent vnto you a great number of his councellors and learned men, to declare what great iniuries and wrongs by your procurement and solicitation were and yet be done vnto his maiestie and this his realme, in citing his highnesse in his owne person, or by his proctor to appeare at Rome, to make answer to your suit, contrarie to the determination of all lawes, as not onelie the famous vniuersities of christendome, as Paris and Orleance, but also as the most part of the learned men here or elsewhere in that facultie affirme, and as maister deane learned in that facultie can and will testifie vnto you, on his conscience, if it shall please you to heare him, and contrarie also to his estate roiall, and to the priuileges and prerogatiues of this his graces realme.

His highnesse perceiuing your grace not to regard their aduertisements in right and iustice, but still to perseuere and continue, and rather increase your iniurious procurements and solicitations in that behalfe, is not a little grieued & displeased with your continuance and prosecution of this iniurie and manifest wrong towards his maiestie, and this his graces realme. The continuance of which your vnkind dealing hath compelled his highnesse not onelie to abstaine from the sight of you, but also to forbeare to receiue anie of your tokens, which do nothing else but renew and refresh his displeasure, inforcing him also to an indignation, to see tokens offered and sent by hir, who continueth in prosecuting of so notable an iniurie and manifest wrong towards his maiestie, & this his realme, perceiuing also what boldnesse other outward princes might take to misintreat his highnesse, when they should vnderstand how his maiestie suffreth himselfe to be wronged by his pretended subiect, and so notable wrong to be done to this his realme.

And vpon this cause and ground, like as the kings highnesse these certeine moneths past, hath diseuered your grace from his presence, so he intendeth yet to continue, and hath commanded vs to shew you, that his pleasure is ye shalbe at your libertie, & (as ye shall thinke most commodious) repaire to either of these three places, his manour of Oking, his manour of Eltamsted, or the monasterie of Bisham, and there to continue without further molesting of his highnesse with your suites or requests to the contrarie, as wherewith ye shall not preuaile; but more and more molesting and troubling his highnesse, procure his further displeasure towards you.

And though percase the pope shall desist, as perceiuing now the matter of right he will, yet the kings highnesse cannot digest in his stomach this iniurie done, not to be amended or reformed at your graces procurement, but your grace rather suing and instanting the contrarie. And this is the charge, madam, which the kings highnesse hath committed vnto vs, to be spoken vnto you on his highnesse behalfe. And to saie to you as of my selfe, concerning the tustnesse of the kings cause, as I haue heretofore said, I shall now repeat and rehearse againe vnto your grace; which is, that your grace being knowne by prince Arthur, ye be not lawfull wife to the kings highnesse our souereigne lord in my conscience. This speach ended, others of the companie vsed their persuasorie talke to the quéene: whose words notwithstanding did so little moue hir, that she stood stiffelie in hir first opinion, that she was his true and lawfull wife, and from the same would not by anie meanes be remoued.]

The quéene standeth stiffe in hir opinion concerning the controuersie of his mariage.

The priests of London being called afore the bishop that would haue had them contributaries to the paiment of the hundred thousand pounds, granted to the king for his pardon of the premunire, kept such a stir

in

Talke to Q. Katharine.

in breaking into the chapiter house (where the bishop sat) all at once, and striking and buffeting the bishops seruants which gaue them euill language, that the bishop was faine to giue them his blessing, and suffer them to depart in quiet for that time. But after, vpon complaint made to the lord chancellor, diuerse of them and of their partakers were arrested, and committed to prison, to the number of fiftéene priests, and fiue laimen, some to the Tower, and some to the Fleet, and to other places, where they remained long after. ¶ Thomas Bilnie, bachellor of law, was burnt at Norwich the nintenth of August, and the fourth of December sir Rées Griffin was beheaded at the Tower hill, and his man named John Hewes was drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged and quartered.

John Sow.

The fiue and twentith of Maie, betéene London and Grauesend, were taken two great fishes called whorlepooles, male and female. ¶ In this season, there was in the realme much preaching, one lerned man holding against another, namelie in the matter of the kings mariage. After Christmas, the parlement began to sit againe, in the which the commons found themselues sore greeued with the crueltie of ordinaries, that called men before them *Ex officio*. At length, a bake was drawne of all the griefes of the commons, for the cruell demeanor of the clergie, and the same deliuered to the K. by the speaker, humblie beséching him in the name of all the commons, to take such direction therein, as to his high wisedome might séeme most expedient. The king answered, that he would take aduise, and heare the partie accused speake. He was not so readie to gratifie the commons in their requests, as some thought that he would haue béene, if they had not sticked and refused to passe a statute, which he had sent to them touching wards and primer seasons.

1532

Crueltie of ordinaries.

The parlemẽt prorogued.

After this, was the parlement prorogued till the tenth of Aprill. In this parlement was an act made, that bishops should pate no more annates or monie for their bulles to the pope: for it was proued that there had béene paid for bulles of bishops, since the fourth yeare of Henrie the seuenth an hundred thrée score thousand pounds sterling, beside other dispensations & pardons. When the parlement was begun againe after Easter, there was a motion made to helpe the king with monie toward his charges about the edifieng of houses, piles, and other fortifications, vpon the borders fore against Scotland, both for better habitation to be had there, & also for the restraint of the Scots that vsed to make inuasions. There was therefore a fiftéenth granted, but not enacted at this session, bicause that suddenlie began a pestilence in Westminster, wherfore the parlement was prorogued, as ye shall heare in the nert yeare.

Annates forbidden to be paid.

A fiftéenth granted.

A toll demanded in the low countries.

In this yeare was an old toll demanded in Flanders of Englishmen called the toll of the hound, which is a riuer and a passage. The toll is twelue pence of a fardell. It had béene often demanded, but neuer paied, insomuch that king Henrie the seuenth for the demand of that toll, prohibited all his subiects to kéepe anie mart at Antwerpe or Barrow, till it was promised that vpon their returne the said toll should neuer be demanded. The king sent doctor Knight, and others to Calis, whither came the emperours commissioners, and there (vpon talke) the matter was put in suspension for a time. The king hauing purchased of the cardinall after his attendure in the premunire his house at Westminster, called Yorke place, and got a confirmation of the cardinals feoffement thereof, made of the chapter of the cathedrall church of Yorke, purchased this yeare also all the medows about saint James, and there made a faire mansion and a parke for his greater commoditie & pleasure.

Yorke place or white Hall now the palace of Westminster.

S. James.

And bicause he had a great affection to the said house at Westminster, he bestowed great cost in going forward with the building thereof, and changed the name, so that it was after called the kings palace of Westminster.

The fourteenth daie of Maie, the parlement was prorogued till the fourth of Februarie nert comming. After which prorogation, sir Thomas More, chancellor of England, after long sutes made to the king to be discharged of his office, the sixteenth of Maie he deliuered to the king at Westminster the great seale of England, and was with the kings fauour discharged, which seale the king kept till mondaie in Whitsunwéeke, on which daie he dubbed Thomas Audleie speaker of the parlement, knight, and made him lord kéeper of the great seale, and so he was called. ¶ The king being informed, that the pope and the French king should mæt in the beginning of the nert spring at Marseiles, he thought good for diuerse considerations, to speake with the French king in his owne person, before the pope and he should come together: wherevpon it was concluded, that in October following, both the princes should mæt betwéene Calis and Bullongne. Wherfore the king of England sent out his letters to his nobles, prelats, and seruants, commanding them to be readie at Canturburie the six and twentith of September, to passe the seas with him, for the accomplishment of the interuiew betwixt him and the French king.

Anno reg. 24. The parlemẽt prorogued.

Sir Thomas More deliuereth vp the great seale.

Sir Thomas Audleie lord kéeper of the great seale.

On the first of September being sundaie, the K. being come to Windsor, created the ladie Anne Bullongne marchionesse of Penbroke, and gaue to hir one thousand pounds land by the yeare; and that solemnitie finished, he rode to the college, where after that seruice was ended, a new league was concluded and sworne betwene the king, and the French king, Messire Pomorate the French ambassador being present. On the tenth of October, the king came to Douer, and on the eleuenth daie in the morning at three of the cloche hée toke shipping at Douer rode, and before ten of the same daie, he with the ladie marchionesse of Penbroke landed at Calis, where he was receiued with all honour, and lodged at the Eschecker. There came to him whilest he late in Calis, diuerse lords from the French court, and amongst other the lord great maister of France, and the archbishop of Roane, which were honorablie of him receiued, and with them he toke a date and place of mæting with the king their maister.

The ladie Anne Bullongne created marchionesse of Penbroke.

The king passeth ouer to Calis.

Wherevpon the one and twentith of October, he marched out of Calis, accompanied with the dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, the marquesses of Dorset and Exceter, the erles of Arundell, Orford, Surreie, Esser, Darbie, Rutland, Huntington, and Sussex, with diuerse vicounts, barons, knights of the garter, and other of the nobilitie and gentlemen freshlie apparelled, and richlie trimmed; and comming to the place appointed, he there met with the French king, who was come to receiue him with all honor that might be: and after salutations and embracings vsed in most louing maner, the king of England went with the French K. to Bullongne; and by the waie was incountered by the French kings three sons, and other great lords that attended them, with welcomming the king of England; he them gentlie receiued, and so all this noble companie came to Bullongne, where the king of England and his nobles were so noblie interteined, feasted, banketed, and cheared, that wonder it was to consider the great plentie of viands, spices, wines, and all other prouision necessarie for man and horsse, so that there was no more but aske and haue; and no man durst take anie monie, for the French king paid for all.

The interuiew betwixt the kings of England and France.

The

The five and twentith of October, whilest the king laie thus in Bullongne, the French king called a chapiter of the companions of his order named S. Michaell, of whome the king of England was one, and so there elected the dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke to be companions of the same order: and being brought to the chapiter, they had their collars deliuered to them, and were sworne to the statutes of the order, their obeisance to their souereigne lord alwaie reserued. Thus the two kings laie in Bullongne, mondaie, tuesdaie, wednesdaie, and thursdaie: and on fridaie the five and twentith of October, they departed out of Bullongne to Calis. Without the towne of Calis about the distance of two miles, the duke of Richmond the kings base son, with a great companie of noble men, which had not béene at Bullongne, met them, and saluting the French king, embraced him in most honorable and courteous maner.

The dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke elected into the order of S. Michaell.

The duke of Richmond.

Thus they passed forward, and came to Newnham bridge, and so to Calis, where was such prouision made for the receiuing of them, as well for lodgings, plate, and all such other furniture of household, as also of all sorts of viands, wines, and other necessaries, that it séemed wonderfull: in so much as the proportion assigned to the French lords oftentimes was so abundant, that they refused a great part thereof. The French kings traine was twelue hundred horsses, or rather aboue. But there was lodging inough in Calis, not onlie for them, but also for manie other, so that there were aboue eight thousand persons lodged within the towne in that season. The French king comming thither on the fridaie, tarried there till tuesdaie the thirtith of October, and then departed; the king of England accompanieng him out of the towne, till he came to enter into the French ground, and there either toke leaue of other with right princelie countenance, louing behauiour, and so hartie words, that all men reioised that saw them.

Whilest the two kings laie in Calis, the lord Annas de Montmorancie earle of Beaumont, great master of the French kings house, & Philip de Chabot erle of Newblanke, great admerall of France, were admitted into the order of the garter, the king calling a chapiter for that purpose, of the knights of that order, at the which the French king was present, and ware a blew mantell, because he was one of the same order. Whilest the king was in the French kings dominion, he had the vpper hand, and likewise had the French king in his dominion. And as the French king paid all the Englishmens charges at Bullongne: so did the king of England at Calis. There rose about the same season such sore weather, storms and rigorous winds, continuing for the more part at north and northwest, that the king staied at Calis for a conuenient wind till tuesdaie the thirteenth of Nouember at midnight, and then taking his ship, landed at Douer the next date about five of the clocke in the morning. And herewith vpon his returne, he married priuilie the ladie Anne Bullongne the same daie, being the fourteenth daie of Nouember, and the feast daie of saint Erkenwald; which marriage was kept so secret, that verie few knew it till Easter next insuing, when it was perceiued that she was with child.

The great master and admerall of France made knights of the garter.

The king returneth into England.

He marrieth the lady Anne Bullongne.

When the king should passe ouer the sea, he considered that the Scots would haplie attempt somewhat to the preiudice of his subiects in his absence, which sticked not (he being within the realme) to rob both by sea and land: Wherefore to resist their malice, he appointed sir Arthur Darcie with three hundred men to go vnto Berwike, to defend the borders from inuasions of the Scots, who shortlie after by the middle marches entred the realme, and came to a place called Fowberie, and fiering certeine villages in their waie, returned. The erle of Angus as then was at Berwike as a banished man; and the said sir Arthur determined to reuenge this displeasure: and thereupon with foure hundred men made a rode into Scotland, and set a village on fire. Then immediatlie assembled togither eight hundred Scots, and began to approch nére to the English men, who perceiuing them, caused their trumpet to blow the retreit, and the erle and twentie with him shewed himselfe on an hill, euen in the face of the Scots, and the trumpet blew at their backs, so that the Scots thought that there had béene two companies, which caused the Scots to flie, and the Englishmen followed and slew a great number of them, and toke manie of them prisoners.

Scots discomfited by the Englishmen.

After Christmasse sir Thomas Audleie lord képer of the great seale was made high chancellor of England. And when the parlement began, because the office of the speaker was void, Humfreie Wingfield of Greis inne was chosen speaker. In this parlement was an act made, that no person should appeale for anie cause out of this realme to the court of Rome, but from the commissarie to the bishop, and from the bishop to the archbishop, and from the archbishop to the king; and all causes of the king to be tried in the vpper house of the conuocation. It was also enacted the same time, that quéene Katharine should no more be called quéene, but princesse Dowager, as the widow of prince Arthur. ¶ In the season of the last summer died William Warham archbishop of Canturburie, and then was named to that sea Thomas Cranmer the kings chapleine, a man of good learning, and of a vertuous life, which latelie before had bene ambassador from the king to the pope.

1533

Sir Thomas Audleie lord chancellor.

Quéene Katharine to be named princesse Dowager.

After that the king perceiued his new wife to be with child, he caused all officers necessarie to be appointed to hir, and so on Easter euen she went to hir closet openlie as quéene; and then the king appointed the daie of hir coronation to be kept on Whitsundaie next following: and writings were sent to all shiriffs, to certifie the names of men of fortie pounds to receiue the order of knighthood, or else to make fine. The assesment of the fine was appointed to Thomas Cromwell, maister of the kings iewell house, & councellor to the king, a man newlie receiued into high fauour. He so vsed the matter, that a great summe of monie was raised to the kings vse by those fines. The matter of the quénes appeale whereunto she still sticked, and by no means could be removed from it, was communed of, both in the parlement house, and also in the conuocation house, where it was so handled, that manie were of opinion, that not onelie hir appeale, but also all other appeales made to Rome were void and of none effect: for that in ancient councels it had bene determined, that a cause rising in one prouince should be determined in the same.

Quéene Anne.

This matter was opened with all the circumstances to the ladie Katharine Dowager (for so was she then called) the which persisted still in hir former opinion, and would reuoke by no meanes hir appeale to the court of Rome. Whereupon the archbishop of Canturburie accompanied with the bishops of London, Winchester, Bath, Lincolne, and diuers other learned men in great number, rode to Dunstable, which is six miles from Ampthill, where the princesse Dowager laie, and there by one doctor Lee she was cited to appeare before the said archbishop in cause of matrimonie in the said towne of Dunstable, and at the date of appearance she appeared not, but made default, and so she was called peremp-

Anno reg. 25.

The ladie Katharine Dowager called peremptorilie.

for ie euerie daie fiftéene daies togither, and at the last, for lacke of appearance, by the assent of all the learned men there present, she was diuorsed from the king, and the mariage declared to be void and of none effect. Of this diuorse and of the kings mariage with the ladie Anne Bullongne men spake diuerselie; some said the king had done wiselie, and so as became him to dw in discharge of his conscience. Other otherwise iudged, and spake their fansies as they thought good: but when euerie man had talked inough, then were they quiet, and all rested in good peace.

In Maie pope Clement sent an orator to the king, requiring him to appeare personallie at the generall councell which he had appointed to be kept the yeare following. But when his commission was shewed, at the earnest request of the king, there was neither place nor time specified for the keeping of that councell; and so with an vncerteine answer to an vncerteine demand he departed, but not vnrewarded. The king vnderstanding that the pope, the emperor, & the French king shuld meet at Nice in Julie folowing, appointed the duke of Norffolke, the lord Rochford brother to quéene Anne, sir William Pawlet controllor of his house, sir Anthonie Browne, and sir Francis Bryan knights, to go in ambassage to the French king, and both to accompanie him to Nice, and also to commune with the pope there concerning his state in the kings diuorse. These worthie personages made their prouision readie; and so with the number of eight score horsses they went to Douer, and passing ouer to Calis, toke their waie through France, to accomplish their ambassage as they had in commandement.

Ambassadors to the French king.

In the beginning of Maie, the king caused open proclamations to be made, that all men that claimed to dw anie seruice, or execute anie office at the solemne feast of the coronation by the waie of tenure, grant, or prescription, should put their grant three wéekes after Easter in the Starrechamber before Charles duke of Suffolke, for that time high steward of England, and the lord chancellor and other commissioners. The duke of Norffolke claimed to be erle marshall, and to exercise his office at that feast; the erle of Arundell claimed to be high butler, and to exercise the same; the erle of Oxford claimed to be chamberlaine; the viscount Lisle claimed to be pantler; the lord Aburgauennie to be chiefe larderer; and the lord Braie claimed to be almoner, and sir Henrie Wiat knight claimed to be ewrer. All these noble personages desired their offices with their fées.

Proclamation for the coronation of quéene Anne.

The seuerall claimes of diuerse honorable and worshipfull persons.

Beside these, the maior of London claimed to serue the quéene with a cup of gold, and a cup of assaie of the same, and that twelue citizens should attend on the cupbord, and the maior to haue the cup and cup of assaie for his labor: which petition was allowed. The fiue ports claimed to beare a canopie ouer the quéens head the daie of the coronation with foure guilt belles, and to haue the same for a reward, which to them was allowed. Diuerse other put in petie claimes which were not allowed, bicause they seemed onlie to be done at the kings coronation. All this season great puruiance was made of all maner of vittels: & lords, knights & esquiers were sent for out of all countries, which came to London at their daie with a great number of people.

The receiuing, conueieng, and coronation of quéene Anne, wife to the high & mighty prince king Henrie the eight. Edw. Hall. CCxij.

After that the kings highnesse had addressed his gratious letters to the maior and communaltie of the citie, signifieng to them, that his pleasure was to solemnize and celebrate the coronation of his most deare and welbeloued wife quéene Anne, at Westminster the Whitsundaie next insuing, willed them to make preparation, as well to fetch hir grace from Grenwich to the Tower by water, as to see the citie ordered and garnished with pageants in places accustomed, for the honor of hir grace. When she shuld be conueied from the Tower to Westminster, there was a common councell called, and commandement was giuen to the haberdashers (of which craft the maior sir Stephan Pecocke then was) that they shuld prepare a barge for the bachelors, with a watter and a foist, garnished with banners and streamers likewise, as they vse to dw when the maior is presented at Westminster on the morrow after Simon and Jude. Also all other crafts were commanded to prepare barges, and to garnish them, not alonelie with their banners accustomed, but also to decke them with targets by the sides of the barges, and to set vp all such séemelie banners and bannerets as they had in their halles, or could get meet to furnish their said barges, and euerie barge to haue minstrelsie: according to which commandements great preparation was made for all things necessarie for such a noble triumph.

The citties preparation.

The nineteenth daie of Maie, the maior and his brethren all in scarlet, and such as were knights had collars of SS, and the remnant hauing good chains, and the counsell of the citie with them, assembled at saint Marie hill, and at one of the clocke descended to the new staire to their barge, which was garnished with manie goodlie banners and streamers, and richlie couered. In which barge were shalmes, shagbushes, and diuerse other instruments, which continuallie made goodlie harmonie. After that the maior and his brethren were in their barge, séeing that all the companies to the number of fiftie barges were readie to wait vpon them, they gaue commandement to the companies, that no barge should rowe nearer to another than twise the length of the barge vpon a great paine. And to see the order kept, there were three light wheries prepared, and in euerie one of them two officers to call on them to keepe their order, after which commandement giuen, they set forth in order as hereafter is described.

Hir comming by water from Grenewich on thursdaie.

First before the maiors barge was a foist or watter full of ordinance, in which foist was a great dragon continuallie mouing and casting wild fire: and round about the said foist stood terrible monsters and wild men casting fire, and making hideous noises. Next after the foist a good distance came the maiors barge: on whose right hand was the bachelors barge, in the which were trumpets and diuerse other melodious instruments: the decks of the said barge and the sailyards, with the top castels were hanged with rich cloth of gold and silke: at the foreship and the sterne were two great banners rich, beaten with the armes of the king and the quéene, and on the top castell also was a long streamer newlie beaten with the said armes. The sides of the barge was set full of flags and banners of the deuises of the companie of the haberdashers and merchants aduenturers, and the rods were hanged with innumerable pensells, hauing little belles at the ends, which made a goodlie noise and a goodlie sight, wauering in the wind. On the outside of the barge were three dozen scutchions in mettall of arms of the king and the quéene, which were beaten vpon square buckram diuided, so that the right side had the kings colours, and the left side the quéenes, which scutchions were fastened on the clothes of gold and siluer, hanging on the decks on the left hand.

The maiors barge with the conceits and deuises thereof.

On the left hand of the maior was another foist, in the which was a mount, and on the same stood a white falcon crowned, vpon a rote of gold vnitroned with white roses and red, which was the quéens deuise; about which mount sat virgins singing and plaieng swetlie. Next after the maior followed his fellowship

A foist with a mount and other deuises.

fellowship the habardashers; next after them the mercers, then the grocers, and so euerie companie in his order, and last of all the maior and shiriffes officers, euerie companie hauing melodie in his barge by himselfe, and goodlie garnished with banners, and some garnished with silke, and some with arras and rich carpets, which was a goodlie sight to behold: and in this order they rowed to Greenwich, to the point next beyond Greenwich, and there they turned backeward in another order, that is to wit, the maior and shiriffs officers first, and the meanest craft next, and so ascending to the vttermost crafts in order, and the maior last, as they go to Paules at Christmas, and in that order they rowed downeward to Greenwich towne, and there cast anchor, making great melodie.

Quéene Anne taketh barge with hir traine attending vpon hir.

At three of the clocke the quæne appeared in rich cloth of gold, entring into hir barge accompanied with diuerse ladies and gentlewomen: and incontinent the citizens set forwards in their order, their minstrelles continuallie plaieng, and the bachelors barge going on the quæns right hand, which she tooke great pleasure to behold. About the quéenes barge were manie noble men, as the duke of Suffolke, the marques Dorset, the erle of Wiltshire hir father, the erles of Arundell, Darbie, Rutland, Worcester, Huntington, Sussex, Oxford, and manie bishops and noble men, euerie one in his barge, which was a goodlie sight to behold. She thus being accompanied rowed toward the tower: and in the meane waie the ships which were commanded to lie on the shore for letting of the barges, shot diuerse peales of guns, and yet she was landed, there was a maruellous shot out of the tower as euer was heard there. And at hir landing there met with hir the lord chamberlaine with the officers of armes, and brought hir to the king, which receiued hir with louing countenance at the postерne by the water side, and then she turned backe againe, and thanked the maior and the citizens with manie goodlie words, and so entred into the tower. After which entrie the citizens all this while houered before the tower, making great melodie, and went not on land, for none were assigned to land but the maior, the recorder, and two aldermen. But for to speake of the people that stood on either shore to behold the sight, he that saw it not would scarse beléeue it.

Knights of the bath serue at dinner.

On Fridaie at dinner serued the king all such as were appointed by his highnesse to be knights of the bath, which after dinner were brought to their chambers, and that night were bathed and shriuen, according to the old vsage of England, and the next daie in the morning the king dubbed them according to the ceremonies thereto belonging, whose names insue; the marques Dorset, the erle of Darbie, the lord Clifford, the lord Fitzwater, the lord Hastings, the lord Mounteagle, sir John Mordant, the lord Vaux, sir Henrie Parker, sir William Winsore, sir Francis Weston, sir Thomas Arundell, sir John Hulston, sir Thomas Poinings, sir Henrie Sauell, sir George Fitzwilliam, sir John Tindall, sir Thomas Jermeie.

The receiuing and conueieng of the quéen through London.

To the intent that the horsses should not slide on the pauement, nor that the people should not be hurt by horsses, the high streets where the quæne should passe were all grauelled from the tower to temple barre, and railed on the one side, within which railes stood the crafts along in their order from Grace church, where the merchants of the stilliard stood till the little conduit in Cheape, where the aldermen stood: and on the other side of the street stood the constables of the citie, apparelled in veluet and silke, with great staues in their hands, to cause the people to keepe rome and good order. And when the streets were somwhat ordered, the maior clothed in a gowne of crimsin veluet, and a rich collar of S S S, with two footmen clad in white and red damaske, rode to the tower to giue his attendance on the quæne, on whome the shiriffs with their officers did wait till they came to tower hill, where they taking their leaue, rode downe the high streets, commanding the constables to see rome and good order kept, and so went and stood by the aldermen in Cheape.

The maior in a gowne of crimsin veluet.

Now before the quéen and hir traine should come, Cornehill and Gratious street were hanged with fine scarlet, crimsin, and other grained cloths, and in some place with rich arras, tapisserie, and carpets; and the most part of the Cheape was hanged with cloth of tissue, gold, veluet, and manie rich hangings, which made a goodlie shew, and all the windowes were replenished with ladies and gentlewomen, to behold the quéene and hir traine as they should passe by. The first of the quænes companie that set forward were twelue Frenchmen, which were belonging to the French ambassador clothed in coates of blew veluet, with sléeues of yellow and blew veluet, and their horsses trapped with close trappers of blew sarsenet powdered with white crosses: after them marched gentlemen, esquires and knights two and two: after them the iudges, and after them the knights of the bath in violet gownes, with hoods purfled with miniuer like doctors; after them abbats, then barons; after them bishops, then earls and marquesses; then the lord chancellor of England; after him the archbishop of Yorke, and the ambassador of Venice, after him the archbishop of Canturburie and the ambassador of France, after rode two esquiers of honor with robes of estat rolled and worne bauderike-wise about their necks, with caps of estate, representing the dukes of Normandie & Aquitaine: after them rode the maior of London with his mace and garter in his cote of armes, which maior bare his mace to Westminster hall.

The attire of certeine Frenchmen belonging to the French ambassador.

After all these rode the lord William Howard with the marshalles rod, deputie to his brother the duke of Norfolke marshall of England, which was ambassador then in France: and on his right hand rode Charles duke of Suffolke, for that daie high constable of England, bearing the verder of siluer apperteining to the office of constablеship, and all the lords for the most part were clothed in crimsin veluet, and all the quænes seruants or officers of armes in scarlet. Next before the quæne rode hir chancellor bareheaded, the sargeants and officers of armes rode on both the sides of the lords. Then came the quéene in a litter of white cloth of gold, not couered, nor bailed, which was lead by two palfries clad in white damaske downe to the ground, head and all, led by hir footmen. She had on a circot of white cloth of tissue, and a mantell of the same furred with ermine, hir haire hanged downe, but on hir head shee had a coife with a circlet about it full of rich stones. Ouer hir was borne a canopie of cloth of gold, with foure guilt staues and foure siluer belles. For the bearing of which canopie were appointed sixteene knights, foure to beare it one space on foot, and other foure another space, according to their owne appointment.

The two dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke in their offices.

Quéene Annes attire verie sumptuous and rotall

Next after the quéene rode the lord Borough hir chamberleine, next after him William Coffin maister of the horsses, leading a spare horsse with a side saddle traped downe with cloth of tissue. After him rode seauen ladies in crimsin veluet turned vp with cloth of gold and of tissue, and their horsses traped with cloth of gold, after them two chariots couered with red cloth of gold. In the first chariot were two ladies, which were the old dutchesse of Norfolke, and the old marchionesse Dorset. In the second chariot

Three chariots with goodlie ladies and gentlewomen.

were foure ladies all in crimsin veluet. Then rode seauen ladies in the same sute, their horsses trappers and all. Then came the third chariot all white, with six ladies in crimsin veluet; next after them came the fourth chariot all red with eight ladies also in crimsin veluet: after whom followed thirtie gentlewomen all in veluet and silke in the liuerie of their ladies, on whom they gaue their attendance. After them followed the gard in cotes of goldsmiths worke.

Sundrie pageants with the descriptions of their deuises.

Thus they rode forth till they came to Fanchurch, where was made a pageant all with children, apparelled like merchants, which welcommed hir to the citie, with two proper propositions both in French and English. And from thence she rode to Gratious church corner, where was a cosllie and a marueilous cunning pageant made by the merchants of the Stilliard, for there was the mount Parnassus with the founteine of Helicon, which was of white marble, and foure streames without pipe did rise an ell high, and met togither in a little cup aboue the founteine, which founteine ran abundantlie racked Rhenish wine till night. On the mounteine sat Apollo, and at his feet sat Calliope, and on euerie side of the mounteine sat foure muses plateng on seuerall sweet instruments, and at their feet epigrams and poeses were written in golden letters, in the which euerie muse according to hir propertie praised the quéene.

The quéene from thence passed to Leaden hall, where was a goodlie pageant with a type and a heauenlie rose, and vnder the type was a rote of gold set on a little mounteine inuironed with red roses and white: out of the type came downe a falcon all white & sat vpon the rote, and incontinent came downe an angell with great melodie, and set a close crowne of gold on the falcons head. And in the same pageant sat saint Anne with all hir issue beneath hir, and vnder Marie Cleoph sat hir foure children, of the which children one made a goodlie oration to the quéene of the fruitfulnes of saint Anne and of hir generation, trusting that like fruit should come of hir. Then she passed to the conduit in Cornhill, where were three graces set in a throne, afore whom was the spring of grace continuallie running wine. Afore the founteine sat a poet declaring the properties of euerie grace: and that done euerie ladie by hir selfe, according to hir propertie, gaue to the quéene a seuerall gift of grace.

An oration made to the quéene by one of the children in the pageant.

The conduit in Cheape runneth wine white and claret.

That done, she passed by the great conduit in chéepe, which was newlie painted with armes of deuises: out of the which conduit by a goodlie founteine set at the one end ran continuallie wine both white and claret all that afternone, and so she rode to the Standard which was richlie painted with images of kings and quénes, and hanged with banners of armes, and in the top was marueilous sweet harmonie both of song and instrument. Then she went forward to the crosse, which was newlie guilt, till she came where the aldermen stood, and then maister Baker the recorder came to hir with low reuerence, making a proper and briefe proposition, and gaue to hir in the name of the citie a thousand marks in a purse of gold, which she thankefullie accepted with manie goodlie words, and so rode to the little conduit, where was a rich pageant full of melodie and song.

The recorder presenteth a 1000 marks in gold to the quéene for a gratuitie in y citie behalfe.

In this pageant was Pallas, Juno and Uenus, and before them stood Mercurie, which in the name of the three goddesses gaue to hir a ball of gold diuided in three, signifieng three gifts which the three goddesses gaue to hir, that is to saie, wisedome, riches, and felicitie. As she entered into Paules gate there was a pretie pageant, in which sat three ladies richlie clothed, and in a circle on their head was written *Regina Anna prosperè procede & regna*. The ladie in the middes had a tablet, in the which was written *Veni amica coronaberis*, and vnder the tablet sat an angell with a close crowne, and the ladie sitting on the right hand had a tablet of siluer in which was written, *Domine dirige gressus meos*, & the third ladie had a tablet of gold with letters azure written, *Confido in Domino*, & vnder their feet was written in legible letters:

Regina Anna nouum regis de sanguine natum
Cùm paries, populis aurea secla tuis.

And these ladies cast downe wafers, on the which the two verses were written. From thence she passed to the east end of Paules churchyard against the schole, where stood on a scaffold two hundred children well apparelled, which said to hir diuerse goodlie verses of poets translated into English, to the honour of the king and hir, which she highlie commended. And when she came to Ludgate, the gate was newlie garnished with gold & bise. And on the leads of saint Martins church stood a goodlie quere of singing men and children, which song new balads made in praise of hir. After that she was passed Ludgate, she procéeded toward Flétstréet, where the conduit was newlie painted, and all the armes and angels refreshed, & the chime melodiouslie sounding. Upon the conduit was made a towre with foure turrets, and in euerie turret stood one of the cardinall vertues with their tokens and properties, which had seuerall spéeches, promising the quéene neuer to leaue hir, but to be aiding and comforting hir: and in the middest of the towre closelie was such seuerall solemne instruments, that it séemed to be an heauenlie noise, and was much regarded and praised: and beside this the said conduit ran wine claret and red all the afternone.

Two hundred children vpon a scaffold greeting the Q. with verses.

Goodlie melodie.

So she with all hir companie and the maior rode forth to Temple barre, which was newlie painted and reparcd, where stood also diuerse singing men and children, till she came to Westminster hall, which was richlie hanged with cloth of arras, and new glased. And in the middest of the hall she was taken out of hir litter, & so led vp to the higher deske vnder the cloth of estate, on whose left hand was a cupbord of ten stages marueilous rich and beautifull to behold: and within a little season was brought to the quéene with a solemne seruice in great standing spice plates, a void of spice and subtilties with ipocras and other wines, which she sent downe to hir ladies, and when the ladies had dranke, she gaue hartie thanks to the lords and ladies, with the maior and other that had giuen their attendance on hir, and so withdrew hir selfe with a few ladies to the Whitehall and so to hir chamber, and there shifted hir, and after went into hir barge secretlie to the king to his manour of Westminster, where she rested that night.

The quéene commeth to Westminster hall and the maner of his receiuing.

On sundaie the maior clad in crimsin veluet and with his collar, and all the aldermen and shiriffes in scarlet, and the counsell of the citie toke their barge at the crane by seauen of the cloche and came to Westminster, where they were welcomed & brought into the hall by maister treasuror and others of the kings house, and so gaue their attendance till the quéene should come forth. Betwéene eight and nine she came into the hall, and stood vnder the cloth of estate, and then came in the kings chappell, and the monks of Westminster all in rich copes, and manie bishops and abbats in copes and miters which went into the middest of the hall, and there stood a season. Then was there a raie cloth spred from the quénes standing in the hall through the palace and sanctuarie, which was railed on both sides to the high altar of Westminster. After that the raie cloth was cast, the officers of armes appointed the order accustomed.

Sundaie being Whitsundaie the first daie of June, and the daie of hir coronatiõ

First

The comelie order & arate kept on the coronation daie of euerie attendant in his degrée.

First went gentlemen, then esquiers, then knights, then the aldermen of the citie in their cloks of scarlet, after them the iudges in their mantels of scarlet and coiffes. Then followed the knights of the bath being no lords, euerie man having a white lace on his left sléeue, then followed barons and vicounts in their parlement robes of scarlet. After them came earls, marquesses and dukes in their robes of estate of crimsin veluet furred with ermine poudered according to their degrées. After them came the lord chancellor in a robe of scarlet open before, bordered with lettise: after him came the kings chapell and the monks solemnelie singing with procession, then came abbats and bishops mitered, then sargeants and officers of armes, then after them went the maior of London with his mace and garter in his cote of armes, then went the marquesse Dorset in a robe of estate which bare the scepter of gold, and the earle of Arundell which bare the rod of iuorie with the doue both togither.

The quéene vnder a canopie borne by foure of the cinque ports.

Then went alone the earle of Orford high chamberleine of England which bare the crowne, after him went the duke of Suffolke in his robe of estate also for that daie being high steward of England, hauing a long white rod in his hand, and the lord William Howard with the rod of the marshalship, and euerie knight of the garter had on his collar of the order. Then proceeded forth the quéene in a circot and robe of purple veluet furred with ermine in hir here coiffe and circlet as she had the saturdaie, and ouer hir was borne the canopie by foure of the fiue ports, all crimsin with points of blue and red hanging on their sléeues, and the bishops of London and Winchester bare vp the laps of the quénes robe. The quénes traine which was verie long was borne by the old duches of Norffolke: after hir folowed ladies being lords wiues, which had circots of scarlet with narow sléeues, the brest all lettise with bars of borders according to their degrées, and ouer that they had mantels of scarlet furred, and euerie mantell had lettise about the necke like a neckercher likewise poudered, so that by the pouderings their degrée was knowen. Then followed ladies being knights wiues in gownes of scarlet, with narow sléeues without traines, onlie edged with lettise, and likewise had all the quénes gentlewomen.

The maner of the coronatiõ as it was then vsed.

When she was thus brought to the high place made in the middest of the church, betwéene the quére and the high altar, she was set in a rich chaire. And after that she had rested a while, she descended downe to the high altar and there prostrate hir selfe while the archbishop of Canturburie said certeine collects: then she rose, and the bishop annointed hir on the head and on the brest, and then she was led vp againe, where after diuerse orisons said, the archbishop set the crowne of saint Edward on hir head, and then deliuered hir the scepter of gold in hir right hand, and the rod of iuorie with the doue in the left hand, and then all the quére song *Te Deum, &c.* Which done, the bishop toke off the crowne of saint Edward being heauie and set on the crowne made for hir. Then went she to saint Edwards shrine and there offered, after which offering done she withdrew hir into a little place made for the nones on the one side of the quére.

The quéene and the ladies in their pompe

Now in the meane season euerie duches had put on their bonets a coronall of gold wrought with flowers, and euerie marquesse put on a demie coronall of gold, euerie countesse a plaine circlet of gold without flowers, and euerie king of armes put on a crowne of coper and guilt, all which were worne till night. When the quéene had a little reposed hir, the companie returned in the same order that they set forth, and the quéene went crowned and so did the ladies aforesaid. Hir right hand was susteined by the earle of Wiltshire hir father, and hir left hand by the lord Talbot deputie for the earle of Shrewesburie and lord Fortinsall his father. Now when she was out of the sanctuarie and appéered within the palace, the trumpets plaied marueilous freshlie, then she was brought to Westminster hall, & so to hir withdrawing chamber: during which time the lords, iudges, maior and aldermen put off their robes, mantels and clokes, and toke their hoods from their necks and cast them about their shoulders, and the lords sat onlie in their circots, and the iudges and aldermen in their gownes. And all the lords that serued that daie serued in their circots and their hoods about their shoulders: also diuerse officers of the kings house being no lords had circots and hoods of scarlet edged with mineuer, as the treasuror, controllor, & maister of the iewell house, but their circots were not guilt.

The attire of the lords all the time that they serued.

While the quéene was in hir chamber, euerie lord and other, that ought to do seruice at coronations, did prepare them according to their dutie, as the duke of Suffolke high steward of England which was richlie aparelled, his doublet and iacket set with orient pearle, his gowne of crimsin veluet imbrodered, his courser traped with a cloth traper head and all to the ground of crimsin veluet, set full of letters of gold of goldsmiths worke, hauing a long white rod in his hand; on his left hand rode the lord William, deputie for his brother as earle marshall with the marshals rod, whose gowne was crimsin veluet, and his horsse traper purple veluet cut on white sattin imbrodered with white lions. The earle of Drenford was high chamberleine, the earle of Esser caruer, the earle of Sussex sewer, the earle of Arundell chéefe butler, on whom twelue citizens of London did giue their attendance at the cupbord. The earle of Darbie cupbearer, the vicount Lisle pantler, the lord of Aburgaine chéefe larder, the lord Braie almoner for him and his copartiners, and the maior of Orford kept the buttrie bar, and Thomas Wiat was chéefe carer for sir Henrie Wiat his father.

The order and sitting at dinner.

Twelue citizens of London attendant at ỹ cupbord.

When all things were redie, the quéene vnder hir canopie came to the hall, and washed and sat downe in the middest of the table vnder the cloth of estate. On the right side of the chaire stood the countesse of Orford widow, and on the left side stood the countesse of Worcester all the dinner season, which diuerse times in the dinner time did hold a fine cloth before the quénes face when she list to spet or do otherwise at hir pleasure. At the tables end sat the archbishop of Canturburie on the right hand of the quéene, and in the middest betwéene the archbishop and the countesse of Orford stood the earle of Orford with a white staffe all dinner time, and at the quénes fét vnder the table sat two gentlewomen all dinner time. When all these things were thus ordered, in came the duke of Suffolke and the lord William Howard on horssebacke, and the sargeants of armes before them, and after them the sewer, and then the knights of the bath bringing in the first course which was eighténe dishes, besides subtilties and ships made of wax marueilous gorgious to behold, all which time of seruice the trumpets standing in the window at the nether end of the hall plaied melodiouslie.

The maner of sitting at the table.

The bringing in of the first course.

When hir grace was serued of two dishes, then the archbishops seruice was set downe, whose sewer came equall with the third dish of the quénes seruice on his left hand. After that the quéene and the archbishop was serued, the barons of the ports began the table on the right hand next the wall, next them at the table sat the maisters and clearks of the Chancerie, and beneath them at the table other doctors and gentlemen. The table next the wall on

How the seuerall tables were furnished.

the left hand by the cupbord, was begun by the maior and aldermen, the chamberleine and the councell of the citie of London, and beneath them sat substantiall merchants, and so downeward other worshipfull persons. At the table on the right hand in the middest of the hall sat the lord chancellor, and other temporall lords on the right side of the table in their circots: and on the left side of the same table sat bishops and abbats in their parlement robes: beneath them sat the iudges, sargeants, & the kings councell, beneath them the knights of the bath. At the table on the left hand, in the middle part, sat dutchesses, marquesses, countesses, baronesses, in their robes, and other ladies in circots, and gentlewomen in gownes. All which ladies and gentlewomen sat on the left side of the table along, and none on the right side.

When all were thus set, they were incontinent serued, and so quicklie that it was maruell: for the seruitors gaue such good attendance, that meat or drinke nor any thing else néeded not to be called for, which in so great a multitude was maruell. As touching the fare, there could be deuised no more costlier dishes nor subtilties. The maior of London was serued with three and thirtie dishes at two courses, and so were all his brethren, and such as sat at his table. The quéene had at hir second course foure and twentie dishes, and thirtie at the third course: & betwéene the two last courses, the kings of armes cried larges, in three parts of the hall: and after stood in their place, which was in the bekins at the kings bench. And on the right hand out of the cloister of S. Stephans, was made a little closet, in which the king with diuerse ambassadors stood to behold the seruice. The duke of Suffolke and the lord William rode often times about the hall, chering the lords, ladies, and the maior and his brethren. After they all had dined, they had wafers and ipocras, and then they washed, and were commanded to rise, and to stand still in their places, before the table or on the formes till the quéene had washed.

The maior of London's seruice.

The duke of Suffolke and Norffolke rode about the hall.

When she had taken wafers and ipocras, the table was taken vp, and the earle of Rutland brought vp the surnap, and laid it at the bords end, which immediatlie was drawne, and cast by maister Rode, marshall of the hall: and the quéene washed, and after the archbishop, and when the surnap was drawne off, she arose and stood in the middest of the palace hall: to whome the earle of Sussex in a goodlie spice plate brought a void of spice and comfets. After him the maior of London brought a standing cup of gold, set in a cup of assaie of gold, and after that she had dronke, she gaue the maior the cup, with the cup of assaie, bicause there was no letar, according to the claime of the citie, thanking him and all his brethren, for their paine. Then she vnder hir canopie departed to hir chamber, and at the entrie of hir chamber, she gaue the canopie with bels and all, to the barons of the ports, according to their claime, with great thanks. Then the maior of London bearing his cup in his hand, with his brethren, went through the hall to their barge, and so did all other noble men and gentlemen, for it was six of the clocke.

The claime of the citie of London.

On mondaie were the tults at the tilt, before the kings gate, where the maior and his brethren had a goodlie standing: but there were verie few speares broken, by reason the horsses would not cope. On wednesdaie, the king sent for the maior and his brethren to Westminster, and there he himselfe gaue to them hartie thanks, with manie goodlie words. On Midsummer daie after, the ladie Marie the French quéene died in Suffolke, who was the late wife to Lewes the twelfe, & after married to Charles duke of Suffolke, & was buried at S. Edmundsburie. The K. kept his progresse about London, bicause of the quéene. The seuenth of September being sundaie, betwéene three & foure of the clocke in the afternoone, the quéene was deliuered of a faire yong ladie, on which daie the duke of Norffolke came home to the christening, which was appointed on the wednesdaie next following, and was accordinglie accomplished on the same daie, with all such solemne ceremonies as were thought conuenient. The godfather at the font, was the lord archbishop of Canturburie, the godmothers, the old dutches of Norffolke, & the old marchioneSSe Dorset widow; and at the confirmation the ladie marchioneSSe of Excester was godmother: the child was named Elizabeth.

Running at tilt.

Upon the daie of the christening, the maior sir Stephan Peacocke, in a gowne of crimsin veluet, with his collar of SS, and all the aldermen in scarlet, with collars and chaines, and all the councell of the citie with them, tooke their barge after dinner, at one of the clocke, and the citizens had another barge, and so rowed to Grénwich, where were manie lords, knights, and gentlemen assembled. All the walles betwéene the kings palace & the friers were hanged with arras, and all the waie strawed with gréne rushes: the friers church was also hanged with arras. Edw. Hall. Ccxvij.

The font was of siluer, and stood in the middest of the church, three steps high, which was couered with a fine cloth, and diuerse gentlemen with aperns and towels about their necks gaue attendance about it, that no filth should come in the font, ouer it hong a square canopie of crimsin sattin, fringed with gold, about it was a raile couered with red saie: betwéene the quier and the bodie of the church was a close place with a pan of fire, to make the child readie in. When all these things were ordered, the child was brought to the hall, and then euerie man set forward; first the citizens two and two, then gentlemen, esquiers and chapleins, next after them the aldermen and the maior alone: next the maior the kings councell, the kings chappell in copes: then barons, bishops, earles, then came the earle of Essex, bearing the couered basins gilt, after him the marquesse of Excester with the taper of virgin wax, next him the marquesse Dorset bearing the salt. The christening of quéen Elizabeth.

Behind him the ladie Marie of Norffolke, bearing the créesome which was verie rich of pearle and stone, the old dutches of Norffolke bare the child in a mantell of purple veluet, with a long traine furred with ermine. The duke of Norffolke with his marshall rod went on the right hand of the said dutches, and the duke of Suffolke on the left hand, and before them went the officers of armes. The countesse of Kent bare the long traine of the childs mantell, and betwéene the countesse of Kent and the child went the earle of Wilshire on the right hand, and the earle of Darbie on the left hand, supporting the said traine: in the middest ouer the said child was borne a canopie, by the lord Rochford, the lord Hussé, the lord William Howard, and by the lord Thomas Howard the elder, after the child followed manie ladies and gentlewomen. When the child was come to the church dore, the bishop of London met it with diuerse bishops and abbats mitred. The honourable traine of courtiers in their degrée.

A canopie borne ouer the yong princesse.

When the ceremonies and christening were ended, Garter chéefe king of armes cried alowd, God of his infinite goodnesse send prosperous life & long to the high and mightie princesse of England Elizabeth: & then the trumpets blew. Then the archbishop of Canturburie gaue to the princesse a standing cup of gold: the dutches of Norffolke gaue to hir a standing cup of gold, fretted with pearle: the marchioneSSe of Dorset gaue three gilt bolles, pounced with a couer: and the marchioneSSe of Excester gaue three standing bolles grauen, all gilt with a couer. Rich gifts giuen to the princesse.

Then

Then was brought in wafers, comfets, & ipocraſſe in ſuch plentie, that euerie man had as much as he would deſire. Then they ſet forwards, the trumpets going before in the ſame order towards the kings palace, as they did when they came thitherwards, ſauing that the gifts that the godfather and the godmothers gaue, were borne before the child by foure perſons, that is to ſaie. Firſt ſir John Dudleie bare the gift of the ladie of Exceſter, the lord Thomas Howard the yonger bare the gift of the ladie of Dorſet, the lord Fitzwater bare the gift of the ladie of Norfolke, and the earle of Worceſter bare the gift of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, & all the one ſide as they went was full of ſtaffe torches to the number of fiue hundred, borne by the gard and other of the kings ſeruants, and about the child were borne manie other proper torches by gentlemen.

Who bare the gifts preſented to the princeſſe.

In this order they brought the princeſſe to the Q. chamber, & tarried there a while with the maior & his brethren the aldermen, and at the laſt the dukes of Norfolke & Suffolke came out frō the K. thanking them hartilie, who commanded them to giue thanks in his name: which being done with other courteſies they departed, & ſo went to their barges. From that time forward (God himſelfe vndertaking the tuition of this yong princeſſe, hauing predeſtinated hir to the accompliſhment of his diuine purpoſe) ſhe proſpered vnder the Lords hand, as a choſen plant of his watering, & after the reuolution of certeine yeares with great felicitie and ioy of all Engliſh hearts atteined to the crowne of this realme, and now reigneth ouer the ſame: whoſe heart the Lord direct in his waies, and long preſerue hir in life, to his godlie will and pleaſure, and the comfort of all true and faithfull ſubiects. Of the bleſſed natiuitie of this moſt gratious virgine quéene, as alſo of hir baptiſme and confirmation in the chriſtian faith, with all the ſolemnities and ceremonies recorded in our Engliſh annales, hir education, hir knowledge in diuerſe languages, hir peaceable gouernement, and manie other trim diſcourſes C. O. in his Eirenarchia, or Eliſabetha hath made honorable mention, ſaieng:

Angl. præl.

Septimo Septembris, videlicet die Dominico naſcitur Eliſabetha.

Septembris (Deus hoc voluit) quæ ſeptima lux eſt
Conſecrata venit Domino voluentibus annis,
Parturijt coniux Henrici principis Anna,
Vi dolor increuit, præſcripto ſedula nutrix
Perſtat in officio, matronáque nobilis inſtat
Auxilium latura ſuum, cùm pondus in auras
Maturum genitrix enixa puerpera languet,
Certa tamen veræq; ſalutis ſigna dabantur.
Poſtquam pulchellæ faciei prodijt infans
Compoſitis membris, ſpecioſam vt cæra liqueſcens
Fingitur in formam, populo mirante, periti
Artificis manibus: tenſis ad ſidera palmis
Fœmina conclamat ſenior, Benedicite Chriſto
Præſentes Domino, ô vos benedicite Chriſto,
Virgo beat matrem, virgo modò nata patrémque,
Britannos omnes poſthâc hæc virgo beabit,
Hæc ſola eſt noſtræ ſpes & ſolatia gentis.
Rex pater inuiſit celeri ſua gaudia paſſu
Matrem & filiolam, verbis ſolatus amicis
Languidam adhuc illā partúſq; doloribus ægram, &c.]

¶This yeare alſo, one Pauier the towne clerke of the citie of London hanged himſelfe, which ſuerly was a man that in no wiſe could abide to heare the goſpell ſhould be in Engliſh. And I my ſelfe heard him once ſaie to me and other that were by, ſwearing a great oth, that if he thought the kings highneſſe would ſet forth the ſcripture in Engliſh, and let it be read of the people by his authoritie, rather than he would ſo long liue, he would cut his owne throat, but he brake promiſe, for (as you haue heard) he hanged himſelfe: but of what mind and intent he ſo did, maie be ſone gathered. For God had (no doubt) appointed him to

Edw. Hal. Ccxviii.

Pauier a contemner of the goſpell, & his ſhamefull end.

that iudgement, no leſſe heauie than his offenſe was heinous; namelie the contempt of Gods word, the knowledge whereof Dauid deſired, preferring it before gold and ſiluer, yea before pearles & pretious ſtones in richneſſe; and before honie and the honiecombe in ſweetnes, as the paraphraſe noteth, ſaieng:

Quàm tua verba meo ſapiunt iucunda palato!
Nulla magis fingi dulcia mella queant.
Iuſtitiæ doctrina tuæ mihi charior auro eſt,
Hæc etiam argentum vilius inſtar habet.]

Eob. Heſſ. in pſal. 119.

¶About this time the pope, by lingering ſickenes, (whoſe greefe in the firſt apprehenſion was the pains of the ſtomach, which drawing with them to paſſions of a feuer and other accidents, kept him long time vexed and tormented) ſometimes ſéeming to be reduced to the point of death, and ſometimes ſo eaſed and releeued, that he gaue to others but not to himſelfe a kind of hope of recouering, being no longer able to make reſiſtance againſt his maladie, exchanged his life the fiue and twentith of September, leauing behind him in the caſtell of ſaint Angeo manie rich ſtones and iewels, more than was expected of him, and in the chamber of the ſée apoſtolike infinit offices, contrarie to cuſtome and good order, but in the treaſurie a verie ſmall ſtore of monie, wherin he beguiled the opinion of all men. He was raiſed from baſe degrée to the place of the popedome with wonderfull felicitie, but in managing the place he proued a verie great variation of fortune, wherein if both the properties of fortune be euenlie balanced the one with the other, the worſer fortune without all compariſon was farre more familiar with him than the better.

Guic. pag. 1182, &c.

Death of pope Clement the ſeuenth.

For as there could happen to him no greater infelicitie than the aduerſitie of his impriſonment (for that with his owne eies he beheld with ſo great a ruine and deſtruction the ſacke of Rome; a deſolation which his fortune ſuffered him to bewaile with pitie and compaſſion, but not to turne awaie or remedie the harme) ſo alſo by him moued the generall deſolation of his naturall countrie, to the which by how much more he was bound by perpetuall obligations, by ſo much greater was his aduerſitie to be a chiefe inſtrument in the ruine of the place where he had taken his firſt being.

Pope Clement more infortunate than fortunate.

He died hated of all the court, ſuſpected to moſt princes, and for the diſcourſe of his life, he left behind him a renowme rather hatefull than acceptable: for he was accounted couetous, of little fidelitie, and naturallie farre off from doing pleaſures to men. And in that humor albeit during his time of pope he created one and thirtie cardinals; yet vpon none of them did he impoſe that dignitie to content himſelfe but was drawne as it were by the violent law of neceſſitie and to pleaſe others: yea he called to that dignitie the cardinall of Medicis, not of his proper and frée election, but at the contemplation and perſuaſion of others, and at that time when being oppreſſed with a dangerous maladie, if he had died, he had left his friends and kindred in the ſtate of beggers and depriued of all aid. Neuertheleſſe he was in counſell verie graue, and in his actions much foreſéeing; touching paſſions and affections a conqueror of himſelfe, and for the facultie of his mind & ſpirit of great capacitie and power, if timorouſneſſe had not oftentimes corrupted his iudgement.

How manie cardinals he created during his popedome.

Immediatlie after his death the cardinals going the ſame night into the conclaue, elected in his place with full voice, Alexander of the familie of Farneſa, a Roman by nation, and for his time the moſt ancient cardinall of the court: in which election their voices ſéemed conformable to the iudgement and inſtance that Clement had made, the perſon elected being moſt worthie to be preferred before all the other

Creation of pope Paule the third a Roman borne.

to so louereigne a degrée: for that he was both furnished with doctrine and good learning, and fullie replenished with good apparances and customes. And for the cardinals, they were so much the more forward to passe the election in his person, by how much for the greatnesse of his age, being alreadie vpon the threescore and seuenth yeare, and supposed to beare a weake and vnsound complexion (which opinion he nourished with art) they hoped he would not sit long in the seat; whereby the dignitie of the place and primasie might fall to one of them, whose eies loked for the glorie which their hearts lusted, being vtterlie estranged from God and godlinesse, as altogither addicted to the wanton desires of temporall delites, that they might passe their daies in delicacie; as one noteth trulie of all that viperous generation, saieng:

Antiqu. Christi & pape. pag. 16.

Omnibus idem animus celsas mirarier arces,
Idem animus fluxis est inhiare bonis,
De grege quid fiat nihili gens impia curans,
Spectat magnificas ambitiosa domos:
Elysios horum nullus contendit ad agros,
Nil cæleste iuuat, terrea sola placent.]

Elizabeth Barton.

About this season, the craftie practises of one Elizabeth Barton, named the holie maid of Kent, came to light and were discouered: so that she and hir adherents in November following were brought to the Starchamber, & there before the kings councell confessed their feined hypocrisie and dissembled holinesse, traitorous purposes and intents. The names of those hir adherents, which were presented with hir before the lords in the Starchamber were as followeth: Richard Master priest, parson of Aldington in Kent: Edward Bocking doctor in diuinitie, a monke of Canturburie: Richard Dering, monke also of Canturburie: Edward Twaites gentleman: Thomas Laurence register to the archdeacon of Canturburie: Henrie Gold parson of Aldermarie, bachellor of diuinitie: Hugh Rich frier obseruant: Richard Risbie: and Thomas Gold gentleman. They were adiudged vpon their confession aforesaid, to stand at Pauls crosse in the sermon time, where they with their owne hands should seuerallie deliuer ech of them to the preacher that should be appointed, a bill, declaring their subtill, craftie, and superstitious doings. Which thing they did the sundaie next following, standing vpon a stage at the crosse erected for that purpose. But for their treasons commited, the order was respited till the parlement next following, in the which they were attainted, and suffered (as after ye shall heare.)

Penance at Pauls crosse.

The Scots moue warre.

In this meane time, the Scots were not quiet, but still robbed the kings subiects both by sea and land: wherevpon the king caused them to be requited, not onelie by the borderers and other to them associate, which entring by the marches, burnt manie of their strong piles, but also he set forth certeine ships which entered into their streames, and fetched out manie of those prises, which they had taken out of their hauens and creekes, mawger all their heads. Yet was there no warre proclaimed, but still commissioners sat and communed of agréement, and amends to be made on either part. Now in the end when the Scots had much demanded, and little or nothing granted, they for that time being wearie of warre, desired peace, which was concluded to indure both the kings liues. And so the twentith daie of Maie in the yeare following, it was openlie proclamed, to the comfort of all them that delited in peace and godlie quietnesse.

A cursse procured from the pope.

At the suit of the ladie Katharine Dowager, a cursse was sent from the pope, which cursed both the king and the realme. This cursse was set vp in the towne of Dunkirke in Flanders (for the bringer thereof durst no nearer approch) where it was taken downe by one William Locke a mercer of London. Bicause it was knowne that the ladie Katharine Dowager had procured this cursse of the pope, all the order of the court was broken: for the duke of Suffolke being sent to hir as then lieng at Bugden beside Huntingdon, according to that he had in commandement, discharged a great sort of hir houshold seruants, and yet left a conuenient number to serue hir like a princesse, which were sworne to serue hir not as quæne, but as princesse Dowager. Such as toke that oth she vtterlie refused, and would none of their seruice, so that she remained with the lesse number of seruants about hir.

1534

Elizabeth Barton attainted.

After Christmas the parlement began, wherein the forenamed Elizabeth Barton and other hir complices were attainted of treason, for sundrie practised deuises and tales by them aduanced, put in vre, and told, sounding to the vtter reproch, perill, and destruction of the kings person, his honour, fame and dignitie: for they had of a diuelish intent put in the heads of manie of the kings subiects, that to the said Elizabeth Barton was giuen knowledge by reuelation from God and his saints, that if the king proceéded to the diuorse, and maried another, he should not be king of this realme one moneth after, and in the reputation of God not one daie nor houre.

This Elizabeth first through sickenesse, being oftentimes brought as it were into a transe, whereby hir visage and countenance became maruellouslie altered at those times when shee was so vexed, at length, by the incouraging, procurement, and information of the forenamed Richard Master person of Aldington, she learned to counterfeit such maner of transes (after she came to perfect health) as in hir sickenes by force of the disease she had bene acquainted with: so that she practised, vsed, and shewed vnto the people diuerse maruellous and sundrie alterations of the sensible parts of hir bodie, craftilie vttering in hir said feigned and false transes, diuerse and manie counterfeit, vertuous, and holie words, tending to the rebuke of sin, and reprouing of such new opinions as then began to rise.

And to bring the people the more in beliefe with hir hypocriticall doings, she was counselled to saie in those hir transes, that she should neuer be perfectlie whole, till she had visited an image of our ladie, at a place called Court at Stréet, within the parish of Aldington aforesaid. Thither was she brought, and by the meanes of the said Richard Master, and Edward Bocking, that was now made of counsell in the matter, there assembled about two thousand persons at the daie apointed of hir thither comming, to sée the miracle. At which daie, being brought before all that assemblie and multitude of people, shee falselie feigned and shewed vnto the people in the chappell of our ladie there in Court at Stréet, manie alterations of hir face, and other outward sensible parts of hir bodie, and in those transes she vttered wonderous words, as she was before subtilie and craftilie induced, and taught by the said Edward Bocking and Richard Master.

A forged miracle.

And amongst other things she vttered, that it was the pleasure of God, that the said Bocking should be hir ghostlie father, and that she should be a religious woman. And within a while, after such feigned and counterfeit transes, she appeared to the people to be suddenlie relieued from hir sickenesse and afflictions, by the intercession and meane of the image of our ladie, being in the same chappell. By reason of which hypocriticall dissimulation, the said Elizabeth was brought into a maruellous fame, credit, and good opinion of a great multitude of the people of this realme. And to increase the same, by counsell of the said Edward Bocking, she became a

Elizabeth Barton becommeth a nun.

nun

nun in the priorie of saint Sepulchres at Canturburie, to whome the said Edward Bocking had commonlie his resort, not without suspicion of incontinencie, pretending to be hir ghostlie father by Gods appointment. And by conspiracie betwene hir & him, she still continued in practising hir dissembled trances, alledging, that in the same she had reuelations from almightie God and his saints, and amongst other, that which (as before we haue mentioned) touched the kings mariage, as ye haue heard.

This matter proceeded so farre, that there was a booke written by hir complices, and namelie by Thomas Laurence, register to the archbishop of Canturburie, of hir feigned and counterfeit miracles, reuelations, and hypocriticall holinesse. All things were handled so craftilie, that not onelie the simple, but also the wise and learned sort were deceiued by the same, insomuch that William Warham the late archbishop of Canturburie, and John Fisher bishop of Rochester, and diuerse others, being informed thereof, gaue credit thereto. All which matters and manie other had bene traitorouslie practised and imagined amongest the parties manie yeres, chieflie to interrupt the diuorse and to destroie the king, and to depriue him from the crowne and dignitie roiall of this realme, as in the act of their attaindor made more at large it maie appeare, and likewise in the chronicles of maister Edward Hall. Therefore to conclude with hir and hir adherents, on the one and twentith of Aprill next following, she with diuerse of them before condemned, was drawen to Tiburne, and there executed, as iustlie they had deserued; where and when she made this confession following, euen at the present time that she suffered, in the hearing of the people.

The archbishop of Canturburie and the bishop of Rochester giue credit to hir hypocriticall practises.

Elizabeth Barton executed.

The words of Elizabeth Barton, otherwise called the holie maid of Kent at the houre of hir death in maner of a confession.

Either am I come to die, and I haue not bene the onelie cause of mine owne death, which most iustlie I haue deserued, but also I am the cause of the death of all these persons which at this time here suffer: and yet to say the truth, I am not so much to be blamed, considering that it was wel known vnto these learned men, that I was a poore wench, without learning, and therefore they might haue easlie perceiued, that the things that were done by me, could not proceed in any such sort, but their capacities and learning could right well iudge from whence they proceeded, and that they were altogither feined: but bicause the things which I feined were profitable vnto them, therefore they much praised mee, and bare me in hand that it was the holie ghost, and not I that did them, and then I being puft vp with their praises, fell into a certeine pride and foolish fantasie with my selfe, and thought I might feine what I would, which thing hath brought me to this case, and for the which now I crie God and the kings highnes most hartilie mercie, and desire all you good people to praie to God to haue mercie on me, and on all them that suffer here with me.

The act of stablishing the crowne.

In this parlement also was made the act of succession, for the establishing of the crowne, to the which euerie person being of lawfull age should bee sworne. On mondaie the three & twentith of March in the parlement time, were solemnlie receiued into London ambassadours from James the first king of Scots, the bishop of Aberdine, the abbat of Kinlos, and Adam Otterborne the kings attourneie, with diuerse gentlemen on them attendant, which were brought to the tailors hall, and there lodged. And on the date of the Annunciation, they were brought to the kings palace at Westminster, where they shewed their commission and message, for the which the king appointed them dates to counsell. During the parlement time, euerie sundaie at Paules crosse preached a bishop, declaring the pope not to be supreme head of the church.

Ambassadors forth of Scotland.

The popes supremacie denied in sermons.

The thirtith of March was the parlement prorogued, and there euerie lord, knight, and burges, and all other were sworne to the act of succession, and subscribed their hands to a parchment fixed to the same. The parlement was prorogued till the third of November next. After this were commissioners sent into all parts of the realme, to take the oth of all men and women to the act of succession. Doctor John Fisher, and sir Thomas More knight, and doctor Nicholas Wilson parson of saint Thomas apostles in London, expreslie denied at Lambeth before the archbishop of Canturburie, to receiue that oth. The two first stood in their opinion to the verie death (as after ye shall heare) but doctor Wilson was better aduised at length, and so dissembling the matter escaped out of further danger.

The lords sworne to the succession.

¶ In this yeere it chanced that two merchant strangers fell in loue with a harlot, which was called Wolfes wife, and this harlot had often hanted the strangers chambers. And so on a time the said harlot appointed these strangers to come to Westminster, and she had prepared for them a bote, in the which bote was but one man to row which was a strong theefe, and in the end of the bote laie Wolfe hir husband, couered with a leather that botemen vse to couer their cushins with, and so these strangers sat them down mistrusting nothing. Now when this boteman had brought them as farre as a place called the turning tree, suddenlie stepped vp the said Wolfe, and with his dagger thrust the one of them through: the other cried out to save his life, and offred great sums of monie to the boteman and him to saue his life. But no proffers would be heard, nor mercie would they extend, but as cruell murtherers without pitie slue the other also, and bound them face to face, and so threw them into the Thames in the foresaid place, where they were long after before they were found. But immediatlie the harlot Wolfes wife went to the strangers chambers, & toke from thence so much as she could come by. And at the last she and hir husband (as they deserued) were apprehended, arreigned, and hanged at the aforesaid turning tree.]

Ab. Fl. ex Edw. Hall 224. Wolfes wife a notable harlot.

The end of vnlawful lous and lust.

The reward of murther committed through couetousnesse.

On the ninth of Julie was the lord Dacres of the north arreigned at Westminster of high treason, where the duke of Norffolke sate as iudge, and high steward of England. The said lord Dacres being brought to the barre, with the axe of the Tower before him, after his indictment read, so improued the same, answering euerie part and matter therein conteined, and so plainlie and directlie confuted his accusers, which were there readie to auouch their accusations, that to their great shames, and his high honor, he was found that day by his peeres not guiltie, whereof the commons not a little reioised, as by their shout and crie made at those words, not guiltie, they freelie testified.

Anno Reg. 26. The lord Dacres of the north arreigned.

The two and twentith of Julie was John Frith burned in Smithfield, for the opinion of the sacrament: and with him the same time, and at the same stake, suffered also one Andrew Hewet, a young man, by

John Frith burned.

by his occupation a tailor. The eleuenth of August were all the places of the obseruant friers suppressed, as Grenwich, Canturburie, Richmont, Newarke, and Newcastell, and in their places were set Augustine friers, and the obseruant friers were placed in the romes of the graie friers. ¶ The one and twentith of September, doctor Taylor master of the rolles, was discharged of that office, and Thomas Cromwell sworne in his place the nintéenth of October. Moreouer the third of Nouember, the parlement began againe, in the which was concluded the act of supremacie, which authorised the kings highnes to be supreme head of the church of England, and the authoritie of the pope abolished out of the realme. ¶ In the same parlement also was giuen to the king, the first fruits and tenths of all spirituall dignities and promotions. This yeare came the great admerall of France into England, ambassadour from the French king, and was honorablie receiued.

John Stow. Friers suppressed.

The parlemẽt againe beginneth.

The admerall of France cõmeth in ambassage into England.

1535

In this time died the earle of Kildare, prisoner in the Tower, and his sonne Thomas Fitzgaret began to rebell, and toke all the kings ordinance, and sent to the emperour, requiring him to take his part: also he slue the bishop of Dublin, and robbed all such as would not obeie him. In the beginning of this yeare, the duke of Norffolke and the bishop of Elie went to Calis, and thither came the admerall of France. On the two & twentith of Aprill the prior of the Charterhouse at London, the prior of Bewall, the prior of Erham, Reinalds a brother of Sion, & John vicar of Thistleworth, were arreigned and condemned of treason: and therevpon drawne, hanged and quartered at Tiburne the fourth of Maie: their heads and quarters were set ouer the bridge & gates of the citie, one quarter excepted, which was set vp at the Charterhouse at London. ¶ On the eight of Maie, the king commanded that all belonging to the court should poll their heads, & to giue example, caused his owne head to be polled, and his beard from thencefoorth was cut round, but not shauen, which fashion the courtiers imbraced, and would (no doubt) haue put in practise, though they had not bene thereunto bound by precept: for the people imitate the prince, as the poet long ago well noted, saieng:

Anno Reg. 27.

John Stow. Certeine priors arreigned and executed for treason.

Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis.

¶ The fiue and twentith daie of Maie, was in saint Paules church at London examined nineténe men and six women borne in Holland, whose opinions were, first, that in Christ is not two natures, God and man: secondlie, that Christ toke neither flesh nor bloud of the virgin Marie: thirdlie, that children borne of infidels shall be saued: fourthlie, that baptisme of children is to none effect: fifthlie, that the sacrament of Christs bodie is but bread onelie: sixthlie, that he, who after his baptisme sinneth wittinglie, sinneth deadlie, and cannot be saued. Fourténe of them were condemned, a man & a woman of them were burned in Smithfield, the other twelue were sent to other townes there to be burnt.]

John Stow. pag.1004. Hollanders condemned for heretikes.

On the nineténth of June were three mõnkes of the Charterhouse hanged, drawne, and quartered at Tiburne, and their heads and quarters set vp about London, for denieng the king to be supreme head of the church: their names were, Ermew, Middlemore, and Rudigate. Also the one and twentith of the same moneth, and for the same cause, doctor John Fisher bishop of Rochester was beheaded for denieng of the supremacie, and his head set vpon London bridge, but his bodie buried within Barking churchyard. This bishop was of manie sore lamented, for he was reported to be a man of great learning, and of a verie good life. The pope had elected him a cardinall, and sent his hat as far as Calis, but his head was off before his hat was on: so that they met not. On the first of Julie was sir Thomas Moore beheaded for the like crime, that is to wit, for denieng the king to be supreme head. And then the bodie of doctor Fisher was taken vp, and buried with sir Thomas Moores in the Tower. This man was both learned and wise, and giuen much to a certeine pleasure in merie taunts and iesting in most of his communication, which maner he forgat not at the verie houre of his death.

Monks of ỹ Charterhouse executed.

The bishop of Rochester beheaded.

Sir Thomas Moore beheaded.

¶ I cannot tell (saith master Hall) whether I should call him a foolish wise man, or a wise foolish man, for vndoutedlie he beside his learning, had a great wit, but it was so mingled with taunting and mocking, that it seemed to them that best knew him, that hee thought nothing to be well spoken except he had ministred some mocke in the communication. Insomuch as at his comming to the Tower, one of the officers demanded his vpper garment for his fee, meaning his gowne: and he answered, he should haue it, and toke him his cap, saieng it was the vppermost garment that he had. Likewise euen going to his death at the Tower gate, a poore woman called vnto him, and besought him to declare what he had done with euidences of hirs in the time that he was in office (which after he was apprehended shee could not come by) and that he would intreat shee might haue them againe, or else she was vndone. He answered, good woman, haue patience a little while, for the king is so good vnto me, that euen within this halfe houre he will discharge me of all businesse, and helpe thee himselfe.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. fol. CCxxvj.

Sir Thomas Moore a scoffer & mocker at the verie houre of his death.

Also when he went vp the staiers on the scaffold, he desired one of the shiriffes officers to giue him his hand to helpe him vp, and said; When I come downe againe, let me shift for my selfe as well as I can. Also the hangman kneeled downe to him, asking him forgiuenesse of his death (as the maner is) to whome he said, I forgiue thee, but I promise thee thou shalt neuer haue honestie by striking off my head, my necke is so short. Also euen when he should laie downe his head on the blocke, he hauing a great graie beard, stroked out his beard, and said to the hangman, I praie you let me laie my beard ouer the blocke, least you should cut it. Thus with a mocke he ended his life.

God had in most bountifull sort powred his blessings vpon this man, indуing him with eloquence, wisedome and knowledge: but the grace of God withdrawne from him, he had the right vse of none, no not of reason as it should be rightlie vsed. God had extraordinarilie blessed his children, and namelie his three daughters, to whome he had giuen an admirable dexteritie in the science of tongs and arts, as Iohn Leland our reuerend antiquarie noteth in a proper and learned epigramme, saieng:

Desine facundas nimiùm laudare diserti
Natas Hortensi maxima Roma tui:
Candida tres Charites nam Mori cura politi
Obscurant multis nomina vestra modis,
Non illis studium Milesia vellera dextra
Carpere, non facili ducere fila manu:
Sed iuuat eloquij crebro monumenta Latini
Versare, & doctis pingere verba notis,
Nec minùs authores Græcos euoluere, Homerum
Et quem dicendi gloria prima manet.
Vt nec Aristotelis dicam quo pectore libros
Scrutentur, sophiæ virgilica dona deæ.
Turpe virũ posthac erit ignorare Minerua
Artes, grex adeò quas muliebris amet.

1. Lelandi Moriades, sive Charissea corona.

And yet was not the will of God for the infusing of spirituall graces, so linked to that of temporall, as because the one was granted, therefore the other must not be denied. For the blessings of God which be outward, are common to the wicked with the good:

Spirituall graces doo not necessarilie concurre or depend vpon temporall.

good: the sun shineth vpon all, the raine is kept from none: naie, God with a sparing hand reacheth out those things to the faithfull, which with full gripes he filleth out and powreth into the laps and bosoms of infidels and epicures: insomuch that the prophet Dauid noting no lesse, with a kind of indignation opened his mouth saieng; I was grieued at the wicked, I doo also see the vngodlie in such prosperitie, these florish in the world, these haue riches in possession, and I said; Then haue I cleansed my heart in vaine, and washed my hands in innocencie: yea, and I had almost said euen as they; but lo, then should I haue condemned the generation of Gods children. But the end of these men, being set in slipperie places, are cast downe and destroied, yea suddenlie doo they consume and come to a fearefull end: euen like as a dreame when one awaketh, so doth God make their image to vanish out of the citie.

Sir Thomas More in some cases commended.

And albeit the fall of this sir Thomas More was reprochfull, issuing from a treasonable offense: yet as in pagans manie times there is somwhat which may teach christians lessons for their lerning to their shame: so in this papist was one praise-worthie propertie among the rest most eminent, which I will note to the rebuke of protestants. ¶ The reuerend father doctor Elmer bishop of London, in a sermon at Paules crosse by him made in a solemne audience assembled at the parlement time 1584, teaching diuerse points of doctrine, and the duties of sundrie degrées, said, that it was commendable for noble men and gentlemen, and a great furtherance to the loue of religion, to be deuout: he brought an example of sir Thomas More, a man for his zeale (saith the bishop) to be honored, but for his religion to be abhorred.

Abr. Flem. out of a sermon made at Paules crosse by doctor Elmer bishop of London on the eighteenth of October 1584.

whether it were mattins neuensong it makes no matter.

This knight would diuerse times put on a surplesse, and helpe the préest in proper person to saie seruice: insomuch that vpon a time being at Chelsie, and busie about that exercise, the duke of Norffolke then liuing, came to the said sir Thomas, then lord chancellor of England, about spectall affaires: and being informed that sir Thomas was at the church; thither went the duke, expecting the end of seruice. In the end, the duke and the lord chancellor met, and after mutuall gréeting the duke said thus: What! is my lord chancellor become a parish clarke? What will the kings maiestie saie to this géere, when he shall vnderstand that the lord chancellor of England, a spectall péere of the realme, and in highest rome of honor in the land next the prince is become a parish clarke? Now trulie (saith sir Thomas) I thinke, and verelie beléeue, that his highnesse will be so farre to misdéeme or mislike me herein, that when he shall heare of the care which I haue to serue both his maister and mine, he will accept and take me for a faithfull seruant. And thus much of him.]

Sir Thomas More doth take giuen a his kind.

The king of Scots knight of the garter.

This péere in the time that the king went his progresse to Glocester, and to other places westward, the king of Scots was installed knight of the garter at Winsore by his procurator the lord Erskin: and in October following, Stephen Gardner (which after the cardinls death was made bishop of Winchester) was sent ambassador into France, where he remained three yeeres after. ¶ In August the lord Thomas Fitzgerard, sonne to the earle of Kildare, was taken in Ireland, and sent to the tower of London.

The bishop of Winchester ambassador into France. I. Stow.

In the moneth of October, doctor Lée and other were sent to visit the abbeies, priories, and nunries in England, who set all those religious persons at libertie that would forsake their habit, and all that were vnder the age of foure and twentie yéeres, and the residue were closed vp that would remaine. Further, they tooke order that no men should haue accesse to the houses of women, nor women to the houses of men, except it should be to heare their seruice. The abbat or prior of the house, where anie of the brethren was willing to depart, was appointed to giue to euerie of them a priests gowne for his habit, and fortie shillings in monie, the nunnes to haue such apparell as secular women ware, and to go whither them liked best. ¶ The eleuenth of November was a great procession at London for ioie of the French kings recouerie of health from a dangerous sicknesse. ¶ In December a suruetie was taken of all chanteries, and the names of them that had the gift of them.

Visitation of religious houses.

1536. The ladie Katharine Dowager deceaseth.

The princesse Dowager lieng at Kimbalton, fell into hir last sicknesse, whereof the king being aduertised, appointed the emperors ambassador that was legier here with him named Eustachius Capucius, to go to visit hir, and to doo his commendations to hir, and will hir to be of good comfort. The ambassador with all diligence did his duetie therein, comforting hir the best he might: but she within sir daies after, perceiuing hir selfe to war verie weake and feeble, and to feele death approching at hand, caused one of hir gentlewomen to write a letter to the king, commending to him hir daughter and his, beseeching him to stand good father vnto hir: and further desired him to haue some consideration of hir gentlewomen that had serued hir, and to see them bestowed in marriage. Further, that it would please him to apoint that hir seruants might haue their due wages, and a yeeres wages beside. This in effect was all that she requested, and so immediatlie herevpon she departed this life the eight of Januarie at Kimbalton aforesaid, and was buried at Peterborow. ¶ The nine and twentith of Januarie quéene Anne was deliuered of a child before hir time, which was borne dead.

Religious houses giuen to the king.

On the fourth of Februarie the parlement began, in the which (amongst other things) enacted, all religious houses of the value of three hundred marks and vnder, were giuen to the king, with all the lands and goods to them belonging. The number of these houses were three hundred seauentie and six; the value of their lands yearlie aboue two and thirtie thousand pounds; their mouable goods one hundred thousand; the religious persons put out of the same houses, amounted to the number of aboue 10000. This yeere was William Tindall burnt at a towne betwixt Vzurels and Vaclin called Villefort. This Tindall, otherwise called Hichins, was borne in the marches of Wales, and hauing a desire to translate and publish to his countrie diuerse books of the bible in English, and doubting to come in trouble for the same, if he should remaine here in England, got him ouer into the parties of beyond the sea, where he translated not onelie the new testament into the English tong, but also the fiue bookes of Moses, Iosua, Judicum, Ruth, the books of the kings, and Paralipomenon, Nehemias, or the first of Esdras, and the prophet Jonas.

I. Stow.

William Tindall burnt.

Beside these translations, he made certeine treatises, and published the same, which were brought ouer into England, and read with great desire of diuerse, and of many sore despised and abhorred, so that proclamations were procured forth for the condemnation and prohibiting of his books (as before you haue heard.) Finallie, he was apprehended at Antwerpe by meanes of one Philips an Englishman, and then scholer at Louaine. After he had remained in prison a long time, and was almost forgotten, the lord Cromwell wrote for his deliuerance; but then in all hast, because he would not recant anie part of his doctrine, he was burned (as before you haue heard.) Of whose conuersation and doctrine, innocent in the world, and sincere for truth, as al-

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so of his death and martyrdome, read the martyrologie of Iohn Fox our ecclesiasticall chronographer Anno 1536. *sub Hen.* 8.

Anno reg. 28. On Maie date were solemne iusts kept at Grēnwich, and suddenlie from the iusts the king departed, not hauing aboue six persons with him, and in the euening came to Westminster. Of this sudden departing many mused, but most chéeflie the quéene.

Abr. Fl. ex I. Stow. 1006. ¶ On the next morrow, the lord Rochford brother to the quéene, and Henrie Norris were brought to the tower of London prisoners. Also the same date about fiue of the clocke in the after noone, quéene Anne of Bullongne was brought to the tower of London, by sir Thomas Audleie lord chancellor, the duke of Norffolke, Thomas Cromwell secretarie, and sir William Kingston constable of the tower; and when she came to the tower gate, entring in she fell on hir knées before the said lords, beséeching God to helpe hir, as she was not guiltie of that whereof she was accused, and then desired the said lords to beséech the kings grace to be good vnto hir, and so they left hir there prisoner. On the fifteenth of Maie quéene Anne was arreigned in the tower of London on a scaffold for that purpose, made in the kings hall, before the duke of Norffolke, who sate vnder the cloth of estate as high steward of England, with the lord chancellor on his right hand, the duke of Suffolke on his left hand, with marquesses and lords, &c: and the earle of Surrie sat before the duke of Norffolke his father, as earle marshall of England. The kings commission being read, the constable of the tower, and the lieutenant brought the quéene to the barre, where was made a chaire for hir to sit downe in, and there hir indictement was read, whereunto she made so wise and discréet answers, that she séemed fullie to cléere hir selfe of all matters laid to hir charge: but being tried by hir péeres, whereof the duke of Suffolke was chiefe, she was by them found guiltie, and had iudgement pronounced by the duke of Norffolke.

Quéene Anne committed to the tower.

Hir imprecation at the tower gate on hir knées.

She is arreigned in the tower.

The lord Rochford condemned. Immediatlie the lord Rochford the quénes brother was likewise arreigned and condemned: the lord maior of London, his brethren the aldermen, the wardens and foure persons mo of euerie the twelue principall companies being present. The seauentéenth of Maie, the lord Rochford brother to the quéene, Henrie Norris, Marke Smeton, William Brierton, and Francis Weston, all of the kings priuie chamber, about matters touching the quéene were beheaded on the tower hill: the lord Rochfords bodie with the head was buried in the chappell of the tower, the other foure in the churchyard there. On the nineténth of Maie quéene Anne was on a scaffold (made for that purpose) vpon the gréene within the tower of London, beheaded with the sword of Calis, by the hands of the hangman of that towne: hir bodie with the head was buried in the quére of the chappell in the tower.]

Quéene Anne and diuerse others beheaded.

The words of queene Anne *at hir death.*

GOod christian people, I am come hither to die, for according to the law, and by the law I am iudged to die, and therfore I will speake nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speake anie thing of that whereof I am accused & condemned to die, but I praie God saue the king and send him long to reigne ouer you, for a gentler, nor a more mercifull prince was there neuer, and to me he was euer a good, a gentle, and a souereigne lord. And if anie person will meddle of my cause, I require them to iudge the best. And thus I take my leaue of the world, and of you all, and I hartilie desire you all to praie for me, Oh Lord haue mercie on me, to God I commend my soule, Jesu receiue my soule: diuerse times repeting those words, till that hir head was striken off with the sword.

Now bicause I might rather saie much than sufficientlie inough in praise of this noble quéene, as well for hir singular wit and other excellent qualities of mind, as also for hir fauouring of learned men, zeale of religion, and liberalitie in distributing almes in releefe of the poore, I will refer the reader vnto master Fox his volume of Acts and Monuments, where he commendeth hir mild nature in taking admonition, prooueth hir marriage lawfull, defendeth hir succession, ouerthroweth the sinister iudgements, opinions and obiections of backebiters against that vertuous quéene, sheweth hir faith and trust in Christ at hir death, and finallie how the protestants of Germanie forsooke king Henrie for the death of so good a princesse. ¶ Anglorum prælia saith, that this good quéene was forwarned of hir death in a dreame, wherein Morpheus the god of sléepe (in the likenesse of hir grandfather) appéered vnto hir, and after a long narration of the vanities of this world (how enuie reigneth in the courts of princes, maligning the fortunate estate of the vertuous, how king Henrie the eight and his issue should be the vtter ouerthrow and expulsion of poperie out of England, and that the gouernment of quéene Elizabeth should be established in tranquillitie & peace) he saith vnto hir in conclusion by waie of prophesie, as our poet hath recorded:

I. Fox in martyrologio.

Ang. prælia.

Fortis animo, tristis si nuncius adsum,
Insperata tuæ velox necis aduenit hora,
Intra triginta spacium moriere dierum:
Hoc magnum mortis solamen habeto futuræ,
Elizabetha suis præclare filia gestis
Nomen ad astra feret patris, matrisque, suumque.]

Anne mors prædicitur. Pla. in Phe. Socratis zale quiddam somniauit.

Immediatlie after hir death, in the weeke before Whitsuntide, the king married the ladie Jane Seimer, daughter to sir John Seimer knight, which at Whitsuntide was openlie shewed as quéene. And on the tuesdaie in Whitsunweeke, hir brother sir Edw. Seimer was created vicount Beauchampe, and sir Water Hungerford, lord Hungerford. The eight of June began the parlement, during the which the lord Thomas Howard, without the kings assent, affied the ladie Margaret Duglas daughter to the quéene of Scots, and néece to the king, for which act he was atteinted of treason, and an act made for like offendors, and so he died in the tower, and she remained long there as prisoner. In the time of this parlement the bishops and all the cleargie of the realme held a solemne conuocation at Paules church in London, where after much disputation and debating of matters, they published a booke of religion, intituled Articles deuised by the kings highnesse, &c. In this booke is speciallie mentioned but three sacraments. Also beside this booke certeine iniunctions were giuen forth, whereby a number of their holie dates were abrogated, & speciallie those that fell in haruest time. ¶ The nine & twentith of June, the king held a great iusting and triumph at Westminster, where were ordeined two lighters made like ships to fight vpon the water, one of the which brake in the midst, whereby one Gates a gentleman, & seruant to M. Kneuet was drowned in his harnesse. In the other a gun brake hir chamber, & maimed two of the mariners.]

The king marrieth ladie Jane Seimer.

Parlement.

The lord Th. Howard atteinted of treason.

A booke published concerning religion by the king.

I. Stow. Triumph at Westminster.

Thomas Cromwell secretarie vnto the king, and mai

maister of the rols, was made lord keeper of the priuie seale, and the ninth of Julie the lord Fitzwaren was created erle of Bath, and the morrow after the said lord Cromwell was created lord Cromwell. The eightéenth of Julie he was made knight, and vicar generall vnder the king ouer the spiritualtie, and sat diuerse times in the conuocation amongst the bishops as head ouer them. The two and twentith of Julie, Henrie duke of Richmont and Summerset, earle of Northampton, base sonne to the king, begot of the ladie Tailebois then called Elizabeth Blunt, departed this life at saint James, and was buried at Thetford in Norffolke, of whome you shall find more in the treatise of the dukes of this land.

Aduancement of the lord Cromwell.

The death of the kings base sonne.

In September, Thomas Cromwell lord priuie seale and vicegerent, sent abroad vnder the kings spirituall priuie seale certeine iniunctions, commanding that the persons and curats should teach their parishioners the Pater noster, the Aue & Creed, with the ten commandements, and articles of the faith in English. These articles and iniunctions being established by authoritie of parlement, and now to the people deliuered, bred a great mislking in the harts of the common people, which had béene euer brought vp and trained in contrarie doctrine. And herewith diuerse of the cleargie as monks, priests, and others, toke occasion herby to speake euill of the late procédings of the king, touching matters of religion, affirming that if spédie remedie were not in time prouided, the faith would shortlie be vtterlie destroied, and all prater and diuine seruice quite abolished and taken awaie.

The people rudged at the iniunctions established by act of parlement.

Manie sinister reports, slanderous tales, and feigned fables were blowne abroad, and put into the peoples eares, and diuerse of the nobilitie did also what they could to stir the commons to rebellion, faithfullie promising both aid and succour against the king. The people thus prouoked to mischiefe, and deceiued through ouer light credence, incontinentlie as it were to maintaine that religion, which had so manie yeares continued, and béene estéemed, they sticklie and stoutlie conspired togither, and in a part of Lincolnshire they first assembled, and shortlie after ioined into an armie, being (as it was supposed) of men apt for the warres, in number about twentie thousand. Against these rebels with all the hast that might be, the king in his proper person vpon intelligence therof had marched towards them, being furnished with a warlike armie, perfectlie appointed of all things that to such a companie should aperteine.

Traitorous conspiracie.

The Lincolnshire men in armes against the king.

The rebels hearing that his person was present with his power to come thus against them, began to feare what would follow of their doings: and such nobles and gentlemen as at the first fauoured their cause, fell from them and withdrew, so that they being destitute of capteines, at length put certeine petitions in writing, which they exhibited to the king, professing that they neuer intended hurt towards his roiall person. The king receiued their petitions, which consisted in choise of councellors, suppression of religious houses, maintenance of the seruice of almightie God, the statute of vses, the release of the fifteenth, and receiuing of the first fruits, with such other matters as nothing aperteined to them: wherevpon he made them answer in pithie sentence, reproouing them of their presumptuous follie and rebellious attempt, to meddle in anie such matters and weightie affaires, the direction whereof onelie belonged to him, and to such noble men and councellors as his pleasure should be to elect and chose to haue the ordering of the same.

The petitions of the rebels receiued & the king and of what points they consisted.

Wherfore he aduised them to remember their rash and inconsiderate doings, and that now in anie wise they should resort home to their houses, and no more to assemble contrarie to his lawes and their owne allegiances; and also to cause the prouokers of this mischiefe to be deliuered to the hands of his lieutenant, and further to submit themselues wholie to such punishment as he and his nobles should thinke them worthie to receiue: for otherwise he would not suffer that iniurie at their hands to go vnreuenged. After the Lincolnshire men had receiued the kings answer thus made to their petitions, each mistrusting other, who should be noted the greatest meddler, suddenlie they began to shrinke, and got them home to their houses without longer abode.

The Lincolnshiremen giue ouer their rebellious enterprise.

Herewith the duke of Suffolke the kings lieutenant was appointed to go with the armie, to see the countrie set in quiet, accompanied with the lord admerall, sir Francis Bryan, and sir John Russell that were ioined with him also in commission for the ordering of things there within the countie of Lincolne. The duke entred into the citie of Lincolne the seuentéenth of October. On the nineteenth all the inhabitants of Louth (according to order giuen by the duke) came to Lincolne, and there in the castell made their submission, holding vp their hands, and crieng for the kings mercie. And herwith were chosen forth Nicholas Melton, capteine Cobler, & thirtéene more, which were commanded to ward, and all the residue were new sworne to the king, renouncing their former oth receiued in time of their rebellion, and then departed home to their houses in the kings peace. After this were proclamations made abroade in the countrie in euerie market towne by the heralds of armes, Summerset and Winsore, that the capteins and souldiers of the dukes armie should not take anie mans goods, cattels, or vittels, except they paied or agréed with the owners of the same.

The rebels submit themselues and receiue a new oth of fealtie to the king.

And further commandement was giuen, that all inhabitants and dwellers within the townes and villages about, should repaire to the citie of Lincolne, with all maner of vittels as well for men as horsses, where they should receiue paiment at reasonable prices for the same. After this, there was likewise proclamation made for the apprehending of all such lewd persons, as had sowne anie false rumors abroade in the countrie (the cheefe occasion of this rebellion) bruting that the king pretended to haue the gold in the hands of his subiects brought into the tower to be touched, and all their cattell vnmarked, the chalices, goods, and ornaments of parish churches, fines for christenings, weddings, and buriengs, licences to eat white meat, bread, pig, goose or capon, with manie other slanderous, false, and detestable tales and lies, forged of diuelish purpose to incourage the people to rebellion. If therefore anie man could apprehend such as had béene the setters forth and sowers of such seditious reports, they that brought them in, should be so rewarded, as they should thinke their labour well bestowed.

False rumors the occasion of rebellions.

Moreouer, if there were anie assemblies made in anie part of the realme without the kings licence, by anie vnrulie persons, and would not depart to their houses vpon warning by his graces proclamations, they should not looke for further mercie at the kings hand, but to be prosecuted with fire and sword to the vttermost. To conclude, by the wise and sage direction taken in appeasing the countrie by that noble duke, all things were quieted in those parties. Diuerse of the principall offendors were sent vnto London. He that toke vpon him as cheefe capteine of the rout, was the same that called himselfe capteine Cobler: but he was indeed a monke named doctor Makarell, which afterwards with diuerse others was executed.

But now in the meane time, whilest the duke

was sent forwards into Lincolneshire, within fir dates after the king was trulie informed, that there was a new stir begun in the north parts by the people there, which had assembled themselues into an huge armie of warlike men & well appointed, both with capteins, horses, armor, and artillerie, to the number of fortie thousand men, which had incamped themselues in Yorkeshire. These men declared by their proclamations solemnlie made, that this their rising and commotion should extend no further, but onelie to the maintenance and defense of the faith of Christ, and preseruance of holie church, sore decaied and oppressed, and also for the furtherance as well of priuate as publike matters in the realme, touching the wealth of all the kings pore subiects.

A commotion in the north parts.

They named this their seditious voiage, an holie and blessed pilgrimage: they had also certeine banners in the field, in which was painted Christ hanging on the crosse on the one side, and a chalice with a painted cake in it on the other side, with diuers other banners of like hypocrisie and feigned holinesse. The souldiers had also imbrodered on the sleeues of their cotes in sted of a badge, the similitude of the fiue woundes of our sauiour, and in the middest thereof was written the name of our Lord. Thus had the rebels host of sathan with false and counterfeit signes of holinesse set out themselues, onelie to deceiue the simple people in that their wicked and rebellious enterprise against their liege lord and naturall prince, whome by the law of nations and by Gods commandements they were bound in conscience to obeie, and so farre to be from lifting vp the least finger of their hand, as rather to put life and goods in hazard for his sake, to testifie their allegiance.

An holie pilgrimage.

The speedie diligence and loiall dutie which was found at that present in the worthie counsellour George earle of Shrewesburie, is not to be forgotten, who immediatlie after he vnderstood how the northerne men were thus vp in armes, considering how much it imported to stop them of their passage before they should aduance too far forwards, whereby they might both increase in power, and put all other parts of the realme in hazard, through feare or hope to incline to their wicked purposes, he sent abroad with all spæd possible to raise such power of his seruants, tenants, and frends, as by anie meanes he might make, and withall dispatched one of his seruants to the king, both to aduertise him what he had done, and also to purchase his pardon, for making such leuie of power, before he had receiued his maiesties commission so to do.

The faithfull diligence of the earle of Shrewsburie

I haue heard by relation of men of good credit that were there present: that when such knights and gentlemen as were of his councell, and other of his especiall frends were come vnto him, he put forth this question to them; Whether his fact in raising a power of armed men without the kings commission (although he had done it to resist the rebels) were treason or not? Whereunto when answer was made by some that were knowne to haue skill in the lawes of the realme, how that by no means it could be intended treason, sith his intent was good, and no euill thereby meant, but contrarilie the aduancement of the kings seruice dutifullie sought; We are foles (quoth the earle) I know it in substance to be treason, and I would thinke my selfe in an hard case, if I thought I had not my pardon comming.

A good meaning or intent doth not by and by iustifie and make good the action.

Such a reuerend regard had this noble earle vnto his bounden allegiance towards his prince, that whatsoeuer seemed but as it were to sound in anie behalfe to the breach thereof, it so troubled his loiall mind, that he could not be satisfied, till as it were in confessing his fault: where according to the truth there was none at all. He had signified his assured fidelitie in craning pardon, where otherwise he might haue looked for thanks, which indeed he receiued with his pardon, according to his petition, and a commission to proceed as he had begun. Moreouer, whereas there were diuerse speaches amongst the souldiors in the armie, vttered by some not altogither happilie well disposed, that the said earle had so good liking of the northerne mens cause, that when it came to the point of triall, he would surelie ioine with them against that part, which he yet pretended to maintaine.

The loialtie of the earle.

To put that matter out of doubt, he caused the multitude of his souldiours to come before him, and there declared to them, that he vnderstood what lewd talke had beene raised of his meaning among them in the campe, as if he had fauoured the part of the rebels: But (faith he) whatsoeuer their colourable pretense may be, true it is, that traitors they are in this their wicked attempt. And whereas my ancestors haue beene euer true to the crowne, I meane not to staine my blood now in ioining with such a sort of traitors, but to liue and die in defense of the crowne, if it stood but vpon a stake; and therefore those that will take my part in this quarrell, I haue to thanke them, and if there be anie that be otherwise minded, I would wish them hence. And herewith he caused his chapleine to minister an oth to him, which he receiued to the effect aforesaid, in the presence of them all.

what the earl said to them that talked lewdlie of him in the campe.

And verelie this was thought to be done not without great cause that moued him thereto: for whereas the more part of his souldiours consisted of the countrie people, who with forged tales and wicked surmises were easilie led to beleeue whatsoeuer was reported in fauor of the rebels, and disfauor of such as were then chiefe councellors to the king, against whome they pretended to rise (although there was no reasonable occasion leading them thereunto) it was greatlie to be suspected, least they might, thorough some traitorous practise haue beene induced to forget their dutifull allegiance to their souereigne, and souldiorlike obedience to their leaders, insomuch that the capteins of the rebels were persuaded (and some of them reported no lesse) that they might haue fought with the duke of Norffolke, and the earle of Shrewesburie, on this hither side of the riuer of Dun, euen with their owne men, not needing to haue brought a man of their armie with them.

He was prouided of ill souldiors that so vndutifullie to deale with him would be induced.

Therefore it was thought, that the oth which the earle of Shrewesburie in that sort receiued before all his people there openlie in field, serued to great purpose; to put out of his souldiours wauering heads all such lewd perswasion, that he would turne to the enimies, staieng thereby their fickle minds; sith they were now assured, that he being their chiefteine meant no dissimulation. A matter trulie of no small importance, considering the fauor which the commons bare towards him, and the opinion they had conceiued of his high prowesse; so that which waie he inclined, it was thought, verelie the game were likelie to go. But now after the king was aduertised of that perilous commotion of the northerne men, he appointed not onlie the said earle of Shrewesburie to raise a power to resist them; but also ordeined the duke of Norffolke his lieutenant generall, with the marquesse of Exceter, and the said earle of Shrewesburie, the earles of Huntington and Rutland, accompanied with a mightie power, to go against them.

The oth of the earle of Shrewsburie in presence of the people necessarie.

The duke of Norffolke the kings lieutenant.

These lords raising such retinues of souldiers and men of warre as were to them assigned, made forward to the place where the armie of the rebels was then incamped, which was beyond the towne of Doncaster, in the high waie towards Yorke. But

first

first the said earle of Shrewesburie, with the earles of Huntington, and Rutland, and such other that were next adioining to those parties, with their powers assembled out of the shires of Salop, Stafford, Leicester, Rutland, Nottingham, and Derbie, came to a place in Nottingham shire called Blithlow, and there taking the muskers of their people, streightwaies passed forth to Doncaster, and appointed certeine bands of their men, to lie in places where anie fords or passages laie ouer the riuer of Dun, that runneth by the northside of Doncaster, to staie the enimies if they should attempt to come ouer. Shortlie after came the duke of Norffolke, and finallie the marquesse of Exceter with a tollie companie of westerne men, well and perfectlie appointed.

When these capteins and sage councellors being here assembled, vnderstood the manner of the northerne men, their number, and readinesse to battell, they first practised with great policie, to haue pacified the matter without bloudshedding: but the northerne men were so bent to mainteine their wilfull enterprise, that there was no hope to take vp the matter without battell: therefore a daie was set, on the which they should trie the quarrell betwixt them with dint of sword. But see the chance. The night before the daie assigned for this bloudie and vnnaturall battell, to haue béene fought betwixt men of one nation, and subiects to one king; there fell a raine not great to speake of, but yet as it were by miracle, the riuer of Dun rose suddenlie on such a height, that seldome had béene séene there the like hugenesse of water: so that the daie when the houre of battell should come, it was not possible for the one armie to come at the other, and so the appointment made betwéene both the armies for triall of the matter by force of armes, was by Gods good prouidence disappointed, and manie an innocent mans life preserued, that should haue died, if their purposes had taken place.

The euen of Simon and Iude.

I flood.

Gods prouidence staieth them from battell.

After this by the great wisedome and policie of the nobles and capteins, a communication was had, and an agréement made vpon the kings pardon, obteined for all the capteins and chiefe doers in this insurrection, and promise made that they should be gentlie heard, to declare such things as they found themselues gréeued with: and that vpon their articles presented to the king, their reasonable petitions should be granted, as by him & his councell it should be thought expedient, whereby all troubles might be quieted, and ech thing brought to a good conclusion. Herewith euerie man departed, and those which before came as hot as fire to fight, letted of their desperat purpose, by Gods mercifull prouidence, returned now peaceablie to their houses without anie more businesse.

The matter is taken vp.

At the selfe same time that these northerne men were lodged nære to Doncaster, and the kings power readie to stop them of their passage (as before ye haue heard) there was an other armie readie to haue marched southwards thorough Lancashire: but by the faithfull diligence of the earle of Derbie, who with the forces of Lancashire and Cheshire was appointed to resist them, they were likewise kept backe and brought to quiet; notwithstanding they were a verie great number assembled togither of the commons out of Cumberland, Westmerland, and of the north parts of Lancashire. The earle of Sussex was sent downe by the king, to ioine in assistance with the earle of Derbie; who causing diuerse of the chiefe procurers of that rebellion in those parties to be apprehended and arreigned, they being found giltie had iudgement, and were executed, as the abbats of Walleie, Sauleie, and others.

n other arie of rebels arching nthwards rough Lanshire.

In time of this rebellion, a priest that by a butcher dwelling within fiue miles of Windsor had bæn procured to preach in fauor of the rebels, and the butcher (as well for procuring the priest thereto, as for words spoken as he sold his meat in Windsor) were hanged: the priest on a tree at the fot of Windsor bridge, and the butcher on a paire of new gallowes set vp before the castell gate, at the end of the same bridge. The words which the butcher spake were these. When one bad him lesse for the carcase of a sheepe than he thought he could make of it: Naie by Gods soule (said he) I had rather the good fellowes of the north had it, and a score more of the best I haue, than I would so sell it. This priest and butcher being accused on a mondaie in the morning whilest the kings armie was in the field, and the king himselfe lieng at Windsor, they confessed their faults vpon their examinations, and by the law martiall they were adiudged to death, and suffered as before is mentioned. This yeare in December, the Thames was frosen ouer: insomuch that the king and quéene rode thorough London to Grénewich.

utcher & e ieft hanged end the cause why.

A great frost.

In Christmas the king by his messengers and heralds sent downe into the north his generall pardons to all the offendors; and shortlie after Aske that had bæne the principall procurer, & as it were chiefe capteine of the northerne rebels, came to London, and now was both pardoned and receiued into fauor, receiuing of the kings bounteous liberalitie, apparell, and diuerse other rewards, whereof he was most vnworthie: for there liued not (as Hall saith) a better wretch, as well in person as conditions and déeds, spectallie towards the kings maiestie, as after appeared. ¶ Sir Rafe Euers kept Scarbrow castell in the north, being six wéeks besieged by the rebels, twentie daies whereof he and all his companie (which were his onelie friends, seruants, and tenants, and serued for good will to him) were forced to sustéine themselues with bread and water, and yet he kept the same to the end of that rebellion; and so deliuered it to king Henrie, who sent him sone after to serue in the borders against Scotland, where in great credit he continued his seruice, kéeping the Scots without doing hurt to England, and with such obedience of them, as within twentie miles of the borders of Scotland fore against him, there was not a Scot but at his commandement: and so continued, till he was killed in the yeare 1545.]

Generall pardons. 1537 Aske rewarded.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 1010. Sir Rafe Euers his good seruice in the north.

The twelfe of November, sir Thomas Newman priest bare a faggot at Paules crosse, for singing masse with good ale. On the third of Februarie, Thomas Fitzgaret sonne and heire to the earle of Kildare was beheaded, and fiue of his vncles were drawne, hanged, and quartered at Tiborne for treason. In the same moneth Nicholas Musgraue, Thomas Tilbie, with others, began a new rebellion at Kirkbie Stephan in Westmerland, who hauing got togither eight thousand men, besieged the citie of Carleill, from whence they were beaten with the onlie power of the citie: and in returning from thense, the duke of Norffolke, who then was lieutenant of the north, incountered with them, toke the capteins, and according to the law martiall areigned seuentie and foure of them, whome he hanged on Carleill wals; but Musgraue escaped.

Penance at Paules crosse. The earle of Kildare executed. Tilbie. A new rebellion.

In the same moneth of Februarie began a new commotion, by the procurement of sir Francis Bigod, who being intised to that mischieuous enterprise by certeine wicked persons, forgat his dutie to his prince, although he had bæne a man (as Hall saith) that vndoubtedlie loued God, and reuerenced his prince with a right obedient and louing feare: but such are men when God leaueth them, and that they will take in hand things which Gods most holie word vtterlie forbiddeth. This last rebellion began in Setrington, Pikering, Leigh, and Scarbrow; but

Sir Francis Bigod procureth a new commotion.

it was quickelie suppressed, and the said sir Francis Bigod apprehended, and brought to the Tower. The said sir Francis & one Halam, hauing raised a great companie of rebels, meant to haue taken the towne of Hull, there to haue fortified themselues, and to haue assembled more power; but by the wisedome of sir Rafe Ellerkar, & the maior of the towne of Hull, the said Halam, & threescore other of the rebels without anie slaughter were taken, which Halam was afterwards hanged in chaines, and two other with him, at the said towne of Hull. Sir Francis Bigod fled, & could not be heard of for a time, but at length he was also apprehended.

The purpose of the rebels.

Aske & others practise to raise a new rebellion.

Moreouer, about the latter end of this twentith and eight yeare, the lord Darcie, Aske, sir Robert Constable, sir John Bulmer and his wife, sir Thomas Persie brother to the erle of Northumberland, sir Stephan Hamilton, Nicholas Tempest esquier, William Lomleie, began eftsones to conspire, although euerie of them before had receiued their pardons: and now were they all taken and brought to the Tower of London as prisoners. This yeare Robert Packington a mercer of London, a man both rich, wise, and of good credit, dwelling at the signe of the leg in Cheapside, on a morning going (as his custome was) about foure of the clocke to heare masse, in the church then called S. Thomas of Acres, & now the Mercers chappell, as he crossed ouer the street from his house to the church, was suddenlie murthered with a gun, the cracke whereof was heard of the neighbors, and of a great number of labourers that stood at Soper lane end, and saw the said Packington go forth of his house: but there was such a thicke mist that morning, as the like had not béene séene, by reuert whereof the murtherer found shift the more easilie to escape.

Robert Packington murthered.

Manie were suspected, but none found in fault, albeit forsomuch as he was one that would speake his mind frælie, and was at the same time one of the burgesses of the parlement for the citie of London, and had talked somewhat against the couetousnesse and crueltie practised by the cleargie, it was mistrusted least by some of them he came thus to his end. At length the murtherer in deed was condemned at Banburie in Oxfordshire, to die for a felonie which he afterwards committed: and when he came to the gallowes on which he suffered, he confessed that he did this murther, and till that time he was neuer had in anie suspicion thereof. ¶ The nine and twentith of March, were twelue of the Lincolneshire rebels drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged and quartered, fiue of them were priests, the residue laie men. One of the priests was doctor Makarell, and an other was the vicar of Louth.

Rich. Grafton. The inuention of casting pipes.

About this season the maner of casting pipes of lead for the conueiance of water vnder the ground, without occupieng of moulder to the same, was inuented by Robert Brooke clearke, then one of the kings chapleins, an inuention right necessarie for the sauing of expenses: for two men and a boie will do that in one daie, which before could not be done by manie men in manie daies. Robert Cooper goldsmith was the first that made the instruments, and put this inuention in practise. ¶ In the verie beginning of this yeare, certeine commissioners being sent into Summersetshire to take vp corne, the people began to make an insurrection: but by the wisedome and diligence of yong master Paulet & others the same was suppressed, and the beginners thereof, to the number of threescore, were apprehended & condemned, and fourtéene of them were hanged and quartered, one of the number being a woman, the residue were saued by the kings mercifull pardon.

Anno reg. 29.

In June the lord Darcie & the lord Husie were arreigned at Westminster before the marquesse of Excester then high steward, where they were found guiltie, and had iudgement, as in cases of high treason. Shortlie after also were arreigned sir Robert Constable, sir Thomas Persie, sir Francis Bigod, sir Stephan Hamilton, sir John Bulmer, and his wife, or rather (as some report) his paramour: also William Lomleie, Nicholas Tempest, William Thurst abbat of Founteins, Adam Sudburie abbat of Jerueux, William Wold prior of Birlington, also the abbat of Riuers, and Robert Aske. They were all found guiltie of high treason, and all put to death. Sir Robert Constable was hanged in chains ouer Beuerlei gate at Hull, and Robert Aske was also hanged in chains on a tower at Yorke, and Margaret Cheincie sir John Bulmers paramour burnt in Smithfield in London. The other suffered at Tiburne.

Execution.

Arreignment.

Execution.

In the latter end of June, was the lord Darcie beheaded at the Tower hill, and shortlie after the lord Husie was likewise beheaded at Lincolne. This yeare at saint Georges feast, was the lord Cromwell made knight of the garter. In October on saint Edwards euen, which falleth on the twelfe of that moneth, at Hampton court the quéene was deliuered of hir sonne named Edward, for whose birth great ioie was made thorough the realme, with thanksgiuing to almightie God, who had sent such a yong prince to succéed his father in the crowne of this realme (as afterwards he did) by the name of king Edward the first. His godfathers at the font stone were the archbishop of Canturburie & the duke of Norffolke, the ladie Marie was his godmother, and at the bishopping, the duke of Suffolke was his godfather. On the eightéenth of October he was made prince of Wales, duke of Cornewall, and erle of Chester.

The birth of king Edward the first.

But as ioie is often mired with sorrow, so at that time it came to passe by the death of his mother, that noble and vertuous ladie quéene Jane, which departed out of this life the fourteenth date of this moneth of October, to the great griefs of the whole realme: but namelie the king hir husband toke it most grieuoulie of all other, who remouing to Westminster, there kept himselfe close a great while after. The eight of Nouember, the corps of the quéne was caried to Windsor, with great solemnitie, and there buried in the midst of the quire in the castell church. There was also a solemne hearse made for hir in Paules church, and funerall exequies celebrated, as well as in all other churches within the citie of London. Thus was the king left againe a widower, and so continued the space of two yeares togither. Upon the death of which quéne Jane, and the birth of prince Edward hir son this distichon following was made:

The death of quéne Jane.

John Fox in Acts & Monuments.

Phœnix Iana iacet nato Phœnice, dolendum
Sæcula Phœnices nulla tulisse duas.

These verses were thought to be made by master Armigill Wade.

The king held his Christmas at Grénewich, and as well he as all the court ware mourning apparell, till the morrow after Candlemas daie, & then he and all other changed. This yeare Edward Seimer viscount Beauchampe the quénes brother was created earle of Hertford, & sir William Fitzwilliams lord high admerall was created earle of Southhampton, ¶ and master Paulet was made vicetreasuror, sir John Russell comptrollor of the kings house, master Henedge, master Long, master Kneuet of the kings priuie chamber, knights; master Coffin, master Lisle, & master Seimer the quénes brother, knights. On Allhallowes euen, the lord Thomas Howard, brother to the duke of Norffolke, died prisoner in the Tower of London, and was buried at Thetford, and then the ladie Margaret Dowglas was pardoned,

1538

Creation of officers.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S pag. 1011, 1012.

Lord Thomas Howard deceased.

and

and released out of the Tower. The foure and twentith of Februarie, being sundaie, the rod of Boxleie in Kent, called the rod of grace, made with diuerse vices, to moue the eies and lips, was shewed at Paules crosse by the preacher, which was the bishop of Rochester, and there it was broken and plucked in peeces.

Rod of grace shewed at Paules.

The fiue and twentith of Februarie, sir Jhon Allen priest, and also an Irish gentleman of the Garets were hanged & quartered at Tiburne. The second of March, the image of the rod, called saint Sauior at Bermondseie abbeie in Southwarke, was taken downe by the kings commandement. The one and twentith of March, Henrie Harfam customer of Plimmouth, and Thomas Elwell, were hanged and quartered at Tiburne.] In Maie a frier obseruant called frier Forrest was apprehended, for that he was knowne in secret confessions to haue declared to manie of the kings liege people, that the king was not supreame head of the church, where he had by his oth neuertheless affirmed him so to be. Wherupon in his examination, that point being laid to his charge, he answered that he toke his oth with his outward man, but his inward man neuer consented thereunto. But being further accused of diuerse heretical and dammable opinions that he held & maintained contrarie to the scripture, at length being not able to defend the same, he submitted himselfe to the punishment of the church.

Saint Saulor in Southwarke.

Anno Reg. 30. Frier Forrest.

Now when vpon this his submission, hauing more libertie than before he had to talke with whome he would, and other hauing libertie to talke with him, he was incensed by some such as had conference with him, that when his formall abiuration was sent him to read and perusse, he vtterlie refused it, and obstinatelie stood in all his heresies and treasons. Wherupon he was condemned, & afterwards on a paire of new gallowes prepared for him in Smithfield, he was hanged by the middle and armeholes all quicke, and vnder the gallowes was made a fire wherewith he was consumed and burnt to death. There were diuerse of the councell present at his death readie to haue granted him pardon, if anie sparke of repentance would haue appeared in him. There was also a pulpit prepared, in which that renowmed preacher Hugh Latimer, then bishop of Worcester, by manifest scriptures confuted the friers errors, and with manie godlie exhortations moued him to repentance, but he would neither heare nor speake.

Frier Forrest burnt.

A little before the execution, an huge and great image was brought to the gallowes. This image was fetched out of Wales, which the Welshmen had in great reuerence: and it was named Daruell Gatheren. They had a prophesie in Wales, that this image should set a whole forrest on fire, which prophesie was now thought to take effect, for he set this frier Forrest on fire, and consumed him to nothing. The frier when he saw the fire come, caught hold on the ladder, which he would not let go, but in that sort vnpatientlie toke his death, so as if one might iudge him by his outward man, he appeared (saith Hall) to haue small knowledge of God, and lesse trust in him at his ending: otherwise he would haue beene persuaded to patience, and a christian farewell to the world. ¶ Upon the gallowes that he died on, was set vp in great letters these verses here following:

Prophesie.

Dauid Daruell Gatheren,
As saith the Welshmen,
Fetched outlawes out of hell:
Now is he come with speare and shield,
In harnesse to burne in Smithfield,
For in Wales he maie not dwell:
And Forrest the frier,
That obstinate lier,
That wilfullie shall be dead:
In his contumacie,
The gospell doth denie,
The king to be supreme head.]

In Julie was Edmund Cuningbie atteinted of treason, for counterfeiting the kings signe manuell, and in August was Edward Clifford for the same cause atteinted, and both put to execution as traitors at Tiburne. In September by the speciall motion of the Lord Cromwell, all the notable images, vnto the which were made anie especiall pilgrimages and offerings, were vtterlie taken awaie, as the images of Walsingham, Ipswich, Worcester, the ladie of Willsdon, with manie other, and likewise the shrines of counterfeit saints, as that of Thomas Becket, and others. And euen forthwith, by meanes of the said Cromwell, all the orders of friers and nuns, with their cloisters and houses, were suppressed and put downe. ¶ As for the images of our ladie of Walsingham, and Ipswich, were brought vp to London, with all the iewels that hong about them, and diuerse other images both in England & Wales, whereunto anie common pilgrimage was vsed, for auoiding of idolatrie, all which were burnt at Chelsie by the lord priuie seale.

Execution.

Certeine images take away and remoued from their places.

Ab. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 1013.

On the first of September being sundaie, one Gratnell hangman of London and two other were hanged at the wrestling place by Clearken well, for robbing a booth in Bartholomew faire, at which execution were aboue twentie thousand people, as Edward Hall himselfe (then a present beholder) iudged. This moneth of September, Thomas Cromwell lord priuie seale, vicegerent to the kings highnesse, sent forth iniunctions to all bishops & curats through the realme, charging them to see that in euerie parish church, the bible of the largest volume, printed in English, were placed for all men to read on: and that a booke of register were also prouided and kept in euerie parish church, wherein shall be written euerie wedding, christening, and burieng, within the same parish for euer.

Hangman hanged.

The bible in euerie church to be read.

Register booke in euerie church to be kept.

Saint Augustines abbeie at Canturburie was suppressed, and the shrine & goods taken to the kings treasurie, as also the shrine of Thomas Becket in the priorie of Christs church was likewise taken to the kings vse, and his bones, scull and all, which was there found, with a peece broken out by the wound of his death, were all burnt in the same church by the lord Cromwell. The monks there were commanded to change their habits, &c. The one and twentith of October, the church of Thomas Becket in London called the hospitall of saint Thomas of Acres was suppressed. Nicholas Gibson grocer, for this yeare shiriffe of London, builded a free schole at Ratcliffe, neere vnto London, appointing to the same, for the instruction of three score poore mens children, a schoolemaster and vsher, with a stipend of ten pounds by the yere to the maister, and six pounds thirteene shillings foure pence to the vsher. He also builded there certeine almes houses for foureteene poore and aged persons, who quarterlie receiue six shillings eight pence a peece for euer.]

Thomas Becket burnt.

Free schole and almes houses at Ratcliffe.

In this season sute was made to the king by the emperour, to take to wife the duchesse of Millan: but shortlie after that sute brake off, because (as was thought) the emperours councell ment by a rautell to haue brought the king in mind to sue for a licence of the pope. Then the duke of Cleue began to sue to the king, that it would please him to match with his sister the ladie Anne, which after toke effect. In November, one John Nicholson, otherwise called Lam-

John Nicholson alias Lambert.

bert, a priest, was accused of heresie, for holding opinion against the bodilie presence in the sacrament of the altar. He appealed to the kings maiestie, who favourablie consented to heare him at a daie appointed, against which daie, in the kings palace at Westminster, within the kings hall, there was set vp a throne or seat roiall for the king, with scaffolds for all the lords, and a stage for Nicholson to stand vpon.

This Nicholson was esteemed to be a man well learned, but that daie he vttered no such knowledge (saith Hall) as was thought to be in a man of that estimation. Diuerse arguments were ministred to him by the bishops, but namelie the king pressed him sore, and in the end offered him pardon if he would renounce his opinion: but he would not consent thereto, and therefore he was there condemned, and had iudgement, and so shortlie after he was drawne into Smithfield, and there burnt to ashes. The third of Nouember, Henrie Courtnie marques of Excester and earle of Deuonshire, Henrie Pole lord Montacute, and sir Edward Neuill brother to the lord Abergauennie, were sent to the tower, being accused by sir Geffrie Pole, brother to the lord Montacute, of high treason. They were indicted for deuising to mainteine, promote, & aduance one Reginald Pole, late deane of Excester, enimie to the king beyond the sea, & to depriue the king. The marques, and the lord Montacute were arreigned the last of December at Westminster before the lord Audleie that was chancellor, and for that present time high steward of England, and there they found him giltie.

The marques of Excester condemned.

I. Stow. pag. 1019.

The third daie after were arreigned sir Edward Neuill, sir Geffreie Pole, two priests called Crofts and Collins, & one Holland a mariner, & all attainted. ¶ The fiftéenth of Nouember, was the blacke friers in London suppressed, the next daie the white friers, the graie friers, and the monks of the Charterhouse, and so all the other immediatlie. The foure and twentith of Nouember, the bishop of Rochester preached at Paules crosse, & there shewed the bloud of Hales, and affirmed the same to be no bloud, but honie clarified, and coloured with saffron, as it had béene euidentlie proued before the king and his councell. Also foure anabaptists, three men, and one woman, all Dutch, bare fagots at Paules crosse the same daie. The nintéenth of Nouember, a man and a woman Dutch anabaptists, were burnt in Smithfield.

Frieries suppressed.

Bloud of Hales shewed at Paules crosse.

Anabaptists.

1539

The ninth of Januarie, the lord marques, and the lord Montacute, with sir Edward Neuill lost their heads on the Tower hill. The two priests and Holland were drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged and quartered. Sir Geffreie Pole had his pardon. ¶ On Ashwednesdaie, John Ihons, John Potter, & William Manering, were hanged in the princes liueries (because they were the princes seruants) on the southside of Paules churchyard, for killing Roger Cholmeleie esquier in that place, of malice prepensed. The third of March, sir Nicholas Carew of Bedington in the countie of Surrie knight of the garter, and maister of the kings horsse, condemned before of treason, was beheaded on the Tower hill, where he made a godlie confession, both of his fault, and superstitious faith, giuing God thanks, for that his hap was to be prisoner in the Tower, where he first sauored the pleasant taste of Gods holie word, meaning the bible in English, which there he read by the exhortation of one Thomas Philips then keeper of that prison, and sometime a citizen and point-maker of London, who had béene in some trouble for religion, and examined before doctor Stokeslie bishop of London, and sir Thomas More, but through his wise demeanor and mild answers, he escaped their hands.

The lord marques of Excester executed.

Sir Nicholas Carew executed.

The ninth of March, the king created sir William Paulet knight treasuror of his house, lord saint John, and sir John Russell comptroller of his household, lord Russell. Also either then or shortlie after, was sir William Par created lord Par. The new abbeie of white monks at the Tower hill, and the Minories, nuns without Algate, were suppressed on the last of March. The same time the king caused all the hauens to be fenced with bulworks, and blockehouses, and riding to Douer, he tooke order to haue bulworks made alongst the sea coasts, and sent commission to haue generall musters made through the realme. Moreouer on Easter daie there were three score saile discouered that late in the Downes, and for that it was neither knowne what they were, nor what they intended to do, all the able men in Kent rose and mustered in armour the same daie. The eight and twentith of Aprill began a parlement at Westminster, in the which Margaret countesse of Salisburie, Gertrude wife to the marques of Excester, Reginald Pole cardinall, brother vnto the lord Montacute, sir Adrian Foskew, & Thomas Dingleie knight of saint Johns, and diuerse other were atteinted of high treason, which Foskew and Dingleie the tenth of Julie were beheaded.

Creation of new officers.

Bulworks & blockhouses builded.

Anno Reg. 31 A parlement. Attaindors.

Execution.

In this parlement the act of the six articles was established. Of some it was named the bloodie statute, as it proued indéed to manie. And euen shortlie after the making thereof, when the first inquest for inquirie of the offendors of the same statute sat in London at the mercers chappell, those that were of that inquest were so chosen forth for the purpose, as there was not one amongst them that wished not to haue the said statute put in execution to the vttermost, insomuch that they were not contented onelie to inquire of those that offended in the six articles conteined in that statute, but also they deuised to inquire of certeine branches (as they tooke the matter) belonging to the same, as of those that came seldome to heare masse, that held not vp their hands at the sacring time, who tooke no holie bread nor holie water, who vsed to read the bible in churches, or in communication séemed to despise praiers, or images in the churches, &c. To conclude, they inquired so diligentlie of them that had so offended in anie of those articles or the branches, that they indicted & presented to the number of fiue hundred persons and aboue, so that if the king had not granted his pardon, for that he was informed by the lord Audleie then lord chancellor that they were indicted of malice, a great manie of them which alreadie were in prison, had died for it in Smithfield, in frieng a faggot. But although the king at that present granted his gratious pardon, and forgaue all those offenses: yet afterwards, during the time that this statute stood in force, which was for the space of eight years insuing, they brought manie an honest and simple person to death. For such was the rigor of that law, that if two witnesses, true or false, had accused anie, and auouched that they had spoken against the sacrament, there was no waie but death; for it boted him not to confesse that his faith was contrarie, or that he said not as the accusers reported, for the witnesses (for the most part) were beléeued.

The statute of the six articles.

An inquest of inquirie.

The extreme proceeding in execution of the six articles.

The king being informed that the pope by instigation of cardinall Pole, had moued and stirred diuers great princes and potentats of christendome to inuade the realme of England; without all delaie rode himselfe toward the sea coasts, and sent diuerse of his nobles and councellors to suruete all the ports and places of danger on the coast, where anie meet and conuenient landing place might be doubted, as well in the borders of England, as also of Wales: in

Prouision for defense of the realme.

which

which dangerous places he caused bulwoorks and forts to be erected. And further, he caused the lord admerall earle of Southampton to prepare in a readinesse his nauie of ships, for defense of the coasts. Beside this, he sent forth commissions to haue generall musters taken through the realme, to vnderstand what number of able men he might make account of: and further to haue the armor and weapons seene and viewed. Nothing left he vndone that tended to the foreseeing and preuenting of a mischiefe to insue, which in a prince is counted a vertue, because such prouidence and circumspection is reputed no lesse in a priuat & ordinarie man, as the poet Plautus saith;

Virtus est, vbi occasio admonet, dispicere.

Sir William Forman knight, at that present maior of London, was commanded to certifie the names of all the able men within the citie and liberties thereof, betweene the ages of three score and of sixteene, with the number of armors and weapons of all kinds of sorts. Whereupon the said maior and his brethren eth one in his ward, by the oth of the common councell and constable, toke the number of men, armor, and weapons. And after well considering of the matter, by view of their bookes, they thought it not expedient to admit the whole number certified for apt and able men: and therefore assembling themselues againe, they chose forth the most able persons, and put by the residue, specially such as had no armor, nor for whom anie could be prouided. But when they were credibly aduertised by Thomas Cromwell lord priuie seale (to whome the citie was greatlie beholden) that the king himselfe would see the people of the citie muster in a conuenient number, and not to set forth all their power, but to leaue some at home to keepe the citie; then essons euerie alderman repaired to his ward, and there put aside all such as had tacks, cotes of plate of maile, and brigandines, and appointed none but such as had white armor, except such as should beare morris pikes, which ware no armor but scalles, and there was no stranger (although he were a denisine) permitted to be in this muster.

Preparation in London for a muster to be made and shewed before the king.

Euerie man being of anie abilitie, prouided him selfe a cote of white silke, and garnished their basenets with turues like caps of silke, set with owches, furnished with chaines of gold and feathers, or caused their armor to be guilt, and likewise their halberds and pollares. Some, and especiallie certeine goldsmiths, had their whole armor of siluer bullion. The lord maior, the recorder, the aldermen, and euerie other officer beside were gorgeouslie trimmed, as for their degrees was thought seemelie. The maior had sixteene tall fellowes on foot attending on him with guilt halberds, apparelled in white silke doublets, and their hose and shoes were likewise white, cut after the Almaine guise, pounced and pulled out with red sarsenet: their ierkins were of white leather cut, and chains about their necks, with feathers and brooches in their caps. The recorder and euerie alderman had about him foure halberders trimmed also in warlike sort. The chamberleine of the citie, the councellors & aldermens deputies were appointed to be wiflers on horsebacke, which aloft on their armor ware white damaske cotes, mounted on good horses well traped, with great chaines about their necks, and proper tauelins or battell axes in their hands, and caps of veluet richlie trimmed.

The wiflers.

The wiflers on foot, being in number foure hundred proper light persons, were clad in white ierkins of leather cut, with white hose and shoes, euerie man with a tauelin or slaughsword in his hands, to keepe the people in arraie. They had chaines about their necks, and fethers in their caps.

The minstrels.

The minstrels were in white, with the armes of the citie, and so was euerie other person at this muster without anie diuersitie, the lord maior, recorder, and aldermen, onelie excepted, who had crosses of veluet or satin pirled with gold. The standard bearers were the tallest men of euerie ward, for whome were made thirtie new standards of the deuise of the citie, beside baners. Euerie alderman mustred his own ward in the fields, to see that euerie man were in furniture prouided as was requisite.

Euerie alderman with his ward in order of battell.

The eight of Maie being the daie appointed for to shew themselues before the king, euerie alderman in order of battell with those of his ward came into the fields at Mile end, and then all the gunners seuered themselues into one place, the pikes into another, and the archers into an other, and likewise the bilmen, and there cast themselues in rings, and other formes of battell, which was a beautifull sight to behold: for all the fields from white Chapell to Mile end, and from Bednall greene to Ratcliffe & Stepnie, were all couered with armour, men, and weapons, and especiallie the battell of pikes seemed to be as it had beene a great forrest. Then was euerie part diuided into three battels, a for-ward, a midle-ward, and a rere-ward.

The order of the Londoners in their musters.

About seauen of the clocke marched forward the light peeces of ordinance, with stone and powder. After them followed the drums and fifes, and immediatlie after them a guidon of the armes of the citie. Then followed maister Sadler capteine of the gunners on horsebacke armed, and in a cote of veluet, with a chaine of gold, and foure halberders about him apparelled as before is recited. Then followed the gunners foure in a ranke, euerie one going fiue fot in sunder, which shot altogither in diuerse places verie liuelie, and in speciallie before the kings maiestie, which at that time sat in his new gatehouse at his palace of Westminster, where he viewed all the whole companie. In like maner passed the other companies of all the three battels in good and seemelie order. The foremost capteine at nine of the clocke in the morning, by the little conduit came and entered into Paules churchyard, and from thense directlie to Westminster, and so through the sanctuarie, and round about the parke of S. James, and vp into the field, comming home through Holborne, and as the first capteine entered againe to the little conduit, the last of the muster entered Paules churchyard, which was then about foure of the clocke in the afternoone. The number, beside the wiflers, and of other waiters was fiftéene thousand.

The king taketh view of the Londoners in their musters.

The number of Londoners in this muster.

¶ The eight of Julie, Griffith Clearke, vicar of Wandsworth, with his chapleine and his seruant, & frier Waire, were all foure hanged and quartered at S. Thomas Waterings. The tenth of Julie sir Adrian Fortescue, and Thomas Dingleie were beheaded. The ninth of September, the nunnerie of Clerkenwell and diuerse others were suppressed.] This yeare the sixteenth of September came to London duke Frederike of Bauiere, the Palsgraue of the Rhine, and the eightéenth of the same moneth came to London the marshall of Hans Frederike prince elector of Saxonie, and the chancellor of William duke of Cleue, Gulicke, Gelderland, and Berghen. The Palsgraue was receiued and conducted to Windsore by the duke of Suffolke, and the other were accompanied with other noble men, and the three and twentith of the same moneth they all came to Windsore, where eight daies togither they were continuallie feasted, and had pastime shewed them, in hunting and other pleasures, so much as might be. The Palsegraue shortlie after departed homewards and was princelie rewarded, & at that present was the marriage concluded betwixt the king and the ladie Anne, sister vnto duke William of Cleue, and

John Stow.

Vicar of wandsworth and other executed.

Clerkenwell and other suppressed.

The Palsgraue & other strangers come ouer into England.

The marriage concluded betwixt king Henrie & the ladie Anne Cleue.

I. Stow, pag. 1016.

& great preparation was made for the receiuing of hir. ¶ The twelfe of October the nunnerie of Halywell, & forthwith the priorie of S. Marie oueries in Southwarke, and S. Bartholomews in Smithfield, were suppressed, & all their lands & goods taken to the kings vse. Thomas Huntlow of London for this yeare shiriffe, gaue the habardashers certeine tenements, for the which they be bound to giue to ten poore almes people of the same companie, euerie one of them eight pence euerie fridaie for euer: and also at euerie quarter dinner kept by the maisters, to be giuen to euerie one of those ten poore people a penie loafe, a pottell of ale, a peece of beefe worth foure pence in a platter, with porage, and foure pence in monie.]

Thom. Huntlow his charitie.

The fourteenth of November, Hugh Feringdon abbat of Reding, and two priests, the one called Rug, and the other Onion, attainted of high treason for denieng the supremacie of the king ouer the church of England, were drawne, hanged, and quartered at Reding. The same daie was Richard Whiting abbat of Glastenburie likewise hanged and quartered on Towre hill beside his monasterie, for the same matter and other treasons whereof he had beene conuicted. The first of December was John Beche abbat of Colchester put to death for the like offense. In December were appointed to wait on the kings person fiftie gentlemen called pensioners, or sprares, vnto whome was assigned the sum of fiftie pounds peerelie a peece, for the maintenance of themselues and two horsses, or one horsse and a gelding of seruice.

Pensioners instituted.

The eleuenth daie of December at the turne pike on this side Graueling, was the ladie Anne of Cleue receiued by the lord deputie of the towne of Calis, and with the speares and horssemen belonging to the retinue there. When she came within little more than a mile of the towne of Calis, she was met by the erle of Southampton high admerall of England, who had in his companie thirtie gentlemen of the kings houshold, as sir Francis Brian, sir Thomas Seimer, and others, beside a great number of gentlemen of his owne retinue clad in blue veluet, and crimsin satin, and his yeomen in damaske of the same colours. The mariners of his ship were apparelled in satin of Bridges, cotes & slops of the same colour. The lord admerall brought hir into Calis by Lanterne gate. There was such a peale of ordinance shot off at hir entrie, as was marueilous to the hearers. The maior presented hir with an hundred markes in gold, the merchants of the staple with an hundred souereignes of gold in a rich purse. She was lodged in the kings place called the Checker, and there she laie fiftéene daies for want of prosperous wind.

Ladie Anne of Cleue is receiued into Calis.

During which time, goodlie iusts and costlie bankets were made to hir, for hir solace and recreation. And on S. Johns daie in Christmasse, she with fiftie saile toke passage about noone, and landed at Dele in the Downes about fiue of the clocke, where sir Thomas Chenie lord Warden of the ports receiued hir. She taried there a certeine space in a castell newlie built, and thither came the duke of Suffolke, and the dutches of Suffolke, and the bishop of Chichester with a great number of knights and esquiers, and ladies of Kent and other, which welcomed hir grace, and brought hir that night vnto Douer castell, where she rested till mondaie, on which daie (notwithstanding it was verie foule and stormie weather) she passed towards Canturburie, and on Baram downe met hir the archbishop of Canturburie, with the bishops of Elie, S. Asse, S. Danies, and Douer, and so brought hir to S. Augustins without Canturburie, where she laie that night. The next daie she came to Sittingburne, and laie there that night. As she passed towards Rochester on Newyeares euen, on Reinam downe met hir the duke of Norffolke, and the lord Dacres of the south, and the lord Montiole, with a great companie of knights and esquiers of Norffolke and Suffolke, with the barons of the excheker which brought hir to Rochester, where she laie in the palace all Newyeares daie. On which daie, the king (longing to see hir) accompanied with no more but eight persons of his priuie chamber, both he and they all apparelled in marble cotes, priuilie comming to Rochester, suddenlie came to hir presence, whereof at the first she was somewhat astonied, but after he had spoken to hir and welcomed hir, she with louing countenance and gratious behauiour him receiued, and welcomed him on hir knees, whom he gentlie toke vp and kissed, and all that after noone communed and deuised with hir, supped that night with hir, and the next daie he departed to Greene-wich, and she came forward to Dartford.

1540

The king commeth to see hir at Rochester.

She landeth in Kent.

On the morrow the third daie of Januarie being saturdaie, in a faire plaine of Blackeheath, more neere to the foot of Shooters hill, than the ascendent of the same, called Blackheath hill, was pitched a pauilion of rich cloth of gold, and diuerse other tents and paullions, in which were made fiers and perfumes for hir and such ladies as were appointed to receiue hir: and from the tents to the parke gate of Greene-wich, all the bushes and firs were cut downe, and a large open waie made for the shew of all persons. And first next to the parke pale on the east side stood the merchants of the stilliard, and on the west side stood the merchants of Genoa, Florence and Uenice, and the Spaniards in cotes of veluet. Then on both sides the waie stood the merchants of the citie of London, and the aldermen, with the councellors of the said citie, to the number of a hundred and threescore which were mingled with the esquiers; then the fiftie gentlemen pensioners: and all these were apparelled in veluet and chaines of gold, trulie accounted to the number of twelue hundred & aboue, beside them that came with the king and hir, which were six hundred in veluet cotes and chaines of gold. Behind the gentlemen stood the seruingmen in good order well horsled and apparelled, that who so euer had well viewed them might haue said, that they for tall and comelie personages, and cleane of lim and bodie, were able to giue the greatest prince in christendome a mortall breakefast, if he had béene the kings enimie.

The order of receiuing hir on Blackeheath.

About twelue of the clocke, hir grace with all the companie which were of hir owne nation, to the number of an hundred horsse, accompanied with the dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, the archbishop of Canturburie, and other bishops, lords, and knights, which had receiued and conueied hir, came downe Shooters hill towards the tents, and a good space from the tents met hir the earle of Rutland appointed lord chamberlaine to hir grace, sir Thomas Denise hir chancellor, and all hir councellors and officers, amongst whome doctor Dale (appointed to be hir almoner) made to hir an eloquent oration in Latine, presenting to hir on the kings behalfe all the officers and seruants: which oration was answered vnto by the duke hir brothers secretarie, there being present: which done the ladie Margaret Dowglas, daughter to the quéene of Scots, the ladie marquesse Dorsset, daughter to the French quéene, being néeces to the king, and the dutches of Richmond the countesses of Rutland and Hereford, with diuers other ladies and gentlewomen, to the number of threescore and fiue, saluted and welcomed hir grace, who alighted out of hir chariot in the which she had rid all hir long iourneie, and with courteous demeanor and

The ladies that receiued hir on Blackeheath.

louing countenance, gaue to them hartie thanks, and kissed them all, and after all hir councellors and officers kissed hir hand: which done, she with all the ladies entered the tents, and there warmed them a space.

When the king knew that she was arriued in hir tent, he with all diligence set out through the parke. And first issued the kings trumpets, then the kings officers sworne of his councell, next after came the gentlemen of his priuie chamber, after them followed barons, the youngest first, and sir William Hollis lord maior of London rode with the lord Par that was the youngest baron. Then followed the bishops, and immediatlie after them the earles, and then the duke of Bauiere, and countie Palatine of the Rhine, with the liuerie of the Toison or golden fléece about his necke.

Then came the ambassadours of the French king and emperour, next to whome followed the lord priuie seale lord Cromwell, and the lord chancellour, then Garter king at armes, and the other officers and sargeants of armes gaue their attendance on each side the lord. The lord marquesse Dorset bare the sword of estate, and after him a good distance followed the kings highnesse, mounted on a goodlie courser. To speake of the rich and gorgeous apparell that was there to be séene that daie, I haue thought it not greatlie necessarie, sith each man may well thinke it was right sumptuous, and as the time then serued, verie faire and costlie, as they that are desirous to vnderstand the same may read in maister Halles chronicle more at large, which in this part I haue thought good to abridge.

After the king followed the lord chamberleine, then came sir Anthonie Browne maister of his horsses, a goodlie gentleman, and of personage verie séemelie, richlie mounted, & leading the kings horsse of estate by a long reine of gold. Then followed his pages of honour riding on great coursers, and lastlie followed sir Anthonie Wingfield capteine of the gard, and then the gard well horssed, and in their rich cotes. In this order rode the king till he came to the last end of the ranke of the pensioners, & there euerie person that came with him placed himselfe on the one side or the other, the king standing in the middest.

When hir grace vnderstood that the king was come, she came forth of hir tent, and at the doore therof, being set on a faire and beautifull horsse richlie trapped, she rode forth towards the king, who perceiuing hir to approch, came forward somewhat beyond the crosse on Blackheath, and there staied till she came nearer, & then putting off his cap, he made forward to hir, and with most louing countenance and princelie behauiour saluted, welcomed, and imbraced hir, to the great reioising of the beholders: and the likewise not forgetting hir dutie, with most amiable aspect and womanlie behauiour receiued him with manie apt words and thanks, as was most to purpose. Whilest they were thus talking togither, the fiftie pensioners with the gard departed to furnish the hall at Grenewich. After the king had talked with hir a small while, he put hir on his right hand, and so with their footmen they rode togither, and with their companies being thus met, returned in this manner through the rankes of the knights and esquiers (which stood still all this while and remoued not.)

First hir trumpets set forward being twelue in number, beside two kettle drums on horssebacke; then followed the kings trumpeters, then the kings counsellors, then the gentlemen of the priuie chamber, after them the gentlemen of hir graces countrie in cotes of veluet, and all on great horsses. Then the maior of London with the youngest baron, then all the barons: next them the bishops, then the earles, with whom rode the earles of Duerstein and Waldec hir countrimen, then the dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, and the archbishop of Canturburie, and duke Philip of Bauier: next followed the ambassadors, then the lord priuie seale, and the lord chancellor, then the lord marquesse Dorset that bare the sword: next followed the king himselfe equallie riding with the ladie Anne, and behind him rode sir Anthonie Browne with the kings horsse of estate, as yée haue heard, and behind him rode sir John Dudleie maister of hir horsses, leading hir spare horsse trapped in rich tissue downe to the ground; after them followed henrmen and pages of honor.

The king and the ladie Anne ride togither.

Then followed the ladie Margaret Dowglas, the ladie marquesse Dorset, the dutches of Richmond and Suffolke, the countesses of Rutland and Hertford, and other countesses. Then came hir chariot in which she had rid all hir iournie, well carued and gilt with the armes of hir countrie curiouslie wrought & couered with cloth of gold, all the horsses were trapped with blacke veluet, and on them rode pages of honor, in which chariot rode two ancient ladies of hir countrie: next after the chariot, followed sir ladies and gentlewomen of hir countrie verie beautifull and richlie apparelled, and with them rode sir ladies of England. Then followed an other chariot, gilt and furnished, then ten English ladies, and next them an other chariot couered with blacke cloth, and therein rode foure gentlewomen that were hir chamberers. Then followed all the remnant of the ladies, gentlewomen and damosels in great number: and last of all came an other chariot all blacke, with three launders apperteining to hir grace; next after followed an horslitter of cloth of gold and crimsin veluet vpon veluet paled, with horsses trapt accordinglie, which the king had sent to hir. Then followed the seruingmen of hir traine, all clothed in blacke, mounted on great horsses, euerie one in due place and decent order, so that it was verie magnificall and more than princelie brauerie that then was exhibited to the beholders eies, as the poet saith:

Hir chariot wherein she rode all hir iourneie.

Cernitur hîc plusquam regia pompa comes.

In this order they rode through the rankes and through the parke, till they came at the late friers wall, where all men alighted except the king, the two maisters of the horsse, and the henrmen, which rode to the hall doore, & the ladies rode to the court gate, & as they passed, they might behold on the wharfe, how the citizens of London were rowing vp and downe on the Thames right before them, euerie craft with his barge garnished with banners, flags, streamers, pencels, and targets, painted and beaten with the kings armes, some with hir armes, and some with the armes of their craft and mysterie.

There was also a barge called the bachellors backe, richlie decked, on the which waited a foist that shot great peces of artillerie, and in euerie barge was great store of instruments of diuerse sorts, and men and children singing and plaieng altogither, as the king and the ladie Anne passed by on the wharfe. When the king and she were within the vtter court, they alighted from their horsses, and the king louinglie imbraced hir, kissed hir, & bad hir welcome to hir owne, leading hir by the left arme through the hall, which was furnished beneath the barth with the gard and aboue the barth with the fiftie pensioners, with their battell axes; and so the king brought hir vp to hir priuie chamber, where he left hir for that time. Assone as the king and she were entered the court, a great peale of artillerie was shot off from the tower of Grenewich, and there about.

The king welcommeth hir to Grenewich.

When the kings companie and hirs were once come

come within the parke (as before yée haue heard) then all the horssemen on Blackeheath brake their arate, and had licence to depart to London or otherwhere to their lodgings.

The mariage is solemnized betwixt king Henrie & the ladie Anne of Cleue.

On the tuesdaie following, being the daie of the Epiphanie, the mariage was solemnized betwixt the king and the said ladie. She was fetched from hir chamber by the lords, so that she going betweene the earle of Duersteine, and the grand master Hosconder, which had the conduct and order to see the mariage performed, she passed through the kings chamber & all the lords before hir, till shée came into the galleríe, where the king was readie, staieng for hir, to whom she made three low obeisances and courtesies. Then the archbishop of Canturburie receiued them, and married them togither, and the earle of Duersteine did giue hir. When the mariage was celebrate they went hand in hand into the kings closet, and there hearing masse, offered their tapers, and after Masse was ended, they had wine and spices. And that done, the king departed to his chamber, and all the ladies waited on hir to hir chamber, the duke of Norffolke going on hir right hand, and the duke of Suffolke on hir left.

After nine of the clocke, the king hauing shifted his apparell, came to his closet, & she likewise in hir haire, & in the same apparell she was married in she came to hir closet with hir sargeant at armes, & all hir officers before hir like a queene, & so the king and she went openlie in procession, and offered and dined togither. After they had supped togither, there were bankets and maskes, and diuerse disports shewed, till time came, that it pleased the king and hir to take rest. On the sundaie after were kept solemne iusts, which greatlie contented the strangers. This daie she was apparelled after the English manner, with a French hood, which became hir exceeding well. When the earle of Duersteine and the other lords and ladies which had giuen their attendance on hir grace all that iournete, had béene highlie feasted and interteined of the king and other of the nobles, they tooke leaue, and had great gifts giuen to them, both in monie and plate, and so returned toward their countrie, leauing behind them the erle of Waldecke, and diuerse gentlemen and damosels to remaine with hir, till she were better acquainted in the realme.

Iusts and torneiments.

The king and the ladie Anne remoue to westminster.

The fourth of Februarie, the king and she remoued to Westminster by water, on whome the lord maior & his brethren, with twelue of the chéefe companies of the citie, all in barges gorgeouslie garnished with baners, penons, and targets, richlie couered, and furnished with instruments, swetlie sounding, gaue their attendance: and by the waie, all the ships shot off, and likewise from the tower, a great peale of ordinance went off iustilie. The twelfe of Februarie, the duke of Norffolke was sent in ambassage to the French king, of whome he was well interteined, and in the end of the same moneth he returned againe into England.

The duke of Norffolke ambassador into France.

S. Marie Oueries made a parish church.

After Christmas, the priorie church of S. Marie Oneris in Southworke was purchased of the king by the inhabitants of the Borow, D. Gardener bishop of Winchester putting to his helping hand: they made there of a parish church, and the little church of Marie Magdalen ioining to the same priorie, was made all one church, and saint Margarets in Southworke a parish, was admitted to the same parish.

John Stow.

Erle of Essex deceassed.

¶ The twelfe of March, Henrie Bourcher erle of Essex riding a yong horsse, was cast, & brake his necke, at his manour in Esser: he was the eldest earle in England. The nintéenth of March, John Uere erle of Oxford, high chamberleine of England, deceassed at his manour in Esser. The tenth of Aprill, sir William Richardson priest of S. Maries in Calis, were both there drawne, hanged, and quartered in the market place for denieng obstinatelie the kings supremacie.]

Priests at Calis executed.

am Peterson priest, late commissarie of Calis, and

The third sundaie in Lent, one doctor Barnes preached at Paules crosse, and in his sermon inueighed against the bishop of Winchester, for doctrine by him preached in the same place, the first sundaie of that Lent, intreating of iustification. Among other taunts that Barnes vttered against the bishop, this was one, that if he & the bishop were both at Rome, he knew that great sums of monie would not saue his life, where but for the bishop, there was no great feare, but small intreatance would serue. The bishop offended herewith, complained of Barnes to the K. and had him examined, & at length by the kings commandement he came to the bishops house, where the matter was so handled at this time, that Barnes with two other preachers, the one named Hierome, and the other Garret (of whom hereafter more shall be said) were appointed to preach at S. Marie spittle by London in the Ester weeke. In that sermon which Barnes made before all the people, he asked the bishop forgiuenesse, for speaking so vnreuerentlie of him in his former sermon, and required the bishop (if he did forgiue him) in token thereof to hold vp his hand, which like as it was long before he did, so (as manie thought afterward) it was but a feigned forgiuenesse.

D. Barnes.

Sir John Shelton, sir Nicholas Hare, sir Humfreie Browne fraudulent lawiers punished.

The twelfe of Aprill began a parlement, and sir Nicholas Hare was restored to the office of speaker, who togither with sir Humfreie Browne knight, and William Connesbie esquier, the three and twentith of Februarie last past, had bin called before the lords into the Starchamber, for being of counsell with sir John Shelton knight, in making a fraudulent will of his lands, to the hinderance of the kings prerogatiue, and contrarie to the statute of Anno 27, for the which offense they were all at that time dismissed of their offices and seruices to the king, and the two knights were immediatlie sent to the tower, and three daies after Connesbie was committed thither also. They remained there in ward about ten daies, and were then deliuered. Sir Humfreie Browne was the kings sargeant at law, sir Nicholas Hare was one of the kings councellors, and speaker of the parlement, who being then deprriued, was now againe thereto restored. William Connesbie was attornete of the dutchie of Lancaster. In this parlement, were freelie granted without contradictions, foure fifteenes and a subsidie of two shillings of lands, and twelue pence of goods, toward the kings great charges of making Bulworkes.

Aduancement of Thomas Cromwell.

The eightéenth of Aprill at Westminster was Thomas lord Cromwell created earle of Esser, and ordeined great chamberleine of England, which office the earles of Oxford were wont euer to enioie; also Gregorie his sonne was made lord Cromwell.

The foure and twentith of Aprill, Thomas lord Audlete, & chancellor of England, with sir Anthonie Browne, maister of the kings horsses, were made knights of the right honourable order of the garter. On Maie daie, was a great triumph of iusting at Westminster, which iusts had béene proclaimed in France, Flanders, Scotland, and Spaine, for all commers that would, against the challengers of England; which were, sir John Dudleie, sir Thomas Seimer, sir Thomas Poinings, sir George Carew knights, Anthonie Kingston, and Richard Cromwell esquiers, which said challengers came into the lists that daie richlie aparelled, and their horsses trapped all in white veluet, with certeine knights and gentlemen riding afore them, aparelled all in white veluet,

velvet, and white sarsenet, and all their seruants in white dublets, and hozen cut after the Burgonion fashion: and there came to iust against them the said daie, of defendants foztie sir, the earle of Surrie being the fozmost, lozd William Howard, lozd Clinton, and lozd Cromwell, sonne and heire to Thomas Cromwell earle of Esser, and chamberleine of England, with other, which were richlie apparelled.

Sir John Dudleie ouerthzowne.

And that day, sir John Dudleie was ouerthzowne in the field, by mischance of his hozse, by one master Bzeme defendant, neuertheless he bzake diuerse speares valiantlie after that. And after the said iusts were done, the said challengers rode to Durham place, where they kept open houshold, and feasted the king and quéene, with hir ladies, and all the court.

Tournieng.

The second of Maie, Anthonie Kingston & Richard Cromwell were made knights at the said place. The third of Maie, the said challengers did tournie on hozsebacke with swozds, & against them came nine and twentie defendants; sir John Dudleie, and the earle of Surrie running first, who in the first course lost both their gantlets: and that daie, sir Richard Cromwell ouerthzew master Palmer in the field off his hozse, to the great honoz of the challengers. On the fift of Maie, the said challengers fought on fot at the barriers, and against them came thirtie defendants, which fought valiantlie: but sir Richard Cromwell ouerthzew that daie at the barriers master Culpeper in the field.

Barriers.

The said challengers bzake vp their houshold, after they had kept open hospitalitie, and feasted the king, quéene, and all the lozds, beside all the knights and burgesses of the common house in time of the parlement, and the maioz, aldermen, and all their wiues to their no small honoz, though great expense. In the parlement which began the eightéenth of Aprill last past, the religion of saint Johns in England, commonlie called the ozder of knights of the Rhodes, was dissolued; & on the ascension day, being the fift of Maie, sir William Weston knight, priozr of saint Johns departed this life foz thought (as was repozted) which he toke to the heart, after he heard of that dissolution of his ozder. ¶ Foz the king toke all the lands that belonged to that ozder into his hands, to the augmentation of his crowne, and gaue vnto euerie of the challengers aboue written foz a reward of their valiantnesse, a hundzed marks, and a house to dwell in of yearelie reuenues out of the said lands foz euer.]

The ozder of the Rhodes dissolued.

S. pag. 1019. saint Johns Smithfield pzzessed.

The same moneth were sent to the Tower doctoz Samson, bishop of Chichester, and doctoz Wilson, foz releasing certeine traitozous persons: and foz the same offense was one Richard Farmer, a grocer of London, a rich and welthie man, and of good estimation in the citie, committed to the Marshalsea, & after at Westminster hall arreigned, and atteinted in the prémunire; so that he lost all his goods. ¶ The ninth daie of Julie, Thomas lozd Cromwell, late made earle of Esser (as before you haue heard) being in the councell chamber, was suddenlie apprehended & committed to the Tower of London: the which manie lamented, but more reioised, and specialllie such as either had béene religious men, oz fauoured religious persons, foz they banketed & triumphed togither that night, manie wishing that that daie had béene seuen yeares before; & some fearing that he should escape, although he were imprisoned, could not be merie.

The bishop of Chichester, & doctoz Wilson committed to the Tower.

Doctoz Fle. ex I. Hal. Ccxlij. The lozd Cromwell committed to the Tower.

Other who knew nothing but truth by him, both lamented him, and heartilie praied foz him. But this is true, that of certeine of the clergie he was detestablie hated, and specialllie such as had borne him grudge and by his meanes were put from it: foz in déed he was a man that in all his doings seemed not to fauoz anie kind of poperie, noz could not abide the snuffing pride of some prelats, which vndoubtedlie (whatsoeuer else was the cause of his death) did shozten his life, and procured the end that he was brought vnto: which was, that the nineteenth daie of the said moneth he was atteinted by parlement, and neuer came to his answer: which law manie repozted that he caused first to be made, howbeit the plaine truth thereof I know not. The articles foz which he died appeare in the recozds, where his attaindoz is written, which are too long here to be rehearsed; but to conclude he was there atteinted of heresie and high treason, and the eight & twentith of Julie was brought to the scaffold on the Tower hill, where he said these wozds following.

The words of the lord Cromwell spoken at his death.

I Am come hither to die, and not to purge my selfe, as may happen some thinke that I will, foz if I should so do, I were a verie wzetch and a miser. I am by the law condemned to die, and thanke my Lozd God, that hath appointed me this death foz mine offense. Foz since the time that I came to yeares of discretion I haue liued a sinner, and offended my Lozd God, foz the which I aske him hartilie fozgiuenesse. And it is not vnknowne to manie of you, that I haue bæne a great traueller in the wozld, and being but of a base degree, was called to high estate. And since the time I came therevnto, I haue offended my prince, foz the which I aske him hartilie fozgiuenesse, and beseech you all to praie to God with me, that he will fozgiue me. O Father fozgiue me, O Sonne fozgiue me, O Holie ghost fozgiue me, O three persons and one God fozgiue me. And now I praie you that be here, to beare me recozd, I die in the catholike faith, not doubting in anie article of my faith, no noz doubting in anie sacrament of the church. Manie haue slandered me, and repozted that I haue bæne a bearer of such as haue mainteined euill opinions, which is vntrue: but I confesse, that like as God by his holie spirit doth instruct vs in the truth, so the diuell is readie to seduce vs, and I haue bæne seduced: but beare me witnesse, that I die in the catholike faith of the holie church, and I hartilie desire you to praie foz the kings grace, that he may long liue with you in health and prosperitie, & after him that his sonne prince Edward, that gozlie impe may long reigne ouer you. And once againe I desire you to praie foz me, that so long as life remaineth in this flesh, I wauer nothing in my faith.

Then made he his praier, which was long, but not so long as godlie and learned, and after committed his soule to the hands of God, and so patientlie suffered the stroke of the ax, by a ragged and butcherlie miser, which ill fauouredlie performed the office. This man being bozne in Putneie, a village in Surrete by the Thames side, foure miles distant from London, was sonne to a Smith, after whose decease, his mother was married to a Shereman. But notwithstanding the basenesse of his birth and lacke

See Iohn Fox in the Acts & Monuments.

A description of the birth of Thomas Cromwell and other circumstances.

lacke of maintenance was at the beginning (as it happeneth to manie others) a great let and hinderance for vertue to shew hir selfe: yet through a singular excellencie of wit, ioined with an industrious diligence of mind, and helpe of knowledge, gathered by painefull trauell, and marking the courses of states and gouernements as well of his natiue countrie at home, as in forren parties abrode, he grew to such a sufficient ripenesse of vnderstanding and skill, in ordering of weightie affaires, that he was thought apt and fit for anie rome or office whereto he should be admitted.

Which being perceiued of cardinall Wolseie, then archbishop of Yorke, he toke him into his seruice, and making him his solicitor, imploied him about businesse oftentimes of most importance, wherein he acquited himselfe with such dexteritie, as answered alwaies the credit committed to him. After the cardinals fall, he was aduanced to the kings seruice, behauing himselfe so aduisedlie in matters which he toke in hand, that within a small time he rose to high authoritie, and was admitted to be of the priuie councell, bearing most rule of all other vnder the king, as partlie ye haue heard: so that by him it well appeared, that the excellencie of heroicall vertues, which aduance men to fame and honor, resteth not onelie in birth and blood, as a priuilege appropriate and alonelie annexed vnto noble houses, but remaineth at the disposition of almightie God the giuer & disposer of all gifts, who raiseth the poore manie times from the baselt degree, and setteth him vp with princes, according to the saieng of Ecclesiastes:

Qui iacuit tetro quandóque in carcere vinctus,
Parta suis meritis regia sceptra tulit.

Neuertheless, concerning the lord Cromwell earle of Essex, if we shall consider his comming vp to such high degree of honor as he atteined vnto, we maie doubt whether there be cause more to maruell at his good fortune, or at his worthie and industrious demeanor. But sith in the booke of Acts and Monuments ye maie find a sufficient discourse hereof, we need not to spend more time about it, saue onelie as master Fox hath trulie noted, such was his actiuitie and forward ripenesse of nature, so readie and pregnant of wit, so discreet and well aduised in iudgement, so eloquent of tong, so faithfull and diligent in seruice, of such an incomparable memorie, so bold of stomach and hardie, and could do so well with his pen, that being conuersant in the sight of men, he could not long continue vnespied, nor yet vnprouided of fauor and helpe of friends, to set him forward in place and office.

Thankefull he was and liberall, not forgetting benefits receiued, as by his great courtesie shewed to Friscobald the Italian it well appeared: a fauourer of the poore in their suites, and readie to releeue them that were in danger to be oppressed by their mightie aduersaries: a fauorer of the gospell, and an enimie to the pride of prelates, verie stout, and not able well to put vp iniuries, which wan him shrewd enimies that ceassed not (as was thought) to seeke his ouerthrow, till at length they had brought to passe that they wished. Carefull he was for his seruants, and readie to do them good, so that fearing the thing which came to passe, he prouided well for the more part of them, notwithstanding his fall. And thus much for the lord Cromwell. The morrow after Midsummer daie, the king caused the queene to remoue to Richmont, supposing it to be more for hir health, and more for hir pleasure.

The first of Julie, certeine lords came downe into the nether house, & openlie declared causes, for the which the kings marriage was not to be taken lawfull: & in conclusion, the matter was by the conuocation cleerelie determined, that the king might lawfullie marrie where he would, and so might she. And thus were they cleerelie diuorsed, and by the parlement it was enacted, that she should be taken no more for queene, but called the ladie Anne of Cleue.

In this yeare, the lord Leonard Greie, brother vnto Thomas marquesse Dorset, being the kings lieutenant in Ireland, was reuoked home, and vpon his comming to London was sent to the Tower. In Julie the prince of Salerne, and the lord Lois Darola came into England to see the king, & after they were departed, don Frederike, marquesse of Padula, brother to the duke of Ferrara, the prince of Macedonie, the marquesse of Terra Noua, & monsieur de Flagie, with other, came from the emperors court into England to see the king, the which on Marie Magdalens daie came to the court at Westminster, and after they had beene highlie feasted, and noblie interteined, they were richlie rewarded as the other, and so departed.

The eight and twentith of Julie (as you haue heard before) the lord Cromwell was beheaded, and likewise with him the lord Hungerford of Heitesburie, who at the houre of his death seemed vnquiet, as manie iudged him rather in a frensie than otherwise: he suffered for buggerie. The thirtenth of Julie were drawne on hurdels from the Tower to Smithfield, Robert Barns doctor of diuinitie, Thomas Garard, and William Jerom bachellors in diuinitie; Jerom was vicar of Stepnie, and Garard was person of Honie lane: also Powell Fetherston, and Abell priests. The first three were drawne to a stake, there before set vp, and then burned. The other three were drawne to the gallowes, and hanged, beheaded and quartered. The three first (as is found in their atteindor) were executed for diuerse heresies, but none alledged, whereat (saith Hall) I haue much marueled, that their heresies were so manie, and not one alledged as a speciall cause of their death. And verelie at their deaths they asked the shiriffs what was their offense for which they were condemned: Who answered, they could not tell: but most men said it was for preaching against the doctrine of Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, who chieflie (as the same Hall saith) procured their deaths. The last three, to wit, Powell, Fetherston, and Abell, suffered for treason, as in their atteindor was speciall mention made, to wit, for denieng the kings supremacie, and affirming his mariage with the ladie Katharin Dowager to be good.

The fourth of August, Thomas Empson sometime a monke of Westminster, which had beene in prison for treason in Newgate now for the space of three yeares and more, came before the iustices of gaole deliuerie at Newgate, and for that he would not aske the kings pardon, nor be sworne to be true to him, his monks garment was plucked from his backe, and he reprieued, till the king were informed of his malicious obstinacie: and this was the last monke that was seene in his clothing in England till queene Maries daies. The fourth of August were drawne from the Tower of London to Tiburne, Giles Heron gentleman, Clement Philpot gentleman, late of Calis, and seruant to the lord Lisle, Darbie Genning, Edmund Windholme priest, chapleine to the said lord Lisle, William Horne late a late brother of the Charterhouse of London, and an other offendor: which six persons were there hanged and quartered, and had beene atteinted of treason by parlement. The same daie also was one Charles Carew gentleman hanged for robbing of the ladie Carew.

The eight of August was the ladie Katharine Howard neece to the duke of Norffolke, and daugh-

ter

The lord Leonard Greie committed to the Tower.

The prince of Salerne.

Thomas Empson an obstinate monke.

Execution treason.

Thomas Cromwell in most authoritie vnder the king.

John Fox in the Acts and Monuments.

Friscobald an Italian, see Iohn Fox in the Acts and Monuments.

The mariage betwixt the king and the ladie Anne of Cleue adiudged vnlawful.

The lord Hungerford executed for buggerie.

Execution of Barnes and others.

ter to the lord Edmund Howard shewed openlie as
harlots cause manie murthers. quéene at Hampton court. The eleuenth of September a stranger was hanged in Woorfield, named James Rinatian, who had slaine his maister, one Capon a Florentine in a garden, for his harlot. In the latter end of this summer, was vniuersallie
death and drought. Stow. through the most parts of this realme great death by a strange kind of hot agues and flures, and some pestilence, in which season was such a drought, that wels and small riuers were cleane dried vp, so that much cattell died for lacke of water, and the Thames was so shalow, & the fresh water of so small strength that the salt water flowed aboue London bridge, till the raine had increased the fresh waters.

On the two and twentith of September, Rafe Egerton, seruant to the lord Audleie, lord chancellor, and one Thomas Harman seruant to one maister Flightwod, were drawne, hanged, and quartered, the one for counterfeiting and antidating of the kings seale in a signet, wherewith he sealed licences for denizens, vnder the name of the clearkes of the chancerie: and the other, that is to saie Harman, for writing them. One Tuckefield, being of their faction, robbed the lord Audleies chappell and fled, who being afterward apprehended at Calis, which towne he would haue betraied, he slue himselfe with a dagger. In the end of this yeare, the French king
castell built at Ard. made a strong castell at Ard, and also a bridge ouer into the English pale, which bridge the crew of Calis did beat downe, and the Frenchmen built it vp againe, but the Englishmen beat it downe againe. After this, the K. sent about fiftéene hundred workemen to fortifie the towne of Guisnes, and sent with them fiue hundred men of warre to gard them.
Guisnes fortified.

It was reported in France, that a mightie armie was come ouer forth of England with great ordinance: which brute caused the French king to send to the frontiers of Picardie the duke of Vandosme, and other capteins with all spéed to defend the same. The king of England hearing thereof, sent
The earles of Surrie and Southampton sent to Calis. the earles of Surrie, and Southampton, and the lord Russell, high admerall into the marches of Calis, to set order there, and after them he likewise sent two hundred light horsemen of the borders of Scotland, whom the Frenchmen called Stradiots. The lords hauing set order in things, shortlie returned. A boie, one Richard Wekins, not full fiftéene yeares of age,
Richard Wekins burnt. was burnt in Smithfield, for speaking against the sacrament, and contrarie to the statute of the sir articles. The bishop of London was thought in great fault, for procuring that terrible execution, seeing the yong fellow was but an ignorant sole without learning, and gladlie recanted that wherewith he was charged.
de Iohn Fox in the Acts & Monuments.

About the latter end of this yeare, doctor Samson bishop of Chichester, and doctor Wilson, which had béene committed to the tower (as before ye haue heard) were now pardoned of the king, and set a-
1541 gaine at libertie. In the beginning of this yeare, fiue priests in Yorkeshire began a new rebellion,
Anno Reg. 33. A new rebellion practised in Yorkshire. with the assent of one Leigh, a gentleman, and nine temporall men, all which persons were apprehended, and in diuers places put to execution. The said Leigh and two other, the one named Tatersall a clothier, & the other Thornton a yeoman, on the seuentéenth of Maie, were drawne through London to Tiburne, and there executed. And sir John Neuill knight, and ten other persons, died for the same cause at Yorke.
Sir John Neuill executed. The countesse of Salisburie beheaded. Execution of two of the gard. The same daie, Margaret countesse of Salisburie, that had remained a long time prisoner in the tower, was beheaded there within the tower. She was the last of the right line and name of Plantagenet. The ninth of June for example sake, two of the kings gard, the one named Damport, and the other Chapman, were hanged at Grænwich by the friers wall, for robberies which they had committed.

¶ On the tenth of June, sir Edmund Kneuet knight, of Norffolke, was arreigned before the kings iustices (sitting in the great hall at Grænewich) maister Gage, comptroller of the kings household, maister Southwell, sir Anthonie Browne, sir Anthonie Winkefield, maister Wriesletie, and Edmund Peckham, cofferer of the kings household, for striking of one maister Clere of Norffolke, seruant with the earle of Surrie, within the kings house in the tenis court. There was first chosen to go vpon the said Edmund, a quest of gentlemen, and a quest of yeomen, to inquire of the said stripe, by the which inquests he was found giltie, and had iudgement to lose his right hand. Where vpon was called to doo the execution, first the sergeant surgion with his instruments apperteining to his office: the sergeant of the woodyard with the mallet, and a blocke whereVpon the hand should lie: the maister cooke for the king, with the knife: the sergeant of the larder, to set the knife right on the ioint: the sergeant ferrer, with the fearing irons to feare the veines: the sergeant of the poultrie, with a cocke, which cocke should haue his head smitten off vpon the same blocke, and with the same knife: the yeoman of the chandrie, with seare cloths: the yeoman of the skullerie, with a pan of fire to heate the irons, a chafer of water to coole the ends of the irons, and two formes for all officers to set their stuffe on: the sergeant of the cellar, with wine, ale, and beere: the yeoman of the pewrie in the sergeants stead, who was absent, with bason, ewre, and towels.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 1020. Sir Edmund Kneuet arreigned for striking in the court.

The order of euerie officer about that execution.

Thus euerie man in his office readie to doo the execution, there was called forth sir William Pickering knight marshall, to bring in the said Edmund Kneuet; and when he was brought to the bar, the chiefe iustice declared to him his trespasse, and the said Kneuet confessing himselfe to be giltie, humblie submitted him to the kings mercie: for this offense he was not onelie iudged to lose his hand, but also his bodie to remaine in prison, and his lands and goods at the kings pleasure. Then the said sir Edmund Kneuet desired that the king of his benigne grace would pardon him of his right hand, and take the left, for (quoth he) if my right hand be spared, I maie hereafter doo such good seruice to his grace, as shall please him to appoint. Of this submission and request the iustices forthwith informed the king, who of his goodnesse, considering the gentle heart of the said Edmund, and the good report of the lords, granted him his pardon, that he should lose neither hand, lands, nor goods, but should go free at libertie.]

Iudgement vpon Kneuet to lose his hand.

He is pardoned.

The lord Leonard Grete being indicted of certeine points of treason by him committed, as was alledged against him, during the season that he was the kings lieutenant in Ireland, to wit, for deliuering his nephew Girald Fitzgerard brother vnto Thomas Fitzgerard before executed, and also for that he caused certeine Irishmen to inuade the lands of the kings friends, whome he fauoured not; on the fiue and twentith of June he was arreigned at Westminster in the kings bench, and appointed to be tried by knights, because he was a lord by name, and no lord of the parlement; but he discharged the iurie, and confessed the indictement, wherevpon he had iudgement, and on the eight and twentith of June being saint Peters euen, he was beheaded at tower hill, where he ended his life verie quietlie and godlie.

The lord Leonard Grete beheaded.

This noble man as he was come of high linage, so was he a right valiant and hardie personage, hauing in his time done his prince and countrie good seruice, both in Ireland, France, and other pla-

ces, greatlie to his commendation, although now his hap was thus to lose his head, as conuicted by law, and his renowme (ouercast with a cloud of disgrace) vanished, as future chances befell, to the abolishing of the present honor which sometime he inioied. Howbeit, his estimation he might haue preserued vnblemished, had prouident circumspection vndertaken the direction of his doings, and that he had borne his eies in his forehead, to foresee all afterclaps, which a wise man will in no case neglect:

Nam sapiens in fronte oculos habet, omnia spectans,
Omnia prudenti cum ratione videns.

The same daie that he suffered, there was executed at saint Thomas Waterings three gentlemen, John Mantell, John Frowds, and george Roidon: they died for a murther committed in Suſſer (as their indictement imported) in companie of Thomas Fines lord Dacres of the south. The truth whereof was thus. The said lord Dacres, through the lewd persuasion of some of them, as hath beene reported, meaning to hunt in the parke of Nicholas Pelham esquire at Laughton, in the same countie of Suſſer, being accompanied with the said Mantell, Frowds, and Roidon, John Cheinie and Thomas Illeie gentlemen, Richard Middleton and John Goldwell yeomen, passed from his house of Hurstmonceux, the last of Aprill in the night season, toward the same parke, where they intended so to hunt; and comming vnto a place called Pikehate in the parish of Hillingleie, they found one John Busbrig, James Busbrig, and Richard Sumner standing togither; and as it fell out through quarelling, there insued a fraie betwixt the said lord Dacres and his companie on the one partie, and the said John and James Busbrig and Richard Sumner on the other: insomuch that the said John Busbrig receiued such hurt, that he died thereof the second of Maie next insuing.

The true report of the cause whereupon the murther of John Busbrig insued.

Whereupon, as well the said lord Dacres as those that were there with him, and diuerse other likewise that were appointed to go an other waie to meet them at the said parke, were indicted of murther: and the seauen and twentith of June the lord Dacres himselfe was arreigned before the lord Audleie of Walden then lord chancellor, sitting that daie as high steward of England, with other peeres of the realme about him, who then and there condemned the said lord Dacres to die for that transgression. And afterward the nine and twentith of June being saint Peters daie, at eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone, the shiriffs of London, accordinglie as they were appointed, were readie at the tower to haue receiued the said prisoner, and him to haue lead to execution on the tower hill. But as the prisoner should come forth of the tower, one Heire a gentleman of the lord chancellors house came, and in the kings name commanded to staie the execution till two of the clocke in the afternoone, which caused manie to thinke that the king would haue granted his pardon. But neuertheless, at three of the clocke in the same afternoone, he was brought forth of the tower, and deliuered to the shiriffs, who lead him on fot betwixt them vnto Tiburne, where he died. His bodie was buried in the church of saint Sepulchers. He was not past foure and twentie yeeres of age, when he came through this great mishap to his end, for whome manie sore lamented, and likewise for the other three gentlemen, Mantell, Frowds, and Roidon. But for the sad yong lord, being a right towardlie gentleman, and such a one, as manie had conceiued great hope of better proofe, no small mone and lamentation was made; the more indeed, for that it was thought he was induced to attempt such follie, which occasioned his death, by some light heads that were then about him.

The lord Dacres arreigned before the lord Audleie.

Lord Dacres executed at Tiburne.

The first of Julie a Welshman a minstrell was hanged and quartered for singing of songs, which were interpreted to be prophesies against the king. This summer the king toke his progresse to Yorke, and passed through Lincolneshire, where was made to him an humble submission by the temporaltie, and confessing their faults, they humblie thanked him for his pardon, which he had granted them. The towne of Stanford gaue to him twentie pounds, the citie of Lincoln fortie pounds, Boston fiftie pounds, that part of the shire which is called Linseie gaue three hundred pounds, and Kesterne and the church of Lincolne presented him with fiftie pounds. At his entring into Yorkeshire, he was met with two hundred gentlemen of the same shire, in cotes of veluet, and foure thousand tall yeomen and seruing men well horsed, which on their knees made their submission, by the mouth of sir Robert Bowes, and gaue to the king nine hundred pounds. On Barnesdale the archbishop of Yorke, with three hundred priests and more met the king, and making a like submission, gaue to him six hundred pounds. The like submission was made by the maiors of Yorke, Newcastell, and Hull, and ech of them gaue to the king an hundred pounds.

The king goeth in progresse into Yorkeshire.

Gifts giuen to him by them of Lincolneshire.

Gifts giuen him by them of Yorkeshire.

After he had beene at Yorke twelue daies, he came to Hull, where he deuised certeine fortifications. This done, he passed ouer the water of Humber, and so through Lincolneshire, returned toward the south parts, and at Alhallowen tide came to Hampton court. About the same time, the king had knowledge that the queene liued dissolutelie, in vsing the vnlawfull companie of one Francis Diram, with whome she had beene too familiar before hir mariage with the king; & not meaning to forgo his companie now in time of hir marriage, without regard had either to the feare of God, or the king hir husband, the last summer being in progresse with the king at Pomfret, the seuen and twentith of August, she reteined the said Francis Diram in hir seruice, to the intent she might vse his companie in such vnlawfull sort the more freelie: and not satisfied with him, she also vsed the vnlawfull companie of Thomas Culpeper esquire, one of the gentlemen of the kings priuie chamber, as well at Pomfret aforesaid on the nine and twentith and last of August aforesaid, and on the first of September, as at diuerse other times and places before and after. Whereupon, the thirteenth of November, sir Thomas Wriothesleie knight the kings secretarie, came to Hampton court vnto the said queene, and called all hir ladies, gentlewomen, and seruants into hir great chamber, & there openlie in presence of them all, declared hir offenses committed in abusing of hir bodie before hir marriage, & therwith he discharged hir houshold. The morrow after she was conueied to Sion, the ladie Bainton and certeine gentlewomen and some of hir seruants being appointed to wait vpon hir there, till the kings pleasure might be further knowen. Culpeper, Diram, and others were had to the tower. Diram in his examination being charged with the familiaritie which had beene betwixt them, before she was married to the king, confessed that he and the said queene had made a precontract togither, and that he concealed it for hir preferment in marriage to the king, after he vnderstood the king began to call a liking towards hir.

Hull fortified.

Diram and Culpeper queene Katharins paramours.

At Lincolne (saith Hall) in August, whe she gaue to him a rich ca and a chaine.

Queene Katharine detected of incontinent liuing.

The first of December, Culpeper and Diram were arreigned at the Guildhall in London, before the lord maior sitting there in iudgement as cheefe iudge, hauing the lord chancellor vpon his right hand, and the duke of Norfolke vpon his left hand, the duke of Suffolke the lord priuie seale, the earles of Suſſer and Hereford, with diuerse other of the

councell

councell sitting there as iudges in commission that daie: the prisoners in the end confessed the indictement, and had iudgement to die, as in cases of treason.

Culpeper and Diram executed.

The tenth of December, the said Culpeper and Diram were drawen from the tower vnto Tiburne and there Culpeper had his head striken off, and Diram was hanged, dismembred and headed. Culpepers bodie was buried in S. Sepulchers church, but both their heads were set on London bridge. The two and twentith of December were arreigned in the kings bench at Westminster, the ladie Margaret Howard, wife to the lord William Howard, Katharine Tilneie, & Alice Restwold gentlewomen, Ioane Bulmer, wife to Anthonie Bulmer gentleman, Anne Howard, wife to Henrie Howard esquier, and brother to the late quæne, Malein Tilneie widow, Margaret Benet, wife to John Benet gentleman, Edward Walgraue gentleman, William Ashbie gentleman; all these were condemned of misprision of treason, for concealing the quænes misdemeanour. And the same daie in the afternoone, the lord William Howard, and Dampor a gentleman were likewise arreigned, and condemned of the same offense, and as well these as the other were adiudged to lose their goods, & the profits of their lands during life, and to remaine in perpetuall prison.

Attainders.

A parlement. 1542

The sixtenth of Januarie the parlement began at Westminster, in the which the lords and commons exhibited certeine petitions to the king. First, that he would not ver himselfe with the quénes offense, and that she and the ladie Rochford might be attainted by parlement: and to auoid protracting of time, they besought him to giue his rotall assent thereto, vnder his great seale, without staieng for the end of the parlement. Also, that Diram and Culpeper before attainted by the common law, might also be attainted by parlement, & that Agnes duches of Norfolke, and Katharine countesse of Bridgewater hir daughter, which for concealing the said offense, were committed to the towre, and indicted of misprision, & the lord William Howard arreigned of the same, might likewise be attainted. Also, that who soeuer had spoken or done anie thing in detestation of hir naughtie life, should be pardoned.

The petitiõs of the lords & commons of the parlement to the king.

The quéne and other attainted by parlement.

The quéne sent to the towre.

To these petitions the king granted, thanking the commons, for that it apéered they toke his griefe to be theirs: whereupon the quéne and the ladie Rochford were attainted by both the houses. On the tenth of Februarie, the quéne was conueied from Sion to the towre by water, the duke of Suffolke, the lord priuie seale, and the lord great chamberleine, hauing the conduction of hir. The next daie after being saturdaie, and the eleuenth of Februarie, the king did send his rotall assent by his great seale, and then all the lords were in their robes, and the common house called vp, & there the act was read, and his assent declared. And so on the thirtéenth daie, those two ladies were beheaded on the greene within the towre with an ax, where they confessed their offenses, and died repentant.

She is beheaded.

The king proclamed king of Ireland.

Before this, on the thrée and twentith daie of Januarie was the king proclamed king of Ireland, as it was enacted both by authoritie of the parlement here, and also of an other parlement holden at Dublin in Ireland, there begun the thirtenth of June last past, before sir Anthonie Saintleger knight, and the kings deputie there, where as till that time the kings of England were onlie intituled lords of Ireland. In the beginning of March died sir Arthur Plantagenet vicount Lisle, bastard sonne to Edward the fourth, in the towre of London vnattainted, when he should haue béene deliuered and set at libertie.

The occasion of his trouble for the which he was committed to the towre, rose vpon suspicion that he should be priuie to a practise, which some of his men (as Philpot and Brindholme executed the last yeare as before ye haue heard) had consented vnto, for the betraieng of Calis to the French, whilest he was the kings lieutenant there. But after that by due triall it was knowne that he was nothing guiltie to the matter, the king appointed sir Thomas Wriotheslie his maiesties secretarie, to go vnto him, and to deliuer to him a ring, with a rich diamond for a token from him, & to will him to be of good chéere. For although in that so weightie a matter, he would not haue done lesse to him if he had béene his owne son; yet now vpon through triall had, sith it was manifestlie proued that he was void of all offense, he was sorie that he had béene occasioned so farre to trie his truth: and therefore willed him to be of good chéere and comfort, for he should find that he would make accompt of him as of his most true and faithfull kinsman, and not onelie restore him to his former libertie, but otherwise forth be readie to pleasure him in what he could. Master secretarie set forth this message with such effectuall words, as he was an eloquent and well spoken man, that the lord Lisle toke such immoderate ioy thereof, that his hart being oppressed therwith, he died the night following through too much reioising. After his decease, the twelfe of the same moneth of March, sir John Audeleie sonne and heire to the said lord Lisles wife, was at Westminster created vicount Lisle. ¶ The seuentéenth of March one Margaret Danie a yong woman, being a seruant, was boiled in Smithfield for poisoning of hir mistres with whome she dwelt, and diuerse other persons.

The occasion of sir Arthur Plantagenets trouble.

The lord Lisle dieth through immoderate ioy.

In the Lent season, whilest the parlement yet continued, one George Ferrers gentleman, seruant to the king, being elected a burgesse for the towne of Plimmouth in the countie of Deuonshire, in going to the parlement house, was arrested in London by a procesle out of the kings bench, at the sute of one White, for the sum of two hundred markes or thereabouts, wherein he was late afore condemned, as a suertie for the debt of one Weldon of Salisburie: which arrest being signified to sir Thomas Moile knight, then speaker of the parlement, and to the knights and burgesses there, order was taken, that the sargeant of the parlement, called S. John, should forthwith repaire to the counter in Bredstréet (whither the said Ferrers was caried) and there demand deliuerie of the prisoner.

George Ferrers a burges of the parlement arrested, and what mischiefe insued.

The sargeant (as he had in charge) went to the counter, and declared to the clearks there what he had in commandement. But they and other officers of the citie were so farre from obeieng the said commandement, as after manie stout words they forcible resisted the said sargeant, whereof insued a fraie within the counter gates, betwéene the said Ferrers and the said officers, not without hurt of either part: so that the said sargeant was driuen to defend himselfe with his mace of armes, & had the crowne thereof broken by bearing off a stroke, and his man striken downe. During this brall, the shiriffes of London, called Rowland Hill, and Henrie Suckliffe came thither, to whome the sargeant complained of this iniurie, and required of them the deliuerie of the said burgesse, as afore. But they bearing with their officers, made little accompt either of his complaint or of his message, reiecting the same contemptuouslie, with much proud language, so as the sargeant was forced to returne without the prisoner, whereas if they had obeied authoritie, and shewed the seruice necessarilie required in their office and person, they might by their discretion haue appeased

The shiriffes and officers denie the deliuerie of the burgesse.

all the broile, for wisedome assuageth the outrage & vnrestreinable furiousnes of war, as the poet saith:

Instrumenta feri vincit sapientia belli.

The sargeant thus hardlie intreated, made returne to the parlement house, and finding the speaker, and all the burgesses set in their places, declared vnto them the whole case as it fell, who toke the same in so ill part, that they altogither (of whome there were not a few, as well of the kings priuie councell, as also of his priuie chamber) would sit no longer without their burges, but rose vp wholie, and repaired to the vpper house, where the whole case was declared by the mouth of the speaker, before sir Thomas Audleie knight then lord chancellor of England, and all the lords and iudges there assembled, who iudging the contempt to be verie great, referred the punishment thereof to the order of the common house. They returning to their places againe, vpon new debate of the case, toke order, that their sargeant should essones repaire to the shiriffe of London, and require deliuerie of the said burgesse, without anie writ or warrant had for the same, but onelie as afore.

The speaker of the parlement declareth all the matter to the lords.

And yet the lord chancellor offered there to grant a writ, which they of the common house refused, being in a cléere opinion, that all commandements and other acts of procéeding from the nether house, were to be done and executed by their sargeant without writ, onelie by shew of his mace, which was his warrant. But before the sargeants returne into London, the shiriffes hauing intelligence how heinouslie the matter was taken, became somwhat more mild, so as vpon the said second demand, they deliuered the prisoner without anie deniall. But the sargeant hauing then further in commandement from those of the nether house, charged the said shiriffes to appeare personallie on the morrow, by eight of the clocke before the speaker in the nether house, and to bring thither the clearks of the counter, and such officers as were parties to the said affraie, and in like manner to take into his custodie the said White, which wittinglie procured the said arest, in contempt of the priuilege of the parlement.

The shiriffes deliuer the burgesse and are charged to appeare before the speaker.

Which commandement being done by the said sargeant accordinglie, on the morrow the two shiriffes, with one of the clearks of the counter (which was the chiefe occasion of the said affraie) togither with the said White, appeared in the common house, where the speaker charging them with their contempt and misdemeanor aforesaid, they were compelled to make immediat answer, without being admitted to anie counsell. Albeit, sir Roger Cholmeleie, then recorder of London, and other of the councell of the citie there present, offered to speake in the cause, which were all put to silence, and none suffered to speake, but the parties themselues: wherevpon in conclusion, the said shiriffes and the same White, were committed to the Tower of London, and the said clearke (which was the occasion of the affraie) to a place there called litle ease, and the officer of London which did the arrest, called Taylor, with foure other officers to Newgate, where they remained from the eight & twentith vntill the thirtith of March, and then they were deliuered, not without humble suite made by the maior of London & other their frends.

The shiriffes committed to the Tower.

And for somuch as the said Ferrers being in execution vpon a condemnation of debt, and set at large by priuilege of parlement, was not by law to be brought againe into execution, and so the partie without remedie for his debt, as well against him as his principall debter; after long debate of the same by the space of nine or ten dates togither, at last they resolued vpon an act of parlement to be made, and to reuiue the execution of the said debt against the said Welden which was principall debter, and to discharge the said Ferrers. But before this came to passe, the common house was diuided vpon the question: howbeit in conclusion, the act passed for the said Ferrers, wone by fourtéene voices.

An act passed for George Ferrers.

The king then being aduertised of all this procéeding, called immediatlie before him the lord chancellor of England and his iudges, with the speaker of the parlement, and other of the grauest persons of the nether house, to whome he declared his opinion to this effect. First commending their wisedomes in mainteining the priuileges of their house (which he would not haue to be infringed in anie point) he alleged that he being head of the parlement, and attending in his owne person vpon the businesse thereof, ought in reason to haue priuilege for him and all his seruants attending there vpon him. So that if the said Ferrers had béene no burgesse, but onlie his seruant, yet in respect thereof he was to haue the priuilege as well as anie other.

Priuilege of a burgesse of the parlement or of anie seruant to such like officers belonging.

For I vnderstand (quoth he) that you not onelie for your owne persons, but also for your necessaries seruants, euen to your cookes and horsekéepers, inioie the said priuilege; in somuch as my lord chancellor here present hath informed vs, that he being speaker of the parlement, the cooke of the Temple was arrested in London, and in execution vpon a statute of the staple. And for somuch as the said cooke, during all the parlement, serued the speaker in that office, he was taken out of execution, by the priuilege of the parlement. And further we be informed by our iudges, that we at no time stand so highlie in our estate roiall, as in the time of parlement, wherein we as head, and you as members, are conioined and knit togither into one bodie politike, so as whatsoeuer offense or iniurie (during that time) is offered to the meanest member of the house, is to be iudged as done against our person, and the whole court of parlement. Which prerogatiue of the court is so great (as our learned councell informeth vs) as all acts and processes comming out of anie other inferiour courts must for the time cease and giue place to the highest.

And touching the partie, it was a great presumption in him, knowing our seruant to be one of this house, and being warned thereof before, would neuertheless prosecute this matter out of time, and thereupon was well worthie to haue lost his debt (which I would not wish) and therefore do commend your equitie, that hauing lost the same by law, haue restored him to the same against him who was his debter. And if it be well considered, what a charge hath it béene to vs and you all, not onelie in expense of our substance, but also in losse of time, which should haue béene imploied about the affaires of our realme, to sit here welnigh one whole fortnight about this one priuat case, he may thinke himselfe better vsed than his desert. And this may be a good example to other to learne good maners, & not to attempt anie thing against the priuilege of this court, but to take their time better. This is mine opinion, and if I erre, I must referre my selfe to the iudgement of our iustices here present, and other learned in our lawes.

The king counted it presumption to arrest the burgesse.

Wherupon sir Edw. Montacute lord chiefe iustice, verie grauelie told his opinion, cõfirming by diuers reasons all that the king had said, which was assented vnto by all the residue, none speaking to the contrarie. The act in déed passed not the higher house, for the lords had not time to consider of it, by reason of the dissolution of the parlement, the feast of Easter then approching. Bicause this case hath bene diuerslie reported, and is commonlie alleged as a president for the priuilege of the parlement; I haue endeuored my selfe to learne the truth thereof, and so set

Sir Edward Montacute lord chiefe iustice.

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it forth with the whole circumstance at large according to their instructions, who ought best both to know and remember it.

Anno Reg. 34.

A lone.

This yeare in Maie the king tooke a lone of monie of all such as were valued at fiftie pounds and vpward in the subsidie bookes. The lord priuie seale, the bishop of Winchester, sir John Baker, and sir Thomas Wriothesleie were commissioners about this lone in London, where they so handled the matter, that of some head citizens they obteined a thousand markes in prest to the kings vse. They that laid forth anie summe in this wise, had priuie seales for the repaiment thereof within two yeares next insuing. Diuerse of the Irish nobilitie came this yeare into England, and made their submission to the king as in the Irish chronicle it is more particularlie touched. Also wars fell out betwixt England and Scotland, the causes whereof (as appeareth by a declaration set forth by the king of England at this present) in effect were these. First there were diuerse of the English rebels, such as had moued the commotion in the north and Lincolneshire, that fled into Scotland, and were there mainteined: and although request had beene made that they might be deliuered, yet it would not be granted.

Submission of the Irish nobilitie.

The causes of the wars betwixt England & Scotland.

Moreouer, where the king of Scots had promised to repaire vnto Yorke the last yeare, and there to meet his vncle the king of England, whereupon the king of England to his great charges had made preparation for their meeting there, the same was not onelie disappointed; but also at the kings being at Yorke, in lieu thereof an inuasion was made by the Scots, as it were in contempt and despite of the king of England, who notwithstanding imputing the default of meeting to the aduise of his nephues councell, and the inuasion to the lewdnesse of his subiects, was contented to giue courteous audience vnto such ambassadors as the same king of Scots sent into England, which came to the king at Christmas last, and with manie sweet and pleasant words excused that which was done amisse, & sought to persuade kindnesse and perfect amitie in time to come. And for the better accomplishment thereof, they offered to send commissioners to the borders, there to determine the debate betwixt them of the confines, if it would please the king likewise to send commissioners for his part, which to do he gratiouslie condescended, desirous to make triall of his nephue in some correspondence of deeds, to the faire and pleasant messages in words which he had receiued from him.

Herevpon commissioners were sent from either king, the which met and talked. But where the Englishmen chalenged a peece of ground, vndoubtedlie vsurped by the Scots, being for the same shewed such euidence as more substantiall, or more autentike can not be brought forth for anie ground within the realme; the same was neuertheless by the Scots denied and reiected, onelie for that it was made (as they alleged) by Englishmen, and yet was it so ancient, as it could not be counterfeited now, and the value of the ground so little, and of so small weight, as no man would attempt to falsifie a writing for such a matter. But yet this denial notwithstanding, the English commissioners departed from the Scotish commissioners as frends, taking order, as hath beene accustomed, for good rule vpon the borders in the meane time to be obserued.

The wilfull obstinatnesse of the Scotish cõmissioners.

After their departure, the lord Warwell warden of the west marches in Scotland, made proclamation in deed for good rule to be kept: but neuertheless added therwith, that the borderers of Scotland should withdraw their goods from the borders of England, and incontinentlie after the Scotish borderers, on the fourth of Julie entered into England suddenlie, & spoiled the kings subiects, contrarie to the league, and euen after the plaine maner of warre. Wherevpon the king of England greatlie marueiling, was driuen to furnish his borders with a garrison for defense of the same, as mistrusting a further mischiefe intended by the enimie, whose treacherie & lose dealing became a whetstone to the kings wrath, and set him in a heat of indignation, as the poet saith:

Iam Scotus Henrici iustam irritauerat iram
Fœdifragus.

Then was James Leirmouth maister of the Scotish kings household sent into England with letters deuised in the best maner, offering a good redresse of all attempts: and yet neuertheless at the entrie of the said Leirmouth into England, a great number of Scots then not looked for, made a rode into England, to the great annoiance of the English borders, which dealing, though it much moued the king of England to take displeasure against the Scots, yet he gaue gentle audience to Leirmouth at his coming vnto him, and by his faire words and promises was partlie pacified. But in the meane time, the deeds of the Scotish borderers were as extreame as might be. And in a rode made by sir Robert Bowes for reuenge thereof, the same sir Robert, and manie other with him, were taken prisoners, and could not be deliuered, nor admitted to paie their fine and ransome, as hath beene euer accustomed betwixt them on the borders.

James Leirmouth.

And where at the same time, an assurance was made on both sides for a season, at the suite of the said Leirmouth, the Scots ceased not to make sundrie inuasions into England, in such wise, as the king no longer trusting to their faire words, but weieng their deeds, put an armie in a readinesse for defense of his subiects, as the due meane to atteine such a peace, as for the safetie of his people and dominions, he thought it stood with his honour to procure. After which preparation made, and knowledge thereof had, the king of Scots made new suite to haue the matter taken vp by treatie. Wherevpon the king caused the armie to staie about Yorke, and appointed the duke of Norffolke his lieutenant generall, the lord priuie seale, the bishop of Durham, & sir Anthonie Browne maister of his horsses, to treat & conclude with the ambassadors of Scotland some friendlie peace, vpon reasonable and indifferent conditions, as should be thought requisit, for the auoiding of warres, than by sundrie inuasions of the Scots made open and manifest. But after they had viewed eth others commissions, and began to propone articles, the Scotish commissioners to protract time, at the first seemed to like such articles as the English commissioners had proponed, and made semblance as if there were no doubt, but that in case their king & ours might meet, all matters should be quietlie compounded and ended: and so taking it as for a thing sure and certeine, they onlie desired six daies to obteine answer from their master, and our armie for that time to staie: whereunto the English commissioners accorded.

King Henrie forced to take armes against the Scots.

The double dealing of the Scots in the negotiation about an agreement.

After those six daies was sent a commission out of Scotland, to conclude a meeting precislie, at such a place as they knew well could not in the winter season be obserued nor kept. Wherewith when the English commissioners seemed nothing content, the Scotish commissioners shewed forth instructions, wherein libertie was giuen to them to exceed their commission in the appointing of a place, & to consent to anie other by the English commissioners thought meet and conuenient. But when the English commissioners refused to deale with men wanting sufficient commission to warrant their doings, the Scotish

tish commissioners required other six daies respit, to send for a larger commission, which being granted, at the end of those six daies, they brought forth a commission made in good forme, and without exception or restraint of place: but therewith they shewed instructions conteining a like restraint, as in the former commission was expressed. And thus driuing forth the matter by trifling, vpon purpose onelie to win time, they hoped thereby through the winter comming on, that the English armie should not be able much to annoie their countrie for that yeare. And so their talke brake vp without anie conclusion of agréement at all; and forthwith was the armie set forward, a good part whereof had lien all this time of the treatie in Yorke, and in the countries thereabouts.

The English armie entreth into Scotland.

When the whole power was assembled, the duke of Norffolke then lieutenant generall, accompanied with the earles of Shrewsburie, Derbie, Cumberland, Surreie, Hertford, Angus, Rutland, and the lords of the north parts, and sir Anthonie Browne maister of the horsses, sir John Gage controllor of the kings house, and others, hauing with them twentie thousand men well and warlike appointed, entred Scotland the one and twentith of October, and tarried there eight daies, without hauing anie battell offered vnto them, in which space they burnt these townes and villages, Parton, Ramrige, Stine, Gradin, Shilles, lang Ednem, Newton, Skirthell, Newthorne, Smellem spittle, the two Merdens, Sledericke, and the two Borlawes, Flotis, and the Faire croft, Ednem spittle, Rorborough, Kelseie and the abbeie, long Sprouskow, Riden, and Hadenston. For they had determined with fire and sword to take reuenge, crieng out as the poet saith;

Vindice ferro opus esse, opus esse & vindice flamma,
Acclamant omnes.

Now while the duke was at Farnton, the fourth daie after his comming into Scotland, there came to speake with him halfe a mile from the campe, the bishop of Orkeneie, and James Leirmouth sent from the king of Scots to intreat of peace, but they agreed not. Finallie, after the Englishmen had lien so long within Scotland as they might recouer vittels, at length for necessitie they returned to Berwike. In all which iourneie the standard of the earle of Southampton, late lord priuie seale (which died at Newcastell before their entring into Scotland) was borne in the fore-ward, because he was appointed capteine of the same.

The earle of Southamptons standard.

The king of Scots, hearing that the English armie was returned, raised a power of fiftéene thousand men forth of all parts of his realme, vnder the guiding of the lord Marwell (or rather of Oliuer Sincler, as the Scots affirme) boasting to tarrie as long in England, as the duke of Norffolke had tarried in Scotland. And so on fridaie being saint Katharins euen, they passed ouer the water of Eske, and burnt certeine houses of the Greues on the verie border. Thomas bastard Dacres, with Jacke of Musgraue sent word to sir Thomas Wharton lord Warden for the king vpon the west marches, to come forward to succour them. But in the meane while the Scots entring verie fiercelie, the aforesaid two valiant capteins, bastard Dacres and Musgraue, manfullie set vpon the Scots with one hundred light horsses, and left a stale on the side of a hill, wherewith the Scots were wonderfullie dismaied, thinking that either the duke of Norffolke with his whole armie had béene come to those west marches, or that some other great power had béene comming against them, when they saw onelie sir Thomas Wharton with three hundred men marching forward toward them. But so it fortuned at that time vndoubtedlie, as God would haue it, that the Scots fled at the first brunt, whome the Englishmen followed, and take prisoners at their pleasure; for there was small resistance, or none at all shewed by the Scots.

An armie of Scots inuade England.

The error of the Scots.

The Scots flie.

Amongst others that were taken, we find these men of name, the earle of Cassill and Glencarne, the lord Marwell admerall of Scotland, and warden of the west marches, the lord Fleming, the lord Sumerwell, the lord Oliphant, the lord Greie, sir Oliuer Sincler the kings minion, John Rosse lord of Gragie, Robert Erskin son to the lord Erskin, Carre lard of Gredon, the lord Marwelles two brethren, John Leslеie bastard son to the earle of Rothus, George Hume lard of Hemitton, John Mateland lard of Wike castell, James Pringell, James Sincler brother to Oliuer Sincler, John Carmell capteine of Crasforth, Patrike Hebborne esquire, John Seton esquire son in law to the lord Erskin, William Seton esquire, John Steward cousin to the king, John Morrowe esquire, Henrie Drowmont esquire, James Mitton esquire, John Cormurth esquire capteine of Gainsforth, James Mitton esquire, and other esquiers and gentlemen (beside the earles and lords before mentioned) to the number of two hundred and aboue, and more than eight hundred other persons of meaner calling; so that some one Englishman, yea some women had three or foure prisoners. They take also foure and twentie pæces of ordinance, foure carts laden with speares, and ten pauilions, with other things of price; so that this might well be said to be the handie worke of God, and the verse of the psalme verified:

Scotish lords taken at Solem Mosse.

The number of prisoners and artilleris taken.

Contemplans dixi, Hæc est mutatio dextræ
Numinis excelsi mortalia cuncta gubernans.

The king of Scots take such griefe and inward thought for his ouerthrow, and also for the murther of an English herald that was slaine at Dunbar, by one Leech an English man (the which for the rebellion in Lincolnshire was fled into Scotland) that he fell into a hot ague, and thereof died, although manie reported that he was at the bickering, and received there his deaths wound, and fled therewith into Scotland. But of his death, and of the birth of his daughter ye may sée more in the historie of Scotland.

The death of the king of Scotland.

Of these prisoners before named, one and twentie of them were brought to London, and on the nineteenth of December entred into the citie by Bishops gate, and so were conueied to the tower, where they remained for the space of two daies: and vpon saint Thomas daie the apostle, being the one and twentith of December, they were conueied to Westminster, sir John Gage constable of the tower riding before them, and the lieutenant of the same tower riding behind them. They rode two and two together, and eight of them being earls and lords, had new gowns of blacke damaske furred with blacke conie, cotes of blacke veluet, and doublets of sattin, with shirts and other apparell bought new for them at the kings charges.

Foure and twentie hath Hall.

Scots prisoners brought to London.

Thus being solemnelie conueied through the streets of London vnto Westminster, they came before the councell sitting in the Starchamber, and there the lord chancellor declared to them their vntruth, vnkindnesse, and false dissimulation, declaring further how the king had cause of war against them, both for denieng of their homages, and also for their traitorous inuasions made into his realme without defiance, and for keeping his subiects prisoners without redemption, contrarie to the ancient laws of the marches; for which doings, God (as they might perceiue) had scourged them. Howbeit the K. more regarding his honor than his princelie power,

The Scots prisoners before the councel in the Star chamber.

was

was content to shew them kindnesse for vnkindnesse, and right for wrong. And although he might keepe them in streict prison by iust law of armes, yet he was content that they should haue libertie to be with the nobles of his realme in their houses, and so according to their estates, they were appointed to dukes, earles, bishops, knights, and gentlemen, which so interteined them, that they confessed themselues neuer to be better vsed, nor to haue had greater chéere in all their life times.

The earle of Cassils was appointed to be with the archbishop of Canturburie, the earle of Glencarne with the duke of Norfolke, the lord Fleming with the lord priuie seale, the lord Yarwell with sir Anthonie Browne, the lord Sumerwell with the lord chancellor, the lord Oliphant with sir Thomas Lée, Oliuer Sincler with the duke of Suffolke, Robert Erskin with the bishop of Westminster, the lord Yonteth with sir Antonie Wingfield, the lord Yonketh with sir Rafe Sadler, George Hume with the earle of Hertford, the lord of Gragie with sir Thomas Cheineie, the lard of Gredon with maister Gostwike, Henrie Yarwell with sir Richard Long, Thomas Cratford with sir Arthur Darcie, Patrike Hebborne with sir Thomas Wriothesleie, James Pringell with sir Richard Rich, John Yatland with sir Edward North, the lord Greie, James Sincler, and John Lisleie, were appointed to men of such credit, as were thought mét to answer for their safe kéeping.

The two and twentith of December, tidings came of the king of Scots death, and vpon S. Johns daie in Christmas weeke the foresaid lords of Scotland were brought to the court, which was then at Grenwich, where they had great cheare, and went before the king to the chappell, and were lodged within the court. Herevpon ye must consider, that whereas the king of Scots had left no issue behind him in life but onelie one daughter, the king and his councell perceiuing a meane now offered, whereby without warre the two realmes might be vnited, these Scotish lords hauing first made the motion themselues, for a mariage to be had betwixt prince Edward and their yong quéene, the king required their helpe vnto the furtherance of that matter, which might be a great benefit to themselues & their countrie. This they promised faithfullie to do, and aswell by themselues as by their friends, to bring the same to effect, so much as the king could require. Whereupon the king was not onelie contented to release them home, but also highlie rewarded them with rich gifts and costlie of sundrie sorts, in most bountifull wise, as *Anglorum prælia* noteth verie well, saieng:

Præterea ex auro captiuos torquibus ornat,
Et sumptum, vestes, argentum donat & aurum.

The thirtith of December they departed from the court, and the morrow after, eight of them dined with sir John Cotes then lord maior of London, and the rest with the shiriffes, and had verie great cheare. On Newyeares daie they departed from London homewards towards Scotland, and rode to Enfield to sée the prince, and there dined that day, greatlie reioising, as by their words and countenance it séemed, to behold so proper and towardlie an impe. From thence they kept on their iournie till they came to the north parts, where they found the duke of Suffolke the kings lieutenant there, and with him remained till such pledges were come forth of Scotland, as it was couenanted they should leaue behind them.

The duke then after he had receiued the hostages, permitted them to depart, and so they returned into Scotland, where they were gladlie welcomed by their kinsmen and friends. With them went also the earle of Angus, who had béene banished Scotland, and hauing remained here in England a long time, receiued of the kings fée, a thousand marks by yeare; and likewise his brother sir George Dowglas, who had fiue hundred markes yearelie likewise of the kings gift. They were now both restored home into their countrie, and that (as was said) by the kings last will. The said earle of Angus, and diuerse of the lords that had béene prisoners here in England, were made of the priuie councell of the realme by the earle of Arraine, that was chosen gouernour to the yong quéene, and of the realme, as nert heire apparent: notwithstanding that the archbishop of saint Andrews, and cardinall of the sée of Rome, enimie mortall vnto the king of England for the popes cause (and partlie set on by the French king) had forged a will, expressing how the king had made him gouernour (associat with two earles of his affinitie) as well of the quéene as realme, contrarie to the lawes of Scotland. Whereupon the said earle of Arraine, according to his right (as he pretended) with the helpe of his friends, toke vpon him the authoritie of gouernor, and put the said cardinall in prison, and deliuered sir Robert Bowes, and the other English prisoners, by their bonds, according to the custome of the marches.

All this yeare was neither perfect peace nor open warre betwixt England and France, but the merchants ships were taken and robbed on both parts, and at length merchants goods were seized, and the ambassadors of both realms staied. Howbeit, shortlie after the ambassadors were deliuered: but the merchants still were robbed, and no warre proclamed. In the end of this yeare came from the gouernor of Scotland as ambassadors, sir William Hamilton, and James Leirmouth the secretarie of Scotland, whose message was so meanlie liked, that they were faine to send an herald into Scotland for other ambassadors, and so came hither the earle of Glencarne, and sir George Dowglas: but whatsoeuer their answer was, sir George returned in post, and within twentie daies came backe againe with an answer that was well liked of. But shortlie after they brake promise, and went from that which they had couenanted, greatlie to their reproch.

Wood was sold verie deare in the winter season of this yeare, and likewise vittels both flesh and fish grew to an high price towards the spring, by reason (as was thought) of the vntemperate wet summer last past, causing great death among cattell. A quarter of mutton was sold for two shillings, or seuen grotes, a lambe at three shillings, or three and foure pence, which afore that time was estæmed scarse worth sixtéene pence. Against Easter at a court of aldermen kept in the Guild hall the twentith of March 1542, it was enacted by the lord maior and his brethren, that the maior and shiriffs should be serued at their tables but with one course at dinner and supper in their houses; the maior to haue but seuen dishes at the most at one messe for his owne table, and the shiriffs and euerie other alderman but six dishes, vpon paine to forfeit for euerie dish fortie shillings at euerie time when they offended in this ordinance. Also that the sargeants and yeomen of their houses should haue but three dishes at dinner or supper, the swordbearers messe onlie excepted, which should be allowed to haue one dish more. It was also enacted, that from the feast of Easter then nert insuing, neither the maior nor his brethren should buie anie crane, swan, or bustard, vpon paine to forfeit for euerie foule by them so bought, twentie shillings, the offense to be tried by oth, if it should be presented.

In the beginning of this yeare, on Trinitie sundaie, was a new league sworne betweene the king

The munificence of king Henrie to the earle of Angus.

Archbishop of S. Andrew deadlie enimie to K. Henrie.

The earle of Arraine.

Sir Robert Bowes deliuered.

Ambassadors from Scotland.

A dearth.

A necessarie & wholsome ordinance for moderation in diet.

Anno Reg. 35. A league betwixt the king of England and the emperour.

A motion of a mariage betweene prince Edward and the yong Scotish quéne.

The Scots depart into their owne countrie.

1543

king and the emperour at Hampton court, either of them to be friends to the others friends, and enimies to the others enimies. ¶ In this yeare also a proclamation was made, whereby the people were licenced to eate whit meats in Lent, but streictlie forbidden the eating of flesh. Whereupon shortlie after the earle of Surrie, with diuerse lords, knights, and gentlemen, were imprisoned for eating of flesh in the same Lent, contrarie to the said proclamation. The eight of Maie, one Leech, sometimes bailie of Louth, who had killed Summerset one of our heralds of armes at Dunbar in Scotland, was drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged and quartered. And the twelfe of June, Edward Leech his brother, and with him a priest, for the same fact were likewise executed at Tiburne.

Abr.Fl. ex I.S. pag.1026.

Whit meats licenced to be eaten in Lent, and noble men punished for breaking the law.

Summerset an herald killed, & the offendor dieth as a traitor.

This yeare the first cast péces of iron that euer were made in England, were made at Buckestœd in Suller, by Rafe Hoge, and Peter Bawd.] The third of June came to the court from the realme of Ireland, three Irish lords, Obrin, Macke William a Burgh, and Macke Gilpatrike. In Julie the said Obrin was created earle of Townon, Macke William a Burgh, earle of Clanrickford, and sir Dunon Obrin was made baron of Ebrankie, and so with rewards they toke leaue and returned. The same moneth also, the Scotish ambassadors returned with great rewards. The twelfe of Julie, at Hampton court, the king maried the ladie Katharine Par, widow, late wife vnto the lord Latimer deceased, and then she was nominated quéene, and so proclamed.

First iron péces cast.

Creations of earles and barons.

The king marieth the ladie Katharine Par.

In the parlement holden this yeare at Westminster, a subsidie was granted to the king, to be paied in three yeares. Euerie Englishman being worth in goods twentie shillings & vpward to fiue pounds, paied foure pence of euerie pound. From fiue pounds to ten pounds, eight pence. From ten pounds to twentie pounds, sixtéene pence. From twentie pounds and vpward, of euerie pound two shillings. Strangers as well denizens as other, being inhabitants, doubled this summe: and euerie stranger not being an inhabitant, that was sixtéene péeres of age and vpwards, paid foure pence for euerie poll. And for lands, fées, and annuities, euerie one borne within the kings dominions, paid eight pence of the pound, from twentie shillings to fiue pounds. And from fiue pounds to ten pounds, sixtéene pence. From ten pounds to twentie pounds, two shillings. And from twentie pounds and vpwards, three shillings; strangers still doubling this summe. The cleargie granted a subsidie of six shillings the pound, to be paied of their benefices in perpetuities in three yeares insuing: and euerie priest hauing no perpetuitie, but an annuall stipend, paid yearelie (during the said three yeares) six shillings and eight pence.

Corporations, fraternities, & cõmunalties paid more as well of their lands as goods as appeareth by the statute.

About the same time, the king and the emperour sent Garter and Tolson Dor, kings at armes, to demand the performance of certeine articles of the French king, which if he denied, they were commanded then to defie him, but he would not suffer them to come within his land, & so they returned. Whervpon the king caused the said demands to be declared to the French ambassador at Westminster. And in Julie the king sent ouer six thousand men, vnder the leading of sir John Wallop, appointed to haue the generall conduction of them, accompanied with diuerse other knights, esquiers and gentlemen right hardie and valiant. Sir Thomas Seimer was marshall of that armie, sir Robert Bowes treasuror, sir Richard Cromwell capteine of the horssemen, and sir George Carew his lieutenant. There were likewise sir Thomas Palmer, sir John Reinsforth, sir John saint John, and sir John Gascoigne, knights, that were capteines of the footmen. They were appointed to ioine with the emperours power, and so to make warre into France. They departed from Calis the two and twentith of Julie. The third of August open warre was proclamed in London betwixt the emperour and the king of England on the one part, and the French king on the other, as enimie mortall to them both, and to all other christian princes beside, as he that had confederated himselfe with the Turke.

Articles demanded of the French king.

The armie that was sent ouer vnder the leading of sir John Wallop, passed forth from the marches of Calis, and keeping alongst betwixt the borders of the French and Burgonion pales and confines, and ioining with the emperors forces, Spaniards, Wallons, and Dutch, came at length before Landerseie, a towne latelie fortified by the French, within the borders of the emperors dominions, to the which they laid a strong siege. At length the emperour hauing dispatched his wars against the duke of Cleue, who had submitted himselfe vnto him, came now to the siege of Landerseie, with a mightie power of sundrie nations, so that the towne was sore constreined and in danger to haue béene lost, if at that present the French king had not likewise with an huge armie of Frenchmen, Switzers, Lantsquenets, Italians, and others, come to the rescue, pitching downe his campe, making countenance as if he ment presentlie to giue battell: and verelie it was thought that two such powers as were there at that time so néere togither, should neuer haue departed without battell. The emperor thinking suerlie to fight, raised his siege, and drew his people into the field. The Frenchmen thereby espieng their aduantage, put as well fresh men as vittels, and all kind of munition necessarie into the towne, and in the meane while kept the emperours people occupied with hot skirmishes.

Landerseie besieged.

The French king commeth to the rescue of Landerseie.

But now after the towne was thus releeued, which thing the French king onelie wished to accomplish, the next daie when the emperor was readie with his armie ranged in battell to haue fought with his aduersaries, the French king put his armie also in order; but hauing no mind to come forward, he trifled forth that daie, and in the night following, secretlie departed with as much haste as was possible. When the nert morning had discouered the Frenchmens flight (for mantie so termed this their sudden retire) it was no néed to bid diuerse troops of the emperours armie to hie after them: but some made too much haste. For the French king suspecting what would insue, appointed his eldest sonne Henrie the Dolphin to remaine behind with the rereward, accompanied with diuerse noble capteins, which ordered their people in their retire with such warinesse and heedfull skill, as the reason of warre required, that such of the emperours campe as aduentured ouer rashlie, and shewed themselues more forward than wise, fell within danger of such ambushments as were by the waie couertlie laid in places of aduantage: and so diuerse were taken, as sir George Carew, sir Thomas Palmer knight porter of Calis, Edward Bellingham, and others. But neuertheless a great number of such Frenchmen as could not make waie, and kéepe pase with their maine troops, were snapped vp, slaine, and taken in no small numbers by their enimies, who followed them as egre as tigers, and as the describer of that pursute saith:

The French king retireth backe with his armie.

Imbuit & gladios manante cruore Britannus.

This was after Alhalowentide, so that now by reason the winter was farre entred, and the weather waring extreame foule, and contrarie to an armie that should lie in the fields, the emperour brake vp his

The emperor breaketh vp his campe.

his campe and licenced the most part of his people to depart home into their countries, for all hope to win Landerseie at that time was cleane cut off, sith it was vittelled and newlie furnished with fresh men and munition. After that the warres were once open betwixt England and France, sundrie enterprises were attempted by the parties on either side in the marches of Calis and Bullognois, in which, for the most part, the Englishmen got the vpper hand of their enimies.

At one time the Frenchmen, to the number of eight hundred, comming in the night season to enter into the English pale by the turne pike at Hammes, in purpose to make some spoile in the countrie there, were assailed vpon the sudden by sir George Sommerset, and sir William Walgraue, latelie before come ouer with two hundred men out of Suffolke, to strengthen the English pale against the enimies, and at this time did behaue themselues so valiantlie, that they disappointed the enimies of their purpose. For whereas they were entered into a lane inclosed with hedges on either side, sirteene archers getting into the grounds on the backe side of the hedges lieng alongst the lane, through which the Frenchmen were marching, placed themselues as they saw their aduantage, and so bestowed their shot, that they galled the Frenchmen in such wise, that they were forced to recule in so great disorder, that other of the Englishmen comming vpon them, easilie slue and tooke of them no small number.

Beside this, at sundrie times the Englishmen inuading the countrie of Bullognois, wasted the townes and villages, brought awaie great booties of goods and cattell, to the great impouerishing of the countrie. They burnt at one time the towne of Audinghen, and tooke the steeple of the church there, into the which were fled sir score pezzants with their wiues and children, whome the Englishmen threw downe headlong out of the steeple, because they had most stubbornelie refused to yeeld. In this yeare a great death of the pestilence reigned in London, and therefore Michaelmasse terme was adiourned to S. Albons, and there kept till the end thereof. The eightéenth of December the archbishop of Canturburies palace at Canturburie was burnt, and therin was burnt his brother in law, and other men.

A great death in London.

Stow, pag. 1027.

In Christmasse weeke came to the king lieng at Hampton court, Ferdinando Gonzaga viceroie of Sicilie, prince of Malfeta, duke of Juano, the emperours capteine generall. The chiefest cause of his comming was, to appoint what time the emperours armie should be readie to inuade France. He had great cheere, and at his departure was rewarded with a hundred and fiftie three ounces of gold in plate, and foure thousand and three ounces in guilt plate, all verie curiouslie wrought, and all the time of his being here, his charges were borne by the king. The sundaie before Christmas, the lord William Par brother to the quéene, who had married the daughter & heirs of Henrie Bourchier erle of Essex, at Hampton court was created earle of Essex, & sir Will. Par knight vncle to them both, was made lord Par of Horton, & chamberleine to the quéene.

Ambassadors from the emperour.

The lord Par created earle of Essex.

1544

On New yeares daie, was sir Thomas Wriothesleie the kings secretarie made lord Wriothesleie of Tichfield. ¶ This yeare chanced foure eclipses, one of the sunne the fourteenth of Januarie, and three of the moone. On the seuenth of March, Germaine Gardner, and Larke person of Chelseie were executed at Tiburne, for denieng the kings supremacie, & with whom was executed for other offenses one Singleton. And shortlie after Ashbeie was likewise executed for the supremacie. In this yeare sir John Allen (who had bin twise maior of London, & of counsell to the king) departing out of this life, did giue to the citie of London a rich collar of gold, to be worne by the maior: which collar was first worne by sir William Laxton on S. Edwards daie, to the election of the new maior, who gaue to euerie ward in London twentie pounds to be distributed to the poore houlholders, besides to one hundred and twentie persons, three score men euerie of them a gowne of broade cloth, and a blacke cap, and three score women, to euerie of them a gowne of the like cloth, and a white kerchiefe. Humfreis Monmouth, and John Cotes which were shiriffes in his maioraltie, in the beginning of their yeare put awaie twelue sargeants and twelue yeomen, till they were forced by a court of common councell to take them againe.]

The lord Wriothesleie. Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 1027, Foure Eclipses.

Germaine Gardner and other executed. I. Stow 1005.

Charitable deeds of sir John Allen.

Shiriffes put awaie their officers.

In this meane while was the cardinall of Scotland deliuered forth of prison, and shortlie after got into his hands againe all such conclusions as were made touching the marriage betwixt the quéene of Scots and prince Edward, procuring in maner all the lords and nobles of the realme to renounce that which they had promised to the king of England, as well diuerse of those whome the said king had released home out of captiuitie, as others. Wherwith the king tooke such sore displeasure, that he prepared an armie to passe into Scotland by sea, and ordeined the lord Edward Seimer, earle of Hertford to be lieutenant of the north parts, and to haue the leading of the same armie: who went thither in March, as well for defense of the borders, as to foresee all things in order for the armie that should thus go into Scotland, whereof he was apointed generall.

The earle of Hertford lieutenant of the north.

When all things were in a readinesse for the nauie which was rigged to set forward towards Scotland, and that the soldiers were come which were appointed to go with sir John Dudleie lord Lisle, and high admerall of England in that voiage, they were imbarked, and so the two and twentith of March the said lord admerall, with sir Nicholas Pointz, and diuerse other knights and capteins departed from the port of London towards the north parts; and comming to Newcastell, found the erle of Hertford readie with such power as was appointed to be there at a daie assigned, forth of those countries that lie from Trent northwards. And now wanted nothing to further their iournie, but a conuenient winde; which caused them to staie certeine daies at the said towne of Newcastell, and in the villages thereabouts.

The lord admerall Dudleie setteth forth from London towards Scotland.

After that the erle of Hertford, and the lord admerall, accompanied with the earle of Shrewesburie, the lords Cobham, Clinton, Conters, Stinton, the lord William Howard, and manie other right valiant knights, gentlemen, and capteines, had lien with the armie and nauie readie at Newcastell a certeine time, loking for a prosperous wind to set forward on their purposed iournie, at length the same came about verie fit to serue their turne, and then with all spéed the soldiers were bestowed aboord, euerie companie in their appointed vessels: and herewith vp went the sailes, and forth they got into the maine seas, making their course directlie towards the Forth, a gulfe or riuer in Scotland, able to beare vessels fiftie miles vp within the countrie. There were at the least two hundred saile which the lord admerall had caused to come togither, according to his commission, rigged, trimmed, and furnished with all things necessarie for the conduction of such an armie, estéemed to be about ten thousand men.

Anno Reg. 36.

The armie setteth forward by sea towards Scotland.

The number of the English armie.

The third of Maie they arriued in the Forth, entring betwéene two Ilands, the Bas and the Maie. The next daie being the fourth of Maie, the whole armie was landed two miles by west the towne of Lith, at a place called Grantham crag. And forthwith the lord lieutenant putting his people in good order

The English armie landeth in Scotland.

order of warre, marched on towards the said towne of Lith. The lord admerall led the fore-ward, the lord lieutenant the battell, and the earle of Shrewesburie gouerned the rere-ward. Before they came to the towne of Lith, they found in their waie readie to impeach their passage six thousand horssemen beside footmen. At the first the Scots made towards the Englishmen, as if they had ment to set vpon the voward: but being manfullie assailed by the harquebutters, fiue hundred in number, and shrewdlie by them curried and galled, they had no mind to come forward, but perceiuing how willing the Englishmen were to incounter with them, after certeine shot on both sides, they made a sudden retreat, and leauing their artillerie behind them, they fled to Edenburgh.

The Scots offer to impeach the Englishmens passage.

The Scots flie to Edenburgh.

The first man that fled (as the talke went) was the cardinall, who perceiuing the deuotion which the Englishmen had to sée his holinesse, had no mind to tarie. With him also fled the gouernour, the earles of Huntleie, Murreie, and Bothwell: as for their soldiers, they were dispatched, and feared the English forces as the lambe doth the wolfe, the doe the dog, or the hart the lion: to vse the words of Anglorum prælia verie fitlie describing this battell, and saieng:

Exhorrent, vt dama canes, vt cerua leones.

The English armie entreth into Lith.

The Englishmen thus hauing put their enimies to flight, & seized vpon their artillerie, made streight to the towne of Lith, and entered it without anie great resistance, wherein they incamped themselues the same night to their most ease and aduantage, and afterwards landed their vittels and great artillerie. They found also in this towne such plentie of riches as they looked not to haue found in anie one towne of Scotland.

The first of Maie they went towards Edenburgh, and as they approched nére the towne, the prouost of the same towne accompanied with one or two burgesses, and two or three officers at armes, desired to speake with the kings lieutenant, and in the name of all the towne, said that the keies of the towne should be deliuered vnto his lordship, conditionallie that they might go with bag & baggage, and the towne to be saued from fire. Whereunto answer was made by the said lord lieutenant, that where the Scots had so manifestlie broken their promises confirmed by oths and seales, and certified by the whole parlement, as was euidentlie knowne to the world, he was sent thither by the kings highnesse to take vengeance of their detestable falsehood, to declare and shew the force of his highnesse sword to all such as should make anie resistance vnto his graces power sent thither for that purpose. And therfore he told them resolutelie, that vnlesse they would yéeld vp their towne franklie without condition, and cause man, woman, and child, to issue forth into the fields, submitting them to his will and pleasure, he would put them to the sword, and their towne to the fire. The prouost answered it were better to stand to their defense.

The prouost of Edenburghs request.

The earle of Hertfords answer.

Whereupon charge was giuen to the said prouost and officer at armes, vpon their perill to depart. And forthwith the lord lieutenant sent to the voward, commanding that they should march toward the towne, which right hardilie they did, and the English gunners manfullie assailed the gates; namelie sir Christopher Morice maister of the ordinance, insomuch that the Scots were beaten from their ordinance, and the gate called Canogate beaten open with shot of the great artillerie, and therewith the Englishmen entering the same gate by fine force, beat downe & slue a great number of Scots, and continuallie without staieng was the great ordinance drawne vp the street to the castell gates: but those that were within the castell shot so fréelie at the Englishmen thus approching with their great artillerie, that diuerse were slaine, the artillerie of the castell beat so directlie alongest the high street, as the Englishmen came vp the same. At length also one of the Englishmens culuerings was striken, and dismounted, and thereupon they were forced to retire backe and giue ouer their enterprise of making batterie to the castell, wanting pioners, baskets, and other things necessarie for such a purpose.

Sir Christopher Morice.

Edenburgh entered by force.

This daie the Englishmen set fire in diuerse parts of the towne, but they had not leasure to maintaine it, by reason of the smoke rising and troubling them so extremelie, that no great hurt could be done that daie, for that the night also came on, and so they departed backe againe to their campe at Lith. But the nert daie, a certeine number of Englishmen vnder the leading of doctor Leigh, went againe to Edenburgh, and did what they could, vtterlie to destroie the whole towne with fire, and so continued all that daie & the two daies nert following. During all this violence offered by the English to the enimie, & nothing left but despaire of life, the women and children beholding this desolation, made such outragious exclamations and wofull lamentations, that heauen it selfe rang with their noise, as verie pitiflie is described by Chr. O. in his report, saieng:

Fœminei sexus gemitus ad sydera grandi
Tolluntur strepitu, puerorum clamor in auras,
Nil nisi triste fuit, faciésque miserrima rerum.

The lord Euers brought a power of horssemen from the borders.

In the meane time, foure thousand light horssemen, vnder the leading of the lord Euers, came from our borders, as order was taken afore, and ioined themselues with the armie thus lieng in Lith, where after their comming, they did such exploits, in riding and wasting the countrie, that within seuen miles euerie waie of Edenburgh, they left few places, either pile, village, or house vnburnt. And beside this, they brought great numbers of cattell dailie into the armie, and met with much good stuffe, which the inhabitants of Edenburgh had for the safetie of the same conueied out of the towne.

Knights created at Lith by the earle of Hertford.

The names of the knights made at Lith after the burning of Edenburgh by the earle of Hertford, generall of the kings armie there, on sundaie the eleuenth of Maie, in the six & thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare 1544, as they were deliuered to me by sir Gilbert Dethike knight, *alias* Garter, king of armes, are as followeth: The lord Clinton, the lord Conters, sir William Wroughton, sir Thomas Holcroft, sir Edward Dorrell, sir John Luttrell, sir John Jenins, sir Thomas Waterton, sir Charles Howard, sir George Blunt, sir Peter Newtas, sir Edward Warner, sir Rafe Bulmer, sir Hugh Cholmeleie, sir Thomas Leigh, *alias* doctor Leigh, sir Richard Leigh, sir Peter Leigh, sir John Leigh of Boch, sir Laurence Smith, sir William Manasour, sir Richard Shirburne, sir Robert Stapleton, sir Thomas Holt, sir William Dauenport, sir Rafe Leicester, sir Humfrie Bradborne, sir Thomas Palmereie, sir Francis Hothome, sir John Pastie, sir Leonard Beckwith, sir Thomas Cokaine, sir Peter Freshwell, sir Richard Egerton, sir Anthonie Neuill, sir John Neuill, sir William Ratcliffe, sir George Bowes, sir Brian Brereton, sir William Brereton, sir Roger Brereton, sir Edward Waren, sir Brian Leiton, sir Robert Wurseleie, sir Thomas Talbot, sir Hugh Caluerleie, sir John Clere, sir Richard Holland, sir Thomas Venables, sir John Constable, sir Edmund Trafford, sir John Atherton, sir Richard Cholmeleie, sir Philip Egerton, sir Hugh Willoughbie, sir Thomas Constable, sir William Woodhouse, sir Edmund Sauage, and sir Thomas Gerard.

On the fourtéenth daie the Englishmen brake

downe

downe the pire of the hauen of Lith, and burnt euerie sticke of it. This done, and hauing shipped their great artillerie, and taken forth all such Scotish ships as were mèt to serue, appointing them to attend on their ships, they toke vpon them to returne home by land. Amongst other ships which the Englishmen had in Lith hauen, there were two of notable fairenesse, the one called the Salamander, giuen by the French king at the marriage of his daughter into Scotland, the other called the Unicorne, made by the late Scotish king. The balast of these two ships was cannon shot, which they found in the towne, to the number of foure score thousand. The rest of the Scotish ships being taken awaie togither with their owne ships, which they brought with them, were for the more part pestered with the spoile and bowties of the souldiors & mariners. On the fifteenth of Maie, their armie and their fleet departed from Lith both in one houre, the towne being set on fire and burned to the ground.

Lith burnt.

The English armie incamped that night at a place called Seaton, seuen miles from Lith, where they burnt the castell, and destroied the orchards and gardens with the more despite, for that the lord Seaton owner of the place, was the chiefe laborer to helpe the lord cardinall out of prison. The same daie was Haddington burnt, with a great nunrie and house of friers there. The next night they incamped beside Dunbar, where they had an alarum giuen them, but in the morning they burnt the towne of Dunbar, and marched forth, though somewhat staid by the waie, by reason of the mist and fog, which was verie thicke, continuing all the forenoone, and bicause also they vnderstood how the lords of Seton & Hume with the lard of Bouclough, and others, had assembled a power of men of warre, and were minded to impeach their passage at a streict named the Pease.

The lord Seaton.

Haddington burnt.

Dunbar burnt.

But after that the mist brake vp, which was about two of the clocke in the afternoone, the Englishmen came forward, and passed the same streict without anie resistance. For the Scotish lords perceiuing that they were not of power sufficient to incounter with the Englishmen, minded not to put their people in their danger, but wiselie retired, suffering the Englishmen to passe at their pleasure, who that night lodged at Ranton, eight miles distant from our borders, where hauing ouerthrowne a pile which stood there, they dislodged the next morrow, and the same daie being the eightenth of Maie, they entered into Berwicke: so ending their voiage with great ioie and gladnesse, not hauing lost past fortie persons in all this iournie.

The end of the voiage.

The names of the chiefe townes, castels, and places burned in this voiage, were these: the burow and towne of Edenburgh, with the abbeie called holie Rod house, and the kings palace adioining to the same. The towne of Lith burnt, and the hauen and pire destroied, the castle and village of Cragmiller, the abbeie of Newbottle, part of Muskelburow towne, with the chappell of our ladie of Lauret, Preston towne and the castell, Seton castell, Hadington towne, with the friers and nunrie, a castell of Deliuer Sinclers, the towne of Dunbar, Lauretton with the grange, Dirlaw, Wester crag, Enderligh, the pile, and the towne, Broughton, Thester fields, Crawnend, Dudiston, Stan house, the Ficket, Beuerton, Tranent, Shenston, Parkle, Trapren, Kirkland hill, Hatherwike, Belton, east Barnes, Bowland, Butterden, Quickewood, Blackeburne, Ranton, Bildie and the Tower, Kinkorne, saint Minees, the quènes ferrie, part of Petin Waines, and the burnt Iland, were burned by the fleet on the sea.

Townes burnt in the same voiage.

For during the continuance of the armie at Lith, the ships laie not idle, but scowring the riuer, burnt diuerse places, and left neither ship, craier, nor bote belonging to anie village, towne, creeke, or hauen, vpon either side of the ford, betweene Sterling, and the mouth of the riuer, vnburned, or brought awaie, which space conteineth fiftie miles in length. About the same time the earle of Lenox fled out of Scotland into the reime of England, where he was right gladlie receiued by king Henrie, and shortlie he obteined in marriage the ladie Marie Dowglas, neece to the king of England, and returned sone after into Scotland by sea, accompanied with a good competent crue of English. But finding no such friendship among his countrie men as he looked to haue done, he was constreined to returne, without atchiuing the enterprise which he had taken in hand, in hope of such assistance by his friends, as now failed him at need.

See more hereof in Scotland.

¶ In the moneth of Maie proclamation was made for the inhancing of gold to eight & fortie shillings, & siluer foure shillings the ounce. Also the K. caused to be coined base monie, which was since that time called downe, the fift yeare of Edward the first, and called in the second of queene Elizabeth. In the same moneth also passed through the citie of London in warlike maner, to the number of seauen hundred Irishmen, hauing for their weapons, darts, and handguns, with bagpipes before them: and in saint James parke besides Westminster they mustered before the king. In June the letanie or procession was set forth in English, with commandement by the king to be generallie vsed in parish churches.] About the same time that the armie before remembred, was set forward into Scotland vnder the guiding of the earle of Hertford, as before yee haue heard, the king by aduise of his councell toke order for the leuieng of a mightie armie, to passe ouer into France, according to the apointment taken with his confederate, freend and colleague, the emperour, against the French king, at that present common aduersarie to them both, and not long before had entered in league with the Turks, as Ch. Oc. noteth:

Abr. Fl. ex I. Stow. 1019.

Base monie coined.

Irish in warlike manner passe through the citie.

Procession in English.

In armie leuied to inuade France.

——cum dira fœdera Turcis
Iunxerat, heu nimium res est indigna relatu,
Christicolam facere hoc, qui religionis amantem
Se profitens, titulum pietatis venditat orbi.

There were apointed three battels, the vaward vnder the leading of the duke of Norffolke, the battell vnder the guiding of the duke of Suffolke, which also was reckoned to be the kings battell, bicause his maiestie ment to be present with the same in person, and the rere-ward was led by the lord Russell lord priuie seale. Those of the fore-ward were apareled in blew cotes garded with red, and had caps and hosen after the same sute, partie blue and partie red, their caps made fit for their scals, which were put into the same. The battell in cotes, caps, and hosen, after the like fashion, but their colours were red and yellow.

Three battels apointed with their seuerall lieutenants.

The duke of Norffolke and the lord priuie seale, accompanied with diuerse other noble men, as the earle of Surreie sonne to the said duke of Norffolke marshall of the field, the earle of Orford, the lord Greie of Wilton lieutenant of Hammes, whose name euen then began to grow famous, the lord Ferrers of Charteleie, and sir Richard Deuereux his sonne and heire, that brought with them a great number of Welshmen, sir Thomas Cheinie lord warden of the cinque ports, the lord Mountioie a towardlie yong gentleman, well learned, and for his time perfect in all points and qualities fit for a noble man, sir Francis Bryan knight, one of the kings priuie chamber, and no lesse affectioned to his seruice, than of him fauoured and well estéemed, sir Thomas Poinings capteine of Guisnes, and diuerse others

The duke of Norffolke & the lord priuie seale.

others beside, no lesse worthie to be remembred for their valure and merits, if time would permit to rehearse them, passed ouer to Calis about Whitsuntide, and from thence marching forward to France, left Bullongne on their right hand, & keeping forth towards Muttrell, ioined with an armie which the emperour had raised for that purpose, vnder the leading of the countie de Buren, admerall of the low countries, and so these armies being vnited in one, came before Muttrell, and there laid siege to that towne, being well manned and furnished with all things necessarie for defense, as well in vittels as munition. The chéefe capteine of which towne was mounsieur de Biez one of the marshals of France, and gouernour also in the absence of monsieur de Vandosme of Picardie, who being within Bullongne & hearing how the English armie was passed by, and drew towards Muttrell, he left Bullongne, and with all spéed got him into Muttrell, not mistrusting anie thing of that policie which the king of England went about, which was, to send this armie to besiege Muttrell, to the end the Frenchmen might be kept occupied further off, while he with the residue of his power should come and besiege Bullongne, which towne standing most commodious for his purpose, he ment by force to bring vnder his subiection.

The countie de Buren.

Monsieur de Biez.

Herevpon was the duke of Suffolke appointed with the kings armie to passe ouer, accompanied with the earle of Arundell marshall of the field, the lord saint John, and the bishop of Winchester, sir John Gage comptrollor of the kings house, sir Anthonie Browne maister of the kings horsse, with diuerse other worthie capteins, all which the nintenth of Julie came before Bullongne, incamped on the eastside of the said towne aloft vpon the hill, and after for his more safetie remoued into a vallie, where after manie sharpe skirmishes they first entered the base towne, being left and forsaken by the inhabitants, which hauing set fire on their fishing nets, and other such baggage, vnder couert of the smoke, got them vp into the high towne, before the Englishmen could espie them. After this, the Old man, otherwise called *Le toure dordre*, standing without the towne for a direction to them that were to enter the hauen, and now being kept by sixtéene souldiers, was yélded vp by them, vpon presenting the canon before it.

The duke of Suffolke.

Bullongne besieged.

The Frenchmen within the towne, being despoiled of those two places, yet spared not to shot off from their walles and bulworkes, doing what damage they might deuise, and namelie from the castell and gréene bulworke they did much hurt to the Englishmen with their shot, whereof they made no spare, till at length they were forced to be quiet: for the Englishmen so aplied them with such plentie of their shot, that the Frenchmen had no opportunitie to do them anie great hurt with their artillerie. The fourtéenth of Julie, the king in person, accompanied with diuers of the nobilitie, passed the seas from Douer to Calis; and the six and twentith of the same moneth incamped himselfe before Bullongne on the north side, within lesse than three quarters of a mile of the towne, where he remained, till the towne was surrendered into his hands. The king being then in campe, it was a matter of ease to discerne which was he, for none of the rest came nére him in talnesse by the head: as for his proportion of lims, it was answerable to his goodlie stature and making: a memorable description whereof, as also of his artificiall armour, I find reported as followeth:

The king passeth the seas to Bullongne.

Rex capite Henricus reliquos superemine omnes,
Heros prævalidus seu fortia brachia spectes,
Seu suras quas fuluo opifex incluserat auro,
Siue virile ducis præstanti pectore corpus,
Nulla vi domitum, nullo penetrabile ferro, &c.

Beside the trenches which were cast, and brought in maner round about the towne, there was a mount raised vpon the east side, and diuerse peces of artillerie planted aloft on the same, the which together with the morter péces, sore annoied them within, & battered downe the steeple of our ladies church. To conclude, the batterie was made in most forcible wise in three seuerall places, and the walles, towers, and castell were vndermined, and the towne within so beaten with shot out of the campe, and from the mount and trench by the morter péces, that there were verie few houses left whole therein. The towne thus standing in great distresse, there were two hundred Frenchmen and Italians, which interprised vnder the conduct of Joncurtio to enter the towne in couert of the night, which exploit they so warlie atchiued, that by meanes of a priest that could speake the English tong, they passed by the scouts, & through the watch, so as the most part of them were got ouer the trenches yer it was knowne that they were: to the number of six score of them got into the towne, but the residue after they were once descried, being intercepted, were taken or slaine. Although this small succour somewhat relieued them within, and put them in some hope to defend the towne somewhat longer against the kings power: yet at length when a péce of the castell was blowne vp, and the breaches made, as was thought reasonable, the assault was giuen by the lord admerall Dudlete, that was come thither from the sea, which he had scowred after his returne forth of Scotland.

Bullongne assaulted.

This assault was couragiouslie giuen, and to speake a truth, no lesse manfullie defended: so that when the assailants had perceiued in what state the breaches stood, and what prouision they within had made for defense of their towne, which vndoubtedlie was great (for nothing was by them omitted, that might either aduantage the defendants, or annoie the assailants) those that were appointed in this sort to giue the assault, were called backe, and so they retired, but not without losse on both sides, and namelie of them within. For during the time of the assault, the great artillerie did beat still vpon them that presented themselues at the breaches to repell the assailants, and so diuerse of their valiant capteins and braue souldiers were slaine at this assault, & among other, capteine Philip Corse. Shortlie after, the capteins within the towne, doubting to be eftsones assaulted, and perceiuing themselues in extreame danger to lose the towne by force, if they prouided not the sooner, by rendering it to saue themselues: they sent forth two of their chiefe capteins, monsieur Semblemont, and monsieur de Hales, which declared vnto the king, that monsieur de Vernine gouernour of the towne, with his retinue, was contented to deliuer the towne vnto his grace, with condition that they might passe with bag and baggage. Which request the king, like a noble and mercifull prince, fréelie granted: and so the next daie, the duke of Suffolke rode into Bullongne, vnto whome in the kings name the keies of the towne were deliuered, & in the afternone departed out of Bullongne all the Frenchmen with heauie hearts, to the number of six thousand, as C. O. witnesseth, saieng:

Sex hinc exierant Gallorum millia gentis.

Bullongne deliuered.

The number of them that went forth of Bullongne.

The number of the men of warre that were strong and able to serue, were of horssemen sixtie seuen, of footmen fiftéene hundred, three score and three, of the which number eight hundred were harquebutters, of hurt men foure score and seuen, of women & children nine téene hundred and twentie seuen, beside a great number of aged & sicke persons, not able to depart with the others. The last person that came forth was monsieur de Vernine himselfe, who vpon his

his approch to the place where the king stood, alighted from his horsse, and came to the king, and after hee had talked with him a space, the king toke him by the hand, and he reuerentlie kneeling vpon his knees, kissed his hand, and afterward mounted vpon his horsse, and so departed, following his companie.

The king entereth into Bullongne.

The eight of September, the king hauing the sword borne before him by the lord marques Dorset, like a puissant conqueror rode into Bullongne, and the trumpetters standing on the walles, sounded their trumpets at the time of his entering, to the great comfort of the beholders. In the entering, there met him the duke of Suffolke, and deliuered to him the keies of the towne, and so he rode forth to his lodging that was prepared for him on the south side of the towne. Within two daies after, the king rode about the towne within the walles, and appointed that our ladie church of Bullongne should bee taken downe, and in the place thereof a mount to bee made, for the more strengthening of the towne. Finallie after he had set things in order for the safe keeping of this his towne of Bullongne, by his princely force thus wone out of the possession of his aduersaries hands, he appointed the lord Lisle high admerall of the seas, to be his deputie of the same towne, and then determining not to staie there any longer, he toke the seas, & returned into England, landing at Douer the first of October.

The king returneth into England.

In this meane time, whilest the king of England laie (as ye haue heard) with his siege about Bullongne, and the duke of Norffolke, and lord priuie seale about Mutterell, the emperour inuaded France by Champeigne, winning diuerse castels and townes, as Comersis, Lignie, saint Desir, Chaustreau, Thierie, and others. But at the length, meanes were made by treatie to haue the matter taken vp, as in the end it was, and a peace concluded without consent of the king of England, although there was place left for him and other princes to enter into this agreement of peace. But the king of England hauing now destraied no small quantitie of treasure in these warres, beside the trauell of his owne person and his people, and hauing the thing now in a maner sure in his possession, which he chiefflie went about to obteine, that is to wit, the strong towne of Bullongne, he would not agree vnto anie peace, except he might inioy that towne, at that instant redie to be deliuered into his hands. And euen now after it was to him deliuered, hearing that for certeine, the peace was concluded betwixt the emperour and the French king, he determined to breake vp his camps: but neuertheless to keepe Bullongne in his possession, in despite of all his aduersaries. But here, before we proceed anie further, we haue thought good somewhat to speake touching the siege which all this while continued afore Mutterell, where the Englishmen and Burgonians inforced themselues by all waies and meanes they could deuise, how to constreine their enimies within the towne. On the other part, monsieur de Biez, and those that were with him in gard of the same towne, left nothing vndone that might serue for their defense, and make to the annoiance of their enimies.

The emperor concludeth a peace with the French king.

The number of the men of war in Mutterell.

There were with monsieur de Biez within the towne, an hundred men at armes of the retinue of the constable of France, vnder the leading of the lord de la Guich an expert man of war. There were also with the lord of Genlie, foure ensignes of French footmen. Count Berenger a Neapolitane with a thousand footmen Italians. Capteine Francisco de Chiaramont, a Neapolitane also, with the like number of Italian footmen. So that the towne might seeme sufficientlie furnished with men, and they wanted neither shot nor powder requisit, so that there was no spare thereof when occasion serued on either part.

A mount raised.

The duke of Norffolke and the lord priuie seale caused a mount to be raised, and aloft thereon were certeine peeces of artillerie planted to shoot into the towne. Moreouer they compassed the walles so on ech hand with their seuerall camps and trenches, that hardlie might anie escape either in or out vnespied.

Sir Francis Bryan.

Sir Francis Bryan was appointed with certeine bands, conteining about the number of a thousand men, to lodge in a campe fortified by himselfe, ouer against one part of the towne, to stop certeine passages on that side, that no succors should enter by the same to the releese of them within. There were skirmishes dailie betwixt them that sallied forth of the gates, and the Englishmen that watched and warded in the trenches, and other places, insomuch that diuerse lost their liues, and some were irrecouerablie wounded, as *Anglorum prælia* witnesseth, saieng:

Confossi sæuo moriuntur vulnere multi
Dispersa cerebro, faciei nulla figura.

Tiberio, that after serued the king of England.

On a daie as sir Thomas Poinings soldiours were warding in one of the trenches, an Italian secretlie comming forth of the towne, fetched awaie the said sir Thomas Poinings his ensigne; and notwithstanding the pursute that was made after him, he escaped and got into the towne with it, to the great displeasure of the whole campe. But as the enimies sometimes went awaie with the aduantage of their attempted enterprises, so ofttimes againe they paid for their aduenturing ouer rashlie aboue the common price of the market.

Negligence of Englishmen for not putting their valiant deedings in writing.

But here I cannot but lament the negligence vsed in that season: for there is not one English writer to be found extant, that hath written anie thing effectuallie of the exploits atchined in that iornie; so as we are driuen to borrow of the aduersaries that haue written thereof, wanting other helps of our owne nation to furnish our booke herein according to our wished purpose. But neuertheless, to giue occasion to those that yet liue, and can best do it, to set forth hereafter a more perfect discourse thereof, I haue thought it not amisse to recite in part what I haue read and learned of such things as then were accounted worthie of relation, and now like to be buried in the dimme booke of oblivion, vnlesse some fauourer of notable euents chancing in the assiegement of those two townes, Bullongne and Muttrell, will put to his helping hand to report the same to posteritie.

Stratagem of the lord Mountioie.

Among other stratagems, one I remember, deuised and put in practise by the lord Mountioie, as thus. The enimies had espied a place of aduantage without the towne, where vnder fauour of the shot of certeine peeces of great artillerie lodged vpon some platforms or bulworks within the towne, they might lie without the walles betwixt the Englishmens trenches and the towne ditches, and there couer themselues within a litle trench or counterscarpe made for the purpose, and out of the same be readie with their harquebusses to shoot at the Englishmen, so soone as anie of them should once shew his head out of the trenches, to the great danger of them that warded in the same.

The lord Mountioie perceiuing this, deuised with himselfe how to rouse the enimies out of that lurking place, and withall came to the duke of Norffolke, and desired licence to put the deuise (which he had alreadie forecast in his mind) in practise. But the duke being not willing that he should put himselfe in such danger, was loth to grant thereto, but rather persuaded with him not to attempt it: for (said he) my lord, ye may do the king better seruice than so to hazard your life, and cast your selfe awaie,

as it is verie like you should, in aduenturing vpon such a desperat peece of seruice, and therfore I would not wish you to meddle therewith, for we shall otherwise prouide for the matter well inough. But the lord Mountioie still persisted in his suite verie earnestlie, declaring that he doubted not (by Gods helpe) but to atchiue his purpose to his good contentation without anie great danger, if that were executed which he toke to be necessarie for the accomplishment of his deuise: and that was to haue certeine peeces of the great ordinance shot off that waie forth, at what time the wind stood meet to carrie the smoke full vpon the place where the Frenchmen laie. At length vpon his earnest suite, the duke gaue him licence to trie what he could do, commanding the great ordinance to be laid and charged readie to shot off as he should appoint it. Herewith the lord Mountioie taking with him fouretéene of his owne soldiors (of the which number one of them forsoke to go through with him when it came to the point) immediatlie vpon the shooting off of the artillerie, & that all the ground about was couered ouer with smoke, he came to the place where those Frenchmen laie vnder couert of their trench, and so displaced them, that they had no liking eftsones to lodge so nere vnto such vnfriendlie neighbors.

A politike feat atchiued by the lord Mountioie.

Manie other valiant and politike feats (no doubt) were atchiued during this siege, & happilie as worthie the rehearsall as this. But sith it was the inuention of so noble a yong gentleman, I haue estéemed it not impertinent to speake thereof, and withall to lament the losse of the inuentor, who being taken awaie shortlie after in his returne homewards, by vntimelie death, was like (if he had liued to greater yéars of experience) to haue prooued comparable in valor to anie of his noble progenitors. But now to speake of other incidents that chanced whilest this siege remained before Muttrell, you must vnderstand that the most part of the vittels that was spent in the campe was brought to them either from the kings campe at Bullogne, or else from S. Omers, to conueie the same so far off, it was néedfull to haue the carriage garded with good troops and bands both of horssemen and footmen: for the French fortresses were stronglie furnished with great numbers of men of war, which vpon occasions were readie to take aduantages offered.

The lord Mountioie a noble yong gentleman.

And as it fortuned at one time among other, there was a conuoie of certeine wagons loden with vitels appointed to come from saint Omers, the same being garded with diuerse bands of Englishmen and Burgonions, sent thither for that purpose, the which marching forward from saint Omers, kept not so good order as had béene requisit: whereof certeine companies of French horssemen that were abroad being aware, set vpon the Burgonions that were attendant vpon the foremost carriages, and finding them in some disorder, easilie discomfited them, followed, and slue them in the chase, till they came to the hindermost carriages, where six hundred English men that attended on the same, impaled themselues with their wagons, so as the Frenchmen could take no aduantage: but with shot of the English archers were so curried and galled that they were driuen to retire, and that in such hast, as they left diuerse of their companie captiues in the Englishmens hands beside those that were faire laid to take their last sléepe there on the ground. Neuertheless, of the Burgonions there were slaine foure hundred, and much good vittels lost, the bottoms of the hogsheads and other vessels being beaten out, and manie a good Flemish mare killed or taken. For the Frenchmen found small resistance (as before ye haue heard) till they approched to the Englishmen, by whose accustomed manhood, some part of the vittels of that conuoie was saued, to the releefe of the campe, which notwithstanding by losse of the residue suffered great want for the time.

The English archers gall the French horssemen.

Moreouer, somewhat towards the latter end of this siege, the earle of Surreie son vnto the duke of Norffolke and marshall of his field, accompanied with the lord warden of the cinque ports, and diuerse other valiant capteins English & Burgonions marched forth into the countrie towards Abuile, where they toke and burnt a proper towne called saint Requiers: and after comming to another towne called Rieu, they found no bodie at home but women and children, for the men were departed out of it before their comming thither. When they had taken their pleasure in sacking all such goods as they found there fit to be carried awaie, they spared the towne from fire, and so departed. And thus after they had béene two daies and two nights abroad in the countrie, they returned home to the campe with a great botte of beasts, sheepe, and other things which they had got in that voiage.

Saint Requiers burnt by the Englishmen.

Rieu sacked.

But now to conclude with this siege of Muttrell, after the king had woone Bullongne, and vnderstood how the emperor had agréed with his aduersarie the French king, he resolued to haue his armie to raise that siege which thus had lien before Muttrell, and with all cõuenient spéed to draw toward Calis. And because it was signified that the Dolphin of France Henrie was comming forward with a great power, which had béene raised by his father the French king to resist the emperor, and now was sent vnder the conduct of the said Dolphin, to the succours of them that were besieged in Muttrell, the king sent the earle of Arundell, sir John Gage, sir George Carew, sir John Reinsford, and others, with a chosen number of lustie soldiors vnto Muttrell, to reinforce his armie there, that in leuieng the campe, and withdrawing backe, they might be the better able to withstand anie attempt which the enimies might put in execution to their annoiance. And verelie this was done with good aduise and necessarie consideration, for the Englishmen that had lien so long time at the siege before Muttrell, wanting such behouefull refreshment as those were stored with that laie before Bullongne, hauing the seas open, and all things at pleasure brought vnto them forth of England, were sore weakened and decaied by death and sickenesse, and now in raising their campe had manie things to loke vnto, as well for the conueieng of their ordinance, trusse, and baggage, as their feeble and diseased persons: so that if the Dolphin with his armie might haue made such spéed forward as to haue ouertaken them with his maine power before they had come to Bullongne, it was to be feared least he might haue put them in danger of a plaine distresse. But with such timelie foresight as was vsed the siege was raised, and the armie retired first to Bullongne, and after to Calis without losse, although the French horssemen in great number followed, and sundrie times made proud proffers to giue the charge vpon the hindermost companies; but nothing was done to make great account of, except certeine skirmishes that were procured, and alarums giuen, as in such cases it fortuneth.

The siege at Muttrell broken vp.

The Dolphin notwithstanding that the siege was thus raised from Muttrell, yet he could come thither, yet he kept forward his iourneie, to proue what he might do to recouer Bullongne, which towne the king of England (as ye haue heard) had left in the keeping of the lord Lisle high admerall. The same towne being then weake, God knoweth, on all sides through batterie and minings, which by the kings power had béen made, to bring it to his subiection, and

The Dolphin commeth before Bullongne with his great power.

and the trenches not cast downe, nor the ordinance mounted.

A camisado giuen to base Bullongne.

The Dolphin being come before the towne, sent certeine bands of his best soldiors by night to giue a camisado to the base towne. They that thus were sent, entred the same the ninth of October, about two of the clocke in the morning, where they toke the stand watches, and slue (beside a great number of sicke and weake persons) as well soldiors as other, before they could araie themselues, or well get out of their beds. But after, the Frenchmen and Italians fell to rifling and breaking vp of coffers, scattering here and there abrode, and began to fall to their vittels, which they found there in good plentie. The Englishmen that were driuen vp to the gates of the high towne, got weapons that were throwne downe vnto them forth of the same, & assembling togither, fiercelie entred in amongst the preasse of their enimies. And herewith there sallied forth of the high towne sir Thomas Poinings with a band of two hundred soldiors, the which togither with the other so bestirred themselues, that they manfullie beat backe the enimies, slue to the number of eight hundred of them, and chased the residue out of the towne, which fled ouer the sands vp to the hill, where the Dolphin himselfe stood with a great troope of horsemen about him, and durst not once come downe to the rescue of his people, for feare of the great artillerie that with plentie of bullets saluted the enimies, after that the breake of the daie had once discouered them in sight. Amongst other that were slaine in this repulse of the Frenchmen, le segneur de Foquessolles, another of the marshall de Biez his sons in law, and seneschall of Bullongne was one.

An ouerthrow giuen to the French at base Bullongne.

Thus the Dolphin, perceiuing that it would nothing auaile him to make anie further attempt against Bullongne, passed forth toward Guisnes, & shortlie after through want of vittels, and sickenesse which sore infested his campe, brake vp his armie, and returned into France: so that the proud enterprises of the vainglorious and most insolent French turned to their owne great shame, as C. O. trulie saith:

Sic Galli in magnum cesserunt dedecus ausa.

But shortlie after Christmas came downe an armie of fourtéene thousand, vnder the conduction of monsieur de Biez, the which the six and twentith of Januarie incamped on the west side of Bullongne beyond the hauen, where they laie ten daies: but on the sixt of Februarie, the earle of Hertford, the lord admerall, as then lord lieutenant of the towne of Bullongne, the lord Greie of Wilton, sir Thomas Poinings & others, hauing assembled out of the garisons on that side the seas, to the number of foure thousand footmen, & seuen hundred horsmen, whereof an hundred or foure score were Albanoises, issued forth of Bullongne about foure of the clocke in the morning, and comming to the place where the king had incamped during the time of the siege, they staid there, and put themselues in order of battell: and about six of the clocke, it being then a low water, capteine Edward Brete, with three hundred shot, was appointed to passe ouer, and to giue the enimies an alarum in their campe.

Monsieur de Biez cõmeth before Bullongne with an armie.

At which instant the trumpets sounded, and the drums stroke vp in the English armie, and herewith they being diuided into three battels, and to ech one his gard of two hundred horsmen, beside the od hundred that attended as a defense to the residue, they shewed themselues to their enimies. The Frenchmen perceiuing this, packed awaie with all haste possible, marching toward Hardilo in two battels. Whereupon the English capteins leauing their footmen behind them, and taking onelie with them the horsemen, followed with all speed after their enimies, and comming to the bridge commonlie called pont de Brique, which certeine English carpenters garded with a number of harquebutters, and foure small field peeces, had forced and repared the same that night: and so the horsemen finding it sufficientlie repared, passed ouer, and comming to S. Estienne, they found there fiue hundred Dutch horsmen, commonlie called Swart rutters, that were lodged there to keepe that passage: but being surprised on the sudden by the English horsemen, and sharpelie assailed, they were wholie distressed, and the most part of them taken prisoners, and therewith left with the followers of the armie, were after slaine, because they knew not where to bestow them.

The French men dislodge out of their campe.

But now the hill of saint Estienne being thus gained by the English horsmen, they put themselues in order of battell againe, appointing an hundred of their men at armes to follow and keepe aloofe as a stale to relieue their fellowes in time of need, when they saw them in anie danger. The lords, to incourage euerie one to do his dutie, rode vp and downe about the troops, & vsing manie comfortable words, desired them, that although they were but an handfull in comparison to the number of their enimies, they would yet in regard of the honour of the realme of England, make a proffer of an onset to the enimies, that they might perceiue that there they were to giue them battell, and to follow, as they should see them their capteins and gouernors to lead them the waie. Herewith forward they make towards the enimie, and ouertaking them three miles on the hitherside of Hardilo sands, they valiantlie gaue the charge, and thrusting in betwixt the two French battels, ouerthrew their cariages, toke their ordinance and munitions, slue and bare downe manie of them that preased forth to defend the same.

The comfortable words of the English capteins.

The English horsemen charge the French battels.

Monsieur de Biez being in the fore ward, brought backe the strongest and best armed men he had to resist his enimes, ranging them in order so, as he ment to haue inclosed the English horsemen betwixt his battels and the sea, and so to haue distressed them. But this purpose being espied first of all by the lord admerall, the Englishmen by his valiant incouragement gaue a new charge, and breaking through their ranks by force, came backe againe vnto their hundred men of armes that kept aloofe, and there staied till their footmen might come to them, who by this time were aduanced within sight of them, but distant yet by the space of two English miles, or little lesse.

The valiant order of monsieur de Biez.

The lord admerall his readie cõceiuing the meaning of the enimies.

Monsieur de Biez, perceiuing that the English footmen began thus to approch, made forward againe with his armie, so fast as was possible for his people to march, drawing still his armed men and best souldiors to the hindermost ranks, there to be readie to withstand the Englishmen, as they should offer to assaile them: and in this order the Frenchmen made away, and rested not till they came to Hardilo sands, being a place of such strength and aduantage, by reason of the streict, that after they were once got thither, they might account themselues out of all danger, and therefore there they staid, and dispatched an herald vnto the chiefteins of the English armie, to signifie vnto them, that there they ment to abide and to giue them battell, if they would aduance forward to fight with them: but yet they would not in anis wise come forth of their strength vnto some euen ground, although they were earnestlie required therevnto. Whereupon the Englishmen, to light them a candle that they might see where they were, set all the villages & houses about on a light fire, continuing the same all that afternoone, and most part of the night following, and the nert morning betwixt

Hardilo sands.

scure and fiue of the clocke, they came backe againe vnto Bullongne with all their spoiles and prisoners.

Artillerie gained.

They tooke in this incounter seuen peces of artillerie, two of brasse and fiue of iron; also the peces of aduantage of the armour of monsieur de Biez, beside apparell, plate, and furniture in great plentie, as well taken in the field, as also in their campe, where they left their tents standing, & all their prouision of vittels wholie vnremoued. The same peces of armour were sent ouer into England to the king for a witnesse of the good successe that had thus happened to his people in this famous enterprise, in the atchiuing wherof there were not past halfe a dozen Englishmen slaine, besides those that were hurt, which neither were manie, as vnder halfe a score at the most.

1545 John Stow.

Whilest such things were in doing about Bullongne, and other places (as before ye haue heard in this twentie and first yeare) the ships of the west countrie and other coasts of this realme waxed abroad on the seas, and tooke to the number of three hundred & od French ships, so that the Graie friers church in London was laid full of wine, the Austine friers and Blacke friers full of herring, and other fish that was taken, as the same should haue béene conueied into France. About the same season the king demanded a beneuolence of his subiects spirituall and temporall, towards the maintenance of the warres against the Frenchmen and Scots. ¶ On the twelfe of Januarie, the lord chancellour, the duke of Suffolke, and other of the kings councell, began to sit at Bainards castell, where they first called before them the maior and aldermen, &c. And bicause Richard Read alderman would not agree to paie as they set him; he was commanded vpon paine to serue the king in his warres of Scotland, who departed from London the three and twentith of Januarie.

Great prises of French goods taken by the westerne ships.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 1030.

Also sir William Roch alderman, for words of displeasure taken by the kings councell, was by them sent to the fleet, where he remained till passion sundaie. On the six and twentith of Januarie, there camped on the west side of Bullongne beyond the hauen, an armie of French, to the number of eightéene thousand, where they laie ten daies, and the first of Februarie were put to flight by the earle of Hertford, and sir John Dudleie lord admerall, then deputie of Bullongne. On the thirteenth of Februarie, a priest was set on the pillorie in Cheape, and burnt in both chéekes with the letters F. and A. and a paper on his head, wherein was written, For false accusing: which iudgement was giuen by the lord chancellor in the Starre chamber, a notable example of iustice. Great cause haue I to wish the like to the like accuser, who neuer yet repented, but contrariwise sweareth and forsweareth that he neuer did anie such act against his brother.]

Sir william Roch sent to the Fleet.

Execution for false accusation.

In the beginning of March sir Rafe Euers lord warden of the marches after manie fortunate rodes and forraies made into Scotland, assembled now about foure thousand men, & entering with the same into Scotland, was incountered at Halidon rig by the earle of Arraine and other Scotishmen, which so beset the Englishmen with three battels on ech side, that in the end they slue the said lord warden, with the lord Ogle, and a great number of other gentlemen and commons, beside prisoners, which they tooke, so that few escaped the Scotishmens hands. Among other prisoners taken, Richard Read an alderman of London aforesaid was one. The death of sir Rafe Euers was greatlie bemoned: for he had shewed great proofe of his valiant prowesse at sundrie times before; namelie in this yeare past, as at the taking and burning of the towne of Jedworth, which enterprise was atchiued the tenth of June, beside diuerse other exploits fortunatelie brought to passe by his high valiancie and manhood, till his hap was at this present to finish his daies: whose life though then it tooke end, yet shall not his fame & good report (purchased by martiall courage, policie, and dangerous aduentures) perish or decaie; as the poet trulie saith:

Parta labore volat vastum bona fama per orbem,
Hæc veluti Phœbus non moritura manet.

The discomfiture gotten by the Scots at Halidon rig.

The valiant sir Rafe Euers slaine.

Read, alderman of London prisoner.

This yeare on saint Georges daie sir Thomas Wriothesleie lord chancellor of England was made knight of the garter. Also Trinitie terme was adiourned by reason of the warres, but the eschéker and the court of the tenths were open, for those that were accomptable in either of the said courts. The thirteenth of June Robert Luken seruant to sir Humfrie Browne one of the iustices of the kings Bench, Anne Askew gentlewoman, otherwise called Anne Kime, wife to one Kime, a gentleman of Lincolneshire, and Jone Sautereie, wife to John Sautereie of London, were arreigned in the Guildhall of London, for speaking against the sacrament of the altar (as they tearmed it) contrarie to the statute of the six articles: but because no witnesse appeared against the women, nor against Luken, one onelie excepted, who was thought to accuse him rather of malice, than otherwise, they were by twelue honest substantiall men of the citie (sworne to passe vpon their indictments) clérelie acquitted and discharged.

Anno Reg. 37. Rich. Grafton

Anne Askew and others arreigned and acquited.

The same daie also was a pewterer named Thomas Daie discharged, by the pardon granted in the last parlement, after he had remained in prison in Newgate the space of three yeares now past, condemned long before the date of the same pardon, for the article of auricular confession comprised within the same statute. About the same time, to wit the seuenth of June a great armie of Frenchmen came downe to Bullongne, and néere to the hauen incamped themselues. In this armie were reckoned to be twelue thousand lanceknights, twelue thousand French footmen, six thousand Italians, foure thousand of legionarie soldiours of France, & a thousand or twelue hundred men of armes, beside seuen or eight hundred light horsmen. After some skirmishes not greatlie to their aduantage, they began yet to build a fort, which at length they accomplished, as after shall appeare. ¶ About the fiue & twentith of June, was a great tempest in Derbishire, where thorough trées were ouerturned, & diuerse churches, chapels, and houses were vncouered. Also in Lancashire, there fell hailestones as big as mens fists, which had diuerse prints in them, some like mens faces, some like gun holes, &c.]

Thomas Daie pewterer.

Martin de Wellsie.

The new fort before Bullogne. I.S. pag. 1031.

Hailestones figured like mens heads.

The same moneth also the lord Lisle admerall of England with the English fleet entered the mouth of Saine, and came before Newhauen, where a great navie of the Frenchmen laie, to the number of a two hundred ships, and six and twentie gallies, whereof the pope (as was reported) had sent twentie well furnished with men and monie, to the aid of the French king. The Englishmen being not past an hundred and threescore saile, and all great ships, determined not to set vpon the Frenchmen where they laie: but yet approching nére vnto them, shot off certeine péces of ordinance at them, and thereby caused the gallies to come abroad, which changed shot againe with the Englishmen. The gallies at the first had great aduantage, by reason of the great calme. Twise either part assaulted other with shot of their great artillerie, but suddenlie the wind rose so high, that the gallies could not indure the rage of the seas, and so the Englishmen for feare of flats were compelled to enter the maine seas, and so sailed vnto

The English fleet commeth before Newhauen.

Portismouth

Portesmouth where the king laie, for he had knowledge by his espials that the Frenchmen intended to land in the Ile of Wight, wherefore he repaired to that coast, to see his realme defended.

The French fleet landeth in the Ile of Wight.

The Frenchmen land in Suller.

After this, the eightenth of Julie the admerall of France monsieur Danebalte hoised vp sailes, and with his whole nauie came forth into the seas, and arriued on the coast of Suller before bright Hamsteed, and set certeine of his soldiors on land, to burne and spoile the countrie: but the beacons were fired, & the inhabitants thereabouts came downe so thicke, that the Frenchmen were driuen to flie with losse of diuerse of their numbers: so that they did little hurt there. Immediatlie hereupon they made to the point of the Ile of Wight, called saint Helens point, and there in good order vpon their arriuall they cast anchors, and sent dailie sirtéene of their gallies to the verie hauen of Portesmouth. The English nauie lieng there in the same hauen, made them readie, and set out toward the enimies, and still the one shot hotlie at the other: but the wind was so calme, that the kings ships could beare no saile, which greatlie grieued the minds of the Englishmen, and made the enimies more bold to approch with their gallies, and to assaile the ships with their shot euen within the hauen.

The Marie Rose drowned by negligence.

The twentith of Julie, the whole nauie of the Englishmen made out, & purposed to set on the Frenchmen, but in setting forward, thorough too much follie, one of the kings ships called the Marie Rose was drowned in the middest of the hauen, by reason that she was ouerladen with ordinance, and had the ports left open, which were verie low, and the great artillerie vnbreeched; so that when the ship should turne, the water entered, and suddenlie she suncke. In hir was sir George Carew knight and foure hundred soldiours vnder his guiding. There escaped not past fortie persons of all the whole number. On the morrow after about two thousand of the Frenchmen landed in the Ile of Wight, where one of their chiefe capteins named le chenalier Daur, a Prouencois was slaine with manie other, and the residue with losse and shame driuen backe againe to their gallies.

Frenchmen distressed in the Ile of wight.

The king perceiuing the great Armada of the Frenchmen to approch, caused the beacons to be fired, and by letters sent into Hamptonshire, Sommersetshire, Wiltshire, and into diuerse other countries adioining, gaue knowledge to such as were appointed to be readie for that purpose, to come with all speed to incounter the enimies. Whereupon they repaired to his presence in great numbers well furnished with armor, weapon, vittels, and all other things necessarie, so that the Ile was garnished, and all the frontiers alongest the coasts fortified with exceeding great multitudes of men. The French capteins hauing knowledge by certeine fishermen, whom they tooke, that the king was present, & so huge a power readie to resist them, they disanchored and drew along the coast of Suller, and a small number of them landed againe in Suller, of whome few returned to their ships: for diuerse gentlemen of the countrie, as sir Nicholas Pelham, and others, with such power as was raised, vpon the sudden, tooke them vp by the waie and quickelie distressed them.

When they had searched euerie where by the coast, and saw men still readie to receiue them with battell, they turned sterne, and so got them home againe without anie act atchiued worthie to be mentioned.

The number in the French nauie.

The number of the Frenchmen was great, so that diuerse of them that were taken prisoners in the Ile of Wight, and in Suller, did report that they were three score thousand. The French king aduertised the emperor most vntrulie by letters, that his armie had gotten the Ile of Wight with the ports of Hamton, and Portesmouth, and diuerse other places. In August following, the earle of Hertford entered againe into Scotland with twelue thousand men, and destroied all the townes in the middle marches, burned Coldingham abbeie, and passed to the west marches, sore annoieng and indamaging the Scots, and yet neither they, nor the Frenchmen that were sent into Scotland this yeare to the aid of the Scots, vnder the leading of monsieur de Lorges, Montgomerie his father, durst once come forth into the field to incounter with him.

The earle of Hertford forrateth the middle marches of Scotland.

Also in the beginning of this moneth the citie of London set forth a thousand soldiors of archers, harquebutters, pikes, and bils, which went to Douer, and so passed ouer vnto Calis, to serue the king in his wars on that side the seas. In the same moneth that valiant capteine sir Thomas Poinings knight, lord Poinings, and the kings lieutenant of his towne and marches of Bullogne departed this life, after he had to his great honor atchiued manie worthie enterprises in seruice of his prince against the enimies, so that his death was much lamented. A gentleman vndoubtedlie deseruing to be had in perpetuall memorie: and pitie it is, that diuerse such valiant feats as he in his life time atchiued, were not committed to writing, to remaine for examples sake to posteritie.

The Londoners set forth a power into France.

The death of the valiant lord Poinings.

Also in the same moneth at Guilford died the noble and valiant duke of Suffolke Charles Brandon lord great maister of the kings houshold, a right hardie gentleman, and yet not so hardie, as almost of all estats and degrees of men, high & low, rich and poore, hartilie beloued, & his death of them greatlie lamented: his bodie was honorablie buried at Windsore, at the kings costs. This man in his daies had done to the king and realme right agreeable seruices, as well in peace, as in wars, both in England, France, Scotland, and Ireland, he died the kings generall lieutenant of his armie then apointed to resist the Frenchmen, if they durst haue landed.

The death of the duke of Suffolke.

His iust commendation.

But now, whereas in this meane time we haue spoken nothing of the doings in Scotland, where the warre was still continued, the king of France sent thither certeine bands of Frenchmen, vnder the gouernement of monsieur de Lorges, to aid the Scots against the Englishmen; and the king of England waged manie strangers, and sent them with certeine Englishmen to the borders, for defense of the same against the inuasions of the enimies: for after the arriuall of the Frenchmen, a great armie of Scots was raised, and approched neere to the borders, where for a certeine time they incamped, so that manie thought some notable enterprise would haue beene attempted. But after they had laine in campe a certeine time, they brake vp, and departed without attempting anie further exploit.

Monsieur de Lorges sent into Scotland with certeine French bands.

Shortlie after the earle of Hertford lieng on the borders, as lieutenant of the north parts of England, calling to him an armie of twelue thousand men, or thereabouts, what of Englishmen and strangers, entred Scotland with the same, and burnt a great part of the Pers, and Teuidale, as Kelsale abbeie and the towne; Melrosse abbeie & Driborne abbeie, also Jedworth abbeie, and diuerse other places, townes, and villages, to the number of fiue score. Kelsale abbeie was defended a while by three hundred Scots, but in the end the most part of them were slaine, & taken by the strangers and others that gaue the assault. Thus the earle of Hertford sore indamaged the Scots by this inuasion, and yet neither they, nor the Frenchmen their assistants, durst come forth into the field once to incounter with him.

The earle of Hertford inuadeth Scotland.

On the sixtenth of September a number of

Scots and Frenchmen attempted to enter into England on the east borders. But the Englishmen perceiuing them about to passe by a certeine streit, set vpon them, and slue and tooke of them to the number of seuen score. Among the prisoners that were taken, the lord of Humes sonne, and a French capteine were accompted chiefest. Also in another rode made into the west borders, the lord Marwels sonne, and diuerse others were taken. But at an other time about the same season also, certeine Englishmen to the number of fiue hundred, making their entrie by the west borders into Scotland, were discomfited by the Scots, and the more part of them either taken or slaine. Thus were they occupied as well on the borders betwixt England and Scotland, in this season, as also in the marches of Calis, Guisnes, and Bullognois, where the garrisons lieng in those places, made continuall rodes & forraies into the marches of the enimies countrie, and oftentimes chanced to incounter with some of their troops.

Ouerthrowes on both sides, betwixt the English and Scots.

The capteine of Ard, monsieur de Dampiere, hauing got for a supplie from the French campe at Bullogne, the companie of the men of armes that belonged to the duke of Orleance, led by his lieutenant monsieur de Tauannes, chanced on a daie to incounter with the Englishmen guided by that valiant baron the lord Greie of Wilton, capteine of the towne of Guisnes, who being accompanied with a number of valiant gentlemen & soldiers, distressed their enimies, & slue the capteine of Ard the foresaid lord de Dampiere there in field. Diuerse other skirmishes and incounters chanced in that summer, on the further side the seas. And moreouer, now after that the French naute was withdrawen (as ye haue heard) from the coasts about Portesmouth, that martiall chiefteine, sir John Dudleie, lord Lisle, and high admerall of England, hauing all his ships, men, munition, & furniture readie, set forward from Portesmouth hauen, to haue fought with the Frenchmen, if they had still kept the seas, but they were withdrawne home into harborough.

Whereupon the lord admerall meaning to reuenge their brauados, and presumptuous attempts made at Portesmouth, and in the Ile of Wight, approched to the coasts of Normandie, and landed with sir thousand men at Treport, burnt the suburbes of that towne, with the abbeie, and certeine villages and houses thereabouts. Also they destroied thirtie ships, and a barke there found in the hauen: and after they had wrought their pleasures, they returned to the sea, and so home, not hauing lost past fourtéene persons in the execution of this whole enterprise. Of this great spoile & ouerthrow giuen at Treport, by the kings admerall, I find these verses remembred:

Treporte oppidum Gallie maritimum à Iohanne Dudleio prefecto regię classis diripitur & flammis absumitur.

———Treportem passibus æquis
Ordine seruato (qui mos est militis) intrant:
Obuius vt quisque est, is stricto sternitur ense,
Alt alius volucri traiectus membra sagitta,
Occidit exanguis, fœdátque cruore plateas.
Dum reclusa alius vult prospectare fenestra,
Nec conferre pedem, nec aperto prælia Marte
Commissere audet, glandis transfigitur ictu.
Omne genus telorum ad cædem immittitur atram.

In this meane while monsieur de Biez, being incamped nére to Bullogne with such a puissant armie (as before you haue heard) busied about the building of a fort, there was not such diligence vsed therin, as was promised on his part in accomplishing the same, to the French kings great displeasure (as some write) who had meant with that armie (if this fort had béene finished at the appointed time) to haue gone to besiege the towne and castell of Guisnes: but now the time being prolonged, and not without some suspicion least monsieur de Biez cared not how long the warres indured in that sort, so as he might command ouer so manie princes and great lords as were there vnder his gouernance, at length before the fort were fullie finished, he remoued to mount Lambert with the more part of the armie, pretending as though he meant to fight with the Englishmen, the which (as he said) he vnderstood were purposed to come with a conuoie of vittels from Calis to Bullogne.

Whilest he there remained, manie princes and great lords came from the court, that laie at an abbeie called forest Montier, eleuen leagues from Bullogne beyond Muttrell, on the waie towards Abuille, in hope that battell should haue followed betwixt the English and French armies. Among other that came thither are these remembred as principall, monsieur Danguien, monsieur Daumalle, monsieur le duc de Neuers, monsieur le conte de Lauall, and monsieur de la Trimouille. Monsieur Daumalle eldest sonne to the duke of Guise, being lodged in the vantgard that was gouerned by monsieur de Brissac, chanced on a daie to be present at a skirmish, where shewing himselfe verie forward, he was striken through the sight of his helmet, with a light horsemans staffe, that pearsing in betwixt his nose and his eie, entred halfe a foot into his head, as monsieur de Langeie writeth, and breaking off a two fingers beneath the iron, the same iron remained still within his head: but yet escaping out of the Englishmens hands, he came backe to the campe, had the truncheon and iron pulled out of his head, and being dressed was conueied in a litter to Piquignie, where he laie for two or three daies in such danger, that no man loked that he should haue escaped with life.

Martin de Bellaie, seigneur Langei in his memoires.

There were manie of these skirmishes, wherin the Englishmen bare themselues so valiantlie, that the Frenchmen went awaie oftentimes with losse of manie of their noble men and best souldiers. At one time they lost the lord Penaintuille brother to the lord de Tillebonne, being slaine with stroke of lance and pike. At another time they lost likewise a yong lord of Picardie called le seigneur de Fretoie. At length, after their new fort or bastillion was brought in some strength, they furnished it in most defensible wise with men, munition and vittels, naming it Monpleasire. Herewith monsieur de Biez departing from mount Lambert with part of the armie, came downe towards Calis, and entring into the English pale beside Graueling, wan certeine bulworks, and incountring diuerse new bands of Leicestershiremen and others, latelie before sent ouer, distressed them, and after burnt certeine villages, forraied the countrie almost to Marke, and afterwards in great hast with their bootie and pillage they turned. This enterprise was exploited by the Frenchmen about S. Matthews daie in September.

Monsieur de Biez forraieth the English pale about Calis.

There were with monsieur de Biez at this enterprise the lord of Brissac, who gouerned the vauntgard, and had with him his owne companie of men of armes, and the light horsemen of whome he had the generall conduct. There was also the companie of men at armes that belonged to the constable of France, led by the lord Guisch, & fiftie men of armes vnder the gouernance of the lord of Helleie, the companie also of the lord of Boisie, the companie of the lord Escars, and that of the lord de la Roch du Maine, & others. There was also monsieur de Taies generall of the French footmen, and manie yong princes and lords of high estate, as monsieur Francis de Bourbon, duc Danglien, Francis de Lorraine, duke Daumalle latelie recouered of his hurt, the duke of Neuers, and the earle de Lauall that in this voiage was hurt with an harquebush shot in the arme.

Martin de Bellaie.

The

Parlement. Subsidie granted.

The three and twentith of November, a parlement began at Westminster, in the which was granted to the king a subsidie of the spiritualtie of six shillings the pound, to be paid in two yeares next insuing: and of the temporaltie two shillings and eight pence of the pound in goods, and foure shillings of the pound in lands, to be paid likewise within two yeares. Also in this parlement all colleges, chanteries, and hospitals were committed to the king, to order, by altering or transposing the same as to him should seeme expedient, which at the prorogation of the same parlement he promised should be done to the glorie of God, and the common profit of the realme. The foure and twentith of December, the said parlement was prorogued, on which daie the king comming into the house, to giue his roiall assent vnto such acts as were passed, the speaker made vnto him an eloquent oration, to the which although the custome hath euer beene that the lord chancellor should make answer, it pleased the king at that present to make the answer himselfe, which he vttered as here ensueth.

The kings oration in the parlement house.

ALthough my chancellor, for the time being, hath before this time vsed verie eloquentlie and substantiallie, to make answer to such orations as hath beene set forth in this high court of parlement; yet is he not so able to open and set forth my mind and meaning, and the secrets of my heart, in so plaine and ample manner, as I my selfe am and can do. Wherefore I taking vpon me to answer your eloquent oration maister speaker, saie, that where you in the name of our welbeloued commons, haue both praised and extolled me, for the notable qualities that you haue conceiued to be in me: I most hartilie thanke you all, that you haue put me in remembrance of my dutie, which is to indeuour my selfe to obteine and get such excellent qualities, and necessarie vertues, as a prince or gouernour should or ought to haue, of which gifts I recognise my selfe both bare and barren, but of such small qualities as God hath indued me withall, I render to his goodnesse my most humble thanks, intending with all my wit and diligence to get and acquire to me such notable vertues and princelie qualities, as you haue alledged to be incorporated in my person. These thanks for your louing admonition and good counsell first remembred, I eftsoones thanke you.

The kings thanks to his commons.

Againe, bicause that you considering our great charge, not for our pleasure, but for your defense, not for our gaine, but to our great cost, which we haue latelie susteined, aswell in defense of our and your enimies, as for the conquest of that fortresse, which was to this realme most displesant and noisome, and shalbe (by Gods grace) hereafter to our nation most profitable and pleasant, haue freelie of your owne minds granted to vs a certeine subsidie, here in an act specified, which verelie we take in good part, regarding more your kindnesse, than the profit thereof, as he that setteth more by your louing harts than by your substance. Beside this hartie kindnesse, I cannot a little reioise, when I consider the perfect trust and confidence, which you haue put in me, as men hauing vndoubted hope and vnfeined beleefe in my good doings and iust procedings for you, without my desire or request, haue committed to mine order and disposition all chanteries, colleges, hospitals, and other places specified in a certeine act, firmlie trusting that I will order them to the glorie of God, and the profit of the common-wealth. Surelie if I (contrarie to your expectation) should suffer the

The kings promises for the well disposing of chantries and colleges.

ministers of the church to decaie, or learning (which is so great a iewell) to be minished, or poore and miserable to be vnrelæued, you might saie that I being put in so spectall a trust, as I am in this case, were no trustie freend to you, nor charitable to mine euen christian, neither a louer to the publike wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whome accompt must be rendered of all our doings. Doubt not I praie you, but your expectation shall be serued, more godlie and goodlie than you will wish or desire, as hereafter you shall plainlie perceiue.

Now sith I find such kindnesse on your part towards me, I cannot chose but loue and fauour you, affirming that no prince in the world more fauoureth his subiects than I do you; nor no subiects or commons more loued and obeied their souereigne lord, than I perceiue you do me, for whose defense my treasure shall not be hidden, nor if necessitie require, my person shall not be vnaduentured. Yet although I wish you, and you with me, to be in this perfect loue and concord, this freendlie amitie cannot continue, except both you my lords temporall, and my lords spirituall, and you my louing subiects, studie and take paine to amend one thing, which surelie is amisse, and farre out of order, to the which I most hartilie require you: which is, that charitie and concord is not among you, but discord and dissention beareth rule in euerie place. Saint Paule saith to the Corinthians, and the thirteenth chapter: Charitie is gentle, charitie is not enuious, charitie is not proud, and so forth in the said chapter. Behold then what loue and charitie is among you, when the one calleth an other heretike and anabaptist, and he calleth him againe papist, hypocrite, and pharisie? Be these tokens of charitie amongst you? Are these signes of fraternall loue betweene you? No, no, I assure you that this lacke of charitie amongst your selues will be the hinderance and aslwaging of the feruent loue betweene vs, as I said before, except this wound be salued, and clearelie made whole. I must needs iudge the fault and occasion of this discord to be partlie by negligence of you the fathers and preachers of the spiritualtie: for if I know a man which liueth in adulterie, I must iudge him a lecherous and a carnall person: if I see a man boast and brag himselfe, I cannot but deeme him a proud man. I see heere daillie that you of the cleargie preach one against another, teach one contrarie to another, inueigh one against an other without charitie or discretion: some be to stiffe in their old *Mumpsimus*, other be to busie and curious in their new *Sumpsimus*: thus all men almost be in varietie and discord, and few or none preacheth trulie and sincerelie the word of God, according as they ought to do. Shall I iudge you charitable persons doing this? No, no, I cannot so do. Alas, how can the poore soules liue in concord, when you preachers sow amongst them in your sermons debate and discord? Of you they looke for light, and you bring them to darkenesse. Amend these crimes I exhort you, and set forth Gods word, both by true preaching and good example giuing: or else I, whome God hath appointed his vicar and high minister here, will see these diuisions extinct, and these enormities corrected according to my verie dutie, or else I am an vnprofitable seruant, and an vntrue officer. Although I saie the spirituall men be in some fault, that charitie is not kept amongst you; yet you of the temporaltie be not cleare and vnspotted of malice and enuie: for you raile on bishops, speake slanderouslie of priests, and rebuke and taunt preachers, both contrarie to good order and christian fraternitie. If you know suerlie that a bishop or preacher erreth, or teacheth peruerse doctrine, come and declare it to some of our councell, or to vs, to whome is committed by God the high

Charitie and concord in common-wealths be things most necessarie: but in matters of religion, charitie and concord is not enough, without veritie and true worship of God.

high authoritie to reforme and order such causes and behaviors, and be not iudges your selues, of your owne fantasticall opinions and vaine expositions, for in such high causes you may lightlie erre. And although you be permitted to read holie scriptures, and to haue the word of God in your mother tong, you must vnderstand, that it is licenced you so to do, onelie to informe your owne consciences, and to instruct your children and familie, and not to dispute, and make scripture a railing and a taunting flocke against priests and preachers, as manie light persons do. I am verie sorie to know and heare, how vnreuerentlie that most precious iewell the word of God is disputed, rimed, song, and iangled in euerie alehouse and tauerne, contrarie to the true meaning and doctrine of the same: and yet I am euen as much sorie, that the readers of the same follow it in doing so faintlie and coldlie. For of this I am sure, that charitie was neuer so faint amongst you, and vertuous and godlie liuing was neuer lesse vsed, nor God himselfe amongst christians was neuer lesse reuerenced, honored, or serued. Therfore (as I said before) be in charitie one with an other, like brother and brother: loue, dread, and serue God, to the which I as your supreame head and souereigne lord exhort and require you, and then I doubt not, but that loue and league that I spake of in the beginning, shall neuer be dissolued or broken betweene vs. And to the making of lawes which we haue now made and concluded, I exhort you the makers to be as diligent in putting them in execution, as you were in making & furthering of the same: or else your labour shall be in vaine, & your common-wealth nothing relæued. Now to your petition, concerning our roiall assent to be giuen to such acts as haue passed both houses, they shall be read openlie that ye may heare them.

Then were they openlie read, and to manie his grace assented, and diuerse he assented not vnto. Thus the kings oration was to his subiects there present such comfort, that the like ioie could not be vnto them in this world. And thus the acts read (as the manner is) and his assent giuen, his grace rose and departed. Manie proper feats of armes were exploited and done in this meane while, betwixt the parties English and French about Bullongne. On the morrow after the feast of the Epiphanie, there came a conuoie of vittels towards the French fort, garded with three or foure thousand lancequenetz vnder their coronell the Reingraue and certeine French horssemen. The earle of Surreie then lieutenant of Bullongne aduertised thereof, made out with such power as he might conuenientlie spare of them within Bullongne and the Old man, to cut off those vittels: but comming to encounter with the enimies at saint Etiens, he was put to flight: sir Edward Poinings capteine of a band called the kings gard of Bullongne was slaine in that conflict with fiftæne or sirténe other capteins, beside officers and common soldiors. About the same time the Frenchmen made a voiage vnto the Ile of Brasill, with a ship called the barke Ager, which they had taken from the Englishmen before: and in their waie they met with a little crater, of the which one Golding was master, a proper man and an hardie. The barke perceiuing the crater to be an Englishman, shot at hir and bowged hir. Whereupon straitwaies the crater drew to the great barke, and six or seauen of the Englishmen leapt into hir. In the meane time while the Frenchmen, without regard of perill towards themselues, loked ouer hatches to behold how the crater sunke there at hand before them, not mistrusting anie thing that the Englishmen might do against them, it fortuned that those Englishmen which got vp into the barke, found in the end thereof a great number of lime pots, which they with water quenched, or rather (as the nature thereof is) set them on fire, and threw them so thicke at the Frenchmen which were there aboord, that they blinded them, in such wise as those few Englishmen that entred the ship vanquished the Frenchmen, and driuing them vnder hatches, shut the same, and brought the barke awaie with them home into England. In the latter end of March the brothell houses called the Stues on the banke side in Southwarke were conuerted from such filthie vses by the kings commandement, the bawds and ruffians being put out, and other persons of honest behauior placed in their roms to inhabit in the same houses. This was done by proclamation and sound of trumpet by an herald of armes.

The Stues suppressed.

¶ On the seuen and twentith of Aprill being tuesdaie in Easter weeke William Forleie pot-maker for the mint of the Tower of London fell asléepe, and so continued sléeping, and could not be wakened with pricking, cramping, or otherwise burning whatsoeuer, till the first daie of the nert terme, which was full fouretéene daies, and as manie nights or more, for that Easter terme beginneth not before seauenténe daies after Easter. The cause of his thus sléeping could not be knowen, though it were diligentlie searched for by the kings physicians and other learned men, yea the king himselfe examining the said William Forleie, who was in all points found at his waking to be but as if he had slept but one night: he was liuing in the Tower of London in the yeere of our Lord God 1579.]

Ab. Fl. ex I.S. William Forleie slept more than fouretéene daies, and as manie nights without waking.

This yeere by meanes made by the emperor, commissioners were appointed to meet & treat of some accord betweene the realmes of England & France, so that the king of England sent ouer to Guisnes, Cutbert Tunstall bishop of Duresme, sir William Paget his secretarie, and doctor Tregonell: and the French king sent to Ard a bishop, the chiefe president of Rouen, and a notarie, but no conclusion followed of their trauell. Whereupon the king of England hauing perfect knowledge how the Frenchmen intended to build a fortresse at saint Johns rode betweene Bullongne and Calis, to the great annoiance of both those places, if they might haue compassed their purpose; he meant to preuent that deuise of his aduersaries, sending ouer the earle of Hertford and the lord Lisle high admerall of England, with manie valiant capteins, which got the rode but two daies before the Frenchmen had appointed to be there. But when they vnderstood that the Englishmen had so preuented them, they staied about Hardilow, where monsieur de Biez their generall gaue order to incampe, and durst not once come forward to assaie the English forces: so that without anie impeachment by land, the Englishmen built certeine fortresses, to wit, two at the same place of saint Johns rode, otherwise called Hamble Thew, and an other about a two miles from thence at a place called Blacke Nesse. There was in the earle of Hertfords campe beside Englishmen diuerse strangers, Almains, Spaniards and Italians. And because it is not much impertinent to the matter, we haue thought good here to set downe the whole number of all the kings forces at that present in his paie that were there vnder the said earle of Hertford the kings generall lieutenant. First the earle had two hundred, the lord William Sturton three hundred, the lord John Greie brother to the marques Dorset two hundred, the lord Braie one hundred, sir Thomas Seimer knight marshall of the host one hundred, sir Henrie Kneuet capteine of the horssemen one hundred, sir John Harrington treasuror of the armie one hundred, sir Thomas Wiat master of the ordi-

Anno Reg. 38.

Hamble Thew fortified by the Englishmen.

1546

The Reingraue.

The Englishmen put to flight.

The barke Ager an English ship recouered.

ordinance one hundred, sir Mauris Barkleie three hundred, sir Thomas Holcroft two hundred, sir Walter Dennis two hundred, sir George Blewet two hundred, sir Richard Grœnefield two hundred, sir George Cornewall two hundred, sir John Lutterell one hundred, sir Edmund Hussie one hundred, George Throkmorton two hundred, capteine Broughton two hundred, capteine Palmer two hundred, capteine Chancie two hundred, capteine Windam two hundred, capteine Stukeleie one hundred, capteine Blewet one hundred, capteine Sidnam one hundred, capteine Bret one hundred, capteine Dier one hundred, capteine Euans one hundred, Spaniards fiftéene hundred, Italians two hundred, Cleueners three hundred, lancequenets vnder the gouernment of their colonell Conrade Phenning, commonlie called Courtpennie, three thousand. The summe of all the soldiors in Bullongne & Bullongnois were 93000. Here you must note, that whilest the English armie laie thus in the field till the forts of Hamble Thew and Blacke Nesse were in building, the French gallies were on the seas, and now and then came and approched neere to the shore, where the English armie laie in campe, at the which they shot off their ordinance: and the Englishmen answered them againe with the like. They came also before Calis, and shot off at the towne. But the lord admerall being there, made out to encounter them, notwithstanding they did first much hurt, and toke awaie diuerse of the English vessels laden with vittels.

The eightéenth date of Maie there were foure of the kings ships, and foure pinases abroad on the seas afore the hauen of Hamble Thew, and there came eightéene of the French gallies to set vpon them, and so there was great shoting betweene them: and at length one of their gallies was taken, in the which were abord fourtéene score soldiors and seauen score rowers: the rest of their gallies packed awaie. Moreouer, whilest the campe laie thus at Hamble Thew, it chanced that on a date a mutinie rose among the lancequenets against their capteine, so that they got themselues into order of battell, seized vpon the great artillerie, and shewed countenance as if they would haue set vpon the residue of the whole campe. Herevpon euerie soldior was commanded to repaire to his ensigne, and the Spaniards came and ioined with the Englishmen, readie to take such part as they did. At length by the diligence of the chiefteines, and good countenance of the English soldiors and Spaniards the tumult was staied, and six of the principall beginners were hanged.

The one and twentith of Maie the French armie came and incamped beyond Bullongne at the church on the hill: and the morrow after the earle of Hertford marched with his power to a place within two miles of them, and certeine footmen and horsemen went forth and skirmished with them; and in the meane time the artillerie ceassed not to shot off, as well from the French campe and fortresse as from Bullongne and the Old man. This date were slaine fouretéene Frenchmen and two taken prisoners; and three of the Englishmen part were likewise taken, and so the earle of Hertford returned to his campe, and left the lancequenets vpon the hill, incamped before the enimies faces, not two miles distant from them, in which place a fort was begun to be raised, which was after called the fort of Bullongne Berg. The nert date, to wit, the three and twentith of Maie the soldiors of Bullongne and the lancequenets skirmished with the Frenchmen, slue and toke of them seuen score and aboue, of the which there were fortie that were in cotes of veluet, and diuerse also with chaines.

A mutinie in the English campe.

A great skirmish.

Here you must vnderstand, that now in this meane while by the motion of diuerse princes, a méeting was had of sundrie commissioners, appointed to treat of some peace, to be concluded betwixt the two kings of England and France. Herevpon there came to Guisnes for the king of England the earle of Hertford, the bishop of Winchester, sir John Dudleie vicount Lisle baron of Maupas, and high admerall of England, sir William Paget the kings secretarie, and doctor Nicholas Wotton deane of Canturburie. For the French king there came to Ard monsieur Claude Danebault admerall of France, being also one of the foure marshals of that realme, the bishop of Eureux, monsieur Reimund chiefe president of Rone, the secretarie Bouchetell. Diuerse times they met betwixt Ard and Guisnes, and after long debating of matters, and diuerse breakings off: yet at length the seauenth of June a peace was concluded, and proclamed as well in the court as in the citie of London on Whitsundaie the thirteenth of June, with sound of trumpet, according to the manner: and in like sort the same date it was proclamed at Paris and at Rone. The chiefest article of which peace was this, that the French king pateng to the king of England 800000 crownes within the terme of eight yeares, should haue Bullongne againe to him restored, which in the meane time should remaine in the hands and possession of the king of England, as a pledge and gage for assurance of the said monete.

A peace concluded and proclamed.

On the seuen & twentith of June doctor Crome recanted at Paules crosse: which recantation was urged vpon this occasion. When the chanteries & colleges were giuen by act of parlement into the kings hands (as is aboue remembred) which was about the moneth of December 1545, the next lent following doctor Crome preaching in the mercers chappell, among other reasons and persuasions, to rouse the people from the vaine opinion of purgatorie, inferred this, grounding vpon the said act of parlement: that if trentals and chanterie masses could auaile the soules in purgatorie, then did the parlement not well in giuing awaie monasteries, colleges, & chanteries, which serued principallie to that purpose. But if the parlement did well (as no man could denie) in dissoluing them & bestowing the same vpon the king, then is it a plaine case, that such chanteries and priuat masses do nothing conferre to releeue them in purgatorie. This *Dilemma* of doctor Crome, no doubt, was insoluble: but notwithstanding the charitable prelats (for all the kings late exhortation vnto charitie) were so charitable to him that they brought him *Coram nobis*, and so handled him that they made him recant his words. ¶ On the sixteenth of June were letters patents deliuered to sir Thomas Cheinie treasuror of the kings household, and lord warden of the cinque ports, wherby he was authorised to be the kings agent in christening the Dolphins daughter of France named Elizabeth. A true copie of which letters patents is here recorded, because the said action hath bene ignorantlie transferred from the said sir Thomas Cheinie to sir Henrie Kneuet: as appeareth in Holinsheds chronicle published 1577, pag. 1608.

I. Stow, pag. 1033.

Iohn Fox in Acts & Monuments.

D. Crome recanteth at Paules crosse.

Abr. Fle. ex *manuscripto ab Henr. Tenant tradito.*

A true copie of the kings letters *patents to sir Thomas Cheinie.*

HEnricus octauus Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ rex, fidei defensor, & in terra ecclesiæ Anglicanæ & Hibernicæ supremum caput. Prædilecto & fideli consiliario nostro Thomæ Cheinie sacri ordinis nostri garterij militi, domino gardiano quinque

quinque portuum, & hospitij nostri thesaurario salutem. Cùm illustrissima princeps ac consanguinea nostra charissima domina Katharina illustrissimi principis consanguinei & filij nostri charissimi Henrici Franciæ Delphini christianissimi principis Francisci Francorum regis fratris, amici & confœderati nostri perpetui, filij primogeniti coniunx præclarissima, nuper (diuina cooperante clementia) prolem fœminam enixa sit : nos summoperè cupientes pacis, amicitiæ, & vnionis vinculum inter præfatum christianissimum Francorum regem & nos iam nuper redintegratum, firmioribus quibus possumus nexibus astringi, ad maiorem ipsius corroborationem & firmitatem, ac vt dicto illustrissimo filio nostro in hac parte gratificemur, etiam compaternitatis fœdus duximus adijciendum. Quocirca ad leuandum de sacro fonte vice & nomine nostro dictam prolem ex præfata illustrissima domina Katharina dicti illustrissimi principis coniuge, & consanguinea nostra charissima natam, illique nomen Elisabethæ imponendum, & ipsam nomine Elisabethæ in illius baptismo nominandã, cæteráq; omnia & singula in præmissis, & circa ea necessaria seu quouismodo oportuna nomine nostro faciendum & exercendum, etiamsi maiora existant superiùs expressis, & mandatum de se exigant magis speciale quàm superiùs est insertum : te commissarium ac ambassiatorem & procuratorem nostrum specialem ordinamus, facimus, & constituimus per præsentes : promittentes nos ratum, gratum, & firmum habituros quicquid per te gestum & procuratum siue actum fuerit in præmissis. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Greenewich sextodecimo die Iunij anno regni nostri tricesimo octauo. Henrie Rex.

priuat displeasure. Wherein therefore it shall be expedient, that either they saie nothing, vnlesse they be prouoked; or in that case call the things happened fortune de la guerre, without comparison of things chanced on our part or on theirs, but turne the communication to reioise in peace. In the conditions whereof they shall pretend ignorance, without speaking of the keeping still of Bullogne, or deliuerance of it againe, but as shall please the princes for the continuance of peace, wherein by Gods grace the crueltie of warre shall be conuerted into extreamitie of friendship, to the weale and commoditie of both realmes.

And forsomuch as there want not in the world naughtie men of the state of mœnks and friers, who for malice of the alteration of their estate here, would gladlie defame our religion towards God, as though we had with them cast out all; his highnesse expresse pleasure and commandement is, that considering at this first entrie of you, the behauiour of your companie shall be much marked and noted in matters of religion and circumstances: of the same they should therfore haue so much the more regard both to their communications and also behauiors, and not onelie in speech to forbeare to dispute or intermedle with the state of their policy there, but also in their diet on the fish daie and deuout hearing of masse, follow the order of the kings maiesties relme, so as their conuersation & behauior maie be cõfusion to such as would defame this realme in the contrarie. Thus fare your good lordship right hartilie well. From Greenewich the ninteenth of Iune 1546. Your lordships assured louing friends, *Thomas Wriothesleie canc. W. Saint-Iohn. I. Russell. Cuth. Duresme. Steph. Winton. Anthonie Brenne. William Petres.* This letter was thus indorsed. ¶ To our assured louing friend sir Thomas Cheinie knight of the order, treasuror of the kings maiesties household, and lord warden of the cinque ports, presentlie in speciall commission from the kings maiestie into France. Hast, post hast for thy life, to Douer, Calis, or where he shall chance to be: hast, hast.

The king hauing passed ouer the foresaid letters patents to sir Thomas, and he in forwardnesse to execute his charge, to the intent that his retinue and attendants should no waies offensiuelie behaue themselues against the French, with whom the king was verie carefull to continue and maintaine the peace interchangeablie agreed vpon and concluded, his maiestie to preuent and cut off all occasions that might anie waie impeach, interrupt, or violate this peace, commanded the lords of his councell to direct letters with all expedition to the said sir Thomas, then vpon his voiage into France, conteining a prescript forme of demeanor, which the gentlemen & yeomen attendant vpon him in France should vse, during the time of their abode in those forren parts: a copie of which letter, being a testimoniall of the king of Englands inclinable mind to peace hereafter followeth out of the verie originall, as the same was subscribed by the lords.

A copie of the said letters sent in post *to sir Thomas Cheinie being vpon his* voiage into France.

AFter our right hartie commendations to your good lordship. The kings maiestie hath willed vs to signifie vnto you, that his highnesse expresse pleasure and commandement is, ye should in his maiesties name declare to such gentlemen as accompanie you into France, that they haue in remembrance so to vse & behaue themselues among the Frenchmen as well on the waie as at the court, in such sort as they by communication vpon feats of the warre passed giue no occasion of

Thus farre of sir Thomas Cheinie, imploied about the kings affaires in France; namelie the christening of the Dolphins daughter: wherein we haue béene the more copious in words, bicause it hath bèen published, that sir Henrie Kneuet was thereunto personallie deputed: which to be vntrue, both the letters patents and the letter missiue do sufficientlie proue: both which we receiued at the hands of an *ancient seruitor, attendant vpon the same sir Thomas at his béeing in France to execute his charge in the kings behalfe. Of which worthie knight when we come to the yeare and daie of his death, we will deliuer further report to his high commendation, but yet none otherwise than as by warranted intelligence we shall be directed.]

Henrie Tenant.

The same time was a combat fought before the French king betwixt two Spaniards, Iulian Romeron, and one Morow. They both serued the king of England in the last wars against France: but Morow had reuolted from his seruice to the French kings, and for certeine spæches which he had vttered, was chalenged to fight the said combat by the said Iulian, for whome sir Henrie Kneuet vndertoke that he should stand to his chalenge, and trie it with his aduersarie, which he now did, and vanquished him in lists, the fight being appointed on horsebacke. Incontinentlie after, sir Henrie Kneuet sickned and died at Cozbell, and was buried in Paris within the church of S. Paule. Moreouer, for the full establishment of the peace, and to receiue the French kings oth, the vicount Lisle lord admerall, with the bishop of Duresme, and diuerse other lords, and gentlemen,

A combat betwéene Iulian Romeron, and Morow.

The death of sir Henrie Kneuet.

tlemen, to the number of one hundred and aboue, all in veluet cotes and chaines of gold, with fiue and fortie yeomen right semelie appointed, went into France, departing from Bullogne the tenth of Julie, and came to Pellune a towne beyond Paris, where the French king then laie, by whome and the Dolphin his sonne they were roiallie receiued, feasted, and banketted: and hauing done that for the which he was sent, the said lord admerall Dudleie the first of August toke his leaue of the French king, who rewarded him with a cupbord of plate all gold, valued at 1500 pounds. The lords also and gentlemen had chaines of gold giuen to them, and the yeomen had two hundred crownes bestowed amongst them, and so the lord admerall returned into England. This lord admerall, during the time that he had to deale with the French, so valiantlie demeaned himselfe, and was such a terror and astonishment to the enimie, as it is left written of him, that they durst not queech in his presence, but were like a sort of timorous cattell, giuing rome to the raging lion ranging ouer the pastures with hir younglings, and making the verie heauens to ring with hir roring, after she hath filled hir selfe with bulles flesh, and laid hir selfe downe to rest being wearie with eating; the comparison verie aptlie followeth:

Vtque iracundo cedunt armenta leoni,
Pascua cum plenus bacchante furore peragrat
Solus cum catulis, cœlum, & rugitibus implens
Conspicitur, postquam taurorum carnibus atra
Sit saturata fames, lassúsque recumbit edendo:
Tantus terror erat Gallis Dudleius Heros.

The lord admerall Dudleie went into France to receiue the French kings oth.

In ambassage with of France.

In the same moneth of August monsieur Danebalt high admerall of France, accompanied with the bishop of Eureux, the earle of Nauteuill knight of the order, the earle of Villiers, the chiefe president of Roan, secretarie Bouchetell, monsieur de Canaples knight of the order, monsieur de Tates knight of the order, monsieur de Masslerie viceadmerall of France, monsieur de Desse, the baron de la Gard, with diuerse other lords and captcines of honor, beside two hundred gentlemen well appointed, leuied from Dépe with twelue gallies and a right faire ship called the Sacre of Dépe, and so making saile he staied not anie where to take land, till he came into the Thames, where at Blackewall he was receiued into the kings barge by the earles of Darbie and Esser, who brought him to Grénewich, where he landed, and lodged there that night.

The kings ships that laie in the riuer betwixt Gratelend & Detford, shot off skilie, & likewise the French galeis hailed them againe.

The nert daie he came vp with all his gallies, and landed at the Tower wharfe. Upon all the banks by the water side were laid péces of artillerie, which shot off freelie, and so likewise did all the artillerie in the ships, but speciallie from the Tower was shot a maruellous great peale of ordinance. From whence being landed, they rode thorough London in great triumph (the maior and the crafts standing in the streets in verie good order) vnto the bishops palace by Paules, where the French admerall lodged till Bartholomew euen, on which daie he was conueied toward Hampton court, where in the waie the prince hauing with him the archbishop of Yorke, the earles of Hertford and Huntington, and aboue two thousand horsse, met him and imbraced him in such courteous and honorable wise, that all the beholders greatlie reioised, and much maruelled at the said princes high wit and great audacitie, and so the French admerall came to the court, giuing the prince the vpper hand as they rode. And at the vtter gate of the court, the lord chancellor, and all the kings councell receiued him, and brought him to his lodging.

The French admerall receiued by prince Edward.

On Bartholomew daie the king admitting him to his presence, welcomed him, and in great triumph went to the chappell, where the king receiued his oth to performe the articles of the league, as it was couenanted. To speake of the banquettings, huntings, and such like honorable sorts of interteinements, it were much to vtter, and hard to beléeue. But on fridaie following, being the seuen and twentith of August, he being rewarded with a cupbord of plate, to the value of twelue hundred pounds, returned to London, and on the sundaie nert insuing toke his gallies and departed. Beside the kings gifts, he had giuen to him by the citie of London two flaggons guilt, and two other that were parcell guilt, valued at one hundred thirtie six pounds, beside wine, war, and torches. There were diuerse of his companie also that went not awaie vnrewarded, hauing both plate, and also manie horsses, and greihounds giuen them.

The admerall of France receiueth an oth.

His gifts that he had of the king & others.

Although this peace pleased both the English and French nations, yet suerlie both mistrusted the continuance therof. And verelie the old prouerbe séemed to be throughlie verefied, which saith, that what the eie séeth, the hart rueth: for the Frenchmen still longed for Bullogne, and the Englishmen meant not willinglie to giue it ouer. For during the French admerals being in England, monsieur de Chatillon capteine of Montplaisier began to make a new bastilion euen at the verie mouth of the hauen, naming it Chatillons garden. Where vpon that noble gentleman the lord Greie of Wilton, shortlie after appointed to be deputie of the townes and countie of Bullogne, perceiuing the great inconuenience that this new building would bring to the towne if it went forwards, did aduertise the king thereof, earnestlie beséching his grace, that the matter might be throughlie considered of. Sir Thomas Palmer was the messenger.

The lord Greie of Wilton.

Sir Thomas Palmer.

The king vpon the intelligence, asked his councels aduise, which onelie went wholie, that the conditions of the peace were not in anie wise to be infringed. This resolued, secretarie Paget then knight, and afterwards lord, was commanded accordinglie to draw a letter to the lord Greie, the which the king himselfe did signe, willing that the messenger should further know of his pleasure before he departed. Where vpon sir Thomas Palmer, hauing his dispatch at the secretaries hands, did get word to be giuen to the king, who presentlie sent for him into his priuie chamber, and betwixt them two, vsed these words: Palmer, you haue there a letter from vs to the lord Greie, that he do in no wise deale in the matter that he hath by you aduertised vs of. Notwithstanding, I will that you deliuer him this message from vs.

King Henries message to the lord Greie by sir Thomas Palmer.

Bid him call to mind how that his brethren and himselfe not a short time, but euen from tender yeares, nor farre off, but still nære to our person, we haue brought him vp, which (tell him) not vnlustlie, if that be in him that we conceiue doth breed in vs an od trust of seruencie to serue vs of him, more than a common seruant or subiect. By that token will him whatsoeuer I haue written to the contrarie, that he presentlie impeach the fortification of Chatillons garden, and rase it if it be possible: and this my message shall be his clearing therein, & the seruice gratefullie accepted. Sir Thomas Palmer somewhat astonied hereat, considering the weightinesse of the cause, and the contrarietie of the letter and message, began to put the king in mind of the small credit that his bare errand of right was like to haue, so flat against that which his maiesties letters imported. But the king cutting off his tale; Deliuer thou the message (quoth he) at his choise then be the executing thereof.

Sir Thomas thus dispatched, with great spéd arriued

riued at Bullogne immediatlie vpon the opening of the gates at after noone. His letters and message deliuered, the lord Greie streight assembled the councell, shewed them the kings letters, which read, he caused sir Thomas to pronounce before them the message also. Euerie man was to saie his aduise: it went roundlie through the bord without anie question, that the letter was to be followed, the message not to be staied on. The lord Greie hauing heard, and not replieng anie thing, willed sir Thomas to be called in againe, bad him repeat his message, and therwhilest made a clearke of the councell to write the same *verbatim*. This done, he praied the whole table to set their hands vnto it, which they did, and the lord Greie taking the same into his hands, without further opening, declaring his resolution, brake vp councell, commanded streight the gates to be shut, gaue priuie warning, that certeine bands with armour and weapon, and likewise pioners should that night by an houre be in a readines.

Chatillons garden ouerthrowen and raised downe.

The houre came, himselfe with the warned companis issued out, passed ouer the water, and without anie alarum of the enimie, did ouerthrow in three or foure houres, what in two or three moneths had bin raised, and so in great quietnesse returned into the towne. Presentlie he dispatched sir Thomas Palmer backe againe to the king with the newes, whose returne was so sudden, as the king himselfe being in the chamber of presence, & seeing him, said aloud: What? Will he dow it or no? Sir Thomas giuing no other answer, but presenting his letters, and saieng, that thereby his maiestie should know. The king againe in earnest mood, Naie tell vs I saie, whether he will dow it or not? Then sir Thomas told him that it was done, and the whole fortification cleane raised. Whereat the king taking great ioy, presentlie called to certeine of the lords of the councell that were by, and said: Now saie you my lords, Chatillons garden the new fort is laid as flat as this floore. One streight amongst them gaue iudgement, that he that had done it, was worthie to lose his head. The king streight replied, he had rather lose a dozen such heads as his was that so iudged, than one such seruants as had done it: and herewith he commanded, that the lord Greies pardon should presentlie be made, the which with a letter of great thanks, and promise of reward, was returned by the said sir Thomas Palmer to the said lord Greie; but the reward failed, the king not continuing long after in life: the like hap whereof had oftentimes happened vnto diuerse of his worthie ancestors vpon their due deserts to haue bene considered of, and therefore the case the lesse strange.

The lord Greies seruice verie honorable accepted of the king.

This haue I set downe the more willinglie, for that I haue receiued it from them, which haue heard it reported, not onlie by the lord Greis owne mouth, but also by the relation of sir Thomas Palmer, and others that were present: the same not tending so much to the lord Greies owne praise, as to the betokening of the kings noble courage, and the great secret trust which he worthilie reposed in the said lord Greie. Here is to be noted also, lest any man should mistake the matter, as if the king dealt indirectlie herein, that his maiestie knowing how the Frenchmen in going about to build this fort, did more than they might by the couenants of the peace; and therefore was resolued at the first aduertisement thereof, to haue it raised. But yet for that it might happilie haue bene signified ouer vnto the Frenchmen, before my lord Greie could haue accomplished the feat, he therefore wiselie wrote one thing in his letters, wherevnto manie might be priuie, and sent secret knowledge by words contrarie to the contents of the same letters, so as if the messenger were trustie, his pleasure might not be discouered to the hinderance or dispappointing of the same. But now to our purpose.

The French king after this, because as yet he would not seeme to breake the peace, commanded the trenches and new fortifications made about this fortresse, called Chatillons garden thus cast downe, to be filled by his owne people, and so it rested during the life of king Henrie: but afterwards it was begun againe, and finished, as after ye shall heare. About Michaelmas in this present yeare, Thomas duke of Norffolke, and Henrie earle of Surrie that was his sonne and heire, vpon certeine surmises of treason, were committed to the tower of London, and immediatlie after Christmas, the thirteenth of Januarie, the king then lieng in the extremities of death, the said earle was arreigned in the Guildhall of London, before the lord maior, the lord chancellor, and diuerse other lords and iudges being there in commission. Where if he had tempered his answers with such modestie as he shewed token of a right perfect and readie wit, his praise had bene the greater. Some things he flatlie denied, seeking to weaken the credit of his accusers by certeine circumstances: other he excused with interpretations of his meaning, to proue the same to be far otherwise than was alleged against him.

The duke of Norffolke committed to the tower. 1547

And one speciall matter amongest other wherewith he was charged, was, for bearing certeine arms that were said to belong to the king, and to the prince. The bearing whereof he iustified and maintened, that (as he tooke it) he might beare them as belonging to diuerse of his ancestors, and withall affirmed, that he had the opinion of heralds therein. But yet to his indictment he pleaded not giltie: and for that he was no lord of the parlement, he was inforced to stand to the triall of a common inquest of his countrie, which found him giltie, and thereupon he had iudgement of death: and shortlie after, to wit, the 19 of Januarie, he was beheaded on the tower hill. ¶ In this moneth of Januarie, the church of the late graie friers in London was opened, and masse song there: and that daie preached at Paules crosse the bishop of Rochester, who declared the kings gift to the cittie of London, for the releuing of the poore people, which was by patent vnder his great seale. Saint Bartholomews spittle, the church of the graie friers, and two parish churches, the one of saint Nicholas in the shambles, the other saint Ewine in Newgate market, all to be made one parish church of the graie friers church; and in lands he gaue for the maintenance of the same 500 marks by yeare for euer, & this church to be named Christs church, founded by king Henrie the eight.]

The earle of Surrie beheaded.

I.S. pag. 1034.

King Henrie his gift to the cittie of London.

The duke was atteinted by parlement, and the atteindor after reuersed in the first yeare of quæne Marie. The euill hap as well of the father, as of the sonne, was greatlie lamented of manie, not onelie for the good seruice which the duke had done in his daies in defense of this realme, but also for that the earle was a gentleman well learned, and knowne to haue an excellent wit, if he had bene thankefull to God for the same, and other such good gifts as he had indued him withall. The king now lieng at the point of death, made his last will and testament, wherein he not onelie yeelded himselfe to almightie God; but also tooke order, that during the minoritie of his sonne prince Edward, his executors should be councellors and aiders to him in all things, as well concerning priuate as publike affaires. They were sixteene in number, whose names were as hereafter followeth.

The duke atteinted.

The king maketh his testament.

Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, Thomas Wriothesleie lord chancellor, sir William Paulet

His executors

Paulet knight of the order, lord Saint-John, & great master of the household: sir Edward Seimer knight of the order, earle of Hertford, and high chamberleine of England: sir John Russell knight of the order, lord priuie seale: sir John Dudleie knight of the order, vicount Lisle, & baron of Maupas, high admerall of England: Cuthert Tunstall bishop of Durham: sir Anthonie Browne knight of the order, and master of the horsse: sir Edmund Montacute knight chiefe iustice of the cõmon pleas: sir Thomas Bromleie knight, one of the iustices of the kings bench: sir Edward North knight, chancellor of the augmentation: sir William Paget knight of the order: sir Anthonie Dennie knight: sir William Herbert knight: sir Edward Wotton knight, treasuror of Calis: Nicholas Wotton deane of Canturburie and Yorke.

So soone as the noble king had finished his last will and testament, as afore is said, he shortlie thereupon yeelded vp his spirit to almightie God, departing this world the eight and twentith daie of Januarie, in the eight and thirtith yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of our Lord 1546, after the accompt of the church of England; but after the accompt which we follow in this booke 1547, beginning our yeare the first of Januarie. He reigned thirtie and seuen yeares, nine moneths and od daies. His bodie (according to his will in that behalfe) was conueied to Windsor with all funerall pompe, and in the college there interred. Of this tresnoble and trespuissant monarch, I find these few verses, which maie serue in good stead of an epitaph or funerall inscription:

Henricus octauus post 38. annos moritur.

Henricus princeps propè lustra peregerat octo,
Et populum magna prudens cum laude regebat,
Ex quo magna soli tractauit sceptra Britanni:
Cùm Deus omnipotens, morbo obrepente, moneret
Hinc emigrandum de vita. Proh dolor ingens!
Quot pia plebs lachrymis quàm tristibus prærigauit?
Quàm graniter regni proceres planxere cubantem?
Anglia tota iacet mœrens, lugubris & amens,
Nil opis apportant medici, nil profuit herba,
Quæ solet humanis membris adferre salutem,
Pharmaca nil prosunt, præbetur potio frustra:
Heu nulla tristis mors est medicabilis arte.

The deceasse of king Henrie the eight.

The description of king Henrie the eight.

This noble prince was right fortunate in all his doings, so that commonlie whatsoeuer he attempted, had good successe, as well in matters of peace as of warre. Of personage he was tall and mightie, in his latter daies somwhat grosse, or as we tearme it, bourlie: in wit and memorie verie perfect: of such maiestie tempered with humanitie, as best became so noble and high an estate: a great fauorer of learning, as he that was not ignorant of good letters himselfe: he was of great magnificence and liberalitie, insomuch that Iohn Leland that worthie antiquarie, hauing tasted of his rotall bountifulnesse, hath left no lesse testified to the world in a proper epigram, which I will not omit, least I should wilfullie conceale a manifest protestation of his thankfulnesse left witnessed vnto the world in writing:

Ad Henricum octauum, regem Angliæ, maximum studiosorum amatorem.

Antè suos Phœbus radios ostendere mundo
Definet, & claras Cynthia pulchra faces:
Antè fluet rapidum tacitis sine piscibus æquor,
Spinifer & nullam sentis habebit auem:
Antè sacræ quercus cessabunt spargere ramos,
Floráq; sollicita pingere prata manu:
Quàm rex diue tuum labatur pectore nostro
Nomen, quod studijs portus & aura meis.

And the same Iohn Leland, who deseruedlie had tasted the fruits of the kings largesse, was not vnacquainted with the fame of his renowme, which had made it selfe knowne by restles flight to nations far and neare, some to their smart hauing felt the valor of his forces, and others submitting themselues for feare of vtter desolation. Wherevpon he became a terror to his enimies, and yet none more desirous of peace than he, if by anie other meanes (besides violence) the same might haue beene obteined. Sufficient cannot be said in his high & merited commendation, considering that as his victories were singular, so were they also manifold; and hard it is for the pen of a cunning rhetorician to paint him out according to his dignitie: howbeit the said Iohn Leland hath left in writing a proper epigram, deuised in praise of this most excellent king, by way of comparison, to his immortall commendation, as here followeth:

Comparatio in gloriam Henrici octaui regis potentissimi.

Quantum puniceis nouo roseto
Cedunt vere suis rubeta spinis:
Quantum lilio amœnioris horti
Gemmæ omnes aliæ nitore cedunt:
Quantum cætera punicis decoro
Malis poma quidem rubore cedunt:
Quantum coniferis breues myricæ
Concedunt quoq; gloria cupressis:
Quantum stelligero repressa tellus
Cælo mole sua & nigrore cedit:
Tantum omnes alij, celebritate,
Fama, nomine, gloriáq; vera
(Vt mittam ingenij valentioris
Lumen, flumina, fulmen atq; vires
Rari iudicij tui perennes)
Concedunt tibi principes sereni,
Henrice, ô patriæ tuæ columna
Talis, qualis erat celebris illa
Olim quam extulit Henricus triumphans.

Of lerned men that liued in the daies of this most famous prince, we find manie, as first Iohn Colet deane of Paules, and founder of the schole there, he was borne in London of honest parents; William Lillie borne in the town of Odiham in Hampshire, and was the first schoolemaster of Paules schole after it was erected; Thomas Linacer, or rather Linaker, borne in Darbie, a learned physician, and well seene in the tongs; Iohn Skelton a pleasant poet, Richard Pace that succeeded Iohn Colet in the rowme of deane of Paules, Iohn Fisher bishop of Rochester of whome ye haue heard before, Thomas More borne in London of whome mention likewise is made in the life of this famous king; William Horman borne in Salisburie vicepraouost of Eaton college, a learned man, as by his works it appeareth; Iohn Frith borne in London, William Tindall, of which two persons ye haue heard likewise in the historie of this king; Robert Wakefield excellentlie seene in tongs, Iohn Rastall a citizen and stationer of London, Christopher Saint German an excellent lawier, Robert Barnes of whom also we haue made mention before.

Sir Thomas Eliot knight, Edward Lee archbishop of Yorke, Iohn Leland a diligent searcher of antiquities, Anne Askew wrote certeine treatises concerning hir examinations, sir Iohn Bourchier knight lord Berners translated the chronicles of sir Iohn Froissard out of French into English, William Chubs, Henrie Standish a frier minor and bishop of saint Assaph wrote against Erasmus for his translation of the new testament, to his small praise as he handled the matter; Thomas surnamed Philomelus a Londoner an excellent poet, William Grocine verie expert in both tongs Greeke and Latine, Thomas Spenser a Carmelite frier borne in Norwich, Henrie Bullocke, William Latimer, Yong a monke of Ramseie, Arnold of London wrote certeine collections touching historicall matters, Thomas Lupset a Londoner a learned yong man departed this life in the six and thirtith yeare of his age about the yeare of our Lord 1532, he wrote sundrie verteous treatises; William Pelton chan-

cellor of Yorke, John Sowle a Carmelite frier of London and a doctor of diuinitie, John Batemanson a Charterhouse monke & prior of his house at London, Richard Whitford.

Thomas Attourborne in Norffolke and fellow with Bilneie in suffering persecution vnder cardinall Wolseie, Henrie Bradshaw borne in Chester where he was professed a blacke monke wrote the life of saint Werburgh and a certeine chronicle, John Palsgraue a citizen of London wrote instructions for the perfect vnderstanding of the French tong, John Skuith a Cornishman wrote certeine abbreuiations of chronicles with a treatise of the warres of Troie, Anthonie Fitzherbert a iudge wrote an abridgement of the lawe, John Littleton wrote also of the principles of the law but he liued before this season, Wilfride Holme wrote a treatise of the rebellion in Lincolneshire and in the North after the maner of a dialog, John Constable an excellent poet and rhetorician, John Hilier, Edward For student in the kings college in Cambridge was aduanced to the bishops see of Hereford and was imploied in diuerse ambassages from king Henrie the seuenth both into Germanie and Italie.

John Lambert *alias* Nichols borne in Norffolke, of whome yee haue heard in the historie of this king, how he suffered for the controuersie of the sacrament; George Fulberie, John Hoker, Thomas Lanquet wrote an epitome of chronicles and also of the winning of Ballongne, John Shepre, Leonard Cox wrote diuerse treatises, one in English rhetorike whereof Bale maketh no mention; Thomas Soulmon borne in the Ile of Gernseie verie studious in histories as by his writings and notes it appeareth, John Longland bishop of Lincolne, Maurice Chancie a Charterhouse monke, Cutbert Tunstall bishop of Duresme, Richard Samson, Alban Hill a Welshman an excellent physitian, Richard Croke verie expert in the Greeke tong, Robert Whittington borne in Staffordshire neere to Lichfield wrote diuerse treatises for the instruction of Grammarians, John Aldrige bishop of Carleill, John Russell gathered a treatise intituled *Super iure Cæsaris & Papæ*, he wrote also commentaries in *Cantica*; William Rote, Simon Fish a Kentishman borne wrote a booke called the supplication of beggers.

John Powell and Edward Powell Welshmen wrote against Luther, Edward died in Smithfield for treason in denieng the kings supremacie in the yeare 1540; John Houghton gouernour of the Charterhouse monks in London died likewise for treason in the yeare a thousand fiue hundred thirtie and fiue; John Rickes being an aged man, forsaking the order of a frier Minor, which he had first professed, imbraced the gospell; George Bullen lord Rochford, brother to queene Anne, wrote diuerse songs and sonets; Francis Bigod knight borne in Yorkeshire wrote a booke against the clergie intituled *De impropriationibus*, and translated certeine bookes from Latine into English, he died for rebellion in the yeare a thousand fiue hundred thirtie and seauen; Richard Wise, Henrie Norleie lord Norleie, wrote diuerse treatises, as comedies and tragedies, the life of sectaries, and certeine rithmes; William Botevile *alias* Thin restored Chaucers workes by his learned and painfull corrections.

John Smith sometime scholemaister of Heiton, Richard Turpine borne of a worshipfull familie in England & serving in the garrison of Calis wrote a chronicle of his time, he died in the yeare a thousand fiue hundred fortie and one, and was buried in saint Nicholas church in Calis; Sir Thomas Wiat knight, in whose praise much might be said, as well for his learning as other excellent qualities meet for a man of his calling, he greatlie furthered to inrich the English tong, he wrote diuerse matters in English meeter, and translated the seauen penitentiall psalmes, and (as some write) the whole psalter, he died of the pestilence in the west countrie, being on his iourneie into Spaine, whither he was sent ambassadour from the king vnto the emperour, in the yeare a thousand fiue hundred fortie and one; Henrie Howard earle of Surrie, sonne to the duke of Norffolke, delighted in the like studies with sir Thomas Wiat, wrote diuerse treatises also in English meeter, he suffered at Tower hill, as in the historie of this king before yee haue heard.

John Field a citizen and lawyer of London wrote sundrie treatises, as his owne answers vnto certeine articles ministred to him by sir Thomas Pore, the bishop of Rochester, Rastall, and others; when he was in prison for religion, he wrote also a treatise of mans free will, *De seruo hominis arbitrio*, and collections of the common lawes of the land, &c: Tristram Reuell, Henrie Brinklow a merchant of London wrote a little booke, which he published vnder the name of Roderike Pors, and also a complaint vpon London, &c: Robert Shingleton borne of a good familie in Lancashire wrote a treatise of the seauen churches, and other things, as of certeine prophesies, for the which (as some write) he suffered at London, being conuict of treason in the yeare 1544: William Parrete a Welshman wrote a booke intituled *Speculum iuuenum*.

Of strangers that liued here in this kings daies, and for their works which they wrote were had in estimation, these we find recorded by maister Bale: Barnard Andreas a Frenchman, borne in Tolouse an Augustin Frier, and an excellent poet; Adrian de Castello, an Italian of Corneto a towne in Thuscaine, he was commended vnto king Henrie the seuenth by the archbishop Morton, and therevpon was first made bishop of Hereford, and after resigning that see, was aduanced to Bath and Welles; Andreas Ammonius an Italian of the citie of Luca, secretarie to the king, wrote diuerse treatises; James Calco an Italian also of Pauia in Lumbardie, by profession a Carmelite frier, an earnest defender of the diuorse betwixt the king and the ladie Katharine Dowager, disproouing the marriage betwixt them to be in ante wise lawfull.

Thus farre the right high and renowmed Henrie the eight, sonne and successor to Henrie the seuenth.

EDWARD

Edward the ſixt, ſonne and ſucceſſor to Henrie the eight.

AFter it had pleaſed almightie God to call to his mercie that famous prince king Henrie the eight, the parlement as yet continuing, and now by his death diſſolued, the executours of the ſaid king, and other of the nobilitie, aſſembling themſelues togither, did firſt by ſound of trumpet in the palace of Weſtminſter, and ſo through London, cauſe his ſonne and heire prince Edward to be proclamed king of this realme by the name of Edward the ſixt, king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the churches of England and Ireland the ſupreame head, he being yet but nine yeares and od moneths of age: he was thus proclamed the eight and twentith of Januarie, in the yeare of the world 5513, and after the birth of our Lord 1547, according to the accompt of them that begin the yeare at Chriſtmaſſe, but after the accompt of the church of England, in the yeare 1546, about the nine and twentith yeare of the emperor Charles the fift, the three and thirtith of Francis the firſt of that name king of France, and in the fift yeare of the reigne of Marie quéene of Scotland.

K. Edward proclamed.

1547

Shortlie herevpon the earle of Hertford with other of the lords reſorted to Hatfield, where the yong king then laie, from whence they conducted him with a great and right honorable companie to the Tower of London. During the time of his abode there, for the good gouernement of the realme, the honour and ſuertie of his maieſties perſon, his vncle Edward earle of Hertford, was by order of the councell, and the aſſent of his maieſtie (as one moſt meeteſt to occupie that rome) appointed gouernour of his roiall perſon, and protector of his realmes, dominions and ſubiects, and ſo proclamed the firſt of Februarie by an herald at armes, and ſound of trumpet through the citie of London in the vſuall places thereof, as it was thought expedient.

The earle of Hertford choſen protector.

The firſt daie of Februarie the earle of Hertford lord protector adorned king Edward with the order of knighthood, remaining then in the Tower, and therewith the king ſtanding vp, called for Henrie Hubblethorne lord maior of the citie of London, who comming before his preſence, the king tooke the ſword of the lord protector, and dubbed the ſaid Hubblethorne knight, he being the firſt that euer he made. The ſeauentéenth of Februarie the lord protector was created duke of Summerſet, the earle of Eſſex was created marqueſſe of Northhampton, the lord Liſle high admerall of England was created earle of Warwike and high chamberlaine of England, ſir Thomas Wriothelleie lord chancellour was created earle of Southhampton, ſir Thomas Seimer was aduanced to the honour of lord of Sudleie and high admerall of England, which office the earle of Warwike then reſigned, ſir Richard Rich was made lord Rich, and ſir William Willoughbie was created lord Willoughbie of Parrham, ſir Edmund Sheffield was made lord Sheffield of Butterwike; and as ſaith a late writer of this action:

Vt quiſque eſt ditione potentior, auctus honore,
Et noua virtutis ſumens inſignia fulget.

Lord protector made duke of Summerſet.

At the ſame time great preparation was made for the kings coronation, ſo that the foure and twentith of Februarie next inſuing, his maieſtie came from the Tower, and ſo rode through London vnto Weſtminſter, with as great roialtie as might be, the ſtréets being hong, and pageants in diuerſe places erected, to teſtifie the good willes of the citizens, reioiſing that it had pleaſed God to deale ſo fauourablie with the Engliſh nation to grant them ſuch a towardlie yong prince to their king and ſouereigne thus to ſucceéd in place of his noble father. ¶ Now as he rode through London toward Weſtminſter, and paſſed on the ſouth part of Pauls churchyard, an Argoſine came from the battlements of the ſtéeple of Paules church vpon a cable, being made faſt to an anchor by the deanes gate, lieng on his breaſt, aiding himſelfe neither with hand nor foot, and after aſcended to the middeſt of the cable, where he tumbled and plaied manie prettie toies, whereat the king and the nobles had good paſtime.]

The king rideth through London to Weſtminſter.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 1036.

Pauls ſtéeple laie at anchor.

The morrow after being Shroueſundaie and the fiue and twentith of Februarie, his coronation was ſolemnized in due forme and order, with all the roialtie and honour which therevnto apperteined. Shortlie after the coronation, to wit, the firſt of March, the erle of Southhampton, lord chancellour of England, for his too much repugnancie (as was reported) in matters of councell to the reſidue of the councellors about the king, was not onelie depriued of his office of chancellor, but alſo remoued from his place and authoritie in councell, and the cuſtodie of the great ſeale was taken from him, and deliuered vnto ſir William Paulet lord Saint-John, that was lord great maiſter of the kings houſhold.

K. Edward crowned.

The lord chancellor diſcharged of his rome.

Alſo ſhortlie after his coronation, the kings maieſtie by the aduiſe of his vncle the lord protector and other of his priuie councell, minding firſt of all to ſéeke Gods honor and glorie, and therevpon intending a reformation, did not onelie ſet forth by certeine commiſſioners, ſundrie iniunctions for the remouing of images out of all churches, to the ſuppreſſing and auoiding of idolatrie and ſuperſtition within his realmes and dominions, but alſo cauſed certeine homilies or ſermons to be drawne by ſundrie godlie & learned men, that the ſame might be read in churches to the people, which were afterward by certeine of theſe commiſſioners ſent forth as viſitors, accompanied with certeine preachers, throughout

Homilies.

roughout the realme, for the better instruction of the people, published and put in vre. At Easter next following, he set out also an order thorough all the realme, that the supper of the lord should be ministred to the laie people in both kinds. ¶ On the fiftéenth of Maie doctor Smith recanted at Paules crosse.]

The communion in both kinds.

I.S pag.1036. D. Smith recanted.

All these things done concerning religion (as before is said) the lord protector and the rest of the councell, calling to mind the euill dealing and craftie dissimulation of the Scots, concerning the matter of marriage betwixt the kings maiestie, and the quéene of Scotland (which marriage as ye haue heard, in the fiue and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the eight, was by authoritie of parlement in Scotland fullie concluded) thought it not to stand with the kings honor to be in such maner by them deluded, and withall considering how greatlie it should turne to the quietnesse and safetie of both realmes to haue these two princes conioined in matrimonie, they did deuise sundrie waies and meanes how the same might be brought to passe, and the rather (as some do write) for that king Henrie (before his death) had giuen them in speciall charge by all indeuours to procure that the said marriage might take place, as wholie wishing by the coniunction of those two yong princes, the vniting of the two kingdoms in perpetuall amitie and faithfull league of loue; as our poet saith:

Rich. Grafton.

Optat coniugio duo regna coire fideli,
Aeternam pacem hinc aternáque fœdera iungi.

But the lords of Scotland were so inueigled and corrupted by the French king, and abused by cardinall Beton, archbishop of saint Andrewes, and other of their clergie, that they not onelie shranke from that which they had promised, but also sought to destroie those that fauored the king of Englands part: whereupon a great and puissant armie was now prepared to passe by land into Scotland, and likewise a nauie to passe by sea to attend vpon the same: whereof the great gallie and foure and twentie tall ships were thoroughlie furnished with men and munition for the warres, besides manie merchants ships and other small vessels, which serued for carriage of vittels, and other necessaries.

But now to shew what noble men and other were ordeined officers, and assigned to haue the conduction as well of the armie by land, as of the fléete by sea; ye shall vnderstand, that first the duke of Somerset, lord protector, tooke vpon him to go himselfe in person, as generall of the whole armie, and capteine also of the battell or middle-ward, wherin were foure thousand footmen. The marshall erle of Warwike appointed lord lieutenant of the same armie, led the fore-ward conteining three thousand footmen. The lord Dacres gouerned in the rere-ward, wherein were other three thousand footmen. The lord Greie of Wilton was ordeined high marshall of the said armie & capteine generall of all the horssemen, being in number six thousand. Sir Rafe Sadler knight treasuror of the armie. Sir Francis Brian knight, capteine of the light horssemen, in number two thousand.

Chiefteines in the armie.

Sir Rafe Vane knight lieutenant of all the men of armes and demilances. Sir Thomas Darcie knight capteine of all the kings maiesties pensioners, and men at armes. Sir Richard Leigh knight deuiser of the fortifications. Sir Peter Mewtas knight capteine of the harquebutters, which were in number six hundred. Sir Peter Gamboa knight, capteine of two hundred harquebutters on horssebacke. Sir Francis Fleming knight was maister of the ordinance. Sir George Blaag & sir Thomas Holcroft commissioners of the musters. Edward Shelleie, the lord Greies lieutenant of the men of armes of Bullongne, who was the first that gaue the onset in the daie of battell, and died most honorablie in the same. John Brenne capteine of the pioners being in number a thousand foure hundred. Thomas Audeleie and Edward Chamberleine harbengers of the field.

The lord Edward Clinton admerall of the fléet: sir William Woodhouse knight his viceadmerall. There were in the armie of great ordinance fiftéene peeces, and of carriages nine hundred carts, beside manie wagons, whereof the commissarie generall was George Ferrers. As soone as the armie by land was in a readinesse, and set forward to come to Berwike at a daie appointed, the nauie likewise tooke the sea, and by the helpe of Gods good guiding had so prosperous speed in their passage, that they arriued at Berwicke in time conuenient, whither vpon the thirtith of August being tuesdaie, the lord protector came, and laie in the castell with sir Nicholas Strelleie knight, capteine there. The next daie commandement was giuen that euerie man should prouide himselfe for foure daies vittels to be caried forth with them in carts.

The chiefteins that commanded in the nauie by sea were these.

On thursdaie the first of September the lord protector, not with manie more than with his owne band of horssemen, rode to a towne standing on the sea coast, a six miles from Berwike within Scotland called Aimouth, whereat there runneth a riuer into the sea, which he caused to be sounded, and finding the same well able to serue for an hauen, caused afterwards a fortresse to be raised there, appointing Thomas Gower, that was marshall of Berwike, to be capteine thereof. On fridaie, all sauing the councell departed the towne of Berwike, and incamped a two flight shots off, by the sea side, toward Scotland. And the same daie the lord Clinton with his fléet tooke the seas from Berwike, to the end that in case the wind should not serue them to keepe course with the armie by land; yet were it but with the driuing of tides, they might vpon anie need of munition or vittels be still at hand, or not long from them.

The lord protector causeth Aimouth riuer to be sounded.

The same daie the earle of Warwike, and sir Rafe Sadler treasuror of the armie, came to Berwike from Newcastell, where they had staid till then, for the full dispatch of the rest of the armie, and the nert daie the earle of Warwike incamped in field with the armie. On which daie a proclamation with sound of trumpet was made by an herald in three seuerall places of the campe, signifieng the cause of the comming of the kings armie at that present into Scotland, which in effect was, to aduertise all the Scotish nation, that their comming was not to depriue them of their liberties, but to aduance the marriage alreadie concluded and agréed vpon betwixt the kings maiestie of England and their quéene, and no hostilitie ment to such as should shew themselues furtherers thereof. On the fourth of September being sundaie, the lord protector came from out of the towne, and the armie raised, and marched that daie a six miles, and camped by a village called Rostan in the baronrie of Boukendall.

Sir Rafe Sadler treasuror of the English armie.

A proclamation.

The order of their march was this. Sir Francis Brian capteine of the light horssemen, with foure hundred of his band, tended to the skout a mile or two before. The carriages kept along the sea coast, and the men at armes and demilances diuided into three troops, answering the three wards, rid in arraie directlie against the carriages a two flight shots asunder from them. The three sot battels kept order in place betwixt them both. The fore-ward foremost, the battell in the middest, the rere-ward hindermost, ech ward hauing his troope of horssemen and gard of ordinance, his aid of pioners for amendment of waies,

The order of the armie in marching forward.

waies, where néd should be. The first of September they marched an eight miles, vntill they came to the Peaths, a clough or vallie, running for a six miles well streight eastward, and toward the sea a twentie score brode from banke to banke aboue, and a fiue score in the bottome, wherein runnes a little riuer. Stéepe is this vallie on either side, and déepe in the bottome.

The Peaths.

The Scots had cast trenches ouerthwart the side waies on either side, in manie places, to make the passage more cumbersome: but by the pioners the same were sone filled, and the waie made plaine, that the armie, carriage, & ordinance were quite set ouer sone after sun set, & there they pitched downe their campe. Whilest the armie was thus passing ouer this cumbersome passage, an herald was sent from the lord protector, to summon a castell, that stood at the end of the same vallie, a mile from the place where they passed downe towards the sea. Matthew Hume capteine thereof, a brothers sonne of the lord Humes, vpon his summons required to speake with the lord protector. It was granted, and he came, whome the lord protector handled in such sort with effectuall words, putting him in choise whether he would yeld, or stand to the aduenture, to haue the place wonne of him by force, that he was contented to render all at his graces pleasure.

An English herald sent from the lord protector to summon a castell.

And so being commanded to go fetch his companie out of the house, he went and brought them, being in all one and twentie persons. The capteine and six other were staied and commanded to the kéeping of the marshall, the residue were suffered to depart whither they thought good. After this surrender, the lord John Greie brother to the marques Dorset, was appointed to seize & take possession of the house, being capteine of a great number of demilances, as for his approued worthinesse and valiancie right well he might, agréeable to the deserued report remaining of him in print in forren spéech as followeth:

——Graius heros
Ob summam belli cataphractis præfuit artem.

The spoile was not rich sure, but of white bread, oten cakes, and Scotish ale indifferent good store, and sone bestowed among my lords soldiors: for swords, bucklers, pikes, pots, pans, yarne, linnen, hempe, and heaps of such baggage, which the countrie people there about had brought into that pile, to haue it in more suretie, the soldiors would scarse vouchsafe to stope and take the same vp.

In the meane time the lord protector appointed the house to be ouerthrowne, which by the capteine of the pioners was done, though with some trauell, by reason the walles were so thicke, and the foundation so déepe, and thereto set vpon so craggie a plot. Tuesdaie the first of September, the armie dislodged and marched forward. In the waie as they should go, a mile and an halfe from Dunglas northward were two piles or holds, Thornton & Anderwike, set both on craggie foundations, & diuided a stones cast a sunder by a déepe gut, wherein ran a little riuer. Thornton belonged to the lord Hume, and was kept by one Thom Trotter, who vpon summons giuen him to render the house, lockt vp a fiftéene pore soules like the soldiors of Dunglas fast within the house, toke the keies with him, commanding them to defend the place till his returne, which should be on the morrow, with munition and releefe: and this done, he and his prickers prickt (as saith maister Patten) quite their waies.

The castell of Dunglas ouerthrowne.

Thornton. Anderwike.

Thom Trotter.

Anderwike perteined to the lord of Hambleton, and was kept by his son and heire, whome of custome they call the maister of Hambleton, & eight more gentlemen for the most part, as was reported. The lord protector at his comming nigh, sent vnto both these places, which vpon summons refusing to render, were streight assailed; Thornton by batterie of foure great péces of ordinance, and certeine of sir Peter Mewtas hackbutters, and Anderwike by a sort of the same hackbutters, who so well bestirred them, that where these keepers had rammed vp their outer doores, cloied and stopt their staires within, and kept themselues for defense of their house about the bat-tlements, the hackbutters got in, and fired them vnderneath, whereby being greatlie troubled with smoke, they cried for mercie, which the lord protector meant to grant them; but yer the messenger came, the hackbutters were got vp to them, & killed eight of them aloft: one leapt ouer the walles, and running more than a furlong, was after slaine without in a water.

The pile of Anderwike wonne.

All this while at Thornton was the assault on the English part, and the defense by them within stoutlie continued: but at length when they perceiued in what danger they stood, and how little able they were to helpe themselues, or to annoie the assailants, they pluckt in a banner which they had hong forth, in token of defiance, and put forth a white linnen clout tied to a stickes end, crieng all with one tune for mercie: but hauing answer by the whole voices of the assailers that they were traitors, and that it was to late, they pluckt in their sticke, and set vp againe their banner of defiance, and shot off, hurled stones, & did what else they could with great courage of their side, & small hurt of the assailants. Wherefore perceiuing that they could not long kéepe out, being on the one side battered, and mined on the other, kept in with hackbutters on ech side, and some of the Englishmen being got into the house below, for they hauing shopt vp themselues also in the highest of their house, pluckt in againe their banner, and cried eftsones for mercie, but being answered generallie by the assailants, that they should neuer looke for it, they fell to make this petition, that if they should néeds die, they might rather suffer by hanging, and so reconcile themselues to God, than to die in malice with so great danger of their soules.

This suit was so furthered to the dukes grace by sir Miles Partrige that was néere at hand when they made this suit, that it was granted; and they coming forth, humbled themselues, and without more hurt they were but commanded to the prouost marshall, who kept them for a time, and were after released. The house was shortlie after so blowen with pouder, that more than the one halfe of it fell streight downe to dust and rubbish, the rest stood all to shaken with rifts and chinks. Anderwike also was burned, and all the houses of office, and stacks of corne about them both. While this was in doing the dukes grace, in turning but about, saw the fall of Dunglas, which likewise was vndermined and blowen vp with pouder.

Sir Miles Partrige.

Thornton yéelded.

The piles of Thornton and others defaced.

This done, about none the armie marched, and passing by Dunbar, the castell sent them diuerse shots of artillerie, but all in vaine. The Scotish prickers shewed themselues in the field with proffer of skirmish, but to no great purpose, one of them being killed with a shot of one of Barteuils men an hackbutter on horsebacke. The armie hauing marched that daie a ten miles, lodged at night néere vnto Tantallon, and had a blind alarum. Marching the next morning a two miles, they came to a riuer called Lin, where there is a stone bridge, named Linton bridge of a towne thereby on the right hand as the armie marched, and standing eastward vpon the same riuer: the horsemen and carriages passed thorough the water, for it was not verie déepe, and the footmen ouer the bridge. The passage was streict for an armie, and therfore the longer in setting ouer.

Tantallon.

Linton bridge.

Beyond this bridge about a mile westward vpon the same riuer, on the south side standeth a proper castell called Hailes, perteining to the earle of Bothwell, but kept as then by the gouernors appointment, who held the earle in prison. Out of this castell as the lord protector passed forward in following the fore-ward, there were roundlie shot off (but without hurt) six or seuen peeces, the which before that (though some of the armie had beene verie nigh) yet kept they all couert. In the meane time rose a thicke mist, which caused a great disorder in the rere-ward, by reason they could not see about them. The earle of Warwike therefore doubting least the enimies, who had been pricking vp and downe neere to the armie, and offered skirmish the same morning, should now by occasion of the mist attempt some feat to the annoiance of the Englishmen in their passage, his lordship himselfe scant with sixteene horsses (whereof Barteuill, and John de Ribaud Frenchmen were two, seuen or eight light horssemen more, and the rest being his owne seruants) returned toward the passage to see the arraie againe.

Hailes castell.

The Scotish horssemen perceiuing our horssemen to haue passed on before, and thinking (as the truth was) that some capteine of honor did staie for the looking to the order of this rere-ward, they keeping the south side of the riuer, did call ouer to some of the armie, to know whether there were anie noble man nigh there? They were asked whie they asked? One of them answered, that he was such a one whose name the Englishmen knew to be honorable among the Scots, and would come in to the dukes grace, so that he might be sure to come in safetie. Some young soldiors nothing suspecting the craftie falshod of the Scots, told him that the earle of Warwike was nigh there, by whose tuition he should be safelie brought to my lord protectors presence. They had cand their lesson & fell to their practise, which was this. Hauing come ouer the water, in the waie as the earle should passe, they had cowched about two hundred of their prickers, and had sent forth beside to search where my lord was, whome when they had found, part of them prickt verie nigh, whome ten or twelue of the earles small companie did baldlie incounter, and droue them well-nigh home to their ambush, fleeing perchance not so much for feare as for falshod, to bring them within their danger. But hereby informed that the earle was so nigh, they sent out a bigger number, and kept the rest more secret vpon this purpose, that they might either by a plaine onset distresse him, or else by faining of flight to haue trained him within danger of their ambush. And thus instructed, they came pricking toward his lordship apase. Whie (quoth he) & will not these knaues be ruled? Giue me my staffe. The which then with so valiant a courage he charged at one (as it was thought) Dandie Car, a capteine among them, that he did not onelie compell Car to turne, and himselfe chased him aboue twelue score togither, all the waie at the speares point, so that if Cars horsse had not beene exceeding good and wight, his lordship had surelie run him through in this race, but also with his little band caused all the rest to flee amaine. After whome as Henrie Vane, a gentleman of the said earles, and one of his companie did fiercelie pursue foure or fiue Scots, suddenlie turned, and set vpon him, and though they did not altogither escape his hands free, yet by hewing and mangling his head, bodie, and manie places else, they did so cruellie intreat him, as if rescue had not come the sooner, they had slaine him outright. Here was Barteuill run at sideling, and hurt in the buttocke, and one of the Englishmen slaine: of Scots againe none slaine, but three taken prisoners, whereof one was Richard Warwell, and hurt in the thigh; who had beene long in England not long before, and had receiued right manie benefits, both of the late kings liberalitie, and of the earle of Warwike, and of manie other nobles and gentlemen in the court beside.

A subtile praise of the Scots.

Dandie Car.

Henrie Vane.

Barteuill hurt.

Richard Warwell taken.

But to conclude, if the earle of Warwike had not thus valiantlie incountred them, yer they could haue warned their ambush how weaklie he was garded, he had beene beset round about by them yer he could haue bin aware of them, or rescued of other. Whereas hereby his lordship vndoubtedlie shewed his wonted valor, saued his companie, and discomfited the enimie. As Barteuill the Frenchman that daie had right honestlie serued, so did the lords right honorablie acquite it: for the earle of Warwike did get him a surgion, and dressed he was, streight after laid and conueied in the lord protectors owne chariot. The rest that were hurt were here also dressed, Scots and others.

The armie hauing marched that same daie nine miles, incamped at night by a towne standing on the Frith called Lang Nuddreie. The next morning being thursdaie the eight of September, in time of the dislodging of the English campe, signe was made to some of the ships (whereof the most part and chiefest laie a ten or twelue miles in the Forth, beyond vs, ouer against Lieth & Edenborough) that the lord admerall should come a shore, to speake with the lord protector. In the meane time, somewhat earlie as our gallie was comming toward vs, about a mile and more beyond our campe, the Scots were verie busie, walking here on shore toward them with a banner of saint George that they had, so to traine them to come on land there: but the earle of Warwike soone disappointed the policie, for making toward that place where the lord admerall should come on shore, the Englishmen on the water by the sight of his presence, did soone discerne their friends from their foes.

Lang Nuddreie.

The lord admerall hereupon came to land, and riding backe with the earle vnto the lord protector, order was taken, that the great ships should remoue from before Lieth, and come to lie before Muskelborough; and the Scotish campe which laie there in field alreadie assembled, to resist the English power that marched thus towards them. The smaller vessels that were dittelers were appointed to lie neerer to the armie. The lord admerall hereupon, being returned to the water, & the armie marching onward a mile or two, there apeered aloft on a hill, that laie longwise east and west, and on the south side of them, vpon a six hundred of their horssemen prickers, whereof some within a flight shot, directlie against the Englishmen, shewed themselues vpon the same hill, & more further off.

Order taken for the placing of the ships.

The Scotish prickers shew themselues.

Toward these, ouer a small bridge that laie ouer a little riuer there, verie hardlie did ride about a dozen haquebutters on horssebacke, and held them at baie so nie to their noses, that whether it were by the goodnesse of the same haquebutters, or the badnesse of them, the Scots did not onelie not come downe to them, but also verie courteoustie gaue place, and fled to their fellowes. The armie went on, but so much the slowlier, because the waie was somewhat narrow, by meanes of the Forth on the one side, and certeine marishes on the other. The Scots kept alwaies pase with them, till there were shot off two field peeces twise, wherewith there was a man killed, and the leg of one of their horsses striken off, which caused them to withdraw, so that the Englishmen saw no more of them, till they came to the place where they meant to incampe, for there they shewed themselues againe aloft on the fore remembred hill, standing

standing as it were to view and take musters of the armie: but when the lord Greie made towards them, minding to know their commission, they wiselie went their waie, and would not once abide the reasoning.

Little else was done that daie, but that George Ferrers, one of the duke of Summersets gentlemen, and one of the commissioners of the cariages in the armie, perceiuing where certeine Scots were got into a caue vnder the earth, stopping some of the vents, and setting fire on the other, smothered them to death, as was thought it could be none other, by coniecture of the smoke breaking forth at some of the other vents. The English ships also taking their leaue from before Lieth, with a score of shot or more, and as they came by saluting the Scots in their campe also, with as manie, came and laie according to appointment. The armie hauing marched this daie about a fiue miles, incamped at Salt Preston by the Forth. On fridaie the ninth of September, the English armie lieng in sight & view of the Scottish campe, that laie two miles or therabouts from them, had the Forth on the north, and the hill last remembred on the south, the west end whereof is called Faurside Braie, on the which standeth a forie castell, and halfe a score houses of like worthinesse by it, and had west ward before the Englishmen, the Scots lieng in campe. About a mile from the English campe were the Scots horsemen verie busie, prancking vp and downe, & faine would haue béene a counsell with the Englishmens doings; who againe, because the Scots seemed to sit to receiue them, did diligentlie prepare that they might some go to them, and therfore kept within their campe all that daie.

Scots smothered in a caue.

Salt Preston

Faurside Braie.

The lord protector and the councell sitting in consultation, the capteines and officers prouiding their bands, store of vittels, and furniture of weapons, for furtherance whereof our vessels of munition and vittels were here alreadie come to the shore. The Scots continued their brauerie on the hill, the which the Englishmen not being so well able to beare, made out a band of light horsemen, and a troope of demilances to backe them: the Englishmen and strangers that serued among them, got vp aloft on the hill, and thereby of euen ground with the enimie rode streight toward them with good speed and order, whom at the first the Scots did boldlie countenance and abide: but after, when they perceiued that our men would néeds come forward, they began to pricke, and would faine haue béene gone, yer they had told their errand. But the Englishmen hasted so spéedilie after, that euen streight they were at their elbowes, and did so stoutlie then bestirre them, that what in the onset at the first, and after in the chase, which lasted a three miles welnie to as far as the further end of their campe on the south side, they had killed of the Scots within a three houres, aboue the number of thirteene hundred, and taken the maister of Hume, the lords Humes sonne and heire, two priests and six gentlemen, whereof one by sir Jaques Granado, and all vpon the highest and welnéere nighest of the hill toward the Scots, within the full sight of their whole campe.

The Scots horsemen discomfited and put to flight.

Scots slaine. Prisoners taken.

On the English part one Spanish haquebutter hurt, and taken sir Rafe Bulmer knight, Thomas Gower marshall of Berwike, and Robert Crouch, all capteins of seuerall bands of the English light horsemen, and men of right good courage and approued seruice, & at this time distressed by their owne too much forwardnesse, and not by the enimies force. To conclude, of fiftéene hundred horsemen for skirmish, and fiue hundred footmen to lie close in ambush, and to be readie at need, which came that morning out of their campe, there returned not home aboue seuen hundred, and diuerse of those sore hurt, and among other, the lord Hume himselfe, for hast in the flight, had a fall from his horsse, and burst the canell bone of his necke, that he was faine to be caried streight to Edenborough, and finallie there departed this life of that hurt. So that it is true which C. O. saith, that in this skirmish manie a good rider was dismounted, their horsses with emptie saddles and lose bridles running vp hill and downe dale, as if they had bene starke mad, and to conclude (saith he)

Englishmen taken.

The lord Hume hurt with a fall in the chase.

——equâ lapsurus inhæsit
Tergo alius summo tellurem vertice pulsans.

Then after this, the lord protector, and the earle of Warwike, and other of the councell, with a small gard, mounting vp the hill where the slaughter had bene made, about halfe a mile southeast from the Scotish campe, tooke full view therof, the plot where they laie, so chosen for strength, as in all their countrie (some thought) not a better, saue on the south by a great marish, & on the north by the Forth, which side they fensed with two field péces, and certeine haquebutters a crooke, lieng vnder a turffe wall, Edenborough on the west at their backes, and eastward betweene the Englishmen and them stronglie defended by the course of a riuer called Eske, running north into the Forth, which as it was not verie deepe of water, so were the bankes of it so high and steepe, as a small sort of resistants might haue bene able to keepe downe a great number of commers vp. About a twelue score from the Forth, ouer the same riuer, is there a stone bridge, which they did keepe also well garded with ordinance.

When the lord protector, and the earle of Warwike had viewed euerie thing, as they thought expedient, they returned home towards their campe, alongst before the campe of the enimies, within lesse than two flight shots, entring into a lane of thirtie foot broad, fensed on either side with a wall of turffe, an ell of heigth. The Scots did often shot at them in the waie as they passed thus homewards, without hurt, sauing the killing of an horsse among three hundred, the rider escaping else harmelesse. And as the dukes grace was passed welnie halfe the waie homewards, a Scotish herald with a cote of his princes armes vpon him (as the maner is) and with him a trumpetter, ouertooke them.

A Scotish herald deliuereth a message to the duke of Summerset.

The herald declaring this message to the lord protector, pretended to come from the gouernour, to inquire of prisoners taken, and therewith to proffer honest conditions of peace. And after he had told his tale, then began the trumpetter, and said, how he was sent from the earle of Huntleie: My lord my maister (saith he) hath willed me to shew your grace, that bicause this matter maie be the soner ended, and with lesse hurt, he will fight with your grace for the whole quarell, twentie to twentie, ten to ten, or else himselfe alone with your grace man to man. The lord protector hauing kept with him the lord lieutenant, had heard them both throughlie, and then in answering, spake somewhat with lowder voice, than they had done their messages. Whereupon they that were the riders by, thinking that his grace would haue it no secret, were somewhat the bolder to come néerer, the words whereof were vttred so expeditelie with honour, and so honourablie with expedition, that the standers by were moued to doubt whether they might rather note in them the promptnesse of a singular prudence, or the boldnesse of a noble courage: and they were thus.

The lord protectors answer.

Your gouernour maie know, that the speciall cause of our comming hither was not to fight, but for the thing that should be the weale, both of vs and you. For God we take to record, we mind no more hurt to the realme of Scotland, than we do to the realme

cc realme of England, and therefore our quarell being
cc so good, we trust God will prosper vs the better. But
cc as for peace, he hath refused such conditions at our
cc hands, as we will neuer proffer againe: and there-
cc fore let him looke for none, till this waie we make it:
cc and thou trumpetter, saie to thy maister, he seemeth
cc to lacke wit so to make this chalenge to me, being of
cc such estate, by the sufferance of God, as to haue so
cc weightie a charge of so pretious a iewell, the gouer-
cc nance of a kings person, & then the protection of all
cc his realms, whereby in this case I haue no power of
cc my selfe, which if I had, as I am true gentleman, it
cc should be the first bargaine I would make: but there
cc be a great sort amongst vs his equals, to whome he
cc might haue made this chalenge without refusall.

The earle of Warwikes request and message to the earle of Huntleie.

Then quoth the lord lieutenant to them both, He sheweth his small wit to make this chalenge to my lords grace, and he so meane, but if his grace will giue me leaue, I shall receiue it: and trumpetter bring me word thy maister will so do, and thou shalt
cc haue of me an hundred crownes. Naie (quoth my
cc lords grace) the earle of Huntleie is not meet in e-
cc state with you, my lord: but herald saie to the go-
cc uernor, and him also, that we haue béene a good sea-
cc son in this countrie, and are here now but with a so-
cc ber companie, and they a great number, and if they
cc will meet vs in field, they shall be satisfied with figh-
cc ting inough: and herald bring me word if they will so
cc do, and by my honour I will giue the a thousand
cc crownes. Ye haue a proud sort among you, but I
cc trust to sée your pride abated shortlie, and of the
cc erle Huntleies to: Iwis he is a glorious yong gen-
cc tleman.

This said, the earle of Warwike continued his request, that he might receiue this chalenge: but the lord protector would in no wise grant it. These messengers had their answers, and therewith leaue to depart. The Scots in midst of this message, doing contrarie to the order of warre, which as it granteth safetie to heralds and trumpetters, to passe betwixt armie and armie: so during the time of anie such message, as this was, hostilitie on both parts ought to ceasse, but it skilled not. On the morow after, they had their guns taken from them (as saith maister Patten) and put into their hands that could vse them with more good maner. But now concerning the message of the herald, it was thought that he was sent therewith, not for that it was beléued of them, that it would be accepted; but rather that whilest he was doing his errand, he might surueie the English power: or else for that vpon refusall of the offer, they might vse the victorie (whereof they accounted themselues assured) with more crueltie.

The order of war touching heralds violated.

The vaine doubt of the Scots.

Of nothing they doubted more, than least the Englishmen would haue béene gone backe, and gotten to the water, before they should haue incountered them, and therefore they had appointed to haue giuen the English armie a camisado in the night before the daie of the battell: but peraduenture, vnderstanding that the Englishmen had warning of their intention, and were prouided for them if they had come, they staied and came not at all. But in the morning, they were vp verie timelie, and being put in order of battell, they marched streight towards the English campe, against whome then, though they saw the English horsemen readilie to make: yet could not be persuaded, but that it was for a policie to staie them, till the English footmen and cartages might fullie be bestowed a shipboord, and that for the same purpose the English ships were come backe from before Lieth.

Ordinance plãted against the enimie.

In the night of this daie, the dukes grace appointed, that earlie in the next morning part of the ordinance should be planted in the lane (wherof mention before is made) vnder the turfe of the wall, next to their campe, and some also to be set vpon the hill nie to Andreske church afore remembred: and this to the intent we should with our shot cause them either wholie to remoue their campe, or else much to annoie them in that place where they laie. It was not the least of the Englishmens meaning also to win from them certeine of their ordinance, that laie néerest vnto this church. And herewith the same morning, being the tenth of September, and Saturday, somewhat before eight of the clocke, the English armie dislodged, & marched streight toward the church of Andreske, as well for intent to haue incamped nére the same, as for placing their ordinance, and other considerations afore remembred.

Saturday, the tenth of September, the daie of the battell.

The Scots either for feare of the Englishmens departing, or hope of their spoiling, were out of their campe comming toward them, passed the riuer, gathered in araie, and well nére at this church, yer the Englishmen were halfe waie to it, so quite disappointing the Englishmens purpose. Which at the first séemed verie strange in their eies, as altogither beside their expectation, as they that thought they would neuer haue forsaken their strength, to méet them in the field. But after it was knowne that they did not onelie thus purpose to do, but also to haue assailed them in their campe, as they laie if they had not béene stirring the timelier, and hauing caused all their tents to be let flat downe to the ground, yer they came out, bicause none should lie lurking behind them in their campe, and as well the nobles as other, leauing their horsses behind them (except such as were appointed to serue on horssebacke) marched on with their souldiors on foot.

The Englishmen & Scots march the one armie toward the other.

They came spédilie forwards on both sides, the one till then no whit aware of the others intent: but the Scots indeed with a rounder pase betweene two hillocks, betwixt the Englishmen and the church, mustred somewhat brim, at whome as they staied, the English gallie shot off, & slue the maister of Greime, with fiue and twentie others nére by him, and therewith so skard foure thousand Irish archers, brought by the earle of Argile, that where (as it was said) they should haue béene a wing to the fore-ward, they could neuer after be made to come forward. Herupon did their armie hastilie remoue, & from thence declining southward, toke their direct waie toward Fanside braie. Of this, sir Rafe Vane, lieutenant of all the English horssemen, first of all, or with the first, noting it, quicklie aduertised the lord protector, who thereby did readilie conceiue their meaning, which was to win the hill, and thereby the wind and sunne, the gaine of which three things (as is thought) whether partie in fight of battell can hap to obteine, hath his force doubled against his enimie.

The gallie.

The Irish archers.

In all this enterprise, they vsed for haste so little the helpe of horsse, that they plucked forth their ordinance by draught of men, which at that present began frélie to shot off towards the English armie, whereby it was perceiued they ment more than a skirmish. Herewith euerie man began to aplie himselfe in his charge and dutie which he had to do. And herewith the lord protector, and other of the councell on horssebacke as they were, fell streight in consultation. The sharpenesse of whose circumspect wisedoms, as it quicklie espied out the enimies intents, so did it among other things promptlie prouide therin remedie, to preuent them (as needfull it was) for the time asked no leisure.

Consultation of the English lords on horssebacke.

Their deuise was, that the lord Greie of Wilton, marshall of the armie, with his band of Bulleners, and with the lord protectors band, and the earle of Warwikes, all to the number of eightéene hundred horssemen, on the left hand on the east halfe, and sir Rafe

The deuise of the lords vpon their consultation.

Rafe Vane, with sir Thomas Darcie capteine of the pensioners, and men of armes, and the lord Fitzwaters, with his band of demilances, all to the number of sixteene hundred, to be readie and euen with the lord marshall, on the west halfe. And thus all these togither afore to incounter the enimies afront, whereby either to breake their araie, and that waie to weaken their power by disorder, or at the least to stop them of their gate, and force them to staie, while the fore-ward might wholie haue the hilles side, and the battell and rere-ward be placed in grounds next that in order, and best for aduantage. And after this, that the same horsemen should retire vp to the hilles side to come downe in order afresh, and infest them on both sides, whilest the foot battels should occupie them in fight afront.

Which enterprise, though it seemed right dangerous to the assailers, yet was it not more wiselie deuised by the councell, than valiantlie and willinglie executed of the lord marshall, & the others. For euen there taking their leaues of the councell, the said lord marshall requiring onelie, that if it went not well with him, the dukes grace would be good to his wife & children, he said he would meet those Scots, and so with their bands the foresaid capteins toke their waie, and made towards the enimie. By this time were the fore-wards on either part aduanced within two flight shots in sunder. The Scots came on so fast, that it was thought of the most part of the Englishmen, they were rather horsemen than footmen. The Englishmen againe were led the more with speed, to shew that they were as willing as the Scots to trie the battell. The master of the ordinance to their great aduantage pluckt vp the hill at that instant certeine peeces, and soone after planted two or three canons of them welnigh vpon the top there, wherby hauing so much the helpe of the hill, he might ouer the Englishmens heads shot niell at the enimie. As the lord protector had so circumspectlie taken order for the araie and station of the armie, and for the execution of euerie mans office beside, he being perfectlie appointed in faire armour, accompanied onelie with sir Thomas Chaloner knight, one of the clearkes of the kings priuie councell, got him to the hight of the hill, to tarrie by the ordinance, where hee might best surueie the whole field, and succour with aid where most he saw need, and also by his presence to be a defense to the thing that stood weakest in place, and also most in daunger, the which how much it stood in stead, anon ye shall heare further.

The lord Greies request to the lord protector.

As he was halfe vp the hill, the erle of Warwike was ware the enimies were all at a sudden staie, and stood still a good while, so that it seemed to him that they perceiuing now their owne follie in leauing their ground of aduantage, had no will to come anie further forward, but gladlie would haue bin whence they came. The reasons were these. First bicause at that time, beside the full musker of the English footmen, of whome they thought there had beene none there in field, but all to haue beene either shipt, or a shipping; then they saw plaine that the Englishmen were sure to haue the gaine of the hill, and they the ground of disaduantage out of their hold, and put from their hope: and hereto, for that their herald gaue the lord protector no warning, the which by him (if they had ment to fight it out) who would not haue presumed that for the estimation of their honor, they would little haue stucke to haue sent; and he againe, and it had beene but for his thousand crowns, would right gladlie haue brought? Well yet how so euer their meaning changed, finallie considering belike the state they stood in, that as they had left their strength too soone, so now to be too late to repent, vpon a change of countenance, they made hastilie forward againe, and (as it seemed) with no lesse stoutnesse of courage, than stronglie in order, whose maner, armour, weapon, and order in fight in those daies and also before (though now somewhat changed as well as amongest other nations) was as insueth.

The Scots at a staie vpõ the sudden.

Harquebutters had they few, and appointed their fight most commonlie alwaies on foot. They vsed to come to the field well furnished, with tacke and skull, dagger, buckler, and swords, all notablie brode and thin, of exceeding good temper, and vniuersallie so made to slice, as hard it is to deuise the better: hereto euerie man his pike, and a great kercher wrapped twise or thrise about his necke, not for cold but for cutting. In their araie toward the ioining with the enimie, they thrust so nie in the fore-ranke, shoulder to shoulder, togither with their pikes in both hands, streight afore them, and their followers in that order so hard at their backes, laieng their pikes ouer their foregoers shoulders, that if they do assaile vndisseuered, no force can well withstand them.

The order of the Scots in warres both touching their furniture and disposition.

Standing at defense, they thrust shoulders likewise so nie togither, the fore-ranks well nie to kneeling stoope low before, for their fellowes behind, holding their pikes in both hands, and therwith in their left their bucklers, the one end of their pike against their right foot, the other against the enimie breast high, their followers crossing their pike points with them before, and thus each with other, so nie as place and space will suffer, through the whole rankes so thicke, that as easilie shall a bare finger pearse through the skin of an angrie hedgehog, as anie incounter the front of their pikes. Thus prouided, they (I meane the Scots) addressed themselues to incounter inflamed with a heat of furious hatred, but not aduised whether the cause were iust or vniust, for the which they were vp in armes: which foolish madnesse the poet pointeth at, and painteth out, saieng:

Arma Scotus poscit, valida contendere vi vult,
Is nec habet pensi sit id æquum an prorsus iniquum.

The lord marshall notwithstanding, whome no danger detracted from doing his enterprise, with the companie and order afore apointed, came full in their faces from the hill side towards them. Herewith waxed it verie hot on both sides, with pitifull cries, horrible noise, and terrible thundering of guns, beside the daie darkened aboue head with smoke of the artillerie, the sight and appearance of the enimie euen at hand before, the danger of death on euerie side else, the bullets, pellets and arrowes flieng each where so thicke, and so vncerteinelie lighting, that no where was there anie suretie of safetie, euerie man striken with a dreadfull feare, not so much perchance of death, as of hurt, which things though they were but certeine to some, yet doubted of all, assured crueltie at the enimies hands, without hope of mercie, death to flie, and danger to fight.

The incounter is verie hot betweene both sides.

The whole face of the field on both sides vpon this point of ioining, both to the eie and to the eare so heauie, so deadlie, lamentable, furious, outragious, terrible, confuse, and so quite against the quiet nature of man, as if to the nobilitie the regard of their honor and fame, to the knights and capteines the estimation of their worship and honestie, and generallie to them all the naturall motion of bounden dutie, their owne safetie, hope of victorie, and the fauour of God, that they trusted vpon for the equitie of their quarrell, had not beene a more vehement cause of courage, than the danger of death was cause of feare, the verie horrour of the thing had beene able to haue made anie man to forget both prowesse and policie. But the lord marshall and the others, with present mind and courage warilie and quicklie continued their course towards them. The enimies were in a

The face of the field at the point of ioining.

fallow field, whereof the furrowes laie sidelong toward the Englishmen, next to whome by the side of the same furrowes, & a stones cast from the Scots, was there a crosse ditch or slough, which the Englishmen must needs passe to come to them, wherein manie that could not leape ouer stucke fast, to no small danger of themselues, and some disorder of their fellowes.

The order of the Scotish battels.

The enimie perceiuing the Englishmen fast to approch, disposed themselues to abide the brunt, and in this order stood still to receiue them. The earle of Angus next to the Englishmen in the Scotish foreward as capteine of the same, with an eight thousand men, and foure or fiue peces of ordinance on his right hand, and a foure hundred horsemen on his left. Behind him westward, the gouernour with ten thousand Inland men (as they call them) the choisest soldiers counted of their countrie. And the earle of Huntleie in the rere-ward, welnie euen with the battell on the left side with eight thousand. The foure thousand Irish archers as a wing to them both, last indeed in order, & first (as they said) that ran awaie. The battell and also the rere-ward were garded likewise with their ordinance according.

The Irish archers on a wing.

Edward Shelleie.

Edward Shelleie lieutenant vnder the lord Greie of his band of Bulleners, was the first that passed ouer the slough. The lord Greie himselfe next, with the lord John Greie and others in the foremost ranke, and so then after two or three rankes of their former bands. But badlie yet could they make their rase, by reason the furrowes laie trauerse to their course. That notwithstanding, and though also they were nothing likelie well to be able thus afront to come within them to do them hurt, as well because the Scotishmens pikes were as long or longer than their staues, as also for that their horsses were all naked without bards, whereof though there were right manie among them, yet not one put on, for as much as at their comming forth in the morning, they looked for nothing lesse than for battell that daie: yet did those worthie gentlemen, the lord Greie of Wilton, the lord John Greie, and maister Shelleie with the residue, so valiantlie & stronglie giue the charge vpon them, that whether it were by their prowesse or power, the left side of the enimies that his lordship did set vpon (though their order remained vnbroken) was yet compelled to swaie a good waie backe, and giue ground largelie, and all the residue of them beside to stand much amazed.

The lord John Greie.

Beside this, as the Englishmen were welnie at their enimies, they stood verie braue and bragging, shaking their pike points, & crieng; Come lounds, come hêre tikes, come heretikes; and such like rhetorike they vsed. But though (saith master Patten) they meant but small humanitie, yet shewed they thereby much ciuilitie, both of faire plaie, to warne yer they stroke, and of formall order, to chide yer they fought. The English capteines that were behind, perceiuing at eie, that both by the vnéeuennesse of the ground, by the sturdie order of the enimie, and for that their fellowes were so nie and streight before them, they were not able to anie aduantage to mainteine this onset, did therefore according to the deuise in that point appointed, turne themselues, and made a soft retire vp toward the hill againe. Howbeit, to confesse the truth, some of the number that knew not the prepensed policie of the counsell in this case, made of a sober aduised retire, an hastie, rash, and vnaduised flight: howbeit, without capteine or standard, & vpon no cause of néed, but of a mére vndiscretion and madnesse. A madnesse indéed, for first the Scots were not able to pursue, because they were fewtmen; and then if they could, what hope by flight so farre from home in their enimies land, where was no place of refuge?

The Englishmen repelled.

The valiant lord Greie, Edward Shelleie, little Preston, Brampton, and Jerningham, Bulleners, Ratcliffe, the lord Fitzwaters brother, sir John Cleres sonne and heire, Rawleie a gentleman of right commendable prowesse, Digs of Kent, Ellerker a pensioner, Segraue: of the duke of Summersets band, Standleie, Woodhouse, Conisbie, Horgill, Norris, Denis, Arthur, and Atkinson, with other in the fore-ranke, not being able in this earnest assault, both to tend to their fight afore, and to the retire behind: the Scots againe well considering herby how weake they remained, caught courage afresh, ran sharplie forward vpon them, and without anie mercie, slue the most part of them that abode furthest in preasse a six more of Bulleners, and other than before are named, in all to the number of twentie six, and most part gentlemen. My lord Greie yet and my lord John Greie, and likewise my lord Edward Seimer (as some grace was) returned againe; but neither all in safetie, nor without euident markes they had bin there: for the lord Greie with a pike through the mouth was rased a long from the tip of the tong, and thrust that waie verie dangerouslie more than two inches in the necke; and the other two had their horsses vnder them with swords sore wounded. Like as also a little before this onset, sir Thomas Darcie vpon his approch to the enimies, was striken glansing wise on the right side, with a bullet of one of their field peces, and thereby his bodie bruised with the bowing in of his armour, his sword hilts broken, and the forefinger of his right hand beaten flat. Euen so vpon the parting of this fraie, was sir Arthur Darcie slasht at with swords, and so hurt vpon the wedding finger of his right hand also, as it was counted for the first part of curing to haue it quite cut awaie.

Gentlemen slaine.

The lord Greie hurt.

About the same time, certeine of the Scots ran on hastilie to the kings standard of the horsemen (the which sir Andrew Flammocke bare) and laieng fast hold vpon the staffe therof, cried, A king, a king, that if both his strength, his hart, and his horsse had not bêene good, and herewith somewhat aided at this pinch by sir Rafe Coppinger a pensioner, both he had bêene slaine, and the standard lost, which the Scots neuertheless held so fast, that they brake and bare awaie the nether end of the staffe to the burrell, and intended so much to the gaine of the standard, that sir Andrew (as hap was) scaped home all safe, and else without hurt. At this businesse also the lord Fitzwaters, both earle of Sussex and lord chamberleine to the* quéenes maiestie, capteine there of a number of demilances was vnhorst, but some mounted againe, scaped yet in great danger, and his horsse all hewen. Hereat further were Caluerleie the standard-bearer of the men at armes, and Clement Paston a pensioner, thrust each of them into the leg with pikes, and Don Philip a Spaniard into the knée, diuerse others maimed and hurt, and manie horsses sore wounded beside.

Sir Andrew Flammocke.

The lord Fitzwaters.

* Quéne Elizabeth.

Caluerleie & Clement Paston.

Don Philip a Spaniard.

By this time had the English fore-ward accordinglie gotten the full vantage of the hilles side, and in respect of their march stood sideling toward the enimie: who neuertheless were not able in all parts to stand full square in arraie: by reason that at the west end of them vpon their right hand, and toward the enimie, there was a square plot inclosed with turffe (as their maner of fensing in those parts, as well as in diuerse other is) one corner whereof did let the square of the same arraie. The battell in good order next them, but so as in continuance of arraie, the former part thereof stood vpon the hils side, the taile vpon the plaine, and the rere-ward wholie vpon the plaine. So that the placing and countenance

The placing of the Englishe vantgard.

The battell.

The rere-ward.

of

of the English armie in this wise, they shewed themselues in maner to compasse in the Scots battels, that they should no waie escape them: but how little able they were to doo it with power and number, you may easilie coniecture.

Those horssemen that were so repelled, and in their comming backe wonderlie brake their arraie from the residue, ran so hastilie through the ranks of the English fore-ward as it stood, that it did both disorder manie, feared manie, and was a great incouragement to the enimie. The worthie earle of Warwike, who had the guiding of this fore-ward, right valiantlie had conducted the same to their standing, and there did verie noblie incourage and comfort them with such chéerefull words, offering to liue and die among them, that doubtlesse his presence, demening himselfe in such manlike sort, stood the whole companie in great stead. Neither wanted there the chearefull diligence of those capteines, with whome his honor was furnished in that fore-ward likewise to incourage their bands, nor the worthie behauiour of other in the battell and rere-ward, euerie one according to his calling, shewing such proofe of his dutie, as the most part certeinlie deserued to haue their names registred in the kalendar of fame, where no rust of cankered oblivion might fret out the remembrance of their commendable demeanours: and therefore if anie among them should haue shewed anie lacke of courage, their dispraise had béene the more, sith by others they saw such worthie example giuen, and were to stand vpon this resolution, to haue harts hardened against all hazzards in a iust cause, whereof they hoped almightie God had vndertaken the managing and direction, vnto whome they had committed the same; as the poet truelie saith:

Iusta Deo commissa Anglorum causa tenanti,
Audaces animos fecit impauidósque periclí.

But sith there were so manie that did well, & therfore deserning a longer processe to be made of their high valiancies shewed in that dangerous seruice, than this volume may permit, I will procéed to the battell. The Scots were somewhat disordred with their comming out about the slaughter of the Englishmen, the which they did so earnestlie follow, that they tooke not one to mercie. The dukes grace placing himselfe (as yée haue heard) on the hill of Faurside braie, and therewith perceiuing the great disorder of the straggling horssemen, that had in the retire broken arraie, hemmed them in from further straieng, whome sir Rafe Vane, and others of the capteins sone after with great dexteritie brought into good order and arraie againe, and with all the rest of the strengths of the whole armie, by the policie of the lords, and diligence of euerie capteine and officer beside, were so fitlie and aptlie aplied in their feat, that where this repulse giuen by the enimie to the horssemen was doubted of manie, to turne to the whole losse of the field, the same was wrought and aduanced according as it was deuised, to the great certeintie of gaine and victorie. For first at this slough, where most of the horssemen had stood, sir Peter Mewtas capteine of all the harquebutters a foot did verie valiantlie conduct & place a good number of his men, in maner hard at the faces of the enimies, whereunto sir Peter Gamboa a Spaniard, capteine of two hundred harquebutters, Spaniards, and Italians on horssebacke did readilie bring his men also, who with the hot continuance of their shot in both parts, did so stoutlie staie the enimies, that they could not well come further forward: then the archers that marched in arraie on the right hand of the footmen, and nert to the enimies, pricked them sharpelie with arrowes as they stood. Therewith the master of the ordinance, to their great annoiance, did gall them with haile shot and other out of the great ordinance, directlie from the hill top, and certeine other gunners with their peeces a flanke from the rere-ward, most of the artillerie and missiue engines then wholie thus at once, with great puissance and vehemencie occupied about them, herewith the full sight of the Englishmen, all shadowed from them before by the horssemen, and dust raised, whome then they were ware in such order to be so néere vpon them, and to this the perfect arraie of the horssemen againe coming couragiouslie to set on them afresh, miserable men, perceiuing themselues then all to late, how much to much they had ouershot themselues, began suddenlie to shrinke.

Their gouernour and other the principall capteins that had brought them to the bargaine, tooke their horsses and fled amaine, which other perceiuing did quicklie follow, and with the formost of that crue their Irishmen, and therewith turned all the whole rout, cast downe their weapons, ran out of their wards, off with their iackes, and with all that euer they might, betooke them to the race that their gouernour began. The Englishmen at the first had found them (as what could scape so manie eies) and sharpelie and quicklie with an vniuersall outcrie, They flie, they flie, pursued after in chase so egerlie, and with such fiercenesse, that they ouertooke manie, and spared indéed but few, that when they were once turned, it was a wonder to see how sone, and in how sundrie sorts they were scattered. The place they stood on like a wood of staues strewed on the ground, as rushes in a chamber, vnpassable (they laie so thicke) for either horsse or man. Here at the first had they let fall all their pikes, and after that, euerie where scattered swords, bucklers, daggers, iackes, and all things else that was of anie weight, or might be any let to their course: which course among them, three waies specially they made, some along the sands by the Frith towards Lith, some streight towards Edenburgh, whereof part through the parke there (in the walles whereof, though they be round about of flint stone, yet were there manie holes alreadie made) and part of them by the high waie that leadeth along by the abbaie of Holierood house; and the residue and most part of them towards Dalketh, which waie by means of the marish our horssemen were worst able to follow.

Sundrie shifts, some shrewd, some sorie, made they in their running: diuerse of them in their courses, as they were ware they were pursued but of one, would suddenlie start backe, and lash at the legs of the horsse, or foine him in the bellie, and sometime did they reach at the rider also, whereby Clement Paston in the arme, and diuerse in other parts of their bodies otherwise in this chase were hurt. Some other laie flat in a furrow as they were dead, thereby past by of the Englishmen vntouched, and (as was reported) the earle of Angus confessed he couched in that sort till his horsse hapt to be brought him. Other some were found to staie in the riuer, couring downe his bodie vnder the rot of some willow træ, with scant his nose aboue water for breath. Some for lightnesse cast awaie shoes and doublets, and ran in their shirts, and some were séene in this race all breathlesse to fall flat downe, and haue run themselues to death.

Before this, at the time of the onset, which the English horssemen gaue, there came eastward fiue hundred of the Scotish horssmen vp along this Faurside braie, streight vpon the English ordinance and cariage. The lord protector (as yée haue heard) most spectallie for doubt hereof, placing himselfe by the same, caused a peece or two to be turned toward them, with a few shots whereof they were some turned

The presence of the earle of Warwike greatlie incouraged the souldiers.

Sir Rafe Vane.

Sir Peter Mewtas.

Sir Peter Gamboa.

The archers.

The master of the ordinance.

The Scots flie and are sharplie pursued.

The enimies cast awaie their munition and furniture the lightlier to flie and be gone.

The earle of Angus.

ned aild and fled to Daketh. But had they kept on their purpose, they were prouided for accordinglie.

Parson Keble one of the lord protectors chapleins.

For one parson Keble a chapleine of his graces, and two or three other, by and by discharged foure or fiue of the carts of munition, and therewith bestowed pikes, billes, bowes and arrowes, to as manie as came; so that of carters and other, there were sone weaponed about a thousand, whome parson Keble and the other did verie handsomlie dispose in arraie, and made a prettie musker.

The maner of the slaughter.

To returne now after this notable strewing of their footmens weapons, began a pitifull sight of the dead corpses, lieng dispersed abrode, some their legs off, some but hought, and left lieng halfe dead, some thrust quite through the bodie, others their necks halfe a sunder, manie their heads clouen, with other thousand kinds of killing. After that, and further in chase all for the most part killed, either in the head, or in the necke, for the horsemen could not well reach them lower with their swords. And thus with blood and slaughter of the enimie, this chase was continued fiue miles in length, westward from the place of their standing, which was in the fallow fields of Undreske, vntill Edenburgh parke, and well nigh to the gates of the towne it selfe, and vnto Lith, and in breadth nie foure miles, from the Forth sands vp toward Daketh southwards: in all which space, the dead bodies laie as thicke as a man may note cattell grasing in a full replenished pasture. The riuer ran all red with blood (a signe of great slaughter) so that in the same chase were slaine to the number of ten thousand men, some saie aboue foure tene thousand, as I doo find by this report concerning the battell:

The number of Scots slaine.

Millia bis septem sunt morte absumpta Scotorum,
Cetera pars certam quærit fugiendo salutem.

To conclude, considering the smalnesse of the Englishmens number, and shortnesse of the time (which was scant fiue houres, from one till well nigh six) the mortalitie was so great (as it was thought) the like afore time had not bene sene. One great cause whie the Englishmen spared so few of them,

The causes why so few Scots were taken.

was thought to be their tyrannous bow by them made (which the Englishmen certeinly heard of) that whensoeuer they fought and ouercame, they would kill so manie, and spare so few: a sure proofe whereof they plainlie had shewed at the first onset giuen, where they killed all, and saued not a man that came within their danger. An other respect was, to reuenge

The Scotishmens bow.

Pantar hough.

their great and cruell tyrannie shewed at Pantar hough, where they slue the lord Euers, whome otherwise they might haue taken prisoner and saued, and cruellie killed as manie else of our men as came into their hands. An other occasion also was their armor among them so little differing, all clad alike in iacks couered with white leather, doublets of the same, or of fustian, and most commonlie all white hosen, not one with either chaine, brooch, ring, or garment of silke, vnlesse chains of latten drawne foure or fiue times along the vpper locks, or to vse maister Patrens words, the thighs of their hosen and doublet slaeues for cutting.

The apparell of the Scots.

This lacke for difference in apparell was the chiefest cause that so manie of their great men and gentlemen were killed, and so few saued. The outward shew, the resemblance or signe, whereby a stranger might discerne a poore man from a gentleman, was not among them to be sene: as for words and goodlie profers of great ransoms, were as rife in the mouths of the one as the other. And it came here to passe, that after at the examination and counting of the prisoners, there were found taken aboue twelue of their common countrie people, to one of their gentlemen, whome no man need to doubt the Englishmen had rather haue spared than the other, if they could haue sene anie difference betweene them in taking. And yet verelie considering the case as it stood, the Englishmen shewed more grace, and tooke more to mercie, than the respects before mentioned might seeme to haue required. For beside the earle of Huntleie, who in good armor apointed likest a gentleman of anie among them, but could not then escape because he lacked his horse, and happed to be taken by sir Rafe Vane, and beside the lord of Fester, Hobbie Hambleton capteine of Dunbar, the maister of Sanpole, the laird of Wimmes taken by John Wren, a brother of the earle of Cassils, and besides one Montrell, taken by Cornelius comptrollor of the ordinance in the armie, and one Camals an Irish gentleman, and beside manie other Scotish gentlemen more, taken by diuerse others.

The earle of Huntleie taken.

Other prisoners taken.

The prisoners reckoned in the marshals booke were numbred to aboue fifteene hundred. Touching the slaughter, sure they killed not so manie, as for the time opportunitie they might, if they had minded cruelltie. For the lord protector moued with pitie at the sight of the dead bodies, and rather glad of victorie than desirous of slaughter, some after (by gesse) fiue of the clocke, staid the standard of his horsemen at the furthest part of their campe westward, & caused the trumpets to sound a retreat. Whereat also sir Rafe Sadler treasurer (whose great diligence at that time, and readie forwardnesse in the chiefest of the fraie before, did worthilie merit no smalle commendation) caused all the footmen to staie; and then with much trauell & great paine made them to be brought in some order againe: which was a thing not easilie done, by reason they all as then were somewhat busie in applieng their market, the spoile of the Scotish campe, where was found good prouision of white bread, ale, otencaks, otemeale, mutton, butter in pots, cheese, and in diuerse tents good wine also, and in some tents among them was found some siluer plate and chalices, which with good deuotion ye maie be sure were plucked out of their cold clowts, and thrust into their warme bosoms.

The number of the prisoners.

The lord protector not desirous of slaughter.

Sir Rafe Sadler.

The spoile of the Scotish campe.

The plot of their campe called Edmonston edge, nigh Gilberton a place of the lord of Brimstons, halfe a mile beyond Muskelburgh, and foure miles on this side Edenburgh, occupied in largenesse with diuerse tents and tenticles, that stood in sundrie places out of square, about a miles compasse, wherein as the Englishmen vpon the sound of the retreat sonewhat assembled, they all with a lowd and entire outcrie and hallowing, in signe of gladnesse and victorie, made an vniuersall noise and showt, the shrilnesse whereof (as after was reported) was heard vnto Edenburgh. It was a wonder to see, but (as they saie) manie hands make light worke, how sone the dead bodies were stripped out of their garments starke naked, euen from as farre as the chase went, vnto the place of the onset, whereby the personages of the enimies might by the waie easilie be viewed and considered, the which for the tainesse of their stature, cleanesse of skin, bignesse of bone, with due proportion in all parts was such, as the beholders, if they had not sene it, would not haue beleeued that there had been so many of that sort in all their countrie. Among them laie manie priests, and kirkmen, as they call them, of whome it was bruted that there was a whole band of three or foure thousand, but it was found afterwards not to be altogither so.

A showt in signe of victorie.

The feature of the Scotishmens personages.

Priests or kirkmen.

Among other banners, standards, and pennons, a banner of white sarsenet was found, vnder which it was said these kirkmen came, wherevpon was painted a woman with hir haire about hir shoulders, kneeling before a crucifix, & on hir right hand a church, after that written in great Romane letters,

A baner of a papists deuise.

Afflict.

Afflictæ sponsæ ne obliuiscaris. It was said that this was the abbat of Dunfirmlings banner, but whether it was his or the bishop of Dunkels, the gouernours brother, who (as was said) were both in the field, his meaning was, to signifie that the church made intercession to Christ hir husband, not now to forget hir his spouse, being at that time afflicted and persecuted by the Englishmen. But whose deuise soeuer it was, it maie seeme, that this church comming thus to battell, full appointed with weapon, and garded with such a sort of deacons to fight, howsoeuer in painting he had set hir out, a man might well thinke, that in condition, he had rather framed hir like a curst queane, that would plucke hir husband by the pate, except she had hir will; than like a meeke spouse, that went about humblie by submission and praier to desire hir husbands helpe, for redresse of things amisse.

what was the signification and meaning of the baner so inscribed.

But now to leaue this prelat with his *Afflicta sponsa*, and to make an end with this battell. There was vpon Faurside braie, a little castell or pile, which was verie busie all the time of the battell, as anie of the Englishmen came nigh it, to shoot at them, with such artillerie as they had: which was none other than of handguns and harquebuts, & of them not a dozen neither. Little hurt they did, but as they saw their fellowes in the field thus driuen and beaten awaie before their faces, they plucked in their péeces, and couched themselues within all mute: but by and by the house was set on fire, and they for their good wils burned and smothered within. Thus (saith master Patten) through the fauour of Gods bountie, by the valiancie and policie of the lord protector, by the forward indeuour of all the nobles and councell there beside, and by the willing diligence of euerie captaine, officer, and true subiect else, they most valiantlie won the victorie ouer their enimies, of whome such slaughter was made in the field, as ye haue heard, amongest whome (as the prisoners reported) beside the lord Fleming, the lard of Loghenware, the master of Greim, the master of Arskin, the master of Oglebie, the master of Auendale, the master of Rouen, and manie other of noble birth amongest them, there were of lards, lards sons, and other gentlemen slaine aboue twentie six hundred, & among the prisoners also there were manie gentlemen, spectallie of name these: the earle of Huntleie lord chancellor of the realme, the lord of Yester, Hobbie Hamilton captaine of Dunbar, the master of Sanpole, the lord of Wimmes, and a brother of the earle of Cassils. Two thousand by lurking and lieng (as they had béene dead) scaped awaie in the night all maimed and hurt. Herewith of weapons and armor more was found than the Englishmen did vouchsafe to giue carriage for: & yet were there conueied thense by ship into England, of tacks spectallie and swords, aboue thirtie thousand.

A little castle or pile verie busie with the English.

what men of name and account were slaine in the battell and taken prisoners.

armor and weapons caried into England,

This night the Englishmen with great gladnesse and thanksgiuing to God (as good cause they had) about seauen of the clocke pitched their campe at Edgebuckling braie, beside Pinkerslough, and a mile beyond the place they camped at before. Now after the battell, among other questions, one was moued who killed the first man that daie in the field, the glozie whereof one Jeronimo an Italian would gladlie haue had, a gentleman sure that had serued that daie right valiantlie: howbeit it was after well tried, that Cutbert Vulgraue, a gentleman of the earle of Warwiks, deserued the praise of killing the first enimie that died that date, who right hardlie slue a guner at his péece in the Scots fore-ward, yer euer they began anie whit to turne. As for the ordinarie soldiors, it was a pleasure vnto them to make rehearsall of their aduentures past, and to record what dangers (in maner inevitable) they had escaped, according to the poets report in that case, saieng:

Jeronimo an Italian.

Cutbert Vulgraue.

——res est meminisse laboris
Præteriti iucunda: graue effugisse periclum
Summa recordari secura mente voluptas.

The next daie being sundaie the eleuenth of September, somewhat before none, the armie remoued, & marching along the Forth side toward Lieth, about three of the clocke in the after none pitched their field, a pricke shot on this side that towne on the southeast halfe, somewhat shadowed from Edenburgh by a hill, but yet the most part of it laie within the full sight and shot of the castell there, and in distance somewhat aboue a quarter of a mile. The lord marshall, and the most part of the horssemen were bestowed and lodged in the towne of Lieth. The dukes grace, the lord lieutenant, and the rest of the armie in the campe. On tuesdaie the thirteenth of September, the smaller vessels of the English fleet burned Kinkorne, and a towne or two standing on the north shore of the Forth against Lieth.

The English armie incampeth by Lieth.

In the after none the dukes grace rowed by the Forth a six or seuen miles westward, as it runneth into the land, and toke in his waie an Iland there called saint Coms ins, which lieth foure miles beyond Lieth, and a good waie nearer the north shore than the south, yet not within a mile of the nerest. It is but halfe a mile about, and had in it an abbeie, but the monks were gone: fresh water inough, and store of conies, and is so naturallie strong, that but by one waie it can be entred; the plot whereof the lord protector considering, did quicklie cast to haue it kept, whereby all traffike of merchandize, all commodities else comming by the Forth into their land, and vtterlie the whole vse of the Forth it selfe, with all the hauens vpon it, should quite be taken from them.

S. Coms ins.

The next daie the lord protector riding backe againe eastward, to view diuerse things and places, toke Daketh in his waie, where a house of George Dowglas did stand, and comming somewhat nere it, he sent Sommerset his herald with a trumpet to know who kept it, and whether the keepers would hold or yéeld it to his grace. Answer was made, that there were three score persons within, whome their maister lieng there saturdaie at night after the battell, did will that they, the house, and all that was in it, should be at his graces commandement. Whereupon the chiefest came, and in name of all the rest humbled himselfe to the dukes will. From thense his grace passed to the place where the battell had béene stricken, and so by Muskleburgh returned backe to the campe.

The castell of Daketh.

On thursdaie being the fifteenth of this moneth, the lord Clinton high admerall, taking with him the gallie whereof Richard Broke was captaine, and foure or fiue other smaller vessels besides, as well appointed with munition and men, rowed vp the Forth a ten miles westward, to an hauen towne standing on the south shore called Blacke Nesse, whereat toward the water side is a castell of a pretie strength; as nigh whereunto as the depth of the water would suffer, the Scots for safegard had laid the Marie Willoughbie, and the Anthonie of Newcastell, two tall ships, which with extreme iniurie they had stollen from the Englishmen before time, when no war was betwixt vs: with these late there also an other large vessell called the Bosse, and seauen more, whereof part laden with merchandize. The lord Clinton and his companie with right hardie approch, after a great conflict betwixt the castell and his vessels, by fine force won from them those three ships of name, and burnt all the residue before their faces.

Blacke Nesse an hauen towne on the south shore of Scotland.

Three ships of name woone from the Scots.

The fiftéenth of September the lard of Brimston a Scotish gentleman came to the dukes grace from

their counsell for cause of communication, and returned againe to them, hauing with him Norreie an herald and king at armes of ours, who found them with the old quéene at Sterling. On saturdaie the seauentéenth of September, sir John Luttrell in the after none departed toward saint Toms ins, hauing with him an hundred harquebutters, fiftie pioners, & two row barks well furnished with munition, and three score and ten mariners to remaine there, & kéepe that from inuasion of the enimes, against whom the English were so sharplie whetted, that when they came to incounter, they gaue proofe of their manhood by wounds and bloudshed, according to the report of C.O. in these verses following:

Sir John Luttrell.

S. Toms ins kept with a garrison of Englishmen.

——Anglorum pectora Manors
Belliger exacuit, crescunt ad vulnera vires.

In the time whilest the armie laie thus in the campe betwéene Lieth and Edenburgh, manie lards and gentlemen came in to the lord protector to require his protection, the which his grace to whome he thought good did grant. This daie came the earle of Bothwell to his grace, who hauing bene kept in prison by the gouernour, the night after the battell was set at libertie, and comming thus to the lord protector, was friendlie welcomed and interteined; and hauing this night supped with his grace, he departed.

The earle of Bothwell.

Lieth was set on fire this saturdaie, whereas it was meant, that there should haue bene but one house onelie burnt, belonging to one Barton that had plaid a sliperie part with the lord protector. But the soldiors being set a worke to fire that house, fired all the rest. Six great ships also that laie in the hauen, which for their age and decaie were not so apt for vse, were likewise set on fire and burnt. On sundaie the eightéenth of September, the lord protector (for considerations moouing him to pitie) hauing all this while spared Edenburgh from hurt, did so leaue it, but Lieth and the ships burning, some after seauen of the clocke in the morning, caused the campe to dislodge, and as they were raised and on foot, the castell shot off a peale, with chambers hardlie and all, of foure and twentie péeces. Passing that daie seauen miles, they camped earlie for that night at Crainston by a place of the lard of Brimstons.

Lieth burned.

The armie dislodged.

Crainston.

The same morning the lord protector made maister Andrew Dudleie knight, brother to the earle of Warwike, dispatched my lord admerall and him by ships full fraught with men and munition toward the winning of an hold in the east side of Scotland called Broughticrag, which stood in such sort in the mouth of the riuer of Taie, as that being gotten, both Dundé, saint Johns towne, and diuerse other townes standing vpon the same riuer the best of the countrie in those parts, set vpon the Taie, should either become subiect vnto this hold, or else be compelled to forgo the whole vse of the riuer, for hauing anie thing comming in or outward. The lord admerall, and the said sir Andrew sped themselues with such good successe and diligence in that enterprise, that on the wednesdaie following, being the one and twentith of September, after certeine of their shot discharged against that castell, the same was yeelded vnto them, the which sir Andrew did then enter, and after kept, as capteine to his high praise and commendation.

Broughticrag.

Broughticrag yeelded to the Englishmen.

But now to the armie. On mondaie the nineteenth of September, they marched ten miles, and incamped a little on this side a market towne called Lawder. Here as they were setled in their lodging, the herald Norrie returned from the Scotish councell, with the lard of Brimston, and Rose their herald, who vpon their sute to the lord protector, obteined that fiue of their councell should haue his graces safe conduct, that at anie time and place within fiftéene daies, during his abode in their countrie, or at Berwike, the same fiue might come and commune with fiue of the English councell, touching matters in controuersie betwéene them. Rose the herald departed earlie with his safe conduct, the campe raised, and that daie they went seauen miles till as far as Hume castell, where they camped on the west side of a rockie hill that they call Hare crag, standing about a mile westward from the castell.

Lawder.

Hume castell.

Here they did so much by shewing that they ment indeed to win the castell by force, if otherwise they might not haue it, causing a certeine number of harquebutters vpon appointment before to beset the castell, and to watch that none should passe in or out, that in the end, the ladie of the house, and other that were within in charge with it, yéelded it vp to the lord protectors hands: for the ladie doubting the losse of hir son that was prisoner with the Englishmen, hauing the first daie béene with the lord protector, and got respit till the next daie at none, in the meane time consulted with hir sonne, and other hir friends the kéepers of the castell, returned at the time appointed the next daie, being the one and twentith of that moneth, and made sute for a longer respit till eight of the clocke at night, and therewith safe conduct for Andrew Hume hir second son, and John Hume lard of Coldan knows, a kinsman of hir husbands, capteins of this castell, to come and speake with his grace in the meane while. It was granted hir. Whereupon these capteins about three of the clocke came to the lord protector, and after other couenants (with long debating on both parts) agréed vpon, she and these capteins concluded to giue their assent to render the castell, so far forth as the rest of the kéepers would therewith be contented, for two or three within (said they) were also in charge with kéeping it as well as they, for knowledge of whose minds the duke sent Summerset his herald with this ladie to the castell vnto them; who as the herald had made them priuie to the articles, would faine haue had leisure for foure and twentie hours longer, to send to their lord to Edenburgh, where he laie hurt (as before you haue heard) and in danger of death, which followed of the fall that he caught at the fridaies skirmish before the battell, to know his will and pleasure in this point of rendering vp the castell: but being wiselie and sharplie called vpon by the herald, they agréed to the couenants afore by their ladie and capteins concluded on: whereof part (as the sequele shewed) were these. That they should depart thense the nert daie in the morning by ten of the clocke with bag and baggage, as much as they could carie, leauing all munition and vittels behind them in the castell. Howbeit, to be assured of them, the lord protector prouiding ech waie to be readie for them, caused eight péeces of ordinance fensed with baskets of earth to be planted on the southside toward the castell within power of batterie, and the harquebutters to continue their watch and ward.

Hume castell besieged and yéelded vp to the lord protector.

Summerset the dukes herald.

The conditions of the surrendring of Hume castell.

On thursdaie morning being the two and twentith of September, the lord Greie was appointed to receiue the rendring of the castell into his hands, and sir Edward Dudleie now lord Dudleie after to be capteine there. They both departed to it, and at the time set Andrew Hume, and foure other of the chiefest there with him came out, and yéelding the castell, deliuered the keies to the said lord Greie: his lordship causing the residue to come out then, sauing sir or seuen to kéepe their baggage within, who all were in number seuentie and eight, entred the same with maister Dudleie, and diuerse other gentlemen with him. He found there indifferent good store of vittels and wine, & of ordinance two bastard culuerings,

The lord Greie receiueth the possession of Hume castell.

one

one sacre, also three falconets of brasse, and of iron eight peeces beside. The keeping of this castell the lord Greie betaking vnto sir Edward Dudleie accordinglie returned to the campe. This done, the next daie being fridaie, and the three and twentith of September, they dislodged, and went that morning to Rockesburgh, incamping in a great fallow field, betwixt Rockesburgh and Kelseie, standing eastward a quarter of a mile off. Here at Rockesburgh they began to build a fort within the compasse of an old ruinous castell, the plot and site whereof standeth naturallie verie strong, vpon a hill east and west of an eight score in length, and three score in breadth, drawing to a narrownesse at the east end, the whole ground whereof the old walles did yet inuiron. Beside the heigth and hardnesse to come to, it is stronglie fensed on either side with the course of two great riuers, Tiuet on the north, and Twéed on the south, both which ioining somwhat nigh togither at the west end of it. Tiuet by a large compasse about the fields (in which the campe laie) at Kelseie, doth fall into this Twéed, which with great depth and swiftnesse runneth from thense eastward into the sea at Berwike. Ouer this betwixt Kelsete and Rockesburgh there hath béene a great stone bridge with arches, the which the Scots in times past haue all to broken, because the Englishmen should not that waie come to them.

The situation of Rockesburgh.

The determinatiõ in what sort Rockesburgh should be fortified.

Some after the lord protectors surueie of the plot, and determination to doo as much in déed for making it defensible, as shortnesse of the time & season of the yére could suffer (which was) that one great trench of twentie foot broad with depth according, and a wall of like depth, bredth, and heigth, should be made crosse within the castell from the one side wall to the other, and fortie foot from the west end: and that a like trench and wall should likewise be cast a trauerse within, about a coits cast from the east end, and hereto that the castell walles on either side where need was, should be mended with turffe, and made with lowps, as well for shoting directlie forward as for flanking at hand: the worke of which deuise did make that (beside the safegard of these trenches and walles) the keepers should also be much defended from the enimies force by both the end walles of the castell: the pioners were set a worke, and diligentlie applied in the same.

Scots that came to the kings obeisance.

The lard of Sesseforth, and manie other lards and gentlemen of Tiuidall and the Mers, hauing come and communed with the lord protector and the councell, made an assurance, or as it were a truce for that daie, till the next daie at night; and on the next daie, while assurance lasted, these lards and gentlemen being the chiefest in the whole Mers and Tiuidale, came in againe, whome the dukes grace with wisedome and policie without bloudshed did win then vnto the kings obedience, for the which they did willinglie then receiue an oth: whose names in part insue.

Lards.

The lard of Sesseforth, the lard of Fernihurst, the lard of Græne head, the lard of Hunthill, the lard of Huntleie, the lard of Markeston by Merside, the lard of Boniedworth, the lard of Ormeston, the lard of Hailestaine, the lard of Warmeseie, the lard of Linton, the lard of Egerston, the lard of Marton, the lard of Holw, the lard of Reddell, the lard of Reamerside.

Gentlemen.

George Trombull, John Halliburton, Robert Car of Greiden, Adam Kirton, Andrew Kirton, Andrew Heither, Sander Spur of Erlestoun, Marke Car of Littleden, George Car of Faldenside, Alexander Makdowell, Charles Rotherford, Thomas Car of the Yere, John Car of Heithorne, Walter Haliburton, Richard Hanganside, Andrew Car, James Dowglas of Cauers, James Car of Hersington, George Hoppringle, William Ormeston of Ormerden, John Grimslow. Manie more there were beside, but ouerpassed by maister Patten, for that they remained in the register with these, as he saith. The duke of Summerset tendred the furtherance of the worke so much, that he forbare not to laie his owne hand to the spade and shouell, thereby to incourage others: so as there were but few lords, knights, and gentlemen in the field, but with spade, shouell, or mattocke did therein their parts.

The diligence of the duke of Summerset to further the fortification to Rockesburgh.

The fiue and twentith of September being sundaie, the Scots began to bring vittels to the campe, & were so well intreated and paied for the same, that during the time of the Englishmens abode there, they wanted not of the commodities which their countrie could minister. The eight and twentith of September a Scotish herald accompanied with certeine Frenchmen, that were perchance more desirous to marke the armie than to wit of their welfare, came and declared that within a seauen-night after, their commissioners, to whome safe conduct had béene granted, should come and commune with our councell at Berwike; whose comming the earle of Warwike, and sir Rafe Sadler with other the commissioners appointed, did so long while there abide. But what the Scots ment by breaking promise I cannot saie, howbeit come they did not, & therfore escaped not the iust note of dissimulation, howsoeuer else they could colour the matter in their owne excuse.

A Scotish herald.

The same daie after none, the duke of Summerset adorned with titles of dignitie diuerse lords, knights, and gentlemen, the names and promotions of whom master Patten hath set downe out of the heralds booke, as followeth: Sir Rafe Sadler treasuror, sir Francis Brian capteine of the light horsemen, sir Rafe Vane lieutenant of all the horsemen: these knights were made banerets, a dignitie aboue a knight, and next to a baron. The lord Greie of Wilton high marshall, the lord Edward Seimer the duke of Summersets son, the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Waldike a Cleuelander, sir Thomas Dacres, sir Edward Haskings, sir Edmund Bridges, sir John Thin, sir Miles Patridge, sir John Conweie, sir Giles Pole, sir Rafe Bagnoll, sir Oliuer Laurence, sir Henrie Gates, sir Thomas Chaloner, sir Francis Fleming maister of the ordinance, sir John Gresham, sir William Skipwith, sir John Buts, sir George Blaag, sir William Francis, sir Francis Knolles, sir William Thornburrow, sir George Howard, sir James Wilford, sir Rafe Coppinger, sir Thomas Wentworth, sir John Peruen, sir Nicholas Strange, sir Charles Sturton, sir Hugh Askue, sir Francis Salmin, sir Richard Tounleie, sir Marmaduke Constable, sir George Audleie, sir John Holcroft, sir John Southworth, sir Thomas Danbie, sir John Talbot, sir Rowland Clarke, sir John Horsleie, sir John Forster, sir Christopher Dies, sir Peter Negro, sir Alanzo de Vile, sir Henrie Husseie, sir James Granado Brabander, sir Walter Bonham, sir Robert Brandling maior of Newcastell, and made knight there at the duke of Summersets returne.

Creation of banerets, knights, &c.

Banerets.

Knights.

Edward Seimer the duke of Summersets son.

Sir Francis Fleming.

But now that Rockesburgh was sufficientlie made defensible (the which to see it seemed the duke of Summerset had vowed before he would thence depart) his grace and the councell did first determine that my lord Greie should remaine vpon the borders there as the kings lieutenant, and then toke order for the forts: that sir Andrew Dudleie capteine of Broughtierag had left with two hundred soldiers of harquebutters & others, and a sufficient number of pioners for his works: sir Edward Dudleie capteine of Hume castell three score harquebutters,

Order taken for defense of the fort gained and built in this voiage.

fortie horssemen, and a hundred pioners: sir Rase Bulmer capteine of Rockesburgh three hundred soldiers of harquebutters and others, and two hundred pioners. As things were thus concluded, and warning giuen ouer night on this wednesdaie being Michaelmasse euen, on the next morrow being Michaelmasse daie euerie man fell to packing apase and got them homewards, passing ouer the Twéd there with some trouble and danger also, by reason of raine that latelie fell before, & had raised the streame, which being swift of it selfe, and the chanell vneuen in the bottome with great stones made the passage cumbersome, so that manie as well horssemen as sotmen were in no small perill as they passed thorough, and one or two drowned, and manie cartages ouerthrowne, and in great hazzard of losing.

The armie returneth homewards.

The danger of the soldiers in passing the riuer of Twéd.

The duke of Summerset rode streight to Newcastell, and thence homewards. The earle of Warwike, my lord Greie, and sir Rase Sadler, with diuerse other rode to Berwike, to abide the comming of the Scotish commissioners. In the meane time of their tarieng there, the earle of Warwike made sir knights; sir Thomas Neuill the lord Neuils brother, sir Andrew Corbet, sir Anthonie Strelleie, sir Arthur Panering, sir Richard Uerneie, sir John Berteuille. After that the earle of Warwike had tarried for the comming of the Scots the full terme of the appointment, which was vntill the fourth of October, and perceiued they came not, the next daie he departed homewards.

Knights made.

Here ye haue to vnderstand also, that in part of the meane time whilest the duke of Summerset was in doing of these exploits in Scotland (as ye haue heard rehearsed) the earle of Lenor, and the lord Wharton warden of the west marches, with an armie of fiue thousand men, entred Scotland on that side, and first passing two miles after a daie and a nights defense, they wan the church of Annan, tooke seuentie & two prisoners keepers of the same, burnt the spoile for cumber of cartage, and caused the church to be blowen vp with powder, passing thence a sixtéene miles within the land, they wan the castell of Milke, the which they left furnished with munition and men, and so returned. But of this ye shall find more in the historie of Scotland, by the sufferance of God, where we intreat of the doings there in this yeare.

An inuasion made into Scotland.

Annan church wonne.

The castell of Milke wonne.

Thus much haue I collected out of master Pattens booke, or rather exemplified the same, not much digressing from his owne words, except where I haue bin forced to abridge his worke in some places, wishing to haue inserted the whole, if the purpose of this volume would haue so permitted, as well for the full vnderstanding of euerie particular point, by him remembred, as also for his pleasant and apt maner of penning the same. Whilest the lord protector was abrode thus in wars against the Scots, the lords of the councell that remained at home, chiefelie by the good and diligent calling on and furtherance of the archbishop of Canturburie, and others of the clergie, tooke order for the aduancement of religion, causing the bookes of homilies and the paraphrase of Erasmus to be set forth and had in churches.

The homilies & paraphrase of Erasmus.

At the comming backe of the lord protector from his iourneie into Scotland, the citizens of London determined to haue receiued him with great triumph: but he hearing thereof, forbad them in anie wise so to do: for (said he) if anie thing hath béene done to the honour of the realme, it was Gods doing, and therefore willed them to giue him the praise. Neuertheless the maior and aldermen, with certeine of the commoners in their liueries and their hoods, hearing of his approch to the citie, the eight daie of October met him in Finnesburie field, where he tooke each of them by the hand, and thanked them for their good wils. The lord maior did ride with him till they came to the pound in Smithfield, where his grace left them, and rode to his house of Shene that night, and the next daie to the king to Hampton court. The fourth daie of Nouember began a parlement, called and holden at Westminster, which continued till the foure and twentith of December next following, & was then prorogued. In this parlement, all colleges, chanteries, and frée chapels were giuen to the king, and the statute of the vi articles was repealed, with diuerse others tending to the like end. Moreouer, during this parlement visiters being appointed to visit in London, the sirtenth of Nouember began to take downe the images in Paules church: and shortlie after all the images in euerie church, not onelie through London, but also throughout the whole realme, were pulled downe and defaced.

The lord protector and others of the councell, considering now in what sort they had got forthold in Scotland, by reason of such peeces as they had taken and fortified within the realme, did deuise for the more suertie of those places, which they had alreadie got, and the better to bring the rest of the countrie vnto reason, to haue some holds also more within the land, and therefore first they caused a fort to be builded at Lowder, where sir Hugh Willoughbie was appointed capteine with a conuenient garrison of soldiers to keepe it. Beside this, it was thought expedient to fortifie the towne of Hadington, whereupon the lord Greie lieutenant of the north parts, with sir Thomas Palmer, and sir Thomas Holcroft, were appointed to go thither with a conuenient number of men of warre & pioners to see that towne fenced with trenches, rampiers, and bulworks, as should séeme to his lordship necessarie and behouefull; who therefore entring into Scotland the eightéenth of April, passed forth to Hadington, where he began to fortifie, and there remained to see the worke brought to some perfection. During his abode there, diuerse exploits were both valiantlie attempted and luckilie atchiued by his martiall conduct and politike direction, as occasions offred might moue him, which I would gladlie haue set downe at large, if I could haue come to the true vnderstanding thereof; but sith I cannot get the same, in such full manner as I haue wished, that yet which I haue learned by true report (as I take it) I haue thought good to impart to the reader.

A parlement.

1548
Anno Reg. 2.

Lowder fortified.

Sir Hugh Willoughbie.

Hadington fortified by the lord Greie.

The eight and twentith of Maie, his lordship wan the castell of Yester, after he had beaten it right sore with terrible batterie of canon shot for the time it lasted, and therewith hauing made a reasonable breach for the soldiers to enter, they within yelded with condition to haue their liues saued: which the lord Greie was contented to grant to them all, one onelie excepted, who during the siege vttered vnseemelie words of the king, abusing his maiesties name with vile and most opprobrious termes. They all comming forth of the castell in their shirts, humbled themselues to my lord Greie (as became them) and vpon strait examination who should be the raiser that was excepted out of the pardon, it was knowne to be one Newton a Scot: but he to saue himselfe, put it to one Hamilton, and so these two gentlemen accusing one an other, the truth could not be decided otherwise than by a combat, which they required, and my lord Greie thereunto assented, and pronounced iudgement so to haue it tried: which he did the rather, bicause all men do séeme resolute in the triall of truth (as in a verie good cause) by losse of life to gaine an endlesse name; as one saith:

Mors spernenda viris vt fama perennis alatur.

Yester castell wonne.

Vlpian Fullwell in the flower of fame.

Newton and Hamilton two Scottish gentlemen accuse each other.

The lord protectors returne.

At

At the appointed time they entered the lists, set vp for that purpose in the market place of Hadington, without other apparell sauing their doublets and hosen, weaponed with sword, buckler and dagger. At the first entrie into the lists, Hamilton knæling downe, made his hartie praier to God, that it might please him to giue victorie vnto the truth, with solemne protestation that he neuer vttred anie such words of king Edward of England, as his aduersarie charged him with. On the other side Newton being troubled (as it séemed) with his false accusation, argued vnto the beholders his guiltie conscience. Now were the sticklers in a readinesse, and the combattors with their weapons drawne fell to it, so that betwixt them were striken six or seuen blowes right lustilie. But Hamilton being verie fierce and egre, vpon trust of his innocencie, constreined Newton to giue ground almost to the end of the lists; and if he had driuen him to the end in déed, then by the law of armes he had wone the victorie. Newton perceiuing himselfe to be almost at point to be thus ouercome, stept forwards againe, and gaue Hamilton such a gash on the leg, that he was not able longer to stand, but fell therewith downe to the ground, and then Newton falling on him, incontinentlie slue him with a dagger.

A combat fought betweene them.

Hamilton vanquished and slaine.

There were gentlemen present that knowing as they toke it for certeine, how Newton was the offendor (although fortune had fauoured him in the combat) would gladlie haue ventured their liues against him man for man, if it might haue béene granted: but he chalenging the law of armes, had it granted by my lord Greie, who gaue him also his owne gowne beside his owne backe, and a chaine of gold which he then ware. Thus was he well rewarded how so euer he deserued: but he escaped not so, for afterwards as he was riding betwixt the borders of both the realms, he was slaine and cut in pæces. On the fourth of June, the towne of Dalketh was burnt, and the castell woone by force, where fourtéene Scots were slaine, and three hundred taken prisoners, amongst whome were these men of name; the maister of Morton, son in law to sir George Dowglasse, the lard of Blengarnie, the lard of Wedderburne, and one Alexander Hume, a man of good reputation among them. The same daie the English horssemen burnt all the mils round about Edenburgh, within the compasse of six miles on each side the towne. The seuenth of June they burnt Muskelburgh. Now after that my lord Greie had fortified Hadington, and furnished it with vittels, and munitions sufficient, the twelfe of June he departed from thence homewards, leauing there in garrison about two thousand footmen, and fiue hundred horssemen.

Newton rewarded by my lord Greie.

Newton slaine by his aduersaries.

Muskelburgh burnt.

In this meane time, Henrie the French king succéeding his father Francis the first (who departed this life the last of March in the yere last past, to wit, 1547) made prouision of an armie, with a nauie of ships and gallies, to passe into Scotland to the aid of the quéene and other of his faction. And first he had sent thither monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron, a gentleman of good account, to assist the gouernour with his aduise and counsell, which gouernour desirous to recouer the castell of Broughticrag, and loth to sée it possessed by the Englishmen, raised a power of eight thousand men, and with eight pæces of artillerie came before that fortresse, meaning to win it by siege; but by the valiant prowes of sir Andrew Dudleie, and the hardie manhood of such English souldiors as serued there vnder him, the Scots were repelled, and driuen to leuie their siege with dishonor.

The French king prepareth an armie in aid of the Scots.

Broughticrag besieged.

Yet not thus contented, the earle of Argile with an armie of his Irish Scots, or Hieland men (if I maie so call them) after this likewise came and besieged the place, but glad to take truce for a time with sir Andrew. Before the tearme of the same truce was expired, there came new succours to him, and thereupon the earle in the end was constrained to leuie his siege, and suffer the Englishmen to become maisters of a little hill not farre off from the castell, where afterwards they builded a fortresse. But to returne to the French armie which was prepared to passe into Scotland, ye shall vnderstand that when their ships and prouisions were once readie, and the capteins with their bands come downe to Brest, in Britaine, where the nauie was rigged to receiue them, monsieur de Desse generall of all the armie, reckoned to conteine seuen or eight thousand men, imbarked himselfe with all his people, and sailed forth on his iournie, till they arriued in the Forth, and there toke land at Lieth the sixteenth of June.

Monsieur de Desse generall of the French armie.

He landeth at Lieth.

Shortlie after, hauing got their great artillerie on land, and taken aduise with the lord gouernour & other of the Scotish nobilitie, whome they found at Edenburgh, how to proceed in prosecuting the war against the Englishmen, it was resolued that, without delate they shuld trie their forces about the recouerie of Hadington, and go to besiege that towne, before they attempted anie further exploit. The gouernour and other of the Scotish lords, hauing with them seuen or eight hundred light horssemen, offred to go with them, to the better aduancing forward of that enterprise. Hereupon setting forward, and comming to Muskelburgh, the capteins with a certeine number of horssemen and footmen, as well of Scots as Frenchmen, were appointed to go before to viewe the said towne of Hadington. Upon their approch nære to the towne, there issued forth certeine Englishmen and Italians, that were of Tiberios band, which skirmished with them right stoutlie, till at length the Frenchmen and Scots retired backe to Lauret a little from Muskelburgh (where their armie incamped for that night) and the Englishmen and Italians returned backe to their fortresse.

The French men resolue to besiege Hadington.

The next daie the Frenchmen and Scots with their whole power came before Hadington, where they were welcomed with a right sharpe and hot skirmish, in which was slaine with an harquebuse shot, one of the French capteins called Villeneufue. In the meane time whilest this skirmish continued, the Reinsgraue with his Almans incamped himselfe on the one side of the towne, where the maister of the ordinance in the French armie, named monsieur Duno, caused trenches to be cast for the safe placing of the artillerie: the Englishmen still kept them occupied on each side the towne with skirmishing, to the annoiance of the aduersaries. To conclude, they incamped before the towne, cast trenches, lodged their ordinance, & laid their siege to the most aduantage, so far as they might be suffered. Shortlie after that this siege was planted, there came to the aid of the French, the earle of Argile, with a great number of Irish Scots, and monsieur de la Chapelle brought an eight or nine hundred Scotish pioners, which began a trench on the left hand of the abbeie gate, and likewise a trauerse to couer their souldiors that should watch and ward, from danger of the shot out of the towne on that side.

The French armie commeth before Hadington.

The Reinsgraue.

They plant their artillerie

The earle of Argile.

Monsieur de la Chapelle.

The Englishmen with often issues gaue their aduersaries small rest, procuring manie hot skirmishes, as occasion serued. At one of the which skirmishes Piero Strozzi, coronell of three ensigns of Italians, was striken with a musket shot. Yet monsieur de Desse inforcing the siege to the vttermost of his power, caused one night with helpe of baskets filled with earth, six pæces of artillerie to be planted in batterie fast at the towne side, which at the breake

Piero Strozzi hurt.

Hadington battered.

of daie began to shot off, and discharged that present daie three hundred and fortie shots. But after they perceiued that they did litle hurt to the fortifications of the towne in that place where this batterie was laid: the nert night, the baskets & peeces of artillerie were remoued lower, and not past three score pases from the ditches of the towne, where the nert daie two hundred shots were discharged against the rampire. To conclude, they made such breaches in sundrie places for easie entrie into the towne, that it was greatlie maruelled whie they durst not assaie to giue a generall assault.

They lodged so neare within the verie ditches, that there were deuised certeine plummets of lead, tied with cords to a truncheon of a staffe, like to an handstaffe of a flaile, therewith the souldiors that watched and warded within the towne on the rampire, slue diuerse of the Frenchmen being their lodged within their ditches. Thus notwithstanding that the Frenchmen with their artillerie had broken downe the fortifications, so as the breaches were made verie reasonable and easie for them to enter; yet durst they not presume once to giue the assault: for the Englishmen although their powder was sore spent, and that for want of matches they were constreined to teare their shirts, and vse the same in sted of matches; yet they shewed themselues so valiant in defending the towne thus beaten & made weake on each hand, that there was no hope left to their aduersaries to win it of them by force. Although the French power on the one side, and eight thousand Scots on an other had so inuironed it, that the Englishmen within were driuen to most hard shifts, for want of things necessarie & requisite for their maintenance and defense of that towne.

The valiancie of the Englishmen.

But yet whilest they remained thus in such distresse and necessitie of things, two hundred Englishmen vnder the conduct of capteine Windham, Warham Seintleger, and John Car of Warke, found meanes one night to passe through all the watches on that side where the Scots laie, and entering the towne, and bringing with them great plentie of powder, and other necessaries, greatlie relieued them within, & so incouraged them, that they seemed to make small account of their enimies forces. Herevpon within few daies after, the Scots (fiue or six hundred light horsemen onelie excepted) brake vp their campe and returned home. After this, my lord Greie remaining at Berwike, ment to make a voiage himselfe in person for the reliefe of them that were thus besieged in Hadington. Now when all things were so farre in a readinesse as the nert daie he ment to haue set forward, letters were brought that night from the court, willing him to performe that seruice by a deputie, and to staie himselfe till the comming of the earle of Shrewesburie, who was appointed with an armie to come verie shortlie as generall into those parties.

Succours entring the towne.

My lord Greie herevpon appointed in his stead sir Robert Bowes, and sir Thomas Palmer, to go thither, who comming to Dunglas, left there certeine bands of footmen, and with the horsemen being in number thirteene hundred (whereof seuen hundred lances were appointed vnder the charge of sir Thomas Palmer) they rode forward to accomplish their enterprise: but the French capteins hauing knowledge of their comming, they prouided the best they could to repell them, appointing foure venlins or ensignes of lanceknights to keepe a standing watch that night in the trenches, and the like number of French ensignes to watch about their campe. All the other of their bands were commanded to take rest, but yet with their armour on their backs.

Sir Robert Bowes sent to succour Hadington.

Their generall monsieur de Desse himselfe, monsieur de Maillerais admerall of their fleet, monsieur Dandelot colonell of the French footmen, Piero Strozzi colonell of the Italians, the Reinsgraue colonell of the lanceknights, and all other the noble men and capteins of honour among them were all night long in armour, trauelling vp and downe, some on horsebacke, and some on foot, to visit the watches and scouts, set in places and waies by the which they suspected that the Englishmen ment to come. The lord Hume riding abrode to learne what he might of the Englishmens demeanour, earlie in the morning returned to the campe, and certified monsieur de Desse, that they were at hand. Herewith were the Scotish and French horsemen that kept the scout called in, and monsieur Dandelot with great expedition ranged his battell of footmen in order, and so likewise did the Reinsgraue his Almans.

The lord Hume.

Dandelot.

The Englishmen diuided into two bands came and shewed themselues in the sight of the towne, and charging such Scots and Frenchmen as came forth to incounter them, gaue them the ouerthrow at two seuerall charges: but finallie presuming to farre vpon their good lucke thus chancing to them in the beginning, followed in chase those that fled before them, vntill at length they were inclosed and shut vp betwixt the French footmen on the one side, and the Almans on the other. And herewith the Scotish horsemen vnder the conduct of the lords, Humes & Dune, & the French horsemen led by monsieur de Etauges their generall, being assembled togither eftsoones, after they had beene so repelled, were now readie to come forward againe: and perceiuing their footmen so to haue inuironed the Englishmen, that they were not able to recouer themselues, nor to get out of danger, but by disordring their ranks to take them to flight, followed amaine, so that those which escaped the Frenchmens hands were taken by the Scots that pursued them in chase, so that few were saued that were not either slaine or taken. My lord Greie lost three score and twelue great horsses, and an hundred geldings, with all the men vpon them, armed with his lordships owne furniture, onelie foure or fiue of his men came home, of the which Thomas Cornwallis now groome porter to the *quenes maiestie was one, and Robert Car esquier an other then page to my said lord Greie.

Monsieur Etauges.

The English horsemen discomfited.

* Quéne Elizabeth.

The vnaduised rashnesse of sir Thomas Palmer was thought to be the chiefe occasion of this distresse of those horsemen, who after they had done sufficientlie for that time, would nedes haue them to giue a new charge, and so were discomfited. After this ouerthrow and chase of our horsemen, the armie that was leuied to passe into Scotland was hasted forward with all spéd possible: for although before the comming of the English horsemen, the French, vpon aduertisement giuen that they meant to come, had plucked backe their great artillerie, and sent the same vnto Edenburgh, kéeping onelie with them sir field-péces, and herewith remoued their campe further off from the towne: yet by forestalling vitels and all other necessarie things from them within, they were driuen to such distresse, that they must of force haue left the towne to the enimies, if some power had not come within a while to remoue the siege that laie thus to annoie them.

The Frenchmen remoue their campe.

When therefore the armie was come to Newcastell, & the earle of Shrewesburie generall lieutenant of the same was there arriued, they passed forward to Berwike, and from thense marched streight towards Hadington. The number of the Englishmen and strangers was reported at the point of fifteene thousand, whereof three thousand were Almans vn-

The earle of Shrewesburie generall of the armie.

The number of souldiours in the same armie.

der

Conrad Phenning capteine of the Almans.

der the conduct of a right worthie and expert chieftaine, named Conrad Phenning, commonlie called Cortpenie. Beside this armie by land, there was also furnished forth a fleet by sea, vnder the conduct of the lord Clinton high admerall of England, and other capteins of great experience in affaires and seruice by sea. This fleet was appointed so to keepe course with the armie by land, that the one might be euer in sight of the other. Monsieur de Desse aduertised of the comming forward of this armie, durst not abide their comming, but raised his field, and retired with his armie toward Edenburgh: howbeit they were no sooner dislodged, but that a great troope of the English horsemen were got within sight of them, and coasted them all the waie as they marched for the space of seuen or eight miles, in maner to as farre as Muskelburgh, where the Frenchmen staied, and incamped in a place chosen forth to their most aduantage.

The French armie incampeth at Muskelburgh.

The earle of Shrewesburie commeth to Hadington.

The earle of Shrewesburie and the lord Greie with the armie comming vnto Hadington, were solemnlie receiued of the capteins and soldiours within: where it might appeare how valiantlie they had defended that towne during the siege, being so destitute of all things necessarie for their releefe; and the fortifications so weake, that if the noble prowesse of their worthie generall sir James Wilford, and the incomparable manhood of the rest of the capteins and soldiours had not supplied all other wants, it was thought impossible that they should haue defended the place so long a time against such forces as had beene there imploied against them. But such was the vndanted valiancie of that noble crue and garrison, that euen the verie enimies themselues could not but yeeld high commendations to the capteins and soldiours for the hardie forwardnesse and manhood, which at all times they had found and tried in them at all points of seruice, when they came to deale with them. And verelie their fame deserueth to be had in memorie for euer, not onelie for their worthie atchined exploits, done by force of hand, to the beating backe and repelling of the enimies, but also for their patient sustteining of hunger, thirst, continuall watching, nakednesse, sickenesse, and all other such calamities and miseries, as want of things necessarie for the releefe and maintenance of mans life is wont to bring, to those that are inclosed in such wise by the enimie. All which extremities they were well content to sustteine, so that it might turne to the benefit and renowme of their countrie, in comparison whereof they esteemed all things else verie vile and contemptible, were the same neuer so good, as the poet saith:

The patience of the English men in sustteining all wants of releefe.

Tantus amor patriæ mortalia pectora tangit,
Natalisque soli, pra quo bona cætera sordent.

The noble earle of Shrewesburie could not forbeare to shed teares, to vnderstand and perceiue that such worthie soldiours should suffer such great distresse, whose valiant hearts could not be quailed with anie afflictions. Thus with mournefull imbracings intermixed with pitifull regards they met. The earle entering the towne, furnished it with new bands of men, good store of vittels, munition, and all other things conuenient, and as then thought requisit. Thus hauing refreshed the towne, within two daies after he passed forth towards the enimies, appointing by the aduise of that noble chieftaine the lord Greie, certeine bands of horsemen to keepe themselues close togither in ambush, and to send a few to the French campe, to trie if they might traine the Frenchmen out of their strength. And as they wished, it partlie came to passe: for diuerse of their horsemen issued forth of their campe, and proffered the skirmish. The Englishmen suffered themselues to be chased, vntill they had got their enimies

The earle of Shrewesburie marcheth towards the enimies.

within danger of their ambush, and then whirling about, gaue them the charge, inforcing them to make their carelr backe, with more than an easie gallop; so that hauing the Frenchmen thus in chase, they slue and tooke diuerse, and among the prisoners were two capteins, Pierre Longue, and one Lucinet. The others that escaped, returned with this losse to their campe.

The Frenchmen chased.

In the meane time, whilest these things were thus in doing, there came to the aid of the Frenchmen foureteene or fifteene thousand Scots, accounting herewith the Irish Scots which came with the earle of Argile. These Scots were scarse lodged, when suddenlie the earle of Shrewesburie & the lord Greie came with their armie diuided into three battels of footmen, garded with two troops of horsemen, presenting themselues before the faces of their enimies in the same place, where their auant curriors the daie before had shewed themselues to draw forth the Frenchmen. Here the armie thus ranged in arraie of battell, staied aboue the space of an houre, loking if the enimies durst haue come forth to haue giuen battell: but when they perceiued that by no meanes the Frenchmen meant to forsake their strength, they returned backe to their campe. The English naule being entered now into the Forth, was not idle: for comming to Wrent Iland they set fire on foure ships, which they found there, and after passing by Lieth saluted them within the towne with cannon shot, and after intending to burne saint Minets, were repelled from thense by the lord of Dune, and after returned to attend on the armie. The earle of Shrewesburie, and my lord Greie hauing executed so much as their commission would beare, and refreshed Hadington with all things needfull, departed homewards; and comming to Dunglas, began there to build a fortresse. The English Almans as the armie passed by Dunbar, burned the towne. These Almans also, and certeine bands of Englishmen, as well horsemen as footmen, were left at Dunglas, vntill the Forth there begun was in some strength. The earle of Shrewesburie with the rest of the armie came backe into England. My lord Greie remaining on the borders lieutenant of the north parts, after the earle of Shrewesburie was returned home, assembled all the horsemen then lieng on the borders, and being backed with the Almane footmen, entered againe with the same horsemen into Scotland, burning and walking in the countries of Tiudall, and Liddesdall, for the space of twentie miles, both house, corne, haie, and all other things that came within their reach, and after returned without incounter.

The armie of the Scots come to ioine with the Frenchmen.

The earle of Shrewesburie prokereth the enimies battell.

The Frenchmen durst not come forth of their campe.

Ships burned.

A fortresse built at Dunglas.

The lord Greie entereth againe into Scotland.

The ninth of October being tuesdaie, monsieur de Desse, with his Frenchmen and Almans, came in the morning long before daie to Hadington, meaning to haue wone the towne by stealth. And verelie the enterprise was gouerned in such secret maner, that the Frenchmen had killed the English scouts, and were entered the base court, yer anie alarum was raised: and hauing slaine the watch, some of them ran to a place behind a church, where the Englishmen had their vittels and munitions, and some thrust vp to the towne gate, inforsing with great violence to breake it open, crieng with noise and shouts, Victorie, victorie, whereof in deed they accounted themselues then assured. And questionles the Englishmen being thus wakened out of their sleeps on the sudden, were in some great disorder; so that manie of them came running forth without either armour or apparell, their shirts excepted; & others ran they wist not well whither, nor where to take heed. But yet as the Frenchmen were thronged togither at the gate to breake it open, a Frenchman (as their

A camisado giuen to Hadington.

writers

writers do report) that serued within the towne, but as other saie Tiberio capteine of the Italians, with his match light gaue fier to a double canon, that laie readie bent against the gate, so that the same shoting off, made such a lane among the Frenchmen, that they were glad to giue place, and with such a fearefull crie, that those which were behind, not understanding what losse their fellowes before had susteined, brake their arraie and fled amaine.

The Frenchmen repelled.

The Englishmen herewith passed through a priuie posterne into the base court, and comming vpon them with their halberds, and blacke bils, slue of them great plentie, and droue the rest that escaped ouer the wall in such hast, that happie was he that could tumble ouer first. Monsieur de Desse yet gathering them togither againe, gaue that morning three sharpe assaults to the towne, but was repelled with great losse, for they caried awaie with them sixteene carts and wagons laden with hurt persons and dead carcasses, besides three hundred that were found in the base court, which they could not come to, after they were beaten out, to take awaie with them. And thus was monsieur de Desse constreined to returne, repenting himselfe of that his bold attempted enterprise, hauing lost no small number of his Frenchmen and Almans, being slaine in the place.

A parlement.

In this meane time, the kings maiestie summoned his high court of parlement, to be holden vpon prorogation at Westminster the fourth of Nouember, where it continued till the fourteenth of March next insuing.

In the meane time, the proceedings for the Scotish wars was not forgotten, wherevpon in the deepe of the winter, there were conueied certeine bands of the English lancequenets, and some number of Englishmen, both horssemen and footmen by sea vnto Broughticrag; and passing from thence vnto Dundee, a two miles from thence, entred the towne, and began to fortifie it: but shortlie after by the comming of the French armie with monsieur de Desse, they left it, first spoiling the houses, and after set them on fire at their departure. The Reinsgraue colonell of the Almans, and monsieur de Etauges, being sent by monsieur de Desse before, entered Dundee, and lodged within it. Within two dales after their comming thither, they toke certeine of their bands, and going forth did view and surueie the new fort, which the Englishmen had begun to make on the hill, a small distance from the castell. But the Englishmen and their Almans issuing forth against them, were at their elbowes yer they were halfe well aduised that they were got so neare them, whereby being driuen hastilie to retire, they hardlie escaped out of danger, being so hotlie pursued, that if the Reinsgraue had not shewed his approued valiancie, guided with no lesse policie than manhod, the whole troope had beene (as was thought) vtterlie distressed.

Dundee spoiled.

The Reinsgraue constreined to retire.

In Christmasse this yere the castell of Hume was recouered out of the Englishmens hands, through treson of certeine assured Scots, that vsing to bring vittels to the Englishmen that kept it, had marked all the manner of the scouts and watches, with the places of the wall where the clime was most easie. Wherevpon in the night season, certeine of the Scots secretlie comming into the ditches, got vp to the heigth of the wals, and entring the place, slue and toke vpon the sudden all that were within it. The fiftéenth of Januarie, sir Thomas Seimer baron of Sudleie, lord admerall, and brother to the duke of Summerset lord protector, was arrested and sent to the tower, and after by authoritie of parlement he was attainted, and the twentith of March next insuing, in the third yeare of this kings reigne beheaded at tower hill. Moreouer in this parlement, the vse of the masse was clearlie prohibited, and a booke for the vniformitie of diuine service, and right administration of the sacraments, was set forth and established.

1549

Sir Thomas Seimer sent to the tower.

The masse abolished.

Yee haue heard how the Frenchmen fortified the towne of Dundee, where monsieur de Etauges, with his companie of horssemen lieng in garrison chanced in a skirmish to be taken by the Englishmen that laie in Broughticrag, to the great reioising of them that toke him, and no lesse greefe of the French and Scots, for the tried valiancie that was throughlie knowne to rest in him. Moreouer, the Englishmen that kept the towne of Hadington all this while against the enimies, could not come by anie vittels, but onelie by a conuoie of some conuenient power to gard the cartages that brought the same from the borders. And as it fortuned at one time when the conuoie came and passed by Dunbar, a skirmish was proffered by the French which laie within that castell in garrison. And as sir James Wilford that was there amongst other vpon this occasion (according to his wonted valiancie) shewed himselfe verie forward and egre against the enimie, he was inclosed by an ambush, which the Frenchmen had laid on ech side the street within the towne, that he could by no meanes escape out of their hands, but hauing his horsse there slaine vnder him, was taken prisoner euen by a Gascoigne of the countrie of Basque named Pellicque, that wone no small commendation for that his good hap, in taking such a prisoner, whose name for his often approued prowesse was verie famous euen among the enimies, who saw well inough a resolutenesse in the man rather by perillous aduentures to purchase the perpetuitie of renowme, than by defect of courage or negligent seruice to lose both life and fame. Which persuasion should enter into the hart of euerie seruitor in the field, if they will be counted right valiant indeed, considering that he which in his life time doth performe nothing worthie memorie, is like a plaier entring vpon the stage, but shewing nothing either in speech or in action, as the poet verie fitlie saith:

Monsieur de Etauges taken prisoner.

Sir James Wilford taken prisoner.

Qui nullum facinus tota memorabile vita
Ediderint, obscuri homines migrare videntur
Hinc, vt qui structa nil dixerit histrio scena.

Some haue written that he was taken through default of those that were appointed to follow him, sith he vndertoke to charge the enimie, in hope that by them he should haue beene assisted. But suerlie those that had the charge of this conuoie, doubting by aduenturing too far, to put all in hazard, thought it wisedome rather to suffer the losse of one, than to ieopard the whole; not perceiuing which waie to remedie the matter at that present. Now after that the generall of Hadington was thus taken prisoner, to the great griefe vndoubtedlie, not onelie of all the garrison there, but also of all such as tendered the aduancement of the kings maiesties seruice, sir James Crofts was thought a man most meet to supplie the place, and therefore by the lord protector and others of the councell was ordeined generall of that towne of Hadington, and the garrison there, in which rowme he bare himselfe so worthilie, as if I should not be suspected of flatterie, for that he liueth yet, and in such credit (as the world knoweth) I might moue my selfe matter to saie rather much than sufficientlie inough in his due and right deserued commendation.

Sir James Crofts generall of Hadington.

The king by the aduise of his councell meaning to prosecute the wars in Scotland, with great forces reteined a new power of lancequenets, and other strangers, vnder the conduct of diuers sundrie capteines: but in the meane time the French king meaning

ning to breake with the king of England, thought to haue stolen the fortresse of Bullogneberg, so that a chosen power of men of warre, to the number of seuen thousand, vnder the conduct of monsieur de Chatillon, being sent downe about that exploit on Maie daie at night, came forward with their ladders, and all other furniture meet for the purpose, approching about the houre of midnight nere to the fort, within the which were not at that time manie aboue three hundred and fiftie soldiers, vnder the gouernement of sir Nicholas Arnalt knight generall of that peece, a capteine of great courage, and no lesse diligence in his charge.

Sir Nicholas Arnalt capteine of Bullogneberg.

And as it chanced, there were among the Frenchmen three or foure Englishmen, which hauing matched themselues in marriage with women of that countrie, after the peace was concluded betwixt France and England, were discharged out of the king of Englands wages; and remaining with their wiues, got interteinement among the Frenchmen, and were with monsieur de Chatillon, now comming towards this enterprise. Whereupon one of the same Englishmen named Carter, that had aforetime giuen intelligence to the said sir Nicholas of the Frenchmens doings, so farre as he might learne and vnderstand the same, would gladlie haue aduertised sir Nicholas Arnalt of the Frenchmens purpose at this time: but monsieur de Chatillon kept the matter so secret, that Carter nor any of the other Englishmen had knowledge thereof, till they were now marching forward, so that Carter could not get awaie from them, till they were approched within lesse than a quarter of a mile of Bullogneberg, and then slipping aside from among them, came running so fast as he might towards the fort, crieng; Bowes, bowes, as lowd as his voice would serue, & so gaue the alarum to them within the fort.

Carter an Englishman seruing amõg the Frenchmen, but to their disaduantage.

One of the soldiers called Morgaine Deaton, that chanced to be there at hand in scout with three or foure other, streight knew him, and brought him to the draw-bridge, where sir Nicholas Arnalt caused him to be drawen vp betwixt two pikes, vnto whome he declared how the Frenchmen were at hand, meaning to assaile his fort now vpon the sudden, in hope so to surprise it. Herewith, it needed not to will sir Nicholas to bestirre him, to cause euerie man to make readie, and place themselues as was thought most expedient. And vndoubtedlie the noble courage of that worthie gentleman, furthered much, to cause euerie capteine and soldier vnder him, to put awaie all feare, and to haue a regard to doo his dutie, for the receiuing of the enimies; so as they seemed glad of the occasion, whereby they might shew proofe of their accustomed manhood against the enimie, that thus came to steale on them without warning, in purpose to kill euerie man that fell into their hands, if their intention had taken place, making now such hast forward, that before the Englishmen could be well readie with their armour and weapons in their appointed places, the Frenchmen were got to the ditches, and appointing three thousand of their numbers, the most part gentlemen and double paies, with targets, battell ares, and pistols, to haue the first scale, saluted them within vpon their verie approch, with seuen hundred harquebuts shot at the first volee.

Sir Nicholas Arnalts valiantnesse.

The Frenchmen assaile Bullogneberg.

The Englishmen by order giuen by sir Nicholas, kept themselues close, till the Frenchmen by their scaling ladders, which they brought with them, and had quickelie raised against the walles, began to mount vp, and enter vpon them; at which instant, off went the flankers. Those of sir Nicholas Arnalts monts discharged verie well at the first, but at the second volee the morters burst. Albeit there were two brasse peeces that were planted aloft on the same mont, of the which the one discharged fiue & twentie shot by the maister, and the other seuen and twentie by his maiestie. Sir Nicholas Arnalt here being accompanied with his capteins and soldiers about him, stood at defense so stoutlie as was possible, doing so valiantlie, that their fame deserueth to liue foreuer. There were burst vpon the faces of the enimies (ouer and beside the shot that was bestowed among them) to the number of fiftéene hundred pikes and blacke bils. The Frenchmen verelie stucke to it to the vttermost, and did what lai in the verie last point of their powers to enter vpon the Englishmen, supplieng still the places of their dead and wearie men with fresh succors.

The number of pikes and bils broken vpon the Frenchmen.

Carter that came to bring word of their comming, with a pike in his hand, stood at the place of the bulworke where they thus gaue the assault, & fought right valiantlie, giuing manie wounds, and receiuing some againe: for he was hurt both in the thigh and arme, who suerlie of a priuat soldier (if he were priuat and ordinarie) seemed verie seruiceable at all assaies, considering into what desperat aduentures and hazzards he did as it were cast himselfe, esteeming lesse the losse of life and lim, than the reproch and dishonor of his countrie, the glorie & renowme therof (aboue all worldlie things which are but temporall) all men are naturallie bound with might & maine both to seeke and saue; as one verie well saith:

Carter an hardie soldier and a good seruitor.

Nascimur vt patriam vitáque operáque iuuemus.

Sir Nicholas Arnalt himselfe was hurt with a pike in the nose. Capteine Warren standing on the same bulworke with sir Nicholas, receiued two shots in his corselet, and one of them droue two or three links of his chaine into his necke. Capteine Broughton had there sixtéene of his armed men, euerie of them hauing their corselets persed through. The number of the Englishmen that were slaine, was reckoned to be fiue and twentie, and hurt eight and fiftie. Of Frenchmen there were slaine a great number, beside those that were hurt, and at length through shot, casting downe of stones and timber vpon their heads, scalding water and handblowes they were repelled, retiring out of the trenches shortlie after the breake of the daie, hauing continued the assault from midnight till that time, still renewing their forces, in hope to atchiue their wished preie: but being thus beaten off, they gathered togither their dead men, and lading fiftéene waggons with their carcasses, they returned backe, without making anie further attempt at that time.

The Frenchmen repelled.

Fiftéene waggons laden with French carcasses.

And so by the high valiancie of sir Nicholas Arnalt, and the other capteins that serued in that fort vnder him, and chieflie by the assistance of almightie God, the giuer of all victories, the enimies were repelled, to their great dishonor, and the peece reserued to the immortall renowme of the defendants. Within a daie or two after, the generall of the Frenchmen sent to know of prisoners taken; but sir Nicholas Arnalt answered the messenger, that he knew of no warre: and therefore if anie had attempted to make a surprise of his peece by stealth, they were serued accordinglie to their malicious meanings. Indeed (said he) we haue taken none of your men, but we haue got some of your braue guilt armour & weapons. Well (said the messenger) it is not the cowle that maketh the mõnke, and no more is it the braue armour or weapon that maketh the man of warre: but the fortune of warre is such, sometime to gaine, and sometime to lose. Sir Nicholas receiuing him into the fort, made him good chéere, and gaue him fiftie crownes in reward, and so he departed.

But concerning the liberalitie of sir Nicholas, I might here speake further thereof, how bountifullie he

he rewarded the souldiers for their great manhood shewed at that time, in defending so sharpe an assault, to their great honour, and no lesse confusion of the aduersaries. The daie after the said assault, there came to Bullognberg from Guisnes, a supplie of three or foure hundred men, vnder the leading of sir William Cobham, now lord Cobham and others. Within a while after, sir Nicholas Arnalt sent forth three hundred footmen, and fiue and twentie horsemen, conducted by the said sir William Cobham, capteine Mutton of the Old man, & capteine Moze of Bullognberg, with certeine cariages, to go vnto a wood not farre off, called the North wood, to fetch fagots and brush, to repare and mainteine the rampires.

The lord Cobham with a new supplie of soldiers.

These capteins with their bands being passed forward, about two miles in distance from the fort, met with certeine of their scouts that were sent forth that morning, who told them that they had discouered the tract of a great number of horsemen. Whervpon the Englishmen now being almost come to the wood side, retired with all spéed: and herewith the French horsemen brake out of the wood, and following them, fell in skirmish with them. The Englishmen casting themselues in a ring, kept them off with their pikes, wherewith they impailed themselues, and hauing their small troope lined with shot, they also galled the Frenchmen right sore therewith, as they still approched them. Neuertheless, those horsemen gaue three maine onsets vpon the Englishmen, with the number of a thousand horse at two of the first onsets, and the third they gaue with all their whole power, being estéemed a fiftéene hundred horsemen in all.

But such was the valiant prowesse of the English souldiers, incouraged with the comfortable presence of sir William Cobham, and other their capteins, that conducted them in such order as stood most for their safegard, exhorting them with such effectuall words as serued best to purpose, that the enimie to conclude was repelled with losse of seuentie of their great horses that laie dead there in the field, within the space of halfe a mile. There were also foure thousand French footmen that came forward, but could not reach, and so marching about the fort, returned in vaine, after they once perceiued that the Englishmen were safelie retired within their fort. The councell thus perceiuing the French kings purpose, which he had conceiued to worke some notable damage to this realme, as well in support of his friends in Scotland, as in hope to recouer those peces which the English held at Bullongne, and in those marches, doubted also of some inuasion meant by him to be attempted into this realme, bicause of such great preparation as he had made, for leuieng of his forces both by sea and land.

The great valiãcie of the Englishmen vnder the conduct of their noble capteins

The preparation for warre as well in England as France.

The councell therefore made likewise prouision to be readie to resist all such attempts, as anie waie forth might be made, to the annoiance of the realme. But as things fell out, the same stood in good stead, not against the forren enimie, but against a number of rebellious subiects at home, the which forgetting their dutie and allegiance, did as much as in them laie (what soeuer their pretense was) to bring this noble realme and their naturall countrie vnto destruction. But first, for that it maie appeare, that the duke of Summerset then protector, and other of the councell, did not without good ground and cause maintein the warres against the Scots, I haue thought good to set downe an epistle exhortatorie, as we find the same in the great chronicle of Richard Grafton, sent from the said protector and councell vnto the Scots, to moue them to haue consideration of themselues, and of the estate of their countrie, by ioining in that friendlie bond and vnitie with England, as had bene of the kings part and his fathers continuallie sought, for the benefit of both realmes, the copie of which exhortation here insueth.

Rich. Grafton in fol. 1294.

Edward by the grace of God, duke of Summerset, earle of Hertford, vicount Beauchampe, lord Seimer, vncle to the kings highnesse of England, gouernor of his most roiall person, and protector of all his realmes, dominions, & subiects, lieutenant generall of all his maiesties armies, both by land and sea, treasuror and earle marshall of England, gouernor of the Iles of Gerneseie and Ierseie, and knight of the most noble order of the garter, with others of the councell of the said most high and noble prince Edward, by the grace of God of England, France, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, and in earth vnder Christ the supreame head of the churches of England and Ireland. To the nobilitie and councellors, gentlemen and commons, and all other the inhabitants of the realme of Scotland, greeting and peace.

The lord protectors right honorable stile.

The epistle exhortatorie sent to the Scots.

Considering with our selues the present state of things, and weieng more deepelie the maner and tearmes wherein you and we do stand, it maketh vs to marueil, what euill & fatall chance doth so disseuer your hearts, and maketh them so blind and vnmindfull of your profit, and so still conciliate and heape to your selues most extreame mischiefs, the which we whome ye will néeds haue your enimies, go about to take awaie from you, and perpetuallie to ease you therof. And also by all reason & order of necessitie, it should be rather more conuenient for you to séeke and require moderate agréements of vs, whome God hath hitherto according to our most iust, true, and godlie meanings and intents, prospered and set forward, with your affliction and miserie, than that we being superiours in the field, maisters of a great part of your realme, should séeke vpon you. Yet to the intent that our charitable minds and brotherlie loue should not cease, by all meanes possible to prouoke and call you to your owne commoditie and profit, euen as the father to the son, or the elder brother to the yonger; and as the louing physician would do to the mistrustfull and ignorant patient: we are content to call and crie vpon you to loke on your estate, to auoid the great calamitie that your countrie is in, to haue vs rather brothers than enimies, and rather countrimen than conquerors. And if your gouernor or capteins shall reteine and kéepe from you this our exhortation, as heretofore they haue done our proclamation, tending to the like effect, for their owne priuat wealth & commoditie, not regarding though you be still in miserie, so they haue profit and gouernance ouer you, and shall still abuse you with feined and forged tales: yet this shall be a witnesse before God, and all christian people, betwéene you and vs, that we professing the gospell of Jesus Christ, according to the doctrine thereof, do not cease to call and prouoke you from the effusion of your owne bloud, from the destruction of the realme of Scotland, from perpetuall enimitie and hatred, from the finall destruction of your nation, and from seruitude to forren nations, to libertie, to amitie, to equalitie with vs, to that which your writers haue alwaies wished might once come to passe.

Herein appeareth the lord protectors care for their good estate.

Who that hath read the stories in times past, and doth marke & note the great battels past fought betwirt England & Scotland, the incursions, rodes, & spoiles, which haue béene done on both parties: the realme of Scotland fiue times woone by one king of England,

Scotland wone fiue times by one king of England.

England, the Scotish kings some taken prisoners, some slaine in battell, some for verie sorrow and discomfort vpon losse, dieng and departing the world: and shall perceiue againe, that all nations in the world, that nation onelie beside England, speaketh the same language: and as you and we be annered and ioined in one Iland, so no people are so like in maners, forme, language, and all conditions as we are: shall not he thinke it a thing verie vnmet, vnnaturall, and vnchristian, that there should be betwixt vs so mortall war, who in respect of all other nations, be and should be like as two brethren of one Iland of great Britaine? And though he were a stranger to both, what should he thinke more met, than if it were possible one kingdome to be made in rule, which is one in language, and to be diuided in rulers, which is all one in countrie?

The case of the coniunctiõ in martage of the two yong princes touched.

And for so much as two successors cannot concurre and fall into one, by no other maner of meanes than by marriage, wherby one bloud, one linage, one parentage is made of two, and an indefensible right giuen of both to one, without the destruction and abolishing of either. If God should grant that what soeuer you would wish, other than that which now not by fortune hath chanced, but by his infinit mercie and most inscrutable prouidence, as carefull for you he hath giuen vnto you. The which thing that you should also thinke to come of his disposition, and not by blind fortune, how vnlike hath it bene, and how suddenlie hath it turned, that the power of God might be shewed: your last king being a prince of much excellencie and yong, whom you know after a promise broken contrarie to his honor, & misfortune by Gods iust iudgement following vpon it, God either by sorrow or by some meanes otherwise at his inscrutable pleasure, did take awaie from you, had three children, did not almightie God (as it were) to

The course of Gods iust iudgement in this example notable.

shew his will and pleasure to be, that the long continued warre and enimitie of both the nations should be taken awaie, and knit in perpetuall loue and amitie, take the two men-children of those babes being distant the one from the other, and in diuerse places, both as it were at one time, and within the space of foure and twentie houres, leauing but one maiden-child and princesse?

When the most wise and victorious prince late our king and maister, king Henrie the eight, in other of his mariages not most fortunate, had by his most lawfull and most vertuous wife, quéene Jane, his otther two wiues before that mariage departed this world, and neuer surmise nor question made of that mariage, since that time to this daie, nor so much as all his life time, name or motion to or of anie other wife, one prince of so high expectation, of so great gifts of God, the right and vndoubted heire of the realme of England and his maiestie onelie of male issue left behind him to succéd the imperiall crowne. If nothing else had béene done, what can anie wise or anie christian man that thinketh the world to be gouerned by Gods prouidence and not by fortune, thinke otherwise, but that it was Gods pleasure it should be so, that these two realmes should ioine in mariage, and by a godlie sacrament, make a godlie, perpetuall and most friendlie vnitie & concord, whereby such benefits as of vnitie and concord commeth, may through his infinit grace come vnto these realmes. Or if anie man of you or of anie nation doubteth hereof, except you loked for miracles to be done herein, and yet if ye marke all the possibilities of the natures of the two princes, the children alreadie had, the doubtfull chance, least each of them should haue a sonne, or both daughters, or not of met ages, with other circumstances both of the partie of this realme of England, and that of Scotland, which hath not chanced in eight hundred peares, it must néeds be reckoned a great maruell and a miracle.

The lord protector inforceth by pithie persuasions a perpetuall vnitie betweene the two realms by the foresaid mariage.

But let it be no miracle, seeing that God doth not now speake in oracles, as amongest the Iewes he did: and present prophesies now adaies be but either not certeine, or else not plaine: what more certeine can be had of Gods will in this case, than the before rehearsed doth bring? But if God himselfe should speake, what could he speake more, than he speaketh in these? Call you them prouidences or chances, if you be still afflicted and punished? Maie he not saie: I of mine infinite mercie and loue to your nation, had prouided a right heire and a prince to the one, and a right heire and princesse to the other, to be ioined in my holie lawes, and by the lawe of nature and the world to haue made an vnitie, concord and peace, in the which Isle of both the realmes you refused it; you loued better dissention than vnitie, discord than agréement, warre than peace, hatred than loue and charitie. If you do then therefore smart for it, whome can you blame but your owne election?

The lord protector still vrgeth peace and amitie.

But because some of those, who make thereunto impediments, cannot but confesse, that there appeareth Gods prouidence herein, and opportunitie and occasion giuen to vnitie of both the realmes, yet may hereafter say, and heretofore haue said, that the fault herein is, that we séke not equalitie, nor the mariage, but a conquest: we would not be friends but the lords. Although our proclamation at the last warres doth inough declare the contrarie, yet here we protest and declare vnto you and all christian people, to be the kings maiesties mind our maisters, by our aduise and counsell not to conquer, but to haue in amitie; not to win by force, but to conciliate by loue; not to spoile and kill, but to saue and kéepe; not to disseuer and diuorse, but to ioine in mariage, from high to low both the realms, to make of one Isle one realme, in loue, amitie, concord, peace and charitie, which if you refuse, and driue vs to conquer, who is guiltie of the bloudshed? Who is the occasion of the warre? Who maketh the battels, the burning of houses, and the deuastation which shall follow?

The Scots by the consent of a parlement granted their great seale for the confirmation of a mariage to be had betweén Marie the heire of Scotland, & prince Edward heire of England.

Can it be denied but that we haue the great seale of Scotland granted by the parlement of Scotland, for the mariage which should be made, with assurances and pledges, vntill the performance? And thus in the time that the late king of most famous memorie our souereigne lord king Henrie the eight did reigne, and in the time of the same your gouernour, who now is the earle of Arrane, who then being a chiefe doer and laborer therin, for the high and inestimable benefit of that realme, so sone as he was by the late cardinall of saint Andrews and others, with certeine vaine feares and hopes & greédinesse of dignitie peruerted, reuolted from his first agréement, and put all the realme to the losse of such holds and fortresses as are now taken from you, and to the losse of a foughten field, for the which we are sorie, if otherwise peace might haue bin concluded, for his owne priuat lucre and retchlesnesse of that noble realme. And what end can you loke for of these manner of procedings, but such successe as heretofore hath béene experimented & assaied? We offer loue, we offer equalitie and amitie, we ouercome in warre, and offer peace: we win holds, and offer no conquest: we get in your land, and offer England.

What offers are made to the Scots.

What can be more offered and more proffered, than intercourse of merchandizes, and interchange of mariages, the abolishing of all such our lawes, as prohibiteth the same, or might be impediment to

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the mutuall amitie. We haue offered not onelie to leaue the authoritie, name, title, right or chalenge of conquerour, but to receiue that which is the shame of men ouercommed, to leaue the name of the nation, and the glorie of anie victorie (if anie we haue had, or should haue of you) and to take the indifferent old name of Britains againe, because nothing should be left on our part to be offered, nothing on your part vnrefused, whereby ye might be inexcusable. And all the world might testifie all other meanes, not being able to doo anie thing, after manie other waies and remedies attempted, battell of vs to be taken as an extreame refuge, to atteine right and reason among christian men: if anie man may rightfullie make battell for his espouse and wife. The daughter of Scotland was by the great seale of Scotland promised to the sonne & heire of England.

Britaine was the first name of England and Scotland.

If it be lawfull by Gods lawe to fight in a good quarrell, and for to make peace, this is to make an end of all warres, and to conclude an eternall and perpetuall peace; which to confirme, we shall fight, and you to breake, is it not easie to discerne who hath the better part? God and the sword hath alreadie, and shall hereafter (if there be no remedie) trie it. Who so willeth the mariage to go forward; who so mindeth the peace and tranquillitie of both the realmes; who willeth no conquest to be had, but amitie and loue to go forward, we refuse no man: let him bring his name and his pledge of good seruice in this quarrell, he shall not onelie be receiued to the amitie; but shall haue sufficient defense against the aduersaries, and recompense of his liuing, if he sustaine anie losse. We neither doo nor intend to put anie man from his lands, tares, or offices, vnlesse he will néeds resist, and so compell vs thereunto.

A verie good, lawfull, and bountifull offer.

What face hath this of conquest? We intend not to disherit your quæne, but to make hir heires inheritors also to England. What greater honour can ye séeke vnto your quéene, than the mariage offered? What more méeter mariage than this with the kings highnes of England? What more sure defense in the nonage of your quéene for the realme of Scotland, than to haue England your patrone and garrison? We séeke not to take from you your lawes nor customes; but we séeke to redresse your oppressions, which of diuerse ye doo sustaine. In the realme of England, diuerse lawes and customes be according to the ancient vsage thereof. And likewise, France, Normandie, and Gascoigne haue sundrie kind of orders. Haue all the realmes and dominions that the emperour now hath, one custome and one sort of lawes? These vaine feares and fantasies of expulsion of your nation, of changing the lawes, of making a conquest, be driuen into your heads, of those, who in deed had rather you were all conquered, spoiled, and slaine, than they would lose anie point of their will, of their desire of rule, of their estimation, which they know in quietnesse would be séene what it were, as it were in a calme water.

The case of the forsaid mariage still vrged.

The lord protector telleth the Scots who they be that put doubts into their heads, &c.

Now in this tumult of disorder, when the realme is tossed vp and downe with waues and surges of battell, famine, and other mischiefes which the warre bringeth, they thinke they cannot be espied; but loke on them you that haue wit and prudence, and consider the state of your quéene and realme, you will not kéepe hir sole and vnmaried, the which were to you great dishonor. If you maried hir within the relme, that cannot extinguish the title which we haue to the crowne of Scotland. And what dissention, enuie, grudge, and malice that shall breed among you, is easie to perceiue. You will marrie hir out of the realme, our title remaineth, you be subiects to a forren prince of another countrie, and of another language, and vs ye haue your enimies, euen at your elbow, your succours farre off from you: and be we not in the bowels now of the realme? Haue we not a great part thereof, either in subiection or in amitie and loue? Who shall come into your realme, but he shall be met with, and fought with, if néede be, euen of your owne nation, who be faithfull and true to the realme of England in the waie of this most godlie vnion by mariage.

And if anie forren power, prince, or potentate, or whosoeuer be your aider to nourish still discord, send you an armie also, how shall they oppresse you, fill your houses, waste your grounds, spend and consume your victels, hold you in subiection, & regard you as slaues, which without them could not liue, & will take your quéene to bestow as they lust, & speciallie if their ruler or king (as perchance he may be) in other warres be otherwise occupied, to be a preie to vs, & a true conquest, then it should be too late to saie; We will haue a mariage and no conquest, We wish peace & amitie, We are wearie of battell and miserie. The stubborne ouercommed must suffer the victors pleasure, and pertinacitie will make the victorie more insolent, whereof you your selfe haue giuen the cause, if they send monie and capteines, but no souldiers. First if they be capteins, who ruleth and who doth obeie? Who shall haue the honor of the enterprise, and if it be well atchiued? But whether it be well atchiued or no, which number is that which shall be slaine? Whose bloud shall be shed? Their monie peraduenture shalbe consumed, & their commandements obeied. But whose bodies shall smart for it? Whose lands shall be wasted? Whose houses burned? What realme made desolate? Remember what it is to haue a forren power within you, a strong power of your enimies vpon you, you (as it were) the campe & plaine betwixt them to fight on, & to be troden vpon, both of the victor, and of the ouercommed. And imagine you see before your eies your wiues & daughters in danger of wantonnesse & insolencie of the souldiors, the proud loks of the capteins & souldiors, whom you call to helpe you, the contempt you shall bring your nation in, then take heed least indeed that follow which you feare, that is, that you shall be by them conquered, that ye shall be by them put from your holds, lands, tares & offices, that your laws by them shall be altered, that your nation shall be by them destroied. Consider in this realme, did not the Britons call in the Saxons for helpe, & by them were put out? Where be the Picts, once a great nation betwixt you and vs? How did the nation of France put out the Galles out of all France? How got the Turk first all Grecia, & now of late all Hungarie, but being called in for to aid & helpe? And did not the Goths by like meanes get all Italie, and the Lombards one part therof now called Lombardie? What loke you for more? Néedie souldiors, & hauing their weapons in their hands, and knowing that you cannot liue without them, what will not they command you to doo? What will they not incroch vpon you? What will they not thinke they may doo? And what will they thinke that you dare doo? This forren helpe is your confusion, that succour is your detriment, the victorie so had is your seruitude: what is then to be thought of losse taken with them? The strangers and forren souldiors shall oppresse you within, our power and strength without; and of your owne nation, so manie as loue quietnesse, godlines, and wealth of your realme, shall helpe also to scourge and afflict you. Is it not better to compose and acquite all this calamitie and trouble by marriage, to end all sorrows and battels by such and so honorable a peace? Hath not the emperor Spaine & Burgundie by title of marriage? How holdeth the French king Britaine now latelie annexed to that crowne, but

Further inducements to make the Scots forward in this mariage.

A true saieng.

The lord protector pointeth (as it were) at the inconuenences which he would haue the Scots to preuent.

Examples confirming the former assertion.

Insolencie of souldiors and lasciuious licentiousnesse.

The issue of the lord protectors exhortation.

but by title of marriage? How haue all the great princes of the world happilie and with quiet made of two kingdoms one, of diuerse lordships one, of nations alwaies at warre with themselues, or else in doubtfull peace, one well gouerned kingdome, rule, and dominion, but by that godlie, most quiet, and most amiable composition of marriage? Two meanes there be of making one rule, whereto title is pretended, and perfect agreement betwixt two nations, either by force or superioritie, which is conquest; or by equalitie and loue, which is by parentage & mariage: you hate the one, that is, conquest; and by refusing the other, you inforce vpon you hatred & malice.

Two meanes or waies of making one regiment or rule.

You will not haue peace, you will not haue alliance, you will not haue concord; and conquest commeth vpon you whether you will or no. And yet if all things were considered, we feare it will appere that it were better for you to be conquered of vs, than succoured of strangers, lesse losse to your goods, lesse hurt to your lands, lesse dishonor to your realme; this nation which is one in tong, one in countrie and birth, hauing so little diuersitie to occupie the whole, than other powers come in to you, neither like in language, nor yet like in behauior, who should rule ouer you, and take you to be but their slaues. But we ettsons and finallie declare and protest vnto you, that although for the better furtherance of this godlie purpose of vniting the realmes, and for the sure defense of them which fauour the marriage, we are compelled for the time to keepe holds, and to make fortifications in your realme: yet the kings maiesties mind and determinat pleasure is, with our aduise and counsell to be as before is declared, that where fauour may be shewed, not to vse rigor, if by conditions you will receiue this amitie offered, not to follow conquest: for we desire loue, vnitie, concord, peace and equalitie. Let neither your gouernor nor your kirkemen, nor those, who so often haue falsified their faith and promise, and by treacherie and falshod be accustomed to proroge the time, fæd you forth with faire words, and bring you into the snare from whence they cannot deliuer you. They will peraduenture prouide for themselues with pensions in some other realme, and set soldiors strangers in your holds to keepe you in subiection, vnder the pretense to defend them against vs. But who prouideth pensions for you? How are you defended when they are fled away? Who conquereth you when the strange capteins haue your holds, when your land is wasted, and the realme destroied, and the more part kept from you? Who will set by the marriage of the quéene to buie a title with the war of England; to marrie the name, an other mightie king holding the land? If we two being made one by amitie, be most able to defend vs against all nations, and hauing the sea for wall, the mutuall loue for garrison, & God for defense, should make so noble and well agréeing monarchie, that neither in peace we may be ashamed, nor in war afraid of anie worldlie or forren power: whie should not you be as desirous of the same, and haue as much cause to reioise at it as we? If this honor of so noble a monarchie do not moue you to take and accept amitie, let the griefe and the danger of the aforenamed losses feare you to attempt that thing which shall displease God, increase warre, danger your realme, destroie your land, vndo your children, waste your grounds, desolate your countries, and bring all Scotland either to famine & miserie, or to subiection and seruitude of an other nation. We require but your promised quéene, your offered agrément of vnitie, the ioining of both the nations, which God of his infinite clemencie and tender loue that he hath declared to beare to both the nations, hath offered vnto vs both, and in manner called vs both vnto it, whose calling and prouocation we haue, and will folow to the best of our powers, and in his name, and with his aid, admonition, exhortation, requests, and ambassages, not being able to do it, and to find stablenesse in promises, we shall not willing, but constreined pursue the battell, chastise the wicked & malicious by the angrie angels of God, fire and sword.

The lord protector protesteth what the kings determination is.

An item to the Scotish gouernor and kirkemen, &c.

What England & Scotland might do being made one by amitie.

Nothing required of the Scots that was not promised by them.

Fire & sword Gods angrie angels.

Wherefore we require and exhort you all, who haue loue to the countrie, pitie of that realme, a true hart to your quéene and mistresse, regard of your honors and promises made by the great seale of Scotland, and who fauoureth the peace, loue, vnitie, and concord, and that most profitable marriage to enter and come to vs; and declaring your true and godlie harts therunto, to aid vs in this most godlie purpose and enterprise. To be witnesse of our doings we refuse no man, temporall nor spirituall, lord nelard, gentleman nor other, who will aid this our purpose, and minish the occasion of slaughter and destruction, to whom we shall kéepe the promises heretofore declared, and further sée reward and recompense made according to the desert.

In argument of vpright meaning that refuseth no witnesse.

And for a more sure proofe and plainer token of the good mind and will which we beare vnto you, that which neuer yet was granted to Scotland in anie leagues, truce, or peace betwixt England and Scotland, because yée shall haue proofe of the beginning of loue and amitie of both the realmes: the kings highnes considering the multitude of them which are come to his maiesties deuotion, and of them that be well-willers and aiders of this godlie enterprise, hath by our aduise and counsell granted, and by these presents doth grant, that from henceforth all maner of merchants and other Scotishmen, who will enter their names with one of the wardens of the marches, & there profesle to take part with vs in this before named godly purpose, to his owne commoditie, & to serue all such as be of the same agrément, may lawfullie and without anie trouble and veration enter into anie port, créke, or hauen of England, and there vse their traffike of merchandize, buie and sell, bring in the commodities of Scotland, and take and carrie forth the commodities of England, as liberallie and as frélie, and with the same and none other custome or paiments therefore, than Englishmen and the kings subiects do at this present: minding further vpon the successe hereof to gratifie so the furtherers of this most godlie enterprise and vnion, that all the world may be witnesse of the great zeale and loue which his highnesse doth beare toward you and your nation. And all this the kings highnesse, by our aduise and counsell, hath willed to be declared vnto you; and giuen in commandement vnto vs, and all his lieutenants, wardens, rulers, and other head officers, ministers, and subiects, to see executed and done, according to the true purport, effect, and meaning thereof. Fare you well.

The kings grant as a proofe of the beginning of loue betweene England and Scotland.

Although this admonition and wholsome exhortation might haue moued the Scots to haue regarded their owne state, yet it litle auailed, as by the sequele it appeared. For hauing both great promises made by the French, and now considering therewith the hurlie burlies and tumults that sprong vp in England, they continued in their obstinat purposes, not to yéeld vnto such reasonable motions as had béene offered, if they would haue shewed themselues conformable thereto, and not haue so stubbornlie denied to submit themselues to that which of right they were bound vnto. So that herein they shewed themselues verie peruerse and wilfull, reiecting not onelie the good aduise that the duke gaue them, but also not so much as once thinking what might insue to their great mischéefe vpon their refusall, and what be-

The Scots reiect the benefit of this exhortation.

neſit redound to them by admitting the offer: naie, they were of opinion and beleefe, that if ſo braue a bootie might befall England, it would be an occaſion of great ruth and wretchednesſe to Scotland: as one of late hath affirmed in his poeticall ſuppoſall:

——ſhoæ præda Britannis
Cederet, ô miſeræ Scotiæ miſerabile regnum,
Genti infelici nihil eſt niſi flere relictum.

But now to let the Scots alone for a time, we will returne to the rebellion which followed in this yeere, to the whole diſappointing of the plot laid by the councell, for the preſent ſubduing of the Scots, as it was verie like that it ſhould haue ſo come to paſſe, if none other let had come. So it was, that the kings maieſtie, by the aduiſe of his vncle the lord protector, and other of the councell, thought good to ſet forth a proclamation againſt incloſures, and taking in of fields and commons that were accuſtomed to lie open, for the behoſe of the inhabitants dwelling neere to the ſame, who had greeuouſlie complained of gentlemen and others for taking from them the vſe of thoſe fields and commons, and had incloſed them into parks and ſeuerall paſtures for their priuat commodities and pleaſures, to the great hinderance and vndoing of manie a poore man.

A proclamation for the laieng open of incloſures.

This proclamation tending to the benefit and releefe of the poore, appointed that ſuch as had incloſed thoſe commons, ſhould vpon a paine by a date aſſigned laie them open againe. But how well ſoeuer the ſetters forth of this proclamation meant, thinking thereby peraduenture to appeaſe the grudge of the people that found themſelues grieued with ſuch incloſures; yet verelie it turned not to the wiſhed effect, but rather miniſtred occaſion of a foule and dangerous diſorder. For whereas there were few that obeied the commandement, the vnaduiſed people preſuming vpon their proclamation, thinking they ſhould be borne out by them that had ſet it forth raſhlie without order, toke vpon them to redreſſe the matter: and aſſembling themſelues in vnlawfull wiſe, choſe to them capteins and leaders, brake open the incloſures, caſt downe ditches, killed vp the deare which they found in parkes, ſpoiled and made hauocke, after the maner of an open rebellion. First they began to plaie theſe parts in Summerſetſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Northhamptonſhire, Kent, Eſſex, and Lincolneſhire.

The meaning of the foreſaid proclamation.

Commotions in Summerſetſhire, and other places.

In Summerſetſhire they brake vp certeine parks of ſir William Herbert, and the lord Sturton: but ſir William Herbert aſſembling a power togither by the kings commiſſion, ſlue and executed manie of thoſe rebellious people. In other places alſo, by the good diligence and policie vſed by the councell, the rebels were appeaſed and quieted. But ſhortlie after, the commons of Deuonſhire and Cornewall roſe by waie of rebellion, demanding not onelie to haue incloſures laied open, and parkes diſparked: but alſo thorough the inſtigation and pricking forward of certeine popiſh prieſts, ceaſed not by all ſiniſter and ſubtill meanes, firſt vnder Gods name & the kings, and vnder the colour of religion, to perſuade the people to aſſemble in routs, to chooſe capteins to guide them, and finallie to burſt out into open rebellion.

Rebellion in Deuonſhire. Iohn Fox in Acts & Monuments.

The names of the capteins of the rebels.

Their chiefe capteins were theſe, Humfrie Arundell eſquier, gouernour of the Mount, James Roſogan, John Roſogan, John Paine, Thomas Underhill, John Soleman, and William Segar. Moreouer, of prieſts which were principall ſtirrers, and ſome of them chiefe gouernors of the camps, and after executed, there were to the number of eight, whoſe names we find to be as follow: Robert Bocham, John Thompſon, Roger Barret, John Wolcocke, William Aſſa, James Mourton, John Barrow, Richard Benet, beſides a multitude of other prieſts which ioined with them.

The whole companies of theſe rebels amounted little leſſe than to the number of ten thouſand ſtout and valiant perſonages, able indeed (if their cauſe had beene good and fauoured of the Lord and giuer of victories) to haue wrought great feats. But being (as they were) ranke and malicious traitors, the almightie God confounded their deuiſes, and brought them to their deſerued confuſion. A ſtrange caſe, that thoſe miſchæfous and wicked traitors could not be warned by the euill ſucceſſe of their diuelliſh attempted outrage, in the yeare laſt paſt: at what time certeine ſeditious perſons in Cornewall fell vpon one of the kings commiſſioners named maſter Bodie, ſent thither with others for the reformation of matters in religion, in like manner as other were ſent at the ſame time into other ſhires of the realme, for the which murther a prieſt being apprehended, arreigned, and condemned, was drawne into Smithfield, and there hanged and quartered the ſeauenth daie of Julie, in the ſaid laſt yeare before mentioned, to wit, 1548. Other of his complices and aſſociats were executed and put to death in diuerſe other parts of the realme.

The number of the rebels in Deuonſhire.

But now touching theſe other that roſe in this preſent ſummer. At the firſt they were in great hope that the other diſordered perſons, which ſtirred in other parts of the realme, would haue ioined with them, by force to haue diſappointed and vndone that which the prince by law and act of parlement, in reformation of religion, had ordeined and eſtabliſhed. But afterwards perceiuing how in moſt places ſuch miſchæfous mutinies and diueliſh attempts, as the commons had begun, partlie by force and partlie by policie were appeaſed, or that their cauſe being but onelie about plucking downe of incloſures, and inlarging of commons, was diuided from theirs; ſo that either they would not, or could not ioine with them in aid of their religious quarrell: they began ſomewhat to doubt of their wicked begun enterpriſe. Notwithſtanding now, ſith they had gone ſo farre in the matter, they thought there was no thrinking backe: and therefore determining to proceed, they fell to new deuiſes, as firſt before all things to bring into their hands all ſuch places of force, wealth, and defenſe, as might in anie reſpect ſerue for their aid and furtherance. Hereupon the ſecond of Julie, they came before the citie of Excetter, incamping about the ſame in great numbers, and vſed all waies and meanes they could deuiſe how to win it by force, ſometimes aſſaulting it right sharplie, ſometimes firing the gates, otherwhiles vndermining the wals, and at other times (as occaſions ſerued) procuring ſkirmiſhes.

Their hope in others failed them.

Excetter beſieged.

Finallie, nothing was left vndone which the enimie could imagine to ſerue his purpoſe for the winning of that citie. And albeit there wanted not luſtie ſtomachs among the citizens to withſtand this outward force of the enimie: yet in proceſſe of time, ſuch ſcarſitie of bread and vittels increaſed, that the people waxed wearie & loth to abide ſuch extremitie of famine. Howbeit the magiſtrats (though it grieued them to ſee the multitude of the citizens in ſuch diſtreſſe) yet hauing a ſpeciall regard of their dutie toward the prince, and loue to the common-wealth, left no waies vnſought to quiet the people, & ſtaie them in their dutifull obedience to reſiſt the enimies: ſo that comforting the people with faire promiſes, and releeuing their neceſſities verie liberallie, ſo farre as their power might extend, did in ſuch ſort vſe the matter, that euerie of them within reſolued with one generall conſent to abide the end, in hope of ſome ſpeedie releefe. And in the meane while, when their corne and meale was conſumed, the gouernors

The great loialtie of the citizens of Excetter.

of

of the citie caused bran and meale to be mouled vp in cloth, for otherwise it would not sticke togither.

Also they caused some excursions to be made out of the citie, to take and fetch into the citie such cattell as were found pasturing abroad neere to the wals, which being brought in, were distributed among the poore. To conclude, into such extremitie were the miserable citizens brought, that albeit mans nature can scarselie abide to feed vpon anie vnaccustomed food; yet these sillie men were glad to eat horsse flesh, and to hold themselues well content therewith. Whilest the siege thus remained before Excester, the rebels spoiled and robbed the countrie abroad, and laieng their traitorous heads togither, they consulted vpon certeine articles to be sent vp to the king. But herein such diuersitie of heads and wits was among them, that for euerie kind of braine there was one maner of article: so that neither appeared anie consent in their diuersitie, nor yet anie constancie in their agréement. Some séemed more tollerable, others altogither vnreasonable, some would haue no iustices, some no state of gentlemen. The priests euer harped vpon one string, to ring the bishop of Rome into England againe, and to hallow home cardinall Pole their countriman. After much a do, at length a few articles were agréed vpon, to be directed vnto the king, with the names of certeine of their heads set thereunto, the copie whereof here insueth.

See Iohn Fox in the Acts & Monuments.

The articles of the commons of Deuonshire and Cornewall, sent to the king, with answers afterward following vnto the same.

Sacrament of baptisme.

FIrst, forsomuch as man, except he be borne of water, and the Holie-ghost, can not enter into the kingdome of God, and forsomuch as the gates of heauen be not open without this blessed sacrament of baptisme; therefore we will that our curats shall minister this sacrament at all times of néed, as well on the wéeke daies, as on the holie daies.

Confirmation.

2 Item, we will haue our children confirmed of the bishop, whensoeuer we shall within the diocesse resort vnto him.

Consecrating of the Lords bodie.

3 Item, forsomuch as we constantlie beléeue, that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration being at masse, there celebrating and consecrating the same, there is verie reallie the bodie and bloud of our sauiour Iesus Christ God and man, and that no substance of bread and wine remaineth after, but the verie selfe same bodie that was borne of the virgin Marie, and was giuen vpon the crosse for our redemption: therefore we will haue masse celebrated as it hath béene in times past, without anie man communicating with the priests, forsomuch as manie rudelie presuming vnworthilie to receiue the same, put no difference betweene the Lords bodie & other kind of meat; some saieng that it is bread before and after, some saieng that it is profitable to no man except he receiue it: with manie other abused termes.

Reseruation of the lords bodie consecrated.

4 Item, we will haue in our churches reseruation.

Holie bread and holie water.

5 Item, we will haue holie bread and holie water in the remembrance of Christs pretious bodie and bloud.

6 Item, we will that our priests shall sing or saie with an audible voice, Gods seruice in the quier of the parish churches, and not Gods seruice to be set forth like a Christmasse plaie.

The single life of priests.

7 Item, forsomuch as priests be men dedicated to God for ministring and celebrating the blessed sacraments, and preaching of Gods word, we will that they shall liue chast without marriage, as saint Paule did, being the elect and chosen vessell of God, saieng vnto all honest priests; Be you followers of me.

The six articles to be renewed.

8 Item, we will that the six articles, which our souereigne lord king Henrie the eight set forth in his latter daies, shall be vsed and so taken as they were at that time.

9 Item, we praie God saue king Edward, for we be his both bodie and goods.

The captcins appointed to go against the Deuonshire rebels.

For the pacifieng of these rebels, were appointed by the king and his councell, sir Iohn Russell knight lord priuie seale, the lord Greie of Wilton, sir William Herbert after earle of Penbroke, sir Iohn Paulet, sir Hugh Paulet, sir Thomas Speake, and others, with a conuenient power of men of warre both on horsseback and foot. Amongst others, there were certeine strangers that came with my lord Greie, as captcine Germane an Hennower, with a band of horssemen, most part Albanoises and Italians. Also captcine Paule Baptist Spinola an Italian borne of a noble house in Genoa, with a band of Italian footmen. But now the lord priuie seale that was ordeined by the king and his councell, generall of that armie, vpon his first approching towards them, sent vnto them the kings maiesties proclamation: the effect whereof was, that all such persons as were vnlawfullie assembled, and did not within three daies next after the proclaming thereof, yéeld and submit themselues to the lord priuie seale (the kings lieutenant) they should from thenceforth be déemed, accepted, and taken for rebels against his roiall person, and his imperiall crowne and dignitie.

Strangers.

Ric. Grafton.

A proclamation.

And further, the kings maiestie, for a more terrour to the rebels, and the incouragement of such other his louing subiects, as should helpe and aid to apprehend anie of the said rebels, he by his said proclamation granted and gaue all the offices, fées, goods and possessions, which the said rebels had at and before their apprehension. This proclamation notwithstanding, the rebels continued in their wicked deuises & traitorous purposes, hastening to the hazzards of their owne deaths & vndoings, as the poet saith of the foolish fish swiming to the hidden hooke:

Occultum visus decurrere piscis ad hamum. Hor. epist. lib. 1.

Wherevpon yet once againe the kings maiestie, for the auoiding of the shedding of christian bloud, sent vnto them a most gentle and louing message in writing, thereby to reduce them againe to their dutifull obedience: but all would not serue nor auaile to moue their obstinate minds to leaue off their desperate and diuelish enterprise. The message was as followeth.

The kings message to the rebels of Cornewall and Deuonshire.

ALthough knowledge hath béene giuen to vs, and our déerest vncle the duke of Summerset gouernor of our person, and protector of all our realms, dominions, and subiects, and to the rest of our priuie councell, of diuerse assemblies made by you, which ought of dutie to be our louing subiects, against all order of law, and otherwise than euer anie louing or kind subiects haue attempted against their naturall and liege souereigne lord: yet we haue thought it méet, at this verie first time, not to condemne and reiect you, as we might iustlie do; but to vse you as our subiects, thinking that the diuell hath not that power in you, to make you of naturall

borne Englishmen, so suddenlie to become enimies to your owne native countrie of our subiects, to make you traitors, or vnder pretense to relieue your selues, to destroie your selues, your wiues, children, lands, possessions, and all other commodities of this your life. This we saie, that we trust, that although ye be ignorantlie seduced, ye will not be vpon knowledge, obstinate.

And though some amongst you (as euer there is some cockle amongst good corne) forget God, neglect their prince, esteme not the state of the realme, but as careless & desperat men delite in sedition, tumults & wars: yet neuertheless the greater part of you will heare the voice of vs your naturall prince, and will by wisedome and counsell be warned, and cease your euils in the beginning, whose ends will be euen by God almighties order your owne destruction. Wherfore as to you our subiects by ignorance seduced, we speake and be content to vse our princelie authoritie like a father to his children, to admonish you of your faults, not to punish them; to put you in remembrance of your duties, not to auenge your forgetfulnesse. First, your disorder to rise in multitudes, to assemble your selues against our other louing subiects, to arraie your selues to the war, who amongst you all can answer for the same to almightie God, charging you to obeie vs in all things? Or how can anie English good hart answer vs, our lawes, and the rest of our verie louing and faithfull subiects, who in deed by their obedience make our honour, estate, and degree?

Disorder in subiects.

Abusing of the kings name.

Ye vse our name in your writings, and abuse the same against our selfe. What iniurie herein do you vs, to call those which loue vs, to your euill purposes, by the authoritie of our name? God hath made vs your king by his ordinance and prouidence, by our bloud and inheritance, by lawfull succession, and our coronation: but not to this end, as you vse our name. We are your most naturall souereigne lord & king, Edward the sixt, to rule you, to preserue you, to saue you from all your outward enimies, to see our lawes well ministred, euerie man to haue his owne, to suppresse disordered people, to correct traitors, theeues, pirats, robbers, & such like, yea to keepe our realms from other princes, from the malice of the Scots, of Frenchmen, of the bishop of Rome. Thus good subiects, our name is written, thus it is honored and obeied, this maiestie it hath by Gods ordinance, not by mans. So that of this your offense we cannot write too much. And yet doubt not but this is inough from a prince to all reasonable people, from a roiall king to all kindharted & louing subiects, frō the puissant K. of England, to euerie naturall Englishman.

False causes.

Your pretense, which you saie, moueth you to do thus, and wherewith you seeke to excuse this disorder, we assure you is either false, or so vaine, that we doubt not, that after that ye shall hereby vnderstand the truth thereof, ye will all with one voice acknowlege your selues ignorantlie led, and by errour seduced. And if there be anie one that will not, then assure you the same be ranke traitors, enimies of our crowne, seditious people, heretikes, papists, or such as care not what cause they haue to prouoke an insurrection, so they may do it, nor in deed can war so rich with their owne labors & with peace, as they can do with spoiles, with wars, with robberies and such like, yea with the spoile of your owne goods, with the liuing of your labors, the sweat of your bodies, the food of your owne households, wiues and children: such they be, as for a time vse pleasant persuasions to you, and in the end will cut your throtes for your owne goods.

Baptisme.

You be borne in hand, that your children, though necessitie chance, shall not be christened but vpon the holie daies: how false this is, learne you of vs. Our booke which we haue set forth by free consent of our whole parlement in the English toong teacheth you the contrarie, euen in the first leafe, yea the first side of the first leafe of that part which intreateth of baptisme. Good subiects (for to other we speake not) looke & be not deceiued. They which haue put this false opinion into your eares, they meane not the christening of children, but the destruction of you our christened subiects. Be this knowne vnto you, that our honor is so much, that we may not be found faultie of one iote or word: proue it, if by our lawes you may not christen your children when ye be disposed vpon necessitie, euerie daie or houre in the weeke, then might you be offended: but seeing you may do it, how can you beleeue them that teach you the contrarie? What thinke you they meane in the rest, which moue you to breake your obedience against vs, your king & souereigne, vpon these so false tales & persuasions in so euident a matter? Therfore all you which will acknowledge vs your souereigne lord, and which will heare the voice of vs your king, may easilie perceiue how you be deceiued, and how subtillie traitors and papists, with their falsehod seeke to atchiue and bring their purpose to passe with your helpe. Euerie traitor will be glad to dissemble his treason, and feed it secretlie; euerie papist his poperie, and nourish it inwardlie; and in the end make you our subiects partakers of treason and poperie, which in the beginning was pretended to be a commonweale and holinesse.

Sacrament of the bodie, &c.

And how are you seduced by them, which put in your heads the blessed sacrament of Christes bodie, should not differ from other common bread? If our lawes, proclamations, and statutes be all to the contrarie, whie shall anie priuat man persuade you against them? We do our selfe in our owne hart, our councell in all their profession, our lawes and statutes in all purposes, our good subiects in all our doings most highlie esteeme that sacrament, and vse the communion thereof to our most comfort. We make so much difference thereof from other common bread, that we thinke no profit of other bread, but to mainteine our bodies: but this blessed bread we take to be the verie food of our soules to euerlasting life. How thinke you, good subiects, shall not we being your prince, your lord, your king by Gods appointment, with truth more preuaile, than certeine euill persons with open falsehod? Shall anie seditious person persuade you that the sacrament is despised, which is by our lawes, by our selfe, by our councell, and by all our good subiects esteemed, vsed, participated, and dailie receiued? If euer ye were seduced, if euer deceiued, if euer traitors were beleeued, if euer papists poisoned good subiects, it is now. It is not the christening of children, nor the reuerence of the sacrament, nor the health of your soules that they shot at, good subiects: it is sedition, it is high treason, it is your destruction they seeke. How craftilie, how pitiouslie, how cunninglie so euer they do it, with one rule iudge yee the end, which of force must come of your purposes.

Disobedience to a king is disobedience to almightie God.

Almightie God forbiddeth vpon paine of euerlasting damnation, disobedence to vs your king, and in his place we rule in earth. If we should be slow, would God erre? If your offense be towards God, thinke you it is pardoned without repentance? Is Gods iudgement mutable? Your paine is damnation, your iudge is incorruptible, your fault is most euident. Likewise are ye euill informed in diuerse other articles, as for confirmation of your children, for the masse, for the maner of your seruice of mattins and euensong. What soeuer is therein ordered, hath beene long debated, and consulted by manie learned bishops, doctors, and other men of great

learning

learning in this realme concluded, in nothing so much labour and time spent of late time, nothing so fullie ended. As for seruice in the English tong hath manifest reasons for it, and yet perchance seemeth to you a new seruice, and yet in deed is none other but the old. The selfe same words in English which were in Latin, sauing a few things taken out, so fond that it had béene a shame to haue heard them in English, as all they can iudge which list to report the truth.

Seruice in the English tong.

The difference is, that we ment godlie, that you our subiects should vnderstand in English, being our naturall countrie tong; that which was heretofore spoken in Latine, then seruing onelie them which vnderstand Latine, & now for all you that be borne English. How can this with reason offend anie reasonable man, that he should vnderstand what anie other saith, and so to consent with the speaker? If the seruice in the church were good in Latine, it remaineth good in English: for nothing is altered, but to speake with knowledge, that before was spoken with ignorance: and to let you vnderstand what is said for you, to the intent you maie further it with your owne deuotion, an alteration to the better, except knowledge be worse than ignorance. So that whosoeuer hath moued you to mislike this order, can giue you no reason, nor answer yours, if ye vnderstand it.

Knowledge is better than ignorance.

Wherefore you our subiects, remember we speake to you, being ordeined your prince and king by almightie God, if anie wise we could aduance Gods honour more than we do, we would do it, and see that ye become subiects to Gods ordinance. Obeie vs your prince, and learne of them which haue authoritie to teach you, which haue power to rule you, and will execute our iustice, if we be prouoked. Learne not of them whose fruits be nothing but wilfulnesse, disobedience, obstinacie, & destruction of the realme.

The masse.

For the masse, we assure you, no small studie & trauell hath béene spent by all the learned clergie therin, and to auoid all contention thereof, it is brought euen to the verie vse as Christ left it, as the apostles vsed it, as holie fathers deliuered it: indeed somwhat altered from that which the popes of Rome for their lucre brought to it. And although you maie heare the contrarie of some popish and euill men, yet our maiestie, which for our honor maie not be blemished nor stained, assureth you, that they deceiue you, abuse you, and blow these opinions into your heads for to furnish their owne purposes.

Confirmation of children.

And so likewise iudge you of confirmation of childzen, and let them answer you this one question. Thinke they that a child christened is damned, because he dieth before bishopping? Marke good subiects, what inconuenience hereof commeth. Our doctrine therefore is founded vpon true learning, and theirs vpon shameles errors. To conclude, beside our gentle maner of information to you, whatsoeuer is conteined in our booke, either for baptisme, sacrament, masse, confirmation and seruice in the church, is by parlement established, by the whole clergie agréed, yea by the bishops of the realme deuised, & further by Gods word confirmed. And how dare you trust, yea how dare you giue eare without trembling, to anie singular person to disalow a parlement; a subiect to persuade against our maiestie, or anie man of his single arrogancie against the determination of the bishops, and all the cleargie, anie inuented argument against the word of God?

But now you our subiects, we resort to a greater matter of your vnkindnesse, a great vnnaturalnes, and such an euill, that if we thought it had not béene begun of ignorance, and continued by persuasion of certeine traitors amongst you, which we thinke few in number, but in their doings busie, we could not be persuaded but to vse our sword and do iustice: and as we be ordeined of God for to redresse your errors by auengement. But loue and zeale yet ouercommeth our iust anger, but how long that will be, God knoweth, in whose hand our heart is; and rather for your owne causes, being our christened subiects, we would ye were persuaded than vanquished, taught than ouerthrowne, quietlie pacified than rigorouslie persecuted. Ye require to haue the statute of sir articles reuiued. And know you what ye require? Or know ye what ease ye haue with the losse of them? They were lawes made, but quicklie repented; so bloodie they were to be borne of our people: yet at the first in deed made of some necessitie. Oh subiects how are ye trapped by euill persons? We of pitie, because they were bloodie, toke them awaie, and you now of ignorance will aske them againe. You know full well that they helped vs to extend rigour, and gaue vs cause to draw our sword verie often.

Six articles.

And since our mercie moued vs to write our lawes with milke and equitie, how are ye blinded to aske them in bloud? But leauing this maner of reasoning, and resorting to the truth of our authoritie, we let you wit, the same hath béene adnulled by parlement with great reioise of our subiects, and not now to be called in question. And dareth anie of you with the name of a subiect, stand against an act of parlement, a law of the realme? What is our power if lawes should be thus neglected? Or what is your suertie if lawes be not kept? Assure you most suerlie, that we of no earthlie thing vnder the heauen make such reputation as we do of this one, to haue our lawes obeied, & this cause of God to be throughlie mainteined, from the which we will neuer remoue a heares bredth, nor giue place to anie creature liuing: but therein will spend our whole roiall person, our crowne, treasure, realme, and all our state, whereof we assure you of our high honor. For herein resteth our honor, herein do all kings knowledge vs a king. And shall anie one of you dare breath or thinke against our kingdome and crowne?

The authoritie of a parlement.

In the end of this your request (as we be giuen to vnderstand) ye would haue them stand in force till our full age. To this we thinke, that if ye knew what ye spake, ye would not haue vttred the motion, nor neuer giuen breath to such a thought. For what thinke you of our kingdome? Be we of lesse authoritie for our age? Be we not your king now as we shall be? Shall ye be subiects hereafter, and now are ye not? Haue we not the right we shall haue? If ye would suspend and hang our doings in doubt vntill our full age, ye must first know, as a king we haue no difference of yeares, but as a naturall man and creature of God we haue youth, and by his sufferance shall haue age. We are your rightfull king, your liege lord, the souereigne prince of England, not by our age, but by Gods ordinance; not onelie when we shall be one and twentie yeares of age, but when we were of ten yéers. We possesse our crowne not by yeares, but by the bloud and descent from our father king Henrie the eight. If it be considered, they which moue this matter, if they durst vtter themselues, would denie our kingdome.

But our good subiects know their prince, and will increase, not diminish his honor, inlarge his power, not abate it, knowledge his kingdome, not deferre it to certeine yeares. All is one, to speake against our crowne, and to denie our kingdome, as to require that our lawes maie be broken vnto one and twentie yeares. Be we not your crowned, annointed, and established king? Wherein be we of lesse maiestie, of lesse authoritie, or lesse state, than our progenitors kings of this realme, except your vnkindnes, your vnnaturalnesse will diminish our estimation?

We haue hitherto since the death of our father, by the good aduise and counsell of our deare and intierlie beloued vncle the duke of Summerset, and gouernor and protector, kept our estate, maintained our realme, preserued our honour, defended our people from all enimies. We haue hitherto beene feared and dread of our enimies, yea of princes, kings, and nations. Yea herein we be nothing inferiour to anie our progenitors, which grace we acknowledge to be giuen vs from God, and how else, but by good obedience, good counsell of our magistrates, and by the authoritie of our kingdome?

England hitherto hath gained honour during our reigne: it hath wone of the enimie, and not lost. It hath beene maruelled that we of so yong yeares, haue reigned so noblie, so roiallie, so quietlie. And how chanceth that you our louing subiects of that our countrie of Cornewall and Deuonshire, will giue occasion to slander this our realme of England, to giue courage to the enimie, to note our realme of the euill of rebellion, to make it a preie to our old enimies, to diminish our honour which God hath giuen, our father left, our good vncle and councell preserued vnto vs? What greater euill could ye commit, than euen now when our forren enimie in Scotland, and vpon the sea seeketh to inuade vs, to do our realme dishonour, than to arise in this maner against our law, to prouoke our wrath, to aske our vengeance, and to giue vs an occasion to spend that force vpon you, which we meant to bestow vpon our enimies, to begin to slaie you with that sword that we drew forth against Scots, and other enimies, to make a conquest of our owne people, which otherwise should haue beene of the whole realme of Scotland?

Thus farre we haue descended from our high maiestie, for loue to consider you in your simple ignorance, and haue beene content to send you an instruction like a father, who of iustice might haue sent you your destructions like a king to rebels. And now we let you know, that as you see our mercie abundantlie, so if ye prouoke vs further, we sweare to you by the liuing God, ye shall feele the power of the same God in our sword, which how mightie it is, no subiect knoweth; how puissant it is, no priuat man can iudge; how mortall, no English man dare thinke. But suerlie, suerlie, as your lord and prince, your onlie king and maister, we saie to you, repent your selues, and take our mercie without delaie: or else we will forthwith extend our princelie power, and execute our sharpe sword against you, as against infidels and Turks, and rather aduenture our owne roiall person, state, and power, than the same should not be executed.

And if you will proue the example of our mercie, learne of certeine which latlie did arise, as they perceiuing pretended some grieses, and yet acknowledging their offenses, haue not onelie most humblie their pardon: but feele also by our order, to whome onelie all publike order apperteineth, present redresse of their grieses. In the end, we admonish you of your duties to God, whome ye shall answere in the daie of the Lord, & of your duties toward vs, whom ye shall answere by our order, and take our mercie whilest God so inclineth vs, least when ye shall be constreined to aske, we shall be two much hardened in heart to grant it you. And where ye shall heare now of mercie, mercie, and life; ye shall then heare of iustice, iustice, and death. Written the eight of Julie, in the third yeare of our reigne.

A godlie and princelie admonition.

Although the rebels receiued this princelie message, & wholesome admonition from the kings maiestie, yet would they not reforme themselues, as dutifull subiects ought to haue done, but stood still in their wicked begun rebellion, offering to trie it at the weapons point. There wanted not priests and other busie bodies among them, such as by all waies and meanes possible sought to kindle the coles of malice and hatred betwixt the king and his subiects; which as the maner is among all the like wicked disposed people, contriued to raise and strew abroad false forged tales, and feined rumors, giuing it out, that the people should be constreined to paie a ratable taske for their sheepe and cattell, and an excise for euerie thing that they should eate or drinke. These and such other slanderous brutes were spred abroad by those children of Belial, whereby the cankered minds of the rebels might the more be hardened and made stiffe from plieng vnto anie resonable persuasion, that might be made to moue them to returne vnto their dutifull obedience, as by the lawes both of God and man they were bounden: and so it came to passe. For the rebellious rout were growne to an obstinacie, seeming so far from admitting persuasions to submission, that they became resolute in their pestilent actions; wilfullie following the worst, which they knew full well would redound to their detriment; and auoiding the best, which they doubted not might turne to their aduantage, agreable in sense and meaning vnto that of the poet:

False rumors

Quæ nocüere sequar, fugiam quæ profore credam. *Hor. in Epist. lib. 1.*

Herevpon when no hope was left to procure them by anie quiet meanes to laie downe armes, the lord priuie seale, and the lord Greie, with their forces, although not comparable with the rebels in number, about the latter end of Julie set vpon them, and by great manhood put them from their ground, notwithstanding they fought verie stoutlie, & gaue it not ouer for a little: and although they were thus driuen to giue place at this first onset, yet they got together againe, and aboad a new charge, defending their ground, & doing what they could to beat backe and repell those that came to assaile them. But neuertheless through the power of the almightie God fauouring the rightfull cause, the rebels were distressed, and followed in chase with great slaughter for the space of two miles. This was about the beginning of August.

The rebels put from their ground.

Their chiefe capteines, to wit, Humfreie Arundell, Whinsland, Holms, and Burie, were taken and brought vp to London. There were taken also others of their capteins, as Thomas Underhill, John Soleman, William Segar, Dempson, and Barret, which two last were priests; also Boier and Henrie Lee, two maiors, all the which were executed in one place or other, as they had well deserued. The said Boier being maior of Bodmin in Cornewall, (as Grafton reporteth) had beene a busie fellow among the rebels, to set them forward in mischiefe: howbeit some that loued him sought to excuse him, as if he had beene forced hereto against his will by the rebels, who would haue killed him, and burnt his house, if he had not consented to them. But howsoeuer it was, sir Anthonie Kingston that was prouost marshall in the kings armie vnder the lord priuie seale, wrote his letter vnto the said maior, signifieng to him, that he and other with him would come and dine with him such a daie. The maior seeming to be glad thereof, made the best puruiance he could to receiue them, and at the time appointed, sir Anthonie Kingston came with his companie, and were right hartilie welcomed of the maior. But before they sat downe to dinner, calling the maior aside, he told him that there must be execution done in that towne, and therefore willed him that a paire of gallowes might be framed and set vp with speed, so that they might be readie by that time that they should make an end of dinner.

John Fox. The capteins of the rebels taken.

Sir Anthonie Kingston prouost marshall.

The

The maior with all diligence caused the same to be done: so that when dinner was ended, sir Anthonie calling the maior to him, and asking whether the gallowes were set vp accordinglie as he had willed, the maior answered that they were readie. Wherewith sir Anthonie taking the maior by the hand, desired him to bring him to the place where they stood, and comming thither and beholding them, he said to the maior; Thinke you maister maior that they be strong inough? Yea sir, quoth he, that they are. Well then said sir Anthonie, get you euen vp vnto them, for they are prouided for you. The maior greatlie abashed herewith, said; I trust you meane no such thing to me. Sir said he, there is no remedie, ye haue bene a busie rebell, and therefore this is appointed for your reward: and so without respit or staie, there was the maior hanged.

The maior of Bodmin hanged.

At the same time, & neere the same place dwelled a miller that had bene a great doer in that rebellion, for whom also sir Anthonie Kingston sought: but the miller being thereof warned, called a good tall fellow that he had to his seruant, and said vnto him: I haue businesse to go from home, if anie therefore come to aske for me, saie thou art the owner of the mill and the man for whome they shall so aske, and that thou hast kept this mill for the space of three yeares, but in no wise name me. The seruant promised his maister so to do. And shortlie after came sir Anthonie Kingston to the millers house, and calling for the miller, the seruant came forth, and answered that he was the miller. How long, quoth sir Anthonie, hast thou kept this mill? He answered three yeares. Well then said he, come on, thou must go with me, and caused his men to laie hands on him, and to bring him to the next tree, saieng to him; Thou hast bene a busie knaue, and therefore here shalt thou hang. Then cried the fellow out, and said that he was not the miller, but the millers man. Well then, said sir Anthonie, thou art a false knaue to be in two tales, therefore said he, hang him vp: and so incontinentlie hanged he was in deed. After he was dead, one that was present, told sir Anthonie; Surelie sir this was but the millers man. What then said he, could he euer haue done his maister better seruice than to hang for him?

A millers man hanged for his maister.

This was a hard proceeding, though the partie had bene nocent.

Manie other were executed by order of the marshall law, & a great part of the countrie abandoned to the spoile of the souldiers, who were not slouthfull to gleane what they could find for the time their libertie lasted. ¶ Thus far the report of this rebellious broile, whereupon it first kindled, by what meanes the same sparkled and became a flame, and what deuises were vsed to extinguish & quench it. Wherein we see how prone the people are to rise by routs vpon occasions of discontentments; how hastie and headie to vndertake dangerous enterprises, how wilfull and obstinate to persist in their pernicious proceedings, how cold-harted and hopelesse when they see the course of their plots of perilous policie either interrupted, vndermined, or ouerthrowne; and finallie, what a reprochfull reward redoundeth both to the ringleaders in rebellions, as also what falleth to the shares of all such as shake hands and become confederats to the furthering and strengthening of riots, mutinies, insurrections, commotions, and hurlieburlies. Wherby the state is disquieted, & (that more is) the prince drawne into a conceipt of suspecting his subiects lotalties; besides a wicked president to posteritie, without feare of shame, remorse of conscience, regard to allegiance, or foresight of afterclaps, to attempt the like. Now it resteth, that for the further truth and knowledge hereof, we adde a new report (new I meane, in respect of the publication, hauing not heretofore bene printed) though old enough, and sufficientlie warranted by the reporter, who vpon his owne notice hath deliuered no lesse in writing, than himselfe vpon verie good and infallible grounds obserued, and hath left testified in the discourse following; wherein there is not one word either added, or inuerted: but all things (from point to point) agreeable to the written copie.

Abr. Fl. introduction into the next narration being a new addition, touching this rebellion.

The addition following being a large discourse, was neuer heretofore published.

The description of the citie of Excester, and of the sundrie assaults giuen to the same: collected and gathered by Iohn Vowell (alias Hooker) gentleman and chamberleine of the same.

Excester or Exceter is a famous and an ancient citie, being the metropole and *Emporium* of the west parts of England, situated and lieng in the prouince sometime called *Dumnonia*, that is to saie, the countrie of vallies: for whereas are manie hilles (as that countrie is full of hilles and mounteins) there are manie vallies. But now corruptlie it is named *Deuonia*, or Deuonshire, and not Danesshire of the Danes, as some would haue it. Of the first foundation thereof, by reason of the sundrie inuasions of forren nations, who with their hostilities and cruell warres did burne and destroie the same, there remaineth no certeine memoriall, neither among the records of the said citie, ne yet in anie one other writer.

Dumnonia, the countrie of vallies.

Deuonia, Deuonshire.

But most certeine it is, that it was first builded and founded by the Britons or Brutes. For the names which they gaue and vsed, are yet at this present had in remembrance, as well among the chronographers of this land, as also among the Cornish people, who were sometimes one with this prouince; but now in a countie of themselues, and next bordering to this, and in the same dioceese. And they are the remanent of the bloud of Brutus. For when Cadwallader king of this land, by reason of a great famine and pestilence was driuen to forsake the same, & to flie into little Britaine named Armorica, which is now vnder the dition of the French king: diuers & the most part of his people fled, some into Wales, and some into Cornwall, where euer since they and after them their posteritie haue remained and continued.

The old chronographers, searchers, and writers of antiquities do find, that this citie was called *Corinia*, and thereof the cathedrall church of the same was (as Bale saith) named *Ecclesia Corinienſis*: which name, if it were first giuen by Corinus (as Leland writeth) who after the arriuall of Brutus into this land, was made the first duke of this whole west countrie of Deuon and Cornewall, which were both comprised vnder the name of *Corinia*, and wherof this citie euer hath bene and is the metropole, and alwaies parcell sometime of the kingdome, then of the duchie, and after of the earledome, and now againe of the duchie of Cornwall: then out of doubt this citie is of no lesse antiquitie than the said names do import. It was also called *Augusta*. Of this name there were diuerse cities, so named by the Romans; but this onelie was named *Augusta Britannorum*, and so called (as some thinke) by the Romans at the conclusion of the peace made at the siege of this citie betweene king Aruiragus and Uespasian coronell of the Romane armie vnder Claudius Augustus. The Britons in their tong or language do call this citie by sundrie names; the first and eldest in remembrance is cair Penhulgoile, that is to saie, the proul-

Corinia. Baleus lib. 1. Centuriarum. Lelandus in Genethliaco.

Penhulgoile.

perous

perous chiefe towne in the wood, as doth appere by Geffreie of Monmouth, and Ponticus Virunnius. It was also called Pennehaltecaire, that is, the chiefe citie or towne vpon the hill; as doth apeere in a trauerse betweene the bishop, deane, and chapiter of this citie of the one partie; and the maior, bailiffe, and communaltie of the other partie, concerning their liberties. But the names which the Cornish people do at these presents remember & reteine, are specallie three, Pennecaire, Caireruth, Caireiske. Pennecaire signifieth, and is to saie, the chiefe citie. Caireruth signifieth the red or reddish citie, so called and taking the name of the ground and soile whereupon it is situated, which is a red earth. Caireiske is the citie of Iske, being so called of the riuer, which the Britons name Iske, and floteth fast by the same. And of this name Houeden in his chronicle maketh mention, saieng thus: *Anno Domini 877 exercitus Danorum ab Wareham nocte quadam, fœdere dirupto, ad Exeancestre diuerterunt, quod Britannice dicitur Caireiske.*

Pennehaltecaire.

Pennecaire the chiefe citie, Caireruth the red citie, Caireiske the citie of Exe.

Houeden.

Ptolomeus *in tabulis.*

Baleus *centur. lib.*

Ptolomeus the famous astronomer, who was about the yeere of our Lord 162, Coell being king of this land, nameth this citie Isca; and the riuer Isaca. And Bale the searcher of antiquities following the same opinion, doth also name the citie Isca, and the inhabitants therein Iscans. But vnder correction be it spoken, a man maie well thinke that Ptolomeus being in Alexandria, and so farre distant from this land, was misinformed, or the print mistaken. For it is most likelie that the riuer should be named Isca according to the British speech, wherein it was called Isca; and which name by transposing of the two middle letters, doth at this present remaine being now named Iska or Exa. But whatsoeuer the censures and opinions of Ptolomeus and of Bale, who wrote onelie vpon report, be herein, it is certeine, that the names which the Brutes or Britons gaue, were of longest continuance. And this citie was called by their denominations, by the space of fifteene hundred yeeres, vntill the comming of the Saxons, the Picts, and the Scots into this realme, which was about the yeere of our Lord foure hundred and fiftie. For they, where, and whensoeuer they preuailed in anie place, did for the most part alter and change the names of all places & townes, accounting it a great renowme, as also a perpetuall memorall of their chualrie, to giue new names, either of their owne deuises, or of their owne natiue countries; for so is it writen of them: *Picti, Scoti, Angli, Daci, & Normanni in hac insula rerum potiti, cuncta immutârunt, pro tropheis habentes, locis à se deuictis noua imponere nomina.* The Saxons therfore as of all other cities & townes (few excepted) so of this also they changed and altered the old names and called it Monketon; and by which name it was so called by the space of three hundred and od yeeres, and vntill the time of king Athelstane: for he about the yeere of our Lord nine hundred thirtie and two, being much greeued and vnquieted with the rebellion of the Cornish people, because they refused and denied to acknowledge him for their lawfull king, did bend his force, & conduct his armie against them. And hauing subdued and preuailed ouer them, he returned to this citie: and while he rested here, he repared the same; and the walles which before were but nightie ditches of earth, and the banks set with great poles of timber now destroied, he builded all of square stone, as it is recorded: *Hanc vrbem primus Athelstanus in potestatem Anglorum fugatis Britonibus reductam, turribus muniuit, & muro ex quadratis lapidibus tandem cinxit.* And then he altered and changed the former names, and called it after the name of the riuer *Essæterra* or *Exeterra*, that is to saie, Exeter. For so is it writen, *Est Exonia vrbs Deuoniæ comitatus, loco præcelso ad occidentem versus posita: abluiturq; fluuiine Exi, à quo nomen habet.*

Baleus *centur. lib. in Britannie descriptione.*

Polydorus *hist. lib. 5. Exeter.*

New lords new names.

Monketon.

Ex veteri libro.

Others name it of the riuer floting by it, which they saie is named *Exestrum*, & thus they write: *Clarissima vrbium est Excestria, quæ ab amni Excestro qui eandem præterfluit est sic nuncupata.* I find it also written in an old chronicle, that it is named *Exancestria* or *Exancestre*: which should seeme to be so called by the Saxons. For the most part of the cities, townes, & forts, which they builded or reedified, did end in cestre: as Gloucestre, Lecestre, Manchestre, Winchestre, Oscestre, Worcestre, Colchestre, Cicestre, Ilcestre, Bicestre, & this citie of Excestre, with others. For Caire in British, & Cestre in Saxonish are one thing, & do signifie in English a fort, to wit, or castell. This citie (as is before said) being walled about with stone by king Athelstane is not altogither foure square, but declineth somewhat toward a roundnesse, and containeth in circuit or compasse sixteene hundred whole pases, after fiue fot to a pase; which accounting after the Italian maner one thousand pases to a mile, it is a mile and halfe about, & somewhat more. The situation of this citie is verie pleasant and delicate, being set vpon a little hill among manie hilles. For the whole countrie round about is mounteinous and full of hilles. It is pendent towards the south and west parts, after and in such sort, that be the streets neuer so foule or filthie, yet with a shoure of raine they are clensed and made sweet. And albeit hilles are commonlie drie, yet nature is so beneficiall to this litle hill, that it is in euerie quarter full of water springs: & by that meanes the whole citie is throughlie furnished with wels and tirpits; the great good benefit and commoditie whereof hath well appered in sundrie times of necessitie, and especiallie in the time of the late commotion, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1549. For albeit the enimie, by breking and spoiling of the pipes or canales, whereby water was conueied to the founteins of the citie, from certeine springs distant not a mile from the same, did abridge them of that water: yet most comfortablie they did inioy without impeachment the wels and tirpits within the walles, which abundantlie floted with waters to the satisfieng of all people therein.

Caire, Cestre { a fort

The site of Excester and circuit.

The citie is full of water springs.

The rebels breake and spoile the pipes of lead for waters.

There are also within this citie certeine founteins or conduits, whereunto, through certeine canales or pipes of lead, the waters from certeine springs, rising in the fields not far from the citie, are brought and conueied. And these waters are of most price, because by the carriage thereof they are purified, and made lighter than are the other waters springing within the citie: and by that means more meet for dressing of meats. Of these conduits two are speciall, the one of them standeth and is within the cemiterie or churchyard of the cathedrall church of the said citie, and is called saint Peters conduit: the other being of great antiquitie standeth in the middle of the citie, at the meeting of foure principall streets of the same, and whereof sometimes it toke his name, being called the conduit at Quatrefois or Carfor; but now the great conduit.

The conduits for water.

Saint Peters conduit.

The great conduit.

At the higher end of this citie is a verie old and ancient castell, named Rugemont, that is to saie the red hill, taking that name of the red soile or earth whereupon it is situated. The site or situation of it is eminent and aboue both the citie and countrie adioining: for they do all lie as it were vnder the lee thereof. It hath a goodlie and pleasant prospect towards the seas: for betweene that and it is no hill at all. It is stronglie ditched round about, and was first builded (as some thinke) by Julius Cesar: but rather and in truth by the Romans after him when they had their recourse to it for their defense, refuge, and abode, manie yeares. The same was sometimes the palace of such kings, as vnto whome the kingdome

Castell Rugemont.

The site of the castell.

The castell builded by the Romans.

dome of Westsex or Westsaxons was alotted vnto: and after them, it was the habitation of the earles of Cornewall, and last of all of the dukes of Excester. It was alwaies parcell and of the inheritance of the earledome, but now of the duchie of Cornewall: it is in great ruine and decaie, and not easilie to be gotten with force, if it were reedified and inuironed.

The riuer of Exe.

At the lower end and part of this citie, without the wals, floteth a goodlie and a pleasant riuer, which the Britons called Isk; Ptolomeus by misinformation nameth it *Isaca*: but the other old writers named it *Esse, Exe, Exa*, or *Excestrum*: and these names be reteined at these presents. It hath his head or spring in a certeine more or desert distant from the citie neere about foure and twentie miles, called Exe riseth in Exmore. Exmore. It floweth into the maine seas about eight miles from the citie, at a place named Exmouth, and by the waie it is increased with sundrie riuers, brooks & lakes, the chiefe of which are Creedie and Collome. It is well stored and is plentifull of samon, trout, peale, dace, pike, and other like freshwater fishes: which albeit they be verie good and delicate, and especiallie the samon and pike: yet they are the lesse esteemed, because the seas being so neere do furnish the citie & countrie verie abundantlie with sundrie kinds of sea fishes most delicate.

The maine seas are not distant from the citie aboue eight miles, out of which commeth an arme serving for the port of the same: which (as doth appeare by certeine old and ancient records) did sometimes The hauen of Excester. flow vp to the verie wals of the citie, where boats and vessels were wont to be laden and vnladen of all kind of wares and merchandizes, at a proper place appointed for the same: which at these presents keepeth his old and ancient name, and is called the watergate. The decaie thereof hapned about the yeare of our Lord 1312, by one Hugh Courtneie the third of that name, and earle of Deuon: who being offended and incensed against this citie, his wrathfull humor could not be satisfied, vntill by some meanes he did impaire and annoie the state of the commonwealth of the same. And seeing that among other commodities, the vse of the hauen and watercourse to the citie to be one of the chiefest, he was neuer quiet vntill he had destroied the same: wherefore minding to performe what he had conceiued, he did in the yeare of our Lord 1313, the fift yeare of king Edward the second, enterprise & begin his pretended deuise and mischefe.

The decaie of the hauen of Excester. Hugh Courtneie the first destroier of the hauen.

And first whereas the ladie *Isabella de Fortibus*, countesse of Aumerle and of Deuon, his ancestrix had builded certeine weirs vpon the riuer of Exe (the propertie and seignorie whereof did apperteine to the citie) the one of the west side of the riuer of Exe in Exminster parish, and the other of the east side of the same riuer in the parish of Topesham; leauing betweene the said two weirs a certeine aperture or open space of thirtie foot, thorough which all boats and vessels without let or hinderance might haue and had their vsuall passage and repassage, to and from the citie vnto the seas: the said earle to abridge and destroie this great benefit and commoditie, did leuie and build a new weire in the said aperture or open rome, stopping, filling, and quirting the same, with great trees, timber, and stones, in such sort, that no vessell nor vessels could passe or repasse.

Edward Courtneie.

After him Edward Courtneie earle of Deuon, and nephue to the said Hugh, did not onlie maintaine and continue the doings of his ancestor, by his dailie reparing and defending the same: but also to worke an vtter destruction for euer, of anie passage or repassage to be had thensforth to and from the said citie; vnder pretense to build and make certeine mils, did erect two other weeres, the one at saint James ouerthwart the whole riuer, and the other at Lampreford: by meanes whereof not onelie the citie did susteine the whole losse of the hauen, but the whole countrie also was surrounded about it, and in processe of time altogither, and as it is at these presents couered with salt waters. For which greefs and iniuries vpon complaints made thereof, diuerse & sundrie writs and commissions of inquirie were awarded and granted by the king; and the said earles by sundrie inquisitions and verdicts found giltie. And yet notwithstanding, such was their power and authoritie, and such was the iniquitie of those dates, as no iustice could take place, nor law haue his due course against them.

Sundrie inquisitions and iuries taken against the earles of Deuon for destroieng of the hauen.

Furthermore also the foresaid Hugh, to incroch the gaine and commoditie of the lading & vnlading of merchandizes within the port & riuer to himselfe, did build a keie and a crane in the riuer at his towne of Topesham, distant from the citie about three miles: and by power did inforce and compell all maner of merchants arriuing within that port to vnlade & lade all their wares and merchandizes brought within that port (to be laden and vnladen) there onelie. And from thense, euer since, all wares and merchandizes haue beene caried and recaried to and from the citie by horsse, cart, and waine, though to the gaine of the earle and his tenants, yet to the great trouble and hinderance of the citie and merchants of the same. Nevertheless, the port hath euermore and yet doth keepe his old and ancient name, being called the port of the citie of Excester: and alwaies hath beene and presentlie is paied a tribute vnto the citie, by the name of the towne custome, for all kind of wares and merchandizes, discharged within that port or riuer, or the members thereof.

A keie first builded at Topesham. The merchants compelled to lade and vnlade at Topesham keie.

And although the watercourse thus being destroied can hardlie be restored to his old pristinate and naturall estate; for that thorough long continuance the old course can not be discerned: yet now at length after manie attempts and with great expenses, a watercourse and passage begun in the yeare 1564, is recouered, and by certeine sluces, boats, and vessels of fiftene or sixtene tuns are conueied and brought vp to the citie, and there discharged at the old and ancient place, called the watergate: & where is builded a verie faire large keie or wharfe, as also an engine called a crane fit for the purpose. Within the citie were somtimes but few parish churches, vntill the time of Innocentius the third: who when in the yeare 1198 he had established the doctrine of transubstantiation, and had made it an article of the symbole, as appeareth in the decretals, *Titulo de summa trinitate, canone Firmiter*: then his next successor Honorius the third, in the yeare 1218 did not onelie confirme the same, but also by decree did establish reseruation, candleight, and praieng for the dead, as doth appeare, *Decret. tit. de celebratione missarum, canone Sane cum, & Sane cum creatura*: by which meanes the number of sacrificing & massing priests did not onelie increase, but churches also and chapels began in all places and euerie where to be builded and erected.

The hauen is recouered and renewed againe.

A keie and a crane builded at Excester.

And among others in this citie in the yeare 1222 and the first yeare of king Henrie the third, the parish churches were limited, and increased to the number of nineteene churches within the citie and suburbs, and were called by the name of the christianitie euen to this daie. Euerie of which in times past was a sufficient and competent liuing to mainteine a massing sacrificer; for such and so great was the blind deuotion of the people then in that Romish religion: but the same now being abolished, and the gospell preached, the liuelihods are so small, as not sufficient for

The parish churches first limited in Excester.

the

the most part to mainteine a poore clerke or scholar, & by reason thereof, the most part of them do lie void and vacant, without incumbent.

A monasterie of saint Benets order builded in Excester.

Besides these parish churches, there was also a monasterie, sometimes of monks of saint Benets order, but since a cathedrall church, being of a verie faire and sumptuous building of freestone and with beautifull pillers of grate marble. It standeth and is situated in the east part of the citie; and (as some report) was first founded and built by king Ethelred, the third sonne to king Ethelwolphus. Some thinke that king Edgar did it. True it is that euerie of them builded a house for religious persons within this citie, of which the one was spoiled and burned by the Danes, and the other in processe of time was vnited to the monasterie, which is now the cathedrall church. But the cathedrall church it selfe was founded & builded by king Athelstane, the sonne to king Edward the elder: for so is it recorded in the historie of the same church, the words whereof are these: *Athelstanus subiugatis Cornugualensibus, reuersus est ad ciuitatem, quæ antiquitus Monketon vocabatur, nunc autem Exeter: ac ibi sedens, anno Dom. 932, non tam lacerata eiusdem ciuitatis mœnia reparabat, quin & mansum quoddam dedit ad fundandum monasterium pro monachis, Deo & sancto Petro famulantibus.*

King Ethelred the first founder of the monasterie. King Edgar founder of a religious house in Excester. The cathedrall church was first a monasterie and founded by king Athelstane. *Chronica eccleſiæ.*

This king besides his great charges and expenses in building of this church, which at the first was but small, and that part which is now called the Ladie chapell, he placed therein monkes of S. Benets order, prouided liuelihods for them, and appointed a ruler or gouernour ouer them, and who was called by the name of an abbat, towards whose diet and liuelihod he gaue Horkeshull and Treasurors béere: and which at these presents do remaine to the said church and are annered to the dignitie of the treasurorship of the same. The church being thus begun, kings, princes, & noble men were from time to time gladlie and willinglie verie liberall contributors to the absoluing and finishing of the same. For about foure score years after king Athelstane, king Knoght who was also named Cahutus or Canutus, at the earnest sute of one of his dukes named Athelred, did confirme and grant to Athelwood then abbat of the said church, and to his successors manie and sundrie priuileges and liberties, vnder his letters patents, dated the second yeare of his reigne, Anno Domini, 1019.

King Canutus confirmeth the priuileges of the monasteries.

After him about thirtie yeares, king Edward the confessor remoued the monkes vnto Westminster, and made this church a cathedrall church, and remoued the bishops see which was then at Crediton vnto this citie, making Leofricus bishop therof, and whom he and his wife queene Edith did put in possession of the same, as appeareth by his letters patents dated the eight yeare of his reigne, Anno Dom. 1050, Howbeit the monke of Burie, Polydorus, and others do affirme and write, that this should be done about the twelfe yeare of William the conqueror, for thus they do write: *Habitum est Londini, sub Lanfranco, antistitum & sacerdotum comitium, in quo decretum est, quod aliquot sedes episcopales, quæ in oppidulis & pagis antea fuerant, in vrbibus & locis celeberrimis collocarentur, vnde factum est vt Bathonia, Lincolnia, Sarisburia, Exonia, Cestria, & Ciceſtria vrbes, huiusmodi nouis episcoporum domiciliis sint nobilitatæ.*

K. Edward the confessor remoued the monks vnto Westminster, and made this a cathedrall church. Leofricus the first bishop of Excester.

Polyd. *hist. li.* 19 *Chronica chronicorum, lib.* 7.

But the reuerence of these writers reserued, this cannot be true concerning this church, bicause the words of the charter thereof do witnesse the contrarie, and declare expresselie, how that king Edward and queene Edith his wife did put Leofricus the first bishop in possession, the one by the one hand and the other by the other hand, leading him betweene them vp to the high altar, and there put his hands vpon the same. And yet it may be true, that at the forsaid councell, this remouing and placing of this bishop might be ratified and confirmed. Likewise William the conqueror, in the third yeare of his reigne 1069, did not onelie confirme the former charter, but also at the instance and request of William Warewell, then his chapleine, but afterwards bishop of the same sée, did giue vnto it the seigniors of Plimpton, Brampton, and S. Stephans in Excester, which the said William Warewell being afterwards bishop did distribute, giuing Plimpton to the religious canons, whome he placed there: Brampton was annered to the deanerie, but S. Stephans was reserued alwaies to the bishop, and to his successors, whereby they are barons, and so lords in the parlement house.

The cathedrall church was founde hundred yeres in building.

The conqueror confirmeth the charters of the church, and inlargeth the possessions of it.

It was also inlarged from time to time with great possessions, reuennes, buildings, riches, priuileges, and sundrie other commodities, by kings, princes, prelats, bishops, and sundrie others. And this one thing is to be noted, that albeit there were about foure hundred yeares distant from the first foundation and building thereof, vnto the ending and finishing of the same; yet it is so vniformelie and decentlie compact and builded in one mould, as though it had beene done at one instant. The bishop is distinct from the chanons both in house and reuenue: his liuelihods being no part nor parcell of that which apperteineth to the deane and chapter. It was sometimes of great reuenues and large possessions, but the more part thereof hath béene consumed and exhausted by a wastfull bishop. The bishop and chanons haue verie faire houses, which are situated about the church & cemiterie, and are inclosed euerie night by shutting fast of certeine gates, by which occasion it is called a close, *A claudendo:* and which gates are to be shut euerie night (except at certeine times) and to be opened euerie morning at certeine hours appointed, as it appeareth by a composition made for the same betweene the communaltie of Excester, and the bishop and deane of the same. In the middle of the cemiterie or churchyard is a verie faire founteine or conduit of water conueied by certeine pipes of lead from out of the same fields, as is the cities conduit. And albeit the springs of both waters are in the same field, and not farre distant: yet this doth excell the other. Out of this well or founteine waters are conueied to sundrie of the chanons houses, as also of late vnto the bishops house, and yet it serueth besides the whole close and citie. The citie it selfe is verie populous, and was sometimes chéefelie inhabited with clothiers & clothworkers of broad clothes, seruing much for the Spanish and south countries; and which in those daies were of such goodnesse & substance, that the names of them do remaine in those countries: but now it is chéeflie inhabited with merchants, kersie-clothiers, and all sorts of artificers, among whom the merchants are the chéefe & welthiest.

S. Peters conduit.

The inhabitants of this citie.

The gouernement of this citie was sometimes by foure bailiffes, which before the conquest were called portgreues, that is, the chéefest lords or rulers of the towne: for porta is taken for a towne, and greue in Saxonie is *Dominus* or *maior*: but after the conquest they were after the French tong named *Pronostres*, that is to saie *Præfecti* or rulers, and now ſtewards. Not long after the conquest there was ordered and constituted a senate of six and thirtie persons, but of later yeares by king Henrie the seauenth of foure & twentie persons, out of which number yearelie there was and is chosen one to be the chéefest gouernour for the yeare following; and is called by the name of a maior, whome the Saxons called Peregreue, that is, *Maior dominus*, or the chéefe ruler. This maior associated with the foure prouosts or

The gouernment of this citie.

Portegreues.

Pronostres.

Maior or Peregreue.

The charter of the church.

or bailiffes, hath the hearing, decerning, and determining in all ciuill causes betweene partie and partie, and for which they keepe weekelie vpon euerie mondaie a court in the Guildhall of the said citie: but the bailiffes reteining their old and ancient custome, do keepe the like courts, and in the like causes distinctlie from the maior by themselues, at all time and times (the mondaies and festiuall daies excepted) as it shall please them to assigne, and with their court is called by the name of the prouost court.

The maiors court.

The prouost court.

Thus the maior and bailiffes both iointlie and seuerallie haue iurisdiction to decerne and determine in ciuill matters. But if the matters do touch and concerne the prince, the crowne, the common peace, anie criminall matter, or the publike state of the citie and common-wealth of the same, then the same are decided by the maior and iustices, or by the maior and common councell, or by the maior himselfe, or by some other officer or officers, according to the nature and qualitie of the cause and offense. But bicause it requireth a large and speciall course, to describe the gouernement of this citie and common-wealth of the same, the charge of euerie officer, the diuersitie of officers, their seuerall iurisdictions, and a number of other things incident vnto their charges: there is a particular booke imprinted, and at large the same is set out, in such order as is requisite, and apperteining to the gouernement: whereby euerie man may know his office and charge, and what to him doth apperteine. And let it suffice, that partlie through good gouernement, and partlie of a good inclination, the people of this citie haue beene alwaies dutifull and obedient to the king and the lawes: and haue in great awe and reuerence their gouernours and magistrats for the time being. And this one thing is not so strange as worthie to be noted, that euen from the beginning, from time to time they haue beene carefull for their common-wealth, and vigilant for the preseruation of the same. And as in times of peace and quietnesse the same hath beene well gouerned: so in times troublesome and vnquiet, it hath beene most valiantlie defended against the inuasions and assaults of the enimies, as by sundrie histories it may appeare: whereof for example these few may serue.

The good inclination and dutifulnesse of the citizens.

1 First Aruiragus king of this land, then named Britaine, minding to state the land in his ancient estate, freedome and libertie, did withdraw and denie to paie vnto the Romans the tribute which they did require and demand: wherefore Claudius the emperor sent Uespasian then duke of the Romane armie, into this realme with a great hoast, either to recouer the tribute, or to subdue the land. This Uespasian is he, who in the foure and twentith yeare after this his iourneie, did destroie Jerusalem. Wherfore this duke landing in Torrebaie, then named *Totonesium littus*, came to this citie, laid siege vnto it, and gaue continuall assaults there vnto, for eight daies continuallie togither. Aruiragus the king, being then in the east parts of the land, and hearing of this, with a great armie and power marcheth towards this citie to remoue the siege, and incountereth with the enimie. The Romane after long fight, and not able to preuaile, is contented to come to parlee, and in the end a composition was concluded, as it doth apeare, and is set downe and written by sundrie historiographers. The chronicle of the cathedrall church of the said citie hath these words: *Anno Domini 49, Uespasianus cum Romano exercitu ciuitatem nunc vocatam Exeter, octo diebus obsedit, sed minimè præualuit, Aruirago rege ciuibus auxilium præstante.*

Claudius Nero the emperor sendeth Uespasian into Britaine.

Uespasian landeth in Torrebaie, and laieth siege to this citie.

King Aruiragus relieueth this citie and incountereth the enimie.

Annales ecclesiæ cathed.

Galfridus Monumetensis.

Geffreie of Monmouth hath these words: *Uespasianus à Claudio missus est, vt Aruiragum vel pacificaret, vel Romanæ subiectioni restitueret. Cùm igitur in portu in Rutupi applicare voluisset Uespasianus, obuiauit ei Aruiragus, atque prohibuit ne portum ingrederetur. Retraxit itaque se Uespasianus à portu illo, retortisque velis in littore Totonesio applicuit. Nactus deinde tellurem Caer Penhulgaite, quæ nunc Exonia vocatur obsessurus; eandem adiuit, cumque octo diebus eandem obsedisset, superuenit Aruiragus cum exercitu suo, prœliumque commisit: die illa, valde laceratus fuit vtrorumque exercitus, sed neuter est victoria potitus, mane autem facto, mediante Genwissa regina, concordes effecti sunt.* Matthew of Westminster writeth: *Aruiragus Britannorum rex, in tantam prolapsus est superbiã, quod Romanæ potestatis noluit diutius subiectioni parere. Uespasianus igitur à Claudio missus cum in Rutupi portu applicare incepisset, Aruiragus illi obuius prohibuit ne ingrederetur. At Uespasianus retortis velis in Totonesio littore applicuit, & ciuitatem quæ Britannicè Caer Penhulgoite, nunc autem Exonia appellatur, obsedit: elapsis inde septem diebus Aruiragus superuenit, prœliumque commisit, & vtrorumq; exercitu valde laterato, mediante Genwissa Claudij filia, duces amici facti sunt.*

10

Flores historiarum.

20

In the historie intituled, Noua historia de gestis Anglorum à Britonibus vsque ad Henricum sextum, is written the like in effect: *Uespasianus à Claudio missus est vt Aruiragum pacificaret, vel Romanæ ditioni restitueret, cui obuians Aruiragus, prohibuit ne terram suam ingrederetur, timens Uespasianus armatorum cohortem, retraxit sese, retortisq; velis in Totonesio littore est appulsus, atque vrbem Exoniæ obsedit, post septem dies superuenit Aruiragus, prœlium committitur, laceratúrque vtrorúmque exercitus, sed neuter potitur victoria, demum mediante Genewissa regina, reconciliati sunt.* It was also in manie troubles and great perplexities, in the vncerteine and troublesome states of this realme, when sometimes the Romans, sometimes the Picts, sometimes the Scots, sometimes the Saxons, and sometimes the Danes made their incursions and warres within this land, by reason whereof the records and memorials in those daies for the most part were lost and consumed.

30

Noua historia.

40 And yet Matthew of Westminster writeth that it was besieged by Penda king of Mertia, in the yeare of our Lord 632, in the time of Cadwallin one of the last kings of the Britons. The historie is this. Edwin the Saxon king of the Northumbers, hauing wars against Cadwallin or Cadwallo, did so preuaile and had such conquests ouer him, that Cadwallo was driuen to forsake his realme of Wales, and to flie into Ireland, where he being, was verie carefull and pensiuell how to recouer his countrie againe. Wherefore he repareth his armie and gathereth a new force, and gaue sundrie attempts to atchiue to his purpose: but all was in vaine, for he could neuer set foot on land in his countrie. But Edwin was alwaies at hand and in a readinesse to stop and resist the same, for this Edwin had about him in his seruice a man named Pellitus, who was a magician and verie skilfull in necromancie, and who by his art and science did foreshew and declare vnto Edwin what things were a doing and attempted against him.

2 *Flores historiarum.*

Penda king of Mertia.

Edwin king of Northumberland.

King Cadwallo is driuen to flee into Ireland.

Pellitus a witch doth foretell to king Edwin of things to come.

50

60 Cadwallo hauing continuallie euill successe, was in vtter despaire and distrust to preuaile against Edwin, and therefore as one giuing ouer all, saileth ouer the seas into Armorica now called little Britaine, vnto Salomon the king thereof, and vnto him doth disclose his miserable estate and fortune, as also greatlie complaineth of Pellitus and of his sorceries. When these two kings had throughlie consulted and debated the matter, it was at length concluded and thought best, that some one man being bold and wittie should be sent ouer to the court of king Edwin, to giue the aduenture to kill Pellitus. Whereupon the matter being discouered to Brienus nephue to king Cadwallo, he taketh vpon him to enterprise

King Cadwallo saileth into Armorica.

Brienus the kings nephue is sent to kill Pellitus.

terprise the matter, and to couer himselfe from all suspicion, apparelleth himselfe in a poore beggers weed, and so saileth ouer into England, and trauelleth forthwith towards king Edwins court, who then laie at Yorke, and there ioineth and accompanieth himselfe among the poore people, whose custome and maner was, to lie about the kings gates at dinner and supper times, waiting for the almesse vsuallie giuen and wont to be distributed amongst the poore.

Brienus killeth Pellitus.

Pellitus being the kings almoner, and hauing the charge to distribute the said almesse, commeth forth and setteth the poore folke in order. Brienus being there and amongst them, watcheth his time to worke his purpose, and thrusting himselfe in the middle of the presse of the people, suddenlie with his poinado or weapon which for the purpose he had prepared, thrusteth Pellitus into the bodie, & gaue him a deadlie wound whereof he died, and forthwith (the thing in such a thrust not perceiued) shifteth himselfe awaie priuilie, and through woods, hils, thickets, and dales out of the common waie, commeth to this citie of Excester, & declareth vnto the citizens (who were then Britons) what he had done: whereof they were verie glad and ioifull, and in good hope that their king Cadwallo should yet againe returne; and therefore vpon good aduise do prepare and make readie both themselues and the citie, aswell for the resisting of the enimie, as for the receiuing, succouring and aiding of their king.

King Penda besiegeth Excester.

King Penda aduertised of this murther, and vnderstanding the whole course of the matter and practise, taketh in grieue the iniurie thus done to his neighbor and countriman king Edwin. And therefore to reuenge the same mustereth his subiects and gathereth a great armie; and vnderstanding that Brienus was come to this citie marcheth towards the same, and in the end laieth his siege round about it, minding the vtter subuersion thereof. But the citizens manfullie withstanding his force, did defend and kéepe both themselues and their citie, vntill that king Cadwallo, who before was aduertised both of the fact of Brienus and of this preparation of Penda, did with his force and armie come to the citie, who did not onelie rescue the same; but also ioining the battell with his enimie gaue him the ouerthrow, and so deliuered his countrie, and recouered himselfe and his kingdome.

3

Polyd. lib. 5.

It was also in greater troubles in the time of king Alured or Alfred the fourth sonne to king Ethelwolphus. For Polydorus and others do write, that in the first yeare of the said kings reigne, the Danes concluded a peace with the said king, and gaue hostages for the true kéeping thereof. And yet notwithstanding most perfidiouslie and falselie contrarie to the same, they assembled themselues, and vpon a sudden marched to this citie, and perforce entered and tooke the same: *Daci etenim qui religionem & fidem pro suo commodo postponendam ducebant, Londino se mouent, & maximis itineribus Exoniam proficiscuntur, vrbémq; per vim capiunt.* But long they inioied not the same, for after that winter passed, the king to be reuenged marcheth with a great power to this citie, which the Danes vnderstanding and thinking themselues too weake to withstand the K. as also vtterlie distrusting the citizens, shifted themselues awaie, of which some fled vnto Dartmouth and there tooke shipping, and who for the most part were drowned in a tempest at the seas. Some fled to Chipenham or (as some saie) to Bristow, but the king followed and pursued these so sharplie, that he neuer left nor gaue ouer, vntill he had ouercome and slaine the capteins Hubbert and Hungar.

The Danes are ouerthrowne and their capteins are slaine.

4

Likewise in the nineteenth yeare of the reigne of the said king, the Danes contrarie to their faith, pledges, and promises, did againe come to this citie, and laid siege to the same: *Danorum exercitus anno 877, ab Wareham nocte quadam fœdere dirupto, ad Exancestre, quod Britannice dicitur Caeriske diuerterunt, at audito regis aduentu, ad puppes fugerunt, & in mari prædantes manebant.* Noua chronica.

It was also besieged by the said Danes in the nineteenth yeare of king Egelred, in the yeare of our Lord 1001. For the Danes, which were in Normandie, being aduertised of the good lucke, successe, and great spoiles which their companions and countriemen in England had, and their teeth set on edge therewith, suddenlie prepared shipping, and came ouer the coasts and landed in Deuon, and forthwith marched and toke their course towards the citie of Excester, thinking to haue found the citizens napping & to haue taken them suddenlie and vnawares; *Sed ciuibus viriliter resistentibus recesserunt.* The people & comons of Deuon, Cornewall, Summerset & Dorset, aduertised hereof, assembled themselues, & minding to rescue the citie, as also to incounter & aduenture the field with the Danes, met with them at a place neere the citie called Pinneho, and ioined battell with them, betweene whome the fight was cruell and the slaughter great. And thus doth Houeden testifie, whose words be these: *Memoratus paganorum exercitus de Normannia in Angliam reuectus, ostium fluuij Exe ingreditur, & mox ad extinguendam vrbem Exeancestre egreditur, sed dum murum illius destruere moliretur, ac ciuibus vrbem viriliter defendentibus repellitur, vnde nimis exasperatus more solito villas succendendo, agros depopulando, hominésque cædendo per Domnoniam vagatur, quare Domnonenses in vnum congregati, in loco qui dicitur Pinho certamen cum eis ineunt.* Flores historiarum. The battell at Pinneho. Houeden.

5

6

King Sweno being in Denmarke, and aduertised hereof, as also giuen to vnderstand how king Elfred *alias* Ethelred or Egelred had caused all the Danes in the realme to be suddenlie slaine in one night, being much greeued therewith, did prepare and prouide a great armie for the reuenge thereof. And in the yeare of our Lord 1002, he landed in sundrie and diuerse parts of this realme, vsing great hostilitie, and making great spoiles, and brought the whole land to an vnspeakeable miserie and distresse: but at length, receiuing a tribute for a peace, he returned home into his owne countrie. Howbeit the citizens of Excester hearing of this crueltie vsed in the east parts, made themselues strong: and doubting of so mightie an enimie, did make themselues readie, and prepared the citie to withstand him, if he should haue attempted anie force or hostilitie against them.

King Sweno inuadeth and spoileth the land.

But the Dane being gone and returned home, and knowing nothing of this preparation, one Hugh then earle of Deuon (as princes lacke no fawners) sent his letters into Denmarke to king Sweno, certifieng him both of the state and wealth of this citie, as also of the great preparation which had bene made to withstand him, persuading him not to susteine such an iniurie. And as coles will be soone kindled: euen so the Dane vpon this aduertisement was in a great heat, and forthwith arreareth his armie, and repareth all things in readinesse to crosse the seas anew to worke his will against this citie. And accordinglie when time serued, in the yeare following, being the yeare of our Lord 1003, he tooke the seas and landed vpon the coasts of Deuon and Cornewall, and marched forthwith to this citie, and laid his siege against the same in the beginning of the moneth of August, and continued the same vntill the kalends of September: during which time were sundrie sharpe, fierce, and cruell assaults giuen by the Dane, and as valiantlie resisted by the citizens.

Hugh earle of Deuon as a false mã to his countrie, doth betraie the citie.

King Sweno by the trechetrie of the earle of Deuon besiegeth the citie.

But in continuance of time, when they saw themselues

selues dailie more and more to be weakened, vittels to faile, the fire round about them, their walles beaten downe, themselues slaughtered and murthered, and the enimie to increase and be strong, and in all these distresses, their king Eldred being fled into Normandie, to haue no care of them, nor to prepare anie reskue, aid, or helpe for them: it was not to be maruelled, if in so heanie a distresse they were amazed and astonished. And yet considering with themselues that Sweno was a Dane, a cruell enimie, a bloudie murtherer, an vsurping tyrant, hauing no other title to the crowne of England, but the sword, did with one consent agree and conclude, neuer to yeeld nor giue ouer whilest anie were left liuing able to withstand the same, wishing rather to die manfullie for their common wealth, than to liue in reproch and infamie, and by death to reape an immortall fame, than by life to become ignominious & infamous, and in the end also to be the miserable slaues of a cruell and vsurping tyrant.

King Eldred as one forlorne forsaketh his countrie.

The stoutnes and courage of the citizens.

When therefore after manie assaults, all or the most part of the ablest men were spent and consumed, and none or few left aliue to withstand so mightie and so manie enimies: the Dane on the seuen and twentith date of August, with force entered the citie, And after that he had serued and satisfied his bloudie appetite, in deflowring the women, murthering the children, and making hauocke of all the people, hee spoiled the citie, burned the houses, raced the walles, bet downe the temples, and left nothing to be done which might by fire, sword, and spoiles be consumed: and this is so witnessed by sundrie writers. Reinulph of Chester writeth thus: *Daci cum suo rege Sweno Excestriam venerunt, & vrbem funditus destruxerunt, nulla re incolumi relicta, quæ aut ferro aut igni vastari poterat: & omnia spolia cineribus tantum relictis secum deportauerunt.* Huntington hath these words: *Daci iram exarserunt sicut ignis quem velit aliquis sanguine extinguere: adulantes igitur quasi multitudo locustarum, quidam Excestriam venerunt, & vrbem funditus destruxerunt: & omnia spolia cineribus tantum relictis secum deportauerunt.*

King Sweno entereth and taketh the citie, & vtterlie destroieth it.

Wil. Malm.

Rein. Coft.

Hen. Hunt.

Houeden thus saith: *Rex Danorum Sweni periurium & proditionem Normannici comitis, quem Emma Domnaniæ præfecerat, ciuitatem Exon infregit, spoliauit, & murum ab orientali vsq; ad occidentalem portam destruxit, & cum ingenti præda naues repetijt.* It was also besieged by William the Conquerour in the first yeare of his reigne Anno 1068. For when he first entered this land, and by dint of sword sought the conquest thereof; the citizens of this citie, and the noble and gentlemen of all the countrie about, entered into one common league, conclusion and promise, to ioine togither and to withstand the enimie to the vttermost. And this confederacie being confirmed by a publike oth, preparation on all parts was made accordinglie, for the accomplishing of the same. But the conquerour hauing preuailed, and subdued in a maner the whole land, was aduertised that this citie stood vpon their gard, and would not yeeld nor submit themselues vnto him. Wherevpon he sent his armie from London and besieged the same: and perceiuing the siege to continue, marched and came himselfe vnto the same, but rather came no further than Salisburie. In the meane time the citizens were aduertised how the whole realme had yeelded, and seeing also how their confederats did dailie shrinke awaie from them, and by that meanes they to grow weaker & weaker, and therefore the lesse able to withstand so great a force, and to keepe out so puissant an armie as was round about them; and considering also, that small mercie or fauor should they find if the citie by force were taken; did by way of intreatie offer submission, and desire peace, which in the end they obteined: and so paieng a grieuous fine, they and the citie were restored.

Houeden.

7 William the Conquerour besiegeth the citie.

A league betweene the gentlemen & the citizens to resist the Conquerour.

The records of the citie.

But yet in token of his conquest, the king altered and changed the gates of the castell, and toke an oth of all the citizens to be his liege and true subiects.

Houeden in his historie maketh mention, that Githa king Harolds mother should be within this citie, during the time that this siege and assault lasted: and perceiuing the bent of the people to submit and yeeld themselues, secretlie conueied hirselfe awaie. For these be his words: *Hyeme minuente, rex Wilhelmus de Normannia in Angliam rediit, & Anglis importabile tributum imposuit: deinde in Dummoniam hostiliter profectus est ad ciuitatem Excestriam, quam ciues & nonnulli Anglici ministri contra illum retinebant: & obsedit, & infregit. Githa verò comitissa, mater scilicet Haroldi regis Anglorum, & soror Sweni regis Danorum, cum multis de ciuitate fugiens, euasit & Flandriam petijt, ciues autem dextris acceptis regi se dederunt.* Also in the second yeare of king Stephan Anno 1137, the lords and peeres of the realme, remembring the oth which they had before made to king Henrie the first, to whom they sware to be true to Mawd the kings onelie daughter and heire, and to his heires, and yet contrarie to the same had sworne themselues to king Stephan, began to repent themselues, & consulted how to restore Mawd the empresse, and to expell Stephan. Wherefore they assembled themselues in armor, & diuided themselues into sundrie cities, townes and castels.

Houeden. Polychron. li. 7

Githa king Harolds mother laie in the citie during the siege, and secretlie flieth awaie into Flanders.

Among whom one Baldwin Ridewers then erle of Deuon, with force entered and toke this citie. But the king so sharpelie followed and pursued him, that he draue him from hence into the Ile of Wight, which was then his lordship. But the king when he had receiued the citie into his faith, marched with his armie to the said Ile, & toke the same, as also the earle himselfe, whome he forthwith banished. But Mawd the empresse afterwards remembring this citie for such their seruice as she well liked, did inlarge the liberties of this citie, for whome yearelie euer after was an anniuersarie kept at the charges of the citie.

Baldwin Ridewers earle of Deuon entred into this citie, and resisteth against king Stephan.

Baldwin the earle is taken and banished.

M. Mawd is friendlie to the citie.

It was also in great troubles in the eleuenth yere of king Richard the second, Anno 1387. For a controuersie being fallen betweene the king & his two vncles, the dukes of Yorke & Gloucester, none were then so highlie in the kings fauour, as were Robert Vere marques of Dublin, and Michaell de la Pole earle of Suffolke, & others of their faction. To these the king gaue in commandement, to collect and muster an armie, as it were for his defense, against his said vncles: which when they had partlie done, whether it were bicause they mistrusted their owne parts, or whether they doubted of the sequele of their doings, they left their iournie towards London, as it was first appointed, and came towards this citie. The two dukes who stood vpon their owne gard and defense, hauing aduertisement hereof, followed and persuaded them with all haste and speed: and hauing ouertaken them at this citie, they ioined the fight with the marques and the earle. But they trusting more to their feet than to their hands, secretlie gaue the slip and fled awaie, making no staie before they came to Scotland; and from thence into Flanders, where they died.

Polydor. li. 20. 9

The marques of Dublin, and the earle of Suffolke, come to Exon and are pursued by the dukes of Yorke and Gloucester.

It was moreouer in troubles in the tenth yere of king Edward the fourth Anno 1469, when the states of this king, and of king Henrie the first were doubtfull, and the whole realme diuided: some following king Henrie, and some king Edward. In time of which troubles the duches of Clarence, the lord Dineham, the lord Fitzwaren, and the baron of Carew, who followed and toke part with king Henrie, came to this citie, being accompanied and assisted with a thousand fightingmen. The duches was great with child, and lodged in the bishops palace, but

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The duches of Clarence with others commeth to Exon being great with child & lieth in the bishops palace.

the lords were in other houses within the close among the chanons, and here staied themselues. But sir Hugh Courtneie knight, who then fauoured and was on the part of king Edward, hearing of this assemblie, raiseth an armie of his friends and allies, approcheth therwith vnto this citie, besiegeth it, breaketh the bridges, and stoppeth all the waies leading to the same, and by which means no vittels could be brought to the markets: and being thus incamped about this citie, sendeth to the maior, requiring him either to open the gates and to giue him entrie, or to deliuer vnto him the gentlemen that were therein. On the other side, the gentlemen which were within, they either mistrusting the maior and citizens, or not willing to stand to his courtesie, and be vnder his gouernement, required the keies of the citie gates to be deliuered vnto their custodie, and that all things to be done by their order and appointment.

Sir Hugh Courtneie laieth siege to the citie.

The maior is required to deliuer the keies of the citie, and refuseth so to do.

In these doubts and perplexities consulting what were best to be done, they did at length resolue & conclude neither to yeeld to the requests of them who were without, nor yet to satisfie the demands of them which were within the citie: but pacifieng both parties with such good words, and in such good order as they might, did reserue to themselues the keeping and safe custodie of the citie, being the chamber of the king, & parcell of the reuenues of the crowne, to the onlie vse of the king and crowne, as to them in dutie and allegiance did apperteine. And therefore forthwith they rampired vp the citie gates, fortified the walles, appointed souldiers, and did set all things in such good order as in that case was requisit; leauing nothing vndone which might be for the preseruation of the state & commonwealth of the citie.

The maior and citizens doo fortifie the citie.

But yet for want of forecasting, in processe of time the prouision within the citie waxed short, and vittels to be scant; whereof it was doubted there would insue some famine, which the common people neither could nor would indure, if some remedie were not in due time had and prouided. The magistrats did their best indeuor euerie waie, aswell by diligence in following, as by counselling, in persuading euerie man to continue firme and true to the publike state, and their owne priuate commonweale. And albeit the common people were impatient to abide troubles, and loth to indure the present state of want and famine; yet they had that respect to their owne truth, faith, and safetie, as euerie man yeelded himselfe contented to abide and indure the time of their deliuerance: and by the good will of God it followed, and the same tooke good effect.

For about twelue daies after this sturre begun, by waie of intreatie and mediation of certeine chanons of the cathedrall church of this citie, the siege was remoued and raised; whereupon verie shortlie after did insue the field of Edgecourt, where the duke of Clarence and the earle of Warwike being put to the worst, did flee vnto this citie, and made their entrie into the same the third daie of Aprill, 1470, and laie in the bishops palace for a few daies, vntill they had caused to be prouided ships at Dartmouth for their passage ouer into Calis.

The siege raised, and the citie deliuered.

The duke of Clarence and the Earle of Warwike came from Edgecourt field to this citie, and from hence to Dartmouth.

The king being aduertised which waie his enimies were gone, followed and pursued them with an armie of fortie thousand men, and came to this citie the fourteenth of Aprill 1470, hauing with him in his companie sundrie & diuerse great lords and estates, as namelie the bishop of Elie lord tresuror of England, the duke of Norffolke earle marshall of England, the duke of Suffolke, the earle of Arundell, the earle of Wiltshire son to the duke of Buckingham, the earle of Shrewesburie, the earle Riuers, the lord Hastings, the lord Greie of Codner, the lord Audleigh, the lord Saie, the lord Sturton, the lord Dacres, the lord Mountioie, the lord Stanleie, the lord Ferris, & the baron of Dudleigh, with a number of knights and gentlemen. But they all came too late; for the duke and the earle were both departed and gon to the seas before their comming.

Wherefore the king, after that he had rested and reposed himselfe here three daies, he departed and returned to London. It was also in great troubles, 11
being besieged in the twelfe yeare of king Henrie the seuenth: by one Perkin Warbecke, 1470, who in the beginning of the moneth of September came to this citie, and incamped about it with his whole armie with ordinance battered the walls, fired the gates, vndermined it, and with mightie ladders scaled them, and left nothing vndone which might be to compasse their attempt: thinking and supposing that small would be the resistance against them. But such was the noble courage and valiant stomach of the citizens, that they manfullie resisted and defended those forces, and indured the same to the vttermost, vntill that the king being aduertised thereof, did send the lord Edward Courtneie, earle of Deuon and the lord William his sonne, with sundrie others well appointed, who came and rescued the citie: but in certeine conflicts the said earle and others were hurt; notwithstanding the enimie had the repulse, and was driuen to raise his campe and to depart.

Perkin Warbecke commeth to Exceter and besiegeth it.

The earle of Deuon sent to rescue the citie and is hurt.

Finallie & last of all, it was besieged in the third 12
yeare of king Edward the sixt, 1549, by the commons of Deuon and Cornewall: the historie whereof, for so much as hitherto it hath not beene fullie and at large set forth by anie man, & wherat I John Hooker the writer herof was present, and *Testis oculatus* of things then done, I will somewhat at large discourse & set downe the whole course & maner of the same. It is apparant and most certeine, that this rebellion first was raised at a place in Deuon named Sampford Courtneie, which lieth westwards from the citie about sixteene miles; vpon mondaie in the Whitsunweeke being the tenth daie of June 1549. The cause thereof (as by the sequele it did appeare) was onelie concerning religion; which then by act of parlement was reformed, and to be put in execution on Whitsundaie the ninth of June. The which daie being now come, and the statute made for the same to be put in execution throughout the whole realme: it was accordinglie with all obedience receiued in euerie place, and the common people well inough contented therewith euerie where; sauing in this west countrie, and especiallie at the said Sampford Courtneie.

The rebellion or commotion in Deuon.

The rebellion first began at Sampford Courtneie.

The cause of this rebellion was for religion.

For albeit at the daie appointed by statute, they had heard and were present at the diuine seruice said, and had according to the new reformed order, and could not in anie respect, find fault, or iustlie reprehend the same: yet (as old bottels which would not receiue new wine) would rather wallow in the old dreggs and puddels of old superstition, than to be fed and refreshed with the wholesome and heauenlie manna. Wherefore they confederated themselues, vtterlie to renounce, reiect, and cast off the same, not onelie to the great offense of God, whome they ought in all truth and veritie to reuerence and honor; and to the great displeasure of the king, whome in all dutifulnesse they ought to haue obeied: but also to the raising of open rebellion, the cause of the spoile of the whole countrie, and the vndoing of themselues, their wiues, and children; as in sequele and in the end it fell out and came to passe.

And here doth apeare what great detriments doo come and insue to the church of God, and what great troubles

The want of preaching was the cause of the rebellion.

trouble to the publike and commonweale: when as learned preachers do want to teach and instruct the people; and well persuaded magistrats to gouerne the common state. For these people lacking the one, & not stored with the other, were left to themselues, and to their owne dispositions: and thereby partlie of ignorance, but more of a froward and a rebellious disposition, they do now vtterlie condemne to accept, and do openlie resist to receiue the reformed religion, now put, and to be put in vse and execution. For vpon the said mondaie, the priest being come to the parish church of Sampford, & preparing himselfe to saie the seruice according to the booke & reformed order set forth, & as he had done the daie before: some of the parishioners, namelie one William Underhill a tailor, and one Segar a labourer, and others who had consulted and determined before of the matter, went to the priest, and demanded what he ment to do, and what seruice he would saie: Who answered that according to the lawes set forth, he would saie the same seruice as he had done the daie before. Then they said, that he should not so do, saieng further, that they would keepe the old and ancient religion, as their forefathers before them had done; and as king Henrie the eight by his last will and testament had taken order, that no alteration of religion should be made, vntill king Edward his sonne were come vnto his full age. And therefore, for somuch as he was now but a child, and could do nothing, they also would not haue anie change.

Underhill and Segar the first captens of the rebellion.

The priest was compelled, because he would be compelled to saie masse.

In the end, all the parishioners ioining and taking parts togither, were all of the same mind, willing and charging the priest that he should vse and saie the like seruice as in times past he was wont to do: who in the end, whether it were with his will, or against his will, he relied to their minds, and yelded to their wills: and forthwith rauisheth himselfe in his old popish attire, and saith masse, and all such seruices as in times past accustomed. These newes, as a cloud caried with a violent wind, and as a thunder clap sounding at one instant through the whole countrie, are caried and noised euen in a moment through out the whole countrie: and the common people so well allowed and liked thereof, that they clapped their hands for ioie, and agréed in one mind, to haue the same in euerie of their seuerall parishes.

The iustices of peace dwelling not far from Sampford, being aduertised how disorderlie, & contrarie to the lawes, things had béene done in the church of Sampford; and how that the common people were clustered and assembled togither, to continue and to maintaine their lewd & disordered behauiour: such of them, namelie, sir Hugh Pollard knight, Anthonie Haruie, Alexander Wood, and Parke Slader esquiers came & met at Sampford, minding to haue had conference with the chiefe plaiers in this enterlude, aswell for the redresse of the disorder alreadie committed, as also to persuade and pacifie the rest of the people. But they partlie vnderstanding before hand of the iustices comming, were so addicted and wholie bent to their follies, that they fullie resolued themselues, wilfullie to maintaine what naughtilie they had begun. And therfore, when the iustices were come to the place, and requested to talke with them, they refused it; vnlesse the said gentlemen would leaue all their men behind, and go with them into a certeine seuerall close not far off; and so they would be contented to conferre with them.

The iustices resort to Sampford and do no good.

These gentlemen were afraid of their owne shadowes.

The gentlemen, albeit they and their men were the greater number, and sufficient to haue repressed the small companie of the commoners then & there assembled: yet whether it were because they thought in such a case to vse all the best & quietest waie for the pacifieng of them; or whether some of them being like affected as they were, did not like the alteration, as it was greatlie suspected: they yelded, and according to the motion made, they left their men in the towne, & went into the foresaid close, & there hauing had conference a prettie while togither, did in the end depart without anie thing done at all. Whereof as there appeared some weakenesse in the said iustices which were so white liuered, as they would not, or durst not to represse the rages of the people (which they might haue done) so therof also insued such a scab as passed their cure, and such a fire as they were not able to quench. For the commons hauing now their willes, were set vpon a pin, that the game was theirs, and that they had wone the garland before they had runne the race; nothing foreseeing what might insue, nor yet accounting what follie it is to triumph before the victorie. Wherfore they assemble & confederat themselues throughout the whole shire in great troops and companies, and do associat and flocke vnto them the Cornish people, minding to ioine togither, and folishlie to maintaine what rashlie they had begun.

The king and councell then occupied in the weightie causes concerning the state of Scotland, being aduertised of this towards rebellion, & respecting the speedie redresse thereof, sent forthwith for sir Peter Carew knight, who then was in Lincolneshire, and for sir Gawen Carew, who was then attendant at the court: and to them commandement was giuen, that forthwith, and with all speed they should hasten and depart into Deuon, and there to vse, by the aduise of the iustices, all the best meanes and waies that they might for the appeasing of this rebellion, quieting of the people, and pacifieng of the countrie; and to cause euerie man quietlie to returne to his home, and to refer the causes of their griefs and complaints (if they had anie) vnto the king and councell: and if they then refused so to do, they to vse such other good meanes and waies as might be for the suppressing of them. And the councell being dailie more and more aduertised, that these begun rebellions did more and more increase; and doubting of the sequele thereof, by reason that in other places of the realme the like tumults were begun, though not for the like causes; do direct and giue an order to the lord Russell, then lord priuie seale, and after earle of Bedford, that he also should follow and dispatch himselfe into Deuon; and he had a commission to deale in such order as he might best do for the pacifieng of the said tumults and vprores.

Sir Peter Carew and sir Gawen Carew sent into Deuon,

The foresaid two knights, hauing receiued their commission vnder the kings hand, came in post into the countrie, and making their repaire to this citie, do forthwith send for sir Péers Courtneie then shiriffe and the iustices of the peace of the countrie; and vnderstanding, that a great companie of the commons were assembled at Crediton, which is a towne distant about seauen miles from Excester, and that among them were the Sampford men: & who were the chiefe of them take councell & aduise what was best to be done, and what waie méetest to be taken. In the end it was concluded, that the said sir Peter and sir Gawen with others should ride to Crediton, & there to haue conference and speeches with the said commons, and to vse all the good waies and meanes they might to pacifie & appease them, they then supposing, and being persuaded, that by good speeches and gentle conferences they should haue béene able to haue compassed and persuaded the said commons. But the people being by some secret intelligence aduertised of the comming of the gentlemen towards them,

The iustiçiaries do assemble all at Excester.

Sir Peter Carew by the aduise of the iustices rideth to Kirton.

them, and they fullie resolued not to yéeld one iote from their determinations, but to mainteine their cause taken in hand, dw arme and make themselues strong, with such armors and furnitures as they had; they intrench the high waies, and make a mightie rampire at the townes end, and fortifie the same, as also the barns next adioining to the said rampires with men and munition, hauing persed the walles of the barns with lopes and holes for their shot.

The people at Kirton dw arme themselues & rampire vp the waies.

The foresaid gentlemen knowing nothing hereof, rode on their iourneie, and being come almost to the towne, they were aduertised how the waies were stoped and rampired, and that they could not ride into the towne. Wherupon they alighted from their horsses, and after a little conference had, they agréed to go into the towne on foot, nothing thinking lesse that they should be stoped or denied to go in on foot. But when they came to the rampires they found the contrarie: for they not onelie were denied to come néere the rampire, but vtterlie were refused to be talked withall: no offers of persuasions nor motions of conference at all could be allowed. For the sun being in cancer, & the midsummer moone at full, their minds were imbrued in such follies, and their heads caried with such vanities, that as the man of Athens they would heare no man speake but themselues, and thought nothing well said but what came out of their owne mouths.

The gentlemen vpon such checks, taking the matter in euill part, to be so vnreuerentlie and discourteouslie intreated, with one consent dw agree to make waie ouer the rampire. But in the aduenture thereof they were so galled both by them which kept the rampires, and speciallie by such as were within the barnes, that they were faine to retire and giue place, with the losse of some, and the hurt of manie.

The barns at the townes end at Kirton are set on fire.

In which distresse, a certeine seruingman named Fox, and reteining to sir Hugh Pollard, suddenlie set one of the barnes on fire: wherevpon not onelie such as were therein, but all they also which were in the rampires fled and ran awaie. And then the gentlemen hauing recouered the rampire went into the towne; but there they found none except a few poore and old people, the residue trusting better to their héeles than to their armes were fled to a further place: and then they returned againe to Excester without anie thing done.

The noise of this fire and burning was in post hast, and as it were in a moment carried and blazed abroad throughout the whole countrie; and the common people vpon false reports, and of a gnat making an elephant, noised and spread it abroad, that the gentlemen were altogither bent to ouer-run, spoile, and destroie them. And in this rage, as it were a swarme of wasps they clustet themselues in great troops and multitudes, some in one place, and some in an other, fortifieng and intrenching themselues as though the enimie were readie to inuade and assaile them. And among other places one was at a village belonging to the lord Russell named S. Marie Clift distant from Excester about two miles, where the commons of the countrie thereabout had begun to fortifie the towne for their defense & safetie.

An assemblie of the people at Clift Marie or bishops Clift.

The cause and pretense of their doings herein, was not onelie the burning of the barnes at Crediton aforesaid, which all the commons generallie did vse for a cloke of this their rising and rebellion: but this one thing also increased their disposition. It happened that a certeine gentleman named Walter Raleigh dwelling not far from thense, as he was vpon a side holie daie riding from his house to Excester, ouertooke an old woman going to the parish church of saint Marie Clift, who had a paire of beads in hir hands, and asked hir what she did with those beads? And entring into further spéeches with hir concerning religion, which was reformed, & as then by order of law to be put in execution, he did persuade with hir that she should as a good christian woman and an obedient subiect yéeld thereunto; saieng further, that there was a punishment by law appointed against hir, and all such as would not obeie and follow the same, and which would be put in execution vpon them.

A cause whie they rose at bishops Clift.

This woman nothing liking, nor well digesting this matter, went forth to the parish church, where all the parishioners were then at the seruice: and being vnpatient, and in an agonie with the spéeches before passed betwéene hir and the gentleman, beginneth to vpbraid in the open church verie hard and vnséemelie spéeches concerning religion, saieng that she was threatned by the gentleman, that except she would leaue hir beads, and giue ouer holie bread and holie water, the gentlemen would burne them out of their houses and spoile them; with manie other spéeches verie false and vntrue, and whereof no talke at all had passed betwéene the gentleman and hir. Notwithstanding she had not so soon spoken, but that she was beléeued: and in all hast like a sort of wasps they fling out of the church, and get them to the towne which is not far from thense, and there began to intrench and fortifie the towne, sending abroad into the countrie round about, the news aforesaid, and of their doings in hand, flocking, and procuring as manie as they could to come and to ioine with them.

The towne & Clift is fortified, and the bridge rampired.

And they fearing or mistrusting, least the gentlemen which were then at Excester, would come vpon them, they first fortified the bridge, which lieth at the end of the towne towards the citie, and laid great trées ouerthwart the same, as also planted certeine peces of ordinance vpon the same, which they had procured and fetched from Topsham a towne not far from thense. But before they came into the towne, they ouertooke the gentleman maister Raleigh aforesaid, and were in such a choler, and so fell in rages with him, that if he had not shifted himselfe into the chappell there, and had béene rescued by certeine mariners of Exmouth which came with him, he had béene in great danger of his life, and like to haue béene murdered. And albeit he escaped for this time, yet it was not long before he fell into their hands, and by them imprisoned and kept in prison in the tower and church of saint Sidwelles, without the east gate of the citie of Excester, during the whole time of the commotion, being manie times threatned to be executed to death. But to the matter.

Walter Raleigh esquier in danger of the rebelles.

These the doings of the commons being aduertised to sir Peter Carew, who then was in Excester, assembleth all the iustices & the gentlemen, & conferreth with them what were best to be done; and in the end, concluded & agréed that he, sir Gawen Carew, sir Thomas Denis, sir Hugh Pollard, and sundrie others should ride to Clift, and there to vse all the best meanes they might, for the pacifieng and quieting of them. And accordinglie in the next morning being sundaie they all rode thither: and being come almost to the bridge, they perceiued the same to be rampired, & no waie to be open for them to passe into the towne. Wherupon sir Peter Carew alighted from his horsse, and mistrusting nothing, was going on foot toward the bridge. But such was the rancor and malice conceiued against him, partlie for religion, and partlie for the burning of the barns at Crediton, which was laid altogither to his fault, that the gunner whose name was John Hamon an alien and a smith, and dwelling then at Woodburie, not far from Clift, by the procurement and abetting

Sir Peter Carew and others ride to Clift.

Sir Peter Carew like to be slaine.

of

of some there, hauing charged his pæce of ordinance there lieng, leuelled the same, to haue shot and discharged it at him: which he had done, if one Hugh Osborne seruant then to sergeant Prideox had not let him and staied his hand.

The gentlemen perceiuing they could not passe into the towne, do send in a messenger vnto the towne, aduertising them that they were come to talke friendlie with them, as also to satisfie them if they had anie cause of griefe, or were by anie bodie misused. They at this message and motion staggered a while and cast manie doubts: but in the end they sent word that they were contented, that if sir Thomas Denis, sir Hugh Pollard, and Thomas Pard esquier, would come into the towne to them and leaue their men behind them, as also would take order, and giue their faith and promise that no hurt should be done or offered to be done vnto them, whiles they were thus in conference togither: that then vpon these conditions they would be contented to talke with them. Upon which promise made and assured vnto them, the foresaid three gentlemen went into the towne about ten of the clocke in the forenoone, and there taried and spent the most part of the daie in much talke and to no purpose: as in the end it fell out.

The conference of the gentlemen with the commoners at Clift.

The other knights and gentlemen, which in the meane while taried without, and waited a long time euen vntill the daie did draw toward night, began to mislike of the matter, some speaking one thing and some an other; yea and some of them in plaine speeches said they would ride ouer the water and issue into the towne. But the friends and seruingmen of the two knights, respecting the promise made before their entrie into the towne, but especiallie their maisters safetie, which by breach of promise might be put in perill, did vtterlie mislike and were grieued with those speeches, and whereof began a little quarrelling among themselues, but forthwith pacified and quieted. And yet some one or two of the companie rode to the waters side, & with their staues searched the depth thereof: for at that bridge the water at euerie tide (by reason that the seas are so nere) swelleth vp and reboundeth. Which thing when they in the towne did see, forthwith cried out alarum, and made much a do; and some of them began and grew into such rages, that the gentlemen within the towne began to distrust their safetie.

A mutinie towards among the seruingmen.

This man was named Richard Carwithian seruant to sir Peter Carew.

Neuertheless the conference and talke herewith ended, and they came awaie; who as soone as they were come to sir Peter Carew, they were demanded what they had done, and how they had sped: who answered; Well inough: & giuing no other answer they rode all togither to Excester, deferring the discouerie of their doings vntill their comming thither. The same night they supped all togither, & after supper ended, and all the seruingmen auoided out of that roome, sir Peter Carew demanded of them what they had done, and what agreement they had made: who answered that the commons had promised, and were contented to keepe themselues in good & quiet order, and to proceed no further in their attempts: so that the king and the councell would not alter the religion, but suffer it to remaine and tarie in the same state as king Henrie the eight left it, & vntill the king himselfe came to his full age. Sir Peter Carew and all the residue nothing liking this answer, being farre from their expectation, were for the time in a great dumpe or studie; but in the end misliked and discommended both the matter and the maner of their dealings: insomuch that sir Peter Carew, and sir Peerce Courtneie, then shiriffe of Deuon, openlie, sharpelie, and in plaine termes inueied against them for their slender, or rather sinister dealings in so weightie a cause: wherein they all ought rather to haue vsed all meanes to haue suppressed their outrages, than to haue maintained their follies: and therefore as there was a blame in them, so was there a plaine rebellion in the other.

The agreement offered by the commoners.

But though the two knights would haue excused the matter, and haue purged their sinceritie herein; yet on each side words were so multiplied, that they brake asunder without anie further dealings, and euerie man shifted for himselfe, some one waie some an other waie. The commons vnderstanding hereof stop all the high waies, casting great trenches, and laieng great trees ouerthwart the same, and do watch & ward the same: and by that meanes sundrie gentlemen suspecting no such matter, and making waie to their appointed places, were intrapped, taken, and put in prison; and manie of them kept in durance, during the whole time of the commotion, & abode great hardnesse, and were in perill of life and limme: manie were taken because they would be taken, & found fauour; & manie forsaking their houses and home, were driuen to sequester and hide themselues in woods & secret places. In the citie none or verie few remained or taried, sauing sir or seuen persons then knowne of: for by conference had before with the maior, it was knowne that the citie was vnprouided of sufficient vittels, met for such a companie as the foresaid gentlemen were.

The gentlemen depart asunder and euerie man shifteth for himselfe.

The high waies are stopped and intrenched.

Sundrie gentlemen taken and imprisoned.

The gentlemen which taried and remained in the citie; namelie, sir Roger Blewet knight, John Beauchampe, Bartholomew Fortescute, John Courtneie, & John Peter customer, esquiers, and others, did verie good seruice as well in their persons, as in their good aduises and counsels, sauing such as secretlie kept themselues close in certeine houses then vnknowne. Sir Peter Carew verie earlie in the nert morning toke his horsse, and the high waies being then not stoped he escaped and rode vnto George Henton, a place of sir Hugh Paulets in Summersetshire: where was the lord Russell, being then newlie come from London, and vnto him he gaue to vnderstand, how all things had passed: who forthwith dispatched and sent him awaie to the king and councell to aduertise them of the same. The king at the first hearing of the matter, was verie much grieued, & in great perplexitie in two respects; the one because at this instant the like tumults and rebellions (though for an other cause) were now raised and begun in other places; the other was because he was inforced to leaue and giue ouer the appointed attempt for the conquest of Scotland, and to imploie now those soldiors and strangers, whome he had reteined for that seruice, for the quenching of this fire kindled at home.

A few gentlemen taried in the citie.

Sir Peter Carew rideth to the lord Russell being at George Henton.

Sir Peter Carew rideth to the court & aduertised the king & councell.

The king grieued to heare of the commotion.

The determined conquest of Scotland was hindered by the rebellion.

Neuertheless minding to follow the first, and to appease the last, he sent verie courteous letters, gratious proclamations, and manie mercifull offers vnto all the commons of these parties, to haue pacified and satisfied them, if they had had so much grace so to haue accepted it. The commons being now entered in their follies, and hauing driuen the gentlemen to the flight, do openlie shew themselues traitors & rebels: and therefore assembling themselues do appoint out capteins to direct & order both themselues, and all their procedings, and as the common prouerbe is, Like lips like lettice, as is their cause, so are the rulers, the one being not so bold and euill, as they wicked or worse. The capteins then are these: Underhill a tailor, Maunder a shomaker, Seager a labourer, and Aisheredge a fishdriuer, with sundrie other such like, the worst men and the refuse of all others, thought most meet in this seruice. Howbeit it was not long before, that certeine gentlemen and yeomen of good countenance and credit both in De-

The king vseth all gentle persuasions to reduce the commoners to conformitie.

The first and chiefe capteins of the rebellion.

uon and Cornewall were contented, not onelie to be associats of this rebellion: but also to carrie the crosse before this procession, and to be capteins and guiders of this wicked enterprise, as namelie in Deuon sir Thomas Pomersie knight, John Burie and one Coffin gentlemen: & in Cornewall Humfrie Arundell and Winneslade esquiers, & Holmes a yeoman, with sundrie others, who for the most part were in the end executed and put to death: and their facts to the memorall of their perpetuall infamie recorded in chronicles.

The principall & chiefe capteins in Deuon being fullie resolued by their owne power and authoritie to maintaine & continue the religion, according to the Romish church, & vtterlie to impugne the reformation therof, established by act of parlement; & to support the authoritie of the idoll of Rome (whome they neuer saw) in contempt of their true and lawfull king, whome they knew and ought to obeie: these I saie sent their messengers vnto the maior of this citie, whose name was John Blackaller, to moue and praie him to ioine with them, they thinking that they hauing by these meanes the libertie to haue free accesse to and from the citie, and the helpe of the citizens, should not want monie or armor, or anie thing else to serue their turne: the maior forthwith aduertised vnto his brethren this motion. And albeit some and the chiefest of them did like & were well affected to the Romish religion: yet respecting their dutie to God, their obedience to the king, their fidelitie to their countrie, and safetie of themselues, gaue their full resolute and direct answer, that they would not ioine nor deale with them at all.

This answer was nothing liked, and therefore sent they their second messenger, requiring and commanding them to maintaine the old catholike religion with them, and to do as they did; or else they would besiege them, and perforce compell them thervnto. The maior and his brethren returned their former answer, adding moreouer that they in their doings were wicked & bad men; & they did & would repute them for enimies and rebels against God, their king, and countrie: and so renounced them. The one side therefore as they prepare to besiege the citie, and to worke all the extremities they can, by force to take that which by words they can not obteine: so on the other side the maior and his brethren vpon good aduise, garded and watched the citie with sufficient men, armed both by daie and by night. The rebels (according to their determination) relieng themselues vpon a vaine hope, thinking that notwithstanding the answer before made; yet because the most part of the citizens were of their opinions, and of the like affections in religion, would not resist them: as also that they had manie friends within the citie, more readie to ioine with them, than to follow the maior, if they might haue the choise what to do: they came being in number about two thousand persons, to the citie, vpon the second of Julie 1549, first making proclamation that if the citie would not yeld, and ioine with them, they would enter with force and take the spoile of it, & so then they vpon the dentall compassed the same round about, and gained vnto them at the first all the suburbs.

And hereof they conceiued such a vaine hope to haue their full desire vpon the citie, that not onelie the number in hope did daillie more & more increase, but also manie of them brought their wiues, horsses, and paniers; persuading themselues, and promising them, by such a daie and vpon such a daie to enter into the citie, and then to measure veluets and silks by the bow, and to lade their horsses home with plate, monie, and other great riches. The maior and his brethren foresalking the perils which might in such a case insue, do prouide all things necessarie and meet therewith to defend themselues, and to annoie the enimie. The citie therefore is viewed for armor, men are mustered, soldiers are reteined, capteins in euerie ward apointed, warders for the daie and watchmen for the night assigned, great peces of ordinance laid in euerie gate, and placed in all conuenient places of the wals; mounts in sundrie places erected, as well for laieng of ordinance, as for saiing of the soldiers & watchmen from the enimies shot: and nothing was left vndone, which in anie respect that present state and necessitie required.

The citie is viewed for armor and all things are prepared for defense of the citie.

The rebels likewise intrench the high waies, plash downe trées, breake downe bridges, kéepe watches and wards in euerie place; so that no man could passe to or from the citie without their sufferance. The markets are stoped, vittels are kept from it, and all dealings and intercourses shut and cut off: and hauing (as they bragged) penned and shut vp the townesmen in a cope or mew, they plant their ordinance against euerie gate, and in all other such places as best to serue their turne, and to hurt them within: they burnt the gates, they brake vp the pipes and conduits, aswell for the taking awaie of the water comming to the citie, as also to haue the led to serue for their shot and pellets. But for the burning of the gates, there followed rather a benefit than a hurt therof: for forthwith there were made certeine rampiers within the gate, which were farre stronger and of more defense than the gates, as also there were fiers continuallie kept euerie night betweene the rampiers and the gates: and as for water, the citie so standeth vpon a little hill, that it is full of springs in euerie quarter within the same, and by that means full and plentifull of euerie good and sweet waters. Also they in sundrie places did vndermine the wals, minding thereby with gunpowder and with other matters fit for fier to haue blowne vp the wals, and so to haue entered in that waie: but herein they were also preuented by this means and in this maner.

The rebels stop vp all the waies comming to the citie.

The rebels plant their ordinance against the citie & breake vp the conduit pipes, and burne one of the gates.

The gates of the citie were kept open continuallie and rampired within side, as also fiers kept burning all night in the same.

The citie being full of water springs they want no water.

The citie wals at the west gate were undermined, but by countermining the same was preuented.

The citie it selfe (as is before said) is set vpon a little hill, and lieth verie steeping towards two of the gates. And at one of these named the west gate, the said rebels had vndermined on the one side, and filled the place with certeine barels of powder, pitch, and other stuffe, meet and apt to receiue fier, and had appointed the night when the same should be set on fier, and so to haue blowne the wals vp. At the same time there was a certeine tinner in the citie, whose dwelling was at Teingemouth, named John Newcombe, who depended much vpon the goodwill and friendship of maister William Hurst one of the aldermen of the citie; and he vnderstanding of such an vndermining to be in working, aduertised the same to maister Hurst, and maketh him priuie how he would preuent the same, which was done in this maner. For whereas he by a noise vnder the ground did suspect the vndermining to be in working, he toke a pan of water, & did put the same on the ground, & by shaking of the water in the pan, he by remouing the pan from place to place, came at length to the verie place, whereas the miners were working, and forthwith he countermined against the same, and wrought so nére vnto it, vntill that he might and did sée & loke into it. That done, he caused all the wals and tirpits in the citie towards euerie street, hauing a fall that waie to be drawne at one time, and euerie man to fill therewith a great tub of water at his foredore; which being done, he caused them all at one instant to be cast out and emptied, which water running in great abundance towards the said west gate, was conueied into the place countermined, & so entered and drowned the place, which before was mined:

The vndermimings of the wals how it was found and descried.

The citie of Exon besieged.

The vaine persuasions of the rebels to haue the spoile of the citie.

The maior & citizens refuse to ioine or to deale with the rebels.

Preparation is made on both sides to withstand the one the other.

The rebels send to the maior of the citie to ioine with them.

mined: at which time also by the goodnesse of God, there fell a great showre, as the like for the time had not beene seene manie yeares before, and which at that instant greatlie serued this turne.

The rebels perceiuing themselues disappointed of their purpose, gaue ouer to deale anie further in those attempts: howbeit otherwise they left nothing vndone which might be to annoie the citizens. For sometimes they made alarums, as though they with all might and maine would haue giuen the scale: and indeed they had prouided ladders for the same purpose. Sometimes they by policies would seeke to come to the gates to burne them, and herein they vsed this stratagem. They prouided carts laden with old haie, & driuing the wheeles before them would come to the gate without danger, and so set fier in the gate. But notwithstanding they escaped not scotfree, for both at the west gate and at the south gate, their commings being perceiued, the great port peeces were charged with great bags of flintstones and haileshot: and as they were approching vnto the gates, the gates were secretlie opened, and the said port peeces discharged, and so they were spoiled diuerse of them, & by that means they had small pleasure to follow those deuises; as also the citizens to preuent the same, did from thenceforth keepe the gates open. Likewise they would keepe themselues close in sundrie houses, in the suburbs neere the wals, and would so watch the garrets, that if anie within the citie would loke out at the garrets, was in the danger of their shot, and some thereby were killed, and manie hurt. Vpon which occasion the citizens set some part of the suburbs on fier, and some part which was next to the wals they beat and brake downe, and so drawe the rebels out of those holes. Besides this, they had in sundrie places their great ordinance, so set and placed, that in certeine streets and places none could go but in perill and danger of their shot, which their deuises were choked, by making of certeine mounts to shadowe the streets from the same. Diuerse other deuises they practised to the continuall annoiance of the citie, which though they were greeuous and dangerous, yet not to be compared vnto the perils which were within the walles among themselues, and whereof had insued the confusion of the whole citie, had not the Lord God of his goodnesse kept and preserued the same. For the serpent of diuision, and the fier of malice, was entered into the citie, manie being inuenomed with the one, but more scaulded with the other.

In the citie there were two sorts of people, the one and the greater number were of the old stampe, and of the Romish religion. The other being of the lesser number were of a contrarie mind and disposition, for they wholie relied themselues to the reformed religion, and to the kings procéedings, and indeuoured themselues to obeie and follow the same. The first were so addicted to their owne fantasies, and their bottels were so farre seasoned with the old wines, that they cannot abide to heare of anie other religion, than as they were first nuzled in. Wherfore to keepe and obserue that, was their onelie endeuor, and in respect whereof they regarded not king nor Kaisar, pasted not for kin nor freendship, regarded not countrie nor commonwealth, but were wholie of the opinion of the rebels, and would haue no reformation in religion; and how so euer all other things fared, that must néeds remaine as in times past had beene vsed.

The magistrates and cheefeteins of the citie, albeit they were not as yet fullie resolued and satisfied in religion, yet they not respecting that, but cheefelie their dutifulnesse to the king and commonwealth, nothing like the rebellion, nor beare with the same, but they doo all things to defend the citie and themselues against their rebellious attempts, and likewise doo their best indeuour to keepe their owne citizens in peace and quietnesse. Whereupon the fauourers of the old Romish religion, being inwardlie greeued, that they could not haue their will, nor obteine to haue the gates to be opened, that those good and religious men (as they termed them) might come in, they vsed priuat conferences with them, sometimes by secret conferences ouer the wals, sometimes by priuat letters priuilie conueied too and fro, by messengers lurking and attending for the same, sometimes by open speeches in times of truce, and manie times by bils and letters bound fast about arrowes, and so shot to and fro: and by these and other such like means they discouered eche one to the other their purposes and wicked deuises and practises: all which tended to this effect, to betraie the citie, and to set vp the religion.

Howbeit, these things were not so secretlie doone, but the same were knowne, & manifest arguments and prowes thereof did appeare. And among sundrie some one of them being one of good credit and countenance, and of the number of the common councell, whose name was John Wolcot a merchant, was so farre inchanted herein, that vpon a certeine daie he being (as his course came about) a capteine for the daie, and ward one of the gates that daie; presuming that partlie by reason of his charge that daie, and partlie for that he was one of the common councell, he might doo more than in deed did apperteine to him, he vpon his first comming to the west gate in the morning met with certeine of his confederats, and after conference had with them, went suddenlie out at the wicket of the gate (which gate as then was not rampired) and carrieng the keies with him, went vnto the rebels, and had a long conference with them. But it toke small effect, for he promised (as it after appeared) more than he could performe, which turned to his great discredit: both for that he himselfe verie hardlie escaped their hands who were bent to haue kept and reteined him, as they did the two others, who went out with him: as also when he came in, was both checked and blamed for his doings.

At an other time the maior vpon an occasion assembled all the commoners vnto the Guildhall, euerie man being in his armor, and the papists being then the greater number, some one of them named Richard Tailor a clothier, thinking by making of a tumult or an vproze they should be too hard for the others, and so atteine to their purposes, hauing his bowe bent, did nocke his arrow, minding to haue striken the man to whom he leuelled the shot: but gaging his hand, and missing his marke, he stroke his owne and best freend John Peter the kings customer, a gentleman of good countenance and credit, who had died thereof, had not the arrow lighted vpon one of his rib bones: a great muttering was like to haue bred a tumult, but the matter knowne it was appeased. Also at an other time there was a practise made with the souldiers, who had the charge and custodie of the castell, that they should receiue in at the posterne of the said castell, a certeine number of the rebels; whereunto the said souldiers through corruption had giuen their consent. The daie and time were appointed for the same: but whether the same by secret aduertisement were discouered, or whether the matter were mistrusted, or whether it pleased God to moue the harts of certeine men to take the view of the castell, & of the maner of the souldiers vsages there: it is most certeine that by the repaire & resort of certeine men, vnder the colour to walke and see the trecherie, it was espied, and the practises discouered,

A prettie stratagem of the rebels.

The citie gates kept alwaies open.

The suburbs burned and the houses beaten downe.

The citie diuided within it selfe into two factions of religion.

The affection and disposition of the Romish faction.

The discretion and great circumspection of the magistrates.

The secret conferences of the papists.

A fond enterprise of an expert citizen.

This Tailor died after in prison for debt

What man purposeth God disposeth

A wicked practise to receiue the rebels into the castell.

red, and their whole deuises preuented. Likewise manie times and often there were truces made, and sundrie parlæs and conferences had with the rebels, which were procured to the onlie end that they might compasse their deuises. And this was a common practise with them, that when soeuer the parlée was appointed, there should be hostages or pledges put in on both parties: and they as men vpon whom the greatest weight of the matter did depend, would require to haue the best and most chosen citizens, to be hostages with them, in stéed and for the safetie of those which they would send to the parlæ for them, who for the most part were the refuse, the scumme, and the rascals of the whole countrie, and yet such they were in this case, as who ruled the rost and bore the whole or chiefest swaie; and the worse the man, the greater his authoritie among them, which was good inough for so wicked a matter taken in hand, according as the common adage is: *Dignum patella operculum*, Like lips like lettice.

The chiefest rulers & capteins among the commons were the worst men.

But during the time of these truces and parlés, there being then a time and scope of libertie to talke and conferre with them euerie man at his pleasure, there wanted no deuises vnder colour of frendlie conferences, to deuise how to compasse their intents: howbeit it pleased the eternall God, so to carrie and rule the hearts of the magistrats, that albeit being nuzled in the Romish religion they were affected thereunto, yet they so much respected their dutie to their prince, and the safetie to their commonwealth, that they openlie professed they would neuer yéeld the citie so long as they liued, and were able to kéepe and defend the same.

Great practise vsed to procure the citizens to ioine with the rebels.

For the maior himselfe maister William Hurst, maister John Buller, maister John Britnall, maister William Periam, & others of the ancientest of the citie, were by sundrie means, waies, deuises, and reasons, persuaded to conioine themselues in this rebellion with the commoners. They all with one mind and one voice gaue a flat answer that in the citie they had béene brought vp, there they had gotten their liuings, there they had sworne their fidelitie and allegiance to their king and prince, there they had faithfullie hitherto serued him, and there would so continue so long as they could to the vttermost of their powers, all which their promises & auowries (the Lord be praised) they performed.

The faithfull and flat determination of the citizens to refuse the cõtsining with the rebels.

But to the matter. Sundrie other trecheries & deuises were practised, which particularlie to recite were verie tedious & to no purpose. The last but the most perillous practise was this. When these malecontents saw themselues to be preuented in all their deuises, which before they had but secretlie and priuatlie practised, now they conioining themselues togither do openlie shew and declare themselues, being persuaded that bicause they were the greater number, and that also the most part of the poore people were wearie, and for want of vittels would not indure to be pinned in anie longer, that therefore manie would ioine against a few, and that the game would go on their side.

The last and perilous practise of the rebels.

And so on a sundaie, being but two daies before the deliuerie of the citie, about eight of the clocke in the forenoone, a companie of them in euerie quarter of the citie, hauing their consorts in a readines to ioine & serue with them (if need so required) get into the streets, walking with their weapons and in their armour, as to fight with their enimies, and crie out;

A pestilent practise.

"Come out these heretikes and twopenie bokemen;
"Where be they? By Gods wounds & bloud we will
"not be pinned in to serue their turne; We will go out
"and haue in our neighbors, they be honest, good, and
"godlie men. Their pretense and meaning being then,
that if anie of the contrarie side had come out, they would haue quarelled with them, and haue taken occasion to set vpon him and so raise a new tumult.

But by the prouidence and goodnesse of God it so fell out, that some being in their houses, and some at their parish churches, the maior and magistrates were first aduertised herof, before the others heard anie thing of the matter: and they according to their wisedoms pacified the matter, and sent John Vincent, John Sharke, and others the beliwedders of this flocke vnto their houses. Howbeit in the south gate street and at the south gate, there was a little stur, which being sone stopped there insued no hurt therof, other than a broken pate or two: for as it fell out, the warders of that gate at that time were against them and of the greater companie. These and manie other like practises were dailie and continuallie vsed on the one side, which in the end came to no effect, bicause the Lord kept the citie.

The papists were disappointed of their purposes.

The others on the other side being altogither bent to honor God, obeie the king, and to serue in their commonwealth, were fullie resolued to kéepe and defend the citie, whose cause being iust and good, was sufficient of it selfe to kéepe them in that mind: and yet their courage was the more, for that they saw the good bent of the maior and magistrates; who, howsoeuer they were affected otherwise in religion, yet they were wholie bent and determined to kéepe and defend the citie: and therefore they séeing the industrie, carefulnesse, seruice and painefulnesse, of these men, do fauour, incourage, and countenance them, and (to saie the truth) by the industrie and good seruice of them, the citie was chéeflie kept and preserued.

The determination of the honest & good citizens.

For there was no seruice to be done within, nor exploit to be aduentured without vpon the enimie (as manie times there were sallies giuen) but these were the chiefest and commonlie the onelie doers: for which cause the contrarie side marueilouslie maligned at them, and sought by all means how to impeach and indanger them. Which thing being dailie perceiued more and more by sundrie arguments, and as wise men séeking how to preuent the same, did manie and sundrie times confer among themselues herein, and in the end made a couenant and a faithfull promise among themselues (being then about the number of one hundred persons) that they would stand firmelie and faithfullie to the defense and kéeping of the citie to their vttermost powers.

The best citizens confederated.

And if it so fell out, that the rebell and enimie should haue accesse and entrie into the citie, that then they should all meet at the lord Russels (now the earle of Bedfords) house, and there to issue out at the posterne of the garden, and to giue the aduenture to passe and to escape awaie, as also if they were resisted that then they to stand togither to their defense. And for this purpose they had then named some one man to be their capteine for this enterprise. And in the meane time, to do all things circumspectlie for the preseruation of the citie, & by a particular couenant among themselues, did take order, that during the whole beseeging of the citie and their aboad therein, a certeine number by course and besides the ordinarie set watch, should watch, ward, and walke about continuallie both by daie and night, by which means no sleight nor treacherie could be practised, but that they should haue an inkeling and vnderstanding thereof, and which in deed stood and came to such effect that it was the chiefest (if not the onelie) cause of the preseruation of the citie for that time. For there was no seruice, no diligence, no care, nor anie thing wanting or left vndone, which by these men was not done.

The carefulnesse of the good citizens.

Howbeit the diuell, the author of all diuision and strife, who cannot abide anie vnitie, concord and agréement in good causes, did here also hurle in a bone among

among these men, whereof had insued a great detriment to the common state, and an ouerthrow to themselues, had it not in due time bene preuented.

A variance betweén John Courtneie & Barnard Duffeld.

There were two gentlemen within this citie, and both of this companie, the one was borne of a honorable house and parentage, named John Courtneie a yonger sonne to sir William Courtneie of Powderham knight, and a man of verie good knowledge and experience in seruice. The other also was a man of verie good seruice, practise, and experience, his name was Barnard Duffeld, & seruant to the lord Russell, and keper of his house in Excester. Both of these were verie forward and carefull in this present seruice against the rebels. But there fell an emulation betweéne them, which albeit it be verie commendable in good things, & he praisewoorthie who can best excell therein: yet when the same shall tend to a diuision of a publike state, the dissolution of a commonwealth, the breach of common societie, or the maintenance of anie euill, it is vtterlie to be shunned and lamented.

A sallie made vpon the rebels.

It happened vpon an occasion offered, that certeine of this companie vpon a time issued out at the forsaid posterne and made a sallie vpon the enimies, and had such good successe, that some of them they slue, some they toke prisoners, as also spoiled them of their goods, and brought awaie with them some of their ordinance, namelie balles and slings: howbeit they all scaped not scotfrée, for some of them were taken, some also were hurt, as namelie John Drake, who the yeare before was the receiuer of the citie was shot through the chéekes with an arrow, which he brought into the citie with him, and one John Simons a cooke was so hurt that he died thereof.

But among them all one John Goldsmith being of that companie and seruant to Richard Heliard of the same goldsmith, and a Fleming borne, had the best successe: for in the same skirmish he was taken prisoner by one of the rebels, who offered in taking of him with his bill to haue slaine him. With that this John Goldsmith fell downe & yelded himselfe, hauing then in his hand his péece or handgun charged, & suddenlie the other not mistrusting nor marking the same, he discharged into his verie bellie and so slue him, toke the spoile of him, and brought the same into the citie with him.

This skirmish though it were not cléere gaines to this companie, yet it so incouraged them, that from time to time they consulted, and in the end determined to make a fresh sallie and to giue a new aduenture: whereupon there fell and grew a disagréement betwéene the two foresaid John Courtneie & Barnard Duffeld, the one affirming that the same was not to be permitted in anie fort or citie, which stood vpon defense or gard, without a verie speciall order of the generall or chéefe capteine, or some vrgent necessitie, especiallie in that present distresse and extremitie, wherein the citie as then did stand. But Barnard Duffeld being verie loth to lose anie part of his credit, or to desist from that he with others had determined, could by no meanes be persuaded to the contrarie, but plainelie affirmeth that what he had determined should be performed.

A broile towards.

Whereupon the foresaid John Courtneie resorteth to the maior, aduertiseth vnto him the matter, & dealeth so sullie and with such persuasions with him, that the maior assembleth his brethren, and sendeth for the foresaid Duffeld: who being come, the matter was at full debated and discoursed, and in the end concluded that it was verie hurtfull and dangerous to that present state, that anie such issuing out should be granted or permitted: and therefore praied the said Duffeld to staie his determination, and to be contented. But he being vnpatient, & thinking his credit to be stained, if he should be debarred or denied to doo that which he had faithfullie promised, did vtterlie refuse to yéeld to this the maiors request, as also by continuing of talkes, fell out in foule and disordered speaches. Whereupon to auoid a further inconuenience, he was commanded to ward. The daughter of this Duffeld, whose name was Francis, hearing that hir father was in ward, and taking in greése that so great an iniurie (as she tearmed it) should be done to hir father, came more hastilie than aduisedlie vnto the maior, somewhat late in the euening, & required to haue hir father out of the ward. Which thing being denied vnto hir, shée waxed so warme, that not onelie she vsed verie vnsémelie tearmes and speaches vnto the maior, but also contrarie to the modestie and shamefastnes required in a woman, specially yong and vnmarried, ran most violentlie vpon him, and strake him in the face. This was taken in so euill a part, and fearing that it had bene a set match of some further inconueniences, the common bell was forthwith rong out: and also a rumour spread that the maior was beaten, or killed.

Francis the daughter of Barnard Duffeld strake the maior in the face.

The whole commons immediatlie in great troops, & the most part in armor, ran to the Guildhall, where the maior was, who though he was safe, yet were they so gréeued with this iniurie, that they would in all hast haue run to the lord Russels house, where she was then gone, and haue fetched hir out: but the maior forecasting what inconueniences might insue, and respecting the necessitie of the present state, was not onlie contented patientlie to wrap vp these iniuries, but also earnestlie requested the commoners to doo the like: who being so pacified, he went home, and they conducted him into his owne doores. The chanons of the cathedrall church which at that time were resident in their houses within the close there, namelie archdeacon Pollard, treasuror Southron, chancellor Luson, and master Holwell, with others of the said church, who ioined with the maior and citizens in this seruice for the safegard of the citie, and did kéepe both watches and wards, and their men readie at all times to serue in euerie alarum and skirmish: they at the hearing of this disordered part were verie much gréeued therewith, and they likewise forthwith assembled all their men, and being well armed and appointed, they went to the maior, who was then gone home to his house, and then and there verie friendlie did comfort him, and offred to stand by him and to assist him in all the best seruice they were able to doo for his defense, and safetie of the citie.

The said archdeacon offered, that in proper person he would herein stand in his behalfe against all persons whatsoeuer, that would attempt or offer to doo him anie wrong. And in the end, after sundrie friendlie and good speaches, they departed to their homes. And the said archdeacon, euerie daie after, would either come or send to the maior. This maior being a merchant, and onelie exercised in that trade, had small reach in matters of policie or martiall affaires: he was maior of the citie three times, and in euerie yeare there grew some troubles in the citie, but he had such a speciall care & regard to his charge and gouernment, that he would neuer attempt nor doo anie thing therein, but by the aduise and counsell of wise, graue, and expert men: and God so blessed him that he prospered and had good successe in all his doings.

Besides these and sundrie other former perils, the which the citie manie and oftentimes stood in, and by the goodnes and prouidence of God still ouercomed, there befell and happened a third one, which exceeded all the rest, and whereof the greatest danger and perill was feared: and this was famine, or penurie,

which

which of all other turmoils and perils is most dangerous, & no other plague to be compared to it. For no force is feared, no lawes obserued, no magistrate obeied, nor common societie esteemed, where famine ruleth. For as the poet saith: *Nescit plebs ieiuna timere.* The store of vittels within the citie for want of prouision in due time, and by reason of the restreint of the markets, vpon a sudden was verie slender and small, and the same in verie short time spent and consumed. And albeit there were good store of drie fish, rise, prunes, raisins, and wine, at verie reasonable prices, yet bread which as the prophet saith, *Confirmat cor hominis*, Streng theneth mans hart, that wanted: neither was anie to be had. And in this extremitie the bakers and housholders were driuen to seeke vp their old store of puffins and bran, wherewith they in times past were wont to make horsebread, and to feed their swine and poultrie, and this they moulded vp in clothes, for otherwise it would not hold together, and so did bake it vp, and the people well contented therewith. For (as Plutarch writeth) *Fames reddit omnia dulcia, nihilq; contemnit esuriens:* Hunger maketh all things sweet, and the hungrie bellie shunneth nothing.

Vittels wax scant within the citie.

Bread made of bran and of puffins.

But when this also was spent, and nothing now left, and the common people being not acquainted with so hard a diet as famine prescribeth, were verie vnpatient to indure the continuall barking of their hungrie bellies, and therefore they were verie soone & easie to be persuaded, or rather of themselues contented to yeld vnto the enimie, to be fed for a time with the stollen fat of his flesh pot, than to abide for a short time a little penurie in hope of a deliuerie, and then to be filled with saturitie and plentie. But the magistrats and graue senators, who in all other causes had shewed themselues wise, carefull and discreet; and who hauing receiued sundrie iniuries, did yet without rigour, reuenge or malice, wrap the same vp, respecting rather the common state than their owne priuat cause; so in this matter also being of a great importance do verie wiselie & politikelie deale with the said people: who the poorer they were, the better they were considered, and the more carefullie prouided for. First, there was a generall collection set and rated throughout the whole citie for their releefe, and therby they were liberallie euerie weeke considered: which thing being some increase to their stocke and store, was the better to their content. Then all such vittels as were to be had within the citie, they either had it freelie, or for a verie small price.

The godlie and politike dealings of the magistrates with the poore. The poore are weekelie liberallie relieued.

All vittels fetched into the citie were distributed amõg the poore.

Besides this, manie times when anie cattell came néers vnto the walles of the citie, some shift was made to haue them, or by skirmishing & issuing out for them, or by some other means. And this also what so euer it was, was altogither diuided among them. And as for the prisoners fast fettered in the gaols, they had also their portions, as farre as it would stretch: notwithstanding in the end, for want they were fed with horsefleesh, which they liked and were well contented withall. For as the prouerbe is, Hunger findeth no faults but all things are swet. Besides, if anie wrong were offered or iniurie done to anie of them, it was forthwith vpon complaint redressed: but if anie of them did disorder themselues, it was borne withall, and they in all gentle and curteous meanes intreated: as also from time to time persuaded with good words patientlie to abide and be contented: not mistrusting but that God shortlie would send a deliuerance.

The prisoners in the gaole did and were driuen to eate horsses. The gentle intreating of the poore sort.

And thus, and by these means, in hope almost against hope, they continued dutifull and obedient, from the second daie of Julie 1549, vntill the first daie of August then following, the same being fiue whole weekes, vpon which daie they were deliuered by the comming and entrie into the citie of the lord Russell: and which daie in memoriall for euer to endure is kept for a high and holie feast amongst the citizens yearelie vpon the first daie of August. Immediatlie vpon which deliuerance of the citie, the first care that euerie man had, was to shift and to make prouision for vittels, wherof some hungrie bellies were so greedie, that ouercharging their emptie stomachs too hastilie, they died therewith.

The lord Russell after that the citie had béene besieged fiue weekes turneth to this citie vpon the first of August, and deliuereth the same.

Thus hauing declared something of the state of the citie, and of the doings therein during the time of this rebellion, though much more might be therein said, let vs now returne to the lord priuie seale, who after the departure of sir Peter Carew to the court, remoued from George Henneton, and came to Honiton, minding from thence to haue passed vnto Excester, if waie had béene open. But being aduertised that the citie was besieged, and that all the waies leading thitherwards were stopped, he remained still in Honiton. Sir Peter Carew in the meane time, according to the former order betweene them taken, was ridden to London, and being before the king, declareth the whole matter at large. Which the king, not liking the disloialtie of his people, promised to seeke a speedie remedie: and so commanded him to the councell for the same: and being before them, and hauing at full discoursed the state of the matter, the duke of Summerset being much greeued with the matter, would haue reflected the whole on sir Peter, charging him that by reason he had caused the houses to be burned at Crediton, it was the onelie cause of the commotion. But thereunto he answered the necessitie of that seruice, as also declared that he had done nothing but by a good warrant, and therewith shewed forth the kings letters vnder his hand and priuie signet.

Sir Peter Carew aduertiseth the king & councel of the rebellió.

The duke of Summerset charged sir Peter Carew of the rebellió.

The lord Rich then lord chancellor replied and said, that the kings letters were no sufficient warrant, vnlesse he had his commission vnder the brode seale: and therefore if he had right, he should by the lawes be hanged for his doings. But to this sir Peter answered so stoutlie, and charged the duke so depelie, that in the end he was willed to returne into the countrie, being promised that sufficient helpe both of men & monie should be with speed sent downe into the countrie. And to this effect he had both the kings and the councels letters vnto the lord priuie seale, and so toke his iournie backe againe into the countrie, and deliuered his letters to the said lord Russell, who in hope of the supplie promised, staied and remained sometimes at Mohonesotre, but most commonlie at Honiton, still looking for that supplie and furniture that was promised. But hauing long looked for the same in vaine, he was dailie more and more forsaken of such of the common people, as who at the first serued and offered their seruice vnto him. And hauing but a verie small gard about him, he liued in more feare than he was feared: for the rebels dailie increased, and his companie decreased and shrunke awaie, and he not altogither assured of them which remained.

The king his letters vnder his priuie signet counted to be no sufficiẽt warrant.

The stout answer of sir Peter Carew

Sir Peter Carew being promised of helpe returneth home.

The lord Russell is almost left forsaken.

Wherefore distrusting himselfe, & by a false rumor being aduertised that the citie was taken, & in the possession of the rebels; as also how that there was a new sturre or rebellion begun about Sarisburie; he toke aduise and counsell of the gentlemen and such as were with him what were best to be done. The gentlemen of Dorsetshire were of the mind, and gaue him aduise, that it were best for him to returne into Dorsetshire, and there to remaine for a time; because it was a place of a more safetie, vntill such time as he were better prouided. And accordinglie the next daie following he toke his iournie, & rode backe againe with the said Dorsetshire gentlemen.

Sir

The lord Russell distrusting himselfe, is vpon his departure from out of Deuon; but by sir Peter Carew is recouered backe againe.

Sir Peter Carew then being at Mohorosoton, and aduertised hereof, toke his horsse and came against the said lord Russell, & met him vpon Blacke downe, where was a long conference betweene them both; and in the end he so persuaded the lord, and with such pithie reasons he caried him, that leauing his former determination, he doth returne againe into Honiton; & where he continued thencefoorth, sauing one night spent at Otorie saint Marie, where as it fell out he was in more feare than perill. At his being in Honiton, and dailie waiting and looking for the promised helpe and supplie which came not; he was in an agonie, & of a beanie cheere: not onelie for the want of the men & monie which he had long in vaine looked for, but also because he had spent all that he had brought with him, and could not tell how otherwise to helpe and prouide to supplie his present need: but as it fell out all happened for the best.

The merchants of Exon procure and borrow monie to helpe the lord Russell.

For it chanced that there were then three merchants of the citie, following and attending vpon him; Thomas Prestwod not long before maior of the citie, John Bodlie, and John Periam, men of great wealth. These men vnderstanding of the heauinesse and griefe of his lordship, make their resort vnto him, and promise to helpe and relieue his agonie and want: and forthwith did procure vpon their credit from the merchants of Bristow, Linne, Tawnton, and elsewhere, such a masse of monie, as which when he had receiued, his griefe was eased. For forthwith he so prouided and furnished himselfe with such necessaries, and with a greater number of men; that he was now in the better safetie, as also the better able to incounter with the enimie: and it was not long after, but that he had a further supplie from the king, euen to his content. And being now somewhat reuiued, newes was brought vnto him, that the rebels vnderstanding of his distressed state, were comming, and marching toward Honiton to assaile him; and were come as far as Fenington bridge, which is about three miles. Whereupon, he toke aduise with sir Peter Carew, sir Gawen Carew & others what were best to be done. And in the end, after manie speeches, it was concluded that they should march towards them, and giue the onset vpon them, & accordinglie, without further delaies or much talke, it was done out of hand. For vpon the nert morning being a holie daie, they set forth, and came to the bridge aforesaid, where the rebels were indeed: some at the bridge, but the greatest companie in a medow beneath the bridge: who, as soone as they perceiued the lord Russell and the gentlemen with all their troope to be come, they make themselues readie to the fight. But the riuer & the bridge being betweene them, the lord Russell vseth all the policies that he can, how to recouer the bridge; which by bold aduenturing he did in the end: but with the hurt of sundrie of his companie, amongst whome sir Gawen Carew was one, being hurt with an arrow in the arme.

The lord Russell marcheth towards Fenington bridge.

Sir Gawen Carew is hurt at Fenington bridge.

And hauing recouered the bridge, and the riuer, all the rebels (such as were escaped) were gathered togither in a medow neere adioining in the lower side of the bridge, vpon whome they so fiercelie followed, and gaue the onset; that though not without good store of blowes and bloudshed, they in the end gaue the enimie the ouerthrow, and had the vpper hand. And thinking that the victorie was cleere with them, and that the enimie was cleane gone, the souldiers and seruingmen gaue themselues all to the spoile; and being in the middle of their game, and they nothing thinking lesse than of anie more enimies to be comming towards, euen suddenly march towards a new crue of Cornishmen, to the number of two hundred, or two hundred and fortie persons, vnder the conduct of one Robert Smith of saint Germans in Cornewall gentleman; and who taking these spoilers napping, manie of them paied deerelie for their wares. The lord Russell forthwith setteth all his companie in good araie, as the others did the like, and gaue the onset vpon them: betweene whome the fight for the time was verie sharpe and cruell. For the Cornishmen were verie lustie and fresh, and fullie bent to fight out the matter: neuertheless in the end they were ouerthrowne, and their capteine, whose combe was cut, sheweth a faire paire of heeles and fled awaie. In these two fights, there were reported to be slaine about three hundred rebels, which were verie tall men, lustie, and of great courage; and who in a good cause might haue done better seruice.

The Cornish rebels giue an onset, and are ouerthrowne at Fenington; their capteine flieth awaie.

The lord Russels companie followed the chase neere three miles; & he himselfe then throughlie minded and bent to haue passed through to the citie. But one Joll his sole, who was then in hall come from Honiton, and where he had heard, as also by the waie as he came did heare bels ringing in sundrie parish churches, and supposing the same to be alarum, came with a foule mouth to my lord, and cried that all the countrie behind him were vp, and comming vpon him. Which his report (considering the cruell fights past) was credited, and thought that a new companie was in preparing to follow the former quarels. Whereupon they all retired and returned againe to Honiton; and from thense his lordship sent his comfortable letters secretlie by a boy apointed and accustomed for the same, vnto the maior of his succesle, as also aduertising him of his determination that he would be shortlie with him for the deliuerance of the citie. Which letters (the citie being then but in a doubtfull and dismaied estate) came in verie good season; and yet in the end scarselie credited by some men, because his comming was not so spedie as was looked for.

Within verie short time after this ouerthrowe was giuen, the lord Greie of Wilton with a crue of horsslemen, and one Spinola an Italian with three hundred shot, came to my lord; who being aduertised of the ouerthrow of the enimie, and that there were slaine about three hundred persons of them, they were in a great chafe, and much bewailed their euill lucke, that they had not come sooner to haue beene partakers of that seruice. My lord being now of a verie good comfort & courage, aswell for the good succesle which he had ouer the enimie, & that his long looked supplie was come, sendeth his other letters to the maior, comforting him, as also as before promising him to be with him verie shortlie; willing him that he should now take but a little patience for a little time. And accordinglie about six daies after, on saturdaie the third of August, in good order he set forth out of Honiton, and marched towards Excester, his companie being aboue a thousand of good fightingmen; and leauing the direct high waie, draweth ouer the downs towards Woodburie, and there lodged and pitched his campe that night, at a windmill apertaining to one Gregorie Carie gentleman. Which when the rebels of saint Marie Clift heard of, forthwith, with all their force and power came forth, and marched onwards, vntill they came to the foresaid mill where they offer the fight: and notwithstanding they were of verie stout stomachs, & also verie valiantlie did stand to their tackels, yet in the end they were ouerthrowne, and the most part of them slaine.

The lord Greie and Spinola come with a supplie to the lord Russell.

The lord Russell marcheth towards Excester for their deliuerance.

The rebels are ouerthrowne at the windmill.

Where after the victorie thus gotten, one Miles Couerdale then the preacher, and attending vpon my lord in this iournie made a sermon, and caused a generall thanksgiuing to be made vnto God: but before

Miles Couerdale preacher.

before all was ended, there began a new alarum; and forthwith euerie man to horse & to harnesse againe. The rebels which remained in the towne of saint Marie Cliff, hearing of the euill successe befallen to their neighbours, and they doubting that their turne would be next to receiue the like; do spread abroad the newes, and request to be aided and assisted. Whereupon, forthwith in great troupes resorted vnto them a number of their companions out of euerie quarter, to the number (as it was said) of six thousand men: and in all hast, they make themselues and all things in a readinesse to abide the brunt. Upon the next morning being sundaie, my lord minding to follow on his course, commandeth the trumpet to sound, euerie man to make readie to march forwards. And about nine of the clocke in the same morning, they come to Cliff, where the armie is diuided into three parts, and in three seuerall places do appoint to make entrie into the towne. For in so manie places they had fortified the towne, and made great rampires for their defense.

The kings armie marcheth towards bishops Cliff.

Sir William Francis first entreth the rampire.

These rampires were after some bickering recouered, and sir William Frances of Sommersetshire was named to be the first that gaue the aduenture, & made the entrie. The commons being driuen from the said rampires, ran all into the towne, and there some themselues together to abide the pulse. And as the kings armie was in good order marching into the towne, one of the chiefe captens of these rebels, named sir Thomas Pomeroie knight, kept himselfe in a furze close, and perceiuing the armie to be past him, and hauing then with him a trumpeter, and a drumslade, commanded the trumpet to be sounded, and the drumme to be stricken vp. At which sound, the lord priuie seale, and his companie were amazed, supposing verilie that there had beene an ambush behind them to haue intraped and inclosed them. Whereupon, they forthwith retire backe in all the hast they may: which when they in the towne perceiued, they follow after, and neuer staied vntill they came to the wagons then being in the high waie; & which now by flieng and retiring of the armie, are the formost and next to the towne. And these being laden with munition, armour, and treasure, they take and bring into the towne, where they rifle as much as they could, sauing the peeces of the ordinance, which with the shot and ponder they bestowed in places conuenient, and employed the same against my lord and his companie.

The kings armie retireth.

The rebels take the kings wagons, munition and treasure.

The armie hauing recouered the hill, did there pause a while, and finding themselues to be deceiued, march backe againe towards the towne: but before they came thither, it was aduertised vnto my lord, that the towne and euerie house therein was fortified and full of men, and that it was not possible for anie to passe that waie without great perill and danger, except the towne were set on fire. Whereupon order was giuen, that as they passed and entered into the towne, notwithstanding it was my lords owne, they should set the houses on fire. Sir William Francis being in the fore-ward was formost, and leauing the waie which he tooke before, tooke now an other waie, the which waie was both deepe and narrow. The enimies being vpon the banks vpon euerie side of the waie, with their stones so beat him, that they stroke his headpeece fast to his head and whereof he died. The armie being come into the towne, they set fire on euerie house as they passed by. But the rebelles conioining themselues in the middle of the towne, do stand at their defense, where the fight was very fierce and cruell; and bloudie was that daie: for some were slaine with the sword, some burned in the houses, some shifting for themselues were taken prisoners, and manie thinking to escape ouer the water were drowned: so that there were dead that daie one with an other about a thousand men.

Sir William Francis slaine.

Bishops Cliff towne set on fire and burnt.

The rebels ouerthrowne in the towne.

The towne thus being recouered, and the ouerthrow giuen, the lord Greie desireth to passe ouer the riuer, and to be in the open field, which is a great heath named Cliff heath: & this he could not do, but that he must passe ouer either the water or the bridge, both which were somewhat dangerous, for the water was somewhat mirie and muddie, as also at that time verie deepe, by reason of the flowing of the seas, which causeth the same at euerie tide to swell. Howbeit one John Yard a gentleman, and who had dwelled thereabouts, knowing the said water, gaue the first aduenture ouer, and found waie here vnto a mill aboue the bridge; and after him others do followe. But this was not for all the rest of the armie, who must needs passe ouer the bridge, which as then they could not do, by reason that the same was so ouerlaid with great trees and timber, as also there stood the gunner with his peece readie charged. Whereupon proclamation was made, that whosoeuer would aduenture and make waie ouer the bridge, should haue foure hundred crownes for his labor. Then one forthwith more respecting the gaine, than forecasting the perill, gaue the aduenture: but the gunner rewarded him, for he discharged his peece vpon him, and slue him. And then before he could againe charge his peece, one of the companie, who before was passed ouer the water, came and entred the bridge at the further end, and comming behind him slue him; who forthwith calleth companie vnto him, and calleth aside all the trees and timber, and maketh the bridge cleere, and so the whole armie passeth ouer the bridge into the heath.

The lord Greie passeth ouer the riuer into Cliff heath.

John Yard first giueth the aduenture and findeth waie ouer the water.

A proclamation, that whosoeuer recouereth first the bridge to haue foure hundred crownes.

The bridge recouered.

The lord Greie as soone as he was passed ouer the water, he rode forthwith to the top of the hill, which is in the middle of the heath; and from thense did make a view of all the countrie about him: and looking backe towards Woodburie, he saw and espied vpon Woodburie hill a great companie assembled; & marching forward, & suspecting that they were a new supplie appointed to follow and come vpon them, and aduertised the lord Russell therof. Whereupon it was concluded, that the prisoners whom they had before taken at the windmill and in the towne, who were a great number, and which if they were newlie set vpon, might be a detriment and a perill vnto them, should be all killed: which forthwith was done, euerie man making a dispatch of his prisoners; and then the night approching, there they incamped themselues for that night.

All the prisoners before taken are committed to the sword.

The rebelles, which were and late about Excester, were aduertised out of hand of this the euill successe of their neighbors, wherefore they with as manie as they could get, in all hast came to Cliff heath: and in the lower side thereof nert to the high waie, do intrench and fortifie a place fast by a hedge, and secretlie there, in the night, do place their ordinance, & make themselues in readinesse to abide the brunt: and as soone as the daie light serued, discharge and shot off their peeces vnto the armie incamped about the top of the hill. The lords and captens to end the quarrell, do determine to giue the onset vpon them; and according to the nature of warres, do politikelie diuide themselues into three parts, and euerie one hath his place assigned and order appointed vnto him.

The lord Russell, hauing no waie open before him, causeth his ploners to make waie ouer the hedges & inclosed grounds, and by that means doth at length recouer vpon the verie backe of the enimies: and they were so intraped on euerie side, that they could

not

not by anie meanes escape, but mvst yæld or fight. The one they would not, and in the other they prevailed not. For notwithstanding valiantlie and stoutlie they stood to their tackle, and would not giue ouer as long as life and lim lasted: yet in the end they were all ouerthrowen, and few or none left aliue. Great was the slaughter, and cruell was the fight; and such was the valor and stoutnesse of these men, that the lord Greie reported himselfe, that he neuer in all the wars that he had bèn in did know the like.

The rebelles are ouerthrowen vpon Clist heath.

This fight being done, and all things set in good order, the whole armie marched vnto Topsham, which was about a mile off, and laie in that towne all that night, and carried with them in a horslitter the bodie or corps of sir William Francis, and from thense carried it to Excester, where it was buried in martiall manner verie honorablie in the bodie of the cathedrall church of saint Peters. When the rebels who laie about the citie heard how their neighbors had sped, and from time to time had the worse side, and were still ouerthrowen: then as men despairing to prevaile, secretlie gaue ouer the siege and ran apase euerie man his waie. The gentlemen, which were kept prisoners in the churches and in other places about the citie, being now at libertie, came straight to the walles about midnight, & gaue knowledge thereof to the watch; and they forthwith did the like vnto the maior. The ioie and comfort wherof was so great, and the desire of fresh vittels so much persed, that manie not abiding till the daielight, gat and shifted themselues out of the gates, but more for vittels than for spoile, and yet they were glad of both: howbeit some did not long enioie the same, for manie being more greedie of meat than measurable in feeding, did so ouercharge themselues in surfetting, that they died thereof.

Sir william Francis buried at Excester.

The rebels forsake the citie.

The next morrow being tuesdaie and the first of August, the lord privie seale thinking it long before he came to the citie, commanded the trumpets verie earlie to sound, and euerie man to make readie and to prepare awaie. And accordinglie all things being done, he marcheth towards Excester, and about eight of the clocke being tuesdaie the first of August 1549 he came to the same, to the great ioy & comfort of the long captiuated citizens, who were no more glad of their deliuerie, than was his lordship and all good subiects ioyfull of his victorie. But at his comming he entred not into the citie: for being aduertised from the maior that the citie was altogither vnfurnished of vittels, order was taken that no stranger, nor one nor other should enter into the citie, but lie in the campe for a time. Then his lordship pitched his tents without the wals in S. Johns fields, next to Southing hate, & vpon the cities wals next to the posterne of his house was the kings standard of the red dragon set vp. As soone as he was entred into his tent, the maior & all his brethren in most seemelie & decent order went vnto him, who most louinglie embraced them, most thankefullie accepted them, and most highlie commended them for their truth, dutie, and service, which vpon his fidelitie and honor he did promise should be well considered by the kings maiestie, and which in the end was performed. For the king being aduertised thereof, he did not onelie thankefullie accept and highlie commend their seruices, but also rewarded and considered the same, both by confirmation of their charters, inlarging of their liberties, and augmenting of their reuenues, in giuing vnto them the manor of Ortlond, which as was said was sometimes their ancient inheritance, but by power of the earles of Deuon by force taken, and by wrong and iniurie kept from them.

The lord privie seale tarieth at Exon rewardeth the good and punisheth the euill. Sir Peter Carew, sir Gawen Carew, William Gibbes, rewarded with traitors lands.

The maior and his brethren salute the lord Russell, and he embraceth them.

The king thankefullie accepteth the seruice of the citie, and liberallie rewardeth the same.

Immediatlie after his comming, sir William Herbert then maister of the kings horsses, and after earle of Penbroke, came with a thousand Welshmen: who though they came too late to the fraie; yet soone inough to the plaie. For the whole countrie was then put to the spoile, and euerie soldier sought for his best profit: a iust plague of the Lord vpon rebels and dissolutall persons. But the citie being as yet altogither destitute of vittels, and the Welshmen at their first comming seeing the same, they did by their speciall industries & trauels fraught & furnish the same within two daies with corne, cattels, and vittels, verie plentifullie, to the great releefe and comfort of the people therin, & to the benefit of themselues. The lord privie seale remained and continued in this citie aboue twelue daies before he remoued: setting all things in good order, rewarding the good & punishing the euill. To sir Peter Carew he gaue all Wineslades land, to sir Gawen Carew Humfrie Arundels lands, to William Gibbes esquier Beries lands, and to manie others which had done good seruices he gaue prisoners, both bodies, goods, and lands.

The Welshmen came too late to the fight, but soone inough to the spoile.

On the other side he commanded forches and gallowes to be set vp in sundrie places, as well within the citie as also in the countrie; and did command and cause manie to be executed and put to death, especiallie such as were noted to be chiefe and busie doers & ringleaders in this rebellion. Among them all there was no one so exalted as was Welsh the vicar of saint Thomas nere the Erbridge at Excester, who was preferred and presented to that benefice by the lord Russell patrone thereof. This man had manie good things in him, he was of no great stature, but well set and mightilie compact: he was a verie good wrestler, shot well both in the long bow as also in the crosbow, he handled his handgun and pèce verie well, he was a verie good woodman and a hardie, and such a one as would not giue his head for the polling nor his beard for the washing, he was a companion in anie exercises of activitie, & of a courteous and gentle behauiour, he descended of a good honest parentage, being borne at Penuerin in Cornewall; and yet in this rebellion an archcapteine and a principall doer. He was charged with three principall crimes. The first was, that he did not onelie persuade the people to the contemning of the reformed religion, according to the kings procèedings, and to keepe and obserue the Romish and popish religion: but also did erect, kèepe, and vse the same in his parish church. Secondarilie, he was a capteine and a principall dealer in the cause of the rebellion, which was chieflie directed by him, his order, & aduise. Thirdlie, he caused one Kingwell a tinner of Chagford, and seruant to maister John Charels of Tauestoke to be hanged, bicause secretlie he had conueied letters betwèene my lord and his maister, and was earnest in the reformed religion, which was then termed the kings procèedings, & an enimie to the popish state. And being a sharpe inueier against the one, and an earnest maintener of the other, it procured vnto him great hatred and malice: when the rebellion was begun he sought by all the meanes he could how to escape awaie: but he was so narrowlie watched, that he could neuer haue anie opportunitie so to do.

Three things laid to the charge of the vicar of saint Thomas.

The rebels hang Kingswell.

They vsed all the deuises they could to recouer him to their opinions, sometimes with faire words, sometimes with threatenings, and sometimes with imprisonments: but still he inueied against them, calling them rebels and traitors both against God and the king, and foreprophesied vnto them that destruction and confusion would be the end & reward of their doings. Thus when they could not reclame him to their disposition, then by the order and iudgement of this vicar Welsh, he was fetched out of the

The lord Russell commeth to Excester.

prison, and forthwith brought forth before Caiphas and Pilat, and condemned to be hanged: which was executed vpon him forthwith, and he brought to an elme træ in Eriland, without the west gate of the citie, before the house of one Nicholas Caue, and there hanged. The like cruelties or rather tyrannie was done at Sampford Courtenete, where when a certeine Frankelin a gentleman, named William Hellions, who comming to Sampford to haue some communication with them for the staie of their rebellion, and for the pacifieng of them in their due obedience, was at the townes end taken prisoner, & caried to the churchhouse, where he so earnestlie reprooued them for their rebellion, & so sharplie threatened them an euill successe; that they all fell in a rage with him, and not onlie with euill words reuiled him: but also as he was going out of the churchhouse & going downe the staires, one of them named Githbridge with a bill strake him in the necke, and immediatlie notwithstanding his pitifull requests and lamentations, a number of the rest fell vpon him, slue him, and cut him into small pæces: and though they counted him for an heretike, yet they buried him in the church-yard there, but contrarie to the common maner, laieng his bodie north and south.

These things being called to remembrance and obiected against this vicar, although some men in respect of his vertues and good gifts did pitie and lament his case, and would haue gladlie bæne sutors for his pardon: yet the greatnesse of his lewdnesse and follies considered, they left him vnto his deserts: & so was by order of the marshall law condemned to death. And yet this one thing by the waie I must speake in his commendation. There was among the rebels a stranger and an alien, who was a verie skilfull gunner, & could handle his pæce verie well, and did much harme vnto the citie, & among others slue one Smith standing at a doore in northgatestreet with a great shot from saint Dauids hill. This fellow tooke vpon him, that he would set the whole citie on fire, and it should be cleane burned within foure houres, do they what they could. This his offer was so well liked, that the daie and time was appointed when this should be done.

The rebels appoint to set fire on the citie and to burne it.

The vicar hearing thereof, assembleth vnto him as manie men as he could make and haue, & came to this companie when this fire should be kindled, and was so hot and earnest against their attempts, that he would in no wise suffer so lewd an act and wicked a thing to be done. For (saith he) do you what you can by policie, force, or dint of sword to take the citie, I will ioine with you, and do my best: but to burne a citie which shall be hurtfull to all men and good to no man, I will neuer consent thereunto, but will here stand with all my power against you. And so stout he was in this matter, that he stopped them from their further enterprising of so wicked a fact. But to the matter. The execution of this man was committed to Barnard Duffeld, who being nothing slacke to follow his commission, caused a paire of gallowes to be made, and to be set vp vpon the top of the tower of the said vicars parish church of S. Thomas: and all things being readie and the stage perfected for this tragedie, the vicar was brought to the place, and by a rope about his middle drawne vp to the top of the tower: and there in chains hanged in his popish apparell, and had a holie water bucket and sprinkle, a sacring bell, a paire of beads, & such other like popish trash hanged about him, and there he with the same about him remained a long time. He made a verie small or no confession, but verie patientlie tooke his death, he had bæne a good member in his common-wealth, had not the weeds ouergrowne the good corne, and his foule vices ouercommed his vertues.

The vicar of saint Thomas letteth and will not consent to the burning of the citie.

The vicar is hanged in chaines vpon the top of the tower with his popish trash and ornaments about him.

The lord priuie seale remaining still in Excester was continuallie occupied in setting things in order, he was verie seuere and sharpe against such offendors as were chiefe and principall ringleders of this rebellion: but to the common sort who were led and carried, and who did humble themselues, he was pitifull and mercifull, and did dailie pardon infinite numbers. And his lordship thinking verelie that all things were now quieted, & the rebels pacified, suddenlie newes were brought vnto him that there assembled at Sampford Courtneie, both Deuonshiremen and Cornishmen, and who were fullie bent to mainteine their quarrell and abide the battell. These newes so troubled and tickled my lord, that all busnesse set apart, he commandeth forthwith the trumpet to be sounded, and the drumme to be striken vp, and all his armie to be forthwith mustered: which was then the greater, by reason of the Welshmen and gentlemen of the countrie and of the commoners, who vpon submission had obteined pardon, and increased to the number of eight or ten thousand men, and forthwith he marcheth towards Sampford Courtneie, where sir William Herbert requested to haue the fore-ward for that daie, which was granted him.

The rebels assembled at Sampford Courtneie.

And being come thither, albeit the great companie of so manie good souldiers and well appointed might haue dismaied them, being nothing nor in order, nor in companie, nor in experience, to be compared vnto the others: yet they were at a point they would not yéld to no persuasions, nor did, but most manfullie did abide the fight: and neuer gaue ouer, vntill that both in the towne and in the field they were all for the most taken or slaine. At which time one ap Owen a Welsh gentlman, more boldlie than aduisedlie giuing the aduenture to enter the rampier at the townes end, was there slaine by the rebels, and after carried backe to Eron, where after the maner of wars he was honorablie buried in the bodie of saint Peters church, few of the kings side besides him then slaine: and so of a traitorous beginning they made a shamefull ending. Neuertheless manie escaped and they fled towards Summersetshire: after whom was sent sir Peter Carew, and sir Hugh Paulet then knight marshall: with a great companie attending vpon them, and followed them as far as to king Weston in the countie of Summerset: where they ouertooke them and ouerthrew them, and also tooke one Coffin a gentleman their capteine prisoner and brought him vnto Excester.

The rebels ouerthrowne at Sampford Courtneie.

Sir Peter Carew pursueth the rebels which fled to king Weston.

The lord Russell himselfe minding to make all things sure, taketh his iorneie, and marcheth into Cornewall; and following his former course, causeth execution to be done vpon a great manie, and especiallie vpon the chefe belwedders and ringleaders: but the chefe and principall capteins he kept as prisoners, and brought them with him to Excester. And when this lord had set all things in good order, he returned to Excester, & remained there for a time; but after departed towards London, where he was receiued with great ioy and thanks: and being come before the king, he forgat not to commend vnto his maiestie the good seruice of this citie in this rebellion, which (as is before said) was liberallie rewarded and considered. After his departure, and according to his order and appointment, the chefe capteins and principall heads of this rebellion, whome he left in prison in the kings goale at Excester, were caried to London and commanded to the tower, and in their due time were afterwards executed to death, namelie Humfreie Arundell esquier, Mineslade esquier, John Berrie and Coffin gentlemen, and Holmes yeoman; which Coffin and Holmes were seruants to

The lord priuie seale taketh his iorneie into Cornewall.

The lord priuie seale taketh his iorneie towards London and is honourable receiued.

The chefe capteins of the rebels are caried to London and there put to death.

to sir John Arundell knight. Of the number of them who were slaine, there is no certeintie knowne, but manie more be found lacke then numbred: howbeit it was accounted by such as continued in the whole seruice of this commotion to be about foure thousand men. But what number was of the contrarie side dispatched, nothing is reported, albeit it be well knowne that they escaped not scotfree, and especiallie the Burgonians, who were abhorred of the one partie, and nothing fauoured of the other. Thus much concerning the description of the citie, and of the sundrie inuasions and assaults against the same, and especiallie of the last rebellion or commotion in the yeare of our Lord 1549, wherein much more might be spoken, but this may suffice for this matter. And for as much as the cathedrall church of this citie, called by the name of S. Peters, is a parcell of the citie, and compassed within the wals of the same, though in respect of certeine priuileges distinct from the iurisdiction thereof; I thought it good to subnect hereunto the description of the said church, and of the antiquitie of the same.

The antiquitie, foundation, and building of the cathedrall church of saint Peters in Excester.

After that corrupt religion and superstition was crept and receiued into the church, and the people become deuout therein, then began the erecting of religious houses and monasteries in euerie countrie. And as this was vniuersall throughout all christendome vnder the gouernement of the Romane bishop: so also was it generallie done throughout all England, in which generalitie this citie was of a particularitie; for in this citie from time to time as opportunitie serued sundrie religious houses and monasteries were erected and builded, of which there were three within the site, circuit, and place now called the close of S. Peters, and which in time accrued and were vnited into one. The first was a house for women called monales or nuns, which is now the deanes house or Kalendar haie. The other was a house of monks, supposed to be builded by king Ethelred, the third sonne to king Ethelwolph, and these two were vnited by bishop Leofricus vnto the cathedrall church. The third was a house for monks of the order of S. Benet, which was builded and founded by king Athelstane, about the yeare of our Lord 932: and this is that part of the cathedrall church now called the ladie chappell. For the said king, hauing driuen out of this citie the Britons then dwelling therein, and minding to make a full conquest both of them and of this their countrie which they then inhabited, did so fiercelie follow and pursue them euen into Cornewall, that in the end he conquered them, and had the victorie. After which he returned to this citie, and here staieng and soiourning for a time, did reedifie the citie, incompassed it with a stone wall, and founded the cathedrall church, which he then appointed for a monasterie for monks of S. Benets order. For so is it written: *Hanc vrbem rex Adelstanus primus in potestatem Anglorum, effugatis Britonibus redactam turribus muniuit, & muro ex quadratis lapidibus cinxit, ac antiquitus vocatam Munketon nunc Exestter vocari voluit: ac ibi sedens mansum quoddam dedit ad fundandum monasterium pro monachis Deo & sancto Petro famulantibus.* Besides the charges which he was at the building of the said church, he gaue also lands and reuenues vnto them sufficient for maintenance and liuelihods, whereof Horkehull and Treasurors bere are parcell, and which now are appendant and apperteining to the treasuror of the cathedrall church.

The religious houses within the precinct of the cemiterie of S. Peters.

King Athelstan builded the wals of the citie of stone.

Ex pamphleto monasterij S. Iohannis Baptistæ Exon.

Ex chronica ecclesiæ cathred. Exon.

After the time of king Athelstane, the Danes with great hostilitie and crueltie hauing ouerrun this whole land, they also came to this citie, and in spoiling the same, did also ransacke and spoile the said church, whose continuall inuasions the monks being not able to indure, fled and forsoke their house and home, and sought places of better safetie. By which means this monasterie for sundrie yeares was left destituted, vntill the time of king Edgar; who on a time made a progresse into these west parts, to visit his father in law Odogarus then earle of Deuon, and founder of the abbeie of Tauistoke, whose daughter he had married. And being come to this citie, did here rest and staie himselfe, where when he saw the distressed state of the said church, & pitieng the same, caused search and inquirie to be made of the monks which were scattered and yet left: and when he had gotten them togither, he restored them vnto their house and liuelihods, and appointed Sidemannus who was afterwards bishop of this diocesse to be abbat of the same. And from thensforth they continued togither (though sometimes in troubles) vntill that king Swanus or Sweno the Dane, with a mightie and a huge armie came to this citie, besieged, toke, spoiled, and destroied it with sword and fier. Howbeit not long after it was restored againe by king Cahutus or Canutus, who being aduertised of the great cruelties which his father Sweno had done to the said monasterie, did at the request of Atheldredus one of his dukes, make restitution vnto Athelwolous then abbat of all their lands, liuings and priuileges: as doth appeare by his charter dated in the yeare of our Lord 1019.

The Danes spoile the church of S. Peters.

The monks forsake their monasterie.

Flores historiarum.

King Edgar restoreth the abbat and monks to their house.

Sidemannus abbat of this church, and after bishop of this diocesse.

K. Canutus restoreth both lands & priuileges to the church.

After this, about thirtie yeares, king Edward the Confessor came to this citie, and he by the aduise and at the motion of Leofricus bishop of Crediton, and who sometimes was lord chancellor of England vnder the said king, and one of his priuie councell, partlie for the better safetie of the bishop and his successors, who lieng and hauing their houses in the countrie, were subiect to manie and sundrie perils, and partlie to prouide a more conuenient place for the monks, did remoue the bishops see from Crediton, and remoued the monks vnto Westminster: and he the king in his owne person, togither with quéene Edith his wife, did install the said Leofricus in possession of this his new church and see. The bishop thus remoued from the old, and placed in the new see and church, doth endow the same with all those lands and liuelihods which he had of the gift of the said king, and which before did apperteine to his former church, and to reduce and make his sanctuarie to his mind, pulleth downe the two monasteries neere adioining, the one being of monks and the other of nuns, and addeth and vniteth them vnto his owne church, and hauing brought all things to effect according to his mind, deuiseth and maketh lawes, orders, and ordinances for the good gouernment of his church and cleargie.

The bishops see remoued from Crediton to Exon.

Leofricus the first bishop of Excester.

After the death of Leofricus, all his successors for the most part procure the augmentation and increase of this their new erected see and church, some in liuelihods, some in liberties and priuileges, some in buildings, and some in one thing, and some in another. William Warewest the third bishop of this church, who had sometimes béene chapleine to the Conqueror, and to his two sonnes William and Henrie, was in such fauor and good liking with the Conqueror, that at his request he gaue vnto him and to this his church, Plimpton, Wrampton, and S. Stephans, in Excester, which gift his said sonnes being kings of England did ratifie and confirme. And then the said bishop, hauing the ordering and distributing

The king at the request of William warewest bishop, giueth Plimpton, Wrampton, & S. Stephans to the church of Excester.

thereof, giueth Plimpton to the regular monkes there, for whom he had founded and builded a monasterie, and wherein he himselfe shortlie after leauing and yælding vp his bishoprike, became and was a monke. Brampton was reserued to the church, and which afterwards was annered to the deanerie. And S. Stephans with the fee to the same apperteining, he reserued to himselfe and to his successors, whereby they are barons and lords of the parlement. This bishop in the yeare of our Lord 1112, first began to inlarge his cathedrall, and laid the foundation of that part, which is now the chore or quier: for before that time it was no bigger than that, which since and now is called the ladie chapell. After him William Brewer the bishop made and established in the yeare of our Lord 1235, a deane and a chapter of foure and twentie prebendaries: and for the deane (whome he appointed, and whose name was Serlo) and for his successors, he gaue and impropriated Brampton and Colton Rawleigh, and for the prebendaries he purchased lands, alloting and assigning to euerie of them *Pro pane & sale* the like portion of foure pounds.

The foundation of the quier of S. Peters church.

Bishop William Brewer instituteth the deane & foure and twentie prebendaries.

Peter Quiuell the bishop finding the chancell of his church to be fullie builded and ended, beginneth to found and build the lower part or the bodie of his church, in the yeare of our Lord 1284, from the chancell of his church vnto the west end of the said church. This man first appointed a chanter and a subdeane to be in his church. To the one of them he impropriated Paineton and Chudleie, and to the other the personage of Egloschaile in Cornewall. After him John Grandisson, in the yeare of our Lord 1340, did increase the length of the bodie of the church from the font westwards, as also vaulted the roofe of the whole church, and did fullie end and finish the same. And albeit from the time of king Athelstane the first founder in the yeare of our Lord 932, vntill the date of the death of this bishop Grandisson, which was in the yeare 1369, there were about 437 yeares distant, and in the meane time this church was continued in building by sundrie persons: yet it is so decentlie and vniformelie compacted, as though it had beene builded at one verie time and instant.

The bodie of saint Peters church first founded.

The chanter and subdeane first constituted in this church.

Bishop Grandisson a great benefactor to the church.

The church of S. Peters was in building 437 yeares.

The successour of this Grandisson, who was named Thomas Brentingham, finished and ended the north tower of the church. After this, about the yeare of our Lord 1400, and in the time of bishop Stokford, the cloister was added to the church, and builded at the most part of the charges of the deane and chapiter. And not long after Edmund Lacie bishop began to build the chapiter house, which being not ended in his time, his next successor George Neuill, in the yeare of our Lord 1456, did fullie end and absolue the same: and which is a verie faire, beautifull, and a sumptuous worke. And thus much concerning the antiquitie, foundation, and building of this cathedrall church. Thus far Iohn Hooker.

The cloister builded.

The building of the chapiter house.

About the same time that this rebellion (whereto all the foresaid discourse tendeth) began in the west, the like disordered hurles were attempted in Oxfordshire, and Buckinghamshire: but they were spedilie appeased by the lord Greie of Wilton, who comming downe that waie to ioine with the lord priuie seale, chased the rebels to their houses, of whome two hundred were taken, and a dozzen of the ringleaders to him deliuered, whereof certeine afterwards were executed. Moreouer, in diuerse other parts of the realme, namelie in the south and east parts, did the people (as before ye haue heard) assemble themselues in rebellious maner, committing manie foule disorders: but yet by good policie and holesome persuasions they were appeased, except in Norffolke, where after there was a rumour spred, that the commons in Kent had throwne downe the diches and hedges, wherewith certeine pasture grounds were inclosed, and had laid the same open. Diuerse seditious persons and busie fellowes began to complaine that the like had not beene done in Norffolke, and ceased not to practise how to raise the people to an open rebellion; meaning not onelie to laie open parkes and inclosures, but to attempt other reformations, as they termed them, to the great danger of ouerthrowing the whole state of the common-wealth.

John Fox.

Common rebellion.

Norffolke.

They chiefflie declared a spitefull rancor and hatred conceiued against gentlemen, whome they maliciouslie accused of inordinat couetousnesse, pride, rapine, extortion, and oppression, practised against their tenants and other, for the which they accounted them worthie of all punishment. Herevpon diuerse of them, namelie the inhabitants of Attlborough, and other of their neighbors, conceiuing no small displeasure, for that one Greene of Wilbie had taken in a parcell of the common pasture, as was supposed, belonging to the towne of Attlborough, and adioining to the common pasture of Harlham, riotouslie assembled togither, and threw downe certeine new diches made by the said Greene, to inclose in the said parcell of commons.

The beginning of the rebellion in Norffolke.

This was done before Midsummer, and so it rested till the first of Julie, at which time there should be a publike plaie kept at Wimondham, a towne distant from Norwich six miles, which plaie had beene accustomed yearelie to be kept in that towne, continuing for the space of one night and one daie at the least. Wherevpon the wicked contriuers of this vnhapie rebellion, toke occasion by the assembling of such numbers of people as resorted thither to see that plaie, to enter further into their wicked enterprise: and vpon conference had, they immediatlie assembled at Norleie a mile from Wimondham, & there they cast downe certeine diches of maister Hubbords on the tuesdaie, and that night they repaired to Wimondham againe, where they practised the like feats. But as yet they toke no mans goods by violence.

A conference to further this rebellion in a meeting at a publike plaie.

Herevpon one John Flowerdew of Hetherset gentleman, finding himselfe grieued with the casting downe of some diches, came vnto some of the rebels, and gaue to them fortie pence to cast downe the fenses of an inclosure belonging to Robert Ket, *alias* Knight, a tanner of Wimondham (which pasture lieth nere to the faire Mounge at Wimondham aforsaid) which they did. And that night consulting togither, the next morning they toke their iourneie to Hetherset, by the procurement of the said Robert Ket, in reuenge of the displeasure which he had conceiued against the said Flowerdew, and set them in hand to plucke vp and cast downe hedges and diches, wherewith certeine pasture grounds belonging to the said Flowerdew were inclosed.

John Flowerdew.

Robert Ket.

Here was somwhat adoo. For maister Flowerdew did what he could to haue caused them to desist from that attempt, in somuch that manie sharpe words passed betwixt Ket and the said maister Flowerdew. But Ket being a man hardie and forward to anie desperat attempt that should be taken in hand, was streight entered into such estimation with the commons thus assembled togither in rebellious wise, that his will was accomplished: and so those hedges and diches belonging to the pasture grounds of maister Flowerdew were throwne downe and made plaine. Herevpon was Ket chosen to be their capteine and ringleader, who being resolued to set all on sir and seuen, willed them to be of good comfort, and to follow him in defense of their common libertie, being readie in the common-welths cause to hazard both

Ket chosen to be capteine of the rebels.

both life and goods.

Herewith they passed the water betwixt Cringelford and Eiton, and comming to Bowthorpe, cast downe certeine hedges and ditches in that place, and their number being now greatlie increased, they incamped there that night. Here sir Edmund Windam knight, being high shiriffe of Norffolke and Suffolke, came and proclamed them rebels, commanding them to depart in the kings maiesties name. With which proclamation they were greatlie offended, and attempted to haue got him into their hands: but he being well horsed, valiantlie brake through them that had compassed him in: howbeit he escaped from them and got into Norwich, being not past a mile off. The same night there came a great number of lewd people vnto them, as well out of the citie of Norwich as out of the countrie, with weapon, armour, and artillerie.

The citizens of Norwich.

The daie before that Ket came to this place, a great number of the meaner sort of the citizens of Norwich had throwne downe a quickset hedge, and filled vp the diches, wherewith the foresaid commons were on the one side inclosed, to keepe in the cattell of the citizens that had the same going before their common neatherd: and so that fense which by good and prouident aduise of their forefathers, had beene raised and made for the common profit of the whole citie, was thus by a sort of lewd persons defaced and cast downe at that present. And scarse had they throwne downe the dich in the vpper end of this pasture, but that a companie of euill disposed persons stale out of the citie, and got them to Kets campe.

Thomas Cod.

The maior of the citie named Thomas Cod aduertised hereof, doubting what might follow of this mischeefous begun rebellion, thought good to trie if he might persuade the rebels to giue ouer their traitorous enterprises: and therfore taking certeine of the aldermen with him, he went to Kets campe, vsing what persuasions he could to reduce them vnto their dutifull obedience, & to depart home to their houses. But his trauell was in vaine, and therefore returned backe to the citie without hope to do anie good with that vnrulie rout.

After whose departure, they considering in what danger they stood to be surprised, if they should scatter abroad in such sort as till then they had done, seeking to wast and spoile the countrie about them, without keeping together in anie warlike order, thought it stood most with their suertie to draw into one place, and to fortifie the same for their further strength. Vpon this resolution they determined to go with all speed vnto Mousehold, a place as they tooke it meet for their purpose, and therefore sent to the maior of Norwich, requesting him of licence to passe through the citie, because it was their nèerest waie, promising not to offer anie iniurie or violence to anie person, but quietlie to march through the citie vnto their place appointed. But the maior did not onlie denie them passage, but also with sharpe and bitter speach reproouing their rebellious doings, told them what should follow thereof, if they gaue not ouer in time from further proceeding in such wicked attempts.

The rebels request licence to passe thorough Norwich.

Sir Roger Woodhouse.

The next daie being thursdaie, sir Roger Woodhouse with seuen or eight of his houshold seruants, came to them, bringing with him two carts laden with beere, and one cart laden with other vittels: for a recompense whereof he was striped out of his apparell, had his horsses taken from him, and whatsoeuer else he had, the rebels accounting the same a good preie, he himselfe was cruellie tugged and cast into a dich of one Mores of nether Arleham by Heilesdonbridge; where the same daie the rebels, being disappointed of their purpose to passe through Norwich, found meanes to passe, and comming to maister Corbets house of Sprowston, intended to haue burnt the same house. But yet being persuaded to spare it from fire, they spoiled his goods, defaced a douehouse of his, which had beene a chappell, and afterwards got them to Mousehold, and comming to S. Leonards hill, on which the erle of Surrie had built a statelie house called mount Surrie, they intrenched themselues there on the same hill; and in the woods adioining that lie on the west and the south side of the same hill, as the commons or pasture called Mousehold heath lieth on the east side, which conteineth foure or fiue miles in length, & three or foure in breadth.

Mount Surrie.

Mousehold.

They put sir Roger Woodhouse, and other prisoners whom they had caught, in streict ward within the foresaid house of mount Surrie, on the which they setzed, and spoiled what soeuer they found within it. In the meane time, the maior of Norwich taking aduise with his brethren the aldermen, what was best to do in this case, whether presentlie to issue forth, and distresse the rebels now in the beginning, least time might giue them meane to increase their power: or rather to stale till they had aduertised the councell of the whole matter. In the end they agreed that this last aduise was most surest, and so they dispatched a post with all speed to the court. Beside this great campe (as they termed it) at Mousehold, there was a lesser at Riising chase neare to Lin: but the rebels there, by the good diligence and circumspect policie of the iustices and gentlemen of those parts, were spedilie repressed, and driuen from thence. Notwithstanding afterwards they assembled togither at Watton, & there remained about a fortnight, stopping also the passage at Thetford and Brandon ferrie, within nine miles of the said Watton: and at length came and ioined themselues with these other at Mousehold, by appointment of their generall capteine (as they tooke him) the foresaid Robert Ket.

Riising chase.

Watton.

Moreouer, there came flocking from Suffolke and other parts, a great multitude of lewd disposed persons, raised by firing of beacons, and ringing of bels. Also a number of rascals & naughtie lewd persons stale out of the citie of Norwich, and went to campe. And thus being got togither in great multitudes, they added one wickednesse to another, as hauing no stait of themselues after their downefall, nor holding them content with the committing of one villanous trespasse and horrible transgression, according vnto the poets words to the like purpose:

Quisnam hominum est, quem tu contentum videris vno
Flagitio?——

Now to cloke their malicious purpose with a counterfeit shew of holinesse, they caused one Conters vicar of saint Martins in Norwich to saie seruice morning and euening, to praie to God for prosperous speed in that their vngodlie enterprise. Moreouer they went about to ioine to their cause diuerse honest men, and right commendable for religion, doctrine, vertue, and innocencie of life; amongst whome were Robert Watson a preacher, Thomas Cod maior of Norwich, and Thomas Alderich of Mangrène hall. These three, although sore against their willes, were constreined to be present with them in all matters of counsell, and to take vpon them (as associats with capteine Ket) the administration and order of euerie thing: which happened well for manie. For when either Ket himselfe, or anie other of the capteins, through setting on of the outragious multitude, purposed anie mischeefe (as often it came to passe) in one place or other, through their graue aduise, and approued industrie, their furie was sundrie times staied and calmed. Although Ket bent to all vngratiousnes,

Counterfeit religion.

would diuerse times grant forth commissions, abusing now and then the names of honest men thereby, appointing his vnthriftie mates to fetch in vittels to furnish their campe withall. The tenor of one of the which commissions here insueth.

The forme of a warrant granted out *by the rebels to take vp vittels.*

WE the kings friends & deputies, doo grant licence to all men, to prouide and bring into the campe at Mousehold, all maner of cattell, and prouision of vittels, in what place soeuer they may find the same: so that no violence or iniurie bee doone to any honest or poore man. Commanding all persons as they tender the kings honor and roiall maiestie, and the releefe of the common welth, to be obedient to vs the gouernors, and to those whose names insue.

Signed *Robert Ket.*

Then followed in order a long list of names, for the number of the gouernors was great, as they that beside the cheefe capteins had chosen out of euerie hundred two, and there were six and twentie hundreds. By vertue of such commissions, manie that were of good worship and credit in the countrie, whom the rebels in their rage had condemned, were fetched from their houses, and other places where they might be found, and being brought to the campe, were committed to prison. Also the ditches and hedges, wherewith the commons abrode in the countrie were inclosed, were throwne downe, & manie were warned and called forth from sundrie parts, to come and take part with them in these tumultuous vprores. And all these things were doone, the maior, maister Watson, and maister Aldrich not onlie holding their peace and winking thereat, but also sometime after a maner giuing their consent to the same. For to haue resisted them had beene but follie, and the waie to haue put themselues in danger of destruction, and their countrie too.

Gentlemen imprisoned.

The honest citizens of Norwich in this meane while remained in great perplexitie, hearing nothing from the king nor his councell. They therefore being vncerteine what to doo, abode in the citie, till they might vnderstand what order it should please the king to take for the quieting of these troubles. The cause why the councell was thus slacke in prouiding remedie against the Norfolke rebels, was: for that they were busie in quieting the troubles in the inner part of the realme about London, and other places (as before ye haue heard) by meanes whereof the power of these Norfolke rebels still increased, so that there were assembled togither into Kets campe, to the number of sixtéene thousand vngratious vnthrifts, who by the aduise of their capteins fortified themselues, and made prouision of artillerie, powder and other abiliments, which they fetched out of ships, gentlemens houses, and other places where any was to be found, and withall spoiled the countrie of all the cattell, riches and coine, on which they might laie hands.

The number of the rebels.

But bicause manie (as in such case is euer seene) did prouide for themselues, and hid that which they got, laieng it vp for their owne store, and brought it not forth to further the common cause, Ket and the other gouernors (for so would they be called) thought to prouide a remedie, and by common consent it was decréed, that a place should be appointed, where iudgements might bee exercised, as in a iudiciall hall.

Rebels and theeues can not keepe together without ministration of iustice.

Wherupon they found out a great old oke, where the said Ket, and the other gouernors or deputies might sit and place themselues, to heare and determine such quareling matters as came in question. Afore whom sometime would assemble a great number of the rebels, and exhibit complaints of such disorders, as now and then were practised among them; and there they would take order for the redressing of such wrongs and iniuries as were appointed, so that such greédie vagabounds as were readie to spoile more than seemed to stand with the pleasure of the said gouernors, and further than there commissions would beare, were committed to prison. This oke they named the tree of reformation.

The tree of reformation.

The maior, maister Aldrich and others, whome they had receiued into the number of their gouernours, would oftentimes go vp into this tree, and make diuerse pithie orations to persuade the outragious multitude to giue ouer their riotous rapines and spoilings. There were also certeine diuines which did vse all waies possible to withdraw them from their wicked attempts, and to reduce them to peace and quietnesse, although this was not doone without danger of their liues. Neuertheless, these in the daie time vsed to preach in the churches, and in the night to watch with armour vpon their backes, leauing nothing vndoone that might seeme to aperteine vnto the dutie of godlie and vertuous diuines, or faithfull and obedient subiects. Among these was doctor Matthew Parker, afterward archbishop of Canturburie, whose wisdome, faithfulnesse, and integritie was most aparant.

Doctor Parker.

He comming on a daie into the campe with his brother Thomas Parker, that was after maior of Norwich, found them before the tree at common praier, the foreremembred Conters vicar of saint Martins in Norwich saieng the Letanie. Wherupon doctor Parker thinking the time to serue for his purpose, went vp into the tree, where he made a sermon, diuiding it into three seuerall parts. In the first he exhorted them to vse with moderation those vittels which they had prouided & brought into their campe, and not riotouslie nor lauishlie to waste and consume them. In the second he aduised them in no wise to séeke reuenge of priuat displeasures, and not to chaine or kéepe in irons those persons whom they held in ward, nor to take anie mans life from him. Lastlie, he wished that they should haue regard to themselues, & leaue off their rash begun enterprise, giuing eare to such heralds or other messengers as came from the king, and to shew such honour vnto his maiestie now in his yong and tender yeares, as they might inioy him hereafter being growne vp in vertue, to their great ioy, comfort, and gladnesse.

He preacheth to the rebels.

As he was handling this matter, with manie good and effectuall reasons, hauing the auditorie attentiue to his words, one lewd fellow among the rest cried out and said: How long shall we sutfer this hireling doctor, who being waged by gentlemen, is come hither with his tong, which is sold and tied to serue their appetite? But for all his prating words, let vs bridle them, and bring them vnder the orders of our law.

The rebels threaten doctor Parker.

Then began the multitude to stur and make a noise, threatening the preacher, some of them saieng; It were well, that for his saire told tale we should bring him downe with a mischiefe, with arrowes and iauelings. This speech brought doctor Parker in no small feare, and the more, for that he heard a noise and clattering of weapons vnder him, so that he loked for present death among them. But herein he was deceiued: for there was not a man that stood nert him within the compasse of the tree, would him anie harme. And immediatlie the foresaid vicar of

&.

Doctor Parker conueieth himselfe from among the rebels.

S. Martins that executed the office of the ministter, began with helpe of some singingmen that were present, the canticle *Te Deum*, wherewith the vnruly multitude seemed partlie to quiet themselues. Which occasion doctor Parker perceiuing to serue his turne, thought not longer to tarie amongst them, but quietlie got him downe from the træ, and with his brother made hast towards the citie. But before he came to Bishopsgate, there were of the rebels that came to him, and began to question with him about his licence, whereby he was authorised to preach: but he perceiuing that there was no reason to be conceiued of them, slipt his waies, and left his brother to argue the matter with them.

Yet the next daie he entring into saint Clements church, toke occasion to expound somewhat out of one of the lessons that was read that daie, concerning these wicked hurliburlies; manie of the rebels comming about him, but not interrupting him a whit, hearing the end of his exhortation, although they seemed greatlie therewith offended. But as he came out of the church, they followed him, and told him that (as they understood) he had three or foure able geldings to serue the king: and therefore charged him that after dinner they might be readie for them to occupie. But doctor Parker made them no great answer, but calling to him his horsekeeper, commanded him to plucke off the shoes from some of his geldings, and to pare their houes vnto the quicke; and that he should annoint the other with neruall, as if they had béene lamed with trauell. The rebels perceiuing this, when they saw the same geldings had forth as it had béene to pasture, made no further businesse. Whereupon doctor Parker shortlie after, feining as if he went abroad to walke two miles off from the citie, at Trinkleford bridge found his horses readie as he had appointed, with his seruants, and mounting vp, toke his iournete towards Cambridge, with as much spéed as was possible, escaping thither out of all danger, although by the waie they met with and saw diuerse of the rebels plaieng their parts in their wonted outragious maner. Thus did doctor Parker escape the hands of the wicked rebels, who despising his wholesome admonitions, did afterwards by Gods iust iudgement proue his words to be most true.

The policie of doctor Parker to beguile the rebels.

But in the meane time proceeding from one mischiefe to another, after they had practised to spoile the gentlemen of the countrie of their goods, they began to attach their bodies, and by force to bring them into their campe: so that such as escaped their hands, were glad to flée, and hide themselues in woods and caues, where they might best kéepe themselues out of their aduersaries reach and intended dangers. But to speake of all the horrible practises by these vngratious people exercised, it would be too long a processe. What shifts they found to cloake their doings, and that euen vnder the kings authoritie, it is wonderfull. For whereas there were certeine commissions directed vnto diuerse gentlemen in the countrie, to take order for the appeasing of these tumults; they getting the same into their hands, toke vpon them the authoritie committed to the gentlemen, vnto whome the same commissions were sent; and taking off the seales from the other, fastened the same vnto their counterfeit writings. To conclude, they grew to such vnmeasurable disorder, that they would not in manie things obeie neither their generall capteine, nor anie of their gouernors, but ran headlong into all kind of mischiefe, & made such spoile of victuels which they brought out of the countrie adioining vnto their campe, that within few daies they consumed (beside a great number of beeues) twentie thousand muttons, also swans, géese, hens, capons, ducks, & other foules so manie as they might laie hands vpon. And furthermore, they spared not to breake into parks, and kill what déere they could. Such hauocke they made of all that came in their waie, and such number of sheepe speciallie they brought into their campe, that a good fat weather was sold for a groat. The woods, groues, and trées that were destroied I passe ouer, and make no mention thereof. Herewith, what crueltie was shewed by them in fettering and manacling such gentlemen as they caught, and committed to prison for some misliking they had conceiued of them, it was a miserable case to behold. Some there were whom they brought forth, as it had béene to iudgement before the træ of reformation, there to be tried afore the gouernors, as if they had béene guiltie of some heinous and grieuous crime. And when it was asked of the commons, what should be done with those prisoners, they would crie with one voice; Hang them, hang them. And when they were asked why they gaue so sharpe iudgement of those whome they neuer knew, they would roundlie answer, that other cried the same crie; and therefore they ment to giue their assent with other, although they could yeld no reason, but that they were gentlemen, & therefore not worthie to liue.

The hauocke which the rebels made.

The outragious dealing against gentlemen.

Sir Edmund Kneuets seruice.

Whilest the rebels thus raged abroad in the countrie at Hengham eleuen miles from Norwich, sir Edmund Knenet knight, with a small companie of his owne meniall seruants, set vpon the night watch of the rebels that were placed there, & brake through, ouerthrowing diuerse of them: and hauing some of his owne men also vnhorsed by the rebels, and in danger to be hewen in peeces among them, yet he recouered them, & escaped their hands through great manhood. After which good nights seruice, as they would haue it esteemed, they repaired to their great capteine Ket, to shew their hurts receiued, & to complaine of their griefes. It was talked among them, that they would go to sir Edmund Kneuets house called Buckenham castell, to assault it, and to fetch him out of it by force. But it was doubted of some, least it were too strong for them; and other feared sharpe stripes, if they should attempt that exploit, being at the least twelue miles from their maine campe: and so that enterprise went not forward, the most part thinking it best to kéepe in whole skins.

There was at London the same time a citizen of Norwich, one Leonard Southerton fled from thence for feare of his life, whome the councell sent for, to come to speake with them: and being asked what he knew touching the state of the rebels, he declared to them from point to point the maner of all their outragious proceedings: but yet that as he vnderstood, there were manie among them that would laie aside their armour, if they might be assured of the kings pardon: and therefore if it would please the king to set forth a proclamation, that all such as would depart from the campe and be quiet, should haue their pardon for all that was past, he doubted not but that those routs should be dispersed. His aduise was allowed, and thereupon was an herald sent with all spéed in companie with the said Southerton vnto Norwich; & comming into the campe the last of Iulie, and standing before the træ of reformation, apparelled in his cote of armes, pronounced there before all the multitude, with lowd voice, a frée pardon to all that would depart to their homes, and laieng aside their armour, giue ouer their traitorous begun enterprise.

Leonard Southerton.

Pardon proclamed by an herald at armes.

After he had made an end of his proclamation, in maner all the multitude cried, God saue the king. And manie of them falling downe vpon their knées, could

The falsifieng of the kings commissions.

could not forbeare with teares gushing from their eies, but commend the kings great and vnspeakable mercie thus freelie offered vnto them, which vndoubtedlie they had at that time all of them receiued, if the wicked speech of some of the rascall sort, and namelie the traitorous persuasions of that wicked caitife Ket himselfe, had not staied them from their dutifull inclinations. But after that Ket had with lowd voice before declared, that kings & princes were accustomed to grant pardons to such as are offendors, and not to others; he trusted that he needed not anie pardon, sith he had doone nothing but that belonged to the dutie of a true subiect: and herewith he besought them not to forsake him, but to remember his promise, sith he was readie to spend his life in the quarell. The herald hereupon called him traitor, and commanded John Petibone the swordbearer of Norwich to attach him for treason. Then began a great hurlie burlie among the multitude, so that the herald, perceiuing they began to shrinke from their former purpose of receiuing the kings pardon, departed from them with these words; All ye that be the kings friends, come awaie with me. The maior & maister Alderich, with a great number of other gentlemen & honest yeomen that were readie to obeie the kings commandement, followed him.

The citizens fauouring the rebels.

The maior being thus returned to the citie, caused the gates to be shut, and such gentlemen as had been committed to prison within the castell, or other places in the citie, he caused to be set at libertie, & with their aduise toke order how the rebelles might be kept out. But as he was buse about such matters, certeine of the citizens that fauored the rebelles had receiued a great multitude of them into the citie, which did put the citizens in such feare, that it was thought the most suretie for the gentlemen that had beene now released out of prison, to be shut vp againe, least the rebelles finding them abroad, should haue murthered them. Yet after this, when the rebels were departed out of the citie againe, the maior & aldermen fell in hand to rampire vp the gates, to plant ordinance, and to make all necessarie prouision that for them was possible.

At length they fell to shooting off their artillerie as well from the citie as from the campe, doing their best to annoie ech other. But when the rebelles saw that they did little hurt to the citie with their great ordinance lieng vpon the hill, they remoued the same downe to the foot of the same hill, and from thense began to beat the walles. Notwithstanding, shortlie after they made sute for a truce to indure for a time, that they might passe to and fro through the citie, to fetch in vittels, whereof some want began to pinch them in the campe. The maior and aldermen flatlie denied their request, protesting that they would not permit anie traitors to haue passage through their citie.

The rebels sore kindled in wrath with this answer, and deniall of their sute, came running downe from the hill, and assaulting the gates, were beaten off with shot of arrowes and other weapons. And yet such rage appeered among the rebels, that the boies and yong lads shewed themselues so desperat in gathering vp the arrowes, that when they saw and felt the same sticking in some part of their bodies, they would plucke them forth, and deliuered them to their bow-men, that they might bestow the same again at the citizens. In all this broile (a thing notewoorthie) the seditious sort minding nothing more than the compassing of their purpose, had as little skaie of themselues in this their outrage, as a bull at the sight of a cow, or a stoned horsse at the view of a mare; according vnto the old saieng of the poet:

Non facile est taurum visa retinere iuuenca,
Fortis equus visæ semper adhinnit equæ.

In the meane time, whilest they were thus buse vpon one side of the citie, an alarum rose at the defendants backes, crieng that the rebels were entred the citie on the contrarie side: and so euerie man shrinking awaie, and running thither to repell the enimie there, that part was left void of defendants where the first assault began. Whereof the rebels being aduised, rushed into the riuer that runneth before bishops gate, got to the gates, and breaking them open, entred without anie great resistance. For all the citizens were withdrawne to their houses and other places, where they hoped best to hide themselues from the furie of their enimies.

The rebels hauing thus entred the citie by force, conueied all the guns and artillerie, with other furniture of warre out of the citie into their campe. The herald that was yet abiding in the citie, to see if the rebels would before the daie prefixed for their pardons, being not yet expired, giue ouer their enterprise, came with the maior into the market place, and in the hearing of a great multitude of people that were come forth and stood about him, he eftsoons gaue commandement in the kings name, that they should laie armes aside, and get them home to their houses: which to so manie as did, he pronounced a generall pardon, and to the rest extreme punishment by death.

The rebels that stood by and heard him, when he had once made an end of his proclamation, bade him get him thense with a mischiefe: for it was not his faire offers, nor his sweet flattering words that should beguile them, sith they made no account of such manner of mercie, that vnder a colour of pardon, should cut off all their safetie and hope of preseruation. The herald perceiuing how obstinatelie they were bent, and set on all mischiefe, and that it was impossible to bring them from their outragious treason, either through feare of punishment or hope of pardon, departed; without hauing brought that to passe for which he was sent. Immediatlie after his departure, the rebels sought for Leonard Southerton, purposing to haue apprehended him, and committed him to prison, for accompanieng the herald thitherwards. But he hauing knowledge of their meaning, hid himselfe from them.

The rebelles conueie artillerie and munition out of the citie to their campe.

The heralds proclamation in Norwich.

The traitorous refusall of the rebels to accept the kings pardon.

After this, there were by Kets commandement apprehended diuerse persons, as the maior, Robert Watson, William Rogers, John Homerston, William Brampton, and manie others, which were brought out of the citie, and committed to prison in mount Surrie. Ket perceiuing well that he must either now obteine a bloodie victorie by force against his countrie, or else to tast such an end as his vngratious attempts did well deserue, got togither so manie wicked persons as he might procure to come vnto him from ech side, with great rewards and faire promises: so that it was a strange matter to consider what a multitude of vnthrifts and rascalles came to him vpon the sudden.

Prisoners committed to ward in mount Surrie.

Kets power increaseth.

The citizens of Norwich were sore displeased, that their maior (being an honest man, and one greatlie beloued among them) should be imprisoned, and so remaine in danger of life among the rebels: for they threatned him sore, & iesting at his name, would saie one to another; Let vs all come togither to morrow, for we shall see a * cods hed sold in the campe for a penie. Whereupon the citizens fearing least through the malice and rage of the rebels, their maior might chance to be made awaie among them, procured maister Thomas Alderich (whose authoritie was great among them) to be a meane for his deliuerance: who comming to Ket with sharpe and bitter

* Alluding to the maior whose name was Cod.

words

words reproued him for his cruell dealing, by imprisoning so honest a man as the maior was, and withall commanded him to release him: which either for shame, or rather through feare of a guiltie conscience that pricked him, he caused incontinentlie to be done: who thereupon might now and then go and come at his pleasure to and fro the citie. But bicause he could not still remaine in the citie, but was constreined to continue for the most part in the campe, he appointed Augustine Steward to be his deputie, who with the assistance of Henrie Bacon, and John Atkinson shiriffes, gouerned the citie right orderlie, and kept the most part of the citizens in due obeisance.

The maior of Norwich set at libertie.

Augustine Steward.

The councell aduertised now vpon the heralds returne, that there was no waie to reduce these Norfolke rebels vnto quiet otherwise than by force, appointed the marquesse of Northampton with fiftéene hundred horsemen to go downe vnto Norwich to subdue those stubborne traitors that so vndutifullie refused the kings mercifull pardon, fréelie offered by his officer at armes, and others. There went with the lord marquesse diuerse honorable and worshipfull personages, as the lord Sheffeld, the lord Wentworth, sir Anthonie Dennie, sir Henrie Parker, sir Richard Southwell, sir Rafe Sadler, sir John Clere, sir Rafe Rowlet, sir Richard Lée, sir John Gates, sir Thomas Paston, sir Henrie Bedingfield, sir John Sulliard, sir William Walgraue, sir John Cuts, sir Thomas Cornewallis knights, together with a great manie of other knights, esquiers and gentlemen, and a small band of Italians, vnder the leading of a capteine named Malatesta.

The lord marquesse of Northampton sent into Norfolke to represse the rebels.

The lord marquesse being approched within a mile of Norwich, sent sir Gilbert Dethicke knight, now Garter, then Norrie, king at armes, vnto the citie, to summon them within to yéeld it into his hands, or vpon refusall to proclame warre against them. Hereupon Augustine Steward the maiors deputie sent to the maior that was in the campe with Ket, aduertising him what message he had receiued from the marquesse. The maior sent word againe, that nothing was more grieuous vnto him, than to sée into what miserie the citie and countrie about were brought by the rage of these commotions; and declaring in what case he stood, being kept by force among the rebels, whereas otherwise he would (according to his dutie) haue come to his honor. But as for the citie, he had committed the gouernance vnto Augustine Steward, who should be readie to surrender it into his lordships hands: and that if Ket would giue him leaue, he would come himselfe to his honor, submitting all things wholie to his lordships order and disposition.

Norwich summoned.

This message being brought backe by the said Norrie, Augustine Steward the maiors deputie with the shiriffs, and a great number of the citizens, came to the lord marquesses campe, and deliuered vp the sword to his lordship, declaring how the maior himselfe would gladlie haue come, if he could haue got from the rebels: and that although a great rowt of the lewd citizens were partakers with the rebelles, yet a number of the substantiall & honest citizens would neuer consent to their wicked doings, but were readie to receiue his lordship into their citie. The lord marquesse giuing good words to the citizens, and willing them to be of good comfort, sith he trusted to appease these troubles verie shortlie, deliuered the sword vnto sir Richard Southwell, who bare it before the lord marquesse as he passed forth towards the citie, entring the same by saint Stephans gate. And incontinentlie was proclamation made that they should all resort into the market place, where they consulted together how they might best defend the citie against the enimies, and to represse their furie. Hereupon was order giuen for the placing of watch and ward about the gates and the wals, as might séeme expedient. The lord marquesse supped that night and lodged in the maiors deputies house; but his lordship as well as other kept their armour on their backs all that night, for doubt of some sudden assault to be made against the citie by the rebels. Here it chanced that the strangers, either by appointment or otherwise, went forth, and offered skirmish to the rebels vpon Magdalen hill.

Sir Richard Southwell.

The strãgers offer skirmish to the rebels.

The rebels came forth with their horsemen: but it séemed that they were better practised to fetch in booties, than to make their manage or careire, and therefore not able to match the strangers, which being perceiued of their fellowes that were footmen, they put forth their archers before their horsemen, and such numbers herewith came swarming forth of their campe, meaning to compasse in those strangers, that they perceiuing the maner and purpose of the enimies, cast themselues in a ring, and retired backe into the citie againe. But they left one of their companie behind them, a gentleman that was an Italian, who more valiantlie than warilie ventured to farre among the enimies, and through euill hap being ouerthrowne beside his horsse, he was inuironed about with a great multitude of those rebels, that tooke him prisoner, and like vile wretches spoiling him of his armor and apparell, hanged him ouer the wals of mount Surrie. Which act well shewed what courtesie might be looked for at such cruell traitors hands, that would thus vnmercifullie put such a gentleman and worthie souldior to death: for whose ransome, if they would haue demanded it, they might haue had no small portion of monie to haue satisfied their greedie minds. But it séemed that their beastlie crueltie had bereft them the remembrance of all honest consideration and dutifull humanitie.

An Italian hanged by the rebels.

The marquesse of Northampton causing (as before yee haue heard) diligent watch to be kept vpon the walles, and at the gates, appointed the same to be visited right often, that through negligence no mishap should follow. Moreouer, besides the watch at the gates and walles, the residue of the souldiors making a mightie huge fire in the market place, so as all the streets were full of light, they remained there all that night in their armour, readie vpon anie occasion to resist the enimies if they should make anie attempt. Sir Edward Warner marshall of the field gaue the watch-word, sir Thomas Paston, sir John Clere, sir William Walgraue, sir Thomas Cornwallis, and sir Henrie Bedingfield were appointed to the defense of other parts of the citie. And now when euerie thing was thought to be safelie prouided for, and that the lord marquesse and other were laid to take their rest, the rebels about the middest of the night began to shot off their great artillerie towards the citie, so thicke as was possible: but the bullets passed ouer their heads that were lodged in the citie, without doing anie great hurt at all.

Sir Edward Warner.

The lord marquesse, by reason of the often alarums that were giuen, whilest the enimies thus ceased not to rage with continuall shot of ordinance, was called vp by the marshall sir Edward Warner; and comming into the market place, accompanied with the nobles and gentlemen of the armie, fell in councell with them, how to foresée that the citie in such danger might be safelie defended against the enimies with such small power as he had there with him. It was therefore determined, that all the gates which were on the contrarie part of the towne from the rebels campe, and likewise the ruinous places of the walles should be rampired vp, that if the enimies should chance to giue an assault to the citie,

citie, they might more easilie be repelled.

But as these things were in doing, and almost brought to end, in a manner all the whole multitude of the rebelles came out of their cabins, running downe in most furious maner to the citie, and with great shouts and yelling cries went about to set fire on the gates, to clime ouer the walles, to passe the riuer, and to enter the citie at such places where the walles were through age decaied and ruinous. The soldiors that were there with the lord marquesse, did shew their vttermost indeuor to beat backe the enimies. This fight in most cruell wise continued for the space of three houres without ceasing, the rebels forcing themselues to the vttermost of their powers to enter perforce vpon them, and they within the citie shewed no lesse courage to repell them backe. The hardie manhod of diuerse knights, and other men of worship was here right apparant. It was strange to see the desperat boldnesse of the rebelles, that when they were thrust through the bodies or thighs, and some of them hough-sinewed, would yet seeke reuenge in striking at their aduersaries, when their hands were scarse able to hold vp their weapon; thinking themselues somewhat satisfied if the humor of their enuie and deadlie spite might be fed but with a drop of their aduersaries bloud; with such a malignant spirit (tending wholie to vengeance) these desperat rebels were possessed, according to the poets speech in the like sense and meaning:

The desperatnesse of rebelles.

Iuuenal. sat. 13. *Inuidiosa dabit minimus solatia sanguis.*

But such was the valiancie of the gentlemen and soldiers, which were there with the lord marquesse, that in the end the enimies which were alreadie entered the citie, were beaten out againe, and driuen backe to their accustomed kennell holes with losse of three hundred of their numbers. They within the towne hauing thus repelled the enimies, & accounting themselues in more safetie than before, for the rest of the night that yet remained, which was not much, they gaue themselues to refresh their wearied bodies with some sléepe. The next daie, the lord marquesse was informed by some of the citizens, that there were no small number in Kets campe that would gladlie come from him, if they might be sure of their pardon; and that at Pockethorpe gate there were foure or fiue thousand, that wished for nothing more than for pardon: and that if the same were offered them, there were no doubt (as they beléeued) but that they would submit themselues to the kings mercie.

The rebels beaten backe.

The marquesse was glad to vnderstand so much, & incontinentlie dispatched Norreis king at armes, with a trumpetter, to assure them on the kings behalfe, that they should be pardoned for all offenses past, and that had bene committed in time of this rebellion, if they would laie armes aside. Norreis and the trumpet comming to the gate, found not a man there: but the trumpetter sounding his trumpet, there came running downe from the hill a great multitude of their people, & amongst other as chiefe, one Flotman, whome Norreis commanded to staie. Whereupon the said Flotman asked him what was the matter, and wherefore he had called them togither by sound of trumpet? Go thy waies (said he) & tell thy companie from my lord marquesse of Northampton, the kings maiesties lieutenant, that he commandeth them to cease from committing anie further outrage: and if they will (saith he) obeie his commandement, all that is past, shall be forgiuen and pardoned.

Flotman.

Pardon offered to the rebels.

Flotman hauing heard Norreies declaration, as he was an outragious and buske fellow, presumptuouslie made answer, that he cared not a pins point for my lord marquesse, and withall, like a rebellious traitor, railed vpon his lordship, and mainteined, that he and the rest of the rebels were earnest defendors of the kings roiall maiestie, and that they had taken weapon in hand not against the king, but in his defense, as in time it should appeare, as they that sought nothing but to mainteine his maiesties roiall estate, the libertie of their countrie, and the safetie of their commonwealth, &c. To conclude, he vterlie refused the kings pardon, and told Norreis certeinelie, that they would either restore the common-wealth from decaie, into the which it was fallen, being oppressed thorough the couetousnesse and tyrannie of the gentlemen; either else would they like men die in the quarrell.

Flotmans presumptuous and traitorous allegations.

Scarselie had he made an end of his tale, when suddenlie a fearefull alarum was raised thoroughout the citie: for whilest Flotman was thus in talke with the king of armes at Pockethorpe gate, the rebels in great rage entring the citie by the hospitall, went about to bring all things to destruction: but being incountered nére to the bishops palace, by the lord marquesse his men, there insued a bloudie conflict betwixt them, which continued long with great fiercenesse and eger reuenge on both parts. There died about seuen score of the rebels, and of the soldiers that serued against them some number, beside a great multitude that were hurt and wounded on both parts. But the pitifull slaughter of the lord Sheffeld, who hauing more regard to his honor than safetie of life, desirous to shew some proofe of his noble valiancie, entering amongst the enimies, as he fought right hardilie, though not so warilie as had béene expedient, fell into a dich as he was about to turne his horsse: & herewith being compassed about with a number of those horrible traitors, was slaine amongest them: although he both declared what he was, and offered largelie to the vilans, if they would haue saued his life. But the more noble he shewed himselfe to be, the more were they kindled in outragious furie against him. And as he pulled off his head péece, that it might appeare what he was, a butcherlie knaue named Fulks, who by occupation was both a carpenter & a butcher, flat him in the head with a club, and so most wretchedlie killed him. A lamentable case, that so noble a yong gentleman, indued with so manie commendable qualities, as were to be wished in a man of his calling, should thus miserablie end his daies by the hands of so vile a vilan.

The rebels enter the citie.

The lord Sheffeld wofullie slaine.

Diuerse other gentlemen and worthie soldiers came to the like end among those outragious rebels, and amongst other, Robert Wolnaston, that was appointed to keepe the dore of Christs church, was killed by the same Fulks, who toke him for sir Edmund Kneuet, against whome the rebels bare great malice, for that he sought to annoie them so farre as by anie meanes he might, as partlie ye haue heard. But the slaughter of that noble man the lord Shefeld, sore discouraged the residue of the soldiers that were come with the lord marquesse. And on the other part, the rebels were aduanced thereby, in greater hope to preuaile against them, and therevpon preased forward with such hardinesse, that they caused the lord marquesse and his people to giue place, and to forsake the citie, euerie man making the best shift he could to saue himselfe. But yet diuerse gentlemen of good account and worship remaining behind, and abiding the brunt, were taken prisoners, as sir Thomas Cornewallis, and others, whome the rebels afterwards kept in streict durance, vntill the daie came of their ouerthrow by the kings power, vnder the conduction of the earle of Warwike.

Alexander Neuill.

The marquesse maketh shift to escape danger.

The lord marquesse and the residue that escaped, made the best shift they could to get out of danger; and at length, he and the most part of them that went

went forth with him, came to London. The rebels having thus repelled the lord marquesse & his power, set fire on the citie, whereby manie faire buildings were consumed and burnt. It happened yet well the same time, that there fell great abundance of raine, the which holpe in part to quench the rage of the fire. Neuertheles, all the houses on either side of Holmes stréet, and the hospitall of the poore; also Bishops gate, Pockthorpe gate, Magdalene gate, and Beare stréet gate, with manie other houses in other parts of the citie, were burned, and sowlie defaced with fire. The citizens were brought into such extreame miserie, that they knew not which waie to turne them. Some there were that fled out of the citie, taking with them their gold and siluer, and such short ware as they might conueie awaie with them, abandoning wife and children, to rest at the mercie of the rebels. Other hid their goods in wels, priuies, and other such secret places out of the waie.

The rebels entering into the houses of such as were knowne to be wealthie men, spoiled and bare awaie all that might be found of anie value. But to speake of all the cruell parts which they plaied, it would be tedious to expresse the same, their doings were so wicked and outragious. There was shooting, howling, and wringing among them, wéeping, and crieng out of women and children. To be short, the state of the citie at that present was most miserable. The maiors deputie kept himselfe close in his house, and might behold all this mischiefe and destruction of the citie, but durst not come abroad, nor go about to staie them: at length, a great multitude of the rebels that were come downe frō their campe, entering by saint Augustines gate, came straight to his house, and strone to breake open the doores: but when they could not easilie bring their purpose to passe that waie forth, they began to fire the house. Whereupon for feare to be burned within his owne lodging, he set open the doores, and in came those vnmanerlie ghests, tooke him, plucked his gowne beside his backe, called him traitor, and threatened to kill him, if he would not tell them where the lord marquesse of Northampton had hidden himselfe.

The miserable estate of Norwich.

The aldermans deputie roughlie handled to tell where the lord marquesse had hidden himselfe.

And when he had told them that vndoubtedlie he and all his companie were gone, they were in a great rage, and with terrible noise and rumbling they sought euerie corner of the house for him, and taking what they found, they departed. But yet manie of them afterwards partlie pacified for a péece of monie, and other things which they receiued of the maior, and partlie reproued for the wrongfull robberies by some that were in credit among them, they brought againe such packs and fardels as they had trussed vp togither, and threw them into the shops of those houses, out of the which they had taken the same before: but yet there were diuers of the citizens that were spoiled of all that they had by those rebels, that entered their houses vnder a colour to séeke for the marquesse of Northamptons men. Namelie, the houses of those citizens that were fled, were spoiled and ransacked most miserablie, for they reputed and called them traitors and enimies to their king and countrie, that thus had forsaken their houses and dwellings in time of such necessitie: yet manie of the citizens bringing forth bread, beere, and other victels vnto the rebels to refresh them with, somewhat calmed their furious rage, and so escaped their violent hands, although no small number were so flaied (as before yee haue heard) that they haue liued the worse for it all the dales of their life since that time.

Alexander Neuill.

Reléefe ministred to the rebels for feare of force.

But now the rebels hauing thus got possession of the citie, & chased awaie the kings people, they tooke order to haue the gates kept houtelie with watch and ward of the citizens themselues, thretning them with most shamefull death, if they omitted the same. These vnrulie persons were so farre stept into all kind of beastlie outrage, that when it rained, they would kenell vp themselues in the churches, abusing the place appointed for the seruice and worshipping of the almightie God, in most prophane and wicked manner, and neither praier nor yet threats of men or women that aduised them to modestie could take place. The kings maiestie aduertised therefore, that there was no waie to tame their diuelish and traitorous outrage, but by force: with the aduise of his councell caused a power to be put in a readinesse, as well of his owne subiects as of strangers, namelie lancequenets, which were come to serue his maiestie against the Scots.

But now it was thought expedient to vse their seruice against these rebels, whose power and desperate boldnesse was so farre increased, that without a maine armie, guided by some gene all of great experience, and noble conduct, it would be hard and right dangerous to subdue them: wherein violence and force was to be vsed, sith they had shewed themselues in an extremitie of stubbornesse, like buls that by baiting are to be tamed, or like stifnecked stalions which with bit & bridle must be managed; as one saith:

Asper equus duris contunditur ora lupatis.

Hereupon that noble chéefteine and valiant erle of Warwike, latelie before appointed to haue gone against the Scots and Frenchmen into Scotland, was called backe, and commanded to take vpon him the conduction of this armie against the Norfolke rebels: for such was the opinion then conceiued of that honorable earle, for the high manhood, valiant prowesse, and great experience in all warlike enterprises, sufficientlie tried, and knowne to rest in him, that either they might be vanquished and ouercome by him, or by none other.

The earle of Warwike appointed to go against the Norfolke rebels.

Capteine Ket and his rebellious armie, hauing some aduertisement by rumors spred, of this preparation and comming of an armie against them; they were not slacke to make themselues strong and readie to abide all the hazard that fortune of warre might bring. The earle of Warwike then, after that his men and prouisions were readie, did set forward, and came vnto Cambridge, where the lord marquesse of Northampton and other met his lordship. Héere also diuerse citizens of Norwich came to him, and falling downe vpon their knées before him, besought him to be good lord vnto them; and withall declared their miserable state, great gréefe and sorrow, which they had conceiued for the wretched destruction of their countrie: beséeching him to haue pitie vpon them. And if in such extremitie of things as had happened vnto their citie, they had through feare or ignorance committed anie thing contrarie to their dutifull allegiance, that it might please his honor to pardon them their offenses in such behalfe, sith if anie thing were amisse on their parts, the same came to passe sore against their wils, and to their extreame gréefe and sorrow.

The earle of Warwike commeth to Cambridge.

The earle of Warwike told them, that he knew indéed in what danger they had béene among those vnrulie ribalds; and as for anie offense which they had committed, he knew not: for in leauing their citie sith matters were growne to such extremitie, they were to be borne with, but in one thing they had ouershot themselues: for that in the beginning they had not sought to represse those tumults, sith if they had put themselues in defense of their countrie, to resist the rebels at the first, such mischiefs as were now growne, might easilie haue béene auoided. But neuertheless, vpon this their humble submission, he granted them all the kings mercifull pardon, and commanding them to prouide themselues

The kings pardon granted.

of

of armour and weapon, appointed them to march forth with the armie, wearing certeine laces or ribons about their necks for a difference, that they might be knowne from others. There were in this armie vnder the earle of Warwike diuerse men of honor and great worship, as lords, knights, esquiers, and gentlemen in great numbers. First the lord marquesse of Northampton, and sundrie of them that had béene with him before, desirous to be reuenged of his late repulse, the lords Willoughbie, Powes and Graie, Ambrose Dudleie, sonne to the said earle, and at this present worthilie adorned with the title (which his father then bare) of earle of Warwike, and his brother lord Robert Dudleie now erle of Leicester; also Henrie Willoughbie esquier, sir Thomas Tresham, sir Parmaduke constable, William Denereux sonne to the lord Ferrers of Chartleie, sir Edmund Kneuet, sir Thomas Palmer, sir Andrew Flammocke, and diuerse other knights, esquiers, and gentlemen: all which plaid their parts as time and occasion was ministred vnto them to giue triall of their manhood.

who serued vnder the erle of Warwike.

The earle of Warwike, and such as were come with him to Cambridge, marched directlie from thence towards Norwich, and came vnto Wimondham the two and twentith of August, where and by the waie the most part of all the gentlemen of Norfolke that were at libertie, came vnto him. The next date betimes he shewed himselfe vpon the plaine, betwixt the citie of Norwich and Eitton wood, and lodged that night at Intwood, an house belonging to sir Thomas Tresham knight, a two miles distant from Norwich. Héere they rested that daie and night following, not once putting off their armour, but remaining still in a readinesse, if the enimies should haue made anie sudden inuasion against them. The earle of Warwike in the meane time sent the afore remembred king of armes Norreie, to summon the citie, either to open the gates that he might quietlie enter; or else to loke for warre at his hands that would then assaie to win it by force, and such reward as rebels (that wilfullie withstand their souereigne) ought to receiue.

Norwich summoned.

When Ket vnderstood that the herald was come to the gates, he appointed the maiors deputie Augustine Steward, and Robert Rug, two of the chéefest citizens, to go to him and to know his errand. They passing forth at a posterne, and hearing his message, made answer, that they were the miserablest men that were then liuing, as they themselues beléeued, sith that hauing suffered such calamities as they could not but tremble at in calling to remembrance, they could not now haue libertie to declare the loiall dutie which they bare & ought to beare to the kings highnesse: so that they accompted themselues most vnfortunate, sith their hap was to liue in that season, in which they must either leopard losse of life, or the estimation of their good name, although they trusted the kings maiestie would be gratious lord vnto them, sith they had giuen no consent vnto such wicked rebellion as was thus raised against his highnesse, but with losse of goods and perill of life so farre as in them laie, had done what they could to keepe the citizens in good order and dutifull obedience.

What answer was made to the herald by the citizens of Norwich, whom Ket assigned thervnto.

One thing more they would humblie desire of my lord of Warwike, that whereas there was no small number of Kets armie in the citie without armour or weapon, and as it should séeme irkesome and wearie of that which had béene alreadie done, it might please him once againe to vouchsafe to offer them the kings pardon, and if he should thus do, they had great hope that the rebels would gladlie accept it, and so the matter might be pacified without more bloudshed. Norreie returned to the earle of Warwike, and declared what answer he had receiued. The earle desirous of nothing more than to haue the matter thus taken vp, as well for other considerations, as for feare least the gentlemen remaining prisoners with the rebels, should be vnmercifullie murthered by their kéepers, if they came to the vttermost triall of battell, he resolued to prooue if it would thus come to passe. And hereupon was Norreie with a trumpet sent to offer them a generall pardon, who being entered the citie, met about fortie of the rebels on horssebacke, riding two and two togither verie pleasant and merrie, and so passing from S. Stephans gate vnto Bishops gate, the trumpetter sounded his trumpet, and with that, a great multitude of the rebels came thronging downe togither from the hill: to whome the horsmen spédilie riding, commanded that they should diuide themselues, and stand in order vpon either side the waie. And as Norreie and the trumpetter, with two of the chéefe citizens entred betwixt them, they were receiued with great noise and clamour, for euerie of them putting off their hats or caps, cried; God saue king Edward, God saue king Edward.

Norreie the herald deliuereth his answer to the earle of Warwike.

Norreie king of armes sent to offer the rebels their pardon.

Norreie and the two citizens, highlie commending them herein, requested them to kéepe their place and order wherein they stood for a while: and then Norreie passing forth about two hundred and fiftie pases, came to the top of the hill, and putting on his coate armour, staied a while (for Ket was not yet come) and at length began to declare vnto them in what maner diuers times since first they had taken armes in hand, the kings maiestie by sundrie persons, as well heralds as other, had sought to reduce them from their vnlawfull and rebellious tumults, vnto their former dutie and obedience; and yet neuertheless, they had shewed themselues wilfull and stubborne, in refusing his mercifull pardon frælie offered vnto them, and despised the messengers which his grace had sent vnto them to pronounce the same. He willed them therefore to call themselues now at length to remembrance, and to behold the state of the common-wealth, which they so often to no purpose had still in their mouths, and neuertheless by them miserablie defaced, & brought in danger of vtter ruine and decaie.

Norreie the herald maketh a long discourse to the rebels, for the reducing of them to good order.

And herewith discoursing at large of the horrible, wicked, and heinous murthers, riots, burnings, and other crimes by them committed, he willed them to consider into what sea of mischéefes they had throwne themselues, and what punishment they ought to loke for as due to them for the same; sith as well the wrath of God as the kings armie was hanging ouer their heads, and readie at hand, which they were not able to resist. For his grace had resolued no longer to suffer so great and presumptuous a mischéefe as this, to be fostered in the middle of his realme: and therefore had appointed the right honourable earle of Warwike, a man of noble fame and approued valiancie, to be his generall lieutenant of that his roiall armie, to persecute them with fire and sword; and not to leaue off, till he had vtterlie dispersed and scattered that wicked and abhominable assemblie. And yet such was the exceeding greatnesse of the kings bountifull mercie and clemencie, that he that was by him appointed to be a reuenger of their heinous treasons committed against his maiestie, if they continued in their obstinate wilfulnesse, should be also the interpretor and minister of his gratious and free pardon, to so manie as would accept it. Which vnlesse they now imbraced, the said earle had made a solemne vow, that they should neuer haue it offered to them againe; but that he would persecute them till he had punished

The kings purpose in sending the earle of Warwike against them.

shed the whole multitude according vnto their lust deserts.

How the rebels were affected after the heralds discourse was ended.

Manie that heard him, hauing due consideration of their miserable estate, were touched with some remorse of conscience, fearing at length to tast the reuenge of such horrible crimes as they had been partakers of with others in committing the same. But the more part finding themselues highlie offended with his words, began to iangle (as they had done before vnto other that had béene sent to offer them pardon) that he was not the kings herald, but some one made out by the gentlemen in such a gaie coate, patched togither of vestments and church stuffe, being sent onelie to deceiue them, in offering them pardon, which would proue nought else but halters; and therefore it were well done, to thrust an arrow into him, or to hang him vp. Although other séemed dutifullie to reuerence him, and diuerse that had serued in Scotland and at Bullongne, remembring that they had séene him there and knew him, told and persuaded their fellowes, that he was the kings herald indeed. Whereupon they became more mild, and offered him no further iniurie: but yet they could not be persuaded that this pardon tended to anie other end, but to bring them to destruction; and that in steed of pardon, there was prepared for them nought else but a barrell full of halters.

The herald is grudged at & mistrusted of some, &c.

Such lewd speech was amongst them, sauouring altogither of malicious mistrust, and most wilfull treason. Morreie neuertheless departing from thense, accompanied with Ket, came to another place, where he made the like proclamation: for the multitude was such that he could not be heard of them all in one place. Heere, before he had made an end of his tale, there was a vile boie (as some write) that turned vp his bare taile to him, with words as vnséemelie as his gesture was filthie: with which spitefull reproch thus shewed towards the kings maiesties officer at armes, one (which in companie of some other that were come ouer the water to view things) being greatlie offended, with an harquebuse shot stroke that vngratious lad through the bodie a little aboue the reins.

Alexander Neuill.

The iust reward of a lachell boie.

Which when some of the rebels had séene, a dozzen of their horssemen came galloping out of the wood, crieng; We are betraied frends, we are betraied, if you loke not about you: do you not sée how our fellowes are slaine with guns before our faces? What may we hope if we disarme our selues, that are thus vsed being armed? This herald goeth about nothing else, but to bring vs within danger of some ambush, that the gentlemen may kill and beate vs all downe at their pleasure. Heereupon they all shranke awaie, and fled, as they had béene out of their wits: yet did their great capteine Robert Ket accompanie Morreie, meaning (as hath béene said) to haue gone to the earle of Warwike himselfe, to haue talked with him: but as he was almost at the fot of the hill, there came running after him a great multitude of the rebels, crieng to him, and asking him whither he went; We are readie (said they) to take such part as you do, be it neuer so bad: and if he would go anie further, they would (as they said) suerlie follow him.

Ket meant to haue talked with the earle of warwike.

Morreie then perceiuing such numbers of people following them, desired Ket to staie them: who returning backe to them, they were incontinentlie appeased, and so they all returned with him backe to their campe. When the earle of Warwike vnderstood that they were thus altogither set on mischéefe, and neither with praier, proffer of pardon, threatening of punishment, nor other meanes they could be reduced to quietnesse, he determined to proceed against them by force. And heereupon bringing his armie vnto saint Stephans gate, which the rebels stopped vp, with the letting downe of the portculice, he commanded those that had charge of the artillerie, to plant the same against the gate, and with batterie to breake it open.

S. Stephans gate.

As these things were in hand, he vnderstood by Augustine Steward the maiors deputie, that there was an other gate on the contrarie side of the citie, called the Brasen gate, which the rebels had rampired vp, but yet not so, but that it might be easilie broken open. Herewith were the pioners called, and commanded to breake open that gate also: which being done, the soldiers entered by the same into the citie, and slue diuerse of those rebels that stood readie to defend and resist their entrie. In the meane time had the gunners also broken in sunder with their shot the portculice, and neere hand the one halfe of the other gate, by the which the marques of Northampton, and capteine Drurie, *alias* Poignard (that being sent from London met my lord of Warwike by the waie) entered with their bands, and droue backe the rebels with slaughter, that were readie there to resist them.

The Brasen gate.

Moreouer, the maiors deputie caused Westwike gate to be set open: at the which the earle of Warwike himselfe entring with all his armie, and finding in maner no resistance, came to the market place. Here were taken a threescore of the rebels, the which according to the order of martiall law were incontinentlie executed, according to the qualitie of their offense, confessing (no doubt) in conscience, that their punishment was proportioned to their trespasse, and that in dieng the death (were the same neuer so extreame & dreadfull) they had but their desert; and therefore might well saie with the poet:

Supplicia & scelerum pœnas expendimus omnes. *Virgil.*

Shortlie after, the carriages belonging to the armie were brought into the citie by the same gate, and passing through the citie, by negligence & want of order giuen to them that attended on the same cariage, they kept on forward till they were got out at Bishops gate towards Household. Whereof the rebels being aduised, they came downe, & setting vpon the carters, and other that attended on the cariages, put them to flight, and droue awaie the carts laden with artillerie, powder, and other munition, bringing the same into their campe, & greatlie reioising thereof, bicause they had no great store of such things among them: but yet capteine Drurie with his band comming in good time to the rescue, recouered some of the carts from the enimies, not without some slaughter on either side. Moreouer, the enimies as yet being not fullie driuen out of the citie, placed themselues in crosse streets, & were readie to assaile the soldiers as they saw their aduantage, part of them standing at S. Michaels, part at S. Stephans, and part at S. Peters, and some of them also stood in Wimers street.

Cartes laden with munition taken by the rebels.

Here they assailing such as vnaduisedlie were entered within their danger, they slue diuerse, and among other three or foure gentlemen, before they could be succoured from anie part. The erle of Warwike aduertised hereof, passed forth with all his forces to remoue the enimie, and comming to S. Andrew in Johns street, was receiued with a sharpe storme of arrowes: but capteine Drurie his harquebusiers galled them so with their shot, that they were glad to giue place, and so fled amaine. There were slaine a hundred and thirtie, and diuerse of them shrinking aside into churchyards and other places vnder the walles, were taken and executed. All the rest got them vp to their campe at Household, and so the citie was rid of them for that time. Then did

Gentlemen slaine.

Order taken for the safe keeping of the citie.

the erle of Warwike take order for the safe keeping of the citie, appointing watch and ward to be kept on the walles, and in euerie street. Also that all the gates should be rammed vp, except one or two that stood towards the enimies, at the which were planted certeine péeces of the great artillerie.

But the rebels vnderstanding that the earle of Warwike wanted powder and other things apertéining to the vse of the great ordinance, and withall perceiuing that the Welshmen which were appointed to the gard of the said great péeces of artillerie were no great number, and therefore not able to resist anie great force that should come against them, they came downe the hill vpon the sudden as it were wholie togither in most outragious maner. And withall one Piles that was a verie perfect gunner, and maruellous skilfull in the feat of shooting of great artillerie, and at that time remaining among the rebels, shot off a péece, and slue one of the kings principall gunners, that was attending vpon those péeces of artillerie, which stood thus before the gate. Whom when the rebels perceiued thus to be slaine, they made forward with more courage, and gaue such a desperate onset vpon them that garded the said artillerie, that their small number, being not able to withstand their aduersaries great and huge multitude pressing in such furious rage vpon them, that they were constreined to flée backe, and to leaue the artillerie for a preie vnto the enimies, who seizing vpon the same, conueied them awaie with certeine carts laden with all manner of munition for wars vp to their campe: a matter (as was thought) of no small importance, sith the enimies thereby were furnished now with such things, whereof before they stood most in néed, and now hauing store thereof, they spared not liberallie to bestow it against the citie, beating downe not onlie the highest top of Bishops gate, but also a great part of the wals on that side.

Alexander Neuill.

The rebels take certeine péeces of artillerie from the earle of Warwike.

Capteine Dzurie.

And here trulie the good seruice of capteine Dzurie is not to be forgotten, who now as earst being readie to reuenge this iniurie, following vpon the enimies, put them to flight, and recouered much of that which they had taken from the earls souldiers. The earle of Warwike after this cut off the entries at the gates, and rampired them vp, placed at the bridges and turnings of the waies and streets diuers bands of soldiers to kéepe the passages, brake downe the White friers bridge, and at Bishops gate he appointed the lord Willoughbie with a great number of soldiers to defend that part, & in this sort he made prouision to defend the citie from the rebels, if they should attempt to make anie surprise vpon the sudden.

The next daie yet they passing ouer the riuer, set fire on certeine houses at Connesforth, burning the more part of all the houses of two parishes: and so great was the rage of the fire, that catching hold vpon an house wherein the merchants of Norwich vse to laie vp such wares and merchandize as they conueie to their citie from Yermouth, the same house with great store of wheat and other riches was miserablie consumed and defaced. Thus whilest euerie thing séemed to chance and fall out in fauour of the rebels, there were some in the earle of Warwikes armie, that despairing of the whole successe of their iourneie, came to the earle of Warwike, and began to persuade with him, that sith the citie was large, and their companies small (for in déed the whole appointed numbers as yet were not come, neither of strangers nor Englishmen) it was vnpossible to defend it against such an huge multitude as were assembled togither in Kets campe, and therefore besought him to regard his owne safetie, to leaue the citie, and not to hazard all vpon such an vncerteine maine chance.

Councell giuen to the erle of warwike to abandon the citie.

The earle of Warwike as he was of a noble and inuincible courage, valiant, hardie, and not able to abide anie spot of reproch, whereby to lose the least péece of honour that might be, made this answer: Whie (saith he) and do your harts faile you so soone? Dare you so mad withall, to thinke that so long as anie life resteth in me, that I will consent to such dishonour? Should I leaue the citie, heaping vp to my selfe and likewise to you such shame and reproch as worthilie might be reputed an infamie to vs for euer? I will rather suffer whatsoeuer either fire or sword can worke against me. These words being vttered with such a courage as was maruellous to consider, he drew out his sword. Which other of the honorable and worshipfull that were then présent likewise did, whome he commanded that each one should kisse others sword, according to an ancient custome vsed amongst men of war in time of great danger: and herewith they made a solemne vow, binding it with a solemne oth, that they should not depart from thence, till they had either banquished the enimies, or lost their liues in manfull fight for defense of the kings honour.

The earles answere.

Whilest these things were in doing, the rebels brake into the citie on that side, where was no suspicion of their entring at all; but being come almost to the bridges, they were incountered by the soldiers, beaten backe, and chased out by the same waie they came. The next daie being the fir and twentith of August, there came to the earle 1400 lancequenets. The rebels notwithstanding that such reinforcement of the earles power might haue somewhat discouraged them, yet trusting altogither to certeine vaine prophesies, which they had among them, and set out in verses by such wisards as were there with them in the campe, they had conceiued such a vaine hope of prosperous successe in their businesse, that they little estéemed anie power that might come against them. Among other of those same verses, these were two:

The countrie gnuffes, Hob, Dick, and Hick,
with clubs and clowted shoone,
Shall fill vp Dussin dale with bloud
of slaughtered bodies soone.

Lancequenets come to the earle of Warwike.

The rebels trust in vaine prophesies.

Upon hope therefore of this and other vaine prophesies, the rebels through the diuels procurement, that had nourished and pricked them forward all this while in their wicked procédings, determined to remoue thither, to the end that they might with more spéed make an end of the matter, before they should be driuen to disperse themselues by famine. For the earle of Warwike had taken order to haue the passages stopped, in such wise as no vittels could easilie be conueied to their campe, the want whereof began alreadie to pinch them. Herevpon setting fire on their cabins, which they had raised and built here and there of timber and bushes (the smoke whereof couered all the grounds about them) they came downe with their ensignes into the vallie called Dussin dale, where with all spéed that might be they intrenched themselues about, and raising a rampire of a good height, set stakes also round about them, to kéepe off the horsemen.

The rebels remoue.

The earle of Warwike perceiuing their doings, the next daie being the seuen and twentith of August with all his horsemen, and the Almans with capteine Dzuries band, issued forth of the citie, marching streight towards the enimies. Yet before he approched in sight of them, he sent sir Edmund Kneuet & sir Thomas Palmer knights, with others, to vnderstand of them, whether now at length they would submit themselues, & receiue the kings pardon; which if they would do, he offred to grant it frelie to all the whole multitude, one or two of them onelie excepted:

The earle of Warwike goeth forth to giue the enimies battell.

Pardon offered.

red: but they with generall voices refusing it, the earle fell in hand to incourage his people vnto the battell, and hauing appointed as well the horssemen as footmen in what order they should giue the charge, they passed forward in approching the enimies. The rebels beholding them thus to come forward, put themselues in order of battell, in such manner, that all the gentlemen which had béene taken prisoners, and were kept in irons for starting awaie, were placed in the fore ranke of their battell, coupled two and two togither, to the end they might be killed by their owne friends that came to séeke their deliuerance: but yet as God would haue it, the most part of them were saued. Miles the maister gunner among the rebels, leuieng a péece of ordinance, shot it off, and stroke him that caried the kings standard in the thigh, and the horsse through the shoulder.

The earle of Warwike and others sore grieued therewith, caused a whole volie of artillerie to be shot off at the rebels: and herewith capteine Drurie with his owne band, & the Almans or lanceknights, whether ye list to call them, on foot, getting néere to the enimies, hailsed them with their harquebut shot so sharplie, and thrust forward vpon them with their pikes so stronglie, that they brake them in sunder. The gentlemen, who (as we haue said) were placed in the fore ranke, found meanes (as good hap was) to shrinke aside, and escaped the danger for the more part, although some indeed were slaine by the Almans, and other that knew not what they were. The light horssemen of the kings part herewith gaue in amongst them so roundlie, that the rebels not able to abide their valiant charge, were easilie put to flight, and with the foremost their grand capteine Robert Ket galloped awaie so fast as his horsse would beare him. The horssemen following in chase, slue them downe on heapes, euer still as they ouertooke them; so that the chase continuing for the space of three or foure miles, there were slaine to the number of three thousand fiue hundred at the least: beside a great multitude that were wounded as they fled here and there ech waie forth, as séemed best to serue their turne for their most spéedie escape out of danger. Yet one part of them that had not bæne assailed at the first onset, séeing such slaughter made of their fellowes, kept their ground by their ordinance, and shranke not: determining as men desperatlie bent, not to die vnreuenged, but to fight it out to the last man.

The number of the rebels slaine.

They were so inclosed with their carts, carriages, trenches (which they had cast) and stakes pitched in the ground to kéepe off the force of horssemen, that it would haue bæne somewhat dangerous to haue assailed them within their strength. But sure they were that now they could not escape, séeing no small part of their whole numbers were cut off and distressed, and they inuironed on ech side, without hope of succour or releése of vittels, which in the end must néeds haue forced them to come forth of their inclosure to their vndoubted ouerthrow and destruction. The earle of Warwike yet pitieng their case, and loth that the king should lose so manie stout mens bodies as were there amongst them, which might do his maiestie and their countrie good seruice, if they could be reclaimed from this their desperat follie vnto due obedience, sent Norreis vnto them, offering them pardon of life if they would throw downe their weapons and yéeld: if not, he threatened that there should not a man of them escape the deserued punishment. Their answer was, that if they might be assured to haue their liues saued, they could be contented to yéeld: but they could haue no trust that promise should be kept with them. For notwithstanding all such faire offers of pardon, they tooke it that there was nothing meant but a subtill practise, to bring them into the hands of their aduersaries the gentlemen, that had prepared a barrell of ropes and halters, with which they purposed to trusse them vp: and therefore they would rather die like men, than to be strangled at the wils and pleasures of their mortall enimies.

Pardon offerred.

The earle of Warwike right sorie to sée such desperat minds among them, sent to the citie, and caused the most part of the footmen which he had left there to defend the same, to come forth now in battell arraie, that they might helpe to distresse those wilfull rebels that thus obstinatelie refused the kings pardon. And hauing brought as well them as the Almans and the horssemen in order of battell againe, and readie now to set vpon the rebels, he eftsones sent vnto them to know that if he should come himselfe and giue his word, that they should haue their pardon, whether they would receiue it or not. Hereunto they answered, that they had such confidence in his honor, that if he would so do, they would giue credit thereto, and submit themselues to the kings mercie. Incontinentlie herevpon he went vnto them, and commanded Norreis to read the kings pardon freelie granted to all that would yéeld. Which being read, euerie man threw downe his weapon, and with one whole and entier voice cried; God saue king Edward, God saue king Edward. And thus thorough the prudent policie, and fauourable mercie of the erle of Warwike, a great number of those offendors were preserued from the gates of death, into the which they were readie to enter.

They yéeld to the earle of Warwike.

Thus were the Norffolke rebels subdued by the high prowesse, wisedome, and policie of the valiant earle of Warwike, and other the nobles, gentlemen, & faithfull subiects there in the kings armie: but not without losse of diuers personages of great worship, beside other of the meaner sort, namelie master Henrie Willoughbie esquier, a man so well beloued in his countrie for his liberalitie in housekéeping, great courtesie, vpright dealing, assured stedfastnes in friendship, & modest staiednesse in behauiour, that the countries where his liuings laie lament the losse of so worthie a gentleman euen to this daie. There died also master Lucie esquier, master Forster esquier, and master Throckmorton of Northamptonshire, gentlemen of no small credit and worship in their countries. The battell being thus ended, all the spoile gotten in the field was giuen to the soldiers, who sold the most part thereof openlie in the market place of Norwich. The next daie the earle of Warwike was aduertised that Ket, being crept into a barne, was taken by two seruants of one master Riches of Swanington, and brought to the house of the same Riches. Herevpon were twentie horssemen sent thither to fetch him, who brought him to Norwich. The same daie examinations were taken of them that were the principall beginners and setters forth of this vnhappie rebellion, and diuerse being found giltie were hanged, and nine of the chiefest procurers of all the mischiefe (Robert Ket and his brother William onelie excepted) were hanged vpon the oke of reformation, Miles the gunner & two of their prophets being three of that number.

Gentlemen slaine in this rebellion.

Ket taken.

Some others of them were drawne, hanged, and quartered, & their heads and quarters set vp in publike places for a terror to others. But yet the earle of Warwike spared manie, where some would gladlie haue persuaded him, that there might haue bæne a great number more executed. But his lordship perceiuing them importunate in that vncharitable sute, told them (as it were in fauour of life of those sillie wretches, whose miserable case he séemed to pitie) that measure must be vsed in all things, & in punish-

Execution.

The earle of warwike sheweth mercie.

"ing of men by death (saith he) we ought alwaies to beware that we passe not the same. I know well that "such wicked doings deserue no small reuenge, and that the offendors are worthie to be most sharplie "chastised. But how farre yet shall we go? Shall we "not at length shew some mercie? Is there no place for pardon? What shall we then do? Shall we hold "the plough our selues; plaie the carters and labour the ground with our owne hands. These and such like "words tasting altogither of mercie and compassion in that noble earle, did quench the cruell desire of reuenge in them that were altogither kindled in wrath and wished nothing more than to see the whole multitude executed: but now moued with the earles wise and mercifull answer to their rigorous suite, they became more mild and mercifull towards the miserable creatures.

This also is not to be forgotten, that when information was giuen against some of the rebels, for that they had beene busie fellowes, & great doers in time of those vprores, so as it was thought of some, that it stood with good reason to haue them punished by death, when the earle of Warwike vnderstood by credible report of Norreis king at armes, that vpon the offer of the kings pardon, they were the first that threw downe their weapons, and submitted themselues to the kings mercie, the earle would not in anie wise consent that they should die, but protested frankelie that he would keepe promise with them, and that he would be as good to them as his word: and so they had their liues saued. The same daie was order giuen by the earle that the bodies of them that were slaine in the field should be buried. On the morrow being the nine and twentith of August, the earle of Warwike, with the nobles and gentlemen of the armie, and others in great numbers, both men and women, went to saint Peters church, and there gaue praises and thanks to God for the victorie obteined. And this done, he with all the armie departed out of the citie, and returned homewards with high commendation of citizens & others, that acknowledged the said earle to be the defendor of their liues, and recouerer of their wiues, children, houses, and liuings.

The slaine carcases buried.

It was afterwards ordeined, that vpon the same daie in the which the rebels were thus subdued, the citizens yearelie should repaire to their churches, and there to heare seruice, and to haue a sermon abrode, to the which they should come togither, to giue thanks to God for their deliuerance as that daie, and this is obserued till these our times. Robert Ket and his brother William Ket were brought vp to London, where they were committed to the tower, and shortlie after arreigned of their treason and found guiltie, were brought to the tower againe, where they continued till the nine and twentith of November, on which daie they were deliuered to sir Edmund Windham high shiriffe of Norffolke and Suffolke, to be conueied downe into Norffolke, where Robert Ket was hanged in chains vpon the top of Norwich castell: and William Ket his brother on the top of Windmondham steeple, in which towne they had both dwelled, and conspired with others to go forward with their wicked rebellion.

The two Kets executed.

This William Ket (as was thought) had beene sure of his pardon, if he had not plaied the traitorous hypocrite: for vpon his submission at the first to my lord marquesse of Northampton, at his comming downe to suppresse this rebellion, he was sent to his brother to persuade him and the rest to yeeld, and receiue the kings pardon: but he (like a dissembling wretch, although he promised to my lord to do what he could in that behalfe) vpon his comming to his brother into the rebels campe, & beholding the great multitude that were there about him, he did not one-

William Ket a dissembling traitor.

lie not dissuade him and them from their traitorous rebellion, but incouraged them to persist and continue in their doings, declaring what a small number of souldiers the marquesse brought with him, nothing able to resist such a puissance as was there assembled. So that if it had not beene thorough the wicked persuasion of him, and some others at that time, not onelie Robert Ket himselfe, but also all the multitude beside, would haue submitted themselues, and receiued the kings pardon, to the preseruation of manie a good mans life that after died in the quarrell.

But now to returne somewhat backe to the doings in Scotland. In the meane while that such hurls were in hand here in England, ye shall vnderstand that in the beginning of this summer, the king by aduise of his councell sent forth a nauie by sea towards Scotland, the which arriuing in the Forth, and comming before Lieth, saluted the towne with cannon shot, & remaining there ten or twelue daies, tooke in the meane time the Ile of Insketh, leauing therein foure ensignes of Englishmen, and one of Italians, with certeine pioners to fortifie the place. But the Frenchmen (as in the Scotish historie ye shall find more at large) after the departure of the English nauie, recouered that Ile againe out of the Englishmens possession (after they had kept it fiftéene daies) with the slaughter of capteine Cotton their generall, capteine Aplebie, & one Jasper that was capteine of the Italians, beside others. After the recouering of this Ile, monsieur be Desse returned into France, leauing his charge to monsieur de Thermes latelie before there arriued: who after the departure of the said Desse, with a campe volant did what he could to stop the Englishmen within Hadington from vittels. But notwithstanding the earle of Rutland being lieutenant of the north, did not onlie vittell it, but put the French armie in danger of an ouerthrow, as it was thought must néeds haue followed, if they had not with more spéed than is vsed in a common march slipt awaie, after they perceiued the English armie so neare at their elbowes.

Insketh taken.

Monsieur de Desse returneth into France.

The earle of Rutland.

Moreouer, beside these inordinate vprores and insurrections aboue mentioned, about the latter end of the said moneth of Julie, in the same yeare, which was 1549, an other like sturre or commotion began at Semer in the northriding of Yorkeshire, and continued in the eastriding of the same, and there ended. The principall doers and raisers vp whereof, was one William Ombler of Eastheslerton yeoman, and Thomas Dale parish clearke of Semer, with one Stéuenson of Semer, neighbour to Dale and nephue to Ombler, which Stéuenson was a meane or messenger betwéene the said Ombler and Dale, being before not acquainted togither, and dwelling seuen miles one from the other: who at last by the trauell of the said Stéuenson, and their owne euill dispositions, inclined to vngratiousnesse and mischiefe, knowing before one the others mind by secret conference, were brought to talke togither on saint James daie, Anno 1549.

M. Fox. An other rebellion or tumult begun in Yorkeshire.

The chiefe stirrers of this rebellion.

The causes mouing them to raise this rebellion, were these. First & principally their traitorous harts grudging at the kings most godlie procédings, in aduancing and reforming the true honour of God and his religion. An other cause also was, for trusting to a blind and a fantasticall prophesie, wherwith they were seduced, thinking the same prophesie should shortlie come to passe, by hearing the rebellions of Norffolke, of Deuonshire, and other places. The tenour of which prophesie and purpose togither of the traitors was, that there should no king reigne in England, the noblemen and gentlemen to be destroied, and the realme to be ruled by foure gouernours,

The causes mouing the yorkshiremen to rebellion.

A blind prophesie among the northerne men.

nours, to be elected and appointed by the commons, holding a parlement in commotion, to begin at the south and north seas of England, supposing that this rebellion in the north, and the other of the Deuonshire men in the west, meeting (as they intended) at one place, to be the meane how to compasse this their traitorous diuelish deuise. And therfore laieng their studies togither, how to find out more companie to ioine with them in that detestable purpose, and to set forward the sturre, this deuise they framed: to sturre in two places, the one distant seuen miles from the other, and at the first rush to kill and destroie such gentlemen and men of substance about them, as were fauourers of the kings proceedings, or which would resist them.

The deuise of the rebels how to compasse their purpose.

But first of all for the more spéedie rasing of men, they deuised to burne beacons, & thereby to bring the people togither, as though it were to defend the seacoasts: and hauing the ignorant people assembled, then to powre out their poison, first beginning with the rudest and poorest sort, such as they thought were pricked with pouertie, and were vnwilling to labor, and therefore the more readie to follow the spoile of rich mens goods, blowing into their heads that Gods seruice was laid aside, and new inuentions neither good nor godlie put in place, and so féeding them with faire promises, to reduce into the church againe their old ignorance and idolatrie, thought by that means soonest to allure them to rage and run with them in this commotion. And furthermore, to the intent they would giue the more terror to the gentlemen at the first rising, least they should be resisted, they deuised that some should be murthered in churches, some in their houses, some in seruing the king in commission, and other as they might be caught, and to picke quarels at them by alteration of seruice on the holie daies: and thus was the platforme cast of their deuise, according as afterward by their confession at their examinations was testified, and remaineth in true record.

The deuise of the rebels that they might be feared.

Thus they being togither agréed, Ombler and Dale, with others, by their secret appointment, so laboured the matter in the parish of Semer, Wintringham, and the townes about, that they were infected with the poison of this confederacie, in such sort that it was easie to vnderstand whervnto they would incline, if a commotion were begun, the accomplishment whereof did shortlie follow. For although by the words of one drunken fellow of that conspiracie named Caluerd, at the alehouse in Wintringham, some suspicion of that rebellion began to be smelled before by the lord president and gentlemen of those parties, and so preuented in that place where the rebels thought to begin: yet they gaue not ouer so, but drew to another place at Semer by the seacoast, and there by night rode to the beacon at Strarton, and set it on fire, and so gathering togither a rude rout of rascals out of the townes neare about, being on a sturre, Ombler, Thomas Dale, Barton, and Robert Dale, hasted forthwith with the rebels to maister Whites house to take him: who notwithstanding being on horsebacke, minding to haue escaped their hands, Dale, Ombler, and the rest of the rebels take him, and Clopton his wiues brother, one Sauage a merchant of Yorke, and one Berrie seruant to sir Walter Mildmate. Which foure without cause or quarell, sauing to fulfill their seditious prophesie in some part, and to giue a terror to other gentlemen, they cruellie murthered, after they had caried them one mile from Semer towards the Wold, and there after they had stripped them of their clothes & purses, left them naked behind them in the plaine fields for crowes to feed on: vntill Whites wife and Sauages wife, then at Semer, caused them to be buried.

Long it were and tedious to recite what reuell these rebels kept in their raging madnesse, who ranging about the countrie from towne to towne, to inlarge their vngratious and rebellious band, taking those with force which were not willing to go, & leauing in no towne where they came anie man aboue the age of sixtéene yeares, so increased this number, that in short time they had gathered three thousand to fauour their wicked attempts, and had like to haue gathered more, had not the Lords goodnesse through prudent circumspection of some interrupted the course of their furious beginning. For first came the kings gratious and free pardon, discharging & pardoning all them and the rest of the rebels, of all treasons, murthers, felonies, & other offenses done to his maiestie before the one & twentith of August, 1549. Which pardon although Ombler contemptuouslie reading, persisted still in his wilfull obstinacie, dissuaded also the rest from the humble accepting of the kings so louing & liberall pardon: yet notwithstanding with some it did good, who of likelihood submitted themselues, assuredlie beleeuing if they perseuered in their enterprise, there was no way with them but one, namelie deserued death, wherewith there was no dispensing after the contempt of the princes pardon and refusall of his mercie; so that in this heauie case they might verie well complaine and saie:

The rebels increase their number & rebellious band.

The kings pardon offred, receiued, refused.

Funditus occidimus, nec habet fortuna regressum. Virgil.

To make short, it was not long after this, but Ombler as he was riding from towne to towne, twelue miles from Hummanbie, to charge all the constables and inhabitans where he came, in the kings name to resort to Hummanbie: by the waie he was espied, and by the circumspect diligence of John Wood the yonger, James Allabeie, Rafe Twinge, and Thomas Constable gentlemen, hee was had in chase, and at last by them apprehended, and brought in the night in sure custodie vnto the citie of Yorke, to answer vnto his demerits. After whome within short time, Thomas Dale, Henrie Barton, the first chiefteins and ringleaders of the former commotion, with John Dale, Robert Wright, William Pecocke, Weatherell, and Edmund Buttrie, busie stirrers in this sedition, as they trauelled from place to place, to draw people to their faction, were likewise apprehended, committed to ward, lawfullie conuicted, and lastlie executed at Yorke the one and twentith of September, in the yere of our Lord 1549. *Ex actis iudicij publici a registro exceptis & notatis.*

Ombler captein of the rebels taken.

The names of the rebels taken and executed at Yorke.

Whilest these wicked commotions and tumults through the rage of the vndiscréet commons were thus raised in sundrie parts of the realme, to the great hinderance of the common-wealth, losse and danger of euerie good and true subiect, sundrie wholsome and godlie exhortations were published, to aduertise them of their dutie, and to laie before them their heinous offenses; with the sequele of the mischiefs that necessarilie followed thereof, the which if they should consider togither, with the punishment that hanged ouer their heads, they might easilie be brought to repent their lewd begun enterprises, and submit themselues to the kings mercie. Among other of those admonitions, one was penned and set forth by sir John Cheeke, which I haue thought good here to insert, as a necessarie discourse for euerie good English subiect. Wherein, to a reader of iudgement and capacitie, such learning and wisedome, with a true loiall subiects heart bewraieth it selfe to haue béene setled in that gentleman; as the verie reading of this treatise is able to turne a rebellious mind to meekenesse: if reason be not altogither led awaie captiue by lust.

¶ The hurt of sedition how greeuous *it is to a common-wealth, set out by sir Iohn* Cheeke knight, in the yeare 1549.

The true subiect to the rebell.

AMong so manie and notable benefits, wherewith God hath alreadie and plentifullie indued vs, there is nothing more beneficiall, than that we haue by his grace kept vs quiet from rebellion at this time. For we see such miseries hang ouer the whole state of the common-wealth, through the great misorder of your sedition, that it maketh vs much to reioise, that we haue béene neither partners of your doings, nor conspirers of your counsels. For euen as the Lacedemonians for the auoiding of drunkennesse did cause their sons to behold their seruants when they were drunke, that by beholding their beastlinesse, they might auoid the like vice: euen so hath God like a mercifull father staied vs from your wickednesse, that by beholding the filth of your fault, we might iustlie for offense abhorre you like rebels, whome else by nature we loue like Englishmen. And so for our selues, we haue great cause to thanke God, by whose religion and holie word dailie taught vs, we learne not onelie to feare him trulie, but also to obeie our king faithfullie, and to serue in our owne vocation like subiects honestlie. And as for you, we haue surelie iust cause to lament you as brethren, and yet iustet cause to rise against you as enimies, and most iust cause to ouerthrow you as rebels.

What the Lacedemonians did to make their sons detest drunkennesse.

For what hurt could be done either to vs priuatlie, or to the whole common-wealth generallie, that is now with mischiefe so brought in by you, that euen as we see now the flame of your rage, so shall we necessarilie be consumed hereafter with the miserie of the same. Wherefore consider your selues with some light of vnderstanding, and marke this grieuous and horrible fault, which ye haue thus vilelie committed, how heinous it must néeds appeare to you, if ye will reasonablie consider that which for my duties sake, and my whole countries cause, I will at this present declare vnto you. Ye which be bound by Gods word not to obeie for feare like men-pleasers, but for conscience sake like christians, haue contrarie to Gods holie will, whose offense is euerlasting death, and contrarie to the godlie order of quietnesse, set out to vs in the kings maiesties lawes, the breach whereof is not vnknowne to you, taken in hand vncalled of God, vnsent by men, vnfit by reason, to call awaie your bounden duties of obedience, and to put on you against the magistrats, Gods office committed to the magistrats, for the reformation of your pretensed iniuries. In the which doing ye haue first faulted grieuoulie against God, next offended vnnaturallie our souereigne lord, thirdlie troubled miserablie the whole commonwealth, vndoone cruellie manie an honest man, and brought in an vtter miserie both to vs the kings subiects, and to your selues being false rebels. And yet ye pretend that partlie for Gods cause, and partlie for the common-wealths sake, ye do arise, when as your selues cannot denie; but ye that séeke in word Gods cause, do breake in déed Gods commandements; and ye that séeke the common-wealth, haue destroied the common-wealth: and so ye marre that ye would make, & breake that ye would amend, because ye neither séeke anie thing rightlie, nor would amend anie thing orderlie.

Rebellion a verie grieuous and horrible offense against God, the prince, and the state.

He that faulteth, faulteth against Gods ordinance, who hath forbidden all faults, and therefore ought againe to be punished by Gods ordinance, who is the reformer of faults. For he saith, Leaue the punishment to me, and I will reuenge them. But the magistrate is the ordinance of God, appointed by him with the sword of punishment to loke streightlie to all euill doers. And therefore that that is done by the magistrate, is done by the ordinance of God, whome the scripture oftentimes doth call God, because he hath the execution of Gods office. How then do you take in hand to reforme? Be ye kings? By what authoritie? Or by what occasion? Be ye the kings officers? By what commission? Be ye called of God? By what tokens declare ye that? Gods word teacheth vs, that no man should take in hand anie office, but he that is called of God like Aaron. What Moses I praie you called you? What Gods minister bad you rise?

The authoritie of the magistrats great and peremptorie.

Ye rise for religion. What religion taught you that? If ye were offered persecution for religion, ye ought to flie: so Christ teacheth you, and yet you intend to fight. If ye would stand in the truth, ye ought to suffer like martyrs, and you would sleie like tyrants. Thus for religion you keepe no religion, and neither will follow the counsell of Christ, nor the constancie of martyrs. Why rise ye for religion? Haue ye anie thing contrarie to Gods booke? Yea, haue ye not all things agréeable to Gods word? But the new is different from the old, and therefore ye will haue the old. If ye measure the old by truth, ye haue the oldest; if ye measure the old by fansie, then it is hard: because mens fansies change, to giue that is old. Ye will haue the old still. Will ye haue anie older than that as Christ left, & his apostles taught, & the first church after Christ did vse? Ye will haue that the chanons do establish. Why that is a great deale yonger than that ye haue, of later time, and newlier inuented. Yet that is it that ye desire. Why then ye desire not the oldest. And do you preferre the bishops of Rome afore Christ, mens inuentions afore Gods law, the newer sort of worship before the older? Ye séeke no religion, ye be deceiued, ye séeke traditions. They that teach you, blind you, that so instruct you, deceiue you. If ye séeke what the old doctors saie, yet loke what Christ the oldest of all saith. For he saith; Before Abraham was made I am. If ye séeke the truest way, he is the verie truth; if ye séeke the readiest waie, he is the verie waie; if ye séeke euerlasting life, he is the verie life. What religion would ye haue other now, than his religion?

Rebellion vnlawfull in defense of true religion, Ergo much more vnlawfull in maintenance of false religion, &c.

You would haue the bibles in againe. It is no maruell, your blind guides would leade you blind still. Why, be ye howlets and backs, that ye cannot loke on the light? Christ saith to euerie one, Search ye the scriptures, for they beare witnesse of Christ. You saie, Pull in the scriptures, for we will haue no knowledge of Christ. The apostles of Christ will vs to be so readie, that we maie be able to giue euerie man an account of our faith. Ye will vs not once to read the scriptures, for feare of knowing of our faith. Saint Paul praieth that euerie man may increase in knowledge: ye desire that our knowledge might decaie againe. A true religion ye séeke belike, and worthie to be sought for. For without the sword indéed nothing can helpe it, neither Christ, nor truth, nor age can mainteine it. But why should ye not like that which Gods word establisheth, the primitiue church hath authorised, the greatest learned men of this realme haue drawen, the whole consent of the parlement hath confirmed, the kings maiestie hath set forth? Is it not trulie set out? Can ye deuise anie truer than Christes apostles vsed? Ye thinke it is not learnedlie done. Dare ye commons take vpon you more learning, than the chosen bishops and clearks of this realme haue? Thinke ye follie in it? Ye were wont to iudge your parlement wisest, & now will ye suddenlie excell them in wis-

The necessarie benefit and vse of the bible, and contrariwise.

dome?

dome? Or can ye thinke it lacketh authoritie, which the king, the parlement, the learned, the wise haue iustlie approued? Learne, learne, to know this one point of religion, that God will be worshipped as he hath prescribed, and not as we haue deuised; and that his will is wholie in his scriptures, which be full of Gods spirit, and profitable to teach the truth, to repraue lies, to amend faults, to bring one vp in righteousnesse, that he that is a Gods man may be perfect & readie to all good workes. What can be more required to serue God withall? And thus much for religion, rebels.

A principall point of religion for rebels specially to learne.

The other rable of Norfolke rebelles, ye pretend a common-wealth. How amend ye it? By killing of gentlemen, by spoiling of gentlemen, by imprisoning of gentlemen? A maruellous tanned common-wealth. Whie should ye thus hate them? For their riches or for their rule? Rule they neuer tooke so much in hand as ye do now. They neuer resisted the king, neuer withstood his councell, be faithfull at this daie when ye be faithlesse, not onelie, to the king, whose subiects ye be, but also to your lords whose tenants ye be. Is this your true duetie, in some of homage, in most of fealtie, in all of allegiance; to leaue your duties, go backe from your promises, fall from your faith, and contrarie to law and truth to make vnlawfull assemblies, vngodlie companies, wicked and detestable campes, to disobeie your betters, and to obeie your tanners, to change your obedience from a king to a Ket, to submit your selues to traitors, and breake your faith to your true king and lords? They rule but by law, if otherwise, the law, the councell, the king taketh awaie their rule. Ye haue orderlie sought no redresse, but ye haue in time found it. In countries some must rule, some must obeie, euerie man maie not beare like stroke: for euerie man is not like wise. And they that haue séene most, and be best able to beare it, and of iust dealing beside, be most fit to rule. It is an other matter to vnderstand a mans owne greefe, and to know the common-wealths sore; and therfore not they that know their owne case, as euerie man doth, but they that vnderstand the common-welths state, ought to haue in countries the preferment of ruling. If ye felt the paine that is ioined with gouernance, as ye see and like the honor, ye would not hurt others to rule them, but rather take great paine to be ruled of them. If ye had rule of the kings maiestie committed vnto you, it were well done ye had ruled the gentlemen: but now ye haue it not, and cannot beare their rule, it is to thinke the kings maiestie foolish and vniust, that hath giuen certeine rule to them. And séeing by the scripture, ye ought not to speake euill of ante magistrate of the people, why do ye not onelie speake euill of them whome the kings maiestie hath put in office, but also iudge euill of the king himselfe, and thus seditiouslie in field stand with your swords drawen against him?

The rebelles of Norfolke pretended the commmon-wealth the cause of their rising.

Whie all must not looke to beare like rule.

Magistrates are to be honored both in speech and maners.

If riches offend you, because yée wish the like, then thinke that to be no common-wealth, but enuie to the common-wealth. Enuie it is to appaire an other mans estate, without the amendment of your owne. And to haue no gentlemen, because ye be none your selues, is to bring downe an estate, and to mend none. Would ye haue all alike rich? That is the ouerthrow of labour, and vtter decay of worke in this realme. For who will labour more, if when he hath gotten more, the idle shall by lust without right take what him lust from him, vnder pretense of equalitie with him. This is the bringing in of idlenesse, which destroieth the common-wealth; and not the amendment of labour, that mainteineth the common-wealth. If there should be such equalitie, then ye take awaie all hope from yours to come to ante better estate than you now leaue them. And as manie meane mens children do come honestlie vp, and are great succour to all their stocke: so should none be hereafter holpen by you, but because ye séeke equalitie, whereby all can not be rich. Ye would that (belike) whereby euerie man should be poore; and thinke beside that riches and inheritance be Gods prouidence, and giuen to whome of his wisdome he thinketh good: to the honest for the increase of their godlinesse, to the wicked for the heaping vp of their damnation, to the simple for a recompense of other lackes, to the wise for the greater setting out of Gods goodnesse. Whie will your wisdome now stop Gods wisdome, and prouide by your lawes, that God shall not inrich them, whome he hath by prouidence appointed as him liketh? God hath made the poore, & hath made them to be poore that he might shew his might, and set them aloft when he listeth for such cause as to him séemeth, & plucke downe the rich to this state of pouertie by his power, as he disposeth to order them. Whie do not we then being poore beare it wiselie, rather than by lust séeke riches vniustlie, and shew our selues content with Gods ordinance, which we must either willinglie obeie, and then we be wise, or else we must vnprofitablie striue withall, and then we be mad?

Riches and inheritance from whom, to whom, and to what end giuen.

But what meane yée by this equalitie in the common-wealth? If one be wiser than an other, will ye banish him, because yée intend an equalitie of all things? If one be stronger than another, will yée slaie him, because ye séeke an equalitie of all things? If one be well fauoured than an other, will yée punish him, because yée looke for an equalitie of all things? If one haue better vtterance than another, will ye pull out his tong to saue your equalitie? And if one be richer than an other, will ye spoile him to mainteine an equalitie? If one be elder than an other, will ye kill him for this equalities sake? How iniurious are ye to God himselfe, who intendeth to bestow his gifts as he himselfe listeth: and ye séeke by wicked insurrections to make him giue them commonlie alike to all men as your vaine fansie liketh? Whie would ye haue an equalitie in riches & in other gifts of God? There is no meane sought. Either by ambition ye séeke lordlinesse much vnfit for you; or by couetousnesse ye be vnsatiable, a thing likelie inough in ye; or else by follie ye be not content with your estate, a fansie to be plucked out of you.

The vnconscionable wishing of equalitie how hurtfull.

But if we being wearie of pouertie would séeke to inrich our selues, we should go a farre other waie to worke than this, and so should we rightlie come to our desire. Doth not S. Peter teach vs afore God a right waie to honour, to riches, to all necessarie and profitable things for vs? He saith, Humble your selues that God might exalt you, and cast all your care on him, for he careth for you. He teacheth the waie to all good things at Gods hand, is to be humble, and you exalt your selues. Ye séeke things after such a sort, as if the seruant should anger his master, when he séeketh to haue a good turne of him. Ye would haue riches (I thinke) at Gods hand who giueth all riches, and yet ye take the waie cleane contrarie to riches. Know ye not that he that exalteth himselfe, God will throw him downe? How can ye get it then by thus setting out your selues? Ye should submit ye by humilitie one to another, and ye set vp your selues by arrogancie aboue the magistrates. See herein how much ye offend God. Remember ye not that if ye come nigh to God, he will come nigh vnto you? If then ye go from God, he will go from you. Doth not the psalme saie, He is holie with the holie, and with the wicked man he is froward? Euen as he is ordered of men, he will order

The precept of S. Peter teaching the right waie to riches and honor.

To haue all degrées alike, & no inequalitie how inconuenient.

them

them againe. If ye would follow his will, and obeie his commandements, ye should eat the fruits of the earth, saith the prophet; if not, the sword shall deuour you. Ye might haue eaten the fruits of this seasonable yéere, if ye had not by disobedience rebelled against God. Now not onelie ye can not eat that which your selues did first sowe by labour, and now destroie by sedition; but also if the kings maiesties sword came not against you, as iust policie requireth, yet the iust vengeance of God would light among you, as his word promiseth, and your cruell wickednesse deserueth.

The act of rebellion aggrauated, & proued most wicked and horrible.

For what soeuer the causes be that haue moued your wild affections herin, as they be vniust causes, & increase your faults much, the thing it selfe, the rising I meane, must néeds be wicked and horrible before God, and the vsurping of authoritie, and taking in hand of rule, which is the sitting in Gods seat of iustice, and a proud climing vp into Gods high throne, must néeds be not onelie cursed newlie by him, but also hath bene often punished afore of him. And that which is done to Gods officer, God accounteth it done to him. For they despise not the minister, as he saith himselfe, but they despise him: and that presumption of chalenging Gods seat, doth shew you to haue bin Lucifers, and sheweth vs that God will punish you like Lucifers. Wherfore rightlie loke, as ye dulie haue deserued, either for great vengeance for your abhominable transgression, or else earnestlie repent, with vnfeined minds, your wicked doings; and either with example of death be content to dehort other, or else by faithfulnesse of obedience declare how great a seruice it is to God, to obeie your magistrats faithfullie, and to serue in subiection trulie.

An exhortation to rebels.

Well, if ye had not thus grieuouslie offended God, whome ye ought to worship, what can ye reasonablie thinke it, to be no fault against the king, whom ye ought to reuerence? Ye be bound by Gods word to obeie your king, and is it no breach of dutie to withstand your king? If the seruant be bound to obeie his maister in the familie, is not the subiect bound to serue the king in his realme? The child is bound to the priuat father, and be we not all bound to the common-wealths father? If we ought to be subiect to the king for Gods cause, ought we not then I praie you to be faithfullie subiect to the king? If we ought dutifullie to shew all obedience to heathen kings, shall we not willinglie and trulie be subiect to christian kings? If one ought to submit himselfe by humilitie to another, ought we not all by dutie to be subiect to our king? If the members of our naturall bodie all follow the head, shall not the members of the politicall bodie all obeie the king? If good maners be content to giue place the lower to the higher, shall not religion teach vs alwaie to giue place to the highest? If true subiects will die gladlie in the kings seruice, should not all subiects thinke it dutie to obeie the king with iust seruice. But you haue not onelie disobeied like ill subiects, but also taken stoutlie rule vpon you like wicked magistrates.

Disobedience to the prince is a most abhominable sinne, and that we are bound by dutie to obeie.

Ye haue bene called to obedience by counsell of priuat men, by the aduise of the kings maiesties councell, by the kings maiesties free pardon. But what counsell taketh place, where sturdinesse is law and churlish answers be counted wisdome? Who can persuade where treason is aboue reason, and might ruleth right, and it is had for lawfull whatsoeuer is lustfull, and commotioners are better than commissioners, and common wo is named commonwealth? Haue ye not broken his lawes, disobeied his councell, rebelled against him? And what is the common-wealth worth, when the law which is indifferent for all men, shall be wilfullie and spitefullie broken of head-strong men, that séeke against lawes to order lawes; that those may take place, not what consent of wise men hath appointed, but what the lust of rebels hath determined? What vnthriftinesse is in ill seruants, wickednes in vnnaturall children, sturdinesse in vnrulie subiects, crueltie in fierce enimies, wildnes in beastlie minds, pride in disdainfull harts; that floweth now in you, which haue fled from housed conspiracies, to incamped robberies, and are better contented to suffer famine, cold, trauell, to glut your lusts, than to liue in quietnesse to saue the common-wealth, and thinke more libertie in wilfulnesse, than wisedome in dutifulnesse, and so run headlong not to the mischiefe of other, but to the destruction of your selues, and vndo by follie that ye intend by mischiefe, neither séeing how to remedie that ye iudge faultie, nor willing to saue your selues from miserie: which stifneckednesse cannot do, but honestie of obedience must frame.

The rebels fullie fraught with most vilanous qualities, &c.

If authoritie would serue vnder a king, the councell haue greatest authoritie; if wisedome and grauitie might take place, they be of most experience; if knowledge of the common-wealth could helpe, they must by dailie conference of matters vnderstand it best: yet neither the authoritie that the kings maiestie hath giuen them, nor the grauitie which you know to be in them, nor the knowledge which with great trauell they haue gotten, can moue you either to kéepe you in the dutie ye ought to do, or to auoid the great disorder wherin ye be. For where disobedience is thought stoutnesse, and sullennes is counted manhood, and stomaching is courage, and prating is iudged wisedome, and the eluishest is most mèet to rule; how can other iust authoritie be obeied, or sad counsell be followed, or good knowledge of matters be heard, or commandements of counsellors be considered? And how is the king obeied, whose wisest be withstanded, the disobedientest obeied, the high in authoritie not weied, the vnskilfullest made chiefe capteins, to the noblest most hurt intended, the braggingest brailer to be most safe? And euen as the viler parts of the bodie would contend in knowledge & gouernement with the fiue wits: so do the lower parts of the common-wealth enterprise as high a matter, to striue against their dutie of obedience to the councell.

The kings councell of greatest authoritie, and why; yet are they disobeied: note.

But what talke I of disobedience so quietlie? Haue not such mad rages run in your heads, that forsaking and bursting the quietnesse of the common peace, ye haue heinouslie and traitorouslie incamped your selues in field, and there like a bile in a bodie, naie like a sinke in a towne, haue gathered togither all the nastie vagabonds and idle loitterers to beare armour against him, whome all godlie and good subiects will liue and die withall. If it be a fault when two fight togither, and the kings peace broken, and punishment to be sought therefore; can it be but an outragious and a detestable mischiefe, when so manie rebels in number, malicious in mind, mischiefous in enterprise, fight not among themselues, but against all the kings true and obedient subiects; and séeke to proue whether rebellion may beat downe honestie, and wickednesse may ouercome truth or no? If it be treason to speake heinouslie of the kings maiestie, who is not hurt thereby, and the infamie returneth to the speaker againe; what kind of outragious & horrible treason is it, to assemble in campe an armie against him, and so not onelie intend an ouerthrow to him, and also to his common-wealth; but also to cast him into an infamie, through all outward and strange nations, and persuade them that he is hated of his people, whome he can not rule; and that they be no better than vilans, which will not with good orders be ruled?

The action of rebellion proued by reason to be most heinous, intollerable, and diuelish.

A notable and rhetoricall clause, and to the purpose.

What

No death cruell enough for rebels and traitors.

What death can be deuised cruell enough for those rebels, who with trouble seeke death, and can not quench the thirst of their rebellion, but with the bloud of true subiects; and hate the kings mercifull pardon, when they miserablie haue transgressed, and in such an outrage of mischiefe will not by stubbornesse acknowledge themselues to haue faulted, but intend to broile the common-wealth with the flame of their treason, and as much as lieth in them not one to annoie themselues, but to destroie all others? He that is miscontented with things that happen, and bicause he cannot beare the miserie of them, renteth his heare, and teareth his skin, & mangleth his face, which easeth not his sorrow, but increaseth his miserie; maie he not be iustlie called mad and fantasticall, and worthie whose wisedome should be suspected? And what shall we saie of them, who being in the common-wealth, seeling a sore grieuous vnto them, and easie to haue beene amended, sought not the remedie, but haue increased the greefe, and like frantike beasts raging against their head, do teare and deface as much as lieth in them his whole authoritie in gouernement, and violentlie take to themselues that rule vpon them, which he by policie hath granted vnto other?

A desperat malecontents behauiour.

Rebels and traitors worse than brute beasts.

And who weieng well the heauinesse of the fault, maie not iustlie saie and hold them to be worse herein than any kind of brute beasts? For we see that the sheepe will obeie the shepheard, and the neat be ruled by the neatheard, and the horsse will know his keeper, and the dog will be in aw of his maister, and euerie one of them feed there, and of that, as his keeper and ruler doth appoint him, & goeth from thence, and that, as he is forbidden by his ruler. And yet we haue not heard of, that anie heard or companie of these haue risen against their heardman or gouernour, but be alwaies contented not onelie to obeie them, but also to suffer them to take profit of them. And we see furthermore, that all heards, & all sorts, be more egre in fiercenesse against all kind of strangers, than they be against their owne rulers, & will easilier offend him who hath not hurt them, than touch their ruler who seeketh profit on them.

The application of the former comparisons implieng obedience.

But ye that ought to be gouerned by your magistrates, as the heards by the heardman, and ought to be like sheepe to your king, who ought to be like a sheepeheard vnto you, euen in the time when your profit was sought, and better redresse was intended, than your vprlirs and vnquietnesse could obteine, haue beyond the crueltie of all beasts folwlie risen against your ruler, and shewed your selues worthie to be ordered like beasts, who in kind of obedience will fall from the state of men. A dog stoupeth when he is beaten of his maister, not for lacke of stomach, but for naturall obedience: you being not striken of your head but fauoured, not kept downe but succoured and remedied by law, haue violentlie against law not onelie barked like beasts, but also bitten like helhounds. What? Is the mischiefe of sedition either not knowne vnto you, or not feared? Haue not examples aforetimes both told the end of rebels, and the wickednesse of rebellion it selfe? But as for old examples, let them passe for a while, as things well to be considered. But at this present one thing more to be weied.

The presumptuous & arrogant vsurped rule of the rebels noted to the impeachment of princelie prerogatiue.

Looke vpon your selues, after ye haue wickedlie crept into this horrible kind of treason, do ye not see how manie bottomlesse whirlepoles of mischiefe yee be gulft withall, and what lothsome kinds of rebellion ye be faine to wade through? Ye haue sent out in the kings name, against the kings will, precepts of all kinds, & without commandement commanded his subiects, and vnruilie haue ruled where yee liked to command, thinking your owne fansies the kings commandements, and rebels lusts in things to be right gouernement of things, not loking what should follow by reason, but what your selues follow by affection. And is it not a dangerous and a cruell kind of treason, to giue out precepts to the kings people? There can be no iust execution of lawes, reformation of faults, giuing out of commandements, but from the king. For in the king onelie is the right herof, & the authoritie of him deriued by his appointment to his ministers. Ye hauing no authoritie of the king, but taking it of your selues, what thinke ye your selues to be? Ministers ye be none, except ye be the diuels ministers, for he is the author of sedition.

The kings maiestie intendeth to mainteine peace, and to oppresse warre; ye stirre vp vprores of people, hurliburlies of vagabonds, routs of robbers. Is this anie part of the kings ministerie? If a vagabond would doo what he lust, and call himselfe your seruant, and execute such offices of trust, whether yee would or no, as yee haue committed vnto another mans credit, what would euerie one of you saie or doo herein? Would ye suffer it? Ye wander out of houses, ye make euerie daie new matters as it pleaseth you, ye take in hand the execution of those things, God by his word forbidding the same, which God hath put the magistrates in trust withall. What can ye saie to this? Is it sufferable thinke ye? If ye told a priuat message in another mans name, can it be but a false lie I praie you? And to tell a feined message to the common-wealth, and that from the king, can it be honest thinke ye? To command is more than to speake: what is it then to command so traitorous a lie? This then which is in word a deceitfull lie, and in deed a traitorous fact, noisome to the common-wealth, vnhonourable to the king, mischieuous in you, how can ye otherwise iudge of it, but to be an vnheard of and notable disobedience to the king: and therefore by notable example to be punished, and not with gentlenesse of pardon to be forgiuen? Ye haue robbed euerie honest house, and spoiled them vniustlie, and pitiouslie wronged poore men being no offendors, to their vtter vndoing, and yet ye thinke ye haue not broken the kings lawes. The kings maiesties law and his commandement is, that euerie man should safelie keepe his owne, and vse it reasonablie to an honest gaine of his liuing: ye violentlie take and carie awaie from men without cause, all things whereby they should mainteine, not onelie themselues, but also their familie, & leaue them so naked, that they shall feele the smart of your cursed enterprise, longer than your owne vnnaturall & vngodlie stomachs would well vouchsafe. By iustice ye should neither hurt nor wrong man, and your pretensed cause of this monstruous sturre is to increase mens wealth. And yet how manie, and saie truth, haue ye decaied and vndone, by spoiling and taking awaie their goods? How should honest men liue quietlie in the common-wealth at anie time, if their goods, either gotten by their owne labor, or left to them by their friends, shall vnlawfullie and vnorderlie, to the feeding of a sort of rebels, be spoiled and wasted, and vtterlie scattered abrode? The thing that ye take is not your right, it is an other mans owne. The maner of taking against his will is vnlawfull, & against the order of euerie good common-wealth. The cause why ye take it is mischieuous and horrible, to fat your sedition. Ye that take it be wicked traitors, and common enimies of all good order.

The rebels outragious and intollerable demeanor descried.

Their disobedience notorious.

The rebels offend against the law of iustice & equitie.

The former matter vehementlie vrged.

If he that desireth an other mans goods or catell, do fault: what doth he (thinke you) whose desire taking followeth, and is led to and fro by lust, as his wicked fansie void of reason doth guide him? He that vseth not his owne well and charitablie, hath much to answer for: and shall they be thought not

vniust,

vniust, who not onelie take awaie other mens, but also misuse and waste the same vngodlie? They that take things priuilie awaie, and steale secretlie and couertlie other mens goods, be by law iudged worthie death: and shall they that without shame spoile things openlie, and be not afeard by impudencie to professe their spoile, be thought either honest creatures to God, or faithfull subiects to their king, or naturall men to their countrie? If nothing had moued you but the example of mischefe, and the fouls practise of other moued by the same, ye should yet haue abstained from so licentious and vilanous a shew of robberie, considering how manie honester there be, that being loth their wickednesse should be blazed abrode, yet be found out by prouidence, and hanged for desert. What shall we then thinke or saie of you? Shall we call you pickers, or hid theeues; naie more than theeues, daie theeues, heard stealers, shire spoilers, and vtter destroiers of all kinds of families, both among the poore and also among the rich. Let vs yet further see. Be there no mo things wherein ye haue broken the kings lawes, and so vilelie disobeie him, flat contrarie to your bounden dutie and allegiance?

The rebels are still charged with their rapines, and violentlie inferred wrongs.

Ye haue not onelie spoiled the kings true subiects of their goods, but also ye haue imprisoned their bodies, which should be at libertie vnder the king, and restreined them of their seruice, which by dutie they owe the king, and appaired both strength and health, wherewith they liue and serue the king. Is there anie honest thing more desired than libertie? Ye haue shamefullie spoiled them thereof. Is there anie thing more dutifull than to serue their lord and master? But as that was desired of the one part, so was it hindered and stopped on your part. For neither can the king be serued, nor families kept, nor the common-wealth looked vnto, where freedome of libertie is stopped, and diligence of seruice is hindered, and the helpe of strength and health abated. Mens bodies ought to be free from all mens bondage and crueltie, and onelie in this realme be subiect in publike punishment to our publike gouernour, and neither be touched of *headlesse capteins, nor holden of brainlesse rebels. For the gouernement of so pretious a thing ought to belong vnto the most noble ruler, and not iustlie to be in euerie mans power, which is iustlie euerie liuing mans treasure. For what goods be so deare to euerie man, as his owne bodie is, which is the true vessell of the mind, to be measurablie kept of euerie man for all exercises & seruices of the mind? If ye may not of your owne authoritie meddle with mens goods, much lesse you may of your owne authoritie take order with mens bodies.

Libertie desired aboue all things.

*Fit epithets and terms for head and taile of this rebellion.

For what be goods in comparison of health, libertie, and strength, which be all setled and fastened in the bodie? They that strike other, do greatlie offend, and be iustlie punishable: and shall they that cruellie and wrongfullie torment mens bodies with irons and imprisonments, be thought not of others but of themselues honest, and plaine, and true dealing men? What shall we say by them, who in a priuat businesse will let a man to go his iourneie in the kings high waie? Do they not (thinke ye) plaine wrong? Then in a common cause not onelie to hinder them, but also to deale crueltie with them, and shut them from doing their seruice to the king, and their dutie to the common-wealth, is it not both disobedience, crueltie, and mischiefe thinke ye? What an hinderance is it, to haue a good garment hurt, anie iewell appaired, or anie esteemed thing to be defaced? And seeing no earthlie thing a man hath is more pretious than his body, to cause it to be cruellie tormented with irons, feebled with cold, weakened with ordering: can it be thought anie other thing but wrong to the sufferer, crueltie in the doer, & great disobedience and transgression to the king? How then be ye able to defend it? But seeing ye so vnpitifullie vere men, cast them in prison, lade them with irons, pine them with famine, contrarie to the rule of nature, contrarie to the kings maiesties lawes, contrarie to God holie ordinances, hauing no matter but pretensed and fained gloses, ye be not onelie disobedient to the king like rebels, but withstanding the law of nature like beasts, and so worthie to die like dogs, except the kings maiestie, without respect of your deseruing, do mercifullie grant you of his goodnesse that which you cannot escape by iustice.

The offense of excluding the kings subiects from the benefit of libertie aggrauated.

A pithie conclusion inferred vpon the premisses, in forme of sentence definitiue.

Yet ye being not content with this, as small things enterprise great matters, and as though ye could not satisfie your selues, if ye should leaue anie mischiefe vndone, haue sought blood with crueltie, and haue slaine of the kings true subiects manie, thinking their murder to be your defense, when as ye haue increased the fault of your vile rebellion, with the horror of bloudshed, and so haue burdened mischiefe with mischiefe, whilest it come to an importable weight of mischiefe. What could we do more, in the horribilest kind of faults, vnto the greatest transgressours and offendors of God and men, than to loke strictlie on them by death, and so to rid them out of the common-wealth by seuere punishment, whome ye thought vnworthie to liue among men for their doings? And those who haue not offended the king, but defended his realme, and by obedience of seruice sought to punish the disobedient, and for safegard of euerie man put themselues vnder dutie of law, those haue ye miserablie and cruellie slaine, and bathed you in their bloud, whose doings ye should haue followed, & not to haue appaired the common-wealth, both by destruction of good men, and also by increase of rebels. And how can that common-wealth by anie meanes indure, wherein euerie man without authoritie, may vnpunished slea whome he list, and that in such case as those who be slaine shew themselues most noble of courage, and most readie to serue the king and the common-wealth, and those as do slea be most vilanous and traitorous rebels that anie common-wealth did euer sustaine?

The rebels charged with the murder and bloudshed of the kings liege people.

A licentious common-wealth cannot indure.

For a citie and a prouince be not the faire houses, and the strong walles, nor the defense of anie engine, but the liuing bodies of men, being able in number and strength to maintaine themselues by good order of iustice, & to serue for all necessarie & behouable vses in the common-wealth. And when as mans bodie being a part of the whole common-wealth, is wrongfullie touched anie way, and specialle by death, then suffereth the common-wealth great iniurie, and that alwaies so much the more, how honester and nobler he is, who is iniuriouslie murdered. How was the lord Sheffeld handled among you, a noble gentleman, and of good seruice, both fit for counsell in peace, and for conduct in war, considering either the grauitie of his wisedome, or the authoritie of his person, or his seruice to the common-wealth, or the hope that all men had in him, or the need that England had of such, or among manie notablie good, his singular excellencie, or the fauor that all men bare toward him, being loued of euerie man, and hated of no man?

wherein and whereof consisteth a citie, prouince, or politike bodie.

Lord Sheffelds slaughter laid to the rebels charge.

Considered ye who should by dutie be the kings subiects, either how ye should not haue offended the K. or after offense haue required the kings pardon, or not to haue refused his goodnesse offered, or at length, to haue yelded to his mercie, or not to haue slaine those who came for his seruice, or to haue spared those who

who in danger offered ransome. But all these things forgotten by rage of rebellion, because one madnesse cannot be without infinit vices, ye slew him cruellie, who offered himselfe manfullie, nor would not so much as spare him for ransome, who was worthie for nobleneſse to haue had honour, & hewed him bare whome ye could not hurt armed, and by slauerie slue nobilitie, in deed miserablie, in fashion cruellie, in cause diuelishlie. Oh with what cruell spite was violentlie sundred so noble a bodie from so godlie a mind? Whose death must rather be reuenged than lamented, whose death was no lacke to himselfe, but to his countrie, whose death might euerie way bene better borne, than at a rebels hand. Violence is in all things hurtfull, but in life horrible. What should I speake of others in the same case, diuerse and notable, whose death for manhod and seruice can want no worthie praise, so long as these vglie sturrers of rebellion can be had in mind. God hath himselfe ioined mans bodie and his soule togither, not to be departed asunder, afore he euer disseuer them himselfe, or cause them to be disseuered by his minister.

Lord Shefteld's woorthi end in this rebellion pithilie vrged.

The knitting of mans bodie and mind Gods worke, and to whome the dissoluing thereof belongeth.

And shall rebels and heedlesse camps, being armed against God, and in field against their king, thinke it no fault to shed bloud of true subiects, hauing neither office of God, nor appointment of ministers, nor cause of rebellion? He that stealeth anie part of a mans substance, is worthie to lose his life. What shall we thinke then of them, who spoile men of their liues, for the maintenance whereof, not onelie substance & riches be sought for, but also all common welths be deuised? Now then, your owne consciences should be made your iudges, & none other set to giue sentence against ye. Seeing ye haue bene such bloudshedders, so heinous manquellers, so horrible murderers, could ye do anie other than plainlie confesse your foule and wicked rebellion to be greeuous against God, and traitorous to the king, and hurtfull to the common-wealth? So manie greeuous faults meeting togither in one sinke, might not onelie haue discouraged, but also driuen to desperation, anie other honest or indifferent mind.

Hereby he sheweth the rebels consciences seered vp as it were with an hot iron.

But what feele they, whose hearts so deepe mischefe had hardened, and by vehemencie of affection be made vnshamefast, and stop all discourse of reason, to let at large the full scope of their vnmeasurable madnesse? Priuat mens goods seeme little to your vnsatiable desires, yee haue wared greedie now vpon cities, and haue attempted mightie spoiles, to glut vp (and yee could) your walking hunger. Oh how much haue they need of, that will neuer be contented, and what riches can suffice anie that will attempt high enterprises aboue their estate? Ye could not mainteine your camps with your priuat goods, with your neighbours portion, but yee must also attempt cities, bicause ye sought great spoiles with other mens losses, and had forgotten how yee liued at home honestlie with your owne, and thought them worthie death that would disquiet yee in your house, and plucke awaie that which yee by right of law thought to be your owne. Herein see what yee would haue done, spoiled the kings maiesties subiects, weakened the kings strength, ouerthrowne his townes, taken awaie his munition, drawne his subiects to like rebellion, yea and as it is among forren enimies in sacking of cities, no doubt thereof, yee would haue fallen to slaughter of men, rauishing of wiues, deflouring of maidens, chopping of children, fiering of houses, beating downe of streets, ouerthrowing of altogither.

The rebels couetousnesse and ambition insatiable.

A briefe caſtulation of the rebels disloiall atempts and purposes.

For what measure haue men in the increase of madnesse, when they can not at the beginning staie themselues from falling into it. And if the besetting but of one house to rob it, be iustlie deemed worthie death: what shall we thinke of them that besiege whole cities for desire of spoile? We liue vnder a king to serue him at all times when he shall need our strength: and shall ye then not onlie withdraw your selues, which ought as much to be obedient as we be, but also violentlie plucke other awaie too, fro the dutie vnto the which by Gods commandement all subiects be strictlie bound, and by all lawes euerie nation is naturallie led? The townes be not onelie the ornament of the realme, but also the seat of merchants, the place of handicrafts, that men scattered in villages, and needing diuerse things, maie in little rome know where to find the lacke. To ouerthrow them then, is nothing else but to waste your owne commodities, so that when ye would buie a necessarie thing for monie, ye could not tell where to find the same.

In argument from the lesse to the greater.

The vse and necessarie seruice of townes, & what it is to ouerthrow them.

Munition serueth the king not onelie for the defense of his owne, but also for the inuasion of his enimie. And if ye will then so strictlie deale with him, that ye will not let him so much as defend his owne, ye offer him double iniurie; both that ye let him from doing anie notable fact abrode, and also that ye suffer not him quietlie to inioie his owne at home. But herein hath notablie apeered what cities haue faithfully serued and suffred extreme danger, not onelie of goods, but also of famine & death, rather than to suffer the kings enimies to enter: and what white liuered cities haue not onlie not withstood them, but also with shame fauored them, and with mischiefe aided them. And I would I might praise herein all cities alike! which I would do, if all were like worthie. For then I might shew more faith in subiects than strength in rebelles; and testifie to men to come, what a generall faith euerie citie bare to the kings maiestie, whose age although it were not fit to rule, yet his subiects hearts were willing to obeie, thinking not onelie of the hope, which all men conceiue hereafter to be in him, but also of the iust kind of gouernment, which in his minoritie his councell doth vse among them. And here, how much and how worthilie maie Excester be commended, which being in the middest of rebels, vnuittelled, vnfurnished, vnprepared for so long a siege, did noblie hold out the continuall and dangerous assault of the rebell? For they susteined the violence of the rebell, not onlie they had plentie enough of vittels, but also eleuen or twelue daies after the extreme famine came on them, and liuing without bread, were in courage so manfull, & in dutie so constant, that they thought it yet much better to die the extreme death of hunger, shewing truth to their king, and loue to their countrie, than to giue anie place to the rebell, and fauor him with aid, although they might haue done it with their lesse danger. Whose example if Norwich had followed, & had not rather giuen place to traitor Ket, than to keepe their dutie; and had not sought more safegard than honestie, and priuat hope more than common quietnesse: they had ended their rebellion sooner, and escaped themselues better, and saued the losse of the worthie lord Shefeld, in whome was more true seruice for his life, than in them for their goods. And although this can not be spoken against a certeine honest sort that were amongst them, whose praise was the greater, bicause they were so few: yet the greater number was such, that they not onelie obeied the rebell for feare, but also followed him for loue, and did so traitorouslie order the kings band vnder my lord marquesse, that they suffered more damage out of their houses by the townsmen, than they did abrode by the rebelles. Whose fault as the kings maiestie maie pardon, so I would either the example might be forgotten, that no citie

The vse and seruice of munition.

Wherein apeereth the faithfull seruice of cities.

A good subiects wish, and the reason thereof.

Excester commended for loue & loiall seruice to the king & estate.

Norwich vpbraided with the example of Excester.

Some citizens of Norwich excusable of this rebellion, but most chargeable therwith in a high degree of disloialtie.

might

might hereafter follow the like, or the deed be so abhorred, that others hereafter would auoid the like shame, & learne to be noble by Excester, whose truth doth not onelie deserue great praises, but also great reward.

Excester noble and true.

Who then that would willinglie defend ye, can say anie thing for ye, which haue so diuerslie faulted, so traitorouslie offended, not onlie against priuat men seuerallie, but also generallie against whole townes, and that after such a sort, as outward enimies full of deadlie feud could not more cruellie inuade them? And thus the kings maiestie dishonored, his councell disobeied, the goods of the poore spoiled, the houses of the wealthie sacked, honest mens bodies imprisoned, worthie mens personages slaine, cities besieged and threatned, and all kind of things disordered, can ye without teares and repentance heare spoken of, which without honestie and godlinesse ye practised, and not find in your hearts now to returne to dutie, which by witchcraft of sedition were drowned in disorder? Haue ye not in disorder first grieuouslie offended God, next traitorouslie risen against your king, and so neither worthie euerlasting life, as long as ye so remaine, nor yet ciuill life being in such a breach of common quietnesse? If euerie one of these cannot by themselues plucke you backe from this your lewd and outragious enterprises, yet let them altogither stir ye; or at least be a fearfull example to others, to beware by your vnmeasurable follie, how they do so far prouoke God, or offend man: and find by your mistemper to be themselues better ordered, and learne still to obeie, bicause they would not repent, and so to liue with honestie, that they would neither willinglie offend Gods law, nor disobeie mans.

A collection or beadroll of certeine outrages done by the rebels.

Persuasions to obedience and loialtie.

But and ye were so much bleared, that you did thinke impossible things, and your reason gaue ye against all reason, that ye neither displeased God herein, nor offended the king, yet be ye so blind, that ye vnderstand not your owne case, nor your neighbors miserie, nor the ruine of the whole commonwealth, which doth euidentlie follow your so foule and detestable sedition? Do ye not see how for the maintenance of these vngodlie rablements, not onlie cities and villages, but also shires and countries be vtterlie destroied? Is not their corne wasted, their cattell fetcht awaie, their houses rifled, their goods spoiled, and all to feed your vprising without reason, and to mainteine this tumult of rebellion inuented of the diuell, continued by you, and to be ouerthrowen by the power of Gods mightie hand? And whie should not so hurtfull wasting and harrieng of countries be iustlie punished with great seueritie, seeing robbing of houses, and taking of purses, do by law deserue the extremitie of death? How manie suffer iniurie when one hundred of a shire is spoiled? And what iniurie thinke ye is done, when not onelie whole shires be destroied, but also euerie quarter of the realme touched? Haue ye not brought vpon vs all pouertie, weakenesse, and hatred within the realme, & discourage, shame, and damage without the realme? If ye miserablie intended not onelie to vndo other, but also to destroie your selues, and to ouerthrow the whole realme, could ye haue taken a readier waie to your owne ruine than this is?

The harts & mischiefes that befall cities, &c. by mainteining rebelles.

Rebellion is worthilie to be punished,

A further view of the inconueniences bred by rebellion.

And first if ye be anie thing reasonable, lift vp your reason, and weigh by wisdome, if not all things, yet your owne cases, and learne in the beginning of matters to foresee the end, and iudge aduisedlie yer ye enter into anie thing hastilie. See ye not this yeare the losse of haruest? And thinke ye can grow to wealth that yeere when ye lose your thrift and profit? Barns be poore mens storehouses, wherein lieth a great part of euerie mans owne liuing, his wiues and childrens liuing, wherwith men mainteine their families, paie their rents: and therefore be alwaies thought most rich when they haue best crops. And now when there is neither plentie of haie, nor sufficient of straw, nor corne inough, and that through the great disorder of your lewd rebellion, can ye thinke ye do well, when ye vndo your selues, and iudge it a common-welth when the commons is destroied, and seeke your hap by vnhappinesse, and esteeme your owne losse to be your owne forwardnes, and by this iudgement shew your selues, how little ye vnderstand other mens matters, when ye can scarselie consider the weightiest of your owne? Hath not the haie this yeare, as it rose from the ground, so rotted to the ground againe: and where it was wont by mens seasonable labor to be taken in due time, and then serue for the maintenance of horse and cattell wherwith we liue, now by your disordered mischefe hath beene by mens idlenesse and vndutifulnesse let alone vntouched, and so neither serueth the poore to make monie of, nor anie cattell to liue with. The corne was sowne with labour, and the ground tilled for it with labour, and looked to be brought home againe with labour: and for lacke of honest labourers it is lost on the ground; the owners being loiterers, and seeking other mens, haue lost their owne, and hoping for mounteins, lacked their present thrift, neither obteining that they sought, nor seeking that they ought.

Haie rotting on the ground.

Losse of corne for lacke of reaping.

And how shall men liue when the maintenance of their prouision is lacking? For labouring and their old store is wasted by wildnesse of sedition, and so neither spare the old nor saue the new. How can men be fed then or beasts liue, when as such wastfull negligence is miserablie vsed? And mispending the time of their profit, in shamefull disorder of inobedience, they care not greatlie what becommeth of their owne, bicause they intend to liue by other mens? Haie is gone, corne is wasted, straw is spoiled; what reckoning of haruest can ye make, either for the aid of others, or for the releefe of your selues? And thus haue ye brought in one kind of miserie, which if yee saw before, as ye be like to feele after, although ye had hated the common-welth, yet for loue of your selues ye would haue auoided the great enormitie thereof, into the which ye wilfullie now haue cast your selues.

The losse of one yeares harnest verie hurtfull.

An other no lesse is, that such plentie of vittels as was abundantlie in euerie quarter for the releefe of vs all, is now wastfullie and vnthriftfullie spent, in mainteining you vnlawfull rebels, and so with disorder all is consumed, which with good husbandrie might long haue indured. For, so much as would haue serued a whole yeare at home with diligence and skilfull heed of husbandrie, that is wilfullie wasted in a moneth in the campe, through the rauening spoile of vilanie. For what is vnordered plentie, but a wastfull spoile, whereof the inconuenience is so great, as ye be worthie to feele, and bringeth in more hardnes of liuing, greater dearth of all things, & occasioneth manie causes of diseases? The price of things must needs increase much, when the number of things wareth lesse, and by scarsitie be inhansed, & compelleth men to abate their liberalitie in house, both to their owne, and also to strangers. And where the rich wanteth, what can the poore find, who in a common scarsitie liueth most scarselie, and feeleth quicklieſt the sharpnesse of staruing, when euerie man for lacke is hungerbitten. Which if ye had well remembred before, as ye now maie after perceiue, ye would not I thinke so stiffe-neckedlie haue resisted and indangered your selues in the storme of famine, whereof ye most likelie must haue the greatest part, which most stubbornlie resisted, to your owne

Wastfull spending of vittels by the rebels inconuenient to the whole state.

A necessitie of inhansing the price of things.

The losse of harnest. Barns be poore mens storehouses.

shame

shame and confusion.

After a great dearth commeth a great death, a reason why.

Experience teacheth vs, that after a great dearth commeth a great death; for that when men in great want of meat eat much ill meat, they fill their bodies with ill humors, and cast them from their state of health, into a subiection of sickenesse: because the good blood in the bodie is not able to kéepe his temper, for the multitude of the ill humors that corrupteth the same. And so grow great & deadlie plagues, and destroie great numbers of all sorts, sparing no kind that they light on, neither respecting the poore with mercie, nor the rich with fauour. Can ye therefore thinke herein, when ye sée decaie of vittels, the rich pinch, the poore famish, the following of diseases, the greatnesse of death, the mourning of widowes, the pitifulnesse of the fatherlesse, and all this miserie to come thorough your vnnaturall misbehauiour, that ye haue not dangerouslie hurt the commons of your countrie with a dolefull and vncurable wound? These things being once felt in the common-wealth, as they must nœds be, euerie man séeth by and by what followeth: euen a great diminishment of the strength of the realme, when the due number that the realme doth mainteine is made lesse, and thereby we be made rather a preie for our enimies, than a safetie for our selues.

A briefe rehearsall or summarie of mischiefes issuing from rebellion.

And how can there be but a great decaie of people at the length, when some be ouerthrowne in warre, some suffer for punishment, some pine for famine, some die with the campes diet, some be consumed with sickenesse? For although ye thinke your selues able to match with a few vnprepared gentlemen, and put them from their houses, that ye might gaine the spoile: do ye iudge therefore your selues strong inough, not onelie to withstand a kings power, but also to ouerthrow it? Is it possible that ye should haue so mad a frensie in your head, that ye should thinke the number ye sée so strong, that all ye sée not should not be able to preuaile to the contrarie? With what reason could ye thinke, that if ye bode the hot brunt of battell, but ye must nœds feele the smart, speciallie the kings power comming against you: which if ye feare not, belike ye know not the force thereof? And so much the greater number is lost in the realme, that both the ouercommer and the ouercommed be parties, although vnlike, of one realme: and what losse is not onelie of either side, but of both, that doth plainlie redound to the whole.

A great decaie of people.

Rebels can not preuaile against the princes power.

A necessarie consequent that rebels are seuerelie to be punished, and that such punishment is good and necessarie.

When where so great and so horrible a fault is committed, as worse can not be mentioned of from the beginning, and bringeth in withall such penurie, such weakenes, such disorder in the common-wealth, as no mischiefe besides could do the like: can anie man thinke with iust reason, that all shall escape vnpunished that shall escape the sword, and not manie for terrour and examples sake should be looked vnto, who haue bene either great doers in such a disordered vilanie, or great counsellors to such an outgrowne mischiefe; séeing the onelie remedie of redressing wilfull faults is a iust and seuere punishment of such, whose naughtie déeds good men ought to abhorre for duties sake, and ill men maie dread for like punishments sake, and a free licence to do mischiefe vnpunished is so dangerous, that the sufferance of one is the occasion of the fall of a great number, and womanish pitie to one is a deceitfull crueltie to the whole, intilling them to their owne destruction by sufferance, which would haue auoided the danger by fore punishment.

Against fond pitie forbearing and forgiuing a wilfull offendor.

And in such a barrennesse of vittels, as must nœds come after so rauening a spoile, it must nœds be, that some (though few) shall be so nipt with egernesse of famine, that they shall not recouer againe themselues out of so fretting a danger. So in a generall weakenesse, where all shall be fœbled, some must nœds die, and so diminish the number, and abate such strength as the realme defended it selfe withall before. Which occasion of neuer so few, comming of so great a cause, if ye should make iust amends for, not of recompense which ye could not, but of punishment which ye ought; how manie, how diuerse and how cruell deaths ought euerie one of ye often suffer? How manie came to the camps from long labour to sudden ease, and from meane fare to strong of vittels: and so fell in a maner vnwares to such a contrarie change, that nature hir selfe abiding neuer great and sudden changes, can not beare it without some grounds entered of diseases to come, which vncircumspect men shall sooner féele than thinke of, and then will scarselie iudge the cause, when they shall be vered with the effect?

Rebels punishable with manie deaths.

It is little maruell that idleneſse and meat of an other mans charge will some fœd vp & fat like men: but it is great maruell if idleneſse and other mens meat do not abate the same by sickenesse againe, and specially comming from the one, and going to the other: contrarie in those who violentlie séeke to turne in a moment the whole realme to the contrarie. For while their mind changeth from obedience to vnrulinesse, and turneth it selfe from honestie to wildnesse, and their bodies go from labour to idlenesse, from small fare to spoile of vittels, and from beds in the night to cabins, and from swéet houses to stinking camps, it must nœds be by changing of affections which alter the bodie, and by vsing of rest that filleth the bodie, and by glutting of meats which weakeneth the bodie, & with cold in the nights which accrazeth the bodie, and with corrupt aire which infecteth the bodie, that there follow some grieuous tempest not onelie of contagious sickenesse, but also of present death to the bodie.

Idleneſse and meat of other mens charge.

The greatest plucke of all is, that vehemencie of plague, which naturallie followeth the dint of hunger, which when it entereth once among men, what darts of pangs, what throwes of paines, what shouts of death doth it cast out? How manie fall, not astonied with the sickenesse, but fretted with the paine? How beateth it downe not onelie small townes, but also great countries? This when ye sée light first on your beasts which lacke fodder, and after fall on men whose bodies gape for it, and sée the scarsenesse of men to be by this your foule enterprise, and not onelie other men touched with plagues, but also your owne house strong with death, and the plague also raised of your rising, to fire your selues: can ye thinke you to be anie other but mankillers of other, and murtherers of your selues, and the principals of the ouerthrow of so great a number, as shall either by sword or punishment, famine, or some plague or pestilence be consumed and wasted out of the common-wealth?

The force of pestilence following famine.

The plague & pestilence occasioned by rebellion.

And séeing he that decaieth the number of cottages or plowes in a towne, séemeth to be an enimie to the common-wealth: shall we not count him, not onelie an enimie, but also a murtherer of his countrie, who by harebrained vnrulinesse causeth vtter ruine and pestilent destruction of so manie thousand men? Grant this follie then and ouersight to be such as worthilie ye maie count it, and I shall go further in declaring of other great inconueniences, which your dangerous and furious misbehauiour hath hurtfullie brought in; séeing diuerse honest and true dealing men, whose liuing is by their owne prouision, hath come so before hand by time, that they haue bene able well to liue honestlie in their houses, & paie beside the rents of their farmes truelie, and now haue by your crueltie and abhorred insurrections lost their goods, their cattell, their har-

Rebels enimies & murtherers of their countrie.

Further mischiefes of vncharitablenes issuing from rebellion.

neſſ, which they had gotten before, and wherwith they intended to liue hereafter, & now be brought to this extremitie, that they be neither able to liue, as they were wont at home before; nor to paie their accuſtomeable rent at their due time. Whereby they be brought into trouble and vnquietneſſe, not onlie muſing what they haue loſt by you, but alſo curſing you by whome they haue loſt it, and alſo in danger of loſing their holds at their lords hands, except by pitie they ſhew more mercie, than the right of the law will grant by iuſtice.

The fruits of honeſt mens trauels long in gathering, quickelie ſpoiled by rebellion.

And what a griefe is it to an honeſt man, to labor trulie in youth, and to gaine painefullie by labour, wherewith to liue honeſtlie in age, and to haue this, gotten in long time, to be ſuddenlie caught awaie by the violence of ſedition, which name he ought to abhorre by it ſelfe, although no miſerie of loſſe followed to him thereby. But what greater griefe ought ſeditious rebels to haue themſelues, who if they be not ſtriken with puniſhment, yet ought to pine in conſcience, and melt awaie with the griefe of their owne faults, when they ſee innocents and men of true ſeruice hindered and burdened with the hurt of their rebellion, & who in a good commonwealth ſhould for honeſties ſake proſper, they by theſe rebels onlie meanes be caſt ſo behind the hand, as they can not recouer eaſilie againe by their owne truſh, that which they haue loſt by thoſe traitors miſchiefe? And if vniuſt men ought not ſo to be handled at anie mans hands, but onelie ſtand to the order of a law: how much more ſhould true and faithfull ſubiects, who deſerue praiſe, feele no vnquietneſſe, nor be vexed with ſedition, who be obedientlie in ſubiection, but rather ſeeke iuſt amends at falſe rebels hands, and by law obteine that they loſt by diſorder, and ſo conſtreine you to the vttermoſt, to paie the recompenſe of wrongfull loſſes, bicauſe ye were the authors of theſe wrongfull ſpoiles.

An argument from equitie & vpright dealing euen with the vniuſt.

Then would ye ſone perceiue the commonwealths hurt, not when other felt it who deſerued it not, but when you ſmarted who cauſed it, and ſtood not & loked vpon other mens loſſes which ye might pitie, but tormented with your owne which ye would lament. Now I am paſt this miſchiefe, which ye will not hereafter denie, when ye ſhall praiſe other mens foreſight, rather than your wicked doings, in bewailing the end of your furie, in whoſe beginning ye now reioiſe. What ſaie ye to the number of vagabonds and loitering beggers, which after the ouerthrow of your campe, and ſcattering of this ſeditious number, will ſwarme in euerie corner of the realme and not onelie lie loitering vnder hedges, but alſo ſtand ſturdilie in cities, and beg boldlie at euerie doore, leauing labour which they like not, and following idleneſſe which they ſhould not? For euerie man is eaſilie and naturallie brought from labour to eaſe, from the better to the worſe, from diligence to ſlothfulneſſe: and after warres it is commonlie ſeene, that a great number of thoſe which went out honeſt, returne home againe like roiſters, and as though they were burnt to the wars bottome, they haue all their life after an vnſauorie ſmacke thereof, & ſmell ſtill toward daieſleepers, purſepickers, highwaie robbers, quarrelmakers, yea and bloudſheders tw.

Vaultitudes of vagabonds and roges procured by rebellions.

To what ſhifts ſoldiers fall after diſcamping and ceaſſing from warres.

Do we not ſee commonlie in the end of warres more robbing, more begging, more murdering than before, and thoſe to ſtand in the high waie to aſke their almes, whome ye be afreaid to ſaie naie vnto honeſtlie, leaſt they take it awaie from you violentlie, and haue more cauſe to ſuſpect their ſtrength, than pitie their need? Is it not then dailie heard, how men be not onelie purſued, but vtterlie ſpoiled, & few maie ride ſafe by the kings highwaie, except they ride ſtrong, not ſo much for feare of their goods, which men eſteeme leſſe, but alſo for danger of their life, which euerie man loueth. Worke is vndone at home and loiterers linger in ſtreets, lurke in alehouſes, range in highwaies, valiant beggers plaie in townes and yet complaine of need, whoſe ſtaffe if it be once hot in their hand, or ſluggiſhneſſe bred in their boſome, they will neuer be allured to labour againe, contenting themſelues better with idle beggerie, than with honeſt and profitable labour. And what more noiſome beaſts be there in a commonwealth? Drones in hiues ſucke out the honie, a ſmall matter, but yet to be loked on by good huſbands. Caterpillers deſtroie the fruit, an hurtfull thing, and well ſhifted for by a diligent ouerſeer. Diuerſe vermine deſtroie corne, kill pulleine, engines and ſnares be made for them.

Againſt lottering lubbers that can not awaie with labour.

A loiterer deſcribed.

But what is a loiterer? A ſucker of honie, a ſpoiler of corne, a ſtroier of fruit, a waſter of monie, a ſpoiler of victels, a ſucker of bloud, a breaker of orders, a ſeeker of breaches, a queller of life, a baſiliſke of the commonwealth, which by companie and ſight doth poiſon the whole countrie, and ſtaineth honeſt minds with the infection of his veneme, and ſo draweth the commonwealth to death and deſtruction. Such is the fruits of your labour and trauell for your pretenſed commonwealth, which iuſtice would no man ſhould taſte of but your ſelues, that ye might trulie iudge of your owne miſcheefe, and traie other by example from preſuming the like. When we ſee a great number of flies in a yeare, we naturallie iudge it like to be a great plague, and hauing ſo great a ſwarming of loitering vagabonds, readie to beg and brall at euerie mans doore, which declare a greater infection, can we not loke for a greeuouſer and perilouſer danger than the plague is? Who can therefore otherwiſe deeme, but this one deadlie hurt, wherewith the commonwelth of our nation is wounded, beſide all other is ſo peſtilent, that there can be no more hurtfull thing in a well gouerned eſtate, nor more throwne into all kind of vice and vnrulineſſe: and therefore this your ſedition is not onelie moſt odious, but alſo moſt horrible, that hath ſpotted the whole countrie with ſuch a ſtaine of idleneſſe.

The ſight of manie flies in a yeare a naturall prognoſtication of a plague like to follow.

There can be none end of faults, if a man rehearſe all faults that do neceſſarilie follow this vnrulie ſturdineſſe. For not onelie vagabonds wandering and ſcattering themſelues for miſchefe, ſhall run in a mans eies, but alſo diſorder of euerie degree ſhall enter into a mans mind, and ſhall behold hereby the commonwealth miſerablie defaced by you, who ſhould as much as other haue kept your ſelues in order in it. Neither be the magiſtrats dulie obeied, nor the lawes iuſtlie feared, nor degrees of men conſidered, nor maiſters well ſerued, nor parents truelie reuerenced, nor lords remembred of their tenants, nor yet either naturall or ciuill law much regarded. And it is plainlie vnpoſſible that that countrie ſhall well ſtand in gouernement, and the people growe to wealth, where order in euerie ſtate is not fitlie obſerued: and that bodie cannot be without much greefe of inflammation, where anie leſt part is out of ioint, or not duelie ſet in his owne naturall place.

Diſorder in euerie degree cauſed by rebellion.

Magiſtrats diſobeied, and neglect of dutie in generall by rebellion.

Obſerving of order in euerie eſtate ſupporteth a commonwealth, & contrariwiſe the hurt of diſorder.

Therefore order muſt be kept in the commonwealth like health in the bodie, and all the drift of policie loketh to this end, how this temper may be ſafelie mainteined, without anie exceſſe of vnmeaſurableneſſe, either of the one ſide, or of the other. And eaſie inough it is to keepe the ſame, when it is once brought into the meane, and to hold it in the ſtate it is found in: but when it burſteth out once with a vehemencie, and hath gotten into an vnrulie diſorder, it ſpreadeth ſo faſt, and ouerfloweth all honeſt mens reſiſting ſo violentlie, that it will be hard to recouer the breach of long time againe, except with great

great and wise counsell, which no doubt shall be in season vsed, there be wonderfull remedies sought therefore. And euen as a man falling, is easier holden vp by staie, than when he is fallen downe he is able to rise againe: so is the commonwealth slipping, by the foresight of wisedome better kept from ruine; than when it is once fallen into anie kind of miserie, the same may be called againe to the old and former state. Do we not euidentlie know, that a man may better keepe his arme or his leg from breaking or falling out of ioint, afore hurt come to it; than after the hurt it may safelie and quietlie be healed, and restored to the former strength and health againe? And now through your seditious means, things that were afore quiet and in good order, laws feared and obeied, subiects ruled and kept in dutie, be all now in a great disorder, and like (if it be not holpen) to grow to wildnesse, and a beastlinesse; seeing that neither common dutie can be kept, which nature prescribeth, nor common law can be regarded, which policie requireth. How can yee keepe your owne if yee keepe no order? Your wiues and children, how can they be defended from other mens violence, if yee will in other things breake all order? By what reason would yee be obeied of yours as seruants, if yee will not obeie the king as subiects? How would yee haue others deale orderlie with you, if yee will vse disorder against all others? Seeing then there is such a confusion now of things, such a turmoile of men, such a disorder of fashions; who can loke to liue quietlie a great while, who can thinke but that yee haue miserablie tossed the commonwealth, and so vered all men with disorder, that the inconuenience hereof cannot onelie nip others, but also touch you?

An argument drawne from comparison.

Atopie turme of all things by rebellion.

The necessitie of order, and therefore S. Paule said well; Let all things be done in order.

But now see how that not onelie these vnlooked for mischeefes haue beautlie growne on yee, but also those commodities, which yee thought to haue holpen your selues and others by, be not onelie hindered, but also hurt thereby. The kings maiestie by the aduise, &c: intended a iust reformation of all such things as poore men could trulie shew themselues oppressed with, thinking equalitie of iustice to be the diademe of his kingdome, and the safegard of his commons. Which was not onelie intended by wisedome, but also set on with speed, and so entered into a due considering of all states, that none should haue iust cause to grudge against the other, when as euerie thing rightfullie had, nothing could be but vnrightfullie grudged at. And this would haue beene done, not onelie with your glad and willing assent: but also beene done by this daie almost throughout the whole realme: so that quietlie it had beene obteined without inconuenience, and spedilie without delaie. And whatsoeuer had beene done by the kings maiesties authoritie, that would by right haue remained foreuer, and so taken in law, that the contrarie partie neither could by iustice, neither would by boldnesse haue enterprised the breach thereof.

Rebels are against their owne profit.

Equalitie of iustice.

But least wicked men should be wealthie, and they whose hearts be not truelie bent to obedience, should obteine at the kings hands that they deserued not in a commonwealth, yee haue maruellouslie and worthilie hurt your selues, and greeuouslie prouided (except the kings goodnesse be more vnto you than your owne deserts can claime) that yee be not so much worthie as to be benefited in anie kind, as yee be worthie to lose that yee haue on euerie side. Ye haue thought good to be your owne reformers belike, not onelie vnnaturallie misfrusting the kings iustice, but also cruellie and vnciuillie dealing with your owne neighbours. Wherein I would as yee haue hurt the whole realme, so yee had not enterprised a thing most dangerous to your selues, & most contrarie to the thing yee intended. If yee had let things alone, thought good by your selues to be redressed, and dutifullie loked for the performance of that, the kings maiestie promising reformation, they should not haue beene vndone at this time, as in a great sort of honest places they be; nor whole countries, who for their quietnesse be most worthie to be loked on, should haue beene vnprouided for at this date. But this commoditie hath happened by the waie, that it is euidentlie knowne by your mischeefe, and others dutie, who be most true to the king, and most worthie to be done for, and who be most pernicious and traitorous rebels. And it is not to be doubted, but they shall be considered with thanks, and find iust redresse without deserued miserie, & you punished like rebels, who might haue had both praise & profit like subiects.

Rebels hurt themselues.

Priuat men are not to inforce a reformation.

Rebellion hurteth the whole realme.

The benefit of rebellion in one respect.

For that as yee haue valiantlie done of your selues, thinke yee it will stand anie longer, than men feare your rage, which cannot indure long; and that yee shall not then bide the rigor of the law for your priuat iniuries, as yee vsed the furie of your braines in other mens oppressions? Will men suffer wrong at your hands, when law can redresse it, & the right of the commonwealth will mainteine it, and good order in countries will beare it? Yee amend faults as ill surgions heale sores, which when they seeme to be whole aboue, they rankle at the bottome, and so be faine continuallie to be sore, or else be mended by new breaking of the skin. Your redresse seemeth to you perfect and good, yee haue pulled downe such things as yee would, yee thinke now all is well: yee consider no further, yee seeke not the bottome, yee see not the sore, that yee haue done it by no law, yee haue redressed it by no order, what then? If it be no otherwise searched than by you, it will not tarie long so: either it will be after continuallie as it was afore your comming, or else it must be (when all is done) amended by the king.

Reformation intended by rebels, like sores cured by ill surgions.

Thus haue yee both lacked in the time, and miss in the doing, and yet besides that ye haue done, which is by your doing to no purpose. Yee haue done the things with such inconueniences, as hath beene both before rehearsed, and shall be after declared; that better it had beene for you, neuer to haue enioied the commoditie, if there be anie; than to suffer the greefs that will insue, which be verie manie. In euerie quarter some men (whom yee set by) will be lost, which euerie one of you (if ye haue loue in ye) would rather haue lacked the profit of your inclosures, than cause such destruction of them, as is like by reason & iudgement necessarilie to follow. What commonwealth is it then, to doo such abhominable enterprises after so vile a sort, that yee hinder that good yee would doo, and bring in that hurt yee would not, and so find that yee seeke not, and follow that yee lose, and destroie your selues by follie; rather than yee would be ordered by reason, and so haue not so much amended your old sores, as brought in new plagues, which yee your selues that deserue them will lament, and we which haue not deserued them may curse you for? For although the kings maiestie, &c: intended for your profits a reformation in his commonwealth: yet his pleasure was not, nor no reason gaue it, that euerie subiect should busilie intermeddle with it of their owne head, but onelie those whome his councell thought most meet men for such an honest purpose.

Greefes insuing to the rebels vpon this rebellion.

Reformation ought to be no priuat mans but the princes action

The kings maiestie, &c: hath godlie reformed an vncleane part of religion, and hath brought it to the true forme of the first church that followed Christ, thinking that to be truest, not what later mens fansies haue of themselues deuised, but what the apostles and their felowes had at Christes hand receiued, and willeth the same to be knowne and set abroad to all his people. Shall euerie man now that liketh and fansieth the same, take in hand vncalled, to be a mi-

niſſer, and to ſet forth the ſame, hauing no authoritie? Naie, though the thing were verie godlie that were done, yet the perſon muſt néeds do ill that enterpriſeth it, bicauſe he doth a good thing after an ill ſort, and loketh but on a little part of dutie, conſidering the thing, and leaueth a great part vnaduiſed, not conſidering the perſon: when as in a well and iuſtlie done matter, not onelie theſe two things ought well to be weighed, but alſo good occaſion of time, and reaſonable cauſe of the doing, ought alſo much to be ſet before euerie doers eies. Now in this your déed, the manner is vngodlie, the thing vnſufferable, the cauſe wicked, the perſon ſeditious, the time traitorous: and can ye poſſiblie by anie honeſt defenſe of reaſon, or anie good conſcience religiouſlie grounded, denie that this malicious and horrible fault, ſo wickedlie ſet on, is not onelie ſinfull afore God, and traitorous to the king, but alſo deadlie and peſtilent to the whole common-wealth of our countrie, and ſo not onelie ouerfloweth vs with the miſerie, but alſo ouerwhelmeth you with the rage thereof?

What things in a well and iuſtlie done matter ought well to be weighed.

Yet further ſée and ye be not wearie with the multitude of miſeries, which ye haue maruellouſlie moued, what a yoke ye wilfullie do bring on your ſelues, in ſtirring vp this deteſtable ſedition, and ſo bring your ſelues into a further ſlauerie, if ye vſe your ſelues into a further ſlauerie, if ye vſe your ſelues often thus inobedientlie. When common order of the law can take no place in vnrulie and diſobedient ſubiects, and all men will of wilfulneſſe reſiſt with rage, and thinke their owne violence to be the beſt iuſtice; then be wiſe magiſtrats compelled by neceſſitie to ſéeke an extreame remedie, where meane waies helpe not, and bring in the martiall law where none other law ſerueth. Then muſt ye be contented to bide puniſhment without proceſſe, condemnation without witneſſe, ſuſpicion is then taken for iudgement, and diſpleaſure may be iuſt cauſe of your execution, and ſo without fauor ye find ſtrictneſſe, which without rule ſeéke violence. Ye thinke it a hard law and vnſufferable. It is ſo indéed, but yet good for a medicine.

The yoke that rebels wilfullie bring vpon themſelues.

Deſperat remedies for deſperat diſeaſes.

Deſperate ſickneſſes in phyſicke muſt haue deſperate remedies, for meane medicines will neuer helpe great griefes. So if ye caſt your ſelues into ſuch ſharpe diſeaſes, ye muſt néeds loke for ſharpe medicines againe at your phyſicians hands. And worthie ye be to ſuffer the extremitie in a common-wealth, which ſéeke to do the extremitie, and by reaſon muſt receiue the like ye offer, and ſo be contented to bide the end willinglie which ſet on the beginning wilfullie. For no greater ſhame can come to a common-welth, than that thoſe ſubiects which ſhould be obedient euen without a law, can not be contented to be ordered by the law, and by no means kept within their dutie, which ſhould euerie waie offend rather than in their dutie. It is a token that the ſubiects lacke reaſon, when they forſake law, and thinke either by their multitude to find pardon, which cannot iuſtlie ſtretch to all, or elſe by ſtrength to beare the ſtroke, which cannot proſper againſt a king.

Rebels worthie to ſuffer extremitie of puniſhment.

The greateſt ſhame that can come to a common-wealth.

They muſt néeds little conſider themſelues, who bring in this neceſſitie, rather to ſtand to the pleaſure of a mans will, than to abide the reaſon of the law; and to be indangered more when an other man liſteth, than when himſelfe offendeth. And this muſt neceſſarilie folow if your rebellion thus continue: and while ye ſéeke to throw downe the yoke, which ye fanſie your ſelues burdened withall, ye bring your ſelues in a greater bondage, leaning ſafetie and following danger, and putting your ſelues vnder the iuſtice of them whoſe fauour ye might eaſilie haue kept, if ye would willinglie and dutifullie haue ſerued. Now the gentlemen be more in truſt, bicauſe the commons be vntruſtie, and they get by ſeruice, which ye loſe by ſtubbornneſſe, and therefore muſt néeds, if ye thus continue, haue more authoritie from the king: bicauſe ye would be in leſſe ſubiection to the king, and that as ye will not do of your ſelues, ye muſt be compelled to do by others, and that ye refuſe to do willinglie, thinke ye muſt be drawne to do the ſame conſtreinedlie. Which when it commeth to paſſe, as wiſedome ſéeth in your faults that it muſt néeds, what gaine ye then, or what profit can ariſe to you by riſing, which might haue found eaſe in ſitting ſtill? And what ſhall ye be at length the better for this turmoile, which beſide diuerſe other incommodities rehearſed, ſhall be thus clogged with the vnſufferable burden of the martiall law.

Gentlemen more truſtie bicauſe the commons be vntruſtie.

Martiall law a burden vnſufferable.

Yet there is one thing behind, which me thinketh your ſelues ſhould not forget, ſéeing that ye haue giuen the cauſe, ye ſhould dulie loke for the effect. Ye haue ſpoiled, impriſoned, and threatened gentlemen to death, and that with ſuch hatred of mind, as may not well be borne. The cauſe therof I ſpeake not on, which tried, will hapilie be not ſo great: but ſée the thing, ſet murther aſide, it is the heinouſeſt fault to a priuat man. What could more ſpitefullie haue béene done againſt them, than ye haue vſed with crueltie? Can this do anie other but breed in their ſtomachs great grudge of diſpleaſure toward you, and ingender ſuch an hatred, as the weaker and the ſufferer muſt néeds beare the ſmart thereof.

Cruelties and extremities ſhewed to the gentlemen by the rebels.

The kings beſt kind of gouernment is ſo to rule his ſubiects, as a father ordereth his children, and beſt life of obedient ſubiects is one to behaue himſelfe to an other, as though they were brethren vnder the king their father. For loue is not the knot onelie of the common-wealth, whereby diuerſe parts be perfectlie ioined togither in one politike bodie, but alſo the ſtrength and might of the ſame, gathering togither into a ſmall rome with order, which ſcattered would elſe breed confuſion and debate. Diſſention we ſée in ſmall houſes, and thereby may take example to great common-wealths, how it not onelie deceaſeth them from wealth, but alſo abateth them from ſtrength. Thinke ſmall examples to take place in great matters, and the like though not ſo great to follow in them both, and there by learne to iudge of great things vnknowne, by ſmall things perceiued. When brethren agrée not in a houſe, goeth not the weakeſt to the walles; and with whome the father taketh part withall, is not he likeſt to preuaile? Is it not wiſedome for the yonger brother, after the good will of the parents, to ſéeke his eldeſt brothers fauour, who vnder them is moſt able to do for him? To ſéeke them both with honeſtie is wiſedome, to loſe them both by ſullenneſſe is madneſſe.

The kings beſt kind of gouernment.

The fruits of diſſention.

Haue there not béene dailie benefits from the gentlemen to you, in ſome more, and in ſome leſſe, but in none conſidered, which they haue more friendlie offered, than you haue gentlie requited? This muſt ye loſe, when ye will not be thankefull, and learne to gaine new good will by deſert, when ye forſake the old friendſhip vnprouoked. And ye muſt thinke that liuing in a common-wealth togither, one kind hath néed of an other: and yet a great ſort of you more néed of one gentleman, than one gentleman of a great ſort of you. And though all be parts of one common-wealth, yet all be not like worthie parts, but all being vnder obedience, ſome kind in more ſubiection one waie, and ſome kind in more ſeruice an other waie. And ſéeing ye be leſſe able by monie and liberalitie to deſerue good will than others be, and your onelie kind of deſert is to ſhew good will, which honeſt men do well accept as much worth as monie, haue ye not much hindred & hurt your ſelues

The rebels had cauſe to beare with the gentlemen and to haue loued them.

All the parts of a common-wealth be not of like worthineſſe: Ergo gentlemen more worthie than yeomen, &c.

herein,

herein, losing that one kind of humanitie which ye haue onelie left, and turning it into crueltie, which ye ought most to abhor, not onelie bicause it is wicked of it selfe, but also most noisome to you.

I can therefore for my part thinke no lesse herein, if ye follow your stiffenesse still, & must nœds iudge that ye haue wilfullie brought on your selues such plagues, as the like could not haue fallen on you, but by your selues. Seeing then thus manie waies ye haue hurt the common-welth of this whole countrie within, by destruction of shires, losing of haruest, wasting of victels, decaieng of manhod, vndoing of farmers, increasing of vagabonds, mainteining of disorders, hindring of redresses, bringing in of martiall law, and breeding continuall hatred among diuerse states: what thinke ye, I praie you? Iudge ye not that ye haue committed an odious and detestable crime against the whole common-wealth, whose furtherance ye ought to haue tendered by dutie, and not to haue sought the hurt thereof with your owne damage?

A breefe enumeration of the inconueniences flowing from this rebellion.

Besides all these inward griefes, which euerie one seuerallie must nœds feele with miserie, there happeneth so manie outward mischances among strangers to vs with disdaine; that if there were nothing ill within the realme which we should feele, yet the shame which doth touch vs from other countries, should not onelie moue, but also compell you hartilie to forethinke this your rebellious sedition. For what shall strangers thinke, when they shall heare of the great misorder which is in this realme with such confusion, that no order of law can keepe you vnder, but must be faine to be beaten downe with a kings power? Shall they not first thinke the kings maiestie, in whose mind God hath powred so much hope for a child, as we may looke for gifts in a man; either for his age to be little set by, or for lacke of qualities not to be regarded, or for default of loue to be resisted, and no notable grace of God in him considered, nor the worthinesse of his office loked vpon, nor naturall obedience due to him remembred?

Outward mischances insuing vpon rebellions to the shame of the land and estate wherin they be raised.

King contemned.

Shall they not next suppose, small estimation to be giuen to the rulers, to whom vnder the king we owe due obedience, that can not in iust and lawfull matters be heard, nor men to haue that right iudgement of their wisedome, as their iustice in rule, and foresight in counsell requireth: but rather prefer their owne fansies before others experience, and deeme their owne reason to be common-wealth, and other mens wisedome to be but dreaming? Shall they not trulie sate the subiects to be more vnfaithfull in disobedience, than other subiects worse ordered be; and licence of libertie to make wild heads without order, and that they neither haue reason that vnderstand not the mischiefe of sedition, nor dutie which follow their beastlinesse, nor loue in them which so little remember the common-wealth, nor naturall affection which will daillie seeke their owne destruction?

Rulers little esteemed.

Subiects disordered.

Thus the whole countrie lacking the good opinion of other nations, is cast into great shame by your vnrulinesse, and the proceedings of the countrie, be they neuer so godlie, shall be ill spoken of, as vnfit to be brought into vse; and good things hereby that deserue praise, shall bide the rebuke of them that list to speake ill, and ill things vntouched shall be boldlier mainteined. Nothing may with praise be redressed, where things be measured by changeable disorder, rather than by necessarie vse; and that is thought most politike, that men will be best contented to do, and not that which men should be brought vnto by dutie. And with what dutie or vertue in ye, can ye quench out of memorie this foule enterprise, or gather a good report againe to this realme, who haue so vilelie with reproch slandered the same, and diuerslie discredited it among others, and abated the good opinion which was had of the iust gouernement and ruled order vsed heretofore in this noble realme, which is now most grieuous, bicause it is now most without cause.

The whole countrie ill spoken of.

Nothing redressable by disorder chanceable.

If this outward opinion (without further inconuenience) were all, yet it might well be borne, and would with ease decaie as it grew: but it hath not onlie hurt vs with voice, but indangered vs in deed, and cast vs a great deale behind the hand, where else we might haue had a tollie foredeale. For that opportunitie of time which seldome chanceth, and is alwaies to be taken, hath beene by your froward meanes lost this yeare, and so vainlie spent at home for bringing downe of you, which should else profitablie haue beene otherwise bestowed, that it hath beene almost as great a losse to vs abrode, to lacke that we might haue obteined, as it was combrance at home, to go about the ouerthrow of you, whose sedition is to be abhorred. And we might both conuenientlie haue inuaded some, if they would not reasonablie haue growne to some kind of friendship, and also defended others which would beside promise for times sake vniustlie set vpon vs, and easilie haue made this stormie time a faire yeare vnto vs, if our men had beene so happie at home, as our likelihod abrode was fortunat.

Further outward hurt besides voice ingendered of rebellions.

He meaneth the Scots & French with whome we haue had alwaies incombrance.

But what is it (I praie you) either to let slip such an occasion by negligence, or to stop it by stubbornesse, which once past awaie, can be by no means recouered; no not though with diligence ye go about to reinforce the same againe? If ye would with wickednes haue forsaken your faith to your naturall countrie, and haue sought craftie means to haue vtterlie betrated it to our common enimies: could ye haue had anie other spædier waie than this is, both to make our strength weake, and their weakenesse strong? If ye would haue sought to haue spited your countrie, and to haue pleased your enimie, and follow their counsell for our hinderance: could ye haue had deuised of them anie thing more shamefull for vs, and ioifull to them? If they which lie like spials, and hearken after likelihods of things to come, bicause they declare opportunitie of times to the enimie, are to be iudged common enimies of the countrie; what shall we reasonablie thinke of you, who do not secretlie bewraie the counsels of other, but openlie betraie the common-wealth with your owne deeds, and haue as much as lieth in you, sought the ouerthrow of it at home: which if ye had obteined at Gods hand, as he neuer alloweth so horrible an enterprise, how could yee haue defended it from the ouerthrow of others abrode?

Note in a few words of force the dangerous qualitie of rebellion.

A reason drawne from the lesse to the greater.

For is your vnderstanding of things so small, that although ye see your selues not vnfit to get the vpper hand of a few gentlemen, that ye be able to beat downe afore the kings power: ye and by chance ye were able to do that, would ye iudge your selues by strength mightie enough, to resist the power of outward nations, that for praise sake would inuade ye? Naie, thinke trulie with your selues, that if yee do ouercome, ye be vnsure both by strength abrode, and displeasure of honest men at home, and by the punishment of God aboue. And now ye haue not yet gotten in deed, that your vaine hope loketh for by fansie: thinke how certeinlie ye haue wounded the common-wealth with a sore stroke, in procuring our enimies by our weakenesse to seeke victorie, and by our outward miserie to seeke outward glorie with inward dishonor. Which howsoeuer they get, thinke it to be long of you, who haue offered them victorie before they began warre: bicause ye would declare to men hereafter (belike) how dangerous it is to make stirres at home, when they do not onelie make our

Rebellion maketh passage to forren inuasion, & breaketh our owne region.

selues weake, but also our enimies strong.

Rebellion animateth the papists, & each one beside that is offended at true religion.

Beside these, there is another sort of men desirous of aduantage, and disdainefull of our wealth, whose greefe is most our greatest hap, and be offended with religion, bicause they be drowned in superstition, men zealed toward God, but not fit to iudge, meaning better without knowledge, than they iudge by their meaning, worthier whose ignorance should be taken awaie, than their will should be followed; whome we should more rebuke for their stubbornesse, than despise for their ignorance. These seeing superstition beaten downe, and religion set vp, Gods word taking place, traditions kept in their kind, difference made betweene Gods commandements and mans learning, the truth of things sought out according to Christes institution, examples taken of the primitiue churches vse, not at the bishop of Romes ordinance, and true worship taught, and wil-worship refused, do by blindnesse rebuke that as by truth they should follow, and by affection follow that as by knowledge they should abhorre, thinking vsage to be truth, and scripture to be error, not weieng by the word, but misconstruing by custome.

Religion beareth the blame and is counted the cause of rebellion, but amisse.

And now things be changed to the better, and religion trulier appointed, they see matters go awrie, which hurteth the whole realme, and they reioise in this mischeefe as a thing worthilie happened, mistaking the cause, and slandering religion, as though there were no cause whie God might haue punished, if their vsed profession might still haue taken place. They see not that where Gods glorie is truliest set forth, there the diuell is most busie for his part, and laboureth to corrupt by lewdnesse, that as is gotten out by the truth, thinking that if it were not blemished at the first, the residue of his falsehod should after lesse preuaile. So he troubleth by bi waies, that he cannot plainlie withstand, and vseth subtiltie of sophistrie, where plaine reason faileth, and persuadeth simple men that to be a cause, which in deed can not be tried and taken for a cause. So he causeth religion which teacheth obedience, to be iudged the cause of sedition; & the doctrine of loue, the seed of dissention; mistaking the thing, but persuading mens minds, and abusing the plaine meaning of the honest to a wicked end of religions ouerthrow.

The diuels sophistrie.

Examples.

The husbandman had not so sowne throwne seed in his ground, but stepeth vp the enimie, and hee soweth cockle to, and maketh men doubt whether the good husband had done well or no, and whether he had sowne there good seed or bad. The fansifull Iewes in Egypt would not beléeue Ieremie, but thought their plague and their miserie to come by his means; and leaning of idolatrie to be the cause of penurie, therefore by wilfull aduise they intended to forsake the prophets councell, and thought to serue God most truelie by their roted & accustomed idolatrie. When the christian men were persecuted in the primitiue church, & dailie suffered martyrdome for Christs profession, such faire season of weather was for three or foure yeeres togither, that the heathen iudged thereupon God to be delighted with their crueltie, and so were persuaded that with the bloud of the martyrs they pleased God highlie. Such fansies light now in papists, and irreligious mens heads, and some things by chance happening togither, and conclude the one to be the cause of the other, and then delight in true worshippers hurt, bicause they iudge corredlie the good to be bad, and therefore reioise in the punishment of the godlie. For they being fleshlie, iudge by outward things, and perceiue not the inward, for that they lacke the spirit and so iudge amis, not vnderstanding God, what diuersitie he suffereth to blind still the wilfull, and how through all dangers he saueth his forechosen.

The Jewes ascribe their miserie to a false cause.

The heathens fond opinion of gods fauouring their crueltie against christians.

And thus haue ye giuen a large occasion to stubborne papists, both to iudge amisse, and also to reioise in this wicked chance, contented with our mischeefe, not liking our religion, and thinking God doth punish for this better change, and haue thereby an euill opinion of Gods holie truth, confirmed in them by no sure scripture, but by following of mischance, which they ought to thinke to come for the pride and stubbornesse of the people, who doth not accept Gods glorie in good part, nor giue no due praise to their Lord and maker. What should I saie more? Ye hurt euerie waie, the dangers be so great, and the perils so manie, which do dailie follow your diuelish enterprise, that the more I seeke in the mater, the more I continuallie see to saie. And what words can worthilie declare this miserable beastlines of yours, which haue intended to diuide the realme, and arme the one part for the killing of the other? For euen as concord is not onelie the health, but also the strength of the realme: so is sedition not onelie the weaknesse but also the apostume of the realme, which when it breaketh inwardlie, putteth the state in great danger of recouerie, and corrupteth the whole commonwealth with the rotten furie that it hath béene long putrified withall. For it is not in sedition as in other faults, which being mischeefous of themselues, haue some notable hurt alwaies fast adioined to them: but in this one is there a whole hell of faults, not seuerallie scattered, but clustered on a lumpe togither, and comming on so thicke, that it is vnpossible for a region armed with all kinds of wisedome, and strength thereto, to auoid the dangers that issue out thereof.

The papists by rebellion haue an euill opinion of Gods holie truth.

The hurts ensuing from rebellion out of count.

Concord and discord with their differing effects.

When sedition once breaketh out, see ye not the lawes ouerthrowne, the magistrates despised, spoiling of houses, murthering of men, wasting of countries, increase of disorder, diminishing of the realms strength, swarming of vagabonds, scarsitie of labourers, and all those mischeefes plentifoustie brought in, which God is wont to scourge seuerelie withall, warre, dearth, and pestilence? And seeing ye haue theft & murther, plague & famine, confusion and idlenesse linked togither, can ye looke for anie more mischeefe in one shamefull enterprise, than ye euidentlie see to grow herein? As for warre, although it be miserable, yet the one part getteth somewhat, and reioiseth in the spoile, and so goeth lustier awaie: and either increaseth his countrie with riches, or inhanseth himselfe with glorie: but in sedition both parts lose, the ouercommer cannot flie, the ouercommed cannot spoile; the more the winner winneth, the more he loseth; the more that escape, the more infamous men liue; all that is gained is scarselie saued; the winning is losse, the losse is destruction, both waste themselues, and the whole most wasted; the strengthening of themselues, the decaie of the countrie; the striuing for the victorie, is a preie to the enimie: and shortlie to saie, the hellish turmoile of sedition so farre passeth the common miserie of warre, as to slaie himselfe is more heinous, than to be slaine of another.

The mischiefs springing frō sedition.

Forren war farre better than sedition at home.

O noble peace, what wealth bringest thou in, how do all things flourish in field and in towne, what forwardnesse of religion, what increase of learning, what grauitie in counsell, what deuise of wit, what order of maners, what obedience of laws, what reuerence of states, what safegard of houses, what quietnesse of life, what honor of countries, what friendship of minds, what honestie of pleasure hast thou alwaies maintained, whose happinesse we knew not, while now we feele thy lacke, and shall learne by miserie to vnderstand plentie, and so to auoid mischiefe by the hurt that it bringeth, and learne to serue better, where rebellion is once knowen; and so to liue

The praise and benefits of peace.

trulie,

trulie, and kéepe the kings peace. What good state were ye in afore ye began, not pricked with pouertie, but stirred with mischiefe, to séeke your destruction, hauing wales to redresse all that was amisse? Magistrats most readie to tender all iustice, and pitifull in hearing the poore mens causes, which sought to amend matters more than you can deuise, and were readie to redresse them better than ye could imagine: and yet for a headinesse ye could not be contented; but in despite of God, who commandeth obedience, and in contempt of the king, whose lawes do séeke your wealth, and to ouerthrow the countrie, which naturallie we should loue, ye would proudlie rise, and do ye wot not what, and amend things by rebellion to your vtter vndoing. What state leaue ye vs in now, besieged with enimies, diuided at home, made poore with spoile and losse of our harnesse, vnorders and cast downe with slaughter and hatred, hindered from amendments by our owne diuelish hast, indangered with sickenesse by reason of misorder, laid open to mens pleasures for breaking of the lawes, and féebled to such faintnesse that scarselie it will be couered.

The rebels neglect the right meanes of redressing things amisse, and follow their owne fansies.

The state of a countrie or land in time of sedition and tumult.

Wherefore for Gods sake haue pittie on your selues, consider how miserablie ye haue spoiled, destroied, and wasted vs all: and if for desperatnesse ye care not for your selues, yet remember your wiues, your children, your countrie, and forsake this rebellion. With humble submission acknowledge your faults, and tarie not the extremitie of the kings sword, leaue off with repentance, and turne to your duties, aske God forgiuenesse, submit ye to your king, be contented for a common-wealth one or two to die. And ye capteins for the residue sacrifice your selues, ye shall so best atteine the kings gratious pardon, saue the assemblie, and helpe the common-wealth, & to declare your doings to proceed of no stubbornesse; but all this mischiefe to grow out of ignorance, which séeing the miserie, would redresse the fault, & to recouer best the blot of your disorder, and staie the great miseries which be like to follow. Thus if ye do not, thinke trulie with your selues, that God is angrie with you for your rebellion, the kings sword drawne to defend his countrie, the crie of the poore to God against ye, the readinesse of the honest in armor to vanquish ye, your death to be at hand, which ye cannot escape, hauing God against ye, as he promiseth in his word, the kings power to ouerthrow ye, gathered in the field, the common-welth to beate ye downe with stripes and with curses, the shame of your mischiefe to blemish ye for euer.

Reasons to withdraw the rebels from their enterprises of rebellion, and to allure them to loialtie.

A conclusion peremptorie against irrecuocable rebels.

¶ Thus far this necessarie treatise touching rebellion, penned by sir John Chéke, a gentleman euerie waie in complet sort satisfieng the report blazed abroad of him. For if there were no more testimonies extant in the world, but this onelie treatise discoursing Kets rebellion; it were enough to warrant no lesse true, than in common spéech and writing is left witnessed of him. And suerlie it appeareth, that as in this gentleman there was an extraordinarie heape of laudable gifts; so was there also in him the right vse of them all. Wherby he grew in such fauor with king Henrie the eight, that partlie for his absolute knowledge in tongs, specially the Gréeke and Latine, and also for his integritie of life and religion; he was chosen schoolemaister to yong prince Edward, to traine him vp in the right vnderstanding, both of forren languages, & the purenes of Gods seruice. Insomuch that by his industrie such effects followed (God aboue prospering his actions) that the yong prince, when he came to the kingdome was mindfull of him, and among other (I will not saie gratuities, where cause of desert maketh challenge of some recompense) tokens of beneuolence, aduanced him to the dignitie of knighthood; as hereafter in due place maie appeare. Of this worthie man, whose praise though neuer so excessiue (if meet for a man) is equiualent vnto his merits, Iohn Leland, vpon presenting vnto him a booke, taketh occasion to write this epigram, comprising in summe no lesse than is here vnder in English remembred:

Abr. Fl. *ex quorundam collectaneis.*

Si vis Thespiadum choro probari,
Fac vt consilio libelle nostro
Facundo studeas placere Checo,
Quem Pandioniæ colunt Athenæ,
Et quem Roma colit diserta multùm,
Quem rex maximus omnium supremúsque
Henricus reputans virum probatum,
Spectatúmque satis, reconditæque
Censorem solidum eruditionis,
Eduardum bene filium suúmque
Hæredem puerum, illi ad alta natum,
Sic concredidit, vtriusque linguæ
Flores vt legeret venustiores,
Exercens facili manum labore,
Et Christi imbiberet suaue nectar.
Fœlicem arbitror hunc diem fuisse,
Tanto discipulo dedit magistrum
Qui talem, &c.]

Ad libellum, vt Ioanni Checo Grantano placere studeat.

During the time of these commotions and stirs here within the realme, to the great danger of the state; the French king hauing knowledge thereof, ment not to omit the opportunitie offered, to recouer out of the Englishmens hands those fortresses which they held at Bullongne and in Bullongnois. Wherevpon he gaue summons to the gentlemen and men of armes, and others of his realme, to put themselues in order with all their furniture, that they might be readie to attend him in his armie in Bullongnois by a daie appointed. And about the same time, that is to saie, in the beginning of August; the French king purposing to surprise the Iles of Gerneseie and Jerseie, appointed certeine gallies and ships of warre to passe thither; but being receiued by the king of Englands nauie that laie there, and other of the Iland, they were beaten backe and repelled, with the losse of a thousand men (as some write) and so were constreined to retire without atchiuing their enterprise.

The French king purposeth to surprise Gerneseie and Jerseie, but is repelled.

John Fox.

Credible word was brought out of France to the lord protector, that into one towne in one vessell were brought at the least three score gentlemen to be buried, & also an inhibition giuen out by the French king, not to speake of the euill successe of that iournie. In the meane time, the French king being come downe vnto Abuile, departed from thence the thirtenth of August, and comming vnto Rue, lodged there that night, and the next daie came to Monstreull, where he found the conestable and monsieur Daumalle. The next daie being the eightenth of August, he came to his armie lodged foure leagues on this side Monstreull at a village called Neufcastell, neere to the forrest of Ardelo, vpon the waie that leadeth to Bullongne. The same daie were certeine pioners sent to Pont de Bricque to repare the bridge there, and to make the waies easie for the artillerie to passe. The next daie the said king with his armie passed by Bullongne berg, and camped that night on a little hill betwixt that forrest and the forrest of Suren,

The French king is ashamed that anie report should passe of his euill successe.

The French king perseuereth in his former purpose, and martiall action.

In this place he caused trenches to be cast about a plot of ground, after the maner of a fortresse, within the which he left certeine bands of men of warre to be a safegard vnto such as should passe to and fro with vittels to furnish his campe. He staied not there past a daie & a halfe, but remoued to Ardenton, a mile

a mile or little more beyond Marguisen; from thence he came with his armie, and lodged on a hill, somewhat more than a mile & a halfe from Yambleteuue. The French king hauing viewed the forts, caused fiue and twentie péeces of artillerie to be planted against that fort, which was built in a place called the Almaine campe, but the Frenchmen named it *Le fort de Selaque*, distant from Yambleteuue about a quarter of a mile. The artillerie had not gone off little more than the space of two houres, but that Charls Sturton capteine of that péece, and George Willoughbie a gentleman associat with him, came forth to parlee with the Conestable, offering to péeld the fort into his hands, vpon condition they might depart with bag and baggage. But as they were thus in hand to make their composition, the Frenchmen thrust forward to the rampiers, and entered in plumps into the fortresse, fiue fourescore persons, & tooke the rest prisoners. There might be in all within that péece two hundred and thirtie persons, men and women. This happened the foure and twentith of August, being Bartholomew daie.

Charles Sturton, and George Willoughbie.

Les chroniques de Aquitaine.

The fort called Almaine campe woone.

This done, the king caused part of the artillerie to be planted against the castell of Yambleteuue, situated at the one end of the towne néere to the sea side. Towards night monsieur de Vandosme gaue an approch to the said castell, and they within by commandement of the lord Greie retired to the maine fort to helpe to furnish the same, wanting numbers sufficient to defend it. The next daie being the fiue and twentith of August, the king caused approches to be made vnto the great fort, and the morrow after the batterie began most furiouslie. The same daie after dinner, the king summoned them within to péeld; but the lord John Greie being generall (although he saw how weake the péece was of it selfe, & the lacke of sufficient numbers of men to resist such a puissant force, as the French king had there with him) would not yet hearken vnto anie talke, nor suffer the herald to come néere; for that he should not perceiue the weakenesse of the péece: and so he was commanded to get him thence with spéed, or else they would cause him to be packing smallie to his ease. The French king sore offended herewith, that his herald was so vncourteouslie vsed, caused the batterie to be reinforced with great diligence, which dismounting their ordinance within, and beating downe their rampiers, made such breaches, that my lord John and the capteins within perceiued they were not able by anie meanes to defend the place anie longer. Herevpon they offered to render the fort to the king vpon composition: which in the end fell out to be thus, that the souldiers should depart with their liues saued, and that their generall (for honor sake) should haue one horsse to ride on in his corslet, without sword or dagger, and likewise two other capteins with him: but as for the other souldiers, with the women and children, should depart on foot in their shirts, leauing all their goods and substance behind them. After it was agreed that the fort should be thus surrendered, there entered monsieur de Chatillon that was after admerall of France, and monsieur de Desse, latelie returned out of Scotland. The French souldiers entring by stealth into the fort by the breaches, committed foule disorders, not onelie in ransacking the houses, but also in spoiling the souldiers by force, intreating them in most rigorous maner.

The lord Greie.

The castell of Yambleteuue lost.

Yambleteuue summoned.

Yambleteuue rendered to the French king.

The French writers confesse, that it was pitie to sée the poore men and women so miserablie handled and abused as they were by the outragious soldiors that thus entred the fort, and sacked all that they could laie hands vpon. Monsieur de Desse saued a great number of women and yong maidens from the cruell hands of their aduersaries, causing them to passe forth by the breach, and presented them to the king, who appointed that they should be conueied in safetie, with all that they had about them, till they had gotten out of danger. Monsieur de Chatillon, by the kings commandement, caused all the rest within the fort to come forth, who passing three and three in a range came before the king, who stood there to behold them, with the whole armie placed so in order on either side the waie as they should come, that they might passe betwixt their ranks, as it were through a lane. They that came forth in this sort might be (as the French writers record) about seuen or eight hundred in all of men and women, whereof there were manie hurt and maimed; some with halfe a shirt on to couer them, and diuerse starke naked. The lord John Greie being mounted on a curtaile, passing by the French king, and saluting him, was courteouslie of him embraced.

The women that came forth of Yambleteuue.

The morrow after was the fort of Blackneese or Blaconneese rendered to the French king, with like conditions as they of Yambleteuue had rendered theirs. This was on the tuesdaie the seuen and twentith of August. The nine and twentith of August sir Nicholas Arnault conueieng all the artillerie, munition, vittels, and goods out of Bullongne berg, caused fire to be set on that fort, and retired with all his soldiors and other people vnto Bullongne. Wherevpon shortlie after the Frenchmen seized vpon the said place of Bullongne berg, & kept it. The French king leauing monsieur de Chatillon within Yambleteuue with the old bands of the French footmen, returned towards Bullongne, & approching within a mile and a halfe of the Old man, meant to build there a fort on the sea side: but what through such sharpe skirmishes as the Englishmen continuallie were redie to make with his men, and what through the abundance of raine which fell in that season, he was constreined to breake vp his campe, and leauing strong garrisons both of horssemen and footmen in all those places, which he had in that season woone out of the Englishmens hands, he returned himselfe with the princes of his bloud into France.

Causes that compelled the French king to breake vp his campe.

In this meane time whilest the French king was thus occupied, to vse the opportunitie of time in recouering of those fortresses in Bullongnois out of the Englishmens hands, the kings maiestie and his councell were busie still in quieting his rebellious subiects here in England: and finallie for meane of a full pacification, and to set all things in good frame and quiet rest, the king published his graces most generall and frée pardon to all rebelles, so that they would forthwith (vpon publication of the same pardon) returne euerie man to his house and countrie; which they gladlie did: and so these seditious and most dangerous troubles were brought to end and pacified.

The kings generall pardon.

¶ Also in this busie time Marie Steward quéene of Scots was conueied by sea out of Scotland into France, and there on the nineteenth daie of Aprill 1549, was married in our ladie church in Paris (with great triumph and solemnitie) to Francis the Dolphin, eldest sonne vnto king Henrie the second of that name French king. This conueieng of the yong quéene is reported by one to haue béene prettilie wrought, at such time as the councell of England were in some expectation and hope to obteine hir. Neuertheless the subtill aduise of the French, and the trecherous forwardnesse of the Scots, vtterlie disappointed the honest and honorable purpose of the English. Now when the yong quéene and hir traine, with the gard of hir person (be they whome you will) were vnder saile, the English nauie was abroade, and lieng in wait to haue intercepted hir course,

Abr. Fl. *ex quorundam collectaneis.*

The French writers report of their owne countriemens crueltie and sauagenesse.

course, meant not onlie to skirmish, but also to recouer the yong quæne from the French in spite of their hearts, had not the king of England and the most of his councell flatlie forbidden them to attempt anie warlike incounter, for certeine iust and weightie causes to them knowne. But the Scots smarted for this their vaine lightnesse, as in former times for like practises of their vile lewdnesse, as C.O. saith:

Sic leuiora leui pluma promissa Scotorum
Infamem reddunt gentem, dant sanguine pœnas
Perfidiæ quandóq; suæ velut antè dederunt.

1. Stow 1043. In this troublesome yéere also Edmund Bonner bishop of London preached a sermon at Paules crosse, for the which he was accused vnto the councell by William Latimer parson of saint Laurence Pountneie, and John Hooper sometime a white monke, and so conuented before the archbishop of Canturburie, and other commissioners at Lambeth, on the twentith daie of that same moneth, and sent to the Marshalsea. On the first of October he was depriued of his bishoprike, for disobeieng the kings order in religion.]

The councell withdraw themselues into priuat conferences about the lord protectors displacing.

Now after that these hurlie burlies were throughlie quieted, manie of the lords of the realme, as well councellors as other, misliking the gouernment of the protector, began to withdraw themselues from the court, and resorting to London, fell to secret consultation for redresse of things, but namelie for the displacing of the lord protector. And suddenlie vpon what occasion manie maruelled, but few knew. Euerie lord and councellor went through the citie weaponed, and had their seruants likewise weaponed, attending vpon them in new liueries, to the great wondering of manie. And at the last a great assemblie of the said councellors was made at the earle of Warwikes lodging, which was then at Elie place in Holborne, whither all the confederats in this matter came priuilie armed; and finallie concluded to possesse the towre of London, which by the policie of sir William Paulet lord treasuror of England was peaceablie obteined, & who by order of the said confederats immediatlie remoued sir John Markam then lieutenant of the towre, and placed in that rome sir Leonard Chamberleine. And after that the said councell was broken vp at Elie place, the earle of Warwike remoued forthwith into the citie of London, and late in the house of one John Yorke a citizen of London, who was then chéefe maister of the mint, kept at Suffolke place in Southwarke. The lord protector hearing of the maner of the assemblie of this councell, and of the taking of the towre, which séemed to him verie strange and doubtfull, did presentlie the said night remoue frō Hampton court, taking the king with him, vnto the castell of Windsore, and there began to fortifie the same, and withall wrote a letter to that noble gentleman the lord Russell lord priuie seale remaining as yet in the west countrie, aduertising him of these troubles as followeth.

The protector remoueth in hast with the king to windsore.

A letter of the lord protectors to the *lord Russell lord priuie seale, concerning* troubles working against him.

John Fox in the Acts and Monuments. A letter of the lord protectors to the lord priuie seale.

After our right hartie commendations to your good lordship. Here hath of late risen such a conspiracie against the kings maiestie & vs, as neuer hath béene séene, the which they can not maintaine, with such vaine letters and false tales surmised, as was neuer ment nor intended on vs. They pretend and saie, that we haue sold Bullongne to the French, and that we do withhold wages from the soldiers, & other such tales and letters they do spread abroad (of the which if anie one thing were true, we would not wish to liue) the matter now being brought to a marueilous extremitie, such as we would neuer haue thought it could haue come vnto, especiallie of those men towards the kings maiestie and vs, of whome we haue deserued no such thing, but rather much fauour and loue. But the case being as it is, this is to require & praie you, to hasten you hither to the defense of the kings maiestie, in such force and power as you maie, to shew the part of a true gentleman, and of a verie friend: the which thing we trust God shall reward, and the kings maiestie in time to come, and we shall neuer be vnmindfull of it to. We are sure you shall haue other letters from them, but as ye tender your dutie to the kings maiestie, we require you to make no staie, but immediatlie repaire with such force as ye haue to his highnesse in his castell of Windsor, and cause the rest of such force as ye maie make to follow you. And so we bid you right hartilie farewell. From Hampton court the first of October.

Your lordships assured louing friend
Edward Somerset.

An answer to the lord protectors *letter.*

The effect of the lord Russels letter answering the lord protector.

To this letter of the lord protectors sent the first of October, the lord Russell returning answer againe vpon the eight of the said moneth, first lamented the heauie dissention fallen betweene the nobilitie and him, which he tooke for such a plague, as a greater could not be sent of almightie God vpon this realme being the next waie (said he) to make vs of conquerors, slaues; and like to induce vpon the whole realme an vniuersall thraldome and calamitie, vnlesse the mercifull goodnesse of the Lord do helpe, and some wise order be taken in staieng these great extremities. And as touching the dukes request in his letters, forsomuch as he had heard before of the broile of the lords, and feared least some conspiracie had béene meant against the kings person, he hasted forward with such companie as he could make, for the suertie of the king as to him apperteined. Now perceiuing by the lords letters sent vnto him the same first daie of October, these tumults to rise vpon priuat causes betweene him and them, he therefore thought it expedient, that a conuenient power should be leuied, to be in a readinesse to withstand the worst (what perils soeuer might insue) for the preseruation both of the king and state of the realme from inuasion of forren enimies, and also for the staieng of bloudshed, if anie such thing should be intended betwixt the parties in the heat of this faction. And this he thinking best for the discharge of his allegiance, humblie besought his grace to haue the same also in speciall regard and consideration; first, that the kings maiestie be put in no feare; and that if there be anie such thing, wherein he hath giuen iust cause to them thus to proceed, he would so conforme himselfe, as no such priuat quarrels do redound to the publike disturbance of the realme: certifieng moreouer the duke, that if it were true which he vnderstood by the letters of the lords, that he should send about proclamations and letters for raising vp of the commons, he liked not the same. Notwithstanding he trusted well that his wisedome would take such a waie, as no effusion of bloud should follow.

The contents of the second answer of the lord Russell to the lord protector.

And thus much being conteined in his former letters the eight of October, in his next letters againe written the eleuenth of October, the said lord Russell reioising to heare of the most reasonable offers of the lord protector made to the lords, wrote vnto him

and

and promised to doo, what in the vttermost power of him (and likewise of sir William Herbert ioined togither with him) did lie, to worke some honorable reconciliation betweene him & them: so as his said offers being accepted and satisfied, some good conclusion might insue, according to their good hope and expectation: signifieng moreouer, that as touching the leuieng of men, they had resolued to haue the same in readinesse for the benefit of the realme, to occurre all inconueniences whatsoeuer, that either by forren inuasion or otherwise might happen: & so hauing their power at hand to draw neere, wherby they might haue the better opportunitie to be solicitors and meanes for this reformation on both parts, &c. And thus much for the answer of the lord Russell to the lord protectors letters.

The good lord Russell a solicitor for peace betweene the lord protector and the lords.

But now to proceed and go forward with the matter of the lords, who togither with the earle of Warwike (vpon what occasion God knoweth) were assembled at London (as ye haue heard) against the lord protector. When the king with his councell at Hampton court heard therof, first secretarie Peter with the kings message was sent vnto them, whome the lords notwithstanding deteined still with them, making as yet no answer to the message. Wherevpon the lord protector wrote as followeth.

The lords of the councell assembled against the lord protector.

A letter of the lord protectors to the *councell at London.*

The protectors letter to the lords.

My lords we commend vs heartilie vnto you. And wheras the kings maiestie was informed that you were assembled in such sort as you doo, and now remaine, and was aduised by vs and such other of his councell as were then here about his person, to send master secretarie Peter vnto you with such a message, as whereby might haue insued the suertie of his maiesties person, with the preseruation of his realme and subiects, and the quiet both of vs and your selues, as master secretarie can well declare to you: his maiestie and we of his councell here doo not a little marueil, that you staie still with you the said master secretarie, & haue not as it were vouchsafed to send answer to his maiestie, neither by him nor yet by anie other. And for our selues we doo much more marueil and are sorie, as both we and you haue good cause to be, to see the maner of your doings bent with force of violence, to bring the kings maiestie & vs to these extremities.

No word hitherto sent from the lords to the lord protector what they required of him to doo.

Which as we intend, if you will take no other waie but violence, to defend (as nature and allegiance doth bind vs) to extremitie of death, and to put all to Gods hand, who giueth victorie as it pleaseth him: so if that anie reasonable conditions & offers would take place (as hitherto none hath beene signified vnto vs from you, nor we doo not vnderstand, what you doo require or seeke, or what you doo meane) and that you doo seeke no hurt to the kings maiesties person, as touching all other priuat matters, to auoid the effusion of christian blood, and to preserue the kings maiesties person, his realme and subiects, you shall find vs agreeable vnto anie reasonable conditions that you will require. For we doo esteeme the kings wealth and tranquillitie of the realme more than all other worldlie things, yea than our owne life. Thus praieng you to send vs your determinate answer herein by master secretarie Peter, or if you will not let him go, by this bearer, we beseech God to giue both you and vs grace to determinate this matter, as maie be to Gods honor, the preseruation of the king, and the quiet of vs all: which maie be, if the fault be not in you. And so we bid you most hartilie farewell. From the kings maiesties castell of Windsor the seuenth of October, 1549.

Your lordships louing friend
Edward Summerset.

After the receipt of these letters, the lords séeming not greatlie to regard the offers conteined therein, persisted in their intended purpose; and continuing still in London conferred with the maior of London and his brethren, first willing them to cause a good and substantiall watch by night, and a good ward by daie to be kept for the safegard of the citie, and the ports and gates thereof: which was consented vnto, and the companies of London in their turnes warned to watch and ward accordinglie. Then the said lords and councellors demanded of the lord maior and his brethren fiue hundred men to aid them, to fetch the lord protector out of Windsor from the king. But thereto the maior answered, that he could grant no aid without the assent of the common councell of the citie: wherevpon the next daie a common councell was summoned to the Guildhall in London. But in this meane time the said lords of the councell assembled themselues at the lord maiors house in London, who was then sir Henrie Amcotes fishmonger, and John Yorke and Richard Turke shiriffes of the said citie. And there the said councell agreed and published forthwith a proclamation against the lord protector, the effect of which proclamation was as followeth.

The lords continue in their intended purpose against the lord protector.

A proclamation published against the lord protector.

1 That the lord protector, by his malicious and euill gouernement, was the occasion of all the sedition that of late hath happened within the realme.

2 The losse of the kings peeces in France.

3 That he was ambitious and sought his owne glorie, as appeared by his building of most sumptuous and costlie buildings, and speciallie in the time of the kings warres, and the kings soldiers vnpaied.

4 That he esteemed nothing the graue councell of the councellors.

5 That he sowed sedition betweene the nobles, the gentlemen, and commons.

6 That the nobles assembled themselues togither at London, for none other purpose, but to haue caused the protector to haue liued within his limits, and to haue put such order for the kings maiestie as apperteined, whatsoeuer the protectors doings were, which (as they said) were vnnaturall, ingrate, and traitorous.

7 That the protector slandered the councell to the king, and did what in him laie to cause variance betweene the king and his nobles.

8 That he was a great traitor, and therefore the lords desired the citie and commons to aid them to take him from the king. And in witnesse and testimonie of the contents of the said proclamation the lords subscribed their names and titles as followeth.

Witnesses to the contents of the said proclamation.

The lord Rich lord chancellor, the lord S. John lord great maister and president of the councell, the lord marquesse of Northampton, the earle of Warwike lord great chamberleine, the earle of Arundell lord chamberleine, the earle of Shrewesburie, the earle of Southampton Wriothesleie, sir Thomas Cheinie knight treasuror of the kings house and lord warden of the cinque ports, sir John Gage knight constable of the tower, sir William Peter knight secretarie, sir Edward North knight, sir Edward Montague cheefe iustice of the common plees, sir Rafe Sadler, sir John Baker, sir Edward Wotton, doctor Wotton deane of Canturburie, sir Richard Southwell.

After the foresaid proclamation was proclamed, the lords or the most of them continuing and lieng in London, came the next daie to the Guildhall, du-

ring

ring the time that the lord maior and his brethren sat in their court or inner chamber, and entered and communed a long while with them, and at the last the maior and his brethren came forth vnto the common councell, where was read the kings letter sent vnto the maior and citizens, commanding them to aid him with a thousand men, as hath maister Fox, and to send the same to his castell at Windsore: and to the same letter was adioined the kings hand, and the lord protectors. On the other side, by the mouth of the recorder it was requested, that the citizens would grant their aid rather vnto the lords: for that the protector had abused both the kings maiestie, and the whole realme, and without that he were taken from the king, & made to vnderstand his follie, this realme was in a great hazard: and therefore required that the citizens would willinglie assent to aid the lords with fiue hundred men: hereunto was none other answer made but silence. But the recorder (who at that time was a worthie gentleman called maister Browne) still cried vpon them for answer.

The kings letter read to the citizens.

The recorder an enimie to the lord protector.

At the last stepped vp a wise and good citizen, named (as maister Fox saith) George Stadlow, and said thus: In this case it is good for vs to thinke of things past to auoid the danger of things to come. I remember (saith he) in a storie written in Fabians chronicle, of the warre betweene the king and his barons, which was in the time of king Henrie the third, and the same time the barons (as our lords do now) commanded aid of the maior and citie of London, and that in a rightfull cause for the commonweale, which was for the execution of diuerse good lawes, where vnto the king before had giuen his consent, and after would not suffer them to take place, and the citie did aid the lords. Now it came to an open battell, wherein the lords preuailed, and toke the king and his sonne prisoners, and vpon certeine conditions the lords restored againe the king and his sonne to their liberties. And among all other conditions, this was one, that the king should not onelie grant his pardon to the lords, but also to the citizens of London, which was granted, yea and the same ratified by act of parlement. But what followed?

George Stadlow citizen of London maketh answer to the recorder of London verie wiselie and worthilie.

What it is to fall into the wrath and displeasure of the prince.

Was it forgotten? No suerlie, nor yet forgiuen during the kings life. The liberties of the citie were taken awaie, strangers appointed to be our heads and gouernours, the citizens giuen awaie bodie and goods, and from one persecution to another were most miserablie afflicted: such it is to enter into the wrath of a prince, as Salomon saith; The wrath and indignation of a prince is death. Wherefore forsomuch as this aid is required of the kings maiestie, whose voice we ought to hearken vnto (for he is our high shepheard) rather than vnto the lords: and yet I would not wish the lords to be clearlie shaken off, but that they with vs, and we with them may ioine in sute, and make our most humble petition to the kings maiestie, that it would please his highnesse, to heare such complaint against the gouernement of the lord protector as may be iustlie alledged and prooued. And I doubt not but this matter will be so pacified, that neither shall the king nor yet the lords haue cause to seeke for further aid, neither we to offend anie of them both. After this tale the commons staied, and the lord maior & his brethren for that time brake vp, and afterward communed with the lords.

The advise of George Stadlow.

Sir Philip Hobbie sent to the king by the lords.

The lords sat the next daie in councell in the Star chamber, and from thence they sent sir Philip Hobbie with their letters of credence to the kings maiestie, beseeching his highnesse to giue credit to that which the said Philip should declare vnto his maiestie in their names: & the king gaue him libertie to speake, and most gentlie heard all that he had to saie. And trulie he did so wiselie declare his message, and so grauelie told his tale in the name of the lords, yea therewithall so vehementlie and greeuoullie against the protector, who was also there present by the king, that in the end, the lord protector was commanded from the kings presence, and shortlie was committed to ward in a tower within the castell of Windsore called Beauchamps tower. And some after were staied sir Thomas Smith, sir Michaell Stanhope, and sir John Thin knights, maister Whalleie, maister Fisher, Wolfe of the priuie chamber, Graie of Reading, and diuers other gentlemen that attended vpon the lord protector. And the same daie the lords of the councell came to Windsore to the king, and the next daie they brought from thence the lord protector, and the other that were there staied, and conueied them through the citie of London, with as much wonderment as might be, vnto the tower, where they remained prisoners.

The lord protector committed to prison.

¶ Touching the manner of the dukes comming to the tower from Windsore, I find that it was on the fourteenth of October in the after noone, at which time he was brought on horsebacke through Holburne, in at Newgate, and so to the tower of London, accompanied with diuerse lords and gentlemen with three hundred horse: the lord maior, sir Rafe Warren, sir John Gresham, maister recorder, sir William Locke, and both the shiriffes, and other knights, sitting on their horses against Soper lane, with all the officers with halberds, and from Holburne bridge to the tower, certeine aldermen or their deputies on horsebacke in euerie street, with a number of householders standing with billes as he passed.] Shortlie after the lords resorted to the tower, and there charged the protector with sundrie articles, as followeth.

Abr. Fl. ex I. Stow, 1044.

The lord protectour committed to the tower.

Articles obiected against the *lord protector*.

IN primis, you toke vpon you the office of a protector and gouernour, vpon condition, expresselie and speciallie, that you would do nothing in the kings affaires publikelie or priuatlie, but by the assent of the late kings executors.

2 Also you, contrarie to the said condition, of your owne authoritie, did staie and let iustice, and subuerted the lawes, as well by your letters as by your commandements.

3 Also you caused diuerse persons, being arrested and imprisoned for treason, murther, manslaughter and felonie, to be discharged and set at large, against the kings lawes and statutes of this realme.

4 Also you haue made and ordeined lieutenants for the kings armies, and other weightie affaires vnder your owne writing and seale.

5 Also you haue communed with the ambassadors of other realmes, discoursing alone with them in the weightie causes of this realme.

6 Also you haue sometime rebuked, checked and tawnted, as well priuatlie as openlie, diuerse of the kings most honorable councellors, for shewing and declaring their aduises and opinions against your purposes in the kings weightie affaires, saieng sometimes to them, that you need not to open matters vnto them, and would therefore be otherwise aduised: and that you would, if they were not agreeable to your opinion, put them out, and take other at your pleasure.

7 Also you had and held against the law in your owne house, a court of requests, and thereby did inforce diuerse the kings subiects to answer for their free holds and goods, and determined the same to the subuer-

subuersion of the same lawes.

8 Also you being no officer, without the aduise of the councell, or the more part of them, did dispose of the offices of the kings gift for monie, and granted leases and wards of the kings, and gaue presentations to the kings benefices and bishoprikes, hauing no authoritie so to do. And further, you did meddle with the selling of the kings lands.

9 Also you commanded multiplication and alcumistrie to be practised to abuse the kings coine.

10 Also you caused a proclamation to be made concerning inclosures, whereby the common people haue made diuerse insurrections, and leuied open war, and distreined and spoiled diuerse of the kings subiects, which proclamation went forth against the will of the whole councell.

11 Also you haue caused a commission with certeine articles thereunto annexed, to be made out concerning inclosures of commons, high waies, decaieng of cottages, and diuerse other things, giuing the commissioners authoritie to heare and determine the same causes, to the subuersion of the lawes and statutes of this realme: whereby much sedition, insurrection, and rebellion haue risen and growne among the kings subiects.

12 Also you haue suffered the rebels and traitors to assemble and to lie in campe and armor against the king, his nobles, and gentlemen, without anie spéedie subduing or repressing of them.

13 Also you did comfort and incourage diuerse of the said rebels, by giuing of them diuerse sums of your owne monie, and by promising to diuerse of them; fées, rewards, and seruices.

14 Also you in fauor of the said rebels did against the lawes cause a proclamation to be made, that none of the said rebels and traitors should be sued or vexed by anie person, for anie their offenses in the said rebellion, to the cleare subuersion of the same lawes.

15 Also you haue said in time of the rebellion, that you liked well the doings and proceedings of the said rebels and traitors, and said that the couetousnesse of the gentlemen gaue occasion to the common people to rise: saieng also, that better it is for the commons to die, than perish for lacke of liuing.

16 Also you said that the lords of the parlement were loth to incline themselues to reformation of inclosures and other things: therefore the people had good cause to reforme the things themselues.

17 Also you after the report and declaration of the defaults and lacks reported to you by such as did surueie Bullongne and the péces there, would neuer amend the same defaults.

18 Also you would not suffer the péces beyond the seas, called Newhauen and Blackneste, to be furnished with men and vittels; although you were aduertised of the defaults therein by the capteins of the same péces and others, and were thereto aduertised by the kings councell: wherby the French king being the kings open enimie, was incouraged and comforted to win the said péces, to the kings great losse, and dishonour of his realme.

19 Also you declared and published vntrulie, as well to the kings maiestie, as other the yong lords attendant vpon his graces person, that the lords of the councell at London minded to destroie the king, and you required the king neuer to forget it, but to reuenge it: and likewise you required the yong lords to put the king in remembrance thereof, to the intent to make sedition & discord betwéene the king and his lords.

20 Also where the kings maiesties priuie councell, of their loue and zeale that they did beare vnto the king and his realme, did consult at London to haue communed with you, to the intent to moue you charitablie to amend your doings and misgouernement: you hearing of the said assemblie, did cause to be declared by letters in diuerse places the said lords to be high traitors to the king, to the great disturbance of the realme.

And thus much for these troubles of the lord protector, and articles against him obiected; to the end (as was doubted) that the same should haue cost him his life. But such was the pleasure of almightie God, disposing mens hearts as séemeth to him best, that at length, to wit, the first of Februarie next, he was deliuered; and that night he supped at sir John Yorks one of the shiriffes of London, also the proclamation before set forth against him was reuoked & called in. And thus being againe restored, though not to his former office, yet vnto libertie, he continued therein for the space of two yeares and two daies, till new troubles (as after shall appeare) chanced to him, which as they were too heauie for him either to cast off, or carrie awaie; so were his loders more readie to aggrauate his burthen, than willing to ease him anie waie of the weight. So that this his exaltation & raising to dignitie, in respect of the short continuance thereof, as also for the enuie wherewith it was assailed, had béene better not to haue happened, than with such infelicitie in so short a time to haue ended. But this fall from honor & aduancement with losse of life (than the which nothing more pretious, nothing more delicious) greeued him the lesse: bicause he might perceiue (as some suspected) that rather of enuie than otherwise (reseruing the course of Gods iudgement and vengeance to the secrecie of his owne counsels) the same was deuised, prosecuted, & finallie practised:

Nam quo quisque magis pius est, studiosior æqui,
Charior & regi, & quo quisque potentior extat,
Sentiet à prauis se tanto odiosius iri
Dente Theonino rosum, quod fortè latenter
Fiet & occultè, linguæ ne sentiat ictum
Lethalem, donec stamen trux Atropos occet,
Et vi Parcarum cœnum voluatur in imum.]

¶ The seuentéenth of October, king Edward came from Hampton court to his place in Southwarke, and there dined, and after dinner he made maister Yorke one of the shiriffes knight, and then rode thorough the citie to Westminster. The lord maior of London for this yeare named sir Rowland Hill, was a man of great charitie and compassion, euident and effectuall testimonies whereof he hath left in the world; some of whose good déeds partlie in his remembrance & partlie for others example are deseruedlie recorded. This man caused to be made a causeie, commonlie called Duerlane pauement in the high waie from Stone to Nantwich, in length foure miles, for horsse and man, with diuerse lanes on both sides the same causeie. He caused likewise a causeie to be made from Dunchurch to Branssen in Warwikeshire, more than two miles of length, and gaue twentie pounds in monie towards the making of Roitton bridge, three miles from Couentrie. He made the high waie to Kilborne néere to London. He made foure bridges, two of them of stone, conteining eightéene arches in them both, the one ouer the riuer of Seuerne, called Achambridge; the other Ternebridge, for that the water of Terne runneth vnder it; the other two of timber at Stoke, and built a good part of Stoke church. He builded one notable free schole at Draiton in Shropshire, with maister and vsher, and sufficient stipends for them both, besides conuenient lodgings for the same. He also purchased a fré faire to the said towne, with a fré market wéekelie, & also a fré market for cattell euerie foure-

Abr. Fl. ex l. 1044, 1045.

K. Edward rode thorough London.

Charitable déeds of sir Rowland Hill.

Free schole at Draiton in Shropshire.

His gift to Christs hospitall.

foureteene daies. He gaue to the hospitall of Christs church in London in his life time fiue hundred pounds in readie monie, and a hundred pounds at his decease.]

But now to returne to other doings. Whilest these hurls and tumults were in hand, to the danger of the whole state, the wars against the Scots were nothing followed, according to the former purposed meaning of the councell: so that it seemed necessarie to giue ouer the keeping of Hadington, the same being in deed more chargeable (as was thought) than profitable, sith the garrison there could not be victuled but with a great power to conduct the cariages in safetie, the enimies being still readie to take their aduantage to distresse them vpon anie opportunitie offered. It was therefore resolued, that the earle of Rutland should go thither to see the fortifications raised, and to conduct from thence the men & ordinance in safetie home into England. Hereupon the said earle with the Almans, and other souldiours then remaining on the borders, marched thither, and caused the bulworks, ramplers, and trenches to be raised and filled flat with the ground, and bringing from thence all the men, artillerie and munition, bag and baggage, returned vnto Barwike without incounter, in peaceable and quiet maner.

Hadington raséd.

Parlement.

Shortlie after this, the kings maiestie called his high court of parlement, which began at Westminster, the foure and twentith daie of November in this third yeare of his reigne, and there continued the same vntill the first daie of Februarie next following, which was in the beginning of the fourth yeare of his reigne. And among other things there enacted and concluded, one statute was made for the punishment of rebels, and vnlawfull assemblies: the which law was made by occasion of the late rebellion that happened in manner throughout the realme the yeare passed, & was not thought nor meant to haue touched anie noble man, speciallie such as the duke of Summerset was, which after (as it shall appeare) it did, and by that statute he was condemned within two yeares next after.

Anact for vnlawfull assemblies.

Abr. Fl. ex I. Stow. 1045.

¶ The nintéenth of Januarie, sir John Russell lord priuie seale, was created earle of Bedford: and lord saint John Lord great maister, was created earle of Wilshire: and sir William Paget, comptroller of the kings house, was made lord Paget. On the same daie at night, were murthered by saint Pulchres church against the kings head without Newgate of London two captains, that had serued the king of Bullongne and else-where, the one was sir Peter Gambo, the other Filicirga. Which murther was committed by Charles Gauaro a Flemming, who came post from Barwike to do that act. On the morrow, he with three of his companie was taken in Smithfield by the lord Paget, and sent to Newgate, and the foure and twentith of Januarie they were all foure, Charles Gauaro, Balthasar Gauaro, Nicholas Disalueron, and Francis Denalasco, had in a cart to Smithfield. And by the waie at the place where the murther was done, Charles Gauaro had his right hand striken off on the cart wheele, and then all hanged in Smithfield; who being exhorted to reconcile himselfe to God and the world by confessing his fault, by repenting himselfe of the offense, and asking forgiuenesse, that he might with a disburthened conscience resigne his soule into the hands of God, obstinatlie and desperatlie answered, that he would neuer repent him of the déed.]

States created.

Peter Gambo and another capteine murthered.

Gauaro and other hanged.

1550 Anno Reg. 4.

About the same time, monsieur de Thermes that succéeded monsieur de Desse in gouernement as generall of the French forces in Scotland, came before Broughtierag, where he did so much by batterie & other kinds of inforcement, that giuing an assault both with his Frenchmen and certeine Scots ioined with him, the twentith of Februarie, the fort was entered by fine force, and all within it either taken or slaine. Sir John Luttrell gouernour of that pœce remained prisoner amongst the Frenchmen. Moreouer, now after the end of the parlement, the earle of Warwike, hauing then highest authoritie, and the rest of the lords of the councell, calling to remembrance how the last yeare in the time of rebellion, the French king had entered Bullongnois, and wone diuerse of the English forts there, being of great importance for defense of the towne and countrie, the default whereof was imputed to the negligent gouernment of the lord protector: and for so much as they well vnderstood that the French king vpon further practise had placed a capteine called the Reingraue, with diuerse regiments of Almaine lancequenets, and certeine ensignes also of Frenchmen, to the number of foure or fiue thousand at the towne of Morguison, being the midwaie betwéene Bullongne and Calis, to the great perill and danger as well of the countie of Bollongnois, as also of Calis, Guisnes, and all the low countrie.

Sir John Luttrell prisoner.

Erle of warwike in highest authoritie.

Morguison the midwaie betwéene Bullen and Calis.

The king therefore for the defense of the said frontiers, caused all the strangers which had serued that yeare against the rebels, being to the number of two thousand, to be transported ouer the sea to the marches of Calis. And now at Christmas last past, by order of the said earle, and of the councellors aforesaid, Francis earle of Huntington, and sir Edward Hastings his brother, sir James Croft, sir Leonard Chamberleine, and diuerse other capteins and souldiers, to the number of three thousand, were set ouer to the marches of Calis, to ioine with the said strangers, minding with as conuenient spéed as they might, to remoue the campe, and otherwise to annoie the French. But in the meane time through the diligent trauell of certeine persons, speciallie of one Guidoti an Italian, and a Florentine borne, there was a motion made for a treatie to be had by certeine commissioners, appointed betwixt the kings of England and France, for the conclusion of some peace, vpon such reasonable conditions and articles as might be thought expedient for the present time; and to stand with the honor and commoditie of both the princes.

It is agréed among the lords to infest and annoie the French.

Commissioners sent to treat of peace.

This motion tooke such effect, that about the seuenth daie of Februarie, certeine commissioners, appointed for this treatie, that is to wit, John the earle of Bedford, the lord Paget, sir William Peter the kings chéefe secretarie, and sir John Mason, arriued at Calis: by reason of whose comming, the earle of Huntington, and the armie sent ouer before for the defense of the frontiers were countermanded from anie attempt, so that little or nothing was done in that voiage, sauing certeine skirmishes at diuerse times, not much materiall to be written of. These commissioners being thus arriued, passed from Calis to Bullongne, there to méet with the commissioners appointed for the French king, where as a certeine house was newlie erected for the said treatie to be had, which was vpon the side of Bullongne hauen next to France, where after diuerse méetings & conferences of the commissioners of either partie, a finall peace was at last concluded betwixt both the realmes. But chéeflie among other things, for the restitution of Bullongne and Bullongnois to the Frenchmen, which were vpon certeine conditions following.

A péace concluded with France vpon certeine conditions.

First, that the French king should pæld and paie to the king of England a certeine summe of monie, and the same to be paid at two paiments, as it was then agréed: and for the same summe the king of England should render the towne of Bullongne,

and all the forts thereto adioining, which he then inioied, with all such artillerie and munition as was there found at the taking of the same to the French king. And for the sure paiment of the said sums, the French king sent into England for hostages and pledges, the counte de Anguien, Lewes the duke of Vandosme his brother, the Vidame of Charters, and the duke de Aumale and others. And on S. Markes daie next following, being the fiue and twentith daie of Aprill, about eight of the clocke in the morning, the Englishmen did deliuer to the Frenchmen the possession of Bullongne, and the castels and forts in the countie of Bullognois, according to the agreements and articles of peace afore mentioned. And the fifteenth daie next following the French king entered into the said townes of Bullongne with trumpets blowne, & with all the roiall triumph that might be, where he offered one great image of siluer of our ladie in the church there, which was called our ladie church: the which image he had caused specially to be made in the honor of the said ladie, and caused the same to be set vp in the place where the like image before did stand, the which before was taken awaie by the Englishmen at the winning of the towne.

Bullongne giuen vp to the French.

He entereth.

¶ On Candlemasse daie, William lord S. John earle of Willshire, lord great maister, and president of the councell, was made lord treasuror. John Dudleie earle of Warwike, lord great chamberleine, was made lord great maister. William Parre marquesse of Northampton, was made lord great chamberleine. Lord Wentworth was made lord chamberleine of the household. Sir Anthonie Wingfield capteine of the gard, was made comptrollor of the kings house. And sir Thomas Darcie knight, was made vicechamberleine & capteine of the gard. And the earle of Arundell late lord chamberleine, with the earle of Southampton were put off the councell, and commanded to keepe their houses in London.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 1046. New officers created of the nobilitie.

¶ On the 10 of Februarie, one Bell a Suffolke man was hanged and quartered at Tiburne, for mouing a new rebellion in Suffolke and Essex. This time, the lord maior of London and the aldermen purchased all the liberties of Southwarke, which were in the kings hands.

The liberties of Southwarke purchased.

Some after the aforesaid agreement betweene England and France was concluded, vpon the fore remembred capitulations, because of suspicion of displeasure and hatred that was thought to remaine betweene the earle of Warwike and the duke of Somerset, latelie before deliuered out of the tower, a meane was found that their frendship should be renewed through aliance, and a mariage was concluded betweene the earle of Warwikes eldest sonne, and the duke of Somersets eldest daughter: the which marriage was solemnized at Shene, the king being then present. After the solemnitie of this marriage, there appeared outwardlie to the world great loue and frendship betweene the duke and the earle, but by reason of carietales and flatterers, the loue continued not long, howbeit manie did verie earnestlie wish loue and amitie to continue betweene them. ¶ About this time was a new rebellion in Kent, but it was sone suppressed, and certeine of the chiefe were apprehended and put to death, namelie Richard Lion, Goddard Goram, and Richard Ireland. This yeare was a parlement holden at Westminster, where among other things by the authoritie of the said parlement, priests children were made legitimate, and vsurie for the loane of monie forbidden.

The duke of Somerset deliuered out of the tower.

A marriage to compose strife and establish amitie.

Rich. Grafton. Rebellion in Kent executed.

Priests children legitimate. Vsurie forbidden.

¶ On wednesdaie in Whitsunweeke, at a court of aldermen kept at the Guildhall, sir John Aliffe knight, and maister of Blackwell hall, was sworne alderman of the Bridge ward without, to haue iurisdiction of the borough of Southwarke, and thus was he the first alderman that euer was there, who made vp the number of six and twentie aldermen of London, whereas before that time had beene but fiue and twentie. Trinitie tearme was adiourned till Michaelmasse, for that the gentlemen should keepe the commons from commotion. The eleuenth of June being S. Barnables daie, was kept holidaie all London ouer: and the same daie at night, the high altar in Paules church was pulled downe, and a table set where the altar stood, with a veile drawne beneath the steps; and on the sundaie next a communion was song at the same table; and shortlie after all the altars in London were taken downe, and tables placed in their romes. This yeare was no such watch at Midsummer as had beene accustomed.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 1047, 1048 Alderman of Southwarke.

Terme adiourned.

S. Barnable kept holie.

High altar in Paules pulled downe.

No watch at Midsummer.

The thirtith of Julie Thomas lord Wriothesleie erle of Southampton, knight of the garter, and one of the executors to king Henrie the eight, deceassed at Lincolne place in Holborne, and was buried in S. Andrewes church there. Sir Andrew Jude for this yeare maior of London, and skinner, erected one notable freeschole at Tunbridge in Kent, wherein he brought vp and nourished in learning great store of youth, as well bred in that shire, as brought from other countries adioining. A noble act and correspondent to those that haue beene done by like worshipfull men, and other in old time within the same citie of London. He also builded almesse houses for sir poore almesse people, nigh to the parish church of saint Helens within Bishopsgate of London, & gaue land to the companie of the skinners in the same citie, amounting to the value of threescore pounds three shillings eight pence the yeare: for the which they be bound to paie twentie pounds to the schoolemaister, and eight pounds to the vsher of his freeschole at Tunbridge yearelie for euer, and foure shillings the weeke to the sir poore almesse people at S. Helens aforesaid, eight pence the peece weekelie, and fiue and twentie shillings foure pence the yeare in coles amongst them for euer.]

Earle of Southampton deceassed.

Charitable deeds of Andrew Jude.

Freeschole at Tunbridge.

Almes houses.

1551
Anno Reg. 5.

About this time there was at Feuersham in Kent a gentleman named Arden, most cruellie murthered and slaine by the procurement of his owne wife. The which murther, for the horriblenesse thereof, although otherwise it may seeme to be but a priuate matter, and therefore as it were impertinent to this historie, I haue thought good to set it forth somewhat at large, hauing the instructions deliuered to me by them, that haue vsed some diligence to gather the true vnderstanding of the circumstances. This Arden was a man of a tall and comelie personage, and matched in marriage with a gentlewoman, yong, tall, and well fauoured of shape and countenance, who chancing to fall in familiaritie with one Mosbie a tailor by occupation, a blacke swart man, seruant to the lord North, it happened this Mosbie vpon some misliking to fall out with hir: but she being desirous to be in fauour with him againe, sent him a paire of siluer dice by one Adam Foule dwelling at the Floure de lice in Feuersham.

Arden murthered.

Arden described.

Loue and lust.

A paire of siluer dice worke much mischiefe.

After which he resorted to hir againe, and oftentimes laie in Ardens house: in somuch that within two yeares after, he obteined such fauour at hir hands, that he laie with hir, or (as they terme it) kept hir, in abusing hir bodie. And although (as it was said) Arden perceiued right well their mutuall familiaritie to be much greater than their honestie, yet because he would not offend hir, and so lose the benefit which he hoped to gaine at some of hir frends hands in bearing with hir lewdnesse, which he might haue lost if he should haue fallen out with hir: he was contented to winke at hir filthie disorder, and both permitted, and also inuited Mosbie verie often

Arden winketh at his wiues lewdnesse, & why.

to

to lodge in his house. And thus it continued a good space, before anie practise was begun by them against maister Arden. She at length inflamed in loue with Mosbie, and loathing hir husband, wished and after practised the meanes how to hasten his end.

Ardens wife attempteth means to make awaie hir husband.

There was a painter dwelling in Feuersham, who had skill of poisons, as was reported. She therefore demanded of him, whether it were true that he had such skill in that feat or not? And he denied not but that he had in deed. Yea (said she) but I would haue such a one made, as should haue most vehement and speedie operation to dispatch the eater thereof. That can I do (quoth he) and forthwith made hir such a one, and willed hir to put it into the bottome of a porrenger, & then after to powre milke on it. Which circumstance she forgetting, did cleane contrarie, putting in the milke first, and afterward the poison. Now maister Arden purposing that daie to ride to Canturburie, his wife brought him his breakefast, which was woont to be milke and butter. He hauing receiued a spoonefull or two of the milke, misliked the tast and colour thereof, and said to his wife; Mistresse Ales what milke haue you giuen me here? Wherewithall she tilted it ouer with hir hand, saieng, I weene nothing can please you. Then he tooke horsse and road towards Canturburie, and by the waie fell into extreme purging vpwards and downewards, and so escaped for that time.

Arden is poisoned by his wife but recouereth.

After this, his wife fell in acquaintance with one Greene of Feuersham, seruant to sir Anthonie Ager, from which Greene maister Arden had wrested a peece of ground on the backeside of the abbeie of Feuersham, and there had blowes and great threats passed betwixt them about that matter. Therefore she knowing that Greene hated hir husband, began to practise with him how to make him awaie; and concluded, that if he could get anie that would kill him, he should haue ten pounds for a reward. This Greene hauing doings for his master sir Anthonie Ager, had occasion to go vp to London, where his maister then laie, and hauing some charge vp with him, desired one Bradshaw a goldsmith of Feuersham that was his neighbor, to accompanie him to Grauesend, and he would content him for his paines. This Bradshaw, being a verie honest man, was content, and road with him. And when they came to Rainham downe, they chanced to see three or foure seruingmen that were comming from Leeds: and therewith Bradshaw espied comming vp the hill from Rochester, one blacke Will, a terrible cruell ruffian with a sword and a buckler, and an other with a great staffe on his necke.

She deuiseth another waie to dispatch hir husband Arden.

A notorious murthering ruffian.

Marke how the diuell will not let his organs or instruments let slip either occasion or opportunitie to commit most heinous wickednesse.

Then said Bradshaw to Greene; We are happie that here commeth some companie from Leeds, for here commeth vp against vs as murthering a knaue as anie is in England: if it were not for them we might chance hardlie to escape without losse of our monie and liues. Yea thought Greene (as he after confessed) such a one is for my purpose, and therefore asked; Which is he? Ponder is he quoth Bradshaw, the same that hath the sword and buckler: his name is blacke Will. How know you that, said Greene? Bradshaw answered, I knew him at Bullongne, where we both serued, he was a soldier, and I was sir Richard Cauendishes man, and there he committed manie robberies and heinous murthers on such as trauelled betwixt Bullongne and France.

By this time the other companie of seruingmen came to them, and they going all togither, met with blacke Will and his fellow. The seruingmen knew blacke Will, & saluting him, demanded of him whither he went? He answered; By his blood (for his vse was to sweare almost at euerie word) I know not, nor care not, but set vp my staffe, and euen as it fal-

A desperat villaine.

leth I go. If thou (quoth they) wilt go backe againe to Grauesend, we will giue thee thy supper. By his blood (said he) I care not, I am content, haue with you: and so he returned againe with them. Then blacke Will tooke acquaintance of Bradshaw, saieng; Fellow Bradshaw how dost thou? Bradshaw vnwilling to renew acquitance, or to haue ought to do with so shameles a ruffian, said; Why do ye know me? Yea that I do (quoth he) did not we serue in Bullongne togither? But ye must pardon me (quoth Bradshaw) for I haue forgotten you.

An honest man is ashamed to renew old acquaintance with a knaue.

Then Greene talked with blacke Will, and said; When ye haue supped, come to mine hosts house at such a signe, and I will giue you the sacke and sugar. By his blood (said he) I thanke you, I will come and take it I warrant you. According to his promise he came, and there they made good cheare. Then blacke Will & Greene went and talked apart from Bradshaw, and there concluded togither, that if he would kill maister Arden, he should haue ten pounds for his labor. Then he answered, By his wounds that I will if I maie know him. Marie to morrow in Poules I will shew him thee, said Greene. Then they left their talke, & Greene bad him go home to his hosts house. Then Greene wrote a letter to mistresse Arden, & among other things put in these words: We haue got a man for our purpose, we maie thanke my brother Bradshaw. Now Bradshaw not knowing anie thing of this, tooke the letter of him, and in the morning departed home againe, and deliuered the letter to mistresse Arden, and Greene & blacke Will went vp to London at the tide.

The match made to murther Arden.

Simplicitie abused.

At the time appointed, Greene shewed blacke Will maister Arden walking in Poules. Then said blacke Will, What is he that goeth after him? Marie said Green, one of his men. By his blood (said blacke Will) I will kill them both. Naie (said Greene) do not so, for he is of counsell with vs in this matter. By his blood (said he) I care not for that, I will kill them both. Naie said Greene in anie wise do not so. Then blacke Will thought to haue killed maister Arden in Poules churchyard, but there were so manie gentlemen that accompanied him to dinner, that he missed of his purpose. Greene shewed all this talke to maister Ardens man, whose name was Michaell, which euer after stood in doubt of blacke Will, lest he should kill him. The cause that this Michaell conspired with the rest against his maister, was: for that it was determined, that he should marrie a kinswoman of Mosbies.

Blacke Will maketh no conscience of bloudshed and murther.

Why Ardens man conspired with the rest to kill his maister.

After this, maister Arden laie at a certeine parsonage which he held in London, and therefore his man Michaell and Greene agreed, that blacke Will should come in the night to the parsonage, where he should find the doores left open, that he might come in and murther maister Arden. This Michaell hauing his maister to bed, left open the doores according to the appointment. His maister then being in bed, asked him if he had shut fast the doores, and he said yea: but yet afterwards, fearing least blacke Will would kill him as well as his maister, after he was in bed himselfe, he rose againe and shut the doores, bolting them fast. So that blacke Will comming thither, and finding the doores shut, departed, being disappointed at that time. The next daie blacke Will came to Greene in a great chafe, swearing and staring bicause he was so deceiued, and with manie terrible oths threatened to kill maister Ardens man first, whersoeuer he met him. No (said Greene) do not so, I will first know the cause of shutting the doores.

One murthering mind mistrusting another, doo hinder the action whereabout they agreed.

Then Greene met and talked with Ardens man, and asked of him, why he did not leaue open the doors, according to his promise? Marie (said Michaell) I

will shew you the cause. My maister yesternight did that he neuer did before: for after I was in bed, hée rose vp and shut the doores, and in the morning rated me for leauing them vnshut. And herewith Gréene & blacke Will were pacified. Arden being redie to go homewards, his maid came to Gréene & said; This night will my maister go downe. Wherupon it was agréed that blacke Will should kill him on Reinam downe. When maister Arden came to Rochester, his man still fearing that blacke Will would kill him with his maister, pricked his horsse of purpose, and made him to halt, to the end he might protract the time, and tarie behind. His maister asked him whie his horsse halted, he said, I know not. Well (quoth his maister) when ye come at the smith here before (betwéene Rochester and the hill fast ouer against Chætam) remoue his sho, and search him, and then come after me. So maister Arden rode on: and yet he came at the place where blacke Will late in wait for him, there ouertoke him diuerse gentlemen of his acquaintance, who kept him companie: so that blacke Will mist here also of his purpose.

The fourth attempt to make Arden awaie disappointed.

Blacke Will misseth his purpose.

After that maister Arden was come home, hée sent (as he vsuallie did) his man to Shepeie to sir Thomas Cheinie, then lord warden of the cinque ports, about certeine businesse, and at his comming awaie, he had a letter deliuered sent by sir Thomas Cheinie to his maister. When he came home, his mistresse toke the letter and kept it, willing hir man to tell his maister, that he had a letter deliuered him by sir Thomas Cheinie, and that he had lost it; adding that he thought it best that his maister should go the next morning to sir Thomas, because he knew not the matter: he said he would, and therefore he willed his man to be stirring betimes. In this meane while, blacke Will, and one George Shakebag his companion, were kept in a storehouse of sir Anthonie Agers at Preston, by Grænes appointment: and thither came mistresse Arden to sée him, bringing and sending him meat and drinke manie times. He therfore lurking there, and watching some opportunitie for his purpose, was willed in anie wise to be vp earlie in the morning, to lie in wait for maister Arden in a certeine broome close, betwixt Feuersham & the ferrie (which close he must néeds passe) there to do his feat. Now blacke Will stirred in the morning betimes, but mist the waie, & taried in a wrong place.

Ardens wife visiteth, succoureth, emboldneth, and directeth blacke will for how to accomplish his bloudie purpose.

Maister Arden & his man comming on their waie earlie in the morning towards Shornelan, where sir Thomas Cheinie late: as they were almost come to the broome close, his man alwaies fearing that blacke Will would kill him with his maister, feined that he had lost his purse; Why said his maister, thou foolish knaue, couldst thou not loke to thy purse but lose it? What was in it? Three pounds said he. Why then go thy waies backe againe like a knaue (said his maister) and séeke it, for being so earlie as it is, there is no man stirring, and therefore thou maist be sure to find it, and then come and ouertake me at the ferrie. But neuertheles, by reason that blacke Will lost his way, maister Arden escaped yet once againe. At that time, blacke Will yet thought hée should haue bene sure to haue met him homewards: but whether that some of the lord wardens men accompanied him backe to Feuersham, or that being in doubt, for that it was late to go through the broome close, and therfore toke another waie, blacke Will was disappointed then also.

Note here the force of feare and a troubled conscience.

Blacke Will yet againe disappointed.

But now saint Valentines faire being at hand, the conspirators thought to dispatch their diuelish intention at that time. Polsbie minded to picke some quarrell to maister Arden at the faire to fight with him; for he said he could not find in his heart to murther a gentleman in that sort as his wife wished: although she had made a solemne promise to him, and he againe to hir, to be in all points as man and wife togither, and therupon they both receiued the sacrament on a sundaie at London, openlie in a church there. But this deuise to fight with him would not serue, for maister Arden both then and at other times had bene greatlie prouoked by Polsbie to fight with him, but he would not. Now Polsbie had a sister that dwelt in a tenement of maister Ardens nére to his house in Feuersham: and on the faire éeuen, blacke Will was sent for to come thither, and Gréene bringing him thither, met there with mistresse Arden, accompanied with Michaell hir man, and one of hir maids. There were also Polsbie and George Shakebag, and there they deuised to haue killed him in maner as afterwards he was. But yet Polsbie at the first would not agrée to that cowardlie murthering of him, but in a furie flong awaie, and went vp the abbeie street toward the flower de lice, the house of the aforenamed Adam Foule, where he did often host. But before he came thither now at this time, a messenger ouertoke him, that was sent from mistres Arden, desiring him of all loues to come backe againe to helpe to accomplish the mater he knew of. Herevpon he returned to hir againe, and at his comming backe, she fell downe vpon hir knées to him, and besought him to go through with the matter, as if he loued hir he would be content to do, sith as shee had diuerse times told him, he néeded not to doubt, for there was not anie that would care for his death, nor make anie great inquirie for them that should dispatch him.

Ardens wife, blacke Will, & the knot of bulans méet and conclude vpon their former prepensed mischiefe.

O importunate & bloudie minded strumpet!

Thus she being earnest with him, at length hée was contented to agrée vnto that horrible deuise, and therevpon they conueied blacke Will into maister Ardens house, putting him into a closet at the end of his parlour. Before this, they had sent out of the house all the seruants, those excepted which were priuie to the deuised murther. Then went Polsbie to the doore, and there stood in a night gowne of silke girded about him, and this was betwixt six and seuen of the clocke at night. Maister Arden hauing bene at a neighbors house of his, named Dumpkin, & hauing cleared certeine reckonings betwixt them, came home: and finding Polsbie standing at the doore, asked him if it were supper time? I thinke not (quoth Polsbie) it is not yet readie. Then let vs go and plaie a game at the tables in the meane season, said maister Arden. And so they went streight into the parlor: and as they came by through the hall, his wife was walking there, and maister Arden said; How now mistresse Ales? But she made small answer to him. In the meane time one cheined the wicket doore of the entrie. When they came into the parlor, Polsbie sat downe on the bench, hauing his face toward the place where blacke Will stood. Then Michaell maister Ardens man stood at his masters backe, holding a candle in his hand, to shadow blacke Will, that Arden might by no meanes perceiue him comming forth. In their plaie Polsbie said thus (which séemed to be the watchword for blacke Wils comming forth) Now maie I take you sir if I will. Take me (quoth maister Arden) which waie? With that blacke Will crept forth, and cast a towell about his necke, so to stop his breath and strangle him. Then Polsbie hauing at his girdle a pressing iron of fourtéene pounds weight, stroke him on the hed with the same, so that he fell downe, and gaue a great grone, insomuch that they thought he had bene killed.

The practise to kill Arden is now set abroch.

Here the confederats ioine their practises

The watchword to the principall murtherer.

Then they bare him awaie, to laie him in the counting house, & as they were about to laie him downe, the pangs of death comming on him, he gaue a great grone, and stretched himselfe, and then blacke Will gaue him a great gash in the face, and so killed

Arden slaine outright.

A prepensed quarel against Arden by the conspirators.

led him out of hand, laid him along, toke the monie out of his purse, and the rings from his fingers, and then comming out of the counting house, said; Now the feat is done, giue me my monie. So mistres Arden gaue him ten pounds: and he comming to Greene, had a horsse of him, and so rode his waies. After that blacke Will was gone, mistresse Arden came into the counting house, and with a knife gaue him seuen or eight picks into the brest. Then they made cleene the parlor, toke a clout, and wiped where it was bloudie, and strewed againe the rushes that were shuffled with strugling, and cast the clout with which they wiped the blood, and the knife that was bloudie, wherewith she had wounded hir husband, into a tub by the wels side; where afterwards both the same clout and knife were found. Thus this wicked woman, with hir complices, most shamefullie murdered hir owne husband, who most entirelie loued hir all his life time. Then she sent for two Londoners to supper, the one named Prune, and the other Cole, that were grosers, which before the murder was committed, were bidden to supper. When they came, she said: I maruell where maister Arden is; we will not tarie for him, come ye and sit downe, for he will not be long. Then Mosbies sister was sent for, she came and sat downe, and so they were merie.

Blacke Will receiueth ten pounds for his reward of Ardens wife, for murdering hir husband.

Marke what a countenance of innocencie and ignorance she bore after the murdering of hir husband.

After supper, mistres Arden caused hir daughter to plaie on the virginals, and they danced, and she with them, and so seemed to protract time as it were, till maister Arden should come, and she said, I maruell where he is so long; well, he will come anon I am sure, I praie you in the meane while let vs plaie a game at the tables. But the Londoners said, they must go to their hosts house, or else they should be shut out at doores, and so taking their leaue, departed. When they were gone, the seruants that were not priuie to the murder, were sent abroad into the towne; some to seeke their maister, and some of other errands, all sauing Michaell and a maid, Mosbies sister, and one of mistres Ardens owne daughters. Then they toke the dead bodie, and caried it out, to laie it in a field next to the church-yard, and ioining to his garden wall, through the which he went to the church. In the meane time it began to snow, and when they came to the garden gate, they remembred that they had forgotten the kaie, and one went in for it, and finding it, at length brought it, opened the gate, and caried the corps into the same field, as it were ten pases from the garden gate, and laid him downe on his backe streight in his night gowne, with his slipers on: and betweene one of his slippers and his foot, a long rush or two remained. When they had thus laid him downe, they returned the same way they came through the garden into the house.

The workers of this mischiefe carie out Arden laine into the field.

This she did to colour hir wickednesse which by no meanes was reuealeable.

They being returned thus backe againe into the house, the doores were opened, and the seruants returned home that had béene sent abroad: and being now verie late, she sent forth hir folks againe to make inquirie for him in diuerse places; namelie, among the best in the towne where he was wont to be, who made answer, that they could tell nothing of him. Then she began to make an outcrie, and said; Neuer woman had such neighbors as I haue, and herewith wept: in somuch that hir neighbors came in, and found hir making great lamentation, pretending to maruell what was become of hir husband. Whereupon, the maior and others came to make search for him. The faire was wont to be kept partlie in the towne, and partlie in the abbeie; but Arden for his owne priuat lucre & couetous gaine had this present yeare procured it to be wholie kept within the abbeie ground which he had purchased; & so reaping all the gaines to himselfe, and bereauing the townes of that portion which was wont to come to the inhabitants, got manie a bitter curse. The maior going about the faire in this search, at length came to the ground where Arden laie: and as it happened, Prune the groser getting sight of him, first said; Staie, for me thinke I see one lie here. And so they looking and beholding the bodie, found that it was maister Arden, lieng there throughlie dead, and viewing diligentlie the maner of his bodie & hurts, found the rushes sticking in his slippers, and marking further, espied certeine footsteps, by reason of the snow, betwixt the place where he laie, and the garden doore.

Arden a couetous man and a preferrer of his priuat profit before common gaine.

Ardens dead bodie is described by one of his acquaintance.

Then the maior commanded euerie man to staie, and herewith appointed some to go about, & to come in at the inner side of the house through the garden as the waie laie, to the place where maister Ardens dead bodie did lie; who all the waie as they came, perceiued footings still before them in the snow: and so it appeared plainlie that he was brought along that waie from the house through the garden, and so into the field where he laie. Then the maior and his companie that were with him went into the house, and knowing hir euill demeanor in times past, examined hir of the matter: but she defied them and said, I would you should know I am no such woman. Then they examined hir seruants, and in the examination, by reason of a peece of his heare and bloud found nere to the house in the waie, by the which they caried him forth, and likewise by the knife with which she had thrust him into the brest, and the clout wherewith they wiped the bloud awaie which they found in the tub, into the which the same were throwen; they all confessed the matter, and hir selfe beholding hir husbands bloud, said; Oh the bloud of God helpe, for this bloud haue I shed.

Footsteps all alongst from the dead bodie of Arden to his dwelling house.

A peece of Ardens heare and his bloud spilt in the house espied, as also a bloudie knife and a clout found.

Then were they all attached, and committed to prison, and the maior with others went presentlie to the flower de lice, where they found Mosbie in bed: and as they came towards him, they espied his hose and purse stained with some of maister Ardens bloud. And when he asked what they meant by their comming in such sort, they said; See, here ye may vnderstand wherefore, by these tokens, shewing him the bloud on his hose and purse. Then he confessed the deed, and so he and all the other that had conspired the murder, were apprehended and laid in prison, except Greene, blacke Will, and the painter, which painter and George Shakebag, that was also sled before, were neuer heard of. Shortlie were the sessions kept at Feuersham, where all the prisoners were arreigned and condemned. And thereupon being examined whither they had anie other complices, mistres Arden accused Bradshaw, vpon occasion of the letter sent by Greene from Graues end, (as before ye haue heard) which words had none other meaning, but onelie by Bradshaws describing of blacke Wills qualities; Greene iudged him a meete instrument for the execution of their pretended murder. Whereto notwithstanding (as Greene confessed at his death certeine yeares after) this Bradshaw was neuer made priuie; howbeit, he was vpon this accusation of mistres Arden, immediatlie sent for to the sessions, and indicted, and declaration made against him, as a procurer of blacke Will to kill maister Arden, which proceeded wholie by misvnderstanding of the words conteined in the letter which he brought from Greene.

Some of Ardens bloud vpon Mosbies purse.

The principals of this murder sled awaie.

Bradshaw as vniustlie accused, as his simplicitie was shamefullie abused.

Then he desired to talke with the persons condemned, and his request was granted. He therefore demanded of them if they knew him, or euer had anie conuersation with him, & they all said no. Then the letter being shewed and read, he declared the ve-

Innocencie no barre against execution.

rie truth of the matter, and vpon what occasion he told Greene of blacke Will: neuertheles, he was condemned, and suffered. These condemned persons were diuerslie executed in sundrie places, for Michaell maister Ardens man was hanged in chaines at Feuersham, and one of the maids was burnt there, pitifullie bewailing hir case, and cried out on hir mistres that had brought hir to this end, for the which she would neuer forgiue hir. Mosbie & his sister were hanged in Smithfield at London; mistres Arden was burned at Canturburie the foure and twentith of March. Greene came againe certeine yeares after, was apprehended, condemned, & hanged in chaines in the high waie betwixt Dspring & Boughton against Feuersham; blacke Will was burnt on a scaffold at Flisching in Zeland. Adam Foule that dwelt at the floure de lice in Feuersham was brought into trouble about this matter, and caried vp to London, with his legs bound vnder the horsse bellie, and committed to prison in the Marshalsie: for that Mosbie was heard to saie; Had it not béene for Adam Foule, I had not come to this trouble: meaning that the bringing of the siluer dice for a token to him from mistresse Arden, as ye haue heard, occasioned him to renew familiaritie with hir againe. But when the matter was throughlie riped vp, & that Mosbie had clered him, protesting that he was neuer of knowledge in anie behalfe to the murder, the mans innocencie preserued him.

Note how these malefactors suffered punishment.

Blacke will burnt at Flisching.

I wonder touching the print of Ardens dead bodie two yeares after he was slaine.

This one thing séemeth verie strange and notable, touching maister Arden, that in the place where he was laid, being dead, all the proportion of his bodie might be séene two yeares after and more, so plaine as could be, for the grasse did not grow where his bodie had touched: but betwéene his legs, betwéene his armes, and about the hollownesse of his necke, and round about his bodie, and where his legs, armes, head, or anie other part of his bodie had touched, no grasse growed at all of all that time. So that manie strangers came in that meane time, beside the townesmen, to sée the print of his bodie there on the ground in that field. Which field he had (as some haue reported) most cruellie taken from a woman, that had béene a widow to one Cooke, and after maried to one Richard Read a mariner, to the great hinderance of hir and hir husband the said Read: for they had long inioied it by a lease, which they had of it for manie yeares, not then expired: neuertheless, he got it from them. For the which, the said Reads wife not onelie exclaimed against him, in sheading manie a salt téere, but also cursed him most bitterlie euen to his face, wishing manie a vengeance to light vpon him, and that all the world might wonder on him. Which was thought then to come to passe, when he was thus murdered, and laie in that field from midnight till the morning: and so all that daie, being the faire daie till night, all the which daie there were manie hundreds of people came wondering about him. And thus far touching this horrible and heinous murder of maister Arden. To returne then where we left.

God heareth the teares of the oppressed and taketh vengeance: note an example in Arden.

A parlement.

About this time the kings maiestie calling his high court of parlement, held the same at Westminster the three and twentith daie of Januarie, in this fift yeere of his reigne, and there continued it, vntill the fiftéenth daie of Aprill in the first yeare of his said reigne. In this parlement the booke of common praier, which in some part had béene corrected and amended, was newlie confirmed & established. ¶ In the end of this parlement, namelie the fiftéenth of Aprill the infectious sweating sickenesse began at Shrewesburie, which ended not in the north part of England vntill the end of September. In this space what number died, it cannot be well accounted: but certeine it is, that in London in few daies nine hundred and sirtie gaue vp the ghost. It began in London the ninth of Julie, and the twelfth of Julie it was most vehement: which was so terrible, that people being in best helth, were suddenlie taken, and dead in foure and twentie houres, and twelue, or lesse, for lacke of skill in guiding them in their sweat. And it is to be noted, that this mortalitie fell chéeflie or rather vpon men, and those also of the best age, as betwéen thirtie & fortie yeers. The spéedie riddance of life procured by this sicknes, did so terrifie people of all sorts, that such as could make shift, either with monie or frendship, changed their soile, and leauing places of concourse, betooke them (for the time) to abodes, though not altogither solitarie, yet lesse frequented: to conclude, manifold meanes were made for safetie of life. The first wéeke died in London eight hundred persons.

Iohn Caius.

Of this sweat died Henrie & Charles sons of Charles Brandon, the elder first, and the ponger after: so that they both died dukes of Suffolke.

The manner of this sweat was such, that if men did take anie cold outwardlie, it stroke the sweat in, and immediatlie killed them. If they were suffered to sléepe, commonlie they swouned in their sléepe and departed, or else died immediatlie vpon their waking. But the waie to escape danger was close kéeping moderatlie with some aire and a little drinke, and the same to be posset-ale, and so to kéepe them thirtie houres, & then was the danger past; but beware of sudden cold. Before men had learned the manner of kéeping, an infinit number perished. This disease at that time followed Englishmen & none other nation; for in Antwerpe and other countries, our Englishmen being there amongst diuerse other nations, onelie our Englishmen were sicke thereof, and none other persons. The consideration of which thing made this nation much afraid thereof, who for the time began to repent and giue almes, and to remember God from whom that plague might well séeme to be sent among vs. But as the disease in time ceased, so our deuotion in short time decaied.] At this time also the king with the aduise of his priuie councell, and hauing also great conference with merchants and others, perceiuing that by such coins and copper monies, as had béene coined in the time of the king his father, and now were commonlie current in the realme; and indéed a great number of them not worth halfe the value that they were current at, to the great dishonor of the kings maiestie & the realme, and to the deceit & no little hinderance of all the kings maiesties good subiects, did now purpose not onelie the abasing of the said copper monies, but also meant wholie to reduce them into bullion, to the intent to deliuer fine and good monies for them. And therefore in the moneth of Julie by his graces proclamation, he abased the péece of twelue pence, commonlie called a teston vnto nine pence, and the péece of foure pence vnto three pence. And in August next following, the péece of nine pence was abased to six pence, and the péece of three pence vnto two pence, and the pennie to an halfepennie.

Rich. Grafton.

Remedie against the danger of the sweating sickenesse.

The vndersing of the coine.

Two falles of monie.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 1049. Sweating sickenesse.

On the eleuenth daie of October, there was a great creation of dukes and earles, as the lord marquesse Dorset was created duke of Suffolke, the earle of Warwike made duke of Northumberland, and the earle of Wilshire made marquesse of Winchester, & sir William Herbert maister of the horsse; he also made William Cicill his secretarie knight, maister John Chéke one of his schoolemaisters knight, maister Henrie Dudlie knight, & maister Henrie Neuill knight. The sixtéenth daie of the said moneth being fridaie, the duke of Summerset was againe apprehended, & his wife also, & committed to the tower; with him also were cómitted sir Michaell Stanhope,

Creation of honorable estates.

I.S. pag. 1050.

The duke of Summerset againe apprehended, and committed to the tower.

Stanhope, sir Thomas Arundell, sir Rafe Vane, sir Piles Partrige & other for suspicion of treason and felonie, whereof they were all shortlie after indicted. And so standing indicted, the second daie of December next following, the said duke was brought out of the tower of London with the ax of the tower borne before him, with a great number of billes, gleaues, halberds & pollares attending vpon him, & so came into Westminster hall, where was made in the middle of the hall a new scaffold, where all the lords of the kings councell sate as his iudges: and there was he arreigned and charged with manie articles both of felonie and treason. And when after much mild speech he had answered not guiltie, he in all humble manner put himselfe to be tried by his péres: who after long consultation among themselues, gaue their verdict that he was not guiltie of the treason, but of the felonie. The people there present (which was a great number) hearing the lords sate not guiltie, which was to the treason, thinking most certeinlie that he was clérelie acquited; and chieflie for that immediatlie vpon the pronouncing of those words, he that caried the ax of the tower departed with the ax, they made such an outcrie and ioie, as the like hath not béene heard. Which was an euident declaration of their good willes and hartie fauors vnto him, whose life they greatlie desired to haue saued, for that he had deserued right well of most (though the good gentleman had some priuat enimies) and had béene as a man maie iustlie sate:

Solamen magnum patriæ, solamen amicis.

But neuertheless, he was condemned to the death, whereof shortlie after he tasted. The felonie that he was condemned of, was vpon the statute made the last yeare against rebelles, and vnlawfull assemblies, wherein amongst other things is one branch, that whosoeuer shall procure the death of anie councellor, that euerie such attempt or procurement shall be felonie. And by force of that statute, the duke of Summerset, being accompanied with certeine others, was charged that he purposed and attempted the death of the duke of Northumberland, the lord marquesse, the lord of Penbroke, and others of the priuie councell, which by statute was felonie.

After the duke was thus condemned, he was againe returned to the tower, and landed at the crane of the vinetræ, and so passed through London, where were both exclamations: the one cried for ioie that he was acquitted, the other cried out that he was condemned. But howsoeuer they cried, he was conueied to the tower of London, where he remained vntill the two and twentith daie of Januarie next following. The duke being condemned (as is afore said) the people spake diuerslie, and murmured against the duke of Northumberland, and against some other of the lords, for the condemnation of the said duke: and also (as the common fame went) the kings maiestie toke it not in good part. Wherefore as well to remoue fond talke out of mens mouths, as also to recreat and refresh the troubled spirits of the yong king; who (as saith Grafton) séemed to take the trouble of his vncle somewhat heauilie: it was deuised, that the feast of Christs natiuitie, commonlie called Christmasse then at hand, should be solemnlie kept at Grénwich with open household, and franke resort to court (which is called kéeping of the hall) what time of old ordinarie course there is alwaies one appointed to make sport in the court, called commonlie lord of misrule: whose office is not vnknowne to such as haue bene brought vp in noble mens houses, and among great house-keepers, which vse liberall feasting in that season. There was therfore by order of the councell, a wise gentleman & learned named George Ferrers, appointed to that office for this yeare; who being of better credit & estimation than cómonlie his predecessors had bene before, receiued all his commissions and warrants by the name of the maister of the kings pastimes. Which gentleman so well supplied his office, both in shew of sundrie sights and deuises of rare inuentions, and in act of diuerse interludes, and matters of pastime plated by persons, as not onelie satisfied the common sort, but also were verie well liked and allowed by the councell, and other of skill in the like pastimes: but best of all by the yong king himselfe, as appéered by his princelie liberalitie in rewarding that seruice.

¶ On mondaie the fourth of Januarie, the said lord of merie disports came by water to London, and landed at the tower wharffe, entred the tower, and then rode through tower street, where he was receiued by Mause lord of misrule to John Mainard one of the shiriffes of London, and so conducted through the citie with a great companie of yong lords & gentlemen to the house of sir George Barne lord maior, where he with the chéefe of his companie dined, and after had a great banket: and at his departure, the lord maior gaue him a standing cup with a couer of siluer and guilt of the value of ten pounds for a reward, and also set a hogshed of wine, and a barrell of bere at his gate, for his traine that followed him. The residue of his gentlemen & seruants dined at other aldermens houses, and with the shiriffes, and then departed to the tower wharffe againe, & so to the court by water, to the great commendation of the maior and aldermen, and highlie accepted of the king and councell.]

This Christmas being thus passed and spent with much mirth and pastime, wherewith the minds and eares of murmurers were méetlie well appeased, according to a former determination as the sequele shewed: it was thought now good to procéed to the execution of the iudgement giuen against the duke of Summerset, touching his conuiction & atteindor of the felonie before mentioned. Wherevpon, the two and twentith daie of Januarie, then next following being fridaie, he was brought out of the tower, and according to the manner, deliuered to the shiriffes of London; and so with a great companie of the gard & others with weapons, was brought to the scaffold where he should suffer, without changing either voice or countenance, other than he was accustomed to vse at other times.

The same morning earelie, the constables of euerie ward in London (according to a precept directed from the councell to the maior) strictlie charged euerie household of the same citie, not to depart anie of them out of their houses, before ten of the clocke of that daie: meaning thereby to restreine the great number of people that otherwise were like to haue bén at the said execution. Notwithstanding, by seauen of the clocke, the tower hill was couered with a great multitude, repairing from all parts of the citie, as well as out of the suburbs. And before eight of the clocke, the duke was brought to the scaffold, inclosed with the kings gard, the shiriffes officers, the warders of the tower, & other with halberds: where as he nothing changing neither voice or countenance, but in a maner with the same gesture which he commonlie vsed at home, kneeling downe vpon both his knees, and lifting vp his hands, commended himselfe vnto God. After he had ended a few short praiers, standing vp againe, and turning himselfe toward the east side of the scaffold, nothing at all abashed (as it séemed vnto those that stood by) neither with the sight of the ax, neither yet of the hangman, nor of present death, but with the like alacritie and chérefulnesse of mind and countenance as before times

1552

The duke arreigned both of treason and felonie.

Abr. Fl. ex I. Stow 1055.

The people supposing the duke to be clére, gaue a great showt for ioie.

The shiriffes lord of misrule.

The duke condemned to die for felonie.

The duke of Summerset condemned returneth to the tower.

The people murmur at the dukes condemnatiõ.

Meanes to restraine the multitude from the dukes execution.

Policie.

George Ferrers maister of the kings pastimes.

The execution of the duke of Summerset.

Iohn Fox. The dukes behauiour at his death.

times he was accustomed to heare the causes & supplications of other, & speciallie of the poore (towards whome as it were with a certeine fatherlie loue to his children he alwaies shewed himselfe most attentiue) he vttered these words to the people.

The words of the duke of Summerset *at his death.*

DEerelie beloued friends, I am brought hither to suffer death, albeit I neuer offended against the king, neither by word nor deed, and haue bene alwaies as faithfull and true vnto this realme, as anie man hath bene. But forsomuch as I am by law condemned to die, I do acknowledge my selfe as well as others, to be subiect therevnto. Wherefore to testifie mine obedience which I owe vnto the lawes, I am come hither to suffer death, wherevnto I willinglie offer my selfe with most hartie thanks vnto God, that hath giuen me this time of repentance, who might thorough sudden death haue taken awaie my life, that I neither should haue acknowledged him nor my selfe.

Moreouer (dearelie beloued friends) there is yet somewhat that I must put you in mind of, as touching christian religion, which so long as I was in authoritie, I alwaies diligentlie set forth, and furthered to my power. Neither do I repent me of my doings, but reioise therein, sith now the state of christian religion commeth most neere vnto the forme and order of the primitiue church. Which thing I esteeme as a great benefit giuen of God, both to you and me, most hartilie exhorting you all, that this which is most purelie set forth vnto you, you will with like thankefulnesse accept and embrace, and set out the same in your liuing: which thing if you do not, without doubt, greater mischiefe and calamitie will follow.

When he had spoken these words, suddenlie there was a great noise heard, whereupon the people were streight driuen into a great feare, few or none knowing the cause. Wherefore I thinke it good to write what I saw (saith Iohn Stow) concerning that matter. The people of a certeine hamlet which were warned to be there by seauen of the clocke to giue their attendance on the lieutenant, now came thorough the posterne, and perceiuing the duke to be alreadie on the scaffold, the formost began to run, crieng to their fellowes to follow fast after. Which suddennes of these men, being weaponed with bils and halberds, & this running caused the people which first saw them, to thinke some power had come to haue rescued the duke from execution, and therefore cried Awaie awaie. Whereupon the people ran, some one waie, some an other, manie fell into the tower ditch, and they which tarried, thought some pardon had bene brought: some said it thundered, some that the ground moued, but there was no such matter.

Great feare among the people assembled on the tower hill. Rich. Grafton. Iohn Stow.

¶ This amazement of the people is in other words recorded by Iohn Fox in the storie of this dukes troubles & death: which because they be effectuall I thinke good to interlace. When the duke had ended his speech (saith he) suddenlie there was a terrible noise heard: wherupon there came a great feare on all men. This noise was as it had bene the noise of a great storme or tempest, which to some seemed to be heard from aboue: like as if a great deale of gunpowder being inclosed in an armorie, and hauing caught fire, had violentlie broken out. But to some againe it seemed as though it had bene a great multitude of horsemen running togither, or comming vpon them; such a noise was then in the eares of all men, albeit they saw nothing. Whereby it happened, that all the people being amazed without any euident cause, and without anie violence or stroke striken, they ran awaie, some into the ditches and puddles, and some into the houses thereabout. Other some being affraid with the horrour and noise, fell downe groueling vnto the ground with their pollaxes & halberds, and most part of them cried out: Iesus saue vs, Iesus saue vs. Those which tarried still in their places, for feare knew not where they were. And * I my selfe which was there present among the rest, being also affraid in this hurlie burlie, stood still altogither amazed, looking when anie man would knocke me on the head. It happened here, as the euangelists write, it did to Christ, when the officers of the high priests & Pharisees comming with weapons to take him, being astonied ran backe, & fell to the ground.

A sudden noise & feare of the people at the death of the duke of Summerset.

* Meneliè Iohn Fox the writer of this report.

In the meane time, whilest these things were thus in doing, the people by chance spied one sir Anthonie Browne riding vnto the scaffold: which was the occasion of a new noise. For when they saw him comming, they coniectured that which was not true, but notwithstanding which they all wished for, that the king by that messenger had sent his vncle pardon: and therfore with great reioising and casting vp their caps, they cried out; Pardon, pardon is come: God saue the king. Thus this good duke, although he was destitute of all mans helpe, yet he saw before his departure, in how great loue and fauour he was with all men. And trulie I do not thinke, that in so great slaughter of dukes as hath bene in England within this few yeares, there was so manie weeping eies at one time: and not without cause. For all men did see in the decaie of this duke, the publike ruine of all England, except such as indeed perceiued nothing.] The duke in the meane time standing still, both in the same place and mind wherin he was before, shaking his cap which he held in his hand, made a signe vnto the people that they should keepe themselues quiet: which thing being done, & silence obteined, he spake to them the second time in this maner.

The like storie you shall read of Caius Marius in Valerius Maximus the second booke and fift chapter.

The great fauour of the people to the duke of Summerset.

The second speech of the duke of *Summerset to the people.*

DEerelie beloued friends, there is no such matter in hand, as you vainlie hope or beleeue. It seemeth thus good to almightie God, whose ordinance it is meet & necessarie that we be all obedient vnto. Wherfore I praie you all to be quiet, and without tumult: for I am euen now quiet, and let vs ioine in praier vnto the Lord, for the preseruation of our noble king, vnto whose maiestie I wish continuall health, with all felicitie and abundance & all maner of prosperous successe: wherevnto the people cried out, Amen. Moreouer, I wish vnto all his councellors the grace and fauour of God, whereby they may rule althings vprightlie with iustice, vnto whome I exhort you all in the Lord to shew your selues obedient, the which is also

Abr. Fl. ex Io. Foxi martyrologio.

also verie necessarie for you, vnder the paine of condemnation, and also most profitable for the preseruation and safegard of the kings maiestie. And forsomuch as heretofore I haue had oftentimes affaires with diuers men, & that it is hard to please euerie man that hath bene offended or iniuried by me, I most humblie require and aske them forgiuenesse: but especiallie almightie God, whome thorough out all my life I haue most greuouslie offended. And vnto all other, whatsoeuer they be that haue offended me, I do with my whole heart forgiue them.

And once againe (dearelie beloued in the Lord) I require that you will keepe your selues quiet and still, least thorough your tumult you might cause me to haue some trouble, which in this case would nothing at all profit me, neither be anie pleasure vnto you. For albeit the spirit be willing and readie, the flesh is fraile and wauering, and thorough your quietnesse I shall be much more the quieter: but if that you fall vnto tumult, it will be great trouble & no gaine at all vnto you. Moreouer, I desire you to beare me witnesse, that I die here in the faith of Jesus Christ, desiring you to helpe me with your praiers, that I maie perseuere constant in the same vnto my liues end.

Doctor Cor the dukes ghostlie father.

Then he turning himselfe about kneeled downe vpon his knees, vnto whome doctor Cor, which was there present, to counsell and aduertise him, deliuered a certeine scroll into his hand, wherein was conteined a briefe confession to God. Which being read, he stood vp againe on his feet, without anie trouble of mind as it appeared, and first bad the shiriffes farewell, then the lieutenant of the tower, & certeine other that were on the scaffold, taking them all by the hands. Then he gaue the executioner monie, which done, he put off his gowne, and kneeling downe againe in the straw, vntied his shirt strings: and then the executioner comming to him, turned downe his collar round about his necke, and all other things which did let and hinder him. Then he couering his face with his owne handkerchiefe, lifting vp his eies vnto heauen, where his onelie hope remained, laid himselfe downe along, shewing no maner of trouble or feare; neither did his countenance change, but that before his eies were couered there began to appere a red colour in the middest of his cheeks.

Abr. Fl. out of Iohn Fox in the Acts and Monuments.

The godlie end of the duke of Summerset.

¶ Thus this most meeke and gentle duke lieng along and looking for the stroke, because his doublet couered his necke he was commanded to rise vp and put it off: ¶ then laieng himselfe downe againe vpon the blocke, and calling thrise vpon the name of Jesus, saieng: Lord Jesu saue me, as he was the third time repeating the same, euen as the name of Jesu was in vttering, in a moment he was bereft both of head and life; and slept in the Lord Jesus, being taken awaie from all the dangers and euils of this life, and resting now in the peace of God: in the preferment of whose truth and gospell he alwaies shewed himselfe an excellent instrument and member, and therefore hath receiued the reward of his labours. Thus gentle reader thou hast the true historie of this worthie and noble duke, and if anie man report it otherwise, let it be counted as a lie.]

This duke was in high fauour and estimation with king Henrie the eight, of whome he receiued sundrie high & great preferments, by reason that the the said king had married ladie Jane his sister, by whome he had issue king Edward the first. He was not onelie courteous, wise and gentle, being dailie attendant at the court; but forward and fortunate in seruice abroad, as may well appeare in his sundrie voiages, both into France and Scotland. He was of nature verie gentle and pitifull, not blemished by any thing so much, as by the death of the admerall his naturall brother, which could not haue bene brought to passe in that sort, without his consent. But of this good duke (to let passe multitude of words) maister Fox hath written no lesse trulie than commendablie, & no lesse commendablie than deseruedlie, and no lesse deseruedlie than profitablie in his historie, whereto I refer the reader for further knowledge. Neuertheless of this vertuous duke by waie of aplication I saie as sometime one said (verie aptlie as some thinke) of the gratious ladie *An Bullen,

Discite vos viui, quid dira calumnia possit,
Inuidia alterius vitæ comes arcta beatæ,
Et falsis linguæ commista venena susurris.

The duke of Summerset described.

*who as it is supposed and proued since (saith Sleidan) was vniustlie condemned.

The protectors of England collected *out of the ancient and moderne chronicles*, wherin is set downe the yeare of Christ, *and of the king in which they executed* that function.

The collectiō of Frācis Thin in the yeare 1585.

Vpon the death of this duke of Summerset protector of England, it shall not be vnfitting in this place to set downe all the protectors (whereof I can as yet haue intelligence) and who haue bene gouernors, regents, gardians, or deputies of the realme, and of the kings person during his minoritie and time of his insufficiencie of gouernement; or else of his absence being out of the realme: whereof I haue made an especiall title in my Pantographie of England, in which this my collection of the protectors, although perhaps I shall not set downe all (for *Barnardus non videt omnia*) yet it is better to haue halfe a loafe than no bread, knowledge of some than of none at all. Thus therefore I begin.

Guendoline.

Guendoline the daughter of Corineus duke of Cornewall (after the procurement of warre against hir husband wherein he was slaine) was by common consent (for that hir sonne Madrane which she had by Locrine was insufficient by reason of his minoritie to gouerne the kingdome) made by the Britons ruler of the Ile, in the yeare of the world 2894, and so continued the same by the space of fiftéene yeares, vntill hir sonne came to lawfull age.

Martia.

Martia (the widow of Guenteline the king) by reason that Sicilius hir sonne was not of age conuenient to weld the scepter (as one being but seuen yeares old) obteined the gouernement both of the realme and of hir sonnes person, which she most worthilie deserued, being a woman of rare vertue and iudgement.

Eldred.

Eldred, Ethelred, or Edred (for all these diuersities are found in authors) brother to Edmund king of England, while the sonnes of Edmund (Edwine and Edgar) were for their minorities insufficient to dispose the kingdome, was appointed protector to his nephues, in the yeare of Christ 940, who about sir or seuen yeares after his protectorship toke on him the kingdome at Kingstone on Easter daie, in the yeare of Christ, as hath Iohn Stow 946, as others haue nine hundred fortie seuen.

Emma.

Emma the quéene of England, the widow of king Ethelred, and of Canutus, both kings of England iointlie, with Godwine earle of Kent had the gouernement of the realme vnder Hardiknute king

king of England, who began his reigne in the yeare of Christ 1041.

Harold. Harold the sonne of Godwine at the death of king Edward the Confessor (which fell in the yeare of Christ 1066, and the three and twentith yeare of the same king) was by the testament of the said king Edward appointed regent of the yong Edgar Atheling (named heire in the life of the said Edward) and of the kingdome, after the death of king Edward, during the minoritie of the said Edgar. Beside which the like commending of the kingdome to this Harold, in respect of the quænes honour, as that before of the successours right, is set downe by one that liued at that time, and wrote the life of king Edward, of erle Godwine, and of his children, in these words. *Porrectâq; manu* (meaning king Edward lieng on his death bed, and speaking in the behalfe of Editha the quæne, sister to this Harold) *ad prædictum nutricium suum fratrem Haroldum; Hanc inquit cum omni regno tutandam tibi commendo, vt pro domina & sorore vt est fideli seruies & honores obsequio, vt quoad vixerit à me adepto non priuetur honore debito. Commendo pariter etiam eos, qui natiuam terram suam reliquerunt causa amoris mei, mihique hactenus fideliter sunt obsequuti: vt suscepta ab eis sic ita volunt fidelitate eos tuearis & retineas, aut tua defensione conductos cum omnibus quæ sub me acquisiuerunt cum salute ad propria transfretari facias, &c.* But he, when king Edward was dead, vsurped the crowne to himselfe, and shortlie after lost both his life and his kingdome.

Odo bishop of Baieux, and William Fitzosborne earle of Hereford. Odo bishop of Baieux, and William Fitzosborne the first, being earle of Kent, and chiefe iustice of England, and the second being earle of Hereford, were gouernours of the realme, in the yeare of our Lord 1067, and the first yeare of William the Conquerour, when he went into Normandie after the conquest and indifferent quieting of the realme.

Lanfranke archbishop of Canturburie. Lanfranke archbishop of Canturburie, as appeareth by Matthew Parker, writing in this sort in the life of the said Lanfranke: *Absente Gulielmo omnia Lanfranco mandabantur, qui summa prudentia cuncta moderatus, proceres & plebem in officio tranquillè sine vlla motu atque tumultu continebat, adeò vt si quæ defectionis suspicio nascebatur, ad eam illicò compescendam maximus & potentissimus quisque opem & adiumentum illi imperanti præstitit.*

Sir Richard Lucie knight, chiefe iustice of England. Sir Richard Lucie knight, chiefe iustice of England was protector of the realme in the twelfe yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the second, being the yeare of our Lord 1166, in the absence of the king when he was in Normandie, and in the parts beyond the seas. Which Lucie in the thirteenth yeare of the same king, being the yeare of our redemption 1167, did valiantlie resist, and politikelie driue backe the earle of Bullongne inuading the realme. He built the abbeie of Leosnes or Westwood in the parish of Crith in Kent (and not in Southfleet as some haue written) in the yeare of Christ 1178, being about the foure and twentith yeare of king Henrie the second; and further built the castell of Angier in Essex, in the diocesse of the bishop of London. He had issue Godfreie bishop of Winchester, and three daughters, who after the death of Godfreie their brother were his heires: the eldest daughter of which sir Richard Lucie, was maried to Robert the first called Fitzwater: the second daughter Auelina, was maried to Riuers, of whome issued John de Riuers: the third daughter Rose, was maried to Richard Warraine, son to king John, as appeareth by a deed (belonging to my selfe, who had the rectorie of Leosnes) beginning thus: *Rosa de Douer quondam vxor venerabilis viri Richardi filij regis de Chilham.*

Hugh Pudsie bishop of Durham. Hugh Pusaz de Puteaco or Pudsie, nephue to king Stephan, being bishop of Durham, and erle of Northumberland, and William Longchampe bishop of Elie, had the gouernement of the realme for Richard the first, vpon his departure forth of the realme to take his iournie into the holie land. For in his absence he appointed this Hugh to haue the rule of the north parts, as chiefe iustice & warden of the realme from Humber to Scotland, deliuering to him also the keeping of the castell of Winchester, the other parts of the realme, with the custodie of the tower, he assigned to the gouernement of William Longchampe bishop of Elie, whome he made chiefe iustice and warden of those east, south and west parts, making him also his chancellour: who being a man of great diligence and knowledge in the administration of things, was yet verie factious and desirous of rule, honour and riches, farre aboue all measure. And with these two bishops hee linked in authoritie by commission Hugh lord Bardolph, William Marshall the great, earle of Chepstow Striguil or Penbroke, Geffreie Fitzpeter, and William Brewer, barons, men of great honor, wisdome & discretion. This the king did in the yeare of Christ 1190, and the first yeare of his reigne.

Walter de Constantijs archbishop of Roane. Walter de Constantijs sometime chancellor of England, bishop of Lincolne, and now archbishop of Roane, vpon the misdemeanor of the proud bishop of Elie William Longchampe, about the yeare 1192, had the custodie and gouernement of the realme committed vnto him, whilest king Richard the first remained still in the holie warres: who being called from that place in the yeare of Christ 1193 (with Eleanor mother to the king) to come to king Richard then imprisoned in Austria, the archbishop of Canturburie Hubert succeeded him in the yeare 1194, whome the said archbishop of Roane procured to be installed in the see of Canturburie, which Walter de Constantijs (as hath Eueresden) was made bishop of Lincolne in the yeare 1183, and the next yeare after bishop of Roane.

Hubert archbishop of Canturburie. Hubert Walter, or Walter Hubert (for such a transmutation of the name is vsed amongst historiographers) was made (vpon the discharge and going of Walter archbishop of Roane beyond the seas to king Richard) gouernor and protector of the realme, before the returne of Richard the first into England after the said kings imprisonment (by the duke of Austria and the emperour) procured by Sauaricus bishop of Glastenburie and Welles, & kinsman to the emperor, wherof our moderne printed chronicles nor our ancient writers, except one, make any mention. This Hubert died at his manor of Tenham, and was buried at Canturburie in the south wall, in the yeare of our redemption 1205, the third ides of Julie, being the seuenth yeare of king John.

Eleanor widow of Henrie the second. Eleanor widow to Henrie the second, and mother to Richard the first, was made protectresse of England, after the departure of hir son into France, when he had beene deliuered out of prison: in which office she continued during the life of hir sonne, which he ended in Poitiers in those French warres, by a hurt receiued from one that discharged a crossebow against him, on a fridaie as he besieged Chalons. Touching whose death (sith I am now in hand with the same) it shall not be amisse to set downe such seuerall verses composed by seuerall men in seuerall sorts, as I haue read, and are not yet made common to the world, which verses be these, concerning his death and place of buriall, as hereafter followeth:

Pictauus exta ducis sepelit, tellúsque Chalucis
Corpus dat claudi sub marmore fontis Ebraudi,
Neustria túg, tegis cor inexpugnabile regis,
Sic loca per trina se sparsit tanta ruina,
Nec fuit hoc funus cui sufficeret locus vnus.

Whereof also another composed these following verses somewhat eloquentlie, as saith Matthew Paris (and so in truth they were, considering that age which

which mostlie vsed a riming kind of Latine verses, induced into the west part of the world by the barbarous Gothes) in his greater historie of the life of king Richard in manner and forme following:

Chalus quasi casus lucis.

Ad Chalus cecidit rex regni cardo Richardus,
His ferus, his humilis, his agnus, his leopardus,
Casus erat lucis, Chalus per secula nomen
Non intellectum fuerat, sed nominis omen
Non patuit, res clausa fuit, sed duce cadente
Prodijt in lucem, pro casu lucis adepta.

Besides which verses of two seuerall men, it pleaseth my pen to ad also the third mans dooing, aswell for that the number of three is the holie number, as for that there is nothing so sweet, but that varietie doth refresh it: yet especiallie sith it is delightfull to see the seuerall inuentions of manie wits, this third poet therefore, exclaming against the daie in which the said king Richard the first receiued his deaths wound (being on a fridaie) doth thus write:

O Veneris damnosa dies! ô sydus amarum!
Ille dies tua nox fuit, & Venus illa venenum,
Illa dedit læthum, sed pessimus ille dierum,
Primus ab vndecimo, quo vita victricus ipsum
Clausit vtraq; dies: homicida tyrannide mira
Transigitur, clausus excluſum, tectus opertum,
Prouidus incautum, miles inimicus inermem.

This queene Eleanor the protectresse died in the yere of Christ 1205, being the seuenth of king John.

Geffrey Fitzpeter earle of Esser.

Geffrey Fitzpeter lord Ludgersall, who was by Richard the first made chiefe iustice of England, after the remouing of Hubert the archbishop of Canturburie, and was in the first yeare of king John girded by him with the sword of the earldome of Esser, was also protector of the realme. Who being a man of great power and authoritie, was by nature gentle, by birth noble, in the lawes cunning, in reuenues great, and to all a good iusticer. This man was a bridle to king John, to restreine his insolencie; since he was confederat and alied in friendship & bloud with all the nobilitie of England: & for that cause was greatlie feared of the K. who said of him, as he did before of the archbishop Hubert, that he then did fullie reigne, when they two were dead. For turning to those which stood by him, when news was brought vnto him of the death of Fitz Geffreie, he sware by Gods feet, that he was then king & lord of England, and not before. Which words he would not vse, when the archbishop Hubert died; because this man was yet liuing, whome the king (as is alreadie said) greatlie feared. And therefore vpon the death of the archbishop, he did onelie saie that he began to reigne; but now vpon this mans departure out of the world, he said he was become a full lord & absolute king of England. This Geffreie Fitzpeter died in the yeare of our redemption 1212, being about the fourteenth yeare of the reigne of the said miserablie afflicted king John, who died in the yeare of Christ 1216: whose death I haue beene the willinger here to mention; because I would set downe his epitaph (not else before set downe in our English chronicles) as I find the same of ancient report:

Hoc in sarcophago sepelitur regis imago,
Qui moriens multum sedauit in orbe tumultum,
Et cui connexa dum vixit probra manebant,
Hunc mala post mortem tumor est ne fata sequantur.
Qui legis hæc metuens dum cernis te moriturum,
Disci to quid rerum pariat tibi meta dierum.

This Geffreie Fitzpeter maried Beatrice, daughter and heire of William lord Saie, by whom he had issue, Geffreie Mandeuile earle of Esser, & Mawd maried to Humfreie de Bohune, by whome the Bohunes became earles of Esser.

William Marshall

William Marshall surnamed the great, being erle of Penbroke, was made protector of the realme, & person of the king, after that the king (being nine yeares of age) was crowned in the yeare of our Lord 1216. Which office this William (being also marshall of England) vsed so honorablie, that he recouered a great part of the nobilitie (which toke part with Lewes son of the French king against king John father to this Henrie) to assist the yong king Henrie against the said Lewes: who in the time of the said John had obteined a great part of the kingdome of England. By which meanes the said Lewes was expelled, and the kingdome wholie reconered to the vse of the said yong king Henrie the third. earle of Penbroke.

This William Marshall maried Isabell daughter and heire to Richard Strangbow earle of Penbroke, who made him a happie father in the multitude of his children. For by hir he had fiue sonnes; all which were in succession marshals of England, and earles of Penbroke; and fiue daughters. The sonnes were William, Richard, Gilbert, Walter, and Anselme; who all dieng without issue, the inheritance was deuolued to the fiue sisters; which were, Mawd the eldest, maried to Hugh Bigod, in hir right earle marshall; Ione the second, maried to Waraine Monchensie, in hir right also earle of Penbroke, as hath Nicholas Triuet; Isabell the third, maried to Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester; Sibill the fourth, maried to William Ferrers erle of Darbie; & Eue the fift daughter, maried to William de Berehuse, or de Braose. This William the great died in the yeare of our redemption 1219, being the third (as hath Nicholas Triuet) or the fourth (as hath Matthew Westminster) yeare of the reigne of the said king Henrie the third, and was buried at the new temple, on Ascension daie, being the seuenteenth calends of Aprill: of whome was made this epitaph by Geruasius Melckeleie, taking vpon him the person of the earle marshall:

Sum quem Saturnum sibi sentit Hibernia, Solem
Anglia, Mercurium Normannia, Gallia Martem.

Which signifieth that he was a sharpe corrector and ruler of the Irish, an honor & glorie to the English, a councellor and dispatcher of the affaires of Normandie, a warlike knight and inuincible capteine against the Frenchmen.

Peter de la Roches.

Petrus de rupibus, or Peter of the Roch, being bishop of Winchester, was after the death of William Marshall earle of Penbroke aduanced to the protectorship of the king; because that the yong king was almost destitute of anie of his owne kindred that might worthilie haue the rule of his person. For his mother queene Isabell was newlie maried to Hugh Brune earle of March in France. This bishop of Winchester (who was both a wise and a stout prelat) being now in possession of the king, and misrusking that he had entred into a more weightie office than he might well discharge, if all things were not done according to the fansie of the nobilitie, procured diuerse graue and honorable men to be preferred to the kings councell, and to be associats to him in the administration of the weale publike; and so entred into the administration of his new atchiued honor. Which yet he did not long inioie.

But as the bishop was at the first carefull to plant such of the nobilitie about the king, for the support of the realme; so yet himselfe being a Gascoine, did after in the riper yeares of the king prefer to offices about the king such Gascoins as both were of his owne bloud and kindred; and by their extraordinarie dealing procured the nobilitie with an hard and vndutifull course to oppose themselues against the king. This Peter was aduanced to the seat of Winchester, in the yeare of our redemption 1204, being about the first yeare of king John. After which he

he went to Rome, and being a prelat more fit to fight than to preach, for Mars than for the muses; did returne from Rome in the yeare of Christ 1205, being about the seuenth yeare of king John. He remained bishop about two and thirtie yeares, and died at his manour house of Fernham, on the fift ides of June, in the yeare of our Lord (as haue Matthew Paris and Matthew Westminster) 1238, being the two & twentith yeare of Henrie the third. Who somewhat before his death, about the one and thirtith yeare of his bishoprike, went into the holie land with the bishop of Excester. He builded, and indued with possessions manie religious houses: amongst which he founded Titchfield in Hampshire; of which Peter de la Roches, or of the rocks, Matthew Paris maketh a more large discourse.

Hubert de Burow earle of Kent.

Hubert de Burow, constable of Douer castle, earle of Kent, and chiefe iustice of England, being of great account in the realme for his probitie and godnesse, was made protector of the king and kingdome, in the yeare of our redemption 1221, being the fift yeare of king Henrie the third. This man in the yeare of Christ 1221 (being the same yeare in the which he was made protector) maried at Yorke, Margaret, sister to Alexander king of Scots. And here I thinke it not amisse to saie somewhat touching the issue of this Hubert of Burow, who in a certeine nameless booke (caried about in the hands of all men) treating of the nobilitie (created since the inuasion of William Conqueror) is said to die without issue: which cannot possiblie be so, if that be true which I haue seene: which I am led by manie reasons to beléeue to be most true.

For I haue read of two children which this Hubert had, whereof the one being a sonne, was called Richard de Burow, who was knighted by Henrie the third (as it séemeth to me) after the death of his father: if this Richard be not the same John, of whome Matthew Paris writeth, that in the yeare of Christ 1229, *Rex Anglorum Henricus, in die Pentecostes Iohannem filium Huberti Angliæ iusticiary cingulo militari donauit tertio nonas Iunij.* The other child was a daughter called Margaret, maried to Richard heire to the earldome of Glocester, as noteth Iohn Beuer in these words: *Richardus hæres comitis Glouerniæ Margaretam filiam Huberti de Burgo comitis Cantiæ in vxorem accepit.* This Hubert of Burow was a verie old man, who after manie persecutions by the king, and after so manie chances of both fortunes, departed this world on the fourth ides of Maie, in the yeare of our redemption 1243, being the seuen and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third at his manour of Banstud, or Bansted. Whose bodie was honorablie caried to London, and there buried in the church of the frier preachers, to whom in his life he had giuen great gifts; and amongst other things, his goodlie place which stood not far from the palace of earle Richard of Cornewall (as I with some probable reasons conjecture) nére vnto Westminster, which afterward the archbishop of Yorke did procure. His wife the countesse of Kent, being likewise verie old, a woman that kept verie great hospitalitie, and that was well beloued, died in the yeare of Christ 1259, being the three and fortith yeare of Henrie the third, about sixtéene yeares after the death of the earle hir husband.

walter Greie archbishop of Yorke.

Walter Greie archbishop of Yorke was made protector of the realme in this sort. The French king hauing vniustlie giuen the earldome of Poitiers to his brother Adulphus; Hugh Brune earle of March (the greatest of the nobilitie in that prouince) would not doo homage vnto Adulphus, but wrote his letters to his son in law king Henrie the third (whose mother Eleanor he had married) that if he would come into those parts, he should haue both aid of men, and furniture of war for the perfect restoring of those dominions to the crowne of England. For which cause Henrie the third assembling his power, did with his brother Richard (then latelie returned frō Jerusalem) depart the realme in the yéere of our redemption 1242, being the six & twentith yeare of his gouernment into Poitiers, & left the administration of the kingdome to Walter Greie archbishop of Yorke, whilest he should remaine in those parts. Which office the said archbishop held also in the yéere of Christ 1243, being the seauen and twentith yéere of king Henrie the third. Of this man is more mention made in my collection of the chancellors of England; in this place onelie further setting downe, that this Walter died in the yeare of Christ 1255, being about the nine and thirtith yeare of this Henrie the third, as hath Anonymus M. S.

Eleanor wife to king Henrie.

Eleanor daughter to Reimond earle of Prouince, wife to king Henrie the third and quéene of England, with Richard earle of Cornewall the kings brother (to whose custodie was committed Edward Longshanks, being after king of England by the name of Edward the first, son to the said king Henrie) were (in the yéere of our redemption 1253, being the seuen and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third) appointed gouernors and protectors of the realme in the kings absence, whilest he went into Gascoine, whither he went to pacifie the nobilitie, and to kéepe the same in safetie from the French. And because my pen hath here fallen vpon Richard earle of Cornwall, I determine to say somewhat of him in this place, not hauing other occasion offered to me therefore. This Richard the son of king John was borne in the yeare of Christ 1208, being the tenth yeare of the reigne king John. He was made (and so called) earle of Poitiers by Henrie the third, about the ninth yéere of his reigne, in the yéere of Christ 1225, who also that yéere with his vncle William earle of Sarisburie went into Poitiers, where he was ioifullie receiued: he putteth the earle of March to flight, he recouereth that which was lost in Gascoine, he went into the holie land, refuseth the kingdome of Apulia offered vnto him, he is chosen emperor, and receiueth that honor at Colen, being there crowned king of the Romans: he subdued Alfonsus competitor with him for the empire, he after returneth into England: he is an enimie to Simon Montfort and the barons rebelling against his brother king Henrie the third; he is taken prisoner by the barons, and is afterward deliuered: he was created knight and earle of Cornwall in the yeare of our redemption 1225, as hath Matthew Westminster, but as saith William Packington, he was created earle of Cornwall in the yeare of Christ 1227. He married foure wiues, if that Elisabeth his first wife and Isabell the widow of Gilbert de Clare were not all one woman. But leauing that to further knowledge, I doo for this time make them but one person; for so in truth it must be, whatsoeuer otherwise shall be shewed in misstaking their names. Elizabeth that was his first wife, as noteth Leland, was buried in the quére of Belland, being that woman which is called Isabell, and was the daughter of William Marshall earle of Penbroke surnamed the great: and the widow of Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester was maried to this erle of Cornwall, in the yeare of our Lord 1231 being the fiftéenth yeare of king Henrie the third.

This Isabell died in the yeare of our redemption 1240, being the foure and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, after this manner. For she being great with child, and nére to the time of hir deliuerance, fell into *Morbum ictericum*, or the

picket,

hicket, and deliuering a child into the world, which had life, and was baptised by the name of Nicholas, they both presentlie died thereupon. Which thing when the earle vnderstood being then on his iournie into Cornwall, he burst out in teares, and greatlie lamented that losse. Wherefore hastilie returning, and leauing his former iourneie, he honorablie buried his wife at * Welland or Beauleu, an house of religion builded by king John from the foundation, and replenished with Charterhouse monks.

*Bellam locum a religious house in Hampshire, as is by some supposed.

His second wife was Sinthia or Sanctia, daughter to Reimond earle of Prouince, and sister to the queene of England, wife to king Henrie the third, brother to the said Richard earle of Cornwall, who maried the said Sinthia in the yeare of our redemption 1243, being the seuen and twentith yeere of the reigne of king Henrie the third. Leland also appointeth to him the third wife, which was Beatrix de Famastais, whom he calleth queene of Almaine, & wife to king Richard, brother to Henrie the third. Which ladie died in the yere of our redemption 1277, being the first yeare of Edward the first, and was buried at the friers minors in Oxford. This noble Richard erle of Cornwall died in Februarie at Berkhamsted, in the yeare of Christ 1271, in the fiue and fiftith yeare of king Henrie the third, as saie Matthew Paris and Matthew Westminster: but Nicholas Triuet referreth his death to the yeare 1270, being the foure and fiftith yeere of Henrie the third: and the chronicle belonging to Euesham to the yeare 1272, being the six and fiftith yeare of Henrie the third. After whose death his hart was buried in the friers minors of Oxford, and his bodie committed to the earth in the monasterie of Hales (being Charterhouse monks) which he had builded at his charge of 10000 marks, which at this daie at fiue shillings the ounce of siluer amounteth to the summe of twentie thousand pounds. He had two sonnes, the one called Henrie by his first wife Isabell; the other called Edmund de Almania by his second wife Sinthia. Henrie was slaine by Simon and Guie of Montfort sonnes of the last Simon Montfort earle of Leicester, in the life of his father Richard in Italie at Viterbo, in the yere of our redemption 1270. Which fact being done in saint Sylusters church as he was at masse, occasioned the townesmen to paint the maner of his death on the wall of the church: and that picture being beheld by a certeine versifier, he was vrged thereupon to compose these following verses:

Regis Theutonici Richardi clara propago,
Sternitur Henricus, velut hæc designat imago,
Dum redit à Tripoli, regum fultus comitiua,
In crucis obsequio patitur sub gente nociua,
Irruit in templum, post missam, stirps Guenelonis
Perfodit gladius hunc Simonis atque Guidonis,
Disposuit Deus vt per eos vir tantus obiret,
Ne reuocatis his, gens Anglica tota periret,
Anno milleno Domini cum septuageno,
Atque ducено, Carolo sub rege sereno,
Vrbe Viterbina fit in eius carne ruina,
Cœli regina precor vt sit ei medicina.

His bones were brought into England, and buried in the monasterie of Hales, where his father was after also buried: but his hart was bestowed in a guilt cup, and placed beside the chaine of saint Edward the Confessor in Westminster abbeie. The other sonne to this Richard earle of Cornwall was Edmund of Almaine, who after the death of his father was inuested with the honor of the earledome of Cornwall, being borne at Berkhamsted in the yeere of our redemption 1250, being the foure and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, to whome his vncle Bonifacius bishop of Canturburie was godfather, and called him Edmund in the honor of saint Edmund archbishop of Canturburie and Confessor. This Edmund earle of Cornwall married the daughter of Richard earle of Clare, of whome shall be more spoken when we come to treat of him as protector of England.

Boniface archbishop of Canturburie.

Boniface the archbishop of Canturburie, with others which follow, were protectors of the realme after this maner, as I haue gathered. It was ordeined in the parlement at Oxford called *Parlementum insanum*, that the king should chose forth twelue persons of the realme, and the communaltie of the land other twelue, the which hauing regall authoritie in their hands, might as gardians of the kingdome take in charge vpon them the gouernment of the realme, & should from yeare to yeare prouide for the due election of iustices, chancellors, treasurors, and other officers, and further prouide to see to the safe keeping of the castels belonging to the crowne.

These foure and twentie persons appointed to that function, began to order all things at their owne pleasure: in the meane time not forgetting to vse things chieflie to their owne aduantage, as well in prouiding eycheats and wards for their children and kinsfolks, as also in bestowing of patronages of churches belonging to the kings gift, vnto their owne liking. So that these prouiders which should haue made carefull and beneficiall prouisions for the realme, made speedie and plentifull prouision for them and theirs, insomuch that neither king nor Christ could get anie thing from these protectors. There be that write, how that there were but twelue or thirteene chosen to be gouernors at this time (which for this present I deeme to be the truer opinion) whose names are as follow: Boniface archbishop of Canturburie, the bishop of Worcester, Roger Bigod earle of Norffolke and marshall of England, Simon de Montfort earle of Leicester, Richard de Clare earle of Glocester, Humfreie Bohune earle of Hereford, Richard Fitzalane earle of Arundell, sir John Mansell chiefe iustice of England, sir Roger lord Mortimer, sir Hugh Bigod, sir Peter de Sauoie, sir James Audleie, & sir Peter de Montfort. To these (as some saie) was authoritie onlie giuen to punish all such as trespassed in the breach of anie of the constitutions of the parlement of Oxford. Others say that they were made rulers & protectors of the realme, and to dispose thereof, because the king was much misseled in the gouernment of the kingdome by the peruerse councell of his flatterers. Which twelue gouernors I suppose did not long continue: for being euerie one priuatlie for himselfe, and so not iointlie for the common-wealth, they grew diuided, and what the one labored to set vp, the other sought to pull downe.

Boniface archbishop of Canturburie the second time.

Boniface archbishop of Canturburie, & the bishop of Worcester, with sir Philip Basset, or rather sir Hugh Bigod made chiefe iustice of England by the barons, were appointed in the yeere of our redemption 1260, being the fortie and fourth of king Henrie the third, to haue the gouernment of the realme in the absence of the king, whilest he remained in France at Paris about the affaires of Normandie: at what time a peace was made betweene the kings of England and France.

Gilbert de Clare.

Gilbert de Clare the second of that name that was earle of Glocester and Hertford, was the sonne of Richard de Clare erle of Glocester and Hertford, which died in the yeere of our redemption 1262, being the fortie & first yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, and was buried at Tewkesburie, with a great image of siluer and gilt vpon his tome, and the same sword and spurres which he did weare in his life time. Of which Richard these verses were composed for his probitie and rarenesse of vertuous

maners and conditions, and set vpon his tome:

Hic pudor Hyppoliti, Paridis gena, sensus Vlyssis,
Aeneæ pietas, Hectoris ira iacet.

This Gilbert (I saie) the sonne of the said Richard was after the death of Henrie the third (which happened in the yeare of our Lord 1277, & in the seuen & fiftith yeare of the reigne of the said king Henrie) in the absence of king Edward the first in the holie warres made gouernour of the realme, vntill the returne of the said king Edward into England, to which function he was appointed by king Henrie the third, lieng on his death-bed: who caused the said Gilbert to sweare to kéepe the peace of the land to the behoofe of Edward his sonne. Which he did moost faithfullie, vntill the second date of August, in the second yeare of the said king, in which the said king Edward landed in England, being in the yeare of our redemption 1274, at what time the king was honorablie interteined of the said Gilbert, and John earle of Warraine (a supporter to him in the charge of the kingdome) at the castell of Tunbridge in Kent, and Rigate in Surrie, which Gilbert with the other péers of the land, immediatlie after the death of king Henrie the third, assembling at the new temple brake the old seale of king Henrie, made a new seale in the name of king Edward, and appointed faithfull officers for the sure kéeping and obseruing of the treasure, the riches, the peace, and the lawes of the kingdoms.

This Gilbert had two wiues, his first wife was Alice the daughter of Hugh le Brune erle of March, by whom he had issue a daughter, that was countesse of Fife in Scotland: his second wife was Jone the daughter of king Edward the first, called Jone of Acres, by whome he had one sonne, called Gilbert the third, earle of Gloucester and Hertford, who married Mawd the daughter of Richard earle of Ulster in the yeare of Christ 1308 at Waltham, by whome he had issue a sonne, John borne in the yeare of Christ 1312, being in the first yeare of Edward the second, that died without issue; after the death of which Gilbert the third, his lands and earldomes of Gloucester and Hertford came to the sister of the said Gilbert the third, who was slaine in the battell of Striueling against the Scots in the seuenth (or as others haue the eight) yeare of king Edward the second, whome the Scots would gladlie haue kept for ransome if they had knowne him: but he had forgotten to put on his cote of armes to shew what he was, after which he was brought into England and was buried at Tewkesburie, vpon whose death the two earledomes of Gloucester and Hertford were so dispersed, that there was neuer anie to this daie, that iointlie succéeded or possessed them both. Thus hauing digressed from Gilbert the second, in treating of his sonne Gilbert the third, let vs againe returne to him. He besides his sonne Gilbert the third, had by his wife Jone three daughters; Elenor, first married to Hugh Spenser, second sonne to Hugh Spenser earle of Gloucester, and after his death to William Zouch; Margaret married to Piers de Gaueston earle of Cornewall, and after to Hugh Audeleie; and Elizabeth or Isabell married in the yeare of our Lord 1308, being the first yeare of Edward the second, to John the sonne of Richard earle of Ulster. This Gilbert the second, before the marriage of his second wife, was on the sixtéenth kalends of August diuorsed from Alice his first wife, in the yeare of our redemption 1271, being the six and fiftith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third; and after in Westminster church the last of Aprill married his second wife, about the eightéenth yeare of Edward the first being the yeare of Christ 1290, which Gilbert the second, being taken awaie by vntimelie death, departed this world in the yeare of our redemption 1195 (being the three and twentith of the reigne of the said Edward the first) who was in word & déed, in commandement and authoritie the greatest person of the kingdome, next to king Edward the first: for which cause he well deserued to haue his sepulture among his worthie ancestors.

Edmund erle of Cornewall.

Edmund earle of Cornewall, of whome there is somewhat spoken before, being the sonne of Richard king of Almaine, and earle of Cornewall brother to Henrie the third, married Margaret the daughter of Richard de Clare erle of Gloucester, he was made protector of the Realme by Edward the first in the fourtéenth yeare (as some saie) or in the fiftéenth, as others saie (for there is so much disagréement amongst authors for the accounts of yeares, as it passeth anie one man to reconcile them in all points) when the said king went into Aragon to reconcile the two kings of Arragon & Naples. He continued in this office in the yeare of Christ 1287, or 1228, as hath Treuet, being the sixteenth yeare of Edward the first, in which he subdued Rise ap Merdach the Welsh prince, rebelling against Edward the first, and ouerthrew the castell of Dryssillane (as hath the said Nicholas Treuet) he was lord of Wallingford, did much cost there vpon, and died without issue, as hath Matthew Westminster, in the yeare of Christ 1300: but as hath Thomas Walsingham 1301, leauing the king of England his heire. Yet are there some pedegrées and other authors, and those not the meanest, which saie that he had a daughter, Isabell married to Norice Fitz Harding lord Berkleie: so that these authors, which saie that he died without issue, are to be vnderstood of the issue male, & not of the heire generall: for they account him to die without issue, which leaueth no posteritie to continue his title of honor. The which their meaning they make more plaine, in that they saie that after his issuelesse death, the earledome came to the crowne. And here bicause there is mention made of Wallingford, I will set downe what Leland hath written touching the same, bicause I desire to make common, and to preserue all whatsoeuer monuments of Leland that come vnto my hands: thus therefore he writeth of Wallingford in his commentaries of England, written in the yeare of our redemption 1542, being the foure and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the eight in these words.

The towne of Wallingford hath béene a verie notable thing and well walled. The dich of the towne, and the crest whereupon the wals stand, be yet manifestlie perceiued, and begin from the castell, going in compasse a good mile and more, and so continueth to Wallingford bridge, a large thing of stone ouer the Thames. There remaine yet the names of these stréets amongst others. Thamesstréet, Fishstréet, Woodstréet, Goldsmiths row. And by the patents and donation of Edmund earle of Cornewall and lord of the honour of Wallingford, it appeareth that there were fourtéene parish churches in Wallingford: and there be men yet aliue that can shew the places and churchyards where they stood, at this time there are but three parish churches. The towne and the castell was sore defaced by the Danes warres, yet they mettlie florished in the time of Richard king of the Romans earle of Cornewall, and brother to Henrie the third, he did much cost vpon the castell which ioineth to the north gate of the towne, and hath three diches (as vpon the cressts of the same may appéare) large and déepe, about each of the two first diches (on the cressts of the ground cast out) runneth an embatteled wall now sore in ruine, and for the most part defaced. All the goodlie buildings, with the tower and dungeon, be within the third dich. There

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is also a collegiat chapell amongest the buildings within the third dich. Edmund earle of Cornewall son to Richard king of Romans was the first founder and indower of this college. Prince Edward the blacke (as one told me) augmented this college. There is a deane, foure priests, six clerkes, and foure choristers. The late deane before doctor London that now is, builded a faire steeple of stone at the west end of the collegiat chapell, to the making whereof he defaced (as it is said without licence) a peece of the kings lodging on the east end of the chapell. The deane hath a faire lodging of timber within the castell, and to it is ioined a place for the ministers of the chapell. Thus much Leland for Wallingford, & thus much I for Edmund earle of Cornewall and lord of Wallingford.

Edward prince of wales.

Edward of Carnaruan prince of Wales, sonne to Edward the first, was in the yeare of our redemption 1295, being the fiue and twentith yeare of Edward the first, protector of England, in the absence of his father in Flanders, who because he was of tender yeares, had as tutors and gouernours appointed vnto him Richard bishop of Durham (Eulogium hath the bishop of London) William Pontacute, with diuerse other knights, as Reignold Greie, John Giffard, & Alane Plunket, being wise, discreet and expert soldiers.

Piers de Gauestone erle of Cornewall.

Piers or Peter de Gauestone a Gascoine borne, whome king Edward the second so tenderlie loued as that he preferred him before all men, was appointed gardian of the realme in the first yeare of the said king Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1308, when the king went into France and there aboad to marrie Isabell daughter to Philip king of France, before that the said Edward was crowned king of England, as hath Radulphus Higden. Of this Piers I will here saie litle, because I haue spoken more largelie of him in my pantographie of England.

John de Drokensford.

John de Drokensford bishop of Bath and Wels, was in the yeare of our redemption 1313, being the first yeare of king Edward the second, made protector of the realme in the absence of the said king Edward the second, and his wife quéene Isabell, who went into France to solemnize the coronation of Philip (sonne to Philip king of France) who was at that instant created king of Nauarre. This Drokensford was the fourtéenth bishop of Bath & Wels. Great contention was there betwéene him and the deane and priests of that church. He succéeded in the bishoprike Walter Houelshaw. This Drokensford held the bishoprike about ninetéene yeares, he beautified the same with manie godlie buildings, procured manie priuileges vnto it, and greatlie exalted his kindred. He was buried at Welles before the high altar of saint John Baptist.

Henrie Lacie earle of Lincolne.

Henrie Lascie or Lacie earle of Lincolne, and of Salisburie, baron of Halton and of Pontfrait, corruptlie called Pomefret, and constable of Chester, was made protector of the realme in the fift yeare of Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1310, whilest the king remained in the warres of Scotland. Which Henrie died shortlie after in the same yeare, and was buried in the new worke of Paules, who carried for his armes the purple lion cõtrarie to the cote his ancestors had borne before. This man had done great seruice in the warres in the time of Edward the first, he married Margaret the daughter and heire of William Longespée earle of Salisburie, and had by hir a daughter named Alice, married to Thomas Plantagenet earle of Lancaster, Leicester, and Darbie. This Henrie (as I haue learned of other and read in Leland) had issue a bastard sonne, and hauing amongst manie other lordships the manour of Granteester besides Cambridge, he gaue the same with other lands vnto that bastard, and commanded that the same Lacie so set vp in Granteester, should for himselfe and his successors euer name their sonnes and heires by the names of Henrie, which hitherto hath beene religiouslie obserued amongst them. And this was the originall of the houses of the Lacies in Granteester, as Leland learned of him which was then heire of those lands.

Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester.

Gilbert de Clare the third earle of Glocester of that name, after the death of Henrie Lacie, was chosen gouernour of the realme (the king being still in Scotland) during the time that the king should make his abode in that countrie. Of this man se before in the discourse of his father Gilbert the second earle of Glocester and Hertford, and protector of the realme.

Edward prince of Wales.

Edward prince of Wales and duke of Aquitane, comming out of France with Isabell in the second yeare of Edward the second, his father was after his landing in England and the taking of his father made gardian of England vnder his father, which office he did not long continue: for deposing his father from the kingdome in the yeare of Christ 1326 he assumed the crowne himselfe in his fathers life.

Walter Reinolds archbishop of Canturburie.

Walter Reinolds archbishop of Canturburie was with others appointed gardian of England on this sort. Edward the third as before attaining to the crowne in the yeare of our redemption 1327, or as some others more truelie saie 1326, being fourtéene years of age did then begin his reigne. But because he was so yong (not being of power or policie to weld so great a charge) it was decréed in this first yeare of his reigne, that twelue gouernors of the greatest lords within the realme should possesse the gouernement, vntill he came to riper yeares, whose names were as insueth: Walter archbishop of Canturburie, the archbishop of Yorke, the bishop of Winchester, the bishop of Hereford, Henrie earle of Lancaster, Thomas Brotherton earle marshall, Edmund of Woodstocke earle of Kent, John earle of Warren, the lord Thomas Wake, the lord Henrie Persie, the lord Oliuer de Ingham, and the lord John Rosse, who were sworne of the kings councell and charged with the gouernement of the kingdome as they would answere for the same. But this ordinance continued not long, for in the second yeare of this king, Isabell the kings mother and the lord Roger Mortimer tooke the whole rule into their hands, in such sort that the king and his councellors were in all affaires of state, and otherwise, onelie gouerned by their direction. Of this Walter Reinolds the archbishop, because he was sometime chancellor, and sometime treasuror, is more mention made in the large volume of the liues of the chancellors.

John of Eltham earle of Cornewall.

John of Eltham earle of Cornewall sonne to Edward the second, had (in the fourth yeare of king Edward the third being the yeare of our redemption 1330) the gouernement of the realme committed vnto him, whilest king Edward the third had passed the seas onelie fiftéene horsses in his companie, apparelled in clokes like vnto merchants, which office the said John of Eltham executed vntill the returne of the said king, and before that also when the said Edward the third, in the second yeare of his reigne, did before this time go into France to do his homage. He was made earle of Cornewall in the second yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of Christ 1328, and died at Barwike, others saie at S. Johns towne in Scotland, in the moneth of October 1336, being the tenth yeare of Edward the third, and was honorablie buried at Westminster, for the solemnization of whose buriall the king

came out of Scotland about the feast of the Epiphanie.

Edward the Blacke prince.

Edward the Blacke prince, eldest sonne to Edward the third, being about the age of nine yeares, was in the twelfe yeere of his father, being the yeare of our redemption 1338, or as saith Matthew Parker 1337, made gardian of England in the absence of his father being as then sailed into Flanders to procure the Flemmings to aid him against the French king. Under which prince as some write (or rather as I for the time take it) equall in commission to him it seemeth that John archbishop of Canturburie had the chefest rule of the land, because that king Edward after his returne into England, which was about the fouretéenth or the fifteenth of his reigne, charged the said bishop with certeine negligences which he vsed in collections of monie, whilest he had the chiefe rule of the land, when he was in the wars of France. Wherefore the words of Matthew Parker in the life of the said John Stratford (saieng that the king held a parlement, in which *Omnem regni curam & gubernationem archiepiscopo comisit*) must néeds be intended that he had that charge vnder or equallie with the said Blacke prince, as chiefest councellor to support the tender yeares of his sonne.

John Stratford.

After which also in the yeare of our redemption, as hath the same Matthew Parker 1342, being about the sixteenth of the said Edward the third, the king committed the care & gouernement of the kingdome to the said archbishop, whilest the king was beyond the seas in the warres: for thus writeth the said Parker, fol. 257. *Ac paulo post nulla purgatione indicta* (speaking of the said bishop vniustlie accused to the king) *aut recepta, omnibus pene parlamenti ordinibus pro archiepiscopo deprecantibus, rex eum sua sponte legitime purgatum & excusatum pronuntiauit, eumque multo magis charum quàm ante habuit, omnibúsque gerendis in Anglia rebus se in militia absente præfecit.* Of which archbishop being sometime chancellor and treasurer of England shall be set downe a more large discourse in my large booke of the liues of the chancellors.

Lionell duke of Clarence.

Lionell third sonne to Edward the third, was in the ninth yere of the reigne of the said king Edward the third, being the yeare in which the word became flesh 1345, made gardian of England, in the absence of his father, who as then was sailed into the parts (beyond the seas) of Flanders. Of this man there is more spoken in my following treatise of the dukes of England.

Henrie lord Persie.

Henrie lord Persie, & Rafe lord Neuill, when Edward the third was sailed into Normandie, were in the twentith yere of the reigne of the said Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1346, appointed to be gardians of the realme in his absence with the archbishop of Yorke, the bishop of Lincolne, and Thomas Hatfield bishop of Durham.

Thomas of Woodstocke.

Thomas of Woodstocke being verie yong was made custos or gardian of England, in the yere that God tooke on him the forme of a seruant 1359, being the three & thirtith of the reigne of the said king Edward the third, when he sailed into France with a 1100 ships. Of this man is more spoken in my discourse of the dukes of England, set downe in the time of quéene Elizabeth: and in my treatise of the constables of England, set downe in the time of Henrie the eight pag. 867.

John of Gant duke of Lancaster.

John of Gant duke of Lancaster, fourth sonne of Edward the third, because the king his father was féeble and sicklie (being now about three score & fiue yeares of age, though Bodinus in his *Methodo historiæ* saie that he died in his climacticall yeare of three score and three: for the truth is, that the said Edward the third was fourtéene yeares old when he began to reigne, and he reigned about one and fiftie yeares, which make of his age three score and fiue yeares) but especiallie for the sorrow which the king inwardlie conceiued for the death of that worthie prince his son, commonlie surnamed the Blacke prince. This John of Gaunt (after the death of the said Blacke prince, which died in the yeare of Christ 1376, being the fiftith yeare of the reigne of Edward the third, whose death was déemed to be hastned by the said John of Gaunt aspiring to the crowne, the plat whereof though it toke not effect in the life of the said John, yet it was performed in his sonne Henrie of Bullingbroke. who deposed Richard the second) was appointed by his father Edward the third to haue the rule of the realme vnder him, the which he continued during his fathers life, which was not a full yeare after that he had made the said John of Gaunt gouernour of England. After which death of king Edward the third, when Richard the second, a child of eleuen yeares of age began his reigne, in the yeare of our redemption 1377, in the first yeare of the said Richard the second, after his coronation, the said John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, & Edmund of Langlete earle of Cambridge brother to the said John of Gaunt, were appointed to haue the gouernement of the kings person, and the administration of the common-wealth. But shortlie after, in the same yere of the king, in the yeare of our redemption 1378, the said John of Gaunt gaue vp the same office. Of this man is more said in my treatise of the dukes of England.

William Courtneie bishop of London.

William Courtneie bishop of London (but shortlie after his protectorship aduanced vnto the sée of Canturburie, in the yeare of Christ 1381, about the ninth of Januarie, being about the fourth of Richard the second, was made gouernor of the realme in this maner. After (as is before said) that the duke of Lancaster had wiselie weied the fickle estate of the realme, and considered that by the euill gouernment of the nobilitie, and inconstant mind of the yong king, there must néeds fall a change of the estate, & doubting that if any thing succéeded otherwise than the nobles liked, the cause and negligence might be imputed to him, as one who chéeflie had the gouernment in his hands (and thanks howsoeuer the state was ruled he loked for none) did in the end after a few months authoritie (wholie misliking the maners of the court, which commonlie are not of the best in the minoritie of princes) surrender his protectorship, and obteined licence of the king to depart, and so got him quietlie to his castell of Kenelworth, permitting others to haue the whole swaie of the kingdome.

Notwithstanding all which, in the second yeare of Richard the second, about the yeare of Christ 1379 being not altogither careleste of the kings well doing; this duke before his departing to Kenelworth, caused certeine graue persons with his full consent, to be ordeined, which should haue the gouernement of the kings person, and administration of the common-wealth. The names of whome were, William Courtnete before mentioned, Edmund Mortimer earle of March, Rafe Ergume bishop of Salisburie, and William lord Latimer, with others, of whome for the most part the people had conceiued a good opinion: yet because the said bishop of Salisburie, and the lord Latimer were associat to the rest, and of equall authoritie with them, the commons murmured greatlie against them. The cause for which they so misliked the lord Latimer, was for that he had sometimes bin too much fauouring to dame Alice Piers, concubine to king Edward the third, to whome the said lord Latimer was chiefe chamberleine, & therefore was of him best beloued, which two persons, the lord Latimer, and dame Alice, were by parlement

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in the fiftith yeare of Edward the third remoued from the king, for that they miscounselled him, but especiallie sith much mischiefe grew in the realme by the same Alice Piers. For she being now exalted in pride by ouermuch loue of K. Edward the third, would beyond the modestie and maner of women, sit in iudgement with the kings iustices, be with the doctors in the consistorie, turne sentences to what side she would, and require manie things dishonest in themselues, and dishonourable to the king. Of which woman, an old written chronicle belonging to the house of Euesham, hath deliuered to me these words: *Alicia Piers regis concubina supra modum mulierum nimis & supergressa, sui etiam sexus & fragilitatis fœmineæ immemor, nunc iuxta iusticiarios regios nunc in foro ecclesiastico iuxta doctores sedendo, & pro defensione causarum suadere, & etiam contra iura postulare minimè verebatur, vnde propter scandalum petierunt ab illo* (which was the king) *penitùs amoueri in parlemento tento anno Domini* 1376 *&* 50 *Ed.* 3. Thus that author.

And here before I go anie further with my protectors, bicause some curious heads that find not all these matters in the records of the tower, which they dailie turne with a churlish hand, or else thinke that nothing maie be knowne out of the walles of their office, will seeme to seeke a knot in a rush, and saie that I in compasse of some few lines haue written a contrarietie, in saieng that John of Gaunt thirsted after the kingdome, and for that cause hastened the death of his elder brother prince Edward the blacke as Richard the third did the death of his brother George duke of Clarence, which intent could not possiblie be in John of Gaunt, as appeareth by my owne following words: where I saie that he gaue ouer the protectorship of his nephue, bicause he would auoid all suspicion of euill gouernement: which hee would neuer haue done if he had so ment, that place being so apt for the execution of his purpose, and might giue occasion to him that neuer ment anie such matter before, to attempt it being in that place, as Richard duke of Yorke did attempt, but not performe it, in the time of Henrie the first; and as Richard duke of Glocester, being in the same office of protectorship, did not onelie attempt it, but brought to perfection. Whereunto I answer, that all this is no contrarietie, but onelie a manifest shew and confirmation, the one part of my words to the other. For sith he could not in the life of his father Edward the third before the crowning of king Richard the second (as Richard the third did) atteine the crowne, he would not now attempt it (the king being once crowned, and in full possession of the kingdome) so rashlie and vnaduisedlie (as did Richard duke of Yorke against Henrie, for which he was in the end slaine) least that thereby his part might seeme to carie the face of a rebellion, as in truth it should haue done. For whatsoeuer either for colour of God, benefit to their countrie, or for whatsoeuer cause, lift vp the sword against a crowned king, sitting at the sterne of gouernement, being one of the gods of the earth, the same must needs tend vnto a rebellion, which John of Gaunt would not seeme to execute, & for that cause leauing off his purpose at that time, he did in the end also leaue the whole matter to his son to performe, especiallie sith he afterward perceiued Richard the second so much to fauor and further him with monie, munition, and men, to recouer the kingdome of Castile & Arragon in Spaine, in the right of the wife of the said John of Gaunt. To whom and to his wife (as hath Henrie Knighton) king Richard the second gaue a seuerall crowne of gold to honour them withall, & to shew how intierlie he loued them when they both went into Spaine. And for these causes the said John of Gaunt refused the opportunitie of time & place in the king his nephues minoritie to execute it. But did he cease it so? No. For that sparke although it were a litle cooled, was not vtterlie quenched, bicause he hastened the same in his son, whom he not onelie persuaded, but furthered (after the banishment of his said sonne Henrie of Bullingbroke by Richard the second in the life of the said John of Gaunt) to returne into England, and after his death to chalenge by sword the earldome of Lancaster his right inheritance, and vnder the same to reuenge the death of the duke of Glocester and others: and by that means, when Richard the second was out of the realme of England in Ireland, the said Henrie Bullingbroke sonne of John of Gaunt entered the realme, put downe the king, and got the crowne which his father sought. Thus this much digressing from the protectors, and to returne to that course which I haue in hand, I will leaue the discourse of policies to obteine kingdoms, bicause they be no balles for me to bandie, and follow on my former intent as meeter for my simplicitie.

Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike was in the third yeare of Richard the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1380, made protector in this sort. In the parlement holden the same yeare, at the speciall suite of the lords, and of the commons, the bishops and barons chosen (as you haue heard) before by John of Gaunt to be protectors of the realme, were remoued, and the earle of Warwike especiallie elected to that function, to remaine continuallie with the king as cheefe gouernor of his roiall person; & one that should giue answer to all forreners repairing thither, vpon what cause soeuer their comming were; hauing further as ample gouernment of the kingdome giuen vnto him, as the other remoued gouernors had. Being placed in that office by the duke of Lancaster, he died the first ides of Aprill, in the yeare of Christ 1401, being the third yeare of Henrie the fourth. He maried Margaret, the daughter of William lord Ferrers of Grobie; by whome he had issue, Richard earle of Warwike.

Thomas Beauchamps earle of Warwike.

Thomas Fitzalane otherwise called Arundell bishop of Elie, the two and twentith that inioied that seat, being two and twentie yeares of age, and the son of Richard Fitzalane earle of Arundell & Warren, was with others made protector of England in this sort. At a parlement holden at London in the tenth yeare of Richard the second, being the yeare of Christ 1386, were certeine gouernors of the kingdome elected, because the treasure of the realme had beene imbesiled & lewdlie wasted, nothing to the profit of the king and kingdome, by the couetous and euill gouernment of the deposed officers, which were Michaell de la Pole earle of Suffolke lord chancellor, John Fordham bishop of Durham lord treasurer, & diuerse other persons that ruled about the king.

Thomas Arundell bishop of Elie.

Now the gouernors elected by this parlement were in number thirteene; and by name Thomas Arundell bishop of Elie, then made lord chancellor; John Gilbert bishop of Hereford made lord treasurer; and Nicholas abbat of Waltham at that time made keeper of the priuie seale; William Courtneie archbishop of Canturburie, Alexander Neuill archbishop of Yorke, Edmund Langleie duke of Yorke, Thomas of Woodstocke duke of Glocester, William bishop of Winchester, Thomas bishop of Ercester, Richard Fitzalane erle of Arundell, John lord Deuereux, and Reinold lord Cobham of Starborow. These were thus by parlement chosen to haue vnder the king the whole ouersight and gouernment of the realme, as by their commission in the statutes of the tenth yeare of the said Richard the second it doth in the printed booke appeare.

Edmund of Langleie duke of Yorke.

Edmund Langleie duke of Yorke, vncle vnto Richard the second, was in the eightenth yeare of the said Richard, being about the yeare of our redemption 1395, ordeined lord gardian of England, in the kings absence in the realme of Ireland. This protector caused a parlement to be assembled at Westminster: where he dealt so effectuallie, notwithstanding the vntowardnesse of the burgesses, that a tenth was granted by the cleargie, and a fiftéenth by the temporaltie; but not without protestation, that those paiments were granted of a méere fréewill, for the loue they bare to the king, and to haue the affaires in Ireland to succéed the better. After this, about foure yeares; king Richard the second in the two and twentith yeare of his reigne, in the yeare of Christ 1399, making another viage into Ireland (being the last and most vnhappie that euer was to him, for before his returne he had in effect lost his realme, which after his comming he lost in déed) did againe in his absence substitute this Edmund duke of Yorke as chéefe gouernor of England. Who in the absence of the king, assembled a power of men against Henrie of Bullingbroke, now entered into the land to challenge the dukedome of Lancaster after the death of his father John of Gaunt, and vnder that colour to vsurpe the crowne. Which Edmund passing into Wales in the three and twentith yeare of Richard the second, was receiued into the castell of Barkleie, & there remained vntill the comming of Henrie of Bullingbroke. Whom when he perceiued (for the power which the said duke of Lancaster had assembled from all parts of the realme) that he was not of sufficiencie to resist; he came forth into the church that stood without the castell, and there fell to parlée with the duke of Lancaster; after which he did neuer forsake the duke of Lancaster, vntill he came to the crowne. Who, if he had faithfullie stood vnto his nephue, might perhaps haue saued vnto him both his crowne and life. Of this man is more said in my treatise of the dukes of England.

Ione de Namures widow to Henrie the fourth.

Ione de Namures sometime dutches of Britaine, (widow to Philip Pontfort, as saith Hypodigma; but Walsingham in his historie calleth him John duke of Britaine; being also the widow of king Henrie the fourth) was substitute gouernor of the realme by hir son in law king Henrie the fift, king of England, in the third yeare of his reigne, being the yeare from the birth of the Messias 1415, when the said Henrie the fift toke his iournie into France to conquer the same. This woman in the seuenth yeare of Henrie the fift, which was in the yeare of Christ 1419, being suspected (as saith Iohn Stow) to practise witchcraft against the king, was committed to the custodie of John Wellam, or rather John Pelham, who appointed nine seruants to attend vpon hir, and brought hir to Peuenseie castell to be gouerned vnder his prouidence. But shortlie after cléering hir selfe, she was deliuered. This ladie died at Hauering at the bowre in Esser the ninth of Julie in the seuentéenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and seuen, and was buried at Canturburie with hir husband king Henrie the fourth.

John de Plantagenet duke of Bedford.

John duke of Bedford son to Henrie the fourth, & brother to K. Henrie the fift, was in the fourth yeare of the reigne of the said Henrie, being the yeare of our redemption 1416, by parlement appointed regent of the realme, to inioie the same office so long as the king was imploied in the French wars. Which place he possessed accordinglie; and in the ninth yeare of the victorious prince, king Henrie the fift, being gardian of England, he, with Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester vncle to Henrie the fift, and Jaqueline duches of Holland remaining then in England, were godfathers, and godmother to Henrie, after king by the name of Henrie the first, the son of Henrie the fift; Henrie Chichleie archbishop of Canturburie baptising the child. In the tenth and last yeare of Henrie the fift, this John with a strong power conueied quéene Katharine wife to Henrie the fift, from Southampton into France. This man being duke of Bedford, earle of Richmond and of Kendall, constable of England, and warden of the marches of Scotland, died the fourtéenth date of September at Rone in Normandie, who (hauing also béene regent of France, a most valiant gentleman, and one that kept the parts beyond the seas in great obedience to the crowne of England) had for his yearelie pension 20000 crownes at the least. After whose death all things went backeward, and the English lost all that they had beyond the seas, Calis, & those dominions onlie excepted.

This man (I saie) died in the yeare of our redemption 1435, being the thirtéenth yeare of the vnfortunat gouernment of the deposed king Henrie the first, and was honorablie buried at Rone in our ladie church there. Touching whome it shall not gréeue me to set downe the answer of a French king latelie in our age made to one of his nobilitie; saieng vnto the king (then being in the said ladie church of Rone, and beholding the towme of this John of Bedford) that it were conuenient that the same towme were defaced and pulled downe; since he was the onelie man that wrought the greatest damage that euer happened vnto France. To whom the king said; Hold thy peace fole, God forbid that euer we should doo such reproch to him being dead; whome the proudest of our nation durst not looke in the face when he was liuing. This duke John maried the second yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of Christ 1423, Anne the daughter of John duke of Burgognie, who died in the tenth yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of Christ 1433, after which he maried Jaques daughter to Peter earle of S. Paule in the same yeare, and yet died without issue. Of this man is mention made in my former discourse of the constables of England; pag. 868.

Humfreie duke of Glocester.

Humfreie duke of Glocester brother to Henrie the fift, and vncle to Henrie the first, was in the tenth and last yeare of Henrie the fift, being the yeare of our Lord 1422, made regent of England, vpon the remouing and departure of John duke of Bedford with quéene Katharine, wife to Henrie the fift into France. In which yeare (happening the lamentable death of that worthie prince king Henrie the fift) the said Henrie vpon his death-bed appointed this Humfreie to be protector of the realme; which he did exercise in the time of the minoritie of Henrie the first, from the time of his first enterance into the kingdome. Who at that time taking vpon him that function, called vnto him graue and wise councellors; with whose support he might with better honor to the realme, and benefit to the subiects, rule the ship of this kingdome, sailing in the dangerous waues of the kings infancie. By which meanes holding the sterne thereof, directed by the course of iustice, he did most honorablie during his life discharge the dutie of so weightie an office. Who in the fourtéenth yeare of Henrie the first, being the yeare of our Lord 1439, did with fiue hundred saile land at Calis, and for eleuen daies spoiled the low countries and so by Calis returned againe into England. This man in the fiue & twentith yeare of king Henrie first, being the yeare of Christ 1447, was in his castell of Ales in Wilshire, & comming from thence

to

to the parlement was lodged in the hospitall, and arrested by John lord Beaumont high constable of England. But on the foure and twentith daie of Februarie he died for sorrow as some said, and as Iohn Stow hath noted, bicause he might not come to his answer. Other write that he was murdered in the night by the quéens procurement, to the great griefe of the commons, and in time following to the vtter destruction of the king and the quéene. He was duke of Gloucester, and also in the right of his wife duke of Holland and Zeland, earle of Penbroke, lord chamberleine of England, and protector of the realme, being highlie estéemed of learned men, himselfe also not meanlie furnished with knowledge, hauing rare skill in astrologie, wherof beside manie other things he compiled a singular treatise, obteining the name of *Tabula directionum*, touching whose death I haue read these verses following in Iohn Whethamsted:

Aemula sors variis signanter honoribus altis
Causauit miserè mala multos flere ruinæ,
Læsus erat Iulius, vndis mersus Ptolomeus,
Pulsus Tarquinius, exul factúsque Tydeus,
Dux nimis properè iam dictus tempora vitæ
Compleuit tristis, heu indignatio regis
Causa fuit magna, maior detractio falsa,
Plebis & iunctæ fallacis & insidiosæ,
Nam regis patruus, quamuis & proximus hæres,
Tunc fueratque suus consultor in ordine primus,
Vir prudénsque pius, vir doctus & ingeniosus,
Non tamen erubuit, nec pertimuit, ve pepercit
Hunc accusare falsè de proditione,
Discere quódque suam clàm vellet tollere vitam
Et sibi surripere violenter iura coronæ.
Diuitis argentum, proprium qui captat in vsum,
Desiderat medium quo vindicet aptius ipsum,
Sic regem plures comitantes collaterales
Sectantur prædam, mediat fraus, dat dolus ipsam,
Fidior in regno regi duce non fuit isto,
Plusque fide stabilis aut maior amator honoris,
Et tamen vt prædo voto potiretur iniquo,
Fraudem consuluit, cum fraude dolum sociauit,
Sicque ducem falsi maculans cum proditione
Obtinuit votum, prædator erátque bonorum
Illius, & tristis obyt dux criminis expers.

Which duke Humfrie was buried at saint Albons, dieng without issue, after he had married two wiues; whereof the first wife was Jacoba or Jaqueline (daughter and sole heire of William of Bauier) being then the lawfull wife to John duke of Brabant then liuing, which wife this Humfrie married in England in the yeere of our redemption 1424 being the third yeere of king Henrie the first, vpon which grew great warres, and Humfrie duke of Gloucester challenged the combat of the duke of Burgognie, taking part with his cousine John duke of Brabant. But in the end the duke of Gloucester left his wife at Mons & returned into England, and she vnto Gaunt, and so into Holland, & the combat staid by means of the duke of Bedford brother to the duke of Gloucester. But after (as it seemeth) the duke of Gloucester was diuorsed from this dutchesse, and then married Eleanor Cobham (whome he had tenderlie loued as his paramour before that) in the yeere of our redemption 1428, being the first yeere of the reigne of king Henrie the first. This woman in the nineteenth yeere of the said Henrie the first (vpon the taking of Henrie Bullingbrook for practising necromancie, thereby to consume the king) fled in the night to Westminster for sanctuarie, which caused hir to be suspected of treason. Whereupon Bullingbrook confessing that he wrought the same at the procurement of the said Eleanor, desirous to know to what estate she should come vnto, the said dame Eleanor did oftentimes for the same cast appeare before the bishop, and in the end was conuicted. After which in the twentith of Henrie the first she did grieuous penance therefore, and so escaped with hir life. And here because I haue said somewhat of Jaqueline dutchesse of Holland, I thinke it not amisse to adde a little more of hir, being a woman of great beautie, and desire of change in performing the plesures of the flesh: wherefore I will set downe what I haue seene written vnder the pictures of hir and hir husband Francis in this sort.

The subscription vnder the pictures of *the ladie Iaqueline, and of Francis* hir husband.

Iacoba Dei gratia comitissa Hannoniæ, Hollandiæ, & Zelandiæ, domina Frisiæ, Zutbeuerlandiæ, terræ Brilensis, Vorensis, &c: Gulielmi Bauarien sis ducis filia & hæres vnica, quæ primò desponsata fuit Philippo Burgundiorum duci: postea Delphino Francorum regis filio: tertiò Iohanni duci Brabantiæ Antony filio: deinde Humfrido Glocestriæ duci Henrici quarti Angliæ regis filio: & postremò Franconi Bursalien si comiti Osteruandiæ matrimonio copulatur. Quæ obyt absque liberis 8 Idus Octobris, anno Domini 1463 *sepulta apud Hagam comitis in Hollandia.*

Beside which was this written in Dutch:
Vrowen Iacoba van Byeren Grauenne van Hollant starse Anno Domini 1463.

The subscription vnder the picture *of hir husband Francone or Fran*cis was in this sort.

Franciscus Dei gratia comes de Osteruant (erfginocht) *in comitatibus Hollandiæ, Hannoniæ, Zelandiæ, & Frisiæ landiæ, dominus de Boursalia de Vyorne, Zuylen, Hochstraten, Kortkene, de la Veer, Flisshing, Zandenburge, terræ Brilensis, Sentmartinsdike, quo loco fundauit cœnobium canonicorum, &c: & regi Edwardo quarto fideliter assistebat, necnon equestris ordinis diui Antonij.*

Beside which also was this written in the Dutch tong. Here vranck van Boselen graue van Osteruant starse Anno Domini 1470.

Thomas Beaufort duke of Exceter.

Thomas Beaufort duke of Exceter (appointed to that office by Henrie the fift on his death-bed) was with Henrie Beaufort bishop of Wincester great vncle to king Henrie the first in the yeere of our redemption 1422, being the first yeere of the reigne of king Henrie the first (then but nine months old) made protector and gardian of the person of the yong king, to see him tenderlie and carefullie brought vp and instructed in all such parts as were to be required in the person of a monarch. Which office he left about the fourth yeere of king Henrie the first, and died on Newyeeres daie at his manor of Grenwich in the said fift yeere of Henrie the first, being the yeere of our redemption 1446: he married Margaret the daughter of Thomas Neuill of Horneshie.

Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwike.

Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwike son of the former Thomas Beauchampe, being beyond the seas, and there deputie for John duke of Bedford (being regent of France) did (whilest the said regent was come ouer into England) obteine manie castels in his deputieship; who being thus imploied in the forren warres, was in his absence out of his countrie (for his singular wisdome and valor) ordeined by the three estates of the realme of England in open parlement, to be gouernor of the person of the yong king Henrie the first, in the place of Thomas Beaufort duke of Exceter latelie deceased: which Richard did not yet forthwith hasten his returne into England, but remained in France for a season, inlarging

inlarging the fame of his martiall exploits. This his election to the protectorship of the kings person, was in the fift yére of Henrie the first, being the yére of our redemption 1426. He died in the yere of our Lord 1439, being the seuentéenth yére of the deposed king Henrie the first, at Rone in Normandie the last daie of Maie, as hath Iohn Stow; and the fourth of October next following his corps was honorablie conueied, as well by land as by water from Rone to Warwike, and there honorablie buried in the college of our ladie church founded by his noble ancestors. He maried two wiues, the first Elisabeth daughter and heire of Thomas lord Barkleie, by whome he had three daughters, Margaret maried to John lord Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, Eleanor maried to Thomas lord Rosse, and Elisabeth maried to George Neuill lord Latimer. His second wife was Isabell the daughter and heire of Richard lord Spenser, by whome he had issue Henrie duke of Warwike, and Anne married to Richard Neuill earle of Salisburie.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, sonne to Richard earle of Cambrige, and father to Edward the fourth king of England, notwithstanding that he made challenge to the crowne against Henrie the first, then in possession thereof, as heire to the house of Yorke, and was to be preferred before the house of Lancaster; and notwithstanding that he was by parlement appointed to weare the crowne after the death of Henrie the first: yet after all this, in the three and thirtith yere of the same king, being the yere of our redemption 1455 (such was the imperfection of the king to gouerne) he was appointed protector of the realme, ruling the same at his owne disposition. Which office he did not long inioie, and that most worthilie: for the next yére after being the foure and thirtith of king Henrie the first, and the yere of our redemption 1456, he was depriued from the same, and quéene Margaret wife to Henrie the first toke againe the absolute regiment into hir hands: which duke after in the nine and thirtith of king Henrie the first, being the yére of our redemption 1460, the thirtith daie of December, being lord of Wakefield, was there with his sonne the earle of Rutland slaine at the battell commonlie called the battell of Wakefield; of which I haue read these verses in Whethamsted once abbat of saint Albons:

This was done 1461, counting the yeare to begin at Christmas as some doo, or at Januarie as others doo.

Anno milleno centum quater quoque seno,
Terdenóque die, duodeno mense Decembre,
Infra Eboracensem iuxta Wakefield comitatum
Dux dominus villæ fertur pugnans habuisse
Conflictum grandem contra gentem borealem,
Ac proceres plures præerant quæ gentibus ipsis,
Quod docuit, quia sors quod res fortuna secundas,
Vitat habere moras, cecidit dux natus & eius,
Ac comes insignis sors belli, sors fuit ipsis
Obuia, sicque fatis regni fuerat breuis hæres
Omen & id lætum tulerat mutamine mœstum
Deflendum multis, ius regni, ius fuit eius.

He maried Cicilie daughter to Rafe Neuill first earle of Westmerland, by whome he had issue Edward duke of Yorke, earle of March, and after king of England by the name of Edward the fourth: George Plantagenet duke of Clarence, Richard Plantagenet duke of Glocester, after king of England by the name of Richard the third: three daughters, Anne maried to Henrie Holland duke of Excester, Elisabeth married to John de la Pole duke of Suffolke, and Margaret maried to Charles duke of Burgognie.

George Plantagenet duke of Clarence.

George Plantagenet duke of Clarence, and constable of England, sonne of the foresaid duke of Yorke, and brother to king Edward the fourth, with Richard Neuill earle of Warwike (who set vp and pulled downe kings at his pleasure) were after the flight of Edward the fourth out of England into Burgognie to his brother in law (in the tenth yeare of the reigne of the said king Edward, being the yeare of our redemption 1470, when Henrie the first had by their means readepted the kingdome) made gouernors of the land, which office they inioied not long. For the said Edward the fourth returning into England, in the eleuenth yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our redemption 1471, reconciled to him the duke of Clarence, did againe put downe king Henrie the first, and slue the said earle of Warwike (flieng awaie) at Barnet field (on Easter day) by one of the men of his campe. After this, on the fiftéenth daie of Januarie began a parlement, in the eightéenth yere of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1478, where this duke of Clarence was atteinted of treason, and the eleuenth of March following he ended his life in a but of malmesele, and was buried at Tewkesburie beside his wife, who being with child died by poison a little before him. Of this man sée more in my discourse of the constables of England pag. 869.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Glocester.

Richard Plantagenet third sonne to Richard duke of Yorke, was constable of England and gouernour of the person of the king, of whome is more spoken in my discourse of the constables of England pag. 869. But here mentioning the constables of England, I thinke it better now than not at all, to mention also some imperfection and default in my former discourse of the said constables, set downe by me before in pag. 865. Which default of mine in that place grew by reason of ouermuch hast, which I vsed in sudden séeking for the same, whereby (according to the old prouerbe) I brought forth a blind whelpe. For in the former description I haue omitted diuerse the which were constables of England, the names of which were Henrie the first in the life of his father, Nigellus, and Robert de Oilie, with others of that line in descent, which Nigellus I can not as yet learne to be anie other but Nigellus de Oilie, brother to Robert de Oilie that came in with the Conqueror, who gaue Oxfordshire vnto the said Robert.

A digression concerning the constables of England not mentioned before in pag. 865.

Nigellus de Oilie constable of England.

Besides which, if it shall séeme to anie that I haue in my former treatise rashlie written I know not what, & that here I make Henrie the first constable in his father the Conquerors time, & by contrarietie thereunto did before make Walter constable also in the Conquerors and William Rufus his time: let them know that there is no contrarietie herein. For Walter might first be constable, & then Henrie the first, and both they in the Conquerors time, this office being taken from the first, and given to the latter by the Conqueror. After whose death William Rufus might take it from his brother Henrie, bicause he would not make him too great in England, for doubt least he might thereby put the crowne in hazard, being fauoured of the people as one borne in England, and for that cause might restore that office to Walter. Againe it maie be, that some men reading that I haue before set downe, that Mawd the empresse gaue the constablership to Milo the son of Walter in the first of king Stephan, and that king Stephan toke that office from Milo in the first yere of his reigne, and gaue it to Walter Beauchampe, will condemne me therefore of like vnaduised writing: bicause it seemeth thereby that Stephan toke it from Milo before that Milo had it. Which is not so, for I can proue with some reason and authoritie, that Milo had it a little before the death of king Henrie the first, and also after his death in part of the first yeare of king Stephan, being witnesse to a deed by king Stephan, made and dated the first of his reigne,

to

to which he subscribed his name *Milo Constabularius*, After which, king Stephan might in that yeare take that office from him, and so he did. Which Mawd the empresse vnderstanding, and finding Milo (now fallen from king Stephan) one which assisted hir, she the better to confront Stephan, gaue the constableship to Milo (accounting hir selfe as quéene) in the first of Stephan.

This being thus spoken in defense of that which before I haue written pag. 866. let vs go to our other matter concerning the constables not mentioned before in the said discourse, wherein I find my selfe in a maruellous laberinth (out of which I doubt that the best antiquaries cannot lose themselues, no not he which thinketh and saith that he can controll all men, for I suppose he will be lame in this matter) how all these could be constables, vnlesse that in the time of Henrie the first, and of king Stephan, as it is most likelie, there was chopping & changing, putting in and taking out, setting vp and pulling downe one man in diuerse yeares of one and the selfe same king: for king Stephan was sometime a king, and sometime as no king, and then againe a king. And so likewise was it with Mawd the empresse at the same time, bearing hir selfe sometime as quéene, and then deiected as no quéene. But be it as it will be, I will here set downe what I find in ancient charters and pedegrées touching the constables of England not before mentioned, leauing the same to others (either to order for succession of time, or to amend for truth of matter) who peraduenture reading these things, which I haue séene and will here set downe, can bestow them in better order than I can, which I earnestlie praie them to do, whereby truth maie be brought to light and perfection; which as yet touching these constables set downe in this place, séemeth to be obscured and confused vntill the time that Roger Fitz Miles had that office: for from his time the same is without all controuersie sufficientlie knowne. Wherefore, here before I enter into the descent of the de Dilies, who were constables of England, I will set downe a strange note of three persons witnesses to a déed, dated *Primo Stephani, anno Dom.* 1136, who do all subscribe their names as constables. Which charter being the same wherein king Stephan gaue the manor of Sudton or Sutton to the house of Winchester, the same was amongst other witnesses thus signed, *Robertus de Veer constabularius, Milo constabularius, Brientius filius comitis constabularius*: all who could not be constables of England at one time. Wherfore sauing correction I suppose that it is out of all controuersie, that neither the first nor the last of these three were constables of England but of some other places, as of Douer or other castels. And so to that which I haue further to saie of the kings constables in one descent and succession of the de Dilies, being tearmed the kings constables, both in ancient charters and pedegrées, whereof Nigellus before mentioned séemeth to be one.

This Nigellus was constable of England in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred and one, being the first yéere of king Henrie the first, as may apeare by a déed of confirmation made by Henrie the first touching the cathedrall church of Norwich, whereof I thinke good to saie somewhat to bring in the proofe that this Nigellus was constable.

The foundation of the cathedrall church of Norwich.

This church was built for the most part in the time of William Rufus, by Herebert de Losinga the first bishop of Norwich, who translated the see from Thetford vnto Norwich, in the yeare of Christ 1094, which church being finished and consecrated to the holie trinitie, was afterward confirmed by Henrie the first, and Mawd his wife, in the first yeare of the said Henrie, being the yeare of our redemption 1101, to the charter whereof signed by king Henrie & Mawd his wife, were manie bishops, noblemen and abbats witnesses, amongst whome are these two set downe; Nigellus Constabularius, and Rogerus Cancellarius, of which Nigellus thus writeth Leland in his commentaries on the song of the swan in the word *Isidis insula*: *Erat Roberto frater Nigellus nomine, de quo fama non admodum multa refert*, which I suppose is this Nigellus de Oilie the constable, as I before said.

Robert de Oilie constable of England.

Robert de Oilie, sonne of the said Nigellus, did succéed his father, and was as may appeare by some authors (who tearme him accordinglie) great constable of England. This man together with his wife Edith were the founders of the religious house of Osneie, touching whome I shall not grœue to set downe what I haue gathered out of Leland and others. This Edith obteined of hir husband to build a church in the Ile of Osneie in Oxfordshire, to our sauiour Christ, about the yeare of our redemption 1129, being about the nine and twentith yeare of king Henrie the first, which church did after grow to be of great renowme and building, the occasion of building whereof is set downe by others in this sort. Edith being in great estimation with Henrie, first married the said Robert de Oilie by the kings procurement, which Robert began the priorie of the blacke chanons of Osneie by Oxford, amongst the Iles made by the riuer of Isis or Owse. This Edith vsed oftentimes to walke out of Oxford castell with hir gentlewomen for to solace and recreate hir selfe. At what time at a certeine place, as often as she came by the same, certeine pies assembled themselues in a tree, where they chattered and as it were spake vnto hir. This ladie much maruelling at the matter, happening so continuallie at one time in one place after one order, and with one maner of foules, was manie times astonished and feared therewith, estéeming it a verie strange wonder. Wherupon she sent for one Radulph or Rafe a chanon of saint Frideswide in Oxford, a man of vertuous life & hir confessor, asking his counsell vpon the same. To whom he answered (after that he had séene the order of those pies onelie chattering at hir comming thither) that she should build some church or monasterie in that place. Wherevpon she intreated hir husband to build a priorie, and so he did, making that Radulph the first prior of that house. All which matter, that is the comming of Edith to Osneie, Radulph waiting on hir, and the tree with the pies were all extant (at the generall dissolution of the abbeies in the time of Henrie the eight) to be séene painted on the north side of the high altar, in the arch of the wall ouer Ediths tome in Osneie priorie, vpon which tome there laie a stone image of Edith in the habit of a nonnesse holding a hart in hir right hand. This Robert de Oilie was buried in Osneie in the verie middle of the presbiterie, vnder a flat marble stone; wherevpon was a flowred crosse portraid, which Robert had issue Henrie de Oilie, baron of Hochnorton, & the kings constable, which maried Margerie the daughter of Humfrete de Bohune, by whome that Henrie had issue Henrie de Oilie baron of Hochnorton, and the kings constable which died without issue. Thus this much by waie of digression, touching the constables of England, left out in my former discourse of those officers. And so againe to the protectors.

The foundation of the abbeie of Osneie or Owsneie in the yeare of Christ 1129, being about the thirtith yeare of Henrie the first, as some write.

Katharine quéene of England.

Katharine the daughter of Ferdinando king of Spaine, and wife to king Henrie the eight, was (in the absence of the said king beyond the seas in the the warres of Turwine and Turneie) made regent of the realme, in the yeare of Christ 1513, and the fift yeare of king Henrie the eight, she had béene the widow of Arthur prince of Wales, eldest sonne vnto king Henrie the seauenth, and eldest brother to king Henrie

Henrie the eight, who after the death of that Arthur was by dispensation of the pope married to Henrie after king, by the name of Henrie the eight, being yonger brother of the said Arthur, from which king Henrie she was afterward not onelie diuorsed, in the one and twentith of his reigne, being the yeare of Christ 1529, but after by parlement also in the foure and twentith of the kings reigne, in the yeare of Christ 1532, disgraded from the name of quéene, and from thenseforth appointed onlie to be called the princesse dowager of prince Arthur, about fiue yeers after which she died on the eight of Januarie, being the yeare of our redemption 1535, which was the seauen and twentith yeare of king Henrie the eight, and was honourablie buried in the abbeie of Peterborow, for which cause afterward in the generall dissolution of the abbeies, when all those houses were spoiled, this abbeie was not onelie for hir buriall there spared and not defaced, but also further honored with a greater title, and turned into a bishoprike, by the said king Henrie the eight.

Katharine Par, the daughter of sir Thomas Par, lord of Kirkbie Kendall, and wife to king Henrie the eight, was by patent made protectresse of the realme of England, when king Henrie the eight went in person to the wars of Bullongne, on the thirtéenth of Julie in the yeare of our redemption 1544, being the six & thirtith yeare of the triumphant reigne of the said king. This ladie Katharine being the lord Latimers widow, was maried to the king at Hampton court, one the twelfe of Julie being the fiue and thirtith yeare of his reigne, and the yeare of Christ 1543, who hauing no issue by the king, was after the kings death married to Thomas Seimer knight, lord Seimer of Sudleie and high admerall of England.

Edward Seimer knight, vicount Beauchampe earle of Hertford, & after duke of Summerset, was protector of the kings person, and of the kingdome, in the first yeare of king Edward the first, his nephue which was in the yeare of our redemption 1546, the king being then but nine yeares old. Of this man is more spoken in my following discourse of all the dukes of England by creation or descent since the conquest, with which duke of Summerset, the last in office of protectorship, Francis Thin knitteth vp this simple discourse of the protectors of England of the kings person.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. 1051. Curteis, alderman of London committed to ward for vnreuerend words and signes to the lord chancellor.

Anno Reg. 6. Sir Rafe Vane & other executed. House blowne vp with gunpowder.

¶ On the 17 of Februarie, on which daie were receiued the bookes of the relefe of all the wards of London, towards the new hospitals, by the kings commissioners, the councell dined at maister Cowpers the shirifke, and after dinner maister Thomas Curteis alderman came thither to speake with the lord chancellor for a matter he had depending afore him in the chancerie, but for his misdemeanour in words and signes to the lord chancellor at that time, the said maister Curteis was committed to ward in the Fléet.] The six and twentith of Februarie, sir Rafe Vane and sir Miles Patridge were hanged on the tower hill; & sir Michaell Stanhope with sir Thomas Arundell were beheaded there. The last of Aprill, through negligence of the gunpowder makers, a certeine house nére the tower of London, with three last of powder was blowne vp and burnt, the gunpowder makers being fiftéene in number, were all slaine.

Muster of horssemen before the king in Grénwich parke.

The sixtenth of Maie was a goodlie muster of horssemen made before the king, in the parke at Grénwich, vnder the kings banner his band of pensioners, in number a hundred and fiftie, euerie pensioner two great horsses and a gelding, the lord Wate their lieutenant. The duke of Northumberland, great maister of the kings houshold vnder the white lion & the ragged staffe fiftie. The duke of Suffolke vnder the vnicorne in the starre a hundred and ten. The lord marquesse of Winchester, high treasuror, vnder his banner the falcon, one hundred men. The marquesse of Northampton high chamberleine vnder the maidenhead a hundred. The earle of Bedford lord priuie seale vnder the gote a hundred. The erle of Warwike maister of the kings horsses vnder the white lion fiftie. The erle of Huntington vnder his banner fiftie. The earle of Rutland vnder the peacocke fiftie. The earle of Penbroke vnder the greene dragon fiftie. The lord Darcie vnder the maidens bodie fiftie. The lord Cobham vnder the Saracens head, fiftie. The lord Clinton lord admerall vnder the anchor, fiftie. The lord warden of the fiue ports, vnder the rose in the sunne beames, one hundred.

Dukes. Marquesses. Earles. Lords.

Not long after the death of the said duke of Summerset and his complices, it chanced the reuerend father in God maister doctor Ridleie then bishop of London, to preach before the kings maiestie at Westminster. In the which sermon he made a fruitfull and godlie exhortation to the rich, to be mercifull vnto the poore, and also to moue such as were in authoritie, to trauell by some charitable waie & meane, to comfort and releéue them. Wherevpon the kings maiestie being a prince of such towardnesse and vertue for his yeares, as England before neuer brought forth, and the same also being so well reteined and brought vp in all godlie knowledge, as well by his déere vncle the late protector, as also by his vertuous and learned scholemaisters, was so carefull of the good gouernement of the realme, and chieflie to do and prefer such things as most specíallie touched the honor of almightie God. And vnderstanding that a great number of poore people did swarme in this realme, and chieflie in the citie of London, and that no good order was taken for them, did suddenlie and of himselfe send to the said bishop as soone as his sermon was ended, willing him not to depart, vntill that he had spoken with him (and this that I now write was the verie report of the said bishop Ridleie) who according to the kings commandement gaue his attendance. And so soone as the kings maiestie was at leasure, he called for him, and made him to come vnto him in a great gallerie at Westminster, where (to his knowledge) and the king also told him so, there was present no mo persons than they two, and therefore made him sit downe in one chaire, and he himselfe in another, which (as it séemed) were before the comming of the bishop there purposelie set, & caused the bishop (maugre his téeth) to be couered, and then entered communication with him in this sort.

Rich. Grafton Doctor Ridleie preached before the king, mercie and charitie.

The verie report of bishop Ridleie, wherin we may se what fruits followed vpon his sermon: *Ergo* the hearing of the word preached is profitable.

First giuing him most hartie thanks for his sermon and good exhortation, he therein rehearsed such speciall things as he had noted, and that so manie, that the bishop said; Trulie, trulie (for that was commonlie his oth) I could neuer haue thought that excellencie to haue béene in his grace, that I beheld and saw in him. At the last, the kings maiestie much commended him for his exhortation for the releefe of the poore. But my lord (saith he) ye willed such as are in authoritie to be carefull therof, and to deuise some good order for their releefe, wherein I thinke you meane me, for I am in highest place, and therefore am the first that must make answere vnto God for my negligence, if I should not be carefull therein, knowing it to be the expresse commandement of almightie God, to haue compassion of his poore and néedie members, for whome we must make an accompt vnto him. And trulie my lord, I am before all things most willing to trauell that waie, and I doubt

" " " " " " " " " "

A most noble and vertuous saieng of king Edward to bishop Ridleie.

" doubt nothing of your long and approued wisedome
" and learning, who hauing such good zeale as wisheth
" helpe vnto them, but that also you haue had some
" conference with others, what waies are best to be ta-
" ken therein, the which I am desirous to vnderstand,
" and therefore I praie you saie your mind.

The bishop thinking least of that matter, and being amazed to heare the wisdome and earnest zeale of the king, was (as he said himselfe) so astonied, that he could not well tell what to saie: but after some pause, said that as he thought at this present for some entrance to be had, it were good to practise with the citie of London, because the number of the poore there are verie great, & the citizens are manie & also wise; and he doubted not but they were also both pitifull & mercifull, as the maior & his brethren, & other the worshipfull of the said citie. And that if it would please the kings maiestie to direct his gratious letter vnto the maior of London, willing him to call vnto him such assistants as he should thinke meet, to consult of this matter, for some order to be taken therein, he doubted not but good should follow thereof. And he himselfe promised the king to be one himselfe that should earnestlie trauell therein.

The citizens of London moued to be assistants in this charitable action.

The king forthwith not onelie granted his letter, but made the bishop tarie vntill the same was written, and his hand and signet set thereunto, and commanded the bishop not onelie to deliuer the said letter himselfe, but also to signifie vnto the maior, that it was the kings speciall request and expresse commandement, that the maior should therein trauell, and as soone as he might conuenientlie giue him knowledge how farre he had proceeded therein. The bishop was so iolous of the hauing of this letter, and that he had now an occasion to trauell in that good matter, wherein he was maruellous zealous, that nothing could more haue pleased and delighted him: wherefore the same night he came to the maior of London, who then was sir Richard Dobs knight, and deliuered the kings letter, and shewed his message with effect.

The readines of the lord maior to prefer this good deed.

The maior not onelie iolouslie receiued this letter, but with all speed agreed to set forward this matter, for he also fauoured it verie much. And the next daie being mondaie, he desired the bishop of London to dine with him: and against that time, the maior promised that he would send for such men, as he thought meetest to talke of this matter, and so he did. And sent first for two aldermen and six commoners, and afterward were appointed more, to the number of foure and twentie. And in the end after sundrie meetings (for by meane of the good diligence of the bishop it was well followed) they agreed vpon a booke that they had deuised, wherein first they considered of nine speciall kinds and sorts of poore people, and those same they brought in these three degrees:

Degrées of poore.

Three degrées of poore.
- The poore by impotencie.
- Poore by casualtie.
- Thriftlesse poore.

1 The poore by impotencie are also diuided into three kinds, that is to saie:
- 1 The fatherlesse poore mans child.
- 2 The aged, blind, and lame.
- 3 The diseased person, by leprosie, dropsie, &c.

2 The poore by casualtie are of three kinds, that is to saie:
- 4 The wounded souldier.
- 5 The decaied housholder.
- 6 The visited with greeuous disease.

3 The thriftles poore are three kinds in likewise, that is to saie:
- 7 The riotor that consumeth all.
- 8 The vagabond that will abide in no place.
- 9 The idle person, as the strumpet and others.

For these sorts of poore were prouided three seuerall houses. First for the innocent and fatherlesse, which is the beggers child, and is in deed the seed and breeder of beggerie, they prouided the house that was late Graie friers in London, and now is called Christes hospitall, where the poore children are trained in the knowledge of God, and some vertuous exercise to the ouerthrowe of beggerie. For the second degree is prouided the hospitall of saint Thomas in Southworke, & saint Bartholomew in west Smithfield, where are continuallie at least two hundred diseased persons, which are not onelie there lodged and cured, but also fed and nourished. For the third degree they prouided Bridewell, where the vagabond and idle strumpet is chastised and compelled to labour, to the ouerthrow of the vicious life of idlenes. They prouided also for the honest decaied housholder, that he should be relieued at home at his house, and in the parish where he dwelled by a weekelie reliefe and pension. And in like manner they prouided for the lazer to keepe him out of the citie from clapping of dishes, and ringing of bels, to the great trouble of the citizens, and also to the dangerous infection of manie, that they should be relieued at home at their houses with seuerall pensions.

Christes hospitall.

S. Thomas hospitall.

Bridewell.

Reliefe for the decaied housholder and lazer.

Now after this good order taken, and the citizens by such meanes as were deuised, willing to further the same, the report therof was made vnto the kings maiestie: and his grace for the aduancement hereof, was not onelie willing to grant such as should be the ouerseers and gouernors of the said houses a corporation and authoritie for the gouernement thereof: but also required that he might be accounted as the chiefe founder and patrone thereof. And for the furtherance of the said worke, and continuall maintenance of the same, he of his meere mercie and goodnesse granted, that where before certeine lands were giuen to the maintenance of the house of the Sauoie, founded by king Henrie the seuenth, for the lodging of pilgrims and strangers, and that the same was now made but a lodging of loiterers, vagabonds, and strumpets that laie all daie in the fields, and at night were harboured there, the which was rather the maintenance of beggerie, than the relefe of the poore, gaue the same lands, being first surrendred into his hands by the maister and fellowes there (which lands were of the yearelie value of six hundred pounds) vnto the citie of London, for the maintenance of the foundation aforesaid.

K. Edward the sixt founder of the hospitals in London.

And for a further relefe, a petition being made to the kings maiestie for a licence to take in mortmaine, or otherwise without licence, lands to a certeine yearelie value, and a space left in the patent for his grace to put in what summe it would please him; he loking on the void place, called for pen and inke, and with his owne hand wrote this summe, in these words (foure thousand marks by yeare) and then said in the hearing of his councell: Lord God I yeld thee most hartie thanks, that thou hast giuen mee life thus long, to finish this worke to the glorie of thy name. After which foundation established, he liued not aboue two daies, whose life would haue beene wished equall to the patriarchs, if it might haue pleased God so to haue protracted the same. But he was too good a prince for so bad a people, and therefore God remoued him, and translated him to his owne kingdome, foreseeing the euent of something which in his secret counsell he had purposed, against a nation that knew not the benefit of the acceptable time of grace: wherein God by this peereles princes means ment all good to this land, as might be gathered by the reformation of religion, wherin the kings care was exceeding great, as his desire to establish Gods glorie was zealous: according to that notable

A blessed king.

allusion

allusion of Iohn Leland recorded in praise of this most excellent prince, as followeth in this epigram:

Alluſio ad etymon nominis Eaduerdi.

Quiſquis Eaduerdum Romano expreſſerat ore,
Cuſtodem fidei dixerit eſſe ſacræ.
Hoc ego crediderim puero feliciter orto
A ſuperis nomen cælitus eſſe datum.
Eſt pater antiquæ fidei defenſor amicus,
Degener & nullo tempore natus erit.

But to returne where we left. By example of the charitable act of this vertuous yong king, ſir William Chester knight and alderman of London, and Iohn Calthrop citizen and draper of the ſaid citie, at their owne proper coſts and charges made the bricke walles and way on the backeſide that leadeth from the ſaid new hoſpitall, vnto the hoſpitall of ſaint Bartholomewes, and alſo couered and vaulted the towne dich from Alderſgate to Newgate, which before was verie noiſome and contagious to the ſaid hoſpitall.

Sir William Chester. Iohn Calthrop draper.

This hoſpitall being thus erected and put in good order, there was one Richard Caſtell *alias* Caſteller, ſhomaker, dwelling in Weſtminſter, a man of great trauell and labor in his facultie with his owne hands, and ſuch a one as was named the cocke of Weſtminſter, for that both winter and ſummer he was at his worke before foure of the clocke in the morning. This man thus trulie and painfullie labouring for his liuing, God bleſſed and increaſed his labours ſo abundantlie, that he purchaſed lands and tenements in Weſtminſter, to the yearelie value of fortie and foure pounds. And hauing no child, with the conſent of his wife (who ſuruiued him, & was a vertuous & good woman) gaue the ſame lands wholie to Chriſts hoſpitall aforeſaid, to the releife of the innocent and fatherleſſe children, and for the ſuccor of the miſerable, ſore and ſicke, harbored in the other hoſpitals about London, whoſe example God grant manie to follow.

Richard Caſtel ſhomaker.

¶The third of Auguſt, at Midlenton eleuen miles from Oxford, a woman brought forth a child which had two perfect bodies from the nauill vpward, and were ſo ioined togither at the nauill, that when they were laid in length, the one head & bodie was eaſtward, and the other weſt: the legs for both the bodies grew out at the midſt where the bodies ioined, and had but one iſſue for the excrements of both bodies: they liued eightéene daies, and were women children. The eight of Auguſt were taken at Quinborow three great fiſhes called dolphins: & the weeke following at Blackewall were ſir more taken, and brought to London, the leaſt of them was more than anie horſſe.]

I. Stow. 1053. A monſter.

Great fiſhes,

Much about this ſeaſon there were three notable ſhips ſet forth and furniſhed for the great aduenture of the vnknowne voiage into the eaſt by the north ſeas. The great doer and incourager of which voiage was Sebaſtian Gabato an Engliſhman, borne at Briſtow, but was the ſonne of a Genowaie. Theſe ſhips at the laſt arriued in the countrie of Moſcouia, not without great loſſe and danger, and namelie of their capteine, who was a worthie and aduenturous gentleman, called ſir Hugh Willoughbie knight, who being toſſed and driuen by tempeſt, was at the laſt found in his ſhip frozen to death and all his people. But now the ſaid voiage and trade is greatlie aduanced, and the merchants aduenturing that waie, are newlie by act of parlement incorporated and indued with ſundrie priuileges and liberties.

Sebaſtian Gabato.

About the beginning of the moneth of Maie next following, there were three notable mariages concluded, & ſhortlie after ſolemnized at Durham place. The firſt was betweene the lord Gilford Dudleie, the fourth ſonne of the duke of Northumberland, and the ladie Jane, eldeſt daughter to Henrie duke of Suffolke, & the ladie Francis his wife, was the daughter of Marie ſecond ſiſter to king Henrie the eight, firſt maried to Lewes the French king, and after to Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke. The ſecond mariage was betweene the lord Herbert, ſon and heire to William earle of Penbroke, and the ladie Katharine, ſecond daughter of the ſaid ladie Francis, by the ſaid Henrie duke of Suffolke. And the third was betweene Henrie lord Haſtings, ſonne and heire to Francis earle of Huntington, and ladie Katharine yongeſt daughter to the forenamed duke of Northumberland.

Three mariages betweene great eſtates.

Theſe mariages were compaſſed & concluded chiefly vpon purpoſe to change & alter the order of ſucceſſion to the crowne, made in the time of king Henrie the eight, from the ſaid kings daughters, Marie and Elizabeth, and to conueie the ſame immediatlie after the death of king Edward to the houſe of Suffolke, in the right of the ſaid ladie Francis: wherein the ſaid yong king was an earneſt traueller in the time of his ſickeneſſe, & all for feare that if his ſiſter Marie, being next heire to the crowne, ſhould ſucceed, that ſhe would ſubuert all his lawes and ſtatutes made concerning religion, whereof he was moſt carefull: for the continuance whereof he ſought to eſtabliſh a meet order of ſucceſſion, by the aliance of great houſes by waie of marriage, which neuertheleſſe were of no force to ſerue his purpoſe. For tending to the diſheriting of the rightfull heirs, they proued nothing proſperous to the parties: for two of them were ſone after made fruſtrate, the one by death, the other by diuorſe.

The end and whereto the knitting of theſe couples in mariage tended.

The kings feare fell out to be true.

In the meane while, the king became euerie date more ſicke than other of a conſumption in his lungs, ſo as there was no hope of his recouerie. Whereupon thoſe that then bare chiefe authoritie in councell, with other prelats and nobles of the realme, called to them diuerſe notable perſons, learned as well in diuinitie as in the lawes of the land, namelie biſhops, iudges, & other, who fell to conſultation vpon this ſo weightie cauſe, and laſtlie concluded vpon the deuiſe of king Edwards will, to declare the ſaid ladie Jane, eldeſt neece to king Henrie the eight, and wife to the ſaid lord Gilford, to be rightfull heire in ſucceſſion to the crowne of England, without reſpect had to the ſtatute made in the fiue and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the eight: the true meaning of which ſtatute they did impugne and ouerthrow by diuerſe ſubtill ſiniſter conſtructions of the ſame, to diſherit the ſaid kings daughters, to whome the ſucceſſion of the crowne of England of right appertened, as well by the common lawes of this realme, as alſo by the ſaid ſtatute made in the ſaid fiue and thirtith yeare of king Henrie, as aforeſaid. To which new order of ſucceſſion, all the ſaid kings councell, with manie biſhops, lords, doctors and iudges of the realme ſubſcribed their names, without refuſall of anie, except ſir James Hales knight, one of the iuſtices of the common plées, who being called to this councell, would in no wiſe giue his aſſent, either by word or writing, as ye ſhall heare more in the hiſtorie of quéene Marie.

The kings ſickeneſſe increaſeth.

An euill minded conſultation of counſellors.

Sir James Hales the odd man.

Now when theſe matters were thus concluded, and after confirmed by a number of hands, as aforeſaid, then the noble prince king Edward the firſt, by long lingering ſickeneſſe and conſumption of his lungs aforeſaid, approched to his death, and departed out of this life the firſt daie of Julie, in the ſeuenth yeare of his reigne, and ſeuenteenth of his age, after he had reigned and noblie gouerned this realme ſir yeares, fiue moneths, and eight daies. And a little before his departing, lifting vp his eies to God, hee praied as followeth.

The death of king Edward the firſt.

The

The praier of king Edward the sixt at his death.

LOrd God, deliuer me out of this miserable and wretched life, take me among thy chosen: howbeit not my will, but thy will be done. Lord I commit my spirit to thee, oh Lord thou knowest how happie it were for mee to be with thee: yet for thy chosens sake if it be thy will, send me life and helth, that I maie trulie serue thee. Oh my Lord bless thy people, and saue thine inheritance. Oh Lord God, saue thy chosen people of England. Oh my Lord God defend this realme from papistrie, and maintein thy true religion, that I and my people maie praise thy holie name. And therewithall he said, I am faint, Lord haue mercie vpon me, and take my spirit.

Thus did this godlie king yeld vp to God his ghost the sixt daie of Julie (as before is mentioned) whome if it had pleased God to haue spared with longer life, not vnlike it was, but he should haue so gouerned this English common-wealth, that he might haue beene comparable with any of his noble progenitors: so that the losse of so towardlie a young king, greatlie discomforted the whole English nation, that looked for such a reformation in the state of the common-wealth at his hands, as was to be wished for of all good subiects: which bred such a liking in them toward him, that euen among verie traitorous rebels his name yet was had in reuerence, although otherwise they neuer so much forgat their dutie both towards him and other, appointed to gouerne vnder him, through a malicious and most wilfull error; as if his tender yeares had not sufficientlie warranted his roiall authoritie, but that the same had beene vsurped by others against his will and pleasure.

The commendation of king Edward.

And as he was intierlie beloued of his subiects, so with the like affection of kindnes he loued them againe; of nature and disposition meeke, much inclined to clemencie, euer hauing a regard to the sparing of life. There wanted in him no promptnes of wit, grauitie of sentence, ripenesse of iudgement, as his age might beare, fauour and loue of religion was in him from his childhood, his skill and knowledge in sciences, besides his other excellent vertues, were such, that to them he seemed rather borne than brought vp. It maie seeme verie strange, that in his young years (as maister Fox reporteth of him) he could tell and recite all the ports, hauens, and creekes, not within his owne realme onelie, but also in Scotland, and likewise in France, what comming in there was, how the tide serued in euerie of them; moreouer, what burthen, and what wind serued for the comming into each hauen: also of all his iustices, magistrates, & gentlemen that bare any authoritie within his realme, he knew their names, their housekeeping, their religion and conuersation what it was. He had a singular respect to iustice, a vertue most commendable in a prince, and chiefflie to the dispatch of poore mens suites. He perfectlie vnderstood the Latine tong, the French, the Greeke, Italian, and Spanish, neither was he ignorant (saith Cardanus) in Logike, in the principles of naturall philosophie, or in musicke.

He] Iohn Fox in the Acts & Monuments vnder the title of Edward the sixt.

The noble memorie of king Edward and his rare wit.

To conclude, his towardlinesse was such in all heroicall vertues, noble gifts, and markable qualities conuenient for his princelie estate, that so much was hoped for in his roiall person (if he had liued till triall might haue beene had of the proofe) as was to be looked for in anie one prince that euer had rule ouer this noble realme. ¶ The eight of Julie, the lord maior of London was sent for to the court, then at Grenwich, and to bring with him sir aldermen, as manie merchants of the Staple, and as manie merchant aduenturers, vnto whom by the councell was secretlie declared the death of king Edward, & also whom he had ordeined to the succession of the crowne by his leters patents, to the which they were sworne, and charged to keepe it secret. But now to proceed with the doings that followed. Immediatlie after the death of this so worthie a prince king Edward, the aforesaid ladie Jane was proclamed queene of this realme by the sound of trumpet, that is to saie, the ninth daie of Julie, at which proclamation were present the lords of the councell, the maior of London, with others.

I. Stow. 1038. K. Edwards death opened.

Ladie Jane proclamed queene.

¶ The eleuenth of Julie, Gilbert Pot, prentice to Pinion Sanders vintener, dwelling at S. Johns head within Ludgate, who was accused by the said Sanders his maister, was set vpon the pillorie in Cheape, with both his eares nailed, and cleane cut off, for words speaking at time of the proclamation of ladie Jane. At the which execution was a trumpet blowne, and a herald read his offense, in presence of one of the shiriffes, &c. About fiue of the clocke the same daie in the afternoone, Pinion Sanders, maister to the said Gilbert Pot, and John Owen a gunner, comming from the tower of London, by water in a wherrie, and shooting London bridge, towards the blacke friers, were drowned at saint Marie Locke, and the whirriemen saued by their ores.

I. Stow. 1039. Gilbert Pot punished in Cheape.

Men drowned at London bridge.

The ladie Marie, a little before lieng at Honesdon in Hartfordshire, hauing intelligence of the state of the king hir brother, and of the secret practise against hir: by the aduise of hir freends, with all speed toke hir iorneie toward hir house of Kenningall in Norfolke, intending there to remaine, vntill she could make hir selfe more strong of hir freends and alies, and withall wrote vnto the lords of the councell in forme as followeth.

A letter of the ladie Marie sent to the lords of the councell, wherein she claimeth the crowne now after the decease of hir brother king Edward.

MY lords we greet you well, and haue receiued sure aduertisement, that our dearest brother the king our late souereigne lord is departed to Gods mercie: which newes, how they be wofull to our heart, he onelie knoweth, to whose will and pleasure we must and do humblie submit vs, and all our wils. But in this so lamentable a case, that is to wit, now after his maiesties departure and death, concerning the crowne & gouernance of this realme of England, with the title of France, and all things thereto belonging that hath beene prouided by act of parlement, and the testament and last will of our dearest father, besides other circumstances aduancing our right: you know, the realme, and the whole world knoweth, the rolles and records appeare by the authoritie of the king our said father, and the king our said brother, and the subiects of this relme, so that we verelie trust that there is no true subiect that is, can, or would pretend to be ignorant thereof: and of our part we haue our selues caused, and as God shall aid and strength vs, shall cause our right and title in this behalfe to be published and proclamed accordinglie. And albeit this so weightie a matter seemeth strange, that the dieng of our said brother vpon thursdaie at night last past, we hitherto had no knowledge from you thereof: yet we consider your wisedomes and prudence to be such, that hauing essaies amongst you debated, pondered, and well

The ladie Maries challenge to the crowne by right of succession.

weighed this present case with our estate, with your owne estate, the common wealth, and all our honors, we shall and may conceiue great hope and trust, with much assurance in your lotaltie and seruice, and therfore for the time interpret and take things not to the worst, and that ye yet will like noblemen worke the best. Neuerthelesse, we are not ignorant of your consultations to vndo the prouisions made for our preferment, nor of the great bands and prouisions forcible, whereunto ye be assembled and prepared, by whome, and to what end, God and you know, and nature can feare some euill. But be it that some consideration politike, or whatsoeuer thing else hath moued you thereto, yet doubt you not my lords, but we can take all these your doings in gratious part, being also right readie to remit and fullie pardon the [illegible] bloodshed & vengeance against [illegible] that can or will intend the same, trusting also assuredlie you will take and accept this grace and vertue in good part, as apperteineth, and that we shall not be inforced to vse this seruice of other our true subiects and frends, which in this our iust and rightfull case, God (in whome our whole affiance is) shall send vs. Wherefore my lords, we require you, and charge you, and euerie of you, that euerie of you of your allegiance which you owe to God and vs, and to none other, for our honour, and the suertie of our realme, onelie imploie your selues and forthwith vpon receit hereof cause our right and title to the crowne and gouernment of this realme, to be proclamed in our citie of London, and such other places as to your wisedoms shall seeme good, and as to this case apperteineth, not failing hereof, as our verie trust is in you: and thus our letter signed with our owne hand shall be your sufficient warrant in this behalfe. Yeuen vnder our signet at our manor of Keningall the ninth of Julie 1553.

She certifieth the lords that she knoweth what is intended against hir.

She chargeth the lords vpon their lotalties to cause hir right to the regument to be proclamed.

To this letter of the ladie Marie, the *lords of the councell answered againe* . as followeth.

MAdam, we haue receiued your letters the ninth of this instant, declaring your supposed title, which you iudge your selfe to haue to the imperiall crowne of this realme, and all the dominions thereto belonging. For answer wherof, this is to aduertise you, that forsomuch as our souereigne ladie quéene Jane is, after the death of our souereigne lord Edward the first, a prince of most noble memorie, inuested and possessed with the iust and right title of the imperiall crowne of this realme, not onelie by good order of old ancient good lawes of this realme; but also by our late souereigne lords letters patents, signed with his owne hand, and sealed with the great seale of England, in presence of the most part of the nobles, councellors, iudges, with diuers other graue and sage personages, assenting and subscribing to the same: we must therefore, as of most bound dutie and allegiance, assent vnto hir said grace, and to none other, except we should (which faithfull subiects cannot) fall into grieuous and vnspeakeable enormities. Wherefore we can no lesse do, but for the quiet both of the realme and you also, to aduertise you, that forsomuch as the diuorse made betweéne the king of famous memorie king Henrie the eight, and the ladie Katharine your mother, was necessarie to be had, both by the euerlasting lawes of God, and also by the ecclesiasticall lawes, and by the most part of the noble and learned vniuersities of christendome, and confirmed also by the sundrie acts of parlements, remaining yet in their force, and thereby you iustlie made illegitimate, and vnheritable to the crowne imperiall of this realme: and the rules, dominions, and possessions of the same: you will vpon iust consideration hereof, and of diuers other causes lawfull to be alledged for the same, and for the iust inheritance of the right line, and godlie orders taken by the late king Edward the first, and greatest personages aforesaid, surcease, by anie pretense to ver and molest anie of our souereigne ladie quéene Jane hir subiects, from the true faith and allegiance due vnto hir grace: assuring you, that if you will for respect shew your selfe quiet and obedient (as you ought) you shall find vs all, and seuerall, readie to do you anie seruice that we with dutie may, and to be glad of your quietnesse, to preserue the common state of this realme, wherein you may be otherwise grieuous vnto vs, to your selfe, and to them. And thus we bid you most hartilie well to fare. From the tower of London this ninth of Julie.

The lords aduertise the ladie Marie that the ladie Jane is quéene.

A subtill shift to proue the ladie Marie illegitimate.

Your ladiships freends shewing your selfe an obedient subiect,

Thomas Canturburie, the marquesse of Winchester, John Bedford, William Northampton, Thomas Elie chancellor, John Northumberland, Henrie Suffolke, Henrie Arundell, Francis Shrewesburie, William Penbroke, Cobham, R. Rich, Huntington, Darcie, Cheineie, R. Cotton, John Gates, William Peter, William Cecill, John Cheke, John Mason, Edward North, Robert Bowes.

All these aforesaid, except onelie the duke of Northumberland, and sir John Gates, were either by speciall fauour, or speciall or generall pardon, discharged for this offense against hir committed, after hir comming to be quéene. But now vpon the receit of this answer, vnderstanding by hir frends that she could not lie in suertie at Keningall, being a place open & easie to be approched, she remoued from thence vnto hir castell of Fremingham, standing in a wood countrie, & not so easie to be inuaded by hir enimies. So soone as the councell heard of hir sudden departure, and considering that all came not to passe as they supposed; they caused spedilie a power of men to be gathered togither. And first they agréed that the duke of Suffolke father to the new made quéene, should haue the conduct and leading of the armie.

Ladie Marie remoueth frō Keningall to Fremingham castell.

¶ But afterward it was deuised and decréed vpon further considerations, and by the speciall means of the ladie Jane his daughter, who taking the matter heauilie, with weeping teares, made request to the whole councell, that hir father might tarrie at home in hir companie. Where vpon the councell persuaded with the duke of Northumberland, to take that voiage vpon him, saieng, that no man was so fit therefore: bicause that he had atchiued the victorie in Norfolke once alreadie, and was therefore so feared, that none durst once lift vp their weapon against him: besides that, he was the best man of warre in the realme, as well for the ordering of his campes and souldiers, both in battell and in their tents, as also by experience, knowlege and wisdome; he could both animate his armie with wittie persuasions, and also pacifie and allaie his enimies pride with his stout courage, or else to dissuade them (if néed were) from their enterprise. Finallie, said they, this is the short and the long, the quéene will in no wise grant, that hir father shall take it vpon him: wherefore (quoth they) we thinke it good, if it may please your grace, it lieth in you to remedie the matter. With these & the like persuasions the duke was allured to put himselfe desperatlie vpon hazzard:

Abr. Fl. ex l. S 1059.

The councell persuade the duke to vndertake this enterprise.

Non morte horrenda non vllis territus armis.

Insomuch that he reioined vpon their talke, and said: Well then, sith yee thinke it good, I and mine will go, not doubting of your fidelitie to the quéenes maiestie,

maiestie, which now I leaue in your custodie. So that night he sent for both lords, knights, and other that should go with him, and caused all things to be prepared accordinglie. Then went the councell in to the ladie Jane, and told hir of their conclusion, who humblie thanked the duke for reseruing hir father at home, and besæched him to vse his diligence: whereto he answered, that he would do what in him laie. The morrow following, great preparation was made, the duke earlie in the morning called for his owne harneslle, and saw it made readie at Durham place, where he appointed all his retinue to mæt. The same daie carts were laden with munition and artillerie, and field pæces were set forward.

Carts laden with munitiõ.

The same forenoone the duke moued excsones the councell to send their powers after him, as it was before determined, the same to mæt with him at Newmarket, and they promised they would. He said further to some of them: My lords, I and these other noble personages, with the whole armie that now go forth, as well for the behalfe of you & yours, as for the establishing of the quænes highnesse, shall not onelie aduenture our bodies and liues amongst the bloudie strokes and cruell assaults of our aduersaries in the open fields: but also we do leaue the conseruation of our selues, children, and families at home here with you, as altogither committed to your truth and fidelities: whome, if we thought ye would through malice, conspiracie, or dissention leaue vs your frænds in the briers, and betraie vs; we could as well sundrie waies forsee and prouide for our owne safegards, as anie of you by betraieng vs can do for yours. But now vpon the onelie trust and faithfulnesse of your honors, whereof we thinke our selues most assured, we do hazzard our liues. Which trust and promise if yæ shall violate, hoping thereby of life and promotion: yet shall not God count you innocent of our bloods, neither acquite you of the sacred and holie oth of allegiance, made frælie by you to this vertuous ladie the quænes highnesse, who by your and our intitlement is rather of force placed therein, than by hir owne seking and request. Consider also, that Gods cause, which is the preferment of his word, & feare of papists entrance, hath bæne (as ye haue here before alwaies laid) the originall ground whereupon ye euen at the first motion granted your goodwils and consents thereunto, as by your handwritings appeareth; and thinke not the contrarie, but if ye meane dereit, though not forthwith, yet hereafter God will reuenge the same.

The duke's words to the lords of the councell.

Ye meaneth the new quæn after deprined and executed.

I can saie no more, but in this troublesome time wish you to vse constant hearts, abandoning all malice, enuie, and priuat affections. And therewithall the first course for the lords came vp, wherefore the duke shut vp his talke with these words. I haue not spoken to you in this sort vpon anie mistrust I haue of your truths, of which alwaies I haue euer hitherto conceiued a trustie confidence, but I haue put you in remembrance thereof, what chance of variance so euer might grow amongst you in mine absence: and this I praie you, with me not worse good spæd in this iorneie, than yæ would haue to your selues. My lord, saith one of them, if yæ mistrust anie of vs in this matter, your grace is farre deceiued, for which of vs can wash his hands cleane thereof? And if we should shrinke from you as from one that were culpable, which of vs can excuse himselfe to be giltlesse? Therefore herein your doubt is too farre cast. I praie God it be (quoth the duke) let vs go to dinner: and so they sat downe. After dinner the duke went in to the quæne, where his commission was by that time sealed, for his lieutenantship of the armie, and then toke his leaue of hir, and so did certeine other lords also.

The conclusion of the duke's talke with the lords.

Then as the duke came through the councell chamber, he toke his leaue of the earle of Arundell, who praied God be with his grace, saieng he was sorie it was not his chance to go with him and beare him companie, in whose presence he could find in his heart to spend his blood euen at his fæt. Then the earle of Arundell toke Thomas Louell the dukes boie by the hand, and said; Farewell gentle Thomas with all my heart. Then the duke, with the lord marquesse of Northampton, the lord Greie, and diuerse other toke their barge, and went to Durham place, and to White hall, where that night they mustered their men: and the next daie in the morning the duke departed with the number of six hundred men, or thereabouts. And as they rode through Shordich, said the duke to the lord Greie; The people praise to sæ vs, but not one saith God spæd vs. The same daie sir John Gates and other went out after the duke.]

The earle of Arundell professeth himselfe sorie that he goeth not with the duke of Northumberland.

Now as the duke went forward on his waie (with his commission from the whole councell, and his warrant vnder the broad seale of England, without mistrust of that which after fortuned to his owne destruction, as in the history of quæne Marie shall appeare, accompanied with no small number of lords and gentlemen, hauing notwithstanding his times prescribed, and his iourneies appointed by the councell, to the intent he would not sæme to do anie thing but vpon warrant) what a do there was, what stirring on euerie side, what sending, what riding and posting, what letters, messages, & instructions went to and fro, what talking among the souldiers, what hartburning among the people, what faire pretenses outwardlie, inwardlie what priuie practises there were, what speeding and sending forth ordinance out of the tower, yea euen the same daie that quæne Marie at euen was proclaimed quæne, what rumors, and comming downe of souldiers as there was from all quarters, a world it was to sæ, and a processe to declare, enough to make (as saith master Fox) a whole volume, euen as big as an Ilias.

Much a do on all sides during this stir broched betwæne the duke and the ladie Marie.

The greatest helpe that made for the ladie Marie, was the short iourneies of the duke, which by commission were assigned vnto him before, as aboue is mentioned: and happilie not without the politike forecast of some in fauour of the ladie Marie: for the longer the duke lingered in his votage, the ladie marie the more increased in puissance, the hearts of the people being mightilie bent vnto hir. Wherupon she in the meane time remaining at Fremingham, and hearing of this preparation against hir, gathered together such power of the noblemen & other hir frænds in that countrie, as she could get. And first of all, the noblemen that came vnto hir aid, were the earles of Sussex, Bath, and Oxford, the lord Wentworth, sir Thomas Cornewallis, sir Henrie Jerningham, sir William Walgraue, with diuerse other gentlemen and commons of the counties of Norfolke and Suffolke. Here (as master Fox noteth) the Suffolke men being the first that resorted to hir, promised hir their aid and helpe to the vttermost of their powers, so that she would not go about to alter the religion which hir brother had established, and was now vsed and exercised through the realme. To this condition she agræd, with such promise, as no man would haue doubted that anie innouation of matters in religion should haue followed, by hir sufferance or procurement during hir reigne: but how sone she forgat that promise, it shall shortlie after plainelie appeare.

The old prouerbe verified Delaie brædeth danger.

Suffolke men the first that resorted to the ladie Marie.

In this meane season, the lord Windsor, sir Edmund Peckham, sir Robert Drurie, and sir Edward Hastings, raised the commoners of the shire of Buckingham; vnto whome sir John Williams, which afterward was lord Williams of Thame,

Assistants to the ladie Marie.

and sir Leonard Chamberleine, with the chefe power of Oxfordshire. And out of Northamptonshire came sir Thomas Tresham, and a great number of gentlemen out of diuerse parts, whose names were too long to rehearse. These capteins with their companies being thus assembled in warlike manner, marched forward towards Norffolke to the aid of the ladie Marie, and the further they went, the more their power increased.

Abr. Fl. ex L.S. pag. 1062.

¶ About this time sir ships well manned, that were appointed to lie before Yarmouth, and to haue taken the ladie Marie if she had fled that waie, were by force of weather driuen into the hauen, where one maister Jerningham was raising power on the ladie Maries behalfe, who hearing therof, came thither. Wherupon the capteins toke a bote and went to the ships, but the sailers and souldiers asked maister Jerningham what he would haue, and whether he would haue their capteins or no, and he said yea. Marrie said they, ye shall haue them or we will throw them into the bottome of the sea. But the capteins said forthwith, that they would serue quéne Marie willinglie, and so brought forth their men, and conueied with them their great ordinance. Of the comming of these ships the ladie Marie was wonderfull ioious, & afterward doubted little the dukes puissance: but when newes thereof was brought to the tower, each man there began to draw backward: and ouer that, word of a greater mischefe was brought to the tower: that is to saie, that the noblemens tenants refused to serue their lords against quéne Marie.

Aid by wind and wether for quéne Marie that was bent against hir.

The duke of Northumberland writeth for more succours.

The duke thought long for his succors, and wrote somewhat sharpelie to the councell at the tower in that behalfe, as well for lacke of men as munition, but a slender answer had he againe. And from that time forward, certeine of the councell, to wit, the erle of Penbroke, and sir Thomas Cheineie lord warden, and other, sought to get out of the tower to consult in London, but could not. On the sirtenth of Julie, being sundaie, doctor Ridleie bishop of London, by commandement of the councell, preached at Paules crosse, where he vehementlie persuaded the people in the title of the ladie Jane, late proclamed quéene, and inueied earnestlie against the title of ladie Marie, &c. The same sirtenth of Julie, the lord treasuror was gone out of the tower to his house in London at night, and forthwith about seauen of the clocke the gates of the tower vpon a sudden were shut vp, and the keies borne vp to the ladie Jane, which was for feare of some packing in the lord treasuror: but he was fetched againe to the tower about twelue of the clocke in the night.]

Doctor Ridleie persuadeth the people in the title of quéne Jane, &c.

The lords of the councell, being in this meane while at London, after they vnderstood how the better part of the realme were inclined, and hearing euerie daie newes of great assemblies, began to suspect the sequell of this enterprise. So that prouiding for their owne suertie, without respect of the duke (who now was at Burie) they fell to a new councell, and lastlie by assent made proclamation at London in the name of the ladie Marie, by the name of Marie quéne of England, France, & Ireland, defender of the faith, & of the churches of England & Ireland supreme head. Of which proclamation, after the duke of Northumberland, being then at Burie, was aduertised by letters of discomfort from the councell, he incontinentlie, according to the new order receiued from them, returned with his power againe to Cambridge. Now so sudden change of minds forthwith apeared in his armie, that they which before séemed most forward in that quarrell, began first to flie from him, & so euerie man shifting for himselfe, he that late before was furnished of such multitude of souldiers, was suddenlie forsaken of all sauing a few, whose perils were ioined with his.

The lords of the councell suspecting that all would go against them, proclamed the ladie Marie quéen.

But now before I proceed anie further in the historie of quéne Marie, who was now receiued and proclamed quéne, as then to succeed hir brother, I will speake somewhat of the learned men that wrote & published anie pamphlets or treatises in his daies, as in deed there were manie: but for that the more part of them died in quéne Maries time, or in the quénes maiesties time that now is, or else are yet liuing, I do omit those here, meaning to speake of them hereafter, if God shall permit, as occasion maie serue. For the residue that ended their liues in this kings daies, these I find: Dauid Clapham a lawyer and well séene in the Latine tong, wrote sundrie treatises; Robert Talbot a prebendarie of Norwich, verie skilfull in antiquities; Edward Hall a counsellor in the common law, but excellentlie séene in histories, wrote a notable chronicle of the vnion of the two houses of Yorke & Lancaster.

Learned men that wrote in the reigne of king Edward.

Furthermore Richard Tracie of Todington in Glocestershire, an esquier, and verie well learned, sonne to William Tracie; doctor Joseph an excellent preacher; George Joie a Bedfordshire man, that wrote diuerse treatises concerning diuinitie, and died either in the last yeare of king Edward, or in the beginning of quéne Maries reigne, as apeareth by maister Bale; Alexander Barklei a Scot, a notable poet, and a good rhetorician, departed this life in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and two; William Hugh a Yorkeshireman, wrote, besides other things, a notable treatise called the troubled mans medicine, he deceassed by the bursting of a veine, in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred fortie and nine; Thomas Sternehold borne in Southhampton, turned into English méeter seuen & thirtie psalmes chosen forth of Dauids psalter. Of strangers that liued and died here in this kings daies, excellentlie learned, and renowmed for such treatises as they published to the world, Martine Bucer and Paulus Fagius are most famous. To end now with this part of the booke concerning king Edward, I haue thought good to set downe Ierom Cardans verses, written as an epitaph of him (and recorded by maister Fox in his historie) as here followeth:

Flete nefas magnum, sed toto flebilis orbe
Mortales, vester corruit omnis honor.
Nam regum decus, & iuuenum flos, spésque bonorum,
Delicia secli, & gloria gentis erat.
Dignus Apollineis lachrymis, doctaque Minerua:
Flosculus heu misere concidit ante diem.
Te cumulo dabimus musa, supremáque flentes
Munera, Melpomene tristia fata canet.

Carmen epitaphicum Cardani in obitum regis Edwardi.

Thus farre the good and vertuous yoong prince Edward the sixt, successor to Henrie the eight of most famous memorie.

Marie

Marie the eldest daughter of king Henrie the eight successor *to Edward the sixt.*

MArie eldest daughter of K. Henrie the eight, by the ladie Katharine of Spaine, his first wife, and sister vnto king Edward the sixt, by the fathers side, began hir reigne the sixt daie of Julie, which daie the king hir brother died, and she was proclamed at London (as is before remembred in the end of the historie of king Edward the sixt) the nine- 30
1553 teenth daie of the same moneth, in the yeare of our Lord 1553: after the creation of the world 5520, in the fiue and thirtith yeare of Charles the fift, emperor of Almaine, in the seuenth yére of Henrie the second of that name K. of France, & in the eleuenth of Marie quéene of Scotland. The twentith of Julie the duke of Northumberland being come backe to Cambridge, heard that the proclamation of quéene Marie was come thither, whereof he being aduertised, called for a trumpetter and an herald; but none 40
Quéene Marie proclamed. could be found. Wherevpon he riding into the market place with the maior, and the lord marques of Northampton, made the proclamation himselfe, and threw vp his cap in token of ioy. ¶ Within an
Abr. Fl. ex L.S. pag. 1064. houre after he had letters from the councell (as he said) that he should forthwith dismisse his armie, and not come within ten miles of London: for if he did, they would fight with him, the rumor whereof was no sooner abroad, but euerie man departed. And shortlie after, the duke was arrested in the kings 50 college by one maister Sleg sargeant at arms.

At the last, letters were brought from the councell at London, that all men should go each his waie. Wherevpon the duke said to them that kept him; Ye do me wrong to withdraw my libertie, sée you not the councels letters without exception, that all men should go whither they would? At which words
The duke submitteth himselfe, and is arrested by the earle of Arundell. they that kept him and the other noblemen, set them at libertie, and so continued they for that night: in- 60 somuch that the earle of Warwike was readie in the morning to haue rode awaie. But then came the erle of Arundell from the quéene to the duke into his chamber, who went out to méet him. Now as soone as he saw the earle of Arundell, he fell on his knées, and desired him to be good to him for the loue of God: Consider (saith he) I haue done nothing but by the consents of you and all the whole councell. My lord (quoth the earle of Arundell) I am sent hither by the quéens maiestie, and in hir name I do arrest you. And I obeie it my lord (quoth he) I beséech you my lord of Arundell (quoth the duke) vse mercie towards me, knowing the case as it is. My lord (quoth the earle) ye should haue sought for mercie sooner, I must do according to commandement: herwith he committed the charge of him and the others to the gard and gentlemen that stood by.] The lord marques after this went to quéene Marie. On the fiue & twentith daie of the said moneth, the duke of Northumberland, with Francis earle of Huntington, John earle of Warwike son and heire to the said duke, and two other of his yonger sons, the lord Ambrose and the lord Henrie Dudleie, sir Andrew Dudleie, Sir John Gates capteine of the gard to king Edward the sixt, sir Henrie Gates brethren, sir Thomas Palmer knights, and doctor Sands were brought to the tower by the earle of Arundell. But as they entered within the tower gate, the earle of Arundell discharged the lord Hastings, taking him out of the tower with him. On the six & twentith of Julie, the lord marques of Northampton, the bishop of London, the lord Robert Dudleie, and sir Robert Corbet were brought from the quénes campe vnto the tower. The eight and twentith of Julie, the duke of Suffolke was committed to the tower, but the one and twentith of the same moneth he was set at libertie by the diligent suit of the ladie Francis grace his wife.

The lord Hastings discharged out of the tower.

Duke of Suffolke committed to the tower.

After that quéene Marie was thus with full consent of the nobles and commons of the realme proclamed quéene, she being then in Northfolke, at hir castell of Framingham, repaired with all speed to the citie of London: and the third daie of the said moneth of August she came to the said citie, and so to the tower, where the ladie Jane of Suffolke (late afore proclamed quéene) with hir husband the lord Gilford, a little before hir comming, were committed to ward, & there remained almost after fiue moneths. And by the waie, as the quéene thus passed, she was wonderfullie saluted of all the people, without anie misliking; sauing that it was much feared of manie, that she would alter the religion set forth by king Edward hir brother, whereof then were giuen iust occasions: because (notwithstanding diuerse lawes made to the contrarie) she had dailie masse and Latine seruice said before hir in the tower. Yea it was doubted in like sort, that she would both annull and innouat certeine lawes and decrées established by the yong prince hir predecessor: which she did in deed, as one hath left testified in a memorall of hir succession (but little vnto hir commendation) saieng:

Quéene Marie commeth to London.

At Maria Eduardi regni succedit habenis,
Confirmans iterùm regno papalia iura,
Concilióque nouas léges sancire vocato
Molitur, latas à fratre perosa priores.

Prisoners discharged.

At hir entrie into the tower there were presented to hir certeine prisoners; namelie, Thomas duke of Norfolke, who in the last yeare of king Henrie the eight (as you haue heard) was supposed to be attainted of treason: but in the parlement of this first

yeare of quéene Marie, the said supposed attaindour was by the authoritie and act of parlement, for good and apparant causes alleged in the said act, declared to be vtterlie frustrat and void. Also Edward Courtneie son and heire to Henrie marques of Excester, cosine germane to king Henrie the eight, and Cutbert Tunstall bishop of Durham, with other persons of great calling; but speciallie Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, whom she not onlie released out of imprisonment, but also immediatlie aduanced and preferred to be lord chancellor of England, restoring him also to his former estate and bishoprike, and remoued from the same one doctor Poinet, who a little before was placed therein by the gift of king Edward the first.

Stephan Gardiner made lord chancellor.

Edward Courtneie created earle of Deuonshire.

And touching Edward Courtneie, she not onelie aduanced him to the earldome of Deuonshire, but also to so much of his fathers possessions as there remained in hir hands; whereby it was then thought of manie, that she bare affection to him by the waie of marriage: but it came not so to passe (for what cause I am not able to giue anie reason) but surelie the subiects of England were most desirous thereof.

Bishops restored, and others deprived.

Upon the receiuing of this new quæne, all the bishops which had bëene deprined in the time of king Edward the first hir brother, for the cause of religion, were now againe restored to their bishoprikes; and such other as were placed in king Edward his time, remoued from their sées, and others of contrarie religion placed. Amongest whom, Edmund Bonner doctor of the lawes, late afore deprined from the sée of London, and committed prisoner to the Marshalsea by order of king Edwards councell, was with all fauour restored to his libertie and bishoprike. Maister Nicholas Ridleie doctor in diuinitie, late before aduanced to the same sée by the said king, was hastilie displaced, and committed prisoner to the tower of London. The cause why such extremitie was vsed towards the said bishop Ridleie, more than to the rest, was for that in the time of ladie Jane, he preached a sermon at Pauls crosse by the commandement of king Edwards councell, wherein he dissuaded the people, for sundrie causes, from receiuing the ladie Marie as quæne. ¶ On the ninth of August in the afternoone, the quæne held an obsequie in the tower for king Edward, the dirge being song in Latine, and on the morow a masse of *Requiem*, whereat the quæne with hir ladies offered. The same daie the corps of king Edward was buried at Westminster, the lord treasuror, the earle of Penbroke, and the earle of Shrewesburie being chéefe mourners, with diuerse other noble men and others. Doctor Daie bishop of Chichester preached at the said buriall, and all the seruice with a communion was in English. Thus was finished the solemne funerall of that good prince, at whose birth there were not so manie reioising hearts, but at his death there were by infinit ods manie more weeping eies, & sad spirits: whose tender bodie, though pined with sickneesse, & consumed with rottennesse, maie perhaps leaue for succéeding ages no relike to gaze vpon; yet the memorie of his name shall be euer grëene. For he was, as one truelie saith of him:

Ille erat Europæ Phœnix, quem funere acerbo
(Vt flos vere nouo viridanti carpitur horto)
Sustulit ante diem mors immatura Britannis,
Inuidet hæc terris pietatem & iura colentes.]

Why Ridleie was more rigorouslie handled than the rest.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 1067.

The buriall of king Edward.

The thirteenth of August doctor Bonner restored now to his bishoprike againe, appointed one late a chapleine of his called doctor Bourne to preach at Paules crosse, who was then promoted to the quæns seruice, & not long after was made bishop of Bath. The said doctor taking occasion of the gospell of that daie, spake somewhat largelie in the iustifieng of bishop Bonner, being present at the sermon, which bishop (as the said preacher then openlie said) for a sermon made vpon the same text, and in the same place the same daie foure yéeres afore passed, was most vniustlie cast into the vile dungeon of the Marshalsea among thæues, and there kept during the time of king Edwards reigne. This matter being set forth with great vehemencie, so much offended the eares of part of the audience, that they brake silence, and began to murmur and throng togither, in such sort as the maior and aldermen with other of the wiser sort then present feared much an vprore. During which muttering, one more feruent than his fellowes threw a dagger at the preacher: but who it was, came not to knowlege. By reason of which outrage the preacher withdrew himselfe from the pulpit, and one maister Bradford at the request of the preachers brother and others standing there, toke the place, and spake so mildlie to the people, that with few words he appeased their furie: and after the said maister Bradford and maister Rogers, although men of contrarie religion, conueied the said preacher into Paules schoole, and there left him safelie.

A dagger throwne at the preacher.

Doctor Bourne a chapleine of bishop Bonner.

The next sundaie following, for feare of a like tumult or worse, order was taken that the quæns gard should be present in place to defend the preacher with weapons. Whereupon the wiser men perceiuing such a number of weapons, and that great perill was not vnlike to insue, by such apparance of late not accustomed, would not be present at the sermon, by reason whereof there was left a small auditorie. Therefore afterward there was a commandement giuen by the lord maior, that the ancients of the companies should be present at the next sermon in their liueries, and so they were, whereby all became quiet. The eightéenth of August next following, the duke of Northumberland, the lord marquesse of Northampton, and the earle of Warwike, son and heire to the said duke, were brought into Westminster hall, and there arreigned of high treason before Thomas duke of Norfolke high Steward of England.

The preacher at Paules crosse defended by the gard.

The duke of Northumberland arreigned.

The duke of Northumberland at his comming to the barre, vsed great reuerence towards the iudges: and protesting his faith and allegiance to the quéens maiestie, whome he confessed gréeuouslie to haue offended, he said that he meant not to speake anie thing in defense of his fact, but would first vnderstand th'opinion of the court in two points. First whether a man doing anie act by authoritie of the princes councell, & by warrant of the great seale of England, & doing nothing without the same, maie be charged with treason for any thing which he might do by warrant thereof? Secondlie, whether anie such persons as were equally culpable in that crime, and those by whose letters and commandements he was directed in all his doings might be his iudges, or passe vpon his triall as his péeres? Whereunto was answered, that as concerning the first, the great seale which he laid for his warrant, was not the seale of the lawfull quéene of the realme, nor passed by authoritie: but the seale of an vsurper, and therefore could be no warrant to him. And to the second it was alledged, that if anie were as deeplie to be touched in that case as himselfe, yet so long as no atteindor were of record against them, they were neuertheless persons able in law to passe vpon anie triall, and not to be chalenged therefore, but at the princes pleasure. After which answer the duke vsing few words, declared his earnest repentance in the case (for he saw that to stand vpon uttering anie reasonable matter, as might séeme, would little preuaile) and he moued the duke of Norfolke to be a meane vnto the quéene for mercie, and without further

The dukes request to vnderstand the opinion of the court in two points.

ther

ther answer confessed the indictment, by whose example the other prisoners arreigned with him, did likewise confesse the indictments produced against them, and there vpon had iudgement.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 1069. The duke of Northumberlands foure requests after his iudgment.

¶ Now when iudgement was giuen, the duke said; I beseech you my lords all to be humble suters to the quéenes maiestie, and to grant me foure requests, which are these: first, that I maie haue that death which noble men haue had in times past, and not the other: secondarilie, that hir maiestie will be gratious to my children which maie hereafter doo good seruice, considering that they went by my commandement who am their father, and not of their owne frée willes: thirdlie, that I may haue appointed to me some learned man for the instruction and quieting of my conscience: and fourthlie, that she will send two of the councell to commune with me, to whome I will declare such matters as shall be expedient for hir and the common-weale: and thus I beseech you all to praie for me.

The nineteenth of August, sir Andrew Dudleie, sir John Gates, and sir Henrie Gates brethren, and sir Thomas Palmer knights, were arreigned at Westminster; and confessing their indictments, had iudgement, which was pronounced by the marquesse of Winchester high treasuror of England that sate that daie as chiefe iustice. On the twentith of August doctor Watson chapleine to the bishop of Winchester preached at Pauls crosse, by the quéenes appointment, & for feare of the like tumult as had béene not long before, certeine lords of the councell repaired to the sermon, as the lord treasuror, the lord priuie seale, the earle of Bedford, the earle of Penbroke, the lord Wentworth, the lord Rich, and sir Henrie Gerningam capteine of the gard with two hundred of the gard, which stood about the preacher with halberts. Also the maior had warned the companies of the citie to be present in their liueries, which was well accepted of the quænes councell: and the sermon was quietlie ended.

Preacher at Paules crosse garded.

On the two and twentith of August John duke of Northumberland was beheaded on the tower hill, whose bodie with the head was buried in the tower, by the bodie of Edward late duke of Sumerset. So that there lieth before the high altar two dukes betwéene two quéenes, to wit, the duke of Summerset & the duke of Northumberland betwæne quéene Anne and quéene Katharine, all foure beheaded. At the same time and place also was likewise beheaded sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, which sir John Gates in that place vsed few words, but laid downe his head without anie kercher, and had the same striken off at three blowes. Sir Thomas Palmer, as soone as he came to the scaffold, tooke euerie man by the hand, and desired them to praie for him: then putting off his gowne, he leaned vpon the east raile, and said these words in effect.

Sir John Gates and sir Thomas Palmer beheaded.

The effect of such words as sir *Thomas Palmer vttered on the* scaffold at his death.

My maisters (quoth he) God saue you all. It is not vnknowne vnto you wherefore I come hither, which I haue worthilie well deserued at Gods hands: for I know it to be his diuine ordinance, by this meanes to call me to his mercie, and to teach me to know my selfe, what I am, and wherevnto we are all subiect: I thanke his mercifull goodnesse, for hæ hath caused me to learne more in one little darke corner in yonder tower, than euer I learned by anie trauell in so manie places as I haue bæne. For there (I saie) I haue sæne God, what he is, & how vnsearchable his wonderous works are, & how infinit his mercies be: I haue sæne there my selfe throughlie, and what I am, nothing but a lumpe of sin, earth, dust, and of all vilenesse most vilest: I haue sæne there and know what the world is, how vaine, deceitfull, transitorie, and short it is; how wicked and lothsome the works thereof are in the sight of Gods maiestie; how he neither regardeth the manaces of the proud men and mightie ones, neither despiseth the humblenesse of the poore & lowlie which are in the same world: finallie, I haue sæne there what death is, how nie hanging ouer all mens heds, and yet how vncerteine the time, and how vnknowne to all men, and how little it is to be feared. And should I feare death or be sad therefore? Haue I not sæne two die before mine eies? Yea and within the hearing of mine eares? No, neither the sprinkling of the bloud, nor the sheading thereof, nor the bloudie ax it selfe shall make me afraid. And now taking my leaue of the same, I praie you all to praie for me. Come on good fellow (quoth he) art thou he that must doo the deed? I forgiue thæ with all my hart; & then knæling downe, & laieng his hed on the blocke, he said; I will sæ how mæt the blocke is for my necke, I praie thæ strike not yet, for I haue a few praiers to saie; and that done, strike on Gods name, good leaue haue thou.

His praiers ended, and desiring ech man to praie for him, he laid downe his head againe, and so the executioner forthwith toke it from him at one stroke. On the three and twentith of August the quéene deliuered the great seale to doctor Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and made him lord chancellor. The seauen and twentith of August, the seruice began in Latine to be song in Pauls church in London. The six and twentith of August in the euening the notablest ship in England called the great Harrie was burnt at Woolwich by negligence of the mariners, she was of burthen a thousand tuns. The first of September the quéene demanded a prest of the citie of London of twentie thousand pounds, to be repaied againe within foure tæne daies after Michaelmasse nert following, which sum was leuied of the aldermen and one hundred & twentie commoners. The fourth of September was proclamed certeine new coins of gold and siluer, a souereigne of gold of thirtie shillings, the halfe souereigne fiftæne shillings, an angell at ten shillings, the halfe angell fiue shillings. Of siluer, the grote, halfe grote and pennie: all base coines to be currant as before. Also the same daie by proclamation was pardoned the subsidie of foure shillings the pound of lands, and two shillings eight pence the pound of mouable goods, granted in the last parlement of king Edward the first.] Soone after this Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, and late before of king Edwards priuie councell, was committed to the tower of London, being charged of treason, not onelie for giuing aduise to the disheriting of quéene Marie, but also for aiding the duke of Northumberland with certeine horsse and men against the quæne, in the quarrell of the ladie Jane of Suffolke: wherein (if he were culpable) he lacked

New lord chancellor.

Latine seruice.

Great Harrie a ship burne.

Prest to the quéene.

New coines.

Subsidie pardoned.

The archbishop of Canturburie committed to the tower.

lacked the prouidence and foresight of after-claps, which *doctor Parker in the insurrection of Ket vsing saued both his life and estimation.

*See before pag. 1030, 1031

Abr. Fl. ex I. Stow 1067.

¶ On the seuen and twentith of September quéene Marie came to the tower by water, accompanied with the ladie Elizabeth hir sister, and other ladies, before whose arriuall there was shot a great peale of guns. The last of September quéene Marie rode through the citie of London towards Westminster, sitting in a chariot of cloth of tissue, drawne with six horsses all trapped with the like cloth of tissue. She sate in a gowne of purple veluet, furred with powdered ermins, hauing on hir head a kall of cloth of tinsell, béeset with pearle and stone, and aboue the same vpon hir head a round circlet of gold, béeset so richlie with pretious stones, that the value thereof was inestimable, the same kall and circle being so massie and ponderous, that she was faine to beare vp hir head with hir hand, and the canopie was borne ouer hir chariot. Before hir rode a number of gentlemen & knights, then iudges, then doctors, then bishops, then lords, then the councell, after whome followed the knights of the Bath in their robes, the bishop of Winchester lord chancellor, and the marques of Winchester lord high treasuror, next came the duke of Norffolke, and after him the earle of Oxford, who bare the sword before hir, the maior of London in a gown of crimsin veluet bare the scepter of gold, &c. After the quénes chariot sir Edward Hastings led hir horsse in his hand: then came another chariot hauing a couering of cloth of siluer all white, and six horsses traped with the like: therein sate the ladie Elizabeth, and the ladie Anne of Cleue: then ladies and gentlewomen riding on horsses traped with red veluet, and their gownes and kirtles likewise of red veluet; after them followed two other chariots couered with red sattin, and the horsses betrapped with the same, and certeine gentlewomen betwéene euerie of the said chariots riding in crimsin sattin, their horsses betraped with the same; the number of the gentlewomen so riding were six and fortie, besides them in the chariots.

Coronation of quéene Marie, hir pompe and traine.

Who rode before and after hir.

The ladie Elizabeth and the ladie Anne of Cleue.

At Fanchurch was a costlie pageant made by the Genowaies: at Gracechurch corner there was an other pageant made by the Easterlings. At the vpper end of Gracesstréet there was an other pageant made by the Florentins verie high, on the top whereof there stood foure pictures, and in the middest of them and most highest, there stood an angell all in gréene, with a trumpet in his hand: and when the trumpetter (who stood secretlie in the pageant) did sound his trumpet, the angell did put his trumpet to his mouth, as though it had béene the same that had sounded, to the great marueiling of manie ignorant persons: this pageant was made with three thorough saires or gates, &c. The conduit in Cornehill ran wine, and beneath the conduit a pageant made at the charges of the citie, and an other at the great conduit in Cheape, and a fountcine by it running wine. The standard in Cheape new painted, with the waits of the citie aloft theron plaieng. The crosse in Cheape new washed and burnished.

A pageant made by strangers.

The conduit in Cornewall ran wine.

An other pageant at the little conduit in Cheape next to Paules was made by the citie, where the aldermen stood, & when the quéene came against them, the recorder made a short proposition to hir, and then the chamberleine presented to hir in the name of the maior and the citie, a purse of cloth of gold, and a thousand marks of gold in it: then she rode forth, and in Paules church-yard against the schole, one master Heiwod sat in a pageant vnder a vine, and made to hir an oration in Latine & English. Then was there one Peter a Dutchman that stood on the weathercocke of Paules steeple, holding a streamer in his hand of fiue yards long, and wauing thereof, stood sometimes on the one foot, and shooke the other, and then knéeled on his knees, to the great maruell of all people. He had made two scaffolds vnder him, one aboue the crosse, hauing torches and streamers set on it, and an other ouer the ball of the crosse likewise set with streamers & torches, which could not burne, the wind was so great: the said Peter had sixtéene pounds thirtéene shillings foure pense giuen him by the citie for his costs and paines, and for all his stuffe.

The recorder of London maketh a short speech to the quéene passing by.

A Dutchman on the weathercocke of Paules.

Then was there a pageant made against the deane of Paules gate, where the quéristers of Paules plaied on vials and song. Ludgate was newlie repared, painted, and richlie hanged, with minstrels plaieng and singing there. Then was there an other pageant at the conduit in Fleetstréet, and the temple barre was newlie painted and hanged. And thus she passed to Whitehall at Westminster, where she toke hir leaue of the lord maior, giuing him great thanks for his paines, and the citie for their cost. On the morrow, which was the first daie of October, the quéene went by water to the old palace, and there remained till about eleuen of the clocke, and then went on foot vpon blew cloth, being railed on either side, vnto saint Peters church, where she was solemnlie crowned and annointed by Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester (for the archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke were then prisoners in the tower) which coronation and other ceremonies and solemnities then vsed according to the old custome, was not fullie ended till it was nigh foure of the clocke at night that she returned from the church, before whom was then borne three swords sheathed, & one naked. The great seruice that daie done in Westminster hall at dinner by diuerse noblemen, would aske long time to write. The lord maior of London & twelue cittizens kept the high cupbord of plate as butlers: and the quéene gaue to the maior for his fée a cupbord of gold with a couer weieng seuentéene ounces.]

A pageant wherein the quéristers of Paules plaid on vials.

Quéene Marie crowned quéene by Stephan Gardiner.

At the time of this quénes coronation, there was published a generall pardon in hir name, being interlaced with so manie exceptions, as they that néeded the same most, toke smallest benefit thereby. In which were excepted by name no small number, not onelie of bishops and other of the clergie, namelie the archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke, the bishop of London, but also manie lords, knights, and gentlemen of the laitie, beside the two chiefe iustices of England called sir Edward Montacute, and sir Roger Cholmeleie, with some other learned men in the law, for counselling, or at the least consenting to the depriuation of quéene Marie, and aiding of the foresaid duke of Northumberland, in the pretensed right of the before named ladie Jane, the names of which persons so being excepted, I haue omitted for shortnesse sake.

A pardon with exceptions.

As soone as this pardon was published, and the solemnitie of the feast of the coronation ended, there were certeine commissioners assigned to take order with all such persons as were excepted out of the pardon, and others, to compound with the quéene for their seuerall offenses. Which commissioners sat at the deane of Paules his house, at the west end of Paules church, and there called before them the said persons apart, and from some they toke their fees and offices granted before by king Edward the first, and yet neuertheless putting them to their fines: and some they committed to ward, depriuing them of their states and liuings: so that for the time, to those that tasted thereof, it seemed verie grieuous. God deliuer vs from incurring the like danger of law againe. The fift daie of October next following, the quéene held hir hie court of parlement at Westminster,

Commissioners.

A parlement.

minſter, which continued vntill the one and twentith daie of the ſaid moneth.

In the firſt ſeſſion of which parlement, there paſſed no moꝛe acts but one, and that was, to declare queene Marie lawfull heire in deſcent to the crowne of England by the common lawes, next after hir bꝛother king Edward; and to repeale certeine cauſes of treaſon, fellonie, and pꝛemunire, conteined in diuers foꝛmer ſtatutes: the which act of repeale was, foꝛ that cardinall Pole was eſpeciallie loked foꝛ (as after ye ſhall heare) foꝛ the reducing of the church of England to the popes obedience: and to the end that the ſaid cardinall now called into England from Rome, might hold his courts legantine without the danger of the ſtatutes of the pꝛemunire, made in that caſe, whereinto cardinall Wolſeie (when he was legat) had incurred to his no ſmall loſſe, and to the charge of all the clergie of England, foꝛ exerciſing the like power: the which act being once paſſed, foꝛthwith the queene repaiꝛed to the parlement houſe, and gaue thereunto hir roiall aſſent, and then pꝛoꝛoged the parlement vnto the foure and twentith daie of the ſaid moneth. In which ſecond ſeſſion were confirmed and made diuerſe and ſundꝛie ſtatutes concerning religion, wherof ſome were reſtoꝛed, and other repealed.

Treaſon. Felonie. Pꝛemunire.

The parlement pꝛoꝛoged.

¶ Sir Thomas White foꝛ this yeere maiꝛ and merchant tailoꝛ, a woꝛthie patrone and pꝛotectoꝛ of poꝛe ſcholers & lerning, renewed oꝛ rather erected a college in Oxenfoꝛd, now called ſaint Johns college, beſoꝛe Bernard college. He alſo erected ſcholes at Briſtow and Reading. Moꝛeouer, this woꝛſhipfull citizen in his life time gaue to the citie of Briſtow two thouſand pounds of readie monie to purchaſe lands, to the yearlie value of one hundꝛed & twentie pounds, foꝛ the which it is decreed, that the maiꝛ, burgeſſes and communaltie of Briſtow, in the yeare of our Lord 1567, and ſo yearelie during the tearme of ten yeares then next inſuing, ſhould cauſe to be paid at Briſtow, one hundꝛed pounds of lawfull monie. The firſt eight hundꝛed pounds to be lent to ſixteene poꝛe yongmen clothiers, & fꝛeemen of the ſame towne, foꝛ the ſpace of ten yeares, fiftie pounds the peece of them, putting ſufficient ſuerties foꝛ the ſame, and at the end of ten yeares, to be lent to other ſixteene, at the diſcretion of the maiꝛ, aldermen, and foure of the common councell of the ſaid citie.

Abr. Fl. ex. l. S. pag. 1075. Charitable deeds of ſir Thomas White.

A pꝛeſident of monie well emploied after death.

The other two hundꝛed pounds to be imploied in the pꝛouiſion of coꝛne, foꝛ the releefe of the poꝛe of the ſame citie, foꝛ their readie monie, without gaine to be taken. And after the end of ten yeares on the feaſt daie of ſaint Bartholomew, which ſhall be in the yeare of our Lord 1577, at the merchant tailoꝛs hall in London, vnto the maiꝛ and communaltie of the citie of Yoꝛke, oꝛ to their atturnie authoꝛiſed, an hundꝛed & foure pounds, to be lent vnto foure yongmen of the ſaid citie of Yoꝛke, fꝛeemen and inhabitants (clothiers alwaie to be pꝛeferred) that is, to euerie of them fiue and twentie pounds, to haue and occupie the ſame foꝛ the tearme of ten yeares, without paieng anie thing foꝛ the loane, the foure pounds ouerplus of the hundꝛed and foure pounds, at the pleaſure of the maiꝛ and communaltie foꝛ their paines to be taken about the receipts and paiments of the ſaid hundꝛed pounds.

Pꝛouiſion of coꝛne foꝛ the poꝛe.

The like oꝛder in all points is taken foꝛ the deliuerie of an hundꝛed and foure pounds in the yeare 1578, to the citie of Canturburie. In the yeare 1579 to Reading, 1580 to the companie of the merchant tailoꝛs, 1581 to Gloceſter, 1582 to Woꝛceſter, 1583 to Exceſter, 1584 to Saliſburie, 1585 to Weſtcheſter, 1586 to Noꝛwich, 1587 to Southhampton, 1588 to Lincolne, 1589 to Wincheſter, 1590 to Oxenfoꝛd, 1591 to Herefoꝛd eaſt, 1592 to Cambꝛidge, 1593 to Shꝛewſburie, 1594 to Lin, 1595 to Bath, 1596 to Derbie, 1597 to Ipſwich, 1598 to Colcheſter, 1599 to Newcaſtell. And then to begin againe at Briſtow an hundꝛed and foure pounds, the nexꝛt yeare to the citie of Yoꝛke, and ſo foꝛth to euerie of the ſaid cities and townes, in the like oꝛder as beſoꝛe: and thus to continue foꝛ euer, as in the indentures tripartite moꝛe plainelie maie appeare.]

A perpetuall oꝛder of an hundꝛed and foure pounds lent yearelie by courſe.

At this time manie were in trouble foꝛ religion, and among others, ſir James Hales knight, one of the iuſtices of the common plées, which iuſtice being called among other by the councell of king Edward to ſubſcribe to a deuiſe made foꝛ the diſheriting of queene Marie, and the ladie Elizabeth hir ſiſter, would in no wiſe aſſent to the ſame, though moſt of the other did: yet that notwithſtanding, foꝛ that he at a quarter ſeſſions holden in Kent, gaue charge vpon the ſtatutes of king Henrie the eight, and king Edward the firſt, in deꝛogation of the pꝛimaſie of the church of Rome, aboliſhed by king Henrie the eight, he was firſt committed pꝛiſoner to the Kings bench, then to the Counter, & laſt to the Fleet, where, whether it were thoꝛough extreame feare, oꝛ elſe by reaſon of ſuch talke as the warden of the Fleet vſed vnto him, of moꝛe trouble like to inſue, if he perſiſted in his opinion (oꝛ foꝛ what other cauſe, God knoweth) he was ſo moued, troubled, and vexed, that he ſought to rid himſelfe out of this life, which thing he firſt attempted in the Fleet, by wounding himſelfe with a penknife, well neere to death. Neuertheleſſe afterward being recouered of that hurt, he ſeemed to be verie confoꝛmable to all the queenes pꝛoceedings, and was thereupon deliuered of his impꝛiſonment, and bꝛought to the queenes pꝛeſence, who gaue him woꝛds of great comfoꝛt: neuertheleſſe his mind was not quiet (as afterward well appeared) foꝛ in the end he dꝛowned himſelfe in a riuer not halfe a mile from his dwelling houſe in Kent, the riuer being ſo ſhalow, that he was faine to lie groueling beſoꝛe he could diſpatch himſelfe, whoſe death was much lamented. Foꝛ beſide that he was a man wiſe, vertuous, and learned in the lawes of the realme, he was alſo a good and true miniſter of iuſtice, whereby he gat him great fauour and eſtimation among all degrees.

Sir James Hales in trouble foꝛ religion.

See beſoꝛe pag. 1083.

Soꝛe temptations in afflictions, againſt which we are to pꝛaie foꝛ patience.

He dꝛowneth himſelfe.

During the afoꝛeſaid parlement, about the eighteenth daie of October, there was kept at Paules church in London a publike diſputation, appointed by the queenes commandement, about the pꝛeſence of Chꝛiſt in the ſacrament of the altar, which diſputation continued ſix daies, doctoꝛ Weſton then being pꝛolocutoꝛ of the conuocation, who vſed manie vnſeemelie checks & tawnts againſt the one part, to the pꝛeiudice of their cauſe. By reaſon whereof the diſputers neuer reſolued vpon the article pꝛoponed, but grew dailie moꝛe and moꝛe into contention, without anie fruit of their long conference, and ſo ended this diſputation, with theſe woꝛds ſpoken by doctoꝛ Weſton pꝛolocutoꝛ: It is not the queens pleaſure that we ſhould herein ſpend anie longer time, and yeare well inough, foꝛ you haue the woꝛd, and we haue the ſwoꝛd. But of this matter ye maie read moꝛe in the booke of the monuments of the church. At this time was cardinall Pole ſent foꝛ to Rome by the queene, who was verie deſirous of his comming, as well foꝛ the cauſes beſoꝛe declared, as alſo foꝛ the great affection that ſhe had to him, being hir neere kinſman, and conſenting with hir in religion.

A publike diſputation about the reall pꝛeſence in the ſacrament.

" "

Iohn Fox.

Cardinall Pole ſent foꝛ home.

This meſſage was moſt thankefullie receiued at Rome, and oꝛder taken to ſend the ſaid cardinall hither with great expedition: but beſoꝛe his comming, queene Marie had married Philip pꝛince of Spaine,

As

as after shall appeare. But here to touch somewhat the comming of the said cardinall. When he was arriued at Calis, there was conference had amongest the councellors of the quéene for the maner of his receiuing: some would haue had him verie honourablie met and interteined, as he was in all places where he had before passed, not onelie for that he was a cardinall, and a legat from the pope; but also for that he was the quéenes néere kinsman, of the house of Clarence. Neuertheleſſe, after much debating, it was thought méetest, first, for that by the lawes of the realme (which yet were not repealed) he stood attainted by parlement, and also for that it was doubtfull how he being sent from Rome, should be accepted of the people, who in fiue and twentie yeares before, had not béene much acquainted with the pope or his cardinals, that therefore (vntill all things might be put in order for that purpose) he should come without anie great solemnitie vnto Lambeth, where (in the archbishops house) his lodging was prepared.

The councell diuided about the receiuing of the cardinall.

The third of Nouember next following, Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie (notwithstanding that he had once refused plainelie to subscribe to king Edwards will, in the disheriting of his sister Marie, and alledging manie reasons and arguments for the legitimation of both the kings sisters) was in the Guildhall in London arreigned and attainted of treason, namelie for aiding the duke of Northumberland with horsse and men against the quæne, as aforesaid. At the same time also, the ladie Jane of Suffolke (who for a while was called quæne Jane) and the lord Gilford hir husband, the lord Ambrose and lord Henrie Dudleie sonnes to the duke of Northumberland, were likewise arreigned and attainted, and therevpon led backe againe to the tower. In the beginning of Januarie next following, Charles the fift emperor sent into England an honorable ambassage, amongest whome was the Conte de Aigmemont admerall of the low countries, with Charles Conte de la Laing, John de Montmorancie lord of Curriers, and the chancellor Nigre, with full commission to conclude a mariage betweene Philip prince of Spaine his sonne & heire, and quæne Marie (as you haue heard) which ambassage toke such place, that shortlie after all things were finished accordinglie.

Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie arreigned of treason.

Ambassadors from the emperour.

¶ On the fouretéenth of Januarie, doctor Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester lord chancellour of England, in the chamber of presence at Westminster, made to the lords, nobilitie, and gentlemen, an oration verie eloquent, wherein he declared that the quænes maiestie, partlie for amitie, and other weightie considerations had, after much sute on the emperours and prince of Spaines behalfe made, determined by the consent of the councell and nobilitie, to match hir selfe with the said prince in most godlie and lawfull matrimonie; and declared further, that she should haue for hir iointer thirtie thousand ducats by the yeare, with all the low countrie of Flanders, and that the issue (if there happened anie) betweene them two lawfullie begotten, should be heire as well to the kingdome of Spaine, as also to the said low countrie. He said therefore that they were all bound to thanke God, that so noble, worthie, and famous a prince would vouchsafe so to humble himselfe, as in this marriage to take vpon him rather as a subiect, than otherwise. For the quéene & hir councell should rule all things as she did before, and that there should be of the councell no stranger, neither to haue custodie of anie forts or castels, &c: nor to beare anie rule or office in the quéenes house, or elsewhere in all England, with diuerse other articles there by him rehearsed. Wherefore he said the quænes pleasure and request was, that like good subiects for hir sake, they would most louinglie receiue him with reuerence, loue, and honour. On the next daie, the lord maior of London with his bretheren the aldermen, were sent for to the court, and to bring with them fortie of the head commoners of the citie, vnto whome before the councell, the lord chancellor made the like oration, desiring them to behaue themselues like good subiects with all humblenesse and reuerence.

Ab. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 1077.

Stephan Gardiner maketh an oration to the lords of the councell &c: touching the quénes marriage.

Gardiner cõmendeth the king of Spaine.

But this marriage was not well thought of by the commons, nor much better liked of manie of the nobilitie, who for this, and for the cause of religion, conspired to raise war, rather than to see such change of the state. Of the which conspiracie though there were manie confederats; yet the first that shewed force therein, was one sir Thomas Wiat a knight in Kent, who in verie déed was driuen to preuent the time of the purposed enterprise by this hap. Diuerse of the partakers in this conspiracie, being withdrawne from London (where they had deuised their drift) home into their countries (amongst whome the said sir Thomas Wiat was one) it fell out, that whilest he was returned into Kent, where his lands and liuings chiefflie laie, a gentleman of that shire, one to the said sir Thomas Wiat most déere, was by the councell for other matters committed to the Fléet. Wherevpon he verelie suspecting his secrets were bewraied, had no other shift (as he toke it) but to put on armour, and to begin the attempt, before the time appointed with his complices. And herevpon ginning intelligence of his determination to his associats, as well at London, as else-where, on the thursdaie next following, being the fiue and twentith of Januarie at Maidstone, being accompanied with maister Thomas Isleie and others, published a proclamation against the quénes marriage, desiring all his neighbors, frends, and Englishmen to ioine with him and others, to defend the realme in danger to be brought in thraldome vnto strangers: and herewith he gat him to Rochester, and met with sir George Harper by the waie, that was one appointed afore to ioine with him in that quarrell. They brake vp the bridge at Rochester, and fortified the east part of the towne, & staid there abiding the comming of more strength, and in the meane while suffered all passengers to passe quietlie thorough the towne to London, or to the sea, taking nothing from them, but onelie their weapons.

Wiat publisheth a proclamation at Maidstone.

He commeth to Rochester.

Sir George Harper.

In the meane while, sir Henrie Isleie, Anthonie Kneuet esquier, and his brother William Kneuet were buske in west Kent to raise the people there; and likewise in east Kent there were other that were of the same confederacie, which set forth the like proclamations at Milton, Ashford, and other towns there in that part of the shire: and thus in each part of Kent in a maner was great stur. But yet such was the diligence and warie circumspection of John Twine at that present maior of Canturburie, for that he mistiked their disordered attempts, that there was not any of that citie knowne to stur, or go forth to ioine themselues with the said sir Thomas Wiat, or with anie other of his confederats: and yet verelie the more part of the people in all other parts of that shire were maruellouslie affected to the said sir Thomas Wiats quarrell, doubting that which might follow of the quéenes matching hir selfe thus with a stranger. At Milton when a gentleman of those parts named Christopher Roper, went about to resist them that set forth this proclamation, he was taken and conueied to Rochester vnto maister Wiat. Likewise maister Tucke and maister Dorrell iustices of peace, were fetched out of their owne houses, & likewise brought to Rochester, where they with the said Roper were kept as prisoners.

Christopher Roper taken.

Maister Dorrell & maister Tucke taken.

Sir

Sir Thomas Wiat writeth to sir Robert Southwell.

Sir Thomas Wiat had written vnto sir Robert Southwell shiriffe of Kent, to moue him in (respect of the preseruation of the common-wealth now in danger to be ouerrun of strangers, through the pretensed marriage, if it should go forward) to ioine with him and others, in so necessarie a cause for the disappointing of the same marriage, and to worke so with the lord of Aburgauennie, with whom he might do much, that it might please him also to ioine with them. But as well the said sir Robert Southwell, as the said lord of Aburgauennie, and one George Clerke assembled themselues with such power as they might make against the said sir Thomas Wiat and his adherents; and comming to Malling on the saturdaie, being the market daie & seuen and twentith of Januarie, the said sir Robert Southwell hauing penned an exhortation to dissuade the people, and to bring them from hauing anie liking to Wiats enterprise, did read the same openlie vnto all the people there assembled, in confuting, reproouing, and refelling the proclamations set forth by sir Thomas Wiat and his adherents.

The shiriffe of Kent and the lord of Aburgauennie assemble a power against Wiat.

On the other part, sir Henrie Isleie, Anthonie Kneuet, and his brother William Kneuet being at Tunbridge, proclamed the shiriffe, the lord of Aburgauennie, & George Clerke gentleman, traitors to God, the crowne, and the common-welth, for raising the quéenes subiects, to defend the most wicked & diuelish enterprise of certeine of the wicked & peruerse councellors. And this they pronounced in their owne names & in the names of sir Thomas Wiat, sir George Harper, and of all the faithfull gentlemen of Kent, & trustie commoners of the same. This done, they marched to Seuennocke, meaning from thence to passe to Rochester. But in the meane time the foresaid 27 of Januarie, there came from the quéene an herald & a trumpetter to sir Thomas Wiat, but he was not suffered to passe the bridge, and so did his message at the bridge end, in the hearing of sir Thomas Wiat and diuerse others. The effect of his message was, to offer pardon to so manie as within foure and twentie houres would depart to their houses, and become quiet subiects.

An herald sent to Wiat.

Sir Thomas Cheineie lord warden sent also vnto Wiat, with words of contempt and defiance, desirous in deed to haue béene doing with him, if hee had not mistrusted his owne people, which he should haue brought against him, as those that fauoured so greatlie Wiats cause, that they would haue bene loth to haue seene him take anie foile. And that sir Thomas Wiat knew well inough, and therefore desired nothing more than to haue him come forth, vnderstanding that he wanted no friends, as well about him, as all other that would take in hand to represse him with force gathered in that shire. The lord of Aburgauennie, the shiriffe Warram Sentleger, and diuerse other gentlemen that were assembled at Malling, late there within foure miles of Rochester on saturdaie at night, & hauing aduertisement that sir Henrie Isleie, the two Kneuets, and certeine other, with fiue hundred Weldishmen, being at Seuennocke, meant earlie in the morning to march towards Rochester for the aid of Wiat against the duke of Norffolke, that was come to Graues end with fiue hundred white cotes Londoners, and certeine of the gard: and further that the said sir Henrie Isleie and the Kneuets meant in their waie to burne and spoile the house of George Clerke gentleman: they departing with fiue hundred gentlemen & likewise yeomen, verie earlie that sundaie in the morning, marched out in order till they came to Wrotham heath, where they might easilie heare the sound of their aduersaries drums, and thereupon followed after them with all speed, till they came to a place called Barrow greene, through which laie the right readie waie from Seuennocke towards maister Clerks house. Here the lord of Aburgauennie staied for the comming of his enimies, and vnderstanding they were at hand, placed his men in order, thinking to giue or take the ouerthrow. But they vpon their approch, misliking (as it should seeme) the match, shranke aside as secretlie as they could, by a bywaie, and were so farre gone before the lord of Aburgauennie vnderstood thereof by his espials, as for doubt of ouertaking them afore their comming to Rochester, he was driuen to make such hast for the ouertaking of them, as diuerse of his footmen were farre behind at the onset giuing.

Barrow greene.

The first sight that the lord of Aburgauennie could haue of them, after they forsoke their purposed waie, was as they ascended Wrotham hill, directlie vnder Pallam maister Pechams house, where they thinking to haue great aduantage by the winning of the hill, displaied their enlignes, thinking they had béene out of danger. But the Lord of Aburgauennie made such hast after them, that ouertaking them at a field in the parish of Wrotham, a mile distant from the verie top of the hill, called Blacke soll field, after some resistance with shot and arrowes, and proffer of onset made by their horssemen, they were put to flight, and chased for the space of foure miles, euen to Hartleie wood. Threescore of them were taken prisoners, and some on both sides were wounded, as commonlie commeth to passe in an ordinarie and priuat fraie: how then is it possible, that a skirmish should be vnseasoned with slaughter and bloudshed, specially in a sedition or insurrection, which is the plague of all common-wealths, as the poet saith:

Wrotham hill.
Pallam.
Blacke soll field.
The skirmish.

——regnorum pessima pestis Seditio.

Sir Henrie Isleie fled into Hampshire, Anthonie Kneuet made such shift, that he got that night vnto Rochester; and the same time sir George Harper departing from sir Thomas Wiat, and comming to the duke of Norffolke, submitted himselfe vnto his grace, & the duke receiued him. Which duke (as before ye haue partlie heard) being sent with fiue hundred Londoners, and certeine of the gard for his better defense, to go against the Kentishmen thus assembled with sir Thomas Wiat, was come downe to Graues end, set forth from thence on mondaie the nine and twentith daie of Januarie, about ten of the clocke in the forenoone, marching towards Stroud on this side of Rochester, & about foure of the clocke in the after noone of the same daie, he arriued at Stroud neare vnto Rochester, hauing with him sir Henrie Jerningham capteine of the gard, sir Edward Waie, sir John Fog, knights, John Couert, Roger Apleton, esquiers, Maurice Griffith the bishop of Rochester, Thomas Swan gentleman, with certeine of the gard, and others, to the number of two hundred or thereabout, besides Wiet and other fiue capteins, who with their bands taried behind at spittle hill nére vnto Stroud, whilest the duke went to Stroud to see the placing of the ordinance, which being readie charged & bent vnto the towne of Rochester, and perceiuing by sir Thomas Wiat and his men by hanging out their enlignes, little to regard him, the duke commanded one of the péces to be fired and shot off into Rochester, and as the gunner was firing the pece, sir Edward Waies eldest son came in all hast to the duke, and told him how the Londoners would betraie him.

The duke of Norffolke arriueth at Stroud.

Herewith turning backe, he might behold how Wiet, and the other capteins of the white cotes with their bands being vpon the hill, and at his backe, made great and lowd shouts sundrie times, crieng; We are all Englishmen, we are all Englishmen: fashioning themselues in araie, readie bent with their

The reuolting of the Londoners.

Weldishmen, that is, such as dwell in the weld of Kent.

Wrotha heath.

their weapons to set vpon the duke, if he had made anie resistance: whereupon the duke willed the pées that were bent against Rochester, to be turned vpon Bret and his fellowes. But vpon further consideration the shot was spared, and the dukes grace, with the capteine of the gard, considering with wofull hearts their chiefe strength thus turned against them; and being thus inuironed both behind and before with enimies, shifted themselues awaie, as did also their companie. Sir Thomas Wiat accompanied with two or three, and not manie mo, came forth halfe a mile from Rochester, to méet Bret and the other capteins, amongst whom was sir George Harper, notwithstanding his former submission to the duke. Their méeting verelie séemed right ioifull both in gesture and countenance, & therewith hauing saluted each other, they entered all togither into Rochester. The lord of Aburgauennie & the shiriffe were greatlie abashed when they vnderstood of this mishap, for they doubted that such as were euill disposed before, would not be greatlie amended thereby. The shiriffe being then at Maidstone, hasted to come to Malling, where the lord of Aburgauennie laie, and vpon his comming thither, he toke aduise to ride in post to the councell, to know their minds how they would direct them. Sir Thomas Wiat and his associats were greatlie recomforted with this new supplie added to their strength, by the reuolting thus of the Londoners: and verelie it bred no small hope in all their hearts that wished well to his enterprise, that he should the better atteine vnto the hopes end of his purpose. But it pleased God otherwise, who neuer prospereth anie that attempt such exploits without publike and lawfull authoritie.

The duke with the capteine of the gard, &c: put to their shifts.

The shiriffe of Kent rideth to the councell.

In this meane while, the duke of Suffolke being persuaded to ioine with other in this quarell, as he that doubted (as no small number of true Englishmen then did) least the pretended mariage with the Spanish king should bring the whole nobilitie and people of this realme into bondage and thraldome of strangers, after he was once aduertised that sir Thomas Wiat had preuented the time of their purposed enterprise, he secretlie one euening departed from Shene, and rode with all spéed into Leicestershire, where in the towne of Leicester and other places, hée caused proclamation to be made in semblable wise, as sir Thomas Wiat had done, against the quénes match which she meant to make with the said king of Spaine: but few there were that would willinglie hearken thereto. But now ye must vnderstand, that before his comming downe, he was persuaded that the citie of Couentrie would be opened vnto him, the more part of the citizens being throughlie bent in his fauour, in so necessarie a quarell, for defense of the realme against strangers, as they were then persuaded.

The duke of Suffolke goeth downe into Leicestershire.

The citie of Couentrie.

But howsoeuer it chanced, this proued not altogither true: for whether through the misliking which the citizens had of the matter, or through negligence of some that were sent to sollicit them in the cause, or chieflie (as should séeme to be most true) for that God would haue it so, when the duke came with six or seuen score horsemen well appointed for the purpose, presenting himselfe before the citie in hope to bée receiued, hée was kept out. For the citizens through comfort of the erle of Huntington that was then come downe, sent by the quéene to staie the countries from falling to the duke, and to raise a power to apprehend him, had put themselues in armor, and made all the prouision they could to defend the citie against the said duke. Whereupon perceiuing himselfe destitute of all such aid as he looked for among his friends in the two shires of Leicester and Warwike, he got him to his manour of Astleie, distant from Couentrie fiue miles, there appointing his companie to disperse themselues, and to make the best shift each one for his owne safegard that he might, and distributing to euerie of them a portion of monie, according to their qualities, and his store at that present, he and the lord John Greie his brother bestowed themselues in secret places there within Astleie parke; but through the vntrustinesse of them, to whose trust they did commit themselues (as hath béene crediblie reported) they were bewraied to the earle of Huntington, that then was come to Couentrie, and so apprehended they were by the said earle, and afterwards brought vp to London.

The duke of Suffolke apprehended.

The duke of Suffolke kept out of Conentrie.

The duke had meant at first to haue rid awaie (as I haue crediblie heard) if promise had béene kept by one of his seruants, appointed to come to him to be his guide; but when he either feining himselfe sicke, or being sicke in déed, came not, the duke was constreined to remaine in the parke there at Astleie, hoping yet to get awaie after that the search had béene passed ouer, and the countrie once in quiet. Howsoeuer it was, there he was taken, as is said, togither with his brother the lord John Greie; but his brother the lord Thomas got awaie in deed at that time, meaning to haue fled into Wales, & there to haue got to the sea side, so to transport himselfe ouer into France, or into some other forren part. But in the borders of Wales he was likewise apprehended through his great mishap, and follie of his man that had forgot his capcase with monie behind him in his chamber one morning at his inne; and comming for it againe, vpon examination what he should be, it was mistrusted that his maister should be some such man, as he was in déed, and so was staied, taken, and brought vp to London, where he suffered, as after shall appeare.

The lord John Greie taken.

The lord Thomas Greie taken.

But now to returne vnto sir Thomas Wiat. After that the Londoners were reuolted to him, as before ye haue heard; the next daie being tuesdaie the thirtith of Januarie, he marched forth with his bands, and six péeces of ordinance (which they had gotten of the quénes) besides their owne. And first they came to Cowling castell, an hold of the lord Cobhams, foure miles distant from Rochester, and not much out of the waie towards London, whither they were now fullie determined to go, in hope of friends which they trusted to find within and about the citie. At their comming to Cowling, knowing that the lord Cobham was within the castell, they bent their ordinance against the gate, breaking it with sundrie shots, and burning it vp with fier, made a waie through it. The said lord Cobham defended the place as stoutlie as he might, hauing but a few against so great a number, and so little store of munition for his defense: he himselfe yet discharged his gun at such as approched the gate right hardilie, and in that assault two of his men were slaine. After this assault, and talke had with the lord Cobham, sir Thomas Wiat marched to Grauesend, where he rested that night.

Cowling castell.

The lord Cobham.

The next daie he came to Dartford with his bands, and laie there that night, whither came to him sir Edward Hastings maister of the quénes horsse, and sir Thomas Cornwallis knights, both being of the quénes priuie councell, and now sent from hir vnto sir Thomas Wiat, to vnderstand the cause of his commotion. When he vnderstood they were come, he toke with him certeine of his band to the west end of the towne, where he had lodged his ordinance. And at the lighting downe of sir Edward Hastings and his associat, sir Thomas Wiat hauing a partisan in his hand, aduancing himselfe somewhat afore such gentlemen as were with him, traced neere them:

to

to whome the maister of the horsse spake in substance as followeth. The quéenes maiestie requireth to vnderstand the verie cause wherefore you haue thus gathered togither in armes hir liege people, which is the part of a traitor, and yet in your proclamations and persuasions, you call your selfe a true subiect, which can not stand togither I am no traitor quoth Wiat, and the cause wherefore I haue gathered the people, is to defend the realme from danger of being ouerrun with strangers, which must follow, this mariage taking place.

Why, quoth the quéenes agents, there be no strangers yet come, who either for power or number ye néed to suspect. But if this be your onelie quarrell, because ye mislike the mariage; will ye come to communication touching that cause, and the quæne of hir gratious goodnesse is content ye shall be heard. I yéld thereto, quoth sir Thomas Wiat: but for my suertie I will rather be trusted than trust, and therefore demanded, as some haue written, the custodie of the tower, and hir grace within it; also the displacing of some councellors about hir, and to haue other placed in their romes. There was long & stout conference betwéene them, in so much that the maister of the horsse said: Wiat, before thou shalt haue thy traitorous demand granted, thou shalt die, and twentie thousand with thée. And so the said maister of the horsse, and sir Thomas Cornewallis, perceiuing they could not bring him to that point they wished, returned to the court, aduertising the quéene what they had heard of him. The same daie being the first of Februarie, proclamation was made in London by an herald, to signifie that the duke of Suffolkes companie of horssemen were scattered, and that he himselfe and his brethren were fled. Also that sir Peter Carew, and sir Gawen Carew knights, and William Gibs esquire, which being parties to the conspiracie of the said duke, with sir Thomas Wiat & others, were likewise fled. True it was that sir Peter Carew, perceiuing himselfe in danger to be apprehended, about the thrée and twentith of Januarie last past fled out of the realme, and escaped into France: but the other taried behind and were taken.

Moreouer, on this first daie of Februarie being Candlemas euen, the emperors ambassadors, of whome ye haue heard before, hearing of Wiats hastie approching thus towards London, sped themselues awaie by water, and that with all hast. The quæne then lieng at hir palace of White hall beside Westminster, and hearing of hir enimies so néere, was counselled for hir safegard to take the tower of London, whereunto she would by no meanes be persuaded. Neuertheless, to make hir selfe more stronger of friends in the citie, so soone as the said ambassadors were departed, she came to the Guildhall in London: against which time, order was taken by the lord maior, that the chiefe citizens in their liueries should be there present. After that the quæne had taken hir place in the said hall, and silence made, she with verie good countenance vttered in effect this oration following.

Wiats requests.

Proclamation that the duke of Suffolke and others were fled.

The emperors ambassadors flée from Wiat.

Queene Maries oration in Guildhall in a solemne assemblie.

Queéne Maries oration to the Londoners.

I Am (quoth shee) come vnto you in mine owne person, to tell you that which alreadie you doo sée and know, that is, how traitorouslie & seditiouslie a number of Kentish rebels haue assembled themselues togither against both vs and you. Their pretense (as they said at the first) was onelie to resist a mariage determined betwéene vs and the prince of Spaine. To the which pretended quarrell, and to all the rest of their euill contriued articles ye haue béene made priuie. Since which time, we haue caused diuerse of our priuie councell to resort ekssones to the said rebels, and to demand of them the cause of their continuance in their seditious enterprise. By whose answers made againe to our said councell, it appeared that the mariage is found to be the least of their quarrell. For they now swarming from their former articles, haue bewraied the inward treason of their hearts, as most arrogantlie demanding the possession of our person, the kéeping of our tower, and not onelie the placing & displacing of our counsellors; but also to vse them & vs at their pleasures.

Demands are pretended to be sent from M. Wiat and his companie to quéene Marie.

Now louing subiects, what I am, you right well know. I am your quéene, to whome at my coronation when I was wedded to the realme, and to the lawes of the same (the spousall ring whereof I haue on my finger, which neuer hitherto was, nor hereafter shall be left off) ye promised your allegiance and obedience vnto me. And that I am the right and true inheritor to the crowne of this realme of England; I not onelie take all christendome to witnesse, but also your acts of parlement confirming the same. My father (as ye all know) possessed the regall estate by right of inheritance, which now by the same right descended vnto me. And to him alwaies ye shewed your selues most faithfull and loning subiects, and him obeied and serued as your liege lord & king: and therefore I doubt not but you will shew your selues likewise to me his daughter. Which if you doo, then maie you not suffer anie rebell to vsurpe the gouernance of our person, or to occupie our estate, especiallie being so presumptuous a traitor as this Wiat hath shewed himselfe to be; who must certeinlie, as he hath abused my ignorant subiects to be adherents to his traitorous quarrell: so doth he intend by colour of the same, to subdue the lawes to his will, and to giue scope to the rascall and forlorne persons, to make generall hauocke and spoile of your goods. And this further I say vnto you in the word of a prince, I cannot tell how naturallie a mother loueth hir children, for I was neuer the mother of anie; but certeinlie a prince and gouernor may as naturallie and as earnestlie loue subiects, as the mother doth hir child. Then assure your selues, that I being your souereigne ladie & quéene, doo as earnestlie and as tenderlie loue and fauour you. And I thus louing you, cannot but thinke that ye as hartilie and faithfullie loue me againe: and so louing togither in this knot of loue and concord, I doubt not, but we togither shall be able to giue these rebels a short and spéedie ouerthrow.

How he pretended the spoile of their goods it appeareth in that he comming to Southworke, did hurt neither man, woman, nor child, neither in bodie nor in a pennie of their goods.

And as concerning the case of my intended marriage, against which they pretend their quarrell, ye shall vnderstand that I entred not into the treatie thereof without aduise of all our priuie councell; yea, and by assent of those to whome the king my father committed his trust, who so considered & weighed the great commodities that might insue thereof, that they not onlie thought it very honorable, but expedient, both for the wealth of our realme, and also of all our louing subiects. And as touching my selfe (I assure you) I am not so desirous of wedding, neither so precise or wedded to my will, that either for mine owne pleasure I will chose where I lust, or else so amorous as néeds I must haue one. For God I thanke him (to whome be the praise thereof) I haue hitherto liued a virgine, and doubting nothing but with Gods grace shall as well be able so to liue still. But if as my progenitors haue done before, it might please God that I might leaue some fruit of my bodie behind me to be your gouernour, I trust you

Quéene Marie excuseth hir mariage.

would not onelie reioise thereat, but also I know it would be to your great comfort. And certeinlie if I either did know or thinke, that this marriage should either turne to the danger or losse of anie of you my louing subiects, or to the detriment or impairing of anie part or parcell of the rotall estate of this realme of England, I would neuer consent thereunto, neither would I euer marrie while I liued. And in the word of a quéene I promise and assure you, that if it shall not probablie appéere before the nobilitie and commons in the high court of parlement, that this marriage shall be for the singular benefit and commoditie of all the whole realme; that then I will abstéine, not onelie from this marriage, but also from anie other, whereof perill maie insue to this most noble realme. Wherefore now as good & faithfull subiects plucke vp your harts, and like true men stand fast with your lawfull prince against these rebelles, both our enimies and yours, and feare them not: for assure you that I feare them nothing at all, & I will leaue with you my lord Howard, and my lord treasuror to be your assistants, with my lord maior, for the defense and safegard of this citie from spoile and saccage, which is onelie the scope of this rebellious companie.

The promise of quéene Marie touching hir marriage.

After this oration ended, the citizens séeming well satisfied therewith, the quéene with the lords of the councell returned to White hall from whence she came: and forthwith the lord William Howard was associate with the lord maior of London, whose name was sir Thomas White for the protection and defense of the citie. And for more suertie, as well of hir owne person, as also of hir councellors and other subiects, she prepared a great armie to méet with the said rebelles in the field, of which armie William Herbert earle of Penbroke was made generall, which earle with all spéed requisite in such a case, prepared all things necessarie to such a seruice belonging. The same daie sir Thomas Wiat hauing with him fouretéene ensignes, conteining about foure thousand men, although they were accounted to be a farre greater number, marched to Detford strand, eight miles from Detford, and within foure miles of London; where vpon such aduertisement as he receiued by spiall, of the quéens being in the Guildhall, & the order of the people to hir wards, he remained that night & the nert whole daie; diuerse of his owne companie doubting by his longer tarrieng there than in other places, and vpon other presumptions which they gathered, that he would haue passed the water into Esser.

Wiat marched to Detford strand.

His prisoners Christopher Roper, George Dorrell, and John Tucke esquiers, who were kept somewhat strict, for that they séemed sicklie, and finding within the towne no conuenient harborough or attendance, were licenced by sir Thomas Wiat, vpon promise of their worships to be true prisoners, to prouide for themselues out from the towne, where they best might. But they breaking promise with him, sought waies to escape and come no more at him. On saturdaie following verie earlie Wiat marched to Southworke, where approching the gate at London bridge foot, he called to them within to haue it opened: which he found not so readie as he loked for. After he had béene a little while in Southworke, and began to trench at the bridge foot, and set two péeces of ordinance against the gate, diuerse of his soldiors went to Winchester place, where one of them (being a gentleman) began to fall to rifling of things found in the house. Wherewith sir Thomas Wiat séemed so much offended, that he threatned sore to hang him euen presentlie there vpon the wharfe, and so as he made others to beléeue he meant to haue done, if capteine Bret and others had not intreated for him.

Wiat suffereth his prisoners to go abrode vpon their word.

Wiat cōmeth into Southworke.

The lord William Howard lord admerall of England, being appointed by the quéens commission capteine generall, with the lord maior sir Thomas White, watched at the bridge that night with three hundred men, caused the draw bridge to be hewen downe into the Thames, made rampiers and fortifications there, fensing the same with great ordinance. Wiat yet aduentured the breaking downe of a wall out of an house ioining to the gate at the bridge foot, whereby he might enter into the leads ouer the gate, & came downe into the lodge about eleuen of the clocke in the night, where he found the porter in a slumber, and his wife with other waking, and watching ouer a cole; but beholding Wiat, they began suddenlie to start as greatlie amazed. Whilt quoth Wiat, as you loue your liues sit still, you shall haue no hurt. Glad were they of that warrant, and so were quiet, and made no noise. Wiat and a few with him went forth as farre as the draw bridge: on the other side whereof he saw the lord admerall, the lord maior, sir Andrew Jud, and one or two others in consultation for ordering of the bridge, whereunto he gaue diligent hed and eare a good while, and was not séene.

Sir Thomas Wiats desperat attempt.

This done, he returned and said to some of his companie; This place sirs is too hot for vs. And herevpon falling in counsell what was best to do: some gaue aduise that it should be good to returne to Grénewich, and so to passe the water into Esser, whereby their companie (as they thought) should increase, and then assaie to enter into London by Aldgate: and some were of opinion, that it were better to go to Kingston vpon Thames, and so further west. Other there were, among which sir Thomas Wiat himselfe was chiefe, would haue returned into Kent to méet with the lord of Aburgauenie, the lord Warden, the shiriffe, sir Thomas Poile, sir Thomas Kempe, sir Thomas Finch, and others that were at Rochester, comming on Wiats backe, with a great companie well appointed, persuading himselfe (whether truelie or not I know not) that he should find among them more friends than enimies. But whether his desire to returne into Kent grew vpon hope he had to find aid there, or rather to shift himselfe awaie, it was doubted of his owne companie; and some of them that knew him well (except they were much deceiued) reported not long before their execution, that his desire to returne into Kent, was onelie to shift himselfe ouer the sea.

Wiat and his complices fall into consultation.

The lord Warden being at Rochester (as yée haue heard) well furnished both with horsse and men, perfectlie appointed to no small number, was willing to haue followed after Wiat, and to haue shewed his good will against him in the quéens quarrell: but yet vpon deliberation had, & aduise taken with others that were there with him, he thought good first to vnderstand the quéenes pleasure how to proceed in his dealings; and herevpon he rode post to the quéene himselfe, leauing the lord of Aburgauennie and the rest of the gentlemen with his and their bands behind till his returne. On sundaie the fourth of Februarie, the lord admerall caused a strong ward of three hundred men to be kept on the bridge till eight of the clocke at night, and then (for their releefe) entred the watch of other three hundred: so that the bridge was thus garded both daie and night with three hundred men in armor. It troubled Wiat and all his companie verie sore, to sée that London did so stiffelie stand and hold out against them: for in the assistance which they loked to haue had of that citie, all their hope of prosperous spéd consisted. But now that they saw themselues greatlie disappointed therein,

The lord Warden of the cinque ports verie willing to followe after Wiat.

Wiat at his wits end.

therein, they meant yet to set all on a hazard. And so the first of Februarie being Shrouetuesdaie, afore six of the clocke in the morning, they departed out of Southwarke, marching directlie towards Kingstone ten miles distant from London, standing vpon the Thames, where they arrived about foure of the clocke in the after noone: and finding thirtie fot or thereabout of the bridge taken awaie, saving the posts that were left standing; Wiat practised with two mariners to swim ouer, and to conuaie a barge to him, which the mariners through great promises of preferment accordinglie did, wherein Wiat and certeine with him were conueied ouer: who in the meane time that the number of soldiors baited in the towne, caused the bridge to be repaired with ladders, planks and beames, the same being tied togither with ropes and boords, so as by ten of the clocke in the night it was in such plight, that both his ordinance and companies of men might passe ouer without perill. And so about eleuen of the clocke in the same night, Wiat with his armie passing ouer the bridge without either resistance or perill, & before it could be once knowne at the court, marched toward London, meaning (as some haue written) to haue bin at the court gate before daie that morning. Neuertheles, before he came within six miles of the citie staieng for a peece of his great artillerie which was dismounted by the waie, his comming was discouered before daie: wherby the erle of Penbroke generall of the quéenes armie was with his men in good order of battell in S. James field beside Westminster, two or three houres yer Wiat could reach thither.

The earle hauing vnderstanding by his espials, what waie Wiat would march, placed his armie in this order. First, in a field on the west side of saint James were all his men of armes, and demilances; ouer against whome in the lane next to the parke, were placed all the light horssemen. All which bands of horssemen were vnder the charge of the lord Clinton, being marshall of the field. The great artillerie was planted in the middest and highest place of the causeie next to the house of saint James, with certeine field peeces lieng on the flanke of ech battell. After that both the armies were in sight, and that the great artillerie began to thunder from either side without harme (as it happened to either of both) Wiat perceiuing that he could not come vp the fore right waie without great disaduantage, when he was come to the parke corner, he leauing the causeie, swarued, and toke the nether waie towards saint James. Which being perceiued by the quéenes horssemen, who laie on either side of him, they gaue a sudden charge, and diuided his battell asunder hard behind Wiats ensignes, whereby so manie as were not passed before with Wiat, were forced to flie backe towards Brainford: and certeine of his companie which escaped the charge, passed by the backe side of saint James towards Westminster, and from thense to the court: and finding the gates shut against them, staid there a while, and shot off manie arrowes into the windowes, and ouer into the garden, neuertheless without anie hurt there that was knowne. Whereupon the said rebels, ouer whom one Kneuet was capteine, perceiuing themselues to be too few to do anie great feat there, departed from thense to follow Wiat, who was gone before toward London: and being on their waie at Charingcrosse, were there incountered by sir Henrie Jerningham capteine of the quænes gard, sir Edward Braie maister of the ordinance, and sir Philip Paris knights, which were sent by the order of the earle of Penbroke with a band of archers, and certeine field peeces for the rescue of the court, who incountered the said rebels at Charingcrosse aforesaid, after they had discharged their field peeces vpon them, ioined with those rebels, halfe armed, and halfe vnarmed, at the push of the pike, & verie soone dispersed their power; whereof some fled into the lane toward saint Giles, & some on the other side by a brewhouse towards the Thames. In this conflict, which was the chiefe triall of that daie, there was not found slaine to the number of twentie of those rebels. Which happened by reason that vpon their ioining with the quæns soldiors, the one part could not be discerned from the other, but onelie by the mire and dirt taken by the waie, which stacke vpon their garments comming in the night: wherefore the crie on the quéenes part that daie was; Downe with the daggle tailes.

But now to returne to Wiat, of whome ye heard before, who being come to the parke corner, and perceiuing the perill apparant, if he should haue marched straight vpon the earls battels, which were raised on either side of the causeie, did therefore politikelie turne from the great causeie, marching along the wall of the house of saint James towards London: which could not haue béene without his no little losse of manie of his traine, if those that had the charge on that side the field, had béene as forward in seruice as the earle with his battell, and the horssemen before shewed themselues to be. Neuertheless Wiat following his purposed enterprise, which was to haue entered into London, where he hoped of great aid, marched on with the small companie that was left him, as far as a common inne called the Bell sauage, néere to Ludgate, beléeuing to haue found some readie there to haue receiued him; wherin his hope was much deceiued, finding the said gate fast shut, and stronglie garded with a number as well of most honest cittizens, as also of other bands of the quénes assured friends. Whereupon Wiat, who comming towards the citie, made himselfe sure of his enterprise, now desperat of the same, was faine to turne his face, retiring backe againe to Temple-barre, where he with the rest of his retinue determined (as it séemed) to trie their last fortune.

The earle of Penbroke (who all this while kept his force togither in the field) hearing of Wiats approch to London, sent to him an herald called Clarenceaur, with great communication to desist from his rebellious enterprise. Which herald did his message accordinglie, albeit that some said he promised the said Wiat his pardon: which should not séeme to be true, as well for that the herald had no such commission, as also that it was not like, that the said Wiat being then disarmed of all his forces, would haue refused mercie in such a case. For true it is, that he with a verie few of his forlorne fellowship, not manie aboue the number of one hundred persons, stood still as men amazed at the gate of the Temple-barre, till such time as sir Maurice Barkleie knight, by chance riding towards London vpon his horsse, with footcloth, without anie armour, finding the said Wiat there, persuaded him to repaire to the court, and to yéeld himselfe to the quéene. Whose aduise he followed, and incontinent mounted vp on the said sir Maurice horsse behind him, and so road to the court voluntarilie to yéeld himselfe prisoner.

This comming of Wiat to the court being so little looked for, was great cause of reioising to such as of late before stood in great feare of him. But more than maruell it was to sée that daie, the inuincible heart and constancie of the quéene hir selfe, who being by nature a woman, and therefore commonlie more fearefull than men be, shewed hir selfe in that case more stout than is credible. For she, notwithstanding all the fearefull newes that were brought to hir that daie, neuer abashed. Insomuch that when one or two noblemen being hir captéins,

Wiat marcheth to Kingstone.

Wiat repareth the bridge at Kingstone.

Hol. Grafton.

The earle of Penbroke setteth the armie in order.

Wiat cometh to the parke corner, &c.

A skirmish at Charingcrosse betweén Wiats powers and the quénes forces.

Wiat marcheth alongst the wall of saint James towards London.

An herald sent to Wiat willing him to desist from his enterprise.

Sir Thomas Wiat submitteth himselfe to the quéene.

The stout courage of quéene Marie.

came in all hast to tell hir (though vntrulie) that hir battels were yéelded to Wiat. She nothing moued thereat, said it was their fond opinion that durst not come nére to sée the triall, saieng further, that she hir selfe would enter the field to trie the truth of hir quarrell, and to die with them that would serue hir, rather than to yéeld one iot vnto such a traitor as Wiat was, and prepared hir selfe accordinglie.

But by the apprehension of Wiat that votage toke none effect: for after his comming to the court he was immediatlie committed to the Tower. As sone as the taking of Wiat was knowns, the armie (whereof mention is made before that laie in saint James field) was discharged, and euerie man licenced to depart to his home. And forthwith proclamation was made, as well in the citie of London as in the suburbs of the same, that none vpon paine of death should kéepe in his or their houses anie of Wiats faction; but should bring them forth immediatlie before the lord maior, and other the quéenes iustices. By reason of which proclamation a great multitude of their said poore caitifs were brought forth, being so manie in number, that all the prisons in London sufficed not to receiue them: so that for lacke of place they were faine to bestow them in diuerse churches of the said citie. And shortlie after were set vp in London for a terrour to the common sort (bicause the white cotes being sent out of the citie, as before ye haue heard, reuolted from the quéens part to the aid of Wiat) twentie paire of gallowes, on the which were hanged in seuerall places to the number of fiftie persons, which gallowes remained standing there a great part of the summer following to the great griefe of good citizens, and for example to the commotioners.

Proclamation that none should kéepe in his house anie of Wiats faction.

Abr.Fl. ex I.S. pag.1087,1088 1089.

¶As for the principals of this faction, namelie Thomas Wiat, William Kneuet, Thomas Cobham, two brethren named Mantels, and Alexander Bret were brought by sir Henrie Jerningam by water to the tower prisoners, where sir Philip Denie receiued them at the bulwarke, & as Wiat passed by he said; Go traitor, there was neuer such a traitor in England. To whom sir Thomas Wiat turned, and said, I am no traitor, I would thou shouldst well know thou art more traitor than I, it is not the point of an honest man to call me so, and so went forth. When he came to the tower gate, sir Thomas Brydges lieutenant toke in through the wicket, first Mantell, and said: Ah thou traitor, what hast thou and thy companie wrought? But he holding downe his head said nothing. Then came Thomas Kneuet, whom maister chamberleine gentleman porter of the tower toke in. Then came Alexander Bret, whome sir Thomas Pope toke by the bosome, saieng: Oh traitor, how couldest thou find in thy heart to worke such a villanie, as to take wages, and being trusted ouer a band of men, to fall to hir enimies, returning against hir in battell. Bret answered Yea; I haue offended in that case. Then came Thomas Cobham, whome sir Thomas Poines toke in, and said, Alas maister Cobham, what wind headed you to worke such treason? And he answered, Oh sir I was seduced. Then came in sir Thomas Wiat, whom sir John Brydges toke by the collar and said, Oh thou villen & vnhappie traitor, how couldest thou find in thy hart to worke such detestable treason to the quéenes maiestie, who gaue thée thy life and liuing once alreadie, although thou diddest before this time beare armes in the field against hir, and now to yéeld hir battell, &c. If it were not (saith he) but that the law must passe vpon thee, I would sticke thée through with my dagger. To the which Wiat holding his arms vnder his side, and loking grieuouslie with a grim loke vpon the lieutenant, said; It is no maisterie now: and so passed on. Thomas Wiat had on a shirt of maile, with slæues verie faire, theron a veluet sallocke, and a yellow lace, with the windlace of his dag hanging thereon, and a paire of boots on his legs, and on his head a faire hat of veluet, with a broad bone-worke lace about it. William Kneuet, Thomas Cobham, and Bret, were the like apparelled.

Wiat sent to the tower.

Sir Thomas Brydges lieutenant of the tower.

The zeale of the lieutenant sheweth it self by his hot language.

On the morrow and the nert daie following were brought into the tower prisoners, George Cobham, sir William Cobham, Anthonie Kneuet, Hugh Woth, Thomas Vane, Robert Rudstone, sir George Harper, Edward Wiat, Edward Fog, George Moore, and Cutbert Vaughan. The tenth of Februarie, the earle of Huntington and other gentlemen, and to the number of three hundred horsemen, brought to the tower as prisoners the duke of Suffolke, and the lord John Greie his brother from Couentrie, where the duke had remained three daies after his taking in the house and custodie of Christopher Warren alderman there. The eleuenth daie sir Henrie Isleie who had fled, was brought into the tower in an old freese cote, an old paire of hosen, all his apparell not worth foure shillings. The same daie came in two of the Culpepers, one Cromar, & Thomas Rampton the duke of Suffolks secretarie.

The duke of Suffolke and the lord Grei brought to the tower.

Sir Henrie Isleie.

The twelfe of Februarie being mondaie, about ten of the clocke, there went out of the tower to the scaffold on the tower hill, the lord Gilford Dudleie, sonne to the duke of Northumberland, husband to the ladie Jane Greie daughter to the duke of Suffolke; and without the bulworke gate, maister Thomas Offleie one of the shiriffes of London receiued him and brought him to the scaffold, where after a small declaration he kneeled downe and said his praiers. Then holding vp his eies & hands to heauen with teares, at the last he desired the people to praie for him, & after he was beheaded. His bodie being laid in a cart, and his head in a cloth, was brought into the chappell within the tower, where the ladie Jane, whose lodging was in maister Patridges house, did see his dead carcasse taken out of the cart, as well as she did see him before aliue going to his death: a sight (as might be supposed) to hir worse than death. By this time was there a scaffold made vpon the greene ouer against the white tower, for the ladie Jane to die vpon, who being nothing at all abashed neither with feare of hir owne death, which then approched, neither with the sight of the dead carcasse of hir husband when he was brought into the chapell, came forth, the lieutenant leading hir, with countenance nothing abashed, neither hir eies anie thing moistened with teares, with a booke in hir hand, wherein she praied vntill she came to the said scaffold. Whereon when she was mounted, this noble yong ladie as she was indued with singular gifts both of learning and knowledge, so was she as patient and mild as anie lambe at hir execution: and a little before hir death vttered these words.]

The lord Gilford Dudleie executed on the tower.

The behauior of the ladie Jane lead to execution.

The words of the ladie Iane at hir *death, on a scaffold vpon the greene* ouer against the white tower.

GOod people I am come hither to die, and by a law I am condemned to the same. My offense against the quænes highnes was onelie in consent to the deuice of other, which now is deemed treason; but it was neuer of my seeking, but by counsell of those who should seeme to haue further vnderstanding of things than I, which knew little of the law, and much lesse of the titles

to

to the crowne. But touching the procurement and desire therof by me, or on my behalfe, I dow wash my hands in innocencie thereof before God, and the face of all you (good christian people) this daie. And therwith she wrong hir hands wherin she had hir booke. Then (said she) I praie you all good christian people, to beare me witnesse that I die a true christian woman, & that I looke to be saued by none other meanes, but onelie by the mercie of God, in the bloud of his onelie sonne Jesus Christ; & I confesse that when I did know the word of God, I neglected the same, & loued my selfe and the world, and therefore this plague and punishment is iustlie & worthilie happened vnto me for my sins, & yet I thanke God of his goodnesse, that he hath giuen me a time and respit to repent. And now good people while I am aliue, I praie you assist me with your praiers.

Then kneeling downe, she said the psalme of *Miserere mei Deus*, in English, and then stood vp and gaue hir maid (called mistresse Ellin) hir gloues and handkercher, and hir booke she also gaue to maister Bridges then lieutenant of the tower, and so vntied hir gowne; and the executioner prested to helpe hir off with it, but she desired him to let hir alone, and turned hir toward hir two gentlewomen, who helped hir off therewith, and with hir other attires, and they gaue hir a faire handkercher to put about hir eies. Then the executioner kneeled downe and asked hir forgiuenesse, whom she forgaue most willinglie. Then he willed hir to stand vpon the straw, which done, she saw the blocke, & then she said; I praie you dispatch me quicklie. Then she kneeled downe, saieng; Will you take it off before I laie me downe? Wherunto the executioner answered, No madame. Then tied she the handkercher about hir eies, and feeling for the blocke, she said; Where is it, where is it? One of the standers by guided hir thereunto, and she laid downe hir head vpon the blocke, and then stretched forth hir bodie, and said; Lord into thy hands I commend my spirit, and so finished hir life. ¶ This was the end of the lord Gilford and the ladie Jane, whose deaths were the more hastened for feare of further troubles and stirs for hir title, like as hir father had attempted.]

The executioner asked the ladie Jane forgiuenesse.

I. Stow.

Iohn Fox.

Thus (as saith maister Fox) were beheaded two innocents, in comparison of them that sat vpon them: for they did but ignorantlie accept that which the others had willinglie deuised, and by open proclamation consented to take from others, and giue to them. And verelie how vnwilling she was to take it vpon hir, there are yet liuing that can testifie.

Iudge Morgan fell mad.

Iudge Morgan now that gaue the sentence against hir, shortlie after fell mad, and in his raging cried continuallie to haue the ladie Jane taken awaie from him, and so ended his life. ¶ Touching this ladie Jane in the high commendation of hir godlie mind,

Abr. Fl. ex I. F. Mart.

I find this report in maister Foxes appendix to his Acts and Monuments, namelie that being on a time when she was verie yong at Newhall in Essex at the ladie Maries, was by one ladie Anne Wharton desired to walke, and they passing by the chapell, the ladie Wharton made low curtsie to the popish sacrament hanging on the altar. Which when the ladie Jane saw marueled why she did so, and asked hir whether the ladie Marie were there or not? Vnto whome the ladie Wharton answered no, but she said that she made hir curtsie to him that made vs all. Why quoth the ladie Jane, how can he be there that made vs all, and the baker made him? This hir answer comming to the ladie Maries eare, she did neuer loue hir after, as is crediblie reported, but esteemed hir as the rest of that christian profession. In further witnesse of which good ladies disposition (both to God and the world) besides the verses of certeine learned men extant to hir praise, these following were found written by hir owne hand with a pin:

Non aliena putes homini, quæ obtingere possunt,
Sors hodierna mihi, cras erit illa tibi.

Iane Dudley.

Deo iuuante, nil nocet liuor malus,
Et non iuuante, nil iuuat labor grauis.
Post tenebras spero videre lucem.

Upon saturdaie being the seuentéenth of Februarie the duke of Suffolke was arreigned at Westminster, and there condemned to die by his péres, the earle of Arundell being that daie chiefe iudge. Where some haue written that he should at his last going downe into the countrie make proclamation in his daughters name, that is not so: for whereas he stood by in Leicester, when at his commandement the proclamation was there made against the quænes mariage with the prince of Spaine, &c: maister Damport then maior of that towne said to him: My lord I trust your grace meaneth no hurt to the quænes maiestie. No saith he maister maior (laieng his hand on his sword) he that would hir anie hurt, I would this sword were through his hart, for she is the mercifullest prince, as I haue trulie found hir, that euer reigned, in whose defense I am & will be readie to die at hir fot. ¶ On mondaie the nintéenth of Februarie, the lord Cobhams three sonnes, and foure other men were brought to Westminster, the yongest of the Cobhams, to wit maister Thomas Cobham was condemned with the other foure men, but the other two Cobhams came not to the barre. ¶ On the wednesdaie the one and twentith of Februarie the lord Thomas Greie that had bene taken (as before ye haue heard) in Wales, was brought togither with sir James Croft through London to the tower, by a number of horsemen.

The duke of Suffolke.

Iohn Fox.

Upon the fridaie the three and twentith of Februarie, about nine of the clocke, the duke of Suffolke was brought forth of the tower vnto the scaffold on the tower hill. And in his comming thither, there accompanied him doctor Weston, as his ghostlie father: notwithstanding (as it should seeme) against the will of the said duke. For when the duke went vp the scaffold, the said Weston being on his left hand, prested to go vp with him. The duke with his hand put him downe againe off the staires, and Weston taking hold of the duke forced him downe likewise. And as they ascended the second time, the duke againe put him downe. Then Weston said, that it was the quænes pleasure he should so do: wherewith the duke calling his hands abrode, ascended vp the scaffold, and pansed a prettie while after, and then he said.

The duke of Suffolke beheaded.

Doctor Weston.

The duke of Suffolks words to the *people at the time of his death.*

MAisters, I haue offended the quæne and hir lawes, and thereby am iustlie condemned to die, and am willing to die, desiring all men to be obedient; and I praie God that this my death maie be an example to all men: beseeching you all to beare mee witnesse that I die in the faith of Christ, trusting to be saued by his bloud onelie (and by none other trumperie) the which died for

me, and for all them that doo truelie repent, & stedfastlie trust in him. And I doo repent, desiring you all to pray to God for me, that when ye see my breath depart from me, you will praie to God that he maie receiue my soule. And then hee desired all men to forgiue him, saieng that the quæne had forgiuen him.

Then maister Weston declared with a lowd voice that the quænes maiestie had forgiuen him. Then diuers of the standers by said with audible voice; Such forgiuenes God send thee, meaning doctor Weston. Then the duke knæled vpon his knees, and said the psalme *Miserere mei Deus*, vnto the end, holding vp his hands, and loking vp to heauen. And when he had ended the psalme, he said; *In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum*. Then he arose and stood vp, and deliuered his cap and scarffe to the executioner, and therewith the executioner knæled downe: and asked the duke forgiuenesse, and the duke said, God forgiue thee, and I doo: and when thou dost thine office, I praie thee doo it quicklie, and God haue mercie to thee. Then stood there a man and said, My lord, how shall I doo for the monie that you doo owe me? And the duke said, Alas good fellow, I praie thee trouble me not now, but go thy waie to my officers. Then he knit a kercher about his face, and knæled downe and said, Our father which art in heauen, &c. vnto the end: and then he said, Christ haue mercie vpon mie, and laid downe his head on the blocke: and the executioner toke the axe, and at the first chop stroke off his head, and held it vp to the people, according to the common custome of execution.

The duke of Suffolke described.

Such was the end of this duke of Suffolke, a man of high nobilitie by birth, and of nature to his friend gentle and courteous, more easie in deed to be led than was thought expedient, of stomach neuertheless stout and hardie, hastie and soone kindled, but pacified streight againe, and sorie if in his heat ought had passed him otherwise than reason might seeme to beare, vpright and plaine in his priuat dealings, no dissembler, nor well able to beare iniuries, but yet forgiuing & forgetting the same, if the partie would seeme but to acknowlege his fault, and seeke reconcilement. Bountifull he was and verie liberall, somwhat learned himselfe, and a great fauourer of those that were learned, so that to manie he shewed himselfe a verie *Mecænas*: as free from couetousnesse, as void of pride and disdainefull hautinesse of mind, more regarding plaine meaning men, than clawbacke flatterers. And this vertue he had, he could patientlie heare his faults told him, by those whome he had in credit for their wisdome and faithfull meaning toward him, although sometime he had the hap to reforme himselfe thereafter. Concerning his last offense for the which he died, it is to be supposed, he rather toke in hand that vnlawfull enterprise through others persuasions, than of his owne motion for any malicious ambition in himselfe.

Great pitie that so manie good gifts concurring should suffer disgrace.

But now to let this duke rest with God, we will proceed with the storie. The same daie (or as some haue noted the day before) a number of prisoners had their pardon, and came through the citie with their halters about their necks. They were in * number aboue two hundred. Vpon the saturdaie, the eight and twentith of Februarie, sir William Sentlow was committed as prisoner to the maister of the horsse to be kept. This sir William was at this time one of the ladie Elizabeths gentlemen. Upon the sundaie being the fiue and twentith of Februarie, sir John Rogers was committed to the tower. Upon the tuesdaie in the same weeke being the seuen & twentith of Februarie, certeine gentlemen of Kent were sent into Kent to be executed there. Their names were these: the two Mantels, two Kneuets, and Bret: with these maister Rudston also, and certeine other were condemned, and should haue beene executed, but they had their pardon.

* The number of them that thus had their pardon were 240.

Gentlemen sent into Kent to be executed.

Sir Henrie Isleie knight, Thomas Isleie his brother, and Walter Mantell, suffered at Maidston, where Wiat first displated his banner. Anthonie Kneuet and his brother William Kneuet, with an other of the Mantels, were executed at Seuenocke: Bret at Rochester was hanged in chains. On saturdaie the third of March, sir Gawen Carew, and maister Gibs were brought thorough London to the tower, with a companie of horssemen. The fiftæenth daie of March next following, the ladie Elizabeth the quænes sister, and next heire to the crowne, was apprehended at hir manour of Ashridge, for suspicion of Wiats conspiracie. And from thence (being that time verie sicke) with great rigour brought prisoner to London. On the sundaie after being the seuentæenth of March, she was commited to the tower, where also the lord Courtneie earle of Deuonshire (of whome before is made mention) was for the like suspicion committed prisoner.

Execution.

Ladie Elizabeth and lord Courtneie prisoners in the tower.

¶ Touching the imprisonment of the foresaid ladie Elizabeth, & the lord Courtneie, thou shalt note here for thy learning (good reader) a politike point of practise in Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, not vnworthie to be considered. This Gardiner being alwaies a capitall enimie to ladie Elizabeth, & thinking now by the occasion of maister Wiat to picke out some matter against the lord Courtneie, and so in the end to intangle the ladie Elizabeth, deuised a pestilent practise of conueiance, as in the storie here following maie apeare. The storie is this. The same daie that sir Thomas died, he desired the lieutenant to bring him to the presence of the lord Courtneie, who there before the lieutenant and the shirifes, knæling downe vpon his knees, besought the lord Courtneie to forgiue him, for that he had falselie accused both the ladie Elizabeth and him: and so being brought from thence vnto the scaffold to suffer, there openlie in the hearing of all the people cleared the ladie Elizabeth, and the lord Courtneie, to be free and innocent from all suspicion of that commotion. At which confession, doctor Weston there standing by, cried to the people, saieng: Beleeue him not (good people) for he confessed otherwise before vnto the councell.

Abr. Fl. ex Ioh. Foxi martyrologio.

A point of practise of Stephã Gardiner against the ladie Elizabeth.

Doctor Westõ against the ladie Elizabeth.

After the execution done of sir Thomas Wiat, which was the eleuenth daie of Aprill, word was brought immediatlie to the lord maior sir Thomas White a little before dinner, how maister Wiat had cleared the ladie Elizabeth and lord Courtneie, and the words also which doctor Weston spake vnto the people. Whereunto the lord maior answering; Is this true quoth he? Said Weston so? In soth I neuer toke him otherwise but for a knaue. Upon this the lord maior sitting downe to dinner (who dined the same daie at the Bridgehouse) commeth in sir Martine Bowes with the recorder, newlie come from the parlement house, who hearing of the maior and shirifes this report of Wiats confession, both vpon the scaffold and also in the tower, maruelled thereat, declaring how there was another tale contrarie to this, told the same daie in the parlement house, which was, that sir Thomas Wiat should desire the lord Courtneie to confesse the truth, so as he had done before.

The lord maiors iudgment of D. Weston.

Upon this it followed not long after, that a certeine prentise dwelling in saint Laurence lane, named Cut, as he was drinking with one Denham a plaisterer being one of quæne Maries seruants, amongst other talke, made mention how sir Thomas Wiat

Wiat had cleared the ladie Elizabeth, and the lord Courtneie, to be no consenters to his rising. Which words being brought to Gardiner (by what means I know not) incontinent vpon the same, sir Andrew Jud was sent by the said bishop to the lord maior, commanding him to bring the said prentise to the Starchamber, which was accused of these words, that he should saie that Wiat was constreined by the councell to accuse the ladie Elizabeth, & the lord Courtneie. Which fellow when he was come to the Starchamber, the aforesaid Gardiner letting passe other matters that were in hand, began to declare to the whole multitude, how miraculouslie almightie God had brought the quéens maiestie to the crowne, the whole realme in a maner being against hir, and that he had brought this to passe for this singular intent & purpose, that this realme being ouerwhelmed with heresies, she might reduce the same againe to the true catholike faith. And where she tooke the ladie Elizabeth into hir fauour, and loued hir so tenderlie, and also the lord Courtneie, who of long time had béene deteined in prison, and by hir was set at libertie, and receiued great benefits at hir hands; and notwithstanding all this, they had conspired most vnnaturallie and traitorouslie against hir with that heinous traitor Wiat, as by the confession of Wiat (said he) and the letters sent to and fro maie plainlie appeare: yet there was some in the citie of London, which reported that Wiat was constreined by the councell to accuse the ladie Elizabeth, and the lord Courtneie, & yet you my lord maior (quoth he) haue not séene the same punished.

Cut prentise in London brought before Stephan Gardiner.

Stephã Gardiners tale in the Starchamber against the ladie Elizabeth.

The partie is here, said the lord maior. Take him with you (said Gardiner) and punish him according to his desert, and said further: My lord, take héed to your charge, the citie of London is a whirlepoole and a sinke of all euill rumors, there they be bred, and from thence spred into all parts of this realme. There stood by the same time the lord Shandois, who being then lieutenant of the tower, and now hearing the bishop thus speake, to soth his tale, came in with these words as followeth: My lords (quoth he) this is a truth that I shall tell you, I being lieutenant of the tower when Wiat suffered, he desired me to bring him to the lord Courtneie; which when I had done, he fell downe vpon his knées before him in my presence, and desired him to confesse the truth of himselfe, as he had done before, and to submit himselfe vnto the quénes mercie. And thus much of this matter I thought to declare, to the intent that the reader perceiuing the procédings of the bishop in the premisses, & comparing the same with the true testimonie of Wiat himselfe, and with the testimonie of the shiriffes, the which were present the same time when sir Thomas Wiat asked the lord Courtneie forgiuenesse, maie the better iudge of the whole case and matter for the which the ladie Elizabeth and the lord Courtneie were so long in trouble.]

The Lord Shandois false report in the Starchamber, against the ladie Elizabeth and lord Courtneie.

On saturdaie next following being Easter euen, and the foure and twentith of March, the lord marques of Northampton, the lord Cobham, and sir William Cobham his sonne and heire, were deliuered out of the tower, where they had remained for a time, being committed thither vpon some suspicion about Wiats rebellion: as diuerse others were, whereof manie were put to death, as C.O. reporteth:

Nunc istos læsæ nunc illos quæstio torquet
Maiestatis, habet multos custodia clausos
Firma viros, atro pars plurima deditur Orco.

Not long after, quéene Marie partlie offended with the Londoners, as fauorers of Wiats conspiracie, and partlie perceiuing the more part of them nothing inclined towards hir procédings in religion, which turned manie of them to losse, summoned a parlement to be holden at Oxford, as it were to gratifie that citie, which with the vniuersitie, towne, and countrie, had shewed themselues verie forward in hir seruice; but speciallie in restoring of the religion called catholike: for which appointed parlement there to be holden, great prouision was made, as well by the quéens officers, as by the townesmen & inhabitants of the countrie round about. But the quéens mind in short space changed, and the same parlement was holden at Westminster in Aprill next following, wherein the quéene proponed two speciall matters, the one for the mariage to be had betweene hir and the prince Philip of Spaine: the other, for the restoring againe of the popes power and iurisdiction in England. As touching hir mariage, it was with no great difficultie agréed vpon; but the other request could not be easilie obteined.

A parlement summoned at Oxford but not holden.

Howbeit, it was to be wished, euen to the disappointing of that mariage (if God in counsell had so prouided) that the whole bodie of the parlement had béene semblablie affected, as it is said, that all the nations of the world were, when the sunne would néeds be maried. Against which purpose of the sun the people of all regions assembling, humblie besought Jupiter to call in a blocke and impediment against that wedding. But Jupiter demanding of them why they would not haue the sun maried; one stepping vp made answer for the rest, and said: Thou knowest well enough Jupiter that there is but one sun, and yet he burneth vs all: who, if he be maried & haue children, as the number of suns must néeds increase; so must their heat and feruentnesse be multiplied, whereby a generall destruction of all things in their kind will insue. Herevpon that match was ouerthrowne. But God aboue ruling by prouidence all things here beneath, had purposed this conjunction; so that it was not in the power of man to withstand or interrupt it: howbeit it was his pleasure (to what end himselfe best knoweth) to curse it with barrennesse, as he did the quéene hir selfe with a short and vnpeaceable reigne (full of sedition and bloudshed) as our English poet noteth:

All nations in the world against the mariage of the sun, and why.

Quæ post Eduardi mortem conuersio rerum,
Transtulit in varias alieno pectore partes
Brutigenas, fauet hic externis, ille perosus
Mystarum rabiem, tantis obstacula quærit
Opportuna malis: cùm iam proh dedecus ingens,
Seditio exoritur, regnorum pessima pestis.

¶ On the eight of Aprill, then being sundaie, a cat with hir head shorne, and the likenesse of a vestiment cast ouer hir, with hir fore fét tied togither, and a round pæce of paper like a singing cake betwixt them, was hanged on a gallows in Cheape, néere to the crosse, in the parish of saint Matthew: which cat being taken downe, was caried to the bishop of London, and he caused the same to be shewed at Pauls crosse by the preacher doctor Pendleton.]

John Stow. A cat hanged in cheape.

On the tenth daie of Aprill following, Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, Nicholas Ridleie bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer once bishop of Worcester, who had béene long prisoners in the tower, were now conueied from thence, and caried to Windsore, and afterward to the vniuersitie of Oxford, there to dispute with the diuines and learned men of the contrarie opinion. Two daies after their comming to Oxford, which was the twelfe daie of the said moneth, diuerse learned men of both the vniuersities were sent in commission from the conuocation (which during this parlement was kept in Pauls church in London) to dispute with those prisoners in certeine articles of religion. The names of them that were in commission were these following. Of Oxford, doctor Weston prolocutor, Cole, Chadseie, Pie, Harpesfield, Smith. Of Cambridge,

The bishops Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridleie sent to Oxford.

Commissioners.

Cambridge, Pwng, Seton, Watson, Atkinson, Pheknam, Sedgewike. The thirteenth daie of Aprill these disputers assembled themselues in saint Maries church, to conuent the three persons aboue named vpon certeine articles of religion, who being brought out of prison before them, were seuerallie one after another examined of their opinions, vpon the articles proponed vnto them, whereof ye maie read in the booke of monuments of the church more at large, and there find the whole proceeding in that matter.

Io. Fox in acts and monuments.

Sir Thomas Wiat arreigned.

Sir Thomas Cornwallis, with others being his iudges. The effect of whose indictment among other things speciallie was; that he the fourteenth daie of Februarie last before, with force of armed multitude and ensignes displaied, had at Brainford raised open warres against our souereigne ladie the quéene, trattorouslie pretending and practising to depriue hir of hir crowne and dignitie; and the question was demanded of him, whether he was guiltie or no? Whereat he staied, and besought the iudges that he might first aske a question, before he answered directlie to the point, and he was licenced so to do. The question was, that if he should confesse himselfe guiltie, whether the same should not be preiudiciall vnto him, so as he by that confession should be barred from vttering such things as he had more to say? Wherevnto it was answered by the court; Maister Wiat (said they) ye shall haue both leaue and leasure to saie what you can.

The effect of Wiats indictment.

Wiat answereth not directlie to the question guiltie or vnguiltie.

Then my lords (quoth he) I must confesse my selfe guiltie, and in the end the truth of my case must inforce me. I must acknowledge this to be a iust plague for my sins, which most grieuouslie I therefore haue committed against God, who suffered me thus brutishlie & beastlie to fall into this horrible offense of the law. Wherefore all you lords & gentlemen, with other here present, note well my words, lo here & see in me the same end which all other commonlie had, which haue attempted the like enterprise from the beginning. For peruse the chronicles through, & you shall see that neuer rebellion attempted by subiects against their prince and countrie, from the beginning did euer prosper, or had euer better successe, except the case of king Henrie the fourth: who although he became a prince, yet in his act was but a rebell, for so must I call him: & though he preuailed for a time, yet was it not long but that his heires were depriued, and those that had right againe restored to the kingdome and crowne, and the vsurpation so sharplie reuenged afterward in his blood, as it well appeared, that the long delaie of Gods vengeance was supplied with more grieuous plagues in the third and fourth generation. For the loue of God all you gentlemen that be here present, remember and be taught as well by examples past, as also by this my present infelicitie and most wretched case. Oh most miserable, mischieuous, brutish & beastlie furious imaginations of mine! I was persuaded that by the mariage of the prince of Spaine, the second person of this realme, and next heire to the crowne, should haue béene in danger; and that I being a frée borne man, should with my countrie haue bæne brought into the bondage and seruitude of aliens and strangers. Which brutish beastlie opinion then seemed to me reason, and wrought in me such effects, that it led me headlong into the practise of this detestable crime of treason.

A rebels report touching rebellion.

Wiats exhortation to loialtie by his owne example.

But now being better persuaded, and vnderstanding the great commoditie & honor which the realme should receiue by this marriage: I stand firme and fast in this opinion, that if it should please the quæne to be mercifull vnto me, there is no subiect in this land that should more trulie and faithfullie serue hir highnes than I shall; nor no soner die at hir graces feet in defense of hir quarrell. I serued hir highnesse against the duke of Northumberland, as my lord of Arundell can witnesse. My grandfather serued most truelie hir graces grandfather, and for his sake was set vpon the racke in the tower. My father also serued king Henrie the eight to his good contentation, and I also serued him, and king Edward his son. And in witnesse of my bloud spent in his seruice, I carrie a name. I alledge not all this to set forth my seruice by waie of merit, which I confesse but dutie; but to declare to the whole world, that by abusing my wits, in pursuing my misaduised opinion, I haue not onelie ouerthrowne my house, and defaced all the well doings of me and my ancestors (if euer there were anie) but also haue béene the cause of mine owne death and destruction. Neither do I alledge this to iustifie my selfe in anie point, neither for an excuse of mine offense: but most humblie submit my selfe to the quænes maiesties mercie and pitie, desiring you my lord of Sussex, and you maister Hastings, with all the rest of this honorable bench, to be meanes to the quénes highnesse for hir mercie, which is the greatest treasure that maie be giuen to anie prince from God, such a vertue as God hath appropriate to himselfe. Which if hir highnesse vouchsafe to extend vnto me, she shall bestow it on him, who shall be most glad to serue truelie, and not refuse to die in hir quarrell. For I protest before the iudge of all iudges, I neuer meant hurt against hir highnesse person.

Wiat altereth his mind touching the quénes marriage.

The fruits of rebellion by Wiats confession.

Then said the quénes attorneie; Maister Wiat you haue great cause to be sorie, and repent for your fault, whereby you haue not onelie vndone your selfe and your house, but also a number of other gentlemen, who being true men might haue serued their prince and countrie: yet if you had gone no further, it might haue bæne borne withall the better. But being not so contented to staie your selfe, you haue so procured the duke of Suffolke (a man sone trained to your purpose) and his two brethren also: by meanes whereof without the quénes greater mercie, you haue ouerthrowne that noble house. And yet not so staied, your attempt hath reached as far as in you laie to the second person of the realme, in whom next to the quénes highnesse resteth all our hope and comfort, wherby hir honor is brought in question, and what danger will folow, and to what end it will come God knoweth: of all this you are the author. Wiat answered; As I will not in anie thing iustifie my selfe, so I beseech you, I being in this wretched estate, not to ouercharge me, nor to make me séeme to be that I am not. I am loth to touch anie person by name; but that I haue written I haue written.

The quénes attorneie speaketh to Wiat.

Wiats answer to the quénes attorneie.

Then said the iudge; Maister Wiat, maister attornie hath well moued you to repent your offenses, and we for our parts with you the same.

The iudge speaketh.

Then said sir Edward Hastings maister of the quéens horse; Maister Wiat, do ye remember when I and maister Cornwallis were sent vnto you from the quænes highnesse to demand the cause of your enterprise, and what you required? Were not these your demands, that the quænes grace should go to the tower, and there remaine; and you to haue the rule of the tower and hir person, with the treasure in kéeping, and such of hir councell as you would require to be deliuered into your hands, saieng that you would be trusted and not trust? Which words when Wiat had confessed, then said the quénes solicitor; Your presumption was ouer great, & your attempt

Sir Edward Hastings speech to Wiat.

Maister Cordall late maister of the rolles speaketh.

tempt in this case hath purchased you perpetuall infamie, and shall be called Wiats rebellion, as Wat Tilers was called Wat Tilers rebellion. Then said the attorneie; Maister Wiat, were you not priuie to a deuise whereby the queene should haue beene murthered in a place where she should walke? I do not burthen you to confesse this, for thus much I must saie on your behalfe, that you misliked that deuise? That deuise (said Wiat) was the deuise of William Thomas, whome euer after I abhorred for that cause.

William Thomas meant to murther quéene Marie.

Then was a letter shewed, which Wiat being in Southwarke had written to the duke of Suffolke, that he should meet him at Kingstone bridge, and from thense to accompanie him to London, although he came with the fewer number. Wiat at the first did not seeme to remember anie such letter; but when it was shewed him, he confessed his hand. Then was it demanded of him among other things, whie he refused the queenes pardon when it was offered him. My lords (quoth he) I confesse my fault and offense to be most vile and heinous, for the which first I aske God mercie, without the which I cannot challenge anie thing, such is my offense alreadie committed. And therefore I beseech you to trouble me with no more questions, for I haue deliuered all things vnto hir grace in writing. And finallie here I must confesse, that of all the voiages wherein I haue serued, this was the most desperat and painfull iorneie that euer I made. And where you asked whie I receiued not the queenes pardon when it was offered vnto me; Oh vnhappie man! What shall I saie? When I was entred into this diuellish & desperat aduenture, there was no waie but wade through with that I had taken in hand: for I had thought that other had beene as farre forward as my selfe, which I found farre otherwise. So that being bent to keepe promise with all my confederats, none kept promise with me; for I like a moile went through thicke and thin with this determination, that if I should come to anie treatie, I should seeme to bewraie all my friends.

Wiats confession.

Wiat is sorie that he refused the queens pardon when it was offred.

But whereto should I spend anie more words? I yeeld my selfe wholie vnto the quenes mercie, knowing well that it is onelie in hir power to make me (as I haue deserued) an open example to the world with Wat Tiler; or else to make me participant of that pitie which she hath extended in as great crimes as mine; most humblie beseeching you all to be means for me to hir highnesse for mercie, which is my last and onelie refuge. The will of God be done on me. Upon this confession without further triall, he receiued the iudgement accustomed in cases of treason, which was to be hanged, drawne and quartered. And the eleuenth of Aprill next following he was brought to the Tower hill, and there was pardoned of his drawing and hanging, but had his head stricken off, and his bodie cut in foure quarters, and set vp in diuerse places about the citie, but his head was set vpon the gallowes at Haie hill beside Hide parke.

The execution of sir Thomas Wiat.

Now here by the waie is to be noted, that he being on the scaffold readie to suffer, declared that the ladie Elizabeth and sir Edward Courtneie earle of Deuonshire, whome he had accused before (as it seemed) were neuer priuie to his doings, as farre as he knew, or was able to charge them. And when doctor Weston, being then his confessor told him that he had confessed the contrarie vnto the councell, he answered thus; That I said then, I said, but that which I saie now is true. This was the end of Wiat and his conspiracie; as also the like hath beene of others attempting anie rebellion. For as their enterprise being, according to the proper qualitie thereof, considered, is flat against Gods ordinance, who hath ordeined magistracie to be reuerenced of inferiors: so it is vnlikelie to bring other than infortunatnesse, and shamefull ouerthrowes vnto the attempters; in whome although will want not to compasse anie worke; yet force failing, they misse the marke, & all bicause rashnesse giueth them a false aime. Wherefore to conclude this tragicall discourse of Wiat, it were to be wished that the sage and safe counsell of Cato were put in common practise of all men, which is, to vndertake & do nothing aboue their strength:

Quod potes, id tentes, opera ne pondere pressus,
Succumbat labor, & frustra tentata relinquas.

17 Sir Nicholas Throckmorton arreigned of high treason cléereth himselfe.

The seuenteenth daie of Aprill next following, sir Nicholas Throckmorton knight was brought from the tower to Guildhall in London, and there arreigned of high treason, as adherent and principall counsellor to the said Wiat and the duke of Suffolke, and the rest in the fore remembred conspiracie against the quéene. But he so stoutlie, and therwithall so cunninglie answered for himselfe, as well in clearing of his cause, as also in defending & auoiding such points of the lawes of the realme, as were there alleaged against him, that the quest which passed vpon his life & death found him not guiltie. With which verdict the iudges and councellors there present were so much offended, that they bound the iurie in the summe of fiue hundred pounds a peece, to appeare before the councell in the Starchamber, at a daie appointed. And according to their bond, they appeared there before the said councell vpon Wednesdaie, being the one and twentith of Aprill, and saint Parks daie; from whense after certeine questioning, they were committed to prison, Emanuell Lucar and maister Whetston to the tower, and the other to the Fléet.

But now forsomuch as a copie of the order of sir Nicholas Throckmortons arreignement hath come to my hands, and that the same maie giue some light to the historie of that dangerous rebellion, I haue thought it not impertinent to insert the same: not wishing that it should be offensiue to anie, sith it is in euerie mans libertie to weie his words vttered in his owne defense, and likewise the doings of the quest in acquitting him, as maie séeme good to their discretions, sith I haue deliuered the same as I haue found it, without préiudicing anie mans opinion, to thinke thereof otherwise than as the cause maie moue him.

The order of the arreignement of sir *Nicholas Throckmorton knight, in the Guildhall* of London the seuenteenth daie of Aprill 1554, *expressed in a dialog for the better vnderstanding* of euerie mans part.

The names of the commissioners.

SIr Thomas White knight lord maior of London, the earle of Shrewesburie, the earle of Derbie, sir Thomas Bromleie knight lord chiefe iustice of England, sir Nicholas Hare knight maister of the rolles, sir Francis Englefield knight maister of the court of wards and liberties, sir Richard Southwell knight one of the priuie councell, sir Edward Walgraue knight one of the priuie councell, sir Roger Cholmeleie knight, sir William Portman knight one of the iustices of the kings bench, sir Edward Sanders knight one of the iustices of the common pleas; maister Stanford & maister Dier sergeants, maister Edward Griffin attournie generall, maister Sendall and Peter Tichbourne clearks of the crowne.

The quénes learned counsell gaue euidence against the prisoner.

First, after proclamation made, and the commission read, the lieutenant of the tower, maister Thomas Bridges, brought the prisoner to the barre: then silence was commanded, and Sendall said to the prisoner

ner as followeth.

Sendall. Nicholas Throckmorton knight hold vp thy hand, thou art before this time indicted of high treason, &c: that thou then and there didst falselie and traitorouslie, &c: conspire and imagine the death of the quænes maiestie, &c: and falselie and traitorouslie diddest leuie warre against the quæne within hir realme, &c: and also thou wast adherent to the quænes enimies within hir realme, giuing to them aid and comfort, &c: and also falselie and traitorouslie diddest conspire and intend to depose and depriue the quæne of hir roiall estate, and so finallie destroie hir, &c: and also thou diddest falselie and traitorouslie deuise and conclude to take violentlie the tower of London, &c. Of all which treasons and euerie of them in maner & forme, &c: art thou giltie or not giltie?

Throckmorton. Maie it please you my lords and maisters, which be authorised by the quænes commission to be iudges this daie, to giue me leaue to speake a few words, which doth both concerne you and me, before I answer to the indictement, and not altogither impertinent to the matter, and then plead to the indictment.

Bromleie. No, the order is not so, you must first plead whether you be giltie or no.

Throckmorton. If that be your order and law, iudge accordinglie to it.

Hare. You must first answer to the matter wherewith you are charged, and then you maie talke at your pleasure.

Throckmorton. But things spoken out of place, were as good not spoken.

Bromleie. These be but delaies to spend time, therefore answer as the law willeth you.

Throckmorton. My lords I praie you make not too much hast with me, neither thinke not long for your dinner, for my case requireth leasure, and you haue well dined when you haue done iustice truelie. Christ said, Blessed are they that hunger and thirst for righteousnesse.

Bromleie. I can forbeare my dinner as well as you, and care as little as you peraduenture.

Shrewesburie. Come you hither to checke vs Throckmorton? We will not be so vsed, no no, I for mine owne part haue forborne my breakefast, dinner, and supper to serue the quæne.

Throckmorton. Yea my good lord I know it right well, I meant not to touch your lordship, for your seruice and paines is euidentlie knowne to all men.

Southwell. Maister Throckmorton, this talke néedeth not, we know what we haue to do, and you would teach vs our duties, you hurt your matter: go to, go to.

Throckmorton. Maister Southwell, you mistake me, I meant not to teach you, nor none of you, but to remember you of that I trust you all be well instructed in; and so I satisfie my selfe, sith I shall not speake, thinking you all know what you haue to do, or ought to know: so I will answer to the indictement, and do plead not giltie to the whole, and to euerie part thereof.

Sendall. How wilt thou be tried?

Throckmorton. Shall I be tried as I would, or as I should?

Bromleie. You shall be tried as the law will, and therefore you must saie by God and by the countrie.

Throckmorton. Is that your law for me? It is not as I would, but sith you will haue it so, I am pleased with it, and do desire to be tried by faithfull iust men, which more feare God than the world.

Then the iurie was called.

The names of the iurors.

Lucar.	Low.
Yong.	Whetton.
Martin.	Painter.
Beswike.	Banks.
Barscarfeld.	Calthrop.
Rightleie.	Cater.

What time the atturnie went forth with to maister Cholmeleie, and shewed him the thirties returne, who being acquainted with the citizens, knowing the corruptions and derterities of them in such cases, noted certeine to be challenged for the quæne (a rare case) and the same men being knowne to be sufficient and indifferent, that no exceptions were to be taken to them, but onelie for their vpright honestes: notwithstanding, the atturnie prompting sergeant Dier, the said sergeant challenged one Bacon, and an other citizen peremptorilie for the quæne. Then the prisoner demanded the cause of the chalenge. The sergeant answered, We need not to shew you the cause of the chalenge for the quæne. When the inquest was furnished with other honest men, that is to saie, Whetston & Lucar, so the prisoner vsed these words.

Throckmorton. I trust you haue not prouided for me this daie, as in times past I knew an other gentleman occupieng this wofull place was prouided for. It chanced one of the iustices vpon gelousie of the prisoners acquittall, for the goodnesse of his cause, said to an other of his companions a iustice, when the iurie did appeare: I like not this iurie for our purpose, they séeme to be too pitifull and too charitable to condemne the prisoner. No no, said the other iudge (to wit Cholmeleie) I warrant you, they be picked fellowes for the nonce, he shall drinke of the same cup his fellowes haue done. I was then a looker on of the pageant as others be now here: but now woo is me, I am a plaier in that wofull tragedie. Well, for these and such other like the blacke ore hath of late troden on some of their feet: but my trust is, I shall not be so vsed. Whilest this talke was, Cholmeleie consulted with the atturnie about the iurie, which the prisoner espied, and then said as here insueth; Ah ah maister Cholmeleie, will this foule packing neuer be left?

Cholmeleie. Whie what do I, I praie you M. Throckmorton? I did nothing I am sure, you do picke quarrels to me.

Throckmorton. Well maister Cholmeleie if you do well, it is better for you, God helpe you.

[The iurie then was sworne, and proclamation made, that whosoeuer would giue euidence against sir Nicholas Throckmorton knight, should come in and be heard, for the prisoner stood vpon his deliuerance, whereupon sergeant Stanford presented himselfe to speake.]

Throckmorton. And it may please you maister sergeant and the others my maisters of the quænes learned councell, like as I was minded to haue said a few words to the commissioners, if I might haue had leaue for their better remembrance of their duties in this place of iustice, and concerning direct indifferencie to be vsed towards me this daie: so by your patience I do thinke good to saie somewhat to you, and to the rest of the quænes learned councell, appointed to giue euidence against me. And albeit you and the rest by order be appointed to giue euidence against me, and interteined to set forth the depositions and matter against me; yet I praie you remember I am not alienate from you, but that I am your christian brother; neither you so charged, but you ought to consider equitie; nor yet so priuileged, but that you haue a dutie of God appointed you how you shall do your office; which if you exceed, will be greeuouslie required at your hands. It is lawfull for you to vse your gifts which I know God hath largelie giuen you, as your learning, art, and eloquence, so as thereby you do not seduce the minds of the simple and vnlearned iurie, to credit matters otherwise than they be. For maister sergeant, I know how by persuasions, inforcements, presumptions, aplieng, implieng, inferring, coniecturing, deducing of arguments, wresting and

exceeding

ercéding the law, the circumstances, the depositions and confessions that vnlearned men may be inchanted to thinke and iudge those that be things indifferent, or at the worst but ouersights to be great treasons; such power orators haue, & such ignorance the vnlearned haue. Almightie God by the mouth of his prophet doth conclude such aduocates be cursed, speaking these words: Cursed be he that doth his office craftilie, corruptlie, and maliciouslie. And consider also, that my bloud shall be required at your hands, and punished in you and yours, to the third and fourth generation. Notwithstanding, you and the iustices excuse alwaies such erroneous doings, when they be after called in question by the verdict of the twelue men: but I assure you, the purgation serueth you as it did Pilat, and you wash your hands of the bloudshed, as Pilat did of Christs. And now to your matter.

Stanford. And it please you my lords, I doubt not to prooue euidentlie and manifestlie, that Throckmorton is worthilie and rightlie indicted and arreigned of these treasons, and that he was a principall deuiser, procurer, and contriuer of the late rebellion; and that Wiat was but his minister. How saie you Throckmorton, did not you send Winter to Wiat into Kent, and did deuise that the tower of London should be taken, with other instructions concerning Wiats sturre and rebellion?

Throckmorton. Maie it please you that I shall answer particularlie to the matters obiected against me, in almuch as my memorie is not good, and the same much decaied since my greeuous imprisonment, with want of sleepe, and other disquietnesse: I confesse I did saie to Winter that Wiat was desirous to speake with him, as I vnderstood.

Stanford. Yea sir, and you deuised togither of the taking of the tower of London, and of the other great treasons.

Throckmorton. No, I did not so, proue it.

Stanford. Yes sir, you met with Winter sundrie times as shall appeare, and in sundrie places.

Throckmorton. That granted, proueth no such matter as is supposed in the indictment.

Winters confession read by Stanford. Stanford read Winters confession, which was of this effect, that Throckmorton met with Winter one daie in tower street, and told him, that sir Thomas Wiat was desirous to speake with him, and Winter demanded where Wiat was, Throckmorton answered at his house in Kent, not farre from Gillingham, as I heard saie, where the ships lie. Then they parted at that time, and shortlie after, Throckmorton met with Winter, vnto whome Winter said; Maister Wiat doth much mislike the comming of the Spaniards into this realme, and feareth their short arriuall heere, in as much as dailie he heareth thereof, doth see dailie diuerse of them arriue here, scattered like souldiors; and therefore he thinketh good the tower of London should be taken by a sleight, before the prince came, least that peece be deliuered to the Spaniards. How saie you Throckmorton to it? Throckmorton answered; I mislike it for diuerse respects. Euen so do I said Winter. At another time Throckmorton met me the said Winter in Paules, when he had sent one to my house, to seeke me before, and he said to me; You are admerall of the fleet that now goeth into Spaine. I answered Yea. Throckmorton said, When will your ships be redie? I said within ten daies. Throckmorton said, I vnderstand you are appointed to conduct and carrie the lord priuie seale into Spaine, and considering the danger of the Frenchmen, which you saie arme them to the sea apace, me thinke it well done, you put my said lord and his traine on land in the west countrie to auoid all dangers. Throckmorton said also, that Wiat changed his purpose for taking the tower of London. I said I was glad of it, & as for the Frenchmen, I care not much for them, I will so handle the matter, that the quéenes ships shall be (I warrant you) in safegard. Another time I met with maister Throckmorton, when I came from the emperours ambassadors, vnto whome I declared, that the emperour had sent me a faire chaine, and shewed it vnto Throckmorton, who said; For this chaine you haue sold your countrie. I said it is neither French king nor emperour that can make me sell my countrie, but I will be a true Englishman. Then they parted. This is the summe of the talke betwixt Throckmorton and Winter.

Stanford. Now my masters of the iurie, you haue heard my sayings confirmed with Winters confession. How saie you Throckmorton, can you denie this, if you will, you shall haue Winter iustifie it to your face.

Throckmorton. Bromleie. Throckmorton. My lords, shall it please you that I shall answer.

Yea, saie your mind.

I may trulie denie some part of this confession, but bicause there is nothing materiall greatlie, I suppose the whole be true, and what is herein deposed, sufficient to bring me within the compasse of the indictment?

Stanford. It appeareth that you were of counsell with Wiat, in as much as you sent Winter downe to him, who vttered vnto him diuerse traitorous deuises.

Throckmorton. This is but coniecturall, yet sith you will construe it so maliciouslie, I will recompt how I sent Winter to Wiat, and then I praie you of the iurie iudge better than maister sergeant doth. I met by chance a seruant of maister Wiats, who demanded of me for Winter, and shewed me, that his master would gladlie speake with him: and so without anie further declaration, desired me if I met Winter to tell him maister Wiats mind, and where he was. Thus much for the sending downe of Winter.

Attournets. Yea sir, but how saie you to the taking of the tower of London, which is treason?

Throckmorton. I answer, though Wiat thought meet to attempt so dangerous an enterprise, and that Winter informed me of it, you cannot extend Wiats deuises to be mine, and to bring me within the compasse of treason. For what maner of reasoning or proofe is this, Wiat would haue taken the tower, *Ergo* Throckmorton is a traitor? Winter doth make my purgation in his owne confession, euen now red as it was by maister sergeant, though I saie nothing: for Winter doth auow there, that I did much mislike it. And bicause you shall the better vnderstand that I did alwaies not alow these maister Wiats deuises, I had these words to Winter, when he informed me of it; I thinke maister Wiat would no Englishman hurt and this enterprise cannot be done without the hurt and slaughter of both parties. For I know him that hath the charge of the peace, & his brother, both men of good seruice, the one had in charge a peece of great importance, Bullongne I meane, which was stoutlie assailed, & notwithstanding he made a good accompt of it for his time: the like I am sure he will do by this his charge. Moreouer, to accompt the taking of the tower, is verie dangerous by the law. These were my words to Winter. And besides, it is verie vnlike that I of all men would confederate in such a matter against the lieutenant of the tower, whose daughter my brother hath married, and his house and mine alied togither by marlage sundrie times within these few yeares.

Hare. But how saie you to this, that Wiat and you had conference togither sundrie times at Warners house, and in other places?

Throckmorton. This is a verie generall charge to haue conference, but whie was it not as lawfull for me to confer with Wiat

Wiat as with you, or anie other man? I then knew no more by Wiat, than by anie other. And to proue to talke with Wiat was lawfull and indifferent, the last daie that I did talke with Wiat, I saw my lord of Arundell, with other noble men and gentlemen, talke with him familiarlie in the chamber of presence.

Hare. But they did not conspire nor talke of anie sturre against the Spaniards as you did pretend, & meant it against the quéne, for you, Crofts, Rogers, and Warner did oftentimes deuise in Warners house about your traitorous purposes, or else what did you so often there?

Throckmor-ton. I confesse I did mislike the quénes marriage with Spaine, and also the comming of the Spaniards hither, and then me thought I had reason to doo so: for I did learne the reasons of my misliking of you master Hare, master Southwell, and others in the parlement house, there I did sée the whole consent of the realme against it; and I a hearer, but no speaker, did learne my misliking of those matters, confirmed by manie sundrie reasons amongst you: but as concerning anie sturre or vprore against the Spaniards, I neuer made anie, neither procured anie to be made; and for my much resort to master Warners house, it was not to conferre with master Wiat, but to shew my friendship to my verie good lord the marquesse of Northampton, who was lodged there when he was inlarged.

Stanford. Did not you Throckmorton tell Winter that Wiat had changed his mind for the taking of the tower, wherby it appeared euidentlie that you knew of his doings?

Throckmor-ton. Truelie I did not tell him so, but I care not greatlie to giue you that wepon to plaie you withall, now let vs sée what you can make of it.

Stanford. Yea sir, that proueth that you were priuie to Wiats mind in all his deuises and treasons, & that there was sending betwixt you and Wiat from time to time.

Throckmor-ton. What master sergeant? Doth this proue against me, that I knew Wiat did repent him of an euill deuised enterprise? Is it to know Wiats repentance sinne? No, it is but a venitall sinne, if it be anie it is not deadlie. But where is the messenger or message that Wiat sent to me touching his alteration, and yet it was lawfull inough for me to heare from Wiat at that time, as from anie other man, for anie act that I knew he had done.

Dier. And it may please you my lords, and you my masters of the iurie, to proue that Throckmorton is a principall doer in this rebellion, there is yet manie other things to be declared: among other, there is Crofts confession, who saith, that he and you, and your complices, did manie times deuise about the whole matters, and he made you priuie to all his determinations, and you shewed him that you would go into the west countrie with the earle of Deuon, to sir Peter Caroe, accompanied with others.

Throckmor-ton. Master Crofts is yet liuing, and is heere this daie, how happeneth it he is not brought face to face to iustifie this matter, neither hath béene of all this time? Will you know the truth? Either he said not so, or he will not abide by it, but honestlie hath reformed himselfe. And as for knowing his deuises, I was so well acquainted with them, that I can name none of them, nor you neither as matter knowne to me.

Attourneie. But whie did you aduise Winter to land my lord priuie seale in the west countrie?

Throckmor-ton. He that told you that my mind was to land him there, doth partlie tell you a reason whie I said so, if you would remember as well the one as the other: but bicause you are so forgetfull, I will recite wherefore. In communication betwixt Winter and me, as he declared to me that the Spaniards prouided to bring their prince hither, so the Frenchmen prepared to interrupt his arriuall: for they began to arme to the sea, and had alreadie certeine ships on the west coast (as he hard.) Unto whom I said, that peraduenture not onelie the quénes ships vnder his charge might be in ieopardie, but also my lord priuie seale, and all his traine; the Frenchmen being well prepared to méet with them, and therefore for all euents it were good you should put my said lord in the west countrie in case you espie anie ieopardie. But what doth this proue to the treasons, if I were not able to giue conuenient reasons to my talke?

Stanford. Marie sir now commeth the proofes of your treasons, you shall heare what Cutbert Vaughan saith against you.

Vaughans confession was read by Stanford. Then sergeant Stanford did read Vaughans confession, tending to this effect. That Vaughan comming out of Kent, met with Throckmorton at master Warners house, who after he had done commendations from Wiat to him, desired to know where Crofts was. Throckmorton answered, either at Arundell house where he lodgeth, or in Paules. Then Vaughan desired to know how things went at London, saieng; Master Wiat & we of Kent doo much mislike the marriage with Spaine, and the comming of the Spaniards for diuerse respects: howbeit, if other countries mislike them as Kent doth, they shall be but hardlie welcome, and so they parted. Shortlie after Throckmorton met with Vaughan in Paules, vnto whome Throckmorton declared with sundrie circumstances, that the Westerne men were in a readinesse to come forwards, and that sir Peter Caroe had sent vnto him euen now, and that he had in order a good band of horsemen, and an other of footmen. Then Vaughan demanded what the earle of Deuonshire would doo? Throckmorton answered he will mar all, for he will not go hence, and yet sir Peter Caroe would méet him with a band, both of horsemen and footmen, by the waie at Andeuer for his safegard, and also he should haue béene well accompanied from hence with other gentlemen, yet all this will not moue him to depart hence. Moreouer, the said erle hath (as is said) discouered all the whole matter to the chancellor, or else it is come out by his tailor, about the trimming of a shirt of male, and the making of a cloke. At another time, Vaughan saith, Throckmorton shewed him that he had sent a post to sir Peter Caroe, to come forward with as much spéed as might be, and to bring his force with him. And also Throckmorton aduised Vaughan to will master Wiat to come forward with his power: for now was the time, in as much as the Londoners would take his part if the matter were presented to them. Vaughan said also, that Throckmorton & Warner should haue ridden with the said earle westward. Moreouer the said Vaughan deposed, that Throckmorton shewed him in talke of the earle of Penbroke, that the said earle would not fight against them, though he would not take their parts. Also Vaughan said, that Throckmorton shewed him that he would ride downe into Barkeshire to sir Francis Englefields house, there to méet his eldest brother, to moue him to take his part. And this was the sum of Cutbert Vaughans confession.

Stanford. How saie you? Doth not here appeare euident matter to proue you a principall, who not onelie gaue order to sir Peter Caroe and his adherents, for their rebellious acts in the west countrie, but also procured Wiat to make his rebellion, appointing him and the others also, when they should attempt their enterprise, and how they should order their doings

ings from time to time. Besides all this euident matter, you were specially appointed to go awaie with the earle of Deuon as one that would direct all things, and giue order to all men. And therefore Throckmorton sith this matter is so manifest, and the euidence so apparant, I would aduise you to confesse your fault, & submit your selfe to the quéenes mercie.

Bromleie. How saie you, will you confesse the matter, and it will be best for you?

Throckmorton. No, I will neuer accuse my selfe vniustlie, but in as much as I am come hither to be tried, I praie ye let me haue the law fauourablie.

Attourneie. It is apparant that you laie at London as a factor, to giue intelligence as well to them in the west, as to Wiat in Kent.

Throckmorton. How proue you that, or who doth accuse me but this condemned man?

Attourneie. Why will you denie this matter? You shall haue Vaughan iustifie his whole confession here before your face.

Throckmorton. It shall not néed, I know his vnshamfastnesse, he hath aduowed some of this vntrue talke before this time to my face, and it is not otherwise like, considering the price, but he will do the same againe.

Attourneie. My lord and masters, you shall haue Vaughan to iustifie this héere before you all, and confirme it with a booke oth.

Throckmorton. He that hath said and lied, will not being in this case sticke to sweare and lie.

¶Then was Cuthert Vaughan brought into the open court.]

Hendall. How saie you Cuthert Vaughan, is this your owne confession, and will you abide by all that is here written?

Vaughan. Let me sée it and I will tell you.

¶When his confession was shewed him.]

Attourneie. Because you of the iurie the better may credit him, I praie you my lords let Vaughan be sworne.

¶Then was Vaughan sworne on a booke to saie nothing but the truth.]

Vaughan. It may please you my lords and masters, I could haue béene well content to haue chose seauen yeares imprisonment, though I had béene a free man in the law, rather than I would this daie haue giuen euidence against sir Nicholas Throckmorton; against whome I beare no displeasure: but sith I must nœds confesse my knowledge, I must confesse all that is there written is true. How saie you master Throckmorton, was there anie displeasure betwéene you and me, to moue me to saie aught against you?

Throckmorton. None that I know. How saie you Vaughan, what acquaintance was there betwéene you and me, and what leters of credit or token did you bring me from Wiat, or anie other, to moue me to trust you?

Vaughan. As for acquaintance, I knew you as I did other gentlemen: and as for letters, I brought you none other but commendations from master Wiat, as I did to diuerse other of his acquaintance at London.

Throckmorton. You might as well forge the commendations as the rest: but if you haue done with Vaughan my lords, I praie you giue me leaue to answer.

Bromleie. Speake and be short.

Throckmorton. I speake generallie to all that be here present, but speciallie to you of my iurie, touching the credit of Vaughans depositions against me, a condemned man, and after to the matter: and note I praie you the circumstances, as somewhat materiall to induce the better. First I praie you remember the small familiaritie betwixt Vaughan and me, as he hath aduowed before you, and moreouer, to procure credit at my hand, brought neither letter nor token from Wiat, nor from anie other to me, which he also hath confessed here: and I will suppose Vaughan to be in as good condition as anie other man here, that is to saie, an vncondemned man: yet I referre it to your good iudgement, whether it were like that I, knowing onelie Vaughans person from an other man, and hauing none other acquaintance with him, would so frankelie discouer my mind to him in so dangerous a matter. How like (I saie) is this, when diuerse of these gentlemen now in captiuitie, being my verie familiars, could not depose ante such matter against me, and neuertheless vpon their examinations haue said what they could? And though I be no wise man, I am not so rash as to vtter to an vnknowne man (for so I may call him in comparison) a matter so dangerous for me to speake, and him to heare. But because my truth and his falshood shall the better appeare vnto you, I will declare his inconstancie in vttering this his euidence. And for my better credit, it may please you master Southwell, I take you to witnesse, when Vaughan first iustified this his vniust accusation against me before the lord Paget, the lord Chamberleine, you master Southwell, and others, he referred the confirmation of this his surmised matter, to a letter sent from him to sir Thomas Wiat, which letter doth neither appeare, nor anie testimonie of the said master Wiat against me touching the matter: for I doubt not sir Thomas Wiat hath béen examined of me, and hath said what he could directlie or indirectlie. Also Vaughan saith, that yong Edward Wiat could confirme this matter, as one that knew this pretended discourse betwixt Vaughan and me, and therevpon I made sute that Edward Wiat might either be brought face to face to me, or otherwise be examined.

Southwell. Master Throckmorton you mistake your matter, for Vaughan said, that Edward Wiat did know some part of the matter, and also was priuie of the letter that Vaughan sent sir Thomas Wiat.

Throckmorton. Yea sir, that was Vaughans last shift, when I charged him before the master of the horsse and you, with his former allegations touching his witnesse, whome when he espied would not do so lewdlie as he thought, then he vsed this alteration. But where be Edward Wiats depositions of anie thing against me? Now it appeareth neither his first nor his last tale to be true. For you know master Bridges, and so doth my lord your brother, that I desired twice or thrice Edward Wiat should be examined, and I am sure, and most assured he hath béene willed to saie what he could, and here is nothing deposed by him against me, either touching anie letter or other conference. Or where is Vaughans letter sent by sir Thomas Wiat concerning my talke?

But now I will speake of Vaughans present estate in that he is a condemned man, whose testimonie is nothing worth by anie law. And because false witnesse is mentioned in the gospell, treating of accusation, hearke I praie you what S. Jerome saith, expounding that place. It is demanded why Christs accusers be called false witnesses, which did report Christs words not as he spake them. They be false witnesses saith S. Jerome, which do ad, alter, wrest, double, or do speake for hope to auoid death, or for malice to procure another mans death: for all men maie easilie gather he cannot speake truelie of me, or in the case of another mans life, where he hath hope of his owne by accusation. Thus much speaketh S. Jerome of false witnesse. By the ciuill law there be manie exceptions to be taken against such testimonies: but because we be not gouerned by that law, neither haue I my triall by it, it shall be superfluous to trouble you therewith, & therefore you shall heare what your owne law doth saie. There was a statute made in my late souereigne lord & master his time, touching accusation, and these be the words.

Be it enacted, that no person nor persons, &c: shalbe

indicted, arreigned, condemned, or conuicted for anie offense of treason, petit treason, misprision of treson, for which the same offendor shall suffer anie pains of death, imprisonment, losse or forfeiture of his goods, lands, &c: vnlesse the same offendor be accused by two sufficient & lawfull witnesses, or shall willinglie without violence confesse the same. And also in the first yeare of his reigne, it is thus ratified as insueth.

That no person nor persons shall be indicted, arreigned, condemned, conuicted or attainted of the treasons or offenses aforesaid, or for anie other treasons that now be, or hereafter shall be; vnlesse the same offendor or offendors be therof accused by two lawfull and sufficient accusers, which at the time of the arreignement of the parties so accused (if they be then liuing) shall be brought in person before the said partie accused, and auow and maintaine that they haue to saie against the said partie, to prooue him giltie of the treasons or offense conteined in the bill of indictment laid against the partie arreigned, vnlesse the said partie arreigned shall be willing without violence to confesse the same. Here note (I praie you) that our law doth require two lawfull and sufficient accusers to be brought face to face, and Vaughan is but one, and the same most vnlawfull and insufficient. For who can be more vnlawfull and insufficient, than a condemned man, and such one as knoweth to accuse me is the meane to saue his owne life? Remember (I praie you) how long & how manie times Vaughans execution hath béene respited, and how often he hath béene coniured to accuse (which by Gods grace he withstood vntill the last houre) what time perceiuing there was no waie to liue, but to speake against me or some other (his former grace being taken awaie) did redéeme his life most vnlustlie and shamefullie, as you sée.

Hare. Why should he accuse you more than anie other, séeing there was no displeasure betwixt you, if the matter had not béene true?

Throckmorton. Bicause he must either speake of some man, or suffer death, and then he did rather chose to hurt him whom he least knew, & so loued least, than anie other well knowen to him, whome he loued most. But to you of my iurie I speake speciallie, and therefore I praie you note what I saie. In a matter of lesse weight than triall of life and land, a man maie by the law take exceptions to such as be impaneled, to trie the controuersies betwixt the parties: as for example. A man maie chalenge that the shiriffe is his enimie, and therfore hath made a partiall returne; or bicause one of the iurie is the shiriffe my aduersaries seruant: and also in case my aduersaries villen or bondman be impaneled, I may lawfullie chalenge him, bicause the aduersarie part hath power ouer his villens lands and goods, and hath the vse of his bodie for seruile office: much more I may of right take exception to Vaughans testimonie, my life and all that I haue depending therupon, and the same Vaughan being more bound to the quénes highnesse my aduersarie (that wo is me therefore) but so the law doth here so terme hir maiestie, than anie villen is to his lord: for hir highnesse hath not onlie power ouer his bodie, lands, and goods, but ouer his life also.

Stanford. Yea, the exception are to be taken against the iurie in that case, but not against the witnesse or accuser, & therefore your argument serueth litle for you.

Throckmorton. That is not so, for the vse of the iurie, and the witnesse and the effect of their doings doth serue me to my purpose, as the law shall discusse. And thus I make my comparison. By the ciuill law the iudge doth giue sentence vpon the depositions of the witnesse, & by your law the iudge doth giue iudgement vpon the verdict of the iurie; so as the effect is both one to finish the matter, triall in law, as well by the depositions of the witnesse, as by the iuries verdict, though they varie in forme and circumstance: and so Vaughans testimonie being credited, may be the materiall cause of my condemnation, as the iurie to be induced by his depositions to speake their verdict, and so finallie therupon the iudge to giue sentence. Therefore I may vse the same exceptions against the iurie, or anie of them, as the principall meane that shall occasion my condemnation.

Bromleie. Why do you denie, that euerie part of Vaughans tale is vntrue?

Attournie. You may sée he will denie all, and saie there was no such communication betwixt them.

Throckmorton. I confesse some part of Vaughans confession to be true, as the name, the places, the time, and some part of the matter.

Attournie. So you of the iurie may perceiue the prisoner doth confesse some thing to be true.

Throckmorton. As touching my sending to sir Peter Caroe, or his sending to me, or concerning my aduise to maister Wiat to stur or to repaire hither, or touching the earle of Deuonshire parting hence, and my going with him, and also concerning the matter of the erle of Penbroke, I do auow and saie that Vaughan hath said vntrulie.

Southwell. As for my lord of Penbroke, you néed not excuse the matter, for he hath shewed himselfe cléere in these matters like a noble man, and that we all know.

Hare. Why what was the talke betwixt Vaughan and you so long in Paules, if these were not so, and what meant your oft métings?

Throckmorton. As for our often métings, they were of no set purpose, but by chance, & yet no oftener than twise. But sithence you would know what communication passed betwixt vs in Paules church, I will declare. We talked of the incommodities of the marriage of the queene with the prince of Spaine, and how grieuous the Spaniards would be to vs here. Vaughan said, that it should be verie dangerous for anie man, that trulie professed the gospell to liue here, such was the Spaniards crueltie, and especiallie against christian men. Whereunto I answered it was the plague of God iustlie come vpon vs; and now almightie God dealt with vs as he did with the Israelites, taking from them for their vnthankefulnesse their godlie kings, & did send tyrants to reigne ouer them. Euen so he handled vs Englishmen, which had a most godlie & vertuous prince to reigne ouer vs, my late souereigne lord and maister king Edward, vnder whome we might both safelie and lawfullie professe Gods word, which with our lewd doings, demeanor, and liuing, we handled so irreuerentlie, that to whip vs for our faults he would send vs strangers, yea such verie tyrants to exercise great tyrannie ouer vs, and did take awaie the vertuous and faithfull king from amongst vs: for euerie man of euerie estate did colour his naughtie affections with a pretense of religion, and made the gospell a stalking horse to bring their euill desires to effect. This was the summe of our talke in Paules somewhat more dilated.

Stanford. That it may appéere yet more euidentlie how Throckmorton was a principall doer and counsellor in this matter, you shall heare his owne confession of his owne hand writing. ¶ The clearke began to read, Throckmorton desired maister Stanford to read it, and the iurie well to marke it. Then maister Stanford did read the prisoners owne confession to this effect: that Throckmorton had conference with Wiat, Caroe, Crofts, Rogers, and Warner, as well of the quénes marriage with the prince of Spaine, as also of religion, and did particularlie conferwith euerie the forenamed, of the matters aforesaid. Moreouer, with sir Thomas Wiat the prisoner

ner talked of the bʒute that the Westerne men shuld much mislike the comming of the Spaniards into this realme, being repoʒted also that they intended to interrupt their arrivall here. And also that it was said, that they were in consultation about the same at Excester. Wiat also did saie, that sir Peter Caroe could not bʒing the same matter to good effect, noʒ that there was any man so meet to bʒing it to good effect, as the erle of Deuonshire, & specially in the west parts, insomuch as they dʒew not all by one line.

Then Thʒockmoʒton asked how the Kentishmen were affected to the Spaniards? Wiat said; The people like them euill inough, and that appeered now at the comming of the countie of Egmount, foʒ they were readie to stur against him and his traine, supposing it had bin the pʒince. But said Wiat, sir Robert Southwell, maister Baker, and maister Bolle, and their affinitie, which be in good credit in some places of the shire, will foʒ other malicious respects hinder the libertie of their countrie. Then Thʒockmoʒton should saie; Though I know there hath beene an vnkindnesse betwixt maister Southwell and you foʒ a monie matter, wherein I trauelled to make you frends, I doubt not, but in so honest a matter as this is, he will foʒ the safegard of his countrie ioine with you, and so you may be sure of the lord Aburgauennie & his force. Then Wiat said, It is foʒ another matter than foʒ monie that we disagree, wherein he hath handled me and others verie doublie & vnneighbʒlie; howbeit, he can do no other, neither to me, noʒ to anie other man, & therefoʒe I foʒgiue him. Item, with sir Peter Caroe, Thʒockmoʒton had conference touching the impeachment of the landing of the said pʒince, and touching pʒouision of armour and munition as insueth, that is to saie, that sir Peter Caroe told Thʒockmoʒton that he trusted his countriemen would be true Englishmen, and would not agree to let the Spaniards to gouerne them. Item, the said sir Peter Caroe said, the matter impoʒting the French king, as it did, he thoght the French king would woʒke to hinder the Spaniards comming hither, with whome the said sir Peter did thinke good to pʒactise foʒ armour, munition, and monie.

Then Thʒockmoʒton did aduise him to beware that he bʒought anie Frenchmen into the realme foʒceablie, inasmuch as he could as euill abide the Frenchmen after that soʒt as the Spaniards. And also Thʒockmoʒton thought the French king vnable to giue aid to vs, by meanes of the great consumption in their owne warres. Maister Caroe said; As touching the bʒinging in of the Frenchmen, he meant it not, foʒ he loued neither partie, but to serue his owne countrie, and to helpe his countrie from bondage: declaring further to Thʒockmoʒton, that he had a small barke of his owne to woʒke his pʒactise by, & so he said, that shoʒtlie he intended to depart to his owne countrie, to vnderstand the deuotion of his countrimen. Item Thʒockmoʒton did saie, he would foʒ his part hinder the cõming in of the Spaniards as much as he could by persuasion. Item to sir Edward Warner, he had and did bʒemone his owne estate, and the tyʒannie of the time extended vpon diuerse honest persons foʒ religion, and wished it were lawfull foʒ all of ech religion to liue safelie acoʒding to their conscience; foʒ the law (*Ex officio*) will be intollerable, & the clergies discipline now maie rather be resembled to the Turks tyʒannie, than to the teaching of chʒistian religion. ¶ This was the summe of the matter which was read in the foʒesaid confession, as maters most gʒeuous against the pʒisoner.] Then Thʒockmoʒton said; Sithence maister sergeant you haue read and gathered the place (as you thinke) that maketh most against me, I pʒaie you take the pains, and read further, that hereafter whatsoeuer become of me, my woʒds be not peruerted and abused to the hurt of some others, and especiallie against the great personages, of whom I haue bʒene sundʒie times (as appeareth by my answers) examined, foʒ I perceiue the net was not cast onelie foʒ little fishes, but foʒ the great ones, *Iuxta adagium*.

It shall be but losse of time, and we haue other things to charge you withall, and this that you desire doth make nothing foʒ you. Stanlo.

And foʒ the better confirmation of all the treasons obiected against the pʒisoner, and therein to pʒoue him guiltie, you of the iurie shall heare the duke of Suffolks depositions against him, who was a pʒincipall, and hath suffered accoʒdinglie. ¶ Then the said sergeant read the dukes confession touching the pʒisoner, amounting to this effect, that the loʒd Thomas Greie did infoʒme the said duke, that sir Nicholas Thʒockmoʒton was pʒiuie to the whole deuises against the Spaniards, & was one that should go into the west countrie with the earle of Deuonshire.] Dier.

But what doth the pʒincipall authour of this matter saie against me, I meane the loʒd Thomas Greie who is yet liuing? Why he not his depositions bʒought against me, foʒ so it ought to bs, if he can saie anie thing? Will you know the truth? Neither the loʒd Thomas Greie hath said, can saie, oʒ will saie anie thing against me, notwithstanding the duke his bʒothers confession and accusation, who hath affirmed manie other things besides the truth. I speake not without certeine knowledge: foʒ the loʒd Thomas Greie being my pʒison-felow foʒ a small time, infoʒmed me, that the duke his bʒother had misrepoʒted him in manie things, amongst others in matters touching me, which he had declared to you maister Southwell, and other the examinoʒs not long ago. I am sure if the loʒd Thomas could, oʒ would haue said anie thing, it should haue bʒene here now. And as to the dukes confession, it is not materiall: foʒ he doth referre the matter to the loʒd Thomas repoʒt, who hath made my purgation. Thʒockmoʒton.

And it please you my loʒds, and you my maisters of the iurie, besides these matters touching Wiats rebellion, sir Peter Caroes treasons and confederating with the duke of Suffolke, and besides the pʒisoners conspiracie with the earle of Deuonshire, with Crofts, Rogers, Warner, and sundʒie others in sundʒie places, it shall manifestlie apeare vnto you, that Thʒockmoʒton did conspire the quenes maiesties death, with William Thomas, sir Nicholas Arnold, and other traitoʒs intending the same, which is the greatest matter of all others, and most to be abhoʒred. And foʒ pʒoofe hereof, you shall heare what Arnold saith. ¶ Then was sir Nicholas Arnolds confession read, saieng that Thʒockmoʒton shewed to him, riding betwixt Hinam and Crosse laund in Glocestershire, that John Fitz Williams was verie much displeased with William Thomas. The atturnie.

William Thomas deuised, that John Fitzwilliams should kill the quene, and Thʒockmoʒton knew of it, as apeareth by Arnolds confession. Attourneie.

First I denie that I said anie such thing to maister Arnold, and though he be an honest man, he may either foʒget himselfe, oʒ deuise meanes how to vnburthen himselfe of so weightie a matter as this is; foʒ he is charged with the mater as pʒincipall. Which I did perceiue when he charged me with his tale, and therefoʒe I doo blame him the lesse, that he seeketh how to discharge himselfe, vsing me as a witnesse, if he could so transferre the deuise to William Thomas. But trulie I neuer spake anie such woʒds vnto him. And foʒ my better declaration, I did see John Fitzwilliams here euen now, who can testifie, that he neuer shewed me of any displesure betwixt them, Thʒockmoʒton.

and as I know nothing of the displeasure betwixt them, so I know nothing of the cause: I pray you my lords let him be called to depose in this matter what he can. Then John Fitzwilliams drew to the barre, and presented himselfe to depose his knowledge in the matter in open court.

The atturnie. I praie you my lords suffer him not to be sworne, neither to speake, we haue nothing to do with him.

Throckmorton. Why should he not be suffered to tell truth? And why be ye not so well contented to heare truth for me as vntruth against me?

Hare. Who called you hither Fitzwilliams, or commanded you to speake? You are a verie busie officer.

Throckmorton. I called him, and do humblie desire that he maie speake, and be heard as well as Vaughan; or else I am not indifferentlie vsed, especiallie seeing maister attourneie doth so presse this matter against me.

Southwell. Go your waies Fitzwilliams, the court hath nothing to do with you: peraduenture you would not be so readie in a good cause. Then John Fitzwilliams departed the court, and was not suffered to speake.

Throckmorton. Sithence this gentlemans declaration may not be admitted, I trust you of the iurie can perceiue, it was not for anie thing he had to saie against me, but contrariwise that it was feared he would speake for me. And now to maister Arnolds depositions against me, I saie I did not tell him anie such words, so as if it were materiall, there is but his yea and my naie. But because the words be not soze strained against me, I praie you maister atturnie why might not I haue told maister Arnold, that John Fitzwilliams was angrie with William Thomas, and yet know no cause of the anger? It might be vnderstand, to disagree oftentimes. Who doth confesse that I know anie thing of William Thomas deuise touching the queenes death? I will answer, No man. For maister Arnold doth mention no word of that matter, but of the displeasures betwixt them. And to speake that, doth neither proue treason, nor knowledge of treason. Is here all the euidence against me that you haue to bring me within the compasse of the indictment?

Stanlord. We thinke the matters confessed by others against you, togither with your owne confession, will weie shrewdlie. But how saie you to the rising in Kent, and to Wiats attempt against the queens roiall person at hir palace?

Bromleie. Why do you not read Wiats accusation to him, which doth make him partener to his treasons?

Southwell. Wiat hath greeuouslie accused you, and in manie things that others haue confirmed.

Throckmorton. What soeuer Wiat hath said of me in hope of his life, he vnsaid it at his death. For since I came into this hall, I heard one saie (but I know him not) that Wiat vpon the scaffold did not onelie purge my ladie Elizabeth hir grace, and the erle of Deuonshire, but also all the gentlemen in the tower, saieng they were all ignorant of the sturre and commotion. In which number I take my selfe.

Hare. Notwithstanding he said, all that he had written and confessed to the councell, was true.

Throckmorton. Naie sir, by your patience, maister Wiat said not so, that was maister doctors addition.

Southwell. It appeareth you haue had good intelligence.

Throckmorton. Almightie God prouided that reuelation for me this daie since I came hither: for I haue bin in close prison these eight and fiftie daies, where I heard nothing but what the birds told me, which did flie ouer my head. And now to you of my iurie I speake specially, whome I desire to marke attentiuelie what shall be said. I haue beene indicted, as it appeareth, and now am arreigned of compassing the queenes maiesties death, of leuieng war against the queene, of taking the tower of London, of deposing and depriuing the queene of hir roiall estate, and finallie to destroie hir, and of adherence to the queenes enimies. Of all which treasons, to proue me guiltie, the queens learned councell hath giuen in euidence these points materiall; that is to saie: for the compassing or imagining the queenes death, and the destruction of hir roiall person, sir Nicholas Arnolds depositions, which is, that I should saie to the said sir Nicholas in Glocestershire, that maister John Fitzwilliams was angrie with William Thomas.

Wherevnto I haue answered, as you haue heard, both denieng the matter: and for the proofe on my side, do take exceptions, because there is no witnesse but one. And neuertheless, though it were granted, the depositions proue nothing concerning the queenes death. For leuieng of warre against the queene, there is alleged my conference with sir Thomas Wiat, sir James Crofts, sir Edward Rogers, sir Edward Warner. Against the mariage with Spaine, and the comming of the Spaniards hither, which talke I do not denie in sort as I spake it, and ment it: and notwithstanding the malicious gathering this date of my conference, proueth yet no leuieng of warre. There is also alleged for proofe of the same article, sir James Crofts confession, which (as you remember) implieth no such thing, but generall talke against the mariage with Spaine. And of my departing westward with the earle of Deuon, which the said James doth not auow, & therefore I praie you consider it as not spoken. There is also for proofe of the said article, the duke of Suffolks confession, with whome I neuer had conference; and therefore he auouched the tale of his brothers mouth, who hath made my purgation in those matters; and yet if the matter were proued, they be not greatlie materiall in law. There is also alleged for the further proofe of the same article, and for deposing and depriuing the queene of hir roiall estate, and for my adhering to the queenes enimies, Cuthbert Vaughans confession, whose testimonie I haue sufficientlie disproued by sundrie authorities and circumstances, and principallie by your owne law, which doth require two lawfull and sufficient witnesses to be brought face to face. Also for the taking of the tower of London, there is alleged Winters depositions, which vttereth my misliking, when he vttered vnto me sir Thomas Wiats resolution and deuise for attempting of the said peece. And last of all, to inforce these matters, mine owne confession is ingreeued against me, wherein there doth appeare neither treason, neither concelement of treason, neither whispering of treason, nor procurement of treason.

And forsomuch as I am come hither to be tried by the law, though my innocencie of all these points materiall obiected, be apparant to acquit me, whereto I do principallie cleaue: yet I will for your better credit and satisfactions, shew you euidentlie, that if you would beleeue all the depositions laid against me, which I trust you will not do, I ought not to be attainted of the treason comprised within my indictment, considering the statute of repeale the last parlement, of all treasons, other than such as be declared in the fiue and twentith yeare of king Edward the third, both which statutes, I pray you my lords, maie be read here to the inquest.

Bromleie. No sir, there shall be no bookes brought at your desire, we do all know the law sufficientlie without booke.

Throckmorton. Do you bring me hither to trie me by the law, & will not shew me the law? What is your knowlege of the law to these mens satisfactions, which haue my triall in hand? I praie you my lords, and my lords all,

all, let the statutes be read, as well for the quæne, as for me.

Stanford. My lord chiefe iustice can shew the law, and will, if the iurie do doubt of anie point.

Throckmorton. You know it were indifferent that I should know and heare the law whereby I am adiudged, and for asmuch as the statute is in English, men of meaner learning than the iustices can vnderstand it, or else how should we know when we offend?

Hare. You know not what belongeth to your case, and therefore we must teach you: it apperteineth not to vs to prouide bookes for you, neither sit we here to be taught of you, you should haue taken better hèed to the law before you had come hither.

Throckmorton. Because I am ignorant, I would learne, and therefore I haue more nèd to sée the law, and partlie as well for the instructions of the iurie, as for my own satisfaction, which mee thinke were for the honor of this presence. And now if it please you my lord chiefe iustice, I do direct my spèech speciallie to you. What time it pleased the quènes maiestie, to call you to this honorable office, I did learne of a great personage of hir highnesse priuie councell, that amongst other good instructions, hir maiestie charged and inioined you to minister the law and iustice indifferentlie without respect of persons. And notwithstanding the old error amongst you, which did not admit anie witnesse to speake, or anie other matter to be heard in the fauor of the aduersarie, hir maiestie being partie; hir highnesse pleasure was, that whatsoeuer could be brought in the fauor of the subiect, should be admitted to be heard. And moreouer, that you speciallie, & likewise all other iustices, should not persuade themselues to sit in iudgement otherwise for hir highnesse, than for hir subiect. Therefore this maner of indifferent proceeding being principallie inioined by Gods commandement, which I had thought partlie to haue remembred you & others here in commission, in the beginning, if I might haue had leaue; and the same also being commanded you by the quèens owne mouth: me thinke you ought of right to suffer me to haue the statutes read openlie, and also to reiect nothing that could be spoken in my defense; and in thus doing, you shall shew your selues worthie ministers, and fit for so worthie a mistresse.

Bromleie. You mistake the matter, the quæne spake those words to maister Morgan chiefe iustice of the common plées: but you haue no cause to complaine, for you haue bène suffered to talke at your pleasure.

Hare. What would you do with the statute booke? The iurie doth not require it, they haue heard the euidence, and they must vpon their conscience trie whether you be guiltie or no, so as the booke nèedeth not; if they will not credit the euidence so apparant, then they know not what they haue to do.

Cholmleie. You ought not to haue anie books read here at your appointment, for where doth arise anie doubt in the law, the iudges sit here to informe the court, and now you do but spend time.

The atturnie. I pray you my lord chiefe iustice repeat the euidence for the quæne, and giue the iurie their charge, for the prisoner will kèepe you here all daie.

Bromleie. How saie you? Haue you anie more to saie for your selfe?

Throckmorton. You seeme to giue and offer me the law, but in verie dèd I haue onelie the forme and image of the law; neuertheless, sith I cannot be suffered to haue the statutes red openlie in the booke, I will by your pattence gesse at them as I maie, and I praie you to helpe me if I mistake, for it is long since I did sée them. The statute of repeale made the last parlement, hath these words: Be it enacted by the quæne, that from henceforth none act, dèd, or offense, being by act of parlement or statute made treason, petit treason, or misprision of treason, by words, writing, printing, ciphering, dèeds, or otherwise whatsoeuer, shall be taken, had, dèemed, or adiudged treason, petit treason: but onelie such as be declared or expressed to be treason, in or by an act of parlement made in the fiue and twentith yeare of Edward the third, touching and concerning treasons, and the declaration of treasons, and none other. Here may you sée, this statute doth referre all the offenses aforesaid, to the statute of the fiue and twentith yeare of Edward the third, which statute hath these words touching and concerning the treasons that I am indicted and arreigned of, that is to saie: Whosoeuer doth compasse or imagine the death of the king, or leuie warre against the king in his realme, or being adherent to the kings enimies within this realme, or elsewhere, and be thereof probablie attainted by open dèd by people of their condition; shall be adiudged a traitor. Now I praie you of my iurie which haue my life in triall, note well what things at this daie be treasons, and how these treasons must be tried and decerned; that is to say, by open dèd, which the lawes doth at some time terme (Ouert act.) And now I aske notwithstanding my indictment, which is but matter alleged, where doth appeare the open dèd of anie compassing or imagining the quænes death? Or where doth appeare anie open dèd of being adherent to the quèns enimies, giuing to them aid and comfort? Or where doth appeare anie open dèd of taking the tower of London?

Why do not you of the quènes learned councell answer him? Me thinke, Throckmorton, you nèd not haue the statutes, for you haue them mètlie perfectlie. Bromleie.

You are deceiued to conclude all treasons in the statute of the fiue and twentith yeare of Edward the third; for that statute is but a declaration of certeine treasons, which were treasons before at the common law. Euen so there doth remaine diuerse other treasons at this daie at the common law, which be expressed by that statute, as the iudges can declare. Neuertheless, there is matter sufficient alleged and proued against you, to bring you within the compasse of the same statute. Stanford.

I praie you expresse those matters that bring me within the compasse of the statute of Edward the third. For the words be these: And be thereof attainted by open dèd: By people of like condition. Throckmorton.

Throckmorton you deceiue your selfe, and mistake these words; By people of their condition. For thereby the law doth vnderstand the discouering of your treasons. As for example: Wiat and the other rebels, attainted for their great treasons, alreadie declare you to be his and their adherent, in as much as diuerse & sundrie times you had conference with him and them about the treason, so as Wiat is now one of your condition, who (as all the world knoweth) hath committed an open traitorous fact. Bromleie.

By your leaue my lord, this is a verie strange and singular vnderstanding. For I suppose the meaning of the law-makers did vnderstand these words: By people of their condition; of the state and condition of those persons which should be on the inquest to trie the partie arreigned, guiltie or not guiltie, and nothing to the bewraieng of the offense by another mans act, as you saie. For what haue I to do with Wiats acts, that was not nigh him by one hundred miles? Throckmorton.

Will you take vpon you to skill better of the law than the iudges? I doubt not but you of the iurie will credit as it becommeth you. The atturnie.

Concerning the true vnderstanding of these Cholmleie.

words: By people of their condition, my lord chiefe iustice here hath declared the truth, for What was one of your condition, that is to saie, of your conspiracie.

Hare. You do not denie, Throckmorton, but that there hath bene conference and sending betweene What and you: and he and Winter doth confesse the same, with others, so as it is plaine; What may be called one of your condition.

Throckmorton. Well, seeing you my iudges rule the vnderstanding of these words in the statute, by people of your condition, thus strangelie against me: I will not stand longer vpon them. But where doth appeare in me an open deed wherevnto the treason is specially referred?

Bromleie. If three or foure do talke, deuise, and conspire together of a traitorous act to be done, and afterwards one of them doth commit treason, as What did, then the law doth repute them, and euerie of them as their acts, so as Whats acts do implie and argue of your open deed: and so the law doth terme it and take it.

Throckmorton. These be maruellous expositions and wonderfull implications, that another mans act whereof I was not priuie, should be accounted mine: for What did purge me that I knew nothing of his stirre.

Hare. Yea sir, but you were a principall procurer and contriuer of Whats rebellion, though you were not with him when he made the stirre. And as my lord here hath said, the law alwaies doth adiudge him a traitor, which was priuie, and doth procure treason, or anie other man to commit treason, or a traitorous act, as you did What and others: for so the *Ouert act* of those which did it by your procurement, shall in this case be accounted your open deed. We haue a common case in the law, if one by procurement should disseize you of your land, the law holdeth vs both wrong doers, & giueth remedie as well against the one as the other.

Throckmorton. For Gods sake aplie not such constructions against me, and though my present estate doth not moue you, yet it were well you should consider your office, and thinke what measure you giue to others, you your selues I saie shall assuredlie receiue the same againe. The state of mortall life is such, that men know full little what hangeth ouer them. I put on within these vij. moneths such a mind, that I most wofull wight was as vnlike to stand here, as some of you that sit there. As to your case last recited, wherby you would conclude; I haue remembred and learned of you maister Hare, and you maister Stanford in the parlement house, where you did sit to make lawes, to expound and explane the ambiguities and doubts of law sincerelie, and that without affections. There I saie I learned of you, and others my maisters of the law, this difference betwixt such cases as you remembred one euen now, and the statute whereby I am to be tried. There is a maxime or principle in the law, which ought not to be violated, that no penall statute maie, ought, or should be construed, expounded, extended, or wrested, otherwise than the simple words and rude letter of the same statute doth warrant and signifie. And amongest diuerse good and notable reasons by you there in the parlement house debated (maister sergeant Stanford) I noted this one, whie the said maxime ought to be inuiolable. You said, considering the priuate affections manie times both of princes and ministers within this realme, for that they were men, and would and could erre, it should be no securitie, but verie dangerous to the subiect, to refer the construction and extending of penall statutes to anie iudges equitie (as you termed it) which might either by feare of the higher powers be seduced, or by ignorance and follie abused: and that is an answer by procurement.

Notwithstanding the principall (as you alledge it) and the precisenesse of your sticking to the bare words of the statute, it doth appere and remaine of record in our learning, that diuerse cases haue bene adiudged treason, without the expresse words of the statute, as the quenes learned councell there can declare. Bromleie.

It doth appere the prisoner did not onelie intise or procure What, Caro, Rogers, and others, to commit their traitorous act, and there doth his open facts appere, which Vaughans confession doth witnesse, but also he did mind shortlie after to associat himselfe with those traitors; for he minded to haue departed with the earle of Deuonshire westward. The attornie

My innocencie concerning these matters I trust sufficientlie appereth by my former answers, notwithstanding the condemned mans vniust accusation. But because the true vnderstanding of the statute is in question, I saie procurement, and specallie by words onelie, is without the compasse of it, and that I do learne and prowe by the principle which I learned of maister Stanford. Throckmorton.

Maister Throckmorton, You and I maie not agree this daie in the vnderstanding of the law, for I am for the queene, and you are for your selfe; the iudges must determine the matter. Stanford.

He that doth procure another man to commit a felonie or a murther, I am sure you know well enough the law doth adiudge the procurer there a felon or a murtherer; and in case of treason it hath bene alwaies so taken and reputed. Bromleie.

I do and must cleane to my innocencie, for I procured no man to commit treson: but yet for my learning I desire to heare some case so ruled when the law was as it is now. I do confesse it, that at such time there were statutes prouided for the procurer, counsellor, aider, abetter, and such like, as there were in king Henrie the eights time; you might lawfullie make this cruell construction, and bring the procurer within the compasse of the law. But these statutes being repealed, you ought not now so to do: and as to the principall procurer in felonie and murther, it is not like as in treason; for the principall and accessaries in felonie and murther be triable and punishable by the common law: and so in those cases the iudges maie vse their equitie, extending the determination of the fault as they thinke good: but in treson it is otherwise, the same being limited by statute, which I saie and auow is restreined from anie iudges construction, by the maxime that I recited. Throckmorton. Happie for Throckmorton that those statutes stood then repealed

Your lordships do know a case in Richard the thirds time, where the procurer, to counterfeit false monie, was iudged a traitor, and the law was as it is now. Stanford.

Maister sergeant doth remember you Throckmorton of an experience before our time, that the law hath bene so taken: and yet the procurer was not expressed in the statute, but the law hath bene alwaies so taken. Hare.

I neuer studied the law, whereof I do much repent me: yet I remember, whilest penall statutes were talked of in the parlement house, you the learned men of the house remembred some cases contrarie to this last spoken of. And if I misreport them, I praie you helpe me. In the like case you speake of concerning the procurer to counterfeit false monie; at one time the procurer was iudged a felon, and at another time neither felon nor traitor: so as some of your predecessors adiudged the procurer no traitor in the same case, but leaned to their principall, though some other extend their constructions too large. And here is two cases with me, for one against me. Throckmorton.

Because

Bromleie. Because you replie vpon the principall, I will remember where one taking the great seale of England from one writing, and putting it to another, was adiudged a traitor in Henrie the fourths time, and yet his act was not within the expresse words of the statute of Edward the third. There be diuerse other such like cases that maie be alledged and need were.

Throckmorton. I praie you my lord chiefe iustice call to your good remembrance, that in the selfe same case of the seale, iustice Spilman, a graue & well learned man, since that time, would not condemne the offendor, but did reproue that former iudgement by you last remembred, as erronious.

Stanford. If I had thought you had béene so well furnished in booke cases, I would haue béene better prouided for you.

Throckmorton. I haue nothing but I learned of you speciallie maister sergeant, and of others my maisters of the law in the parlement house, & therefore I maie saie with the prophet (*Salutem ex inimicis nostris.*)

Southwell. You haue a verie good memorie.

The attornie. If the prisoner maie auoid his treasons after this maner, the quénes suretie shall be in great ieopardie. For Jacke Cade the blacke smith, and diuerse other traitors, sometime alledging the law for them, sometime they meant no harme to the king, but against his councell, as Wiat, the duke of Suffolke, and these did against the Spaniards, when there was no Spaniards within the realme. The duke and his brethren did mistake the law, as you do: yet at length did confesse their ignorance, and submitted themselues: and so were you best to do.

Throckmorton. As to Cade and the blacke smith, I am not so well acquainted with their treasons as you be: but I haue read in the chronicle, they were in the field with a force against the prince, whereby a manifest act did appére. As to the duke of Suffolkes doings, they apperteine not to me. And though you would compare my spéech and talke against the Spaniards to the dukes acts, who assembled a force in armes, it is euident they differ much. I am sorie to ingréue anie other mans doings, but it serueth me for a péece of my defense, and therefore I wish that no man should gather euill of it; God forbid that words and acts be thus confounded.

The attornie. Sir William Stanleie vsed this shift that the prisoner vseth now; he said he did not leuie warre against king Henrie the seauenth, but said to the duke of Buckingham, that in a good quarrell he would aid him with fiue hundred men; and neuertheless Stanleie was for those words atteinted, who (as all the world knoweth) had before that time serued the king verie faithfullie and trulie.

Throckmorton. I praie you maister attorneie do not conclude against me by blind contraries. Whether you allege Stanlies case trulie or no, I know not. But admit it be as you saie, what doth this proue against me? I promised no aid to maister Wiat nor to anie other. The duke of Buckingham leuied warre against the king, with whome Stanleie was confederat so to do as you saie.

The attornie. I praie you my lords that be the quæns commissioners, sutfer not the prisoner to vse the quénes learned councell thus, I was neuer interrupted thus in my life, nor I neuer knew anie thus suffered to talke, as this prisoner is suffered; some of vs will come no more at the barre & we be thus handled.

Bromleie. Throckmorton you must suffer the quénes learned councell to speake, or else we must take order with you, you haue had leaue to talke at your pleasure.

Hare. It is proued that you did talke with Wiat against the comming of the Spaniards, and deuised to interrupt their arriuall: and you promised to do what you could against them: whereupon Wiat being incoraged by you, did leuie a force, and attempted warre against the quénes roiall person.

Throckmorton. It was no treason nor no procurement of treason, to talke against the comming hither of the Spaniards, neither was it treason for me to saie I would hinder their comming hither as much as I could (vnderstanding me rightlie as I meane it) yea though you would extend it to the worst, it was but words, it was not treason at this daie as the law standeth. And as for Wiats doing, they touch me nothing; for at his death when, it was no time to report vntruelie, he purged me.

Bromleie. By sundrie cases remembred here by the quénes learned councell (as you haue heard) that procurement which did appeare none otherwise but by words and those you would make nothing, hath béene of long time, and by sundrie well learned men in the lawes adiudged treason. And therefore, your procurement being so euident as it is, we maie lawfullie saie it was treason, bicause Wiat performed a traitorous act.

Throckmorton. As to the said alleaged forepresidents against me, I haue recited as manie for me, and I would you my lord chiefe iustice should incline your iudgments rather after the example of your honourable predecessors, iustice Markam, and others, which did eschue corrupt iudgements, iudging directlie and sincerelie, after the law & the principles in the same, than after such men as swarning from the truth, the maxime, and the law, did iudge corruptlie, maliciouslie, and affectionatlie.

Bromleie. Justice Markam had reason to warrant his doings: for it did appeare, a merchant of London was arreigned and slanderouslie accused of treason for compassing and imagining the kings death, he did saie he would make his sonne heire of the crowne, and the merchant meant it of a house in Cheapside at the signe of the crowne, but your case is not so.

Throckmorton. My case doth differ I grant, but speciallie bicause I haue not such a iudge: yet there is an other cause to restreine these your strange and extraordinarie constructions: that is to saie, a prouiso in the latter end of the statute of Edward the third, hauing these words: Prouided alwaies, if anie other case of supposed treason shall chance hereafter to come in question or triall before anie iustice, other than is in the said statute expressed, that then the iustice shall forbeare to adiudge the said case, vntill it be shewed to the parlement to trie whether it should be treason or felonie. Here you are restreined by expresse words to adiudge anie case, that is not manifestlie mentioned before, and vntill it be shewed to the parlement.

Pirtman. That prouiso is vnderstood of cases that maie come in triall which hath béene in vse, but the law hath alwaies taken the procurer to be a principall offendor.

Sanders. The law alwaies in cases of treason doth account all principals and no accessaries as in other offenses, and therefore a man offending in treason, either by couert act or procurement, whereupon an open deed hath insued, as in this case, is adiudged by the law a principall traitor.

Throckmorton. You adiudge (me thinke) procurement verie hardlie, besides the principall, and besides the good prouiso, and besides the good example of your best and most godlie learned predecessors, the iudges of the realme, as I haue partlie declared, and notwithstanding this grieuous racking & extending of this word procurement, I am not in the danger of it, for it doth appeare by no deposition that I procured neither one or other to attempt anie act.

Stanford. The iurie haue to trie whether it be so or no, let it

weie

wele as it will.

Hare. I know no meane so apparant to trie procurement as by words, & that meane is probable inough against you, as well by your owne confession, as by other mens depositions.

Throckmorton. To talke of the quénes marriage with the prince of Spaine, and also the comming hither of the Spaniards, is not to procure treson to be done: for then the whole parlement house, I meane the common house did procure treason. But sith you will make no difference betwixt words and acts, I praie you remember a statute made in my late souereigne lord and maisters time, king Edward the first, which apparantlie expresseth the difference. These be the words: Whosoeuer doth compasse or imagine to depose the king of his roiall estate by open preaching, expresse words or saiengs, shall for the first offense lose and forfet to the king all his and their goods and cattels, and also shall suffer imprisonment of their bodies at the kings will and pleasure. Whosoeuer, &c: for the second offense shall lose & forfet to the king the whole issues and profits of all his or their lands, tenements and other hereditaments, benefices, prebends, and other spirituall promotions. Whosoeuer, &c: for the third offense, shall for tearme of life or liues of such offendor or offendors, &c: and shall also forfet to the kings maiestie, all his or their goods and cattels, and suffer during his or their liues perpetuall imprisonment of his or their bodies. But whosoeuer, &c: by writing, ciphering, or act, &c: shall for the first offense be adiudged a traitor, and suffer the paines of death. Here you maie perceiue how the whole realme and all your iudgements hath before this vnderstood words and acts diuerselie and aparantlie. And therfore the iudgements of the parlement did assigne diuersitie of punishments, bicause they would not confound the true vnderstanding of words & deeds, appointing for compassing and imagining by word, imprisonment: and for compassing and imagining by open deed, paines of death.

Bromleie. It is agréed by the whole bench, that the procurer and the adherent be deemed alwaies traitors, when as a traitorous act was committed by anie one of the same conspiracie: and there is aparant proofe of your adhering to Wiat, both by your owne confession and other waies.

Throckmorton. Adhering and procuring be not all one, for the statute of Edward the third doth speake of adhering, but not of procuring; & yet adhering ought not to be further extended, than to the quénes enimies within hir realme, for so the statute doth limit the vnderstanding. And Wiat was not the quénes enimie, for he was not so reputed when I talked with him last, and our speech implied no enimie, neither tended to anie treason, or procuring of treason: and therefore I praie you of the iurie note, though I argue the law, I alleage mine innocencie, as the best part of my defense.

Hare. Your adhering to the quénes enimies within the realme, is euidentlie proued: for Wiat was the quænes enimie within the realme, as the whole realme knoweth it, and he hath confessed it both at his arreignement and at his death.

Throckmorton. By your leaue, neither Wiat at his arreignement nor at his death, did confesse that he was the quénes enimie when I talked last with him; neither was he reputed nor taken in fouretæne daies after, vntill he assembled a force in armes, what time I was at your house maister Englefield, where I learned the first intelligence of Wiats stirre. And I aske you who doth depose that there passed anie maner of aduertisement betwixt Wiat and me, after he had discouered his doings, and shewed himselfe an enimie: If I had bæne so disposed, who did let me that I did not repaire to Wiat, or to send to him, or to the duke of Suffolke either, who was in mine owne countrie, and thither I might haue gone and conueied my selfe with him, vnsuspected for my departing homewards.

Englefield. It is true that you were there at my house, accompanied with others your brethren, and to my knowledge, ignorant of these matters.

Bromleie. Throckmorton, you confessed you talked with Wiat and others against the comming of the Spaniards, and of the taking of the tower of London, whereupon Wiat leuied a force of men against the Spaniards he said, and so you saie all: but in deed it was against the quéne, which he confessed at length: therefore Wiats acts do proue you counsellor and procurer, howsoeuer you would auoid the matter.

Throckmorton. My thinke you would conclude against me with a mishapen argument in logike, and you will giue me leaue, I will make an other.

Stanford. The iudges sit not here to make disputations, but to declare the law, which hath bæne sufficientlie done, if you would consider it.

Hare. You haue heard reason and the law, if you will conceiue it.

Throckmorton. Oh mercifull God, oh eternall father, which séest all things, what maner of proceedings are these? To what purpose serueth the statute of repeale the last parlement, where I heard some of you here present, and diuerse other of the quænes learned councell, grieuouslie inueie against the cruell & bloudie lawes of king Henrie the eight, and against some lawes made in my late souereigne lord and maisters time, king Edward the first. Some termed them Dracos lawes, which were written in bloud: some said they were more intollerable than anie laws that Dionysius or anie other tyrant made. In conclusion, as manie men, so manie bitter tearmes and names those lawes had. And moreouer, the preface of the same statute doth recite, that for words onelie, manie great personages, and others of good behauiour, haue bæne most cruellie cast awaie by these former sanguinolent thirstie lawes, with manie other suggestions for the repeale of the same. And now let vs put on indifferent eies, and throughlie consider with our selues, as you the iudges handle the constructions of the statute of Edward the third, with your equitie and extentions, whether we be not in much worse case now than we were when those cruell laws yoked vs. These lawes albeit they were grieuous and captious, yet they had the verie propertie of a law after saint Paules description. For those lawes did admonish vs, and discouer our sinnes plainelie vnto vs, & when a man is warned, he is halfe armed. These lawes, as they be handled, be verie baits to catch vs, & onlie prepared for the same, and no laws: for at the first sight they ascerteine vs we be deliuered from our old bondage, and by the late repeale the last parlement, we liue in more securitie. But when it pleaseth the higher powers to call anie mans life and saiengs in question, then there be constructions, interpretations, and extentions reserued to the iustices and iudges equitie, that the partie triable, as I am now, shall find himselfe in much worse case than before when those cruell lawes stood in force. Thus our amendment is from Gods blessing into the warme sunne. But I require you honest men which are to trie my life, consider these opinions of my life, iudges be rather agréeable to the time, than to the truth: for their iudgements be repugnant to their owne principle, repugnant to their godlie and best learned predecessors opinions, repugnant I saie to the prouiso in the statute of repeale made in the last parlement.

The atturnie. Maister Throckmorton quiet your selfe, and it shall

shall be the better for you.

Throckmorton. Maister attornie, I am not so vnquiet as you be, and yet our cases are not alike: but bicause I am so tedious to you, and haue long troubled this presence, it maie please my lord chiefe iustice to repeat the euidence wherewith I am charged, and my answers to all the obiections, if there be no other matter to laie against me.

¶ Then the chiefe iustice remembred particularlie all the depositions and euidences giuen against the prisoner, and either for want of good memorie, or good will, the prisoners answers were in part not recited: wherevpon the prisoner craued indifferencie, and did helpe the iudges old memorie with his owne recitall.]

Sendall. My maisters of the iurie, you haue to inquire whether sir Nicholas Throckmorton knight, here prisoner at the barre, be giltie of these treasons, or anie of them, whereof he hath bene indicted and this daie arreigned, yea or no. And if you find him giltie, you shall inquire what lands, tenements, goods, and cattels he had at the daie of his treasons committed, or at anie time since: and whether he fled for the treasons or no, if you find him not giltie.

Throckmorton. Haue you said what is to be said?

Sendall. Yea for this time.

Throckmorton. Then I praie you giue me leaue to speake a few words to the iurie. The weight and grauitie of my cause hath greatlie occasioned me to trouble you here long, and therfore I mind not to interteine you here long, with anie prolixitie: you perceiue notwithstanding this daie great contention betwixt the iudges and the quenes learned councell on the one partie, and me the poore and wofull prisoner on the other partie. The triall of our whole controuersie, the triall of my innocencie, the triall of my life, lands, and goods, and the destruction of my posteritie for euer, doth rest in your good iudgements. And albeit manie this daie haue greatlie inueied against me, the finall determination thereof is transferred onelie to you. How grieuous & horrible the shedding of innocents bloud is in the sight of almightie God, I trust you do remember. Therefore take héed (I saie) for Christs sake, do not defile your consciences with such heinous & notable crimes. They be grieuouslie and terriblie punished, as in this world and vale of miserie vpon the childrens children to the third and fourth generation, and in the world to come with euerlasting fire and damnation. Lift vp your minds to God, and care not too much for the world, looke not backe to the fleshpots of Aegypt, which will allure you from heauenlie respects, to worldlie securitie, and can thereof neither make you anie suertie. Beléeue I praie you, the quæne and hir magistrats be more delighted with fauourable equitie, than with rash crueltie. And in that you be all citizens, I will take my leaue of you with S. Paules farewell to the Ephesians, citizens also you be, whom he toke to record that he was pure from sheding anie bloud, a speciall token & doctrine left for your instruction, that euerie of you maie wash his hands of innocents bloud shed, when you shall take your leaue of this wretched world. The holie ghost be amongest you.

Sendall. Come hither sergeant, take the iurie with you, and suffer no man to come at them, but to be ordered as the law appointeth, vntill they be agreed vpon their verdict.

Throckmorton. It may please you my lords and maisters which be commissioners, to giue order that no person haue accesse or conference with the iurie, neither that anie of the quenes learned councell be suffered to repaire to them, or to talke with anie of them, vntill they present themselues here in open court, to publish their verdict.

¶ Vpon the prisoners sute on this behalfe, the bench gaue order that two seargeants were sworne to suffer no man to repaire to the iurie, vntill they were agreed according vnto order. Wherevpon then the prisoner was by commandement of the bench withdrawne from the barre, and the court adiourned vntill three of the clocke at afternoone, at which houre the commissioners returned to the Guildhall, and there did tarie vntill the iurie were agreed vpon the verdict. And about fiue of the clocke, their agreement being aduertised to the commissioners, the said prisoner, sir Nicholas Throckmorton was againe brought to the barre, where also the iurie did repaire; and being demanded whether they were agreed vpon their verdict, answered vniuersallie with one voice, Yea. Then it was asked who should speake for them: they answered, Whetston the foreman.]

Sendall. Nicholas Throckmorton knight, hold vp thy hand.

Throckmorton. Then the prisoner did so vpon the summons.

Sendall. You that be of the iurie, looke vpon the prisoner.

Iurie. The iurie did as they were inioined.

Sendall. How saie you, is maister Throckmorton knight there prisoner at the bar, giltie of the treasons whereof he hath bene indicted and arreigned in maner and forme, yea or no?

Whetston. No.

Sendall. How saie you, did he flie vpon them?

Whetston. No, we find no such thing.

Throckmorton. I had forgotten to answer that question before, but you haue found according to truth: and for the better warrantie of your doings, vnderstand that I came to London, and so to the quenes councell vnbrought, when I vnderstood they demanded for me: & yet I was almost an hundred miles hence, where if I had not presumed vpon my truth, I could haue withdrawne my selfe from catching.

Wrotesley. How saie you the rest of you, is Whetstons verdict all your verdicts?

Iurie. The whole inquest answered Yea.

Wrotesley. Remember your selues better, haue you considered substantially the whole euidence in sort as it was declared & recited; the matter doth touch the quenes highnesse, and your selues also, take good héed what you do.

Whetston. My lord, we haue throughlie considered the euidence laid against the prisoner, and his answers to all these matters, and accordinglie we haue found him not giltie agreeable to all our consciences.

Wrotesley. If you haue done well, it is the better for you.

Throckmorton. It is better to be tried, than to liue suspected. Blessed be the Lord God of Israell, for he hath visited and redéemed his people, and hath raised vp a mightie saluation for vs in the house of his seruant Dauid. And it may please you my lord chéefe iustice, forsomuch as I haue bene indicted and arreigned of sundrie treasons, and haue according to the law put my triall to God and my countrie, that is to saie, to these honest men which haue found me not giltie, I humblie beseech you to giue me such benefit, acquitall and iudgement, as the law in this case doth appoint.

¶ When the prisoner had said these words the commissioners consulted togither.]

Throckmorton. Maie it please you my lord chéefe iustice to pronounce sentence for my discharge?

Wrotesley. Whereas you do aske the benefit that the law in such case doth appoint, I will giue it you; to wit, that where you haue béene indicted of sundrie high treasons, & haue béene héere this daie before the quenes commissioners and iustices arreigned of the said treasons, whereunto you haue pleaded not giltie, and haue for triall therein put your selfe on God & your countrie, and they haue found you not giltie, the court doth award that you be cléerlie discharged, paieng

eng your fees. Notwithstanding maister lieutenant take him with you againe, for there are other matters to charge him withall.

Throckmorton. It maie please you my lords ¶ maisters of the Q. highnesse priuie councell, to be on my behalfe humble suters to hir maiestie, that like as the law this daie (God be praised) hath purged me of the treasons wherewith I was most dangerouslie charged: so it might please hir excellent maiestie to purge me in hir priuat iudgement, and both forgiue ¶ forget my ouerrash boldnesse, that I vsed in talke of hir highnes marriage with the prince of Spaine, matters too far aboue my capacitie, and I verie vnable to consider the grauitie thereof, a matter impertinent for me a priuat person to talke of, which did apperteine to hir highnesse priuie councell to haue in deliberation. And if it shall please hir highnesse of hir bountifull liberalitie, to remit my former ouersights, I shall thinke my selfe happie for triall of the danger that I haue this daie escaped, and maie thereby admonish me to eschue things aboue my reach, and also to instruct me to deale with matters agreeable to my vocation. And God saue the queens maiestie, and grant the same long to reigne ouer vs. And the same Lord be praised for you the magistrats, before whome I haue had my triall this daie indifferentlie by the law, and you haue proceeded with me accordinglie; ¶ the grace of God be amongst you now and euer. ¶ There was no answer made by anie of the bench to the prisoners sute, but the atturnie did speake these words.]

The atturnie. And it please you my lords, forsomuch as it seemeth these men of the iurie, which haue strangelie acquited the prisoner of his tresons wherof he was indicted, will forthwith depart the court, I praie you for the queene, that they, and euerie of them maie bee bound in a recognisance of fiue hundred pounds a peece, to answer to such matters as they shall bee charged with in the quenes behalfe, whensoeuer they shall be charged or called.

Whetston. I praie you my lords be good to vs, and let vs not be molested for discharging our consciences trulie. We be poore merchantmen, and haue great charge vpon our hands, ¶ our liuings do depend vpon our trauels, therefore it maie please you to appoint vs a certeine day for our appearance, for perhaps some of vs maie be in forren parties about our businesse.

¶ Thus much for sir Nicholas Throckmortons arreignement, wherein is to be considered, that the repealing of certeine statutes in the last parlement, was the chiefe matter he had to alledge for his aduantage: whereas the repealing of the same statutes was meant notwithstanding for an other purpose (as before you haue partlie heard) which statutes, or the effect of the chiefe branches of them haue beene since that time againe reuiued, as by the bookes of the statutes it maie better appeare, to the which I referre the reader.] The eight and twentith of Aprill, the lord Thomas Greie, brother to the duke of Suffolke, was beheaded at the tower hill, a proper gentleman, and one that had serued right valiantlie both in France and Scotland, in the daies of the late kings Henrie and Edward.

The lord Tho. Greie beheaded.

Upon saturdaie the eight and twentith of Aprill, sir James Crofts and maister William Winter were brought from the tower to the Guildhall in London, where sir James Crofts was arreigned: but bicause the daie was farre spent, maister Winter was not arreigned, but caried backe againe to the tower with the said sir James Crofts. William Thomas, of whome mention is made before in the historie of sir Thomas Wiat, with certeine other, were arreigned and condemned for the conspiring of the murther and killing of the queene vpon the sudden: and for that offense, the said William Thomas was the eightéenth daie of Maie, drawne, hanged, and quartered at Tiburne. The nineteenth daie of Maie next following, the ladie Elisabeth sister to queene Marie, was deliuered out of the tower, and committed to the custodie of sir John Williams knight, afterward lord Williams of Tame, by whome hir grace was more courteoulie intreated than some would haue wished. Wherefore shortlie after she was committed to the manour of Woodstocke, vnder the custodie of sir Henrie Benningfield of Drenbourough in the countie of Norffolke, knight, at whose hands she found not the like courtesie, who (as it is well knowne) vsed his office more like a gailor than a gentleman, and with such rigour as was not meet to be shewed to such an estate, which extremitie of crueltie to a person of great dignitie notwithstanding hir innocencie, is verie well noted by C. O. in *Eirenarchia siue Elisabetha*, where he saieth:

William Thomas arreigned & condemned.

The ladie Elisabeth deliuered out of the tower.

Sir Henrie Benningfield knight.

——odio quoque tenditur acri
Suspicio vehemens in te clarissima princeps
Elisabetha, caputq; tuum: quòd vixeris insons,
Quódq; animi candor culpa noxáq; remotus
Hactenus inuidiæ renitens hebetarit ocellos,
Ah liuore tumens sacer obliuiscitur ordo.
Implacata cohors spumante exæstuat ira
*Furfuris eiusdem, donec custodibus *agna*
(Arcebat Deus ipse lupos) committitur arctis
Asseruanda locis, vi libertatis adempta.

* Elisabetha.

But here is to be noted, not so much the vnciuill nature of the man, as the singular lenitie, and gratious clemencie of that gentle and vertuous princesse, who afterward (as shall appeare) comming to the possession of the crowne as hir rightfull inheritance, was at that time so farre from reuenge of iniuries receiued, that whereas diuerse princes haue requited much lesse offenses with losse of life, she neuer touched him either with danger of life, or losse of lands or goods, nor neuer proceeded further than to discharge him of the court: which manie thought was the thing that pleased him best. At whose departing from hir presence, she vsed onelie these words, or the like in sense: God forgiue you that is past, and we do: and if we haue anie prisoner whome we would haue hardlie handled and streictlie kept, then we will send for you.

Rich. Grafton.

Queene Elisabeths words to Benningfield hir butcherlie keeper in the time of hir durance.

The fiue and twentith of Maie, the erle of Deuonshire was brought out of the tower at three of the clocke in the morning, sir Thomas Tresham knight, and maister Chamberlaine of Suffolke, with certeine of the gard, being appointed to attend on him to Fodringham castell in Northamptonshire, where he was assigned to remaine vnder custodie of the said sir Thomas Tresham and others. ¶ On the tenth of June, the foresaid doctor Pendleton preached at Poules crosse, at whome a gun was shot, the pellet wherof went verie neere him, and light on the church wall: but the shoter could not be found.] The eleuenth of June the lord John Greie, brother to the late duke of Suffolke, was arreigned at Westminster in the Kings bench, and there condemned: but yet through the painfull trauell and diligent sute of the ladie Greie his wife, his pardon was obteined, and so he escaped with life, and was at length set at libertie, as after it shall appeare.

A gun shot at the preacher: See before pag. 1102.

Anno Reg. 2. The lord John Greie arreigned, pardoned, and released.

¶ The two and twentith of June was proclamation made, forbidding the shooting in handguns, and bearing of weapons. The fiftéenth of Julie, Elisabeth Croft, a wench about eightéene yeares old, stood vpon a scaffold at Pauls crosse all the sermon time, where she confessed, that she being moued by diuerse lewd persons there vnto, had vpon the fourteenth of March last before passed, counterfeited certeine speaches in an house without Aldresgate of London, through

Abr. Fl. ex I. Stow. 1091. A spirit in a wall without Aldersgate doth penãce at Paules crosse for abusing the people, &c.

through the which the people of the whole citie were wonderfullie molested, for that all men might heare the voice, but not see his person. Some said it was an angell, some a voice from heauen, some the Holie-ghost, &c. This was called the spirit in the wall: shee had laine whistling in a strange whistle made for that purpose, which was giuen hir by one Drakes: then were there diuerse companions confederat with hir, which putting themselues amongst the preasse, tooke vpon them to interpret what the spirit said, expressing certeine seditious words against the queene, the prince of Spaine, the masse, and confession, &c.]

The prince of Spains preparation to come into England.

But now in this meane while that these things thus passed here in England, the prince of Spaine prepared for his hither comming, vnto whome had beene sent the earle of Bedford lord priuie seale, and the lord Fitzwaters, accompanied with diuerse noble men and gentlemen, who arriuing at the Corone in Galisia, were receiued verie honorablie. And forsomuch as the prince was then at vale Dolido, distant from thence neere hand an hundred leagues, they were desired to staie there for their better ease, till he might haue conuenient opportunitie to repaire thither: which neuertheless he could not do so soone as he pretended to haue desire thereto, as well by reason of the sickenesse of his sister, the princes Dowager of Portugall, as by other weightie affaires.

The Englsh ambassadors meet him at S. James Copostella.

But being at length rid of such incumbers, & come into Galisia, the English ambassadors met him at saint James de Compostella. And after he had in presence of a great number of noble men and gentlemen there ratified the contract, and sworne to obserue the couenant, he departed towards Corone, where within a few daies after he imbarked, and accompanied with the number of an hundred and fiftie saile, directed his course toward England.

The arriuall the prince Spaine in Southampto.

The lord admerall hauing continuallie beene abrode on the seas for the space of three moneths or more, with a nauie of eight and twentie ships and other vessels, accompanied also with the viceadmerall of the low countries, that had vnder his gouernance fourteene ships of the emperours, met with the said prince the nineteenth of Julie, about the Néedles, and from thence accompanied him vnto Southampton, where he arriued the morrow after the twentith of Julie, the earle of Arundell lord steward of the queens house being sent from hir to present to him the George and the garter of the order (of the which fellowship he was at the last chapiter holden by the confrers chosen one of the companie) met him vpon the water, and at his comming to land, presented the said George and garter vnto him. At his landing he was receiued by the lord treasuror, the bishop of Lincolne, the lord Saint-John, and others, by whom he was first conueied to the church, and from thence to his lodging.

e is receiued the nobilitie d lords.

After his landing, the lord chancellor accompanied with diuerse gentlemen, was sent from the queene to bid him welcome on hir behalfe; & so was he visited by diuerse noble personages whilest he remained at Southampton, sent thither for that purpose. And he on the other part sent diuerse on his noble men to visit hir maiestie on his behalfe. Monday the three & twentith of Julie, he departed from Southampton towards Winchester, whither shée was the saturdaie before remoued from Bishops Waltham. On the waie he was accompanied, beside the noblemen & gentlemen of his owne traine, with the marques of Winchester, the earles of Arundell, Darbie, Worceter, Bedford, Rutland, Penbroke, Surrie: the lords Clinton, Cobham, Willoughbie, Darcie, Matrauers, Talbot, Strange, Fitzwaren, and North, with manie other noblemen and gentlemen, and their traines, to the number of two thousand horsses. At his comming to the church in Winchester, the lord chancellor accompanied with the bishops of Durham, Elie, London, Lincolne, Chichester, and diuerse other prelats, were readie to receiue him. After he had made his praiers, he was conueied to his lodging prepared for him in the deans house.

The queene hir selfe was lodged in the bishops palace, whither his highnesse the nert daie came, and was receiued by hir in the hall, in most courteous & louing maner. And after such salutations & talke ended, as was thought conuenient for the time, he returned to his lodging, where he continued all that night: and the nert daie being the fiue and twentith of Julie, the mariage was openlie solemnized. At the which were present, the ambassadors of the emperor, the king of Romans, the king of Bohem, of Uenice, Florence, Ferrare, and Sauoie, with certeine agents of other states in Italie. As for the shot of ordinance, the diuerse kinds of musicke, the sumptuous and costlie apparell, trapers, and other furniture, readie prouided against the receiuing of him, with other ceremonies vsed aswell about the mariage, as in other places where he was to be receiued, were euerie such, and euerie thing done in such good order, as better for such a purpose might not lightlie be deuised. Nobles of Spaine were, the duke of Alua, the duke of Medina celi, the admerall of Castilla, the marques of Bergues, the marques of Piscara, the marques of Saria, the marques of Valli, the marques of Aguillar, the earle of Egmund, the earle of Horne, the earle of Feria, the earle of Chinchon, the earle of Oliuares, the earle of Saldana, the earle of Modica, the earle of Fuentesalida, the earle of Landriano, the earle of Castellar, Don Roigomes, the bishop of Cuenca, Don John de Benauides; and diuerse others.

The queens lodging in the bishops palace.

The mariage solemnized and what states of Italie & Spaine were present at it.

The names of the noble men that came ouer from Spaine with the prince.

An abstract of the conditions of this *mariage betweene both the princes.*

But now forsomuch as some would happilie be desirous to know the conditions of this memorable mariage betwixt these two high princes, the consequence whereof might haue proued of so great importance, although by the queens decease the effect was made void, I haue thought good to recite in briefe the chiefe articles thereof.

He to be intituled king during the matrimonie, &c.

1 It was couenanted that he should enioy the title and name of king, during the matrimonie, and should aid hir highnesse (being his wife) in the administration of hir realmes and dominions; but yet he should permit and suffer hir to haue the whole disposition of all benefices, offices, lands, reuenues, and fruits of the said realmes and dominions, and that the same should be bestowed vpon such as were hir naturall borne subiects, and that all matters of the said realmes and dominions should be treated and handled in the same tongs, wherein of old they haue béene wont to be treated.

She to be intituled to his dominions during the mariage.

2 That the queene by vertue of the said mariage should be admitted into the societie of the realmes and dominions of the said prince of Spaine, as well such as he now presentlie hath, as such other also as during the matrimonie may come to him.

Hir dowrie if she surmued him.

3 And for hir dowrie, in case she ouerliued him, she was appointed to receiue yeerlie three score thousand pounds, after the value of fortie groats Flemmish monie the pound, to be allotted vpon all the realms, lands, and patrimoniall dominions of his father the emperor, that is to saie, fortie thousand pounds to be assigned vpon the realms of Spaine, Castile, and Aragon,

Aragon, according to the custome of those realms. The other twentie thousand pounds were appointed vpon the dukedoms, earledoms, and dominions of Brabant, Flanders, Henalt, Holland, and other patrimoniall lands and inheritances of the said emperor in the low countries of Germanie; in like maner as the ladie Margaret of England, sometime wife and widow of the lord Charles, sometime duke of Burgogne, had and receiued of the same. And if anie parcell or parcels thereof be alienated, then in lieu thereof, other lands should be in due forme assigned forth for hir to enioy, lieng nere to the residue of hir dower.

Touching the issue of hir bodie male or female.

4 The issue that should chance to come of this mariage, touching the right of the mothers inheritance in the realme of England, and the other realmes and dominions depending of the same, aswell the males as females should succeed in them, according to the laws, statutes, and customs of the same.

Touching the prince of Spaines disposing of his lands after his decease.

5 And as touching the lands that the said prince of Spaine shall leaue behind him, first there should be reserued vnto his eldest sonne the lord Charles of Austrich, infant of Spaine, and to the children and heires of him descending, as well females as males all and singular their rights, which to the said prince dooth either then, or thereafter should belong, or should at anie time be deuolued to him in the realmes of Spaine, of both the Sicils, in the dukedome of Millaine, and other lands and dominions in Lumbardie and Italie, which neuertheles shall be burdened and charged with the foresaid dower of fortie thousand pounds. And if it fortuned the said lord Charles to die, and the issue of his bodie to faile, then the eldest son of this matrimonie should succeed, and be admitted vnto the said right, according to the nature, lawes, and customs of those realmes and dominions. The same eldest son should also succeed in all the dukedoms, earledoms, dominions, and patrimoniall lands belonging vnto the said emperor father to the said prince of Spaine, as well in Burgogne, as in the low countries, in the dukedoms of Brabant, Lurenburgh, Gelderland, Zutphane, Burgongne, Freeseland, in the countries of Flanders, Arthois, Holland, Zeland, Namure, and the land beyond the Iles, and all other whatsoeuer thereunto belonging.

Touching the lord Charles and his descendents if heire male came by this mariage.

6 But if the said lord Charles, or they that should come of him, remaine in life; and that there be anie male child by this matrimonie: the said lord Charles and his descendents should then be excluded from the said lands and patrimoniall dominions of the low countries, and of Burgongne, and the same should descend vnto the said eldest son borne of this matrimonie. And to the other children borne thereof, as well males as females, a conuenient portion and dower should be allotted in the realme of England, and dominions depending of the same, and in the said lands & patrimoniall dominions of the low countries: and neither the eldest sonne of this matrimonie, nor the sons begotten in the same, should pretend anie right in the realme of Spaine, or in the dominions of the same, and reserued to the said lord Charles the infant, otherwise than by their fathers and grandfathers disposition.

What is to be done if heire male faile, and there be none but issue female.

7 Moreouer, if it fortune no issue male to be borne of this matrimonie, but onelie females, in that case the eldest female should with full right succeed in the said lands and dominions of the low countries, so as neuertheless she being minded to chose to husband anie noble man not borne in England, or in the low countries, without the consent of the said lord Charles the infant, in that case the right of the succession should remaine to the said lord Charles, in the said dominions of the low countries, Burgongne, and their appurtenances. And yet neuertheless in that case, both she and the other daughters also descending of this matrimonie, shall be indowed of their fathers lands & possessions aswell in Spaine, as in the low countries.

What for want of issue by the lord Charles.

8 And for want of the said lord Charles, and issue of him; and none but daughters remaining of this mariage, the eldest daughter in that case should succeed, not onelie in the lands of the low countries; but also in the realmes of Spaine, England, and the rest, after the nature, the lawes, and customs of the same.

A prouiso touching succession.

9 Herewith was a prouiso accorded, that whatsoeuer he or she should be that should succeed in them, they should leaue to euerie of the said realms, lands, and dominions, whole and entire their priuileges, rites and customs, and gouerne the same by the naturall borne of the same realmes, dominions, and lands, &c.

Touching a perpetuall league or bond of fraternitie, &c.

10 Finallie, that betweene the said emperor, the prince and his successors, their realmes, and the said queene, it was concluded, that from thenceforth there should be an entire & sincere fraternitie, vnitie, and most strict confederacie for euer, &c: so as they should mutuallie aid each other in all things, according to the strength, forme, & effect of the latter treatise of a strict amitie, bearing date at Westminster in the yeere 1542: the declaration of which treatie beareth date at Uteright, the sixteenth of Januarie, in the yeare 1546.

In another treatise were these articles following comprised.

No stranger to be admitte to anie office, &c in England.

First, that the prince of Spaine should not promote, admit, or receiue vnto anie office, administration, or benefice in the realme of England, or dominions to the same belonging, anie stranger, or persons not borne vnder the subiection of the said queene.

Englishmen to attend at the court.

2 That he should receiue into his household and court, gentlemen and yeomen of the said realme of England in a conuenient number, esteeming, interteining, and nourishing them as his proper subiects, & bring none with him in his retinue that will doo anie wrong to the subiects of the said realme; & if they doo, he to correct them with condigne punishment, and to see them expelled his court.

The state in no point to be innouated.

3 That he shall doo nothing whereby anie thing be innouated in the state and right either publike or priuat, or in the lawes and customs of the said realme of England, or the dominions thereunto belonging; but shall keepe to all estates and orders their rights and priuileges.

The queene not to be conueied out of hir owne territories.

4 That he shall not leade awaie the queene out of the borders of hir graces realme, vnlesse she hir selfe desire it; or carrie the children that may be borne of this matrimonie out of the same realme, vnlesse it be otherwise thought good by the consent and agreement of the nobilitie of England.

The prince of Spaines title to end with the queenes death.

5 And in case no children being left, the said queene doo die before him, he shall not challenge anie right at all in the said kingdome, but without impediment shall permit the succession therof to come vnto them to whome it shall belong, by the right and lawes of the realme.

The iewels, &c of the land not to be carried out, alienated, vsurped, &c.

6 Item that he shall not beare nor carrie ouer out of the said realme, the iewels and pretious things of estimation. Neither shall he alienat or doo awaie anie whit of the appurtenances of the said realme of England, or suffer anie part of them to be vsurped by his subiects, or anie other. But shall see that all and singular places of the realme, and specially the forts and frontires of the same be faithfullie kept and preserued

preserued to the vse and profit of the said realme, and by the naturall borne of the same.

No ships, guns, ordinance, &c: to be remoued, conueied, &c: out of the land.

7 He shall not suffer anie ship, guns, ordinance whatsoeuer of warre or defense, to be remoued or conueied out of the same realme: but shall contrariwise cause them diligentlie to be kept and viewed when need requireth; and shall so prouide that the same maie be alwaies readie in their strength and force for defense of the realme.

Peace to be mainteined in his realme without meding in other forren nations warres.

8 Item the realme of England by occasion of this matrimonie, shall not directlie nor indirectlie be intangled with the warre that is betweene the emperor father to the said prince of Spaine, and Henrie the French king; but he the said prince (as much as in him maie lie) on the behalfe of the said realme of England, shall see the peace betweene the said realmes of France and England obserued, and shall giue no cause of anie breach, by which couenant the latter treatise of a strict amitie should not be in anie point derogated, but the same still to remaine in the former force, &c.

But now to returne where we left. At the time of the solemnization of the foresaid marriage holden at Winchester (as before ye haue heard) the emperors ambassadors being present, openlie pronounced, that in consideration of that marriage, the emperor had giuen and granted to the said prince his sonne the kingdome of Naples and Jerusalem, with diuerse other seats and seniories. The solemnitie of that marriage ended, the king of heralds called Garter, openlie in the church in the presence of the king, the queene, & the lords as well of England as Spaine, all the people being present, solemnelie proclamed the title and stile of those two princes, as followeth: Philip and Marie by the grace of God king and queene of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland, defendors of the faith, princes of Spaine and Sicilie, archdukes of Austrich, dukes of Millaine, Burgundie, and Brabant, counties of Hapsburge, Flanders, and Tiroll. The proclamation being ended, the trumpets blew, and the king with the queene came forth of the church hand in hand and two swords borne before them, and so returned to their palace.

The emperors gift to the prince his sonne.

The title of state belonging both to Philip and Marie proclamed by the herald.

¶ By this time report had sufficientlie sounded abrode all that happened, spectallie the solemnities executed about this rotall marriage; whereby some supposed that this land would haue become a golden world, and that such amitie would haue insued betweene both nations, as nothing should dissolue. But others were of a contrarie opinion, supposing (as it came to passe indeed) that the peoples minds would be alienated and estranged from the disposition whereto they were addicted in king Edwards daies, and that manie would become heauie hearted vpon heare-saie of this coniunction; much more pensife & grieued at the meditation of the miseries which were like immediatlie to follow; as C. O. noteth in discoursing on this matter, saieng as here followeth:

Succedit regi defuncto, sceptra capescens
Fœmina, cui nomen Maria est, soror vna duarum
Ex stirpe Henrici: quæ paucis nupta diebus
Post homini externo consanguineóque Philippo,
Coniugio tali subtristes reddidit Anglos.
Námque duas gentes raro coalescere cernas
Vnanimes patria plerunque & amore diremptas.

John Fox in the Acts and Monuments.

Of this marriage (saith maister Fox) as the papists chieflie seemed to be verie glad, so diuerse of them after diuerse studies, did shew forth their inward affections: some made interludes and pageants, and some drew forth genealogies, deriuing his pedegree from Edward the third, and John of Gant; some made verses. Amongst all other maister White then bishop of Lincolne in his poeticall veine, being drunken with ioie of the marriage, spued out certeine verses, the copie whereof we haue here inserted, to impart vnto common knowlege.

Philippi & Mariæ genealogia, qua amho principes ex Iohanne de Gandauo Eduardi tertij, Angliæ, Franciæque regis filio descendisse ostenduntur, White Lincolniense authore.

Ille parens regum Gandaua ex vrbe Iohannes
Somersetensem comitem profert Iohannem.
Somersetensis venit hoc patre dux Iohannes,
Qui Margaretam Richemundi habuit comitissam.
Hæc dedit Henricum, qui regni septimus huius
Henrico octauo solium regale reliquit.
Hoc patre propitio, & fausto quasi sydere nata
Iure tenes sacram, teneásque Maria coronam.

These verses are answered in maister Fox by the learned.

Verses of maister White bishop of Lincolne, concerning the marriage of Philip and Marie.

Nubat vt Angla Anglo, regina Maria Philippo,
Inque suum fontem regia stirps redeat,
Noluit humani generis dæmon vetus hostis,
Sed Deus Anglorum prouida spes voluit.
Nollet Scotus inops, timidúsque ad prælia Gallus,
Cæsar, & Italia, & Flandria tota volet.
Noluit Hæreticus (stirps Caiphæ) pontificum grex
Pontificum sed grex Catholicus voluit.
Octo vxorati Patres in dæmone nollent:
Quinque Cathenati pro pietate volent.
Noluit Iohannes Dudley Northumbrius vrsus,
Sed fidum regni Concilium voluit.
Noluit ætatis nostræ Catilina Piatus,
Sed proceres & plebs & pia turba volet.
Nollet Grauus dux, & Cantia terra rebellans:
Nos quoniam Dominus sic voluit, volumus.
Clarior effectus repetat sua limina sanguis,
Cùm sit Philippo iuncta Maria viro.]

But to proceed. As soone as the feasting & solemnitie of the said marriage was ended, the king and queene departed from Winchester, and by easie iournies came to Windsore castell, where the first of August being sundaie, he was stalled according to the order of the garter, and there kept S. Georges feast himselfe in his rotall estate, and the earle of Sussex was also the same time stalled in the order. At which time an herald tooke downe the armes of England at Windsore, and in the place of them would haue set the armes of Spaine, but he was commanded to set them vp againe by certeine lords. The seuenth of August was made a generall hunting with a toile raised of foure or fiue miles in length, so that manie a deere that day was brought to the quarrie. The eleuenth of August they remoued to Richmond, and from thence the 27 of the same moneth they came by water to London, landing at the bishop of Winchesters house, through which they passed both to Southworke parke, and so to Suffolke place, where they lodged that night: and the next daie being saturdaie and the nineteenth of August, they being accompanied with a great number of nobles and gentlemen, rode from thence ouer the bridge, and passed through London vnto Westminster.

King Philip stalled at Windsor.

Iohn Fox.

A generall hunting.

The king and queene come through London to Westminster.

¶ Now as the king came to London bridge, & as he entred at the drawbridge, was a vaine great spectacle set vp, two images representing two giants, one named Corineus, and the other Gogmagog holding betweene them certeine Latine verses, which for the vaine ostentation of flatterie I ouerpasse. And as they passed ouer the bridge, there was a number of

Abr. Fl. ex Ioh. Foxi martyrologio. Maine pageants of London.

ordinance shot at the tower, such as by old mens report the like hath not beene heard or seene these hundred yeeres. From London bridge they passed to the conduit in Gratious street, which was finelie painted, and among other things, the nine worthies, whereof king Henrie the eight was one. He was painted in harnesse having in one hand a sword, and in the other hand a booke, whereupon was written *Verbum Dei*, deliuering the same booke (as it were) to his sonne king Edward, who was painted in a corner by him. But hereupon was no small matter made, for the bishop of Winchester lord chancellor, sent for the painter, and not onelie called him knaue for painting a booke in king Henries hand, and specíallie for writing thereupon *Verbum Dei*: but also ranke traitor & villen, saieng to him that he should rather haue put the booke into the quéenes hand (who was also painted there) for that she had reformed the church and religion, with other things according to the pure and sincere word of God indeed. The painter answered and said, that if he had knowne that that had beene the matter wherefore his lordship sent for him, he could haue remedied it, and not haue troubled his lordship.

Winchester cannot abide the booke called Verbum Dei.

The painter sent for to the bishop of winchester.

The painters answer.

The bishop answered and said, that it was the quéenes maiesties will and commandement, that he should send for him; and so commanding him to wipe out the booke and *Verbum Dei* too: he sent him home. So the painter departed, but fearing least he should leaue some part either of the booke, or of *Verbum Dei*, in king Henries hand: he wiped awaie a péece of his fingers withall. Here I passe ouer and cut off other gauds and pageants of pastime shewed vnto him in passing through London, with the flattering verses set vp in Latine, wherin were blazed out in one place the fiue Philips, as the fiue worthies of the world, Philip of Macedonia, Philip the emperor, Philippus Audax, Philippus Bonus, Philip prince of Spaine and king of England. In another poetrie king Philip was resembled by an image representing Orpheus, and all English people resembled to brute and sauage beasts following after Orpheus harpe, and dansing after king Philips pipe. Not that I reprehend the art of the Latine verses, which was fine and cunning; but that I passe ouer the matter, hauing other grauer things in hand, and therefore passe ouer also the sight at Paules church side, of him that came downe vpon a rope tied to the batlements with his head before, neither staieng himselfe with hand or foot: which shortlie after cost him his life.

Fiue Philips

But one thing by the waie I cannot let passe, touching the yong flourishing rod newlie set vp against this present time, to welcome king Philip into Paules church. The setting vp of which rod was this, and may make as good a pageant as the best. *Anno 2. Mariæ* Boner in his rotaltie, and all his prebendaries about him in Paules quére, the rod laid along vpon the pauement, and also all the doores of Paules being shut, the bishop with other said and song diuers praiers by the rod: that being done they annointed the rod with oile in diuers places, and after the annointing crept vnto it and kissed it. After that they tooke the said rod and wreted him vp and set him in his old accustomed place, and all the while they were doing thereof, the whole quære sang *Te Deum*, and when that was ended, they rang the bels, not onlie for ioy, but also for the notable and great fact they had done therein.

The erecting vp of the rod at Paules.

Bishop Baners god the rod of Pauls set vp with Te Deum.

Not long after this, a merrie fellow came into Paules, and spied the rod with Marie and John new set vp, wherto (among a great sort of people) he made low curtsie & said: Sir, your maisterships is welcome to towne, I had thought to haue talked further with your maisterships, but that ye be héere clothed in the quénes colours. I hope ye be but a summers bird, for that ye be dressed in white & gréne, &c. The prince thus being in the church of Paules, after doctor Harpesfield had finished his oration in Latine, set forward through Fléetstreet, & so came to White hall, where he with the quéene remained foure daies after, and from thence remoued vnto Richmond. After this, all the lords had leaue to depart into their countries, with strict commandement to bring all their harnesse and artillerie into the tower of London with all spéed. Now remained there no English lord at the court but the bishop of Winchester.

Salutation to the rod of Paules.

From Richmond they remoued to Hampton court, where the hall doore within the court was continuallie shut, so that no man might enter, vnlesse his errand were first knowne: which séemed strange to Englishmen that had not béene vsed thereto. The seuentéenth daie of September, was a proclamation in London, that all vagabonds and maisterlesse men, as well strangers as Englishmen, should depart the citie within fiue daies: and strictlie charging all inholders, victelers, tauerners, and alehousekéepers, with all other that sold victels, that they (after the said fiue daies) should not sell anie meat, drinke, or ante kind of victels or relése to ante seruingman whatsoeuer, vnlesse he brought a testimoniall from his maister to declare whose seruant he was, & were in continuall household with his said maister, vpon paine to runne in danger of the law if they offend herein.]

A proclamation for the auoiding of maisterlesse men out of the citie of London.

In September, the duke of Norfolke departed this life at Fremingham castell in Norfolke, and there was honorablie buried among his ancestors. ¶ The 26 of October, a Spaniard was hangd at Charingcrosse for killing an Englishman, there was offered for his life by other strangers 500 crownes, but all that would not staie iustice.] On fridaie the same 26 of October, those honest men that had béene of Throckmortons quest, being in number eight (for the other foure were deliuered out of prison, for that they submitted themselues, and said they had offended like weakelings, not considering truth to be truth, but of force for feare said so) these eight men I saie (whereof maister Emanuell Lucar and maister Whetston were chéefe) were called before the councell in the Starrechamber, where they affirmed that they had done all things in that matter according to their knowledge, and with good consciences, euen as they should answer before GOD at the date of iudgement. Where maister Lucar said openlie before all the lords that they had done in the matter like honest men, and true and faithfull subiects: and therefore they humblie besought my lord chancellor and the other lords, to be meanes to the king and quénes maiesties, that they might be discharged and set at libertie: and said that they were all contented to submit themselues to their maiesties, sauing and reseruing their truth, consciences, and honesties.

Death of the Duke of Norfolke

A Spaniard hanged. Iohn Stow.

Eight of maister Throckmortons iurie appéere in the Starchamber.

The lords taking their words in maruellous euill part, iudged them worthie to paie excessiue fines. Some said they were worthie to paie 1000 pounds a péece. Other said that Lucar and Whetston were worthie to paie a thousand marks a péece, and the rest fiue hundred pounds a péece. In conclusion, sentence was giuen by the lord chancellor that they should paie a thousand marks a péece, he that paid least; and that they should go to prison againe, and there remain till further order were taken for their punishment. The thirtith of October being tuesdaie, the lord John Greie was deliuered out of the tower, and set at libertie. Vpon saturdaie the tenth of Nouember, the shiriffes of London had commandement to take an inuentarie of each one of their goods, which were of

The hard iudgement of the lords against those eight honest men.

The L. Iohn Greie set at libertie.

Further extremitie against Throckmortons quest.

of maister Throckmortons quest, & to seale vp their dores, which was done the same daie.

Maister Whetston, and maister Lucar, and maister Rightlie, were adiudged to paie two thousand pounds a péece, and the rest a thousand marks a péece, to be paid within one fortnight after. From this paiment were exempted those foure which confessed a fault, & thereupon had submitted themselues, whose names are these: maister Loe, maister Pointer, maister Beswicke, and maister Cater. The 12 of Nouember being mondaie, the parlement began at Westminster, to the beginning whereof both the king and quéene rode in their parlement robes, hauing two swords borne before them. The earle of Penbroke bare his sword, and the earle of Westmerland bare the quénes. They had two caps of maintenance likewise borne before them: whereof the earle of Arundell bare the one, and the earle of Shrewesburie the other. During this parlement, cardinall Pole landed at Douer vpon wednesdaie, being the 21 of Nouember, who being receiued with much honor in all other countries through which hee had passed, was receiued here at the first, with no great shew, for the causes aboue mentioned. The same daie on the which he arriued, an act passed in the parlement house, for his restitution in bloud, vterlie repealing (as false and most slanderous) that act made against him in K. Henrie the eights time. And on the next daie being thursdaie and the 22 of Nouember, the king and quéene both came to the parlement house to giue their rotall assent, and to establish this act against his comming. On saturdaie the foure and twentith of Nouember, he came to the court, and after went to Lambeth where his lodging was prepared.

On wednesdaie following in the after noone, he came into the parlement house, being at that present kept in the great chamber of the court of the White hall, for that the quéene by reason of sickenesse was not able to go abrode (where the king and quéene sitting vnder the cloth of estate, and the cardinall sitting on the right hand, with all the other estates of the realme being present) and the knights and burgesses of the common house being also called thither, the bishop of Winchester being lord chancellor, spake in this maner. My lords of the vpper house, and you my maisters of the nether house, here is present the right reuerend father in God, my lord cardinall Pole, legat *A Latere*, come from the apostolike sée of Rome, as ambassador to the king and quénes maisties, vpon one of the weightiest causes that euer happened in this realme, and which appertaineth to the glorie of God, and your vniuersall benefit; the which ambassage, their maiesties pleasure is to bee signified vnto you all by his owne mouth, trusting that you will receiue and accept it in as benenolent and thankefull wise, as their highnesse haue done, and that you will giue attentiue and inclinable eare vnto his grace, who is now readie to declare the same. So soone as the lord chancellor had ended his tale, the cardinall began and made a long & solemne oration, the which for shortnesse sake I haue collected into these few articles, remitting the reader to maister Foxes Acts and Monuments, where they shall find the same wholie and entierlie as by him it was vttered.

1 First, he yelded most heartie thanks to the king and quéene, and next vnto the whole parlement; that of a man exiled & banished from this commonweale, they had restored him againe to be a member of the same, and to the honour of his house and familie, and of a man hauing no place, neither here nor elsewhere within the realme, to haue admitted him into a place where to speake, and to be heard.

2 Secondlie, that his especiall comming was for the restitution of this realme to the ancient estate, and to declare that the sée apostolike hath a speciall care of this realme aboue all other: and chiefli for that this Iland first of all other prouinces of Europe, receiued the light of Christs religion from the sée of Rome.

3 Thirdlie, he exhorted that though the realme had swarued from the catholike vnitie, that yet being better informed, we ought to returne into the bosome of the church, most open to receiue all penitents. For the persuasion wher of he brought a number of old examples, what perill and hurt hath happened vnto them that haue swarued and gone from the church of Rome, namelie Græce and Germanie.

4 Fourthlie, how much we are bound to God for the king and quéens maieslies, and how miraculouslie God had saued and defended our quæne from hir enimies in most dangerous times: and also that hée hath prouided to ioine with hir in mariage, such a noble prince as king Philip was, & one of hir owne religion.

5 Fiftlie, he exhorted them all to obedience of these two princes, and to call vpon God for issue to be had betweene them, adding that king Philips father the emperour, had amongst other princes trauelled most for the restitution of the peace and vnitie of the church. But as almightie God said vnto Dauid, though he had a mind and will to build his temple: yet bicause he had shed bloud, he should not build it. And so bicause the emperour hath had so manie warres, and shed so much bloud: therefore hee could not atteine to bring perfect peace to the church. But trulie (said he) this gratious prince king Philip his sonne, as I conceiue, is appointed of God to it, considering now the calling of him to be ioined with so catholike a princesse, as is the quæne of this realme, one without all doubt sent likewise of God, for the restoring of the said realme to the vnitie of the church, from whence it hath erred and gone astrate, as it doth and maie manifestlie appeare.

6 Sixtlie, he protested that his commission was not to preiudice anie person, for he came not to destroie, but to build; he came to reconcile, and not to condemne; he came not to compell, but to call againe; he came not to call anie thing in question alreadie done: but his commission was of grace and clemencie to all such as would receiue it. For touching all matters past, and done, they should be cast into the sea of forgetfulnesse, and neuer more to bee thought vpon.

7 Finallie (said he) the meane whereby to receiue this high benefit, is first to reuoke and repeale all such lawes as are impediments, blocks and barres to this most gratious reconciliation. For like as he himselfe had no place to speake there, before such lawes were abrogated and remoued as stood in his waie: euen so they could not receiue the grace offered from the sée apostolike, vntill these like impediments of lawes made against the sée of Rome, were vtterlie abolished and repealed. And so in conclusion aduertised them, first for the glorie of God, and next for the conseruation and suertie of the wealth and quietnesse of the whole realme, that they should earnestlie trauell therein, and that then he would make them participants of the benefit of his commission.

The next daie the whole court of parlement drew out the forme of a supplication, and the next daie following, when the king, the quéene, and the cardinall, with all the nobles and commons were assembled againe in the great chamber of the White hall afore said, the bishop of Winchester there shewed what the parlement had determined concerning the cardinals request, and then offered to the king and quæne

John Fox.

A parlement whereat the king & quæne are present.

Cardinall Pole arriueth at Douer

An act for the restitution in bloud of cardinall Pole.

Cardinall Pole cometh into the parlement house.

The words of the bishop of winchester then lord chancellor.

Rich. Grafton.

The effect of the cardinals oration in the assemblie of parlement.

He sheweth the speciall cause of his comming into England.

He exhorteth to a generall returne into the bosome of the church.

He declareth how wonderfullie god had preserued Q. Marie.

He exhorteth to obedience and treateth of restoring this realme to the vnitie of the church.

He protesteth that he ment the preiudice of no man. &c.

He sheweth the meanes of procuring the foresaid reconciliation.

the said supplication, to be by them presented to the cardinall. Wherein would be noted the readinesse of the assemblie to submit themselues to antichristian slauerie: but omitting to giue iudgement, marke their supplication, the copie whereof followeth.

A supplication exhibited to cardinall *Poole by the parlement.*

This supplication was exhibited to the king and quéne.

WE the lords spirituall and temporall, and commons in this present parlement assembled, representing the whole bodie of the realme of England and dominions of the same, in the name of our selues particularlie, and also of the said bodie vniuersallie, offer this our most humble supplication to your maiesties, to this end and effect; that the same by your gratious intercession and meane maie be exhibited to the most reuerend father in God the lord cardinall Poole legat, sent specially hither from our most holie father pope Julie the third, and the sée apostolike of Rome. Wherin we do declare our selues verie sorie and repentant of the long schisme and disobedience happening in this realme, and the dominions of the same, against the sée apostolike, either by making, agréeing, or executing of ante lawes, ordinances or commandements against the primasie of the same sée, or otherwise doing or speaking that might impugne or preiudice the same. Offering our selues, and promising by this our supplication, that for a token & knowledge of our said repentance, we be and shall be euer readie, vnder and with the authorities of your maiesties, to the vttermost of our power, to do that shall lie in vs, for the abrogation and repealing of all the said lawes and ordinances, made and enacted to the preiudice of the sée apostolike, as well for our selues as for the whole bodie whome we represent. Wherevpon we humblie beséech your maiesties, as persons vndefiled in offense of his bodie towards the said sée, which neuertheless God by his prouidence hath made subiect to you, so to set forth this our humble suite, as we the rather by your intercession maie obteine from the sée apostolike, by the said most reuerend father, as well particularlie as generallie, absolution, release, and discharge from all dangers of such censures and sentences as by the lawes of the church we be fallen into. And that we maie as children repentant, be receiued into the bosome and vnitie of Christs church: so as this noble realme, with all the members thereof, maie in this vnitie & perfect obedience to the sée apostolike, and popes for the time being, serue God and your maiesties to the furtherance and aduancement of his honour and glorie, Amen.

Promise in signe of repentance to make full amends by being reconciled to the catholike church

This supplication being first openlie read, the same was by the chancellor deliuered to the king and quéne, with petition to them, to exhibit the same to the lord cardinall. And the king and quéne rising out of their seats, and doing reuerence to the cardinall, did deliuer the same vnto him. The cardinall perceiuing the effect thereof to answer to his expectation, did receiue it most gladlie at their maiesties hands. And then, after that hée had in few words giuen thanks vnto God, and declared what great cause hée had to reioise aboue all others, that his comming from Rome into England had taken such most happie successe; then he caused his commission to bée read (wherby it might appeare he had authoritie from the pope to absolue them) which commission was verie long and large. And that being done, and all the parlement on their knées, this cardinall, by the popes authoritie, gaue them absolution in maner following.

The king and quéne exhibit the supplicatiõ to Poole the pyoud prelat.

An absolution pronounced by cardinall *Poole to the parlement house.*

OUr lord Jesus Christ, which with his most pretious bloud hath redéemed and washed vs from all our sins and iniquities, that he might purchase vnto himselfe a glorious spouse without spot or wrinkle, and whom the father hath appointed head ouer all his church; he by his mercie absolue you. And we by the apostolike authoritie giuen vnto vs by the most holie lord pope Julius the third (his vicegerent in earth) do absolue and deliuer you, and euerie of you, with the whole realme, and the dominions thereof, from all heresie and schisme, and from all and euerie iudgements, censures and paines for that cause incurred. And also wee do restore you againe to the vnitie of our mother the holie church, as in our letters of commission more plainelie shall appeare.

Pope Julie the third gaue cardinall Poole his authoritie apostolike.

After this generall absolution receiued, the king and the quéne, and all the lords with the rest, went into the kings chappell, and there sang *Te Deum* with great ioy and gladnesse, for this new reconciliation. The report whereof with great spéed flew to Rome, as well by the French kings letters, as also by the cardinals. Wherevpon the pope caused solemne processions to be made in Rome, namelie one, wherein he himselfe with all his cardinals were present, passing with as great solemnitie and pompe as might be, giuing thanks to God with great ioy, for the conuersion of England to his church. At what time also he not a little commended the diligence of cardinall Poole, and the deuotion of the king and quéne. And on Christmas euen next following, he set forth by his buls a generall pardon to all such as did reioise in the same reconciliation.

Solemne procession at Rome for the new reconcilement of England to the catholike church.

The eight and twentith of November next following, it was commonlie reported, that the quéne was quicke with child, & therefore commandement was giuen by Edmund Bonner then bishop of London (and as it was said not without the commandement of the councell) that there should be made in most solemne manner one generall procession in London, wherein the maior, and all the companies of the citie were in their liueries, at whose returne to the church of Pauls, there was song verie solemnlie *Te Deum* for ioy therof. The same date at this procession was present ten bishops with all the prebendaries of Paules. The copie of the councels letter implieng the aforesaid commandement touching the generall procession here followeth, *Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.*

A report that the quéns was with child.

A copie of a letter sent from the councell vnto *Edmund Bonner bishop of London*, concerning queene Marie conceiued *with child.*

AFter our hartie commendations vnto your good lordship. Whereas it hath pleased almightie God amongst other his infinit benefits of late most gratiouslie powred vpon vs and this whole realme, to extend his benediction vpon the quéns maiestie in such sort, as she is conceiued & quicke of child; whereby (hir maiestie being our naturall liege ladie, quéne and vndoubted inheritor of this imperiall crowne) good hope

The councels letter to bishop Bonner of the quénes conceiuing of child.

hope of certeine succession in the crowne is giuen vnto vs, and consequentlie, the great calamities, which (for want of such succession might otherwise haue fallen vpon vs & our posteritie) shall by Gods grace be well auoided, if we thankefullie acknowledge this benefit of almightie God, indeuoring our selues with earnest repentance to thanke, honor, & serue him as we be most bounden. These be not onelie to aduertise you of these good news, to be by you published in all places within your dioces; but also to praie and require you, that both your selfe do giue God thanks with vs for this his especiall grace, and also giue order that thanks maie be openlie giuen by singing of *Te Deum* in all the churches within your said dioces; and that likewise all priests and other ecclesiasticall ministers, in their masses and other diuine seruices, may continuallie praie to almightie God, so to extend his holie hand ouer his maiestie, the kings highnesse and this whole realme, as this thing being by his omnipotent power gratiouslie thus begun, may by the same be well continued and brought to good effect, to the glorie of his name. Whereunto albeit we doubt not ye would of your selfe haue had speciall regard without these our letters: yet for the earnest desire we haue to haue this thing done out of hand, & diligentlie continued, we haue also written these our letters, to put you in remembrance: & so bid your lordship most hartilie well to fare. From Westminster the 27 of Nouember. 1554.

Your assured and louing friends

S. Winton. Chancel. | Iohn Bathon.
Arundell. | R. Rich.
F. Shrewesburie. | Thomas Warthom.
Edward Darbie. | Iohn Huddilstone.
Henrie Sussex. | R. Southwell.

Upon this letter of the councels sent to bishop Bonner (signifieng the good news of quéne Marie to be not onelie conceiued, but also quicke with child, which was in the moneth of Nouember, the eight and twentith daie) it is out of count what great talke began at this time to rise in euerie mans mouth, with busie preparation and much adoo, especiallie among such as séemed in England to carrie Spanish hearts in English bodies. In number of whome here is not to be forgotten, nor defrauded of his condigne commendation for his worthie affection toward his prince and hir issue, one sir Richard Southwell, who being the same time in the parlement house, when as the lords were occupied in other affaires and matters of importance, suddenlie starting vp for fulnesse of ioy, burst out in these words following: Tush my maisters (quoth he) what talke ye of these matters? I would haue you take some order for our yong maister that is now comming into the world apace, least he find vs vnprouided, &c. By the which words both of him, and also by the foresaid letters of the councell, and the common talke abroad, it may appeare what an assured opinion was then conceiued in mens heads of quéne Marie, to be conceiued and quicke with child. In somuch that at the same time, and in the same parlement, there was eftsones a bill exhibited, and an act made vpon the same, the words whereof for the more euidence, I thought here to exemplificat.

If Quéne Marie were quicke with child on the 28. of the moneth of Nouember and afterward did labour in the moneth of June, then went she almost seuen moneths quicke with child.

The words of sir Richard Southwell in the parlement house for his yong maister.

The words of the act.

Albeit we the lords spirituall & temporall, & the commons in this present parlement assembled, haue firme hope & confidence in the goodnes of almightie God, that like as he hath hitherto miraculouslie preserued the quéenes maiestie from manie great imminent perils and dangers; euen so he will of his infinit goodnesse giue hir highnesse strength, the rather by our continuall praiers to passe well the danger of deliuerance of child, wherewith it hath pleased him (to all our great comforts) to blesse hir: yet for so much as all things of this world be vncerteine, and hauing before our eies the dolorous experience of this inconstant gouernment during the time of the reigne of the late king Edward the first, do plainlie see the manifold inconueniences, great dangers and perils that maie insue to this whole realme, if foresight be not vsed to preuent all euill chances, if they should happen. For the eschewing hereof, we the lords spirituall and temporall, & the commons in this present parlement assembled; for and in consideration of a most speciall trust and confidence that we haue and repose in the kings maiestie, for and concerning the politike gouernment, order, and administration of this realme in the time of the yong péere of the issue or issues of hir maiesties bodie to be borne, if it should please God to call the quéenes highnesse out of this present life, during the tender yeares of such issue or issues (which God forbid) according to such order & maner as hereafter in this present act his highnesse most gratious pleasure is, should be declared and set forth, haue made our humble suite by the assent of the quéens highnesse, that his maiestie would vouchsafe to accept & take vpon him the rule, order, education & gouernment of the said issue or issues to be borne as is aforesaid, vpon which our suite being of his said maiestie most gratiouslie accepted, it hath pleased his highnes, not onlie to declare, that like as for the most part his maiestie verelie trusteth that almightie God (who hath hitherto preserued the quéens maiestie) to giue this realme so good an hope of certeine succession in the blod roiall of the same realm, will assist hir highnes with his graces and benedictions to see the fruit of hir bodie well brought forth, liue and able to gouerne (whereof neither all this realme, ne all the world besides, should or could receiue more comfort than his maiestie should & would) yet if such chance should happen, his maiestie at our humble desires is pleased & contented not onlie to accept & take vpon him the cure and charge of the education, rule, order, and gouernment of such issues, as of this most happie mariage shall be borne betweene the quéenes highnes and him: but also during the time of such gouernment, would by all waies & meanes studie, trauell and imploie himselfe to aduance the weale, both publike & priuat, of this realme & dominions thereto belonging, according to the said trust in his maiestie reposed, with no lesse good will & affection than if his highnes had béene naturallie borne among vs. In consideration whereof, be it enacted by the king & the quéens most excellent maiesties, by assent of the lords spirituall and temporall, & the commons in this present parlement assembled, and by the authoritie of the same, &c: as it is to be séene in the act more at large ratified and confirmed at the same parlement, to the same intent and purpose.

Order taken by parlement for quéne Maries child.

Trust disappointed.

Thus much out of the act and statute I thought to rehearse, to the intent the reader maie vnderstand, not so much how parlements maie sometimes be deceiued (as by this child of quéne Marie may appéere) as rather what cause we Englishmen haue to render most earnest thanks vnto almightie God, who so mercifullie against the opinion, expectation, and working of our aduersaries, hath helped and deliuered vs in this case: which otherwise might haue opened such a window to the Spaniards, to haue entred and replenished this land, that peraduenture by this time Englishmen should haue inioied no great quiet in their owne countrie. The Lord therefore make vs

Parlements maie be deceiued.

perpetuallie mindfull of his benefits, Amen.

Thus we see then how man doth purpose, but God disposeth as pleaseth him. For all this great labor, prouision, and order taken in the parlement house for their yong maister long looked for, comming so sureste into the world; in the end appeered neither yong maister nor yong maistresse that anie man yet to this daie can heare of. Furthermore as the labor of the laie sort was herein deluded, so no lesse ridiculous it was to behold what little effect the praiers of the popes churchmen had with almightie God, who trauelled no lesse with their processions, masses, and collects, for the happie deliuerance of this yong maister to come, as here followeth to be seene.

The praiers of the papists of what litle effect they are with God.

A praier made by doctor Weston *deane of Westminster, dailie to be* said for the queenes *deliuerance.*

A praier for quéene Marie and hir child, turned out of Latine into English.

MOst righteous Lord God, which for the offense of the first woman, hast threatned vnto all women a common, sharpe, and vneuitable malediction, and hast intoined them that they should conceiue in sinne; and being conceiued, should be subiect to manie and grieuous torments, and finallie be deliuered with the danger and ieopardie of their life: we beseech thée for thine exceeding great goodnesse and botomlesse mercie, to mitigate the strictnes of that law. Allwage thine anger for a while, and cherish in the bosome of thy fauor and mercie our most gratious quéene Marie, being now at the point of hir deliuerance. So helpe hir, that without danger of hir life, she maie ouercome the sorow, and in due season bring forth a child, in bodie beautifull and comelie, in mind noble and valiant. So that afterward the forgetting the trouble, maie with ioie, laud and praise the bountifulnesse of thy mercie; and together with vs, praise and bless both thée and thy holie name world without end. This (O Lord) we desire thee, we beseech thee, and most hartilie craue of thée. Heare vs (O Lord) and grant vs our petition. Let not the enimies of thy faith and of thy church saie; Where is their God:

A solemne praier made for king Philip *and queene Maries child, that it maie be* a male child, welfauored *and wittie, &c.*

A deuout praier made by the catholikes for quéene Marie being great and quicke with child.

* The papists call the protestants heretikes and enimies to the crosse of Christ, euen as Achab called Elias the disturber of Israell, when he was onelie the disturber himselfe.

OMost mightie Lord God, which regardest the praier of the humble, and despisest not their request, bow downe from thine high habitation of the heauens, the eies of thy mercie vnto vs wretched sinners, bowing the knees of our harts, and with manie and deepe sighs bewailing our sinnes and offenses humblie with eies intent, and hands displaied, praieng and beseeching thee, with the shield of thy protection, to defend Marie thy seruant and our quéene, who hath none other helper but thee, and whome through thy grace thou hast willed to be conceiued with child; and at the time of hir trauell gratiouslie with the helpe of thy right hand deliuer hir, and from all danger with the child in hir conceiued, mercifullie preserue. It hath seemed good in thy sight (mercifull father) by thy seruant Marie to worke these wonders, that is to saie; in hir hands to vanquish and ouerthrow the stout enimie, and to deliuer vs thy people out of the hands of * heretikes, infidels, enimies to thee, and to the crosse of thy beloued sonne Iesus Christ, that of thy seruant thou mightest speake in farre countries. Therefore for these wonderfull workes which thou dwelt to thy seruants, thou art magnified Lord God for euer, & we thy people bless thée the God of heauen, which hast wrought vpon vs this great mercie, and hast excluded from vs the heretike, the enimie of truth, and the persecutor of thy church. We know, we know that we haue grieuouslie (Lord) sinned, that we haue been deceiued by vanitie, and that we haue forsaken thée our God. Our iniquities be multiplied on our head, and our sinnes be increased vp to heauen, and we our selues haue offended, and our princes and our priests: for these our sinnes haue deserued an hypocrit to our prince, our sinnes haue deserued a tyrant to our gouernor that should bring our life vnto bitternesse. We be not worthie to haue so gentle and mercifull a quéene, so godlie a ruler, and finallie so vertuous a prince. At the verie beginning of whose reigne, a new light, as it were of Gods religion, seemed to vs for to spring and arise. The Iews did bless the widow Iudith with one voice; saieng: Thou art the glorie of Ierusalem, thou art the ioie of Israell, thou art the honor of our people, for that thou hast loued chastitie, and thou shalt be blessed for euer.

Quéene Marie compared of the papists to quéene Iudith.

And we the English people with one agréeable consent do crie: Thou Marie art the glorie of England, our ioie, the honour of thy people, for that thou hast imbraced chastitie: thine hart is strengthened, for the hand of our Lord hath comforted thée, and therefore thou shalt be blessed for euer. But bow downe, O most mercifull father thine eare, and open thine eies, and behold our affliction, and our humble confession. Thou knowest Lord, that against Philip, not by humane, but by thy ordinance our king, and against thy seruant Marie by thy prouidence our quéene, the restorers and mainteiners of thy testament, and of the faith and most constant defenders of thy church; thou knowest (I saie) that against these our two gouernors (the enimies of thy holie testament, and of the church thy spouse) be most ranke rebels, and spitefull murmurers, walking after their lusts, whose mouth speaketh words of pride, to the end they maie set vp the kingdome of heretikes and schismatikes. By the power of their hands they would change thy promises, and destroie thine inheritance, and stop and shut vp the mouths of them that praise thée, and extinguish the glorie of thy catholike church and altar.

Marke how forgetting his praier he falleth to the praising of quéen Marie.

The testament setteth vp onelie the glorie of Christ.

It is manifest and plaine, how manie contentions, how manie conspiracies & seditions, how great warres, what tumults, how manie and how great troublesome verations, how manie heresies and schismes (for these be the most readie deuises and euident tokens of heretikes) for our sinnes do hang ouer vs, if thy seruant be taken from this life: for we acknowledge that our Lord is omnipotent, who hath pitched his dwelling place in the middest of his people, to the intent to deliuer vs out of the hands of our enimies. Turne therefore thy countenance vnto vs, shew vnto vs, O Lord, thy face. Punish vs for our sinnes according to thy will and pleasure, onelie now deliuer vs. We bowing the knées of our heart, beseech thée that thou wilt not reserue vnto vs punishment for euer, and we shall praise thée, all the daies of our life. Heare our crie, and the praier of thy people, and open to them the treasure of thy mercie, thy gratious fauour, the spring of liuelie water. Thou that hast begun, make in the hand of thy seruant a perfect worke. Suffer not, we praie thee, the faithlesse rebels to saie of thy seruant and hir councellors, that they haue deuised matters which they can not performe. And grant vnto thy seruant an happie and an easie trauell. For it is not impossible to thy power, nor indecent to thy iustice, nor vnwonted vnto thy mercie.

If the changing of Gods promises, destroieng his inheritance, stopping the mouths of Gods people if contentiõs, warres, and schismes be tokens of heretikes, who so great heretikes as the papists be?

Crie vp lowder you priests peraduenture your god is a slépe.

The Lord gaue a pro-

It is well knowne vnto vs, how marueilouslie then

mise to Sara and Elisabeth: so did he not to quæne Marie.

thou diddest worke in Sara of the age of fourescore and ten yeares, and in Elisabeth the barren, and also sarre stricken in age: for thy counsell is not in the power of men. Thou Lord that art the searcher of hearts and thoughts, thou knowest that thy seruant neuer lusted after man, neuer gaue hir selfe to wanton companie, nor made hir selfe partaker with them that walke in lightnesse: but she consented to take an husband with thy feare, and not with hir lust. Thou knowest that thy seruant tooke an husband, not for carnall pleasure, but onelie for the desire and loue of posteritie, wherein thy name might be blessed for euer and euer. Giue therefore vnto thy seruants Philip our king, & Marie our quæne, a male issue, which maie sit in the seat of thy kingdome. Giue vnto our quæne thy seruant, a little infant in fashion and bodie comelie and beautifull, in pregnant wit notable and excellent.

It is not best such one to be granted vnto you, for being like Abraham, Joseph, Moses, and Salomon, he maie chance smell out your corrupt doctrine, and to detest your bloudie tyrannie, &c.

Grant the same to be in obedience like Abraham, in hospitalitie like Lot, in chastitie and brotherlie loue like Joseph, in meekenesse and mildnesse like Moses, in strength and valiantnesse like Samson. Let him be found faithfull as Dauid after thy heart. Let him be wise among kings as the most wise Salomon. Let him be like Job, a simple and an vpright man, fearing God and eschewing euill. Let him finallie be garnished with the comelinesse of all vertuous conditions, and in the same let him waxe old and liue, that he maie see his childrens children to the third and fourth generation. And giue to our soueregne lord and ladie, king Philip and quæne Marie, thy blessing and long life vpon earth. And grant that of them maie come kings and quænes which maie stedfastlie continue in faith, loue, and holinesse. And blessed be their seed of our God, that all nations maie know thou art onelie God in all the earth, which art blessed for euer and euer, Amen.

Another praier for queene Marie, and *hir conceiued child.*

An other praier for the same.

OAlmightie father, which diddest sanctifie the blessed virgine and mother of Marie in hir conception, & in the birth of Christ our sauiour, thy onelie sonne; also by thy omnipotent power diddest safelie deliuer the prophet Jonas out of the whales bellie: defend O Lord we beseech thee, thy seruant Marie our quæne, with child conceiued, and so visit hir in and with thy godlie gift of health, that not onelie the child thy creature within hir conteined, maie joifullie come from hir into this world, and receiue the blessed sacraments of baptisme and confirmation, inioieng therewith dailie increase of all princelie and gratious gifts both of bodie and soule; but that also she, the mother, through thy speciall grace and mercie, maie in time of hir trauell auoid all excessiue dolour and paine, and abide perfect and sure from all perill and danger of death, with long and prosperous life, thorough Christ our Lord, Amen. ¶ And thus much shall suffice touching this great adoo about quæne Marie and hir babe.]

Cardinall Pole commeth to Pauls crosse with great pompe.

The second daie of December being sundaie, cardinall Pole came to Pauls church in London with great pompe, hauing before him a crosse, two pillers and two pollares of siluer, and was there solemnlie receiued by the bishop of Winchester, chancellor of England, who met him with procession. And shortlie after, king Philip came from Westminster by land, being accompanied with a great number of his nobles. And the same daie, the bishop of Winchester preached at Pauls crosse, in the which sermon he declared, that the king and quæne had restored the

Certeine points of Stephã Gardiners sermon.

pope to his right of primasie; & that the three estates assembled in parlement, representing the whole bodie of the realme, had submitted themselues to his holinesse, and to his successors for euer. And in the same also, he greatlie praised the cardinall, and set forth the passing high authoritie that he had from the see of Rome, with much other glorious matter, in the commendation of the church of Rome, which he called the see apostolike. This sermon being ended, the king and the cardinall riding togither, returned to White hall, and the king had his sword borne before him, and the cardinall had onelie his crosse, and no more.

The king and the cardinall ride togither.

The seauen and twentith daie of the said moneth, Emanuell Philibert earle of Sauois and prince of Piemount came into England, accompanied with diuerse other lords and gentlemen strangers, who were receiued at Grauesend by the earle of Bedford lord priuie seale, and conueied by water through London bridge to White hall, where the king and quæne then laie. ¶ On the ninth of Januarie next following, the prince of Orange was in like maner receiued at Grauesend, and from thence conueied to the court, being at White hall. The twelfth of Januarie, the said prince of Orange, with other lords, was conducted by the lord chamberlein to the tower of London, where was shewed vnto him the ordinance, artillerie, munitions, and armorie, with the mint, &c: and so was brought into the white tower, from whence, as he returned through the long galleric, all the prisoners saluted him: vnto whome the prince said, he was sorie for their captiuitie, and trusted the king and quæne would be good vnto them. At his departing from the tower, he gaue the gunners ten peeces of Flemmish gold at fiue shillings the peece, and the warders other ten peeces, as a reward.]

Prince of Piemount commeth into England.

I. Stow. 1053. Prince of Orange.

Upon wednesdaie the 12 of December, fiue of the eight men which laie in the Fleet, that had passed vpon sir Nicholas Throckmortons triall, were discharged and set at libertie vpon their fines paid, which was two hundred and twentie pounds a peece. The other three put vp a supplication, therein declaring their goods did not amount to the summe of that which they were appointed to paie: and so vpon that declaration, paieng three score pounds a peece, they were deliuered out of prison on saint Thomas daie before Christmas, being the one & twentith of December. The two and twentith of the same moneth, the parlement (which began the two and twentith of Nouember before) was dissolued, wherein among other acts passed there, the statute *Ex officio*, and other lawes made for punishment of heresies were reuiued. But chiefelie, the popes most liberall bull of dispensation of abbeie land was there confirmed, much to the contentation of manie, who not without cause suspected by this new vnion, to lose some peece of their late purchase. ¶ On new yeares daie at night was a great tumult betweene Spaniards and Englishmen at Westminster, whereof was like to haue insued great mischiefe, through a Spanish frier which got into the church and rong alarum. The occasion was about two whores which were in the cloister of Westminster with a sort of Spaniards, whereof whilest some plaied the knaues with them, other some did keepe the entrie of the cloister with dags and harnesse. In the meane time certeine of the deanes men came into the cloister, and the Spaniards discharged their dags at them, and hurt some of them. By and by the noise of this doing came into the streets, so that the whole towne was vp almost, but neuer a stroke was stricken. Notwithstanding, the noise of this doing with the deans men, and also the ringing of the alarum made much

Fiue of Throckmortons iuries released.

Parlement dissolued.

Abr. Fl. ex Ioh. Foxi martyrologio. A sturre betweene the Spaniards and Englishmen at Westminster.

adoo,

adw, and a great number also to be sore afraid.]

1555
I.S. pag. 1095.

Upon fridaie the eightéenth of Januarie, all the councell, by name, the lord chancellor, the bishop of Elie, the lord treasuror, the earle of Shrewesburie, the comptrollor of the quénes house, secretarie Bourne, and sir Richard Southwell maister of the ordinance and armorie, went to the tower, and there the same daie discharged and set at libertie all the prisoners of the tower, or the more part of them, namelie the archbishop of Yorke, the late duke of Northumberlands sonnes, the lords Ambrose, Robert, and Henrie; also, sir Andrew Dudleie, sir James Croftes, sir Nicholas Throckmorton, sir John Rogers, sir Nicholas Arnold, sir George Harper, sir Edward Warner, sir William Sentlow, sir Gawen Carew, William Gibbes esquier, Cuthert Vaughan, and diuerse others.

Prisoners deliuered out of the tower.

Moreouer, about this season diuerse learned men being apprehended, and in prison for matters of religion, were brought before the bishops of Winchester and London, and other the bishops and commissioners apointed therefore: who vpon the constant standing of the said learned men in their opinions, which they had taken vpon them to mainteine, as grounded vpon the true word of God, as they protested, proceeded in iudgement against them, and so diuerse of them were burned at London in Smithfield, and in diuerse other places. Nate not onelie by fire but by other torments were the good christians persecuted, whose zeale was hot in religion and defiance of the pope: insomuch that then he was counted Gods enimie, which toke not the pope for the friend of Christ (whome he hateth with hostilitie) as C.O. noteth verie trulie in his *Elisabetha*, saieng:

Trouble and persecution for religion.

——— nam creditur hostis
Esse Dei, papam si quis pius asserit hostem
Esse Dei, veros Christi qui tollit honores.

In Februarie next following, doctor Thirlebie bishop of Elie, and Anthonie lord Montacute, with a verie honorable traine of gentlemen and others, rode forth of the citie of London towards Rome as ambassadors sent from the king and quéne, to confirme this new reconciliation to the pope. A yong stripling, whose name was William Fetherstone, a millers sonne, about the age of eightéene yeares, named and bruted himselfe to be king Edward the first, whereof when the quéene and the councell heard, they caused with all diligence inquirie to be made for him, so that he was apprehended in Southwarke, or (as other haue) at Eltham in Kent the tenth of Maie, and brought before the councell at Hampton court, and there examined. And it was demanded of him why he so named himselfe? To which he counterfetting a maner of simplicitie, or rather frensie, would make no direct answer, but praid pardon; for he wist not what he said: affirming further, that he was counselled so to saie, and to take vpon him the name, whereof he accused certeine persons: but his talke was not found true, wherefore he was committed to the Marshalseie, as a lunatike sole.

Ambassadors out of England to Rome.

William Fetherstone, *alias* Constable a boie, nameth himselfe king Edward the first.

On the eight and twentith daie of Maie next following, the aforesaid counterfet prince was brought in a cart from the Marshalseie thorough the citie of London, with a paper ouer his head, wherein was written, that he named himselfe king Edward. And from thense was conueied to Westminster, being led round about the hall, and shewed to all the people there: and afterward he was taken out of the cart and stripped, and then whiped round about the palace at the same carts taile, and then thorough Westminster into Smithfield, and then banished into the north, in which countrie he was borne, and had béene sometime lackie to sir Peter Mewtas, and without more punishment was discharged, and set at libertie. But the next yeare following, for that he had spred abroad that king Edward was aliue, and that he had spoken with him, he was againe apprehended, and arreigned of high treason, whereof being condemned, he shortlie after was drawne vnto Tiburne, and there hanged and quartered the thirteenth of March. ¶ Here, as in a fit and conuenient place, the obseruation of the daie and moneth offering no lesse, it is not amisse to set downe the speech of quéene Marie vttered to sundrie of hir lords, touching a motion which no doubt certeine popish prelats had put into hir mind, the effect whereof followeth as I find it in maister Foxe.

John Stow.

The counterfet king executed.

Abr. Flex Ioh. Foxi martyrologio.

Before I passe this moneth of March (saith he) I cannot but leaue a little memorandum of the words or consultation of quéene Marie, vsed to certeine of the councell, the eight & twentith daie of the said moneth of March, touching the restoring againe of the abbeie lands. Who after she had called vnto hir presence foure of hir priuie councell, the daie and moneth aforesaid: the names of which councellors were these; William lord marquesse of Winchester high treasuror of England, sir Robert Rochester knight, the quénes comptrollor, sir William Peter knight, secretarie, sir Francis Inglefield knight, maister of wards; the said quéene Marie inferred these words: the principall effect & summe whereof here followeth.

The names of the councellors called before quéene Marie.

The effect of quéene Maries words touching abbeie lands to be restored.

You are here of our councell, and we haue willed you to be called to vs, to the intent ye might heare of me my conscience, and the resolution of my mind, concerning the lands and possessions as well of monasteries, as other churches whatsoeuer being now presentlie in my possession. First, I do consider, that the said lands were taken awaie from the churches aforesaid, in time of schisme, and that by vnlawfull means, such as are contrarie both to the law of God and of the church. For the which cause my conscience doth not suffer me to deteine them: and therefore I here expresselie refuse either to claime or to reteine the said lands for mine: but with all my heart frælie and willinglie without all paction or condition, here and before God I do surrender and relinquish the said lands and possessions or inheritances whatsoeuer, & do renounce the same with this mind and purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be taken as shall séeme best liking to our most holie lord the pope, or else his legat the lord cardinall, to the honour of God and wealth of this our realme.

The quéene taketh a conscience in keeping abbeie lands.

The quéene surrendreth from hir seife the possessiō of abbeie lands.

And albeit you may obiect to me againe, that considering the state of my kingdome, the dignitie thereof, and my crowne imperiall cannot be honorablie mainteined and furnished without the possessions aforesaid: yet notwithstanding I set more by the saluation of my soule, than by ten kingdoms: and therefore the said possessions I vtterlie refuse here to hold after that sort and title, and giue most hartie thanks to almightie God, which hath giuen me an husband likewise minded, with no lesse good affection in this behalfe, than I am my selfe. Wherefore I charge and command, that my chancellor (with whom I haue conferred my mind in this matter before) and you foure, to morrow together do resort to the most reuerend lord legat, and do signifie to him the premisses in my name, & giue your attendance vpon him for the more full declaration of the state of my kingdome, and of the foresaid possessions accordinglie, as you your selues do vnderstand the matter, and can informe him in the same. This charge (as the sequele gaue proofe) was followed with no lesse diligence of the lords, than it was imposed with willingnes vpon them by the quéene: insomuch that shortlie after (as anon you shall heare) she performed hir promise to the pith.

Promise for restitution of abbeie lands.

But to let this matter passe, till due time & place require

require a declaration of the conclusion thereof; I am here (saith master Fox, as occasion serueth) to intreat of pope Julius death, for so much as he made his end about the latter end of this foresaid moneth of March. Concerning the deeds and acts of which pope, to make a full declaration, it were not so much tedious to the reader, as horrible to all good eares. Under this Julius florished the archbishop of Benuentanus, a Florentine, named Iohannes a Casa, deane of the popes chamber, and chiefe legat to the Venetians: who well declaring the fruit of that filthie see, so farre forgat both honestie and nature, that he chamed not onelie to plaie the filthie Sodomite himselfe, and to boast openlie of the same: but also toke vpon him most impudentlie in Italian metre, to all mens eares, to set forth the praise and commendation of that beastlie iniquitie, saieng that he himselfe neuer vsed other: and this booke was printed at Venice, by one Troianus Nauus. And yet the pope could suffer this so great iniquitie and shamelesse beastlinesse, euen vnder his nose in his owne chamber, which could not abide the true doctrine of Christ in christian bookes.

Read more of this in a booke called a warning to England.

The death of pope Julius the third.

Vide scriptum Pauli Vergerij contra hunc archiepiscopum.

Note here what an holie catholike church this is

Amongst other pranks and deeds of this foresaid pope, in his Jubilee, and in the synod of Trent, and in confirming of the idoll of Lauretane, this is also reported of him in his life, that he delighted greatlie in porke flesh and peacocks. Upon a time when he was admonished of his physician to abstaine from all swines flesh, for that it was noisome for his gout, and yet would not follow his counsell: the physician afterward gaue warning to his steward or orderer of his diet, that he should set no more porke flesh before him. Wherevpon when the pope perceiued the said porke flesh to be lacking in his accustomed seruice; Where (said he) is my porke? And when his steward had answered that his physician had forbidden anie porke to be serued: then the pope bursting out in great rage, said in these words; Bring me, said he, my porke flesh *Al dispetto di Dio*: that is to saie in English, In the despight of God.

A porkish pope.

Monstrous blasphemie in the pope.

At an other time, he sitting at dinner, pointing to a peacocke vpon his table, which he had not touched; Keepe (said he) this cold peacocke for me against supper, and let me sup in the garden, for I shall haue ghests. So when supper came, and amongst other hot peacocks, he saw not his cold peacocke brought to his table: the pope after his wonted manner, most horrible blaspheming God, fell into an extreame rage, &c. Wherevpon one of his cardinals sitting by, desired him saieng: Let not your holinesse, I praie you, be so moued with a matter of so small weight. Then this Julius the pope answering againe; What (said he) if God was so angrie for one apple, that he cast our first parents out of paradise for the same, why maie not I being his vicar, be angrie then for a peacocke, sithens a peacocke is a greater matter than an apple? Behold here good reader, by this pope, the holinesse of that blasphemous see: and yet thou shalt see here, what affection was borne vnto this pope here in England, by the diriges, hearses, and funerals commanded to be had and celebrated in all churches by the quéene and hir councell, as may appeare by the copie of their letters here following.

Pope Julius blaspheme th God for a peacocke.

O Neronem anti-christo dignum.

A letter from the bishop of Winchester *(being lord chancellour) vnto Boner bishop* of London, touching the celebrating of *the popes funerals.*

Anno Reg.

Aprill 10. winchesters letter to Boner for the popes funerall

AFter my hartie commendations to your good lordship. The king and quæenes maiesties hauing certeine knowledge of the death of the popes holinesse, thought good there should be as well solemne obsequies said for him throughout the realme, as also these praiers (which I send you herein inclosed) vsed at masse times in all places at this time of vacation; and therefore willed me to signifie their pleasures vnto you in this behalfe, that therevpon ye might proceed to the full accomplishment therof, by putting the same in due execution within your owne diocesse, and sending word to the rest of the bishops to do the like in theirs. Thus doubting not but that your lordship will vse such diligence in this matter at this time, as shall be necessarie, I bid your lordship hartilie well to fare. From my house at Asher, the tenth of Aprill. 1555.

Your assured freend and brother,
Stephanus Winton. Cancel.

Praiers commanded to be vsed in the funerall masses for the pope, *Apostolica sede vacante.*

I collect for the pope.

Supplici te Domine humilitate deposcimus, vt tua immensa pietas sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ concedat pontificem illum, qui & pro in nos studio semper tibi gratus, & tuo populo pro salubri regimine sit assidue ad gloriam tui nominis venerandus, per Dominum nostrum.

Secreta.

Another praier for chusing of the pope.

Tuæ nobis Domine pietatis abundantia indulgeat, vt gratum maiestati tuæ pontificem sanctæ matris ecclesiæ regimini præesse studeamus per Dominum nostrum.

Post communionem.

Pretiosi corporis & sanguinis tui Domine sacramento refectos, mirifica tuæ maiestatis gratia de illius summi pontificis assumptione lætificet, qui & plebem tuam virtutibus instruat, & fidelium mentes spiritualium aromatum odore perfundat, per Dominum nostrum.

Upon this commandement, on wednesdaie in Easter weeke there were hearses set vp, & diriges song for the said Julius in diuerse places. At which time it chanced a woman to come into S. Magnus church at the bridgefoot in London, & there seeing an hearse and other preparation, asked what it meant: and other that stood by, said, that it was for the pope, and that she must praie for him. Maie (quoth she) that will I not, for he needeth not my praier: and seeing he could forgiue vs all our sinnes, I am sure he is cleane himselfe: therefore I need not to praie for him. She was heard speake these words of certeine that stood by: which by and by caried hir vnto the cage at London bridge, and bad hir cole hir selfe there.

A woman of S. Magnus parish imprisoned for not praieng for the pope.

And here (saith master Fox) commeth to be remembred the notable working of Gods hand vpon a certeine priest in Kent named Nightingall, parson of Crondall besides Canturburie: who vpon Shroue sundaie, which was about the third daie of the said moneth of March, and yeare of our Lord aforesaid, reioising belike not a little at this alteration of religion, began to make a sermon to his parishioners, taking his theame out of the words of saint John: He that saith, he hath no sinne, is a lier, and the trueth is not in him, &c. And so vpon the same, verie impertinentlie, declared to them all such articles as were set forth by the popes authoritie, and by the commandement of the bishops of this realme; saieng moreouer vnto the people in this wise: Now masters and neighbors reioise and be merrie, for the prodigall sonne is come home. For I know that the most part of you be as I am: for I know your hearts

A terrible example of Gods seuere punishment vpon Nightingall parson of Crondall in Kent.

hearts well enough. And I shall tell you what hath happened in this weeke past. I was before my lord cardinall Poles grace, and he hath made me as cleane from sinne, as I was at the font stone: and on thursdaie last being before him, he hath appointed me to notifie (I thanke him for it) the same vnto you. And I will tell you what it is. And so reading the popes bull of pardon that was sent into England, he said, he thanked God that euer he had liued to see that daie: adding moreouer that he beleeued, that by the vertue of that bull he was as cleane from sinne, as that night that he was borne: and immediatlie vpon the same fell suddenlie downe out of the pulpit, and neuer stirred hand nor foot, and so laie he. Testified by Robert Austen of Tartham, which both heard and saw the same, and is witnessed also by the whole countrie round about.]

Blasphemie to Christs gospell punished.

About this time, Edward Courtneie, earle of Deuonshire, of whom before ye haue heard, how he was appointed to remaine at Fodringheie vnder safe custodie, at length was set at libertie, came to the court, and got licence to passe the seas, went into Italie, where shortlie after he sickened, and died within foureteene daies after his sickenesse first tooke him: he was honorablie buried in Padwaie. This Courtneie was the onelie sonne and heire of Henrie, marquesse of Excester, cousine germane to king Henrie the eight, as is said before. For the said king and he were descended of two sisters, Elizabeth and Katharine, two of the daughters of king Edward the fourth, which propinquitie of bloud notwithstanding the said marquesse, for points of treason laid against him, suffered at the tower hill, the thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, to the great dolour of the most of the subiects of this realme, who for his sundrie vertues bare him great fauour and goodwill.

The lord Courtneie goeth ouer into Italie.

The lord Courtneie descended of the bloud roiall.

After whose death, this yong gentleman his sonne, being yet a child, was committed prisoner to the tower, where he remained vntill the beginning of the reigne of this queene Marie (as before you haue heard.) This gentleman (as it appeared) was borne to be a prisoner, for from twelue yeares of age vnto thirtie, he had scarse two yeares libertie, within the which time he died, and obteined quiet, which in his life he could neuer haue. In the moneth of Maie next following, cardinall Pole, who had bin a great labourer for peace betweene the French king and the emperour, being accompanied with Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England, the erle of Arundell lord steward, and the lord Paget, were sent by the king and queene ouer the sea to Calis, & from thence went to the towne of Marke where they met with the ambassadors of the emperor and the French king. From the emperour were sent the bishop of Arras with others. From the French king was sent the cardinall of Lorraine, and the constable of France. In this treatie, cardinall Pole sat as president and vmpier in the name of the queene of England. This peace was greatlie laboured, where at the first, there was much hope, but in the end nothing was concluded: wherefore the seauentéenth daie of June, this assemblie was dissolued, and the English ambassadours returned againe into England.

Ambassadors sent to treat a peace betweene the French king and the emperour.

¶ In this moneth of August, in Suffolke, at a place by the sea side, all of hard stone and pibble, called in those parts a shelfe, lieng betweene the townes of Orford and Alborough, where neuer grew grasse, nor any earth was euer seene, there chanced in this barren place suddenlie to spring vp without any tillage or sowing, great abundance of peason, whereof the pore gathered (as men iudged) aboue an hundred quarters; yet remained some ripe, & some blossoming, as manie as euer there were before. To the which place rode the bishop of Norwich, and the lord Willoughbie with others in great number, who found nothing but hard rockie stone for the space of three yards vnder the rots of those peason, which rots were great and long, and verie sweet in tast to the mouth of the eater, &c.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. 1097.

The necessitie of the pore relieued by Gods prouidence.

On Bartholomew euen, after the Lord maior and aldermen of London had rid about Bartholomew faire, they came to Christes hospitall within Newgate, where they heard a disputation betweene the scholers of Paules schole, saint Anthonies schole, and the scholers of the said hospitall, for whome was prouided three games, which was three pennes: the best pen of siluer and gilt, valued at fiue shillings, wone by a scholer of saint Anthonies schole, and the maister of that schole had six shillings eight pence: the second, a pen of siluer parcell gilt, valued at fiue shillings, wone by a scholer of Paules schole, & his maister had fiue shillings in monie: the third a pen of siluer, valued at three shillings, wone by a scholer of the said hospitall, and his maister had foure shillings. And there were two preests maisters of arts appointed for iudges, which had each of them a siluer rule for their paines, valued at six shillings eight pence the peece. The disputation being ended, the maior and aldermen entred the hall, where the children of the hospitall vse to dine, and had fruit & wine, and so departed.

Disputation at Christs hospitall, as had beene accustomed at saint Bartholomewes in Smithfield, being an incouragement to yong scholers.

King Philip went ouer seas, and landed at Calis on the fourth of September, where he was honorably receiued by the lord deputie, & the maior of the staple of Calis, an alderman of London named sir Andrew Iud, presenting his maiestie with a purse & a thousand marks of gold in it: that night the king was lodged in staple inne: and on the morrow he departed from Calis towards Brussels in Brabant, to visit the emperor his father: he gaue at his departing among the souldiors of the towne of Calis, a thousand crownes of gold, and there accompanied him in his iournie of English lords, the earle of Arundell lord steward of the queenes house, the earle of Penbroke, the earle of Huntington, and others.

King Philip went ouer into Flanders.

On Michaelmasse euen, the prisoners that laie in the counter in Bredstreet, were remoued to a new counter made in Woodstreet of the cities purchase & building, the which remouing was confirmed by a common councell assembled at the Guildhall for that purpose.

New counter in woodstreet.

On the last of September, by occasion of great wind and raine that had fallen, was such great floods, that that morning the kings palace at Westminster, and Westminster hall was ouerflowne with water, vnto the staire foot, going to the chancerie and kings bench: so that when the lord maior of London should come to present the shiriffes to the barons of the exchequer, all Westminster hall was full of water. And by report there, that morning, a whirriman rowed with his bote ouer Westminster bridge, into the palace court, and so through the staple gate: and all the wollstaple into the kings street, and all the marshes on Lambeth side, were so ouerflowne, that the people from Newington church could not passe on foot, but were caried by bote from the said church to the pinfold, neere to saint Georges in Southwarke.]

Great landwaters whereby diuerse frequented places were ouerflowne.

About this time, the bishop of Lincolne, Gloucester, and Bristow, were sent in commission to Orford by the popes authoritie, to examine Ridleie and Latimer, vpon certeine articles by them preached, which if they would not recant, and consent to the popes doctrine, then had they power to proceed in sentence against them as heretikes, and to commit them ouer to the secular power. Those two doctors neuertheles

Anno Reg. 3. Commissioners sent to Orford, by the popes authoritie, & whye.

theles stod constantlie to that which they had taught, and would not reuoke: for which cause, they were condemned, and after burned in the towne ditch at Oxford, the sixteenth daie of October. In the time of whose examination, because the bishops aforesaid declared themselues to be the popes commissioners, neither Ridleie nor Latimer would do them any reuerence, but kept their caps on their heads: wherefore they were sharplie rebuked by the bishop of Lincolne, and one of the officers was commanded for to take of their caps. Of these men, and the maner of their death, ye may read at large in the booke of the monuments of the church.

A parlement wherein the liuings of the church are restored.

The one and twentith of October, a parlement was holden at Westminster, in the which amongst other things the queene being persuaded by the cardinall (and other of hir clergie) that she could not prosper, so long as she kept in hir hands any possessions of the church, did frankelie and freelie resigne and render vnto them all those reuenues ecclesiasticall, which by the authoritie of parlement, in the time of king Henrie, had beene annexed to the crowne, called the first fruits and tenths of all bishopricks, benefices, and ecclesiasticall promotions. The resignation whereof was a great diminution of the reuenues of the crowne. ¶ In this parlement was granted to the king & queene a subsidie of the laitie from fiue pounds to ten pounds eight pence of the pound, from ten pounds to twentie pounds twelue pence of the pound, & from twentie pounds vpward sixteene pence of the pound, and all strangers double, and the cleargie granted six shillings of the pound.

A subsidie. I. Stow.

This Storie was executed in queene Elizabeths time.

Doctor Storie and other were appointed by the cardinall, to visit euerie parish church in London and Middlesex, to see their relikes repared, and the images of the crucifix, with Marie and Iohn thereupon to be fixed.] During the time of this parlement, Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and chancellor of England died at his house called Winchester place, beside saint Marie Oueries in Southworke, the ninth daie of November, whose corps was shortlie after solemnly from thence conueied to his church of Winchester, & there buried. The maner of whose death why should I blush to blaze as I find it by report? ¶ One mistresse Wondaie, being the wife of one maister Wondaie secretarie sometime to the old lord Thomas duke of Norffolke, a present witnes of this that is testified, thus openlie reported in the house of a worshipfull citizen, bearing office in this citie, in words and effect as followeth. The same daie, when as bishop Ridleie and maister Latimer suffered at Oxford, being about the nineteenth daie of October, there came to the house of Stephan Gardiner, the old duke of Norffolke with the foresaid Wondaie his secretarie aboue named, reporter heerof. The old aged duke, there waiting and tarieng for his dinner, the bishop being not yet disposed to dine, deferred the time till three or foure of the clocke at after noone.

The death of Stephan Gardiner bishop of winchester.

Abr. Fl. ex I. F. martyrologio. The reporter of this addition a person of credit.

At length, about foure of the clocke commeth his seruant posting in all possible spæd from Oxford, bringing intelligence to the bishop what he had heard and seene: of whom the said bishop diligentlie inquiring the truth of the matter, & hearing by his man, that fire most certeinlie was set vnto them, commeth out reioising to the duke: Now saith he, let vs go to dinner. Whereupon, they being set downe, meat immediatlie was brought, and the bishop began merilie to eate: but what followed? The bloudie tyrant had not eaten a few bits, but the sudden stroke of God his terrible hand fell vpon him in such sort, as immediatlie he was taken from the table, & so brought to his bed, where he continued the space of fifteene daies, in such intollerable anguish and torments, that all that meane while, during those fifteene daies, he could not auoid by order of vrine, or otherwise, any thing that he receiued: whereby his bodie being miserablie inflamed within (who had inflamed so manie good martyrs before) was brought to a wretched end. And thereof no doubt, as most like it is, came the thrusting out of his tong from his mouth so swolne & blacke, with the inflammation of his bodie. A spectacle worthie to be noted and beholden of all such bloudie burning persecutors.

Gardiner visited with the sudden stroke of God.

But whatsoeuer he was, seeing he is now gone, I referre him to his iudge, to whom he shall stand or fall. As concerning his death and maner thereof, I would they which were present thereat, would testifie to vs what they saw. This we haue all to thinke, that his death happened so opportunelie, that England hath a mightie cause to giue thanks to the Lord therfore: not so much for the great hurt he had done in times past in peruerting his princesse, in bringing in the six articles, in murthering Gods saints, in defacing Christs sincere religion, &c: as also especiallie for that he had thought to haue brought to passe in murthering also our noble queene that now is. For whatsoeuer danger it was of death that she was in, it did (no doubt) proceed from that bloudie bishop, who was the cause thereof. And if it be certeine which we haue heard, that hir highnesse being in the tower, a writ came downe from certeine of the councell for hir execution, it is out of controuersie, that willie Winchester was the onelie Dedalus and framer of that engine. Who (no doubt) in that one daie had brought this whole realme into woefull ruine, had not the lords most gratious councell, thorough maister Bridges then the lieutenant, comming in hast to the queene, certified hir of the matter, and preuented Achitophels bloudie deuises. For the which, thanks be to the same our Lord and Sauiour, in the congregation of all English churches, Amen.]

Stephan Gardiner especiallie hunteth for the life of ladie Elizabeth.

M. Elizabeth preserued.

M. Bridges lieutenant the Lords organ in sauing the ladie Elizabeths life.

After whose death, Nicholas heath archbishop of Yorke, was preferred by the queene to the office of the chancellor. ¶ She likewise gaue the priuie seale to the lord Paget, and made him lord priuie seale, these were both Londoners borne. In this moneth of Februarie, the lord maior of London and the aldermen entered into Bridewell, and tooke possession thereof, according to the gift of king Edward, now confirmed by queene Marie.] In the moneth of March next following, there was in maner no other talke, but of the great preparation that was made for the queens lieng in childbed, who had alredie taken vp hir chamber, and sundrie ladies and gentlewomen were placed about hir in euerie office of the court.

The archbishop of Yorke lord chancellor.

Iohn Stow.

Abr. Fl. ex I. F. martyrologio. Rockers and nurses prouided for queene Maries child.

¶ And now forsomuch as in the beginning of the moneth of June about Whitsuntide, the time was thought to be nie, that this yong maister should come into the world, and that midwiues, rockers, nurses, with the cradle and all, were prepared and in a readinesse, suddenlie vpon what cause or occasion it is vncerteine, a certeine vaine rumor was blowne in London of the prosperous deliuerance of the queene, and the birth of the child: insomuch that bels were rong, bonefiers and processions made, not onelie in the citie of London, and in most other parts of the realme, but also in Antwerpe guns were shot off vpon the riuer by the English ships, and the mariners thereof were rewarded with an hundred pistolets or Italian crownes by the ladie regent, who was the queene of Hungarie. Such great reioising and triumph was for the queenes deliuerie, and that there was a prince borne. Yea, diuerse preachers, namelie one the person of saint Anne within Aldersgate, after procession and *Te Deum* song, tooke vpon him to describe the proportion of the child, how faire, how beautifull, and great a prince it was, as she like had

Processions and bonefires in London for ioy of the yong prince.

Triumph at Antwerpe for the same.

had not béene séene.

In the middest of this great adoe, there was a simple man (this I speake but vpon information) dwelling within foure miles of Barwike, that neuer had béene before halfe waie to London, which said concerning the bonefires made for quéene Maries child; Here is a iolifull triumph, but at length all will not proue worth a messe of pottage, as in deed it came to passe: for in the end all proued cleane contrarie, and the ioy & expectations of men were much deceiued. For the people were certified, that the quéene neither was as then deliuered, nor after was in hope to haue anie child. At this time manie talked diuerslie. Some said this rumour of the quéenes conception was spread for a policie: some other affirmed that she was deceiued by a timpanie or some other like disease, to thinke hirselfe with child, and was not: some thought shée was with child, and that it did by some chance miscarie, or else that she was bewitched: but what was the truth therof, the Lord knoweth, to whome nothing is secret. One thing of mine owne hearing and séeing I cannot passe ouer vnwitnessed.

There came to me, whome I did both heare and sée, one Isabell Walt, a woman dwelling in Aldersgate street in Horne allie, not farre from the house where this present booke was printed, who before witnesse made this declaration vnto vs, that she being deliuered of a man-child vpon Whitsundaie in the morning, which was the eleuenth daie of June Anno 1555, there came to hir the lord North, and another lord to hir vnknowne, dwelling then about old Fishstreet, demanding of hir if she would part with hir child, and would sweare that she neuer knew nor had no such child. Which if she would, hir sonne (they said) should be well prouided for, she should take no care for it, with manie faire offers if she would part with the child.

After that came other women also, of whome one (she said) should haue béene the rocker: but she in no wise would let go hir sonne, who at the writing hereof being aliue and called Timothie Walt, was of the age of thirtéene yeares and vpward. Thus much (I saie) I heard of the woman hir selfe. What credit is to be giuen to hir relation, I deale not withall, but leaue it to the libertie of the reader, to beléeue it they that list: to them that list not, I haue no further warrant to assure them. Among manie other great preparations made for the quénes deliuerance of child, there was a cradle verie sumptuouslie and gorgeouslie trimmed, on the which cradle for the child appointed, these verses were written, both in Latine and in English, as they are set downe here in record:

Quam Maria sobolem Deus optime summe dedisti,
Anglis incolumem redde, tuere, rege.

The child which thou to Marie,
ô Lord of might hast send,
To Englands ioie in health
preserue, keepe and defend.

About this time there came ouer into England a certeine English booke, giuing warning to the Englishmen of the Spaniards, and disclosing certeine close practises for recouerie of abbeie lands, which booke was called A warning for England. Whereof ye shall vnderstand much more at large where we speake of the Spanish inquisition. So that by the occasion of this booke, vpon the thirtenth daie of this moneth came out a certeine proclamation, set forth in the name of the king and the quéene, repealing and disanulling all maner of bookes written or printed, whatsoeuer should touch anie thing the impairing of the popes dignitie, wherby not onelie much godlie edification was hindered, but also great perill grew among the people. This proclamation is recorded at large with other appendents, in the Acts and Monuments, vnder the title of quéene Marie.]

¶ In this yeare died sir John Gresham, who bare the office of lord maior of London 1547, a man of a mercifull nature, and good deuotion both to God and his countrie. He founded a free schole at Holt, a market towne in Norfolke, & gaue to euerie ward in London ten pounds to be distributed to the poore; and to threescore poore men and women, euerie one of them three yeards of broade cloth of eight or nine shillings the yard, to be made in gownes readie to their backs. He gaue also to maids marriages, and to the hospitals in London, aboue two hundred pounds in readie monie. A blasing starre was séene at all times of the night, the first, seuenth, eight, ninth, and tenth of March.]

About this time, Brookes bishop of Glocester was by the cardinall sent downe as commissioner from the pope to Oxford, there to sit vpon the examination of Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, in such things as should be laid to his charge by John Storie and Thomas Martin, doctors in the lawes, sent speciallie in commission from the quéene. At which time the said archbishop making low obeisance to them that sate in the quænes name, shewed no token of reuerence to the bishop that was the popes commissioner: who neuertheless proceeded against him as iudge, and conuicted him of heresie. According to the which sentence, the one and twentith date of March next following, he was disgraded by Edmund Boner, and Thomas Thirlebie, bishops of London and Elie, sent downe for that purpose, and he was burned in the same place where Ridleie and Latimer before had suffered.

Before his death by the persuasion of a Spanish frier, named frier John, a reader of diuinitie in Oxford, and by the counsell of certeine other that put him in hope of life and pardon, he subscribed to a recantation, wherein he submitted himselfe wholie to the church of Rome, and continued in the same mind to outward appearance, vntill he was brought out of prison, to go to the fire. Afore whose execution, a sermon was made by doctor Cole deane of Paules, in saint Martins church in Oxford. And in the end of his sermon, the said doctor Cole praied the people to incline their eares to such things as the said Cranmer would declare vnto them by his owne mouth. For (saith he) he is a man verie repentant, and will here before you all reuoke his errors. Neuertheless he did cleane contrarie. For when he came to the place where the holie bishops and martyrs of God, Hugh Latimer and Ridleie were burnt before him, for the confession of the truth, kneeling downe hée praied to God, & not tarieng long in his praiers, putting off his garments to his shirt, he prepared himselfe to death. His shirt was made long downe to his féet: his féet were bare. Likewise his head, when both his caps were off, was so bare, that one heare could not be séene vpon it. His beard was long and thicke, couering his face with maruellous grauitie. Such a countenance of grauitie moued the hearts both of his friends and of his enimies.

And as for the recantation aforesaid, with manie tears he protested, that he had subscribed to the same against his conscience, onelie for feare of death, and hope of life. Which séemed true: for when he came to the stake, & the fire kindled, he put his right hand into the fire, and held it there a good space, saieng: that the same hand should first burne, because it held the pen to subscribe against his Lord God. Vpon the death of this Cranmer I find these reuerend verses:

Infortunatè est fœlix, qui numine læso,
Cuiusuis gaudet commoditate boni.

Infelix

I. Stow. 1037. Free scole at Holt, with other charitable deeds of sir Io. Gresham

A blasing starre.

Brookes bishop of Glocester appointed to examine Cranmer.

Th. Cranme archbishop of Canturburie condemned.

He is burnt.

The archbishop brought to the place of execution.

Iohn Fox.

The description of his person.

Maries child would not come.

What became of Q. Maries child no man can tell.

Ex testimonio eiusdem puerperæ Londinensis.

The yong princes cradle

Verses vpon the cradle.

*I. Fox in marc. sub tit. Hen. 8.

Infœlix ille est verò fœliciter, orbi
Inuisus quisquis tristia fata subit.
Hoc Cranmere probas, vitæ præsentis amore,
Dum quæris sanctam dissimulare fidem.
Et dum consilys tandem melioribus vsus,
Præponis vitæ funera sæua tuæ.

Cardinall Pole made archbishop of Canturburie.

Immediatlie after the death of the said bishop Cranmer, cardinall Pole (a popish prelat, and a sore enimie to the religion receiued & established in king Henrie the eights time) was made archbishop of Canturburie, who (during the life of the other) would neuer be consecrated archbishop. Who so desireth to see more of this matter, maie see the same at large in the booke of the monuments of the church, where you shall also find, that about this time manie were in trouble for religion. The eight and twentith daie of the aforesaid moneth of March, by the negligence of the keepers maid of the gaile of Newgate in London, who had left a candle where a great deale of straw was, the same was set on fire, and burnt all the timber worke on the northside of the same gate.

Persecution for religion.

Newgate set on fire.

A conspiracie.

The Summer next following was a new conspiracie brought to light, which was, to haue raised war in the realme against the quéene, for maintenance whereof, their first enterprise was to haue robbed the treasurie of the quéens exchequer at Westminster, called the receipt of the exchequer, in the which there was of the quéens treasure aboue fiftie thousand pounds the same time, to the intent they might be able to maintéine warre against the quéene, as it fell out afterwards in prose. The vtterer of which conspiracie was one White, who at the beginning was made priuie to the same, whereupon diuerse of the conspiracie, namelie, Henrie Peckham, Dantell, Dethicke, Udall, Throckmorton, and capteine Stanton, were apprehended, and diuerse other fled into France. Moreouer, sir Anthonie Kingston knight was accused and apprehended for the same, and died in the waie comming to London. The eight and twentith of Aprill, Throckmorton and Richard Ueale, were drawen to Tiborne, and there hanged & quartered. The nineténth of Maie Stanton was likewise executed. The eight of June, Rosseie, Redike, and Bedell suffered at Tiborne for the same offense. The eightéenth of June, one Sands, yonger son to the lord Sands, was executed at S. Thomas Waterings, for a robberie committed by him and others to the value of thrée thousand pounds. The seuen and twentith of June, eleuen men & two women, were had out of Newgate, and in thrée carts conueied to Stratford the bow, where for religion they were burnt to ashes.

Stow, pag. 100.

The names of the conspirators and their end.

Sir Anthonie Kingston departeth this life.

Executions for treason, rebellion, and religion.

John Stow.

Anno Reg. 4.

The eight of Julie, in the beginning of this fourth yeare of the quéens reigne, Henrie Peckham and John Dantell were executed, and after they were dead, were headed on the tower hill: their bodies were buried in Barking church. ¶ About this time one Clober, which sometime kept a schole at Dis in Norffolke, with thrée brethren, whose names were Lincolne, pretended an insurrection, and would haue gathered the people at a mariage, vnto the which the brethren promised either of them to bring an hundred horsse with men. At which time by them appointed, the said Clober gaue charge to a seruant of his, to watch in a lane nigh to the church where they should méet, and as soone as he saw anie horseman comming thitherward, to giue him warning with all spéed. So it chanced (by the will of God) that certeine men riding through that lane, to some other place about their businesse, came about such an houre as Clober had appointed. Upon sight of which men, his said seruant returned to his maister, and told him that his friends were come: and immediatlie the said Clober stood vp in the parish church of Parleie, and read a traitorous proclamation of purpose prepared: which being ended, and séeing his part was too weake, for that his mates were not come, began to flée. But one maister Shireman pursued and toke him at a towne called Eie in Suffolke, and was kept in prison vntill the next sessions at saint Edmundsburie, and his thrée mates being brought to him, were there all togither drawne, hanged, and quartered.]

Execution.

I.S. pag. 1101. Conspiracie begun by one Clober and thrée brethren called Lincolne.

A traitorous proclamation read, and the reader apprehended.

This yeare, the hot burning feuers and other strange diseases, which began the yeare before, consumed much people in all parts of England; but namelie, of most ancient and graue men: so that in London, betwéene the twentith of October, and the last of December, there died seuen aldermen, whose names were Henrie Heardson, sir Richard Dobs late maior, sir William Laxton late maior, sir Henrie Hobllethorne late maior, sir John Champneis late maior, sir John Aileph late shiriffe, and sir John Gresham late maior. ¶ The one & twentith of Nouember, John Fecknam late deane of Pauls in London, now made abbat of Westminster, was stalled, and toke possession of the same: and fourtéene monks more receiued the habit with him that daie of the order of saint Benet. The said one and twentith of Nouember, a man was brought from Westminster hall riding with his face to the horsse taile, and a paper on his head, to the standard in Cheape, and there set on the pillorie, and then burned with an hot iron on both his chéekes, with two letters F. and A. for false accusing one of the court of the common plées in Westminster of treason.

Great death.

Seuen aldermen of London dead in one yeare.

Ab. Fl. ex I. Stow. 1103.

Fecknam abbat of Westminster.

False accuser set on the pillorie & burnt in both chéeks; would to God all such accusers were so well marked.

The sirtéenth of December, Gregorie Carpenter smith, and a Frenchman borne, was arreigned for making counterfeit keies, therewith to haue opened the locks of Newgate, to haue slaine the keeper, and let forth the prisoners. At which time of his arreignement, hauing conueied a knife into his sléeue, he thrust it into the side of William Whitrents his fellow prisoner, who had giuen witnesse against him, so that he was in great perill of death thereby. For the which fact he was immediatlie taken from the barre into the street before the iustice hall, where his hand being first stricken off, he was hanged on a gibbet set vp for that purpose. The keeper of Newgate was arreigned & indicted, for that the said prisoner had a weapon about him, and his hands lose, which should haue béene bound. The fourth of Januarie, a ship before Gréenewich (the court being there) shot off hir ordinance, one péece being charged with a bullet of stone, which passed through the wals of the court, and did no more hurt.]

A stranger would haue murdered the keeper of Newgate.

A gun shot into the court at Gréenewich.

About this time came to London an ambassador to the quéene from the emperor of Cathaie, Muscouia, and Russeland, who was honorablie receiued at Totenham by the merchants of London, hauing trade in those countries, riding in veluet coates and chaines of gold, who bare all his costs and charges from the time of his entrie into England out of Scotland: for thither by tempest of weather he was driuen, and there forced to land. ¶ The lord Montacute with the quéens pensioners met him at Islington townes end; and at Smithfield barres the lord maior and aldermen in scarlet receiued him, and conueied him through the citie vnto maister Dimmocks house in Fanchurch street, where he lodged vntill the twelfe of Maie, all which time he wanted no resort.] And after his message and ambassage done to the quéene, he departed againe with thrée faire ships from Grauesend into his countrie, when he had remained here by the space of two moneths and more.

1557

An ambassador out of Muscouia.

John Stow.

The lord Sturton committeth a shamefull murther.

Also about this time, the lord Sturton, for a verie shamefull and wretched murther committed by him vpon two gentlemen, the father and the son, of the surnames of Hargill, being his nere neighbors, whom he caused to be smitten downe with clubs, then their throtes to be cut, and after to be buried in his owne house fifteene foot deepe; for the which heinous offense he was apprehended and committed to the tower of London. And although the queene seemed to fauour him much, as one professing the catholike religion: yet when she vnderstood the truth of his vile deed, she abhorred him, & commanded that he should be vsed according to iustice; wherefore shortlie after, he was brought to Westminster, & there arreigned & found guiltie, & had iudgement as a murtherer to be hanged. And for the same fact were likewise condemned foure of his seruants. And the second daie of March next following, the said lord with his foure seruants were conueied by the queens gard from the tower of London through the citie, he hauing his armes pinioned at his backe, & his legs bound vnder the horsse bellie, and so caried to Salisburie, where the first daie of March next, he was hanged in the market place, and his foure seruants were hanged in the countrie nere vnto the place where the murther was committed.

The lord Sturton hanged.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. 1105. Dearth and plentie.

¶This yeare before harueſt, wheat was sold for foure marks the quarter, malt at foure & fortie shillings the quarter, beans & rie at fortie shillings the quarter, & pease at six and fortie shillings and eight pence: but after harueſt wheat was sold for fiue shillings the quarter, malt at six shillings eight pence, rie at three shillings foure pence. So that the penie wheat loafe, that weied in London the last yere but eleuen ounces Troie, weied now six and fiftie ounces Troie. In the countrie, wheat was sold for foure shillings the quarter, malt at foure shillings eight pence; and in some places a bushell of rie for a pound of candles which was foure pence. The seauenth of September, at seauen of the clocke at night, in a blacke rainie cloud in the west was seene a rainbow, the mone in the east risen one houre before, and faire shining, and at the full the daie before.] This present moneth of March king Philip, who a long season had beene in Flanders to take possession & gouernment of the low countries (as is afore said) did now returne into England, and passed through London, being accompanied with the queene and diuerse nobles of the realme.

John Caius.

The returne of king Philip into England.

The foure and twentith of Aprill Thomas Stafford, second sonne to the lord Stafford, with other to the number of two and thirtie persons, comming forth of France by sea, arriued at Scarborough in Yorkeshire, where they tooke the castell, and held the same two daies, and then were taken without effusion of bloud by the earle of Westmerland. The said Stafford and Richard Sanders, otherwise called capteine Sanders, with three or foure others, of the which one was a Frenchman, were sent vp to London, & there committed to prison in the tower. The said Stafford and foure others were arreigned and condemned. Whereupon the eight and twentith of Maie, being fridaie, the said Stafford was beheaded on the tower hill; and on the morrow three of his companie, as Strellie, Bradford, and Proctor, were drawen from the tower to Tiborne, and there executed. Their heads were set ouer the bridge, and their quarters ouer the gates about the same citie. Capteine Sanders had his pardon, and so escaped. The first of Maie Thomas Persie was made knight, and after lord, and on the next daie he was created earle of Northumberland. The queene gaue vnto him all the lands which had beene his ancestors, remaining at that time in hir hands.

Stafford and others committed to the tower, and after executed.

Thomas Persie created earle of Northumberland.

In this season, although the French king (as was said) was verie loth to haue warres with England, yet the queene tangling hir selfe contrarie to promise in hir husbands quarrell, sent a defiance to the French king by Clarenceaux king of armes; who comming to the citie of Remes, where the said king then laie, declared the same vnto him the seuenth of June, being the mondaie in Whitsunweeke. On the which daie, Garter and Norreis king of armes, accompanied with other heralds, and also with the lord maior and certeine of the aldermen of the citie of London, by sound of three trumpets that rode before them, proclamed open war against the said French king, first in Cheape side, and after in other parts of the citie, where customarilie such proclamations are made: the shiriffes still riding with the heralds, till they had made an end, although the lord maior brake off in Cheape side, and went to saint Peters to heare seruice, and after to Paules, where (according to the vsage then) he went on procession. King Philip because of the warres towards, betwixt him and the French king, the first of Julie passed ouer to Calis, and so into Flanders, where on that side the seas he made prouision for those warres: at which time there was great talke among the common people, muttering that the king making small account of the queene, sought occasions to be absent from hir.

Queene Marie proclameth open warre against the French king.

King Philip passed ouer to Flander.

Neuertheleſſe, she shortlie after caused an armie of a thousand horsemen, and foure thousand footmen, with two thousand pioners to be transported ouer to his aid, vnder the leading of diuerse of the nobilitie and other valiant capteins, whose names partlie follow: the earle of Penbroke capteine generall, sir Anthonie Browne vicount Montacute lieutenant generall vnder the said earle, the lord Greie of Wilton lord marshall, the earle of Rutland generall of the horsemen, the lord Clinton earle of Lincolne coronell of the footmen, the lord Russell earle of Bedford, the lord Robert Dudleie earle of Leicester and maister of the ordinance, the lord Thomas Howard, sir William West lord de la Ware, sir Edward Windsore after lord Windsore, the lord Braie, sir Edmund Briges lord Shandois, the lord Ambrose Dudleie earle of Warwike, the lord Henrie Dudleie, Edward Randall esquier sergeant maior, maister Whiteman treasuror of the armie, Edward Chamberleine esquier capteine of the pioners, sir Richard Leigh trenchmaster, John Higate esquier prouost marshall, Thomas Yaruie esquier mustermaster, sir Peter Carew, sir William Courtneie, sir Giles Stranguish, sir Thomas Finch maister of the campe, and other nobles, knights, and gentlemen of right approued valiancie: although diuerse of them were suspected to be protestants. Furthermore, to make king Philips power the stronger, there came aid vnto him from sundrie places; whereby as his armie increased in number, so likewise grew the same more puissant in strength. The people that assisted him are thus remembred by C. O. in his discourse of this warre, as here followeth:

The names of the capteins ouer the queenes forces.

Misit in auxilium Germania lecta virorum
Corpora ferratas acies peditúmque caterua.
Nec deerat miles Latia de gente cruentus,
Dalmata non deerat bello huic nec defuit Hannus.
Attamen ante alios, fiducia summa locata est
In quibus armatus validè comenerat Anglus.
Fœdus amicitiæ vetus id poscebat, & vxor,
Cui cum rege fuit socio commune periclum.

Varie gentes in exercitu Philippi.

The fiftéenth of Julie, the ladie Anne of Cleue departed this life at Chelseie, and was honorablie buried at Westminster the six of August: a ladie of right commendable regard, courteous, gentle, a good housekeeper, & verie bountifull to hir seruants.

The death of the ladie Anne of Cleue.

The

Obsequie for the king of Portingale.

The eightéenth of August was a solemne obsequie celebrated in the church of S. Paule in London, for John king of Portingale, who departed this life in Julie last past. The lord treasuror was cheefe mourner. The quænes armie being transported ouer to Calis (as before ye haue heard) marched to ioine with king Philips power: the which alreadie being assembled, had inuaded the French confines, and being come before saint Quintins, planted a strong siege before that towne. To the rescue whereof, the French king sent a great armie both of horssemen and footmen, vnder the leading of the conestable of France: which armie consisted of about nine hundred men at armes, with as manie light horssemen, seuen or eight hundred Roisters, two & twentie ensignes of lancequenets, and sixtéene ensignes of French footmen. They had also with them fiftéene péeces of great artillerie, to wit, six double canons, foure long culuerings, the rest bastard culuerings, and other péeces of smaller mould. The conestable thus garded vpon saint Laurence daie, which is the tenth of August, approched the towne, meaning to put into the same succours of more soldiors, with Dandelot the admerals brother, that was within the towne not furnished with such a garrison as was thought expedient for the defense therof, against such a power as king Philip had prepared against it.

Fiftéene or sixtéene thousand footmen, and a three or foure thousand horssemen.

The conestable of France duke Montmorencie generall of the French forces.

The duke of Sauoie and other capteins of the armie that laie at siege before the towne, aduertised of the conestables comming towards them, assembled the most part of their horssemen togither, and with all speed made towards a passage distant from the place where the French armie stood houering about a two English miles: and being got ouer, they diuided themselues into eight troopes of horssemen, led by the earles of Egmond, Horne, Mansfield, the dukes of Brunswike and others, being in all to the number of fiue thousand men of armes, beside the swart Rutters and light horssemen. Which gaue such a furious & cruell charge vpon the Frenchmen, that they not able to resist the same, were altogither defeated, and their battels as well horssemen as footmen put to flight. Wherof king Philip hauing knowlege, pursued them with all his force, in which pursute there were slaine of the Frenchmen a great number, the chiefe whereof were these that follow. John of Burbon duke of Anghien the vicount of Turraine & eldest sonne of Roch du Maine, the lord of Chandenier, with a great number of other gentlemen that bare armes in the field. There were taken these prisoners following; the duke of Montmorencie conestable of France hurt with an harquebuz shot in the hanch, the duke of Montpenser hurt in the head, the duke of Longueuille, the marshall of saint Andrews, the lord Lewes brother to the duke of Mantoa, monsieur de Valse, the baron of Curton, monsieur de la Roch du Maine, the Reingraue colonell of the Almans: moreouer the counte de Roch Foucault, monsieur d'Obignie, monsieur de Peru, monsieur de Montbrun, monsieur de Biron, sonnes to the conestable, monsieur de la chapelle de Biron, monsieur de saint Heran: beside manie other gentlemen and capteins of good account and estimation. Yet there escaped the more part of the French horssemen, and manie of their footmen, with certeine of their capteins of honor; as the duke of Neuers, the prince of Conde brother to the king of Nauarre, the earle of Montmorencie eldest sonne to the conestable, the earle of Sancerre, monsieur de Burdillon, and other of the barons of France.

Prisoners of name. These nine were knights of the order.

Within two or three daies after this ouerthrow, king Philip with the English armie, vnder the gouernement of the earle of Penbroke, and others, came to the siege afore saint Quintins, & so was the siege greatlie reinforced; and on the seuen and twentith of August by the speciall aid & helpe of the Englishmen, the towne of saint Quintins was taken. For when the other soldiours, after diuerse assaults were repelled and gaue ouer, the Englishmen of a stout courage gaue a new onset, by reason whereof the towne was taken. And in reward of their well doing, king Philip granted them the saccage of the said towne. But then the swart Rutters, which keepe no rule when they be strongest, set vpon the Englishmen, in taking of the spoile, and killed a great number of them. This grudge was with much difficultie appeased, & men thought that if the Englishmen being much fewer in number had not béene oppressed with the multitude of the other, that it would haue growne to a great slaughter on both parts. At the assault the lord Henrie Dudleie, yongest sonne to the duke of Northumberland was slaine with the shot of a great péece, as he stoped vpon his approch vnto the wall, and staid to rip his hose ouer the knée, thereby to haue béene the more apt and nimble to the assault. This was his end, of whome one saith thus:

Henricus Dudleius heros,
Ille annis generosam animam iuuenilibus efflat,
Quem referunt socij flentes in castra peremptum,
Vt mos christicolæ est, velatum sindone, gentis.

taken and sacked.

The lord Henrie Dudleie slaine with the shot of a gun.

After the winning of this towne, newes in post were brought into England to the quæne, who caused generall processions to be made, and *Te Deum* to be song, giuing all laud and praise to almightie God for this great victorie. And in the streets of euerie citie and towne of the realme were made bonefires with great reioising: which sudden short gladnesse turned verie shortlie after to great & long sorow. For if ought were woone by hauing of saint Quintins, England got nothing at all, for the gaine thereof came onelie to king Philip. But the losse of Calis, Hammes and Guisnes, with all the countrie on that side the sea (which followed some after) was such a basket to England, as happened not in more than an hundred yeares before; and a dishonor wherwith this realme shall be blotted, vntill God shall giue power to redub it with some like requitall to the French.

Doctor Weston being (as you haue heard before) prolocutor of the conuocation house, was at this time in displeasure with cardinall Pole, and other bishops: bicause he was vnwilling to resigne his deanrie of Westminster vnto the quæne, whose purpose was to place there (as in old time before) the religion of monks, whome in deed he fauoured not, although in all other things he stood with the church of Rome. Neuertheless, by verie importunate sute, or rather compulsion, he with his collegues resigned the deanrie of Westminster. In recompense wherof he was made deane of Windsor, where not long after he was taken in adulterie, and for that fact was by the cardinall depriued of all his spirituall liuings, from whose sentence he appealed vnto the court of Rome. For the following of which appeale he sought secretlie to depart the realme: but he was apprehended by the waie, and committed to the tower of London, where he remained prisoner, vntill (by the death of quéene Marie) quéene Elizabeth came vnto the crowne, by whome he was set at libertie, and forthwith fell sicke and died.

Doctor Weston resigneth the deanrie of Westminster by compulsion and is recompensed.

The common talke was, that if he had not so suddenlie died, he would haue disclosed the purpose of the chiefe of the clergie, meaning the cardinall, which was to haue taken vp K. Henries bodie at Windsor, and to haue burned it, as manie thought. The thirtith of November, being saint Andrews daie, in the forenoone, the quéene came from saint Iames to hir palace at Westminster, where she heard masse, at the which, sir Thomas Tresham knight receiued

The malice of cardinall Pole against king Henrie the eight.

Sir Thomas Tresham made lord of saint Johns of Jerusalem.

Calis not furnished with a sufficient number of men.

the order of the crosse, & was instituted lord of saint Johns of Jerusalem in England. At this time, although there was open hostilitie and warre betweéne England & France: yet contrarie to the common custome before vsed, the towne of Calis and the forts thereabouts were not supplied with anie new accrewes of soldiors, but rather withdrawne from thense, and discharged. Which negligence was not vnknowne to the enimie, who long before had practised the winning of the said towne and countrie.

The losse of saint Quintins netleth the French king.

The French king therefore being sharplie nettled with the late losse of saint Quintins, and a great péece of his countrie adioining, and desirous of reuenge, thought it not meet to let slip this occasion, but rather to aduance the same with all expedition, according vnto the plot laied by the constable before hand. The king yet neuertheless hauing an armie in a readinesse (although the constable were now prisoner, and therefore could not be present himselfe) to imploie where most aduantage should appeare, determined with all spéed to put in proofe the enterprise of Calis, which long and manie times before was purposed vpon, as it was well knowne. This practise was not secret, but that the deputies of Calis and Guisnes had some intelligence thereof, and informed the quéene and hir councell accordinglie, as well by letters, as by sufficient messengers: for not onelie John Hiefield master of the ordinance was sent from thense to giue due aduertisement of the French kings purpose, & to haue a supplie of things necessarie for mounting of the great artillerie whereof he had charge; but also sir Rafe Chamberleine, capteine of the castell, was likewise sent to giue the like aduertisement, who returned not past two or three daies before the duke of Guise came thither with the armie. And so either by wilfull negligence, or lacke of credit by the quénes councell here, this great case was so slenderlie regarded, that no prouision of defense was made, vntill it was somewhat too late.

The duke of Guise with a great armie commeth toward Calis.

Guise entreth the English frontier.

The duke of Guise being generall of the French armie, proceéded in this enterprise with maruellous spæd and no lesse policie. For approching the English frontier vnder colour to vittell Bullongne and Ard, he entered the same vpon a sudden on Newyeares daie, a forie little plot of ground, intrenched at Sandgate, and then diuided his armie into two parts, sending one part with certeine pœces of great artillerie along the downes by the sea side towards Ricebanke: and the other part furnished also with batterie pœces, marched streight forth to Newnambridge, meaning to batter these two forts both at one time. Which thing he did with such readie dispatch, that comming thither verie late in the euening, he was master of both by the nert morning: where at the first shot discharged at Newnambridge, the head of the master gunner of that pœce, whose name was Horlie was stricken off.

1558.
Anno Reg. 5.

Newnambridge taken by the French.

The master gunners head smitten cleane off with a gun.

The capteine hauing sent vnto the lord deputie of Calis for some supplie of men, was answered that if he perceiued the enimies force to be such, whereby his péce should grow to be in anie danger: that then he should choke vp the artillerie, and retire with his men vnto Calis for defense of the towne, where they stood in great want of men also, euen to the perill of losing the whole, if the enimies came forwards to besiege it. Hereupon the capteine within Newnambridge perceiuing he might haue no succors, retired with his soldiors vnto Calis, in such secret wise, that the Frenchmen perceiued it not of a prettie while; insomuch that they shot still at the fort, when there was not a man within it to make resistance: and by that time that they were come to Calis, the other part of the French armie that went by the sea side with their batterie, had woone Ricebanke, being abandoned to their hands. The next daie the Frenchmen with fiue double canons and three culuerings began a batterie, from the Sandhils nert Ricebanke against the curteine betwixt the watergate and the soldiors prison on the wall, and continued the same by the space of two or three daies, vntill they had made a little breach nert vnto the watergate, which neuertheless was not yet assaultable: for that which was broken in the daie, was by them within the towne made vp againe in the night stronger than before. But the batterie was not begun there by the French, for that they intended to enter in that place, but rather to abuse the English, to haue the lesse regard vnto the defense of the castell, which was the weakest part of the towne, and the place where they were ascertained by their espials to win easie entrie. So that while our people trauelled fondlie to defend that counterfet breach of the towne wall, the duke had in the meane season planted fiftéene double canons against the castell. Which castell being considered by the rulers of the towne, to be of no such force as might resist the batterie of the canon (by reason it was old and without anie rampiers) it was deuised to make a traine with certeine barrels of powder to this purpose, that when the Frenchmen should enter (as they well knew that there they would) to haue fired the said traine, and blowne vp the keépe, and for that purpose left neuer a man within to defend it.

Ricebanke taken by the French.

The duke of Guise his policie.

The Englishmens fond defense.

But the French hauing passed through the ditch full of water, & thereby with their cloths wringing wet as they passed ouer the traine, they moisted so the powder, that it would not take fire when it was giuen. Hereupon the Frenchmen espieng the traine, auoided the same; so as that deuise came to no purpose, and without anie resistance they entered the castell, and thought to haue entered the towne by that waie. But by the prowesse and hardie courage of sir Anthonie Ager knight, & marshall of the towne, with his soldiors they were repelled, and driuen backe againe into the castell, and so hard followed, that our men forced them to close and shut the castell gate for their suertie, least it should haue béene recouered against them, as it was once attempted by sir Anthonie Ager; who there with his sonne and heire, and a pursenant at armes called Calis, with diuerse others to the number of three or foure score Englishmen lost their liues.

The Frenchmen disappoint the Englishmens deuise.

Sir Anthonie Ager and his sonne slaine.

The same night after the recule of the Frenchmen, whose number so increased in the castell, that the towne was not able to resist their force, the lord Wentworth being deputie of the towne, appointed Nicholas Fellow, *alias* Guisnes, and Richard Turpine, *alias* Yannes, to go to the French within the castell, to demand parlée: whereunto they assented, put forth of the posterne two French gentlemen, and in pledge for them receiued into the castell John Hiefield master of the ordinance, and Edmund Hall one of the constables of the staple. Hereupon they falling in talke about a composition: at length after some long debating of the matter, they concluded in this sort. First that the towne, with all the great artillerie, vittels, and munitions, should be freelie yeelded to the French king, the liues of the inhabitants onelie saued, to whome safe conduct should be granted to passe where they listed: sauing the lord deputie, with fiftie such other as the duke should appoint, to remaine prisoners, and be put to their ransome. The nert morning, the Frenchmen entered and possessed the towne: and forthwith all the men, women, and children, were commanded to leaue their houses, and to go to certeine places appointed for them to remaine in, till order might be taken for their sending awaie.

The lord Wentworth.

A parlé demanded of the French.

Calis deliuered to the French.

The

The places thus appointed for them to remaine in, were chiefly foure, the two churches of our ladie, and saint Nicholas, the deputies house, and the staple, where they rested a great part of that daie, and one whole night, and the next daie till three of the clocke at afternoone, without either meat or drinke. And while they were thus in the churches, and those other places, the duke of Guise in the name of the French king, in their hearings made a proclamation, strictlie charging all and euerie person that were inhabitants of the towne of Calis, hauing about them anie monie, plate, or iewels, to the value of one groat to bring the same forthwith, and laie it downe vpon the high altars of the said churches vpon paine of death; bearing them in hand also, that they should be searched. By reason of which proclamation, there was made a great & sorowfull offertorie. And while they were at this offering within the churches, the Frenchmen entered into their houses, and rifled the same, where was found inestimable riches and treasure: but specialtie of ordinance, armor, and other munitions.

The duke of Guises proclamation to bring in monie and plate, &c.

The French fall to spoiling and rifling.

¶ Thus dealt the French with the English in lieu and recompense of the like vsage to the French when the forces of king Philip preuailed at S. Quintins: where not content with the honour of victorie, the English in sacking the towne sought nothing more than the satisfieng of their greedie veine of couetousnesse, with an extreame neglect of all moderation. So likewise did the Spanish soldiors, and the rest that could come to finger anie thing of value: insomuch that neither monie nor plate, either of siluer or gold, rich hangings, bedding nor houshold stuffe was spared: but what they could not carie awaie for cumbersomnesse, they sold dogcheape; were the same necessarie furniture seruiceable for the chamber, the kitchin, or anie other roome in a mans house. Pearls and pretious stones, iewels and owches, the rich ornaments of the French dames were then bought and sold at a low price, which a long time had béene kept shut vp vnder locke and keie: all laie open now to the greedie eie of the soldiors, who like landlords kept possession of houses, as C.O. noteth, of whom I haue borrowed the report of this reuell rout, saieng:

Armatis muros firmissimáque occupat vrbis
Militibus victor, dominantur in ædibus altis
Iam vacuis veterum dominorum Marce phalanges
Conspicuæ.]

About two of the clocke the nert daie at after none, being the seuenth of Januarie, a great number of the meanest sort were suffered to passe out of the towne in safetie, being garded through the armie with a number of Scottish light horssemen, who vsed the Englishmen verie well and friendlie: and after this euerie daie for the space of three or foure daies togither, there were sent awaie diuerse companies of them till all were auoided, those only excepted that were appointed to be reserued for prisoners, as the lord Wentworth, & others. There were in the towne of Calis fiue hundred English soldiors ordinarie, and no more: and of the townesmen not fullie two hundred fighting men (a small garison for the defense of such a towne) and there were in the whole number of men, women, and children (as they were accounted when they went out of the gate) foure thousand and two hundred persons. But the Lord Wentworth deputie of Calis, sir Rafe Chamberleine capteine of the castell, John Harlston capteine of Ricebanke, Nicholas Alexander capteine of Newnambridge, Edward Grimstone the comptrollor, John Rogers surueior, with others, to the number of fiftie (as afore said) such as it pleased the duke of Guise to appoint, were sent prisoners into France.

The pettie & meanest sort voided out of Calis.

Garison of soldiors that were in Calis

Thus haue ye heard the discourse of the ouerthrow and losse of the towne of Calis, the which enterprise was begun and ended in lesse than eight daies, to the great maruell of the world, that a towne of such strength, and so well furnished of all things as that was (sufficient numbers of men of warre onlie excepted) should so suddenlie be taken and conquered, but most specialtie in the winter season, what time all the countrie about (being marish ground) is commonly ouerflowne with water. The said towne was won from the French king by K. Edward the third, in the time of Philip de Valois then French king: and being in possession of the kings of England two hundred and eleuen yeares, was in the time of Philip and Marie king & quéene of England lost within lesse than eight daies: being the most notable fort that England had. For the winning whereof, king Edward afore said, in the 21 yeare of his reigne, was faine to continue a siege eleuen moneths and more. Wherefore it was iudged of all men, that it could not haue come so to passe, without some secret trecherie.

Calis conquered and lost in lesse than eight daies.

How long Calis was in possession of the kings of England.

Here is also to be noted, that when quéene Marie and hir councell heard credible of the Frenchmens sudden approch to that towne, she with all spéed possible (but somewhat too late) raised a great power for the rescue thereof; the which comming to Douer, staied thereabouts till the towne was woone, either for that their whole number was not come togither, or for that there were not ships readie sufficient to passe them ouer, although the wind and weather serued verie well to haue transported them thither, till the sundaie at night after the towne was deliuered: for then began a maruellous sore and rigorous tempest, continuing the space of foure or fiue daies togither, that the like had not béene seene in the remembrance of man. Wherefore some said that the same came to passe through necromancie, and that the diuell was raised vp and become French, the truth whereof is knowne (saith maister Grafton) to God. True it is that after the said tempest began, for the time it lasted, no ship could well brooke the seas, by reason of the outragious storms. And such of the quéenes ships as did then aduenture the passage, were so shaken and torne with the violence of the weather, that they were forced to returne in great danger, & not without losse of all their tackle and furniture: so that if this tempestuous weather had not chanced, it was thought that the armie should haue passed to haue giuen some succors to Guisnes, and to haue attempted the recouerie of Calis.

As good neuer as too late.

A terrible tempest.

Rich. Grafton.

The quéenes ships sore shaken with storme and tempest.

But if the same armie might haue béene readie to haue transported ouer in time, before the losse of Calis, and whilest the weather was most calme and sweet, as was possible for that time of the yeare, the towne might haue béene preserued; and the other péeces which through want of timelie succours came into the enimies possession. And thus by negligence of the councell at home, conspiracie of traitors elsewhere, force and false practise of enimies, holpen by the rage of most terrible tempests of contrarie winds and weather, this famous fort of Calis was brought againe and left in the hands and possession of the French. ¶ Now were he worthie of a kingdome, that could sensiblie and significantlie set forth the insolent triumphs and immoderate reioising of the French for the recouerie of Calis so long possessed by the English, and now in forren tenure. In describing whereof a man had néed of manie heads fraught with extraordinarie inuention, and of manie hands readilie to deliuer in writing his rare conceipts in this case. For as they are a people depending wholie vpon extremities in their actions: so in this they vsed no measure, insomuch that euen the learneder sort among them, namelie Turnebus, Au-

Abr. Fl. ex opere historico Schardij collecto

ratus, Bellaius, and others did both pen and publish pamphlets in Latine verse, replenished with scoffs and vntreuerend termes against the English, calling them *Perfidos*, and in flowting sort *Diuisos orbe Britannos*; but aduancing to the skies their Henrie, their Guise, and the rest of the rowt that were actors in this conquest. A sight of which verses in some part I may not omit (for it requireth a booke to transcribe all) least I might be thought to impose vpon them a false charge. This therefore in the forme of a dialog betweene a post and the people writeth Auratus the French kings publike reader in the Greeke tong:

Ex tomo tertio historiarum Schardij de capto Caleto pag. 1973 &c.

N. *Clamate Galli nunc ter io io.*
V. *Quæ læta Gallis instat oratio?*
N. *Capti Caletes.* V. *Multa paucis*
Digna nouo memoras triumpho.
N. *Vicêre Galli, sed duce Guisio.*
V. *Io triumphe, nunc ter io io.*
N. *Vicêre victores Britannos.*
V. *Nunc ter io, ter io triumphe.*
N. *Annos ducentos serua Britanniæ*
Vrbs liberata est. V. *Nunc ter io io.*
N. *Migrate iam prisci coloni.*
V. *Nunc ter io, ter io triumphe, &c.*

And thus proceedeth he in his od veine of inuention, concluding with a question, whether the king of France or the duke of Guise are the more happie and blessed person? The answer is made that they are both blessed, the king for the duke sake, and the duke for the kings; and therefore his pose must of force sing and sound to them both thrise, that is, oftentimes *Ter io triumphe, ter io triumphe*. But I would to God the English had not beene so soon and so suddenlie turned out of their old possession, nor the French fondlings obteined such a iust cause of immoderate ioy and outragious triumph.]

But to leaue Calis in the present state, you shall vnderstand, that so soone as this duke of Guise (contrarie to all expectation) had in so few daies gained this strong towne of Calis (afore thought impregnable) and had put the same in such order as best semed for his aduantage, proud of the spoile, and pressing forward vpon his good fortune, without giuing anie long time to the residue of the guides or capteines of the forts there, to breath vpon their businesse, the 13 daie of the said moneth being thursdaie, with all prouision requisite for a siege, marched with his armie from Calis, vnto the towne and fort of Guisnes, fiue miles distant from thence. Of which towne and castell at the same time there was capteine a valiant baron of England, called William lord Greie of Wilton, who not without cause suspecting a siege at hand, and knowing the towne of Guisnes to be of small force, as being large in compasse, without walles or bulworks, closed onlie with a trench, before the Frenchmens arriuall had caused all the inhabitants of the towne to auoid, and so manie of them as were able to beare armes he caused to retire into the castell, which was a place well fortified with strong and massie bulworks of bricke, hauing also an high and mightie tower, of great force and strength, called the Keepe.

The duke of Guise marcheth to the fort and town of Guisnes.

The L. Greie capteine of Guisnes.

The towne being thus abandoned, the Frenchmen had the more easie approch to the castell, who thinking to find quiet lodging in those vacant houses, entred the same without any feare. And being that night at their rest (as they thought) a chosen band of souldiors appointed by the lord Greie, issued out by a posterne of the said castell, and slue no small number of their sleepie ghests, & the rest they put out of their new lodgings, and maugre the duke and all the French power, consumed all the houses of the towne with fire. That notwithstanding, the said duke with all diligence began his trenches. And albeit the shot of the great artillerie from the castell was terrible, & gaue him great impeachment: yet did he continue his worke without intermission, and for examples sake wrought in his owne person as a common pioner or labourer. So that within lesse than three dates, he brought to the number of fiue & thirtie batterie peeces, hard to the brim of the castell ditch, to batter the same on all sides, as well forthright as acrosse. But his principall batterie he planted against the strongest bulworke of all, called Marie bulworke, thinking by gaining of the stronger to come more easilie by the weaker. Rabutine.

The L. Greie taketh the French at a sleepie aduantage.

On mondaie morning therefore by breake of the daie, they had laid two battries to the said bulworke, thirteene canons in the one, and nine in the other, with which they plied it so well, as that by none they had not onelie dismounted their counter batterie within, but also cleane cut awaie the hope of bricke off the whole forefront of their bulworks, whereof the filling being but of late digged earth, did crimble awaie. Which the enimie finding about two of the clocke in the same afternoone, sent forth or fiftie forlorne hoies with swords and targets to viewe and assaie the breach. The ditch at that place before the batterie was not foure and twentie foot broad, now assuredlie not a dozzen, nor in deapth aboue a mans knees, therefore with small adoo they came to the breach, and with as little paine came vp the same, the clime was so easie; from whence hauing discharged certeine pistols vpon the Englishmen, and receiued a few pushes of the pike, they retired. And making report of the easinesse of the breach, strait a band or two of Gascoigns (as it was thought) threw themselues into the ditch, and vp they came. Then a little more earnestly the Englishmen leaned to their tackling, their flankers walked, their pikes, their culuers, their pots of wild fire were lent them, the harquebush saluted them, so as iollie maister Gascoigne was set downe with more hast than he came vp with good speed: and so ended mondaies worke, sauing that vpon the retire from the assalt, they gaue seuen or eight such terrible tires of batterie, as tooke cleane away from them within the top of their baumure and maunds, leauing them all open to the canons mouth. Wherby surelie but for night that came on, the Englishmen had beene forced to haue abandoned the place.

Batterie laid to the Marie bulworke.

The Gascoignes put backe with more hast than they came vp with good speed.

At this assault was slaine of gentlemen, one capteine Bourne an Englishman, verie valiant, also a Spanish gentleman, and common souldiours to the number of fortie or fiftie. There was also fore hurt at the same assault, one other Spanish capteine, with diuerse others, whom for the auoiding of tediousnesse I let passe. At night the lord Greie came to the bulworke, and hauing rendred thanks to God for that daies good successe, did greatlie commend them all for their manfull defense and valiant behauiour, exhorting them to continue therein, as the onelie thing wherein their safetie and good name did rest. The batterie (as before is told) hauing laid the bulworks open, they within were inforced for winning of a new baumure, to intrench within the bulworke fiue foot deape, and nine in thicknesse, which maruellouslie did strengthen the peece, the same being of no great largenesse before. By the next daie being tuesdaie, they had planted two batteries more; the one in the market place of the towne, to beate a curteine of the bodie of the castell, of fiue canons; the other vpon the rampire of the towne of three peeces, to beat the Cat and a flanker of the Barbican, which two garded one side of the Marie bulworke.

The number slaine at this assault.

The lord Greie commendeth his souldiours.

This morning they bestowed most in battering at the flankers, which the daie before they had felt, and in deed wone euerie one from them within, saing

Battering at the flankers.

uing

uing that of the Cat, which laie high and somwhat secret, and an other at the end of a braie by the gate on the other side of the bulworke; all the rest, as those of the Garden bulworke which chéeflie beheld the maine breach of the Barbican, and of the Keepe, were quite bereued them. And besides the enimie continuallie interteined the breach, with eight or nine tires the houre. In the afternoone, about the same houre that they made their attempt the daie afore, a regiment of Swilles, with certeine bands of Frenchmen approched the dich, as if presentlie they would haue giuen the assault; but there they did staie, sending to the breach onelie a capteine or two, seeking thereby to haue discouered what flankers yet were left to them within: wherein they were preuented, the lord Graie hauing before warned the gunners not to disclose them, but vpon extremitie. And thus after an houres plaie with the harquebush onelie, and a light offer or two of approach, this people retired them, and gaue the canon place againe, which by night had driuen them within anew to become moldwarps, and to intrench themselues with all speed possible.

Certeine Swilles and French approch the dich as if they would offer assault.

The morrow being wednesdaie, by the peepe of daie, all the batteries began, and without intermission held on till one of the clocke in the afternoone, and especiallie that in the market place so preuailed, as hauing cleane ruined the old wall, did drive through the rampire, and a new countermure of earth raised vpon the same, where the lord Greie himselfe sitting vpon a forme, with sir Henrie Palmer, and master Lewes Diue his lordships cousin and deputie, made a faire escape, the forme being stricken asunder vnder them, without anie further harme to anie of them: though sundrie other that daie and the nert following lost their liues on the same curteine by the foresaid battrie, which full in flanke did beat it, wherein yet was his lordships onelie abode as his chéefest place, to view and regard the behauiour and need of all the other lims, from which also a quoit might be throwne into Marie bulworke. The enimies canon (as is said) hauing plaid thus all the morning, and well searched (as they thought) euerie corner that flankers might lurke in, about the foresaid houre of one of the clocke, the Englishmen might descrie the trench before the breach to be stuffed with ensignes. The L. Greie streight expecting that which followed, gaue word incontinentlie to euerie place to stand on their gard, incouraging euerie man to continue in their well begun endeuor. A tower that was called Webs tower, and yet standing, which flanked one side of the beaten bulworke, he stuffed with twentie of the best shot with curriers. These things no soner thus ordered, but that eight or nine ensignes of Swilles, and three of Gascoigns, did present themselues vpon the counterscarfe; and without staie the Gascoignes flue into the ditch, run vp the breach, whome they within receiue with harquebush shot, but they requite the Englishmen againe with two for one. The top of the baumure or rather trench, the enimie boldlie approcheth, the pike is offered, to handblowes it commeth. Then the Swille with a statelie leasure stepeth into the dich, and close together marcheth vp the breach, the fight increaseth, waxeth verie hot, & the breach all couered with the enimies. The small shot in Webs tower began now their parts, no bullet that went in vaine. On the other side againe 20 of the Spaniards on the inside of the braies had laid themselues close till the heat of the assault: and then shewing themselues, did no lesse gall the enimies than the tower. Thus was it no lustilier assailed than brauelie defended. At last after an houres fight and more, the gouernors without, finding the great slaughter that theirs went to, and small auaile, and perceiuing the two little casemates of the tower and braies to be the chéefest annoiances, did cause a retire to be sounded: and withall three or foure of the canons in the market place, to be turned vpon Webs tower, the which at two tires brought cleane downe the same vpon the souldiors heads, wherein two or three were slaine outright, others hurt to death, and who escaped best, so maimed or bruised, as they were no more able to serue.

The danger which my lord Greie escaped sitting vpon a forme with two gentlmen.

The Swilles & Gascoigns giue the assault.

The manhood of the Spaniards against the French.

The enimie this while hauing breathed, and a brace of an hundred shots put forth onelie to attend on the few Spaniards that kept the corners of the braies the assault afresh is begun, and their beaten bands with new companies relieued. The lord Greie also sent into the bulworke two hundred fresh men. Now grew the fight heauie vpon the Englishmen, all their defense resting in the pike and bill, their chéefest flankers being gone, their places to bestow shot in taken from them, their fier-works in manner spent, the Spanish shot on the other side so ouerlaid, as not one of them but was either slaine or marred, yer a quarter of the assault was past. The easinesse of the fight thus alluring the enimie, vnappointed companies flue to the breach, and courage was on euerie side with them, what hauocke they made it is not hard to gesse. My lord Greie perceiuing the extremitie, sent to the two forenamed flankers, that they should no longer spare. They streight went off, the diches and breach being couered with men. These vnlooked for ghests made the enimie that was coming to pause, and the other alreadie come to repent their hast. Three or foure bowts of these salutations began to cleare well the breach, though the dich grew the fuller at night. At last parted with no great triumph of others winnings (for as the Englishmen within went not scotfrée) so suerlie no small number of their enimies carcasses toke vp their lodgings in the ditch that night.

A fresh assault begun and the fight hot and heauie against the English.

Enimies slaine.

My lord Greies worke after the skirmish ended.

My L. Greie hurt by mischance.

The French make bridges.

Consultation betweene the lord Greie and the English gentlemen.

My lord Greie this night came into the bulworke, where after praise first to God, he gaue thanks and commendations to them all. The slaine men he caused to be buried, the hurt to be remoued and looked vnto, saw the breach repared, inquired of their lacks, and (as he might) supplied the same. They that were great could not be helped, as corn powder, fierworks, pea and pikes began to falle vs. The most part of the night he here bestowed, and longer as was thought had taried, had not a scaberdles sword about one of the souldiors as he went in the throng & darke amongst them, thrust him almost through the foot: whereupon he withdrew him to be dressed, vsing first vnto his souldiors an exhortation to acquite themselues no lesse valiantlie the nert daie, assuring them that one or two more such bankets as this last, giuen to the enimie, would cole their courages for anie more assaults.

This night now, great noise & working was heard in the dich, whereupon the bulworke was once or twice on alarum. At the last with cressets it was espied that they were making a bridge. The morning came, and then the same was seene to be finished, emptie casks with ropes fastened togither, & sawed bords laid thereon. This yet did but put them within, in a certeintie of that which before they accounted of, and stood prepared for. To be short, the enimies spent all the daie till it was full two of the clocke in batterie, & beating at the two last flankers, which at length they wone from them within, & the gunners of either slaine. Whereupon the lord Greie taking counsell of sir Henrie Palmer, master Lewes Diue and Pontdragon the leader of the Spaniards: it was resolued, that there might be order to make a fucasse within the bulworke, and presentlie to withdraw all from thence, sauing a certeine for a face and stale to toll in the enimie, and then to haue blowne it vp

vp whole to the destruction of them all.

Rich. Grafton.

In the meane time, the duke of Guise hauing giuen order to monsieur Dandelot coronell of the French footmen, that he with his bands should be in a readinesse to giue the assault when signe should be giuen, did withdraw him to an higher ground, from whence he might plainlie discouer the behauiour as well of his souldiors in the assault giuing, as also of the defendants in answering the same. And perceiuing not so manie of the English part appearing for defense (as he douted there would) gaue order forthwith, that a regiment of his most forward lanceknights should mount the breach, to open the first passage: and that monsieur Dandelot with his French footbands should backe them, which order was followed, with such hast & desperat hardines, that entring a deepe ditch full of water, from the bottome whereof to the top of the breach, in some places, was well neare fortie foot, without feare either of the water beneath, or the fire aboue, they mounted the breach.

The duke of Guise and monsieur Dandelot with their powers.

Rabutine.

And whereas the duke had prepared (as ye haue heard) bridges made of planke bords, borne vp with casks and emptie pipes, tied one to another, for his men to passe the said ditch: manie of them now at this assault, without care of those bridges, plunged into the water, and toke the next waie to come to the assault. Which hot hast notwithstanding, the assailants were at the first so stoutlie repelled and put backe by the defendants, being furnished with great store of wildfire, and other fucasies for the purpose, that they were turned headlong one vpon another, much faster than they came vp, not without great wast and slaughter of their best and most forward souldiors, to the small comfort of the stout duke, who (as is said before) stood all this while vpon a little hill to behold this businesse. Wherefore he not induring this sight any longer, as a man inraged, ran among his men, so rebuking some, and incouraging other, that the assault was hot renewed, with much more vehemencie and furie than before, and with no lesse sturdie obstinacie and desperation receiued by the defendants, whereby all the breach beneath was filled with French carcases.

The desperat aduenture of the French.

The duke of Guise in a rage with his soldiers.

This notwithstanding, the duke still redoubled his forces with fresh companies, and continued so manie assaults one vpon another, that at the last charge, being most vehement of all the other, the Englishmen being tired, and greatlie minished in their numbers, by slaughter and bloudie wounds, were of fine force driuen to auoid, & so after halfe an houres fight, the enimie entered. Which when the lord Greie beheld, he leaped to the top of the rampire, wishing of God that some shot would take him. When one that stood next him, by the scarfe suddenlie pulled him downe, otherwise the effects had well declared the earnestnes of the praier: for he was not yet vp againe, when a canon shot grated vpon the same place from whence he fell. And thus verie narrowlie hee scaped the danger of that shot, which if it had hit him would (no doubt) haue wrought his dispatch. For what is the weake frame of a mans bodie to mightie forts and strong castels, builded of timber and stone, beside the iron worke therewith compact, oftentimes redoubling the strength of the same? And yet these (we see by experience) ruinated, battered, and laid leuell manie times with the thundering shot of this dreadfull artillerie: an engine of no great antiquitie, and not vsed among ancient warriours in former ages, but a late deuise of a Franciscan frier; pitie it is that euer he was borne to set abroch such a pestilent inuention, as the poet noteth, shewing also the vse and the mischeefous effect therof as followeth:

Tormenti genus est ex ferro aut ære coactum,
Quod Franciscanus frater reperisse refertur,
Vt capias paucis validissima castra diebus,
Quæ vix cepisses armis toto prius anno, &c.

The English forced to auoid & the enimie entereth.

But to proceed. The fight within the bulworke yet lasted, to the great slaughter of them that defended it. Hereupon my lord Greie presentlie called to maister Lewes Diue, and others that were about him, to follow him to the gate. The maze was such, that besides his sonne maister Arthur Greie, and now lord Greie, maister Lewes Diue, capteine Brickewell, and halfe a dozen of armed corslets, not a man else did follow him. By this means the Englishmen were cleane driuen out of the bulworke, the enimie yet not daring to passe the braies, gaue them that escaped good leisure to recouer the gate, where my lord Greie holding the wicket himselfe, receiued them in. Upon the taking of this bulworke, the souldiors of Whiteleies bulworke and the base court in discomfiture abandoned their charges, flieng to the castell: so that more than the keepe and the bodie of the castell no part was free from the enimie. My lord Greie hauing receiued all his, caused the gates to be rammed vp.

Arthur Greie now lord Greie.

The enimie is dastardlie, all his victories notwithstanding.

Thus were the cheefe bulworks and vtter lims of the castell of Guisnes obteined by the French, on saint Sebastians daie, being the twentith of Januarie, but yet not without great expense of blood on both sides: for of the French part there were slaine in those assaults aboue the number of eight or nine hundred, and of the English not manie fewer: amongst whom the greatest losse lighted vpon those few Spaniards and Wallons that were come to assist the English at that present. It was now night: when a trumpetter came to the ditches side in the base court, & sounded a summons: who being called vnto, & asked what he would, told that he was sent to my lord Greie by the duke of Guise, with offer of a parlee if it would be harkened vnto. The souldiors no sooner heard these newes, but forsaking the walles came all in rowt togither, & confusedlie speaking to their chiefteine the said lord Greie, praied him to harken to the message, & to haue consideration of their liues, which so long as anie hope remained, they willinglie had ventured. The lord Greies answer was, that he marueiled, either what causelesse mistrust of his caring for them was now come vpon them, or what sudden vnwonted faintnesse of mind had so assailed them, as to cause them in such disorder to forsake their places, and leaue the walles naked, and he willed them to returne to the same.

Ric. Grafton.

A trumpetter from the duke of Guise to the lord Greie.

My lord Greie hereof toke counsell, and it was thought good not to reiect the offer, the extremitie on euerie side weied. The trumpetter receiuing answer, accordinglie departed, & without long abode returned againe, requiring in the dukes behalfe hostages for a truce during the parlee from vs, he minding to deliuer the like into the castell. From him in fine monsieur Dessrees, and a gentleman of the kings chamber were sent in: and maister Arthur Greie my lords sonne, and maister Lewes Diue, were put out. Monsieur Dandelot in the braies receiued them, and caried them ouer the vnfortunate bulworke, being come vpon naked and new slaine carcases, some of them spralling yet and groning vnder their feet, were onelie the earth they trod on. So passing downe the breach somewhat to the ease of the former heauie sight, they saw it, and the ditch little lesse fraught with the enimies corpses. Then to the campe they came, and were lodged in the said Dandelots tent.

Hostages required on the dukes part from the lord Greie during the time of the parlee, &c.

The next daie in the morning, the lord Greie was to meet the duke abroade: betweene them willinglie one houre was spent in talking without agreement, onelie vpon this point, that the lord Greie would haue his bands depart with their ensignes displaied, which

The duke and the lord Greie haue communication an whole houre.

which would not be yælded vnto: so he returned, & the hostages also therevpon were sent in. Monsieur Destrées not being yet come forth, my lord was no sooner entered againe, but that the souldiers effsones forsaking the walles, willinglie & to the present cutting of all their owne throtes (if monsieur Destrées himselfe had not bëene, with a few capteins & gentlemen of the lord Greies owne retinue) came and met him, crieng vpon him to haue pitie vpon them. The lord Greie herewith staied, and pausing a while, had this speach.

The lord Greis words to his soldiers being ashamed of their timerousnesse, and yet pitieng their present distresse.

The onelie pitie (if fond I cannot saie) sh at I haue of you, hath caused me this daie to make such offers of composition, as neither your honestie, nor my honour, nor either of our duties in my thought maie well beare, which refused to take harder to the vtter defacing of our credits, sith the best would blot it. If I would, souldiers, your selues (me thinketh) in vengeance thereof should turne your weapons vpon me, and sacrifice so hartlesse a capteine, rather than to take it as a token of a pitifull capteine ouer you, and to yëeld thanks for the same. We haue begun, as becommed vs: we haue yet held on as dutie doth bind vs: let vs end then as honest dutie and fame doth will vs. Neither is there anie such extremitie of despaire in our case, but that we maie yet dearelie inough sell our skins yer we lose them. Let vs then either march out vnder our ensignes displaied, or else herewith die vnder them displaied.

The lord Greies souldiers in a mutinie do murmur against him, &c.

The soldiers herewith in a mutinie flatlie answered, that they for his vainglorie would not sell their liues. The desperatnesse of their case was not vnknowne vnto them (said they) and that their liues in other seruice might yet availe their prince and countrie. In this now further to venture, was but like oxen to be thrust to the butcher. That his lordship was not to expect anie one blow at their hands.

Articles of agreement betweene the lord Greie and the enimie.

Herewith in hast came one from monsieur Destrées that stood at the rampire, aduising him to send his souldiors to the wals, other wise that the Swisses would assuredlie enter. So constreined, his lordship promised them to compound, and so he got them to the wals. Then my lord going to councell, at length agreed vpon these conditions. First, that the castell with all the furniture therin as well vittels as great artillerie, powder, and all other munitions of warre, should be wholie rendred without wasting, hiding, or minishment thereof. Secondarilie, that the lord Greie with all the capteins, officers and others, hauing charge there, should remaine prisoners at the dukes pleasure, to be ransomed after the maner of warre. Thirdlie, that all the rest, as well souldiors as others, should depart with their armors, and baggage to what parties it seemed them best: neuertheless to passe without sound of drum or trumpet, or ensigne, and to leaue them behind. These articles sent by monsieur Destrées to the duke were accepted, & so in the after noone, the duke himselfe came & receiued the keies of my lord Greie, who presentlie went out, and was giuen to the marshall Strozzie, and from him sold to monsieur de Randan, by whom he came into his brother the counte de Rochefoucalt his hands, and there rested, till he was redëemed for foure and twentie thousand crownes.

The soldiors of Guisnes depart thense with bag and baggage.

The daie following, that is saie the two and twentith of Januarie, all the souldiors of the said fortresse of Guisnes, as well English as strangers, with all the rest of the inhabitants, and other (excepted the lord Greie himselfe, maister Arthur Greie his son, sir Henrie Palmer knight, Montdragon capteine of the Spaniards, and other men of charge reserued by the composition) departed with their bag and baggage from thense towards Flanders. At whose issuing forth, there were estëemed to the number of eight or nine hundred able men for the warre, part English & part Burgognians. Of Spaniards so few were left, as no account is to be made of them, in maner the whole number of them being slaine, and selling their liues right dërelie, according to the order of good & hardie souldiors. Thus endeth this siege, wherein for breuities sake we haue left to saie anie thing of the prouisions that the lord Greie made against the same, of the aduertisements that from time to time he sent to king Philip and quëene Marie, and of their answers, of the sundrie aduentures which they of Guisnes had with the enimie during their being about Calis, and of the great and manie booties that were there taken. Onelie in a word or two will I ad what bands of strangers were within the pëce, because thereof as in an other thing or two, I do find maister Grafton in his chronicle speake at rouers. First came in Montdragon, with two Spaniards more, verie valiant men, whome did follow within a daie or two, about foure or fiue and thirtie other Spaniards, all shot, of which (as I haue heard) there went not fiue out of the castell.

What bands of strangers were within the fort.

There came one capteine Desquie a Burgognian, with two hundred souldiors, pikes most. This band was appointed to the Marie bulworke, whose capteine being full of the gout, and an impotent man, would not yet be from his charge, but in his bed ended his life in the bulworke. And so of this enough. But now after the winning of this towne and castell, the duke aduising well vpon the place, and considering that if it should happen to be regained by Englishmen, what a noisome neighbor the same might be to Calis, now being French; and specialtie what impeachment should come thereby for the passage thither from France, considering also the nëere standing thereof to the French kings fortresse of Ard: so that to këepe two garrisons so nigh together should be but a double charge, and not onlie nëedlesse, but also dangerous for the cause afore rehearsed. Upon these considerations (as the Frenchmen write) he tooke order for all the great artillerie, vittels and other munition, to be taken forth, and the castell with all the bulworkes and other fortifications there, with all spëed to be razed and throwne downe, and the stuffe to be caried awaie, and employed in other more necessarie places.

Rich. Grafton.

Hammes castell could not be easilie approched vnto, and why.

Then rested nothing within all the English pale on that side vnconquered, but the little castell or pile called Hammes, which though it were but of small force, made by art and industrie of mans hand, and being altogither of old workemanship without rampiers or bulworks: yet neuertheless, by the naturall situation thereof, being on all sides inuironed with fens and marish grounds, it could not easilie be approched vnto, either with great ordinance for the batterie, or else with anie armie to incampe there for a siege: but hauing one streit passage thereto by a narrow causeie, trauersed and cut through in diuerse places, with dëepe ditches, alwaies full of water. Which thing being well forsëene by Edward lord Dudleie then capteine there, hauing as good cause to suspect a siege there, as his neighbors had afore the Frenchmens comming to Guisnes, caused all the bridges of the said causeie being of wood to be broken, to giue thereby the more impeachment to the French, if they should attempt to approch the same, as shortlie after they did, and kept diuerse of the passages.

The lord Edward Dudleie.

But to deliuer the duke and his souldiors from that care, there came to him glad newes from those that had charge to watch the said causeie, how the capteine hauing intelligence of the rendering of Guisnes, secretlie the same night had conueied himselfe,

A prouiso of aduantage for the duke.

selfe, with his small garrison by a secret passage ouer the marish into Flanders. Whereby the duke being now past care of anie further siege to be laid in all the frontier, tooke order forthwith to seize the said little fort into his own hands, as it was easie to do, when there was no resistance. When this peece was once seized by the French, then remained there none other place of defense nor strength of the English on all that side the sea, for the safegard of the rest of the countrie. Whereby the French king became wholie and throughlie lord & maister of all the English pale: for now (as ye haue heard) there was neither towne, castell, or other fortresse, more or lesse on that side (sauing Bots bulwarke neere to Grauelling, which after king Philip kept as his) but that it was either taken awaie by force, or else abandoned, and left open to the enimie. And (as the Frenchmen write) besides the great riches of gold and siluer, coine, iewels, plate, wools, and other merchandize (which was inestimable) there were found three hundred peeces of brasse mounted on wheeles, and as manie of iron, with such furniture of powder, pellets, armour, vittels, and other munitions of war scarselie credible.

This was a maruellous rich bootie for the enimie, and a great losse to the partie contrarie.

Thus haue you heard the whole discourse of the conquest of the noble towne of Calis, with all the English fortresses and countrie adioining made by the duke of Guise. The newes whereof when they came to the French king, no need to aske how ioifullie they were receiued, not onelie of him and all his court, but also vniuersallie through the whole realme of France. For the which victorie, there was (as the maner is) *Te Deum* sung, and bonefiers made euerie where, as it is wont to be in cases of common ioy and gladnesse, for some rare benefit of God. In so much that shortlie vpon the conquest, there was a publike assemblie at Paris of all the estates of France, who franklie in recompense of the kings charges employed in the winning of Calis, and the places aforesaid, and for maintenance of his wars to be continued afterwards, granted vnto him three millians of French crowns: whereof the clergie of France contributed one millian, besides their disnes. And no maruell though the French did highlie reioise at the recouerie of Calis out of the Englishmens hands: for it is constantlie affirmed of manie, that be acquainted with the affaires of France, that euer since the same towne was first woone by Englishmen, in all solemne councels assembled to treat vpon the state of France, there was a speciall person apointed to put them in remembrance from time to time of Calis: as it were to be wished that the like were vsed in England, vntill it were regained from the French.

Triumphs in France for the getting againe of Calis.

A. Fl. *ex opere historico Schardij collectio. pag.* 1070.

¶ And here because thus much is said of the French by waie of discourse concerning their exulting, and immoderat ioyfulnesse manie waies testified, somewhat being alredie written thereof before: it is noteworthie, either for the increase of wit in vs, if it were the fault of our follie; or the aggrauating of their impudencie, if they blush not to publish a most lewd and lewdlie; to remember what I haue read in verses set forth by a Frenchman; wherein among manie words & terms vsed touching this conquest of Calis & Guisnes (wherein also a prophesie of Merline (of which name there were two, and both prophets) is introduced, foretelling the reuolution of the same to be rather fatall to that nation, than recouerable by prowesse martiall (for thus he saith;)

D. Powell *in hist. Camb. pag.* 4, 5.

Namque erat in fatis redditurum haud antè Caletum
Ad veteres dominos, quàm se regina marito
Traderet externo, veterumque propagine regum
Posthabita, nouus hic succederet aduena regnis;
Ipse Valesina venturum à stirpe nepotem
Merlinus vates multo prædixerat antè,
Sanguinis vltorem nostri cladisque futurum.)

But this is not the matter that I meant (though it conteine somewhat whereat men may muse) but a further reach to the rebuke of rashnesse in some, if it were their deed; and to the shame of others, if the report be false. For thus saith the same author, whose verses euen now I rehearsed, speaking of the Englishmen, whome former victories (saith he) made verie venterous, confident, and full of heart; and besides that, so disdainfull and scornefull towards the French, that they caused to be grauen in hard marbell aloft at the entrie of the castell or fortresse in legible letters (but he telleth not in what language, no more than which of the Merlins prophesie it was; howbeit (saith he) thus much in effect in Latine:

Tùm demùm Francus premet obsidione Caletum,
Cùm ferrum plumbúmue natabit suberis instar.
Then shall the Frenchmen Calis win,
When iron and lead like corke shall swim.

Thus report the French, but how trulie, let them saie that are able (vpon their owne knowledge) to iudge: and thus much shall suffice for that matter.] Now seemed euerie date a yeare to the French king vntill he personallie had visited Calis, and his new conquered countrie. Wherefore about the end of Januarie he tooke his viage thither, accompanied with no small number of his nobilitie: and immediatlie vpon his arriuall there, he perused the whole towne and euerie part thereof from place to place, deuising with the duke of Guise for the better fortification thereof, what should be added vnto the old, and what should be made new, and what should be taken awaie. And after order taken for that businesse, he placed there a noble man, & no lesse valiant knight of the order, called monsieur de Thermes to be capteine of the towne, and so departed he againe into France.

The French king goeth to visit and see Calis.

Monsieur de Thermes made capteine of Calis.

After the French kings departure from Calis, he made great hast for the accomplishment of the marriage, moued betweene Francis his eldest sonne, called the Dolphin, and Marie Steward daughter & sole heire of Iames the fift late king of Scotland: which princesse, if the Scots had bin faithfull of promise, as they seldome be) should haue married king Edward the first. For the breach of which promise began all the warre betweene England & Scotland, as you heard in the latter end of the life of king Henrie the eight, and in the beginning of king Edward the first. This mariage (saith Grafton) though it be not of my matter, I thought not to omit, for that manie things were meant thereby, which thanks be to God neuer came to effect. But one speciall point was not hidden to the world, that by meanes of the same, the realme of Scotland should for euermore haue remained as vnited and incorporat to the crowne of France: and that as the sonne and heire of euerie French king doth succeed to the inheritance and possession of a countrie called the Dolphin, & is therfore called Dolphin; & like as the principalitie of Wales apperteineth to the eldest son of the king of England, who therefore is called the prince of Wales: euen so the Dolphin heire of France should thereby haue beene king of Scotland for euermore: which name and title vpon this mariage was accordinglie giuen to Francis Dolphin and heire apparant of France, to be called king Dolphin. The meaning whereof was vtterlie to exclude for euermore ante to be king of Scotland, but onelie the eldest sonne of France.

The mariage betweene the Dolphin and the princesse of Scots.

Why the son and heire of euerie French king is called the Dolphin.

This memorable marriage was solemnized in the citie of Paris the foure and twentith date of Aprill, in the yeere of Christ 1558, with most magnificall pompe and triumph, and honored with the presence of the most part of the princes, prelats, lords and

The mariage of the quéne of Scots with the Dolphin.

and barons of both the realmes, as it were for a confirmation of this new aliance. Which as it was much to the aduantage and benefit of France: so nothing could be more prejudice & derogation to the crowne of Scotland, as a deuise tending to the perpetuall abolishing and extinguishment of the name & state of kings in that realme. In this meane time also the quæne Dowager of Scotland had done what in hir laie, to procure the Scotish nobilitie to make warres against England: but they being not willing thereto, monsieur Doisell coronell of certeine bands of Frenchmen came to Aimouth within six miles of Berwike, and fortified that place, making sundrie rodes and inuasions into England. In reuenge whereof the Englishmen made the like inrodes into Scotland, whereupon the Scotishmen in their defense (as some pretend) were driuen to haue warres: and thereupon the earle of Huntlete was made lieutenant of the Scots borders, who remaining there by the helpe of the Frenchmen did manie displeasures to the Englishmen. This warre was begun in the yeere last past, and so continued: during the which manie skirmishes and diuerse proper feats of armes were put in practise betwixt the parties (as in the historie of Scotland more at large it doth appeare) where we speake of the doings in the yeares 1557 and 1558.

The quæne Dowager of Scotland doth what she can to procure war against England.

¶ A prest was granted to the quæne by the citizens of London, of twentie thousand pounds, which was leuied of the companies: for the which summe to be paied againe, the quæne bound certeine lands, & also allowed for interest of the monie twelue pounds of euerie hundred for a yeare. Also this yeare within a mile of Nottingham, was a maruellous tempest of thunder, which as it came through two townes, beat downe all the houses and churches, the bels were cast to the out side of the churchyards, and some webs of lead foure hundred fot into the field, writhen like a paire of gloues. The riuer of Trent running betweene the two townes, the water with the mud in the botome was carried a quarter of a mile, and cast against the trées, the trées were pulled vp by the roots and cast twelue score off. Also a child was taken forth of a mans hands two speares length hie, and carried a hundred fot off, and then let fall, wherewith his arme was broken, & so he died. Fiue or six men thereabout were slaine, and neither flesh nor skinne perished; there fell some hailestones that were fifteene inches about, &c. This yeare in haruest time the quartane agues continued in like maner, or more vehementlie, than they had done the last yeare past, where through died manie old people, and speciallie priests, so that a great number of parishes were vnserued, and no curats to be gotten: and much corne was lost in the field for lacke of workemen & labourers. Whereupon insued a great scarsitie; so that in the beginning of sir Thomas Leighs maioralitie, corne rose to fourteene shillings the quarter, and wood waxed scant in London, and was sold for thirteene and foureteene shillings the thousand of billets, and coles at ten pence the sacke, by reason of the great death and sicknesse the last summer for lacke of helpe and carriage.] ¶ And here before we passe the yeare 1558, it were a fowle ouersight, not to make mention of a memorable discourse touching the ladie Katharine late dutchesse of Suffolke, a personage of honor, and worthie of commemoration in chronicles for hir godlinesse to hir high praise: where manie a malefactor is recorded for their outragious wickednesse to their immortall shame. Concerning the said ladie therefore thus writeth maister Fox.

Abr. Fl. ex Ls pag. 1106. A prest to the quæne.

A wonderfull tempest of thunder wonderfull indeed.

A great death of old people through vehement quartane agues.

Ex Ioh. Foxi martyrologio. The old hatred of Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester against the dutchesse of Suffolke.

Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, surmising the ladie Katharine baronesse of Willoughbie and Eresbie, and dutchesse Dowager of Suffolke, to be one of his ancient enimies, because he knew he had deserued no better of hir, deuised in the holie time of the first Lent in quæn Maries reigne, a holie practise of reuenge, first by touching hir in the person of hir husband maister Richard Bertie esquier, for whome he sent an attachment (hauing the great seale at his deuotion) to the shiriffe of Lincolnshire, with a speciall letter, commanding most strictlie the same shiriffe to attach the said Richard immediatlie, and without baile to bring him vp to London to his great lordship. Maister Bertie hir husband being cleare in conscience, and free from offense towards the quæne, could not coniecture anie cause of this strange processe, vnlesse it were some quarrell for religion, which he thought could not be so sore as the processe pretended.

Maister Richard Bertie husband to the dutchesse, attached by the bishop of winchester.

The shiriffe, notwithstanding the commandement, aduentured onelie to take the bond of maister Bertie, with two sureties in a thousand pounds for his appearance, to be made before the bishop on good fridaie following: at which daie maister Bertie appeared, the bishop then lieng at his house by saint Marie Oueries. Of whose presence when the bishop vnderstood by a gentleman of his chamber, in a great rage he came out of his gallerie into his dining chamber, where he found a preasse of suters, saieng he would not that daie heare anie: but came forth onelie to know of maister Bertie, how he being a subiect durst so arrogantlie set at light two former processes of the quænes. Maister Bertie answered, that albeit my lords words might seeme to the rest somewhat sharpe towards him, yet he conceiued great comfort of them. For whereas he before thought it extremitie to be attached, hauing vsed no obstinacie or contumacie: now he gathered of those words, that my lord ment not otherwise but to haue vsed some ordinarie processe; albeit indeed none came to his hands. Yea Marie, quoth the bishop, I haue sent you two *subpœnas*, to appeare immediatlie, and I am sure you receiued them: for I committed the trust of them to no worse man but to maister solicitor, and I shall make you an example to all Lincolnshire for your obstinacie. Maister Bertie denieng the receipt of anie, humblie prated his lordship to suspend his displesure and the punishment, till he had good triall thereof: and then (if it pleased him) to double the paine for the fault, if anie were. Well (quoth the bishop) I haue appointed my selfe this daie (according to the holinesse of the same) for deuotion, and I will not further trouble me with you: but I inioine you in a thousand pounds, not to depart without leaue, and to be here againe to morrow at seauen of the clocke.

Maister Bertie well obserued the houre, and no iot failed. At the which time the bishop had with him maister sergeant Stamford, to whome he moued certeine questions of the said maister Bertie, because maister sergeant was towards the lord Wriothesleie late earle of Southampton, & chancellor of England, with whom the said maister Bertie was brought vp. Maister sergeant made verie friendlie report of maister Bertie of his owne knowledge for the time of their conuersation togither. Whereupon the bishop caused maister Bertie to be brought in; and first making a false traine (as God would, without fire) before he would descend to the quarrell of religion, he assaulted him in this maner. The quænes pleasure is (quoth the bishop) that you shall make present paiment of foure thousand pounds due to hir father by duke Charles, late husband to the dutchesse your wife, whose executor she was. Pleaseth it your lordship (quoth maister Bertie) that debt is estalled, and is according to that estallment truelie answered. Tush (quoth the bishop) the quæne will not be bound

Maister Bertie appeareth before bishop Gardiner.

Talke betweene bishop Gardiner and maister Bertie.

The deuotion of bishop Gardiner to good fridaie.

Maister Bertie attached for debt of foure thousand pounds due to the quæne.

to

Ket captein of the rebels in Norfolke in king Edwards time.

to eſtallments, in the time of Kets gouernment, for ſo I eſteeme the late gouernment. The eſtallment (quoth maiſter Bertie) was appointed by king Henrie the eight; beſides, the ſame was by ſpeciall commiſſioners confirmed in king Edwards time, and the lord treaſuror being an executor alſo to the duke Charles ſolie and wholie, toke vpon him before the ſaid commiſſioners to diſcharge the ſame.

If it be true that you ſaie (quoth the biſhop) I will ſhew you fauor. But of an other thing maiſter Bertie, I will admoniſh you as mening you well. I heare euill of your religion; yet I hardlie can think euill of you, whoſe mother I know to be as godlie and catholike, as anie within this land, your ſelfe brought vp with a maiſter, whoſe education if I ſhould diſallow, I might be charged as author of his error. Beſides partlie I know you my ſelfe, and vnderſtand of my friends inough to make me your friend: wherfore I will not doubt of you, but I praie you if I maie aſke the queſtion of my ladie your wife; is ſhe now as readie to ſet vp the maſſe, as ſhe was latelie to pull it downe, when ſhe cauſed in hir progreſſe, a dog in a rochet to be caried & called by my name? Or doth ſhe thinke hir lambs now ſafe inough, which ſaid to me when I vailed my bonnet to hir out of my chamber window in the tower, that it was merie with the lambs now the woolfe was ſhut vp? Another time my lord hir husband hauing inuited me and diuerſe ladies to dinner, deſired euerie ladie to chooſe him whome ſhe loued beſt, and ſo place themſelues. My ladie your wife taking me by the hand, for that my lord would not haue hir to take himſelfe, ſaid, that for ſo much as ſhe could not ſit downe with my lord whome ſhe loued beſt, ſhe had choſen me whome ſhe loued worſt.

A dog clothed in a rochet vnder the name of biſhop Gardiner.

It is merie with lambs when wolues be tied.

Of the deuiſe of the dog, quoth maiſter Bertie, ſhe was neither the author nor the allower. The words, though in that ſeaſon they ſounded bitter to your lordſhip: yet if it ſhould pleaſe you without offenſe to know the cauſe, I am ſure the one will purge the other. As touching ſetting vp of maſſe, which ſhe learned not onelie by ſtrong perſuaſions of diuerſe excellent learned men, but by vniuerſall conſent and order whole ſix yeares paſt inwardlie to abhorre; if ſhe ſhould outwardlie allow, ſhe ſhould both to Chriſt ſhew hir ſelfe a falſe chriſtian, and vnto hir prince a maſking ſubiect. You know my lord, one by iudgement reformed, is more worth than a thouſand tranſformed temporizors. To force a confeſſion of religion by mouth, contrarie to that in the heart, worketh damnation where ſaluation is pretended. Yea marie (quoth the biſhop) that deliberation would do well if ſhe neuer required to come from an old religion to a new. But now ſhe is to returne from a new to an ancient religion: wherein when ſhe made me hir goſſip, ſhe was as earneſt as anie.

Purgation of the ladie ducheſſe for not comming to maſſe.

For that, my lord (ſaid M. Bertie) not long ſince, ſhe anſwered a friend of hirs vſing your lordſhips ſpeech, that religion went not by age but by truth: and therefore ſhe was to be turned by perſuaſion and not by commandement. I praie you (quoth the biſhop) thinke you it poſſible to perſuade hir? Yea verelie (ſaid maiſter Bertie) with the truth: for ſhe is reaſonable inough. The biſhop therevnto replieng, ſaid: It will be a maruellous griefe to the prince of Spaine, and to all the nobilitie that ſhall come with him, when they ſhall find but two noble perſonages of the Spaniſh race within this land, the queene, and my ladie your wife, and one of them gone from the faith. Maiſter Bertie anſwered, that he truſted they ſhould find no fruits of infidelitie in hir. So the biſhop perſuading maiſter Bertie to trauell earneſtlie for the reformation of hir opinion, and offering large friendſhip, releaſed him of his band from further appearance.

Religion goeth not by age, but by truth.

Maiſter Bertie releaſed from his band of appearing.

The duchеſſe and hir huſband, daſtie more and more, by their friends vnderſtanding that the biſhop meant to call hir to an account of hir faith, whereby extreamitie might follow, deuiſed waies how by the queenes licence they might paſſe the ſeas. Maiſter Bertie had a redie meane: for there reſted great ſummes of monie due to the old duke of Suffolke (one of whoſe executors the duchеſſe was) beyond the ſeas, the emperour himſelfe being one of thoſe debtors. Maiſter Bertie communicated this his purpoſed ſute for licence to paſſe the ſeas, and the cauſe, to the biſhop; adding, that he toke this time moſt meet to deale with the emperour, by reaſon of likelihood of marriage betweene the queene and his ſonne. I like your deuiſe well (quoth the biſhop) but I thinke it better, that you tarrie the princes comming, and I will procure you his letters alſo to his father. Naie (quoth maiſter Bertie) vnder your lordſhips correction & pardon of ſo liberall ſpeech, I ſuppoſe the time will then be leſſe conuenient: for when the marriage is conſummate, the emperour hath his deſire: but till then he will refuſe nothing to win credit with vs.

Waies practiſed how to conuеie the duchеſſe ouer the ſeas with the queenes licence.

Maiſter Bertie deuiſeth cauſes to paſſe ouer into Flanders.

By ſaint Marie (quoth the biſhop, ſmiling) you geſſe ſhrewdlie. Well, proceed in your ſute vnto the queene, and it ſhall not lacke my helping hand. Maiſter Bertie found ſo good ſucceſſe, that he in few daies obteined the queenes licence, not onlie to paſſe the ſeas, but to paſſe and repaſſe them ſo often as to him ſeemed good, till he had finiſhed all his buſineſſe and cauſes beyond the ſeas. So he paſſed the ſeas at Douer about the beginning of June in the firſt yeare of hir reigne, leauing the duchеſſe behind, who by agreement and conſent betwixt hir and hir huſband, followed, taking barge at Lion kete, verie earlie in the morning, on the firſt daie of Januarie next inſuing, not without ſome perill. There was none of thoſe that went with hir, made priuie to hir going till the inſtant, but an old gentleman called maiſter Robert Cranwell, whome maiſter Bertie had ſpeciallie prouided for that purpoſe. She toke with hir hir daughter an infant of one yeare, and the meaneſt of hir ſeruants: for ſhe doubted the beſt would not aduenture that fortune with hir. They were in number foure men, one a Greeke borne, which was a rider of horſſes, an other a ioiner, the third a brewer, the fourth a fole one of the kitchin, one gentlewoman, and a landreſſe.

Maiſter Bertie licenced by the queene to paſſe the ſeas.

Preparation made how to conuеie the duchеſſe ouer the ſeas.

M. Cranwell a truſtie friend to maiſter Bertie.

As ſhe departed hir houſe called the Barbican, betwixt foure and fiue of the clocke in the morning, with hir companie and baggage, one Atkinſon an herald, keeper of hir houſe, bearing noiſe about the houſe, roſe and came forth with a torch in his hand as ſhe was yet iſſuing out of the gate: wherewith being amazed, ſhe was forced to leaue a male with neceſſaries for hir yong daughter, & a milkepot with milke in the ſame gatehouſe, commanding all hir ſeruants to ſpeed them before awaie to Lion keie: and taking with hir onelie the two women and hir child, ſo ſoone as ſhe was out of hir owne houſe, perceiuing the herald to follow, ſhe ſlept in at Garterhouſe hard by. The herald comming out of the duchеſſe houſe, and ſeeing no bodie ſtirring, not aſſured (though by the male ſuſpecting) that ſhe was departed, returned in: and while he ſtaied ranſacking parcels left in the male, the duchеſſe iſſued into the ſtreet, and proceeded in hir iournie, he knowing the place onelie by name where ſhe ſhould take hir boat, but not the waie thither, nor none with hir. Likewiſe hir ſeruants hauing diuided themſelues, none but one knew the waie to the ſaid keie.

The duchеſſe with hir companie departed the realme.

The maner of the duchеſſe flieng out of hir houſe.

So ſhe apparelled like a meane merchants wife, and the reſt like meane ſeruants, walking in the ſtreets vnknown, ſhe toke the way that led to Finſ-

burie

burie field, and the others walked the citie streets as they laie open before them, till by chance more than discretion, they met all suddenlie together a little within More gate, from whence they passed directlie to Lion keie, and there toke barge in a morning so mistie, that the stearesman was loth to lanch out, but that they urged him. So sone as the daie permitted, the councell was informed of hir departure, and some of them came forthwith to hir house to inquire of the maner thereof, and toke an inuentarie of hir goods, besides further order deuised for search and watch to apprehend and staie hir. The fame of hir departure reached to Leigh, a towne at the lands end, before hir approching thither. By Leigh dwelt one Gosling a merchant of London, an old acquaintance of Cranwels, whither the said Cranwell brought the duchesse, naming hir mistresse White, the daughter of master Gosling, for such a daughter he had which neuer was in that countrie. There she reposed hir, and made new garments for hir daughter, hauing lost hir owne in the male at Barbican.

When the time came that she should take ship, being constreind that night to lie at an inne in Leigh (where she was againe almost bewraied) yet notwithstanding by Gods good working she escaping that hazzard, at length as the tide and wind did serue, they went aboord, and being carried twise into the seas, almost into the coast of Zeland, by contrarie wind were driuen to the place from whence they came. And at the last recule, certeine persons came to the shore, suspecting she was within that ship: yet hauing examined one of hir companie that was one land for fresh Achates, and finding by the simplicitie of his tale, onelie the appearance of a meane merchants wife to be a shipboord, he ceased anie further search. To be short, so sone as the duchesse had landed in Brabant, she and hir women were apparelled like the women of Netherland with hukes, and so she and hir husband toke their iournie towards Cleueland, and being arriued at a towne therin called Santon, toke a house there, vntill they might further deuise of some sure place where to settle themselues.

About fiue miles from Santon is a free towne called Wesell, vnder the said duke of Cleues dominion, and one of the Hauns townes, priuileged with the companie of the Stilliard in London, whither diuerse Wallons were fled for religion, and had for their minister one Francis Perusell, then called Francis de Riuers, who had receiued some courtesie in England at the duchesse hands. Master Bertie being yet at Santon, practised with him to obteine a protection from the magistrats for his abode and his wiues at Wesell: which was the soner procured bicause the state of the duchesse was not discouered but onelie to the cheefe magistrate, earnestlie bent to shew them pleasure, whilest this protection was in seeking.

In the meane while, at the towne of Santon was a muttering, that the duchesse and hir husband were greater personages than they gaue themselues forth, and the magistrats not verie well inclined to religion; the bishop of Arras also being deane of the great minster, order was taken, that the duches and hir husband should be examined of their condition and religion vpon the sudden. Which practise discouered by a gentleman of that countrie to master Bertie, he without delaie taking no more than the duches hir daughter, and two other with them, as though he meant no more but to take the aire, about three of the clocke in the afternoone in Februarie, on foot, without hiering of horsse or wagon for feare of disclosing his purpose, meant priuilie that night to get to Wesell, leauing his other familie still at Santon.

After the duches and he were one English mile from the towne, there fell a mightie raine of continuance, whereby a long frost and ise before congealed was thawed, which doubled more the wearinesse of those new lackies. But being now on the waie, and ouertaken with the night, they sent their two seruants (which onelie went with them) to villages, as they passed, to hire some car for their ease: but none could be hired. In the mene time master Bertie was forced to carrie the child, and the duches his cloke and rapier. At last betwixt six and seauen of the clocke in the darke night, they came to Wesell, and repairing to their innes for lodging and some repose after such a painfull iournie, found hard interteinment: for going from inne to inne, offering large monie for small lodging, they were refused of all the inholders, suspecting master Bertie to be a lanceknight, and the duches to be his woman. The child for cold and sustenance cried pittifullie, the mother wept as fast, and the heauens rained as fast as the clouds could powre.

Master Bertie destitute of all other succor of hospitalitie, resolued to bring the duchesse to the porch of the great church in the towne, and so to buie coles, victuals and straw for their miserable repose there that night, or at least till by Gods helpe he might prouide hir better lodging. Master Bertie at that time vnderstood not much Dutch, and by reason of euill weather and late season of the night, he could not happen vpon anie that could speake English, French, Italian, or Latine; till at last going towards the church porch, he heard two striplings talking Latine, to whome he approched and offered them two stiuers to bring him to some Wallons house. By these boies, and Gods good conduct, he chanced at the first vpon the house where master Perusell supped that night, who had procured them the protection of the magistrats of that towne. At the first knocke, the goodman of the house himselfe came to the doore, and opening it, asked master Bertie what he was. Master Bertie said, an Englishman, that sought for one master Perusels house. The Wallon willed master Bertie to staie a while, who went backe and told master Perusell that the same English gentleman, of whome they had talked the same supper, had sent, by likelihood his seruant to speake with him. Whereupon master Perusell came to the doore, and beholding master Bertie, the duchesse, & their child, their faces, apparels, and bodies so farre from their old forme, deformed with durt, weather, and heauinesse, could not speake to them, nor they to him for teares. At length recouering themselues, they saluted one another, & so togither entered the house, God knoweth full toilfullie: master Bertie changing of his apparell with the goodman, the duchesse with the good wife, and their child with the child of the house.

Within few daies after, by master Perusels means, they hired a verie faire house in the towne, and did not let to shew themselues what they were, in such good sort as their present condition permitted. It was by this time through the whole towne what discourtesie the inholders had shewed vnto them at their entrie, in so much as on the sundaie following, a preacher in the pulpit openlie in sharpe termes rebuked that great inciuilitie towards strangers; by allegation of sundrie places out of holie scriptures, discoursing how not onelie princes sometime are receiued in the image of priuat persons, but angels in the shape of men, and that God of his iustice would make the strangers one day in an other land, to haue more sense of the afflicted heart of a stranger. The time was passing forth, as they thought themselues thus happilie setled, suddenlie a watchword came from sir John Mason, then quéene Maries ambassadour in Netherland, that my lord Paget had fained

The duchesse with hir companie taketh barge.

Pursute after the duchesse.

The duchesse retained in M. Gollings house by Leigh, vnder the name of his daughter.

The hard aduenture of the duchesse vpon the seas.

The duchesse landed in Brabant.

M. Bertie with the duchesse his wife retired at Santon.

The free towne of Wesell in Cleueland.

A protection procured for the duchesse, & the magistrates of Wesell.

M. Bertie & the duchesse in danger of taking by the bishop of Arras at Santō.

Another escape of the duchesse and hir husband.

The hard distresse of the duchesse by euill wether.

The hard interteinment of M. Bertie & the duchesse at their entring into Wesell.

Gods prouidence in time of distresse.

The meeting of M. Perusell & the duchesse at Wesell.

The citizens of Wesell admonished by their preacher of their hartnesse toward strangers.

A frendlie part of sir John Mason towards the duchesse.

I traine laid for ỹ dutches by the lord Paget and the duke of Brunswicke.

an errant to the baths that waies: and whereas the duke of Brunswicke was shortlie with ten ensignes to passe by Wesell for the seruice of the house of Austricke against the French king, the said duchesse, and hir husband should be with the same charge and companie intercepted. Wherefore to preuent the crueltie of these enimies, master Bertie with his wife and child departed to a place called Winheim in high Dutchland vnder the Palsgraues dominion, where vnder his protection they continued till their necessaries began to faile them, and they almost fainting vnder so heauis a burthen, began to faile of hope.

M. Bertie & the dutchesse remoue to Winheim vnder the Palsgraue.

At what time, in the middest of their despaire, there came suddenlie letters to them from the Palatine of Vilua and the king of Pole, being instructed of their hard estate by a baron named Ioannes Alasco, that was somtime in England, offring them large curtesie. This purraison vnlooked for greatlie reuiued their heauie spirits. Yet considering they should remoue from manie their countriemen and acquaintance, to a place so farre distant, a countrie not haunted with the English, and perhaps vpon their arriuall not finding as they looked for, the end of their iornie should be worse than the beginning: they deuised thereupon with one maister Barlow, late bishop of Chichester, that if he would vouchsafe to take some paines therin, they would make him a fellow of that iournie. So finding him prone, they sent with him letters of great thanks to the king & Palatine, and also with a few principall iewels (which onlie they had left of manie) to solicit for them, that the king would vouchsafe vnder his seale, to assure them of the thing which he so honourablie by letters offered.

The helping hand of the Lord againe in their necessitie.

Ioan. Alasco a meanes to the king of Pole for the duchesse of Suffolke.

The dutchesse inuited into Poleland by the kings letters.

M. Barlow a messenger from the dutchesse to the king of Pole.

That suit by the forwardnes of the Palatine was as soone granted as vttered. Vpon which assurance the said dutchesse and hir husband, with their familie, entred the iournie in Aprill 1557, from the castell of Winheim, where they before laie, towards Francfort. In the which their iournie, it were long here to describe what dangers fell by the waie vpon them, & their whole companie, by reason of the Lantgraues capteines, who vnder a quarrell pretensed for a spaniell of maister Berties, set vpon them in the high waie, with his horsemen, thrusting their borespears through the wagon where the children and women were, maister Bertie hauing but foure horsemen with him. In the which brabble it happened the capteins horsse to be slaine vnder him.

The Palatine of Vilua a great friend of the dutches.

The dutches taketh hir iournie toward Pole.

The troubles happening to the dutches in hir iournie to Poleland.

Whereupon a rumor was sparsed immediatlie through townes and villages about, that the Lantgraues capteine should be slaine by some Wallons, which incensed the ire of the countriemen there more fiercelie against maister Bertie, as afterwards it proued. For as he was motioned by his wife to saue himselfe by the swiftnes of his horsse, and to recouer some towne thereby for his rescue, he so doing was in worse case than before: for the townesmen and the capteines brother supposing no lesse but that the capteine had beene slaine, pressed so egerlie vpon him, that he had beene there taken and murthered among them, had not he (as God would) spieng a ladder leaning to a window, by the same got vp into the house, and so gone vp in to a garret in the top of the house, where he with his dag and rapier defended himselfe for a space: but at length the Burghmaister comming thither with another magistrate, which could speake Latine, he was counselled to submit himselfe vnto the order of the law. Maister Bertie knowing himselfe cleere, and the capteine to be aliue, was the more bolder to submit himselfe to the iudgement of the law, vpon condition that the magistrate would receiue him vnder safe conduct, and defend him from the rage of the multitude. Which being promised, maister Bertie putteth himselfe and his weapon in

M. Bertie in great danger of his life.

the magistrates hand, and so was committed to safe custodie, while the truth of his cause should be tried. Then maister Bertie writing his letters to the Lantgraue and to the earle of Erbagh, the next daie erlie in the morning the earle of Erbagh dwelling within eight miles, came to the towne whither the dutchesse was brought with hir wagon, maister Bertie also being in the same towne vnder custodie.

The earle, who had some intelligence of the dutches before, after he was come, & had shewed such courtesie as he thought to hir estate was seemelie, the townesmen perceiuing the earle to behaue himselfe so humblie vnto hir, began to consider more of the matter: and further vnderstanding the capteine to be aliue, both they, and especallie the authors of the stir shrunke awaie, and made all the friends they could to maister Bertie and his wife, not to report their doings after the worst sort. And thus maister Bertie and his wife escaping that danger, proceeded in their iournie toward Poleland, where in conclusion they were quietlie interteined of the king, and placed honorablie in the earledome of the said king of Poles in Sanogelia, called Crozan, where maister Bertie with the dutchesse hauing the kings absolute power of gouernment ouer the said earldome, continued both in great quietnesse and honor, till the death of quæne Marie.] Whose troublesome time (sauoring altogither of bloudshed & mercilesse murthering of Gods saints, wherof the poet saith full trulie,

M. Bertie with the dutchesse honorablie interteined of the K. of Pole.

——— *tellus madefacta cruore*
Christicolûm regerit decursus sanguinis atros,
Heu carnem mollem puerorum deuorat ignis,
Fœmina másque perit, nulla ratione virilis
Fœminei aut sexus habita)

being expired, and the peaceable reigne of gratious quæne Elizabeth established, the said dutchesse and hir husband returned into England, where they liued in libertie both of bodie and mind; in which good state we will leaue them. And bicause we are entred into a discourse of troubles happening to personages of good account and name; it is necessarie that wee adde another narration of like argument vnto the former, concerning the troubles and happie deliuerance of the reuerend father in God doctor Sands, first bishop of Worcester, next of London, and now archbishop of Yorke, as I find it word for word in maister Fox, who beginneth and continueth the said discourse as followeth.

¶ King Edward died, the world being vnworthie of him, the duke of Northumberland came downe to Cambridge with an armie of men, hauing commission to proclame ladie Jane quæne, and by power to suppresse ladie Marie, who toke vpon hir that dignitie, and was proclamed quæne in Norfolke. The duke sent for doctor Sands being vicechancellor, for doctor Parker, for doctor Bill, and maister Leauer, to sup with him. Amongst other speeches he said; Maisters, praie for vs that we speed well: if not, you shall be made bishops, and we deacons. And euen so it came to passe: doctor Parker, and doctor Sands were made bishops, and he and sir John Gates, who was then at the table, were made deacons yer it was long after on the tower hill. Doctor Sands being vicechancellor, was required to preach on the morrow. The warning was short for such an auditorie, and to speake of such a matter: yet he refused not the thing, but went to his chamber, and so to bed. He rose at three of the clocke in the morning, toke his bible in his hand, and after that he had praied a good space, he shut his eies, and holding his bible before him, earnestlie praied to God that it might fall open where a most fit text should be for him to intreat of. The bible (as God would haue it) fell open vpon the first chapter of Iosua, where he found so conuenient

Abr. Fl. ex I. Fox martyrologio. D. Sands vicechancellor when the duke of Northumberland came down to Cambridge to proclame the ladie Jane quæne.

ent a péce of scripture for that time, that the like he could not haue chosen in all the bible. His text was thus: *Responderúntque ad Iosue, atque dixerunt, Omnia quæ præcepisti nobis faciemus, & quocunque miseris ibimus: sicut obediuimus in cunctis Mosi ita obediemus & tibi, tantùm sit Dominus Deus tuus tecum sicut fuit cum Mose, qui contradixerit ori tuo, & non obedierit cunctis sermonibus quos præceperis ei, moriatur: tu tantùm confortare & viriliter age.* Who shall consider what was concluded by such as named themselues by the state, and withall, the auditorie, the time, and other circumstances, he shall easilie sée that this text most fitlie serued for the purpose. And as God gaue the text, so gaue he him such order and vtterance, as pulled manie teares out of the eies of the biggest of them.

The text of D. Sands whereupon he made his sermon.

In the time of his sermon one of the gard lift vp to him into the pulpit a masse booke and a graile, which sir George Howard with certeine of the gard had taken that night in maister Hurlestons house, where ladie Marie had béene a little before, & there had masse. The duke with the rest of the nobilitie required doctor Sands to put his sermon in writing; and appointed maister Leauer to go to London with it, and to put it in print. Doctor Sands required one daie and a halfe for writing of it. At the time appointed he had made it readie, and maister Leauer was readie bowted to receiue it at his hands, & carie it to London. As he was deliuering of it, one of the bedels named maister Adams, came wéeping to him, & praied him to shift for himselfe, for the duke was retired, and quéene Marie proclamed.

The duke & nobles desire D. Sands to write his sermon that it might be printed.

Doctor Sands was not troubled herewithall, but gaue the sermon written to maister Leifield; maister Leauer departed home, and he went to dinner to one maister Powes a bedell, his great friend. At the dinner, mistresse Powe séeing him merrie and pleasant (for he had euer a mans courage, and could not be terrified) dranke vnto him, saieng: Maister vicechancellor, I drinke vnto you, for this is the last time that euer I shall sée you. And so it was, for shée was dead before doctor Sands returned out of Germanie. The duke that night retired to Cambridge, and sent for doctor Sands to go with him to the market place to proclame quéene Marie. The duke cast vp his cap with others, and so laughed, that the teares ran downe his chéekes for greefe. He told doctor Sands that quéene Marie was a mercifull woman, and that he doubted not thereof: declaring, that shée had sent vnto hir to know hir pleasure, and loked for a generall pardon. Doctor Sands answered; My life is not deare vnto me, neither haue I done or said anie thing that vrgeth my conscience. For that which I spake of the state, I haue instructions warranted by the subscription of sixténe councellors. Neither can speach be treason, neither yet haue I spoken further than the word of God, and lawes of this realme doth warrant me, come of me what God will. But be you assured, you shall neuer escape death: for if shée would saue you, those that now shall rule will kill you.

Mistresse Powe spake truer than peradventure she thought.

D. Sands words to the duke touching his owne sermon and the dukes action.

That night the gard apprehended the duke, and certeine groomes of the stable were as busie with doctor Sands, as if they would take a prisoner. But sir John Gates who laie then in doctor Sands his house, sharplie rebuked them, and draue them awaie. Doctor Sands, by the aduise of sir John Gates, walked into the fields. In the meane time the vniuersitie (contrarie to all order) had met togither in consultation, and ordered that doctor Mouse and doctor Hatcher should repaire to doctor Sands lodging, and fet awaie the statute booke of the vniuersitie, the keies, and such other things that were in his kéeping, and so they did. For doctor Mouse being an earnest protestant the daie before, and one whome doctor Sands had done much for, now was he become a papist, and his great enimie.

Bail intended against doctor Sands.

Certeine of the vniuersitie had appointed a congregation at afternoone. As the bell rang to it, doctor Sands commeth out of the fields, and sending for the bedels, asketh what the matter meaneth, and requireth them to wait vpon him to the schooles, according to their dutie. So they did. And so soone as doctor Sands, the bedels going before him, came into the regent house and toke his chaire; one maister Pitch with a rabble of vnlearned papists went into a by-schoole, and conspired togither to pull him out of his chaire, and to vse violence vnto him. Doctor Sands began his oration, expostulating with the vniuersitie, charging them with great ingratitude, declaring that he had said nothing in his sermon, but that hée was readie to iustifie, and that there case was all one with his: for they had not onelie concealed, but consented to that which he had spoken.

A conspiracie of papists against doctor Sands, and their behauior towards him.

And thus while he remembred vnto them how beneficiall he had béene to the vniuersitie, and their vnthankfulnesse to him againe, in commeth maister Pitch with his conspirators about twentie in number. One laieth hand vpon the chaire to pull it from him, another told him that that was not his place, and another called him traitor. Whereat he perceiuing how they vsed violence, and being of great courage, groped to his dagger, and had dispatched some of them as Gods enimies; if doctor Bill and doctor Blith had not fallen vpon him, and praied him for Gods sake to hold his hands and be quiet, and patientlie to beare that great offered wrong. He was persuaded by them, and after that tumult was ceased, he ended his oration, and hauing some monie of the vniuersities in his hands, he there deliuered the same euerie farthing. He gaue vp the books, reckonings & keies perteining to the vniuersitie, & withall yelded vp his office, praieng God to giue to the vniuersitie a better officer, and to giue them better and more thankfull hearts, and so repaired home to his owne college.

D. Sands couragious heart and manhood.

D. Sands resigneth vp his office of vicechancellorship

On the morrow after, there came vnto him one maister Gerningham, and one maister Thomas Mildmaie. Gerningham told him, that it was the quéens pleasure that two of the gard should attend on him, and that he must be carted prisoner to the tower of London with the duke. Maister Mildmaie said he marueled that a learned man would speake so vnaduisedlie against so good a prince, and wilfullie run into such danger. Doctor Sands answered, I shall not be ashamed of bonds. But if I could do as maister Mildmaie can, I needed not feare bonds: for he came downe in paiment against quéene Marie, and armed in the field, and now he returneth in paiment for quéene Marie: before a traitor and now a great friend. I can not with one mouth blow hot and cold after this sort.

Maister Mildmaies trecherie noted by doctor Sands to his obloquie

Upon this, his stable was robbed of foure notable good geldings, the best of them maister Hurlestone toke for his owne saddle, and rode on him to London in his sight. An inuentarie was taken of all his goods by maister Pore bedell for the vniuersitie. Hée was set vpon a lame horse that halted to the ground, which thing a friend of his perceiuing, praied that he might lend him a nag. The yeoman of the gard were content. As he departed out of the townes end, some papists resorted thither to géere at him, some of his friends to mourne for him. He came into the ranke to London, the people being full of outcries. And as he came in at Bishops gate, one like a milkewise hurled a stone at him, and hit him on the breast with such a blow, that he was like to fall off his horsse. To whome he mildlie said: Woman, God forgiue it thée. Truth it is, that iourneieng & euill intreating

The miusage of certeine drabs against doctor Sands as he was brought prisoner to the tower.

so mortified him, that he was more readie to die than to liue.

As he came through tower hill street, one woman standing in hir doore, cried: Fie on thée thou knaue, thou knaue, thou traitor, thou heretike. Whereat hée smiled. Loke; the desperat heretike (saith she) laugheth at this geare. A woman on the other side of the street answered, saieng: Fie on thée neighbour, thou art not worthie to be called a woman, railing vpon this gentleman whom thou knowest not, neither yet the cause whie he is thus intreated. Then shée said, God gentleman, God be thy comfort, and giue thee strength to stand in Gods cause euen to the end. And thus he passed through fire and water into the tower, the first prisoner that entered in that daie, which was saint Iames daie. The yeoman of the gard toke from him his borowed nag, and what else soeuer hée had. His man one Quintin Swainton brought after him a bible, and some shirts, and such like things. The bible was sent in to him, but the shirts and such like serued the yeoman of the gard.

The gard ofter him towle wrong.

After he had béene in the tower three weekes in a bad prison, he was lift vp into Nunnes bower, a better prison, where was put to him master John Bradford. At the daie of quéene Maries coronation, their prison doore was set open, euer shut before. One master Michell his old acquaintance, who had béene prisoner before in the same place, came in to him and said: Master Sands, there is such a stur in the tower, that neither gates, doores, nor prisoners are loked to this daie. Take my cloake, my hat and my rapier, and get you gone; you maie go out of the gates without questioning; saue your selfe, and let me dow as I maie. A rare friendship: but he refused the offer, saieng: I know no iust cause why I should be in prison. And thus to dow were to make my selfe guiltie, I will expect Gods good will, yet must I thinke my selfe most bound vnto you: and so master Michell departed.

Master Michels counsell to D. Sands to make an escape.

While doctor Sands and master Bradford were thus in close prison togither nine and twentie weeks, one John Bowler was their keeper, a verie peruerse papist, yet by often persuading of him, for he would giue eare, and by the gentle vsing of him, at length he began to mislike poperie, and to fauour the gospell, and so persuaded in true religion, that on a sundaie when they had masse in the chappell, he bringeth vp a seruice booke, a manchet and a glasse of wine, and there doctor Sands ministred the communion to Bradford and to Bowler. Thus Bowler was their sonne begotten in bonds when Wiat was in armes, & the old duke of Norfolke sent forth with a power of men to apprehend him, that rome might be made in the tower for him and other his complices. Doctor Cranmer, doctor Ridleie, and master Bradford were cast into one prison, & doctor Sands with nine other preachers were sent into the Marshalsea.

Bowler of a peruerse papist becometh reformed in true religion.

D. Sands remoued to the Marshalsea.

The keeper of the Marshalsea appointed to euerie preacher a man to lead him in the street, he caused them go farre before, and he and doctor Sands came behind, whome he would not lead, but walked familiarlie with him. Yet doctor Sands was knowne, and the people euerie where praied to God to comfort him, & to strengthen him in the truth. By that time the peoples minds were altered, poperie began to be vnsauerie. After they passed the bridge, the keeper Thomas Waie said to doctor Sands: I perceiue the vaine people would set you forward to the fire, you are as vaine as they, if you being a yong man will stand in your own conceit, & prefer your own knowledge before the iudgement of so manie worthie prelats, ancient, learned, and graue men, as be in this relme. If you so dow, you shal find me as strict a keeper as one that vtterlie misliketh your religion. Doctor Sands answered; I know my yeares yong, and my learning small, it is inough to know Christ crucified, and he hath learned nothing that seeth not the great blasphemie that is in poperie, I will yéeld vnto God and not vnto man: I haue read in the scriptures of manie godlie and courteous keepers, God may make you one; if not, I trust he will giue me strength and patience to beare your hard dealing with me. Saith Thomas Waie; Dow you then mind to stand to your religion? Yea saith doctor Sands, by Gods grace. Trulie saith the keeper, I loue you the better, I did but tempt you. What fauor I can shew you, you shall be sure of, and I shall thinke my selfe happie if I may die at the stake with you. The said keeper shewed doctor Sands euer after all friendship: he trusted him to go into the fields alone, and there met with maister Bradford, who then was remoued into the Bench, and there found like fauor of his keeper. He laid him in the best chamber in the house: he would not suffer the knight marshals men to late fetters on him, as others had. And at his request, he put maister Sands in to him, to be his bedfellow, and sundrie times suffered his wife, who was maister Sands daughter of Essex, a gentlewoman, beautifull both in bodie & soule to resort to him. There was great resort vnto doctor Sands, and maister Sanders: they had much monie offered them, but they would receiue none. They had the communion there three or foure times, and a great sort of communicants. Doctor Sands gaue such exhortation to the people, for at that time being yong, he was thought verie eloquent, that he moued manie tears and made the people abhorre the masse, and defie all poperie.

The frendship that doctor Sands found at his keepers hands.

When Wiat with his armie came into Southwarke, he sent two gentlemen into the Marshalsea to doctor Sands: saieng, that maister Wiat would be glad of his compants and aduise, & that the gates should be set open for all the prisoners. He answered: Tell maister Wiat, if this his rising be of God it will take place: if not, it will fall. For my part I was committed hither by order, I will be discharged by like order, or I will neuer depart hence. So answered maister Sanders, and the rest of the preachers being there prisoners. After that doctor Sands had béene nine weekes prisoner in the Marshalsea, by the mediation of sir Thomas Holcroft then knight marshall he was set at libertie. Sir Thomas sued earnestlie to the bishop of Winchester, doctor Gardiner for his deliuerance after manie repulses, except doctor Sands would be one of their sect, and then he could want nothing. He wrong out of him, that if the quæne could like of his deliuerance, he would not be against it: for that was sir Thomas his last request. In the meane time he had procured two ladies of the priuie chamber to moue the quéene in it: who was contented, if the bishop of Winchester could like of it. The next time that the bishop went into the priuie chamber to speake with the quéene, maister Holcroft followed, and had his warrant for doctor Sands remission readie, and praied the two ladies, when as the bishop should take his leaue, to put the quéene in mind of doctor Sands. So they did. And the quæne said: Winchester, what thinke you by doctor Sands, is he not sufficientlie punished? As it please your maiestie, saith Winchester. That he spake, remembring his former promise to maister Holcroft, that he would not be against Sands, if the quéene should like to discharge him. Saith the quéene: Then trulie, we would that he were set at libertie. Immediatlie maister Holcroft offered the quéene the warrant, who subscribed the same, and called Winchester to put to his hand, and so he did. The warrant was giuen to the knight

Wiats message to doctor Sands, and his answer reuersed.

Doctor Sands set at libertie by the meanes of sir Thomas Holcroft.

How quéene Marie is disposed to set doctor Sands at large, and sealeth hir warrant for his libertie.

Thomas Waie the keeper pretendeth to persuade doctor Sands to poperie.

knight marshall againe, sir Thomas Holcroft. As the bishop went forth of the priuie chamber dore, he called maister Holcroft to him: commanding him not to set doctor Sands at libertie, vntill he had taken suerties of two gentlemen of his countrie with him, euerie one bound in fiue hundred pounds, that doctor Sands should not depart out of the realme without licence. Maister Holcroft immediatlie after met with two gentlemen of the north, friends & cosins to doctor Sands, who offered to be bound in bodie, goods and lands for him.

At after dinner the same daie, maister Holcroft sent for doctor Sands to his lodging at Westminster, requiring the keeper to accompanie with him. He came accordinglie, finding maister Holcroft alone, walking in his garden: maister Holcroft imparted his long sute, with the whole proceeding, and what effect it had taken to doctor Sands: much reioising that it was his good hap to do him good, & to procure his libertie, and that nothing remained, but that he would enter into bonds with his two suerties, for not departing out of the realme. Doctor Sands answered: I giue God thanks, who hath moued your hart to mind me so well, & I thinke my selfe most bound vnto you, God shall requite, and I shall neuer be found vnthankfull. But as you haue dealt friendlie with me, I will also deale plainlie with you. I came a free man into prison, I will not go forth a bondman. As I cannot benefit my friends, so will I not hurt them: and if I be set at libertie, I will not tarie fiue daies in this realme if I may get out. If therefore I may not go free forth, send me to the Marshalsea againe, and there you shall be sure of me.

Communication betweene sir Thomas Holcroft and doctor Sands about his departing out of England.

This answer much misliked maister Holcroft, who told doctor Sands that the time would not long continue, a change would shortlie come: the state was but a cloud, and would sone shake awaie; and that his cousine sir Edward Braie would gladlie receiue him and his wife into his house, where he should neuer need to come at church, and how the ladie Braie was a zealous gentlewoman, who hated poperie: adding that he would not so deale with him to lose all his labor. When doctor Sands could not be remoued from his former saieng, maister Holcroft said: Seeing you can not be altered, I will change my purpose, and yeeld vnto you, come of it what will, I will set you at libertie: and seeing you mind ouer sea, get you gone so quicklie as you can. One thing I require of you, that while you are there, you write nothing to come hither, for so ye may vndo me. He freendlie kissed doctor Sands, bad him farewell, and commanded the keeper to take no fees of him: saieng; Let me answer Winchester as I may. Doctor Sands returned with the keeper to the Marshalsea and taried all night. There on the morrow gaue a dinner to all the prisoners, bad his bedfellow and sworne stakefellow, if it had so pleased God, maister Saunders farewell, with manie teares and kissings, the one falling on the others necke, and so departed, clearelie deliuered without examination or bond. From thence he went to the Bench, and there talked with maister Bradford, and maister Farrar bishop of S. Dauids, then prisoners. Then he comforted them, & they praised God for his happie deliuerance. He went by Winchesters house, and there toke boate, and came to a freends house in London called William Banks, and taried there one night. On the morrow at night he shifted to an other freends house, and there he learned that search was made for him.

Sir Thomas Holcroft cannot persuade doctor Sands to tarie in England, and therefore setteth him at large.

Search made for doctor Sands after his inlargement.

Doctor Watson and maister Christopherson, comming to the bishop of Winchester, told him that he had set at libertie the greatest heretike in England, and one that had of all other most corrupted the vniuersitie of Cambridge, doctor Sands. Whereupon the bishop of Winchester, being chancellor of England, sent for all the constables of London, commanding them to watch for doctor Sands, who was then within the citie, and to apprehend him; and who so euer of them should take him and bring him to him, he should haue fiue pounds for his labor. Doctor Sands suspecting the matter, conueied himselfe by night to one maister Barties house a stranger, who was in the Marshalsea with him prisoner a while, he was a good protestant and dwelt in Marke lane. There he was sir daies, and had one or two of his frends that repaired to him. Then he repaired to an acquaintance of his, one Hurlestone a skinner, dwelling in Cornehill, he caused his man Quintin to prouide two geldings for him, minding on the morrow to ride into Essex to maister Sands his father in law, where his wife was.

Gardiners commandement to watch and ward for doctor Sands and to apprehend him, with a reward promised to the taker of him.

At his going to bed in Hurlestons house, he had a paire of hose newlie made that were too long for him. For while he was in the tower, a tailor was admitted him to make him a paire of hose. One came vnto him whose name was Beniamin, a good protestant, dwelling in Birchin lane: he might not speake to him, or come vnto him, to take measure of him, but onelie loke vpon his leg, he made the hose, and they were two inches too long. These hose he praied the good wife of the house to send to some tailor to cut his hose two inches shorter. The wife required the boy of the house to carie them to the next tailor to cut. The boy chanced (or rather God so prouided) to go to the next tailor, which was Beniamin that made them, which also was a constable, and acquainted with the lord chancellors commandement. The boy required him to cut the hose. He said I am not thy maisters tailor. Saith the boy, Because ye are our next neighbor, and my maisters tailor dwelleth far off, I come to you, for it is far nights, and he must occupie them timelie in the morning. Beniamin toke the hose and loked vpon them, he toke his handie worke in hand, and said: These are not thy maisters hose, but doctor Sands, them I made in the tower. The boy yeelded, and said it was so. Saith he, Go to thy mistresse, praie hir to sit vp till twelue of the clocke, then I will bring the hose and speake with doctor Sands to his good.

Note Gods prouidence in giuing a way to doctor Sands for his safe escaping out of danger.

At midnight the goodwife of the house, and Beniamin the tailor, commeth into doctor Sands chamber. The wife praieth him not to be afraid of their comming. He answereth: Nothing can be amisse, what God will, that shall be done. Then Beniamin telleth him that he made his hose, and by what good chance they now came to his hands, God vsed the meane that he might foretell him of his perill, & aduise him how to escape it, telling him that all the constables of London, whereof he was one, watched for him, & some were so greedilie set, that they praied him (if he toke him) to let them haue the carriage of him to the bishop of Winchester, and he should haue the fiue pounds. Saith Beniamin, It is knowen that your man hath prouided two geldings, and that you mind to ride out at Aldgate to morrow, and there then yee are sure to be taken. Follow mine aduise, and by Gods grace yee shall escape their hands. Let your man walke all the daie to morrow in the street where your horses stand, booted and readie to ride. The goodmans seruant of the house shall take the horses and carrie them to Bednoll greene. The goodman shall be booted, and follow after as if he would ride. I will be here with you to morrow about eight of the clocke; it is both terme and parlement time, here we will breake our fast, and when the street is full we will go forth. Loke wildelie, and

All the mischiefes intended against doctor Sands disclosed by a constable, who telleth him how to escape.

Doctor Sands disguiseth himselfe like a gentleman, and escapeth.

if you méet your brother in the street, shun him not, but outface him, and know him not. Accordinglie doctor Sands did, clothed like a gentleman in all respects, and loked wildlie as one that had bæne long kept in prison out of the light. Beniamin carried him through Birching lane, and from one lane to another till he came at Moore gate: there they went forth vntill they came to Bednoll græne, where the horsses were readie, and maister Hurleston to ride with him as his man. Doctor Sands pulled on his boots, and taking leaue of his friend Beniamin, with teares they kissed ech other, he put his hand in his purse, and would haue giuen Beniamin a great part of that little he had, but Beniamin would take none. Yet since doctor Sands hath remembred him thankfullie. He rode that night to his father in law maister Sands where his wife was, he had not bæn there two houres, but it was told maister Sands that there was two of the gard which would that night apprehend doctor Sands, and so they were appointed.

That night doctor Sands was guided to an honest farmer nære the sea, where he taried two daies and two nights in a chamber without all companie. After that he shifted to one James Mower a shipmaster, who dwelt at Milton shore, where he expected wind for the English fléet readie into Flanders. While he was there, James Mower brought to him fortie or fiftie mariners, to whome he gaue an exhortation; they liked him so well, that they promised to die for it, yer that he should be apprehended. The first of Maie, being sundaie the wind serued: he toke his leaue of his host and hostesse, and went towards the ship. In taking leaue of his hostesse who was baren, and had bæne married eight yeares, he gaue hir a fine handkercher and also an old rotall of gold in it, thanking hir much, and said: Be of good comfort, yer that an whole yéere be past God shall giue you a child a boie. And it came to passe, for that daie twelue moneths lacking one daie, God gaue hir a faire sonne.

God stirreth vp the harts of the mariners to fauor doctor Sands &c.

Doctor Sands his prophetical blessing to his hostesse at his departing.

At the shore doctor Sands met with maister Isaac of Kent, who had his eldest sonne there, who vpon the liking he had to doctor Sands, sent his sonne with him, who afterward died in his fathers house in Frankford. Doctor Sands and doctor Cor were both in one ship, being one Cokzels ship. They were within the kenning when two of the gard came thither to apprehend doctor Sands. They arriued at Antwerpe, being bid to dinner to maister Locke. And at dinner time one George Gilpin being secretarie to the English house, and kinsman to doctor Sands, came to him and rounded him in his eare, and said; King Philip hath sent to make search for you, and to apprehend you. Herevpon they rose from their dinner in a maruellous great shower, and went out at the gate toward the land of Cleue; there they found a wagon and hasted awaie, and came safe to Ausburge in Cleueland, where doctor Sands tarried fouretæne daies, and then iourned towards Strasborough, where after he had liued one yeare, his wife came vnto him. He fell sore sicke of a flix which kept him nine moneths, and brought him to deaths dore. He had a child which fell sicke of the plague and died. His wife at length fell sicke of a consumption and died in his armes; no man had a more godlie woman to his wife.

Doctor Sands and doctor Cor go by wagon into Cleueland.

After this, maister Samson went awaie to Emanuell, a man skilfull in the Hebrue. Maister Grindall went into the countrie to learne the Dutch tong. Doctor Sands still remained in Strasborough, whose sustentation then was chieflie from one maister Isaac, who loued him most dearelie, and was euer more readie to giue than he to take. He gaue him in that space aboue one hundred marks, which sum the said doctor Sands paied him againe, and by his other gifts and friendlinesse shewed himselfe to be a thankfull man. When his wife was dead, he went to Zurike, and there was in Peter Martyrs house for the space of fiue wéekes. Being there as they sate at dinner, word suddenlie came that quéene Marie was dead, and doctor Sands was sent for by his friends at Strasborough. That newes made maister Martyr and maister Jarret then there verie ioyfull: but doctor Sands could not reioise, it smote into his hart that he should be called to miserie. Maister Bullinger and the ministers feasted him, and he toke his leaue and returned into Strasborough, where he preached, and so maister Grindall and he came towards England, and then to London the same daie that quéene Elizabeth was crowned.

Happie newes of quéen Maries death: whereupon doctor Sands returneth into England.

This is the true storie of such accidents as befell doctor Sands, a reuerend father, and constant in the truth; whereof if anie part had bæne false, likelie it is that one or other would haue barked against it yer now. But the report being common, and hauing bæne thus long extant in print, the silence of men is a sufficient proofe & confirmation of the truth.] Here therfore we will leaue doctor Sands in his archiepiscopall sée of Yorke; and after this long (but yet nédfull) digression fall againe to the discourse of Calis; which being lost (as you haue heard) in a verie short time after so long possession, tidings thereof were carried to and fro, farre and nére, by word of mouth and by writting. In so much that the same newes likewise being made notorious and knowne to the French were not so ioifullie receiued in France, as they were generallie grieuous and displeasant to the whole relme of England: but speciallie to quéene Marie, who being a princesse of hart and courage, more than commonlie is in womankind, thought hir selfe so much touched in honour by the losse of hir said towne and possessions on that side the sea, as she counted hir life irkesome, vntill the same were either recouered againe, or the losse redoubled with some like victorie against the French elsewhere.

with what indignation quéene Marie toke the losse of Calis.

In respect whereof she ceased not to trauell after with king Philip hir husband, as with hir owne priuie councell, and the lords of the realme, which waie should be best to reuenge this iniurie: and speciallie now whilest the French king was occupied in wars with king Philip, to indamage some of his countries by waie of inuasion, & to surprise some of his townes vpon the sudden. And among sundrie deuises, none was thought so fit to be attempted as an hauen towne in Britaine called Brest, which in the time of king Richard the second was kept and mainteined with an English garrison, vntill the said king rendered the same to the French king againe by composition. This towne as well for the conuenient situation alwaies readie to receiue fresh succors and victelling out of England by sea, as also for that it was knowne to the quéene and hir councell at that present, not to be furnished with anie garrison of soldiors, sufficient to repell the power of a prince vpon the sudden, was thought to be the best marke to be shot at for the time. Wherefore vpon this case well debated, there was immediatlie order giuen to Edward lord Clinton then high admerall of England, with all expedition to prepare himselfe with all the quénes ships of warre, furnished with soldiors, munition & victels, to ioine with the admerall of king Philip, who had like order from the said king to ioine with the naule of England for the atchiuing of this enterprise.

Force intended against Brest in Britaine.

The lord Clinton admerall of England sent out against Brest.

But before I declare to you the aduenture of these two great naules by sea, it shall not be impertinent to touch some accidents in the meane time by land.

land. While king Philip being absent from the low countrie, was (as you haue heard) occupied with his warres in France, monsieur de Thermes the new capteine of Calis, being a man verie expert in the wars (whose propertie is neuer to neglect anie time of aduantage) cast in his mind, how (during king Philips absence) to doo some singular seruice to the French king his maister. And espieng well the negligence of the Flemings his neighbors, how little they vnderstood the great weakening of their countrie by the losse of Calis, and that there was no new prouision made for the defense thereof, more than was before, whilest Calis was English, by the losse wherof, their frontiers were now become open for the French at all times to enter. He therefore taking out of Calis so manie of his soldiors as might be spared from thense, adioining to them all the forces of the French garrisons in Arthois, Bullongnois, and Picardie, whereof togither with the soldiors of Calis, being to the number of seuen hundred footmen, and three hundred light horsemen Scotish, there were assembled fouretéene ensigns of the French footmen, eightéene vanlins of Almans, foure or fiue hundred men at armes of France, beside the light horsemen Scots, amounting in the whole to the number at the least of nine thousand footmen, and fiftéene hundred horsemen, entred into Flanders, with full determination to spoile and waste all king Philips countrie along the sea coast, and namelie a proper hauen towne called Dunkirke, and with like purpose to haue surprised the towne of Graueling; if occasion would so serue.

Monsieur de Thermes capteine of Calis worketh vpon the aduantage to do the French king more honorable seruice.

Monsieur de Thermes determination to spoile king Philips countrie.

This capteine following his enterprise, of a policie passing by the towne of Graueling, laid siege to a little towne not farre from thence called Berghs, which he wan in a small time, and with small resistance, leauing the saccage of the same vnto his soldiors, where they found manie good booties. And without long staieng they marched forth to Dunkirke before said, and planting a siege in like maner there, battered the same so sharplie with the cannon, that within lesse than foure daies he became master of the towne, which he in like maner put to the sacke, where was found more plentie of spoile and good bootics, than in anie place before, so farre forth as the meanest slaues and lackies came awaie rich. And after setting the towne on fire (whereby all in the countrie about were maruellouslie put in feare) and the French spreading further abroad, wasted the most fruitfull quarter of all that part of Flanders, euen almost vnto Newport. But yet because that monsieur de Thermes fell diseased of the gowt, the armie withdrew and incamped within halfe a mile of Graueling, & for his more ease, he himselfe laie in Dunkirke, and in the meane time diuerse skirmishes fell out betweene the Frenchmen, and them of the garrison within Graueling.

Dunkirke beieged, taken, nd burned by he French.

Monsieur de Thermes icke of the gowt.

During which pastime, the countie de Aiguemont (or as he is commonlie called Egmond) lieutenant generall for king Philip in the low countrie, with all hast possible assembled all the power as well of king Philips garrisons, as also of men of warre in the low countrie, to the number of fouretéene or fiftéene thousand footmen, and two or three thousand horsemen, whereof there were fiftéene hundred swart Rutters, determining so to affront the French, that either they should passe no further into the countrie, or at the least waie to impeach them from the siege of Graueling, whereof there was great appearance. Monsieur de Thermes hearing of this power assembled (though scarselie well recouered) made all possible hast toward Graueling, where he was no soner arriued, but that he saw his enimies readie ranged in the field. By reason whereof his studie was now nothing else but how he might bring home his armie in safetie to Calis.

Countie Egmond lieutenant generall or king Philip in the low countrie.

The countie de Egmond espieng the Frenchmen bent to march awaie with the spoile of the countrie, cut betweene them and home, placing his battels in such order, that the Frenchmen had no waie to passe, but vpon the sands betweene the towne and the sea. Whereas by good chance laie a great fleet of quéene Maries ships of warre, within the danger of whose gunshot the Frenchmen had no shift but to passe as their iournie laie. And so being forced either to skamish or to fight at disaduantage, monsieur the Thermes without staieng anie longer, caused his vantgard to passe ouer the riuer somewhat néere the towne, to auoid the shot of the English ships. And staieng vpon the further side for the residue of his battels, there came such thicke hailshot of artillerie out of the towne on the one side, and from the English ships on the other side, that there was a full batterie made vpon the Frenchmen on all sides, which they neuertheless abode, without breaking order for the time, when suddenlie appeered before them two great troops of horsemen, of fiftéene hundred a péece, part swart Rutters, and part Burgognians, whereof the one in front, and the other in flanke, gaue strong charges vpon the French vantgard, who being well backed with their other battels (whereof the most part then had passed the riuer) stoutlie repelled these two first troops, though not without losse of manie their best soldiors.

The English ships annoie the French with gunshot, &c.

A valiant onset giuen vpon the Frenchmen by countie Egmond.

So thus both parties being at a staie, and seuered somewhat asunder, the countie de Egmond himselfe with eightéene hundred men of armes, and his foot battels following, before the French had well recouered breath, recharged vpon them with all his forces togither, so terriblie that he choked all their battell, and the number tooke them to flight, without further triall. So by that time that the footmen on either side came to the push of the pike, the victorie was soone had, by reason (as the Frenchmen report) that the Almans beaten back with artillerie, as well of the towne as of the ships before said, brake their order, and came not to the shocke, whereby the whole charge of the battell rested vpon the French bands onelie. This field was fought the thirtéenth of Julie 1558, vpon the sea sands nære to Graueling, where besides those that were slaine, being estéemed to the number of fiue thousand fighting men, there were taken prisoners the marshall de Thermes capteine of Calis, monsieur Senerpont gouernour of Bullongne, monsieur Villebon gouernour of Picardie, monsieur Annebault sonne to the late admerall Annebault, knight of the order, monsieur de Montilliers gouernour of Abuile, monsieur de Channe gouernour of Corbie, beside a great number of other gentlemen, valiant capteins & soldiors: but specialle the bands of Calis went to wracke, so as verie few returned home to bring tidings. Which gaue such a terrour to the soldiors remaining in Calis, that it is verelie beleeued, that if the admerals of England and Flanders had béene present there with their nauies, as the said other few ships of England were, and vpon this sudden had attempted Calis, with the aid of the countie Egmond hauing his power present: the towne of Calis might haue béene recouered againe with as little difficultie, and happilie in as short time as it was before gained by the duke of Guise. But the said admerals (as it appeared) knew nothing thereof. Wherfore following their prescribed course, & ioining togither at the place appointed, they sailed from thence with prosperous wind & weather, & by the nine and twentith daie of the same moneth, and in the said yeare, with seauen score ships of warre, appeared by the breake of the

A recharge vpon the French scarse recouered.

A great victorie.

Certeine French prisoners taken, and what they were by name.

Calis might haue béene recouered from the French.

the daie before the hauen of Conquest, commonlie called Conquet in Britaine; whereof the poet saith, touching the seat of the same, abutting vpon the sea:

Nobile Conquetum falsis Thetis alluit vndis.

At whose arriuall there (as the manner is) they sounded their trumpets, & with a thundering peale of great ordinance gaue a lowd salue vnto the Britains: and by eight of the clocke the same morning, mauger all the power of the countrie, being assembled there in armes, with manie peeces of great artillerie, to defend the entrie of their port, the Englishmen manning forth their shipboats, with manie valiant capteins and soldiors, recouered landing, and within short time became maisters of the said towne of Conquet, which they put to the sacrage, with a great abbeie, and manie pretie townes and villages neere thereabouts, where our men found great store of pillage and good booties. This done, they marched into the countrie, and burned manie villages and houses: and after withdrew downe vnto the sea side, where their ships laie readie to receiue them. But the Flemmings being couetous of spoile, passing further into the land, before they could recouer their ships againe, were incountered by the power of the countrie, by whome there were slaine of them to the number of foure or fiue hundred.

Conquest or Conquet taken and burned.

A great slaughter of the Flemmings occasioned by their owne couetousnesse.

The admerals perceiuing the power of the countrie greatlie to increase, and hauing intelligence that the duke of Estampes the French kings lieutenant in Britaine was verie neere, comming on with a great number of horssemen and footmen, esteemed to be about twentie thousand (as the Frenchmen themselues affirme) thought not best to attempt anie assault against the towne of Brest, or to make longer abode there. But yet in hope to doo some further exploit elsewhere, they laie there houering on the coast a while, to vnderstand the demeanour of the Britains: but by this time there was such numbers of people raised in all those parts for defense of the same coasts, that the admerals afterward attempting in diuers places to land their men, and finding ech where more appearance of losse than of gaine, returned home without atchiuing anie further enterprise. In this meane time, while king Philip and the French king, with two most puissant armies affronted ech other, neere vnto the water of Some, either of them was obstinatelie bent to driue the other out of the field, for which cause they intrenched their campes.

The admerals remoue for feare of losse.

Anno Reg. 6.

During which time there was nothing done betweene them worthie memorie, more than dailie skirmishes of no great account. Neuertheless, the countrie of France could not but sustaine extreame damage, so long sustaining such a maine multitude, specially of men of warre, which those two mightie kings had assembled. And daie by daie came fresh companies to either partie; so as it was thought a thing impossible that such two princes being so neere, could depart without some cruell bloudie battell to determine their quarrels. But God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings (when least hope was) conuerted their obstinate minds from warre to peace, which came chiefly to passe by the mediation of the duchesse of Lorraine, who had beene a long and earnest trauailer to that end; and neuer ceassed, vntill by hir intercession, both the said kings appointed speciall commissioners to treat vpon peace. So that after diuerse conferences, they at last concluded vpon all controuersies, except the matter of Calis, wherof queene Marie by hir ambassadours required restitution: but the French partie would in no wise heare thereof. By reason of which difficultie, this treatie could not come to anie good conclusion. King Philip thinking himselfe bound in honour to stand in that case with the queene his wife, who for his sake had entered into a needlesse warre against France, and thereby lost hir said towne, with all the countrie adioining (as you haue heard before) did therefore staie a long time before he concluded peace with the French king.

No memorable act done by either of the kings during the affronting of their armies.

Peace is procured betweene both kings at the sute and seeking of the duchesse of Lorraine.

Queene Marie seeing no likelihood, nor hauing anie hope of the restitution of Calis, and considering also that most of hir affaires had but hard successe, conceiued an inward sorrow of mind: by reason whereof about September next she fell sicke of a hot burning feauer, which sickenesse was common that yeare through all the realme, and consumed a marueilous number, as well noblemen, as bishops, iudges, knights, gentlemen, and rich farmers: but most of the clergie, and other ancient and graue persons. In which while the queene laie languishing of a long sickenesse, and so continued vntill the seuenteenth of Nouember next betweene the houres of fiue or six in the morning, and then ended hir life in this world, at hir house of saint James besides Westminster, when she had reigned fiue yeares, foure moneths, and eleuen daies, and in the three and fortith yeare of hir bodilie age. The death of this said queene made a marueilous alteration in this realme, namelie in the case of religion, which like as by the death of king Edward the first it suffered a change from the establishment of his time: so by the death of this queene it returned into the former estate againe. So that we see the vncertaintie of the world, and what changes do come in times by their reuolutions, and that euerie thing is subiect to vnconstancie, and nothing free from variablenesse; as the poet saith:

Q. Marie pensife for the losse of Calis.

The death of queen Marie.

——nihil vsquam
Perpetuum solet in terris fixumque manere:
Humanis quàm nulla subest constantia rebus!

And here, because we are come to the knitting vp of queene Maries reigne, I cannot ouerslip with silence that notable and needfull discourse of master Fox concerning our blessed souereigne, queen Elizabeth, whose maiestie the Lord of his mercie inuiron with friends as in number manie, so in seruice trustie; and whose enimies the same Lord in iustice rot out from the land of the liuing, heaping vpon them plague after plague, to their vtter confusion, because they haue reiected the gratious means of their conuersion. Thus therefore writeth master Fox concerning the mischeefous persecution and miraculous preseruation of ladie Elizabeth, now queene of England, from extreame calamitie and danger of life, in the time of queene Marie hir sister.

But (saith master Fox) when all hath beene said and told, what soeuer can be recited touching the admirable working of Gods present hand in defending and deliuering anie one person out of thraldome, neuer was there since the memorie of our fathers, anie example to be shewed, wherin the Lords mightie power hath more admirablie and blessedlie shewed it selfe, to the glorie of his owne name, to the comfort of all good hearts, and to the publike felicitie of this whole realme, than in the miraculous custodie and outscape of this our souereigne ladie, now queene, then ladie Elizabeth, in the strict time of queene Marie hir sister. In which storie, first we haue to consider in what extreame miserie, sicknesse, feare, and perill hir highnesse was; into what care, what trouble of mind, and what danger of death she was brought. First with great routs and bands of armed men (and happie was he that might haue the carrieng of hir) being fetched vp as the greatest traitour in the world, claped in the tower, and againe tossed from thence, from house to house, from prison to prison, from post to piller, at length also prisoner in hir owne house, and garded with a sort of cut-throats, which euer

The blessed protection of almightie God in preseruing the ladie Elizabeth in hir manifold dangers and troubles.

The troubles of ladie Elizabeth in Q. Maries time.

gaped

gaped for the spoile, whereby they might be fingering of somewhat.

Secondlie, we haue againe to consider, all this notwithstanding, how strangelie, or rather miraculouslie from danger she was deliuered: what fauour and grace she found with the almightie, who when all helpe of man, and hope of recouerie was past, stretched out his mightie protection, and preserued hir highnesse, and placed hir in this princelie seat of rest and quietnesse, wherin now she sitteth, and long maie she sit, the lord of his glorious mercie grant, we beseech him *. In which storie, if I should set forth at large and at full, all the particulars and circumstances thereunto belonging, and as iust occasion of the historie requireth, besides the importunate length of the storie discoursed, peraduenture it might moue offense to some being yet aliue, and truth might get me hatred. Yet notwithstanding, I intend (by the grace of Christ) therein to vse such breuitie and moderation, as both may be to the glorie of God, the discharge of the storie, the profit of the reader, & hurt to none, suppressing the names of some, whome here although I could recite, yet I thought not to be more cruell in hurting their name, than the quéene hath béene mercifull in pardoning their liues.

*Amen.

The historie of the ladie Elizabeth.

Therefore now to enter into the discourse of this tragicall matter, first here is to be noted, that quéene Marie when she was first quéene, before she was crowned, would go no whither, but would haue hir by the hand, and send for hir to dinner and supper: but after she was crowned, she neuer dined nor supped with hir, but kept hir aloofe from hir, &c. After this it happened, immediatlie vpon the rising of sir Thomas Wiat (as before was mentioned, * pag. 1418, 1419) that the ladie Elizabeth and the lord Courtneie were charged with false suspicion of sir Thomas Wiats rising. Whereupon quéene Marie, whether for that surmise, or for what other cause I know not, being offended with the said Elizabeth hir sister, at that time lieng in hir house at Ashridge, the next daie after the rising of Wiat, sent to hir three of hir councellors, to wit, sir Richard Southwell, sir Edward Hastings, then master of the horsse, and sir Thomas Cornwallis, with their retinue and troope of horsemen, to the number of two hundred & fiftie. Who at their sudden and vnprouided comming, found hir at the same time sore sicke in hir bed, and verie feble and weake of bodie. Whither when they came, ascending vp to hir graces priuie chamber, they willed one of hir ladies, whome they met, to declare vnto hir grace, that there were certeine come from the court, which had a message from the quéene.

*These references by the page where soeuer they fall in this discourse of Q. Elizabeth are ment of the impression published 1583

Sir Richard Southwell, sir Edward Hastings, and sir Thomas Cornwallis, sent to fetch vp ladie Elizabeth, with whom also afterward was sent the lord william Howard, &c.

Hir grace hauing knowledge thereof, was right glad of their comming: howbeit, being then verie sicke, and the night farre spent (which was at ten of the clocke) she requested them by the messenger, that they would resort thither in the morning. To this they answered, and by the said messenger sent word againe, that they must néeds sée hir, and would so do, in what case soeuer she were. Whereat the ladie being aguish, went to shew hir grace their words: but they hastilie following hir, came rushing as soone as she into hir graces chamber vnbidden. At whose so sudden comming into hir bed chamber, hir grace being not a little amazed, said vnto them: Is the hast such, that it might not haue pleased you to come to morrow in the morning? They made answer, that they were right sorie to sée hir in that case. And I (quoth she) am not glad to sée you here at this time of the night. Whereunto they answered, that they came from the quéene to do their message and duetie: which was to this effect, that the quéens pleasure was, that she should be at London the seauenth daie of that present moneth. Whereunto she said; Certeslie, no creature more glad than I to come to hir maiestie, being right sorie that I am not in case at this time to wait on hir, as you your selues do sée and can well testifie.

The vnmanerlinesse of the knights.

A strait commission from the quéene to bring the ladie Elizabeth either quicke or dead.

In deed we sée it true (quoth they) that you do saie: for which we are verie sorie: albeit we let you to vnderstand, that our commission is such, and so straineth vs, that we must néeds bring you with vs, either quicke or dead. Whereat she being amazed, sorrowfullie said, that their commission was verie sore: but yet notwithstanding she hoped it to be other wise, and not so strict. Yes verelie, said they. Whereupon they called for two physicians, doctor Owen and doctor Wendie, demanding of them, whether she might be remoued from thence with life, or no. Whose answer and iudgement was, that there was no impediment (in their iudgement) to the contrarie, but that she might trauell without danger of life. In conclusion, they willed hir to prepare against the morning at nine of the clocke to go with them, declaring that they had brought with them the quænes litter for hir. After much talke, the messengers declaring how there was no prolonging of times and dates, so departed to their chamber, being interteined and cheared as apperteined to their worships.

The gentlenesse of quéene Marie to send hir horslitter to bring hir sister to trouble.

On the next morrow at the time prescribed, they had hir forth as she was, verie faint and féeble, and in such case that she was readie to sound three or foure times betwéene them. What should I speake héere that cannot well be expressed, what an heauie house there was to behold the vnreuerend and doleful dealing of these men, but especiallie the carefull feare and captiuitie of their innocent ladie and mistresse. Now to proceed in hir iornie from Ashridge all sicke in the litter, she came to Redborne, where she was garded all night: from thence to S. Albons, to sir Rafe Rowlets house, where she tarried that night, both feble in bodie, and comfortlesse in mind. From that place they passed to maister Dods house at Wims, where also they remained that night: and so from thence she came to Highgate: where she being verie sicke, taried that night and the next daie. During which time of hir abode there, came manie purseuants and messengers from the court: but for what purpose I cannot tell.

Ladie Elizabeth taketh hir iourneie toward the quéene.

From that place she was conueied to the court: where (by the waie) came to méet hir manie gentlemen, to accompanie hir highnesse, which were verie sorie to sée hir in that case. But especiallie a great multitude of people there were standing by the way, who then flocking about hir litter, lamented and bewailed greatlie hir estate. Now, when she came to the court, hir grace was there straightwaies shut vp, and kept as close prisoner a fortnight, which was till Palmesundaie, seeing neither king nor quéene, nor lord, nor friend, all that time, but onelie then the lord chamberlaine, sir John Gage, and the vicechamberlaine which were attendant vnto the doores. About which time sir William Sentlow was called before the councell; vnto whose charge it was laid, that he knew of Wiats rebellion. Which he stoutlie denied, protesting that he was a true man, both to God and his prince, defieng all traitors and rebels: but being strictlie examined, he was in conclusion committed to the tower.

Ladie Elizabeth brought vp to Lond̄.

Sir William Sentlow committed to the tower.

The fridaie before Palmesundaie, the bishop of Winchester, with nine téene others of the councell (who shall be here nameles se) came vnto hir grace from the quénes maiestie, and burdened hir with Wiats conspiracie: which she vtterlie denied, affirming that she was altogither giltles se therein. They being not contented with this, charged hir grace with businesse made by sir Peter Carew, and the rest of the gentlemen of the west countries: which also she

Ladie Elizabeth charged with sir Thomas Wiats conspiracie.

Ladie Elizabeth charged with the businesse of Peter Carew.

she vtterlie denieng, cleared hir innocencie therein. In conclusion, after long debating of matters, they declared vnto hir, that it was the quænes will and pleasure that she should go vnto the tower, while the matter were further tried and examined. Whereat she being agast, said, that she trusted the quænes maiestie would be more gratious ladie vnto hir, and that hir highnesse would not otherwise conceiue of hir, but that she was a true woman: declaring furthermore to the lords, that she was innocent in all those matters wherin they had burdened hir; and desired them therefore to be a further meane to the quæne hir sister, that she being a true woman in thought, word, and deed towards hir maiestie, might not be committed to so notorious & dolefull a place: protesting that she would request no mercie at hir hand, if she should be proued to haue consented vnto anie such kind of matter, as they had laid vnto hir charge: and therefore in fine desired their lordships to thinke of hir what she was, and that she might not so extremelie be dealt withall for hir truth.

Ladie Elizabeth threatned to go to the tower.

Ladie Elizabeth purgeth hir selfe to the lords.

Wher vnto the lords answered againe, that there was no remedie, for that the quænes maiestie was fullie determined that she should go vnto the tower. Where with the lords departed, with their caps hanging ouer their eies. But not long after, within the space of an houre or little more, came foure of the foresaid lords of the councell, which were the lord treasuror, the bishop of Winchester, the lord steward, the earle of Suster, with the gard, who warding the nert chamber to hir, secluded all hir gentlemen and yeomen, ladies and gentlewomen, sauing that for one gentleman vsher, three gentlewomen, and two groomes of hir chamber, were appointed in their rowmes three other men of the quænes, and three waiting women to giue attendance vpon hir, that none should haue accesse to hir grace. At which time there were an hundred of northerne souldiers in white cotes, watching and warding about the gardens all that night, a great fire being made in the midst of the hall, and two certeine lords watching there also with their band and companie.

Ladie Elizabeths seruãts remoued from hir.

The quænes men, and waiting women attendant vpõ ladie Elizabeth.

Upon saturdaie following, two lords of the councell (the one was the earle of Suller, the other shall be nameles) came and certified hir grace, that forthwith she must go vnto the tower, the barge being prepared for hir, and the tide now readie, which tarieth for no bodie. In heauie mood hir grace requested the lords that she might tarie another tide, trusting that the nert would be better and more comfortable. But one of the lords replied, that nether tide nor time was to be delaied. And when hir grace requested him that she might be suffered to write to the quænes maiestie, he answered, that he durst not permit that: adding that in his iudgement it would rather hurt, than profit hir grace in so doing. But the other lord, more courteous and fauorable (who was the earle of Suller) kneeling downe, said she should haue libertie to write; and as he was a true man, he would deliuer it to the quænes highnesse, & bring an answer of the same, what soeuer came thereof. Whereupon she wrote, albeit she could in no case be suffered to speake with the quæne to hir great discomfort, being no offendor against the quænes maiestie.

The hard dealing of a certeine lord with the ladie Elizabeth.

The earle of Suster gentle to the ladie Elizabeth.

Ladie Elizabeth writeth to the quæne but it would not serue.

And thus the tide and time passed awaie for that season, they priuilie appointing all things readie that she should go the nert tide which fell about midnight: but for feare she should be taken by the waie, they durst not. So they staied till the nert daie, being Palmesundaie, when about nine of the clocke these two returned againe, declaring that it was time for hir grace to depart; she answering: If there be no remedie, I must be content, willing the lords to go before. Being come forth into the garden, she did cast vp hir eies toward the windowe, thinking to haue seene the quæne, which she could not. Whereat she said she maruelled much what the nobilitie of the realme meant, which in that sort would suffer hir to be led into captiuitie, the Lord knew whither, for she did not. In the meane time commandement was giuen in all London, that euerie one should keepe the church and tarie their palmes, while in the meane season she might be conueied without all recourse of people into the tower.

After all this, she toke hir barge with the two foresaid lords, three of the quænes gentlewomen, and three of hir owne, hir gentleman vsher, and two of hir grooms, lieng & houering vpon the water a certeine space, for that they could not shoot the bridge, the bargemen being verie vnwilling to shoot the same so soone as they had, because of the danger therof: for the sterne of the boat stroke vpon the ground, the fall was so big, and the water was so shallow, that the boat being vnder the bridge, there staied againe a while. At landing, she first staied, and denied to land at those staires where all traitors and offendors customablie vsed to land, neither well could she vnlesse she should go ouer hir shoo. The lords were gone out of the boat before, and asked why she came not. One of the lords went backe againe to hir, and brought word she would not come. Then said one of the lords which shall be nameles, that she should not chose: and because it did then raine, he offered to hir his cloke, which she (putting it backe with hir hand with a good dash) refused. So she comming out, hauing one foot vpon the staire, said; Here landeth as true a subiect being prisoner, as euer landed at these staires: and before thee O God I speake it, hauing none other frends but thee alone.

Ladie Elizabeth sent to the tower.

The words of ladie Elizabeth entring the tower.

To whome the same lord answered againe, that if it were so, it was the better for hir. At hir landing there was a great multitude of their seruants and warders standing in their order; What needed all this said she: It is the vse (said some) so to be when anie prisoner came thither. And if it be (quoth she) for my cause, I beseech you that they may be dismissed. Wherat the poore men kneeled downe, and with one voice desired God to preserue hir grace, who the nert daie were released of their cold coats. After this passing a little further, she sat downe vpon a cold stone, and there rested hir selfe. To whom the lieutenant then being, said; Madame, you were best to come out of the raine, for you sit vnwholesomelie. She then replieng, answered againe: Better sitting here than in a worse place, for God knoweth, I know not whither you will bring me. With that hir gentleman vsher wept: she demanding of him what he meant so vncomfortablie to vse hir, seeing she toke him to be hir comforter, and not to dismaie hir, especiallie for that she knew hir truth to be such, that no man should haue cause to weepe for hir. But forth she went into the prison.

The doores were locked and bolted vpon hir: which did not a little discomfort and dismaie hir grace. At what time she called to hir gentlewoman for hir booke, desiring God not to suffer hir to build hir foundation vpon the sands but vpon the rocke, whereby all the blasts of blustering weather should haue no power against hir. The doores being thus locked, and she close shut vp, the lords had great conference how to keepe ward and watch, euerie man declaring his opinion in that behalfe, agreeing strictlie and circumspectlie to keepe hir. Then one of them, which was the lord of Suller swearing, said: My lords, let vs take heed, and do no more than our commission will beare vs, what soeuer shall happen hereafter. And further, let vs consider that she was the king our maisters daughter, and therefore let vs vse such dealing,

The christian praier of ladie Elizabeth.

The lord of Suller speaketh for ladie Elizabeth.

dealing, that we may answer vnto it hereafter, if it shall so happen, for iust dealing (quoth he) is alwaies answerable. Wherevnto the other lords agréed that it was well said of him, and therevpon departed. Being in the tower, within two daies, commandement was that she should haue masse within hir house. One maister Pong was then hir chapleine: and bicause there was none of hir men so well learned to helpe the priest to saie masse, the masse staied for that daie.

The next daie two of hir yeomen, who had gone long to schoole before, and were learned, had two abcies prouided and deliuered them, so that vpon the abcies they should helpe the priest. One of the said yeomen, holding the abcie in his hand, pretending ignorance at Kyrie eleison, set the priest, making as though he could answer that no further. It would make a pitifull and a strange storie, here by the waie to touch and recite what examinations and rackings of poore men there were, to find out that knife which should cut hir throte: what gaping among my lords of the cleargie, to see the daie wherein they might wash their goodlie white rochets in hir innocent bloud, but especiallie the bishop of Winchester Stephan Gardiner, then lord chancellor, ruler of the rost, who then within fiue daies after came vnto hir, with diuerse others of the councell, and examined hir of the talke that was at Alhridge, betwixt hir and sir James Acroft, touching hir remouing from thence to Dunnington castle, requiring hir to declare what she meant thereby.

The bishop of Winchester enimie to ladie Elisabeth.

At the first, she being so suddenlie asked, did not well remember anie such house: but within a while, well aduising hir selfe, she said; In déed (quoth she) I do now remember that I haue such a place, but I neuer laie in it in all my life. And as for anie that hath moued me therevnto, I do not remember. Then to inforce the matter, they brought forth sir James Acroft. The bishop of Winchester demanded of hir what she said to that man? She answered, that she had little to saie to him, or to the rest that were then prisoners in the tower. But my lords (quoth she) you do examine euerie meane prisoner of me, wherein me thinks you do me great iniurie. If they haue done euill and offended the quéenes maiestie, let them answer to it accordinglie. I beséech you my lords, ioine not me in this sort with anie of these offendors. And as concerning my going vnto Dunnington castle, I do remember that maister Hobbie and mine officers and you sir James Acroft, had such talke: but what is that to the purpose, my lords, but that I may go to mine owne houses at all times?

Ladie Elisabeth examined by the bishop of winchester.

The friendlie speach of the earle of Arundell to the ladie Elisabeth.

The lord of Arundell knéeling downe, said: Your grace saith true, & certeinlie we are verie sorie that we haue so troubled you about so vaine matters. She then said: My lords, you do sift me verie narrowlie, but well I am assured, you shall not do more to me than God hath appointed, and so God forgiue you all. At their departure, sir James Acroft knéeled down, declaring that he was sorie to sée the daie in which he should be brought as a witnesse against hir grace. But I assure your grace (said he) I haue béene marueilouslie tossed and examined touching your highnesse, which the lord knoweth is verie strange to me. For I take God to record before all your honors, I do not know anie thing of that crime that you haue laid to my charge, and will therevpon take my death, if I should be driuen to so strict a triall.

Sir James Acroft examined touching the ladie Elisabeth.

That daie, or thereabouts, diuerse of hir owne officers, who had made prouision for hir diet, brought the same to the vtter gate of the tower, the common rascall souldiers receiuing it: which was no small greefe vnto the gentlemen the bringers thereof. Wherfore they required to speake with the lord chamberleine, being then constable of the tower. Who comming before his presence, declared vnto his lordship, that they were much afraid to bring hir graces diet, and to deliuer it to such common and desperat persons as they were which did receiue it: beséching his honor to consider hir grace, and to giue such order, that hir viands might at all times be brought in by them which were appointed therevnto. Yea sirs (said he) who appointed you this office? They answered, Hir graces councell. Councell (quoth he?) There is none of them which hath to do, either in that case, or anie thing else within this place: and I assure you, for that she is a prisoner, she shall be serued with the lieutenants men, as other the prisoners are. Whereat the gentlemen said, that they trusted for more fauor at his hands, considering hir personage, saieng; that they mistrusted not, but that the quæne and hir councell would be better to hir grace than so, and therewith shewed themselues to be offended at the vngratefull words of the lord chamberleine towards their ladie and mistresse.

Ladie Elisabeths seruats restreined for bringing hir diet to the tower.

Displeasure betweéne the lord chamberleine and ladie Elisabeths men.

At this he sware by God, striking himselfe vpon the breast, that if they did either frowne or shrug at him, he would set them where they should neither sée sunne nor moone. Thus taking their leaue, they desired God to bring him in a better mind towards hir grace, and so departed from him. Vpon the occasion whereof, hir graces officers made great sute vnto the quéenes councell, that some might be appointed to bring hir diet to hir, & that it might no more be deliuered in to the common soldiers of the tower. Which being reasonablie considered, was by them granted. Wherevpon were appointed one of hir gentlemen, hir clearke of hir kitchin, and hir two purueiors to bring in hir prouision once a day; all which was done the warders euer waiting vpon the bringers thereof. The lord chamberleine himselfe being alwaies with them, circumspectlie and narrowlie watched, and searched what they brought: and gaue héed that they should haue no talke with anie of hir graces waiting seruants, and so warded them both in and out. At the said sute of hir officers were sent by the commandement of the councell, to wait vpon hir grace, two yeomen of hir chamber, one of hir robes, two of hir pantrie and ewrie, one of hir buttrie, another of hir cellar, two of hir kitchin, and one of hir larder, all which continued with hir the time of hir trouble.

Ladie Elisabeths waitingmen in the tower.

Here the constable, being at the first not verie well pleased with the comming in of such a companie against his will, would haue had his men still to haue serued with hir graces men. Which hir seruants at no hand would suffer, desiring his lordship to be contented: for that order was taken, that no stranger should come within their offices. At which answer being sore displeased, he brake out into these threatning words: Well (said he) I will handle you well inough. Then went he into the kitchin, and there would néeds haue his meat rosted with hir graces meat, & said that his cooke should come thither and dresse it. To that hir graces cooke answered; My lord, I will neuer suffer anie stranger to come about hir diet, but hir owne sworne men, so long as I liue. He said they shuld. But the cooke said, his lordship should pardon him for that matter. Thus did he trouble hir poore seruants verie stoutlie: though afterwards he were otherwise aduised, and they more courteoulie vsed at his hands. And good cause why, for he had good cheare, and fared of the best; and hir grace paied well for it. Wherefore he vsed himselfe afterwards more reuerentlie toward hir grace.

Variance betweene the lord chamberleine & ladie Elisabeths seruants.

These were not officers of the tower, but such as went in white and greene.

After this sort, hauing lien a whole moneth there in close prison, and being verie euill at ease therwithall, she sent for the lord chamberleine, and the lord Shandois,

Shandois to come and speake with hir. Who comming, she requested them that she might haue libertie to walke in some place, for that she felt hirselfe not well. To the which they answered, that they were right sorie that they could not satisfie hir graces request, for that they had commandement to the contrarie, which they durst not in anie wise breake. Furthermore, she desired of them, if that could not bee granted, that she might walke but into the quænes lodging. No nor yet that (they answered) could by anie meanes be obteined without a further suite to the quéene and hir councell. Well (said she) my lords, if the matter be so hard that they must be sued vnto for so small a thing, and that friendship be so strict, God comfort me: and so they departed, she remaining in hir old dungeon still, without anie kind of comfort but onelie God.

Ladie Elisabeth denied the libertie of the tower.

The next daie after, the lord Shandois came againe vnto hir grace, declaring vnto hir that he had sued vnto the councell for further libertie. Some of them consented thereunto, diuerse other dissented, for that there were so manie prisoners in the tower. But in conclusion they did all agrée, that hir grace might walke into those lodgings, so that he & the lord chamberleine, and three of the quénes gentlewomen did accompanie hir, the windowes being shut, and shée not suffered to looke out at anie of them: wherewith she contented hirselfe, and gaue him thanks for his good will in that behalfe. Afterwards there was libertie granted to hir grace to walke in a little garden, the doores and gates being shut vp, which notwithstanding was as much discomfort vnto hir, as the walke in the garden was pleasant and acceptable. At which times of hir walking there, the prisoners on that side strictlie were commanded not to speake or looke out at the windows into the garden, till hir grace were gone out againe, hauing in consideration thereof, their keepers waiting vpon them for that time. Thus hir grace with this small libertie contented hir selfe in God, to whome be praise therefore.

Libertie granted to ladie Elisabeth to walke in a little garden.

During this time, there vsed a little boie, a mans child in the tower to resort vnto their chambers, and manie times to bring hir grace flowers, which likewise hee did to the other prisoners that were there. Whereupon naughtie and suspicious heads thinking to make and wring out some matter thereof, called on a time the child vnto them, promising him figs and apples, and asked of him when he had béene with the earle of Deuonshire, not ignorant of the childs wonted frequenting vnto him: The boy answered that he would go by and by thither. Further they demanded of him, when he was with the ladie Elisabeths grace? He answered: Euerie daie. Furthermore they examined him, what the lord of Deuonshire sent by him to hir grace? The child said: I will go know what he will giue to carie to hir. Such was the discretion of the child, being yet but foure years of age. This same is a craftie boy, quoth the lord chamberleine, how saie you my lord Shandois? I praie you my lord (quoth the boy) giue me the figs you promised me. No marie (quoth he) thou shalt be whipped if thou come anie more to the ladie Elisabeth, or the lord Courtneie. The boy answered: I will bring my ladie and mistresse more flowers. Wherupon the childs father was commanded to permit the boy no more to come vp into their chambers.

Suspicious heads.

A yong child examined for bringing flowers to the ladie Elisabeth.

The next daie, as hir grace was walking in the garden, the child peeping in at a hole in the doore, cried vnto hir, saieng: Mistresse, I can bring you no more flowers. Whereat she smiled, but said nothing, vnderstanding thereby what they had done. Wherefore afterwards the chamberleine rebuked highlie his father, commanding him to put him out of the house.

Alas poore infant, quoth the father. It is a craftie knaue (quoth the lord chamberleine) let me see him here no more. The tith of Maie the constable was discharged of his office of the tower, & one sir Henrie Benefield placed in his rome, a man vnknowne to hir grace, and therefore the more feared: which so sudden mutation was vnto hir no little amaze. He brought with him an hundred souldiors in blew cotes, wherewith she was maruellouslie discomforted, and demanded of such as were about hir, whether the ladie Janes scaffold were taken awaie or no, fearing by reason of their comming, least she should haue plaied hir part. To whome answer was made, that the scaffold was taken awaie, and that hir grace néeded not to doubt of anie such tyrannie: for God would not suffer anie such treason against hir person. Wherewith being contented, but not altogither satisfied, she asked what sir Henrie Benefield was, and whether he was of that conscience or no, that if hir murthering were secretlie committed to his charge, he would see the execution thereof: She was answered, that they were ignorant what maner of man he was. Howbeit they persuaded hir that God would not suffer such wickednesse to proceed: Well, quoth she, God grant it be so. For thou O God canst mollifie all such tyrannous hearts, and disappoint all such cruell purposes: and I beseech thée to heare me thy creature, which am thy seruant, and at thy commandement, trusting by thy grace euer so to remaine.

The constable of ỹ tower discharged of his office.

Sir Henrie Benefield with his companie, placed about the lad. Elisabeth.

Ladie Elisabeth in great feare and doubt of life.

Ladie Elisabeth in doubt of sir Henrie Benefield.

About which time it was spread abroad, that hir grace should be caried from thense by this new iollie capteine and his souldiors: but whither, it could not be learned. Which was vnto hir a great griefe, especiallie for that such a companie was appointed to hir gard, requesting rather to continue there still, than to be led thense with such a sort of rascals. At last plaine answer was made by the lord Shandois, that there was no remedie, but from thense she must néeds depart to the manour of Woodstocke, as he thought. Being demanded of hir for what cause: For that (quoth he) the tower is like further to be furnished. She being desirous to know what he meant thereby, demanded wherewith: He answered, with such matter as the quéene and councell were determined in that behalfe, wherof he had no knowledge: and so departed. In conclusion, on Trinitie sundaie being the nineteenth daie of Maie, she was remoued from the tower, the lord treasuror being then there for the lading of hir carts, and discharging the place of the same. Where sir Henrie Benefield (being appointed hir gaoler) did receiue hir with a companie of rakehels to gard hir, beside the lord of Darbies band, waiting in the countrie about for the moneshine in the water. Unto whome at length came my lord of Tame, ioined in commission with the said sir Henrie, for the safe guiding of hir to prison: and they togither conueied hir grace to Woodstocke, as hereafter followeth. The first daie they conducted hir to Richmond, where she continued all night, being restreined of hir owne men, which were lodged in outchambers, and sir Henrie Benefields souldiors appointed in their romes to giue attendance on hir person. Whereat she being maruellouslie dismaied, thinking verelie some secret mischiefe to be a working towards hir, called hir gentleman vsher, and desired him, with the rest of his companie, to praie for hir. For this night (quoth she) I thinke to die. Wherewith he being stricken to the heart, said: God forbid that anie such wickednesse should be pretended against your grace. So comforting hir as well as he could, at last he burst out into teares, & went from hir downe into the court, where were walking the lord of Tame and sir Hen-

Ladie Elizabeth remoued from the tower to Woodstocke.

Ladie Elizabeth secluded from hir seruants.

Ladie Elizabeth in despaire of hir selfe.

rie

rie Benefield.

Then he comming to the lord of Tame (who had proffered to him much friendship) desired to speake with him a word or two. Unto whome he familiarlie said, he should with all his heart. Which when sir Henrie standing by heard, he asked what the matter was? To whome the gentleman vsher answered: No great matter sir (said he) but to speake with my lord a word or two. Then when the lord of Tame came to him, he spake on this wise: My lord (quoth he) you haue béene alwaies my good lord, and so I beséech you to remaine. The cause why I come to you at this time, is to desire your honor, vnfeinedlie to declare vnto me whether anie danger is meant towards my mistresse this night, or no, that I and my poore fellows may take such part as shall please God to appoint: for certeinlie we will rather die, than she should secretlie and innocentlie miscarie. Marie (said the lord of Tame) God forbid that anie such wicked purpose should be wrought: and rather than it should be so, I with my men are readie to die at hir foot also: and (so praised be God) they passed that dolfull night, with no little heauinesse of heart. Afterwards passing ouer the water at Richmond, going towards Windsore, hir grace espied certeine of hir poore seruants standing on the other side, which were verie desirous to sée hir. Whome when she beheld, turning to one of hir men standing by, she said: Ponder I sée certeine of my men, go to them and say these words from me: *Tanquam ouis.*

Tanquam ouis, i. Like a sheepe to the slaughter.

So she passing forward to Windsore, was lodged there that night in the deane of Windsors house, a place more meet in déed for a priest than for a princesse. And from thense hir grace was garded and brought the next night to maister Dormers house, where much people standing by the way, some presented to hir one gift, and some another: so that sir Henrie was greatlie moued therewith, and troubled the poore people verie sore, for shewing their louing hearts in such a maner, calling them rebels and traitors, with such like vile words. Besides, as she passed thorough the villages, the townesmen rang the bels, as being ioyfull of hir comming, thinking verelie it had béene otherwise than it was indeed, as the sequele proued after to the said poore men. For immediatlie the said sir Henrie hearing the same, sent his souldiors thither, who apprehended some of the ringers, setting them in the stocks, and otherwise vncourteoustie misusing other some for their good wils.

Ladie Elizabeth honourablie receiued and beloued of the people.

On the morrow hir grace passing from maister Dormers (where was for the time of hir abode there a strict watch kept) came to the lord of Tames house where she laie all night, being verie princelie interteined, both of knights and ladies, gentlemen and gentlewomen. Wherat sir Henrie Benefield grunted, and was highlie offended, saieng vnto them, that they could not tell what they did, and were not able to answer to their doings in that behalfe; letting them to vnderstand that she was the quéens maiesties prisoner, and no otherwise: aduising them therfore to take héed & beware of afterclaps. Whereunto the lord of Tame answered in this wise: that he was well aduised of his doings, being ioined in commission as well as he, adding with warrant, that hir grace might and should in his house be merrie. The next daie as she should take hir iournie from Richmond towards Woodstocke, the lord of Tame, with an other gentleman being at tables, plaieng, and dropping die crownes, the ladie Elizabeth passing by, staied & said she would sée the game plaied out, which sir Henrie Benefield would scarse permit. The game running long about, and they plaieng drop die crownes; Come on saith he: I will tarie saith she, and will sée this game out.

The gentle interteinment of ladie Elizabeth at the lord of Tames house.

M. Benefield grudgeth at the gentle interteinment of ladie Elizabeth.

The rude and vngentlemanlie behauiour of sir Henrie Benefild.

Ladie Elizabeth commeth to Woodstocke.

The strict watch kept at woodstocke.

After this, sir Henrie went vp into a chamber, where was appointed for hir grace a chaire, two cushions, and a foot carpet verie faire and princelike, wherein presumptuoulie he sat, and called one Barwike his man to pull off his boots. Which as soone as it was knowen among the ladies and gentles, euerie one mused thereat, & laughed him to scorne, obseruing his vndiscréet maners in that behalfe, as they might verie well. When supper was done, he called my lord, and willed him that all the gentlemen and ladies should withdraw themselues euerie one to his lodging, maruelling much that he would permit there such a companie, considering so great a charge committed to him. Sir Henrie (quoth my lord) content your selfe, all shall be voided, your men and all. Nay my souldiors (quoth sir Henrie) shall watch all night. The lord of Tame answered, It shall not need. Well said he, Néed or néed not, they shall so do: mistrusting belike the companie, which God knoweth was without cause.

Ladie Elizabeth garded and warded for starting awaie.

The next daie hir grace tooke hir iournie from thense to Woodstocke, where she was inclosed, as before in the tower of London, the souldiors garding and warding both within & without the wals, euerie daie to the number of three score, and in the night without the wals fortie, during the time of hir imprisonment there. At length she had gardens appointed for hir walke, which was verie comfortable to hir grace. But alwaies when she did recreat hir selfe therein, the doores were fast locked vp, in as strict maner as they were in the tower, being at the least fiue or six locks betwéene hir lodging and hir walks: sir Henrie himselfe kéeping the keies, and trusting no man therewith. Whereupon she called him hir gaoler: and he knéeling downe, desired hir grace not to call him so, for he was appointed there to be one of hir officers. From such officers (quoth she) good Lord deliuer me. And now by the way as digressing, or rather refreshing the reader, if it be lawfull in so serious a storie to recite a matter incident, & yet not impertinent to the same: occasion heere moueth, or rather inforceth me to touch briefelie what happened in the same place and time by a certeine merie conceited man, being then about hir grace: who noting the strict & strange kéeping of his ladie & mistres by the said sir Henrie Benefield, with so manie locks & doores, with such watch and ward about hir, as was strange and wonderfull, spied a goat in the ward where hir grace was. And whether to refresh hir oppressed mind, or to notifie hir strict handling by sir Henrie, either else both; he tooke it vp on his necke, and followed hir grace therewith as she was going into hir lodging. Which when she saw, she asked him what he would do with it, willing to let it alone. Unto whome the said partie answered: No by saint Marie (if it like your grace) will I not: for I can not tell whether he be one of the quéens friends or no. I will carie him to sir Henrie Benefield (God willing) to know what he is. So leauing hir grace, he went with the goat on his necke, and cezied it to sir Henrie Benefield. Who when he saw him comming with it, asked him halfe angerlie what he had there. Unto whome the partie answered, saieng: Sir (quoth he) I can not tell what he is, I pray you examine him, for I found him in the place where my ladies grace was walking, and what talke they had I can not tell. For I vnderstand him not, but he should séeme to me to be some stranger, & I thinke verelie a Welshman, for he hath a white frése coat on his backe. And forsomuch as I being the quéens subiect, and perceiuing the strict charge committed to you of hir kéeping, that no stranger should haue accesse to hir without

A merie storie concerning the strict kéeping of the ladie Elizabeth.

The strictnes of sir Henrie Benefield merilie noted.

sufficient licence, I haue here found a stranger (what he is I can not tell) in place where hir grace was walking: and therefore for the necessarie discharge of my dutie, I thought it good to bring the said stranger to you, to examine as you see cause: and so he set him downe. At which his words sir Henrie seemed much displeased, and said: Well, well, you will neuer leaue this geare I see: and so they departed.

Now to returne to the matter from whence we haue digressed. After hir grace had bene there a time she made suite to the councell that she might be suffered to write to the queene, which at last was permitted. So that sir Henrie Benefield brought hir pen, inke, and paper; and standing by hir while she wrote (which he strictlie obserued) alwaies she being wearie, he would carie awaie hir letters, and bring them againe when she called for them. In the finishing therof, he would haue béene messenger to the quéene of the same. Whose request hir grace denied, saieng one of hir owne men should carie them, and that she would neither trust him nor none of his therein. Then he answering againe said; None of them durst be so bold (he trowed) to carie hir letters, being in that case. Yes (quoth she) I am assured I haue none so dishonest that would denie my request in that behalfe, but will be as willing to serue me now as before. Well (said he) my commission is to the contrarie, and I maie not so suffer it. Hir grace replieng againe said; You charge me verie often with your commission, I praie God you maie iustlie answer the cruell dealing you vse towards me.

The cruell dealing of sir Henrie Benefield to the ladie Elizabeth reprooued.

Then he kneeling downe, desired hir grace to thinke and consider how he was a seruant, and put in trust there by the queene to serue hir maiestie, protesting that if the case were hirs, he would as willinglie serue hir grace, as now he did the queenes highnesse. For the which his answer hir grace thanked him, desiring God that she might neuer haue need of such seruants as he was; declaring further to him, that his doings towards hir were not good nor answerable, but more than all the friends he had would stand by. To whom sir Henrie replied & said, that there was no remedie but his doings must be answered, and so they should, trusting to make good account thereof. The cause which moued hir grace so to saie, was for that he would not permit hir letters to be carried foure or fiue daies after the writing thereof. But in fine he was content to send for hir gentleman from the towne of Woodstocke, demanding of him whether he durst enterprise the carriage of hir graces letters to the quéene or no. And he answered; Yea sir, that I dare, and will with all my hart. Wherevpon sir Henrie halfe against his stomach toke them vnto him. Then about the eight of June came downe doctor Owen & doctor Wendie, sent by the queene to hir grace, for that she was sicklie; who ministring to hir, and letting hir bloud, tarried there and attended on hir grace fiue or six daies. Then she being well amended, they returned againe to the court, making their good report to the queene and the councell of hir graces behauior and humblenesse towards the quéenes highnesse. Which hir maiestie hearing, toke verie thankfullie: but the bishops thereat repined, loked blacke in the mouth, and told the quéene, they maruelled that she submitted not hir selfe to hir maiesties mercie, considering that she had offended hir highnesse.

The letters of the ladie Elizabeth sent to the quéene.

Doctor Owen and doctor Wendie quéen Maries physicians sent to the ladie Elizabeth.

The popish prelats repined against the ladie Elizabeth.

About this time hir grace was requested by a secret friend, to submit hir selfe to the quéenes maiestie, which would be verie well taken, and to hir great quiet and commoditie. Vnto whome she answered, that she would neuer submit hir selfe to them whome she neuer offended. For (quoth shée) if I haue offended and am guiltie, I then craue no mercie, but the law, which I am certeine (quoth she) I should haue had per this, if it could be proued by me. For I know my selfe (I thanke God) to be out of the danger thereof, wishing that I were as cleare out of the perill of mine enimies, & then I am assured I should not so be locked and bolted vp within wals and doores as I am. God giue them a better mind when it pleaseth him. About this time was there a great consulting among the bishops and gentlemen touching a marriage for hir grace, which some of the Spaniards wished to be with some stranger, that she might go out of the realme with hir portion; some saieng one thing, and some another.

Ladie Ladie Elizabeth to be remoued to Woodstocke.

Counsell of the papists to marrie the ladie Elizabeth to a Spaniard.

A lord (who shall be here nameles) being there at last said, that the king should neuer haue anie quiet common wealth in England, vnlesse hir head were stricken from the shoulders. Wherevnto the Spaniards answered saieng; God forbid that the king and maister should haue that mind to consent to such a mischéefe. This was the courteous answer of the Spaniards to the Englishmen, speaking after that sort against their owne countrie. From that daie the Spaniards neuer left off their good persuasions to the king, that the like honor he should neuer obteine, as he should in deliuering the ladie Elizabeths grace out of prison; whereby at length she was happilie released from the same. Here is a plaine and euident example of the good clemencie and nature of the king and his councellors towards hir grace (praised be God therefore) who moued their harts therein. Then herevpon she was sent for shortlie after to come to Hampton court.

wicked counsell giuen of the Lord Paget against the ladie Elizabeth.

Spaniards more fauourable to ladie Elizabeth than some Englishmen

But before hir remouing awaie from Woodstocke, we will a little staie to declare in what dangers hir life was during this time she there remained. First thorough fire, which began to kindle betweene the boords & séeling vnder the chamber where she laie, whether by a sparke of fire, gotten into a cranie, or whether of purpose by some that meant hir no good, the Lord doth know. Neuertheles a worshipfull knight of Oxfordshire, which was there ioined the same time with sir Henrie Benefield in kéeping that ladie (who then toke vp the boords and quenched the fire) verelie supposed it to be done of purpose. Furthermore it is thought, and also affirmed (if it be true) of one Paule Penie a kéeper of Woodstocke, a notorious russian and a butcherlie wretch, that he was appointed to kill the said ladie Elizabeth, who both saw the man being often in hir sight, and also knew thereof.

Ladie Elizabeth in danger of fire.

Ladie Elizabeth in danger of killing.

Another time one of the priuie chamber, a great man about the quéene, and chiefe darling of Stephan Gardiner, named maister James Vallet came to Blandenbridge a mile from Woodstocke, with twentie or thirtie priuie cotes, and sent for sir Henrie Benefield to come and speake with him. But as God would, which disposed all things after the purpose of his owne will; so it happened, that a little before the said sir Henrie Benefield was sent for by post to the councell, leaning strict word behind him with his brother, that no man whatsoeuer he were, though comming with a bill of the quéenes hand, or anie other warrant, should haue accesse to hir before his returne againe. By reason whereof it so fell out, that maister Benefields brother comming to him at the bridge, would suffer him in no case approch in, who otherwise (as is supposed) was appointed violentlie to murther the innocent ladie. In the life of Stephan Gardiner we declared before, pag. 1787, how that the ladie Elizabeth, being in the tower, a writ came downe subscribed with certeine hands of the councell for hir execution. Which if it were certeine (as it is reported) Winchester (no doubt) was deuiser of that mischéefous drift. And doubtlesse the same

Another conspiracie & murther against ladie Elizabeth.

Ladie Elizabeth preserued by the lords prouidence from execution in the tower.

Achitophell

Achitophell had brought his impious purpose that day to passe, had not the fatherlie prouidence of almightie God (who is euer stronger than the diuell) stirred vp maister Bridges lieutenant at that time of the tower, to come in hast to the queene, to giue certificat therof, & to know further hir consent touching hir sisters death. Wherupon it followed, that all that deuise was disappointed, & Winchesters diuelish platforme which he said he had cast, thorough the Lords great goodnes came to no effect. Where moreouer is to be noted, that during the prisonment of this ladie and princesse, one maister Edmund Tremaine was on the racke, and maister Smithwike, and diuerse other in the tower were examined, and diuerse offers made to them to accuse the giltlesse ladie, being in hir captiuitie. Howbeit all that notwithstanding, no matter could be proued by all examinations, as the the same time lieng at Woodstocke had certeine intelligence, by the meanes of one John Gater, who vnder a colorable pretense of a letter vnto mistresse Cleue from hir father, was let in, and so gaue them secretlie to vnderstand of all this matter. Wherevpon the ladie Elizabeth at hir departing out from Woodstocke, wrote these verses with hir diamond in a glasse window verie legiblie as herefolloweth:

winchesters platforme ouerthrowne: wherof read before pa. 1787

Much suspected by me,
Nothing proued can be:
Quoth Elizabeth prisoner.

verses writen by ladie Elisabeth in the glasse window.

And thus much touching the troubles of ladie Elisabeth at Woodstocke. Whereunto this is more to be added, that during the same time, the lord of Tame had labored to the queene, and became suretie for hir, to haue hir from Woodstocke to his house, and had obteined grant thereof. Wherevpon preparation was made accordinglie, and all things readie in expectation of hir comming. But through the procurement either of maister Benefield, or by the doing of Winchester hir mortall enimie, letters came ouer night to the contrarie: whereby hir iourne was stopped. Thus this worthie ladie oppressed with continuall sorrow, could not be permitted to haue recourse to anie friends she had; but still in the hands of hir enimies was left desolate, and vtterlie destitute of all that might refresh a dolfull hart, fraught full of terror and thraldome. Wherevpon no maruell, if she hearing vpon a time out of hir garden at Woodstocke, a certeine milkmaid singing pleasantlie, wished hir selfe to be a milkemaid as she was, saieng that hir case was better, and life more merier than was hirs in that state as she was.

ladie Elizabeth with hir selfe to be a milkemaid.

Now after these things thus declared, to proceed further where we left before, sir Henrie Benefield and his soldiors, with the lord of Tame, and sir Rafe Chamberleine, garding and waiting vpon hir, the first night from Woodstocke she came to Ricot. In which iourneie such a mightie wind did blow, that hir seruants were faine to hold down hir clothes about hir: in so much that hir hood was twise or thrise blowen from hir head. Wherevpon she desirous to returne to a certeine gentlemans house there neere, could not be suffered by sir Henrie Benefield so to do: but was constreined vnder an hedge to trim hir head as well as she could. After this, the nert night they iourneied to maister Dormers, & so to Colbroke, where she late all that night at the George: and by the waie comming to Colbroke, certeine of hir graces gentlemen and yeomen met hir to the number of three score, much to all their comforts, which had not seene hir grace of long season before: notwithstanding they were commanded in the queenes name immediatlie to depart the towne, to both their and hir graces no little heauinesse, who could not be suffered once to speake with them. So that night all hir men were taken from hir saue hir gentleman vsher, three gentlewomen, two grooms, and one of hir wardrobe, the soldiors watching and warding about the house, and the close shut vp within hir prison.

another conspiracie against ladie Elizabeth renewed from Woodstocke to Hampton court.

The nert daie following, hir grace entred Hampton court on the backeside, into the princes lodging, the doores being shut to hir: and she garded with soldiors, as before, late there a fortnight at the least, yet euer anie had recourse vnto hir. At length came the lord William Howard, who maruellous honourablie vsed hir grace. Wher at she tooke much comfort, & requested him to be a meane that she might speake with some of the councell. To whome (not long after) came the bishop of Winchester, the lord of Arundell, the lord of Shrewesburie, and secretarie Peter, who with great humilitie humbled themselues vnto hir grace. She againe likewise saluting them, said: My lords (quoth she) I am glad to see you: for me thinke I haue beene kept a great while from you desolatelie alone. Wherefore I would desire you to be a meane to the king and queenes maiesties, that I maie be deliuered from prison, wherein I haue beene kept a long space, as to you my lords it is not vnknowne.

lord William Howard gentle and fauorable to ladie Elisabeth.

When she had spoken, Stephan Gardiner the bishop of Winchester kneeled downe, and requested that she would submit hir selfe to the quenes grace, and in so doing he had no doubt but that hir maiestie would be good vnto hir. She making answer that rather than she would so do, she would lie in prison all the daies of hir life, adding that she craued no mercie at hir maiesties hand, but rather desired the law, if euer she did offend hir maiestie in thought, word, or deed. And besides this, in yeelding (quoth she) I should speake against my selfe, and confesse my selfe to be an offendor, which neuer was towards hir maiestie: by occasion whereof the king and the queene might euer hereafter conceiue of me an ill opinion: and therefore I saie my lords, it were better for me to lie in prison for the truth, than to be abroad and suspected of my prince. And so they departed, promising to declare hir message to the queene.

ladie Elisabeth requested by winchester to submit hir selfe to the quenes mercie.

ladie Elisabeth standeth to be tried by the law.

On the nert daie the bishop of Winchester came againe vnto hir grace, and kneeling downe, declared that the queene marueled that she would so stoutlie vse hir selfe, not confessing to haue offended: so that it should seeme the quenes maiestie wrongfullie to haue imprisoned hir grace. Naie (quoth the ladie Elisabeth) it pleaseth hir to punish me as she thinketh good. Well quoth Gardiner, hir maiestie willeth me to tell you, that you must tell an other tale yer that you be set libertie. Hir grace answered, that she had as leefe be in prison with honestie and truth, as to be abroad suspected of hir maiestie: and this that I haue said, I will (said she) stand vnto, for I will neuer belie my selfe. Winchester againe kneeled down and said: Then your grace hath the vantage of me and other the lords for your long and wrong imprisonment. What vantage I haue (quoth she) you know, taking God to record I seeke no vantage at your hands for your so dealing with me, but God forgiue you and me also. With that the rest kneeled, desiring hir grace that all might be forgotten, and so departed, she being fast locked vp againe. A seauen nights after, the queene sent for hir grace at ten of the clocke in the night to speake with hir: for she had not seene hir in two yeares before. Yet for all that she was amazed at the sudden sending for, thinking it had beene worse than afterwards it proued, and desired hir gentlemen and gentlewomen to praie for hir, for that she could not tell whether euer she should see them againe or no.

Talke againe betweene Winchester & ladie Elisabeth.

Ladie Elisabeth denied to confesse ante fault donne to the queene.

Ladie Elisabeth sent for to the queene.

Ladie Elisabeth brought to the quenes bedchamber.

At which time sir Henrie Benefield with mistresse Clarencius comming in, hir grace was brought into the garden vnto a staires fot that went into the

quænes lodging, hir graces gentlewomen watting vpon hir, hir gentleman vsher and hir grooms going before with torches, where hir gentlemen and gentlewomen being commanded to staie all saving ons woman, maistresse Clarencius conducted hir to the quænes bedchamber where hir maiestie was. At the sight of whome hir grace kneeled downe, and desired God to preserue hir maiestie, not mistrusting but that she should trie hir selfe as true a subiect towards hir maiestie, as euer did ante, and desired hir maiestie euen so to iudge of hir: and said that she should not find hir to the contrarie, whatsoeuer report otherwise had gone of hir. To whome the quæne answered: You will not confesse your offense, but stand stoutlie to your truth: I praie God it maie so fall out. If it doth not, quoth the ladie Elisabeth, I request neither fauour nor pardon at your maiesties hands. Well said the quæne, you stillie still perseuere in your truth. Belike you will not confesse but that you haue bæne wrongfullie punished. I must not saie so (if it please your maiestie) to you.

Talke betweene the quæne and ladie Elisabeth.

Why then (said the quæne) belike you will to others. No, if it please your maiestie (quoth she) I haue borne the burthen, and must beare it; I humblie beseech your maiestie to haue a good opinion of me, and to thinke me to be your true subiect, not onelie from the beginning hitherto, but for euer, as long as life lasteth: and so they departed with verie few comfortable words of the quæne, in English: but what she said in Spanish, God knoweth. It is thought that king Philip was there behind a cloth, and not seene, and that he shewed himselfe a verie friend in that matter, &c. Thus hir grace departing, went vnto hir lodging againe, and the seauenth night after was released of sir Henrie Benefield hir gaoler (as she tearmed him) and his soldiors, and so hir grace being set at libertie from imprisonment, went into the countrie, and had appointed to go with hir sir Thomas pope, one of quæne Maries councellors, and one of hir gentlemen vshers, maister Gage, and thus strictlie was she looked vnto all quæne Maries time. And this is the discourse of hir highnesse imprisonment.

Small comfort at the quænes hand toward hir sister.

King Philip thought to be a friend to ladie Elisabeth.

Ladie Elisabeth by Gods prouidence set at libertie.

Sir Henrie Benefield discharged.

Maistresse Ashleie sent to the Fleet.

Three gentlewomen of ladie Elisabeths sent to the tower.

Note the wonderfull working of the Lords prouidence in sauing of ladie Elisabeth.

Ladie Elisabeth deliuered by the death of Stephan Gardiner.

Then there came to Lambheire, maister Gerningham, and maister Norris gentleman vsher, quæne Maries men, who toke awaie from hir grace maistresse Ashleie to the Fleet, and three other of hir gentlewomen to the tower: which thing was no little trouble to hir grace, saieng: that she thought they would fetch all awaie at the end. But God be praised, shortlie after was fetched awaie Gardiner thorough the mercifull prouidence of the Lords goodnesse, by occasion of whose opportune decease (as is partlie touched in this storie before, pag. 1705) the life of this excellent princesse, the wealth of all England, was preserued. For this is credible to be supposed, that the said wicked Gardiner of Winchester had long laboured his wits, and to this onelie most principall marke bent all his deuises, to bring this our happie and deere souereigne out of the waie, as both by his words and doings before notified maie sufficientlie appeare.

But such was the gratious and fauourable prouidence of the Lord, to the preseruation not onlie of hir roiall maiestie, but also the miserable and woefull state of this whole Iland, and poore subiects of the same, whereby the proud platforms and péeuish practises of this wretched Achitophell preuailed not: but contrariwise, both he, and all the snares and traps of his pernicious counsell laid against an other, were turned to a net to catch himselfe, according to the prouerbe: *Malum consilium consultori pessimum*. After the death of this Gardiner, followed the death also and dropping awaie of other hir enimies, whereby by little and little hir ieopardie decreased, feare diminished, hope of comfort began to appeare as out of a darke cloud. And albeit as yet hir grace had no full assurance of perfect safetie, yet more gentle intertainment dailie did grow vnto hir, till at length to the moneth of November, and seauenteenth daie of the same, three yeares after the death of Stephan Gardiner, followed the death of quæne Marie, as heretofore at large hath bæne truelie declared. Although this historie following be not directlie appertaining to the former matter, yet the same maie here not vnaptlie be inserted, for that it doth discouer and shew forth the malicious hearts of the papists towards this vertuous quæne our souereigne ladie in the time of quæne Marie hir sister, which is reported as a truth credible told by sundrie honest persons, of whome some are yet aliue, and do testifie the same. The matter whereof is this.

A note of a storie declaring the malignant hart of the papists towards ladie Elisabeth.

Some after the stirre of Wiat and the troubles that happened to this quæne for that cause: it fortuned one Robert Farrer a haberdasher of London, dwelling neere vnto Newgate market, in a certeine morning to be at the Rose tauerne (from whence he was seldome absent) and falling to his common drinke, as he was euer accustomed, and hauing in his companie three other companions like vnto himselfe, it chanced the same time one Laurence Shirtffe grocer, dwelling also not farre from thence, to come into the said tauerne, and finding there the said Farrer (to whome of long time he had borne good will) sat downe in the seat to drinke with him, and Farrer hauing in his full cups, and not hauing consideration who were present began to talke at large, and namelie against the ladie Elisabeth, and said: That gill hath bæne one of the chiefe doers of this rebellion of Wiat, and before all be done, she and all the heretikes hir partakers shall well vnderstand of it. Some of them hope that she shall haue the crowne, but she and they (I trust) that so hope, shall hop headlesse, or be fried with fagots before she come to it.

Robert Farrer of London a sore enimie to ladie Elisabeth.

Laurence Shirtffe, sworne frier and seruant ladie Elisabeth his mistresse.

Robert Farrer raileth against ladie Elisabeth.

The afforesaid Laurence Shirtffe grocer, being then seruant vnto the said ladie Elisabeth, & sworne vnto hir grace, could no longer forbeare his old acquaintance and neighbor Farrer in speaking so vnreuerentlie of his mistresse, but said to him: Farrer, I haue loued thée as a neighbour, and haue had a good opinion of thée, but hearing of thée that I now heare, I defie thée: and I tell thée I am hir graces sworne seruant, and she is a princesse, and the daughter of a noble king, and it euill becommeth thée to call hir a gill, and for thy so saieng, I saie thou art a knaue, & I will complaine vpon thée. Do thy worst said Farrer, for that I said, I will saie againe: and so Shirtffe came from his companie. Shortlie after, the said Shirtffe taking an honest neighbour with him, went before the commissioners to complaine: the which commissioners sat then at Boner the bishop of Londons house beside Pauls, and there were present Boner then being the chiefe commissioner, the lord Mordant, sir John Baker, doctor Oetbishire chancellor to the bishop, doctor Storie, doctor Harpsfield, and others. The aforesaid Shirtffe comming before them, declared the maner of the said Robert Farrers talke against the ladie Elisabeth. Boner answered, Peraduenture you toke him worse than he meant. Yea my lord (said doctor Storie) if you knew the man as I do, you would saie that there is not a better catholike, nor an honester man in the citie of London.

The part of a good trustie seruant.

Robert Farrer complained of to the commissioners, but no redresse was had.

* A knaue.

Well, said Shirtffe, my lord, she is my gratious ladie and mistresse, and it is not to be suffered that such a varlet as he is, should call so honorable a princesse by the name of a gill: and I saw yesterdaie in the court that my lord cardinall Pole méeting hir in the

How the Lord here began to worke for ladie Elisabeth.

the chamber of presence, kneeled downe on his knees and kissed hir hand: and I saw also that king Philip meeting hir, made hir such obeisance that his knee touched the ground: and then (me thinketh) it were to much to suffer such a varlet as this is, to call hir gill, and to wish them to hop headlesse that shall wish hir grace to inioie the possession of the crowne when God shall send it vnto hir as in the right of hir inheritance. Yea! Staie there (quoth Boner.) When God sendeth it vnto hir, let hir inioie it. But trulie (said he) the man that spake the words that you haue reported, meant nothing against the ladie Elisabeth your mistresse, and no more do we: but he like an honest and zealous man feared the alteration of religion, which euerie good man ought to feare: and therfore (said Boner) good man go your waies home and report well of vs towards your mistresse, and we will send for Farrer and rebuke him for his rash and vndiscreet words, and we trust he will not do the like againe. And thus Shirifke came awaie, and Farrer had a flap with a fox taile. Now that ye maie be fullie informed of the aforesaid Farrer, whome doctor Storie praised for so good a man, ye shall vnderstand that the same Farrer, hauing two daughters, being handsome maidens, the elder of them for a summe of monie he himselfe deliuered vnto sir Richard Cholmleie to be at his commandement; the other he sold to a knight called sir William Goddolphin to be at his commandement: whome he made his lackie and so carried hir with him, being apparelled in mans apparell to Bullongne, and the said Farrer followed the campe. He also was a great and a horrible blaphemer of God, and a common accuser of honest and quiet men, also a common drunkard. And now I referre the life of these catholiks to your iudgement, to thinke of them as you please.

How bishop Boner and doctor Storie bear with him that railed against ladie Elisabeth.

Note the vngodlie life of these catholikes.

But of this matter enough and to much. Now let vs returne where we left before, which was at the death of queene Marie. After whose decease succéded hir foresaid sister ladie Elisabeth into the right of the crowne of England: who after so long restreinement, so great dangers escaped, such blusterous stormes ouerblowne, so manie iniuries digested and wrongs sustained by the mightie protection of our mercifull God, to our no small comfort and commoditie, hath béene exalted and erected out of thrall to libertie, out of danger to peace and quietnesse, from dread to dignitie, from miserie to maiestie, from mourning to ruling; briefle, of a prisoner made a princesse, and placed in hir throne royall, proclamed now queene, with as manie glad hearts of hir subiects, as euer was anie king or queene in this realme before hir, or euer shall be (I dare saie) hereafter. Touching whose flourishing state, hir princelie reigne and peaceable gouernement, with other things diuerse and sundrie incident to the same, and especiallie touching the great stirres and alterations which haue happened in other forren nations, and also partlie among our selues here at home, forsomuch as the tractation hereof requireth an huge volume by it selfe, I shall therefore deferre the reader to the next booke or section insuing: wherein (if the Lord so please to sustaine me with leaue and life) I maie haue to discourse of all and singular such matters done and atchiued in these our latter dales and memorie, more at large.

Ladie Elisabeth proclamed queene the same daie that queene Marie died.

The Lord make England thankefull to him for his great benefits.

He meaneth his owne woorke; not this volume or anie part thereof.

Now then after these so great afflictions falling vpon this realme, from the first beginning of queene Maries reigne, wherein so manie men, women, and children were burned, manie imprisoned and in prisons starued, diuerse exiled, some spoiled of goods and possessions, a great number driuen from house to house, so manie weeping eies, so manie sobbing harts, so manie children made fatherlesse, so manie fathers bereft of their wiues and children, so manie vexed in conscience, and diuerse against conscience constrained to recant; and in conclusion, neuer a good man almost in all the realme but suffered something during all the time of this bloudie persecution: after all this (I saie) now we are come at length (the Lord be praised) to the seuentéenth of Nouember, which daie as it brought to the persecuted members of Christ, rest from their carefull mourning, so it easeth me somewhat likewise of my laborious writing, by the death I meane of queene Marie, who being long sicke before vpon the said seuentéenth daie of Nouember, in the yeare aboue said, about three or foure of the clocke in the morning, yéelded hir life to nature, and hir kingdome to queene Elisabeth hir sister.

Nouemb 17. queene Marie endeth.

Queene Elisabeth beginneth hir reigne.

As touching the maner of whose death, some saie that she died of a timpanie, some by hir much sighing before hir death supposed she died of thought and sorrow. Wherevpon hir councell séeing hir sighing, and desirous to know the cause, to the end they might minister the more readie consolation vnto hir, feared (as they said) that she toke some thought for the kings maiestie hir husband, which was gone from hir. To whome she answering againe; In deed (said she) that may be one cause, but that is not the greatest wound that pearseth mine oppressed mind: but what that was she would not expresse to them. Albeit afterward she opened the matter more plainlie to mistresse Rise and mistresse Clarentius (if it be true that they told me, which heard it of mistresse Rise himselfe) who then being most familiar with hir, and most bold about hir, told hir that they feared she toke thought for king Philips departing from hir. Not that onelie (said she) but when I am dead and opened, you shall find Calis lieng in my hart, &c. Which one supposing to be true, hath left this report:

The maner of queene Maries death.

*Hispani *oppidulo amisso contabuit vxor,*
Quam cruciatu ægro confecerat anxia cura.

* *Caleto.*

Q. Marie toke thought for the losse of Calis.

And here an end of queene Marie, and of hir persecution, during the time of hir misgouernment. Of which queene this trulie may be affirmed and left in storie for a perpetuall memorall or epitaph for all kings and queenes that shall succéd hir to be noted, that before hir neuer was read in storie of anie king or queene of England since the time of king Lucius, vnder whom in time of peace, by hanging, heading, burning, and prisoning: so much christian bloud, so manie Englishmens liues were spilled within this realme, as vnder the said queene Marie for the space of foure yeares was to be séene, and I beséech the Lord neuer may be séene hereafter.

More English bloud spilled in queene Maries time, than euer was in anie kings reigne before hir.

Now, for so much as queene Marie, during all the time of hir reigne, was such a vehement aduersarie and persecutor against the sincere professors of Christ Jesus and his gospell: for the which there be manie which do highlie magnifie and approue hir doings therein, reputing hir religion to be sound and catholike, and hir procéedings to be most acceptable and blessed of almightie God: to the intent therfore that all men may vnderstand, how the blessing of the Lord God did not onelie not procéed with hir procéedings; but contrarie, rather how his manifest displeasure euer wrought against hir, in plaging both hir and hir realme, and in subuerting all hir counsels and attempts, what soeuer she toke in hand: we will bestow a litle time therein, to perpend and surueie the whole course of hir doings and cheuances: and consider what successe she had in the same. Which being well considered, we shall find neuer no reigne of anie prince in this land, or anie other, which had euer to shew in it (for the proportion of time) so manie arguments of Gods great wrath and displeasure, as was to be séene in the reigne of this queene Marie,

The reigne of queene Maries how vnprosperous it was both to hir & hir realme in all respects.

Queene Marie neuer had good successe in anie thing she went about.

whether we behold the shortnesse of hir time, or the vnfortunate euent of all hir purposes? Who seemed neuer to purpose anie thing that came luckilie to passe, neither did anie thing frame to hir purpose, what soeuer she toke in hand touching hir owne priuat affaires.

A good king alwaies maketh a flourishing realme.

Of good kings we read in the scripture, in shewing mercie and pitie, in seeking Gods will in his word, and subuerting the monuments of idolatrie, how God blessed their waies, increased their honors, and mightilie prospered all their procéedings: as we sée in king Dauid, Salomon, Iosias, Iosaphat, Ezechias, with such others. Manasses made the stréets of Hierusalem to swim with the bloud of his subiects, but what came of it the text doth testifie. Of queene Elisabeth, which now reigneth among vs, this we must néeds saie, which we sée, that she in sparing the bloud, not onelie of Gods seruants, but also of Gods enimies, hath doubled now the reigne of queene Marie hir sister, with such aboundance of peace and prosperitie, that it is hard to saie, whether the realme of England felt more of Gods wrath in queene Maries time, or of Gods fauour and mercie in these so blessed and peaceable daies of queene Elisabeth.

Comparison betweene the reigne of Q. Marie and queene Elisabeth.

Gamaliels reason. Acts. 5.

Gamaliell speaking his mind in the councell of the Pharisels concerning Christes religion, gaue this reason, that if it were of God, it should continue, who soeuer said naie: if it were not, it could not stand. So may it be said of queene Marie and hir Romish religion, that if it were so perfect and catholike as they pretend, and the contrarie faith of the gospellers were so detestable and hereticall as they make it, how commeth it then, that this so catholike a queene, such a necessarie piller of his spouse the church continued no longer, till she had vtterlie rooted out of the land this hereticall generation? Yea how chanced it rather, that almightie God, to spare these poore heretikes, rooted out queene Marie so soone from hir throne, after she had reigned but onelie fiue yeares and fiue moneths?

Queene Marie prospered so long as she went not against the Lord.

Q. Maries promise to the gospellers broken.

Now further more, how God blessed hir waies and indeuors in the meane time, while she thus persecuted the true seruants of God, remaineth to be discussed. Where first this is to be noted, that when she first began to stand for the title of the crowne, and yet had wrought no resistance against Christ and his gospell, but had promised hir faith to the Suffolke men, to maintaine the religion left by king Edward hir brother, so long God went with hir, aduanced hir, and by the means of the gospellers brought hir to the possession of the realme. But after that she breaking hir promise with God and man, began to take part with Stephan Gardiner, and had giuen ouer hir supremasie vnto the pope, by and by Gods blessing left hir, neither did anie thing well thriue with hir afterward during the whole time of hir regiment. For first incontinentlie the fairest and greatest ship she had, called great Harrie, was burned: such a vessell as in all these parts of all Europe was not to be matched.

The ship called the great Harrie burned.

Q. Maries mariage with a stranger.

Q. Marie disappointed of hir purpose in crowning king Philip.

Q. Marie stopped of hir will in restoring abbeie lands.

Then would she néeds bring in king Philip, and by hir strange marriage with him, make the whole realme of England subiect vnto a stranger. And all that notwithstanding, either that she did or was able to do, she could not bring to passe to set the crowne of England vpon his head. With king Philip also came in the pope and his popish masse: with whome also hir purpose was to restore againe the monks and nunnes vnto their places, neither lacked there all kind of attempts to the vttermost of hir abilitie: and yet therein also God stopt hir of hir will, that it came not forward. After this, what a dearth happened in hir time here in hir land, the like whereof hath not lightlie in England béene séene, in so much that in sundrie places hir poore subiects were faine to féed of acorns for want of corne?

The victorie of king Edward the sixt in Scotland.

Furthermore, where other kings are wont to be renowmed by some worthie victorie and prowesse by them atchiued, let vs now sée what valiant victorie was gotten in queene Maries daies. King Edward the first hir blessed brother, how manie rebellions did he suppresse in Deuonshire, in Norfolke, in Oxfordshire, and else where? What a famous victorie in his time was gotten in Scotland, by the singular working (no doubt) of Gods blessed hand rather than by anie expectation of man? King Edward the third (which was the eleuenth king from the conquest) by princelie puissance purchased Calis vnto England, which hath béene kept English euer since, till at length came queene Marie, the eleuenth likewise from the said king Edward, which lost Calis from England againe: so that the winnings of this queene were verie small; what the losses were, let other men iudge.

The ill lucke of Q. Marie in losing of Calis.

The eleuenth king from the conquest got Calis, and the eleuenth againe after him lost it.

The ill lucke of queene Marie in hir childbirth.

Hitherto the affaires of queene Marie haue had no great good successe, as you haue heard. But neuer worse successe had anie woman, than had she in hir childbirth. For séeing one of these two must néeds be granted, that either she was with child or not with child; if she were with child and did trauell, why was it not séene? if she were not, how was all the realme deluded? And in the meane while where were all the praiers, the solemne processions, the deuout masses of the catholike cleargie? Why did they not preuaile with God, if their religion were so godlie as they pretended? If their masses *Ex opere operato* be able to fetch Christ from heauen, & to reach downe to purgatorie, how chanced then they could not reach to the queens chamber, to helpe hir in hir trauell, if she had béene with child in déed? If not, how then came it to passe, that all the catholike church of England did so erre, and was so dispitelie deceiued? Queene Marie, after these manifold plagues and corrections, which might sufficientlie admonish hir of Gods displeasure prouoked against hir, would not yet ceasse hir persecution, but still continued more & more to reuenge hir catholike zeale vpon the lords faithfull people, setting fire to their poore bodies by dozens & halfe dozens together. Whereupon Gods wrathfull indignation increasing more and more against hir, ceassed not to touch hir more neare with priuat misfortunes and calamities.

Q. Marie left desolate of K. Philip hir husband.

For after that he had taken from hir the fruit of children (which chiefelie and aboue all things she desired) then he bereft hir of that, which of all earthlie things should haue béene hir chiefe staie of honour, and staffe of comfort; that is, withdrew from hir the affection and companie euen of hir owne husband, by whose mariage she had promised before to hirselfe whole heapes of such ioy and felicitie. But now the omnipotent gouernour of all things, so turned the whéele of hir owne spinning against hir, that hir high buildings of such ioies and felicities came all to a caskell come downe, hir hopes being confounded, hir purposes disappointed, and she now brought to desolation: who séemed neither to haue the fauour of God, nor the hearts of hir subiects, nor yet the loue of hir husband: who neither had fruit by him while she had him, neither could now inioy him whome she had maried, neither yet was in libertie to marrie anie other whome she might inioy. Marke here (christian reader) the wofull aduersitie of this queene, & learne withall, what the Lord can do when mans wilfulnes will néeds resist him, and will not be ruled.

The ill lucke of Q. Marie with hir husband.

The finall end and death of Q. Marie.

At last, when all these faire admonitions would take no place with the queene, nor mooue hir to reuoke hir bloudie lawes, nor to staie the tyrannie of hir priests, nor yet to spare hir owne subiects; but

that

that the poꝛe ſeruants of God were dꝛawne dailie by heapes moſt pittifullie as ſhæpe to the ſlaughter, it ſo pleaſed the heauenlie maieſtie of almightie God, when no other remedie would ſerue, by death to cut hir off, which in hir life ſo little regarded the life of others: giuing hir thꝛone, which ſhe abuſed to the deſtruction of Chꝛiſts church and people, to another, who moꝛe temperatlie and quietlie could guide the ſame, after ſhe had reigned here the ſpace of fiue yeares and fiue moneths. The ſhoꝛtneſſe of which yeares and reigne, vneth we find in anie other ſtoꝛie of king oꝛ quéene ſince the conqueſt oꝛ before (being come to their owne gouernement) ſaue onelie in king Richard the third. Which reigne was ſo rough and rigoꝛous, notwithſtanding the ſhoꝛtneſſe of the ſame, that it became a verie ſpectacle to all chꝛiſtendome; and the maner of dealing vſed vnder hir gouernment was ſo deteſtable, that as it was rare, ſo it raiſed vp a rare repoꝛt, euen among ſtrangers, whoſe heads being fuller of matter than their pens full of inke, wꝛote in tearmes bꝛode inough of the tumults and ſlaughters happening in hir vnhapie daies: among whome I will ſet downe foꝛ a ſaie a few verſes dꝛawne out of an hundꝛed and od, pꝛeſented to Henrie the French king of that name the ſecond, touching the conqueſt of Calis, whereat foꝛ toy the French were rauiſhed. Thus therfoꝛe he ſaith:

Q. Marie reigned fiue yeares & fiue moneths.

The ſhoꝛtnes of Q. Maries reigne noted.

Ex Simone Schardio de capto Caleto, pag. 1968.

Regina pacem neſcia perpeti,
Iam ſpreta mæret fœdera, iam Dei
Iram pauet ſibi imminentem,
Vindicis & furiæ flagellum.
Ciues & hoſtes iam pariter ſuos
Odit pauétq, & ciuium & hoſtium
Hirudo communis, cruorem
Aequè auidè ſitiens vtrúnque.
Huic luce terror Martius aſſonat,
Diræq, cædis mens ſibi conſcia,
Vmbræq, nocturnæ quietem
Terrificis agitant figuris.

Theſe ſhoꝛt verſes were thus ſubſcribed. La. B. Te.

And thus much here, as in the cloſing vp of this ſtoꝛie, I thought to inſinuat, touching the vnluckie and vnfull reigne of quéene Marie: not foꝛ anie detraction to hir place and ſtate roiall, wherevnto ſhe was called of the Loꝛd: but to this onlie intent and effect, that foꝛſomuch as ſhe would nœds ſet hirſelfe ſo confidentlie to woꝛke and ſtriue againſt the Loꝛd and his pꝛoceedings, all readers and rulers not onelie maie ſée how the Loꝛd did woꝛke againſt hir theꝛfoꝛe, but alſo by hir maie be aduertiſed and learne what a perillous thing it is foꝛ men and women in authoꝛitie, vpon blind zeale and opinion, to ſtirre vp perſecution in Chꝛiſts church, to the effuſion of chꝛiſtian bloud, leaſt it pꝛoue in the end with them (as it did here) that while they thinke to perſecute heretikes, they ſtumble at the ſame ſtone as did the Iewes in perſecuting Chꝛiſt and his true members to death, to their owne confuſion and deſtruction.]

An admonition to all chꝛiſtian rulers.

Leauing quéene Marie being dead & gone, you are to vnderſtand and note, that the ſame euening, oꝛ (as ſome haue wꝛitten) the next daie after the ſaid quéens death, Cardinall Pole the biſhop of Romes legat departed out of this life, hauing béene not long afoꝛe made archbiſhop of Canturburie: he died at his houſe ouer againſt Weſtminſter commonlie called Lambeth, and was buried in Chꝛiſts church at Canturburie. This cardinall was deſcended of the noble houſe of Clarence, that is to ſaie, of one of the yonger ſonnes of Margaret countеſſe of Saliſburie, daughter of Geoꝛge duke of Clarence, bꝛother to K. Edward the fourth. ¶ So that hereby you haue a pꝛoofe of the nobleneſſe of his birth, but how barbarous he was of behauiour, and how vnnaturall in the courſe of his life (which blemiſhed the honour of his deſcent) it maie appeare by the oꝛder and maner of his viſitation in Cambꝛidge, with the condemning, taking vp, and burning both the bones and bookes of Bucer and Paulus Phagius, as alſo by the deſpitefull handling and madneſſe of the papiſts towards Peter Martyꝛs wife at Oꝛford, taken vp from hir graue at the commandement of the ſaid cardinall, and after buried in a dunghill: ſo that in his actions he ſhewed himſelfe (as he is noted) earneſt in burning the bodies of the dead. And foꝛ further teſtimonie of his crueltie, it ſhall not be impertinent out of maiſter Fox, here to adioine and ſet foꝛth to the eies of the woꝛld, the blind and bloudie articles ſet out by cardinall Pole, to be inquired vpon within his dioces of Canturburie. Whereby it maie the better appeare what yokes and ſnares of fond and fruitleſſe traditions were laid vpon the poꝛe flocke of Chꝛiſt, to intangle and oppꝛeſſe them with loſſe of life and libertie. By the which wiſe men haue to ſée what godlie fruits pꝛoceeded from that catholike church and ſée of Rome. In which albeit thou ſeeſt (good reader) ſome good articles inſparſed withall, let that nothing moue thée: foꝛ elſe how could ſuch poiſon be miniſtred, but it muſt haue ſome honie to reliſh the readers taſt?

Cardinall Poole earneſt in burning the bones of the dead.

Here follow the articles ſet forth by cardinall *Poole, to be inquired in his ordinarie viſitation, within* his dioces of Canturburie.

Touching the cleargie.

Articles of the cardinall to be inquired in his viſitation of Kent.

FIrſt, whether the diuine ſeruice in the church at times, daies and houres, be obſerued and kept dulie oꝛ no.

2 Item, whether the parſons, vicars, and curats, doo comlie and decentlie in their maners and doings behaue themſelues oꝛ no.

3 Item, whether they doo reuerentlie and dulie miniſter the ſacraments oꝛ ſacramentals oꝛ no.

4 Item, whether anie of their pariſhioners doo die without miniſtration of the ſacraments, thꝛough the negligence of their curats oꝛ no.

5 Item, whether the ſaid parſons, vicars oꝛ curats, doo haunt tauerns oꝛ alehouſes, increaſing thereby infamie and ſlander oꝛ no.

6 Item, whether they be diligent in teaching the midwiues how to chꝛiſten childꝛen in time of neceſſitie, accoꝛding to the canons of the church oꝛ no.

7 Item, whether they ſée that the font be comelie kept, and haue holie water alwaies readie foꝛ childꝛen to be chꝛiſtened.

8 Item, if they doo kéepe a booke of all the names of them that be reconciled to the dutie of the church.

9 Item, whether there be anie pꝛieſts, that late vnlawfullie had women vnder pꝛetenſed mariage, and hitherto are not reconciled, and to declare their names and dwelling places.

10 Item, whether they doo diligentlie teach their pariſhioners the articles of the faith, & the ten commandements.

11 Item, whether they doo decentlie obſerue thoſe things that doo concerne the ſeruice of the church, and all thoſe things that tend to a good and chꝛiſtian life, accoꝛding to the canons of the church.

12 Item, whether they doo deuoutlie in their pꝛaiers pꝛaie foꝛ the pꝛoſperous eſtate of the king and quéens maieſties.

13 Item, whether the ſaid parſons and vicars doo ſufficientlie repare their chancels, recoꝛies, and vicarages, and doo kéepe and mainteine them ſufficientlie repared and amended.

14 Item, whether anie of them doo pꝛeach oꝛ teach anie erronious doctrine, contrarie to the catholike faith and vnitie of the church.

15 Item,

The death of cardinall Pole.

The deſcription of cardinall Pole.

Abr. Fl. ex I. F. martyrologio.

15 Item, whether anie of them dō saie the diuine seruice, or dō minister the sacraments in the English tōng, contrarie to the vsuall order of the church.

16 Item, whether anie of them dō suspicioūslie kēpe anie women in their houses, or dō kēpe companie with men suspected of heresies, or of euill opinions.

17 Item, whether anie of them that were vnder pretense of lawfull matrimonie maried, and now reconciled, dō priuilie resort to their pretensed wiues, or that the said women dō priuilie resort vnto them.

18 Item, whether they go decentlie apparelled, as it becommeth sad, sober, and discréet ministers, and whether they haue their crowns and beards shauen.

19 Item, whether anie of them dō vse anie vnlawfull games, as dice, cards, and other like, wherby they grow to slander and euill report.

20 Item, whether they dō kēpe residence and hospitalitie vpon their benefices, and dō make charitable contributions, according to all the lawes ecclesiasticall.

21 Item, whether they dō kēpe the booke or register of christening, burieng, and mariages, with the names of the godfathers and godmothers.

Touching the laie people.

Articles of cardinal Pole to be inquired vpon touching the laitie.

FIrst, whether anie maner of person, of what state, degrée, or condition soeuer he be, dō hold, mainteine, or affirme anie heresies, errors, or erronious opinions, contrarie to the lawes ecclesiasticall, and the vnitie of the catholike church.

2 Item, whether anie person dō hold, affirme, or saie, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar there is not conteined the reall and substantiall presence of Christ: or that by anie maner of meanes dō contemne and despise the said blessed sacrament, or dō refuse to dō reuerence or worship thereunto.

3 Item, whether they dō contemne or despise by anie maner of means anie other of the sacraments, rites or ceremonies of the church, or dō refuse or denie auricular confession.

4 Item, whether anie dō absent or refraine, without vrgent and lawfull impediment, to come to the church, and reuerentlie to heare diuine seruice vpon sundaies and holie daies.

5 Item, whether being in the church, they dō not aplie themselues to heare the diuine seruice, and to be contemplatiue in holie praier, and not to walke, iangle or talke in the time of the diuine seruice.

6 Item, whether anie be fornicators, adulterers, or dō commit incest, or be bawds and receiuers of euill persons, or be vehementlie suspected of anie of them.

7 Item, whether anie dō blaspheme and take the name of God in vaine, or be common swearers.

8 Item, whether anie be periured, or haue committed simonie or vsurie, or dō still remaine in the same.

9 Item, whether the churches and churchyards be well and honestlie repared and inclosed.

10 Item, whether the churches be sufficientlie garnished and adorned with all ornaments and bookes necessarie, & whether they haue a rod in their church of a decent stature, with Marie and Iohn, and an image of the patrone of the same church.

11 Item, whether anie dō withhold, or doth draw from the church anie maner of monie or goods, or that dō withhold their due and accustomed tithes from their parsons and vicars.

12 Item, whether anie be common drunkards, ribalds, or men of euill liuing, or dō exercise anie lewd pastimes, especiallie in the time of diuine seruice.

13 Item, if there be anie that dō practise or exercise anie arts of magike, or necromancie, or dō vse or practise anie incantations, sorceries, or witchcraft, or be vehementlie suspected thereof.

14 Item, whether anie be maried in the degrées of affinitie, or consanguinitie, prohibited by the laws of holie church, or that dō marie, the banes not asked, or dō make anie priuie contracts.

15 Item, whether in the time of Easter last, anie were not confessed, or did not receiue the blessed sacrament of the altar, or did vnreuerentlie behaue themselues in the receiuing thereof.

16 Item, whether anie dō kēpe anie secret conuenticles, preachings, lectures, or readings, in matters of religion contrarie to the lawes.

17 Item, whether anie dō now not duelie kēpe the fasting and embring daies.

18 Item, whether the altars in the churches be consecrated or no.

19 Item, whether the sacrament be caried deuoutlie to them that fall sicke, with light and with a little sacring bell.

20 Item, whether the common schooles be well kept, and that the schoolemaisters be diligent in teaching, and be also catholike, and men of good and vpright iudgement, and that they be examined and approued by the ordinarie.

21 Item, whether anie dō take vpon them to minister the goods of those that be dead, without authoritie from the ordinarie.

22 Item, whether the poore people in euerie parish be charitablie prouided for.

23 Item, whether there dō burne a lampe or a candle before the sacrament: and if there dō not, that then it be prouided for, with expedition.

24 Item, whether infants and children be brought to be confirmed in conuenient time.

25 Item, whether anie dō kēpe or haue in their custodie anie erronious or vnlawfull bookes.

26 Item, whether anie dō withhold anie monie or goods bequeathed to the amending of the high waies, or anie other charitable déed.

27 Item, whether anie haue put away their wiues, or anie wiues dō withdraw themselues from their husbands, being not lawfullie diuorsed.

28 Item, whether anie dō violat or breake the sundaies and holie daies, doing their dailie labors and exercises vpon the same.

29 Item, whether the tauerns or alehouses, vpon the sundaies and holie daies, in the time of masse, matins, and euensong, dō kēpe open their doores, and dō receiue people into their houses to drinke and eate, and thereby neglect their duties in comming to church.

30 Item, whether anie haue, or dō depraue or contemne the authoritie or iurisdiction of the popes holinesse, or the sée of Rome.

31 Item, whether anie minstrels, or anie other persons dō vse to sing anie songs against the holie sacraments, or anie other the rites and ceremonies of the church.

32 Item, whether there be anie hospitals within your parishes, and whether the foundations of them be duelie and trulie obserued and kept; and whether the charitable contributions of the same be done accordinglie.

33 Item, whether anie goods, plate, iewels, or possessions be taken awaie, or withholden from the said hospitals, and by whome.]

Thus you sée of what a malignant nature the cardinall was: neuertheless, of more lenitie than manie other popelings, sauoring of the like lewd leuen of antichristianisme. For at what time two and twentie prisoners for their conscience were apprehended

bended and sent vp all togither to London from Colchester (as maister Fox reporteth in his martyrologe) and conuented before Boner then bishop of that see, the said Boner himselfe wrote to cardinall Poole concerning them, as you shall heare.

¶ A letter of bishop Boner to cardinall Poole.

Bishop Boners letter to cardinall Poole, concerning the two and twentie prisoners aforesaid.

MAy it please your good grace with my most humble obedience, reuerence and dutie, to vnderstand that going to London vpon thursdaie last, and thinking to be troubled with maister Germains matter onelie, and such other common matters as are accustomed, inough to werie a right strong bodie, I had the daie following to comfort my stomach withall, letters from Colchester, that either that day, or the day following I should haue sent thense two and twentie heretikes, indicted before the commissioners, and in deed so I had, and compelled to beare their charges as I did of the other, which both stood me in aboue twentie nobles, a summe of monie that I thought full euill bestowed. And these heretikes, notwithstanding they had honest catholike keepers to conduct and bring them vp to me, and in all the waie from Colchester to Stratford of the bow, did go quietlie, and obedientlie, yet comming to Stratford, they began to take heart of grace, & to do as pleased themselues, for there they began to haue their gard, which generallie increased till they came to Algate, where they were lodged fridaie night.

And albeit I tooke order, that the said heretikes should be with me verie earlie on saturdaie morning, to the intent they might quietlie come and be examined by me: yet it was betweene ten and eleuen of the clocke before they would come, and no waie would they take, but through Cheapside, so that they were brought to my house with about a thousand persons. Which thing I tooke verie strange, and spake to sir Iohn Gresham then being with me, to tell the maior and the shiriffes that this thing was not well suffered in the citie. These naughtie heretikes all the waie they came through Cheapside, both exhorted the people to their part, and had much comfort *A promiscua plebe*, and being entred into my house and talked withall, they shewed themselues desperat and verie obstinat: yet I vsed all the honest meanes I could, both by my selfe and other, to haue wone them, causing diuerse learned men to talke with them: and finding nothing in them but pride & wilfulnesse, I thought to haue had them all hither to Fulham, and here to giue sentence against them. Neuertheless, perceiuing by my last doing that your grace was offended, I thought it my dutie before I anie thing further proceeded herein, to aduertise first your grace hereof, and know your good pleasure, which I beseech your grace I may do by this trustie bearer. And thus most humblie I take my leaue of your good grace, beseeching almightie God alwaies to preserue the same. At Fulham, *Postridie Natiu.* 1556.

Your graces most bounden bedesman and seruant Edmund Boner.

By this letter of bishop Boner to the cardinall (saith maister Fox) is to be vnderstood, what goodwill was in this bishop, to haue the bloud of these men, and to haue past with sentence of condemnation against them, had not the cardinall somewhat (as it seemed) haue staied his seruent headinesse. Concerning the which cardinall, although it can not be denied by his acts and writings, but that he was a professed enimie, and no otherwise to be reputed but for a papist: yet againe it is to be supposed, that he was none of the bloudie and cruell sort of papists, as may appeare, not by staieng the rage of this bishop: but also by his solicitous writing, and long letters written to Cranmer, also by the complaints of certeine papists, accusing him to the pope to be a bearer with the heretikes, and by the popes letters sent to him vpon the same, calling him vp to Rome, and setting frier Peto in his place, had not queene Marie by speciall intreatie made, kept him out of the popes danger. All which letters I haue (if need be) to shew: besides also, that it is thought of him that toward his latter end, a little before his comming from Rome to England, he began somewhat to sauour the doctrine of Luther, and was no lesse suspected at Rome: yea, and furthermore did there at Rome conuert a certeine learned Spaniard from papisme to Luthers side: notwithstanding the pompe and glorie of the world afterward caried him awaie to plaie the papist thus as he did.]

Cardinall Poole a papist but no bloudie papist.

Cardinall Poole halfe suspected for a Lutheran at Rome.

¶ And sith I haue waded thus far in portraieng the said cardinall, I am willing to make you communicants of a report concerning him, vttered by Cuthbert Tunstall bishop of Duresme, in a sermon which he made vpon Palmesundaie, in the yeare of our Lord 1539, before king Henrie the eight, treating vpon these words of saint Paule to the Philippians, Cap. 2. *Hoc sentite in vobis, quod & in Christo Iesu, &c.* See the same mind be in you, that was in Iesu Christ, &c. The ground of whose sermon standing vpon obedience and disobedience, after he had discoursed at large ther vpon, he fell into these words in presence of the king, the nobles, and people.

Ab. Fl. *ex concione Cut. Tunstalli coram Hen. 8.*

And the bishop of Rome now of late, to set forth his pestilent malice the more, hath allured to his purpose a subiect of this realme Reginald Poole, come of a noble bloud, and thereby the more arrant traitor, to go about from prince to prince, and from countrie to countrie, to stur them to warre against this realme, and to destroie the same, being his native countrie. Whose pestilent purpose albeit the princes that he breaketh it vnto, haue in much abhomination, both for that the bishop of Rome (who being a bishop should procure peace) is a sturrer of warre, and because this most arrant and vnkind traitor is his minister to so diuelish a purpose to destroie the countrie that he was borne in, which anie heathen man would abhorre to do. But for all that without shame he still goeth on, exhorting therevnto all princes that will heare him; who do abhorre to see such vnnaturalnesse in anie man, as he shamelesse doth set forwards, whose pernicious treasons late secretlie wrought against this realme, haue béene, by the worke of almightie God so marueilouslie detected, and by his owne brother, without loking therefore so disclosed, and condigne punishment insued, that hereafter (God willing) they shall not take anie more such rot to the noisance of this realme.

Cardinall Poole an arrant traitor.

Cardinall Poole a seditious fellow and an impudent.

Cardinall Poles treasons detected by his owne brother.

And where all nations of gentiles by reason & law of nature preferre their countrie before their parents, so that for their countrie they will die against their parents being traitors: this pestilent man worse than a pagan, is not ashamed to destroie if he could his native countrie. And whereas Curtius a heathen man was content for sauing of the citie of Rome where he was borne, to leape into a gaping of the earth, which by the illusions of the diuell it was answered should not be shut, but that it must first haue one; this pernicious man is content to run headlong into hell: so that he maie destroie thereby his native countrie of England, being in that behalfe incomparablie worse than anie pagan. And besides

Cardinall Poole no christian, but worse than a pagan.

Bishop Boners cruelitie somewhat staied by the cardinall.

Cardinall Poles vnkindnesse to king Henrie that brought him vp.

besides his pestilent treason, his vnkindnesse against the kings maiestie, who brought him vp of a child, and promoted both him, and restored his blood being attainted, to be of the peeres of this realme, and gaue him monie yeerelie out of his coffers, to find him honorablie at studie, maketh his treason much more detestable to all the world, and him to be reputed more wild and cruell than anie tiger.

See more thereof before pag. 1134.

Thus much out of Cuthert Tunstals sermon printed *Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum*, by Thomas Berthelet, the yeare aboue named. Now it resteth to conclude this discourse concerning cardinall Pole with a briefe epitome of his last will and testament, which he made not long before he let his life, wherein he professeth him selfe resolute to die in the same faith and obedience of the Romish church wherein he liued; willing & ordeining his bodie to be buried in his cathedrall church of Canturburie (as he termeth it) in the same chappell where the head of the most blessed martyr Thomas Becket, whilome archbishop of the said church was kept: with masses & dirges, &c. to be said for his soule, the soules of his parents, and of all the faithfull departed out of this life, &c.

A traitor he liued, a traitor he died.

The distribution of his goods.

As for patrimoniall goods, sith he had none whereby he ought to haue had regard of his kindred, therefore such goods as he had he willed to be distributed among such persons as had well deserued of him, and vpon godlie vses. He made one Aloisius Priolus a Venetian his heire and executor of all his goods and chattels, as well within England as without, in Spaine, Italie, Rome, Venice, or elsewhere, &c. And for dilapidations, there is no reason (saith he) why my successor in the see of Canturburie should demand anie thing, because I haue bestowed more than a thousand pounds within these few yeeres, in repairing & making better such houses as belonged to the said see, since I came to it (which was no long time by our computation.) The ouerseers and defenders of this his last will he made Nicholas archbishop of Yorke chancellor of England, Thomas bishop of Elie, his cousine the lord Edward Hastings the kings chamberleine, sir John Borall the quenes secretarie, sir Edward Cordall maister of the rolles, and maister Henrie Cole his vicar generall in his spiritualties. All these he besought to giue quéene Marie knowledge of this his last will, and with all reuerence to beseech hir, that what good will and fauor she shewed him in all causes and affaires whiles he was aliue; the same she would vouchsafe to exhibit and bestow vpon him being dead, and graciouslie prouide that all lets and impediments to the execution of this his last will & testament might be remoued and vtterlie taken awaie: and to euerie one of his ouerseers for their paines taking herein, he gaue fiftie pounds a peece by will. This testament was subscribed with his owne hand, and signed with his owne seale, in presence of a number of witnesses there vndernamed. All which, with the tenor of his said last will at large, are remembred by Schardius *in epitome rerum gestarum sub Ferdinando imperatore.* And thus much of cardinall Pole.

Touching dilapidations.

He is desirous that quéene Marie should haue knowledge of this his last will.

Upon whose discourse presentlie ended, as hath beene done in the treatise of high constables * at the duke of Buckinghams beheadding, and of the lord protectors * at the duke of Summersets suffering (in which two honorable personages those two offices had their end) so here we are to infer a collection of English cardinals, which order ceased when Reginald Pole died. After which treatise ended, according to the purposed order, and a catalog of writers at the end of this quénes reigne annexed, it remaineth that quéene Elizabeth shew hir selfe in hir triumphs at hir gratious and glorious coronation.

* See pa. 865.

* See pa. 1069.

The cardinals of England collected by Francis Thin, in the yeare of our Lord, 1583.

This cardinall Pole being the last cardinall in England, and so likelie to be, as the state of our present time doth earnestlie with, doth here offer occasion to treat of all such Englishmen as haue possessed that honor, Which I onelie do, for that I would haue all whatsoeuer monuments of antiquitie preserued, least *Pereat memoria eorum cum sonitu.* Wherefore thus I begin.

Adrian the fourth pope of Rome. *Will. Parmus lib. 2. cap. 26.* Onuphrius. Matt. Parker. Ranulph Higden.

Adrian the fourth of that name bishop of Rome (called before that time Nicholas Breakespeare) being borne in England about saint Albons (whome Onuphrius affirmeth to be borne in the towne of Malmesberie, in the dominions of saint Albons, in the diocés of Bath, somewhat like a stranger mistaking the names of places and persons, as he often doth) was for the pouertie of his father (who after became a monke in saint Albons) not able to be maintained here at learning. Whereupon he goeth into Prouince to the monasterie of saint Rufus, whereof in time he was made a canon, and after abbat of that house; but in the end misliked of the conent, they appealed him to Rome before Eugenius the third then pope: who for that time pacifieng the matter betwéene them, they did after fall at variance againe, and so called him before the pope the second time. Eugenius seeing these continuall brables, wearie to heare them, and fauoring this Nicholas, made them chose an other abbat, and appointed Nicholas to the bishoprike of Alba, and to the honor of a cardinall, sending him legat into Denmarke and Norweie: where he remained some yeares. But at length returning to Rome after the death of Eugenius and his successor Anastasius, this Nicholas was aduanced from a cardinall to a pope, and called Adrian the fourth. Who died in the fift yeare of Henrie the second king of England, in the yeare of Christ 1159.

Bosa. Matt. Parker. Onuphrius.

Bosa, an Englishman and cardinall, was not that Bosa which was bishop of Yorke, of whome Beda maketh mention, lib. 4. cap. 13. and cap. 23. of his ecclesiasticall historie, where he saith that the same Bosa was made bishop of the same see, in the yeare of Christ 678. And therefore being long before this Bosa, our cardinall could not be the same man, as some vnconsideratlie haue still maintened. For this our Bosa was a cardinall deacon, and the nephue to pope Adrian the fourth before named; and intituled a deacon cardinall of the title of Cosma and Damian, in the yeare of Christ 1155, being after made a priest cardinall of the title of saint Prudentian, by pope Alexander the third, in the yeare of Christ 1163, before which he was chamberleine to the church of Rome, being created to the first cardinallship and office of chamberleine by his vncle the said pope Adrian the fourth.

Robert Curson. Matt. Parker. Matt. Paris. Matt. West. Holinshed.

Robert Curson, a man excellentlie learned both in diuine & humane letters, comming from Rome, grew in such estimation, that in the end he became a cardinall, of whom we find recorded in this sort. At the taking of Dameta in Egypt, there was with Pelagius the popes legat, maister Robert Curson an Englishman a most famous clearke, borne of a noble house, and cardinall of the church of Rome.

Stephan Langhton. Matt. Parker. Matt. Paris. Holinshed. Onuphrius.

Stephan Langhton made priest cardinall, in the yeare of Christ 1213, and the sixteenth yeare of pope Innocent the third, of the title of saint Chrysogon, was archbishop of Canturburie, for whose cause and contention betwéene king John and him, the realme of

of England was long interdicted, the nobilitie was slaine, the king deposed, his kingdome made feodarie to Rome, and Pandolph the cardinall sent hither to receiue the crowne of K. John. This Stephan departed the world, in the twelfe yeare of Henrie the third, and in the yeare of our redemption 1238.

Robert Somercot. Holinshed. Matt. Paris. Fol. 772.

Robert Somercot a cardinall, a man well estéemed for his vertue and learning, a graue writer, and well beloued of all men, departed from the vanities of this life, in the yeare of our saluation 1241, being the fiue and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third.

Ancherus. Onuphrius. Matt. Parker.

Ancherus citizen and archdeacon of London, was made priest cardinall of the title of saint Pastidis, by pope Urban the second, in the yéere that the word became flesh 1262, and the yeare of the long reigne of king Henrie the third, the foure and fortith.

Robert de Kilwarbie. Matt. Parker. Hen. of Lecest. Onuphrius.

Robert de Kilwarbie, whome Onuphrius calleth Robert Biliberie frier preacher, doctor of diuinitie was remoued from the archbishoprike of Canturburie to be bishop of Portus, and afterward was made cardinall of saint Rufinian by pope Nicholas the third, in the yeare of Christ as some saie 1277, and as others haue 1278, or 1273: being about the first yeare of Edward the first of that name king of England; who died vnder the same pope Nicholas, in the yeare of Christ 1280, as hath Onuphrius.

Barnard de Anguiscelle. Matt. Parker.

Barnard de Anguiscelle was remoued from the archbishoprike of Arras, and made bishop of Portua and cardinall of saint Rufinian, being a bishop cardinall, and aduanced to that principalitie by pope Martine the fourth of that name, in the yeare of our redemption 1291, being about the nintéenth yeare of the said Edward the first: whome Onuphrius much mistaking himselfe maketh a Frenchman: and Matthew Parker rightlie setteth him downe as an Englishman.

Hugh Attrat. Matthew Parker. Rafe Baldocke. Onuphrius.

Hugh Attrat priest cardinall, of the title of saint Laurence in Lucina was created cardinall by pope Martine the fourth, in the yéere of our Lord 1281: he was also called Hugh of Euesham, and died at Rome in the yeare of Christ 1287, whilest the sée was vacant, being about the fiftéenth yeare of Edward the first.

Berard. Matthew Parker.

Berard or rather Bernard a cardinall of Prestina was aduanced to the dignitie of a cardinall by Nicholas the fourth of that name bishop of Rome in the yéere (as I suppose) 1298, though some saie in the yéere 1288, the error whereof I gather to be in the printer.

Leonard Guercine. Matthew Parker. Onuphrius. William. Matthew Parker. Onuphrius. Walsingham.

Leonard Guercine bishop, cardinall of Alba was receiued to the scarlet hat and robe by pope Bonifacius the eight, in the yéere of Christ 1300, being the eight and twentith of Edward the first.

William one of the order of the frier preachers doctor of diuinitie in Oxford, priest cardinall of the title of saint Sabina, to which place he was adopted by pope Benedict the eleuenth, in the yéere 1303, being the one and thirtith yeere of Edward the first, in which yeere he died in England.

Walter Winterborne. Matthew Parker. Nic. Triuet. Onuphrius.

Walter Winterborne (that came in place of William last before named) doctor of diuinitie of the order of frier preachers, confessor to Edward the first, and priest cardinall of the title of saint Sabina, was by the said Benedict the eleuenth admitted to the college of cardinals in the yeare of Christ 1304, being the one and thirtith yeere of Edward the first, which Walter small time inioied that place. For going with other cardinals into France, & so into Italie, he died at Genoa or Gene, whose bodie being carried into England, was buried in the church of the frier preachers in the yeere of Christ 1305, being the three and thirtith yeere of Edward the first.

Thomas Iozze. Walsingham. Nic. Triuet. Matthew Parker. Onuphrius.

Thomas Iozze a frier preacher doctor of diuinitie of Oxford, confessor to Edward the first, priest cardinall of the title of saint Sabina was created by pope Clement the fift in the yeere of Christ 1305, being the three and thirtith yéere of Edward the first, or (as saith Walsingham) a little before Christmasse in the yéere of Christ 1306, who by him is also named Iozza. This man (as hath Onuphrius) died in the iorneie he made as ambassador into Italie to Henrie the seuenth of that name emperour in the yéere 1311, & the seuenth yeere of the popedome of Clement the fift, who sent him in that ambassage: his bodie was carried into England, and buried at Oxford in a monasterie of the frier preachers.

Simon Langham.

Simon Langham abbat of Westminster, treasuror of England, bishop of Elie and of Canturburie, and chancellor of England, was elected to the honor of the purple hat and cardinall dignitie, in the yéere of our redemption 1368, being the two and fortith yéere of king Edward the third. And here because I would not set it downe in a distinct place, as receiuing it for truth, sith by search I find it not so, what authoritie soeuer they that wrote the same had to lead them to it: I will note an ouersight passed the fingers of Fabian, Holinshed, and Grafton, all writers of our age, who affirme that the bishop of Winchester, in the fiue and fortith yeere of king Edward the third, being a cardinall (for so I gather by the words and circumstance of the storie) with the bishop of Beauois likewise a cardinall, were put in commission by pope Gregorie the eleuenth to treat betwixt the king of England and France. But because I can not find in Onuphrius nor in Matthew Parker anie such cardinall set downe, I do not at this time imbrace it, vntill I maie find better proofe thereof than the authoritie of Grafton, Fabian, and those before named; especiallie sith that he which was then bishop of Winchester in the said fiue and fortith yéere of Edward the third, and all they which were bishops of Winchester from the first yeare of the reigne of Edward the third, vntill the yeare of Christ 1404, in which Henrie Beaufort was bishop of Winchester, were neuer cardinals: the said bishops in orderlie succession thus named: Adam Orletie, William de Edington, William Wickham, and then Henrie Beaufort, who was a cardinall. But these writers mistaking perchance the yeare of the king, and the name of the bishops sée, in the fiue and fortith yeare of Edward the third (in which yeare John Thorsbie was cardinall as after followeth) haue (in setting downe Winchester for Worcester committed a fault) so easie it is for the printer or anie other to misplace and misname the one bishoprike for the other.

John Thorsbie. Holinshed and other authors.

John Thorsbie bishop of saint Dauids in Wales chancellor of England, bishop of Worcester, and after bishop of Yorke, was made cardinall by Urban the fift then bishop of Rome (as I suppose) before the fiue and fortith yeare of Edward the third. This man surrendred his life in the yeare of our redemption 1374, being the eight and fortith yeare of king Edward the third.

Adam. Onuphrius. Matthew Parker. Holinshed.

Adam priest cardinall of the title of saint Cicilia, was inuested with the dignitie of a scarlet hat in the yeare of our redemption 1378, about the first yeare of Richard the second. Holinshed mentioneth one Adam Elton to be a cardinall, who (considering the time when he liued) must néeds be this man, of whome he writeth in this sort. Adam Elton well séene in all the tongs, was made a cardinall by pope Gregorie the eleuenth, but by pope Urban the first he was committed to prison in Genoa (in the yeare of our redemption 1383, being about the seuenth yeare of Richard the second) and by contemplation

plation of the said king Richard, was taken out of prison, but not fullie deliuered, vntill the daies of Boniface the ninth, who (in the yeare of our redemption 1389, about the thirteenth yeare of Richard the second) restored the said Adam to his former dignitie: all which Holinshed speaketh of him amongst the writers of England, except the yeares of the Lord which I haue added out of Onuphrius, and the yeares of the king which I haue ioined of my selfe. Which Onuphrius maketh this Adam to be bishop of London, and to die in Rome the third calends of Maie, in the yeere of our sauior 1397, being the one and twentith of Richard the second, vnder Boniface the ninth pope of that name, and was buried in the place whereof he was intituled to the honor of a cardinall.

Philip de Repindone. Onuphrius. Matthew Parker.

Philip de Repindone bishop of Lincolne and doctor of diuinitie, was by pope Gregorie the twelfe, then bishop of Rome, in the yeare of Christ 1408, being the tenth yeare of king Henrie the fourth created cardinall of the title of saint Nereus and Achilleus.

Thomas. Onuphrius. Matthew Parker. Liber Dunel.

Thomas bishop of Durham was made (as saith Onuphrius, in the yeare of our redemption 1411 by Iohn the two and twentith, commonlie called Iohn the three and twentith) priest cardinall. Touching which matter there is no mention made in the life of Thomas Langleie bishop of Durham, and liuing at this time that this Langleie was a cardinall: for this Thomas Langleie was made bishop of Durham in the yeare of our Lord 1406, and continued in that see one and thirtie yeares, departing the world 1437, and so the creation of this Thomas bishop of Durham mentioned by Onuphrius and Matthew Parker bishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of Christ 1411 must needes fall in the life of this Thomas Langleie bishop of Durham.

Robert. Onuphrius. Matthew Parker.

Robert bishop of Salisburie priest cardinall (although it be not shewed of what title) was preferred to that place by pope Iohn the three and twentith in the yeare of our redemption 1411, being about the twelfe yere of the reigne of king Henrie the fourth, of whom Onuphrius writeth in this sort: *Roberti episcopi Sarisburiensis presbyteri cardinalis, & Egidij de campis presbyteri cardinalis gesta & exitus, quòd nunquam Romanam curiam adierint, incerti & obscuri omninò sunt. Satis tamen constat, eos ante papæ Martini electionem mortuos fuisse.*

Henrie Beaufort.

Henrie Beaufort, sonne vnto Iohn of Gant and Katharine Swinesord, being bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England, toke the state of a cardinall (of the title of saint Eusebius) at Calis, being absent (as hath Matthew Parker) in the yeare of our redemption 1426: in the fift yeare of king Henrie the first. He was called the rich cardinall of Winchester, being aduanced to that honor by Martine the third, commonlie called Martine the fift then pope of Rome. This Henrie died vnder pope Nicholas the fift in the yeare of Christ 1447: being about the six & twentith yeare of the miserable reigne of king Henrie the first.

John Stafford. Onuphrius. Matthew Parker.

John Stafford bishop of Bath and Welles chancellor of England, after bishop of Canturburie, was created priest cardinall by Eugenius then bishop of Rome, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1434: being the twelfe yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first.

John Kempe. Holinshed. Polydor. Onuphrius.

John Kempe bishop of London, twise lord chancellour of England, bishop of Yorke, and after that archbishop of Canturburie, was by Eugenius the fourth then archbishop of Rome, made cardinall of the title of saint Sabina, as saith Holinshed, otherwise by Onuphrius called Salbina: contrarie to Polydor, who in his three and twentith booke of the historie of England, affirmeth him to be cardinalited by pope Nicholas the fift. He died (as saith Onuphrius) in the yeare that the godhead was vnited to the manhood, to wit, one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and foure, vnder pope Nicholas the first, which yeare of our Lord met with the fiue and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first.

Thomas Bourcher. Onuphrius. Matthew Parker. Holinshed. Polydor.

Thomas Bourcher (borne of the noble house of the earles of Esser, being chancellor of England, bishop of Worcester, from thence remoued to Elie, from that Ile aduanced to the metropolitan see of Canturburie, and priest cardinall of the title of saint Siriacus in Thermis or the Baths) was honored with the scarlet hat and siluer pillers, by pope Paule the second of that name, in the yeare that the second person in trinitie toke vpon him the forme of a seruant, one thousand foure hundred sirtie & fiue, being the fift yeare of the reigne of the noble prince king Edward the fourth.

John Morton. Onuphrius. Matthew Parker. Polydor. Holinshed.

John Morton bishop of Elie chancellor of England & archbishop of Canturburie, being priest cardinall of the title of saint Anastasius, was honored with a scarlet hat by Alexander the first of that name (then gouernour of the seat of Peter at Rome) in the yeare from the birth of Christ 1493, being the ninth yeare of the Salomon of England king Henrie the seauenth. He died as saith Onuphrius, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand and fiue hundred, being about the eight yeare of Alexander the first still pope of Rome, and the sirteenth yeare of the said Henrie the seauenth then king of England.

Christopher Bembridge. Matthew Parker. Onuphrius.

Christopher Bembridge a gentleman borne, was archbishop of Yorke, & priest cardinall of the title of S. Praxidis, was aduanced to that scarlet dignitie by pope Julius the second, in the yere that the virgin was deliuered of our sauiour one thousand fiue hundred & eleuen, being the third yeare of the triumphant reigne of king Henrie the eight. He died at Rome, (as saith Onuphrius) by poison, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and thirteene yeares (being the eleuenth yeare, when Leo the tenth did hold the sterne of the Romane bishoprike, & the fift yeare when the said Henrie the eight did rule the scepter of England) and was buried at Rome in the church of the holie trinitie of the English nation.

Thomas Wolseie.

Thomas Wolseie the kings almoner, deane of Yorke, abbat of saint Albons, and of saint Auskins, bishop of Lincolne, Winchester, and Yorke, chancellour of England: all which or all saue two he held at one time in his owne hands, was made priest cardinall of the title of saint Cicilie, whereunto he was promoted by pope Leo the tenth, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred and fifteene, being the seauenth yeere of the reigne of the famous king Henrie the eight, of whome Onuphrius somewhat mistaking the pronuntiation of his name thus writeth: *Thomas Wlcer ex oppido Sufforth diœcesis Norducensis, &c.*: wherein like a stranger to our countrimen he mistaketh both name, towne, place, and the prouince of Suffolke for the towne of Ipswich. For this cardinall Wolseie being descended of meane parentage, was borne in the towne of Gipswich now called Ipswich in the prouince or countrie of Suffolke in the diocesse of the bishoprike of Norwich.

John Fisher.

John Fisher bishop of Rochester priest cardinall of the title of saint Vitalis, was (although he neuer came at Rome, nor for anie thing that I can learne was euer out of England) created cardinall at Rome, by Paule the third of that name, then wearing the triple crowned miter, and being bishop of Rome. But this Fisher neuer ware his scarlet hat: for after this high dignitie and before he might couer his priestlie crowne with the same, he lost his head, in the yeare from which the angels sang at the birth of the Messias one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and

fiue,

fiue, being the seauen and twentith of the reigne of that king Henrie the eight, which deliuered his kingdome from all subiection to the bishop of Rome Clement the seauenth of that name.

Reginald Pole.

Reginald Pole, noblie borne, a yong sonne to sir Richard Pole knight of the garter, by his wife Margaret countesse of Salisburie, daughter to George duke of Clarence brother to K. Edward the fourth, was made deacon cardinall of the title of saint Marie in Cosmeden, by pope Paule the third of that name, in the yeare that the mother of God brought forth the sonne of man 1536, being the eight and twentith yeare of king Henrie the eight. This man legat of pope Julius the third, comming into England in the yeare of our Lord 1554, being the second yeare of quéene Maries reigne, was after made bishop of Canturburie, on the fiue and twentith of March, in the yeare of Christ 1556, being the third yeare of the reigne of the said quéene Marie, and died the seauentéenth daie of Nouember, in the yeare of Christ 1558, being the last date of the reigne of the said quéene Marie, or rather the next daie erlie in the morning, at his house at Lambeth, and was honorablie conueied to Canturburie, where he was buried. This man was the last English cardinall that liued and inioied that title of honour in England. For although the English cardinall which followeth were created after him, yet I suppose that he died much before him: but he liued not in England at the same time that cardinall Pole died, as farre as I can lerne. Wherfore I still make this cardinall Pole the last English cardinall that was liuing in England.

Peter Peto.

Peter Peto, borne of an ancient familie, and one of the order of the frier minors obseruants (whome Onuphrius calleth *Angliæ legatus*) was created cardinall by Paule the fourth of that name, chéefe bishop of Rome, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1557, being the fift yeare of quéene Marie. Besides this number of thirtie cardinals, there haue bæn manie other to the number of ten or more, before the time that pope Innocent the first of that name did weald the charge of the Romane bishoprike, as Matthew Parker late bishop of Canturburie a worthie antiquarie doth witnesse, and I my selfe haue obserued, besides those which Onuphrius and the said Matthew Parker (in the Latine booke of the archbishops of his owne sée) haue recited. But bicause neither they nor I haue yet atteined to their names, we must and doo omit them: and yet it may be that these thrée which follow, named by Onuphrius being English names, were Englishmen, and part of the said number of ten cardinals, whose names we doo not know, which thrée cardinals were Hugh Foliot, Peter Mortimer, and Simon Braie. But bicause I cannot certeinlie gather out of Onuphrius that they were Englishmen, I dare not presume so to make them; though in mine owne conceit I verelie suppose that they were borne in England: for in vncerteine matters I dare not set downe ante certeintie.

Wherefore to set end to this cardinals discourse, I will knit vp this matter with one onelie note drawne out of Matthew Parkers beforenamed booke of the liues of the bishops of Canturburie, which is as followeth: That this number and remembrance of our cardinals is not so wonderfull as is that computation of the Romane bishops, which pope John the two and twentith of that name hath gathered of his predecessors. For he doth recite that out of the order of saint Benet or Benedict (whereof himselfe was) there haue issued foure and twentie popes, 183 cardinals, 1464 archbishops, 3502 bishops, and abbats innumerable. Thus concluding (that of all these our English cardinals, with the description of their liues, I will more largelie intreat in my booke intituled the Pantographie of England, conteining the vniuersall description of all memorable places and persons, aswell temporall as spirituall) I request the reader to take this in good part, till that booke may come to light. Thus much Francis Thin, who with the whéele of George Ripleie canon of Bridlington, after the order of circulation in alchimicall art, and by a gedmetricall circle in naturall philosophie doth end this cardinals discourse, resting in the centre of Reginald Pole, the last liuing cardinall in England, by whose death the said Francis toke occasion to passe about the circumference of this matter of the cardinals of this realme.]

Learned men in quéene Maries reigne.

Of such learned men as had written and did liue in the reigne of quéene Marie there were manie, of whome no small number ended their liues also during that short time of hir reigne, some by fire, and others in exile. John Rogers borne in Lancashire, wrote diuerse treatises, translated the bible into English with notes, and published the same vnder the name of Thomas Matthew, he suffred in Smithfield the fourth of Februarie, in the yeare 1555. Nicholas Ridleie bishop first of Rochester, and after of London, suffered at Oxford in the said yeare 1555. Hugh Latimer borne in Leicestershire, sometime bishop of Worcester, a notable preacher, and a most reuerend father, suffered at the same place, and in the same daie and yeare with bishop Ridleie. John Hooper borne in Summersetshire, bishop first of Glocester, and after of Worcester, suffered at Glocester in the yeare of our Lord 1555. John Bradford, borne in Manchester, a notable towne in Lancashire, a sober, mild, and discréet learned man, suffered at London the first of Julie in the said yeare 1555.

Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester borne in the towne of saint Edmundsburie in Suffolke, of king Henrie the eights councell, and in king Edwards daies committed to ward within the tower, released by quéene Marie, made lord chancellor, and so died a stout champion in defense of the popes doctrine, and a great enimie to the professours of the gospell. John Philpot borne in Hamshire, sonne to sir Peter Philpot knight, was archdeacon of Winchester, ended his life by fire in the yeare aforesaid 1555, the 18 of December, going then on the foure & fortith yeare of his age. Thomas Cranmer borne in Notinghamshire, archbishop of Canturburie, a worthie prelat, in sundrie vertues right commendable, suffered at Oxford the one and twentith of March, one thousand, fiue hundred, fiftie and six. Richard Morison knight, borne in Oxfordshire, wrote diuerse treatises, and deceassed at Strausburge the 17 of March 1556. John Poinet borne in Kent, bishop of Rochester first, & after of Winchester, deceassed likewise at Strausburgh, about the tenth or eleuenth of August, in the yeare of our Lord 1556.

Robert Record a doctor of physicke, and an excellent philosopher, in arithmetike, astrologie, cosmographie, and geometrie most skilfull, he was borne in Wales, descended of a good familie, and finallie departed this life in the daies of quéene Marie. Bartholomew Traheron descended of a worshipfull house in the west parts of England, deane of Chichester, departed this life in Germanie, where he liued in exile, about the latter end of quéen Maries reigne. Cutbert Tunstall, bishop first of London, and after of Durham, borne in Lancashire of a right worshipfull familie, excellentlie learned, as by his workes it may appeare, doctor of both the lawes, departed this life in the yeare 1559. Richard Sampson bishop of Couentrie & Lichfield wrote certeine treatises, & departed this life 1555. Lucas Shepherd borne in Colchester in Esser, an English poet. Jane Dudleie

daughter vnto Henrie Greie duke of Suffolke, wrote diuerse things highlie to hir commendation, of whome yée haue heard more before heere in this historie; William Thomas a Welshman borne, of whome yée haue likewise heard how he suffered for treason, wrote the historie of Italie, and other things verie eloquentlie; James Brookes a doctor of diuinitie, John Standish a doctor likewise of the same profession, great defenders of the popes doctrine, as by their workes appeareth; William Perine a blacke frier by profession, and a doctor also of diuinitie, wrote in defense of the masse, and preached sermons which were printed of like stuffe; John Baret borne in Lin, a doctor of diuinitie, and sometime a Carmelit frier, but reuolting from the popes religion, he became an earnest setter forth of the gospell, but eftsoones he fell off, and returned to his former opinions now in the daies of quéene Marie; Henrie lord Stafford, sonne to Edward duke of Buckingham, amongst other things which he wrote, he translated a booke out of Latine into English, intituled *Vtriusque potestatis differentia*, that is, The difference betwixt the two powers, which booke (as some thinke) was first compiled and set forth by Edward For bishop of Hereford; John Hopkins translated diuerse psalmes of the psalter into English méeter, which are to be found amongst those appointed to be sung in the churches of England.

Thus farre the troublesome reigne of Queene Marie the first of that name (God grant she may be the last of hir religion) eldest daughter to king Henrie the eight.

The

The peaceable and prosperous regiment of blessed Queene Elisabeth,

second daughter to king Henrie the eight.

After all the stormie, tempestuous, and blustering windie weather of quéene Marie was ouerblowne, the darkesome clouds of discomfort dispersed, the palpable fogs and mists of most intollerable miserie consumed, and the dashing showers of persecution ouerpast: it pleased God to send England a calme and quiet season, a cleare and louelie sunshine, a quitsest from former broiles of a turbulent estate, and a world of blessings by good quéene Elisabeth: into whose gratious reigne we are now to make an happie entrance as followeth.

When true knowledge was had that quéene Marie was deceased, who left hir life in this world the seuentéenth daie of Nouember, as is before mentioned in the latter end of hir historie: in the time of a parlement, the lords that were assembled in the vpper house, being resolued according to the lawes of the land, to declare the ladie Elisabeth sister to the said quéene to be verie true and lawfull heire to the crowne of England, sent immediatlie to the speaker of the parlement, willing him with the knights and burgesses of the neather house, without delaie to repaire vnto them into the vpper house, for their assents in a case of great importance. Who being come thither, after silence made (as the maner is) the archbishop of Yorke chancellor of England, whose name was Nicholas Heth, doctor in diuinitie, stood vp and pronounced in effect these words following.

The resolution of the lords to declare ladie Elisabeth quéene.

The words of doctor Heath lord chancellor, vttered in the parlement house touching the proclaming of the ladie Elisabeth quéene.

The cause of your calling hither at this time, is to signifie vnto you, that all the lords here present are certeinlie certified, that God this present morning hath called to his mercie our late souereigne ladie quéene Marie. Which hap as it is most heauie and grieuous vnto vs, so haue we no lesse cause another waie to reioise with praise to almightie God; for that he hath left vnto vs a true, lawfull and right inheritrice to the crowne of this realme, which is the ladie Elisabeth, second daughter to our late souereigne lord of noble memorie king Henrie the eight, and sister to our said late quéene, of whose most lawfull right and title in the succession of the crowne (thanks be to God) we néed not to doubt. Wherefore the lords of this house haue determined with your assents and consents, to passe from hence into the palace, and there to proclame the said ladie Elisabeth quéene of this realme, without further tract of time. Whereto the whole house answered with euident apearance of ioy, God saue quéene Elisabeth, long may quéene Elisabeth reigne ouer vs. And so this present parlement being dissolued by the act of God, the said lords immediatlie calling vnto them the kings and principall heralds at armes, went into the palace of Westminster, and directlie before the hall dore in the fore none of the same daie, after seuerall soundings of trumpets made, in most solemne maner, proclamed the new quéene, by this name and title: *Elisabeth by the grace of God queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c:* to the great comfort and reioising of the people, as by their maners and countenances well apeared. After which proclamation made at Westminster, the said lords, to wit the duke of Norffolke, the lord treasuror, the earle of Oxford, and diuerse other lords and bishops, with all spéd repaired into the citie of London, where the like proclamation was made in the presence of them, and also of the lord maior and aldermen in their scarlet gowns, at the crosse in Cheape, with no lesse vniuersall ioy and thanksgiuing to God of all the hearers. And so our most gratious souereigne ladie quæne Elisabeth began hir happie reigne ouer this realme of England, to the great comfort and gladnesse of all estates christianlie minded and disposed, vpon the foresaid seuentéenth day of Nouember,

The ladie Elisabeth proclamed quéen.

The beginning of quéene Elisabeths prosperous reigne.

——(*lux hæc venerabilis Anglis,*
Hæc est illa dies albo signando lapillo

saith the poet) in the yeare after the creation of the world, fiue thousand, fiue hundred, twentie and fiue, after the birth of our sauiour one thousand, fiue hundred, fiftie and eight; of the empire of Ferdinando the first emperor of Rome bearing that name, the first; in the twelfe yeare of the reigne of Henrie the second of that name French king; and in the sixteenth yeare of the reigne of Marie quéene of Scotland. 1558

On wednesdaie the three and twentith of Nouember, the quénes maiestie remoued from Hatfield, vnto the Charter house in London, where she lodged in the lord Northes house: in which remouing, and comming thus to the citie, it might well apeare how comfortable hir presence was to them that went to receiue hir on the waie, and likewise to the great multitudes of people that came abroad to sée hir grace, shewing their reioising harts in countenance and words, with hartie praiers for hir maiesties prosperous estate and preseruation: which no doubt were acceptable to God, as by the sequele of things it may certenlie be belieued, sith his diuine maiestie hath so directed hir doings, that if euer the commonwealth of this land hath flourished, it may rightlie be said, that in hir most happie reigne it hath béene most flourishing, in peace, quietnesse, and due administration of iustice, mixed with mercifull clemencie, so as those which cannot content themselues with the pre-

The quénes remouing frō Hatfield.

The flourishing estate of this land vnder quéene Elisabeth.

sent state of things vnder hir rule, no doubt they are such factious creatures, as will not rest satisfied with anie kind of gouernement, be it neuer so iust and commendable. From the which sort of men the Lord deliuer hir rotall maiestie, and all hir true and louing subiects, and preserue hir in long life to all our comforts, and continue hir in such happie procedings as she hath begun, to the end.

Hir grace remoueth to the tower.

On mondaie the eight and twentith of November, about two of the clocke in the afternoone, hir grace remoued againe, and taking hir chariot, rode from my lord Moths house alongst Barbican, and entring by Criplegate into the citie, kept along the wall to Bishops gate, and so by blanch Chapelton vnto Marke lane. At hir entring into blanch Chapleton, the artillerie in the tower began to go off, continuallie shooting for the space almost of halfe an houre, but yet had made an end before hir maiestie was aduanced to Berkin church, and so with great ioie and preasle of people, of whom all the streets were full as she passed, declaring their inward reioisings by gesture, words, and countenance, she entered the tower, where she continued till the fift of December being mondaie, on the which daie, she remoued by water vnto Summerset place in the Strond, where she arriued about ten of the clocke in the forenoone the same daie.

Hir remoning to Summerset house.

¶ On thursdaie betweene two and three in the morning the eight of December 1558 in the first yeare of our souereigne ladie queene Elisabeths reigne died in the tower of London, that honorable man sir Thomas Cheinete knight of the order, treasuror of hir maiesties most honorable household, warden of the cinque ports, & of hir highnesse priuie councell, whose pulses (by the report of his surgeon) laboured more than three quarters of an houre after his death, so stronglie as though life had not beene absent from the bodie. By the report also of the same surgeon, he had the sweetest face of death to behold for one of his yeares that euer he saw, and died so quietlie and patientlie, that neither his face, mouth, eies, hands, or feet were vncomelie vsed in the changing of this his life.

Abr. Fl. ex manuscripto Hen. Tennant.

The death of sir Thomas Cheinie lord warden of the cinque ports.

His honest & honorable care for his men that serued him.

For twentie yeares before his departure, he kept in his stable continuallie winter and summer twentie great horsse at the least, and eight or nine geldings, besides sixteene or seuenteene geldings which were kept at grasse, and had in a readinesse furniture for them all to serue in the field: and no one of the same horsse or geldings but he was able and readie for anie man at armes to serue vpon. Beside this he kept so bountifull a house, and was so liberall and good to his men, that well was that noble mans son, gentlemans sonne, or other that might happen to be preferred into his seruice. And againe, the number of his seruants to whom he gaue liueries were 205, whereof in household were six score, besides strangers that were dailie comming and going. And his seruants had no iust cause, either for lacke of great wages trulie paid them euerie quarter, and bordwages euerie sundaie, or plentie of meat and drinke, & lodging on good featherbeds to liue out of order. And such commoditie as might by chance fall within the iurisdiction of his office of wardenrie, being a thing fit for his men, he neuer turned the same to his owne vse, but alwaies gaue it them. Whether this realme hath not lost a worthie subiect, and specialtie his men a good maister, let all men iudge that knew him.

His horsse for seruice which proued him to be a louer of chiualrie.

The like is reported of cardinall Wolsele when he was in the floure of his prosperitie.

But how manie be there now that will giue away the profits of their office to their seruants?

Before his departure out of this world, he seemed to haue a great care for his men, thinking least without some prouision for them, they would after his death run at randon and liue disorderlie, which like a noble man he preuented after this liberall sort as followeth. In his last will and testament, to some he gaue annuities during life, and to others a whole yeares wages after his death; but both to the one sort and the other he prouided that all things which he owght them might be paied: and also so long as they vsed themselues like honest men, and were not reteined in seruice, they should haue meat, drinke, and lodging at his house, till his sonne now lord Cheinie came to his lawfull age, which was the space of three yeares, in no lesse or worsse maner than they were wont and accustomed to haue in his life time. In his last will he also remembred some of his frends, as well those of nobilitie and worship, as others, some with one gift and some with an other, desiring them to assist his executors for the performance of his last will.

His mindfulnes of his friends at his death.

His wit, experience, courtesie, and valiantnesse in seruice was such, as king Henrie the eight, and his children, to wit, king Edward the first, queene Marie, and queene Elisabeth vsed him as one of all their priuie councell, and was treasuror of all their honorable households during his life. He was brought vp in king Henrie the seuenths house, & was one of his henchmen. So that it appeareth before he died, he had serued three kings, and two queenes. His truth was such to all these princes, that he euer liued towards them *Sine macula*, serning in the court three score yeare. And although he bare this great saile, yet prouided he to paie euerie man iustlie that he owght them. His bountifulnesse, liberalitie, and courtesie to diuerse noble men, gentlemen and others, attending in the court was such, that they were euer glad to haue him there amongst them; and his stoutnesse & haltie courage was such, and so well knowen to the Frenchmen, as they both feared and loued him wonderfullie. In the end he was so worthie a gentleman, and such a necessarie member in the commonwealth, as his want cannot but be lamented of all good and true English harts. But the almightie must be serued when his good will and pleasure is.]

Sir Thomas Cheinete an old seruitor in court. See more of him before, pag. 973, 974.

A commendation of his courtesie, bountifulnes and warlike stoutnesse.

The thirteenth of December being tuesdaie, the corps of queene Marie was right honorablie conueied from hir manor of S. Iames, vnto the abbeie of Westminster. Hir picture was laid on the coffin, apparelled in hir rotall robes, with a crowne of gold set on the head thereof, after a solemne manner. In the abbeie was a rich and sumptuous hearse prepared and set vp with war, and richlie decked with penons, baners, and scutchions, of the armes of England and France, vnder which hearse the corpse rested all that night, and the nert daie it was brought into the new chappell, where king Henrie the seuenth lieth, and was interred there in the chapell on the north side.

Quéene Marie buried.

The foure and twentith of December, being the euen of the natiuitie of our Lord, was a solemne obsequie kept in the abbeie church of Westminster, for Charles the seuenth late emperour, who departed this life in September last, the one and twentith of the same moneth, in the monasterie of S. Iustus in Castile, being then of age about eight and fiftie yeares, hauing gouerned the empire before he renounced the same a six and thirtie yeares; and his kingdoms of Castile, Arragon, Naples, Sicill, and others, aboue fortie yeares.

An obsequie kept for the emperour.

Moreouer in this yeare 1558 there died two of the said emperors sisters, that went with him into Spaine, after he had resigned the empire, to wit, queene Leonor, first maried vnto Emanuell king of Portugall, and after his decease vnto the French king Francis the first of that name: she deceassed in Februarie last past. His other sister Marie, queene of Hungarie, late regent of the low countries, deceassed on saint Lukes daie, the eightenth of October last past. And so the one preuenting him, the other

The deceasse of the queene of France.

The deceasse of the queene of Hungarie.

taried

taried not long after him, in so much that king Philip did celebrate the exequies in the towne of Brusels, of his father the emperour, of his aunt Marie quæne of Hungarie, and of his wife Marie quæne of England, in this present moneth of December subsequentlie, after the most pompous and solemne manner.

1559. The letanie. The epistle and gospell in English.

On sundaie the first of Januarie, by vertue of the quænes proclamation, the English letanie was read accordinglie as was vsed in hir graces chappell in churches through the citie of London. And likewise the epistle and gospell of the daie began to be read in the same churches at masse time in the English tong, by commandement giuen by the lord maior, according to the tenour of the same proclamation, published the thirtith of the last month. On thursdaie the twelfe of Januarie, the quænes maiestie remoued from hir palace of Westminster by water vnto the tower of London, the lord maior and aldermen in their barge, and all the citizens with their barges decked and trimmed with targets and banners of their mysteries accordinglie attending on hir grace.

The quæne remoueth from Westminster to the tower by water.

The bachellers barge of the lord maiors companie, to wit, the mercers had their barge with a foist trimmed with three tops, and artillerie aboord, gallantlie apointed to wait vpon them, shooting off lustilie as they went, with great and pleasant melodie of instruments, which plaied in most sweet and heauenlie maner. Hir grace shut the bridge about two of the clocke in the after none, at the still of the ebbe, the lord maior and the rest following after hir barge, attending the same, till hir maiestie toke land at the priuie staires at the tower wharfe: and then the said lord maior with the other barges returned, passing through the bridge againe with the flood, and landed at the wharfe of the three cranes in the Vintrie. Vpon saturdaie, which was the fourteenth daie of Januarie, in the yeare of our Lord God 1558, about two of the clocke at after none, the most noble and christian princesse, our most dread souereigne ladie Elisabeth, by the grace of God quæne of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c: marched from the tower, to passe thorough the citie of London toward Westminster, richlie furnished, and most honourablie accompanied, as well with gentlemen, barons, and other the nobilitie of this realme, as also with a notable traine of goodlie and beautifull ladies, richlie apointed.

The quæne passeth from the tower to Westminster through the citie.

At hir entring the citie, she was of the people receiued maruellous intierlie, as appeared by the assemblies praiers, wishes, welcommings, cries, tender words, and all other signes, which argued a wonderfull earnest loue of most obedient subiects towards their souereigne. And on the other side, hir grace by holding vp hir hands, and merrie countenance to such as stood farre off, and most tender and gentle language to those that stood nigh vnto hir grace, did declare hirselfe no lesse thankefullie to receiue hir peoples good will, than they louinglie offered it vnto hir. To all that wished hir grace well, she gaue heartie thanks; & to such as bad God saue hir grace, she said againe God saue them all, and thanked them with all hir hart. So that on the other side there was nothing but gladnesse, nothing but praier, nothing but comfort. The quænes maiestie reioised maruellouslie to see that so exceedinglie shewed towards hir hir grace, which all good princes haue euer desired, I meane so earnest loue of subiects, so euidentlie declared euen to hir graces owne person, being caried in the midst of them.

The quæne saluteth them that salute hir.

The people againe were wonderfullie rauished with the louing answers and gestures of their princesse, like to the which they had before tried at hir first comming to the tower from Hatfield. This hir graces louing behauiour preconceiued in the peoples heads, vpon these considerations was then throughlie confirmed, and in deed implanted a wonderfull hope in them touching hir worthie gouernment in the rest of hir reigne. For in all hir passage she did not onelie shew hir most gratious loue toward the people in generall, but also priuatlie if the baser personages had either offered hir grace anie flowers, or such like, as a signification of their good will, or mooued to hir anie suite; she most gentlie, to the common reioising of all the lookers on, and priuat comfort of that partie, staied hir chariot, and heard their requests. So that if a man would saie well, he could not better tearme the citie of London that time, than a stage, wherein was shewed the wonderfull spectacle of a noble hearted princesse towards hir most louing people, and the peoples exceeding comfort in beholding so worthie a souereigne, & hearing so princelike a voice, which could not but haue set the enimie on fire, sith the vertue is in the enimie alwaie commended, much more could not but inflame hir naturall, obedient, and most louing people, whose weale leaneth onelie vpon hir grace, and hir gouernment.

The citie of London a stage for the time of this solemnitie.

Thus therefore the quænes maiestie passed from the tower, till she came to Fanchurch, the people on each side ioyouslie beholding the view of so gratious a ladie their quæne, and hir grace no lesse gladlie noting and obseruing the same. Nere vnto Fanchurch was erected a scaffold richlie furnished, whereon stood a noise of instruments, and a child in costlie apatell, which was apointed to welcome the quænes maiestie in the whole cities behalfe. Against which place when hir grace came, of hir owne will she commanded the chariot to be staied, and that the noise might be appeased, till the child had vttered his welcoming oration, which he spake in English as here followeth:

A scaffold set vp at Fanchurch with melodie, &c.

O peereles souereigne queene,
behold what this thy towne
Hath thee presented with,
at thy first entrance heere:
Behold with how rich hope
she leades thee to thy crowne,
Behold with what two gifts,
she comforteth thy cheere.
The first is blessing toongs,
which manie a welcome saie,
Which praie thou maist doo well,
which praise thee to the skie.
Which wish to thee long life,
which blesse this happie daie,
Which to thy kingdome heapes
all that in toongs can lie.
The second is true hearts,
which loue thee from their root,
Whose sute is triumph now,
and ruleth all the game,
Which faithfulnesse haue woone,
and all vntruth driuen out,
Which skip for ioy, when as
they heare thy happie name.
Welcome therefore ô queene,
as much as heart can thinke,
Welcome againe ô queene,
as much as toong can tell;
Welcome to ioyous toongs,
and hearts that will not shrinke,
God thee preserue we praie,
and wish thee euer well.

These verses were vttered by a child to the quæne who gaue good eare to them.

The people wholie set vpon Elisabeth.

At which words of the last line, all the people gaue a great shout, wishing with one assent as the child had said. And the quæns maiestie thanked most heartilie both the citie for this hir gentle receiuing at the first, & also the people for confirming the same.

Here was noted in the quænes maiesties countenance, during the time that the child spake, besides a perpetuall attentiuenesse in hir face, a maruellous change in loke, as the childs words either touched hir person, or the peoples tongs and hearts. So that she with reioising visage did euidentlie declare that the words toke no lesse place in hir mind, than they were most heartilie pronounced by the child, as from all the hearts of hir most heartie citizens. The same verses were fastened vp in a table vpon the scaffold, and the Latine thereof likewise in Latine verses in another table, as hereafter insueth:

The verses in Latine which the child vttered to ỹ quæne in English.

Vrbs tua quæ ingressu dederit tibi munera primo,
O regina parem non habitura, vide.
Ad diadema tuum, te spe quàm diuite mittat,
Quæ duo lætitiæ det tibi dona, vide.
Munus habes primum, linguas bona multa precantes,
Quæ te quum laudant, tum pia vota sonant,
Fœlicémque diem hunc dicunt, tibi sæcula longa
Optant, & quicquid denig, longa potest.
Altera dona feres, vera, & tui amantia corda,
Quorum gens ludum iam reget vna tuum.
In quibus est infracta fides, falsumq, perosa,
Quaq, tuo audito nomine læta salit.
Grata venis igitur, quantum cor concipit vllum,
Quantum lingua potest dicere, grata venis.
Cordibus infractis, linguisq, per omnia lætis
Grata venis: saluam te velit esse Deus.

Now when the child had pronounced his oration, and the quænes highnesse so thankefullie had receiued it, she marched forward toward Gratious street, where at the vpper end before the signe of the eagle, the citie had erected a gorgeous and sumptuous arch as here followeth. A stage was made which extended from the one side of the street to the other, richlie vawted with battlements conteining three ports, and ouer the middlemost was aduanced three seuerall stages in degrees.

A great stage arched and verie sumptuous at Gratious street.

Upon the lowest stage was made one seat roiall, wherein were placed two personages, representing king Henrie the seuenth, and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of king Edward the fourth; either of these two princes sitting vnder one cloth of estate in their seates, none otherwise diuided, but that the one of them which was king Henrie the seuenth, proceeding out of the house of Lancaster, was inclosed in a red rose, and the other which was quæne Elizabeth, being heire to the house of Yorke, inclosed with a white rose, each of them roiallie crowned, and decentlie apparelled, as apperteineth to princes, with scepters in their hands, and one vawt surmounting their heads, wherein aptlie were placed two tables, each conteining the title of those two princes. And these personages were so set, that the one of them ioined hands with the other, with the ring of matrimonie perceiued on the finger. Out of the which two roses sprang two branches gathered into one, which were directed vpward to the second stage or degree, wherein was placed one representing the valiant & noble prince king Henrie the eight, which sprong out of the former stocke, crowned with a crowne imperiall, and by him sat one representing the right worthie ladie quæne Anne, wife to the said king Henrie the eight, and mother to our most souereigne ladie quæne Elizabeth that now is, both apparelled with scepters and diadems, and other furniture due to the state of a king and quæne, and two tables surmounting their heads, wherein were written their names and titles.

The vnitie of the white rose and the red.

Vertuous quæne Anne mother to gratious quæne Elizabeth.

From their seat also proceeded vpwards one branch, directed to the third and vppermost stage or degree, wherein likewise was planted a seat roiall, in the which was set one representing the quænes most excellent maiestie Elizabeth, now our most dread souereigne ladie, crowned and apparelled as the other princes were. Out of the fore part of this pageant was made a standing for a child, which at the quæns maiesties comming declared vnto hir the whole meaning of the said pageant. The two sides of the same were filled with lowd noises of musicke. And all emptie places thereof were furnished with sentences concerning vnitie, and the whole pageant garnished with red roses and white. And in the fore front of the same pageant, in a faire wreath, was written the name and title of the same, which was; The vniting of the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke. This pageant was grounded vpon the quæns maiesties name. For like as the long warre betweene the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster then ended, when Elizabeth daughter to Edward the fourth matched in mariage with Henrie the seuenth, heire to the house of Lancaster: so sith that the quænes maiesties name was Elizabeth, & for somuch as she is the onelie heire of Henrie the eight, which came of both the houses, as the knitting vp of concord: it was deuised, that like as Elizabeth was the first occasion of concord, so the another Elizabeth, might mainteine the same among hir subiects, so that vnitie was the end whereat the whole deuise shot, as the quænes maiesties name moued the first ground.

The posie expresing the shew set forth in colors.

Vnitie the end whereat the deuise of the pageant was directed.

The pageant now against the quænes maiesties comming was addressed with children, representing the forenamed personages, with all furniture due vnto the setting forth of such a matter well meant, as the argument declared costlie and sumptuouslie set forth, as the beholders can beare witnesse. Now the quænes maiestie drew nere vnto the said pageant. And for so much as the noise was great, by reason of the preasse of people, so that she could scarse heare the child which did interpret the said pageant, and hir charlot was passed so far forwards, that she could not well view the personages representing the kings & quænes aboue named: she required to haue the matter opened vnto hir, and what they signified, with the end of vnitie and ground of hir name, according as is before expressed. For the sight whereof hir grace caused hir charlot to be remoued backe, and yet hardlie could she see, because the children were set somewhat with the furthest in. But after that hir grace had vnderstood the meaning thereof, she thanked the citie, praised the faithfulnesse of the worke, and promised that she would do hir whole indeuor for the continuall preseruation of concord, as the pageant did import. The child appointed in the standing aboue named, to open the meaning of the said pageant, spake these words vnto hir grace:

The quæne is desirous to know the meaning of euerie representation.

The meaning of the pageant opened by the speech of a child.

The two princes that sit,
vnder one cloth of state,
The man in the red rose,
the woman in the white:
Henrie the seauenth, and
queene Elizabeth his mate,
By ring of marriage,
as man and wife vnite.
Both heires to both their blouds,
to Lancaster the king,
The queene to Yorke, in one
the two houses did knit:
Of whome as heire to both,
Henrie the eight did spring,
In whose seate his true heire
thou queene Elizabeth doost sit.
Therefore as ciuill warre,
and shead of bloud did cease,
When these two houses were
vnited into one;
So now that iarre shall stint,

and

and quietnesse increase,
We trust, ô noble queene,
thou wilt be cause alone.

The which also were written in Latine verses, and both drawen in two tables vpon the fore front of the foresaid pageant, as hereafter orderlie followeth:

The same verses in Latine.

Hij quos iungit idem solium, quos annulus idem:
Hæc albente nitens, ille rubente rosa:
Septimus Henricus rex, regina Elizabetha,
Scilicet hæredes gentis vterque suæ.
Hæc Eboracensis, Lancastrius ille dederunt
Connubio, è gemmis quo foret vna domus.
Excipit hos hæres Henricus copula regum
Octauus, magni regis imago potens,
Regibus hinc succedis auis regique parenti,
Patris iusta hæres Elizabetha tuis.

Sentences placed therein concerning vnitie.

These verses conceerne concord and discord.

Nullæ concordes animos vires domant.
Qui iuncti terrent, deiuncti timent.
Discordes vnimi soluunt, concordes ligant.
Augentur parua pace, magna bello cadunt.
Coniunctæ manus fortius tollunt onus.
Regno pro mœnibus æneis ciuium concordia.
Qui diu pugnant diutius lugent.
Dissidentes principes subditorum lues.
Princeps ad pacem natus non ad arma datus.
Filia concordiæ copia, neptis quies.
Dissentiens respublica hostibus patet.
Qui idem tenent, diutius tenent.
Regnum diuisum facilè dissoluitur.
Ciuitas concors armis frustrà tentatur.
Omnium gentium consensus firmat fidem, &c.

These verses and other prætie sentences were drawen in void places of this pageant, all tending to one end, that quietnes might be mainteined, and all dissention displaced: and that by the quænes maiestie heire to agrœment, and agrœing in name with hir, which tofore had ioined those houses, which had bœne the occasion of much debate and ciuill war within this realme, as maie appære to such as will search chronicles, but be not to be touched herein: onelie declaring hir graces passage through the citie, and what prouision the citie made therefore. And yet the quænes maiestie came within hearing of this pageant, she sent certeine as also at all the other pageants, to require the people to be silent. For hir maiestie was disposed to heare all that should be said vnto hir.

When the quænes maiestie had heard the childs oration, and vnderstood the meaning of the pageant at large, she marched forward toward Cornehill, alwaie receiued with like reioising of the people. And there as hir grace passed by the conduit, which was curiouslie trimmed against that same time, with rich banners adorned, and a noise of lowd instruments vpon the top thereof, she spied the second pageant. And bicause she feared for the peoples noise, that she should not heare the child which did expound the same, she inquired what that pageant was yet that shee came to it; and there vnderstood, that there was a child representing hir maiesties person, placed in a seat of gouernement, supported by certeine vertues which suppressed their contrarie vices vnder their feet, and so forth, as in the description of the said pageant shall hereafter appære.

The conduit in Cornehill decked, and a noise of lowd instruments on the top of the same.

This pageant standing in the nether end of Cornhill, was extended from the one side of the street to the other. And in the same pageant was deuised three gates all open, and ouer the middle part thereof was erected one chaire or seate roiall, with a cloth of estate to the same apperteining, wherein was placed a child representing the quænes highnesse, with consideration had for place conuenient for a table, which conteined hir name and title: and in a comelie wreath artificiallie & well deuised, with perfect sight and vnderstanding to the people.

The deuise of the pageant in Cornehill.

In the front of the same pageant was written the name and title thereof, which is; The seat of worthie gouernance. Which seat was made in such artificiall maner, as to the appearance of the lookers on, the fore part seemed to haue no staie, & therefore of force was staied by liuelie personages, which personages were in number foure, standing and stateng the fore front of the same seat roiall, each hauing his face to the quæne and people, whereof euerie one had a table to expresse their effects, which are vertues, namelie Pure religion, Loue of subiects, Wisedome and Iustice, which did tread their contrarie vices vnder their feet, that is to wit; Pure religion did tread vpon Superstition and Ignorance, Loue of subiects did tread vpon Rebellion and Insolencie, Wisedome did tread vpon Follie and Vaine glorie, Iustice did tread vpon Adulation and Briberie. Ech of these personages according to their proper names and properties, had not onelie their names in plaine and perfect writing set vpon their breasts easilie to be read of all: but also euerie of them was aptlie and properlie apparelled, so that his apparell and name did agrœ to expresse the same person, that in title he represented.

Liuely workmanship and right commendable.

A proper moral.

This part of the pageant was thus appointed and furnished. The two sides ouer the two side ports had in them placed a noise of instruments, which immediatlie after the childs speech, gaue an heauenlie melodie. Vpon the top or vppermost part of the said pageant, stood the armes of England, roiallie purtraitured with the proper beasts to vphold the same. One representing the quænes highnesse sat in this seat crowned with an imperiall crowne, and before hir seat was a conuenient place appointed for one child, which did interpret and applie the said pageant, as hereafter shall be declared. Euerie void place was furnished with proper sentences, commending the seat supported by vertues, and defacing the vices, to the vtter extirpation of rebellion, and to euerlasting continuance of quietnesse and peace. The quænes maiestie approching nigh vnto this pageant thus beautified and furnished in all points, caused hir charriot to be drawne nigh therevnto, that hir grace might heare the childs short oration, which was this:

How the pageant was appointed and furnished.

The quæne draweth nære the pagent to heare the childs oration.

While that religion true,
shall ignorance suppresse,
And with hir weightie foot,
breake superstitions head:
While loue of subiects shall
rebellion distresse,
And with zeale to the prince,
insolencie downe tread.
While iustice flattering toongs,
and briberie can deface,
While follie and vaine glorie,
to wisedome yeeld their hands:
So long shall gouernement
swarue from hir right race,
But wrong decaieth still,
and right wisenesse vp stands.
Now all thy subiects hearts,
ô prince of peereles fame,
Do trust these vertues shall
mainteine vp thy throne:
And vice be kept downe still,
the wicked put to shame,
That good with good may ioy,
and naught with naught may mone.

Which verses were painted vpon the right side of the same pageant, and the Latine thereof on the left side in

in another table, which were theſe héere following:

The ſame verſes in Latine painted on a table.

Quæ ſubnixa altè ſolio regina ſuperbo eſt,
Effigiem ſanctæ principis alma refert,
Quam cuiuis amor fulcit, ſapientia firmat,
Iuſtitia illuſtrat, relligióque beat,
Vana ſuperſtitio & craſſa ignorantia frontis
Preſſæ ſub pura relligione iacent.
Regis amor domat effrænos animóſque rebelles,
Iuſtus adulantes doniuoróſque terret.
Cùm regit imperium ſapiens, ſine luce ſedebunt
Stultitia, atque huius numen inane honor.

Beſide theſe verſes, there were placed in euerie void roome of the pagent, both in Engliſh & Latine, ſuch ſentences as aduanced the ſeat of gouernance vpholden by vertue. The ground of this pageant was, that like as by vertues (which do abundantlie appeare in hir grace) the quænes maieſtie was eſtabliſhed in the ſeat of gouernment: ſo ſhe ſhuld ſit faſt in the ſame, ſo long as ſhe imbraſed vertue, and held vice vnder fot. For if vice once got vp the head, it would put the ſeat of gouerniement in perill of falling. The quænes maieſtie when ſhe had heard the child, and vnderſtood the pageant at full, gaue the citie alſo thanks therefore, & moſt gratiouſlie promiſed hir good indeuor for the maintenance of the ſaid vertues, and ſuppreſſion of vices, and ſo marched on, till ſhe came againſt the great conduit in Cheape, which was beautified with pictures and ſentences accordinglie, againſt hir graces comming thither. Againſt Soper lane end was ertended from the one ſide of the ſtréet to the other, a pageant which had three gates all open: ouer the middlemoſt whereof were erected three ſeuerall ſtages, whereon ſat eight children, as hereafter followeth. On the vppermoſt one child, on the middle three, on the loweſt foure, each hauing the proper name of the bleſſing that they did repreſent, written in a table, & placed aboue their head.

The ground or morall of the pageant.

The quénes promiſe with thanks to the citie.

A pageant at Soper lane end.

In the forefront of this pageant, before the children which did repreſent the bleſſings, was a conuenient ſtanding caſt out for a child to ſtand, which did expound the ſaid pageant vnto the quénes maieſtie, as was done in the other before. Euerie of theſe children were appointed and apparelled, according vnto the bleſſing which he did repreſent. And on the forepart of the ſaid pageant was written in faire letters the name of the foreſaid pageant in this manner:

The inſcription ſet or fixed vpon the front of the ſaid pageant.

The eight beatitudes expreſſed in the fift chapter of the goſpell of ſaint Matthew, applied to our ſouereigne ladie quæne Eliſabeth.

Ouer the two ſide poſts was placed a noiſe of inſtruments. And all the void places in the pageant were furniſhed with prettie ſaiengs, commending & touching the meaning of the ſaid pageant, which was the promiſes & bleſſings of almightie God, made to his people. Before that the quænes highneſſe came vnto this pageant, ſhe required the matter somwhat to be opened vnto hir, that hir grace might the better vnderſtand, what ſhould afterward by the child be ſaid vnto hir. Which ſo was, that the citie had there erected the pageant with eight children, repreſenting the eight bleſſings touched in the fift chapter of ſaint Matthew. Whereof euerie one vpon iuſt conſiderations, was aplied vnto hir highneſſe, and that the people thereby put hir grace in mind, that as hir good doings before had giuen iuſt occaſion, why that theſe bleſſings might fall vpon hir, that ſo if hir grace did continue in hir goodneſſe as ſhe had entered, ſhe ſhould hope for the fruit of theſe promiſes due vnto them that do exerciſe themſelues in the bleſſings: which hir grace heard maruellous gratiouſlie, and required that the charriot might be remoued towards the pageant, that ſhe might better perceiue the childs words, which were theſe, the quénes maieſtie giuing moſt attentiue eare, and requiring that the peoples noiſe might be ſtaid. The verſes were as follow:

The meaning of the pageant.

The quéne giueth attentiue care to the childs words.

Thou haſt beene right times bleſt,
ô queene of worthie fame,
By meekeneſſe of thy ſpirit,
when care did thee beſet,
By mourning in thy griefe,
by mildneſſe in thy blame,
By hunger and by thirſt,
and iuſtice couldſt none get,
By mercie ſhewd, not felt,
by cleanneſſe of thine heart,
By ſeeking peace alwaies,
by perſecution wrong,
Therefore truſt thou in God,
ſith he hath helpt thy ſmart,
That as his promiſe is,
ſo he will make thee ſtrong.

When theſe words were ſpoken, all the people wiſhed, that as the child had vttered, ſo God would ſtrengthen hir grace againſt all hir aduerſaries, whome the quænes maieſtie did moſt gentlie thanke for their ſo louing wiſh. Theſe verſes were painted on the left ſide of the ſaid pageant, and other in Latine on the other ſide, which were theſe héere inſuing:

A conſent on all ſides of prince, people, and children.

Qui lugent hilares fient, qui mitia geſtant
Pectora, multa ſoli iugera culta metent:
Iuſtitiam eſuriens ſitiénſue replebitur: ipſum
Fas homini puro corde videre Deum:
Quem alterius miſeret, Dominus miſerebitur huius:
Pacificus quiſquis, filius ille Dei eſt:
Propter iuſtitiam quiſquis patietur habétque
Demiſſam mentem cœlica regna capit.
Huic hominum generi terram, mare, ſidera, Vouis
Omnipotens, horum quiſque beatus erit.

Beſides theſe, euerie void place in the pageant was furniſhed with ſentences touching the matter and ground of the ſaid pageant. When all that was to be ſaid in this pageant was ended, the quænes maieſtie paſſed on forwards in Cheapſide. At the ſtandard in Cheape, which was dreſſed faire againſt the time, was placed a noiſe of trumpets, with banners and other furniture. The croſſe likewiſe was alſo made faire, and well trimmed. And nére vnto the ſame, vpon the porch of ſaint Peters church doore, ſtood the waits of the citie, which did giue a pleaſant noiſe with their inſtruments, as the quænes maieſtie did paſſe by, which on euerie ſide caſt hir countenance, and wiſhed well to all hir moſt louing people. Soone after that hir grace paſſed the croſſe, ſhe had eſpied the pageant erected at the little conduit in Cheape, and incontinent required to know what it might ſignifie. And it was told hir grace, that there was placed Time. Time, quoth ſhe? And time hath brought me hither. And ſo forth the whole matter was opened to hir grace, as hereafter ſhall be declared in the deſcription of the pageant.

The ſtandard and croſſe in Cheape adorned and trimmed.

A pageant erected at the little conduit in Cheape.

But in the opening, when hir grace vnderſtood that the bible in Engliſh ſhould be deliuered vnto hir by Truth, which was therein repreſented by a child: ſhe thanked the citie for that gift, and ſaid, that ſhe would oftentimes read ouer that booke, commanding ſir John Parrat, one of the knights which held vp hir canopie, to go before, and to receiue the booke. But learning that it ſhould be deliuered vnto hir grace downe by a ſilken lace, ſhe cauſed him to ſtaie, and ſo paſſed forward till ſhe came againſt the aldermen in the high end of Cheape before the little conduit, where the companies of the citie ended, which began at Fanchurch, & ſtood along the ſtréets, one by an other incloſed with raiſes, hanged with cloths, and themſelues well apparelled with manie rich

The quéne promiſeth the citie often to read ouer the bible.

rich furres, and their liuerie hoods vpon their shoulders in comelie and seemelie maner, hauing before them sundrie persons well apparelled in silks and chains of gold: as wiflers and garders of the said companies, besides a number of rich hangings, as well of tapistrie, arras, cloths of gold, siluer, veluet, damaske, sattin, and other silks plentifullie hanged all the waie, as the queenes highnesse passed from the tower thorough the citie.

The seuerall companies of the citie shew their ioifull hearts at the queenes coming.

But at the windowes and penthouses of euerie house did hang a number of rich and costlie banners and stremers, till hir grace came to the vper end of Cheape. Where by appointment, the right worshipfull maister Ranulph Cholmelie recorder of the citie, presented to the queenes maiestie a purse of crimson sattin, richlie wrought with gold, wherein the citie gaue vnto the queens maiestie a thousand marks in gold, as maister recorder did declare breefelie vnto the queens maiestie, whose words tended to this end; that the lord maior, his brethren, and communaltie of the citie, to declare their gladnesse and goodwill towards the queenes maiestie, did present hir grace with that gold, desiring hir grace to continue their good and gratious queene, and not to esteeme the value of the gift, but the mind of the giuers. The queens maiestie with both hir hands tooke the purse, and answered to him againe maruellous pithilie; and so pithilie, that the standers by, as they imbraced intirelie hir gratious answer, so they maruelled at the couching thereof, which was in words truelie reported these. I thanke my lord maior, his brethren, and you all. And whereas your request is that I should continue your good ladie and queene, be ye ensured, that I will be as good vnto you, as euer queene was to hir people. No will in me can lacke, neither do I trust shall there lacke anie power. And persuade your selues, that for the safetie and quietnesse of you all, I will not spare (if need be) to spend my bloud, God thanke you all. Which answer of so noble an hearted princesse, if it moued a maruellous thout & reioising, it is nothing to be maruelled at, sith both the haltinesse thereof was so wonderfull, and the words so iointlie knit.

The citie giueth a thousand marks to the queene in a purse.

The verie words of the queene vttered to the lord maior, &c.

When hir grace had thus answered the recorder, she marched toward the little conduit, where was erected a pageant with square proportion, standing directlie before the same conduit, with battlements accordinglie. And in the same pageant was aduanced two hilles or mounteins of conuenient height. The one of them being on the north side of the same pageant, was made cragged, barren, and stonie, in the which was erected one tree, artificiallie made, all withered and dead, with branches accordinglie. And vnder the same tree at the foot thereof sat one in homelie and rude apparell crokedlie, and in mourning maner, hauing ouer his head in a table, written in Latine and English, his name which was *Ruinosa respublica*, A decaied commonweale. And vpon the same withered tree were fixed certeine tables, wherein were written proper sentences, expressing the causes of the decaie of a commonweale. The other hill on the south side was made faire, fresh, greene and beautifull, the ground thereof full of floures and beautie, and on the same was erected also one tree, verie fresh and faire, vnder the which stood vpright one fresh personage well apparelled and appointed, whose name also was written both in English and Latine, which was, *Respublica bene instituta*, A flourishing commonweale.

A pageant of a square proportion, and what things the same had represented in it.

Respublica ruinosa.

Respublica bene instituta.

And vpon the same tree also were fixed certeine tables conteining sentences, which expressed the causes of a flourishing commonweale. In the middle betweene the said hils, was made artificiallie one hollow place or caue, with doore and locke inclosed, out of the which, a little before the queenes highnesse comming thither, issued one personage, whose name was Time, apparelled as an old man, with a sieth in his hand, hauing wings artificiallie made, leading a personage of lesser stature than himselfe, which was finelie and well apparelled, all clad in white silke, and directlie ouer hir head was set hir name and title in Latine and English, *Temporis filia*, The daughter of Time. Which two so appointed, went forwards toward the south side of the pageant. And on hir brest was written hir proper name, which was *Veritas*, Truth, who held a booke in hir hand, vpon the which was written *Verbum veritatis*, The word of truth. And out of the south side of the pageant was cast a standing for a child, which should interpret the same pageant. Against whome when the queenes maiestie came, he spake vnto hir grace these sweet words:

Veritas temporis filia, expounded to the queene.

The interpretation of the pageant deliuered in speech to the queene by a child.

This old man with the sieth,
old father Time they call,
And hir his daughter Truth,
which holdeth yonder booke:
Whome he out of his rocke,
hath brought forth to vs all,
From whence this manie yeares
she durst not once out looke.
The ruthfull wight that sits
vnder the barren tree,
Resembleth to vs the forme,
when common weales decaie:
But when they be in state
triumphant, you may see
By him in fresh attire,
that sits vnder the baie.
Now sith that Time againe,
his daughter Truth hath brought,
We trust ô worthie queene,
thou wilt this truth imbrace,
And sith thou vnderstandst,
the good estate and naught,
We trust wealth thou wilt plant,
and barrennes displace.
But for to heale the sore,
and cure that is not seene,
Which thing the booke of truth,
doth teach in writing plaine:
Shee doth present to thee
the same, ô worthie queene,
For that, that words doo flie,
but written doth remaine.

When the child had thus ended his speech, he reached his booke towards the queenes maiestie, which a little before Truth had let downe vnto him from the hill, which by sir John Parrat was receiued, and deliuered vnto the queene. But shee as soone as she had receiued the booke, kissed it, and with both hir hands held vp the same, and so laid it vpon hir brest, with great thanks to the citie therefore: and so went forward towards Paules churchyard. The former matter which was rehearsed vnto the queenes maiestie, was written in two tables, on either side the pageant eight verses, and in the middest, these in Latine:

The queene receiueth *Verbum Dei*, kisseth it, and laieth it in hir lap.

Ille, vides falcem læua qui sustinet vncam,
Tempus is est, cui stat filia vera comes:
Hanc pater exsa deductam rupe reponit
In lucem, quam non viderat ante diu.
Qui sedet à læua cultu malè tristis inepto
Quem durus crescens cauti bus orbis obit,
Nos monet effigie quasit respublica, quando
Cerruit, at contra quando beata viget.
Ille docet iuuenis forma spectandus, amictu
Sctius, & æterna laurea fronde virens.

The sentences written in Latine and English vpon both the trees, declaring the causes of both estates, and first of a ruinous commonweale were these:

these: Want of Gods feare, disobedience to rulers, blindnesse of guides, briberie in magistrats, rebellion in subiects, ciuill discord, flattering of princes, vnmercifulnesse in rulers, vnthankefulnesse in subiects. Causes of a flourishing commonweale are these: Feare of God, a wise prince, learned rulers, obedience to officers, obedient subiects, louers of the commonweale, vertue rewarded, vice chastened.

The meaning in briefe of this pagent.

The matter of this pageant dependeth of them that went before. For as the first declared hir grace to come out of the house of vnitie, the second that she is placed in the seat of gouernement staid with vertues, to the suppression of vice; and therefore in the third, the eight blessings of almightie God might well be aplied vnto hir: so this fourth now is, to put hir grace in remembrance of the state of the commonweale, which Time with Truth his daughter doth reueale: which Truth also hir grace hath receiued, and therefore cannot but be mercifull and carefull for the good gouernement thereof. From thence, the quæenes maiestie passed toward Paules churchyard, and when she came ouer against Paules schole, a child appointed by the schoolemaister thereof, pronounced a certeine oration in Latine, and certeine verses, which also were there written as followeth:

A scholer of Paules vttereth an oration in Latine to the queene.

Philosophus ille diuinus Plato inter multa præclarè ac sapienter dicta, hoc posteris proditum reliquit; Rempublicam illam fæliciss. fore, cui princeps sophiæ studiosa, virtutibúsq; ornata contigerit. Quem si verè dixisse censeamus (vt quidem verissimè) cur non terra Britannica plauderet? cur non populus gaudium atque lætitiam agitaret? Immo, cur non hunc diem, albo (quod aiunt) lapillo notaret? Quo princeps talis nobis adest, qualē priores non viderunt, qualémq; posteritas haud facilè cernere poterit; dotibus quum animi, tum corporis vndiq; fæliciss. Casti quidem corporis dotes ita apertæ sunt, vt oratione non egeant. Animi verò tot tantæq;, vt ne verbis quidem exprimi possint. Hæc nempe regibus summis orta, morum atq; animi nobilitate genus exuperat. Huius pectus Christi religionis amore flagrat. Hæc gentem Britannicam virtutibus illustrabit, clypeóq; iustitiæ teget. Hæc literis Græcis & Latinis eximia, ingenióq; præpollens est. Hac imperante pietas vigebit, Anglia florebit, aurea sæcula redibunt. Vos igitur Angli tot commoda accepturi, Elisabetham reginam nostram celeberrimam ab ipso Christo huius regni imperio destinatam, honore debito prosequimini. Huius imperijs animo libentissimo subditi estote, vósq; tali principe dignos præbete. Et quoniam pueri non viribus sed precibus, officium præstare possunt, nos alumni huius scholæ ab ipso Coleto olim templi Paulini decano extructæ, teneras palmas ad cælum tendentes Christum Opt. Max. precaturi sumus, vt tuam celsitudinem annos Nestoreos summo cum honore Anglis imperitare faciat, matrémq; pignoribus charis beatam reddat: Amen.

Laus Elisabethæ regni iugum subeuntis.

Anglia nunc tandem plaudas, lætare, resulta,
Præsto iam vita est, præsidiúmq; tibi.
En tua spes venit, tua gloria, lux, decus omne
Venit iam, solidam qua tibi præstat opem.
Succurrétq; tuis rebus quæ pessum abiere,
Perdita quæ fuerant hæc reparare volet,
Omnia florebunt, redeunt nunc aurea sæcla,
In melius surgent quæ cecidere bona.
Debes ergo illi totam te reddere fidam,
Cuius in accessu commoda tot capies.

Quenam præstabit Elisabethæ suo regimine.

Salue igitur dicas, imo de pectore summo,
Elizabeth regni non dubitanda salus,
Virgo venit, veniátq; optes comitata deinceps,
Pignoribus charis, læta parens veniat.
Hoc Deus omnipotens ex alto donet olympo,
Qui cælum & terram condidit atq; regit.

Which the quéenes maiestie most attentiuelie hearkened vnto. And when the child had pronounced, he did kisse the oration which he had there faire written in paper, and deliuered it vnto the quéenes maiestie, which most gentlie receiued the same. And when the quæenes maiestie had heard all that was there offered to be spoken, then hir grace marched toward Ludgate, where she was receiued with a noise of instruments, the fore front of the gate being finelie trimmed vp against hir maiesties comming. From thence by the way as she went downe toward Flæt-bridge, one about hir grace noted the cities charge, that there was no cost spared. Hir grace answered, that she did well consider the same, and that it should be remembred. An honorable answer, worthie a noble prince, which may comfort all hir subiects, considering that there can be no point of gentlenesse, or obedient loue shewed towards hir grace, which she doth not most tenderlie accept, and gratiouslie weie. In this maner, the people on euerie side reioising, hir grace went forward towards the conduit in Flætstréet, where was the fift and last pageant erected in forme following.

The quéenes maiestie considered the cities charge.

From the conduit, which was beautified with painting, vnto the northside of the stréet was erected a stage, imbatteled with foure towers, and in the same a square plat rising with degrées; and vpon the vpermost degrée was placed a chaire, or seat roiall, and behind the same seat, in curious artificiall maner was erected a trée of reasonable heigth, and so farre aduanced aboue the seat, as it did well and semelie shadow the same, without indamaging the sight of anie part of the pageant: and the same trée was beautified with leaues as gréene as art could deuise, being of a conuenient greatnesse, and conteining thereupon the fruit of the date. And on the top of the same trée in a table was set the name thereof, which was a palme trée, and in the aforesaid seat or chaire was placed * a seemelie and meet personage richlie apparelled in parlement robes, with a scepter in hir hand, as a quæne, crowned with an open crowne, whose name and title was in a table fixed ouer hir head, in this sort: Debora the iudge and restorer of the house of Israell: Iudic. 4. And the other degrees on either side were furnished with six personages, two representing the nobilitie, two the clergie, & two the communaltie. And before these personages was written in a table: Debora with hir estats consulting for the good gouernment of Israell. At the feet of these, and the lowest part of the pageant was ordeined a conuenient rome for a child to open the meaning of the pageant. When the quéenes maiestie drew neare vnto this pageant, and perceiued, as in the other, the child readie to speake; hir grace required silence, and commanded hir chariot to be remoued nigher, that she might plainlie heare the child speake, which said as hereafter followeth:

A pagent in Flætstréet described.

* Alluding to the quéenes maiestie no doubt.

How willing the quæne was to heare the child speake.

Iabin of Canaan king,
had long by force of armes
Opprest the Israelites,
which for Gods people went:
But God minding at last
for to redresse their harmes,
The worthie Debora
as iudge among them sent.
In warre she through Gods aid,
did put hir foes to flight,

And

And with the dint of sword
the band of bondage brast.
In peace she, through Gods aid,
did alwaie mainteine right,
And iudged Israell
till fortie yeares were past.
A worthie president,
ô worthie queene thou hast,
A worthie woman iudge,
a woman sent for staie:
And that the like to vs
indure alwaie thou maist,
Thy louing subiects will
with true harts and toongs praie.

Which verses were written vpon the pageant, & the same in Latin also fixed in the face of the people:

Quando Dei populum Canaan, rex pressit Iaben,
Mittitur à magno Debora magna Deo:
Quæ populum eriperet, sanctum seruaret Iudan,
Milite quæ patrio frangeret hostis opes.
Hæc Domino mandante Deo lectissima fecit
Fœmina, & aduersos contudit ense viros.
Hæc quater denos populum correxerat annos
Iudicio, bello strenua, pace gravis:
Sic, ô sic populum bellóque & pace guberna,
Debora sis Anglis Elisabetha tuis.

The void places of this pageant were filled with prettie sentences concerning the same matter. The ground of this last pageant was, that for somuch as the next pageant before had set before hir graces eies the flourishing and desolate states of a commonweale, she might by this be put in remembrance to consult for the worthie gouernement of hir people, considering God oftentimes sent women noblie to rule among men, as Deborа, which gouerned Israell in peace the space of fortie yeares: and that it behoueth both men and women so ruling to vse aduise of good councell. When the quænes maiestie had passed this pageant, she marched toward Temple bar. But at S. Dunstans church, where the children of the hospitall were appointed to stand with their gouernors, hir grace perceiuing a child offered to make an oration vnto hir, staied hir chariot, and did cast vp hir eies to heauen, as who should saie; I here see this mercifull worke toward the poore, whome I must in the middest of my roialtie néeds remember: and so turned hir face toward the child, which in Latine pronounced an oration to this effect: That after the quænes highnesse had passed through the citie, and had seene so sumptuous, rich, and notable spectacles of the citizens, which declared their most hartie receiuing, and ioious welcomming of hir grace into the same: this one spectacle yet rested and remained, which was the euerlasting spectacle of mercie vnto the poore members of almightie God, furthered by that famous and most noble prince king Henrie the eight hir graces father, erected by the citie of London, & aduanced by the most godlie & vertuous prince king Edward the first, hir graces deare and louing brother, doubting nothing of the mercie of the quænes most gratious clemencie, by the which they may not onelie be relieued and helped, but also staied and defended: and therefore incessantlie they would praie and crie vnto almightie God, for the long life and reigne of hir highnesse, with most prosperous victorie against hir enimies.

The child after he had ended his oration, kissed the paper wherein the same was written, & reached it to the quænes maiestie, which receiued it gratiouslie, both with words and countenance, declaring hir gratious mind toward their relefe. From thence hir grace came to Temple bar, which was dressed finelie with the two images of Gogmagog the Albion, & Corineus the Briton, two giants, big in stature, furnished accordinglie, which held in their hands aboue the gate, a table, wherein was written in Latine verses the effect of all the pageant which the citie before had erected, which verses were these insuing:

Ecce sub aspectu iam contemplaberis vno
(O princeps populi sola columna tui)
Quicquid in immensa passim perspexeris vrbe,
Quæ cepere omnes vnus hic arcus habet.
Primus te solio regni donauit auiti,
Hæres quippe tui vera parentis eras.
Suppressis vitijs, domina virtute. Secundus,
Firmauit sedem regia virgo tuam.
Tertius ex omni posuit te parte beatam,
Si, qua cæpisti pergere velle, velis.
Quarto quid verum, respublica lapsa quid esset,
Quæ florens staret te docuere tui.
Quinto magna loco monuit te Debora, missam
Cœlitùs in regni gaudia longa tui.
Perge ergo regina, tuæ spes vnica gentis,
Hæc postrema vrbis suscipe vota tuæ.
Viue diu, regnáq; diu, virtutibus orna
Rem patriam, & populi spem tueare tui.
Sic ô sic petitur cœlum, sic itur in astra:
Hoc virtutis opus, cætera mortis erunt.

Quinque arcus quam significationem implicatam teneant.

Which verses were also written in English méeter, in a lesse table as hereafter plainelie followeth:

Behold here in one view,
thou maist see all that plaine,
O princesse vnto this
thy people th'onlie staie:
What each where thou hast seene
in this wide towne, againe,
This one arch whatsoeuer
the rest conteind, doth saie.
The first arch as true heire
vnto thy father deere,
Did set thee in thy throne
where thy grandfather sat.
The second did confirme
thy seat as princesse heere,
Vertues now bearing swaie,
and vices bet downe flat.
The third, if that thou wouldst
go on as thou began,
Declared thee to be
blessed on euerie side.
The fourth did open truth,
and also taught thee whan
The commonweale stood well,
and when it did thence slide.
The fift, as Debora
declard thee to be sent
From heauen, a long comfort
to vs thy subiects all.
Therefore go on ô queene,
on whom our hope is bent,
And take with thee this wish
of thy towne as finall.
Liue long, and as long reigne,
adorning thy countrie
With vertues, and mainteine
thy peoples hope of thee.
For thus, thus heauen is woone,
thus must thou perse the skie,
This is by vertue wrought,
all other needs must die.

what the arches signifie.

On the southside was appointed by the citie a noise of singing children, and one child richlie attired as a poet, which gaue the quænes maiestie hir farewell in the name of the whole citie, by these swæt words:

As at thine entrance first,
ô prince of high renowne,
Thou wast presented with
toongs and hearts for thy faier:

The cities farewell to the quæne going out at Temple barre.

So

The moral of the foresaid gent.

The children Christs spitall stand S. Dunst.

Temple barr dorned with Gogmagog, & her giants.

So now sith thou must needs
depart out of this towne,
This citie sendeth thee
firme hope and earnest praier,
For all men hope in thee,
that all vertues shall raine,
For all men hope that thou
none error wilt support,
For all men hope that thou
wilt truth restore againe,
And mend that is amisse,
to all good mens comfort.
And for this hope they praie,
thou maist continue long,
Our queene amongst vs here,
all vice for to supplant,
And for this hope they praie,
that God maie make thee strong,
As by his grace puissant,
So in his truth constant.
Farewell ô worthie queene,
and as our hope is sure,
That into errors place,
thou wilt now truth restore:
So trust we that thou wilt
our souereigne queene endure,
And louing ladie stand,
from henseforth euermore.

The last words of the quéene to the citie by waie of promise.

While these words were in saieng, and certeine wishes therein repeated for maintenance of truth, and rooting out of errour, she now and then held vp hir hands towards heauen, and willed the people to saie, Amen. When the child had ended, shee said; Be ye well assured I shall stand your good quéene. At which saieng, hir grace departed forth through Templebarre toward Westminster, with no lesse showting and crieng of the people, than she entered the citie with a noise of ordinance which the tower shot off at hir graces enterance first into Towerstréet. The childs saieng was also in Latine verses written in a table verie faire which was hanged vp there;

Carmen valedictorium a puero recitatum.

O regina potens, quum primam vrbem ingredereris,
Dona tibi linguas fidáq; corda dedit.
Discedenti etiam tibi nunc duo munera mittit,
Omnia plena spei, votáq; plena precum.
Quippe tuis spes est in te, quòd prouida virtus
Rexerit, errore nec locus vllus erit.
Quippe tuis spes est, quòd tu verum omni reduces
Solatura bonas, dum mala tollis, opes.
Hac spe freti orant, longum vt regina gubernes,
Et regni excindas crimina cuncta tui.
Hac spe freti orant, diuina vt gratia fortem
Et veræ fidei te velit esse basin.
Iam regina vale, & sicut nos spes tenet vna,
Quod vero inducto, perditus error erit:
Sic quóq; speramus quòd eris regina benigna
Nobis per regni tempora longa tui.

Thus the quænes highnesse passed through the citie, which without anie forreigne person, of it selfe beautified it selfe, and receiued hir grace at all places as hath bæne before mentioned, with most tender obedience and loue, due to so gratious a quæne and soueraigne a ladie. And hir grace likewise of hir side in all hir graces passage, shewed hir selfe generallie an image of a worthie ladie and gouernour. But priuatlie these especiall points were noted in hir grace, as signes of a most princelike courage, whereby hir louing subiects maie ground a sure hope for the rest of hir gratious doings hereafter.

Certein notes of the quænes ria esties great mercie,

About the nether end of Cornehill toward Cheape, one of the knights about hir grace had espied an ancient citizen, which wept, and turned his head backe, and therewith said this gentleman; Wonder is an alderman (for so he tearmed him) which wæpeth, and turneth his face backeward; how maie it be interpreted that he so doth, for sorrow, or for gladnesse? The quæns maiestie heard him, and said, I warrant you it is for gladnesse. A gratious interpretation of a noble courage, which would turne the doubtfull to the best. And yet it was well knowne, that as hir grace did confirme the same, the parties cheare was moued for verie pure gladnesse for the sight of hir maiesties person, at the beholding whereof he toke such comfort, that with teares he expressed the same.

clemencie, and wisdome vse in this passa

Of one that wept for ioy and inward gladnesse.

In Cheape side hir grace smiled, and being thereof demanded the cause, answered, for that she heard one saie; Remember old king Henrie the eight. A naturall child, which at the verie remembrance of hir fathers name, toke so great a ioy, that all men maie well thinke, that as she reioised at his name whome this realme doth hold of so worthie memorie: so in hir doings she will resemble the same.

When the cities charge without partialitie, and onelie the citie was mentioned vnto hir grace, shée said it should not be forgotten. Which saieng might moue all naturall Englishmen hartilie to shew due obedience and intiernesse to their so good a quæne, which will in no point forget anie parcell of dutie louinglie shewed vnto hir. The answer which hir grace made vnto maister recorder of London, as the hearers know it to be true, & with melting hearts heard the same: so maie the reader thereof conceiue what kind of stomach and courage pronounced the same.

The humblinesse of the quéene in receiuing verie trifles of hir poore subiects thankefullie.

What more famous thing do we read in ancient histories of old time, than that mightie princes haue gentlie receiued presents offered them by base and low personages. If that be to be wondered at (as it is passinglie) let me sée anie writer that in anie princes life is able to recount so manie presidents of this vertue, as hir grace shewed in that one passage thorough the citie.

How manie nosegaies did hir grace receiue at poore womens hands? How oftentimes staid she hir chariot, when she saw anie simple bodie offer to speake to hir grace? A branch of rosemarie giuen hir grace with a supplication by a poore woman about Flæt bridge, was séene in hir chariot till hir grace came to Westminster, not without the maruellous wondering of such as knew the presenter, and noted the quæns most gratious receiuing and kæping the same. What hope the poore and nédie maie loke for at hir graces hand, she as in all hir tournie continuallie, so in hir hearkening to the poore children of Christs hospitall * with eies cast vp into heauen, did fullie declare: as that neither the wealthier estate could stand without consideration had to the pouertie, neither the pouertie be dulie considered, vnlesse they were remembred, as commended vnto vs by Gods owne mouth.

*where hir mind then was no doubt in heauen vpon God.

As at hir first entrance she as it were declared hir selfe prepared to passe through a citie that most intierlie loued hir: so she at hir last departing as it were bound hir selfe by promise, to continue good ladie and gouernor vnto that citie, which by outward declaration did open their loue vnto their so louing and noble prince, in such wise, as she hir selfe wondered thereat. But because princes be set in their seat by Gods appointing, and therefore they must first and chiefelie tender the glorie of him, from whom their glorie issueth: it is to be noted in hir grace, that for somuch as God hath so wonderfullie placed hir in the seat of gouernement ouer this realme, she in all hir doings doth shew hir selfe most mindfull of his goodnesse & mercie shewed vnto hir. And among all other, two principall signes thereof were noted in this passage. First in the tower, where hir grace before she entred hir chariot, lifted vp hir eies to heauen, and said as followeth.

The quéns maiestie is forgetfull to glorifie God who glorifie hir.

The

The praier of queene Elisabeth as *she went to hir coronation.*

O Lord almightie and euerlasting God, I giue thee most hartie thanks, that thou hast bene so mercifull vnto me, as to spare me to behold this ioifull daie. And I acknowledge that thou hast delt as wonderfullie and as mercifullie with me, as thou diddest with thy true and faithfull seruant Daniell thy prophet; whome thou deliueredst out of the den from the crueltie of the greedie and raging lions: euen so was I ouerwhelmed, and onlie by thee deliuered. To thee therefore onlie be thankes, honor, and praise, for euer: Amen.

The second was the receiuing of the bible at the little conduit in Cheape. For when hir grace had learned that the bible in English should there be offered: she thanked the citie therefore, promised the reading thereof most diligentlie, and incontinent commanded that it should be brought. At the receipt whereof, how reuerendlie did she with both hir hands take it, kisse it, and late it vpon hir brest, to the great comfort of the lokers on? God will vndoubtedlie preserue so worthie a prince, which at his honor so reuerendlie taketh hir beginning. For this saieng is true, and written in the booke of truth; He that first seeketh the kingdome of God, shall haue all other things cast vnto him. Now therefore all English hearts, and hir naturall people must needs praise Gods mercie, which hath sent them so worthie a prince, and praie for hir graces long continuance amongst vs. On sundaie the fiue and twentith of Januarie, hir maiestie was with great solemnitie crowned at Westminster in the abbeie church there, by doctor Oglethorpe bishop of Carleill. She dined in Westminster hall, which was richlie hong, and euerie thing ordered in such roiall maner, as to such a regall and most solemne feast apperteined.

In the meane time, whilest hir grace sat at dinner, sir Edward Dimmocke knight, hir champion by office, came riding into the hall in faire complet armor, mounted vpon a beautifull courser, richlie trapped in cloth of gold, entred the hall, and in the midst thereof cast downe his gantlet: with offer to fight with him in hir quarell, that should denie hir to be the righteous and lawfull queene of this realme. The queene taking a cup of gold full of wine, dranke to him thereof, and sent it to him for his fee togither with the couer.

Now after this, at the seruing vp of the wafers; the lord maior of London went to the cupbord, and filling a cup of gold with ipocrasse, bare it to the queene: and kneeling before hir toke the assaie, and the receiuing it of him, and drinking of it, gaue the cup with the couer vnto the said lord maior for his fee, which cup and couer weied sixteene ounces Troie weight. Finallie, this feast being celebrated with all roiall ceremonies, and high solemnities, due and in like cases accustomed, toke end with great ioy and contentation to all the beholders. On wednesdaie the fiue and twentith of Januarie the parlement began, the queenes maiestie riding in hir parlement robes, from hir palace of Whitehall, vnto the abbeie church of Westminster, with the lords spirituall and temporall, attending hir likewise in their parlement robes. Doctor Cox sometime schoolemaister to king Edward the first, and now latelie returned from the parties of beyond the seas, where

As religious a princesse is queene Elisabeth as euer she was.

Hir coronation at westminster.

Sir Edward Dimmocke knight hir champion by office.

The lord maior of London seruieth the queene of ipocrasse.

parlement.

during the daies of queene Marie he had liued as a banished man, preached now before the estates there assembled in the beginning of the said parlement. In this parlement, the first fruits and tenths were restored to the crowne, & also the supreame gouernment ouer the state ecclesiasticall, which queene Marie had giuen to the pope. Likewise the booke of common praier and administration of the sacraments in our mother tong was restored. John Stow.

The first fruits and tenths restored to the crowne.

¶ But before this good worke was agreed vpon, there was much debating about matters touching religion, and great studie on both parties imploied, the one to reteine still, the other to impugne the doctrine and faction which before in queene Maries time had beene established. But speciallie here is to be noted, that though there lacked no industrie on the papists side, to hold fast that which they most cruellie from time to time had studied, and by all meanes practised to come by: yet notwithstanding, such was the prouidence of God at that time, that for lacke of the other bishops, whom the Lord had taken awaie by death a little before, the residue that there were left could do the lesse: and in verie deed, God be praised therefore, did nothing at all in effect; although yet notwithstanding there lacked in them neither will nor labor to do what they could, if their cruell abilities there might haue serued. But namelie amongst all others, not onelie the industrious courage of doctor Storie, but also his words in this parlement are worthie to be knowne of posteritie, who like a stout and furious champion of the popes side, to declare himselfe how lustie he was, and what he had and would do in his maisters quarell, shamed not openlie in the said parlement house to burst out into such impudent sort of words, as was wonder to all good eares to heare, and no lesse worthie of histor ie. Abr. Fl. ex Iohan. Foxi martyrologio.

Doctor Storie impudent and sawcie.

The summe of which his shameles talke was vttered to this effect. First beginning with himselfe, he declared, that whereas he was noted commonlie abroad, and much complained of, to haue beene a great doer, & a setter forth of such religion, orders, & procedings, as of his late souereigne that dead is queene Marie were set forth in this relme, he denied nothing the same: protesting moreouer that he had done nothing therein, but that both his conscience did lead him thereunto, and also his commission did as well then command him, as now also doth discharge him for the same: being no lesse readie now also to do the like, and more, in case he by this queene were authorised likewise, and commanded thereunto. Wherefore as I see (saith he) nothing to be ashamed of; so lesse I see to be sorie for: but rather said that he was sorie for this, because he had done no more than he did, and that in executing those lawes, they had not beene more vehement & seuere. Wherein he said, there was no default in him, but in them, whome he both oft and earnestlie had exhorted to the same; being therefore not a little grieued with them, for that they labored onelie about the yong and little sprigs and twigs, while they should haue stroken at the rot, and cleane haue roted it out: &c. And concerning his persecuting and burning them, he denied not, but that he was once at the burning of an earewig (for so he termed it) at Vrbridge, where he tost a fagot at his face as he was singing psalmes, and set a wine bush of thorns vnder his feet, a little to pricke him, with manie other words of like effect. In the which words he named moreouer sir Philip Hobbie, and an other knight of Kent, with such other of the richer and higher degree, whome his counsell was to plucke at, & to bring them vnder *Coram*; wherein (said he) if they had followed my aduise, then had they done well and wiselie. This or much like

The words of doctor Storie in the parlement house.

This martyr burnt at Vrbridge was maister Denleie.

was the effect of the shamelesse and tyrannicall excuse of himselfe, more meete to speake with the voice of a beast, than of a man. Although in this parlement some diuersitie there was of iudgement and opinion betweene parties: yet notwithstanding through the mercifull goodnesse of the Lord, the true cause of the gospell had the vpper hand, the papists hope was frustrat, and their rage abated: the order and proceedings of king Edwards time concerning religion was reuiued againe, the supremasie of the pope abolished, the articles and bloudie statutes of queene Marie repealed: briefly, the furious firebrands of cruell persecution, which had consumed so manie poore mens bodies, were now extinct and quenched.]

A motion made in the parlement house to the queene touching marriage, &c.

Moreouer in the time of this parlement, a motion was made by the common house, that the queenes maiestie might be sued vnto, to grant hir graces licence to the speaker, knights, citizens & burgesses, to haue accesse vnto hir graces presence: to declare vnto hir matter of great importance, concerning the state of this hir graces realme. The which petition being moued to hir grace, the most honorablie agreed and consented thereunto, and assigned a date of hearing. When the date came, the speaker & common house resorted vnto hir graces palace at Westminster called the White hall. And in the great gallerie there, hir grace most honorablie shewed hir selfe readie to heare their motion and petition. And when the speaker had solemnlie and eloquentlie set forth the message (the principall matter wherof most specially was to moue hir grace to marriage) whereby (to all our comforts) we might inioie (as Gods pleasure should be) the roiall issue of hir bodie to reigne ouer vs, &c. The queenes maiestie after a little pause made this answer following, as neere as I could beare the same awaie (saith Grafton.)

The queenes answer to the former motion of the parlement house.

Rich. Grafton.

AS I haue good cause, so doo I giue to you my hartie thanks for the good zeale and care that you seeme to haue as well toward me, as to the whole state of your countrie. Your petition I gather to be grounded on three causes, and mine answer to the same shall consist in two parts. And for the first I saie vnto you, that from my years of vnderstanding, knowing my selfe a seruitor of almightie God, I chose this kind of life, in which I doo yet liue, as a life most acceptable vnto him, wherin I thought I could best serue him, and with most quietnesse doo my duetie vnto him. From which my choise, if either ambition of high estate offered vnto me by marriages (whereof I haue records in this presence) the displeasure of the prince, the eschewing the danger of mine enimies, or the auoiding the perill of death (whose messenger the princes indignation was no little time continuallie present before mine eies, by whose meanes if I knew or doo iustlie suspect, I will not now vtter them, or if the whole cause were my sister hir selfe, I will not now charge the dead) could haue drawen or dissuaded me, I had not now remained in this virgins estate wherein you see me. But so constant haue I alwaies continued in this my determination (that although my words and youth maie seeme to some hardlie to agree togither) yet it is true, that to this daie I stand free from anie other meaning, that either I haue had in times past, or haue at this present. In which state and trade of liuing wherewith I am so throughlie acquainted, God hath so hitherto preserued me, and hath so watchfull an eie vpon me, and so hath guided me and led me by the hand, as my full trust is, he will not suffer me to go alone. The maner of your petition I doo like, and take in good part: for it is simple, and conteineth no limitation of place or person. If it had beene otherwise, I must haue misliked it verie much, and thought in you a verie great presumption, being vnfit and altogither vnmeet to require them that may command, or those appoint whose parts are to desire, or such to bind and limit whose duties are to obeie; or to take vpon you to draw my loue to your likings, or to frame my will to your fansies. A guerdon constreined, and a gift freelie giuen can neuer agree. Neuertheless, if anie of you be in suspect, that whensoeuer it maie please God to incline my hart to that kind of life, my meaning is to doo or determine anie thing wherwith the realme maie haue iust cause to be discontented; put that out of your heads. For I assure you (what credence my assurance maie haue with you I can not tell, but what credit it shall deserue to haue, the sequele shall declare) I will neuer in that matter conclude anie thing that shall be preiudiciall vnto the realme. For the weale and good safetie whereof, as a good mother of my countrie, I will neuer shun to spend my life. And whomsoeuer my choise maie light vpon, he shall be as carefull for the preseruation of the realme as you, I will not saie as my selfe: for I cannot so certeinlie promise of another, as I doo surelie know of my selfe, but as anie other can be. And albeit it doth please almightie God to continue me still in this mind, to liue out of the state of marriage: it is not to be feared, but he will so worke in my hart, and in your wisdoms, that as good prouision may be made in conuenient time, wherby the realme shall not remaine destitute of an heire that may be a fit gouernor, and peraduenture more beneficiall to the realme than such of spring as may come of me. For though I be neuer so carefull for your well doings, and mind euer so to be: yet may mine issue grow out of kind and become vngratious. And for me it shall be sufficient, that a marble stone declare that a queene, hauing reigned such a time, liued and died a virgine. To make an end, I take your comming to me in good part, and giue vnto you ecksons my hartie thanks, more yet for your zeale, good will, and good meaning, than for your message and petition.

A most excellent answer of a most excellent princesse.

The queenes maiestie esteemeth no life so glorious as to serue God.

The queenes maiestie hath no mind to marrie.

The queenes words touching an heir roiall the last part of their motion.

Manie that for feare of persecution in queene Maries daies were fled the realme, and liued in voluntarie exile, now that all persecution ceased by the gratious clemencie of this noble princesse queene Elisabeth, they returned with all conuenient speed home into their natiue countrie, giuing to almightie God most humble thanks for that his mercifull deliuerance, in sending them a gouernor, that not onelie permitted libertie of conscience, but also was readie to aduance religion, and command free exercise of common prater, preaching, and administration of the sacraments, according to the right institution of the primitiue churches. Fridaie the seauentéenth of Februarie, one of maister Hunnings seruants (that was also one of the takers of fresh fish for the prouision of the queenes house) was set on the pillorie in Cheapside in the fish market ouer against the kings head, hauing a bawdrike of smelts hanging about his necke, with a paper on his forehead written: For buieng smelts for twelue pence the hundred, and selling them againe for ten pence the quarter. He stood so likewise on the eightéenth and the twentith daie of the same moneth, euerie one of those three daies from nine of the clocke till twelue. The last daie he should haue had one of his eares slit, if

The returne of the protestants from exile.

One set on the pillorie; and what punishment the queene by hir owne mouth appointed him.

if by great sute made to the councell by the lord maior of London, he had not bene pardoned and released out of prison. This penance was assigned to him by the quenes owne appointment, when to hir grace his trespasse was reuealed. Whereby she gaue a tast to the people of a zealous mind to haue iustice dulie ministred, and faults accordinglie punished, namelie of those which vnder pretense of hir graces authoritie should go about to wrong and oppresse hir louing subiects.

Preachers at Spittle.

This yere in the Easter holidaies on the mondaie preached at the Spittle doctor Bill, on the tuesdaie doctor Cox, & on the wednesdaie doctor Horne: the first was hir maiesties chapleine, the other two had remained at Geneua, and in other places beyond the seas all quene Maries time. On lowsundaie maister Samson made the rehearsall sermon: but when the lord maior and aldermen came to their places in Paules churchyard, the pulpit doore was locked, & the kete could not be heard of. Whervpon the lord maior sent for a smith to open the locke, which was done; and when the preacher should enter the place, it was found verie filthie and vncleanlie. Moreouer, the verger that had the custodie of the kete, which opened the doore of the place where the prelats and other vse to stand at the sermon time, would not open the doore; but the gentlemen with a forme brake it open, and so came in to heare the sermon. This disorder chanced by reason that since Christmasse last past there was not a sermon preached at Paules crosse, by meanes of an inhibition sent from the councell vnto the bishop of London, that he should admit no preacher, because of the controuersie betwixt the bishops and other of the clergie that were now returned into the realme, from the parties of beyond the seas.

The pulpit at Paules crosse all bemied and rastlie.

A conference appointed concerning religion.

The last of March the parlement yet continuing, was a conference begun at Westminster concerning certeine articles of religion betwixt the bishops and other of the clergie on the one part, and certeine learned preachers of whome some had bene in dignitie in the church of England before that time on the other part. The declaration of the proceeding therin, and the cause of the breaking vp of the same conference by default and contempt of certeine bishops, parties of the said conference was published in a little treatise, and imprinted by Richard Iug and John Cawod, printers to the quenes maiestie, as here followeth. The quenes most excellent maiestie, hauing heard of diuersitie of opinions in certeine matters of religion amongst sundrie of hir louing subiects, and being verie desirous to haue the same reduced to some godlie & christian concord, thought it best by the aduise of the lords, and other of hir priuie councell, as well for the satisfaction of persons doubtfull, as also for the knowlege of the verie truth in certeine matter of difference, to haue a conuenient chosen number of the best learned of either part, & to confer togither their opinions and reasons, and thereby to come to some good and charitable agreement.

The best learned of ech side to be chosen by this conference.

And hervpon by hir maiesties commandement certeine of hir priuie councell declared this purpose to the archbishop of Yorke (being also one of the same priuie councell) & required him that he would impart the same to some of the bishops, and to make choise of eight, nine, or ten of them: and that there should be the like number named of the other part: and further also declared to him (as then was supposed) what the matters should be. And as for the time, it was thought meet to be as soone as possible might be agreed vpon. And then after certeine daies past, it was signified by the said archbishop, that there was appointed by such of the bishops, to whome he had imparted this matter, eight persons, that is to saie, foure bishops, and foure doctors, who were content at the quenes maiesties commandement to shew their opinions; and (as he termed it) render account of their faith in those matters which were mentioned, and that spectallie in writing, although he said they thought the same so determined, as there was no cause to dispute vpon them.

The persons chosen & the propositions so doo hereafter follow.

It was hervpon fullie resolued by the quenes maiestie, with the aduise aforesaid, that according to their desire, it should be in writing on both parts, for auoiding of much altercation in words; and that the said bishops should, bicause they were in authoritie and degree superiors, first declare their minds and opinions in the matter, with their reasons in writing: and the other number being also eight men of good degree in schooles, and some hauing bene in dignitie in the church of England, if they had anie thing to saie to the contrarie, should the same daie declare their opinions in like manner. And so ech of them should deliuer their writings to the other, to be considered what were to be improued therein, and the same to declare againe in writing at some other conuenient daie, and the like order to be kept in all the rest of the matters. All this was fullie agreed vpon with the archbishop of Yorke, and also signified to both parties. And immediatlie hervpon, diuerse of the nobilitie and states of the realme, vnderstanding that such a meeting and conference should be, and that in certeine matters, whervpon (the court of parlement consequentlie following) some lawes might be grounded: they made earnest meanes to hir maiestie, that the parties of this conference might put and read their assertions in the English tong, and that in the presence of them of the nobilitie, and others of the parlement house, for the better satisfaction and inabling of their owne iudgements, to treat and conclude of such lawes as might depend hervpon.

Order taken for quiet conference, and regard had of the bishops according to their dignitie.

This also being thought verie reasonable, was signified to both parties, and so fullie agreed vpon, and the daie appointed for the first meeting to be the fridaie in the forenoone, being the last of March at Westminster church, where both for good order, and for honour of the conference, by the quenes maiesties commandement, the lords and others of the priuie councell were present, and a great part of the nobilitie also. And notwithstanding the former order appointed, and consented vnto by both parts, yet the bishop of Winchester and his colleagues, alleging that they had mistaken that their assertions and reasons should be written, and so onelie recited out of the booke, said their booke was not readie then written: but they were prouided to argue and dispute, and therefore would for that time repeat in speech that which they had to saie vnto the first proposition. This variation from the order, and spectallie from that which themselues had by the said archbishop in writing before required, adding thereto the reason of the apostle, that to contend with words is profitable to nothing, but to subuersion of the hearer, seemed vnto the quenes maiesties councell somewhat strange: & yet was it permitted without anie great reprehension, bicause they excused themselues with mistaking the order, and agreed that they would not faile but put it in writing; and according to the former order, deliuer it to the other part. And so the said bishop of Winchester and his colleagues appointed doctor Cole deane of Paules, to be the vtterer of their minds, who partlie by speech onelie, and partlie by reading of authorities written, and at certeine times being informed of his colleagues what to saie, made a declaration of their meanings, & their reasons to their first proposition. Which being ended, they were asked by the priuie councell, if anie of them

The daie for the first meeting of this conference appointed.

The bishop of winchesters waie of proceeding misliked but yet the same followed notwithstanding the contrarie prouided.

The maner of their first entrance into this conference.

them had anie more to be said: and they said, No. So as then the other part was licenced to shew their minds, which they did according to the first order, exhibiting all that which they meant to be propounded in a booke written, which after a praier & invocation made most humblie to almightie God, for the indowing of them with his holie spirit, and a protestation also to stand to the doctrine of the catholike church, builded upon the scriptures, and the doctrine of the prophets and the apostles, was distinctlie read by one Robert Horne bachellor in divinitie, late deane of Duresme.

*Afterwards bishop of Winchester.

And the same being ended with some likelihood, as it seemed that the same was much allowable to the audience: certeine of the bishops began to saie contrarie to their former answer, that they had now much more to saie to this matter. Wherein although they might have bene well reprehended for such maner of cauillation, yet for avoiding of any mistaking of orders in this colloquie or conference, and for that they should utter all that which they had to saie: it was both ordered, and thus openlie agreed upon of both parts in the full audience, that upon the mondaie following, the bishops should bring their minds and reasons in writing to the second assertion, and the last also if they could, and first read the same, and that done, the other part should bring likewise theirs to the same. And being read, ech of them should deliuer to other the same writings. And in the meane time the bishops should put in writing, not onelie all that which doctor Cole had that daie uttered: but all such other matters as they anie otherwise could thinke of for the same: and as soone as they might possiblie, to send the same booke touching that first assertion to the other part, and they should receiue of them that writing which master Horne had there read that daie, and upon mondaie it should be agreed what daie they should exhibit their answers touching the first proposition.

Another order taken for the next meeting to confer.

Thus both parts assented thereto, and the assemblie quietlie dismissed. And therefore upon mondaie, the like assemblie began againe at the place & houre appointed: and there (upon what finister or disordered meaning is not yet fullie knowne, though in some part it be understanded) the bishop of Winchester and his colleagues, and especiallie Lincolne, refused to exhibit or read, according to the former notorious order on fridaie, that which they had prepared for the second assertion. And thereupon by the lord keeper of the great seale, they being first gentlie and favourablie required to keepe the order appointed; and that taking no place, being secondlie as it behoued, pressed with more earnest request: they neither regarding the authoritie of that place, nor their owne reputation, nor the credit of the cause, utterlie refused that to do. And finallie being againe particularlie euerie of them apart, distinctlie by name, required to understand their opinions therein: they all sauing one (which was the abbat of Westminster, hauing some more consideration of order and his dutie of obedience than the other) utterlie and plainelie denied to haue their booke read, some of them more earnestlie than others, and some other more vndiscreetlie and vnreuerentlie than others.

Another assemblie on the mondaie according to appointment.

The stubburnesse of the aduerse part an occasion to dissolue this assemblie.

Whereupon giuing such example of disorder, stubbornesse and selfewill, as hath not bene seene and suffered in such an honourable assemblie, being of the two estates of this realme, the nobilitie and the commons, besides the presence of the quenes maiesties most honourable priuie councell, the same assemblie was dismissed, and the godlie and most christian purpose of the quens maiestie made frustrate. And afterwards for the contempt so notorious lie made, the bishops of Winchester and Lincolne, hauing most obstinatelie both disobeied common authoritie, and varied manifestlie from their owne order, and specially Lincolne (who shewed more follie than the other) were condignelie committed to the tower of London, and the rest (sauing the abbat of Westminster) stood bound to make dailie their personall appearance before the councell, and not to depart the citie of London and Westminster, untill further order were taken with them for their disobedience and contempt.

The three propositions whereupon *conference was determined to haue* beene at Westminster.

1 It is against the word of GOD, and the custome of the ancient church, to vse a tong vnknowne to the people, in common praier, and the administration of the sacraments.

2 Euerie church hath authoritie to appoint, take awaie, and change ceremonies and ecclesiasticall rites: so the same bee to edification.

3 It cannot be proued by the word of God, that there is in the masse offered vp a sacrifice propitiatorie for the quicke and the dead.

The names of such as had conference in the propositions aforesaid.

The B. of Winchester.	D. Scorie B. of Chiche.
The bishop of Lichfield.	Doctor Cox.
The bishop of Chester.	Master Whitehed.
The bishop of Caerleill.	Master Grindall.
The bishop of Lincolne.	Master Horne.
Doctor Cole.	Master doctor Sands.
Doctor Harpesfield.	Master Gest.
Doctor Langdall.	Master Elmer.
Doctor Chedsete.	Master Jewell.

The bishops and doctors sat on the one side of the quere at a table for them prepared, & the other learned men sat at another table on the other side of the same quere. And at the vpper end thereof at an other table sat the quenes maiesties councell, desirous to haue seene some good conclusion of the said conference, although (as ye may perceiue by that which is aboue recited) it came to small effect. In this meane time, a treatie of peace, which had bene in hand the last yeare, first at Lisle, and after at the abbeie of Tercampe, a three leagues from Dorlens, betwixt the two kings of Spaine and France, was now renewed againe, and the deputies were appointed to meet at *Chasteau Cambresi*, a six leagues distant from Cambraie. For the king of Spaine, the duke of Alua, the prince of Orange, the bishop of Arras, Rigomes de Silua earle of Mellito, monsieur Viglius Zwichem, knight and president of the priuie councell in the low countries, who neuertheless came not, bicause he was letted by sicknesse. For the French king there came the cardinall of Lorraine the conestable, the marshall of saint Andrew, the bishop of Orleans, and Claude de Aubespine, the said kings secretarie. For the quene of England, the bishop of Elie, the lord William Howard baron of Effingham lord chamberleine to the said quene, doctor Nicholas Wotton deane of Canterburie and Yorke.

A treatie for peace betwixt the kings of Spaine and France.

The deputies or commissioners appointed for the princes.

For the duke of Sauoie, there were the earle of Stropiana, & the president of Asti. And as a meane or mediatrix betweene the parties, there was Christierna dutchesse of Lorraine, with hir sonne the yong duke, which dutchesse, as well here, as before at Tercampe,

campe, trauelled most earnestlie to doo good betwixt the parties, and to bring them to a finall accord, whose endeuor therein was to the great good liking & contentation of all the said parties. After that this treatie had continued a long time, and now rested nothing to staie them frō concluding a generall peace, but onelie the article touching Calis, at length that matter was also accorded by a speciall treatie betwixt the quēnes maiestie of England, & the French king, Guido Caualcanti a gentleman of Florence being the meane to bring the same to effect. The substance of which articles was, that Calis should rest in the Frenchmens hands, for the terme of eight yeares, and at the end of that terme, they couenanted to render the same: or else for default, to forfeit vnto the quēnes highnesse the summe of fiue hundred thousand crownes; and for suertie hereof, to deliuer foure hostages, such as hir maiestie should thinke sufficient. And in case the towne were not deliuered at the end of the said eight yeares, though the monie were paid according to the couenants: yet notwithstanding the right and title to the said towne and countrie adioining, should alwaies remaine and be reserued vnto the crowne and realme of England. It was further concluded also, that a peace should be firmed and had betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland, such fortresses to be rased as had bēn built and made by the Scots and French on the borders towards England, as Haimouth and others.

Ludouico Guicciardine. The articles of the peace betwixt the quēnes maiestie and the French king.

Sir John Mason knight, secretarie for the French tong, was sent ouer in post with instructions vnto the English commissioners, after whose comming, within two or three daies, a generall peace was concluded betwixt all the parties, the articles thereof not touching England, we haue of purpose omitted. But now after the conclusion of this peace, the said sir John Mason returned in post with the same: and so thereupon, the seuenth of Aprill, the said peace was proclamed; to wit, betwixt the quēnes maiestie on the one part, and the French king on the other, their realmes, dominions, and subiects; and likewise betwixt hir said maiestie and the king Dolphin and quēne of Scots his wife, their realmes, dominions, and subiects. This proclamation was made by Garter Norreie king at armes, accompanied with three other heralds, & fiue trumpettors: the lord maior of London & the aldermen in their scarlet gowns being also present, & riding in companie of the said heralds.

Sir John Mason knight.

A generall peace betwixt the kings of France and Spaine.

The peace proclamed.

The same time also was another proclamation made vnder the quēnes hand in writing, inhibiting, that from thenceforth no plaies nor interludes should be exercised, till Allhallowes tide next insuing. Vpon saturdaie the two and twentith of Aprill, the lord Wentworth, late deputie of Calis, was arreigned at Westminster, vpon an indictment of treason found against him, in the late quēne Maries daies, for the losse of Calis: but he was acquited by his peeres, the lord marquesse of Northampton sitting that daie as chefe steward of England, vnder the cloth of estate. The eight of Maie, the parlement brake vp; in which parlement, beside other things before recited, concluded, and passed in the same; a subsidie was granted to the quēnes highnesse, of two shillings eight pence the pound of moueable goods, and foure shillings of lands, to be paid at two seuerall paiments, of euerie person spirituall and temporall, towards the better furnishing of hir maiestie with monie, for the necessarie charges which she was presentlie occasioned to sustein, finding the treasure of the realme greatlie consumed, and the reuenues of the crowne sore diminished, and the same crowne much indebted, by taking vp of notable summes of monie by waie of loane vpon interest, as well in the daies of hir brother K. Edward, as hir sister quēne Marie. The fourteenth of Maie being Whitsundaie, the seruice in churches began according to the booke of cōmon praier, set forth and established in this last parlement, correspondent to that which was vsed in the daies of hir brother king Edward. Vpon sundaie the second of Julie, the citizens of London set forth a muster before the quēnes maiestie at Greenwich in the parke there, of the number of 1400 men, whereof 800 were pikes, armed in fine corselets, foure hundred shot in shirts of male, with morians, & two hundred halbarders armed in Almaine riuets: these were furnished forth by the crafts and companies of the citie. To euerie hundred two willers were assigned, richlie appointed and apparelled for the purpose. There were also twelue wardens of the best companies mounted on horsebacke in coats of blacke veluet, to conduct them, with drums and fifes, and sir ensignes, all in ierkins of white sattin of Bridges, cut and lined with blacke sarsenet, and caps, hosen, and scarfs according. The sergeant Maior, capteine Constable, and capteine Sanders, brought them in order before the quēnes presence, placing them in battell arraie, euen as they should haue fought; so as the shew was verie faire, the emperours and the French kings ambassadors being present.

Plaies and interludes forbidden for time.

The lord Wentworth reigned and equited.

A subsidie granted of moueables and vnmoueables.

John Stow. A muster at Greenwich by the citizens of London in presence of the quēne.

In this moneth also, the archbishop of Yorke, the bishops of Elie, London, and others, to the number of thirteene or foureteene, being called before the quēnes councell, and refusing to receiue the oth touching hir maiesties supremasie, and other articles, were depriued from their bishopricks: in whose roomes and places, first for cardinall Pole, succeeded doctor Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canturburie. In the place of Heth, succeeded doctor Young. In stead of Boner, Edmund Grindall was bishop of London. For Hopton, Thurlbie, Cunstall, Pates, Christoferson, Peto, Coats, Morgan, Feasie, White, Oglethorpe, &c: were placed doctor John Parkhurst in Norwich, D. Cox in Elie, Jewell in Salisburie, Pilkenton in Duresme, doctor Sands in Worcester, master Downam in Westchester, Bentam in Couentrie and Lichfield, Dauid in S. Danies, Allie in Exceter, Horne in Winchester, Scorie in Hereford, Best in Carleill, Bullingham in Lincolne, Scamler in Peterburie, Bartlet in Bath, Gest in Rochester, Barlow in Chichester, &c. In like maner, were diuerse deans, archdeacons, parsons, & vicars, remoued from their benefices, and some of them committed to prison in the Tower, Fleet, Marshalsea, and kings bench.

Bishops depriued and others succeeding. Iohn Fox.

Moreouer, about the same time were commissioners appointed to visit in euerie dioceese within the relme, for the establishment of religion, according to the order appointed by act and statute, passed and confirmed in the last parlement. For London were appointed sir Richard Sackuill knight, Robert Horne doctor of diuinitie, doctor Huic a ciuilian, and maister Sauage; who calling before them diuerse persons of euerie parish, sware them to inquire and make presentment accordinglie, vpon certeine instructions drawne and deuised, for the better accomplishment and execution of that which they had in charge. Furthermore, about the same time, by vertue of an act established in parlement, all such religious houses as were againe erected and set vp, were now suppressed, as the abbeies of Westminster, the houses of the nuns and brethren of the Sion and Shene, the blacke friers of Grenwich, &c. And on the twelfe of August being saturdaie, the high altar in Paules church, with the rood & the images of Marie and John, standing in the rood lofft, were taken downe, & the prebendaries and petie canons commanded to weare no more their graie amises, but to vse onelie a surplice in seruice time. This was done by commandement

Commissioners sent abrode for establishing of religion.

Religious houses suppressed.

Images taken downe and burned in the streats.

dement of doctor Grindall, newlie elect bishop of London, doctor Mate, then also newlie elected deane of Paules, and other the commissioners then appointed. Also on the euen of saint Bartholomew, the day and morrow after, were burned in Paules churchyard, Cheapeside, and diuerse other places of the citie of London, all the rods and other images of churches: and in some places, the copes, vestiments, and altar clothes, bookes, banners, sepulchers, and rood lofts, were likewise committed to the fier, and so consumed to ashes.

Diuerse popish reliks consumed to ashes.

¶ The fift of September about midnight, fell a great tempest at London, in the end wherof, a great lightning, with a terrible clap of thunder strake the spire (being stone) of the steeple of Alhallowes church in Bredstreet, about a ten foot beneath the top, out of the which fell a stone that slue a dog, and ouerthrew a man plaieng with the same dog, and the spire of the steeple was so perished, that not long after the same was taken downe with lesse charges to the parish, than the reparing would haue cost. And at the same instant, by the same tempest, one of the southdores of S. Dionise church in Fenchurchstreet, with the dore of the vestrie of the same church, were both striken through and broken.]

Ex I. S. 1113. Churches in London striken & broken by tempest.

Upon Friday the eight of September, was kept in Paules church of London a solemne obsequie for Henrie, the second of that name, king of France, who departed this life, about the tenth of Julie last past, of a wound receiued the 29 of June, in running at tilt in a solemne iusts holden at Paris, in honor of the marriage celebrated betwixt his sister the ladie Margaret of France, and Philibert duke of Sauoie. He was striken on the viser with a lance, as he ran against the counte de Montgomerie: the splits entring by the sight of his headpeece, & persing through his eie into his head, so perished his braine, that there was no meane to saue his life.

An obsequie for the French king, Henrie the second, in whose time Calis was lost.

The obsequie for him was kept in verie solemne wise, with a rich hearse, made like an imperiall crowne, sustained with great pillers, and couered with blacke veluet, with a valence fringed with gold and richlie hanged with scutchions, pennons, and banners of the French kings armes, without anie lights. And on the beere was laid a rich pall of cloth of gold, with a coat armor of the armes of France, and a crest, with an imperiall crowne standing vpon the beere: doctor Parker archbishop of Canturburie elect, doctor Barlow bishop of Chichester elect, and doctor Scorie bishop of Hereford elect, executing at the dirge of this euening song in English, they sitting in the bishop of Londons seat, in the vper quere, in surplices, with doctors hods about their shoulders. The cheefe mourner was the marquesse of Winchester, lord treasuror, assisted with ten other lords mourners, with all the heralds in blacke, and their coat armours vppermost.

The maner of the obsequie

The cheefe mourners at this obsequie.

On the morrow being saturdaie, & ninth of September, a sermon was preached by doctor Scorie, in place of doctor Grindall bishop of London, who being appointed to preach that sermon, was letted by sickenesse. After the sermon, six of the lords mourners receiued the communion with the bishops, which bishops were in copes and surplices, onelie at the ministration of the said communion. Which being finished, there was a great dinner kept in the bishop of Londons palace by Paules, where the mourners apparelled them, and so ended the solemnitie of the said exequies. The bishops had blacke gownes giuen them, and eight blacke coats a peece for their seruants, at the queenes charges.

Six bishops receiue the communion.

¶ About the last of September, John duke of Finland, second sonne to Gustabus king of Swethen, was sent by his father to treat a marriage for his eldest brother Ericus, with the queenes maiestie of England: he arriued at Harwich in Esser, and was there honorablie receiued and interteined by the erle of Orford, which said earle, and the lord Robert Dudleie, with a goodlie band of gentlemen and yeomen, conueied him to London, where he was receiued of diuerse knights and gentlemen of the court, on the fift of October, and was with his traine of about the number of fiftie persons well horsed, conueied to the bishop of Winchesters place in Southworke, where he was lodged during his abode here, and remoued from thence two daies before Easter homewards, and sped on his message as may appeare by that which followeth, taken out of *Iohannes Lewenclaij comment. de bellis Moscorum.*

Ex I. S. pa. 1114. Embassador from Swethen then receiued into England.

Ericus king of Swethen, sonne of Gustabus late king of the said kingdome, hauing committed to prison his brother Iohn duke of Finland, whom a little before he had imploied into England on an ambassage to the queenes maiestie, whom he sued to for marriage, and had his suite reiected: againe the second time solicited hir maiestie in the same suite notwithstanding, to his great dishonor, and (as it fell out) his iust disgrace. He attempted the same matter with the yongest daughter of Philip Lantgraue Hanhessen, at whose hand (hauing the second time beene reiected of hir maiestie heere) the matter being knowne there, he also not onelie receiued a denial, but the ladie was by hir father bestowed vpon Adolfe duke Van Holst, vncle of Frederike king of Denmarke, then enimie of the said Ericus. Thus farre Iohannes Lewenclaij.]

The queenes maiestie sued vnto out of Denmarke about marriage.

Iohannes Lewenclaij.

¶ Cuthbert Tunstall was translated from London to Durham, after the death of cardinall Wolsele, of whome (besides that which Holinshed in this booke reporteth) I will saie a little, he being so reuerend a prelat; as the managing of the princes affaires by him doth well witnesse, and this present age can yet well remember. This man (being of a mild condition) was borne at Hachaford in Richmondshire, and (as Leland hath left in writing that he heard) the base sonne of one Tunstall an ancient gentleman: whose ancestors (as I haue read) came into England with the conquerour, attending on him as his barbar, for which cause he beareth in his armes three combes as a note to posteritie of the originall of his gentrie. Which bishop although he is supposed to haue beene base borne (as manie noble capteins and other the valiant persons of the world haue beene, whereof six hundred examples as hath the prouerbe might be produced) yet was he not base in lerning, eloquence, grauitie, and honorable calling both in spirituall & temporall affaires: both in seruice of the prince and in charge of his church. For (besides manie other offices that he exercised) he was maister of the rols: sundrie time ambassador to forreine princes, bishop of London, and from thence (by vertue of Clement the seuenth his bulles to K. Henrie the eight in the yeare 1530, the fiue & twentith of March) aduanced to the see of Durham, and (by the kings letters) elected thereunto the yeare before said. In the which function he behaued himselfe, as the worthinesse of the estate required, and as the doctrine of the church in those daies would permit; of which I meane not to intreat, neither of his fall or rising: but will onlie meddle with mere temporall accidents, as one that hath not beene accustomed to die his pen in the blood of mens consciences, nor in the opinions of religion.

Fr. Thin. Description and commendation of bishop Tunstall

The armes of Tunstall.

Tunstall bare office.

Wherefore to omit all such things, I saie of this bishop, that he was a man singularlie learned (& as Caius tearmeth him *Literatissimus*) in the Hebrue, Greeke, and Latine tongs; and did not onelie erect sumptuous buildings for the mind and inward man (in furnishing when he was bishop of London a li-

brarie

brarie in Cambridge, with manie notable both written and printed bookes: compiling also manie other bookes, aswell of diuinitie as of other sciences, wherof at this daie his arithmetike is of great estimation through Europe) but did also for the flesh & outward man build from the ground a most beautifull porch or gatehouse (with a chapell annexed thereunto) of faire stone in the castell of Durham, withall adding vnto the said castell certeine gates with iron bars and portcullices supported with strong walles of stone on each part for the more strength against the enimie: not forgetting to make a water-conduit for the ease of washing (and to serue the other offices in the house) on the left side of the entrance into the said castell. To which these sumptuous deeds (for they are verie heroicall) may be added the gatehouse built at Alnewike, and the tolbooth in the market of Durham all of stone, with the rest of the houses of office next vnto the hinder part of the said tolbooth, which afterward (with other great liberalities) he gaue to the citizens of Durham.

Buildings founded by Tunstall, &c.

Lastlie (at his owne charge) he new repared with stoneworke the third part of Tinbridge, which his predecessour Thomas Langleis recouered against the manor of Newcastell: and which, others his predecessors (as occasion was offered therefore) did from time to time most statelie repare. In the end about the latter reigne of Edward the first (being by Kinian or Ninian, Nexuile or Nenille, accused, for that he somewhat fauoured the Romane religion, and was not so forward in furthering of the gospell as that time required) he was for that cause deprived from his bishoprike, from all other ecclesiasticall gouernment, and committed to the tower: where he remained all the time of K. Edward. Afterward (by the benefit of quéene Marie) in the first yeare of hir reigne, he was reinuested into his sée of Durham, which he possessed all the time of hir gouernement: during which he was not so seuere an executor of the Romane canons against the protestants, as the other bishops of England were.

Tunstall deprived from his bishoprike.

Tunstall restored.

But she not continuing long (such are the inconstancies of our estates & vncerteinties of our troubles) he was againe (by the noble quéene Elisabeth) deprived of his bishoprike, after disputation and conference had at Westminster: in which he defended the Roman religion, in the first yeare of the said Elisabeth, about the truth of Christs gospell: and was committed to Matthew Parker bishop of Canturburie, who vsed him verie honourablie, both for the grauitie, learning and age of the said Tunstall. But he not long remaining vnder the ward of the said bishop, did shortlie after the eightéenth of Nouember in the yeare 1559 depart this life at Lambeth, where he first receiued his consecration, being a man of such age, as that he atteined to the number of fourescore & fiue years when he died. He was buried in the quére of the church of Lambeth, whose funerall sermon was done by Alexander Nowell, then (& now in the yeare 1586) deane of Poules. Who taking this theame to intreat vpon, Blessed are they which die in the Lord, did there deliuer such liberall & singular commendation of this man for his vertuous life, lerning, grauitie, and good seruice done to manie princes of England, that more could not be said of anie man, being spoken trulie. Such force hath vertue, that we ought to commend it euen in our enimies, ouer whose dead carcase in the said church of Lambeth is laid a faire marble, in which is ingrauen this epitaph of his, deuised by doctor Walter Haddon:

Tunstalls death.

Mat. Par. in act. epis. Cant. ca. Wil. Warham.

Anglia Cutbertum Tunstallum mœsta requirit,
Cuius summa domi laus erat atq; foris:
Rhetor, arithmeticus, iuris consultus & æqui,
Legatúsq; fuit, denique præsul erat.
Annorum satur, & magnorum plenus honorum,
Vertitur in cineres aureus iste senex.

This man was (as it should appeare in storie) full of contumacie and selfe will, vntractable he was and of nature rebellious. For saith maister Fox in the reigne of king Edward, being cast into the tower for his disobedience, where he kept his Christmasse three peares togither, more worthie of some other place without the tower, if it had pleased God otherwise not to haue meant a further plague to this realme by that man. Howbeit he was indued with such excellencie of lerning, and that of sundrie sutes, that of the learned he is noted for a mirror of that age wherein he liued: and albeit a papist, yet not depriuable of the praise which it pleased God to prouide for him (being an enimie vnto the truth, perhaps through feare as manie more) by those rare and manifold good meanes wherewith he was adorned. Insomuch that Leland, a man of a cleare iudgement and great insight to discerne betweene substantiallie and superficiallie learned, comparing this bishop Tunstall with profound Budeus, saith as followeth:

John Fox.

Collatio Budæi & Cuberti Tunstalli.

Quis te nostra canet Tunstalle Britannia laude?
An qua Budæum Gallia docta suum?
Candidus ille studet Græcam celebrare Mineruam,
Græcorum celebras tu monumenta patrum.
Ille colit veteres intento pectore leges,
Sunt study leges cura diserta tui.
Ille rudes asses docuit cognoscere partes,
Tu numeros primus verba Latina loqui.
Gallia causidicum tecum dignare Britannum
Conferri, niueis dignus vtérq; notis.]

In this meane time, through controuersie raised betwixt the Scotish nobilitie, and the quæne dowager of Scotland, which chanced especiallie about matters of religion, certeine of the lords there minding a reformation therein; and the quéene resisting them to hir power, in purpose to mainteine the old popish religion, which some name catholike; diuerse companies of souldiers and men of war were sent out of France into Scotland to aid the said quéene, where they were placed in diuerse townes and forts, to the high displeasure of the more part of the Scotish nobilitie: who lothing to be oppressed with strangers in that sort, were forced to sue vnto the quéene of England for aid to expell the French, who sought to subuert the ancient state of that realme, and to annex the same vnto the crowne of France.

Anno Reg. 2. Trouble in Scotland.

Frenchmen sent into Scotland.

The Scots sue to the quéens maiestie of England for aid against the French.

Their sute was the better liked of, for that it was doubted, least the Frenchmen (vnder pretense of bringing an armie into Scotland to appease the Scots) might attempt some inuasion here in England, considering that by procurement (as was thought) of the duke of Guise, vncle to the quéene of France and Scotland, a title should seeme to be pretended by his néece, the foresaid quéene, as might be gathered by manifest coniectures of the vsurping of armes, and so forth. The names of the lords of Scotland that made sute for aid against the Frenchmen at this season, were these: the duke of Chateau le reault, the earle of Arraine his sonne, the lord James prior of saint Andrews, the earle of Argile, the earle of Glencarne, the earle of Rothouse, the earle of Southerland, the earle of Mounteith, the earle of Huntleie, the earle of Cathnes, the earle of Erroll, the earle Marshall, the earle of Morton, the earle of Cassils, the earle of Eglenton, the earle of Montros, the lord Ruthuen, the lord Boid, the lord Ogletrée, the lord Erskin, the lord Dromond, the lord Hume, the lord Rose, the lord Chreighton, the lord Leuingston, the lord Somerwell, the maister of Lindseie, the maister of Marwell.

The lords of Scotland that were confederat togither against the French.

The quéenes maiestie, with aduise of hir graces counceli, considering of this weightie businesse, and withall

withall forseeing the malicious purpose of hir aduersaries, and how the queene of Scots was in France married and gouerned, so as she was not able to vse the libertie of hir crowne, did thinke it best to preuent such mischiefs as might insue, if timelie remedie were not vsed, to displace such dangerous neighbours the Frenchmen, that began to nestle themselues thus stronglie so nere at hand for no good purpose, as easilie might be ghessed. Herevpon was a power raised and sent forth both by sea & land, the duke of Norffolke being appointed generall, and sent into the north, for the direction thereof. And first maister William Winter, appointed viceadmerall of the quéns naule northwards, made saile toward Scotland, and watting alongst the coast in Januarie, came into the Forth, & so to the road of Leith, and there cast anchor, as well to impeach the landing of such Frenchmen, as might haplie be sent forth of France, to the aid of the French there, against the Scotish lords, named of the congregation; as also to keepe them that laie in Inskeith from vittels: and likewise to see that none of the Frenchmen by water should passe to or from Leith: but to watch them so, as they shuld not inioy any commoditie that might come to either place by the same water.

The quéenes maiestie determineth to aid the Scots.

Sir William Winter viceadmerall.

1560

Moreouer, after that the armie by land was come togither into the north parts, and had sojourned at Berwike and thereabouts, the lord Grete of Wilton being appointed generall of the said armie, departed with the same out of the bounds of Berwike, and marched to Coldingham, where they incamped that night. Saturdaie the thirteenth of March, sir James Croft, and sir George Howard departed Berwike to the armie, with all the lances and light horssemen, conteining the number of twelue hundred and fiftie horsses. The number of the footmen amounted to aboue six thousand in all. The chiefe gouernours of which armie were these: the lord Grete of Wilton lieutenant generall, sir James Croft assistant with him in that charge, the lord Scrope lord marshall; sir George Howard generall of the men at armes and demilances, maister Barnabie Fitz Patrike his lieutenant, sir Henrie Persie generall of the light horssemen, Thomas Hugghens esquier prouost marshall, Thomas Gower maister of the ordinance, maister William Pelham capteine of the pioners, Edward Randoll esquier, sergeant Maior, maister Thomas Burrough, maister Cutbert Vaughan, maister Williams, and maister Cornewall corporals.

The lord Grey generall of the armie.

Sir James Croft.

The number of horssemen and footmen in the armie.

The chiefest in charge of this armie.

This saturdaie at night the armie incamping at Dunglas, the horssemen lodged in sundrie villages nere about. Sir James Croft laie that night at Coberspeth, in the land of Whitlaies house. Sundaie the last of March, the armie remoued from Dunglas, and marching by Dunbar, there issued out of the towne certeine horssemen and footmen, offering a skirmish: towards whome certeine of the English lances and pistoliers, with certeine harquebutters, made forwards: but they kept themselues within their strength. Yet some of the English horssemen approched them so nere, that in skirmish two of the enimies horssemen, and one footman were slaine. The Englishmen receiued little damage, sauing that Peter Hince, one of their horssmen was hurt there. This done, the armie marched on to Linton bigs, where the footmen incamped that night. The horssemen laie at Hadington, and in diuerse other small townes: and sir James Croft laie at Clarkington, west of Hadington, at the land of Cockburns house.

Dunglasse.

A skirmish at Dunbar.

Two horssmen & one footman slaine.

Linton bigs.

Mondaie the first of Aprill, the campe remoued from Linton bigs vnto salt Preston, and there incamped. This euening sir James Croft, with diuers of the capteins in his companie, met with the earle of Arraine, the lord James prior of saint Andrews, the master of Marwell, sir William Kirkaudie laird of Grange, and diuerse other of the Scotish nobilitie with three hundred horsse in their traine. After they were met and had saluted each other, they rode altogither vnto salt Preston, where at the end of the towne, my lord Grete lord lieutenant met them, and imbraced them, & so they lighted from their horsses, and entered into communication for the space of an houre, and after toke leaue each of other, and so departed for that night.

Salt Preston.

The earle of Arraine accompanied with other of the Scotish nobilitie.

Tuesdaie the second of Aprill, my lord Grete, sir James Croft, my lord Scrope, sir George Howard, with diuerse of the capteins, rode to Muskleburgh church, and there taried the comming of the duke of Chateau le rault, for the space of full two houres: at length he came accompanied with his sonne, the earle of Arraine, the earles of Argile, Glencarne, Southerland, Menteith, and Rothus, the lord James prior of saint Andrews, the lord Ruthuen *alias* Riuen, the lord Ogletrée, the lord Boid, the master of Marwell, the lard of Ormerton, the master of Lindseie, the bishop of Gallowaie, the abbat of saint Colmes inch, the abbat of Culros, the lard of Pettirrow, the lard of Cunninghame head, the lard of Grange, and diuerse others. They were two hundred horsse in traine.

The duke of Chateau le rault and his companie.

Upon the dukes approch, they all lighted on foot, as well on the one part as the other: and after courteous embracings, and gentle salutations, they entred into the house of one William Atkinson, nere to Undreske church, and sat there in councell the space of two houres, & then departed for that night. The armie laie still in campe at salt Preston, from mondaie, till saturdaie, Palmesundaie euen. On wednesdaie, the third of Aprill, my lord Grete, sir James Croft, and my lord Scrope, sir George Howard, sir Henrie Persie, and diuerse other capteins and gentlemen, rode vnto Pinkeie, a house of the abbat of Dunferns, distant a mile and a halfe from the campe, where the earle of Arraine, and the lord James Steward, with diuerse other noble men of Scotland meeting them, did conduct them into the said house, where they had long conference togither, which ended, they went to dinner, and after dinner, they returned with my lord lieutenant to salt Preston, and viewed the English campe. Thursdaie the fourth of Aprill, fiue yong gentlemen, appointed to passe into England for pledges, & bound thither by sea, through contrarie winds were forced to come on land at salt Pannes. Their names were as follow.

The English and Scotish gentlemen meet, embrace, and consult.

The Scotish pledges appointed to passe into England.

The lord Claud Hamilton fourth sonne vnto the duke of Chateau le rault, Robert Douglas halfe brother to the lord James Steward, Archebald Campbell lord of Loughennell, George Gream second sonne to the earle of Monteith. James Coningham sonne to the earle of Glencarne: they were brought vp to salt Preston, and remained there that night. Saturdaie the first of Aprill, being Palmesundaie euen, the campe raised from salt Preston, and marched forwards. Halfe a mile from Lesterike, beneath a crag, called Arthurs seat, the duke of Chateau le rault, the earle of Arraine, the earle of Argile, the lord James prior of saint Andrews, and the rest of the noble men of Scotland, accompanied with two hundred horssemen, or thereabouts, and fiue hundred footmen, staied for the comming of the English armie. Wherevpon the lord Grete, sir James Croft, the lord Scrope, sir George Howard, and sir Henrie Persie, repaired to them, and had conference there with the duke, and other of the Scotish lords that were in his companie. In the meane while the armie staied; but yet at length, the horssemen,

A crag called Arthurs seat.

Conference betweene the English and Scotish.

horsemen, the vantgard and battell, were commanded to march forth, who accordinglie passing forward alongst by the place where the duke & Scotish lords stood, held vpon their waie, till they approched nere to Lesterike.

At their comming thither, Trombull, the quæns regents trumpet, came to my lord lieutenant, and brought with him a safe conduct, giuen vnder hir hand & seale, for the safe repaire of sir James Croft, sir George Howard, and six others to accompanie them. Whereupon they preparing themselues to go to hir (after they had talked with my lord lieutenant, and the duke Chateau le reault) they departed towards Edenburgh, where the said quæne as then laie within the castell. There went with them maister Summerset, maister Pelham, and foure other gentlemen. Whilest they were in conference with the quæne, although an abstinence of all hostilitie by appointment taken betwixt my lord Greie and the said quæne ought to haue ceassed, the Frenchmen to the number of nine hundred, or a thousand shot, backed with fiue hundred corselets and pikes, & about fiftie horsemen, were come forth of Leith, vnder the conduction of monsieur Dossell, and the counte Martigues, coronell of the French footmen. My lord Greie vnderstanding thereof, came vp to the hill, appointed an officer at armes called Rouge Crosse, to go vnto them, with commandement from him, that they should retire their forces forth of the field into the towne of Leith: for if it were not for the promise which he had made to the quæne Dowager, he would cause them to depart, not much to their ease.

Sir James Croft, and sir George Howard, went to talke with the quæne.

My lord Greis message sent to the Frenchmen.

The herald doing his message, receiued answer, that they were vpon their maister and mistresse ground, and therefore meant not to remoue from it. Rouge Crosse returning with this answer, was sent againe from my lord lieutenant, to command them eftsoons to go their way backe to Leith: for if they did not, he would suerlie send them awaie with a mischiefe. But scarse had the herald done this second message, when the Frenchmen stepping forth, discharged a whole volee of their shot into the field against my lord Greie and his companie. Herevpon, the Englishmen and they fell in skirmish, which continued for the space of foure houres and more, so hot & earnestlie mainteined on both parts, that the like had not lightlie beene seene manie a day before. Yet at length, the Englishmen droue the French footmen ouer the hill, wan the crag from them, and put them from a chappell, where they had stood a great while, vsing it for a couert and safegard for them against the Englishmens shot.

A sharpe and along skirmish betweene both parts. The Frenchmen repelled by the Englishmen.

Then the enimies that were in Leith shot off diuerse peeces of their great artillerie out of the towne against the Englishmen, who on the other part brought forth two field peeces, and couered them with a troupe of horsemen; and hauing planted them to some aduantage, discharged the same among the enimies: who perceiuing that, gaue place, & suddenlie the English demilances gaue a charge, brake in amongst them, and slue diuerse. To conclude, they were put from their ground, and forced to retire backe into Leith, being followed welneere to the verie gates of that towne. There were slaine in this skirmish of the French, about a seuen score, and amongst them twelue men of name, beside some of them that remained prisoners. Of the Englishmen, there were also diuerse slaine, and manie hurt. But if the ground had bin knowen to the Englishmen, and what aduantage was offered to them by that presumptuous comming of the enimies so far from their hold, it was thought their whole power might easilie haue beene cut off, and vtterlie distressed. After that this skirmish was ended, and the Frenchmen driuen into Leith, the armie incamped at Lesterike. The same date the Scotish hostages were imbarked to passe into England. Towards euening, sir James Croft, and sir George Howard, returned from the quæne regent, after they had spent a long time in talke with hir.

T. Churchyard. The number of the English and French slaine.

The Frenchmen driuen into Leith.

On sundaie the seuenth of Aprill, a new trench was cast beside the crag, and thereon two peeces of ordinance planted. The same daie, sir James Croft, sir George Howard, and sir Henrie Persie, went againe vpon assurance, to talke with the quæne Dowager. Mondaie the eight of Aprill, the Frenchmen shot at the English campe verie sore out of S. Nicholas steeple, where there were two great peeces placed for to annoie them, although they did no great hurt. But the same night, the Englishmen cast a trench beyond the crag, and placed in the same trench certeine small peeces of artillerie, which went off the next daie against the enimies: and they likewise shot off againe at the Englishmen; and so likewise on wednesdaie the tenth of Aprill, on which daie, a great part of the carriages for the great ordinance, and diuerse bullets for the same, were landed, and much thereof remoued, and brought to the innermost trench. Thursdaie the eleuenth of Aprill, the great ordinance was landed, and two peeces thereof mounted into their carriages.

Saint Nicholas Steeple planted with two great hot peeces.

Ordinance landed.

The twelfe of Aprill being good fridaie, a bullet of a great peece of ordinance, being shot out of Leith earlie in the morning, did light in the campe, and slue three men. The same night, they were answered againe with foure or fiue canons, and demicanons. Saturdaie was spent in warding the trenches, and mounting the great artillerie. Sundaie the fourteenth of Aprill, being Easter daie, the Englishmen shot off in the morning all their great ordinance, and the Frenchmen answered them againe, and so they continued most part of that day, in shooting one at another. The footmen also skirmished so, that diuerse were hurt on both parts. The same day, the pile of Blackenesse was surrendred to maister Winter, vpon sight of the canon. There were within it eightene Frenchmen, who were brought awaie prisoners, and the house deliuered to maister James Hamilton. The same daie, nine Frenchmen apparelled like women, came forth of Leith, and counterfeiting some like demeanor to the apparell wherein they were disguised, trained one of the English skouts within their danger, whome they tooke, and chopped off his head, which they set vpon the top of one of their church steeples.

Good fridaie to some bad fridaie.

Warre maketh no difference of time.

The pile of Blackenesse surrendred.

Nine Frenchmen in Womens apparell.

Mondaie the fifteenth of Aprill about none, there issued out of Leith a fiftie horsemen, and about fiue hundred harquebusiers: who making to the new trenches, were vpon the Englishmen that warded in such wise vpon the sudden, before they could be brought into anie order; that so entring the trenches, they slue and wounded no small number: and possessing the trenches a while, stoped and cloied the touch holes of three peeces of the artillerie, tooke maister Maurice Barkelete prisoner, and his ensigne. Brian Fitz Williams was sore wounded, and a foule fright there was. The alarum being brought to the campe, sir James Croft and other repaired toward the trench with all expedition, and perceiuing the Frenchmen to be maisters of one of the trenches, he called to capteine Vaughan, commanding him with his band to enter the trench, and to relieue those that were hardlie beset of the Frenchmen.

Blacke monedaie.

The Frenchmen with the trench.

Maister Barkelete taken prisoner.

This was done with great manhood shewed by the said Vaughan and others, who entring the trench, repelled the enimies, and slue sixteene of them that were in the trench. Capteine Summerset and capteine

The Frenchmen repelled, and some of them slaine.

teine Read with their bands followed them also, as they retired, and maister Arthur Greie, with certeine of his demilances, of whome he had the conduction, suddenlie came vpon them, and charging them with great courage, draue them into the towne, and made no small slaughter of them. In which charge maister Arthur Greie was shot through the shoulder. The great artillerie in Leith was not idle, during this skirmish, discharging to the number of an hundred shot, greatlie to the annoiance of the English, and hinderance of the seruice, which else might by them haue bene atchiued. This night the Englishmen drew backe their ordinance, which the Frenchmen had cloied with nailes and wiers in the touch-holes, but the same were planted againe before daie. Moreouer, our pioners cast a new trench along by the old chapell.

Maister Arthur Greie hurt in the shoulder.

A new supplie commeth to the armie, the capteines names.

Tuesdaie the sixteenth of Aprill, a supplie of two thousand & two hundred footmen came to the campe, ouer whome were capteins, sir Andrew Corbet, sir Rowland Stanleie, sir Thomas Hesketh, sir Arthur Manwering, sir Laurence Smith, maister Francis Tunstall, maister Edward Littleton, capteine Carnell, Philip Sturleie, and Dauid Morris. They were garded with fiue hundred horsemen: sir Rafe Sadler, sir Francis Leake, sir John Forster, and sir Nicholas Strange hauing charge to see them safelie conducted: who after they had brought them past all danger of enimies, left them in safetie by the waie, & were come a daie or two before them to the campe.

An hot alarum of an houres continuance.

Wednesdaie the seuenteenth of Aprill, it rained sore the more part of the daie; but yet the same night maister Winter caused diuerse of the shipbotes, being verie well manned, to giue a great alarum at the side of the towne towards the water, discharging manie basses and harquebusiers of Croke into the towne: the alarum was verie hot for the space of an houre. During this businesse there was a right pitifull crie made by the women and children within the towne. The pioners being applied in worke to make trenches, on fridaie all daie at night they placed certeine peeces of the ordinance in the trenches beside the chapell.

Ordinance planted in trenches.

Saturdaie the twentith of Aprill, manie peeces were shot off out of the trenches into the towne. There issued notwithstanding out at the gates an hundred shot, which placed themselues in the holes of the bankes, to hault such of the Englishmen as came forth to offer the skirmish. All this daie also the pioners, both Scots and English were occupied in making of a new trench neere to the towne. Sir Gerats Clifton & capteine Read with their bands garded them, and two hundred lances. The same daie the residue of the great ordinance with armour was brought on land. Sundaie the one and twentith of Aprill, the bishop of Valence named Monluc, accompanied with sir Henrie Persie, and three hundred light horsemen came to Lesterike: the lord lieutenant, sir James Crosse, the lord Scrope, and sir Rafe Sadler met him at the further end of the ward that was set, of purpose for his entring into the campe. After they had received him with salutations according vnto the manner, he was conducted by Rouge Croste the officer of armes from the campe into Edenburgh, and so went vp to the castell to conferre with the queene Dowager. He was no soner entred into the castell, but that there issued forth of Leith the number of two hundred Frenchmen about twelue of the clocke, and began a hot skirmish, which continued two houres, at the which diuerse were slaine on both parts.

The bishop of Valence and his companie.

A skirmish of two houres continuance.

More ordinance planted.

The same night the lord lieutenant caused nine peeces of the great ordinance to be planted in the new trench: so that the nert daie being mondaie, the same peeces were shot off verie earlie, directlie towards the steeple of saint Anthonies church. And although those peeces laie a quarter of a mile off, the peeces of ordinance that laie in the same steeple were dismounted by them; and likewise those that laie in the steeple of saint Nicholas church, at the which diuerse peeces were leuied, and within six or seuen tire the peeces that laie in that steeple were also displaced, and a gunner slaine that stood at one of them, the peece and the gunner comming tumbling downe both togither. In this church (as was reported) their store of vittels and munition was laid, so that batterie was made against the same all that daie, and a great peece of the church wall beaten downe, and the steeple defaced. The bishop of Valence, after he had talked with the queene Dowager, returned to commune with the lords of the congregation.

The enimies ordinance displaced.

Tuesdaie the three and twentith of Aprill, being saint Georges daie, the pioners Scotish and English were busilie applied in worke, about the casting of trenches to make a fort; and still the artillerie went off against the towne. Wednesdaie the foure and twentith of Aprill about three of the clocke in the after none, there issued out of Leith seauenténe horsemen, who offered the skirmish: and vnder the place called little London, where they were busie in fortifieng all that daie, three or foure hundred of their shot were placed readie to breake out, if occasion serued. At length certeine of the English lances gaue a charge vpon their horsemen, who therewith retiring, drew the Englishmen within danger of their shot. But although the Frenchmen that daie shewed themselues verie valiant in skirmishing euen in the face of the English artillerie: yet being now egerlie pursued by those lances, they were forced to retire without anie great hurt done to the Englishmen, although the skirmish continued neere hand two houres. In this last charge yong maister Browne was hurt.

A fort raised.

A skirmish.

The French repelled.

Thursdaie the fiue and twentith of Aprill, the pioners laboured sore for the most part of the daie in finishing the new fort named Montpelham: to the gard whereof capteine Vaughan was appointed gouernor, with twelue hundred soldiors. This fort was raised on the south side of the towne, the plot whereof was cast square, with foure bulworks at euerie corner, and twelue battering peeces planted in places conuenient within the same. This thursdaie also, about fiue of the clocke in the after none, there issued out of Leith on the east side seauentie or eightie horsemen, and two hundred harquebusiers, offering the skirmish, towards whome certeine of the English light horsemen roundlie made, and charging them, droue them backe to their footmen, who with their shot receiued the light horsemen so sharplie, that they were forced to retire. In which retire James Hamilton a Scottishman was taken prisoner, for the rescue of whome the horsemen made forward againe: but the enimies shot was so hot, that they were not able to recouer him; but yet they slue two of the French horsemen in sight.

The new fort called Montpelham.

Another skirmish.

James Hamilton taken prisoner.

During the time of this skirmish, there was great shooting off with the great ordinance on both sides, & much hurt done as well to the English as French. This daie capteine Perith, and capteine Hales, hauing charge of a troope of light horsemen vnder sir Henrie Persie, and the lord of Grange were taken prisoners before Dunbar; and to the number of twentie or thirtie others were likewise taken or slaine the same time. The same night also, two thousand footmen with the pioners were sent to the other side of the towne, beyond the canon milles, where the pioners cast a trench for the safe lodging of the

Prisoners taken and slaine.

The French

the armie, which remoued the next day being fridaie, and the six and twentith of Aprill from Lesserike downe into the vallie by the said canon milles called the red Braes, neere to the riuer side on the south part of the towne of Leith. As the armie was thus remouing from Lesserike towards the said place called the red Braes, the Frenchmen within Leith shot off manie of their great peeces of artillerie, but without doing anie great hurt. As the armie was incamping, certeine of the enimies horsemen and footmen skirmished with the English lances and light horsemen a long time; there were two Frenchmen slaine and their horses also. In the time of this skirmish two canons were conueied and planted in the new trench, which discharged diuerse shots at the enimies.

The armie remoueth from Lesserike to the red Braes.

A skirmish, and what was done in the same.

Saturdaie the seauen and twentith of Aprill, the great artillerie was planted aloft on the hill aboue the campe, within lesse than a curriers shot of the towne walles, and the pioners were set a worke to cast new trenches from the place where the same ordinance was lodged vnto Montpelham, drawing so neere vnto Leith, as the harquebus might reach them that watched and warded within the greene bulworke. There issued out of Leith vnder the west bulworke certeine of the Frenchmen, the which were chased into the towne by the lard of Grange and others. The French kept the same daie a trench which they had made without the towne, continuallie shotting at the Englishmen in the campe: but the same night the Englishmen wan that trench from them, slue diuerse of them therein, togither with their scout. And this done, they gaue a great alarum to the towne both by land and water, the shipbotes shooting off against the towne verie hotlie, and they within the towne likewise at the Englishmen. The same night was the great ordinance planted, and maister Markham hurt. On sundaie the eight and twentith of Aprill the said great ordinance went off, and shot continuallie the more part of that daie. The bishop of Valence departed the same daie towards Berwike: and this night sir George Howard that had beene sent backe to Berwike, to signifie to the duke of Norffolke the state of the siege, returned with sir Richard Lee, being conducted with fiue hundred horsemen.

The planting of the great artillerie.

A trench won from the enimies.

Great ordinance planted and discharged.

Mondaie the nine and twentith of Aprill, the peeces of the great artillerie were occupied in shooting off verie hotlie, and the French likewise shot off theirs, and comming forth of the towne skirmished with the Englishmen. This night the pioners made new trenches toward the south bulworke. Tuesdaie the last of Aprill was spent in shooting off the great artillerie into the towne. About fiue of the clocke in the afternoone, a sudden fire was raised within the towne, which hugelie increased and continued the most part of that night. At the beginning when it first appeared, the English ordinance was shot off to the place where the fire was, which shot togither with helpe of the wind, and being verie great at that present, did maruellouslie augment the same fire: yet neuertheless the French at that present time offered a skirmish, and continued the same neere hand for the space of two houres, manned their walles, and made the best prouision they might for doubt of some assault. It was indeed appointed, that certeine bands should make an alarum to the towne: in so much that capteine Vaughan with diuerse of the soldiors of Montpelham entred the ditch, and approching the walles, discouered the height of them. And notwithstanding that the French did what they could to annoie them in the diches with currier shot, yet did capteine Vaughan staie in the ditch a prettie while, and retired with his men without receiuing anie great hurt.

A skirmish.

A fire in Leith, and augmented with shot of ordinance and windie weather.

Capteine Vaughan.

Wednesdaie the first of Maie, the Frenchmen set vp verie earlie in the morning their Maie poles in certeine bulworks, and fourteene ensignes: the which being discouered of them in the campe, they saluted them with a peale of great ordinance, and likewise the Frenchmen answered them againe, and so continued the most part of that daie. The same daie John Brian lieutenant to capteine Capell, wan a trench frō the French at the west side of the towne, and in despite of them kept it all that daie with the losse onelie of one man. Thursdaie the second of Maie, the pioners made the trenches for the artillerie to be planted in batterie. The night following they remoued and placed the same artillerie in the new trench: and the next morning being fridaie and the third of Maie, about foure of the clocke, the same batterie went off, and continued all that daie. In the after none of the same daie certeine Frenchmen issued out of the west bulworke, and skirmishing with the Englishmen on that side the water, returned without anie great hurt.

Maie poles set vp in Leith on Maie daie.

A trench won from the French.

The night insuing the pioners made a new trench by the citadell wherein they might lodge some shot, and capteine Vaughan with diuerse of the bands in Monkpelham gaue two false assaults to the towne, entred the ditches, and viewed the flankers: whereupon the French shot off the same flankers, and manning their walles, shot off two or three volees of their small artillerie, slaieng and hurting to the number of twentie of the Englishmen. Among other, little Morton lost his life that night, and so at length the residue returned. Saturdaie the fourth of Maie, there were three ensigns appointed to gard the new trenches, and towards night, when the ward should be releeued, and the watch set, the Frenchmen that were in the trench vnder the citadell, made a sallie vpon the sudden. Whereupon the Englishmen that garded the said trench were constreined to abandon a great part thereof for a time: but yet the Englishmen eftsoons taking courage, laid to them afresh, repelled them againe, & draue them backe into their owne trenches, slue foure of them in sight, and hurt manie others. This was the lot of warre, to be ouerthrowne by force of the enimie, as the poet saith:

Qui Martem experti, per vim subiguntur ab hoste.

Capteine Vaughan diuerteth the enimies flankers.

The French repelled by the English.

Whilest this was in doing, the French had stuffed their bulworks and rampiers with curriers and harquebusiers of Croke, as thicke as was possible, which went off without ceasing at the Englishmen, for the space of an houre and more. The English artillerie planted in the trenches did answer them againe continuallie, and the great peeces did much hurt among them, in sight of them that watched in the same trenches. The same night the Englishmen conueied two culuerings ouer the water to scowre the mils: and before the breake of the daie they had burnt one of the same mils. Sundaie the fift of Maie earlie in the morning at the releeuing of the watch, and entring of the ward, foure souldiors that belonged to the great ordinance issued out, and set fier on the other mill, which burnt verie outragiouslie without ceasing, for the space of an houre or more. The French began to assemble towards the mill, in hope to haue quenched the fire, but they were deceiued: for suddenlie the Englishmen cut two holes through their trenches, & placing in the same the two demiculuerings, shot them off at the Frenchmen, so that they were driuen to forsake the mill, and in their retire some of them were slaine.

The mils burnt by the English and the French driuen from thense.

This daie also, as foure French gentlemen came forth to discouer the English trenches, capteine Read commanded one of his souldiors to shot at them, but through mishap his peece burst, and a shiuer thereof

Capteine Reades armie broken.

thereof flue out, and brake the arme of his said capteine. Mondaie the first of Maie, the armie lieng quiet all the morning, in the afternoone the English ordinance on the further side the water began to shot off against the enimies verie hotlie, so continuing till night. This daie the earle of Argile, and diuerse other noble men of Scotland, came to Edenburgh with two thousand horsemen and footmen, who shewed themselues in order of a muster, on the hill underneth the castell. Which being perceiued of the French within Leith, they shot off three great peeces of artillerie at them, but (as God would haue it) without hurt, for two of the bullets lighted short, and the third did fall in a garden within the towne of Edenburgh. The night insuing, the great ordinance in the Englishmens trenches and bulworks continued shoting on euerie side. And herewith commandement was giuen by the lord lieutenant, and the councell, that the whole armie should be readie armed with their weapon and furniture according by midnight.

The earle of Argile with his armie commeth to Edenburgh.

The assault giuen to Leith the seauenth of Maie.

In the morning by two of the clocke the seuenth of Maie being tuesdaie, diuerse bands passed forth towards the towne, and entring the ditches offered the scale: other capteins with their men approched the bulworks, and other there were appointed to enter beside the mils. Beside the English bands commanded thus to giue the assault, there were a thousand Scots ioined with them, whereof fiue hundred with capteine Vaughan, and such other capteins as were commanded to attempt the bulworke next to Montpelham, and other fiue hundred went with such of the English capteins as were commanded to assault the breach beyond the water. Moreouer, as well the lances as light horsemen were assigned to gard the fields; sir George Howard with the lances keeping betwixt the fort of Montpelham and the sea westward, and sir Henrie Persie with the light horsemen betwixt the campe and the sea eastward. The rest of the footmen that went not to the assault, were also apointed to gard the trenches and field, in such wise as was thought expedient. So that perfect direction was giuen in euerie behalfe by the lord lieutenant, and other of the councell. And vpon warning giuen by capteine Randall sergeant maior, such as had béene commanded to giue the assault in their seuerall appointed places, preased forward with courage inough, and boldlie aduentured to clime the wals, & enter at the breaches, but yet their attempt wanted the wished successe: for what through the Frenchmens policie in stopping the currant of the riuer that night, and other deuises for their owne safegard, and the annoiance of the assailants: and what by reason of the vnfitnesse of the ladders, being too short by two yards and more, the assailants were repelled. For during the whole time of the assault, which continued for the space of an houre and a halfe, the French shot off their flankers, and mainteined their shot from the wals so thicke, that it seemed a verie hell for the time.

The horsmen appointed to gard the field.

The English men repelled by the policies and deuises of the French.

They also hurled downe ouer the wals vpon the assailants heads, great plentie of stones, logs, and mightie peeces of timber, which did much hurt to the Englishmen and Scots, that forced themselues to clime vp. But yet neuertheless, manie there were that entred the towne in sundrie places, of the which some came backe againe, although others were beaten downe and slaine. To conclude, at length all that escaped with life, were forced to retire with the losse of seauen or eight score Englishmen, some haue said two hundred, which were slaine outright, beside those that were wounded, being in number at the least two or three hundred: and amongst other, there were diuerse capteins and gentlemen that were hurt, as sir Thomas Hesketh, master Sutton, master Newport, master Conweie, capteine Wood, Thomas Fitton, with others. Vpon the repulse thus giuen to our men by the French, they aduanced and set vp foure téene ensignes presentlie about the towne, and continued otherwise quiet all that daie. Wednesdaie the eight of Maie in the afternoone, sir George Howard, and sir Richard Lée departed towards Barwike with certeine companies of horsmen for their safe conduction. Thursdaie the ninth of Maie, the Frenchmen wrought verie earnestlie within the towne, to fortifie the necessarie places, and repare the breaches, euen in the face of the English ordinance, which went off diuerse times, and did them much hurt.

The number slaine & hurt at the assault.

Sir George Howard and sir Richard Lée.

The same daie also the French had manned to the sea wards a bote fraught with fiftie harquebusiers, meaning to conueie them ouer to Insketh: but the English ships discouering them, prepared certeine botes to encounter them, whereof they being aware, returned. Fridaie the tenth of Maie, master Inglebie, capteine Pickman, and capteine Browne, came to the campe from Barwike, with a supplie of foure hundred and fiftie souldiors. The same daie about ten of the clocke at night, there chanced a brall to fall out among the Scots that watched in the trenches nèrest vnto the towne of Leith on the west side, insomuch that one of them fell to and killed another: which disorder being perceiued of the French within Leith, they issued out, and meant to haue vsed the vantage: but the Englishmen that watched nère vnto the Scots staied the fraie, and did not onelie bring them to quiet, but also put the Frenchmen to flight. On sundaie the twelfe of Maie, about midnight the Frenchmen, to the number of two hundred, sallied forth of the towne, minding to giue a camisado to the Englishmen, who kept watch that night in the trenches at the west side of Montpelham; but they were descried, and certeine of them killed, and so had the repulse. Wednesdaie the fiftéenth of Maie, sir Francis Leake came to the campe with a supplie of fiue hundred men from Barwike.

A supplie frõ Barwike of foure hundred and fiftie soldiors.

Sir Francis Leake bringeth a supplie to the campe.

Thursdaie the sirtenth of Maie towards night, the Frenchmen to the number of one hundred footmen, and thirtie horsemen, came abroad and shewed themselues verie braue, skirmishing with the Englishmen at the west end of their towne. Tuesdaie the one and twentith of Maie, about seauen of the clocke at night, there issued forth of Leith sir horsemen, and one hundred footmen harquebusiers, marching toward Montpelham to offer skirmish. Whereupon capteine Vaughan went forth to them verie orderlie, and skirmished with them a prettie while: and in the meane time, off went the great ordinance on both sides. In the end the Frenchmen were driuen to retire into the towne, for the Englishmen shewed themselues verie egre, and valiantlie charged their enimies, put them to retire, and chased them in at their gates, to the which they followed them right hardilie.

A skirmish betweene the English and French.

The Frenchmen chased.

The same night, maister Francis Summerset and other capteins were apointed to kéepe a fort built aboue the campe; and now finished, toke name of him being capteine thereof, and was after called Summersets mount. The same daie a souldiour of capteine Diuries band was hanged for going to Edenburgh, contrarie to a proclamation, inhibiting anie souldiour so to do without speciall licence. Wednesdaie the two and twentith of Maie, sir Peter Carew came to the campe, being sent from the court. Thursdaie the foure and twentith of Maie at seuen of the clocke at night, the French sallied forth to the number of two hundred footmen, and twentie horse-

Summerset mount.

Sir Peter Carew sent from the court.

horssemen, at the releese of the warders when the watch should be set, meaning (as it appeared) to haue wonne the trenches from the Englishmen. Wherevpon a sore skirmish followed, diuerse slaine, and manie hurt on both parties: yet in the end the Frenchmen were driuen home by plaine force. This was at the west side of the towne, where they had fortified towards the sea.

A sore skirmish, wherein the French are discomfited.

The same daie the Frenchmen of Dunbar toke an English hoie laden with double beere, beefe, oren, and flitches of bacon. Saturdaie the eight of June, sir John Neuill with three hundred men, capteine Bridges, and capteine Drurie, with other three hundred, set from Barwike towards the campe, where they arriued on mondaie the tenth of June, on which daie the quæne Dowager departed this life. The thirteenth of June, sir William Cicill, principall secretarie to the quænes maiestie, and doctor Wotton deane of Canturburie and Yorke came to Barwike, appointed commissioners on hir said maiesties behalfe, to treat of an accord with the conte de Randon, and the bishop of Valence, commissioners sent for that purpose from the French king, and his wife Marie quæne of Scotland. The foureteenth of June being fridaie, a certeine number of Frenchmen came forth of Leith to gather cockles on the sands towards Montpelham: which the Englishmen perceiuing, set vpon them, slue three score and ten, and toke sixteene of them prisoners.

In English hoie taken.

The quæne Dowager departeth this life.

The French gather cockles to their hinderance.

On sundaie the sixteenth of June, the fore remembred commissioners came to Edenburgh: and as master secretarie and doctor Wotton passed the English forts and campe, they were saluted with a gallant peale of the harquebusiers that shot off their harquebusies verie liuelie. Mondaie the seuenteenth of June about eight of the clocke, an abstinence of warre was concluded, warning being giuen by the discharging of two peeces of the great artillerie out of the castell; and then the Frenchmen shewed and aduanced themselues vpon their rampiers. Saturdaie the two and twentith of June, the abstinence was broken off, which till then had beene trulie kept and obserued. Thursdaie the fourth of Julie, about three of the clocke in the after noone, the French came out of Leith, according to their accustomed maner to gather cockles. Wherevpon the lord lieutenant being at that present in Montpelham, sent a drum vnto monsieur Doisell to signifie to him that his souldiours had gone further without their bounds than they might do by the order taken by the commissioners of both parts. Doisell answered, that they were no souldiours, but poore people which went to gather cockles for their releefe and sustenance. The drum said, that if they kept not themselues within their appointed limits, my lord lieutenant meant to send them backe not greatlie to their ease: whereunto Doisell replied, that if he so did, he would do the best he could to aid them. Herevpon the English horsemen and footmen out of Montpelham gaue a charge vpon them, and slue of them to the number of fiftie, and toke certeine of the residue prisoners. Fridaie the first of June, about six of the clocke in the afternoone, issued out of Leith foureteene horssemen, and an hundred footmen, which offered the skirmish: but vpon the shoting off the great artillerie from Montpelham, they retired home againe into the towne.

Sir William Cicill and doctor Wotton come to Edenburgh.

Frenchmen skirmish beaten as they gathered cockles.

The night following about twelue a clocke, one Scattergood an Englishman that was a gunner, & had feined himselfe to flee from the English campe for manslaughter into Leith, and was receiued of the Frenchmen, beleeuing that he had meant no deceit, came out of the towne, after he had remained there about seauen daies; in which meane while he had vnderstood fullie the state of the towne, and now vpon his returne made relation therof as he knew. On saturdaie the first of June, the lord Greie lord lieutenant, master secretarie Cicill, and sir Rafe Sadler, betwixt three and foure of the clocke in the afternoone, gaue order that there should no peece be shot, nor shew of hostilitie made till seauen of the clocke the same night: and herewith sent sir Gerueis Clifton vnto all the souldiors that warded in the trenches and bulworks on the west side of Leith, to command them to obserue the like order. And sir John Neuill was sent with like commandement vnto the souldiors that late in Summersets mount. The peace now in the meane time being concluded, on the morrow being sundaie, and seauenth of June, sir Francis Leake, and sir Gerueis Clifton, accompanied with two French gentlemen, were sent to the towne of Leith, to signifie vnto monsieur Doisell, the bishop of Amiens, la Brosse, Martigues, and other the French lords and capteins, that they were come thither by commandement from the commissioners, to cause the peace alreadie concluded to be proclamed: which accordinglie was done in maner as followeth.

Scattergood a gunners deuise deceiuing the Frenchmen.

Order taken for the restreining of all signes of hostilitie.

The peace concluded and word sent to the French that it should be proclamed.

The forme of proclaming the *foresaid peace betweene the* parties at hostilitie.

THe most mightie princesse, Elizabeth by the grace of God, quæne of England, France, & Ireland, defender of the faith, &c: and the most christian king, Francis and Marie, by the same grace of God king and quæne of France and Scotland: haue accorded vpon a reconciliation of a peace and amitie to be inuiolablie kept, betwixt them, their subiects, kingdomes and countries. And therfore in their names it is strictlie commanded to all maner of persons borne vnder their obeisances, or being in their seruice, to forbeare all hostilitie either by sea or land, & to keepe good peace each with other from this time forwards, as they will answer therevnto at their vttermost perils.

Immediatlie after this proclamation was ended, sir Francis Leake and sir Gerueis Clifton were brought to monsieur Doisels lodging; where was prepared for them a great banket of thirtie or fortie dishes: and yet not one either of flesh or fish, sauing one of the flesh of a powdred horsse, as a certeine person hath written that tasted thereof, as he himselfe auoucheth. ¶ Heere then we see the course of war, the end whereof of necessitie must be peace. For when both parts are either wearied, weakened, slaughtered, or so discomfited, as that they be constreined to surceasse, least they be slaine euerie mothers sonne: then peace is sought, and hard conditions receiued rather than it shall be refused. O that it were Gods will (saith Schardus writing of the accidents happening in the yeare 1570, which all men counted a fortunate and blessed yeare, albeit famine, the Turkish warre, the pestilence, and most cruell ouerflowings of waters did then outragiouslie take on: bicause three verie greeuous warres, namelie the first of the Polanders against the Muscouits, the second of France within it selfe by ciuill dissention, & the third betweene the Sweueners and the Danes, were then finished) O that it were Gods will (saith he) that

Sir Francis Leake and sir Gerueis Clifton banketted by monsieur Doisell.

Schardius in rebus gestis sub imperatore Maximiliano secundo.

kings and princes would be admonished by examples in due time to consult of peace, and to make much thereof, rather than after manie calamities sustained and taken, to thinke how beneficiall and pretious it is. Then should they without seeking or sweating inioy those things which to obteine they vndertake great voiages, and yet nothing neere their purpose without much bloudshed, slaughter, and wastfulnesse; as sometime verie wiselie said Cyneas to Pyrrhus, disuading him from the Italish warre: and as one both learnedlie and fitlie writeth, saieng:

Hic est perpetuus sæclorum lusus & vsus,
Iudendi vt faciat consumpta pecunia finem:
Sic vbi vastatæ gentes lachrymantur & vrbes,
Aurea tum demum feruntur fœdera pacis.
Heu quanto satius foret hæc præuertere damna!
Atque animos hominum saluis coalescere rebus!]

while this historiographer is so large in the description of this siege of Leith.

Thus haue I beene more large in this matter concerning the siege of Leith, than may be thought peraduenture necessarie, sith the thing is yet fresh in memorie: but because there came to my hands certeine notes of one or two persons that were there present, and for helpe of their owne memories wrote the same, I haue thought it not impertinent to insert the effect of them, that the same may serue to further those that hereafter shall write the historie of this time more at large, sith my purpose is not to continue the same otherwise than I find things noted in the abridgements of John Stow and Richard Grafton: except in some recitall of expeditions and iournies made, as this, and other into Scotland, and that same of the right honourable the earle of Warwike into Normandie, which I haue thought good to inlarge, according to such notes as haue come to my hand, beseeching the readers to accept the same in good part: and if anie thing be omitted, either in this place or anie other, that were as necessarie to be spoken of, as those points which I haue touched, or afterwards may touch, to impute the fault to the want of good instructions, and not to anie negligence or lacke of good will in me to aduance euerie mans worthie doings according to his merits.

The articles of the peace at the siege of Leith.

But now concerning the articles of the peace, being about thirteene in all, the chiefest may seeme to rest heerein, that the French souldiours and men of warre should depart out of the realme of Scotland within a short time limited of twentie daies, as *Ludouico Guiciardini* hath noted; six score of them onlie excepted, as three score to abide in Insketh, and three score in the castell of Dunbar, they to be answered their wages at the hands of the estates of Scotland, and to be subiect vnto the lawes and ordinances of that realme. That the fortifications about Leith should be razed and demolished: and likewise the fort which had beene built and raised before the castell of Dunbar by the French, for a strength thereto. That the Frenchmen should not conueie into Scotland anie men of warre, or munitions without consent of the parlement assembled of three estates of that realme. That the king and queene of France & Scotland should not ô thenseforth beare the armes of England, sith the same appertained onelie to the queens maiestie of England and to no other person.

The end of this peace thus concluded.

See more hereof in Scotlãd pag. 374.

These and other articles were compriséd and established in the conclusion of this peace, as well to the honour and suertie of the queenes maiestie of England, hir realmes, dominions, and subiects, as also for the wealth and preseruation of the realme of Scotland, the nobles and other subiects of that realme. After that this peace then was fullie established, agréed, and concluded, the Frenchmen were imbarked at Leith in English vessels; those onelie excepted that were appointed to remaine as pledges with the Englishmen till the ships came backe againe, and a few other that were permitted to passe through England into their countrie. Thus were the French forces remoued out of Scotland, a matter so much importing to the confirmation of peace betwixt vs and that realme, and also to the auoiding of further perils, that this iournie ended with so honorable and profitable a peace, concluded by the high industrie and prudent policie of our queenes maiesties commissioners afore mentioned, may be accompted one of the most necessarie expeditions, and most beneficiall seruices that had beene made and put in practise in manie yeares before. For the queenes maiestie (as some haue trulie written) had not onlie hir chiefe desire, by remouing of the French hir dangerous neighbors, that were about to nestle themselues so neare hir elbow: but also a perfect peace with the Scots was therby procured, like to continue manie yeares (if the said Scots shall not seeke their owne woe) being full vnable to aduantage themselues by warres against vs, as to the wiser and best sort of them I trust is not vnknowne.

The commendation of the foresaid concluded peace.

T. Churchyard.

The queenes meaning in remouing the French out of Scotland.

But to leaue the further consideration of the benefit that may grow herof to this realme, vnto their iudgements that haue riper heads to vnderstand the same: I will proceed, and herewith make an end of this matter, concerning the siege of Leith. After that the Frenchmen were departed, and the forts about Leith and Dunbar razed and demolished, according to the couenants of peace, the queenes maiestie called backe hir armie without reteining anie peece within Scotland to hir owne vse. In which honorable and vpright dealing, she wan more fame and estimation, than if she had seized and kept in hir possession halfe the realme of Scotland: specially regarding the perplexed state of the people by war, which she redressed by the establishment of peace, a thing which she alwaies loued, as the contrarie she mortallie hated: as one hath noted of hir grace, saieng:

Virgo pacis amans, quæ stat contraria bellis.

The queenes armie reuoked out of Scotland.

The queenes maiestie by the aduise of hir most honorable councell, meaning to abolish all corrupt, base, and copper monies then currant in this realme of England, coined in the times and reignes of king Henrie the eight, and king Edward the first, to the great hinderance and decaie of the commonwealth of this realme, and therewith to restore vnto all hir subiects fine and pure sterling monies, both of gold and siluer, to the great honor and benefit of the whole realme: published a proclamation on Michaelmasse euen before none, that the teston coined for twelue pence, and in the reigne of king Edward embased by proclamation to six pence, should now forthwith (that of the best sort marked with the portculeis) be currant for foure pence halfepenie: the second marked with the grehound for two pence farthing: the third and worst sort not marked as afore, not to be currant at all, nor receiued for anie value. The grote to be currant for two pence, the former péece of two pence for a penie, &c.

John Stow. A fall of base monie & making of new coines.

It was not long after this, but that hir grace restoring to hir subiects fine sterling monie, called all the said base and corrupt coines into hir maiesties mint, allowing to them therefore after the rate before mentioned, so much of the said fine monies as they brought in of the said base monies. About the same time, hir grace also finding this realme greatlie vnfurnished of armour, munitions, and powder, for the defense thereof in time of necessitie, did so largelie and plentifullie prepare and cause to be brought into the same, such sufficient furniture of armour and weapons, as England hath iust cause to praise and giue thanks to God and hir maiestie; for that it is certeine, that the realme was neuer so amplie stored nor prouided of all maner of kinds of

Anno Reg. 3.

1560

Additions to Lanquet.

The queene furnisheth hir land with armour and munition.

conuenient

convenient armor and weapons, as it is at this present. The one and twentith of March a notable Grammar schole was founded by the maister, wardens, and assistants of the right worshipfull companie of the merchant tailors of London, in the parish of S. Laurence Pontneie in the same citie, the right worshipfull Emanuell Lucar, Robert Rose, William Perike, John Sparke, & Robert Duckington then maister and wardens of that companie.

The merchat tailors free schole.

The tenth of Aprill was one William Geffreie whipped, from the Marshalsea in Southwarke, to Bedlem without Bishops gate of London, for that he professed one John Moore to be Christ our saviour: on his head was set a paper, wherein was written as followeth: William Geffreie a most blasphemous heretike, denieng Christ our sauiour in heauen. The said Geffreie being staied at Bedlem gate, John Moore was brought forth, before whome William Geffreie was whiped, till he confessed Christ to be in heauen. Then the said John Moore being examined, and answering ouerthwartlie, was commanded to put off his cote, doublet, and shirt; which he seemed to do verie willinglie, and after being tied to the cart, was whiped an arrowes shot from Bedlem, where at the last he also confessed Christ to be in heauen, and himselfe to be a sinfull man. Then was John Moore sent againe into Bedlem, and Geffreie to the Marshalsea, where they had laine prisoners nigh a yeere and a halfe, the one for professing himselfe to be Christ, the other a disciple of the same Christ. On wednesdaie the 4 of June, betweene foure & fiue of the clocke in the afternoone, the steeple of Paules in London being fired by lightning, brast forth (as it seemed to the beholders) two or three yards beneath the fot of the crosse, and from thence burnt downe the spire to the stoneworke and bels, so terriblie, that within the space of foure houres the same steeple with the roofes of the church, so much as was timber or otherwise combustible, were consumed, which was a lamentable sight and pitifull remembrance to the beholders therof. After this mischance, the quæns maiestie being much greeued for the losse of so beautifull a monument, directed hir highnesse letters to the maior of the citie of London, willing him to assemble the cittizens to take some order for speciall aid and helpe for the reparing againe of the said monument. And she of hir most gratious disposition, to giue a comfort to others for the furtherance thereof, did presentlie giue and deliuer in gold one thousand markes, and a warrant for a thousand lode of timber, to be taken out of hir maiesties woods or elsewhere: and the cittizens of London granted one benevolence, and three fifteens to be forthwith paied. The clergie vnder the prouince of Canturburie granted the fortith part of the value of their benefices charged with first fruits, & not charged with first fruits the thirtith part. The clergie of the diocesse of London granted the thirtith part of their benefices in first fruits, and the twentith part out of first fruits. Now immediatlie by commandement of the quænes highnesse, hir priuie councell toke order that six cittizens of London, and two of the cleargie of the church of Paules, had charge and commandement to ouersee and set forward this worke, who made such expedition, that within one moneth next following the burning thereof, the whole church, that is to saie, all the foure great roofes of the same were couered with boords and lead, after the maner of a false roofe. And the greatnesse of the worke dispatched in so short time could scarselie be credited of anie, but of such as saw and knew the same. And the cause of this great hast was for feare of raine, which might haue perished the vawtes, to the destruction of the whole church, & the people that were therein. And before the said yeere was fullie ended, all the said iles of the said church were made & framed of new & maine timber, & couered with lead, & fullie finished. And the same yeare also, the great roofe of the west end was framed, and made of new & great timber in Yorkeshire, & brought to London by sea, and set vp & couered with lead, and fullie finished. And in like maner within the said yeare, the whole roofe and frame of the east end of the said church was made in Yorkeshire, & brought by sea to London, and there laid readie to be raised when the season of the yeare serued. This one thing resteth to be told, that by estimation of wise men, 10000 pounds more than is yet granted vnto it, will not perfect & finish the church and steeple in such sort as it was before the burning thereof.

1561

William Geffreie whipped.

A false Christ whipped till he changed his song.

Paules steeple on fire by lightening.

All the iles of Paules made and framed of new timber.

Ten thousand pounds insufficient to repare Paules as it was at the first.

In this meane time also, by reason of the quænes maiesties letters directed to the maior and his brethren of the citie of London about the burning of Paules, there were certeine aldermen and commoners of the said citie named and called togither by the authoritie of the maior, to deuise some good order and spedie remedie for the releife and comfort of the said citie, whensoeuer anie chance of fire hereafter should happen (as God forbid) within the said citie or liberties thereof. And the persons so called after sundrie meetings, and with good aduisement and deliberation, agreed and penned a certeine order for the spedie remedie thereof, as well for the readie knowledge of the place, whereseuer the same fire should happen, and for the sudden extinguishment & suppressing of the same, as also for the safe keeping of the goods of such persons in whose house anie fire should chance. Which orders and rules vndoubtedlie would be to the great comfort & safetie of the citie and cittizens of the same, if they were published and made knowen in time, and executed accordinglie. But what should I saie? I can but lament, not onelie for this, but also for manie such painefull and profitable labors, which for good gouernement of this citie had beene taken. For as soone as the talking thereof is done, and the bookes framed and deliuered, so soone is it put in oblivion, and nothing at all thought vpon, vntill an houre after the mischiefe be past.

Ouerséers appointed to preferre the reparing of Paules.

The quéne is greeued with the losse of Paules steeple & prouideth means to repare it.

The quænes benevolence to excite others.

Good orders nothing worth if they be not put in execution.

This yeare was chosen lord maior of London a worthie cittizen named William Harper, one of the companie of the merchant tailors. This man wishing in his life time to benefit his countrie, founded a free schole in the towne of Bedford where he was borne, and now lieth buried, prouiding a competent stipend and liuing for a scholemaister, there to traine vp and instruct children in vertue and learning for euer. The fiftenth of November, the quænes maiestie published proclamation, wherein she restored to the realme diuerse small peces of siluer monie, as the pece of six pence, foure pence, three pence, two pence, and a penie, three halfe pence, and three farthings. She also forbad all forren coines to be currant within the same realme, as well gold as siluer, calling them to hir maiesties mints, except two sorts of crownes of gold, the one the French crowne, the other the Flemmish crowne. ¶ Thus did hir maiestie in all hir actions directed to common vtilitie shot at a certeine perfection, pureneſſe, and soundneſſe, as here in hir new stamps and coines of all sorts; so also in Gods religion, setting the materiall churches of hir dominions free from all popish trash: which one hath aptlie noted by waie of comparison, saieng:

Free schole in Bedford towne founded by William Harper maior of London elect.

New coines of small peces as six pence, &c.

Eiectis paleis purgatur vt area multo
Vsque laborantis ferui sudore, reuulsis
Vt nitet ampla domus, quas struxit aranea telis:
Sic priùs idolis confractis, templa fricantur
Cuncta scopis, quicquid fuit, abradentibus vncis
Dentibus obscœnum, spurcum, verboue repugnans
Sacro, relligióque erectis cultior ibat

Iam pelilus, Christúsque Dei cognoscitur agnus,
Offensas delens mundi, peccatáque tollens
Vánalis populo non indulgentia papæ.]

Anno Reg. 4.

Monstruous births in diuerse places of England.

1562

This yeare in England were manie monstruous births. In March a mare brought forth a foale with one bodie and two heads, and as it were a long taile growing out betweene the two heads. Also a sow farrowed a pig with foure legs like to the armes of a manchild with armes and fingers, &c. In Aprill a sow farrowed a pig with two bodies, eight feet, and but one head: manie calues and lambs were monstruous, some with collars of skin growing about their necks, like to the double ruffes of shirts and neckerchers then vsed. The foure and twentith of Maie, a manchild was borne at Chichester in Sussex, the head armes, & legs whereof were like to an anatomie, the breast and bellie monstruous big, from the naull as it were a long string hanging: about the necke a great coll of flesh and skin growing like the ruffe of a shirt or neckercher, comming vp aboue the eares pleited and folded, &c.

France at diuision in it selfe by ciuill warres.

The realme of France being in great trouble about this season, by the means of ciuill dissention and warres that rose betwixt the house of Guise and other of that faction vpon the one side, and the prince of Conde and other that toke part with him on the contrarie side: the quéenes maiestie informed how that the duke of Guise and his partakers hauing got into their possession the person of the yong king, vnder pretext of his authoritie, sought the subuersion of manie noble men and good subiects of the crowne of France, namelie such as were knowne or suspected to be zealous for a reformation to be had in matters of religion: hir maiestie ther vpon considering, that if their purpose might be brought to effect, it was to be doubted that they would not so rest, but séeke to set things in broile also within this hir realme of England, and other countries nére to them adioining: first as one that had euer wished quietnesse, rather than the troubles of warre, sent ouer sir Henrie Sidneie at that present lord president of Wales (a man of such estimation as his word ought to haue deserued credit) to trie if he might do anie good to bring the parties to some attonement. But such wilfull headinesse séemed to rest in some that were chiefe of the one faction, that their desire séemed altogither bent to enter into wars. Hir maiestie yet hoping the best, appointed to send another honourable ambassage, which by their wisedoms and good aduise might persuade the parties vnto concord, whereby all due authoritie, honor, & dignitie might be restored to the king, and euerie other degrée keepe their roomes and places as to them apertеined, but all in vaine. For this motion of a pacification to be had could take no place, neither might the will of the yong king, or of his timorous mother, as it then séemed, be regarded, otherwise than as stood with the pleasure & appointment of those that were knowne to be the chiefe authors and furtherers of all those troubles.

Sir Henrie Sidneie sent ambassador into France.

In other ambassage in Julie directed into France.

Whilest the quéenes maiestie therefore did thus trauell in respect of the suertie which hir grace bare to hir welbeloued brother the said king, and to the commoditie and quietnesse of both the factions, an open iniurie was offered to hir maiestie: so as it might appeare what minds they bare towards hir, that had thus excluded and refused all offers & meanes to grow to some good and indifferent conclusion of peace. For whereas manie merchants, as well of London as of Excester, and other the west parts of hir realme, were sojourning for cause of traffike, in diuerse ports and hauens of Britaine; and hauing dispatched their businesse, and got their lading aboord, their ships were readie to hoise vp sailes, and to returne each one towards the place from whence hée came, they were suddenlie arested, their goods seized vpon, and they themselues cast in prison: and some that in reuenge of such offered iniurie attempted to make resistance, were cruellie slaine, their ships conueied awaie, their goods confiscat, without other pretense, but onelie that it was said to them that they were Huguenots. Neither was this done by priuat persons, but by open violence of the gouernors & magistrats of those places where the same disorder was executed: so that it appeared from whence they had their commission to vse such wrongfull dealing, and how farre the same would extend, if they might once haue time and occasion to accomplish their purposed intentions.

Ships of London, Excester, & Falmouth, spoiled by the French in Britaine, the thirtith of Julie, and nineteenth of August.

Moreouer, when complaint of such iniuries was made vnto the lawfull magistrats there, they found no redres at all. For what might the poore merchants profit by their plaints, when the packets of the ambassadors leters, directed to hir maiestie, were taken from the bearer, & no punishment had against those that committed so vnciuill an outrage? A thing that offended hir maiestie so much more, for that as she toke the matter, there wanted no good will, either in the king, or his mother, or in the king of Nauarre, the kings generall lieutenant, to sée such a presumptuous and vnrulie part punished of their people: but rather that there lacked in them authoritie to haue it redressed. Furthermore, it greatlie grieued hir, that the yong French king, hir déere brother was brought to such a streict, that he was nether able to defend the libertie of his people, nor the authoritie of his lawes, nor to deale vprightlie with other princes and potentats accordinglie, as by the bonds of leagues and of couenanted alliances had bene requisite. Neither did such disorder in gouernement of the kingdome of France touch anie so much and particularlie, as the queens maiestie of England.

Letters taken from the quéens ambassadors seruants.

The French troubles touch most ye quéene of England.

She therefore lamenting that the king and quéene mother should be thus in the hands of them that procured all these troubles, and led vp and downe at their pleasures, and driuen to behold the spoile and sacking of diuerse his cities, and miserable slaughter of his subiects: and againe hir grace thinking it expedient to preuent that such as were knowne to beare no good will, either to hir or hir realme, should not get into their possessions such townes and hauens as laie against the sea coasts of hir said realme, whereby they stuffing the same with garrisons and numbers of men of warre, might easilie vpon occasions séeke to make inuasions into this hir said realme, to the great annoiance of hir and hir louing subiects; at the request of the French themselues, thought it expedient to put in armor a certeine number of hir subiects, to passe ouer into Normandie, vnto such hauens as nére approched vnto this hir realme of England, as well for the safegard of the same, as also for the relefe and preseruation of the inhabitants there: and other that professed the gospell, liuing in continuall danger to be murthered and oppressed, and therefore craning hir aid to saue and deliuer them out of the bloudie hands of their cruell aduersaries, that sought their hastie destruction.

The chiefe causes that moued the quéenes maiestie to send a power into France.

For the conduction therefore of such forces as she meant to send ouer at that present, she ordeined the lord Ambrose Dudleie earle of Warwike to be hir principall lieutenant, capteine generall, chiefe leader and gouernor of hir said subiects, that should in such wise passe ouer into Normandie. Herevpon, the said erle the seuentеenth of October, in this fourth yeare of hir maiesties reigne, toke shipping at Portesmouth in the hauen there, at one a clocke in the after noone, being aboord himselfe in the quéens ship, called the New barke, and setting forward, sailed all that after noone, and the night following, directlie towards

The earle of Warwike sent into Normandie with an armie.

wards Newhauen, but in the morning about eight a clocke, when his lordship was within twentie miles of the town of Newhauen, the wind suddenlie changed cleane contrarie to his course: so that being driuen to returne about the nert midnight, he arriued in the downes, and there remained at anchor, till about eight of the clocke in the nert morning being mondaie, and then was set on land by bote at Sandon castell besides Deale, and the same daie at night came to Douer, & there late till fridaie at three of the clocke at after noone; and then taking ship againe, sailed forth: but finding the wind nothing prosperous for his course, after he had lien all that night & the daie following, tolling & tumbling on the seas, he was constreined to come backe againe, and arriued in the hauen of Douer, about ten of the clocke on saturdaie at night, and so remained there till tuesdaie nert insuing at three of the clocke in the after noone, and then went to shipbord againe in the said ship called the New barke: and directing his course forwards, on thursdaie morning about eight of the clocke, his lordship landed at Newhauen, where he was most ioyfullie receiued with a great peale of artillerie.

The earle of warwike landeth at Newhauen.

Light horsemen Scots.

The nert daie, being fridaie, & the thirtith of October, there came to Newhauen from Diepe, fiftie light horsemen Scots, brought by one of maister Killigrues seruants. On saturdaie the last of October, the earle of Warwiks commission was proclamed in Latine, English, and French, by Blewmantell, pursenant at armes: which being ended, his lordship went into the church, and there sir Adrian Poinings knight marshall gaue him his oth, and then my lord gaue the said sir Adrian his oth. And after him were sworne Cutbert Vaughan controllor, John Fisher knight porter, William Bromfield maister of the ordinance, William Robinson water bailise, and capteine Thomas Wod clearke of the councell. On mondaie the second of Nouember, the earle of Warwike, with the knight marshall, and the controllor, rode out of Newhauen to Hauteuille, and so towards Mondeuille, accompanied with all the horsemen English and Scotish, and a thousand footmen. The Scotishmen & Montgomeries band pased forth, and skirmished with them of Mondeuille, and the Scots brought awaie with them a bottie of three hundred sheepe: but in the morning, they were returned backe againe by commandement of the earle of Warwike.

An oth receiued by the lord lieutenant, and other officers.

A skirmish betweene the Scotishmen and them of Mondeuille.

Maister controllors souldiors went as far as Harflue, and there skirmished with them of that garrison, but without anie hurt to either parte. My lord lieutenant riding all about the hils, viewed the countrie, and at night returned. On wednesdaie the fourth of Nouember, a barke of Newhauen, belonging to Francis Clearke, brought into the hauen of the same towne, foure Britons laden with wines, to the quantitie of two hundred tuns of good Gascoigne wines, which they ment to haue brought to the enimies: but being thus taken as a good prise, it was discharged in Newhauen, and stood the Englishmen and others of that towne in good stead. On fridaie the first of Nouember, about nine of the clocke in the morning, a great alarum rose in the said towne of Newhauen: for vpon the hils on the north side of the towne, the Reingraue, and the sonne of the viceadmerall of France, shewed themselues, accompanied with two thousand footmen, and fiue hundred horsemen. And herewith, the Reingraue sent a trumpetor to the towne, to aduertise the lord lieutenant, that he was on the hils there at hand; and that vnderstanding his lordship was come into the countrie, and entred into Newhauen, if it would please him to promise vpon his honor, and by the faith of a gentleman, that he might come, and returne in safetie, he would be glad to come & see him. Wherevpon the lord lieutenant, taking with him certeine capteins and gentlemen, rode forth of the towne, and sent before him sir Adrian Poinings the marshall, with Stephan Medcalfe hir maiesties trumpetor vnto the Reingraue, who talking with him, returned, and met with the lord lieutenant: who therewith pased forward, and meeting with the Reingraue, they imbraced each other, and conferred togither as they had occasion. And the Reingraue told the lord lieutenant (among other talke) that he was come to be his neighbor, and so with such merie speech they communed togither: and after taking their leaue either of other, they returned vnto their homes.

Stephan Medcalfe trumpetor.

The earle of Warwike and the Reingraue talke togither.

The counte Montgomerie and monsieur Beauuois had some talke also with the Reingraue, casting out bitter and sharpe words in reproch of the duke of Guise, and others that were of his faction. The Reingraue comming backe to his armie the same afternoone, forraied all the countrie, and droue awaie the most part of all the cattell that they might meet with: and comming to the church of Hauteuille, where an hundred and fiftie of Montgomeries band late, they skirmished with them, and in the end Montgomeries souldiors were forced to retire, and abandon the place, leauing it to the enimies; and comming awaie, withdrew the same night into Newhauen. The Almans the same euening, diuiding their armie into two parts, the one halfe of them went and lodged at Mondeuille, and the other halfe at Harflue. The morrow after, the Frenchmen that had abandoned the church of Hauteuille the night before, went thither againe, tooke and kept it against the enimies, in like manner as they held it before.

The church of Hauteuille recouered.

The eleuenth of Nouember, a proclamation was made in the name of the lord lieutenant, by the officer at armes Blewmantell, as well for good orders to be kept by the souldiors against the French inhabitants of the towne, & reforming of certeine greuances, whereof the French had made complaint: as also for their comming to church to heare common praier and preaching at due times, for the auoiding of vnlawfull games, whordome, wicked othes, and other blasphemies; and likewise concerning diuerse other good orders to be obserued, and disorders to be eschewed, as was thought necessarie to giue warning of, with condigne paines apointed for punishment of such as should transgresse in the same.

A proclamation for good orders to be kept by the souldiors.

On thursdaie the twelfe of Nouember, there went out of the towne of Newhauen towards Harflue, three bands of Frenchmen, conteining about fiue hundred footmen, and suddenlie they were beset by the Almans and Frenchmen of the garrison of Harflue: so that the French protestants were driuen to take a village called Graville, where they maintained the skirmish for the space of two houres, till the lord lieutenant, hearing of the perill in which they stood, sent forth with the controllor the number of a thousand footmen, and all the English and Scotish horsemen, and monsieur Beauuois with diuerse French horsemen: who comming before Harflue, fell in skirmish with the enimies, to whose succor there issued forth of Harflue a great number of the Almans, both horsemen and footmen. But the Englishmen behaued themselues so valiantlie, that they beat them out of the field, and droue them in the end to the verie gates of their towne, with such lionlike courage, as was wonderfull: chosing rather to die in battell (if hap had so cut their cards) in an honest cause, than in their sicke beds: as moued by the poets reason not anuile for a souldior to

A skirmish before Harflue.

A prise of wines to the quantitie of two hundred tuns.

An alarum in the towne of Newhauen.

remember and resolutelie to rest vpon, to wit:

Absumpti longis animam cruciatibus edunt
Languentes morbis: in bello pulchra paratur
Mors, homo momento pugnans extinguitur horæ,
Euolat in tenues lætus cito spiritus auras.

This skirmish was stoutlie mainteined and continued for the space of three long houres. Their great artillerie was shot off freshlie from the wals and bulworks. At length, when the night drew on, the retire was sounded, and the Englishmen came their waie backe to Newhauen with honor, hauing lost not past eight of their souldiors, that were slaine and six other hurt: whereas there was one of the enimies capteins slain in sight, with twentie souldiors, and another of their capteins, with diuerse others of their numbers greeuouslie wounded. Monsieur Beauuois shewed himselfe that daie verie forward and valiant, & so likewise did the Scotishmen. The thirteenth of Nouember, a pinnesse of the Frenchmen that belonged to Newhauen, being gone forth the night before, brought into the hauen a ship laden with Rochell wines, fiue and twentie tuns, that was bound to passe vp to the enimies, and so esteemed a good prise. On the fourteenth of Nouember, another ship fraught with twentie tuns of Gascoigne wines was brought in as a prise, likewise taken by a barke of Newhauen, that belonged to a Frenchman, called Jehan de Bois, an earnest aduersarie to the papists.

The seuenth of Nouember, a proclamation was made by Blewmantell, concerning orders taken and passed by the lord lieutenant, that no Englishman nor Frenchman should shot off anie harquebuse within the towne; nor that anie Frenchman, except monsieur Beauuois, or monsieur Bricquemault, or their companies, should be out of their lodgings after nine of the clocke at night till the nert morning on paine of death: except in cases of alarums. The twelfe of Nouember, about six of the clocke at night, one of the mils without the gate was set on fire by some of the papists (as was thought) whereof rose a great alarum. The thirteenth of Nouember, the Reingraue was seene on the north hils of the towne, with foure score horsemen: whereupon the Scotish horsemen, and three bands of footmen issued out, marching vp towards the same hils, in hope to meet with their enimies, but they were retired towards Mondeuille, and so nothing was done. It was reported for a certeine truth, that the duke Daumale was there at that present with the Reingraue.

On wednesdaie, the fiue and twentith of Nouember, one of capteine Cocksons souldiors was hanged in the market place: and an other that was brought thither likewise to be executed had his pardon, at the suit of certeine French gentlemen. And herewith was proclamation made, that where it had beene proclamed afore, that none should take anie thing forceablie from the French on paine of death, for breach whereof, such execution was presentlie done: the lord lieutenant did by this proclamation eftsoons charge and command, that none vpon like paine should breake or spoile anie house or ship: or take anie timber, wood, or anie other thing from the French, without their good will, consent, and agreement. The same afternoone came into the hauen hoies and botes laden with wine, cider, perrie, wheate, beefe, bisquet, meale, and other prouision of vittels. Two French shallops of Newhauen had taken them besides Hunflue, and beaten backe a shallop of the enimies, taieng ten or twelue Frenchmen that came forth of Hunflue to haue succored the hoies. The fiue and twentith of Nouember, there landed at Newhauen six hundred souldiors Essex men, vnder the leading of Auerie Darsie, Reginald Higate, and William Twedie, each of them hauing his appointed number of two hundred to his ensigne. *arriue at Newhauen.*

Moreouer, where as well diuerse prentises, as other Englishmen were come ouer, since the placing of the garrison in that towne of Newhauen, not offering their seruice anie waie, other than by straggling abroad to seeke pillage, whereby they fell oftentimes into the hands of the enimies, both to the dishonor of their countrie, & losse of their owne liues. For reformation hereof proclamation was made the last of Nouember, that all Englishmen within the said towne, aboue the age of sixteene yeares, and vnder three score, being not reteined in the queens maiesties paie, should at one of the clocke that present daie repaire to the bulworke called the bulworke of saint Andreses, there to present his name & person to the comptrollor, that order might be taken how to employe them in some certeintie of seruice, vpon paine to euerie one failing hereof to suffer ten daies imprisonment, & also to be banished the towne. *A proclamation for the assembling of souldiors at saint Andreses.*

The same daie the queenes ship called the Hare, comming from Portsmouth, arriued at Newhauen; and in hir came sir John Portinarie, whose ripe skill, deepe iudgement, and great experience in matters of fortification had bred in him such knowledge, as he may worthilie be called a maister in that science. They were by the waie assailed by a French ship of foure score and ten tuns and better: but they that were aboord in the Hare, so manfullie acquited themselues, that they vanquished the enimies, tooke the same ship, & brought hir with them being laden with wines, which they meant to haue conueied to the aduersaries in some garrison. The same daie sir John More landed at Newhauen, bringing ouer with him fiue hundred souldiors out of Denshire, for a supplie of the garrison there. He himselfe returned backe into England, but the souldiors were appointed to the leading of other capteins: so that Francis Summerset, brother to the earle of Worcester had three hundred of them; Oliuer Manners an hundred, and Edward Grimsbie the other hundred. On tuesdaie the eight of December monsieur de Beauuois, capteine Francis Summerset, and capteine Edward Horsete, with diuerse other capteins, officers and gentlemen, rode to the Reingraue, lieng at a faire house not farre from Mondeuille, where they dined with him, had great and hartie cheere, and after returned againe to Newhauen. The same daie the Reingraue sent for a present vnto my lord of Warwike, a great horse, verie faire, with saddle and bridle; esteemed to be well worth an hundred pounds. *Sir John Portinarie a Florentine, and an excellent engiuer.* *Sir John More bringeth a supplie of souldiors to Newhauen out of Denonshire.* *A present sent by the Reingraue to the earle of Warwike.*

Moreouer, the same daie at night, the Double Rose with certeine other botes and French shallops, passed forth of the hauen: Edward Dudleie, and capteine John Ward being aboord in the said Double Rose, with diuerse other Englishmen & Frenchmen, to the number of a hundred good souldiors, who sailing downe the riuer landed beside Tankeruille, and laie close all that night in the wood. And in the morning about nine of the clocke monsieur Bimar, ensignebearer to the counte Montgomerie, with six or seauen Frenchmen vnarmed went to the castell gate, and there fell in talke with monsieur Dimenè, who was capteine of that fortresse, hauing with him about ten souldiors that were appointed to remaine with him vpon the gard of the same castell. Whilest they were thus in talke, the Englishmen and other Frenchmen comming forth of the wood that was there at hand, reared vp their ladders, which they had brought with them for that purpose, at the breach which was made the summer before by the duke Daumale; *Edward Dudleie.* *The castell of Tankeruille woone by the Englishmen*

Pr. Reg.

Pr. French

Pr. Parliam.

Pr. death of Edward Grene

Pr. proclamatio. for ordering of ye

Pr. Parliam.

Daumale; and entring by the same, came downe into the base court. Which thing when the French soldiors that kept talke with them within at the castell gate perceiued, they began to laugh. The capteine of the castell therwith turning his face, & beholding as good as three score armed men within the castell at his backe, he suddenlie said: Ha, ie suis vostre, I am yours sirs, and so yelded with his ten soldiors. And in this sort was the castell taken, & the capteine brought prisoner to Newhauen.

A hote recouered which the French had taken.

On the twelfe of December, at ten of the clocke in the morning, the earle of Warwike, monsieur de Beauuois, and monsieur de Bricquemault, with all their horsemen & three thousand footmen, passed forth of Newhauen vnto Harflue, out of which towne there issued seauen hundred Reisters of the retinue of the counte Reingraue, and three hundred footmen, who fell in skirmish with the French and Englishmen verie hotlie: but at length the Englishmen draue them to the verie gates of Harflue, and slue them euen at the same gates, and vpon the walles of the towne; insomuch that they were constreined to shut their gates, and off went the ordinance from the gates and bulworks, discharging bullets amongst the English soldiors frælie. But yet there were not slaine past seuen of the English part, albeit diuerse were hurt and wounded, & amongst other was monsieur de Beauuois shot into the side of the necke through his gorget, and capteine Antwisell through the arme. Moreouer, whereas they carried forth with them foure barrels of gunpolwder to mainteine the skirmish, through negligence by setting fire in the same, there were to the number of twentie grieuoulie burned. Of the enimies were slaine that daie aboue thirtie, and hurt aboue fiftie. Manie of their horsses were also slaine in this skirmish, which continued aboue three houres. As the Englishmen were returning backe, the Reingraue with two hundred horsses, and a certeine number of footmen, was laid fast by in an ambush, thinking to haue cut off part of their men: but he failed of his purpose. For the lord lieutenant marching with his men in battell araie, brought them home in safetie, without other impeachment. The seauentéenth of December, the counte Montgomerie, and sir Hugh Paulet arriued at Newhauen in one of the quænes ships called the Aid.

A skirmish before Harflue.

The French men beaten into Harflue.

Monsieur Beauuois & capteine Antwisell hurt.

A proclamation for obseruing of orders.

The nineteenth of December a proclamation was made for orders to be obserued, concerning the imbarking of such soldiors as were licenced to depart by passeport or otherwise: and likewise prohibiting the taking into ante vessell ante drie fish, wine, sugar, or ante houshold stuffe without speciall licence of the lord lieutenant. Whilest things passed thus in Normandie at Newhauen & thereabouts, where the earle of Warwike & other valiant capteines were readie to make proofe of their high prowesse in time & place as occasion might serue, there ended his life at home that honorable baron, and right famous capteine in his daies William lord Greie of Wilton, knight of the most noble order of the garter, and at that present gouernor of Berwike, and warden of the east marches against Scotland. He deceased the fiue and twentith of December, in the yeare 1562, at Chelhunt in Hertfordshire, then the house of Henrie Denie esquier that had married mistresse Honor Greie, the said lord Greies onelie daughter. ¶ The six and twentith of December the counte de Montgomerie take shiping at Newhauen rode, accompanied with foure hundred harquebutters Frenchmen, and sailed to Dæpe, there to be gouernor of that towne. He went in an English barke belonging to Nicholas Malbie secretarie to the earle of Warwike lord lieutenant.

The death of the lord Greie of Wilton.

The third of Januarie a shallop that was sent the same morning from Newhauen, laden with beere and other vittels to passe vnto Tankeruille, was assailed about Harflue, by a shallop of Harflue, which drone the hoie to the shore: so as the Englishmen forsoke their hoie, and came running to Newhauen, to declare what had happened. Hereupon the lord lieutenant sent forth foure French shallops by water, and the horssemen with six hundred footmen passed forth by land, and vsed such diligence, that they came euen as the Frenchmen were haling vp the hoie towards Harflue: and skirmishing with the Frenchmen (being foure score good harquebutters) for the space of a long houre, at length recouered the hoie, and toke three of their shallops with their ordinance, which they brought to Newhauen, with the losse of one onelie man, an harquebutter of capteine Couches band. The fourth of Januarie in the morning, the English scout, being thirtie good harquebutters, were set vpon by the enimies that drone them vnto the verie gates. They shot also with their harquebusses into the towne, and ouer the mount rotall among the English soldiors. They hurt at that present three of the scouts; but when they perceiued the Englishmen were in a readinesse to approch them, they departed, being in number three hundred horssemen and a thousand footmen, soldiors of Mondeuille and Harflue. The six of Januarie were apprehended capteine Blondell, capteine Moucombell, monsieur Dimenæ, and Vitanna with others, for some conspiracie or traitorous practise which they went about, and had maliciouslie contriued. The same daie capteine Edward Horseie with his two hundred soldiors, & capteine Francis Blunt with his hundred toke shipping at Newhauen rode, and sailed to Dæpe, there to remaine with the counte Montgomerie, whose wife the countesse Montgomerie went also with them to hir husband the same time.

Certeine apprehended for conspiracie.

On the saturdaie following, the twelfe daie after Christmasse, being the ninth of Januarie, a great tempest of wind and thunder happened in the towne of Leicester, which vncouered two and fortie baies of houses, and ouerthrew manie, renting and tearing them in peeces, in a strange and maruellous maner. The people that were assembled that daie in the market place to buie and sell their vsuall chafer, wares, and commodities, were sore amazed and astonied with the hidiousnesse of that most outragious & violent tempest. On thursdaie the 14 of Januarie at one of the clocke in the morning, there issued forth of Newhauen three score horssemen, and a thousand footmen, all English; & comming to Mondeuille, where the Reingraue laie, gaue to them within an alarum, but neither the Reisters, nor the Almane footmen, nor French that were within that towne would come forth: and therefore after the Englishmen had tarried there the space of foure houres, they returned backe againe to Newhauen.

A great tempest in Leicester.

An alarum giuen to Mondeuille.

The fiftéenth of Januarie, at one of the clocke in the afternoone, there issued forth of Newhauen three score horssemen, and fiftéene hundred footmen, which comming to Harflue, gaue a like alarum to that towne; but none of the garrison there would come forth: whereupon the Englishmen returned home againe to Newhauen. The sixteenth of Januarie, the castell of Tankeruille was surrendred to the Reingraue, after he had laine about it eight daies, with two thousand horssemen and footmen. It was now yelded by composition (after it had beene kept by the space of thirtie eight daies) that those within should depart with bag and baggage, the gallie being sent from Newhauen to fetch them awaie. There were no more within it at that time when it was

An alarum giuen to Harflue.

The castell of Tankeruille deliuered to the Reingraue.

was thus deliuered: but capteine John Ward, capteine Edward Dudleie, and capteine Saule, his lieutenant Rileie, with seuentie English souldiers, & thirtie French. The 19 of Januarie, there landed at Newhauen capteine Tremaine, with 50 horssemen verie well appointed to serue the quéenes maiestie there. The foure and twentith of Januarie, Francis Clerke Frenchman arriued at Newhauen, with two tall ships of his owne, right well appointed for the wars, bringing with him thrée rich prises, valued at about fiftie thousand crownes, one of them was a mightie great hulke, laden with wood & allume. The 26 of Januarie, capteine Tremaine with all his horssemen, & capteine Clerke with his Scotish horsmen, and 600 footmen, went forth of Newhauen towards Mondeuille, & by the waie in a little village, there was a French capteine came forth of Mondeuille, named monsieur Emerie, hauing with him thirtie souldiers, where falling in hand to spoile the same village, the pezzants about gathered themselues togither, and set vpon him and his souldiers. Now whilest they were thus in fight, the Scotish horssemen came suddenlie vpon them, tooke the said capteine sore wounded, slue twelue of his soldiers, & tooke fouretéene other of them prisoners, whome with their capteine wounded (as he was) they brought home the same night vnto Newhauen.

Tremaine.

Francis Clerke Frenchman.

Prises taken by him of about 50000 crownes value.

Capteine Emerie taken by the Scotish horsmen.

The thrée and twentith of Januarie, a proclamation was made for orders to be obserued by the souldiers, and other resiants within the towne of Newhauen, concerning politike gouernement thereof, as well for the better defense against the enimies without, as the quiet demeanor of the men of warre and inhabitants within. The fift of Februarie, two ships of Britons laden with Gascoigne wines, butter, bakon, lard, salt, and other victels, were brought into Newhauen by a shallop of Billebeuf, that was resiant with other Frenchmen in Newhauen, seruing against the papists, and had taken those two vessels, as they were going to victell the enimies.

A proclamation for the obseruing of orders.

A prise brought to Newhauen.

The first of Februarie thrée faire mightie ships of warre, belonging to Francis Clerke, brought into Newhauen thrée rich prises, laden with sackes, bastards, sugar, orenges, graines, and other merchandizes. This Clerke had not béene forth past six weeks at this time, and yet he had got aboue eightéene prises, well worth by iust valuation the summe of fiftie thousand pounds. On saturdaie the first of Februarie, a souldier of capteine Apleyards band was executed in the market place; for that contrarie to order taken and published afore that time by proclamation, he had not onelie drawen his weapon against another souldier, but also maimed him, and plaied other lewd parts in contempt of the lord lieutenants commandements. There was another also condemned to die, and two others adiudged to lose their hands: but the lord lieutenant of his mercifull clemencie granted to those thrée his pardon, for their passed offenses. On sundaie the seuenth of Februarie, was Hunflue summoned by an herald, sent from the French admerall, monsieur de Chatillon. On mondaie the eight of that moneth, the said admerall came before Hunflue, with six thousand horssemen Reisters, and other of his owne retinues, beside footmen, and a thousand horssmen of the countries thereabout. And about six of the clocke at night there was a great peale of ordinance shot off at Newhauen for a welcome to the said admerall.

A souldier executed for fighting contrarie to the orders in that case giuen.

Thrée other pardoned.

The admerall of France summoneth Hunflue.

The twelfe of Februarie, the French gallies of Newhauen passing forth, and walking about Hunflue to séeke aduentures, in hope of suertie, by reason the lord admerall of France laie therby at Touque, rode at an anchor: whilest some of them that were aboord in hir went on land, to gaine somwhat of the enimies. But they within Hunflue perceiuing this, made out their great gallies, with fiftie good mariners and souldiers, who comming vpon the gallies of Newhauen lieng at anchor, put hir in great danger of taking. For there were but fiftéene men left aboord in hir at that present, whereof thrée of them were Englishmen, who perceiuing in what danger they stood, waied anchor with all spéed, and drew towards the shore, to take in the rest of their companie; and getting them aboord vnto them, they manfullie stood to their defense, being in all but foure and twentie men. Neuertheless, they so behaued themselues, that continuing in fight aboue a long houre, at length they ouercame their enimies, slue seuen of them outright, wounded seuen and thirtie, tooke their gallie and brought hir to Newhauen, with thirtéene bels, diuerse copes, and church ornaments, chéepe, and other spoiles, which they had got abroad in the countrie, togither with thrée and fortie good prisoners, and the artillerie which was found aboord in the foresaid great gallie, wherewith she was verie well appointed and furnished.

The great gallie of Hunflue taken.

Of the French protestants there were but thrée slaine and six hurt, and one of the thrée Englishmen was also hurt. As it hath béene crediblie reported, the French protestants might thanke those thrée Englishmen that were with them in their gallies, for that their good hap: for if they had not manfullie stood to it at the first, and bestowed such artillerie as they had aboord with them freshlie against the enimies, the French had yeelded. But by Gods good helpe, and their worthie courage, the victorie remained on their side. The fouretéenth of Februarie there came from the lord admerall of France, lieng then at Touque, monsieur de Rohen, and monsieur de Grandemont, a knight of the order, monsieur Delegnie the admerals sonne in law, and diuerse other French gentlemen, to confer with the lord lieutenant, who receiued them right gladlie, and made them great cheere. They remained in Newhauen till the eightéenth of Februarie, and then departed and went to Caen, whither the said lord admerall was remoued, & had entred the towne, & laie within it, preparing with all spéed to besiege the castell.

The French beholden to the English.

Noble men sent from the admerall of France to the earle of Warwike.

The same daie that the French lords departed from Newhauen towards Caen, monsieur Briquemault, and sir Nicholas Throckmorton knight arriued at Newhauen in one of the quéenes ships called the Aid. The admerall Chatillon being got into the towne of Caen, kept the castell besieged, within the which was inclosed the marquesse Dalbeuf. There were sent to him from Newhauen the fiue & twentith of Februarie, seuen canons, two demie culuerings, & one minion. On the morrow following being fridaie, and six and twentith of Februarie, sir Nicholas Throckmorton knight, monsieur Briquemault, and monsieur Beauuois, with a thousand souldiers French, and as manie English, to wit, capteine Zouch, capteine Twedie, capteine Yigate, each of them with two hundred: capteine John Ward, capteine Parkinson, capteine Saule, maister Wheeler, and capteine Fisher with his band, each of them with his hundred, and capteine Pelham with the labourers were imbarked in the rode at Newhauen, and sailed forth towards Caen, to come to the siege which the admerall of France had laid to the castell there.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton arriueth at Newhauen.

Caen castell besieged.

The marques Dalbeuf brother to the duke of Guise.

Aid sent to the siege of Caen.

The same daie as the counte Montgomerie had imbarked at the hauen of Diepe in an English vessell, and was comming towards Newhauen, there came out from Fescampe thrée shallops, by the appointment of the Reingraue (as was said) which made towards Montgomerie, whose meaning when he perceiued, he set vpon the strongest of the same shallops,

The counte Mõtgomerie taketh a French shallop.

shallops, so that there followed a sharpe conflict betwixt them, but in the end the victorie fell to Montgomerie, the shallop being taken, the capteine and maister slaine, and three English victuellers rescued, which the said shallops had taken. Montgomerie herewith arriuing at Newhauen, and bringing his prise with him was ioifullie receiued, and after he had talked a while with the lord lieutenant and the councell, he went aboord againe and sailed to Caen, there to confer with the admerall.

Mõtgomerie goeth to Caen to speake with the admerall.

The first of March in the morning they began to batter the castell of Caen, in such wise that about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, they within began to parlee, but it toke none effect: and then went off the artillerie againe till night, and in the morning the batterie eftsones began. And before that two tires of the said artillerie had gone off, they within offered to parlee againe, and finallie agreed by composition to yeeld; and so on that tuesdaie by ten of the clocke, the castell was surrendred into the hands of the French admerall, and the marquesse Malbeuf, and other that had the place in keeping, departed in safetie. On wednesdaie the third of March, the towne of Baieulx was also yelded vnto the lord admerall of France, and on the morrow following Faleise, and afterwards S. Lo, with diuerse other townes and castels, yelded likewise vnto him. The tenth of March the great gallie and the foists were sent awaie from Newhauen, with a canon and shot and powder vnto Hunflue, where they met with monsieur de Monie, that came thither with a faire companie of horsemen and diuerse footmen French, and of Englishmen, capteine Tuttie with his two hundred, and capteine Fisher with his hundred.

The castell of Caen battered.

It is rendred to the admerall.

Baieulx, Faleise, and S. Lo, yelded to the admerall.

The canon laid to the castell of Hunflue.

The canon which came from Newhauen was immediatlie planted, and about ten of the clocke in the forenoone it was shot off, and after it had beene six times discharged, they within began to parlee, and in the end they agreed to yeld vp the castell vnto monsieur de Monie, with condition, that their souldiers and men of warre might depart onelie with their rapiers and daggers, leauing all the residue of their moueables behind them. And according to this capitulation, capteine Lion with his hundred souldiers, and capteine Nicholas with his hundred, and fiftie other souldiers which were within departed, and left the castell vnto monsieur de Monie, whereby his souldiers, as well English as others, gained greatlie by the spoile.

It is yelded.

A proclamation vpon paine of death.

The twelfe of March proclamation was made in name of the lord lieutenant, that no souldier should draw weapon to do hurt therewith vnto anie of the French within the towne of Newhauen, or limits of the same, nor to molest them, nor to spoile nor take anie thing violentlie awaie from anie of them, nor to breake downe their houses, nor to carrie awaie their timber on paine of death. There was also a proclamation made in the name of the king & admerall, that no capteine, burgesse, souldier, mariner, or other of the French nation within the towne or without, should draw anie weapon, nor picke anie quarrell, nor vse anie iniurious words against anie man to moue them to wrath, specially against the Englishmen on paine of death: nor that anie burgesse or inhabitant, of what qualitie or condition soeuer, except capteins, gentlemen, and souldiers, receiuing paie, should beare anie weapon on the like paine.

A proclamation in the Frẽch kings name.

Sir Adrian Poinings.

The fiue and twentith of March, sir Adrian Poinings knight, marshall of Newhauen departed from thence, and returning into England, remained there still. Whereas monsieur de Beauuois had by the admerall Chatillons commandement, charged by publike proclamation, all strangers, forreners,

The French appointed to depart out of Newhauen.

and French souldiers to depart the towne, by the 23 of March last past, and that all other hauing their wiues and families should depart with them, within foure daies after the same proclamation, to giue aid for the conseruation and keeping of the townes of Hunflue, Caen, Baieulx, Faleise, S. Lo, and other places, latelie brought into the obedience of the king, vnder the authoritie of the prince of Conde, vnder paine for making default, to be taken as good prisoners of warre to those that should apprehend them. Proclamation was also thereupon made in the lord lieutenants name, the six and twentith of March, being fridaie, that it should be lawfull to the queenes maiesties subiects and frends, to apprehend and take as their good and lawfull prisoners, all such as contrarie to the former proclamation, should remaine in the towne of Newhauen, after fiue of the clocke after none of the daie then next following being saturdaie; those persons onelie excepted, whose names had beene presented and inrolled in bils remaining with the lord lieutenants secretarie.

Proclamation for the lawfull taking of prisoners.

Prouided, that no person seizing vpon the bodie of anie such offendor, should by vertue or colour thereof spoile anie of their houses, meddle with their goods or moueables, without order and meane of iustice vpon paine of death. On the sundaie yet being the eight and twentith of March, another proclamation was made, to giue respit to the said strangers, forreners, and French souldiers, vntill foure of the clocke in the afternoone of the same daie. And further there was another proclamation published this sundaie, that none should seize vpon anie of those strangers, forreners, or French souldiers, by colour of the two former proclamations, vntill the lord lieutenants pleasure should more fullie be knowen therein.

Another proclamation in the behalfe of strangers.

The thirtith of March being tuesdaie, proclamation was eftsones made, that whereas all forreners, being not anie of the burgesses, or proper inhabitants of the said towne of Newhauen, nor of the garrison or armie of the Englishmen in the same towne, had beene warned by seuerall proclamations to depart the towne; and yet the same proclamations notwithstanding, a great number made their abode still in the towne, in contempt of those proclamations: the lord lieutenant by this proclamation gaue full power and authoritie to the said prouost marshall of the garrison of the Englishmen in that towne, to apprehend and take as good and lawfull prisoners, all such forreners, as well souldiers, and mariners, as other without exception, which should be found in the towne at anie time after fiue of the clocke in the afternoone on saturdaie then next comming: monsieur Beauuois and his familie, and all ministers then being within the towne, being neuertheless clerelie excepted; and diuerse prouisions also included in this selfesame proclamation, for the mitigating of extremities, by wrong interpreting thereof, in behalfe of them that were to depart, as also that the gaine that should come by euerie particular prisoner so arrested by the prouost marshall, should returne to anie of the queenes maiesties subiects, by whose meane and procurement the same prisoner was detected, and caused to be apprehended.

Another proclamation for the lawfull apprehending of prisoners.

Exceptions against the foresaid proclamation.

On mondaie the fift of April, the Reingraue with foure hundred horsemen, and about fiue hundred footmen, came downe the hill, betwixt saint Addresses & Englefield, where sir Hugh Paulet knight met with him, by appointment of the lord lieutenant accompanied with fortie horsemen, and a thousand English footmen: and after they had talked togither by the space of an houre, they departed the one from the other; maister Paulet returning to Newhauen, and the Reingraue to Mondeuille, the place where he

The Reingraue with his horsemen.

he vsuallie remained. On Easter euen, two souldiers that had serued vnder capteine Parkinson were hanged in the market place of Newhauen, for running awaie to the Reingraue and vnto Diepe. Another also that serued vnder capteine Turner was condemned for the like offense, but pardoned through the great clemencie of the lord lieutenant.

Execution on Easter euen.

A proclamation to be packing out of Newhauen.

The eight and twentith of Aprill, proclamation was made, that all the papists, and the wiues and children of all them that were departed forth of Newhauen, and made their abode at that present in Monstreuilliers, Harflue, or elsewhere abroad in the countrie, and likewise all other, whome the last proclamation for their auoiding out of the towne in anie wise touched, should depart on saturdaie then next insuing, on paine to haue their bodies arrested as prisoners, and their goods to be confiscate. Other articles were conteined in the same proclamation, as well for the forreners that should come forth of the countrie to the market, as for the behauiour and demeanor of the French inhabitants of the towne, with promise of reward to such as should discouer and apprehend anie espiall, either dwelling in the towne, or comming and going to or from it. The first of Maie, Garter principall king of armes arriued at Newhauen, bringing with him the garter to the lord lieutenant, chosen on S. Georges daie last past to be one of the confréers of that most honorable order. The fourth of Maie proclamation was made, that all the French burgesses & others should bring and deliuer all their armour and weapon into the towne hall of Newhauen, which commandement was incontinentlie obeied and accomplished.

Garter king of armes bringeth the garter to the lord lieutenant.

A proclamation for auoiding.

The seauenth of Maie, proclamation was made for the auoiding of all such, whome the former proclamations had in anie wise touched, for their departure forth of the towne, that they should depart by tuesdaie next (the ministers of the church excepted) and that none should enter into the towne, of what condition or estate soeuer he should be, without licence of the lord lieutenant, except he were a burgesse of the towne, and of the number of those that had their names inrolled, as by the rols lastlie made it might appeare, on paine to be apprehended as good and lawfull prisoners. The twelfe of Maie it was prohibited by proclamation to all burgesses, inhabitants, and others, not to go vnto Harflue, or Montreuilliers, or elsewhere out of sight of the towne of Newhauen, on paine to be taken as lawfull prisoners. The fifteenth of Maie, a marriner of the great gallie suffered in the market place of Newhauen, for robbing and pilfering of ships there in the hauen, and three other that were condemned for the like offense had their pardons.

Ministers excepted.

Places forbidden by proclamation to be resorted vnto.

Execution for pilfering.

A proclamation for the auoiding of the French out of Newhauen.

The sixteenth of Maie was proclamation made, that all Frenchmen, being within the towne of Newhauen, otherwise called Haure de Grace, as well men, women, as children, should depart the towne, betwixt that present time and six of the clocke at night on the next daie being mondaie, except surgians, apothecaries, bakers, butchers, smiths, masons, locksmiths, carpenters, and other such artificers, vpon paine to be attached as good and lawfull prisoners, and their goods to be confiscat. By the tenor of these seuerall proclamations it maie appeare, that the lord lieutenant proceeded nothing rigorouslie against the French, in remouing them forth of the towne; although it maie be, that some which had to deale therein, dealt hardlie inough with them. But in such cases there must of necessitie be some diligent heedfulnesse vsed, for otherwise in such packing away, some might peraduenture carie with them too much, & others too little. But howsoeuer this mater was handled, true it is, that it was thought expedient to auoid the French out of the towne. For after the duke of Guise was slaine before Dieppe, and that the parties were agréed, as by edict of the pacification published in March last past it maie appeare, the whole deuises as well of them of the one religion as the other tended to this end, how to recouer the towne of Newhauen out of the Englishmens hands, either by practise or open force. And such intelligence was vsed betwixt the French within that towne, and the enimies without to bring this to passe, that the English could assure themselues no more of the one than of the other, and so were driuen for their owne safeties, to rid the towne of so doubtfull partakers.

The Englishmen for their owne suerties were forced to double their watch nightly

The seuen and twentith of Maie, proclamation was made, that all maner of furniture and apparell, apperteining to ships within the garrison, hauen, or rode of the towne of Newhauen, should be brought in: or a note to be giuen therof in writing to the lord lieutenant and councell there, before twelue of the clocke the next day. Saturdaie the two and twentith of Maie, about one of the clocke in the morning, the Reingraue with fiue hundred horsmen, and twentie two ensignes of footmen, came downe to the village called Lheure, neere vnto the new fort, which by order of the lord lieutenant was latelie before begun to be built, sir John Portinarie being chiefe deuiser of the fortifications about the same. The enimies meaning was, to haue taken the same fort by a sudden assault: but the English scouts loking well to their charge, gaue intelligence to the lord lieutenant thereof, who incontinentlie going to the bulworke royall, set out by the posterne capteine John Ward with his hundred souldiers, and capteins Parkinson with his hundred, to passe to the fort, there to be an aid and defense to them that laie in the same.

The Reingraue with his forces.

About three of the clocke in the morning, the Reingraue suddenlie with his bands of horsemen and footmen gaue them in the fort an hot alarum; and immediatlie the earle of Warwike gaue in charge to these capteins, Read, Apleyard, Tuttie, Zouch, Antwisell, Ward, Morton, and Parkinson, hauing with them a thousand footmen, and twentie horsmen, to set vpon the enimies in the village of Lheure, neere adioining to the said new fort, where the valiant English souldiers shewed well the wonted valure of their worthie ancestors, giuing such an hardie onset vpon their aduersaries, that greater manhood had not lightlie appeared in any incounter, than was vsed by those martiall capteins, and their warlike bands at that present, to the high honor of their countrie: insomuch that they beat backe their enimies, slue and tooke of them to the number of foure hundred, beside thirtie faire horses, and an ensigne, which one Eastwike lieutenant to capteine Antwisell got.

An alarum giuen to the new fort by the Reingraue.

The hardie onset of the Englishmen made vpon their aduersaries.

Amongst the numbers of them that were slaine, there were found aboue thirtie handsome gentlemen and verie well appointed. To conclude, the Englishmen behaued themselues so manfullie on each side, that by plaine force of armes they droue the enimies quite out of the village, & after set it on fire, bicause the enimies should not come to incampe therein, as their purpose was to haue done at that present. The six and twentith of Maie, the Frenchmen in number about three thousand horsemen and footmen came downe towards the windmils, neere to the bulworke called saint Andrewes, against whom the English horsemen and footmen issued forth of the towne, giuing them a right hot skirmish, which continued for the space of two houres, insomuch that there were slaine of the French to the number of 200; beside an hundred and aboue that were hurt. On the English side that daie were lost about a dozen

The Almans put to flight.

Another skirmish.

The lord lieutenants proceeding to be gathered by his proclamations.

ten or thirtéene persons, and amongst others, was capteine Tremaine slaine, and manie hurt. To conclude, the Englishmen like hardie and worthie souldiers wan and kept the field, so as the Frenchmen in the end were driuen to retire, and besides other losses which they receiued, they had aboue fiftie of their horsses killed and hurt.

The Frenchmen driuen to retire.

In this skirmish, being one of the notablest that had béene lightlie séene manie a daie before, capteine Horsey shewed worthie proofe of his most valiant courage, winning to himselfe such commendation, as the same will not be forgotten, whilest anie shall remaine aliue that beheld his manfull dealings: being such at that present, as deserue to be registred in the booke of fame, & to continue with posteritie for euer. On saturdaie the fift of June at seuen of the clocke at night, the Reinsgraue hauing laid in the village of Lheure an ambush of six hundred horsemen, and fiftéene hundred footmen, there came downe also betwéene the abbeie and the village called Englefield towards the towne, the number of a thousand footmen, which began a verie hot skirmish, first at the new fort, comming euen hard to the ditches, where the Englishmen manfullie incountered them. Herewith also the Reinsgraue appointed other to come downe, and approch the bulworks of saint Adresses, saint Francis, & saint Michaell, and to (conclude) round about the towne: so that there were of them to the number of six thousand that were imploied in this skirmish, which was maintained right fercelie for the space of two hours, with verie sharpe and cruell fight: in the end the enimies were forced to giue place, with the losse of fiue hundred of their men, Almans, Frenchmen, Gascoignes, and Spaniards.

Capteine Horsies valiancie.

Another skirmish.

The number which the French lost in this skirmish.

The Englishmen verelie in this seruice shewed, that they were nothing degenerat from the ancient race of their noble progenitors. Besides those that were slaine on the French part, amongst whom was one of their capteins of good account amongst them, they tooke also Ballompére an Almane, colonell ouer ten ensignes of footmen. The presence of the lord lieutenant was not wanting that daie, both to incourage his worthie souldiers, and also to sée them aplied with weapon and munition, so as they should not be vnprouided of anie thing that was needfull for seruice. Of Englishmen there was hurt capteine Gilbert, and capteine Pelham, and about fiftéene other hurt and slaine. The seuenth of June capteine Edward Dudleie arriued at Newhauen, with an hundred souldiers. The morrow after, the first canon shot light within the towne of Newhauen, nére to the bulworke of saint Addresses, striking into the house where capteine Wheler was lodged, which shot being brought to my lord of Warwike by Blewmantell pursuant at armes, his honor beholding it, reioised thereat, and said, by Gods grace he would answer them againe.

Ballompére.

Capteine Gilbert and capteine Pelham hurt.

Edward Dudleie.

The ninth of June arriued at Newhauen three capteins with their bands, of an hundred a péce, being of the garrison of Berwike: to wit, capteine Tremaine, capteine Cornewall, & capteine Carew. Edward Randoll also landed there the same daie, appointed to be knight marshall. For ye must vnderstand, that sir Adrian Poinings, being knight marshall vpon his returne into England, was otherwise emploid, and went not backe againe: and then was sir Thomas Finch of Kent appointed to go ouer to supplie the roome of knight marshall: who making his prouision readie, sent ouer his brother Erasmus Finch to haue charge of his band; and his kinsman Thomas Finch to be his prouost marshall, whilest staieng till he had euerie thing in a readinesse to passe ouer himselfe. At last, he imbarked in one of the queenes maiesties ships called the Greiehound, hauing there aboord with him, beside threescore and six of his owne retinue, fourtéene other gentlemen, two of them being brethren to the lord Wentworth, James Wentworth, and John Wentworth, with diuerse others, who in the whole (accounting the mariners) amounted vnto the number of 200 persons and vpward. And as they were on the furthest coast toward Newhauen, they were by contrarie wind and foule weather driuen backe toward the coast of England; and plieng towards Rie, they forced the capteine of the ship, a verie cunning seaman named William Maline, and also the maister and mariners, to thrust into the hauen before the tide, and so they all perished, seuen of the meaner sort onlie excepted, where of three died shortlie after they came to land.

A new supplie of Berwike souldiers.

Capteine Randoll appointed knight marshall.

Sir Thomas Finch.

Sir Thomas Finch drowned.

The dead bodie of sir Thomas Finch amongst others was cast on shore, & being knowne, was conueied home to his house, and there buried in his parish church. After this mischance, and losse of that worthie gentleman, the said Edward Randoll was appointed knight marshall, who ordeined a right sufficient personage, capteine John Shute, to be his prouost marshall. The fiftéenth of June, capteine Richard Sanders, and capteine William Saule, with their bands of an hundred souldiers a péce, and capteine Drurie, with two hundred, arriued at Newhauen: and the morrow after arriued capteine Roberts with another hundred of souldiers. And on the seuentéenth of June, being thursdaie, sir Francis Knolles, vicechamberleine of the quéenes maiesties house landed there, béeing sent ouer by hir maiestie and hir councell, to view the state of the towne.

Edward Randoll prouost marshall.

A supplie of souldiers arriue at Newhauen.

Sir Francis Knolles arriuall.

On fridaie the eightéenth of June, a sergeant of capteine Blunts band, and a souldior of capteine Darcies band, were executed in the market place of Newhauen, for drawing their weapons against their capteins, and forsaking their appointed places of warding, and such other lewd parts which they had committed. The fiue and twentith of June, proclamation was made, that no souldior of the new fort should resort to the towne of Newhauen, without licence of his capteine, or some of his principall officers, on paine of death: or that anie man should presume to passe the limits of the said new fort, except vpon occasion of seruice, in companie of his capteine or lieutenant, on like paine. And this order was taken, because diuerse straggling abroad, had béene taken prisoners, and slaine by the enimies, to their owne reproch, & hinderance of the princes seruice. The eight and twentith of June, the Frenchmen came downe to the village of Lheure, & there verie nére to the fort began to skirmish with the Englishmen. There were of them ten ensignes of footmen, and two hundred horsemen. This skirmish lasted three houres, and yet there were not past foure slaine. The night following, they placed fiue canons betwixt the towne and the brickehils, and likewise they placed other péces of their artillerie at the foresaid village of Lheure, so that they shot both into the towne and fort.

Execution of souldiors for drawing vpon their capteins.

A proclamation forbidding resort of souldiors to Newhauen without licence.

A long skirmish without anie great hurt.

Canons placed to beats the towne.

The first of Julie about midnight, they issued forth of their trenches, and skirmished with the English scouts, droue them vnder the bulworke of saint Addresses, and there perceiuing that the Englishmen had a priuie sallie out, after a long skirmish they retired. They had meant to haue set the mils belonging to the towne on fire: but they had such plaie made them, that about three of the clocke in the morning, they became to be quiet, and left the Englishmen in rest, hauing done to them little or no hurt at all. The great ordinance on both sides was not idle, whilest this skirmish was in hand. The second

Six hundred out of Northfolke, and three hundred out of Suffolke.

cond and third of Julie, there landed nine hundred souldiers that came forth of Northfolke and Suffolke, yellow clokes and blew clokes verie well appointed, hauing to their capteins Ferdinando Liggens, Philip Sturleie, John Highfield, and Edward Driuer. Also there came the same time fiftie carpenters, sixtéene sawyers, and eight smiths in hir workes. Moreouer, on the third date of Julie, about ten of the clocke at night, the French gaue a great alarum to the towne, beat in the scouts: but incontinentlie issued forth fiue hundred souldiers out at the salleng place, vnder the greene bulworke, and beat the Frenchmen backe into their trenches, and kept them waking all that night.

Capteine Sanders hurt and dieth.

The same time, capteine Sanders was hurt with a shot in the leg, whereof he shortlie after died: other losse at that time the Englishmen receiued not. The sixt of Julie, a proclamation was made for souldiers to resort in time of alarums, vnto that part & quarter, which was assigned to their capteins, and not to absent themselues from their ensignes, whether it were at alarums, watch, ward, or other seruice. The first of Julie, about three of the clocke in the morning, the enimies planted three canons, and three culuerings, discharging that morning to the number of foure score and ten shots: but perceiuing they did little hurt, they staied their shoting, sauing that now and then they shot into the bulworke, and ouer it into the towne: they also leuelled a péece, and shot it off towards the new gallie, slue therein two men, and hurt three or foure other. The same date, a canon and a culuering were sent forth of the towne to the new fort. The twelfe of Julie, about foure of the clocke in the morning, the French laid batterie to the bulworke of saint Addreses, continuing the same all that date. They also dismounted the same date the ordinance in the steeple of Newhauen, and beat downe the great bell, cleane defacing the steeple. They discharged that date against the towne (as was gathered by due estimation) to the number of twelue hundred canon shot.

Ordinance planted and discharged in great numbers.

The ordinance in the steeple dismounted.

William Robinson killed.

William Bromfield hurt.

The same euening was William Robinson esquier, waterbailife of the towne of Newhauen slaine with a shot; and also William Bromfield maister of the ordinance hurt with the same, and being conueied ouer into England, he shortlie after died of that hurt. The fourtéenth of Julie, sir Hugh Paulet knight landed at Newhauen, bringing with him eight hundred souldiers out of Wiltshire and Glocestershire. The same date came the Frenchmen downe to the number of three thousand, euen hard to the gates of the towne, beating the Englishmen out of their trenches: but yet in the end, they were forced to retire, and of Englishmen there were not past twentie slaine, and about an hundred hurt. But the Frenchmen (as was estéemed) lost aboue foure hundred horsemen and fotemen, albeit they toke from the Englishmen at that present a culuering, which was set forth to annois them. But their force at that time was such, as they preuailed, & so retired with that peece, though they well paied for it. The same date also in the after none, the little galeasse called the For, went out of the hauen, fraught with fiftie men, to flanke alongst the shore, and to beate the Frenchmen with hir shot; but as she was shoting off at them, a linnen stocke fell into a barrell of powder and set it on fire togither with the vessell, so that she suddenlie sanke, and all that were aboord in hir were lost, sauing fiftéene that saued themselues by swimming.

A new supplie of wiltshire and Glocestershire men.

The galeasse burnt by casualtie.

The one and twentith of Julie, the constable of France, accompanied with the marshals Montmorancie and Burdillon, and manie other lords and knights of the order, came to the abbeie of Grauille, where the marshall Brissacke was lodged, who had the generall charge in the armie, before the comming of the said constable. They dined togither there in the said Brissacks lodging, and after dinner they sat in councell togither how to proceed in the siege. Fridaie the three and twentith of Julie, the constable came into the trench that was cast ouer against the bulworke of saint Andreslie, alongst by the sea side, and sent his trumpet to summon the towne. The lord lieutenant appointed sir Hugh Paulet to go forth, & make the answer in his name: which was in effect, that the queenes maiestie of England had appointed him and others to keepe that towne; and therefore they meant not to deliuer it to anie other person, without hir graces especiall commandement. In the meane time, there were diuerse of the English capteins and gentlemen, which accompanied the said sir Hugh, offered the wine which they had brought out of the towne with them in flagons of siluer and guilt, vnto such capteins and gentlemen as accompanied the trumpet by commandement of the constable, to surueie the state of the trenches, and Palisad, as the French writers themselues confesse. Amongst others, there was capteine Montnes the lieutenant of one of the ensignes coronels of monsieur Dandelot, with whom capteine Leighton, being of acquaintance, had some talke.

The constable of France commeth to the siege.

The constable summoneth the towne.

Sir Hugh Paulets answer to the constable.

Capteine Montnes.

Capteine Leighton.

The Englishmen and Frenchmen were no sooner departed, they to their trenches, and the Englishmen into the towne, but that the enimies hauing planted that morning eight canons in batterie against the castell, and the bulworke of the hauen, caused the same to be shot off, continuing the same till wednesdaie at none, being the eight and twentith of Julie. There were six other canons also planted by them in the meane space, which likewise made batterie to the castell, and to the townegate. In this meane time also, Cutbert Vaughan comptroller, departed out of this life, a skilfull man of warre, and no lesse circumspect than hardie, both to preserue those which he had vnder his conduction, and to incourage them to do manfullie, when time thereto serued. Saturdaie, the foure & twentith of Julie, the batterie still continuing as before, certeine peeces were bent also to beat and trauerse the hauen. The Englishmen therefore setting fire on two windmils that stood there, abandoned a trench which they kept: and the Palisad, capteine Poiet, lieutenant of an other of the ensignes coronels of the French fotmen vnder monsieur Dandelot, entred with his band, and toke possession of a tower that stood at the end of the said Palisad. The French yet had hot abiding there, notwithstanding all the diligence and policie which they could vse to lodge there in safetie. Among others, capteine Richlieu maister of the campe, was hurt in the shoulder with an harquebuse shot.

The castell battered.

Cutbert Vaughan departeth this life, his worthie praise.

windmils set on fire.

Richlieu maister of the campe hurt.

The marshall Montmorancie caused a platforme to be raised, ioining to the Palisad, where about euening the same date he planted foure peeces of artillerie. On sundaie the fiue and twentith of Julie, monsieur de Estrée, great maister of the artillerie, accompanied with the seneschall of Agenois, vsed all diligence that might be to place the artillerie for batterie: wherevnto also, monsieur de Caillac applied himselfe by the constables commandement, who had compounded a matter in variance betwixt him and monsieur de Estrée. This sundaie and mondaie following, they were verie busie to bring their purpose in that behalfe to passe, & likewise to aduance their trench vnto the side of the breach. The marshall de Burdelon abode in the trench there all sundaie, and lost two of his gentlemen. The marshall

Monsieur de Estrée.

Monsieur de Caillac.

The marshall Montmorencie.

shall Montmorencie, accompanied with diuerse lords & knights of the order, remained all mondaie in the trenches, to prepare things readie for the batterie, not without some danger of his person. For the stones that were beaten with the bullets comming out of the towne flew verie fast about his eares, of the which there was one that lent him a blow on the shoulder, an other of them philiped him on the fingers, and lighting also in other parts of his bodie, if his armor had not defended him the better, he had not escaped without further harme. The same daie,

The prince of Conde and the duke of Montpensier.

the prince of Conde and the duke of Montpensier came to the campe, and alighting at the conestables lodging, went from thence to the trenches, to relieue the marshall Montmorencie, and to supplie his rome, whilest he might in the meane time go to sup with his father, and so take his rest. Monsieur Destrée, and the other that had charge about the planting and ordering of the artillerie, vsed such diligence, and were so earnestlie called vpon and incouraged

The bulworke of saint Adzelles batered.

by the prince of Conde, continuallie remaining in the trenches, that on tuesdaie in the morning, the artillerie began to batter the bulworke of saint Adzelles, and other places.

This was done not without great danger of the pioners and men of war that garded them, for as the French desperatlie made their approch, so they were made by English gunners to tast the bitter fruit that the canon & culuerings yéelded. But such was the multitude of the Frenchmen that were now assembled togither, in hope to recouer that towne,

Thus we see things in opinion vnpossible, by industrie possible.

which being possessed by the English, cut off all traffike from Rouen and Paris, and so consequentlie from the chéefe parts of the whole realme of France, that with their generall aid, and drawing the water downe to the sea, the marishes were made passable and firme ground, which to men of great experience was thought a thing vnpossible. The castell, the walles, and other defenses of the towne were battered, breaches made, and the trench which before the comming of the conestable, was but brought to the point ouer against the bulworke of saint Adzelles, was now within foure daies aduanced neere hand the space of two miles, vpon the causeie or breach which was all of stone, without anie earth to couer them: so that they were driuen to make the best shift they could with woolsacks, sandbags, baskets and fagots. Yet all this had neuer come to passe, nor could haue bene wrought without infinit slaughter,

The great infection of pestilence in Newhauen.

and far more losse of French blood, that necessarilie should haue bene spilt, if the great mortalitie of pestilence which entred the towne about the beginning of the summer, throgh a malicious infection, had not so greatlie increased, that it slue & tooke awaie dailie great numbers of men, beside those that being sicke thereof, escaped with life; but were yet so feeble and weake, that they were not able to helpe themselues, nor to do anie seruice auailable at all.

There died so manie dailie through the vehemencie of the infection, that the streets laie euen full of

Additions to Lanquet.

dead corpses, not able to be remoued or buried, by reason of the multitude that perished. Herewith they were grieuouslie annoied for want of fresh vittels; but cheefe of fresh waters, which the enimie by long siege had cut off. And now the shot of the canon, lieng within fir and twentie pases of the towne, was so terrible, as the like had not lightlie bene heard of: and sundrie breaches therewith were alreadie made, namelie two verie great and easie for the enimies to enter. All these dangers and miseries notwithstanding, the worthie earle of Warwike with his capteins and soldiors in courageous order stood at

The high valiancie of the earle of Warwike.

those seuerall breaches, readie to defend the same, if the enimies had presumed to haue giuen the assault, nothing afraid of death nor bloudie woounds; before which he preferred the seruice of his prince. And albeit the aduenture was great, yet by his owne example he incoraged other to cast awaie all dread of danger, and to shew themselues bold, which to a soldior in battell is a whetstone to set him on edge. And surelie in this point he was warriorlike minded, if a man may allow the poets words in the like sense:

Res magnæ non absque graui discrimine sunt,
In dubijs prodest generosa audacia rebus.

Which when the conestable perceiued, he caused a trumpet to sound the blast of imparlé, that talke might be had for the concluding of a composition betwixt both the parties. This offer, considering that sore contagious mortalitie wherwith the towne was most greeuouslie infected, hauing so greatlie infeebled the English forces within the same, was thought not vnmeet to be receiued. Herevpon, after a sallie made by the Englishmen, and a faire skirmish betwixt them and the Frenchmen that laie afore the fort de Lheure, on the tuesdaie the seauen and twentith of Julie maister William Pelham capteine of the fort, with another gentleman and a trumpetter, went forth by appointment, and was receiued first by monsieur de Losses, who brought him to the marshall Montmorencie, and after by his appointment went with him by the Reingraues campe to the conestable: and till his returne a truce was accorded on that side of the fort. After that maister Pelham had talked a space with the conestable, the matter was put ouer till the nert daie, and so he returned.

Capteine Pelham went forth to talke with the commissioners.

The commissioners appointed to talke with the conestable.

The morrow after being wednesdaie, and the eight and twentith of Julie, the conestable about seauen of the clocke came to the end of the trenches nert to the towne, where sir Maurice Denis treasuror of the towne, sir Hugh Paulet, capteine Horseie, capteine Pelham, capteine John Shute prouost marshall, and Nicholas Malbie secretarie to my lord lieutenant came forth, and passed ouer the hauen to commune with him. And during the parlæ betwixt them, a truce was accorded and assented to by both parts: the which neuertheless was broken two seuerall times through the vnrulie insolencie of certeine harquebutters. And though by the good diligence of the capteins they were incontinentlie quieted and staied: yet the valiant earle of Warwike, standing at a breach in his hose and dublet in sight of his enimies, was by a lewd soldior of the French (contrarie to the law of armes) shot through the thigh with an harquebuse. The conestable and the English commissioners appointed, had long conference togither; and before they concluded, the marshals Montmorencie and Burdellion (and at length the marshall Brissac also) came to the place where they were thus in parlæ: but the conestable tooke vpon him to haue onelie authoritie to accept or refuse such conditions as should be offered, or agreed vnto by the English commissioners in this treatie. And so at length they passed certeine articles in forme as followeth.

Additions to Lanquet. The earle of Warwike hurt.

The conestable tooke vpon him to be chiefe in authoritie on the French part.

The articles of agreement touching *the surrender of Newhauen.*

First, that the earle of Warwike should render againe the towne of Newhauen into the hands of the said conestable of France, with all the artillerie and munitions of war then being in that towne, and belonging to the French king and his subiects.

2 Item, that he should leaue the ships that were in the said towne at that present, belonging either to the king or his subiects, with all their furniture: and generallie, all such merchandize and other things, being likewise at that present within that towne, as

either belonged to the king or his subiects.

3 Item, for the more suertie of the premisses, the said earle should presentlie deliuer into the hands of the said constable, the great tower of the said hauen, so that the soldiors which were placed therin enter not into the towne: and that the said earle of Warwike should cause the gates there towards the towne to be warded, till it were in the possession of the said constable, without planting anie ensigns on the said tower, according to the said agréement; and also that the said earle should deliuer foure such hostages as the said constable should name.

4 Item, that the nert daie, by eight of the clocke in the morning, the said earle should withdraw his soldiors which are in the fort, to deliuer it immediatlie into the hands of the said constable, or such as should be by him appointed to receiue the same at the said houre.

5 Item, that all prisoners which haue béene taken before the said hauen, should be deliuered on either side, without paieng anie ransome.

6 Item, that the constable should for his part suffer the said earle of Warwike, and all those that are in garrison in the said Newhauen to depart with all things whatsoeuer that belonged to the quéene of England and hir subiects.

7 Item, that for the departure as well of the said earle, as the remouing of his soldiors, and other things before rehearsed, the said constable agréed to giue them six whole daies, beginning the morrow then nert following; to wit, the nine and twentith of Julie: during which six daies, they might frankelie and frélie take and carrie awaie all the said things. And if wind or foule weather should hinder, that their passage could not be made within the said terme, in this case the said constable should grant them such further time of delaie, as might be thought reasonable.

8 Item, the said constable did likewise permit, that all the ships and English vessels, and all other that should be appointed for the portage and conueieng awaie of the said things, should safelie and frélie passe into and fro the said hauen, without anie staie or impeachment, either by the French armie or anie other. The said foure hostages were appointed to be maister Oliuer Paners, brother to the earle of Rutland, capteine Pelham, capteine Horsete, and capteine Leighton. In witnesse wherof, the said lords, the constable of France, & the earle of Warwike signed these articles the eight and twentith of Julie, 1563.

Additions to Lanquet.

The earle of Warwike commended.

Thus the earle of Warwike, as he had (during the whole time of his abode there in that towne of Newhauen) shewed himselfe a right hardie & valiant capteine; so now in the end he proued himselfe to be both prudent and politike. For by accepting of these honorable conditions to go with all armor, munition, ships, goods, bag and baggage, in anie wise apertaining or belonging either to the quénes maiestie, or to anie of hir graces subiects, he saued the liues of a great number, which otherwise scaping the scourge of the infectiue plague, must néeds haue fallen vnder the edge of the sword. The constable, during the time of the parlée, sent his yongest sonne monsieur de Thorre to the king and quéene mother, to aduertise them of the treatie of this peace. And after it was once concluded and signed by the erle of Warwike, he sent his eldest sonne the marshall Montmorencie, to present the same vnto them at Criquetot, halfe waie betweene Newhauen and Fescampe, who were right ioifull of the news: and the nert daie they came to the campe, shewing great signes of their conceiued gladnesse, for the recouering of that towne thus out of the Englishmens hands.

The French king commeth to the campe before Newhauen.

On saturdaie the most part of the Englishmen toke ship and departed homewards: for glad might he thinke himselfe that could get soonest out of that vnwholsome and most vnsauorie aire. Manie sicke persons yet were left behind, impotent and not able to helpe themselues. The miserie whereof Edward Randoll esquire high marshall of the towne (who was appointed to tarrie and sée the vttermost of the composition accomplished) perceiuing, moued with naturall pitie of his countrimen relinquished without comfort, caused the said sicke persons to be caried abord, not sparing his owne shoulders, at that time feéble and full of the plague, himselfe and his men still bearing & helping the poore creatures on shipbord. A rare fact worthie reward, and no doubt in remembrance with God, the true recorder of mercifull deserts. Thus was the towne of Newhauen reduced againe into the hands of the French, more vndoubtedlie through the extreme mortalitie that so outragiouslie afflicted the soldiors and men of warre within the same, than by the enimies inforcements, although the same was great, and aduanced to the vttermost of the aduersaries power.

John Stow. Maister Edward Randoll full of pitie and commiseration.

Besides the meaner sort of those that died of the pestilence during the siege, these I do find noted as chiefe: Cutbert Vaughan comptrollor of the towne, Francis Summerset cosine to the earle of Worcester, Auerie Darcie brother to the lord Darcie, John Zouch brother to the lord Zouch, Edward Dymesbie, Thomas Dymrie *alias* Polgnard, Richard Croker, John Cockson, Thomas Kemish, John Proud, William Saule, Wilfred Antwisell. Besides these being capteins in chiefe dieng there in that towne, or else sickening there and dieng vpon their returne into England, there were diuerse other gentlemen, and such as had charge, which likewise ended their liues by force of that cruell and most grieuous pestilent infection. There were diuerse also that were slaine, as well by canon shot, as otherwise in the field in skirmish, as both the Tremains brethren of one birth, Nicholas and Andrew, capteine Richard Sanders, with master Robinson, and master Bromfield, of which two before ye haue heard: also one Leighton a gentleman, & diuerse mo whose names I know not, worthie neuertheless to be remembred & placed in ranke with such worthie men, as in their countries cause haue lost their liues, and are therfore by writers registred to liue by fame for euer.

Chiefe personages that died of the plague at Newhauen.

Diuerse of name by canon shot, &c. slaine.

But now to passe to other matters at home. As ye haue heard, the plague of pestilence being in the towne of Newhauen, thorough the number of soldiors that returned into England the infection therof spread into diuerse parts of this realme: but especiallie the citie of London was so infected, that in the same whole yeare, that is to saie, from the first of Januarie 1562, vntill the last of December, in 1563, there died in the citie and liberties thereof (conteining one hundred & eight parishes) of all diseases twentie thousand, three hundred, three score and twelue: and of the plague being part of the number afore said, seuentéene thousand, foure hundred, and foure persons. And in the outparishes adioining to the same citie, being eleuen parishes, died of all diseases in the whole yeare, three thousand, two hundred, foure score and eight persons: and of them, of the plague two thousand, seuen hundred, thirtie and two. So that the whole number of all that died of all diseases, as well within the citie and liberties, as in the outparishes, was twentie three thousand six hundred and three score: and of them there died of the plague, twentie thousand one hundred thirtie and six.

John Stow. Pestilence transported from Newhauen to London.

One hundred and eight parishes in London, besides eleuen in the suburbs.

The eight of Julie in the morning, happned a great tempest of lightning and thunder, where thorough a woman and three kine were slaine, in the

Tempest of London by lightning and thunder.

Couent

Couent garden nére to Charingtrosse. At the same time in Esser a man was torne all to péces as he was carteng haie, his barne was borne downe, and his haie burned: both stones and trées were rent in manie places. The councell of king Philip at Bruxels commanded proclamation to be made in Antwerpe and other places, that no English ship with anie cloths, should come into anie places of the low countries: their colour was (as they said) the danger of the plague, which was at that time in London, & other places of England. Neuertheless they would gladlie haue gotten our woolles, but the quénes maiestie thorough sute of our merchant aduenturers caused the woll flæt to be discharged, and our cloth flét was sent to Emden in east Frisland, about Easter next following, in the yeare of our Lord 1564. Forsomuch as the plague of pestilence was so hot in the citie of London, there was no tearme kept at Michaelmasse. To be short, the more citizens of London were this yeare plagued with a threefold plague, pestilence, scarsitie of monie, and dearth of vittels, the miserie whereof were to long here to write: no doubt the more remember it, the rich by flight into the countries made shift for themselues, &c.

King Philips proclamation at Bruxels.

Threefold plague to the more citizens of London.

An earthquake was in the moneth of September in diuerse places of this realme, specially in Lincolne & Northamptonshires. After the election of the maior of London by the councels letters, the quéns maiesties pleasure was signified vnto sir Thomas Lodge then maior, that forsomuch as the plague was so great in the citie, the new maior elected should kéepe no feast at the Guildhall, for doubt that thorough bringing together such a multitude, the infection might increase. For that wéke there died within the citie and out parishes, more than two thousand: wherefore sir John Whight, the new maior, toke his oth at the vttermost gate of the tower of London. From the first daie of December, till the twelfe, was such continuall lightning and thunder, especiallie the same twelfe daie at night, that the like had not béene séene nor heard by anie man then liuing.

An earthquake in diuerse places of England.

No maiors feast kept at the Guildhall.

Anno Reg. 6.

Lightning & thunder in December.

In the moneth of December was driuen on the shore at Grimsbie in Lincolnshire a monstrous fish, in length ninetéene yards, his taile fiftéene foot broad, and six yards betwéene his eies, twelue men stood vpright in his mouth to get the oile. For that the plague was not fullie ceassed in London, Hilarie tearme was kept at Hertford castell beside Ware. This yeare the thirtéenth of Aprill, an honorable and ioifull peace was concluded, betwixt the quéenes maiestie and the French king, their realmes dominions and subiects: and the same peace was proclamed with sound of trumpet, before hir maiestie in hir castell of Windsor, then being present the French ambassadors. And shortlie after, the quéenes grace sent the right honourable sir Henrie Carele lord of Hunnesdon, now lord chamberleine (of whose honourable and noble descent it is thus written

A monstrous fish driuen to shore.

1564

Terme kept at Hertford. Rich. Grafton.

A peace betwéene England and France.

The noble descent of the lord of Hunnesdon.

——cuius fuerat matertera pulchra
Reginæ genitrix Henrici nobilis vxor)

accompanied with the lord Strange, beside diuerse knights and gentlemen, vnto the French king, with the noble order of the garter, who finding him at the citie of Lions, being in those parties in progresse, he there presented vnto him the said noble order: and Garter king at armes inuested him therewith, obseruing the ceremonies in that behalfe due and requisit. The plague (thanks be to God) being cleane ceassed in London, both Easter and Midsummer tearmes were kept at Westminster. ¶ And here by the waie to note the infection of this plague to haue béene dispersed into other countries besides England, it is read in Schardius *In epitome rerum gestarum sub Ferdinando primo imperatore*, that the pestilence did so rage in Germanie, and poisoned such peopled places, namelie Norimberge, Francford, Magdburge, Danske, Hamburgh, and their borders, that by estimation (saith he) there died of that contagion to the number of three hundred thousand. A grieuous scourge of God (saith mine author) howbeit verie few thereby so terrified, that they reformed their wicked liues. Which plague in Germanie I therefore doo here repeat, bicause by all likelihoods it is to be gathered, that as it raged in the same yeare both there and here; so the cause maie be all one that bred so venemous an effect.]

A. F.

The plague in Germanie whereof three hundred thousand died.

There was on the vigill of S. Peter a watch in the citie of London, which did onelie stand in the highest streets of Cheape, Cornehill, and so forth to Algate: which watch was to the commons of the same citie as chargeable, as when in times past it had béene commendablie done. The first of August, the quénes maiestie in hir progresse came to the vniuersitie of Cambridge, and was of all the students (being inuested according to their degrées taken in the schooles) honourablie and ioifullie receiued in the Kings college, where she did lie during hir continuance in Cambridge. The daies of hir abode were passed in scholasticall exercises of philosophie, physicke, and diuinitie: the nights in comedies, and tragedies, set forth partlie by the whole vniuersitie, and partlie by the students of the Kings college, to recreat and delight hir maiestie, who both heard them attentiuelie, and beheld them chéerefullie.

Watch on S. Peters night.

Abraham Hartwell *in regina literata.*

The quénes progresse thorough Cambridge.

At the breaking vp of the diuinitie act, being on wednesdaie the ninth of August (on the which daie she rode thorough the towne, and viewed the colleges, those goodlie and ancient monuments of kings of England hir noble predecessors) she made within saint Maries church a notable oration in Latine, in the presence of the whole learned vniuersitie, to the students great comfort. ¶ A copie whereof I haue set downe, as I receiued it in writing at the hands of one that then was present, and noted the same as hir maiestie vttered it. Whose words vnto me in a letter, wherewith the same oration was sent, I doo here set downe *Bona fide*. This hir maiesties extemporall oration (saith he) lieng among my papers these twentie yeares and more, I thought good now to send to you, that if anie occasion be fitlie offered in the discourse of hir highnesse reigne, you maie (if you please) insert it. In truth, I my selfe neuer elsewhere read it, which hath made me euen religiouslie to preserue it. Master Abraham Hartwell in his *Regina literata*, dwelling vpon this onelie argument of hir comming and doings at Cambridge, glanceth in a distich or twaine at the effect hereof. But this is the thing it selfe, as I my selfe (as most vnworthie) being both an eare and also an eie witnesse, can testifie.

A. F.

Tho. Newton.

Serenissimæ reginæ Elisabethæ oratio, *publicè Cantabrigiæ habita, coram vniuerso* academiæ cœtu, anno 1564: *& regni sui sexto.*

ETsi fœminilis iste meus pudor (subditi fidelissimi & academia charissima) in tanta doctorum turba illaboratum hunc sermonem et orationem me narrare apud vos impediat: tamen nobilium virorũ intercessus & erga academiam beneuolẽtia me aliquid proferre inuitat. Duobus ad hanc rem stimulis moueor. Primus est, bonarum literarum propagatio: alter est, vestra omnium expecta-

Duo stimuli quibus mouebatur regia maiestas

vt in Academicorum cœtu nonnihil eloqueretur.

tio. Quod ad propagationem spectat, vnum illud apud Demosthenem memini: Superiorum verba apud inferiores librorum locum habent, & principum dicta legum authoritatem apud subditos retinent. Hoc igitur vos omnes in memoria tenere velim: quòd semita nulla præstantior est, siue ad bona fortunæ acquirenda, siue ad principum gratiam conciliandam, quàm vt gnauiter (vt cæpistis) studijs vestris exhibeatis operam: quod vt faciatis, vos omnes oro obsecróque. De secundo stimulo, vestra nimirùm expectatione, hoc vnum dico, me nihil lubenter prætermissuram esse, quod vestræ de me animæ beneuolæ concipiunt cogitationes.

Regia maiestas pollicetur se aliquod monumentum in academia relicturam.

Iam ad academiam venio. Tempore antemeridiano vidi ego ædificia vestra sumptuosa, à meis maioribus, clarissimis principibus literarum causa extructa. Et inter videndum, dolor artus meos occupauit, atque ea mentis suspiria, quæ Alexandrum quondam tenuisse feruntur. Qui cum legisset multa à principibus posita monumenta, conuersus ad familiarem seu potiùs ad consiliarium, multùm doluit se nihil tale fecisse. Hæc tamen vulgaris sententia me aliquantùm recreauit, quæ etsi non auferre, tamen minuere potest dolorem. Quæ quidem sententia hæc est: Romam non vno ædificatam fuisse die: tamen non est ita senilis mea ætas, nec tam diu fuit, ex quo regnare cœpi, quin ante redditionem debiti naturæ (si non nimis citò Atropos lineam vitæ meæ amputauerit) aliquod opus faciam: & quandiu vita hos regit artus, nunquam à proposito deflectam.

Si non ante saltem post mortem profitetur se præstituram quod pollicetur.

Et si contingat (quàm citò futurum sit, nescio) me mori oportere, priusquam hoc ipsum quod polliceor complere possim: aliquod tamen egregium opus post mortem relinquam, quo & memoria mea in posterum celebris fiat, & alios excitem exemplo meo, & vos omnes alacriores faciam ad studia vestra. Sed iam videtis quantum interfit inter doctrinam lectam, & disciplinam animo non retentam. Quorum alterius sunt complures satis sufficientes testes: alterius autem vos omnes nimis quidem inconsyderatè testes hoc tempore effeci, quæ meo barbaro orationis genere tam diu doctas vestras aures detinuerim. Dixi.

Outcrier and Weiman for the daie.

The next daie, she went forward on hir progresse to Finchinbrooke by Huntington. The thirtith daie of August was enacted by a common councell of the citie of London, that all such citizens as from thence forth should be constreined to sell their houshold stuffe, leases of houses, or such like, should first cause the same to be cried through the citie by a man with a bell, and then to be sold by the common outcrier appointed for that purpose, and he to reteine one farthing vpon the shilling for his paines. The twentith of September arose great flouds in the riuer of Thames, where through the marshes néere adioining were ouerflowed, and manie cattell drowned.

Great flouds in the Thames.

Ex I.S. pa. 1123

Creation of a baron namelie sir Robert Dudleie baron of Denbigh.

¶ The creation of sir Robert Sutton *alias* Dudleie knight of the garter, and maister of the horsse, to the quœnes maiestie, who was created baron of Denbigh, and after earle of Leicester on Michaelmasse daie at saint James, with the gift of the manour of Killingworth, and other things there to him and his heires, to the yearlie value of foure and twentie pounds & better. First, the said lord attended on the quœnes highnesse, to the chappell, and from the chappell to seruice, and when he was returned to the chamber of presence, the said lord with other departed to the lord chamberleins chamber, and shifted them: the said lord Robert in his surcot with the hood, his mantle borne before him by the lord Hunsdon, and led by the lord Clinton lord admerall by the right hand, and the lord Strange on the left hand, in their parlement robes, Garter bearing the patent, & before him the officers of armes, and so proceeded into the chamber of presence, where the quœnes highnesse sat vnder the cloth of estate with the noblemen on eth side of hir, the ambassador of France was also present with another stranger an Italian.

The state attendance at this creation.

And when the said lord with the other came in the quœnes sight, they made their obeisance three times, the said lord knéeled downe: after the which Garter presented the letters patents to the lord chamberleine, and he presented the same to the quœnes highnesse, who gaue it to sir William Cecill secretarie, who read the same with a lowd voice, & at the words of *Creauimus*, the lord of Hunsdon presented the mantle to the quœns maiestie, who put on the same, wherby he was created baron of Denbigh for him and his heires. Then the patent was read out to the end, after the which he deliuered it to the quœne againe, and hir highnesse gaue it to the said lord, who gaue hir maiestie most humble thanks, and he rose vp and departed to the chamber they came from, the trumpets sounding before him.

The execution of the ceremonies & orders at this creatiõ

When he shifted him of those robes, and put on the robes of estate of an earle, and being led by the earle of Sussex on the right hand, and the erle of Huntington on his left hand, the earle of Warwike bearing his sword the pomell vpward, and the girdle about the same, all in their robes of estate, the lord Clinton lord admerall in his parlement robes, bearing his cap with the coronall, Garter before him bearing his patent, and the other officers of armes before him, they proceeded as afore into the chamber of presence, where, after they had made their obeisance, the said earle knéeled downe, and Garter deliuered his patent to the lord chamberleine, who gaue the same to the quœnes maiestie, & hir highnesse gaue the same to sir William Cecill secretarie to read, who read the same. And at the words *Cincturam gladij*, the earle of Warwike presented the sword to the quœnes highnesse, who girt the same about the necke of the said new earle, putting the point vnder his left arme, and after hir maiestie put on his cap with the coronall. Then his patent was read out to the end, and then the said secretarie deliuered it againe to the quœne, and hir highnesse gaue it to the said new erle of Leicester, who gaue hir humble thanks for it.

Creation of an earle, and namelie the earle of Leicester.

The quœne hir selfe girteth the sword and girdle about the earles necke.

And then he arose and went into the councell chamber to dinner, the trumpets sounding before, and at dinner he sat in his kirtle, and there accompanied him the foresaid ambassador of France, and the said Italian, with diuerse other erles and lords. And after the second course, Garter with the other officers of armes, proclamed the quœnes maiesties stile, and after, the stile of the said earle, for the which they had fifteene pounds, to wit, for his baronie fiue pounds, & for his earledome ten pounds, and Garter had his gowne of blacke veluet garded with three gards of the same, laid on with lace, lined through with blacke taffata, and garded on the inner side with the same, and on the sleeues eight and thirtie paire of aglets of gold. The earles stile was as followeth: *Du tresnoble & puissant seigneur Robert conte de Leicestre, baron de Denbigh, chenalier du tresnoble ordre de la iarretierre, & grand esquier de la royne nostre souuereigne.* On whose scutchion, conteining sundrie cotes, inuironed with the cognisances of both orders, as well S. Michaels as S. Georges, with other ornaments, were made these verses, now common to be read:

The officers fees fifteene pounds at this creation.

Quot clypeos atauûm clypeo coniungis in vno,
Tot tibi virtutes atauûm sunt pectore iunctæ:

In clypeum gentilitium comitis Leicestriæ.

Somerij

Somerij pietas, vis imperterrita Greij,
Intemerata fides Hastingi, nobile pectus
Ferrarij, Quinci probitas, bonitásque Boghani,
Martia Talbotti virtus, fidissima dextra
Beauchampi, Herculei mens inconcussa Guidonis,
Barklæi vigor, & generosa modestia Lisli.]

The second of October in the afternoone, and on the morrow in the forenoone, was a solemne obsequie at Paules church in London, for Ferdinando late emperor departed. ¶ Of this emperor it is said, that lieng sicke, and so sicke that Zichard a preacher of his court then present could not hold him vp: howbeit comming at last to himselfe and somewhat in recouerie, he said to the standers by; You thought that I would neuer come againe, naie mine houre is not so sone: I do certeinlie know that I shall not die before Whitsuntide. Now when he had liued till that date, and eight daies after, as hauing the verie time of his departure told him by secret reuelation, (and satisfied at full touching the request that Dauid made to God about the length of his life, saieng:

Da mihi nosse meæ quæ sint stata tempora vitæ,
Et quando vltima sint fata futura mihi)

he said to them that were about him: It is the holie ghosts pleasure that I should not die before saint James tide, that as he was a pilgrime among vs, so I with him should passe my pilgrimage out of this my native countrie. After which words spoken, his disease grew to greater force and sharpnesse, insomuch that at last, euen at the verie time prefixed, namelie S. James daie, he departed this life, after he had liued sixtie yeares, nine moneths, and od daies. He gouerned the empire aboue the space of seauen yeares, & had to wife Anne quæne of Hungarie and Boheme, by whom he had fifteene children, some male; namelie, Maximilian, Ferdinand, John and Charles: also eleuen females; to wit, Elisabeth married to Sigismund king of Poland, Anne, Marie, Mawdline, Catharine, Elenor, Margarite, Barbare, Vrsule, Helen, and Jone. He is commended for his carefulnesse, his watchfulnesse, his bountifulnesse, his gentlenesse, his vprightnesse, his discretnesse, his peaceablenesse, and other qualities, wherin he had a kind of singularitie. And thus much of him by waie of praise, as I found it readie to my hand.]

Ex Schardio.

Ferdinand foretelleth the verie vttermost date of his owne death.

Lord let me know mine end and the number of my daies, that I may be certified how long I haue to liue.

The goodlie issue male and female that God gaue Ferdinand.

The seauenth of October at night, from eight a clocke till after nine of the clocke, all the north parts of the element seemed to be couered with flames of fire, proceeding from the northeast and northwest, toward the middest of the firmament, where after it had staied nigh one houre, it descended west: and all the same night (being the next after the change of the mone) seemed nigh as light as it had beene faire daie. The twentith of Nouember in the morning, through negligence of a maiden with a candell, the snuffe falling in an hundred pounds weight of gunpowder, three houses in Bucklersburie were sore shaken, and the maid died two daies after. The one and twentith of December began a frost, which continued so extremlie, that on Newyeares euen, people went ouer and alongst the Thames on the ise from London bridge to Westminster. Some plaied at the football as boldlie there, as if it had beene on the drie land: diuerse of the court being then at Westminster, shot dailie at picks set vpon the Thames: and the people both men and women went on the Thames in greater numbers, than in anie street of the citie of London. On the third daie of Januarie at night it began to thaw, and on the fift daie was no ise to be seene betweene London bridge and Lambeth, which sudden thaw caused great flods and high waters, that bare downe bridges and houses, and drowned manie people in England: especiallie in Yorkshire, Dwes bridge was borne awaie with others.

Fierie impressions.

Anno Reg. 7.

Houses shattered with gunpowder.

The Thames frozen ouer.

Dwes bridge borne downe.

The third daie of Februarie, Henrie Stuart lord Darleie, about the age of nineteene yeares, eldest sonne to Matthew earle of Lineur (who went into Scotland at Whitsuntide before) hauing obteined licence of the quænes maiestie, toke his iourneie towards Scotland, accompanied with fiue of his fathers men, where when he came, he was honorablie receiued, & lodged in the kings lodgings; and in the summer following, he maried Marie quæn of Scotland. About this time, for the quænes maiestie were chosen and sent commissioners to Bruges, the lord Montacute knight of the honourable order of the garter, doctor Wotton one of hir maiesties honourable councell, doctor Haddon one of the masters of requests to hir highnesse, with others: master doctor Aubreie was for the merchant aduenturers of England: they came to Bruges in Lent, Anno 1565, and continued there till Michaelmasse following, and then was the diet prolonged till March in the yeare 1566, and the commissioners returned into England.

Henrie Stuart married the quæne of Scots.

Commissioners chosen to go to Bruges

1565

The two and twentith of Aprill, the ladie Margarite countesse of Lineur, was commanded to keepe hir chamber at the Whitehall, where she remained till the two and twentith of June, and then conueied by sir Francis Knolles and the gard to the tower of London by water. On S. Peters euen at night, was the like standing watch in London, as had beene on the same night twelue moneths past. The sixteenth of Julie, about nine of the clocke at night began a tempest of lightning and thunder, with showers of haile, which continued till three of the clocke in the next morning, so terriblie, that at Chelmesford in Esser 500 acres of corne was destroied, the glasse windowes on the east side of the towne, and of the west and south sides of the church were beaten downe, with the tiles of their houses also, besides diuerse barnes, chimneis, and the battlements of the church, which was ouerthrowne. The like harme was doone in manie other places, as at Leeds, Cranebroke, Douer, &c.

Ladie Lineur sent to the tower.

Standing watch at at midsummer in London.

Tempest at Chelmesford of lightning thunder and raine.

Christopher prince and margraue of Baden, with Cicilie his wife sister to the king of Swethland, after a long and dangerous iournie, wherein they had trauelled almost eleuen months sailing from Stockholme, crossing the seas ouer into Liseland, from whence by land they came about by Poland, Prussie, Pomerland, Mechelburgh, Friseland, and so to Antwerpe in Brabant, then to Calis, at the last in September landed at Douer, and the eleuenth daie of the same they came to London, and were lodged at the earle of Bedfords place nere to Iuie bridge, where within foure daies after, that is to saie, the fifteenth of September she trauelled in childbed, and was deliuered of a man child: which child the last of September was christened in the quænes maiesties chappell of White hall at Westminster, the quænes maiestie in hir owne person being godmother, the archbishop of Canturburie, and the duke of Norfolke godfathers. At the christening the quæne gaue the child to name Edwardus Fortunatus: for that God had so gratiouslie assisted his mother, in so long and dangerous a iournie, and brought hir safe to land in that place, which she most desired, and that in so short time before hir deliuerance.

The margraue or marques of Bade and his wife great with child come to London.

She is deliuered of a child.

The quæne giueth the name.

The eleuenth of Nouember, the right honorable Ambrose earle of Warwike maried Anne eldest daughter to the earle of Bedford. For the honor and celebration of which noble mariage, a goodlie chalenge was made and obserued at Westminster at the tilt, each one six courses: at the tornrie twelue strokes with the sword, three pushes with the punchion staffe: and twelue blowes with the sword at bar-

Marriage of the earle of Warwike.

riers, or twentie ikante were so disposed. At ten of the clocke at night the same daie a valiant seruiceable man called Robert Thomas, maister gunner of England, desirous also to honour the feast and mariage daie (in consideration the said earle of Warwike was generall of the ordinance within hir maiesties realmes and dominions) made three great traines of chambers, which terriblie pealed forth the nature of their voice, to the great astonishment of diuerse, who at the firing of the second was vnhappilie slaine by a péece of one of the chambers, to the great sorow and lamentation of manie.

Robert Thomas maister gunner slaine by casualtie.

Anno Reg. 8.

The foure and twentith of December in the morning, there rose a great storme and tempest of wind, by whose rage the Thames and seas ouerwhelmed manie persons, and the great gates at the west end of S. Paules church in London (betweene the which standeth the brasen piller) were through the force of the wind, then in the westerne part of the world, blowne open. In Januarie monsieur Rambulet a knight of the order in France was sent ouer into England, by the French king Charles the ninth of that name, with the order: who at Windsore was stalled in the behalfe of the said French king, with the knighthood of the most honorable order of the garter. And the foure and twentith of Januarie, in the chappell of hir maiesties palace of Whitehall, the said monsieur Rambulet inuested Thomas duke of Norfolke, and Robert earle of Leicester, with the said order of S. Michaell.

Paules gate blowen open.

Order of saint Michaell. 1566

The marquesse of Baden and the ladie Cicilie his wife, sister to the king of Swethen, who came into this land in the moneth of September last past (as before is declared) being then by the quéenes especiall appointment at their arriuall honorablie receiued by the lord Cobham, an honorable baron of this realme, and the ladie his wife one of the quéenes maiesties priuie chamber, now in the moneth of Aprill 1566 departed the realme againe, the marquesse a few daies before his wife, being both conducted by a like personage the lord of Aburgauennie to Douer. Certeine houses in Cornehill, being first purchased by the citizens of London, were in the moneth of Februarie cried by a belman, and afterward sold to such persons as should take them downe, and carie them from thence: which was so done in the moneths of Aprill and Maie next following. And then the ground being made plaine at the charges also of the cittie, possession thereof was by certeine aldermen in the name of the whole cittizens, giuen to the right worshipfull sir Thomas Gresham knight, agent to the quéenes highnesse, there to build a place for merchants to assemble in, at his owne proper charges: who on the seuenth daie of June laid the first stone of the foundation (being bricke) and forthwith the workemen followed vpon the same with such diligence, that by the moneth of November, in An. 1567. the same was couered with slate. The commissioners before named, appointed for the matters of Flanders, keeping their diet at Bruges, agreed to refer the whole matter to the princes on both sides: and if they could not agrée, then the merchants to haue fortie daies to repare home with their merchandize, and in the meane time all things to stand as they were then. Our commissioners departed from Bruges about the six and twentith of June.

The marquesse of Baden returneth into his owne countrie.

Ground for the Burse in Cornehill first purchased.

The first stone of the Burse laid.

The one and thirtith of August, the quéenes maiestie in hir progresse came to the vniuersitie of Oxford, and was of all the students, which had looked for hir comming thither two yeares, so honorablie and ioifullie receiued, as either their loialnesse towards the quéenes maiestie, or the expectation of their frends did require. Concerning orders in disputations and other academicall exercises, they agreed much with those which the vniuersitie of Cambridge had vsed two yeares before. Comedies also and tragedies were plaied in Christs church, where the quéenes highnesse lodged. Among the which the comedie intituled Palemon and Arcit, made by maister Edwards of the quéenes chappell, had such tragicall successe, as was lamentable. For at that time by the fall of a wall and a paire of staires, and great presse of the multitude three men were slaine.

The queenes progresse to Oxford.

Whitsontuns at Oxford at the playeng of a tragedie.

The fift of September after disputations, the quéene at the humble suit of certeine hir nobilitie, and the B. of Spaines ambassador, made a briefe oration in Latine to the vniuersitie; but so wise and pithie, as England may reioise that it hath so learned a prince, and the vniuersitie may triumph that they haue so noble a patronesse. The sixt of September after dinner, hir grace comming from Christs church ouer Carfor, and so to S. Maries, the scholers standing in order according to their degrees euen to the east gate, certeine doctors of the vniuersitie did ride before in their scarlet gownes and hoods, & maisters of art in blacke gownes and hoods. The maior also with certeine of his brethren did ride before hir in scarlet to the end of Magdalen bridge, where their liberties ended: but the doctors and maisters went forward still to Shotouer, a mile and more out of Oxford, bicause their liberties extended so far: and there after orations made, hir highnes with thanks to the whole vniuersitie bad them farewell, and rode to Ricote.

The quéene maketh an oration to the vniuersitie.

Souldiers transported into Ireland to vanquish Shane Oneil.

The valiant capteine Edward Randoll esquier, lieutenant of the ordinance, and colonell of a thousand footmen, in September last past was with his band imbarked at Bristow, and within few daies after landed at Knockfergus in the north parts of Ireland; and from thence by water to a place called Derrie, by which passeth the riuer Longfoile. There the said colonell in short space fortified, to the great annoiance of Shane Oneil, and by great foresight and experience garded himselfe and his charge, till the said Oneil (to hinder and disturbe his aboad there) the twelfe of November arriued with a great armie of kerne Galowglasses and horsemen, with whome the said capteine Randoll incountered, and him there so discomfited, as after that conflict he durst neuer approch the quéenes power. And to his perpetuall fame, the said capteine by reason of his bold and hardie onset, that daie lost his life. Charles Iames the first of that name, son to Henrie Stuart lord of Darnlete and Marie king & quéene of Scots was borne in Edenburgh castell, the nineteenth of June last past: and the eightenth of December this yeare solemnlie christened at Sterling, whose godfathers at the christening were Charles K. of France, and Philibert duke of Sauoie, and the quéenes maiestie of England was the godmother, who gaue a font of gold curiouslie wrought and inameled, waieng three hundred three and thirtie ounces, amounting in value to the sumine of 1043 pounds, nineteene shillings.

Yong prince of Scots christened.

Anno Reg. 9.

The tenth of Februarie in the morning, Henrie Stuart lord of Darnlete before named K. of Scots, by Scots in Scotland was shamefullie murthered, the reuenge whereof remaineth in the mightie hand of God. The two and twentith of Februarie, the ladie Margaret Dowglas countesse of Lineux, mother to the said king of Scots, was discharged out of the tower of London. Within the space of ten moneths last past died seuen aldermen of London, the first Edward Bankes deceassed the ninth of Julie, An. 1566: Richard Chamberleine late shiriffe, sir Martin Bowes, sir Richard Malloric, sir William Hewet, and sir Thomas White late maiors, then Richard Lambert one of the shiriffes for that yeare, the fourth

K. of Scots murthered. 1567

The countesse of Lineux deliuered out of the tower.

Seuen aldermen deceassed in London.

fourth of Aprill 1567. The like mortalitie to haue happened among them about a ten or eleuen yeares before, you shall read in the historie of quæne Marie, in the fourth yeare of hir reigne.

* See before pag. 1132.

The towne of Osseltrie burnt thrise in thirtie yeares.

The two and twentith of Aprill by great misfortune of fire in the towne of Osseltrie in Wales, twelue miles from Shrewsburie, to the number of two hundred houses, to wit, seuen score within the wals, and three score without in the suburbs, besides cloth, corne, cattell, &c: were consumed, which fire began at two of the clocke in the after none, and ended at foure, to the great maruell of manie, that so great a spoile in so short a time should happen. Two long streets with great riches in that towne was burnt in the yeare 1542: and likewise or worse in the yeare 1564. The foure and twentith of Aprill the sergeants feast was kept at Greis inne nere vnto Holborne, and there were at that time made seuen new sergeants of the law. The seuentæenth of Maie in the towne of Milnall in Suffolke eight miles from Newmarket, thirtie seuen houses besides barnes, stables, and such like were consumed with fire in the space of two houres.

Sergeants feast.

Milnal in Suffolke burnt.

Shane Oneil, who had most traitorously rebelled against the quænes maiestie in Ireland, and had done manie great outrages in the parts of Ulster, was this yeare with his great losse manfullie repelled from the siege of Dundalke by the garrison therof: and afterward through the great valiancie and foresight of sir Henrie Sidneie knight of the order, and lord deputie of Ireland, he was so discomfited in sundrie conflicts, with the losse of three thousand fiue hundred of his men, that now foreséeing his declination to be imminent, he determined to put a collar about his necke, and disguising himselfe, to repaire to the lord deputie, and penitentlie to requite his pardon to haue his life. But Neil Mackeuer his secretarie, who had incited him to this rebellion, persuaded him first to trie & treat the freendship of certeine wild Scots, that then laie incamped in Clan Iboie, vnder the conducting of Alexander Oge, and Mac Gilliam Buske, whose father and vncle Shane Oneil had latelie killed in an ouerthrow giuen to the Scots. Neuertheless he well liking this persuasion, went to the said campe the second of June, where after a dissembled interteinement, & quaffing of wine, Gilliam Buske burning with desire of reuenge for his fathers and vncles death, and ministring quarrelling talke, issued out of the tent, and made a fraie vpon Oneils men, and then gathering togither his Scots in a throng, suddenlie entred the tent againe, who there with their slaughter swords hewed in pèces Shane Oneil, his secretarie, and all his companie, except a verie few which escaped by flight.

Shane Oneil discomfited. Statuta regni Hiberniæ. Edm. Cãpian.

Shane Oneil mangled and hackt in pèces.

On saint Johns euen at night was the like standing watch in London, as had bæne on saint Peters euen in the yeare last before mentioned. This yeare the emperour Maximilian the second of that name, being elected into the most honourable order of the garter, the right honourable Thomas earle of Sussex, &c: knight of the same most noble order, was appointed by the quænes maiestie to go vnto the said emperour, with the said order of the garter, according to his said election. Who being honorablie accompanied with the lord North, sir Thomas Wildmaie knight, Henrie Cobham esquier, one of the pensioners, and others, departed from London the fiue and twentith of June 1567, vnto Douer, and there imbarked, landed at Calis, and his traine at Dunkirke, and so passed through the low countries to Antwerpe in Brabant, where he was honourablie receiued by the English merchants and others, and being there went to visit madame de Parma, regent of the said countries, then resident within the same towne.

Standing watch at midsummer maintemed in London.

The emperor Maximilian inuested into the order of the garter.

The earle of Sussex visiteth madame de Parma.

From thence he passed vnto Colen, where as his lordship and traine mounted the riuer of Rhene, & by sundrie continuall dailes iourneies passed by the citie of Ments or Magunce, vnto Oppenham, & there taking his waie by land, passed through the countrie by the cities of Wormes and Spires till he came to Ulmes, standing on the riuer of Danow, where hee arriued the one and twentith of Julie: and the three and twentith his lordship rode in post to Auspurge, called in Latine *Augusta Vindelicorum*, nine Dutch miles from Ulmes. From thence he departed the fiue and twentith of Julie, and met with his traine at Donwert, being come thither vpon flotes downe by the said riuer of Danow. From thence he kept vpon his iourneie by Ingolstat, Reinspurge, in Latine *Ratisbona*, by Passaw and other townes, till hee came to Linz, where his lordship staied the first, second and third of August, by reason of the high waters.

The iournies of the earle of Sussex during his abode beyond the seas.

And departing from thence on the fourth of August, he passed by Stoan & Cremz, by the said riuer of Danow, and so arriued at the citie of Vienna the fift of August in this foresaid yeare 1567, where hee was receiued of the lord Smeckouites, hauing twelue horsses readie with their footclothes for his lordship, and the most respected of his traine, and so brought him to the presence of the emperour, at that present within his castell there in that citie, by whom he was right honourablie receiued, and afterwards conducted to his assigned lodging, where as all prouision was prepared and made at the emperours charges. Here his lordship continued till the fourtéenth of Januarie. In which meane time the emperour verie often (as time serued) had the said earle forth with him, vnto such pastimes of hunting the hart, boare, and such like, as the plentifulnesse of that countrie yéeldeth. Moreouer, during the time of his lordships abode there at Vienna, Charles archduke of Austria and Carinth arriued in that citie, whom my lord went to salute.

The emperor interteineth the earle of Sussex.

Charles duke of Austria & the earle of Sussex salute each other.

After this, vpon the quænes maiesties letters brought out of England by maister Henrie Brooke, *alias* Cobham, one of hir gentlemen pensioners, the said earle of Sussex vpon sundaie the fourth of Januarie in the after none, presented and deliuered vnto the emperours maiestie in his chamber of presence, the habiliments and ornaments of the most noble order of the garter, sir Gilbert Dethike knight *alias* Garter, principall king of armes, and officer for the said order, and William Dethike then Rougecrosse, also officer of armes, giuing their attendance in their cotes of armes. And the emperour at his inuesture of the said habiliments, gaue vnto the said Garter his short gowne and vnder garment, furred throughout with luzerns, and then proceeded thence into a great chamber, adorned in forme of a chapell, where as all the other ceremonies belonging vnto the said noble order were obserued and accomplished. And the same night the said earle supped with the emperours maiestie, both being in their robes of the said order.

1568

Now shortlie after, his lordship with certeine of his companie taking leaue of the emperour, departed from Vienna the fourtéenth of Januarie aforesaid vnto Newstat, and so through the countrie of Stire vnto Gratz the chiefe citie of Carinth, where he tooke also leaue of the said archduke Charles: and from thence returning, passed those parts of the Alpes vnto Saltzburgh, where he met with the other part of his traine, and so by continuing iourneies came againe into England to the quænes maiestie towards the latter end of March. After a drie summer followed an extreme sharpe winter, namelie the latter

The earle of Sussex departeth from Vienna, &c.

John Stow. Anno Reg. 10. A sharpe winter following a drie summer.

latter part therof, with such great scarsitie of fodder and haie, that in diuerse places the same was sold by weight, as in Yorkeshire, and in the Peake of Darbishire, where a stone of haie was sold for fiue pence. There followed also a great death of cattell, namelie of horsse and sheepe.

Rich. Grafton. The quænes ships sent forth into the narrow seas.

This yeare in the moneth of Januarie, the quæns maiestie sent into the narrow seas three of hir ships, and one barke named the Anthelop, the Swallow, the Aid, and the Phenix, the which were manned with fiue hundred men. And hir highnesse appointed the charge of the said ships and men to hir trustie seruant William Holstocke of London esquier, comptroller of hir highnesse ships, who had commandement to staie the subiects of king Philip. And according to his dutie he vsed such diligence, as one hauing care vnto his charge, in garding as well the French as the English coasts, did the eleuenth date of March next following meet with eleuen saile of Flemmish hoies open vpon Bullongne, which came from Rone, and had in them foure hundred and od tuns of Gascoigne and French wines, which they intended to haue caried into Flanders: but the said Holstocke staid all the said eleuen hoies, and sent them to London, where they made their discharge, and the Flemmings disappointed of those wines.

Eleuen saile of Flemish hoies laden with wines surprised by admerall Holstocke.

Moreouer the eight and twentith daie of the foresaid moneth of March, the said William Holstocke serning in the Anthelop (at that present admerall) and in his compante being William Winter the yonger (at that time his viceadmerall) seruing in the Aid, and John Basing capteine of the Swallow, and Thomas Gouarlie capteine of the Phenix met in the narrow seas with foure tenne saile of great hulkes, which were come out of Portugall, and bound to Flanders: their chiefe lading being Portugall salt, and yet had good store of Spanish roials of plate, and also of good spices. The which fourteene hulkes did maintaine their fight for the space of two houres. And after that they did perceiue that they could not preuaile, hauing talked of the ordinance of the quens ships to their great hurt, as well in slaughter of their men, as also in spoile of their ships, the said Holstock and his companie toke eight of the said hulks, whereof sir were sent into the riuer of Thames. And the admerall and viceadmerall in the said hulks being two great ships (which the said Holstocke himselfe did take) were caried vnto Harwich, and there discharged.

Six Spanish hulks laden with diuerse things taken by the English.

The eightenth of March, through vehement rage and tempest of winds, manie vessels on the Thames with two tiltbotes before Grauesend, were sunke and drowned. The sir and twentith of June, deceased Thomas Yong archbishop of Yorke, at the manour of Sheffield, and was honourablie buried at Yorke.

John Stow. Great winds.

Archbishop of Yorke deceased.

The eleuenth of October were taken in Suffolke at Downam bridge, neere vnto Ipswich seuentene monstrous fishes, some of them conteining seuen and twentie foot in length, the other foure and twentie, or one and twentie foot at the least.

Monstrous fishes.

At the costs and charges of the citizens of London, a new conduit was built at Walbrooke corner neere to Dowgate, which was finished in the moneth of October, the water whereof is conueied out of the Thames.

New conduit at Walbrooke.

Anno Reg. 11. 1569

The seuen and twentith of Januarie, Philip Pestrell a Frenchman, and two Englishmen were drawne from Newgate to Tiburne, and there hanged, the Frenchman quartered, who had coined gold counterfeit; the Englishmen the one had clipped siluer, the other cast testons of tin. The eight and twentith of March, the pensioners well appointed in armor on horsbacke, mustered before the queenes maiestie in Hide parke beside Westminster. A great lotterie being holden at London in Poules church yard at the west dore, was begun to be drawne the eleuenth of Januarie, and continued date and night till the sixt of Maie, wherein the said drawing was fullie ended. Sir Thomas Ro lord maior of London, caused to be inclosed with a wall of bricke nigh one acre of ground, neere vnto Bedlem without Bishops gate, to be a place of buriall for the dead of such parishes in London as lacked conuenient ground within their said parishes.

2 Frenchmã & two Englishmen executed.

Muster of pensioners.

A lotterie at London.

Buriall for the dead prepared by sir Thomas Ro called ỹ New churchyard.

¶ On the southside whereof, ouer a folding gate this inscription is grauen in stone in great letters: *Thomas Ro miles, cùm prætor esset Londinensis, hunc locum Reipublicæ, in vsum publicæ sepulturæ communem, suo sumptu dedicauit: Anno Domini* 1569. Which writing I haue here recorded, for that in viewing the same, I saw some of the letters defaced and vtterlie made awaie: which in time might likewise befall to the residue, and so the memorie of the gentleman there fixed to so good an end vanish and die. He also of a godlie motion builded a conuenient rome in Pauls churchyard, on the southside of the crosse, to receiue a certeine number of hearers at the sermon time: as may appeare by some remembrances of his name there fixed. Howbeit, this gentleman thus well disposed, and like inough to haue proceeded in more such godlie actions, was called out of this life the next yeare immediatlie following, forgoing all the pompe of this life, with no lesse good will, than he was forward by death to passe to eternall rest. His bodie was buried in Hacknie church, in the southside of the chancell, where (besides a monument of himselfe and his wife) this epitaph remaineth to be read in faire great letters, as followeth:

A. F.

The inscription or writing ouer the south gate of the new churchyard.

An. 1570. *Septemb.* 2.

Sir Thomas Ro lieth buried heare,
Of London knight and alderman,
Who late was maior and rule did beare,
To right the cause of euerie man:
A merchant venturer was he,
Of merchant tailors companie:
A citizen by birth also,
And eke his wife dame Marie Ro.
In wedlocke one and thirtie yeare,
They did continue man and wife,
Eleuen children she did beare,
But fiue of them haue left this life:
And six aliue doo yet remaine,
Foure of them sons and daughters twaine;
His soule with God we hope is blest,
And doth remaine in Abrams brest.

The death of sir Thomas Ro knight and lord maior of London.

The epitaph of sir Thomas Ro, wherein his issue male and female is conteined.

A standing watch on S. Johns euen at Midsummer, and sir John White alderman rode the circuit, as the lord maior should haue done. The seuen and twentith of August, Andrew Gregorewich Sauin, ambassador from Muscouie, landed at the tower wharfe, and was there receiued by the lord maior of London, the aldermen and shirifes in scarlet, with the merchants aduenturers in cotes of blacke velvet, all on horssebacke, who conueied him riding through the citie to the Muscouie house in Seding lane, there to be lodged. The plague of pestilence somewhat raging in the citie of London, Michaelmas terme was first adiourned vnto the third of Nouember, and after to Hilarie terme next following. The eleuenth of October, Thomas Howard duke of Norffolke was brought from Burnam beside Windsore by land to Westminster, and from thence by water to the tower of London prisoner; sir Henrie Neuill being his keeper. This yeare the lord maior of London went by water to Westminster, and there toke his oth, as hath beene accustomed, but kept no feast at the Guildhall, least through comming together of so great a multitude, infection of the pestilence might haue increased. That woorke from

Ambassadors from Muscouie land at tower wharfe.

Terme adiourned.

Duke of Norffolke sent to the tower.

No maiors feast at Guildhall.

from the one and twentith vnto the eight and twentith of October, there died in the citie and out parthes of all diseases one hundred fiftie and two, of the which, one and fiftie were accounted to die of the plague.

The earle of Northumberland and westmerland rebelled.

On thursdaie the ninth of Nouember, Thomas Persie erle of Northumberland receiued the queens maiesties letters to repaire to the court. And the same night, other conspirators perceiuing him to be wauering and vnconstant of promise made to them, caused a seruant of his, called Beckwith (after he was laid in his bed) to bustle in, and to knocke at his chamber doore, willing him in hast to arise, and shift for himselfe, for that his enimies (whome he termed to be sir Oswold Wilstrop, and maister Vaughan) were about the parke, and had beset him with great numbers of men. Wherevpon he arose, & conueied himselfe awaie to his keepers house. In the same instant they caused the bels of the towne to be rong backeward, and so raised as manie as they could to their purpose. The next night the earle departed thense to Branspith, where he met with Charls earle of Westmerland, and the other confederats. Then by sundrie proclamations, they abusing manie of the queens subiects, commanded them in hir highnesse name, to repaire to them in warlike maner, for the defense and suertie of hir maiesties person; sometimes affirming their doings to be with the aduise and consent of the nobilitie of this realme, who in deed were wholie bent (as manifestlie appeared) to spend their liues in dutifull obedience, against them and all other traitors, sometimes pretending for conscience sake to seeke to reforme religion: sometimes declaring that they were driuen to take this matter in hand, least otherwise forren princes might take it vpon them, to the great perill of this realme.

The earles abuse the queene and hir subiects.

Upon mondaie the thirteenth of Nouember, they went to Durham with their banners displaied. And to get the more credit among the fauorers of the old Romish religion, they had a crosse with a banner of the fiue wounds borne before them, sometime by old Norton, sometime by others. As sone as they entred Durham, they went to the minster, where they tare the bible, communion bookes, & other such as were there. The same night they went againe to Branspith. The fourteenth date of the same moneth, they went to Darington, and there had masse, which the earles and the rest heard with such lewd deuotion as they had. Then they sent their horssemen, to gather togither such numbers of men as they could. The fifteenth daie the earles parted; he of Northumbeland to Richmond, then to Northallerton, & so to Borowbridge; & he of Westmerland to Ripon, & after to Borowbridge, where they both met againe. On the eightenth daie they went to Wetherbie, and there tarted three or foure daies, and vpon Clifford more, nigh vnto Bramham more, they mustred themselues, at which time they were about two thousand horssemen, and fiue thousand footmen, which was the greatest number that euer they were. From which they intended to haue marched toward Yorke, but their minds being suddenlie altered, they returned.

Rebels rent the bible, communion bookes and behaue themselues like Spanish dozes.

Anno Reg. 12.

The number of rebels 2000 horssemen, and 5000 footmen.

The three and twentith of Nouember, they besieged Bernards castell, which castell was valiantlie defended by sir George Bowes, and Robert Bowes his brother, the space of eleuen daies, and then deliuered with composition to depart with armor, munition, bag and baggage. In which time the queens maiestie caused the said earles of Northumberland & Westmerland to be proclamed traitors, with all their adherents and fauourers, the foure and twentith of Nouember. The lord Scrope warden of the west marches, calling vnto him the earle of Cumberland and other gentlemen of the countrie, kept the citie of Carleill. The earle of Sussex the queens lieutenant generall in the north, published there the like proclamations (in effect) as had beene published by hir maiestie against the said rebels, and also sent out to all such gentlemen as he knew to be hir maiesties louing subiects vnder his rule, who came vnto him with such numbers of their friends, as he was able in fiue daies to make aboue fiue thousand horssemen and footmen. And so being accompanied with the erle of Rutland his lieutenant, the lord Hunsdon generall of the horssemen, sir Rafe Sadler treasuror, the lord William Euers, that was after appointed to lead the reareward, and diuerse other, that with their tenants and seruants were come to him, remaining as then within the citie of Yorke: he set forward from thense the fift of December being sundaie, and marched with his power which he had thus got togither towards the enimies.

Bernards castell besieged and defended.

The earles proclamed traitors.

The earle of Sussex went against the rebels.

The earle of Rutland and the lord Hunsdon, with others against the rebels.

Sir George Bowes hauing surrendred Bernards castell (as before ye haue heard) met the earle of Sussex thus marching forward with his armie at Sisate, from whence they kept forward to Northallerton: and resting two nights there, they marched on to Crostbridge, then to Akle, and so to Durham, and after to Newcastell. And the twentith of December they came to Yeram, from whence the rebels were gone the night before to Naworth, where they counselled with Edward Dacres concerning their owne weakenesse, & also how they were not onlie pursued by the earle of Sussex & others with him, hauing a power with them of seuen thousand men, being almost at their heeles; but also by the earle of Warwike, and the lord Clinton, high admerall of England with a far greater armie of twelue thousand men, raised by the queens maiesties commissioners out of the south and middle parts of the relme. In which armie beside the earle of Warwike, & the lord admerall, cheefe gouernors in the same, there was also Walter Deuereux vicount Hereford high marshall of the field, with the lord Willoughbie of Perham, maister Charles Howard, now lord Howard of Effingham, generall of the horssemen vnder the earle of Warwike, yong Henrie Knols eldest sonne to sir Francis Knols, his lieutenant, Edward Horsete capteine of the ile of Wight, with fiue hundred harquebusiers out of the same Ile, and capteine Leighton with other fiue hundred harquebusiers Londoners, and manie other worthie gentlemen and valiant capteins.

The rebels and Edward Dacres consult about their weakenesse.

The earle of Warwike and the lord admerall Clinton, sent against the rebels.

The comming forward of these forces caused the rebels so much to quaile in courage, that they durst not abide to trie the matter with dint of sword. For whereas the earle of Warwike, and the lord admerall, being aduanced forward to Darington, ment the next daie to haue sent Robert Glouer then Portculeis, and now Summerset herald (who in his iourneie attended on the lord admerall, as Norreie king of armes did vpon the earle of Warwike) vnto the rebels, vpon such message as for the time and state of things was thought conuenient: the same night aduertisements came from the earle of Sussex vnto the earle of Warwike, and to the lord admerall, that the two earles of Northumberland and Westmerland were fled, as the truth was they were indeed, first from Durham, whither the said Glouer should haue beene sent vnto them: and now vpon the earle of Sussex his comming vnto Erham, they shranke quite awaie, and fled into Scotland, without bidding their companie farewell. The earle of Warwike and his power marched on to Durham. But the earle of Sussex pursuing those other rebels that had not

The rebels dare not stand to the triall of battell.

The earles of Northumberland & Westmerland flie into Scotland.

not meane to flée out of the realme, apprehended no small number of them at his pleasure, without finding anie resistance among them at all.

1570 Rebeiles executed at Durham.

The fourth and fift of Januarie did suffer at Durham to the number of three score and six, constables and others, amongst whome the alderman of the towne and a priest called parson Plomtrée were the most notable. Then sir george Bowes being made marshall, finding manie to be sautors in the foresaid rebellion, did sée them executed in diuerse places of the countrie. The one and twentith of Januarie a prentise of London was hanged on a gibet at the north end of Finch lane in London (to the example of others) for that he the thirteenth of December had striken his maister with a knife whereof he died.

A prentise hanged in London for killing his maister.

Rich. Grafton. Lord Leonard Dacres rebelleth.

About the later end of Januarie, Leonard Dacres of Harlesele began to rebell, and procured the people of the north parts to assist him: so that he raised to the number of three thousand men. Of whose attempts when the lord Hunsdon lord warden of the east marches, and gouernor of Berwike heard, he prepared to go against him: and hauing with him sir John Forster lord warden of the middle marches, they set forward towards the place where they thought they should find him. They had with them 300 chosen soldiors of the garrison of Berwike, and twelue hundred borderers, and other of the garrisons there about the borders: so that they were in all fiftéene hundred footmen and horsemen. They marching therewith forth approched nére to a towne and castell called Naworth, which was in the kéeping of the said Leonard Dacres. And vpon a more, through the middle whereof a litle riuer called Chelt hath his course, the said Leonard Dacres the two and twentith of Februarie was readie with his power in order of battell, ranged & set in arrais after the forme of a triangle, compassed and inuironed about with horsemen. And now vpon the lord Hunsdons approch, the said Dacres with great and stout courage gaue an hardie onset vpon the said lord Hunsdon and his companie, nére vnto the foresaid riuer.

The lord Dacres readie with his power to set vpon the lord of Hunsdon.

The fight was sharpe and cruell, and the euent verie doubtfull for a while: the rebels were so stiffelie bent to do their vttermost indeuor in defense of their wicked quarrell. There were amongst them manie desperat women that gaue the aduenture of their liues, and fought right stoutlie. Manie therfore were slaine on both sides, to the number at the least of three hundred persons. But such was the forward valiancie of the lord Hunsdon, that his people incoraged by his example (whome they might see so noblie acquit himselfe, in aduenturing so farre as anie other of the whole troope) behaued themselues in such manfull wise, that the victorie in the end fell to him and his companie: and the said Leonard Dacres was forced to flée from his séelie slaine and miserable people, taking his waie into Scotland, so fast as his horsse might beare him. Captaine Reade and the other captains and soldiors of Berwike bare themselues right valiantlie, and shewed proofe of their skill and hardie manhood in this skirmish. After the which these holds and castels were taken and deliuered vnto the said lord Hunsdon: Nawoth which was committed vnto the képing of maister Scrope, Kelkwod, Greistocke and Rockleie, which were deliuered to the képing of diuerse of the duke of Norfolks officers.

Stout women among the rebels.

Leonard Dacres put to flight taketh his waie into Scotland.

On good fridaie the seauen and twentith of March Simon Digbie of Askue, John Fulthorpe of Isilbecke in the countie of Yorke esquiers, Robert Peneman of Stokesleie, Thomas Bishop the yonger of Poklinton in the same countie of Yorke, gentlemen, were drawne from the castell of Yorke to the place of execution called Knaues mire, halfe a mile without the citie of Yorke, and there hanged, headed, and quartered; their foure heads were set on foure principall gates of the citie, with foure of their quarters; the other in diuerse places of the countrie. Miclope Clesbe was with them drawne to the gallows, and returned againe to the castell. William earle of Penbroke baron of Cardiffe, knight of the garter, one of the priuie councell, and lord steward of the quénes maiesties household, deceased the eightéenth of Aprill, and was buried in saint Paules church at London. ¶ This noble man liued in great credit and estimation with king Henrie the eight, king Edward the first, quéne Marie, and quéne Elisabeth, and was by euerie of the said princes imploied in matters of great importance: and for his good and faithfull seruice greatlie honored, as apéereth in an epitaph fixed vpon his tome in the cathedrall church of saint Paule in London, which I thought good here to late downe.

John Stow. Rebelles executed at Yorke.

Knaues mire.

The earle of Penbroke deceased.

D. Powell in hist. Camb. pag. 399.

Perpetuæ pietati sacrum.

Gvlielmo Herberto Penbrochiæ comiti, equiti aurato prænobilis ordinis Anglici: Hen. viij. R. A cubiculis: Edoard. vi. R. equitum magistro: Walliæ præsidi. Tumultu occidentali cum Russello & Graio baronibus paribus auspicys summæ rerum præposito: Mariæ R. contra perduelles, ac expeditione ad Augustam Veromanduorum bis, totius exercitus duci: bis summo in agro Caletum, limitum præfecto: Elisab. R. officiorum seu Magno Regiæ magistro. Pariter & Dominæ Annæ ex vetusta Parrorum gente oriundæ, Sorori Catharinæ R. Henr. viij. R. vi. matrimonio coniunctæ, ac Marchionis Northamptonij: Prudentiss. fœminæ, pietatis, religionis, probitatis omnisque auitæ virtutis retinentiss. fidiss. Comitis coniugi: Henr. F. ac comes, Pp. chariss. sibi ac suis mœrens. P.

Obijt { ætatis / salutis } Ann. { 63. / 1569. } Liberis relictis exprimis. Henrico Pemb. Comite. Edoardo equite Aurato. Domina Anna Baroni Talbot nupta. } Secunda coniuge superstite, Georgio Salopiæ comite genita, insigni præter antiquum probitatis decus, virtute fœmina.]

The earle of Sussex, in reuenge of the euill demeanor of the Scots inhabiting nére to the English marches, as well in receiuing and succouring diuerse of the English rebels, as other naughtie practises, assembled such forces as he thought expedient in the night that followed the seauen and twentith of April, and hauing with him the lord Hunnesdon gouernour of Berwike and lord warden of the east marches, sir William Drurie marshall of the said armie and towne of Berwike, came to Warke, being twelue miles distant from the said towne of Berwike: & then the next daie being the eightéenth of the same moneth, they entered into Tiuidall in Scotland, where marching in warlike order, they burned, ouerthrew, wasted and spoiled all the castels, townes and villages, as they passed, till they came to a tower called the Holle tower, standing in a marish, and belonging to the lard of Buclewgh, which likewise was rased, ouerthrowne and burned: and so marching forward, wasted the whole countrie before them, vntill they came to a great towne called Crauling.

The earle of Sussex inuadeth Scotland.

The Holle tower.

The same daie sir John Forster warden of the middle marches, with all the garrisons and forces of the same, entered likewise into Tiuidall at Espelgate, distant sixteene miles from Warke, where in like order they burned and spoiled the countrie before them, till they came to a castell in the possession of

Sir John Forster with his companie enter into Tiuidall.

of the lard of Fernitherst, being parcell of hir sons lands, which likewise was ouerthrowne, rased, and burned, with all other castels, piles, townes, and villages, all alongst the said countrie, till they came to Crauling, joining there with the lord lieutenants power. This towne was likewise burned and spoiled. Thus they passed the riuer of Tiuet, rasing, burning and spoiling the castels, piles, stone houses, townes, and villages alongst that riuer, vntill they came to Jedworth, where they lodged for that night, and were of the magistrats of that towne courteoullie receiued, who had made indifferent good prouision for the armie, both of vittels for men, and of haie and prouender for horsses. Whereupon proclamation was publikelie made in the name of the lord lieutenant, that no Englishman (vpon paine of death) should disturbe or wrongfullie take awaie anie thing from anie of the inhabitants of the same towne, without disbursing readie monie therefore. Which thing did so much content the Scots, that the next daie the lard of Selford, warden of the middle marches of Scotland, with all the principals of his alies and kinred, came in to the lord lieutenant, submitting themselues to him, and were receiued into assurance: for that neither he nor anie of them had at anie time receiued the English rebels, neither aided nor assisted them, neither yet made anie inuasion into England. And whereas some of their men, and tenants, without their knowledge had trespassed in such behalfe, they were contented to abide and stand vnto the erle of Sussex his order, for their said men and tenants. And herevpon neither they nor anie of theirs receiued anie hurt: but by his lordships commandement were preserued from sustaining anie damage either in bodie or goods: so glad he was of their submission, and no lesse glad to giue them occasion to be carefull in performance of obedience. Vnto which compassion God (no doubt) had inclined the noble mans hart, according to the poet words in this sense verie true:

They come to Jedworth and are interteined.

The lard of Selford with the principals of his alies submit themselues.

——mollia pectora reddit
Ad pietatis opus, flammis vt cera liquescens
In varias formas fictoris ducitur arte.

The nineteenth daie, the armie was diuided into two seuerall parts, whereof one passing ouer the riuer of Tiuet, burned the castell of Fernitherst, vtterlie spoiling the same, and all other castels & townes that belonged to the lards of Fernitherst, Hunthill, and Bedroll, and so passed to Minto, where both the armies meeting, joined togither againe, being not past a foure miles from Howike, whither they marched directlie, intending to lodge there that night, because the bailiffes of the towne had offered to receiue the whole armie, and to make prouision for the soldiours of all things necessarie, they paieng readie monie for the same, and the inhabitants to be assured not to be hurt in bodie or goods, as was promised. But the Scots breaking the couenant before the comming thither of the armie, had vncouered their houses, carried the thatch into the streets, and there set it on fire: and this done they fled their waies with most part of their goods. So that when the armie approched, there was such a thicke smoke, that no man might scarselie enter the towne: and so for that night the soldiours suffered great lacke of vittels, lodging, and prouision, as well for themselues as their horsses. But the fire which the Scots had of a malicious purpose and subtiltie thus begun, was by the diligent industrie of the Englishmen so increased: that both the thatch and timber of the whole towne was consumed to ashes, a stone house perteining to the lard of Drumlanerike onlie excepted, wherein the lord lieutenant late that night. And bicause the said Drumlanerike was a friend assured, the said house was spared, with all the goods and corne therein, whereof there was great plentie.

The castell of Fernitherst burned.

It Minto both the armies met.

The Scots of Howike their breach of couenant.

Why the lord of Drumlanerikes goods were saued from the fire, &c.

The twentith of Aprill, the armie marched toward a faire proper house, belonging to the lard of Buclewgh, which was blowne vp with powder and vtterlie ruinated. Here the armie was againe diuided as before by the said lord lieutenant his appointment, and marching by north the riuer of Tiuet towards England, they burnt and spoiled all such castels, piles, townes and villages, as were belonging to the said lards of Fernitherst and Buclewgh their kinsmen, alies, and adherents, & came that night againe to Jedworth, and there lodged. The one and twentith of Aprill, the armie diuiding it selfe againe, the one part vnder the leading of the marshall sir William Drurie, passed to the riuer of Bowbent, and there Tiuidale and Riddesdale men meeting him, all on both sides that riuer was burnt and spoiled. The other part of the armie marching by the riuer of Taile, wasted and burnt in like maner there all that was found on both sides that riuer, belonging wholie to the lard of Buclewgh, his kinsmen, alies and adherents.

In house of the lard of Buclewghs blowne vp with powder.

Nothing but wast & spoile by fire and sword.

This done, they returned againe nere to Kelseie, where the lord lieutenant lodged for that night, meaning to haue besieged Hume castell. For the accomplishment whereof, the same night the lord of Hunnesdon and his companie went to Warke, to bring from thence the daie next following the great artillerie. But bicause the cariage horsses were returned to Barwike, this could not be brought to passe, & so the lord lieutenant with the whole armie returning into England the two & twentith of Aprill, came that night to Barwike. In this iourneie there were rased, ouerthrowne and spoiled, aboue fiftie castels and piles, and more than three hundred townes and villages: so that there were verie few in Tiuidale and those parties there abouts, which had either receiued the English rebels, or by inuasion indamaged the English borders, and good subiects inhabiting vpon the same, that had left to them either castell, pile or house, for themselues, their frends, or tenants, beside the great losse of goods which were wasted, taken awaie or consumed by this armie vnder the lord lieutenant.

The lord lieutenants purpose to besiege Hume castell.

what castels & piles were ouerthrowne and spoiled in this voiage.

Now in the meane while that he with his power thus afflicted the aduersaries on that side, the lord Scrope warden of the west marches the eightenth of Aprill entered Scotland on that side, with such forces as he had assembled. And the first night they incamped at Eglesham, and in the morning at the dislodging of the campe, that towne was burnt; and passing forward through the countrie, they burnt and spoiled diuerse other townes, almost till they came to Dunfrise, and had diuerse conflicts with the enimies, gaue them sundrie ouerthrowes, tooke manie of them prisoners. And hauing accomplished his purpose, to his high praise and commendation, his lordship returned in safetie with his people into England; hauing burnt in that iourneie these places following: Hoddon, Trailebrow, old Cockpole, Sherington, Blackeshaw, Banke end, Rowell, Logher wood, Bride kirke, and others. During these inuasions thus made into Scotland in that season, the marches of England were so stronglie garded in all places by the lord Euers, sir George Bowes, and others; that the Scots durst not so much as once offer to make anie inuasion: so that in absence of the armies, there was not so much as an house burnt, or a cow driuen out of the English borders.

The lord Scrope with his power.

The marches of England garded against the enimie.

The six and twentith of Aprill, the earle of Sussex lord lieutenant, accompanied with the foresaid lord of Hunnesdon, master Drurie, and diuers other capteins and souldiours, to the number of three thousand or thereabouts, set from Barwike about fiue of the

Clocke

clocke in the afternoone towards Warke, where they arriued about nine of the clocke in the night: and continuing there till the next morning, in the meane time he put things in order necessarie for the assieging of Hume castell, the winning whereof his lordship seemed to haue vowed. About the breake of the date he sent forth master Drurie, with certeine horsemen and shot before, to inuiron that castell, and to chuse there such a plot of ground, where he might incampe best in safetie frō the shot of the same. Which the said master Drurie accordinglie performed, and there remained till the comming of the said lord lieutenant with the armie; who setting forward the footbands, cariage, and ordinance, made hast to follow. But yet yer he could passe the riuer of Twéed, and set ouer all the men, ordinance and carriage, it was almost ten of the clocke. Héere at this riuer, the lord lieutenant caused all the horssemen to stale and to take ouer the footmen.

The marshall sent before to Hume castell.

The order taken by the earle of Sussex for the safetie of the armie.

This done, with good circumspection he appointed the demilances and other horssemen to remaine behind in the rereward, and put the footmen in the battell, for the more safegard of themselues, the ordinance and cariages. Then his lordship himselfe with his owne standard, and the lord of Hunnesdons guidon, marched forward towards Hume castell, commanding the rest of the armie with the ordinance to follow after, and so about one of the clocke in the afternoone, he came before the castell: out of the which the enimies shot at his standard verie hotlie; but (God be praised) without doing hurt either to man or horsse, and incamped vnder a rocke or crag (which the marshall had possessed) with his band of horssemen and certeine footmen, as in a place most apt from danger of shot out of the castell. Héerewith a companie of curriours and caliuers were put forward, and appointed to take an other rocke nérer to the castell, which shot at them in the said castell; and the defendants within it answered them againe verie roundlie, although without anie great hurt on either part.

Hume castell besieged.

The earle of Sussex vieweth the castell of Hume.

In the meane time the lord lieutenant himselfe, accompanied onelie with the marshall master Drurie, rode sundrie times round about the castell to view and suruele the same: at whome they within shot verie sore, both with their great artillerie and small shot; yet missing them, as God would, though verie narrowlie. About six of the clocke in the euening came the whole battell, ordinance and cariages, with ensignes spread, shewing themselues verie brauelie; at whome also the castell shot lustilie: but as God would haue it, without hurting either man or boie. They lodged vnder another rocke nære adioining vnto the lord lieutenant vpon the west side, where there were appointed more small shot to go to the trench, which shadowed themselues vnder the old wals of the houses, which the Scots had burnt before the comming of the Englishmen, and occupied them so within the said castell, that one of them could not so sone looke out at a lope, but three or foure were readie to salute him: and kéeping them in such sort, that they durst not well shew their heads; the captéine of the pioners the same night by commandement of the lord lieutenant, raised a mount vpon the northeast side of the castell, wherevpon the pieces of artillerie might be planted in batterie.

A Mount raised at the lord lieutenants commandement.

Batterie made against Hume castell.

This worke was so well applied, and with so great diligence aduanced, that by fiue of the clocke in the nert morning it was finished. The eight and twentith of Aprill, the marshall master Drurie verie earlie rode about the castell, to suruele and view euerie thing: which done, the great ordinance was brought to the appointed place, and bent against the castell, to wit, three canons, and two falcons. Héerewith also the lord lieutenant caused summons to be giuen vnto them within to yéeld. And about seauen of the clocke the same morning, the whole tire began to go off, and a great showt was made by the armie, to the great terrour of the defendants, and of all the countrie nære adioining. The foresaid pieces continued shooting till two of the clocke in the afternoone, discharging within that space a three score shots. During the time of this batterie, there was no great store of shot discharged by the great pieces within the castell, bicause their master gunner within, after he had first shot off a piece, and done no hurt therewith, as he was about to shoot againe, the master gunner of the two English falcons hauing espied him, tooke his leuell so right, that discharging therewith one of the falcons, he displaced the enimies piece, and stroke the gunners leg off, whereby their great ordinance within ceassed, which was an happie turne for the Englishmen.

The master gunner within the castell hurt.

About two of the clocke they within sent forth a trumpet vnto the lord lieutenant, requiring a respit that they might talke with the marshall master Drurie, and to send a messenger to the lord Hume their master, to know his further pleasure: for that being put in trust by him with the kéeping of that forstresse, they could not giue it vp without his consent. And then vpon the returns of the messenger, they trusted to giue his lordship contented answer. The marshall master Drurie talked with them twise, and the lord lieutenant was contented to grant vnto William Trotter, and Gilbert Greie the lord Humes wiues brother (being principall capteins appointed to the kéeping of the said castell) three houres respit: with condition, that they should not vse therein anie subtiltie, or for the delaieng of time: swearing by his honour, that if they so did, he would not depart the field till he had wone it by force: and further, that there should not one of them escape with life.

The Scots sue for a respit of war.

The capteins within Hume castell.

The lord lieutenant sweareth.

They being brought in doubt of their owne safeties hereby, sent one in post togither with a seruant of master Druries the marshall, to the lord Hume. And presentlie hérevpon they shewed themselues vpon the walles and rampires of the said castell: but immediatlie the lord lieutenant sent to them a commandement, strictlie inhibiting them, that not one of them should once on paine of death looke ouer the wals or rampires, to the end to view the breach of the batterie, forsomuch as in the time of parlée it was against the law of armes so to do. But now the messenger that was thus sent to the lord Hume, comming to him, declared in what case his house and people stood, who being (as was supposed) not so farre off, but that he might heare how lustilie the English canons did canuasse and batter his Hunnish castell walles, did now agrée to méet the marshall master Drurie two miles distant from the said castell, and there to commune further with him in that matter.

The lord lieutenants commandement on paine of death.

Upon the comming backe of the messenger with this answer, the lord lieutenant thought good to send the said master Drurie vnto the place appointed: who comming thither met with the said lord Hume. And after they had debated the matter togither, at length the lord Hume was contented that the castell should be surrendered into the hands of the lord lieutenant; with condition, that his people therein might depart with life: which the lord lieutenant was contented to grant, so that there were no English men among them. Hérevpon about eight of the clocke in the euening, the gates were opened, and the keies deliuered to the marshall, who presented them to the lord lieutenant: and then the lord Hunnesdon, the said marshall, and diuerse other gentlemen entered into the castell, and by & by tooke

The castell of Hume deliuered to the marshall.

possession

possession thereof in the quéne of Englands name, pulled downe their banner of defiance, and in place thereof set vp the English banners, against all those in Scotland that would saie the contrarie.

The Scots that were within it, being in number an hundred three score and eight persons, were put out in their common wearing apparell, without armour, weapon, or anie baggage. They comming to the lord lieutenant that was then at the place of the batterie on horssebacke, presented themselues to him: who according to his word and promise of honour, caused them to be safelie conducted through the watch and scouts, to such place as they required. Amongst them there were two Englishmen, the one of them named Hillard, the earle of Northumberlands man, the other was a vagarant person, or a roge (as we may call him) named William God saue his *alias* Lions, which both were caried to Barwike, & there executed the thirteenth of Maie next insuing. In all this siege there were but foure persons slaine on both parts, two Scots, & two Englishmen: but there were manie hurt as well on the one part as the other. The castell of Hume being thus wone, the lord lieutenant the morow after placed therein to kéepe the house to the quéenes maiesties vse, capteine Wood, and capteine Pikman, with two hundred souldiours. This done, his lordship returned towards England and came to Barwike. During this siege there were diuerse townes and villages, situate within three or foure miles of the campe, set on fire by the Englishmen, and vtterlie spoiled. The lord lieutenant vpon his returne to Barwike, stated there for a time verie euill at ease, hauing in trauell about the siege taken such cold, as therewith he was brought into an extreame ague.

Two Englishmen staied and after executed.

Capteine Wod and capteine Pikman.

The lord lieutenant sicke of an ague.

The fourth of Maie, his lordship sent maister William Drurie the marshall of Barwike, accompanied with diuerse gentlemen and capteins, hauing with them about two thousand souldiours, to take Fast castell: the which vpon the first summons was deliuered into his hands, who receiuing the keies being presented to him, entered the hold, and tooke possession thereof, in the quœnes maiesties name: and expelling the Scots, being about the number of halfe a score (who according to couenant were suffered to depart with their liues saued) he put ten, or (as some haue) foure téene Englishmen into that castell, which were thought able and number sufficient enough to kéepe it against all the power of Scotland, the situation thereof is so strong.

John Stow. Englishmen put into the castell to kéepe it.

In this meane time the troubles increasing among the Scots, by reason of the murther committed in the person of the earle of Murreie the late gouernour, the duke of Chatellerault, and other his partakers gathered a power of three thousand men, and comming to Lithquo, midwaie betwixt Sterling and Edenburgh, remained there for a time, and afterwards came to Edenburgh, in purpose to make warre against the lords of the kings part, who hauing sent to the earle of Lennor, then remaining in England, earnestlie requested him to repaire into Scotland. Wherevpon he by the quœnes maiesties licence, tooke his iourneie thitherwards, and came to Barwike, where he was also visited with sickenesse, and so remained certeine daies in that towne. And vnderstanding that the said duke of Chatelleraults power was such, that the lords of the kings side were not able to come togither, nor he to go to them without the quéne of Englands aid, he humblie sued vnto hir maiestie by letters to haue some power by hir appointment to conduct him into Scotland, and there to aid him and the other lords of that side against their aduersaries the duke and his complices. Hérevpon by hir maiesties commandement, the earle of Sussex, as yet not fullie recouered of his sickenesse, ordeined maister William Drurie the marshall of Barwike, with such forces as were thought conuenient to go with the said earle of Lennor, for the execution of such exploits in seruice as séemed most expedient. And about the same time, to wit the first of Maie, the lord Scrope lord warden of the west marches, made a rode into Scotland, incamping the first night on the hither side of the water of Annan, and the next daie marched towards the water of Milke, burning and spoiling all on that side of Annandale, namelie the lard Johnsons lands, finding small resistance, sauing that the forreie was a little troubled with a fortie or fiftie Scots horssemen, and so hauing done his pleasure, he quietlie returned, without receiuing other impeachment: notwithstanding the lord Herries was in Dunfrise, hauing gathered a great power in purpose to hinder his enterprise.

The earle of Chatellerault his complices purpose war against the kings part.

Master william Drurie goeth with the earle of Lennox against the earle of Chatellerault, &c.

But now to returne to the earle of Sussex, who hauing instituted sir William Drurie generall of those bands that should passe with the earle of Lennor into Scotland: bicause each gentleman, souldior, and seuerall bands should dutifullie obeie the said sir William their new ordeined generall in all points of warlike order, the said earle made an oration in such pithie forme and manner, as throughlie expressed the whole substance of the seruice, the vnsuertie of the season, the strange and malicious dealing of diuerse aduersaries: which points he so cunninglie handled, as the excellencie of a perfect orator appeared fullie in his speach. At whose eloquence the herers rather séemed astonied than vnsatisfied in anie point or parcell of those matters: for he opened the verie bowels of rebellion, the practises of enimies, and suborning of traitors: and therefore persuaded euerie honest mind to haue a dutifull consideration of his prince and countrie, in the defense and libertie whereof, both life, lands, and goods, are alwaies to be offered.

The lord lieutenants oration implieng obedience of the souldiors to their new generall.

After which oration in respect of further aduancement as the custome is (for seruice past, and incouragement to proceed in the like worthie doings) he made these knights: Sir William Drurie, sir Thomas Manners, sir George Careie, and sir Robert Constable, and placing the said sir William Drurie the appointed generall in full authoritie, he committed them to God, and the good conduct of their chéefeteine. Now hauing heard the lord lieutenant thus speake, and séeing the means that he vsed to incourage them against the enimie; how could they one with another but vow in mind, euen with the hazzard of their hearts, to performe to their power no lesse than he in speech implied? How could they (I saie) but venture life and lim, hauing so often séene the perillous enterprises which he himselfe vndertooke against forren hostilitie, as to his owne danger so to the high praise of his heroicall prowesse: and not without desert, as one verie well noteth, saieng;

Knights made by the earle of Sussex.

——satrapas præclarus fortis & audax,
Elisabetha tui speciosi corporis acer
Et fidus custos, discrimen adire paratus
Quodlibet, inuicto Mauortis pectore campo.]

Comes Sussexius Camerarius.

The same daie being the eleuenth of Maie, diuerse foot bands with shot and armed pikes were set forward into Scotland, with certeine péeces of artillerie, powder, and munition in good quantitie. First capteine Bicklwell with his ensignes departed the towne, and then the companies of capteine Read, capteine Caruell, capteine Game, capteine Lamberd, and capteine Crington. These old bands of Barwike conteined fiue hundred souldiours.

After them followed the companie of sir Robert Constable, their sergeant maior of three hundred

shot, and the companie of sir Thomas Maners of two hundred shot. Laslie marched forth capteine John Constable, and capteine Barwike with two hundred armed men. These twelue hundred footmen with fiue ensignes marched that night to Coldingham. Also for the better assurance of couenants and promises made on the behalfe of such lords of Scotland, as had made suite for this aid to be sent into their countrie for their assistance against them of the contrarie faction, there were certeine hostages sent into England by the same lords as it was thought expedient, for doubt of double dealing. The twelfe of Maie, they marched forward, and the same daie sir William Drurie, the earle of Lennor, and the other new made knights, with the horsemen, departed from Barwike, and at the peece nere to Dunglas they ouertooke the footmen, and the same night all the horsemen and footmen came and incamped togither at Dunbar, being in all not past sixteene hundred men. They had foure field peeces with them, & good store of powder. The next day being the thirteenth of Maie, and Whitsun euen, they made such speed in their march, that they came vnto Edenburgh, where they found the earles of Morton, Mar, Glencarne, the lords Kithwen, Lindseie, Simple, Glames, Methuen, Ogiltre, and Catcart, with diuerse other gentlemen.

Hostages deliuered by the Scotish lords on the kings side.

The horsmen and footmen incampe at Dunbar.

Scotish lords of the kings side.

Heere also they vnderstood that the duke of Chatellerault and his partakers were departed from Lithquo, whither they were retired backe againe from Edenburgh, on knowledge had that the Englishmen were comming forwards towards them. The fouretenth and fiftenth day they laie still in Edenburgh, and the morrow after being the sixtenth of that moneth, they marched forwards to Lithquo, and lodged in that towne that night, where they receiued aduertisements that the said duke of Chatellerault had broken vp his campe, after he had vpon his departure from the said towne of Lithquo attempted the winning of the castell of Glasco, & missing his purpose there, was driuen to retire with dishonour. The next morning being wednesdaie, the armie marched forwards, and the footmen laie that night at a place called Faukirke, a six miles from Lithquo: but the generall with the horsemen rode six miles further vnto Sterling, where they saw the yong king. The nert daie being the eightenth of Maie, sir Robert Constable, Sargent Maior, with the rest of the capteins of the twelue hundred English footmen, & two hundred Scots footmen, the which were most part shot, marched a long iourneie, and came to lodge that night at Glasco, and the generall sir William Drurie came to them with the horsemen, and the most part of the noble men of Scotland that were on the kings side, which entred the towne and lodged in the same, with manie horsemen and footmen.

The duke of Chatellerault breaketh vp his campe.

The yong king at Sterling.

The duke of Chatellerault (as ye haue heard) had bene there, and besieged the castell that belonged to the king, but hearing of the Englishmens comming two daies before their approching thither, he raised his siege, and departed thence, with the losse of nine and twentie of his men. The nineteenth of Maie, sir William Drurie generall of the English power, being determined aforehand on a iourneie towards Dunbreton, sent forth that morning before certeine vantcurrours on horsebacke, to staie all such as they found vpon the waie. This done, he toke with him certeine gentlemen, and some shot, and rode forth towards Dunbreton, to view the straits and situation of that castell, within the which were at that present the lord Fleming, that toke vpon him as capteine thereof, the archbishop of saint Andrewes, and other their adherents, frends to the duke of Chatellerault, and enimies to the lords that were about the king.

The generall goeth to view Dunbreton,

After sir William Drurie had viewed the castell, and taken the plot of the situation thereof, he sent his trumpetor to know who were within it, and to whose vse they kept it. They within the castell required to know what he was that sent to know the same. It was answered that it was the quéene of Englands generall of hir forces there in Scotland that made the demand. Whereunto answer was returned, that they knew well he was not so ignorant as he séemed (as in deed he was not) but that he did well know that this castell was, and of long time had béene kept by the lord Fleming: and that accordinglie by him, his frends and seruants it was now mainteined. Which answer being reported to the generall, he sent againe his trumpetor, to know if the lord Fleming would come forth and parlée vpon assurance of honour to returne safelie. Whereunto the lord Fleming consented, although not meaning so to do: but by a subtill practise (as was thought) intended to wind him within danger. For there were some harquebusiers secretlie couched in couert, within whose reach when the generall was come himselfe alone on horsebacke, most dishonestlie (his trumpetor not yet being returned) they shot at him with great despite, meaning to haue killed him, without anie regard to the law of armes, or feare of God. But through the goodnes of the Lord almightie, that wicked practise missed the pretensed effect: for that worthie English knight receiued no bodilie hurt, but perceiuing their dealings, with a bold courage he bestowed his pistols as fréelie at them as they did their harquebuse shot at him, and so returned to his companie backe againe in safetie, yéelding to God due honour and thanks for his mercifull deliuerance from such a murtherous practise of his deadlie foes.

The generall sendeth to know who was within the castell, &c.

Lord Fleming is required to come to parlee with the generall.

The dishonorable dealing of the lord Fleming.

Upon a new occasion to vnderstand the certeintie of that, whereof he had some inkling, the one and twentith of Maie, sir William Drurie accompanied with the said gentlemen and horsemen, went againe towards Dunbreton, to parlee with the lord Fleming vpon his further promise, that he would meet him three miles from the said castell. Whervpon the said sir William Drurie sent an Englishman and a Scotishman to view the ground, which should be appointed forth for their meeting, which they found to be so neere to the castell, as was subiect to all their shot both great and small, and cleane contrarie to the promise: and so they declared to the capteine named John Fleming, that was sent forth of the castell to apoint the same, how it was neither indifferent nor meet for such a purpose. The capteine answered, that his maister was a man of honour, and stood vpon the same, and therefore would not hazard himselfe among horsemen wholie without the danger of the peece. Whereto the messengers replied, that the lord Fleming for his late euill dealing, was not to be credited in this case; neither comparable to the generall of the English armie, for he was there for the queene of England. And further they said, that forsomuch as they had of late dealt so vniustlie contrarie to promise and the law of armes, and therby so greatlie cracked their credits, stained their honesties and honour: they could not but wish that their generall should be well aduised, yer he did hazard himselfe anie more within their danger vpon their sliperie promises, except they would appoint some other place of parlee, as might be thought indifferent, according to their former offers, which would not be granted, and so they departed. Immediatlie whereupon, to shew some peece of their double dealings, and vnfaithfull practises towards the Englishmen: the Scots within the castell presentlie sent after the messengers

Sir William Drurie goeth againe towards Dunbreton.

He sendeth to view the ground where he should meet with the lord Fleming.

This is a common fault in the Scots.

Scotish honestie.

sengers a culuering shot for a farewell. Thus did they by practise iustifie the opinion that strangers to them haue long conceiued of their dealing: and which he saw full well (perhaps also proued in some part) that said of the Scotish nations vntrustinesse, &c:

grane pectus abundat
Fraudibus ingenijs & non eget arte magistra.

The lord Flemings double dealing.

Sir William Drurie then perceiuing that the meaning of the lord Fleming was not to deale simplie in this matter, touching a conference to be had betwixt them, returned to Glasco, where sir George Careie being maruellouslie inflamed with that vnhonest dealing of the lord Fleming, made earnest suite to the generall that he might send to him and offer him the combat in triall of this quarrell, sith it was more requisit that a gentleman souldier should stand in those questions than a generall, consydering his calling and office. The generall thanked sir George verie courteouslie, but yet said, that it stood him vpon to search out these matters to the vttermost (as he would haue done in deed) were not his commission and charge (as was well knowne) to be otherwise implored: Yet (quoth he) sith your suite is so reasonable (and the whole companie and lawes of armes alloweth of it) I grant your request, and therein do as best shall seeme to your birth and estimation. Herevpon sir George Careie streightwaies deuised a letter of challenge, and deliuered it to an herald to beare from him vnto the said lord Fleming, the tenour whereof here insueth.

Sir George Careis suite.

T. Churchyard.

A letter of challenge sent to the lord Fleming.

A copie of sir George Careis *foresaid letter to the lord Fleming.*

LOrd Fleming, if either your birth or bringing vp had wrought in you a noble mind, or estimation of credit, hardlie would you haue so much forgotten and stained your honour, as in a parlée of late with our generall you did. At whom vilelie and vnhonorablie shooting, you falsed that assurance of warre which souldiers submit themselues vnto: and trained him to your treason vnder truse, a thing heretofore not accustomed, nor presentlie to be allowed of. Ye assuredlie pretending your owne and your frends good, commoditie to your countrie, and quietnesse to the state, twise abased and submitted himselfe, comming to confer with you thereof: but your pride ioined with a harmefull meaning, to those that you professe best vnto, and selfe wilfull vaineglorie, without cause why, refused that which reason and honour commanded you to haue done. Therfore, because his calling is presentlie with his charge better than yours, and mine not inferior; I summon you reasonablie to excuse that fault supposed to be yours, or else to maintaine that traitorous act with your person against mine in fight, when, where, or how you dare. Otherwise I will baffull your good name, sound with the trumpet your dishonour, and paint your picture with the heels vpward, and beare it in despite of your selfe. In the meane time I attend your answer. From Glasco, the 22 of Maie 1570.

The lord Flemings double dealing.

With pride, harmefull meaning and vaineglorie.

The lord Flemings dissemb-

Subscribed George Careie.

The copie of the lord Flemings *answer.*

GEorge Careie, I haue receiued your vaineles letter, making mention of my false and treasonable dealing against your generall, in shooting vnder truse, so vilelie against my honour and truth, traitorouslie trained him vnder my truse: which is altogither false and vntrue. And howbeit your generall came by the house of Dunglas by my appointment, which I suffered, and I appointed one place of méeting, sir men of either partie which he refused, and he departed, and certeine of his companie came bragging vp the riuers side towards the house, viewing the same and the ground thereabouts, shoting your harquebusses against the same: I could do no lesse but present you with such as I had. Whereas you write of your generals calling to be presentlie better than mine, and yours not inferiour; when your generall challengeth me therof, I shall giue answer. And as for you, I will not be inferiour to a better than you, or anie souldier vnder your generals charge. Whereas you summon me (as you call it) reasonablie to excuse that fault supposed to be mine owne, or else to maintaine that traitorous act with my person against yours: you shall wit, I haue gentlemen of honour, seruant souldiers to me, as ye are to your generall, which may be your fellowes, shall defend the same against you and your false and vntrue inuented writing: and were not the charge I present, or how soone I can be relieued of the same, I should lowlie my person to méet you sir English miles, or anie other person. Howbeit ye be but one souldier, assure your selfe from this date forth, I will not receiue no such inuented message, for I haue little to do with Englishmen, ye may raile vpon my honorable name as ye please. You shall haue as honorable gentlemen as your selfe against you fighting. Take this for answer,

Iohn lord Fleming.

Lord Fleming excuse against the charge of treacherie.

Lord Fleming beareth him bold of his gentrie.

The replie of sir George Careie *vpon the lord Flemings answer.*

LOrd Fleming, often the Flemings after nowne answer smelleth more of wine than wit. But as to that common crime, the custome of their countrie yeeldeth them part of pardon; so your common acquaintance with the same condition, knowne to be verie great, shall to me somewhat excuse your witlesse writing, wherein first you disalow my right recitall of your traitorous dealing, by tearming it false and vntrue. For answer, know this, the truth my pen hath written, by the witnesse of a number; and my hand I vow shall maintaine the same before the world at all times. But you in denieng it, haue both falslie and vnfaithfullie lied in your throte, and dare neither defend nor disproue that in deeds, which in words you haue done. Whereas you write, that our generall passed Dunglas, by your appointment which you suffered, therein you do manifestlie saie vnhonorablie and vntrulie; for that you had no knowledge of our first comming, but saluted vs with your shot: and we likewise skirmished with your men euen at their owne strength, vntill we viewed the ground about at our pleasure. And touching the appointment of sir of either part, easilie that maie be knowne to be a plaine lie: séeing we had neither parlée nor conference with you before, to appoint place or méeting. But whereas you saie, you could do no lesse but present vs with such as you had, therein you confesse and acknowledge the dishonour and treason that I charged you withall, taking vpon your selfe that fault, which I supposed to haue bin of your seruants, for our generall retired his companie farre from him. And his trumpet being with you, approched himselfe alone to haue parled, when vnder truse you discharged two harquebusses against him: an act rather séemelie for a cowardlie traitor, than one that professeth to be a souldier.

Sir George Carie boweth to maintaine no lesse than he hath written.

The lord Fleming in seeking to excuse accuseth himselfe the more manifestlie.

Finallie, whereas you let me wit, that you haue gentlemen of honour, seruant souldiers vnto you, that maie be my fellowes, which should defend the

challenge that toucheth so neere your selfe, as with honor you should not haue refused it. For I thinke scorne to be anie waies inferior to you, though but a shoulder, so honourable a name for you, being better in birth, and vnstained with reproch as you haue beene. Secondlie, I haue more, and as good gentlemen vnder my conduct, as your selfe haue vnder your charge, which shall answer as many as you can bring it with number ye meane to combat, and will put them to that which you dare not do your selfe. But assure you, my quarell shall remaine euerlasting, except the proofe of your owne person against mine make end it: and when you shall dare come out of your crowes nest, I will be readie to ride an hundred Scottish miles, to meet with you in anie indifferent place. And vntill that time, I shall account you deuoid of honestie & honor, vnwoorthie to march vpon ground, or keepe companie with men. From Hamilton, the 29 of Maie 1570.

Sir George Careie his answer to the lord Flemings brag of his gentrie.

Oh valiant heart.

Subscribed George Careie.

Though manie waies were sought by message and otherwise, to moue the lord Fleming to defend with battell the fault and follie committed: yet it would not be; for he shifted off the matter, so as it well appered, it was but lost labor further to attempt him therein. The two and twentith of Maie, the earle of Lennox, accompanied with the earle of Glencarne, the lord Simple, and other his friends, feodaries & alies, mustered on the more before the towne of Glasco the number of foure thousand horssemen and footmen, that were there assembled to serue him, in presence of sir William Drurie, and other of the English captains. The three and twentith of Maie, sir William Drurie, the earle of Lennox, and other the Scotish lords, and the whole armie marched towards the castell of Hamilton, and sending a trumpetor, and one with him to parlee with the captaine named Andrew Hamilton, he agreed to come forth, and one other with him, to talke with sir William Drurie, and one other gentleman, such as he should thinke good to bring with him to a place somewhat distant, as well from the castell as the campe.

A master of Scotishmen to the number of 4000.

The armie goeth toward Hamilton.

Hereupon sir William Drurie with his sword and target, and sir George Careie with a case of pistols went forth to the appointed place, whither the captaine of the castell also with an halbert, and one other with him, hauing likewise a case of pistols, came according to appointment. But after they had talked togither, and that the captaine would not in anie wise consent to deliuer vp the castell, he with his associat returned to their hold againe, & the English generall, with sir George Careie, came backe to the campe, and thereupon the English ordinance was presentlie placed about the castell, and shot verie sore all that night: but did no great hurt, by reason they were but field peeces, and not fit for batterie. They in the castell likewise shot verie sore at the Englishmen, but did no great harme, sauing that there were three of the footmen hurt. In the palace which was a prettie house the duchesse of Chatellerault was at that time resident, to whom sir William Drurie did repaire, offering hir all the courtesie he might, with all that to hir appertained, willing hir not to feare anie thing: and for hir more assurance, he committed hir to the charge of sir Thomas Maners.

Sir William Drurie talketh with the captaine of Hamilton castell.

The English ordinance shooteth at the castell.

The duchesse of Chatelherault committed to the charge of an English knight.

The foure and twentith of Maie, the generall gaue summons vnto the castell. And because they within stoode stiffelie in denaill to make surrender thereof vnto him, he was driuen to send to Striueling for some great peeces of ordinance meet to make batterie. In the meane time, the earles of Lennox and Morton with the horssemen, and some shot, marched into the countrie to a verie faire house of the abbat of Kilwinnings neere adioining, whose name was Gawen Hamilton, which house they burnt and vtterlie defaced, spoiling it, and razing it downe to the earth. They burnt and spoiled also seuenteene houses more belonging to men of that surname, situate neere thereabouts, whereof one belonged vnto a lard that had married with the sister of James Hamilton of Woodwode haugh, which sine the regent. There were also burnt seuen other faire houses belonging to others that were not of that surname: but yet were of their friends and alies. Moreouer, there were diuerse other of their kinred and alies that came in with humble submission, and assured themselues, firmelie promising from thenceforth their obedience to the king.

Great ordinance sent for.

The earles of Lennox and Morton.

The abbeie of Kilwinnings burnt.

The fine and twentith of Maie sir William Drurie the generall retired his people vpon a policie from the castell, and left it without either watch or ward for that night. The next date he sent sir George Careie to the castell with a trumpetor, to know if they within would deliuer it vp, before the great ordinance should come, which the captaine vtterlie refused to do. Whereupon the small shot clapt lowdelie round about the house, and kept them within occupied, till that a whole culuerin & a demie culuerin came to them from Sterling, the which with foure of the English small field peeces were in the night following planted against the castell, and being shot off, a bullet of one of the great peeces passed through the walles into the castell.

The castell summoned.

The castell of Hamilton battered.

The seuen and twentith of Maie about foure of the clocke in the morning, the generall sent a trumpetor to giue summons againe to the castell: vnto whome the captaine answered, that he cared not for them, & so bad them do their worst, for he would not yeeld the place to them at anie hand. Whereupon immediatlie the whole fire began to plaie in such sort, that within foure volees both sides of the house were battered through: at the sight whereof the captaine was so dismaied, that forthwith he cried for parlee, and so the shot was staied. Now vpon humble sute the captaine was admitted to speake with the generall, and so comming to talke with him, at length he agreed to yeeld: whereupon, the provost marshall was sent into the castell to take possession thereof. The generall permitted them verie courteoulie to depart with their furniture, and other such stuffe as they could carie with them. There came out of the house nine and thirtie persons one and other, foure and thirtie men, three boies, and two women, and therewith was the castell blowne vp and rased, and the armie late that night in the towne, and in places about it.

The castell eftsoones summoned.

The captaine of the castell demandeth parlee.

The next date, being the eight and twentith of Maie they departed from thence: the earles of Lennox, Mar, and Glencarne, with other of the nobilitie of Scotland of the kings part taking their leaues, with their companie returned to Glasco: and sir George Careie with the horssemen came that night to Lithquo, where also the rest of the English forces met. A castell called Comberawld belonging to the lord Fleming was yeelded to the generals hands, who vpon bond of assurance that the house should remaine at the deuotion of the quæne of England, was contented to spare it from fire and spoile. But this was not the first nor last courtesie which the generall shewed in this iournie, vnto such as in anie respect were thought woorthie of his fauour. Amongst other the ladie of Lidington being great with child, mistrusting hir selfe (or hir husbands double dealing towards our countrie) in great feare began to flie. But sir William Drurie hearing thereof, sent hir word he came not to make warres with women, but rather to shew pitie to the weake and comfortlesse:

The ladie of Lidington.

lesse, and therevpon she staied, and had no further harme.

The nine and twentith of Maie, when the armie should dislodge from Lithquo, the generall called for the prouost of the towne, and commanded him to prepare with all expedition, to receiue a iust punishment and correction thorough the whole towne for treason, and vnpardonable offenses committed: and declaring that the inhabitants thereof had succoured and supported traitors to the realme of England, and likewise to their owne king, contrarie to the leagues and quietnesse of both the realmes of England and Scotland, for which cause he was fullie resolued to overthrow that town & receptacle of traitors. If therefore there were anie women in childbed or impotent people within that towne, he gaue warning thus aforehand to conuele them out of it: and herewith also commanding each capteine & souldier vnder his charge, to see due execution of that which he purposed in this behalfe to haue done, he willed the prouost to appoint a place conuenient, into the which the goods of the towne might be brought, to the end that the same should neither bee spoiled by the English souldiers, neither yet consumed thorough vehemencie of fire, but to be preserued all wholie to the Scotishmens vse. Further, he granted, that euerie noble mans lodging and capiteins house should be saued from fire.

Th. Church-yard.

The towne of Leith threatned to be burned.

But now the time being come for this determined execution, the earle of Horton, that still accompanied the English generall, offered himselfe as an intercessor to intreat and sue for a pardon, bringing afore the generall a multitude of wailing people, whose mournfull and most pitious cries were lamentable and verie importunat. The generall hearing their requests, made answer, that for manie causes the towne ought to be destroied, considering how diuerse enimies (whose insolent practises were not to be suffered) had alwaies there a common resort to conferre of their wicked deuises: and further (quoth he) the courtesie that is shewed to such places of repaire, hath imboldened the rest of Scotland to vse open violence and secret villanies, to the prejudice of Gods glorie, hinderance of the weale publike, and breach of good lawes and policies: and therefore it was fit and most meet for a warning to thousands in that case of extremitie, to raze out such monuments of mischiefe. But at length, notwithstanding these heauie words vttered by sir William Drurie, the people of all sorts so prealled about him, & made such pitifull cries and sorowfull noise, with children sucking of their mothers breasts, that he taking ruth of their miserable estates, at this their lamentable suit, and speciallie at the great instance of the earle of Horton, who came bareheaded to speake for them, the generall was contented to saue the towne and people therein: taking good band and assurance of the prouost and chiefest of the towne, that they should follow the campe, and at all times apeare when they were called for at Berwike, and there to submit themselues, their towne and goods, to the clemencie of the queens highnesse; and to such order as the earle of Sussex hir maiesties generall lieutenant should by consent thinke necessarie: to which band & conditions they of Lithquo agreed. And for that their regent was slaine, & none since instituted to whome they had giuen faith of allegiance; they confessed, that none might command them anie waie without licence of him, to whome they had made this band, sith to him both their promise and obligation was passed. And in this sort they continued bound to him for their good behauiors.

The earle of Horton, an intercessor for the towne of Lithquo.

Lithquo spared from deserued destruction.

The prouost and other enter bands.

The duke of Chatelle-raults palace burned.

belonging to the said duke, called Benile, distant from Lithquo about a mile or more, they likewise burned the same. Thus hauing done their pleasures at Lithquo, and in the countrie about that towne, they marched from thense to a proper house and castell, belonging to the lord Seton, called Neitherie, which the enimies had fortified. But yet when the ladie of that house came to the generall, and made humble petition on hir knees for his fauor, offering to him the keies of that place in most humble wise; she found such courtesie at his hands, that with condition that she & a baron with hir should enter bands for assurance, that the castell should euer afterwards remaine at the quéene of Englands pleasure, he toke hir the keies againe, leauing hir in possession of hir house and goods, without doing hir anie further displeasure.

Neitherie.

The ladie Seton.

This night the armie came to Edenburgh, where certeine of the companie that made hast to get thither somewhat before the rest, receiued some discourtesie: for they were spoiled in the streets of their furniture, & such other things as they had about them. But when the generall with the rest of the armie was come neere to the towne, and had knowledge of such foule disorder, he thought not good to enter the towne, without standing so sure on his gard, that he should not need to doubt any double dealing, or crooked measure. Which sure handling of the matter did not onelie shew the deuiser thereof to haue good conduct and experience: but in verie deed auoided no small inconuenience and mischiefe, that by the enimies was finelie contriued (thorough a fraie to be made in the suburbs) so that a great slaughter had burst out suddenlie, and no small bloudshed followed, if God and good guiding of the people had not staied and turned awaie that imminent danger. To be short, the generall sent sir Thomas Maners with two bands of souldiors, vnder one ensigne, to seize vpon the gates at their first arriuall, and so the pretensed conspiracie was happilie preuented; for the residue of the power was no soner entred the towne, but that keeping themselues in order to cleere the streets, and to command the inhabitants the better, they spent that night standing on their gard, as the case required. When the morning was come, sir William Drurie smelling out the couert practise, and naughtie meaning of some, demanded iustice and strict punishment of such offenses and things as he would truelie laie to the charges of some in that towne: and told them flatlie, if remedie were not the soner prouided, and satisfaction made for the follies and outrage committed, he would be quicklie reuenged, to the displeasure and shame of all the contriuers of that same mad and mischéeuous presumption.

Some of the English armie spoiled in Edenburgh.

T. Church-yard.

Sir Thomas Maners with his two bands vnder one ensigne.

Herevpon, not onelie such things as had bin taken from those few souldiors, which first entred the towne ouer night, were not onelie restored: but diuerse malefactors were also deliuered to the generall, to be executed and ordered by his discretion; who séeing their submission, mercifullie & franklie sent them awaie vnto their capteins: & so these broiles were pacified and things set in quiet. After they had rested in Edenburgh a two daies, the first of June they dislodged. The generall comming to Seton the chiefe castell & house of the lord Seton, the ladie was readie there also to present him the keies, with like humble submission as before: and therevpon receiued the like fauor for this house, as was shewed to hir for the other. That night they lodged at Hadington. It was determined that the pile of Anderwike should haue beene ouerthrowne: but vpon suite and bands taken of diuerse gentlemen, the place was spared, and the offendors receiued to mercie.

Restitution made of things taken awaie from the souldiors.

Seton castell spared at the suite of the ladie.

Anderwike saued from ruine by occasion.

And so the next daie, the generall with the horssemen came through to Berwike, a iournie of two and thirtie long miles.

The footbands lodged the same night at Coldingham with sir Robert Constable, who the next daie the third of June came with them vnto Berwike. And so ended this iournie, to the great commendation of the generall and captains: and consequentlie to all the gentlemen and souldiors that had béene forth in the same, as well for the good successe which it pleased God the author of all good and prosperous euents to grant to them, as also for their dutifull obedience to all warlike discipline, their painfull trauels sustained, their manlie forwardnesse and skilfull practise in martiall polices still shewed, as occasion of seruice was anie where offered. But now to returne to the doings at home. Whilest this iournie was made (as ye haue heard) into Scotland, the fiue & twentith of Maie in the morning was found hanging on the bishop of Londons palace gate in Pauls churchyard, a bull which latelie had béene sent from Rome, conteining diuerse horrible treasons against the quéens maiestie: for the which one John Felton was shortlie after apprehended, and committed to the tower of London. ¶ And because the said bull may appeare and shew it selfe in nature and kind, it is behoofull here to interlace some rotings of the same, as I haue gathered them out of one that I am sure had a conscience to tell the truth: which I therefore am the willinger to insert, that the world may iudge the heinousnesse of Feltons fact, in firing so pestilent a libell vpon a prelats gate in a place of common concourse, and against the quéens excellent maiestie.

The happie successe of the foresaid viage vndertaken by the English.

I. Stow. A bull from Rome hanged on the bishop of Londons gate.

A. F. Sée the view of a seditious bull ripped vp by Iohn Iewell late bishop of Salisburie printed 1582.

[a] Sententia declaratoria contra Elisabeth, &c.

[b] Pius [b] episcopus seruus seruorũ Dei, &c. [c] Missa sacrificiũ, preces, ieunia, ciborum delectum, cœlibatum illa (regina Elisabetha) abolenit. [d] Eadẽ occupato regno supremi ecclesiæ capitis locum in omni Anglia, eiusque præcipuã authoritatem atq; iurisdictionem monstrosè sibi vsurpans, regnum ipsum rursum in miserum exitium reuocauit. [e] Regium concilium ex Anglica nobilitate constatum diremit. [f] Hominibus obscuris compleuit. [g] Hominibus hæreticis compleuit. [h] Ad quam velut ad asylum omnium infestissimi perfugium inuenerunt, &c. [i] Declaramus prædictã Elisabetham, eiq; adhærentes in prædictis, anathematis sententiã incurrisse. [k] Quinetiã ipsam prætenso regni prædicti iure, necnon omni & quocunque dominio, dignitate, priuilegioque priuatam. [l] Præcipimus & interdicimus vniuersis & singulis proceribus, subditis, & populis, & alijs prædictis, ne illi eiusue monitis, mandatis & legibus audeant obedire: qui secus egerint, eos simili anathematis sententia innodamus. [m] Omnes qui illi quomodocunque iurauerunt, à iuramento huiusmodi ac omni prorsus dominij fidelitatis & obsequij debito perpetuò absolutos declaramus, &c.

[a] Pag. 3.
[b] Pag. 7.
[c] Pag. 23.
[d] Pag. 36.
[e] Pag. 42.
[f] Pag. 44.
[g] Pag. 49.
[h] Pag. 50.
[i] Pag. 63.
[k] Pag. 67.
[l] Pag. 74.
[m] Pag. 79.

[a] A sentence denounced against Elisabeth, &c.

PIus [b] bishop, seruant of Gods seruants, &c. [c] Shée (quéene Elisabeth) hath cleane put awaie the sacrifice of the masse, prayers, fastings, choise or difference of meats & single life. [d] Shee inuaded the kingdome, & by vsurping monstrouslie the place of the supreme head of the church in all England, and the cheefe authoritie & iurisdiction of the same, hath againe brought the said realme into miserable destruction. [e] Shee hath remoued the noble men of England from the kings councell. [f] She hath made hir councell of poore, darke, beggerlie fellows, and hath placed them ouer the people. [g] These councellors are not onlie poore & beggerlie, but also heretikes. [h] Vnto hir all such as are the worst of the people resort, and are by hir receiued into safe protection, &c. [i] We make it knowen, that Elisabeth aforesaid, & as manie as stand on hir side in the matters abouenamed, haue run into the danger of our curse. [k] We make it also knowen, that we haue depriued hir from that right shée pretended to haue in the kingdome aforesaid, and also from all and euerie hir authoritie, dignitie, and priuilege. [l] We charge and forbid all and euerie the nobles, and subiects, and people, and others aforesaid, that they be not so hardie as to obeie hir or hir will, or commandements, or laws, vpon paine of the like accurse vpon them. [m] We pronounce that all whosoeuer by anie occasion haue taken their oth vnto hir, are for euer discharged of such their oth, and also from all fealtie and seruice, which was due to hir by reason of hir gouernment, &c.

[a] Pag. 3.
[b] Pag. 7.
[c] Pag. 23.
[d] Pag. 36.
[e] Pag. 42.
[f] Pag. 44.
[g] Pag. 49.
[h] Pag. 50.
[i] Pag. 63.
[k] Pag. 67.
[l] Pag. 74.
[m] Pag. 79.

Héere hath euerie true subiect to sée whether Felton was not a frend to Pius Quintus, in so easilie being induced and drawne to prefer his proceed[ings] against the lords annointed; for whose sake if [he] had a thousand liues, true loialtie would haue [mo]ued him to the losse of them all, if occasion had so required; considering that hir maiestie hath alwaies deserued well of hir people, for whome she euer had a tender care, as one reporteth that saith he heard with his owne ears hir maiestie commending hir subiects to the carefull and wise gouernment of hir councell and iudges, when shée spake thus vnto them. Haue care ouer my people. You haue my place. Do you that which I ought to do. They are my people. Euerie man oppresseth them, and spoileth them without mercie. They cannot reuenge their quarell, nor help themselues. Sée vnto them, see vnto them, for they are my charge. I charge you euen as God hath charged me. I care not for my selfe, my life is not deare to me, my care is for my people. I praie God whosoeuer succeed me be as carefull as I am. They which might know what cares I beare, would not thinke I toke anie great ioie in wearing the crowne.

Sée the view of the seditious bull. pag. 72, 73.

The quéenes words.

Could a mother speake more tenderlie for hir infant, than this good quéene speaketh for hir people? And shall the people be so vngratious to a prince so gratious, as to attempt anie thing that should discontent hir highnesse? A mercifull hart shée hath alwaies had, before shee atteined the crowne, a mercifull hart shée hath now possessing the scepter: manie times remitting and pardoning offenses intended and practised against hir owne person: which C. O. noteth in his *Eirenarchia siue Elisabetha*, speaking of hir maiestie in this point verie truelie & vncontrollablie:

Nobilis & præstans est ignoscentia virtus,
Hæc quanquam potis est, si vult, excedere vi-
Mentis inest, iram strictis compescit habenis
Delictis mulctam grauibus quandoque remittens.
Hoc priuata prius nondum diademate sumpto
Fecerat, hoc facit & princeps diademate sublato.

Multiplex Elisabethæ virtus.

The seauen and twentith of Maie, Thomas Norton and Christopher Norton of Yorkshire, being both condemned of high treason for the late rebellion in the north, were drawen from the tower of London to Tiborne, and there hanged, headed, and quartered. In this yeare also conspired certeine gentlemen with other in the countie of Norffolke, whose purpose was on Midsummer daie at Harlestone faire, with sound of trumpet and drum to haue raised a number, and then to proclame their diuelish pretense against strangers and others. This matter was vttered by Thomas Ket one of the conspiracie vnto John Kensele, who forthwith sent the same Ket with a constable to the next iustice, before whome and o[ther]

The Nortons executed.

Conspiracie in Norffolke and whereupon it toke beginning.

ther iustices he opened the whole matter. Whereupon maister Doue Dorris immediatlie apprehended John Throckmorton, and after him manie gentlemen of the citie of Norwich, and the countie of Norffolke, who were all committed to prison, and at the nert sessions of goale deliuerie at the castell of Norwich, the seauententh of Julie before sir Robert Catlin knight lord cheefe iustice, Gilbert Gerard the quéenes attornie generall, and other iustices, ten of them were indicted of high treason, and some others of contempt. Diuerse of them were condemned, and had iudgement the one and twentith of August: and afterward three of them were hanged, bowelled, and quartered, which were John Throckmorton of Norwich gentleman, who stod mute at his arreignment, but at the gallows confessed himselfe to be the cheefe conspirator, and that none had deserued to die but he, for that he had procured them. With him was executed Thomas Bvoke of Kolsbie gentleman on the thirtith of August; and George Dedman of Cringleford gentleman was likewise executed the second of September.

The duke of Norffolke remoued. Felton arreigned with other offendors, and all condemned.

The fourth of August, the duke of Norffolke was remoued from the tower of London to the Charterhouse neere vnto Smithfield. The same daie was arreigned at the Guildhall of London, John Felton, for hanging the foresaid bull of pope Pius Quintus on the gate of the bishop of Londons palace: and also two yong men for coining & clipping of coine, who all were found guiltie of high treason, and had iudgement to be drawne, hanged, & quartered. The eight of August John Felton was drawen from Newgate into Paules churchyard, and there hanged on a gallows new set vp that morning before the bishops palace gate; and being cut downe aliue, he was bowelled and quartered. After this, the same morning the shiriffes returned to Newgate, and so to Tiborne with two yong men, which were there executed for coining and clipping, as is aforesaid.

Felton and others executed for treason.

A tournei into Scotland by the earle of Sussex.

The two and twentith of August the earle of Sussex, lord lieutenant generall for the queenes maiestie in the north, and the lord Scrope warden of the west marches, with diuerse others, marched from Carleill with the quéens armie and force of the north as well of horssemen as footmen into Scotland, passing ouer the riuers of Eske, Leuine & Sarke, which riuer of Sarke parteth England and Scotland, and so to Dornocke wood belonging to Edward Arone, the lord of Bonsholw, and then to Annan a strong house of the lord Harris, which they rased and ouerthrew with others thereabouts: from thense to Hodham, which they burnt and blew vp: from thense to Kennell, a towne belonging to the lord Cowhill, which they burnt: from thense to Donfrise, which they sacked and spoiled of such paltrie as the fugitiues had left, and also rased and ouerthrew a sumptuous house belonging to the quéene of Scots, in the keeping of the lord Harris. Then passing the riuer of Longher, they burnt and spoiled Cowhilles, and Powtracke, and returned to Donfrise, and so to the towne of Bankend, which they burnt, with another house pertaining to William Marwell of the Iles, and so to the castell of Carlauarocke standing in a marish, iust to an arme of the sea, which parteth Annerdale and Gallowaie; which castell they blew vp, and returned homeward, transporting their ordinance ouer quicksands and bogs, where neuer the like was done before, and so came to Dornocke wood.

Waste by fire and sword in Scotland.

Knights made by the earle of Sussex.

The right of August they marched towards Carleill, where (by the waie) they burnt and ouerthrew two houses, the one being Arthur Greames *alias* Carleill, the other rich George, two notable théeues. The same daie at night after the lord lieutenants comming to Carleill he made knights, sir Edward Hastings, sir Francis Russell, sir Valentine Browne, sir William Hilton, sir Robert Stapleton, sir Henrie Curwen, sir Simon Musgraue. This yéere the fift of October chanced a terrible tempest of wind and raine both by sea and land, by meanes whereof manie ships perished, & much hurt was done in diuerse parts of the realme, as by a little pamphlet set forth therof by Thomas Knell minister apéereth, the effect whereof insueth. About midnight the water ouerflowed so much, that men were faine to forsake their beds, & one woman drowned, where also were lost a great number of sheepe, oxen, kine, horsse, and other cattell. Among other there, one maister Cartwright gentleman, hauing his house inclosed round about, the water came in so much, that a cart being laden with thornes did swim about the ground. Hée lost by the same flood, sheepe, and other cattell, to the value of an hundred pounds. The same gentleman had a close gate by the high waies side, where the water ran ouer so extremelie, that at the fall thereof it made such an hole, that it was fortie foot déepe: so that no man could passe that waie without great danger. To the filling vp of the said hole or pit, was cast in by the men of the said towne fiue and twentie lodes of faggots, & twentie lodes of horsse dung, which said faggots and horsse dung filled not the hole. Also one maister Lée at the friers in Bedford, hauing a faire yard, wherein was great store of elme trées, whereof threescore were blowen downe, with the roots pulled cleane out of the ground. Also he had a close of cones that were cleane destroied.

Tempest by sea and land which did much hurt.

Tho. Knell. what hurt this tempest did in Bedfordshire.

A wonder of an hole made in the ground by a water-course.

The sea brake in betwixt Wisbich and Walsocken, and at the crosse keies drowning Tilneie, and old Lin, saint Marie Teding, saint Marie Tid, saint Johns Wauple, Walton & Walsocken, Enneie, Jarmans, and Stow bridge, all being the space of ten miles. At the crosse keies the goodman of the inne had built an house with a strong foundation ioining vnto an other house being old and not so strong, wherein were certeine ghests. And when the water came in so violentlie, the goodman of the house being in the stronger house, called the men out of the old house, and they would haue gone downe the stairs, but the water was so high that they could not come downe, wherefore they went backe againe, and brake an hole into the other house, where they went thorough, and the last man was no sooner in, but the old house fell downe. The walles of the houses were broken downe, and the horsses that were tied at the manger (which was made fast in the ground) did swim in the water, when the stable was cleane carried awaie, vntill the waters were asswaged, and were saued aliue, and the people were constreined to get vp to the highest parts of the house, and so to be carried awaie in botes.

what hurt this tempest did in the countie of Norffolke.

At Yarmouth a great part of the bridge was carried awaie. The house vpon the hauen called the hauen house, wherein was one Nicholas Iossellin the hauen man this son, with all their toles, were carried into the marishes six miles from the hauen, where it stod vpright, and where they abode long without meat or drinke. Also at Jermans Bridgestréet was verie much hurt done by the extreame flods that were there. Also one Thomas Smith of Yarmouth lost a ship, with seauen men and a bote in it. Also at Newarke by Yarmouth were lost twelue saile. Also a great hulke, laden with oile and pitch, was lost at Worete sand, and about twentie men lost therein, and thirtie saued by the hulke bote. These townes and villages were ouerflowne, that is to saie, Wisbich, Gutborne, Parlon Drone, and Hobhouse. This Hobhouse being an almes house (and the water breaking downe the wals of it) the wind blew the cloths off from the bed of a poore man & his wife: who

A péece of Yarmouth bridge borne awaie with water.

what hurt this tempest did in the bishoprike of Elie.

who being cold, awaked, and suddenlie stept out of his bed to reach vp his cloths, and slipt vp to the belte in water, and then he thinking himselfe to be in danger (as he was in deed) and knowing the best waie to escape the danger of the water, he toke his wife on his necke, and carried hir awaie, and so were both saued.

At the same time in Wisbich was a garden, a tennise plaie, & a bowling allie walled about with bricke (which was worth twentie pounds by yeare to the owner) was quite destroied by the water. Pumbie chappell, the whole towne was lost, except three houses. A ship was driuen vpon an house, the sailers thinking they had béene vpon a rocke, committed themselues to God: and three of the marriners lept out of the ship, and chanced to take hold on the house top, and so saued themselues: and the wife of the same lieng in childbed, by climing vp into the top of the house, was also saued by the marriners, hir husband and child being both drowned. Likewise, the church was wholie ouerthrowne except the steeple. Betwéene Boston and Newcastell were threescore sea vessels, as small ships, craires, and such like, lost vpon the coasts of Boston, Hunerston, Marsh chappell, Tetnie, Stepneie, Mercots, Kelbie, & Grimsbie, where no ship can come in without a pilot, which were all lost, with goods, corne, & cattell, with all the salt cotes, where the chiefe and finest salt was made, were vtterlie destroied, to the vtter vndoing of manie a man, and great lamentation both of old and yong.

Wentford bridge, being verie strong, of eight arches in length, had three of the arches broken, and cleane carried awaie. Master Smith at the swan there had his house (being three stories high) ouerflowed vnto the third storie, and the wals of the stable were broken downe, and the horsses tied to the manger were all drowned. Manie men had great losse, as well of sheepe, kine, oxen, great mares, colts of the breed of the great horsses, and other cattell innumerable, of which the names manie of them shall here follow. Master Pelham lost eleuen hundred sheepe at Pumbie chappell. In Summercote were lost fiue hundred sheepe, that were of the inhabitants there. Also betwéene Humerston & Grimsbie were lost eleuen hundred sheepe of one master Spensers, whose sheepheard about middaie, comming to his wife, asked his dinner: and she being more bold than manerlie, said, he should haue none of hir. Then he chanced to looke toward the marishes where the sheepe were, and saw the water breake in so fiercelie, that the sheepe would be lost, if they were not brought from thense, said, that he was not a good sheepheard that would not venture his life for his sheepe, & so went streight to driue them from thense, but he & his sheepe were both drowned, and after the water being gone, he was found dead, standing vpright in a ditch.

Master Thimblebie lost two hundred and twentie sheepe, master Dimocke lost foure hundred sheepe, & master Warly fiue hundred, master Madison lost a ship, master William Askugh of Kelsele, sir Hugh Askugh, master Merin, master Fitz Williams of Maplethorpe, lost by estimation twentie thousand cattell, one and other. Borne was ouerflowne vnto the midwaie of the height of the church. Steeping was wholie carried awaie, where was a waine lode of willow tops, the bodie of the waine with the willowes carried one waie, and the axiltrée and wheeles an other waie. In the towne of saint Edes, the water flowed into the towne in such abundance, that it ran thorough the towne and church, being in the midest therof, hauing about the churchyard a bricke wall of two yards high, was so ouerflowne, that botes were rowed ouer it, without touching of the same. Also a little from Huntington, were three men riding vpon the causete, being then ouerflowne (the water on the causete being not deepe) and thinking no danger therein, chanced to come into a place where the water had galled awaie the earth, and the grauell, were carried awaie with the water: and willowes growing on both sides the waie, two of them caught hold on the willowes, and left their horsses, and saued themselues: and the third chanced to catch a verie little twig of willow betwéene his fingers, hauing verie little hold, and forsaking his horsse, which was carried a great waie from him, had much paine to keepe his hold on the twig, and hold his head aboue the water, and his horsse returning with force against the streame, came againe vnto him, and vnder him: by which meanes he set his feet vpon him, and gat better hold of the willow, and so saued himselfe, and the horsse was immediatlie carried awaie, that he neuer saw him after.

Also Holland, Leuerington, Newton chappell in the sea, long Stutton & Holbich were ouerflowne. And in this countrie also was great losse of cattell. In the low parts in Norfolke, in a little towne called Cliffield, there was a man, his wife, and a sucking child in hir armes ouerwhelmed and slaine by the violence of the waters, and of the boisterous winds. The water called Auen, that passeth by the towne called Stratford vpon Auen, did run with such violence, that méeting with the water called the Seuerne, drone it backe ten miles against the course, ouerflowing much ground, and drowning much cattell. In Newport panell were two houses ouerthrowne, and in one of them an old man and an old woman were ouerwhelmed and slaine. And in the same towne, on the backe side of the Saracens head, the water sprang out of the hard grauellie ground, and flowed so fast, that certeine merchants (sitting there at dinner) were faine to rise and depart from thense to saue themselues. Sir Henrie Leie knight (dwelling at Quarrington) lost by the floods the number of three thousand sheepe, besides horsses and other cattell, a great number.

In the Wish at Rie (a place so called) the water came in so suddenlie, and flowed so high about midnight, that it was eight or nine foot high in mens houses: insomuch that if one William White had not called them vp, some of them had like to haue béene drowned. And the same William White hauing a bote, fetcht a great companie of them out of their windowes, and carried them to drie land as fast as he could fetch them, which were in great danger and feare, and glad to escape with their liues. Moreouer, the water came in so vehementlie there, that it brake into the marishes, and made such waie, that where of late yeares, and now before this great flood came, a cockebote could not passe in at a low water, now a fisherman drawing six foot water and more maie come in at a low water, and at a full sea the greatest ship that the quéenes maiestie hath may come in, and haue good harborough there. The continuance of the same will not onelie be profitable to the most part of the inhabitants there, but also commodious vnto all the quéenes subiects trauelling by sea.

And whereas one of the owners of a great part of the same marishes had certeine poles set vp therein (and being verie meet and inconuenient place of the same marish) for the dreing of their fishing nets, and receiued monie perelie of those that dried their nets there sufficientlie inough: yet he caused his seruant to pull vp the poles, and late them in an house standing in the same marish: and also commanded his seruant to giue them warning, that they should no more

What hurt this tempest did in Lincolneshire.

Threescore sea vessels lost in this tempest.

Great losse of cattell both great and small.

Scripture abused.

What hurt this tempest did in Huntingtonshire.

A man wonderfullie preserued from drowning.

What hurt this tempest did in Staffordshire and Warwikeshire.

Hurt in Buckingham-shire by this tempest.

Hurt in Suffolke by this sudden inundation of waters.

A strange euent wrought by the inflowing of the water.

more hang their nets there, except they would come and compound with him for it. And the same night (by Gods prouidence) it came so to passe, that according to his saieng (though contrarie to his good will and mind) they are not like to hang their nets there anie more, because of the depth of the water is so great, and like to continue. In hope of continuance of the same new opened hauen, certeine men of the same towne haue begun to build faire barks to trauell the seas, the which in continuance of time will be a great furtherance to the maintenance of the quéenes nauie. At the blacke shore end, before the said flood, no bote could passe further than the shore end; and now a bote that draweth six foot water maie come in at a low water. Without the barre, the water is deeper than it was by two foot and more in the chanell.

A new hauen and the same like to continue.

Hart in Kent by the same tempest and breaking in of the streame.

At Plum hill marish, foure miles from Rie, the water came in so outragiouslie, that it brake downe the marish wals, one maister Burie being owner thereof, who lost by the same a thousand one hundred threescore and two of his sheepe, and it is thought that the marish is neuer like to be gotten againe. Also at Crith breach, a mariner riding by the marishes, seeing two maidens in the marishes, and perceiuing the waters breaking in so fast, that the maides were not like to escape, rode vnto them, and one of them gat vp behind him, & the other take hold on the horsse taile, and by that means were both saued from drowning. In the same marish were drowned a great number of sheepe. Also there in a marish land that was sowne, were two boies keeping crowes in the after none, & seeing the water breaking in so vehementlie, gat them into a cart that was not farre from them, where they were faine to tarrie vntill the nert tide, which came in so boisterouslie, that it had like to haue ouerthrowne both the cart & boies. And the one of them being more stronger than the other, kept the other in his armes, where he with cold, wet, and feare, died: so that he was faine to let him fall from him into the water, when he perceiued that he was past recouerie. A little from that place were also drowned a thousand sheepe, and also manie other cattell.

A boie drowned after he was dead.

Hurt in Esser.

From a towne called Rainam, vnto the towne named Maudon, all alongst by the water side were the marishes all ouerflowen, wherein were a great number of cattell drowned. In Claie were two ships laden with Danske ware which came to shore, with no man in them, nor anie man could tell of whence they were. In Claie the dwellers there lost a verie great parcell of salt and herrings barrelled, being housed in an house walled with bricke three foot thicke, and yet the wall was broken downe. Also, there was lost much saffron ground, with manie other things mo, to the great hinderance of manie a man. Also, in Walderswicke, Dunwich, and Blibrowe, was great losse of bord, planke, timber, and salt. A great part of the bridge by Magdalene college was borne cleane awaie, and manie trées were turned vp by the root.

Hurt done by this tempest in Suffolke and Oxford.

The three and twentith of Januarie, the quéenes maiestie, accompanied with hir nobilitie, came from hir house at the Strand, called Summerset place, and entered the citie of London by Temple bar, Fléetstréet, Cheape, and so by the north side of the Burse, to sir Thomas Greshams in Bishops gate street, where she dined. After dinner, hir grace returning through Cornehill, entred the Burse on the southside, and after hir highnesse had viewed euerie part thereof aboue ground, especiallie the Pawne, which was richlie furnished with all sorts of the finest wares in the citie, she caused the same Burse by an herald and a trumpet, to be proclamed the Royall exchange, so to be called from thenceforth, and not otherwise.

Anno Reg. 13.

The quéenes going to the Burse after it was finished.

She giueth it to name the Royall exchange.

The seuententh of Februarie at a place called Kinnaston, néere Marlech hill in the countie of Hereford, was séene the ground to open, and certeine rockes with a péece of ground remoued, and went forward the space of foure daies, making at the first a terrible noise as it went on the earth. It remoued it selfe betwéene six of the clocke in the euening, & seuen the nert morrow fortie pases, carrieng great trées and shéepecotes, some shéepecotes with threescore sheepe in them, some trées fell into the chinkes, other that grew on the same ground, grow now as firmelie on a hill; and some that stood east, stand west; and those that stood west, stand east. The depth of the hole where it first brake out is thirtie foot, the breadth of the breach is eight score yards, and in length aboue twentie score yards. It ouerthrew Kinnaston chapell. Also two high waies be remoued nigh one hundred yards, with the trées of the hedgerowes. The ground in all is six and twentie acres: and where tillage ground was, there is pasture left in place; and where was pasture, there is tillage ground gone vpon it. The ground as it remoued draue the earth before it, & at the lower part ouerwhelmed the ground, so that it is growen to a great hill of twelue fadams high. It remoued from saturdaie till mondaie at night following, and so staied.

A strange kind of earth mouing in the countie of Hereford.

Moreouer this yeare about Candelmas, sir Thomas Sackuille, baron of Buckhurst was sent in ambassage from the quéenes maiestie to Charles the ninth French king, as well to congratulate for his marriage with the daughter of the emperour Maximilian, as for other weightie affaires. And as his ambassage was great, so was his charge no lesse in furnishing himselfe and traine accordinglie, being both in number and furniture such in euerie point, as did apperteine; and his receiuing and interteinement in France by the king and others was agréable thereto, for he was receiued vpon the coast by the gouernours of the fortified townes right honorablie by order from the king. Among other the baron of Bournonsell was one, who being verie well mounted and appointed, left not his lordship before he came to the court, and from thense accompanied him backe vntill his imbarkement homewards.

Sir Thomas Sackuille ambassador to the French king.

His interteinement verie honorable.

In the maine countries he was accompanied with the gouernours and nobles of the places about. And in the good townes where he passed, he was presented by the chiefe magistrates, wherein their good wils were to be thankefullie accepted, though his lordships rewards far ouervalued their presents. At his approch néere to Paris he was incountred on the waie for courtesie sake, by two marquesses of Trans and Saluces; this being of the house of Sauoie, and the other of the worthie familie of Foir. These wanted not such as accompanied them, and the same euen of the best sort. At the lord ambassadors first audience, which was at the castell of Madrill, otherwise called Bullogne néere Paris (where the king then laie) the quénes Almane coches verie brauelie furnished were sent to Paris for him, in one of the which his lordship with the marquesse of Trans rode towards the court, verie narrowlie escaping from a shrewd turne and great mischance, by reason the same coch was ouerthrowen by the Dutch wagoners their negligence, who in a brauerie galloping the field made an ouer short turne, wherewith the marques was sore bruised.

The first place of the lord ambassadors audience.

The lord ambassadors liberalitie.

The lord ambassador at his arriuall at the place was right honorablie receiued, he was banketted by diuerse, and that verie sumptuouslie: which by him was not left vnrequited to the vttermost, and rather with the better. For his liberalitie vnto the French

was

was verie large, but his reward at the kings hands was onelie a chaine waieng a thousand French crownes. At that present there was a great dearth & scarsitie of vittels in France. The riuer of Saine that runneth through Paris was not passable with vessels, by reason of the great frosts: and thereby not onelie all kind of vittels, but also haie and wood hard to come by, and not to be had but at excessiue prices, the countrie thereabouts having before béene sore harried and spoiled by the ciuill tumults. By reason whereof, not onlie the lord of Buckhurst for the space he remained there, but also sir Henrie Norrice (now lord Norrice) and maister Francis Wallingham hir maiesties ambassadors, ligiers successiuelie, were driuen to an increase in expenses, paieng for euerie thing they bought an higher price than ordinarilie had béene accustomed.

The riuer of Saine not passable with vessels.

The ambassador returneth into Englād.

After that the lord Buckhurst had béene feasted and banketted by the king, and other of the French nobilitie, and had accomplished the points of his ambassage, he toke leaue of the king, & departed homewards, arriuing here in England a little before Easter. The second of Aprill a parlement began at Westminster, wherein was granted to the quéenes maiestie (toward hir great charges, in repressing the late rebellion in the north, and pursuing the said rebels and their fautors, which were fled into Scotland) by the cleargie a subsidie of six shillings in the pound; and by the temporaltie two fifteens, with a subsidie of two shillings and eight pence in the pound. The first, the second, and third of Maie was holden at Westminster before the quéenes maiestie a solemne iust at the tilt, tourneie and barriers. The chalengers were Edward earle of Orford, Charles Howard, sir Henrie Lée, and Christopher Hatton esquier, who all did verie valiantlie; but the chiefe honour was giuen to the earle of Orford. The first of June, John Storie a doctor of the canon law, who before had bæne condemned of high treason, was drawen from the towre of London to Tiborne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered, his head was set on London bridge, and his quarters on the gates of the citie. Of this monster disguised in the likenesse of a man, it is verie materiall to record what maister Fox hath noted in his historie.

1571

A parlement at westminster.

A subsidie.

Iosts at Westminster at the tilt, tourneie and barriers.

Doctor Storie executed for high treason.

Abr. Fl. ex Iohan. Foxi martyrologio.

¶This doctor Storie (saith he) being an Englishman by birth, and from his infancie not onelie nuzled in papistrie, but also euen as it were by nature earnestlie affected to the same, & growing somewhat to riper yeares, in the daies of quéene Marie became a most bloudie tyrant, and cruell persecutor of Christ in his members, as all the stories of martyrs almost do declare. Thus he raging all the reigne of the foresaid quéene Marie, against the infallible truth of Christs gospell, and the true professors thereof, neuer ceased till he had consumed to ashes two or three hundred blessed martyrs, who willinglie gaue their liues for the testimonie of his truth. And thinking their punishment in fire not cruell inough, he went about to inuent new torments for the holie martyrs of Christ; such was his hatred to the truth of Christs gospell: but in the end the Lord looking vpon the affliction, and cruell bloudshedding of his seruants, toke awaie quéene Marie the great piller of papistrie. After whome succéeded ladie Elisabeth now queene of England, who staieng the bloudie sword of persecution from raging anie further, caused the same doctor Storie to be apprehended, and committed to ward with manie other his complices, sworne enimies to Christs glorious gospell.

Storie's education and birth.

Storie a bloudie persecutor.

Storie inuenting new torments for the martyrs.

Storie apprehended.

Storie conueied himselfe ouer the seas, where he continued a bloudie persecutor.

The said Storie hauing bæne a while detained in prison, at the last by what means I know not, brake forth of hold, and conueied himselfe ouer the seas, where he continued a most bloudie persecutor, still raging against Gods saints with fire and sword. Insomuch as he growing to be familiar and right dære to duke Dalua in Antwerpe, receiued a speciall commission from him to search all the ships for goods forfeited, and for English bookes and such like. And in this fauour and authoritie he continued there for a space, by the which meanes he did much hurt, and brought manie a good man and woman to trouble, and extreme perill of life through his bloudthirstie crueltie. But at the last the Lord (when the measure of his iniquitie was full) proceeded in iudgement against him, and cut him off from the face of the earth, according to the prayers of manie a good man, which came to passe in order as followeth.

Storie obteined a commission to search for English bookes.

It being certeinlie knowne (for the brute thereof was gone forth into all lands) that he not onelie intended the subuersion and ouerthrow of his natiue countrie of England by bringing in forren hostilitie, if by anie means he might compasse it; but also dailie and hourelie murthered Gods people: there was this platforme laid (by Gods prouidence no doubt) that one maister Parker a merchant should saile vnto Antwerpe, and by some means to conueie Storie into England. This Parker arriuing at Antwerpe, suborned certeine to repaire to doctor Storie, and to signifie vnto him, that there was an English ship come fraught with merchandize; and that if he would make search thereof himselfe, hée should find store of English bookes, and other things for his purpose. Storie hearing this and suspecting nothing, made hast towards the ship, thinking to make the same his preie; and comming aboord searched for English hereticall books (as he called them) & going downe vnder the hatches, bicause he would be sure to haue their blood if he could, they clapped downe the hatches, hoised vp their sailes, hauing (as God would) a good gale, and sailed awaie into England, where they arriuing presented this bloudie butcher and traitorous rebell Storie, to the no little reioising of manie an English heart.

Storie intendeth the ouerthrow of England.

A platforme laid to apprehend Storie.

Storie searched the English ships for bookes, and is apprehended and brought into England.

He being now committed to prison, continued there a good space: during all which time, he was laboured and solicited dailie by wise and learned fathers, to recant his diuelish & erroneous opinions, to conforme himselfe to the truth, and to acknowledge the quéenes maiesties supremacie. All which he vtterlie denied to the death, saieng that he was sworne subiect to the king of Spaine, and was no subiect to the quéene of England, nor hée his souereigne quéene. And therefore (as he well deserued) he was condemned (as a traitor to God, the quéenes maiestie, and the realme) to be drawne, hanged, and quartered, which was performed accordinglie, he being laid vpon an hurdle, and drawne from the towre along the streets to Tiburne, where he being hanged till he was halfe dead, was cut downe and striped. And (which is not to be forgot) when the executioner had cut off his priuie members, he rushing vp vpon a sudden gaue him a blow vpon the eare, to the great wonder of all that stood by. And thus ended this bloudie Nemrod his wretched life, whose iudgement I leaue to the Lord.]

Storie a traitor hanged, drawne and quartered.

The eightéenth of June, in Trinitie terme, there was a combat appointed to haue bæne fought for a certeine manour & demaine lands belonging thereunto, in the Ile of Hartie, adioining to the Ile of Shepeie in Kent. Simon Low & John Lime were plaintifs, and had brought a writ of right against Thomas Paramore, who offered to defend his right by battell. Wherevpon the plaintifs aforsaid accepted to answer his challenge, offering likewise to defend their right to the same manour and lands, and to proue by battell, that Paramore had no right nor good title to haue the same manour and lands. Herevpon

A combat appointed at Cuthill but not tried.

Thorne and Nailer combattants.

vpon the said Thomas Paramore brought before the iudges of the common plees at Westminster, one George Thorne, a big, broad, strong set fellow; & the plaintifs Henrie Nailer, maister of defense, and seruant to the right honourable the earle of Leicester, a proper slender man, & not so tall as the other. Thorne cast downe a gantlet, which Nailer toke vp, vpon the sundaie before the battell should be tried. On the next morow, the matter was staied, & the parties agreed, that Paramore being in possession shuld haue the land, & was bound in fiue hundred pounds to consider the plaintifs, as vpon hearing the matter the iudges should award. The quenes maiestie abhorring bloudshed, & (as the poet verie well saith)

The quarell of combat staied by the quenes maiestie.

(*Tristia sanguinei deuitans prælia campi*)

was the taker vp of the matter, in this wise. It was thought good, that for Paramores assurance, the order should be kept touching the combat, and that the plaintifs Low and Kime should make default of appearance; but that yet such as were suerties for Nailer their champions appearance, should bring him in; and likewise those that were suerties for Thorne, should bring in the same Thorne in discharge of their band: and that the court should sit in Tuthill fields, where was prepared one plot of ground, of one and twentie yards square, double railed for the combat. Without the west square a stage being set vp for the iudges, representing the court of the common plees.

The maner of all things in readinesse for the combat.

All the compasse without the lists was set with scaffolds one aboue another, for people to stand and behold. There were behind the square where the iudges sat, two tents, the one for Nailer, the other for Thorne. Thorne was there in the morning timelie, Nailer about seauen of the clocke came thorough London, apparelled in a dublet, and gallie gascoine breeches all of crimsin sattin, cut and raised, a hat of blacke veluet, with a red feather and band, before him drums and fifes plaieng. The gantlet cast downe by George Thorne was borne before the said Nailer vpon a swords point, and his baston (a staffe of an ell long made taper wise tipt with horne) with his shield of hard leather was borne after him, by Askam a yeoman of the quenes gard. He came into the palace at Westminster, and staieng not long before the hall doore, came backe into the Kings street, and so along thorough the Sanctuarie and Tuthill street into the field, where he staied till past nine of the clocke, and then sir Jerome Bowes brought him to his tent: Thorne being in the tent with sir Henrie Cheinie long before.

Nailer prepareth himselfe for the incounter against Thorne.

About ten of the clocke, the court of common plees remoued, & came to the place prepared. When the lord chiefe iustice, with two other his associats were set, then Low was called solemnlie to come in, or else to lose his writ of right. Then after a certeine time, the suerties of Henrie Nailer were called to bring in the said Nailer, champion for Simon Low. And shortlie therevpon, sir Jerome Bowes, leading Nailer by the hand, entred with him the lists, bringing him downe that square by which he entred, being on the left hand of the iudges, and so about till he came to the next square, iust against the iudges, and there making courtesie, first with one leg and then with the other, passed forth till he came to the middle of the place, and then made the like obeisance, and so passing till they came to the barre, there he made the like courtesie, and his shield was held vp aloft ouer his head. Nailer put off his netherstocks, and so barefot and barelegged, saue his silke scaullones to the ankles, and his dublet slæues tied vp aboue the elbow, and bareheaded, came in, as is afore said. Then were the suerties of George Thorne called to bring in the same Thorne: and immediatlie sir Henrie Cheinie entering at the vper end on the right hand of the iudges, vsed the like order in comming about by his side, as Nailer had before on that other side: and so comming to the barre with like obeisance, held vp his shield. Proclamation was made that none should touch the barres, nor presume to come within the same, except such as were appointed.

The lord chiefe iustice rehearsing the maner of bringing the writ of right by Simon Low, of the answer made thereunto by Paramore, of the proceeding therein, and how Paramore had challenged to defend his right to the land by battell, by his champion Thomas Thorne, and of the accepting the triall that was by Low with his champion Henrie Nailer: & then for default of appearance in Low, he adiudged the land to Paramore, & dismissed the champion, acquiting the suerties of their bands. He also willed Henrie Nailer to render againe to George Thorne his gantlet. Whereto the said Nailer answered, that his lordship might command him anie thing, but willinglie he wold not render the said gantlet to Thorne except he could win it. And further he challenged the said Thorne to play with him halfe a score blowes, to shew some pastime to the lord chiefe iustice, & to the other there assembled. But Thorne answered, that he came to fight, & would not plaie. Then the lord chiefe iustice commending Nailer for his valiant courage, cõmanded them both quietlie to depart the field, &c.

The lord chiefe iustice toucheth the present cake.

Nailer challengeth Thorne at a few blowes.

On the sixteenth of Julie, Rebecca Chamber, late wife to Thomas Chamber of Yerietesham, was found culpable of poisoning the said Thomas Chamber hir husband, at the assises holden at Maidstone in the countie of Kent. For the which fact she (hauing well deserued) was there burnt on the next morow.

A woman burnt at Maidston for poisoning.

The seuenth of September, the duke of Norfolke was remoued from the Charterhouse, to the tower of London prisoner.

Duke of Norfolke sent to the tower.

The two and twentith of September deceassed John Jewell bishop of Salisburie, in his life a most eloquent and diligent preacher, but a far more painefull and studious writer, as his workes remaining do beare witnesse, wherby his fame shall neuer die.

Bishop of Salisburie deceassed.

The ninth of Nouember, a sermon was preached in Paules church at London, by maister William Foulks of Cambridge, to giue thanks to almightie God for the victorie, which of his mercifull clemencie it had pleased him to grant to the christians in the Leuant seas, against the common enimies of our faith, the Turks, the seuenth of October last past. His theame was taken out of the sixtenth psalme of Dauids psalter, the fourth verse.

A sermon in Paules church for victorie against the Turkes.

There were present at this sermon, the lord maior of London sir William Allen, with the aldermen and craftsmen in their liueries. And in the euening there were bonefiers made thorough the citie, with banketting and great reioising, as good cause there was, for a victorie of so great importance vnto the whole state of the christian common-wealth. In the which were taken one hundred and thirtie vessels,

The assemblie at this sermõ.

Contareno.

that is, one hundred and seuentéene gallies, and thirteene galleots, beside other vessels that were bonged, abandoned, and let go at large abroad in the seas, as gallies, foists, and galleots, to the number of foure score, or thereabouts. And of their chiefetteins slaine in that bloudie battell, these we find by name as principall: Halie Balla high admerall of the whole naute, Amar Beie capteine of the Janissaries, Allan Beie the sonne of Barbarossa, with his sonne Mehemet Beie gouernor of Mitellene, Gider Beie gouernour of Chio, Capsan Beie gouernour of the Rhodes, Peruis Aga gouernour of Affrica otherwise Mahomeda, Mustafa Scelubie high treasuror, Affis Cluega capteine of Gallipolie, Tramontana chiefe maister of the Turkish

Principals among the Turkes slaine.

kish emperours owne gallie, Caracoza, and also manie others, whose names were too long to rehearse: but the whole number that were slaine of the Turks could not be perfectlie knowne, by reason that manie were drowned in the sea, which came not to fight.

The whole number of the slaine. Bizari. Contareno.

Some yet affirme, that there were slaine of them in all, to the number of one and twentie thousand, although other speake but of fifteene thousand. But Contareno writeth, that there were slaine and taken 29990. Of which number he reckoneth 3846 to have remained prisoners, and among them were these persons of name, Mahemet Beie, Sainus Beie, and Sirocho Beie. There escaped yet from this discomfiture, Partau, generall of all the men of warre and souldiors by land, Ochialie, Murate Raie with his sonne, and Hali Genouese, and with them about fortie gallies, foists, and fregats. Moreover, there were found in the Turkish gallies that came into the hands of the christians, one hundred and sixteene double canons, two hundred sixtie and fiue demie canons, and sixteene other great peeces of brasse. For it is to be remembred, that not onelie the Turkish gallies, but also the christians were throughlie armed, furnished, and appointed with men, munition, and ordinance in euerie behalfe.

Bizari.

Persons that escaped from this discomfiture.

Waties that fell into the christians hands.

In Halie Bassa his gallie there were aboord three hundred harquebusiers Janissaries, and an hundred archers. In the gallie of Don Giouan de Austria chiefe admerall of the christians, were foure hundred harquebusiers Spaniards, of the tierse of Sardigna, beside a great number of lords and gentlemen, and also beside the rowers: and in euerie other gallie were 200 fighting men at the least, beside the rowers, & in some 300, & other some 400 according to the mould of the vessels. The number of the christian gallies and galliots, were in all two hundred and two, besides six great galleasses. The Turks had their gallies, galliots, and foists, to the number of two hundred and fiftie, as appeareth by the account afore made, of those that were taken, abandoned, and escaped. There were deliuered and set at libertie, about twelue thousand, some say fourteene thousand christian captiues, whome the Turks kept for slaues, and had them chained there aboord with them in their gallies. But this victorie was not got without great losse of the christians, for beside Augustine Barbarigo, the principall procuditor of the Uenetians, there died seuenteene other gentlemen of Uenice, being men of good estimation, John Cardone, & Barnardine Cardone Spaniards, Virginio and Horatio Ursini Romans, Troilo, Sabello, Marco Molino, besides diuerse other nobles and gentlemen of name, as well Italians, as Spaniards, and Almans.

The number of the christian gallies & the Turkes.

Christian captiues set at libertie 14000.

Contareno. The number of christians that died. Bizari.

In all, there died of the christians to the number of seauen thousand six hundred fiftie and six, beside those that were hurt, being in like number to them that were slaine, among whom was don John de Austria, generall of all the christian armie there, Sebastian Uenier the Uenetians generall, & the counte de Santa Fiore with diuerse others. Moreouer, there were christian gallies bouged, three of the Uenetians, one of the popes, one belonging to the duke of Sauoie, and another to the knights of Malta. There was one also taken & led awaie by Ochialie, and his companie. Such was the successe of this battell, which continued for the space of six houres, in the end whereof the victorie remaining with the christians, caused no small reioising through all parties of christendome. For if this victorie had béene followed, with his gratious helpe and assistance that was the giuer thereof, the proud and loftie horne of the Ismaelite had béene so brused, as peraduenture his courage would haue quailed to put forth the same so

Contareno.

The space how long the battell continued.

spedilie as he did. But such is the malice of the time, that the christians haue more pleasure to draw their weapons one against another, than against that common enimie of vs all, who regardeth neither protestant nor catholike (they may be sure) those of the Greekish church nor others, as if the mercifull prouidence of the Lord of hosts do not in time disappoint his proceedings, it will be too soone perceiued, though happilie too late to stop the breach, when the flood hath got head, and once woone passage through the banke.

A common fault among christians.

It were therfore to be wished of all those that tender the suertie of the christian commonwealth, that princes would permit their subiects to liue in libertie of conscience, concerning matters of faith: and that subiects againe would be readie in dutifull wise, to obeie their princes in matters of ciuill gouernment, so that compounding their controuersies among themselues, with tollerable conditions, they might employe their forces against the common enimie, to the benefit of the whole christian world, which (the more is the pitie) they haue so long exercised one against another, to each others destruction. And as for matters in variance about religion, rather to decide the same with the word, than with the sword, an instrument full vnfit for that purpose, and not lightlie vsed nor allowed of by the ancient fathers in time of the primitiue church. But sith this is rather to be wished than hoped for, by anie aparant likelihood, considering the strange contrarietie of humors now reigning among men in sundrie parts of christendome, let vs leaue the successe of our wish to the pleasure of God, the author of all good haps, who ruleth the harts of princes (as the poet saith verie trulie

God counsell if that faith be the faith of Christ & his true church.

——— & eius
In manibus sunt reg um animi; quocúnq; voluntas
Fert sua, vertit eos)

and frameth the peoples minds as séemeth best to his diuine prouidence. And withall, let vs also humblie offer to him our praiers, instantlie beséeching him to spare vs in mercie, and not to reward vs after our iniquities: but rather by his omnipotent power to turne from vs the violence of our enimies, in abridging their forces, as it may séeme good to his mercifull fauour and great clemencie.

The thirtith of December Reinold Greie was by the quéenes maiestie restored earle of Kent. ¶ The thirteenth of Januarie deceassed sir William Peter knight, who for his iudgement and pregnant wit had béene secretarie and of the priuie councell to foure kings and quéenes of this realme, and seauen times ambassador abroad in forren lands: he augmented Exceter college in Oxford with lands, to the value of an hundred pounds by yeare: and also builded ten almes houses in the parish of Ingerstone for twentie poore people, ten within the house, and ten without the house, hauing euerie one two pence the daie, a winter gowne, and two load of wood, and among them séeding for six kine winter and summer, and a chapleine to saie them seruice dailie.]

Anno Reg. 14.

Reinold Grey earle of Kent. I St. pag. 1155.

Sir William Peter deceassed.

His charitable déeds.

1572

The thirteenth of Januarie the lord Thomas Howard duke of Norfolke was arreigned at Westminster hall, before George lord Talbot, earle of Shrewesburie, high steward of England for that daie, and there by his péeres found giltie of high treason, and had iudgement accordinglie. The eleuenth of Februarie Kenelme Barnete, and Edmund Mather were drawen from the tower of London, and Henrie Rolfe from the Marshalsea in Southwarke, all three to Tiburne and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered for treason; Barnete and Mather for conspiracie, and Rolfe for counterfeiting of the quéens maiesties hand.

Duke of Norfolke arreigned.

Mather, Barnete, and Rolfe executed.

¶ The quenes maiestie hearing crediblie by report, that certeine lewd persons, vnder pretense of

I.S. pag. 1155.

executing

Conuciers of bels, lead, and other church goods, are to be punished to the example of their two manie followers.

executing commissions for inquiries to be made for lands concealed, contrarie to hir maiesties meaning, chalenging lands, stocks of monie, plate, &c: letting not also to make pretense to the bels, led, and other such things belonging vnto parishchurches or chapels. Hir maiestie meaning spedilie to withstand such manner of vnlawfull practises, commanded, that all commissions then extant and not determined, for inquisition of anie manner of concealements, should be by *Supersedias*, out of hir excheker revoked. And also appointed spedie remedie to be had against such extorcioners, as more at large appeareth by proclamation, concluding thus. Finallie, hir maiestie would hir iustices of assise to haue some speciall care, not onelie to the premisses, but also to the reforming of certeine couetous & iniurious attempts, of diuerse that of late time by other colour than for hir maiesties vse, had taken awaie the led of churches and chapels; yea and bels also out of steeples, and other common goods belonging to parishes: an example not to be suffered vnpunished, nor vnreformed. And so hir maiestie exhorteth hir iustices of hir assise to prouide seuere remedie, both for punishment and reformation thereof. Dated at Westminster the thirteenth daie of Februarie, the fourteenth yeare of hir reigne.]

Sir William Paulet lord treasuror deceassed.

The tenth of March deceased sir William Paulet knight, lord saint John, earle of Wiltshire, marquesse of Winchester, knight of the honorable order of the garter, one of the quenes maiesties priuie councell, and lord high treasuror of England, at his manor of Basing. This worthie man was borne in the yeare of our Lord 1483, the first yeare of king Richard the third, and liued about the age of foure score and seauen yeares, in sir kings and quenes daies. He serued fiue kings and quenes, Henrie the seauenth, Henrie the eight, Edward the first, quene Marie, and quene Elisabeth. All these he serued faithfullie, and of them was greatlie fauoured. Himselfe did see the children of his childrens children, growing to the number of one hundred and three. A rare blessing giuen by God to men of his calling.

His ancient and honorable seruice.

On the fiue and twentith and six and twentith of March, by the commandement of the quenes maiestie hir councell, the citizens of London assembling at their seuerall halles; the maisters collected and chose out the most likelie and actiue persons of euerie their companies, to the number of three thousand, whome they appointed to be pikemen and shot. The pikemen were forthwith armed in faire corslets and other furniture according therunto; the gunners had euerie of them his caliuer with the furniture, and murrians on their heads. To these were appointed diuerse valiant capteins, who to traine them vp in warlike feats, mustered them thrise euerie weeke, sometimes in the artillerie yard, teaching the gunners to handle their peeces, sometimes at the Miles end, & in saint Georges field, teaching them to skirmish. In the which skirmish on the Miles end the tenth of Aprill, one of the gunners of the goldsmiths companie was shot in the side with a peece of a scouring sticke left in one of the caliuers, wherof he died, and was buried the twelfe of Aprill in Pauls churchyard; all the gunners marching from the Miles end in battell raie, shot off their caliuers at his graue.

Three thousand chosen persons for pikemen and gunners out of halles.

Training vp of yong soldiors in the field.

On Maie daie they mustered at Greenwich before the quenes maiestie, where they shewed manie warlike feats, but were much hindered by the weather, which was all daie showring, they returned that present night to London, and were discharged the next morrow. The fourth of Maie Walter Deuereux, lord Ferrers of Chartleie, and vicount of Hereford was created earle of Esser; and Edward Fines lord Clinton and Saie high admerall of England was created earle of Lincolne. The eight of Maie the parlement began at Westminster, and that same daie in the parlement by the quenes maiesties writs, sir Henrie Compton knight, lord of Compton in the Hole, sir Henrie Cheinie knight lord of Todington, sir William Paulet knight of Basing, & sir Henrie Norris knight lord of Ricot, were called barons into the higher house. In this parlement, for so much as the whole realme of England was exceedinglie pestered with roges, vagabunds, and sturdie beggers, by meanes whereof dailie happened diuerse horrible murthers, thefts, and other great outrages: it was enacted, that all persons aboue the age of foure teene yeres, being taken begging, vagarant, & wandering disorderlie, should be apprehended, whiped, and burned through the grissle of the right eare, with a hot iron of one inch compasse for the first time so taken.

Barons made.

Roges burnt through the eare.

The foure & twentith of Maie, Martine Bullocke was hanged on a gibet by the well with two buckets in Bishops gate street of London, for robbing, and most shamefullie murthering of a merchant named Arthur Hall, in the parsonage of S. Martine by the said well. This Martine had procured the said Arthur Hall to come to the said parsonage, to buie of him certeine plate. But after the said Arthur had well viewed the same, he said; This is none of your plate, it hath doctor Gardeners marke, and I know it to be his: That is true said Martine Bullocke, but he hath apointed me to sell it, &c. After this talke, whilest the said Arthur was weieng the plate, the same Martine fetcht out of the kitchin a thicke washing beetle, and comming behind him stroke the said Arthur on the head, that he felled him with the first stroke; and then strake him againe, and after toke the said Arthurs dagger, and sticked him, and with his knife cut his throte: and after would haue trussed him in a Danske chest, but the same was too short. Wherupon he tumbled him downe a paire of staires, and after thinking to haue buried him in the cellar, his legs being broken with the first fall, and stiffe, he could not draw him downe the cellar staires being winding. Wherfore he cut off his legs with an hatchet, and in the end trussed him with straw in a drie vat: and saieng it was his apparell and bookes, caused the same to be carried to the water side, and so shipped to Rie. But as God would haue it, there was suspicion gathered against the murtherer, whereby he was examined before alderman Branch then one of the shiriffes of London; but so small likelihood appeared that he should be guiltie, that there was an honest man dwelling in saint Laurence Pontneis named Robert Gee a clothworker, who supposing the offendor to be cleere in the matter, vndertoke for his forth comming. Whereupon Bullocke being suffered to go at libertie, slipt awaie, first to Westminster; and there taking bote, passed vp the riuer: and comming on land beyond Kingston, passed forth till he came to Okingham, in the forrest of Windsore, an eight miles beyond the towne of Windsore: and from thense (what moued him, I leaue to the secret iudgement of God) he came backe againe vnto London, lodging at the red lion in Holborne.

Martin Bullocke hanged at the well with two buckets.

Fellonie and murther combined.

The maner of the murther committed.

Ah mercilesse murtherer

The murtherer examined.

He hath libertie notwithstanding his offense.

In the meane time the forsaid Gee, vpon knowledge had that Bullocke was withdrawen out of the waie, was not onelie had in some suspicion, but also committed to ward: albeit so as he had libertie to take order to send abrode such as should make suite after Bullocke. And amongst other that went forth, one of his seruants was sent to Rie, whither the drie vat was conueied: and comming thither, the same drie vat was opened, wherein the mangled corps of Hall was found: whereby the truth of the matter

A muster at Greenewich before the queene.

Earles of Esser and Lincolne created.

The dye hat, wherein the murthered man was put to be transported, descried.

came to light, and by the good prouidence of God, the reuealer of such euill facts, Bullocke was at the verie same time discouered at the place in Holborne afore mentioned, and there apprehended, did receiue (as ye haue heard) due punishment for his heinous and most wicked offense.

Earle of Lincolne and other ambassadors into France.

The xv and twentith of Maie, the right honorable earle of Lincolne, departed from London towards France ambassador, being accompanied with the lord Dacres, the lord Rich, the lord Talbot, the lord Sands, and the lord Clinton, sir Arthur Chambernowne, sir Jerome Bowes, and sir Edward Hastings knights, with diuerse other gentlemen, who taking ship at Douer, cut ouer to Bullongne, where they were verie honorablie receiued, and conueied by iournies to Paris, where they were lodged in a house of the kings named le chasteau de Louure, being attended vpon of the kings officers. Fiue daies after they went to the king at a house called Madrill, where the king with his two brethren, the admerall, & the most part of the nobles of France met them a distance from the place, & brought them to the house: where they dined, and abode till sundaie following, from whence the king and his nobles with the nobles of England came to Paris. The king, his two brethren, & our ambassador riding in one coch togither, and the nobles of England and France being so placed also in coches, came to the said castell of Louure, and there dined. After dinner the king, our ambassador, with the nobilitie of both realmes, went to a church named saint Germane, where the French king, his brethren, and nobilitie heard euensong. The noblemen of England withdrawing them into a chappell till euensong was done, were then fetched thense by the nobles of France to the king and his brethren that awaited their comming, where was confirmed the league which had beene concluded at Blois the nintenth of Aprill, deputies being there for the French partie, Francis Montmorencie, Reinold Birago, Sebastian de Laubespine, and Paule de Foix: and for the quene of England, sir Thomas Smith, and maister Walsingham ambassadors.

The maner of the ambassadors interteinement.

League with France confirmed in France.

This being done, they departed without the wals of Paris, to a garden of pleasure, where they supped. After supper, the king departed to his place of Madrill, and the nobles of England vnto the castell of Louure. On mondaie, the admerall feasted the nobles of England: vpon tuesdaie, the duke of Anion the kings brother, and on wednesdaie the duke of Alanson his yonger brother, and so passed in feasting and banketting, with rich gifts on both parts. On fridaie, the nobles of England toke leaue of the king, and on sundaie came to saint Denis, and after to Bullongne, where they toke ship, and returned into England the fourth of Julie. The second of June in the morning, betweene the houres of seuen and eight, Thomas Howard duke of Norffolke, was beheaded on a scaffold newlie set vp on tower hill. ¶ This execution in a short time was spred abroad, for fame, which (as the poet saith in few words

——— *volat leuibus sublata per æthera pennis*)

had sounded the same farre and neere: insomuch that in tract of time, as men had leasure to laie their collections togither, among other things this is recorded: euen of strangers. For the execution of an honorable personage must needs be so much the more notorious, as his misdeed is dishonorable. Touching the duke therefore this I find in Schardius (howsoeuer he came to the knowledge thereof) a moderne historien, and doctor of the lawes in Basill. The duke of Norffolke, who (as we haue said) was condemned for treason the xix daie of Januarie, was brought out of the tower of London, to a plaine hard by, which they call the hill; in the middest whereof a scaffold had beene builded manie yeares ago seruing for execution: which being old was both rotten and ruinous. For quene Elisabeth hauing with mercie gouerned hir commonwealth, there was no punishment inflicted there vpon anie for the space of fourteene yeares. Wherefore a new scaffold must needs be made. Which when the duke at seuen of the clocke in the morning had mounted, hauing on a silken doublet, & a long gowne of like fine stuffe, all blacke, earnestlie he beheld the people round about with his cap on his head. Now when he had stood still a prettie while, and cast his eies vpon the scaffold, he asked whereabouts he might best stand to speake vnto the people? For the scaffold was foure square, and the people came flocking from all places. Now when he was directed to the east side thereof, and the people had muttered and whispered diuerslie among themselues, maister Alexander Nowell deane of Paules besought them that were present to be silent and still. Then began the duke to speake to the people as followeth.

Schardius in reb. gest. sub Maximil. imperat. secundo pag. 2513.

Foren nations heare and write of the quenes vnbloudie gouernement.

The attire, behauiour, & gesture of the duke at his execution.

Maister Nowell deane of Paules the dukes ghostlie father.

The duke of Norffolkes vvords vttered on the scaffold at tower hill when he should be executed

IT is no rare thing (good people) to see a man come hither to die, albeit since this quens most blessed reigne I be the first, I praie God I be the last. The people said Amen. It is a hard matter for a man of my calling to vse long speech in such an audience, either for that audacitie serues me not, or for that comming to such an end as I do, the feare of death troubleth me: and therfore I beseech you all heartilie to beare with me, I will not be long, I will make a short speech and diuide my talke into three parts. And first concerning my offense towards my prince, wherein some thing I haue to confesse against my selfe, and in some thing to cleere my selfe. I come not to complaine against my peeres, I do acquit them, I haue deserued to die, it is not vnknowne. I haue dealt with the quene of Scots in verie great and high matters, without making my prince priuie thereunto, otherwise than I ought haue done.

The duke confesseth his offense against the quenes maiestie.

There is one thing, which greatlie grudgeth my conscience, that is: when I was first deliuered out of this place, I made a submission, & promised the Q. neuer to deale further in that matter; and yet contrarie to my promise I meant & did otherwise, I am sorie for it. It was reported I made a vow and toke a solemne oth, and receiued the communion vpon it, that is not true: the other was too much. It was reported also I went about to destroie the citie of London: I take God to my witnesse I neuer meant to hurt this citie. I haue dealt with suspected persons, and such as haue shewed themselues enimies to the state; especiallie one I will name, to wit one Radulpho, whome I neuer talked withall but once, and then I liked not his dealing, he shewed me two letters which he said came from the pope.

He is sorie for the violating of his promise made to the quene.

He maketh shew to cleere himselfe in diuerse points.

Then said one of the shiriffes of London, God my lord be short: he said, I will be short, I haue not much to saie, good gentlemen beare witnesse, I come not to cleere my selfe. I saw two letters, the one inciphered and the other discyphered. I was charged to confeder with the rebels, I take God to witnesse I did neuer. The secondarie interrupted him and said, I praie you my lord go not about to cleere your selfe, you haue beene tried as honourablie, as anie noble man hath euer beene in this land: I praie you make short, for the houre is past, it is vpon the perill of their liues (meaning the shiriffes) they can not suffer you.

Oh

He meaneth confession of his religion.

Oh I praie you giue me leaue a little, I do confesse my fault. This is my confession, I do confesse it, notwithstanding my religion. It hath bæn reported I haue bæne a papist, a confederer with papists, a friend to them and a mainteiner of them and of their religion: I take God to witnesse I am none, nor euer was a papist since I knew what religion ment. I haue had friends, yea familiar friends, yea peradventure seruants that haue bæne papists, with whom I haue borne: but I take God to witnesse I am none, I vtterlie defie the pope and his religion, and I hope to be saued onlie by my faith in Jesus Christ: and I vtterlie abhorre all mans traditions. And if at anie time I did giue countenance to anie papist, whereby anie godman or the church was offended, I aske them mercie: there is no man that allloweth better of this religion than I do. Then he was desired againe to be short. Now touching the goodnesse of the quænes maiestie, I am much bound to hir grace. I do thanke hir humblie for that she hath forgiuen all my offenses, and hath prolonged my life so long. You see how good she hath bæn to me, I haue bæne loked for here long before this time, God send hir long ouer you to reigne, she hath promised me to be gratious to my poore orphan children. God grant my death maie end all troubles. And if anie of you haue anie one faction, or two, or three, or mo, let him giue ouer & forsake it. Manie wish and desire diuerse things: but they know not what they wish. They seeke their owne destruction. If euerie man should haue his wish, God knoweth how manie would repent, whatsoeuer they are.

He confesseth himselfe much bound to the quænes maiestie.

He exhorteth to beware of factions.

The quæne hath promised in my death to forgiue all, and I praie God that she maie liue manie yeares. I remember well the words of that good father and holie martyr Latimer. He told the people, that for their wickednesse God would take awaie his blessing from them. I praie God the contrarie, that your good life maie be such, that God maie turne awaie those plagues that he hath thretned. He spake it in an honorable place, in the pulpit, before king Edward: yet let not this place discredit my words. I praie God preserue the quæns maiestie, and that she maie liue and reigne ouer you manie yeares: euen to the worlds end, which I beléeue that some one aliue shall see. Then he knéeled downe and praied, and master Nowell knéeled downe by him and wept, with manie others. His praier was vnto God for the continuance of the truth of his gospell; he praied also instantlie for the quænes most prosperous reigne, and knéeling vpon his knees he said two psalms, to wit *Miserere* and *Domine ne in furore*, and in the first psalme he praied to build the wals of Jerusalem, according to the psalme. Master Nowell said, That is meant of Christs church. I know that well (said he) I meane not the church of Rome, I abhorre it, but the church of England and of all the world whersoeuer it be.

He putteth the people in mind of Latimers words vttered before king Edward.

He prayeth and manie more with him: the effect of his praier.

I haue forgotten one thing, I thanke thée God that hast put me in mind of it. I forgiue all the world and I aske all the world forgiuenesse: and I protest before God, if I knew anie particular man I had offended, I would namelie aske him forgiuenesse. Then he read the other psalme, wherein adulterie is mentioned, and when he came to that point, he said: I would I were as cleare in euerie thing as in that, sauing for thought, and that is as euill. Then he said a collect, and in the end he said, *In manus tuas Domine, &c.* in Latine and English. And then he desired the people to praie for him while he liued, for (quoth he) I loke not to haue anie excuse after my death. Then he imbraced sir Henrie Leie, and after a few secret words betweene them, Master Nowell stood vp and said to the people, He doth desire you all with one voice to saie Lord haue mercie vpon him, and after to saie no more words, nor to make anie short or shritching for troubling of him in his last visitation. Then the duke knéeled downe, and master Nowell bowed himselfe towards him with manie imbracings, and toke there leaue each of other. Then the executioner desired him knéeling to forgiue him: and he toke him by the hand and forgaue him, and then requested sight of the axe; Master Nowell said, The sight will trouble you. He answered; No, let me see it: but he shewed it not, & then he laied his necke vpon the blocke. Then the executioner said; My lord your head lieth not well. I will make it lie well, saith he, & therewith licking vp his bodie he laid his necke euen vpon the blocke, which done it was cut cleane off at one stroke. This was the end of the duke of Northfolke, a man whose life God had limited, as also the estate wherein he sometimes flourished: both which (as all things else) in a short time vanished. Let all degrées therefore learne, both by precept and example to know God principallie, secondlie their souereigne Gods annointed, and finallie themselues to be subiects: forgetting their owne honour, which puffeth men vp manie times with the wind of vainglorie, euen to their owne ouerthrow, whilest they become insolent, and dreame that the transitorie aduancements of this world will make them princes, princes péeres; nale (O monstrous madnesse) gods, whereas all things are mutable and momentanie, and the higher that a man doth clime, the greater is his fall; as verie aptlie saith the poet in these words:

He knéeleth downe and submitteth himselfe to the axe.

Hoc fragili varijs voluuntur tasibus orbe
Omnia, cels a ruit turris grauiore ruina.

The discourse and catalog of all the *dukes of England by creation or descent* since the time of the conquest.

The collection of Francis Boteuille aliás Thin, in the yeare of Christ 1585.

TWo sentences, the one an Italian prouerbe, the other an old English bywoord haue moued me to make this collection (at the request of an other) of all the dukes of England. First the Italian said that France cannot abide anie treasurors, England anie dukes, nor Scotland anie kings, the truth whereof need no confirming examples to be set downe, sith (as saith the philosopher) things subiect to the sense need no further proose. Secondlie the English saieng hath bæn, that a Nag of fiue shillings shall beare all the dukes of England & Scotland, being spoken in no sense of disgrace to that honorable title: but onelie to shew that the time should come, wherein there should be no dukes in England or Scotland. How true the same is in England, and likelie againe to be in Scotland (being once before verified in that realme, for about fiue yeares past, there was no duke there also when the duke of Lineur was banished) euerie man doth well perceiue. For the death of this Thomas duke of Northfolke, being the last of that honour hath iustified the same in England. And the turmoils in Scotland may perhaps shortlie verifie the same in that countrie, in which there were neuer so few dukes, as that they cannot make the first and smallest number: for being but one in that countrie, and he verie yong (which is the duke of Lineur) if he should miscarie, the same would againe also be as true there as it is now heere. For which cause to perpetuat the memories of such antiquities and titles of honor, as age hath consumed with the persons which inioied such preheminences in England, I will from the first creation of anie duke since the conquest recite the creation, descent, and succession of all the dukes of England, shewing first the time of the creation of such dukes, & secondlie the descent of all such dukes as are lineallie issued out of that crea-

tion, which follow as they came in one line.

Edward the blacke prince, duke of Cornwall.

Edward (the eldest sonne of king Edward the third) being surnamed the blacke prince, was made duke of Cornewall the eleauenth of Edward the third, in the yeare of our redemption 1337, when he was yet but yong. This yong prince was the first duke in England since the conquest, and Cornewall was by that creation the first place that was erected to a dukedome. Which duke, being the flower of chiualrie in his time, died about the fiftith yeere of king Edward the third; in the yeare of Christ 1376, and was buried at Canturburie.

Henrie Plantagenet duke of Lancaster.

Henrie Plantagenet *alias* Tort Colle (because his head leaned somewhat to one shoulder like the great Macedone king Alexander, whose valure in feats of armes this Henrie did also imitate) being sonne to Henrie of Monmouth earle of Lancaster, was in like sort earle of Lancaster by descent. After which he was created earle of Darbie, as some saie in the eleauenth yeare of Edward the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1337, other saie in the foureteenth yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our saluation 1340. He was created duke of Lancaster as some haue in the six & twentith yeare of Edward the third, as other haue the seauen & twentith, and as the third sort haue the eight & twentith yeare of Edward the third. He was lord steward of England, & lieutenant of Guines. This man was wise, glorious in fortune, and full of honor in feates of armes, whilest he was yong: he died the fiue and thirtith yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ 1361, being one of the first knights which were made at the first institution of the honorable order of the garter, and the second duke that was made in England. He had issue two daughters & heires, Maud maried to William duke of Bauare, earle of Henalt, Zeland & Holand, which after became mad; & Blanch maried to John of Gant, fourth sonne to Edward the third.

John of Gant duke of Lancaster.

John Plantagenet, surnamed of Gant in Flanders, where he was borne, the fourth sonne to king Edward the third, was first by his father in the fiue and thirtith yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ 1361, made duke of Lancaster, so that he was duke of Lancaster, earle of Lincolne, Salisburie, Darbie and Leicester, king of Castile & Lirne, and steward of England. He married three wiues, the first was Blanch the daughter and heire of Henrie duke of Lancaster, earle of Leicester, Lincolne, Sarisburie & Darbie, in whose right he obteined all those titles of honor, whome he maried in the thirtith three yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord 1359, and by hir had issue Henrie Plantagenet duke of Hereford: Philip married in the tenth yeare of Richard the second (in the yeare of Christ 1386, as some saie; or rather 1385, as others haue) to the king of Portingale: and Elisabeth married to John Holland erle of Huntington. His second wife was Constance eldest daughter to Peter king of Castile, whom he maried in the six & fortith yeare of Edward the third, being in the yeare of Christ 1372, by whome he had issue Margaret maried to the king of Castile, which Constance died in the yere of Christ 1394, as saith Ypodigma. His third wife was Katharine the widow of Otho Swinford, and daughter to sir Paien Ruet *alias* Guien king at armes, whom he maried in the nintéenth yeare of king Richard the second, being the yere of Christ 1395, or as some saie 1396, by this woman he had before mariage Thomas Beaufort, John Beaufort, Henrie Beaufort cardinall of Winchester, & Jane maried to Rafe Neuill earle of Westmerland, all which children were in the twentith of Richard the second, being in the yeare 1396, legitimated by parlement: at which time the said John of Gant gaue them the surname of Beaufort. This John of Gant was also earle of Richmond and constable of France in the time of Richard the second, who made him also duke of Aquitaine in the fourtéenth yeare of his reigne, being the yeare 1390. This John of Gant died in the two & twentith yeare of Richard the second, in the yeare 1398, or as saith Ypodigma 1399, & was buried in the quére of saint Paules church of London, on the north side.

Henrie Plantagenet duke of Lancaster and Hereford, king of England.

Henrie Plantagenet *alias* Henrie of Bollinbroke so surnamed of the place of his birth, the eldest son of the said John, was by inheritance duke of Lancaster, earle of Leicester, Salisburie, Darbie, and Lincolne: he was created duke of Hereford by Richard the second, who made him earle of Darbie, in the ninth yeare of his reigne, in the yeare of Christ 1386, and after made him duke of Hereford in the 21 yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of Christ 1397. Which Henrie of Bollinbroke maried in the 9 yére of the reigne of Richard the second, in the yeare of Christ 1386 Marie the second daughter, & one of the heires of Humphrie Bohune earle of Hereford & Elser, and constable of England, which woman died in the yére of Christ 1394, about the eightéenth yére of Richard the second. This Henrie was after king of England by the name of Henrie the fourth.

Lionell Plantagenet duke of Clarence.

Lionell Plantagenet surnamed Lionell of Antwerpe in Brabant, because he was there borne, being the third son of king Edward the third, was erle of Ulster in Ireland by his wife, and created duke of Clarence in the 36 yére of Edward the third, in the yére of Christ 1462: but other saie he was made duke in the 33 yer of Edward the third. He had two wiues, the first Elisabeth, some saie Eleanor (but rightlie as I doo suppose) the daughter of William Burgh earle of Ulster, by whom he had issue Philip maried to Edmund earle of March: the second wife was Jelant or Uelant daughter to Galeas duke of Millane, to whom he was maried, as saith the English chronicle, in the two and fortith yére of Edward the third, in the yére of Christ 1368: which yére the Italians count 1367, by whom he had no issue. This Lionell was somtime regent of France, & died 1368.

Edmund Plantagenet duke of Yorke

Edmund of Langleie, fift son to Edward the third made earle of Cambridge about the six and thirtith yére of Edward the third, being the yere of Christ 1361, was made duke of Yorke in the eight, or (as some haue) the ninth yére of the said king Richard the second. He in the six and fortith yére of king Edward the third, in the yére that the word became flesh 1372, married Isabell one of the daughters of Peter king of Castile, and sister by the mother to Constance second wife to John of Gant duke of Lancaster, brother to this Edmund, who was about the twentith yére of Richard the second protector of England, while the king was in Ireland, which Isabell died in the yeare of Christ 1394, being about the eightéenth yére of Richard the second, & by the kings commandement was buried in the friers of Langleie. This Edmund had issue by his wife Isabell Edward earle of Rutland, and duke Albermerle, Richard earle of Cambridge, and one daughter called Constance married to Thomas lord Spenser: he died the second (as some haue) or rather the third (as others haue) of Henrie the 4, in the yére of Christ, as hath Ypodigma 1402, and was buried at Langleie.

Edward Plantagenet duke of Albermerle and Yorke.

Edward Plantagenet son and heire of Edmund of Langleie duke of Yorke, was in the foureteenth of Richard the second created erle of Rutland in his fathers life, in the yére of Christ 1390, and in the twentith yeare of Richard the second, or rather the 21 of the same king, being the yeare of Christ 1397, he was made duke of Albermerle or Aumerle, and after his fathers death he was duke of Yorke: he was slaine at the battell of Agincourt, in the third yeare

yeare of Henrie the fift, being the yeare of Christ 1415, he married Margaret, or rather more truelie Philip the ladie Fitzwater, and widow to sir John Gollafer knight, bastard sonne to sir John Gollafer of Cercedone or Saresdone knight in Oxfordshire. And here because I haue mentioned the name of Gollafer, although it be digressing from my first purposes, onelie to treat of the dukes of England, I thinke it not amisse to sale somewhat of these two knights, of the Gollafers, sir John the father, and sir John the sonne. This sir John Gollafer the father being the sonne of John Gollafer esquier (whose ancestors as farre as I can learne had their first originall from Roger Gollafer of Cercedone in the time of king John, and was buried in *Domo capitulari de Bruera in com. oxon.*) married Anne the daughter and heire of sir Thomas Langleie lord of Langleie in Oxfordshire (now at this date in the yeare 1585, by grant of queene Elisabeth, in the possession of Robert Sutton or Dudleie earle of Leicester) which Anne died shortlie after without anie issue by him. After whose death this sir John Gollafer married Isabell the ladie of Missenden (dwelling at Missenden) and of Queintone in Buckinghamshire, she being daughter to sir Barnard Brocas. But this sir John Gollafer hauing no issue by the said Elisabeth, and desirous by some meanes or other to continue his name (which yet he could not make perpetuall nor of anie long continuance) made choise in the life of his wife Isabell of another woman, whome he vsed for procreations cause, and by hir had issue two bastards, one called Jennet Pulham after prioresse of Burneham by Windsore, and an other bastard called after the father John Gollafer, who in following time became a knight. Afterward this sir John the father died at Queintone in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, three hundred, seauentie and nine, falling partlie in the second and third yeare of Henrie the fourth, and was buried at the Graie friers in Oxford, whose wife Isabell was after buried in Missenden priorie.

After the death of this sir John the father, sir John Gollafer knight his base sonne being lord of Langleie, married Philip ladie Fitzwater, after maried to this duke of Yorke (as before is said) which sir John Gollafer died at Wallingford, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, three hundred, ninetie and six, being the twentith yeare of Richard the second, and was buried at Westminster, neere vnto the tome of Richard the second. Which ladie Philip died in the time of Henrie the sixt, and was buried at Westminster, neere vnto hir husband, whose statelie tome is yet extant, on the south side almost directlie oueragainst the tome of Richard the second. Thus this much for the name of Gollafer; and so againe to the dukes of England.

Thomas Plantagenet surnamed of Woodstocke duke of Gloucester.

Thomas Plantagenet, otherwise called Thomas of Woodstocke, sixt sonne to king Edward the third, was created earle of Buckingham, the first yeare of Richard the second, in the yeare one thousand, three hundred, seauentie and seauen, the daie of his coronation before dinner. This man was high constable of England, and created duke of Gloucester, in the eight yeare of Richard the second, of whom is more especiall mention made in the treatise of the constables of England, pag. 867.

Thomas Holland duke of Surreie.

Thomas Holland; brother by the mothers side to king Richard the second, and sonne to the lord Thomas Holland (earle of Kent, in the right of Jane, daughter and heire to Edmund Plantagenet, surnamed of Woodstocke earle of Kent) was aduanced to the title of duke of Surreie in the two and twentith yeare of king Richard the second, being the yeare of Christ one thousand, three hundred, ninetie and seauen, he maried Alice the daughter of Richard Fitzallen earle of Arundell. He had issue six daughters & heires; Margaret married to John Beaufort earle of Summerset, and marquesse Dorset; Alice maried to Thomas Montacute earle of Salisburie; Elisabeth, married to John lord Neuill sonne to Rafe Neuill the first earle of Westmerland, and after his death to Edward Chareleton lord Powis; Joane married to Edmund of Langleie duke of Yorke; and Bridget a nun at Barking. This man with others, at a parlement held the first yeare of Henrie the fourth, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, three hundred, ninetie and nine, was depriued of his name of duke, & of all honours, togither with the dignities belonging to a duke, & was after in the same yeare (rebelling against king Henrie the fourth) taken by the men of Circester, and beheaded in the same towne, after that he had caused the towne to be set on fire.

John Holland duke of Excester.

John Holland full brother to Thomas Holland, and halfe brother to Richard the second, was created earle of Huntington in the fourteenth yeare of king Richard the second, and made duke of Excester at a parlement holden in the one & twentith yeare of the same king, though some attribute that to the twentith yeare of king Richard. This man at a parlement held in the first of Henrie the fourth, in the yeare of Christ 1399, was disgraded from his title of dukedome, and was after taken at Pritewell in Essex in a mill, and beheaded at Plashie in the said shire, in the said first yeare of the said king Henrie the fourth, he married Elisabeth the daughter of John of Gant duke of Lancaster, and had issue John Holland earle of Huntington.

John Holland duke of Excester.

John Holland earle of Huntington was (as it seemeth) made by Henrie the fourth (after the death of the duke of Excester his father) & admitted to be duke of Excester, he married Anne the daughter of Edmund earle of Stafford, he had issue Henrie Holland duke of Excester, and Anne maried to sir John Neuill knight, brother of Rafe the third of that name erle of Westmerland, he died the six and twentith of king Henrie the sixt on the fift of August, being the yeare of Christ 1448, and was buried at S. Katharins nigh the tower of London. After which his first wife he maried Anne the daughter of John Montacute earle of Salisburie, by whome he had no issue.

Henrie Holland duke of Excester.

Henrie Holland sonne of John Holland was (after the death of his father) duke of Excester, he was disherited in the first of Edward the fourth at a parlement held then in the yeare 1461, he maried Anne daughter to Richard duke of Yorke, and sister to king Edward the fourth, which Anne at hir owne sute on the twelfe of November in the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of Christ 1471, was diuorced from the said duke of Excester. Shortlie after which, in the yeare of Christ 1413, being in the thirteenth of Edward the fourth, this duke was found dead in the sea betweene Douer & Calis, but how he came there none could certenlie declare. He died without issue, leauing his sister Anne his heire, maried (as before) to John Neuill brother to Rafe earle of Westmerland.

Robert Vere duke of Irreland.

Robert Vere earle of Oxford and marquesse of Dubline was in the yeare of Christ 1386, in the tenth of Richard the second created duke of Ireland, he died without issue at Louaine in great penurie and veration of mind, as hath Ypodigma, in the yeare of Christ 1392, being about the sixteenth of king Richard the second, he maried the daughter of Ingerame de Coulie earle of Bedford, and after diuorced from hir he married Lancecrona one of meane parentage.

Margaret Segraue duchesse of Norffolke.

Margaret ladie Segraue the daughter and heire of Thomas Brotherton earle of Norffolke and marshall of England, was created duchesse of Norffolke in the one and twentith yeare of king Richard the second, she had two husbands, whereof the first was John lord Segraue; by whom she had issue Elisabeth married to John Powbrete the third of that name. Hir second husband was sir Walter Mannic knight of the order, by whome she had a daughter married to John lord Hastings erle of Penbroke. This duchesse Margaret died in the yeare of Christ 1399, being about the three and twentith of Richard the second, and was buried in the frier Minors of London.

Thomas lord Powbrete duke of Norffolke.

Thomas lord Powbrete second sonne of Elisabeth Segraue and John lord Powbrete hir husband was aduanced to the dukedome of Norffolke, in the one and twentith yeare of the reigne of Richard the second. Shortlie after which he was appeled by Henrie earle of Bullingbroke of treason, and caried to the castell of Windsore, where he was stronglie and safelie garded, hauing a time of combat granted to determine the cause betweene the two dukes the sirteenth date of September, in the two and twentith of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption 1398. But in the end the matter was so ordered, that this duke of Norffolke was banished for euer: whervpon taking his iourneie to Jerusalem, he died at Venice in his returne frō the said citie of Jerusalem in the first yeare of king Henrie the fourth, about the yeare of our redemption 1399. He maried Elisabeth one of the daughters and heires of Richard erle of Arundell Warren and Surreie, by whome he had issue John duke of Norffolke, and three daughters, Elisabeth maried to Michaell de la Pole the yonger earle of Suffolke, Margaret maried vnto sir Robert Howard knight, and Isabell maried to sir James Barkeleie.

John Powbrete duke of Norffolke.

John Powbrete earle of Notingham marshall of England and duke of Norffolke, baron Segraue and Bolwer, was buried in the Charterhouse within the ile of Erholme, he maried Katharine the daughter of Rafe the first earle of Westmerland, by whom he had issue John duke of Norffolke.

John Powbrete duke of Norffolke.

John lord Powbrete the first baron of the name of Powbrete, sonne to John duke of Norffolke, was after his father duke of Norffolke. This John was buried in Tetford priorie, who marieng Elenor the daughter of William lord Burchier earle of Ewe, had issue John duke of Norffolke.

John Powbrete duke of Norffolke.

John the last duke of Norffolke of the surname of Powbrete, the sonne of John the last before mentioned, was in his fathers life time created earle of Warren and Surreie by king Henrie the first, and after the death of his father was duke of Norffolke. This John the last duke died in his castell of Fremingham, in the yeare 1461, being the second yeare of king Edward the fourth. He maried Elisabeth daughter to John lord Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, by whome he had issue one onelie daughter and heire, maried to Richard duke of Yorke second son to Edward the fourth.

Th: Plantagenet duke of Clarence.

Thomas Plantagenet second sonne to Henrie the fourth, was created duke of Clarence in the eleuenth yeare of his father, being about the yeare of our redemption 1409, and was afterward in the 13 of the same king created earle of Aumerle, and high steward of England: he was slaine the two and twentith of March, in the ninth yeare of the reigne of the victorious king Henrie the fift, in the yeare of our redemption 1420, beginning the yeare of our Lord on the fiue and twentith date of March. He maried Margaret the daughter of Thomas Holland earle of Kent, and died without issue legitimat, hauing a base sonne called John the bastard of Clarence.

John Plantagenet duke of Bedford.

John Plantagenet third son to Henrie the fourth, was by his father created duke of Bedford, at the parlement of Leicester, in the yeare of Christ 1414, in the second of king Henrie the fift. Of this man is more large mention made in my discourse of the protectors of England.

Humfreie Plantagenet duke of Gloucester.

Humfreie Plantagenet fourth sonne of Henrie the fourth, was by his father created duke of Gloucester, who for the nobilitie of his mind and vertuous life, was made protector of England. Of whom is more spoken in my former discourse of the protectors of England.

See pag. 1069

John Beaufort duke of Summerset.

John Beaufort (which name of Beaufort was giuen by John of Gant to his children which he had by Katharine Swineford, when they were made legitimate by parlement, about the one and twentith yeare of king Richard the second as is before touched) was created marquesse Dorset by Henrie the fourth, and after aduanced to the honour of duke of Summerset, in the first yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1413. He maried Margaret the daughter of sir John Beauchampe lord of Powicke, he had issue Margaret maried to Edmund Haddam earle of Richmond father to king Henrie the seuenth: after the death of which Edmund she was maried to Thomas lord Stonleie, afterward by Henrie the seuenth created earle of Darbie, and after vnto Henrie sonne to Humfreie duke of Buckingham. This duke of Summerset died the two and twentith yeare of king Henrie the first, and was buried at Winborne, in the yeare of Christ 1444. And his daughter the ladie Margaret died at Westminster on the nine and twentith of June, in the first yeare of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare of Christ a thousand fiue hundred and nine, about three score and fiue yeares after the death of hir father.

Thomas Beaufort duke of Excester.

Thomas Beaufort sonne to John of Gant duke of Lancaster and Katharine Swineford was created duke of Excester, in the fift yeare of K. Henrie the fift, of whome is mention made in my protectors.

Edmund Beaufort duke of Summerset.

Edmund Beaufort sonne of John Beaufort duke of Summerset, was created earle Morton in the seuenth yeare of K. Henrie the fift. He was created marquesse Dorset and duke of Summerset by king Henrie the first, he was made regent of Normandie, and lost the whole countrie to the French: for which after his comming out of Normandie in the nine and twentith yeare of king Henrie the first, he was on the first of December the same yeare, being the yeare of our Lord 1450, apprehended and put vnder arrest, and his goods by the commons sowlie despoiled and caried awaie from the Blacke friers. He was slaine at the battell of S. Albons in Maie, the three and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the first, falling in the yeare of our Lord 1455, and was with Henrie Perste earle of Northumberland, and Thomas lord Clifford buried at S. Albons. He maried two wiues, the first was Elenor the daughter of Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwike, & widow to Thomas lord Rosse, by whom he had issue Henrie duke of Summerset, Edmund duke of Summerset, John marques Dorset, Margaret maried to Humfreie duke of Buckingham, Elisabeth maried to sir Henrie Lewes knight, Elenor maried to James Butler earle of Wilshire, and after to sir Robert Spenser, Anne maried to sir William Paston knight, and Jone maried to the lord Hoth of Ireland. His second wife was Jone, who was after maried to Henrie Bromefield knight, of the which Edmund duke of Summerset, and the other lords buried at saint Albons, thus writeth the worthie poet Iohn Gower

Gower with these same verses hereafter following:

Quos mors quos Martis sors sæua, suæq; sororis
Bella prostrarunt, villæ medióque necarunt,
Mors sic occisos tumulauerat hic simul ipsos,
Póstq; necem requiē causauit habere perennem
Et medium sine quo vult hic requiescere nemo,
Hic lis, hic pugna mors est qui terminat arma,
Mors sors & Mauors qui strauerunt dominos hos.

Herie Beaufort duke of Summerset.

Henrie Beaufort eldest sonne to Edmund duke of Summerset was after the death of his father erle Poxton, marquesse Dorset, and duke of Summerset, he was capteine of Calis; who with other nobles in the nine and thirtith of Henrie the first slue the duke of Yorke at the battell of Wakefield, in the yeare of our redemption 1460; according to the accompt of England. Shortlie after which, K. Henrie the first, whom this duke supported all that he could, was deposed, & Edward the fourth crowned. Touching which deposing of the one, & crowning of the other, although it be impertinent to the treatise of the dukes of England, hauing here so good place therfore, I will set downe such verses as I haue found in I. Whethamsted, adding further such other verses also as I find in him, concerning a battell fiercelie fought at Ferribrig in Yorkeshire, in this sort:

In the yeare of Christ 1460.

X. numero seni lapsi sunt circiter anni,
Postquam successit lex iuris, iuréue rexit,
Anglorum regnum vis non ius rexerat ipsum
Iam noua progenies, quia cœlo venit ab alto
Saturni soboles, quæ nomine dicitur altro
Edwardus quartus, Richardo sanguine iunctus
Creditur à multis, redeunt Saturnia nostris
Temporibus sæcla, lis vis q; nephas simul vna
Deperiunt, iura lex & pax sunt reditura.
Fraus etiámque dolus cessabunt, ac violentus
Raptus auaritiæ, subeunt verúmque fidésque:
Hæc spes plebis erat, cleri chorus hæc q; putabat.
Det ceu speratur regnum Deus vt statuatur,
Et plebs tranquillè viuat clerus at q; quietè.

Then of the time of that former recited warre, in which the northerne men were ouercome, there were these verses made, vpon the excesse and euill which they outragiouslie committed in the south parts of England, without regard of God, obedience to their naturall prince, reuerence to the church, loue to their native countrie, or benefite to themselues:

The battell of Ferribrig the thirteenth of March in the yeare 1461, according to the accompt of thē that begin the yeare at Januarie.

Aboue 20000 slaine, wherof most knights & gentlemen.

M. semel X. seno centum quater I. simul vno
In Martis mense terdena denique luce,
In patria Boreæ Ferrebrig propè iugera villæ,
Pugna fuit plebis acris nimis & satis atrox.
Vicerat Arcthos in bello Martius heros,
Iunior Edwardus Hector nouus alter Achilles
Prostrauit multos Austro tunc cesserat Arcthos,
Et doluit casum supra X. bis millia, quorum
Quamplures domini plures & erant generosi
Illius patriæ flos vt sors tunc cecidere.
Et meritò, quoniā spoliarūt nequiter Austrum.
Laus igitur Domino, sit honor, sit gloria Christo
Cessat nunc flatus grandis Boreæq; boatus,
Ing; Austrum redijt, Aeolus ventum variauit,
Est Boreas mordens, & valdè ventus adurens,
Est Auster iustus, vult morsu rodere morsus,
Et malè mordentes bene vires tollere eidem,
Est Zephyrus placidus, est suāuis frater & eius,
Hinc Boreás q; Aquilo pro nūc claudūtur in antro.

Furthermore, touching the title of the same king Edward the fourth to the gouernement of the kingdome of England, and of his right and truth thereunto were these following verses composed, to declare the deposition of king Henrie the first, as before said in the coronation of Edward the fourth, and how the same kingdome of England, with all the members thereof, did belong to Edward the fourth, as vnto the rightfull lineall heire to the same with his pedegrée, prouing the same also in this sort:

In sibi coniunctis [a] *Edwardi semine natis*
Ortus erat primò [b] *Leonellus* [c] *Iohnque secundò,*
Cedat lex regni vult iunior vt seniori.
Attamen [d] *Henricus hæres genitúsque Iohannis*
Per vim sceptrigerum regimen tulerátque coronam,
Et tenuit multis sed non sine viribus annis.
Illi succesit rex [e] *qui si non caruisset*
Iustitiæ titulo, non Hector dignior ipso:
Non iudex Eacus, non ore politus Vlysses.
Ipso defuncto succesit [f] *filius in quo*
Stirps ea cessauit. Hæres rectus remeauit
Scilicet [g] *Edwardus Leonelli proximus hæres,*
Hic petijt regimen, [h] *rex obstat, dátque negamen.*
Res agitur belli, vicit sanguis Leonelli,
Et palmam tulerat [i] *Henricus rex fugiebat*
Bello finito, multo quóque sanguine fuso
Quum victor secum palmam ferrétque triumphum,
Vendicat hoc iterum, plebs applaudebat eidem
Clamabátque sibi [k] *viuat fœlicior omni*
Rege vel Augusto, melior regat Octauiano.
Hæc vox cunctorum, clamor fuit ac populorum.
Rex igitur factus, rex in solióque leuatus
Quod fractum fuerat iterum bene consolidabat,
Iuréque quo potuit, vim pressit, ius renouauit.
Sic vetus id dictum fuerat bene verificatum,
De malè quæsitis vix gaudet tertius hæres.
Stare diu nequit mala quanquam vis stabiliuit
Ius, nescítque mori, valeat licèt ense feriri,
Ex bene patratis bene crescit honos quoque virtus.
O rota versatilis nimis oh q; notabilis axis!
Sorte nouercante fatóq; modum variante,
Corruit [l] *Henricus isto sub nomine sextus,*
Et casum tulerat, titulus sibi deficiebat
Defecítq; bonus, heus pro moderamine sensus
Próq; bono campi cor defuit Herculis illi,
Matris non patris fuit ortus filius excors,
Martem non coluit nimis à [m] *patre degenerauit*
Quo melior miles non Teucer erat vel Atrides,
Siue timor Phrygijs Aiax robustus in armis.
Hic fuit in verbis rex mitis, rex pietatis, [n]
Attamen in factis nimiæ vir simplicitatis.
Hinc postquam triginta nouem rex præfuit annis,
Cæca manu fortuna rotam quasi fortis in armis
Volauerat, & regimen capiebat regis, eundem
Compulit ac subito sic dicere, Sum sine regno.
Oh sors prosperior, oh gratia sortéq; maior!
Qui diuturna nimis fuit expectatio plebis,
Sed mittendus erat, iam dante Deo veniebat
Hic Martis soboles, & nomine [o] *Martius heros.*
Marte triumphante, ius sceptri iúsq; coronæ,
Vt decuit sumpsit, vt debuit ac sibi iunxit,
Tunc bona spes fuerat, sors prospera quod reueniret,
Lætáque pro voto colere plebs secla sub ipso
Det Deus, ac faciat bona ne spes irrita fiat.

[a] King Edward the third.
[b] Lionell duke of Clarence third sonne to Edward the third.
[c] John of Gant fourth sonne to Edward the 3.
[d] Henrie the fourth.
[e] Henrie the fift.
[f] Henrie the first.
[g] Edward the fourth.
[h] Henrie the first.
[i] Henrie the first.
[k] Edward the fourth.

[l] King Henrie the first his disposition described.

[m] Henrie the fift.

[n] Henrie the first.

[o] Edward erle of March, after king Edward the fourth.

Thus after this long digression from the matter of the duke of Summerset, because I would set downe all the verses of Whethamsted, I must yet also ad other verses found in his register, mentioning some part of the doings of the northerne men before spoken of: which verses although they should haue gone before, yet I thinke better here than not at all to write them in this sort. Shortly after the forsaid battell of Wakefield wherin the duke of Yorke was slaine, and before the deposing of king Henrie the first, he had a battell at S. Albons, called the second battell of S. Albons with the northern men (following the quéene & this duke of Sūmersets faction) & now were come as far as S. Albons, on Shrouetuesdaie the seuentēnth daie of Februarie in the said

said yeare of Christ 1460, where the king was put to flight, and fled to the quéene. Touching which battell also, thus writeth that learned abbat of saint Albons Iohn Whethamsted in his ancient register:

The 17 of Februarie after the account of such as begin the yeare at Januarie.

*Southerns men.

M. simul X. seno centum quater I. simul vno,
Quum lux septena fuerat mensis quóq; dena,
Numinis illius venerantur quod morientes,
Inter Solares pugnantes & Boreales,*
Magna cohors cecidit, duo millia plebs numerauit,
Sors apud Albani villam protomartyris almi,
Et pugnæ campum, cæsis dedit & tumulatum,
Quod dolet ac doluit annis multísq; dolebit,
Villicus ac monachus prope eos habitator & omnis,
Principio pugnæ potiores Marte fuere
Australes, tandem vicit Boreásque triumphum
Abstulerat secum, stat sors mox versa retrorsum,
Martis vt euentum fore scires sic dubiosum.
Vt veniunt cynephes, culices, brusique locustæ,
Vt vastant segetes: aliæ muscæ quóque multæ,
Sic aduenerunt similes illis Boreales,
Austri totius. His iudex sit Radamantus,
Et Minos Cretæ, coniunctus eis Eacúsque,
Atque modum pœnæ pensent seu demeruere,
Vix infernalis pro pœna sufficit ipsis,
Aut focus aut furiæ licent essent agmine mille,
Gens est Cerberea, gens Sphingia, gens Briarea,
Latratu, raptu, spolij prædaque voratu,
Laus hæc, laus Boreæ, laus est hæc laus sine laude.

Thus to returne to the duke of Summerset, we saie that afterward in the first yeare of king Edward the fourth, the said duke of Summerset fled to Yorke to king Henrie the first, and the quéene, who altogither fled from thense to Berwike, and so to Edenburgh. Whereupon by parlement in the first yeare of Edward the fourth 1461, this duke was atteinted, and his goods and lands seized for the king. But after that time king Edward the fourth besieging the castels of Bamburgh, Dunstenburgh, and Alnewike, this duke of Summerset and others yéelded those forts to the king on Christmas éeuen, in the third yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our redemption 1463. For which cause this duke was taken againe into the kings fauour, who gaue him a thousand marks by yeare, whereof he was neuer paid. Notwithstanding all which, in the yeare following, being the fourth yeare of Edward the fourth, in Maie, in the yeare of Christ 1464, this duke with others raised an armie against the king, in which battell he was taken (with Robert erle of Hungerford) by Iohn Neuill earle of Northumberland, and beheaded. He died without lawfull issue, leauing behind him a base sonne called Charles Summerset, by king Henrie the eight created earle of Worcester.

Edmund Beaufort duke of Summerset.

Edmund Beaufort sonne of the foresaid Edmund, and brother and heire to this last Henrie duke of Summerset, was also duke of Summerset. This man in the eleuenth yeare of Edward the fourth, being the yeare of Christ 1471, fleeing into the church of Teukesburie at the battell of Teukesburie (which quéene Margaret the wife of Henrie the first and hir sonne prince Edward had against king Edward the fourth) lost then the field. After which this duke was taken out of the church, and was there beheaded in the said eleuenth yeare of king Edward the fourth, and died without issue.

Richard Plãtagenet duke of Yorke.

Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to Richard earle of Cambridge, was created duke of Yorke by king Henrie the first: he was also earle of Cambridge, Vlster and March, lord of Wigmore and Clare, lieutenant of the realme of France and duchie of Normandie. Of this man sée more in the protectors of England.

George Plantagenet duke of Clarence.

George Plantagenet the second sonne to Richard duke of Yorke, was make duke of Clarence by his elder brother king Edward the fourth when he came to the crowne, in the yeare of Christ 1461, being the first yeare of his reigne. Of this George I haue somwhat intreated in my discourse of the constables of England, pag. 869, and in my discourse of the protectors of England.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Gloucester.

Richard Plantagenet, the third sonne of Richard duke of Yorke, and brother to George duke of Clarence, was made duke of Gloucester by king Edward the fourth, in the first yére of his reigne, being the yeare in which God toke on him the forme of a seruant 1461, of whome I haue discoursed in my constables of England, pag. 869, and in my collection of the protectors of England.

Henrie Beauchampe duke of Warwike.

Henrie Beauchampe, the sonne of Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwike by Isabell ladie Spenser his second wife, succeeded his father in all his inheritances the twentith of Maie, in the seuententh yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1439. For then the said Richard Beauchampe died at Rone in Normandie. This Henrie after that his inheritance had béene kept two years in the kings hands, was dismissed of his wardship, and restored to his liuings with great glorie. For he was crowned king of the Ile of Wight (as saith Iohn Stow) by the kings owne hand, and nominated chiefe earle of England, in the twentith yeare of the said king Henrie the first, being about the yeare of Christ 1442. Shortlie after, in the two and twentith yeare of the said king Henrie the first, in the yeare of our redemption 1444, he was created duke of Warwike, vnto whome the king gaue the castell of Brightlow or Bristow, with all the appurtenances which king Iohn kept in his hands, to which duke also the king gaue the Iles of Garnseie and Jerseie. About two years after which, on the foure and twentith of the same king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1446, died this duke of Warwike, whose stile was duke of Warwike chiefe earle of England, lord Spenser and Aburgauennie, king of the Ile of Wight, Garnseie and Jerseie, and lord of the castell of Bristow. He died without issue, and was buried at Teukesburie, whereby his inheritance came to his foure sisters, which were (by Elisabeth one of the daughters and heires of Thomas lord Barkeleie, Lisle and Tetes, first wife vnto his father) Margaret his eldest sister, maried to Iohn Talbot first earle of Shrewsburie of that name: Elenor the second sister, first maried to Thomas lord Rosse, and after to Edmund duke of Summerset, &c: Elisabeth the third sister, maried to George Neuill lord Latimer: whose other fourth sister (by Isabell the second wife vnto Richard earle Beauchampe, daughter to Thomas lord Spenser, and mother also to the aboue named Henrie duke of Warwike, who died without issue) was Anne, maried to Richard Neuill earle of Salisburie.

Humfreie Stafford duke of Buckingham.

Humfreie Stafford earle Stafford, created duke of Buckingham in the two and twentith yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1444, was slaine at the battell of Northampton. Of this man sée more in my discourse of the constables of England, pag. 868.

Henrie Stafford duke of Buckingham

Henrie sonne to the said Humfreie duke of Buckingham was beheaded in the first yeare of Richard the third, in the yeare of our redemption 1483. Of this man is more set downe in my discourse of the constables of England, pag. 869.

Edward Stafford duke of Buckingham.

Edward Stafford, sonne to the said Henrie, was duke of Buckingham, being beheaded in the thirteenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, which was the yere of our redemption 1521, of whom also I haue intreated in the said discourse of the constables

stables of England, pag. 870.

William de la Pole duke of Suffolke.

William de la Pole earle of Suffolke created marques of Suffolke in the two & twentith of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1444, was shortlie after also created duke of Suffolke, & in the eight & twentith of the said king Henrie the first, falling in the yeare 1450, was banished the realme for five yeares, to pacifie the hard opinion which the commons had conceiued against him. He tooke ship to performe his banishment the third of Maie, and sailed towards France, but was on the sea incountered by a ship of the tower named the Nicholas, by which he was taken and beheaded, and his bodie cast vp at Douer sands, and buried in the charterhouse at Hull. He maried Alice the daughter and heire of Thomas Chaucer, son to that famous poet Geffreie Chaucer, by which wife the maner of Ewelme, commonlie called Newelme in Oxfordshire came to the Poles. This duke & his wife did there build a new parish church of Ewelme standing on a hill, and founded a prætie hospitall called Gods house, at the west end of Ewelme parish church, to which house he gaue the manours of Ramrige in Hamshire, Conocke in Wiltshire, and Perth in Buckinghamshire. He also founded an hospitall at Donnington castell. This Alice wife of duke William, surviuing hir husband, was after buried in the parish church of Ewelme, on the southside of the high altar, in a rich tome of alabaster, with an image in the habit of a dutchesse crowned, lieng on the same tome, and hauing this epitaph: *Orate pro anima serenissimæ principissæ Aliciæ Sulfolchiæ huius ecclesiæ patronæ, quæ obyt 20 die mensis Maij, anno Domini 1475, litera dominicali A.*

John de la Pole duke of Suffolke.

John de la Pole son to the said William de la Pole duke of Suffolke, was also duke of Suffolke after the death of his father. This man on the eighteenth of Aprill in the fifteenth yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1415, was knighted by the king. He married Elisabeth daughter to Richard duke of Yorke, and sister to Edward the fourth, by whom he had issue Edmund erle of Suffolke; John that by Edward the fourth was created earle of Lincolne, and Anne, who by procurement of king Richard the third was maried to the duke of Rothsele, eldest son to the king of Scots.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke.

Richard Plantagenet second sonne to king Edward the fourth, was by his father created duke of Yorke, in the 15 yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our Lord 1474, at a parlement in the said fifteenth yeare of Edward the fourth. This duke on the fifteenth of Januarie in the seauentéenth yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1477, was married to ladie Anne daughter and heire to John Mowbrete duke of Norffolke, and was in the first yeare of the reigne of the tyrant king Richard the third his vncle most vnnaturallie murthered in the tower, in the yeare of Christ 1483.

George Plantagenet duke of Bedford.

George Plantagenet third sonne to king Edward the fourth was created duke of Bedford by his father, in the yeare of our redemption 1470, and died without issue being verie yong.

John Howard duke of Norffolke.

John Howard lord Howard (the son of sir Robert Howard knight, and of Margaret his wife, one of the daughters and heires of Thomas lord Mowbrete duke of Norffolke, earle of Notingham, and marshall of England) was created duke of Norffolke, and marshall of England, in the first yeare of the vsurping king Richard the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1483. This man following the part of the said king Richard, was at the battell of Bosworth in Leicestershire (fought in the third yeare of the said king Richard, in the yeare of Christ 1485) slaine with the said king Richard. He had two wiues, Katharine the daughter of William lord Molins, by whome he had issue Thomas earle of Surreie, after made duke of Norffolke by king Henrie the eight; Anne married to sir Edmund Gorge knight; Isabell married to sir Roger Mortimer of Esser; Jane married to sir John Timperleie; and Margaret married to sir John Windham: his second wife was Margaret the daughter of sir John Chedworth knight, by whome he had Katharine married to sir John Bourchier lord Barns.

Thomas Howard duke of Norffolke.

Thomas Howard earle of Surreie sonne of the said John was created duke of Norffolke, in the fift yeare of king Henrie the eight, being about the yeare of Christ 1514. Of him is more mention in my discourse of the lord treasurors of England.

Thomas Howard duke of Norffolke.

Thomas Howard created earle of Surreie in the fift yeare of king Henrie the eight, being high admerall and lord treasuror of England, was duke of Norffolke, after the death of his father, which fell in the sirtéenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our redemption 1524. Of this man is also more intreated in my discourse of the lord treasurors.

Thomas Howard duke of Norffolke.

Thomas Howard the third duke of the name of Thomas, and the fourth of the name of Howard, was son to Henrie Howard earle of Surreie sonne to the last before recited Thomas Howard duke of Norffolke. This man, being the last duke that liued in England, & occasioned me to make this discourse of the dukes, was beheaded on tower hill the second daie of June, in the fourtéenth yeare of the now reigning prince Elisabeth, being the yeare of Christ 1572, and buried in the chappell of the tower. He maried three wiues; his first wife was Marie one of the daughters and heires of Henrie Fitzallen earle of Arundell, by whom he had issue Philip earle of Arundell; his second wife was Margaret daughter & onlie heire to Thomas Audleie knight, chancellor of England, and lord Audleie of Saffron Walden, the widow of the lord Henrie Dudleie yongest son to John Sutton of Dudlie duke of Northumberland, by which second wife this duke had issue Thomas, William, Elisabeth, & Margaret; his third wife was Elisabeth the daughter of sir James Leiborne knight, and widow of the lord Dacres of Gisleland, by whome he had no issue.

Henrie Teuther duke of Yorke.

Henrie the second son of king Henrie the seuenth was by his father created duke of Yorke at Westminster, in the eleuenth yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our redemption 1495, or therabouts. This man was after king of England by the name of king Henrie the eight.

Jasper of Hatfield duke of Bedford.

Jasper of Hatfield the sonne of Owen Teuther esquier, by Katharine daughter to the French king, and widow to king Henrie the fift, was by king Henrie the first his brother on the mothers side created earle of Penbroke, in the yeare of Christ 1452, after which in the fiue and thirtith yeare of the said king he was made earle of Cambridge: and lastlie, in the first yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the seauenth he was created duke of Bedford on Simon and Judes daie, in the yeare of our redemption 1485, but died without issue the eightéenth daie of December, in the twelfe yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the seauenth, in the yeare of Christ 1496, and was buried at Kensham.

Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke.

Charles Brandon the son of sir William Brandon knight, slaine on the part of king Henrie the seuenth at Bosworth field, was created vicount Lisle, and after on Candlemasse daie in the yeare of Christ 1413, being the fift yeare of king Henrie the eight he was created duke of Suffolke. He married three wiues; the first was Anne daughter of sir Anthonie Browne knight; the second Marie, second daughter of

of king Henrie the seauenth, & widow to the king of France, by whom he had issue Henrie earle of Lincolne, and Francis married to Henrie Greie duke of Suffolke; his third wife was Katharine the daughter & onlie heire of William lord Willoughbie of Ersleie, by whome he had issue Henrie and Charles both dukes of Suffolke one after another, who both died within one houre of the sweat at Cambridge. This Charles the father died in the yeere of Christ 1545, and was buried at Windsore: & of the two dukes the sons thus writeth John Parkhurst sometime placed in the bishops see of Norwich:

Fratres Amyclæi Pollux cum Castore
Potuere sic cum morte depaciscier,
Vt cùm alter illorum esset mortuus, tamen
Alter superesset, & reuersus sortibus
Vicissim vtérque vtriúsque morte viueret.
Cur Parca nunc crudelior est, quàm olim fuit?
Fratres duos nuper ea, quales hactenus
Nec vidit vnquam, nec videbit Anglia
Lumina duo, duóque propugnacula
Fortissima virtutis, reique publicæ,
Crudelis ab vno perêmit funere.
Virtus nequaquam illam, nec egregia indoles
Mouit, nec Edwardi regis, nec optimæ
Matris, neque totius gemitus Britanniæ.
O dura dura mors! ô sæua numina!

Henrie Fitz Roie duke of Richmont.

Henrie Fitz Roie the base son to king Henrie the eight, begotten vpon Elisabeth Blunt the ladie Talboise, was by his father first created earle of Summerset and Northampton, and after duke of Richmont. This duke was verie forward in the knowledge of tongs, and also in knightlie actiuitie, as may apeere by due consideration of the historie in place where he is mentioned. He loued John Leland the reuerend antiquarie, who presented vnto the said duke a booke of copies, whereby he might learne to write Romane letters great & small, as apeereth by this heraistichon, which I find among the said John Lelands written epigrams in this maner set downe:

Ad illustrissimum Henricum ducem Richmontanum.

Quo Romana modo maiuscula littera pingi,
Pingi quo possit littera parua modo,
Hic liber ecce tibi signis monstrabit apertis
Princeps, Aonij spes & alumne gregis:
Qui tibi si placeat (quod certè spero futurum)
Maximà pro paruo munere dona dabis.]

He died without issue the two and twentith of Julie, in the eight and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, in the yeere of our redemption 1536, and was buried at Thetford in Norffolke, hauing maried Marie the daughter of Thomas Howard duke of Norffolke.

Edward Seimor duke of Summerset.

Edward Seimor knight (the son of sir John Seimor knight) was created vicount Beauchampe in Maie, the eight and twentith yeere of king Henrie the eight, being the yeere of our redemption 1536, & was after in the nine & twentith yeare of the same king on the eightéenth daie of October, in the yeere of Christ 1537 created earle of Hertford. Then king Henrie being dead, he in the first yeare of king Edward the first, which was the yeere of our redemption 1546, was made protector of England, and immediatlie thereupon created duke of Summerset, being vncle by the mothers side vnto the said king Edward the first. This man had manie honors and offices, as maie apeere by his stile, which he prefixed before a missiue persualorie sent to the Scots for the marriage of their yong queene Marie to our yong king Edward the first in this sort: Edward by the grace of God duke of Summerset, earle of Hertford, vicount Beauchampe lord Seimor, vncle to the kings highnesse of England, gouernor of his most roiall person, and protector of all his realmes, dominions, and subiects, lieutenant generall of his maiesties armies both by sea and land, treasuror and earle marshall of England, gouernor of the iles of Gerneseie and Iersеie, and knight of the most honorable order of the garter, &c. This stile he had, which I haue béene the more willing to set downe, because I do not remember that anie subiect did with like shew publish anie such stile before his time. Which honors he did not long inioie: for were it for malice of some of the nobilitie, disdaining such honors; or for cause in him offending the laws, or for his ouer careless good disposition, that suspected no such euill from his enimies: he was the second time on the first of October in the fift yeere of king Edward the first, being the yeare of Christ 1551 committed prisoner to the tower, and the two and twentith daie of Januarie following he was beheaded at tower hill, and buried in the tower chappell. He had two wiues, whereof the first was Katharine the daughter of sir William Filioll of Woodland knight, by whome he had a son called Edward: his second wife was Anne the daughter of sir Edward Stanhope, by whom he had issue Edward earle of Hertford, Henrie now liuing, and Edward, with Anne (married the third of June, in the fourth yeere of the reigne of king Edward the first, in the yeere one thousand fiue hundred and fiftie to John lord Dudleie, eldest sonne to John earle of Warwike and duke of Northumberland) Jone, Marie, Katharine, and Elisabeth.

Henrie Greie duke of Suffolke.

Henrie Greie marquesse Dorset, lord Ferrers of Grobie, Harrington, Boneuile and Asleie, was at Hampton court created duke of Suffolke, on the eleuenth of October, in the fift yeere of the reigne of king Edward the first, being the yeere of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and one: who in the first yeere of queene Marie, being the yeere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and three, supposing that the queene would marrie a stranger, did flie into Leicester and Warwikeshires with a small companie, making proclamation against the queenes marriage with the prince of Spaine: but the people inclined not vnto him. Whereupon a companie being sent out after him, vnder the leading of the earle of Huntington, the first daie of Februarie proclamation was made at London, that the duke was discomfited and fled with his two brethren. After which the tenth of Februarie, the duke with his brother sir John Greie was brought from Conentrie (where he remained three daies after his taking, in the house and custodie of Christopher Warren alderman of that towne) by the earle of Huntington, & attended with three hundred men to the tower. Where remaining a certeine space, he was on the three and twentith of Februarie beheaded at tower hill; and buried in the chappell of the tower (as I haue heard.) He married Francis one of the daughters to Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke, by whom he had issue Jane, married to Gilford the sonne of John duke of Northumberland, and died without issue; Katharine and Marie.

John Sutton of Dudleie duke of Northumberland.

John Sutton of Dudleie created by king Henrie the eight vicount Lisle, being admerall, lord great chamberleine, lord great maister and earle of Warwike, was after on the eleuenth daie of October, the fift yeere of king Edward the first, being the yeere of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and one, created duke of Northumberland. He, after the death of king Edward, tooke armes, and proclamed queene Jane, daughter to Henrie duke of Suffolke; meaning to exclude queene Marie. But shortlie after perceiuing queene Marie to be proclamed at London, this duke did also proclame hir at Cambridge. Notwithstanding all which he was arested in the kings college there by one maister Sleg sergeant at armes, and after a new arrested by the

earle

earle of Arundell. Henrie Fitzallen (sent thither for that cause) who brought him to London, where this duke was the fiue and twentith of Julie, in the said first yeare of quéene Marie commited to the tower. Shortlie after which, he was the eightéenth of August following arreigned at Westminster, there condemned, and beheadded on tower hill the two and twentith of the same moneth: whose bodie with the head was buried in the tower, he being the last duke that was created in England. He maried Jane the daughter of sir Edward Gilford knight, the sister and heire to sir Henrie Gilford knight, of whose children I will not speake, bicause they are yet fresh in memorie. And thus farre Francis Thin, touching the creation and the succession in lineall descents of all the dukes of England since the conquest.

French ambassadors trō Charles the ninth came into England.

About the ninth of June, Francis duke of Montmorencie, chiefe marshall of France, gouernour and lieutenant of the Ile of France, generall to Charles the ninth king of France, and Paule de Foix of the priuie councell of the said king, and Bertrand de Saligners, lord de la Mothfenelon, knights of the order of S. Michaell, ambassadors for the same king, arriued at Douer. The fourtéenth daie they shot London bridge toward Summerset house at the Strand, where they were lodged. The fiftéenth daie being sundaie, the said ambassadors repaired to the White hall, where they were honourablie receiued of the quénes maiestie, with hir nobilitie: and there in hir graces chapell, about one of the clocke in the after noone, the articles of treatie, league or confederacie and sure friendship (concluded at Blois the nintéenth of Aprill as is afore shewed) betwixt the quénes maiestie, and the French king being read, the same was by hir maiestie and his ambassadors confirmed to be obserued and kept, without innouation or violation, &c. The rest of that daie, with great part of the night following, was spent in great triumph, with sumptuous banquets.

League with France confirmed at Westminster.

S. Georges feast at windsor.

The eightéenth of June, the feast of saint George was holden at Windsor, where the French ambassadors were rosallie feasted, & Francis duke of Montmorencie was stalled knight of the most honourable order of the garter. The eight and twentith daie of June, the forenamed ambassadors departed from London toward France. ¶ The fourtéenth of June, Thomas lord Wharton deceased in his house of Chanon row at Westminster. The thirtéenth daie of Julie, the quénes maiestie at Whitehall made sir William Cicill lord of Burghleie, lord high treasuror of England: lord William Howard, late lord chamberleine, lord priuie seale: the earle of Susser, lord chamberleine: sir Thomas Smith principall secretarie: and Christopher Hatton, esquier capteine of the gard.

Sir William Cicill lord treasuror, lord priuie seale, lord chamberleine, with other officers.

A treatise of the treasurors of England

set downe out of ancient histories and records,
as they succeeded in order of time and
in the reigne of the kings.

Collected by Francis Thin in this yeare of Christ 1585.

THis adorning of sir William Cicill knight, lord Burghleie with the honour of lord treasuror of England, hath rowsed my enuied pen thorough the malicious barking of some (who suppose nothing well but what they doo themselues, whereby gaine maie rise vnto their posteritie) in this liberall sort to set downe the names and times of such treasurors as haue liued in England, as hereafter I will doo the chancellors, and that with as good authoritie as these secret backbiters can challenge anie cunning to themselues, who suppose euerie blast of their mouth to come forth of Trophonius den, and that they spake from the tri-

uet. As I will not arrogate anie thing to my selfe, for in truth I saie with Socrates, *Hoc tantùm scio quòd nihil scio,* or derogate from them that which their worthinesse maie merit: so shall I be glad (sith nothing is at the first so perfect, but that somewhat maie be either augmented or amended to and in it) that this maie whet those enuious persons to deliuer anie thing to the world, that maie in comptrolling my labours benefit their countrie, which if they will not doo, let them cease their euill spéeches: for *Qui pergit dicere quæ libet, quæ non vult audiet.* And truelie for mine owne part, I will *Canere palinodiam*, and yéeld them an honourable victorie, if anie better shall be produced: and be heartilie glad, that truth (which is all that I séeke) maie be brought to perfection. Now how well I haue done it, my selfe must not be iudge, desiring pardon of such as either with wise modestie can or ought to iudge, or with rare antiquities can or will correct what I haue done; if thorough ignorance we haue committed anie escapes or imperfections: further promising, that if hereafter we espie any of our owne error; or if anie other either friend for good will, or aduersarie for desire of reprehension shall open the same vnto me: I will not for defense of mine estimation, or of pride, or of contention by wranglings or quarrelling vpon authorities, histories and records, wilfullie persist in those faults: but be glad to heare of them, and in the whole and large discourse of the liues of the lord treasurors (almost perfected) corrected them. For (as I said) it is truth of antiquities that I séeke for, which being had (either by good intention of my wellwilling friends, or by occasion and reprehension of my enuious emulators) I greatlie estéeme not. And so to the matter.

Saint Dunstane (for I vse that name more for antiquities than denoutnesse cause) was treasuror to Eadred or Eldred king of England, who began his reigne in the yeare that the word became flesh, nine hundred fortie and six: of whome thus writeth Matthew Parker in his booke of the archbishops of Canturburie, in the life of Odo Seuerus the two and twentith bishop of that see: *Edmundo* (the king of England) *defuncto, Eadredus corona regia ab Odone redimitus, & rem publicam administrans, Dunstanum (vt in eius vita plenius patebit) tam singulari amore prosequutus est, vt omnes regni thesauros illius custodiæ commendaret.*

Saint Dunstane.

Hugoline was treasuror and chamberleine to Edward the confessor, he gaue Deane and Southbrigh to Westminster, which Edward the confessor did afterward confirme to that house.

Hugoline.

Odo halfe brother to William the conqueror erle of Kent bishop of Baieux and chiefe iustice of England, was treasuror in the time of the conqueror, who had at his death (as saith Anonymus M.S.) sixtie thousand pounds, *Excepto auro, & gemmis, & vasis, & palys.*

Odo bishop of Baieux.

Geffreie lord Clinton treasuror and chamberleine to Henrie the first, he about the thirteenth yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand, one hundred and twelue, did found the priorie of Kenelworth, and was after accused of treason in the one and thirtith yeare of the reigne of the said Henrie the first: but (as it séemed) restored (in short time after) to the kings fauour.

Geffreie lord Clinton.

Ranulph bishop of Durham, was treasuror to the king, whome Florentius Wigornienſis calleth *Præcipuum regis placitatorem & regni exactorem*, whose last word *Exactor* some men doo English treasuror. Of this man is more said in the chancellors of England.

Ranulph bishop of Durham.

Roger bishop of Sarisburie treasuror & chancellor of England, as appeareth by Leland, writing in this sort: Roger bishop of Sarum treasuror & chancellor to Henrie the first, made the castell of Vies such a costlie and so strong a fort, as was neuer before nor since

Roger bishop of Sarisburie.

since set vp by anie bishop of England. The keepe or dungeon of it set vpon a hill cast by hand, is a peece of worke of incredible cost. There appeare in the gate of it six or seauen places for portculices, and much goodlie building was in it. It is now in ruine, and part of the front of the towers of the gate of the keepe, and the chappell in it, were carried full vnprofitablie to the building of master Beintons house at Bromham, scant three miles off. There remaine diuerse goodlie towers, yet in the vtter wall of the castell: but all going to ruine. The principall gate that leadeth into the towne is yet of great strength, and hath places of seauen or eight portculices. Thus much Leland in his commentaries of England, which I haue here set downe, partlie to proue Roger bishop of Salisburie to be treasuror, and partlie to commit to the world all such collections and notes as I can get of his. Besides which, to proue the same Roger treasuror at the latter end of the reigne of Henrie the first, togither with William de Pontlearch at the entering of king Stephan into England, thus writeth one Anonymall chronicle M.S. *Stephanus cùm intrauit Angliam, Rogerũ Seresberiensem & Willielmum de Pontlearcus custodes thesaurorum ad se traduxit:* which William de Pontlearch was a witnesse with William Stigill to a certeine charter which Ranulph bishop of Durham made to the monkes of Durham, commonlie called S. Cutberts monks, wherin he confirmed to them Blakestone, Standrop and Sandropshire, with the wood of Henworth on the east part of Warneburne, as farre as it goeth to the sea. This Roger bishop of Salisburie died in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, one hundred, thirtie and nine, being about the fourth yeare of king Stephan, of whome mention is made in the chancellors of England.

William de Pontlearch.

Nigellus bishop of Elie.

Nigellus the second, bishop of Elie, nephue to Roger bishop of Sarum, and treasuror to Henrie the first, was aduanced vnto that bishoprike of Elie, in the yeare of our redemption, one thousand, one hundred, thirtie and three, the fift calends of June, being the three and thirtith yeare of the reigne of Henrie the first, at whose going downe to be installed in the said bishoprike, he was receiued, with such ioie, that all the whole street of Elie thorough which he should passe, was hanged with curteins and carpets, with seats set on each side; and the monks, canons, and clerks, meeting him with procession with diuers other priests standing round about them. After his installation he returned to the dispatch of the affaires of the kingdome, committing the charge of his bishoprike to one Rafe sometime a monke of Glastenburie, and now become an apostata. Great contention was betweene this man and king Stephan. He bought the treasurorship for the summe of foure hundred marks of Henrie the second for his sonne Richard *Filius Nigelli*, or Fitz Nele, otherwise called Richard of Elie. He gouerned the bishoprike six and thirtie yeares, as most saie, and builded saint Johns college in Cambridge.

But touching the time of his death, and the years of his bishoprike, I cannot as yet set downe anie thing perfectlie; but onelie this contradiction found in the written booke of Elie, which I suppose to haue risen by the negligence of the transcriber: which is, that he gouerned the see of Elie six and thirtie years, and died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred sixtie and six, the third calends of June, the first houre of the first ferie or fridaie. Which by no account can fall to be true, accounting from the time of the first obteining of the bishoprike in the three and thirtith yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred thirtie and three. For if you adde the six and thirtie yeares of his gouernement to the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred thirtie and three, then must he die in the yeare of grace one thousand one hundred sixtie and nine. And if you will haue him to die in the yeare one thousand one hundred sixtie and six, then can he gouerne but three and thirtie yeares: which three and thirtie added to the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred thirtie and three, in which he began his gouernement, as all authors agree, make the value of one thousand one hundred sixtie and six years of our Lord. So that considering the discordancie of the time of his death found in the written booke of his life, we cannot (I saie) as yet set downe anie certeintie of his death. Though I suppose that to be the truest which I find in Triuet, who affirmeth that he died in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred sixtie and nine, and the fifteenth of king Henrie the second, after that he had gouerned six and thirtie yeares. He was honorablie buried in the church of saint Ethelred of Elie before the altar dedicated to the holie crosse.

Richard de Elie or Fitzneale, sonne of the said Nigellus bishop of Elie, was made treasuror to K. Henrie the second, by the purchase of his father Nigellus, when the king went to the wars of Tolous. Of whom the historie of Elie writeth, that after the burtall of Nigellus his father, this Richard being also an enimie to the church of Elie, as his father had beene before, made hast to passe ouer the seas to king Henrie the second, fearing that some euill would be prepared against him, if the church should haue sent anie other thither before him. At whose comming to the king, he accused the monks of manie things, and did therewith so edge the king against them, that the king sending into England, charged by Wunnerus one of his chaplens, that the prior of Elie should be deposed, & the monks with all their goods to be proscribed and banished. This man being treasuror to king Henrie the second, the treasure of the said Henrie the second at his death came vnto one hundred thousand marks; notwithstanding the excessiue charges of the king manie waies. Which Richard being bishop of London, by the name of Richard the third, and the kings treasuror, was chosen to that see in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred eightie and nine, being the first yeare of king Richard the first, and was consecrated bishop at Lambeth, by Baldwine archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of Christ 1190: he died the fourth ides of September, in the yeare of grace 1198, being the ninth yeare of king Richard the first.

Richard of Elie.

William of Elie.

William of Elie being of kin to the last Richard bishop of London, was treasuror to king Richard the first, and to king John. To which William then treasuror, Richard his kinsman the bishop of London An. Dom. 1196 being the seuenth yeare of the reigne of Richard the first, and the same number of yeares of the gouernment of the said Richard in the bishoprike of London, did giue all his houses in Westminster, which the said William did long after giue to the abbat and monks of Westminster, as by the charter therof appears by me in this sort abridged:

Vniuersis Christi fidelibus, ad quos præsens scriptum peruenerit, Gulielmus de Elie quondam regum Angliæ thesaurarius salutem. Nouerit vniuersitas vestra me dedisse, &c: Deo & monachis Westminster, &c: pro animabus Richardi & Iohannis regum Angliæ, & pro anima Richardi London episcopi, &c: domos meas, & curiam cum pertinentibus in villa Westminster, &c: quas habui ex dono Richardi episcopi London, & quæ sunt de feodo Westminster, &c: testis Eustachius Fauconbridge domini regis thesaurarius, &c. He died in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred twentie two, being the first yeare of the long reigne of king Henrie the third, as noteth Matthew Paris and Westminster, who write that then *obijt Gulielmus*

mus Elienſis Angliæ theſaurarius.

A deane of Paules treaſuror.

A deane of Paules was treaſuror to the king, as appeareth by Mat. Parker, in the life of Hubert archbiſhop of Canturburie, writing after this maner: *Eodem tempore* (which was a time betweene the creating of Hubert archbiſhop of Canturburie in the yeere of Chriſt 1194, being the firſt yeare of Richard the firſt, and the death of the ſaid Richard the firſt, which fell in the yeare of Chriſt 1199) *eccleſiæ Paulinæ decanus ararij regij cuſtos fuit, ſiue (vt vocant) theſaurarius:* and ſo goeth on with a diſcourſe of his miſerable death.

Walter Grete biſhop of Worceſter.

Walter Grete biſhop of Worceſter, whom ſome call treaſuror, in the eleuenth of king John, whereunto I do not yet agree, leauing it to the iudgement of others, and to the finall receiuing or reiecting of him, in the large booke of the whole liues of the lord treaſurors of England.

Geffreie archdeacon of Norwich.

Geffreie archdeacon of Norwich, treaſuror to king John, who forſoke his maiſter the king excommunicat by the pope: as writeth Matthew Parker in the life of Stephan Langton archbiſhop of Canturburie, in theſe following words: *Inter quos* (meaning the biſhops, which durſt not openlie publiſh the excommunication of the king, but ſecretlie caſt libels about the high waies, which gaue notice therof) *quum ad fiſcum regium Gaufridus Norwicenſis archidiaconus negotys regijs intendens ſediſſet, cœpit aſſidentibus exponere excommunicationis ſententiam, in regem iam latam, affirmauítque non eſſe tutum capellanis & eccleſiaſticis dignitatibus beneficiíſque affectis ſeruire regi amplius. Ideóque aulam deſerens, ad eccleſiaſtica beneficia (quæ regis ſeruicio acquiſierat) ſeceſſit. Rex hunc tam proditorie à ſe deficientẽ per Williel. Talbot militem prehendi & ad ſe reduci fecit, eúmque in publica cuſtodia ſeruatum (donec ſiue pœnæ ſiue conſcientiæ tædio pertæſus vitæ fuit, & expirauit) detinuit:* whoſe maner of death is in this ſort ſet downe by Matth. Paris pag. 305, that he was committed to priſon, *vbi poſt dies paucos, rege præfato* (which was king John) *iubente, capa indutus plumbea, tàm victualium penuria quàm ipſius capæ ponderoſitate cõpreſſus migrauit ad dominum.* Much about which time (as I ſuppoſe) which was the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand two hundred and nine, being about the eleuenth yeere of K. John, the checker was by the king remoued from London to Northampton (in hatred of the Londoners) vntill Chriſtmas.

John Ruthall

John Ruthall *Cuſtos officij theſaurarij*, as is proued out of the records of the exchequer, had that office in the third yeare of Henrie the third, in the yeere 1219.

Euſtace de Fauconbridge biſhop of London.

Euſtachius de Fauconbridge, a iuſtice to receiue fines, chancellor of the exchequer & treaſuror to Henrie the third, was by the biſhop of Rocheſter conſecrated biſhop of London, in the yere of our redemption one thouſand two hundred twentie & one, being the firſt yeare of king Henrie the third. Which Euſtachius in the yeere 1222, with the deane & chapter of London, had great ſutes againſt William abbat of Weſtminſter: he was treaſuror in the third yeare of king Henrie the third, being about the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand two hundred and nineteene: he died the daie before the kalends of November in the yeare of Chriſt 1228, being the thirteenth of king Henrie the third, and is buried on the ſouth ſide of the quéere of Paules (beſides Henrie Wengham) vnder a faire monument of marble, ouer whom on the wall is this inſcription: *Hîc iacet Euſtachius de Fauconbridge quondam epiſcopus huius eccleſiæ, qui multa bona contulit miniſtris eccleſiæ ſancti Pauli.*

John de Fontnes or Fountenes.

Ioannes de Fontibus, or John de Fontnes was biſhop of Elie and treaſuror in the ninth and eleuenth yeere of king Henrie the third, and before, as I take it. This man being abbat of Fontnes, and (as authors ſaie) *vir ſimplex & iuſtus, ac recedens à malo*, was at Weſtminſter made biſhop of Elie, in the yeare of Chriſt 1220: he died after that he had bin biſhop fiue yéeres & od moneths, in the yeare of Chriſt 1225, being the ninth yeere of Henrie the third, & was buried in the church of Elie, toward the altar of S. Andrew.

Walter Malclerke biſhop of Carleill.

Walter Malclerke or ſkilleſſe clerke, treaſuror of England, was made biſhop of Carleill, in the yeere of our Lord 1223, being about the ſeuenth yeare of Henrie the third, who in the yeare of Chriſt 1233, being the ſeuentéenth of the ſaid king, was by the counſell of Peter de Laroches biſhop of Wincheſter not onlie remoued from his office of treaſurorſhip, but alſo put to the fine of 100 marks, which he paied, with the loſſe of certeine holds, giuen him by charter, during his life. After which he would haue fled beyond the ſeas, but entring the ſhip at Douer, he & all his were ſtaied and euillie intreted by the kings ſeruants. This man, in the yeare of Chriſt 1246, being the thirtith yeare of Henrie the third, did on the daie of Peter and Paule at Oxenford enter into the habit of the frier preachers. After which, in the yeare of Chriſt 1248, being about the two & thirtith of Henrie the third, he ſurrendred his ſoule to God.

Randulph Briton.

Randulph Briton by ſome is made treaſuror of England, but vntrulie as I ſuppoſe: for in truth he was but treaſuror of the chamber, for anie thing I can learne, and remoued from that place in the ſixteenth yeare of king Henrie the third, in the yeare of Grace 1232, in whoſe place came Peter de Riuall. Of this Randulph is mention had in the chancellors. Beſides which, about this time I read, that Hubert of Borrow was treaſuror: for thus writeth Iohannes Londonienſis. *Rex* (about the yeare of our Lord 1232) *fecit ipſum* (which was Hubert of Borrow) *ſum iuſticiarium principalem totius Angliæ, & poſtea theſaurarium.*

Peter de Dziall.

Peter de Dziall, in Latine called *Petrus de Riuallis*, was treaſuror of the chamber, and treaſuror of the king, chamberleine of England and Ireland, gardian of all the forreſts of Englande, of all the eſcheats, of all the ports of the ſea, and of all the priſes of England and Ireland; being ſo déere to the king (as hath Matthew Weſtminſter) that *Expulſis caſtrorũ cuſtodibus per totam ferè Angliam, rex omnia ſub ipſius Petri cuſtodia commendarat.* This man was made treaſuror after Walter Malclerke, in the yéere of Chriſt one thouſand two hundred thirtie and three, being about the ſeuentéenth yeare of king Henrie the third, and in the eightéenth yeare of king Henrie the third, who (as I gather) was togither with Peter biſhop of Wincheſter, Stephan de Segraue, & Robert Paſſelew, called to accounts, in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand two hundred thirtie & foure, for the kings treaſure and ſeale euillie imploied & kept. Wherupon Peter de Riuallis hid himſelfe in the cathedrall church of Wincheſter. Which Peter biſhop of Wincheſter & Peter de Riuallis the king remoued by the perſuaſion of Edmund of Abindon biſhop of Canturburie, as they before had remoued Walter Malclerke. After which it ſéemeth that growing into fauor againe, this *Petrus de Riuallis* was in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand two hundred fiftie & ſeuen, being the one & fortith yeare of king Henrie the third, made treaſuror of the chamber. For thus writeth Matthew Paris: *Circa feſtum ſancti Michaelis* (which was in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand two hundred fiftie and ſeuen) *mortuo Hurtaldo domini regis conciliario & clerico ſpeciali ac theſaurario de camera regis, ſubrogatur Petrus de Riuallis.* Under this Peter de Riuallis did Robert Paſſelew kéepe the kings treaſure. Touching which Robert Paſſelew, whome ſome will haue onelie treaſuror of the chamber, ſome to be treaſuror of England, & ſome to be vndertreaſuror vnder Peter de Riuallis, I will ſet downe out of ſeuerall authors what I haue read therof, leauing to the reader to thinke thereof what he liſt at this time, ſith I determine

Robert Paſſelew whether treaſuror of England or no.

termine fullie hereafter (not hauing now leisure therefore) to define the same in my large volume of the lines of the lord treasurors. Thus therefore touching him writeth Matthew Parker. *Quo etiam tempore* (which was in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fortie and foure, being about the eightéenth yeare of the reigne of Henrie the third) *Robertus de Passelew, qui in thesauris regys custodiendis & augendis totus versatus est, eóque nomine regi charus, ab ecclesiæ cathedralis Cicestrensis canonicis, qui regi placere studuerant, Cicestrensis episcopus electus est. Quod Bonifacius Cantuariensis archiepisc. indignè tulit, & episcopis prouinciæ suæ cõuocatis, in difficilimis quibusdam & nodosis quæstionibus per Lincolniesem episcopum compositis seriò examinauit, deinde electione rescissa hunc Robertum repulit, & Richardum quendam de Wiz loco suo (incõsulto rege) substituit.* Next writeth Matthew Westminster, that in the yeare of Christ 1233, being the seuentéenth of Henrie the third, the nobilitie accused manie of the kings councellors, amongst whome they placed *Robertum Passelew thesaurarium*. Againe a little after he saith: *Et sic abscondit se iterum Robertus Passelew, qui post Walterum Carleolensem officium thesaurarij administrauerat*. Of whose death Matthew Paris writeth thus: *Eodem quoq; anno* (which was 1252, being the fiue and thirtith yeare of Henrie the third) *octauo idus Iuny, obyit apud Waltham Robertus Passelew archidiaconus Lewis, &c.*: whome I will here leaue, although not in that place in which he should come, if I had once resolued with my selfe that he had beene treasuror of England. But because I had to speake of him with Peter de Rivallis, I thought here in one place to set downe what I had read of them both; and so to ioine them after their death, which were so fast ioined in offices during their liues.

Hugh Patesh. Hugh Patesh. Hugh Patesh.

saurariũ, quod factum est apud sanctũ Albanũ, procurante vt dicitur Iohanne Mansell amico Philippi speciali. This man was treasuror in the 35 and so vntill the 42 yeare of Henrie the third, & was in the same yeare deposed by the barons, he died at Hamesleie, in the yeare of Christ 1259, whose executors were Philip Louell & Robert de Percenton. But his goods after his death the king commanded to be confiscat. And heere before I go any further, I thinke it not amisse to note that some haue mistaken themselues in the accompt of the kings treasuror much about this time, making these persons Walter Brudell & Peter Catchporke or Chaceporke to be the kings treasuror, which by no accompt of yeares can be true, for they were the quænes and not the kings treasurors, as may appeere both by Mat. Paris and Mat. Westmin. whereof the first writeth thus: *obijt & Walterus de Brudell eiusdem reginæ thesaurarius*, which he placeth in the yere of Christ 1255, being the thirtie ninth yeare of king Henrie the third. Of the second person Chaceporke thus writeth Mat. West. in the yeare of Christ 1254: *Veniens autem rex ad mare nec ventum habẽs prosperum, apud Boloniam moratus est inuitus, vbi obijt Petrus Chacepore natione Pictauensis, reginæ thesaurarius & regis clericus & conciliarius specialis.* And thus this much by the waie of the two treasurors of the quæns, supposed by some (but not rightlie) to haue beene the kings.

John Crakehall. John Crakehall archdeacon of Bedford was treasuror in 42, 43, 44 yeare of Henrie the third, to whom the king in the fortie fourth of his reigne, being the yeare of Christ 1260, gaue a prebendarie, wherin being inuested, he was from thence remoued by a former collation therof made to one John le Gras. The said Crakehall after died the same yere at London.

John abbat of Peterborow. John abbat of Peterborow was by the barons in the 44 yeare of Henrie the third made treasuror, as the other officers of the king also were, Nicholas of Elie was then made chancellor, & Hugh de Spenser chiefe iustice, which office of treasurorship this John continued, in the 46 yeare of Henrie the firt, 1262.

Nicholas de Elie. Nicholas de Elie so called bicause he was archdeacon of Elie, was treasuror to the king in the seuen and fourtith of Henrie the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1263, whereof I haue seene this note of record. *Memorandum quòd in crastino Paschæ, Anno 47 H. 3. In præsentia Rogeri le Bigot comite Norffolke & marischalli Angliæ, Hugo le Bigot, Arnoldi de Berkeley baron, de scaccario magistri, Iohannis de Chisull cancellar. regis, &c. Recepit magister Nicholaus archidiaconus Elienſis thesaurarius subscripta in thesauraria dom. regis, &c.* This man as before appeereth had bin chancellor, of whom is mention made in my following tretise of the chancellors.

Thomas de Wimundham. Thomas Wimundham. This man being chiefe chanter of Lichfield, was by the barons in the yeare of Christ 1258, in the one and fourtith yeare of king Henrie the third, made treasuror (at the ercheker) of the seale or place where the writs be sealed with greene war, after which he was treasuror to the king in the 50, 51, & 52 yeares of king Henrie the third.

John Chisull. John Chisull sometime chancellor was treasuror in the foure & fiftith yeare of Henrie the third, being about the yeare of Christ a thousand two hundred three score and nine. He was deane of Paules, chosen bishop of London in the yeare of Christ a thousand two hundred seuentie and three, and consecrat to that place in the yeare of Christ a thousand two hundred seuentie & foure, in which place he continued about fiue yeares, and died in the yeare of our redemption 1279, being in the seuenth yeare of the reigne of the victorious prince king Edward the first of that name. See more of this Chisull in my following discourse of the chancellors.

Philip de Elie. Philip de Elie was treasuror (as appeareth by the records of the ercheker) in the 56 yeare of king Henrie the third, and in the first yeare of king Edward the first, partlie falling in the yeare of our redemption 1272, and 1273.

Joseph de Chancie. Joseph de Chancie, whom one anonymall author calleth John de Chancie, but not rightlie as I suppose, was treasuror in the second yere of the scourger of the Scots king Edward the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1274.

William bishop of Bath. William Gifford bishop of Bath and Welles was treasuror to Edward the first, he was remoued to Yorke in the yeare of Christ 1265, this man is by manie chronicles, and that perhaps most trulie called Walter Gifford. He died in the seuenth yeare of king Edward the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1279 as hath Nicholas Triuet. Of this man see more in the chancellors of England.

Robert Burnell. Robert Burnell bishop of Bath and Welles chancellor of England, and treasuror to king Edward the first, is by the Welsh historie pag. 328, called chiefe iustice of England. Leland reporteth that an abbat told him how that a bishop Burnell built the castell of Acton Burnell. Of this man shall be more spoken hereafter in the chancellors of England.

Joseph de Chancie. Joseph de Chancie the second time treasuror to king Edward the first, in the firt yeare of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption 1278, was also prior of S. Johns Jerusalem in Anglia, as I take it; and by an other name called the lord of S. Johns or of the knights of the Rhodes in England.

Thomas Becke. Thomas Becke archdeacon of Worcester, was treasuror in the seuenth yeare of king Edward the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1278, as some haue, but 1279 as other haue (by the witnesse of Leland, out of a monke of Glastenburie) in his booke De assertione Arthuri, reciting the words of the said monke in this sort.

Anno Domini 1267: Eaduardus rex Henrici tertij filius, venit cum regina sua Glasconiam. Die vero Martis proxima sequenti, fuit rex & tota curia accepta sumptibus monasterij. Quo die in crepusculo, fecit apperiri sepulchrum inclyti Arthuri, vbi in duabus cistis imaginibus & armis eorũ depictis, ossa dicti regis miræ grossitudinis separata inuenit. Imago quidem reginæ coronata, imaginis regiæ corona fuit prostrata, cum abscisione sinistræ auriculæ, & vestigijs plagæ vnde moriebatur: inuenta est scriptura super his singulis manifesta. In crastino, videlicet die Mercury rex ossa regis, regina ossa reginæ, pallijs pretiosis reuoluta, in suis cistis recludentes, & sigilla sua apponentes, præceperunt idem sepulchrum ante maius altare celeriter collocari, retentis externis capitibus propter populi deuotionem: appositâ huiusmodi scriptura: Hæc sunt ossa nobilissimi regis Arthury, quæ anno dominicæ incarnationis 1278, decimo tertio calendas Maij, per dominum Eaduardum regem Angliæ illustrem hîc fuerunt sic collocata, præsentibus Leonora serenissima eiusdem regis consorte, & filia domini Ferandi regis Hispaniæ, magistro William de Middleton nunc Norwicensi electo, magistro Thoma de Becke archidiacono Dorsitensi & prædicti regis thesaurario, domino Henrico de Lasciæ comite Lincolniæ, domino Amideo comite Subaudiæ, & multis magnatibus Angliæ. Thus farre the monke of Glastenburie.

Richard de Ware. Richard Warren or de Ware abbat of Westminster, was made abbat about the yeare of Christ 1260, being about the foure and fortith yeare of king Henrie the third, who was made treasuror, as hath John de Euersden, in the yeare of our redemption a thousand two hundred & foure score, being the eight yeare of king Edward the first: which yeare of Christ a thousand two hundred and foure score, some do falslie make to fall in the tenth, some in the eleuenth yeare of the said Edward the first, which contrarietie hath onelie risen by the default of the transcriber. But most certeine it is that he was treasuror in the ninth, eleuenth, and part of the twelfe of the said king Edward the first. This man going to Rome for

his consecration, brought from thense certeine workemen and rich purphyrie stones, where of and by whom he made that rare pauement (conteining a discourse of the whole world) which is at this date most beautifull, and to be seene at Westminster before the communion table: a thing of that singularitie, curiousnesse, and rarenesse, that England hath not the like againe, in which pauement are circularie written in letters of brasse these ten verses following:

Si lector posita prudenter cuncta reuoluat,
Hic finem primi mobilis inueniet.
Sepes trina canes, & equos, homines superaddas,
Cervos, & cornix, aquilas, immania cete,
Mundum quòd sequens præcurrit triplicat annos,
Sphericus archetypus, globum hic monstrat microcosmum.
Christi milleno, bis centeno, duodeno,
Cum sexageno, subductis quatuor anno,
Tertius Henricus rex, urbs, Odoricus & abbas
Hos compegere porphyreos lapides.

Anno Domini 1268 Henricus tertius urbs Roma Odoricus cementator & abbas Richardus de Ware fecerunt id pauimentum.

The full explanation of which verses shall be at large set downe in the whole discourse of this abbats life, in my large booke of the liues of the lord treasurors. Which abbat with those workemen and those stones did also frame the shrine of Edward the confessor with these verses, carued out of stone and also gilded set about the same shrine or monument:

Anno milleno Domini, cum septuageno,
Et bis centeno, cum completo quasi deno,
Hoc opus est factum, quod Petrus duxit in actum,
Romanus ciuis. Homo, causam noscere si vis,
Rex fuit Henricus sancti præsentis amicus.

This abbat died the second date of December, in the yeare of our redemption a thousand two hundred fourte score and three, being the twelfe yeare of king Edward the first; after that he had gouerned the monasterie three and twentie yeares and more, and was buried there at Westminster, in the foresaid plaine pauement of purphyrie on the north side neere vnto the tombe (as is yet well to be seene) of Dooner sr Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke, on which graue is ingrauen this breefe epitaph heere insuing:

Abbas Richardus de Ware qui requiescit
Hic portat lapides, quos hic portauit ab vrbe.

Walter Wenlocke abbat of Westminster, whom Matthew Westminster calleth William de Wenloke, was made abbat of Westminster after the death of Richard de Ware, & was treasuror to king Edward the first, as hath the register of the liues of the abbats of Westminster, and other records that I haue seene. Which office it seemeth that he had, meane betweene the twelfe and the fourtéenth yeare of the said king Edward the first, as I suppose. This man after that he had beene abbat six and twentie yeares lacking six daies, died the fiue and twentith of December on the Christmas date at night, in his manour of Pitesford in Glocestershire, in the first yeare of Edward the sonne of Edward (which was Edward the second) being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and seuen, and was buried in the church of Westminster, besides the high altar then standing without the south doore of saint Edwards shrine before the presbiterie there, vnder a plaine pauement and a marble stone decentlie adorned with this epitaph to his high commendation:

Walter Wenlocke.

Abbas Walterus iacet hic sub marmore tectus,
Non fuit austerus, sed mitis, famine rectus.

A bishop of Couentrie (and Lichfield) was treasuror of England in the fourtéenth yéere of king Edward the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1286, in whose place in the same yeare came John Kirkbie.

Bishop of Couentrie.

John Kirkbie deane of Wimburne and archdeacon of Couentrie, & treasuror to king Edward the first, was on the seuenth calends of August in the yeare of our Lord 1286, being the fourtéenth yeare of the said Edward (then at Paris) made bishop of Elie, whome Leland (the refiner of all names doth in his cõment vpon his song of the swan in the word Winchelsega thus terme; *Iohannes Cherchebius episcopus Anguillarinus regia thesauris.* This man was treasuror in the sixtéenth, seuentéenth, & part of the eightéenth of Edward the first, in which yeare (as it séemeth) being part of the yeare of Christ 1290 this bishop died, the seuenth calends of Aprill, after that he had béene bishop three yeares some moneths and some daies, and was buried by Walepole bishop of Norwich in the church of Elie, on the north part of the quére before the altar of saint John Baptist.

John Kirkbie bishop of Elie.

William de Marchia or Gulielmus Martius was treasuror in Easter terme, in the eightéenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first, in which office he continued about fiue yeares, & was remoued from that place on the 23 yeare of the said king Edward the first, and Peter of Leicester baron of the exchéker, with the two chamberleins executed all functions of that office vntill a new treasuror was made. This William de Marchia was made bishop of Bath and Welles, in the yeare of Christ 1293, being the 22 yeare of king Edward the third, in which sée he remained almost ten yeares, and died in the yeare of our Lord 1302, being about the 32 yeare of the said king Edward the first, and was buried in the church of Welles in the wall, betwéene the doore of the cloister and the altar of saint Martine, at whose tombe in time past (as the nature of that credulous age did hastilie beléeue) were manie miracles done; as some haue left in memorie to the following posteritie.

William de Marchia.

Walter Langhstone bishop of Lichfield and Couentrie was made treasuror after William de Marchia, in the 23 yeare of king Edward the first, in which office he continued (as I gather) during the life of king Edward the first, which fell in the 35 yeare of his reigne, being the yéere of our redemption 1307, and was then remoued and imprisoned in the tower with two men onelie by Edward the second then comming to the crowne, because the said Walter Langhstone had caused king Edward the first to imprison, and as some haue to banish this new king Edward the second for breaking downe the parkes of the said bishop Walter Langhstone. During the time that this Peter de Willebie was vnder treasuror or lieutenant of the treasuror, for the words be *Locum tenens thesaurarij*, in the thirtith, one and thirtith, two and thirtith of Edward the first, this Walter was made bishop of Couentrie and Lichfield, in the yeare of our redemption 1295, being the three and twentith yeare of king Edward the first, and the same yeare that he was made treasuror. He died about the yeare of our redemption 1321, being about the fourtéenth yeare of king Edward the second, to which bishop the lord Cobham now liuing his heire, as being descended from Margaret the sister and heire of John Peuerell the cosine and heire to this Walter Langhstone, which Margaret was maried to sir William de la Pole of Asbie knight, frõ whom the lord Cobham is issued. And here sith I haue before made mention of the death of Edward the first, although it be somewhat impertinent to the treasurors; yet for that I do not remember that the same verses are set down in any of our late English chronicles, & for that I would haue a perpetuall memorie of them, I will here deliuer such epitaphicall verses as I haue found touching king Edward the first:

Walter Langhstone bishop of Lichfield.

Dum viguit (rex) & valuit tua magna potestas,
Fraus latuit, pax magna fuit, regnauit honestas,
Scotos Eadwardus, dum vixit, suppeditauit,
Tenuit, afflixit, depressit, dilaniauit.

Walter Reinolds scholemaster to Edw. 2. bishop of

Walter Reinolds

nolds bishop of worcester.

of Worcester, and after of Canturburie, and chancellor of England, was aduanced to the place of the lord treasuror of England, in the 1. Edw. 2. being the yeare of Christ 1307, after which in the yeare of our Lord 1308, he was made bishop of Worcester, he continued in the office of treasuror vntill some part of the fourth yeare of the said Edward the second, at what time came in his place John Sandall, who was lieutenant vnto the said Walter in place of the treasuror, as appeareth by manie writs directed vnto him by the name of John Sandall *Locum tenenti W. episcopi Wigorniæ.* Of him is more spoken in the chancellors of England. But here I cannot passe ouer some both skilfull in antiquitie, & persons of no small name by reason of their office, whereof the one in print, and the other in a booke of the nobilitie of England since the conquest vnprinted, do make Hugh Spenser the elder treasuror of England, which as yet I cannot find to be true, for that I doubt that king Edw. 2. louing him so entierlie would euer after remoue him, & for that the full succession of treasurors before set downe, being true and taken out of ancient and most certeine records, will not afford him anie place among them. But leauing that matter to others who can better defend the same, I will descend to the other treasurors.

Hugh Spenser the elder.

John de Sandall.

John de Sandall being clerke, Scutifer regis, chancellor of the exchéker, and chancellor of England, hauing béene before vnder treasuror or deputie for the high treasuror, came now in the fourth yeare of Edward the second to be made chiefe treasuror, & entered into that office in Easter terme about the beginning of the said fourth yeare of Edward the second. But in the yere following, which was the fift of Edward the second, he gaue place to another. He was chosen bishop of Winchester in the ninth yeare of Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1316. Of whome thus writeth Anonymus M. S. *Obierunt episcopus Winton & Eli viri sacra professione insigniti, quorum primo successit Iohannes de Sandall cancellarius Angliæ vir cunctis affabilis & necessarium communitati. Secundo successit Iohannes de Hothum scaccar. regis, vir siquidem scientiæ penitùs ignarus, qui statim episcopatus ascenso culmine, ad honorum pariter & officij thesaurarij rex ipsum in sui fauorem sublimauit.* Of which John Sandall, and also of John Hothume, shall be more said hereafter.

Walter Norwich, knight, treasuror in the fift yeare of Edward the second, and afterward in Easter tearme in the eight yeare of king Edward the second, did on the third date of October in the said eight yeare of king Edward the second receiue the office of the treasurorship, and on the same date tooke a corporall oth before the barons and chamberleins of the exchéker, to behaue himselfe well and faithfullie in the same office, which he had receiued of king Edward the second, by his letters dated at Yorke the six and twentith date of September, in the eight yeare of the said king Edward the second, which he kept not long at that time.

walter Norwich.

John Sandall was the second time lord treasuror, in the six and seuenth yeare of king Edward the second. This man being bishop of Winchester, was treasuror. Of him sée more in the chancellors of England.

John Sandall.

Walter de Norwich being treasuror as before in the eight yeare of king Edward the second, did not long inioy the same, but as I suppose gaue place to John Drokensford.

Walter de Norwich.

John de Drokensford, the fourtéenth bishop of Bath & Welles, had (as I haue read) the great seale deliuered vnto him, and was also treasuror of England. But bicause I find not as yet in what yeare, although it were in the time of king Edward the second, I cannot set downe the certeintie. Of whome thus writeth the register of the bishops of Bath. *Iohannes Drokensford thesaurarius 14, Bathon episcopus post Walterum Haselshawes, successit in episcopatum Bathon, annis 19, Ille episcopatum pluribus ædificijs insignauit, francheſias per reges episcopatui concessas non solùm literatorie renouauit sed etiam ampliauit. Et quo ad ditationem & exaltationem parentelæ suæ ferè fuit æqualis prædecessori suo Roberto Bornell. Et Welliæ sepelitur ante altare sancti Iohannis Baptistæ.*

John Drokensford.

John Hothum Bishop of Elie (as is before noted out of one anonymall chronicle) obteined the place and honour of treasurorship, in the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the second, which he did not long inioy. For in the Michaelmas tearme in the twelfe yere of king Edward the second, came William Walwaine. Of this John Hothum is mention made in the discourse of the chancellors hereafter.

John Hothum bishop of Elie.

William Walwaine treasuror of England in the twelfe yeare of king Edward the second, being about the yeare of our redemption 1318, was (as it should séeme) for his negligence and vnworthines of the place most worthlie remoued at the parlement at Yorke, in such sort that he possessed not that place (as I coniecture) aboue halfe a yere. For in the same twelfe yeare came the bishop of Winchester.

William Walwaine

John Stratford bishop of Winchester, vpon the remouing of Walwaine, was in the same twelfe yeare of king Edward the second admitted into the office of the treasurorship, vntill the king should otherwise determine. Which bishop found not in the treasurie aboue nine & twentie pounds seuentéene shillings and eight pence, which might well be the cause of the displacing of the said Walwaine, who had ouer prodigallie dispersed the kings treasure.

John Stratford bishop of Winchester.

Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester was treasuror in the thirteenth yeare of king Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1319, in which I suppose he continued vntill the fiftéenth yeare of the said king, being about the yere of Christ 1321. Of this man doth more follow.

Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester.

Walter Norwich knight was the third time made treasuror, which place he inioied in the fiftéenth yeare of king Edward the second, being the yéere of our redemption 1321, or there abouts. Walsingham saith that in the second of Edward the third *obijt* William de Norwich.

walter Norwich.

Roger Northborow Scutifer or kéeper of the seale, being taken by the Scots at the battell of Bannockesburne about the seuenth yeare of Edward the second, in the yeare of our redemption 1313, was also clearke of the wardrobe, and treasuror in the sixteenth of king Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1322. Of whom thus writeth one anonymall chronicle M.S. *Anno Domini 1321 obijt Walterus de Langtone episcopus Cestren. cui successit in episcopatus honore per viã impressionis & ambitionis Rogerus de Northburgh, clericus, de regis garderobia, sibi regis in cunctis fauentibus auxilio & voluntate.* I haue read of one Godfrete de Northburgh bishop of Chester that died in the three and thirtith of king Edward the third, being the yere of Christ 1359, which perhaps should be this Roger Northborow, Godfrete being by the transcriber placed in stéed of Roger. But I will not at this time define anie certeintie thereof, although I find an other note of one Roger Northborow consecrated bishop of Couentrie and Lichfield, in the yeare of Christ 1321, who sat in that sée eight and thirtie years, which eight and thirtie yeares added to the yeare of Christ, in which this Roger was made bishop, do make vp the number of the yeare of Christ 1359, in which it is said that Godfrete Northborow died.

Roger Northborow or Norberie.

Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester, the second time treasuror in the eightéenth yeare of king Edward the second, & before, was remoued in Easter tearme in the same yeare. In which Easter tearme

Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester.

was William bishop of Yorke also made treasuror, as is proued by the pell of Exitus, that terme being thus intituled, *De termino Paschæ anno* 18 *Ed.*2. *tam tempore W. episcopi Exon. quàm W. archiepiscopi Eborum.* This Walter being elected to the bishoprike of Ercester, in the yeare of our redemption 1307, did sit in that place twentie years, and was beheaded at the comming into England of quéene Isabell to depose Edward the second, in the twentith yere of the said king Edward the second, in the yére of our redemption 1326. The cause of whose beheading was, for that he had procured the banishment of the said quéene Isabell, and of hir sonne prince Edward.

William Melton. William Melton archbishop of Yorke made lord treasuror in Easter terme, in the eightéenth yére of Edward the second, kept the same office vntill the deposition of himselfe from that place, & of his maister from his kingdome, in the twentith yeare of the reigne of the said Edward the second, and then gaue place to John Stratford.

John Stratford. John Stratford bishop of Winchester was the second time made treasuror of England, in the twentith yeare of the deposed king Edward, after the death of Walter Stapleton. This John the fourteenth daie of November, in the said twentith yeare of Edward the second, comming into the excheker, brought thither the kings patent, or open writ, or commandement, vnder the seale of Edward the kings eldest son, to witnes his election and creation to that place of treasuror: the tenor of which writ I haue thought good to set downe, because it was done by the son in the fathers name, and vnder the testé of the son, the father yet being king in shew; but the son indéed as gouernor of the realme: which title he inioied, vntill that he most vnnaturallie by the malice of his mother, the ambition of himselfe, and the flatterie of his followers had deposed his father. The tenor of which writ was in these words, as followeth.

EDwardus rex Angliæ, & dominus Hiberniæ, baronibus & camerarijs suis de scaccario suo salutem. Quùm pro eo quòd venerabilis pater W. archiepiscopus Eborum nuper thesaurarius scaccarij prædicti, circa diuersa negotia in partibus Borealibus est occupatus, quominùs intendere possit ad ea quæ ad officium illud in dicto scaccario pertinent exercenda: constituerimus venerabilem patrem Iohannem Wintonien sem episcopum, tenentem locum thesaurarij scaccarij prædicti, quousque de officio illo aliter duximus ordinandum. Percipiendo in eodem officio (dum illud sic tenuerit) feodum consuetum prout in literis nostris patentibus præfato episcopo inde confectis plenius continetur. Vobis mandamus, quod ipsum episcopum ad officium admittatis, & ei in his quæ ad officium prædictum pertineant intendatis in forma prædicta. Teste Edwardo filio nostro primogenito custode regni nostri. Apud Hereford sexto die Nouembris, anno regni nostri vicesimo.

Adam Tarleton. Adam Tarleton, or de Orleton borne in Herefordshire, being *Decretorum* doctor, was made bishop of Hereford by the pope at Auinion in the yeere one thousand three hundred and seauentéene, about the tenth or eleuenth yeere of the reigne of Edward the second, being he that made the sermon for the deposition of king Edward the second, and wrote the amphibologicall epistle for the death of the king, conteining these words, *Regem occidere nolite timere bonum est*, which hath by a comma or point made at *Timere* one sense, and by a comma made at *Nolite* another sense. Which Adam was made lord treasuror in the first yeere of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred twentie and sir, in which office he continued not long. For in the Easter terme of the said king came Henrie bishop of Lincolne. This man was made bishop of Winchester in the yére one thousand three hundred thirtie and fiue, being the ninth yeere of king Edward the third: in which seat he sate twelue yeares. The death of which Adam (who gaue Henningfield parsonage to the church of Hereford) sir Thomas de la More doth most plentifullie set forth.

Henrie Burwash or Burgesse bishop of Lincolne. Henrie Burwash bishop of Lincolne was lord treasuror in Easter terme, in the first yére of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred twentie and seauen, in which office he continued vntill the second yeere of Edward the third, and was afterward remoued.

Thomas bishop of Hereford. Thomas bishop of Hereford inioied the honorable place of the lord treasuror, in the third yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeere of our redemption one thousand three hundred twentie and nine: but in the yére following another came in place.

Robert Woodhouse. Robert Woodhouse possessed the roome of the high treasuror of England, in the fourth yére of the reigne of the said yong king Edward the third, being the yeere that the word became flesh one thousand three hundred and thirtie, and was also treasuror some part of Michaelmasse terme, in the fift yére of king Edward the third, who in the yére following did giue place vnto another.

William Melton. William archbishop of Yorke was againe treasuror of England, in the fift yeere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, and inioied that place some part of Michaelmasse terme in the said yeere, after whome came the bishop of Norwich.

W. bishop of Norwich. W. bishop of Norwich was made treasuror in Michaelmas terme in the said fift yére of the reigne of king Edward the third: in which terme there had béene three lord treasurors successiuelie (a thing seldome or neuer heard, nor I thinke likelie againe euer to be) which office this bishop kept all Michaelmasse terme, in the first yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and two, and somewhat more in the end, yet yéelding that honor to another.

Robert le Atlestons Robert le Atlestone, being lord treasuror in the seuenth yeere of the reigne of Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and three, continued in the same office vntill the tenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our saluation one thousand three hundred thirtie sir, which was about three yeares, the same being a longer time than anie other had possessed that place, since the beginning of the reigne of the said king Edward the third.

Henrie Burwash bishop of Lincolne. Henrie Burwash bishop of Lincolne was againe treasuror the tenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and sir, in which yére (as hath Scala chronicorum) the king holding his parlement at London, was aduised by his councell to prosecute his title to the crowne of France. Whereupon king Edward sent ambassadors to the duke of Bauiere emperor (which had married the other sister to the earle of Henalt, as king Edward the third had maried one) for suertie of aliance, and to reteine noble men about him with no small charge, which ambassadors were Henrie Burgwash bishop of Lincolne, and the earles William Montacute of Sarum, and William Clinton of Huntington, who returned to the parlement at London with their answer well liked. Of this man see more in the chancellors, being yet after his ambassage treasuror in some part of the eleuenth yére of Edward the third.

Richard de Burie bishop of Durham. Richard de Burie bishop of Durham did inioie the honor of lord treasuror, in the eleuenth yeere of the

the reigne of king Edward the third: he was a man of great grauitie, and much esteemed of the nobilitie and gentlemen of the north. Of this man is more spoken in the chancellors of England.

William de la Zouch. William de la Zouch borne of the noble house of the lord Zouch, was treasuror of England, in the twelfe yeere of king Edward the third, in the yeere of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and eight; he being bishop of Yorke was vicegerent to the king in the north parts, in the twentith yeere of the reigne of the said Edward the third, and in the yeere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and six, at what time he tooke Dauid Bruce king of Scots. This man went to Rome, and after a long contention betweene him and William Kelseie, Kilsbie, or Kelseie (for all these different names are found in authors) touching the archbishoprike of Yorke, he was after two yeares thus spent consecrated bishop of Yorke by pope Clement the sixt. After which this William in the eleuenth yeare of his bishoprike, being long troubled with a grieuous disease, began the worke of a chapell on the south side adioining to the church of saint Peters in Yorke, where he purposed to be buried: but died before it was finished, and lieth interred in the said church before the altar of saint Edward the confessor.

Richard Sadington knight. Sir Richard Sadington knight was treasuror in the fouretéenth yéere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yéere of our redemption one thousand three hundred & fortie. There was one Robert Sadington liuing about this time, of whom is more mention in the chancellors of England: but as yet I well know not whether they were both one man or no; sith authors maie misplace Robert for Richard, as they haue often done.

Robert Northborow bishop of Couentrie. Robert Northborow, being at that time (as I iudge) bishop of Couentrie, was treasuror of England, in the fouretéenth yéere of the reigne of Edward the third, being the yeere of our Lord one thousand three hundred and fortie, in which yéere he was remoued, whom with the chancellor the king meant afterward (as after shall appeare) to haue sent into Flanders as pledges for monie which the K. owght there. After whom I suppose that Sadington came in place, although I haue a little misplaced him at this time, following the fansies of other men more than mine owne.

A bishop of Chester. A bishop of Chester was lord treasuror of England in the fiftéenth yéere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being about the yéere that the word became flesh, one thousand three hundred fortie and one, in which office he did not long continue.

Robert Perning. Robert Perning or Pernicke was lord treasuror in the Easter terme, in the yéere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and one, being the fiftéenth yéere of king Edward the third, in which yéere also he was made chancellor, and so continued both offices a while, vntill in the sixtéenth yéere of the reigne of king Edward the third, as I gather by all circumstances of times, records, and histories: who in the seuentéenth yeere of the reigne of the said king Edward the third, being the yéere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and three (as appeareth by the bookes of the law) being chancellor, deliuered a record with his hands into the court of the kings bench. Of this man more shall be set downe hereafter in my discourse of the chancellors.

Roger Northborow bishop of Couentrie. Roger Northborow (as I take it) being then bishop of Couentrie, did honorablie possesse the place of the lord treasuror of England, in the sixtéenth yéere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yéere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and two. Of whome thus writeth Matthew Parker in the life of John Stratford archbishop of Canturburie: *Ibi* (meaning at the tower) *concilium initum est, tandémque definitū, vt archiepiscopus & episcopus Cicestrensis regni cancellarius & Couentrensis thesaurarius, vnà cum alijs à satellitibus & lictoribus deprehensi, ad publicam custodiam rerum à se, absente rege, gestarum rationem reddituri ducerentur. Manè accedunt satellites Lametham, sed *archiepiscopus ei pridie decesserat: tum Londinum reuersi Couentrensem & Cicestrensem episcopos cum alijs designatis capiunt, captos ad turrim deducunt, &c.* * John Stratford.

William de Culans. William de Culans, being lord treasuror in the seauentéenth yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, three hundred, fortie and three, continued in the same office all Michaelmasse tearme, in the eightéenth yeare of the said Edward the third, and the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred fortie and foure: and being a yeare more. Betweene whom & Thomas Henlæ abbat of Westminster was great contention about the iurisdiction of the hospitall of saint James in the parish of saint Margaret in Westminster, which hospitall is now a statelie house belonging to the prince, and built by king Henrie the eight called the manor of saint James with a parke walled about with bricke.

William de Edington bishop of Winchester. William de Edington, lord chancellor and treasuror of England, and bishop of Winchester, was lord treasuror in Easter terme the nineteenth yeare of Edward the third, being about the yeare of our redemption one thousand, three hundred fortie and fiue, in which office he continued vntill the two and thirtith of the said king, one thousand three hundred fiftie and eight, being fourteene years, which was (as I thinke) as manie more years, as ante one man did possesse that place, since the beginning of the reigne of king Edward the third, vntill the time of this Willam Edington. He was so surnamed of the place where hée was borne, being the towne of Edington in Wiltshire: he was made bishop of Winchester (as some haue) about the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and seuen, being about the one and twentith yeare of king Edward the third. This man (chosen bishop of Canturburie, but yet neuer bishop) died (as hath Walsingham) in the fortith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred sixtie and six. I haue read of a bishop of Norwich that should also be treasuror in the foureand twentith of Edward the third, which must fall in the time that this Edington did continue that office: but how true it is, I leaue to others to consider, vntill I haue in my large booke of the liues of the lord treasurors dissolued that, and all other doubts and contrarieties that are here touched, or by authors reported.

John bishop of Rochester. John bishop of Rochester was lord treasuror in the two and thirtith yeare of king Edward the third, in the yeare of our redemption 1358, in which office he continued in the thirtie three and thirtie fourth yéere of Edward the third.

Simon Langham bishop of Elie. Simon Langham, being of the priorie of Westminster, made abbat of that house, was shortlie after made lord treasuror of England, which office he held in the fiue & thirtith and six and thirtith yeare of king Edward the third, who being bishop of London (as hath Matthew Parker) was in the yeare that the worldof the father tooke on it the forme of a seruant, by due account 1361, being the fiue and thirtith yeare of king Edward the third, by the pope made bishop of Elie, where he sat fiue yeares, and was after in the yeare of our redemption, one thousand, three hundred, sixtie and six, being the fortith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, chosen bishop of Canturburie, and consecrated in the yeare of our redemption 1367, as saith the same Matthew Parker. On which date of his consecration he demanded homage

homage of the erle Stafford of Thomas Rosse, John Birrell, Robert Brockill, & Rafe Sentleger, knights for their lands which they held of the sée of Canturburie. Shortlie after which in the yere of our redemption one thousand, three hundred, sirtie and eight, being the two and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, he was made cardinall, & died at Auinere the two and twentith daie of Julie, about the yeare of our redemption, as saith one Anonymus M.S. 1376, being the fiftith yeare of king Edward the third, and was buried besides Auinion, in a place which he had raised from the foundation: three yeares after which his bones were brought to Westminster where at this daie he hath one honorable tome on the south side of the shrine amongst the kings, on whose tome the monks of Westminster did sometime place this same epitaph in the remembrance of him:

Simon de Langham sub petris his tumulatus,
Istius ecclesiæ monachus fuerat, prior, abbas,
Sede vacante fuit electus Londonienſis
Præsul & insignis eligi, sed postea primas
Totius regni, magnus regisque minister:
Nam thesaurarius & cancellarius eius,
Ac cardinalis in Roma presbyter iste,
Postque Prænestinus est factus episcopus atque
Nuntius ex parte papæ, transmittitur istuc
Orbe dolente pater, quem nunc reuocare nequimus:
Magdalenæ festo milleno septuageno
Et ter centeno sexto Christi ruit anno:
Hunc Deus absoluat de cunctis quæ malè gessit,
Et meritis matris sibi cælica gaudia donet.

Of this man I haue intreated in my discourse of the cardinals pag. 1165. and in my collection of all the chancellors of England hereafter following.

John Barnet bishop of Worcester.

John Barnet made bishop of Worcester in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred sirtie and two, being the six and thirtith yeare of king Edward the third, was treasuror of England in the seuen and thirtith yeare of Edward the third, in which office he continued, being treasuror in Michaelmasse tearme in the eight & thirtith yeare of the reigne of the said Edward the third, which fell in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred sirtie & foure, and so he continued in the three & fortith yeere of king Edward the third still treasuror. He was made bishop of Bath in the yeare of our redemption 1363, in which bishoprike he remained three yeares, and was by Urbane the first then bishop of Rome translated from Bath to Elie in the yeare of Christ 1866, being the fortith yeere of the reigne of king Edward the third, in which place he sat six yeares: and being a verie old man, and hauing béene treasuror about six yeares, he died at Hatfield the seuenth ides of June, in the yeare that God became man one thousand three hundred seuentie and three, and the seuen and fortith yeere of the often named king Edward the third, he was buried in the church of Elie besides the high altar on the south part.

Richard de Chesterfield.

I haue read and séene by manie noted that one named Richard de Chesterfield was treasuror to the king in the one and fortith yeare of king Edward the third, whome they will haue lord treasuror: which by no possible meanes as farre as I can yet conceiue maie be true: bicause it appeareth by record that John bishop of Elie (which was this Barnet if you marke the time of his translating to Elie) was treasuror in the same yeare: but it maie be that he was treasuror of the chamber or houshold to the said king in the said one and fortith yeare of his reigne.

Thomas de Brantingtom.

Thomas de Brantington, being treasuror for the king in the parts of Guisnes marches and Calis, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred sirtie and seuen, being the one and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, was made bishop of Excester by especiall letters of the king in the yére of our saluation one thousand three hundred sirtie and eight, being the three and fortith yeare of the said Edward the third, and was lord treasuror of England in the foure and fortith & fiue & fortith yére of Edward the third: in which fiue and fortith yeare, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred seuentie and one, he was in a parlement at the petition of the lords remoued, at what time also there passed a law, that the chancellor, treasuror, and clerke of the priuie seale, shuld no more be spirituall men: but that secular men should haue those offices.

Sir Richard Scrope lord of Bolton.

Sir Richard Scrope or Scrobs knight lord of Bolton and chancellor of England, was treasuror of England in the six and fortith, seuen & fortith, & eight and fortith of Edward the third, and then gaue place to sir Robert Ashton knight. This Richard made out of the ground the castell of Bolton consisting of foure great strong towers, and of other statelie lodgings, which castell was erecting eightéene yeares, the charges whereof came pearelie vnto a thousand marks, which was eightéene thousand markes, or twelue thousand pounds: the ounce of siluer being then but at twentie pence, which being now treble and at fiue shillings, doth at this daie amount vnto six and thirtie thousand pounds, which castell he finished before Richard the second died. He bought the heire generall of saint Quintine, that was honor of Hornelie castell in Richmontshire, which heire he was content one Coniers a seruant of his should marrie, and haue the preferrement of that ward: and so Hornelie castell came to the Conierses, of which house the first lord was William Coniers, grandfather to him that died in the time of quéene Marie without heire male, whereby his inheritance came to his three daughters. Which William the first lord Coniers of that name did much cost vpon Hornelie castell: being before but a meane thing. I haue read of this lord Scrope, that he had a sonne called William, whereof we will speake more hereafter, that was earle of Wilshire, who being beheaded in his fathers life, left no issue behind him. After which the father surviuing was made treasuror to the king and died in honor, although he was not restored to his dignitie of chancellorship: but at what time he should be the second time treasuror (after the death of his sonne William) in the time of Henrie the fourth, I can not as yet certeinlie learne. But it maie be that he was againe treasuror in the ninth yeare of Henrie the fourth: for that I find not by any former search who then possessed that place. It séemeth that he had two wiues, the one the daughter of the lord Spenser the other the daughter of Michaell de la Pole erle of Suffolke called Blanch. He had three sons, for whom he bought of the king the three daughters and heires of Robert lord Tiptoft, whereof the eldest daughter Margaret was married to Roger his second sonne, the second daughter was married to William his eldest sonne, the third daughter called Millescent was married to Stephan the third sonne of the said Richard.

Sir Robert Ashton.

Sir Robert Ashton knight, constable of Douer castell, was lord treasuror in the fiftith and one and fiftith of king Edward the third in Michaelmasse tearme, which was the last Michaelmasse tearme wherein the king reigned, being about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred seuentie and six, of which name there was also one that was chiefe baron in the time of Edward the second, as I haue read.

Henrie Wake bishop of Worcester.

Henrie Wake or Wakefield, being made bishop of Worcester in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred seuentie and fiue, being the fortie and ninth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, was made lord treasuror of England in the

yeare

yeare that the word of the father toke flesh in the wombe of the woman, one thousand three hundred seuentie and six, in the one and fiftith yeare of king Edward the third, in which office he continued part of Easter tearme in the first yeare of king Richard the second, being about the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred seauentie and eight, he died in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred ninetie and fiue, as saith Walsingham.

Thomas Bzantington bishop of Excester.

Thomas Bzantington bishop of Excester was made lord treasuror of England towards the latter end of Easter tearme, in the first yeare of king Richard the second, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred seauentie and eight, as I at this time account it: from which place he was shortlie remoued in the second yeare of king Richard the second.

Richard earle of Arundell.

Richard earle of Arundell and Surrie, made lord treasuror of England in the second yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, whereof part fell in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred seauentie and eight, & part in the yéere one thousand three hundred seauentie and nine, continued about one yeare in the same, and then gaue place to him which possessed the same office last before him, he married Elisabeth the daughter of William de Bohune earle of Northampton & Hereford, by whome he had issue Thomas earle of Arundell, Jone married to William Beauchampe lord Aburgauennie, Elisabeth married to Thomas lord Powbzate, Margaret married to sir Rowland Lenthall, and Alice married to John Charleton lord Powes: this Richard was beheaded in the one and twentith yeare of Richard the second.

Thomas Bzantington bishop of Excester.

Thomas Bzantington bishop of Excester was the third time lord treasuror of England, in the third yeere of the after deposed king Richard the second, & was remoued from his office in the fourth yéere of the said Richard, in the yéere of our redemption one thousand three hundred and eightie, after the account of such as begin the yéere on the fiue and twentith of March.

Robert Hales.

Robert Hales chiefe prior of the knights of the Rhodes, intituled by the name of the knights of S. Johns Jerusalem in England, was lord tresuror of England in the fourth yeere of the reigne of Richard the second, in which office he continued during his life: for shortlie after that he came into that place (which as I suppose he held Easter terme, and some moneths after) in the said yéere of Richard the second, in the yeere of our redemption one thousand three hundred eightie and one (the rebelles hauing spoiled the hospitall or famous college of those knights of saint Johns by Smithfield neere vnto London) amongest others did fetch this Robert Hales out of the tower of London (where the king then laie) and beheaded him on the tower hill.

Hugh lord Segraue.

Hugh Segraue knight, whome Walsingham calleth *Regis senescallum* the kings steward, was made lord treasuror of England in the fift yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, who continued in the said office the first, seauenth, eight, and some part of the Michaelmasse terme in the ninth yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred eightie and fiue.

John Fortham bishop of Durham.

John Fortham canon, being secretarie to the king, was made bishop of Durham the nine and twentith of Maie, in the yeere of our redemption one thousand three hundred eightie and one, being the fourth yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, and was inthronized in September, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred eightie and two, being the first yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second. This man was made lord treasuror in Michaelmasse terme the ninth yeare of king Richard the second, being the yeare of our saluation one thousand three hundred eightie and fiue: and so continued part of the tenth yeare of king Richard the second, vntill he was by parlement discharged. He was translated from the bishoprike of Durham to Elie by Boniface the pope the fift calends of October, as hath the booke of Durham, one thousand three hundred eightie nine, being the twelfe yeere of the same Richard: but as saith the booke of Elie one thousand three hundred eightie and eight, being the thirteenth yeare of Richard the second. Which both may be true, because the one may haue relation to the yeare of his translation, and the other to the yeare of his inthronization, both which manie times happened in seuerall yeares of manie other bishops. He was bishop of Elie seuen and thirtie years, three moneths, and foure daies, and died a verie old man the thirteenth of December, in his manor of Dunham, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred twentie and fiue, falling in the fourth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first.

John bishop of Hereford.

John Gilbert bishop of Hereford was by parlement made lord treasuror in the tenth yeare of king Richard the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred eightie and six, as I for this time take it, in which office he continued the eleuenth, and all Michaelmasse terme in the twelfe yeere of king Richard the second, and the one and twentith of March following: after which he was againe remoued, and then he with twelue more were appointed by commission to the gouernment of the whole realme vnder the king, of whome thus writeth one Anonymall chronicle M.S. *Is fuit de ordine prædicatorũ, vir qui plus lingua quàm fide regebat*, which bishop (as I suppose) was remoued to saint Dauids, after that he had bene thirteene yeares bishop of Hereford.

Thomas Bzantington bishop of Excester.

Thomas Bzantington bishop of Excester. I haue read that the bishop of Excester was made treasuror in the twelfe yeare of Richard the second, vpon the remouing of John Gilbert, which bishop of Excester could not be Edmund Gifford, as some falselie name him, for there is no such man as I can find in the catalog of all the bishops of Excester: neither was it Edmund Stafford, for he was not made bishop of Excester vntill the twentith of June one thousand three hundred ninetie and fiue, being the daie before king Richard the second began the one and twentith yeere of his reigne, which is eight yéers after the time whereof we now intreat. Therefore it must néeds be Thomas Bzantington, for he being consecrated bishop of Excester the tenth of March, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred & seuentie, being the foure and fortith yeare of Edward the third, and gouerning that see foure and twentie years, till the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred ninetie and fiue, in which came Edmund Stafford kéeper of the priuie seale; it must néeds be that (the bishop of Excester being treasuror in the twelfe yeare of Richard the second, falling in the yeere of our redemption one thousand three hundred eightie and eight) it was this man Bzantington, and that he was the fourth time made lord treasuror of England, about the eightenth yeare after that he was made bishop of Excester, who died in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred ninetie and fiue, as hath Ypodigma.

John Gilbert bishop of saint Dauids in Wales.

John Gilbert bishop of saint Dauids in Wales was lord treasuror in the thirteenth and fouretéenth yeares of the reigne of the deposed king Richard the second. Of whome, because there is somewhat spoken before, we will intreat the lesse of him in this place.

John

John Waltham bishop of Salisburie.

John Waltham, of whome I haue spoken more in my discourse of the archbishops of Canturburie, in the life of William Courtnete was bishop of Salisburie, maister of the rolles in the first yeare of Richard the second, and keeper of the priuie seale, after which he was treasuror of England, in the fiftéenth, sixtéenth, seauentéenth, and part of the eightéenth of Richard the second, for he died in Michaelmas terme in the said 18 yeare of Richard the second, in the yere of Christ 1395, others saie 1394, of whome thus writeth Walsingham: *Hoc anno* (which was 1395) *obijt Iohannes de Waltham episcopus Sarum & regni thesaurarius, qui tantùm regi complacuerit, vt etiam (multis licèt murmurantibus) apud monasterium inter reges meruit sepulturam.*

Roger Walden bishop of London.

Roger Walden sometime secretarie to the king and treasuror of the towne of Calis (in the twelfe yére of Richard the second) was made lord treasuror in the eightéenth of the same king, about the yére of our Lord 1365, in which office he continued the two and twentith of the said Richard the second. He was elected and made bishop of Canturburie, but after reiected and deposed, and thereupon was by pope Innocent the seuenth made bishop of London on the tenth of December, in the yére of Christ 1404, being the first yeare of Henrie the fourth, in the which bishoprike he continued about one yere, and died in the yeare 1406, being buried at saint Bartholomews priorie in Smithfield, who of a poore man (as saith Walsingham) was made lord treasuror of England.

G. bishop of saint Dauids in wales.

G. bishop of S. Dauids was lord treasuror of England in the two and twentith yere of Richard the second, which bishop I suppose to be Gute de Mone, whom the booke Ypodigma & Thomas Walsingham call bishop of S. Dauids, and saie that he died in the yére of our redemption 1407, writing in this sort: *Eodem anno Guido de Mone Meneuensis episcopus præsentis lucis fensit eclipsim, qui dum vixit magnorum malorum causa fuit.*

William Scrope earle of Wilshire.

William Scrope knight, vicechamberleine to Richard the second was lord treasuror, he bought of William Montacute earle of Salisburie the Ile of Man, with the crowne thereof. He was one of those to whom king Richard the second let the kingdom to farme, he was lord treasuror of England in the 21 of Richard the second, and was after created earle of Wilshire, in the said 21 yere of the same Richard the second, in the yére of Christ 1397. He was after beheded at Bristow in the 23 and last yeare of the then deposed king Richard. Of which William Scrope and others thus writeth that worthie poet sir John Gower in his historie of Richard the second, commonlie taken as part of his worke intituled *Vox clamantis.*

Henrie Bolingbroke cõming into England and deposing Richard the second.

**Dux probus audaci vultu, cum plebe sequaci*
Regnum scrutatur, si proditor inueniatur,
Sic tres exosos, magis omnibus ambitiosos,
Regni tortores, inuenerat ipse priores,
Ense repercussi pereunt, Gren, Scrop, quoq; Bussi,
Hi qui regales fuerant cum rege sodales,
Scrop comes & miles, cuius Bristolia viles
Actus declarat, quo mors sua fata pararat.
Gren quoque sorte pari, statuit dux decapitari
Bussi conuictus, similes quoque sustinet ictus,
Vnanimes mente, pariter mors vna repente,
Hos tres prostrauit gladius, quos fine vorauit,
Sicut & egerunt alijs, sic hi vociderunt,
Quo dux laudatur, regnúmque per omne iocatur.

Sir John Northberie.

Sir John Northberie made lord treasuror in the first yeare of king Henrie the fourth, being the yeare that God tooke on him the forme of a seruant, a thousand three hundred ninetie and nine, and continued in the same in the third yeare of Henrie the fourth, in which yeare he was also keeper of the priuie garderobe in the tower.

Henrie Bowet.

Henrie Bowet made bishop of Bath, about the yeare of our redemption 1401, being also about the second yeare of Henrie the fourth, in which bishoprike he continued eight yeares, and was after at the kings instance in the yére of Christ a thousand foure hundred and seuen, about the eight yeare of Henrie the fourth remoued to Yorke. This man was lord treasuror of England in the fourth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, in the yeare of our redemption 1403, in which place he continued not aboue a yére, if so long.

William lord Rosse.

William lord Rosse, the sonne of Thomas lord Rosse, did possesse the honorable place of the lord treasuror of England, in the fift yeare of king Henrie the fourth, being about the yeare of our saluation one thousand foure hundred and foure, and shortlie after gaue place to the lord Furnuall. He married Margaret daughter of Fitzallen lord Matrauars, he had issue Thomas lord Rosse slaine in France, in the yeare one thousand foure hundred twentie and one, about the ninth yeare of Henrie the first, and manie other children.

Thomas lord Furnuall.

Thomas lord Furnuall kept the place and office of the lord treasuror of England, the first, seuenth, and some part of the eight yeare of king Henrie the fourth, as in Michaelmasse tearme of the same eight yeare, falling in the yeare of our redemption, one thousand foure hundred and six, after which this lord Furnuall (who had the custodie of the castell and honour of Wigmore, being in the kings hands by reason of the wardship and minoritie of Edmund Mortimer earle of March) was (as it séemeth) remoued from the treasurorship, in whose roome succeeded the bishop of London. To these lord Furnuals did Furnuals inne of Holborne sometime apperteine as their mansion house, being now an inne of chancerie for yong students of the law and atturneies, and belonging vnto Lincolns inne in Chancerie lane.

Nicholas Bubwith bishop of London.

Nicholas Bubwith made bishop of London in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six: being the eight yére of Henrie the fourth, must be that bishop of London (as farre as I can yet conceiue) who was lord treasuror of England in Michaelmas tearme in the said eight yeare of Henrie the fourth: which office it séemeth that he held not long, for in Easter terme after in the same eight yeare, the office of the tresuror remained in the kings hands, and the accompts of the same terme go vnder the same title of being in the kings hands.

Sir Richard Scrope lord Scrope of Bolton.

Sir Richard Scrope lord of Bolton (wherof is so much spoken before) was as I suppose the second time treasuror of England in this ninth yeare of Henrie the fourth: whereunto I am induced by this reason; that first the king would not keepe that office so long in his hands as almost amounted vnto two yeares, but that he would bestow the same vpon some other: secondlie, for that I read that this Richard Scrope father to William Scrope earle of Wilshire beheaded (by this Henrie the fourth before he came to the crowne) at Bristow (in the last yeare of Richard the second, and in the first of this kings reigne) was after the death of the said William made treasuror of England, and so died in honour: thirdlie for that I cannot see how he might be treasuror in anie yeare since the death of the said William, vntill this ninth yeare of Henrie the fourth: and lastlie, for that I cannot in anie record or other author find anie other man mentioned to supplie that place in this yeare: for which causes I haue attempted to bestow him here, and that rightlie, for anie thing that I can yet learne.

Sir John Tiptoft knight.

Sir John Tiptoft or Tibetot knight, did possesse the place and office of the lord treasurorship of England in Michelmas terme, in the tenth yeare of king

Henrie

Henrie the fourth, being in the yere of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and eight.

Henrie lord Scrope.

Henrie lord Scrope of Masham and of Flaxfléet, was made lord treasuror of England, in the eleuenth yere of the reigne of K. Henrie the fourth, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and ten, as hath Walsingham: in which office he continued vntill the death of king Henrie the fourth, which hapned in the fourtenth yeare of the same king, and in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred & twelue, after the account of England: but one thousand foure hundred and thirteene after the account of such as bo begin the yeare at Januarie. He rebelled against king Henrie the fift, and was beheaded at Southhampton in the third yeare of K. Henrie the fift, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and fiftéene the last of Julie. Of which Henrie so conspiring against Henrie the fift, I find these verses in a written booke of parchment, intituled *Extractum breue de chronica* Thomæ Helmham, *prior Lenton de tempore regis Henrici quinti.* In which verses by the capitall letters are set down the names of the principall conspirators, & the yere of our Lord wherein the same was done, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred & thirteene: the greater Romane capitall letters in the third verse seruing for the yere of Christ, & for the name Zorc deriued of this word COR in the fourth verse, & the English capitall letters onelie seruing for the names of the persons in this sort couched togither for common capacitie:

* This C serueth for the name of Scrope and the yeare of Christ.
b Richard is spelled by the first letters of the fourth verse, & Zorc by changing the letters of the word Cor, and adding to it the letter z, which signifieth a poke.
c By the first letter of the words of the fift verse set together backward ariseth the name of Thomas Graie.

Mox rex nauigium parat vt mare transeat armis,
Scrop furit Henricus proditione fremens,
SCrVtans a Consplrat RIMatVr DLenCla PLebi,
b Rumpe Jugo COR Ruens Res Dabit Vltra Bonum
c EJA Ruit Gens Ruita Malis Opus Hoste Triũphat,
Vota voluntatis sic sacre Christe tuæ.
Versibus his quinque prætactis traditionem
Lector scire potes: hinc repetendo stude.
Hi tres, Richardus Zorc, Henri Scrúpque, Thomas Gray,
In regem surgunt proditione pares:
Munere Francorum corrupti terga dedere,
Iusto munus habet vindice quisque suum.

Thomas Fitz Allen earle of Arundell and Surreie was aduanced to the honorable office of the lord treasurorship of England, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and thirteene, being the first yeare of the reigne of the most victorious prince K. Henrie the fift, in which office it séemeth that he continued the first, second, and third of Henrie the fift. He in the yeare 1405, being the seuenth of Henrie the fift, on the nert date of the feast of saint Katharine, married Beatrice the bastard daughter of the king of Portingale, by whom he had no issue, hauing his sisters his heires, and died in the yeare 1415, being the third yeare of Henrie the fift, and was buried in the college at Arundell.

Thomas erle of Arundell.

Sir Roger Lech knight.

Sir Roger Lech (whom some call but not rightlie as I suppose sir Philip Lech, being brother vnto the said sir Roger) was treasuror of England, in Michaelmas and Easter tearme in the fourth yeare of king Henrie the fift, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and sixteene. He was at the séege of Rone with this king Henrie, in the first yeare of his reigne, being also treasuror for the warres in that votage.

Henrie lord Fitz Hugh.

Henrie lord Fitz Hugh was aduanced to the office of the lord treasurorship of England, in the fift yeare of Henrie the fift, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred & seuentéene, in which office he continued (as I gather) vntill the death of the said king Henrie the fift, which happened in August, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred twentie and two.

John Stafford clerke.

John Stafford clerke was made lord treasuror of England in the first yeare of king Henrie the sixt, being the yeare that the word became flesh 1422, in which office he continued in Michaelmas terme, and fourth of the said king Henrie the first, falling in the yeare of Christ 1425, he was chosen bishop of Bath, in the third yeare of king Henrie the sixt, in the yere 1424, he was chancellor of England, and remoued to the archbishoprike of Canturburie, of whome is mention made hereafter in the discourse of the chancellors of England, & touching whom I will for this time onelie set downe heere what Matthew Parker writeth of him in the life of Henrie Chicheleie an archbishop of Canturburie. *Archiepiscopus* (saith he) in the yeare of Christ our redéemer 1424: *Cantuariensis 12. Octob. clerum in ecclesia Paulina conuocauit, in ea Henricus Beauford Winton episcopus regni cãcellarius, & Iohannes Stafford Bathoniẽsis electus episcopus regni thesaurarius, ad bellũ Gallicum opẽ à clero petiuit, & interposita paucorum dierum deliberatione, Wilhelmus Lindwood officialis curiæ Cãtuariẽsis de arcubus, hoc responsum ab inferiori cleri synodo acceptum episcopis declarauit: non esse penes cleri procuratores potestatem subsidium concedendi. Nam cùm in dicta synodo in singulis diocœsibus cõstituti essent, clerus his solutionibus consentiendi licentiã expressè ademit: quia tantis tributis diu pendendis ad magnam inopiam & egestatem deuenit. Itaque cancellarius à superiori synodo ad inferiorẽ transiens, longa & diserta oratione, ac regis iam minoris necessitate, ac de instanti in Gallia bello egit, ac nequicquam suasit.*

Walter lord Hungerford knight of the garter, the sonne of sir Thomas Hungerford knight, was made lord treasuror of England in the fourth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first, being the yere of Christ 1425, in which office he continued about sir yeares, vntill some part of Michaelmas tearme in the tenth yeare of king Henrie the first, falling in the yeare that the sonne of God toke on him the forme of a seruant, one thousand foure hundred thirtie and one. He was also one of the councell to the said king, of whome is mention made by Matthew Parker in the life of Henrie Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie, in these words: *Proximo anno* (which was about the yeare of our Lord 1425) *synodus sub eodem archiepiscopo, 15 Aprilis inchoata est. Qua Iohanne Kempo Eboracẽsi archiepiscopo & Waltero Hungerfordo milite, regijs conciliarijs (illo cancellario hoc thesaurario regni) regis nomine postulantibus regi decimam concessit. Ac eisdem his petentibus, triennio post in recenti synodo media decima regi à clero data est.* This lord treasuror maried Katharine, the daughter and heire of Thomas Peuerell knight, by whom he had issue Walter lord Hungerford of Hatchberie knight of the garter, that died without issue, sir Robert lord Hungerford of Hatchberie. Edmund Hungerford knight, that died without issue, Margaret maried to sir Walter Rodneie knight, and Elisabeth maried to Philip Courtneie knight: which Robert lord Hungerford and Margaret his wife, John Cheineie of Pim esquier, John Merwin esquier and others did (by the kings licence granted vnto them in the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the fourth) build the hospitall of Hatchberie in Wiltshire.

Walter lord Hungerford.

John lord Scrope of Upsall and Masham, made lord treasuror in the tenth yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1431, in which office he continued vntill some part of the twelfe yere of the said king, as I for this time do gather. Of whom thus writeth Matthew Parker in the life of Henrie Chichelie archbishop of Canturburie, touching a synod holden in the yeare of our Lord 1430, at what time, of the clergie he saith that *Iohanne*

John lord Scrope.

nes Stafford episcopus Bathoniensis cancellarius, & D. Scrope thesaurarius regni, necnon Wilhelmus Lindwood, custos priuati sigilli, pro rege subsidium postularunt, & mediam decimam tandem ægrè impetrarunt.

Rafe lord Cromwell.

Rafe lord Cromwell, lord of Taterſhall, poſſeſſed the place of the lord treaſurorſhip of England, in Eaſter terme in the twelfe yeare of the after depoſed K. Henrie the firſt, being the yeare of Chriſt 1434, and ſo continued in that office about ten years, falling (as I ſuppoſe) in the yeare of our redemption 1444. This man being knight was created lord Cromwell by the ſaid king Henrie the firſt, and was lineallie deſcended of one of the heires of Robert lord Taterſhall, that married one of the daughters and heires of William Dalbinie earle of Arundell. This Rafe lord treaſuror died without iſſue, and made his teſtament in the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred ſixtie and foure, being in the three and thirtith yere of king Henrie the firſt, after whoſe death the inheritance came to the three aunts being his heirs, whereof the firſt was married to the lord Bardolfe ſlaine at Brancehome more in Northumberland, the ſecond was married to ſir William Fitzwilliams knight of the ſepulchre, the third Eliſabeth to ſir John Clifton knight, & after his death to ſir Edmund Beneſted knight. Of one Rafe lord Cromwell I find this note ſet downe by Leland. *Dominus Radulphus Cromewell & Matildis vxor eius fundatores collegij ſanctæ trinitatis de Taterſhall, quúmque Roberti ordine domini erant de Taterſhall, hos ſequutus eſt Radulphus Cromewell.*

Sir Rafe Butler lord Sudleie.

Sir Rafe Butler knight of the garter, lord Sudleie (deſcended from John lord Sudleie, and William Butler baron of Wem, which maried Ione daughter and heire to John Sudleie lord Sudleie) did poſſeſſe the honorable place of the lord treaſurorſhip of England the ſeuenth of Julie, in the two and twentith yere of king Henrie the firſt, being the yere of our redemption one thouſand foure hundred fortie and foure, which office he kept about three yeres: for in the fiue and twentith yeare of the ſaid king, was the biſhop of Carleill lord treaſuror. This Rafe lord Sudleie builded the caſtell of Sudleie, in the time of king Henrie the firſt, and of Edward the fourth; who in the time of the ſaid Edward the fourth was committed to priſon by the king, firſt ſending for him to come to his preſence. Whereupon he going to the king, and reſting on an hill, from whenſe he did behold Sudleie caſtell, ſaid: It is thou, it is thou Sudleie caſtell and not I which am the traitor. After which comming to king Edward the fourth, he reſigned the ſaid Sudleie caſtell into the kings hands. Which caſtell came after to Jaſper duke of Bedford, and is now in the yeare 1585 in the poſſeſſion of Giles a Bridges lord Shandois. This Rafe being made baron in the twentith yeare of Henrie the firſt, maried Eliſabeth the daughter of ſir John Northberie, by whome he had iſſue Thomas his ſon that died without iſſue, leauing his two ſiſters to be his heires; whereof the eldeſt daughter called Eliſabeth, was maried to ſir John Northberie, whoſe heire generall was married to John Halwell of Deuonſhire, who had iſſue Ione his daughter and heire married to Edward lord Braie, of whome the lord Cobham now liuing is deſcended. The other ſiſter married to ſir Hamond Belknap, of whome is deſcended the worſhie gentleman Thomas Wotton of Bacton Maleherbe in Kent eſquire now liuing. The which Rafe lord Butler of Sudleie was Vexillifer, and high Butler of England, and ſteward in houſe to king Henrie the firſt.

Warmaduke biſhop of Carleill.

Warmaduke biſhop of Carleill was made lord treaſuror of England in the fiue and twentith yeare of king Henrie the firſt, in which office he continued about two yeares, in the ſeuen and twentith yere of king Henrie the firſt, being about the yeare of our redemption 1448, or (as ſome haue) 1449.

James Fines lord Dare and Sele.

James Fines created at Burie baron of Dare and of Sele, on the third of March, in the fiue and twentith yeare of king Henrie the firſt, being the yeare of our redemption, according to the Engliſh account 1446, was conſtable of Douer caſtell, and lord treaſuror of England in the eight and twentith yeare of the ſaid king Henrie the firſt, and was from thenſe remoued (as ſome haue) in the nine & twentith yere of the ſaid king, & was by the rebels of Kent Jacke Cade and his fellowes taken out of the tower to the Guildhall, where he was areigned before the maior and other the kings Juſtices; who deſiring to be tried by his peeres, was by the rebels forceablie taken from the officers, and beheaded at the ſtandard in Cheape. The maner whereof ſhall be more fullie ſet downe hereafter in my large booke of the liues of the lord treaſurors. Which his beheading ſome do attribute to the eight and twentith yere of the ſaid Henrie the firſt, being the yeare of our redemption 1450. He had iſſue ſir William Fines knight, and one daughter maried to ſir William Cromer knight, ſhiriffe of Kent, beheaded at that time alſo with his father inlaw. Of which Cromer is James Cromer of Kent now liuing deſcended.

John Lord Beauchampe.

John Lord Beauchampe, a perſon of great worſhipfulneſſe, poſſeſſed the place of the treaſurorſhip of England, the nine and twentith and thirtith yeares of king Henrie the firſt.

John Tiptoft.

John Tiptoft earle of Worceſter poſſeſſed the place of the lord treaſuror, in the one and thirtith and two and thirtith of king Henrie the firſt. Of whome is more mention made hereafter.

James Butler earle of Wilſhire.

James Butler, the ſonne of James earle of Ormond, being earle of Wilſhire and Ormond, poſſeſſed the office of the lord treaſuror of England in Eaſter tearme the three and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the firſt, falling in the yeare of our redemption 1455. Of whom is more ſpoken hereafter.

Henrie vicount Bourchier.

Henrie vicount Bourchier, borne of the noble houſe of the Bourchiers, the ſonne of William Bourchier earle of Ewe in Normandie, was lord treaſuror of England in the three and thirtith yeare of the reigne of the depoſed king Henrie the firſt, in which office he did not long remaine.

John Talbot earle of Shrewſburie.

John Talbot, the firſt earle of Shrewſburie of that name, poſſeſſed the place of the treaſurorſhip of England in the fiue and thirtith and ſix and thirtith yeres of king Henrie the firſt, and then gaue place to the earle of Wilſhire. This earle was ſlaine at the battell of Northampton, in the eight and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the firſt, being the yeare of our ſaluation 1460. He maried Eliſabeth the daughter of James Butler erle of Ormond, and had iſſue, John erle of Shrewſburie, James, Gilbert, Chriſtopher, and George; Anne married to ſir Henrie Vernon, and Margaret: this man was buried in the priorie of Worceſter.

James earle of Wilſhire.

James Butler, ſonne to James the fourth of that name earle of Ormond, was the ſecond time made lord treaſuror of England, about the 37 yere of king Henrie the firſt, in which office he continued (as I ſuppoſe) in the eight & thirtith yeare of the ſaid king. This man in the ſaid eight and thirtith yeare of the king conueied himſelfe awaie out of England into Dutchland (for feare of the nobilitie, as the duke of Yorke and others that rebelled againſt the king) ſending backe his ſouldiers into England, which he had before aſſembled vpon the ſea: but after he returned into England, and was againe put to flight at Mortimers croſſe by Edward earle of March after king

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by the name of king Edward the fourth. He was made earle of Ormond in the nine and thirtith yeare and last yeare of king Henrie the first. He maried Eleanor the daughter of Edmund duke of Summerset, and died without issue, being beheaded at Newcastell in the yeare one thousand foure hundred sixtie one, in the first yeare of Edward the fourth.

Henrie vicount Bourchier.

Henrie vicount Bourchier was lord treasuror of England the second time, in the nine and thirtith and last yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred & sixtie. Who vpon the deposition of the said king Henrie the first by Edward the fourth, was also remoued from his office.

Thomas lord Bourchier.

Thomas Bourchier, made lord treasuror of England in the first yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred sixtie and one, continued not long in that office, but gaue place to John earle of Worcester.

John earle of worcester.

John Tiptoft earle of Worcester, the second time possessed the place of the lord treasuror of England, in the second and third yeare of king Edward the fourth. Of whom is more spoken before by me in my treatise of the constables of England pag. 869.

Edmund lord Greie of Ruthine after erle of Kent.

Edmund lord Greie of Ruthine, the sonne of John lord Grete of Ruthine, did inioy the office of the lord treasurorship of England, in the fourth yeare of the noble prince king Edward the fourth, being the yere of our redemption 1464. This man secretlie in hart forsaking the part of king Henrie the first, for iniuries receiued at the same king Henries hands, aided the said Edward the fourth, and was the chiefe means whereby he atteined the crowne. In Michaelmas tearme in the said fourth yeare of the king, there was a sergeants feast held in Holborne in the bishop of Elies house, to which the maior and aldermen repaired, being bidden thither. But when the maior loked to be set to keepe the state in the hall (forgetting that he was out of his owne liberties, for the bishops palace was an exempt place) as it had béene vsed (saith Iohn Stow) in all places of the citie & liberties of the same, out of the kings presence: the lord Greie of Ruthine then treasuror of England vnknowne to the sergeants, and (against their wils as they said) was placed in the highest rome. Whereupon the maior, aldermen, and commons departed. This Edmund doth Matthew Parker, in the life of Thomas Bourchier archbishop of Canturburie, make to be treasuror in the third yeare of Edward the fourth, being the yeare of Christ 1463: which may well inough stand with the former, being treasuror to John earle of Worcester in the said third yeare of the king. For vpon the remouing of the said earle in the third yeare of Edward the fourth, came this lord Greie in place. The words of which Matthew Parker (with a note of the yeare of Christ 1463 in the margent) are in this order. *Edwardus rex, duobus iam annis fœliciter gesto regno, parliamentum Westmonasterij tenuit, quo etiã tempore archiepiscopus* (which was Thomas Bourchier the brother of Henrie Bourchier earle of Eſſex) *& clerus in synodo conuenerunt. In hac synodo Iohannes comes Wigorniæ, Henricus comes Essexiæ, D. Edmundus Grey thesaurarius Angliæ, D. Humfridus Cromewell, D. Wenlocke, D. Iohannes prior sancti Iohannis, & Robertus Stillington legum doctor custos priuati sigilli, regis conciliarij, allatis literis regijs petierunt a clero decerni regi ad Scotos repellendos subsidium. Quod quidem gratissimis omnium animis tam munifico regi concessum est, qui superiori anno ecclesiæ immunitates atque iura iniquis iudiciorum calumnijs (vti in Iohanne Stafford antea diximus) conuulsa & labefactata diplomate regio restaurauit.*

Besides which, thus writeth Iohn Whethamsted, that learned abbat of saint Albons, of this lord Greie, declaring in what authoritie he was at first, in the daies of Henrie the first, and then in the reigne of Edward the fourth. His words be these. *Anno 36 H. 6. venerunt tres viri monachi de cœnobio Cluniacensi, quibus ad audiendum eorũ nuntium missi sunt episcopus Dunelmensis custos priuati sigilli, dominus Edmundus Greie de Ruthine, & secretarius regis, quibus isti viri dixerunt eorum aduentum esse ob tria. Primò ad aperiendum quomodo reges Angliæ & præcipuè Henricus secundus fuerunt tam magni benefactores ad eorum ecclesiam, vt potiùs pro nunc dicatur earum patronus ac præcipuus fundator. Secundò venerunt ad petendum possessionem & confirmationem bonorum illorum, quæ dicti progenitores eis contulerant, & per tempus non paucum iamdudum à manibus eorum detenta & distracta erant. Tertiò ad impetrandum liberam licentiam ad ingrediendum singula loca religiosa ab eorum cœnobio dependentia, & quæ per nobiles progenitores regis posita fuerũt sub eorum regimine. Sed nihil hic eis gratũ fuit actum, vnde vi tristes discederent.* Out of the which words of Whethamsted maie other things be gathered, besides the doings of the lord Greie: as that the kings of England, and specially Henrie the second, haue béene great benefactors and founders of the Charterhouse monks: with manie mo matters conteined in the same, which I referre to the wise and learned reader, which made me the willinger to set downe his words so largelie.

Moreouer, the same Whethamsted, continuing the history of Henrie the first, writeth of the battell of Northampton, wherin was this lord Greie, in this sort. *In prælio Northamptonensi Edmundus Grey dominus Ruthine corpore licèt præsens* (euen as the lord Stanleie was in the battell fought betwixt Richard the third & Henrie erle of Richmond, after king by the name of Henrie the seuenth) *in campo domini regis Henrici sexti steterat, cor tamen eius non erat rectum in eo, néq; omnino fidelis habitus aut inuentus fuit. Nam venientibus turmis dictis ad fossam circumuallationis, & ipsam nõ multùm promptè propter eleuationem verticis in parte vlteriore ascendere valentibus, occurrit ipsis dominus cum suis copijs obuiàm, portigendóq; ipsis dextram traxit eos per manus in campum Martium, iuxta votum suum.* Thus much Whethamsted of Edmund Greie lord Ruthine, who was made earle of Kent in the fift yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1464.

This Edmund Greie being lord Hastings, Wellford, and Ruthine (before he had the honour of this earledome) did by his deed of indenture dated the 18 of November, in the fiue and twentith yeare of king Henrie the first, falling in the yeare of our redemption 1446, giue to John Pinchbecke prior of Dusfield in Northamptonshire in almesse, during the life of the said prior, his field called Challocke, belonging to the manour of Challocke, to keepe the obits of sir John Greie, father to the said sir Edmund, and of dame Tiffance the widow of the earle marshall, and daughter of John Holland duke of Exceter and erle of Huntington, mother to the said sir Edmund, with masse, &c. and such other collects as the said Edmund should deliuer vnto the said prior. Out of this house of the Greies haue issued manie noble houses, and those of great antiquitie, wherof at this date there yet remaineth two honourable houses: the one being Henrie Greie earle of Kent now liuing, a man of singular estimation in the countrie of Bedford where he now liueth, as well for the nobilitie of his race, being descended of this Edmund Greie lord treasuror of England, for the good gouernment and carriage of himselfe, and for the orderlie and wise managing of the affaires of that countrie,

deseruing no lesse honourable place in the commonwealth, than the honour of his race, and worthinesse of his behauiour doo well merit.

The lord Greie of Wilton.

The other house at this daie in honour, is the lord Greie of Wilton knight of the garter, and somtime deputie of Ireland, a man of no lesse merit for his seruice abrode in the feats of armes, than is the other Greie for his seruice at home in the affairs of peace. But I will not saie all that I thinke and know of them both, least some more maliciouslie than trulie blemish me with the note of flatterie. For I protest I am so farre estranged from that, as I being not at all knowne to the one, and but slenderlie to the other, and neuer benefited by anie of them both, there is no cause why I should vse anie flatterie: and yet such force hath vertue, as it will shine euen in despite of malice. But againe to the matter. There haue out of this house of the Greies, besides manie noble houses, issued one duke of Suffolke, two marquesses of Dorset, and fiue earles of Kent.

The seuerall houses of the Greies.

Againe I thinke it not impertinent for the continuance of antiquities, and of deserts of honour, to mention how manie seuerall houses there haue bin of the nobilitie of these Greis, and in what time they liued. First there was Reignold Greie lord Greie of Codnor, in the time of king Stephan: the second was Reignold lord Greie of Rotherfield, in the time of Richard the second: the third John Greie earle of Tankeruile in Normandie, in the time of Henrie the fift: the fourth this Edmund Greie lord Ruthine earle of Kent, and treasuror of England in the time of king Edward the fourth: the fift house Thomas Greie marquesse Dorset, in the time of king Edward the fourth: the first Edward Greie lord Lisle in the time of king Edward the fourth: the seuenth Edward Greie lord Powes, in the time of king Edward the fourth: the eight Henrie Greie duke of Suffolke, in the time of Edward the first. So that there were at one time, in one kings daies, which was the time of Edward the fourth, six noble men liuing of the name of Greies, which were the marquesse Dorset, the earle of Kent, the lord Lisle, the lord Powes, the lord Greie of Wilton, and the lord Greie of Rotherfield.

The Greies right honourable.

Wherefore to draw to an end of this lord treasuror, who hath occasioned me to be more liberall in treating of him and the Greies, than of any lord treasuror or noble name besides (for manie priuat reasons which I reserue to my selfe) I will yet speake more liberallie of him and the Greies in my large booke of the liues of the lord treasurors of England, and knit vp this Edmund Greie lord treasuror with the marieng of his wife Katharine, the daughter of Henrie Persie earle of Northumberland, by whome he had issue George Greie earle of Kent; Elisabeth, maried to Robert baron of Greiestocke; and Anne maried to John lord Greie of Wilton.

Sir Walter Blunt knight

Sir Walter Blunt knight, who was the first lord Montioie, possessed the place of the lord treasurorship of England, in the fift yeare of king Edward the fourth, which fell in the yeare that the word of the father toke flesh in the wombe of the virgine 1465. Of this man is mention made in the booke of the law called Long Quinto of Edward the fourth. He maried the daughter of one Dirham, and had issue, William, John, and James.

Sir Richard Wooduile.

Sir Richard Wooduile knight, chamberleine to the king, and constable of England, was made baron on the ninth of Maie in the second yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ 1424, and was after created earle Riuers in the fift yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1465, who thus aduanced was after lord treasuror in the first, seuenth, & eight of Edward the fourth. In which eight yeare of Edward the fourth, Thomas Cooke late maior of London, was accused of treason and arreigned for the same. Who after that he had béene manie times purged thereof, was yet at last found giltie, and by this lord Riuers then lord treasuror so handled, as that he could not be deliuered vntill he had paied eight thousand pounds to the king, and eight hundred to the quéene. This lord treasuror maried Jaquet the widow of John duke of Bedford, daughter to Peter of Lucenburgh earle of S. Paule, by whom he had issue Richard earle Riuers, Antonie lord Scales in the right of his wife, Edward Wooduile knight slaine at the battell of S. Albine in Britaine in the third yeare of Henrie the seuenth: Lionell bishop of Salisburie, Margaret maried to Thomas erle of Arundell, Margaret maried to William Herbert erle of Huntington, Anne first maried to William Bucher erle of Esser, and after to George Greie erle of Kent, Jaquet maried to John lord Strange, Elisabeth maried to sir John Greie yonger sonne to the lord Greie of Ruthine, and after the death of the said sir John Greie to king Edward the fourth: and Katharine maried to Henrie duke of Buckingham. Besides all which I haue read of one John, which was sonne to this earle Riuers, which John maried the old duchesse of Norfolke, & was beheaded with his father: the truth whereof I leaue to further triall. This Richard erle Riuers the lord treasuror in the ninth yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1469, was by Robert Hiltard, who named himselfe Robert of Ridesdale, taken in the forrest of Dene as some haue, others saie at Grafton, and from thence brought to Northampton, where he was beheaded.

John Longstrother.

John Longstrother, prior of saint Johns Jerusalem in England, possessed the place of the lord treasuror of the realme, in the ninth yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and nine, for in the same yeare he gaue place to the bishop of Elie.

William Greie bishop of Elie.

William Greie bishop of Elie, was after the translation of Thomas Burcher from Elie to Canturburie aduanced to that see by Nicholas the fift then bishop of Rome, who gaue it to the said William being then procurator for king Henrie the first at Rome, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred fiftie and foure. This man was lord treasuror in the ninth yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare in which God became man one thousand foure hundred three score and nine, in which office he continued (as I gather) vntill the eleuenth of king Edward the fourth, or thereabouts. This Greie was borne of the noble house of the lord Greies of Codnor, as saith Bale, and trauelled into Italie to atteine great learning, where he heard the noble clerke Guarinus Veronensis read in Ferraria. He continued bishop of Elie foure and twentie yéeres, eleuen moneths and two daies, departing this life at Dunham the fourth of August, in the yere that the word of the father toke flesh in the wombe of the virgine, one thousand foure hundred seuentie and eight, as I haue red; and was buried at Elie betwéene two marble pillers, hauing bestowed great summes of monie vpon the reparation of that famous belfrie of the church of Elie, and vpon other ornaments of the same church.

Henrie Bourcher.

Henrie Bourcher erle of Esser did the third time possesse the honorable place of the lord treasuror of England, in the eleuenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, in which office he continued (as I gather) about twelue yeares, being all the rest of the life of the said Edward the fourth, who departed this world about the ninth daie of Aprill, in the yeare from the conception of the Messiah one thousand foure

foure hundred foure score and three, which Bourchier being made earle of Esser in the first yeare of king Edward the fourth, in the yeare of Christ 1461, maried Elisabeth the daughter of Richard de Conisburgh earle of Cambridge the sister of Richard duke of Yorke, by whome he had issue William lord Bourchier, Thomas, John, Henrie, and Humfreie knights.

Sir Richard Wood.

Sir Richard Wood knight, whome some call sir John Wood, being before vnder treasuror in the three and twentith yeare of king Edward the fourth, was in the same yeare of the same king made knight, about a moneth before the death of the said king Edward the fourth. This man did possesse the place of the lord treasuror of England (as I gather out of the record of *Pellis exitus* of that yeare) in the second yeare of the reigne of the vnnaturall, bloudie, and vsurping tyrant king Richard the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1484, which office I suppose that he kept, vntill the said Richard the third was slaine by Henrie earle of Richmond afterwards king of England, by the name of Henrie the 7. And here I thinke it not amisse before I go anie further (although it be somewhat out of order, sith it is best to obserue *Decorum*, and vnorderlie to treat of vnorderlie officers vnder such an vnorderlie king as Richard the third was) to make report of sir William Hopton knight, whome some will haue to be treasuror in the first yeare of the reigne of the same king, in the yeare of Christ 1483, attending on him to his coronation. But trulie, saving the correction of better séene antiquaries than my selfe, I can not as yet receiue him into the catalog of the lord treasurors of England, but rather suppose that he was treasuror of the houshold.

Sir William Hopton.

Sir Reinold Braie knight.

Sir Reinold Braie knight (the sonne of Richard Braie physician as some haue noted to king Henrie the first) being seruant to Margaret countesse of Richmond mother to Henrie the seuenth, was for the fidelitie to his ladie, & good seruice in furthering king Henrie the seuenth to the crowne, receiued into great fauour with the said king, and made lord treasuror of England, as appeareth by the record of *Pellis exitus* made vnder his name in the first yeare of the reigne of Henrie the seuenth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand, foure hundred, eightie, and fiue: besides which office he had manie other offices and honours, part whereof were, that he was treasuror of the kings wars, that he was one of the executors to K. Henrie the seuenth, that he was made knight of the Bath at the coronation of the said king, and created a banneret at Blacke heath field. He died the eightéenth yeare of the Salomon of England king Henrie the seuenth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred & three, and was honorablie buried at Windsore.

Sir John Dinham knight.

Sir John Dinham knight (the sonne of sir John Dinham knight) a faithfull seruant to the house of Yorke aswell in aiding the duke of Yorke, as in seruing king Edward the fourth sonne to the said duke of Yorke: to whom the said Edward the fourth, in the second yeare of his reigne had giuen one annuitie of fortie pounds by yeare, did after the death of the said king Edward the fourth, in the second yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, possesse the place of the lord treasuror of England, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred foure score and six, and so continued vntill in the sixtéenth yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, and then gaue place to Thomas earle of Surreie, of which lord Dinham thus writeth Leland: *Dominus Denham primus fuit fundator sancti Nicholai alias Hartland.* He was created lord Dinham in the first yeare of king Edward the fourth, shortlie after the coronation of the said king, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred three score and one, he died in the sixtenth yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, being the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred, and the thirtith of Januarie was brought to the Greie friers in London; there buried: he maried Elisabeth the daughter of the lord Fitzwater, by whom he had issue George and Philip, and sir Thomas Dinham his base sonne that maried one of the daughters and heires of sir John Drmond, which Thomas was buried at Ashrug three miles from Berkhamsted. Besides which children this lord Dinham or Denham, for so I find both written in chronicles, had by his legitimat wife diuerse daughters, which were Margaret maried to Nicholas baron of Carew, Joane maried to the lord Zouch, Elisabeth maried to the lord Fitz Warren, and Katharine maried to sir Thomas Arundell of Cornewall knight.

Here I thinke it not amisse to saie somewhat of a note which I haue séene, that maketh John Touchet lord Audleie treasuror, which note is this. John Touchet lord Audleie treasuror of England, died the six and twentith daie of December, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred foure score and ten, falling in the first yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, and had issue James lord Audelie beheaded the eight and twentith of June, in the yeare of Christ 1497, being the twelfe yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, he maried the daughter of sir Richard Dauell knight: thus much the note. But trulie for anie thing I can yet learne, I can not perceiue when this John Touchet should be treasuror, and so cannot perceiue where he should be placed in this catalog of the treasurors of England. But as I will not receiue him into anie place of this succession at this time; so I will not altogither reiect him, in hope that following time will informe me of the truth therein.

Thomas Howard erle of Surreie.

Thomas Howard the sonne of John lord Howard (created the first duke of Norffolke of that name in the time of Richard the third) was at the same time also created earle of Surreie. This man (after the slaughter of his father at Boswoorth field, when the tyrant Richard the third was slaine by Henrie the seuenth) was after receiued into such fauour with the said king Henrie the seuenth, that he was aduanced to be lord treasuror of England, in the sixtéenth yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred, which place he continued all the life of the said king Henrie the seuenth, who died in the foure and twentith yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred and nine. After which for the good seruice he vsed in the time of Henrie the seuenth, king Henrie the eight also permitted him to keepe that office, which he possessed vntill the fiftéenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred twentie and three.

This man was created duke of Norffolke on Candelmasse daie, in the fift yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred and thirteene, at what time also his son Thomas Howard was made earle of Surreie. This duke was aduanced to that honour (in recompense of the death of the king of Scots, and for the good seruice that he did against that nation in the said fift yeare of Henrie the eight) with an augmentation of his armes, to beare the armes of Scotland in the bend of the arms of Howard. Touching which victorie and death of the king of Scots Buchanan *lib.* 13. writeth to this effect, that the said Thomas Howard (as a note of the conquest) gaue to his seruants his cognisance (to weare on their left arme) being a white lion (the beast which he bare before as the proper

ensigne of that house) standing ouer a red lion (the peculiar note of the kingdome of Scotland) and tearing the same red lion with his pawes. This Thomas duke of Norffolke maried two wiues, his first wife was Elisabeth the daughter of sir Frederike Tilnete knight, by whom he had issue Thomas erle of Surreie after duke of Norffolke, Edward slaine at Bret admerall of England, & Edmund Howard, with Elisabeth maried to Thomas Bulleine earle of Wilshire, and Muriell married to John Greie viscount Lisle. His second wife was Agnes daughter of sir Philip Tilnete knight, by whome he had issue William lord Howard of Effingham, with manie others. This Thomas duke of Norffolke died in the sixtænth yeare of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and foure, and was buried at Thetford in Norfolke.

Thomas Howard.

Thomas Howard (sonne to the said Thomas duke of Norffolke) being earle of Surreie, possessed the place of the lord treasuror in the sixtænth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare that Christ tooke flesh of the virgine Marie one thousand fiue hundred twentie and three: the which office he continued in the eight and thirtith yeare of the said king, being the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and six; in which yeare on the eight and twentith of Januarie, the said king Henrie died (so that this duke and his father were lord treasurors of England almost eight and fortie yeares.) But about some few daies more than a moneth before the death of the said king, that is to saie, on the twelfe of December, this duke with his sonne Henrie earle of Surreie were committed to the tower, the one by water the other by land. Shortlie after which the said Henrie was beheaded at tower hill, the nineteenth daie of Januarie: about nine daies before the death of the king. And the duke remained as condemned to perpetuall prison, till the beginning of the reigne of queene Marie, who then set him at libertie. He married for his first wife Anne the daughter of king Edward the fourth, but had no issue by hir: after whose death he married Elisabeth daughter to Edward duke of Buckingham, by whome he had issue, Henrie earle of Surreie beheaded as before, Thomas viscount Bindon, and Marie married to Henrie Fitzroie duke of Richmont. He died about the beginning of the reigne of queene Marie.

Edward Seimor.

Edward Seimor earle of Hertford was after the death of king Henrie the eight made lord treasuror of England, in the first yeare of king Edward the sixt: being the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred fortie & six, in which yeare he was also made protector of England and duke of Summerset: of whom thus writeth Matthew Parker, calling him *Regni camerarium*, in the life of Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie in these words page 397. *In testamento* (meaning king Henrie the eight) *Edwardo principi minori nouem annis nato hæredi suo sex decim tutores, ex episcopis solos Thomam Cranmerum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum & Cuthbertum Tonstallum Dunelmensem episcopum dedit.* And a little after pag. 398. followeth: *Verum pluribus (vt diximus) ei minori* (that was king Edward) *a patre constitutis curatoribus, ne numero suo atque multitudine ad dissentiones faciles essent & procliues vnus electus est, qui ex consilys reliquorum impuberis regis tutelam solus administraret. Is fuit Edwardus Seimerus comes Hertfordiensis, totius regni camerarius regisque auunculus. Qui suscepta tutela regis, totius regni atque dominiorum suorum protector & Somerseti dux nuncupatus atque creatus est.* This duke of Summerset being treasuror of England continued in the same office vntill his death (as I gather) more than foure years, and was beheaded in the fift yeare of king Edward the sixt, being the yeare of our Lord, one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and one.

Sir William Paulet knight, marquesse of Winchester was made lord treasuror vpon the death of the duke of Summerset: in the fift yeare of king Edward the first, and the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and one, which office he kept by the space of twentie yeares and more: a longer time than euer anie other treasuror had done before, except the two last dukes of Norffolke. This man being a man of extreme age (as atteining to the yeares of ninetie seuen) died lord treasuror of England (the tenth of march, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand fiue hundred seuentie and one, being the fourtænth yeare of the reigne of the famous queene Elisabeth) at his manor of Basing. He in his life time did see the children of his childrens children growne to the number of one hundred and three, a rare blessing of God to men of his calling. He married Elisabeth the daughter of sir William Capell knight, by whome he had issue John marquesse of Winchester, Thomas, Chidiocke, and Giles; Alice married to Richard Stowell, Margaret married to sir William Berkelete, Margerie married to Richard Waller, and Eleanor married to sir Richard Peckhall.

Sir William Paulet.

Sir William Cecill knight of the garter and lord Burghleie, was aduanced to the honorable place of lord treasuror of England on the thirtænth daie of Julie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, fiue hundred, seauentie and two, being the fourtenth yeare of the reigne of our gratious queene Elisabeth. This man was descended of the honorable familie of the Sitsylts of Wales, sometime lords of Beaupor in the daies of Henrie the first, as appeareth by this pedegree here inserted.

Sir William Cecill.

1 In the yeare of Christ one thousand ninetie and one, Robert Sitsylt came with Robert Fitzhamon to the conquest of the countrie of Glamorgan, and after wedded a ladie, by whom he had Halterennes and other lands in Hereford and Glocestershires; he had a sonne called James Sitsylt.

D. Powell *in hist. Cambriæ pa.* 142, 143, &c. Robert Sitsylt.

2 James Sitsylt tooke part with Mawd the empresse against king Stephan, and was slaine at the siege of the castell of Wallingford *Anno quarto Stephani*, hauing then vpon him a vesture, whereon was wrought in needle worke his armes or ensignes, as they be made on the tome of Gerald Sitsylt in the abbeie of Dore, which are afterward truelie blazed, in a iudgement giuen by commission of king Edward the third, for the ancient right of the same armes. This James had a sonne called John Sitsylt, and foure daughters.

James Sitsylt.

3 John Sitsylt, the sonne of James, was after the death of his father, in the same warres with Roger earle of Hereford, and constable of England, and being taken prisoner at the siege of Lincolne, *Anno. 6. Stephani*, he paid for his ransome foure hundred marks, and therefore sold his lordship of Beaupor, and all his lands in the countie of Glocester: he tooke to wife a ladie called Mawd de Frenes and had issue Eustace.

John Sitsylt.

4 Eustace Sitsylt the son of John was wedded to Elianor the daughter of sir Walter Pembridge knight, and had by hir Baldwin and John; and foure daughters, whereof one of them was the wife of sir Thomas Fitzneale knight.

Eustace Sitsylt.

5 Baldwin Sitsylt the sonne of Eustace, was made knight by king Henrie the second, in the warres that the king had against the Welshmen, he was also killed in the same warres, at the siege of the castell of Cardiffe, his father being aliue; he tooke to wife the daughter of Maurice de Brompton, and had by hir Gerald Sitsylt, Eustace Sitsylt,

Baldwin Sitsylt.

Henrie

Henrie Sitsylt, John Sitsylt, and Walter Sitsylt; and two daughters, Catharine and Elianor. Catharine was the wife of Hugh Muredake, and Elianor was the wife of Walter Wallis. This Baldwin Sitsylt knight toke to his second wife, Margerie the daughter of Stephan Radnor knight, and had by hir, Stephan Sitsylt, Roger Sitsylt, Hugh Sitsylt, and Dauid Sitsylt; and three daughters, the first was Mawd and she was a Nun, the second was Jone and she was the wife of John de Solers, the third daughter Anne was the wife of Owen ap Meredith. This man gaue certeine lands in the townesship of Kigestone, vnto the monks of Dore, and granted vnto the same monks fréedome of common and pasture, and other liberties in his woods.

Gerald Sitsylt. 6 Gerald Sitsylt, the first sonne of Baldwin Sitsylt knight, toke to wife Mabill the daughter of Sir William Moigne knight, and had by hir three sonnes, Gerald Sitsylt that died a child, Robert Sitsylt that married and had children, and Owen Sitsylt a monke of the abbeie of Dore. He had also three daughters, Catharine, that was wedded to sir Griffin ap Pozeford, and after to Dauid ap Euan, and the third time to Geffreie de Bret, sonne of sir Walter Bret knight. Anne the second daughter of Gerald Sitsylt was wedded to Robert the sonne of Richard Bromewich. And Ellen the third daughter of Gerald Sitsylt, was the wife of John Abrahall, father of sir John Abrahall knight.

Robert Sitsylt. 7 Robert Sitsylt, the sonne of Gerald toke to wife Alicia daughter of sir Robert Tregois knight, and had by hir James Sitsylt his first sonne, Gerald the second sonne, Thomas the third sonne, and Baldwin the fourth sonne; and Margaret the first daughter, and Elisabeth the second daughter.

James Sitsylt. 8 James Sitsylt the sonne of Robert, toke to wife Isabell the daughter of sir John Knell knight, and had by hir James and Gerald twins; James died yong: he had also Robert Sitsylt, and John Sitsylt; and fiue daughters, that is to saie, Alicia wedded to Walter Wonington, Grace wedded to Roger sonne of William Blunt, Elianor wedded to Thomas Paine, Margerie wedded to Morgan ap Meredith, and Sillie married to Howell ap Blethin, and after to sir Hugh Bruge.

Gerald Sitsylt. 9 Gerald Sitsylt, sonne of James, toke to wife Margaret, daughter of Stephan Dalaber, and by hir had John Sitsylt; and after he wedded Bridget the widow of sir Simon Ward knight, and had by hir James Sitsylt, and the third time married the daughter of Martine Hopton, and had by hir Martine Sitsylt, Henrie Sitsylt, and Dauid Sitsylt, and Jone a daughter. And the fourth time the same Gerald Sitsylt toke to wife Jane the daughter of Robert Emerton, and had by hir one sonne named Stigand Sitsylt, that was slaine in the warres of Striuelin in the time of king Edward the second, and had no issue, as the register of the abbie of Dore maketh mention.

Chron. de Dor. John Sitsylt. 10 John Sitsylt, the sonne of Gerald, toke to wife Sibill the daughter of Robert of Ewyas, and had by hir sir John Sitsylt knight, George Sitsylt, and a daughter named Margaret, that was the wife of sir Robert Baskeruile knight, who had by hir sir John Baskeruile knight; and by his second wife he had sir Richard Baskeruile knight, that toke to wife Jane the daughter and heire of George Sitsylt second sonne of this John Sitsylt, and had by hir sir John Baskeruile knight.

Sir John Sitsylt. 11 Sir John Sitsylt knight, toke to wife Alicia, the sister of the said sir Roger Baskeruile, and sir Roger married his sister, as is afore said.

This sir John Sitsylt had John Sitsylt and Roger Sitsylt.

✲ In the time of the warres that king Edward the third made against Scotland, at a place called Halidon hill nére Barwike anno 6. of Edward the third, there arose a great variance and contention betweene sir William de Facknaham knight, on the one side approuant, & this sir John Sitsylt knight, on the other side defendant, for an ensigne of armes, that is to saie; The field of ten barrets siluer and azure, supported of fiue scutcheons sable charged with so manie lions of the first rampants incensed geuls, which ensigne both the parties did claime as their right. But as both parties put themselues to their force to mainteine their quarrell, and vaunted to mainteine the same by their bodies; it pleased the king that iustice should be yelded for triall of the quarrell, without shedding of bloud: and so the bearing of the ensigne was solemnelie adiudged to be the right of the said sir John Sitsylt, as heire of blod lineallie descended of the bodie of James Sitsylt, lord of Beaupor slaine at the siege of Wallingford, as before is declared. The finall order and determination of which controuersie is laid downe by John Boswell gentleman, in his booke intituled The concords of Armorie, fol. 80. This sir John Sitsylt had a charge of men at armes, for the custodie of the marches to Scotland, in the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the third. D. Powell.

John Sitsylt. 12 John Sitsylt, the sonne of sir John Sitsylt knight, toke to wife Jone daughter of sir Richard Monington knight, and had by hir John Sitsylt (that died, his father being aliue) and Thomas Sitsylt.

Thomas Sitsylt. 13 Thomas Sitsylt married Margaret the daughter and heire of Gilbert de Winston, and had by hir Philip Sitsylt, and Dauid Sitsylt. This man was a great benefactor to the monks of Dore, and forgaue them great sums of monie which they did owe him.

Philip Sitsylt. 14 Philip Sitsylt married Margaret, the daughter of John Philips, and had by hir Richard, John, and Margaret.

Richard Sitsylt. 15 Richard Sitsylt or Cecill married Margaret the daughter of Philip Vaughan, and had by hir Philip Cecill, Margaret Cecill, John Cecill, Dauid Cecill, and James or Jenkin Cecill.

D. Powell. ✲ These pedegrées & descents I gathered faithfullie out of sundrie ancient records and euidences, wherof the most part are confirmed with seales autentike thereunto appendent, manifestlie declaring the antiquitie and truth therof; which remaine at this present in the custodie of the right honourable sir William Cecill, knight of the noble order of the garter, lord Burghleie, and lord high treasuror of England, who is lineallie descended from the last recited Richard Sitsylt, father to Dauid Cecill, grandfather to the said sir William Cecill now lord Burghleie. And at this date William Sitsylt or Cecill esquier cosen german to the said lord Burghleie, remoued by one degrée onelie, is possessed of the foresaid house of Halterennes in Ewyas land as the heire male of the house of Sitsylts, and is descended of Philip Cecill, elder brother to the said Dauid.

The descent of sir William Cecill now lord treasuror.

Fr. Thin. This sir William Cecill lord Burghleie, liuing at this instant in the yeare of Christ, one thousand, fiue hundred, eightie and sir, to the great support of this commonwealth, doth worthilie inioy the place of the lord treasuror of England, of whome (for auoiding the note of flatterie) I may not saie that good which we the subiects of England do féele by his meanes, and all the world doth sée in his rare and wise gouernment. And therefore leauing what may be said of him for his honorable deserts, from his countrie, his prince, and his countriemen, as well

for rare gouernement at home, as for graue managing of the matter of state abroad, I beseech the almightie Lord to lengthen his yeares with perfect health and happie successe of all his good desires, to answer the worth of those his honourable deserts. Thus knitting vp this discourse of the treasurors, with no lesse honorable person of the temporaltie in this our age, than I began the same discourse with a rare person of the spiritualtie in that their age: this being knowne as singular in policie as the other was supposed to be in prelacie, I here set end to that which with much labour of bodie, trauell of mind, and charge of purse, I haue brought to this forme what so euer it be. Thus this much by Francis Thin touching the treasurors of England.]

The earle of Northumberland beheaded.

The 22 of August Thomas Persie earle of Northumberland late of Topcliffe, who had bene before attainted by parlement of high treason, as one of the principall conspirators in the late rebellion, and now brought out of Scotland, whither he had fled, was beheaded at Yorke about two of the clocke in the afternoone, on a new scaffold set vp for that purpose in the market place. In this moneth of August sir Thomas Smith, one of the quenes maiesties priuie councell, carefullie tendering the reformation of Ireland, sent his son Thomas Smith esquier thither with a certeine number of Englishmen to inhabit the Ards in Ulster, after the maner of a colonie vsed by the Romans.

Englishmen sent to Ulster in Ireland.

Anno Reg. 15

A strange star appeared; the bignesse therof, and of what continuance.

The eightenth of Nouember in the morning was seene a star northward verie bright and cleere, in the constellation of Cassiopeia, at the backe of hir chaire, which with three cheefe fired stars of the said constellation made a geometricall figure lozengwise, of the learned men called Rhombus. This starre in bignes at the first appearing seemed bigger than Iupiter, & not much lesse than Uenus when she seemeth greatest. Also the said starre neuer changing his place, was caried about with the dailie motion of heauen, as all fired starres commonlie are, and so continued (by little and little to the eie appearing lesse) for the space of almost sixteene moneths: at what time it was so small, that rather thought by exercises of oft bewing might imagine the place, than anie eie could iudge the presence of the same. And one thing is herein cheefelie to be noted, that (by the skill and consent of the best and most expert mathematicians, which obserued the state, propertie, and other circumstances belonging to the same starre) it was found to haue bene in place celestiall far aboue the mone, otherwise than euer anie comet hath bene seene, or naturallie can appeare. Therefore it is supposed that the signification therof is directed purposelie and speciallie to some matter, not naturall, but celestiall, or rather supercelestiall, so strange, as from the beginning of the world neuer was the like.

Earle of Darbie deceased.

The foure and twentith of Nouember Edward earle of Darbie, lord Stanleie, & Strange, of Knocking, lord and gouernor of the Iles of Man, knight of the noble order of the garter, and one of the quéens maiesties priuie councell deceased at his house called Latham in Lancashire. His life and death deseruing commendation, and craning memorie to be imitated, was such as followeth. His fidelitie vnto two kings and two quenes in dangerous times and great rebellions, in which time, and alwaies as cause serued, he was lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire, and latelie offered ten thousand men vnto the quenes maiestie of his owne charge for the suppression of the last rebellion. His godlie disposition to his tenants, neuer forcing anie seruice at their hands, but due paiment of their rent. His liberalitie to strangers, and such as shewed themselues gratefull to him. His famous housekeeping, and eleuen score in checkroll, neuer discontinuing the space of twelue yeares. His feeding especiallie of aged persons twise a daie three score and od; besides all commers thrise a weeke appointed for his dealing daies; and euerie good fridaie these fiue and thirtie yeares one with another two thousand seauen hundred, with meat, drinke, monie, and monie worth. There was neuer gentleman or other that waited in his seruice, but had allowance from him, to haue as well wages as otherwise for horsse and man. His yearlie portion for the expenses of his house foure thousand pounds. His cunning in setting bones disiointed or broken, his surgerie and desire to helpe the poore, his deliuerie of the George and seale to the lord Strange, with exhortation that he might keepe it so vnspotted in fidelitie to his prince as he had, and his ioie that he died in the quenes fauour. His ioifull parting this world, his taking leaue of all his seruants by shaking of hands, & his remembrance to the last daie.

The life and death of the foresaid earle of Darbie.

Rare qualities in a noble man.

Hall and Wilkinson executed.

The eight and twentith of Nouember John Hall late of Battell in Sussex gentleman, and Oswold Wilkinson late of Yorke and gaoler of Yorke castell (being before arreigned and condemned of treason) were drawne from the tower of London to Tiborne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered.

Great frost and a sharpe winter.

This yeere a great and sharpe frost almost continuallie lasted, from before the feast of All saints, till after the feast of the Epiphanie of our Lord, with somtime great and deepe snowes, and sometime raines, which freesed as fast as the same fell to the ground: wherethrough at Wrotham in Kent, and manie other places, the armes and boughs of trees being ouercharged with ise, brake off, and fell from the stockes of the same trees. Also the wind continued north and east, till after the Ascension daie, with sharpe frosts and snowes, whereby followed a late spring.

1573

Lord priuie seale deceased.

The twelfe of Januarie William lord Howard, baron of Effingham, lord priuie seale, knight of the noble order of the garter, and one of the priuie councell deceased at Hampton court. The eightenth of Januarie William lord Sommerset earle of Worcester began his iourneie towards France, to the christening of the kings daughter there in stead of the quenes maiestie of England, who sent with him a font of gold for that purpose, weieng three hundred and six and twentie ounces. The said earle with manie of his companie were robbed vpon the sea by pirats of much of their baggage, and three or foure of their men slaine. In France he and his traine were honorablie receiued. At the christening he gaue the child to name Elisabeth. They returned into England the seauen and twentith of Februarie.

Earle of Worcester sent into France.

Earle of Worcester robbed on the sea.

The narrow seas scowred.

In the moneth of Februarie, thorough sundrie heinous complaints brought to the quenes maiestie and hir councell of pirats that kept the narrow seas, doing manie robberies, as also the robbing of the earle of Worcester (as is aforesaid) hir highnesse, by the aduise of hir honourable councell, toke order with the lord admerall of England, that he should send to the seas ships, and men to scowre the narow seas, & to apprehend so manie pirats ships as might be met with. And for the better doing thereof, it pleased hir maiestie to send one of hir owne ships, named the Swallow to be the admerall, vnder the charge of William Holstocke of London esquier, comptrollor of hir highnesse ships, who had with him the Gillian, the barke Garet, and the barke of Yarmouth, and three hundred and three score able marriners, gunners, and souldiors in the said three ships, and one barke which scowred the narrow seas, from the north foreland, as farre westward as Falmouth in Cornewall, and toke twentie ships and barks of sundrie

Pirats on the west seas.

sundrie nations, to wit, English, French, and Flemmings (but all pirats) and in fashion of warre. He apprehended in those ships and barks to the number of nine hundred men of all nations, and sent them toward to Sandwich, Douer, Wight, and Portelmouth (whereof three of them that robbed the earle of Worcester were shortlie after executed at Wight.) Also the said William Holstocke did rescue and take from the aboue said pirats ships, fiftéene other merchants ships laden with merchandize, that were their prises, being of sundrie nations, and set at libertie the said fiftéene merchants ships and goods: which done, he returned to Portelmouth, and there ended his voiage in March.

Pirats executed.

A man hanged in saint Georges field.

The fourth of March, a man was hanged in chains in saint Georges field beyond Southwarke of London, for murthering the gaoler of Horsham in the same field. The seuentéenth of March deceassed Reinold Greie of Ruthin, earle of Kent, at Herneseie, and was buried at saint Giles without Creplegate. About the same time died Edmund lord Shandois.

The earle of Kent deceassed.

George Sanders murthered at Shoters hill.

The fiue and twentith of March being wednesdaie in Easter wéeke, and the feast of the Annuntiation of our ladie, George Browne cruellie murthered two honest men nére to Shoters hill in Kent, the one of them was a wealthie merchant of London named George Sanders, the other John Beane of Woolwich, which murther was committed in manner as followeth. On tuesdaie in Easter wéeke (the foure and twentith of March) the said George Browne receiuing secret intelligence by letter from mistresse Anne Dzurie, that master Sanders should lodge the same night at the house of one master Barnes in Woolwich, and from thense go on foot to saint Marie Craie; the nert morning he late in wait for him by the waie, a little from Shoters hill, and there slue both him & John Beane seruant to master Barnes. But John Beane hauing ten or eleuen wounds, & being left for dead, by Gods prouidence did reuiue againe: and créeping awaie on all foure, was found by an old man and his maiden, and conueied vnto Woolwich, where he gaue euident marks of the murtherer.

A discourse of the murther practised and committed.

Roger Clement *alias* trustie Roger.

Immediatlie vpon the déed doing, Browne sent mistresse Dzurie word thereof by Roger Clement (among them called trustie Roger) he himselfe repaired forthwith to the court at Grænewich, & anon after him came thither the report of the murther also. Then departed he thense vnto London, and came to the house of mistresse Dzurie, where though he spake not personallie with hir, after conference had with hir seruant trustie Roger, she prouided him twentie pounds that same daie, for the which she laid certeine plate of hir owne, & of mistresse Sanders to gage. On the nert morning being thursdaie (hauing intelligence that Browne was sought for) they sent him six pounds more by the same Roger, warning him to shift for himselfe by flight, which thing he forefollowed not to do. Neuer theless, the lords of the quéens maiesties councell caused so spéedie and narrow search to be made for him, that vpon the eight and twentith of the same moneth he was apprehended in a mans house of his owne name at Rochester and being brought backe againe to the court, was examined by the councell: vnto whome he confessed the déed (as you haue heard) and that he had oftentimes before pretended and sought to do the same, by the instigation of the said mistresse Dzurie, who had promised to make a marriage betweene him and mistresse Sanders (whome he seemed to loue excessiuelie) neuertheless he protested (though vntrulie) that mistresse Sanders was not priuie nor consenting thereunto.

Browne the murtherer reléued with monie.

He confesseth his offense vpon his examination.

Upon his confession he was arreigned at the kings bench in Westminster hall the eighteenth of Aprill, where he acknowledged himselfe guiltie, and was condemned as principall of the murther, according to which sentence he was executed in Smithfield, on mondaie the twentith of Aprill: at which time also vntrulie (as the hir selfe confessed afterward) he laboured by all meanes to cléere mistresse Sanders of committing euill of hir bodie with him, and then slong himselfe beside the ladder. He was after hanged vp in chains nére vnto the place where he had done the fact. In the meane time mistresse Dzurie and hir man being examined, as well by their owne confessions, as by falling out of the matter, and also by Brownes appeachment thought culpable, were committed to ward. And after mistresse Sanders being deliuered of child, and churched (for at the time of hir husbands death she loked presentlie to lie downe) was vpon mistresse Dzuries mans confession, and other great likelihods, likewise committed to the tower, and on wednesdaie the first of Maie she was arreigned with mistresse Dzurie at the Guildhall.

George Browne hanged in Smithfield, and afterward in chains on Shoters hill.

The effect of their indictment was, that they by a letter written had béene procurers of the said murther: & knowing the murther done, had by monie & otherwise reléued the murtherer: whereunto they pleaded not giltie. Howbeit they were both condemned as accessaries to master Sanders death, and executed in Smithfield the thirtenth of Maie, being wednesdaie in Whitsunwéeke, at which time they both confessed themselues guiltie of the fact. Trustie Roger mistresse Dzuries man was arreigned on fridaie the eight of Maie, & being there condemned as accessarie, was executed with his mistresse at the time and place aforesaid. Not long after, Anthonie Browne brother to the fornamed George Browne, was for notable felonies conueied from Newgate to Yorke, and there hanged.

Anne Sanders, Anne Dzurie, and trustie Roger hanged in Smithfield.

Anthonie Browne hanged at Yorke.

The tenth of Aprill seauen pirats which among others had bene taken on the north seas, were lead from Southwarke to Wapping, and fiue of them were there hanged: the other two had their pardon at the gallowes. The seauententh of Aprill a chandelers wife without Aldersgate of London, who had practised hir husbands death by poisoning and otherwise, was set on the pillorie in Cheape, with three other women, who had bene of hir counsell: two of them were with hir there whipped.

Pirats hanged at Wapping.

Foure women on the pillorie.

The seauenth of June, betweene the houres of one and two of the clocke in the after none, a great tempest of haile and raine happened at Tocester in Northamptonshire, wherethrough six houses in that towne were borne downe, and foureteene more sore perished with the waters which rose of that tempest. The hailstones were square, & six inches about. One child was there drowned, and manie sheepe with other cattell, which when the water was fallen, manie of them were lieng on the high hedges, where the waters had left them. The sixtenth of June, Thomas Woodhouse, a priest of Lincolnshire, who had laine long prisoner in the Fleet, was arreigned in the Guildhall of London, and there condemned of high treason, who had iudgement to be hanged and quartered, and was executed at Tiburne the nineteenth of June.

Haile in Northamptonshire.

Thomas Woodhouse.

The sixteenth of August, Walter earle of Esser, accompanied with the lord Rich, and diuerse other gentlemen, imbarked themselues in seuerall ships at Leirpole, and the wind sitting verie well, toke their voiage towards Ireland. The earle after manie and great dangers on the sea, at length wone Copemans Iland, from whence in a pinnesse of captein Perses he was brought safe to Knockfergus. The lord Rich with the like danger landed at castell Kil-

Erle of Esser and the lord Rich with other sailed into Ireland.

life,

lise, where being met by capteine Malbie, maister Smith, & maister Moze pensioners, he was conducted to Inch abbaie maister Malbies house, where he had in a readinesse on the morrow morning a hundred and fiftie horsemen for their safegard to Knockfergus, beside fiftie Kerns which went a foot through the woods: there was among these a thirtie bowes with a bagpipe, the rest had darts. Sir Brian Makephelin had preied the countrie, and taken awaie what was to be carried or driuen, but on the sixt of September he came to Knockfergus, to the earle of Esser, and there made his submission: the number of kine were estéemed thirtie thousand, besides shéepe and swine.

Bowes, bagpipes & darts among the Irish.

After him Ferdorough Macgillaspicke the blind Scots sonne, Roze, Oge, Macwilline did the like: and diuerse other sent their messengers to the earle, to signifie that they were at his lordships disposition as the baron of Dongarrow, Condenell, Odonell, and the capteine of Kilulto. The earle of Esser hauing the countrie of Clanboie and other, the quéens maiestie of England directed hir letters to the lord deputie of Ireland, willing him to make by commission the earle of Esser capteine generall of the Irish nation in the prouince of Ulster, and to diuide the countrie woone, Clanboie, and else where, &c. The eleuenth of October, Peter Burchet gentleman of the middle temple, with his dagger suddenlie assailed, cruellie wounded, and meant to haue murthered a seruiceable gentleman named John Hawkins esquier, as he with sir William Winter, and an other gentleman rode towards Westminster, in the high stréet neare to the Strand, beyond the Temple barre of London: for which fact the said Burchet being apprehended and commited to the tower, was afterward examined concerning the fact. Who answered that he toke the said maister Hawkins for an other gentleman: and being further examined, he was found to hold certeine erroneous opinions, for the which he was sent to the Lollards tower.

Erle of Esser capteine generall of Ulster in Ireland.

Peter Burchet wounded maister Hawkins.

Peter Burchet found to be an heretike.

From thence being called into the consistorie of Paules church, before the right reuerend father Edwine bishop of London, and others, & by them examined, he stood in his opinions, till the sentence of death as an heretike was readie to haue béene pronounced against him on the fourth of Nouember: but through the earnest persuasions of diuerse learned men, who toke great paines in that matter, he renounced, forswore, and abiured his opinions for erroneous & damnable, promising neuer to returne to them, and also willinglie to doo and performe all such penance as the bishop his ordinarie should inioine him.

Peter Burchet abiured his heresie, & submitted himselfe to doo penance.

The ninth of Nouember, the said Peter Burchet was remoued from the Lollards tower, to the tower of London, where on the next morrow about noone, whilest one that had kept him companie was gone downe, and locked the doze after him, leauing an other with him called Hugh Longworth, who stood at the window reading in the bible, the said Burchet walking vp and downe in the chamber, toke a billets end out of the fire, and knocked the said Longworth on the head, and left not till he had striken him starke dead: for the which on the next morow he was arreigned & condemned at Westminster, and then returned to Summerset house, where he remained that night: and on the next morrow being the twelfe of Nouember, he was brought to the gibet, where (after his right hand being striken off, and nailed to the gibbet) he was hanged nigh the place where hée wounded maister Hawkins. This yeare about Lammas, wheat was sold at London for thrée shillings the bushell: but shortlie after it was raised to foure shillings, fiue shillings, six shillings: & before Christ-

Peter Burchet killeth his keeper.

Peter Burchet hanged.

Anno Reg. 16.

mas to a noble, and seuen shillings, which so continued long after: beefe was sold for twentie pence, and two and twentie pence the stone, and all other flesh and white meats at an excessiue price, all kind of salt fish verie deare, as fiue herings two pence, &c: yet great plentie of fresh fish, and oft times the same verie cheape: pease at foure shillings the bushell, otemeale at foure shillings eight pence: baie salt at three shillings the bushell, &c. All this dearth notwithstanding (thanks be giuen to God) there was no want of anie thing to them that wanted not monie.

Dearth without scarsitie, & afterwards plentie to them that had monie.

The fourth of Aprill being Palme sundais, there was taken saieng of masse in the lord Morleis house within Algate of London, one Albon Dalman preist, and the ladie Morleie with hir children, and diuerse others were also taken hearing of the said masse. There was also taken the same daie and houre for saieng masse at the ladie Gilfords in Trinitie lane, one Oliuer Heiwood preist: and for hearing of the said masse, the said ladie Gilford with diuerse other gentlewomen. There was also taken at the same instant in the ladie Browns house in Cowlane for saieng masse, one Thomas Heiwood preist, and one John Cowper Preist, with the ladie Browne, and diuers other were likewise taken being hearers of the said masse. All which persons were for the same offenses indicted, conuicted, and had the law according to the statute in that case prouided. There was also found in their seuerall chapels, diuerse Latine bookes, beads, images, palmes, chalices, crosses, vestments, pixes, pares, and such like.

1574

Priests saieng masse apprehended.

The ninth of Julie at six of the clocke at night, in the Ile of Thanet beside Ramesgate, in the parish of saint Peter vnder the cliffe, a monstrous fish or whale of the sea did shoot himselfe on shore, where for want of water, beating himselfe on the sands, he died about six of the clocke on the next morning, before which time he roared, and was heard more than a mile on the land. The length of this fish was twentie two yards, the nether law twelue foot the opening: one of his eies, being taken out of his head, was more than six horse in a cart could draw, a man stood vpright in the place from whence the eie was taken. The thicknesse from the backe whereon he laie, to the top of his bellie (which was vpward) was foure téene foot, his taile of the same breadth: betweene his eies twelue foot, three men stood vpright in his mouth, some of the ribs were six foot long, his tong was sixtéene foot long, his liuer two cart lode, into his nosetrils anie man might haue crept: the oile being boiled out of the head was *parmasitie, the oile of his bodie was whitish and sweet of taste. The seuenth of August, a solemne obsequie was kept in saint Paules church at London for Charles the ninth king of France, who deceased on the twentie day of Maie last before passed.

A monstrous fish (but not so monstrous as some reported) for his eies being great, were in his head and not in his backe.

*Sperma cete.

Obsequie at Pauls for the French king.

On the fiftéenth daie of August being sundaie, Agnes Bridges, a maiden about the age of twentie yeares, and Rachell Pinder, a wench about eleuen or twelue yeares old, who both of them had counterfetted to be possessed by the diuell (wherby they had not onelie maruellouslie deluded manie people, both men and women, but also diuerse such persons as otherwise séemed to be of good wit and vnderstanding) stood before the preacher at Paules crosse, where they acknowledged their hypocriticall counterfetting, with penitent behauiours, requiring forgiuenesse of God and the world, and the people to praie for them. Also their seuerall examinations and confessions were there openlie read by the preacher, and afterwards published in print for the further possessitie hereafter to beware of the like deceiuers.

Agnes Bridges & Rachell Pinder at Pauls crosse for counterfetting to be possessed.

The fourth of September in the after noone, such a storme of raine happened at London, as the like of long

A lad of eightéene yeares

old drowned in a chanell in London,

long time could not be remembred, wherethrough the chanels of the citie suddenlie rising, ran with such a forceable course towards the common sewes, that a lad about the age of eightéene yeares, minding to haue lept ouer the chanell neere vnto Dowgate, was borne ouer with the streame, and by the same carried from the conduit there towards the Thames, with such a swiftnesse, that no man with staues or otherwise could stay him, till he came against a cart whéele that stood in the watergate, afore which he was drowned and starke dead.

No maiors feast at the Guildhall.

This yeare the maior of London went by water to Westminster, and there toke his oth, as hath béene accustomed: he kept no feast at the Guildhall, although great prouision had béene made for that purpose, but dined at his owne house with his brethren the aldermen: the companies dined at their seuerall halles. This was done by the speciall appointment of the quéenes maiesties councell, to auoid infection of the plague, like to haue increased by comming togither of such a multitude. This wéeke from the two and twentith, vnto the eight and twentith of October, deceased in the citie and liberties, conteining an hundred and eight parishes, of all diseases, one hundred threescore & six, of the which number threescore and fiue were accounted to die of the plague. Michaelmas tearme, which had béene adiourned by proclamation, began at Westminster on the first of Nouember. The same first day in the morning, there happened two great tides at London, in the riuer of Thames, the first by course, the other within one houre following, which ouerflowed the marshes, with manie vaults and cellars neare adioining.

Tearme adiourned.

Two tides in one houre.

Fierie impressions marueilous.

The fourteenth of Nouember being sundaie, about midnight following, diuerse strange impressions of fire and smoke were séene in the aire to proceed forth of a blacke cloud in the north toward the south, which so continued till the next morning that it was date light. The next night following, the heauens from all parts did séeme to burne marueilous raginglie, & ouer our heads the flames from the horizon round about rising did méet, and there double and roll one in another, as if it had béene in a cleare fornace. The eightéenth date at night blew verie stormie & tempestuous winds out of the south, as hath not béene knowne the like out of that quarter, especiallie after midnight, till the next morning that it was date light. These are to be receiued as tokens of Gods wrath readie bent against the world for sinne now abounding, and also of his great mercie, who doth onlie thus but to shew vs the rod wherwith we dailie deserue to be beaten.

Anno Reg. 17.

Tempestuous winds out of the south.

This yeare at London after haruest, the price of wheate began by little and little to fall, from seuen shillings to three shillings the bushell, at which price it staied (little or nothing rising or falling) all the yeare after: but baie salt was raised from three shillings to foure shillings, fiue shillings, and six shillings the bushell, the like whereof had neuer béene séene or heard within this realme. The 24 day of Februarie, being the feast of saint Matthie, on which date the fate was kept at Deuke sburie, a strange thing happened there. For after a flood which was not great, but such as therby the medows néere adioining were couered with water, in the after noone there came downe the riuer of Seuerne great numbers of flies & bétels, such as in summer euenings vse to strike men in the face, in great heapes, a foot thicke aboue the water, so that to credible mens iudgement there were séene within a paire of buts length of those flies aboue a hundred quarters. The mils there about were dammed vp with them for the space of foure daies after, and then were clensed by digging them out with shouels: from whence they came is yet vnknowne: but the date was cold and a hard frost.

Baie salt deare.

1575

Flies in Februarie the number strange.

The six and twentith of Februarie, betwéene foure and six of the clocke in the after noone, great earthquakes happened in the cities of Yorke, Worcester, Gloucester, Bristow, Hereford, and in the countries about, which caused the people to runne out of their houses: for feare they should haue fallen on their heads. In Teukesburie, Bredon, and other places, the dishes fell from the cupbords, and the bookes in mens studies from the shelues. In Norton chappell, the people being on their knees at euening praier, the ground moouing, caused them to run awaie in great feare that the dead bodies would haue risen, or the chappell to haue fallen: part of Ruthen castell fell downe with certeine bricke chimneies in gentlemens houses. The bell in the shire hall at Denbigh was also caused to toll twise, by shaking of the hall, &c.

In earthquake in sundrie places of England, and what effects it wrought.

On Easter date, which was the third of Aprill, about nine of the clocke in the forenoone, was disclosed a congregation of anabaptists, Duchmen, in a house without the bars of Aldgate at London, wherof seauen and twentie were taken and sent to prison: and foure of them bearing fagots recanted at Paules crosse, on the fifteenth date of Maie in forme as followeth.

Anabaptists bare fagots at Pauls crosse.

The forme of recantation openlie *made by the said anabaptists.*

WHereas I. I. T. R. H. being seduced by the diuell the spirit of error, and by false teachers his ministers, haue fallen into certeine most detestable and damnable heresies, namelie:

The anabaptists heresies

1 That Christ toke not flesh of the substance of the blessed virgine Marie:
2 That infants of the faithfull ought not to be baptised:
3 That a christian man may not be a magistrat or beare the sword or office of authoritie:
4 That it is not lawfull for a christian to take an oth:

Now by the grace of God, and through conference with good and learned ministers of Christ his church, I doo vnderstand and acknowlege the same to be most damnable and detestable heresies, and doo aske God here before his church mercie for my said former errors, and doo forsake them, recant, and renounce them, and abiure them from the bottome of my heart, professing that I certeinlie beléeue:

Recanted.

1 That Christ toke flesh of the substance of the blessed virgine Marie:
2 That infants of the faithfull ought to be baptised:
3 That a christian man may be a magistrat, or beare the sword or office of authoritie:
4 That it is lawfull for a christian man to take an oth.

And further I confesse, that the whole doctrine and religion established and published in this realme of England, as also that which is receiued and preached in the Dutch church here in this citie, is sound, true, and according to the word of God: whervnto in all things I submit my selfe, and will most gladlie be a member of the said Dutch church, from henceforth vtterlie abandoning and forsaking all and euerie anabaptisticall error. This is my faith now, in the which I doo purpose and trust to stand firme and stedfast to the end. And that I may so doo, I beséech you all to praie with me, and for me, to God the heauenlie father, in the name of his sonne our sauiour

Iesus

Jesus Christ. The like recantation was made by them afterwards in the Dutch church.

Matthew Parker archbishop of Canturburie deceased.

The seauentæenth of Maie about midnight following, the reuerend father in God Matthew Parker doctor of diuinitie archbishop of Canturburie deceased at Lambeth, and was there honorablie buried, on whose tome (being of blacke marble) is written this most worthie epitaph here following:

Walter Haddon.

Sobrius & prudens, studijs excultus & vsu,
Integer & veræ relligionis amans,
Matthæus vixit Parkerus, fouerat illum
Aula virum iuuenem, fouit & aula senem,
Ordine res gessit, recti defensor & æqui,
Vixerat ille Deo, mortuus ille Deo est.

Matthew Parker liued soberlie and wise,
Learned by studie and continuall practise,
Louing, true, of life vncontrold,
The court did foster him both yoong and old,
Orderlie he dealt, the right he did defend,
He liued vnto God, to God he made his end.

Io. St. 1182. Matthew Parker a lerned antiquarie, and what monuments of his loue to learning he left behind him.

¶This reuerend father examined throughlie the English translation of the holie bibles, wherein he partlie vsed the helpe of his brethren bishops, and other doctors, and caused the same to be newlie printed in the largest volume, for the due furniture of manie churches then wanting. Also making diligent search for the antiquities of the Britons, and English Saxons, to the end those monuments might be carefullie kept, he caused them to be well bound and trimlie couered: and such wherof he knew verie few examples to be extant (among the which was Matthew Paris, Matthew Florilegus, and Thomas Walsingham) he caused to be printed. The famous palace of his see at Canturburie, by long continuance decaied & consumed with fire, he renewed, builded, and fullie restored with the charges of more than fourteene hundred pounds. He founded a grammar schole in Rochdale in the countie of Lancaster.

Founder of a grammar schole.

To Corpus Christi college in Cambridge he procured thirteene scholarships, and bare the charges in making and furnishing two chambers for scholars, and the inward librarie of the same college. Item he gaue to the outward and inward librarie of the said college a goodlie companie of printed bookes, & a great number of written booke of great antiquitie & much value. Item he procured to the said college the patronage of saint Marie Abchurch in London. Item he hath founded two felowships in the said college, and procured one charter of mortmaine to the summe of one hundred pounds by yeare. Item he hath giuen to the same college of siluer plate double guilt three hundred nine ounces, and three quarters, & surrendred to them a lease with the improuement of foureteene pounds and eight shillings yerelie for seuenteene yeres. Item one hundred pounds to the maintenance of a fier in the hall from Halomas to Candlemas; and by his last will and testament fiue hundred pounds. Item to diuers scholars chambers within the said college diuerse bedsteads, with sufficient bedding & books to remaine for euer. Item he hath founded for euer fiue sermons to be preached in diuerse places of Norfolke euerie yere in Rogation weeke; and fortie shillings to be diuided at Norwich to the poore and others. Item to the citie of Norwich one bason and ewer of siluer and double guilt of one hundred seauentie and fiue ounces. Item to the towne of Watsall in Norfolke for euer an annuitie of fiftie shillings to be diuided to the poore with a sermon in Rogation weeke. Item to Gunuill and Caius college one scholarship, with a standing cup, and a pot of siluer double guilt of fiue and fiftie ounces and three quarters, and one nest of goblets with a couer siluer and guilt; with a number of good bookes to their librarie. Item to Trinitie hall one scholarship, a standing cup and a pot of siluer and guilt of three and fiftie ounces, a nest of goblets siluer and guilt with a couer; and bookes to their librarie. Item to the vniuersitie librarie fiftie old ancient written bookes, and fiftie printed bookes. Of this prelat, to his further commendation the aforesaid doctor Haddon, in the second booke of his poems maketh very honorable mention, comprising in six verses the ensignes of his ancestors, with those also which were accessarie by the gratiousnesse of the prince, who preferred him to his prelacie. In the same verses also is comprehended as it were an harmonie or consent of most godlie qualities answerable vnto the ensignes that he bare; as thus:

Sermons perpetuallie founded at his charges in Norfolke: and what other particular gifts he bestowed to good purposes.

A benefactor to Corpus christi college.

Sunt antiquorum claues monumenta parentum, — *De insignibus eiusdem Matthei.*
Venit ab augusto principe stella triplex.
Sic benè conspirant virtus, doctrina, potestas,
Et placidæ pacis semina læta serunt.
Sed tamen ad finem decurrunt gaudia vitæ,
Ac homo puluis erit, puluis vt antè fuit.]

The 21 of Maie being Whitsun eeuen, one man and ten women anabaptists Dutch, were in the consistorie of Paules condemned to be burned in Smithfield: but after great paines taken with them, onlie one woman was conuerted, the other were banished the land. On the first of June the nine women being led by the shiriffs officers, and the man also tied to a cart & whipped, were all conueied from Newgate to the waters side, where they were shipped awaie neuer to returne againe. The twelfe of June stood at Paules crosse fiue persons Englishmen of the sect termed the familie of loue, who there confessed themselues vtterlie to detest as well the author of that sect H. N. as all his damnable errors and heresies.

Anabaptists banished.

Fiue persons of the familie of loue stood at Paules crosse.

The two and twentith of Julie two Dutchmen anabaptists were burned in Smithfield, who died in great horror with roring and crieng.

Anabaptists burned in Smithfield.

The thirtith of Julie in the afternoone was a great tempest of lightening and thunder, wherethrough both men and beasts in diuerse places were stricken dead. Also at that time fell great abundance of haile, whereof the stones in manie places were found to be six or seuen inches about. The fourth of September being sundaie about seuen of the clocke in the morning, a certeine glasse house, which sometime had beene the crossed friers hall neere to the tower of London burst out on a terrible fire: whereunto the lord maior, aldermen and shiriffes with all expedition repaired, and practised there all meanes possible, by water buckets, hookes, and otherwise to haue quenched it. All which notwithstanding, whereas the same house in a small time before had consumed great quantitie of wood by making of fine drinking glasses; now it selfe hauing within it neere fortie thousand billets of wood was all consumed to the stone walles, which walles greatlie defended the fire from spreading further, and doing anie more harme.

Thunder and haile, whereof insued great hurt.

The glasse house burned.

The six and twentith of September, a poulters wife in the parish of Christs church within Newgate of London was deliuered & brought to bed of foure childzen at one burthen, all females or maidenchildzen, which were christened by the names of Elisabeth, Marie, Margaret, and Dorothie: and the same daie moneth the mother was buried, but all the foure childzen liuing, and in good liking, were borne to church after hir. ¶On Michaelmas eeuen at night the like impressions of fire and smoke were seene in the aire to flash out of the northeast, north and northwest, as had beene on the fiue and twentith of November last before passed.

A woman brought a bed of foure childzen at one burthen.

The tenth of October manie French, and some Englishmen, but all pirats of the seas, were arreigned

To the number of two and twentie pirats condemned and iudged to die.

ned at the admeraltie court in Southwarke, where to the number of two and twentie were condemned, and had sentence of death pronounced against them. The maior of London went by water to Westminster, and there toke his oth as hath bene accustomed: he kept no feast at the Guildhall, but dined at his owne house with his brethren the aldermen and others. The companies dined at their seuerall halles, &c. This was done as in the yere last before passed, to auoid the infection of the plague, which might haue increased by comming togither of greater numbers of people. That weeke, from the two and twentith vnto the eight and twentith of October, deceased in the citie and liberties of all diseases one hundred thirtie and two, of the which number six and thirtie were accounted to die of the plague. The next weeke following ending the third of Nouember (thanks be giuen to God therefore) there deceased of all diseases but one hundred and ten, and of them of the plague but six and twentie.

No maiors feast at the Guildhall, and why.

The plague asswaged in London.

1 St. pag. 1185. God punisheth periurie.

¶ The eleuenth of Februarie Anne Aueries, widow, forswearing hir selfe for a little monie that she should haue paid for six pounds of tow at a shop in Woodstreet of London, fell immediatlie downe speechlesse, casting vp at hir mouth in great aboundance, & with horrible stinke, the same matter which by natures course should haue beene voided downewards, till she died. A terrible example of Gods iust iudgement vpon such as make no conscience of swearing against their brother. The fifteenth of Februarie, Edmund Grindale somtime bishop of London, late archbishop of Yorke, was in the chapterhouse of S. Paules church at London elected archbishop of Canturburie. The first of March in the night through a great flaw of wind then in the northeast, a tilt bote with about the number of one and thirtie persons, men and women, comming from Grauesend toward London, were all drowned; one boie excepted. The thirtith of Maie Thomas Greene goldsmith was drawen from Newgate of London to Tiburne, and there hanged, headed, and quartered, for clipping of coine both gold and siluer.

Archbishop elected.

Tilt bote drowned.

Greene hanged.

The fifteenth of June Martine Frobisher being furnished of aduenturors, with two small barkes & one pinnesse departed from Blackewall, vpon his voiage for the discouerie of a passage to Catata by the northwest seas. Vpon the first of Julie he had sight (as he iudged) of Freesland, but durst not approch the same, by reason of the great yce that laie alongst the coast. Not far from thense he lost his pinnesse and one of his barkes, who mistrusting the danger of tempests returned home, with report that their generall Martine Frobisher was cast awaie, which worthie capteine notwithstanding continued his course northwest, beyond anie man that hath heretofore discouered, and the twentith of Julie had sight of a high land, which he named Queene Elisabeths foreland; and after that another foreland with a great passage, diuiding (as it were) the two maine lands asunder: this place he named Frobishers streits. After he had passed sixtie leagues further, he went ashoare, found the same to be inhabited with sauage people, caught one of them into his barke, and returning, arriued in England in the moneth of August following. One of his companie brought from thense a peece of a blacke stone, much like to a seacole in colour, which being brought to certeine goldfiners in London, to make a saie thereof, found it to hold gold, and that verie richlie for the quantitie.

Frobishers first voiage for the discouerie of Catata.

A rumor that capteine Frobisher was cast awaie.

Queene Elisabeths foreland.

The nintenth of Julie a woman was burnt at Tunbridge in Kent for poisoning of hir husband: and two daies before a man, named Orleie, was hanged at Maidstone for being accessarie to the same fact. The tenth of August a rare peece of worke and almost incredible, was brought to passe by an Englishman borne in the citie of London named Peter Bales, who by his industrie and practise of his pen, contriued and writ within the compasse of a penie in Latine, the Lords praier, the creed, the ten commandements, a praier to God, a praier for the queene, his posie, his name, the date of the moneth, the yeare of our Lord, and the reigne of the queene. And on the seuententh of August next following at Hampton court he presented the same to the queens maiestie in the head of a ring of gold, couered with a christall, and presented therewith an excellent spectacle by him deuised for the easier reading thereof: therewith hir maiestie read all that was written therein with great admiration, and commended the same to the lords of the councell, and the ambassadors, and did weare the same manie times vpon hir finger.]

A woman burnt at Tunbridge for poisoning hir husband.

Rare workemanship shewed in the compasse of a penie by the handwriting of an Englishman.

This yeare, by reason of the troubles in the low countries, the English merchants sustained great losses diuers waies. For the men of warre that kept the seas, aduowing themselues to be reteined with the prince of Orenge, vnder colour to serch for their aduersaries goods, oftentimes boorded the English ships as they met with them on the seas, smallie to the profit of them to whome the same ships and goods apperteined. Some they staied and toke awaie with them. And at length there was a generall restraint made by the prince of Orenge, that no English ships should passe to or fro the towne of Antwerpe by the riuer of Scheld, such being arrested and deteined at Flishing as were comming downe that riuer, and other likewise that were bound vp the same time towards Antwerpe.

Anno Reg. 18. 1576

English merchants susteine great losse by sea, and why.

The English merchants complaine to the queene of their wrongs.

The English merchants, feeling themselues thus molested and damnified at sundrie seasons, exhibited their complaints to the queenes maiesties councell, who accordinglie dealt from time to time with the prince of Orenge and his deputies for redresse, but specialle now vpon this generall restreint. And although great difficultie appeared in the mater, aswell for contenting of the aduenturors of Flishing, as for that there had beene foure ships belonging to the prince arrested and staied at Falmouth: at length yet such English ships as were kept and holden at Flishing were released and sent home; but not till two of the English merchants aduenturors* men of good calling and estimation (hauing first as hath bin said made a certeine maner of protest) were faine to enter into bond for the loane of a summe of monie, and were therewith kept at Flishing till the contract in that behalfe might be performed. Wherupon the queenes maiestie, misliking that hir subiects should be thus hardlie dealt with, armed and set forth certeine of hir ships, which going to the seas to see that hir subiects might trauerse the same in safetie, toke diuerse of the Flishingers vessels, and brought them into the English streames. The Flishingers herewith on the other part toke and arrested other of the English ships, so that the troubles seemed rather to increase than to be in any wise appeased: although afterwards by sending to and fro, the matter was taken vp, and such order had as was thought to stand verie well for the suertie, commoditie, and good liking of the English merchants.

These foure ships were staied for satisfaction of one Simons ship, out of the which a Flishinger had taken certeine tuns of Canarie wines.

* Martin Caltrop & William Gerard.

The troubles increase.

But in the meane time, and before this could be brought to passe, through a disordered mutinie which chanced among the Spanish souldiers, it so fell out, that the states of those low countries agreed with the prince of Orenge, and set themselues wholie against the Spaniards. Wherevpon the yong count de Egmont, the marquesse de Hauerie entered the towne of Antwerpe, with a power of souldiers for the States, and meant to haue kept that towne against the

This was the fourth of November, 9500 one with another slain, drowned and burned.

the Spaniards that held the castell. But they doubting to be inclosed & shut vp by some siege, got more of their fellowes to them, entred the towne by force, & spitefullie killing no small number of people, sacked the towne, and put aswell the townesmen as others that were merchants resident there to their ransoms. Amongst other our Englishmen escaped not altogither free, so as diuerse were spoiled of that they had, and the whole number put to their ransome; although vpon the sending ouer of doctor Wilson his maiesties ambassador, so much of the ransome as remained vnpaid was promised to be remitted.

Thus were our merchants euill intreated on each hand, by reason of those ciuill tumults in the low countries, aswell this yeare as in the former yeares past, and small hope would be of better successe there, if some end should not be had of that ciuill dissention, which hath so long continued betwixt the king of Spaine and his subiects in those countries, not onelie to the hinderance of themselues, but also of others that haue to trade among them, specialtie for traffike sake and intercourse of merchandize. But at length they haue compounded their controuersies, and are growen to a full agréement and perfect conclusion of peace, which God grant may take place so effectuallie, as may turne to the quietnesse and publike commoditie not onlie of those countries but of their neighbors, whereby merchants and passengers may in suertie passe to and fro without disturbance, so as no occasion be giuen of breach of leagues and amities betwixt princes and countries, but that the same may be maintained to Gods glorie, and the suertie of the christian commonwealth.

A conclusion of peace betweene the parties before diuided.

In this yeare the right honorable Walter Deuereux earle of Essex and Eu, earle marshall of Ireland, vicount Hereford and Bourcher, lord Ferrers of Chartlie, Bourcher & Louaine, knight of the most noble order of the garter, fell sicke of a losenesse of his bodie the one and twentith of August being fridaie, and for the space of two and twentie daies together he was so grieuouslie tormented therwith, that finallie on saturdaie the two & twentith of September he departed out of this transitorie life, passing from hence to the ioies of heauen, as by his godlie end all that were about him gaue testimonie. The losse of this noble man was greatlie bémoned, aswell by the English as Irish, for the noble courage, vertuous qualities, and tender zeale to the aduancement of the commonwealth which apéered in him.

Walter Deuereux earle of Essex departeth this life.

¶ So that it were a fowle fault in the highest degree, not to laie vp some commemoration of so worthie and well deseruing a gentleman, both of prince and people, in perpetuall records: which I will do by Gods grace none otherwise than I am lead by such matter, yea memorable matter, as I find in a funerall sermon, made by the reuerend father in God Richard bishop of saint Dauis, at the buriall of this right honorable earle of Esser, in the parish church of Caermerthin in Wales, where the said bishop taking for his text these words of S. Iohn, in the 14 of the reuelation, *Audiui vocem de cælo, dicentem: Beati mortui, &c.* I heard a voice from heauen, saieng: Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, &c. After he had discoursed vpon the text as the spirit of God gaue him vtterance, he descended at last to a particular treatise tending wholie to the praise of this right noble man: saieng in sort as followeth.

Abr. Fl. *ex concione funebri, vt patet in contextu.*

Behold the heauie hand of God for our sins, vpon all the whole countrie in the death of this noble man, which is not onelie a messenger of Gods wrath towards this towne and countrie (wherein he was borne) but also in verie déed a great losse to the whole realme. And although this countrie, who shall misse so noble and so worthie a ruler and magistrate, that

The place of the erls birth: what losse all Engiad hath of him.

bore them so great affection, so readie to benefit all, and hurt none, and for the high calling he was of so able to pleasure and to do good: although I saie this countrie by the death of this noble earle is most earnestlie & effectuallie cited to appére before the Lord, and to fall to a reckoning: yet do I beléeue that the quœnes maiestie, hir highnesse councell, and all the nobilitie of the realme may hereby receiue admonition, and cause of further circumspection and aduigilancie. For such valiant and couragious noble men are the bulworks and walles of defense of the whole realme. They saie the realme is walled about, because it is inuironed with the sea: but I hold rather with their iudgements, that make the fidelitie and true harts of the subiects, and especiallie of such of the nobilitie that haue made themselues (by Gods especiall grace) expert to gouerne and rule vnder hir maiestie, aswell in warre as peace, the strong towers of defense both of hir maiestie and hir highnesse realme. This noble earle was one of these number: for I beléeue there is no prince in the world, that had a more faithfull noble subiect, than hir maiestie had of him in his time. And for the notable valiantnesse, experience, and vertues that were in him, I am persuaded that hir maiestie (if he had liued) might haue vsed his seruice to be a terrour to all enimies, forren or domesticall. And now that I may speake somewhat of his great nobilitie, his excellent, vertuous, and worthie qualities: first I thinke I may saie thus much in a generalitie, that it was easie for a man of any iudgement, that should behold his countenance and behauiour, to find in him nobilitie, maiestie and honor, planted by the especiall gift of God, euen from his mothers wombe. When I consider the nature of nobilitie with the causes efficient and finall, it séemeth vnto me that nobilitie may be compared vnto a riuer or a flood, which in the originall issueth out of foure principall wels, and all the foure rise out from the compasse of one hill. The welles of nobilitie are prudence, fortitude, iustice, and temperance: the hill whence they spring is the feare of God, or true religion.

what noblemen are the wals of the realme.

The praise of the earle for sundrie considerations.

Comparison of true nobilitie vnto a riuer or flood, &c.

Although this worthie earle by progenie was of noble bloud, whose ancestors were of great honour, which of it selfe, if a man degenerat not too far from his forefathers, deserueth honorable acceptation in this world: yet was he not therewith satisfied, as it may apéere by his studie and trauell in his life time: for he séemed to be of that iudgement that Alphonsus king of Aragon (of whome we read in stories) was of. When a certeine man tooke in hand to set out the laud and praise of his nobilitie, he stood much in recitall that he was a king, a kings sonne, a kings nephue, a kings brother, and such like titles. The king interrupting his tale answered, that he neuer estéemed much of that kind of glorie: and that it was the praise and commendation of his ancestors, who by vertue and worthie qualities had deserued such high callings and honour, and not of him: and that his praise stood not in that which might fall vnto him by testament, but in the imitation and performing of the noble acts, prowesse, and valiantnesse of his forefathers. This noble earle likewise, not answered to his expectation in that he was a noble man by bloud and inheritance, gaue himselfe wholie all the daies of his life to purchase and win the nobilitie, that springeth immediatlie from the verie originall founteins of the same, as partlie I will put you in remembrance of. We will begin with prudence, which may be thus defined.

Panor. lib. 20. de rebus gestis Alphonsi.

The disposition of the earle to inlarge and augment his nobilitie.

Prudence is a power or faculte of the mind giuen of God, whereby man is made wise, prouident and circumspect; and whereby man atteineth knowledge, cunning, and expertnesse in all matters that

Prudence a noble vertue wherewith this erle was indued.

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the children of men haue to deale with in this world. This noble erle was of great wisedome, deepe iudgement, graue consideration, and so blessed with vnderstanding, experience, and manifold vertues and gifts of God, that he was right worthie to serue his maiestie in princelie and weightie affaires, both in warre and peace. He was of such prudent and excellent discretion, that he had a speciall grace to intertaine all states of men, superiour, equall, and inferiour, with such comelinesse and decencie, that for ciuilitie, humanitie, maners, and honorable behauior, he was a paterne and an example for nobilitie to imitate and to follow. In his youth he bestowed not the time in vanitie, idlenesse, or voluptuousnesse; but in atchiuing and winning of such sciences, properties and vertues, which might beautifie and increase his nobilitie, and prouailed therin so effectuallie, that he became excellent in all kinds of knowledge and qualities, meet, commendable, or necessarie for a man of honour. Concerning diuine matters, I haue in my time conferred with his lordship, and therefore can saie somewhat therein: and amongst others, one thing is notable, which in conference I receiued at his mouth. He affirmed this in effect, that there was nothing in the world that could blemish and abase the heroicall nature of nobilitie so much, as to haue the eies of vnderstanding so closed and shut vp, that a man in honour should not be able to discerne betwixt true religion, and the hypocriticall false religion; betwixt the right worshipping of God, & idolatrie; betwixt the traditions of men and Gods word: but remaine subiect to lies and superstition, and to call bad good, and good bad: and concluded that to be free from this seruile state, was a necessarie point of true nobilitie.

How he bestowed his youthfull yeares.

The bishops report of him vpon his own knowledge.

The erle perfect in the scriptures and matters of religion.

He was a fauourer of preachers.

His expertnesse in chronicles, histories, &c.

He therefore in his time had diligentlie trauelled in the scriptures, and so furnished himselfe with principles of christian religion, that he was able readilie to discerne sermons and disputations, and to find out who had veritie on their side: and also probablie to speake with authoritie of scripture in matters of controuersie. His vnderstanding by the especiall worke of the holie ghost was so illumined, that he claue & drew to true christian religion, as the adamant stone cleaueth and draweth to steele. His lordship therefore furthered and fauoured all preachers of Gods word, so that whosoeuer will iudge of the successe of Christs religion by humane reason, must confesse that the gospell hath lost a mightie protector, and an earnest defender. But God in setting out of his word, vseth to worke beside the expectation of man, and beyond the reach of reason. I haue yet further to speake of his lordship, that I beleeue there be verie few noble men in England, more readie and expert in chronicles, histories, genealogies, and pedegrees of noble men, and noble houses, not onlie within the realme, but also in forren realmes, than this noble earle was in his time. He excelled in describing and blasing of armes, and in all skill perteining thereto: and to be short, his vnderstanding and capacitie was so liuelie and effectuall, that it reached to all kind of matters that a perfect nobleman shall haue to deale withall in this world.

Fortitude a noble vertue wherewith this earle was indued.

Fortitude is another fountaine from whense nobilitie floweth, of Cicero *In Tusculanis quæstionibus* thus defined: *Est affectio animi qua grauia patiendo legibus obtemperatur*: It is an affection of the mind whereby to satisfie the lawes a man is content to suffer hardnesse; he meaneth mans lawes, and not Gods law. It seemeth therefore that it may be thus more euidentlie and fullie defined: Fortitude is an affection of the mind, wherby a man is made hardie and couragious to suffer difficulties and dangers, auoiding on the one side rashnesse, & expelling on the other side feare, to performe that which Gods law and honestie prescribeth and commandeth. Although by this definition we find, that the effect of fortitude resteth much in banishing of feare of bodilie hurts: yet doth it agree verie well with the feare of God. Iethro therefore counselling Moses to chose men to gouerne vnder him, saith; *Prospice viros fortes, timentes Deum*; Seeke out men indued with fortitude, fearing God, &c. Whereby we perceiue, that fortitude and the feare of God varie not, but are linked togither. Deepe was the sound of nobilitie that this valiant earle had fetched out of this fountaine. For in this togither with the well of prudence, he found that excellent knowledge of chiualrie, the cunning to lead an armie, to guide and to rule soldiors, that experience of stratagems & warlike policies, that notable magnanimitie and inuincible courage, whereby he indured and ouercame so manie dangers and perils, for the which he is renowmed in England and Ireland, and shall neuer be forgotten. He was by nature the sonne of Mars; and by practising feats of war and exercise aforehand he had made himselfe in manner a perfect warrior, afore that euer he came to the wars; and was for prowesse, magnanimitie, and high corage to be compared to the old Romane capteins, that be so much in stories commended. This fortitude is no lesse necessarie for nobilitie in time of peace than in time of warr. For it belongeth vnto them to minister iustice betwixt partie and partie, without respect of persons, which cannot be performed without the assistance of this vertue. I haue good cause to thinke of this noble earle, that there was no subiect in England, that could feare or corrupt him from executing of iustice. He was to the proud and arrogant a lion, and to the meeke and humble a lambe, neither is there anie contrarietie in this: for true nobilitie discerneth a due and conuenient time and place to vse both the one and the other.

The earles chiualrie, martiall knowledge and prowesse aduanced.

Fortitude needfull both in time of peace and warre.

Exod. 28, 21

Iustice is the third well of nobilitie, it is a constant and a perpetuall will to giue euerie man his owne. This is a diuine vertue, pretious, and commendable in all men, and especiallie in the nobilitie, who by reason of authoritie may do iniurie without remedie for the same. We see by experience that great is the number of them that would oppresse, if they had authoritie: we see also the iniuries that are done dailie by them that haue colour of authoritie, be it neuer so simple. But examine the life of this earle who will, and I beleeue there is no man liuing that can iustlie complaine of anie iniurie or wrong done by him. I once in my time heard him not a little offended with one of his men that was complained vpon; saieng that his seruant could do him no greater dishonor, than by pretense of his authoritie to do anie poore man wrong. Iob in the time of his authoritie & wealth, was commended to be a iust & a righteous man. And in the explication of part of that iustice Iob hath these words, *Fui oculus cæco, vice pedum claudo, &c*: I was the eies to the blind, and I was the feet to the lame, I was a father to the poore, and when I knew not the cause I sought it out diligentlie, I brake the chawes of the vnrighteous man, and plucked the preie out of his teeth. Here we find that who soeuer will do iustice, must not onelie do no wrong, but must also with all his might, succour and comfort the helpless and oppressed. In this part of iustice there was neuer noble man more forward than this good earle. He was the comfortable refuge of all such as were in aduersitie, or oppressed by power.

Iustice a noble vertue, wherwith this erle was indued.

The bishop reporteth of the earles iustice vpon his owne knowledge.

Iob. 29, 15.

Of Titus Vespasianus emperor of Rome we read, that he answered one of his frends, admonishing him to hold his hands, and not to make his liberalitie and gentlenesse common to all men, saieng; that it becommeth not a prince to let anie man part from

The paterne of a good earle indeed.

Suetonius.

from him with a heauie hart. This worthie erle was of like mind: for he was so full of humanitie and compassion, that he would be loth to let anie distressed part from him without some comfort and ease. In so much that in him (if euer in anie man) this adage, *Homo homini Deus*, A man a god to man, was as truelie performed, as in tyrants the contrarie adage, that is, *Homo homini lupus*, A man a woolfe to man. We read in chronicles of emperors, kings, & noble men, which for their bountifulnesse, gentlenesse, affabilitie, and goodnesse, deserued some honorable addition to their names; as amongst the emperors *Antoninus pius*, Anthonie the vertuous; amongst the British kings, *Eliodorus pius*, Eliodor the godlie; and amongst noble men, in the time of king Richard the second, sir Thomas Montacute the good earle of Salisburie; and in the time of king Henrie the first, sir Thomas Beuchampe the good earle of Warwike. This noble earle for the verie like qualities hath trulie deserued to be called, the good earle, the vertuous earle, and the valiant earle of Esser.

The humanitie, courtesie, affablenesse, and other vertues of this erle.

Temperance is the founteine of nobilitie; it is a vertue whereby a man obserueth a moderation, & a reasonable meane in the vse of all things perteining to bodie & mind: it is the mother of all other vertues, without which, the rest are blemished and disgraced. In the Dutch chronicles that tell of the liues of emperors, the first qualitie that is noted, is temperat, or not temperat, as an argument of the rest of his life and doings: for he is thought vnworthie to rule others that can not rule himselfe. This noble earle had a speciall grace, and an excellent gift of God in obseruation of this vertue, whether you respect diet, or the suppression of all vicious affections. I haue diuerse times noted in him, when vnderstanding was brought vnto him of some thrasonicall contumelious word, spoken by some glorious inferior aduersarie against him, he would neuer be stirred to anie perturbation of mind thereby, but with graue wisedome and magnanimitie contemne it and smile, deriding the vanitie and waiwardnesse of that cankered stomach that vomited such sowre rotten infection: for he did effectuallie consider that it became no better a noble hart to take in & receiue wranglings, brallings, chasings, and anger, than it is conuenient to dawbe a golden piller with mire and claie. Salomon was of that mind, and therefore saith; Be not thou hastie to be angrie, for anger resteth in the bosome of fooles. I haue had occasion by that I noted in his lordship to call to remembrance this saieng of Christ; A good man out of the good treasure of his hart bringeth forth good things: & the euill man out of the euill treasure of his hart bringeth forth euill things. For though occasion were ministred, yet should you neuer heare him vtter anie opprobrious words, no not against his aduersarie, so pure & immaculate did he studie to preserue the nobilitie of his mind. There be some that count themselues worthie honor & estimation, when they teare God in peeces with chasing and horrible oths: which this noble earle detested and abhorred, as a matter not onelie vndecent, but also repugnant to the nature of true nobilitie, attributing due reuerence to the name of the Lord, & thereby prouing the founteins of his nobilitie to spring out of the hill of the feare of God.

Temperance, a noble vertue wherewith this erle was indued.

Ecclesi. 7. 9.

Luke 6. 45.

The earle could not awaie with swearing, chasing, nor anie disordered dealing, &c.

But what was his religion, what faith God had blessed him withall, what godlie disposition he was of, and how abundantlie God had inriched him with his holie spirit; the confession of his faith, his speeches, naie rather his sermons in his sickenesse afore his death shall testifie for euer. For I receiued by the relation of such as are worthie credit, and were present about him, although not all, yet manie of his learned godlie saiengs at that time. Concerning his saluation, he reposed his affiance and sure trust in the bloud of Jesus Christ. He forgaue all the world, and by inuincible faith apprehended, laied hold, and imbraced remission of his sinnes, in the merits of the sacrifice of Christs bodie offered vpon the crosse for the sinnes of the world. Trentals, masses, diriges, pardons, and such other papisticall trifles he vtterlie contemned, as wicked and blasphemous against the death and passion of Christ. He fared like the children of Israell in the wildernesse, which when they were stinged with serpents euen to death: yet when they lookt vp to the brasen serpent, they were made whole, safe, and sound. So this noble earle grieued with the remembrance of his former vnthankefull life (as he iudged) immediatlie directed the eies of his mind to the passion of Christ, and forthwith felt such health of soule, that he was filled with ioie in the holie Ghost, and all his delight was in meditation of the ioie of the world to come, and the fruition of the presence of God for euer: insomuch that fiue or six daies before he died, he shewed himselfe more like an angell from heauen, than a man compassed with flesh and bloud.

The bishops report of the earle vpon his owne knowledge.

Numb. 21. 9.

The heauenlie contemplation of this earle drawing to his end.

My lord the archbishop of Dublin (as I was informed) could moue him in no question or article perteining to saluation, that he was not readie in, and learnedlie, and godlie resolued: yea, and made such answers in all things, that my lord of Dublin had them in great admiration, and affirmed that his speeches at that time should serue him for sermons as long as he liued. How trulie he relinquished the vanities of this world, and how effectuallie he thirsted after the ioies of the life to come, his godlie admonitions ministred vnto such as visited him, and his heauenlie lessons & exhortations to his seruants, shall testifie for euer: for they were such that his seruants report they shall neuer forget, and such as they shall be the better for whilest they liue. Thus haue I briefle and partlie declared vnto you, both the life and death of this worthie magistrate, to the end we should consider how seriouslie God doth call vs to a reckoning by the losse of such a good magistrat. Now a word or two to shew who they be that die in the Lord, and then an end. They principallie are said to die in the Lord, which suffer death vnder the beast, for confession of Christs religion, for they properlie die in the Lords cause. Such are the martyrs, as well of the primitiue church vnder the cruell emperours, as the martyrs of all ages since vnder antichrist of Rome. They also die in the Lord, which though they die not by the crueltie of the beast, yet they die in the faith of Jesus Christ, and are therefore blessed.

A wonderfull gift of the holie Ghost and most worthie to be chronicled.

How his seruants were affected at his last speeches.

Who they be that die in the Lord.

Of this number was this godlie earle, as I haue before declared. Wherfore I will conclude and direct my speech for two or three words to this good earle. O noble earle of Esser, in thy time the pearle of nobilitie: the mirrour of vertue and worthie qualities: the child of chiualrie: the beautifull floure of England: the pretious iewell and comfort of Wales: the trustie staie of Ireland. Thy life was most honourable: thy worthinesse incomparable: thy death pretious in the sight of God: for thou diedst in the Lord a right inheritour of the euerlasting kingdome of heauen. Wherefore by authoritie of the heauenlie oracle that saint John was commanded to write, thou art to be pronounced blessed for euer. Our sins haue shortened thy life, so that we could inioie the same no longer. Thou hast notwithstanding bequeathed thy bodie to be buried amongst vs here in Wales. Of verie dutie therefore O noble earle, thy tombe shall be with vs in reuerence, estimation, and honor; the fame and name of thy nobilitie, valiantnesse, vertue, and worthinesse shall neuer be forgotten; but shall liue and be kept with vs in memorie from generation to generation while the world standeth. Thus far the words

A speech conclusorie of the bishop directed to the earle departed.

The earle eternallie blessed.

The disposition and deuotion of this earle in the time of his sickenesse.

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of the bishop vttered in a sermon preached in the eares of no meane audience, either for reputation or number. Now then briefly considering wherein true and perfect nobleness consisteth, & that the heroicall vertues with their naturall vse were most firmelie fixed in his heart, and practised by his hand: there is great reason to moue euen his enimies (if it were possible for so good a gentleman to haue anie) to confesse in him most absolute nobilitie; and that this epitaph alluding to his right honorable ensignes, is deseruedlie to be recorded; being an abstract of that notable epitaph intituled Epitapium genealogicum in obitum illustrissimi Gualteri comitis Essexiæ, & Euiæ, & comitis marischalli regni Hiberniæ, vicecomitis Hereford & Bourghcher, domini Ferrers de Chartleie Bourgcher & Louein, & prænobilis ordinis garterij militis, qui obijt Dublinij 21. Septemb. 1576. ætatis suæ 36 sepulti apud Maridunum 26. Nouemb. &c.

Si quisquam claret veterum splendore parentum,
Aut famam meritis morum probitate perennem,
Profiteatur in his nomen Essexius heros:
Qui præclara virûm gestat monumenta tot vnus,
Quot rarò licuit multis gestamina ferre,
Qui intrepidè ob patriam tot mille pericula passus,
Quot raro poterint vlla aulica corpora ferre.
*Aureolus partus *matris, patriæ decus ingens,*
Quo non exultat moderante Herefordia sola,
Aut Trinobantum, titulo probitatis honorem
Plebs referens: strenuum validúmue Britannia sola
Sensit, in aduersos Boreales, dum bene gessit:
Tota sed heroem cognouit marte feroci
Eugeniæ tellus Hibernica bella probantem.
Regia cum proprijs expendens, bella per annos,
Dura gerit binos, & multa pericula tentans,
Vltoniæ fines vultu dextráque quieti
Perficit, hinc comitis donatur nomine belli:
Nec tamen is potuit gladio finire labores.
Mors nemini parcens Dublinia funera fletu
Trans mare transuexit, Maridunica sydera voluens,
Clotho colum tenuit post septem lustra per annum,
Quinque dies Lachesis post hæc sua fila trahebat,
Terque dies septem septeno mense, videns hen
Atropos, eximy fulgentia lumina clausit:
Quatuor at pueris illustria stamina spondent.
In tribus regnis titulos gestabat honoris,
Nam comitem Euensem cognouit Gallia fortem,
Aurens heroem demonstrat circulus Essex,
Ob bella vires comes est is martis Hibernus.
Nobilitas innata tibi probitatis honorem,
(Armipotens Gualtere) dedit probitásque laborem,
Perpetuámque labor vitam, sic vita salutem.

*Nempe Dorothee filiæ Georgij comitis Huntingtoni: marito suo Richardo Deuereux patre viuente animam exhalante.

This epitaph with the said earles whole genealogie or pedegree compriſed in heroicall verſe, and ioined with the funerall ſermon, was preſented to the right honourable lord Robert now earle of Eſſex and Ew, vicount of Hereford and Bourchier, lord Ferrers of Chartleie Bourchier & Louaine, at ſuch time as he was the quéenes maieſties ward; with an epiſtle of the preſenter: which bicauſe it is a veine of godlie deuiſe, & tending to a verie honorable purpoſe, deſerueth here to be placed, anſwering the preſident heretofore ſet out in print, as followeth.

The epiſtle of E. W. prefixed before *the genealogicall epitaph, and funerall ſermon* publiſhed at the interring of the right *honourable the lord Walter earle* of Eſſex, &c.

MY lord, your abſence latelie from the funerals of my lord your father, was lamented by ſuch in Wales as would gladlie haue beheld the liuelie image of him in you; and if the tender neſſe of your yeares (rimeet for ſo tedious and ſo vnſeaſonable trauell) had not by neceſſitie diſappointed their hope, then ſhould the lamentable ſpech of the graue and reuerend father, the biſhop of ſaint Dauies (expreſſed with abundance of dolour & tears) haue left in you a deepe impreſſion of griefe for the intollerable loſſe of ſo honourable a parent. But it maie be iudged that God hath turned your abſence to your more benefit; ſith the importunacie of ſuch as loue & honour you, and who couet to haue your fathers vertues deſcend with his inheritance, hath obteined the publiſhing of that learned ſermon: wherin you maie at good leaſure view in the iuſt report of his life & death the paterne & forme of true nobilitie.

The death of the earle muſt lamented.

The heroicall deſcription of true nobilitie.

The heroicall deſcription that the biſhop maketh of nobilitie, comparing it vnto a mounteine, from which foure famous riuers muſt iſſue (the mounteine true religion, the riuers, prudence, iuſtice, fortitude, and temperance) is a rule to you: firſt to follow your father in truth of religion, then to be as he was, wiſe, iuſt, valiant, and temperat. The naturall and vnforced courteſie & affabilitie that was in your father, and that excellent mixture of diſpoſition and aptneſſe, both for warre and peace, doth promiſe to the world a ſingular perfection in you hereafter. For as your grandfather (who died in his yong yeares) did make ſhew of much more honour than was in the noble vicount his father: and this our earle by famous actions did altogither eclipſe the vertuous hope conceiued of your grandfather: ſo conſidering that God in nature continueth as it were the race by outward ſhew of good parts in you, and that you haue more aduantage of education, both by the place where you liue, and by the honour and wiſedome of your patrons than your grandfather or father had; we can not but hope of a further degree of excellencie in you to ouerſhine the goodneſſe both of your father and grandfather.

A perſuaſorie reaſon to moue the yong earle now liuing to an excellent imitation of his anceſtors.

Some people there be that can hardlie diſcerne betweene honour & profit, that do ouermuch thinke of the diſaduantage offered you by the earle your father, in diminiſhing ſome part of his patrimonie in his forren ſeruices; and will wiſh you perhaps with a contrarie courſe to deſerue more of your heire, and worſe of the world. But as I wiſh in you a liberall frugalitie vnder this rule and proteſtation, that nothing can be profitable that is not honeſt: ſo to deſerue well (as your father did) of your ſouereigne and countrie in matters apperteining to his maieſties obedience, rather throw the helue after the hatchet, and leaue your ruines to be repared by your prince, than anie thing to degenerat from honourable liberalitie. And as in attempting great things, it is good to be circumſpect, and with iudgment wiſelie to foreſee the end before you begin: ſo hauing entered into anie honourable attempt that maie be iuſtlie grounded vpon reaſon, follow the ſame with ſuch inuincible conſtancie in all extremities as your father did, for ſo ſhall you iuſtlie deſerue like teſtimonie as his maieſtie gaue to him in his gratious letters: namelie, that he was a rare iewell of his realme, and an ornament of his nobilitie.

Notable counſell to the earle to deſerue well of his ſouereigne and countrie.

The quéenes teſtimonie of the earle.

True religion and wiſedome (vpon whome iuſtice dependeth) do proceed from God by grace, and therefore by inuocation, praier, and ſtudie to be obteined: but the other vertues, as fortitude, temperance, courteſie, affabilitie, liberalitie and conſtancie, be peculiar to your houſe, deſcending by nature, and grafted as it were in your principles. So that to degenerat into the lothſome contraries of theſe, & in ſtead of the habit of vertue, to diſguiſe your ſelfe with vice, ſhall be harder to you, and more impoſſible for the contrarietie of your nature, than to atteine to good things to the perfection of excellencie. And to the end that you

Vertues naturallie incident to the erle by courſe of deſcent.

you may know what you are by birth and bloud, and that you should not by ignorance or lacke of knowledge of your selfe, doo anie thing unworthie the noble houses from whense you are descended: a wellwiller of yours hath joined to this sermon (amongst other epitaphs conteining your fathers due praises) his statelie descent in well digested Latine verses: not to puffe you up with anie swelling vanities, but to giue you a reason how you beare your armour and badges of honour, and to remember you what errour you enter into, if you should blemish the vertues of your noble ancestours, or to doo anie thing (as I said) unworthie your birth and calling.

To what end the epitaph genealogicall was added to the funerall sermon.

Lastlie my lord, haue alwaies before your eies the feare of God, and the counsell of the earle your father at his death: namelie, that you should euer be mindfull of the moment of time, assigned both to your father and grandfather, the eldest hauing attained but to six and thirtie yeares, to the end that upon consideration of the short course of life that you in nature are to loke for, you might so implote your tender yeares in vertuous studies and exercises, as you might in the prime of your youth become a man well accomplished to serue hir maiestie and your countrie, as well in warre as peace: whereunto he commanded you to bend all your indeuours, & with those conditions heaped his blessings upon you. I praie therefore that God will increase those conditionall blessings, and the causes of them in you, to the end that hir maiestie may thinke of you hereafter as of a true seruant and humble subiect, one of the pillers of hir estate, hir maiesties kinsman by manie aliances, and the sonne of a most noble father.

The old earls counsell at his death to the yoong earle now aliue touching the shortnesse of life.

Your L. at commandement E.W.

Thus much concerning the two earles, the father departed, and the sonne surviuing, of whose procéeding in the steps of his father, there is no doubt but within few yeares the world shall haue iust cause (as there is present hope) to beare witnesse: whome in all his attempts we will leaue to such fortunat successe, as God the giuer thereof shall vouchsafe to prouide and afford.]

The tenth of Nouember a proclamation was published for the free traffike of merchants to be restored as had béen accustomed in times past betwixt the kingdoms and countries of the quénes maiestie of England and the king of Portingall, which traffike had been discontinued by reson of certeine staies and arrests made of diuerse subiects on both parts, with their goods & ships. But now it was accorded in name of both their maiesties, that all maner of both their subiects of what kingdome or countrie so euer they be, from the fiftéenth of the said moneth, might vse the like mutuall traffike for merchandizes, and in the same places: that is to saie, hir maiesties subiects in the kingdomes of Portingale & Algarbia, and in the Iles of Medera and Azore: and likewise the subiects of the king of Portingale in England and Ireland, as they were lawfullie accustomed before the said arrests. This restitution of the said traffike to remaine from the said fiftéenth date of Nouember in this yeare one thousand, fiue hundred, seauentie and six, during the space of three yeares next insuing. At the end of which terme, if by the said princes in the meane time it be not otherwise prouided for continuance of the said traffike to indure perpetuallie, no new arrests shall be made of anie things brought into the kingdoms and Iles aforesaid, of either of the said princes during the time of the said three yeares. It was further agréed by the said princes for the more sure preseruation of the amitie and friendship betwixt them, their said realmes and subiects, that neither of them shall receiue anie pirat or rouer into anie of the ports or créeks of either of their realmes, dominions, and countries, which may or shall haue committed anie piracie or robberie upon either of their subiects, nor shall shew anie fauour, giue anie aid or succor, or suffer anie to be giuen directlie or indirectlie to the said rouers or pirats. Neither shall they during the time of the said amitie, in either of their kingdoms, or anie place of their dominions, fauour, interteine, receiue or reteine, nor suffer to be fauoured, interteined, receiued, or reteined by anie of their subiects, anie rebels, traitors, or fugitiues, subiects to either of them.

A proclamation for the free traffike of merchants as before, &c.

Thus farre haue I continued this collection of the English histories, noting breefelie in these later yeares, such things as I find in the abridgement of Richard Grafton, and in the summarie of Iohn Stow, increased somewhat (as may appeare) in places with such helpes as haue come to my hand; humblie beseeching the reader to accept the same in good part, and to pardon me where I haue not satisfied his expectation: sith heerein I must confesse, I haue nothing contented my selfe, but yet at the request of others haue doone what I could & not what I would, for want of conference with such as might haue furnished me with more large instructions, such as had beene necessarie for the purpose.

THE CHRONICLES OF England, from the yeare of our Lord 1576, where Raphaell Holinshed left;

supplied and continued to this present yeare 1586: by Iohn Stow, *and others.*

A Disciple of Socrates, by name Aristippus, a man suerlie of a verie sharpe iudgement and pleasant wit, when he was demanded what profit he tooke by the studie of wisedome, made this answer: Forsooth this profit, that with all sorts of men I can frankelie and boldlie speake. Which answer might well be of that mans making; bicause he bare a mind indifferentlie free, as well from hope as feare: for he serued no man, nor yet flattered anie person, nor otherwise behaued himselfe than his hart gaue him. Of the same mind it were to be wished that all storie-writers were: for then should Chronicles approch next in truth to the sacred and inuiolable scripture, and their vse not onelie growe more common, but also of greater account. And right good reason whie. For therein is conteined the rich and pretious treasure of time, the wisest counsellor vnder the cope of heauen. And that saw Thales the philosopher well inough, who being asked what of all was the eldest? answered, God: what of all the faireſt? the world: what of all the greateſt? place: what of all the swifteſt? the mind: what of all the strongest? necessitie: and what of all the wisest? time. Time in Greeke is called χρόνος, whereof the word Chronicles ariseth, termed τὰ χρόνικα, that is, obseruations of time: so that if nothing in wisedome dooth excell time, then who can but wax wise by reading and perusing the obseruations of time, which are meerelie & simplie Chronicles? Chroniclers therefore deserue a reuerence of dutie, whome time hath called and culled out as it were by the hand, to vse their ministerie and seruice for the disposing and distributing of the riches of his wisedome to all ages, that successors may be taught by their predecessors, wit by their follie, fealtie by their disloialtie, obedience by their rebellion, vnitie and peace by their dissention, plainnesse by their doublenesse, sobrietie by their vntemperance, courtesie by their churlishnesse, pitie by their vncharitablenesse; finallie all goodnesse by their badnesse; for the which (as we may see by a sea of examples in this booke) sith they were greeuouslie punished, it is our gaine by their smart to be admonished.

For ſurelie heerein ſtandeth a ſpeciall vſe of chronicles, that whileſt ſome offending againſt the lawes of God, of nature, and of nations, doo draw vnto themſelues deſerued vengeance: others by loue allured, or by feare inforced, ſeeing their rufull fals, and auoiding the meanes, may happilie eſcape the paine. This frute hitherto hath this hiſtorie of chronicles affoorded, no leſſe heereafter by the continuation following is like to be performed; beſides manifold matters of recreation, policie, aduentures, chiualrie, &c: abundantlie miniſtred; and all vnder the golden reigne of bleſſed queene Eliſabeth, the ſweet floure of amiable virginitie:

Cui vitam, ſtudiúmque Deus, regníque coronam
Perpetuet, beet, & tranquillo proſperet vſu:
Pôſtque hanc exactam vitam, ſtudium atque coronam,
Cœleſti vita, ſtudio, diademate donet.

A. F.

THE CONTINVATION of the chronicles of England

from the yeare of our Lord 1576, to this present yeare 1586, &c.

I. Stow. In vnnaturall brother murthereth his naturall brother, but the vnnaturall brother was hanged as he well deserued.

HE tenth day of Nouember, in the citie of worcester, a cruell & vnnatural brother (as an other Cain) murdered his owne naturall & louing brother, first smiting his braines out of his head with an ax, and after cutting his throte to make him sure, and then buried him vnder the hearth of a chimnete, thinking thereby (though wrongfullie) quietlie to haue inioied his brothers goods long before in his possession: but not long after this secret murder comming to light, the murderer was rewarded according to his deserts, and to the terror of such vnnaturall murdering brethren. The seuententh of March, through a strange tempest which hapned in the North, nere to a towne called Richmond, not onelie cotages, trées, barnes and haiestakes, but also the most part of the church called Patrike Brumton was ouerthrowen, with most strange sights in the aire, both fearefull and terrible.

Anno Reg. 19.

Tempest in Richmondshire.

1577

In the moneth of Aprill, the decaied stone house called the tower vpon London bridge was begun to be taken downe, and the heads of traitors that were wont there on poles to be fired, were remoued thense, and set on the gate at the bridge fot toward Southwarke. The seuentéenth daie of Maie, Richard Robinson goldsmith was drawne from the tower of London to Tiburne, and there hanged for clipping of gold. The one and thirtith daie of Maie, Martin Frobisher with one ship and two barks furnished for that purpose, sailed from Harwich in Esser towards Catata by the northwest seas, and entered the streicts beyond quéne Elizabeths foreland, about thirtie leagues, where he went on shore, and finding store of the blacke stone, which the goldfiners had said to hold gold, and therefore called the same gold ore, he straught his ship & barke, caught a man, a woman, and a child of that countrie, and then on the foure and twentith of August returning from thense, arriued at Milford hauen in Wales on the twentith of September next following.

Tower on Londō bridge taken downe.

Robinson hanged for clipping of gold.

Second voiage to Catata.

Strāge sickenesse at Oxford.

The fourth, fift, and first daie of Julie, the assises being holden at Oxford, there was arreigned and condemned one Rowland Jenkes, for his seditious tong, at which time there arose amidst the people such a dampe that almost all were smouldered, verie few escaping that were not taken at that instant: the iurors died presentlie, shortlie after died sir Robert Bell lord chiefe baron, sir Robert de Olie, sir William Babington, master Wineman, master de Olie high shiriffe, master Dauers, master Harecombe, master Kirle, master Phetipace, master Grænewod, master Foster, master Nash, sergeant Baram, master Stephans, &c. There died in the towne of Oxford three hundred persons, and sickened there, but died in other places two hundred and od, from the first of Julie to the twelfe of August, after which daie died not one of that sickenesse, for one of them infected not an other, nor anie one woman or child died thereof.

¶ Of this sickenesse there passed a report in print, published vnder the name of W. B. who (as he saith himselfe) was present with sir William Babington, and therefore was able, and did (as he thought good) set downe the certeintie of that heaute accident, for the satisfaction of such friends of his as desired to know the vndoubted truth. And the same W. B. setting downe the opinion, that diuerse conceiued of this venemous maladie, saith that some supposed it to be of two sorts; howbeit (saith he) it is not so. For those that bled till they died, strooe so much with their sickenesse, that the bloud issued out at their vents: but yet had perfect memorie, euen to the yéelding of their breath, as was verie well perceiued by sir William Babington, who neuer ceased to call vpon God in his great agonie, &c. This reported W. B. as a certeine truth, to stop the fleeng rumors of those that (as he saith) haue spoken vntrulie in this behalfe, and published their owne fantasies.]

Ab. Fl. ex relatu W. B. impress. 1577.

Tempest in Suffolke.

On sundaie the fourth of August, betwéene the houres of nine and ten of the clocke in the forenone, whilest the minister was reading of the second lesson in the parish church of Blibrough a towne in Suffolke, a strange and terrible tempest of lightening and thunder strake thorough the wall of the same church into the ground almost a yard déepe, draue downe all the people on that side aboue twentie persons, then renting the wall vp to the reuestre, cleft the doore, and returning to the steeple, rent the timber, brake the chimes, & fled toward Bongie a towne fiue miles off. The people that were striken downe were found groueling more than halfe an houre after, whereof one man more than fortie yeares and a boie of fiftéene yeares old were found starke dead: the

the other were scorched. The same or the like flash of lightening and cracks of thunder rent the parish church of Wongie, nine miles from Norwich, wrong in sunder the wiers and wheeles of the clocks, slue two men which sat in the belfreie, when the other were at the procession or suffrages, and scorched an other which hardlie escaped. The tower on London bridge being taken downe, and a new foundation drawne, sir John Langleie lord maior of the citie of London laid the first stone on the eight and twentith daie of August, in the presence of the shirifes of London & the two bridgemasters, which new tower was finished in the moneth of September, Anno 1579.

The tower on London bridge new builded.

The thirtith daie of November, Cutbert Maine was drawne, hanged, and quartered at Lancestion in Cornewall for preferring Romane power. The seuentéenth of Januarie, one Simon Penbroke dwelling in saint Georges parish in Southwarke, being a figureflinger, and vehementlie suspected to be a conjurer, by commandement of the ordinarie iudge for those parties, appeared in the parish church of saint Saniors in Southwarke, at a court holden there. Which Simon being busied in interteining a proctor, and hauing monie in his hand, leaned his head vpon a pew wherein the proctor stood: which after he had done a certeine space, the proctor began to lift vp his head to see what he ailed, and found him departing out of life, and streightwaie the said Simon fell downe, ratling a little in the throte, and neuer spake word after. This was done euen as the iudge came into the church, who said it was the iust iudgement of God towards those that vsed sorcerie, and a great example to admonish other to feare the iustice of God. After, his clothes being opened, there were found about him fiue diuelish bookes of conjuration, and most abhominable practises, with a picture of tin of a man, hauing three dice in his hand with this poesie: Chance dice fortunatlie; & diuerse papers of such like matters, as he had dealt in for men, such men I meane as are mentioned in Leuiticus the twentith chapter and first verse: If anie soule turne himselfe after such as worke with spirits, and after soothsaiers, to go a whoring after them (saith the Lord) I will put my face against that soule, and will cut him off from among my people.

Anno Reg. 20. Cutbert Maine executed.

An example of sorcerers, and such as seeme to worke wonders to deceiue men of their monie.

The third daie of Februarie, John Nelson for deuising the quéenes supremasie, and such other traitorous words against hir maiestie, was drawne from Newgate to Tiburne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered. And on the seuenth of the same moneth of Februarie, Thomas Sherewin was likewise drawne from the tower of London to Tiburne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered for the like offense. The fiue and twentith of Februarie, John de Loy a Frenchman, and fiue English gentlemen, was conueied from the tower of London towards Norwich, there to be arreigned and executed for coining of monie counterfeit. And on the ninth of March, seuen pirats were hanged at Wapping in the ouze beside London.

Nelson and Sherewod executed.

Counterfetters of coine executed.

Pirats hanged.

1578

The ladie Margaret countesse of Lennor deceased on the tenth of March, at hir house in the parish of Hackneie besides London, and was buried at Westminster on the third of Aprill. The one and thirtith and last of Maie, Martine Frobisher with fiftéene saile of good ships, manned, vittelled, and otherwise well appointed, departed from Harwich in Esser on his third voiage towards Catala. And on the one and thirtith and last daie of Julie, after manie attempts, and sundrie times being put backe by Ilands of ice in the streicts, he recouered his long wished port, and came to anchor in the Ilands, newlie by hir maiestie named *Meta incognita*, where (as in the yeare before) they straught their ships with the like stone or gold ore out of the mines; and then on the last of August returning thense, arriued safelie in England about the first of October.

Frobishers third voiage.

The two and twentith of Januarie being thursdaie, about seuen of the clocke at night, John Casimere countie palatine of Rhene, duke of Bauare, landing at the tower of London, was there by diuerse noble men and others honourablie receiued, and conueied by cresset light and torch light to sir Thomas Greshams house in Bishops gate street, where he was receiued with sounding of trumpets, drums, fiefs, and other instruments of musicke, and there both lodged and feasted till sundaie next, that he was by the nobilitie fetched and conueied to the court at Westminster, where after he had talked with hir maiestie, he returned vnto Summersets house at the Strand, and was there lodged. In the weeke following he hunted at Hampton court. On sundaie the first of Februarie he beheld a valiant fulking and running at the tilt at Westminster. On the next morrow in the same place he saw them fight at barriers with swords on horsse backe. On tuesdaie he dined with the lord maior of London; on wednesdaie with the dutchesse of Suffolke, at hir house called the Barbican in Red crosse street; on thursdaie at the Stilliard, &c. On sundaie the eight of Februarie, the quéene made him knight of the garter, by deliuering to him the collar, & putting the garter on his leg at White hall. And on the fourteenth of Februarie, he departed from London to Rochester homewards, with great rewards giuen to him by the quénes maiestie, the nobilitie, men of honour, the lord maior of London, and other citizens of that citie.

Anno Reg. 21. The receiuing of Casimere.

The same moneth of Februarie; to wit, on the fourth daie, and in the night next following, fell such abundance of snow, that on the fift daie in the morning, the same snow was found in London to lie two foot déepe in the shallowest, and otherwise being driuen by the wind, verie boisterous in the northeast on banks one ell or a yard & a half déepe. In the which drifts of snow, farre déeper in the countrie, manie cattell, and some men and women were ouerthelmed and lost. It snowed till the eight daie of that moneth, and frised till the tenth, and then followed a thaw with continuall raine a long time after, which caused such high waters, and great flouds, that the marishes and low grounds being drowned for the time, and the water of the Thames rose so high into Westminster hall, that after the fall thereof, some fishes were found to remaine in the said hall.

1579 Déepe snow.

Great land waters.

The seuentéenth of Februarie, an Irishman for murdering of a man in a garden of Stepenheth parish, was hanged in chaines on the common called Mile end gréene. This common was sometimes, yea in the memorie of men yet liuing, a large mile long (from White chapell to Stepenheth church) and therefore called Mile end gréene, but now at this present, by grédie (and as séemeth to me vnlawfull) inclosures, and building of houses, notwithstanding hir maiesties proclamation to the contrarie, it remaineth scarse halfe a mile in length. The twentith daie of Februarie deceased sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the great seale of England, who was honourablie buried vnder a sumptuous monument or tome (by him in his life time erected) in S. Pauls church of London, on the ninth daie of March. This sir Nicholas Bacon in his life time gaue for sir scholers, to be found in Bennets college in Cambridge, to each of them three pounds six shillings and eight pence the yeare for euer.

A murtherer hanged on Mile end gréene.

Lord keeper deceased.

¶ The said sir Nicholas Bacons tome aforesaid, bearing

Ab. Fl. collect ex epitaph dicti prænobilis.

ing certeine representations of his wiues and children in imagerie worke, is adorned with a notable epitaph, wherein is pithilie described the meanes whereby he grew to be noble, as also immortall. The same being conteined in these verses following, and iustifiable by the verie epitaph, whereof this is a true transcription, great pitie but it shuld be perpetuall.

On the south side these verses.

Hic Nicolaum ne Baconum conditum
Existima illum, tam diu Britannici
Regni secundum columen; exitium malis,
Bonis asylum; cæca quem non extulit
Ad hunc honorem sors; sed æquitas, fides,
Doctrina, pietas, vnica & prudentia.
Non morte raptum crede, qui vnica
Vita perennes emerit duas: agit
Vitam secundam cœlites inter animus,
Fama implet orbem, vita quæ illi tertia est:
Hac positum in ara est corpus olim animi domus,
Ara dicata sempiternæ memoriæ.]

On the north side these.

Great snow in the moneth of Aprill.

This yeare in the moneth of Aprill, to wit on the foure and twentith date, fell such a snow betweene the hours of foure of the clocke in the morning, nine of the clocke before none of the same date, that in London the same snow was found to lie one foot deepe.

Sir Thomas Bromleie lord chancellor.

The 25 date of Aprill, sir Thomas Bromleie knight was made lord chancellor of England.

The chancellors of England, collected out of sundrie ancient histories.

The collection of Francis Thin.

THe creation of this sir Thomas Bromleie lord chancellor, hath occasioned me to treate of the chancellors of England, a matter which I haue beene the willinger to set downe, because I would minister cause to others (who haue long wanted of their cunning in this matter) to impart to the world some of their great knowledge herein, to the benefit of their countrie. But since I doubt that they will not accept this in good part till that come. And as I may, & perhaps dow (in this) somewhat more largelie (than in the iudgement of others shall seeme answerable to the most received opinion, touching the chancellors) treat of the antiquitie of them; so yet I haue no mind to erre, or to leade anie other into error. Wherefore, if things be not in perfection vpon this first rough hewing (as nothing is at the first so exquisit, as time doth not after amend it) yet disdaine it not, sith this may giue more light than before was knowen. And I determine God willing, either to amend, or to confesse and auoid in the large description of their liues, whatsoeuer imperfections haue now distilled out of my pen, either for mistaking or misplacing of name, person, or time; and so to the matter.

It hath beene some question amongst the best antiquaries of our age, that there were neuer anie chancellors in England, before the comming of Edward the confessor out of Normandie, whome they suppose to haue brought the same officer with him from thense into this realme. But sith I am with manie reasons and ancient authorities led to beleue the contrarie; I will imbrace the contrarie opinion thereunto, and hold in this discourse (as the order thereof shall prooue) that there were chancellors before saint Edwards time; for the confirmation whereof and for the authoritie of them; for the etymologie and originall of the name, and for the continuance of their office, thou shalt find an ample discourse in my booke purposelie written of the liues of the chancellors, whereunto I wholie refer thee: who I hope shall within these few yeares be partaker thereof, and in the meane time giue thee this tast of the age and names of the chancellors, and vicechancellors, and such keepers of the great seale, as serued in place of chancellors. For euerie one that was keeper of the great seale, was not intituled chancellor, no more than euerie chancellor was intituled the keeper of the greatseale. But because the one did serue in the vacancie of the other (so that after a certeine sort, the keeper of the great seale was vicechancellor, and possessed the place, though not the name of a chancellor; as in our age, sir Nicholas Bacon did: we therefore haue set downe the names of the one and the other, as they followed in succession of time, after this manner.

Turketill.

Turketill chancellor to Ethelbald, who began his reigne about the yeare of Christ 718, which Turketill gaue sir manours to the abbeie of Croisland, as I haue seene noted.

Saint Swithin.

Saint Swithin bishop of Winchester was chancellor, and chiefe of councell to the great monarch king Egbert, though some attribute him to Edgar, which Egbert began his reigne about the yeare of Christ 802.

Wilfinus.

Wilfinus, chancellor to king Athelstan, who began his reigne in the yeare of our redemption nine hundred and foure and twentie.

Adulphus.

Adulphus, chancellor to king Edgar, who began his reigne in the yeare that the world became fleshy, nine hundred fiftie and nine: of this man speaketh Hugo Petro Burgensis; and Leland calleth this Adulph *Cancellarium & archigrammatum*: chancellor or chiefe secretarie.

Hist. Elienſ. lib. 2. written in the time of K. Stephan.

Alsius or Aelsius the second abbat of Elie, chancellor to king Etheldred, who began his reigne in the yeare of Christ nine hundred seuentie and eight, this man, being by Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, consecrated abbat at the appointment of the said king Ethelred or Egelred, and being then abbat of Elie, when Ethelred gaue forth his commandement that the abbat of Elie should then, and for euer, be chancellor; I doubt not to place him here amongst the chancellors: the proofe of which matter I haue here *verbatim* set downe, out of the second booke of the historie of Elie. *Statuit* (which was Ethelred) *atque concessit quatenus ecclesiam de Eli, ex tunc & semper in regis curia cancellarij ageret dignitatem, quod etiam alijs sancti videlicet Augustini & Glesoniæ ecclesijs constituit, vt abbates istorum cœnobiorum vicissim adsignatis succedendo temporibus annum trifariè diuiderent, cum sanctuarijs & cæteris ornamentis ministrando: &c.*

Leofricus.

Leofricus Bathonicus chancellor to Edward the confessor, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fortie and fiue, and some yeares before: this man was bishop of Cridington in Cornewall, which see was after translated to Excester.

Wilfinus.

Wilfinus, or Wulfinus chancellor to Edward the confessor, in the latter end of the said yeare of Christ one thousand fortie and fiue, being the third yeare of his reigne; this man cannot be he which some would haue to be Wilfinus the abbat of Westminster. For that Wulfinus died one and fortie yeares before this Wulfinus the chancellor; sith that Wulfinus was made abbat of Westminster, about the yeare nine hundred fiftie and eight, and died in the yeare one thousand and foure; being bishop of Shireburne. Yet I will not at this time iudiciallie resolue, although I suppose it true, whether this Wilfinus the chancellor, and Wulfinus the bishop of Lichfield, witnesse to a deed, wherein Edward the confessor granted certeine liberties to Leofwine, abbat of the abbeie of Couentrie, built by Leofrike erle of Mercia, be all one man or no. Againe, there is an other man which was abbat of saint Albons called Wulfinus, which for affinitie to the name of this man I thought onelie to touch in this place.

Resen-

Resenbaldus. Resenbaldus, or Rembaldus, for I take them both by manie and ancient authorities to be all one man, was chancellor to Edward the confessor, and seale bearer, witnesse amongest others, to manie deeds which I haue seene of the confessors; some dated in the yeare one thousand three score and sir, and some otherwise. He was buried at Cirencester, or Cicester.

Mauricius. Mauricius chancellor to William the Conqueror in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three score and seuen, being the first and part of the second yere of William the Conqueror.

Osmundus. Osmundus, after bishop of Sarum, chancellor to William the Conqueror, in the yere one thousand three score and seauen, and after in the yere one thousand three score and fifteene, about the ninth yeare of the kings reigne.

Arfastus. Arfastus bishop of Helmane, who translated his see from Helmane to Tetford, was chancellor to William the Conqueror, in the yeere of Christ one thousand three score and eight, being in the second and third yere of the Conqueror, and also in the yere one thousand seuentie and seuen, being about the tenth yeare of William Conqueror.

Hirmanus. Hirmanus that was first made bishop of Suring or Wilton, and translated his see from Wilton to Shirburne, & from thense to Sarum; he is that Hirmanus which I suppose was chancellor to William the Conqueror, and called Hirmannus, and that wrote the life and miracles of saint Edmund king of the Eastangles.

William Uelson. William Uelson borne of a noble house, chapleine and chancellor to William the Conqueror (as hath Robertus Montensis) succeeded Arfastus in the bishoprike of Tetford, to whom by the gift of William Rufus succeeded in that see Herbertus Losinga abbat of Ramsele, which translated the bishops see to Norwich; of which Losinga were (as hath Matthew Westminster) these verses here set downe compiled:

Surgit in ecclesia monstrum genitore Losinga,
Simonidum secta, canonum virtute resecta,
Petre nimis tardas, nam Simon ad ardua tentat,
Si præsens esses, non Simon ad alta volaret,
Proh dolor! ecclesiæ nummis venduntur & are,
Filius est præsul, pater abbas, Simon vterque.
Quid non speremus, si nummos possideamus?
Omnia nummus habet, quid vult facit, addit & aufert,
Res nimis iniusta, nummus sit præsul & abbas.

William Gifford. William Gifford bishop of Winchester was chancellor in the time of the Conqueror, and of William Rufus, & of Henrie, who made him bishop of Winchester in the yeare one thousand and one hundred, and was consecrated in the yeere of Christ one thousand one hundred and seuen: though it seemeth that Robert Bluet came in place of this William Gifford, removed about the fourth of the same Rufus from his office of chancellorship, as I suppose will be well proued, but after placed againe in that office. Of the death of this William is much contrarietie, for Matthew Westminster placed it three seuerall yeres, the eight and twentith and nine and twentith yeare of Henrie the first, and againe in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred fortie and two, being the seuenth yeare of king Stephan.

Robert Bluet. Robert Bluet, Bloet, or Bloscit made chancellor in the yeere of Christ one thousand and ninetie, being the fourth yeare of William Rufus, he was made bishop of Lincolne in the yeare of our redemption one thousand ninetie and two: but as it appeareth to me by some authoritie that I haue seene, he did execute that office being bishop of Lincolne: he died at Woodstocke in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred twentie and three, being about the three and twentith yere of the reigne of Henrie the first, whose epitaph Henrie Huntington recciteth in this manner:

Pontificûm Robertus honor, quem fama superstes
Perpetuare dabit, nec obiturus obit:
Hic humilis, dives (res mira) potens, pius vltor,
Compatiens, mitis, quùm pateretur erat,
Noluit esse suis dominus, studuit pater esse,
Semper in aduersis murus & arma suis:
In decima Iani mendacis somnia mundi
Liquit, & euigilans vera per hennè vidit.

Ranulphus. Ranulphus in the time of William Rufus, which might be that man which was after chancellor in the time of Henrie the first.

Waldricus. Waldricus chancellor to Henrie the first, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred and three, being the third yeare of his reigne.

Herbertus. Herbertus chancellor in the fourth yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of our salnation one thousand one hundred and foure (as appeareth by an anonymall pamphlet in written hand) of whome I am not yet resolued whether this were Herbertus Losinga bishop of Norwich or no.

Roger. Roger bishop of Salisburie, whome Henrie the first called a meet chapleine to serue souldiors, was chancellor to king Henrie the first, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred and one, being the first yeere of king Henrie the first, and in the yeere one thousand one hundred and seuen, about the seuenth yeare of the said Henrie the first, being chosen bishop in the yere of Christ one thousand one hundred and two, and consecrated in the yeare one thousand one hundred and seuen.

Galfridus. Galfridus Rufus bishop of Durham, witnesse to a deed wherein Henrie the first confirmed to the priorie of Christs church a peece of ground without Aldgate called Knighton guild, in the presence of Geffrie chancellor, Geffrie Clinton, and William Clinton: he was also chancellor in the two and twentith yeere of Henrie the first, and so vntill the three and thirtith yeare of the reigne of Henrie the first, and then was made bishop of Durham, which Geffrie died about the yere of our redemption one thousand one hundred fortie and one.

Ranulphus. Ranulphus, called by Matthew Westminster Arnulphus, chancellor to Henrie the first, and Richard the chapleine, keeper of the great seale, being at one time. This Ranulph was chancellor in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred and sixteene, being the sixteenth of king Henrie the first, in which office I suppose that he continued, vntill the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred twentie and three, being the three and twentith of the said Henrie, in which yeare this chancellor (for so is he then called) fell from his horsse and brake his necke on a hill not far from Dunstable, where the king kept his Christmasse.

Reginald. Reginald chancellor to king Henrie the first, as Leland hath set him downe, writing in this sort in his notes of Montacute abbeie: *Reginaldus cancellarius*, so named (belike) of his office, he was a man of great fame about king Henrie the first: he fell to religion, and was prior of Montacute, and inlarged it with great buildings and possessions, &c.

Roger. Roger bishop of Salisburie againe chancellor in the latter end of the reigne of king Henrie the first, and in the beginning of king Stephan, in the yere of Christ one thousand one hundred thirtie and six, which Henrie the first died in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred thirtie and fiue, being the fiue and thirtith yeare of the reigne of the said Henrie. This Roger died in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred thirtie and nine, being about the fourth yeare of king Stephan.

Godfreie. Godfreie chancellor to Henrie the first (as I gather out of Matthew Parker in the life of William Corbell or Corbris) the six and thirtith archbishop of

Canturbu-

Canturburie, to which dignitie this William was aduanced in the three and twentith yeare of Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ 1123, of which Godfreie the said Matthew further writeth in this sort, speaking of the said William the archbishop returned from Rome with the pall: *Deinde Alexandrum Lincolnienſem epiſcopum Cantuariæ, Godefredum regni cancellarium Bathonienſem epiſcopum Londini conſecrauit.* Concerning which Godfreie we will speake more hereafter in the lines of the chancellors, onelie at this time setting downe that this Godefredus was the quænes chapleine, and could not be that Galfridus before named, which was bishop of Durham; for this Godefredus died sir yeares before that Galfridus, for this bishop of Bath died in the yeare of our Lord 1135, being the last of king Henrie Beauclerke, and the first of king Stephan; & that bishop of Durham died in the yeare of our Lord 1141, being about the first yeare of the said king Stephan; and this Godfreie was the second bishop of Bath and Wels after the uniting of those two cities to one bishoprike by John de Towres, the first bishop of those two places in the yeare of our Lord 1092, being about the fift yeare of William Rufus.

Alexander bishop of Lincolne.

Alexander bishop of Lincolne (as may be after a sort gathered out of Wilhelmus Paruus lib. 1. cap. 6.) being cousine or nephue to Roger bishop of Salisburie was chancellor: the words of which W. Paruus be these: *Eidem* (that was to king Stephan) *quoque ſublimato in regem, ſe* (that was Roger bishop of Salisburie) *talem exhibuit, vt obſequiorum gratia præclaram apud illum habere fiduciam videretur. Tantis ille beneficijs ingratus, & in ipſum epiſcopum (cuius opera nunquam epiſcopalia fuere) vltor diuinitus ordinatus, eundem tanquam exigui hominem momenti primo carcerati cuſtodia, poſtmodum etiam cibi inopia, & nepoti eius (qui cancellarius fuerat regis) intentato ſupplicio ita coarctauit, vt duo illa præclara caſtella* (which were the castels of Vise otherwise called de Deuises, and the castell of Shirburne) *in quibus theſauri eius erant repoſiti reſignaret.* Thus much Wilhelmus Newburgensis, the truth whereof I leaue to other to consider, sith the words of those authors may be diuerslie expounded, either that this Alexander was chancellor, or his sonne, or else the sonne of Roger bishop of Salisburie. But be it any or none of them, as the truth shall hereafter be made plaine, yet bicause I haue mentioned Alexander in this place, I thinke it not amisse to set downe such verses as Henrie Huntington hath recited of this Alexander, which are:

This was about the beginning of the fourth yeare of K. Stephan, being An. Do. 1138, but Mat. Paris giueth it to An. Dom. 1139: who saith, *Collo filij eius qui cancellarius fuit laqueum annectens, &c.* And Henrie Huntington agreeth wholie with W. Paruus.

Splendor Alexandri, non tam reniteſcit honore,
Quàm per eum reniteſcit honor, flos námque virorum,
Dando tenere putans theſauros cogit honoris,
Et gratis dare feſtinans ne danda rogentur,
Quod non dum dederit non dum ſe credit habere
Oh decus! oh morum directio! quo veniente,
Certa fides, hilaris clementia, cauta poteſtas,
Lene iugum, doctrina placens, correctio dulcis,
Libertáſque decens, venere pudórque facetus.
Lincoliæ gens magna priùs, nec maxima ſemper,
Talis & iſte diu ſit nobis tutor honoris.

Robert.

Robert chancellor of England in the time of king Stephan, but I find not in what yeare, bicause the charter is without date, neither can I learne what he was, bicause I know not his surname.

Philip.

Philip chancellor to king Stephan, about the fourth yeare of his reigne, being about the yeare of our Lord 1139, witnesse to manie deedes which king Stephan made to the monks of Elie, and to Nigellus the bishop of that see.

Reinold.

Reinold abbat of Walden, whome I haue seene in one anonymall briefe written chronicle to be termed chancellor: but in what time he liued, or what other name he had I do not yet know, but by the course of the history much about this time.

John.

John chancellor of England in the time of king Henrie the second, but what he was or in what yeare of king Henrie he liued I do not know, and therefore leaue it to him that both can and ought to giue life to these persons whom he imprisoneth in the east castell of London; not doubting but in time he will do his countrie good, and correct other men; though now he be so streict laced, as that he will not procure anie furtherance of other mens trauels.

Thomas Becket.

Thomas Becket made chancellor (as some write) in the first yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the second, others sate in the fourth yeare: but the best authors agree that he gaue ouer the seale in the yeare of Christ 1162, being the eight yeare of the victorious prince the said Henrie the second against the will of the prince, he died in the yeare of our redemption 1170, as these verses do proue, being such as the superstitious age would permit:

Pro Chriſto, ſponſa Chriſti, ſub tempore Chriſti,
**In templo Chriſti, verus amator obit,*
Anno mileno, centeno ſeptuageno,
Anglorum primas corruit enſe Thomas.
Quis moritur? præſul: cur? pro grege: qualiter? enſe:
Quando? natali: quis locus? ara Dei.

* Christes church in Canturburie.

Rafe Warneuile.

Rafe Warneuile archdeacon of Rone and treasuror of the church of Yorke, was made chancellor about the yeare that the word became flesh 1173, being about the eightéenth yeare of king Henrie the second: of this man speaketh Matthew Paris and Matthew Westminster.

Walterus de Constantijs.

Walterus de Constantijs archdeacon of Oxford after bishop of Lincolne, in the yeare of our redemption 1182, from whense he was aduanced in the yeare 1184, being the one and thirtith yéere of king Henrie the second vnto the archbishoprike of Rone, of this man is more spoken in my discourse of the protectors of England pag. 1069.

Geffreie.

Geffreie the bastard sonne to king Henrie the second, after that he had surrendered the bishoprike of Lincolne, whereof he was neuer consecrat bishop, but kept the place and receiued the reuenues, was made chancellor much about the six and twentith yeare of king Henrie the second, being the yeare of Christ 1180: yet be there some that saie he resigned the bishoprike in the seuen and twentith yeare of king Henrie the second, in the yeare of Christ 1181. The difference whereof groweth (as I suppose) for that some accompt the beginning of the yeare of our Lord from the first of Januarie, as all other nations of Europe do; some from the birth of Christ, as we in England did long time since the conquest; and some from the fiue and twentith of March, on which it is supposed that the world began first to be created: which last accompt we in England (and the Scots as hath Lesleus) do kéepe, together with them of Genoa or Gene in Italie, contrarie to the order of all other nations. The begining of which maner of accompt amongst vs I cannot as yet certeinlie learne: but I suppose it began much about the time of king Edward the third, for all the former historiographers begin the yeare from the birth of Christ.

William Longchampe.

William Longchampe the proud bishop of Elie, legat of England for the bishop of Rome, chiefe iustice of the south and west parts of England, and deputie of that part of the realme, when Richard the first went to the warres of the holie land, was made chancellor in the said first of king Richard, being the yeare of our redemption 1189: of the sumptuous feast of whose inthronization thus writeth Ferthulphus (or Ferculphus) by the waie of comparison:

Præuiſis alijs, Elienſia feſta videre,
Eſt quaſi præuiſa nocte videre diem.

He died in the yéere of Christ 1197, going to Rome, in the abbeie of Pimie, being of the charterhouse order.

der. About which time in the first yeare of Richard the first, there was a vicechancellor called *Malus Catulus*.

Eustachius. Eustachius deane of Salisburie, was chancellor of England, being elected bishop of Elie the third ides of August, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1196, being the ninth yeare of king Richard the first, of whome thus writeth Matthew Parker, in the life of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, contrarie to that which others affirme, writing that Eustachius succeeded William Lonchampe in the office of chancellor, and in the bishoprike of Elie. The words of Matthew Parker in the life of Hubert be these: *Hubertus deposito magistratu ciuili, ecclesiæ curæ totus vacabat, consecrauitque postea Robertum de Salopesbi episcopum Banchorensem, & Eustachium qui in cancellarij munere ei successit Elienſem episcopum, Westmonasterij debita accepta ab vtróque subiectionis professione.*

Hubert Walter or Walter Hubert. Hubert Walter or Walter Hubert, for such a transmutation of the name is vsed by authors, being first bishop of Salisburie and then archbishop of Canturburie, was made chancellor shortlie after the coronation of king John, which was in the yeare that the virgine brought forth Christ 1199, at what time a certeine noble man said vnto him in scorne, I haue often seene of a chancellor made a bishop, but I neuer before saw an archbishop made a chancellor.

Simon. Simon or rather Hugh, of which is more heraster, archdeacon of Welles in the first yeare of king John (after as I suppose that Hubert had left the office being so disgraced & abased as he thought) was witnesse to a deed, in which king John granted to the citizens of Yorke a guildhall, hanse, and other liberties, as I haue seene noted in the copie of the same charter, for which cause I haue here set it downe as an other man, although in truth I am fullie resolued that this Simon and the Hugh following were all one person, leauing it yet for euerie mans iudgement.

Hugh de welles. Hugh de Welles archdeacon of Welles, witnesse to the deed in which king John, in the sixt yeare of his reigne, confirmed to the monasterie of Westminster, Gistlep or Islep in Oxfordshire, in which house Edward the confessor was borne, he was made bishop of Lincolne about the tenth yeare of king Johns reigne, in the yeare of our Lord 1209, and died in the yeare of our Lord 1235.

Walter Braie. Walter Braie chosen bishop of Chester, in the yeare of our Lord 1210, was bishop of Worcester and after bishop of Yorke, a man of extreame age, was made chancellor in the seuenth yeare of king John as one anonymall chronicle saith, to hold that office during his life. Others saie that he was made chancellor in the yeare of Christ 1209, being the tenth yeare of king John after Hugh de Welles. But I suppose he surrendred that patent to hold it during his life, when he came to be bishop of Yorke. Of this man is more spoken in my treatise of the protectors of England, pag. 1069.

Richard de Marischo. Richard de Marischo, whom Matthew Paris termeth *Tholenarius*, as it were tolegatherer or treasuror if you list, being archdeacon of Northumberland, was chancellor in the fourth yeare of king John, as appeareth by a deed that I haue seene: and further he was made chancellor in the 15 yeare of king John, in which office he cõtinued to the 17 yeare of the said king, and as some do write during king Johns life, and died about the calends of Maie in the yeare of our redemption 1226, in the tenth yeare of the long reigne of king Henrie the third, as some haue. But the booke of Durham saith, that he was made bishop of that sée by Gwado the legat, and consecrated by Walter Braie bishop of Yorke, in the yeare of our redemption 1214, being about the sixteenth yeare of king John, and died suddenlie at Peterborow the first daie of Maie, in the yeare of Christ 1226, being the tenth yeare of king Henrie the third, after that he had béene bishop of Durham nine yeares, of whom a monke of Durham made this epitaph in formall deuise as you see following:

Culmina qui cupiſ — laudes pompásque ſiti
Eſt ſedata ſi — ſime penſare veli
Qui populos regi — memores ſuper omnia ſi-
Quod mors immi-tis — non parcit bonore poti-tis
Vobis præpoſi — ſimilis fueram bene ſci
Quod ſum vos eri — ad me currendo veni

And here sith I am entered into the surname of Marischus, I will set downe what I found ingrauen on the wall of the doore of the chapter house of the monasterie of Bath (almost defaced with the wether) written in Grécke Saron characters. ✠ *Hic iacet Alexander de Alueto, & Ernburga vxor eius, & Fulco de Alueto filius eorum: & Lucia de Marisci filia eorũ, & Iordanus de Marisci filius eiusdem Luciæ, & Wilhelmus de Marisci filius eiusdem Iordani.* Which name of the Marisches, Marshes, or Mores, if it like them to expound it, as I doubt not but manie will quiddle therevpon, was as great a name in Ireland as it was in England.

Rafe Neuill bishop of Chichester. Rafe Neuill was confirmed (as it séemeth) chancellor by the whole consent of the nobilitie, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1226, being about the tenth yeare of king Henrie the third, after which he was made bishop of Chichester in the eleuenth yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1227, or as hath Matthew Westm. he was made bishop of Chichester in the yeare of Christ 1223, being before chancellor. After which the king in the two and twentith yeare of his reigne, offended with Neuill, tooke from him the great seale, & deliuered it to Gefreie of the temple, as hath Matthew Paris, and to John de Lerinton: although that the said Neuill remained still chancellor, and receiued the profits thereof, to whom the king would after haue reginen the seale in the yeare of Christ 1239, being the three and twentith yeare of the said king Henrie, but Neuill would not receiue it. This man died in the yeare of Christ 1243, being the seuen and twentith yeare of king Henrie the third, at his palace at London not far from the new temple.

Gefreie the Templer. Gefreie the Templer & John de Lerinton were made keepers of the great seale. But shortlie after this Gefreie had the seale taken from him, because he grew in mislike of the nobilitie in continuall prouoking them to anger.

Hugh Pateshall chanon of Paules. Hugh Pateshall chanon of Paules is by Matthew Paris fol. 656, called chancellor in the three and twentith yeare of king Henrie the third, which I much doubt to be true. Of this man shall be more said in the treasurors of England.

Simon the Norman. Simon the Norman keeper of the great seale in the three & twentith yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1229: he had the seale shortlie after taken from him, and was banished the court, because he would not seale the patent, whereby Thomas earle of Flanders might take foure pence for custome of euerie sacke of woll that came out of England into Flanders. This Simon died in the yeare of Christ 1249, being the three and thirtith of king Henrie the third.

Richard Gralle abbat of Euesham. Richard Gralle or Grossus abbat of Euesham (the said Simon expelled) had the keeping of the great seale in the three and twentith yeare of king Henrie the third, he kept the seale three yeares, and being chosen bishop of Chester, he resigned the same in the yeare of Christ 1242, being the six & twentith yeare of king Henrie the third: he died (being wise & learned in the canon and ciuill law) in the same

yeare

yeare in Gascoine, in a citie called in Latine *Riola* or *Regula*, where he was buried.

John de Lexinton.

John de Lexinton was againe made keeper of the seale in the six and twentith yeere of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1242, to execute that office, Rafe Neuill being in life and still chancellor, but in the kings disgrace, shortlie after which this Neuill died. This John Lexinton died 1257, being the 41 yeare of Henrie the third.

Ranulfe Bzton.

Ranulfe Bzton (as I read) is said to be chancellor and treasuror of the chamber, about the seuen and twentith yeare of Henrie the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1242. I suppose that he onelie had the keeping of the great seale as the rest had before him, during the life of Rafe Neuill, and so I leaue him to the iudgement of others, sith Matthew Paris continuallie nameth him treasuror and once chancellor, who suddenlie died after dinner beholding plaiers at dise, in the yeare of Christ 1246, being the thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third: of whom thus writeth the said Matthew Paris in his greater historie fol. 954. *Ranulphus Brito quondam domino familiarissimus regi & reginæ (multis posthabitis nobilibus) & eiusdem cancellarius specialis, quum post mensalem refectionem aleatores certatim inspexisset colludentes, lætalis apoplexiæ inexpectato vulnere corruit sugillatus.*

Sylvester de Euersden.

Sylvester de Euersden receiued the great seale the nine and twentith yeare of Henrie the third, being the yeare that the son of God became flesh one thousand two hundred fortie and six: he was vicechancellor & consecrated bishop of Carleill (being a man most cunning in the custome of the chancerie) in the yeare of Christ 1247, being the one and thirtith yeare of Henrie the third.

John Mansell.

John Mansell treasuror of Yorke, parson of Maidstone in Kent, and parson of Wigan, chancellor of Paules, maister or ruler of Beuerlete, chiefe iustice of England, one of the priuie councell to Henrie the third, his chapleine, ambassador into Spaine, and a worthie souldier, crossed to go to Jerusalem, who at one feast had two kings, two quænes, and I know not how manie noble men, and whose spirituall liuings were about foure thousand marks of yerelie reuenues (as I haue gathered) he was at the will and instance of the king made keeper of the great seale as vicechancellor (for Matthew Paris saith, *Custodiam sigilli regij accepit tancellarij vices acturus & officium*) about the one & thirtith of king Henrie the third, in the yeare that God toke on him the forme of a seruant 1247, he built a house of regular canons at Komnele two miles from the sea. To this man king Henrie the third, in the thirtith yeare of his reigne, did grant that his towne of Wigan should be a burrow.

John de Lexinton.

John de Lexinton, being after chiefe iustice of the forest from the riuer of Trent southward, was againe keeper of the great seale, vntill some part of the two and thirtith yeare of Henrie the third, in the yeare of Christ 1248.

John Mansell.

John Mansell againe keeper of the great seale, who at Woodstocke in the two and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the third, did receiue the great seale of the said John Lexinton, which he kept (as I suppose and that with some good prowse) vntill the three & thirtith yeare of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption 1248. Of which John Mansell thus writeth an old anonymall chronicle concerning the barons warres: *Sed & Iohannes Mansell multarum in Anglia ecclesiarum rector seu potius incubator, reddituum quoque quorum non erat numerus possessor magnificus, ita quòd ditior eo clericus non videbatur in orbe episcopali, puta dignitate minimè insignitus, metu baronum aufugit & latenter vltra mari de turri London, in qua rex Angliæ & regina sua tunc temporis tenuerunt se. Quem quum Henricus filius regis Alemaniæ fugientem insequeretur, & ipse capitur quum applicuisset Bononiæ à magistro Gerando de Fenes procuratore vt putabatur reginæ, &c.*

Radulphus de Diceto.

Radulphus de Diceto was chancellor (as I read & suppose) much about this time: but for certeintie I refer the same to the large booke of their liues, where he shall not faile to haue his right time and place.

William of Kilkennie.

William of Kilkennie, being a modest, wise, and faithfull man, learned in the canon and ciuill lawes, was made keeper of the great seale, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and fiftie, being the foure & thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third. He was elected to the bishoprike of Elie, as saith the historie of Elie, the eightenth kalends of September, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie & fiue, being about the nine and thirtith yere of Henrie the third. But others sate that he being then vicechancellor, was elected bishop of Elie in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred fiftie and foure, being the eight and thirtith yeare of Henrie the third, after that he had faithfullie and to his great commendation vsed and borne the great seale, he was cõsecrated to that bishoprike in the yere of Christ 1255, and died in the yere 1256 being about the one and fortith yeare of king Henrie the third, whose heart was buried at Elie.

Henrie de Wingham.

Henrie de Wingham was made chancellor in the nine and thirtith yeare of Henrie the third, and continued in the one and fortith and two and fortith yeare of Henrie the third, in which yeare (as some haue) and in the 43 of Henrie the third (as others haue.) He was chosen bishop of Winchester, vpon condition that he should giue place to Athelmer halfe brother to king Henrie the third, & son to Hugh Bzune earle of March, and of Eleanor king Henrie the thirds mother, being banished by the barons, if that he should againe returne into England, and then leaue the bishoprike of Winchester vnto him, which he did vpon the comming againe of the said Athelmer into England, and for that cause was after chosen bishop of London, being chosen thereto in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie and nine, being the three and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the third, and still chancellor, and is buried in Paules on the south side of the quier (next to Eustachius bishop of London) in a monument of marble, with this inscription on the wall to tell who it was: *Hic iacet Henricus de Wingham quondam episcopus huius ecclesiæ, qui multa bona contulit ministris ecclesiæ sancti Pauli.*

Walter Merton.

Walter Merton chancellor in the foure and fortith yere of king Henrie the third, being the yeare 1260.

Nicholas of Elie.

Nicholas of Elie made chancellor by the barons, in the said yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred and sixtie, and Walter Merton displaced. But king Henrie the third, disdaining to haue officers appointed him by his subiects, did in the moneth of October following, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and sixtie, or rather one thousand two hundred sixtie and one, depriue the said Nicholas, and replaced the said Walter Merton.

Walter Merton the second time.

Walter Merton bishop of Rochester the second time made chancellor as before appeareth.

John de Chesill.

John de Chesill archdeacon of London and treasuror of England, was made keeper of the great seale, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie and foure, being the eight and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third. This man was consecrated bishop of London in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie & foure, the third kalends of Maie, as hath Matthew Westminster: he died in the yeare that the word of the father became flesh one thousand two hundred seuentie and nine, the fourth ides of Februarie, in the seuenth yeare of the scourge of the Scots and Welshmen.

Vita Thomæ Cantelupi.

Thomas de Cantelupe, borne of the noble house of the lords Cantelupes (the son of William Cantelupe and Millesent, which as saith Leland drew his originall from the countesses of Yorke) being archdeacon of Stafford, was doctor and after bishop of Hereford in the yeare one thousand two hundred seuentie and six, and before that made chancellor, after the feast of saint Peters chaire, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie & fiue, being the nine and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third. He died beyond the seas comming from the court of Rome, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie and eight, being the first yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first, or more truelie (as others haue) in the yeare one thousand two hundred eightie & three, being the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the first, whose bones were brought to Hereford.

Walter Gifford bishop of Bath.

Walter Gifford bishop of Bath and Welles, whome manie do call William, did inioy the state of the chancellor, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred sixtie & six, being the fiftith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third: he was translated from Bath to Yorke, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie and nine, being the nine and fortith yeare of the same Henrie the third, and died the seuenth kalends of Maie in the twelfe yeare of his bishoprike, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie & seuen, being the first yeare of king Edward the first, or (as hath Nicholas Triuet) in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie and nine, being the seuenth yeare of king Edward the first.

Geffreie Gifford.

Geffreie Gifford was chancellor also in the one and fiftith yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie and seuen. This man was bishop of Worcester about the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred ninetie and nine, where he sat foure and thirtie yeares, foure moneths, and foure daies, and died in the yeare one thousand three hundred and foure, being about the two and thirtith yeare of king Edward the first.

John de Chesill.

John de Chesill was the second time honoured with the place of the chancellor, in the yeare that the word became flesh one thousand two hundred sixtie and eight, being the three and fiftith yeare in which king Henrie the third of that name did hold the scepter of England.

Richard de Middleton.

Richard de Middleton, so surnamed of the place where he was borne, was aduanced to the office of the chancellorship, in the said three and fiftith yeare of king Henrie the third, in the moneth of Julie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie and eight, and was also (as appeareth by a charter which I haue seene) witnesse to the same deed, in the foure and fiftith yeare of the said king Henrie, who (as farre as I can gather) died in August, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie and one, being the six and fiftith yeare of the long gouernment of king Henrie the third. There was a writer of England that wrote many volums of this name liuing at this time, whom I doubt not (for anie thing that I can yet learne) to be the same man which was chancellor.

John de Kirbie.

John de Kirbie, after the death of Richard Middleton, was made keeper of the great seale in the said six and fiftith yere of king Henrie the third. Whether this were the same John Kirkbie, which after was bishop of Elie, and treasuror of England, I haue not as yet to determine, although I rather hold the affirmatiue than the contrarie.

Walter Merton.

Walter Merton the third time made chancellor of England, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred seuentie and three, being the first yeare of the reigne of that famous prince king Edward the first of that name: he was bishop of Rochester, and built Merton college in Oxford, and died in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seauentie and eight, being the sixt yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first.

Robert Burnell.

Robert Burnell the eleuenth bishop of Bath and Wels (after the uniting of those two sees in one by John de Toures in the yeare of Christ one thousand ninetie and two) was made bishop of Bath in the yeare of our Lord (as saith Euersden) one thousand two hundred seuentie & foure, and chosen archbishop of Canturburie in the yeare one thousand two hundred seuentie and eight, but reiected by the pope: he was chancellor in the second yeare of the said Edward the first, in which place it seemeth that he long continued: of whom thus writeth an anonymall chronicle; *Dominus Edmundus comes Cornubiæ fundauit nouum studium ordinis Cisterciensis apud Oxonias, & monachos de Thame primò ibidem introduxit, & dedit eis prima donatione manerium de Erdington, & fecit dedicare locum abbatiæ tertij idus Decembris: per dominum Robertum Burnell episcopum Bathon & Welles, cancellarium regis, & posuit fundamentum nouæ ecclesiæ eodem die Northosneiæ.* This bishop was required with the son of Edward the first, and Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester, in the time of Edward the first, to be deliuered for pledges for Lhewelin prince of Wales for his safe returne, if he came to the parlement, whereunto he was summoned by the said king Edward. In the time of this chancellor the court of chancerie was kept at Wistow. This man died in the yere of Christ one thousand two hundred ninetie and three, being the one and twentith yere of the reigne of king Edward the third.

John de Langhton.

John de Langhton made chancellor of England in the yere of our Lord one thousand two hundred ninetie and three, being the one and twentith yeare of the scourger of the Scots, king Edward the first, in which office he remained vntill the thirtith of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and two. He was made bishop of Chichester about the six and twentith or rather the seauen and twentith yeare of king Edward the first, being the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred ninetie and eight, or rather one thousand two hundred ninetie and nine: and in the said yeare one thousand two hundred ninetie and nine he was before chosen bishop of Elie, but reiected by the pope, who made him archdeacon of Canturburie: from which Langhton this Edward did take the great seale in the thirtith yeare before said, and deliuered it to John Drokensford.

John Drokensford.

John Drokensford keeper of the wardrobe was made keeper of the great seale in the thirtith yere, as before, in which office he continued from about the fifteenth daie of August vntill Michaelmas.

William de Greinfield.

William de Greinfield, deane of Chichester, and canon of Yorke, was aduanced to the place of the chancellor, in the yeare that God became man one thousand three hundred and two, being about the thirtith yeare of the said king Edward the first, which office was giuen vnto him at saint Radigunds (as saith Anonymus M.S. He was after chosen bishop of Yorke, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and three: who in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and eight buried the bodie of the said king Edward the first at Westminster, though that king died in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand three hundred and seauen. This bishop died about the yere of our saluation one thousand three hundred and fifteene (being about the first yeare of king Edward the second) at Talwod, after that

that he had béene bishop nine yeares, eleuen moneths, and two daies, and was buried in saint Nicholas porch of Yorke, receiuing his consecration at Rome in the yeare of Christ one thousand thrée hundred and fiue (after that he had béene there two yéeres) of pope Clement. This Greinfield was a man verie eloquent and pithie in counsell.

William de Hamelton. William de Hamelton, deane of Yorke, was created chancellor of England, in the yeare that the virgine brought forth the sonne of God one thousand thrée hundred and fiue, being the thrée and thirtith yeare of that noble prince king Edward the first. This William surrendred his borrowed life in the yeare of our Lord one thousand thrée hundred and seuen, being about the fiue and thirtith yeare of the said king, at the abbeie of Fontnelle in Yorkshire, being a man that well deserued of the commonwealth.

Ralfe Baldocke. Ralfe de Baldocke chosen bishop of London, in the yeare of Christ one thousand thrée hundred and thrée, was confirmed at Titneshall by Robert of Winchelseie bishop of Canturburie, and consecrated at Lions by Peter of Spaine bishop of Alba, the third calends of Februarie, in the yere of our redemption one thousand thrée hundred and fiue. He was made lord chancellor of England, after the death of the said William Hamelton in the said fiue & thirtith yere of king Edward the first, and receiued the great seale in the Rogation wéeke following, being some foure or fiue wéekes after that he was aduanced to that office at the ercheker. Shortlie after which died king Edward the first; for which cause the said Baldocke sent the great seale to king Edward the second then at Carleill, by reason of his fathers death. This Ralfe Baldocke died on saint James éeuen in the yeare of our redemption one thousand thrée hundred and thirtéene, being the seuenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the second.

John Langhton. John Langhton bishop of Chichester againe made lord chancellor of England, in the yeare that the word of the father toke on him the forme of a seruant one thousand thrée hundred and seauen, being the first yeare of king Edward of Carnaruan, in which office it séemeth that he continued, vntill the yeare of our Lord one thousand thrée hundred and ten, being the third yeare of the reigne of the after deposed king Edward the second.

William Melton. William Melton, hauing two others ioined with him, had the great seale deliuered vnto them for a certeine time, to execute all such things as were to be done therewith during the kings pleasure. This man was a canon of Yorke, prouost of Beuerleie, treasuror of England, and archbishop of Yorke, as saith Anonymus M.S. He was consecrated bishop of Yorke at Rome, where he tarried two yeares for the same: he was a man neuer wearied with trauell. He first of all the bishops of Yorke (after a long controuersie betwéene the deane and canons of Yorke) visited the chapter by due order: he was wise, rich, seuere in correction, gentle, familiar, and humble: he finished the west part of the church of saint Peters in Yorke with thrée hundred pounds, he was archbishop of Yorke two and twentie yeares, fiue or six moneths, and two daies: he died at Cawod on saint Georges éeuen, in the yeare of Christ one thousand thrée hundred and thirtie, and was buried in the minster of Yorke nére to the font.

Walter Reinolds. Walter Reinolds bishop of Worcester, treasuror of England and archbishop of Canturburie, was made keeper of the great seale, and chancellor of England on the first of Julie one thousand thrée hundred and ten, in the said yeare of our Lord God one thousand thrée hundred and ten, being the said third yeare of that king Edward, whome his sonne Edward the third deposed from his kingdome. Of this man & all other chancellors, which were archbishops of Canturburie, shall be somewhat more said at another time, in the order and placing of the bishops of that sée; which caution I haue here set downe, because I would once for all make repetition thereof in one place, and not seuerallie in manie places, vnder the seuerall names of euerie chancellor that was inuested with that metropolitan honor of Canturburie.

John de Sandall. John de Sandall clerke, bishop of Winchester, & treasuror, was at Yorke made chancellor of England, in the yeare that the virgin Marie was deliuered of the first begotten son one thousand thrée hundred and fouretéene, being the eight yeare of king Edward the second, in which place he continued two yeares and more; some part thereof being after that he was bishop of Winchester (as I gather) and then deliuered backe the seale at Westminster, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand thrée hundred and seuentéene, being the eleauenth yeare of the said king Edward the second. Of this man is more spoken in the treasurors of England.

John Hotham. John Hotham bishop of Elie was created lord chancellor of England in the yere of Christ one thousand thrée hundred and seauentéene, being the eleauenth yeare of king Edward the second, in which office he continued vntill the yeare of our Lord God 1319, being the thirteenth yeare of the last before named king Edward. During whose gouernment of the sée of Elie, in the yeare one thousand thrée hundred fortie and one, the steeple of the chaire fell downe, which made such terrible noise and shaking of the ground that it was supposed to haue béene an earthquake. He died of the palsie in the yere of our redemption one thousand thrée hundred thirtie and six, being the tenth yeare of that king Edward the third that first wrote himselfe king of both realmes, England and France.

John Salmon bishop of Norwich. John Salmon bishop of Norwich was aduanced to be chancellor, in the yeare that God toke on him the forme of a seruant, one thousand thrée hundred and nineteene, being the thirtéenth yeare of that king Edward the second, against whome the nobles rebelled for the misdemeanor of Piers de Gauestone (the Gascoine) earle of Cornewall. In this yeare one thousand thrée hundred and nineteene (as saith one anonymall chronicler M.S.) was William Atremine keeper of the seale vicechancellor taken prisoner by the Scots. The words of the which author for the more certeintie thereof we haue here set downe, in the yeare of Christ one thousand thrée hundred and nineteene. *Episcopus Eborum, episcopus Eliæ thesaurarius, abbas beatæ Mariæ Eborum, abbas de Selbie, decanus Eborum dominus Willielmus Arymenee vicecancellarius Angliæ, ac dominus Iohannes* Dabeham cum 8000 fermè hominum, tam equitum quàm peditum & ciuibus properanter * ciuitatem egredientes, quoddam flumen * Swale nuncupatum sparsis cuneis transeuntes, & indispositis seu potiùs confusis ordinibus cum aduersarijs congressi sunt. Scoti siquidem in martegnari amplitudinem eorum exercitus cautè regentes, in nostros agminibus strictis audacter irruerunt, nostrorum denique in breui laceratis cuneis atque dissipatis, corruerunt ex nostris tam in ore gladij quàm aquarum scopulis suffocati, plusquam 4000, & capti sunt domini Iohannes de Pabeham miles & dominus Willielmus de Arymenee vt præfertur de cancellaria, &c.* Which William Atremenée was also in the fiftéenth of the said king Edward the second, one of the keepers of the great seale, as I haue séene registred.

* Or Pabeham. * Yorke. * Twelue miles from Yorke.

Robert Baldocke. Robert Baldocke archdeacon of Middlesex, a man euillie beloued, and whom the old English chronicle calleth a false péeld priest, was made chancellor of England in the seauentéenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the second, at the castell of Pikering

Historiepisc. Norwich.

ring in Yorkeshire, he was after made bishop of Norwich, and did his fealtie for restitution of his temporalties in the nineteenth yeare of the said king Edward the second at Woodstocke in Oxfordshire, he was apprehended in the 20 yeare of Edward the second, being the yéere of our Lord 1326, or (as others haue) one thousand three hundred & fiue and twentie, & first committed to the custodie of Adam Tarleton or de Orleton bishop of Hereford, & after was put in the prison of the Newgate in London, in which twentith yeare of the said Edward the second the great seale was againe deliuered to William Airemée, who I suppose was then also made bishop of Norwich, and this Baldocke deposed from that sée, of which Baldocke thus writeth a Polychronicon of Durham: *Robertus de Baldocke cancellarius An.* 1325 *captus cum Hugonibus de despensers, quia clericus fuit & sacerdos in noua porta Londiniarum, poni fecit Edwardus princeps & Isabella mater eius, vbi pro nimia miseria mortuus fuit infra breue.*

William Airemee keeper of the seale.

John Hotham bishop of Elie.

John Hotham bishop of Elie the second time was at Westminster made chancellor of England, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1326, being the first yeare of the reigne of that king which first intituled himselfe king of England and France: but he continued not long in the same office, for he was removed in the second yeare of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption, one thousand three hundred twentie and eight. He was elected bishop in the yéere of Christ one thousand three hundred and sixtéene, in which place he ruled twentie yeares, and died in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and thirtie of the palsey at Summersham, being buried in the church of Elie vnder a goodlie monument of stone, with the image of a bishop carued out of alabaster vpon his tome.

Henrie Cliffe master of the rolles.

Henrie Cliffe master of the rolles had the charge and keeping of the great seale of England, in the said yeare of Christ 1328, being the second yeare of king Edward the third, and was the kings chancellor also.

Henrie Burghwash bishop of Lincolne.

Henrie de Burgh, Burghwash, or Burgesse, nephue vnto sir Bartholomew Bladismere baron of Leeds in Kent, hauing béene treasuror of England, inioied the honor of the chancellor in the second yéere of king Edward the third, being the yeare that the sonne of God toke on him the forme of a seruant 1328, and was made chancellor at Northampton, which office he did not long inioie. Here because I haue a little mentioned sir Bartholomew Bladesmere, I will saie somwhat more of him, which is, that being orator for the king in diuers weightie affairs, he spent in those businesses 15000 pounds of the kings monie, and yet produced little or nothing to effect in the kings causes, except the procuring of this Henrie Burghwash to the bishoprike of Lincolne, who was buried in the east end towards the north of the church of Lincolne, at whose fæt was also buried Robert his brother a knight of great fame in the warres, in which church is also buried Bartholomew sonne to the said Robert. They founded a grammar schole, and fiue pretests, & fiue poore scholars in Lincolne.

John Stratford.

John Stratford bishop of Winchester, and after of Canturburie, and sometime treasuror of England, was made chancellor of the realme, in the yéere of our redemption one thousand three hundred and thirtie, being the fourth yeare of the said king Edward the third, who being sent in the first yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred two and thirtie, ambassador beyond the seas about the affaires of the king & kingdome, did not (like cardinall Wolsele the chancellor in the daies of K. Henrie the eight) presumptuouslie carrie the great seale with him beyond the seas, but left the same in his absence with others, who both could and would answer the well or euill vsing thereof whilest he was in France. This man continued in the office vntill the eight yeare of Edward the third.

Richard de Burie or Richard de Angerule.

Richard de Burie, otherwise called Richard de Angerule (being borne in a litle village beside saint Edmundsburie, commonlie called the Berrie abbeie, was so surnamed Burie of that place) had to his father sir Richard Angerule knight. This man being first kept at schole by his vncle sir John Willobie priest, was afterward treasuror of England, chancellor and bishop of Durham: to which place of chancellorship he was aduanced in the yeare that the second person in trinitie was brought into the world 1334, being the eight yeare of that king of England which first quartered the armes of England and France. Which office he receiued by the kings gift at Westminster, in which yeare he was inthronized (being first consecrated bishop in the yere of Christ 1333) in the bishoprike of Durham by William Cowton prior of Durham: he kept the sée 11 years two moneths and 12 daies, & died in the yeare 1345, & was buried in the south angle of the church of Durham.

John Stratford archbishop of Canturburie.

John Stratford the second time lord chancellor, being now archbishop of Canturburie, was installed therein at Yorke in the yeare of Christ 1335, being the ninth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third.

Robert de Stratford.

Robert de Stratford or Strafford (as some haue written, but as I thinke corruptlie) being archdeacon of Canturburie (which office was first ordeined by Anselme archbishop of the said citie of Canturburie) was made chancellor of England on the foure and twentith date of March (being the éeue of the annuntiation of the virgin Marie) at Westminster, in the yeare that the word of the father toke on him the forme of a seruant 1336, being the eleuenth yeare of the gouernement of king Edward the third. He was after made bishop of Chichester, desiring to be remoued from that office of chancellorship, which was granted vnto him: whervpon he surrendered vp the seale to the said king Edward the third in the twelfe yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our redemption 1338.

Richard de Bintworth bishop of London.

Richard de Bintworth chosen bishop of London, and confirmed by John Stratford archbishop of Canturburie at Otford in the tenth kalends of June 1338, was at Waltham aduanced to the honour of lord chancellor in the moneth of Julie, in the said yeare of Christ 1338, being the twelfe yeare of that king which first ordeined the knights of the order of the garter.

John Stratford archbishop of Canturburie.

John Stratford the third time lord chancellor of England, in which office he did not now long continue.

Robert bishop of Chichester.

Robert bishop of Chichester, being the foresaid Robert Stratford, was againe made lord chancellor of England, in the yere of our redemption 1340, being the fourtéenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, who was put out of that office, and should with the treasuror of England haue bene sent into France for a pledge for the paiment of certeine summes of monie.

Robert de Bourchier.

Robert de Bourchier, borne of the honourable house of the lord Bourchiers, was in the towre of London made lord chancellor of England in December, in the said fourtéenth yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1340, though some saie he was made chancellor in the fiftéenth yeare of the said king.

Robert Pers ning iustice at the law.

Robert Perning, Pernicke, or Pernwicke, also treasuror of England, was made chancellor of England,

land in the yeare that the virgine brought forth the the Messiah 1341, being the fiftéenth yeare of king Edward the third. He died in the yeare 1343, being the seuentéenth yeare of the foresaid king Edward the third. This man was a sergeant in the third yeare of Edward the third, when he began to plead as a sergeant, in which he continued vntill about the eleuenth yeare of Edward the third, and was after that iustice, treasuror, and chancellor, and did in the common place, being chancellor, sit and argue amongst the iustices, as appeareth in the law bookes of those yeares of Edward the third, of whom is last mention made in the seuentéenth yeare of Edward the third, where he is named chancellor.

Robert de Saddington. Robert de Saddington knight, was inuested with the dignitie of lord chancellor after the death of Perning in the yeare of Christ 1343, and the seuentéenth yeare of the often mentioned king Edward the third. There was also one sir Richard Saddington knight treasuror of England, of whome I haue spoken in my discourse of the lord treasurors.

John Offord or Vfford. John Offord or Vfford, deane of Lincolne, was made chancellor of England, in the yeare of our redemption 1345, being the nineteenth yeare of king Edward the third. He was elected to be bishop of Canturburie, and so was installed, but neuer receiued the pall. He died in the moneth of Maie, in the yeare of Christ 1349, being the three and twentith yeare of the reigne of that victorious king Edward, which neuer receiued greater honour than that he was father vnto Edward surnamed the Blacke prince the flower of chiualrie, and worthie conquerour of the French dominions.

John Thorsbie. John Thorsbie bishop of Worcester, archbishop of Yorke and cardinall, was installed in the seat of the lord chancellor, in the yeare that God became man, one thousand three hundred fortie and nine, being the three and twentith yeare of that king Edward the third, so often before recited, who at his great suite was discharged of the office of chancellor, by deliuerie of the great seale in Nouember, in the thirtith yeare of the said king, being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred fiftie and six, after that he had kept that place by the space almost of seauen yeres. He in the tenth yeare of his bishoprike in the third calends of August, began the frame of the quéere of S. Peters church in Yorke, & laid the first stone therof, to which he gaue a hundred pounds. He died at Thorpe, and was buried at Yorke in the yere of Christ 1363, or as other haue 1373, after that he had béene archbishop one and twentie yeares, and one and twentie daies.

William de Edington. William de Edington, bishop of Winchester, lord treasuror of England, was made chancellor of this realme in Nouember in the said yeare of Christ 1356, and the thirtith yeare of the reigne of that king Edward, which at Sauoie in England kept king John of France his prisoner. See more of him in the treasurors of England.

Simon Langham. Simon Langham, abbat of Westminster, bishop of Elie, archbishop of Canturburie, and lord treasuror of England, was made lord chancellor in Februarie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred sixtie and three, being the seauen and thirtith yeare of the gouernment of king Edward the third, and was chancellor in the fortith yere of the reigne of that king: being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred sixtie and three. Of this Simon were these verses made, when he was remoued from Elie to the bishoprike of Canturburie:

Exultent cœli quia Simon transit ab Eli,
Cuius in aduentum flent in Kent millia centum.

Of whome also, bicause he richlie indowed the abbeie of Westminster with great gifts, of singular cost & value, a certeine monke compiled these verses:

Res es de Langham tua Simon sunt data quondam,
Octingentena librarum millia dena.

Of this man is more spoken in the former discourse or treatise of the lord treasurors of England.

William de Wikeham. William de Wikeham, so called of the place of his birth, was by surname from his parents called Perot, and Long, whome Leland maketh treasuror of England, which by anie possible meanes cannot be so for anie thing that I can yet learne. This man being bishop of Winchester, and aduanced to that place in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred sixtie and seuen, in the one and fortith yeare of the reigne of Edward the third, in which place he sat seauen and thirtie yeares, was sometime kéeper of the priuie seale, and made also chancellor of England, in the yeare that the virgine brought forth the first begotten sonne one thousand three hundred sixtie and seauen, being the one and fortith yeare of the gouernement of the foresaid Edward the third, in which office he remained about foure yeares; and (in March in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred seauentie and one, being the fiue and fortith of king Edward the third) did deliuer vp the great seale to the king at Westminster. He was buried in the bodie of Winchester church, which he new built with the other places about it: of whome were these verses composed for the building of his colleges, the one at Oxenford and the other at Winchester:

Hunc docet esse pium fundatio collegiorum
Oxoniæ primum stat Wintoniæque secundum.

Robert Thorpe. Robert Thorpe knight, being before iustice of the law in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and seauentie, was after at Westminster aduanced to the chancellorship, in March, the fiue & fortith yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption (as is before said) one thousand three hundred seauentie and one, who going home to his owne house, left the great seale with foure of the gardians or maisters of the chancerie, wherof the one was called Walter Powre, to kéepe and vse as néed required.

Sir John Knluet or Knluell (as some bokes haue by the transcriber corrupted) was made chancellor of England in Julie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred seauentie and two, being the six and fortith yeare of king Edward the third, in which office he continued (as I for this time do gather) vntill the fiftith yeare of the said king Edward, in which yeare (as héere at hand appeareth) came in place of the bishop of S. Dauids. Sir John Knluet.

Adam de Houghton, bishop of Peneuia or of Saint Dauids in Wales, was aduanced to the office of lord chancellor in the yeare of our redemption 1376, being the fiftith yeare of king Edward the third, who in the one and fiftith yeare of the said king, was with the earle of Salisburie, and the bishop of Hereford, sent ambassador beyond the seas. ¶ And here I thinke it not amisse to set downe the originall of the rolles in chancerie lane in this sort. Adam de Houghton.

Henrie the third did build a house for the Iewes conuerted to the faith of Christ, which house is at this daie (& hath béene long before this time) appointed for the kéeping of the kings rolles and records, being now called and knowne by the name of the rolles in chancerie lane besides Lincolns inne. In which house the maister of the rolles (for the time being) hath a goodlie and statelie lodging. In which also there is a faire chappell, called the chappell of the rolles, being a place commonlie appointed wherein men accustom to paie monie vpon contracts. Wherin also is buried John Yong, sometime maister of the rols and doctor of both laws, on the left side in his doctors wéed; and maister Allington vnder a state.

lie tome of white marble, iet, and other rich stone, on the right side of the said chappell, the epitaphs of both which persons are hereafter recited: besides which in this chappell are the ancient records of all inrolments, confirmations of the prince, & of other suites in the chancerie kept in chests and presses, built on each side about the middle part of the chappell, beneath the chaire or place of seruice. At the west end whereof (on certeine apointed daies therefore) the maister of the rols doth in the afternoones sit in a place formed and railed in, after the manner of the courts of Westminster, to heare and determine matters depending in the chancerie: which maister of the rolles now liuing is sir Gilbert Gerrard knight, sometime generall atturneie to the noble princesse quéene Elisabeth. And here before I leaue this chappell, I thinke it not amisse to set downe the epitaphs of the two persons before named there buried, with these words.

The epitaph of maister doctor Yong maister of the rols.

Io. Yong LL. doctoris sacror. scrinior. ac huius domus custodi decano olim EBOR. vita defuncto xxv Aprilis sui fideles executores hoc posuerunt M.D.XVI.

Dominus firmamentum meum.

Beside which in an old table hanging by are written in text hand these verses hereafter following:

Hic iacet ille Iohannes Yong cognomine dignus,
Tali quod nunquam marcesceret vtpote charus:
Omnibus apprimè summo testante dolore,
Quem neque celabant neque dissimulare valebant,
Dum sternit iuuenem mors immatura labentem,
Quis non defleret iuuenis miserabile fatum,
Ex quo multorum pendebat vita salúsque:
Horum inquam inprimis, quos ille benignus alebat
Impensis donec vitales carperet auras.
Nec satis illi erat hoc priuatis consuluisse
Rebus, quinetiam prudenter publica gessit
Munia siue forensia siue etiam extera summa
Cum laude, illa quidem dum sacris præfuit olim
Scrinijs, hæc verò legati functus honore.

The epitaph of maister Alington is in this sort.

Hospes qui fueram quondam si quæris amice,
Nomen Alingtonus stirps generosa fuit:
Hæc monumenta mihi coniux fidissima struxit,
Quæque mihi struxit destinat illa sibi.
Charáque coniugy tres natæ pignora nostri,
Sunt, vultus quarum marmora sculpta tenent,
Cum matre has omnes precor vt post funera summe
Cælica perducas in tua regna Deus.

Richardus Alington armiger qui hîc sepultus est obyt 23 die Nouembris 1561.

Now (as you haue heard before that this house of the rols was first a house of conuerts) it shall not be amisse also for the more proofe thereof, to set downe the grants of the princes and kings which conuerted the same to those vses.

The grant of Henrie the third, for *erecting of the house of* conuerts.

Rex archiepiscopis, &c. Sciatis nos intuitu Dei, & pro salute animæ nostræ, & animarum antecessorum & hæredum meorum concessisse, & hac charta nostra confirmasse pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, domum quam fundari fecimus in vico, qui vocatur Newstreet, inter vetus templum & nouum London, ad sustentationem fratrum conuersorum & conuertendorum de Iudaismo ad fidem catholicam, in auxilium sustentationis eorundem fratrum in eadem domo conuersantium, domos & terras quæ fuêre Iohannis Herbeton in London, & sunt in manu nostra tanquam eschaeta nostra, excepto gardino, quod fuit eiusdem Iohannis in vico prædicto de Newstreet, & quod priùs per chartam nostram concessimus venerabili patri *Radulpho Cicestrensi episcopo cancellario nostro, & omnes alias eschaetas, quæ tempore nostro per feloniam, vel quacunque ex causa nobis accident in ciuitate nostra, vel in suburbio infra libertatem ciuitatis nostræ London. Quare volumus, & firmiter præcipimus pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, quòd prædicta domus habeat & teneat liberè & quietè, bene & in pace, ad sustentationem fratrum conuersorum & conuertendorum de Iudaismo ad fidem catholicam, in auxilium sustentationis eorundem fratrum in eadem domo conuersantium, domos & terras quæ fuerunt Iohannis Herbeton in London, & sunt in manu nostra tanquam eschaeta nostra excepto gardino quod fuit eiusdem Iohannis in vico prædicto de Newstreet, & quod priùs per chartam nostram concessimus venerabili patri R. Cicestrensi episcopo cancellario nostro, & omnes alias eschaetas, quæ tempore nostro per feloniam vel quacunque ex causa nobis accident in ciuitate nostra, vel in suburbio infrà libertatem ciuitatis nostræ London, sicut prædictum est. Hijs testibus venerabilibus patribus, W. Kaerl. & W. Exon. episcopis, H. de Burgo comite Kantiæ Radulpho filio Nicholai, Godfrido de Crancumbe, Iohanne filio Philip. Amaurico de sancto Aumundo, Will. de Picheford, Galfrido de Cauz, & alijs. Dat. per manum Ve. P. R. Cicestren. episcop. cancellar. nostri apud Westmin. 19. die Aprilis.*

* Walt. Mer. mill.

The grant of Edward the third, where-*by the said house was in the one and fiftith* and last yeare of the said Edward con-*uerted to the custodie of the rolles and* records of the chancerie.

Rex omnib. ad quos, &c: salutem. Sciatis quòd nos, considerantes qualiter domus conuersorum in suburbio ciuitatis nostræ London, de patronatu nostro existens, & capella, edificia, & clausur. eiusdem, tempore quo dilectus noster Will. Burstall custodiam eiusdem domus ex collatione nostra primò habuit, per negligentiam & incuriã aliorum qui ante dictum Will. custodiam domus illius habuerunt & ibidem, morari seu inhabitari non curauerunt, multipliciter & quasi totaliter in ruina extiterunt, & quòd prædictus Will. tempore suo de bonis suis propriis grãdes costas & expensas super recuperatione & emendatione domus, capellæ, edificiorũ, & clausur. prædict. ac etiam super factur. nouar. domorum ibidem. Nos vt domos conuersorum capella, edificia, clausur. & nouæ domus supradict. cõpetenter sustententur, & custodientur in futurum, ad supplicationem prædicti Willielmi qui custos rotulorum cancellariæ nostræ existit, in præsenti concessimus de gratia nostra speciali pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, quòd post mortem eiusdem

*dem Will. dicta domus conuersorum cum suis iuribus & pertinent. quibuscunque remaneat & moretur in perpetuum clerico custod. rotulorum cantellar. nostræ & hæredũ nostrorũ pro tempore existent. & similiter annex. eidẽ officio in perpetuum: & quòd cancellarius Angliæ vel custos siue custodes magni sigilli nostri & hæredum nostrorum Angliæ pro tempore existentium, post mortem ipsius Willielmi habeat & habeant potestatem ad quamlibet vacationem dicti officij custodis rotulorum per mortem, cessionẽ, vel mutationem, personæ quocunque tempore futur. * institutum succesiuè custodes rotulorum prædictorum in dicta domo conuersorum, & custodes illos ponend. in possessionem eiusdem cum suis iuribus & pertin. quibuscunque, in cuius, &c. T. R. apud Shene 11 Aprilis An. 51 Edw. 3.*

* instituendi.

But after the death of this king Edward, the said William Burstall master of the rolles (belike not supposing this to be a sufficient grant) procured this house by an act of parlement, in the first yeare of king Richard the second, to be more stronglie established, to the vse of the master of the rolles for the time. After which John de Waltham, master of the rolles, after bishop of Salisburie and treasuror of England, procured K. Richard the second in the 6 yeare of his reigne, by his letters patents to confirme the said house to the said Waltham and his successors masters of the rolles. And whereas by the patent of Edward the third, the master of the rolles was appointed and installed in that house by the chancellor, it is to be noted, that the same manner of induction and installment continued as long as the master of the rolles were of the clergie, as I haue seene set downe by others, and as the presidents of those installments and the writs themselues extant of record do well prowe.

Sir Richard Scrope knight lord of Bolton, hauing beene lord treasuror in the time of the deceased king Edward the third, was now in October about the latter end of the yeare 1378, or the beginning of the yeare 1379, being the second yeare of the after deposed king Richard the second, made lord chancellor, and had the great seale deliuered vnto him, who in the third yeare of the said king at a parlement did surrender vp his office. Of this man is more set downe in the discourse of the treasurors.

Sir Richard Scrope.

Simon Sudburie, so surnamed of the place of his birth, but by descent called Tibold the sonne of Nicholas Tibold, descended of a gentlemanlie race dwelling at Sudburie in Suffolke. This Simon was archbishop of Canturburie, and made chancellor about the yeare of Christ 1380, in the third yeare of Richard the second, and was by the rebels beheaded at the towre of London, in the fourth yeare of the disquieted gouernment of that vnfortunat, but valiant king Richard the second; after whom in the first yeare of the said king Richard, was K. B. of London, whereof I haue seene and taken a note: which bishop was (as I coniecture & haue some authoritie to prowe) Robert Braibrooke which followeth, & was made chancellor againe after sir Richard Scrope.

Simon Sudburie.

Sir Richard Scrope lord Scrope of Bolton.

Sir Richard Scrope knight lord of Bolton, made chancellor againe about the latter end of Nouember, by the lords of the parlement (as I take it) in the fift yeare of the reigne of king Richard last mentioned, and was the yeare following, being about the yeare of our Lord 1383 againe deposed from his office, and the king receiuing the great seale, kept it a certeine time, and therewith sealed such grants and writings as it pleased him, and in the end deliuered the same to Robert Braibrooke. Of this man see more in the treasurors before.

Robert Braibrooke bishop of London made lord chancellor in September following the moneth of Julie, when sir Richard Scrope was deposed, was aduanced to that dignitie on saint Matthews eeue, in the first yeare of the reigne of the said king Richard the second, in which he continued not longer than the March following, as hath Anonymus M. S. he was consecrated bishop of London the fift of Januarie 1381, he died the seuentæenth of August in the yeare 1404, being the fift yeare of king Henrie the fourth.

Robert Braibrooke bishop of London.

Michaell de la Pole, or at Poole (as hath Thomas Walsingham) was made chancellor in the moneth of March, in the first yeare of the said king Richard the second, and was made earle of Suffolke in the ninth yeare of the said king, being after deposed from his office of chancellorship at his owne and earnest request in the tenth yeare of the said king. This man hauing fled the realme, for that he was pursued by the nobilitie, died at Paris in the thirteenth yeare of the said Richard the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1389, of whom that worthie poet sir John Gower, liuing at that time, in his booke intituled *Vox clamantis*, composed these verses:

Michaell de la Pole earle of Suffolke.

Est comes elatus, fallax, cupidus, sceleratus,
Fraudes per mille stat cancellarius ille,
Hic proceres odit, & eorum nomina rodit
Morsibus à tergo, fit tandem profugus ergo:
*Sic Deus in cœlis mala * de puteo Michaelis*
Acriter expurgat ne plùs comes ille resurgat.

* Michael de puteaco, or of the Poole.

Thomas Arundell, of the noble house of the earles of Arundell, was first bishop of Elie, and then of Yorke, and lastlie of Canturburie, he was made lord chancellor of England in the tenth yeare of the reigne of the vnfortunat king Richard the second, being about the yeare of our redemption 1386, in which office he remained about two yeares, as farre as my search will giue leaue to vnderstand.

Thomas Arundell bishop of Elie.

William Wickham was againe made lord chancellor of England, in the twelfe yeare of the said king Richard the second, but was in the end remoued from thense in September, in the fiftæenth yeare of the troublesome gouernement of the said king Richard.

William Wickham.

Thomas Arundell afore said was the second time created lord chancellor of England (in the said fiftæenth yeare of king Richard the second) in place of William Wickham, in which office he remained about fiue yeares, and was deposed and banished the realme in the twentith yeare of the said king Richard.

Thomas Arundell.

John Scarle, Scirlæ, or Serle, maister of the rolles, of the chancerie, and keeper of the great seale: he was chancellor, or in place of the chancellor, in the first yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the fourth, being the yeare in which the sonne of God descending from the bosome of his father, take flesh in the wombe of his mother, one thousand three hundred ninetie and nine.

John Serle master of the rols.

Edmund Stafford keeper of the priuie seale, bishop of Exceter, and sometime bishop of Rochester, and lastlie bishop of Yorke, keeper of the priuie seale, and borne of the noble house of the Staffords, was made lord chancellor of England about the moneth of March, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand and foure hundred, being about the second yere of the vsurping king Henrie the fourth, in which office he continued vntill the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and three, being the fourth yeare of the said king Henrie the fourth. He being keeper of the priuie seale was made bishop of Exceter the twentith of June, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred ninetie & fiue, being the daie before king Richard the second began the

Edmund Stafford.

the one and twentith yeare of his reigne. He was consecrated at Lambeth, and kept the see of Excester three and twentie yeares. He increased two fellowships in Stapletons inne in Oxford, reformed the statutes of the house, and called it Excester college: he died the fourth of September, in the seuenth yeare of king Henrie the fift, being the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and nineteene. About the making of this Stafford chancellor (as farre as my memorie serueth) Ypodigma is much deceiued, if I haue not for want of the booke mistaken his iudgement.

Henrie Beauford.

Henrie Beauford, the sonne of Iohn of Gaunt by Katharine Swinesord, made bishop of Lincolne in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred ninetie and eight (as hath Ypodigma) was aduanced to the dignitie of chancellor in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred & three, being the fourth yeare of king Henrie the fourth his elder brother, by the daughter of the earle of Hereford, in which office he was in the fift yeare of king Henrie the fourth, and sixt of the same king (as our chronicles do remember.) He was made bishop of Winchester in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and foure, being the fift yeare of Henrie the fourth.

Thomas Langleie bishop of Durham.

Thomas Langleie priest, and bishop of Durham, was at Westminster made chancellor, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand foure hundred and fiue, being the first yeare of the reigne of the said king Henrie the fourth, in which office he continued (as farre as I know) vntill he was made bishop of Durham, which was on the seuenth of Maie, being the seuenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie last before named, being the years of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six. He was bishop one and thirtie yeares, and died in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and seuen, being the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the first. See more following.

Thomas Fitzalen.

Thomas Fitzalen, brother to Richard earle of Arundell, being returned out of exile with Henrie of Bollingbroke duke of Hereford and Lancaster, and after king of England by the name of Henrie the fourth, was the third time being bishop of Canturburie, made lord chancellor of England, the ninth yeare of the said king Henrie the fourth, and continued therein about two years, being remoued from that place about September, in the eleuenth yeare of the reigne of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and ten.

Thomas Beauford.

Thomas Beauford knight, the sonne of Iohn of Gaunt son to king Edward the third, & brother to king Henrie the fourth, was made lord chancellor in the eleuenth yere of the said king Henrie the fourth, being the yeare that the sonne of God toke on him the forme of a seruant one thousand foure hundred and ten, in which office he remained not full three yeares, but left the same office together with his life, as I suppose, in the thirteenth yeare of the same king, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and twelue.

John Wakering clearke.

John Wakering clearke, maister of the rolles, was made keeper of the great seale, when Thomas Beauford left the office of chancellor, which seale he kept about the space of a moneth. For in Ianuarie after that he receiued the seale, there was a chancellor created.

Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturburie.

Thomas Fitzalen or Arundell, archbishop of Canturburie, was the fourth time inuested with the chancellorship, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand foure hundred and twelue, being the thirteenth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, in which office he continued during the life of the said king Henrie the fourth, who died in the fourteenth yeare of his kingdome, and in the yere of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and thirteene.

Henrie Beauford bishop at winchester.

Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester, and after cardinall in the time of Henrie the first, being vncle to king Henrie the fift then reigning, was the second time made chancellor, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and thirteene, being the first yeare of the fift king Henrie, in which place he remained vntill the fift yeare of the said king Henrie, being the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and seuenteene.

Thomas Langleie bishop of Durham.

Thomas Langleie bishop of Durham was the second time made lord chancellor of England, in the said yere of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and seuenteene, being the fift yeare of that worthie conqueror king Henrie the fift, which office he receiued at Southwicke, and continued in that honour (as farre as I can learne) by the space of six yeares or more, whereof fiue yeares were fullie ended in the life and death of the said Henrie the fift, and the first yeare ended in the last of the first or beginning of the second yeare of king Henrie the first.

Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester.

Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester before named, was the third time made lord chancellor of England, in the second yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first, being about the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and three, or one thousand foure hundred twentie and foure. For the second yeare of that king fell part in the one and part in the other of the said yeares of our Lord, in which office he continued about foure yeares, vntill he was made cardinall, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred twentie and six.

John Kempe bishop of London.

John Kempe, bishop of London, was made lord chancellor of England in the fourth yere of that king Henrie, who in his youngest yeares was crowned first king of England, and then king of France in Paris; in which office he remained (as I suppose) about six yeares.

John Stafford bishop of Bath.

John Stafford deane of S. Martins of Welles, prebend of Milton in Lincolne church, bishop of Bath and Welles, lord chancellor and treasurer of England, and bishop of Canturburie, was made lord chancellor of England in the moneth of Februarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie & one, falling in the tenth yeare of king Henrie the first: he remained in that office vntill Iohn Kempe was againe made lord chancellor, which was about the eight and twentith yeare of king Henrie the first. And here I think it not vnmeet to remember that some haue noted William Wanflet that was bishop of Winchester, and chancellor of Oxford, to be chancellor of England, when he built Magdalen college in Oxford, in the fiue and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first: which possiblie can not be, sith this Iohn Stafford held that office from the tenth of Henrie the first, vntill the eight & twentith of the same king, which was eightene yeares: during which time they place this Wanflet to bee chancellor of England. Which error (I suppose) they haue commited, in that they finding him chancellor at the time of the building of his college, in the said fiue and twentith yeare of king Henrie the first, haue taken him to be chancellor of England, when he was then but chancellor of Oxford: although in deed afterward he was chancellor of England, in the fiue and thirtith yeare of the said king, as after shall appeare.

John Kempe bishop of Yorke.

John Kempe bishop of Yorke and cardinall, was the second time made lord chancellor in the eight and twentith of king Henrie the first, being about the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and fiftie, in which office he died, being bishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of our redemption (as

saith

saith Matthew Parker, one thousand foure hundred fiftie and three, being the two & thirtith yeare of the reigne of the simple king Henrie the first. This man was first bishop of Rochester, next of Chicester, thirdlie of London, then of Yorke, where he sat eight and twentie yeares, and lastlie he was archbishop of Canturburie.

Richard Neuill earle of Salisburie.

Richard Neuill earle of Salisburie, the sonne of Rafe Neuill earle of Westmerland, and father to the valiant Richard Neuill earle of Warwike, was after the death of John Kempe by parlement made lord chancellor in the two & thirtith yeare of K. Henrie the first: though others make it to be in the three & thirtith yeare of the same king, in which place he continued not long. For in the yeare following an other was substituted, and he remoued.

Thomas Bourchier bishop of Elie.

Thomas Bourchier (brother to Henrie Bourchier earle of Esser) bishop of Elie, and bishop of Canturburie, was made chancellor in the three & thirtith yeare of the gouernement of king Henrie the first, in which he remained much about two yeares. In whose time, as saith Matthew Parker, about the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred three score and one, was the art of printing inuented at the citie of Argentorat in Germanie. About the which matter, and especiallie for the exact & certeine time thereof, manie writers although their count about one time do disagree: yet at the inuention of that worthie thing were these verses composed in the commendation of the same most excellent art.

In vita Thome Bourcheri episco. Cantuar.

O felix nostris memoranda impressio tectis,
Inuentore nitet vtraque lingua tuo.
Desierat quasi totum quod fundis in orbe,
Nunc paruo doctus quilibet esse potest.
Omnes te homines igitur nunc laudibus ornent,
Te duce quando ars hæc mira reperta fuit.

William Patan, or Paten *aliàs* William Wansled.

William Patan or Paten, borne of a gentlemanlie familie, being commonlie called William Wansled of the place of his birth, and being prouost of Eaton, and bishop of Winchester, was lord chancellor in the fiue and thirtith, six and thirtith, and the seuen and thirtith yeare of the vnfortunat king Henrie the first, as haue the records of the exchekер. By which appeareth the error of those, as I haue before noted, that mistaking the fiue and twentith of king Henrie the first, in which time he was but chancellor of Oxford; for the fiue and thirtith of the said king, in which he was chancellor of England.

George Neuill archbishop of Yorke.

George Neuill (the sonne of Richard Neuill earle of Salisburie, and brother to Richard Neuill earle of Warwike) being made bishop of Excester, came to that see in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred fiftie and fiue; in which see he continued ten yeares, and was remoued to Yorke in the yeare that God became man one thousand foure hundred three score and fiue, he was made lord chancellor in the eight & thirtith yeare of the reigne of the after deposed K. Henrie the first, in which office he remained about eight yeares, & then was remoued in the seuenth yeare of the worthie K. Edward the fourth, being the yeare that the word became flesh one thousand foure hundred three score & seuen. He was a great friend to saint Albons, procured Edward the fourth in the fourth yeare of his reigne to giue & confirme to John Whethamsted, abbat of saint Albons, the priorie of Penbroke. This bishop Neuill did after in the thirteenth yeare of king Edward the fourth grow in such disgrace with the king, that he was spoiled at one time of twentie thousand pounds, as in his life shall be more at large declared. To this man did Hugh Veine giue the manour of Hener Cobham, and Hener Brokas in Kent, in the fourth yeare of king Edward the fourth. He died at Blithlaw comming from Yorke, being almost fortie yeares old, and was buried at Yorke. And here I thinke it not amisse, to note the mistaking of time of such historiographers as haue set downe, that Edward the fourth did, in the fourth yeare of his reigne, take the chancellorship from the bishop of Excester (brother to the earle of Warwike, which must néeds be this George Neuill) & gaue the same to the bishop of Bath. For by that which I haue séene, this Neuill liued vntill the seuenth yeare of Edward the fourth, and that for this time I suppose to be the truest.

Robert Kirkeham maister of the rolles was made lord kéeper of the great seale (vpon the remouing of George Neuill) in the moneth of Julie in the said yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred three score and seuen, being the seuenth yeare of king Edward the fourth.

Robert Kirkeham maister of the rolles.

Robert Stillington doctor of the lawes, kéeper of the priuie seale in the third yeare of Edward the fourth, bishop of Bath & Wels, being made chancellor in the seuenth yeare of king Edward the fourth, did still so continue (as I gather) vntill the thirteenth yeare of the said king.

Robert Stillington doctor of the lawes.

Henrie Bourchier earle of Esser, and first aduanced to that title of honor by Edward the fourth, came in place of the last chancellor, about the fourteenth yeare (as some vntrulie haue noted) of Edward the fourth. But in my poore opinion, the same was in the thirteenth yeare of the said Edward the fouth: in which place he remained not much more than one Trinitie terme. For in the said thirteenth yeare, about the moneth of August, was Both lord chancellor of England.

Henrie Bourchier earle of Esser.

Laurence Both sometime maister of Penbroke hall bishop of Durham, and after of Yorke, was made lord chancellor about August or rather before, betweene that and Trinitie terme (after Henrie Bourchier) in the said thirteenth yeare of the valiant king Edward the fourth, after his redemption of the kingdome of England. This bishop (being brother to William Both sometime bishop of Yorke) did build the bishop of Yorks house at Baterseie, which manour he before bought of Nicholas Stanleie, whome Leland the minser and refiner of all English names doth most curiouslie in Latine call *Nicholaum Stenelegium*. He continued in the sée of Yorke three yeares & nine moneths, and died at Southwell in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and foure score, being the twentith yeare of king Edward the fourth.

Laurence Both bishop of Durham.

Thomas Scot *aliàs* Rotheram.

Thomas Scot surnamed Rotheram, because of the towne of Rotheram in Yorkeshire where he was borne and bred vp, was bishop of Rochester, and then of Lincolne, where he sat nine yeares, and after that was bishop of Yorke: whereinto he installed first at Yorke, and then at Ripon, being prouost of Beuerleie, he was made chancellor of England in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred seuentie and foure, being the fourteenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth. This bishop, in the fifteenth yeare of the said king, went ouer the sea (as I haue séene noted) with the said Edward the fourth, when he went to haue an interuiew with the French king: of which meeting monsieur de Argentine by name Philip Comineus (besides our English chronicles) doth make mention, as a person that bare a part in that pageant.

John Alcot bishop of Rochester.

John Alcot bishop of Rochester was made chancellor, during the absence of king Edward, as I haue found recorded.

Thomas Rotheram.

Thomas Rotheram, being before lord kéeper of the priuie seale, was after his returne out of France the second time made lord chancellor, about the time in

in which the said king had gotten Werwike from the Scots, being about the twentith yeare of the said Edward the fourth. For the free gaining of the towne was not much before his death; in which office this Rotheram continued all the life of king Edward the fourth, & in the time of the little or no reigne at all of the guiltlesse murthered yong prince king Edward the fift; vntill it was ascribed to him for ouermuch lightnesse, that he had deliuered in the beginning of the rebellious gouernement of the protectorship of the bloudie and vnnaturall Richard duke of Glocester the seale to the quéene, to whome it did not apperteine, and from whome he receiued it not. He founded a college at Rotheram, dedicated it to the name of Jesus, & indowed it with great possessions & ornaments, and annexed therto the churches of Langthton and Almanburie.

John Russell bishop of Lincolne.

John Russell bishop of Lincolne, a graue and learned man, had the seale deliuered to him by the said protector of England, during the time of the short reigne of the yong king Edward, when the same seale was taken from Rotheram: and so this Russell was made chancellor in the moneth of June, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand foure hundred foure score and three, being the first yeare of the vsurped gouernement of the bloudie tyrant the mishapen king Richard the third. This Russell is buried in the church of Lincolne, in a chappell cast out of the vpper wall of the south part of the church.

Thomas Barow maister of the rolles.

Thomas Barow maister of the rolles was made keeper of the great seale (as I haue séene recorded) which I suppose, was in the third and last yeare of the said king Richard the third: for in that yeare he was maister of the rolles.

Thomas Rotheram.

Thomas Rotheram made againe lord chancellor, in the first entrance of king Henrie the seuenth into the gouernement: but verie shortlie after he was displaced, and the bishop of Worcester placed in that rowme; he was archbishop of Yorke ninténe yeares & ten moneths; he was verie beneficiall to all his kinred, and aduanced some with mariages, some with possessions, and some with spirituall liuings. He died the nine and twentith date of December, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred, being the sixtéenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, at Cawood in Yorkeshire the morrow after the Ascension, being of the age of three score and sixténe yeares or more: he was buried in Yorke minster on the north side in our ladie chappell, in a tome of marble which he caused to be made whilest he was liuing.

John Alcot bishop of Worcester.

John Alcot bishop of Worcester, made in the yeare one thousand foure hundred three score and sixténe, was lord chancellor of England in the first yeare of the said K. Henrie the seuenth, the Salomon of England, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred foure score & fiue: shortlie after the entrance of the said Henrie into the gouernement of England. For though Rotheram were chancellor when he got the victorie, for that he had béene so before, & for that the king was neither prouided nor minded suddenlie to haue a man not méete for that place to execute the same: yet this Rotheram kept not that rowme manie moneths, but that Alcot came in place; because the king found Alcot a méeter person to execute the same office, answerable to the disposition of the kings humor. All which notwithstanding, whether for malice of others, or for his owne deserts, or both, or for more especiall trust that king Henrie put in Morton bishop of Elie, who had béene the meanes to bring him to the crowne, this Alcot fell shortlie in the kings disgrace, was displaced of his office, and Morton came in his rowme. So that in this first yeare of the said king Henrie the seuenth, there séemed to be three chancellors in succession one after another, if I haue not misconceiued the matter: all which before Morton in this first yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, may perhaps more properlie be termed keepers of the great seale, than chancellors.

John Morton bishop of Elie.

John Morton doctor of the ciuill law, an aduocat in the ciuill, of the councell to Henrie the first and to Edward the fourth, to whome also he was maister of the rolles, was made bishop of Elie in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred three score and eighténe, and lord chancellor of England, (vpon his returne from beyond the seas) in the first yeare of the worthie prince K. Henrie the seuenth, being the yeare that the word became flesh, one thousand foure hundred foure score and fiue: after which he was aduanced to the bishoprike of Canturburie; he died in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred foure score and ninténe, in the fiftéenth yere of the reigne of king Henrie the seuenth, as hath Matthew Parker.

William Warham archbishop of Canturburie.

William Warham aduocat in the arches, maister of the rolles, bishop of London, and then bishop of Canturburie; was (before his aduancement to the see of Canturburie) made chancellor of England in the time of Henrie the seuenth, in which office he continued vntill about the latter end of the seuenth yeare of king Henrie the eight. At what time surrendring the seale by reason of his age and weakenesse, the same great seale was deliuered to Thomas Wolsele.

Thomas Wolsele.

Thomas Wolsele somtime chapleine to Henrie Deane archbishop of Canturburie, after the kings almoner and abbat of saint Aulkins, who possessing manie other abbeies and bishoprikes, as in other places shall more largelie appeare, was aduanced to the gouernment of the great seale, about the beginning of the eight yeare of the triumphant reigne of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our Lord and Sauior Jesus Christ one thousand fiue hundred sixténe, to hold the same during his life (as I gather) in which office yet he continued not aboue thirténe yeares, vntill the one and twentith of the said king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred twentie and nine. During which time of his chancellorship, in the nintéenth yere of king Henrie the eight, being the yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and seauen, he went into France, representing the king of Englands person, to set order for the deliuerie of pope Clement the seuenth and Francis the French king, at what time he carried the great seale ouer the seas to Calis, which seale he left with doctor Taylor maister of the rolles, to keepe the same at Calis vntill the cardinals returne out of the French dominions. He died in Leicester abbeie (not without suspicion of poison as was thought, which he had prepared for himselfe, and giuen to his apothecarie to deliuer when he called for it) the two and twentith of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and thirtie.

Thomas Moore.

Thomas Moore knight, sometime vndershiriffe of London, and chancellor of the dutchie of Lancaster, was aduanced to the honor of chancellorship of England, in the yere that the word became flesh one thousand fiue hundred twentie and nine, being the one and twentith yeere of that king Henrie which expelled pope Clement the seauenth his authoritie out of his dominions, in which office this rare witted knight (to vse Erasmus his epitheton) and learned chancellor continued not full three yeares; but in the foure and twentith yeare of the reigne of the said king Henrie the eight, with much labor and earnest sute he left his office. Touching which it shall not greéue me to set downe the words of Matthew Parker

ker of the liues of the bishops of Canturburie in the life of Thomas Crannier writing after this maner: *Interea rex dum papæ meditabatur excidium, singulorum de papali auctoritate sensus iudicijs haud obscuris collegit. Inter quos Thomas Morus, quia regis conatus pontificijs valdè suspectus fuit, cancellarij munere, venia regis ægrè impetrata, sese abdicauit.*

Thomas Audleie. Thomas Audleie attornie of the dutchie of Lancaster, sergeant at the law (as most affirme) and speaker of the parlement, was made knight and lord kéeper of the great seale the fourth of June, in the foure and twentith yere of the reigne of the famous prince king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and two, not long after which he was indued with the title and honor of lord chancellor of England. This man in the tenth yere of his chancellorship, being the yere of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred fortie and two, and the fiue and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the eight, changing the name of Buckingham college in Cambridge, did name it the college of saint Marie Magdalen, and indued it with some possessions. He died on Maie éeuen in the yeare of our saluation one thousand fiue hundred fortie and foure, being the fiue and thirtith yeare of Henrie the eight.

Histo. Cantab. per Caium. 78.

Thomas Wriotheslie. Thomas Wriotheslie knight of the garter, being created baron at Hampton court on the first of Januarie, in the fiue and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, in the yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and three, was after aduanced to the honor of the great seale and chancellorship of England, about the beginning of Maie, in the six and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, being the yere of grace one thousand fiue hundred fortie and foure, in which office he continued vntill the death of the said king Henrie the eight, and in the beginning of the reigne of king Edward the first, vntill for his obstinacie in the Romane religion he was the first of March remoued, and the seale was deliuered to William Paulet lord Sent-John of Basing. This Wriotheslie (being created earle of Southampton by king Edward the first) died at his house of Lincolne place in Holborne the 30 of Julie, in the fourth yeare of the said king Edward, in the yéere 1550, & was buried at saint Andrews in Holborne commonlie called Holborne.

William Paulet. William Paulet knight being first steward of the lands of the bishoprike of Winchester, then treasuror of the houshold, lord Sent-John of Basing, lord great maister of the kings house, afterwards earle of Wiltshire, marquesse of Winchester, and treasuror of England, being of the priuie councell to king Henrie the eight, king Edward the first, quéene Marie, and quéene Elisabeth, had the kéeping of the great seale committed vnto him the seuenth daie of March, in the yeare that the second person in trinitie descended from the bosome of the father into the wombe of the mother one thousand fiue hundred fortis and seuen, being the first yere of the reigne of the yoong king Edward the first, which seale he had in custodie about seuen moneths, vntill the three and twentith or foure and twentith of October following, at what time sir Richard Rich was made lord chancellor.

Sir Richard Rich. Sir Richard Rich knight, lord Rich, was aduanced to the dignitie of lord chancellor of England about the 23 of October in the yere of our saluation one thousand fiue hundred fortie and seuen, being the first yeare of the reigne of the noble king Edward the first, in which place he remained about fiue yeers.

Thomas Goderich. Thomas Goderich or Godertke being bishop of Elie had the great seale deliuered to him, and was made lord chancellor of England the twentith of December (as Iohn Stow hath noted in his chronicle) in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and one, being the first yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first, in which office he continued all the life of the said king Edward, which died in Julie one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and three, being the seuenth yeare of his reigne, and about one moneth after vntill the thirteenth or foureteenth daie of August, in which quéene Marie made Stephan Gardener hir chancellor.

Sir Nicholas Hare. Sir Nicholas Hare, maister of the rolles, had at the comming of quéene Marie to the crowne the kéeping of the great seale, after the death of king Edward, as lord kéeper by the space of one fortnight, and shortlie after was Stephan Gardener made chancellor.

Stephan Gardener. Stephan Gardener bishop of Winchester was in August, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and three, being the first yeare of the reigne of the vnfortunat quéene Marie, made chancellor of England. This man going in ambassage vnto Calis left the great seale in the custodie of William Paulet marquesse of Winchester, which bishop after his returne into England continued in that office all the time of his life, which he ended the 19 of Nouember, in the yeare that the word became flesh one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and fiue, being the third yeare of quéene Marie. After which the great seale lieng in the custodie of the prince, the on the new yeares daie following made a new chancellor.

Nicholas Heath. Nicholas Heath bishop of Rochester, almoner to the king, ambassador into Germanie, bishop of Worcester, president of Wales, and archbishop of Yorke, was vpon new yeares daie, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and fiue, being the third yeare of the reigne of quéene Marie, aduanced to the honorable dignitie of the chancellorship. But quéene Marie deceasing the seauententh daie of Nouember, in the yeare of grace one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and eight, and the first yere of hir gouernement, this Heath vpon the placing of the worthie quéene Elisabeth vpon the throne of the English gouernment, was remoued from his office, and maister Bacon aduanced.

Nicholas Bacon. Sir Nicholas Bacon esquier, attourneie of the court of wards, was made knight, and lord kéeper of the great seale the two and twentith of December, in the yeare of our redemption 1558, being the first yeare of the now reigning Elisabeth the Saba of England. Which name of lord kéeper he still kept during his life, and the time of his office. In whose time there was an act of parlement established, to make the power of the kéeper of the great seale equall with the authoritie of the chancellor. This man continued in this office, and worthilie executed the same, being a man of rare wit and déepe experience, during the time of his life, which continued vntill the twentith of Februarie, in the yeare of our saluation 1578 after the account of England, being the one and twentith yeare of the rare and singular gouernement of the worlds wonder the famous quéene Elisabeth, which place this man kept eightéene yéeres, being (as I suppose) double as long time as anie other chancellor or kéeper of the great seale possessed that place, except Rafe Neuill bishop of Chichester, and John Stafford bishop of Bath and Wels, both which held it equallie eightéene yeares with him: a strange thing, that in the course of almost 600 yeares, no such officer might possesse that place by twentie years togither.

Thomas Bromleie. Thomas Bromleie, the generall solicitor of quéene Elisabeth, a councellor of the law, and one of the inner temple, was aduanced to the dignitie of lord chancellor on the fiue and twentith day of Aprill, in the yeare of our redemption 1579, being in the one & twentith yeare of the reigne of the said quéene Elisabeth,

Elisabeth, which office at this date he beareth.

Thus (although I make be a little wethod in passing ouer the deepe sea of this difficultie of the chancellors, in which I am sure I am not ouer head and eares) I haue at length brought my chancellors to end: a worke of some labour and difficultie, of some search and charge, which I haue done onelie of my selfe without the furtherance or help of some others, who more inconsideratlie than trulie doo disorderlie report, that I haue atteined vnto this in obteining those names by some sinister means, from the priuat bookes of them who haue trauelled in the same matter. In which (as I said in the begining, so I saie againe) if anie imperfection for hast, by reason of the printers spéedie calling on me, haue now fallen out of my pen, it shall hereafter God willing be corrected in the large volume of their liues. Wherefore as I neither estéeme nor feare the secret reports of some others; so for their countries good it shall be well that they would deliuer something to the world to bring truth to perfection (if other men haue vnwillinglie set downe error) and not as they doo, for a litle commoditie gaine to themselues, neither benefit their countrie, nor speake well of such as would and doo helpe posteritie. Thus this much by Francis Thin, touching the chancellors of England.]

Ab.Fl. ex publicis æditionibus B.G. & T.C.

¶ Here though somewhat out of place (for it should haue béene entered in 1578) it were better to record the receiuing of the quéenes maiestie into Suffolke & Norffolke, than making no commemoration therof at all, to let it perish in thréehalfepenie pamphlets, and so die in oblivion. It make also serue for a rest of recreation, after so long an introduction of serious matters, as also (and that most worthilie) make remaine in record, to signifie what well affected subiects the quéens maiestie hath within hir dominions, to whome goods, lands, friends, kindred, or life, none of these seuerallie, nor all iointlie, are so pretious and deere, but for hir sake they can find in their hearts to estéeme them as dong. And now to the matter. The truth is (saith one that wrote the whole interteinment) that albeit they had but small warning certeinlie to build vpon, of the comming of the quænes maiestie into both those shires, the gentlemen had made such readie prouision, that all the veluets and silks were taken vp that might be laid hand on, and bought for ante monie, and sone conuerted to such garments and sutes of robes, that the shew thereof might haue beautified the greatest triumph that was in England these manie yeares. For (as it was said) there were two hundred yong gentlemen clad all in white veluet, and three hundred of the grauer sort apparelled in blacke veluet cotes, and faire chaines, all readie at one instant and place, with fiftéene hundred seruing men more on horssebacke, well and brauelie mounted in good order, readie to receiue the quénes highnesse into Suffolke, which surelie was a comelie troope, and a noble sight to behold: and all these waited on the shiriffe sir William Spring, during the quénes maiesties abode in those parties, and to the verie confines of Suffolke.

The receiuing of the quéene into Suffolke and Norffolke.

The number of gentlemen that receiued the quéene into Suffolke.

But before hir highnesse passed to Norffolke, there was in Suffolke such sumptuous feasting and bankets, as seldome in anie part of the world haue béene séene before. The maister of the rolles sir William Cordall was one of the first that began this great feasting, and did light such a candle to the rest of the shire, that manie were glad bountifullie and frankelie to follow the same example, with such charges and costs, as the whole traine were in some sort pleased therwith. And nere Burie sir William Drurie for his part at his house made the quénes highnesse a costlie and delicat dinner, and sir Robert Germine of Koethbroke feasted the French ambassadors two seuerall times, with which charges and courtesie they stood maruellouslie contented. The shiriffe sir William Spring, sir Thomas Kidson, sir Arthur Higham, and diuerse others of worship, kept great heuses, and sundrie either at the quénes comming, or returne, solemnelie feasted hir highnesse, yea and defraied the whole charges for a date or twaine, presented gifts, made such triumphs and deuises, as indéed was most noble to behold, and verie thankfullie accepted.

Persons of worship in Suffolke that feasted hir highnesse during hir abode amongst them.

Norffolke incited by the example of Suffolke to giue ye quéene royall interteinment.

The Norffolke gentlemen hearing how dutifullie their neighbors had receiued the prince, prepared in like sort to shew themselues dutifull: and so in most gallant maner they assembled and set forward with fiue and twentie hundred horssemen, wherof (as some affirme) were six hundred gentlemen, so brauelie attired and mounted, as in déed was worthie the noting, which goodly companie waited on their shirife a long season. But in good soth (as it was crediblie spoken) the bankets and feasts began here afresh, all kinds of triumphs that might be deuised were put in practise and prose. The earle of Surreie did shew most sumptuous cheare, in whose parke were speaches well set out, and a spectall deuise much commended: and the rest, as a number of iollie gentlemen, were no whit behind to the vttermost of their abilities, in all that might be done and deuised.

What order was taken in Norwich for the receiuing and recreating of the quéene.

But when the quénes highnesse came to Norwich, the substance of the whole triumph and feasting was in a maner there new to begin. For order was taken there, that euerie date for six dates together, a shew of some strange deuise should be séene. And the maior and aldermen apointed among themselues and their brethren, that no one person reteining to the quéene should be vnfeasted, or vnbidden to dinner & supper, during the space of those six dates: which order was well & wiselie obserued, and gained their citie more fame and credit than they wot of: for that courtesie of theirs shall remaine in perpetuall memorie whiles the walles of their citie standeth. Besides the monie they bestowed vpon diuerse of the traine, and those that toke paines for them, will be a witnesse of their well doing and good will, whiles the report of these things make be called to remembrance. Now, who can (considering their great charges and discréet gouernement in these causes) but giue them due laud and reputation, as farre as either pen or report make doo them good & stretch out their credit. For most assuredlie, they haue taught and learned all the townes and cities in England a lesson, how to behaue themselues in such like seruices and actions.

The maior of Norwich with his attendants set forth to receiue the quéene.

On saturdaie being the sixtenth of August 1578, and in the twentith yeare of the reigne of our most gratious souereigne ladie Elisabeth, by the grace of God quéene of England, France & Ireland, defender of the faith, &c: the same our most dread and souereigne ladie (continuing hir progresse in Norffolke) immediatlie after dinner set forward from Brakenash, where she had dined with the ladie Stile, being fiue miles distant from Norwich, towards the same hir most dutifull citie. Sir Robert Wood then esquier, now knight, maior of the same citie, at one of the clocke in the same happie date, set forward to méet with hir maiestie in this order. First there rode before him well and séemelie mounted, three score of the most comelie yong men of the citie, as batchellers apparelled all in blacke satten dublets, blacke hose, blacke taffata hats, and yellow bands, and their vniuersall liuerie was a mandilion of purple taffata, laid about with siluer lase: & so apparelled they marched forwards two and two in a ranke. Then one which

The builder of Norwich castell represented.

which represented king Gurgunt, sometime king of England, which builded the castell of Norwich, called Blanch Flowre, and laid the foundation of the citie. He was mounted vpon a braue courser, and was thus furnished: his bodie armed, his bases of græne and white silke: on his head a blacke veluet hat, with a plume of white feathers. There attended vpon him three henchmen in white and græne: one of them did beare his helmet, the second his target, the third his staffe: after him a noble companie of gentlemen and wealthie citizens in veluet coats and other costlie furniture, brauelie mounted. Then followed the officers of the citie euerie one in his place. Then the sword-bearer, with the sword & hat of maintenance. Then the maior and foure and twentie aldermen, and the recorder all in scarlet gownes, whereof so manie as had béene maiors of the citie, and were iustices, did weare their scarlet clokes: then followed so manie as had béene shiriffs, and were no aldermen, in violet gownes and sattin tipets. Then followed diuerse others, to kéepe the people from disturbing the araie aforesaid.

The founder of Blanch Flowre staieth in person to méet the quéene.

Thus euerie thing in due and comelie order, they all (except Gurgunt, which staied his maiesties comming within a flight shot or two of the citie, where the castell of Blanch Flowre was in most beautifull prospect) marched forwards to a bridge, called Hartford bridge, the vttermost limit that waie, distant from the citie two miles or there abouts, to méet with his maiestie; who within one houre or little more after their attendance, came in such gratious and princelie wise, as rauished the harts of all his louing subiects, and might haue terrified the stoutest heart of anie enimie to behold. Whether the maiestie of the prince, which is incomparable; or ioie of his subiects, which exceeded measure, were the greater, I thinke would haue appalled the iudgement of Apollo to define. The acclamations and cries of the people to the almightie God for the preseruation of his maiestie ratled so lowd, as hardly for a great time could anie thing be heard. But at last, as euerie thing hath an end, the noise appeased: and the maior saluted his highnesse with the oration following, and yelded to his maiestie therewith the sword of the citie, and a faire standing cup of siluer and guilt, with a couer, and in the cup one hundred pounds in gold. The oration was in these words.

Prætoris Nordouicensis ad sereniſſimam Reginam, &c.

SI nobis ab Opt. Max. concederetur optio quid rerũ humanarũ nunc potißimùm vellemus: nihil duceremus antiquius (auguſtißima princeps) quàm vt tuus ille, qui ita nos recreat, caſtißimi ocelli radius poſſet in abditißimos cordium noſtrorũ angulos ſe conferre. Cerneres profectò quanta ſint hilaritate perfuſa, quàm in ipſis arterijs & venulis ſpiritus & ſanguis geſtiant: dum intuemur te huius regni lumen (vt Dauid olim fuit Iſraelitici) in hijs tandem finibus poſt longam ſpem, & ardentißima vota exoriri. Equidem vt pro me, qui tua ex authoritate & clementia (quod humillimis gratijs profiteor) celeberrimæ huic ciuitati præſum, & pro hijs meis fratribus, atq; omni hoc populo quem tuis auſpicijs regimus, ex illorum ſenſu loquar, quod & ipſe ſentio: ſic nos demum ſupplicibus votis expoſcimus, vt maieſtatem tuam beneuolam nobis, & propitiam experiamur: vt nunquam cuiquam populo aduenißti gratior quàm nobis. In illius rei luculentißimũ indicium, inſignia hæc honoris, & offi-

Prætoris pro se suisq; fratribus obtestatio.

cij noſtri, quæ nobis clementißimus princeps Henricus quartus quinto ſui regni anno cũ prætore, ſenatoribus, & vicecomitibus cõceßit: (cùm antea balliuis (vt vocant) vltra annalium noſtrorum memoriam regeremur) perpetuis deinde regum priuilegijs, & corroborata nobis, & aucta magnificè, maieſtati tuæ omnia exhibemus, quæ per tuam vnius clementiam (quam cum immortalibus gratijs prædicare nunquam ceſſabimus) viceſimo tam anno tenuimus: atq; vnâ cum illis, hunc theſaurum, quaſi pignus noſtrarum & voluntatum & facultatum. Quas omnes, quantæ, quantulæue ſint, ad tuum arbitrium deuouimus: vt ſi quid omni hoc fœliciſſimi tui temporis decurſu admiſimus, quod amantißimos, obſequentißimos, amplitudinis tuæ ſaluti, coronæ, emolumento deuotißimos non deceat: ſtatuas de nobis, & noſtris omnibus, pro tua clementißima voluntate. Sin ita clauum huius ciuitatis (Deo duce) reximus: vt eam in portu ſaluam maieſtati tuæ conſeruauerimus, & populum primum gloriæ Dei, & veræ religionis, deinde ſalutis, honoris, & voluntatis tuæ ſtudioſißimum, quantum in nobis eſt, effecerimus: tum non libet nobis id à te petere, quod inſita tibi ſingularis clementia facillimè à te ipſa impetrabit. Tantum obſecramus, vt amplitudinem tuam Deus omnibus & animi & corporis bonis cumulatißimè beare velit, Amen.

Henricus quartus ciuitati Nordouicensi princeps munificentißimus

Prætoris pro se suisq; fratribus quàm significanter facta oratio.

The maiors oration to the queene Englished.

IF our wish should be granted vnto vs by the almightie, what humane thing wee would chiefliе desire: we would account nothing more pretious (most roial prince) than that the bright beame of your most chast eie which dooth so cheare vs, might pearse the secret and strait corners of our hearts. Then surelie should you see how great ioies are dispersed there, and how the spirits and liuelie bloud tickle in our arteries & small veines, in beholding you the light of this realme (as Dauid was of Israel) now at length, after long hope and earnest petitions, to appeare in these coasts. Truelie on mine owne part, which by your highnesse authoritie and clemencie (with humble thanks bee it spoken) doo gouerne this famous citie, and on the part of these my brethren, and all these people which by your authoritie we rule (speaking as they meane, and as I my selfe doo thinke) this onelie with all our hearts and humble praiers we desire, that we maie so find your maiestie gratious and fauourable vnto vs, as you for your part neuer came to anie subiects better welcome than to vs your poore subiects here. For most manifest token whereof, we present vnto your maiestie here, these signes of honor and office, which we receiued of the most mightie prince Henrie the fourth, in the fift yere of his reigne, then to vs granted in the name of maior, aldermen and shiriffs; whereas before time out of mind or mention, we were gouerned by bailiffs (as they tearme them) which euer since haue beene both established and increased with continuall priuileges of kings: and which by your onelie clemencie (which with immortall thanks we shall neuer cease to declare) we haue now these twentie yeares inioied: and togither with those signes, this treasure is a pledge of our good willes and abilitie: which all how great or little so euer they be, wee powre downe at your pleasure, that if we haue neglected anie thing in all this course of your most happie reigne, which becommeth most louing, obedient and well willing subiects to performe, for the preseruation of your crowne, and aduancement of your

The maior speaketh in his owne and his brethren the aldermens behalfe.

Henrie the fourth a most bountifull prince to the citie of Norwich.

A most dutifull submission.

highnesse, you maie then determine of vs and all ours at your most gratious pleasure. But if we haue (God being our guide) so ordered the gouernance of this citie, that we haue kept the same in safetie to your maiesties vse, and made the people therein (as much as in vs lieth) first most studious of Gods glorie and true religion, and next of your maiesties health, honour, and pleasure; then aske we nothing of you: for that the singular clemencie ingraffed in your highnesse, will easilie of it selfe grant that which is requisit for vs to obteine. We onelie therefore desire, that God would abundantlie blesse your highnesse with all good gifts of mind and bodie.

wherein the dutie of subiects chiefle consisteth.

Which oration ended, hir maiestie accepting in good part euerie thing deliuered by the maior, did thankefullie answer him in these words, or verie like in effect: We hartilie thanke you maister maior, and all the rest, for these tokens of goodwill; neuertheless, princes haue no need of monie: God hath indued vs abundantlie, we come not therefore, but for that which in right is our owne, the hearts and true allegiance of our subiects, which are the greatest riches of a kingdome; whereof as we assure our selues in you, so do you assure your selues in vs of a louing and gratious souereigne. Wherewith was deliuered to the maior, a mace or scepter, which he carried before hir to hir lodging, which was in the bishop of Norwich his palace, two miles distant from that place. The cup and monie was deliuered to a gentleman, one of hir maiesties footmen to carrie. The maior said to hir, *Sunt hic centum libræ puri auri*. The couer of the cup lifted vp, hir maiestie said to the footmen; Looke to it, there is 100 pounds. With that hir highnesse, with the whole companie, marched towards Norwich, till they came to a place called the Towne close, distant from the citie a good slightshot, where the partie which represented Gurgunt came forth, as in due maner is expressed, and was readie to haue declared to hir maiestie this speech following; but by reason of a shower of raine which came, hir maiestie hasted awaie, the speech not vttered. But thus it was as here followeth.

The quéns maiesties acceptable answer vttered by hir owne mouth in person.

Gurguntius his speech cut off by a shower of raine.

Leaue off to muse most gratious prince of English soile,
What sudden wight in martiall wise approcheth neere:
King Gurgunt I am hight, king Belins eldest sonne,
Whose sire Dunwallo first, the British crowne did weare.
Whom truthlesse Gutlacke forst to passe the surging seas,
His kalkhod to reuenge, and Denmarke land to spoile.
And finding in returne, this place a gallant vent,
This castle faire I built, afort from forren soile:
To win a conquest, get renowme and glorious name,
To keepe and vse it well, deserues eternall fame.
When brute through cities, townes, the woods & dales did sound:
Elizabeth this countrie peerelesse queene drew neere:
I was found out, my selfe in person noble queene
Did hast, before thy face in presence to appeare.
Two thousand yeares welnie in silence lurking still;
Heare, why to thee alone this seruice I doo yeeld.
Besides that, at my cities sute their founder first
Should gratulat most this ioifull sight in open field,
Foure speciall points and rare concurring in vs both
This speciall seruice haue reserud to thee alone:
The glorie though of each in thee dooth far surmount,
Yet great with small compard, will like appeare anon.
When doubtfull warres the British princes long had wroong,
My grandsire first vniting all did weare the crowne.
Of Yorke and Lancaster, who did conclude those broiles?
Thy grandsire Henrie seuenth, a king of great renowne.
Mine vncle Brennus eke, my father ioining hands,
Old Rome did rase and sacke, and halfe consume with fire:
Thy puissant father so, new Rome that purple whore
Did sacke and spoile hir neere, of all hir glittering tire.
Lo Cambridge schooles by mine assignement founded first,
By thee my Cambridge schooles are famous through the world,
I thirtie wandring ships of banisht men relieued.
The throngs of banisht soules that in this citie dwell,
Do weepe for ioy: and praie for thee with teares vntold:
In all these things thou noble queene doost far excell.
But lo to thee I yeeld as dutie dooth me bind
In open field my selfe, my citie, castle, keie,
Most happie fathers kings in such a daughter queene,
Most happie England were, if thou shouldst neuer die.
Go on most noble prince, for I must hast awaie
My citie gates doo long, their souereigne to receaue:
More true thou neuer couldst, nor loiall subiects find,
Whose harts full fast with perfect loue to thee doo cleaue.

Gurguntius the eldest son of Belinus.

The ancientnesse of Norwich citie by the founders age may be gathered.

King Henrie the seuenth, and king Henrie the eight.

Gurguntius yeeldeth his estate to the quæne.

When hir maiestie drew nére the gates of the citie called saint Stephans gates, which with the wals there were both gallantlie and stronglie repared. The gate it selfe was thus inriched and beautified. First the portcullice was new made both timber & iron. Then the outward side of the gate was thus beautified. The quénes armes were most richlie and beautifullie set forth in the chiefe front of the gate. On the one side thereof, but somewhat lower, was placed the scutchion of saint George his crosse: on the other side, the armes of the citie: and directlie vnder the queenes maiesties armes, was placed the falcon, hir highnesse badge, in due forme, and vnder the same were written these words, God and the queene we serue. The inner side of the gate was thus beautified. On the right side was gorgeouslie set forth the red rose, signifieng the house of Yorke; on the left side the white rose, representing the house of Lancaster; in the midst was the white and red rose vnited, expressing the vnion, vnder the which was placed by descent the armes of the quéene, and vnder that were written these verses following.

S. Stephans gates in Norwich richlie beautified.

The vnion of the white rose and thered.

Diuision kindled strife,
Blist vnion quencht the flame:
Thense sprang our noble Phenix deare,
The peareless prince of fame.

And besides that, at this gate, the waits of the citie were placed with lowd musicke, who chærefullie & melodiouslie welcomed hir maiestie into the citie, this song being song by the best voices in the same.

The deaw of heauen drops this date
on drie and barren ground,
Wherefore let fruitfull hearts I saie
at drum and trumpets sound
Yeeld that is due, shew that u meet,
to make our ioy the more,
In our good hope, and hir great praise,
we neuer saw before.
The sun dooth shine where shade hath beene,
long darkenesse brought vs daie,
The star of comfort now coms in,
and here a while will staie.
Ring out the bels, plucke vp your spreets,
and dresse your houses gaie,
Run in for floures to strew the streets,
and make what ioy you maie.
The deaw of heauen, &c.
Full manie a winter haue we seene,
and manie stormes withall,
Since here we saw a king or queene
in pompe and princelie pall.
Wherefore make feast and banket still,
and now to triumph fall,
With dutie let vs shew good will,
to glad both great and small.
The deaw of heauen, &c.
The realme throughout will ring of this,
and sundrie regions mo
Will say, full great our fortune is,
when our good hap they kno.
O Norwich, heere the wellspring runs,
whose vertue still dooth flo,
And lo this day dooth shine two suns
within thy wals also.
The deaw of heauen, &c.

This song ended, hir highnesse passed towards hir lodging, & by the waie in a church-yard, ouer against maister Pecks dore (a worthie alderman) was a scaffold set vp & brauelie trimmed. On this scaffold was placed an excellent boy, well and gallantlie decked, in a long white robe of taffata, a crimsin scarffe wrought with gold, folded on the Turkish fashion about his browes, and a gaie garland of white flowers on his head, which boie was not séene, till the quéene had a good season marked the musicke, which was maruellous swéet and good, albeit the rudenesse of some ringers of bels did somewhat hinder the noise and harmonie: and as soone as the musike ended, the boy stepped reuerendlie before the quæne, and spake these words that follow in comelie order.

The boies speach at maister Pecks dore.

Great things were meant to welcome thee (O queene)
If want of time had not cut off the same:
Great was our wish, but small is that was seene,
For vs to shew before so great a dame.
Great hope we haue it pleasd our princes eie,
Great were the harmes that else our paines should reape:
Our grace or foile dooth in your iudgement lie,
If you mislike, our griefs doo grow on heape:
If for small things we doo great fauour find,

Great

Great is the ioy that Norwich feeles this daie:
If well we waid the greatnesse of your mind,
Few words would serue, we had but small to saie.
But knowing that your goodnesse takes things well
That well are meant, we boldlie did proceed:
And so good queene, both welcome and farewell,
Thine owne we are in heart, in word, and deed.

The queene liked this deuise.

The boy there vpon slang vp his garland, and the quéenes highnes said, This deuise is fine. Then the noise of musike began againe, to heare the which the quéene staid a good while, and after departed to the cathedrall church, which was not far from thense. Then passed she forwards through saint Stephans stréet, where the first pageant was placed in forme following. It was builded somewhat in maner like a stage of 40 foot long, & in breadth eight foot. From the standing place vpward was a bank framed in maner of a frée stone wall, & in the height therof were written sentences, that is to saie: The causes of this common wealth are, God trulie preached, Justice dulie executed, The people obedient, Idlenesse expelled, Labour cherished, Vniuersall concord preserued.

The first pageant was in S. Stephans parish in this maner.

How the pageant was beautified with representation of the mysteries of the citie.

From the standing place downewards it was beautified with painters worke, artificiallie expressing to sight the portraiture of these seuerall lomes, and the weauers in them (as it were working) and ouer euerie lome the name thereof, that is to saie. Ouer the first lome was written, the weauing of worsted: ouer the second, the weauing of russels: ouer the third, the weauing of darnix: ouer the fourth, the weauing of tuft mochado: the fift, the weauing of lace: the sixt, the weauing of caffa: the seuenth, the weauing of fringe. And then was there the portraiture of a matrone, and two or three children, and ouer hir head was written these words: God nurture changeth qualities. Upon the stage there stood at the one end eight small women children spining worsted parne, and at the other end as manie knitting of worsted parne hose: and in the middest of the said stage stood a prettie boy richlie apparelled, which representing the common wealth of the citie. And all the rest of the stage was furnished with men, which made the said seuerall works, and before euerie man the worke in déed. Euerie thing thus readie, and hir maiestie come, the child representing the common wealth, spake to hir highnesse these words following.

1. Pointing to the spinners.
2. Pointing to the loomes.
3. Pointing to the workes.

Most gratious prince, vndoubted soureigne queene,
Our onelie ioy next God, and chiefe defense:
In this small shew, our whole estate is seene,
The wealth we haue, we find proceed from thense,
The idle hand hath here no place to feed,
The painfull wight hath still to serue his need.
Againe, our seat denies our traffike heere,
The sea too neare decides vs from the rest,
So weake we were within this dozen yeare,
As care did quench the courage of the best:
But good aduise hath taught these little hands,
To rend in twaine the force of pining bands.
From combed wooll we draw this slender threed,
From thense the loomes haue dealing with the same,
And then se againe in order doo proceed,
These seuerall works which skilfull art dooth frame:
And all to driue dame need into hir caue,
Our heads and hands together labourd haue.
We bought before the things that now we sell,
These slender impes, their works doo passe the waues,
Gods peace and thine, we hold and prosper well,
Of euerie mouth the hands the charges saues.
Thus through thy helpe and aid of power diuine,
Dooth Norwich liue, whose hearts and goods are thine.

This shew pleased hir maiestie so greatlie, as she particularlie viewed the knitting & spinning of the children, perused the lomes, and noted the seuerall works and commodities which were made by these meanes: and then after great thanks by hir giuen to the people, marched towards the market place, where was the second pageant thwarting the stréet at the enterance of the market, betweene master Skinner & master Mualh, being in breadth two and fiftie foot of assise, and was diuided into three gates, in the midst a maine gate, & on either side a posterne: the maine gate in breadth fourteene foot, each posterne eight foot, their heights equall to their proportion: ouer each posterne was as it were a chamber, which chambers were replenished with musike. Ouer all the gates passed a stage of eight foot brode, in maner of a pageant, curious, rich, & delitefull. The whole worke, from the pageant downewards, séemed to be iasper & marble. In the forefront towards hir maiestie was the armes of England on the one side the gate, & on the other side the *falcon with crowne and scepter. The other side was beautified with the arms of England on the one side of the gate, & the crest of England on the other. The pageant was furnisht with fiue personages apparelled like women. The first was the citie of Norwich; the second Debora; the third Judith; the fourth Hester; the fift Martia, sometime quéene of England. At the first sight of the prince, & till hir maiesties comming to the pageant, the musicians vsed their lowd musike, and then ceassed: wherewith hir highnesse stated, to whome the personage representing the citie of Norwich, did speake in these words.

*which is hir owne badge.

The second pageant with the situation of the same, and what representations it bare.

These musicians were inclosed in the chambers of the said pageant.

Whom fame resounds with thundring trumpe, that rends the ratling skies,
And perseth to the hautie heauens, and thense descending flies
Through flickering aire: and so contoines the sea & shore togither,
In admiration of thy grace, good queene thart welcome hither:
More welcome than Terpsicore was to the towne of Crote.
Sea-faring men by Gemini conceiue not halfe my ioie.
Strong Hercules to Theseus was neuer such delight,
Nor Nisus to Eurialus as I haue in this sight.
Penelope did neuer thirst Ulysses more to see,
Than I poore Norwich hungred haue to gaine the sight of thee.
And now that these my happie eies behold thy heauenlie face,
The Lord of lords I humblie praie, to bliss thy noble grace
With Nestors life, with Sibils helth, with Crelus stocke & store,
With all good gifts of Salomon, and twise as manie more.
What shuld I saie? Thou art my ioy next God, I haue none other,
My princesse & my peerlesse queene, my louing nurse and mother.
My goods & lands, my hands and hart, my limbs and life are thine,
What is mine owne in right or thought, to thee I doo resigne.
Grant then (oh gratious souereigne queene) this onlie my request,
That that which shall be doone in me, be construed to the best.
And take in part my slender shewes, wherein my whole pretense
Is for to please your maiestie, and end without offense.
So shall I clap my hands for ioy, and hold my selfe as rich
As if I had the gold of Inde, and double twise as mich.

The citie of Norwich speaketh to the quéenes maiestie.

How Norwich is affected to the quéenes highnesse.

Where princes sitting in their thrones set God before their sight
And line according to his law, and guide their people right,
There doth his blessed gifts abound, there kingdoms firmlie stand
There force of foes cannot preuaile, nor furie fret the land.
My selfe (oh peerlesse prince) doo speake by proofe of matter past,
Which proofe by practise I performd, and foild his foes at last.
For Jabin king of Canaan, poore Israell did spite,
And meant by force of furious rage to ouerrun vs quite.
Nine hundred iron chariots, he brought into the field,
With cruell captetne Sisera by force to make vs yeeld.
His force was great, his fraud was more, he fought, we did defend,
And twentie winters long did last this warre without an end.
But he that neither sleepes nor slackes such furies to correct,
Appointed me Debora for the iudge of his elect:
And did deliuer Sisera into a womans hand,
I slue them all, and so in rest his people held the land.
So mightie prince, that puisant Lord, hath plast thee here to be,
The rule of this triumphant realme alone belongs to thee.
Continue as thou hast begun, weed out the wicked rout,
Vphold the simple, meeke and good, pull downe the proud & stout.
Thus shalt thou liue and reigne in rest, & mightie God shalt please,
Thy state be sure, thy subiects safe, thy commonwealth at ease.
Thy God shall grant thee length of life, to glorifie his name,
Thy deeds shall be recorded in the booke of lasting fame.

Then spake Debora the second person.

The application of the former examples.

Oh floure of grace, oh prime of Gods elect,
Oh mightie queene and finger of the Lord,
Did God sometime by me poore wight correct
The champion stout, that him and his abhord;
Then be thou sure thou art his mightie hand,
To conquer those which him and thee withstand.
The rage of foes Bethulia did oppresse,
The people faint were readie for to yeeld:
God aided me poore widow nertheless,
To enter into Holofernes field,
And with this sword by his directing hand,
To slaie his foe, and quiet so the land.
If this his grace were giuen to me poore wight,
If widowes hand could vanquish such a foe:
Then to a prince of thy surpassing might,
What tyrant liues but thou maist ouerthro?
Persenere then his seruant as thou art,
And hold for aie a noble victors part.

Then spake Judith the third person.

The application of the former examples.

The fretting heads of furious foes haue skill,
As well by fraud as force to find their preie.
In smiling lookes dooth lurke a lot as ill,
As where both sterne and sturdie streams doo swaie,
Thy selfe oh queene, a proofe hast seene of this,
So well as I poore Hester haue I wis.
As Jabins force did Israell perplex,
And Holofernes fierce Bethulia besiege,
So Hamans slights sought me and mine to vex,
Yet shewd a face of subiect to his liege.
But force no fraud, nor tyrant strong can trap,
Those whom the Lord in his defense dooth wrap.

Then Hester spake the fourth person.

The application of the former exãples.

The prookes I speake by vs haue erst bin seene,
The prookes I speake, to thee are not vnknowne.
Thy God thou knowst most dread and souereigne queene,
A world of foes of thine hath ouerthrowne,
And hither now triumphantlie dooth call
Thy noble grace, the comfort of vs all.
Doost thou not see the ioie of all this flocke?
Vouchsafe to view their passing gladsome cheare,
Be still (good queene) their refuge and their rocke,
As they are thine to serue in loue and feare:
So fraud, nor force, nor foreine fo may stand
Against the strength of thy most puissant hand.

Then spake Martia the first person.

With long discourse (oh puissant prince) some tract of time we spend,
Vouchsafe yet now a little more, and then we make an end.
The thundring blast of fame, whereof dame Norwich first did speake,
Not onelie shooke the aire and skies, but all the earth did breake,
It rent vp graues, and bodies raisd, eche spirit tooke his place,
And this alonelie word was heard: Here comes the pearle of grace,
Here coms the iewell of the world, hir peoples whole delight,
The paragon of present time, and prince of earthlie might.
The voice was strange, the wonder more: for when we viewd the earth
Eche prince that erst had reigned here, receiud againe his breath,
And with his breath, a libertie to hold againe his place,
If anie one amongst vs all exceed your noble grace.
Some comfort euerie one conceiud to catch againe his owne,
His vtmost skill was trimlie vsde, to haue his vertues knowne.
The praises surpasse my skill to tell. But when eche one had said,
Apollo did himselfe appeare and made vs all dismaid.
Will you contend with hir (quoth he) within whose sacred brest
Dame Pallas and my selfe haue framd our souereigne seat of rest?
Whose skill directs the muses nine, whose grace dooth Venus staine:
Hir eloquence like Mercurie: like Juno in hir traine?
Whose God is that eternall Joue which holds vs all in awe?
Beleeue me, you exceed the bounds of equitie and lawe.
Therewith they shronke themselues aside, not one I could espie,
They coucht them in their caues againe and that full quietlie.
Yet I that Martia hight, which sometime ruld this land,
As queene for thirtie three yeares space, gat licence at his hand,
And so Gurguntius did, my husbands father deere,
Which built this towne and castell both, to make our homage here,
Which homage mightie queene accept: the realme and right is thine,
The crowne, the scepter, and the sword to thee we doo resigne,
And wish to God, that thou maist reigne, twise Nestors yeares in peace,
Triumphing ouer all thy foes, to all our ioies increase, Amen.

Herewith she passed vnder the gate, with such thanks as plainelie expressed hir noble nature: and the musicians within the gate vpon their soft instruments vsed broken musike, and one sang this dittie.

A dittie song to soft musicke at the quænes entrance vnder the gate.

From slumber soft as I fell fast asleepe,
From sleepe to dreame, from dreame to deepe delight,
Eche gem the gods had giuen the world to keepe
In princelie wise came present to my sight:
Such solace then did sinke into my mind,
As mortall man on mould could neuer find.
The gods did striue, and yet their strikes were sweet,
Eche one would haue a vertue of hir owne.
Dame Juno thought the highest place most meet
For hir, because of riches was hir throne.
Dame Venus thought by reason of hir loue
That she might claime the high st place aboue.
The virgins state Diana still did praise,
And Ceres praisd the fruit of fertile soile:
And Prudence did dame Pallas chieflie raise,
Minerua all for eloquence did striue,
They smild to see their quarelling estate,
And Joue himselfe decided their debate.
My sweets (quoth he) leaue off your sugred strife,
In equall place I haue assignd you all:
A souereigne wight there is that beareth life,
In whose sweete hart I haue inclosd you all.
Of England soile she is the souereigne queene,
Your bigors there doo flourish fresh and greene.
They skipt for ioy, and gaue their franke consent,
The noise resounded to the hautie skie:
With one lowd voice they cried all, content,
They clapt their hands, and therewith waked I.
The world and they concluded with a breath,
And wisht long reigne to queene Elisabeth.

The place of the quænes adode during the time of hir tariance in Norwich.

Herewith she passed through the market place, which was goodlie garnished, and thense through the other streets which were trimlie decked, directlie to the cathedrall church, where *Te Deum* was song, and after seruice she went to the bishops palace, where hir maiestie kept the time she continued in Norwich. All this was on saturdaie the sirteenth of August 1578. On the nert daie after, which was sundaie, when princes commonlie come not abroad (and time is occupied with sermons and laudable exercises) T. C. was to watch a conuenient season, where and how might be vttered the things that were prepared for pastime. And so vpon mondaie before supper, he made a deuise, as though Mercurie had bæne sent from the gods, to request the quæne to come abroad, & behold what was deuised for hir welcome, the whole matter whereof doth follow.

The manner of Mercuries coch & message to the quæne, requesting hir highnesse to come abroad, and see what pastime the gods had prouided for so noble a prince.

The coch that Mercurie came in vnto the quæne, was closelie kept in secret a long season, and when the time came it must passe towards the court, it had a trumpetter with it, and the cochman was made to driue so fast, as the horses should seeme to flie, which was so well obserued, as the people wondered at the swiftnesse therof, and followed it in such flocks and multitudes, that scarse in a great græne (where the preaching place is) might be found rome for anie more people. And when the coch approched in the hearing of a trumpet, the trumpetter sounded, and so came in to the græne sounding, vntill the coch was full placed before a window at the which the quæne stood, and might be plainelie sæne and openlie viewed. When Mercurie had espied hir highnesse, he skiped out of the coch, and being on the ground, gaue a iumpe or two, and aduanced himselfe in such a sort, that the quæne smiled at the boldnesse of the boie. Thus Mercurie beholding the quæne with great courage and audacitie, at the length bowed downe his head, and immediatlie stood bolt vpright, and shaked his rod, and so began his speech with a most assured countenance, and brauelie pronounced it in deed, to his great liking and commendation.

He reuealeth what he is by office.

Muse not good queene at me that message brings
From Joue or iust Jehoua Lord of might,
No earthlie god, yet gouerns mortall things,
And spirites diuine, and shunning angels bright.
This lord of late to shew his mightie power,
Hath wonders wrought when world lookt least therefore:
For at his becke, this daie and present hower,
The heauens shakt, the thunderbolts did rore.
The earth did moue, the dead therein did rise,
And out of graue the ghosts of men are gone,
The wandring spirites that houered in the skies
Drope downe from aire, for world to wonder on.
The saints themselues that sat in glorie great,
Were sent in hast to worke Jehouas will,
And I that oft my restlesse wings doo beat,
Was cald to vse my wings and office still.
A common post is Mercurie you know,
When he commands that made the world of nought.
And flies as fast as arrow out of bow,
When message may expresse Jehouas thought.
Whose power diuine full long per this hath seene,
That in this place should lodge a sacred queene.
And weighing well, the prince whereof I speake,
Might wearie way of common pastimes heere,
(For that he knowes hir iudgement is not weake)
Deuisd aboue, below there should appeere
(To welcome hir) some sights that rare should seeme,
And carelesse stood, what world thereof did deeme,
So that good queene, you take them well in worth.

Rare sights if anie such were as Mercurie nameth.

No sooner had Jehoua meant these things,
But clouds clapt hands, and soules of men came forth
Of heauen gates, yea goodlie crowned kings
Were flowen abroad from blessed Abrams brest:
Some in the aire, and tops of trees did rest,
Some fell on towres and statelie houses high,
Some sunke in seas, whose names were drowned now,
And some did light on land where euerie eie
May them behold, and note their manners throw.
And therewithall the blacke infernall spreets
Ran out of hell, the earth so trembling than,
And like yoong lads they hopt about the streets,
The satyres wild, in forme and shape of man,
Crept through the woods, and thickers full of breers,
The water nymphs, and feiries streight appeers
In vncouth formes and fashion strange to view:
The hags of hell that hatefull are of kind,
To please the time had learnd a nature new,
And all those things that man can call to mind,
Were glad to come and doo their dutie throw.
I seeing this, cald for my coch in hast,
Abide sir boie, then said Jehoua now,
Thou goest not yet vntill a prince be plast,
Where I appoint, thou hast nothing to saie.
Then still I stood, to know what should be done.

Mercurie is attentiue to his charge.

With that a swarme of people euerie waie
Like little ants about the fields gan run,
Some to prouide for pompe and triumph great,
Some for good fare, yea houshold cates and meat,
And some they ran to seeke where poets dwell,
To pen forth shews and paint out trifles well.
Some haild and puld to bring the carrege in,
Some ran to gaze on triumph neere at hand,
And some stood mute, as they amazd had bin
To see a court and princelie noble band
Come marching on, and make heere their abode.
But when I saw the carrege heere vnlode,
And well had weid the wonders I haue told,
O mightie God (quoth I) now giue me leaue
To go from thee some message to vnfold,
That by my speech the hearers may conceiue.
Thy godhead great hath brought this princesse here.
It shall be so (quoth he) dispatch and part,
And tell hir that she is to me so deere,
That I appoint by mans deuise and art,
That euerie daie she shall see sundrie shoes,

The charge giuen by Jupiter to Mercur: for ỹ recreation of the quæne.

If

If that she please to walke and take the aire,
And that so soone as out of doore she goes
(If time doo serue and weather waxeth faire)
Some odd deuise shall meet hir highnesse streight,
To make hir smile, and ease hir burthened brest,
And take away the cares and things of weight
That princes feele, that findeth greatest rest.
When I had thus receiud my charge at full,
My golden rod in liuelie hand I tooke,
And bad in hast my flieng hoples pull.
But yet I past, I gan about me looke,
To see that coch, and ech thing gallant were:
So downe I came all winged as you see.
And sith I haue espide that princesse there,
That greatest kings doo sue to by degree,
And manie mo that sues no whit, doo feare
I kisse hir steps, and shew my maisters will,
And leaue with hir such graces from aboue,
As alwaies shall command hir peoples loue,
(Uphold hir reigne, maintein hir regall state,
Find out falsе harts, and make of subiects true,
Plant perfect peace, and root vp all debate)
So with this grace good queene now heere adue,
For I may now on earth no longer staie,
Thus seruants must to maisters will obaie.

The quéenes rare estate described.

Mercurie hauing thus spoken to the quéene, whose gratious inclination is such, as will not haue anie thing dutifullie offered to passe vnregarded, was well heard, hir highnes standing at a window, and the spéech verie well taken and vnderstood. Mercurie as he came passed awaie, at whose coch the people that had seldome séene such a deuise maruelled, and gazed verie much; for it had hoples to draw it finelie painted and winged, to as great shew and order of that it presented, as wit might imagine: the cochman sutable to the same, and a trumpetter in right good garments, as decent for that purpose as could be deuised. But the coch was made and framed on such a fashion as few men haue séene: the whole whereof was couered with birds and naked spirits, hanging by the héeles in the aire and clouds, cunninglie painted out, as though by some thunder cracke they had béene shaken and tormented: yet staied by power diuine in their places, to make the more wonder and miraculous shew. And on the middle of that coch stood a high compassed tower bedecked with golden and gaie iewels, in the top whereof was placed a faire plume of white feathers, all to bespanged and trimmed to the most brauerie: Mercurie himselfe in blew satin lined with cloth of gold, his garments cut and slashed on the finest maner, a peaked hat of the same colour, as though it should cut and seuer the wind asunder; and on the same a paire of wings, and wings on his héeles likewise. And on his golden rod were little wings also, about the which rod were two wrigling or scralling serpents, which séemed to haue life when the rod was moued or shaken. So in this sort and forme was Mercurie and his coch set forth, and indéed at such a season as a great sort looked not for anie shew, nor things were readie, as some thought, to performe that was necessarie and expected: yet hap was so good, and the gratious fauour of the prince, that all was well taken, and construed to the best meaning of the deuisor. So ended that daies deuise, which offered occasion to further matter.

The description of Mercuries coch.

The description of Mercurie, his attire, abilliments, &c.

On tuesdaie following (for before that daie by meanes of the weather the quéene went not abrode) a verie pretie and pleasant shew was performed before hir highnes without saint Benets gates, as she went towards Tossie parke to hunt. At which season, although the deuisor was not well prouided of things necessarie for a shew (by meane of some crossing causes in the citie) yet hearing the quéene rode abrode, determined as he might (and yet by helpe of frends and hap) verie well to venture the hazard of a shew, and to be full in the waie where hir highnesse should passe towards hir dinner. In which determination manie doubts were to be cast, and manie perswaded him to tarrie a better time. But considering how time rolled on, and daies and houres did wast (without doing anie thing promised and not performed) he hastilie prepared his boies and men with all their furnitures, and so set forward with two coches handsomlie trimmed. The common people beholding the maner thereof, and grédie to gaze on that should be done, followed as their fansies did lead them: so that when the deuisor and his retinue came into the open field, there was as great a traine and preasе about the shew, as came with the court at that instant, which graced much the matter, and gaue it some erpected hope of good successe.

The deuisor ventureth the hazard of a shew.

First, there was a famed deuise, that Uenus and Cupid were thrust out of heauen, and walking on the earth, met a philosopher; who demanded from whense they came. They told the philosopher what they were, and he replied, and began with truth & tants to tickle them so nére, that Uenus fell in a great anger, and Cupid ran awaie, and left his mother and the philosopher disputing together. But Cupid because he would be nourished somewhere, ran to the court, and there sought for succor, & incountring the quéene began to complaine his state and his mothers, and told how the philosopher had handled them both. But finding neither answer nor aid, he returned againe, but not to his mother, for she was fallen mad vpon a conceipt that she was not made of. And Cupid wandering in the world, met with dame Chastitie & hir maids, called Modestie, Temperance, God exercise, and Shamefastnes: and she with hir foure maids incountring Cupid in a godlie coch, and without anie honest gard waiting on him, set vpon him, threw him out of his golden seat, trod on his pompe, spoiled him of his counterfeit godhead and cloke, & toke awaie his bow and quiuer of arrows, the one headed with lead, and the other with gold, and so sent him like a fugitiue awaie, and mounted vp into the coch hir selfe and hir maids, and so came to the quéene, and rehersed what had hapned. Although this was done in hir view, & because (said Chastitie) that the quéene had chosen the best life, she gaue the quéene Cupids bow, to learne to shoot at whom she pleased, sith none could wound hir highnesse heart, it was méet (said Chastitie) that she should doo with Cupids bow & arrows what she pleased; and so did Chastitie depart as she said to the powers diuine. Cupid in the meane while wandering in the world had found out Wantonnesse and Riot, who soone fell into beggerie and ruine (a spectacle to be loked into) and felt such dailie miserie with Wantonnesse and Riot, that Cupid was forced to fling awaie once againe, and hazard himselfe to fall into the hands of naughtie people, or where fortune assigned: and comming abrode, happened vpon the philosopher, who talked with him againe, told him his errors, and other points of pride and presumption; declaring it was a great blasphemie & abuse, to report & beléeue that in heauen were anie other gods but one, who had the onelie rule of all, & that made all of naught. In which reasoning & discourse Cupid waxed warme, & yet in his greatest heat knew not how nor where to cole himselfe, at which time came Wantonnesse & Riot, & persuaded Cupid to plaie no longer the fole in striuing with philosophers, and go awaie with them. So Cupid departed, & went awaie with Wantonnesse and Riot, & the philosopher remained, & declared that all abuses & follies should come to no better end than presentlie was expressed by the miserie of Wantonnesse, Riot, and Cupid. Then Modestie and hir fellows, leauing their mistresse dame Chastitie with the powers diuine, came soft and faire in their mistresse coch, singing a song of chaste life, as heere vnder followeth.

The whole manner of the deuise or shew.

Dame Chastitie & hir maids incounter with Cupid.

what associates Cupid found out to keepe him companie.

Chastitie and hir maids matched together, &c.

Chast life liues long and lookes
on world and wicked waies,
Chast life for losse of pleasures short,
dooth win immortall praise.
Chast life hath merrie moods,
and soundlie taketh rest,

Chaſt life is pure as babe new borne,
that hugs in mothers breſt.
Lewd life cuts off his daies,
and ſoone runs out his date,
Confounds good wits, breeds naughtie blond,
and weakens mans eſtate.
Lewd life the Lord doth loth,
the law and land miſlikes,
The wiſe will ſhun, fond fooles doo ſeeke,
and God ſore plages and ſtrikes.
Chaſt life may dwell alone,
and find few fellowes now,
And ſit in regall throne,
and ſearch lewd manners throw.
Chaſt life feares no miſhap,
the whole account is made,
When ſoule from worldlie cares is crept,
and ſits in ſacred ſhade.
Lewd life is taught to ſcorne,
and put to great diſgrace,
In hollow caues it hides the head,
and walks with muffled face,
Found out and pointed at,
a monſter of the mind,
A rankred worme that conſcience eates,
and ſtrikes cleere ſenſes blind.
Chaſt life a pretious pearle,
doth ſhine as bright as ſun,
The faire houre glaſſe of daies and yeeres,
that neuer out will run.
The beautie of the ſoule,
the bodies bliſſe and eaſe,
A thing that leaſt is looкt vnto,
yet moſt the mind ſhall pleaſe.

And when the ſong was ended, modeſtie ſent (as ſhe ſaid ſhe was) from hir maiſtreſſe, ſpake to the quéene a good ſeaſon, and ſo the matter ended. For this ſhew the deuiſer had gratious words of the quéene openlie and often pronounced by hir highneſſe. On the ſame daie the miniſter of the Dutch church, pronouncing to hir maieſtie at hir being abrode the oration following, preſented the cup therein mentioned, which was eſteemed to be worth fiftie pounds, verie curiouſlie and artificiallie wrought.

Oratio ad ſereniſſimam Angliæ reginam habita 19. Auguſti 1578 à miniſtro eccleſiæ Belgogermanicæ Nordouici in loco publico.

Quinam oratores antiqua ætate præclariſſima laudatiſſimi exiterunt.

Magna oratoribus, qui per celebratorum ætate vixerunt fuit laus, ſereniſſima regina, quòd indicum animos partim ſuauiloquentia, partim poſita rei perſonæque ante ipſorum oculos calamitate, in quemcunque vellent animi habitum transformarent. Prius membrum non vulgarem nobis ob oculos ponit hominum facilitatem, quòd adeò ſequaces dictóque audientes fuerint, vt ſe linguis duci paterentur. Poſterius magnam vbique apud gentes, quarum reſpublica optabili ordine fuit conſtituta, obtinuit gratiam: longè autem maiorem apud eos, qui Chriſto nomen dederunt: omnium verò maximam apud te (ô ſereniſſima regina) eccleſiæ Chriſti nutrix, cuius animum verbo Dei obſequentem inſtruxit, non fucatus hic ſermo, ſed Chriſti ſpiritus, pietatiſque zelus. Ipſiſſima piorum calamitas afflictorúmque lachrymæ, lachrymæ inquam Chriſti fidelium te commouerunt, miſera diſperſáque Chriſti membra quibuſuis iniurijs obiecta, mille iam mortibus territa, in tutelam ſalutémque animi iuxta ac corporis recipere ac protegere. Ob hæc ſingularia tua in nos pietatis beneficia, & quòd ſub tutore optimo magiſtratu in hac tua Nordouicenſi vrbe (quam maieſtas tua nobis ob Chriſti religionem exulantibus domicilij loco clementer conceſſit) viuimus, adde quòd populi in nos animum fauorabilem experimur, inprimis Deo patri, & Domino vnico ſeruatori noſtro Ieſu Chriſto, deinde & tibi ſereniſſima regina immortales non quas debemus ſed quas poſſumus agimus gratias. Porrò humile quidem & vnicum tamen noſtrum eſt votum, animi noſtri gratitudinem maieſtati tuæ oſtendere. Ecce igitur nullum munus, ſed animum noſtrum: nullum regium ſplendorem, ſed pietatis poſteritatiſque monumentum ſereniſſimæ tuæ maieſtati conſecratum. Hoc autem eo gratius maieſtati tuæ fore confidimus, quòd ex inculpati puriſſimíq; Ioſephi hiſtoria, Dei erga maieſtatem tuam bonitas, ad viuum ſit delineata, quem nulla aſtutia, nullum robur, nulla denique regnandi libido; ſed fides conſtans, chriſtiani pectoris pietas, cœleſtiſque virtus, ſingulari Dei fauore ex ſanguinaria fratrum conſpiratione, mortiſque metu, ad ſummam dignitatem, regnique decus euexerunt. In huius fratres non aliena videtur prouerbialis illa apud Hebræos ſententia, Inuidia malarum rerum appetitus, & ſtudium vanæ gloriæ hominibus ſæpiſſimè occaſio ſunt ſui interitus. Tamen quod Ioſephi animum attinet, ea fuit præditus & temperantia & fortitudine, vt nimis iniquus ſimul & prauus cenſeri poſſet, qui eum vel minimo vindicandi affectu accuſare velit; adeò Dei prouidentiæ & ſe & omne vitæ ſuæ ſtudium, vitæ inquam in alieno regno periclitantis, commiſit, vt non aliunde quàm à ſolo Dei nutu pendêre viſus ſit. Sed quorſum iſta? In te ne hæc ipſa aliáque conſimilia (ô ſereniſſima regina) & regni tui ratione omnium oculis conſpicua ſunt? Hæc inquam eſſe eccleſiæ Chriſti fœliciſſimum gaudium, ſpirituale diadema, & ſummum decus, huius verò regni verè regium ſplendorem, atque perennem gloriam, quis niſi mente captus inficias ire poteſt? Piſſimè tu quidem ſingulari Dei bonitate animum Ioſephi tum in regni tui conſeruatione, tum in regno Chriſti amplificando imitata es (ô nutrix eccleſiæ Dei fideliſſima) ſolius enim Dei eſt hunc per res (prout hominum oculis ſunt ſubiectæ) ſecundas diſperdere, illum autem per quæuis tetationum genera rerúmque diſcrimina extollere. Quos vt vaſa ſuæ miſericordiæ agnoſcit, ita etiam & bonitate & ſpiritus ſui tum conſolatione, tum fortitudine ad æternæ vitæ fœlicitatem proſequitur. Quod noſtrum votum ratum eſſe, maieſtatem tuam regnique ordinem ſpirituali prudentia ac ſapientia ſtabilire, eamque in longam ætatem ſeruare, tuæ item maieſtatis ſubditos vera ſui cognitione magis ac magis imbuere, dignetur bonus ille & clemens Deus, per merita filij ſui Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti, Amen.

Beneficiorum à regia maieſtate collatorum agnitio cum obſequio &c.

Regia maieſtas in omnibus Ioſepho equiparata.

Monumentum antiquum regiæ maieſtati exhibitum.

Regiæ maieſtati poſt orationem oblatum eſt monumentum aliquod, in cuius ſuperficie artificioſè ſculpta erat hiſtoria Ioſephi: ex lib. Geneſios.

In circumferentia verò hoc carmen.

Innocuum pietas ad regia ſceptra Ioſephum,
Ex manibus fratrum, carnificíſque, rapit:
Carcere & inſidijs ſic te regina tuorum
Ereptam duxit culmina ad iſta Deus.

Inſcriptio erat in ipſius capacitate ſcripta in orbem, hoc modo.

Sereniſſimæ Angliæ reginæ Eliſabethæ, eccleſiæ Belgicæ Nordouici ob religionem exulãtes, hoc monumentum & pietatis & poſteritatis ergô conſecrabant, Anno ſalutis humanæ, 1578.

In interiore ipſius parte erat inſigne ſerpentis in gyrum conuoluti, cui media inſidebat columba, cum hoc Chriſti elogio: Prudens vt ſerpens, ſimplex vt columba.

The miniſter of the Dutch church his oration in Engliſh.

What orators were beſt commended in former times of beſt renowme.

THe oratours (moſt gratious queene) which liued in the age of them that woone greateſt renowme, were highlie commended for that they could transforme the iudges minds, partlie by eloquence, and partlie by ſetting downe before their eies the calamitie of the thing and perſon they ſpake of, into what diſpoſition them liſted. The firſt part declareth vnto vs no common felicitie of men, in that they were ſo willing in following, and attentiue in hearing, as they would ſuffer themſelues to be lead by eloquence. The laſt obteined great fauour amongſt all nations, whoſe common weale was gouerned in good order, and farre greater amongſt the chriſtians: but greateſt of all with thee (ô moſt excellent queene) the nurſſe of Chriſt his church, whoſe mind obedient to Gods word, the ſpirit of Chriſt, and zeale of godlineſſe, and not this prophane kind of ſpeech hath inſtructed. The verie calamitie of godlie men and teares of the afflicted, the teares I ſaie of faithfull chriſtians haue thoroughlie mœued thee to defend and protect the miſerable

In acknowledgement of benefits by hir maiestie with dutifulnes for the same.

serable and dispersed members of Christ obiect to euerie kind of iniurie, before beaten in peeces by a thousand deaths, with the safetie and preseruation as well of mind as bodie. For these thy singular benefits of godlinesse towards vs, and that we liue vnder so good a tutor, being magistrate in this thy citie of Norwich, which thy maiestie hath of clemencie granted vnto vs for a mansion place, which were banished for Christ his religion; and moreouer that we find the minds of the people fauourable towards vs, first wee giue immortall thanks, not such as wee ought, but such as we are able vnto God the father, and the Lord our onelie sauiour Iesus Christ; and then vnto thee most mercifull queene. Moreouer, it is our humble and yet our onelie petition, to shew vnto your maiestie the thankefulnesse of our mind. Behold therefore dedicated to your most excellent maiestie, not anie gift but our mind, no princelie iewell but a monument of godlinesse and posteritie. The which we hope will be so much the more acceptable to your maiestie; for bicause the goodnes of God towards your maiestie is liuelie drawne out of the historie of the innocent and most godlie Ioseph, whom neither policie, strength nor desire of bearing rule, but constant faith, godlinesse of a christian heat, and heauenlie vertue by Gods singular mercie deliuered from the bloudie conspiracie of his brethren and feare of death, and brought vnto high dignitie & roiall kingdome. To whose brethren that prouerbiall sentence of the Hebrewes is verie fitlie alluded: Enuie being the desire of euill things, and couetousnesse of transitorie renowme, is oftentimes the occasion of mans destruction. But touching the mind of Ioseph, the same was indued with such temperance and fortitude, that he might be thought no lesse vniust than wicked, that would accuse him so much as with the least affection of reuengement: so wholie did he commit himselfe and all the gouernement of his life, his life I say put in hazard in a strange kingdome vnto the prouidence of God, that he seemed to hang of no other thing than the onelie will of God. But to what end speake I this? Are not these selfe same things, and others their like (ô most excellent queene) by the eies of all men clearlie beheld in thee and the order of thy kingdome? What man (I saie) hauing his wits, can denie these things to be the most happie ioy, spirituall crowne, & chiefest ornament of Christes church, & trulie of this kingdome the princelie beautie and perpetuall renowne? Thou surelie doost folow most holilie the mind of Ioseph, by the singular goodnesse of God, as well in preseruing thy kingdome, as in amplifieng the kingdome of Christ (ô thou most faithfull nurse of the church of God.) For it is in God onelie to destroie this man by prosperitie (as the world seeth) and aduance another by al kinds of aduersities, tentations, & dangers. Whom as he acknowlegeth the vessels of his mercie, so by his goodnesse togither with the consolation and strength of his spirit, he dooth bring them to the happinesse of eternall life. Which our petition that good and mercifull God grant may be ratified, in establishing your maiestie and gouernance of your kingdome with spirituall wisedome and vnderstanding, in preseruing the same full manie years, and in-duing your maiesties subiects more and more with true knowledge of him, for his sonnes sake our Lord Iesus Christ, Amen.

A monument of antiquitie presented to hir maiestie.

Ioseph singularlie commended & not without cause.

The queenes maiestie compared to Ioseph, &c.

The oration ended, there was a certeine monument presented to hir maiestie, in the vpper part whereof was artificiallie grauen the historie of Ioseph out of Genesis. In the inner part of the same there was the figure of a serpent, interfolding it selfe: in the middest whereof did sit a doue with this sentence of Christ, *Matth.* 10, 16. Wise as the serpent, and meeke as the doue. **In the circumference or compasse thereof was these verses to be read.**

To roiall scepter, godlinesse,
Ioseph the innocent,
Dooth take from brothers bloudie hands,
and murtherers intent.
So thee, O queene, the Lord hath led
from prison and deceit
Of thine, vnto these highest tops
of your princelie estate.

On wednesdaie hir highnesse dined at my lord of Surreis, where were the French ambassadors also, at a most rare and delicate dinner and banket. At which season the deuiser did watch with his shew (called Manhod & Desert) at my lord of Surreis backedoore, going to the quænes barge: but the rome was so little, that neither the shot, the armed men, nor the plaiers could haue place conuenient. Wherevpon he and his assistants toke boats, and conueied their people downe the water, towards a landing place that they hoped the quæne would come vnto. And there hauing althings in redinesse, they houered on the water three long houres, by which meanes the night came on, and so they were faine to withdraw themselues and go homeward, trusting for a better time and occasion, which in deed was offered the next daie after by the quænes maiesties owne good motion, who told the deuiser she would see what pastimes were prepared, as hereafter you shall perceiue by the discourse of these matters, and by this shew of Manhod, and the shew of the Nymphes. Neuertheless, as hir maiestie returned homeward; within Bishops gate at the hospitall doore, maister Stephan Limbert, maister of the grammar schole in Norwich stood readie to render hir an oration. Hir maiestie drew neare vnto him, & thinking him fearefull, said gratiouslie vnto him: Be not afraid. He answered hir againe in English: I thanke your maiestie for your good incouragement: & then with good courage entered into this oration following.

The quænes maiestie is banketted at the earle of Surreis.

O singular affabilitie of a prince to put awaie a subiects bashfulnesse.

Ad illustrissimam principem Elisabetham, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ reginam &c: ante fores πτωχοδοχεῖ Norduicensis, oratio Stephani Limberti ludimagistri publici.

Egyptum fama est inundante Nilo (serenissima regina) & aureo Pactoli flumine quotannis Lidiam irrigari, quæ res in ijs agris maxima fecunditatis causa putatur. In nos autem atq; adeo vniuersam Angliam, quæ latè patet, non è Tmolo aut alijs nescio quibus montibus, sed ex illo perenni & vberrimo fonte bonitatis tuæ, multi maximiq; pietatis, iusticiæ, mansuetudinis, aliorúmq; innumerabilium bonorum, præ quibus iam viluit aurum & obsoleuit, copiosissimi riui profluxerunt. Atq; vt ex infinitis vel vnum leuiter attingam, propterea quòd de pluribus dicere nec est huius loci & temporis nec facultatis meæ. Insignem illam misericordiam celsitudinis tuæ, nobilissima regina, & ad leuandum pauperrimorum hominum inopiam incredibilem propensionem, qua de plurimis virtutibus nulla Deo gratior (πρὸς γὰρ Διός εἰσιν ἅπαντες πτώχοι vt canit Homerus) in summa principe nulla mortalibus admirabilior esse potest, quibus tandem laudibus efferemus? Quàm honorificis verbis prosequemur? πτωχοδοχεῖον, hoc est, hospitium pauperum celeberrimum est apud omnes posteros regiæ virtutis atq; beneficentiæ monumentum futurum, institutum quidem ab illustrissimo Henrico patre celsitudinis tuæ, à nobilissimo Edouardo fratre

Egregiæ necnon impares Angliæ dotes.

Henricus & Edouardus reges, necnon Elisabetha regina præcipui benefactores agnoscuntur.

tre maximis tabulis conſignatum, a tua verò maieſtate, quod non minorem laudem meretur, Crinlefordienſibus fundis & poſſeſſionibus egregiè nuper auctum atq; amplificatum, vt non tam alienis iam ornamentis, quàm proprijs virtutibus meritò lætari poſsis. Recordata quippe es pro tua ſingulari prudentia atq; eruditione, diuinam illam ſapientiſſimi Platonis legem, quam vndecimo de legibus libro ſcriptam reliquit, πῶχ@ μηδεὶς ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει γιγνέσθω. Tantam igitur benignitatem, tam eximiam & incredibilem miſericordiam tuam (illuſtriſsima princeps) quibus complectemur ſtudijs? Quibus officijs, aut qua voce grati animi voluntatem teſtificabimur? Cùm enim omnes referendæ gratiæ ſtudio & labore, vel accuratiſsimas rationes exquiſiuerimus, ne vnius quidem huius beneficij, quo nos auguſtiſsimæ maieſtati tuæ obſtrictos eſſe & deuinctos agnoſcimus, magnitudinem aſſequi poterimus. Superabimur vel ab hoc vno & ſingulari merito, nedum ſperandum eſt, vt immenſo reliquorum meritorum pelago, quod tum in omnes tibi ſubditos publicè & generatim, tum in hanc ciuitatem propriè ac particulatim exundauit, pares eſſe queamus. Verè nos iam ὄλβιον incolimus, & in beatis illis inſulis de quibus meminit Heſiodus πας' ὠκεάνου ſβαθυδίνην ætatem agimus, qui non modò frugibus, lana, pecore, alijſq; ſubſidijs humanæ vitæ ſed multo magis veræ religionis verbiq; diuini, in quibus animi ſolùm acquieſcunt, pretioſiſsimis opibus abundamus. Sunt qui Britanniam alterum orbem appellârunt, quod hac ætate noſtra dici rectiſsimè poſſe arbitror. Cùm enim omnes vndique terræ grauiſsimis bellis affligantur, & diſcordiarum iactentur fluctibus, ſoli nos, celſitudine tua clauum moderante, in pacatiſsimo portu nauigamus, & ab orbe malorum diſiuncti, in cœlum quodammodo fælicitatis ſublati videmur. Quod eſt ergô officij noſtri, primùm deo Opt. Max. gratias agimus, cuius vnius bonitati omnem hanc, quantacúnq; eſt, beatitudinem acceptam referimus, precamurq; vt eam nobis propriam & perpetuam eſſe velit: deinde celſitudini tuæ, ſereniſsima regina, cuius opera, cura, ſolicitudine, & partam hanc nobis fælicitatem, & tot annos conſeruatam agnoſcimus. Lætamur hoc aſpectu tuo, & gratulamur incredibili ſtudio, quòd tum ex meo ipſius ſenſu loquor, tum omnes qui iam vndiq; confluxerunt Nordouicenſes tui à me dici poſtulant. Atq; vtinam in hæc pectora poſſes oculos inſerere, & occultos animorum noſtrorum ſinus perluſtrare, videres profectò incluſam intus, quæ tantis angustijs erumpere non poteſt, infinitam molem voluntatis. Fidem omnem, ſtudium, obſeruantiam, quæ tantæ principi debentur, vt hactenus promptiſsimè detulimus, ita ſtudioſiſsimè ſemper deferemus: & ſi quando caſus aliquis inciderit (quod Deus omen auertat) ſacroſanctæ maieſtatis tuæ, aut iſtius florentiſsimi regni, vel ſalus in diſcrimen veniat, vel dignitas periclitetur, non ſolum bonorum omnium ac facultatum effuſionem, ſed laterum noſtrorum oppoſitus & corporum pollicemur. Rogamus deinde & obſecramus excellentiam tuam, illuſtriſsima regina, vt & hoc noſtrum qualecunq; officium à ſumma beneuolentia animóq; quàm gratiſsimo profectum boni conſulas, & de nobis Nordouicenſibus ſic exiſtimes, ad lautiores te fortaſſe ſubditos veniſſe ſæpe, ad lætiores nunquam.

Pares gratias pro imparibus beneficijs agi non poſſe.

Angliam meritò alterum orbem nuncupari.

Nordouicenſium veranet ex intimis medullas prouenicus lætitia quam regiam maieſtatem videam.

The oration of Stephan Limbert, publike ſchoolemaiſter, to the moſt magnificent prince, Eliſabeth of England, France, and Ireland queene, &c: before the gates of the hoſpitall of Norwich.

IT is reported (moſt gratious queene) that Aegypt is watered with the yerelie ouerflowing of Nilus, and Lidia with the golden ſtreame of Pactolus, which thing is thought to be the cauſe of the great frutefulnes of theſe countries: but vpon vs, and further, ouer all England, euen into the vttermoſt borders, manie and maine riuers of godlineſſe, iuſtice, humilitie, and other innumerable good things, in compariſon of the which, gold is vile and naught worth, doo moſt plentifullie guſh out, and thoſe not from Tmolus, or other hilles I know not which, but from that continuall and moſt aboundant welſpring of your goodneſſe. And that of thoſe infinit goodneſſes I maie lightlie touch one, for that neither place, time, nor my abilitie dooth permit to ſpeake of manie: with what praiſes ſhall we extoll; with what magnificent words ſhall we expreſſe that notable mercie of your highneſſe (moſt renowmed queene) and vncredible readineſſe to relieue the need of poore men, than the which of manie vertues none can be more acceptable vnto God, as Homer writeth, neither anie vertue in a mightie prince more woondered at amongſt men. This hoſpitall of poore men is moſt famous, which will be a monument of princelie vertue and beneficence amongſt all poſteritie, inſtituted by the moſt mightie king Henrie your highneſſe father, confirmed with the great ſeale by the moſt noble king Edward your brother, but by your maieſtie, which deſerueth no leſſe praiſe, of late notablie increaſed and amplified by the lands and poſſeſſions of Cringleford, that you maie not now worthilie reioiſe ſo much in others ornaments, as your owne vertues. For you are ſaid for your ſingular wiſdome and learning, to haue ſtudied that diuine law of the moſt wiſe Plato, which he left written in the eleuenth booke of lawes. Such your great bountie therefore, ſo exceeding and incredible mercie (ô moſt vertuous prince) in what bookes ſhall we comprehend? With what duties, or with what voice ſhall we teſtifie the good will of a thankefull mind? For when we diligentlie ſeeke all the moſt exquiſit and curious means of thankeſgiuing: we cannot ſo much as atteine vnto the greatneſſe of this one benefit, by the which we acknowledge our ſelues bound and ſtreictlie holden to your moſt roiall maieſtie. We ſhall be ouercome, euen with this one and ſingular benefit, ſo much the leſſe hope haue we then in anie point to counteruaile the huge ſea of the reſt of your benefits, which ouerfloweth on euerie ſide as well publikelie & generallie ouer all your ſubiects, as properlie and particularlie vpon this citie. We certeinlie now inhabit, and lead our liues in thoſe moſt happie Ilands, of the which Heſiodus maketh mention, which not onelie abound with all maner of graine, wooll, cattell, and other aids of mans life; but much more with the moſt pretious treaſure of true religion and the word of God, in the which onlie the minds of men haue reſt and peace. There be that call England another world, which I thinke maie be moſt true in this our age. For whereas all lands on euerie ſide of vs are afflicted with moſt grieuous warres, and toſſed with the flouds of diſſention, we onelie (your highneſſe gouerning our ſterne) doo ſaile in a moſt peaceable hauen, and ſeuered from a world of miſchiefs, doo ſeeme after a ſort to be taken vp into a heauen of happineſſe. We therefore (according to our bounden dutie) firſt giue thanks vnto God almightie, vnto whoſe goodneſſe onelie with thanks we referre all this our happineſſe, how great ſoeuer it be, & praie that he would vouchſafe to make the ſame proper and perpetuall vnto vs. And afterwards vnto your highneſſe (ô moſt gratious queene) by whoſe ſtudie, care and diligence we confeſſe this bleſſedneſſe to be gotten, and ſo manie years preſerued vnto vs. We are glad in this beholding you, and we reioiſe with deſire more than maie be beleeued, which as I ſpeake of mine owne thought, ſo alſo all the ſubiects of Norwich deſire me to ſaie the ſame in their behalfe. And

The excellent and incomparable bleſſings of England.

King Henrie king Edward and queene Eliſabeth acknowledged ſpeciall benefactors.

Condigne thanks vnpoſſible to be giuen.

England deſcribedlie called another world.

Their vnfeigned reioiſing to ſee hir maieſtie.

I would

I would to God you could pearse these our breasts with your eies, and throughlie view the hidden and couered creeks of our minds! Then vndoubtedlie should you behold an infinit heape of goodwill closelie shut vp within, which cannot breake out of so narrow straits. All the faith, studie, and obedience, which are due to so great a prince, as hitherto we haue most willinglie imploied, so will we alwaies most diligentlie performe the same: and if at anie time anie chance shall happen (which fortune God turne from vs) that the state of thy blessed maiestie, or of this flourishing realme should come in danger, or the worthinesse therof be in hazard, we do not onlie protest the effusion of all our goods and substance, but also the putting foorth and brunt of our strengths and bodies therein. Finallie, we desire and beseech thy excellencie (most renowmed queene) well to accept of this our dutie, howsoeuer it be, proceeding from a singular good will, and a most thankefull mind, and so to thinke of vs citizens of Norwich, that perhaps you haue manie times come to people more wealthie, but to more ioifull neuer.

Immediatlie after the beginning of the oration hir maiestie called to hir the French ambassadors, whereof there were three, and diuerse English lords, and willed them to harken, and she hirselfe was verie attentiue, euen vntill the end thereof. And the oration ended, after she had giuen great thanks therefore to maister Limbert, she said to him; It is the best that euer I heard; you shall haue my hand: and pulled off hir gloue, and gaue him hir hand to kisse, which before kneeling on his knees, he arose and kissed; and then she departed to the court without anie other shew that night, but that she sent backe to know his name. The nert night being thursdaie there was an excellent princelie maske brought before hir after supper by maister Goldingham in the priuie chamber, it was of gods and goddesses both strangelie and richlie apparelled. The first that entred was Mercurie, then entred two torchbearers in purple taffata mandillions laid with siluer lace, as all other the torchbearers were; then entred a consort of musike, to wit, six musicians, all in long vestures of white sarsenet girded about them, and garlands on their heads, plaieng verie cunninglie; then two torchbearers more; then Jupiter and Juno, then two torchbearers more; then Mars and Venus, then two torchbearers more; then Apollo and Pallas, then two torchbearers more; then Neptune and Diana; and lastly Cupid concluding the matter.

The queenes high commendation of maister Limberts oration.

The description of an excellent and princelie maske.

Thus when they had once marched about the chamber, Mercurie dischargeth his message in these words to the queene: The god meaning maior and all his brethren, with the rest, haue not rested from praieng vnto the gods to prosper thy comming hither; and the gods themselues moued by their vnfained praters, are readie in person to bid thee worthilie welcome; and I Mercurie the god of merchants and merchandize, and therefore a fauourer of the cittizens, being thought meetest am chosen fittest to signifie the same. Gods there be also which cannot come, being tied by the time of the yeare, as Ceres in haruest, Bacchus in wines, Pomona in orchards. Onelie Pymineus denieth his good will, either in presence or in person: notwithstanding Diana hath so counterchecked him therfore, as he shall hereafter be at your commandement. For my part, as I am a reioiser at your comming, so am I a furtherer of your welcome hither; and for this time I bid you farewell.

Mercuries message to the queene.

Then marched they about againe, and that done Jupiter spake to the queene in this sort, and then gaue hir a riding wand of wheles Incurioslie wrought.

Feare not oh queene, thou art beloued so,
As subiects true will trulie thee defend:
Feare not my power to ouerthrow thy wo,
I am the God that can ech misse amend.
Thou doest know great Jupiter am I,
That gaue thee first thy happie souereintie.
I giue thee still as euer thou hast had,
A peereiesse power vnto thy dieng date:
I giue thee rule to ouercome the bad,
And loue to loue thy louing subiects aie.
I giue thee heere this small and slender wand,
To shew thou shalt in quiet rule the land.

Is Juno rich? No sure she is not so,
She wants that wealth that is not wanting heere,
Thy goods get friends, my wealth wins manie a foe,
My riches rust, but thine shine passing cleere.
Thou art beloued of subiects farre and nie,
Which is such wealth as monie cannot buie.
Farewell faire queene, I cannot giue thee ought,
Nor take awaie thy good that is so bound:
Thou canst not giue that I so long haue sought,
Ne can I hold the riches thou hast found.
Yet take this gift, though poore I seeme to be,
That thou thy selfe shalt neuer poorer be.

Then Juno spake, whose gift was a purse curioslie wrought.

Where force dooth fiercelie seeke to foster wrong,
There Mars dooth make him make a quicke recoile,
Nor can indure that he should harbor long,
Where naughtie wights manure in goodlie soile.
This is the vle that aids the force of warre,
That Mars dooth mend, that force dooth seeke to marre.
And though oh queene thou best a prince of peace,
Yet shalt thou haue me faithfullie sure at need:
The stormes of strife and blustering broiles to cease,
Which forren foes or faithlesse friends may breed.
To conquer, kill, to vanquish and subdue,
Such fained folke, as loues to liue vntrue.

Then after they had marched againe about, Mars gaue his gift, which was a faire paire of knives, and said:

These words were ingraued vpon the knives:

To hurt your foe and helpe your frend,
These knives are made vnto that end:
Both blunt and sharpe you shall vs find,
As pleaseth best your princelie mind.

In vaine (faire queene) from heauen my comming was,
To seeke to mend that is no waie amis:
For now I see thy fauour so dooth passe,
That none but thou, thou onelie she it is,
Whose beautie bids ech wight to looke on thee,
By view they may another Venus see.
Where beautie boasts, and fauour dooth not faile,
What may I giue to thee O worthie wight?
This is my gift, there shall no woe preuaile,
That seekes thy will against thy willes delight,
Not where they will, but where it likes thy mind,
Accept that friend if iotall thou him find.

Then spake Venus whose gift was a white doue.

The doue being cast off, ran directlie to the queene, and being taken vp and set vpon the table before hir maiestie, sate so quietlie as if it had beene tied. Then after they had marched againe about, Apollo presented his gift, which was an instrument called a bandonet, and did sing to the said instrument this short and pithie ditie, as he was plaieng therevpon:

It seemeth strange to see such strangers heere,
Yet not so strange but strangers knowes you well:
Your vertuous thoughts to gods doo plaine appeere,
Your acts on earth bewraies how you excell:
You cannot die, loue here hath made your lease,
Which gods haue sent, and God saith shall not cease.
Vertuous desire desired me to sing,
No subiects suite, though suters they were all,
Apollos gifts are subiect to no king,
Rare are thy gifts that did Apollo call,
Then still reioise, sith God and man saie so,
This is my gift, thou neuer shalt haue wo.

The song of Apollo to the queene.

Most worthie wight, what wouldst thou haue of me?
Thou hast so much, thou canst inioie no more:
I cannot giue that once I gaue to thee,
Nor take awaie the good I gaue before.
I robbed was by natures good consent,
Against my will, and yet I was content.
A Pallas thou, a princesse I will be:
I queene of losse, thou goddesse which hast got:
I sometime was, thou onelie now art she:
I take, thou gainest that lucke that was my lot.
I giue not thee this booke to learne thee aught,
For that I know alreadie thou art taught.

Pallas then speaketh and presenteth hir gift, which was a booke of wisdome.

What art thou (queene) that gods do loue thee so?
Who woon their wils to bend at thy will?
How can the world become thy cruell foe?
How can Disdaine or Malice seeke to kill?
Can sea or earth deuise to hurt thy hap?
Sith thou by gods doost sit in fortunes lap.
As heauen and earth haue vowed to be thine,
So Neptunes seas haue sworne to drench thy foes,
As I am god, and all the waters mine,
Still shalt thou get, but neuer shalt thou lose:
And sith on earth my wealth is nought at all,
Accept good will, the gift is verie small.

Then Neptune spake: his gift was a great artificiall fish, and in the bellie of it a pike, which he threw out before hir maiestie.

Who euer found on earth a constant friend,
That may compare with this my virgin queene?
Who euer found a bodie and a mind
So free from staine, so perfect to be seene?
Oh heauenlie hew, that aptest is to soile,
And yet doost liue from blot of anie foile.
Rare is thy gift, and giuen to few or none,
Maiist therefore of some that dare not say,
More shines thy light, for that I know but one,
That anie such shew, to follow on their waie.
Thou thou art shee, take thou the onelie praise,
For chastest dame in these our happie daies.

Diana presented a bow and arrowes nocked and headed with siluer; hir speach was this.

Accept

Accept my bowe, sith best thou doost deserue,
Though well I know thy mind can thee preserue.

Cupido his speach, his gift an arrow of gold.

Ah ha, I see my mother out of sight,
Then let the boy now plaie the wag a while,
I seeme but weake, yet weake is not my might,
My boiesh wit can oldest folke beguile.
Who so dooth thinke, I speake this but in iest,
Let me but shoot, and I shall quench his rest,
Marke here my shafts: this all is made of wood,
Which is but soft, and breeds but soft good will,
Now this is gilt, yet seemes it gold full good,
And dooth deceiue blind louing people still.
But here is one is seldome felt or seene:
This is of gold, meet for the noblest queene.
Wherefore dame faire, take thou this gift of me,
Though some deserue, yet none deserue like you,
Shoot but this shaft at king or Cesar: he,
And he is thine, and if thou wilt allow,
It is a gift that manie here doo craue,
Yet none but thou this golden shaft maie haue.

There was written vpon the shaft:

My colour, toy, my substance pure,
My vertue such as shall indure.

The quénes behauiour after all this welcomming.

Hir maiestie receiued these gifts verie thankefullie, the gods and goddesses with the rest of the maske marched about the chamber againe, and then departed in like maner as they came in. Then the quéene called vnto hir maister Robert Wood, the maior of Norwich, whom first she heartilie thanked, and toke by the hand, and vsed secret conference: but what I know not. And thus this delightfull night passed, to the ioy of all that saw hir grace in so pleasant plight.

The deuisor is commanded to be readie with his shewes to delight the queene.

On thursdaie in the morning, my lord chamberlaine gaue the deuisor warning the quéene would ride abrode in the after none, and he commanded him to be readie, dutifullie to present hir with some shew. Then knowing which waie the quéene would ride (by coniecture and instructions giuen) the deuisor caused a place to be made and digged for the nymphes of the water, the maner and proportion whereof was in this forme and fashion. First there was measure taken for threescore foot of ground euerie waie, the hole to be made deepe and foure square, which ground was all couered with canuas painted greene like the grasse, and at euerie side on the canuas ran a string through curteine rings, which string might easilie be drawne anie kind of waie, by reason of two great poales that laie along in the ground, and answered the curteine or canuas on each side, so that drawing a small cord in the middle of the canuas, the earth would seeme to open, & so shut againe as the other end of the cord was drawne backward. And in the same caue was a noble noise of musike of all kind of instruments, seuerallie to be sounded and plaied vpon, and at one time they should be sounded all together, that might serue for a consort of broken musike. And in the same caue also was placed twelue water nymphes, disguised or dressed most strangelie, ech of them had either vpon white silke, or fine linnen, greene sedges stitched cunninglie on a long garment, so well wrought and also set on, as scarse anie whit might be perceiued. And euerie nymph had in hir hand a great bundle of bulrushes, and had on hir head a garland of iuie, vnder the which iuie was a coife of mosse, and vnder the mosse was there long goodlie heare like golden tresses that couered hir shoulders, and in a maner raught downe vnto hir middle.

A proper deuise and verie delectable of a caue & twelue water nymphes, &c.

Now touching the beautie of the nymphes, they séemed to be the chosen children of the world, and became their attire so well, that their beautie might haue abused a right good iudgement. For diuerse of those that knew them before (albeit they were bare faced) could scarse know them in their garments, and sundrie toke them to be yong girles and wenches, prepared for the nonce, to procure a laughter. These nymphs thus apparelled, and all things in good plight and readinesse, there was deuised, that at the quénes comming néere the water side (as this caue stood at the brim of the riuer) one nymph should pop vp out of the caue first, and salute the quéene with a speach, and then another: and so till foure of them had finished their speaches, there they should remaine; and when they retired into their caue, the musike should begin: which sure had béene a noble hearing, and the more melodious for the varietie thereof, and bicause it should come secretlie and strangelie out of the earth. And when the musike was done, then should all the twelue nymphs haue issued togither, & danced a danse with timbrels that were trimmed with belles, and other iangling things, which timbrels were as brode as a siue, hauing bottoms of fine parchment, and being sounded, made such a confused noise and pastime, that it was to be wondered at: besides the strangenesse of the timbrels (yet knowne to our forefathers) was a matter of admiration vnto such as were ignorant of that new found toy, gathered and borrowed from our elders. So in order and readinesse stood that shew for the time.

quénes comming néere the water side.

The shew of Manhood and Desert with the furniture declared.

And to kéepe that shew companie (but yet farre off) stood the shew of Manhood and Desert, as first to be presented, and that shew was as well furnished as the other; men all, saue one boy called Beautie; for the which, Manhood, Fauour, and Desert, did striue (or should haue contended) but good Fortune (as victor of all conquests) was to come in, and ouerthrow Manhood, Fauour, Desert, & all their powers, and onelie by fine force (vpon a watchword spoken) should laie hand on Beautie, and carrie or lead hir away. The other tutors troubled with this kind of dealing, should talke togither, and sweare to be in one mind for an open reuenge: and vpon that Fortune should crie Arme, arme. The other side called for their friends, at the which stirre should appeare both their strengthes: but good Fortune should farre in power exceed his enimies. And yet to shew that Destinie (and who best can conquer) shall gouerne all, Fortune should make an offer, that six to six with sword and target should end the brall and businesse. Then six gentlemen on either side with rebated swords and targets (onelie in dublet and hose, and murrion on head) approched and would claime the combat, and deale togither twelue blowes apéece, and in the end fortune should be victor: and then the shot and armed men should fall at variance so sharpelie (vpon mistaking of the matter) that Fortunes side should triumph and march ouer the bellies of their enimies: in which time were legs and armes of men (well and liuelie wrought) to be let fall in numbers on the ground, as bloudie as might be. Fortune, regarding nothing but victorie, marcheth so awaie in great triumph: and then should haue come into the place a song for the death of Manhood, Fauor, and Desert, and so the shew should haue ended.

A bloodie fight and yet harmelesse done by art.

But now note what befell after this great businesse and preparation. For as the quénes highnesse was appointed to come vnto hir coch, and the lords and courtiers were readie to mount on horsebacke, there fell such a showre of raine (& in the necke thereof came such a terrible thunder) that euerie one of vs were driuen to séeke for couert and most comfort, insomuch that some of vs in bote stood vnder a bridge and were all so dashed & washed, that it was a greater pastime to sée vs loke like drowned rats, than to haue beheld the vttermost of the shewes rehearsed. Thus yon sée, a shew in the open field is alwaies subiect to the sudden change of weather, and a number of more inconueniences. But what should be said of that which the citie lost by this cause; veluets, silkes, tinsels, and some cloth of gold being cut out for these purposes, that could not serue to anie great effect after? Well, there was no more to saie, but an old adage, that Man dooth purpose, but God dooth dispose,

All the preparation disappointed by thunder and raine.

The cities losse by occasion of this tempest.

what was deuised to be done by the nymphs at the

to

to whose disposition and pleasure the guide of greater maters is committed. So this thursdaie toke his leaue from the actors, and left them loking one vpon another, & he that thought he had receiued most iniurie, kept greatest silence, and lapping vp (among a bundle of other misfortunes) this euill chance, euerie person quietlie passed to his lodging.

The next daie being fridaie, in which daie the court remoued, the streets towards saint Benets gates were hanged, from the one side to the other, with cords made of hearbs and floures, with garlands, coronets, pictures, rich cloths, and a thousand deuises. At the gates themselues there was a stage made verie richlie apparelled with cloth of gold and crimsin veluet, wher vpon in a close place made theron for the purpose, was placed verie swæt muske: & one readie to render hir this speach following. The dolefull houre of hir departure came, she passed from the court, to those gates, with such countenances, both of hir maiesties part, and hir subiects now dolorous, now chærefull, as plainlie shewed the louing hearts of both sides. When she came there the speach was thus vttered vnto hir in verie plausible sort:

The qnéns departure frō Norwich heauilie taken.

Terrestriall ioies are tide with slender file,
Each happie hap full hastilie dooth slide,
As summer season lasteth but a while,
So winter stormes doo longer time abide:
Alas what blisse can anie time endure?
Our sunshine daie is dasht with sudden shoure.
Could toong expresse our secret ioies of hart,
(Oh mightie prince) when thou didst come in place?
No no God wot, nor can expresse the smart
Thy subiects feele in this departing case.
But gratious queene, let here thy grace remaine
In gratious wise, till thy returne againe.
In lieu whereof, receiue thy subiects harts,
In fixed faith continuallie thine owne:
Who readie rest to loose their vitall parts
In thy defense, when anie blast is blowne.
Thou art our queene, our rocke and onelie staie,
We are thine owne to serue by night and daie.
Farewell oh queene, farewell oh mother deare,
Let Jacobs God thy sacred bodie gard:
All is thine owne that is possessed here,
And all in all is but a small reward
For thy great grace, God length thy life like Noy,
To gouerne vs, and eke thy realme in ioy. Amen.

Note the true hearts of the citizens and people.

These words were deuised by B. Goldingham, and spoken by himselfe, to whome hir maestie said: We thanke you hartilie. Then with the musicke in the same place was song this short dittie following, in a verie swæt voice, to the great delite of the hearers;

A dittie song in a verie swæt voice.

What vaileth life, where sorow sokes the hart?
Who feareth death that is in deepe distresse?
Release of life dooth best abate the smart
Of him, whose woes are quite without redresse.
Lend me your teares, resigne your sighes to me,
Helpe all to waile the dolor which you see.
What haue we doone, she will no longer staie?
What may we doo to hold hir with vs still?
Shee is our queene, we subiects must obaie,
Grant, though with greefe, to hir departing will.
Conclude we then, and sing with sobbing breath,
God length thy life (oh queene Elisabeth.)

Fridaies deuise vpon the remouing of the court.

On fridaie, the court vpon remoue, the citie troubled with manie causes, and some séeking to do seruice like the deuiser, moued him to do somewhat of himselfe, bicause his aids (as manie times they were before) were drawne from him, each one about his owne businesse, and he left to his owne inuentions and policie, at which exigent or casuall things of fortune, he drew his boies vnto him, that were the Nymphs on the water, and so departed the citie, with such garments and stuffe necessarie as fitted his purpose and the matter he went about. Then he chose a ground, by the which the quéne must passe, inclosing his companie in the corner of a field, being defensed with high and thicke bushes, and there some parts he made, which the boies might misse, bicause the time was short for the learning of those parts. But he being resolued to do somewhat might make the quéne laugh, appointed that seauen boies of twelue should passe through a hedge from the place of abode (which was gallantlie trimmed) and deliuer seauen spéeches. And these boies (you must vnderstand) were dressed like Nymphes of the water, and were to plaie by a deuise and degrees the feiries, and to danse (as nére as could be imagined) like the feiries. Their attire and comming so strangelie out, made the quénes highnesse smile and laugh withall. And the deuiser hearing this good hope, being apparelled like a water spirite, began to sound a timbrell, & the rest with him, all the twelue Nymphs togither (when the seauen had repaired in) sounded timbrels likewise. And although the deuiser had no great harting, yet as he durst, he led the yong folish feiries a danse, which boldnesse of his bred no disgrace, but as he heard, was well taken. The quéne vpon their retire in, hasted to hir highnes lodging, which was seuen miles off, and at that present, when the shew ended, it was past fiue of the clocke.

A pleasant deuise to make the quéne laugh.

The deuisers doings well taken of the quéne, &c.

All these shewes finished, hir maiestie in princelie maner marched toward the confines of the liberties of the citie of Norwich, which was supposed almost two miles. Before she came there, maister maior brake to my lord chamberlaine, that he was to vtter to hir maiestie an other oration, whereof my lord seemed to haue good liking: but before they came to the said confines, maister maior was willed to forbeare the vtterance of the same his oration, bicause it was about seauen of the clocke, and hir maiestie had then fiue miles to ride. Neuertheless he gaue to hir maiestie both his orations in writing, which she thanked him for. She also thanked the maior, euerie alderman, and the commoners, not onelie for the great chære they had made hir, but also for the open housholds they kept to hir highnesse seruants, and all others. Then she called maister maior and made him knight: and so departing, said: I haue laid vp in my breast such good will, as I shall neuer forget Norwich; and procéeding onward did shake hir riding rod and said: Farewell Norwich, with the water standing in hir eies. In which great good will towards vs all, I beséech God to continue hir maiestie with long and triumphant reigne ouer vs, Amen.

Maister maior purposing to vtter another oration, is willed to forbeare it, and why, &c.

The maior of Norwich knighted.

The quénes words at hir departing.

Now to come to the returne of the quænes maiestie from Norfolke and Suffolke, in which two counties hir highnesse knighted certeine gentlemen, as namelie in Suffolke George Colt, Philip Parkar, Robert Jermine, William Spring, Thomas Barnardiston, Thomas Kidson, Arthur Hedingham: In Norfolke, Thomas Kneuet, Nicholas Bacon, William Paston, Edward Clére, Rafe Shelton, Henrie Woodhouse, Thomas Gaudie, Robert Wood maior, Roger Woodhouse. These gentlmen hir maiestie knighted, for that they should all their life time after haue the greater regard to God and their prince. Now the quænes maiestie passing from Norwich, she came to sir Roger Woodhouses that night, where she was well receiued, and noblie interteined. From thense to Wood rising at sir Edward Clæres. From thense to sir Thomas Kidsons, where in verie déed the fare and bankets did so exceéd a number of other places, that it is worthie the mention. A shew representing the feiries (as well as might be) was there séene, in the which shew a rich iewell was presented to the quænes highnes. From thense to maister Reuets, where all things were well and in verie good order, and meat liberallie spent.

Gentlemen of Suffolke & Norfolke knighted.

The quénes maiestie departeth from Norwich and is now interteined by the waie.

But now to speake a little by the waie of Gods mightie hand and power, that framed mens hearts so well in manie parts, before the quénes highnesse came to Cambridgeshire, and to tell how blessedlie our great and good God did deale with our dere souereigne ladie, in causing euerie person to shew their dutie, is a matter of great discourse, and of no little weight and comfort to all good minds that shall consider of the same. Such a Lord is our great God,

that

that can frame all things to the best, and such a souereigne ladie we haue, that can make the crooked paths streight where she commeth, & draw the harts of the people after hir wheresoeuer she trauelleth. So from master Reuets hir highnesse came to my lord Norths, who was no whit behind anie of the best for a franke house, a noble heart, and well ordered interteinement. And there was an oration made by a gentleman of Cambridge, with a statelie and a faire cup presented from the vniuersitie, all the ambassadors of France beholding the same. And the gentlemen of the shire (as in manie other places) did beare the quænes meat to the table, which was a great liking & gladnesse to the gentlemen, & a solemne sight for strangers & subiects to looke vpon. From my lord Norths to sir Giles Allingtons, where things were well, and well liked. From thense to sir John Cuts. From thense to M. Kapels, where was excellent good chære & interteinement. From thense to Hide hall, where I heard of no great chære nor banketting. From thense to Rockwood hall, but how the traine was there interteined, I am ignorant of. From thense to master Stonars, and from thense to my lord of Leicesters house, where the progresse ended, & (to knit vp all) the good chære was reuiued, not onelie with making a great feast to the quæne and the French ambassador, but also in feasting solemnelie (at seuerall times) the whole gard, on sundaie and mondaie before the quæne came, at his owne table, vsing such courtesie vnto them for the space of two daies, as was and is worthie of perpetuall memorie. Thus much of the quænes highnesse returne, whom God hath so well preserued, that she like a worthie prince to our great comfort prospereth in peace, to the great disgrace of the enimies of God, and aduersaries of our common weale and countrie, wherin God continue hir maiestie, Amen.

The vniuersitie of Cambridge present a faire and statelie cup to the quæne.

T.C.

The lord of Leicesters bountifull interteinement.

The quænes maiestie, now gone from Norwich, carried awaie with hir all the gladnesse of the citie, which sprang from hir presence; in place whereof succéeded melancholie sadnes: in somuch that the verie aier altered with the change of the countrie chære proceeding from the departure of hir highnes roiall person: which he meant that made these verses, wherwith the description of this progresse shall end.

Ad solem nubibus obductum die lunæ 18. Augusti, 1578.

Splendide Phœbe redi, cur te sub nube recondis?
Innuba Pallas adest, splendide Phœbe redi.
Hasta minax procul est, non Gorgonis ora videbis,
Pallas inermis adest, splendide Phœbe redi.
Scilicet à tanto metuis tibi lumine forsan:
Ne superet radios fœmina Phœbe tuos.
Pulcher Apollo tibi ne sit regina rubori:
Ipse decore tuo vincis, & illa suo.
Euge redux reducem quia pulsa nocte reducis
Phœbe diem: toto est gratius orbe nihil.
Hæc pepulit tetri tenebras noctémque papismi,
Et liquidum retulit religione diem.
Euge nigras nebulas radijs quia sæpe repellis
Phœbe tuis: pene est gratius orbe nihil.
Texuerant remoras discrimina mille papistæ:
Ne cœptum princeps continuaret iter:
Nec tamen hunc nebulæ potuerunt condere solem:
Quamuis tu nebulis cedis Apollo tuis.
Ergò iubar nostrum repulisse obstaculo cernis?
Sic age, sol nebulas lumine pelle tuo.
Splendide Phœbe redi, cur te sub nube recondis?
Innuba Pallas adest, splendide Phœbe redi.

Eiusdem in eandem.

Sustinet, ornat, habet, regnum, literaria, formam,
Prouida, docta, decens, Iuno, Minerua, Venus.
Singula dona trium simul Elizabetha dearum
Prouida, docta, decens, sustinet, ornat, habet.
Esse deas fusi: diuinam dicimus istam:
Quamuis nec liceat nec libet esse deam.

In shadowing clouds why art thou cloth'd? O Phebus bright retire:
Unspoused Pallas present is, O Phebus bright retire.
The threatning speare is flong far off, doubt not grim Gorgons ire:
Unarmed Pallas present is, O Phebus bright retire.
Perhaps thou art afraid: And why? at this so large a light:
Least that a woman should excell, thy beams (O Phebus) bright.
Let not a queene, a virgine pure, which is, and euer was,
O faire Apollo, make thee blush: you both in beautie passe.
O Phebus safe and sound returne, which, banishing the night,
Bringst backe the date: in all the world nothing of like delight:
She, onelie she, the darkenesse driue of popetie quite awaie:
And by religion hath restord the bright and lightsome daie.
O Phebus with thy beams, which foilst the clouds both blind & black,
The world, in maner all, a thing of like delight doth lacke.
A thousand dangers and delaies the papists had deuisd,
To thend our princesse should abridge hir progresse enterprisd:
Yet this our bright & shining sun, cast light through euerie cloud:
Although in clouds thou art content, Apollo oft to shrond.
Thou seest our sunne in comelie course, puts off ech stop and staie:
Do thou the like, and by thy light driue euerie cloud awaie.
In shadowing clouds why art thou cloth'd? O Phebus bright retire:
Unhoused Pallas present is: O Phebus bright retire.

To the sunne couered with clouds vpon mondaie, being the 18 of August 1578.

Hir kingdome all by prouidence, queene Juno doth vphold:
And of Minerua ladie learnd, is learned loue extold:
And Uenus faire of countenance, hath beautie vncontrold.
These sundrie gifts of goddesses three, Elisabeth possesseth:
By prouidence hir peoples peace, and comfort she increaseth:
Hir learning, learning amplifies: hir beautie neuer ceaseth.
I did but iest, of goddesses to giue them three the name:
This ladie maist thou goddesse call, for she deserues the same:
Although she will not vndertake, a title of such fame.

By the same concerning the quæne.

Matthew Hamont burnt at Norwich.

Matthew Hamont, by his trade a ploughwright of Hetharset three miles from Norwich, was conuented before the bishop of Norwich, for that he denied Christ our sauiour. At the time of his appearance it was obiected that he had published these heresies following. That the new testament and gospell of Christ are but meere foolishnelle, a storie of man, or rather a meere fable. Item, that man is restored to grace by Gods meere mercie, without the meane of Christs bloud, death and passion. Item, that Christ is not God nor the sauiour of the world, but a meere man, a sinfull man, and an abhominable idoll. Item, that all they that worship him are abhominable idolaters, & that Christ did not rise againe from death to life by the power of his godhead, neither that he ascended into heauen. Item, that the Holie ghost is not God, neither that there is anie such Holie ghost. Item, that baptisme is not necessarie in the church of God, neither the vse of the sacrament of the bodie and blood of Christ. For the which heresies he was condemned in the consistorie, and sentence was pronounced against him by the bishop of Norwich on the thirteenth date of Aprill, and thervpon deliuered to the shiriffes of Norwich. And bicause he spake words of blasphemie (not to be recited) against the quænes maiestie and others of hir councell, he was by the recorder, master sergeant Windham, and the maior sir Robert Wood of Norwich condemned to lose both his eares, which were cut off on the thirteenth of Maie in the market place of Norwich, and afterwards, to wit on the twentith of Maie, he was burned in the castell dich of Norwich.

The heresies that he held.

In Englishman made a locke and a keie, weieng but one whete corne.

This yeare in the moneth of Maie, Marke Scaliot blacke smith citizen of London, borne in the parish of saint Clements Dane without Temple bar, and now dwelling in Cornehill nére vnto Leaden hall, for triall of workemanship, made one hanging locke of iron, steele and brasse, of eleuen seuerall pèces, a pipe keie filed three square with a pot vpon the shaft, & the bow with two esses, all cleane wrought, which weied but one graine of gold or wheat corne. He also at the same time made a chaine of gold of three and fortie linkes, to the which chaine the locke and keie being fastened, and put about a fleas necke, she drew the same with ease. All which, locke, keie, chaine, and flea, weied but one graine and a halfe. A thing almost incredible, but that my selfe (amongst manie others) haue séene it, & therfore must affirme it to be true.

The bishop of winchester deceased.

The first of June deceased Robert Horne doctor of diuinitie, bishop of Winchester, and prelat of the garter, at Winchester place in Southwarke, and

was

was buried at Winchester. ¶ This man was learned and eloquent, of a round and readie vtterance, sound in religion and zelous in the truth; in testimonie whereof he chose rather to forsake his native soile, and to liue a stranger in a forren land, than with offense of conscience to tarrie at home within the sight and hearing of the manifold abhominations which supported poperie: so that although death haue deuoured his mortall bodie, yet in respect of his vertue and godlinesse, his name shall be immortall; according to the truth of this sentence:

Corpore deposito viuit virtute superstes,
De virtute nihil mors violenta rapit.

John Wolton bishop of Excester.

John Wolton now liuing, was called to be bishop of Excester, & consecrated at Lambith by Edmund Grindall archbishop of Canturburie, in August 1579. He is a professor of diuinitie, and a preacher of the gospell, and vniuersallie séene in all good letters. This William Wolton, being in successiue order the eight and fortith that occupied the said sée, from the first that inioied the same episcopall aduancement, ministreth iust occasion to insert a catalog of all the bishops of Excester as they followed one after another in that sée, being an apt collection, and verie answerable to the description of Excester, and the ancient foundation of saint Peters church there; mentioned in the third yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first, page 1007, and continued to page 1028.

A catalog of the bishops of Excester *collected by* Iohn Vowell *alias* Hooker, *gentleman*.

Werstanus. 1 Werstanus, at a prouinciall synod holden in Westsex, in the yeare 905, was consecrated bishop of Deuon, and had his sée at bishops Tauton: and in the yeare following 906 he died, and was buried in his owne church.

Putta. 2 Putta, after the death of Werstanus, was elected and consecrated bishop, and had his sée at Tauton: and taking his iourneie towards Crediton, to sée and visit the king (or as some saie, Vffa the kings lieutenant) was by the said Vffas men slaine, and then vpon his death the sée was remoued to Crediton.

Eadulphus. 3 Eadulphus, brother to Alpsius duke of Deuon and Cornewall, and founder of Lanceston, was consecrated bishop of Deuon, but installed at Crediton, where he had his sée, and continued bishop two and twentie yeares, and then dieng about the yeare 932, he was buried in his owne church.

Ethelgarus. 4 Ethelgarus, in the yeare 932, succeeded Eadulphus, and in his time king Athelstane subdued the Cornish people, reedified this citie, and compassed the same with a stone wall: he founded the monasterie of saint Peters for monks of saint Benets order. This Ethelgarus, after he had béene bishop ten yeares, died, and was buried in his owne church.

Algarus. 5 Algarus, in the yeare 942 after Ethelgarus, was constituted & installed bishop at Crediton, and hauing béene bishop about ten yeares, died and was buried in his owne church.

Alfwoldus. 6 Alfwoldus, as Matthew Westminster writeth, was next bishop after Algarus, and consecrated by the aduise of Dunstane, in the yeare 952. In this time Odogarus earle of Deuon, and father in law to king Edgar, builded the abbeie of Taunstoke: and king Edgar called home all the monkes of saint Peters which were dispersed, and without anie abbat, and made Sidemannus abbat, who was afterwards bishop. This Alfwoldus after sixtéene yeares that he was consecrated, died and was buried in his owne church.

7 Alfwolfus, as Dicetus affirmeth, was consecrated bishop in the yeare of our Lord 969, and after nine yeares died, and was buried in his owne church. Alfwolfus.

8 Sidemannus of an abbat was made a bishop, in the yeare 978. In this mans time the Danes ouerran and spoiled the whole countries of Deuon and Cornewall, burned the towne of Bodmen, and the cathedrall church of saint Petrokes, with the bishops house. Whereupon the bishops sée was remoued from thense to saint Germans, where the same continued, vntill the remouing and vniting thereof vnto Crediton. Sidemannus in the twelfe yeare after his consecration died, and was buried at Crediton in his owne church 990. Sidemannus.

9 Alphzedus, whome Dicetus calleth Alstieus, abbat of Malmesburie, was consecrated bishop, and installed at Crediton: he was taken for a learned man, because he wrote two bookes, the one intituled *De rebus cœnobij sui*, and the other *De rerum naturis*. In this bishops time, king Ethelred endowed the bishoprike of saint Germans with lands, liberties, and priuileges. The Danes made a freth inuasion in and vpon all Deuon and Cornewall, burned and spoiled the abbie of Ordolphus at Tauestoke: they besieged Excester, and being remoued from thense, were fought withall at Pinneho, about three miles from the citie, and ouerthrowne. Alphzedus, after he had béene bishop about nine yeares, died in the yeare 999, and was buried in his owne church. Alphzedus.

10 Alwolfus (as Dicetus writeth) was the next bishop. In his time Sweno king of Denmarke, by intisement of one Hugh then earle of Deuon, came with a great host and besieged the citie of Excester, tooke it and burned it, and with great cruelties vsed the people, vntill in the end Almarus then earle of Deuon, and the gentlemen did yéeld and submit themselues, and so obteined peace. This Alwolfus about the fiftéenth yeare of his bishoprike, in the yeare 1014 died, and was buried in his owne church. Alwolfus.

11 Arnoldus, by the report of the archdeacon of London, succéeded Alwolfus, and was installed at Crediton. In this mans time, king Canutus gaue to Athelwold abbat of S. Peters of this citie great gifts, and sundrie priuileges, in recompense of his fathers great iniuries. Arnoldus in the fiftéenth yeare of his bishoprike 1030 died, and was buried in his owne church. Arnoldus.

12 Leuigus or Leuingus abbat of Tauestoke, and nephue to Brithwaldus bishop of Cornewall, was chosen the next bishop, and according to the orders then vsed, consecrated and installed. He was in great fauour and credit with king Canutus, vpon whome he attended in pilgrimage to Rome; and after his vncle the bishop of saint Germans being dead, obteined of the king that the bishops sée was remoued from saint Germans vnto Crediton, and both were thereby reduced and vnited into one bishoprike, and so hath euer since continued. Hée was after the death of Brithegus bishop of Worcester, remoued to that church, and there died, and was buried as some suppose: but some affirme, that in the time of Hardicanutus the king, at the accusation of Alfredus then archbishop of Yorke, for that he should be consenting to the death of Alfredus the sonne of Etheldred, that he should be deposed of his bishoprike there, and so did returne vnto Tauestoke, where he died. But Dicetus affirmeth, that he purged himselfe of this crime, and by that meanes was restored, both to the fauour of the king, and to his bi- Leuigus, or Leuingus.

shoprike againe, and died bishop of Worcester. It is recorded that he was bishop of Crediton fiftéene yeares.

Leofricus. 13 Leofricus, a man descended of the bloud and line of Brutus, but brought vp in the land of Lothoringia or Lorreine, was so well commended for his nobilitie, wisedome, and learning, that king Edward the Confessor had him in great fauour, and made him first one of his priuie councell; then lord chancellor of all England: and laklie the bishoprike of this prouince being void, he was made, consecrated, and installed bishop of the same. By him and by his meanes, the bishops sée was remoued from Crediton vnto this citie of Excester: for at his request, king Edward togither with quéene Edith his wife came to Excester, & remouing the monkes from hense to Westminster, did also remoue the bishops sée from Crediton vnto his citie, and did put the bishop in possession. For he conducting the bishop on the right hand, and the quéene on the left hand, brought him to the high altar of his new church, and there placed him in a seat appointed for him. He suppressed sundrie houses or cels of religion within his sanctuarie, and appropriated and vnited them to his owne church; as also by the good liberalitie of the king obteined great reuenues, possessions, priuileges, and liberties to be giuen vnto the church. In this mans time, William duke of Normandie made a conquest of this whole realme, as also in the yeare 1068 besieged this citie of Excester, which after by composition he restored to his former estate againe. Also in his time, Richard de Bzion, a noble man of Normandie, the sonne of Baldwin of Bzion, & of Albred the néece to the Conqueror, was made baron of Okehampton, warden of the castell of Excester, and vicount of Deuon. This Leofricus, after that he had well and worthilie ruled his church and diocesse by the space of three and twentie yeares, he ended his daies in peace, and died in the yeare 1073, and was buried in the cemiterie or churchyard of his owne church, vnder a simple and a broken marble stone, which place by the since inlarging of his church is now within the tower of the same, where of late, in the yeare 1568, a new monument was erected in the memorie of so good, worthie, and noble a personage, by the industrie of the writer hereof, but at the charges of the deane and chapter.

Olbertus or Olbernus. 14 Olbertus or Olbernus, a Norman borne, and brother to an earle named William, was preferred to this bishoprike, and in the yeare 1074 was consecrated and installed to the same. Polydorus writeth, that one Galfrid who ioined with Odo, earle of Kent and bishop of Baion, against William Rufus, should be bishop of Eron: but it was not, nor could not so be. In this mans time, William the Conqueror, and William Rufus his sonne died. This Olbertus or Olbernus, after he had béene bishop thirtie yeares, was blind, and died, and lieth buried in his owne church.

William warlewast. 15 William Warlewast a Norman borne, and chapleine both to the Conqueror and his two sons, William and Henrie: he was a graue and a wise man, and for the same was preferred by Henrie the king to this bishoprike, in the yere one thousand one hundred and seuen, and was consecrated by Anselmus archbishop of Canturburie, in the moneth of August the same yeare. He first began to inlarge his church, which at that time was no bigger than that which is now called the ladie chappell. He founded and builded the monasterie of Plimpton, and placed therein regular canons: in his latter daies he wared and became blind. And yet notwithstanding for his wisdome the king sent him in ambassage vnto pope Paschalis the second, wherein he so wiselie dealed, and so discréetlie behaued himselfe in his message, that he made a reconciliation betweene the pope and the king, and returned with great praise and commendation. Not long after his returne, and hauing small ioie of the world, he gaue ouer his bishoprike, and became one of the religious canons in his owne house of Plimpton, where he died and was buried, he was bishop about twentie yeares.

Robert Chichester. 16 Robert Chichester, deane of Sarisburie, was consecrated bishop vnder Anselmus archbishop of Canturburie, Anno 1128, and the eight and twentith yeare of king Henrie the first. He was a gentleman borne, and therefore estéemed for his zeale in religion, wherein he was deuout according to those daies; and thinking his labours to be best imploied that waie, did essoons go in pilgrimage, sometime to Rome, sometime to one place, sometime to another; and euer he would bring with him some one relike or other. He was a liberall contributor to the buildings of his church. In his time was founded and builded the monasterie of S. Stephans in Lanceston, and furthered by Reinold erle of Cornewall; but vnto it this bishop was an aduersarie, not for misliking the worke, but for feare of an intrusion vpon his liberties. Likewise at this time was builded the priorie of saint Nicholas in Excester, by the abbat of Battell, vnto which abbeie this priorie was a cell. In this mans time also king Henrie made William Rideuers a Norman (and his kinsman) earle of Deuon; and therewith the lordship of Tiuerton, and the honor of Plimpton, togither with the third pennie of his reuenues in Deuon, which in the whole was then thirtie marks, whereof this earle had ten. Also in this mans time king Henrie died, and king Stephan entred, and toke vpon him the crowne, whereof insued great warres. This bishop, after that he had occupied the place two and twentie yeares, died, and was buried in his owne church. But the monke of Westminster writeth that he should be bishop seuen and twentie yeares, and died in the yeere one thousand one hundred fiftie and fiue, but he neuer saw the records of this church which are to the contrarie.

Robert Warlewast. 17 Robert Warlewast, nephue to William the bishop of this church, deane of Sarisburie, was consecrated bishop by Theobaldus archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare one thousand one hundred and fiftie, he nothing degenerated from the steps of his predecessors, but was altogither of the same bent and disposition. In his time king Stephan died, and Henrie the second was crowned king. This Robert after that he had occupied this sée nine yéers or thereabout, died, & was buried at Plimpton by his vncle.

Bartholomeus Iscanus. 18 Bartholomeus Iscanus, otherwise Bartholomew of Excester, was consecrated bishop of Excester vnder Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare a thousand one hundred fiftie nine, he was called Iscanus of Isca, which is one of the ancientest names of this citie. He was a meane citizens son, but being verie apt vnto learning, his parents and friends kept him to schole; and he so well profited therein, that he came and proued to be a verie well learned man: and being bishop he wrote sundrie bookes, as of predestination, free will, penance, and others. Of all men he could not brooke nor fauor Thomas Becket archbishop of Canturburie for his contempt and disobedience against the king, for the which he sharplie improued, rebuked, and inueighed against him openlie in the parlement house holden at Northampton; and with such effectuall reasons, and pithie arguments, he did so temper the same, that the whole parlement relied vnto his iudgement and opinion herein against Thomas Becket. And

after

after his death, such was the grauitie, modestie, and wisedome of the man, that he was specially chosen to be ambassador for the king vnto pope Alexander the third; and so wisely, and with such discretion vsed the same, that notwithstanding his cause and message had manie aduersaries, yet he reconciled the pope and the king, obteined the goodwill and fauour of the pope, and brought his message to good effect. This bishop was in great familiaritie and acquaintance with Baldwin of Excester his countriman, now archbishop of Canturburie, who was a poore mans sonne in this citie; but for his learning aduanced to this estate. In this bishops time, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred three score and eight, William Fitzralfe a citizen of this citie founded a cell for monks within this citie, and dedicated the same to saint Alexius, which not long after was united to saint Johns within the east gate of the same citie. In his time also Reinold of Courtneie a nobleman of Normandie, the son of Elorus the son of Lewes, named Lewes le Grosse king of France came into this land, and married Hawise daughter and heire to Hawd the daughter and heire to Adelis, sister and heire to Richard de Brione the first vicount of Deuon, and in hir right was vicount of Deuon. This Bartholomew, after he had béene bishop about fouretéene yeares, in the yere one thousand one hundred eightie and foure, died: but where he died, and where he was buried it doth not apeere. In this bishops time about the yeare one thousand one hundred and seuentie, one Johannes Cornitensis a Cornish man borne, was a famous learned diuine, he was a student at Rome and other places in Italie, and by that meanes grew into great acquaintance with pope Alexander the third: he wrote diuerse bookes, and namelie one *De incarnatione Christi*, against Peter Lombard, who affirmed, *Quòd Christus secundum quod homo est, aliquid non est*; and this he dedicated to pope Alexander.

John the chanter.

19 John the chanter of the cathedrall church of this citie was consecrated and installed bishop of this church, in the yeare one thousand one hundred eightie and foure, he was well reported of for his liberalitie in continuing the buildings of this church, wherein he was nothing inferior to his predecessors. In his time king Henrie Fitzempresse died, and he himselfe, hauing beene bishop about six yeares, died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred ninetie and one.

Henrie Marshall.

20 Henrie Marshall archdeacon of Stafford, the brother to Walter earle marshall of England, was consecrated bishop by Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare one thousand one hundred ninetie and one; he finished the building of his church, according to the plot and foundation which his predecessors had laid; and that done, he purchased the patronage and lordship of Woodburie of one Albemarlie, which he gaue and impropriated vnto the vicars chorall of his church. In this mans time, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred and one, one Simon Thurnaius a Cornish man borne, brought vp in learning, did by diligence and studie so prosper therein, that he became excellent in all the liberall sciences, and in his daies none thought to be like him. He left Oxenford, where he had beene a student, and went to Paris, and there became a priest, and studied diuinitie, and therein became so excellent, and of so deepe a iudgement, that he was made cheefe of the Sorbonists; at length he became so proud of his learning, and did glorie so much therein, that he would be singular, & thought himselfe to be another Aristotle: and so much he was therein blinded, and waxed so farre in loue with Aristotle, that he preferred him before Moses and Christ. But behold Gods iust iudgement. For suddenlie his memorie failed him, and he waxed so forgetfull, that he could neither call to remembrance anie thing that he had done, neither could he discerne, read, or know a letter of the booke. This Henrie, after that he had spent and liued twelue yeares in his bishoprike, he died, and lieth buried in the north side of the chancell of his church, in a verie faire tome of marble, in the yeare one thousand two hundred and six.

Simon de Apulia.

21 Simon de Apulia, in the yeare one thousand two hundred and six was installed bishop of this see, of him there remaineth no memoriall at all. In his time were famous Joseph Iscanus, and Alexander Neckam; the one was verie well learned in the Latine and Greeke tong, and in the liberall sciences; the other was prior of saint Nicholas, and was an vniuersall man, being a profound philosopher, an eloquent orator, a pleasant poet, and a deepe diuine. In this bishops time the doctrine of elenation, adoration, reseruation, and praieng for the dead, being established by pope Honorius the third, the parish churches within this citie were limited, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred twentie & two. In this mans time, in the yeare one thousand two hundred and twelue, one Johannes Deuonius, so surnamed, because he was borne in Deuon, being well bent to good studies, was much commended for his learning and modestie. He was familiar and of great acquaintance with Baldwin archbishop of Canturburie, and being made abbat of Ford, was in such fauor with king John, that he chose him to be his confessor and chapleine: he was a writer, and compiled diuerse bookes which were then accounted of. Being dead, he was buried in his abbeie, the people much lamenting the want of so good a man. This bishop hauing spent eightéene yeares, died, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred twentie and foure, & was buried in his owne church.

William Brewer.

22 William Brewer, verie shortlie after the death of the foresaid Simon, was elected bishop, and consecrated by Stephan Langton archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred twentie and foure. He was borne and descended of a noble house and parentage, being brother to sir William Brewer knight, the husband of the eldest daughter, & one of the heirs to William de Aerona, erle of Deuon; and who also was founder of the abbeies of Tor, of Hartland, and other monasteries. This bishop so wisely and discréetlie behaued himselfe, that he was had in great reputation among all men, and in special fauour with the king. For king Henrie, hauing giuen his sister ladie Isabell to wife vnto Frederike the emperor, did commend and betake hir to this bishop, to be conueied and conducted to the emperor. And such was the fame and good report spred of him, that as he passed through the countries, they were from place to place receiued with great honor; and being come to the citie of Coleine, the archbishop there did not onelie verie honorablie receiue them, but also accompanied them vnto the citie of Wormes, where the marriage was solemnized. When this bishop had séene the marriage, and all things performed, he toke his leaue, and was dismissed with great presents, and honorablie accompanied homewards by the archbishop and others. At his returne he was totallie receiued of all the noble men about the king, and most thankfullie by the king himselfe, and whome the king vsed as his special and most trustie councellor in all his weightie causes. This bishop being come home to his owne house, and minding (as his predecessors had done) to leaue some good memoriall behind him, he made a deane, and constituted twentie foure prebendaries within his church. To the one he impro-

plated Brampton and Cliton Rawleie: for the others he purchased so much land, as out thereof he assigned to euerie prebendarie foure pounds by the yeare, and of these he ordeined his chapter. Also in this mans time, in the yeare one thousand two hundred and fortie, Gilbert Long and Robert his brother citizens of this citie builded and founded the hospitall of saint Johns, within the east gate of this citie, for the sustenance of certeine poore folks, called afterwards the poore children of saint Johns, & gaue all their lands and tenements to the same, which was sufficient. The yeare following, the cell of Alexius was remoued and adioined to saint Johns; and then the founders being dead, the charge and gouernement of that house was by those founders commended to the maior of this citie, & they thensforth were founders and patrons thereof. In the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred fortie and foure, there grew a contention concerning the poore lazer sicke people of the Magdalen without the south gate of this citie, whose maner and vsage was then, with a clapdish vpon euerie market daie to resort and come to the markets, and there to beg euerie mans deuotion: but by reason of their sicknesse, which was lothsome and abhorred, the peoples deuotion waxed short and scant against them: as also euerie man murmured against their going & begging at large. Where vpon the matter being brought into question betweene the bishop and this citie, it was concluded that a permutation should be made: and that therefore the bishops should be patrones, and haue the gouernement of saint Johns, and the maior and his successors to be gardians and founders of the hospitall of the Magdalen; with a prouiso, that the proctor of the hospitall of the Magdalen should on one daie in euerie moneth come with his box to saint Peters church at the time of seruice, and there receiue and gather the deuotion of the canons, which is vsed at these presents. This poore house remaineth still, but the other for want of good frends was suppressed and dissolued. This bishop, after he had continued in his church about nineteene yeares, he died, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred fortie and foure, and lieth buried in the middle of his owne church vnder a plaine marble stone.

Richard Blondie.

23 Richard Blondie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred fortie and fiue, was consecrated and installed bishop, Bonifacius then being archbishop of Canturburie. This Richard was a man of a mild spirit, but verie stout against such as in his time did offer anie iniurie to the church. And in his old yeares being but a weake man, he was much carried and ruled by such as were his officers and about him, who taking the opportunitie of the time, vsed all the meanes they might to inrich themselues. His cheefest officers were one Lodeswell his chancellor, Sutton his register, Fitzherbert his officiall, and Ermestow the keeper of his seale. These with others of the cheefe seruants of his household compacted among themselues, that whilest the bishop was yet liuing, who then laie sicke and verie weake in his bed, to make and conueie vnto themselues conueiances of such liuelihods as then laie in the bishops disposition; and accordinglie made out aduousons and other such conueiances as to them seemed best, all which were forthwith sealed and deliuered according to the orders among them concluded. But these their subtill dealings were not so closelie conueied, but that the next bishop following boulted and found the same out; and did not onelie reuerse all their doings, but also did excommunicat them, and who were not absolued vntill they had done their penance for the same: which was done at saint Peters church openlie, vpon Palmesun-

daie, being the nineteenth daie of March, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred threescore and seuen. This bishop Richard in the twelfe yeare of his bishoprike, died, and was buried in his owne church.

Walter Wronescome.

24 Walter Wronescome, archdeacon of Surreie, was consecrated bishop of Excester vpon Passion sundaie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred foure score and six vnder Bonifacius then archbishop. He was borne in this citie of Exon, and was the sonne of poore parents; but he being of a verie towardnesse and good disposition, and verie apt to learning, they partlie of themselues, and partlie by helpe of their friends, did put him to schole and kept him to his booke, wherein he proued and prospered so well that he was verie well learned. At the time of his election he was no priest, and therefore not capeable of anie such dignitie: but immediatlie he toke that order vpon him, and forthwith was consecrated bishop. All which being done within fifteene daies, it was counted as for a miracle; namelie, that he should be elected bishop, then made priest, and at last to be consecrated within that space. For so manie dignities (as they termed it) to be cast vpon one man in so short a time, had not beene lightlie seene. He founded the college of Glasenetie in Perrin in Cornswall, and indowed the same with faire possessions and reuenues. He purchased the Barton of Rokesdon and Clist, and gaue it to the hospitall of S. Johns within the east gate of the citie of Excester. He instituted in his owne church the feast called Gabriels feast; and gaue a peece of land for the maintenance thereof. He also did by a policie purchase the lordship and house of Clist Sachilfield, and by a deuise did inlarge the Barton thereof, by gaining of Cornish wood from his deane and chapter: and builded then a verie faire & a sumptuous house, and called it bishops Clist, which he left to his successors. Likewise he got the patronage of Clist Fomeson, now called Sowton, and annexed the same to his new lordship, which (as it was said) was in this order. He had a frier to be his chapleine and confessor, which died in his said house of Clist, and should haue bin buried at the parish church of Faringdon, bicause the said house was and is in that parish: but bicause the parish church was somewhat far off, the waies foule, and the weather rainie, or for some other causes; the bishop willed and commanded the corps to be carried to the parish church of Sowton, then called Clist Fomeson, which is verie neere and bordereth vpon the bishops lordship: the two parishes there being diuided by a little lake called Clist. At this time one Fomeson a gentleman was lord and patrone of Clist Fomeson, and he being aduertised of such a buriall towards in his parish, and a leech waie to be made ouer his land, without his leaue or consent required therein, calleth his tenants together, and goeth to the bridge ouer the lake, betweene the bishops land and his, and there meeteth the bishops men bringing the said corps, and forbiddeth them to come ouer the water. But the bishops men nothing regarding the same, do preese forwards to come ouer the water; and the others do withstand and fall at strife about the matter, so long, that in the end my lords frier is fallen into the water. The bishop taketh this matter in such griefe, that a holie frier, a religious man, and his owne chapleine and confessor should so vnreuerentlie be cast into the water, that he falleth out with the gentleman, and (vpon what occasion I know not) he sueth him in the law, and so vexeth and tormenteth him, that in the end he was faine to yeeld himselfe to the bishops deuotion, and seeketh all waies he could to currie the bishops good will, which he could not obteine, vntill for his redemption

demption he had giuen and surrendred vp his patronage of Sowton with a peece of land, all which the said bishop annexeth to his new lordship. Thus by policie he purchased the manor of bishops Clist, by a deuise gaineth Cornish wood, and by power wresteth the patronage of Sowton. This bishop after he had occupied this see about three and twentie yeares, died and was buried in his owne church, in a sumptuous tome of alabaster.

Peter Quituill.

25 Peter Quituill, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred foure score and one, was consecrated bishop of this church, vnder John archbishop of Canturburie. He first instituted a chanter and a subdeane in his church. To the one he impropriated Painton and Chidleigh, and to the other the rectorie of Eglosehaile in Cornewall, he was a liberall and a speciall benefactor to the hospitall of saint Johns in Excester as well in goods as in liuelihoods, he first began to inlarge & increase his church from the chancell downewards, and laid the foundation thereof. In his time in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred foure score and fiue, Walter Lichlade the first chanter was slaine in a morning as he came from the morning seruice, then called the Matins, which was then wont to be said shortlie after midnight. Vpon which occasion the king came vnto this citie, and kept his Christmasse in the same, and thereupon a composition was made betweene the bishop and the citie for inclosing of the churchyard, and building of certeine gates there, as appeareth by the said composition bearing date in *Festo annunciationis beate Marie* 1286. The king at the sute of the earle of Hereford, who at his being here was lodged in the house of the Greie friers, which then was neere the house of S. Nicholas, obteined of the bishop, that they should be remoued from thense to a more wholesome place, which was to the place without the south gate: wherof after the kings departure grew some controuersie, bicause the bishop refused to performe his promise made to the king. This man also impropriated the parish of S. Newleine, and the parish of Stoke Gabriell, and vnited the same to the office of the chancellor of the cathedrall church; & vnder condition, that the said chancellor should continuallie read a lecture within the said citie, of diuinitie or of the decretals: and if he should faile to doo this, that then it might and should be lawfull to the bishop to resigne the said parsonages impropriated, and to bestow it at his pleasure, as appeareth by the said grant vnder the seales of the said bishop, deane and chapter, dated the twelfe of the calends of Maie 1283. This bishop not long after, and in the eleuenth yeare of his bishoprike, died; being choked in drinking of a sirrup, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred ninetie and two, & was buried in his owne church. The Franciscans or Greie friers of this citie imputed his death to his hard dealing with them. For whereas he had promised the king to prouide a conuenient place for them to build their house in, and had willed their warden named Deodatus, to seeke out and make inquirie for the same: yet notwithstanding when he had so done, bicause the same was in his see, he did swarue from his said promise, and did vtterlie denie to performe the same, by the persuasion of one Peter Benefeld, a Dominican or Blacke frier, and Confessor vnto the said bishop. For he enuieng the good successe of the Franciscans, persuadeth with the bishop, that in no wise he should permit them to inioy the place which they had gotten, nor to build therein; bicause it was within his see: for saith he, as vnder colour of simplicitie they creepe into the hearts of the people, and hinder vs more preachers from our gaines and liuings; so be ye sure, that if the canons put foot within your liberties, they will in time so incroch vpon the same, as that they will be cleane exempted from out of your libertie, and iurisdiction. The bishop being soone persuaded and contented contrarie to his promise to yeeld thervnto, denieth the Franciscans; and vtterlie forbiddeth them to build or to doo anie thing within his see or libertie. About two yeares after, the bishop kept a great feast vpon the sundaie next before saint Francis daie, and among others was present with him one Walter Winborne one of the kings chiefe iustices of the bench; and who was present when the bishop at the request of the king made promise to further and to helpe the Franciscans, and who in their behalfe did now put the bishop in mind thereof, and requested him to haue consideration both of his owne promise and of their distresse. The bishop misliking these speeches, waxed somewhat warme and offended, and in open termes did not onelie denie to yeeld herevnto, but wished himselfe to be choked what daie soeuer he did consent or yeeld vnto it. It fortuned that the same weeke, and vpon the daie of saint Francis eue, the bishop tooke a certeine sirrup to drinke, and in too hastie swallowing thereof his breath was stopped, and he forthwith died. The Franciscans hearing thereof, made no little a doo about this matter, but blazed it abrode that saint Francis wrought this miracle vpon the bishop, bicause he was so hard against them.

Thomas Bitton.

26 Thomas Bitton the yeare following was elected bishop, & the see of Canturburie being void, he was consecrated by John Roman archbishop of Yorke. He left no memoriall of anie great things done by him, sauing that he continued in the building of his church; as also was a fauourer of such learned men as were in his diocesse in his time: namelie Robert Plimpton a regular canon of Plimpton, and professor of diuinitie, and who wrote two bookes, Walter of Eron a Franciscane frier of Carocus in Cornewall, who at the request of one Baldwin of Excester wrote the historie of Guie of Warwike; William of Excester doctor of diuinitie and warden of the Franciscane friers of this citie; Godfrie surnamed Cornewall, a subtill scholeman, and a reader of diuinitie sometimes in Paris. This bishop, after fourteene yeares that he had occupied this see, died, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and six, and was buried in his owne church.

Walter Stapledon.

27 Walter Stapledon, in the yere of our Lord one thousand three hundred and seauen, being elected bishop of this citie, was consecrated by Robert Winchelsei archbishop of Canturburie. He descended of a most noble parentage, which ioined with his learning, wisedome, & politike head, did him great credit and fauour with the king, who had him not onelie one of his priuie councell, but also made him lord treasuror of England. At his inthronization or installing he kept a solemne obseruation. For being come first to the citie, immediatlie after his consecration, as soone as he came to the east gate, he alighted from his horsse, and went in on foot, all the street being couered and laied with blacke cloth; he was led on both sides with two men of worship: and sir Hugh Courtneie knight, who clamed to be steward of his feast, went next before him. The feast it selfe was verie sumptuous and liberall. A controuersie was betweene him & the said sir Hugh Courtneie, concerning his chalenge to be his steward, but it was compounded and ended. This bishop as he grew and increased in wealth, so he was carefull in the well disposing of part therof. For the increase of learning he builded and erected two houses in Oxenford, the one named Stapledons inne, but since Excester college, the other Hart hall. He was also a speciall

ciall benefactor vnto the hospitall of saint Johns in Excester; vnto the which, for the releeuing of certeine poore children therein, he impropriated the rectorie or personage of Ernescome. In the controuersie betweene his maister king Edward the second, and Charles the French king, he was sent ambassadour to the French king, and ioined in commission with the queene, for the treatie of a peace and reconciliation: which though it were obteined, yet he ioining with the Spensers, who fauoured not the queene, he returned into England; leauing the queene behind him. And whereas they practised what they could, to put enimitie betweene the king and hir; and to set hir besides the cushion, they themselues fell into the same snares, which they had laid for others. For not long after, the queene, by the helpe of the earle of Henauld, and of sir John his brother, came into England with a great armie. Whereof the king and the Spensers, being affraied, departed from London to Bristow, leauing the bishop at London, and made him custos of the same; who requiring the keies of the gates of the citie of the maior, the commoners tooke him and beheaded him, as also his brother sir Richard Stapledon, in Cheapside, and carried his bodie to his house without Templebar, & there buried it in a sandhill; namelie the fifteenth of October in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred twentie and nine. But the queene forgetting all discurteses, and reuerencing his calling, commanded his corps to some more honourable buriall: whereupon the same was taken vp, and brought to this citie, and with great solemnitie was buried in his owne church, vpon the eight and twentith of March, where his epitaph by the writer thereof is set. Thus after that he had beene bishop about twentie yeares, he ended his daies.

James Barkeleie. 28 James Barkeleie, vpon the six and twentith of March, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred twentie and seauen, before the buriall of his predecessor in his owne church, was consecrated bishop of this citie. He descended of the noble house of the lord Barkeleie, and albeit he were reputed to be a verie godlie and a wise man, yet he had no time to yeeld the triall thereof. For he died in the fourth moneth after his consecration, vpon the foure & twentith daie of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred twentie and seauen, and was buried in his owne church as some say, but some thinke he neuer came hither at all.

John Grandesson. 29 John Grandesson, being in Italie with pope John the two & twentith. After the death of James Barkeleie, the king presented him vnto the pope, who accepted the presentation, & consecrated him bishop of this diocesse on the eight of October, Anno 1327. He was borne and descended of the ancient house of the Grandessons, dukes of Burgognie, his father was named Gilbert, the brother of Otho the great lord Grandesson. Which Gilbert comming into this land, was well interteined by the king and nobilitie, and had a good liking of the countrie, that by meanes of Henrie earle of Lancaster, with whome he came into England, he married ladie Sibill, daughter and one of the heires to John Tregos, lord of the castell of Etwas, neere Hereford east, and by hir had issue fiue sonnes, and foure daughters; of which this bishop was one, and was borne in the parish of Ashperton, in the diocesse of Hereford. He was from his childhood verie well affected to learning, and became a good scholar and professor of diuinitie, of which method he wrote two books, the one intituled *Pontificales maiores*, and the other *Pontificales minores*. He was also verie graue, wise, and politike, and therby grew into such credit with pope John the two and twentith, that he was not onelie of his priuie councell, but also *Nuntius apostolicæ sedis*; and in all matters of weight and importance an ambassadour for him to the emperour, to the kings of Spaine, of France, of England, and of all others the mightiest princes of christendome. And being on a time sent in an ambassage to king Edward the third, he did with such wisedome and grauitie behaue himselfe, that the king was rauished in loue with him; and did so tenderlie loue and fauour him, that he neuer ceassed, vntill he had procured him from the pope, and then he gaue him the archdeaconrie of Notingham, and bestowed great liuings on him. He made him one of his priuie councell, and in the end preferred him to this bishoprike. After this, there being some disliking betweene pope Clement the first, and the king; he for his approued wisedome was sent in an ambassage to the pope, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred fortie and three, for an intreatie of a peace and an amitie betweene them to be had; and with such wisedome he did his message, that he obteined his purpose, and made a reconciliation. After his returne home to his bishoprike, he was altogither giuen in doing some good things. He builded & founded the college of saint Marie Otreie, and indowed the same with great and goodlie reuenues, he was a liberall benefactor to the vicars choral of his owne church, as also to the college of Glasneie in Perrin; he builded the two last arches in the west end of his church, vaulted the rose of all the church, and fullie performed and ended the buildings of the same, and then inriched his said church with plate, ornaments, and great riches. Also he builded a verie faire house in his sanctuarie at bishops Teington, which he gaue and left full furnished vnto his successors, and did impropriate vnto the same the parsonage of Radwaie, to the end as he setteth downe in his testament, *Vt haberent locum vndè caput suum reclinarent, si fortè in manum regis eorum temporalia caperentur*; and which his halsening in the end came partlie to effect. For not onelie the most part of the temporalties of this bishoprike, but this new builded house and impropriation are come to be the possessions and inheritances of temporall men. This bishop waxed old, and feeling in himselfe a decaie of nature, made his last will and testament, wherein he made such large and bountious legacies to the pope, emperour, king, queene, archbishop, bishops, colleges, churches, and to sundrie persons of high estates and callings; that a man would maruell, considering his great and chargeable buildings & works otherwise, how and by what meanes he could haue atteined to such a masse of welth and riches; but his wisedome and policie considered, it was easie. For first, he sequestrateth from himselfe and out of his house the troope of manie men and horsses, reteining and keeping no more than to serue his reasonable estate; his diet was frugall, his receipts great, his expenses no more than necessarie. Moreouer, he had taken and set an order with all the ecclesiasticall persons of his diocesse, that at the time of their deaths, they should leaue and bequeth all their goods to him or to some other in trust, *In pios vsus*, & towards his chargeable buildings; and so well he was beloued, and his doings liked, that they all accepted this his order: by meanes whereof he grew within the course of fortie yeares to infinite wealth and riches. He was in all his life time a plaine man, and void of all vaine glorie and pompe; and preuenting that none should be vsed at his buriall, commanded the same to be done plainelie & simplie; and that none of his executors, chapleins, seruants, nor none of his household should weare anie mourning blacke cloths at the same, but onelie their accustomable & common apparell, which then was commonlie greie coloured cloths. This

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bishop was no lesse graue and wise, than stout and of courage, if occasion did so require. And amongest other things this is reported of him; that about the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, Simon Meyham, then archbishop of Canturburie, sent his mandatum to this bishop, that he would visit his church & dioceese vpon mondaie next after Ascension daie then following. This bishop (vpon what occasion it is not written) did refuse this mandatum, and apealed from the same, aduertising the archbishop that he should not visit his church nor dioceese. Notwithstanding, the archbishop at the time apointed came to this citie, and went to S. Peters church, nothing thinking that anie durst to withstand him. But the bishop knowing of his coming, goeth to the church dore, meeteth the archbishop, and forbiddeth him to enter into his church; but the archbishop pressing forward, as with force to enter, the bishop being then well garded, denied and resisted him: wher vpon the archbishop departed, and after at a prouinciall counsell holden at London, the archbishop complained hereof, but by meanes of the like discord betweene him & his suffragans, he prevailed not. In this bishops time one William of Excester, a verie well learned man, was a canon of this church; and he ioining with Nicholas de Cesena, Okeham, Wallingham, and others, did openlie preach, that Christ and his apostles were but poore men, and had no temporall possessions: neither was anie emperor or late man subiect to the pope, but onlie in matters of religion. But when he heard that pope John the three and twentith had excommunicated, and would condemne them all for heretikes; this William, to saue his liuings, secretlie shronke awaie from his old companions, and changed his copie, and writeth certeine conclusions against them and his owne preachings. Also in this bishops time, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and fortie, one John of Bampton, so named, bicause he was borne at Bampton, in this dioceese, and a monke of the order of the Carmelites, was a verie good scholar, and first did openlie read Aristotle in the vniuersitie of Cambridge; where he was a scholar; and afterwards he studied diuinitie, and was made doctor: he wrote certeine bookes, which are not extant. This bishop, after that he had occupied this church about two and fortie yeares, he died vpon S. Swithins daie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred sirtie and nine, and was buried in a chappell which he builded in the west wall of his owne church.

Thomas Brentingham.

30 Thomas Brentingham, after the death of this John Grandeson, was at one instant chosen bishop of Excester and bishop of Hereford, who refusing the one toke the other, and was consecrated bishop of Excester vpon the tenth daie of March, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and seauentie, being the feast daie of Nereus and Achilles, William of Worcester then archbishop of Canturburie. This Thomas was a man verie well learned, and experted both in ecclesiasticall matters, and in politike gouernement, and in both these respects greatlie reuerenced and estéemed; and for that cause, at the parlement holden at Westminster, in the tenth yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, was chosen one of the twelue péers of the realme vnder the king. He was a benefactor to the Calenderhaie of the vicars chorall of his owne church, and perfourned and supplied in buildings and otherwise, what his predecessors had left vndone. And hauing bene bishop foure and twentie yeares, he died the third of December, in the yeare of our Lord 1394, and was buried in the north side of the bodie of his owne church.

Edmund Stafford.

31 Edmund Stafford vpon the twentith daie of June, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred ninetie and fiue, was consecrated at Lambeth by William Courtnaie archbishop of Canturburie. He was borne and descended of noble parentage, being brother to Ralfe lord Stafford created earle of Stafford by king Edward the third; he was both wise and learned, and for his wisedome grew into great credit with the king, and was both of his priuie councell, as also lord chancellor of England. At the parlement holden at Westminster, the one and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, he being then speaker of the higher house, made a verie learned and pithie oration, to proue the absolute authoritie of a king: his theme was, *Rex vnus erit omnibus*. And hauing discoursed at large of the authoritie of a king, he did conclude; *Quòd potestas regis esset sibi sola, vnita, annexa, solida*; and whosoeuer did by anie meanes impeach the same, *Pœna legis meritò esset plectendus*. And for the furtherance of good letters, he did increase two fellowships in the college of Stapledons inne in Oxford, reformed the statutes of the house, and altered the name of it, and called it Excester college. After that he had continued bishop in much honor about three and twentie yeares, he died the fourth of September, being the seuenth yeare of king Henrie the fift, and lieth buried in his owne church in a verie faire tome of alabaster.

James Carie.

32 James Carie bishop of Chester, then being at Florence when newes was brought to pope Martin the fift of the said late bishop Staffords death, was there made bishop of this church, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and nineteene, and also consecrated; but long he inioied not his office, for there he died, and was buried.

Edmund Lacie.

33 Edmund Lacie bishop of Hereford was translated from thense vnto this church in the feast of Easter, and in the eight yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the fift, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand foure hundred and twentie. He was a man verie deuout and religious, but subiect to flatterers, who carried him to their pleasure; he was a liberall benefactor vnto the vicar of Calenderhaie. Great contentions were betweene him and the citie for liberties, which by arbitrement were compounded. He founded the chapter house in his owne church. He was a professor of diuinitie, and verie well learned. For in the second yeare of his bishoprike, being the ninth yeare of the kings reigne, there was a parlement holden at Westminster, in which great complaints were made against the lose and dissolute life of the religious men, and especiallie the blacke monks. And this matter being brought to the conuocation house, this bishop as chéefe proloquutor of that assemblie, did make a verie learned and a pithie oration before the king, then of purpose present, and the whole cleargie, much lamenting that the religious men were so far straied from the rules of their professions, and the holinesse of their predecessors. And when he had at large discoursed the same, he deliuered vp certeine articles in writing, praieng for reformation. Which his spéeches were so effectuallie vttered, and his articles so pithilie penned, that both the king and the clergie did not onelie with great liking and allowance praise and commend the same; but also toke order that there should be a prouinciall councell called out of hand for a reformation. Which was then promised, but not performed, by reason of the kings death, which not long after followed. But yet in the waie of good spéed, it was then concluded and agréed, that euerie third benefice, being of the gift of anie of the prelats, or of anie monasterie, should from thenseforth for seauen yeares

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be giuen to some scholar of Oxford or Cambridge. This bishop, after he had liued fiue and thirtie yeares in this bishoprike, died and was buried in the north wall of the quære in his owne church. After whose death manie miracles were said and deuised to be done at his tombe, whereupon great pilgrimages were made by the common people to the same.

George Neuill. 34 George Neuill succéded Edmund Lacie, and was consecrated in the feast of saint Katharine, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fiftie and fiue, he was of a noble parentage, being the second son of Richard Neuill earle of Sarisburie, he finished and ended the chapter house which his predecessor had begun. And after that he had bæne bishop about ten yeares, he was remoued to Yorke, and made archbishop there, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred three score and fiue.

John Booth. 35 John Booth, after the translation of George Neuill to Yorke, was consecrated bishop vnder Thomas Bursher archbishop of Canturburie, vpon the two and twentith daie of Februarie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred three score and six. He was by profession a ciuillian, and a batchelor of the same, he gouerned his church verie well, and builded (as some suppose) the bishops sée in the quære. But being werie of the great troubles which were in this countrie betwæne king Edward the fourth and the earle of Warwike, he remoued from hense to his house of Horsleigh in Hamshire, where in the twelfe yere of his bishoprike he died, vpon the fift of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred seuentie and eight, and lieth buried at saint Clements in London.

Peter Courtneis. 36 Peter Courtneie, immediatlie after the death of John Booth, was presented to this bishoprike, and consecrated by Thomas archbishop of Canturburie in November, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred seuentie and seuen at saint Stephans in Westminster; he was the son of sir Philip Courtnie of Powderham, his mother was named Elisabeth, daughter to Walter lord Hungerford. He for his wisedome and good behauiour was in great fauor & credit with king Henrie the seauenth, by whose means he was translated from this church to Winchester, in the ninth yeare of his being bishop here, and in the fift yeare of his being there he died, vpon the twentith daie of December, in the yere one thousand foure hundred ninetie and one, and lieth buried in his owne church. He finished the north tower of saint Peters, and gaue the clocke bell which is in the same, and which beareth the name Peter.

Richard For. 37 Richard For, vpon the remouing of Peter Courtneie, was consecrated bishop of this church, vnder Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred three score and six. He was a verie wise man, and in great credit and estimation with king Henrie the seuenth, vnto whome he was a faithfull councellor, and of his councell; with whom he acquainted himselfe at Paris, when he was there a student. For king Henrie then erle of Richmond, being at Venice, and aduertised how the nobilitie of England was bent to haue him for their king, came from thense to Paris, and sought vnto Charles then king of France for aid and helpe: in which the earle his sutes this For was a spectall traueller and councellor; and in the end, God giuing the succes, the erle obteined the crowne, and hauing had due triall of the fidelitie, wisedome, & trust of this bishop, he made him lord priuie seale; and kept and vsed him & his aduise in all his weightie matters as well at home as abrode. He being ambassador sundrie times to the kings of France and Scotland, and of a verie hartie good will and loue, the king made him godfather to his second son king Henrie the eight. There was a kind of emulation, betwæne this bishop and the earle of Surreie, both of them being verie wise and of great seruice to the king and commonwealth: howbeit, in some diuersitie of respects, the one hauing no issue to care for, did deale without anie priuat affection or singular gaine; and the other hauing issue, was desirous to aduance his house and honor. These affections did breed some dislike betwæne them two, yet the king finding a faith vnto himselfe, and a commoditie to the commonwealth, misliked it not, if the same exceeded his measure: and they more warme than commendable for their callings and estates. The king then or the councell would deale betwene them for the appeasing and pacifieng of them, and to them he was both friendlie, louing, and liberall. The one he deliuered out of the tower, pardoned him of his offenses, restored him to his lands, receiued him into spectall fauor, made him of his priuie councell, as also lord treasuror of England, and his generall into Scotland, & augmented his liuelihoods. The other he first made bishop to this church, then remoued him to Bath, and from thense vnto Durham, and lastlie vnto Winchester. Erasmus, in his booke intituled The preacher or Ecclesiastes, declareth how that the king vpon a time, wanting some pæce of monie, was to borow the same of the commons, and of the clergie. And for the dealings with the clergie, the matter was by commission committed to this bishop. Who when they came before him, vsed all the excuses that they could, to shift themselues from lending of anie monie. Some came verie sæmelie and well apparelled, and awaited vpon by their men, according to their liuelihoods; and these alledged, that they were greatlie charged in hospitalitie and house kæping, with other charges incident to the same, so that they had no monie, & therefore could paie none. Some came porelie and barelie apparelled, and they alledged that their liuelihoods were but small, and yet their charges were great, and by that meanes the world was so hard with them that they had it not to spare. This bishop, hauing heard all these excuses, vsed this dilemme. To the richer sort he said; Forsomuch as you are so well and sæmelie apparelled, and do kæpe so great houses, and haue all things necessarie about you; it is a manifest argument, that you haue some store about you, or else you would not do as ye do: and therefore yæ must nèds lend. To the other, who pretended excuse of their pouertie, he thus replied vnto them; that forsomuch as they were so bare in their apparell, and so sparing of their expenses, it must nèds be that they saued their purses and had monie, and therefore they must nèds paie, and so adiudged them to lend vnto the prince. Now as he arose by learning, so he was a great fauorer and furtherer of learning: and for the good increase of the same he builded and founded *Corpus Christi* college in Oxenford. In his latter daies he ware and was blind, and dieng in Winchester, he was there buried in his owne church, after that he had bæne bishop of Excester six yæres, he was remoued to Bath, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred ninetie and two.

Oliuer King. 38 Oliuer King, immediatlie vpon the transferring of bishop For, was consecrated bishop of this church, in Februarie, one thousand foure hundred ninetie and two, John Morton then archbishop of Canturburie. This Oliuer was chapleine to king Henrie the seuenth, and deane of Windesor, and register of the order of the garter. In his time were the rebellions of Joseph the blacke smith in Cornewall, and of Perken Warbecke. This bishop after that he had occupied this sée about fiue yeares, he died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred

dred ninetie and seuen, and (as some suppose) he was buried at Windesor.

Richard Redman.

39 Richard Redman, immediatlie vpon the death of bishop Oliuer King, was translated from his bishoprike in Wales to this citie; but after fiue yeares he was remoued vnto the bishoprike of Elie, and installed there in September in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and one. He was a gentleman borne, and descended of a verie worshipfull house, which ioined with his wisedome and learning, did much increase his credit and good report.

John Arundell.

40 John Arundell, next after the translation of bishop Redman, was remoued from Couentrie and Lichfield vnto this citie, and was installed the fiftéenth of March, one thousand fiue hundred and one. Wherein he sought not the preferment for anie liuelihods, but rather desirous to be a dweller and resiant in his countrie where he was borne: for he was descended of the Arundels of Lanherne in Cornewall, a house of great antiquitie and worship. He long inioied not his new bishoprike, for after two yeares after his installing, he had occasion to ride vnto London, and there died, and was buried in S. Clements church without Templebar, in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred and three.

Hugh Oldham.

41 Hugh Oldham, vpon the death of Arundell, by the preferment of the countesse of Richmond and Derbie, vnto whom he was chapleine, was preferred vnto this bishoprike, and installed in the same. He was a man hauing more zeale than knowledge, and more deuotion than learning; somewhat rough in speeches, but friendlie in doings. He was carefull in the sauing and defending of his liberties, for which continuall sutes was betweene him and the abbat of Tauestoke; he was liberall to the vicars choorall of his church, and reduced them to the keeping of commons, and towards the maintenance thereof he gaue them certeine reuenues, and impropriated vnto them the rectorie of Cornewood. He albeit (of himselfe) he were not learned, yet a great fauourer and a furtherer of learning and of learned men. Notwithstanding, he was sometime crossed in his honest attempt therein. He first was minded to haue inlarged Excester college in Oxford, as well in buildings as in fellowships: but after being a requester to the fellowes for one Atkins to be a fellow, in whose fauour he had written his letters and was denied, he changed his mind, and his good will was alienated. About the same time doctor Smith bishop of Lincolne was building of the college named Brasen nose, and was verie willing and desirous to ioine with him: but being denied to haue the nomination of a founder, his mind was changed. Not long after, being aduertised that bishop Fox of Winchester was minded to erect & found a new college, he ioined with him, and contributed vnto him a great masse of monie, and so a college was builded for scholars, and great liuelihods prouided for them: & then the house was named *Corpus Christi* college. Whereof the one of them bare the name of a founder, and the other of a benefactor. Howbeit, some diuersitie was betweene these two bishops at the first, to what vse this college should be imploied. For the founder was of the mind that he would haue made it for a house of monks; but the benefactor was of the contrarie mind, and would haue it for scholars, alleging that monks were but a sort of buzzing flies, & whose state could not long indure; whereas scholars brought vp in learning would be profitable members to the commonwealth, and good ornaments to the church of God, and continue for euer. The founder being a wise man, and of a deepe iudgement, when he had paused and considered hereof, yeldeth hereunto: and so it was concluded betweene them to make and build a college for scholars. And forthwith for the good direction, guiding, and gouernement of the said college and scholars; such wise, good, & politike statutes and ordinances were by good aduise and counsell deuised, established, and ordeined; as whereby the said college hath beene, and yet continueth one of the best nurseries for training and instructing of good scholars in learning within that vniuersitie. This bishop and the abbat of Tauestoke did still contend and continue in law during their liues: and during which suite this bishop died, being excommunicated at Rome, and who could not be suffered to be buried, vntill an absolution from Rome was procured for him. After that he had beene bishop about sixteene yeares, he died the fiue and twentith of June, one thousand fiue hundred and nineteene, and was buried in his owne church.

John Voisie.

42 John Voisie, otherwise Harman, succeeded Oldham, by the preferment of king Henrie the eight, whose chapleine he then was, and deane of his chapell as also of this church; he was doctor of the lawes, verie well learned and wise, and in great fauour with the king, who sent him sundrie times in ambassages to forreine princes; he was lord president of Wales, & had the gouernement of the kings onlie daughter ladie Marie princesse of Wales. Of all the bishops in the land he was accounted the courtlikest and the best courtier. And although he were well reported for his learning, yet better liked for his courtlike behauiour, which in the end turned not so much to his credit, as to the vtter ruine and spoile of the church: for of two and twentie lordships and manors, which his predecessors had and left vnto him, of a goodlie yearelie reuenue he left but three, & them also leased out. And where he found foureteene houses well furnished, he left onelie one house bare and without furniture, and yet charged with sundrie fées and annuities; and by these meanes this bishoprike, which sometimes was counted one of the best, is now become in temporall lands one of the meanest, and according to the forepossessing of bishop Grandeson, a place scarse left for the bishop to laie and rest his head in; and yet neuertheless he was a great fauourer of learned men, and especiallie of diuines, whome he preferred in his church aboue others. He was verie bountious and liberall vnto all men, but especiallie vnto courtiers, vnto his owne kindred and countriemen. Vpon manie he bestowed much, to the confusion of some of them; and vpon the others he spent much by building of a towne called Sutton Colshull where he was borne, which he procured to be incorporated, and made a market towne, and set vp therein making of kearsies, but all which in the end came to small effect. In his time, after the death of king Henrie the eight, there was an alteration of religion by king Edward the first, wherof insued a rebellion & commotion in this diocesse: which in some part was imputed to this bishop, bicause he laie farre from it, and dwelled in his owne countrie. Whereupon he resigned the bishoprike into the kings hands, after that he had beene bishop about thirtie yeares, and liued by the rents of the temporaltie of the bishoprike, which when he alienated and discontinued, he did receiue vnto him for terme of his owne life.

Miles Couerdale.

43 Miles Couerdale, after the resignation of Voisie, was by king Edward made bishop of this citie, & consecrated at Lambeth by Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and fiftie. He was borne in the north countrie, and from his childhood giuen to learning, wherein he profited verie much: he was one of the first which professed the gospell in this land in the time of king Henrie the eight, he

translated

translated the bible out of the Hebrue into English, and wrote sundrie bookes vpon the scriptures. Which doctrine being verie new and strange in those daies, and he verie streightlie pursued by the bishops, made his escape, & passed ouer into low Germanie, where he printed the bibles of his translation and sent them ouer into England, and therof made his gaine wherby he liued. But the bishops, namelie D. Stokesleie bishop of London, when he heard hereof, and minding to preuent that no such bibles should be dispersed within this realme, made inquirie where they were to be sold, and bought them all vp; supposing that by this meanes no more bibles would be had: but contrarie to his expectation it fell out otherwise. For the same monie which the bishop gaue for these bookes, was sent ouer by the merchant vnto this Couerdale, and by that meanes he was of that wealth and abilitie, that he imprinted as manie more and sent them ouer into England; but he was then so narrowlie sought for, that he was driuen to remoue himselfe out of Flanders into Germanie, and dwelled vnder the Palsegraue of Rhene, where he found much fauour. First he taught yong children, and hauing learned the Dutch tong, the prince Palatine gaue him a benefice, named Burghsaber, where he continued and liued verie well, partlie by that benefice, and partlie by the liberalitie of the lord Cromewell, who was his good lord and reléeued him verie much. At length, when the religion was altered in England, and the gospell had a free passage, he returned & did verie much good in preaching of the same. And when the commotion in Deuon was for religion, he was appointed to attend the lord Russell, when he came to suppresse the same, and verie shortlie for his learning and godlie life was made bishop of this see; who most worthilie did performe the office committed vnto him. He preached continuallie vpon euerie holie daie, and did read most commonlie twise in the weeke in some one church or other within this citie. He was after the rate of his liuings a great kéeper of hospitalitie, verie sober in diet, godlie in life, friendlie to the godlie, liberall to the poore, and courteous to all men, void of pride, full of humilitie, abhorring couetousnesse, and an enimie to all wickednesse and wicked men: whose companies he shunned, and whom he would in no wise shrowd or haue in his house and companie. His wife a most sober, chast, and godlie matrone; his house and houshold another church, in which was exercised all godlinesse and vertue. No one person being in his house, which did not from time to time giue an account of his faith and religion, and also did liue accordinglie. And as he had a care for the succesle in religion, so had he also for the direction of the gouernement in ecclesiasticall causes. And bicause he was not skilfull therin, neither would be hindered from his godlie studies, and be incombered with such worldlie matters, which neuertheles he would haue be done in all vprightnesse, iustice, and equitie; he sent to Oxford for a learned man to be his chancellor, and by the ministerie of the writer hereof he procured and obteined one maister Robert Weston doctor of the ciuill law, & afterwards lord chancellor of Ireland, vnto whome he committed his consistorie, and the whole charge of his ecclesiasticall iurisdiction; allowing vnto him, not onelie all the fées thereunto apperteining, but also lodged and found him, his wife, familie, horsse, and man, within his owne house, and gaue him a yearelie pension of fortie pounds. And surelie the bishop was no more godlie and carefull of his part, concerning preaching; but this man also was as diligent and seuere in doing of his office, without reproch of being affectionated or corrupted. And notwithstanding this good man, now a blamelesse bishop, liued most godlie and vertuous: yet the common people, whose old bottels would receiue no new wine, could not brooke nor digest him; for no other cause, but bicause he was a preacher of the gospell, an enimie to papistrie, & a married man. Manie deuises were attempted against him for his confusion, sometimes by false suggestions, sometimes by open railings, and false libels; sometimes by secret backbitings, and in the end practised his death by imposoning: but by Gods prouidence the snares were broken and he deliuered. After that he had béene bishop about three yeares king Edward died, and then quæne Marie hauing the crowne, the religion was altered, and he deprsiued. And notwithstanding the malice of prelats and archpapists was most bitter against him, and who had sworne his death: yet by the goodnesse of God he was most miraculouslie preserued, and deliuered from out of their hands, at the sute and by the meanes of the king of Denmarke: who so earnestlie sued, & so often wrote to the quæne for him, that he was deliuered and sent vnto him; with whome after that he had staied a while, he went againe into Germanie to the Palsgraue, who most louinglie receiued him, placed him againe in his former benefice of Burghsaber, where he continued vntill the death of quæne Marie. And then the preaching of the gospell being againe receiued, & hauing a free passage, he returned into England; but would neuer returne to his bishoprike, notwithstanding it was reserued for him, & sundrie times offered him; but liued a priuat life, continuing in London, preaching & teaching the gospell, so long as the strength of his bodie would permit; and at length being verie old and striken in yeares, he died, and was honorablie buried at saint Magnus church in London.

44 John Aolsete, after the deprsuation of Miles Couerdale, was restored to this church, and for the better setling of the Romish religion did here staie for a while: but his mind was addicted to his owne countrie, that he returned thither, and made his onlie abode there, practising there what he could, to haue the making of kersies to come to some effect; but the same being more chargeable than profitable, came to small proofe. This man being verie old died in his owne house, with a pang, and was buried in his parish church there, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and fiue. John Aolsete.

45 James Troblefield succéeded bishop Aolsete, and was consecrated in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fiftie & six, he was a gentleman borne, and of a good house, verie gentle and courteous; he professed diuinitie, but most zelous in the Romish religion, & yet nothing cruell nor bloudie. And yet that he might not séeme to do nothing, he was contented to prosecute and condemne a giltlesse poore séelie woman, named Agnes Prest for religion and hereste, & who was burned in Southingham for the same. It was laied to hir charge (as doth appeare by an indictment taken at Lancester, *Die lunæ in quarta septimana quadragesimæ, anno Philippi & Mariæ secundo & tertio*, before William Stanford then iustice of the assise) that she should denie the reall presence in the sacrament of the altar, and that the same was but a signe and a figure of Christs bodie, and that none doth eat reallie the bodie of Christ but spirituallie. He was verie carefull to recouer some part of the lands of his bishoprike, which his predecessor wasted, and did obteine of quæne Marie, to him and to his successors, the fee farme of the manor of Crediton. After that he had béene bishop about two yeares, quæne Marie died; and he was deprsued, and liued after a priuat life. James Troblefield.

46 William Alleie, in the second yeare of quæne Elisabeth, was chosen bishop, and installed the first of August, William Alleie.

August, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred sixtie and one. In all quéene Maries time, which were called the Marian daies, he trauelled from place to place in the north countrie, where he was not knowne; and sometimes by practising of physike, and sometimes by teaching of scholars, he picked out a poore liuing for himselfe and his wife, and so continued, being not knowne to haue béene a priest, during all quéene Maries time: after whose death he went to London, and there did read diuinitie lecture in Paules verie learnedlie, and to his great commendation; and from whense he was taken and made bishop of this citie. He was verie well learned vniuersallie, but his chiefe studie and profession was in diuinitie, and in the tongs. And being bishop, he debated no part of his former trauels, but spent his time verie godlie and vertuouslie. Upon euerie holie daie (for the most part) he preached, and vpon the wéeke daies he would and did read a lecture of diuinitie; the residue of his time, and free from his necessarie businesse, he spent in his priuat studies, and wrote sundrie books, whereof his prelections or lectures which he did read in Paules, and his poore mans librarie he caused to be imprinted: the like he would haue done with his Hebrue grammar, and other his works, if he had liued. He was well stored, and his librarie well replenished with all the best sort of writers, which most gladlie he would impart and make open to euerie good scholar and student, whose companie and conference he did most desire & imbrace. He séemed at the first appérance to be a rough and an austere man, but in verie truth, a verie courteous, gentle, and an affable man; at his table full of honest spéeches, ioined with learning and pleasantnesse, according to the time, place, and companie. All his exercises, which for the most part was at bowles, verie merrie and plesant, void of all sadnesse, which might abate the benefit of recreation; loth to offend, readie to forgiue, void of malice, full of loue, bountifull in hospitalitie, liberall to the poore, and a succourer of the néedie, faithfull to his friend, and courteous to all men; a hater of couetousnesse, and an enimie to all euill and wicked men, and liued an honest, a godlie, and vertuous life. Finallie, he was indued with manie notable good gifts and vertues, onelie he was somewhat credulous, of a hastie beléefe, and light of credit, which he did oftentimes mislike & blame in himselfe. In his latter time he waxed somewhat grosse, and his bodie full of humors, which did abate much of his wonted exercises: and hauing béene bishop about eight yeares, he died the first of Aprill one thousand fiue hundred and seauentie, and was buried in his owne church.

William Bradbridge.

47 William Bradbridge, deane of Sarisburie, was the next bishop, and consecrated at Lambeth by Matthew Parker archbishop of Canturburie, the eightéenth of March one thousand fiue hundred and seauentie: he was a professor of diuinitie, but not taken to be so well grounded as he persuaded himselfe, he was zelous in religion, but not so forwards as he was wished to be. In his latter daies he delighted to dwell in the countrie, which was not so much to his liking, as troublesome to his clergie, & to such as had anie suites vnto him. It was thought he died verie rich, but after his death it proued otherwise: he died suddenlie, no bodie being about him, at Newton Ferris, the ninth yeare of his bishoprike, vpon the nine and twentith of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord 1578, and was buried in his owne church. Thus farre the collection of Iohn Hooker, agréeing with the records.]

I. Stow.

The seuentéenth daie of Julie the quénes maiestie being on the riuer of Thames, about nine of the clocke at night (betwixt hir highnesse manour of Gréenewich & Dartford) in hir priuie barge, accompanied with the French ambassador, the earle of Lincolne, and maister vicechamberlaine; it chanced that one Thomas Appletrée, a yong man, and seruant to maister Henrie Carie, with two or three others, being in a bote on the Thames, rowing vp and downe betwixt the places aforenamed: the foresaid Thomas had a caliuer or harquebus charged with bullet, and shooting at random, by misfortune shot one of the watermen, being the second man next vnto the bales of the said barge (which sat within sir fot of hir highnesse) cleane through both armes, and moued him out of his place. For the which fact the said Thomas being apprehended and condemned to death, was on the one and twentith of Julie brought to the water side, where was a gibbet set vp, directlie placed betwixt Dartford and Gréenewich. But when the hangman had put the halter about his necke, the right honorable sir Christopher Hatton capteine of the gard, and one of hir maiesties priuie councell, shewed the quénes maiesties most gratious pardon, and deliuered him from execution. This yeare John Fox of Woodbridge, William Wicknele of Portsmouth, and Robert Moze of Harwich Englishmen, hauing béene prisoners in Turkie about the space of thirtéene or foureténe yeares, with more than two hundred and sixtie other christians of diuerse nations, by killing their kéeper, marueilouslie escaped, and returned into their natiue countries.

A traitorous fact of Thomas Appletrée.

John Fox an Englishman deliuered two hundred and three score christians frō captiuitie of the Turke.

This yeare in the moneths of September and October fell great winds and raging floods in sundrie places of this realme, as in the towne of Newport: the cotages were borne downe, the corne lost, pasture ground ouerwhelmed, and cattell drowned. In the towne of Bedford the water came vp to the market place, where cupbords, chests, stoles, and fourms swam about the houses; their fewell, corne and hate was wracke & borne awaie. Also the towne of saint Edes in Huntingtonshire was ouerflowed suddenlie in the night, when all men were at rest; & the waters brake in with such force, that the towne was almost all defaced; the swans swam downe the market place, and all the towne about the botes did flote. The towne of Gormanchester was suddenlie surprest, their houses flowed full of water, when men were at rest, and their cattell with other things were destroied.

winds and high waters.

The one and twentith of Nouember, sir Thomas Gresham knight agent to the quénes highnesse, who had in his life built the rotall Exchange in London, betwéene six and seuen of the clocke in the euening, comming from the same Exchange to his house (which he had sumptuouslie builded) in Bishopsgate stréet of London, suddenlie fell downe in his kitchin, and being taken vp was found spéechlesse, and presentlie dead, who afterwards was solemnlie buried in his owne parish church of saint Helen there, where he had prepared for himselfe a sumptuous tome or monument, without anie epitaph or inscription thereupon. This sir Thomas Gresham in his testament (which long before his death he had ordeined) bequeathed diuerse large legacies not yet performed.

Anno reg. 22.

Sir Thomas Gresham deceassed.

The eight and twentith daie of March, one Francis alias Marmaduke Glouer was hanged on a gibet set vp for that purpose by the standard in Cheape, for wilfullie murthering sergeant Grace after he was by him arrested. Also on the nert morrow, being the nine and twentith daie of March, the same gibet was set vp at Hog lane end vpon east Smithfield, nére vnto the tower of London, thereon to haue

1580

Glouer a murtherer hanged in Cheape.

Dod executed for murther.

haue hanged one Richard Dod for murthering of mistresse Skinner a widow, in hir house there by. But sir Owen Hopton lieutenant of the tower, cõmanding the officers perteining to the shiriffes of London backe againe to the west side of the crosse, toke the shiriffe of the out shire with the prisoner into an house, and after long talke brought the prisoner forth againe, & deliuered him to the officers, to be by them brought backe to London. Then he caused the gibet to be taken downe and carried awaie at his pleasure, and without further contention (to my knowledge) the said Richard Dod was in the after noone of the same date hanged at Tiborne.

A great earthquake.

On the first of Aprill, being wednesdaie in Easter weeke about six of the clocke toward euening, a sudden earthquake happening in London, and almost generallie throughout all England, caused such an amazednesse among the people as was wonderfull for the time, and caused them to make their earnest praiers to almightie God. The great clocke bell in the palace at Westminster strake of it selfe against the hammer with the shaking of the earth, as diuerse other clocks & bels in the steeples of the citie of London and elsewhere did the like. The gentlemen of the Temple being then at supper, ran from the tables, and out of their hall with their kniues in their hands. The people assembled at the plaie houses in the fields, as at the Whoreater (the Theater I would saie) were so amazed, that doubting the ruine of the galleries, they made hast to be gone. A peece of the temple church fell downe, some stones fell from saint Paules church in London: and at Christs church neere to Newgate market, in the sermon while, a stone fell from the top of the same church, which stone killed out of hand one Thomas Grete an apprentise, and an other stone fell on his fellow seruant named Mabell Gueret, and so brused hir that she liued but foure daies after. Diuerse other at that time in that place were sore hurt, with running out of the church one ouer another for feare. The tops of diuerse chimneies in the citie fell downe, the houses were so shaken: a part of the castell at Bishops Stratford in Esser fell downe. This earthquake indured in or about London not passing one minute of an houre, and was no more felt. But afterward in Kent, and on the sea coast it was felt three times; as at Sandwich at six of the clocke the land not onelie quaked, but the sea also somed, so that the ships tottered. At Douer also the same houre was the like, so that a peece of the cliffe fell into the sea, with also a peece of the castell wall there: a peece of Saltwood castell in Kent fell downe; and in the church of Hide the bels were heard to sound. A peece of Sutton church in Kent fell downe, the earthquake being there not onlie felt, but also heard. And in all these places and others in east Kent, the same earthquake was felt three times to moue, to wit, at six, at nine, and at eleuen of the clocke. The nineteenth daie of Aprill the ferrie at Lambeth was drowned with fiue men and foure horsses; other two men and fiue horsses swam to land and were saued.

A water quake.

A ferrie drowned.

William Lambe esquier deceased, his almesdeeds.

On the one and twentith of Aprill, in the yeare 1580 departed this life master William Lambe esquier, sometime gentleman of the chappell in the reigne of king Henrie the eight, citizen of London, and free of the clothworkers. Of this mans almesdeeds and manifold charities, some before, some since his death put in effectuall practise, thus reporteth a memoriall recorded in print, agreeing in truth with his last will and testament: an extract whereof for others imitation is necessarilie here to be inserted. This gentleman remembring that learning bringeth preferment, yea euen to them which are put baselie borne, as it pleased God to moue him by his good and gratious spirit, he proued himselfe by testimonials of his doings a louer of learning, and a fauourer of euerie honest profession. For in the towne of Sutton Ualens in Kent, this worshipfull gentleman at his owne costs and proper expenses erected a grammar schole for the education of youth in the feare of God, in good maners, in knowledge and vnderstanding.

The erection of a grammar schole & necessarie allowance to the maister and vsher.

He also weieng with himselfe, that the labourer ought of right to haue his hire; and that, no man goeth to warre of his owne proper charge, besides other commodities which he thought meet and necessarie, hath allowed the maister twentie pounds, and the vsher ten pounds, from time to time, as either place shall be supplied by succession, for their yearelie stipends and perpetuall pensions. To continue the rehersall of his good deeds in Sutton aforesaid, note his tender & pitifull heart toward the poore, for whose sustentation, maintenance, and releefe, he hath builded six almes houses for the impotent, and hath giuen six pounds to be yearelie paied vnto them for their necessarie prouision. Moreouer, besides this charitable deed, to keepe still within the compasse of Kent, marke the singular loue which this gentleman did beare vnto learning; for the furtherance wherof, and the more incouragement of poore scholers, he hath giuen to the schole of Maidstone ten pounds a yeare for euer, with this caueat or prouiso, that needie mens children should be preferred to the enioieng of this singular benefit.

Almes houses built for the poore.

Allowance for poore mens children to be kept at schole.

That this gentleman had not onelie a regard for the seed-plots of learning, to haue them watered with the springs of his bountie: but also a prouident eie, and a carefull hart for the profit of the commonwealth, the particulars following substantiallie do proue. For, seeing in his life time the decaie of sundrie trades, the ruine of diuerse occupations, and other inconueniences, which are like to grow to the vndoing of a multitude, except by policie they be preuented: of a meere affection (if I said fatherlie I were not controllable) he hath freelie giuen to the poore clothiers in Suffolke, to the poore clothiers of Bridgenorth in Shropshire, and to the poore clothiers at Ludlow in the said countie, three hundred pounds, to be paid by euen portions, to each seuerall towne of the said counties one hundred pounds a peece, for their supportation and maintenance at their worke and occupation. So litle esteemed he the mucke of this world, in respect of doing good, specially when he saw old age drawing him to his graue: of which mind it were to be wished all richmen would be (whom God hath made his stewards) when they war croked & bow backt, and (as the poet saith)

Obrepit canis rugosa senecta capillis.

The common wealth remembred.

A relese to poore clothiers in diuerse places.

Furthermore, the well of his weldoing not yet waring drie, but yelding liquor of relefe verie largelie, hath watered other places. For, as the countrie, so likewise the citie (the citie I meane of London) hath cause, yea iust cause with open mouth to magnifie the goodnesse of God, so mightilie working in this praisewothie esquier. The memorable monuments, which shall liue when he is dead, and shall flourish when he is rotten, are witnesses of the loue, which he being a citizen bare vnto this citie. For, let vs begin with the conduit which he of his owne costs, not requiring either collection or contribution, founded of late in Holborne, not sparing expenses so it might be substantiall, not pinching for charges so it might be durable and plentifull, as they can testifie which saw the seeking of the springs, the maner of making the trenches, the ordering of the pipes, lieng in length from the head to the said conduit, more than two thousand yards: and finallie, the framing of euerie necessarie appur-

London the better by master Lambe.

A remembrance of Holborne conduit founded and finished in An. 1577.

tenance

The wast water at the bridge running at the Standard.

tenance thereunto belonging. Besides this, means is made, by a standard with one cocke at Holborne bridge to conuey the wast, which doth such seruice, the water thereof being both sweet, pleasant, and wholsome, as neither rich nor poore can well misse. Which great worke as he aduisedlie attempted, so he commendablie finished, hauing disbursed therabouts, of his owne costs & charges, to the sum of 1500 pounds.

Prouident considerations.

And yet further note the wisedome and prouidence of this gentleman, who considering that the right vse of a good thing might cut off manie occassions of vnthriftines and idlenesse, and knowing that we are placed in this world to follow the vocation wherevnto we are called: besides that, seeing the hardnesse of this age wherein we liue, that manie would worke if they had meanes, manie neglect and care not for worke though they haue meanes, some would willinglie withstand pouertie if they might, some had rather beg and do worse than giue themselues to labour, hath béene thus beneficiall to poore women that are glad to take pains, as to bestow vpon them a hundred and twentie pales, wherewith to carrie and serue water: an honest shift of liuing, though somewhat toilesome. To descend and come downe to other his almesdeeds, you shall vnderstand that he being a member of the right worshipfull corporation and societie of Clothworkers, was not forgetfull of that companie, vnto whome he hath giuen his dwelling house in London, with other lands, and tenements, to the value of thirtie pounds or thereabouts, by them to be thus bestowed: to wit, for the hiring of a minister to read diuine seruice thrise a weeke, that is, euerie sundaie, wednesdaie, and fridaie throughout the yeare, in the chapell or church belonging to his house, called by the name of saint James in the wall by Criplegate: and for foure sermons there yéerelie to be made and preached, a competent allowance.

Poore women benefited by the conduit.

The right worshipfull Clothworkers remembred.

Allowance for foure yearelie sermons.

Out of which sum also of thirtie pounds, it is prouided that a deduction be made by the said Clothworkers, for apparelling twelue men, and as manie women, in forme as followeth: that is to saie, to euerie one of the twelue men one freeze gowne, one locorum shirt, & a good strong paire of winter shoes: to twelue women likewise one freeze gowne, one locorum smocke, & a good strong paire of winter shoes, all readie made for their wearing: remembred alwaies that they must be persons both poore and honest, vnto whome this charitable deed ought to be extended. Prouided also, that the execution hereof be done the first date of October, orderlie from yeare to yeare for euer whiles the world doth last. Moreouer, he hath giuen to those of his companie foure pounds freelie, not for a time, but perpetuallie: and thus doth his bountifulnesse manie waies appeare. To the parish of S. Giles without Criplegate, he hath giuen fifteene pounds to the bels and chime, hauing meant (as it seemeth if they had taken time) to be more liberall in that behalfe. The said bels & chime were in his life, & also after his deth kept in good order according to his will: but afterwards vpon occasion some of them newlie cast became ill of sound & out of tune: a fault in some which would be amended. The poore of the parish aforesaid, by their relefe in his life time secretlie ministred, haue iust cause to lament the losse of this right bountifull almoner. For by his means their succour was the more: now it is to be feared it will be so much the lesse, by how much it may be supposed he increased their relefe. Thus regarded he not so much his priuat thrift, as the cómon good, giuing therein to the world a testimonie of christian prudence, whose nature is to prefer the benefit of manie before the profit of one, according to that of the poet:

Publica priuatis qui sapit anteferet.

Euerie poore man and poore woman a shirt, a smock, a gowne, and a paire of shoes, &c.

Saint Giles without Criplegate benefited.

His gentlemans distributions are so diuerse, and so manie, that the rehersall of them requireth a large discourse. It is well knowen, and that can the worshipfull companie of the Stationers witnesse, that this gentleman, for the space of these foureteene or fifteene yeares, whiles he liued, was pitifull to the poore of the parish of S. Faiths, and other parishes: in which said parish church, euerie fridaie ordinarlie throughout the yeare, distribution was made of their allowance by the hands of the said worshipfull Stationers, to whome that charge was and is committed: namelie, to twelue poore people twelue pence in monie, and twelue pence in bread. Neither is this charitable déed laid aslæpe, but continued euen to the worlds end, for the perpetuall succor of the poore and impotent, a legacie of fiue pounds, thirteene shillings and foure pence, allowed to that end; the bestowing whereof is in the hands of the said worshipfull societie of Stationers, the distributors of this almesse to the poore: who are put in mind to praise God for that prouision, in this request of the benefactor grauen in mettall, and fixed fast in the wall hard by his towne:

Relefe for the poore people. M. Lambes loue to the worshipfull Stationers.

Perpetuall prouision for the poore.

I praie you all that receiue bread and pence,
To saie the Lords praier before ye go hence.

As for Christes hospitall, vnto the which he hath prooued himselfe a fatherlie benefactor, towards the bringing vp of the poore children, he hath giuen fiue pounds, which they shall inioie for the terme of fiue hundred yeares. Moreouer (marke the rare liberalitie of this vertuous gentleman) he hath giuen to the said hospitall one hundred pounds in readie monie, wherewith to purchase lands, that their relefe, by the reuenues of the same, might be perpetuall: a notable deed, and an vndoubted worke of perfect christianitie. As for S. Thomas spitle in Southwarke, toward the succour of the sicke and diseased, he hath giuen foure poundes yearelie, and for euer: so that we may see in all his procéedings with what mercie he was moued, with what pitie pricked: and finallie, in all respects how godlie giuen. And here by the waie it is to be noted, that wheras it was reported, that he gaue to the hospitall, commonlie called the Sauoie, founded by king Henrie the seuenth, to purchase lands for the behoofe of the said hospitall, one hundred pounds in monie: it is nothing so. For his beneficence towards that hospitall was staid, not thorough anie default in him; but bicause such agréements could not be concluded vpon, as he reasonablie required. Wherefore his contribution that waie ceased, fore (I dare saie) against his godlie will. Thus much I was desired to speake touching that matter, to the intent that nothing but plaine truth might be reported, with the contrarie whereof he was not a little offended.

Relefe for Christes hospitall.

I purchase for the said hospitall.

Relefe for S. Thomas spittle.

Why he staid his beneficence from the hospitall of the Sauoie.

And although offendors deserue rather to be punished than fauoured, wherevpon by politike gouernement it is prouided, that their bodies apprehended, be committed to appointed places of imprisonment: yet this good gentleman remembring that the holie Ghost willeth vs not to withdraw our hand from anie of our brethren in distresse, considering that charitie should not be partiall but indifferent, hath for the releefe of the poore prisoners of the two Counters, of Newgate, of Ludgate, of the Marshalsie, of the Kings Bench, and of the white Lion, dealt verie bountifullie, and discréetlie: giuing vnto the two Counters, fiue pounds to be paied vnto them both by twentie shillings a moneth: and to the other prisons aboue mentioned, fiue mattresses a peece, the whole number being two dozen and a halfe. In consideration of which charitable déed, how dæpelie they are bound, if they haue anie sparkle of grace, to thanke God for his goodnesse shewed vnto them by the ministerie of this gentleman, all the world maie perceiue.

Prisons for offendors.

Relefe for poore prisoners.

A charitable worke indeed.

ceiue. It were iniurie offered, to let slip vnremembred his mindfulnesse of poore maides marriages: and how willing he was to helpe them, it appeareth by his good gift of twentie pounds to be equallie diuided among fortie such in number by equall portions of ten shillings a peece: with this caueat, that these poore maides so to be married, should be of good name and fame: wherein marke how in all his bequests, wisedome is ioined as a yokefellow with his bountie.

Marriage monie for poore maids.

Lastlie, and for conclusion, this discréet gentleman, carried awaie with the zeale of a good conscience, tendering the state of his seruants, left them also at a reasonable good staie. For besides their halfe yeares board frælie giuen and granted, he hath béene beneficiall to them in diuerse other respects, which I passe ouer vnremembred. But alas! these sorowfull seruants do not a little lament the losse of so louing a maister. I omit the hundred & eight frése gownes readie made, which he bequeathed at his funerall to poore people, both men and women: with the dispersing of the remnant of all his goods after his buriall, where need and reason required. And thus you see what monuments this gentleman hath left behind him, to beare witnesse to the world of the fruitfulnesse of his faith: which if (as saint James saith) it maie be iudged by workes, and that it is a dead and a barren faith which declareth not it selfe by déeds: then the sequele maie be this, that the faith wherewith he (of whome this is written) was indued, sheweth it selfe to be the same faith which is wished, and I would to God were in the heart of euerie christian. As for his religion, it was sound; his profession sincere; his hearing of Gods word, attentiue & diligent; his vse of praier, deuout: in his sickenesse patient, willing to forsake the world, and to be with Christ, in whose faith he died; and lieth intombed in a faire large vawt in saint Faiths vnder Paules, this epitaph grauen in brasse or copper, fixed vpon his graue stone, comprising a note of our mortalitie:

His loue towards his seruants.

His faith was fruitfull.

As I was, so are ye:
As I am, you shall be:
That I had, that I gaue:
That I gaue, that I haue:
Thus I end all my cost:
That I left, that I lost.

Hitherto concerning maister Lambes almesdéeds, wherein thus much hath at large bæne spoken for others example, whome as God hath indued with riches: so it were to be wished they would vse them no worse.] The first daie of Maie, after twelue of the clocke in the night, was an earthquake felt in diuerse places of Kent, namelie at Ashford, great Chart, &c: which made the people there to rise out of their beds, and run to the churches, where they called vpon God by earnest praiers to be mercifull vnto them. Of this earthquake one writeth thus. Manie thousands haue heard and commonlie it is reported, that latelie in Kent an other earthquake was séene and felt, and so terriblie and sore the earth did tremble and quake, that it wakened people that soundlie slept, and had like to haue rocked them all aslépe that were awake. So fearefull was the matter, and so dreadfull is the wrath of God in time of visitation, and wicked season of iniquitie. This was a pretie naturall cause: in déed so I thinke. For the naturall diseases of man, and the naughtie filthinesse of the flesh (full of lust and infirmities) caused God for the correction of natures inclination, to make Douer, Sandwich, Canturburie, Grauesend, and sundrie other places tremble and shake.

I. Stow. An earthquake in Kent.

T. C.

Castels and ships séene in the aier.

The eightéenth daie of Maie, about one houre before sun setting, diuerse gentlemen of worship, and good credit, riding from Bodman in Cornewall towards Foie, there appeared to their séeming in the northeast, a verie great mist or fog, much like vnto the sea: and the forme of a cloud in the fashion of some great castell, with flags, & streamers thereon as it were standing in the sea, which presentlie vanished awaie. In whose stéed, and nére to the same place, appeared an other cloud which altered into the likenesse of a great argosie, furnished with masts, and other necessaries; and hir sailes séeming full of wind, made hir waie on the southwest of the castell, hauing streamers and flags verie warlike, with two boats at either sterne. There incontinent appeared againe the forme of a castell, and behind the same came following on the southwest side, an other great argosie, furnished as the first. This being past, there appéered three or foure gallies with their masts and flags in warlike sort, hauing boats at their sternes; and thereby appeared other small clouds to the number of twelue, which altered into the proportion of the said castels, and one following an other, as soone as anie of them vanished other came in their roomes; and this continued the space of an houre. Shortlie after the sights in the aier aforesaid, a worthie Gentleman in the countrie writ to a right good gentleman in the court, that there was séene vpon a downe called Brodwels downe, in Summersetshire, three score personages all clothed in blacke, a furlong in distance from those that beheld them; and after their appearing, and a little while tarieng, they vanished awaie; but immediatlie, an other strange companie in like maner, colour and number appeared in the same place, and they incountered one an other, and so vanished awaie. And the third time appeared that number againe all in bright armour and incountered one an other, and so vanished awaie. Foure honest men which saw it, reporting the same abroad, were examined thereof, before sir George Norton, to whome they sware, that those things they had séene were true, as here before is rehearsed.

T. C. wonders in Wiltshire and Summersetshire.

Moreouer, it is crediblie reported of manie honest men, that fiue miles from Blonsdon in Wiltshire, a crie of hounds was heard in the aier, the selfe same daie that the first earthquake was, and the noise was so great that was made, that they séemed three or foure score couples: whereat diuerse toke their greihounds, thinking some gentlemen had bæne a hunting in the chase, and thought to course: yet some of those that went out of their houses, séeing nothing below abroad, loked vpwards to the skies, and there espied in the aier fiue or six hounds perfectlie to be discerned. Now (to saie my fansie) I doubt not but thousands hold these newes for fables inuented for pleasure. But I protest before God and man, I can beléeue a great deale more stranger matter than this, in this strange world: for the people so estrange themselues from God by vsing manie strange fashions, and clapping on new conditions & natures, that except he shew some miracles, his godhead would quickelie be forgotten on earth, and men would beléeue there were no other world but this.

T. C.

The thirtéenth of June, about six of the clocke in the morning, at Shipwash within the baronie of Bothell in Northumberland, there happened a tempest of lightning and thunder, after the which, on a sudden came a great showre of haile, amongest the which were found stones of diuerse shapes marueilous to behold, as in the likenes of frogs, mattocks, swords, horse shoes, nailes, crosses of diuerse sorts, skuls of dead men, &c. The seuentéenth day of June, in the parish of Blasedon in Yorkeshire, after a great tempest of lightning & thunder, a woman of fours score yeares old, named Alice Perrin, was deliuered of an hideous monster, whose head was like vnto

Haile stones of strange shapes.

A monstrous birth.

to a sallet or headpeece, the face like vnto a mans, except the mouth, which was round and small, like vnto the mouth of a mouse, the fore part of the bodie like to a man, hauing eight legs not one like an other, and a taile halfe a yard long. Which monster brought into the world, besides an admiration of the diuine works of God, an astonishment at his iudgements. But of these we may saie as a stranger said sometime vpon the like occasion of prodigies and wonders successiuelie insuing, not without weightie signification; to wit, that such things be as tales told to the deafe, verie few weieng in their minds the meaning & effect of strange accidents, and therfore thinke vpon nothing lesse than a reformation of their wicked life: for the which things sake God sendeth these and manie such significant warnings, before he taketh the rod in hand, and whippeth vs till we smart: we then not looking to the meanes that prouoke this vengeance, as willing to auoid them: but murmuring at the iust iudge, vnder whose heauie hand we grone, & charging him to be the author of all misfortunes falling vpon vs: which Homer trulie seemeth right well to haue noted in this sense:

Iouis oratio apud Homerum.

Cur stulti incusant mortales numina cœli?
Et sibi nos dicunt autores esse malorum?
Cum præter fati leges in aperta ferantur
Damna, suamentis proprijs erroribus orti.

Soldiors transported into Ireland.

About the eightéenth daie of Julie, the lord Grete toke his voiage towards Ireland as lord deputie thereof, after whom was sent diuerse bands of lustie souldiors, both horssemen and footmen, vnder the leading of expert capteins, of whose prosperous and happie successe against their enimies, the Irish and others, diuerse pamflets haue béene published, & matter more at large is set downe in the historie of Ireland. The thrée and twentith of September, at fennie Stanton in Huntingtonshire, one Agnis wife to William Linsete was deliuered of an vglie and strange monster, with a face blacke, the necke red, mouth and eies like a lion, on the forehead a roll of flesh that might be turned vp with ones finger, on the hinder part of the head a lumpe of flesh proportioned like a fether, being hollow, with one eare growing on the lower part of the chæke, his bellie big and hard, the armes big, hauing fiue fingers and a thumbe on either hand, and in place of toes on the left foot fiue fingers and a thumbe, on the right foot a thumbe and seuen fingers, & in the place of priuitie the shape both of male & female: a strange sight to be séene, and I feare, signifieth our monstrous life, which God for his mercie giue vs grace to amend, without procrastination or putting off from daie to daie, as the poet significantlie saith:

Monstrous birth.

Cras vultis, sed vult hodie vindex Deus, & cras,
Aut non vult, aut vos obruet atra dies.

Blasing star.

The eight daie of October, immediatlie after the new mone, there appeared a blasing star in the south, bushing toward the east, which was nightlie séene (the aier being cléere) more than two moneths.

Sergeants feast.

The eightéenth of October were made eight sergeents at law, to wit, William Fléetwood recorder of London, Edward Flowerdue, Thomas Snag, William Periam, Robert Halton, John Clench, John Pickering, Thomas Warmsleie; maister Snag before named was sicke, and therefore was sworne in his chamber at Greies inne, the other seuen were sworne at Westminster, and held their feast at the new Temple at London.

Proclamation against the familie of loue.

The quéenes maiestie being informed, that in sundrie places of this realme, certeine persons secretlie taught damnable heresies, contrarie to diuers principall articles of our beléefe and christian faith, who to colour their sect named themselues the familie of loue, and then as manie as were allowed by them to be of that familie to be elect and saued, and all others of what church soeuer they be, to be reiected and damned. And for that vpon conuenting of some of them before the bishops & ordinaries, it was found that the ground of their sect is mainteined by certeine lewd, heretical, and seditious books, first made in the Dutch tong, and lastlie translated into English, and printed beyond the seas, & secretlie brought ouer into the realme, the author whereof they name H. N. &c. And considering also it is found, that those sectaries held opinion, that they may before anie magistrat or ecclesiasticall or temporall, or anie other person, not being professed to be of their sect, by oth or otherwise denie anie thing for their aduantage: so as though manie of them are well knowne to be teachers and spreaders abroad of these dangerous and damnable sects; yet by their owne confession they can not be condemned. Therefore hir maiestie being verie sorie to sée so great an euill, by malice of the diuell to be brought into this hir realme, and by hir bishops and ordinaries she vnderstandeth it verie requisit, not onelie to haue those dangerous heretiks and sectaries to be seuerelie punished; but that also all other meanes be vsed by hir maiesties roiall authoritie, which is giuen hir of God to defend Christs church, to rot them out from further infecting of hir realme: she hath thought mét and conuenient, and so by hir proclamation commandeth, that all hir officers and ministers temporall shall in all their seuerall vocations assist the bishops of hir realme, and all other person to search out all persons dulie suspected, to be either teachers or professors of the foresaid damnable sects, and by all good meanes to proceed seuerelie against them, being found culpable by order of the lawes ecclesiasticall or temporall: and that all search be made in all places suspected, for the books and writings mainteining the said heresies and sects, and them to destroie and burne, &c: as more at large may appéere by the said proclamation, giuen at Richmond the third of October, and proclamed at London on the nineteenth daie of the same moneth.

The quénes maiesties purpose to rot out this pestilent sect.

Victorie against the Irish and other in Ireland.

About this time there arriued vpon the west coast of Ireland, a certeine companie of Italians and Spaniards, sent by the pope to the aid of the earle of Desmond in his rebellion, which fortified themselues stronglie nére vnto Smerwike, in a fort which they called castell del Ore, there erecting the popes banner against hir maiestie. Which when the lord Grete of Milton deputie of Ireland vnderstood, he marched thitherward, and on the first of Nouember, hearing of the arriuall of the Swift, the Tigre, the Aid, the Merlion, & other of the quénes maiesties ships, and also of thrée barks fraughted from Corke and Limerike with vittels, on the morrow after marched towards the fort, vnto the which he gaue so hot an assault, that on the ninth of Nouember the same was yéelded, all the Irishmen and women hanged, and more than foure hundred Spaniards, Italians, and Biscaies put to the sword; the coronell, capteins, secretarie, and others, to the number of twentie saued for ransome. In which fortresse was found good store of monie, bisket, bakon, oile, wine, and diuerse other prouisions of vittels sufficient for their companie for halfe a yeare, besides armour, powder, shot, and other furniture for two thousand men and vpwards.

Anno reg. 23. Randoll hanged for coniuring.

The eight and twentith daie of Nouember were arreigned in the kings bench, William Randoll for coniuring to know where treasure was hid in the earth, and goods felonsoulie taken were become; Thomas Elks, Thomas Lupton, Rafe Spacie, and Christopher Waddington, for being present, aiding, and procuring the said Randoll to the coniuration a-

foresaid; Randoll, Elks, Spacie, and Waddington were found guiltie, & had iudgement to be hanged; Randoll was executed, the other were reprieued. About the 24 of December in the town of Walsham in the countie of Sussex, a child of eleuen yéers old, named William Withers, laie in a trance for the space of ten daies without anie sustenance, and at the last comming to himselfe he vttered to the standers by manie strange spéeches, inueieng against pride, couetousnesse, coldnesse of charitie, and other outragious sins. To behold this child there resorted diuerse godlie & zelous preachers, as also knights, esquiers, & gentlemen, all of them hearing and séeing that which was wonderfull. And among others that came thither, there was a gentleman of great credit and worship, with certeine of his men to heare and behold the child: who hauing espied a seruingman that had béene there with his maister two times, whom he had sharplie tawnted for his great and monstrous ruffes, spake vnto him verie vehementlie, and told him that it were better for him to put on sackecloth and mourne for his sinnes, than in such abhominable pride to prance vp himselfe like the diuels darling, the verie father of pride and lieng, who sought by the exercise of that damnable sinne to make himselfe a prete to euerlasting torments in hellfire. Whereupon the seruingman, as one prickt in conscience, sore sorowed and wept for his offense, rent the band from his necke, toke a knife and cut it in péeces, and vowed neuer to weare the like againe. This for the strangenesse the reof will be condemned as a lie, speciallie of vnbeléeuers and peruers worldlings, whose hearts are so hardened, that they will not beléene though one rise from the dead, or though God should speake vnto them from heauen (as the poet noteth trulie) which he hath done in times past:

Strange spéeches of a child.

Pride in great ruffes reprooued and reformed in a seruingman.

——solióque tremendus ab alto
Altitonans cœlo signa stupenda dedit.

Ab. Hart. in R. L.

About the twelfe daie of Januarie proclamation was published at London, for reuocation of sundrie the quéenes maiesties subiects remaining beyond the seas vnder colour of studie, and yet liuing contrarie to the lawes of God, and of the realme: and also against the reteining of Iesuits and malling priests, sowers of sedition, and other treasonable attempts, &c. The thirteenth of Januarie a man was drawne to saint Thomas of Waterings, and there hanged, headed, and quartered, for begging by a licence thereunto the quéenes hand was counterfeited.

Against Iesuits and malling priests.

One executed for counterfeiting the quéenes hand.

On the fiftéenth daie of Januarie, the lords and barons of this realme began to sit in the parlement house at Westminster: and on the twentith daie of Januarie the quéenes maiestie went from White hall to the parlement house by water. Whereas a great chalenge of iusts was signified by waie of deuise before hir maiestie on Twelfe night last past, to haue bene performed the fiftéenth daie of Januarie, hir maiesties pleasure was for diuerse considerations the same should be deferred vntill the two and twentith daie of the same moneth; on which daie the same was most couragiouslie accomplished in the accustomed place at Westminster, where manie staues were valiantlie broken; but through the great concourse of people thither repairing, manie of the beholders, as well men as women, were sore hurt, some maimed, and some killed, by falling of the scaffolds ouercharged.

Parlement at Westminster.

Iusting at Westminster.

This yeare about Hallowntide last past, in the marishes of Daneseie hundred, in a place called Southminster, in the countie of Essex, a strange thing happened. There suddenlie appéered an infinite multitude of mice, which ouerwhelming the whole earth in the said marishes, did sheare and gnaw the grasse by the roots, spoiling & tainting the same with their venemous téeth: in such sort that the cattell which grased thereon were smitten with a murreine and died thereof. Which vermine by policie of man could not be destroied, till now at the last it came to passe, that there flocked togither all about the same marishes such a number of owles, as all the shire was not able to yéeld: whereby the marsh holders were shortlie deliuered from the veration of the said mice.

Mice deuoure the grasse in Daneseie hundred.

1581

This yeare (against the comming of certeine commissioners out of France into England) by hir maiesties appointment, on the six and twentith daie of March in the morning (being Easter daie) a banketting house was begun at Westminster, on the south west side of hir maiesties palace of White hall, made in maner and forme of a long square, three hundred thirtie and two foot in measure about; thirtie principals made of great masts, being fortie foot in length a peece, standing vpright; betwéene euerie one of these masts ten foot asunder and more. The walles of this house were closed with canuas, and painted all the outsides of the same most artificiallie with a worke called rustike, much like to stone. This house had two hundred ninetie and two lights of glasse. The sides within the same house was made with ten heights of degrées for people to stand vpon: and in the top of this house was wrought most cunninglie vpon cannas, works of iuie and hollie, with pendents made of wicker rods, and garnished with baie, rue, and all maner of strange flowers garnished with spangles of gold, as also beautified with hanging toseans made of hollie and iuie, with all maner of strange fruits, as pomegranats, orenges, pompions, cucumbers, grapes, carrets, with such other like, spangled with gold, and most richlie hanged. Betwixt these works of baies and iuie, were great spaces of canuas, which was most cunninglie painted, the clouds with starres, the sunne and sunne beames, with diuerse other cotes of sundrie sorts belonging to the quéenes maiestie, most richlie garnished with gold. There were of all manner of persons working on this house, to the number of three hundred seuentie and fiue: two men had mischances, the one brake his leg, and so did the other. This house was made in three weéks and three daies, and was ended the eightéenth daie of Aprill; and cost one thousand seuen hundred fortie and foure pounds, ninetéene shillings and od monie; as I was credible informed by the worshipfull maister Thomas Graue surueior vnto hir maiesties workes, who serued and gaue order for the same, as appeareth by record.

Banketting house at Westminster.

How this banketting house was garnished and decked with artificiall deuises.

The costs and charges of this banketting house.

On the fiftéenth daie of Aprill arriued at Douer these noblemen of France (commissioners from the French king to hir maiestie) Francis of Burbon prince dolphin of Auergne, Arthur Cossaie marshall of France, Lodouic Lusignian lord of Laneoc, Cauergius Caercongin countie of Tillir, Bertrand Salignacus lord Mot Fenelon, monsieur Manaissour, Barnabie Brissen president of the parlement of Paris, Claud Pinart, monsieur Marchmont, monsieur Verate; these came from Grauesend by water to London, where they were honorably receiued and interteined; and shortlie after being accompanied of the nobilitie of England, they repaired to the court and banketting house prepared for them at Westminster, as is afore said, where hir maiestie

Noblemen of France arriued at Douer.

——(decus illa Britannûm
Gemmáque non alijs inuenienda locis)

with amiable countenance & great courtesie receiued them: and afterward in that place most roiallis feasted & banketted them. Also the nobles & gentlemen of the court, desirous to shew them all courtesie possible

possible fittest for such estates, and to sport them with all courtlie pleasure, agreed among them to prepare a triumph, which was verie quicklie concluded: and being deuised in most sumptuous order, was by them performed in as valiant a manner to their endlesse fame and honor. The chiefe or chalengers in these attempts were these: the earle of Arundell, the lord Windsore, maister Philip Sidneie, and maister Fulke Grenill, who calling themselues the foure foster children of desire, made their inuention of the foresaid triumph in order and forme following.

The excellent inuention of the triumph.

The gallerie or place at the end of the tiltyard adioining to hir maiesties house at Whitehall, wheras hir person should be placed, was called and not without cause, The castell or fortresse of perfect beautie, for as much as hir highnesse should be there included; whereto the said foster children laid title and claime as their due by descent to belong vnto them. And vpon deniall or anie repulse from that their desired patrimonie, they vowed to vanquish and conquer by force who so should seeme to withstand it. For the accomplishing whereof they sent their challenge or first defiance to the quæenes maiestie: which was vttered by a boie on sundaie the sirteenth of Aprill last, as hir maiestie came from the chappell, who being apparelled in red and white, as a martiall messenger of Desires fostered children, without making anie precise reuerence at all, vttered these speeches of defiance from his masters to hir maiestie, the effect whereof insueth.

The first defie or challenge.

O ladie, that doth intitle the titles you possesse with the honor of your worthinesse, rather crowning the great crowne you hold, with the fame to haue so excelling an owner, than you receiuing to your selfe anie increase, keeping that outward ornament: vouchsafe with patient attention to heare the words which I by commandement am here to deliuer you, wherein if your ears (vsed to the thankesgiuing of your people & the due praises of the earth) shall feele a scarcelie disdaine to heare once the sound of a defie, yet dare I warrant my selfe so far vpon the replie & deceiuing shew of rare Beautie, as that malice can not fall from so faire a mind vpon the sealie messenger, whose mouth is a seruant to others direction. Know yee therefore alonelie princesse, that herby (for far off they are neuer) there lies incamped the foure long haplesse, now hopefull fostered children of Desire: who hauing beene a great while nourished vp with that infective milke, and to too much care of their fierie fosterer (though full oft that drie nurse despaire indeuored to weine them from it) being now as strong in that nurture, as they are weake in fortune, incouraged with the valiant counsell of neuer fainting Desire, and by the same assured, that by right of inheritance euen from euer, the fortresse of beautie doth belong to hir fostered children: lastlie, finding it blazed by all tongs, ingraued in all hearts, and proued by all eies, that this fortresse built by nature is seated in this realme: these foure I saie and saie againe, thus nourished, thus animated, thus intituled, and thus informed, do will you by me, euen in the name of iustice, that you will no longer exclude vertuous Desire from perfect Beautie. Whereto if you yeeld (O yeeld for so all reason requireth) then haue I no more to saie, but reioise that my satengs haue obteined so rightfull and yet so blisfull a request. But if (alas but let not that be needfull) Beautie be accompanied with disdainefull pride, and pride waighted on by refusing crueltie; then must I denounce vnto you (wo is me, answer before it be denounced) that they determine by request to accomplish their claime. And because they will better testifie to the world, they haue bin brought vp vnder the wings of honorable Desire, this honorable forewarning they send you; that vpon the foure and twentith daie of this moneth of Aprill they will besiege that fatall fortresse, vowing not to spare (if this obstinacie continue) the sword of faithfulnes, and the fire of affection. Now if so it fall out, the worthie knights of your court (moued with passion in themselues) disdaine of my senders boldnesse, or partiall liking (which I most doubt) to the maiestie of your eies, will either bid them battell before they approch, or suffering them to approch, will after labour to leuie the siege; they protest to meet them in what sort they will chose, wishing onelie it may be performed before your owne eies, whome they know as euen in iudgement as daintie in chosing: where if so they list, first at the tilt in so manie courses, as your selfe shall please to appoint; and then if anie will call them to the course of the field with lance and sword, they hope to giue such true proues of their valour, as at lest shall make their desires more noble. Vowing on the other side, that if before the night part the fraie, they do not ouercome all them that come in against them, they will yeeld themselues slaues vnto you for euer. This therefore O quæne (greater in that you are quæne of your selfe, than in passing the whole compasse of the earth) haue I deliuered my charge, not as a challenge to your knights, against whome (but in so iust a cause) they acknowledge themselues vnable to match the meanest; but as a plaine proclamation of warr, vnles the fortres of Beautie, that hath wone so manie to lose themselues, be speedilie surrendered. And now it shall be seene what knights you haue, whome Beautie may draw to resist a rightfull title. And I for my more part moued by that I see in you (though I serue your enimies) will dailie praie that all men may see you, & then you shall not feare anie armes of aduersaries: or if enimies you must haue, that either they may haue the mind of them that send me, or their fortune in that they haue long desired.

The challenge made and how to be tried.

Vertuous desire not to be excluded from perfect Beautie.

The fortresse of Beautie.

At which daie aboue said for certeine vrgent occasions, the said challenge and triumph, by hir maiesties commandement, was deferred till the first daie of Maie: at which daie for like causes it was further deferred till the next mondaie following, being the eight daie of Maie: and so till Whitsun mondaie, when they first began to performe it. The said daie being come, the foure foster children had made preparation to besiege the fortresse of Beautie, and thereto had prouided a frame of wood, which was couered with canuas, and painted outwardlie in such excellent order, as if it had bin verie naturall earth or mould, and caried the name of a rowling trench, which went on wheeles, which waie soeuer the persons within did driue it. Vpon the top whereof was placed two cannons of wood, so passing well coloured as they seemed to be in deed two faire field peeces of ordinances, and by them was placed two men for gunners clothed in crimson sarcenet, with their baskets of earth for defense of their bodies by them. And also there stood on the top of the trench an ensigne bearer in the same sute with the gunners, displaieng his ensigne, and within the said trench was cunninglie conueied diuerse kind of most excellent musike against the castell of Beautie. These things thus all in a readinesse, the challengers approched, & came from the stable toward the tiltyard, one after another in braue & excellent order as followeth.

Urgent causes why the challenge was deferd.

The order of the rowling trench with most excellent inuentions.

First, the earle of Arundell entred the tiltyard, all in gilt and ingrauen armour, with caparisons and furniture richlie and brauelie imbrodered, hauing attendant vpon him two gentlemen vshers, foure pages riding on foure spare horsses, and twentie of his gentlemen. All which aforesaid were apparelled in short clokes and venetian hose of crimson

The earle of Arundels entrie the first daie and his attendants.

velvet, laid with gold lace, doublets of yellow sattin, hats of crimson velvet with gold bands and yellow feathers, and yellow silke stockes. Then had he sir trumpetters that sounded before him, and one and thirtie yeomen that waited after him aparelled in cassocke coats, and venetian hose of crimson velvet, laid on with red silke and gold lace, doublets of yellow taffatie, hats of crimson taffatie, with yellow feathers, and yellow worsted stockings.

The lord Windsors entrie the first date and his attendants.

After him proceeded the lord Windsore, in gilt and ingraven armour, with caparisons and furniture, richlie imbrodered with gold, having attendant on him foure pages riding on foure spare horses, and foure and twentie gentlemen, all aparelled in short cloaks of scarlet, lined through with orange tawnie taffatie, and laid about with silver lace, doublets of orange tawnie sattin, venetian hose of orange tawnie velvet, blacke velvet caps, with silver bands and white feathers, and silvered rapiers and daggers, with scabberds of blacke velvet; foure trumpetters, and two footmen in cassocke coats and venetian hose of orange tawnie velvet, and blacke velvet caps with silver bands and white feathers, foure groomes of his stable leading of his foure horses, in cassocke coats and venetian hose of orange tawnie taffatie and orange tawnie felts with silver bands, and white feathers. Then had he three score yeomen in coats of orange tawnie cloth, with the unicorne of silver plate on their sleeves, and orange tawnie felts with silver bands and white feathers.

M. Sidneis entrie, now sir Philip Sidnete and his attendants.

Then proceeded maister Philip Sidnete, in veris sumptuous maner, with armour part blew, and the rest gilt and ingraven, with foure spare horsses, having caparisons and furniture verie rich and costlie, as some of cloth of gold imbrodered with pearle, and some imbrodered with gold and silver feathers, verie richlie and cunninglie wrought: he had foure pages that rode on his foure spare horsses, who had cassocke coats, and venetian hose all of cloth of silver, laced with gold lace, and hats of the same with gold bands and white feathers, and ech one a paire of white buskins. Then had he a thirtie gentlemen and yeomen, & foure trumpetters, who were all in cassocke coats and venetian hose of yelow velvet, laced with silver lace, yelow velvet caps with silver bands and white fethers, and everie one a paire of white buskins; and they had vpon their coats, a scrowle or band of silver, which came scarfe wise over the shoulder, and so downe vnder the arme, with this poesie, or sentence written vpon it, both before and behind, *Sic nos non nobis.*

M. Fulke Greuils entrie with his traine of attendants.

Then came maister Fulke Greuill, in gilt armour, with rich and faire caparisons and furniture, having foure spare horsses with foure pages riding vpon them, and foure trumpetters sounding before him, and a twentie gentlemen and yeomen attending vpon him, who with the pages and trumpetters were all aparelled in lose ierkins of tawnie taffatie, cut and lined with yelow sarsenet, and laced with gold lace, and cut downe the arme and set with lopes and buttons of gold, venetian hose of the same lined (as aforesaid) laced with gold lace downe the side with lopes and buttons of gold, with ech a paire of yelow worsted stockings, and hats of tawnie taffetie with gold bands and yelow feathers. Having thus all entered the tiltyard, they proceeded on with the rowling trench before them, which stated against the quæne, and they passed by, as though they would behold the Fortresse of beautie; and so went about the tilt. At last the boie that vttered the first defiance pronounced these speeches to hir maiestie.

The second defie or chalenge.

If the message latelie delivered vnto you had bæne beleeued and followed (O quæne) in whome the whole storie of vertue is written, with the language of beautie; nothing should this violence haue needed in your inviolate presence. Your eies, which till now haue bæne onelie wont to discerne the bowed knees of knæling hearts, and inwardlie turned, sound alwaies the heavenlie peace of a swæt mind, should not now haue their faire beames reflected with the shining of armour, should not now be driven to see the furie of desire, nor the fierie force of furie. But sith so it is (alas that so it is) that in the defense of obstinate refusall there never groweth victorie but by compassion; they are come: what need I saie more, you see them, readie in hart as you know, and able with hands as they hope, not onelie to assailing but to prevailing. Perchance you despise the smalnesse of number. I saie vnto you, the force of desire goeth not by fulnesse of companie. Saie rather view with what unresistable determination themselves approch, and how not onelie the heavens send their invisible instrument to aid them: but also the verie earth the dullest of all the elements, which with naturall heavinesse still strives to the deepie centre; yet for advancing his enterprise is content actuelie (as you shall see) to move it selfe vpon it selfe to rise vp in height, that it maie the better command the high and highminded fortresses. Manie words, when deeds are in the field, are tedious both vnto the speaker and hearer. You see their forces, but know not their fortunes; if you be resolved, it bots not, and threats dread not. I haue discharged my charge, which was euen when all things were readie for the assault, then to offer partlie a thing not so much vnused as gratious in besiegers. You shall now be summoned to yeeld, which if it be reiected, then looke for the affectionat alarme to be followed with desirous assault. The time approcheth for their approches, but no time shall staie me from wishing, that howsoeuer this succeed, the world maie long inioie hir chiefest ornament, which decks it with hir selfe, and hir selfe with the loue of goodnesse.

Meaning the musike within the mount.

wherewith the mount moued frosse vp in height.

The rowling trench moued nære to the quæne.

Which speech being ended, the rowling trench or mount of earth was moued as nære the quænes maiestie as might be, which being setled, the musike plaied verie pleasantlie, and one of the boies being then accompanied with cornets, summoned the fortresse with this delectable song, here vnder noted.

The fortresse summoned in song.

Yeeld, yeeld, ô yeeld, you that this fort doo hold,
which seated is, in spotlesse honors feeld,
Desires great force, no forces can withhold:
then to desires desire, ô yeeld ô yeeld.
Yeeld yeeld ô yeeld, trust not on beauties pride,
faireneſse though faire, is but a feeble sheeld,
When strong desire, which vertues loue doth guide,
claimes but to gaine his due, ô yeeld ô yeeld.
Yeeld yeeld ô yeeld, who first this fort did make,
did it for iust desires, true children beeld,
Such was his mind, if you an other take,
defense herein doth wrong, ô yeeld ô yeeld,
Yeeld yeeld ô yeeld, now is it time to yeeld,
before th'assault begin, ô yeeld ô yeeld.

When that was ended, an other boie turning himselfe to the foster children and their retinue, song this alarme with plesant voice & sæmelie countenance.

The alarme song.

Alarme alarme, here will no yeelding bee,
such marble eares, no cunning words can charme,
Courage therefore, and let the statelie see,
that nought withstands desire, alarme alarme.
Alarme alarme, let not their beauties moove
remorse in you to doo this fortresse harme,
For sith warre is the ground of vertues loue,
no force, though force be vsed, alarme alarme.
Alarme alarme, companions now begin,
about this neuer conquered wals to swarme,
More praise to vs we neuer looke to win,
much maie that was not yet, alarme alarme.

Alarme

Alarme alarme, when once the fight is warme,
then shall you see them yeeld, alarme alarme.

The shoting off of the two canons, the one with swéet water, and the other with swéet powder.

Which ended, the two canons were shot off, the one with swéet powder, and the other with swéet water, verie odoriferous and pleasant, and the noise of the shoting was verie excellent consent of melodie within the mount. And after that was store of prætie scaling ladders, and the footmen threw floures and such fansies against the wals, with all such deuises as might seeme fit thot for desire. All which did continue till time the defendants came in.

The maner of the defendants comming in.

Then came in the defendants in most sumptuous maner, with euerie one his seruants, pages, and trumpetters (hauing some more, some lesse) in such order as I haue here vnder placed them, with euerie one his sundrie inuention, which for that some of them be mysticall and not knowne to manie, I omit therefore for breuities sake to speake of anie. Yet such speeches as were spoken or presented for them to hir maiestie, so manie as were, or at the least as I could come by, I haue here in their order placed them, whereby their inuentions for whome they were spoken, are therein plainelie declared. Therefore I referre you to the reading of them hereafter. But thus the defendants entered the tiltyard, one after an other as followeth. First maister Henrie Greie, sir Thomas Perot, maister Anthonie Coke, maister Thomas Ratcliffe, maister Henrie Knolles, maister William Knolles, maister Robert Knolles, maister Francis Knolles, maister Rafe Bowes, maister Thomas Kelwaie, maister George Goring, maister William Tresham, maister Robert Alexander, maister Edward Dennie, maister Hercules Meautus, maister Edward More, maister Richard Skipwith, maister Richard Ward, maister Edward Digbie, maister Henrie Nowell, maister Henrie Brunkerd. And afterwards in the middest of the running came in sir Henrie Leigh, as vnknowne, and when he had broken his six staues went out in like maner againe. So passing on one after an other, when sir Thomas Perot & maister Coke came to the end of the tilt, ouer against the quéenes maiestie, one of their pages arrated like an angell vttered these spéeches vnto hir.

The defendants names that run at tilt.

Despaire, no not despaire (most high and happie princesse) could so congeale the frozen knight in the aier, but that desire (ah swéet desire) inforced him to behold the sun on the earth, whereon as he was gazing with twinkling eie (for who can behold such beames stedfastlie?) he begun to dissolue into drops, melting with such delight, that he séemed to preferre the lingering of a certeine death before the lacking of an vncerteine life. Such is the nature of ingrauen loialtie, that it chooseth rather to haue the bodie dissolued, than the mind disliked. Thus consuming with content (a swéet sickenesse is conceipt) and pining with more than speakeable passions, he suddenlie beheld that sun to be besieged which he so deuoutlie serued. Wherewith boiling in no lesse disdaine, than surprised with immoderat pensiuenesse, he vttered these words: O Ioue, if thou meane to resolue nature into contraries; why do I liue to sée it? If into nothing, why do I liue at all? If the fot scale the head, there is no rest; if desire ouershot dutie, there is no reason: and where either of these are, there can be no rule. And so setting more sighs than mate be numbred by ciphers, this present time (ah griefe) this present time, that honest & faire hearted frozen knight died (what said I) euen that which againe with griefe I must say died, whose ghost making spædie passage into the Elisian fields (for what more swift than a soule) in the midst of the infernall multitude, with schréeches, cries & clamors made both heauen & hell to redouble this eccho: O times, O men, O corruption of ma-

The spéech of sir Thomas Perot and maister Coke to the quéene.

By the sun is meant hir maiestie, called before The fortresse of beautie.

ners! The sun is besieged, the sun (O mischiefe) the sun is besieged. Which strange and vnacquainted termes caused not onelie murmuring amongst the ghosts beneath, but a musing amongst the gods aboue: who as well to represse the tumults, which might haue risen among the shadows, as to reuenge the pride which began to grow on the earth, sent downe an angell with this commandement; Go descend, and cause Adam and Eue to appeare on the earth in that sort as they were in paradise, that the world may know them & wonder at them. For séeing out of their lomes haue issued those preposterous limmes, I know none more fit to correct them. Certes none more willing. They will attempt anie thing for thy sake, and seruice of that earthlie, and yet (O strange conceipt) most heauenlie sun. For as they were before driuen from their desire, because they desired to know the best: so now shall they be driuen vnto their desire, which they couet to honour most. This shall be their reward, they shall come néere and yet shall not search, and be they farre off, it shall warme. A cloud maie sometimes barre their sight, but nothing shall depriue them of the safegard: yet command them to be humble in affection, though feruent, least they séeme to disdaine that pride in others which they desire themselues.

Sir Thomas Perot & maister Coke were both in like armour beset with apples and fruit, the one signifieng Adam & the other Eue, who had haire hong all downe his helmet.

The angell speaketh to the quéene.

The sun in the highest delighteth in the shadow which is shortest, nourisheth the træ whose rot groweth deepest, not whose top springeth loftiest. This commission and counsell ended, all things were in a moment accomplished with such celeritie (for to the gods time is tied) that they were sped so sone as they were spoken. And now most renowmed and diuine sun, Adam and Eue being present, vouchsafe to heare somwhat in their behalfs pronounced. Sir knights, if in besieging the sunne ye vnderstood what you had vndertaken, ye would not destroie a common blessing for a priuat benefit. Will you subdue the sun? Who shall rest in the shadow where the wearie take breath, the disquiet rest and all comfort? Will ye bereue all men of those glistering & gladsome beams? What shall then prosper in the shining, but you will clime it by the raies? O rare exhalations! Brothers you may be to desire, but sons ye are to ill hap, which thinke you can not sinke deepe inough into the sea, vnlesse you take your fall from the sun. Desist you knights, desist, sith it is impossible to resist: content your selues with the sunnes indifferent succor, suffer the iuniper shrub to grow by the loftie oke, and clame no prerogatiue where the sun grants no priuilege; for being of the same mettall that others are, the sun will worke the like effects, as she doth in others. The giants would haue bin gods, if they could haue scaled the heauens; and you no lesse than stars could you conquer the same: but as their throwing hill vpon hill did manifest their pride, but nothing further their pretense; so your laieng chalenge vpon claime, and conquest vpon chalenge, may well proue a will but no worthinesse; a desire to reach, but no possibilitie to recouer. In which your soaring assaies if you chance to fall, the only comfort you haue is to crie with Phaeton, *Magnis excidimus ausis*. But if no persuasions may moue your minds, know yée proud knights, there are that haue hearts as big as mounteins, and as far aboue you in prowesse as ye are aboue all in presumption, yet not so vaine (which ye terme valiant) to assalt the sun. And whie? bicause it is impregnible. We content to inioie the light, yée to eclipse it; we to rest vnder the fæt, yée to run ouer the head; we to yéeld to that which nothing can conquer, you to conquer that which maketh all men captiues. But were it possible that head could deuise, courage attempt, or hand execute anie thing that might shew the depth of our vnspotted loialtie, some

He speaketh to the chalengers in the behalfe of the two knights Adam and Eue.

Magnis excidimus ausis, the crie of Phaeton at his fall.

shoulo

should be seene (and for your selues too soone) that your enterprises should be of as small account then, as now they are of likelihood; so deepe an impression is ingrauen in our thoughts, for the maiestie of that sun which now perfing our eies hath fullie subdued our hearts, that we are prest in hir defense to offer the whole world defiance. In proofe whereof I am charged to throw downe this gantlet, which who so dareth take vp, shall feele both the heat of their iust conceiued quarrell, and the reproch of their owne deserued follie, not by riding in breaking a few staues to end the strife, but at tourneie, or what else soeuer they can deuise, or dare aduenture to win the benefit of Beautie. Thus most renowmed & diuine Beautie, whose beams shine like the sun, haue Adam & Eue aduentured to defend the sun. The same I call Beautie the light of the world, the maruell of men, the mirrour of nature, on which their incounter if those fauourable gleames may fall, they will not onlie thinke to haue done god herein, but to be restored againe to paradise. The one meaneth to repose his trust in a woman, who like Eue cannot be beguiled, the other to rest on a saint which by a serpent will not be tempted. Thus being placed in the garden of your graces, O of all things most gratious, where vertues grow as thicke as leaues did in paradise, they will take heede to tast of the forbidden fruit, contented to behold, not coueting to take hold. And for that it hath beene long argued, and no arguing can end, whether the first offense came by the crudelitie of Adam, or the simplicitie of Eue; the one defending his fault by sound arguments, the other excusing hirs by sharpe answers: they most humblie sue for this, that either by sir courses betweene them the quarrell may be ended, or by your highnesse peremptorie sentence determined. For they both being in the world, are desirous that one might beare the blame of both. And what herein your excellencie shall set downe, there is none shall gainesaie; for whensoeuer the question shall be moued, no other reason shall be allowed or liked than this; *Elizabetha dixit*. This speach being thus ended, sir Thomas Perot and master Coke proceeded backward on the other side of the tilt. And when master Ratclise came likewise against the queene, one of his pages pronounced these speeches in his masters behalfe to hir maiestie.

The defendants gantlet throwne downe, &c.

The defendants sute and desire.

So manie were the misfortunes (most renowmed and beautifull princesse) of the desolate knight my master, as neither the shortnesse of the time will suffer me to repeat, nor the greatnesse of the mysterie to remember. But let this suffice, that some there were and so manifold, that geometrie whereon the bodie of man hangeth could not beare being intollerable, nor the mind which consisteth in arithmetike number being infinit. Thus alwaies crossed by fortune, whose crossing is no blessing, he determined to separate himselfe as far from societie, as his actions were from successe; who wandering through manie deserts, yet finding as he thought no place desolate, happened at the last to come to a cliffe adioining to the maine sea, couered all with mosse, whereon he was walking: much delighted with the solitarie seat, but not well liking the cold situation, he suddenlie sunke into a hollow vault, surprised at the first with feare, but seeing it at the last a place of succour, he accounted his former miseries meetlie appeased by this present fortune. In this den he vsed for his bed mosse, for his candle mosse, for his ceeling mosse, and vnlesse now and then a few coales, mosse for his meat: a drie sod God wot and a fresh, but so moistened with wet teares, and so salt, that hard it was to coniecture, whether it were better to feed or to fast. Here he gaue himselfe to continuall meditation, separating his mind from his bodie, his thought from his hart, yea diuorcing himselfe from himselfe, in so much that with his strange diet and new conceits he became so inchanted, that neither the remembrance of others, nor a thought touching himselfe could enter into his mind: an alteration seldome heard of, that the place whereas he was throwded in, should make him to forget who he is. Liuing thus a long time, for that no lim should seeme short, rising according to his maner to walke in the mosse in the grisping of the day, he espied vpon the shore certeine men either cast awaie by shipwracke, or ouer bord by pirates, vnto whome he went; and perceiuing by their plaints one which late dead amongst them to be their master, inquired whense they were? But they not willing to repeat their misfortunes, opened the bosome of the gentleman, and pulled out a scroll conteining a claime, a challenge, nate a conquest of Beautie. At the sight whereof, suddenlie (quoth he) Beautie! and therewithall appalled pansed, entring by litle and litle out of his present melancholies into his former misfortunes, who as one awaked out of a long dreame began thus to debate. O Beautie, where thy fortresse is founded I know, but what these brethren should meane I maruell; for as I am assured that to win thée none could be so fortunate, so did I thinke that to claime thée none could be so fond; when as thou O diuine Beautie art of euerie one to be desired, but neuer to be conquered of Desire. But as the eagle beholding the sunne, coueteth to build hir nest in the same, and so dimmeth hir sight: so they bewing the brightnesse of Beautie are incensed to conquere it by Desire. And what then? Bicause she is inuincible shall I be indifferent? No, I will forsake this caitife cottage, and will take arms to defend that Beauties castell. Nothing shall remoue me from mine attempt, which being performed, nothing can moue me. Yea but she hath seruants alreadie a number; I but vnles I be there, not the whole number: but manie were famous, but none more faithfull: yet alas, if thou go, thou shalt euer be infortunat: better alwaies infortunat, than once disloiall. Which words being ended, he demanded whether they would in like case aduenture with one of no lesse courage than their master, but certeinlie of greter affection: whose seruice he hauing vpon small intreatie obteined, for that belike they were desirous to see the euent for the which they had suffered such aduentures, he departed to his caue, bewing a shield out of the hard cliffe inriched onelie with soft mosse: a double signe of his desire, thinking that nothing could manifest Beautie so well as Pythagoras walnut, a tender rine and a hard shell. And now most excellent and diuine Beautie, diuine it must néeds be that worketh so heauenlie, sith he is called from his solitarie caue to your sumptuous court, from bondage to libertie, from a liuing death to a neuer dieng life, and all for the sake and seruice of Beautie: vouchsafe his shield, which is the ensigne of your fame, to be the instrument of his fortune. And for prostrating himselfe to your fét, he is here readie prest to aduenture ante aduentures for your gratious fauour.

M. Ratcliffs speech to the queene.

A mossie cliffe.

Mosse and nothing but mosse.

A claime or conquest of beautie conteined in a scroll.

Here the bole deliuered M. Ratcliffs shield to the queene.

Which speech being ended, he retired backe as the rest. And after him came the foure sonnes of sir Francis Knolles, one after an other, according to their age, and all in like armour: who comming to the end of the tilt, staied till these speeches were vttered by one of their pages, who being apparelled like vnto Mercurie, pronounced these speeches in the knights behalfes to hir maiestie.

Here enter the foure sons of sir Francis Knolles.

A similitude.

Report hath bruted all abroad, that desperat Desire with a wonderfull armie of affections hath laid his siege against the inuincible fortresse of peere-

The speech of the foure sons of sir Francis Knolles, pro-

lesse

nounced by their page being apparelled like vnto Mercurie.

lesse beautie, and that the chiefest champions of this most famous enterprise are foure of fansies fellowes, fosterbrothers to desire, and drie nurst by despaire, valiant knights, and honorable personages, whose hautie hearts deserue renowme at least, for venturing to win the golden fleece without Medeas helpe. The giants long ago did scale the clouds men saie, in hope to win the fort of Iupiter. The wanton youth, whose waren wings did frie with soaring vp aloft, had scapt vnscorcht if he had kept a meaner gale below. So falles it out in this attempt, desire vaunts to conquer Beauties fort by force, wherein the goddesse kæpes continuallie watch and ward, so that desire may despaire to win one inch of hir against hir will. Hir statelie seat is set so high, as that no leuell can be laid against hir walles: and sooner may men vndertake to hit a starre with a stone, than to beat hir braue bulworkes by batterie. No vndermining may prevaile, for that hir fort is founded vpon so firme a rocke, as will not flit for either fraud or force. And is there anie hope to win by famine such a fort as yelds continuall food to all hir foes? And though they feed not fat therwith, yet must they either feed thereon or fast: for Beautie is the onlie bait whereon desire bites; and loue the chiefe restoritie that ladie Beautie likes, so that she can no more be left without meat, than men can liue without minds. Of all affections that are, desire is the most worthie to woo, but lest deserues to win Beautie: for in winning his saint, he loseth himselfe: no sooner hath desire what he desireth, but that he dieth presentlie: so that when Beautie yeldeth once to desire, then can she neuer vant to be desired againe. Wherfore of force this principle must stand, it is conuenient for desire euer to wish, and necessarie that he alwais want. O rare and most renowmed Beautie, O goddesse to be honored of all, not to be equalled of anie, become not now a prisoner: your fortresse is inuincible. No doubt desire will content himselfe with a fauourable parlee, and wait for grace by loialtie, not chalenge it by lance; although he make neuer so braue. The world doth know that ladie Beautie néeds no rescue to raise this siege, for that she sits aboue all reach, hir heauenlie lokes aboue when she so liks can dazell all mens eies. But though she list not vse those meanes, yet it is méete that all hir seruants come and shew themselues deuout to do hir will: perchance hir pleasure is to see the forts tried of these foure foster friends. O happie, ten times happie they whose hap shall be with fauour of hir deitie, to take in hand this braue attempt: in hope whereof these foure legitimate sonnes of despaire, brethren to hard mishap, suckled with sighes, and swathed vp in sorrow, weaned in woo, and drie nurst by desire, long time fostered with fauourable countenance, and fed with swæt fansies, but now of late (alas) wholie giuen ouer to griefe and disgraced by disdaine, are come with readie hearts and hands, to prowue against these other foure, that desire doth not deserue one winke of good fauour from ladie Beauties smiling eies, for threatning to win hir fort by force. They doubt not the victorie, if onelie they may find some like shew from their saint in fauor of their enterprise. If Mercurie haue said amisse, blame those bright beams which haue bereft him of his wit; if well, vouchsafe one becke to bid him packe awaie.

Desire and Beautie.

I claime no conquest of beautie contained in a scroll.

why desire deserues least to win beautie.

A similitude.

These speeches being ended, both they and the rest marched about the tilt, and so going backe to the nether end thereof prepared themselues to run, euerie one in his turne, each defendant sir courses against the former challengers: who performed their parts so valiantlie on both sides, that their prowesse hath demerited perpetuall memorie, and worthilie won honor both to themselues and their native countrie, as fame hath the same reported. When this daies sport was thus accomplished, the boie that vttered the defiances, in these few speeches toke his good night of the quéene.

The boie that vttered the defiance, in this spéech toke his good night of the quéene.

In the triall of this debatefull question (O your selfe) what can be said more than is? You se that séeing begins to faile. Night the ordinarie truce maker, though no truce be treated (if at least your presence make it not lightsome) will wrap all in hir blacke and mourning weeds, perchance mourning, for that the noblest desire hath béene subiect to vndeserued torments: and therefore these knights by the authoritie of darkenes verie vndesirouslie are compelled to depart from whence they came. To conclude, thus much they command me in their names to confesse, that such excellencie they find in your knights, and in comparison of them such vnableneesse in their selues, that if desire did not banish despaire as a traitor out of his kingdome, it would haue alreadie vndermined their best grounded determination: but no inward nor outward wound, no weakenesse, no wearinesse, can dant desire, nor take awaie the naturall effects that follow it. Therfore hauing left them no other courage than desire, no other strength than desire, no other beginning or ending cause but desire, they will continue this hard and hardie enterprise to morow. In the meane time they can find no place in their hearts that doth not wish you as swæt rest, as Psyche was conueied vnto by the gentle Zephyrus, and if it be possible by the same ghest visited. They wish that when your lids loke vp, your eies may be brightened, to se to morow a better daie than this, and therwithall so singular successe, as you may long, fræelie, and joyfullie inioy your selfe, to the delight of lokers, and wonder of markers. ¶ This said, and all the triumphant shewes ended, the knights in verie comelie and conuenient order (as they came) departed:

Et fessos soluunt artus, mollissima quæque
Gustant, & dulci membra quiete fouent.

The foure sonnes of sir Francis Knolles.

The running at the tilt.

The next daies shew was done in this order. The foure foster children of desire entered in a braue chariot (verie finelie and curiouslie decked) as men forewearied & halfe ouercome. The charriot was made in such sort, as vpon the top the foure knights sat, with a beautifull ladie, representing desire about them. Wherevnto their eies were turned, in token what they desired. In the bulke of the charriot was conueied rome for a full consort of musike, who plaid still verie dolefull musike as the charriot moued. The charriot was drawne by foure horsses according to the foure knights, which horsses were apparelled in white and carnation silke, being the colours of desire. And as it passed by the vper end of the tilt, a herald of armes was sent before to vtter these speeches in the knights behalfe to hir maiestie.

Here entereth a most excellent and braue charriot, with rare, curious, and costlie worke with the foure challengers in it, which charriot was verie curiouslie shadowed with fine lawne.

No confidence in themselues, O most vnmatched princesse, before whome enuie dieth, wanting all nérenes of comparison to sustein it, & admiration is expressed, finding the scope of it void of conceiueable limits, nor anie slight regarding the force of your valiant knights, hath incouraged the foster children of desire to make this daie an inheritour of yesterdaies action: but the wing of memorie alas, the sworne enimie vnto the wofull mans quietnesse, being constantlie held by the hand of perfection, and neuer ceassing to blow the cole of some kindled desire, hath brought their inward fire to blaze forth this flame vnquenchable by anie meanes: till by death the whole fewell be consumed. And therefore not able to maister it, they are violentlie borne whither desire draweth, although they must confesse (alas) that yesterdaies braue onset should come to such a confession, that they are not greatlie companied with hope, the

The first spæch the second daie.

Hope the supplier to desirs armie.

the common suplier to desires armie. So as now from summoning this castell to yéeld, they are fallen lowlie to beséech you to vouchsafe your eies out of that impregnable fortresse, to behold what will fall out betwixt them and your famous knights: wherin though they be so overpressed with the others valour, that alreadie they could scarselie haue béene able to come hither, if the charriot of desire had not carried them; yet will they make this whole assemblie witnesses so farre of their will, that sooner their soules shall leaue their bodies than desire shall leaue their soules. In that onelie standeth their strength that gaue them their first courage, and must be their last comfort. For what resistance is there, where not onlie they are met with forren enimies, such as statelie disdeine, which loketh from so high a tower to poze desire, that though (in it selfe) it be great, yet in hir eies (so seated) it séemeth small, or such on the other side as vnfortunat despaire, which maketh the countrie so barren where they laie their siege, that it would take awaie all the food of fansie: but euen ciuill warre betwixt them and others who beare the same badge of desire: that they do so, as thus bestead they are brought to this faire passe, to desire no more, but that this death or ouerthrow maie be séene by those eies who are onlie vnhappie, in that they can neither find fellows nor sée themselues.

Which spéech being done, the defendants came in, in such order as they came in the daie before. Therefore I shall not need to make a new repetition of the same, sith all hath béene touched alreadie. Then went they to the tourneie, where they did verie noblie, as the shiuering of the swords might verie well testifie; and after that to the barriers, where they lashed it out lustilie, & fought couragiouslie, as if the Grécks and Troians had dealt their deadlie dole. No partie was spared, no estate excepted, but ech knight indured to win the golden fléece, that expected either fame or the fauour of his mistresse, which sport continued all the same daie. And towards the euening the sport being ended, there was a boie sent vp to the quéene being clothed in ash coloured garments in token of humble submission, who hauing an oliue branch in his hand, & falling downe prostrate on his face, and then knéeling vp, concluded this noble exercise with these words to hir maiestie.

Tourneies & barriers couragiouslie tried.

The last spéech to the quéene signifieng the humble hearted submission of the foure foster children of desire.

Most renowmed princesse of princes, in whome can nothing obteine victorie, but vertue. The foster children of desire (but heires onelie to misfortune) send me to deliuer in such words as sorrow can afford their most humble hearted submission. They acknowledge this fortresse to be reserued for the eie of the whole world, farre lifted vp from the compasse of their destinie. They acknowledge the blindnesse of their error, in that they did not know desire (how strong soeuer it be) within it selfe to be stronger without it selfe than it pleased the desired. They acknowledge they haue degenerated from their fosterer in making violence accompanie desire. They acknowledge that desire receiued his beginning and nourishment of this fortresse, and therefore to commit vngratefulnesse in bearing armes (though desirous armes) against it. They acknowledge noble desire should haue desired nothing so much, as the flourishing of that fortresse, which was to be estéemed according to it selfes liking. They acknowledge the least determination of vertue (which stands for the gard of this fortresse) to be too strong for the strongest desire, & therefore they do acknowledge themselues ouercome, as to be slaues to this fortresse for euer, which title they will beare in their foreheads, as their other name is ingrauen in their hearts. For witnesse thereof they present this oliue branch to your presence, in token of your triumphant peace, and of their peaceable seruitude, whereby they present themselues as bondmen by those bonds, which the losse of life can onelie lose. Onelie from out of that which was theirs they craue thus much, to giue some token to those knights, which maie be iudged to haue done best in ech kind of weapon, or who by his deuise hath come in best sort in this desirous strife. This being done, they being now slaues (in whome much dutie requireth) for feare of offense, dare saie no further; but wish from the bottome of their captiued hearts, that while this realme is thus fortified and beautified; desire maie be your chiefest aduersarie.

An oliue branch presented to the quéene.

Which spéech being ended, hir maiestie gaue them all praise and great thanks, which they estéemed so well, and thought themselues rewarded according to their owne wishing: and so they departed ech one in order, according to the first comming in. And thus ceassed these courtlie triumphes, set forth with most costlie brauerie and gallantnesse, whereof I maie saie as the academicall poet sometime said at the gratious entering of hir maiestie into Cambridge:

Hìc cocco murex, aurum superatur ab auro,
Naturam certant vincere quæque suam:
Nil ibi sat pulchrum, quamuis pulcherrima quæque,
Et quamuis vincant omnia, victa iacent.

The one and twentith of June in the night, the lowest images (which were of Christs resurrection, of the virgin Marie, and of kings and bishops of this realme) about the crosse in Cheape (being six square) on all the sides, were broken and defaced: whereupon two daies after, proclamation was made thorough out the citie, that who so would bewraie the doers thereof, should haue fortie crownes for their labour: but nothing came to light. The seauen and twentith of June, Thomas Butcher brewer, was conuicted in the Guildhall of London, for that he as principall, and others as accessaries, to the number of a thousand persons, on the fiue and twentith of June last past, about ten of the clocke in the night, with force of armes, in west Smithfield of London, & other stréets of the citie congregated themselues, and with diuerse exclamations, prouoked the people in maner of a rebellion, contrarie to the peace & statutes of the realme. On the eight and twentith of June, the same Thomas Butcher, being areigned at the Iustice hall in the old Bailie, was found giltie, and had iudgement to be whipped on the next market daie from Newgate thorough Smithfield, Long lane, Aldersgate street, saint Martins le grand; & so thorough the citie to the bars without Aldgate, & then to be committed to Newgate. On the 30 of June, the same T. Butcher, being deliuered vnto James Mase and other beadles, to haue receiued execution, as is aforesaid, he being whipped from Newgate into west Smithfield, was there rescued, taken from the beadles, and sent to shift for himselfe abrode: for the which fact the one & twentith of Julie, William Downe, I. Hand, T. Harres, and T. Appowell, three shomakers and a brewer, were whipped from Newgate to the middest of Smithfield, and there set on the pillorie, whereon they stood from ten of the clocke till twelue, and from thense againe committed to prison. The thirteenth of Julie, Richard Cor doctor of diuinitie, sometime schoolemaister to king Edward the first, deane of Westminster, and of Christs college in Oxenford, and of late bishop of Elie deceassed, and was buried at Elie; whose epitaph (alluding to his name and the execution of his charge, wherein he was iust) hereafter followeth:

Crosse in Cheape defaced.

Thomas Butcher whipped and rescued.

Foure men whipt and set on the pillorie.

Bishop of Elie deceassed.

Vita caduca vale, salueto vita perennis,
Corpus terra tegit, spiritus alta tenet.
In terra Christi gallus Christum resonabam,
Da Christe in cœlis te sine fine sonem.

This

Two men of strange statures to be seene.

This yeare were to be seene in London two Dutchmen of strange statures, the one in height seauen foot & seauen inches, in breadth betwixt the shoulders three quarters of a yard and an inch, the compasse of his brest one yard, an halfe, and two inches; & about the wast one yard, quarter, and one inch; the length of his arme to the hand a full yard: a comelie man of person, but lame of his legs (for he had broken them with lifting of a barrell of beere.) The other was in height but three foot, had neuer a good foot, nor ankle knee at all, and yet could he danse a galliard, he had no arme, but a stumpe to the elbow or little more on the right side, on the which, singing, he would danse a cup, and after tosse it about three or foure times, and euerie time receiue the same on the said stumpe: he would shoot an arrow neere to the marke, flourish with a rapier, throw a bowle, beat with an hammar, hew with an ax, sound a trumpet, and drinke euerie date ten quartes of the best beere, if he could get it. About the seauententh of Julie, I saw these men in the parish of saint Peter vpon Cornehill, the taller sitting on a bench bareheaded, the lesser stood on the same bench, and hauing on his head a hat with a feather, was yet the lower. Also the taller man standing on his feet, the lesser (with his hat & feather on his head) went vpright betweene his legs, and touched him not.

Euerard Hance executed.

The eightéenth of Julie, Euerard Hance, *alias* Ducket, a seminarie priest, was in the sessions hall in the old Bailie of London arreigned, where he before the queenes iustices affirmed that himselfe being now in England was subiect to the pope in ecclesiasticall causes, and that the pope hath now the same authoritie here in England that he had an hundred yeares past, and which he hath now at Rome, with other traitorous speeches: for the which he was condemned to be drawne, hanged, and quartered, and was executed accordinglie on the last of Julie. At the same sessions were brought from the Fleet, the Gatehouse, Newgate, and the Counters, sundrie prisoners, indicted for refusing to come to church; all which being conuicted by their owne confession, had iudgement according to the statute, to paie twentie pounds for euery moneth of such wilfull absence from the church. The first of Nouember, monsieur Francis duke of Anion, the French kings brother, and other nobles of France (hauing latelie arriued in Kent) came to London, and were honourablie receiued, and reteined at the court with banketting, and diuerse pleasant shewes and pastimes, of whome more hereafter in place conuenient.

When arreigned for not comming to church.

Monsieur duke of Anion came into England.

Ex libro cui titulus A discouerie of Edmund Campion dedicated to certeine lords of the councell.

Edmund Campion with diuerse others arreigned of high treason. The forenamed parties indictment.

On mondaie being the twentith of Nouember, Edmund Campion, Rafe Sherwin, Lucas Kerbie, Edward Rishton, Thomas Cotebam, Henrie Orton, Robert Johnson, & James Bosgraue. All these before named persons were brought vnto the high barre at Westminster: where they were seuerallie, and altogither indicted vpon high treason, the sum whereof followeth in briefe as thus. That these persons, contrarie both to loue and dutie, forsoke their natiue countrie, to liue beyond the seas, vnder the popes obedience, as at Rome, Rheimes, and diuerse other places: where (the pope hauing with other princes practised the death and depriuation of our most gratious princesse, and vtter subuersion of hir seat & kingdome, to aduance his most abhominable religion) these men, hauing vowed their allegiance to the pope, to obeie him in all causes whatsoeuer, being there, gaue their consent; yea vttermost furtherance they might, to aid him in this most traitorous determination. And for this intent and purpose they were sent ouer to seduce the hearts of hir maiesties louing subiects, and to conspire and practise hir graces death, as much as in them laie, against a great date, set and appointed, when the generall hauocke should be made, those onelie reserued that ioined with them. This laied to their charge, they boldlie and impudentlie denied. Whereupon a iurie was impanelled, their owne confessions, their owne writings, and credible witnesses *viua voce* produced to their faces, approuing them giltie of the former allegations, as hereafter followeth.

After the indictment was read vnto them, and their answer, that it was beyond their power to proue them faultie in such matters, so stiffelie they stood in their apparant impudencie; first was moued to them sundrie treasons past, attempted against hir maiestie by those of their sect and disposition: yet notwithstanding the vttermost of their malice, how mightilie God had defended his chosen Elisabeth, returning their dealings to their owne destruction. Among sundrie these treasonable practises, which the pope, the ancient aduersarie to hir maiestie hath at diuerse times set abroch, the rebellion in the north may remaine as a witnesse of his exceeding malice and spite against hir grace and gouernement. Whereto let vs ad the bull sent ouer by John Felton, which trattorouslie he placed on the bishop of Londons gate: in which bull, the pope vtterlie excommunicated hir maiestie, she was an heretike, he had dispossessed hir of hir crowne and dominion, she was not the lawfull queene of this realme, and hir subiects were not bound to obeie anie of hir lawes or decrees; but they were all free, and perfectlie discharged of their allegiance to hir, so that they might lawfullie, when time serued so conuenient for them, both stirre rebellion against hir, and also enter into armes against hir maiestie. The popes will in this hath bin put in execution, as through the ill demeanor of diuerse persons to him affected it was moued in the north, where mainteining themselues on the authoritie of the pope and his traitorous bull secretlie dispersed abrode, they entred into a plaine and manifest rebellion. The like was put in practise in Ireland through doctor Sanders and other traitors, who there ioined themselues togither vnder the popes standard, to bring to passe their secret appointment in this realme. Through their persuasions and dealings, the people were moued in the popes name to fight against their lawfull princesse vnder his banner; and to rebell against hir so notoriouslie as they might. The incouragement to this great disobedience they receiued through doctor Sanders a fugitiue and ranke traitor to his prince and countrie, as also through diuerse Iesuits both English and Irish, whose hypocriticall shew of holinesse and diuellish persuasions on the behalfe of the pope their maister and head, intised a multitude of the people there to change their profession in religion, and to yeld themselues to the popes authoritie, whereby they should renounce the most certeine and iust title of hir maiestie: and when forren forces should be assembled there, they to ioine with them in their intent, and so traitorouslie rebell against their lawfull souereigne. All these practises toke their originall from the pope, as well by sending his secret messengers, as also by his traitorous bull, which being sent by Pius quintus, is neuertheless confirmed (in the former authoritie) by this pope Gregorie the thirteenth, and remaineth in hope to take effect at some time or other, for which he doth watch opportunitie as conuenientlie as he mate. But God the iust reuenger of all causes, as he hath hitherto preserued hir maiestie & this litle Iland from all their malicious attempts and practises, and hath deseruedlie throwne the poke of their shame on their owne necks: so will he no doubt continue his fatherlie care, that his children shall be preserued, & their aduersaries confounded.

The rebellion in the north, onlie through the popes meanes.

The sum of the popes bull which our Englishmen beyond the seas hold as their authoritie to rebell against hir maiestie.

Doctor Sanders his rebellion in Ireland, through whome the people were seduced to fight against their lawfull princesse.

This bull remaineth in his former force by this pope, onelie a toleration for the straitnesse to the subiects there in annexed.

The end why the said seminaries were sent ouer into England.

But

Campion desireth not to heare how these treasons take their originall, and how from time to time they haue bene enterprised and confounded: wherefore to blind the peoples eies he maketh this counterfeit answer.

But saith Campion: What is this to vs here present? What appertaineth this to our indictment? We are here both seuerallie and all togither indicted of high treason; and for that that is obiected against vs we must answer. Let not other mens offenses be laid to our charge, that we should answer for other mens faults committed long since. Some of vs were then but nouices here in the vniuersities, and were altogither ignorant of these matters. What haue we to do with anie thing that they did? They that were offendors, let them answer to that you can lay against them. For vs that be here at this instant, you must either saie; Thou Campion didst this thing, or thou (naming some of the other) committedst this offense, and therupon bring your proofes and witnesses, otherwise you shall neuer be able to touch vs. As for these assertions, for the strength they haue against vs, I will not esteeme it worth a penniworth of pippins. And therefore to your indictment.

This answer so smoothlie deliuered, and with such coie lookes and protestation of action gested, that all the standers by gaue perfect notice of the man, both of his nature and disposition, as also of his prompt & ingenious wit, to shadow an absolute truth with a shew of great wisedome and learning. For this he knew right well, that before he came to that place, he had woone a maruellous goodlie report, to be such a man as his like was not to be found, either for life, learning, or anie other qualitie that might beautifie a man. So that by his fauorers and frends it was blowen abrode, that we had neither doctors, nor others that were worthie to enter disputation with him, he was so farre aboue them all, that they might not deale with him. Hereto do the great titles which they adorne him withall giue credit, saieng thus:

Ex libello quodam famoso.

Quid? Campiano deerat doctrina perito,
Doctrinæ natus qui penetrale fuit:
Cui fuit in primis sponsata scientia cunis,
Quique puer nulli mente secundus erat:
Ingenuas inuenis qui sedulus imbibit artes,
Virque videbatur vix habuisse parem, &c.

Now being brought vnto a publike triall, it stood him vpon to argue somewhat of the praise that had bene giuen him: wherefore in verie quaint and familiar eloquent gloses he stood vpon quirks and fine deuise of speech, thinking as he had deluded manie before, so at that present he might blind the eies of iustice, & acquite himselfe of his horrible treasons. But as truth sheweth most braue when she goeth bare & naked, and deceipt finest when he is cunninglie florished; euen so the poore habit of the one discouered the proud hart of the other, and confounded his boldnesse with hir sacred brightnesse, giuing all men to vnderstand, that *Veritas vincit omnia*. And bicause Campion would haue made such a cunning conueiance of the matter, as though it neither might or could attaint him or anie of them: it was giuen him to vnderstand, that they would not alone touch him in the sequele of the former causes, but them all, and he that thought himselfe the clerest. Wherevpon doctor Sanders and doctor Bristow, their traitorous writings in defense of the popes bull exhibited against hir maiestie, were read vnto them, how they both allowed it, and also the rebellion in the north. Afterwards it was manifestlie proued to their faces, that Bristows booke in allowance thereof, named his Motiues, was especiallie commanded to be vsed amongest them both at Rome and at Rheimes, euerie one being expresselie charged not to be without one of these bookes.

Doctor Sanders and doctor Bristows bookes were there read vnto them, wherin most traitorously they defended the rebellion against hir maiestie.

This with open mouths they altogither denied, some that they had neuer seene it, and some that they neuer heard of anie such commandement: when as John Hart one of their owne fellowes had auouched it, and therevnto subscribed. Besides, my selfe when *I came to Rheimes, saw them as common amongst them, as the litle catechisme here amongst children, the inequalitie of the number considered. Againe, at Rome they were as common likewise in the seminarie, and among the Englishmen in the citie, for *my selfe had it, and one of doctor Allens catechismes deliuered me, with great charge to embrace it as my chiefe instruction. My companion that went with me had one likewise; the rest of the witnesses had seene how common they were, and in what reuerence and authoritie they esteemed them: yet these men would with shameless faces denie it; yea, and if they might haue bene so credited, would haue sworne against it. This manifest proofe they would not grant vnto, but Campion taketh vpon him to wrest it according vnto his humor, by answering that the booke was not so ill as they tooke it for, nor deserued anie such iudgement of preiudice. Now he thought he could not be taken tardie, but supposed his argument to passe vnreprouable; for that in the new imprinting of this booke, such matters as did most sharplie touch them, were abridged, thinking none of the former bookes should come to light. But here Campion ouershot himselfe, for so slie an answer could not couer so foule a blemish. When they had notablie conuicted them of these matters, which with obstinacie they still denied, they came to the intent of their secret comming ouer into this realme, which was for the death of hir maiestie, and ouerthrow of the whole realme, which should be by domesticall rebellion and forren hostilitie, the sum whereof in briefe is thus. This little Iland, God hauing so bountifullie bestowed his blessings vpon it, that except it proue false within it selfe, no treason whatsoeuer can preuaile against it, and the pope being hereof verie well persuaded, by reason that all his attempts haue proued of no effect: he hath found out a meane, whereby he assureth himselfe to spéd of his desire. Secret rebellion must be stirred here at home among our selues, the harts of the people must be obdurated against God and their prince; so that when a forren power shall on a sudden inuade this realme, the subiects thus seduced must ioine with these in armes, and so shall the pope atteine the sum of his wish. And all this must be wrought by certeine locusts of the popes seminaries maintained at Rome & Rheimes, arriuing in England, and dispersing themselues into such places, where they thinke themselues to be surest, some in one place, and some in another; and disguising themselues like gentlemen, seruingmen, or what apparell they may find meetest for them, haue accesse to manie and sundrie places, where hauing reconciled some, their frends must likewise be of the same stampe. And so, what from father to son, husband and wife, kinsman and acquaintance, a number are seduced & brought into their detestable dealings. For, after they haue gotten anie litle ground within them to build vpon, then do they laie vnto them, what a generall bloudie daie is toward England, that the pope and other forren princes haue fullie determined to ouerrun the realme; then better it were for you (saie they) to yéeld your selues willinglie, than to sée so horrible a slaughter, both of your princesse, and all that dare presume to take hir part. Your selues, yea and your frends shall abide the same hard iudgement, except you ioine with vs in this action. Thus through terrifieng, and a thousand traitorous fetches they haue; one friend bringeth another, and one kinsman another. So that, as they themselues will make their boast, in short time they doubt not to haue the most part of all England: yea and further they presume, that hir maiestie thinking hir selfe in most

kessed, & subscribed to, and what euerie one of the witnesses knew to be most certeine.

* M. A.

Campion answered this point subtilie, because in the last edition of the booke the chiefe matters against themselues were abridged.

The generall determination how to bring to passe their intent in this realme.

Their owne confession how they behaue themselues when they come into England.

They denied what one of their owne fellowes had con-

safetie,

safetie, shall then be soonest of all beguiled & deceiued.

Campion colloureth their cõming ouer, affirming it was for the safegard of soules.

These are the men that make themselues so sound and substantiall, that they are as true subiects to hir maiestie, as the best of vs. Yea, saith Campion, neuer shall you proue this, that we came ouer either for this intent or purpose: but onelie for the sauing of soules, which meere loue and conscience compelled vs to do, for that we did pittie the miserable estate of our countrie. But where are your proofes (saith he) these are but quirkes by the waie, our liues I perceiue standeth vpon points of rhetorike, you haue shewen vs the antecedent, now let vs haue the *Ergo*. With this continuall course of boldnesse and impudencie, Campion and his fellowes would grant nothing, but stiflie denied euerie cause: and Campion he tooke it for a custome to wrest euerie thing as pleased him, saieng: that the iurie were not men learned, and therfore causes of conscience ought not to be committed to them, neither was that barre appointed to define on causes of conscience: wherfore, all that you do (saith he) is but to bring vs in *Odium* with the iurie. After this order he deluded the people, appealing still to the deuoutnesse of his conscience: because he saw the matter brought to the berie push that would generallie conuict them all, for the witnesses were produced and sworne, Parts confession and their owne writings before them, so that they would remoue them from their ordinarie illusions.

When he had no other shift, he fell into these words.

The deposition of G. Eliot.

George Eliot, one of the ordinarie yeomen of hir maiesties chamber, vpon his oth gaue forth in euidence as followeth. That he, liuing here in England among certeine of that sect, fell in acquaintance with one Paine a preest: who gaue him to vnderstand of a horrible treason intended against hir maiestie and the state, which he did expect shortlie to happen, the order how & after what manner in breefe is thus. That there should be leuied a certeine companie of armed men, which on a sudden should enterprise a most monstruous attempt: a certeine companie of these armed men should be prepared against hir maiestie, as manie against my L. of L. as manie gainst my L. T. as manie against S. F. W. and diuerse other, whose names he doth not well remember. The deaths of these noble personages should be presentlie fulfilled, and hir maiestie vsed in such sort, as modestie nor dutie will not suffer a subiect to rehearse: but this should be the generall crie euerie where, Quæne Marie, quæne Marie. It was also appointed and agreed vpon who should haue this man of honours rome, and who should haue that office, euerie thing was determined, there wanted nothing but the comming ouer of such preests and others, as were long looked for. Upon this report, this aforenamed George Eliot tooke occasion to question with this Paine, how they could find in their hearts to attempt an act of so great and horrible crueltie, considering how high an offense it should be to God, beside great dangers might arise thereby. Whereto Paine made answer, that the killing hir maiestie was no offense to God, nor the vttermost crueltie they could vse to hir, or anie that toke hir part, but that they might as lawfullie do it as to a brute beast; and himselfe would be one of the formost in executing of this villanous and most traitorous action.

Meaning the quæne of Scots.

A most traitorous and villanous answer: of euerie true subiect to be read with reuerence of the person.

By this you may perceiue, that the death of hir maiestie and ouerthrow of this realme was throughlie agreed vpon, and fullie determined: there wanted nothing but opportunitie, for preests both then and after came ouer continuallie to further it, so much as in them laie. To the said effect did A. M. vtter most odious matter, the reading whereof would make anie true English hart quake & tremble: and to write it, what loiall subiect is able to abide? And therefore as deriued from the diuell to his dearlings we omit the same; counting it more loialtie to hull such deuises and consultations asleepe, than to publish them to the world in blacke & white: due reuerence to the principall obiects alwaies reserued. All which abhominable stuffe, circumstances of times, places, persons, and other particulars dulie pondered, giue euident demonstration what affection these fellowes afford their lawfull quæne and countrie: well is he that can imagine most against hir maiestie, and highlie is he esteemed that beareth the most traitorous hart to hir. Yet Campion and the rest of his fellowes they plead ignorance in all these causes, they bolster vp one another with large protestations, railing words, and subtill surmises: affirming that they were not sent hither for anie such intent; which is as vntrue, as we know it for truth, that the Lord God liueth in heauen.

No tot of their good will wanted, if God did not (as he dailie doth) preuent their purposes.

For this ✶ I am able to saie my selfe, that at diuerse other times, it was whispered among them in the seminarie: that shortlie there should be preests appointed for England, to win the people against the appointed time, when as a great armie should be readie to ioine with them: and Campion, who was then at Praga in Bohemia, he was spoken of amongst them all, to be a rare and singular fellow, and therefore generallie was taken for a meet man to be sent about such a message, so that they iudged that he should be sent for to be a chiefe man in this matter. Well (saith Campion) it may be they had such an opinion of me, which in my selfe I find not to be deserued; and it may be that I was appointed to be sent into England, according as those other preests were, for the sauing of soules and benefit of my countrie: must it follow then that we are sent to practise the death of the quæne, and to seeke the ruine of our countrie? Alas, this is a hard case, and I desire you of the iurie to marke it, for these are but shadowes without anie substance. This you are to note, that we which enter into that Blessed societie of the Iesuites: we do as it were forsake the world, vowing our selues to chastitie and sinceritie of conscience, to obeie our superiours, and to be readie to go whither they shall appoint vs. If they send vs to the Indies, or to anie such places, where the people haue not the true catholike faith: we are bound by dutie in conscience to go whither they appoint vs. And shall it then be said that we come for the destruction of the prince and countrie, where we settle our selues? Alas, that were a hard case, for christian charitie willeth vs to comfort one another, and if we can to get the sheepe into the fold which hath long run astraie. And when we heare confession, we do not persuade them to anie disobedience; for that is against the nature of confession: God forbid that we should once thinke anie such thing.

Campion nor his fellowes will grant to anie thing, but raile and vse bold speeches, whereby their guiltie consciences were discouered. * M. A.

Campion coureth their traitorous intents vnder the sauing of soules.

A holie kind of life were it not for the Pope.

Behold the subtill shifts that he found out still to flie vnto, yea though the manifest disproofe laie before them, yet would he find some cauill or other: for not onelie the euidence of their generall determination beyond the seas was shewed them, but also the traitorous articles were there read vnto them, which John Hart had copied out for doctor Allen (concerning the proceeding of these traitorous causes, and for which he went purposelie to Rome to confer with the pope about) and subscribed vnto, that they were certeine and true, as also their owne confessions and writings were laid open before them, approuing them notablie guiltie of the matters aforesaid, and yet in their lieng pamphlets scattered here & there in sundry hands, they haue faces of brasse to report, that

Note here the perfect image of hypocrisie.

When manifest proofes of their treasons were laid before them: they would in no wise grant their guiltinesse.

Insidiæ sanctos implicuere viros.

Charles Sled, who sometime serued maister doctor Worton in Rome, in whose house there was manie

matters determined, both by doctor Allen when he came to Rome, and diuers other doctors liuing there in the citie, as also diuerse of the seminarie: he likewise vnderstood of the prouision for the great date, that it was generallie spoken of among the Englishmen: and to be more certeine he kept a iournall or booke of their dailie dealings, noting the date, time, place, and persons present at their secret conferences, and verie much matter hath he iustified against them. One Cradocke a merchant, when he was in Rome, he vnderstood the aforesaid determination, and how that doctor Shellie the English prior, who is a knight of the Rhodes, for that he somewhat spake against such crueltie to be vsed to his natiue countrie, was somewhat misliked of himselfe, and had almost beene turned out of his office. And this aforesaid Cradocke being in prison there for the space of twentie moneths and more: it was said to him, that he might account himselfe blessed of God that he was there, because he should not see the grieuous ruine of his natiue countrie. He that hath but halfe an eie may see how these matters concord and agree togither, and noting euerie thing as it lieth, may plainelie see their horrible and traitorous deuises.

Consider euerie matter and then iudge how they concord and agree togither.

And further, there was a little booke in Latine, which they themselues brought ouer with them, it was there openlie read vnto them: wherin was certeine rules and orders prescribed, how they should behaue themselues here in England, and how if they were demanded of anie thing, they should make answer indirectlie: or to take the word it selfe, according as it is mentioned in the booke, they must answer *Sophisticè*, whereby is meant as thus. If they be examined as concerning their allegiance to hir maiestie, they will make their answer after this maner; She is our lawfull souereigne ladie & quéene, and we obeie hir. But then obiect vnto them; Will you obeie hir, notwithstanding the popes excommunication, or anie thing that he commandeth to the contrarie? Then will they answer: We desire you not to charge our consciences, and that you would not enter so deepe into our consciences, we trust the pope will not command vs anie thing against hir: & a hundred such like sléeuelesse answers they make, neuer agréeing to anie certeintie, but holding the pope in more reuerence than they do hir maiestie.

A booke which they vse as their instruction, how to answer to euerie question sophisticallie.

To do their dutie is a weightie burden to their consciences, and therefore they abide in their obstinacie and blindnesse.

For this consideration they carrie with them, that if by their shew of humilitie, & their deuised order of craftie answering, they might moue our magistrats to haue a good opinion of them, & not to deale so strictlie as law and their deseruing doth worthilie merit: then they might with lesse suspect go about their holie fathers businesse, in that their sophisticall answers couered so foule an abuse. And then so manie as come after them, purposelie sent about the same affaires, séeing their passage made before them, and being schooled after the same maner: they might withdraw the hearts of a number of hir maiesties subiects, by such meanes as is before largelie expressed; so that destruction should come vpon vs, before we had discouered their trecherous dealings. But God be thanked, as all their deuises haue had their deserued successe, this sophisticall order hath sped alike with them for companie: and this let them fullie assure themselues, that what meanes soeuer they séeke against their princesse and countrie, God will reward them after their owne dealings.

Campion his owne answer as concerning his allegiance to hir maiestie.

To Campion himselfe the former questions were put forth at the barre: and this answer he made to them. She is my lawfull souereigne ladie & quéene, and I do obeie hir. But when he was demanded, although the pope did expresselie command him the contrarie: if he would neuertheless faithfullie obeie hir? Oh then! they must not so déepelie enter into his conscience, that barre was not a barre to define on causes of conscience: that question touched his conscience, wherefore he flatlie said he might not answer it. No, no, he knew full well that the traitorous affaires he came about, would not allow him such a direct answer as they had looked for, and gladlie would haue had, that of a Saule they might haue made him a Paule. Wherefore his secret and guilefull behauiour made perfect apéerance of his wicked intent, which he shadowed vnder the counterfeit cloke of sauing soules, and reconciling his countriemen to the catholike faith, vnder the sweet bait of the amiable title of the societie of Iesus, to which order hauing bequeathed himselfe (and become a resolute and obstinate votarie) he thirsted after the kingdome of heauen; if we make beléeue their owne report concerning Campion, of whome they saie:

Nominis inde tui sancto deuotus Iesu
Ille sodalitio cœlica regna sitit.

Here it can not be greatlie amisse, to rehearse vnto you the cause why this pope hath tolerated the former bull, séeing this sophisticall kind of answering grew chieflie thereby. When anie of these secret messengers should be sent about their holie fathers determination here in England, to reconcile, shriue, & win hir maiesties subiects to their diuelish intent: if such misaduenture should happen to them, that their secret delings came to the eares of iustice, then they fell into the danger of law. Wherfore to shadow their subtiltie, and to prosecute the effect of their message, the pope thought good to harten them by this sophisticall addition. For well we know, & themselues likewise are not ignorant thereof, that being examined, if they should denie the quéenes maiestie to be their supreme princesse and gouernesse in all causes: then they fell into condemnation by hir lawes. Againe, if they denied the authoritie of the pope, as of force they must néeds do, if they will esteeme themselues good subiects, and manifest a dutifull and obedient heart to hir maiestie: then they breake their vow made to the pope, and so fall into his curse and condemnation likewise: so that this is certeinlie appointed them, to cleaue faithfullie to the one, and vtterlie to forsake the other.

The cause why this pope hath tolerated the former bull of Pius Quintus.

Yet that they might haue as much fauour and friendship, as the furtherance of such a cause required: this hard clause (being well scanned of diuerse our English doctors and others, both at Rome and at Rheimes) was thorough earnest sute deliuered to diuerse of the cardinals, who laieng their heads togither, and throughlie searching the bottome of euerie doubt: a toleration for that strict point was found out, which was ordeined as you haue heard before. Then in all the hast the pope was giuen to vnderstand thereof, who respecting what might be for his benefit, and what might turne to his discommoditie, authorised them this former toleration, which (God be thanked) carried as slender strength as the rest of his practises hath done. Yet all this being knowne to vs, Campion & his fellowes will grant no knowledge, but pleade still their deuout consciences. An other of their owne bookes was also there read vnto them, wherein was other orders prescribed them, how they should handle a nobleman, how a gentleman, and how a poore man: which being openlie read before them, gaue all there present to vnderstand, how assuredlie they had appointed the course for their treason. A number of inuincible proofs passing against them, they came at last to the point of their comming ouer; how suddenlie, how hastilie, & all thorough a generall appointment. Campion, he had staid a long time at Praga in Bohemia, and

Our English doctors conferring with the cardinals found out the meane for this toleration.

An other booke how to handle all maner of persons to win them to their intent.

Campion sent for from Pra-

ga to go with other priests appointed for England.

and on a sudden he was hastilie sent for to Rome: by his owne confession he knew not wherefore, but the message was in such hast, that he must come thither with all speed.

When he came to Rome, he staied there but fiue daies: in which time, receiuing the summe of their charge from the pope, as is their vsuall wont, and their father generall deliuering them what he hath in office: he was dispatched from thense with other priests, who had their *viaticum* from the popes treasurie, and were all especiallie apointed for England. These priests were sent (as all other are) about the chiefe cause, for that none come from thense but onelie for that purpose. The estate of the cause before expressed, it is too manifest, that Campion and his fellowes are guiltie of the matters obiected against them. For this you are to remember, that none must staie there without they will be priests; when they receiue their priesthood, they enter into their oth, which oth conteineth the summe of the treason: so that all which come from thense (hauing taken that oth) come about the execution of the treason, in that none but they that are especiallie sent, can haue their *viaticum* of the pope; and then he sending them, the case is too euident.

The priests are there onelie mainteined for this purpose, and none come from thense, but about this cause, which proueth them altogither guiltie.

Let not a light iudgement passe ouer a matter of so great respect, let the popes intent of keeping them there be considered, the great malice and spite that he beareth his maiestie and the relme, and then their oth to execute his commandements; all these laid together, discouereth the depth of their trecherie. But what answereth maister Campion to this? He confesseth that he was quietlie setled at Praga, and little expected anie such hastie sending for: beside that, he went to Rome with great speed, tarrieng there no longer than fiue daies, as is before expressed, and that he receiued his *viaticum* of the pope, when as he was dispatched thense with other priests, purposelie appointed for England, and that he came no otherwise than they did, nor for anie other intent than for the benefit of soules, as he still termed it: but he would not grant that he came for anie treason.

Campion granteth, he came as the other priests did to reconcile & shrine: but he wil not allow that he came for anie treason.

So that to seduce hir maiesties subiects, to persuade them from their duetie and obedience, and to ioine themselues in such sort, as their princesse and countrie must be destroied thereby: this is no treason in his opinion. Howbeit, Campion and his fellowes pleaded ignorance still, they saw and would not see, they were so craftilie schoold. James Bosgraue, he was at Vilna in Polonia, and as he confessed himselfe, he vnderstood that there was priests appointed for England: vpon which report he came awaie from thense in verie great hast. And in his passage, he mentioned to one in the ship, who was sworne, and confessed the same before certeine iustices, that there was such matter towards in England, as hath beene before expressed: and thereupon he sought to haue wone him, if his purpose could haue taken effect. Campion seeing this begun somewhat to touch the quicke, and that in truth it discouered the dealings of them all: he taketh vpon him to answer on his behalfe, for that they all reposed themselues on him.

James Bosgraue, his hastie comming from Vilna, whē he heard that priests were appointed for England.

He saith, that if Bosgraue did heare such news, that there were papists appointed for England, whie should they take hold on so small a cause? Flieng reports are not to be credited, for albeit he heard such newes, how knew he, if they were certeine or no? Againe (quoth he) the man hath beene long out of England, and he doth not speake English perfectlie: it maie be then that some word maie escape him vnawares, which you are not to build vpon, considering the defect of the man, for he maie peraduenture speake he knoweth not what. And where you saie, that such a one hath auouched before certeine iustices, that he vsed such and such words to him; where is the man, we are not to credit a written paper, what know we if it be true or no? Let vs heare him selfe saie so, and then we will beleeue it. See what a number of shifts he had cōtinuallie to wast the time, and all to no purpose. The mans owne confession was there, wherto himselfe had subscribed, and foure or fiue iustices set their hands to it for the certeintie thereof; yet this was not sufficient to answer them.

Campion frequenteth his accustomed order of subtil answering.

Traitors will neuer beleeue anie truth, especiallie if it touch themselues.

Robert Johnson he was likewise at Auinion in France, from whense he came also in verie great hast, vpon the report he had heard of priests that were appointed for England. Now there is an other thing to be considered, that these men, setled where they were, by their owne confession they must not depart from thense without they be appointed by their superiors, then it is easie to be answered, that they came by their superiors apointment at this present: and as the generall determination was, so they came all for one cause & intent. Edward Rishton, he being here in England, wrote a letter to Richardson a priest, and who is likewise condemned amongest them; which letter was there openlie read to his face. Now there were foure goldsmiths of his occupation latelie come ouer, who indeed were priests, and how all things went successiuelie forwards. And Campion being in the Tower wrote a letter vnto Pownd likewise, wherein he gaue him to vnderstand that he was verie sorie, that through his frailtie he had betraied those, at whose houses he had beene so frendlie interteined; wherefore he asked God hartilie forgiuenesse, and them all whome he had so highlie offended. But (saith he) as for the chiefe matter that is as yet vnreuealed, and come racke come rope, neuer shall that be discouered. A number of matters more were brought against them, which to rehearse, would require a farre more large discourse: but to be briefe, in the end, this was the full and certeine issue. That these men, when they were beyond the seas: the generall agreement and determination amongest them, was to worke the death of our most gratious princesse, to destroie hir dominion, and to erect such as pleased them when this aforesaid daie should take effect. And that their comming ouer, was to seduce hir louing subiects, to win their obedient hearts from hir, so that they should be in a readinesse to ioine with a forren power, and so they should likewise be destroiers of their princesse and countrie. And that in the meane while they themselues sought to accomplish hir maiesties death, so much as in them laie.

Robert Johnson his coming from Auinion in France.

Edward Rishtons letter to Richardson one of the condemned.

Campions letter to maister Pownd in the Tower.

This was manifestlie proued by verie large and ample euidence, credible witnesses, and their owne confessions and writings: whereon the iurie, hauing wiselie and discreetlie pondered and searched and seene into the depth of euerie cause, worthilie and deseruedlie gaue them vp all guiltie of the treasons whereof they were indicted and arreigned. Which being done, after a godlie and comfortable exhortation, persuading them patientlie to suffer and abide the death for them appointed, and to be heartilie sorie for their grieuous and hainous offenses, the sentence of death was pronounced on them: that they should depart to the places from whense they came, and from thense to be drawne on hurdles to the place of execution, where they should be hanged till they were halfe dead: then to be cut downe, their priuie members to be cut off, and their entralles taken forth, and to be burned in the fire before their eies: then their heads to be cut off, their bodies parted into foure quarters to be disposed at hir maiesties pleasure, and the Lord God to receiue their soules to his mercie. Afterwards they were conueied from thense

Campion was resolute in the chiefe matter.

Sentence of death denounced against Campion and his conferats.

with botes to a place of landing for them appointed, from whense they were conducted to the Tower of London, diuers of them giuing forth sundrie lewd and dishonest speeches: as Thomas Cotcham, seeing so manie people to behold them, desired that fire and brimstone might fall from heauen, to destroie both the cittie and all that were in it: with diuerse other wicked words, which for modesties sake I omit here to rehearse, desiring God in mercie to giue men better grace.

On the next daie, being tuesdaie and the one and twentith daie of Nouember, there was brought to the said high barre these persons following; John Hart, Thomas Ford, William Filbie, Laurence Richardson, John Shert, Alexander Brian, and John Collington. Alexander Brian, he had shauen his crowne himselfe, & made him a crosse of a peece of a trencher, which he held in his hand openlie & prai-ed to: which when he was rebuked for, he boldlie and stoutlie made answer; that his crowne was of his owne shauing, and he had good hope to do it againe. In breefe, they were all indicted on the selfe same treasons as they were the daie before; and John Harts traitorous sermon which he made at Rhems against hir maiestie auouched to his face, their owne writings and confessions with substantiall witnesse produced against them, so that they were found guil-tie of their treasons, as the other were before them, except John Collington, he was quit of the former high treason by the Jurie.

A verie holie thing, but verie meet for his deuotion.

On fridaie being the first of December, Ed-mund Campion Jesuit, Ralfe Sherwin, & Alexan-der Brian seminarie priests, being condemned for high treason against hir maiesties most rotall per-son, as also for traitorous practises, touching the subuersion of the true & vndoubted religion here main-teined, with the vtter ruine and ouerthrow of this realme of England, were drawne from the Tower of London on hurdles, to the place of execution ap-pointed, garded with such a sufficient companie as might expresse the honor of iustice the larger in that behalfe. Being come to the place of execution, where diuerse of hir maiesties honorable councell, with manie honorable personages, and gentlemen of worship and good account, beside a multitude of people not here to be remembred attended their comming; Edmund Campion was first brought vp into the cart, where after the great rumor of so manie people somewhat appeased, he spake thus.

Execution of Campion, Sherwin, and Brian.

First he began (the people then present expec-king his confession) with a phrase or two in Latine, when immediatlie after he fell into English in this maner. I am here brought as a spectacle before the face of God, of angelles, and of men, satisfieng my selfe to die as becommeth a true christian & ca-tholike man. As for the treasons that haue béene laid to my charge, and I am come here to suffer for: I de-sire you all to beare witnesse with me, that thereof I am altogither innocent. Whereupon answer was made to him by one of the councell, that he might not seeme to denie th' obiections against him, hauing béene prooued so manifestlie to his face, both by suffi-cient witnesse and euidence. Well my lord (quoth he) I am a catholike man, and a priest, in that faith haue I liued hitherto, and in that faith I do intend to die; and if you esteeme my religion treason, then of force I must grant vnto you, as for anie other treason I will not consent vnto. Then was he mo-ued as concerning his traitorous and hainous of-fense to the quéenes most excellent maiestie. Where-to he answered; She is my lawfull princesse and quéene. There somwhat he drew in his words to him-selfe, whereby was gathered, that somwhat he would haue gladlie spoken: but the great timiditie and vnstable opinion of his conscience, wherein he was all the time euen to the death, would not suffer him to vtter it.

Campion in his confession implieth a de-fense of his in-nocencie.

Here is with iudgement a deepe point and high matter to be considered, that this man alwaies di-recting the course of his life to a vaineglorious ima-gination, and alwaies couetous to make himselfe famous; at this instant made a perfect discouerie of himselfe. For being somewhat learned, all matters whatsoeuer (as you haue heard before) he bare a-waie with a maiesticall countenance, the visor of vanitie aptlie fitting the face of onelie hypocrisie; what was sound he would make sophisticall, what was the infallible truth of it selfe he would carrie in his owne conceipt, and delude the people with a pleasant quirke, or some such stuffe, onlie to purchase him credit and affection. And he was not to learne to set a corragious countenance on euerie such slight reason, whereby he peruerted manie, deceiued more, and was thought such a champion, as the pope neuer had the like. But now behold the man, whom neither racke nor rope should alter, whose faith was such as he boasted inuincible: feare had caught hold on this braue boaster, and terror entred his thoughts, where-by was discouered his impudent dissimulations. Now let it with patience be moued a little, that the outward protestations of this man vrged some there present to teares, not entring into conceipt of his inward hypocrisie to make a plausible definition of this perillous deceiuer, not by coniecture, but by proofe it shall be thus answered.

Campion no-ted to be verie vaingloious.

Campion described.

Edmund Campion, as it is by men of sufficient credit reported, at what time he spent his studie here in England both in the hospitall, and also at the vniuersitie of Oxford, was alwaies addicted to a maruellous suppose in himselfe of ripe iudgement, prompt audacitie, and cunning conueiance in his schole points: wherethrough he fell into a proud and vaineglorious iudgement, practising to be eloquent in phrase, and so fine in his quirks and fantasticall coniectures, that the ignorant he won by his smoth deuises, some other affecting his pleasant imagina-tions he charmed with subtilitie and choked with so-phistrie. The learned, who beheld his practises and peremptorie order of life, pitieng his follie, and wi-shing him a more staied determination, lothed his maners; yet loued the man, because christian chari-tie willed them so to do. Now this glorious Thraso hauing by his libels made himselfe famous, and vn-der shew and suppose of great learning (though in-deed being approued, found verie simple to the spee-ches giuen of him) subdued manie to affect him ve-rie much, when he was taken he knew it stood him vpon, not to lose the credit openlie he had woone se-cretlie. Wherefore in his former ridiculous maner, both in prison, at his arreignment, yea and at his death, he continued the same in all points, which the foulnesse of his treasons blemished euerie waie. Now indeed, as our English nation is both louing and pitifull: so manie seeing the gifts of God so well bestowed on the man, and by him applied to so great abuse, through naturall kindnesse bemoned his case, wishing he had not fallen into so traitorous a cause. Then was moued to him againe his treasons and hainous offenses against the quéenes maiestie, which impudentlie he still denied, seeming to vtter words on the behalfe of one Richardson, one likewise of the condemned traitors, taking on his conscience that it was not he. Which hath bin prooued to the contra-rie, for that it is knowne how this Richardson is he, who distributed Campions libels and bookes abrode: and when he was put to his oth, whether it was he or no, he refused to sweare on his behalfe. And because the world might be fullie resolued, that (notwithstan-

A further des-cription of Edmund Campion.

Campions curious care to keepe the credit he had woone in England.

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ding all the pretended & colourable meanes he could vse for his excuse and innocencie) he was to suffer death deseruedlie as a traitor, &c. There was read to his face in the hearing of the assemblie a pamphlet published by authoritie as followeth.

An aduertisement and defense for truth *against hir backebiters, and speciallie against* the whispering fauourers and colourers *of Campions and the rest of his con-* federats treasons.

The true occasion of Campions & other of his stampe comming into England.

ALthough at the late arreignements at Westminster of Edmund Campion, & other his complices condemned there of sundrie high treasons, it was manifestlie declared and fullie prooued, how they all, vnder pretense of the names of Iesuits, seminarie priests, & other persons of like condition, had secretlie come into this realme, by sending of sundrie persons authorised by the pope, to moue the people by their secret persuasions to change their professions in the matter of religion, of long time quietlie established in this realme, and to be reconciled to the obedience of the pope, and withdrawen from their naturall allegiance due to the quéenes maiestie, and by these meanes to be readie in their hearts and minds and otherwise prouided, to ioine their forces as well with such as their heads and superiors which sent them intended spedilie to procure to be sent into this relme, as with other rebellious subiects by them to be thereto also excited, of purpose to depriue hir maiestie of hir life, crowne, and dignities: in like maner as latelie hath bene notoriouslie attempted and put in execution by doctor Sanders an arrant and detestable traitor, and whilest he liued one of the said Campions companions, and by other English and Irish Iesuits and traitors in Ireland, where they had first by their like secret meanes and persuasions, intised a great multitude of people of that land, first to change their profession of religion, and to acknowledge the popes authoritie, and to renounce the iust authoritie of hir maiestie; & so departing from their allegiance, vpon the arriuall of forren forces they did enter into a manifest rebellion, against the which almightie God the iust auenger of rebels by his goodnesse hath giuen hir maiestie (through hir good ministers) power to the vanquishing, not onelie of those forren forces, but also of a great number of the rebels there. Yet it is maliciouslie, falselie, and traitorouslie by some of the secret fauourers of the said Campion, and other the said condemned traitors whispered in corners, that the offenses of these traitors were but for their secret attemptings as Iesuits, by exhorting and teaching; with shriuing, massing, and such like acts, to moue people to change their religion, & to yeld their obedience to the pope as Christs vicar (although the same be of themselues offenses verie heinous, and séeds of sedition not allowable by the lawes of the realme) whereas in verie truth neuertheless it did manifestlie appeare vpon their indictments, and at their arreignements, by sundrie confessions of some of their owne companions, and by manie good proofes and witnesses produced and sworne before their faces, that their facts whereof they were arreigned and condemned, were such as were in truth hie treasons committed against hir maiesties roiall person, and against the ancient lawes and statutes of this realme, which manie hundred yeres past were in force against like traitors, and not for facts of doctrine or religion, nor yet for offenses against anie late or new statutes, the same being manie conspiracies at sundrie times beyond the seas, at Rome in Italie and other [illegible] lastlie at Rheimes in France, where there are nourished by the popes authoritie in seminaries multitudes of English Iesuits, seminarie priests, and fugitiues, whereof their heads and gouernors vse continuallie in their sermons, and in their bookes publikelie printed, as traitors to declare their traitorous minds as far forth as they can, to the depriuation of the quœnes maiestie of hir life and crowne: to which ends the said Campion and his said companions, by procurement of their said heads, came secretlie into this realme, to moue the subiects to renounce their naturall obedience; & according to a bull of the last pope Pius published to persuade all sorts with whom they durst secretlie deale, that hir maiestie by the said popes excommunication was not the lawfull quœne of the realme, nor that the subiects were bound to obeie anie of hir lawes or ministers: but that they were all frée, and discharged of their obedience and allegiance, and that they might lawfullie, yea that when time might serue, they ought to take armes against hir maiestie, as in the late rebellion in the north was manifestlie by like meanes put in execution, and as now also latelie was notoriouslie attempted in Ireland, by stirring vp the people in the popes name, and vnder his standard to an open generall rebellion. And to haue brought these things to passe in this realme, was the comming into this realme of the said Campion and his complices most manifestlie tried and prooued; as if by Gods goodnes by their apprehensions, after their secret wandrings and disguisings of themselues in a great part of the shires of the realme, these traitors had not bene now staied, and by iust punishmments ordered to be executed, there would haue appéered such mischiefe as is lamentable to be thought of; to the danger of hir maiesties person, and to the hazard and ruine of the whole realme by inuasion of the same with forren enimies, and by raising of inward warre within the realme; the end and euent whereof, as of warre ciuill, can not be without great græfe mentioned or imagined.

The craft and drift of pope Pius his seditious bull.

Much mischiefe preuented by the timelie attaching of Campion and his like.

And to the further reproofe and condemnation of the said Campion and other the traitours now condemned, they being all seuerallie and earnestlie required at the place of their arreignement to declare what they thought of the said popes bull (by which hir maiestie was in the popes intention depriued of the crowne) and of doctors Sanders, and of Bristowes traitorous writings in maintenance of the said bull, and allowance of the rebellion in the north, and of Sanders traitorous actions in Ireland; and being likewise demanded what they did thinke if the present pope should publish the like bull: none of them all, but one onelie named Rushton, could be persuaded by anie their answers to shew in anie part their misliking either of the former bull, or of doctor Sanders, or Bristowes traitorous writings or actions, or of the pope that now is, if he should now publish the like bull against hir maiestie; so as they did aparantlie shew their traitorous harts still fired to persist in their diuelish minds against their naturall allegiance: whereof God giue all good subiects, being true Englishmen borne, grace to beware, and in no sort to giue eare or succour to such pernicious traitors, howsoeuer they shall be couered with hypocrisie, & false and fained holines of Rome.

How the traitors stood opinioned to ye said factious bull, &c.

The craft and practises of the Iesuits in Ireland.

The proceeding of iustice against Campion, &c: defamed.

Campion and his complices offense was ranke treason.

This aduertisement read and heard, the time by pitifull delaies began to passe awaie, in somuch that the executioner was now to fall to his charge: whervpon Campion was exhorted to praie with the people in English; naie, to doo so he was desired, howbeit he would not: but said his *Pater noster* in Latine. and desired all those of the household of faith to sai[illegible]

[illegible] on

one *Credo* for him. Manie indirect answers he made, as when he was moued to aske the quæne forgiuenesse, and when the preacher requested him to shew some signe of a penitent sinner, then shortlie he replied: You and I, we are not of one religion. After a few silent praiers to himselfe, the cart was drawen awaie, & he committed to the mercie of God. There he hanged till he was dead, when being cut downe, he was bowelled and quartered, according as it was appointed by iustice. Rafe Sherwin seemed a man of better iudgement, more learned, and more obedient; he said the Lords praier in English, beléeuing in God that made him, in Christ his sonne that saued him, and in the Holie ghost that sanctified him: and according to the saieng of S. Augustine, desired Jesus, that he would be to him Jesus, as much to saie, as his sauiour and redæmer. He likewise confessed himselfe a catholike man and a préest, intending to die in that faith. But when the treasons were moued to him, he likewise did make denial thereof. He asked the quænes maiestie forgiuenesse, and desired that she might long liue and reigne ouer vs. Then was read to him the booke of the aduertisement, which before had bæne read to Campion, and after a few praiers he likewise ended his life. Alexander Brian séemed more obstinate and impious, using verie little signe of repentance and hartie humilitie: he vsed manie praiers to himselfe, and spake verie little worthie the rehearsall. Iustice being executed on him, he and Sherwin were quartered, according as Campion had bæne before them.

Rafe Sherwins behauiour at his death.

Alexander Brians demenour at his death.

¶ No soner had iustice giuen the blow of execution, and cut off the foresaid offendors from the earth; but certeine enimies to the state politike and ecclesiastike, greatlie fauouring them, and their cause, which they falslie gaue out to be religion, dispersed abroad their libels of most impudent deuise, tending to the iustifieng of the malefactors innocencie, to the heinous and vnrecompensable defamation of the course of iustice and iudgement against them commensed and finished: in somuch that speaking of the daie whereon they died, they blushed not to intitle them martyrs, saieng among other things not publishable, as in these few verses extracted followeth:

Ex libello quodam famoso.

Vna dies viuos pariter cæsósque videbat,
In cœlum missos vidit & vna dies:
Aeterníque breui gaudent pro morte coronis,
Hæc sunt martyribus dona parata pijs.
Fœlix illa dies mensis fuit illa Decembris,
Martyrijs donans cœlica regna tribus:
Fœlix quæ sanctum suscepit terra cruorem,
*Quem cæcata odij fuderat ira * tui:*
Supremúmque manens fœlix constantia finem,
Atque in conspectu mors pretiosa Dei, &c.

* *Alludit ad Angliam.*

Thus slanderouslie against the administration of iustice scattered these vipers brood their lieng reports, therein to the skies aduancing the children of iniquitie as spotlesse; yea forging most monstruous fables, put them in print; as though God and nature had suffered violence to their vnappeaseable indignation, for that men of such integritie forsooth and extraordinarilie sanctified, suffered so shamefull a death: in somuch that it was bruted abroad not by men, but brute beasts, that on the selfe same daie whereon Campion was executed, the riuer of Thames did neither ebb nor flow, but stood still. O miracle! Whether this were a lie or not, as all the world may sweare it was no truth; this is certeine and vndoubted, that there was found a facultie about Campion a litle before his death, wherein authoritie was giuen him from the bishop of Rome Gregorie the thirteenth, to execute the sentence of the bull published by Pius Quintus against all the quæns maiesties subiects as heretiks, &c: and yet this man forsooth (albeit notorious) died not for treason but for religion, as with fowle mouths they are not ashamed to saie:

'Abr. Fl. *Ex concione apud crucem Paulinam per D. Sellar 6. Feb. 1586.*

Religio crimen non mala vita fuit.

But of this matter inough, & now to the processe of English accidents after this tragicall narration.] When the quæne of England and the monsieur the duke of Anion vnderstood by report made to hir maiestie and his highnesse by monsieur de Pruneaur (who had bæne sent ouer a litle before from the duke to the prince of Orange, and had prosecuted the treatie the former yeares as his ordinarie ambassador) what good will and great longing he had found in the prince of Orange, who was come into the Ile of Walkeren with a great number of gentlemen, and with the deputies of the states, and of the chiefest of the best cities of the low countrie to receiue his highnesse, and to do him most humble seruice: and when they had also heard the ambassage of the lords of Dhain & Junius, sent from the lords of the state to the duke, to shew vnto him the exceeding great desire which all the people had to sée his highnes, for the present ratifieng of the former couenants that had passed betwixt them: for accomplishing whereof it was needfull that he should passe ouer with all spéed: whereby the same thing was confirmed which had bæne declared oft afore by the lord of mount saint Aldegond, ordinarie ambassador to hir maiestie and his hignes: vpon the intelligence of these things, it was resolued by hir maiestie & his highnes, that the monsieur should depart. Whereupon the quæne calling the lord Howard, commanded him (for the earle of Lincolne was then sicke) to take vpon him the charge of the admerals ship, and to go to Rochester, and there to chose vessels méet for the transporting of monsieur & his traine, & to furnish them with men of war, mariners, and all manner of necessaries as well of war as of vittels. Which thing was done with such diligence and spæd, that the ships being readie with all things in lesse than eight daies, passed out of the riuer of Rochester and the Thames, and were conueied to the downes néere to the towne of Sandwich, where the monsieur was to take shipping. And for so much as the monsieur came into England accompanied but with a few princes and lords, & they also had left their traine in France, & some of the same lords were sent backe againe afterward by his commandement and for his seruice; the quæne determined to giue him a companie & traine mét for his greatnesse, taking his iournie about so great & noble exploit. And therfore (as agréeing with hir highnesse hart) she commanded the earle of Leicester master of hir horsses, the lord of Hunsdon gouernour of Berwike hir maiesties néere kinsman,

Monsieur duke of Anion departeth out of England.

——(*cuius fuerat matertera pulchra*
*Reginæ genetrix Henrici nobilis * vxor*)

* *Nempe Anne Henrici 8 vxor, sereniss. reginæ Elisabethæ genetrix.*

and the lord Howard the viceadmerall (of whom the first two were of hir priuie councell, and all three were knights of the order of the garter) to attend vpon him, and to assemble as great a number of English lords and gentlemen as could be gotten in so litle time, to honour him withall: whereunto the said lords obeied verie willinglie. And there went with them to accompanie them, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Windsore, the lord Sheffield, the lord Howard, the lord Awdlete second sonne to the late duke of Norffolke: master Philip Sidneie nephue to the forenamed erle of Leicester, sir George Careie, and master John & Robert Careie all three sonnes of the said lord of Hunsdon; master William Howard brother of the said lord Howard, sir Thomas Sherleie, sir Thomas Perot, sir William Russell, sir William Drurie, & sir George Bowser knights, and a great number of gentlemen; namelie, master Henrie Windsore brother to the lord Windsore, master

ster John Bozough brother to the lozd Bozough, master Walter Ralegh, master Georze Carew, master Edward Hobbie, master Francis Darcie, master Michaell Stanhope, master William Knols master Francis Knolles, master Georze Digbie, master Thomas Vauasor, master Anthonie Mildemaie, master Henrie Nowell, master Nicholas Gorges, master Michaell Harecourt, master Fulke Greuill: so as the whole traine that attended vpon the said earle, was to the number of an hundred gentlemen, and more than three hundred seruingmen. The lord of Hunsdon had of gentlemen and others togither to the number of a hundred and fiftie: and the lord Howard had as manie; besides manie more, whereof diuerse were hir maiesties seruants. The quéene determined to accompanie the monsieur to the sea side, & yet neuertheless commanded the said lords to kéepe their course, and to attend vpon his highnesse to the said place, with all maner of solemnities, interteinments, and feastings. He on the other side desired and besought hir maiestie not to depart from London, as well for that the iournie would be painefull vnto hir; and for that he saw the weather faire and wind fauorable, and therefore was loth to lose anie occasion of performing his voiage with all spéed. But he could not preuaile.

The quéenes maiestie lodgeth at Rochester.

Wherevpon hir maiestie toke hir iournie with hir whole court, the first date of Februarie, & lodged that night at Rochester. The next date abiding still at Rochester, hir maiestie shewed him all hir great ships which were in that place, into most whereof his highnesse and the prince and lords of his traine entered, not without great admiration of the French lords & gentlemen, who confessed that of good right the quéene of England was reported to be ladie of the seas. Also he beheld how all those ships were readie furnished and well appointed. And hir maiestie told him that all those vessels & the furniture of them should doo him seruice, when soeuer he would imploie them: for the which he most humblie thanked hir maiestie, and so after all the great ordinance had béene shot off, they returned for that daie againe to Rochester. The third day they went to Sittingborne, where dining both togither, the quæne was serued after the English manner by the greatest ladies of hir court; and the monsieur after the French manner by the gentlemen of his traine, which ladies and gentlemen dined afterwards togither. Then his highnesse besought hir maiestie againe to go no further, declaring vnto hir that the faire weather passed awaie.

The quéenes maiestie accõpanied the monsieur to Canturburie where they & their traine parted.

But notwithstanding his intreatance the quéene went on still to Canturburie. At which place, after one daies tarriance, when she had openlie feasted all the French nobilitie, either part toke their leaue of other, not without great griefe and shew of verie great amitie, especiallie betwéene hir maiestie and the monsieur. Which thing was perceiued also in the lords and gentlemen of both nations, & likewise in the ladies, to all whome it was like griefe to depart after they had béene conuersant and had liued friendlie and brotherlie togither by the space of three moneths, without anie change or alteration of good willes. But the honor which inforced his highnesse, asswaged his griefe, and made him to proceed on his iournie with the said prince and lords of both nations.

The first daie of the same moneth, whereas he was determined to haue taken ship, he was counselled to lodge that night of Sandwich, because the wind was somewhat changed. Howbeit, some of the English gentlemen, namelie master Killegreie, master Diar and diuerse others, to eschew thronging at their imbarking went to Douer, and there taking ship the same night laie a while at anchor, and somwhat after midnight sailed awaie with certeine other vessels. The seuenth daie in the morning about nine of the clocke, his highnesse toke the sea in three great ships of war. In the greatest of them named the Discouerer sailed the monsieur himselfe with the erle of Leicester, and the lord Howard the viceadmerall; in the second called the Sentinell went the prince Dolphin; and in the third was the countie of Louall, and the lord of Hunsdon. Now as his highnesse was yet at anchor, there came a post from a lord of England, who brought him word that the states of the low countries were reuolted, and namelie the citie of Antwerpe, and therefore he praied him not to depart vntill he had more certeine newes. Notwithstanding this, his highnesse determined to depart, and so sailed awaie with fiftéene ships: and he had so faire weather (which continued euen vntill after his entering into Antwerpe, and his feasting and solemne interteinement there) that the heauen, the winds, the sea, and the earth séemed all to fauour his voiage, and to further the gladnesse which the people shewed in receiuing him with so great good will.

The prince of Orange taketh order for the interteinment of the monsieur.

In the meane time the prince of Orange, séeing the time fit, departed from Middleborough, where he had taried the monsieurs comming sir wéekes and more, and came to Flushing to take order for all things that were requisit for the honorable and commodious interteinement of so great a prince. At the which place, vnderstanding by the letters of the said lords ambassadours and others, that the monsieur was departed from London and come to Canturburie; and therefore thinking it would not be longer he arriued there: he dispatched monsieur Treslon his viceadmerall of Zeland, with a litle pinnesse called the Chase, to go before to meet the monsieur: commanding him that as soone as he had discouered his fleet, he should giue him a watchword thereof by the shot of two cannons. Monsieur Treslon hauing about nonetide discouered the ships that were parted from Douer, and thinking that they had béene the great fleet, gaue his watchword, which was the cause that a certeine vessell went forth to the sea to méet his highnesse; but anon after perceiuing his errour, he returned to Flushing, where by and by the fleet of Douer arriued. Then monsieur Treslon going forth, found the monsieur and the great fleet betwéene Newport and Dunkirke: where after salutation giuen and taken on either side, the monsieur standing vpon the hatches of his ship, espied his owne secretarie named Nephue standing likewise vpon the hatches of the Chase; to whome he sent his shipbote, commanding him to come aboord to him, which thing he did, and there aduertised the monsieur that as concerning the reuolting of the states there was no such matter, but that all things went verie well, & that his highnesse was waited for with great longing. That daie, by reason the wind was turned northeast, they could go no further, but were faine to cast anchor ouer against a place called Ostend, where they passed that night, waiting for the tide the nert morning. His ships were perceiued by them of Flushing, where after midnight arriued the lord of S. Aldegond, who assured the prince of Orange, that the nert morning the monsieur would arriue there with the tide. Wherevpon the prince of Orange and the prince of Espinoie with a great number of gentlemen toke the sea the nert morning: but bicause the tide was against them, and on the other part the monsieur hauing a side wind with him was constreined to hast to the land. By meanes whereof the prince, being not able to come aboord to him with his ship, was faine to turne saile backe againe to Flushing, where the prince Dolphin had taken land alreadie, & sought euerie where for the prince his brother.

Nephue the monsieurs secretarie.

The lord of S. Aldegond, the prince of Orange and the prince of Espinoie, &c.

When

When they had imbraced and saluted one an other like brethren; the prince of Orange, perceiuing the monsieur to approch verie neere, toke the water againe. But when he perceiued him to come downe into his bote to take land, he turned backe againe, and hied him so fast that he toke land before him, and there tarried his comming. As soone as he was arriued, while he was yet in his bote readie to come a land, the prince receiued him with great reuerence; and imbracing his highnesse knee, because he saw the weather was cold said vnto him in few words, that he was verie glad to see that happie daie, which had beene so long expected, wherein he had the honor to behold his highnesse, and to offer vnto him his most humble seruice, with goods and life, & all that he had besides; hoping that by meanes of his highnesse, that countrie hauing indured so great aduersitie, should now be fullie set at libertie. Whereunto the monsieur answered verie wiselie and brieflie. And when he had imbraced him with such honor as was due in respect of his age and doings: he came aland, and was brought by the prince to the palace of the citie: howbeit not without great difficultie, by reason of the great preasse of men of war and other people pestering one an other, the folke of that countrie thronging to see his highnesse, and the Englishmen which as then were come downe thither in great numbers preasing to know the prince of Orange. In the meane while the trumpets and drums sounded with such noise that the aire rang of it, and all the ordinance shot off, as well of the queenes ships as of the other ships, whereof the number was great which laie then in the rode, with so great roring and thundering, that they conueied the newes of his highnesse happie arriuall in the low countrie to Calis, and to other places of France. They of Flushing shot two peales, with so great noise by reason of the great number of the peeces that are in the towne, that all the ground rang of it. The monsieur found in that place all sorts of his officers; for his houshold and his gard of Swisses and Frenchmen, departing from Calis and Bullongne foure daies afore, were come to Middleborough.

Embracing of the knee.

The monsieur landeth.

Lustie discharging of guns on all sides.

The magistrates of the citie waited for him at the gates of the citie, who told him by the mouth of their recorder, that they were verie glad of his comming, and thought themselues happie to see him, in hope, that by his guiding and gouernement they should see their countrie restored to tranquillitie, and set vp againe in hir former renowme. The states of Brabant speaking by the mouth of monsieur van Stralen Amptman of Antwerpe, after their welcomming of him, declared with what mind the noble and good cities of Brabant had expected him, beseeching him most humblie to honor the countrie of Brabant with his presence out of hand. Next then the deputies of the citie of Bruselles (besides the declaration which they made of their owne good will, and generallie of all the peoples of that countrie) declared also particularlie, with what great goodwill and affection his highnesse had beene waited for in that citie, the cheefe seat of the lords of that countrie; and that after so manie mischeefes which they had suffered for withstanding the tyrannie of the Spaniards, next vnto God they had not anie hope, but in the comming of his highnesse their prince and lord. Afterward they of Antwerpe were heard, who declared the affection of the people toward his highnesse, their long longing for him, and the great desire which they had to see their prince and souereigne. The colonels and capteins of the towne spake afterward, and declared vnto him how carefullie and diligentlie they had kept the citie, in hope to put it shortlie into his hands, and reioising likewise at his comming.

The monsieur verie ioifullie receiued.

Antwerpe reioiseth at the monsieurs comming.

Vnto all these orations his highnesse answered verie sagelie and brieflie, as vnto all the residue, to the well liking and contentment of all that stood by. The prince of Orange tarried a while with the monsieur in the towne house of the citie: and then taking his leaue went to visit the princes and lords of both the nations that came with him to see how they fared, and to take order that they should want nothing, so far forth as the abilitie of the towne of Flushing (which is none of the greatest) could extend, where such prouision was made, that all were well lodged and serued, notwithstanding that aboue fiue hundred men of the onelie English lords were come aland that daie. All that after none was spent in feasting, in making of bonefires, in fireworks, in sounding of trumpets, and in all maner of tokens of ioie, which all men vttered vniuersallie for the comming of so great a prince. Also the foure members of Flanders, which came by the counsell of the prince of Orange, waited to present themselues vnto him at Middleborough.

English lords and their retinues.

The prince of Orange, perceiuing that the monsieur was minded to go the next daie to Middleborough, told him that there were three waies, the one about the castell of Ramekins, to enter in at the great chanell of Middleborough by the bout of the foreland; an other by the little chanell through the countrie; and that he had kept ships in a readinesse to go the outer waie, and a great sort of botes to go the inner waie, because his highnesse could not iorneie either by coch or on horsseback by reason of the winter, and there was but onelie one causeie whereby folke trauelled ordinarilie on foot. The monsieur beholding the fitnesse of the time, for indeed it was verie faire weather, and vnderstanding that the waie was not past a good French league in length, vndertoke to go it on foot, and so did all the rest of the princes, lords, and gentlemen, as well of the same countrie, as of France and England. A great sort of the monsieurs house, which were lodged alredie at Middleborough, came to meet him, speciallie his gard of Frenchmen and Swissers. A good waie out of the towne the magistrate of Middleborough came to meet him, as it were, about a third part of the waie, and there making an oration to him, told him of the great and long desire which all the people had of his comming, and that the people of Middleborough for their owne part thought themselues greatlie honored, in that he had vouchsafed to come to their citie, offering all dutifulnesse vnto him. His gard also met him in the same place, & then began the Swissers to march on in their order, striking vp their drums after their manner. Moreouer, sir companies of the citizens well armed and well araied stood imbattelled without the towne, who kept their place till the monsieur was past, and then they followed after leisurelie behind.

Three waies to Middleborough.

The monsieur is met going to Middleborough.

The deputies of the states of the earledome of Zeland waited his comming at the towne gate; who hauing declared the gladnesse which they conceiued, reioised at the happie successe which his highnes had had in making the peace in France, and in rescuing the citie of Cambraie by his armie and in his owne person, and in his passing into England, which they knew he had taken vpon him for none other cause than for the furtherance of the affaires of those countries; and finallie for that hauing put his person in danger of that passage, he was now happilie arriued in Zeland, most humblie thanking his highnesse, and declaring what hope they had conceiued of his presence, and therewithall offering right humblie whatsoeuer their dutie required. At the entrie of the gate one brought him a courser of Naples, but he determined with himselfe (seeing that the

The deputies of the states of the earledom of Zeland.

The monsieur would do as the com- did

the princes and lords had not their horses there) to go through with his iournie on foot, and so entred into the citie of Middleborough in this order. First went the magistrates of the citie with their vnder officers and ministers of iustice. Next them the deputies of the states of Zeland. After them followed diuerse gentlemen of all the three nations, with the deputies of the cities of Brabant, and of the foure members of Flanders. Then marched the Swissers after their accustomed fashion; in whose traine were a great sort of noblemen and also gentlemen, of whome the most part were Englishmen of the retinue of the three lords sent thither by the queene. Behind them insued as it were in one troope together, the prince Dolphin, the earle of Leicester, the prince of Espinoie, the countie de Lauall, the lord of Hunsdon, the lord Howard, and the rest of the lords. Then came the monsieur himselfe, hauing on his left hand somewhat more than halfe a pase beneath him, the prince of Orange, of whome he alwaies asked some question. After him followed his gard of Frenchmen, and after them the gard of the prince of Orange; and last of all the six ensigns that stood in battell raie without the citie, and ten others which had marshalled the streets vnto the market place, where all the rest of the citizens were imbattelled. Throughout all the streets from the gate to the monsieurs lodging, there were railes, and at euerie tenth pase on either side were burning cressets. And so his highnesse and all the nobilitie which accompanied him, passed on, maruelled to see so goodlie a citie in so little an Ile, and so neere to three other good townes, not distant one from another aboue one league. But most of all they wondered at the beautie of the market stéd, and of the common hall of the citie. His highnes lodging was verie well and richlie hanged and furnished, considering the small respit that the inhabitants had, so as he was verie well and commodiouslie lodged, both he and all the princes, noblemen, and gentlemen of all nations that attended vpon him. That euening was passed in feasting, in making of bonfires in the streets, in artificiall fireworks vpon the towers and steeples, and in sounding of trumpets. The next morning the twelue deputies of the foure members of Flanders speaking to his highnesse by the mouth of monsieur Taiard the recorder of Gant, declared at large the great goodwill of all the people of Flanders towards him, and that like as they had beene of the first that had sent vnto him, so they hoped to be of the first that should yéeld all humble seruice and subiection vnto him. Whereunto his highnesse answered verie discréetlie, as his custome was. He passed the rest of the time in plaieng at tennis with the prince of Orange, and after with other lords.

The earle of Leicester and other English lords.

Burning cressets on each side.

The monsieur Taiard recorder of Gant.

A solemne feast held in the townehall.

The thirtéenth daie he had a solemne feast made him in the townehall, where his highnesse commanded the tables to be prepared of purpose, that he might haue the compante of the prince Dolphin, the prince of Orange, the earle of Leicester, the prince of Espinoie, the countie de Lauall, the lord of Hunsdon, and the lord Howard. For the lords of England were highlie regarded & honored euerie where, both in respect of his maiestie which sent them, and also for the worthines of their persons. The feast was excellentlie well furnished of all things, & speciallie of tapistrie worke & other deuises of sugar; insomuch that both the Frenchmen and Englishmen confessed, that they had not béene wont to sée such manner of seruices in their countries. The fourtéenth daie the prince of Orange would néeds go see the putting of the ships in a readinesse, which should carrie the monsieur and his traine, which were in number foure and fiftie, and therefore he would haue gone to the foreland of Middleborough. Whereof the monsieur hearing would néeds go with him. On thursdaie the fiftéenth of that moneth, his highnesse went to see the towne of Ermwiden, which is about halfe a league from Middleborough. And vnderstanding that the English lords were gone to see the towne of Vere, (called by strangers Camfer by reason of the passage that was sometime in the towne of Campe which is now drowned) he also toke bote and went thither, where all the companie was verie well receiued by the inhabitants, notwithstanding that they were taken vnprouided. The sixtéenth daie his highnesse was determined to haue taken ship, but there arose so great a storme, that the mariners councelled him to forbeare the sea for that daie: by reason whereof his imbarking was deferred till the next morrow, at which time his highnesse with all his traine sailed awaie. He himselfe was caried in a ship painted all ouer with his owne colours beset with a number of flags and pensils of the armes of Anion. The residue had their accustomed flags so greatlie feared of the Spaniards, belaied with the colours of the prince of Orange. This fléet came that daie against Beerland in the Ile of south Beueland, where they cast anchor and spent that night there. The next daie being arriued luckilie at Lisso, after manie shot of ordinance from the fort and from the ships of warre which accompanied his highnesse, they did cast anchor againe. He himselfe went aland, and laie that night in the captens lodging longing for the morning. This fort of Lisso is builded a three leagues beneath Antwerpe vpon the point of a dike or causeie in the parish of Lisso. The place is so commodious, that with a musket a man may easilie shot from the one banke of the riuer Skeld to the other; and by reason that the streame of the riuer and the tide of the sea, which passeth that waie twise a daie, do make it croked, that place being occupied by the enimie, might greatlie hinder and annoie the sailing thereof. And therefore the citizens of Antwerpe following the aduise and platforme laid forth by the prince of Orange, bestowed great cost in fortifieng that place, which hath a great tower with great bulworks rampires, and ditches, and is so well strengthned and flanked to the purpose, and hath the water so at commandement, that as now it is not to be woone by anie force. The next date being mondaie, the nintéenth daie of Februarie, his highnesse departed thense to make his entrie into the renowned citie of Antwerpe.

The monsieur goeth to see the towne of Ermwiden.

The monsieurs ships painted with his owne colours.

The fort of Lisso.

The monsieur prepareth to make his entrie into Antwerpe.

The roiall interteinement of the right high and mightie prince, Francis the French kings onelie brother, by the grace of God duke of Brabant, Aniou, Alanson, Berrie, &c, into the citie of Antwerpe.

IN all great and statelie shewes and assemblies, they that are the authors and setters forth of them, indeuour to beautifie and commend as much as they can the things which they offer to the sight of those whome they intend to honour, and of those which resort thither from strange places, to delight themselues with the beholding of them. The ancient historiographers describe vnto vs manie great triumphes, and statelie interteinements of emperours, kings, and great captens, and they forget not to put into their writings the great costlinesse and charges, and whatsoeuer else was set forth to the shew, to content the eies of the beholders. And albeit that neither gold, siluer, prétious stones, tapistrie, cloth of silke, fine linnen, diuersities of vessels, nor varietie of paintings were spared, but all such things haue inriched those shewes: yet notwithstanding,

The finest shew that can be made what it is.

ding, there is not anie thing that hath yelded greater grace, beautie, and contentment to such assemblies, than the multitude and brightnesse of armorie and of things perteining to martiall affaires, as engines, artillerie, and shewes of cities and castels beaten downe or taken by force from the enimies. And therefore in the Romane empire (which excelled all the other not onlie in conquests, martiall discipline, and politike order of gouernment, but also in sumptuousnes and roialtie) although infinit numbers of publike games and exercises were exhibited by them being the greatest lords of the world, who not onelie spared not anie thing that was in their owne power, but also made the cities and countries, which were anie waie bound vnto them, to send vnto them whatsoeuer rare and exquisit things they could come by, to serue their turnes in the shewes which they exhibited to the people: yet notwithstanding their triumphes haue so borne the bell aboue all the rest, that the word triumphing which commeth thereof, hath bene applied to all high, great, and statelie doings.

The triumphs of the Romans excelled all their other shewes.

Not that in their other shewes anie thing was spared, which might content the eies euen of couetous folke, or satisfie the bloudthirstie harts of such as toke no pleasure but to behold the sheading of bloud, yea oftentimes of mans bloud before their eies: but in their triumphings nothing was so glorious as the armorie and personages of the great capteines that had bene conquerors, which thing contented the beholders far more without all comparison. And therefore when men intend to betoken the exceeding huge greatnesse of Rome, they terme it the triumphant Rome, which importeth as much as the rich, wealthie, and victorious Rome, replenished with great numbers of noble capteines, and valiant souldiors. And this terme is come of the great numbers of triumphs, which were seene there in the times of the Scipios, Paules, Claudies, Metelles, Pompeis, Cesars, and others. True it is that the other shewes also were verie glorious and beautifull to behold, and did (I wote not how) tickle the harts of such as were fed with the beholding of their riches and of the infinite numbers of lions, tigres, panthers, beares, and swordplaiers incountring one another to the death: but yet the beholding of a goodlie companie of men armed in goodlie armour, marching in good order (besides the contenting of the sight, which is far better than to see riches) doth also wonderfullie rauish mens minds, and driue the beholder into an astonishment, setting him after a sort besides himselfe; and yet neuertheless filling him with a ioy and contentation surmounting all others. For as in the pleasures of the bodie, those seeme greatest which do most alter the senses with their pleasantnes: so fares it also with the delights of the mind, which become so much the greater, when admiration being matched with them, doth also moreouer rauish the vnderstanding, and set a man as it were out of his wits. And therefore when great personages (who can better iudge of matters than plaine simple folke can) do make discourse of things that are beautifull and desireable to behold: they speake of gold, siluer, pretious stones, pictures, vessels, tablets, and diuers other exquisit iewels: but yet they passe ouer those things & stand not vpon them. But when they come to talke of faire armour, good horsses, and such other things as belong to knighthood and chiualrie: then they make such variance vpon them, as they hold it for a thing fullie agreed vpon & granted, that in beautie and glorie nothing is comparable to a goodlie armie.

Other shews of the Romãs verie gallant.

A comparison betweene the pleasures of the bodie and delights of the mind.

Onelie this matter remaineth still in question vndecided; namelie, whether is the pleasanter sight, to see three or foure great battels of footmen well appointed in bright armour, well flanked with small shot, and with their great ordinance before them: or to see as manie squadrons of horssemen, or else two or three hundred ships furnished with their flags and banners, and ranged in order as if they were readie to giue battell. But as for the rest of all goodlie things, all men are fullie agreed that they come nothing neere to anie of those three, and much lesse do them all three together, if a man might behold them all at once: as it is reported that at one instant a man might haue seene the great armie of Xerres both footmen and horssemen ranged in battell raie: and also the two fleets of the Persians and of the Grecians fighting vpon the sea by Salamine, where by the wisedome and valiantnesse of Themistocles, the Greekes got that famous victorie of the Persians. In mine opinion that is the cause why the glad receiuing and ioifull entering of Francis duke of Brabant into the citie of Antwerpe seemed so goodlie and roiall to all such as saw it: in somuch that there hath not beene anie of them which hath not confessed that he neuer saw the like. And yet were there verie manie present at it, as well of the same countrie as of strangers, which haue seene manie statelie and roiall meetings, both in the same citie and in other cities of the low countries, and also in other great cities of other countries, as Paris, London, Rome, and Lions: and yet neuertheles the common voice is, that this last hath passed all the rest. And truelie the citie had no more but six daies respit to prepare for it, as I said before: in somuch that they could not put to making anie worke of silke, nor of gold and siluer beaten or wouen, nor anie imbroderie: no nor in so short time make anie meane apparell new, nor anie rare costlinesse of imageries, pillers, triumphall arches, or other pageants: but were constreined to make a shift with such things as they had in a readinesse aforehand of their owne store.

and glorious shewes.

The respit that Antwerp had to prouide for this triumphant shew.

In other interteinments there haue in deed beene seene great plentie of riches and roialties in attires of kings and queenes, princes and princesses, lords and ladies, citizens and their wiues; but in this interteinment no such were seene: howbeit there was not anie grosenesse, nor ought that might not well beseeme the neatnesse and fineneſse of that people, although it came nothing neere the sumptuousnesse of other interteinements. As touching triumphall arches, chariots, portraitures, and such other shewes; although there were manie wittie inuentions and agreeable to the time: yet haue men seene of them in other places, which might match these. And as touching the number of their people, although it was great: yet it is well knowen that Paris excedeth them in that behalfe. But the onelie reason of this contentment commeth chiefelie of the great number of people in armour, being not fewer than twentie thousand, in so good and so faire armour: and of their order and obedience, and of the small noise which all that huge multitude made: in somuch that if it had not beene for the thundering of the canons, and the sounding of trumpets, clarions, halboies, and other instruments, there was no more noise than is among a councell of graue men. That then was in mine opinion the onlie verie cause, which was greatlie furthered by their beholding of the monsieur of Brabant, who representing the statelinesse of old time, was clothed in a large mantell, with the bonnet of his dukedome vpon his head: so that among that great number of people (which were so well armed, that three of the best cities in christendome could not shew so manie faire armors of their owne) his highnesse resembled a pretious stone or iewell set in fine gold. And bicause that they which were the beholders thereof (for they could not be euerie where, nor

Paris for multitude of people passeth.

Monsieur of Brabant his attire and habit.

A question vndecided touching gallant

nor see euerie thing) will be verie glad to vnderstand of the things that so escaped them, and delight their minds now with the remembrance of the things which they saw before, as they delighted their eies and minds with the beholding of them that daie: and strange nations, to whom the fame of that so renowmed daies worke is come, will take pleasure to vnderstand the same, whereof they could not be beholders. Therefore is this booke set forth, for the satisfieng of all men, and also to make it knowen to a number of men (who partlie for enimitie, partlie for enuie, and partlie for other surmises and mistrusts will not beleeue it) with what mind and affection the prince of Orange, and the other lords and noblemen of Brabant, the good cities, and the small townes, and namelie the most renowmed citie of Antwerp, haue receiued their new prince and souereigne lord.

The cause why this report was published in print.

The monsieur saileth toward Antwerpe.

The nineteenth date of the foresaid moneth in the forenoone, the monsieur the duke of Anion departed from Lisle and sailed towards Antwerpe, hauing in his companie but twentie ships, for the rest had gotten to Antwerpe afore, as well to put themselues in a readinesse as for other affaires. And he came about eight of the clocke nigh to the new towne, and passing along by the townes side, left the foreland of Flanders on his right hand and the towne on his left, and passed beyond all the towne and the place where the castell was. By the waie he heard all the canons shot off from that part of the towne which faceth the riuer, & from a great number of ships which rode at anchor there: and he saw all the wharfes furnished with men of warre of the citie, well armed, who welcommed him with their shot, and were answered againe by the ships of warre that accompanied him, conducted by monsieur de Treslon and the viceadmerals, and diuerse capteins of Flushing. And so the first foot that he did set on land in Brabant, was at a village called Kiell, which is at the canon wharfe at Antwerpe. The states of Brabant, the magistrates of the citie, and diuers other states, comming in like order on horsebacke to the same place with their trumpets, sergeants and heralds, apparelled in cotes of the armes of Lothier, Brabant, and Limborough, alighted there, and waited on foot at the wharfe to receiue his highnesse, and to shew him the good will and affection of the states and people. But the preasse of people was so great, which resorted thither to see the prince, whome they loked for to be their duke; and againe there were so manie impediments in his landing; that it was found better for them by the aduise of the prince of Orange to returne backe, and to tarie for his highnesse vpon a theater which was prepared for him.

The monsieur landeth at a village in Brabant.

A theater erected for the monsieur to shew himselfe vpon to the people.

This theater was set vp towards a corner of the castell, and opened towards the citie, so as his highnesse being there, might at one time view both the citie and the castell, and behold the counterscarffes: the deepe ditches full of faire water cleere to the verie bottome of the chanell, inclosed on either side with hewne stone: the great and faire buildings, the goodlie walles, beautifull to loke on and verie thicke: and the broad rampires garnished with trees planted by hand, that it resembled a little forest. The monsieur was brought vp to this theater accompanied with the prince Dolphin the onelie sonne of the duke of Montpanuser: the earle of Leceister, and other English lords representing the quéene of England: the princes of Orange and Espinoie, the countie de Lauall, the other English lords, the countie de Chateaurour, and a great sort of the barons, lords and gentlemen, besides the chiefe magistrats and maisters of the companies of the citie of Antwerpe.

Prince Dolphin, the earle of Leicester, &c.

The lords of the state of Brabant waiting vpon the theater, came dutifullie downe to go and meet his highnesse: which thing he perceiuing, did stand still. Then the prince of Orange stepped forth to take his place among the states, as one of the chiefe lords and barons of the duchie of Brabant. As soone as they had saluted his highnesse, and with great humblenesse kissed his hand, they mounted vp the steps againe with him, after whome followed the princes and lords of France and of England: and when they were come vp aboue, they ranged themselues on either side. There was set for the monsieur a chaire couered with cloth of gold, wherein he sat him downe. And vpon the theater there was likewise a trauerse of cloth of gold, and all the theater was couered with tapistrie. On the front of the theater on the highest part thereof were the armes of the marquelship of the holie empire: and a little beneath them on the right hand did stand the armes of Brabant with a wreath of fruits: and on the left hand stood the armes of the citie of Antwerpe. Also there were set vp two banners of silke azured with the armes of Anion, & in one partition were written these same verses:

Kissing the monsieurs hand.

A chaire of estate.

Banners with the armes of Anion.

O noble prince, whose footsteps faith
and gentlenesse preserue:
Receiue thou here the honour which
thy vertue doth deserue.
That these low countries maie at length
take breath by meanes of thee,
And thou a father to vs all
in name and doings bee.

After that euerie man had taken his place, and silence was made, the states of Brabant began their oration by the mouth of monsieur de Hesselles doctor of both the lawes, secretarie to the said estates, and one of their councell. The summe whereof was, that the barons, noblemen, & deputies of the chiefe cities, and of the other good townes, representing the states of the duchie and countrie of Brabant, hauing now the good hap to see among them and to behold face to face the prince, in whome next vnto God they had wholie set the hope of their deliuerance, and of the establishing of their ancient rest and libertie, did highlie thanke the almightie Lord, which had shewed them that fauour: taking it for an assured warrant, that he of his infinite goodnesse and prouidence, had not forgotten nor forsaken their iust quarrell: but had chosen his highnesse to be the defender of his people and the administrer of his iustice: to the end that to Gods glorie, and to his owne honour and renowme, the stormes of all troubles, & of all other things that annoied their estate, might by the beames of his princelie maiestie, wisedome, and prowesse be chased awaie; and the brightnesse of their former prosperitie heretofore knowne to all nations, be made to spring vp & shine forth againe. In respect whereof they gaue his highnesse most humble thanks for the singular loue and good will, which he of his owne onelie motion and princelie disposition had vouchsafed to continue towards them vnto that instant, notwithstanding all the crosse dealings and practises that cunning heads could skill to put forth to the hinderance of their affaires, forsomuch as they were not ignorant that for their calamities and miseries sakes, nothing could haue fallen in, which could haue made more to the fauour and furtherance of their case. Which thing they had esteemed and would esteéme for euer, as a péereles presidént of his incomparable staiednes and rare constancie: for the which, and for the great number of his other benefits and gratious dealings towards them, they were & euer should be bound to acknowledge themselues indebted to his highnesse with all faithfull obedience, and were readie that daie (by Gods grace) to submit themselues to him, as his humble vassals and subiects. And although they doubted not but that

The summe of monsieur de Hesselles oration to the monsieur.

The states thankefulnes signified.

They acknowledged themselues indebted to the monsieur.

that his highnesse did well vnderstand, and was fullie satisfied, not onelie of the generall causes which had vniuersallie moued the states of the prouinces of the low countries togither, to sue to him for succour, and to put themselues into his hands: but also of the particular causes, which the states of that duchie and countrie of Brabant had to renounce their obedience to the king of Spaine: yet notwithstanding, to the intent to put his highnesse in remembrance therof, and to confirme that sacred resolution and high enterprise of his, builded thereupon; and moreouer to yeeld some reason of all their doings to the princes and noblemen, and vnto the rest of that whole companie, who for the honour of his highnesse were come thither of courtesie, to further the solemnitie of his interteinment: to the intent that at this his repaire thither (which alwaies was called ioifull) they might vtter the more good will and gladnesse of heart; they would saie no more but this, that as long as the dukes of Brabant (specially since the falling of that duchie into the hands of the dukes of Burgognie, and other the famous ancestors of his highnesse) gaue themselues vnto the gouerning of their subiects by themselues, thereby making it to appeere that they loued them, and were not careles of them; they reaped so great commodities and notable seruices at their hands, that their names and puissances became oftentimes renowmed, yea and sometimes dreadfull to the greatest monarchs, kings, and common-wealths of christendome, whereof their warres and conquests made proofe: howbeit that of those things, as of matters familiarlie knowne by the histories, it was not requisit to make discourse in that place and time, which were apointed to greater matters. But after that their dukes and princes either by other allurements, or being withheld in their other countrie and seigniories, began to leaue them for a time, and afterward at length to forget them, abandoning them to the pleasure and will, and sometimes also to the lust and couetousnesse of their vnder officers, whereof the king of Spaine had lastlie finished and perfected vp the worke, leauing them disdainefullie as husbandles and fatherles, vtterlie destitute of his presence by the space of twentie yeares; it came to passe, that hauing altered & changed almost all the whole state of the countrie, and committed the offices to such as by the lawes and priuileges of the countrie were not capable of them; or rather to such as would giue most for them, and yet the vnsatiable couetousnesse, malice, and exceeding tyrannicall lordlinesse of the Spaniards being not contented therewith: in the end, when they had abused the whole common-wealth after their owne lust, they grew into so great pride, that they fell to snatching of the priuat goods and substance of the inhabitants, to liuing vpon the labour and sweat of the poore: yea and to rauishing the chastitie of mens wiues and daughters: and (to fill vp the measure of all abhomination and crueltie) they fell to taking awaie the liues, & to sucking the bloud of those which sought by all meanes to please them. Whereupon in the end the great and righteous God (who hath a care of his seruants) being offended therat, made that people (who had aforetimes beene of great valour) to call to mind their former state and libertie: and gaue them both will and courage to maintein the same, in such sort as they had receiued from their forefathers. Which thing they said could not be better done than by the election which the said states of Brabant, united with the other prouinces, had made of his highnesse person to be their prince and lord, of purpose to bring all things backe to their former order; hauing first sought (howbeit in vaine) for all remedies of their mischiefes, and of the disorders of the estate, from the causes and welsprings thereof. Declaring that the dukes in old time had beene of great valour, prowesse, and power; and had made manie renowmed voiages and exploits of warre, and that amongest others, they had chosen a duke of Anion heretofore, who had beene equall with the rest in chiualrie & feats of armes, as their conquests and dominions witnessed: that they had had their princes gentle, mild, gratious, familiar, and fauourable to their subiects: and that his highnesse had in that behalfe alreadie giuen such proofes of his gentlenesse, truth, and soundnesse, that to their seeming, some ancient duke of Burgognie was raised vp againe vnto them. Insomuch that in his onelie highnesse, they firmelie beleued themselues to haue recouered whatsoeuer good renowme the duks of Brabant, Anion and Burgognie could haue left vnto them. Wherefore, insomuch as there remained no more, but to proceed in the performance of the chiefe worke, which it had pleased the souereigne God to put into the hands of his highnesse, and of the said states to performe that daie: they on their part were readie and resolute to doo him the homage, fealtie, dutie, and obedience, which loiall subiects and good vassals ought to doo to their rightfull princes: of which sort they trusted in God without doubting, that his highnesse was, & that he would promise by solemne oth vnto God so to continue.

The secretarie vnto the states falleth to the point of the matter.

The king of Spaines officers full of tyrannicall lordlines and villanie.

The cause why the states of Brabant made the monsieur their prince & lord.

The states loialtie and fealtie signified by their secretarie.

Hereunto his highnesse answered in effect, that intending not to hold the states with long talke, but onelie to be mindfull of the honor and good will which they had vouchsafed to yeeld to him, in that among so manie other great princes, they had chosen him out to deliuer them from the oppression and tyrannie of the Spaniards, and to rule them according to their customes, lawes, and priuileges: he thanked them hartilie for it, assuring them that the iustnesse and equitie of their case, their honourable dealings in his behalfe, and the loue which they had shewed him, had made him to resolue with himselfe to take vpon him their protection, and the reestablishing of their ancient libertie, and to hazard therein whatsoeuer abilitie God had put into his hands, and whatsoeuer else it should please the king his lord and brother, and the queene of England, of their fauour to bestow vpon him; yea euen to the shedding of his owne bloud and the spending of his life.

The monsieur answer to the foresaid oration.

The monsieurs promise euen to the shedding of his bloud.

This done the foresaid monsieur Hessels told his highnesse, how it was the custome there, to proclame openlie before the people in the Dutch tong the points and articles of the ioifull entrance, which the dukes of Brabant are bound to promise and sweare at their admission. Hereupon, when as one held the said articles translated into French, readie to rehearse them point by point after the proclaming of them in Dutch, forsomuch as the date was farre spent, and communication had beene had thereof alreadie, the monsieur to win time thought it expedient, by the aduise of the prince of Orange, that they should be read but onlie in Dutch. Which thing was done by the said monsieur Hessels, with a new preface added to the articles, conteining briefle the reasons and causes of that dealing. After the reading of the said articles, it was demanded of his highnes whether he liked of them, and whether he were contented to be sworne to them, or whether it were his pleasure to be further satisfied of them: Whereupon he said to the prince of Orange, that forsomuch as he had seene the articles, and conferred of them with him as they came by ship out of Zeland, he held himselfe well satisfied with them, and was well contented to sweare vnto them. Which speech of his was forthwith proclamed, and with further declaration, that for their better contentation his highnesse was

The monsieur is content to sweare to the articles agreed vpon.

desirous

desirous to haue them all knowne, that although the said articles were read but onelie in Dutch, yet would he of his owne good mind, with aduised deliberation and certeine knowledge be sworne vnto them.

Then did the said monsieur Hessels recite vnto the people in the Dutch tong, the first oth which the dukes of Brabant were of old time accustomed and bound to take for the obseruing of the said articles. Which done, deliuering the booke wherein it was contemed to maister Thierrete de Leisfield chancellor of Brabant, he read the same oth againe openlie in French, & the monsieur spake it after him word for word. Then the monsieur Hessels taking the booke againe, told the people that the dukes of Brabant made an other second oth to the barons, noblemen, cities, boroughs, & all the inhabitants & subiects of the countrie, to be to them a good & iust prince, and not to deale with them after his owne will, nor by waie of rigor, but by law and iustice, & according to their priuileges. Which oth was likewise rehearsed in the Dutch tong, & the booke deliuered againe to the said chancellor, and the monsieur repeated the oth after him as he had done the first. Then were the mantle and bonnet of the dutchie brought vnto him, which were crimosin velvet; the mantle was trailed on the ground, and both of them were furred with powdered ermine turned vp verie brode. The prince of Orange told his highnesse, that it behoued him to be apparelled in those robes. And when he asked whether he must weare them into the citie? It was answered, yea: and that it was the solemne attire of the princes and dukes of Brabant of old time. Wherevnto when his highnesse had agreed, the prince did first put vpon him the said mantle, and fastening the button thereof, said these words; My lord, you must keepe this button fast closed, that no man may pull your mantle from you. And then he set the bonnet vpon his head, and said vnto him: Sir I praie God you may well keepe this attire, for now you may well assure your selfe that you be duke of Brabant.

Then the said Hessels told him how the custome required that the states should presentlie be sworne to him againe to yeld him fealtie. Wherevpon he vttered to the people the forme of the oth; and then the said chancellor required it of the barons, noblemen, and deputies, and they pronounced it after him according to the maner of the former othes, reuerentlie doing againe their homage, and promising fealtie and obedience. After the taking of the othes on both sides, as well by the monsieur as by the states of Brabant, while his highnesse was yet still in his robes of estate, the magistrates of Antwerpe commanded their recorder and councellor maister Vanderwerke to come vp vpon the stage, to make him an offer of the marquesship of the sacred empire, in the name of the citie of Antwerpe, which thing he did as followeth. Most gratious lord and prince, the markegraue, amptman, borroughmasters, and skepons, the treasurors, and receiuers, the chiefe burgesses, and quartermaisters, the wardens, and ancients of the handicrafts, togither with the corsenels, wardens of guilds, and capteins of the citie, were verie glad when they vnderstood of your highnesse happie arriuall in the Ile of Walkeren, as they haue caused to be verie largelie and with all humilitie and reuerence shewed vnto you, by their deputies sent to your highnesse for the same purpose. But now, forsomuch as they see your highnesse not onelie arriued in the countrie of Brabant, but also receiued for duke, and for their prince and lord: their fore-conceiued ioie is greatlie increased and made fullie perfect, trusting that by this your comming there will once insue an end of the desolations, calamities, and miseries, whereinto the countrie hath beene brought by the vniust gouernement past, and by the more vniust and wrongfull warre which the enimies hold yet still to bring the whole countrie to destruction, with all maner of calamities and oppressions which they are able to deuise. And therfore they giue your highnesse most humble thanks for the paines & trauell which you haue vouchsafed to take to come into this countrie: yeelding infinitelie like thanks vnto God, for that he hath giuen & sent them such a prince, as not onelie is of abilitie and power, but also is verie willing, and well disposed to defend them from all enimies, & to rule and gouerne them with all good policie & iustice, according to the priuileges, lawes, and customs of the countrie. For although they be ioined in league with the rest of the states of Brabant, and generallie with all the states of the low countries, & that they haue all entred into armes iointlie togither; yet their so doing hath not beene to exempt and withdraw themselues from the iust gouernement of their lord and prince, but onlie to mainteine their ancient liberties, lawes, and priuileges, that being gouerned according to the same, they might liue with all dutifull obedience in good rest, peace, and tranquillitie. The full accomplishment of which their desires, they thinke themselues to haue most happilie obteined, sith it hath pleased God of his infinit grace & mercie to put into your highnesse heart, to take vpon you the souereignties of these low countries, the dukedome of Brabant, the citie of Antwerpe, and the marquesship of the sacred empire. For seeing that God hath stirred them vp so great a prince, the brother of a mightie king; they haue no doubt at all, but that your highnesse will (by Gods grace) soone find meanes to deliuer these countries from the wretched warres wherein they haue beene so long plunged.

The markegraue, amptman, borroughmaisters, skepons, and other members of this citie, thinke it not expedient to repeat the causes of the warre, and the equitie of the case whereon they stand; forsomuch as it hath diuerse times heretofore beene discussed largelie enough by the generall estates: and moreouer beene notablie knowne to the world, and manie waies allowed by your highnesse. Yet againe therfore with all humble submission and reuerence, they thanke your highnesse, that it hath pleased you to agree vnto them, and to promise the maintenance of their priuileges, lawes, and customs: yea and of the articles comprised in the principall composition, and in the ioifull entrance into the dutchie of Brabant, assuring your highnesse, that the people of the citie of Antwerpe, and of the marquesship of the holie empire shall be, and continue right humble subiects to you, euen to the spending of their bodies & goods, and whatsoeuer else they be able to make for the increasing of your honour and glorie. Herevnto his highnesse answered verie gratiouslie, that he thanked those noblemen for their good will and affection towards him; and that he meant to shew them by his doings how desirous he was to gouerne and rule the countrie with good policie and iustice. And all this he did at large and with verie great grace. This done, the said Vanderwerke turning himselfe to the people cried with a lowd voice, that his highnesse, as duke of Brabant, Alanson, Anjou, Berrete, &c: would be sworne to the citie of Antwerpe, and the marquesship of the sacred empire, desiring them to praie vnto God, that by that so good and solemne deed Gods name might be sanctified, the safetie and prosperitie of the countrie procured, and the honour and glorie of the said duke increased.

Then was the oth, which his highnesse should take,

Two oths that the dukes of Brabant were accustomed to take.

The mantle and bonnet of the dutchie of Brabant.

The monsieur created duke of Brabant.

The states promise their fealtie and obedience.

An offer of the marquesship of the sacred empire made to the monsieur.

The magistrates of Antwerps thankfulnesse to the monsieur signified.

The souereignties of what places the monsieur had vndertaken.

Antwerpe and the marquesship promiseth humble subiection.

The oth that the monsieur should take openlie read to the people.

read openlie to the people in the Flemmish tong by the same Vander wercke. Which being done, monsieur the amptman read the same oth to his highnesse in French, and his highnesse made and performed the same in his hands, which the borroughmaster of the towne of Antwerpe held vp, bicause the receiuing of the oth at his hand belonged vnto him. Also the said borroughmaster, whose name was sir Philip of Schonehouen, knéeling downe before the dukes highnesse, at the same time gaue him a gilt keie in token of subiection, and that he might dispose of the citie as of his owne: which keie was deliuered againe by his highnes to the borroughmaster, to whome he said verie gratiouslie, that he assured himselfe, that the said borroughmaster and all the burgesses and inhabitants of the citie, would kéepe the citie faithfullie for him, as they had done vntill that instant.

After the finishing and accomplishment of all the said solemnities, the heralds of Brabant and Lotricke (or in the vulgar Brabant, Wallon, Lothier, that is to saie Lotharing, or the true Lorraine) cried with a lowd voice, God saue the duke of Brabant. And then sounding the trumpets, they made a largesse, casting a great sort of péeces of gold and siluer among the standers by. These péeces were of two sorts: the one sort had on the one side the image of the monsieur then duke of Brabant: the other sort had on the one side the armes of Anion & Brabant, and about the verges was written; Francis of France duke of Brabant. On the other side of them all was a deuise of the sunne, with the monsieurs owne inscription, Cheriseth and Chaseth, which is the monsieurs ordinarie posie. Without the towne were three regiments of the citizens, to the number of a three thousand men in order of battell, who made a goodlie shew with their faire armours and their ensignes displaied. And they neuer went out of their place vntill all the ceremonies were dispatched, and that his highnesse was gone into the citie. Besides these, there was an infinit number of people in the citie, whereof manie were strangers, who maruelled greatlie at these sights, and especiallie the Frenchmen, who wondered to see their master in that apparell, and spake diuerslie of it, as is wont to be done in matters that are new and erst vnséene. But when they vnderstood how it was the dukelie apparell, and that he wore it as a representation of antiquitie, the like whereof is worne yet still by the electors of the sacred empire in their great ceremonies; they were astonished, and thought him to be a prince of more statelie countenance and maiestie than afore: in so much that it was said alowd among them, that séeing it was the mantell of the duchie, it should cost the liues of fiftie thousand Frenchmen, before it should be plucked from him againe.

Largesse cast among the standers by.

The monsieurs posie.

A shew of mẽ in armour.

The Frenchmen maruell at the monsieurs strange habiliments, &c.

As soone as the ceremonies were ended, his highnesse came downe from the theater, and mounted vpon a white courser of Naples, couered with a coperison of veluet richlie imbrodered with gold. And so he began to take his waie towards the right renowmed and rich citie of Antwerpe, and was conueied along by the counterscarfe, vnto the sumptuous and statelie gate, called Keisers gate or S. Georges gate, whereat he entered into the good citie of Antwerpe in this sort. First marched the two sergeants maiors or marshals of the citie, accompanied of two pursenants with the armes of the citie, after whome followed the trumpets with the armes of Brabant. The first companie was of Almane merchants commonlie called Easterlings, well mounted and well apparelled after the maner of Almane. Next them followed the English merchants in excellent good order, all apparelled in cassockes of blacke veluet all of one fashion. Then came the coronels and capteins of the citie: after whome followed a great number of gentlemen, as well of the same countrie as of other nations. Behind them went the bodie of the citie, that is to wit, the wickemasters, the wardens, the ancient magistrate, the masters of the wardes, the borroughmasters, deputies, and wardens of the halles, the vshers, the secretaries, the registers, the receiuers and treasurers, the schepons, the amptman, & the two borroughmasters, all apparelled in clokes of blacke veluet, and all of one fashion. After them came the trumpets of the states of Brabant, Lembourgh, and Lothier, & after them the states themselues in this order. First went the deputies of the vnder cities. The deputies of the citie of Antwerpe. The deputies of Brussels. Then succéeded the noblemen of Brabant, as the chancellor of Brabant, and aboue him Lamorall Egmond brother to the countie of Egmond, baron of Gasebecke. A great number of lords of the same countrie, of France, and of England well horsed and richlie apparelled. The Swissers with their drums and fiffes. The monsieurs owne household, among whome were intermingled certeine lords of England. Next this came the countie de Lauall, hauing on either hand an English lord. The prince of Espinoie, hauing on his right hand the lord of Hunsdon, & on his left the lord Howard: the prince Dolphin, hauing on his right hand the earle of Leicester, & on his left the prince of Orange: the markegraue of Antwerpe bareheaded, bearing the mace of iustice; the lord Peterson baron of Merode, taking vpon him that daie as marshall of Brabant, and bearing the naked sword before the dukes highnesse: then came the duke himselfe, mounted and apparelled as you haue heard afore. Next behind the duke followed countie Morice of Nassau sonne to the prince of Orange, hauing on his right hand countie Philip of Nassau nephue to the said prince, and sonne to countie John of Nassau, and on his left hand the lord Shefield. His highnes was garded by the companies of the guilds, that is to saie, by the ancient brotherhods of the archers, crossebowes, and harquebussers in so goodlie armour, as fairer could not be found: these went afore him and about him on a cluster without order, like flowre deluces vpon a rotall robe.

Lords of England and France well horsed.

The earle of Leicester on the right hand of prince Dolphin.

The companies of the guilds.

The order of the monsieurs entering into Antwerpe.

After them followed the gard of Frenchmen on a like heape, and after them the prince of Oranges gard on foot. Then lastlie in verie good order came the twentie ensignes of citizens, which had stood in order of battell without the towne. Ouer the gate where his highnes entered, there was a compartement of Doricke worke, wherein was written this title. To Francis the sonne of Henrie the second, and onelie brother of Henrie the third king of France, called by Gods singular prouidence to the souereigne principalitie of the low countries, and to the dukedome of Brabant, and the marquesship of the sacred empire, which God grant to be most happie and luckie vnto him, as to their inuested prince whom they haue most earnestlie wished for, and who as now is happilie come into this his most seruiceable citie, his most hartie fauourers: The senate & people of Antwerpe.

An inscriptiõ congratulatorie to the mõsieur.

The chariot of the maiden of Antwerpe could not go out of the citie for want of rome to turne in: and therefore it tarried for his highnes at the gate within the citie. This chariot was called the chariot of alliance: wherein sat a damosell apparelled in satin red and white, which are the colours of Antwerpe: who had in hir left hand a branch of baietræ, & on hir head a garland of laurell, in token of victorie against the tyrannies of the king of Spaine, and in token of the deliuerance which the people hoped for by meanes of their new prince, through his gratious

The chariot of the maiden of Antwerpe described.

godnesse,

The keies of Antwerpe presented to the monsieur.

goodnesse, faithfulnesse, victorioulnesse, and defense: to whom with hir other hand shee presented the keies of the towne, according to the verses written ouer hir head, which shall be set downe hereafter. Before hir were the armes of the marquesship of the holie empire. On hir right hand was Religion apparelled like one of the Sybils, holding in hir one hand an open booke, named the Law and the Gospell: and in hir other hand a sword, named Gods word: and on hir left hand was Justice holding a balance and a sword in hir hand, and ouer the balance was written, Pea and Nai.

Deuises.

Before the damosell sate Concord, clothed in white, yellow, and orange tawnie, bearing a target vpon hir arme, wherein was painted a crowned scepter, with two little snakes, and vnder them, two doues, all closed in with a garland of olive, betokening commendable gouernement with prouidence. Upon hir head shee had a helmet, betokening Wisedome. In hir hand shee carried a lance, with a penon vpon it, on the one side whereof were the armes of Anton crowned with olive, and on the other side a lambe with a woolfe, and a lion with anor, to betoken the great peacefulnesse that is looked for vnder this prince, as well in religion as in matters of state. At Concordes right hand sat Wisedome, and at hir left hand Force. In the middest of the chariot was a piller richlie made of Corinthian worke, vpon the top whereof was a hart held betweene two armed hands, which hart had two wings, betokening Union, Faith, and Force: and a sword with two serpents writhing about it, and holding their tailes to their eares, signifieng Discreet gouernement, and eares stopped against flatterers. At the fot of the piller was a compartement with the armes of Anton and Brabant. On the brest of the lion of Brabant, were the armes of the marquesship of the sacred empire, and of the citie of Antwerpe. Upon the armes was written Attonement. Upon the corners of the chariot were two armed images with morians on their heads, attired in orange white and blew. The one of them was named Faithfulnes, and the other Watchfulnes. In their hands they had each of them a shield, wherein were painted two swords across, and two doues with a sheafe of arrowes, betokening Union. Upon one of the shields was written, Defense: and vpon the other, Offense; each of the images had a penon of azure silke: in one of the which there was a pellican killing hirselfe for hir yong birds: and in the other a hen a brooding hir chickens. Ouer the maidens head were these verses set:

wisedome.

Emblems of peace & tranquillitie.

Discreet gouernement.

Attonement.

Faithfulnes. Watchfulnes.

Union.

Defense. Offense.

My rulers outrage, wickednesse,
and furious tyrannie,
Haue cast me backe these keies, which I
had giuen obedientlie,
Vpon conditions neuer kept,
o prince of noble fame,
With better hand of lucke and lot,
receiue thou now the same.
Thy godlines and prowesse haue
of right deserued it.
O treble happie prince to whom
these countries doo submit
Their state! o happie Belgike, o
most happie like to bee,
Whilst vnderneath so great a prince,
maist now liue safe and free.

Sir gentlemen of the citie waited at the gate with a canopie of cloth of gold frized; which they afterward vnfolded & carried it ouer the dukes head, who went vnder it into the towne in the forementioned order. All the streets from the gate to his lodging were set on either side with armed men vnder their ensignes with their fifes & drums. The officers carried gilt targets and swords in their hands: and all the rest were armed after the best and gaudiest maner that could be seene. His highnesse proceeded forth on to the corner of the street called Gasthouse street, that is to sale, the Spittlehouse street, neere vnto saint Georges church, where was a shew made in the likenesse of a table, verie great and high, which was made by one of the companies of their tragicall and comicall poets, commonlie called amongst them rhetoricians. The companie was called Care, or as some others terme it, the Followsun, after the name of a floute which followeth the sun, & the speech of the deuise was, Growing vp in vertue. The shew or table had three compartements or partitions. The first was the first booke of Samuell the fifteenth chapter, where Samuell chargeth Saule with his disobedience, & hath a peece of his garment rent off by him, in token that the kingdome should be plucked from Saules house & giuen to a better. Whereby was meant, that the soueraintie of those low countries was taken from the king of Spaine for his abhominable periuries, tyrannies, & extortions. In the second compartement was set forth, how Samuell commanded Jshate the father of Dauid to bring forth his sonnes: of whome God would make one the prince of his people, that is to wit, the yongest, which was Dauid. In the third was shewed how Dauid being annointed fought with Goliah, and ouercame him. The title or superscription was a Phrygian worke, wherein were written these verses:

A canopie carried ouer the monsieurs head.

A shew in the likenesse of a table verie great and high, &c.

The signification of the shewes concerning the K. of Spaine and the monsieur.

As God bereauing Saule of crowne and mace,
Did dispossesse him of his kingdome quight,
And after set vp Dauid in his place:
So now likewise dispatching from our sight,
The tyrans which oppressed vs by might,
He giueth thee (o noble duke) the reine
Of these our countries, ouer vs to reine.

The front and crest being garnished with battels, scutchions of armes, crestets and torches, carried the dukes deuise, Cherisheth and Chaseth. And at the fot of the table late Discord closed vp in a prison of lattis worke, where she was tormented with helhounds and serpents; and there were these verses following:

Alanson whom God Cherish aie,
Doth Chase all ire and wrath awaie.

His highnesse passing forth still beyond the place called the Chæwatelæt, came to the street named Hwiuetterstræt, that is to say, the chandlers street, where was an other statelie pageant with armes, torches, and crestets, made by an other companie of the rhetoricians, called pai ters or violers, who had for their deuise, Knit togither by singlenesse. In this pageant was painted the nere aliance of Dauid and Jonathas: to betoken the firmenesse of the oth mutuallie made by his highnes & the states of Brabant; and the magistrats, members, colonels, and capteins of the citie of Antwerpe. In this table was written in a compartement of Phrygian worke:

A statelie pageant impertinent to the present purpose.

Like as the faithfull Jonathas
did promise to defend,
Good Dauid from the harmes which Saule
against him did intend:
So keepe thou vs (o gratious prince)
which loue to liue in rest,
Against the tyrans by whose force
we haue beene sore oppresst.

Then went he further to the end of the street, where the vpholsters shops are, which part was full of burning torches & barrels of burning pitch, and so came to the Mærebridge. At the entering thereof stood an oliphant bearing a castell of stone with souldiers and artillerie. Before the oliphant were painted the armes of the marquesdome and of the citie, and behind, a speare with a banner of taffetie, with the

An oliphant bearing a castell of stone with soldiers and artillerie.

armes of Anjou in a wreath of laurell, and foure other bannerets of crimsin tafeta, pulled out, wherin were painted the hands of Antwerpe, with this poesie: Cherisheth and Chaseth. And vpon his side of his bellie were these verses manifestlie written:

Whome light of Phebee heretofore did lead,
I now am drawne awaie,
Her brothers beames to follow in hir stead,
A farre more certeine staie.
I thinke my change right gainefull, sith I see,
These lower countries vnder him to bee.

From the Perebridge he went along the Pere-street, vntill he came to the ward, where were foure companies ranged in order of battell. From thense he passed to the corner of Clare street, where was a stage made by a companie of rhetoricians called the Olife branch, who had for their posie, Behold grace. Upon this stage sat a damsell named Antwerpe, bearing in hir bosome a pretie daughter called the Knowledge of God: who held a coffer wherin were priuileges, lawes, franchises and truth: which were kept by the Grace of God, and by Prouidence, Wisdome, Faithfulnesse, Diligence, Loialtie, Perseuerance, Unitie, Good heed, and Order. And aloft was a compartement of Phrygian worke (verie artificiallie handled) wherein were these verses:

O prince, our father, hope of helpe and staie:
Dame grace, Gods impe, whom here thou seest to stand,
From top to toe faire clad in white araie,
With branch of olife in hir heauenlie hand:
Hath willed thee to harbor here within
The statelie walles of ladie Antwerpe, and
The loue of hir with endlesse fame to win,
By curing of hir griefes with law and right,
And eeke by putting of hir foes to flight.

Somewhat lower towards the midst, was Neptune with his threetimed mace, riding ouer wawes vpon a dolphin, & on his left hand were these verses:

Gods heauenlie grace, and soothfull skill,
reuiuing Antwerpe new,
Through chare defense of faithfull league
haue kept hir safe, as dew
To thee hir duke innobled both
by father and by brother,
Both kings of France, tone gone to God
long since, still reigning tother.
And therefore bend thou now thy wits,
by rightfull force to wreake
Hir cruell foes, which did so oft
their leagues through falshood breake.

He passed from Clare street thorough long New street to saint Katharins bridge, right ouer against Crosse street, where was a triumphall arch cunninglie painted and builded of white stone, which was garnished with his highnesses armes, and with torches and cressets, and with musike of hoboies and clarions. And on the top of it was written: To the happie comming hither of Francis, onelie brother to Henrie the third, sonne to Henrie the second, grandchild to Francis the first, now inuested duke of Brabant, the prince that hath most deerelie deserued of this their countrie, as a father of the same: The senat and people of Antwerpe. Underneath this in an other compartement of Phrygian worke, was written this: At length yet hinder not this impe to bring the weeping world againe vnto some rediesse. In passing thorough the short New street, & by the market stead, he turned toward the Coopers street in the street called Cheeselane to the great market place, which was full of torches of wax, and of barels of pitch vpon long poles vp to the highest windowes, which commonlie are fiue stories high. In this market place were imbattelled six ensignes, with the ensigne of the youth which was vnder a græne standard, all in the best armor that was to be seene in anie place of the world. In the middest of the citizens was the great giant the founder of the citie of Antwerpe, whose curace was azure, and his apparell tawnie white and graie. He bore banners of azure with the armes of Anjou, & had these giantlike speeches conteined in these verses, written before him:

Six ensignes with the ensigne of the youth vnder a græne standard.

Feerce furie, moodie rage, vnbridled ire,
Stout force, hot violence, cruell tyrannie,
Nought booted me, ne furthered my desire:
In keeping of my wished souereignetie.
The surest waie for kings to gouerne by,
Is mildnesse matched with a prudent mind,
To vice seuere, to vertue meeke and kind.
For oft the calme and quiet gouernance,
Brings things to passe which violence could not win:
Feerenesse that cais will nought at all aduance,
By mildnesse shalt thou better hold folke in:
Outragious storming is not worth a pin,
By mine example therefore haue a care,
All cruell dealings vtterlie to spare.

Behind the giant were written these verses:

See you this orped giant here,
so huge of limme and bone?
Fame saies that Antwerpe was sometime
a thrall to such a one.

A damsell representing Antwerpe holding a coffer of priuileges, &c.

This giant was made by cunning to turne his face towards the duke as he passed by, and to let fall the armes of Spaine which he held in his hand, & to put vp the armes of Anjou. Also there was a stage in the same market place before the towne house, full of nymphs & vertues. But forsomuch as it serued chieflie for the daie of his taking of his oth in the citie of Antwerpe, which was the 22 daie of that moneth: it shall be spoken of more at large hereafter. His highnes departing out of the market place, toke his waie towards the street called the High street, and when he came to the street called the old Cornemarket, there was a whale carieng Neptune naked with his threforked mace in his hand, which betokened the great commodities which the citie of Antwerpe receiued by the sea and by the riuer Schelt. Before this monster was an other naked man, and by him two other portraitures, the one of nauigation, and the other of merchandize, with a booke of accounts, and a purse, such as the factors do carie with them when they go to receiue monie. Before this Neptune, in a compartement, were written these verses following:

A cunning deuise of a giant turning his head.

A whale carrieng Neptune & what it betokened.

The lordship of the seas to thee
the destinies behight:
In signe whereof I Neptune yeeld
this mace as thine of right.
That Antwerpe hauing rid all lets
by thee on sea and land,
Maie once inioie hir wished fruit,
and safe from perill stand.

His highnesse kept on his waie thorough the High street, to a place where sometime was the gate called S. Johns gate, which was beaten downe the yeare before: in steed whereof there was a triumphall arch of Ionian worke. This arch was wholie applied vnto his highnesse owne posie Cherisheth and Chaseth. On high ouer it was strained a couering after the maner of a round vaut, wherein was painted the sun: & vnder the sun was painted the sea with ships, and the earth clad with hir verdure. Also there appeared a cloud on both sides, so as the light of the sun did shine forth and yeeld out his force to the earth. On the outside of the bowing of the arch were painted three goddesses: namelie Flora, who held hir floures in hir hand: Ceres, who had hir corne: and Pomona, who held a horne stored with abundance of all things. Likewise the earth was clad with græne trees, fruits, and fields, replenished with all fruitfulnesse: which thing came to passe by the heat and operation of the sun, which was betokened by this word Cherisheth. On the other side being the left hand,

An arch wholie applied to the monsieurs owne posie.

Cherisheth.

A triumphall arch diuerslie garnished.

hand, were drierie and barren fields, the aire euerie where lowring and cloudie, and the trees and plants withered: which thing was done by the three helhounds, Discord, Violence, & Tyrannie, who fled awaie at the sight of his highnes, according to the signification of his other word, Chaseth. On an other side stood the same posie againe, Cherisheth and Chaseth, by an other meane.

Chaseth.

At the right hand ouer the word Cherisheth was a great field well tilled, with a husbandmans house vpon it. The husbandman himselfe being apparelled after the French fashion was sowing of corne, and an other by him was spreading of mucke. At the left hand was written the word Chaseth, on which side also was painted a French capteine in armor following his alies, confederats, and souldiors: to do men to vnderstand, that by the treaties, leagues, and agreements made with the dukes highnesse, all tyrannie, violence, and discord should be chased awaie; and that by the beames of that sun, the countrie should receiue all peace, prosperitie, and abundance. Upon the forefront were these verses painted:

The monsieurs posie interpreted in a shew.

Like as the rising of the sun
doth chase the night awaie,
And with his kindlie heat
the ground well cherish aie:
Euen so thy comming (noble prince)
doth chase all tempests quite,
And folke with cheerefull hope
of freedome much delite.

This arch was impossed aloft with scutchions of the armes of Anjou, compassed about with branches of olive, all vpon azure. Also there were diuerse other scutchions, whose field was gules bordered with argent, and a great number of burning torches. And the said arch was furnished with diuerse instruments of musicke, and the musicians themselues were clad in the colours of the citie. His highnesse passing vnder this triumphall arch, came to a place called the Dwure, that is to sate, the banke, where were two companies imbattelled, armed like all the residue. And so passing by the ward there, he went to the place that is right ouer against the mint: before the which there was a huge and monstrous seahorsse of twentie foot high, vpon whom sat a nymph called Concord, bearing a shield wherein was painted a booke and a rod, which was named, the Rule of truth. In hir hand she bare a flag, wherein was written, Faithfull aliance. This monster of the sea was named Tyrannie, and he had a bridle in his mouth with double reines of iron chained called Law and Reason. Whereby the dukes highnesse was done to vnderstand, that he as a true Perseus was to deliuer that countrie from all tyrannie, and afterward to gouerne it by iustice and reason. Ouer against the mint gate, where the street is narrowest, were two obeliskes or round spires, and betweene them a triumphall arch with his pillers of Corinthian worke, gilded and inriched with his relæse vnder him. Upon the forestront were his highnesses arms, and likewise on the sides were other armes, with banners, torches, and cressets. Under the armes of his highnesse were written these verses following:

The ornaments of the arch aloft.

A monstrous sea horsse of twentie foot high, & what it signified.

Full mightie is that common weale,
and in a happie case,
And blest with all commodities
through Gods most heauenlie grace,
Where prince behaues himselfe as head,
and commons him obeie
As members, either carefullie
regarding others staie.

From this triumphall arch vnto the palace, that is to wit, all along saint Michaels street, which is a mile in length, stood on either side three score and ten pillers, with a space of two and twentie foot betweene piller and piller. Euerie piller was twelue foot high, and vpon the pillers was a continuall tarras, & on euerie ech other piller was a cresset: and on the pillers betweene were the armes of Brabant, Anjou, and Antwerpe, diuided according to the spaces betweene the said pillers. And the pillers were cressed about with garlands of iuie. On the side of the street towards the palace was a pageant with banners, torches, and pyramides; vpon the vppermost part of one of the sides whereof was a crane, and vpon the other side a cocke: giuing knowledge as well to the heads as to the members, that watchfulnesse is needfull. A little spaniell betokening faithfulnesse, & a little lambe betokening peace, were painted accompanied with the Sybils; which represented wisedome, loue, faithfulnesse, obedience, vertue and honor, without the which no true peace can continue. And all these were guided by the light of the holie ghost, which was resembled by a certeine brightnesse that discouered the chiefe instruments of discord, namelie Enuie and Slander, who pered out behind, Enuie gnawing hir owne heart, and Slander hauing double heart, double tong, and double face, howbeit with small effect. For on the two sides of this pageant were two counterfets, on the one side Hercules, & on the other Dauid, as it were in coper, hauing gotten the vpper hand of Goliah, betokening strength and slowtnesse: and vnderneath was Concord, who held Discord in a chaine with collars about his necke: which Discord offering with his one hand an apple of gold, and with his other hand threatning men with his force and tyrannie, was yet nerthelesse driuen into the dungeon of sorrow, where he is kept prisoner by Concord, who keepeth the doore fast shut: betokening the same thing which the countrie looketh for at his highnesse hand according to his posie Cherisheth and Chaseth. Upon the forestront of the compartement made of Phrygian worke were these verses following painted out in most liuelie forme:

Three score and ten pillers, with a space of two and twentie foot betweene each.

Proper emblems and their meanings.

Enuie and Slander.

Concord holding Discord in a chaine, &c.

O let the earth the kissings sweet
of peace and iustice see,
And let hir powre hir riches foorth
in all mens bosoms free:
Let godlines and faithfulnes
go matched arme in arme,
And let the bond of endles loue
keepe all things knit from harme.

Before the duke came at saint Michaels, where the palace was prepared for his highnesse, the daie was so farre spent, that they were faine to light vp their cressets & torches, which cast so great and cleere a light through the whole towne, that the dukes highnesse, and the princes and lords which accompanied him, and likewise the souldiors with their glistering armors, were seene more clearelie than at anie time of the daie. And as the multitude of people was verie great in the citie, so the nerer that his highnesse drew to his palace, the greater still did the number grow. So at length the duke of Brabant and Anjou entred into his palace in the order afore mentioned, hauing moreouer a two or three hundred as well of offendors as of banished folke which followed him bareheaded and fettered, crauing mercie. The heralds did cast peces of gold and siluer abrode, as they had done at the metings of all the streets as they passed through them. At the entrie of the palace was an arch of twentie foot high, resting vpon three pillers of Phrygian worke; and vpon the top thereof was a compartement wherein were the three graces, that is to wit, Uertue, Glorie, and Honor, who offered vnto his highnesse an olife branch, in token of peace, a laurell bough in token of victorie, and a crowne which was sent him from heauen. And

Light with torches and cressets as cleere as the noone daie.

Three graces Uertue, Glorie, and Honor in a compartement.

vnder the compartement were written these verses:

O prince whose merits passe his praise,
whose vertues haue no peeres,
Whose mind surmounts his fortune far,
whose thews exceed his yeeres:
Take gentlie heere this oliue branch,
this laurell bough and crowne,
Three presents giuen thee by three nymphs,
and sent from heauen downe.

¶ The oth made by Francis duke of Brabant to the members of the right renowmed citie of Antwerpe, and the oth made by them againe vnto his highnesse.

Twentie or thirtie thousand harquebusses shot off.

The duke of Brabant being come into his palace, caused a peale of a twentie or thirtie thousand harquebusses to be shot off, and then all the companies (sauing those which were to watch that night) began to withdraw themselues apase. Which thing was done in such order and with such silence, that in lesse than halfe an houre all the citie was disarmed; after which maner they had also armed themselues in lesse than an houre without anie noise in the morning. The princes also and the lords withdrew themselues to their lodgings, and then was all the great ordinance of the towne shot off twise, as it had bene at the dukes first comming to the citie, that all the towne seemed to be on fire. Cressets were lighted and fires made for ioie through all the streets and meetings, waies, and vpon the steeples, in so great number and so continuallie, that all the night resembled the daie: in so much that when they that were without the towne loked vp into the skie, they thought the element was all on fire. These bonefires continued euerie night vntill the nert thursdaie; on which daie his highnesse toke his peculiar oth to the towne of Antwerpe, in doing whereof these solemnities insuing were obserued. The amptman, boroughmaisters, and skepens of Antwerpe came to the said palace of S. Michaell the next thursdaie being the two and twentith daie of the same moneth: at which place they made humble suite vnto his highnesse, that as he had vouchsafed to giue his oth to the states of Brabant and the marquesdome of the sacred empire, and likewise to receiue theirs; so it might please him to giue his oth that daie peculiarlie to the citie of Antwerpe, and likewise to take theirs at the place of old time accustomed. Wherevnto when the duke had assented, they toke their waie in the same order that had bene obserued at his entring into the towne; sauing that the lord Edward de Clastro ambassador for Don Antonio king of Portugall, was that daie in the latter companie of the princes and lords. And so they marched along the said street of saint Michaell to the great market-sted, where the sumptuous common house of the citie is. And because that on the daie of his entrance in, it was not possible for him to take a perfect view of all the shews, by reason that the night ouertoke them, they were presented vnto his highnes againe, as well in the place before the mint, as in other places. Also there were two pageants more prepared, which were deuised both in one daie; the one was mount Parnassus wheron sat Apollo apparelled like the sun, and accompanied with the nine muses playing vpon diuerse kinds of instruments, and with sweet voice singing a certeine ditie togither written in commendation of his highnesse. This pageant was in the street called the High street, ouer against the street named Reiner street. Right ouer against this pageant was an other on the side of the street called the Flar market, which was a mossie rocke ouergrowen with drie and withered trees, wherin appeared a caue verie hideous, darke, and drierie to behold, & in the same lale lurking the three helhounds, Discord, Violence, and Tyrannie: who feeling Apollos beames, and hearing the sweetnesse and harmonie of the voices and instruments, shronke awaie and hid themselues in the deepest of the dungeon, and afterward peered out againe to harken whether that melodie and harmonie continued still or no, minding to haue come forth againe, and to haue troubled the common wealth, if the same had ceassed.

The night resembled the daie.

Solemnities vsed while the monsieur was taking his peculiar oth to Antwerpe.

Two pageants, one of mount Parnassus, and the other a mossie rocke.

His highnesse passed on, and with verie much adoe came to the great market place, by reason of the infinit multitude of people, which could not be put asunder without great paine. As soone as he was alighted from his horsse, he went vpa scaffold which had bene set vp for the same purpose, in the middest of the market place hard by the towne house; before whome went the magistrate of the citie, and a great number of princes, lords, and gentlemen. This scaffold being great and large of the heigth of fortie foot, was hanged with scarlet. Upon it was a cloth of estate, the backe whereof was cloth of gold frized, vnder the which was a chaire of the same. The daie of his first comming thither, there had bene presented vnto him on the right side, Wisedome offering him a golden scepter: on his left side, Justice offering him the sword of iustice from aboue the chaire: and behind him Clemencie offering him the cap of the dukedome. Before the chaire as it were at the foot of it, were Obedience, Faithfulnes, Loue of God, & Reuerence. And by the chaire sides there were with them, Concord, Sagenesse, Valiantnes, Good will, Truth, Pitifulnesse, Perseuerance, and Reason, of whome two on either side held ech of them a torch of virgin war, & they were all apareled like nymphes. But on this daie when his highnesse went vp to this stage, the nymphes were awaie: and in sted of them, the chaire was garnished on both sides with pillers. On the right side betweene the pillers was a lion holding a naked sword, to betoken the authoritie of the magistrate. Aboue the lion was an egle feeding hir yong, and turning hir selfe towards the shining of the sunne, as taking hir force of the prince. On the left side was an ox with a yoke on his necke, and aboue him a hen brooding hir chickens, and by hir a cocke. The ox with his yoke signified obedience: and the cocke and the hen betokened the watchfulnesse, care, and defense of the superior. The said scaffold was garnished with banners of azure beaten with the armes of Anion, and with banners of gewles beaten with the armes of Antwerpe, and with cressets and torches. And aboue among the armes were written these verses in verie faire & legible letters:

A scaffold hong with scarlet and richlie adorned.

A chaire of estate of cloth of gold frized.

Beautifull emblems about the chaire of estate, & what they signified.

At length thou art come,
and ioifull we bee,
Thy presence long lookt for
here present to see.

1 Of triumphs, though statelie,
kings boast but in vaine,
Vnlesse they by iustice
vprightlie doo raine.

2 Nought booteth law, authoritie,
or sage forecast of wit,
Vnlesse to lawfull gouernement
folke doo their force submit.

3 God, God is he the harts of kings
which holdeth in his hand,
He, He it is that highest things
dooth make to fall or stand.
When he with gratious looke beholds
a people: they inioy
A goodlie ruler, vnder whom
no troubles them annoy.

1 A little vnder, at the right hand vnder the armes of Brabant, were these verses.

2 On the left hand vnder the armes of Antwerpe was written thus.

3 This was written somwhat lower.

But if misliking make him frowne,
then makes he them a preie
To tyrants, vnder whom they tast
of sorrow euerie daie.

From this scaffold he might behold before him an infinit number of people, readie to be sworne vnto him: and also three companies of banished and condemned men in fetters, and bareheaded, craving mercie at his hand, which was granted vnto them. Moreouer all the houses about the market stead had cressets burning on high before them. Now then, after that rome and silence was made, their councellor and recorder Vanderwerke propounded the matter as followeth. Right gratious lord and prince, the markegraue, the amptman, the borough masters, the skepons, the treasurors, the receiuers, the old deputies, the chiefe burgesses, the quartermasters, the wardens, the ancients of the handicrafts, the colonels, the wardens of the guilds, and the captaines of the citie, your highnesses most humble and obedient subiects, are exceeding glad to see that you, whome they haue alreadie receiued for duke of Brabant, and for their souereigne lord and prince, are readie to make your oth vnto this citie, and to receiue it at the hand of the magistrats, burgesses and citizens thereof, in respect of the citie it selfe, and of the marquesdome of the sacred empire: assuring themselues that your highnesse will be vnto them a good, righteous, and lawfull prince, to gouerne them according to their franchises, lawes, and customes: and promising mutuallie on their behalfe to your highnesse, to be good, loiall, and faithfull subiects vnto you, to spend all their goods, yea and their liues in your seruice, and in the maintenance of your dignities, rights and preheminences. And like as God hath put into your highnes mind, to take vpon you, first the protection and defense, and secondlie the whole souereingtie of the low countries and prouinces, which haue entered into league with you, vpon hope that the same God will of his gratious goodnesse and mercie so blesse and prosper your dealings and enterprises: as that they shall out of hand see the effect of that communication in the hiest degree, to the accomplishment of your roiall and heroicall desires, both in the generall, and also in the particular deliuerance of the countrie from the calamities and miseries of war: whereby they shall haue the better cause to acknowlege the great good turnes and benefits receiued at your highnesse hand, and to honor, loue, and serue you, as the verie protector of the land and father of their countrie.

Vanished and condemned men in fetters craving mercie pardoned.

When Vanderwerke had made an end, and the dukes highnesse had answered him conformablie to that which he had spoken without the towne, the said Vanderwerke told the people alowd, that the duke was readie to take and receiue his oth, at the hand of the magistrate, and of all the people and inhabiters of the citie of Antwerpe: and that God had vouchsafed to send them a prince of so rare and heroicall vertues, of so great puissance, and the onelie brother of so great a king; that they might well hope, that the same God would inable him to rid these countries within a while from the great number of calamities and miseries wherwith they were oppressed. And forsomuch as his highnesse had béene receiued with solemne deliberation of the states confederate, yea and with solemne resolution of all the members of that citie, and God had commanded men to loue, honour and obeie their princes: he exhorted the people to yéeld him all humble obedience according to Gods commandement. To which intent, the oth as well which his highnesse should make to the people, as which the people should make to his highnesse, should be read vnto them; praieng God to giue such grace vnto his highnes, as he following the same, might well rule and gouerne; and vnto the burgesses and citizens of Antwerpe, as they might performe their obedience, like good, loiall, and faithfull subiects: that Gods name might be sanctified, to the benefit, prosperitie, and safegard of the citie, and to the great increase of the dukes puissance, honour, and glorie. Then the same Vanderwerke read the oth which was to be made by the duke, with the stile of the duke of Brabant, and all his other titles. Which oth was read to his highnes in French, and receiued by sir Philip Schonehouen, lord of Waneroe, borroughmaster without the citie.

The monsieurs oth red in French.

Which being done, the said Vanderwerke read the oth which the magistrate and people were to make, which was repeated word for word by the magistrats and a great number of people which were within the hearing of it. And this oth was erected of the magistrate and people of Antwerpe by the amptman in the name and by the commandement of the duke.

The monsieur is readie to take his oth of the magistrate & people of Antwerpe.

Upon the finishing of these solemnities, the duke himselfe did cast two or three handfuls of gold and siluer among them, & then the heralds cried A larges, and the trumpets and drums were sounded euerie where, and manie instruments of muske were plaied vpon, as had béene done afore at his first arriuall. When he was come downe from the scaffold, he went to the townehouse with all the princes, lords, and gentlemen, which were verie manie: where he was receiued by the worshipfull of the citie, and dined openlie at a verie sumptuous and roiall feast prepared for him: and so that daie passed in great ioy, contentation and admiration, as well of his highnes & his companie, as of all the rest of the people. Towards night were shot off two peales of great ordinance againe, and the fires of ioy were continued much greater, and more in number than afore.

The monsieur casteth largesse of gold & siluer among the people.

Two peales of great ordinance with other signes of ioy.

Thus ended the ioifull and roiall interteinement of the right noble prince Francis, sonne and brother to the king of France, by the grace of God duke of Brabant. The rest of the worke and the daies following, the lords of the priuie councell, the officers of the aides, of the exchekers, of the chambers of the accounts, and of the other corporations, colleges, and communalties came to visit his highnes, and to offer him their humble seruice, promising all faithfulnes and obedience: all whome he receiued verie gratiouslie to their contentation, answering them so aduisedlie, with so good grace & fitnesse, without omitting anie point of that which he had purposed: that all men not onelie wondered at him, but also were inforced to honour and loue him, and to set forth his praises among the people. Finallie the deputies of the reformed churches of both the languages, being presented vnto him by the prince of Orange, were gentlie heard, and they spake to him as followeth.

What was done by the waie of courteous dutie when all the triumphs were ended.

Sir, we be sent vnto your highnes by the reformed churches of this citie, as well of the language of low Dutchland, as of the French, to shew vnto you with all humilitie, reuerence and subiection, that we haue thanked and still do thanke God with all our hart, for vouchsafing to bring your highnesse so happilie hither. And this our ioie is matched with the ioie of all other folks, as we hope your highnesse hath vnderstood by the glad and ioifull receiuing and interteining of you. Also sir we hope, that as the great honour and felicitie which these countries haue atteined vnto (wherein few countries are able to match them) haue béene purchased vnder the souereigntie and gouernement of the right renowmed princes, the dukes of Burgognie, which issued out of the most noble house of France: so vnder your guiding and gouernement being of the same house, the ancient renowme of the same dignitie shall be recouered

All promises kept on the monsieurs part, they could do no lesse.

Dukes of Burgognie issued out of the house of France.

God increasse wished to the mutuall othtakers.

uered by your prowesse, and mainteined by your wisdome. It is little more than three hundred yeeres ago, that these countries being governed by sundrie dukes, earles, and lords, had not attained the renowme which other nations have since that time so much wondered at. The first that began to give increase to it was Philip duke of Burgognie, surnamed the hardie, who was brother to king Charles the fift, the sonne of king John, and grand sonne of king Philip of Valois: of which kings your highnes is lineallie descended from the father to the sonne. For the first duke of Orleance, of whome your highnesse is lineallie descended from the father to the sonne, was the sonne of king Charles the fift; and as now there be no more heires males of the said duke of Orleance, but onelie your highnes and the king your brother. Whereby it falleth out, that the dukes of Burgognie are great uncles to your highnes by the fathers side. And therefore we doubt not but you will follow the footsteps of their vertues, in restoring the state of the countrie to hir ancient renowme and dignitie: and also mainteine and increase the honour whereunto it hath been advanced, by those noble princes your uncles.

Under whom the state hath been advanced.

Philip duke of Burgognie surnamed the hardie.

The second duke under whom this state hath been greatlie advanced, was John the second: neuertheless it came not to full perfection, untill the time of Philip the second. In which perfection it was mainteined by Charls the last duke of Burgognie so long as he lived. The said Philip the second, to whom the honour of stablishing that state most peculiarlie belongeth, was one of the most knightlie and valiant princes of his time. He wan the victorie in nine soughten fields, in most of the which he was put to the triall and hazard of his person, by fighting with his owne hands. He was a verie sage prince, and such a one as had to deale with the greatest princes in christendome: of whome some were his aduersaries, and yet he behaued himselfe so wiselie, that he atchiued all things to his honour whatsoeuer he toke in hand. Also he was verie rich: insomuch that for all his warres which lasted aboue thirtie yeares, he left behind him more substance and readie monie, than anie other prince of his time, as the writers of the histories of that age do witnes unto us. And yet notwithstanding, for all these great vertues & qualities of his, he was not named Philip the sage, nor Philip the valiant, nor Philip the rich, but Philip the good. So well do all folke by generall consent understand, which is the vertue that best beseemeth and becommeth a great prince, & is best liked of his people: namelie, that a prince be good and louing to his subiects. Surelie sir, all men hope that your highnes will follow the example of that good prince, the first bringer of the state of this countrie to perfection, a right noble and renowmed prince of the house of France. And we praise God, for that as manie as have had the honour to come into your highnes presence, yeeld record that you have verie great likelihoods of these vertues, which we praie God so to accomplish and make perfect in you, as all his people may to your great honor receiue the perfect and ripe fruits of them. And this do all the rest of the people desire as well as we.

Duke John the second, and Philip the second, aduancers of the state.

Philip the second a verie rich prince, surnamed Philip the good.

He directeth his speech to the monsieur.

Howbeit, we have a most humble sute to make peculiarlie to your highnes, which we most humblie beseech you to grant. The thing that induceth us to do it, is that you beare the name of Francis. For as oft as we heare that name named: the remembrance of that great king Francis your highnesse grandfather commeth to our mind. He was a right valiant, couragious, noble and godlie prince: and yet notwithstanding all the nations of the earth did by one common consent surname him the father of learning. For of a truth, since that emperour and great king of France, called Charles the great, there was neuer anie king of France that so highlie fauoured learning, as this great king Francis. And as the said king Charles was the founder of the famous vniuersitie of Paris, so was king Francis the restorer therof againe: and both of them to their great costs & charges called men of excellent knowledge thither out of strange countries, to teach the languages & all kinds of arts & sciences. The house of this great king Francis was as an vniuersitie, and his table was a place of conference concerning all maner of learning. And like as other great princes of his time following his example, inriched their dominions and kingdomes with learned men and learning; so we most humblie beseech your highnes to follow the example of this great king your grandfather in doing the like, and to make singular account of learning, and to take the professours therof vnder your protection. True it is sir, that through the malice of men, warre is commonlie the ouerthrower of learning. But if a great prince set himselfe against the mischiefe, he may easilie stop it. Our desire is not that your highnesse should neglect the exercise of chiualrie, for to give your selfe to studie: but to follow so the one, as the other be not left off and forgotten. For as we have seene manie commonweales florish so long as they professed chiualrie and learning togither: and yet have fallen into the hands of their enimies, euen in the chiefe flowre of their skill in sciences, by reason of their discontinuing of their former trade of armes, after which maner it fell to the Athenians to come into subiection to the kings of Macedonie: so the people which have professed armes alone without learning, have alwaies become barbarous, cruell, and vtterlie destitute of all humanitie, as we see at this date by the Tartars and Moscouits. And therefore to our seeming, a man may well sate, that chiualrie is the fundation and sinewes of a commonweale: and that learning garnisheth and beautifieth the bodie therof with liuelie and fresh colours, seruing it for inrichments and ornaments. In respect wherof, as we meant not to desire your highnesse to forget those which make profession of chiualrie, whome you ought to embrace as your strength: so we most humblie beseech you to vouchsafe to succour learning, and to mainteine learned men with your gratious fauour.

A good sute to the mõsieur, & the like of all princes and great men to be preferred and granted.

Learning and chiualrie must go togither.

A sute moued to ỹ monsieur.

Francis the monsieurs grandfather commended.

Sir, verie needfull causes move us to make this humble petition to your highnesse: for that we being professors of learning, ought to have learning in singular estimation, and to procure (if it be possible for vs) that the fruite of the things which we have injoied for a time, may be conueied to our posteritie: and secondlie for the oths sake which we have taken at the time of our proceeding in our degrees, which is, to mainteine and further the scholes and learning of the vniuersitie, in what degree soeuer we come unto. And therefore we hope that your highnesse will do us the honour to take this most humble request of ours in good part. As touching our owne persons, we promise your highnesse all obedience, faithfulnesse, and subiection: and that according to our small abilitie, we will do our indeuor towards such as we may have accesse unto, that they also may yeeld obedience to your highnesse, and to the magistrates whome it shall please you to set ouer the people. And here to make an end, we hartilie praie God to preserue your highnes a long time in happie estate among this people, and to give you the grace to rule and gouerne them iustlie and vprightlie, to rid them out of the hands of their enimies, to mainteine them long in most happie peace, and

Causes that moued the making of this sute.

He speaketh in the behalfe of all the rest of like profession and facultie.

and to restore this state againe to the ancient dignitie, greatnesse, renowme, and felicitie: that after your decease you maie leaue a most blessed and famous remembrance among all nations. And for the bringing hereof to passe, we yet againe beseech the king of kings and great prince of princes, to make you as valiant as Dauid, as wise as Salomon, and as zelous of his glorie as Ezechias.

The monsieur speaketh well whatsoeuer his meaning was.

Hereunto the duke answered, that he was verie glad to see such a consent of all the people in the receiuing of him: and that he hoped so to rule and gouerne them, as they should not be disappointed of the hope which they had conceiued of his gouernement, which he would fashion out after the paterne of his predecessors and great vncles, who had gouerned these countries so happilie. And he thanked them for their good will & loue, praieng them to continue the same, and promising to take them into his protection togither with the rest of the people in generall: & that as he had heretofore a singular regard of learned men, so would he be willing to continue the same hereafter.

A good beginning in prince and people.

After this maner began this great prince to gouerne that people with great authoritie and modestie; and the people to yeld vnto him verie willing and honorable obedience; and all men hope both generallie and particularlie, that God will giue him the grace so to hold on in that so holie and commendable gouernement, as that by his example he shall shew to all princes and to all others that come after him, how greatlie the iust and lawfull gouernement availeth: and that the people on their side shall shew what maner of obedience, loue, and constancie is due to good princes: in which vertues there was neuer yet anie people that could skill to surmount them, neither shall anie hereafter, by the helpe of the great God, and euerlasting father of our saiuour Jesus Christ, to whome with the vnitie of the holie spirit be all glorie for euer and euer, Amen.]

John Paine executed at Chelmsford.

John Paine priest being indicted of high treason for words by him spoken, was arreigned and condemned at Chelmsford on the last daie of March, and was there executed on the second daie of Aprill, according to the qualitie of his offense, and as law had awarded. In the moneth of Maie, namelie, on the fifteenth daie at night, about ten of the clocke, a blasing starre appeared, descending in the northwest, the beard whereof streamed in a the southeast.

A blasing starre.

Execution of Thomas Ford, John Shert, and Robert Johnson priests of the popes order.

On mondaie being the eight & twentith of Maie, Thomas Ford, John Shert, and Robert Johnson priests, having beene before indicted, arreigned, and as well by their owne testimonie, as also sufficient witnesses produced to their faces, found giltie, and condemned for high treason intended, practised, and apointed against hir maiesties most roiall person, as also for the vtter ruine, ouerthrow, and subuersion of hir peaceable and well gouerned realme, themselues being sent as instruments, to deale for and in the behalfe of the pope, in this dissoiall and traitorous cause; according as iustice had before determined, were drawne vpon hurdles from the Tower of London to the place apointed for execution; having been so long time spared, by hir maiesties most roiall and princelie regard of mercie, to trie if either the feare of God would take place in them, consideration and respect of their owne duties moue them, or the meere loue and accustomed clemencie of hir maiestie might win them, to acknowledge hir to be their lawfull souereigne, and themselues hir subiects bound to serue hir, notwithstanding any pretense or authoritie to the contrarie, & not for matter of their popish superstition. All this notwithstanding they remained giuen ouer to their owne wickednes, and swallowed vp in the gulfe of their vndutifull affection, which caused iustice to step before mercie, committing them to the reward of their lewd and vnnaturall dealing.

To perseuere in wickednes is no constancie but obstinacie.

Consolation ministred to them as they went to their deaths.

All the waie as they were drawne, they were accompanied with diuers zealous and godlie men, who in mild & louing speeches made knowne vnto them, how iustlie God repaieth the reprobat, how fatherlie againe he receiueth the obedient, how he ouerthroweth the vngodlie in their owne deuises, and protecteth his chosen in all stormes and afflictions. In remembrance of all these, to bethinke themselues of their wickednesses passed, and to shew such hartie and zealous repentance for the same, that albeit they had so grieuouslie trespassed, yet in contrite and humble sorrowing they might be gratiouslie receiued into his heauenlie fauour, whome they had moued and stirred by their vnreuerent regard, to smite and chasten with the rod of his furie. Among which godlie persuasions, maister shiriffe himselfe, both learnedlie and ernestlie labored vnto them, moouing all good occasions he might deuise to change the obstinacie he perceiued in them, into a christianlike humilitie and repentance; but these good indeuors take no wished effect, their owne euill disposition so blinded them, that there was no waie for grace to enter.

The shiriffe himselfe trieth what he can do to conuert them.

When they were come beyond saint Giles in the field, there approched vnto the hurdle one of their owne sect, and a priest (as himselfe had confessed) who in this maner spake vnto the prisoners: O gentlemen be ioifull in the bloud of Jesus Christ, for this is the daie of your triumph and ioie. Being asked whie he vsed such words, he said vnto the prisoners againe; I pronounce vnto you; yea, I pronounce a full remission and pardon vnto your soules. Using these and other traitorous speeches, hold was laid on him. When as maister shiriffe demanded what he was, he answered; He was the voice of a crier in the wildernesse, and that he was sent to prepare the Lords waie. And notwithstanding such meanes of resistance as himselfe vsed, he was deliuered vnto Thomas Norris purseuant, who brought him vnto Newgate, where he confessed vnto him that he was a priest, and that he had so long dissembled, as he would now leaue off and do so no more.

He was the ecchо of a false and antichristian voice.

Thomas Ford his words touching his innocencie.

Being come to the place of execution Thomas Ford was first brought vp into the cart, when as he began in this maner. Whereas I am come hither to die, for matters laid vnto my charge of treason, which should be conspired against the queene, within these two yeares or somewhat more: I giue you to vnderstand, that of anie such matter I am innocent & free, for that I can proue my comming into England to be fiue yeares since. Whereupon maister shiriffe spake vnto him and said; Ford, haue mind on God, and aske him and hir maiestie heartilie forgiuenesse, whome thou hast so highlie offended; thou dost but delude the people, for it is manifestlie known how thou art guiltie of the matters laid to thy charge, here be thine owne answers to shew, affirmed vnder thine owne hand, and other witnesses to reproue thee. Whereupon *I my selfe was called forth, who iustified the causes to his face, that at his arreignement was laid to his charge, and he euidentlie and plainelie found guiltie thereof. Then were his answers whereto he had subscribed read vnto him, which is in the booke latelie set forth by authoritie. Whereupon he take occasion to tell a long circumstance of a certeine question moued at Orford, as concerning taking armes against hir maiestie, which horrible treason he seemed to approue thereby.

* The writer of this pamphlet, who seemed to be acquainted with all their dealings.

Then maister shiriffe willed him to aske hir maiestie forgiuenesse, offering him to stand his friend in

in atteining hir graces mercie, if he would change his former traitorous mind, to become a true and faithfull subiect, acknowledging hir to be his lawfull souereigne ladie, notwithstanding anie thing that anie pope could saie or do to the contrarie. Whereto he answered; I haue not offended hir maiestie, but if I haue, I aske hir forgiuenesse and all the world; and in no other treson haue I offended than my religion, which is the catholike faith, wherein I will liue and die. And as for the quænes maiestie, I do acknowledge hir supremasie in all things temporall, but as concerning ecclesiasticall causes, I denie hir; that onelie belongeth to the vicar of Christ, the pope. In briefe, he granted to nothing, but shewed himselfe an impious and obstinat traitor, and so he remained to the death, refusing to praie in the English tong, mumbling a few Latine praiers, desiring those that were *Ex domo Dei* to praie with him, & so he died. In the meane time that he hanged, which was till he was dead, so great is the mercie of our gratious princesse, John Shert was brought from off the hurdle to the gallowes, where seeing Ford hanging, he began with holding vp his hands, as the papists are wont to do before their images; O sweet Tom, O happie Tom, O blessed Tom. Then being staied, Ford was cut downe & caried to the place where his bodie should be quartered. In which time Shert was brought vp into the cart, where looking towards the dead bodie of Ford, he fell downe on his knées, and held vp his hands vnto it, saieng againe: O happie Tom, O blessed Tom, thy sweet soule praie for me; O deare Tom, thy blessed soule praie for me. For which words being rebuked, the executioner lifted him vp on his feet, when as he prepared him to his confession, saieng; I am brought hither to this place, to die a death which is both shamefull & ignominious, for which I thanke thee my Lord God, who framing me to thine owne similitude and likenesse, hast blessed me to this good end. There being staied, because he seemed to prolong the time to small purpose, the shiriffe willed him to remember himselfe, for what cause he was come thither, how he had offended the quænes maiestie, and that he was now to aske hir forgiuenesse. Besides, he might receiue hir princelie mercie; whereto with an hypocriticall outward boldnesse, but an inward fainting feare (as afterward euerie one plainelie beheld) he gaue this answer: What (maister shiriffe) shall I saue this fraile and vile carcasse, and damne mine owne soule? No, no, I am a catholike, in that faith I was borne, in that faith will I die, and here shall my bloud seale it.

Then maister shiriffe spake vnto him, saieng; By the waie as we came you swore an oth, for which you willed me to beare witnesse that you were heartilie sorie: now I praie you let me be a witnesse, that you are heartilie sorie for offending the quæns maiestie. Whie sir (quoth he) I haue not offended hir, without it be in my religion; and if I haue offended hir, then I aske hir forgiuenesse. Maister shiriffe vpon this said vnto him; Is this the fruit of your religion, to kneele to the dead bodie of thy fellow, and to desire his soule to praie for thee? Alas, what can it either profit or hinder thee? Praie thou to God, and he will helpe thee. Maister shiriffe (quoth Shert) this is the true catholike religion, and whosoeuer is not of it is damned. I desire his soule to praie for me, the most glorious virgin Marie to praie for me, and all the holie companie of heauen to praie for me. At which words the people cried; Awaie with the traitor, hang him, hang him. O Shert (quoth maister shiriffe) forsake that whore of Rome, that wicked Antichrist, with all his abhominable blasphemies and treacheries, and put thy whole confidence in Jesus Christ. Whereto he answered; O maister shiriffe, you little remember the daie when as you & I shall stand both at one barre, and I come as witnesse against you, that you called that holie and blessed vicar of Christ the whore of Rome. At which words the people cried againe; Hang him, hang him, awaie with him. Then he beganne his *Pater noster* in Latine, and before he had fullie ended two petitions of it he fell into the Creed, and then to the *Pater noster* againe, afterward he said the *Aue Maria*, which done, knocking himselfe on the breast, saieng, *Iesus esto mihi Iesus*, the cart was drawen awaie, and he committed to the mercie of God. But then, to manifest that his former boldnesse was but meere dissembling and hypocrisie, he lifted vp his hands, and caught hold on the halter: so that euerie one perceiued his faire outward shew, and his foule inward disfigured nature, also how loth he was and vnwilling to die. Whereby he shewed that he was not indued with the audacitie and stout resolution of the heathen, who for morall vertues sake cast themselues into dangers, manie times deadlie, holding opinion, that he beareth but a counterfeit shew of vertue that shrinketh at anie torment, at anie hazard, at anie death, & therefore said:

virtus
Per scopulos durum fortis inhelat iter.

Robert Johnson being brought vp into the cart, maister shiriffe, according as he had before, both declared vnto him hir maiesties mercie if he would repent; and also willed him to be sorie for his offenses against hir: whereof he seemed to make small estimation, denieng the treasons according as the others had done, and appealing likewise vpon his religion. Then was the * writer hereof called forth, who gaue him to vnderstand, how notablie he was approued guiltie at his arreignment, & euerie matter sufficientlie handled, how according as the rest were, he was confounded to his face. Whereunto he would make no other answer, but said; Well well, (quoth he) calling the partie by his name, God forgiue the. Then were his answers read vnto him, as they had been before to the other two, he not yeelding deniall, but said he spake them & would do it againe. Then was Athanasius Creed moued to him, which he granted to be the catholike faith, whereof the pope was vicar, and that there was no other catholike faith, but onelie his. Whie (quoth the preacher) the pope is not named in it. I know not that (quoth he againe) I haue not read it. Then maister shiriffe desired him to saie his praiers in English, and he with all the companie would praie with him: which he refusing to do, in his Latine praiers the cart was drawne awaie, and he committed to Gods mercie. And thus was iustice ministred, and that execution to Gods glorie, & the ease of the common wealths greefe dispatched.

On the wednesdaie following, which was the thirtith daie of Maie, in the same maner as I haue before expressed, Luke Kirbie, William Filbie, Thomas Coteham, & Laurence Richardson, were committed from the tower of London, to the place of execution; and as the other were on the mondaie before associated and accompanied with diuerse learned and godlie preachers; euen so were these, as to saie, maister Charke, maister Perne, and diuerse others, who all the waie applied such godlie and christian persuasions vnto them (as had not the child of perdition so maruellouslie blinded them) were of force to haue wone them into grace and mercie. The speeches they vsed to them by the waie were needlesse here to set downe, for that they did especiallie concerne causes to root out that wicked opinion in them, and to establish a sound and perfect faith in place thereof; but euen as it was in the other, so it did agree in them. But Luke Kirbie seemed to chalenge

A shamelesse negatiue voice to a manifest charge of offense, and euident conuiction.

John Shert his vaine speeches at the sight of Tom Fords dead bodie dismembred.

Sherts oration to the people iustifieng the forme of a godlie martyres death.

Note Sherts obstinacie.

Shert is peremptorie in his speech to iustifie his religion.

Hudling vp of praiers mangled and packed togither after the popish maner.

* who seemed acquainted with all their practises.

Execution of Luke Kirbie, William Filbie, Thomas Coteham, and Laurence Richardson priests of the popes order.

*who was an obseruer (as he pretended) of all their doings.

lenge the * writer hereof as sufficient to proue nothing against him, which he did because it was supposed he was not there present: but what passed betweene him & the said writer, you shall heare hereafter. They being come to the place of execution, William Filbie was brought vp into the cart, where conforming himselfe vnto the death, his wicked treasons were moued vnto him, which obstinatelie and impudentlie he denied. Then was he demanded if he would acknowledge the quéenes maiestie his souereigne princesse, and supreme head vnder Christ of the church of England: No (quoth he) I will acknowledge no other head of the church than the pope onlie. Wherupon his answers were read vnto him, and he not denieng them in anie point, euen as they were wicked and impious, euen so he remained in them, still appealing that it was for his religion that he died, and not for anie treason. But the contrarie was proued vnto his face, as well by sufficient proofes, as also by the traitorous answers, whereto he had subscribed with his owne hand. At last, as he was desired, he praied for the quœnes maiestie, that God might blesse hir, and incline hir heart to mercie toward the catholikes, of which societie he was one. Then they opening his bosome, found there two crosses, which being taken from him were held vp, and shewed to all the people, beside his crowne was shauen. So after a few silent Latine praiers to himselfe, the cart was drawne awaie.

Most manifest and vndoubted tokens of a resolute votarie to the pope his vicar.

The next was Luke Kirbie, who being brought vp into the cart, offered long circumstance of spéech, as concerning that he was come thither to die, hoping to be saued in the bloud of Christ: and much matter, which were needlesse here to rehearse. Afterward, he began to saie, that there were none could approue him to be a traitor: neither had he at anie time attempted anie thing preiudiciall to hir maiestie, and that his aduersaries, naming them by speciall name, could not vpbraid him with anie thing. Wherupon master shiriffe told him that one of them was there, and asked him if he would haue him called to him. I se him (quoth he) yonder, and let him saie what he can against me. Then was the * partie bidden come somewhat nére him, to whom he began in vehement sort to saie, Consider with thy selfe how vntrulie thou hast charged me, with that which I neuer said nor thought. Besides, thou knowest that when thou camest to the Tower to me, before master lieutenant, & an other who was there present then, thou wast demanded what thou thoughtest of me, and what thou couldest saie against me? When as thou madest answer, thou knewest no harme by me, neither couldest thou at anie time saie otherwise of me than well: wherevpon thou wast asked, wherefore thou reportedst otherwise at my arreignement? Then the shiriffe said vnto him; Who can beare thée witnes of this? Quoth he againe; He spake it before master lieutenant, and an other was by then. Then was he demanded what other he was that was present? Which (after long trifling) he said was a keéper, & named him. Whereto the said writer made answer as followeth. Master Kirbie, I wish and desire you, in the feare of God, to remember your selfe: for this is not a place to report an vntruth, neither to slander anie man otherwise than you are able to proue. When as I came vnto the Tower, & made knowne to master lieutenant for what cause I was sent to speake with you, you were brought into a chamber by your keéper: and what I then moued, your selfe verie well knoweth, as concerning my allowance being the popes scholer: where what answer you made, I haue trulie, and according as you answered, alreadie set downe in print. Master lieutenant neither moued anie such words to me, as here you reported, and I call God to my witnesse, that not a motion of anie such matter was once offered to me by master lieutenant, or by your keéper. Your selfe then vttered, that at sundrie times in the seminarie there were diuerse lewd words spoken, which might better haue béene spared; and denied that you were not in my chamber, when as I lieng sicke in my bed, the traitorous spœches were moued by them, which were then present, whereof your selfe was one; with diuerse other matters which you spake vnto me, which master lieutenant himselfe heard, and your keéper being present. But if this be true which you saie, that it may be proued there were either such words moued vnto me, or anie such answer made by me, I offer to susteine what punishment the law shall afford me. Then falling to an other matter, for that this redounded to his owne confusion (as master lieutenant can well witnesse) he began to talke of my being at Rome, what frendship he had shewed vnto me, and had done the like vnto a number of Englishmen, whome he well knew not to be of that religion, both by his owne purse, as also by frending them to some of the popes chamber, he made conueiance for them thense sometime going forth miles with them: when (quoth he) had my dealings bin knowne, I should hardlie haue bin well thought of: and I knew well inough that you were neuer bent to that religion, albeit they thought the contrarie. Yea I knew well inough when you departed thense, that your disposition was contrarie to ours, and concealed it to my selfe.

Repetitio beneficij est exprobratio.

O Kirbie (quoth master shiriffe) this is verie vnlike, that you could afford such fauour to anie, who were contrarie to that religion that you professed. No, no, if you knew anie such there, you would rather helpe to persecute them than pitie them, as it is the nature of you all. M. Kirbie (quoth this writer) it is verie vnlike that you had anie such secret knowledge of me, either of my religion, or how I was secretlie bent as you séeme here to professe: for had I béene such a one as you would persuade these here you knew me to be, would you haue deliuered me those silken pictures hallowed by the pope which you did: and moreouer, make knowen vnto me sundrie of your friends here in England, to whome I should conueie them? O sir (quoth he) I confesse indeed I deliuered to thée such pictures, but thou knowest I gaue thée two Julies to go buy them with, I did it because I knew thée to be such a one, and therfore I did misdoubt thee, for I would not credit thée with my hallowed pictures. M. Kirbie (quoth the other) to denie your owne doings is marueilous impudencie; did not you in your chamber deliuer me certeine silken pictures, which you told me at Stubles being there, were hallowed by the pope, and what indulgences were alowed them? One of them, which was a crucifix, you gaue me; the other you willed me deliuer to your frends at Rheimes and in England. And because they were to few (as in deed I thinke they were no more but fiue) you gaue me two Julies, to go into the citie to buie more, which I did: and hauing brought them to you, thrée or foure of the fairest you toke from me, promising to get them hallowed at the next benediction: the other in deed you gaue me, and I toke them with me. How saie you now Kirbie (quoth master shiriffe) would you haue credited him with such matters, had you not supposed him to be one of your owne sect? Master shiriffe (quoth he) what I haue said, I know verie well. And after he was gone from Rome I sent fiftéene shillings to Rheimes to be deliuered to him, but he was departed thense towards England, before it came.

Master shiriffes words vttered by the waie of interception.

This was great & verie mercifull forbearance to let all this talke passe to and fro at the place of execution.

Then master shiriffe said to him againe; You stand vpon these points verie much, which there is none that

*The obstruer and writer of all their plots and deuises, as he pretended.

One of these two must néeds be in a fowle errour: for both holding contraries could not speake truth.

When indeed vle to repose their trust in such, whom they suppose to be like themselues.

that are here, but will iudge to be vntrue: thou hearest what he hath said vnto thée, and we haue heard that thou deniedst euerie thing. What saiest thou to thy treasons, wherefore thou art come hither to die? Wilt thou be sorie for them? aske God and his maiestie forgiuenesse, for she is mercifull, and we will carrie thee backe againe if we shall perceiue in thée anie such motion, that thou wilt forsake thy former wickednesse, and become a good and faithfull subiect. At these words the people among themselues almost generallie said: O exceeding mercie and fauour! what a gratious princesse haue we, who affoordeth such mercie vnto those that haue so ill deserued? Can there be a princesse of greater pitie, of more clemencie or tendernesse to be found in all the world? No.

Mercie offered to Kirbie notwithstanding his conuiction of treason.

Principe nil ista mitius orbis habet.

When Field the preacher in the booke read his answers to him, whereto he had subscribed with his owne hand: Whether the pope might lawfullie depose hir maiestie, or had anie authoritie to take the title of hir crowne and dignitie awaie from hir? Wherto Kirbie answered: This is a matter disputable in scholes, and therefore I may not iudge of it. I thinke this with my selfe, that if anie prince fall by infidelitie into turcisme, atheisme, paganisme, or anie such like, that the pope hath authoritie to depose such a prince. And being asked, if hir maiestie were in anie such? He said, he knew his owne conscience. An other preacher being by said vnto him, that the prince receiued his authoritie from God, and that he was to be supplied by none, but onelie by God. Againe, that Salomon said: By me (meaning by God) kings reigne, and princes decrée iustice. By me princes rule, and the nobles and all the iudges of the earth. Againe, S. Paule saith: Let euerie soule be subiect to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God, and the powers that be, are ordeined of God. Whosoeuer therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, & they that resist, shall receiue to themselues iudgement. For princes are not to be feared for good workes but for euill. Wilt thou then be without feare of the power? doo well, so shalt thou purchase praise of the same. For he is the minister of God for thy wealth; but if thou doo euill, feare, for he beareth a sword not for naught, for he is the minister of God to take vengeance on him that doth euill. If then the pope be a soule, he is to be obedient to the higher powers. And being a subiect vnto God, as all other princes be, he must not take vpon him what belongeth to God. As for the authoritie that hir maiestie hath, she hath receiued it from God; neither is the pope, or anie earthlie prince to depriue hir thereof, but onelie God. Againe, when Iesus was brought before Pilat, Pilat said vnto him; Knowest thou not that I haue power to crucifie thée, and haue power to lose thée? To the which Iesus answered: Thou couldest haue no power at all against me, except it were giuen thée from aboue. Thus maie you sée, that what prince soeuer ruleth vpon earth, hath his power and authoritie onelie from God: and not that anie mortall man can vse the authoritie of a prince at his pleasure. Now saie you to this? Wherto he would make no answer, but séemed to demand of them, if they would denie, that if a prince were in paganisme, atheisme, or gouerned by infidelitie: that such a prince might not lawfullie be deposed? Which the learned preachers answered in learned sort, approuing that as the power was of God, so princes were not to be deposed by anie, but onelie by God.

To such as are proditorioustie minded it is a matter disputable: but to a good subiect a matter determinable.

Prou. 8. 15, 16.

Rom. 13. 1, 2, 3, 4.

This counsell of the apostle they had not the grace to follow.

John. 19. 10, 11.

This demand implieth a kind of suspition or secret charge that hir maiestie is such a one.

No (quoth Kirbie againe) hath it not béene disputed in schooles for these fiue hundred yeares, and will you denie it? O maister Crowleie, maister Crowleie; and there pansed: as if that maister Crowleie had agreed with him in such a monstruous error. But maister Crowleie himselfe gaue one to vnderstand, that at such time as he conferred with the said Kirbie in the tower, about the same argument, that his answer was vnto him: If anie prince fell into anie such kind of error, that prince were corrigible, but of whome? Not of anie earthlie prince, but of that heauenlie prince, who gaue him his authoritie, and séeing him abuse it anie waie, correcteth him in his iustice. For by his attributing to the pope this authoritie, he witnessed him to be antichrist, in that he will depose princes at his pleasure, and exalt himselfe aboue all that is called God, and forgiue men their sinnes at his pleasure likewise. All this was not sufficient to mollifie the obstinate mind of Kirbie, but he would persist still in this diuelish imagination. Maister Chirtsie and the preachers, séeing him wauering, and not able to yeld anie reason for his arrogant opinion, laboured as much as in them laie to change it: when all would not serue, they desired him in hartie and humble maner to praie vnto God, to aske hir maiestie forgiuenesse, for the treasons wherein he had offended hir. Wherevnto he answered, that he had not offended in anie treason, to his knowledge. Whereupon they shewed him his treasons, which were adiudged by the people worthie of greater punishment, than he was at that time to suffer; yet would not he acknowledge them, but praied to God for hir maiestie, that she might long rule in hir authoritie, to confound all hir enimies: and that his hart was free from anie treason to hir maiestie. Then preparing himselfe vnto his praiers, the preachers desired him to praie in English with them, and to saie a praier after them; wherein, if he could find anie fault, he should be resolued thereof. O (quoth he againe) you and I were not one in faith, therefore I thinke I should offend God, if I should praie with you: at which words, the people began to crie, Awaie with him: so he saieng his *Pater noster* in Latine, ended his life.

Not of the pope then, belike, who is not to peere into other princes prouinces, &c.

Vox populi Dei, vox fertur esse Dei.

Then was Laurence Richardson brought vp into the cart, & to him Thomas Cotcham to be executed togither. But Cotcham séemed to vtter such words as though there had béene hope he would haue forsaken his wickednesse, so that the halter was vntied, and he brought downe out of the cart againe. In which time Laurence Richardson prepared him to death, confessing himselfe a catholike, and that he would beléeue in all things as the catholike church of Rome did, vnto the pope he allowed the onelie supremasie. In which traitorous opinion, after certeine Latine praiers, he was committed to God. Then was Cotcham brought vp to the cart againe, & the good opinion had of him before changed into that obstinat nature that was in them all, saieng to maister Chirtsie, that before he came into England, he was armed for India, and thither if he might be suffered he would passe with as much conuenient spéed as might be. Then looking to the bodie of Laurence Richardson, whereon the executioner was vsing his office, he lifted vp his hands and said; O blessed Laurence praie for me, thy blessed soule Laurence praie for me: for which words both the preachers and the people rebuked him, telling him that he ought to praie to none, but to God onelie; all helpe of man was but in vaine. Whereto he answered, he was assured that he could praie for him. In brefe, his treasons being moued to him, he denied all, albeit his owne handwriting was there to affirme it. He praied for hir maiestie, and said his *Pater noster* & *Aue Maria*: and as the cart was drawing away he said; *In manus tuas * Domine commendo spiritum meum*, and then he died. Thus did the brome of iustice sweepe awaie these noisome cobwebs, noisome both to church and

Laurence Richardson and Thomas Cotcham their gestures and speeches at their deaths.

For he was not so furnished for England as to win soules so easilie to papistrie.

He should haue said *Deus*.

common

commonwealth, as being of the diuels hatching, but nurssed and fostered of poperie, to insnare and trap seelie soules, as the spider doth the flie: from whome the Lord God deliuer euerie member of his church.

Philip Peirce hanged in Fleetstreet for killing of a sergeant.

On the second daie of June, Philip Peirse was hanged in Fléetstréet for killing one of the shiriffes sergeants that had arrested him. This man at his death, as inwardlie touched with sorrow for the offense which he had committed and died, gaue such apparant tokens and notes of a repentant mind; that partlie with his spéeches which were pathetical, and partlie with his teares which were plentifull, as also with his vehement sighs and grieuous grones, ioined with diuerse other gestures (great signes of inward grace) he so mooued the beholders, that manie which beheld him, pitied his wofull end, most yea in maner all (whereof some were such as a man would haue thought had neuer a teare to shed at such a sight, hauing viewed diuerse the like and more lamentable spectacles) with wet eies beheld him, and yet in heart reioised that he died reconciled to God. On the eight and twentith of June, Peregrine Bartie lord Willoughbie of Grobie appointed ambassador sent into Denmarke.

Lord Willoughbie ambassador sent into Denmarke.

On the eight and twentith of June, Peregrine Bartie lord Willoughbie of Grobie appointed ambassador to Frederike the second king of Denmarke with the garter, whereunto he had béene elected & chosen a long time before, toke his leaue of the quéenes maiestie at Gréenewich; with whome sir Gilbert Dethicke *alias* Garter principall king of armes was ioined in commission, for the inuesting of the said king into the order; and Robert Glouer *alias* Summerset herald was also present, and gaue his attendance in the same voiage, as likewise did a competent number of gentlemen and yeomen, in all to the number of six and fiftie persons, besides mariners, &c. The said lord ambassador prepared himselfe towards Kingstone vpon Hull, where he imbarked with his whole traine on the fourtéenth daie of Julie, and prosperouslie arriued at Elsemore in Denmarke on the one and twentith daie of the same moneth, where he was honorablie interteined.

The lord ambassadors oration in Latine to the king of Denmarke, &c.

On the thirtéenth daie of August he presented himselfe before the king in his castell of Cronebourough, and made his first spéech vnto him in Latine; which spéech being ended, the lord Willoughbie deliuered vnto the king hir maiesties letters, & withall the commission for the kings inuesture into that honorable order of the garter. Which letters the king opened, and deliuered them to Henrie Ramelis his chancellor for Germanie to read, whom he commanded to answer my lords former oration. From the king my lord was conueied to the quéenes presence, vnto whome also he deliuered hir maiesties letters with salutations. The next daie being thursdaie the fourtéenth of August, the king roiallie prepared, receiued the robes of the order with his owne hands, and with great contentment accepted and ware the garter, the collar, and the George, when as my lord concluded the whole dedication with sundrie welwishings. In the end wherof he put the king in mind of the oth and thankefull acceptation of the order to be testified by a publike instrument, as was before promised, whereunto the king answered by his chancellor Nicholas Baas with manie effectuall words: and immediatlie in signe of ioie, a great volee was discharged of all the great shot in his castell, and the lord ambassador with all his traine was roiallie feasted & rewarded. On thursdaie the sirtéenth daie of August, the king toke my lord ambassador forth on hunting two leagues from Elsemore, and there in the dinner time vttered manie louing spéeches. And after, to wit, on the one and twentith of September the lord ambassador with all his traine imbarked at Emden, and arriued at Bromeholme in Norfolke on thursdaie the seuen and twentith daie of September.

The king of Denmarke inuested into the right honorable order of the garter.

Mille tuns by gunpowder.

On the nineteenth daie of Julie certeine serkins of gunpowder to the number of seauen, and as manie or more serkins of sturgeon laden in a car vpon Galleie keie néere vnto the Tower of London, some small portion of the same powder being shed on the ground, the horsse in the said carre stroke fire with his fot, and fired all togither, where-through the sturgeon was blowen awaie, some into the Thames, some elsewhere: one serkin was driuen through a lome wall that was bowded ouer, but all was spoiled and lost, the crane on the wharfe with the houses néere adioining shattered, manie men and horsses sore blasted; the thrée men and seauen horsses died therof. On the twelfe daie of August there arose a great tempest of lightening, thunder, whirlewind, and raine, with hailestones fashioned like to the rowels of spurs two or thrée inches about in the countie of Norffolke, betweene the market townes of north Walsham and Worsted (the towne wherein the making of worsteds commonlie called Norwich worsted was first practised and toke their beginning) which tempest beat the corne flat vnto the ground, rent vp manie great trees, and shiuered them in peeces, or wound them like withies. At Hening more than a mile from Worsted, the west dore of the church, weieng more than thrée hundred pound weight, was lifted off the hookes, and throwne ouer the font, within one yard of the chancell dore; the top of the church was riuen vp, and the lead as it were blowen awaie; fiue wels of lead were rustled vp togither, like as they had béene clouts of linnen cloth, and blowen into the field without the churchyard. Also at east Russen were manie barnes blowen downe, and houses vncouered.

Strange tempest in Norffolke.

This yeare Michaelmasse terme was retourned from the vtas thereof, vntill the fourth returne of the same called *Mense Michaelis*, and from the said returne vntill the returne commonlie called *Crastino animarum* next insuing, & then retorned from Westminster to the castell of Hertford in Hertfordshire, there to begin in the said *Crastino animarum*, and to be continued till the end of the same terme, which was done accordinglie, where was plentie of good viands to be had for monie, but lodging hard and scant; besides the long and plaine waie that manie had vnto their hosts, and then peraduenture slepe in the chimneie corner, or vpon the hard bords with a pillow vnder their heads. Was not this a good amends?

Anno reg. 25.

Terme kept at Hertford.

This yeare Peter Moris frée denison, hauing made an engine for that purpose, conueied Thames water in pipes of lead ouer the steeple of saint Magnus church, at the north end of London bridge, and so into diuerse mens houses in Thames stréet, new Fish stréet, and Grasse stréet, vp vnto the northwest corner of Leaden hall (the highest ground of the citie of London) where the waste of the first maine pipe ran first this yeare one thousand fiue hundred eightie and two on Christmasse éeuen: which maine pipe being since at the charges of the citie brought vp into a standard there made for that purpose, and diuided into foure seuerall spouts ran foure waies, plentifullie seruing to the vse of the inhabitants néere adioining that will fetch the same into their houses, and also clensed the chanels of the stréets, north towards Bishopsgate, east towards Aldgate, south towards the Bridge, and west towards the Stocks market. No doubt a great commoditie to that part of the citie, and would be farre greater, if the said water were maintained to run continuallie, or at the least, at euerie tide some reasonable quantitie, as at the first it did; but since is much aslaked, thorough whose default I know not, sith the engine is

Thames water conueied ouer saint Magnus steeple.

Justice Randolph his charitie.

sufficient to conueie water plentifullie: which being well considered by Barnard Randolph esquier, common sergeant of the citie of London: he being aliue, gaue and deliuered to the companie of the fishmongers in London a round sum to be imploied toward the conducting of Thames water for the good seruice of the commonwealth in conuenient order. Other legacies verie liberallie and bountifullie he gaue by his testament to be laid out in workes of charitie, as I haue noted more at large hereafter in due place, vpon occasion of recording the daie of his death. The publication of whose acts, as also of diuerse others, if they may moue the rich of this world to part with some small portion of their store to the like christian vses, I shall be glad, and thinke my paines worth the printing: otherwise I saie with one that perswading this age to walke worthie of their calling, and doubting his words should be but wind, concluded with this interrogatiue distichon:

Sed quid verba miser non proficientia perdo?
Quid iuuat in vacuos missa loquela notos?

Publike lecture of surgerie founded in London, & presentlie red (as also in the life of the founder) by doctor Foster, to his high praise & credit.

This yeare 1582 was there instituted and first founded a publike lecture or lesson in surgerie, to begin to be read in the college of physicians in London, in Anno 1584, the first daie of Maie, against that time new reedified in a part of the house that doctor Linacre gaue by testament to them, by John Lumleie lord Lumleie, and Richard Caldwell doctor in physicke, to the honour of God, the common profit of his maiesties subiects, and good fame, with increase of estimation and credit of all the surgians of this realme. The reader whereof to be a doctor of physicke, and of good practise and knowledge, and to haue an honest stipend, no lesse than those of the vniuersities erected by king Henrie the eight, namelie of law, diuinitie, and physicke, and lands assured to the said college for the maintenance of the publike lesson; whereunto such statutes be annexed as be for the great commoditie of those which shall giue and incline themselues to be diligent hearers for the obteining of knowledge in surgerie, as whether he be learned or vnlearned that shall become an auditor or hearer of the lecture, he may find himselfe not to repent the time so imploied. First twise a weeke thorough out the yeare; to wit, on wednesdaies and fridaies, at ten of the clocke till eleuen, shall the reader read three quarters of an houre in Latine, and the other quarter in English, wherein that shall be plainlie declared for those that vnderstand not Latine, what was said in Latine. And the first yeare to read Horatius Morus tables, an epitome or briefe handling of all the whole art of surgerie, that is, of swellings or apostems, wounds, vlcers, bonesetting, and healing of bones broken, termed commonlie fractions, and to read Oribasius of knots and Galen of bands, such workes as haue beene long hid, and are scarselie now a daies among the learned knowen, and yet are (as the anatomies) to the first enterers in surgerie and nouices in physicke; but amongst the ancient writers and Grecians well knowne. At the end of the yeare in winter to dissect openlie in the reading place all the bodie of man especiallie the inward parts for fiue daies togither, as well before as after dinner; if the bodies may so last without annoie.

What exercises are to be followed in the said college by the will of the founder.

The first yeares exercises.

The second yeare to read Tagaultius institutions of surgerie, and onelie of swellings or apostems, and in the winter to dissect the trunke onelie of the bodie, namelie from the head to the lowest part where the members are, and to handle the muscles especiallie.

The second yeare exercises.

The third yeares, and fourth yeares exercises.

The third yeare to read of wounds onelie of Tagaultius, and in winter to make publike dissection of the head onelie. The fourth yeare to read of vlcers onlie the same author, and to anatomize or dissect a leg and an arme for the knowledge of muscles, sinewes, arteries, veines, gristles, ligaments, and tendons. The fift yeare to read the first booke of Paulus Ægineta, and in winter to make anatomie of a skeleton, & therwithall to shew & declare the vse of certeine instruments; as Scamnum Hippocratis, and other instruments for setting in of bones. The sixt yeare to read Holerius of the matter of surgerie, as of medicines for surgians to vse. And the seuenth yeare to begin againe, and continue still. A godlie and charitable erection doubtlesse, such as was the more needfull, as hitherto hath beene the want and lacke so hurtfull: sith that onelie in eche vniuersities by the foundation of the ordinarie and publike lessons, there is one of physicke, but none of surgerie, and this onelie of surgerie and not of physicke; I meane so as physicke is now taken separatelie from surgerie, and that part which onelie vseth the hand as it is sorted from the apothecarie. So that now England may reioise for those happie benefactors & singular wellwillers to their countrie, who furnish hir so in all respects, that now she may as compare for the knowledge of physicke so by means to come to it, with France, Italie, and Spaine, and in no case behind them but for a lecture in simples, which God at his pleasure may procure, in moouing some hereafter in like motion and instinct to be as carefull and beneficiall as these were to the helpe and furtherance of their countrie. ¶ At the publication of this foundation, which was celebrated with a godlie assemblie of doctors collegiats and licentiats, as also some masters of surgerie, with other students, some whereof had beene academicall; doctor Caldwell so aged that his number of yeares with his white head adding double reuerence to his person (whereof I may well saie no lesse than is left written of a doctor of the same facultie verie famous while he liued,

Ab. Fl. *Spectator & auditor.*

Consicienda ætas, sed & ars prouectior annis,
Fitmáque Pæonio non renuenda choro)

The fift and sixt yeares exercises, and so to continue with *Reputo principij.*

euen he, notwithstanding his age and impotencie, made an oration in Latine to the auditorie, the same by occasion of his manifold debilities vnfinished at the direction specially of the president, who (after a few words, shortlie and swetlie vttered) gaue occasion and opportunitie to D. Forster, then and yet the appointed lecturer, to deliuer his matter, which he discharged in such methodicall maner, that eche one present indued with iudgement, conceiued such hope of the doctor, touching the performance of all actions incident vnto him by that place, as some of them continued his auditors in all weathers, and still hold out; whose diligence he requiteth with the imparting of further knowledge than the said publike lecture doth afford. When the assemblie was dissolued, and the founder accompanied home, diligent care was taken for the due preferring of this established exercise: insomuch that D. Caldwell, and D. Forster, to furnish the auditors with such bookes as he was to read, caused to be printed the epitome of Horatius Morus first in Latine: then in English, which was translated by the said doctor Caldwell. But before it was halfe perfected, the good old doctor fell sicke, and as a candle goeth out of it selfe, or a ripe apple falling from the tree, so departed he out of this world at the doctors commons, where his vsuall lodging was; & was verie worshipfullie buried. But of his death hereafter, in the yeare 1584: where the daie of his decease being mentioned, matter worth the reading shall be remembred.]

Doctor Gilford president of the college of physicians.

Francis of Valois, the kings onlie brother, duke of Louthier, Brabant, Limbourgh, Gelders, Anion, Alanson, &c: earle of Flanders, Holland, Zeland, &c: marquesse of the sacred empire, lord of Friseland, &c: hauing now indifferentlie well (with his

Francis of Valois attempteth diuerse exploits, the issue whe. of fell out to his misfortune.

his good successes had in the vittelling, and removing the seges of Cambrete and Lochem, and winning the townes of Alast and Endonan) gotten the harts of the people, and by that meanes placed his Frenchmen in Dunkirke, Winerburgh, Dixmide, Dermond, Vilnord, and other places, thought now (vsing yong & euill counsell) to make himselfe a more absolute prince, as though it were too base a thing for his highnesse to rule with the aduise of the estates of the countries. Wherfore hauing come to him out of France the marshall Biron, with great troops of Swissers and Frenchmen, he now causeth them all at one time; to wit, on the seuenth of Januarie, to inuade so manie townes as they could make themselues maisters of; which with them toke effect in the aboue named townes, but at Bridges they were put out. And at Antwerpe on the said seuenth daie, vnder the pretense to muster his armie without the towne, vpon the verie none time of the daie, when the citizens were at dinner, he causeth two gates (as vncerteine by which he would go) to be opened for him, and the chaines ouerthwart the streets to be vnchained, which (for some suspicion had of the Frenchmen without) were locked: then he issued out with all his court and a great number of gentlemen, verie braue, mounted on great horsses aboue two hundred, manie of them being secretlie armed vnder their garments, and comming to saint Iames gate. At the bridge without met him certeine of his companies of horssemen and footmen, who staied themselues on both sides the waie, making as it were a lane for the duke to passe by with a few of his: who being past them, made a token to them with his cap, to inuade the citie: whereupon his men killed the watch, with the coronell Vlerendell, that stood bare headed to see their prince passe. Then entred the gate seuentæne ensignes of footmen, and foure coronels of horssemen, the Swissers following, & the duke crieng to them, March, march, La ville est gagnee, mais me pillon point. Being thus stronglie entred they cried, Ville gagnee viue la messe, and toke in on both sides the bulworks, turned the ordinance towards the citie, & came by diuers streets almost to the midst of the citie. The citizens at dinner hearing the alarum, verie furiouslie issued out, with such weapons as first came to their hands, and set vpon them, first, by the bylanes, other some chained vp the streets, and so barred them from going anie further. They turne all against the soldiors that were entred the citie with most violent shot. In the meane space the citizens nere and about the gate with their harquebussers bestow their small shot as thicke as haile out of windowes vpon the gate, where first they killed a horsse, and then diuers men entring, which troubled the other following, that a great number was euen in the verie gate killed, and so heaped one vpon another that the gate was stopped; wherby all that were entred within the citie, in lesse than in one houres space were killed or taken prisoners. Wherein the citizens behaued themselues so valiantlie, & so manlie, that manie for lacke of leaden pellets, toke their monie out of their purses, bowed it with their teeth, and put it in stead of pellets in their harquebussers:

Sic sese & sobolem charam, cum vxore mariti
Defendunt, Gallis ne præda voracibus esset.

In this skirmish of so little space were slaine aboue 1530 Frenchmen horssemen and footmen, told at the burieng, and more than two thousand prisoners taken, amongst the which were the earle Fernaugus, the bishop of Constance, and manie other notable personages. And amongst the dead were the earle of saint Agnan and his sonne, the earle of Chasteaurousse, the sonne of the marshall of France Biron: monsieur de Saisonall gouernor of Vilnord, the sonne of the lord Straubean, and others. A maruellous act of citizens in their defense without anie soldiors, against old soldiors and tried men of armes, and number of so great nobilitie. A maruellous continencie & clemencie of rough citizens against their enimies, in keeping their hands from the killing of prisoners whome they had in their power, and surelie a wonderfull worke of God.

The monsieurs ambition spreading like a canker.

The French gentlemen ware armor vnder their garments: with good meaning no doubt.

Noblemen & other French taken prisoners.

Noblemen of France slaine

The prince of Orange with others had refused to go forth, and his danger was not small; with other gentlemen more, and lords of the religion. The prince Dolphin, the earle Lamall and others were with the duke lokers on, and intercessors for their friends whom they reckoned dead. After that fact, the duke with his campe was forced for lacke of vittels and necessaries, to retire him with his armie toward Machlin, and from thense with great difficultie passing great waters, with losse of manie a man got to Dermond, where he was kept in by the generall Norris, with three and twentie ensignes Englishmen and Scots, so that he lacked vittels and necessaries, whereby he was forced, as also to haue his prisoners restored, to enter into a treatie with the estates, to surrender all the townes by his men possessed, and to retire him to Dunkirke: where further with the estates, by intercession of princes was hoped a reconcilement to be made. But he seeing the countrie vnwilling, and finding himselfe sicke (as it was thought) of melancholie, he retired from Dunkirke toward France. And so as he was retired, the prince of Parma for king Philip, caused Dunkirke to be besieged, few Frenchmen left within it. And as the estates Generall and the prince of Orange would haue sent thither to rescue the towne, the marshall Biron with his Frenchmen and Swissers, the Flemings cheeflie they of Gaunt, partlie for hatred of the French, and partlie that manie now were become Spanish, would not suffer him to come ouer into Flanders, whereby Dunkirke was forced to surrender: and this losse being imputed to the duke, increased his sickenesse, so that he died at Chasteau Thierie the tenth of Julie 1583, & was rotallie buried at saint Diones by Paris.

Francis duke of Anion and Alanson retireth.

Generall Norris with 23. ensignes.

Francis duke of Alanson and of Anion sickeneth.

The monsieur was glad to retire notwithstanding this confident clamor.

¶ But before we passe the absolute cõmemoration of the monsieur, sith in some remembrances we haue atteined to a perfection, it shall not be amisse here to anner the manner of his sickenesse, as also the verie speeches which he vttered, as they are reported by James Verson Parisien, preacher to the French king, and to the said monsieur, in a discourse by him published, vnder the title of A funerall complaint, &c. Wherein whatsoeuer is spoken, deserueth the greater credit, for that the said Verson was vpon his owne certeine knowledge able to giue out the truth, and therfore intimateth to the readers of his treatise, that they are not to loke for either flatteries, or hautie, proud, and lieng arguments: he being the man who assuredlie was able to answer and beare witnes of the pietie, religion, and departure of monsieur, a sonne of France, and the kings onelie brother in the fauor of God, as the same vpon whome he reposed himselfe concerning his conscience, soule and saluation; and hauing from the beginning of his sickenes administred vnto him the holie sacrament, and did assist him to the end. You are therfore to vnderstand, that after * my said lords crosse haps and danger of life in the low countries, and his returne into his duchie of Castle Thierie, his naturall & brotherlie resolution taken to go alone to Paris, there to yeeld himselfe to his maiesties armes, a deed to be accounted and taken as a strong bulworke against whatsoeuer the popular and enuious slanders: after his returne home he conceiued an extreame contentation in dailie hearing of sermons, yea not satisfied with the

Abr. Fl. ex lib. cui tit. *Regret funebre, contenant le discours de la mort de Monseigneur fils de France, frere vnicque, du roy.*

* Meaning Verson the monsieurs preacher and the writer of this discourse.

onelie hearing of them, he greatlie delited to talke of the same, also to haue the same repeated vnto him. Thus did our Lord in conuenient time dispose his soule, which he purposed shortlie to visit in his next sickenesse, and that was an ague that continued without equalitie vntill the thirtenth of March, and then he fell into so strange a iudgement, that all euen the physicians began to doubt of him. For a flux of bloud issued so continuallie out of his nose and mouth, that they were still forced to hold him a basen, whereinto he voided the pure and cléere bloud. When all men were as it were astonied therat, himselfe began with a perfect mind and vnderstanding to saie; My friends, helpe me, will you suffer a christian prince thus to die? Now is the time come that God will call me to account: cause monsieur Berson to come hither.

The maner of the monsieurs sickenesse.

When I came, ha monsieur Berson (said this good prince) I am dead, I must acknowledge my God; my frend flatter me not, I will reconcile my selfe. Alas I am a great sinner, will not God haue mercie on me? Will not he forgiue me? I answered, There is no dout my lord but vpon humbling your selfe before his holie maiestie with contrition, you shall obteine remission of your sinnes. My lord, you are verie sicke, I will not flatter with you, but your whole life and your selfe resteth in the hands of God. Sickenes is naturall, or sent by God for a warning; if your disease be naturall there is hope: we will vse all means for remedie. On the one side the physicians are here readie, who shall imploie themselues. On the other side, all the world is in prater & deuotion for your health. If it procéedeth from God, it is a warning to you for the rest of your life, to the end to draw you nearer to him, either else to aduertise you of your naturall condition: that is, that you are mortall & must once pate this debt, and restore your soule to God who lent it to you, at whatsoeuer time he shall call for it. Now my lord, sith we can not certeinlie discerne the one from the other, is it not best for you to conforme your will to Gods will. Also in case God granteth you to ouerliue this sickenesse, are you not resolued to better your life, and to liue more in his feare than before? Againe, if he be determined to call you out of this world, are not you content to go into Abrahams bosome, and there to rest vnder the protection of his mercie? Resolue your selfe my lord, you haue a godlie soule.

Berson. Words of comfort to the monsieur, whether his disease were naturall, or proceeding from God.

I am (said this good prince) fullie resolued in the will of my God, let him do with me whatsoeuer shall please him: onelie that he will vouchsafe to haue mercie on me. I wold reconcile me but I shall hardlie speake: and in truth the bloud still belched out into the basen which *I held with one hand, whilest with a handkercher in the other I wiped from his face and brest a great cold sweat that euen smelt of death: as also I perceiued his nostrils to be closed vp, his eies sunke, and heard the ratling and bloud that stopped him vp. Euerie bodie being gone forth I said vnto him, My lord straine not your selfe to speake much, onelie begin with the chiefest matters, and those that most trouble your conscience, and for the rest I will instruct you. Then ioining his hands and lifting vp his eies vnto heauen, he began to sigh, mourne, and sob with extreame contrition and griefe, which when I perceiued, I still indeuoured to allure him in talking to him of God and of the merits of the bloud of Iesus Christ, wherein the greater delight that he conceiued, the more did he detest himselfe as a most miserable sinner: then might you haue séene among much sweat which as pearles ran downe his haire and beard, the great teares trickeling downe his eies, whiles with great paine he accused himselfe.

The monsieurs resolute to die.

* Namelie * Berson.

After this, diuerse spéeches passed with certeine actions betweene the monsieur and Berson, which to omit is lesse offensiue than to publish. To procéed then, the monsieur lieng in his agonie, bethought him (amongest other things) of his familie, and said; Alas I mone none but my poore seruants, & withall, that I shall die without celebration of mine Easter: will not the Lord grant me that grace? Then *I promised him that God would heare so iust a petition, and therefore willed him a while to haue patience, it should not be the first miracle that euer our Lord had wrought. Hauing thus spoken, certeine ceremonies were solemnlie commensed and finished, not without manie spæches interchanged betweene the monsieur and Berson; insomuch that (saith he) I can not rehearse all that he said vnto me; but this I dare assure you, that if his health had continued, I was thereby in hope of most profitable effects to all christendome, and to the estate and quietnesse of our France. But we were not worthie, our sinnes crieng for vengeance to God, who as he punisheth nations by giuing them wicked princes, so doth he also chastise them by taking from them the good, euen at such time as they are readie to releeue vs, and afterward we haue cause to lament and mourne.

*Berson who was then busie about certeine ceremonies incident to the time and his office.

Great hope conceiued of the monsieur if he had not béene preuented with death.

His health after this first fit continued a while, but by reason of a crum of bread that stucke in the vuula, and thereby procured a violent cough with spitting of bloud, he fell into it againe, and from thenseforth kept his bed, sometimes well and sometimes ill, yet eating his meat reasonablie well, howbeit gathering no force to the substance of his bodie. Finallie, the same daie that the physicians (after the view of the operation of a medicine) had conceiued a better opinion of him than before; being saturdaie the ninth of June about eight of the clocke at night, he was taken with a maruellous shortnesse of wind, and a paine in one of his sides: and séeing himselfe so taken before anie man spake to him, he sent for me, saieng; Now is the time that I must die, you haue greatlie abused me; howbeit they vsed all diligence. But about midnight, when there was no further hope, they sent for me. When I was come I found the good prince laid in his estate, of whome trulie I had no other opinion but that death was at hand, and therefore was verie importunat to speake vnto him, fearing least he should haue died without the sacrament, which so greatlie he had longed for.

The monsieur falleth into an extremitie of his maladie, and past hope of recouerie.

One commendable matter I noted in the nobilitie there present, which was; that there was not one but did importunatlie vrge to speake vnto him of God: for mine owne part I was verie vnpatient, & euerie one was in feare to speake first. One there was that willed me to change mine apparell, & to put on a blacke garment, least he should conceiue anie mistrust. How (said I) can I so do? He hath sent for me, and knoweth my clothing: if by my spéech he should know me, and then find my clothing changed, he will enter a greater apprehension of death than before: therefore consider of it, if anie thing fall out amisse, it will be a perpetuall reproch to vs all. In the end monsieur Fougier his steward a verie wise man so ordered the matter, and with such discretion, that he brake with him of it. At that time was he ouercome with a drowsie slæpe, and still holden with a short wind, accompanied with continuall sweats, and sometime would aske; Do men die thus? On the tenth daie of June which was sundaie, after diuers ceremoniall actions dispatched, and spéeches to and fro vttered, with pitifull sighs on all sides of inward setled sorow; the monsieur desired that he might slæpe a while: but his slæpe was not long yer he awaked, when betwixt him and Berson (all the rest being gone) something was said and done, which

Do men die thus? saith the monsieur drawing to his end.

which (belike) was not for euerie eare & eie to heare or see. In the end, Berson perceiuing by manifest indications, that death preased vpon him, vsed these words to the monsieur, some (of likelihood) being then within the hearing. My lord, in the beginning of your sickenesse, you & I made a ioint promise vnto God, wherwith I am burdened: now therefore I do vnburden my selfe thereof, vnlesse you will helpe to burden me againe. We are witnesses that you haue loued God: now is the time that you must acknowledge him, you are verie sicke, but your soule is sound in your bodie. If it please our good God to grant you life, he granteth it to the end you should amend; so should your selfe be happie, and we content that you should liue. If he vouchsafe to call you into paradise, how blessed shall you be, or where may you be better? So that what soeuer happen, be it life, be it death, still shall you be content and happie. Resolue your selfe therefore wholie in the will of God. All we here are your faithfull seruants, and those who euermore haue desired to be so fortunate as to be honored with your commandements; whose eies and eares haue alwaies beene open to heare and obeie you, and to fulfill your will; neuer did you command anie thing, but you were immediatlie obeied. Now know you, that your selfe are Gods seruant; him you must obeie, and to his will must you wholie resolue your selfe: whether it be his will you should liue, or is his pleasure you should die still saie: His will be done.

Berson's words to the monsieur in the hearing of diuerse gentlemen present.

His will (meaning Gods) be done, saith the monsieur with a forced speech on his death bed.

Then with a forced speech this good prince said: His will be done. Take no care my lord said I, for anie worldlie matters. Greatnesse, riches, and renowme do perish. Paradise is to be found and possessed. It is a great matter to be a kings sonne, but it is much greater to be the child of God. You are now as a child new borne, you want nothing but the food of the children of God: you haue no more to do, but to communicat in the pretious bodie of our Lord: it is here readie, would you not gladlie haue it? I will cause you easilie to die it. He answered yes. Then taking the holie sacrament I began to saie vnto him: My Lord Iesus the heauenlie word and euerlasting sonne of God, in old time inuisible, did in the end visiblie manifest himselfe to the world in humane flesh, by taking vpon him our visible and passible nature: but because he was not perpetuallie to remaine in this humane vale, reuiuing and ascending into heauen, we had him no longer to touch and handle carnallie and visiblie. And therefore to the end not to faile of his promise, that he would be still with vs vntill the consummation of the world; he hath giuen vs inuisiblie his pretious bodie & bloud vnder these holie signes and sacraments, that by the communion in such and so pretious a gift, we might be strengthened in his loue, & through his grace be defended against all temptations & stumbling blocks of our saluation: like as Elias, who in the strength of the food for him miraculouslie ordeined, after his sleepe trauelled long iournies, euen vntill he did see God. Receiue therefore this signe and testimonie of the remission of your sinnes, and when you shall be presented before the maiestie of God, it shall be vnto you a badge and token that you belong vnto him.

The institution and vse of the sacrament of the bodie and bloud of Christ.

Then lifting vp his eies and looking all about him, this good prince opened his mouth, which presentlie I moistened with his drinke, & so gaue him the holie sacrament, and againe powred in some of his drinke to swallow it withall, which he did both deuoutlie and couragiouslie; insomuch that afterward he did eat & speake better than he had done all the night & morning before, to the great contentation of all the companie: in whose presence I did againe exhort him saieng: Now my lord, behold you are armed with the cheefe of all your desire, I beseech you comfort your selfe in the Lord. It is a great fauour that he hath shewed you, in making you (as it appeareth) inheritor vnto the faith, pietie, and christiantie of the kings of France, whose faith and descent you do hold.

Berson's exhortatorie speeches to the monsieur, preparing and setting himselfe to Godward.

Let your soule now resolue, yea although you should now die. Thinke what a contentation vnto you it shall be, to be discharged from so manie worldlie affaires, what a pleasure to exchange this mortall life for an immortall, glorious and perdurable life; feare no lets: the waie is alreadie beaten, alreadie are they passed the same, whose greatnesse & faith you do insue. The patriarchs do tarie for you, the prophets do call you: the apostles do stretch forth their armes vnto you: the martyrs do inuite you: the confessors do solicit you: the virgins do giue you place: all the saints do looke for you. We haue discharged all the duties of faithfull seruants, and such as loue you hartilie. And hauing thus spoken, with a demand or two made, and their answers added: Berson, being the mouth of the residue, said of the monsieur drawing on; that they (meaning himselfe and the companie present) waited but for the houre of his death: yet had he one houre and a halfe to liue. So soone as we were gone, he desired to haue his head laid lower: his chamberleine immediatlie called to vs for helpe, & suddenlie he gaue vp the ghost: my selfe James Berson, at the dissolution of his swæt soule from his louelie bodie, vsing these words: Go and passe on christian soule, and returne to him that hath created thee, &c.

The monsieurs departure out of this world like a lamp, whose light faileth for want of oile.

He went awaie so swætlie that it could hardlie be perceiued, insomuch that some who could not be persuaded that he was dead (for his eies were open and cleere, and his countenance no whit changed) held a looking glasse to his mouth, but there was no signe of life: others feeling his pulses, imagined they did beat, but that was bicause they were stretched euen to the nailes ends. At this word, He is gone, oh what pitie! oh God what tears! what sighes! what sobs! all was dissolued into howling and cries: those that in armor were forwardest, were now readiest in teares, sundrie swouned in the chamber, at the sound hereof the towne quaked, the castell sounded most lamentable voices: yea my selfe hauing lost all courage was forced to open the pole of my head, and to vnstop the gate of my hart, to the end with teares and lamentations to discharge that affection which I bare vnto him.

Marueilous signes of inward loue & rared affection towards the monsieur departed.

About foure of the clocke, when all were departed I tooke the linnen wherein he was lapped from about the bodie of this good prince, then did I lade and order it honestlie and with reuerence handled it, some of vs also had so good hap as to kisse his hands & head. Oh my good lord and master, neuer durst I haue beene so bold, had it not beene for the confidence you reposed in me: alas whie was it so late before I did know you, to serue you so small a time? Infinitlie am I forced to print you in my remembrance, ingraue you in my soule, and to burie you in my hart, for that you vouchsafed to make mine eares gardians of that which rested in your conscience. Mourne, mourne with me my masters, and all ye the officers of his house: we haue lost the best master in the world, for euer shall the tenth date of June beare witnesse of our mishap: hereafter shall we neuer vpon that date haue occasion to hold merie feast betweene twelue and one of the clocke, the houre of the decease of so desired a prince. The yeare 1584 is indeed a yeare of reuolution. France, France, quarter thine armes, & in lieu of lions sow in teares: for the Lord taketh from vs all our noble & honorable,

These be verie *Speculæ & Lachrymarum fontes* indeed.

and taketh the god to depriue vs of them, for my part I will beare thee companie. Moreouer for his trespasses I do giue him flowres, and for his bodie in ashes the lamentations of Flanders, at the least I inherit in his right an example of vertue, accounting my selfe infinitlie bounden vnto their maiesties, who gaue me to do the seruice apertеining to my ministerie, vnto a prince that loued me so much, and in whose house all men honored me, whose oratо I do most deuoutlie rest, desiring them to haue patience, though for recompense they haue no more but my selfe. *Requiescat in pace.* This is all that we purposed to saie touching the monsieur, hauing omitted much that is not communicable, & now will we turne our pen vpon passage to England, noting occurrents of our owne.]

For he was preacher, ser to the mounsieur and lost dimidium animæ suæ by his death.

Ground remoued.

The thirteenth daie of Januarie, in the parish of Ermitage in a place called Blacke more in Dorsetshire, a peece of ground conteining three acres remoued from the place where it was first planted, and was caried cleane ouer an other close, where alder and willow trees grew, the space of fortie goad (euerie goad conteining fiftéene fot) and hath stopped vp an high waie that directed towards the market towne of Cerne; and yet notwithstanding the hedges wherewith it was inclosed, inuiron it still, and the trées stand thereon bolt vpright, sauing one oke tree, that is well nigh twentie goads remoued: the place whereas the ground had his being at the first is left like vnto a great hollow pit. The same thirteenth daie of Januarie, being sundaie, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, the old and vnderpropped scaffolds round about the beare garden, commonlie called Paris garden, on the southside the Thames, ouer against the citie of London, ouercharged with people fell suddenlie downe, whereby to the number of eight persons men and women were slaine, and manie other sore hurt and bruised. A frendlie warning to all such as more delight themselues in the cruеltie of beasts, to see them rent one an other, than in the works of mercie, which are the fruits of a true professed faith, and ought to be the sabboth daies exercise: and not onelie a warning to works of mercie, but a watchword to put vs in mind how we violate the sabboth daie, the Lords owne daie, which he sanctified himselfe, that we by his example might sanctifie the same, and not prophane it with such gentilisme as we do, as though God would not call vs to a reckoning for abusing his holie ordinances, and falsifieng the glorious title of christians in our odious actions: for the which God will seuerelie expostulat with vs, and with indignation demand of vs why we take his lawes in our mouths, & renounce them in our minds; why we let them swim in our lips, and slip from our liues, as the vaine Iewes did, vnto whome God said in displeasure as followeth:

Eight persons killed by the fall of a scaffold at the beare garden, a warning to prophaners of the sabboth daie.

Quid de lege mea declamas ore profano?
Non hoc officij debuit esse tui:
Cùm tamen & mores & leges oderis æquas,
Et verbi officium neglegis omne mei.

Eob. Hess. in Psal. 50.

On the third of Februarie being sundaie, William Bruistar habardasher (a man of more than threescore yeares old) being lodged ouer the southwest porch of saint Brides church in Flétstréet, with a woman named Marie Breame (whome the same Bruistar had bailed out of Bridewell) were both found smothered to death, in maner following. On the same sundaie in the morning, a marriage being solemnized in that church, a strong sauour was felt, which was thought to haue béene the burning of old shoes or such like, in some gentlemans chamber there about, thereby to suppresse the infection of the plague. But in the afternoone before euening praier, the parishioners espied a smoke to issue out of

William Bruistar and Marie Breame smothered to death.

Bruistars chamber, and thereupon made hast to the doore, which they found fast locked, and were forced to breake it open, but could not enter, till they had ripped vp the lead and roose of the chamber to let out the smothering stench: which being done, they found Bruistar dead, sitting on a settle by his beds side (in his apparell, and close trussed) his right thigh & right arme vp to the elbow burnt or scorched with the fire of a small pan of coales that stood before him, but now being cleane quenched with the dampe or lacke of aire. The woman also laie dead ouer the pan, so that hir armes were likewise burnt, with the nether part of hir bodie before to hir brest, and behind to the shoulders, and nothing else in the chamber burnt, but the bottome of the settle whereon Bruistar sat. Of this lamentable accident people talked diuerslie, and pamphlets were published to make the same more knowne: howbeit, to leaue the certeine meanes of the euent to his knowledge that vnderstandeth and séeth all things, let it be a warning to all ages so to liue, as that an honest report may attend their death, & shame flie from them as a cloud before the wind:

Sic sapient, sic non insipientes erunt.

1583

A man and a woman hanged at Shoolane end.

On the sixteenth of Aprill about six of the clocke in the morning, Thomas Wroth & Alice Shepheard, were hanged on a gibbet at Shoolane end in Flétstréet, for killing of a prentice in the same Shoolane. Also on the same daie about eight of the clocke in the morning, a gunpowder house, called the signe of the gun in Fetterlane nére vnto Flétstréet, and diuerse other houses nére adioining, were blowne vp, with the spoire of fiftie hundred weight of powder: two men and one woman were slaine, & diuerse other persons, as well men as women and children were sore hurt; some blasted with the flame, some bruised with the fall of timber vpon them, &c.

The gunpowder house in Fetterlane blowne vp.

Albertus Alasco, frée baron of Lasco, Vaiuode, or palatine of Siradia in Poland, arriued at Harwich in Essex, and on the last of Aprill came by water to Winchester house in Southwarke, where he remained for the most part of his abode here: of whome more hereafter at his returne into his owne countrie. Elias Thackar tailor was hanged at saint Edmunds burie in Suffolke on the fourth of June, and John Coping shoomaker on the first of the same moneth, for spreading and maintеining certeine bookes seditiousлie penned by one Robert Browne against the receiued booke of English common praier, established by the lawes of this realme their bookes (so manie as could be found) were burned before them. This yeare on the ninth of June deceased Thomas Ratclife earle of Sussex, lord chamberleine to hir maiestie, and knight of the garter, at Barmundsey in the borough of Southwarke besides London, and was on the eight of Julie next following conueied through the same citie of London toward Newhall in Essex, there to be buried in forme following. First went on fot before him fortie and fiue poore men in blacke gownes, then on horsebacke one hundred and twentie seruingmen in blacke coats, then ninetie and fiue gentlemen in blacke gownes or cloakes, besides the heralds at armes and other, which bare his helme, creast, sword, coat of armes, and banners of armes, &c. Then the deceased earle, couered with a pall of blacke veluet, in a chariot likewise couered with blacke veluet, drawne with foure goodlie geldings; next after was led the earles steed couered with blacke veluet, then sir Henrie Ratclife the succeeding erle chiefe mourner, and eight other lords all in blacke, then the lord maior and his brethren the aldermen of London riding in murrie gownes, then on fot the gentlemen of Greis in, and last of all the worshipfull companie of the merchant tailors of London in their liueries,

Palatine of Siradia in Poland came into England.

Elias Thackar, and John Coping hanged at Berrie.

Thomas Ratclife earle of Sussex deceased.

uerties, for that the said earle was a brother of their companie, as manie noble men, and famous princes, kings of this realme before him had beene; as more at large is declared in * the summarie of the chronicles of England, in the eightéenth yeare of king Henrie the seuenth. The maior and aldermen, the gentlemen of Greis in, and the merchant tailors accompanied the corps to the barres without Aldgate, and returned. This was the end of that nobleman, who (whiles he liued) aduentured life and life against the enimies of the English commonwelth, and therefore in respect of his excellent seruices, deserued no lesse remembrance than is alreadie extant of him in print, whereof this following is a parcell:

*I. Stow.

——satrapas prætlarus, fortis & audax,
Elisabetha tui speciosi corporis acer
Et fidus custos, discrimen adire paratus
Quodlibet, inuicto Mauortis pectore tempo?
Cui virtus persæpè herbam porrexit Hibernus,
Quem pugnis fulgens ornat victoria parta
Sanguineis, sed laus huic maxima iudicis æqui.

Edmund Grindall archbishop of Canturburie deceassed,

Edmund Grindall doctor of diuinitie archbishop of Canturburie deceassed at Croidon in Surrie on the first date of Julie, & was there buried. This good man in his life time was so studious, that his booke was his bride, and his studie his bridechamber, wherupon he spent both his eiesight, his strength, and his health, and therefore might verie well not actiuelie but passiuelie be named as (he was) Grindall: for he grond himselfe euen to his graue by mortification. Of whome much might be spoken for others imitation (sith the vse of the historie, is to instruct succeeding ages) but this shall suffice, that as his learning & vertue were inseparable companions; so the reward of both is the good name which he hath left behind him as a monument perpetuall, bicause vertue was the founder of the same: according to the true saieng of the late poet imporing no lesse:

Abr. Hart. in R. L.

Virtutis merces eadem & labor, illa tropheum est,
Solaque dat nigræ vincere mortis iter:
Nam nisi virtutis quæratur gloria factis,
Omnis in extremis est abitura rogis.

Iustice Randolfe his charitie of one thousand nine hundred pounds,

Barnard Randolfe esquier, common sargeant to the citie of London, deceassed on the seauenth of August. This man in his life time, somewhat before his death, gaue and deliuered to the companie of the Fishmongers in London the summe of nine hundred pounds, of good and lawfull monie of England to be imploied towards the conducting of Thames water, cestterning the same in lead, and castelling with stone in the parishes of saint Marie Magdalene, and saint Nicholas cold abbeie, neere vnto old Fishstréet, seauen hundred pounds. The other two hundred pounds, to paie for euer yearelie the summe of ten pounds, that is, towards the maintenance of a poore scholar in the vniuersitie of Oxenford yearelie foure pounds. Towards the mending of the high waies in the parish of Tilehurst, in the countie of Sussex, where the said Barnard was borne, euerie yeare foure pounds. And to the poore people of the parishes of saint Nicholas Olive in Bredstréet and saint Marie Magdalene neere to old Fishstréet foure shillings, to wit, twentie shillings to either parish for euer. More he willed and bequeathed by his last will and testament to be bestowed in land or annuities, to the releefe of the poore inhabiting in the wards of Queenehithe, and castell Bainard in the citie of London, and in the aforesaid parish of Tilehurst in the countie of Sussex, the summe of one thousand pounds.

Beuroners apprehended and executed.

This yeare in the moneth of June, were sent to the seas, a ship called the barke Talbot, and a small barke, both manned with a hundred men, vnder the charge of William Borough esquier, clerke of hir maiesties nauie, for the apprehending of certeine outragious searouers, who for that they were manie in number, and well appointed (contemning the small strength that was set out against them) so boldlie behaued themselues, as that shortlie after it was confidentlie vttered, that they had vanquished in fight the said ship and barke. But within few daies after, beyond all expectation, they were by the said William Borough and his companie discomfited and taken, to the number of ten saile (whereof three were pinses) & some of the chiefe pirats, namelie Thomas Walton *alias* Purser, Clinton Atkinson, William Ellis, William Valentine *alias* Bagh, Thomas Beuen and foure more, on the thirtith of August were hanged at Wapping in the ooze beside London. Walton as he went to the gallowes rent his venecian breeches of crimsin taffata, and distributed the same peecemeale, to such his old acquaintance as stood neere about him: but Atkinson had before giuen his murrie veluet dublet with great gold buttons, and the like coloured veluet venecians laid with great gold lace (apparell too sumptuous for searouers) which he had worne at the seas, & wherein he was brought vp prisoner from Corfe castell in the Ile of Purbeke to London, vnto such his frends as pleased him, before he went to Wapping.

A briefe description of Clinton Atkinson and his parentage.

¶ This Clinton Atkinson (a personable fellow, tall of stature and well proportioned, of acceptable behauiour when he kept shop for himselfe, being a free man of London, and like enough to doo well if he had taken good waies) had his name of the late earle of Lincolne now deceassed, who christened him being an infant, & by whose speciall meanes (being growne a proper man) he was not long before saued from the like death, and yet thorough want of grace making relapse, fell within danger of law. He descended of honest parents, his father specially being a man of verie honest name, one that loued the truth, for the testimonie wherof he forsoke his owne natiue countrie, leading a hard life with his familie beyond the seas in queene Maries daies: & returning to England at the inthronization of our gratious queene Elisabeth in the seat royall, was made minister, in which vocation he died in Gods fauour, and the good opinion of his neighbors, leuing behind him (among other sonnes) this his eldest, sorted (as you see) to the shame, which malefactors of that qualitie, and so conuinced, can not auoid. This auoweth he that knew the man as well as the right hand from the left. Where (to conclude) we are to marke that it is not alwaies true, that good parents haue good children: for here is an example of degeneration, procured not by euill education (for this Clinton wanted no good bringing vp) but by bad companie and libertie, the verie spoile of many a one that otherwise might liue & thriue. Wherin by the way we are to wonder at the counsels of God, who suffreth children so much to varie from their parents in qualitie, as if they had not receiued their birthright, but were bastards & changlings: but to end with the prophet Dauids saieng:

Companie & libertie bring manie to miserie.

Intima consilij non penetranda Dei.

An heretike John Lewes burned at Norwich. See pag. 1299.

On the eightéenth daie of September, John Lewes, who named himselfe Abdoit, an obstinate heretike, denieng the godhead of Christ, and holding diuers other detestable heresies (much like to his predecessor Matthew Hamont) was burned at Norwich. On the two and twentith of September Albertus de Lasco, palatine of Siradia in Poland, before spoken of, now when he had well viewed the order of our English court and nobilitie; with other places of this realme, especiallie the vniuersitie of Oxenford, &c. taking leaue of hir maiestie, and of the nobilitie, he departed towards Poland. But before we make entrance into further occurrents, it shall not be amisse

Palatine of Siradia in Poland returned.

amisse to touch some necessarie circumstances of remembrance.

A description of Albertus his person, apparell, &c.

This Albertus in the eies of the most, whereof some knew him, that might hardlie commend him, estéemed him a man for making well proportioned, of an indifferent tall stature, of countenance amiable, and complexion English like, having a white beard of such length and bredth, as that lieng in his bed, and parting it with his hands, the same ouerspred all his brest and shoulders, himselfe greatlie deliting therein, and reputing it an ornament: as for his qualities (apparant vnto the world) they were generous, his vtterance swéet, his wit plausible, in the knowledge of tongs well seene: his ordinarie attire scarlet, but when he presented himselfe to hir maiestie, a robe or gowne of purple veluet, with other habiliments and furniture agréeable; his shoes of a strange fashion, supposed of some not altogither vnlike Chaucers. Finallie, a gallant fellow he was, & (as might be gathered by some words spoken by him in *open audience) more Martiall than Mercuriall; verie active in respect of his age, and also studious in diuerse faculties, &c.

*At Oxenford, where he termed the Latine that he spake *Militare Latinum*, that is, souldiers Latine.

Touching the interteinement which he had at Oxenford, and how the vniuersitie did congratulate his comming, it is somewhat worth the noting. In the moneth of June, the said Albertus de Lasco, comming from the marriage of the lord Morris his daughter, with sir A. Paulets eldest sonne at Ricot, he put himselfe on the waie to Oxenford; wherof the vniuersitie (doctor Houenden then vicechancellor, & maister Leison with maister Edes proctors) hauing intelligence, prouided for his conuenient receiuing: insomuch that in the waie to Oxenford, there met him doctor Westfailing, who greeted him with a pithie salutation. In like sort did the maior and his brethren, in whose behalfe for the whole citie, the towne clerke a worshipfull maister of art, pronounced his short and sententious speech in Latine, not without some gratulatorie gift from that corporation. On the east gate wherat he entered, stood a consort of musicians, who for a long space made verie swæt harmonie, which could not but moue & delight:

Inscia plebs populúsque arrectis auribus astat,
Dulciferumque rudi suscipit aure melos.

The lord Morris his daughter maried to sir A. Paulet his eldest sonne.

All vp the high street vnto saint Maries church, on either side the waie, were decentlie marshalled scholers in their gownes & caps, batchelors and maisters in their habits and hoods. At saint Maries the orator of the vniuersitie (notable in his faculte) presented him a booke, in which were closelie couched verie rich and gorgeous gloues. From thense he marched to Christs church, where he was whilest he abode in the vniuersitie most honourablie interteined. And the first night being vacant, as in which he sought rather rest in his lodging than recreation in anie academicall pastimes, strange fire works were shewed, in the great quadrangle, besides rockets and a number such maner of deuises. On the second date, his first dinner was made him at Allsoules college, where (besides dutifull receiuing of him) he was solemnelie satisfied with scholerlie exercises and courtlie fare. This night & the night insuing, after sumptuous suppers in his lodging, he personaly was present with his traine in the hall, first at the plaieng of a pleasant comedie intituled *Rivales*; then at the setting out of a verie statelie tragedie named *Dido*, wherein the quænes banket (with Eneas narration of the destruction of Troie) was liuelie described in a marchpaine patterne, there was also a goodlie sight of hunters with full crie of a kennell of hounds, Mercurie and Iris descending and ascending from and to an high place, the tempest wherein it hailed small confects, rained rosewater, and shew an artificiall kind of snow, all strange, marueilous, & abundant.

The welcomming of Albertus to the vniuersitie of Oxenford, with a partile description of his interteinment.

Store of rosewater, and haile of sugar confects, &c.

Most of the actors were of the same house, six or seauen of them were of saint Johns, & three or foure of other colleges & hals. His second dinner the third daie was at Magdalen college, with oratorie welcomming & bountifull feasting. His third dinner the fourth daie at New college. The eloquent spéech in Gréeke Latine and Dutch with his owne vnstudied answer therevnto, & all other before rehersed, are not to be omitted; nor the publike philosophie, physike, and diuinitie disputations, in all which those learned opponents, respondents, & moderators, quited themselues like themselues, sharplie and soundlie, besides all other solemne sermons & lectures. At afternoone the fourth & last daie, he went towards Woodstocke manour, and without the north gate by the waie he was inuited vnto a banket at saint Johns college, where the gates & outward wals ouercouered with thousands of verses, & other emblematicall poetries then offered him, argued their hartie goodwils: but his hasting to his iournies end caused him not to tarie the delicat banket; yet onelie staieng the deliuerie of a swæt oration and his owne quicke wittie replie therevnto, he departed immediatlie, accompanied for a mile or two with the most of those reuerend doctors and heads of houses all on horssebacke, where the orator againe gaue him an orators fare well. And this is the somme of his interteinement, not deliuered in such sort as the dignitie of the same requireth; howbeit sufficient for a sudden remembrance.

Doctor whitegift archbishop of Canturburie.

On the three & twentith daie of September, John Whitegift doctor of diuinitie, sometimes maister of Trinitie colledge in Cambridge, and afterwards bishop of Worcester, was at Lambhith translated to the archbishoprike of Canturburie, where he at his comming to Lambehith (as also elsewhere he alwaies did) gaue euident testimonies both of mindfulnesse and thankefulnesse for his aduancements: as by the three tables hanging at the vpper end of his great chamber appeareth: their position in this sort. In the midst hir maiesties armes rotall artificiallie wrought, with as much cunning as the painter by his pencill could describe them: and vnder them this distichon of thankesgiuing, and welwishing:

Alluſio ad D. archiep. nomen.

Nestoreos fœlix regat Elisabetha per annos,
*Quæ mihi munificè * Candida dona dedit.*

On the right side, the armes of the sée of Canturburie of azure, a pall siluer garnished with crosses formé fiche sable ouer a crosse portatile gold: to the lower end whereof this distichon is fairelie fixed:

Ab. Hart. quondam Cant. & Trinitarius.

En leue multiplici premeretur cuspide corpus,
Ni baculus Christi grande leuaret onus.

On the left side are placed the ancient armes of the sée of Worcester, from the which he was translated, which are of siluer, ten torteaux, foure, three, two, one: with this distichon thereunto annexed:

Qui crucis arumnas patitur, post fata triumphat,
Lilia sic spondent fuluis coniuncta talentis.

Ouer & aboue the arms of both the said sées is his graces posie, *Vincit qui patitur*: a deserued posie, and iustified by his actions. The tenth of October at Easter, a towne in Norffolke neere the sea coast, about two miles from Yarmouth, there was a fish of wonderfull length, by force of the wind (being then easterlie) driuen a shore, the length whereof was from the necke vnto the taile seuenteene yards and one foote, hauing a big head; for the chap of the iaw was three yards and a quarter in length, with téeth of three quarters of a yard compas, great eies, and two great holes ouer them to spout out water, hir taile was fourteene foot broad, &c: she laie in the sands, and was sonken therein a yard and a halfe

A monstrous fish taken in Norffolke.

déepe,

déepe, and yet was she aboue the sands so high, that a lather of fourtéene staues would but reach to the top of hir backe; so that in thickneſse from the backe to the bellie, she was foure yards and a halfe. John Slade, sometime a schoolemaister, and John Bodie a maister of art of Oxford, being both indicted and condemned of high treason, were drawne, hanged, and quartered: Slade at Winchester on the thirtith daie of October, and Bodie at Andouar on the second daie of Nouember.

Slade and Bodie executed.

About this time, one named Ditch a notable horsestealer, was apprehended at the sessions holden for the goale deliuerie at Newgat, on the fourth of December, ninetéene times indicted, whereof he confessed eightéene: who also betwéene the time of his apprehension and the said sessions, appeached manie for stealing of horsses, whereof (diuerse being apprehended) ten of them were condemned, and hanged in Smithfield on the first daie of December, being Fridaie, and horsse market there. He also holpe diuerse more to their horsses againe which had béene stolne from them, taking of euerie one of them ten shillings the péece or more that so recouered their horsses: wherby he made fiftéene pounds of currant monie towards his charges. James earle of Desmond in Ireland, secretlie wandering without anie succour as a miserable begger, being taken in his cabbin by one of the Irishrie, his head was cut off, and sent into England, where the same (as the head of an archrebell) was set vpon London bridge on the thirteenth daie of December. Looke for the manner of his rebellion and his death more at large set downe in the historie of Ireland.

An. Reg. 26. Horsestealers hanged, ten at once in Smithfield.

Desmonds head set on London bridge.

The tenth daie of December, through negligence of vndiscréet persons, brewing in the towne of Nantwich, in a place called Waterlode; the fire being carelesſie left, toke hold (as should séeme) vpon some straw, or such light matter, & so burst forth to the roofes of the house, and in short time so increased, that from the west end of the towne (the wind at southwest) the flame was dispersed so furiouslie into the towne on the southside, that in short space a great part of the said southside and some of the eastside was burned downe to the ground. Which fire beginning at six of the clocke in the euening, and continuing till six of the clocke in the morning following, neuer ceased burning, till it had consumed aboue the number of two hundred houses, besides brew houses, barnes, stables, &c: in all about six hundred houses, so that by estimation of manie, the losse of houses and goods amounted to aboue thirtie thousand pounds, as more at large appeared by a particular booke printed of that matter. About this time, John Somerusle a furious yong man of Elstow in Warwikeshire, of late discouered and taken in his waie comming with full intent to kill the quéenes maiestie (whom God long prosper to reigne ouer vs) confessed the treason, and that he was moued thereunto in his wicked spirit, by certeine traitorous persons his kinsmen and alies, and also by often reading of certeine seditious bookes latelie published, for the which the said Somerusle, Edward Arden a squire of Parkehall in Warwikeshire, Marie Arden his wife (father and mother in law to the said Somerusle) and Hugh Hall priest, being with other before indicted at Warwike, were on the sixtéenth of December arreigned in the Guildhall of London, where they were found guiltie and condemned of high treason. On the nintéenth of December, John Somerusle, and Edward Arden, being brought from the tower of London to Newgate of the same citie, and there shut vp in seuerall places: within two hours after, Somerusle was found (desperatlie) to haue strangled himselfe. And on the morrow being the twentith of December, Edward Arden was drawne from Newgate into Smithfield, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered: whose head with Somerulles was set on London bridge, and his quarters on the gates of the citie; but the bodie of Somerusle was buried in the Morefields, néere vnto the windmils without Moregate. A dreadfull example of Gods heauie iudgement vpon those two offendors; but specially against the last, whome God deliuered to a reprobat mind, in somuch that his owne hands became his hangman, preuenting the office of the common executioner, who should haue performed that last action vpon him: whereof the iustice of God in vengeance made himselfe the finisher and fulfiller. Thus much by the waie of terror, that the remembrance hereof, by the reading & reporting of the same, maie make men euill minded, amazed at the rigorous reuengement which God taketh (when he séeth his due time) vpon the wicked: after his long sufferance and patience most wickedlie abused; wherof the poet saith:

Vltio procedit (fateor) diuina gradatim,
Nec quoties peccant fulmina vibrat eis:
Supplicy verò iusta grauitate rependit
Turpia, quæ longo tempore facta tulit.

Somerusle, Arden, and others arreigned.

Arden executed.

In this yeare 1583 (which should haue béene noted in the fore part of the yeare) by the meanes of a certeine astrologicall discourse, vpon the great and notable coniunction of the two superior planets, Saturne and Iupiter, prognosticated to be the eight and twentith of Aprill; the common sort of people, yea and no small multitude of such as thinke scorne to be called fooles, or counted beggers, whilest they were in expectation of this coniunction, were in no small imaginations, supposing that no lesse would haue béene effectuated, than by the said discourse was prophesied. Into these fansies not void of feare and mistrust they were drawne with the more facilitie, for that they had read, and heard, & pondered, and suspected, and in part beléeued the predictions of such euents as should insue by influence of that coniunction. For it was termed the great and notable coniunction, which should be manifested to the ignorant sort, by manie fierce and boisterous winds then suddenlie breaking out. It was called the greatest and most souereigne coniunction among the seuen planets: why so? Because lawes, and empires, and regions are ruled by the same: which foretelleth the comming of a prophet, & the destruction of certeine climats and parts of the earth, and new found heresies, and a new founded kingdome, and damages through the pestilence, and abundant showers: which doth prognosticat the destinie of a great and mightie king, much sorrow & heauinesse to men, losses to rich and noble men, yea and those to which are accounted and reputed like to prophets, and a multitude of locusts: which doth foreshew, that weightie and wonderfull things shall come into the world: which doth threten continuall ouerflowes of waters, and particular deluges in some countries: finallie, which menaceth much mischiefe. The publication, oft reading, and talking of this coniunction, with the remembrance of the instant wherin it should be, made manie (when the daie foretold was come) to looke for some strange apparition or vision in the aire; and withall, put them in mind of an old and common prophesie, touching the yeare 1588, which is now so rife in euerie mans mouth. That yeare was manie hundred yeares ago foretold and much spoken of amongst astrologers, who haue as it were, *Vnanimi consensu*, prognosticated, that either a marueilous fearfull & horrible alteration of empires, kingdoms, segniories and estates, togither likewise with other most wonderfull, and verie extraordinarie accidents,

This booke for the time that it was in request, set peoples tongs on worke, and filled their minds with strange conceipts.

Why it was called the great coniunction.

Touching the yeare of wonders, gathered to be 1588.

dents, as extreame hunger and pestilence, desperat treasons and commotions shall then fall out, to the miserable affliction and oppression of huge multitudes: or else, that an vtter and finall ouerthrowe and destruction of the whole world shall insue: which prophesie is conteined in these verses following:

Leouitius Regiomontanus.

Post mille expletos à partu Virginis annos,
Et post quingentos rursus ab orbe datos:
Octogesimus octauus mirabilis annus
Ingruet, is secum tristia fata feret.
Si non hoc anno totus malus occidet orbis,
Si non in nihilum terra, fretúmque ruet:
Cuncta tamen mundi sursum ibunt atque retrorsum,
Imperia, & luctus vndique grandis erit.

The great peare of 1588 is more talked of than feared.

So that by this prophesie, either a finall dissolution, or a wonderfull horrible alteration of the world is then to be expected. All these considerations laid together, as well the prediction of the coniunction in expectation, as also the dreadfull euents, which were to insue therevpon: and vpon the necke of these, the great peare of 1588 in euerie mans mouth, the more frequent and common by occasion of a booke extant vnder the title of the end of the world, and the second comming of Christ, made diuerse diuerslie affected; insomuch that some conuersing and conferring, looked for no lesse than was prophesied; and talking verie religiouslie, seemed as though they would become sanctified people: howbeit, the day of the coniunction being past, with a certeine counterchecke against the said astrologicall discourse in some points defectiue, and no such euents palpablie perceiued as were prognosticated; people fell to their former securitie, and condemned the discourser of extreame madnesse and follie: whereof no more but this, *Scientia nullum habet sibi inimicum præter ignorantem.*

When people saw nothing in the aire (as they looked for) they fell to derision.

1584

Cartar executed for printing a traitorous booke.

On the tenth of Januarie in the yeare 1584 at a sessions holden in the iustice hall in the old baillie of London for goale deliuerie of Newgate, William Cartar of the citie of London was there indicted, arreigned, and condemned of high treason, for printing a seditious and traitorous booke in English, intituled A treatise of schisme: and was for the same (according to sentence pronounced against him) on the next morrow, which was the eleuenth of Januarie, drawne from Newgate to Tiborne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered. And forthwith against slanderous reports, spread abroad in seditious books, letters and libels, thereby to inflame the hearts of our countriemen, and hir maiesties subiects: a booke was published, intituled, A declaration of the fauorable dealing of hir maiesties commissioners, &c. Which booke I haue thought good in this place to set downe (for the better instruction of the reader) euen as the same was printed and published, and thus it followeth.

A declaration of the fauourable dealing of hir maiesties commissioners appointed for the examination of certeine traitors, and of tortures vniustlie reported to be done vpon them for matters of religion.

A declaration of the fauorable dealing of hir maiesties commissioners, for the examining of traitors.

To the reader.

GOod reader, although hir maiesties most mild and gratious gouernement be sufficient to defend it selfe against those most slanderous reports of heathenish and vnnaturall tyrannie and cruell tortures, pretended to haue béene executed vpon certeine traitors, who latelie suffered for their treason, and others, aswell spread abroad by rungates, Iesuits, and seminarie men in their seditious bookes, letters, and libels, in forren countries and princes courts, as also insinuated into the hearts of some of our owne countriemen and hir maiesties subiects: yet for thy better satisfaction I haue conferred with a verie honest gentleman, whom I knew to haue good and sufficient meanes to deliuer the truth against such forgers of lies and shameless slanders in that behalfe, which he and other that do know and haue affirmed the same will at all times iustifie. And for thy further assurance and satisfaction herein, he hath set downe to the view of all men these necessarie notes following.

Touching the racke and torments vsed to such traitors as pretended themselues to be catholikes, vpon whom the same haue béene exercised, it is affirmed for truth, and is offered vpon due examination so to be proued, to be as followeth. First, that the formes of torture in their seueritie or rigour of execution, haue not béene such and in such maner performed, as the slanderers and seditious libellers haue slanderouslie & maliciouslie published. And that euen the principall offendor Campion himselfe, who was sent & came from Rome, and continued here in sundrie corners of the realme, hauing secretlie wandered in the greatest part of the shires of England in a disguised sort, to the intent to make spetiall preparation of treasons; and to that end and for furtherance of those his labours, sent ouer for more helpe and assistance, and cunninglie and traitorouslie at Rome before he came from thense, procured toleration for such prepared rebels to keepe themselues couert vnder pretense of temporarie and permissiue obedience to hir maiestie the state standing as it doth; but so sone as there were sufficient force whereby the bull of hir maiesties deprivation might be publikelie executed, they should then ioine all togither with that force vpon paine of curse and damnation: that verie Campion, I saie, before the conference had with him by learned men in the Tower, wherin he was charitablie vsed, was neuer so racked, but that he was presentlie able to walke, and to write, and did presentlie write and subscribe all his confessions, as by the originals thereof may euidentlie appeare.

The slanderous report, concerning the extreame vse of ỹ racke conuinced.

Campion and Bryant were tw fauourablie vsed: and far vnder the proportion of their treasonable offenses.

A horrible matter is also made of the starving of one Alexander Bryant, how he should eat claie out of the wals, gathered water to drinke from the droppings of houses, with such other false ostentations of immanitie: where the truth is this, that what soeuer Bryant suffered in want of food, he suffered the same wilfullie & of extreame impudent obstinacie, against the mind and liking of those that dealt with him. For certeine traitorous writings being found about him, it was thought conuenient by conference of hands to vnderstand whose writing they were, and therevpon he being in hir maiesties name commanded to write, which he could verie well do, and being permitted to him to write what he would himselfe, in these termes, that if he liked not to write one thing, he might write another, or what he listed (which to do being charged in hir maiesties name was his dutie, and to refuse was disloiall and vndutifull) yet the man would by no meanes be induced to write anie thing at all. Then was it commanded to his keeper to giue vnto him such meat, drinke, and other conuenient necessaries as he would write for, and to forbeare to giue him anie thing for which he would not write.

But Bryant being thereof aduertised and oft moued to write, persisting so in his curst heart by almost two daies and two nights, made choise rather to lacke food, than to write for the sustenance which he might readilie haue had for writing, & which he had indeed readilie and plentifullie so sone as he wrote. And as it is said of these two, so is it to be said of other; with this, that there was a perpetuall

The curst & stubborne hart of Bryant.

care

care had, & the quænes seruants the warders, whose office and act it is to handle the racke, were euer by those that attended the examinations speciallie charged, to vse it in as charitable maner as such a thing might be.

Secondlie it is said, and likewise offered to be iustified, that neuer anie of these seminaries, or such other pretended catholikes, which at anie time in hir maiesties reigne haue bæne put to the racke, were vpon the racke or in other torture demanded anie question of their supposed consciences as what they beleeued in anie point of doctrine or faith, as the masse, transubstantiation, or such like: but onelie with what persons at home, or abroad, and touching what plats, practises and conferences they had dealt about attempts against hir maiesties estate or person, or to alter the lawes of the realme for matters of religion, by treason or by force, and how they were persuaded themselues, and did persuade other touching the popes bull and pretense of authoritie, to depose kings and princes; and namelie, for deprivation of hir maiestie, and to discharge subiects from their allegiance, expressing herein alwaie the kinglie powers and estates, and the subiects allegiance ciuilie, without mentioning or meaning therein anie right that the queene as in right of the crowne hath ouer persons ecclesiasticall being hir subiects. In all which cases, Campion and the rest neuer answered plainelie, but sophisticallie, deceitfullie and traitorouslie, restraining their confession of allegiance onelie to the permissiue forme of the popes toleration. As for example, if they were asked, whether they did acknowledge themselues the quænes subiects and would obeie hir, they would saie, Yea: for so they had leaue for a time to do. But adding more to the question, and they being asked, if they would so acknowledge & obeie hir anie longer than the pope would so permit them; or notwithstanding such commandement as the pope would or might giue to the contrarie: then they either refused so to obeie, or denied to answer; or said, that they could not answer to those questions without danger. Which verie answer without more saieng, was a plaine answer to all reasonable vnderstanding, that they would no longer be subiects, nor persuade other to be subiects, than the pope gaue licence. And at their verie arreignement, when they laboured to leaue in the minds of the people and standers by, an opinion that they were to die, not for treason, but for matter of faith and conscience in doctrine, touching the seruice of God, without anie attempt or purpose against hir maiestie, they cried out that they were true subiects, and did and would obeie and serue hir maiestie. Immediatlie, to proue whether that hypocriticall and sophisticall speach extended to a perpetuitie of their obedience, or to so long time as the pope so permitted, or no; they were openlie in place of iudgement asked by the quænes learned counsell, whether they would so obeie and be true subiects, if the pope commanded the contrarie? They plainlie disclosed themselues in answer, saieng by the mouth of Campion: This place (meaning the court of hir maiesties Bench) hath no power to inquire or iudge of the holie fathers authoritie: and other answer they would not make.

Ergo it is false which the infamous libeller hath said abrode, *Religio crimen non mala vita fuit.*

This is consonant to the report set downe before in the discouerie of Campion, pag. 1325.

What allegiance these fellows meant to hir maiestie may appeare by these words of Campion, being the mouth of the rest.

Thirdlie, that none of them haue bæne put to the racke or torture, no not for the matters of treason, or partnership of treason or such like, but where it was first knowen and euidentlie probable by former detections, confessions, and otherwise, that the partie so racked, or tortured, was giltie, and did know, and could deliuer truth of the things wherewith he was charged: so as it was first assured, that no innocent was at anie time tormented, and the racke was neuer vsed to wring out confessions at aduenture vpon vncertenties, in which doing it might be possible that an innocent in that case might haue bin racked.

Fourthlie, that none of them hath bæne racked or tortured, vnlesse he had first said expressie, or amounting to as much, that he will not tell the truth, though the quæne command him. And if anie of them being examined did saie he could not tell, or did not remember, if he would so affirme in such maner as christians among christians are beleeued; such his answer was accepted, if there were not apparant euidence to proue that he wilfullie said vntrulie. But if he said that his answer in deliuering truth, should hurt a catholike, & so be an offense against the charitie, which they said to be sinne, & that the quæne could not command them to sin, & therfore how soeuer the quæne commanded, they would not tell the truth, which they were knowen to know, or to such effect: they were then put to the torture, or else not.

As namelie Campion, of whom an infamous libeller reporteth (in commendation forsoth of his constancie) *Non secreta mea tortus licèt ore fatebor.*

Fiftlie, that the proceeding to torture was alwaie so slowlie, so vnwillinglie, & with so manie preparations of persuasions to spare themselues, and so manie meanes to let them know that the truth was by them to be vttered, both in dutie to hir maiestie, and in wisedome for themselues, as whosoeuer was present at those actions, must needes acknowledge in hir maiesties ministers, a full purpose to follow the example of hir owne most gratious disposition: whome God long preserue.

Thus it appeereth, that albeit by the more generall lawes of nations, torture hath bæne, and is lawfullie iudged to be vsed in lesser cases, and in sharper maner for inquisition of truth in crimes not so neere extending to publike danger, as these vngratious persons haue committed, whose conspiracies and the particularities thereof it did so much import and behoue to haue disclosed: yet euen in that necessarie vse of such proceeding, inforced by the offendors notorious obstinacie, is neuertheless to be acknowledged the sweet temperature of hir maiesties mild and gratious clemencie, and their slanderous lewdnesse to be the more condemned, that haue in fauour of hainous malefactors, and stubborne traitors, spred vntrue rumors and slanders, to make hir mercifull gouernement disliked, vnder false pretense and rumors of sharpenesse and crueltie to those, against whom nothing can be cruell, and yet vpon whom nothing hath bæne done but gentle and mercifull.

The execution of iustice in England *for maintenance of publike and christian peace,* against certeine stirrers of sedition, and adherents to *the traitors and enimies of the realme, without anie persecution of them for questions of religion, as is falslie reported and published by the fautors and fosterers of their treasons.*

IT hath bæne in all ages and in all countries a common vsage of all offendors, for the most part, both great and small, to make defense of their lewd and vnlawfull facts by vntruths, and by colouring and couering their dæds (were they neuer so vile) with pretenses of some other causes of contrarie operations or effects: to the intent not onelie to auoid punishment or shame, but to continue, vphold, and prosecute their wicked attempts, to the full satisfaction of their disordered and malicious appetites. And though such hath bæne the vse of all offendors, yet of none with more danger than of rebels and traitors to their lawfull princes, kings, and countries. Of which sort of late yeares are specialtie to be noted certeine persons naturallie borne subiects in the realme of England and Ireland, who hauing for some good time profes-

All offendors couer their faults with contrarie causes.

Rebels do most dangerouslie couer their faults.

professed outwardlie their obedience to their soue-
reigne ladie quéene Elisabeth, haue nevertheless af-
terward bene stirred vp and seduced by wicked spi-
rits, first in England sundrie yeares past, and se-
condlie and of later time in Ireland, to enter into
open rebellion, taking armes and comming into the
field against hir maiestie and hir lieutenants, with
their forces vnder banners displaied, inducing by
notable vntruths manie simple people to follow and
assist them in their traitorous actions.

Rebellion in England and Ireland.

And though it is verie well knowen, that both
their intentions and manifest actions were bent to
haue deposed the quéenes maiestie from hir crowne,
and to haue traitorouslie set in hir place some other
whome they liked, whereby if they had not bene spé-
dilie resisted, they would haue committed great
bloudsheds and slaughters of hir maiesties faith-
full subiects, and ruined their native countrie:
yet by Gods power giuen vnto hir maiestie, they
were so spédilie vanquished, as some few of them
suffered by order of law according to their deserts,
manie & the greatest part vpon confession of their
faults were pardoned, the rest (but they not manie) of
the principall, escaped into forren countries, & there,
bicause in none or few places rebels and traitors to
their naturall princes and countries dare for their
treasons chalenge at their first musser open comfort
or succour, these notable traitors and rebels haue
falselie informed manie kings, princes and states,
and spectallie the bishop of Rome, commonlie called
the pope (from whom they all had secretlie their first
comfort to rebell) that the cause of their flieng from
their countries was for the religion of Rome, and
for maintenance of the said popes authoritie:
whereas diuerse of them before their rebellion li-
ues so notoriouslie, the most part of their liues, out of
all good rule, either for honest maners, or for anie
sense in religion, as they might haue bene rather fa-
miliar with Catiline, or fauourers to Sardanapa-
lus, than accounted good subiects vnder anie christi-
an princes. As for some examples of the heads of
these rebellions, out of England fled Charles Ne-
uill earle of Westmerland, a person vtterlie wasted
by loosenesse of life, and by Gods punishment euen
in the time of his rebellion bereaued of his children
that should haue succeeded him in the earledome, and
his bodie now eaten with vlcers of lewd causes (as
his companions do saie) that no enimie he hath can
wish him a viler punishment: a pitifull losse to the
realme of so noble a house, neuer before in anie
age attainted for disloialtie. And out of Ireland ran
awaie one Thomas Stukeleie, a defamed person al-
most thorough all christendome, and a faithlesse beast
rather than a man, fleeing first out of England for
notable pirasies, and out of Ireland for trecheries
not pardonable, which two were the first ringleaders
of the rest of the rebels, the one for England, the o-
ther for Ireland.

The rebels vanquished by the quéens power.

Some of the rebels fled into forren countries.

Ringleaders of rebels, Charles Neuill earle of Westmerland, and Thomas Stukeleie.

But notwithstanding the notorious euill and wic-
ked liues of these & others their confederats, void of
all christian religion, it liked the bishop of Rome, as
in fauour of their treasons, not to colour their offen-
ses, as themselues openlie pretend to do, for auoi-
ding of common shame of the world: but flatlie to
animate them to continue their former wicked pur-
poses, that is, to take armes against their lawfull
quéene, to inuade hir realme with forren forces, to
pursue all hir good subiects & their native countries
with fire and sword: for maintenance whereof there
had some yeares before, at sundrie times, procéeded
in a thundering sort, buls, excommunications, and
other publike writings, denouncing hir maiestie be-
ing the lawfull quéene, and Gods annointed seruant
not to be the quéene of the realme, charging and vp-
on paines of excommunication commanding all hir
subiects to depart from their naturall allegiances,
whereto by birth and by oth they were bound: pro-
uoking also and authorising all persons of all degrees
within both the realmes to rebell. And vpon this an-
tichristian warrant, being contrarie to all the lawes
of God and man, & nothing agréable to a pastorall
officer, not onelie all the rable of the foresaid trai-
tors that were before fled; but also all other persons
that had forsaken their native countries, being of di-
uerse conditions and qualities, some not able to liue
at home but in beggerie, some discontented for lacke
of preferments, which they gaped for vnworthilie in
vniuersities and other places, some bankerupt mer-
chants, some in a sort learned to contentions, being
not contented to learne to obeie the laws of the land,
haue manie yeares running vp and downe, from
countrie to countrie, practised some in one corner,
some in an other, some with seeking to gather forces
and monie for forces, some with instigation of prin-
ces by vntruths, to make warre vpon their naturall
countrie, some with inward practises to murther the
greatest, some with seditious writings, and verie
manie of late with publike infamous libels, full of
despitefull vile termes and poisoned lies, altogither
to vphold the foresaid antichristian and tyrannous
warrant of the popes bull.

The practises of the traitors rebels, and fugitiues to exe-
cute the bull.

And yet also by some other meanes, to further
these inuentions, bicause they could not readilie pre-
uaile by wate of force, finding forren princes of bet-
ter consideration & not readilie inclined to their wic-
ked purposes, it was deuised to erect vp certeine
schooles which they called seminaries, to nourish and
bring vp persons disposed naturallie to sedition, to
continue their race & trade, and to become sedmen
in their tillage of sedition, and them to send secretlie
into these the quéenes maiesties realmes of Eng-
land & Ireland vnder secret maskes, some of priest-
hood, some of other inferiour orders, with titles of se-
minaries for some of the meaner sort, and of Jesuits
for the stagers and ranker sort and such like, but yet
so warilie they crept into the land, as none brought
the markes of their priesthood with them. But in di-
uers corners of hir maiesties dominions these semi-
naries or sedmen and Jesuits, bringing with them
certeine Romish trash, as of their hallowed war,
their *Agnus Dei*, their graines, and manie kind of
beads, and such like, haue as tillagemen laboured
secretlie to persuade the people to allow of the popes
foresaid buls and warrants, & of his absolute autho-
ritie ouer all princes and countries, and striking
manie with pricks of conscience to obeie the same;
whereby in processe of small time, if this wicked and
dangerous, traitorous, & craftie course had not bene
by Gods goodnesse espied and staied, there had fol-
lowed imminent danger of horrible vprores in the
realmes, and a manifest bloudie destruction of great
multitudes of christians.

Seminaries erected to nurse sedi-
tious fugi-
tiues.

The seminas
rie fugitiues
come secretlie
into the reims
to induce the
people to obeie
the popes
bull.

For it can not be denied but that so manie as
should haue bene induced & thoroughlie persuaded
to haue obeied that wicked warrant of the popes,
and the contents thereof, should haue bene forth-
with in their harts and consciences secret traitors,
and for to be in déed errant and open traitors: there
should haue wanted nothing but opportunitie to
feele their strength & to assemble themselues in such
numbers with armour and weapons, as they might
haue presumed to haue bene the greater part, and so
by open ciuill warre to haue come to their wicked
purposes. But Gods goodnesse, by whome kings do
rule, and by whose blast traitors are commonlie wa-
sted and confounded, hath otherwise giuen to hir ma-
iestie as to his handmaid and deare seruant, ruling
vnder him, the spirit of wisedome and power, where-
by

The effect of the popes bull against the quéene of England.

Powers of sedition taken, conuented, & executed for treason.

by the hath caused to me of these seditious sedmen and sowers of rebellion, to be discouered for all their secret lurkings, and to be taken and charged with these former points of high treason, not being dealt withall vpon questions of religion, but iustlie by order of lawes, openlie condemned as traitors.

At which times, notwithstanding all maner gentle waies of persuasions vsed, to moue them to desist from such manifest traitorous courses and opinions with offer of mercie; yet was the canker of their rebellious humors so deepelie entered and grauen into the harts of manie of them, as they would not be reduced from their traitorous determinations. And therefore as manifest traitors in mainteining and adhering to the capitall enimie of hir maiestie & hir crowne (who hath not onelie beene the cause of two rebellions alreadie passed in England and Ireland, but in that of Ireland did manifestlie wage and mainteine his owne people, captains, and souldiers vnder the banner of Rome, against hir maiestie, so as no enimie could do more) these I saie haue iustlie suffered death not by force or forme of anie new lawes established, either for religion or against the popes supremasie, as the slanderous libellers would haue it seeme to be; but by the ancient temporall lawes of the realme, and namelie by the lawes of parlement made in king Edward the third his time, about the yeare of our Lord 1330, which is aboue two hundred yeares and more past, when the bishops of Rome and popes were suffered to haue their authoritie ecclesiasticall in this realme, as they had in manie other countries. But yet of this kind of offendors, as manie of them, as after their condemnations were contented to renounce their former traitorous assertions; so manie were spared from execution, & do liue still at this date: such was the vnwillingnes in hir maiestie to haue anie bloud spilt, without this verie vrgent, iust, and necessarie cause proceeding from themselues.

The seditious traitors condemned by the ancient lawes of the realme, made two hundred yeres past.

Persons condemned, spared from execution, vpon refusall of their treasonable opinions.

And yet neuertheless, such of the rest of the traitors as remaine in forren parts, continuing still their rebellious minds, and craftilie keeping themselues aloofe off from dangers, cease not to procure sundrie other inferiour seditious persons, newlie to steale secretlie into the realme, to renue the former seditious practises, to the execution of the popes foresaid bull against hir maiestie and the realme, pretending when they are apprehended, that they came onelie into the realme by the commandement of their superiors, the heads of the Iesuits, to whome they are bound (as they saie) by oth against either king or countrie, and here to informe or reforme mens consciences from errors in some points of religion, as they thinke meet. But yet in verie truth, the whole scope of their secret labours is manifestlie proued, to be secretlie to win all people, with whom they dare deale; so to allow of the popes said buls, and of his authoritie without exception, as in obeieng thereof, they take themselues fullie discharged of their allegiance and obedience to their lawfull prince and countrie: yea, and to be well warranted to take armes to rebell against hir maiestie, when they shall be thereunto called; and to be readie secretlie to ioine with any forren force that can be procured to inuade the realme, whereof also they haue a long time giuen, and yet do for their aduantage, no small comfort of successe. And so consequentlie the effect of their labours is to bring the realme not onelie into a dangerous warre against the forces of strangers (from which it hath beene free aboue three and twentie or foure and twentie yeares, a case verie memorable and hard to be matched with an example of the like) but into a warre domesticall and ciuill, wherein no bloud is vsuallie spared, nor mercie yeelded, and wherein neither the vanquishor nor the vanquished can haue iust cause of triumph.

The forren traitors continue sending of persons to moue sedition in the realme.

The seditious fugitiues labour to bring the realme into a warre externall and domesticall.

And forsomuch as these are the most euident perils that necessarilie should follow, if these kind of vermine were suffered to creepe by stealth into the realme, and to spred their poison within the same, howsoeuer when they are taken, like hypocrits, they colour and counterfeit the same with profession of deuotion in religion: it is of all persons to be pealed in reason, that hir maiestie and all hir gouernours and magistrats of iustice, hauing care to mainteine the peace of the realme (which God hath giuen in hir time, to continue longer than euer in anie time of hir progenitors) ought of dutie to almightie God the author of peace, and according to the naturall loue and charge due to their countrie, and for auoiding of the floods of bloud, which in ciuill warres are seene to run and flow, by all lawfull meanes possible, as well by the sword as by law, in their seuerall seasons to impeach and repell these so manifest and dangerous colourable practises, and works of sedition and rebellion.

The dutie of the queene and all hir gouernors to God and their countrie, is to repell practises of rebellion.

And though there are manie subiects knowne in the realme, that differ in some opinions of religion from the church of England and that do also not forbeare to professe the same: yet in that they do also professe loialtie and obedience to hir maiestie, and offer readilie to hir maiesties defense, to impugne & resist anie forreine force, though it should come or be procured from the pope himselfe: none of these sort are for their contrarie opinions in religion prosecuted or charged with anie crimes or paines of treason, nor yet willinglie searched in their consciences for their contrarie opinions, that sauour not of treason. And of these sorts, there haue beene and are a number of persons, not of such base and vulgar note as those which of late haue beene executed, as in particular, some by name are well knowne, and not vnfit to be remembred. The first and chiefest by office was doctor Heth, that was archbishop of Yorke, and lord chancellor of England in queene Maries time; who at the first comming of hir maiestie to the crowne, shewing himselfe a faithfull and quiet subiect, continued in both the said offices, though in religion then manifestlie differing; and yet was he not restreined of his libertie, nor depriued of his proper lands and goods, but leauing willinglie both his offices, liued in his owne house verie discreetlie, and inioied all his purchased lands during all his naturall life, vntill by verie age he departed this world, and then left his house and liuing to his friends. An example of gentlenesse neuer matched in queene Maries time.

None charged with capitall crimes, being of a contrarie religion, and professing to withstand forreine forces.

The like did one doctor Poole that had beene bishop of Peterborough, an ancient graue person, and a verie quiet subiect. There were also others that had beene bishops and in great estimation, as doctor Tunstall bishop of Duresme, a person of great reputation, and also whilest he liued of verie quiet behauiour. There were also other, as doctor White & doctor Ogglethorpe, the one of Winchester, the other of Carlill, bishops, persons of courteous natures, and he of Carlill so inclined to dutifulnes to the queenes maiestie, as he did the office at the consecration and coronation of hir maiestie in the church of Westminster: and doctor Thurlebie, & doctor Watson yet liuing, one of Elie, the other of Lincolne, bishops: the one of nature affable, the other altogither sowre, and yet liuing. Whereto may be added the bishop then of Exceter, Turberuile, an honest gentleman, but a simple bishop, who liued at his owne libertie to the end of his life: and none of all these pressed with anie capitall paine, though they mainteined the popes authoritie against the lawes of the realme. And some abbats, as maister Feckenam yet liuing,

Names of diuerse ecclesiasticall persons professing contrarie religion, neuer charged with capitall crimes.

a person also of quiet and courteous behauiour, for a great time. Some also were deanes, as doctor Worall deane of Windsore, a person of great modestie, learning and knowledge: doctor Cole deane of Paules, a person more earnest than discreet: doctor Reinolds deane of Excester, not vnlearned, and manie such others, hauing borne office & dignities in the church, & that had made profession against the pope, which they onelie began in quæne Maries time to change: yet were these neuer to this date burdened with capitall peanes, nor yet depriued of anie their goods or proper liuelods, but onelie removed from their ecclesiasticall offices, which they would not exercise according to the lawes. And most of them, & manie other of their sort for a great time were deteined in bishops houses in verie ciuill and courteous maner, without charge to themselues or their friends, vntill the time that the pope began by his buls & messages, to offer trouble to the realme by stirring of rebellion. About which time onlie, some of these aforenamed, being found busier in matters of state tending to stir troubles, than was meete for the common quiet of the realme, were remoued to other more priuat places, where such other wanderers as were men knowne to moue sedition, might be restreined from common resorting to them to increase trouble, as the popes bull gaue manifest occasion to doubt: and yet without charging them in their consciences or otherwise, by anie inquisition to bring them into danger of anie capitall law: so as no one was called to anie capitall or bloudie question vpon matters of religion, but haue all inioied their life as the course of nature would: and such of them as yet remaine, may (if they will not be authors or instruments of rebellion or sedition) inioie the time that God and nature shall yeld them without danger of life or member.

The late fauorers of the popes authoritie were the chiefe aduersaries of the same, by their doctrines and writings.

And yet it is worthie to be well marked, that the chiefest of all these and the most of them, had in time of king Henrie the eight, and king Edward the first, either by preaching, writing, reading, or arguing, taught all people to condemne, yea to abhorre the authoritie of the pope: for which purpose they had many times giuen their othes publikelie, against the popes authoritie, and had also yeelded to both the said kings the title of supreame hed of the church of England next vnder Christ, which title the aduersaries do most falselie write and affirme, that the quænes maiestie now vseth: a manifest lie & vntruth, to be seene by the verie acts of parlement, and at the beginning of hir reigne omitted in hir stile. And for proofe that these foresaid bishops and learned men had so long time disauowed the popes authoritie, manie of their books and sermons against the popes authoritie remaine printed both in English and Latin to be seene in these times, to their great shame and reproofe to change so often, but speciallie in persecuting such as themselues had taught and stablished to hold the contrarie. A sin, nære the sin against the holie ghost.

A great number of laie persons of liuelod being of a contrarie religion, neuer charged with capitall crime.

There were also and yet be a great number of others, being laie men of good possessions and lands, men of good credit in their countries, manifestlie of late time seduced to hold contrarie opinions in religion for the popes authoritie: and yet none of them haue bene sought hitherto to be impeached in anie point or quarell of treason, or of losse of life, member or inheritance. So as it may plainelie appeare, that it is not, nor hath bene for contrarious opinions in religion, or for the popes authoritie alone, as the aduersaries do boldlie and falslie publish, that anie persons haue suffered death since hir maiesties reigne. And yet some of these sort are well knowne to hold opinon, that the pope ought by authoritie of Gods word to be supreame and onelie head of the catholike church through the whole world, and onelie to rule in all causes ecclesiasticall, and that the quænes maiestie ought not to be the gouernour ouer anie hir subiects in hir realme being persons ecclesiasticall: which opinions are neuertheless in some part by the lawes of the realme punishable in their degrees. And yet for none of these points haue anie persons bene prosecuted with the charge of treason, or in danger of life.

No person charged with capitall crime for the onelie maintenance of the popes supremasie.

And if then it be inquired, for what cause these others haue of late suffered death, it is truelie to be answered as afore is often remembred, that none at all were impeached for treason to the danger of their life, but such as did obstinatlie maintein the contents of the popes bull afore mentioned; which do import, that hir maiestie is not the lawfull quæne of England, the first and highest point of treason: and that all hir subiects are discharged of their oths and obedience; a second high point of treason: and all warranted to disobeie hir and hir lawes; a third and a verie large point of treason. And thereto is to be added a fourth point most manifest, in that they would not disallow the popes hostile procedings in open warres against hir maiestie in hir realme of Ireland, where one of their companie doctor Sanders, a lewd scholer and subiect of England, a fugitiue and a principall companion and conspirator with the traitors and rebels at Rome, was by the popes speciall commission a commander, as in forme of a legat, and sometime a burser or paiemaster for those wars. Which doctor Sanders in his booke of his church monarchie, did afore his passing into Ireland openlie by writing, gloriouslie auow the foresaid bull of *Pius Quintus* against hir maiestie, to be lawfull; and affirmeth that by vertue thereof one doctor Morton, an old English fugitiue and conspirator, was sent from Rome into the north parts of England, which was true, to stirre vp the first rebellion there, whereof Charles Neuill the late earle of Westmerland was a head captein.

Foure points of treason.

Such condemned onelie for treason, as maintein the effects of the popes bull against hir maiestie and the realme.

Doctor Sanders maintenance of the popes bull.

And thereby it may manifestlie appeare to all men, how this bull was the ground of the rebellions both in England and Ireland, and how for maintenance thereof, and for sowing of sedition by warrant and allowance of the same, these persons were iustlie condemned of treason, and lawfullie executed by the ancient lawes temporall of the realme, without charging them for anie other matter than for their practises and conspiracies both abroad and at home against the quæne and the realme; and for the maintening of the popes foresaid authoritie and bull, published to depriue hir maiestie of hir crowne, and for withdrawing and reconciling of hir subiects from their naturall allegiance due to hir maiestie and to their countrie, and for moouing them to sedition: and for no other causes or questions of religion were these persons condemned; although true it is, that when they were charged & conuinced of these points of conspiracies and treasons, they would still in their answers colourablie pretend their actions to haue bene for religion: but in deed and truth they were manifested to be for the procurement and maintenance of the rebellions and wars against hir maiestie and hir realme.

The persons that suffered death, were condemned for treason & not for religion.

The diuersitie betwixt truth and falshood.

And herein is now the manifest diuersitie to be seene and well considered betwixt the truth of hir maiesties actions, & the falshood of the blasphemous aduersaries: that where the factious partie of the pope the principall author of the inuasions of hir maiesties dominions, do falselie allege that a number of persons, whom they terme as martyrs, haue died for defense of the catholike religion; the same in verie truth may manifestlie appeare to haue died (if they so will haue it) as martyrs for the pope, but yet as traitors

fors against their soueraigne and quéene in adhering to him, being the notable and onelie open hostile enimie in all actions of warre against hir maiestie, hir kingdomes and people: and that this is the meaning of all these that haue so obstinatlie mainteined the authoritie and contents of this bull, the verie words of the bull do declare in this sort, as doctor Sanders reporteth them.

A full proofe that the maintainers of the bull are directlie guiltie of treason.

Pius Quintus pontifex maximus, de apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, declarauit Elisabetham prætenso regni iure, necnon omne & quocunque dominio, dignitate, priuilegióque priuatam: itémque proceres, subditos & populos dicti regni, ac cæteros omnes qui illi quomodocunque iurauerunt, à iuramento huiusmodi ac omni fidelitatis debito, perpetuo absolutos: That is to saie, Pius Quintus the greatest bishop, of the fulnesse of the apostolike power, declared Elisabeth to be bereaued or depriued of hir pretended right of hir kingdome, and also of all and what soeuer dominion, dignitie and priuilege: and also the nobles, subiects and people of the said kingdome, and all others which had sworne to hir anie maner of wais, to be absolued for euer from such oth, and from all debt or dutie of fealtie, &c: with manie threatning cursings, to all that durst obeie hir or hir lawes. As for execution hereof, to proue, that the effect of the popes bull and message was a flat rebellion, it is not amisse to heare what the same doctor Sanders the popes firebrand in Ireland also writeth in his visible church monarchie, which is thus.

Doctor Morons secret imbassage from Rome to stir the rebellion in the north.

Pius Quintus pontifex maximus, Anno Domini 1569 reuerendum presbyterum Nicolaum Mortonum Anglum in Angliam misit, vt certis illustribus viris authoritate apostolica denuntiaret, Elisabetham quæ tunc rerum potiebatur, hæreticam esse: ob eámque causam, omni dominio & potestate excidisse, impunéque ab illis velut ethnicam haberi posse, nec eos illius legibus aut mandatis deinceps obedire cogi: That is to saie, Pius Quintus the greatest bishop, in the yeare of our Lord 1569, sent the reuerend priest Nicholas Morton an Englishman into England, that he should denounce or declare by the apostolike authoritie to certeine noblemen, Elisabeth, who then was in possession, to be an heretike: & for that cause, to haue fallen from all dominion and power, and that she may be had or reputed of them as an ethnike, and that they are not to be compelled to obeie hir lawes or commandements, &c. Thus you see an ambassage of rebellion from the popes holinesse, the ambassador an old doting Englishe priest, a fugitiue and conspirator, sent (as he saith) to some noble men, and these were the two earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, heads of the rebellion. And after this, he followeth to declare the successe therof, which I dare saie he was sorie it was so euill, with these words.

Qua denuntiatione multi nobiles viri adducti sunt, vt de fratribus liberandis cogitare auderent, ac sperabant illi quidem catholicos omnes summis viribus affuturos esse: verùm etsi aliter quàm illi expectabant res euenit, quia catholici omnes nondum probè cognouerant, Elisabetham hæreticam esse declaratam, tamen laudanda illorum nobilium consilia erant: That is: By which denuntiation, manie noblemen were induced or led, that they were boldened to thinke of the freeing of their brethren, and they hoped certeinlie that all the catholikes would haue assisted them with all their strength: but although the matter happened otherwise than they hoped for, because all the catholikes knew not that Elisabeth was declared to be an heretike, yet the counsels and intents of those noblemen were to be praised. A rebellion and a vanquishing of rebels verie smoothlie described.

This noble fact here mentioned was the rebellion in the north: the noblemen were the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland: the lacke of the euent or successe was, that the traitors were vanquished, and the quenes maiestie and hir subiects had by Gods ordinance the victorie: and the cause why the rebels preuailed not, was because all the catholikes had not béene dulie informed that the quenes maiestie was declared to be (as they terme it) an heretike: which want of information, to the intent to make the rebels mightier in number and power, was diligentlie and cunninglie supplied by the sending into the realme of a great multitude of the seminaries and Jesuits, whose speciall charge was to informe the people thereof, as by their actions hath manifestlie appéered. A supplement to amend the former errour.

And though doctor Sanders hath thus written, yet it may be said by such as fauoured the two notable Jesuits, one named Robert Persons (who yet bideth himselfe in corners to continue his traitorous practise) the other named Edmund Campion (who was found out being disguised like a roister and suffered for his treasons) that doctor Sanders treason is his proper treason in allowing of the said bull, and not to be imputed to Persons and Campion. Therefore to make it plaine that these two by speciall authoritie had charge to execute the sentence of this bull, these acts in writing following shall make manifest, which are not fained or imagined, but are the verie writings taken about one of their complices, euen immediatlie after Campions death: although Campion before his death would not be knowen of anie such matter. Whereby may appéere what trust is to be giuen to the words of such pseudomartyrs.

Persons and Campion are offendors as doctor Sanders is, for allowance of the bull.

Facultates concessæ pp. Roberto Personio & Edmundo Campiano, pro Anglia, die 14 Aprilis, 1580.

Petatur à summo domino nostro explicatio bullæ declaratoriæ per Pium Quintum contra Elisabetham & ei adhærentes, quam catholici cupiunt intelligi hoc modo; vt obliget semper illam & hæreticos, catholicos verò nullo modo obliget rebus sic stantibus, sed tum demum quando publica eiusdem bullæ executio fieri poterit. Then followed manie other petitions of faculties for their further authorities, which are not néedfull for this purpose to be recited: but in the end followeth this sentence as an answer of the popes. *Has prædictas gratias concessit summus pontifex patri Roberto Personio, & Edmundo Campiano in Angliam profecturis, die 14 Aprilis, 1580. Præsente patre Oliuerio Manarco assistente.* The English of which Latine sentences is as followeth.

Faculties granted to the two fathers Robert Persons and Edmund Campion, for England, the fourteenth daie of Aprill, 1580.

Faculties granted to Persons and Campion by pope Gregorie the thirteenth Anno 1580.

Let it be asked or required of our most holie lord, the explication or meaning of the bull declaratorie made by Pius the fift against Elisabeth, & such as do adhere or obeie hir, which bull the catholikes desire to be vnderstood in this maner: that the same bull shall alwaies bind hir and the heretikes; but the catholikes it shall by no meanes bind, as matters or things do now stand or be: but hereafter, when the publike execution of that bull maie be had or made. Then in the end the conclusion was thus added. The highest pontife or bishop granted these foresaid graces to father Robert Persons & Edmund Campion, who are now to take their iournies into England, the 14 daie of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and eightie. Being present the father Oliuerius Manarke assistant.

By what authoritie Campion came into England.

Hereby it is manifest, what authoritie Campion had to impart the contents of the bull against the quéens maiestie, howsoeuer he himselfe denied the same: for this was his errand.

And though it be manifest that these two Iesuits, Parsons and Campion, not onelie required to haue the popes mind declared for the bull; but also in their owne petitions shewed how they and other catholikes did desire to haue the said bull to be vnderstood against the quéene of England: yet to make the matter more plaine how all other Iesuits and seminaries; yea how all papists naming themselues catholikes, do or are warranted to interpret the said bull against hir maiestie and hir good subiects, howsoeuer they will disguise it, you shall see what one of their fellowes, named Hart, who was condemned with Campion and yet liueth, did amongst manie other things declare his knowledge thereof the last daie of December in the same yeare one thousand fiue hundred and eightie, in these words following. The bull of *Pius Quintus* (for so much as it is against the quéene) is holden amongest the English catholikes for a lawfull sentence, and a sufficient discharge of hir subiects fidelitie, and so remaineth in force: but in some points touching the subiects, it is altered by the present pope. For where in that bull all hir subiects are commanded not to obeie hir, and she being excommunicate and deposed, all that do obeie hir are likewise innodate and accursed, which point is perillous to the catholikes: for if they obeie hir, they be in the popes curse, and if they disobeie hir, they are in the quéenes danger: therefore the present pope to releéue them hath altered that part of the bull, and dispensed with them to obeie and serue hir, without perill of excommunication: which dispensation is to indure but till it please the pope otherwise to determine.

Hart's confession of the interpretation of the bull of *Pius Quintus*.

Wherefore to make some conclusion of the matters before mentioned, all persons both within the realme and abroad, maie plainelie perceiue that all the infamous libels latelie published abroad in sundrie languages, and the slanderous reports made in other princes courts of a multitude of persons, to haue beene of late put to torments and death onelie for profession of the catholike religion, and not for matters of state against the quenes maiestie, are false and shameleSSe, and published to the maintenance of traitors and rebels. And to make the matter seeme more horrible or lamentable, they recite the particular names of all the persons, which by their owne catalog exceed not for these fiue and twentie yeares space, aboue the number of three score, forgetting or rather with their stonie and senseleSSe harts not regarding, in what cruell sort in the time of quéene Marie, which little exceeded the space of fiue yeares, the quéenes maiesties reigne being fiue times as manie, there were by imprisonment, torments, famine, and fire, of men, women, maidens, and children, almost the number of foure hundred, beSides such as were secretlie murthered in prisons: and of that number, aboue twentie that had beene archbishops, bishops, and principall prelats or officers in the church lamentablie destroied; and of women aboue three score, and of children aboue fortie, and amongest the women, some great with child, and one, out of whose bodie the child by fire was expelled aliue, and yet also cruellie burned: examples beyond all heathen crueltie.

A conclusion that all the infamous bookes against the quéene and the realme, are false.

Difference of the small numbers that haue beene executed in the space of fiue and twentie yeares, from the great numbers in fiue yeares of quéene Maries reigne.

And most of the youth that then suffered cruell death, both men, women, and children (which is to be noted) were such, as had neuer by the sacrament of baptisme, or by confirmation, professed, or was euer taught or instructed, or euer had heard of anie other kind of religion, but onelie of that which by their bloud and death in the fire they did as true martyrs testifie. A matter of an other sort to be lamented in a christian charitie with simplicitie of words, and not with puffed eloquence, than the execution in this time of a verie few traitors; who also in their time, if they exceeded thirtie yeares of age, had in their baptisme professed, and in their youth had learned the same religion which they now so bitterlie oppugned. And beSides that, in their opinions they differ much from the martyrs of quéene Maries time: for though they which suffered in quéene Maries time continued in the profession of the religion wherein they were christened, and as they were perpetuallie taught; yet they neuer at their death denied their lawfull quéene, nor maintained anie of hir open and forren enimies, nor anie procured rebellion or ciuill warre, nor did sow anie sedition in secret corners, nor withdrew anie subiects from their obedience, as these sworne seruants of the pope haue continuallie done.

And therefore all these things well considered, there is no doubt, but all good subiects within the realme do manifestlie see, and all wauering persons (not being led cleane out of the waie by the seditions) will hereafter perceiue, how they haue béene abused to go astraie. And all strangers, but speciallie all christian potentats, as emperours, kings, princes, and such like, hauing their souereigne estates, either in succession hereditarie, or by consent of their people, being acquainted with the verie truth of these hir maiesties late iust and necessarie actions, onelie for defense of hir selfe, hir crowne, and people, against open inuadours, and for eschewing of ciuill warres, stirred vp by rebellion, will allow in their owne like cases, for a truth and rule (as it is not to be doubted but they will) that it belongeth not vnto a bishop of Rome as successour of saint Peter, and therein a pastour spirituall, or if he were the bishop of all christendome, as by the name of pope he claimeth, first by his bulles or excommunications, in this sort at his will in fauour of traitors and rebels, to depose anie souereigne princes, being lawfullie inuested in their crownes by succession in bloud, or by lawfull election; and then to arme subiects against their naturall lords, to make warres, and to dispense with them for their oths in so doing, or to excommunicat faithfull subiects for obeieng of their naturall princes, & lastlie himselfe to make open warre, with his owne souldiers, against princes mouing no force against him.

In aduertisement vnto all princes of countries abroad.

For if these high tragicall powers should be permitted to him to exercise, then should no empire, no kingdome, no countrie, no citie or towne be possessed by anie lawfull title, longer than one such onelie an earthlie man, sitting (as he saieth) in saint Peters chaire at Rome, should for his will and appetite (without warrant from God or man) thinke méet and determine: an authoritie neuer chalenged by the Lord of lords the sonne of God, Iesus Christ our onelie Lord and sauiour, and the onelie head of his church, whilest he was in his humanitie vpon the earth; nor yet deliuered by anie writing or certeine tradition from saint Peter, from whome the pope pretendeth to deriue all his authoritie; nor yet from saint Paule the apostle of the gentils: but contrariwise by all preachings, precepts and writings, conteined in the gospell and other scriptures of the apostles, obedience is expreSSelie commanded vnto all earthlie princes; yea, euen vnto kings by especiall name, and that so generallie, as no person is excepted from such

The authoritie proclaimed by the pope not warranted by Christ or by the two apostles Peter and Paul.

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dutie of obedience, as by the sentence of saint Paule euen to the Romans, appeareth, *Omnis anima sublimioribus potestatibus sit subdita*, that is, Let euerie soule be subiect to the higher powers: within the compasse of which law or precept, saint Chrysostome being bishop of Constantinople, writeth, that Euen apostles, prophets, euangelists, and monks are comprehended.

And for proofe of saint Peters mind herein, from whome these popes claime their authoritie, it can not be plainelier expressed, than when he writeth thus, *Proinde subiecti estote cuiuis humanæ ordinationi, propter Dominum, siue regi, vt qui supereminet, siue præsidibus ab eo missis*, that is, Therefore be you subiect to euerie humane ordinance or creature for the Lord, whether it be to the king, as to him that is supereminent, or aboue the rest, or to his presidents sent by him. By which two principall apostles of Christ, these popes the pretensed successors, but chiefly by that which Christ the sonne of God the onelie maister of truth said to Peter and his fellow apostles, *Reges gentium dominantur, vos autem non sic*, that is, The kings of the gentils haue rule ouer them, but you not so, maie learne to forsake their arrogant and tyrannous authorities in earthlie and temporall causes ouer kings and princes, and exercise their pastorall office: as saint Peter was charged thrise at one time by his Lord and maister, *Pasce oues meas*, Fæd my shæpe, and peremptorilie forbidden to vse a sword, in saieng to him, *Conuerte gladium tuum in locum suum*, or *Mitte gladium tuum in vaginam*, that is, Turne thy sword into his place: or, Put thy sword into the scabbard.

All which precepts of Christ and his apostles were dulie followed and obserued manie hundred yeares after their death, by the faithfull and godlie bishops of Rome, that dulie followed the doctrine and humilitie of the apostles, and the doctrine of Christ, and were holie martyrs, and thereby dilated the limits of Christs church and the faith more in the compasse of an hundred yeares, than the latter popes haue done with their swords and cursses these fiue hundred yeares, and so continued vntill the time of one pope Hildebrand, otherwise called Gregorie the seuenth, about the yeare of our Lord, one thousand three score and fourtéene; who first began to vsurpe that kind of tyrannie, which of late the late pope called *Pius Quintus*, and since that time Gregorie now the thirtéenth hath followed, for some example as it séemeth: that is, where Gregorie the seuenth, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three score and fourtéene, or thereabout, presumed to depose Henrie the fourth, a noble emperor then being; Gregorie the thirtéenth now at this time, would attempt the like against king Henrie the eights daughter and heire quéene Elisabeth, a souereigne, and a maiden quéene, holding hir crowne immediatlie of God.

Pope Hildebrand the first that made warre against the emperor.

And to the end it may appeare to princes, or to their good councellors in one example, what was the fortunat successe that God gaue to this good christian emperor Henrie, against the proud pope Hildebrand, it is to be noted, that when the pope Gregorie attempted to depose this noble emperor Henrie, there was one Rodulph a noble man, by some named the count of Rœnfield, that by the popes procurement vsurped the name of the emperor, who was ouercome by the said Henrie the lawfull emperor, and in fight hauing lost his right hand, he, the said Rodulph, lamented his case to certeine bishops, who in the popes name had erected him vp, and to them he said, that the selfe same right hand which he had lost, was the same hand wherewith he had before sworne obedience to his lord and maister the emperor Henrie; and that in following their vngodlie counsels, he had brought vpon him Gods heatie and iust iudgements. And so Henrie the emperor prenailing by Gods power, caused Gregorie the pope by a synod in Italie to be deposed, as in like times before him his predecessor Otho the emperor had deposed one pope John for manie heinous crimes: & so were also within a short time three other popes, namelie, Syluester, Bennet, and Gregorie the first, vsed by the emperor Henrie the third, about the yeare of our Lord, one thousand fortie and seuen, for their like presumptuous attempts in temporall actions against the said emperors.

Pope Gregorie the seuenth deposed by Henrie the fourth.

Manie other examples might be shewed to the emperors maiestie, and the princes of the holie empire now being, after the time of Henrie the fourth: as of Henrie the fift, and Frederike the first, and Frederike the second, and then of Lewes of Bauar, all emperors, cruellie and tyrannouslie persecuted by the popes, and by their buls, cursses, and by open wars, and likewise to manie other the great kings and monarchs of christendome, of their noble progenitors, kings of their seuerall dominions. Whereby they may see how this kind of tyrannous authoritie in popes to make warres vpon emperors & kings, and to command them to be deprsiued, toke hold at the first by pope Hildebrand, though the same neuer had anie lawfull example or warrant from the lawes of God of the old or new testament: but yet the successes of their tyrannies were by Gods goodnesse for the most part made frustrat, as by Gods goodnesse there is no doubt, but the like will followe to their confusions at all times to come.

Henrie the fift. Frederike the first. Frederike the second. Lewes of Bauar, emperors.

And therefore, as there is no doubt, but the like violent tyrannous procédings by anie pope in maintenance of traitors and rebels, would be withstood by euerie souereigne prince in christendome in defense of their persons and crownes, and maintenance of their subiects in peace: so is there at this present a like iust cause that the emperors maiestie, with the princes of the holie empire, and all other souereigne kings & princes in christendome, should iudge the same to be lawfull for hir maiestie being a quéene, and holding the verie place of a king and a prince souereigne ouer diuers kingdoms and nations; she being also most lawfullie inuested in hir crowne: and as for good gouerning of hir people, with such applause and generall allowance, loued, and obeied of them; sauing a few ragged traitors, or rebels, or persons discontented, whereof no other realme is frée, as continuallie for these fiue & twentie yeares past hath béene notablie séene, and so publikelie marked, euen by strangers repairing into this realme, as it were no cause of disgrace to anie monarch and king in christendome, to haue hir maiesties felicitie compared with anie of theirs whatsoeuer: and it maie be, there are manie kings and princes could be well contented with the fruition of some proportion of hir felicitie.

Whatsoeuer is lawfull for other princes souereignes, is lawfull for the quéene and crowne of England.

And though the popes be now suffered by the emperor, in the lands of his owne peculiar patrimonie, and by the two great monarchs, the French king and the king of Spaine, in their dominions and territories (although by manie other kings not so allowed) to continue his authoritie in sundrie cases, and his glorious title to be the vniuersall bishop of the world, which title Gregorie the great aboue nine hundred yeares past, called a prophane title, full of sacrilege, and a preamble of antichrist: yet in all their dominions & kingdoms, as also in the realme of England, most notablie by manie ancient lawes it is well knowne, how manie waies the tyrannous power of this his excessiue authoritie hath béene, and still is restreined, checked and limited by lawes and pragmatikes, both ancient and new, both in France

The title of vniuersall bishop is a preamble of antichrist.

An. Do. 1074. The iudgement of God against the popes false erected emperor.

and Spaine and other dominions: a verie large field for the lawyers of those countries to walke in and discourse.

And howsoeuer the popes canonists, being as his bombarders, do make his excommunications and curses appeare fearefull to the multitude and simple people: yet all great emperors and kings aforetime, in their owne cases, of their rights and roiall preeminences, though the same concerned but a citie or a poore towne, and sometime but the not allowance of some vnworthie person to a bishoprike or to an abbeie, neuer refrained to despise all popes curses or forces; but attempted alwaies, either by their swords to compell them to desist from their furious actions, or without anie feare of themselues, in bodie, soule, or conscience, stoutlie to withstand their curses, and that sometime by force, sometime by ordinances and lawes: the ancient histories whereof are to manie to be repeated, and of none more frequent and effectuall than of the kings of France. And in the records of England doth appeare, how stoutlie the kings & the baronadie of England from age to age, by extreame penall laws haue so repelled the popes vsurpations, as with the verie name of præmunires his proctors haue béene terrified, and his clergie haue quaked, as of late cardinall Wolsele did prooue.

But leauing those that are ancient, we may remember how in this our owne present or late age, it hath béene manifestlie séene, how the armie of the late noble emperour Charles the fift, father to king Philip that now reigneth, was not afraid of his curses, when in the yeare of our Lord 1527, Rome it selfe was besieged and sacked, and the pope then called Clement, and his cardinals, to the number of about thirtie and three, in his mount Adrian or castell S. Angelo, taken prisoners and deteined seauen moneths or more, and after ransomed by *Don Vgo di Moncada* a Spaniard; and the marquesse of Guasto, at aboue foure hundred thousand duckets, besides the ransomes of the cardinals which was much greater; hauing not long before time béene also (notwithstanding his curses) besieged in the same castell by the familie of the Colonies and their fautors his nert neighbours being then imperialists, and forced to yeld to all their demands. Neither did king Henrie the second of France, father to Henrie now king of France, about the yeare 1550, feare or regard the pope or his court of Rome, when he made seuerall strict edicts against manie parts of the popes claimes in prejudice of the crowne and clergie of France, retracting the authoritie of the court of Rome greatlie to the hinderance of the popes former profits. Neither was the armie of king Philip now of Spaine, whereof the duke of Alua was generall, stricken with anie feare of cursing, when it was brought afore Rome against the pope, in the yeare of our Lord 1555, where great destruction was made by the said armie, and all the delicat buildings, gardens, and orchards, nert to Rome walles ouerthrowne, wherewith his holinesse was more terrified than he was able to remoue with anie his curses. Neither was quéene Marie the quénes maiesties noble late sister, a person not a little deuoted to the Romane religion, so afraid of the popes cursings; but that both shée and hir whole councell, and that with the assent of all the iudges of the realme, according to the ancient lawes, in fauour of cardinall Pole hir kinsman, did most strictlie forbid the entrie of his bulles, and of a cardinals hat at Calis, that was sent from the pope for one frier Peito, an obseruant pleasant frier, whom the pope had assigned to be a cardinall in disgrace of cardinall Pole: neither did cardinall Pole himselfe at the same time obeie the popes commandements, nor shewed himselfe afraid, being assisted by the quéene, when the pope did threaten him with paine of curses and excommunications; but did still oppose himselfe against the popes commandement, for the said pretended cardinall Peito: who notwithstanding all the threatenings of the pope, was forced to go vp and downe in the stréets of London like a begging frier, without his red hat: a stout resistance in a quéene for a poore cardinals hat, wherin she followed the example of hir grandfather king Henrie the seuenth, for a matter of Allum, wherein the king vsed verie great seueritie against the pope.

So as howsoeuer the christian kings for some respects in policie can indure the pope to command where no harme nor disaduantage groweth to themselues, yet sure it is, and the popes are not ignorant, but where they shall in anie sort attempt to take from christian princes anie part of their dominions, or shall giue aid to their enimies, or to anie other their rebels, in those cases, their bulles, their curses, their excommunications, their sentences and most solemne anathematicals, no nor their crosse keies, or double edged sword, will serue their turnes to compasse their intentions. And now, where the pope hath manifestlie by his bulles and excommunications attempted asmuch as he could, to depriue hir maiestie of hir kingdomes, to withdraw from hir the obedience of hir subiects, to procure rebellions in hir realms, yea to make both rebellions and open warres with his owne capteines, souldiers, banners, ensignes, and all other things belonging to warre: shall this pope Gregorie or anie other pope after him, thinke that a souereigne quéene, possessed of the two realmes of England and Ireland, stablished so manie yeares in hir kingdomes as three or foure popes haue sit in their chaire at Rome, fortified with so much dutie, loue and strength of hir subiects, acknowledging no superiour ouer hir realms, but the mightie hand of God: shall she forbeare, or feare to withstand and make frustrate his vnlawfull attempts, either by hir sword or by hir lawes; or to put his soldiers inuadors of hir realme to the sword martiallie, or to execute hir lawes vpon hir owne rebellious subiects ciuillie, that are proued to be his chiefe instruments for rebellion, & for his open warre? This is sure, that howsoeuer either he sitting in his chaire with a triple crowne at Rome, or anie other his proctors in anie part of christendome, shall renew these vnlawfull attempts; almightie God the king of kings whom hir maiestie onlie honoreth and acknowledgeth to be hir onlie souereigne Lord and protector, & whose lawes and gospell of his son Jesus Christ she séeketh to defend, will no doubt but deliuer sufficient power into his maidens hand his seruant quéene Elisabeth, to withstand and confound them all.

And where the seditious trumpetors of infamies & lies haue sounded forth and intituled certeine that haue suffered for treason, to be martyrs for religion: so may they also at this time (if they list) ad to their forged catalog the headlesse bodie of the late miserable earle of Desmond, the head of the Irish rebellion: who of late, secretlie wandering without succour, as a miserable begger, was taken by one of the Irishrie in his caben, and in an Irish sort, after his owne accustomed sauage maner, his head cut off from his bodie: an end due to such an archrebell. And herewith to remember the end of his chiefe confederats, may be noted for example to others, the strange manner of the death of doctor Sanders the popes Irish legat, who also wandering in the mountains in Ireland without succor, died rauing in a frensie. And before him, one James Fitzmoris the

1527 Rome sacked, and the pope Clement take prisoner by the emperors armie.

1550 King Henrie the second of France his edicts against the pope and his courts of Rome.

The besieging of Rome and the pope by the duke of Alua and king Philips armie.

Quéene Marie and cardinall Pole resisted the pope.

D. Peito a begging frier.

The kings of christendome neuer suffer popes to abridge their titles or rights, though they suffer them to haue rule ouer their people.

The quéene of England may not suffer the pope by anie meanes to make rebellions in hir realme.

Additaments to the popes martyrologe.

The strange ends of James earle of Desmond, D. Sanders, James Fitzmoris.

the first traitour of Ireland next to Stukeleie the rakehell, a man not vnknowen in the popes palace for a wicked craftie traitor, was slaine at one blow by an Irish noble yong gentleman, in defense of his fathers countrie which the traitor sought to burne.

John of Desmond. A fourth man of singular note was John of Desmond, brother to the earle, a verie bloudie faithlesse traitor, & a notable murderer of his familiar friends, who also wandring to seeke some preie like a woolfe in the woods, was taken & beheaded after his owne vsage, being (as he thought) sufficientlie armed with the popes buls and certeine *Agnus Dei*, & one notable ring with a pretious stone about his necke sent from the popes finger (as it was said) but these he saw saued not his life. And such were the fatall ends of all these, being the principall heads of the Irish warre and rebellion, so as no one person remaineth at this daie in Ireland a knowen traitor: a worke of God and not of man.

John Somerusle. To this number they may (if they seeke number) also ad a furious yong man of Warwikeshire, by name Somerusle, to increase their kalendar of the popes martyrs, who of late was discouered and taken in his waie, comming with a full intent to haue killed hir maiestie, whose life God alwaies haue in his custodie. The attempt not denied by the traitor himselfe, but confessed, and that he was moued therto in his wicked spirit, by intisements of certeine seditious and traitorous persons his kinsmen and allies, & also by often reading of sundrie seditious vile bookes latelie published against hir maiestie, and his end was in desperation to strangle himselfe to death: an example of Gods severitie against such as presume to offer violence to his anointed. But as God of his goodnesse hath of long time hitherto preserued hir maiestie from these and the like treacheries: so hath she no cause to feare, being vnder his protection, she saieng with king Dauid in the psalme: My God is my helper and I will trust in him, he is my protection, and the strength or the power of my saluation. And for the more comfort of all good subiects against the shadowes of the popes bulles, it is manifest to the world, that from the beginning of hir maiesties reigne, by Gods singular goodnesse, hir kingdome hath inioied more vniuersall peace, hir people increased in more numbers, in more strength, and with greater riches, & with lesse sickenesse, the earth of hir kingdomes hath yelded more fruits, and generallie all kind of worldlie felicitie hath more abounded since and during the time of the popes thunders, bulles, curses and maledictions, than in anie other long times before, when the popes pardons and blessings came yearelie into the realme: so as his curses and maledictions haue turned backe to himselfe and his fautors, that it may be said to the blessed queene Elisabeth of England and of hir people, as was said in Deuteronomie of Balaam: The Lord thy God would not heare Balaam, but did turne his maledictions or curses into benedictions or blessings: the reason is, for bicause thy God loued thee.

The prosperitie of England, during the popes curses.

Although these former reasons are sufficient to persuade all kind of reasonable persons to allow of hir maiesties actions, to be good, reasonable, lawfull and necessarie: yet bicause it may be, that such as haue by frequent reading of false artificiall libels; and by giuing credit to them, vpon a preiudice or foreiudgement afore grounded, by their rooted opinions in fauour of the pope, will rest vnsatisfied: therfore as much as may be, to satisfie all persons as farre forth as common reason may warrant, that hir maiesties late action in executing certeine seditious traitors, hath not proceeded for the holding of opinions, either for the popes supremasie, or against hir maiesties regalitie; but for the verie crimes of sedition and treason: it shall suffice briefle, in manner of a repetition of the former reasons, to remember these things following.

Reasons to persuade by reason the fauourers of the pope, that none hath beene executed for religion but for treason.

The first reason.

First, it cannot be denied, but that hir maiestie did for manie yeares suffer quietlie the popes bulles and excommunications without punishment of the fautors thereof, accounting of them but as of words or wind, or of writings in parchment waied downe with lead, or as of water bubbles, commonlie called in Latine *Bullæ*, & such like: but yet after some proofe that courage was taken therof by some bold and bad subiects, she could not but then esteeme them to be verie preambles, or as forerunners of greater danger: and therefore, with what reason could anie mislike, that hir maiestie did for a bare defense against them, without other action or force, vse the helpe of reuiuing of former lawes, to prohibit the publication or execution of such kind of bulles within hir realme?

The second reason.

Secondlie, when notwithstanding the prohibition by hir lawes, the same bulles were plentifullie (but in secret sort) brought into the realme, and at length arrogantlie set vpon the gates of the bishop of Londons palace neere to the cathedrall church of Paules the principall citie of the realme, by a lewd person, vsing the same like a herald sent from the pope: who can in anie common reason mislike, that hir maiestie finding this kind of denunciation of warre, as a defiance to be made in hir principall citie by one of hir subiects, auowing and obstinatlie maintaining the same, should according to iustice cause the offendor to haue the reward due to such a fact? And this was the first action of anie capitall punishment inflicted for matter sent from Rome to moue rebellion, which was after hir maiestie had reigned about the space of twelue yeares or more: a time sufficient to proue hir maiesties patience.

The bull of Pius Quintus set vp at Paules.

The first punishment for the bull.

The third reason.

Thirdlie, when the pope had risen vp out of his chaire in his wrath, from words and writings to actions, and had contrarie to the aduise giuen by saint Barnard to one of his predecessors, that is, when by his messages he left *Verbum*, and toke *Ferrum*, that is, left to feed by the word, which was his office, and began to strike with the sword which was forbidden him, and stirred hir noblemen and people directlie to disobedience and to open rebellion, which was the office of Dathan and Abiram, and that hir lewd subiects by his commandement had executed the same with all the forces which they could make or bring into the field: who with common reason can disallow that hir maiestie vsed hir roiall lawfull authoritie, and by hir forces lawfull subdued rebels forces vnlawfull, and punished the authors thereof no otherwise than the pope himselfe vseth to do with his owne rebellious subiects, in the patrimonie of his church, as not manie moneths passed he had beene forced to intend? And if anie prince of people in the world would otherwise neglect his office, and suffer his rebels to haue their wils; none ought to pitie him, if for want of resistance and courage he lost both his crowne, his head, his life, and his kingdome.

Rebellion in the north.

Fourthlie, when hir maiestie beheld a further increase of the popes malice, notwithstanding that the first rebellion was in hir north parts vanquished, in that he interteined abroad out of this realme, the traitors and rebels that fled for the rebellion, and all the rable of other the fugitiues of the realme, & that he sent a number of the same in sorts disguised into both the realmes of England and Ireland, who there secretlie allured hir people to new rebellions, and at the same time spared not his charges to send also out of Italie by sea, certeine ships with capteines of his owne, with their bands of souldiers, furnished with treasure, munition, victels, ensignes, banners, and

The fourth reason.

The innasion of Ireland by the pope.

and all other things requisite to the warre, into hir realme of Ireland, where the same forces with other auxiliar companies out of Spaine landed, and fortified themselues verie stronglie on the sea side, and proclamed open warre, erecting the popes banner against hir maiestie: may it be now asked of these persons, fauourers of the Romish authoritie, what in reason should haue béene done by hir maiestie otherwise, than first to apprehend all such fugitiues so stolen into the realme, and dispersed in disguising habits to sow sedition, as some priests in their secret profession, but all in their apparell as rotters or ruffians, some scholers, like to the basest common people, and them to commit to prisons, and vpon their examinations of their trades and hants, to conuince them of their conspiracies abroad, by testimonie of their owne companions, and of sowing sedition secretlie at home in the realme? What may be reasonablie thought was meet to be done with such seditious persons, but by the lawes of the realme to trie, condemne and execute them? And specíallie hauing regard to the dangerous time, when the popes forces were in the realme of Ireland, and more in preparation to follow as well into England as into Ireland, to the resistance whereof hir maiestie and hir realme was forced to be at greater charges, than euer she had béene since she was quéene thereof. And so by Gods power, which he gaue to hir on the one part, she did by hir lawes suppresse the seditious stirrers of rebellion in hir realme of England, and by hir sword vanquished all the popes forces in hir realme of Ireland, excepting certeine capteines of marke that were saued from the sword, as persons that did renounce their quarrell, and seemed to curse or to blame such as sent them to so vnfortunate and desperate a voiage.

The popes forces vanquished in Ireland.

The politike aduersaries satisfied.

But though these reasons, grounded vpon rules of naturall reason, shall satisfie a great number of the aduersaries (who will yeld that by good order of ciuill and christian policie and gouernement, hir maiestie could nor can do no lesse than she hath done, first to subdue with hir forces hir rebels and traitors, and next by order of hir lawes to correct the aiders & abettors, & lastlie to put also to the sword such forces as the pope sent into hir dominions) yet there are certeine other persons, more nicelie addicted to the pope, that will yet séeme to be vnsatisfied: for that, as they will tearme the matter, a number of sillie poore wretches were put to death as traitors, being but in profession scholers or priests, by the names of seminaries, Iesuits, or simple scholemaisters, that came not into the realme with anie armour or weapon, by force to aid the rebels and traitors, either in England or in Ireland in their rebellions or wars; of which sort of wretches the commiseration is made, as though for their contrarie opinions in religion, or for teaching of the people to disobeie the lawes of the realme, they might haue bene otherwise punished and corrected, but yet not with capitall paine. These kinds of defenses tend onelie to find fault rather with the seueritie of their punishments, than to acquit them as innocents or quiet subiects.

Obiection of the papists, that the persons executed, are but scholers and vnarmed.

But for answer to the better satisfaction of these nice and scrupulous fauourers of traitors, it must be with reason demanded of them (if at least they will open their eares to reason) whether they thinke that when a king being stablished in his realme, hath a rebellion first secretlie practised, and afterward openlie raised in his realme by his owne seditious subiects; and when by a forren potentate or enimie the same rebellion is maintained, and the rebels by messages and promises comforted to continue, and their treasons against their naturall prince auowed; and consequentlie when the same potentat and enimie, being author of the said rebellion, shall with his owne proper forces inuade the realme and subiects of the prince that is so lawfullie and peaceablie possessed: in these cases, shall no subiect fauouring these rebels, and yéelding obedience to the enimie the inuador, be committed or punished as a traitor; but onelie such of them, as shall be found openlie to carrie armour and weapon? Shall no subiect, that is a spiall and an explorer for the rebell or enimie against his naturall prince, be taken and punished as a traitor, bicause he is not found with armour or weapon; but yet is taken in his disguised apparell, with scrolles and writings, or other manifest tokens, to proue him a spie for traitors, after he hath wandered secretlie in his souereignes campe, region, court, or citie? Shall no subiect be counted a traitor, that will secretlie giue earnest and prest monie to persons to be rebels or enimies, or that will attempt to poison the vittels, or the founteins; or secretlie set on fire the ships or munition, or that will secretlie search and sound the hauens and creeks for landing, or measure the depth of ditches, or height of bulworks and walles, bicause these offendors are not found with armor or weapon? The answer I thinke must néeds be yéelded (if reason and experience shall haue rule with these aduersaries) that all these and such like are to be punished as traitors: and the principall reason is, bicause it can not be denied, but that the actions of all these are necessarie accessaries, and adherents proper to further and continue all rebellions and warres. But if they will denie, that none are traitors that are not armed, they will make Iudas no traitor, that came to Christ without armour, colouring his treason with a kisse.

Many are traitours though they haue no armour nor weapon.

Now therefore it resteth to aplie the facts of these late malefactors that are pretended to haue offended but as scholers, or bookemen; or at the most but as persons that onelie in words and doctrine, and not with armour did fauour and helpe the rebels and the enimies. For which purpose let these persons be termed as they list, scholers, scholemaisters, bookemen, seminaries, priests, Iesuits, friers, beadmen, Romanists, pardoners, or what else you will; neither their titles, nor their apparell hath made them traitors, but their traitorous secret motions & practises: their persons haue not made the warre, but their directions and counsels haue set vp the rebellions. It is trulie to be pondered, that the verie causes finall of these rebellions and warres, haue béene to depose hir maiestie from hir crowne: the popes bull hath roared it so to be. The causes instrumentall are these kind of seminaries and sedmen of sedition: their secret teachings and reconciliations haue confirmed it. The fruits and effects thereof are by rebellion to shed the blood of all hir faithfull subiects: the rewards of the inuadors (if they could preuaile) should be the disinheriting of all the nobilitie, the clergie, and the whole communaltie, that would (as they are bound by the lawes of God, by their birth, and othes) defend their naturall gratious quéene, their natiue countrie, their wiues, their children, their familie, and their houses.

The application of the scholasticall traitors, to others, that are traitors without armor.

And now examine these which you call vnarmed scholers and priests, wherefore they first fled out of the realme, why they liued and were conuersant in companie of the principall rebels and traitors at Rome, and in their places, where it is proued that they were partakers of their conspiracies? Let it be answered why they came thus by stealth into the realme? Why they haue wandered vp & downe in corners in disguised sort, changing their titles, names and maner of apparell? Why they haue intised and sought to persuade by their secret false reasons, the people to allow and beléeue all the actions

and attempts what soeuer the pope hath done, or shall doo, to be lawfull? Why they haue reconciled and withdrawne so manie people in corners from the lawes of the realme to the obedience of the pope, a forreine potentate and open enimie, whome they know to haue alreadie declared the quæne to be no lawfull quæne, to haue mainteined the knowne rebels and traitors, to haue inuaded hir maiesties dominions with open warre? Examine further, how these vagarant disguised vnarmed spies haue answered, when they were taken and demanded what they thought of the bull of pope *Pius Quintus*, which was published to deprive the quænes maiestie, and to warrant hir subiects to disobeie hir: whether they thought that all subiects ought to obeie the same bull, and so to rebell? Secondlie, whether they thought hir maiestie to be lawfull quæne of the realme, notwithstanding the said bull or anie other bull of the pope? Thirdlie, whether the pope might giue such licence as he did to the earls of Northumberland and Westmerland, and other hir maiesties subiects to rebell as they did? Or giue power to doctor Sanders a naturall borne subiect, but an vnnaturall borne priest, to take armes and moue warres as he did in Ireland? Fourthlie, whether the pope may discharge the subiects of hir maiestie, or of anie other princes christened, of their oths of obedience? Fiftlie, whether the said traitorous priest doctor Sanders or one Bristow a rebellious fugitiue, did in their bookes write trulie or falslie, in approuing the said bull of *Pius Quintus*, and the contents thereof? Lastlie, what were to be done, if the pope or anie other assigned by him, would inuade the realme of England, and what part they would take, or what part anie faithfull subiect of hir maiesties ought to take? To these few questions verie apt to trie the truth or falshod of any such seditious persons, being iustlie before condemned for their disloialtie, these lewd vnarmed traitors I say would in no wise answer directlie herto, as all other faith full subiects to anie christian prince ought to doo.

Six questions to trie traitors from scholers.

And as they by refusall to answer directlie to these questions onelie, might haue bene iustlie conuinced as guiltie of treason: so yet were they not therevpon condemned, but vpon all their other former actions committed both abroad & in the relme, which were no lesse traitorous than the actions of all other the spies and traitors, and of Judas himselfe afore remembred, which had no armor nor weapon, and yet at all times ought to be adiudged traitors. For these disguised persons (called scholers or priests) hauing bene first conuersant of long time with the traitors beyond the sea in all their conspiracies, came hither by stealth in time of war and rebellion by commandement of the capitall enimie the pope or his legats, to be secret espials and explorers in the realme for the pope, to deliuer by secret, Romish tokens, as it were an earnest or prest, to them that should be in readines to ioine with rebels or open enimies, and in like sort with their hallowed baggages from Rome to poison the senses of the subiects, powring into their hearts malicious and pestilent opinions against hir maiestie and the lawes of the realme; and also to kindle and set on fire the hearts of discontented subiects with the flames of rebellion, & to search & sound the depths and secrets of all mens inward intentions, either against hir maiestie, or for hir: and finallie, to bring into a beadroll, or as it were into a muster roll, the names and powers with the dwellings of all them that should be readie to rebell, and to aid the forreine inuasion.

The offendors executed for treason, not for religion.

These kinds of seditious actions for the seruice of the pope and the traitors and rebels abroad, haue made them traitors: not their bookes, nor their beads, no nor their cakes of wax which they call *Agnus Dei*, nor other their relikes, no nor yet their opinions for the ceremonies or rites of the church of Rome: and therefore it is to be certeinelie concluded, that these did iustlie deserue their capitall punishments as traitors, though they were not apprehended with open armour or weapon. Now if this latter repetition, as it were of all the former causes and reasons afore recited, may not serue to stop the boisterous mouthes, and the pestiferous tongs, and venemous breaths of those that are infected with so grosse errors, as to defend seditious subiects, stirrers of rebellion against their naturall prince and countrie; then are they to be left without anie further argument of the almightie God, as persons that haue couered their eies against the sunnes light, stopped their eares against the sound of iustice, and oppressed their hearts against the force of reason, and as the psalmist saith: They speake lies, they are as venemous as the poison of a serpent, euen like the deafe adder that stoppeth his eares.

Vnreasonable and obstinate persons are left to Gods iudgement.

Wherefore with christian charitie to conclude, if these rebels and traitors, and their fautors would yet take some remorse and compassion of their naturall countrie, and would consider how vaine their attempts haue bene so manie yeares; and how manie of their confederats are wasted by miseries and calamities, and how none of all their attempts or plats haue prospered, and therefore would desist from their vnnaturall practises abroad: and if these seminaries, secret wanderers, and explorators in the darke, would implote their trauels in the works of light and doctrine according to the vsage of their schooles, and content themselues with their profession and deuotion: and that the remnant of the wicked flocke of the sedmen of sedition would cease from their rebellious, false and infamous railings and libellings, altogether contrarie to christian charitie: there is no doubt by Gods grace (hir maiestie being so much giuen to mercie and deuoted to peace) but all colour and occasion of shedding the bloud of anie more of hir naturall subiects of this land, yea all further bodilie punishment should vtterlie cease. Against whose malices, if they shall not desist, almightie God continue hir maiestie with his spirit and power long to reigne and liue in his feare, and to be able to vanquish them all, being Gods enimies, and especiallie hir rebels and traitors both at home & abroad, & to maintaine & preserue all hir naturall good louing subiects, to the true seruice of the same almightie God, according to his holie word & will. Manie other things might be remembred for defense of other hir maiesties princelie, honorable, and godlie actions in sundrie other things, wherein also these and the like seditious railors haue of late time without all shame, by fained and false libels sought to discredit hir maiestie & hir gouernement: but at this time, these former causes and reasons alleaged by waie of aduertisements, onelie for maintenance of truth, are sufficient to iustifie hir maiesties actions to the whole world in the cases remembred. *Magna est veritas, & præualet:* Great is truth, and she ouercommeth. 2. Esd. 4.

On the two and twentith of Januarie, John Watson bishop of Winchester deceased at Wolseie, and was buried at Winchester on the sixteenth daie of Februarie; a man he was well taught by the art which he professed and practised, to esteeme this life as it is, euen transitorie & verie vaine; wherin as men are the further stept in age, so should they be the lesse desirous to liue, and take death comming timelie (which is, when as naturall heate and the moisture radicall are decaied) in such good part, as nothing

Bishop of winchester deceased.

thing more acceptable. But who thinkes his death to come timelie; but the godlie wise, who haue learned, that as men haue daies of life decreed, so they haue daies of death determined; according to the tetrastichon, which that famous man Ioachimus Camerarius (an excellent man and of singular note) made a little before his departing out of this world:

Morte nihil tempestiua esse optatius aiunt,
Sed tempestiuam quis putat esse suam?
Qui putat ille sapit; quoniam vt solatia vitæ,
Sic & quisque suæ tempora mortis habet.

Five executed for treason.

On the seuenth of Februarie were arreigned at Westminster, James Fenne, George Haddocks, John Munden, John Sutter, and Thomas Homerford: all fiue were found guiltie of high treason, and had iudgement to be drawne, hanged, bowelled, and quartered, and were executed at Tiborne on the twelfedaie of Februarie. ¶ In this yeare, 1584, euen at the prime of the yeare, namelie in Aprill, maister Walter Raleigh esquier, a gentleman from his infancie brought vp and trained in martiall discipline, both by land and sea, and well inclined to all vertuous and honorable aduentures, hauing built a ship and a pinesse, set them to the sea, furnished with all prouisions necessarie for a long viage, and committed the charge of them to two gentlemen (his owne seruants) the one called Philip Amadis, the other Arthur Barlow, with direction to discouer that land which lieth betweene Norembega and Florida in the west Indies; who according to their commission, made as sufficient a discouerie thereof as so short a time would permit: for they returned in August next following, and brought with them two sauage men of that countrie, with sundrie other things, that did assure their maister of the goodnesse of the soile, and of great commodities that would arise to the realme of England, by traffique, if that the English had anie habitation, and were planted to liue there. Whereupon, he immediatlie prepared for a second viage, which with all expedition (nothing at all regarding the charges that it would amount vnto) did presentlie set in hand.

A. F. ex add. G. C.

Maister Walter Raleigh his viage for the discouerie of that land which lieth betweene Norembega and Florida.

Philip Amadis, and Arthur Barlow.

Two sauage men and other things brought from the said land discouered.

Maister Walter Raleigh prepareth for a second viage to the said land late discouered.

This countrie of Norembega aforesaid (and the land on this side of it) sir Humfrie Gilbert, brother to sir Walter Raleigh, a man both valiant and well experienced in martiall affaires, did attempt to discouer, with intention to settle an English colonie there, in the yeare 1578: hauing in his companie his two brethren, Walter and Carew Raleighs, Henrie Knolles, George Carew, William Careie, Edward Dennie, Henrie Nowell, Miles Morgan, Francis Knolles, Henrie North, and diuerse other gentlemen of good calling, and ten sailes of all sorts of shipping, well and sufficientlie furnished for such an enterprise, weighed anchor in the west countrie, & set to the sea. But God not fauoring his attempt, the iourneie tooke no good successe: for all his ships inforced by some occasion or mischance, made their present returne againe; that onelie excepted, wherein his brother Walter Raleigh was captaine, who being desirous to do somewhat worthie honor, tooke his course for the west Indies, but for want of vittels and other necessaries (needfull in so long a viage) when he had sailed as far as the Ilands of Cape de Verde vpon the coast of Affrica, was inforced to set saile and returne for England. In this his viage he passed manie dangerous aduentures, as well by tempests as fights on the sea; but lastlie he arriued safelie at Plimouth in the west countrie in May next following. Sir Humfrete Gilbert notwithstanding this vnfortunate successe of his first attempt, enterprised the said viage the second time, and set to the sea with three ships and pinesses, in the yeare 1584, in the which iourneie he lost his life; but in what sort no man can witnesse. For being by force of foule weather separated from his companie, he was neuer heard of afterwards.]

Gentlemen that associated sir Humfrete Gilbert in his viage to Norembega 1578.

The viage hath not wished successe.

Maister Walter Raleigh sailed as far as Cape de Verde, &c. and arriueth in safetie at Plimouth.

Sir Humfrie Gilbert seuered from his companie, dead, and neuer heard of.

¶ In this yeare, and the twentith daie of Maie departed out of this life that famous father of physicke and surgerie, the English Hippocrates and Galen, I meane doctor Caldwell, and was buried on the first of June immediatlie following at S. Benets church by Paules wharfe, at the vpper end of the chancell: his bodie was verie solemnelie accompanied to the church with a traine of learned and graue doctors, besides others of that facultie, the heralds of armes doing him such honour at his funerall as to him of dutie apperteined. Of this mans rare loue to his countrie hath beene spoken before, where mention is made of the institution of a surgerie lecture perpetuallie to be continued for the common benefit of London, and consequentlie of all England: the like whereof is not established nor vsed in anie vniuersitie of christendome (Bononie and Padua excepted) and therefore the more to be esteemed. Indeed the like institution was in towardnesse, whiles Francis the French of that name the first liued: but when he died, as the court that he kept in his time was counted a vniuersitie, but after his death made an exchange thereof with another name: so likewise discontinued or rather vtterlie brake off that purposed institution of a surgerie lecture at Paris: so that in this point London hath a prerogatiue excelling the vniuersities.

Ab. Fl. *herum omnium maximè conscius.*

The decease of D. Caldwell physician of whom there is former mẽtiõ, pag. 1349.

The court of Francis the first a vniuersitie, &c: pag. 1343.

This D. Caldwell in his last will and testament gaue manie great legacies to a great number of his poore kinsfolkes, as also vnto others nothing allied vnto him. He gaue in his life time two hundred pounds to be lent gratis forener to the Clothiers in Burton, whereby clothing might be maintained, the poore artificers set on worke, and the poore citizens in Lichfield also benefited: the corporation of the said towne being bound for the receiuing and deliuering thereof euerie fiue yeares to the youngest and poorest occupiers. He gaue great summes of monie to the poore townships in Staffordshire where he was borne, both towards the releeuing of their priuat estate, as also to the reparing of their bridges and amending of their high wates, for the commoditie of all the countrie. He left large sums of monie to be employed by his executors at their discretion, where charitie moued; as also to the publishing of such learned bookes of physicke and surgerie (with sundrie chargeable formes grauen in copper and finished in his life) as he meant (if he had liued) to see extant.

The distributions of D. Caldwell in his life time: and his bequests after his death.

His commentaries vpon some part of Paulus Aegineta, and other bookes.

Diuerse good workes in his daies he had done, and hath left order to be done after his death: which was verie mild and still, not vnlike the decease of a babe in the cradle; hauing beene assailed with no extremitie of sickenesse (his * ordinarie infirmitie excepted which was intermissiue) that either might wring him or wearie him to make him impatient. So that he died as sleeping, hauing left behind him both credit of lerning, cunning, & other good ornaments, the very beautie of his age, which was exactlie found by true computation to be threescore and foureteene, in which yeare he died; as may be gathered by his counterfet so naturallie conueied into colours, with his white beard, the hollownesse of his cheekes, the wrinkels of his browes, the liuelie sight of his eies, and other accessaries; and all within a module, the circumference whereof exceedeth not six inches, if it amount to so much in exact measure, as a man beholding the said representation, would sweare that it were not possible for art to draw more neere in imitation to nature. So that this doctor dieng in so ripe an age, was committed to holie ground, where he rested in peace, his cote armour bearing witnesse

*His ordinarie infirmitie was the colicke, which tormented him excedinglie.

His age and counterfet which seemed to be made 1571, and in the yeare of his age 13.

of

The armes of Caldwell blasoned.

of his ancestrie: for he beareth azure, a crosse forme fiche or, within an vrle of starres or: the second argent, a fesse indented sable charged with foure leuses heads erant raised or: the third as the second, and fourth as the first quarterlie. Also he beareth to his crest on a tosse or and azure, a cocks head argent, couped, membred geules supporting *a crosse forme fiche or; betweene two wings sable, and mantled geules doubled argent.

*The crosse forme fiche was the cote of Cadwallader the last king of Britains, in An. Dom. 680.

In further memorie of whome (so long as the church wherin he lieth buried doth stand, and the monuments therein blessed from sacrilegious hands) there remaineth fixed in the wall ouer his graue, a copper plate wherein his said cote armour is workemanlie grauen, with the armes of the physicians colledge so vnder it, as they are knit vnto it. On either side of this latter scutchion are set certeine binding hands and other instruments of surgerie in their right formes, with their proper vse also to be practised vpon ech members be the same head, leg, arme, hand, or foot: all workemanlie wrought, & vnder the same a memoriall grauen for wished perpetuitie:

Caldwallus iacet hic patriæ studiosus alumnus,
Chirurgis Chiron, Hippocrates Medicis:
Hercules laqueis dum fascia membra reuincit,
Galenus priscæ laudis & artis amans:
Chirurgis stabilem lecturam condidit, illis
Præfecit Medicus, quos ea turba colat:
Plintheus hinc astat laqueus, Carchesius inde
Fascia; quæ studij sunt monumenta sui:
Felix Chirurgus patronum qui tibi talem
Nactus es, & felix qui dolet æger erit.

These figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, haue relation to certeine marks, namelie the mullet, the cinquefoile, the flourdelice, the hãd, the cressant or mone, and the pansie, grauen in the copper plate, which marks are referred to their like, in and about the armes aboue said.

Laquei { Plintheus 1 / Carchesius 2
Fascia { Totum caput cingens 3 / Rhombus 4
Machinamenta { Scamnum Hippocratis 5 / Glossocomium 6

Quem tibi vinxisti charum dum vita manebat,
Te cum Melpomene post tua fata canet.
Ric. Forsterus.

Francis Throckmorton arreigned and condemned of high treason.

In this yeare of our Lord 1584, on the one and twentith daie of Maie, Francis Throckemorton esquier, was arreigned in the Guildhall of the citie of London, where being found guiltie of high treason, he was condemned and had iudgement accordinglie, to be drawne, hanged, boweled, and quartered. A discouerie of whose treasons, practised and attempted against the queens maiestie and the realme, were afterward; to wit, in the moneth of June, published as followeth.

A true and perfect declaration of the treasons practised and attempted by Francis Throckemorton, late of London, against the queenes maiestie and the realme.

Whereas there haue beene verie lewd and slanderous brutes and reports giuen out, of the due and orderlie proceedings held with Francis Throckemorton latelie arreigned & condemned of high treason at the Guildhall in London, the one and twentith daie of Maie last, whereby such as are euill affected toward hir maiestie, and the present gouernement, haue indeuoured falselie and iniuriouslie to charge hir maiestie and hir faithfull ministers with crueltie and iniustice vsed against the said Throckemorton, by extorting from him by torture, such confessions as he hath made against himselfe, & by inforsing the same to make them lawfull euidence to conuict him of the treasons therein specified: albeit hir maiesties subiects in generall, calling to mind the mild and temperate course she hath held all the time of hir most happie reigne, might rather impute hir clemencie and lenitie vsed towards all sorts of offendors to a kind of fault, than tax hir with the contrarie: yet such as allow of practises and treasons against hir maiestie, do alwaies interpret both of the one and of the other, according to the particular affections that do possesse them, that is, to the worst. And forsomuch as the case of Throckemorton at this time hath beene subiect to their sinister constructions; and considering that lies and false brutes cast abroad are most commonlie beleeued, vntill they be controlled by the truth: it hath beene thought expedient in this short discourse to deliuer vnto your view and consideration, a true and perfect declaration of the treasons practised and attempted by the said Throckemorton against hir maiestie and the realme, by him confessed before his arreignement, whereby hir maiestie was iustlie and in reason perswaded to put him to his triall.

But how can their interpretations be sound, whose iudgements are corrupt?

You shall likewise perceiue what course hath beene held with him by hir commissioners to bring him to confesse the truth: with what impudencie and how falselie he hath denied his saiengs and confessions: and lastlie, how by a new submission and confession of his said treasons since his condemnation, he endeuoureth to satisfie hir maiestie, and to shew the reasons that moued him to denie the first, which he affirmeth and confirmeth by the last: which may in reason satisfie, though not all; yet such as are not forestalled, or rather forepoisoned and infected with the lies and vntruths alreadie spred and deliuered in fauour of the traitor & his treasons. You shall therefore vnderstand, that the cause of his apprehension grew first vpon secret intelligence giuen to the quænes maiestie, that he was a priuie conueier and receiuer of letters to and from the Scotish quæne: vpon which information neuertheless diuerse moneths were suffered to passe on, before he was called to answer the matter, to the end there might some prowse more apparant be had to charge him therewith directlie: which shortlie after fell out, and thereupon there were sent vnto his houses in London, and at Lewsham in Kent, to search and apprehend him, certeine gentlemen of no meane credit and reputation: of whome, two were sent to his house by Paules wharfe, where he was apprehended, & so by one of them conueied presentlie awaie; the other remaining in the chamber to make search for papers, writings, &c: which might giue proofe of his suspected practises.

The premisses being all sufficient cannot but answer ante circumstance touching this traitor.

In that search, there were found the two papers conteining the names of certeine catholike noblemen and gentlemen, expressing the hauens for landing of forren forces, with other particularities in the said papers mentioned, the one written in the secretarie hand (which he at the barre confessed to be his owne handwriting) and the other in the Romane hand, which he denied to be his, and would not shew how the same came vnto his hands: howbeit in his examinations he hath confessed them both to be his owne handwriting: and so they are in truth. There were also found among other of his papers, twelue petidegrées of the descent of the crowns of England, printed and published by the bishop of Rosse, in the defense of the pretended title of the Scotish quæne his mistresse: with certeine infamous libels against hir maiestie printed and published beyond the seas: which being found in the hands of a man so euill affected, comparing the same with his doings and practises against hir maiestie, you will iudge the purpose wherefore he kept them.

The bishop of Rosse an enimie to the English state.

Shortlie after his apprehension, he was examined by some of hir maiesties priuie councell, how he came by the said two papers of the hauens: and he

most

most impudentlie denied with manie protestations that he neuer saw them, affirming they were none of his, but were foisted in (as he termed it) among his papers by the gentlemen that searched his house. Notwithstanding being more earnestlie pressed to confesse the truth, he said they had bene left (he knew not how) in his chamber by a man of his, who not long before was departed out of the realme, named Edward Rogers, *alias* Puttebie, by whome they were written. And to make this deuise to carie some colour of truth, after his committing vnto the Tower, he found the meanes to get three cards, on the backeside of which cards he wrote to his brother George Throckemorton to this effect. I haue bene examined by whome the two papers, conteining the names of certeine noblemen and gentlemen, and of hauens, &c. were written; & I haue alleged them to haue bene written by Edward Puttebie my man, of whose handwriting you know them to be: meaning by this deuise to haue had his brother confirme his falshod.

A colour of truth to countenance a manifest lie.

These cards were intercepted, and thereby the suspicion before conceiued of his practises increased. Wherevpon, as vpon other iust cause and matter against him, hauing bene sundrie times brought before some of the principall personages of hir maiesties most honourable priuie councell; and by them with all industrie examined, and persuaded in verie mild and charitable maner, to confesse the truth, promising to procure pardon for him, in case he would bewraie the depth of his practises: but no persuasion preuailing, hir maiestie thought it agreeable with good policie, and the safetie of hir roiall person and state, to commit him ouer to the hands of some of hir learned councell and others hir faithfull seruants and ministers, with commission to them, to assaie by torture to draw from him the truth of the matters appearing so weightie as to concerne the inuading of the realme, &c. These men by vertue of that commission, proceeded with him, first as the councell had formerlie done by waie of persuasion, to induce him to confesse: but finding that course not to preuaile, they were constreined to commit him to such as are vsuallie apointed in the Tower to handle the racke, by whome he was laied vpon the same, and somewhat pinched, although not much: for at the end of three dales following, he had recouered himselfe, and was in as good plight as before the time of his racking: which if it had then or anie other time bene ministred vnto him with that violence that he and his fauourers haue indeuoured slanderouslie to giue out, the signes thereof would haue appeared vpon his limbs for manie yeares.

The maner of proceeding against Throckemorton by commission.

At this first time of torture he would confesse nothing, but continued in his former obstinacie and denial of the truth. The second time that he was put to the racke, before he was strained vp to anie purpose, he yelded to confesse anie thing he knew, in the matters obiected against him: wherevpon he was losed. And then the commissioners proceeded with him according to such interrogatories as had bene deliuered vnto them: which for the more brenitie shall here be omitted, the intent of this declaration tending onelie to discouer vnto you the treasons and treacherous dealings of the said Francis Throckemorton as well before as since his imprisonment, for your better knowledge of the man, and manifestation of the due and iust proceedings held with him by hir maiesties commissioners apointed vnto that seruice. And here you are to note, that when he was first pressed to discouer by whome the plots of the hauens were set downe, and to what purpose; he began (without anie further interrogation ministred) by waie of an historicall narration, to declare that at his being at Spaw in the countrie of Liege certeine yeares past, he entered into conference with one Jennie a notorious knowne traitor, touching the altering of the state of the realme here, and how the same might be attempted by forren inuasion; and to the like effect had sundrie conferences with sir Francis Englefield in the low countries, who dailie solicited the Spanish king in Spaine, and his gouernors in the said countries, to attempt the inuading of the realme, continued a course of practising against hir maiestie & the state, by letters betweene sir Francis Englefield & himselfe, till within these two yeares last past, and that he did from time to time acquaint sir John Throckemorton his late father with his traitorous practises, who (as he said) seeing no probabilitie of successe in them, dissuaded him from anie further meddling with those practises.

Jennie a notorious knowne traitor, & conferres with Throckemorton.

He hath further confessed, that he vsed his fathers aduise & opinion in setting downe the names of the catholike noblemen & gentlemen, and did acquaint him with the description of the hauens for the landing of forces, which he conceiued and put in writing onelie by view of the map, & not by particular light or suruete of the said hauens.

Item, he hath also confessed, that vpon the intermission of writing of letters, and the accustomed intelligences passed betweene sir Francis Englefield and him, he was made acquainted by his brother Thomas Throckemorton, by letters and conference, and by Thomas Morgan by letters (two of the principall confederats and workers of these treasons residing in France) with a resolute determination agreed on by the Scotish queene and hir confederats in France and in other forren parts, and also in England, for the inuading of the realme.

Sir Francis Englefield, Thomas Throckemorton, and Thomas Morgan.

That the duke of Guise should be the principall leader and executor of that inuasion.

That the pretention (which should be publikelie notified) should be to deliuer the Scotish queene to libertie, & to procure euen by force from the queenes maiestie a tolerance in religion for the pretended catholikes. But the intention (the bottome whereof should not at the first be made knowne to all men) should be vpon the queenes maiesties resistance, to remoue hir maiestie from hir crowne and state.

A pretention of an inuasion into England.

That the duke of Guise had prepared the forces, but there wanted two things, monie, and the assistance of a conuenient partie in England, to ioine with the forren forces; and a third thing, how to set the Scotish queene at libertie without perill of hir person.

The speciall meanes wanting.

For the first thing wanting, that is, monie; messengers were sent from forren parts both to Rome and Spaine, & their returne dailie expected to their liking. And the Spanish ambassadour to incourage the English to ioine both in purse & person, did giue out, that the king his maister would not onlie make some notable attempt against England, but also would beare halfe the charge of the enterprise. For the second thing, that is, the preparing of a sufficient partie in England, to receiue and to ioine with the forren forces, one especiall messenger was sent ouer into England in August last, vnder a counterfeit name from the confederats in France, to signifie the plat and preparation there, and to solicit the same here.

The Spanish ambassadours words tending to this inuasion.

The intent of this declaration what it is.

That Thomas Throckemorton his brother made him priuie to his negotiation at his last being here in England; and that therevpon Francis Throckemorton toke vpon him to be a follower and meane for the effectuating thereof among the confederats in England, with the helpe of the Spanish ambassadour, whome he instructed how and with whome to deale for the preparing of a conuenient partie here within

within the realme, for that himselfe would not be seene to be a sounder of men, least he might be discouered, and so indanger himselfe and the enterprise, knowing that the ambassadour being a publike person, might safelie deale therein without perill.

Landing places for forren forces about Brundell in Sussex.

That the duke of Guise and other heads of the enterprise had refused some landing places, and made spectall choise of Sussex, and about Arundell in Sussex, both for the neere cut from the parts of France, where the duke did or best could assemble his force, and for the opportunitie of assured persons to giue assistance, &c.

That he, taking vpon him the pursute of this course, shewed the whole plot and deuise of the hauens for landing to the Spanish ambassadour, who did incourage him therin; he promising, that if he might haue respit vntill the next spring, the same should be done more exactlie.

Charles Paget vnder the name of Pope *alias* Spring a confederat in this action.

That at the time of Thomas Throckemortons being here, least the negotiation of the enterprise, by some casualtie, might faile in the onelie hand of one man Thomas Throckemorton, there was also from the confederats sent ouer into Sussex, Charles Paget, vnder the name of Pope *alias* Spring, and therof an aduertisement couertlie sent vnto Thomas Throckemorton, both that Thomas might vnderstand it, and not be offended that an other was ioined with him in his labour.

That the Spanish ambassador, by aduertisements from the confederats, was made priuie to this comming of Charles Paget vnder the name of Pope, and yet knowne to him to be Charles Paget.

That the said ambassador did, according to his said aduertisements, know & affirme that Charles Paget was come ouer to view the hauens and countrie for landing of such forren forces about Arundell, and specially to sound and conferre with certeine principall persons for assistance.

The same ambassadour also knew and affirmed, that Charles Paget had accordinglie done his message, and had spoken with some principall persons here according vnto his commission, and was returned.

This would be feared and therefore alwaies by policie preuented.

He moreouer confessed that there was a deuise betweene the Spanish ambassadour and him, how such principall recusants here within the realme, as were in the commission of the peace in sundrie counties, might vpon the first brute of the landing of forren forces, vnder colour and pretext of their authoritie and the defense of hir maiestie, leuie men, whome they might after ioine to the forren forces, and conuert them against hir maiestie.

In these few articles is briefly compriſed the whole effect of his confession made at large, without anie interrogatorie particularlie ministred, other than vpon the two papers before mentioned, conteining the names of men and hauens. And here you are to note, that at the time of his apprehension, there was no knowledge or doubt had of these treasons, or of his priuitie vnto them; but onelie an information and suspicion deliuered and conceiued of some practise betweene him and the Scotish queene, as is before mentioned. For the discouering whereof, after he had beene sundrie times vpon his allegiance commanded to declare his doings in conueieng and receiuing of letters to and from hir; he did voluntarilie confesse that he had written diuerse letters vnto hir, and had conueied manie to and fro, betweene hir and Thomas Morgan in France, by whose meanes he was first made knowne to hir, and that he had receiued as manie letters from hir. He also declared the effect of his letter to hirs, & of hirs to him: which letters betweene them were alwaies written in cipher, and the cipher with the nullities and marks for names of princes and counsellors he sent vnto the queenes maiestie written with his owne hand. He also deliuered the names of some, by whome he conueied his letters vnto the Scotish queene, as by one Godfrie Fulgeam, who fled the realme immediatlie vpon Throckemortons apprehension; and one other person, whome he described by his stature, shape, and apparell, and the manner apprehended and examined, hath confessed the same: the mans name is William Ardington.

Throckemorton wrote diuerse letters to Marie the Scotish queene.

Godfrie Fulgeam was glad to cries *Fugiam.*

The summe and effect of the most part of these confessions, although they were at the time of his arreignement opened and dilated by hir maiesties sergeant, atturnie, and solicitor generall at the bar, and therefore seeme not needfull to be repeated here; yet because the purpose of this discourse is to shew sufficient proofe, that the matters conteined in his said confessions, are neither false nor feigned (as Francis Throckmorton most impudentlie affirmed at his triall, alledging that they were meere inuentions of himselfe by policie to auoid the torture) they haue beene here inserted, to the end you may the better iudge of the proofes, presumptions, and circumstances following, by comparing the matters with their accidents, and consequentlie see the falshood of the traitor, the iust and honorable proceedings of hir maiestie, and the honest and loiall indeuors of hir ministers imploied in the discouering of the treasons.

The reason why Throckmortons confessions are here mentioned.

Throckemorton was at Spaw, and elsewhere, &c.

First, it is true and not denied by himselfe, that he was at Spaw about the time by him mentioned, and had conference with Jennete in that place, and with sir Francis Englefield in Flanders, and that he hath written letters to sir Francis, and receiued letters from him: for if he should denie the same, he were to be conuinced by good proofe: for it hath beene noted in him by manie of his countriemen, English subiects, that both in those parts and in France, he did continuallie associat himselfe with English rebels and fugitiues. If then you consider with whome he hath conuersed beyond the seas, and compare his religion with theirs, you will iudge of his conuersation accordinglie. And it is to be supposed, that those men, knowne to be continuall practisers against the queenes maiestie and this realme, from whense for their treasons and vnnaturall demeanours they are worthilie banished, will not in their conuenticles and meetings forget to bethinke them of their banishment, and how they might be restored to their countrie, whereunto no desert in hir maiesties life time (which God long continue) can well (without hir maiesties great mercie) restore them.

This is a principall marke where at they shoot, and therefore they cannot but meditat vpon the meanes.

Then I praie you, what conferences might maister Throckemorton haue with sir Francis Englefield, with Jenneie, with Liggons, with Owen, and with such like, who were his dailie companions in France and in the low countries? He hath written letters to sir Francis Englefield. To what purposes? He haunted continuallie two ambassadors in London, by whose meanes he sent and receiued letters to and from beyond the seas dailie. To whome, and from whome? Euen to and from Thomas Morgan, and Thomas Throckemorton at Paris, men knowne to hir maiestie and hir councell to be notorious practisers, verie inward with the duke of Guise, and contriuers of the treasons and deuises for the inuasion intend. And for verie certeine knowledge thereof, we need not be beholding to Francis Throckemorton onelie (although he hath said much of them) but to others of better credit than himselfe.

The duke of Guise his enterprise to inuade the realme.

That the duke of Guise did vndertake the enterprise to inuade the realme with a forren power, to be defraied by the pope and king of Spaine (a part of

maister Throckemortons confession) and he in truth the first discouerer thereof to hir maiestie: if he will say that it was but inuention, it will approue false. For since he discouered the same, there haue béene diuerse aduertisements thereof sent to hir maiestie from forren princes hir highnesse louing neighbors and allies; as also by other good meanes and intelligences from hir ambassadors and seruants residing in other countries. If he denie (as he hath done) that he neuer had knowledge of anie such matter when he confessed the same, it hath no likelihood of truth: for Throckemorton was neuer knowne to be a prophet to foretell things *De futuro*.

The Spanish ambassador and Throckemorton did often times conuerse and conferre.

He resorted often to the Spanish ambassador, at the least twise a weeke when he was in London: this often repaire could not be to conferre with the ambassador for the exchange of monie for his brother, as he pretended at his arreignement: there was some other cause. When he was apprehended, he had a casket couered with greene veluet, verie cunninglie conueied out of his chamber by a maidseruant of the house, taken vp vnder a beds side in his chamber (one of the gentlemen who were sent to apprehend him then being in the chamber, & vnknowing thereof) which casket not long after his apprehension, was by one John Meredith a follower of Throckemorton, conueied to the hands of the Spanish ambassador. And why to him? If the matters therein might well haue abidden the light, why should not the casket haue béene kept still at home? And if not there, why not sent to some other place of safetie, as well as to the Spanish ambassador? It is to be conceiued, that this casket was not conueied thither without the direction of Francis Throckemorton, though caried by Meredith, who did well know of what moment the matters were that were within the casket, & of what danger to Throckemorton if they had béene disclosed; & therefore meant to bestowe them in a safe place where they could not readilie be had (as he thought) and with a person not vnacquainted with the qualitie of them. After the deliuerie of the casket, Meredith fled: for in truth he was priuie to the treasons, and a fellow practiser in them. To whome Francis Throckemorton, being taken short at the time of his apprehension, and forced to run vp a staire to deface a letter, which he was then in writing to the Scotish quéene in cipher (as he hath confessed) being suddenlie apprehended, and so forced to depart awaie presentlie out of his house, deliuered priuilie into the hands of Meredith, either the cipher by the which he was writing his letter to the Scotish quéene, or a letter in cipher by him written vnto hir: therefore he trusted Meredith as a man priuie to his doings.

Throckemorton surprised and put to a narrow shift.

Feare is an ordinarie tormentor of a guiltie conscience.

You are also to vnderstand, that Throckemorton was in verie great feare of the discouering of this casket after his apprehension. For remaining two or three daies prisoner in the house of one of the gentlemen that were sent to apprehend him, before he was committed to the Tower, he was permitted to talke with a solicitor of his law causes, who brought him certeine bookes drawne, or other like papers written, which he made shew to peruse. But that was not the matter why he sent for his solicitor: for in perusing the bookes, he conueied into them a little péece of paper, vpon the which he had written with a cole; I would faine know whether my casket be safe: or to the like effect. The solicitor departing from him, and resorting to Throckemortons house, not far distant from the place where he remained prisoner, opening his papers, did shake out this peece of paper, which he toke vp and deliuered to one of Francis Throckemortons men; but the casket was alreadie conueied to the Spanish ambassador. Wherby you will perceiue what care he had of the casket, & how much it might import him to haue the writings or matters within the same concealed. He being examined touching the casket, and what was in the same, he denied at the first that euer he had anie such casket; but finding afterwards that the casket was discouered, he confessed the casket, and said there were certeine letters therein that came to his hands for the Scotish quéene from Thomas Morgan at Paris, and other letters and papers, but confessed not all, as it is supposed. That Charles Paget came ouer into the realme to euill purposes, as Throckemorton doth declare in his confession, could not be inuented: for euen at the same time that he mentioneth, Paget came ouer, in secret and suspicious maner, staied not aboue fifteene daies, indeuored in a sort to find the disposition of William Shellie esquier, how he might stand affected to giue assistance to the treasons, although Paget discouered not directlie his traitorous intents to Shellie: therefore all Throckemortons confessions were not forged or inuented.

The clouds of lies cannot so darken the truth but it will appeare.

How William Shellie stood affectioned to these treasonable plots.

But bicause the two papers produced at his arreignement, conteining the description of the hauens for the commodious landing of forces, do most apparantlie condemne him, and are a manifest argument of his priuitie to the whole treason; you may not forget that he acknowledged one of the papers written in the secretarie hand, to haue béene of his owne doing, but denied the other written in the Romane hand. In the which, vnder the title of Cheshire, &c: is said, Vpon the landing of forren supplies, Chester shall be taken. But what in your opinions might be vnderstood by that sentence, Chester shall be taken, when you shall compare the paper in the secretarie hand with the other written in the Romane hand, intituled; The names of noblemen and gentlemen in euerie countie fit to be dealt with all in this matter (which in truth were both one, although the Romane were somewhat more inlarged) the question is to be asked, What matter? The answer followeth necessarilie, To assist the forren forces that shall come to inuade the realme: for that there is an other title in that paper ouer the names of the hauens, &c: Hauens in euerie coast fit for the landing of forces. Now iudge you, to what end these names of men and descriptions of hauens, their entries, capacities, what winds bring vnto them from Spaine, France, and Flanders, were written and set downe by Throckemorton: the papers are both of his owne handwriting, and the secretarie but a proiect or copie of the Romane.

Certeine words and clauses of letters treasonable.

Is it not likelie (thinke you) that he would acquaint the Spanish ambassador with these papers (as he hath confessed) when he made him partaker of the rest of his traitorous practises & deuises, as you haue heard, and thought his casket of treasons to be most safelie committed to his hands? It may be thought that there is no man of so simple vnderstanding, that will iudge to the contrarie, vnlesse he be partiallie affected to excuse the treasons. And now to shew vnto you what mind this man hath caried towards hir maiestie; you are to be informed that Francis Throckemorton, after he had discouered to hir maiestie his course of practising, repenting himselfe of his plaine dealing in the bewraieng thereof, said to some of the commissioners vpon occasion of speach; I would I had béene hanged when I first opened my mouth to declare anie of the matters by me confessed. And being at other times sent vnto by hir maiestie with offer of pardon, if he would disclose the whole packe and complices of the treasons; he vsed this argument to persuade hir maiestie, that he had confessed all, saieng that Sith he had alreadie brought himselfe by his confessions

What mind Throckemorton hath caried towards hir maiestie.

within

within the danger of the lawes, to the vtter ruine of his house and familie, he wondered why there should be anie conceit in hir maiestie, that he had not declared all. But to persuade such as were sent vnto him for these purposes, the rather to beleeue that he could discouer no more, at one time he vsed these speeches following with great vehemencie: Now I haue disclosed the secrets of hir who was the dearest thing vnto me in the world (meaning the Scotish queene) and whom I thought no torment should haue drawen me so much to haue prejudiced as I haue done by my confessions. I see no cause why I should spare anie one, if I could saie ought against him: and sith I haue failed of my faith towards hir, I care not if I were hanged.

This vehement speach importeth some secrets of great moment betweene Throckemorton and the Scotish queene.

And when he began first to confesse his treasons, which he did most vnwillinglie, after he was entered into the declaration of them before all the commissioners, vpon aduisement he desired he might deliuer his knowledge but to one of them onelie: wherevnto they yeelded. And thereupon removing aside from the place where he sat by the racke, he vsed this prouerbe in Italian, *Chi a perso la fede, a perso l'honore*; that is, He that hath failed his faith, hath lost his reputation; meaning thereby (as it may be conceiued) that he had giuen his faith to be a traitor, and not to reueale the treasons: & then he began to confesse as you haue heard. By this discourse, conteining the principall heads of his treasons, and the proofes and circumstances of the same, you that are not transported with vnduetifull minds and affections, will clearelie perceiue how impudentlie and vntrulie he denied at his arreignement the truth of his confessions, charging hir maiestie with crueltie, and hir ministers with vntruths in their proceeding against him. But the cause that moued him thereto, was the vaine conceit he had taken that his case was cleere in law, by the intermission of the time betweene his confession made and his arreignement, grounding himselfe vpon a statute of the thirteenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne, in the which there are certeine treasons specified and made of that nature, that no person shalbe arreigned for anie of those offenses committed within anie of the queenes maiesties dominions, vnlesse the offendor be thereof indicted within six moneths next after the same offense committed; and shall not be arreigned for the same, vnlesse the offense be proued by the testimonie and oth of two sufficient witnesses, or his voluntarie confession without violence: wherein he was greatlie deceiued. For it was made manifest vnto him by the lord chiefe iustice and other of the iudges in commission at his triall, that his treasons were punishable by a statute of 25. Edw. 3. which admitted no such limitation of time or proofe. Herein his skill failed him, and forgot the aduise giuen vnto him by some of the commissioners, who (pitieng his misfortune for sundrie good gifts of the mind appearing in him) assured him that there was no waie so readie for him to redeeme his life, as by submission and acknowledging of his offense, which for a time after he had confessed his treasons he was contented to follow, and now eftsoones after his condemnation by a new submission to the queens maiestie the fourth of June had resumed that course. The submission *Verbatim*, written with his owne hand, followeth.

Chi a perso la fede, a perso l'honore, an Italian prouerbe.

The cause that moued Throckemorton to denie his confessiõs at his arreignement.

These gifts in him were *Vt venenum in aureo poculo.*

To hir most excellent maiestie, euen *to hir owne roiall hands.*

Throckemortons submission in a letter, answering *ad verbum* with his owne handwriting.

MOst excellent prince, and my most gratious souereigne, sith to me the most miserable of all your maiesties poore distressed subiects, being iustlie condemned by the ordinarie and orderlie course of your maiesties laws, there resteth no further meane of defense but submission: vouchsafe, most excellent prince, gratiouslie to accept the same, which prostrate in all humilitie I here present vnto the hands of your most excellent maiestie; beseeching the same, that as iustice hath beene deriued from your highnesse, as from the founteine, to the triall of mine actions: so I may receiue from the same spring, some drop of grace and mercie for the great & grieuous offense, wherof I rest by your maiesties lawes iustlie condemned: some part, I saie, of that your accustomed gracious clemencie, wherof most your distressed subiects haue tasted, and few beene depriued. And albeit the inconsiderate rashnesse of vnbridled youth hath withdrawen me from that loiall respect, which nature & dutie bound me to owe vnto your maiestie, as to my lawfull & naturall dread soueraigne; and that the naturall care in me of the defense of my life moued me latelie to the vntrue & vndutifull gainesaieng of some such points as had beene before by me in most humble sort confessed: neuertheless, I most humblie beseech your most excellent maiestie, that in imitation of God, whose image (both in respect of the happie place you hold, as also in regard of your singular wisdome and other the rare and singular vertues & perfections wherwith God & nature hath plentifullie indued you) you represent vnto vs here in earth, it may please your maiestie to commiserate the lamentable estate of me now the most miserable of all your maiesties subiects and gratiouslie to grant vnto me remission and forgiuenes, that not onelie doo most humblie confesse my selfe worthie of death; but also in shew of my repentance and sorowfull afflicted mind, doo not craue at your maiesties hands the prolonging of my life, if the same shall not stand with your gratious good plesure; but rather desire the trebling of the torment iustlie by your maiesties lawes imposed vpon me, if the same may be anie satisfaction to your maiestie for the heinous crime whereof I remaine by your maiesties lawes iustlie condemned; or anie mitigation of your maiesties indignation worthilie conceiued against me, that desire not to liue without your fauour; and dieng will wish from my hart, that my end may be the beginning of your maiesties securitie, and my death the preseruation of your life, and the increase both to your maiestie, and to this your most flourishing commonwelth, of all the most happie blessings of almightie God.

his owne handwriting.

He sueth for vndeserued mercie to hir maiestie in his miserie, in whose fauour he might haue liued by loialtie.

Your maiesties most wofull subiect in that he hath offended you:

Francis Throckemorton.

He sent vnto hir maiestie, together with the said submission, a declaration written likewise with his owne hand, conteining the effects of the most principall points of his treasons formerlie confessed: retracting onelie the accusation of his father, and some other particularities of no moment to cleere him of his treasons, the effect wherof followeth in his owne words, as he set them downe.

A declaration, &c: written by Throckemorton to the queenes maiestie.

The declaration which Throckmorton *sent to hir maiestie, with his letter* of submission.

THe onelie cause why I coined the practise first by me confessed, and vniustlie touched my father, was, for that partlie I conceiued that the paper written so long since, could not now by law haue touched me: but principallie, for that I was willing thereby to colour the setting downe of those names and hauens

in Romane hand, which were written long after the time by me confessed vpon occasion of conference betweene the Spanish ambassador and me of this latter practise. Mine intelligence with the Scotish queene began a little before Christmas was two yeares: the cipher I had from Thomas Morgan in France; the first letter I receiued by Godfrie Fulgeam, by whome also came all such others as I after receiued for the most part, vnlesse it were such as came to me by F. A. his hands, who as he told me, receiued them of the fellow by me spoken of in my former confessions, whose name, I protest before God, I know not, nor whense he is. And for such letters as came vnto me in the absence of Fulgeam, they were inclosed vnder a couerture from Fulgeam, and were deliuered me by the hands of Robert Tunstead his brother in law, vnto whome I deliuered such as I had for the Scotish queene, couered with a direction vnto Fulgeam: and once I remember or twise I sent by one of my men called Butler, letters for the Scotish queene to the house of the said Tunstead, nere Buckestones, couered with a direction to Tunstead, and vnder a letter to Fulgeam. In such letters as came to me from the Scotish queene, were inclosed letters to F. A. manie times, and most times some for Thomas Morgan. Hir letters to me contained, &c.

William Ardington.

But before I returned mine answer vnto hir, I vnderstood of the death of the duke of Lenor, and withall heard from Morgan, with whome all mine intelligence was (for with my brother I neuer had anie, other than that the matters by me written to Morgan were by him imparted vnto my brother most times) that by the persuasion of the pope and the king of Spaine, the duke of Guise had yeelded to performe the iournie in person: and that it was thought that the nert waie to atteine libertie for the Scotish queene, and to reforme Scotland, was to begin here in England. And therefore he desired to know from me, whether in mine opinion catholikes would not backe any such force as should be sent, considering a demand of tolerance in religion for them should insue the well performing of the said enterprise, and what I thought the force would amount vnto, both of horsse and footmen, and where I thought to be the fittest landing. Mine answer was, that as then, I saw no great probabilitie of the good successe of such an enterprise, for that the catholikes were timorous, dispersed, the matter perillous to be communicated vnto manie, without which I saw not how ante estimat could be made of the forces: besides, that it was an imminent danger vnto the Scotish queene, whereof I saw no remedie.

The next way to atteine libertie for the Scotish queene, &c.

I woke notice of this matter in my nert letters to the Scotish queene, whose answer was, that she latelie heard of that determination, &c. Vpon my former answer vnto Morgan, he desired me, that I would conferre with the Spanish ambassador, to whom I should be recommended from thense. Hereupon the said ambassador sent for me, and brake with me in this matter, assuring me that in his opinion he found it verie easie to make great alteration here with verie little force, considering the disse in men to warre, and troubles would so amaze them (as he thought) that they would be as soone ouerthrowne as assailed: & he could not thinke but in such a case catholikes would shew themselues, sith the purpose tended to the obteining for them libertie of conscience: and therefore he desired me to acquaint him, what I thought men would do in such a case, and where I thought the fittest landing, and what holds in these parts were easiest to be surprised. I answered him, that (as it seemed) the enterprise stood vpon great vncerteinties, if it depended of the knowledge of a certeine force to be found here, which no man could assure him of, vnlesse he had sounded all the catholikes, which was not possible without a manifest hazard of the discouerie of the purpose. For as for anie great personage, I know no one to be drawne to this action, that could carrie anie more than his ordinarie retinue: the onlie waie in such a case was (I told him) for such as would be drawne into this matter, and were of credit in their countries, to leuie forces vnder colour of the princes authoritie.

The pestilent persuasion of the Spanish ambassador to prefer this pernicious enterprise.

But for that these things depended vpon vncerteine grounds, which was not fit to be vsed in so great an action, I said it was to be resolued, that the force to be sent should be of that number, that what backing soeuer they should find here, they might be able of themselues to incounter with anie force that might be prouided to be sent against them, and therefore they could not be lesse than fiftéene thousand men. For the place of their landing, I said it depended much vpon the force that should be sent: for if that were in great number, it mattered not where they landed: if in a small companie, then was it requisit that it should be in the countries best affected, & furthest from hir maiesties principall forces, which I said to be in the northerne parts on either side. To the danger of the Scotish queene by me obiected, he said he knew no remedie, vnlesse she might be taken awaie by some two hundred horsse, which I told him I saw not to be possible: for that I knew not anie gentleman in those parts (which were men, if anie, to performe it) that I durst wish to be made acquainted with the matter before hand.

The resolution was frustrate as also the later of the plot: such was Gods iustice to persecute & supplant both the one and the other.

Finallie, our conclusion was, that I should informe him of the hauens as particularlie as I could: and within few daies after, finding by him that the force intended hither, was farre inferior vnto that I spake of; and that there was some different betweene the pope & the king of Spaine for the charge, I told him that the surest course and of least danger were, to send a supplie into Scotland, where a small force would breed a great alteration, and things being there established by the good liking of the king, I thought it was in him by a continuall war, & by incursions so to annoie this state, as hir maiestie here should be forced to yeeld the libertie of the Scotish queene, and what should thereupon haue beene reasonablie demanded for the benefit of the catholikes here. And herein I said it would be a great furtherance, if at the same time some few were landed in Ireland, where: although they abide the same hazard that the former forces susteined; yet would the charge be so great to hir maiestie, and so great an occasion of dispersing of hir forces, as a much lesse companie than was spoken of first by me, would (being landed here in a conuenient place) shake the minds of men generallie, and be of force (if ante thing) to draw them to shew themselues in the furtherance of the purpose.

This Spanish ambassador had no good meaning in mouing this request.

He vtterlie reiected the purpose for Ireland, and disliked not the purpose for Scotland; but still he was in mind to haue forces landed here: and therefore desired me verie earnestlie to inquire particularlie of the hauens on the side of Cumberland and Lancashire, and what men were dwelling there that were well affected in religion, and what places easie to be taken, and what apt for fortification. The nert time that I went to the Spanish ambassador, he found himselfe greeued that he vnderstood matters were determined in France without his priuitie: and told me that Persons the Iesuit was gone vnto Rome, sent (as he thought) to vnderstand the popes mind.

was this (thinke you) a naturall subiects opinion, or not rather the conceipt of a tyrannous traitor?

The places thus appointed for them to remaine in, were chiefly foure, the two churches of our ladie, and saint Nicholas, the deputies house, and the staple, where they rested a great part of that daie, and one wholenight, and the next daie till three of the clocke at afternoone, without either meat or drinke. And while they were thus in the churches, and those other places, the duke of Guise in the name of the French king, in their hearings made a proclamation, strictlie charging all and euerie person that were inhabitants of the towne of Calis, hauing about them anie monie, plate, or iewels, to the value of one groat to bring the same forthwith, and laie it downe vpon the high altars of the said churches vpon paine of death; bearing them in hand also, that they should be searched. By reason of which proclamation, there was made a great & sorowfull offertorie. And while they were at this offering within the churches, the Frenchmen entered into their houses, and rifled the same, where was found inestimable riches and treasure: but specialtie of ordinance, armor, and other munitions.

The duke of Guises proclamation to bring in monie and plate, &c.

The French fall to spoiling and rifling.

¶ Thus dealt the French with the English in lieu and recompense of the like vsage to the French when the forces of king Philip preuailed at S. Quintins: where not content with the honour of victorie, the English in sacking the towne sought nothing more than the satisfieng of their greedie veine of couetousnesse, with an extreame neglect of all moderation. So likewise did the Spanish soldiors, and the rest that could come to finger anie thing of value: insomuch that neither monie nor plate, either of siluer or gold, rich hangings, bedding nor houshold stuffe was spared: but what they could not carie awaie for cumbersomnesse, they sold dogcheape; were the same necessarie furniture seruiceable for the chamber, the kitchin, or anie other roome in a mans house. Pearls and pretious stones, iewels and owches, the rich ornaments of the French dames were then bought and sold at a low price, which a long time had béene kept shut vp vnder locke and keie: all laie open now to the greedie eie of the soldiors, who like landlords kept possession of houses, as C.O. noteth, of whom I haue borrowed the report of this reuell rout, saieng:

Armatis muros firmissimáque occupat vrbis
Militibus victor, dominantur in ædibus altis
Iam vacuis veterum dominorum Marte phalanges
Conspicuæ.]

About two of the clocke the next daie at after noone, being the seuenth of Januarie, a great number of the meanest sort were suffered to passe out of the towne in safetie, being garded through the armie with a number of Scotish light horssemen, who vsed the Englishmen verie well and friendlie: and after this euerie daie for the space of three or foure daies togither, there were sent awaie diuerse companies of them till all were auoided, those only excepted that were appointed to be reserued for prisoners, as the lord Wentworth, & others. There were in the towne of Calis fiue hundred English souldiors ordinarie, and no more: and of the townesmen not fullie two hundred fighting men (a small garison for the defense of such a towne) and there were in the whole number of m[illegible], women, and children (as they were accounted when they went out of the gate) foure thousand and two hundred persons. But the Lord Wentworth deputie of Calis, sir Rafe Chamberleine capteine of the castell, John Harlston capteine of Ricebanke, Nicholas Alexander capteine of Newnambridge, Edward Grimstone the comptrollor, John Rogers surueior, with others, to the number of fiftie (as aforesaid) such as it pleased the duke of Guise to appoint, were sent prisoners into France.

The poorest & meanest sort voided out of Calis.

Garison of soldiors that were in Calis

Thus haue ye heard the discourse of the ouerthrow and losse of the towne of Calis, the which enterprise was begun and ended in lesse than eight daies, to the great maruell of the world, that a towne of such strength, and so well furnished of all things as that was (sufficient numbers of men of warre onlie excepted) should so suddenlie be taken and conquered, but most specialtie in the winter season, that time all the countrie about (being marish ground) is commonly ouerflowne with water. The said towne was won from the French king by K. Edward the third, in the time of Philip de Valois then French king: and being in possession of the kings of England two hundred and eleuen yeares, was in the time of Philip and Marie king & queene of England lost within lesse than eight daies: being the most notable fort that England had. For the winning whereof, king Edward aforesaid, in the 21 yeare of his reigne, was faine to continue a siege eleuen moneths and more. Wherefore it was iudged of all men, that it could not haue come so to passe, without some secret trecherie.

Calis conquered and lost in lesse than eight daies.

How long Calis was in possession of the kings of England.

Here is also to be noted, that when queene Marie and hir councell heard crediblie of the Frenchmens sudden approch to that towne, the with all speed possible (but somewhat too late) raised a great power for the rescue thereof; the which comming to Douer, staied thereabouts till the towne was woone, either for that their whole number was not come togither, or for that there were not ships readie sufficient to passe them ouer, although the wind and weather serued verie well to haue transported them thither, till the sundaie at night after the towne was deliuered: for then began a maruellous sore and rigorous tempest, continuing the space of foure or fiue daies togither, that the like had not béene séene in the remembrance of man. Wherefore some said that the same came to passe through necromancie, and that the diuell was raised vp and become French, the truth whereof is knowne (saith maister Grafton) to God. True it is that after the said tempest began, for the time it lasted, no ship could well brooke the seas, by reason of the outragious storms. And such of the queenes ships as did then aduenture the passage, were so shaken and torne with the violence of the weather, that they were forced to returne in great danger, & not without losse of all their tackle and furniture: so that if this tempestuous weather had not chanced, it was thought that the armie should haue passed to haue giuen some succors to Guisnes, and to haue attempted the recouerie of Calis.

As good neuer as too late.

A terrible tempest.

Rich. Grafton.

The queenes ships sore shaken with storme and tempest.

But if the same armie might haue béene readie to haue transported ouer in time, before the losse of Calis, and whilest the weather was most calme and sweet, as was possible for that time of the yeare, the towne might haue béene preserued; and the other péeces which through want of timelie succours came into the enimies possession. And thus by negligence of the councell at home, conspiracie of traitors elsewhere, force and false practise of enimies, holpen by the rage of most terrible tempests of contrarie winds and weather, this famous fort of Calis was brought againe and left in the hands and possession of the French. ¶ Now were he worthie of a kingdome, that could sensiblie and significantlie set forth the insolent triumphs and immoderate reioising of the French for the recouerie of Calis so long possessed by the English, and now in forren tenure. In describing whereof a man had néed of manie heads fraught with extraordinarie inuention, and of many hands readilie to deliuer in writing his rare conceipts in this case. For as they are a people depending wholie vpon extremities in their actions: so in this they vsed no measure, insomuch that euen the learneder sort among them, namelie Ternebus, Auratus,

Abr. Fl. ex opere historico Schardij collectio

ratus, Bellaius, and others did both pen and publish pamphlets in Latine verse, replenished with scoffs and vnreuerend termes against the English, calling them *Perfidos*, and in flowting sort *Diuisos orbe Britannos*; but aduancing to the skies their Henrie, their Guise, and the rest of the rowt that were actors in this conquest. A sight of which verses in some part I may not omit (for it requireth a booke to transcribe all) least I might be thought to impose vpon them a false charge. This therefore in the forme of a dialog betweene a post and the people writeth Auratus the French kings publike reader in the Greeke tong:

Ex tomo tertio historiarum Schardij de capto Caleso pag. 1973 &c.

N. *Clamate Galli nunc ter io io.*
V. *Quæ læta Gallis instat oratio?*
N. *Capti Caletes.* V. *Multa paucis*
Digna nouo memoras triumpho.
N. *Victre Galli, sed duce Guisio.*
V. *Io triumphe, nunc ter io io.*
N. *Victre victores Britannos.*
V. *Nunc ter io, ter io triumphe.*
N. *Annos ducentos serua Britanniæ*
Vrbs liberata est. V. *Nunc ter io io,*
N. *Migrate iam prisci coloni.*
V. *Nunc ter io, ter io triumphe, &c.*

And thus proceedeth he in his ode beine of inuention, concluding with a question, whether the king of France or the duke of Guise are the more happie and blessed person? The answer is made that they are both blessed, the king for the duke sake, and the duke for the kings; and therefore his posie must of force sing and sound to them both thrise, that is, oftentimes *Ter io triumphe, ter io triumphe*. But I would to God the English had not beene so son and so suddenlie turned out of their old possession, nor the French fondlings obteined such a iust cause of immoderate ioy and outragious triumph.]

But to leaue Calis in the present state, you shall vnderstand, that so sone as this duke of Guise (contrarie to all expectation) had in so few daies gained this strong towne of Calis (afore thought impregnable) and had put the same in such order as best seemed for his aduantage, proud of the spoile, and pressing forward vpon his good fortune, without giuing anie long time to the residue of the guides or capteines of the forts there, to breath vpon their businesse, the 13 date of the said moneth being thursdate, with all prouision requisite for a siege, marched with his armie from Calis, vnto the towne and fort of Guisnes, fiue miles distant from thence. Of which towne and castell at the same time there was capteine a valiant baron of England, called William lord Greie of Wilton, who not without cause suspecting a siege at hand, and knowing the towne of Guisnes to be of small force, as being large in compasse, without walles or bulworks, closed onlie with a trench, before the Frenchmens arriuall had caused all the inhabitants of the towne to auoid, and so manie of them as were able to beare armes he caused to retire into the castell, which was a place well fortified with strong and massie bulworks of bricke, hauing also an high and mightie tower, of great force and strength, called the Keepe.

The duke of Guise marcheth to the fort and town of Guisnes.

The L. Greie capteine of Guisnes.

The towne being thus abandoned, the Frenchmen had the more easie approch to the castell, who thinking to find quiet lodging in those vacant houses, entred the same without any feare. And being that night at their rest (as they thought) a chosen band of souldiors appointed by the lord Greie, issued out by a posterne of the said castell, and slue no small number of their sleepie ghests, & the rest they put out of their new lodgings, and maugre the duke and all the French power, consumed all the houses of the towne with fire. That notwithstanding, the said duke with all diligence began his trenches. And albeit the shot of the great artillerie from the castell was terrible, & gaue him great impeachment: yet did he continue his worke without intermission, and for examples sake wrought in his owne person as a common pioner or labourer. So that within lesse than three daies, he brought to the number of fiue & thirtie batterie peeces, hard to the brim of the castell ditch, to batter the same on all sides, as well forthright as acrosse. But his principall batterie he planted against the strongest bulworke of all, called Marie bulworke, thinking by gaining of the stronger to come more easilie by the weaker. Rabutine.

The L. Greie taketh the French at a sleepie aduantage.

On mondaie morning therefore by breake of the date, they had laid two battries to the said bulworke, thirteene canons in the one, and nine in the other, with which they plied it so well, as that by noone they had not onelie dismounted their counter batterie within, but also cleane cut awaie the hope of bricke off the whole forestront of their bulworks, whereof the filling being but of late digged earth, did crimble awaie. Which the enimie finding about two of the clocke in the same afternoone, sent forth or fiftie forlorne boies with swords and targets to viewe and assaie the breach. The ditch at that place before the batterie was not foure and twentie foot broad, now assuredlie not a dozzen, nor in deapth aboue a mans knees, wherefore with small ado they came to the breach, and with as little paine came vp the same, the clime was so easie; from whence hauing discharged certeine pistols vpon the Englishmen, and receiued a few pushes of the pike, they retired. And making report of the easinesse of the breach, strait a band or two of Gascoigns (as it was thought) threw themselues into the ditch, and vp they came. Then a little more earnestly the Englishmen leaned to their tackling, their flankers walked, their pikes, their culuers, their pots of wild fire were lent them, the harquebush saluted them, so as follie maister Gascoigne was set downe with more hast than he came vp with good spéed: and so ended mondaies worke, sauing that vpon the retire from the assalt, they gaue seuen or eight such terrible tires of batterie, as tooke cleane away from them within the top of their vaumure and maunds, leauing them all open to the canons mouth. Wherby surelie but for night that came on, the Englishmen had beene forced to haue abandoned the place. Batterie laid to the Marie bulworke.

The Gascoignes put backe with more hast than they came vp with good spéed.

At this assault was slaine of gentlemen, one capteine Bourne an Englishman, verie valiant, also a Spanish gentleman, and common souldiours to the number of fortie or fiftie. There was also sore hurt at the same assault, one other Spanish capteine, with diuerse others, whom for the auoiding of tediousnesse I let passe. At night the lord Greie came to the bulworke, and hauing rendred thanks to God for that daies good successe, did greatlie commend them all for their manfull defense and valiant behauiour, exhorting them to continue therein, as the onelie thing wherein their safetie and good name did rest. The batterie (as before is told) hauing laid the bulworks open, they within were inforced for winning of a new vaumure, to intrench within the bulworke six foot deepe, and nine in thicknesse, which maruellouslie did strengthen the peece, the same being of no great largenesse before. By the next daie being tuesdate, they had planted two batteries more; the one in the market place of the towne, to beate a curteine of the bodie of the castell, of sir canons; the other vpon the rampire of the towne of three peeces, to beat the Cat and a flanker of the Barbican, which two garded one side of the Marie bulworke.

The number slaine at this assault.

The lord Greie commendeth his souldiours.

This morning they bestowed most in battering at the flankers, which the daie before they had felt, and in deed woone euerie one from them within, saBattering at the flankers.

uing

uing that of the Cat, which laie high and somwhat secret, and an other at the end of a braie by the gate on the other side of the bulworke: all the rest, as those of the Garden bulworke which chéeflie beheld the maine breach of the Barbican, and of the Kéepe, were quite béereued them. And besides the enimie continuallie interteined the breach, with eight or nine tires the houre. In the afternoone, about the same houre that they made their attempt the daie afore, a regiment of Swisses, with certeine bands of Frenchmen approched the dich, as if presentlie they would haue giuen the assault: but there they did staie, sending to the breach onelie a capteine or two, séeking thereby to haue discouered what flankers yet were left to them within: wherein they were preuented, the lord Grate hauing before warned the gunners not to disclose them, but vpon extremitie. And thus after an houres plaie with the harquebush onelie, and a light offer or two of approach, this people retired them, and gaue the canon place againe, which by night had driuen them within anew to become moldwarps, and to intrench themselues with all spéed possible.

Certeine Swisses and French approch the dich as if they would offer assault.

The morrow being wednesdaie, by the péepe of daie, all the batteries began, and without intermission held on till one of the clocke in the afternoone, and especiallie that in the market place so preuailed, as hauing cleane ruined the old wall, did driue through the rampire, and a new countermure of earth raised vpon the same, where the lord Greie himselfe sitting vpon a forme, with sir Henrie Palmer, and maister Lewes Diue his lordships cousin and deputie, made a faire escape, the forme being stricken asunder vnder them, without anie further harme to anie of them: though sundrie other that daie and the nert following lost their liues on the same curteine by the foresaid battrie, which full in flanke did beat it, wherein yet was his lordships onelie abode as his chéefest place, to view and regard the behauiour and néed of all the other lims, from which also a quoit might be throwne into Marie bulworke. The enimies canon (as is said) hauing plaid thus all the morning, and well searched (as they thought) euerie corner that flankers might lurke in, about the foresaid houre of one of the clocke, the Englishmen might descrie the trench before the breach to be stuffed with ensignes. The L. Greie streight expecting that which followed, gaue word incontinentlie to euerie place to stand on their gard, incouraging euerie man to continue in their well begun endeuor. A tower that was called Webs tower, and yet standing, which flanked one side of the beaten bulworke, he stuffed with twentie of the best shot with curriers. These things no soner thus ordered, but that eight or nine ensignes of Swisses, and three of Gascoigns, did present themselues vpon the counterscarfe; and without staie the Gascoignes flue into the ditch, run vp the breach, whome they within receiue with harquebush shot, but they requite the Englishmen againe with two for one. The top of the vaumure or rather trench, the enimie boldlie approcheth, the pike is offered, to handblowes it commeth. Then the Swisse with a statelie leasure stepeth into the dich, and close together marcheth vp the breach, the fight increaseth, waxeth verie hot, & the breach all couered with the enimies. The small shot in Webs tower began now their parts, no bullet that went in vaine. On the other side againe 20 of the Spaniards on the inside of the braies had laid themselues close till the heat of the assault: and then shewing themselues, did no lesse gall the enimies than the tower. Thus was it no lustilier assailed than brauelie defended. At last after an houres fight and more, the gouernors without, finding the great slaughter that theirs went to, and small auaile, and perceiuing the two little casemates of the tower and braies to be the chéefest annoiances, did cause a retire to be sounded: and withall three or foure of the canons in the market place, to be turned vpon Webs tower, the which at two tires brought cleane downe the same vpon the souldiors heads, wherein two or three were slaine outright, others hurt to death, and who escaped best, so maimed or bruised, as they were no more able to serue.

The Swisses & Gascoigns giue the assault.

The danger which my lord Greie escaped sitting vpon a forme with two gentlemen.

The manhood of the Spaniards against the French.

The enimie this while hauing breathed, and a brace of an hundred shots put forth onelie to attend on the few Spaniards that kept the corners of the braies the assault afresh is begun, and their beaten bands with new companies relieued. The lord Greie also sent into the bulworke two hundred fresh men. Now grew the fight heaute vpon the Englishmen, all their defense resting in the pike and bill, their chéefest flankers being gone, their places to bestow shot in taken from them, their fier-works in manner spent, the Spanish shot on the other side so ouerlaid, as not one of them but was either slaine or marred, yer a quarter of the assault was past. The easinesse of the fight thus alluring the enimie, vnappointed companies flue to the breach, and courage was on euerie side with them, what hauocke they made it is not hard to gesse. My lord Greie perceiuing the extremitie, sent to the two forenamed flankers, that they should no longer spare. They streight went off, the diches and breach being couered with men. These vnlooked for ghests made the enimie that was coming to pause, and the other alreadie come to repent their hast. Three or foure bowts of these salutations began to cleare well the breach, though the dich grew the fuller at night. At last parted with no great triumph of others winnings (for as the Englishmen within went not scotfrée) so suerlie no small number of their enimies carcasses toke vp their lodgings in the ditch that night.

A fresh assault begun and the fight hot and heaute against the English.

Enimies slaine.

My lord Greies worke after the skirmish ended.

My L. Greie hurt by mischance.

The French make bridges.

Consultation betweene the lord Greie and the English gentlemen.

My lord Greie this night came into the bulworke, where after praise first to God, he gaue thanks and commendations to them all. The slaine men he caused to be buried, the hurt to be remoued and looked vnto, saw the breach repared, inquired of their lacks, and (as he might) supplied the same. They that were great could not be helped, as corpowder, fierworks, yea and pikes began to faile vs. The most part of the night he here bestowed, and longer as was thought had tarried, had not a scaberdles sword about one of the souldiors as he went in the throng & darke amongst them, thrust him almost through the fot: whereupon he withdrew him to be dressed, vsing first vnto his souldiors an exhortation to acquite themselues no lesse valiantlie the next daie, assuring them that one or two more such bankets as this last, giuen to the enimie, would cole their courages for anie more assaults.

This night now, great noise & working was heard in the dich, whereupon the bulworke was once or twice on alarum. At the last with cressets it was espied that they were making a bridge. The morning came, and then the same was séene to be finished, emptie casks with ropes fastened togither, & sawed bords laid thereon. This yet did but put them within, in a certeintie of that which before they accounted of, and stood prepared for. To be short, the enimies spent all the daie till it was full two of the clocke in batterie, & beating at the two last flankers, which at length they wone from them within, & the gunners of either slaine. Whereupon the lord Greie taking counsell of sir Henrie Palmer, maister Lewes Diue and Pontdragon the leader of the Spaniards: it was resolued, that there might be order to make a facasie within the bulworke, and presentlie to withdraw all from thence, sauing a certeine for a face and stale to toll in the enimie, and then to haue blowne it vp

vp whole to the destruction of them all.

Rich. Grafton.

The duke of Guise and mõsieur Dandelot with their powers.

In the meane time, the duke of Guise hauing giuen order to monsieur Dandelot coronell of the French footmen, that he with his bands should be in a readinesse to giue the assault when signe should be giuen, did withdraw him to an higher ground, from whence he might plainlie discouer the behauiour as well of his souldiors in the assault giuing, as also of the defendants in answering the same. And perceiuing not so manie of the English part appearing for defense (as he douted there would) gaue order forthwith, that a regiment of his most forward lanceknights should mount the breech, to open the first passage: and that monsieur Dandelot with his French footbands should backe them, which order was followed, with such hast & desperat hardines, that entring a deepe ditch full of water, from the bottome whereof to the top of the breach, in some places, was well neare fortie fot, without feare either of the water beneath, or the fire aboue, they mounted the breach.

Rabutine.

And whereas the duke had prepared (as ye haue heard) bridges made of planke bords, borne vp with casks and emptie pipes, tied one to another, for his men to passe the said ditch: manie of them now at this assault, without care of those bridges, plunged into the water, and toke the nert waie to come to the assault. Which hot hast notwithstanding, the assaillants were at the first so stoutlie repelled and put backe by the defendants, being furnished with great store of wildfire, and other fucasies for the purpose, that they were turned headlong one vpon another, much faster than they came vp, not without great wast and slaughter of their best and most forward souldiors, to the small comfort of the stout duke, who (as is said before) stood all this while vpon a little hill to behold this businesse. Wherefore he not indouring this sight any longer, as a man inraged, ran among his men, & reproouing some, and incouraging other, that the assault was hot renewed, with much more vehemencie and furie than before, and with no lesse sturdie obstinacie and desperation receiued by the defendants, whereby all the breach beneath was filled with French carcases.

The desperat aduenture of the French.

The duke of Guise in a rage with his soldiers.

This notwithstanding, the duke still redoubled his forces with fresh companies, and continued so manie assaults one vpon another, that at the last charge, being most vehement of all the other, the Englishmen being tired, and greatlie minished in their numbers, by slaughter and bloudie wounds, were of fine force driuen to auoid, & so after halfe an houres fight, the enimie entered. Which when the lord Greie beheld, he leaped to the top of the rampire, wishing of God that some shot would take him. When one that stood nert him, by the scarfe suddenlie pulled him downe, otherwise the effects had well declared the earnestnes of the praier: for he was not yet vp againe, when a canon shot grated vpon the same place from whence he fell. And thus verie narrowlie hée scaped the danger of that shot, which if it had hit him would (no doubt) haue wrought his dispatch. For what is the weake frame of a mans bodie to mightie forts and strong castels, builded of timber and stone, beside the iron worke therewith compact, oftentimes redoubling the strength of the same? And yet these (we see by experience) ruinated, battered, and laid leuell manie times with the thundering shot of this dreadfull artillerie: an engine of no great antiquitie, and not vsed among ancient warriours in former ages, but a late deuise of a Franciscan frier; pitie it is that euer he was borne to set abroch such a pestilent inuention, as the poet noteth, shewing also the vse and the mischeefous effect therof as followeth:

The English forced to auoid & the enimie entereth.

Tormenti genus est ex ferro aut ære coactum,
Quod Franciscanus frater reperisse refertur,
Vt capias paucis validissima castra diebus,
Qua vix cepisses arma toto prius anno, &c.

But to proceed. The fight within the bulworke yet lasted, to the great slaughter of them that defended it. Herevpon my lord Greie presentlie called to maister Lewes Diue, and others that were about him, to follow him to the gate. The maze was such, that besides his sonne maister Arthur Greie, and now lord Greie, maister Lewes Diue, captcine Brickewell, and halfe a dozen of armed corslets, not a man else did follow him. By this means the Englishmen were cleane driuen out of the bulworke, the enimie yet not daring to passe the brases, gaue them that escaped good leisure to recouer the gate, where my lord Greie holding the wicket himselfe, receiued them in. Vpon the taking of this bulworke, the souldiors of Whiteleies bulworke and the base court in discomfiture abandoned their charges, fleeing to the castell: so that more than the Keepe and the bodie of the castell no part was free from the enimie. My lord Greie hauing receiued all his, caused the gates to be rammed vp.

Arthur Greie now lord Greie.

The enimie is dastardlie, all his victories notwithstanding.

Thus were the cheefe bulworks and vtter lims of the castell of Guisnes obteined by the French, on saint Sebastians date, being the twentith of Ianuarie, but yet not without great expense of bloud on both sides: for of the French part there were slaine in those assaults aboue the number of eight or nine hundred, and of the English not manie fewer: amongst whom the greatest losse lighted vpon those few Spaniards and Wallons that were come to assist the English at that present. It was now night: when a trumpetter came to the ditches side in the base court, & sounded a summons: who being called vnto, & asked what he would, told that he was sent to my lord Greie by the duke of Guise, with offer of a parlee if it would be harkened vnto. The souldiors no sooner heard these newes, but forsaking the walles came all in rowt togither, & confusedlie speaking to their chiefteine the said lord Greie, praied him to harken to the message, & to haue consideration of their liues, which so long as anie hope remained, they willinglie had ventured. The lord Greies answer was, that he maruelled, either what causeles mistrust of his caring for them was now come vpon them, or what sudden vnwonted faintnesse of mind had so assailed them, as to cause them in such disorder to forsake their places, and leaue the walles naked, and he willed them to returne to the same.

Ric. Grafton.

A trumpetter from the duke of Guise to the lord Greie.

My lord Greie hereof toke counsell, and it was thought good not to reiect the offer, the extremitie on euerie side weied. The trumpetter receiuing answer, accordinglie departed, & without long abode returned againe, requiring in the dukes behalfe hostages for a truce during the parlee from vs, he minding to deliuer the like into the castell. From him in fine monsieur Destrees, and a gentleman of the kings chamber were sent in: and maister Arthur Greie my lords sonne, and maister Lewes Diue, were put out. Monsieur Dandelot in the braies receiued them, and caried them ouer the vnfortunate bulworke, being come vpon naked and new slaine carcases, some of them spralling yet and groning vnder their fet, were onelie the earth they trod on. So passing downe the breach somewhat to the ease of the former heanie sight, they saw it, and the ditch little lesse fraught with the enimies corpses. Then to the campe they came, and were lodged in the said Dandelots tent.

Hostages required on the dukes part from the lord Greie during the time of the parlee, &c.

The nert daie in the morning, the lord Greie was to meet the duke abrode: betweene them willinglie one houre was spent in talking without agreement, onelie vpon this point, that the lord Greie would haue his bands depart with their ensignes displaied, which

The duke and the lord Greie haue communication an whole houre.

Dafl. vi. supra

the crowne, amongest others, speaketh verie commendablie and deseruedlie of this deceassed earle, who (at such time as the said booke was published vnder the title aforenamed) had béene lord great admerall of England thirtie yeares, and of councell vnto three princes: alwaies of vnspotted report speciallie for allegiance, and therefore as singularlie beloued in his life; so accordinglie bemoned at his death. The words that concerne this noble mans memorall are thus extant, to the aduancement of his honour, testified by report of two English poets:

O Clintone tuæ concessa est regia classis
Tutelæ, totos ter denos circiter annos:
Consuluisse tribus (nec & hæc tibi gloria parua)
Principibus, veterum satraparum sanguine clares,
Multa gerens pelago præclarè, multáque terris:
Hunc decorat comitem grandi Lincolnia fastu.

And before this, namelie in the yeare 1564, at what time the said noble man was honored with the title of *Præfectus maris*, and attendant vpon his maiestie in presence, at his being in Cambridge, where she was magnificallie interteined with all hir troope of lords and traine of ladies, &c: thus did an academike write in praise of the forenamed earle:

Regnatórque maris Clintonus, cuius in vndis
Excellens nomen præcipuúmque decus:
Ille mihi Neptunus, aquas mouet ille tridente,
Hunc Triton, hunc pelagi dij, deæq; colunt.

Jesuits, seminaries, and massing priests set ouer the seas and banished out of this realme of England for euer.

On the one and twentith date of Januarie, one and twentie Jesuites, seminaries, and other massing priests, late prisoners in the Tower of London, Marshalsee, and Kings bench, were shipped at the Tower wharfe, to be conueied towards France, & banished this realme for euer, by vertue of a commission from hir maiestie, as may more fullie appeare by that which followeth.

A vew of the said commission from *the queenes maiestie.*

WHere as the quænes most excellent maiestie, forseeing the danger that hath and might grow vnto the realme, by accesse of Jesuits and seminarie priests, and other like wandering and massing priests comming hither to seduce and withdraw hir louing subiects from their due obedience to God and hir maiestie; and therewithall, traitorouslie to practise the moouing and stirring of rebellion within the realme, as hath appeared by sufficient proofe against them, and by confession of sundrie of themselues; for the which diuerse of the said Jesuits and seminaries haue béene tried, condemned, and executed by the ordinarie and orderlie course of hir maiesties lawes, and yet they haue not refrained dailie to practise and attempt the like treasons. Hir maiestie notwithstanding, following the accustomed course of hir princelie clemencie, liking rather for this time to haue them onelie banished out of the realme, than to suffer the iustice of hir lawes to be executed against them (although they haue deserued the same in the highest degrée) hath giuen power to vs of hir maiesties priuie councell & others, by commission and warrant vnder the great seale of England, bearing date the fiftéenth date of this present month of Januarie, to sée this hir purpose and determination for their banishment put in execution. By vertue whereof, we haue proceéded thereunto, and haue committed to the charge of these bearers, William Bolles one of hir maiesties yeomen of hir chamber, and Anthonie Hall, the persons whose names do follow, that is to saie, James Bosgraue, John Hart, Edward Rushton, Jaspar Heiwod, William Tedder, Samuell Coniers, Arthur Pits, William Wharmington, Richard Slake, William Hartlie, Richard Norris, William Dean, William Bishop, Robert Nutter, Thomas Stephanson, John Colliton, Christopher Tomson, Thomas Worthington, John Barns, William Smith, clearks, being Jesuits, seminaries, and other wandering and massing priests, and Henrie Orton gentleman: all which haue béene apprehended in this realme, to be by them imbarked, and transported beyond the seas, according to such direction as they haue receiued in that behalfe.

The quænes maiesties mercies notable.

The names of such Iesuites (Iesuits, I should say) as by vertue of the quænes commission were banished out of the quænes dominions.

These shall be therefore by the authoritie aforesaid, to will and require you, and in hir maiesties name strictlie to charge and command you, and euerie of you hir maiesties officers, as well within the realme of England and Ireland, as in anie other parts of hir maiesties dominions and countries, to whome it may and shall apperteine, not onelie to suffer them to passe vnder the charge of the said William Bolles and Anthonie Hall: but also that in case by contrarietie of winds, or extremitie of weather, they shall be after their imbarking, driuen into anie port or creéke within anie of your iurisdictions, that vpon the sight of this passport ye aid and assist the said Bolles, and Anthonie Hall, if they shall so require you, in séeing them safelie reteined, committed, & kept in custodie (if they shall come aland) till such time as they the said William Bolles and Anthonie Hall may with safetie put againe into the sea, to transport them to such place beyond the sea, as by our direction they are appointed; and to suffer them effsoones to imbarke and depart, without staie or interruption. Forsesséing, that they the said Jesuits and seminaries, and other the wandering and massing priests aforesaid, nor anie of them, nor the said Henrie Orton be suffered to conueie or transport out of the realme, anie thing that by the lawes be prohibited or forbidden. Whereof (as of the rest commanded herein) we require you not to faile, as you will answer to the contrarie at your perils. Giuen vnder our hands at Grénewich the twentith daie of Januarie, in the seuen and twentie yeare of hir maiesties reigne. ¶ Now followeth a certificat of the maister that transported the forenamed one and twentie banished persons, as followeth.

A further charge vpon the said seminaries touching transportation.

To the right honorable lords and o- *thers of hir maiesties most honorable priuie* councell, and all other officers to whome *it may apperteine.*

THese may be to certifie, &c: that William Bolles, yeoman vsher of hir maiesties chamber, and Anthonie Hall of London skinner, hauing imbarked at the Tower wharfe of London, the one and twentith date of Januarie 1584 one and twentie persons being banished men into my barke called the Marie Martin of Colchester, to be transported and conueied into Normandie, for sixtéene of which said one and twentie persons they had compounded with me aforehand. The same William Bolles and Anthonie Hall haue satisfied and paid me for all their passages and vittels, and haue also hired at Douer an experimented pilot for the coasts of Normandie; which said Bolles and Hall with the said banished men in their charges, after their being by contrarie winds driuen to state against Erith, at Grauesend, in Tilberie hope, at Lée, at the Spaniard, at the Downes, at Douer, and at Rie, were by force of weather and chase of pirats driuen to Bullen, and there arriued all safelie the second day of Februarie 1584, and thense sent the said banished men, some by horsse, but most on foot, with conducts to Abbi-

A certificat to the lords of the councell, &c: concerning the forsesaid matter.

nile

ulle in the coasts of Normandie. Witnesse my hand hereunto this fift of Februarie, 1584. ¶ By me Matthew Strut.

An other certificat, written and *directed into England by the said* banished men.

A certificat worthie to hang vpon perpetuall record, wherein the Jesuits do acknowledge the exceeding courteous and bountifull vsage shewed vnto them at and in their banishment, &c. Note good reader note.

TO all magistrats, officers, & ministers, within the realme of England or elsewhere, to whome it may in anie wise apperteine: this may be to giue certification, that we whose names are here vnder written, who were imbarked at the Tower wharfe of London the one and twentith daie of Januarie 1584, and there receiued into the charge of maister William Bolles, and maister Anthonie Hall, by commission from their lordships and other hir maiesties most honorable priuie councell, haue beene by them the said William Bolles and Anthonie Hall verie friendlie & honestlie intreated, and with carefull diligence safelie conducted, transported, & conueied to the prouince of Normandie, & by them left this third daie of Februarie, according to the English computation, in the yeare of Christ 1584, which said Bolles and Hall haue in our presence paid the maister of the barke which transported vs for his whole fraught and vittels in the ship, for the time of our remaining abroad: and generallie so well vsed vs in all respects, that we can not but acknowledge our selues much beholding to them & fullie satisfied, in hauing beene committed to the charge of so courteous officers, sith the case standeth so with vs that we are banished our countrie contrarie to our desires, wherein we take no little griefe of mind. For testimonie wherof, we haue hereunto set our seuerall hands this present third daie of Februarie 1584. Jaspar Halwod, Edward Rushton, John Hart, &c.

¶ O Lord what a mercifull quéne is this, in such sort to forgiue and forget iniuries, yea treasonable iniuries, as by banishment onelie to chastise them, that deserued extreame punishment? Yea with a banishment scarse fitlie to be so termed; sith in the execution thereof there was such clemencie shewed, as that the banished by their owne confessions haue left acknowledged vnder their owne handwriting, a notable kind of courtesie receiued by the meanes of hir maiestie. And therefore they cannot but in conscience commend hir highnesse tender affection so gratiouslie exchanged for seuere affliction; insomuch that it may rightlie be reported of hir, highnesse, which the poet spake of Caesar, that is to saie:

Ouid. lib. 1. de Pont.

Est piger ad pœnas princeps, ad præmia velox,
Cuique dolet quoties cogitur esse ferox.

Earle of Derbie ambassador into France.

Henrie earle of Darbie appointed to be hir maiesties ambassador, to Henrie the third French king, and to inuest him with the order of the garter, toke his leaue of the quénes maiestie at Grænewich on the twentith daie of Januarie, and with him such gentlemen as were present, were admitted to kisse hir highnesse hand. Maister Robert Cooke, Clarencieux appointed to attend in that voiage in place of Garter, whose rome was void, and Robert Glouer Somerset herald likewise appointed to that iourneie, were referred to the two and twentie daie of the same moneth. Noble men and gentlemen attending on the earle of Derbie; the lord Sands with eight seruants, lord Windsore, eleuen seruants, maister Scrope sonne and heire to the lord Scrope two seruants, maister Windsore brother to the lord Windsore three seruants, sir Richard Sherborne three seruants, sir Randolph Brereton sir seruants, maister Clarencieux for Garter foure seruants, maister Anthonie Cooke foure seruants, maister Gerard sonne and heire to sir Thomas Gerard, maister Fléetwod, maister Nudigate, maister Stallage gentleman vsher, the quénes seruants. Maister Somerset herald of armes two seruants, maister Crompton, maister Smith, maister Denton, maister Thomas Wils one seruant. The earls owne; maister Thomas Arden steward two seruants, maister Fox controllor one seruant, maister Newton gentleman vsher one seruant, maister Philips chapleine one seruant, maister Alexander gentleman of the horse one seruant, maister Norcrosse physician one seruant. The earls waiting gentlemen; maister Dawnie sonne and heire to sir John Dawnie one seruant, maister Legh son and heire to sir Piers a Legh one seruant, maister Warren one seruant, maister Thomas Sherborne sonne to sir Richard Sherborne, maister Wollie had one seruant, maister Parket one seruant, maister Richard Starkie one seruant, maister Stanlie one seruant, maister Brierton, maister Hanmer one seruant, maister Flod one seruant, maister Salisburie one seruant, maister Bushie my lords page, maister Downes one seruant, maister Francis Starkie one seruant, maister Baptist one seruant, maister Randolph one seruant, maister Tusser, maister Chambers one seruant, maister Foxton, maister Russell one seruant. The earles yeomen fiftie. This traine had to carie trunks, males, and chests, fiue carts and a wagon throughout from Calis to Paris, besides the earls sumpter horse and garde viands on horse backe.

The lord ambassadour passeth from London to Grauesend, and so to Douer, and arriueth at Calis.

On the six and twentith daie of Januarie, the earle with his traine passed from London to Grauesend in a tilt boat called a light horseman, and there taking post horses rid to Sittingborne, and there lodged, from whense they rid to Douer, where they imbarked and landed at Calis on the first of Februarie, the earle of Derbie lord ambassador, with the lords Sands and Windsor transported in the quéens ship named the Skout, the other gentlemen & traine in craiers of Douer to the number of eight in the whole, there they were all receiued and welcomed to the towne by monsieur de Gourdon gouernour thereof, and rested there the next daie: on which daie at night the said earle, barons, and principall gentlemen were inuited to a supper, by the said monsieur de Gourdon, which was prepared for them in a merchants house in verie sumptuous sort and great interteinement, and after supper musicke and dansing, some ladies and gentlewomen of the towne being purposelie brought to the place to interteine and to danse with the noblemen and others.

Monsieur de Gourdon gouernour of Calis interteineth the ambassadour.

On the third of Februarie the whole traine went from Calis to Bullogne to bed, where they were verie well interteined, the gouernors deputie presenting the earle with certeine pots of wine of sundrie sorts. On the fourth of Februarie they rid to Monstrell to bed, and there were likewise presented. On the fift they went to Albeuill to bed, and were met with one hundred and fiftie shot of harquebuzers at the entrie of the towne, where on either side the streets were made ranks of shot all the way as they passed to their lodging, & after marched off about the market place, giuing manie a volée of shot till it waxed darke, the gouernor of the towne presenting sundrie sorts of wine. And the daie following they toke their iournie to Amiens to bed, where of monsieur Creuicure called Boniuet, lieutenant of Picardie for the king, accompanied with an hundred gentlemen, and best citizens, met the earle halfe a mile without the towne, and so rid talking with him & his traine. That night the said Creuicure presented the earle with great store of verie large and good fresh water fish, and the towne with wine of diuerse sorts,

The flattering & the honorable receiuing of the lord ambassadour before he came in presence & audience of the French king.

Monsieur Creuicure lieutenant of Picardie méeteth the lord ambassadour, &c.

soꝛts, and the daie following being sundaie, the said Creuecure inuited the earle to dinner, which dinner was greatlie commended. After dinner his loꝛdship & traine went to Bꝛethmill to bed, the nert daie to Cleremont, where he staied tuesdaie, and on wednesdaie the tenth of Febꝛuarie to Luzarch.

Sir Edward Stafford the quéenes ambassadoꝛ resident with the French king, &c.

On the 11 he went to S. Denise, where by the waie his loꝛdship was met by sir Edward Stafford, hir maiesties ambassadoꝛ resident with the French king, who bꝛought with him diuerse gentlemen of England, to the number of thirtie hoꝛsse, and so accompanied him to S. Denise where they kept companie all the daie following being fridaie. On saturdaie his loꝛdship made his entrie into Paris, about two oꝛ thꝛée of the clocke at after noone, there being of the loꝛd ambassadoꝛs traine moꝛe than two hundꝛed hoꝛsse; and midwaie betwéene saint Denise and Paris, there met with their loꝛdships sent from the king, the duke of Montpensier a pꝛince of the bloud, the loꝛds of Caulignie, le Chapelle aux Ursins, countie de Lude, de Pienne, de Malicoꝛne, de la Moth Fenelon, who had sometimes béene ambassadoꝛ liger in England, Destrie, D'abin, de Fontaines, de Coꝛmisson, the marques of Curton, the countie de Gꝛignan, all councellоꝛs in the councell, & knights of the holie ghost. The duke of Tremouille, the counties de Bꝛissac, de Creance, Sancerre, and of Lasoꝛe, with a great number of loꝛds and barons, gentlemen of the chamber, which all were cõmanded by the king to mount on hoꝛssebacke, and accompanie the said duke de Montpensier, who met the earle of Derbie and the English traine midwaie betwixt Paris and saint Denise, and did accompanie him vnto hostell de Longueuille, sometime called the hostle of Anion. At his loꝛdships entrie into the said lodging, the siers de Marle and de Gonaix maistres de hostell to his maiestie, gaue him to vnderstand how they were appointed by the king to haue care of his good vsage and interteinement, who likewise had apointed mesiers de la Moth Fenelon, the marques de Curton, & the countie de Gꝛignan, to kéepe his loꝛdship companie at all times. And so was his loꝛdship with the other loꝛds and gentlemen lodged in the said hostell de Longueuille, where was thꝛée tables verie sumptuouslie furnished foꝛ them all of the kings cost; the one table in the great chamber foꝛ the loꝛds and gentlemen, seruants to hir maiestie; the other in the hall foꝛ the erle of Derbies gentlemen; and the third in a gallerie beneath foꝛ gentlemens seruants, besides liuerie into euerie chamber, both of war, wood, wine, and such like, in as great plentie as could be desired.

The loꝛd ambassadoꝛs interteinement and vsage.

The statelie & the honoꝛable receiuing of the loꝛd ambassadour beꝛoꝛe he came in pꝛesence & audience of the French king.

On sundaie the fourtéenth of Febꝛuarie after the English account, and the foure and twentith after the French reckoning, the said earle betwixt the houres of two and thꝛée in the after none, went from his lodging by a posterne thꝛough the garden, which is néere to the Louure, accompanied with the said loꝛds de la Moth Fenelon, de Curton, and Gꝛignan, togither with the sier de Gondie, & the said de Marle, and de Gonaix, and found the capteins of the regiment of the kings gard, making two ranks on either side of the stréet, beginning from the posterne to the Louure gate, who welcõmed him in the kings behalfe. Without the gate of the said Louure he was receiued by the lieutenants of the great pꝛouost of France & his archers; at the Louure gate by the sier de Montegnie capteine thereof to his maiestie and his archers; which archers togither with those of the great pꝛouost made two ranks from the said gate of the Louure to the foot of the staiers. From the foot of the staiers his loꝛdship was receiued by the sier de Perdillon the French lieutenant of the Swissers of the kings gard, which from the foot of the said staiers to the doꝛe of the hall, made two ranks foꝛ his loꝛdships passage. At the entrie of the hall, his loꝛdship was receiued by the sier de Chasteau viaux knight of the holie ghost, and capteine of the archers of the kings gard; who likewise from the said doꝛe vnto the doꝛe of the antichamber made two ranks. From the doꝛe of the antichamber, his loꝛdship was receiued by the sier de Combault of the holie ghost, chiefe maister de hostell to the king, and by the other maisters of the hostell to his maiestie, and by his gentlemen waiters; and there in the said antichamber all the said earle of Derbies officers and gentlemen wearing liueries were apointed to staie, and the quéenes seruants that pꝛocéeded nert after them, and beforе the said earle went still foꝛward. At the entrie of the chamber of estate his loꝛdship was receiued by the sier de Liencourt knight of the holie ghost, chiefe escuir of the kings escuir, and the other escuires of the escuir togither, with the lieutenant of the hundꝛed gentlemen of his maiestie, who made likewise two ranks foꝛ his loꝛdships passage from that chamber doꝛe to the chamber of audience, euerie of them bearing halberds in their hands. At the entrance of the antichamber, his loꝛdship was receiued by the duke Joieuls, accompanied with the gentlemen of the kings chamber oꝛdinarie, who made two ranks from that chamber doꝛe to the doꝛe of the chamber roiall.

The chamber roiall, & manner of receiuing and conducting of the loꝛd ambassadour thereunto, and other notable obseruations.

Into the said chamber roiall first entred all the gentlemen, the quéenes maiesties seruants, the loꝛds that had receiued and accompanied the said earle and loꝛds: and the said duke de Joieuls accompanied the said earle of Derbie euen vnto the bars that stood about the edge of the haltpase, oꝛ mounting stoꝛe in the same chamber, where the king stood at his beds fèet, accompanied without the said barriers on his right hand with the cardinals of Bourbon, Mandosme, and Joieuls; and on the left hand with the loꝛds, the pꝛinces of Contie, the countie de Soissons, and duke Montpensier, pꝛinces of the bloud: the dukes de Neuers, Delbeuse, de la Tremouille, de Retz, monsieur le chancelloꝛ, sier de Vilequier, du Bouchase, de la Valette, Dantragues, de la Chapelle aux Ursins, Chauignie, la Vauguion, countie de Mauleurier, Clermont, Dantragues, de Larchaut, and other knights of the holie ghost, and councellоꝛs of the estate in great number. The said earle with the loꝛd ambassadoꝛ oꝛdinarie of England alonelie entered within the said haltpase within the barriers vnto his maiestie, of whom they were receiued with great courtesie, & as amiable countenance as could be. And the earle deliuered the quéenes maiesties letters vnto the king with great reuerence, and then making rehearsall of that he had in charge to saie, the said ambassadoꝛ pꝛesented vnto the king the loꝛds Sands and Windsoꝛ, with other the English knights and gentlemen; which all one after an other mounted vpon the haltpase, kissed their hands, & did their reuerence vnto the king. Then the erle toke his leaue, and was conducted by all the loꝛds & capteins that had beforе receiued him, and conueied him vnto the place where they had first receiued him. Afterwards he went to salute the quéene mother, and at the entrance into hir antichamber he was receiued by monsieur de Lansac knight of the holie ghost, and knight of honour vnto the same quéene, whome he found accompanied with hir néece the pꝛincesse of Loꝛaine standing at hir beds head, the pꝛincesses of Conde and Jontie, and the duches of Neuers standing at the beds fèet, the duchesses Dusez, and of Rez, and other ladies and gentlewomen in great number. From thense his loꝛdship was conueied to the quéene Regents chamber, at the entrance whereof he was receiued by the countie de Fiesque knight of

The earle of Darbie & sir Edward Stafford, &c: are courteouslie receiued of the king.

The loꝛd ambassadoꝛ saluted the quéene mother.

The loꝛd ambassadour conueied to the quéene Regents chamber.

of the holie ghost, and hir knight of honour, finding hir accompanied with the duchesses of Montpensier and Joieulx, who stood at hir beds fèet, the ladie of Rosden hir ladie of honour and other ladies and gentlewomen also in great number, and then returned to the foresaid hostell de Longueuille.

On mondaie the fiftéenth of Februarie, the king by monsieur le Moth Fenelon told to the lord ambassador his mind, touching the receipt of the order, that he intended to receiue on the thursdaie following in the after noone, at the Augustine friers, which was done accordinglie with a mantle of blew veluet, and a hood, and collar of the order, with a booke of the statutes of the order, which all were inuested vpon the king in a place called maison de Nautralles; but the oth was ministred vnto the king in the friers church, *Magnificat* being then song, or singing. On sundaie the eight and twentith of Februarie, the ambassador with his traine toke their leaue, at whose returne from the court to his lodging he was presented that night with a rich cupbord of plate, worth twelue hundred pounds at the least; and vnto maister Clarenceaux was giuen a chaine of gold worth one hundred and twentie pounds and better, of two hundred thirtie and six links; to maister Sumerset a chaine of one hundred and fiftie links, worth one hundred marks; and to Thomas Mils a chaine of the same value.

The French king inuested into the order of the garter.

Gifts of roiall magnificence bestowed and receiued.

On the thursdaie following, the earle with his traine set forward homewards from Paris vnto saint Denise, and so were lodged all the waie in the same lodgings that before they had bene receiued in, and arriued prosperouslie in England, from Bullogne to Douer, on fridaie the twelfe day of March; and on the tuesdaie following were brought to the quenes maiesties presence at Greenewich, who gratiouslie welcommed them home.

William Parrie hanged and quartered at Westminster.

This yeare on the second daie of March being tuesdaie, William Parrie was drawne from the Tower thorough the citie of London to Westminster, and there in the palace court, hanged, boweled, and quartered, for high and horrible treasons by him practised, as maie appeare by the discourse that followeth, published vpon his execution, to giue generall intimation of his notorious trecheries vnto all the quenes maiesties subiects.

A true and plaine declaration of the *horrible treasons practised by William Parrie* against the queenes maiestie, and of his *conuiction and execution for the same*, the second of March 1584, according *to the account of England.*

A description of william Parrie.

THis William Parrie, being a man of verie meane and base parentage, but of a most proud and insolent spirit, bearing himselfe alwaies far aboue the measure of his fortune, after he had long led a wastfull and dissolute life, and had committed a great outrage against one Hugh Hare, a gentleman of the inner temple, with an intent to haue murthered him in his owne chamber, for the which he was most iustlie conuicted, seeing himselfe generallie condemned with all good men for the same, and other his misdemeanors, he left his naturall countrie, & gaue himselfe to trauell into forren parts beyond the seas. In the course of this his trauell he forsoke his allegiance and dutifull obedience to hir maiestie, and was reconciled, and subiected himselfe to the pope. After which, vpon conference with certeine Jesuits and others of like qualitie, he first conceiued his most detestable treason to kill the quéene (whose life God long preserue) which he bound himselfe by promise,

William Parrie reconciled to the pope: and of his treason *In superlatiuo gradu.*

letters, and vowes, to perfourme and execute: and so with this intent he returned into England in Januarie one thousand fiue hundred foure score & three; and since that did practise at sundrie times to haue executed his most diuelish purpose and determination: yet couering the same so much as in him laie with a veile and pretense of great loialtie vnto hir maiestie.

O papisticall dissimulation.

Immediatlie vpon his returne into England, he sought to haue secret accesse to hir maiestie, pretending to haue some matter of great importance to reueale vnto hir: which obteined, and the same so priuatlie in hir highnesse palace at Whitehall, as hir maiestie had but one onelie councellor with hir at the time of his accesse, in a remote place, who was so far distant, as he could not heare his speech. And there then he discouered vnto hir maiestie (but shadowed with all craftie and traitorous skill he had) some part of the conference and proceeding as well with the said Jesuits, and other ministers of the popes, as especiallie with one Thomas Morgan a fugitiue, resiant at Paris, who aboue all others did persuade him to proceed in that most diuelish attempt (as is set downe in his voluntarie confession following) bearing hir maiestie notwithstanding in hand, that his onelie intent of proceeding so farre with the said Jesuits, and the popes ministers, tended to no other end, but to discouer the dangerous practises deuised and attempted against hir maiestie by hir disloiall subiects and other malicious persons in forren parts: albeit it hath since appeared most manifestlie, as well by his said confession, as by his dealing with one Edmund Neuill esquier, that his onelie intent of discouering the same, in sort as he craftilie and traitorouslie did, tended to no other end, but to make the waie the easier to accomplish his most diuelish and wicked purpose.

Thomas Morgan a fugitiue and furtherer of Parries purpose.

Edmund Neuill not ignorant of this attempt.

And although anie other prince but hir maiestie (who is loth to put on a hard censure of those that protest to be loiall, as Parrie did) would rather haue proceeded vnto the punishment of a subiect that had waded so farre, as by oth and vow to promise the taking awaie of hir life (as he vnto hir maiesties selfe did confesse) yet such was hir goodnesse, as in stead of punishing, she did deale so gratiouslie with him, as she suffered him not onelie to haue accesse vnto hir presence: but also manie times to haue priuat conference with hir, and did offer vnto him vpon opinion once conceiued of his fidelitie towards hir (as though his wicked pretense had bene, as he protested, for hir seruice) a most liberall pension. Besides, to the end that he might not grow hatefull to the good and well affected subiects of the realme (from whome he could in no sort haue escaped with safetie of his life, if his diuelish purpose had bene reuealed) hir maiestie did conceale the same, without communicating it to anie creature, vntill such time as he himselfe had opened the same vnto certeine of hir councell, and that it was also discouered; that he sought to draw the said Neuill to haue bene a partie in his diuelish and most wicked purpose.

O gratious quéene and too too fauourable cuen to thine enimies.

A verie rare example, and such as doth more set forth the singular goodnesse and bountie of hir maiesties princelie nature, than commend (if it be lawfull for a subiect to censure his souereigne) hir prouidence such as ought to be in a prince and person of hir maiesties wisdome and qualitie. And as the goodnesse of hir maiesties nature did hereby most manifestlie shew it selfe to be rare in so extraordinarie a case, and in a matter of so great perill vnto hir owne roiall person: so did the malice of Parrie most euidentlie appeare to be in the highest and extreamest degrée, who notwithstanding the said extraordinarie grace and fauour extended towards him, did not onlie

The malice of Parrie groweth to an extremitie of mischiefe against the quéene.

lie perſuade the ſaid Neuill to be an aſſociat in the ſaid wicked enterpriſe: but did alſo verie vehementlie (as Neuill confeſſeth) importune him therein, as an action lawfull, honourable, and meritorious, omitting nothing that might prouoke him to aſſent thereunto. But ſuch was the ſingular goodneſſe of almightie God (who euen from hir maieſties cradle by manie euident arguments hath ſhewed himſelfe hir onelie and eſpeciall protector) that he ſo wrought in Neuils heart, as he was moued to reueale the ſame vnto hir maieſtie, and for that purpoſe made choice of a faithfull gentleman and of good qualitie in the court, vnto whome vpon mondaie the eight of Februarie laſt paſt, he diſcouered at large all that had paſſed betweene Parrie and him, who immediatlie made it knowne to hir maieſtie. Whereupon hir highneſſe pleaſure was, that Neuill ſhould be examined by the earle of Leceſter, and ſir Chriſtopher Hatton: who in the euening of the ſame daie did examine him, and he affirmed conſtantlie all which he had before declared to the ſaid gentleman.

Neuill diſcouereth the intended treaſon againſt hir maieſtie.

Did euer anie man read or heare of the like magnanimitie in a woman?

In the meane time, hir maieſtie continued hir ſingular and moſt princelie magnanimitie, neither diſmaied with the rarenelle of the accident, nor appaled with the horror of ſo villanous an enterpriſe, tending euen to the taking awaie of hir moſt gratious life (a matter eſpeciallie obſerued by the councellor that was preſent at ſuch time as Parrie after his returne did firſt diſcouer vnto hir maieſtie his wicked purpoſe; who found no other alteration in hir countenance, than if he had imparted vnto hir ſome matter of contentment) which ſheweth manifeſtlie how ſhe repoſeth hir confidence wholie in the defenſe of the almightie. And ſo hir maieſtie, following the wonted courſe of hir ſingular clemencie, gaue order that Parrie the ſame mondaie in the euening (though not ſo knowne to him) ſhould be ſent vnto maiſter ſecretaries houſe in London, he being then there; who according vnto ſuch direction as he receiued from hir maieſtie, did let him vnderſtand, that hir highneſſe (in reſpect of the good will ſhe knew he bare vnto the ſaid Parrie, & of the truſt that Parrie did outwardlie profeſſe to repoſe in maiſter ſecretarie) had made eſpeciall choice of him to deale with him in a matter that concerned hir highlie, and that ſhe doubted not, but that he would diſcharge his dutie towards hir, according vnto that extraordinarie deuotion that he profeſſed to beare vnto hir.

Parrie is committed to the cuſtodie & examination of ſir Francis Wallingham.

And therevpon he told him that hir maieſtie had béene aduertiſed, that there was ſomewhat intended preſentlie againſt hir owne perſon, wherwith ſhe thought he could not but be made acquainted, conſidering the great truſt that ſome of hir worſt affected ſubiects repoſed in him: and that hir pleaſure therefore was, that he ſhould declare vnto him his knowledge therein: and whether the ſaid Parrie himſelfe had let fall anie ſpéech vnto anie perſon (though with an intent onelie to haue diſcouered his diſpoſition) that might draw him in ſuſpicion, as though he himſelfe had anie ſuch wicked intent. But Parrie with great and vehement proteſtations denied it vtterlie. Wherupon maiſter ſecretarie, the rather to induce him to deale more plainelie in a matter ſo important, declared vnto him, that there was a gentleman of qualitie euerie waie as good or better than himſelfe, and rather his friend than enimie, that would auouch it to his face: yet Parrie perſiſted ſtubbornelie in his former deniall, and iuſtification of his owne innocencie, and would not in anie reſpect yéeld that he was partie or priuie to anie ſuch motion, enterpriſe, or intent.

Parrie denieth with proteſtations whatſoeuer is demanded of him.

Being lodged that night at M. ſecretaries houſe, the next morning he deſired earneſtlie to haue ſome further ſpéech with maiſter ſecretarie: which granted, Parrie declared to him that he had called to remembrance that he had once ſome ſpéech with one Neuill a kinſman of his (ſo he called him) touching a point of doctrine contained in the anſwer made to the booke, intituled, The execution of iuſtice in England; by which booke it was reſolued, that it was lawfull to take awaie the life of a prince, in furtherance of the catholike religion: but he proteſted that they neuer had anie ſpéech at all of anie attempt intended againſt hir maieſties perſon. Which denials of his (at two ſundrie times after ſo much light giuen him) doth ſet forth moſt apparantlie both the iuſtice and prouidence of God: his iuſtice, for that (though he was one of a ſharpe conceipt) he had no power to take hold of this ouerture, thereby to haue auoided the danger that Neuils accuſation might bring him into by confeſſing the ſame, as a thing propounded onelie to ſéele Neuils mind, whome before he had reported vnto maiſter ſecretarie he found a perſon diſcontented, and therefore his confeſſion might to verie great purpoſe haue ſerued to haue cléered himſelfe touching the intent: his prouidence, for that of his great mercie he would not ſuffer ſo dangerous and wicked a member to eſcape and liue to hir maieſties perill.

Parrie deſirous to haue ſome ſpéech with maiſter ſecretarie.

The ſame daie at night, Parrie was brought to the earle of Leiceſters houſe, and there eftſoons examined before the ſaid earle of Leiceſter, maiſter vicechamberlaine, and maiſter ſecretarie: he perſiſted ſtill in his denials of all that he was charged with. Wherupon, Neuill being brought before him face to face, iuſtified his accuſation againſt him. He notwithſtanding would not yet yéeld to confeſſe it, but verie proudlie and inſolentlie oppoſed his credit againſt the credit of Neuill, affirming that his no, was as good as Neuils yea, & as by way of recrimination, obiected the crime to Neuill himſelfe. On the other ſide, Neuill did with great conſtancie affirme all that he had before ſaid, and did ſet downe manie probable circumſtances of the times, places, and maners of their ſundrie conferences, and of ſuch other accidents as had happened betwéene them in the courſe of that action: wherevpon Parrie was then committed to the Tower, and Neuill commanded by their honors to ſet downe in writing vnder his hand, all that which before he had deliuered by words: which he did with his owne hand as followeth.

Parrie is examined before certeine lords of the counſell, &c.

Neuill chargeth Parrie ſo preciſelie, that he is committed to the Tower.

Edmund Neuill his declaration the *tenth of Februarie, 1584, ſubſcribed* with his owne hand.

WIlliam Parrie the laſt ſummer, ſome after his repulſe in his ſute for the maiſterſhip of ſaint Katharins, repaired to my lodging in the White friers, where he ſhewed himſelfe a perſon greatlie diſcontented, and vehementlie inueighed againſt hir maieſtie, and willed me to aſſure my ſelfe, that during this time and ſtate, I ſhould neuer receiue contentment. But ſith, ſaid he, I know you to be honorablie deſcended, and a man of reſolution, if you will giue me aſſurance, either to ioine with me, or not to diſcouer me, I will deliuer vnto you the onelie meanes to do your ſelfe good. Which when I had promiſed him, he appointed me to come the next daie to his houſe in Fenter lane: & repairing thither accordinglie, I found him in his bed; where vpon he commanded his men forth, and began with me in this order.

Note the malicious humor of Parrie becauſe he might not obteine preferment to his liking.

My lord ſaid he (for ſo he called me) I proteſt before God, that three reaſons principallie do induce me to enter into this action which I intend to diſco-

A triple reason that moued Parrie to his pretended treason.

ner vn to you: the replanting of religion, the preferring of the Scotish title, and the aduancement of iustice, wonderfullie corrupted in this commonwealth. And therevpon entred into some discourses, what places were fit to be taken to giue entrance to such forren forces as should be best liked of, for the furtherance of such enterprises as were to be vndertaken. And with these discourses he passed the time, vntill he went to dinner: after which, the companie being retired, he entered into his former discourses. And if I be not deceiued (said he) by taking of Mutnborough castell, we shall hinder the passage of the quéenes ships forth of the riuer. Wherevnto when he saw me vse no contradiction, he shooke me by the hand. Tush (said he) this is nothing: if men were resolute, there is an enterprise of much more moment, and much easier to performe: an act honorable, and

Parrie counted it an act meritorious to murther hir maiestie.

meritorious to God and the world. Which séeing me desirous to know, he was not ashamed to vtter in plaine termes, to consist in killing of hir maiestie: wherein, saith he, if you will go with me, I will lose my life, or deliuer my countrie from hir bad and tyrannous gouernment. At which speeches finding me discontented, he asked me if I had read doctor Allens booke, out of which he alledged an authoritie for it. I answered, no, and that I did not beléeue that authoritie. Well (said he) what will you saie, if I shew further authoritie than this, euen from Rome it selfe, a plaine dispensation for the killing of hir, wherein you shall find it (as I said before) meritorious? God cousine said I, when you shall shew it me, I shall thinke it verie strange, when I shall see one to hold that for meritorious, which another holdeth for damnable. Well, said Parrie, doo me but the fauour to thinke vpon it till to morrow: and if one man be in the towne, I will not faile to shew you the thing it selfe: and if he be not, he will be within these fiue or six daies; at which time if it please you to méete me at Chanon row, we may there receiue the sacrament to be true ech to other, and then

O villanous persuasion or inducement to be accessarie to the treason!

I will discouer vnto you both the partie, & the thing it selfe. Wherevpon I praied Parrie to thinke better vpon it, as a matter of great charge both of soule and bodie. I would to God, said Parrie, you were as perfectlie persuaded in it as I am! for then vndoubtedlie you should doo God great seruice.

Not long after eight or ten daies (as I remember) Parrie comming to visit me at my lodging in Herns rents in Holborne, as he often vsed, we walked forth into the fields, where he renewed againe his determination to kill hir maiestie, whom he said he thought most vnworthie to liue, and that he wondered I was so scrupulous therein. She hath sought, said he, your ruine and ouerthrow, why should you not then séeke to reuenge it? I confesse (quoth I) that my case is hard, but yet am I not so desperat as to reuenge it vpon my selfe, which must néeds be the euent of so vnhonest and vnpossible an enterprise. Unpossible, said Parrie! I wonder at you, for in truth there is not anie thing more easie: you are no courtier, and therefore know not hir customes of walking with small traine, and often in the garden verie priuatlie, at which time my selfe may easilie haue accesse vnto hir, and you also when you are knowen in court. Upon the fact we must haue a barge readie to carie vs with spéed downe the riuer, where we will haue a ship readie to transport vs if it be néedfull: but vpon my head, we shall neuer be followed so far. I asked him; How will you escape forth of the garden? For you shall not be permitted to carie anie men with you, and the gates will then be locked, neither can you carie a dag without suspicion. As for a dag (said Parrie) I care not: my dagger is enough. And as for mine escaping, those

Note Parries pestilent humor of malice against hir maiestie.

These doubts were of aduantage to Neuill, but meanes of reprochfull ruine to Parrie.

that shall be with hir, will be so busie about hir, as I shall find opportunitie enough to escape, if you be there readie with the barge to receiue me.

But if this séeme dangerous in respect of your reason before shewed, let it then rest till hir comming to saint James, and let vs furnish our selues in the meane time with men and horsse fit for the purpose: may ech of vs kéepe eight or ten men without suspicion? And for my part, said he, I shall find good fellowes that will follow me without suspecting mine intent. It is much, said he, that so manie resolute men maie doo vpon the sudden, being well appointed with ech his case of dags: if they were an hundred waiting vpon hir, they were not able to saue hir, you comming on the one side, and I on the other, and discharging our dags vpon hir, it were vnhappie if we should both misse hir. But if our dags faile, I shall best irre me well with a sword yer she escape me. Wherevnto I said: God doctor giue ouer this odious enterprise, & trouble me no more with the hearing of that, which in heart I loth so much. I would to God the enterprise were honest, that I might make knowne vnto thée whether I want resolution! And not long after, hir maiestie came to saint James, after which, one morning (the daie certeine I remember not) Parrie reuiued againe his former discourse of killing hir maiestie, with great earnestnesse and importunitie persuading me to ioine therein: saieng he thought me the onelie man of England like to performe it, in respect of my valure, as he termed it.

Note the traitorous practise of Parrie laid downe in order as it should haue béene done.

Wherevpon I made semblance as if I had beene more willing to heare him than before, hoping by that means to cause him to deliuer his mind to some other that might be witnesse thereof with me, wherin neuertheless I failed. After all this, on saturdaie last being the first of Februarie, betwéene the houss of fiue and six in the afternoone, Parrie came to my chamber, and desired to talke with me apart, whereupon we drew our selues to a windowe. And where I had told Parrie before, that a learned man whom I met by chance in the fields, vnto whom I proponed the question touching hir maiestie, had answered me that it was an enterprise most villanous and damnable, willing me to discharge my selfe of it: Parrie then desired to know that learned mans name, and what was become of him, saieng after a scornefull maner; No doubt he was a verie wise man, and you wiser in beléeuing him: I said further, I hope you told him not that I had anie thing from Rome. Yes in truth, said I. Wherevnto Parrie said, I would you had not named me, nor spoken of anie thing I had from Rome! And therevpon he earnestlie persuaded me eftsoones to depart beyond the seas, promising to procure me safe passage into Wales, and from thense into Britaine, whereat we ended. But I then resolued not to doo so, but to discharge my conscience, and laie open this his most traitorous and abhominable intention against hir maiestie: which I reuealed in sort as is before set downe.

Marke the resolutenes of Parrie to accomplish his treason by oft frequenting the action.

Neuill is resolued at no hand to be partaker with Parrie in his treason.

Edmund Neuill.

AFter this confession of Edmund Neuill, William Parrie the eleuenth daie of Februarie last, being examined in the Tower of London, by the lord Hunsdon lord gouernour of Berwike, sir Christopher Hatton knight vicechamberleine to hir maiestie, and Francis Walsingham knight principall secretarie to hir maiestie, did voluntarilie and without anie constraint, by word of mouth make confession of his said treason, and after set it downe in writing all with his owne hand in his lodging in the Tower, and sent it to the court the thirteenth of the same, by the lieutenant of the Tower. The parts

Parries voluntarie confession in the hearing of certein lords, &c.

where-

whereof concerning his maner of doing the same, and the treasons wherewith he was iustlie charged are here set downe, word for word, as they are written and signed with his owne hand & name, the eleuenth of Februarie, 1584.

The voluntarie confession of William Parrie, in writing all with his owne hand.

¶ The voluntarie confession of William Parrie, doctor of the lawes (now prisoner in the Tower) & accused of treason by Edmund Neuill esquier, promised by him (with all faith & humilitie) to the queenes maiestie, in discharge of his conscience and dutie towards God and hir. Before the lord Hunsdon lord gouernor of Berwike, sir Christopher Hatton knight vicechamberlaine, sir F. Walsingham knight principall secretarie, the thirteenth of Februarie, 1584.

Parrie.

Note the treasons pretended of Parrie laid downe in order as it should haue beene done.

Macke, good and gratious ladie, whose hard hap it was to interteine so bad & graceless a seruant.

IN the yeare 1570 I was sworne hir maiesties seruant, from which time vntill the yeare 1580, I serued, honored, and loued hir with as great readinesse, deuotion and assurance as anie poore subiect in England. In the end of that yeare, and vntill Midsummer 1582, I had some trouble for the hurting of a gentleman of the Temple. In which action I was so disgraced and oppressed by two great men (to whome I haue of late béene beholden) that I neuer had contented thought since. There began my misfortune, and here followeth my wofull fall. In Julie after, I laboured for licence to trauell for three yeares, which (vpon some consideration) was easilie obteined. And so in August, I went ouer with doubtfull mind of returne, for that being suspected in religion, and not hauing receiued the communion in two and twentie yeares, I began to mistrust my aduancement in England. In September I came to Paris, where I was reconciled to the church, and aduised to liue without scandale, the rather for that it was mistrusted by the English catholikes, that I had intelligence with the greatest councellour of England. I staied not long there, but remoued to Lions (a place of great traffike) where, bicause it was the ordinarie passage of our nation to and fro betweene Paris and Rome, I was also suspected.

Parrie sueth for licence to trauell beyond sea, and obteineth it.

Parrie iustifieth himselfe in religion before the inquisitor of Millaine.

To put all men out of doubt of me, and for some other cause, I went to Millaine, from whense as a place of some danger (though I found fauour there) after I had cléered my conscience, and iustified my selfe in religion before the inquisitor, I went to Venice. There I came acquainted with father Benedicto Palmio, a graue and a learned Iesuit. By conference with him of the hard state of the catholikes in England, & by reading of the booke De persecutione Anglicana, and other discourses of like argument, 1 I conceiued a possible meane to relieue the afflicted state of our catholikes, if the same might be well warranted in religion and conscience by the pope, or some learned diuines. I asked his opinion, he made it cléere, commended my deuotion, comforted me in it, and after a while made me knowen to the Nuntio Campeggio, there resident for his holinesse. By his meanes I wrote vnto the pope, presented the seruice, and sued for a passport to go to Rome, and to returne safelie into France. Answer came from cardinall Como, that I might come, and should be welcome. I misliked the warrant, sued for a better, which I was promised: but it came not before my departure to Lions, where I promised to staie some time for it.

Neuill is reuolted at no hand to be partaker with Parrie in his treason.

Parrie is resolued in the plot of his treacherous deuise.

And being indéed desirous to go to Rome, and loth to go without countenance, I desired Chyllofero de Salazar, secretarie to the king catholike in Venice, who had some vnderstanding (by conference) of my deuotion to the afflicted catholikes at home and abroad, to commend me to the duke di Noua terra gouernour of Millaine, and to the countie of Oliuaris Embt, then resident for the king his master in Rome: which he promised to do effectuallie for the one, and did for the other. And so I toke my iourne towards Lions, whither came for me an ample passport (but somewhat too late) that I might come & go *In verbo pontificis per omnes iurisdictiones ecclesiasticas, absq; impedimento*. I acquainted some good fathers there of my necessitie to depart towards Paris by promise, & praied their aduises vpon diuerse points, wherein I was well satisfied. And so assuring them that his holinesse should heare from me shortlie, it was vndertaken that I should be excused for that time.

Note with what fetlows, enimies to God and his church, Parrie linketh himselfe.

In October I came to Paris, where (vpon better opinion conceiued of me amongst my catholike countriemen) I found my credit well setled, and such as mistrusted me before, readie to trust and imbrace me. And being one daie at the chamber of Thomas Morgan a catholike gentleman (greatlie beloued and trusted on that side) amongst other gentlemen, talking (but in verie good sort) of England, I was desired by Morgan to go vp with him to another chamber, where he brake with me, and told me that it was hoped and loked for, that I should do some seruice for God and his church. I answered him I would do it, if it were to kill the greatest subiect in England: whom I named, and in truth then hated. No no, said he, let him liue to his greater fall and ruine of his house: 2 it is the quéene I meane. I had him as I wished, and told him it were some done, if it might be lawfullie done, and warranted in the opinion of some learned diuines. And so the doubt once resolued (though as you haue heard I was before reasonablie well satisfied) I vowed to vndertake the enterprize, for the restitution of England to the ancient obedience of the sée apostolike. Diuers diuines were named, doctor Allen I desired, Parsons I refused. And by chance came maister Wats a learned priest, with whome I conferred, and was ouerruled.

Note the diuelish conference betweene Morgan and Parrie.

Parrie vowseth to vndertake the killing of the queene.

3 For he plainelie pronounced (the case onelie altered in name) that it was vtterlie vnlawfull: with whome manie English priests did agrée as I haue heard, if it be not altered, since the booke made in answer of the execution of the English iustice was published, which I must confesse hath taken hard hold in me, and (I feare me) will do in others, if it be not preuented by more gratious handling of the quiet and obedient catholike subiects, whereof there is *good and greater store in England than this age will extinguish. Well, notwithstanding all these doubts, I was gone so far by letters and conference in Italie, that I could not go backe, but promised faithfullie to performe the enterprise, if his holinesse vpon my offer & letters would allow it, & grant me full remission of my sinnes. 4 I wrote my letters the first of Januarie 1584, by their computation, toke aduise vpon them in confession of father Aniball a Codreto a learned Iesuit in Paris, was louinglie imbraced, commended, confessed, and communicated at the Iesuits at one altar with the cardinals of Mandolmi and Narbone: whereof I praied certificat, and inclosed the same in my letter to his holines, to lead him the rather to absolue me, which I required by my letters, in consideration of so great an enterprise vndertaken without promise or reward.

*O Lord what a lamentable hearing is this!

Parrie is now become altogither past grace, and growne resolute with Iudas to kill the Lords annointed.

5 I went with Morgan to the Nuntio Ragazzoni, to whome I read the letter and certificat inclosed, sealed it, & left it with him to send to Rome: he promised great care of it, and to procure answer; and so louinglie imbraced me, wished mee good speed, and promised that I should be remembred at the altar.

6 After this I desired Morgan, that some speciall man might be made priuie to this matter, least he dieng, and I miscarieng in the execution, and my intent neuer truelie discouered, it might sticke for an euerlasting spot in my race. Diuerse were named, but none agreed vpon for feare of bewraieng.

7 This being donne, Morgan assured me, that shortlie after my departure, the L. Fernehurst (then in Paris) should go into Scotland, and be readie vpon the first newes of the queens fall, to enter into England with 20 or 30000 men to defend the queene of Scotland (whom, and the king hir sonne, I do in my conscience acquit of anie priuitie, liking, or consent to this, or anie other bad action, for anie thing that euer I did know.)

A promise for a Scotish inuasiõ after the deuise of Parrie executed.

I shortlie departed for England, and arriued at Rie in Januarie 1583, from whense I wrote to the court, aduertised some, that I had a speciall seruice to discouer to the queens maiestie. 8 Which I did more to prepare accesse and credit, than for anie care I had of hir person, though I were fullie resolued neuer to touch hir (notwithstanding anie warrant) if by anie deuise, persuasion, or policie she might be wrought to deale more grationslie with the catholikes than she doth, or by our maner of proceeding in parlement meaneth to do, for anie thing yet seene. I came to the court (then at Whitehall) praied audience, had it at large, and verie priuatlie discouered to hir maiestie this conspiracie, much to this effect, though couered with all the skill I had: she tooke it doubtfullie, I departed with feare. And amongst other things, I cannot forget hir maiesties gratious speech then vttered touching the catholikes, which of late, after a sort I auowed in parlement: she said to me that neuer a catholike should be troubled for religion or supremasie, so long as they liued like good subiects. Whereby I mistrusted that hir maiestie is borne in hand, that none is troubled for the one or the other. It may be truelie said that it is better than it hath beene, though it be not yet as it should be.

Note the villans ill mind to hir maiestie.

Note hir maiesties vndeserued gratiousnes to pretended catholikes.

In March last, while I was at Greenewich (as I remember) suing for saint Katharines, came letters to me from cardinall Como, dated at Rome the last of Januarie before, whereby I found the enterprise commended, and allowed, and my selfe absolued (in his holinesse name) of all my sinnes, and willed to go forward in the name of God. That letter I shewed to some in court, who imparted it to the queene: what it wrought, or maie worke in hir maiestie, God knoweth: onelie this I know, 9 That it confirmed my resolution to kill hir, and made it cleere in my conscience, that it was lawfull and meritorious. And yet was I determined neuer to do it, if either policie, practise, persuasion, or motion in parlement could preuaile. I feared to be tempted, and therefore alwaies when I came neere hir, I left my dagger at home. 10 When I looked vpon hir maiestie, & remembred hir manie excellencies, I was greatlie troubled: and yet I saw no remedie, for my vowes were in heauen, my letters and promises in earth, and the case of the catholike recusants and others little bettered.

Note Parries resolution by letters from cardinall Como.

Parrie is in a mammering what to do as maie be noted by these speeches interrogatorie.

Sometimes I said to my selfe: Why should I care for hir? What hath she done for me? Haue I not spent ten thousand markes since I knew hir seruice, and neuer had penie by hir? It maie be said, she gaue me my life. But I saie (as my case stood) it had beene tyrannie to take it: and I feare me it is little lesse yet. If it please hir gratiouslie to looke into my discontentments, would to Jesus Christ she had it, for I am wearie of it. And now to come to an end of this tragicall discourse. In Julie I left the court, vtterlie reiected, discontented, and as hir maiestie might perceiue by my passionate letters, careless of my selfe. I came to London: doctor Allens booke was sent me out of France: 11 It redoubled my former conceipts, euerie word in it was a warrant to a prepared mind. It taught that kings maie be excommunicated, depriued, and violentlie handled. It proueth that all warres ciuill or forren, vndertaken for religion, is honourable. Hir maiestie maie do well to read it, and to be out of doubt (if things be not amended) that it is a warning, and a doctrine full dangerous. This is the booke I shewed, in some places read, and lent to my cousine Neuill (the accuser) who came often to mine house, put his finger in my dish, his hand in my purse, and the night wherein he accused me, was wrapped in my gowne, six moneths at least after we had entered into this conspiracie: in which space hir maiestie, and ten princes in seuerall prouinces might haue beene killed. God blesse hir maiestie from him: for before almightie God I loie and am glad in my soule, that it was his hap to discouer me in time, though there were no danger neere.

Parrie deliurat.

Parrie desperat.

How long the conspiracie was in handling ere it was detected.

And now to the matter of our meetings. He came to me in the beginning of August, and spake to me in this or the like sort: Cousine, let vs do somewhat, sith we can haue nothing. I offered to ioine with him, and gladlie heard him, hoping bicause I knew him to be a catholike, that he would hit vpon that I had in my head: but it fell not out so. He thought the deliuerie of the queene of Scotland easie, presuming vpon his credit and kinred in the North: I thought it dangerous to hir, and impossible to men of our fortunes. He fell from that to the taking of Berwike; I spake of Quinborough and the naule, rather to interteine him with discourse, than that I cared for those motions, my head being full of greater matter. 12 I told him that I had an other maner of enterprise, more honourable and profitable vnto vs, and the catholikes commonwealth, than all these, if he would ioine in it with me, as he presentlie vowed to do. He pressed to know it, I willed him to sleepe vpon the motion: he did so, and (belike ouertaken) came vnto me the next morning to my lodging in London, offered to ioine with me, and take his oth vpon a bible, to conceale and constantlie to pursue the enterprise for the aduancement of religion: which I also did, and meant to performe: the killing of the queene was the matter.

Note the actions that should haue beene commenced and finished in this conspiracie.

This oth and all of the like qualitie and nature are violable *Salua interim anima.*

The maner and place, to be on horssebacke, with eight or ten horsses, when she should ride abroad about saint Iames, or some other like place. It was once thought fit in a garden, and that the escape would be easiest by water into Shepeie, or some other part: but we resolued vpon the first. This continued as agreed vpon manie moneths, till he heard of the death of Westmerland, whose land and dignitie (whereof he assured himselfe) bred belike this conscience in him to discouer a treason in Februarie, contriued and agreed vpon in August. If it cost him not an ambitious head at last, let him neuer trust me. He brought a tall gentleman (whome he commended for an excellent pistolier) to me to Chanon Row, to make one in the match: but I refused to deale with him, being loth to laie my head vpon so manie hands.

The death of Westmerland reported.

M. Neuill hath (I thinke) forgotten, that he did sweare to me at diuerse times, that all the aduancement she could giue, should serue but for hir scourge, if euer time and occasion should serue: and that although he would not laie hand vpon hir in a corner, his hart serued him to strike off hir head in the field. Now leauing him to himselfe, thus much (to make an end) I must confesse of my self: I did meane to trie what might be done in parlement, to do my best to hinder all hard courses, to haue praied hearing

Parrie charged with grieuous speeches of cursed disloialtie.

ring of the quenes maiestie, to moue hir (if I could) to take compassion vpon hir catholike subiects, and when all had failed, to doo as I intended. If hir maiestie by this course would haue eased them, though she had neuer preferred me, I had with all comfort and patience borne it: 13 but if she had preferred me without ease or care of them, the enterprise had held. ¶ God preserue the quéne, & incline hir mercifull hart to forgiue me this desperat purpose, and to take my head (with all my hart) for hir better satisfaction.

W. Parrie.

God (no doubt) will preserue good quéne Elisabeth, though a thousand such traitors as Parrie conspire hir death to their owne destruction.

After which, for the better manifesting of his treasons, on the fourteenth of Februarie last past, there was a letter written by him to hir maiestie, verie voluntarilie, all of his owne hand, without anie motion made to him. The tenor whereof, for that which concerneth these his traitorous dealings, is as followeth.

A letter written by Parrie to hir *maiestie.*

YOur maiestie maie see by my voluntarie confession, the dangerous fruits of a discontented mind: & how constantlie I pursued my first conceiued purpose in Venice, for the releefe of the afflicted catholikes, continued it in Lions, and resolued in Paris to put it in aduenture, for the restitution of England to the ancient obedience of the see apostolike. You maie see withall how it is commended, allowed, and warranted in conscience, diuinitie, and policie, by the pope and some great diuines: though it be true or likelie, that most of our English diuines (lesse practised in matters of this weight) doo vtterlie mislike and condemne it.

Parries purpose conceiued in Venice, continued in Lions, resolued in Paris, to be executed in England.

The enterprise is preuented, and conspiracie discouered, by an honourable gentleman my kinsman, and late familiar friend, maister Edmund Neuill, priuie and by solemne oth (taken vpon the bible) partie to the matter, wherof I am hardlie glad, but now sorie (in my verie soule) that euer I conceiued or intended it, how commendable or meritorious so euer I thought it. God thanke him, and forgiue me, who would not now (before God) attempt it (if I had libertie and oportunitie to doo it) to gaine your kingdome. I beseech Christ that my death and example maie as well satisfie your maiestie, and the world, as it shall glad and content me.

Neuill charged by Parrie to be accessarie to the treason.

The queene of Scotland is your prisoner, let hir be honourablie intreated, but yet surelie garded. The French king is French, you know it well enough, you will find him occupied when he should doo you good; he will not loose a pilgrimage to saue you a crowne. I haue no more to saie at this time, but that with my hart & soule I doo now honour & loue you, am inwardlie sorie for mine offense, and readie to make you amends by my death and patience. Discharge me *A culpa* but not *A pœna*, good ladie. And so farewell, most gratious and the best natured and qualified queene that euer liued in England. From the Tower, the fourteenth of Februarie, one thousand fiue hundred eightie and foure.

W. Parrie.

Compare these warnings with the euents in Anno 1585, 1586, specialtie about August.

After which, to wit, the eighteenth of Februarie last past, Parrie, in further acknowledging his wicked and intended treasons, wrote a letter all of his owne hand in like voluntarie maner to the lord treasuror of England, and the earle of Leicester, lord steward of hir maiesties house, the tenor wherof is as followeth.

Parries guiltie conscience enforceth it selfe by voluntarie confession.

William Parries letter to the lord *treasuror, and the earle of Leicester.*

MY lords, now that the conspiracie is discouered, the fault confessed, my conscience cleared, and mind prepared patientlie to suffer the paines due for so hainous a crime; I hope it shall not offend you, if crieng *Miserere* with the poore publicane, I leane to despaire with cursed Caine. My case is rare and strange, and for anie thing I can remember, singular: a naturall subiect solemnlie to vow the death of his naturall queene (so borne, so knowne, and so taken by all men) for the releefe of the afflicted catholikes, and restitution of religion. The matter first conceiued in Venice, the seruice (in generall words) presented to the pope, continued and vndertaken in Paris, and lastlie commended and warranted by his holinesse, digested and resolued in England, if it had not beene preuented by accusation, or by hir maiesties greater lenitie and more gratious vsage of hir catholike subiects.

A traitor of singular note by his owne confession was Parrie.

This is my first and last offense conceiued against my prince or countrie, and doth (I cannot denie) conteine all other faults whatsoeuer. It is now to be punished by death, or most gratiouslie (beyond all common expectation) to be pardoned. Death I doo confesse to haue deserued, life I doo (with all humilitie) craue, if it may stand with the queenes honor, and policie of the time. To leaue so great a treason vnpunished were strange; to drawe it by death in example were dangerous; a sworne seruant to take vpon him such an enterprise vpon such a ground, and by such a warrant, hath not beene seene in England; to indict him, arreigne him, bring him to the scaffold, and to publish his offense, can doo no good; to hope that he hath more to discouer than is confessed, or that at his execution he will vnsaie anie thing he hath written, is in vaine; to conclude, that it is impossible for him in time to make some part of amends, were verie hard, and against former experience.

An offense sufficient to hang 1000 traitors without drop of mercie.

Parrie had more glosing rhetorike than faithfull obedience.

The question then is, whether it be better to kill him, or (least the matter be mistaken) vpon hope of his amendment to pardon him. For mine owne opinion (though parciall) I will deliuer you my conscience. The case is good queene Elisabeths, the offense is committed against hir sacred person, and she may (of hir mercie) pardon it without preiudice to anie. Then this I say in few words, as a man more desirous to discharge his troubled conscience, than to liue: Pardon poore Parrie and releeue him; for life without liuing is not fit for him. If this may not be, or be thought dangerous, or dishonorable to the queenes maiestie (as by your fauors, I thinke it full of honor and mercie) then I beseech your lordships (and no other) once to heare me before I be indicted, and afterwards (if I must die) humblie to intreat the queenes maiestie to hasten my triall and execution: which I praie God (with all my heart) may proue as honorable to hir, as I hope it shall be happie to me, who will while I liue (as I haue doone alwaies) praie to Iesus Christ for hir maiesties long and prosperous reigne. From the Tower the eighteenth of Februarie, 1584. *W. Parrie.*

God Lord with what heart might Parrie hope after anie thing but death, hauing beene so captiuall a traitor?

AND where in this meane time sir Francis Walsingham secretarie to hir maiestie, had dealt with one William Creitchton, a Scot for his birth, and a Iesuit by his profession, now prisoner also in the Tower, for that he was apprehended with diuerse plots for inuasions of this realme, to vnderstand of him, if the said Parrie had euer dealt with him in the parties beyond the seas touching that

Creitchton apprehended with diuerse plots for inuasions of this realme.

question, whether it were lawfull to kill hir maiestie or not. The which at that time the said Creitchton called not to his remembrance: yet after vpon better calling it to mind, vpon the twentith date of Februarie last past, he wrote vnto maister secretarie Walsingham thereof voluntarilie, all of his owne hand, to the effect following.

William Creitchtons letter to sir *Francis Walsingham, Febr. 20.*

RIght honorable sir, when your honor demanded me if maister Parrie did aske me, if it were leason to kill the queene; in deed and veritie, then I had no remembrance at all thereof. But since, thinking on the matter, I haue called to mind the whole fashion of his dealing with me, and some of his arguments: for he dealt verie craftilie with me, I dare not say maliciouslie. For I did in no wise thinke of anie such deseine of his, or of anie other, and did answer him simplie after my conscience and knowledge to the veritie of the question. For after that I had answered him twise before, *Quòd omninò non liceret*; he returned late at euen by reason I was to depart earlie in the next morning toward Chamberie in Sauoie where I did remaine, and being returned out of the closse within one of the classes of the college, he proponed to me of new the matter, with his reasons and arguments.

Note Creitchtons report of Parries craft and malice.

Creitchtons reasons to repell Parries traitorous allegations.

First he alleged the vtilitie of the deed for deliuering of so manie catholikes out of miserie, and restitution of the catholike religion. I answered, that the scripture answereth thereto, saieng: *Non sunt facienda mala, vt veniant bona*. So that for no good, how great that euer it be, may be wrought anie euill, how little that euer it be. He replied that it was not euill to take awaie so great euill, and induce so great good. I answered, that all good is not to be doone, but that onelie: *Quòd bene & legitimè fieri potest*. And therefore, *dixi Deum magis amare aduerbia, quàm nomina. Quia in actionibus magis ei placent bene & legitimè, quàm bonum. Ita vt nullum bonum liceat facere, nisi bene & legitimè fieri possit. Quòd in hoc casu fieri non potest.* Yet said he, that seuerall learned men were of the opinion, *Quòd liceret*. I answered, that they men perhaps were of the opinion, that for the safetie of manie in soule and bodie, they would permit a particular to his danger, & to the occult iudgement of God: or perhaps said so, moued rather by some compassion and commiseration of the miserable estate of the catholikes, nor for anie such doctrine that they did find in their bookes. For it is certeine, that such a thing is not licit to a particular, without speciall reuelation diuine, which exceedeth our learning and doctrine. And so he departed from me. Out of the prison in the Tower, the 20 of Februarie.

Deum magis amare aduerbia quàm nomina.

Creitchton holdeth Parries attempt vnlawfull: note.

Your honors poore seruitor in Christ Iesu, W. Creitchton *prisoner.*

Parrie saith and vnsaith like a traitor to shift off the heauie charge of treason.

AND where also the same Parrie was on the same twentith date of Februarie examined by sir Francis Walsingham knight, what was become of the letter conteined in his confession to be written vnto him by the cardinall de Como: he then answered, that it was consumed and burnt. And yet after, the nert date following, being more vehementlie vrged vpon that point in examination (because it was knowne that it was not burnt) he confessed where he had left it in the towne: whereupon, by Parries direction it was sent for, where it had beene lapped vp togither with other friuolous papers, and written vpon the one side of it; The last will of William Parrie. The which letter was in the Italian tong as hereafter followeth, with the same in English accordinglie translated.

Amon Signore, mon signor *Guglielmo Parrie.*

Cardinall de Como his animating letter to Parrie to persuere in his diuelish deuise.

MOn Signore, la Santita di N.S. ha veduto le lettere di V.S. del primo con la fede inclusa, & non può se non laudare la buona dispositione che scriue di tenere verso il seruitio & beneficio publico, nel che la Santita sua lesforta di perseuerare, con farne riuscire li effetti che V.S. promette: & acciochè tanto maggiormente V.S. sia aiutata da quel buon spirito che l'ha mosso, le concede sua benedittione, plenaria indulgenza & remissione di tutti li peccati, secondo che V.S. ha chiesto, assicurandosi che oltre il merito, che n'hauera in cielo, vuole anco sua Santitata constituirsi debitore a reconoscere li meriti di V.S. in ogni miglior modo che porta, & cio tanto piu, quanto che V.S. vsa maggior modestia in non pretender niente. Metta dunque ad effetto li suoi santi & honorati pensieri, & attenda a star sano. Che per fine io me le offero di core, & le desiderio ogni buono & felice successo. Di Roma a 30 di Gennaro, 1584.

But as God would, Parries enterprise wanted that wished *Buono & felice successo.*

Al piacerdi V.S.
N. cardinali di Como.
Al Sig. Guglielmo Parri.

Cardinall de Comos letter to D. *Parrie, 30. Ian. 1584 by account* of Rome.

MOn signor, his holinesse hath seene your letter of the first, with the certificat included, and cannot but commend the good disposition & resolution which you write to hold towards the seruice and benefit publike: wherein his holines dooth exhort you to perseuere, & to bring to effect that which you haue promised. And to the end you may be so much the more holpen by that *good spirit which hath moued you thereynto, he granteth vnto you his blessing, plenarie indulgence and remission of all your sinnes, according to your request. Assuring you, that besides the merit that you shall receiue therfore in heauen, his holines will further make himselfe debtor to acknowledge your deseruings in the best maner that he can: and so much the more, in that you vse the greater modestie in not pretending anie thing. Put therefore to effect your *holie and honorable purposes, and attend your health. And to conclude, I offer my selfe vnto you hartilie, and doo desire all good and happie successe. From Rome the 30 of Ianuarie, 1584.

B god clearegie in the meane time of that allowance treasons in this sort.

*Good spirit, naie malignant spirit & more than diabolike call.

*Naie curssed and abhominable purposes, with destruction to the vndertaker.

At the pleasure of your Signorie,
N. Card. of Como.

VPon all which former accusation, declaration, confessions and prowes, vpon mondaie the two and twentith date of Februarie last past, at Westminster hall, before sir Christopher Wraie knight chiefe iustice of England, sir Gilbert Gerrard knight maister of the rolles, sir Edmund Anderson knight chiefe iustice of the common plees, sir Roger Manwood knight chiefe baron of the exchekier, sir Thomas Gawdie knight one of the iustices of the plees before hir maiestie to be holden, & William Periam one of the iustices of the common plees, by vertue of hir maiesties commission to them and others in that behalfe directed: the same Parrie was indicted of high treason, for intending and practising the death and destruction of hir maiestie, whome God long prosper, and preserue from all such wicked attempts. The tenor of which indictment appeareth more particularlie in the course of his arreignment following.

Parrie conuented, and arreigned at Westminster hall the 22 of Februarie.

The maner of the arreignment of William Parrie the 25 of Februarie 1584, at Westminster

The names of such personages of ho-

nor and worship as had the triall of Parrie arreigned.

minster, in the place where the court commonlie called the Kings bench is vsuallie kept by vertue of hir maiesties commission of oier and terminer, before Henrie lord Hunsdon gouernour of Barwike, sir Francis Knolles knight treasuror of the queenes maiesties household, sir Iames Croft knight comptrollor of the same household, sir Christopher Hatton knight vicechamberleine to hir maiestie, sir Christopher Wraie knight chiefe iustice of England, sir Gilbert Gerrard knight master of the rols, sir Edmund Anderson knight chiefe iustice of the common plees, sir Roger Manwood knight chiefe baron of the exchecker, and sir Thomas Hennage knight treasuror of the chamber.

The lieutenant of the tower returneth his precept.

First three proclamations for silence were made, according to the vsuall course in such cases. Then the lieutenant was commanded to returne his precept, who did so, and brought the prisoner to the bar, to whome Miles Sands esquier clerke of the crowne said; William Parrie hold vp thy hand: and he did so. Then said the clerke of the crowne; Thou art here indicted by the oths of twelue good and lawfull men of the countie of Midleser, before sir Christopher Wraie knight and others, which take the indictment by the name of Wi. Parrie, late of London gentleman, otherwise called Wi. Parrie, late of London doctor of the law, for that thou as a false traitor against the most noble and christian prince, quæne Elisabeth thy most gratious souereigne and liege ladie, not hauing the feare of God before thine eies, nor regarding thy due allegiance (but being seduced by the instigation of the diuell, and intending to withdraw and extinguish the hartie loue and due obedience, which true & faithfull subiects should beare vnto the same our souereigne ladie) diddest at Westminster in the countie of Midleser on the first daie of Februarie, in the fix and twentith yeare of hir highnesse reigne, and at diuerse other times and places in the same countie, maliciouslie, and traitorouslie conspire and compasse, not onelie to depriue and depose the same our souereigne ladie of hir roiall estate, title and dignitie; but also to bring hir highnesse to death and finall destruction, and sedition in the realme to make, and the gouernement thereof to subuert, and the sincere religion of God established in hir highnesse dominions to alter and supplant.

The indictment against Parrie wherein his heinous treason appeareth.

Parrie sent letters to Gregorie the 13 bishop of Rome: and what was the scope of them.

And that, whereas thou William Parrie, by thy letters sent vnto Gregorie bishop of Rome, diddest signifie vnto the same bishop thy purposes and intentions aforesaid, and thereby diddest praie and require the same bishop to giue thee absolution; that thou afterwards, that is to saie, the last day of March in the fix and twentith yeare aforesaid, diddest traitorouslie receiue letters from one called cardinall de Como, directed vnto thee William Parrie, whereby the same cardinall did signifie vnto thee, that the bishop of Rome had perused thy letters, and allowed of thine intent; and that to that end he had absolued thee of all thy sinnes, and by the same letter did animate and stir thee to proceed with thine enterprise; and that thereupon, thou, the last daie of August in the fix and twentith yeare aforesaid, at saint Giles in the fields, in the same countie of Midleser, diddest traitorouslie confer with one Edmund Neuill esquier, vttering to him all thy wicked and traitorous deuises, and then and there diddest mooue him to assist thee therein, and to ioine with thee in those wicked treasons aforesaid, against the peace of our said souereigne ladie the quæne, hir crowne and dignitie. What saiest thou William Parrie, art thou guiltie of these treasons whereof thou standest here indicted, or not guiltie?

Parrie procured Neuill to assist him in his treasons.

Then Parrie said; Before I plead not guiltie, or confesse my selfe guiltie, I praie you giue me leaue to speake a few words: and with humbling himselfe began in this maner. God saue quæne Elisabeth, & God send me grace to discharge my dutie to hir, and to send you home in charitie. But touching the matters that I am indicted of, some were in one place, and some in another, and done so secretlie, as none can see into them, except that they had eies like vnto God: wherefore I will not laie my bloud vpon the iurie, but do mind to confesse the indictment. It conteineth but the parts that haue beene openlie read, I praie you tell me. Wher vnto it was answered, that the indictment conteined the parts he had heard read, & no other. Wher vpon the clerke of the crowne said vnto Parrie, Parrie, thou must answer directlie to the indictment, whether thou be guiltie or not.

Parries answer to the indictment, wherein he confesseth it.

Then said Parrie, I do confesse that I am guiltie of all that is therein conteined: and further to, I desire not life, but desire to die. Vnto which the clerke of the crowne said; If you confesse it, you must confesse it in maner and forme as it is compriled in the indictment. Wherevnto he said; I do confesse it in maner and forme as the same is set downe, and all the circumstances thereof. Then the confession being recorded, the quænes learned councell being readie to praie iudgement vpon the same confession, master vicechamberleine said: These matters conteined in this indictment, and confessed by this man, are of great importance; they touch the person of the quænes most excellent maiestie in the highest degree, the verie state and weldoing of the whole commonwealth, and the truth of Gods word established in these hir maiesties dominions, and the open demonstration of that capitall enuie of the man of Rome, that hath set himselfe against God and all godlinesse, all good princes and good gouernement, and against good men. Wherefore I praie you for the satisfaction of this great multitude, let the whole matter appeare, that euerie one may see that the matter of it selfe is as bad as the indictment purporteth, and as he hath confessed.

Parrie confesseth that he is guiltie of all things conteined in the indictment.

Whereto in respect that the iustice of the realme hath beene of late verie impudentlie slandered, all yelded as a thing necessarie to satisfie the world in particular, of that which was but summarilie compriled in the indictment, though in the law, his confession serued sufficientlie to haue proceeded thereupon vnto iudgement. Wherevpon the lords and others the commissioners, hir maiesties lerned councell, and Parrie himselfe agreed, that Parries confession (taken the eleuenth and thirteenth of Februarie 1584, before the lord of Hunsdon, master Vicechamberleine, and master Secretarie) and cardinall de Como his letters, and Parries letters to the lord treasuror and lord steward, should be openlie read.

Certeine special matters vnder writing read in open audience of the multitude for their satisfaction.

And Parrie, for the better satisfieng of the people and standers by, offered to read them himselfe: but being told how the order was, that the clerke of the crowne should read them, it was so resolued of all parts. And then maister vicechamberleine caused to be shewed to Parrie his said confession, the cardinals letter, and his owne letter aforesaid: which after he had particularlie viewed euerie leafe thereof, he confessed, and said openlie they were the same. Then said maister vicechamberleine; Before we proceed to shew what he hath confessed, what saie you (said he to Parrie) is that which you haue confessed here true, and did you confesse it freelie and willinglie of your selfe, or was there ante ertort means vsed to draw it from you? Surelie (said Parrie) I made that confession freelie without ante constraint, and that is all true, and more to: for there is no treason that hath beene since the first yeare of the quæne ante waie

Sir Christopher Hattons collection out of Parries indictment.

Parries confession was not *Coacta* but *Voluntaria*: *ergo* more credible

touching

touching religion, saving receipt of *Agnus Dei*, and persuading of others, wherein I haue not much dealt, but I haue offended in it. And I haue also deliuered mine opinion in writing, who ought to be successor to the crowne: which he said to be treason also.

Parries confession of his treasons was read by his owne assent, & letter of cardinall di Como vnto Parrie also read.

Then his confession of the eleuenth and thirteenth of Februarie, all of his owne handwriting, and before particularlie set downe, was openlie and distinctlie read by the clerke of the crowne. And that done, the cardinall *di Como* his letter in Italian was deliuered vnto Parries hand, by the direction of maister vicechamberleine, which Parrie there perused, & openlie affirmed to be wholie of the cardinals owne handwriting, and the seale to be his owne also, and to be with a cardinals hat on it: and himselfe did openly read it in Italian, as before is set downe. And the words bearing sense as it were written to a bishop or to a man of such degrée, it was demanded of him by maister vicechamberleine, whether he had not taken the degrée of a bishop? He said, No: but said at first, those tearmes were proper to the degrée he had taken: and after said that the cardinall did vouchsafe as of a fauour to write so to him. Then the copie of that letter in English as before is also set downe, was in like manner openlie read by the clerke of the crowne, which Parrie then acknowledged to be trulie translated. And thereupon was shewed vnto Parrie his letter of the eighteenth of Februarie, written to the lord treasuror, and the lord steward: which he confessed to be all of his owne handwriting, and was as before is set downe.

Parries letter of the eighteenth of Februarie to the lord treasuror and the earle of Leicester read.

These matters being read openlie for manifestation of the matter, Parrie praied leaue to speake; whereto maister vicechamberleine said: If you will saie anie thing for the better opening to the world of those your foule and horrible facts, speake on: but if you meane to make anie excuse of that which you haue confessed, which else would haue bene and do stand proued against you; for my part, I will not sit to heare you. Then hir maiesties atturnie generall stood vp and said: It appeareth before you my lords, that this man hath bene indicted and arreigned of seuerall most heinous and horrible treasons, and hath confessed them, which is before you of record: wherefore there resteth no more to be done, but for the court to giue iudgement accordinglie, which here I require in the behalfe of the quenes maiestie. Then said Parrie, I praie you heare me for discharging of my conscience; I will not go about to excuse my selfe, nor to seeke to saue my life, I care not for it, you haue my confession of record, that is inough for my life: and I meane to vtter more, for which I were worthie to die; and said: I praie you heare me, in that I am to speake to discharge my conscience. Then said maister vicechamberleine; Parrie, then do thy dutie according to conscience, and vtter all that thou canst saie concerning those thy most wicked facts.

The quenes atturnie requireth iudgement.

Then said Parrie: My cause is rare, singular and vnnaturall, conceiued at Venice, presented in generall words to the pope, vndertaken at Paris, commended and allowed of by his holinesse, and was to haue bene executed in England, if it had not bene preuented. Yea, I haue committed manie treasons, for I haue committed treason in being reconciled, and treason in taking absolution. There hath bene no treason since the first yeare of the quenes reigne touching religion, but that I am guiltie of (except for receiuing of *Agnus Dei*, & persuading as I haue said) and yet neuer intended to kill quene Elisabeth. I appeale to hir owne knowledge and to my lord treasurors and maister secretaries. Then said my lord of Hunsdon: Hast thou acknowledged it so often, and so plainelie in writing vnder thy hand, and here of record; and now, when thou shouldest haue thy iudgement according to that which thou hast confessed thy selfe guiltie of, dost thou go backe againe, and denie the effect of all? How can we beleeue that thou now saiest?

Parrie had for his credit afore time said vnto secretlie, that he had bene solicited beyond the seas to commit the fact, but he would not do it, wherewith he craftilie abused both the quenes maiestie, & those two councellors, wherof he now would helpe himselfe with these speeches against most manifest proofs.

Then said maister vicechamberleine; This is absurd, thou hast not onelie confessed generallie, that thou wert guiltie according to the indictment, which summarilie, and yet interpretle words doth conteine that thou haddest traitorouslie compassed and intended the death & destruction of hir maiestie: but thou also saidst particularlie that thou wert guiltie of euerie of the treasons conteined therein, whereof the same was one in plaine & expresse letter set downe, and read vnto thée; Yea thou saiedst that thou wert guiltie of more treasons to beside these; And diddest thou not vpon thy examination voluntarilie confesse, how thou wast moued first thervnto by mislike of thy state after thy departure out of the realme: And that thou diddest mislike hir maiestie for that she had done nothing for thée? How by wicked papists and popish bookes thou wert persuaded that it was lawfull to kill hir maiestie? How thou wert by reconciliation become one of that wicked sort, that held hir maiestie for neither lawfull quene, nor christian? And that it was meritorious to kill hir? And diddest thou not signifie that thy purpose to the pope by letters, and receiuedst letters from the cardinall, how he allowed of thine intent, and excited thée to performe it, and thereupon diddest receiue absolution? And diddest thou not conceiue it, promise it, vow it, sweare it, and receiue the sacrament that thou wouldest do it? And diddest not thou thereupon affirme, that thy vowes were in heauen, and thy letters and promises on earth to bind thée to do it? And that what soeuer hir maiestie would haue done for thée, could not haue remoued thee from that intention or purpose, vnlesse she would haue desisted from dealing as she hath done with the catholikes, as thou callest them? All this thou hast plainelie confessed; and I protest before this great assemblie, thou hast confessed it more plainelie & in better sort, than my memorie will serue me to vtter: and saiest thou now, that thou neuer meantest it?

Note all this charge of maister vicechamberleine to be a recapitulatiõ of all or most the treasons of Parrie.

Ah (said Parrie) your honors know how my confession vpon mine examination was extorted. Then both the lord Hunsdon and maister Vicechamberleine affirmed, that there was no torture or threatning words offered him. But Parrie then said, that they told him, that if he would not confesse willinglie, he should haue torture. Whereunto their honors answered, that they vsed not anie speech or word of torture to him. You said, said Parrie, that you would proceed with rigour against me, if I would not confesse it of my selfe. But their honors expresse affirmed that they vsed no such words. But I will tell thée, said maister Vicechamberleine, what we said; I spake these words: If you will willinglie vtter the truth of your selfe, it may do you good, and I wish you to do so; if you will not, we must then proceed in ordinarie course to take your examination. Whervnto you answered, that you would tell the truth of your selfe. Was not this true? Which then he yelded vnto. And hereunto, hir maiesties attournie generall put Parrie in remembrance what speeches he vsed to the lieutenant of the Tower, the quenes maiesties sergeant at law, M. Gaudie, and the same attournie on saturdaie the twentith of Februarie last at the Tower, vpon that he was by them then examined by order from the lords: which was, that he acknowledged he was most mildlie and fauourablie dealt with, in all his examinations: which he also at the bar then acknowledged to be true.

Parrie chargeth the lords of the councell with vntruth.

Parrie reproued of false speeches, and so by himselfe also confessed.

Then maister vicechamberleine said, that it was wonder

The magnanimitie of the quéenes maiestie notified by sir Christopher Hatton.

wonder to sée the magnanimitie of hir maiestie, which after that thou haddest opened those traitorous practises in sort as thou hast laid it downe in thy confession, was neuertheless such, and so far from all feare, as that she would not so much as acquaint anie one of hir highnesse priuie councell with it, to his knowlege, no not vntill after this thine enterprise discouered and made manifest. And besides that which thou hast set downe vnder thine owne hand, thou diddest confesse, that thou haddest prepared two Scotish daggers fit for such a purpose: and those being disposed awaie by thée, thou diddest saie that an other would serue thy turne. And withall, Parrie, diddest thou not also confesse before vs how wonderfullie thou wert appalled and perplexed vpon a sudden at the presence of hir maiestie at Hampton court this last summer, saieng that thou diddest thinke thou then sawest in hir the verie likenesse and image of king Henrie the seuenth? And that therewith, and vpon some speaches vsed by hir maiestie, thou diddest turne about and weepe bitterlie to thy selfe? And yet diddest call to mind that thy vowes were in heauen, thy letters and promises on earth; and that therefore thou diddest saie with thy selfe, that there was no remedie but to do it? Diddest thou not confesse this? The which he acknowledged.

The lord of Hunsdons speéches convincing Parrie manifestlie of hie treason.

Then said the lord Hunsdon; Saiest thou now, that thou diddest neuer meane to kill the quéene? Diddest thou not confesse, that when thou diddest vtter this practise of trecherie to hir maiestie, that thou diddest couer it with all the skill thou haddest; and that it was done by thee, rather to get credit and accesse thereby, than for anie regard thou haddest of hir person? But in truth thou diddest it, that thereby thou mightest haue better opportunitie to performe thy wicked enterprise. And wouldest thou haue run into such feare as thou diddest confesse that thou wert in, when thou diddest vtter it, if thou haddest neuer meant it? What reason canst thou shew for thy selfe? Which that he cried out in a furious maner: I neuer meant to kill hir: I will laie my bloud vpon quéene Elisabeth and you, before God and the world: and thereupon fell into a rage and euill words with the quéenes maiesties attourneie generall. Then said the lord Hunsdon; This is but thy popish pride & ostentation, which thou wouldest haue to be told to thy fellowes of that faction, to make them beléeue that thou diest for poperie, when thou diest for most horrible and dangerous treasons against hir maiestie, and thy whole countrie. For thy laieng of thy bloud, it must lie on thine owne head, as a iust reward of thy wickednesse. The lawes of the realme most iustlie condemne thée to die out of thine owne mouth, for conspiring the destruction both of hir maiestie, and of vs all: therefore thy bloud be vpon thée: neither hir maiestie, nor we at anie time sought it; thy selfe hast spilt it.

Parries exclamation of outrage and vnpatientnesse.

Parrie abuseth the honorable and worshipfull of the bench with termes vncouth and darke speéches.

Then he was asked what he could saie, why iudgement of death ought not to be awarded against him? Whereto he said, he did sée that he must die, because he was not setled. What meanest thou by that, said maister vicechamberleine? Said he, Looke into your studie, and into your new bookes, and you shall find what I meane. I protest (said his honor) I know not what thou meanest: thou dost not well to vse such darke speéches, vnlesse thou wouldest plainelie vtter what thou meanest thereby. But he said, he cared not for death, and that he would laie his bloud amongst them. Then spake the lord chiefe iustice of England, being required to giue iudgement according to law, and said; Parrie, you haue beene much heard, and what you meane by being setled, I know not; but I see you are so setled in poperie, that you cannot setle your selfe to be a good subiect. But touching that you should saie to stale iudgement from being giuen against you, your speéches must be of one of these kinds; either to proue the indicment (which you haue confessed to be true) to be insufficient in law; or else to pleade somewhat touching hir maiesties mercie, why iustice should not be done of you. All other speéches wherein you haue vsed great libertie, is more than by law you can aske. These be the matters you must looke to, what saie you to them? Whereto he said nothing.

More libertie of speech giuen to Parrie than by law was allowable.

Then said the lord chiefe iustice; Parrie, thou hast béene before this time indicted of diuerse most horrible and hatefull treasons, committed against thy most gratious souereigne, and native countrie: the matter most detestable, the maner most subtill and dangerous, and the occasions and meanes that lead thée thereunto most vngodlie and villanous. That thou diddest intend it, it is most euident by thy selfe. The matter was the destruction of a most sacred and an anointed quéene thy souereigne and mistresse, who hath shewed thée such fauour, as some thy betters haue not obteined: yea, the ouerthrow of thy countrie wherein thou wert borne, & of a most happie common-wealth whereof thou art a member, and of such a quéene, as hath bestowed on thée the benefit of all benefits in this world (that is to saie) thy life, hertofore granted thée by hir mercie when thou hadst lost it by iustice & desert. Yet thou hir seruant sworne to defend hir, mentest with thy bloudie hand to haue taken awaie hir life, that mercifullie gaue thée thine, when it was yéelded into hir hands. This is the matter wherein thou hast offended.

Parries treasons recapitulated by the lord chiefe iustice, both for maner and matter.

The maner was most subtill and dangerous, beyond all that before thée haue committed anie wickednesse against hir maiestie: for thou making shew as if thou wouldest simplie haue vttered for hir safetie the euill that others had contriued, diddest but seeke thereby credit & accesse, that thou mightest take the apter opportunitie for hir destruction. And for the occasions and meanes that drew thée on, they were most vngodlie and villanous: as the persuasions of the pope, of papists, and popish bookes. The pope pretendeth that he is a pastor, when as in truth he is far from feeding of the flocke of Christ, but rather as a woolfe seeketh but to feed on & to sucke out the bloud of true christians, and as it were thirsteth after the bloud of our most gratious and christian quéene. And these papists and popish bookes, while they pretend to set forth diuinitie, they do indéed most vngodlie teach and persuade that which is quite contrarie both to God and his word. For the word teacheth obedience of subiects toward princes, & forbiddeth anie priuat man to kill; but they teach subiects to disobeie princes, & that a priuat wicked person may kill. Yea & whome? a most godlie quéene, & their owne naturall and most gratious souereigne. Let all men therfore take héed how they receiue anie thing from him, heare or read anie of their bookes, and how they confer with anie papists. God grant hir maiestie, that she maie know by thée, how euer she trust such like to come so néere hir person!

The occasions and meanes that induced Parrie to these treasons.

The danger & damnablenesse of popish bookes either read or listened vnto of papists, &c.

But see the end, and why thou diddest it, and it will appeare to be a most miserable, fearefull, and foolish thing: for thou diddest imagine, that it was to relieue those that thou callest catholikes, who were most likelie amongst all others to haue felt the worst of it, if thy diuelish practise had taken effect. But sith thou hast béene indicted of the treasons comprised in the indictment, and thereupon arreigned, and hast confessed thy selfe guiltie of them; the court doth award, that thou shalt be had from hense to the place whense thou diddest come, and so drawne through the open citie of London vpon an hurdle to the place of execution, and there to be hanged and let downe alme,

The forme of iudgement against the traitor pronounced by the lord cheefe iustice.

alive, and thy priuie parts cut off, and thy entrals taken out and burnt in thy sight, then thy head to be cut off, and thy bodie to be diuided in foure parts, and to be disposed at hir maiesties pleasure: and God haue mercie on thy soule.

Parrie rageth at the iustice bar without all reuerence.

Parrie neuertheles persisted still in his rage and fond speach, and raginglie there said, he there summoned quéene Elisabeth to answer for his bloud before God: wherewith the lieutenant of the Tower was commanded to take him from the barre: and so he did. And vpon his departure, the people striken as it were at heart with the horror of his intended enterprise, ceased not, but pursued him with outcries, as; Awaie with the traitor, awaie with him, & such like: whereupon he was conueied to the barge, to passe to the Tower againe by water: & the court was adiorned. After which, vpon the second daie of this instant March, William Parrie was by vertue of processe in that behalfe awarded from the same commissioners of oier and terminer, deliuered by the lieutenant of the Tower erlie in the morning vnto the shiriffes of London and Middlesex, who receiued him at the Tower hill, and thereupon, according to the iudgement, caused him there to be forthwith set on the hurdle: from whense he was drawne therevpon through the middest of the citie of London, vnto the place for his execution in the palace at Westminster: where, hauing long time of stale admitted vnto him before his execution, he most maliciouslie and impudentlie, after some other vaine discourses excusons & often deliuered in speach, that he was neuer guiltie of anie intention to kill quéene Elisabeth, and so (without anie request made by him to the people to pray to God for him, or praier publikelie vsed by himselfe for ought that appeared: but such as he vsed, if he vsed anie, was priuat to himselfe) he was executed according to the iudgement. And now for his intent, how soeuer he pretended the contrarie in words, yet by these his owne writings, confessions, letters, & manie other proues afore here expressed, it is most manifest to all persons, how horrible his intentions and treasons were, and how iustlie he suffered for the same: and thereby greatlie to be doubted, that as he had liued a long time vainelie and vngodlie, and like an atheist and godlesse man, so he continued the same course till his death to the outward sight of men. ¶ Here endeth the true and plaine course and processe of the treasons, arrest, arreignement, and execution of William Parrie the traitor.

William Parrie the traitor executed.

Parrie (euen at the time of his death) séeketh to cleare and purge himselfe as innocent of the treasons for the which he was condemned.

An addition not vnnecessarie *for this purpose.*

FOrsomuch as Parrie in the aboundance of his proud and arrogant humour, hath often both in his confession, and letters, pretended sums great and grieuous causes of discontentment against hir maiestie, and the present state: it shall not be impertinent, for better satisfaction of all persons, to set forth simplie and trulie, the condition and qualitie of the man, what he was by birth and education, and in what course of life he had liued. This vile and traitorous wretch was one of the yonger sonnes of a poore man, called Harrie ap Dauid: he dwelled in Northwales in a little village called Northop in the countie of Flint: there he kept a common alehouse, which was the best and greatest state of his liuing. In that house was this traitor borne, his mother was the reputed daughter of one Conwaie a priest, parson of a poore parish called Halkin in the same countie of Flint: his eldest brother dwelleth at this present in the same house, and there kéepeth an alehouse as his father did before him. This traitor in his childhood so soone as he had learned a little to write and read, was put to serue a poore man dwelling in Chester, named John Fisher, who professed to haue some small skill and vnderstanding in the law. With him he continued diuerse yeares, and serued as a clerke, to writs such things as in that trade, which his master vsed, he was appointed.

A description of Parrie both by linage person, education, and qualitie, &c.

Parrie baselie borne and baselie brought vp.

During this time, he learned the English tong, and at such times of leasure as the poore man his master had no occasion otherwise to vse him, he was suffered to go to the grammar schole, where he got some litle vnderstanding in the Latine tong. In this his childhood he was noted by such as best knew him, to be of a most villainous and dangerous nature & disposition. He did often run awaie from his master, and was often taken & brought to him againe. His master, to correct his peruerse and froward conditions, did manie times shut him as prisoner in some close place of his house, and manie times caused him to be chained, locked, and clogged, to staie his running awaie. Yet all was in vaine: for about the third yeare of hir maiesties reigne, for his last farewell to his poore master, he ran awaie from him, and came to London to sèke his aduentures. He was then constreined to sèke what trade he could to liue by, and to get meat and drinke for his bellie, and clothes for his backe.

Parrie a verie runnagate and vagarant rakehell in his yong yeares.

His good hap in the end was to be interteined in place of seruice aboue his desert, where he staied not long, but shifted himselfe diuerse times from seruice to seruice, and from one master to another. Now he began to forget his old home, his birth, his education, his parents, his friends, his owne name, and what he was. He aspired to greater matters, he challenged the name and title of a great gentleman, he vanted himselfe to be of kin and alied to noble and worshipfull, he left his old name which he did beare, and was commonlie called by in his childhood, & during all the time of his abode in the countrie, which was William ap Harrie (as the maner in Wales is.) And bicause he would séeme to be in déed the man which he pretended, he toke vpon him the name of Parrie, being the surname of diuerse gentlemen of great worship and hansour. And bicause his mothers name by hir father a simple priest, was Conwaie: he pretended kinred to the familie of sir John Conwaie, and so thereby made himselfe of kin to Edmund Nevill.

Note Parries ambitiō, and how the priest forgetteth that euer he was parish clerke.

Being thus set forth with his new name and new title of gentleman, and commended by some of his good fauorers, he matched himselfe in mariage with a widow in Southwales, who brought him some reasonable portion of wealth. She liued with him but a short time, and the welth he had with hir lasted not long: it was soone consumed with his dissolute and wastfull maner of life. He was then driuen to his wonted shifts, his creditors were manie, the debt which he owed great, he had nothing wherewith to make paiment, he was continuallie pursued by sergeants and officers to arrest him, he did often by sleights and shifts escape from them. In this his nédie and poore estate, he sought to repare himselfe againe by a new match in mariage with another widow, which before was the wife of one Richard Hetwod.

Parrie matcheth himselfe in marriage with a widow in Southwales.

Parrie a shifter, in debt & danger; he marrieth a rich widow, &c.

This matter was so earnestlie followed by himselfe, and so effectuallie commended by his frends and fauourers, that the sillie woman yéelded to take him to husband: a match in euerie respect verie vnequall and vnfit. Hir wealth and yearelie liuelihood was verie great, his poore and base estate worse than nothing, he verie yong, she of such age as for yeares she might haue bene his mother. When he had thus possessed himselfe of his new wiues wealth, he omit-

ted

Parrie deflloureth his wiues owne daughter, and sundrie waies abuseth the old mother.

ted nothing that might serue for a prodigall, dissolute, and most vngodlie course of life. His riot and excesse was vnmeasurable, he did most wickedlie deflloure his wiues owne daughter, and sundrie waies pitifullie abuse the old mother: he caried himselfe for his outward port and countenance (so long as his old wiues bags lasted) in such sort, as might well haue sufficed for a man of verie good hauiour and degrée. But this lasted not long, his proud hart & wastfull hand had sone powred out old Heiwoods wealth.

He then fell againe to his wonted shifts, borowed where he could find anie to lend, and ingaged his credit so far as anie would trust him. Amongst others, he became greatlie indebted to Hugh Hare, the gentleman before named. Who after long forbearing of his monis, sought to recouer it by law. For this cause Parrie conceiued great displeasure against him, which he pursued with all malice, euen to the seeking of his life. In this murtherous intent, he came in the night time to M. Hares chamber in the Temple, broke open the doore, assaulted him, and wounded him grieuouslie, and so left him in great danger of life. For this offense he was apprehended, committed to Newgate, indicted of burglarie, arreigned, and found guiltie by a verie substantiall iurie, and condemned to be hanged, as the law in that case requireth.

Parrie condemned for burgularie, is pardoned of the queene.

He standing thus conuicted, hir maiestie of hir most gratious clemencie, and pitifull disposition, tooke compassion vpon him, pardoned his offense, & gaue him his life, which by the law & due course of iustice he ought then to haue lost. After this he taried not long, but pretending some causes of discontentment, departed the realme, and trauelled beyond the seas. How he demeaned himselfe there from time to time, and with whome he conuersed, is partlie in his owne confession touched before. This is the man, this is his race, which he feared should be spotted if he miscaried in the execution of his traitorous enterprise, this hath béene the course of his life, these are the great causes of his discontentment.

Parrie pretended a conscience of religion, being vtterlie prophane and of no religion.

And whereas at his arreignement and execution, he pretended great care of the disobedient popish subiects of this realme, whom he called catholikes, and in verie insolent sort séemed to glorie greatlie in the profession of his pretensed catholike religion: the whole course and action of his life sheweth plainelie, how prophanelie & irreligiouslie he did alwaies beare himselfe. He vaunted, that for these two and twentie yeares past he had béene a catholike, and during all that time neuer receiued the communion: yet before he trauelled beyond the seas, at three seuerall times within the compasse of these two and twentie years, he did voluntarilie take the oth of obedience to the quænes maiestie, set downe in the statute made in the first yeare of hir highnesse reigne; by which, amongst other things, he did testifie and declare in his conscience, that no forreine prince, person, prelat, state, or potentat, hath or ought to haue anie iurisdiction, power, preeminence, or authoritie, ecclesiasticall or spirituall, within this realme; and therfore did vtterlie renounce & forsake all forren iurisdictions, powers, and authorities, and did promise to beare faith and true allegiance to the quénes highnesse, hir heires and lawfull successours.

Parries voluntarie oth (thrise taken in 22 yeares) of obedience to hir maiestie.

With what conscience or religion he tooke that oth so often, if so be he were then a papist in deed, as since the discouerie of his treasons he pretended, let his best frends the papists themselues iudge. But perhaps it may be said, that he repented those his offenses past: that since those three oths so taken by him, he was twise reconciled to the pope, and so his conscience cleared, and he become a new man, and

And this is most like, for what will not the pope dispense withall.

(which is more) that in the time of his last trauell, he cast awaie all his former lewd maners: that he changed his degrée and habit, and bought or begged the graue title of a doctor of law, for which he was well qualified with a little grammar schole Latine: that he had plenarie indulgence and remission of all his sinnes, in consideration of his vndertaking of so holie an enterprise as to kill quéene Elisabeth, a sacred annointed quæne, his naturall and souereigne ladie: that he promised to the pope, & vowed to God to performe it: that he confirmed the same by receiuing the sacrament at the Iesuits, at one altar with his two beaupéres, the cardinals of Vandosme and Narbone: and that since his last returne into England, he did take his oth vpon the bible to execut it. These reasons may séeme to beare some weight in déed amongst his friends the Iesuits, and other papists of state, who haue speciall skill in matters of such importance.

Parries two beaupéers the cardinals of Vandosme & Narbone.

But now latelie in the beginning of this parlement in Nouember last, he did eftsones solemnelie in publike place take the oth before mentioned, of obedience to hir maiestie. How that maie stand with his reconciliations to the pope, and with his promises, vowes, and oth to kill the quéene, it is a thing can hardlie be warranted, vnlesse it be by some speciall priuilege of the popes omnipotencie. But let him haue the glorie he desired, to liue and die a papist. He deserued it, it is fit for him, his death was correspondent to the course of his life, which was disloiall, periured, and traitorous towards hir maiestie; and false and perfidious towards the pope himselfe, and his catholikes, if they will beléeue his solemne protestations which he made at his arreignement and execution, that he neuer meant nor intended anie hurt to hir highnesse person. For if that be true, where are then his vowes which he said were in heauen, his letters and promises vpon earth? Why hath he stollen out of the popes shop so large an indulgence and plenarie remission of all his sinnes, and meant to performe nothing that he promised? Why was his deuotion and zele so highlie commended? Why was he so specialite praid for and remembred at the altar? All these great fauours were then bestowed vpon him without cause or desert: for he deceiued the pope, he deceiued the cardinals and Iesuits with a false semblance and pretense to do that thing which he neuer meant.

what a notable dissembler was this?

Parrie periured towards hir maiestie & perfidious to the pope, &c.

No trust nor certeine dealing vsed by Parrie to or fro.

But the matter is cleere, the conspiracie, and his traitorous intent is too plaine and euident: it is the Lord that reuealed it in time, and preuented their malice: there lacked no will or readinesse in him to execute that horrible fact. It is the Lord that hath preserued hir maiestie from all the wicked practises and conspiracies of that hellish rable: it is he that hath most gratiouslie deliuered hir from the hands of this traitorous miscreant. The Lord is hir onelie defense in whome she hath alwaies trusted, he will defend hir maiestie, and fulfill for hir sake no lesse than good king Dauid (sundrie times assalted with falsharted enimies) and all loiall subiects will hartilie praie for; namelie such vengeance and heauie measure of iudgement to be proportioned and allotted them, as is wished against the malicious wicked in the eight and fiftith psalme, effectuallie set downe by the Paraphrast in these words following:

Confringe malas (ô Deus) impudens
Os comminutis contere dentibus:
Et rictibus sæuis hiantes
Hos inhibe catulos leonum, &c.
Sensim liquescant, tardigradus velut
Limax: acerbo funere deferant
Vitale lumen, more fœtus
Ante suum pereunt in ortum, &c.

Buch. in psalm. 58.

A few

A few obseruations gathered out of the *verie words and writings of William Parrie the* traitor, applied to prooue his traitorous coniuration, *with a resolute intent, imagination, purpose, and obstinate* determination to haue killed hir maiestie, our most gratious souereigne: whom the Lord hath saued, and euer maie he saue by his mercie.

THis William Parrie the traitor, 1 confesseth to haue conceiued the treason at Venice, by conference with B. Palmio, of whome he still thinketh so well, as he can not but speake of him with reuerend mention; whereas, if he had neuer thought, or did now forethinke the treason, he would rather curse the time that euer he met with such a bloudie and treacherous ghostlie father. Well, this graue and learned frier Palmio (saith he) made the matter cleere in religion and conscience, and commended the traitors deuotion. This treason Parrie so apprehended, as he wrote presentlie to the pope, presenting the seruice. 2 Returning to Paris, he conferred with Morgan, vowed to performe it for restitution of England, &c. 3 Being dissuaded (as the credible man writeth) by Wats, he replied that he was gone so farre, as he could not go backe, but promised faithfullie to performe the enterprise, if the pope would vpon his offers and letters allow it, and grant remission, &c.

Where this by the waie is to be noted, that if the opinions of these English priests (as he will néds make vs beléeue) were differing from the pope, and our English Iesuits, varieng from Iesuit Palmio and others beyond sea Iesuits, in the question of murthering a prince: some of them at least would haue giuen totall intelligence of such a treason conceiued and nourished in that man, who had made so manie priuie both beyond and on this side the sea, as could not be dissuaded from his purpose, but euer departed with a resolution contrarie vnto these cold dissuaders. It were no good policie to trust this popish traitor, but rather to suspect all pope created priests to be of the same mind with their supreame head, and all English Iesuits to consent with forren Iesuits their fellow members. They be all of one order and vow, they haue one superior; and if they had detested this fact in déed, some of them, séeing the wretch to perish, must néeds haue bewraied it, and not to suffer him to go on headlong in such a sinne, leauing hir roiall person to the will and malice (as much as in them laie) of a murthering ruffian.

But to proue his intent with continuance and growing of the same, 4 Againe he writeth letters to the pope, in Januarie one thousand fiue hundred eightie and foure by that account, toke aduise vpon them in confession of A. Codreto, was commended, againe confessed, toke the sacrament (verelie *Cruentum sacramentum, & sacrificium cruoris*) at the Iesuits, at one altar, with the cardinals of Mandosini and of Narbone. Hereof he had certificat to the pope, which he sent inclosed in his letters to his holinesse, to lead him to absolue him; which he required in consideration of so great an enterprise vndertaken without reward. 5 The letter and certificat he read to Ragazzoni, and left with him to be sent to the pope, who wished him good spéed, promising he should be remembred at the altar. 6 He doubteth, least if Morgan died, and he miscarried in the execution (as he did, God be thanked, and choked in the halter, notwithstanding their remembrance at the altar) and his intent neuer trulie discouered; that is to saie, that he did it for the catholikes, it might be a spot in his race. Marke here the verie word (intent) in his owne confession. 7 Morgan assureth him, that the lord Fernehurst should go into Scotland, and be readie to enter vpon the first newes of our queenes fall. Thus much for his intent beyond the sea, and before his conturation discouered.

Upon his arriuall in England, he wrote to court, that he had a speciall seruice of discouerie vnto the quéene: but with what intent, let his owne words speake, 8 More to prepare accesse and credit, than for anie care had of hir person. Admitted vnto hir gratious audience, he discouered the conturation; yet in what maner, let himselfe sate, euen couered with all the skill he had. This intent was with déepe treason: for (as he saith) so he did, he disclosed onelie so much as he thought good and necessarie to ground in hir highnesse a setled confidence towards him, wherby he might effect his traitorous intent with better opportunitie, and his owne safetie. He bewraied himselfe so farre as he might couer his chiefe drift, manie principall things concealed, nothing of lord Fernehurst with his Scotish forces, &c. 9 Receiuing from the pope himselfe commendation and allowance of his enterprise, of incouragement, and plenarie indulgence by no meaner man than cardinall di Como, though he shewed the letter to hir maiestie; not for anie care of hir person, but for his better accesse & credit, as the rest, yet let his owne words tell what his intent was at the verie receiuing and shewing of the same letter. Forsooth (saith he) this letter confirmed his resolution to kill the quéene, making it cléere in his conscience, as a thing lawfull and meritorious.

Now is his intent grown to a resolution, not doutfull, but cléere in conscience, not alone lawfull, but meritorious. *Papa dixit*, a cardinall is Nuntio. What other thing is this, than for the pope and his cardinals, like an other *Antoninus Commodus*, to make one *Inter sicarios & gladiatores?* The diuell inforcing this traitors heart to execute his intent, 10 He was troubled loking vpon the quéene, and remembring hir excellencies: yet he saw no remedie, his vowes were in heauen, his letters and promises on earth. Yea, he stroue to close his eies at these excellencies, and obstinated his hart by séeking reasons to quench all sparks of humanitie and allegiance arising in his thoughts. For thus reasoneth he against his conscience; Why shouldest thou care for hir? What hath she done for thee? Hast thou not spent ten thousand marks, &c. What more diuelish intent could possesse a traitor, than to labour to suppresse a small remaine of conscience, abhorring to kill so excellent a personage, which God stirred vp in his thoughts to his suffer condemnation? 11 Doctor Allens booke redoubled his former conceipts, euerie word was a warrant to a prepared mind.

Sée how the smoth words of that catholike booke are interpreted and conceiued. One spirit occupieth the catholike reader with the catholike writer, and therefore can best expound the writers sense in his readers mouth, euen to be a booke fraught with emphaticall speaches of energeticall persuasion to kill and depose hir maiestie, and yet doth the hypocrite writer, that traitor catholike, dissemble and protest otherwise. 12 Parrie suffering repulse in a suite for S. Katharins, communeth with maister Neuill, recommendeth the enterprise as honorable & profitable to the catholike common-weale. Being preiudiced in opinion of Allens booke (as before) he commendeth it, and deliuereth it to Neuill, thereby to worke the same vile intent in him which it had alreadie confirmed in himselfe. He toke now an other oth vpon the bible, after the maner of a protestant, to pursue the enterprise, and ment (he saith) to performe it, so far forth as the place and maner of doing was appointed. This second conturation he neuer bewraied

Benedicto Palmio a Iesuit, mentioned before, pag. 1385.

Thomas Morgan and Wats the one termed a catholike gentleman, pag. 1385.

Anball a Iesuit in Paris, of whome before, pag. 1385.

Ragazzoni the Nuntio: sée before, pag. 1385.

Sée before pag. 1386.

They cannot be found in loialtie that are vnsound in religion: *Ergo* how can they giue Caesar his right, that deme God his due and true seruice?

Sée before, pag. 1386.

Sée before, pag. 1386.

Cardinall di Como, of whom sée before, pag. 1385. and his letter to Parrie, pag. 1388.

Sée before, pag. 1386.

Sée before, pag. 1386. part of Parries voluntarie confession.

Note the pernicious dealing of Parrie euerie waie vnfaithfull, *Tam principi quàm populo, deinceps sibimet ut proditori summo*, pag. 1386.

waied in six moneths, till accused by Peuill, and then at first denied it.

13 Finallie, to declare his height of malice, he saith, if the quéene had preferred him neuer so greatlie, yet must this bloudie enterprise haue holden, except she had releeued the catholikes. Was this no intent, which neither benefit nor bountie could staie? Which neither feare of God, nor reuerence of excellencie could repell? Which neither dread of punishment, nor tract of time could remoue? Did he conceiue it, conferre and aduise of it, vow himselfe to the execrable seruice, present and offer it, harden his heart against others dissuasions, beat backe contrarie motions of his owne conscience, go so farre as he could not go backe, promise it faithfullie, receiue a church sacrament therevpon, make certificat thereof, propound himselfe the end and reason of his intent, discourse vpon the contingent sequele, preuenting the spot of his race, receiue letters of allowance, commendation, incouragement, and absolution, could he vow in heauen, and promise on earth, could he do all this in a thing which he meant not?

All these circumstances proue that Parrie was resolute, and prepared both in hart and by hand to put in practise his conceiued vnnaturall treason.

Could he resolue and confirme his resolution of a thing which he intended not; yea, could he intend & meane (for all these be his owne words) that which he neuer meant nor intended? could he redouble his conceits, and haue a prepared mind for that he intended not? Would such a craftie traitor practise with others by persuasiue speach, & traitorous booke in such a matter, as the onelie broching thereof must capitallie indamage his kinsman and friend, and withall laie his owne head in his friends hand? And yet notwithstanding, either he meant this treason, either else he little loued his friend, to tempt him so dangerouslie; whom yet, he saith, he loued so, as to suffer his finger in his dish, & his hand in his purse. But which is aboue all, would anie man sweare againe on the bible, appoint time and place, conceals it with as much perill as if he had done it; would he denie it, would so ambitious a man discontent himselfe with all preferment, for the atchiuing of that which he meant not? Was this mischeuous course, begun and continued, a long time, at home and abroad, in manie kingdomes, communicated with manie persons, of seuerall nation and qualitie, as pope, cardinall, *Nuntio*, frier, priest, kings secretarie and ambassadors, all this while not meant? Was it frankelie and voluntarilie confessed meant, finallie, recorded by pleading guiltie in maner & forme with all circumstance, and yet could he die an innocent for intent?

How could this hellhound die an innocent for intent; the premisses considered.

All this falling vpon no simple man, but vpon one, not now the first time holding vp his hand at barre, & vpon a doctor of law, the verie hood whereof is able to giue a man more iudgement, than to slip without light in all these things: I know not how he maie be excused without strong suspicion of the excuser. And if a prince may not iudge a wicked seruant out of his owne mouth, nor determine an offense by two or three mouthes, it were a notable world for traitors and murtherers, thus to haue all proceedings set lose, as well of our common lawes, which condemne vpon all euidences, as of the ciuill lawes, which giue capitall sentence vpon confession onelie: yea, Moses wisedome is ouerreached, and Christes equitie in his euangelicall parable against the lewd seruant not vsing his talent is eluded. All this is also ratified by voluntarie letters of his to hir maiestie apart, and to hir honorable councell. And if anie Italianat papist neuertheless will néeds beleeue this repugnancie of his last speaches, let him yet take this one note of him, whereby to consider how credible a man he creditеth.

Either Parrie meant this monstrous murther according to his vowes in heauen, and sworne promises in earth, and so died a desperat traitor, protesting the contrarie in his last words vpon his soule and damnation: or else was he periured, to the foule abuse of pope & all poperie, most execrablie prophaning Gods name by promising, swearing, vowing, &c: that which he meant not. Necessarilie therefore must he perish vpon periured treason, or wreck vpon desperat deieration. Nothing auoideth this dilemma, but a popish bull of dispensation, which if he had, I know not how princes may not as safelie suffer woolues and beares come to their presence, as such papists. And verie like it is that Parrie had a speciall bull, either else was it comprehended in his indulgence, that he might take othes contrarie to his catholike conscience, as he did the oth of supremasie in the beginning of the last parlement. Which if his conjuratours had not béene prinie with what intention he did sweare, he neuer durst haue taken it, least they should haue now bewraied him as a man sworne against the pope, therefore not to be trusted. But the truth is, this papist Parrie was both a traitor, and a manifold periured traitor, whome (with all other of the like stampe) we leaue to the finall iudgement of God at the last and dreadfull dome: registring (in the meane time) a proper epigram, and of no lesse fit than true deuise, in memorie of the said capitall traitor, requiting that prophetical posie concerning Darnell Gatheren and frier Forrest, of whome you shall read in the thirtéenth yeare of king Henrie the eight; this of Parrie being as followeth:

A dilemma of reason of aduantage, concluding that Parrie died a periured traitor.

William Parrie
Was ap Harrie
By his name:
From the alehouse
To the gallows
Grew his fame.

Gotten westward
On a bastard
As is thought:
Wherefore one waie
Kin to Conwaie
Hath he sought.

Like a beast
With incest
He begon:
Mother maried
Daughter caried
Him a sonne.

Much he borrowed
Which he sorrowed
To repaie:
Hare his good
Bought with blood
As they saie.

Yet for paiment
Had arrainment
Of his detter:
Shee that gaue him
Life to saue him
Hangd a better.

Parrie his pardon
Thought no guardon
For his woorth:
Wherefore sought
That he mought
Trauell foorth.

Which obtained
He remained
As before:
And with rashnes
Shewd his bashnes
More and more.

He did enter
To aduenter
Euen hir death:
By whose fauor
He did euer
Draw his breath.

It was pittie
One so wittie
Malcontent:
Leauing reason
Should to treason
So be bent.

But his gifts
Were but shifts
Void of grace:
And his brauerie
Was but knauerie
Vile and base.

Wales did beare him
France did sweare him
To the pope:
Venice wrought him
London brought him
To the rope.

Wherewith strangled
And then mangled
Being dead:
Poles supporters
Of his quarters
And his head.

In this yeare one thousand fiue hundred eightie & foure, sir Walter Mildmaie knight, one of hir maiesties most honorable priuie councell, founded a college in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, and named it Emmanuell college. ¶ The same was sometimes a house of friers, and came to king Henrie the eight by dissolution, as appeareth by the sequeale, being an extract out of a substantiall and large booke written in parchment (which I haue seene, and whense I had this transcript) conteining the entrie or inrolment of certeine letters patents, writings and euidences touching the said college. First the premisses came vnto king Henrie the eight by act of parlement touching the dissolution of monasteries; & afterwards the said king by letters patents vnder the great seale of England, dated *Decimo sexto Aprilis, anno tricesimo quinto regni sui*, did grant the same to Edward Elrington and Humfrete Metcalfe, and to the heires of the said Edward for euer. After that, the said Edward Elrington and Humfrete Metcalfe by their deed pold dated *Quarto Martij, anno tricesimo sexto Henrici octaui*, did grant the premisses to William Sherwood gentleman & his heires for euer. Then George Sherewood gentleman, sonne and heire to William Sherwood by deed pold dated *Vicesimo nono Septembris, anno vicesimo tertio Elisabethæ reginæ*, did grant the premisses to Robert Tailor esquier and to his heires for euer.

Abr. Fl. *ex lib. manuscripto.*

Situs nuper domus fratrum prædicatorũ vocata le Blackefriers in villa Cantabrigiæ.

And afterwards, the said Robert Tailor by deed pold dated *Duodecimo Iunij, anno vicesimo quinto Elisabethæ reginæ*, did grant the premisses to Richard Culuerwell citizen & mercer of London and Laurence Chaderton of Cambridge bachelor of diuinitie, and their heires for euer. And after that, the premisses were conueied to sir Walter Mildmaie, who hath conuerted the same into a seedplot of learning, for the benefit of the church & common-wealth: so that the students maie verie trulie saie this, and more to, of so good, so honorable, and vertuous a founder:

——fluuijs dum creuerit æquor,
Dúmque vagas stellas pascet vterque polus,
Dum steriles altis lustrabunt montibus vmbræ,
Virtutis stabit fama decúsque tuæ.

1585 The parlement dissolued.

On the nine and twentith daie of March, which was in the yeare of Christ 1585, the parlement was dissolued: at the breaking vp whereof, the quéenes maiestie in the parlement house made an oration, to such effect as followeth.

The queenes maiesties oration *in the parlement house.*

The quéenes maiesties oration in the parlement house.

My Lords and ye of the lower house, my silence must not iniurie the owner so much, as to suppose a substitute sufficient to render you the thanks that my heart yéeldeth you: not so much for the safe keeping of my life (for which your care appeareth so manifest) as for the neglecting your priuat future perill, not regarding other waie than my présent state. No prince herein (I confesse) can be surer tied, or faster bound than I am, with the linke of your good will; and can for that, but yeeld a hart & head to séeke for euer all your best. Yet one matter toucheth me so neere, as I may not ouerskip: religion, the ground on which all other matters ought to take rote, and being corrupted may marre all the tree: and that there be some faultfinders with the order of the cleargie, which so may make a slander to my selfe & the church, whose ouer ruler God hath made me; whose negligence can not be excused, if anie schismes or errors hereticall were suffered.

O the care that hir maiestie hath of true religion, the lord of life lengthen hir graces life.

Thus much I must saie, that some faults and negligences may grow and bee (as in all other great charges it happeneth) and what vocation without? All which if you my lords of the cleargie do not amend, I meane to depose you: looke you therfore well to your charges; this may be amended without heedlesse or open exclamation. I am supposed to haue manie studies, but most philosophicall: I must yeeld this to be true, that I suppose few (that be no professors) haue read more. And I néed not tell you, that I am so simple that I vnderstand not, nor so forgetfull that I remember not; & yet amongst my manie volumes, I hope Gods booke hath not beene my sildomest lectures, in which we find that, which by reson (for my part) we ought to beleeue, that séeing so great wickednes & griefs in the world, in which we liue but as waie-faring pilgrims, we must suppose that God would neuer haue made vs but for a better place, and of more comfort than we find here. I know no creature that breatheth, whose life standeth hourelie in more perill for it than mine owne, who entered not into my state without sight of manifold dangers of life and crowne, as one that had the mightiest and greatest to wrestle with. Then it followeth, that I regarded it so much as I left my selfe behind my care.

Hir maiesties reuerend estimation of Gods word and sacred scriptures.

And so you sée that you wrong me too much (if anie such there be) as doubt my coldnesse in that behalfe. For if I were not persuaded that mine were the true waie of Gods will, God forbid I should liue to prescribe it to you. Take héed, lest Ecclesiastes saie not too true; They that feare the horie frost, the snow shall fall vpon them. I sée manie ouer bold with God almightie, making too manie subtill scannings of his blessed will, as lawiers do with humane testaments: the presumption is so great as I may not suffer it (yet mind I not hereby to animate * Romanists, which what aduersaries they be to mine estate is sufficientlie knowne) nor tolerate new fanglednesse. I meane to guide them both by Gods true rule: in both parts be perils, and of the latter I must pronounce them dangerous to a kinglie rule, to haue euerie man according to his owne censure to make a dome of the validitie and priuitie of his princes gouernement, with a common beile and couer of Gods word, whose followers must not be iudged but by priuat mens exposition, God defend you from such a ruler that so euill will guide you. Now I conclude, that your loue and care neither is nor shall be bestowed vpon a careless prince, but such as for your good will passeth as litle for this world as who careth least; with thanks for your free subsidie: a manifest shew of the aboundance of your good wils, the which I assure you, but to be imploid to your weale, I could be better pleased to returne than receiue.

O most princelie resolution and persuasion!

* The God of vengeance and iustice rote them out, that the Lords annointed maie be free from all feare of hurt.

what subiect would thinke life and lands too dere to lose (if néed were) for so gratious a quéene.

This is the summe of hir maiesties oration vttered in a solemne assemblie, and well worthie the recording, as testifieng no lesse in sinceritie and truth, than euerie good subiect may seale vnto himselfe, and laie his hand vpon his hart to be faithfullie meant for his securitie. Wherein is speciallie to be noted the religious care which hir maiestie hath vowed to haue of the propagation and supportation of the gospell; according to that which is reported of hir by waie of prophesie in the vision of quéene Anne in a dreame; where (after a repetition of miseries foretold to befall in quéene Maries daies) these words are inferred:

Ecce malis tantis tua parua medebitur infans,
Iámque tenella geret post sceptrum patris adulta,
Solamen magnum patriæ, solamen amicis:
Qua regnante diu, cœlis ea fata feruntur,
Britanni populus fœlix, erit Anglia fœlix,
Et longa tali sub principe pace fruetur.

C. O. in sua Elisabetha.

Papa

Papa relegatus fallax ad littora Tybris
Ausony, propria ditione iubebitur esse
Contentus, vanúmque domi protrudere merces.
Hic iuris papalis erit tum terminus Anglis.
Vestra dabit proles papæ immedicabile vulnus,
Non post idolis genua incuruare licebit
Amplius, aut statuis bene olentia thura cremare.
Hinc papæ incassum furibunda monebitur ira,
Dentibus infrendens & quæret tollere prolem
Παρ᾽ Ἰεχοvον insidijs structis, quæ numine cæli
Protectore suo semotis hostibus æuum
Pace colet, seros ornabit honoribus annos,
Pace suos placida ciues: sua regna beabit.
Non tamen in claram bacchari desinet atrox
Reginam, pus ore vomens & virus vt aspis,
Promittet cœlum verbis (quis crederet illud?)
Principis obsequium quicunque reliquerit vltrò,
Cum pacto hoc miseros reuera in Tartara mittat, &c.

Abr. Flem. The death of pope Gregorie the thirteenth: read of this popes practises against England in Parries treasons, pag. 1382, &c.

¶ In this yeare of Grace, on the eleuenth of Aprill died pope Gregorie the thirteenth, termed the last & lewd pope of that name; one that wanted not the waies to aplie his vsurped supremasie to the common abuse of all christendome, according to the receiued custome of his predecessors; who rather than they would abide ante be it neuer so small an eclipse of their worldlie pompe, all the world shalbe set togither by the ears, in so much that heauen & earth shall ring with the noise of the tumults. This is he that (among other acts by him vndertaken & done) after the old Romane or Julian kalendar was by popish arguments accused & charged with manifold imperfections, whereinto by continuance of time it fortuned to fall, thrust forth into the world a reformed kalendar, exhibited to his holinesse by one Antonie Lillie doctor of arts & physicke, wherein (by a certeine new cycle of epacts by one Aloisius the said Antonies brother germane deuised, and to an vndoubted rule of the golden number directed, as also to whatsoeuer magnitude or greatnesse of the yeare of the sunne applied) all things that in the old kalendar were faultie, may by constant reason and for euer to last be so restored; that the kalendar once reformed according to this plot, need neuer hereafter either to be altered or amended. Howbeit, in commending the perfect reformation of this new kalendar, whereby not onelie all things erronious are abolished; but also such foresight is had of the time to come, that the calculation of this kalendar shall neuer hereafter seeme subiect vnto change: an occasion of some demands may hereof arise, touching christian libertie; namlie; Whether the church be tied to a certeine time according to the reformed calculation astronomicall, in the celebration of yearelie festiuals: Whether it be lawfull for the bishop of Rome to reforme the time and the kalendar: Whether the church of Christ be bound by necessitie of religion to receiue that kalendar, at the first originall beginning proceeding from the pope, though the same afterwards were set forth vnder another title: Whether it profiteth or be requisit that for the keeping of peace and concord, in contracts, bargainings, and intercourse of traffike and merchandize; the one partie should submit himselfe to that kalendar, wherevnto the pope hath yoked his popelings; and persuaded manie more to doo the same, &c. Although these and the like interrogatories may be made against the papists; yet bicause to giue an inkance is not to answer a doubt, it is to be wished that this kalendar were throughlie sifted by some sound and sober mathematician, and the three heads, whereof this new reformed kalendar of Gregorie doth consist, disproued: which three heads, repeated by Gregorie in his bull before the said kalendar, are these.

The pope is verie busie by his owne presumptuous & proud enterprises to impeach christian libertie.

This hath bene done in such sort by a mathematician stranger, that he is bold to chalenge anie holding the contrarie opinion to a reproofe of his examination.

1 The restoring and coupling of the equinoctiall in the spring to the one and twentith date of March, with such a caueat giuen, that from thense, as from the proper and fixed seat, it may not possiblie hereafter at anie time remoue. 2 The correction of the golden number by the cycle of epacts, in such sort, that the numbers of epacts may shew not onelie the date of the new mone in euerie moneth of all years; but also, and that principallie the terme of Easter: that is, the certeine & iust date of the verie next full mone following after the equinoctiall of the spring; and that euerie yeare without error or deceipt. 3 The verie iust and certeine sundaie of Easter, that ought to be celebrated and kept on the verie next sundaie after the full mone, which doth follow first after the iust equinoctiall of the spring. These three heads being so anatomized and opened by mathematicians as were meet, it should be found in the end, that this new kalendar, in all and euerie part thereof, euen wherin it is best reformed, or so thought to be, is manie waies faultie, & erronious in the verie grounds: in which qualitie leauing it, as not to be put to the touch in a publike chronicle, but otherwise to be had in triall, Gregorie the preferrer thereof is now to be handled by description, which is no fiction or imagined fable, but dertued out of an oration or funerall sermon in Rome, at the burtall of his holinesse, conteining his maners, like, deeds, and last words at his death: togither with the lamentations of the cardinals and whole Romish clergie: otherwise to be intituled as followeth:

Vide M. Michaelem Mæstlinum Gœppingensem in Tubingensi academia mathematicum, &c.

A sermon full of papisticall adulation, *and matter sufficient to procure the wise and vertuous* minded to contemne such grosse and palpable blindnesse, and all persons to laugh at the Romanists absurd and erronious follies.

A good and plausible beginning, if the proceeding were agreeable.

THere is nothing so certeine as death, either vncerteine as the moment thereof. Wherefore the holie doctor saith: Keepe thy selfe continuallie in that estate wherin thou desirest to die. And the prouerbe goeth, that manie a one thinketh himselfe in perfect helth, when he beareth death in his bosome. To saie the truth, we doo continuallie carrie death about with vs, it is in vs immediatlie after we take life and mouing in our mothers wombe; and whersoeuer we walke, it is still at our heeles: if we take horsse, it is with vs: if we be on the water, it is the guide of our ship: so as we can neuer saie death to be absent from vs: for our selues are verie death, and no part of our bodie immortall. Wherefore those that suppose themselues to liue in this world, are far deceiued in their owne opinions, and the pilgrimage of man in this world is but a shadow of life, which vnto vs seemeth life, but in deed is none. The better therefore to describe the said shadow, I will make an abstraction of the dead time of mans age, from the full and greatest age that a creature can liue in the world.

Popish diuines doo rather imitate anie duns than the prophet Dauid, who setteth downe the age of man to consist of 70. yeares.

First, the longest age that man can liue is but sixtie years. From sixtie years we must deduct the nights, for man when he sleepeth liueth not. Beside that, sleepe is termed the image of death: so that deducting the nights, which comprehend one halfe of the time, man liueth but three score yeares in the world. Whiles man liueth these sixtie yeares, he liueth but the one halfe of them, for if he haue one date of mirth and quiet, he hath another of sorrow and care, bicause griefe doth still secretlie creepe into mirth. And anie person troubled with cares and vered in mind, doth rather die than liue. We must therfore take from the sixtie yeares aforesaid the one halfe, and so there remaine but thirtie. Now, let vs see whether in the

space of six score yeares a man may not passe awaie ten at the least in sickenesse, mischances, or other infirmities? I may tell you there is no man that liueth six score yeares in the world, but at seuerall times and during the said age he hath aboue ten yeares infirmitie: and therefore we must take from the thirtie yeares which are the remainder of mans life yet ten yeares, & then there are but twentie left, which are now the twentie yeares of his life. We must take them at his infancie & in his oldest age: that is, ten yeares from his verie childhood, & the other ten from his extreame old age. But sith aswell in infancie as in extremitie of age there is no life, but rather a liuing death; I conclude, that man hath not one onelie houre of life in this world, also that whosoeuer seeketh life in this world doth much deceiue himselfe. In heauen therefore it is that we must assure our selues to liue, and seeke for life; but not vpon earth where death doth continuallie haunt vs. For we ought to die to the world, to the end to be borne in Jesus Christ; according to the souereigne sentence and decree, O ye inhabitants of Rome we see your great bishop and mine is dead: behold our crowne is fallen: our lodestar vanished awaie, and our lighter extinguished.

And for mine owne part, O miserable man, who am depriued of him, of two things I wish for one, that is, either neuer to remember the good that we haue lost; either else calling the same to mind, to find some one that were able to giue me comfort correspondent to the greatnesse of the heauinesse wherinto I am fallen. And indeed my selfe do now come into the pulpit vpon two seuerall occasions meere contrarie ech to other, to wit, to reherse the gretnes of the good that is taken from vs, & to comfort those that sustaine the losse: naie rather, to do two things which seeme to repugne ech other. For if it be true that nothing doth more aggrauate the griefe of the losse, than the remembrance of the value of the thing lost; then doth nothing seeme more contrarie to the comfort of the liuing, than the praises of him that is dead, as in this case, wherein so far do the merits of the deceased exceed, that the arrowes which pearse his hart that is depriued of him are the more sharpe and grieuous. Howbeit some man would answer, that contrariwise by the commendations of him that is departed, we do declare that he is not dead, but liueth, and thus we may by litle and litle asswage the sorrow of our losse and damage in whatsoeuer maner.

But as it were hard for a painter in the face of a sorrowfull person to represent a smiling countenance, so doth it seeme to me a difficult enterprise to vndertake to comfort a man by rehearsing the vertues of him that is taken awaie from vs: and that the more, if we should enter into consideration of him that is spoken of: of your selues that are the hearers: and of me that do make the discourse: for in each of these three, the same circumstances that seeme to make mine enterprise easie, are those that indeed do yeeld it most difficult and troublesome. As if a man should in respect of him saie, that if the multitude of his great vertues do seeme to abridge my labour, in seeking some argument whereupon to ground his praises: so contrariwise the aboundance of so great vertues do hold me so short, that I can not certeinelie resolue vpon the choice of one onlie whereupon worthilie to commend him. For you, if a man should saie, in that you all knew him and vsed him to your great profit, it should seeme sufficient for me onelie to decipher matters: so contrariwise your own perfect knowlege, togither with your dealings with him, would sufficientlie open vnto you all my defaults in displaieng of him. And for mine owne part, if infinit courtesies and great fauors, therewith he hath alwaies gratified me, do scarse without seeking anie cuning to breed in me as much affection as is requisit: so by contrarie reason, the great fauours and benefits, wherewith he hath alwaies gratified me, do not leaue me anie cunning meanes to hinder me from hauing greater affection than is heere to be required of me. And this was the principall reason that moued me somewhat to refuse this so honorable a commission, and vnto me in manie other respects most welcome, and to request you to apoint and commit to some other the charge to discourse herevpon, and to leaue vnto me teares and lamentations onelie.

But now vnto thee, Oh my good maister and father (for so will I alwaies call thee) do I turne my selfe. Maie it be possible that this my oration, which latelie in thy life thou diddest harken vnto, should now be imploied in praising of thee being dead, either that this my tong, which imploieng me to the seruice of this countrie, thou diddest too greatlie honor, should now be occupied, alas, in lamentations for thy so hurtfull death to all christendome? And what? Hast thou then brought me so toilfullie to Rome, to the end here to celebrate thy funerals? Oh how that commission to read Hieremie might well forshew vnto me (but I perceiued it not) that my lecture thereof should end in lamentations, and now behold that diuination accomplished! See *Quomodo sedet sola ciuitas*, how the citie sitteth desolat, notwithstanding it be *Plena populo*, full of people: also how this spouse, the church of Rome, who by great brightnes seemed to be *Domina gentium*, ladie of nations, now hauing lost thee, *Est facta quasi vidua*, is made as it were a widow: and as a widow all dipped in teares and lamentations, willeth me to celebrate the praises of hir deere spouse, which she all wholie togither can not celebrate: wherein although I can not (as in truth I am not able) atteine to the least parcell of thy deserts, which are not well to be expressed, yet at all aduentures I assure my selfe, O happie soule, that as in thy life time thou diddest pardon me a number of other imperfections, so now thou wilt likewise forgiue me this: I know that as thou wert accustomed, thou wilt make better accompt of the good will than of the glose and pompe of words, and as discreet shalt well see, that not onelie I, but also that no orator is able to atteine to the type of thy commendations.

Among the which my lords, and ye my hearers, I do freelie confesse, that I haue greatlie doubted whether I were best to begin, as I take the maner to be, at the greatnesse and eminencie of the familie from whense he is extract: and at the first I was purposed so to do, and that the rather bicause it is not yet scarse two months since that my selfe heard him in this temple, discourse how our sauiour Jesus Christ was content to be borne of a mother though poore, yet noble, and descended of a noble race; also that nobilitie was verie effectuall euen to spirituall life, as it may be said of him that is noble, that whether it be through conformitie or resemblance of mind with his predecessors, either thorough the remembrance of such things as they haue done, either else through the effect of good bringing vp, or for what other reason he is better disposed to do well; that nobilitie serueth him as a spur to goodnesse and a bridle to euill: also that as the pretious stone being set in gold maketh a greater shew than in iron, euen so the same vertuous deeds do giue a more effectuall example, when they proceed from noble personages than from men of base estat, with other things which he spake to the same purpose.

Howbeit I will not speake thereof, in that it might

A further examination of mans age by popish learning.

Happie newes to the true church, when the members of antichrist decrease.

This is no adulation to a dead carrion, what did this fellow (thinke you) to the beast when he was aliue?

A comparison abused to the commendation of lewd pope Gregorie.

Childish reasons and worse diuinitie.

How did this fellow flatter Gregorie aliue, whom he so magnified being dead?

A fit child and scholer for so bad a father and maister.

No spouse but a strumpet spotted with spirituall fornication.

Beastlie and blasphemous diuinitie, fit for so lewd a bishop, and so vnlearned a chapleine.

Noblie borne (no doubt) was this Gregorie, otherwise called Hugh the good fellow.

A similitude of a pretious stone set in gold, and vertues in personages noblie descended.

might be accompted rashnesse in me, euen in Rome to seeke to make his holinesse familie more famous than it is. It may be that some may saie that this familie doth want glorious titles, preeminence, riches, possessions, iurisdictions, pretentions of rights, patronages, ancient petidegrees of their predecessors, commendations of learning, praise of armes, noble and famous aliances either in Italie or without, and to be briefe, all such things collected into one, as being seuerallie taken are sufficient to set a faire shew vpon a whole progenie. Notwithstanding all these things which are terrestriall & common with others, and for the causes aforesaid his holinesse perceiuing (as he perceiued all things) that it is not inough for a horsse to be of a good race, except himselfe be also good, and that they are happie and wise, who as the sea, do not receiue the swetnesse of this vaine glorie of the riuers of their predecessours, but returning their course and swelling ouer the mouths of the riuers themselues, can yeeld to their forerunners the reward of firme and permanent commendation; so of that great nobilitie which he had brought forth of his mothers wombe with him, he did therin onelie yeeld thankes to God, for that his actions with their circumstances, thereby, and in respect thereof, were more notable and exemplarie.

Gregorie perceiued all things: but it would be knowen how.

A long similitude most fondlie and most ridiculouslie applied.

Oh most happie person, who in the middest of so great eminencie of birth, could so well subdue pride, and in himselfe giue example vnto other! Euen like vnto the pearle, which although it lieth in the bottome of the sea, yet keeping it selfe close in the shell, and neuer opening vntill it ascendeth to receiue the dew of heauen, we find therein no smell, no sauour, or drop that tasteth of hir sea; but being pure, cleare and white, it seemeth to be formed euen in heauen. We must not therfore take commendations of this people at the transitorie things of the sea of this world, and although he be therein extract of a most noble birth, yet will I not saie anie more thereof as of that which is none of his.

Marke this principallie, that Gregorie was mortified if the text lie not.

But discoursing and speaking of that which properlie apperteineth to himselfe, I would aske whether his mind commanded not his bodie? Also whether it were possible to find a bodie more withered, afflicted, macerated, dried vp, or pale through the effect of austere and hard penance? Other mens bodies (O christian hearers) are for the most part wished to be of this or that forme, bicause they yeeld such or such inclination to the mind. But in this I will shew you a matter worth the noting; that is, that here the case was altered, for it was the mind that ministred inclination to the bodie: so that being waren altogither spirituall, had not extreame need forced him, he neuer desired meat, drinke, or bodilie rest: and he liued in such sort as it was a miracle (whereof, alas, we haue but too soone seene the issue) how he could liue so manie yeeres, but rather liuing was dead. And for my part I assure you, I neuer, euen in the hart of summer, hilling his holie hands (good God shall I neuer do so more?) found them other than cold, wherein there was no heat, except the same proceeded of some excesse or immoderate labor, or of some motion of a sudden feuer. O most deere bodie! O most holie members! But looke yet once againe vpon them, O ye Romane people, and saie: Are not these the verie hands which so often haue bin ioined togither, and lifted vp to praie and offer sacrifice for vs? Be not these the feet that haue trauelled so far for our sakes? Is not this the head that neuer imagined anie thing but for our benefit? Is not this the heart that burned in loue of vs? O deere members! O members so deere! What? Shall you then go vnder the earth? And what? Must you be buried? Alas my God! who is that thou hast taken awaie from vs? And therefore do ye hide your selues? For my part, none but onlie death shall euer plucke out of my heart the liuelie image of that so well beloued countenance: especiallie in this act, wherein with your eies toward heauen as it were smiling, and with an angelicall countenance I see you depart and remaine dead.

Jesu! what a wonder is this? and well worthie to be placed in Legenda aurea.

The head which sought to ouerthrow y true church, to dissuade subiects from their allegiance to their prince, and to maintaine his owne pompe and glorie.

But it is time for vs (O christian hearers) to proceed to matters of greater importance, which are so manie & withall so intangled one within an other, that I could not find anie more fit meane to part and diuide them; neither do I thinke that we can take anie better course, than the verie course of his holie life: and there to begin. When he was a little child he was verie deuout, and it is well knowne that God, euen in his first youth, wrought in him maruellous signes of singular goodnesse. The like is read of saint Basill, saint Gregorie, saint Dominike, saint Francis, and manie others, as was to be seene in this yong child (saie they that do remember it) namelie, that at his returne from the college, all the delite that that age vsed to take in anie other thing, he toke onelie in framing of little altars, adorning of small chapels, and counterfeiting of holie things. Matters, which although the wisest maie thinke too base for this place, and for the occasion now ministred, yet would I not onelie not disdaine, but also take great and singular pleasure in the same.

For all that is hitherto spoken is verie ridiculous, idle and mere lyes labour.

Note that he would in time proue a strong piller of idolatrie.

And although some do saie, that among such serious affaires such small trifles should haue no place: yet do I delite to shew how commendable, not onelie graue matters, but euen such small things were in him. Concerning the rest, according to the proportion of his age, or rather beyond the reach of that age (as occasions do increase so must my stile arise) his holinesse being past the inferiour schooles, and comming to studie the law, it is not possible to make an end of writing with what modestie and grauitie he there passed the yeares of his studie: he was apparelled in clerks attire, but, which was of greater importance, he obserued clergie maners, much continencie, & (as is supposed) perpetuall virginitie, with modest behauiour, no vanitie, continuall studie: these were his exercises. And to be briefe, although thorough our mishaps, the vniuersitie wherin he studied were not vsuallie either the quietest or the holiest in the world, yet might the writing of Nazianzen concerning the great Basill and the towne of Athens be aplied to him. Like as there is one riuer, which flowing thorough the sea, taketh no bitternesse thereof; also a certeine beast that liueth in the fire and consumeth not: euen so he with great quietnesse passing these troubles, and with soueraigne vertues such vices, did first and most worthilie atteine to the doctorall degree, & afterward was called to Rome, and made cardinall, onelie thorough desert, for his learned studies, and not by fauour, as the most part do now vsuallie practise.

The continencie and virginitie of the popish clergie doth consist in keeping of concubines.

Note how Gregorie is extolled by waie of comparison.

A happie departure, a blessed iournie for all the holie church, but especiallie for this great citie of Rome, which haue receiued so great benefits and so much comfort at his hands. Notwithstanding, whatsoeuer affaires he had in hand, yet did he dailie aplie his studie at a certeine houre, & so continued his studie euen to his death, with so deepe iudgement and good successe, that although his intellectuall habitudes had not beene verie farre surmounted & darkened thorough the maruellous brightnesse of his morall and theologicall vertues: yet in respect of his learning and studie onelie, he deserued great praise, and in truth he was neuer other than most learned and a great fauourer of learned men. Who did euer shew them more pleasure, or receiue them more

A great studet was Gregorie, but in no good facultie.

Better had that liberalitie bene exhibited to theeues than to sacrilegious beasts &c.

courteoustie? Besides the seminaries and colleges, as well at Paule as here, the lectures, the stipends, with such & so manie things done to the behoofe of learning, and besides the bookes which he hath of himselfe written: and now that the bridle of his modestie doth no longer deteine, I hope, as my selfe haue seene them, so comming to light, all the world shall behold them, and in them perceiue as in himselfe whether were more his holie writings or good maners. This loue of learning and holinesse of life he practised so diligentlie in himselfe, that thorough Gods grace, and the inspiration of the holie ghost, he was in respect of his vertues, knowledge, and holie life, elected pope, and his name from Hugh good Companion, was changed and called Gregorie the thirteenth. During his papasie he liued so religiouslie and deuoutlie, that the whole life of a man were little enough to rehearse the same. But herein I repose my selfe vpon that zeale which I perceiue in euerie one to commend him, whereby I maie shortlie see so manie poesies, verses, and rimes, with such histories, so manie orations, and volumes to his honor, that all these things, as well such as I can not touch, as the rest which I mention and speake of, shall brieflie be deciphered and liuelie set forth.

Gregorie a good companion to traitors, but an ill companion to the godlie.

It is vnpossible (if you will beleeue this flattering parasite) to rehearse Gregories workes &c.

For to rehearse all the holie workes of our good shéepheard, or to indeuour to set forth that verie patterne of a bishop which he hath expressed in himselfe, to saie truth, I thinke vnpossible, and much lesse to beleeue that the verie summarie of those things that he hath done maie be drawne into anie annals or chronicle. Neither can I conceiue anie means to atteine thereto, vnlesse some one haue in forme of remembrances béene dailie collecting the course of his déeds and workes. For my part in this short discourse that I haue to prosecute, as one not able to restreine the whole sea, I will go sée if I maie gather the water at the riuers and brooks from whense this sea doth arise, that is, from his vertues, which in him haue wrought so manie holie workes. Notwithstanding I might at once in generall words saie, that all vertues beseeming a bishop, which saint Paule & others do speake of, were to be found in him.

The worlde is dead, and the shéepe want a good shéepheard.

Alas how this holie pastor burning in loue, made himselfe leane for you, O ye poore artificers, ladies, yong infants, and poore beggers! Alas ye all haue lost your father, the shéepheard is dead, & the shéepe remaine a preie to the wolues. How soeuer it is, hereof maie we plainelie sée O Rome, that he bare thée singular good will: and in déed (for I will not conceale thy commendation) it is euident that thou diddest answer his good will with reciprocall amitie, witnesse this thy assemblie: these sobs & these teares do testifie thy acknowledging thereof, besides all other things, alas, too bitter and too swéet togither; euen the night of his departure was to you and to me infortunate. O great, O great pitie, what could be séene more worthie compassion and teares, than the fearefull stirre of the people? It seemed, when the most horrible sound of the bell called *Aue Maria*, that gaue notice of his death, to the end to praie to God for him, sent furies to all both men and women.

How could the pope néed the praiers of men, sith himselfe can forgiue sinnes?

One ran here, an other there, some two togither, others without order or reason: all wept, all cried, all howled out, saieng: Ah, good God whereto are we brought? What shall become of vs? If the infection doth afflict vs, who shall praie for vs? Ah that we had not deserued it! Oh how God is wroth with vs! With manie other exclamations sufficient to haue rent the marble stones, and clouen the wals in sunder. He was a man of much praier and reading, as euer was anie, and in priuat behauior had not his like. Two things there were that made him wonderfull wise. The one, he would in all affaires beare

Two things made Grego-

counsell. The other, he had still recourse vnto praier. Truelie he was as wise as holie. I confesse that in respect of his example onelie, I learned to vnderstand this place of saint Paule concerning his care of all the churches: *Quis infirmatur & ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur & ego non vror?* Who is weake and I am not sicke? Or who is offended and I burne not? And that which followeth.

rie wise if you will beleeue the reporter.

To be briefe, toward the end of his daies, and being hore haired, he conceiued two excellent imaginations. The one, concerning that great and wonderfull college that is now at building in your Rome, for the teaching (a wonderfull matter) of all languages in the world. The other, the same which he propounded and began to put in execution touching the recouerie of the goods of the catholike apostolike Romish church. The same was it which he did so highlie commend to the clergie, yea to the christian princes, and vnto his successor, to the end that the Romane see might recouer the full brightnesse of hir glorie, and to depriue the enimie of mankind of that innumerable gaine of soules, that through his subtiltie he doth dailie make. These were his last words when he left vs with the water in our eies, and sorrow in our harts, for the losse of a thing of so great value. Neuertheless, sith it is to no purpose to weepe, it resteth that we do two things. The one, that so much as in vs lieth, we indeuour to reteine those notable institutions, and walke in that path which he hath prescribed for vs. The other, that we haue recourse to God with praier, that he will send vs a successor worthie him: and that as Simplician succéeded saint Ambrose, so to this Ambrose an other Simplician in vertue and holinesse maie succéed.

Two imaginations in Gregories head toward his death.

Some traitorous deuise for the persecution of the gospell.

God rot out all of that succession, & giue his truth free passage against poperie.

This is that small matter, Oh blessed soule, which my foolish and vnméete tong is able this day to vtter of thée in middest of these sighs and lamentations. Now shall it cease: howbeit, at time conuenient, both this daie and euer, my heart shall discourse of thée. Oh wretch that I am! O ye Romane people, to whome happeneth still the contrarie of that which happened to the Romane souldior, that was wounded and maimed vpon one of his legs, at a certeine victorie that he obteined. For he said, that at euerie step that he set, and vpon the least paine that he felt of his leg, he called to mind the most honorable blason of his glorie: but I contrariwise, in the least commendations that I may obteine, shall thinke vpon my losses. For when soeuer I shall boast, that I haue béene seruant to such a holinesse, and so great a personage, I must necessarilie withall remember what a good I am depriued of. Let vs therefore praie to our good God, that it may please him of his grace with his holie spirit to inspire the most reuerend cardinals, the electors of the holie apostolike and Romish see, to the end his holinesse successor, succéeding in the holie see, may likewise succéed in those vertues and holinesse, wherewith he was indued and replenished.

Placke good soule that hast lost thy solace and comfort.

¶ This is the parasiticall and flattering* sermon of a popeling, patched togither like a beggers mantle of sundrie rotten rags diuerslie colored: wherein there is as much learning as wit; and as much of both as of truth and goodnesse in this praiser and the praised: of whome (because it is sinne against the holie ghost to speake otherwise than according to the motion of a good and sound conscience) an epitaph imprecatorie (as fit for him as a pudding for a friers mouth) is here placed as a conclusion of this his memoriall, and appliable vnto all and euerie one of that antichristian and diabolicall succession:

Albus an ater (lector) cognoscere si vis
Papa, tibi dicam qua ratione licet;
Tu metamorphôsin lepidam spectabis: olorem

* Faithfullie translated out of the French copie printed at Paris for Peter Jabert dwelling in Harpe Street, with the kings priuilege. 1585

Fac papam, corvus protinus ater erit.
Vt quocunque meat sordes testudo relinquit,
Sic immundiciem linquit vbique suam.
Monstrum tale vorax absorbeat ergo barathrum,
Atque Deo pœnas tempus in omne luat.

When this Gregorie was deceased, shortlie after (least the ouerlong vacancie of the sacred and apostolike sée should preiudice the Romish prelasie and cleargie) the succession came to *Sixtus Quintus*, who according to the disposition of his predecessors) indeuoring to maintein the title of his supremasie, and to beare rule ouer mens consciences, as though peremptorie authoritie had by priuilege passed vnto the bishops of that sée to controll and giue the checke to all christendome; one iot or minute whereof the beast now residing at Rome not meaning to relinquish, but rather to fortifie and aduance, vndertooke to intermedle with princes of renowme, as proffering to bring them within the compasse of his iurisdiction: insomuch that falling to the extreame point of his antichristian power, he let flie (but as paper-shot) his excommunications, thinking that if anie thing were able to daunt and appall the courages of mightie men, this were the waie. But herein *Sixtus Quintus* was foiled, for proofe whereof behold an answer to the excommunication latelie denounced and published by the said *Sixtus Quintus*, pope of Rome so called, against two christian princes vndernamed, and sent to Rome as followeth.

Sixtus quintus pope of Rome next after Gregorie the good fellow or boun companion.

Excommunication a perilous bolt to shoot at princes.

The answer of Henrie king of Nauarre, *and Henrie prince of Conde, to the excommunication of* Sixtus Quintus, *now pope, &c.*

HEnrie by the grace of God king of Nauarre, prince of Bearne, chiefe péere and prince of France, opposeth himselfe against the excommunication of *Sixtus Quintus*, terming himselfe pope of Rome, auouching the same to be false, and apealeth to the court of péeres of France, of whome he hath the reputation to be the first in degrée. And as concerning the crime of heresie, whereof he is falslie accused by the said excommunication, he auoweth and affirmeth, that my lord the pope, sauing his holinesse and reuerence, hath therein most falselie and wickedlie lied: and that the pope himselfe is an heretike, which he offereth to proue publikelie in a generall or common councell lawfullie assembled. Where if he shall refuse to appeare and submit himselfe, as by his owne canons and decrées he is speciallie bound, the said king doth and will hold and repute him a verie antichrist, and in that qualitie of antichrist denounceth perpetuall warre against him: protesting in the meane time, the popes wicked sentence to be vnlawfull and insufficient, and to prosecute against him and his successors (for reparation of honor) reuenge of the iniurie thereby offered to him and all the princes of his blood, as the lewdnesse of the act and the present necessitie do require. For if in times past, the princes and kings his progenitors haue béene able to chastise the insolencie and arrogancie of such companions as the pope is, when they forgat their duties, and exceeded the limits of their vocation and place, confounding and intermixing their spirituall iurisdiction with the temporall: the said king of Nauarre being in state nothing inferior to them, doth hope, that God will giue him the grace to reuenge the wrong and iniurie hereby done to his souereigne, his familie and blood, and to the supreame courts and seats of iustice and parlement in France, vpon the said pope and his successors: and to that end and purpose he implores the aid, succour, and assistance of all true christian kings, princes & common-weales, whome this case doth concerne, together with the allies and confederats of the crowne of France, against the tyrannie and vsurpation of the said pope, and of the associated conspirators against the state of their souereigne, enimies to God, France, and the common peace and quiet of christendome. The like protestation is also made by Henrie of Burbon prince of Conde, vnto whome the excommunication likewise reacheth. ¶ Fired and set vp vpon the Pasquile at Rome to the view of all men.

The popes excommunicatiõs against forren princes are to be esteemed but as paper shot.

The king of Nauarre giueth the pope the lie.

The king of Nauarre denounceth perpetuall warre against the pope.

This their forgetfulnesse is wilfull, as agreeable to their ambitious humor.

The king of Nauarre implores the aid of all christian kings, &c: against the tyrannie and vsurpation of the pope.

¶ Thus farre of two popes, who though they be but prophane priests, & méere forreners to England both by birth and beléefe; yet sith they haue béene ouerbold to busie themselues with the affaires not onelie of other christian princes, but also with the state of our nation, wherinto they haue had too far an insight, by the aid of certeine vnnaturall and degenerat people; manie of them being fugitiues, and carieng about them euen in their bosome a conscience bespotted with sinnes of exceeding horror and heinousnesse: in consideration hereof, as also of other practises tending to an vniuersall desolation of truth and louers of truth, as also to the dissolution of ciuill policie and destruction of our most gratious souereigne ladie quéene Elisabeth, the lords annointed and lieutenant, principall within hir owne dominions: what faithfull subiect can but note them; howbeit, none otherwise than the reports of them haue passed vnder manie eies and through manie hands, printed euen in forren speach, before the same were published in English. At which popes, meaning now to make a stop, we will come againe to matters of our owne.

¶ In this yeare 1585, euen in April, at the pleasant prime, sir Walter Raleigh knight, being incouraged by the reports of his men of the goodnesse of the soile and the fertilitie of the countrie, which they had discouered this yeare last past, and now by hir maiestie called Virginia, with knightlie courage counteruaileable to his double desire of honour, by vndertaking hard aduentures, furnished to his great charges eight sailes of all sortes, and immediatlie set them to the sea, ordeining sir Richard Grænfield his kinsman (a gentleman of verie good estimation both for his parentage and sundrie good vertues, who for loue he bare vnto sir Walter Raleigh, together with a disposition that he had to attempt honorable actions worthie of honour, was willing to hazard himselfe in this voiage) his lieutenant, inioining him either to tarrie himselfe, or to leaue some gentleman of good worth with a competent number of soldiers in the countrie of Virginia, to begin an English colonie there. Who with the ships aforesaid, hauing in his companie sir John Arundell, Thomas Candish, Rafe Lane, Edward Gorges, John Stukle, Edward Stafford, Philip Amadis, Arthur Barlow, Thomas Heriot, and diuerse other gentlemen with a competent number of souldiers, departed from London in April aforesaid. But after they had sailed certeine numbers of leagues at the sea, by force and violence of fowle weather they were separated one from another; so that sir Richard Grænefield being singled from his fleet, all alone arriued in the Iland of Hispaniola in the west Indies, about the middest of June following, where he determined resolutelie to remaine, vntill he had built a bote (for he had lost his owne bote in the tempests aforesaid.)

Abr. Flex chirographo D. G. militis.

Sir walter Raleighs chargeable voiage to the foresaid land latelie discouered, and by the quæenes maiestie named Virginia.

Sir Richard Grænefield lieutenant to sir walter Raleigh for this voiage.

Gentlemen that associated sir Richard Grænefield.

Sir Richard Grænefield singled from his companie by fowle weather arriueth in Hispaniola.

Whereupon immediatlie after his landing, finding a place to his liking, he entrenched himselfe in despite of the Spaniards, who by all possible meanes did there best indeuour by proffering of sundrie skirmishes,

The valiantnesse of sir Richard Grænefield against the Spaniards.

shes, to inforce him to retire to his ship: but he nothing appalled with their brags kept his ground. Twelue daies after his arriuall there, after Thomas Candish arriued at the same place, where sir Richard Grænfield was ensconsing of himselfe, to the great reioising both of themselues & their companies. The Spaniards finding it too hard for them (notwithstanding their multitudes) to remoue these few resolute Englishmen by violence, came to a parlée, and in the same concluded an amitie, that the one nation might in safetie traffike with the other. Now when sir Richard Grænefield had taried in that Iland almost a moneth, and had built his bote, remitted himselfe, and laden his ships with horsses, mares, kine, sheep, swine, &c: to transport with him to Virginia (because these sorts of cattell heretofore were not to be found in that countrie) he departed thense; and in his waie he made discouerie of manie Ilands and hauens vpon the continent adioining, and arriued safelie in the new discouered countrie (where he met with the rest of his fleet that attended his comming thither) about the middest of Julie next insuing, not without great danger of shipwracke. For at the verie entrance into the harborough, his ship strake on the ground, and did beat so manie strokes vpon the sands, that if God had not miraculouslie deliuered him, there had bene no waie to auoid present death. In this danger his ship was so bruised, that the saltwater came so aboundantlie into hir, that the most part of his corne, salt, meale, rice, bisket, & other prouisions that he should haue left with them that remained behind him in the countrie was spoiled.

A parlée tending to the concluding of an amitie betweene the English and Spanish.

What kind of cattell for vittelling sir Richard Grænefield transported to Virginia.

Sir Richard Grænefield meeteth with the rest of his fleet and is in danger of shipwracke.

Sir Richard Grænefield establisheth an English colonie in Virginia by commission.

After he had remained there certeine daies, according to his commission from sir Walter Raleigh, he began to establish a colonie, appointing maister Rafe Lane (a gentleman of good account) generall of those English which were to remaine there, being in all to the number of an hundred and seauen persons, amongst whom diuerse gentlemen remained; namelie, Philip Amadis, Edward Stafford, Peruin, Kendall, Prideaux, Acton, Heriot, and others. When he had taken sufficient order for the establishing of maister Lane and his companie aforesaid, leauing with them as much of all prouisions as his plentie would giue him leaue, he weighed anchor for England. But in his returne, not hauing sailed manie leagues from the coast of Virginia, he descried a tall ship of foure hundred tuns or thereabouts, making the same course that he did, vnto whom he gaue chase, and in few houres by goodnesse of saile ouertooke, and by violence wan, richlie laden with sugar, hides, spices, and some quantitie of gold, siluer, and pearle: she was the viceadmerall of the fleet of *sancto Domingo* that were for Spaine. After this good fortune, hauing a merie gale, not manie daies after he arriued at Plimmouth in October next insuing; where sir Walter Raleigh meeting with him, did presentlie resolue vpon another voiage, to supplie Rafe Lane, and his companie that were left with him in Virginia, the next spring following: which accordinglie was performed with all expedition.]

Sir Richard Grænefield descrieth a Spanish ship, chaseth and surpriseth hir.

An other voiage resolued vpon by sir Walter Raleigh for the supplie of those that were left in Virginia.

In Aprill about the fourteenth date, by commandement of hir maiesties most honorable priuie councell, the citizens of London appointed out of the companies of the same citie to the number of foure thousand men, with armour, ensignes, drums, fifes, and other furniture for the warres, the greater part whereof (or almost all of them) were shot, the other were pikes and halberds in faire corslets: all those to be trained vp vnder expert capteins, with sergeants of the bands, wiflers, and other necessarie officers, mustered and skirmished dailie at the Miles end, and in saint Georges field, and on the eightéenth daie of Maie (hauing ouernight set forward out of saint Georges field) mustered in the parke at Grænwich, and skirmished before the quænes maiestie, who gaue to them great thankes for their actiuenesse and paines: sith hir maiestie might perceiue the appliablenesse of those hir people, euen in pastime not void of perill, to delight hir eies and reioise hir hart; estéeming nothing too déere to part withall, so it might anie waies concerne dutie to hir highnesse. In discharge whereof as she hath no forwarder subiects in hir land, so to discouer, inquire, and persecute the disloiall none readier, euen to the hazzard of their liues, for the safetie of hir life, which is the life of the whole land, and the prop of true religion: in respect whereof we saie and praie with the well wishing subiect, that vpon seeing & hearing of hir highnesse, fell into such an admiration of hir excellencie, that he left these verses among manie after his godlie death:

Inclyte da longum dici, Deus, Elisabetha Est,
Elisabetha tua Est, relligióque tua Est:
Da Deus haud vnquam dici, Fuit Elisabetha,
Elisabetha Fuit, relligióque Fuit.

The Londoners' commended.

¶ On the nineteenth of Maie being Ascension eeue, Edward Wotton esquier, descended of a worthie parentage, was ambassador into Scotland, to establish a league of amitie betweene the two nations of England and Scotland: whome I will now leaue in that countrie executing his commission, and turne my pen to some persons of that surname, who for their singularitie of wit & lerning, for their honour and gouernement in and of the realme about the prince, and elsewhere at home and abroad, deserue such commendations, that they merit *Niueo signari lapillo*. In treating of whome I will neither make mention of the antiquitie of that worshipfull familie from the first originall, nor yet treat of Richard Wotton, liuing in the time of Edward the first, the father of John Wotton coroner of Dunstable an officer of great account in those daies and father to an other John Wotton, &c: nor of Richard Wotton or Wocton, an officer of the exchéker in the time of Edward the second, nor of sir Nicholas Wotton knight, liuing about the daies of Richard the second, nor of anie other Wottons whereof this Edward Wotton is descended: but onelie of such Wottons his ancestors, who of late time liued within the compasse of my memorie, and were the sonnes of sir Robert Wotton of Boctor Walherbe in Kent knight, deseruing not to be forgotten, in that he was father to two such worthie sonnes, as I do not remember that euer England nourished at one time for like honour, disposition of mind, fauour and seruice to their countrie.

Fr. Thin.

A league of amitie betweene England and Scotland established: Edward Wotton esquier ambassador.

The Wottons an ancient familie, and of special name in diuerse kings reignes.

Sir Robert Wotton of Boctor Walherbe in Kent, a man of singular note.

The sonnes of this sir Robert Wotton, whereof we intend to intreat, were sir Edward Wotton knight the eldest, and Nicholas Wotton doctor of both lawes the yonger sonne. Whereof the first being a man of great estimation in the countrie for his orderlie and wise managing of the priuat affaires of his countrie of Kent, was for his fidelitie and good carriage in small things made lord and ruler of great things. For king Henrie the eight, vnderstanding the grauitie of the man, his rare wit, deepe iudgement, great experience, and other parts required in a sound councellor, did admit this sir Edward into his owne bosome, and made him of his priuie councell: whose modest mind being so farre estranged from desire of honour, as that he would not accept it by great inforcement (a vertue verie rare, and such as declareth a noble mind iudiciallie grounded vpon the truth of diuine philosophie) refused the honorable place of the chancellorship of England, accounting that the vertue of the mind made a man honorable, and not the honorable place. For

Sir Edward Wotton and Nicholas Wotton doctor of both lawes, the rare sonnes of a rare father.

Sir Edward Wotton one of king Henrie the eights priuie councell.

Sir Edward Wotton refuseth to be lord chancellor of England.

Chrysost. de reparatione lapsi.

is saith saint Chrysostome; *Honor verus virtus animi est, hic honor nec à Cæsaribus præstatur, neque adulatione conquiritur, neque pecunia præparatur; nihil fucati in se habet, nihil simulati, nihil occulti huius honoris successor est, nullus est accusator: nullus ingratus.*

Barnard in ser. quadrages.

Wherefore not being ambitious of honour (after which the best do often hunt, although such greedie desire of honour and ambition be, as saith Barnard, *Futile malum, secretum virus, pestis occulta, doli artifex, mater hypocrisis, liuoris parens, vitiorum origo, tinea sanctitatis, excæcatrix cordium, ex remedijs morbos creans, ex medicina languorem generans*) did further increase his honour and aduance him to greater credit; as appeareth by this, that king Henrie the eight, whom this man had long and faithfullie serued in his life time, made him one of his executors, and the disposer of his testament at the time of his death; with whom also in the same authoritie he ioined his brother doctor Nicholas Wotton, a man of no lesse merit than the other, and rightlie deseruing to be here ioined in remembrance with his brother after their deaths, since almost equall honor, like loue, the same authoritie in the common-weale, one blood, and one Christ did ioine them togither in perfect amitie during their liues: of which Nicholas Wotton I will not speake anie more (except that as his brother refused the chancellorship, so he in the beginning of the reigne of this queene refused the bishoprike of Canturburie) but that which the worthie gentleman Thomas Wotton of Boton Malherbe esquire now liuing (sonne to the said sir Edward, and nephew to the said Nicholas, this Thomas being a great and fast fauorer of his countrie, not vnthankefull vnto him therefore) hath set downe in a statelie and rich tome of curious workemanship, formed after the order of a pyramis, and placed in the church of Canturburie, on which is ingraued in a faire stone of marble this epitaph following: wherin his birth, his parents, his honors at home, his ambassages abroad, and other things necessarie the knowledge are faithfullie set downe.

Nicholas Wotton doctor of both lawes refuseth to be archbishop of Canturburie: a rare note in him (as also in his brother) of contentation with their estates.

Thomas Wotton of Boton Malherbe (sonne to the said sir Edward) a great regarder of his progenitors estimatiõ.

Epitaphium celebre Nicholai Wottoni primi post monasteriorũ dissolutionem Cantuar. decani.

Nicholaus Wottonus Roberti Wottoni equitis aurati ex Anna Belknappa filius, vtriusq; iuris doctor, ecclesiæ huius primus itémq; metropolitanæ ecclesiæ diui Petri Eboracensis decanus, Henrico 8. Eduardo 6. Mariæ & Elisabethæ Angliæ regibus à secretis concilijs; ad Carolum 5. Cæsarem bis, ad Philippum Hispaniarum regem semel, ad Franciscum primũ Francorum regem semel, ad Henricum secundum eius filium ter, ad Mariæ Hungariæ reginam Belgarum præsidem semel, ad Gulielmum Cleuensem ducem bis, legatione functus. Renouatæ pacis inter Anglos, Francos, & Scotos, inter Guinas & Arderam anno 1540. similiter, & ad castrum Cameracense anno 1559. Deniq; Edinburgi Scotiæ anno 1560. oratorum vnus, hic tandem ferè septuagenarius requiescit. Hæc ille ante mortem & ante morbum quasi fatalem diem præsentiens, & cygneam cantionem propheticè canens, sua manu in museo scripta reliquit.

Annus ætatis eius è vita excessisset.

Qui apud tales principes (diuina prouidentia gubernante) laudabiliter, & in tot ac tantis causis (quarum magnitudo grauissima, vtilitas publica fuit) feliciter bonam vitæ suæ partem consumpsit; eum virum sapientem & experientissimum ipsa inuidia iudicare debet. Quàm semper ab omni contentione honorum fuerit alienus, illud declarat, quòd ad hanc ecclesiasticam dignitatem non ambitione vlla sua inflammatus, nec amicorum opera vsus, aspirauit: sed eam vtramq; Henricus octauus (hominis merito & virtute prouocatus) vltro detulit. Cùmq; idem rex illustrissimus morbum læthalem ingrauescere persentiret, & Eduardi principis sanè excellentissimi, adhuc tandem pueri & reipublicæ administrandæ imparis, imbecillam ætatem senili prudentia secretioris concilij sui, regendam existimaret, ille instituit, hunc Nicholaum (absentem tunc in Francia legatum) & vnum esse voluit. Eduardi regi iam medio regni curriculo propè confecto, vnus è primarijs secretarijs fuit, quem locum tenere potuisset, nisi & suis & assiduis amicorum precibus abdicandi veniam impetrasset. Corpus illi erat gracile quidem & parum sed erectum, habitudo sana, vultus liberalis, victus exquisitus, quem semel tantùm in die capere consueuerat: valitudo adeo firma vt rarò morbum aliquem sentiret: animus verò totus libris ac literis dicatus: artium medicinæ, iurisprudentiæ, & theologiæ studio intentus: linguarum Romanæ, Italicæ, Gallicæ, & Germanicæ inferioris cognitione pulchrè exornatus. Ita vir iste genere clarus, legationibus clarior, domi ac foris clarissimus, honore florens, labore fractus, ætate confectus; postquam decanus huius ecclesiæ annis 25. dies 293. præfuisset, Londini Januarij 26. anno nostræ salutis 1566. piè & suauiter in Domino obdormiuit. Thoma Woottono nepote hærede relicto, qui ei hoc monumentum non honoris ergò quo abundauit viuus & floruit mortuus, sed amoris causa quem memoria colet vt debet sempiterna, consecrauit.

Rerum quarumdam in isto Wottono memorabilium luculenta descriptio.

Videlicet ecclesiæ Christi Cantuarien sis.

Monumentum in demortui memoriam amoris ergò extructũ

In which epitaph it appeareth what he was, & how greatlie learned and reuerenced for the same. Wherfore néeding not to speake anie more of him, sith I shall not be able with due maiestie of stile to expresse his worthinesse; I will yet, leauing what otherwise his merit might challenge to be spoken, note one strange and rare thing, which to my remembrance neuer happened to anie one man before the same; being this, that he had not onelie bëene councellor to foure kings and quëenes of England following in succession of time, but also that he had bëen thirtëene seuerall times ambassador and orator to diuerse princes for the affaires of the publike wealth, and the princes honor. Thus leauing this worthie doctor with his nephue Thomas Wotton, father to Edward Wotton sent ambassador to Scotland, which occasioned me to treat thus much of the Wottons, I conclude, that it is a singular blessing of God, not commonlie giuen to euerie race, to be beautified with such great and succeeding honor in the descents of the familie. Whereof this Edward Wotton now liuing, hath in the life of his father giuen great proofe of continuance to descend to their posteritie, in that he in these his yoong yeares, hath bëene (after his trauell ouer the most part of Europe) twise imploied in ambassages for the seruice of his countrie; first to the king of Portingall, & now to the king of Scots: with whome I will at this time set end to this discourse of the Wottons.]

This is touched in the former epitaph among other his preferments.

Commendation of Edward Wotton, in respect of his great trauelling ouer the most part of Europe and his imploiments in ambassages &c.

On the one and twentith daie of June, Henrie Persie earle of Northumberland, prisoner in the Tower of London vpon vehement suspicion of high treason, was there found dead, and also of his owne diuelish intent, and of his malice before pretended to haue murthered himselfe, as more manifestlie and at large may appeare, by an inquisition made by a substantiall iurie, taken before the coroner as followeth verbatim with the record.

Earle of Northumberland found to haue murthered himselfe in the tower of London.

¶ A copie of the said inquisition.

An inquisition taken at the citie of London, that is within the tower of London, in the parish of Alhallowes Barking, in the ward of the Tower of London, on Mondaie being the one and twentith daie of June, in the yeare of the reigne of our souereigne ladie Elisabeth by the grace of God quëene of England, France, and Ireland, defendor of the faith &c, the seuen and twentith: before William Squier gentleman coroner to our said souereigne ladie the quëene within the citie of London and the liberties of the same, vpon the view of the bodie of Henrie Persie knight, late earle of Northumberland, late prisoner there within the Tower of London aforesaid, for suspicion of high treason by him supposed to be done, there lieng dead, and slaine: by the othes of Nicholas Wheler, Simon Horsepole, Thomas Gardener, William Leueson, Owen Morgan, Henrie Lodge, William Abraham, William Horne, Thomas Russell, John Porter, Robert Dowe,

A quest of inquirie vpon his violent & voluntarie death.

Dowe, Anthonie Hall, William Curtis, Thomas Wood, Matthew Dolman, Thomas Martin, Richard Sleford, John Trot, Philip Smith, Thomas Tailor, and Henrie Bowdler, of good and lawfull men of the same ward, and of three other wards to the same ward next adioining, as the maner and custome is in the citie aforesaid, to inquire how, in what maner, and when the said Henrie Persie late earle of Northumberland came to his death.

The verdict of the iurie deliuered vpon their oths.

Which iurie do saie vpon their oths, that on the one & twentith daie of this instant moneth of June, in the yeare of the reigne of our souereigne ladie Elisabeth by the grace of God quéene of England, France, and Ireland, defendor of the faith, &c: the seuen and twentith aforesaid, and long before the foresaid Henrie late earle of Northumberland prisoner in the Tower of London situat in the parish of Alhallows Barking aforesaid, in the ward of the Tower of London aforesaid, for suspicion of high treason aforesaid, by him against our souereigne ladie the quéene supposed to be committed; and the foresaid earle so remaining prisoner, and being placed in a certeine chamber within the Tower of London aforesaid, there prisoner remaining, imagining and intending himselfe diuelishlie and feloniouslie to kill and murther before the foresaid one & twentith daie of June: that is to saie, the sixteenth daie of June in the seuen and twentith yeare aforesaid, did prepare a certeine dag of iron and steele of the value of ten shillings: and also certeine bullets of lead, and a certeine quantitie of gunpowder, conteined in a certeine small box, and caused the foresaid gun, the bullets of lead and the gunpowder to be brought into the foresaid chamber vnto him the same earle of Northumberland, and to be deliuered to the same earle then and there by the hands of James a Price yeoman, to execute his diuelish and felonious purpose and intention.

The meanes that the earle made and prepared to destroie himselfe.

Which dag aforesaid, the foresaid earle caused secretlie to be hidden in a certeine mattris vnder the bolster of his bed in the chamber aforesaid, and then and there, the foresaid one and twentith daie of June in the seuen and twentith yeare aforesaid, betweene the houres of twelue and one in the night of the foresaid one and twentith daie of June, thinking and intending to prosecute and follow his diuelish intention and purpose aforesaid, did bolt the doore of the foresaid chamber, and the inner part of his said chamber towards himselfe, least anie man should foresée or withstand his diuelish, felonious, and malicious intent: and the said doore of his foresaid chamber, being so bolted; the same earle then and there into his bed himselfe did laie; and vpon this afterward, that is to saie, the foresaid one and twentith daie of June, in the seuen & twentith yeare aforesaid, about the houres aforesaid, within the Tower of London aforesaid, situat and being in the parish of Alhallows Barking aforesaid, in the ward of the Tower of London aforesaid, not hauing the almightie God or his feare before his eies, but being moued and seduced by the instigation of the diuell, of his malice afore pretended; did take vp into his hands the foresaid dag of iron and steele, then and there made readie, charged with gunpowder, and three bullets of lead, and the foresaid dag to the left part of his breast nere vnto the pappe of the same part of his brest, then and there feloniouslie and diuelishlie did put, and vpon the same part of his brest the foresaid dag did discharge.

This consenteth with the discourse following, wherin the same matter is more largelie handled.

The order of the action that was the earls destruction.

By reason of the violence of which gunpowder, and of the foresaid three bullets of lead, the foresaid earle into his bodie and heart, and through his chinebone, euen into his right shoulder, himselfe then and there with the foresaid bullets of lead feloniouslie and voluntarilie did strike; giuing vnto himselfe then and there one mortall wound, of the depth of twelue inches, and of the bredth of two inches: of which mortall wound aforesaid, the foresaid earle within the Tower of London aforesaid, the date, yeare, parish, and ward aforesaid, instantlie died. And so the iurie doth saie vpon their oths aforesaid, that the foresaid earle, the daie, yeare, and place aboue written, of his diuelish intent aforesaid, and of his malice before pretended, feloniouslie and voluntarilie himselfe did kill and murther in manner and forme aforesaid, against the peace of our souereigne ladie the quéene, hir crowne and dignitie. But what goods and cattels the foresaid earle in the time of the felonie and murther to himselfe aforesaid committed, had, or as yet hath, the iurie knew not, &c: in witnesse whereof, &c.

The bredth and depth of his wound.

¶ This was the verdict of the iurors, wherby the manner how, and the matter whereby the earle dispatched himselfe is trulie declared: which being taken for truth (as deseruing no lesse, the parties welworthie of credit) it remained to prouide for the bestowing of his wretched carcase, which on the three and twentith daie of June was buried in saint Peters church within the said Tower of London. This was the end of that graceless earle, the manner of whose murther, and part of his treasons are here dilated, as the same was publikelie deliuered in the Starchamber, and after published in a booke intituled:

Henrie earle of Northumberland buried in the Tower.

A true and summarie report of the declaration of some part of the earle of Northumberlands treasons, deliuered publikelie in the court at the Starchamber by the lord Chancellor and others of hir maiesties most honorable priuie councell, & councell learned, by hir maiesties speciall commandement, togither with the examinations & depositions of sundrie persons touching the maner of his most wicked and violent murther committed vpon himselfe with his owne hand, in the Tower of London, the 20 daie of Iune, 1585.

MAlice, among other essentiall properties perteining to hir ouglie nature, hath this one not inferior to the rest and the worst, incredulitie, wherewith she commonlie possesseth the minds and affections of all those that are infected with hir, so blinding the eies & iudgement of the best and cleerest sighted, that they cannot see or perceiue the bright beames of the truth, although the same be deliuered with neuer so great puritie, prose, circumstance and probabilitie. It is said that no truth passeth abroad vnaccompanied with hir contrarie; and as they go, truth is euer constreined to yeld the precedence and preheminence to hir pokefellow falshod, whose lodging is alwaies first made and prepared without a harbenger in the corrupt nature of mankind, by whome she is first receiued, interteined and harbored at all times: wherof in our dailie experience there happen manie and dangerous demonstrations, especiallie in matters of the highest moment, tending to excuse or accuse the actions of the greatest personages.

Incredulitie an essentiall propertie of malice.

Truth and falshod commonlie concur & are opposite.

There was of late deliuered in publike by persons of honour, credit, and reputation, a large declaration of certeine treasons practised by the late earle of Northumberland, of the maner of his vntimelie death, being with his owne hand murthered in the Tower, and of the causes that wrought him therevnto. The particularities whereof are such and so manie, as for the helpe of my memorie (comming then to the Starchamber by occasion, and not looking for anie such presence of the nobilitie and priuie councell as I found there at that time, and not looking for anie such cause of that nature to haue béene handled there that daie) I toke notes of the seuerall matters

In ingredience into the historie of Northumberland.

ters declared by the lord chancellor, maister attourneie, and solicitor generall, the lord chiefe baron, and maister vicechamberlaine: for (as I remember) they spake in order as they are here marshalled, and therefore I place them in this sort, and not according to their precedence in dignitie.

Upon the hearing of the treasons with their proofs and circumstances, and the desperat maner of the earles destruction deliuered in that place, and by persons of that qualitie, I supposed no man to haue bene so void of iudgement or the vse of common reason, that would haue doubted of anie one point or particle thereof, vntill it was my chance (falling in companie with diuerse persons at sundrie times, as well about the citie of London as abroad) to heare manie men report variablie and corruptlie of the maner and matter of this publike declaration, possessing the minds and opinions of the people with manifest vntruths: as, that the earle had bene vniustlie deteined in prison without proofe or iust cause of suspicion of treason: and that he had bene murthered by deuise and practise of some great enimies, and not destroied by himselfe. These slanderous reports haue ministred vnto me this occasion to set forth vnto thy view and consideration (gentle reader) this short collection of the said treasons and murther, as neere vnto the truth as my notes taken may lead and permit me, with the view of some of the examinations them selues concerning this cause for my better satisfaction since obteined. Which I haue vndertaken for two respects: the one, to conuince the false and malicious impressions and constructions receiued and made of these actions, by such as are in heart enimies to the happie estate of hir maiesties present gouernement: the other, because it may be thought necessarie for the preuenting of a further contagion like to grow (by this creeping infection) in the minds of such as are apt (though otherwise indifferent) in these and the like rumors, to receiue the bad as the good, and they the most in number. Wherein if I haue seemed more bold than wise, or intermedled my selfe in matters aboue my reach, and not apperteining vnto me, I craue pardon where it is to be asked, and commit my selfe to thy friendlie interpretation to be made of my simple trauell and dutifull meaning herein.

The maner of the earles making awaie of himselfe not generallie beleeued.

The cause why the collection of Northumberlands treasons and selfe-murther was published.

Upon the three and twentith daie of June last, assembled in the court of Starchamber, sir Thomas Bromleie knight lord chancellor of England, William lord Burleigh lord treasuror of England, George earle of Shrewsburie lord marshall of England, Henrie earle of Derbie, Robert earle of Leicester, Charles lord Howard of Effingham lord chamberlaine, Henrie lord Hunsdon lord gouernor of Berwike, sir Francis Knollis knight treasuror, sir James Croft knight comptrollor of hir maiesties houshold, sir Christopher Hatton knight vicechamberlaine to the queenes maiestie, the lord chiefe iustice of hir maiesties bench, the maister of the rolles, and the lord chiefe baron of the excheker, and others. The audience verie great of knights, esquiers, and men of other qualitie, the lord chancellor began briefelie and summarilie to declare, that whereas Henrie late earle of Northumberland, for diuerse notable treasons and practises by him taken in hand, to the danger not onelie of hir maiesties roiall person, but to the perill of the whole realme, had bene long deteined in prison, and looking into the guilt of his owne conscience, and perceiuing by such meanes of intelligence, as he by corrupting of his keepers and other like deuises had obteined, that his treasons were by sundrie examinations and confessions discouered, grew thereby into such a desperat estate, as that thereupon he had most wickedlie destroied & murthered himselfe. Which being made knowen to the lords of hir maiesties priuie councell, order was thereupon taken, and direction giuen to the lord chiefe iustice of England, the maister of the rolles, and the lord chiefe baron of the exchequer, to examine the maner and circumstances of his death, which they with all good indeuor and diligence had accordinglie performed. And least through the sinister meanes of such persons as be euill affected to the present estate of hir maiesties gouernement, some bad and vntrue conceipts might be had as well of the cause of the earles deteinement, as of the maner of his death: it was therefore thought necessarie to haue the truth thereof made knowen in that presence: and then he required hir maiesties learned councell there present to deliuer at large the particularities both of the treasons, and in what sort the earle had murthered himselfe. Then began John Popham esquier, hir maiesties attourneie generall, as followeth.

Persons of honour and worship assembled in the Starchamber, in whose audience Northumberlands cause was canuassed.

Examinants appointed for and about the manner of Northumberlands selfe murther.

Maister attornie, namelie John Popham discouereth the earles treasonable practises.

The earle of Northumberland about the time of the last rebellion in the north, in the eleuenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne (then called by the title of Henrie Persie knight) had vndertaken the conueieng awaie of the Scotish queene: for the which (as appeareth by a record of the fourteenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne) in the court of hir maiesties bench he was indicted, he confessed the offense, and put himselfe to hir maiesties mercies. At which time, vpon his said confession, submission, and faithfull promise of his dutie and allegiance to hir highnesse from thenceforth, the queenes maiestie of hir mercifull nature was pleased, not to loke into his offense with the extremitie of hir lawes; but dealt therein as by waie of contempt onelie, as may appeare by the record: the effect whereof was then shewed in the court, vnder the hand of one of the clerkes of hir maiesties said bench, *In hæc verba.*

An extract of the said record conteining the said earles indictment.

Middlesex.

MEmorandum, that Henrie Persie late of Tinmouth in the countie of Northumberland knight, was indicted in the terme of Easter, in the fourteenth yeere of hir maiesties reigne, for that hee with diuers others did conspire for the deliuering of the queene of Scots out of the custodie of the erle of Shrewsburie. Upon which indictment the same Henrie Persie did confesse the offense, and did put himselfe to the queenes mercie: and thereupon iudgement was after giuen by the court, that the said Henrie should paie to the queene for a fine for his said offense, fiue thousand marks, as appeareth by the record thereof in court.

The erle confesseth his offense, and is put to 5000 marks fine.

Per Micha. 14. & 15. Elisabethæ reginæ, rotulo quinto inter placita reginæ. Concordat cum recordo.

Per Io. Iue.

By this record it maie apeare that the earle had his hand in that rebellion. But for a further proofe thereof, it is most manifestlie discouered in a certeine tract written by the bishop of Rosse (wherein he sheweth how faithfullie he behaued himselfe in the managing of those treasons, at and about the time of that rebellion) that the said earle was in effect as farre plunged into the same, as the late earle his brother, howsoeuer he wound himselfe out of the danger thereof at that time. Notwithstanding these traitorous practises, the queenes maiestie was contented to remit all within a short time, and then accepted

The earle a dealer in rebellion as his brother (therfore executed) was.

cepted moſt graciouſlie of him both in honor and fauor, though vnworthilie beſtowed vpon him, for that he vtterlie forgetting thoſe graces and fauors receiued at hir maieſties mercifull hands, with a graceleſſe reſolution was contented to enter into a new plot now latelie contriued, not onelie for the deliuering of the Scotiſh queene, but for the inuading of the whole realme, the ouerthrow of the gouernment, aſwell concerning the ſtate of religion, as otherwiſe, the danger of hir maieſties ſacred perſon, and aduancing of the ſaid Scotiſh queene to the regall crowne and ſcepter of this realme, whereunto hir maieſtie is lineallie and lawfullie borne and deſcended, and wherein God of his mercie continue hir long in happie ſtate of gouernement, to the increaſe of hir owne glorie, and the comfort of hir louing and obedient ſubiects.

A ſumme of the traitorous purpoſes whereunto the earle was entered with a graceleſſe reſolution.

Then did maiſter Atturneie enter into the particularities of the treaſons, leauing manie parts thereof vntouched, becauſe the caſe ſtood ſo as it was not then conuenient to reueale them (as he ſaid) in reſpect that they touched ſome other perſons vndealt withall at that time, ſhewing that Throckemortons treaſons were not old, but freſh in euerie mans memorie, and how far forth they reached vnto the earle, he declared. And for that the treaſons of Throckemorton tended eſpeciallie to the inuading of the realme with forren forces, the purpoſe of that inuaſion long before intended, is proued by ſundrie examinations and confeſſions taken here within the realme, aſwell of hir maieſties owne ſubiects as others, by letters intercepted, written from and to the conſpirators abroad and at home, and by other good aduertiſements and intelligences had from forren parts diſcouering the ſame. He declared that in a letter written from doctor Sanders to doctor Allen out of Spaine, in the yeare 1577, it is ſet downe among other things, that the ſtate of Chriſtendome ſtood vpon the ſtout aſſailing of England.

The treaſons of Throckmorton communicable with the earle.

That in a letter ſent to the ſaid Allen from Rome, touching audience giuen by the pope to the ambaſſadors of certeine forren princes, betweene the pope & whom a league was agreed on againſt the queenes maieſtie, there were incloſed certeine articles conteining in effect, that the realme ſhould be inuaded with twentie thouſand men at the charge of the ſaid pope and princes, that hir maieſtie ſhould be depoſed, and ſome Engliſh catholike elected king. That it was confeſſed that the comming ouer of ſo manie prieſts into the realme, was to win great numbers to the catholike partie, to ioine (if opportunitie ſerued) either with forren inuaſion, or with tumult at home. That at Narbonne in Prouince, there was met an Engliſhman, being the head preacher there, who gaue intelligence to one of hir maieſties ſubiects, that the realme ſhould ſhortlie be inuaded by a forren king, and the popiſh religion reſtored: and ſaid further, that prieſts came into England and diſperſed themſelues in countries, to make their partie ſtrong. A meſſage was ſent in Nouember 1581, to doctor Allen from a ſubiect of this realme, by a ſeminarie prieſt then returning beyond the ſeas: that whereas he had receiued word from Allen at Alhallontide before, that men and all things were in a readineſſe, if the place of landing might be knowne: that Allen ſhould forthwith ſend word whether things were in ſuch readineſſe or not: and if they were, he would then ſend him ſuch perfect inſtructions as he could. One Paine executed for treaſon, confeſſed that this realme could not continue in the ſtate wherein it was, for that the pope had a ſpeciall care thereof, and would in ſhort time either by forren princes, or by ſome other meanes worke a change of things here.

An inuaſion of this land by twentie thouſand men concluded vpon.

Paine with all of his accurſſed ſtampe ſhall (I hope in God) be found falſe prophets.

From hence, maiſter Atturneie fell into the treaſons confeſſed by Francis Throckemorton, ſhewing that the ſtate of this realme had beene often preſented to the conſideration of a forren prince, who after long hearkening to the motion, had reſolued to yeld what furtherance he might, and to giue all aids neceſſarie for the reforming of religion, ſo they might be backed by ſuch as were well affected within this countrie. That the duke of Guiſe had ſolicited for two yeares together the pope and other princes, to ſupplie him with forces: but being croſſed by the death of a great perſonage, it was now growne to this paſſe, if there could be a partie found in England to ioine in that action, and conuenient places and meanes for landing, and other things neceſſarie, there ſhould be a ſupplie for Guiſe of forren ſtrength. Francis Throckemorton was recommended from beyond the ſea to Don Barnardino de Mendoza, ambaſſador reſident for the Spaniſh king here in England, who acquainted Throckemorton what plot was laid for the enterprize of the duke of Guiſe, and that he was willed to conferre with Throckemorton in the matter, who thereupon acquainted the ſaid ambaſſador with the plot of the hauens, and with the noble men and gentlemen that he had ſet downe as fit to be dealt withall in that cauſe. Throckemorton ſaid, that the bottome of this enterprize (which was not to be knowne to manie) was, that if a toleration of religion might not be obteined without alteration of the gouernement, that then the gouernment ſhould be altered, & the queene remoued. That the Scotiſh queene was made acquainted from the duke of Guiſe with the intention to relieue hir by theſe forces.

Francis Throckmorton recommended to Don Barnardino de Mendoza & made acquainted with that which coſt him his life.

It was in debate betweene Throckemorton and the Spaniſh ambaſſador, how the Scotiſh queene might be deliuered, as by an enterprize to be made with a certeine number of horſſes: and it was told Francis Throckemorton by his brother Thomas Throckemorton, that it was a principall matter in debate beyond the ſeas, how ſhe might be deliuered with ſafetie: the lacke of reſolution wherin, was the principall ſtaie of the execution of the attempt of inuaſion. Mendoza told Francis Throckemorton about Bartholomewtide 1583, that one Pope was come into England to ſound the earle of Northumberland, and other principall men in Suſſex: and about the end of September following, the ſame Mendoza told him, that Pope was Charles Paget, and that he came not onelie to ſound the men, but to view the places, the hauens, the prouiſions and meanes, and neerneſſe and commoditie of mens abidings that ſhould ioine with the forren forces. It was deuiſed, that ſuch noble men and others, as would be contented to aſſiſt the forren forces (being iuſtices of peace & of credit in their countries) might by colour of their authoritie leuie men as for hir maieſties defenſe, and yet emploie them to aſſiſt the forren forces. The lord Paget was made acquainted with this deuiſe, and anſwered, that it was a good courſe, and that he had thought vpon it before. Mendoza told Throckemorton, that Charles Paget had beene in Suſſex, and had ſpoken with thoſe that were there, and that he came to moue the earle of Northumberland and others. The night before Throckemorton was apprehended, he came to the lord Paget, and deſired him that he would not acquaint the earle of Northumberland and certeine others (whome he named) with ſuch matters as had paſſed betweene them two, touching the practiſe of this inuaſion: and the lord Paget willed him to deale as wiſelie for his part as he would do for himſelfe, and all ſhould be well: but (quoth the lord Paget) the earle of Northumberland knoweth

Francis Throckmorton owne confeſſions do confirme the report of theſe practiſes, ſee pa. 1374, 1375.

Francis Throckmorton deſireth the lord Paget not to make the earle priuie to the conſultations of them two.

knoweth you well enough. It was once agreed among the confederats, that the duke of Guise should land in Sussex, being over against Dieppe and Normandie: which after was misliked, because those parts laie too neere to hir maiesties greatest force and store, and that the people thereabout for the most part were protestants.

Maister attourneie shewed further, that in summer last, there was taken vpon the seas, sailing towards Scotland, a Scotish Jesuit, about whome there was found a discourse written in Italian of a like enterprise to be attempted against England, which should haue beene executed in September or October then last past: wherein assurance is made that the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, Dacres that is dead, whom they termed lord Dacres, and of all the catholike lords and gentlemen in the north parts (where the invasion should haue beene attempted) setting it downe, that it is not said by coniecture that these men are assured, but that it is certeinlie knowne that they will ioine with the forren forces. In the said discourse it is also affirmed that the priests dispersed in the realme, can dispose of the other catholikes of the realme, as they shall be ordered: and that the popes excommunication should be renewed and pronounced against hir maiestie, and all those that shall take hir part: and that all such should be holden traitors that did not ioine with that armie by a date.

In the North parts should the purposed invasion of this land haue beene made.

When maister attourneie had thus proued the purpose of invasion, he proceeded to the proofe of Charles Pagets comming over about the practise and prosecution of that enterprise. And first, that Paget came to Petworth in September 1583, was secretlie received, and brought in the night late to the earle of Northumberland into his gallerie at Petworth, by one of the earles seruants: where the earle and he had secret conference together by the space of a large houre: from thense Paget was likewise conueied backe into the towne by the same seruant, and there lodged all that night, and the nert night following was conueied secretlie to a lodge in the earles parke at Petworth, called Conigar lodge, where he was kept with like secrecie by the space of eight daies or thereabouts: and the seruant by whome Paget was thus conueied, was by the said earle inioined and commanded in no wise to discouer Pagets being there. The earle of Northumberland, vpon the arriuall of Charles Paget, sent for the lord Paget with the priuitie of this seruant, who was made beleeue that Charles came over to set things in order, and to passe certeine deeds and conueiances betweene the lord Paget and him. The lord Paget came to Petworth, staied there two nights, lodged in the earles house, conferred with Charles Paget, and with the earle togither sundrie times.

Charles Pagets comming over about the prosecution & practise of the foresaid enterprise proued.

The earle examined and found therein to falter and double.

The earle after his apprehension, being at seuerall times examined what causes or affaires had passed betweene the lord Paget and Charles his brother, when they were together at Petworth, answered one while, that they passed certeine deeds and conueiances; and another while, that there was onelie a will or testament signed and sealed betweene them: he confessed that he set his hand vnto the will, but knew not what the same conteined. All which appeared to be false, for that it hath fallen out by occasion of seizure of the lands and goods of the lord Paget (after his departure out of the realme) that he had disposed of his lands and goods by an other course of assurance executed at London: and therefore their pretense of the passing of deeds & will at Petworth, was but a deuise, to shadow their traitorous conspiracies.

And for better proofe thereof, it was alleaged by maister attorneie, that Charles Paget returning from Petworth to the house of one William Danies, neere to the place where Paget had landed in Sussex, and toke shipping againe at his departure beyond the seas, sent to William Shelleie esquire, residing then at his house at Michelgroue, distant about a mile from the house of William Danies, to come vnto him (who within few daies before had beene at the lodge at Petworth with the said Paget) and now at their meeting in a coppice neere to Danies house, Paget entred into speech and discourse with him of diuers matters, and at the last among other things, he began to be inquisitiue of the strength and fortification of Portesmouth, and what forces and strength hir maiestie had in the other parts westward.

William Shelleie an actor in this purposed tragedie, & what consultations passed betweene him and Charles Paget.

Paget brake out and declared vnto him that forraine princes would seeke reuenge against hir maiestie of the wrongs by hir done vnto them, & would take such time and opportunitie as might best serue them for that purpose, and said that those princes disdeined to see the Scotish queene so kept & vsed here as she was, and would vse all their forces for hir deliuerie: that the duke of Guise would be a dealer therin, and that the earle of Northumberland would be an assistant vnto them, willing Shelleie what soeuer should happen, to follow the earle of Northumberland, affirming that there was not a noble man in England of conduct and gouernment like to the said earle; saieng further, that the earle of Northumberland was affected to the Scotish queene, & would do what he could for hir aduancement: that the duke of Guise had forces in a readinesse to be employed for the altering of the state of religion here in England, and to set the forenamed Scotish queene at libertie.

God preuented this plot by the fatall end of the earle as he will in time disappoint all the complices.

Shelleie gathered by these and other speeches which passed betweene him & Paget, that Paget had dealt with the earle as a chiefe partie, and a man forward in these actions: and Paget confessed that he came ouer to breake and deale in these matters. Paget deliuered further, that the catholikes would all ioine for so good a purpose, for that it would be a meanes to reforme religion. He said, the stir should be in the North parts, because Sussex was not conuenient, as well for that there were no safe landing places, as for that it was so neere London, where the quéenes maiestie would be readie to resist them, and that whensoeuer anie stir should be, the earle of Northumberland would not stale in Sussex, but would into the North parts.

The north parts appointed to be the receptacle of all the intended broile.

When maister attorneie generall had in this sort laid downe the particularities of the treasons and traitorous practises of the confederates for this purposed inuasion; then Thomas Edgerton esquire, hir maiesties sollicitor, to proue the earle guiltie of these treasons by the circumstances of his own proceedings, shewed that the erle knowing how far him selfe was touched with the said treasons, & in what degrée of danger he stood if they should haue bin reueled, found his onelie hope of safetie to consist in the cunning concealing of them, & therfore he indeuored to couer them by all the possible meanes he could deuise. And first by conueieng awaie of the lord Paget, a man not onelie priuie to the practises and treasons handled by Francis Throckmorton, but also to the treasons of his brother Charles, wherein the earle and the lord Paget were doubtlesse both confederats with Charles, made acquainted by him with the causes of his comming ouer, as principall men with whome he dealt in those matters at Petworth.

Maister sollicitor, namelie Thomas Edgerton, proueth the earle guiltie, &c.

The lord Paget conueied ouer sea by the earles meanes & vpon what occasion.

The occasion that prouoked the earle to conueie

alwaie the lord Paget, grew vpon the apprehension of Throckmorton, who being committed to the Tower, and charged with high matters, was in case to be delt withall by waie of extremitie to be made to confesse the treasons charged vpon him; in reuealing whereof, Charles Pagets comming to Petworth, and the cause of his repaire thither could not be conceled. No man at this time within the realme could accuse the earle of these confederacies, but the lord Paget onlie, who stood in danger to be discouered by Francis Throckmorton: the safetie therefore of the earle rested altogither vpon the lord Pagets departing out of the realme. Which was procured by the earle with so great expedition, as that Throckmorton being committed to the Tower about the seuenth daie of November 1583, the earle made meanes the twelfe daie to haue the lord Paget prouided of shipping in all hast by William Shellete, wherin the earle vsed such importunat intreatie, & sent so often to hasten the preparation of the ship, that the same was prouided, and the lord Paget imbarked by the 14. of the same moneth following, or thereabout.

This was a shift but yet inccourtesie, as appeareth by the sequele.

The departure of the lord Paget sone after discouered, and how, and by whom he was conueied awaie: hir maiestie vpon good cause taking offense thereat, the earle being then at London had notice thereof, and of the confessions of Throckmorton (who began to discouer the treasons) came presentlie down to Petworth, sent immediatlie for William Shelleie, who comming to him to Petworth the next morning about dinner time, met the earle in a dining parlour readie to go to his dinner. The earle toke Shelleie aside into a chamber, and as a man greatlie distracted and troubled in mind, entred into these speeches: Alas I am a man cast awaie! And Shelleie demanding what he ment by those speeches, the earle answered: The actions I haue entred into, I feare will be my vtter vndoing, and therupon desired Shelleie to kéepe his counsell, and to discouer no more of him than he must néeds. The earle moreouer at this méeting intreated William Shelleie to conueie away all such as he knew to haue bene employed and were priuie of the lord Pagets going awaie, and of Charles Pagets comming ouer, which was accordinglie performed by Shelleie: and the earle for his part conueied awaie a principall man of his own, whom he had often vsed in messages into France, and had bene of trust appointed by the earle, to attend on Charles Paget, all the time of his staie at Connigar lodge.

The earle and Shelleie conferre, and as men dismaied for the discouerie of their dealings are extreame pensife.

Maister solicitor pursuing the matters that made the earles practises and deuises for the concealing of his treasons manifest, declared further: that after the earle and Shelleie had obteined some libertie in the Tower after their first restreint: the earle found meanes to haue intelligence with Shelleie, & was aduertised from him of all that he had confessed in his first examinations, taken before they were last restreined: since which time, the earle by corrupting of his kéeper hath practised to haue continuall aduertisements as before, as well of things done within the Tower as abroad: in so much as by his said kéeper he had sent and conueied twelue seuerall letters out of the Tower within the space of nine or ten wéekes, and one of those on sundaie the twentith daie of June in the morning, when he murthered himselfe the night following.

what deserued the kéeper that would be corrupted by an offendor so malicious?

The earle and Shelleie communicat their minds by message.

By the same corruption of his kéepers he sent also a message to William Shelleie by a maidseruant in the Tower, by the which he required him to stand to his first confessions, and to go no further; for so it would be best for him, and he should kéepe himselfe out of danger. Whereunto Shelleie returned answer by the same messenger, that he could hold out no longer, that he had concealed the matters as long as he could, and willed the earle to consider that there was a great difference betwéene the earles estate and his: for that the earle in respect of his nobilitie was not in danger to be dealt withall in such sort as he the said Shelleie was like to be, being but a priuat gentleman, and therefore to be vsed with all extremitie to be made confesse the truth: wherefore he aduised the earle to deale plainlie, and to remember what speeches had passed at his house at Petworth, when Charles Paget came last thither.

James Price a messenger to and fro betwéene the earle & Shelleie.

James Price by the same corruption of the earls kéeper came to William Shelleie on the fridaie or saturdaie before Trinitie sundaie last, and told him that the erle was verie desirous to vnderstand how farre he had gone in his confessions: and at Prices instance, Shelleie did set downe in writing the effect of the said confessions, and sent the same to the said earle: who vpon the sight therof, perceiuing the treasons reuealed and discouered, and knowing thereby how heinous his offenses were, fearing the iustice and seueritie of the lawes, and so the ruine and ouerthrow of his house, fell into desperation, & so to the destruction of himselfe. For confirmation whereof, it was confessed by one Jaques Pantins, a groome of the earles chamber, who had attended on the earle in the Tower by the space of ten wéeks before his death, that he had heard the earle often saie, that maister Shellete was no faithfull frend vnto him, and that he had confessed such things as were sufficient to ouerthrow them both: that he was vndone by Shelleies accusations, affirming that the earle began to despaire of himselfe, often with teares lamenting his cause, which the earle said to proceed onlie of the remembrance of his wife and children, saieng further, that such matters were laid vnto his charge, that he expected no fauour, but to be brought to his triall, and then he was but a lost man: repeating often that Shelleie had vndone him, and still mistrusting his cause, wished for death.

The earle bemmeth desperat and forceth not to destroie himselfe.

Herewith maister solicitor concluded, and then sir Roger Manwood knight, lord chiefe baron of hir maiesties exchéker, entered into the description of the earles death, and in what sort he had murthered himselfe: shewing first how the same had bene found by a verie substantiall iurie chosen among the best commoners of the citie, impanelled by the coroner vpon the view of the bodie, and diligent inquirie by all due meanes had according to the law, and declared, that vpon the discouerie of the intelligence conueied betwéene the earle and Shelleie, it was thought necessarie for the benefit of hir maiesties seruice, by such of hir highnesse most honourable priuie councell, as were appointed commissioners to examine the course of these treasons, that Jaques Pantins attending vpon the earls, and the earles corrupt kéepers should be remoued.

Sir Roger Manwood describeth the maner how the earle murthered himselfe.

Whereupon Thomas Bailiffe gentleman, sent to attend on the earle of Northumberland, vpon the remouing of Palmer and Jaques Pantins from about the said earle (who from the beginning of his last restreint attended on him) for the reasons last mentioned, was by the lieutenant of the Tower on the sunday about two of the clocke in the after none (being the twentith of June) shut vp with the earle, as appointed to remaine with him, and serue him in the prison for a time, vntill Palmer, Pantins, and * Price, then committed close prisoners, might be examined, how the earle came by such intelligences as were discouered to haue passed betwéene the earle and Shelleie, and betwéene the earle and others. Bailiffe serued the earle at his supper, brought him to his bed about nine of the clocke, and after some seruices done by the earles commandement,

Thomas Bailiffe the one & twentith of June 1585. deposed.

Palmer, Pantins and Price committed close prisoners.

* This Price is supposed to be mistaken for Edward Price.

mandement, departed from the earle to an vtter chamber, where he laie part of that night: and being come into his chamber, the earle rose out of his bed and came to his chamber doore, and bolted the same vnto him in the inner side, saieng to Bailiffe, he could not sleepe vnlesse his doore were fast.

O desperat dissimulation!

About twelue of the clocke at midnight, Bailiffe being in a slumber, heard a great noise, seeming vnto him to be the falling of some doore, or rather a peece of the house: the noise was so sudden and so great, that he started out of his bed, and crieng vnto the earle with a lowd voice, said: My lord, know you what this is? The earle not answering, Bailiffe cried and knocked still at the earles doore, saieng, My lord, how do you? But finding that the earle made no answer, continued his crieng and calling, vntill an old man that laie without, spake vnto him, saieng, Gentleman, shall I call the watch, seeing he will not speake? Yea (quoth Bailiffe) for Gods sake. Then did the old man rise, & called one of the watch, whome Bailiffe intreated with all possible speed to call maister lieutenant vnto him. In the meane time Bailiffe heard the earle giue a long and most greeuous grone, and after that, gaue a second grone: and then the lieutenant (being come) called vnto the earle, who not answering, Bailiffe cried vnto the lieutenant to breake open the earles chamber doore bolted vnto him in the inner side, which was done, and then they found the earle dead in his bed, and by his bed side a dag, wherewith he had killed himselfe.

He could not answer hauing discharged the dag into his bodie.

Sir Owen Hopton knight, examined vpon his oth, affirmed that on sundaie last at night, lesse than a quarter of an houre before one of the clocke after midnight, he was called vp by the watch to come to the earle of Northumberland, who had beene called vnto by maister Bailiffe his keeper, and would not speake as the watch told him. Whereupon the said sir Owen went presentlie to the earles lodging, opened the vtter doores, till he came vnto the chamber where maister Bailiffe laie, which was next to the earles bedchamber. Bailiffe said to this examinat as he came in, that he was wakened with a noise as it were of a doore or some great thing falling, & that he had called on the earle, and could haue no answer. And this examinat going to the earls chamber doore, finding the same bolted fast on the other side within the earles lodging, so as he could not go into the earle, this examinat called on the earle, telling him the lieutenant was there, and praied his lordship to open the doore.

Sir Owen Hopton knight, lieutenant of the Tower, 1585.

The warders with their halberds wrest and wring at the earles chamber doore.

But this examinat hauing no answer made vnto him, and finding the doore fast bolted in the inner side of the earles chamber with a strong iron bolt, so as they could not enter into the same out of the lodging where the said Bailiffe laie, without breaking vp the chamber doore, caused the warders which were with this examinat, to thrust in their halberds, and to wrest the doore thereby, as much as they could, and withall to run at the doore with their feet, & with violence to thrust it open, which they did accordinglie. And when this examinat came into the chamber, in turning vp the sheets, he perceiued them to be bloudied: and then searching further, found the wound, which was verie neere the pap, not thinking at the first sight, but that it had beene done with a knife.

The place of the bodie where the earle had wounded himselfe.

This examinat went thereupon presentlie to write to the court, and toke the warders into the vtter chamber, & left them there vntill he returned, bolting the doore of the earles bedchamber on the outside. And as soone as this examinat returned from writing of his letter to the court, he searched about the chamber, and found the dag in the floore, about three foot from the bed, neere vnto a table that had a greene cloth on it, which did somewhat shadow the dag: and after, turning downe the bedcloths, found the box in the which the powder and pellets were, on the bed vnder the couerlet; and saith, that the chamber where the earle laie, hath no other doore but that one doore which was broken open as aforesaid, saue one doore that went into a priuie, which hath no maner of passage out of it: sith that the earles lodging chamber, and the entering to the priuie, are both walled round about with a stone wall, and a bricke wall, and that there is no doore or passage out of or from the said earles bedchamber or priuie, but that onelie doore which was broken open by the appointment of this examinat. The warders that were with this examinat at the entrie into the prison, and the breaking vp of the earles chamber doore, and the doing of the other things aforesaid, were Michaell Sibleie, Anthonie Danies, William Riland, and John Potter, and one John Pinner this examinats seruant was there also.

The dag found in the floore, and the box and pellets in the bed.

This is a manifest proofe and full of sufficient credit, that none could come at him to do him violence.

For the proofe and confirmation of the seuerall parts and points of this deposition, Sibleie, Danies, Riland, Potter and Pinner were deposed, and they *viua voce* affirmed so much thereof to be true, as was reported by the examination of the lieutenant, concerning the comming of the lieutenant vnto the earles chamber, the breaking vp of the doore being bolted with a strong bolt on the inner side, the finding of the earle dead vpon his bed, the dag lieng on the ground, the powder and pellets in a box on the bed vnder the couerlet, with the rest of the circumstances thereunto apperteining. They affirmed also, that there was but one doore in the earles chamber, sauing the doore of the priuie, which togither with the chamber was stronglie walled about with stone and bricke: and further (as I remember) the lord chiefe baron confirmed the same, hauing viewed the chamber himselfe where the earle lodged, and was found dead.

Deponents *Viua voce*, confirming the lieutenants deposition vpon his examination.

Jaques Pantins in his examination of the one and twentith of June confesseth, that James Price deliuered the dag to the earle his maister in this examinats presence: whereupon he presentlie suspected that the earle meant mischiefe to himselfe, and therefore did his indeuour to persuade the earle to send awaie the dag, and told the earle that he knew not how the diuell might tempt his lordship, & that the diuell was great; but could by no meanes preuaile with the earle in that behalfe: and saith moreouer, that the earle required him to hide the dag, and he thereupon hanged the same on a naile within the chimnete in the earles bedchamber, where the earle thinking the same not to be sufficientlie safe in that place, it was by the earles appointment taken from thense, and put into a slit in the side of a mattresse that laie vnder the earles bed, neere to the beds head, and that the same sundaie morning that the earle murthered himselfe at night, he saw the dag lieng vnder the earles beds head. The dag was bought not manie daies before of one Adrian Pulan a dagmaker, dwelling in east Smithfield, as by the said Pulan was testified *viua voce* vpon his oth, in the open court, at the time of the publike declaration made of these matters in the Starchamber.

Of whom the dag was bought.

All these particularities considered, with the depositions and proofs of the witnesse concerning the earles death; first, how he came by the dag; secondlie, how long he had kept the same, and in what secret maner; thirdlie, the earles bolting of his chamber doore in the inside; fourthlie, the blow of the dag; fiftlie, the breaking vp of the earles chamber doore by the lieutenant of the Tower; and lastlie, the finding of the earle dead as aforesaid: what is he so

simple that will think or imagine, or so impudent and malicious that will auouch and report, that the earle of Northumberland should haue béene murthered of purpose, by practise or deuise of anie person, affecting his destruction in that manner? If men consider the inconuenience happened thereby, as well in matter of state, as commoditie to the quénes maiestie, lost by the preuention of his triall, who can in reason coniecture the earle to haue béene murthered of policie or set purpose, as the euill affected séeme to conceiue?

If the earle had liued to haue receiued the censure of the law for his offenses, all lewd and friuolous obiections had then béene answered, and all his goods, cattels and lands by his atteindor had come vnto hir maiestie, and the honour and state of his house and posteritie vtterlie ouerthrowne: the consideration and feare whereof appeareth without all doubt to haue béene the principall and onelie cause that made him laie violent hands vpon himselfe. If obiections be made, that to murther him in that sort might be a satisfaction to his enimies, who could be pacified by no meanes but with his bloud: that séemeth to be as improbable, for that it is commonlie discerned in the corrupt nature of man, that when we are possessed with so profound a hatred, as to seeke the death of our enimie, we imagine and wish his destruction to be had with the greatest shame and infamie that can be deuised: thinke you not then, that if the earle of Northumberland had anie such enimie that knew the danger wherein he stood, and that his triall and conuiction by law would draw vpon him the losse of his life, lands and goods, fame, honor, and the vtter subuersion of his house, would be so kindhearted vnto him, as to helpe to take awaie his life onelie, & saue him all the rest? I suppose there is no man of iudgement will beléeue it.

The principall cause that made the earle laie hands vpon himselfe.

But to returne to the maner of the earles death. It was declared by the lord Hunsdon, and the lord chiefe baron, that the dag wherewith the earle murthered himselfe, was charged with three bullets, and so of necessitie with more than an ordinarie charge of powder, to force that weight of bullets to worke their effect. The earle lieng vpon his backe on the left side of his bed, toke the dag charged in his left hand (by all likelihood) laid the mouth of the dag vpon his left pap (hauing first put aside his wastecote) and his shirt being onelie betwéene the dag and his bodie (which was burnt awaie the breadth of a large hand) discharged the same, wherewith was made a large wound in his said pap, his heart pearsed and torne in diuerse lobes or péeces, three of his ribs broken, the chinebone of his backe cut almost in sunder, and vnder the point of the shoulder blade on the right side within the skin, the three bullets were found by the lord Hunsdon, which he caused the surgion in his presence to cut out, lieng all three close togither within the breadth and compasse of an inch or thereabout: the bullets were shewed by his lordship at the time of the publication made in the court at the Starchamber.

The lord of Hunsdon declareth how the dag was more than ordinarilie charged: and how the earle dispatched himselfe.

Three bullets found vnder the point of the earls shoulder blade.

And whereas it hath béene slanderouslie giuen out to the aduantage of the earle, as the reporters suppose, that he was imprisoned & kept in so streict, narrow and close rome, with such penurie of aire and breath, that thereby he grew sickelie and wearie of his life, and that to haue béene the cause chieflie why he murthered himselfe; if it were so that he died by the violence of his owne hand which they hardlie beléeue. To answer that péeuish and senseless slander, there was much spoken by the lord chiefe baron, who had viewed and caused verie exactlie to be measured the chambers and romes within the prison where the earle laie, being part of hir maiesties owne lodging in the Tower. The particular length and breadth of the said chambers & roms, and the qualitie of the lights and windows, expressed by the said lord chiefe baron, I can not repeat: but well I do remember it was declared, that all the date time, the earle had the libertie of fiue large chambers, and two long entries within the vtter dore of his prison: three of which chambers, and one of the entries laie vpon two faire gardens within the Tower wall, and vpon the Tower wharfe, with a pleasant prospect to the Thames, and to the countrie, more than fiue miles beyond. The windowes were of a verie large proportion, yelding so much aire and light, as more cannot be desired in anie house. Note therefore how maliciouslie those that fauour traitors and treasons, can deliuer out these and the like slanderous speéches, to the dishonor of hir maiestie, noting hir councellors and ministers with inhumanitie and vncharitable seueritie, contrarie to all truth and honestie.

A slanderous report of the quénes enimies and the earles fauourers answered.

The earle wanted no prospects for pleasure nor walks of conuenient libertie.

When the lord chiefe baron had finished this discourse of the manner of the earles death, with the circumstances, and had satisfied the court and auditorie concerning the qualitie of the prison where the earle had remained, sir Christopher Hatton knight hir maiesties vicechamberlaine, who (as it séemed) had béene speciallie imploied by hir maiestie among others of hir priuie councell in the looking into and examining of the treasons afore said, aswell in the person of the earle as of others, and at the time of the earles commitment from his house in S. Martins to the Tower of London, sent vnto him from hir maiestie to put the earle in mind of hir maiesties manifold graces and fauors in former times conferred vpon him, proceéding from the spring of hir maiesties princelie and bountifull nature, and not of his deseruings, and to aduise him to deliuer the truth of the matters so cléerelie appearing against him, either by his letters priuatlie to hir maiestie, or by speéch to maister vicechamberlaine, who signified also vnto him, that if he would determine to take that course, he should not onlie not be committed to the Tower, but should find grace & fauor at hir maiesties hands, in the mitigation of such punishment as the law might laie vpon him.

Sir Christopher Hatton reuealeth to the court and auditorie the gratious dealing of hir maiestie with the said earle, no such fauour deseruing.

And here M. vicechamberlaine repeated at length the effect of hir maiesties message at that time sent to the earle, begining first with the remembrance of his practise vndertaken for the conueieng awaie of the Scotish quéene about the time of the last rebellion (as hath béene declared in the beginning of this tract) and that he confessing the offense being capitall, hir maiestie neuertheless was pleased to alter the course of his triall by the iustice of hir lawes, and suffered the same to receiue a slight and easie punishment by waie of mulct or fine of fiue thousand marks, whereof before this his imprisonment (as it is crediblie reported) there was not one penie paid, or his land touched with anie extent for the paiment thereof, which offense was by hir maiestie not onelie most gratiouslie forgiuen, but also most christianlie forgotten, receiuing him not long after to the place of honor that his ancestours had inioied for manie yeares before him, and gaue him such entrance into hir princelie fauour and good opinion, that no man of his qualitie receiued greater countenance and comfort at hir maiesties hands than he; insomuch that in all exercises of recreation, vsed by hir maiestie, the earle was alwaies called to be one: and whensoeuer hir maiestie shewed hir selfe abroad in publike, she gaue to him the honor of the best and highest seruices about hir person, more often than to all the noble men of the court.

The quénes maiestie mitigateth the punishmēt which the law would haue awarded against the earle.

The quénes maiesties nature is to ioue hir enimies. O that they could change their nature, and ioue hir highnesse againe!

But the remembrance of these most gratious and more

more than extraordinarie fauours and benefits receiued, nor the hope giuen vnto him by maister vicechamberlaine of hir maiesties disposition of mercie towards him, nor the consideration of the depth and weight of his treasons against hir maiestie, hir estate, hir crowne and dignitie, with the danger thereby like to fall vpon him by the course of hir highnes lawes, to the vtter ruine and subuersion of him and his house (standing now at hir maiesties mercie) could once moue his heart to that naturall and dutifull care of hir maiesties safetie that he ought to haue borne towards hir, and the most worthilie had merited at his hands, or anie remorse or compassion of himselfe and his posteritie: but resting vpon termes of his innocencie, hauing (as you maie perceiue) conueied awaie all those that he thought could or would anie waie accuse him, he made choise rather to go to the Tower, abide the hazard of hir maiesties high indignation, and the extremitie of the law for his offenses.

The earle standeth vpon termes of his innocencie, all the world seeing cause to the contrarie.

All which was a notable augur of his fall, and that God by his iust iudgement had for his sinnes and ingratitude taken from him his spirit of grace, and deliuered him ouer to the enimie of his soule, who brought him to that most dreadfull & horrible end, wherevnto he is come: * from the which, God of his mercie defend all christian people, and preserue the quéenes maiestie from the treasons of hir subiects, that she maie liue in all happinesse, to sée the ruine of hir enimies abroad and at home, and that she, and we hir true and louing subiects, maie be alwaies thankfull to God for all his blessings bestowed vpon vs by hir, the onlie mainteiner of his holie gospell among vs.

* To this petition let all true harted Englishmen saie, Amen.

On the six & twentith of June arriued at London deputies for the estates of the netherlands, or low countries, who were lodged about the Tower street, & had their diet for the time of their abode here, verie worshipfullie appointed (all at the charges of hir maiestie) in the Clothworkers hall in Pinchenlane, neere to the said Tower street. These on the nine & twentith of June, being the feast of the apostles Peter & Paule repaired to the court, then at Grœnewich, where by vertue of their commissions from the vnited countries, they presented to hir maiestie the souereingtie of those countries, to wit of Brabant, but the commission (for the siege) of Antuerpe not full authorised, of Guelder, of Flanders, of Holland, of Zeland, of Vtrecht, and of Friseland. For Brabant, Jaques de Grise great baillie of Bridges councellour of the Franks. For Guelder, Rutger of Barsold, gentleman. For Flanders, Noell de Garsie lord of Schonewalle. For Holland, John Wanderdoest, lord of Nortwicke, Josse de Menin pensionarie of Dordreght, John of old Barneuelt pensionarie of Rotradame, and D. Francis Maolso. For Zeland, Jacob Dales councellor and pensionarie of Tergoest. For Vtrecht, Paulus Buis doctor of the lawes. For Friseland, J. Fritzma, gentleman: H. Ansona president of Friseland: and Lads Jangema, gentleman. All these falling on their knées before hir maiestie, and so remaining for a long space, one of them, to wit, Josse de Menin councellor and pensionarie of Dordreght, one of the commissioners for Holland, made to hir maiestie this oration in French as followeth.

The arriuall and interteinment of the deputies for the estates of the low countries.

The names of the said deputies for the estates.

The said deputies oration in French to *hir maiestie at Greenwich.*

MAdame, les estats des prouinces vnies des pais bas, remercient treshumblement vostre maiesté de la bonné affection & faueur, quel à pleu de monstrer audits pais en leur necessites, & confermer per tant de tesmoignaiges euidens; & encores dernierement, quand apres l'execrable assasinat comme en la personne de feu monsir le prince d'Orenges, il à pleu a vostre maiesté faire entendre audits estats per son ambassadeur le sire Dauison, le soing qu'icelle auoit a nostre defense & obseruation, & aussy par le sire de Grise, le grand desplaisir que vostre maiesté auoit conceu, de voir l'esdits estats frustres de l'esperance quelle auoient fondeé sur le traicte de France. Mais que le soin que vostre maiesté a touiours en de nostre bien & conseruation n'estoit pour cela en rien diminué, aine quel s'augmentoit, plustost a mesure quel la necessité de nos affaires le requiert, dont ledits pais en general, & chacun d'eulx en particulier demeurerent perpetuellement trefobliges a vostre maiesté, pour le recognoistre auec tout fidelité & obeisance.

Et comme ledits estats considerent Madame, que depues le deces endit sire prince d'Orenges, ils ont faict perte de plusieurs de leurs places & bonne villes; & que pour la conseruation desdits pais il leur est besoing d'vng prince & sire souuerain, qui les puisse garentir & defendre contre la tyranné & inique oppression des Espaignols & leurs adherés, qui s'efforcent de plus en plus par leurs sinistres armes & tous aultres moyens, de destruire & ruiner lesdits pais, de fonds en comble & reduire ce pouure peuple en vne seruitude perpetuellé, pire que des Indiés souls l'insuportable ioug de la deteestable inquisition d'Espaigne. Considerans aussy que les corps des villes & communaultes desdits pais ont vne fermé afience, que vostre maiesté ne les vouldra veoir perir au gre de leurs ennemys, qui leur font ceste lõgue & cruelle guerre, a toute oultrance laquelle les estats desdits pais bas (ensuiuant leur deuoir & obligation quels ont a leurs bourgois & ycitogens) ont estes contraincts de soustenir, repoulser, & destourner, pour la tyranné & seruitude manifest qu'on taschat d'introduire & imposer au pouure peuple, & pour conseruer leur liberté, droits, priuileges, & franchises, auec l'exercise de la vray religion chrestienné, dont vostre maiesté porte a bon droit le tiltre de protectrice & defenderesse, contre laquelle lesdits ennemys & leurs associes, ont & faict tant de ligues, dresse tant de cauteleuzes, embushes, & trahisons, & ne cessent encore tout les iours de praticquer & machiner contre la personne de vostre maiesté, & au preiudice du reque & transquillite de ses royaulmes & estats, laquelle le bon Dieu a preserue iusques a present, pour le bien de la chrestienté, & sustentation de ses eglises.

Sy est ce Madame, que pour ces causes, & raisons, & aultres bonnes considerations, lesdits estats ont prins par ensemble vne bonné & fermé resolution, de prendre leurs recours a vostre maiesté, veu que cest vne chose ordinaire a tous peuples & nations oppressées, de recourir en leurs calamites & oppressions, pour support & faueur contre leurs ennemys, aulx roys & princes voisme, & singulierement a ceulx qui sont douez a magnanimité, pieté, iustice, & aultres vertus royalles, & a cest effect nous ont lesdits estats deputé vers vostre maiesté, pour presenter a icelle la principaulté, souuerainté, & iuste dominatiõ desdits prouinces, soubs certaines bonnes & equitables condicions, concernantes principallement la conseruation de l'exercise de la religion reformée, & de leurs ancienne priuileges, libertes, franchises & vsances, & l'administration du faict de la guerre, police, & iustice esdits pais.

Et combien que lesdits pais ayent beaucoup souffert par ces longues & continuelles guerres, & que l'ennemy se soit empare de plusieurs villes & places fortes esdits pais, toutes fois, oultre ce qu'es

pais de Brabant, Gueldre, Flandre, Malins, & Oueriſſel, ſe mainteinent encores maintes bonnes villes & places contre l'effort de l'ennemy, ſy eſt ce que les pais d'Holland, Zeeland, Vtrecht, & Friſe ſont encores, graces a Dieu, en leur entier, ou il y a beaucoup de grandes & fortes villes, & places belles, riuieres, profondes, ports & haures de mer, deſquelles voſtre maieſté & ſes ſucceſſeurs pourront tirer pluſieurs bons ſeruices, fruicts, & commodites dont il n'eſt de faire yci plus long recit. Seulement que ceſte cy entre aultres merite bien vne conſideration ſpeciale que la coniunction deſdits pais d'Holland, Zeeland, Friſe, & des villes de l'Eſcluze, & Oſteynd en Flādres auec les royaulmes de voſtre maieſté, emporte quant & ſoy l'empire abſolut de la grand mer occeane, & par conſequence vne aſſeurance & felicité perpetuelle pour les ſubiects de voſtre ſereniſſime maieſté. La quelle nous ſupplions treſhūblemēt que ſon bon plaiſir ſoit de nous accorder leſdits points ou conditions, & ce en ſuiuant, vouloir accepter pour ſoy & ſes ſucceſſeurs legittimes en la couronne d'Angleterre protecteurs de la religion reformée, la iuſtice principaute & ſeigneurie ſouueraine deſdits pais & conſequemment du recepuoir les peuples deſdits pais, comme vous treſhumbles & treſobeiſſants ſubiects ſoubs la protection & ſauuegarde perpetuelle de voſtre maieſté, peuples certeinement autant fidelles, aymant leurs princes & ſeigneurs (a parler & ſans iactance) que nul aultre de la chreſtienté.

Ce faiſant Madame, vous conſerueres tant de belles egliſes, qu'il a pleu a Dieu en ce dernier temps aſſembler eſdits pais a preſent en beaucoup de lieux fort affliges, & eſbranles & deliureres leſdits pais & peuples (nagueres auant l'inique maiſon des Eſpaignols) tant riches & floriſſans, pour la grande commodité de la mer, ports, haures, riuieres, traffiqs, & manifactures dont ils ſont doues de nature. Vous les deliureres (dis ie Madame) de ruine & perpetuelle ſeruitude de corps & ame, qui ſera vng œuure vrayement roial & treſexcellent, agreable a Dieu, profitable a toute chreſtienté, digne de louange immortelle, coreſpondant a la magnanimité & vertus heroicques de voſtre maieſté, & conioinct auec l'aſſeurance & proſperites des royalmes & ſubiects d'icelle. Et ſurce preſentons a voſtre maieſté leſdits articles ou conditions, en reuerence, prians le grand Roy des roys de preſeruer voſtre maieſté de ſes ennemys, l'accroiſtre en gloire & felicité, & l'auoir en ſa ſeinte garde à perpetuité.

Faict par Ioſſe de Menin, concelier & penſionaire de Derdreght. An. 1585. 29 de Iune, A Greenwich.

The foreſaid oration in Engliſh.

MAdam, the ſtates of the vnited prouinces of the low countries moſt humblie thanke your maieſtie for the good affection & fauor, which it pleaſed you to ſhew to the ſaid countries in their neceſſitie, & to confirme the ſame with ſo manie euident teſtimonies; & that laſtlie, after the execrable aſſault committed vpon the perſon of the late prince of Orange, at what time it pleaſed your maieſtie to let the ſaid ſtates vnderſtand by your ambaſſador maiſter Dauiſon, what care you had of our defenſe and preſeruation, and alſo by ſegneur de Criſt, the great diſpleaſure which your maieſtie conceiued, to ſée the ſtates fruſtrated of the hope which they had founded vpon the treatie of France. But ſince the care which your maieſtie hath alwaies had ouer our good and conſeruation is not thereby anie whit diminiſhed, but hath more plentifullie increaſed, according as the neceſſitie of our affaires required; for which the ſaid countrie in generall, and eueric of vs in particular remaine perpetuallie bound to your maieſtie, and acknowledge the ſame with all fidelitie and obeiſance.

The quéenes maieſties moſt gratious fauor acknowledged.

And as the ſaid ſtates (Madam) do conſider that ſince the deceaſe of the prince of Orange they haue ſuſteined the loſſe of diuerſe of their holds and good townes; and that for the preſeruation of the ſaid countrie it is néedfull for them to haue a prince and ſouereigne ruler, which may warrant and defend them againſt the tyrannie and vniuſt oppreſſion of the Spaniards and their adherents, which dailie more and more inforce themſelues by their ſiniſter power and all other meanes to deſtroie and ouerthrow the ſaid countries, and reduce this poore people in perpetuall ſeruitude, worſe than that of the Indians vnder the importable yoke of the deteſtable inquiſition of Spaine. Conſidering alſo that the bodie of the townes and communalties of the aforeſaid countries haue a firme hope, that your maieſtie will not ſée them periſh according to the deſire of their enimies, which make this long and cruell warre, all which outrages the ſtates of the ſaid low countries (following the diligence and band which they owe to their burgeſſes and citizens) are to ſuſteine, repell, and to turne from them, by reaſon of the manifeſt tyrannie & ſeruitude which the Spaniards attempt to bring in & to laie vpon the poore people) thereby to preſerue their liberties, rights, priuileges, and franchiſes, with the exerciſe of the true chriſtian religion, whereof your maieſtie by good right carrieth the title of protectrice and defendreſſe, againſt which the ſaid enimies and their aſſociats alreadie haue and ſtill do make manie leagues, deuiſe manie ſubtilties, treaſons, and ambuſhes, not ceaſing dailie to practiſe and imagine them againſt the perſon of your maieſtie, and to the preiudice of the reſt of your realme and ſtates, whome the good God hath preſerued vntill this preſent, for the wealth of the chriſtians, and ſuſtentation of their churches.

The diſtreſſed ſtate of the low countries after the death of the prince of Orange.

Spaniſh ſeruitude importable.

Wherefore (Madam) it is ſo, that for theſe cauſes, reaſons, & other conſiderations, the ſaid ſtates haue aſſembled and concluded vpon a good and firme reſolution to haue recourſe vnto your maieſtie, ſith it is an ordinarie matter amongſt all people and oppreſſed nations, in their calamities and oppreſſions to craue ſupport and fauour againſt their enimies, of kings and princes nære vnto them, but eſpeciallie of thoſe who be indued with magnanimitie, pietie, iuſtice, and other princelie vertues, to which effect the ſtates haue appointed vs to come vnto your maieſtie to preſent vnto the ſame the principalitie, ſouereignitie, and iuſt gouernment of the ſaid prouinces vnder certeine good and equall conditions, chieflie concerning the preſeruation of the exerciſe of the reformed religion, and of the ancient priuileges, liberties, franchiſes, and cuſtoms, and next of the adminiſtration of the affaires, policie, and iuſtice of the warres in the ſaid countrie.

The cauſe whie the deputies for the ſtates came into England, and their ſute vnto hir highneſſe expreſſed.

The gouernment & principalitie of the low countries preſented to the quéenes maieſtie.

And although that theſe countries haue ſuſteined much hurt by theſe long and continuall warres, and that the enimie hath taken diuers ſtrong places and forts in the ſame countries: yet there is beſides the ſame in the countries of Brabant, Gelderland, Flanders, Malmes, & Overſet, manie good townes and places, which defend themſelues againſt the force of the enimie, and the countries of Holland, Zeland, Vtricht, and Friſe be yet (thanks be to God) entire and whole: in which there be manie great and ſtrong townes and places, faire riuers, and déepe ports and hauens of the ſea, out of which your maieſtie and your ſucceſſors may receiue diuers good ſeruices, fruits, and commodities, whereof it is nédleſſe here to make anie long recitall. Vnelle this

Manie good townes and places yet remaining in the low countries defenſible againſt the enimie.

The vniting of the low countries to the realmes of England, &c: how beneficiall.

this amongst other matters deserueth good and especiall consideration, that the vniting of those countries of Holland, Zeland, Frise, and the townes of Sluze and Ostend in Flanders, vnto the realmes of your maiestie importeth so much as the absolute gouernement of the great ocean sea, and by consequence, an assurance and perpetuall felicitie for the subiects of your worthie maiestie. Which we most humblie beseech, that it will please the same to condescend vnto vs in the said points and conditions, and in that which followeth, which is, that you will for you and your lawfull successors in the crowne of England be protectors of the reformed religion, as the principall sufficer and soueraigne gouernor of the said countries: and consequentlie to receiue the people of the same, as your most humble and most obedient subiects vnder the protection and continuall safegard of your maiestie; they being a people assuredlie so faithfull and louing to their princes and lords (be it spoken without vaunting) as anie other nation is throughout christendome.

Protection of the reformed religion a part of their suite.

The loialtie and faithfulnesse of the low countrie people commended.

In doing whereof (Madam) you shall preserue manie goodlie churches, which it hath pleased God to assemble in these latter times in the same countries, at this present in manie places grieuouslie afflicted, and you shall deliuer the same countrie and people (of late before the vniust deeds of the house of Spaine) verie rich and flourishing, through the great commoditie of the sea, ports, hauens, riuers, traffike, and merchandize, whereof they be naturallie indued. You shall I saie (Madam) deliuer them from ruine and perpetuall bondage of bodie and soule, being a worke right royall and most magnificent, acceptable to God, profitable to all christianitie, worthie immortall commendation, answerable to the magnanimitie, and heroicall vertues of your maiestie, and ioined with the assurance and prosperitie of your dominions and subiects. Whereupon we present vnto your maiestie the said articles and conditions, reuerentlie praieng the King of kings to preserue your maiestie from your enimies, to increase your glorie and felicitie, and for euer to keepe you in his holie protection.

Benefits like to insue vpon the said protection vndertaken of hir highnesse.

The said deputies do present certeine articles and conditions to hir maiestie concerning their suite.

¶ This oration ended and the summe thereof considered, it pleased the queenes maiestie, by direction of hir wise and politike councell, to incline hir hart (alwaies pitifull and replenished with commiseration) to the ease and releefe of the said oppressed people. And bicause hir owne subiects should not be vtterlie vnacquainted with hir highnesse doings in that case, there was published by authoritie a booke thereof as in due place hereafter followeth.

On sundaie the fourth of Julie, Charles lord Howard, late lord chamberleine was made lord admerall, and Henrie lord Hunsdon was made lord chamberleine of houshold. On the fift daie of Julie Thomas Alfeld a seminarie priest, and Thomas Weblie diar, were arreigned at the sessions hall in the Old bailie, found guiltie, condemned, and had iudgement as fellons to be hanged: for publishing of bookes conteining false, seditious, and slanderous matter, to the defamation of our souereigne ladie the queene, and to the excitation of insurrection and rebellion, as more at large appeareth in their indictments. These were on the next morrow, to wit, the sixt of Julie, executed at Tiborne accordinglie. On thursdaie the sixteenth of Julie, by the sudden fall of a bricke wall in Thames street of London, neere vnto Dounegate, fiue persons were ouerwhelmed and slaine, to wit, a man & his wife (the wife being great with child) and two children, the one their own, the other a nurse child, and a poore man that liued by charitie, hauing no knowne dwelling place. On the same sixteenth of Julie was sir Francis Russell knight, lord Russell, third sonne to Francis Russell earle of Bedford, slaine with a dag in the borders of Scotland beside Berwike, by a Scot borne in those parts, as they met vpon a true daie, as more at large appeareth in the historie of Scotland. On the nert morrow, to wit, the seuentéenth of Julie, Francis Russell earle of Bedford, knight of the garter, and one of hir maiesties priuie councell, father to the late named sir Francis, lord Russell slaine on the borders of Scotland, deceassed, and was honorablie buried at Cheinies in Bedfordshire on the eight of September nert following.

Earle of Bedford and the lord Russell his sonne deceased.

Inkeld and Weblie hanged for publishing of seditious bookes.

Fiue or rather six people slain by the fall of a wall in London neere vnto Down gate.

On the three and twentith of Julie certeine souldiers were pressed in the seuerall wards of the citie of London, which souldiers being furnished for the warres, and clothed in red cotes, all at the charges of the companies and citizens, set forth toward the seas on the thirteenth of August, and were transported ouer into Holland, Zeland, &c: as other the like souldiers out of other parts of the realme before had béene, to serue for the defense of the low countries vnder generall Norris, and other approued captéins. On the fourth daie of August, betwixt the hours of foure and fiue of the clocke in the morning, at the end of the towne called Notingham in Kent, eight miles from London, in a lane not farre from the houses, the ground began to sinke, three great elmes being swallowed vp, the tops falling downward into a hole with the rotes vpward, turning round in the falling, and driuen into the earth past mans sight, to the wonderfull amazement of manie honest men of the same towne, being beholders of this strange sight: and before ten of the clocke that present day, the ground & trees were sonke so low, that neither the one or other might be discerned, the hole or vaut being sometimes filled with water, and otherwhiles neither bottome, trées, or water maie be perceiued: the compasse of this hole is about foure score yards, and being sounded with a lead and line of fiftie fadams, cannot therewith find or féele anie bottome. Ten yards distant from this place, there is another péece of ground sonke in like maner, which parcell of ground falleth still into the high waie to the great feare of that whole towne, but especiallie to the inhabitants of a house not far distant from the aforesaid places.

Souldiers sent to aid the low countries of Holland, Zeland, &c.

Ground and trées sonke and swallowed vp in Kent eight miles from London.

On the fiftéenth daie of September, to the number of two & thirtie seminaries, massing priests and others, late prisoners in the tower of London, Marshalsée, Kings bench, and other places, were imbarked in the Marie Martine of Colchester, on the southside of the Thames right ouer against S. Katharines, to be transported ouer into the coasts of Normandie, to be banished this realme for euer, by vertue of a commission from hir maiestie, before specified in pag. 1379.

Seminaries and massing priests banished.

A copie of the certificat written and *directed into England by the said banished men.*

Note in this certificat an acknowledgment of verie great English courtesie to the seminaries in their transportation.

Whereas vpon your honors commission directed vnto Anthonie Hall, and Thomas Stockar, for the transporting of vs whose names are vnder written, into the coasts of Normandie, who accordinglie tooke vs into a barke called the Marie Martine of Colchester, on the south side of the Thames, right ouer that part of saint Katharines next to London bridge, the fiftéenth day of September 1585, according to the computation of England: our will is to testifie vnto your good honors, that they the said Anthonie Hall & Thomas Stockar haue generallie so well vsed vs in all respects,

respects, that we can not but acknowledge our selues much beholding (as much as in them laie) to so courteous & louing officers. Neuertheless comming along the sea, and meeting with hir maiesties admerall in the downes, who promising that we should not be disturbed in our course into the prouince of Normandie, according your honors said commission, we had not from him departed two leagues, when as a Flushinger with his people suddenlie entred vpon vs, being peaceablie stowed vnder the hatches, and in our quiet rest, with their swords drawne, their calleiuers and their matches fired in their hands, to our great terror & discomfort, the most of vs being verie sore sea sicke, expecting at that instant nothing but either the rigorous dint of sword, or bullet of calleiuer. Howbeit parlee being had by our said commissioners with them, they departed, after which time we considering the generall danger on the seas, besought with one consent your honors commissioners to set vs on land at Calice: but they in no wise yeelding thereunto, at last by reason of our importunitie in such danger & weakenesse, yeelded to set vs on shore at Bullogne, partlie by reason of the feare we were then put in, & partlie for that we feared afterward more vnreasonable measure; but speciallie the greatest number of vs so sore sicke, that verie tedious vnto vs it seemed to beare so long and dangerous a passage. In witnes whereof to this our certificat we haue all subscribed our names the nineteenth of September 1585. W. Gimlets, R. Fen: Jo. Pele: Christopher Small, &c.

The seminaries suddenlie assaulted and in danger of death by a Flushinger as they were passing ouer sea.

The seminaries are set on shore at Bullogne through their owne importunitie.

We haue heard before that certeine souldiers out of diuers parts of this realme were transported ouer the seas into Holland and Zeland, &c: with such conuenient and seruiceable furniture, as might be presupposed necessarie for defense: whom we will leaue vpon their gard, and more clearelie to set forth the reasons of their transportation, we do meane heere, as we promised before page 1413. when we came to due place, to deliuer a booke published by authoritie concerning that argument, the title and substance whereof in all points agreeable with the printed copie first extant, doth orderlie follow.

A declaration of the causes mooving *the queene of England to giue aid to the defense of* the people afflicted and oppressed in *the low countries.*

Kings and princes soueregnes, are to yeeld account of their actions onelie to almightie God, the king of kings.

ALthough kings and princes soueregnes, owing their homage and seruice onelie vnto the almightie God the King of all kings, are in that respect not bound to yeeld account or render the reasons of their actions to anie others but to God their onelie soueregne Lord: yet (though amongst the most ancient and christian monarchs the same Lord God hauing committed to vs the soueregntie of this realme of England and other our dominions, which we hold immediatlie of the same almightie Lord, and so thereby accountable onelie to his diuine Maiestie) we are notwithstanding this our prerogatiue at this time speciallie moued, for diuerse reasons hereafter briefle remembred, to publish not onelie vnto our owne naturall louing subiects, but also to all others our neighbors, speciallie to such princes & states as are our confederats, or haue for their subiects cause of commerce with our countries and people, what our intention is at this time, and vpon what iust and reasonable grounds we are moued to giue aid vnto our nert neighbours the naturall people of the low countries, being by long warres and persecutions of strange nations there, lamentablie afflicted, and in present danger to be brought into a perpetuall seruitude.

Naturall causes of the ancient continuall traffike betwixt the people of England & them of the low countries.

First, it is to be vnderstood (which perease is not perfectlie knowne to a great number of persons) that there hath beene, time out of mind, euen by the naturall situation of those low countries and our realme of England, one directlie opposit to the other, and by reason of the readie crossing of the seas, and multitude of large and commodious hauens respectiuelie on both sides, a continuall traffike and commerce betwixt the people of England, and the naturall people of those low countries, and so continued in all ancient times, when the seuerall prouinces thereof, as Flanders, Holland, and Zeland, and other countries to them adioining, were ruled and possessed by seuerall lords, and not united togither, as of late yeares they haue beene by intermarriages, and at length by concurrences of manie and sundrie titles haue also beene reduced to be vnder the gouernement of their lords that succeeded to the dukedome of Burgundie: whereby there hath beene in former ages manie speciall alliances and confederations, not onelie betwixt the kings of England our progenitors and the lords of the said countries of Flanders, Holland, Zeland, and their adherents: but also betwixt the verie naturall subiects of both countries, as the prelats, noblemen, citizens, burgesses, and other communalties of the great cities and port townes of either countrie reciprocallie, by speciall obligations and stipulations vnder their seales interchangeablie, for maintenance both of commerce and intercourse of merchants, & also of speciall mutuall amitie to be obserued betwixt the people and inhabitants of both parties as well ecclesiasticall as secular: and verie expresse prouision in such treaties conteined for mutuall fauours, affections, and all other friendlie offices to be vsed and prosecuted by the people of the one nation towards the other. By which mutuall bonds, there hath continued perpetuall vnions of the peoples hearts togither, and so by waie of continuall intercourses, from age to age the same mutuall loue hath beene inuiolablie kept and exercised, as it had beene by the worke of nature, and neuer vtterlie dissolued, nor yet for anie long time discontinued, howsoeuer the kings, and the lords of the countries sometimes (though verie rarelie) haue beene at difference by sinister meanes of some other princes their neighbours, enuieng the felicitie of these two countries.

Confederatitions both betwixt the kings of England and lords of the low countries, and also the subiects of both countries.

The people of both the countries bound by speciall obligations interchangeablie, for mutuall fauours; and friendlie offices.

And for maintenance and testimonie of these naturall vnions of the peoples of these kingdoms and countries in perpetuall amitie, there are extant sundrie authentike treaties and transactions for mutuall commerce, intercourse and streict amitie of ancient times: as for example, some verie solemnelie accorded in the times of king Henrie the first our progenitor, and Philip the second duke of Burgundie, and inheritour to the countie of Flanders by the ladie Margaret his grandmother, which was aboue one hundred & fortie yeares past, & the same also renewed by the noble duke Charles his son, father to the king of Spaines grandmother, and husband to the ladie Margaret sister to our great grandfather king Edward the fourth: and after that, of new oftimes renewed by our most noble & sage grandfather king Henrie the seuenth, and the archduke Philip grandfather to the king of Spaine now being: and in latter times, often renewed betwixt our father of noble memorie king Henrie the eight, and Charles the fift emperor of Almaine, father also to the present king of Spaine.

Treaties extant of ancient time, betwixt the kings of England and the dukes of Burgundie, for the commerce betwixt their countries.

In all which treaties, transactions, and confederations of amitie and mutuall commerce, it was also at all times speciallie and principallie conteined

Conuentions for the subiects of either side, to shew mutuall fauors one to the other.

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in expresse words, by conuentions, concords, and conclusions, that the naturall people, and subiects of either side, should shew mutuall fauours and duties one to the other, and should safelie, freelie and securelie commerce togither in euerie their countries; and so hath the same mutuall and naturall concourse and commerce beene without interruption continued in manie ages, farre aboue the like example of anie other countries in christendome, to the honour and strength of the princes, and to the singular great benefit and inriching of their people: vntill of late yeares that the king of Spaine departing out of his low countries into Spaine, hath beene (as it is to be thought) counselled by his councellors of Spaine, to appoint Spaniards, forreners and strangers of strange bloud, men more exercised in warres than in peaceable gouernement, and some of them notablie delighted in bloud, as hath appeared by their actions, to be the chiefest gouernours of all his said low countries, contrarie to the ancient lawes and customes thereof, hauing great plentie of noble, valiant and faithfull persons naturallie borne, and such as the emperour Charles, and the king himselfe had to their great honours vsed in their seruice, able to haue beene imploied in the rule of those countries.

Spaniards and strangers latelie appointed gouernors in the low countries, to the violation of the liberties of the countrie.

But these Spaniards, being meere strangers, hauing no naturall regard in their gouernement to the maintenance of those countries and people in their ancient and naturall maner of peaceable liuing, as the most noble and wise emperor Charles; yea and as his sonne king Philip himselfe had, whilest he remained in those countries, and vsed the counsels of the states and naturall of the countries, not violating the ancient liberties of the countries: but contrariwise, these Spaniards being exalted to absolute gouernement, by ambition, and for priuat lucre haue violentlie broken the ancient lawes and liberties of all the countries, and in a tyrannous sort haue banished, killed and destroied without order of law, within the space of few moneths, manie of the most ancient and principall persons of the naturall nobilitie that were most worthie of gouernement. And howsoeuer in the beginning of these cruell persecutions, the pretense therof was for maintenance of the Romish religion: yet they spared not to depriue verie manie catholikes and ecclesiasticall persons of their franchises and priuileges: and of the chiefest that were executed of the nobilitie, none was in the whole countrie more affected to that religion than was the noble and valiant countie of Egmond, the verie glorie of that countrie, who nether for his singular victories in the seruice of the king of Spaine can be forgotten in the true histories, nor yet for the crueltie vsed for his destruction, to be but for euer lamented in the harts of the naturall people of that countrie.

The destruction of the nobilitie, and the people of the countries by the Spanish gouernement.

The lamentable violent death of the countie of Egmond, the glorie of those countries.

And furthermore, to bring these whole countries in seruitude to Spaine, these forren gouernours haue by long intestine warre, with multitude of Spaniards, and with some few Italians and Almains, made the greater part of the said countries (which with their riches by common estimation answered the emperour Charles equallie to his Indies) in a maner desolat, and haue also lamentablie destroied by sword, famine, and other cruell maners of death, a great part of the naturall people, & now the rich townes and strong places being desolate of their naturall inhabitants, are held and kept chieflie with force by the Spaniards. All which pitifull miseries and horrible calamities of these most rich countries and people, are of all their neighbours at this daie, euen of such as in ancient time haue beene at frequent discord with them through naturall compassion verie greatlie pitied, which appeared spetiallie this present yeare, when the French king pretended to haue receiued them to his protection, had not (as the states of the countrie & their deputies were answered) that certeine vntimelie and vnlooked for complots of the house of Guise, stirred and maintened by monie out of Spaine, disturbed the good and generall peace of France, and thereby urged the king to forbeare from the resolution he had made; not onlie to aid the oppressed people of the low countries against the Spaniards, but also to haue accepted them as his owne subiects. But in verie truth, howsoeuer they were pitied, and in a sort for a time comforted & kept in hope in France by the French king, who also hath oftentimes earnestlie solicited vs as queene of England, both by message and writing to be carefull of their defense: yet in respect that they were otherwise more streictlie knit in ancient friendship to this realme than to anie other countrie, we are sure that they could be pitied of none for this long time with more cause and griefe generallie, than of our subiects of this our realme of England, being their most ancient allies and familiar neighbours: and that in such manner, as this our realme of England and those countries haue beene by common language of long time resembled and termed as man and wife.

The French kings offers to haue aided and receiued to his subiection the oppressed people of the low countries.

And for these vrgent causes and manie others, we haue by manie frendlie messages and ambassadors, by manie letters and writings to the said king of Spaine our brother and alie, declared our compassion of this so euill and cruell vsage of his naturall and loiall people by sundrie his martiall gouernors and other his men of warre, all strangers to these his countries. And furthermore, as a good louing sister to him, and a naturall good neighbour to his lowe countries and people, we haue often, and often againe most friendlie warned him, that if he did not otherwise by his wisedome and princelie clemencie restreine the tyrannie of his gouernours and crueltie of his men of warre, we feared that the people of his countries should be forced for safetie of their liues, and for continuance of their natiue countrie in the former state of their liberties, to seeke the protection of some other forreine lord, or rather to yeeld themselues wholie to the souereignetie of some mightie prince, as by the ancient lawes of their countries, and by spetiall priuileges granted by some of the lords and dukes of the countries to the people, they do pretend and affirme, that in such cases of generall iniustice, and vpon such violent breaking of their priuileges they are free from their former homages, and at libertie to make choise of anie other prince to be their prince and head.

The queene of Englands continuall frendlie aduises to the king of Spaine for restreining of the tyrannie of his gouernors.

The proofe whereof by examples past is to be seene & read in the ancient histories of diuerse alterations, of the lords and ladies of the countries of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zeland, and other countries to them vnited by the states and people of the countries; and that by some such alterations, as the stories do testifie, Philip the duke of Burgundie came to his title, from which the king of Spaines interest is deriued: but the further discussion hereof, we leaue to the view of the monuments and records of the countries. And now, for the purposes to staie them from yeelding themselues in anie like sort to the souereignetie of anie other strange prince, certeine yeares past, vpon the earnest request of sundrie of the greatest persons of degree in those countries, and most obedient subiects to the king, such as were the duke of Ascot, and the marquesse of Hauerie yet liuing, and of such others as had principall offices in those countries in the time of the emperour Charles, we yeelded at their importunat requests, to grant them

The queene of Englands meanes vsed to staie the states of the lowe countries frō yeelding their subiection to anie other forreine prince.

The rich townes and strengths with the wealth therof possessed by the Spaniards.

them preſts of monie, onelie to continue them as his ſubiects, and to mainteine themſelues in their full defenſe againſt the violence and cruelties of the Spaniards their oppreſſours, thereby ſtaieng them from yeelding their ſubiection to anie other prince from the ſaid king of Spaine: and during the time of that our aid giuen to them, and their ſtaie in their obedience to the king of Spaine, we did freelie acquaint the ſame king with our actions, and did ſtill continue our freendlie aduiſes to him, to moue him to command his gouernours and men of warre, not to vſe ſuch inſolent cruelties againſt his people, as might make them to deſpaire of his fauours, and ſeeke ſome other lord.

And in theſe kind of perſuaſions and actions we continued manie yeares, not onelie for compaſſion of the miſerable ſtate of the countries, but of a naturall diſpoſition to haue the ancient conditions of ſtreict amitie and commerce for our kingdoms and people to continue with the ſtates and the people of the ſaid dukedome of Burgundie and the appendents, and namelie with our next neighbours the countries of Flanders, Holland and Zeland. For we did manifeſtlie ſee, if the nation of Spaine ſhould make a conqueſt of thoſe countries, as was and yet is apparantlie intended, and plant themſelues there as they haue done in Naples and other countries, adding thereto the late examples of the violent hoſtile enterpriſe of a power of Spaniards, being ſent within theſe few yeares by the king of Spaine and the pope into our realme of Ireland, with an intent manifeſtlie confeſſed by the capteins, that thoſe numbers were ſent afore hand to ſeize vpon ſome ſtrength there, to the intent with other great forces to purſue a conqueſt thereof: we did (we ſaie againe) manifeſtlie ſee in what danger our ſelfe, our countries and people might ſhortlie be, if in conuenient time we did not ſpeedilie otherwiſe regard to preuent or ſtaie the ſame. And yet notwithſtanding our ſaid often requeſts and aduiſes giuen to the king of Spaine, manifeſtlie for his owne weale and honor, we found him by his councell of Spaine ſo vnwilling in anie ſort to incline to our freendlie counſell, that his gouernours and chæfeteins in his low countries increaſed their cruelties towards his owne afflicted people, and his officers in Spaine offered dailie greater iniuries to ours, reſorting thither for traffike: yea, they of his councell in Spaine would not permit our expreſſe meſſenger with our letters to come to the king their maſters preſence: a matter verie ſtrange, and againſt the law of nations.

And the cauſe of this our writing and ſending to the king, proceeded of matter that was worthie to be knowne to the king, and not vnmeet now alſo to be declared to the world, to ſhew both our good diſpoſition towards the king in imparting to him our greefes, and to let it appeare how euill we haue beene vſed by his miniſters, as in ſome part may appeare by this that followeth. Although we could not haue theſe manie yeares paſt anie of our ſeruants, whom we ſent at ſundrie times as our ambaſſadours to the king our good brother (as was meet) ſuffered to continue there without manie iniuries and indignities offered to their families, and diuerſe times to their owne perſons by the greateſt of his councellours, ſo as they were conſtreined to leaue their places, and ſome expelled and in a ſort baniſhed the countrie, without cauſe giuen by them, or notified to vs: yet we, minding to continue verie good freendſhip with the king, as his good ſiſter, did of long time and manie yeares giue fauourable allowance to all that came as his ambaſſadours to vs, ſauing onelie vpon manifeſt dangerous practiſes attempted by two of them to trouble our eſtate, whereof the one was *Girald Deſpes*, a verie turbulent ſpirited perſon, and altogither vnskilfull and vnapt to deale in princes affaires being in amitie, as at his returne into Spaine he was ſo there alſo reputed; the other and laſt was *Bernardin de Mendoza*, one whome we did accept and vſe with great fauour a long time, as was manifeſtlie ſeene in our court, and we thinke cannot be denied by himſelfe: but yet of late yeares (we know not by what direction) we found him to be a ſecret great fauourer to ſundrie our euill diſpoſed and ſeditious ſubiects, not onelie to ſuch as lurked in our realme, but alſo to ſuch as fled the ſame, being notoriouſlie condemned as open rebels & traitours, with whome by his letters, meſſages, and ſecret counſels he did in the end deuiſe how with a power of men, partlie to come out of Spaine, partlie out of the low countries, whereof he gaue them great comfort in the kings name, an inuaſion might be made into our realme, ſetting downe in writing the manner how the ſame ſhould be done, with what numbers of men and ſhips, and vpon what coaſts, ports, and places of our realme by ſpeciall name, and who the perſons ſhould be in our realme of no ſmall account, that ſhould fauour this inuaſion, and take part with the inuadours, with manie other circumſtances declaring his full ſet purpoſe and labours taken, to trouble vs and our realme verie dangerouſlie, as hath beene moſt cleerelie proued and confeſſed by ſuch as were in that confederacie with him, whereof ſome are fled and now do frequent his companie in France, and ſome were taken, who confeſſed at great length by writing the whole courſe herein held by the ſaid ambaſſadour, as was manifeſtlie of late time publiſhed to the world vpon Francis Throgmortons a principall traitours examination.

And when we found manifeſtlie this ambaſſadour ſo dangerous an inſtrument, or rather a head to a rebellion and inuaſion; and that for a yeare or more togither he neuer brought to vs anie letter from the king his maſter, notwithſtanding our often requeſt made to him that he would by ſome letter from the king to vs, let it appeare that it was the kings will that he ſhould deale with vs in his maſters name in ſundrie things that he propounded to vs as his ambaſſadour, which we did iudge to be contrarie to the king his maſters will: we did finallie cauſe him to be charged with theſe dangerous practiſes, and made it patent to him how, and by whome, with manie other circumſtances we knew it, and therefore cauſed him in verie gentle ſort to be content within ſome reaſonable time to depart out of our realme, the rather for his owne ſafetie, as one in verie deed mortallie hated of our people: for the which we granted him fauourable conduct, both to the ſea and ouer the ſea: and thereupon we did ſpeedilie ſend a ſeruant of ours into Spaine with our letters to the king, onelie to certifie him of this accident, and to make the whole matter aparant vnto him: and this was the meſſenger afore mentioned, that might not be ſuffered to deliuer our meſſage or our letters to the king.

And beſide theſe indignities, it is moſt manifeſt how his miniſters alſo haue both heretofore manie times, and now latelie practiſed here in England by meanes of certeine rebels, to haue procured ſundrie inuaſions of our realme, by their forces out of Spaine and the low countries: verie hard recompenſes (we may ſaie) for ſo manie our good offices. Hereupon we hope no reaſonable perſon can blame vs, if we haue diſpoſed our ſelues to change this our former courſe, and more carefullie to looke to the ſafetie of our ſelfe and our people: and finding our owne dangers in deed verie great and imminent, we haue

beene

Two turbulent ſpirited perſons (Spaniards) doing what they could to ſet all England in a tumult.

The enterpriſe of the Spaniards in Ireland ſent by the king of Spaine and the pope.

See the voluntarie confeſſion of F. Throgmorton in pages 1370, 1373.

The refuſall of the queenes meſſenger, and hir letters to the king of Spaine.

The iuſt cauſes of diſmiſſing of Barnardin Mendoza out of England.

The courteous dealing of hir maieſtie with Mendoza (a man mortallie hated) departing out of England.

bæne the more vrgentlie prouoked to attempt and accelerat some god remedie, for that besides manie other aduises giuen vs both at home & from abrode, in due time to withstand these dangers, we haue found the generall disposition of all our owne faithfull people verie readie in this case, and earnest in offering to vs both in parlements and otherwise, their seruices with their bodies and bloud, and their aids with their lands and goods, to withstand and preuent this present common danger to our realme and themselues, euidentlie seene and feared by the subuerting and roting vp of the ancient nation of these low countries, and by planting the Spanish nation and men of war, enimies to our countries, there so neere vnto vs.

The quéne of Englads proceeding for the deliuerie of Scotland from the seruitude wherein the house of Guise meant to haue brought it.

And besides these occasions and considerations, we did also call to our remembrance our former fortunat procéeding by Gods spectall fauor, in the beginning of our reigne, in remedieng of a like mischéefe that was intended against vs in Scotland by certeine Frenchmen, who then were directed onelie by the house of Guise, by colour of the marriage of their néece the quéene of Scots with the Dolphin of France, in like maner as the offsprings of the said house haue euen now latelie sought to atteine to the like inordinate power in France: a matter of some consequence for our selues to consider; although we hope the king our god brother professing sincere friendship towards vs, as we professe the like to him, will moderate this aspiring greatnesse of that house, that neither himselfe, nor the princes of his bloud be ouerruled, nor we (minding to continue perfect friendship with the king & his bloud) be by the said house of Guise & their faction disquieted or disturbed in our countries. But now to returne to this like example of Scotland aforesaid. When the French had in like maner (as the Spaniards haue now of long time attempted in the low countries) sought by force to haue subdued the people there, and brought them into a seruitude to the crowne of France, and also by the ambitious desires of the said house of Guise, to haue procéeded to a warre by waie of Scotland, for the conquest of our crowne for their néece the quæne of Scots (a matter most manifest to the common knowledge of the world) it pleased almightie God, as it remaineth in god memorie to our honor and comfort, to further our tention and honorable and iust actions at that time in such sort, as by our aiding then of the nation of Scotland being sore oppressed with the French, and vniuersallie requiring our aid, we procured to that realme (though to our great cost) a full deliuerance of the force of strangers and danger of seruitude, and restored peace to the whole countrie, which hath continued there euer since manie yeres, sauing that at some time of parcialities of certeine of the noble men, as hath bæne vsuall in that countrie, in the minoritie of the yong king, there haue risen some inward troubles, which for the most part we haue in fauor of the king and his gouernors vsed meanes to pacifie: so as at this daie such is the quietnesse in Scotland, as the king our deare brother & cousine, by name James the first, a prince of great hope for manie god princelie respects, reigneth there in honor and loue of his people, and in verie god and perfect amitie with vs and our countrie. And so our actions at that time came to so god successe by the goodnesse of God, as both our owne realme, and that of Scotland, hath euer since remained in better amitie and peace than can be remembred these manie hundred yeares before; and yet nothing hereby done by vs, nor anie cause iustlie giuen: but that also the French kings that haue since succéeded, which haue bæne three in number, and all brethren, haue made and concluded diuerse treaties for god peace with vs, which presentlie continue in force on both parties, notwithstanding our foresaid actions attempted, for removing out of Scotland of the said French forces, so transported by the onelie direction of the house of Guise.

The realme of Scotland restored to the ancient frédome, and so possessed by the present king by the meanes onelie of the quéene of England.

The conclusion of the causes of sending of certeine cõpanies of English souldiors to the defense of the oppressed people of the low countries, and to withstand the attempts against this realme.

And therefore, to conclude for the declaration of our present intention at this time, we hope it shall of all persons abroad be well interpreted, as we know it will be of such as are not led by parcialitie, that vpon the often and continuall lamentable requests made to vs by the vniuersall states of the countries of Holland, Zeland, Guelders, and other prouinces with them vnited (being desperat of the king of Spaines fauours) for our succours to be yéelded to them, onelie for their defense against the Spaniards and other strangers, and therewith finding manifestlie by our often and importunat requests and aduises giuen to the king of Spaine, no hope of relefe of these their miseries, but rather an increase thereof by dailie conquests of their townes and slaughter of their people (though in verie truth we cannot impute the increase of anie late cruelties to the person of him that now hath the title of generall gouernor, shewing his naturall disposition more inclinable to mercie and clemencie, than it seemeth he can direct the hearts of the Spaniards vnder him, that haue bæne so long trained in shedding of bloud vnder the former Spanish gouernors) and ioining thereunto our owne danger at hand, by the ouerthrow and destruction of our neighbours, and accesse and planting of the great forces of the Spaniards so neere to our countries, with precedent arguments of manie troublesome attempts against our realme: we did therefore by god aduise and after long deliberation determine, to send certeine companies of souldiors to aid the naturall people of those countries, onelie to defend them and their townes from sacking and desolation, & thereby to procure them safetie, to the honor of God, whome they desire to serue sincerelie as christian people according to his holie word, and to inioie their ancient liberties for them and their posteritie, and so consequentlie to preserue and continue the lawfull and ancient commerce betwixt our people and those countries and ours.

And so we hope our intention herein, and our subsequent actions will be by Gods fauour both honorablie interpreted of all persons (sauing of the oppressors themselues, and their partizans) in that we meane not hereby, either for ambition or malice (the two rots of all iniustice) to make anie particular profit hereof to our selfe or to our people; onelie desiring at this time to obteine by Gods fauour for the countries, a deliuerance of them from warre by the Spaniards and forraines: a restitution of their ancient liberties and gouernement by some christian peace, and thereby a suertie for our selues and our realme to be free from inuading neighbors: and our people to inioie in those countries their lawfull commerce and intercourse of friendship & merchandize, according to the ancient vsage and treaties of intercourse, made betwixt our progenitors and the lords and earles of those countries, and betwixt our people and the people of those countries.

Three speciall things reasonablie desired by the quæne of England.
1. The end of warres with restitution of the low countries to their ancient liberties.
2. Suertie frõ inuasion of hir owne realme.
3. And renewing of the mutuall traffike betwéene the countries.

The causes of taking some townes into hir maiesties custodie.

And though our further intention also is, or maie be, to take into our gard some few townes vpon the sea side next opposite to our realme, which otherwise might be in danger to be taken by the strangers, enimies of the countrie: yet therein considering we haue no meaning at this time to take and reteine the same to our owne proper vse: we hope that all persons will thinke it agreeable with god reason and princelie policie, that we should haue the gard

and

and vse of some such places for sure accesse and recesse of our people and souldiors in safetie, and for furniture of them with vittels and other things requisit and necessarie, whilest it shall be needfull for them to continue in those countries for the aiding thereof in these their great calamities, miseries, and imminent danger, and vntill the countries may be deliuered of such strange forces as do now oppresse them, and recouer their ancient lawfull liberties and maner of gouernement, to liue in peace as they haue heretofore done, and do now most earnestlie in lamentable manner desire to do, which are the verie onelie true ends of all our actions now intended: howsoeuer malicious tongs make vtter their cankred conceits to the contrarie, as at this daie the world aboundeth with such blasphemous reports in writings and infamous libels, as in no age the diuell hath more abounded with notable spirits replenished with all wickednesse to vtter his rage against professors of christian religion. But thereof we leaue the reuenge to God the searcher of hearts, hoping that he beholding the sinceritie of our heart, will grant good successe to our intentions, whereby a christian peace may insue to his diuine honor, and comfort to all them that loue peace trulie, and will seeke it sincerelie.

An addition to the declaration, *touching the slanders published of* hir maiestie.

The summe of a slanderous pamphlet published in the Italian tong against the quenes maiestie.

After we had finished our declaration, there came to our hands a pamphlet written in Italian, printed at Milan, intitled *Auuiso aduiso*, directed to the archbishop of Milan, conteining a report of the expugnation of Antwerp by the prince of Parma: by the which we found our selfe most maliciouslie charged with two notable crimes, no lesse hatefull to the world, than most repugnant and contrarie to our owne naturall inclination. The one with ingratitude towards the king of Spaine, who (as the author saith) saued our life being iustlie by sentence adiudged to death in our sisters time: the other, that there were some persons procured to be corrupted with great promises, and that with our intelligence, as the reporter addeth in a parenthesis in these words (as it was said) that the life of the prince of Parma should be taken awaie. And for the better proouing and countenancing of this horrible lie, it is further added in the said pamphlet, that it pleased the Lord God to discouer this, and bring two of the wicked persons to iustice. Now, knowing how men are maliciouslie bent in this declining age of the world, both to iudge, speake, and write maliciouslie, falslie, and vnreuerentlie of princes: and holding nothing so deere vnto vs, as the conseruation of our reputation and honor to be blameless: we found it verie expedient, not to suffer two such horrible imputations to passe vnder silence; lest for lacke of answer, it might argue a kind of guiltinesse, and did therefore thinke, that what might be alledged by vs for our iustification in that behalfe, might most aptlie be ioined vnto this former declaration now to be published, to laie open before the world, the maner and ground of our proceeding in the causes of the low countries.

The quenes maiestie is gelous ouer the conseruation of hir reputation.

An answer to the first point of the said pamphlet, clearing hir highnes of ingratitude.

And for answer of the first point wherewith we are charged, touching our ingratitude towards the king of Spaine; as we do most willinglie acknowledge that we were beholding vnto him in the time of our late sister, which we then did acknowledge verie thankefullie, and haue sought manie waies since in like sort to requite, as in our former declaration by our actions maie appeare: so do we vtterlie denie as a most manifest vntruth, that euer he was the cause of the sauing of our life as a person by course of iustice sentenced vnto death, who euer carried our selfe towards our said sister in dutifull sort, as our loialtie was neuer called in question, much lesse anie sentence of death pronounced against vs: a matter such, as in respect of the ordinarie course of proceeding, as by processe in law, by place of triall, by the iudge that should pronounce such sentence, and other necessarie circumstances in like cases vsuall, especiallie against one of our qualitie, as it could not but haue beene publikelie knowne, if anie such thing had beene put in execution. This then being true, we leaue to the world to iudge how maliciouslie and iniuriouslie the author of the said pamphlet dealeth with vs, in charging vs by so notable an vntruth, with a vice that of all other we do most hate and abhorre. And therefore by the manifest vntruth of this imputation, men not transported with passion maie easilie discerne what vntruth is conteined in the second, by the which we are charged to haue beene acquainted with an intended attempt against the life of the said prince: a matter, if anie such thing should haue beene by vs intended, must haue proceeded either of a misliking we had of his person, or that the prosecution of the warres in the low countries was so committed vnto him, as no other might prosecute the same but he.

The second point of the pamphlet answered to the full satisfaction of anie that is reasonable.

And first for his person, we could neuer learne that he hath at anie time, by act or speach, done anie thing that might iustlie breed a mislike in vs towards him, much lesse a hatred against his person in so high a degree, as to be either priuie or assenting to the taking awaie of his life. Besides, he is one of whom we haue euer had an honorable conceit, in respect of those singular rare parts we alwaies haue noted in him, which hath wonne vnto him as great reputation, as anie man this daie liuing carrieth of his degree and qualitie: and so haue we alwaies deliuered out by speach vnto the world, when anie occasion hath beene offered to make mention of him.

The prosecution of the warres in the low countries is not like to cease, though the prince of Parma were dead.

Now touching the prosecution committed vnto him of the warres in the low countries, as all men of iudgement know, that the taking awaie of his life carrieth no likelihood that the same shall worke anie end of the said prosecution: so is it manifestlie knowne, that no man hath dealt more honorablie than the said prince, either in dulie obseruing of his promise, or extending grace and mercie, where merit and desert hath craued the same: and therefore no greater impietie by anie could be wrought, nor nothing more preiudiciall to our selfe (so long as the king shall continue the prosecution of the cause in that forcible sort he now doth) than to be an instrument to take him awaie from thense by such violent meanes, that hath dealt in a more honorable and gratious sort in the charge committed vnto him, than anie other that hath euer gone before him, or is likelie to succeed after him.

This being dulie pondered, all the world maie see how vniustlie hir highnesse is slandered.

Now therefore how vnlikelie it is, that we hauing neither cause to mislike of his person, nor that the prosecution of the warres should cease by losse of him, should be either author, or anie waie assenting to so horrible a fact, we referre to the iudgement of such as looke into causes, not with the eies of their affection; but do measure and weigh things according to honor and reason. Besides, it is likelie if it had beene true that we had bin anie waie chargeable (as the author reporteth) the confessions of the parties executed (importing such matter as by him is alledged) would haue beene both produced and published: for malice leaueth nothing vnsearched, that

The nature of malice compri-

maie

led in a sentence of few words.

maie nourish the venome of that humor.

The best course therefore that both we and all other princes can hold in this vnfortunat age that ouerfloweth with numbers of malignant spirits, is through the grace and godnesse of almightie God, to direct our course in such sort, as they maie rather shew their wils through malice, than with iust cause by desert to saie ill, or deface princes either by speech or writing: assuring our selues that besides the punishment that such wicked and infamous libellors shall receiue at the hands of the almightie for deprauing of princes and lawfull magistrats, who are Gods ministers; they both are and alwaies shall be thought by all good men, vnworthie to liue vpon the face of the earth.

The reward that wicked and infamous libellors shall reape at the hands of God and men.

Giuen at Richmount the first of October, 1585, and the 27 yeare of the reigne of our souereigne ladie the queene, to be published.

In the moneths of November and December, manie horsses and men were shipped at the Tower wharfe to be transported ouer into the low countries. And on the first of December the right honorable lord Robert Dudleie earle of Leicester, lord lieutenant generall (after he had taken his leaue of hir maiestie and the court) with his traine entred the towne of Colchester in Esser, where the maior & his brethren, all in scarlet gownes, with multitudes of people met him, and so with great solemnitie entred the towne, where he lodged that night, and on the nert morrow set forward to Harwich, into the which towne he was accordinglie receiued and interteined. On the eight of December, accompanied with diuers lords and knights, he arriued at Flushing, where he was interteined by sir Philip Sidneie gouernour, the Graue Morris, the states of the towne, and others passing honorablie. The nert day he sailed to Middleborough, where his receiuing was answerable to his person; and after certeine daies there spent, as occasions then moued, he came to Willamstat, then to Rotherodam, then to Delph, where he lodged euen in the house where the prince of Orange was slaine. And after a daie or twoes tarrance, he remoued thense to Donhage, where he was interteined with ten seuerall shewes, of no lesse rare inuention than exquisit sumptuousnesse, so glad were the people (best and worst, one with another) of his comming. Certeine daies passed, and Januarie entred, the lord lieutenant with three hundred horsses in their furniture entred Leidon, where he was receiued of the burgomasters, burgesses, and others, with seuen seuerall shewes that follow. It is to be noted, that eight yeares before this, they were besieged, and therefore now presented their extremities, which at that time they were driuen into. They brought therefore a faire woman on the stage verie brauelie apparelled, & she representing the towne, hir they assalted by Spaniards, with false fiers of great and small shot a long time in order of battell. & then retiring continued their siege; heere they laie so long that vittels waxed scarse, and then they presented after the poets, of what this shew had passed. Famine attired accordinglie then breathed into the woman, after which they presented men rending dogs and cats aliue in sunder, and fed on them, and souldiors robbing women of their children.

The earle of Leicesters passing ouer into the low countries.

The first shew of a woman representing Leidon.

The second shew of famine.

Sicknesse now possesseth hir and pestilence, and this they presented in abrupt burials of townesmen on heapes; and lastlie with a braue buriall of a capteine, who was borne ouer the stage with dead matches, howling trumpets, wrapt vp ancients, trailed pikes, drawne péeces; and after he was put into the ground, and bid farewell with a volée of great and small shot. The Spaniards pitieng hir, writ and sent letters by diuerse messengers, all which she read and refused, without returne of answer: now hope possesseth hir, and therefore they toke another waie. Now she commanded a light to be set on the highest steeple in the towne, to signifie vnto the prince of Orange that laie in Delph, how they hoped for succor; who againe by deuise of a doue sent them promise of aid, by which doue they promised to attend the good houre, and so the shew ended.

The third shew of sicknesse.

The fourth shew of Spanish seruitude.

The fift shew of hope to be succored.

Now came Gods prouidence, vpon whome the towne relied, and she leaned: Gods prouidence in the dead of the night ouerthrew a peece of the wall and bawmure of six and twentie poles. Which the enimie hearing, and fearing the prince and his power to be entred for their aid, they fled, whome when the towne had in pursute, they put all they ouertoke to the sword, the rest escaped by flight, and so with the woman as it were now at libertie that presented the towne, they marched awaie merilie with great triumph. At the last they brought in a woman verie braue, armed as the other was, hir they besieged with a Spaniard, intised with a Frenchman, and flattered with an Italian twise, the Spaniard put by, she fled the stage, and leaping off hastilie hid hir selfe vnder the earls cloke, whom he shadowed, and the Spaniard threatning marched awaie. The earle led hir to his lodging, wherein to he entred with shot. On the skaffold were written these verses, in effect as followeth in English:

The first shew of hope to be succored.

The last shew of libertie, victorie, and triumph.

We Flemings being banished, now wailing here,
We are as they in Babylon, by the water clere,
Bicause we wold not worship idols, but Gods word,
And might not sing our praise vnto the Lord,
Are we driuen out as now dooth appeere,
But our deliuerance is now verie neere,
For God hath looked vpon our miserableness,
And sent vs a prince whom he will blesse,
Which praised be God as it dooth beseeme,
Who hath deliuered vs from dangerous case,
And humbled the heart of such a noble queene,
As hath sent vs a gouernor now in this space,
Laieng his hand to the warres through his grace,
And his arme mightilie, the which vs defend,
Thus praised may he be world without end,
Which sendeth such a prince aboue all that liueth,
And one that gouerns to gods honor he now giueth.

These verses seeme to be made by no metrician, perhaps they were deuised by some of Leidon.

So passing on to my lords lodging, on the doore of the entring were written these verses following:

Pro auspicijs illustrissimi & generosissimi comitis Roberti Dudlæi, regiæ maiestati apud Anglos à consilijs, & gubernatoris Belgiæ, &c: ad Hollandos consolatio.

Inter Iberiadum furias & tigridis iras,
Oppressi fletum comprimitote viri,
Nos licèt innumeris hostilia bella periclis
Assidue infestent, mille necesque trahant,
Nostra tamen Domini rebus fiducia fisit
In Domino, miseris expediet facilè.
Nicanor Lestrygenus viribus malè nostras
Ceruices pulsat, barbara verba vomens:
Viribus at Lecestranis iugulabitur ille,
En Machabæus adest, qui Nicanora premat,
Auspicio Christi, qui in vitam funera vertit,
Qui fidei vindex, qui mala nostra leuat.
En generose comes, Dauidis pia facta sequutus,
Iusticiæ exerce iura seuera tuæ:
Et tibi sit præsens magnum qui temperat orbem,
Vt pede victrici colla teras Goliæ.

Verses written vpon the doore of the lord lieutenants lodging.

On the daie after his comming to the towne, he was banketted, at which banket were orations and deuises manie. On the fift of Januarie he came backe from Leidon vnto Donhage. The

The lord lieutenant returneth backe from Leidon to Donhage.

tenth he mustred part of his horsemen, to the number of fiue hundred or more, and then pointed them into seuerall garrisons, and to seuerall gouernors, the earle of Esser was that daie made generall of the horsses. The eleuenth daie hée came from Donhage to Leidon. The twelfe daie a generall fast was proclamed through Holland, Gelderland, and Friseland, which was kept with great zeale. The lord lieutenant spent that daie till night with preaching, reading, and singing of psalmes; neither he or anie of his eating anie thing. The nineteenth of Januarie he came from Leidon to Donhage, where in his time of abode he rode to a little fisher towne two miles from the Hage, named Skeueling, which towne doth bound on the maine seas. In this towne he was presented with these verses:

Like as the sea goddesse Thetis had ingendred,
The valiant Achilles to the Greeks defence,
So hath now this English Thetis, who all praise deSent vs this Achilles to our assistence, (serued
Wherefore we yeeld him all due reuerence.

These words were written in the great hall at Donhage, cõteining terms of honor & welwishing: Beatus qui facit opus Domini fideliter. ¶ Inclyto principi Roberto Dudlæo comiti Leicestriæ, inter magnates maximè pio, prudenti, forti, Dei permissu a regina misso, præfecto ac gubernatori Belgarum, prosperum hunc optatúmque aduentum toto lætitiæ sinu gratulamur, ecclesiæ & reipublicæ salutem optamus, fœderati ordinis Belgij, addicti celsitudini eius. ¶ Deus cæpit, Deus dirigat.

On the fiue and twentith of Januarie, the lord lieutenant was installed and sworn, and likewise all the states sworne to the quéene. The manner of the installing was thus. At Donhage is a maruellous faire hall, at the vpper end whereof are fiue or six large steps ascending, which do reach to a faire chamber, at the vpper end whereof on high was placed a cloth of estate, in the middest of which were the armes of England, and against them my lord was seated: on each side of him two steps descending sat twelue of the principall states, & below them sat the residue, to the number of twentie right before my lord, but foure or fiue steps descending. On the right hand of my lord did stand the prince of Portugall, next him the lord Norleie, next master Norris gouernor of Munster, next sir William Russell, and sir Robert Germin, with diuerse men of great account. On the left hand of my lord did stand the Graue Norris, next the earle of Esser, sir William Stanleie, sir Robert Stapleton, and sir Thomas Parrat, with diuers others of great account. Thus being placed, a Dutchman made a large oration in Dutch, declaring the causes of the matter in hand, with thanks to the quénes maiestie and the lord lieutenant.

Then was read in Latine the couenants betwéene the states, the quæne and my lord: this done the couenants were deliuered to my lord, which he deliuered to the states, and the states deliuered an other to him: then was my lord demanded to vow the same by oth, who holding his hand to heauen did sweare to the couenants. The like did the states, holding vp their hands, vow to performe. Then againe were the states sworne to the quæne and my lord hir lieutenant in those affaires. This done, my lord gaue to them seuerall thanks, and they seuerallie did giue to him the like, which being done, my lord passed through to his chamber, the trumpets all sounding before him. And héere as matter of conueniencie requireth, we purpose to touch the peremptorie authoritie committed to the said lord lieutenant by common consent of the states: being as followeth in the placard.

A generall fast proclamed and deuoutlie obserued.

The lord lieutenant rideth to Skeueling, and is presented with a few English verses.

Titles of honor ascribed to the lord lieutenant, with a reioising at his comming.

The estates sworne to the quæne of England.

The earle of Leicester installed at Donhage, with the maner and order thereof.

Persons of honor and worship.

The conenants betwéen the quæns maiestie and the estates, read in Latine and deliuered to and fro.

A placard conteining the authoritie giuen by the states of the low countries, vnto the mightie prince, Robert earle of Leicester, baron of Denbigh, &c. for the gouernment of the said low countries: translated out of Dutch into English, as followeth.

THe generall states of the vnited prouinces of the low countries, to all those which shall see or heare these present writings, health and dilection. Euen as it hath pleased hir maiestie of England mercifullie to send ouer into these countries the high and mightie prince and lord, lord Robert earle of Leicester, baron of Denbigh, and one of the priuie councell, knight of the noble order of the garter, and not onlie to admit and institute his excellencie as chéefe head aboue all militarie souldiers on horse or foot, which hir maiestie hath sent or shall send ouer hereafter into these countries; & to the end to assist vs with counsell, aid & aduise, according to his great experience, policie and wisedome in the direction of publike affaires of the land, as well touching the feates of warre, as other waies, in conseruation of all that which most tendeth to the profit of the foresaid land, to bring backe and reduce the same into such good order and rule as it hath béene in times past to, the end that so much the better and orderlie he maie resist the force and tyrannie of our enimies, and to frustrate all his practises: but also besides this to honour and inrich his foresaid excellencie with greater authoritie, might and commandement, aboue all hir maiesties admerals and viceadmerals, and ships of war, to command them all, & to emploie them to the seruice of these countries, and in such order as his excellencie shall find nédfull for the same countrie; and that his excellencie following hir maiesties commandement, desirous to shew the effect of the good will and affection which he beareth to these affaires, and to the preseruation of the same, and also of the true christian religion, and hath imploied himselfe so willinglie in the foresaid matters, that his excellencie for that onlie cause hath left and abandoned his native countrie and goods, and transported himselfe hitherward amongst vs: so that hir maiestie and his excellencie could neuer haue done or shewed vnto vs a greater benefit than this.

Note what a title and stile of excellencie the states giue to the earle their gouernor, and the honorable seruice to him appointed.

The good will and affection of the lord lieutenant to performe the premisses signified and by good proofe testified.

Therefore are we resolued, with good and ripe deliberation, to certifie all men by these presents, that we haue desired, accepted, and authorised the foresaid mightie and honorable prince, lord Robert earle of Leicester, &c: to be our gouernor and generall captaine ouer all the vnited prouinces, and associat cities and members of the same. And we giue vnto his excellencie, besides the authoritie of hir maiestie giuen vnto him, the highest and supreme commandement, and absolute authoritie aboue, and in all matters of warfare by sea and by land, to execute & administrat the same to the resistance of the enimie, euen as his excellencie shall thinke most commodious to the preseruation of these countries: and so further, to do all such things as apperteine to the office of a generall capteine. And furthermore, we commit the administration & vse of policie and iustice ouer the foresaid vnited prouinces, and associat cities and members of the same into his hands, to execute and administrat the same with such power and authoritie, as haue had in times past all the other gouernors of these low countries before him; and especiallie, as haue béene exercised, and lawfullie administred in the time of Charles the fift; reserued onelie the lawes and priuileges of the foresaid countries: also with especiall power to collect profits, and receiue, and administrat all the contributions

The states agnise the peremptorie authoritie put into the lord lieutenants hands in respect of his gouernment.

Like authoritie giuen to the lord lieutenant, as other gouernours his predecessors haue had in the low countries.

butions which are agreed and condescended, or shall hereafter be consented or agreed, to the maintenance of the warres: and also, that which is or shall be deliuered hereafter into his excellencies hands; and this all according to the vertue of other letters and missiues written more at large touching the same agreement. All which former charge and commission, his excellencie through our earnest desire hath accepted, and hath deliuered solemne oth and assurance into our hands, first of all, for the preseruation of the true christian religion, and maintenance of the priuileges and rights of these lands and prouinces, members, and cities of the same.

In acknowledgement and performance of dutie and alegiance inioined to all persons of the low countries (vnder paine of punishment) to the lord lieutenant.

We therefore ordeine and command all gouernors of prouinces and cities, all admerals and vice admerals, all officers, coroners, capteins, their officers and souldiors by sea and land, and furthermore all other councellors, officers, treasurors, receiuers, bailiffs, burgomaisters, marshals, magistrats, gentlemen, burgers, & other inhabitants & subiects of these lands, of what qualitie or condition soeuer; that they & euerie of them do acknowledge his foresaid excellencie in the qualitie of gouernement, and capteine generall ouer the foresaid vnited prouinces, to honor, respect and obeie him, as they ought to do, without making anie difficultie in doing the same, vpon paine of falling in the displeasure and anger of his excellencie, and to be punished according to the heauines of the fault, and as reason shall require. And to the end that no bodie should pretend ignorance, we command expresslie to make knowne these ordinances, to proclame and publish them, whereas men are accustomed to proclame all publications, proceeding, and commanding to proceed with rigor against all disdainors and neglectors of the same, according to the order of punishment before mentioned, without anie fauour or dissimulation to the contrarie, because we haue thought the same to be expedient for the preseruation of the countrie. Giuen in our congregation & assemblie in the Hage, the sixt daie of Februarie, 1586, by ordinance of the foresaid generall states.

Bil pretense of ignorance cut off, least the course of obedience might be hindered.

This placard thus passed, the lord lieutenant bending his mind to his charge vndertaken, did ordeine certeine speciall men, natiues borne, of the councell, to the intent that such affaires as chanced to occur, might by them be conuenientlie managed. And as he toke order for matters of policie, so was he studious in preferring martiall affaires, prouiding by good lawes and ordinances not onelie concerning common souldiours, but capteins in like sort, that a conuenient course and well beseeming the excellencie of his place, might be obserued in all militarie businesses: for proofe whereof these lawes touching capteins (as a note of the rest) may serue.

Councellors for matters of state elected by the lord lieutenant.

Lawes for capteins and souldiors.

First, no capteine, officer, or other person, shall receiue or interteine anie other mans souldiour or seruant, without consent of his former capteine or maister, neither shall intise anie other mans souldior from him, vpon paine of losse of a moneths wages, and to restore the partie to his former capteine or maister.

Secondlie, no capteine shall send forth anie men to do anie enterprise, without knowledge of the generall or chefe officer appointed thereunto, vpon paine of losse of his place.

Thirdlie, all priuat capteins being no head officers, shall watch and ward with their ensignes, vnlesse it be by speciall leaue, vpon paine of the losse of a moneths paie, & for the second time lose his place.

Fourthlie, no capteine shall sell or ransome his prisoner without licence of the generall, and shall not suffer them to depart without making the high marshall priuie to the same, vpon paine to lose his prisoner, and imprisonment.

Fiftlie, anie capteine finding anie souldiour, of what band or companie so euer, which hath transgressed anie of these lawes & ordinances, may take him & bring him vnto the marshall to be punished.

Sixtlie, that no capteine shall receiue or inroll anie person into his paie vnder him, but that he cause the said souldior to receiue the oth, vpon paine to the capteine for not obseruing the same, of losse of a moneths paie.

Seauenthlie, no inferiour capteine shall for corruption or anie other cause, licence anie of his souldiors to depart the campe or garrison, without speciall licence of the generall or head officer, vpon paine of losse of his moneths paie, and expulsion out of his office.

Eightlie, if anie capteine hereafter receiuing his souldiors paie, do not paie the same vnto them within eight daies after, and being demanded, then vpon complaint made, and the capteine thereof indicted, he shall lose his moneths paie, and be depriued of his office, banished the campe, and disabled from thenceforth to serue in the armie.

Ninthlie, capteins & officers shall resort to their souldiors lodgings, to see in what state their armor and munition be in, and to giue great charge that their furniture be alwaies in a readinesse, their cornets with all peces belonging to the same, and their caleuers to be made cleane & oiled, to haue match and powder drie, and strings for their bowes, their bils and holberds to be kept cleane and sharpe, vpon paine and punishment arbitrarie, according to the qualitie of their negligence.

Tenthlie, that euerie capteine or officer shall cause these said statutes to be read euerie twentith daie to them of their charge, as well horssemen as fotmen, & to follow the same so nere as they may.

The lord lieutenant commeth from the Hage to Harlem, & how he was receiued.

Now when the state of the countrie was prouided for in such sort as before ye haue heard, the lord lieutenant proceeded to other actions, insomuch that on the first of March he came from Hage to Leidon, and the third of March from Leidon to Harlem, where being honorablie interteined, according to the maner in other places before named, with sundrie representations: on the tenth daie of March he came from Harlem to Amsterdam, a towne counted inexpugnable, being there receiued in most sumptuous sort with diuersitie of shewes & ceremonies. The like also were exhibited vnto him comming to Utricht, the people of which towne shewed themselues greatlie to fauour our Englishmen, for there came to the towne from the Leger three hundred or foure hundred souldiors, so sicke and poore, that it was wonder to see their miserie: and the townesmen not onelie receiued them, but also releeued them with meat drinke and cloths, giuing them for the most part new shirts and other necessarie apparell; looking so vnto them for their health, that whereas for the most part they were in great danger of death, few or none of them at that time perished.

Utricht people commended for their great kindnes shewed to the Englishmen.

The three and twentith of April, the earle of Leicester being lieutenant, and gouernour generall of hir maiesties forces in the low countries of the vnited prouinces (as is aforesaid) and making his residence at that time in Utricht (a great and goodlie towne vpon the frontiers of Holland) kept most honourablie the feast of S. George therein, the proceedings whereof being so princelie performed to the honor of our nation, in the view of so manie thousand strangers, I could not chuse (hauing gotten the true and faithfull description, by one William Seager

S. Georges feast solemnlie obserued at Utricht.

S. Georges feast solemnlie obserued at Vtricht.

ger alias Portcullis an officer at armes in that seruice) to make some breefe remembrance of the maner thereof in this booke, to wit. The streets of Vtricht being large and faire, were rankt and set with eight ensignes of burgers richlie appointed, wearing scarffes knit like roses white and red vpon their armes, betweene whome from the court of my lord vnto the cathedrall church called the Dome, the proceeding was on horssebacke. First rid the trumpetors apparelled in scarlet, laid with silver lace, sounding their trumpets most rotallie, their bannerols being displaied and richlie limmed with my lords armes. Then followed the gentlemen, capteins, coronels, and hir maiesties sworne men, to the number of a fortie horsse, richlie adorned in cloth of gold, silver, and silks, of all colours. After came six knights, foure barons, with the councell of estates: the right honourable earle of Essex accompanied the bishop of Cullen prince elector; and the prince of Portingall rid by himselfe: next proceeded the capteine of the gard, the treasuror and controllor of the houshold, bearing their white staues: after whom followed two gentlemen vshers, and Portcullis herald in a rich cote of armes of England.

Lieutenant inuested in the robes of order.

Then came my lord most princelike, inuested in his robes of the order, garded by the principall burgers of the towne, which offered themselues to that seruice, besides his owne gard, which were a fiftie halberds in scarlet clokes, garded with purple and white veluet. He being thus honourablie brought vnto the church, after due reuerence done vnto the queenes maiesties estate, which was there erected on the right hand, he toke his owne stall on the left, by certeine degrees lower. Then began praiers, and a sermon made by maister Knelystubs my lords chapleine, after which my lord proceeded to the offering; first for hir maiestie, & then for himselfe, the which he performed with such decorum & princelie behauiour, that all generallie spake most honorablie of him.

These solemnities being done, his lordship returned as he came, leauing behind him the earle of Essex and certeine gentlemen to accompanie the princes and the ladies of the court. His court was a faire and large house, belonging in times past to the knights of the Rhodes, in which was a verie great hall richlie hong with tapistrie; at the vpper end whereof was a most sumptuous cloth and chaire of estate for the queens maiestie, with hir armes and stile thereon, and before it a table couered with all things so requisit as if in person she had beene there; on the left hand almost at the tables end was my lords trencher and stole, for he would haue no chaire. The tables being couered, & all degrees assembled, my lord before the estate of hir maiestie knighted a Dutch gentleman, called sir Martin Skinke, for his manifold services done to his countrie, the which done, the vshers marshalled the feast. At the table on the right side of the hall sat the yong prince of Portingall, the prince elector and his wife, the princesse Semele, the earle of Essex, the Graue Morris and his ladie, & betweene euerie ladis was an English lord or knight placed. On the left side sat the states and chiefe burgers of the towne, and the grand prior of Amerford (who came to see the feast) was by my lords appointment placed vppermost at that table. Then began the trumpets to sound in the seruice which was (most princelike & abundant serued on the knee) carued & tasted to hir maiesties trencher.

Martin Skinke knighted, who promised Portcullis to shew him seuentie ensignes that he had now in the field.

To prosecute the sumptuousnesse, statelinesse, and varietie of deuises in seruice at this banket, requireth a discourse of manie lines, and therefore leauing it to the imagination of the reader (hauing relation to the former) we will heare surceasse; remembring thus much to the honour of the lord lieutenant, that sundrie militarie exploits or stratagems were with no lesse magnanimitie attempted, than with felicitie atchiued against the enimie, during the time of his abode in those countries, which it were better vtterlie to omit, than not with conuenient dignitie to record: being heerein semblablie affected to his honour, as sometimes was the poet Horace to Agrippa, *Qui sibi non conuenire tam sublime argumentum asseuerabat; proinde Varium poetam rectius scripturum eius præclara facinora dicebat, qui ad Homericam fœlicitatem proximè accedere videbatur.* And now to leaue him in the hands of God, vpon whome dependeth his honours hope, we will heere leaue the netherlands, and approach to matters of England.

Seminarie præsts executed at Tiburne.

On the one and twentith date of this Januarie, two seminarie præsts (before arreigned and condemned) were drawne to the Tiburne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered. Also on the same date, a wench was burnt in Smithfield for poisoning of hir aunt and mistresse, and also attempting to haue done the like wicked offense to hir vncle.

A wench burnt in Smithfield.

On the second date of Februarie, or the feast of the purification of our blessed ladie, doctor John Whitegift archbishop of Canturburie, William lord Cobham lord warden of the fiue ports, and Thomas lord Buckhurst, were chosen and taken to be of hir maiesties priuie councell: the two first, to wit, the archbishop and the lord Cobham were sworne the same date, and the third on the next morrow. And here, as in other places of these chronicles, where we haue set downe certeine collections of right worthie personages in high calling and verie honourable office, we are lead by some reason to deliuer a catalog of the names (at least) of such archbishops as haue successiuelie possessed the metropolitan see of Canturburie, therein implieng their antiquitie and authoritie, &c: and from thense proceed to sate somewhat of the lord Cobhams and lord wardens of the cinque ports, as a matter of some consequence, by means of the mutuall aduancement at one instant which hir highnesse of speciall grace vouchsafed them both. And to begin with Canturburie, being first named, you shall vnderstand that Augustine the monke (according to the receiued opinion of chronographers) was the first archbishop which occupied that metroplitan see, next whome succeded one Laurentius, then Melitus, Iustus, Honorius, Deusdedit, Theodorus, Brightwaldus, Tatwinus, Nothelmus, Cutbertus, Beguinus, Lambertus, Athelardus, Wilfredus, Theologildus, Athelredus, Plegmundus, Athelmus, Wolfelmus, Odo Seuerus, Dunstanus, Ethelgarus, Siricius, Aluricius, Elphegus, Liuingus, Agelnothus, Edsinus: and so forward with the residue before and after the conquest, which being multiplied by vnities, do make vp the complet number of three score and twelue.

Pag. 1435, a 10.

The number of archbishops of Canturburie from the first to the last.

Where by the waie we might touch the varietie of their names (sith authors therein do dissent) as also the time wherein they liued and flourished, with some commemoration of their acts and deeds, both in church and commonwealth. But this kind of discourse being ecclesiasticall, is vnproper for this secular historie: wherefore labouring no further therein, we will remit the reader to such authors as *Ex professo* haue amplie treted of that argument: minding now by waie of note in a few lines to touch the three late primats, as they haue succeded ech other since the coronation and regiment of hir maiestie: the first of whom was Matthew Parker, whose predecessor Reg. Pole dieng, he was aduanced, and inioied the same aduancement certeine yeares, (hauing been the seuentith archbishop of that see) during which time he did much good diuerse waies, deseruing well not onelie of the church, but also

of

of the commonwealth. But hauing spoken elsewhere of this man, we will here state our course; concluding this collection of archbishops in their successions, with the two reuerend diuines and doctors, the one Edmund Grindall late deceased; the other John Whitegift now liuing; of whom no more but silence, for vertue doth sufficientlie commend hir selfe. Now order would, that we should descend into a discourse of the lord Cobhams & lord wardens of the cinque ports, remembred before page 1435, a 10: but herein the reader is patientlie to put vp the disappointment of his expectation, vpon supposall of some reasonable impediment whie the same was not satisfied. And now to the course of our historie orderlie to be continued.

The note of Reginald Scot esquier concerning Douer hauen.

¶ In this yeare 1586, certeine of the lords of hir maiesties most honorable priuie councell made an appointment to haue met at Douer, to surueie a notable pæce of worke there latelie performed about the hauen, to the benefit of the whole land. Howbeit the said lords, by means of other accidents of importance, staid at the court, and went not that iourneie. Neuertheless the lord Cobham, lord warden of the cinque ports, one of hir maiesties priuie councell, repairing thither (accompanied with diuerse knights and gentlemen of great worship) did take the view both of the worke finished, and also conferred about the businesse then in hand. Now for so much as that which is alreadie done, is a perfect and an absolute worke, to the perpetuall maintenance of a hauen in that place, being such a monument as is hardlie to be found written in ante record, it might seeme absurd that no mention thereof should be made in this chronicle: and that the cost and businesse thereabouts imploied hath not bæne vnnecessarie, maie appeare by the reasons insuing.

Considerations whie the building of Douer hauen is here recorded.

First, Douer hath bæne euer reputed the keie and locke (as Matthæus Parisiensis reporteth, or as rather he should haue said) the verie doore and entrance into the realme of England, either for freend or foe, and also the readie passage vnto all nations, but especiallie into France, from whense it is not distant about thirtie English miles, and is commonlie passed in fiue or six houres at the most, and in a prosperous wind within halfe the time. Secondlie, it standeth in the most conuenient place of all this land to offend the enimie, and to defend either domesticall or forren freend. Thirdlie, a meane harbor would be there (in the opinion of all skilfull mariners) more beneficiall & commodious for the nauigation of England, than an excellent hauen placed anie where else about the coast thereof. Fourthlie, all our passengers through the narow seas being distressed by violence of weather, or by inconuenience of piracie, or else by force of the common enimie in the time of warre, might there haue present succor and refuge, and both spéedie and easie passage thereinto, or otherwise be best rescued. Fiftlie, of late yeares, the considerations aforesaid haue moued some noble princes of this land, to bestow infinit treasure to gaine a harborough or hauen in that place, to their great honor, fame, and commendation, to the wonderfull contentment of all their subiects, and for the good and benefit of all the neighbors adioining, and strangers passing these narow seas. Finallie, it hath pleased our most noble quæne Elisabeth to vndertake it, who in all good actions and necessarie works, for the benefit of the realme, & commonwealth of England, hath bæne so liberall, carefull, and prouident, as thereby hir glorie and renowme is spread ouer all the face of the earth, and reacheth vnto heauen, where the king of kings sitteth, and heareth the praises and praiers, not onelie of hir owne people, but of all christians liuing in hir behalfe, for whose good (it seemeth) she was brought forth and preserued in this world.

Reasons whie a harbor at Douer would be so beneficiall.

A true commendation of quæne Elisabeth.

And now (I saie) for so much as hir highnesse hath at this present time taken order for the building of a new hauen in this place, and bountifullie imploied great summes of monie vpon the same (being begun with more probabilitie, iudgement, and circumspection, and accompanied with better successe than euer anie of hir highnesse predecessors haue heretofore had in this case; wherin the most difficult and dangerous worke is alreadie accomplished, so as there is now and euer hereafter will be a verie good hauen, except extreme negligence be vsed in mainteining the same) I thought it a most necessarie matter to be here recorded, to hir maiesties perpetuall fame, and partlie also to giue light and incouragment to hir successors in the crowne of England, to attempt and vndertake, and the better to execute and accomplish the like famous enterprise. For actions of far lesse importance are made memorable by historiographers, as in euerie chronicle maie apeare.

The peut at Douer will maintaine a hauen there for euer.

In this discourse I thought mét to passe ouer the antiquitie of the towne and port of Douer, with the liberties thereof; which together with the ruines and misfortunes of fire are to be found extant in the perambulation of Kent, written by William Lambard esquier. Of Douer castell somewhat might here be said, but for so much as maister Lambard hath so largelie discoursed thereupon in his booke, which is likelie to remaine of continuance, I will make bold with the reader to referre him thereunto; and onelie giue this note (to wit) that whereas he iustlie complaineth of the miserable ruines thereof; it hath pleased hir maestie (in respect of the necessarie maintenance of the same) to bestow more charge of late in reparing and reedifieng of it, than hath bæne spent thereabouts (as it seemeth) since the first building thereof, whether the same were done by Iulius Cesar the Romane emperor, or by Aruiragus then king of the Britains (king Edward the fourth onelie excepted) who (as Iohn Rosse reporteth) did throughlie repare it, bestowing thereon 10000 pounds, insomuch as it is now reduced to be a pæce of great force and importance, and verie beautifull to behold. Wherein the honorable disposition of the lord Burghleie lord high treasuror of England is to be commended, who was a principall furtherer thereof, and whose forwardnesse in all militarie affaires is had in admiration among all the best souldiors of England, although he himselfe an aged and a most graue councellor. And in these commendations if I should omit the praises of the honorable lord Cobham, lord warden of the cinque ports, and constable of the castell of Douer, &c: I should do him great wrong. For by his prouidence and mediation, together with the diligent trauell and industrie of Richard Warrie esquier, lieutenant of the said castell, that worke is accomplished, to the comfort and benefit of the whole realme. Within the wals whereof is now also raised such a mount at the north side thereof, as thereby the castell is double so strong as before. But omitting all other occasions and matters concerning Douer, I will now passe to my purpose.

In peramb. Cant. tit. Douer.

Douer castell reedified by quæne Elisabeth.

Edward the fourth bestowed ten thousand pounds vpon reparations of Douer castell.

But yet, before I enter into these last works, I must giue you to vnderstand, that the verie situation of the place ministreth incouragement to the executioners, and yeldeth great fauor and occasion to the attempt. For Douer cliffes stand to the sea north and east, the towne being placed at the foot of the northerne cliffes, the castle on the top of the easterne cliffes, called the Castell Kaie: so as there is a naturall baie, through the which from by north ilsueth a proper riuer entring into the same baie: & thense runneth through the hauen into the sea. In times past, vntill of late yeares, that onelie baie hath serued them for a rode, and at manie times in some sort hath stood the naue (but especiallie the fisher botes) in good sted. For in a great northerlie and westerlie wind, the ships were

The situation of Douer harbour.

A naturall rode for ships at Douer.

driuen from the Downs and the foreland to repaire thither, where they might lie safelie vntill the wind blew great from by east or south, & then were they driuen to depart thense vnto the Camber at Rie (which then was a notable good rode, though now vtterlie decaied) or into the Ile of Wight. For in a sudden slaw or storme of wind at southeast, there haue beene seuen or eight ships broken all to peeces in one daie vpon the said cliffes. To releeue and amend the same harborough, and somewhat to mitigat the foresaid inconuenience, there was a round tower builded by one John Clarke, preest, maister of the maison de Dieu, about the yeare one thousand fiue hundred, at the south west part of the said baie, which serued somewhat to defend the ships from the rage of the southwest wind, but especiallie to moore the ships which were tied therevnto. For manie great ringles were fastened to the same tower for that purpose, as it maie yet be seene, sith it standeth there at this houre. And hereby that part of the baie was made so pleasant, as euer after that corner hath beene named, and is at this daie called Little paradise. Neuertheless this was thought verie insufficient in respect of the place, for the safegard of such a multitude of ships as vsuallie laie for harbour in that rode. For besides all strange botes, which commonlie repaired thither, it appeareth in the booke of Domesdaie, that Douer armed yearelie at his proper charges twentie vessels to the sea by the space of fiftéene daies, with one and twentie able men in ech ship.

The hauen of Rie decaied, whereby more need of a harbour at Douer.

Ships lost for lacke of sufficient harbour at Douer.

The first benefit bestowed on Douer harbour.

Little paradise.

In the reigne of Edward the Confessor.

Now about the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and two, one sir John Thomson clarke, parson of the parish of saint James in Douer, being a man ingenious, and séeing the conueniencie and possibilitie of a good hauen to be made in that place, consulted with the cheefe and best mariners of the towne. Among whome it was agréed, that humble suite should be made to the kings maiestie by the state of the towne, for his gratious fauour and aid toward the making of a good hauen there. And it was also by them all thought meet, that the said sir John Thomson should exhibit their petition to his highnesse: whervnto he agréed, and drew a plot, and prepared a supplication in the name and behalfe of the towne, conteining the necessarie causes and reasons, deuises and instructions, for the erection and building thereof. But he told them he was poore, and therefore vnable of his owne proper charges to follow the suite. In which respect they collected among themselues, and deliuered vnto him foure pounds ten shillings, which he accepted, and forthwith repaired to the court; where he so demeaned himselfe, as he had present accesse to the king, who heard his suite with great fauor, and debated with him about the contents of his plot, and liked so well of his informations that he willed him to repaire home, and without delaie to returne to his presence, accompanied with some of the best mariners or seamen of the towne, and so with commendations dismissed him for that time.

Sir John Thomson preest his supplication.

When the maisters of the towne vnderstood his graces pleasure, they immediatlie assembled themselues, and made choise of Edward Maie, Robert Justice, Richard Cowchie, and John Steward, as the fittest and skilfullest persons to vse conference, and to be imploied in that cause, being all mariners of good experience. These foure and the said sir John Thomson without further staie resorted to the court, with whom when the king had communed, he conceiued of the necessitie of a hauen to be there had, and of the probabilitie and likelihood of good successe in the enterprise to be performed according to their suggestion. And because his maiestie vnderstood the poore estate of the towne, he granted his gratious aid for the supplie of their want of monie, deliuering at that time out of his owne cofers vnto them the summe of fiue hundred pounds, wherewith he willed them to make a beginning of the worke. At which time he bestowed on the said sir John Thomson the maistership of the maison de Dieu of Douer, which was a hospitall, valued at one hundred and twentie pounds by the yeare: the custome and dutie of the which house was (as the ancient townesmen informe me) to interteine and releeue soldiors, and others which came from beyond the seas, hurt or distressed, who were allowed some releefe there, by the space of certeine daies gratis: which though I find not directlie set downe in record, yet do I know assuredlie the same to haue beene put in execution, wherewith the verie name of the house is agréeable, and as it were a credible witnesse. The king at that time also apointed the said sir John to be principall surueior of the works, and vnder him the other foure to be ouerséers of the same.

Fiue hundred pounds giuen by Henrie the eight towards a beginning of Douer works.

The maison de Dieu of Douer.

Surueiors & ouerséers.

Now am I to giue you to vnderstand, that the drift and deuise of the said sir John Thomson was to erect a huge wall (which he termed by the name of a pierre) from Arcliffe chapell, being the southwest part of the baie directlie towards the east into the maine sea, about 131 rods in length: so as by that meanes the harborough was to be garded from the rage of all weather, comming from the north, northeast, northwest, and southwest, and so the entrance onelie at east southeast, whereinto when the ships were once brought, they might there lie safe in all weather, at the one side or the other. But the pierre was not finished by 55 fot so far as the foundation the roof (which he called the Polehead) was laid, which foundation consisted of great rocks, brought from a place néere hand, called Hakcliffe, or the castell Raie and Folkestone. This pierre was begun on S. Annes daie 1533, and it was compiled of two rowes of maine posts, & great piles of fiue or six & twentie fot long, set at each side close together, which were let downe and put in certeine holes hewed in the great rocks, laid for that purpose; but some of those piles were shod with iron, and driuen into the maine rocke of chalke, with a great engine called a ram. These posts and piles were combined and held together with iron bolts, and were filled with mightie stones of chalke, as also with beach and other earth: but the bottome consisted altogither of great rocks of stone, which if they had not béene brought thither by a speciall deuise, must néeds haue béene extreame chargeable: for manie of them were of twentie tun a péece, and few vnder.

In the reigne of Edward the Confessor.

The Polehead.

Douer pierre when it was taken in hand, and whereof it consisted.

The practise of this charge is now common, but it was before that time rare & vnknowne in England, and inuented there by a poore simple man named John Pong, who first with a nutshell, after with an eggshell, & lastlie with a small vessell, made proofe what weight those things could raise & beare in the water; and hauing by that experiment made triall, or at least a probable coniecture, that stones of great weight might be raised and carried in the water by greater vessels, he discouered his experience to such as were officers in the worke; who presentlie put in practise & execution the same deuise, & making prouision of great & strong barrels and pipes of wood, caried them to Folkstone, and at low water fastened therto with chaines such huge stones as laie on the shore, nere the low water marke (where the quarrie or mine of those rocks is) so as when the flood or full sea came, the said vessels with the stones thereto fastned rose vp & swam. And if the stone were of such quantitie as two or three emptie casks could not lift it vp, then did they ad a barrell or two more, which would not faile to do it: then did they drag with small botes the casks & stones therevnto tied, to the place where they were disposed to sinke them, & so the worke wherein consisted the greatest difficultie in apearance, was with most ease and least charge accomplished.

A notable deuise to carrie great rocks by water.

Foure pence a paie.

complished. And for this deuise the said John Young had a yearelie stipend giuen vnto him by the king during his life. With these stones, as also by this means was the greatest worke done, and with great cost and labor these piles were filled vp. The chalke and filling thereof being brought from the north pierre, was conueied thither in a great bote called a Gaboth, which had nine keeles. There stands yet of the timber worke of the old pierre foure score fot in length, and ioines vpon that part of the pierre, where stood a fort named the Blacke bulworke.

A Gaboth.

Now that which was done on that side, with the helpe of nature at the other two sides made an excellent rode or harborough for the time it continued, and had maintenance. The king for his part spared no charge, for he spent hereabouts (as I am crediblie informed) fiftie thousand pounds, nor yet did forbeare anie trauell which might further the worke. For in person he purposelie repaired thither diuerse and sundrie times, being distant from the court fiftie miles at the least; yea his highnes had such care that it should be well performed, that no expert man in water works, either on this side, or beyond the seas, but (if it might be) he was brought thither, or at the least conferred withall. And during the time of all the worke, the kings cofers seemed to stand wide open. But alas, the kings care and charge, and the continuall trouble and trauell of officers was such about the worke present, that the prouision for the future maintenance thereof was vtterlie neglected. For the kings absence at his being at Bullen, his sickenesse at his returne, and finallie his death meeting with the nonage of his son king Edward the first, made an end of all this worke: which being once in the state of decaie, there was no reparations nor further proceeding therein, till the time of queene Marie; in the beginning of whose reigne (by the space of two yeares) there was some rumbling thereabout. But the workmen and officers were not well paid; and after bad paiment, no paiment, and so all was giuen ouer. Sir Anthonie Aucher was treasuror in these works, and manie other inferior officers also there were, but especiallie of clerks.

The charge of the pierre.

The kings care for Douer pierre.

The kings repaire to Douer.

Sir John Thomlins deuise allowed.

The cause of the decaie of the pierre.

Officers about the pierre.

But now I am to declare vnto you the lamentable ruine and decaie of this worke, before the end and finishing whereof there was brought along the coast, from by southwest, a maruellous quantitie of beach and bowlder stone, whereof there had beene neuer anie seene before in those parts of that coast, and a great quantitie thereof rested vpon the backe of the pierre, especiallie before the Blacke bulworke, which (so long as it might lie there without further annoiance) was (in appearance) a singular helpe for the strength and preseruation of the said worke, but it fell out otherwise. For besides that, that an easterlie great wind would remoue and driue it from that coast, and consequentlie from the pierre, which then would lie naked as before, vntill the south and westerne wind turned it backe againe; the pierre through negligence decaieng especiallie at the Blacke bulworke (where the greatest abundance of beach vsuallie rested) it passed through the decaied places thereof in such measure, as in short time thereby grew a shelfe of beach from that point of the pierre to the east part of the baie, butting to the Castell Raie; so as no entrance thereinto for anie ship remained. And the more that the furthest point of the pierre decaied and wared shorter, the nearer was the shelfe brought vnto the shore: insomuch as if the residue of the pierre had not beene preserued, that shelfe would soone haue beene brought to the verie towne, and so haue choked vp the baie, and bereft all possibilitie of euer hauing a harbor in that place.

Stone called beach or bowlder choked vp Douer hauen.

Two causes of the decaie of Douer pierre.

The decaie of the pierre grew now more and more, partlie (as is said) through want of prouidence and cost to be imploied thereupon, and sufficient prouision to maintaine the same: but especiallie through the disorder of the poorer sort of the townesmen, who dailie purloined timber, iron, and all that was anie thing worth, which they could pull or catch from the decaieng places of the pierre. And now (by meanes of this shelfe) the hauen waxed worse than euer it was, insomuch as oftentimes a bote that drew but foure fot of water could not enter into the mouth thereof, and sometime none at all: for the baie was altogither shut vp, so as the harborough was become a pent, out of the which nothing could passe out or in, sauing the water that soked through the beach. But the riuer, which issueth out of the towne at a water gate standing at the northeast end of the said pent, in continuance of time would make an issue through some part of the same beach into the sea, sometime at one end, sometime at another, sometime verie shallow, and neuer verie deepe; which issue was alwaies their hauens mouth, vntill a contrarie wind did stop it vp againe, and then they had no entrance at all, vntill the riuer had made a new fret, or that they had digged a chanell through the beach, which manie times they were driuen to do.

Sometime no harborough at all at Douer.

The losse of this hauen, and the losse of Calis, which happened about one time, made such an alteration, or rather desolation in and of the towne, as was lamentable and wonderfull to behold. For of a braue, rich, and populous towne, it presentlie became a poore and desolate village, reteining onelie the name and liberties of the famous port of Douer. Neuertheless, the necessitie and expedience of a good hauen in that place did still remaine, a conuenient meane also was left for the accomplishment thereof, as it seemed to diuerse which were wise and of good experience: insomuch as that verie matter, which was supposed to be the destruction of the late harborough, should now become a principall helpe and furtherance to a new hauen of greater importance, and better securitie than euer it was before. For (as you haue heard) Douer cliffes naturallie defend this baie from all tempests comming from the northeast and northwest; the pierre yet remaining gardeth it from the west and southwest winds; & the shelfe of beach crossing from the end thereof to the Castell Raie, had made such a close pent, as if anie ships could be conueied thereinto, they might there rest in great safetie.

How Douer was made desolat.

That beach which destroied the pierre helpeth now the hauen.

The roome within this close baie conteineth almost fortie acres, and the riuer (as I haue said) runneth quite through the same immediatlie into the maine sea at south: so as the said pent being surrounded at euerie high water, and lieng almost bare at euerie ebbe, the ouze or fleech grew to be fourteene or fiftéene fot deepe, the bottome thereof being a maine rocke of chalke: insomuch as a great multitude of ships might be placed there in good securitie, if the entrance could be made good. These things considered by men of good capacitie and experience, sundrie deuises and conceipts were exhibited therabouts, whereof some seemed verie probable; and were the rather heard and commended, for that the worke was so necessarie and benefictall to the commonwealth. And in that respect, it pleased the quenes maiestie to grant to the towne of Douer, towards the reparing of their hauen, the free transportation of thirtie thousand quarters of wheat, ten thousand quarters of barlie and malt, and foure thousand tun of beere, without paieng either custome or impost: which was a gift of no small importance.

A bountifull gift of queene Elisabeth towards the reparing of Douer hauen.

For (besides great summes of monie already leuied and imploied vpon the beginning of these works) the licence or patent was sold to a couple of merchants of London named John Bird, and Thomas Wats, after the rate of three shillings and foure pence for euerie quarter of wheat, and two shillings and eight pence

The patent of the queenes gift sold vnto two merchants.

pence for euerie quarter of barlie and malt; and the licence of bëere being sold to diuerse others amounted to foure thousand marks at the least. Besides all this, it was enacted in the parlement holden the three and twentith yeare of the reigne of hir maiestie, for and in the considerations aforesaid, and for that there was a probable plot contriued by skilfull men, to be performed for a conuenient sum of monie, that for euerie ship, vessell, or crater, whereof anie of hir maiesties subiects were owners, or part-owners, being of the burthen of twentie tuns or vpwards, loding or discharging within this realme, or passing to or fro anie forren countrie, during the space of seuen yeres then next insuing, from fortie daies after the end of the same session of parlement, there should be paid for euerie such voiage by the maister or owner of all such vessels, &c: the summe of three pence for euerie tun of the burthen of such ship, &c.

The act of parlement for Douer hauen 23. Eliz.

Three pence the tun of euerie vessell allowed towards Douer hauen.

Hereby there grew great summes of monie to be yearelie leuied toward these works, amounting to one thousand pounds yearelie at the least, and yet the time not expired by two yeares. After this, hir maiestie being carefull that the hauen should with expedition be taken in hand, directed hir letters patents, dated the nine and twentith daie of March, in the foure and twentith yeare of hir reigne, to the lord Cobham lord warden of hir cinque ports, &c: sir Thomas Scot, sir James Hales knights, Thomas Wotton, Edward Bois, the maior of the towne of Douer present and to come, Richard Barrie lieutenant of the castell of Douer, Henrie Palmer, Thomas Digs, Thomas Wilford, and William Partridge esquires, all which were of the shire, and men of great wisedome and iudgement, and no small trauellers in matters concerning the common wealth: some of them maruellous expert in affaires and matters of the seas, some in fortifications, some hauing trauelled beyond the seas for experience and conference that waie, and to see the order of forren seaworks and hauens, and none without singular vertues. In which respect they were commissionated and authorised by those presents, to do, and forsee to be done from time to time, all things needfull and requisit to be imploied about the reparing and mending of the said hauen, and as might tend to the furtherance of the said seruice: and to chose officers, and assigne their stipends, and the seuerall fees of all ministers, attendants and clerks needfull for the substantiall, necessarie, speedie, and cheape doing thereof, and therein to set downe particular orders and directions, as might be for the furtherance and accomplishing of the said works most expedient.

The tunnage amounted to 1000 pounds yearelie.

The tenure of the queens commission for Douer hauen.

Now for the performance hereof, manie plots by sundrie persons were deuised, and first of all one John True was commended, or at the least commended him selfe to the lords of hir maiesties priuie councell, to whome he made great shew to be an expert engineer, and by their lordships he was sent to Douer, and presented to be generall surueior of the works, as one in whome they reposed great hope of furthering and finishing the said hauen; whereof he made no doubt, but resolutelie promised the speedie execution and accomplishing thereof. His deuise and determination was, to make within the said baie neere to the shelfe of beach, a long wall from the water gate (out of which the riuer issueth into the harborough) to the blacke bulworke, in length two hundred rods. This wall was to bee made of excellent stone at Folkestone, the which he framed after a strange and contrarie kind of workmanship. And there was for this purpose alreadie perfectlie hewed of the same stone seuen thousand fot, and six thousand fot more was scapled: he bestowed and spent thereabouts one thousand two hundred fourescore and eight pounds, as appeareth in the accounts of the treasurors for that time being; and yet there was not one stone of his said long wall laid, nor that hither to hath come to anie profitable vse. But this wall if it had beene, or rather could haue beene finished, it would haue cost a hundred thousand pounds, and yet would neuer haue serued the turne. For a stone wall is so contrarie to the nature of that sandie foundation, as it can make no good coniunction nor perfect pent.

John True surueior generall of Douer hauen.

The deuise of John True.

Stone hewed at Folkestone amounting to 1288 pounds.

Infinit charge to accomplish the stone wall.

For the furtherance of his deuise he would haue plucked downe a great part of the old pierre, whereof there was then too little remaining: he detracted the time, for he had ten shillings a daie allowed vnto him for his fee, which perhaps he was loth to forgo. He either could or would not render anie reason to the commissioners of his doings and finall purpose, but alwaies said he would make them a good hauen, neither would he set downe anie time certeine for the accomplishing thereof. All these matters, with his negligence, delaies, & vntowardlinesse of his works, being aduertised to the lords of hir maiesties councell, he was dismissed.

John True had ten shillings a day for his fee.

John True discharged.

After whom, one Ferdinando Poins, who had beene conuersant and acquainted with water works in the low countries, and had dealt much about Woolwich and Erith breaches, offered his seruice for the accomplishing of these works; affirming, that it was an easie matter to bring the same to passe, in such sort as there should soone be a good harborough; refusing not to haue taken the worke to do by great, either by a plot of his owne deuising, or else by the plot agreed on by the commissioners, and allowed by the lords of the councell. But this Ferdinando Poins, although he seemed a verie good executioner either of his owne, or another mans deuise concerning such affaires: yet was he verie loth to discouer his order and maner of working, or anie other deuise of his owne, least (as he said) he might be preuented by some other that would vndertake to do it by his deuises, better cheape than him selfe could afford it, and so he to lose, and other to gaine the benefit of his inuention. Howbeit, in the end he was content to be imploied anie waie, so as therewithall he might haue monie before hand: for Woolwich works did so sticke in his fingers, as monie was verie palpable and plausible vnto him.

Ferdinando Poins.

Poins his groine.

In fine, he vndertooke to make certeine groins or knocks, which at the hauens mouth should cause such a depth, as thereby the whole harborough should lie drie at a low water, whereby the works about the wals might the better and more conueniently bee performed, and the present entrie amended. For it was concluded, that there should bee made a perfect pent within the baie, conteining in quantitie about fiftéene acres, which should be inuironed with a long wall, reaching from aboue the water gate neere to the Castell Raie, extending in length about a hundred and twentie rods alongst within the shelfe of beach, directlie towards the end of the pierre, where the blacke bulworke was placed; and at the end of the said long wall, a crosse wall of length about fortie rods, reaching from that wall directlie crosse to the shore at the northerne cliffe, not far from the townes end. And this should make a perfect pent to conteine and reteine the water of the riuer, which (when the sluse standing in the crosse wall should bee opened) might be of force to make and mainteine a depth for an entrance or hauens mouth for shipping to come into the rode, which lieth betwixt the maine sea and the pent.

The pent 15 acres.

The length of the long wall.

The crosse wall.

The rode for ships.

In this worke there appeared great difficultie, and so much the more, in that (for the most part) the place where the wall should stand, was continuallie surrounded

rounded, and also the sea did euerie tide ouerflow the same, and besides that annoiance, the crosse wall also must crosse the riuer, the course whereof could not be diuerted anie other waie but with extreme charge. The speciall cause whie this harborough was continuallie surrounded, euen at the low water, was for want of a depth at the hauens mouth, which might at an ebbe conueie thense into the sea (more speedilie and abundantlie) all those waters which remained vpon the face of the hauen. To the erection hereof (I saie) the said Ferdinando Poins was appointed, and towards his charge therabouts there was first deliuered vnto him one thousand pounds, by force of a warrant sent by the commissioners for Douer hauen, to Thomas Smith of Ostinhanger esquire, farmer of hir maiesties customes inwards in the ports of London, Sandwich, Chichester, Southhampton, and Ipswich, with their creeks and members, and the creeke of Woodbridge, being a member of the port of Yarmouth, who is neuertheless called by the name of Customer Smith, because in times past his office was by letters patents to collect the said custome, and to yeeld account thereof, as other customers vsuallie do, hauing for his fee one hundred and three score pounds yearelie. Now for that he was so trustie and sufficient a person euerie waie, there was committed vnto his charge the receipt of all such summes of monie as were due, either for the aforesaid tunnage, or for the licence of free transportation of corne and beere, the which summes as need required, were by him to be deliuered to the treasurer for Douer harborough vpon the councels direction, and a warrant of six of the said commissioners hands.

One thousand pounds to Ferdinando Poins.

Customer Smith.

There might be much written in the renowme and commendation of this man, for his great affaires and aduentures, as also for other singular vertues: but for that he yet liueth, and is generallie knowne, it maie with modestie be deferred; yet thus much I haue said of him, for that he was a speciall fauorer and furtherer of these works, neuer making delaie of anie paiment appointed or required, but rather disbursing great summes of monie out of his owne cofers to set forwards the same. After the receipt of this thousand pounds, the said F. Poins had 200 more, as it appeareth in those accounts. Trulie, this Ferdinando Poins applied the works industriouslie, and performed some thing profitablie for the draining of the harborough, by making two groins, whereby there was a depth made at the hauens mouth. But as it is thought, his worke either was or might haue beene performed with lesse than halfe that monie: which if he had done, I would more willinglie haue published his praises. By the premisses it maie appeare, that the life of the hauen consisteth in the pent, and consequentlie in the long wall and crosse wall, without the which no pent could be made, so as wals must be erected. But now the question grew to be how and whereof they should be framed which were to be wrought in the sea, vpon the sand or beach, through a riuer, &c: and the same wall to withstand the violence and rage of the sea at the one side, and to hold and reteine a mightie weight of fresh at the other, so as no water might soke through or vnder the same.

Varietie of deuises.

Maister True (as you haue heard) would haue made stone wals verie costlie, and without limitation of time. Maister Ferdinando Poins would haue raised them with ooze and beach shoueled and cast together without anie more adoo. An other would haue made a coffin dam, wherof the cost would haue beene infinite. Pet and Baker, being skilfull shipwrights, with certeine other copartners, thought a wooden wall most conuenient; and presented to the commissioners a module thereof, deuised and framed (for the most part) by one Andrew a carpentar, then seruant to the said Pet: which deuise maister William Burroughs, a verie expert seaman, exceedinglie liked and commended. Maister True his deuise was reiected as impossible and intollerable. Maister Poins his workemanship was easie for a plaine man of the countrie to conceiue and performe: but verie few could be persuaded that his wall would be tight inough to make a pent, consisting onlie of slob and beach shoueled together, and lieng so howeer: for that was his deuise. Neuertheless, sir William Winter (a man verie skilfull and of great experience in sea matters, being sent to Douer by the lords of hir maiesties priuie councell, with maister William Burroughs and others, to surueie and confer about that hauen with the said commissioners) vnderstanding Ferdinando Poins had delt in the inning of Woolwich & Erith marshes, being also willing to do him good, gaue fauourable eare vnto him, as to one that propounded an easie and a cheape platforme, and not much vnprobable in his opinion, whose desire was to haue it well performed, and with as small charge as might be, for that he was the greatest preferrer of that bill in the parlement house, and yeelded the best reasons for a hauen to be there placed.

Sir W. Winter sent to Douer to surueie the harbor, &c.

At this assemblie were proposed other sundrie mens deuises; namelie, of one Thomas Broker gentleman, John Stoneham carpentar, Bedwell, &c: and among the rest sir Thomas Scot, being a man carefull for the affaires of his countrie, and therewithall verie perspicuous, being wearied with manie fruitlesse conferences, delaies, strange and vntoward deuises, chargeable and vaine attempts, and contrarie procedings; and among other things, hauing had great experience in Romneie marsh matters (the greatest businesse whereof consisteth in making and reparing of wals to defend the same marsh from the inuasion and inundation of the sea) and dailie seeing the nature and effects therof, weieng also in his mind, that Romneie marsh wals are of greater bulke and force than these need to be, for that they lie more open to the maine sea, and without comparison more subiect to the weight and violent rage thereof; and further knowing that the marsh wals are placed not farre from thense vpon that coast, vpon a foundation in all respects like vnto the same, if not worse (for sometimes they build vpon a verie quicke sand, where one maie thrust downe a pole of a dozzen or twentie fot, and not find or feele the bottome) and after he had compared these workes together, perceiuing no impediment whie one rule should not direct two workes of one kind, he conferred with his neighbours of Romneie marsh therein, who allowed and confirmed his deuise, and afterward redilie attended on him to Douer, there to approue his opinion with their reasons and experience; and not so onelie, but also to vndertake and performe what soeuer he had set downe or promised in that behalfe. The residue of the commissioners (hearing and conceiuing sir Thomas Scots reasons, ioined and confirmed with experience not far fetcht, but ratified by neere neighbours, being persons of good account, which were expert from their childhood in the practise of those kind of works) inclined greatlie vnto his motion; and the rather, for that they knew him to be such a one as would not seeke for priuat gaines. Howbeit, they which exhibited the wooden worke, could not well conceiue hereof, nor easilie consent herevnto. And no waie was thought by them more fit to preferre their owne worke, than to make some offer to do it by great, which the lords of the coun-

The wals of Romneie marsh subiect to the raging seas.

All the commissioners come with sir Thomas Scot, and allow his deuise.

cell greatlie desired, as whereby they might vnderstand the vttermost charge and time required for the accomplishing thereof. But the price of the woodden wall grew to be so large (for fiue thousand and fiue hundred pounds was the lowest rate of their demand for the long wall onelie) that it was much misliked. For first there was no likelihood or possibilitie that the same should be set fast and vnmoueable vpon the slub or sleech is fifteene foot deepe at the least, and the maine rocke immediatlie vnderneath it. Secondlie, if the same could be erected, yet it must in short time be so shaken by reason of the weight of the pent water on the one side at low water, and by the violence of the sea on the other side at the flood, that through the vnstedinesse thereof, it could not continue tight. Thirdlie, the nature of the sand and slub was thought to be so different from the condition of woodden boords and planks, whereof this wall was to consist, that though there were no weight or wether that could impech the stedie standing thereof, yet there could be no such firme coniunction betwixt them, but that the verie weight of the wall it selfe must needs cause the same to decline to one side or other, whereby water would draine betwixt, by reason of the thinnesse of the slub or sleech, which could minister no certeine staie thereunto, nor likelihood that the same should so vnite with the wood, as to stand stedie, and to make a perfect pent in that place: but to helpe that matter, they meant to haue shored and braced the said timber wall, in such sort as the same should haue staid the whole worke: yet no bracing could (as the best opinion was) haue preuailed to bring that wall to be good or stedie. Fourthlie, it was thought that such a wall so placed, would be subiect to more than ordinarie decaie, by reason that anie woodworke lieng in water, especiallie when it is sometimes wet and sometimes drie, will in short time rot and disioint: so as if the same could be repaired (whereof there was great doubt made) yet the reparations would be in respect of charge verie intollerable. Fiftlie, the delaie of time herein was also disliked, for two yeares being demanded for the accomplishing of that one wall, no time could be promised. Sixtlie, they being demanded whether they had euer seene (either on this side or beyond the seas) anie such wall or worke; they answered, No: but affirmed it to be in their opinions so probable, as they would aduenture to vndertake it for thirtie pounds the rod, but in what space to finish it they could not saie. Seuenthlie, there was required for the building of this wall 7000 tun of timber, which all Kent and Sussex (without vnrecouerable hurt in depriuation of their timber) was not able to yeeld: and the necessarie carriages for such a prouision could haue beene by no meanes procured, without the vndoing of the inhabitants, and spoile of the countrie. These causes were of force inough to ouerthrow a woodden wall. The deuise neuertheless deserued commendation.

Seuen inuincible reasons against the woodden wall.

These matters thus mentioned were afterwards debated before the lords of the councell, and these reasons with manie others were deliuered vnto their lordships by maister Thomas Digs, the first elected surueior of the works, as from the commissioners. The credit of the parties, who were to vndertake this woodden wall, and their reasons preuailed so much, as diuerse noble and wise men grew to conceiue good liking thereof. But the lord treasuror, whose voice and iudgement in all causes of importance hath in all his time worthilie caried the swaie, allowed rather of the marsh works; saieng that if he erred therein, as not seeing but hearing the matter in question, he would erre with discretion, as led by the reasons of the commissioners; who had

The lord treasurors resolution.

seene and tried the experience of that kind of worke.

Diuerse liked of Poins his worke, or at the least of his communication: partlie (as it is said) for the cheapnesse supposed, though in deed the contrarie fell out in demand: partlie for the expedition promised, which could neuer haue beene performed: partlie for that he was knowne to be a speciall executioner in Woolwich breaches, being workes defensatiue against inuasion of waters, as yet vnaccomplished, though no small charges haue beene therein imploied, for the recouerie of two thousand acres of excellent marsh land, lieng seuen miles from London, in the parishes of Plumsted, Erith, &c: lost by a breach made in the wals there with a tempest, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and thirtie, to the vndoing of manie, but speciallie of sir Edward Boulton knight: partlie also he was hearkened vnto, for that he was reputed to be a good engino; partlie for his experience in forren works, partlie for his resolutenesse: but especiallie, for that he made a shew of more cunning than he would vtter; so as although his deuise for the erection of the wals was finallie reiected; yet was the matter brought to further conference. For he was commended to the lords of his maiesties priuie councell, and namelie to sir Francis Walsingham knight, principall secretarie to his highnesse; to whome was happilie referred the consideration and chiefe direction of all matters concerning these works; wherin he dealt from time to time, with as great care, trauell, and circumspection, as though his owne estate had depended vpon the well proceeding thereof. Whatsoeuer was thought necessarie to be done thereabouts, was alwaies aduertised by the commissioners vnto him, and his opinion and direction required, and he without good conference and probabilitie would enter into no action concerning this matter.

Of Woolwich and Erith breaches.

Secretarie Walsingham the chiefe director and furtherer of Douer hauen.

Now therefore he wrote to sir Thomas Scot, requiring him to send vp some sufficient person, acquainted & exercised in Romnie marsh works, to satisfie the lords of the councell in all such doubts as should be obiected, speciallie by maister Burroughs, who had more liking of the shipwrights maner of worke, than either of the Romnie marsh works exhibited by sir Thomas Scot, or of Plumsted works propounded by Ferdinando Poins. Wherein sir Francis Walsingham shewed maister Digs his defense, & his owne good liking of the earthen wals; onelie requiring, that sir Thomas Scot would throughlie informe himselfe by conference with the marshmen, to answer certeine obiections which he there inclosed, sent downe vnto him in writing, concerning the passage of the long wall, and the distance thereof from the shore, the high and tightnes of the same, the conuenience of the foundation, the manner of stuffe, the time of finishing, the breadth below and at the top, the vndertakers thereof, and of their assurance, &c: and lastlie, that some sufficient person should be sent vp, to confer in these matters. All which points were so answered by sir Thomas Scot, as sir Francis Walsingham was greatlie satisfied thereby. Concerning the doing thereof by great, sir Thomas Scots aduise was, that (seeing it was a princes charge) it might rather be performed by daieworkers and good ouerseers, than by great; wherein no man would aduenture, in respect of the quantitie of the charge and difficultie of the works, without certeintie of great gaines. Neuertheless, if it were so set downe by the lords of the priuie councell, that it should be done no other waie but by great; he himselfe would vndertake it better cheape than anie other had profered to do it by fiue hundred marks, and to that effect would

Maister secretaries letter to sir Thomas Scot.

Questions propounded in Poins and the Plumsted vnit.

No dealing by great, in matters of excessiue charge and danger.

would put in verie good and sufficient assurance. Presentlie after the receipt of those letters, sir Thomas Scot sent to the court a kinsman of his, named Reinold Scot, who had béene deputed a surueior of Romneie marsh by the space of foure yeares togither; and Reinold Smith, who had béene clearke of Romneie marsh, and a continuall dealer about those wals by the space of thirtie years. These two repairing first to Douer, to consider of the earth, which should serue to make the wals of the pent of Douer hauen, and to search where such earth as would serue that turne might most conuenientlie and nérest hand be had, with pasture for horsses which should be imploied for carriage thereof, proceéded to the court at Richmont, where they attended on maister secretarie Walsingham on the mondaie and tuesdaie before Easter daie 1583: and after conference had with him, they deliuered vnto him certeine notes in writing from sir Thomas Scot, conteining necessarie orders, and recounting the charges, businesse, and offices, &c: incident to the erection of these walles, imitating as nére as time, place, and matter would giue leaue, the maner of Romneie marsh works: wherein he remembred or rather required a yéerelie assemblie of commissioners at Douer in Easter wéeke, as is by the lords of Romneie marsh at Whitsuntide, with the election of officers, and set downe the dutie and charge of ech officer, the order of the works, what prouision of stuffe should be made, to wit, of timber, thorne, faggots, néedels, keies, bétels, piles, pasture, earth, with totall sums of all officers fées, of all stuffe and prouision, of all the labourers, and of all the cartages: which estimat was little or nothing differing from the charge as it fell out, sauing that where he set it downe that both walles might be finished in two summers, he accomplished them in one quarter of a yéere, beyond promise or expectation.

Sir Thomas Scots notes.

Douer pent finished in three moneths.

Maister secretarie Walsingham (hauing perused these notes, & séene the maner of the works & rates set downe therein) liked verie well thereof: howbe it, he strictlie examined the parties aforesaid, how those works could be performed at so low prices, and especiallie, how so manie courts could be prouided without commission, or griefe to the countrie, euerie court hauing a horsse and a diner, and all for twelue pence a day, in a place where pastures are for the most part barren, and hard to be gotten: and both that and all other things, but especiallie victels extreame déere. But being satisfied herein by the said Reinold Scot & Reinold Smith, he thought good neuertheless to send them two, accompanied with Thomas Digs esquier, and William Burroughs gentleman, to confer with sir William Winter, the said Ferdinando Poins, & the Plumsted men, which were workemen in Woolwich and Erith breaches, who propounded to the said workemen certeine questions at the house of sir William Winter at Tower hill. Wherein they were demanded amongst other things, whether they euer had heretofore made anie wals, whereby water hath béene pent to anie highth, and vpon what foundation or soile they were set, and of what substance their wals were made, and whether they could remedie such wals if they leaked, or could worke in water: and finallie, what they would aske for a rod doing, and what suerties they could put in for the tightnesse of their worke.

Reinold Scot and Rafe Smith examined by maister secretarie about the wals of the pent.

Questions propounded to Poins and the Plumsted men.

Ferdinando Poins and his Plumsted men answered verie comfortablie to euerie question, they séemed ignorant in nothing, and promised to performe whatsoeuer was required, sauing assurance. But they knew not the order of Romneie marsh works, neither could they possiblie haue accomplished this: for they were onelie good dikers and hodmen, which arts were little pertinent hereunto. Maister secretarie being aduertised how Ferdinando Poins and his pioners of Plumsted shewed themselues in this conference, wherein neither their owne disabilitie, nor the difficultie of the worke by themselues was anie thing at all doubted of, thought it not amis to aduertise the residue of the lords of the councell thereof: so as if those works might in such wise be by anie thought possible to be performed, then might the marsh works with much more assurance be trusted vnto; and that did maister Burroughs now verie well conceiue and note: neuertheless, it was thought expedient by their lordships, that Poins and his workemen should repaire to Douer to a finall conference in those matters; who perchance might be somewaie at the least imploied in those businesses. And therefore maister secretarie sent down to sir Thomas Scot, that their lordships had receiued the resolution he grew vnto, vpon conference with the marshmen of Romneie, touching the proceéding in the plot of Douer hauen, and had both well considered & allowed of the same; and that their lordships also had appointed, that on the tuesdaie after Easter wéeke, maister Burroughs and maister Poins, with certeine marshmen of Plumsted, should be sent downe to méet and confer further with him about the going forwards with the same plot at Douer: at which time such order might be taken and agréed on among the commissioners, for the making of all necessarie prouisions for the same, as should be thought most expedient.

Sir Thomas Scots deuise allowed by the lords of the councell.

On the ninth daie of Aprill next insuing, the parties aboue specified came to Douer accordinglie, where all the commissioners for that harborough met them, who hauing receiued letters from the lords of the councell to set downe a finall resolution; after long debating of matters, agréed that Romneie marshmen should vndertake the worke; and for the better and more spéedie proceéding therein, the commissioners made election of all necessarie officers, and rated their wages in this sort. The treasuror, which was sir James Hales knight, to haue for euerie fiftie pounds receiued and disbursed, sir shillings eight pence, and for his clearke fiue pounds yearelie. John Smith the expenditor twentie pounds yearelie, his clearke fiue pounds yearelie. The common clearke twentie marks, and each sworne man during his attendance eight pence a daie. The generall surueior (that is to saie) maister Digs esquier twentie marks yearelie, which he gaue to Alexander Hindge his deputie.

The resolution at a conference at Douer.

Officers elected at Douer.

It was there also ordered, that the deputies surueior, the expenditor, and clearke, should take present order for the inlarging of the waies for carriages to passe; for thorne, fagot, bétels, nædels, keies, piles, bauin, and carriages for them, before Whitsuntide following. These things were committed to their charge; but they were afterwards eased by purueiors appointed for those and other purposes; they hauing more to do otherwise than they could well ouercome. Hauing now discouered the first & second estate of Douer harborough, euerie mans deuise for the amending or rather erecting of a new hauen in that place, with declaration of hir maiesties bountie, and the care of the whole state iointlie and seuerallie in that behalfe: I am to make description of the things performed, and of the manner of the execution thereof, in which thing consisted the difficultie, and (as some thought) the impossibilitie of this enterprise.

First therefore you are to vnderstand, that before a hauen could be there erected, there must be made a pent, to conteine abundance of water issuing

ing from the land, which being let out at a sluse, should open & maintein the hauens mouth; the violence whereof should scowre it so, as neither beach, sand, nor slub might there remaine. The working of these wals in the sea and thorough the chanell, was the great thing to be brought to passe, as hath bene before said. The discouerie therefore of these workes will not be vnprofitable to posteritie, nor vnnecessarie for the time present. Herein I will omit all contentions & factions concerning these proceedings, as also all iniurious practises against those works, whense soeuer they sprang: but I would gladlie giue to euerie one his due commendation, which cannot be done; because therein I should grow to long. I thought met also to omit a controuersie rising about the placing of the hauens mouth, excellentlie disputed betwixt persons of good acount.

The commoditie of the pent.

The question was, whether were most conuenient a more readie and spedie entrance in times of danger, when contrarie winds permitted no entrie or abode in anie harbourough, though this entrance were somewhat more shallow, whereby the greatest ships in those cases should be excluded: or a deeper hauens mouth in an other place more conuenient for great ships, with a more calme ingresse, and a quieter rode, the hauens mouth somewhat more easterlie, and therefore not so good to enter into at a southwest wind, which distresseth men most in those seas: wherein (I saie) I forbeare to repeat the arguments of ech side, and the circumstance of that matter (being now decided and ouerruled) in such sort as I doo the works of the pent, the description whereof maie be profitable to all that shall haue to doo either in hauens or great water breaches. For both plumsted & Erith marshes, or anie like breaches by this means doubtlesse maie easilie and most assuredlie be recouered. In the declaration hereof also, the parties which haue deserued commendation or consideration maie perhaps in some sort haue a kind of recompense: for other reward was not looked after, or sought for by the best executioners hereof, sith the better sort imploied their trauell with great charges, the meaner sort their readie furtherance to their power, the poore people their labor at a small rate to the preferring and performance of this worke; and all with such forwardnesse and willingnes of mind, as the like hath not beene knowne or seene in this age: the beholding whereof would haue amazed anie man vnacquainted with Romeneie marsh workes, from whense the patterne hereof was fetcht, and the officers and chiefe workemen thereof brought by sir Thomas Scot to Douer. These works were digested and ordered by them, euen as a battell is marshalled by officers of the feeld. And trulie it was expedient that good direction should be vsed in this behalfe, for there were to be imploied fiue or sir hundred courts about a wall of small bredth at one instant, none to be idle or hindered by an other, for the staie of one court a verie little space might be to the works an incredible hinderance.

Woolwich breach recouerable.

Euerie degree willing to set forward this worke.

Six hundred courts imploied at once in these works.

The nature and names of the offices and officers hereunto perteining you haue alreadie heard. For as they were at the first set downe by sir Thomas Scot, so in all respects was it ordered and concluded in that behalfe; sauing that because these works were so great, and required such expedition, as the expenditor was ouercharged with busines, though an expert man trained vp in Romneie marsh in those affaires, trustie, diligent, and euerie waie sufficient: vnto whose office naturallie belonged the purueiance of all necessaries, anie waie apperteining to the maintenance of the wals. There was appointed by the commissioners (as chiefe purueior) a gentleman of good sufficiencie named John Reies, by whose countenance and discreet dealing men were brought to yeeld willinglie anie of their commodities towards the helpe and furtherance of these proceedings for their iust values, which was dulie answered vnto them, so as no man was seene to complaine of anie iniurie or hard dealing. But when the works, or rather the workers grew to be greater and more in number than was expected, (which came to passe by reason of the multitude of courts and workemen, who proffered their seruice so fast, as from the rate of two hundred, which was at the first set downe, they increased to six hundred) all pastures neere the towne being imploied that waie, manie men were content to make their owne prouision, conditionallie to be admitted into the works, insomuch as some hired pasture for their working horsses seuen or eight miles from Douer, and neuertheless came to worke with the first, and continued the whole daie with them that wrought longest. For they came at six of the clocke in the morning, and departed at six of the clocke at night, except extraordinarie causes in preuenting inconueniences of great and fowle tides caused them to worke longer. Diuerse brought thither courts from beside Maidstone and Seuenocke, being thirtie or fortie miles from Douer; and in the end the officers were driuen to put backe and refuse such as made suite to bring courts into the works: and yet had they for their horsse, their court, and their driuer but onelie twelue pence a daie. Which because it seemeth incredible, I thought good to discouer and vnfold to the reader in such sort, as he might be resolued and satisfied in the certeintie thereof, and throughlie conceiue not onelie the possibilitie but also the reason of it.

John Reies gentleman chiefe purueior.

A horsse, a court, and a driuer for twelue pence the daie.

First therefore the time of yeare when that worke was to be done must be considered, which was intended, and by proclamations in certeine market towns notified to haue had beginning the thirteenth of Maie (when in those parts barleie season is ended) and from that time till haruest or haieng time little is to be done in husbandrie; and assone as haruest should begin, their purpose was to leaue this worke vntill the yere following. So as in this meane time, that is to saie, from Aprill till haruest, the seruants, & speciallie the cattell of farmers are rather chargeable than anie waie gainefull vnto them, and therefore at such a time to raise profit by them is double aduantage. Neuertheless, he that should make his best commoditie herein, was to looke circumspectlie into the matter, and then might he see that it was requisit to haue two courts: for one bote might driue them both, because whilest the one was driuen, the other was filled, & the same being vnloden or discharged, he went for the other, leauing that to be filled. This filler was a labourer allowed to euerie man which had two courts, for whome the owner of the two courts had ten pence the daie: so as he had for his filler, his driuer, his two horsses, and his two courts two shillings and ten pence the daie, which amounteth to seuentéene shillings the weeke. He paied out of the same for the bord of his filler and driuer six shillings weekelie, and so had the owner of cléere weekelie gaine for his two seruants and two horsses nine shillings, which must all this while haue lien at his charge.

John Smith the expenditor.

There were among this number certeine double courts, which had double wages; because they were furnished with two horsses in a court, being double in quantitie to the rest, and were speciallie imploied about the cartage of fleech, a more weightie mould than either the chalke or the earth. A single court conteined in length fiue foot, in bredth two foot, and in depth sixteene inches: wherevnto the expenditor looked

The quantitie of one court or tumbrell.

lowed verie narrowlie, as also to the sufficiencie and diligence of euerie workeman and horse, so as vpon euerie default their wages was totted and defalked, or the offendors excluded from the works, or some times punished with stocks and other imprisonment.

The first entrie into the works.

An entrance into this worke was made in the beginning of Maie, one thousand fiue hundred foure score and three, in the fiue and twentith yeare of his maiesties reigne, with six courts onelie at the crosse wall; & such was the towardlines thereof, as yelded so great a hope & promise of good successe, that from that date forward there were continuallie cariages brought (at the rate before set downe) beyond all expectation: in so much as by the 27 of June, there were assembled in those works 542 courts, and almost 1000 workemen. And truelie, there consisted so great difficultie in marshalling this multitude (for all were to worke at once, none might staie for other, or be impediment to others worke) as without the paterne of former experience the worke could hardlie haue bene performed.

Romneie marshmen cheefe directors in the works.

Herein Richard Toall and William Morris iurats, and the aforenamed Reginald Smith clearke of Romneie marsh were cheefe directors, and as it were marshals, as hauing dailie experience in the like works. For in Romneie marsh there are euerie yeare commonlie imploted at one time about making or mending of some one wall 200 courts at the least, in each court for the most part being two oxen, for whome the owners hire feeding in the marsh, as they can agree with the landholders, and yet haue had hitherto for their court and diner but ten pence the date. And this togither with their manner of working would be wonderfull, famous, and much spoken of throughout England, if the continuance of so manie hundred yeares exercise thereof had not qualified the strangenesse and admiration of it. For here (though at Douer it could not be so, because they wrought altogither with horsbeasts) the nights feeding preuaileth so much ouer the daies working, that bullocks brought to those works leane and out of flesh, are returned from the works most commonlie in verie good plight.

A horsse, a court, and a diner by tweine penie the date.

A benefit to man & beast.

The stuffe or substance of the wals.

The stuffe carried by these courts for the erection of the walles at Douer, was earth, being of a haselie mould, chalke and sleech, whereunto the carriages were seuerallie imploid, the most number for earth, whereof the greatest part of the wall consisted; the second for chalke, which mingled and beaten togither with the earth, did make the same more firme, and was placed in the midst of the wall; the smallest number for sleech, which serued for the out sides onlie.

The disposing of the works.

For the same being beaten with beetles to the sides of the wall, would by and by cleaue so fast and close therevnto, as thereby the wals were strengthened; and therevpon also the arming might be set much more firmelie than vpon anie other mould. This also preserued the wall from annoiance by rage of waters, almost as well as if they were otherwise armed with thorne and faggot.

Henrie Guilford esquier, capteine of Arcliffe castell.

There was prouided neere to the castell called Arcliffe (whereof Henrie Guilford esquier, being one that toke especiall care and paines in setting forward that businesse, was then capiteine) two acres and a halfe of ground for the prouision of earth for the walles: which ground was distant from the crosse wall about twentie score tailors yards, and for the same the owner had ten pounds, and the soile remaining to himselfe, which in short time will recouer to be as good as euer it was. At an other place also called Horsepole sole, lieng behind S. James his church, was more earth prouided, which was altogither imploted vpon the long wall, as being neerer therevnto. Hereof euerie court brought commonlie to the walles in one daie about twelue lodes. The chalke was had from diuerse places of the cliffes, somwhat neerer to the wals than the earth, and these brought about seauentene or eightene lode a date. The sleech was for the most part had at the west part of the hauen in a place called Paradise. And to these seuerall sorts of stuffe were seuerall cariages appointed and disposed, as might most conuenientlie serue the turne, and as occasion serued; for somtimes more and sometimes lesse of each sort of mould was necessarilie imploied. Somtimes also the sleech was had close at the side of the wals, and therefore fewer cariages imploied that waie.

The ouze or sleech was twentie foot deepe at the least.

Now to make a perfect triall of the worke before the date limited that all the courts should come in, there was an experiment of great importance performed, which was the making of a baie head, & therby a pent to keepe the water in or out of a peece of the hauen called Little paradise, which place containeth about three acres and a halfe of ground in great depth, wherein there riseth manie springs. And in the place where this wall or baie head should be made, the ouze & sleech was twentie foot deepe at the least. Herin also was laid first a pinstocke, and afterwards a sluse of great charge, the streame whereof meeting with the course of the great sluse increaseth the force thereof to the benefit of the hauens mouth.

The beginning of the great works at Douer.

On the thirteenth date of Maie, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand fiue hundred eightie and three, when the courts, which (by proclamations made one moneth before in diuerse market townes) were to come to begin the works, there were more of them prepared and readie furnished for the purpose than were expected. Howbeit, the same was brought to passe by the meanes of sir Thomas Scot and other of the commissioners, who brought both their owne and their neighbors carriages, persuading all whom they thought able and meet, to set forward, and giue incouragement to the execution of these works. But Romneie marshmen, and such as knew those works, were they indeed which onlie gaue light to others of the true right maner of working, and of the commoditie insuing hereby; & they in effect supplied those works, vntill the countrie did see which waie to saue themselues, and make profit thereof. But such was the multitude alreadie assembled, that (to auoid the difficultie and confusion of so manie courts working togither at the beginning, and to do the better and greater seruice afterwards) the whole course was altered by sir Thomas Scot, by whome it was thought most meet to enter into the execution of both walles (to wit, the long wall and crosse wall) togither, & to diuide the courts into two parts: with whome the said Richard Barrie esquier lieutenant of Douer castell willinglie ioined, vndertaking the charge or ouersight of the long wall, as sir Thomas Scot did of the crosse wall; and by that meanes all the workmen & courts did with much more conuenience and speed accomplish their worke.

Reasons for the difficultie of the crosse wall.

The crosse wall was of more importance, and the difficultie to make it was greater than of the long wall, for manie respects. First, for that the crosse wall standeth neerer to the maine sea than the long wall, and by that meanes this worke more violentlie impugned, and sooner interrupted than that of the long wall. Secondlie, they carried the crosse wall through the chanell (a thing verie strange and difficult) and so did they not the long wall. Thirdlie, the ouze and sleech was deeper vnder the crosse wall than vnder the long wall. Fourthlie, the crosse wall was to be made deeper or higher, and broder or wider than the long wall. Fiftlie, the tide was to hinder this worke, by approching sooner, by rising higher,

The quantitie of one court is vnmeet.

er, and by more violent raging than it did at the other. Sirtlie, the weight of the pent water was to lie altogither vpon this wall, and consequentlie the water would search thereinto more dangerouslie. Seuenthlie, in this wall there was a sluse to be laid, which without great circumspection would haue indangered the whole worke. Adde vnto these, that the crosse wall was more suddenlie vndertaken, & of more importance. For vnder fiftéene thousand pounds none euer made offer to do it before this time: for the first purpose was to begin with the long wall onlie, or rather a péece thereof, as a worke sufficient to be performed in one summer.

Now if the long wall was thought a worke so difficult, dangerous, costlie, and tedious, what may be thought of the crosse wall? Trulie, had not the other commissioners béene comforted herein by sir Thomas Scot, the impossibilitie presupposed would haue discouraged and ouerthrowne the whole enterprise. But he with good comfort and confidence entred vpon the crosse wall, and maister lieutenant on the long wall: insomuch as the one was called sir Thomas Scots wall, the other maister lieutenants wall. And certeinlie, they might well so be termed, in respect of the paines, care, and costs imploied vpon them by those two gentlemen. Sir Thomas Scot dwelt twelue long Kentish miles from Douer, yet did he seldome faile to come from his house to the beginning of the worke euerie mondaie morning while the walles were in hand; and from that daie vntill saturdaie in the euening, when he returned home. He lightlie came first to the walles, and departed with the last: and it behoued him so to do, in as much as by his meanes onelie this manner of worke was vndertaken, and all other deuises reiected. He laie in one John Spritwels house, who kept an inne in Doner, called the Greihound, and there did he and his followers and seruants, togither with maister lieutenant and his companie receiue their diet at a déere hand. For although the castell stand within a quarter of a mile of the worke, and as nére to the towne; yet was the lieutenants industrie and charge such, as he or his seruants did neuer lightlie returne home from fiue of the clocke in the morning till after supper; but remained alwaies there with sir Thomas Scot, in continuall businesse & extreme charge, not onelie in respect of their owne table, but also in regard of strangers, who came to sée them and the workes, whose charges they commonlie defraied. Besides that, they did (not seldome times) bestow rewards bountifullie vpon the poore workmen, who vpon sundrie occasions were driuen to worke longer than the rest, and with more difficultie; for some at some times wrought in danger of life, & ofttimes in the waters vp to the wast or shoulders. And among the rest (to whome I could rather wish a liberall recompense than a due praise) there was in these workes a poore man named John Bowle, borne and brought vp in Romneie marsh, whose derteritie of hand, fine and excellent inuentions in executing difficult workes, and whose willing mind and painfulnesse for his owne part, with furthering and incouraging of others, ought in some calling to haue béene honored, and in his poore estate should not be forgotten. As touching the residue of the commissioners, they for their parts (if they were in health) did almost dailie visit the workes, with as great care for the good procéedings thereof as was possible.

This worke vndertaken and other reiected by sir Thomas Scots means.

Bowle a notable good workman.

Commissioners.

Sir James Hales was this yeare chosen by the generall voice and consent of the commissioners, and with the good allowance of the lords of the councell, treasuror for the workes (as sir Thomas Scot was the two yeares precedent) and did not onelie discharge the office and dutie thereof with commendation and iust account, which amounted almost to fiue thousand pounds: but beside his often repaire at other times during the works, he did continue there by the space of one whole month, while sir Thomas Scot (by meanes of a sickenesse taken vpon the wals) was absent, and all that time kept a bountifull table, and vsed great diligence, in continuall ouersight and furtherance of the works, whereof Thomas Digs esquier was generall surueior commended thervnto by the lords of the councell, who although he made his chiefe abode then at London, yet did he often repaire to the works, and seriouslie bent himselfe to set forward the same there, being also a carefull sollicitor in that behalfe. Certeine of the iurats & chiefe magistrats of the towne, were by two at once dailie alligned to be directors and setters forth of the carriages, and to sée the courts well filled: these also did refuse their allowance, being eight pence the daie, and did neuertheless verie diligentlie attend vpon their charge: their names were John Watson, John Garret, William Willis, Thomas Brodgat, &c.

Treasuror.

Two iurats called directors.

There were eight men called guiders standing at eight seuerall stations, or places of most danger, to guide and helpe the driuers distressed or troubled with their cattell or courts, and to hasten them forward: for the default of one did make staie of the whole companie, and these had eight pence the daie.

Eight guiders

There attended also at the wals eight men called vntingers, to lose and vndo the tackle of euerie court immediatlie before the vnloding or shelving thereof, and were allowed eight pence the daie. Then were there eight shelvers, which pulled downe the courts as soone as they came to the place where it was needfull to vnlode, and these were chosen of the strongest and nimblest men, hauing ten pence the daie. There were also eight tingers, whose speciall office was to lift vp the courts immediatlie after they were vnloden, and to make fast their tackle; for the driuers hasted forth without making anie staie, otherwise all the companie must haue tarried for them; these had eight pence the daie. The number of the laborers which were to shouell abrode and laie euen the earth, chalke, and fléech, as soone as it was vnloden was vncerteine, they had six pence and eight pence the daie. A great manie marshmen were assigned to laie the fléech vpon the sides of the wals, and were called scauelmen, and had twelue pence the daie. The number of bétlemen also were vncerteine, who serued to beat or driue the fléech to the sides of the wals, and to breake the great stones of chalke laid on the wals; as also to leuell the earth, and to worke it close together, hauing for their wages eight pence the daie. Manie marshmen also were appointed to arme the sides of the wals, after they were fléeched, & had twelue pence, and some sixtéene pence the daie.

Eight vntingers.

Eight shelvers.

Labourers.

Scauelmen.

Bétlemen.

Armors.

The order of arming was in this maner. First beginning at the foot of the wall, they laid downe a row of fagot, through euerie one of the which they driue a nédle or stake about foure foot long, hauing an eie or hole at the great end. Then do they edder it with thorne and other prouision for that purpose, and lastlie driue a keie or wodden wedge (being one foot and a halfe long) through the eie of the nédle to kéepe downe the edder, which staith downe the fagot. Also there was an inferiour purueior for fagot, thorne, nédles, keies, &c: who for his horse & himselfe was allowed for euerie daie he trauelled two shillings. The clerke of the works, who kept all the reckonings of the expenditor (through whose hands all the monie passed) he at fiue a clocke in the morning, togither with the expenditor, called euerie one that wrought

The order of arming.

Inferior purueiors.

Clerke.

Expenditor.

that

that daie, and saw euerie court furnished, and recorded all this in his booke, and such as were absent, had no allowance that daie: if they came late, their wages was totted at the erpenditors good discretion.

The groins keeper.

There was one Juline appointed to attend vpon Poins his groins, he was a Dutchman, and more expert in those kind of water workes than Poins himselfe, his wages was first (I meane in Poins his time) two shillings a daie, afterwards (to wit) whilest these workes were in hand, and better husbandrie was vsed, he had but foure grotes a daie. And thus much touching the offices and officers duties.

The maner of the wall worke.

Euerie court was most commonlie filled ouer night, and in the morning at six of the clocke they all approched orderlie to the place where the wall should be made. The first driuer for good consideration was chosen to be a sufficient and a diligent person, and that court to haue a good gelding: for as he lead the danse, so must they all follow. When the first court came nigh to the place where he should vnlode, one vntinged it, and the driuer proceeded with his court, either into the ouze or water, or as neere therevnto as they could; and bringing his horsse about in his returne, when the taile of the court was turned to the water side, the shelues plucked downe the lode, as far into the chanell as he could. The driuer neuer staied, but went forth for a new lode: the tinger runneth after and pulleth vp the court, and fasteneth the tackle, and goeth presentlie with speed to do likewise to another; and so doth the vntinger. When the whole course of courts (being about two hundred) were vnloden, the labourers with their shouels and beetels plied to make euen the wall against another course came.

Sometimes they wrought a whole daie or two, and laid downe manie thousand lodes of earth and chalke, and no increase seene at night of the worke, either in higth or length; in so much as manie supposed that the earth was rather washed awaie than sunke. And in truth, some part thereof was carried awaie with the flood in a rough tide; for all the water in the hauen was manie times discoloured therewith; especiallie, vntill sir Thomas Scot tooke order, that before euerie flood, not onelie each side of the wall, but the end also should be armed with fagot; & in the morning or after none (when returne was made to the works) the end where they were to proceed, should be vnarmed againe: which needed not be done to the sides, for they carried the whole breadth of the wall with them. But in truth, the weight of the wall, with the continuall passage thervpon, made the whole worke to sinke to the verie rocke; being from the top of the chanell sixteene foot, and from the face of the water at the flood, almost as much more. But in the end, it was a wonder to see how the multitude of carriages (being well plied) prevailed, euen ouer the flood: which though it rose exceeding fast, and was come to the verie brinke or vppermost lane of the wall, a new course of courts came from time to time and supplied the want; which if it should haue staied a minut longer, would haue turned to great losse: for they could haue wrought no longer that tide.

How the wall was saued from being washed.

In this maner they proceeded, vntill there was made of the crosse wall about fiue and twentie rods, which they wrought alwaies (as they went) aboue the high water marke (otherwise it could neuer haue beene performed) and so they passed through the chanell or riuer, and carted the wall beyond the same three or foure rods, so as the backe water or chanell had no issue to passe downe into the sea; but as it rose aboue the flats, and ran awaie before the end of the wall; whense they continuallie droue it further and further by lengthening the same. Howbeit, by this meanes they wrought alwaies in the water, which was verie discommodious. This riuer therefore manie men would haue had turned some other waie; otherwise it was thought, that this wall could not haue beene made, the turning whereof would haue beene diuerse waies inconuenient. First, for the extreame charge; secondlie, the hauens mouth would (for want hereof) haue soone beene swarued vp; thirdlie, Poins his worke, which cost one thousand & two hundred pounds, should haue bin hereby frustrated; fourthlie, the hauen (all that time) and all passage vnto Douer had beene vtterlie taken awaie, to the great hinderance and vndoing of the townsmen there. But sir Thomas Scot, who imploied his head and mind to seeke all aduantages for the setting forward of this worke, and had conceiued a perfect plot for the finishing of the same, caused a cut to be made in the wall, and a small sluse to be laid in the verie place where the chanell did first run, which serued (for the time) not onelie to giue naturall passage to the riuer, and to mainteine the hauens mouth: but as a bridge also for the courts to passe ouer the water, to the further end of the wall; which now by this meanes remained drie and free from water vntill the flood, to the great aduantage and commoditie of the worke.

The inconuenience which would haue followed the diuerting of the riuer another waie.

A sluse made for diuerse good purposes.

This sluse was composed with two arches, in length sixtie foot (besides the splaies) at each end, in breadth eight foot, and in depth also eight foot, and the charge thereof amounted not to aboue one hundred marks. In truth, the laieng of this sluse was a verie dangerous and difficult peece of worke, and the executioners thereof worthie of commendation, for with great courage to do their countrie seruice they aduentured their liues in more perill than I can well expresse. Manie were astonied to behold the dangerous case of the workemen, and diuerse departed from the place as being loth to see the poore mens destruction. Wherein the said Reginald Smith, and the Romnele marshmen dealt with great dexteritie and courage; when all other almost had giuen it ouer, persisting in continuall and extreame trauell thereabouts, by the space of two daies and one night without intermission.

A difficult and dangerous worke.

After the cut was digged thorough the wall, the sluse was laid by peecemeale, at the direction of him and the foresaid Richard Coast, William Norris, and John Bowle, whose hands were as busie also as anie others in the doing thereof. And as they were trauelling hereabouts, the weight of the wall it selfe, with the earth cast out of the trench therevnto, and the multitude of the beholders standing thereon, made a clift or crase therein, consisting of manie hundred lodes of earth, which declined towards the cut where they wrought to late the sluse, and was redie to fall vpon them all, so as they were faine to sustaine the side therof with shores which they supported chéefelie with their owne force. Which if they had not done with great art & labour, by the space of diuerse hours together, the wall had fallen into the place where the sluse should haue beene laid, to the destruction of sundrie people, and to the discomfort of manie belonging to the works. But these marshmen neuer gaue ouer, till euerie sticke there of was laid, at what time ech man reioised that meant well to the works, and diuerse bestowed rewards vpon the workemen, and praise was giuen to God for his fauour shewed in that behalfe.

This worke being thus performed, the courts (which during that time were altogither set to worke at maister lieutenants wall) did now diuide themselues againe, and returne to worke as before at sir Thomas Scots wall, and at euerie side wrought

with

Gods blessing and fauour showed to the workes of Douer.

with singular diligence & great facilitie. And God so fauored those works, as there were not lost in all that summer by meanes of foule wether aboue three daies and a halfe, wherein either courts or labourers were put from their worke, and in all those businesse not one person slaine, and yet almost in euerie action belonging thereunto there was imminent danger, as first you heard in the laieng of the fluse. And manie times in digging of chalke, they stood in the cliffe and undermined it, so as sometimes an hundred lode fell downe at once from vnder their feet, and sometimes from aboue their heads; and yet through Gods goodnes, & their diligent care, all escaped without hurt: sauing two persons, vpon whom great chalke rocks & much abundance of earth did fall, and yet were recouered without losse of life or of lim. In the passage also of the courts, if (by chance) either man or boie had fallen downe amongest them (as sometimes some did) the hill was so steepe at some places, and the court was so swift, that there could be no staie made, but the courts must run ouer them, and yet no great harme hath happened that waie. And I my selfe haue seene a court loden with earth passe ouer the belite or stomach of the driuer, and yet he not hurt at all therby. Manie courts also being vnloden (for expedition) were driuen at low waters through the chanell, within the pent, from maister lieutenants wall, whereby they gained more than halfe the waie: and so long as by anie possibilitie they might passe that waie, they were loth to go about. And when the flood came, the chanell did so suddenlie swell, as manie horses with their courts and driuers which rode in them were ouertaken, or rather ouerwhelmed with water, and were forced to swim, with great hazard of life, though therat some take pleasure. For sometimes the boies would strip themselues naked, and ride in that case in their courts through the chanell, being so high, as they were ducked ouer head and eares: but they knew their horses would swim and carrie them through the streame, which ministred to some occasion of laughter and mirth. Finallie, this summer, being in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred eightie and three, was verie hot and contagious, & the infection of the plague that yeare more vniuersallie dispersed through England than in manie yeares before, and that towne verie much subiect thereunto, by meanes of throughfare and common passage, and had bene extremelie visited therewith not long before, so as the towne was abandoned of most men; yea of some of the inhabitants themselues for that cause: and yet God blessed so the works, as in this extraordinarie and populous assemblie, there was in no part of the towne anie death or infection either of townsmen or workmen, which resorted thither from all the parts of England.

Dangers happilie escaped.

Boies plaie.

And one thing more in mine opinion is to be noted and commended herein, that is to saie, that in all this time, and among all these people, there was neuer anie tumult, fraie, nor falling out, to the disquieting or disturbance of the works, which by that meanes were the better applied, and with lesse interruption. For they neuer ceased working the whole daie, sauing that at eleuen of the clocke before noone, as also at six of the clocke in the euening, there was a flag vsuallie held vp by the sargent of the towne, in the top of a tower, except the tide or extraordinarie businesse forced the officers to preuent the houre, or to make some small delaie & staie therof. And presentlie vpon the signe giuen, there was a generall shout made by all the workers: and whersoeuer anie court was at that instant either emptie or loden, there was it left, till one of the clocke after noone or six of the clocke in the morning, when they returned to their businesse. But by the space of halfe an houre before the flag of libertie was hanged out, all the court driuers entered into a song, whereof although the ditie was barbarous, and the note rusticall, the matter of no moment, & all but a iest: yet is it not vnworthie of some briefe note of remembrance; because the tune or rather the noise thereof was extraordinarie, and (being deliuered with the continuall voice of such a multitude) was verie strange. In this and some other respect, I will set downe their ditie, the words whereof were these:

The flag of libertie.

O Harrie hold vp thy hat, t'is eleuen* a clocke,
and a little, little, little, little past:
My bow is broke, I would vnyoke,
my foot is sore, I can worke no more.

*Or six.

This song was made and set in Romneie marsh, where their best making is making of wals and dikes, and their best setting is to set a needle or a stake in a hedge: howbeit this is a more ciuill call than the brutish call at the theatre for the comming awaie of the plaiers to the stage. I thinke there was neuer worke attempted with more desire, nor proceeded in with more contentment, nor executed with greater trauell of workemen, or diligence of officers, nor prouided for with more carefulnesse of commissioners, nor with truer accounts or duer paie, nor contriued with more circumspection of the deuisers and vndertakers of the worke, nor ended with more commendation or comfort: sauing that vpon the seuen & twentith of Julie, being S. James his daie, the verie daie when the crosse wall and the long wall met, and were ioined together, and in effect finished (for both wals were brought aboue the high water marke, and nothing remained to be done of the same but highthening, which might be done at anie time after) sir Thomas Scot the principall piller of that worke fell sicke vpon the wals, and was conueied thense in a wagon to his house, where he remained six weeks, more likelie to die than to liue, whose ladie and wife (being a most vertuous and noble matrone, & a liuelie paterne of womanhood and sobrietie, the daughter of sir John Baker knight, and the mother of seuentene children) vsed such diligent attendance and continuall care for hir husbands recouerie of helth, as thereby she brought hir selfe into so weake state of bodie, as being great with two children, she fell sicke; and after hir vntimelie trauell, being deliuered of a sonne and a daughter, she ended hir mortall life.

Commendation of them which wrought or had anie charge about Douer works.

Sir Thomas Scot fell sicke in Douer works.

The death of the ladie Scot.

This sickenesse of sir Thomas Scot, and that which fell out thereupon, was no small discomfiture to him and all his. And the workmen at Douer made such mone for his sickenesse, and also for his absence, that euerie street was replenished with sorrow and greefe; and the people would be comforted with nothing more, nor anie waie be better incouraged to worke lustilie, than to be told that sir Thomas Scot was well recouered, and would shortlie be amongst them againe. And in truth, they translated their barbarous musicke into a sorrowfull song, and in steed of calling to Harrie for their dinner, they called to God for the good health and returne of their best frend sir Thomas Scot, and that with a generall and continuall outcrie, euen in their old accustomed tune & time. But the courts proceeded in highthening the wals, vntill they were raised about two foot higher than they were on S. James his daie, when the wals met together; so as the crosse wall is ninetie foot broad in the bottome, and about fiftie foot in the top. The long wall is seuentie foot in the bottome, and almost fortie foot in the top, in so much as vpon either wall two courts may meet and passe, or turne without troubling each other. The length of the crosse

The breadth, depth, length, and charge of the long and crosse wall, with the arming, &c.

crosse wall is fortie rods, the length of the long wall a hundred and twentie rods. The charge of these two wals, with the appurtenances, amounted to two thousand and seauen hundred pounds, as appeareth in the expenditors books. If there were anie issue or drayning of water vnder the wals, it was soone stopped by the peise of the wall it selfe, which neuer left sinking till it came to the foundation of the rocke, except (by some ouersight of the workemen) some part thereof were set vpon the beach, which should by order haue beene first remoued, & in that case they benched it, digging a trench at the fot of that part of the wall, and filling the same with earth, they made it verie tight, and so might anie such place be perfected and amended if need should require. But at this houre there leaketh not a drop of water vnder or through anie part of the wall that anie man maie perceiue or see: so as a full pent shrinketh not anie whit at all betwixt tide and tide, whereas the allowance of one fot leakage or fall at the least was required of them, which exhibited the plot of the woodden wall, which being measured from the top or face of the high pent diminisheth almost one quarter thereof. And thus betwixt the first of Maie and midst of August, this pent, which was thought vnpossible to be done in three yeares, was perfectlie finished in lesse than three months, and remaineth in so good and sure state, as the longer it standeth, the better and tighter it will be.

A necessarie remedie if water draine vnder the wall

Expedition necessarie and profitable.

The state of the wals.

If neuer anie thing should be added hereunto, this pent (by reason of the abundance of water reteined therein, and issuing out of the sluse) would mainteine a good hauen in that place: for the violent course therof will alwaies open the hauens mouth, and make a fret there, euen downe to the rocke, although it be distant from the same three score rods; in somuch as at this instant there maie come in at quarter sloud a barke of fortie or fiftie tun, and at full sea a ship of three hundred tun and vpwards. But when the two tuttie heads are once finished (which are now in hant) so as the hauens mouth be perfected, anie ship what soeuer maie enter in thereat, and remaine within that rode in good safetie. But as at manie other times heretofore there hath beene sure triall had of the good effects of this pent, so now in this last moneth of October one thousand fiue hundred foure score and six, one gate of the sluse being by mischance broken, so as by the space of foure daies there could be no water reteined within the pent, to scowre the mouth of the hauen, the same was so choked and swarued vp with sand and beach in that space, as no bote could enter in, or passe out of the same: insomuch as Edward Wotton esquire, being then at Douer to passe thense in an ambassage from hir maiestie to the French king, was forced to send to Sandwich for a crater, to transport him to Calis, because no bote of Douer lieng within the rode could passe out at the hauens mouth. But assone as the said gate of the sluse was repared, euen the next tide following, a vessell of three hundred tun might and did easilie passe in and out thereat, one pent of water had so scowred and depthened the same. Whereby it maie appeare, that neither the cost bestowed, nor the worke performed, hath beene vnprofitablie imploied, or vnnecessarilie vndertaken.

A sure triall latelie made of the good effect of the pent.

A gate of the sluse broken.

Edward Wotton esquire ambassador into France.

The effect of the pent.

Now you shall vnderstand, that the small sluse which was first made and laied in the crosse wall in such sort, and for such purpose as hath beene declared, was taken vp after the said walles were finished, and a sluse of far greater charge was made by the aforesaid Peter Pet, who vndertooke to do it by great, and had for the same foure hundred pounds, the laieng whereof did cost two hundred pounds more at the least. This sluse conteineth in length fourescore foot, in breadth fiftéene foot, in depth thirtéene, and hath in it two draw gates. It was one whole moneth in laieng, all which time the said lord Cobham made his abode there, and kept a most honorable and costlie table, furthering those works not onelie with his continuall presence and countenance, but also with his good direction, and that not at starts, but from morning till night, and from daie to daie, vntill the full accomplishing thereof.

Of the sluse.

The lord Cobham remaineth at Douer one whole moneth.

And in the meane time sir Francis Walsingham hir maiesties principall secretarie was not vncarefull of this action, as being the man without whom nothing was done, directing the course, and alwaie looking into the state thereof, and gaue continuall life thervnto, by prouiding monie for it, whereof when anie want approched, he neuer failed to see or rather to send a sure supplie. Since the finishing of these wals and sluses, there hath beene much worke and charge imploied about one of the tuttie heads, and beautifieng of the harborough, wherin one George Carte of Deuonshire esquire, and one John Hill an auditor, haue beene the principall directors. But because that worke remaineth as yet vnperformed, the report thereof shall also remaine to be made by others that shall hereafter haue occasion to write of such affairs.

Sir Francis Walsingham principall frend to these works.

Of the late works.

¶ At the assises kept at the citie of Excester, the fourteenth daie of March, in the eight and twentith yeare of hir maiesties reigne, before sir Edmund Anderson knight lord chiefe iustice of the common pleas, and sargeant Flowredaie one of the barons of the excheker, iustices of the assises in the countie of Deuon and Exon, there happened a verie sudden and a strange sickenesse; first amongst the prisoners of the gaole of the castell of Exon, & then dispersed (vpon their triall) amongst sundrie other persons: which was not much vnlike to the sickenesse that of late yeares happened at an assise holden at Oxford, before sir Robert Bell knight, lord chiefe baron of the exchéker, and iustice then of that assise; and of which sickenesse he amongst others died. This sickenesse was verie sharpe for the time, & few escaped, which at the first were infected therewith. It was contagious and infectious, but not so violent, as commonlie the pestilence is; neither doth there appeare anie outward vlcer or sore.

The note of Iohn Hooker alias Vowell concerning the sudden and strange sickenesse of late happening in Excester.

The originall and cause thereof diuerse men are of diuerse iudgements. Some did impute it, and were of the mind, that it proceeded from the contagion of the gaole, which by reason of the close aire, and filthie stinke, the prisoners newlie come out of a fresh aire into the same, are in short time for the most part infected therewith; and this is commonlie called the gaole sickenesse, and manie die thereof. Some did impute it to certeine poore Portingals, then prisoners in the said gaole. For not long before, one Barnard Drake esquier (afterwards dubbed knight) had beene at the seas, and meeting with certeine Portingals, come from New found land, and laden with fish, he toke them as a good prise, and brought them into Dartmouth hauen in England; and from thense they were sent, being in number about eight and thirtie persons, vnto the gaole of the castell of Exon, and there were cast into the deepe pit and stinking dungeon.

The originall cause of this infection whereto imputed.

Barnard Drake esquier.

These men had beene before a long time at the seas, and had no change of apparell, nor laine in bed, and now lieng vpon the ground without succor or releefe, were soone infected; and all for the most part were sicke, and some of them died, and some one of them was distracted: and this sickenesse verie soone after dispersed it selfe among all the residue of the prisoners in the gaole; of which disease manie of them

The mischiefe of nastie apparell.

them died, but all brought to great extremities, and verie hardlie escaped. These men, when they were to be brought before the foresaid iustices for their triall, manie of them were so weake and sicke, that they were not able to go nor stand; but were caried from the gaole to the place of iudgement, some vpon handbarrowes, and some betweene men leading them, and so brought to the place of iustice.

The sight of these mens miserable and pitifull cases, being thought (and more like) to be hunger stared than with sickenesse diseased, moued manie a mans hart to behold and looke vpon them; but none pitied them more than the lords iustices themselues, and especiallie the lord chiefe iustice himselfe; who vpon this occasion tooke a better order for keeping all prisoners thensforth in the gaole, and for the more often trials: which was now appointed to be quarterlie kept at euerie quarter sessions, and not to be posted anie more ouer, as in times past vntill the assises. These prisoners thus brought from out of the gaole to the iudgement place, after that they had beene staied, and pansed a while in the open aire, and somewhat refreshed therwith, they were brought into the house, in the one end of the hall neere to the iudges seat, and which is the ordinarie and accustomable place where they do stand to their trials and arreignments.

The assise at Excester appointed to be quarterlie kept.

And howsoeuer the matter fell out, and by what occasion it happened, an infection followed vpon manie and a great number of such as were there in the court, and especiallie vpon such as were nerest to them were soonest infected. And albeit the infection was not then perceiued, because euerie man departed (as he thought) in as good health as he came thither: yet the same by little and little so crept into such, as vpon whom the infection was seized, that after a few daies, and at their home comming to their owne houses, they felt the violence of this pestilent sickenesse: wherein more died that were infected, than escaped. And besides the prisoners, manie there were of good account, and of all other degrees, which died thereof: as by name sargeant Flowerdale who then was the iudge of those trials vpon the prisoners, sir John Chichester, sir Arthur Basset, and sir Barnard Drake knights; Thomas Carew of Haccombe, Robert Carie of Clouelleigh, John Fortescue of Wood, John Waldron of Bradfield, and Thomas Kisdone esquires, and iustices of the peace.

This sickenes was contagious & mortall.

Principall men that died of that infection.

The losse of euerie of them was verie great to the commonwealth of that prouince and countrie: but none more lamented than these two knights, sir John Chichester, and sir Arthur Basset; who albeit they were but yong in yeares, yet ancient in wisedome, vpright in iudgement, and zealous in the ministration of iustice. Likewise Robert Carie, a gentleman striken in yeares, and a man of great experience, knowledge, and learning: he had beene a student of the common lawes of the realme at the temple, and verie well learned both therein, and vniuersallie seene in all good letters: an eloquent man of his speech, effectuall in deliuerie, deepe in iudgement, vpright in iustice, and considerat in all his doings. The more worthie were these personages, the greater losse was their deaths to the whole commonwealth of that countrie. Of the plebeian and common people died verie manie, and especiallie constables, reeues, and tithing men, and such as were iurors, and namelie one iurie of twelue, of which there died eleuen.

Sir John Chichester, and sir Arthur Basset bemoned and commended.

Eleuen of the iurie with other officers die of this sickenesse.

This sicknesse was dispersed through out all the whole shire, and at the writing hereof in the fine of October, one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and fir, it is not altogither extinguished. It resteth for the most part about fourteene daies and vpwards by a secret infection, before it breake out into his force and violence. At the first comming, it made the people afraid and dismaid, manie men then pretending rather than performing the amendement of life. So long as the plague was hot and feruent, so long euerie man was holie and repentant: but with the slaking of the one, followed the forgetfolnesse of the other; euen as it is with a companie of shrewd children, who so long as the rod is ouer the head, so long feare of correction frameth them to aptnesse, conformitie, and obedience.

Affliction draweth men to God, &c.

¶ In the chronicles of Ireland, vpon occasion of seruice in the highest office there, mention was made here and there of sir Henrie Sidneie his saiengs and doings, where promise did passe (by meanes of discoursing his death) that the reader was to looke for a full declaration of his life and death in the chronicles of England, as course of time should giue direction. Now therefore hauing entred into the eight and twentith yeare of hir maiesties gratious gouernment, and the yeare of Christ 1586, the time most fitlie openeth a readie waie into the historie concerning that nobleman, penned by one that could not be ignorant of his affaires, considering the nerenesse and necessarinesse of his seruice, and therefore as a truth to be receiued.

In introduction to the historicall remembrance of the Sidneis, the father and the sonne, &c.

The note of Edmund Molineux touching sir Henrie Sidneis life and death.

This right famous, renowmed, worthie, vertuous and heroicall knight, by father and mother verie noblie descended, was from his infancie bred and brought vp in the princes court, and in nerenesse to his person vsed familiarlie euen as a companion, and manie times a bedfellow. After that by course of nature and lawfull descent, this yong prince was inuested in the kingdome and imperiall crowne, he aduanced this gallant noble gentleman (partlie as it seemed for the singular loue and entire affection he formerlie bare him) to be a principall gentleman of his priuie chamber. For he was then reputed for comelinesse of person, gallantnesse & liuelinesse of spirit, vertue, qualitie, beautie, & good composition of bodie, the onelie od man & paragon of the court. And from time to time this good and most godlie king held such delight in his pleasant, modest, and sweet conuersation and companie, as he would sildome or neuer giue him leaue to be absent from him, till his last breth that he departed this life in his armes at Grenwich. Such exceeding expectation & hope was conceiued of this honorable gentleman in his yonger yeares, as he was specialtie chosen and sent ambassador to Henrie the first then French king, concerning matter verie important, being at that time not fullie one and twentie yeares old, and performed his charge with that singular commendation, wisedome, spirit and dexteritie, as at sundrie times not long after, he was employed in ambassage both in France & Scotland, yea somtime twise in one yere.

His employment in ambassage.

He was foure seuerall times lord iustice of Ireland, and three times by speciall appointment and commission sent deputie out of England: at each which seuerall time, he by his wisedome and good gouernement appeased and suppressed a great and an actuall rebellion, the seeds whereof were for the most part sowen and the fire kindled (though smothlie and cunninglie hid and couered) before his comming, or in the time of his absence. In his first deputation he suppressed the rebellion of Shane Oneill, and floured the top of the castell of Dublin with the archrebels head. In his second he suppressed the most dangerous insurrection begun and long continued by some of the Butlers. In the third the commotion of the erle of Clanricard, & his two graceless hopelost sonnes Shane and Ulike Bourke.

Foure times lord iustice, three time lord deputie of Ireland.

He suppressed by force and policie three actuall rebellions.

Imme-

He reuiued and put in execution the lawes for the abolishing of coine and liuerie.

Immediatlie after his first arriuall deputie, he caused the old statutes and ordinances for the abolishing of coine and liuerie (the ancient festering sore and crèping canker of that countrie and commonwealth) to be reuiued and put in due execution, against sundrie persons of calling and note, who were therewithall sharplie touched, whereupon followed a long time after great good to the countrie, and a spèedie releese to the poore oppressed people of that realme. He deuised that the remoter prouinces should be gouerned by presidents, after the imitation of the marches of Wales, from whense he toke his patterne, being himselfe at that time president, holding opinion that there could be neither better nor a more expedit and easie means to reforme and reduce that barbarous countrie to perfect obedience and ciuilitie, than planting of presidents in the remoter prouinces, to the end vniuersall iustice might be currant amongst them, whereby the poore might be deliuered from the wonted exactions and tyrannies of the lords and great ones (by whom they were dailie spoiled and oppressed) and tast the swèet benefits and pleasant fruits of peace and quietnesse, the onelie singular commoditie, and the most happie blessing of wise, politike, and discrèet gouernement.

He deuised the planting of presidents in the remoter prouinces.

He both first deuised, and consequentlie prudentlie executed, the plot for the diuision and distribution of the Irish countries into shire ground, whereby insued the currencie of hir maiesties writ, which before that time was either not knowne, or at least neuer vsed amongst them. He in his gouernment aduanced and increased the reuenues of the crowne by waie of custome, impost vpon wines, compositions with the Irishrie for rent and seruice, and other direct and commendable meanes, as out of casualties creating rents certeine, ten thousand pounds yearelie. And by good deuise and policie he had both intended, and would haue brought to passe and performed a farre greater increase, if enuie, spite, and malice of that vnhappie countrie had not crossed him, and opposed themselues all that they could, by purse or credit against his honorable, worthie, and commendable seruices & desseins: an example of rare note to be duelie followed, and carefullie executed by his successors, that Ireland may in short time be reduced to beare Irelands charges, and made both honorable and profitable to the crowne (as were to be wished.) He repared the castell of Dubline, being vsed a long time before as a ruinous, vncleane, and filthie place, of no reckoning and accompt, stored onlie with mechanicall persons, and some of worse sort (the constable and his familie excepted) and left the same a conuenient and fit house for the gouernour to lie in, to which vse it now serueth and is imploied.

He deuised the lawes for the distribution of the Irish countries into shire ground.

He increased the reuennes ten thousand pounds yerlie.

His buildings fortifications, and other necessarie works for the benefit and good of the countrie.

He builded the bridge of Athelon ouer the riuer of Shenin, arched it with masonrie and free stone, strong wall and battlement, and made it of that strength, togither with that spaciousnesse and bredth, as two carts may (in maner) meet a front. By building of which bridge ouer so swift & great a streame, the passage was set open and made free out of the pale into Conaught, which before (by reason of the strenablenesse of the water) was not passable, which dawnted and appalled the rebels and traitors more, and kept them in greater awe and due obedience, than anie deuise or policie before had done, or other plot lightlie could then do. He likewise began the walling and fortifieng of the towne of Carickfergus in Vlster, reedifieng of the towne of Athenrie in Conaught, the strengthening of Athelon with gates and other fortifications, the foundation and plot of the bridge of Caterlagh, and made a strong goale at Polingar, and walled the same about with stone, to imprison rebels, theeues, and other malefactors. And likewise he begun manie other needfull and necessarie works in sundrie other places which tended to the great furtherance and aduancement of seruice, but he left them *Quasi opera inchoata*: for he being called awaie so soone, time would not permit and allow him to finish and fullie to end them, or (it may be) by fatall appointment the time is not yet come the countrie deserueth so great a good and benefit of Gods eternall blessing.

He found hir maiesties records laid as it were in an open place, whither anie man (that vouchsafed his paines) might come that would, not defended, but subiect to wind, raine, and all kind of weather, and so in a sort neglected, that they serued now and then (as I haue by good men and good meanes crediblie heard reported) in stèd of better litter to rub horse hèels, which he with great care and diligence caused to be perused and sorted, and prepared an apt place within the castell of Dubline, well trimmed and boorded with a chimneie in the towne, where neither by the moisture of the wals, nor vnseasonablenesse of the weather, nor other meanes they could be subiect to harme. He prepared fit & conuenient places and seuerall diuisions to laie them apart, according to their seuerall natures, and appointed one of discretion and skill to looke to them, who also for his better incouragement was assigned a conuenient fée for his labor. He also caused the statutes, policies, and ordinances of that realme, which laie hid and not knowen to manie (though not destroied but kept in safetie) to be searched, surueied, and ouer viewed, by men of the best learning, skill, and discretion he could find or come by in that realme, giuing them in expresse charge to peruse and read all, and to collect such and so manie of them as they should in their discretions iudge and discerne to be expedient and necessarie to be published and knowen, to the end the same might be imprinted, as afterward they were, that no man thenceforth might pretend ignorance in the lawes, statutes, & ordinances of his owne countrie where he was borne, which euerie man by our lawes is bound to know. And because he both saw and by experience found what defect grew in the administration of iustice, by reason of kinred, affinitie, corruption, partialitie, as otherwise; he deuised, and earnestlie sought to haue Englishmen sent ouer to supplie the chèefe places of iustice. And for the better increase of hir maiesties reuenue and profit, he praied the like to serue in the roms of hir highnesse attornie generall and sollicitor.

He builte conuenient roms for the kèeping and preseruation of the records which before were neglected.

He caused the statutes of Ireland to be imprinted which neuer before were published.

He procured some Englishmen to be sent ouer, for the better administration of iustice.

No man had a greater desire to aduance the publike euerie waie than he had, and in opinion greatlie magnified & estèemed all them that were of that mind: for he would manie times saie, that those were things memorable, of perpetuitie, fame, and last, where all priuat things died and perished with their priuat persons. Whersoeuer he was bestowed to serue, he had such a rare gift, gallant courtlie behauior, and comlinesse of person, as he gained the harts of manie, and such vniuersall liking and loouing of all sorts of people toward him, as they were euer desirous and neuer wearie of him; but speciall sute commonlie made of the grauest, best, and wisest sort amongst them, when he was reuoked to haue him returne and continue againe amongst them. He was (as best became him) verie aduised, circumspect, and carefull in the seruice of the state, not onelie setting apart, but in a sort neglecting all businesse of his owne, in respect of his charge. He was a perfect orator by nature, hauing such readinesse and facilitie of spèech, flowing eloquence, swèet deliuerie, and passing memorie (for he seldome or neuer forgat anie thing he either read or heard) as he was specially

A great furtherer of all publike works.

The great loue he got him in all places where he serued.

His carefulnesse in the seruice of the state.

allie noted a most rare man of all that did heare him. Such ample instructions he would giue for the framing and writing of his letters, or anie other thing he committed to be conceiued and put downe in writing, and dispose the same in so good order and fine method, as a verie simple man, if he reteined and remembred but a part of that he said and deliuered, might supplie himselfe with matter inough to the purpose to write of.

Verie expert and able he was of a bad clerke in time to frame a good secretarie.

And when by occasion he happened vpon some dull conceipted spirited fellow (as Ireland and Wales now and then bred some such) to whome he had giuen instructions to write, who afterwards brought him the same to signe, not couched in sort as he liked or would haue it; his temperance, courtesie, and discreet modestie was such, as he would neuer shew choler and impatience, rent the paper in peeces, or publikelie disgrace the writer, but bid him not be discouraged for that fault: he could giue him the like instructions againe he gaue him before, but willed him then to marke and remember them better. At each seuerall time he was sent deputie into Ireland, he was by occasion, and as time fell out, furnished with a new secretarie. The first was master Edward Waterhouse, now knighted, and one of hir maiesties councell in Ireland. The second master Edmund Tremaine, who after was preferred to be a clearke to hir maiesties councell on hir highnesse person attendant. The third (who although it was thought of manie, who were in that case well able to iudge) neither in paine, desert, birth, nor breeding was much inferiour to the other two that were before him: yet in fortune, reward, or other recompense so far behind them, as this noble gentleman (who trulie honored vertue) master to them all three, would manie times in sort lament, and deepelie bemone to his good friends, commending highlie this mans paine and diligence, attributing his hard hap to his owne mishap, the time so serued he could not do him good, which manie times & by sundrie means he had earnestlie attempted to do; affirming often in solemne and earnest protestation as well to him as others, that it greeued him not a little, his fortune was so bad, to come to him now in the declination and wane of the mone: for he was the sole onelie man he had imploied about him in that neerenesse and credit of seruice, wherein he had vsed him, that euer had quailed vnder his hands (for that was the terme he vsed) howbeit, he well hoped time or some good man (in respect his seruice was publike and not priuat) would repaire that then he could not do. For he deemed the man right worthie regard and consideration, that had serued him so long (and that in his great and rotall seruices, in so painefull and toilesome a place) without anie great wages, fee, or other interteinment growing to him in perpetuitie or other wais; which was either burthenous to his purse, or proceeding by or from him by anie other degree, to the gentlemans benefit, increase of credit, or further aduancement, in recompense of his long seruice.

Of great facilitie in dispatch of common causes.

He had both a speciall care & likewise a singular gift in dispatch of common causes, and the people in like manner had a passing maruellous desire to be heard & dispatched by him. Therefore as well in part to satisfie their humors and affections, as more completlie to performe the due and full measure of his charge (which was to heare and helpe all as nere as he could) he applied himselfe greatlie thereunto, and would spare no paines, but indure maruellous toile and trauell to rid and dispatch awaie suitors: which he could do with such dexteritie and wonderfull facilitie, as the same might seeme no wearinesse and tediousnesse at all to him (that was halfe a hell to some others) but rather to be reckoned a kind of recreation and pastime. He made manie beholding vnto him, for he (as much as late in him) did benefit manie, and had more than an ordinarie desire to do for all his friends and faithfull followers; and so carefullie, earnestlie, and painfullie he would trauell to aduance their particular suites, were it sometimes to speake to hir maiestie hir selfe, or to the bodie of hir graue and honorable councell, or to anie priuat councellor apart, as though he had purposelie followed his owne most weightie causes.

A great desire to do for all men.

And as he was a most deere, kind, tender, and louing father to his children (for none could loue and esteeme his children more than he did) and noting in them great minds and hautie courages, which drew them by degrees to exceede in expense, and more than an ordinarie liberalitie, he would sometime fatherlie aduise them thus; that if they meant to liue in order, they should neuer behold whole sonnes, & seldome thinke whose nephues they were: so he was an affable, gentle, courteous, constant, and honourable master to his seruants. For he would often saie, it was an easie matter for them to keepe him, but hard to recouer his loue and fauour, if they had once lost him. And when anie of his noble and most louing friends would commend him greatlie (as manie times they would) that he made much of his old seruants (for few that came to him euer went from him, but such as were first aduanced by him to better preferment) he would answer pleasantlie after his wonted mirth; Lord I giue thee thanks, that of those thou gauest me I haue not lost one. He was maruellous affable and courteous of nature, of easie accesse, and pleasantlie familiar with anie that had occasion to repaire vnto him, & strict and precise in the obseruation of good order. For he would seldome breake it in anie respect, but vpon euident, knowne, and most iust cause, or when he was ouerruled (as sometimes he was) by such as had souereigne power to direct and command him. Extraordinarie courses he alwaies vtterlie misliked, especiallie when order was peruerted, or iustice hindered, whereby the common societie of mans life is onelie preserued and maintained; which two things specially purchased him such vniuersall goodwill euerie where (and namelie amongst the officers of hir maiesties most honorable household, with whome he would manie times be familiarlie conuersant) as they haue often wished he might haue bene honored with a white staffe, to haue borne office with authoritie amongst them.

A tender father to his children and a louing master to his seruants.

Solitario homini atque in agro vitam agenti opinio iustitiæ necessariæ est.

He was intirelie beloued of the officers of hir maiesties household.

His nature was so tempered with modestie, pietie and patience, as he seldome shewed heat or choler, how greeuous so euer the offense was which was giuen him. He was a fast friend where he professed friendship, and no reuengefull so when he was offended; & hardlie would he be remoued in friendship from his friend or follower, but vpon most iust, certeine, and knowne cause, which he could not smuther, and would not hide from the partie. I haue manie times heard him saie, and by occasion haue seene the same written in his owne letters, that he was dubbed knight (by that noble and vertuous prince king Edward) the selfe same daie sir William Cecill (then principall secretarie, now lord treasuror of England) was, by meanes wherof and that sir William Cecill was (yea euen in those daies) esteemed a most rare man, both for sundrie and singular gifts of nature, learning, wisedome, and integritie: and partlie by the friendlie good offices of that true paterne of humanitie and courtesie, sir John Cheeke, then schoolemaster to the king (a choise deare friend to them both) that there began such an entrie of acquaintance, knowledge, loue, mutuall goodwill, and intire friendship betwixt them, as continued alwaies

He was dubbed knight the same daie sir William Cecill was.

stedfast, firme, and vnvariable after till his dieng daie. A matter of prolixitie it were and intollerable tediousnesse to particulat in ample maner the rare qualities of his bodie and mind: wherefore we will glansinglie run them ouer, as loth to abridge his deserued praise to liberallie. This noble man was fortunat in war, and no lesse happie in peace, passing well beloued of his soldiors, vpright in iustice, yet withall inclined to mercie; he reuerenced all men of science, for he would manie times saie, Science was to be honored whersoeuer it was to be found: *Nam nemo nascitur artifex.* He omitted not morning & euening praier, he was liberall and honorable in hospitalitie, his skill far exceeded other mens in knowledge and secrets of Ireland, yea of that countrie birth. The loue and affection the Irishrie bare him, drew manie of them to ciuilitie, he was little giuen to slēpe and ease in the night, for he seldome kept his bed aboue sir houres (if he were in health) neither after he arose would he take in the daie time anie kind of repose. He would in his iournies wearie and late vp most of his companie; nothing offended him more than ingratitude; in his dealings his word was his worst; sociable he was with his assistants; he had an intention to haue erected certeine nurseries of learning; his seruice was subiect to the eare, and not to the eie, whereby his vertues manie times were suppressed; he was deputie of Ireland, and president of Wales both at one time.

This noble knight, graue councellor, complet gentleman, and most worthie and rare subiect, departed this life at the bishops palace at Worcester, the fift daie of Maie, in the yeare of our Lord 1586 (being fiftie and seauen yeares old complet, wanting onelie one moneth and fiftēne daies) about foure of the clocke in the morning, after he had continued seuen daies sicke of a kind of cold palsie, as the physicians decreed of the disease, which happened vnto him (as it was of manie said, and of mo thought) by reason of an extreme cold he toke vpon the water in his passage and remoue by barge betwēne Bewdlie and Worcester, not long after he had bēene purged, and his bodie not fullie setled, but his pores remaining still open (as it is most like) by reason of an extraordinarie lowsenes which consequentlie followed the taking of his physicke, and could not be stopped; hauing then bēene lord president of hir maiesties councell established in the dominion and principalitie of Wales sir and twentie years complet, without anie change or alteration, or absolute transferring the rome or authoritie to anie other in the meane time, for whose death there was great mone and lamentation. As for his bodie by easie iournies and short remoues, it was conueied from Worcester to his house at Penshurst in Kent, verie honourablie and well attended with great traine, ceremonie, and all other things apperteining to funerall order, honor, and solemnitie, where he was honorablie interred the one and twentith date of June following. He was before imbowelled, & his intrals buried in the deans chapell in the cathedrall church at Worcester; his heart brought to Ludlow, & buried in the tome with his dēere beloued daughter Ambrosia, in the little oratorie he made in the semicollegiat parish church there, wherein he erected this monument.

The ninth date of August next following, died the most noble, worthie, beneficent, and bountious ladie, the ladie Marie Sidneie, his onelie spouse and most dēere wife, who was eldest daughter vnto that renowned duke John late of Northumberland, and sister to the right honorable and most worthie the erls of Warwike and Leicester, most zealoulie, godlie, and penitentlie, as by the testimonie of some honorable and other graue personages is well auouched, and was intōmed at Penshurst, in the same tome with hir dēere and honorable husband. During the whole course of hir sicknesse, and speciallie a little before it pleased almightie God to call hir hense to his mercie, she vsed such godlie spēches, earnest and effectuall persuasions to all those about hir, and vnto such others as came of frendlie courtesie to visit hir, to exhort them to repentance and amendment of life, and dehort them from all sinne and lewdnesse, as wounded the consciences, and inwardlie pearced the hearts of manie that heard hir. They left behind them yet liuing most dēere pledges, noble and worthie resemblances descended of them, three sonnes, all forward, martiall, and valorous gentlemen, and one onelie daughter, matched in mariage vnto the right honorable Henrie earle of Penbroke, whome God hath alreadie blessed with godlie, rare, and towardlie issue: sir Philip Sidneie his sonne & heire, *Ad quem hæreditas gloria & factorum imitatio pertinet*, a gentleman of great hope, and exceeding expectation, indowed with manie rare gifts, singular vertues, and other ornaments both of mind and bodie, one generallie beloued and estēemed of all men; who matched in mariage with the daughter and heire of sir Francis Walsingham knight, hir maiesties principall secretarie, by whome he hath alreadie a godlie babe, but a daughter.

This right worthie, and thrise renowmed knight sir Philip Sidneie lord gouernor of Vlissingen, hauing spent some time in hir maiesties seruice in the low countries, with great honor, speciall credit, and estimation; and withall, hauing obteined by his vertue, valor, and great politie, such an entrie of entire good will, trust, and authoritie with the states, as his counsels and persuasions could much more preuaile and worke singular effect with them, than anie one mans could doo in anie cause whatsoeuer that happened to fall in question or debate amongst them: therfore earnestlie following the course he then toke in hand for the aduancement of that seruice, and to win fame (the onelie marke true nobilitie either doth or ought to leuell at) he imbarked himselfe at Vlissingen, accompanied onlie with three thousand footmen; and bending his course to Axell, which lieth in the countie of Flanders, vsed both such diligence and secrecie in this expedition, as he surprised the towne, before they could haue intelligence of his comming, without losse or hurt of anie one of his companie. By means whereof, the forts and sconses there neere abouts adioining, being striken vpon the sudden into such a feare and amazement, as doubting some further perils to them intended, than anie at the present well appeared; voluntarilie and simplie gaue themselues and their holds into his hands, & yeelded to his disposition and mercie. And so after he had well refreshed himselfe and his companie in this towne he had thus new taken, he departed thense, & remained in the countrie not farre off, ten or twelue daies nert following, till he had victelled the same & put in a garrison, & left monsieur Vernon there gouernor.

Now in the meane time of his staie, attending these seruices (and because he would alwaies be occupied in some honorable action) he brake a sluse, forced a trench, and cut out a banke, that made such an open passage & entrance into the sea, as since it hath drowned and destroied the whole countrie (being well neere now worne into a chanell) the same hauing bēene the best and most fertill soile in those parts, and far exceeding anie territorie neere thereabouts, to so great a prejudice and annoiance of the enimie, as by common & well grounded opinion, neither by sluse, or lightlie anie other draine or deuise, that countrie can possiblie be recouered or regained. And this enterprise was atchiued without making head or other

He died at the bishops palace at Worcester.

His death greatlie bemoned.

His corps was buried at Penshurst.

The time of my ladie Sidneis death.

Sir Philip, sir Robert and maister Thomas Sidneis.

Marie countesse of Penbroke, William lord Herbert of Cardiffe.

The commendation of sir Philip Sidneie.

Lord gouernor of Vlissingen, commonlie called Flissing.

He surprised Axell in Flanders.

He drowned the countrie by making an entrie into the sea.

Forestance made by Mondragon.

offer of offense, invasion, or resistance by Mondragon, who was of purpose imployed with sufficient force to defend the countrie, and to haue impeached all these attempts and actions.

Graueling.

Moreouer, his aduise for the seruice intended at Graueling (dissenting in opinion from others, who were thought the most expert capteins and best renowmed and sorted souldiours) gaue such a sufficient proofe of his excellent wit, policie, and ripe iudgement; as his onelie act and counsell, with the losse of a verie few of his companie, wrought all their safeties, which otherwise by treacherie had beene most likelie to haue beene intraped. And so consequentlie going forward in other seruices, at an incounter with the enimie not far from Zutphen, where he that daie most valiantlie serued (for he bare the inuincible mind of an ancient worthie Romane, who euer where he came made account of victorie) he receiued hurt by a musket shot a little aboue the left knee, which so brake and rifted the bone, and so entred the thigh vpward towards the bodie, as the bullet could not be found before his bodie was opened. Of which hurt notwithstanding he liued (though in great paine and extreame torment) six and twentie daies following, and died the seauentéenth daie of October betweene two and three of the clocke in the afternoone at Arnam in Gelderland.

His hurt at the incounter neere Zutphen.

The daie of the death of sir Philip Sidneie.

He greatlie abounded in sundrie good vertues, which euer, where he came, procured him loue, but cheeselie in iustice and liberalitie (a worthie & most spectall note in a gouernour) which gained him hartie loue coupled with fame and honor. For the which especiallie, those vnder his late charge and gouernment so greatlie loued, esteemed, honored, & in a sort adored him when he was aliue; as they made earnest meanes and intreatie to haue his bodie remaine there still with them for memorie when he was dead; and promised that (if they might obteine it) to erect for him as faire a monument as anie prince had in christendome, yea though the same should cost halfe a tun of gold the building. His bodie was most honourablie conueied from Arnam to London, where it remained at the Minorites certeine daies, & from thense brought and remoued on the sixteenth of Februarie alongst the streets through Cheapside, with funerall pompe and solemnitie beseeming so martiall a gentleman; the ensignes of warre, and pikes trailed vpon the ground, the drums and flutes couered with blacke and making a soft\ie sound, with other statelie shewes of mournfull representations; the earle of Leicester with other honourable and worshipfull personages following the dead bodie, which finallie was interred in Paules church of London.]

Omnis virtus nos ad se allicit, facitque vt diligamus eos, in quibus inesse videatur, tamen iustitia & liberalitas id maximè efficit.

About this time one Thomas Louelace, late of Staple inne gentleman, for counterfeiting of false and treacherous letters against his owne kinred, containing most traitorous matter against hir maiesties owne person, was iudged in the Starchamber to be carried on horse-backe about Westminster hall with his face to the horses taile, and a paper on his backe declaring his offense; then to be set on the pillorie in the palace at Westminster, and there to haue one of his eares cut off: then to ride in like sort into London, and in Cheapside to be set on the pillorie vpon a market daie: after that to be conueied into Kent, where standing openlie on the pillorie in the place of assise as before, he should lose his other eare; and lastlie be set vpon the pillorie one market daie in Canturburie, and another at Rochester; his offense and punishment in euerie of the said places openlie read and published: which iudiciall sentence was accordinglie executed.

Thomas Louelace condignlie punished by iudgement of the honorable court in the Starchamber for counterfeiting of letters, &c. I.S.

On sundaie the eight daie of Maie an ambassador, named Henrie Ramelius, intituled *Cancellarius Germanicus*, arriued at the tower of London. A gentleman he was of goodlie personage, somewhat corpulent, and of sanguine complexion, verie eloquent likewise and learned, not onelie in the knowledge of diuerse tongs, as Latine, French, Italian, and German; but also in sundrie sciences. He came in ambassage from Frederike the second of that name, king of Denmarke, vnto the queens maiestie of England, and arriuing (as you haue heard) at the Tower, was honorablie receiued of the lord Cobham and other great estates; who conueied him from thense through Tower street into Bishopsgate street, and so to a faire and large house called Crosbies place, where he was well lodged and remained.

Henrie Ramelius ambassador out of Denmarke.

The said Ramelius, during the time of his tarriance had attendance done him conuenient for his person, both by water and by land: the queens maiesties barges and seruants imployed about him to & from London, the court then being at Grenwich; whither alwaies when he came, the nobilitie of England failed in no point of courtesie that might be shewed: which he seemed (as he could no lesse) verie acceptablie to take. Now being in England, and in the English court, he might (and no doubt did) marke the magnificence of hir maiestie, in all respects admirable. Whereof a notable president was giuen in Whitsunweeke; at what time the said ambassador, being at the court, was accompanied with certeine English lords to hir highnesse chapell, and placed not far from hir excellencie, did heare diuine seruice so melodiouslie said and song, both by voice and instruments of consort, as a man halfe dead might thereby haue beene quickened. The gentlemen of the chapell with the rest of the quier bending themselues both with skill and zeale, that daie to honour their prince according to their place. The bishop of Salisburie and others distinctlie reading part of diuine seruice, and in presence of all the auditorie doing such obeisance with knee and countenance, as the presence of so gratious a soueraigne as they had in their eies did require.

The Danish ambassador honorablie interteined.

The maiestie of the English court.

Heauenlie musike in the queens chapell.

Now when this solemnitie was ended, hir maiestie departed; and so did the ambassador, attended vpon and accompanied vnto the place appointed for dinner, where standing neere vnto a faire window fronting into the open court, he might (being in communication, now with one and then with another English lord, as the L. Charles Howard L. admerall, the lord Cobham lord warden of the cinque ports, &c:) behold the roiall seruice of hir maiestie, verie personable gentlemen thereto sorted, carieng couered dishes all of siluer and gilt verie beautifull; themselues in veluet and silke sutable in ech respect, and as decentlie made, so decentlie worn; the trumpets sounding, and the drums plaieng thereunto: a maruellous delightsome thing to heare, & a passing gallant sight to behold. When dinner was done, the ambassador was made partaker of such courtlie recreations as for that time were fit, wherewith he could not but be pleasantlie conceipted; considering that as euerie thing was done with purpose to delight: so he with others must needs be accordinglie affected. And as the better sort had their conuenient disports, so were not the ordinarie people excluded from competent pleasure. For vpon a greene verie spatious and large, where thousands might stand and behold with good contentment, there bearebaiting & bulbaiting (tempered with other merrie disports) were exhibited: whereat it cannot be spoken what pleasure the people took.

The ambassador of Denmarke seth the roiall seruice of the queene of England.

Recreations and disports for prince and people.

Now the daie being far spent, and the sun in his declination, the passimes ended, and the actors there

therein weare; the ambassador withdrew vnto his lodging by barge to Crosbies place, where (no doubt) this daies solemnitie was thought vpon, and talked of; if not by him, yet by his traine, and perhaps (as like enough) of both. Now after this, and manie other English courtesies elsewhere, verie bountifullie giuen and taken: the ambassador, after the finishing of such affaires as he was put in trust withall, taking his leaue both of the court, citie, and countrie, returned towards Denmarke on the thirtith daie of Maie next following, whome we will leaue vpon his voiage, and touch other matters happening at home.

In this yeare one thousand fiue hundred foure score and six, and on the fourth daie of June, a commission was directed from the quéens maiestie then at Grénewich, tending to the ratification of a firme league of amitie betwéene the two mightie princes, Elisabeth quéene of England, and James the first of that name king of Scots, vpon certeine causes necessarie and important: the reigne and gouernement of the said princes, happening in so doubtfull and dangerous times, wherein the princes nére adioining, who will be called catholike, agnising the popes authoritie, by mutuall leagues do knit friendship, for the rooting vp and throwing out of the true, pure, and sincere religion of the gospell, not onelie out of their owne territories and dominions, but also out of other forrein kingdoms; and thereto haue obliged their faith.

Least they therefore that loue the religion of the gospell, should séeme lesse carefull for the defense and supportation thereof, than they which earnestlie indeuour to mainteine and vphold that of Rome, least it should be ouerthrowne; the said princes for the greater securitie of their persons, vpon whose safetie the safetie of the whole people doth depend, and for the preseruation of the true, ancient, and christian religion, which they now professe; haue thought good that a stricter bond of a mutuall and so-ciall league, than at ante time hitherto hath béene agreed vpon betwéene their maiesties progenitors, should now be substantiallie concluded. This league was articulated, and commissioners thereto appointed; the right honorable Edward earle of Rutland, (a complet noble man, answerable to the etymon of his name, and verie well deseruing the poets report:

——nomen virtutibus æquat,
Nec sinit ingenium nobilitate premi)

the lord William Euers, and also Thomas Randolph esquier: who with their traine of attendants came to Berwike the nineteenth of June, where (the ambassadors of Scotland being in like sort present) they accomplished the matter, whereto they were commissionated: the articles of the said league in all and euerie part sufficientlie confirmed, on the fift of Julie. All which being dispatched, the said earle of Rutland with his traine returned. This ambassage is reported in the historie of Scotland, wherevnto (for the auoiding of tautologie) we refer the reader.

In the moneth of Julie a verie dangerous conspiracie was discouered, tending to the subuersion of the state and lamentable confusion of all things: wherein as the turbulent spirited did what they could to proceed, so it pleased God the author of peace to intercept them in the plot of their mischéeuous deuise, and to ouerthrow them in their owne imagined nets. Ringleaders in this pretended treason were certeine gentlemen and others (of whome hereafter by particular name we will speake) who had waded and ventured so far therein, that vpon the notice thereof (as God will suffer no such attempts to lie long vndetected) order was taken for a verie strict inquirie and search vniuersallie to be made for their apprehension, which was accordinglie executed, in so much that the conspirators distressed and succorles were put to verie hard shifts by this inquisition and pursute, and in fine apprehended, to the great reioising of the citizens of London, diuerslie testified; as with bonfiers, making merrie in the streets at squate and round tables, singing of psalmes, marching about their fiers with tabber and pipe, and giuing manie a shout, that the aire rang withall. In so much that the consideration thereof did so worke in hir highnesse, as hereupon (a thing rare in a prince) she directed letters of thanks to the citie, for the manifold testifications of their loue and loialtie: which because they are materiall (as no word nor title proceéding from so singular a souereigne, is to fall to the ground vnrecorded) we are in dutie bound trulie to anner them, as we had them vnder publication. And first a brefe oration of maister James Dalton, one of the councellors of the citie of London, in the absence of the recorder, as followeth.

The oration of maister Iames Dalton, &c.

RIght worshipfull, my good countriemen and citizens of this most noble citie of London: since the late brute and report of a most wicked & traitorous conspiracie, not onelie to take awaie the life of our most gratious souereigne (whom God grant long to liue and reigne ouer vs) but also to stir vp a generall rebellion throughout the whole realme: the great and vniuersall ioie of you all of this citie, vpon the apprehension of diuerse of that most wicked conspiracie of late declared and testified, by manie outward acts and shewes, hath wrought in the quénes most excellent maiestie such a gratious contentment; that it hath moued hir highnesse, by hir letters signed with hir owne hand, to signifie vnto my lord maior of this citie & his brethren, hir most noble and princelie acceptation thereof, and that in such sort, as thereby may appeare, that hir highnesse hath not more, no not so much reioised at the most happie escape of the wicked mischéefe intended against hir owne person, as at the ioie which hir louing subiects, & namelie you of this citie of London toke at the apprehension of the practisers of that intended treason.

By occasion whereof, hir highnesse brought to a thankefull remembrance, and acknowledging of Gods infinit blessings bestowed on hir, comparable with ante prince or creature in the world, no worldlie thing more or like accompteth of, than of the hartie loue of hir louing and faithfull subiects manie wales, and manie times before now; but especiallie by this our great ioie in this sort, at this time, and vpon this occasion shewed. And that hir exceéding great loue and acceptation of our reioising maie the more appeare vnto you: it hath pleased hir highnesse in the same letters to declare, that she desireth not longer to liue among vs, than she shall mainteine, continue, nourish, and increase the loue and goodwill of hir subiects towards hir. And this hir highnesse hath willed to be made knowne vnto you all, with this; that she will not faile with all care, and by all good means that apperteine to a christian prince, to sæke the conseruation of you all, so louing and dutifull affected subiects.

This hir maiesties pleasure in part now declared, and more to be made knowne vnto you by hir owne letters, which you shall heare read, my lord maior and his brethren haue required me to declare

Sir Wolstan Dixie lord maior of London, Anthonie Ratcliffe, and Henrie Pierrell shiriffes.

vnto you all, that they doo heartilie reioise & thanke God for the happie daie of the good acceptation of this your great ioie; & my * lord himselfe hath willed me to giue you all heartie thanks in his name; for that in the time of his seruice, your dutifull behauiours haue gotten to the citie so noble and worthie a testimonie of dutie and loialtie, of so noble and worthie a queene. Now, for somuch as Gods blessings wonderfullie abound, & one ioie commeth vpon another, let vs not be vnthankefull to God, but acknowledge his goodnesse, and attribute the same (as in deed we ought) to the sincere religion of almightie God, most godlie established by the queens most excellent maiestie, which hath taught vs to know God aright, our dutie to our souereigne, and to loue our countrie, and hath made vs dutifull and obedient subiects, reioising at all good things happening to hir maiestie, hir realme, or to anie in hir noble seruice, the true effects of a true and good religion: whereas the contemners thereof, and immoderat affectors of the Romish religion and superstitions, being void of the true knowledge of God, haue declined from God, their allegiance to their prince, their loue to their countrie, and haue become inuenters of mischeefes, vsers and spreaders abrode of false and seditious rumors, such as ioie at no good thing; but contrariwise reioise at euerie euill successe, the badges and marks of their profession, who haue before this, in this realme and in other hir highnesse dominions, stirred vp rebellion, forren inuasion, and manie times practised the verie death & destruction of the queene hir selfe, the ruine & subuersion of the whole realme; the proper effects of their Romish religion.

We haue beheld all these things, and seene in our daies the ruine and mischeefes inuented against others, fall vpon the inuenters them selues; and haue knowne the wicked and violent hands of diuerse of them, diuerslie to kill and murther themselues, when most traitorouslie they would, and most happilie they could not, slea the lords annointed. As we haue knowne all these things, so God be thanked, that by a better religion, hauing beene better taught, we haue beene no partakers of their wicked deuises, but haue put to our helping hands, as occasion hath serued; and euer readie to ouerthrow the authors and deuisers thereof. And I haue no doubt, but we of this noble citie, who hitherto haue beene alwaies readie, dutifullie and faithfullie to serue hir maiestie vpon all occasions (hir highnesse now so gratiouslie accepting onelie of our reioising at the apprehension of hir enimies, euen the least part of the dutie of a good subiect to so good a queene) will be readie euerie one with all that we can make, and with the vttermost aduenture of all our liues, speedilie to be reuenged vpon all such as shall villanouslie and traitorouslie attempt or put in vre anie mischefe to hir noble person; and in the meane time will haue a better eie and care to all suspicious and miscontented persons, to their saiengs and doings, to their false brutes and reports, to the places and corners of their haunt and resort, to their harborers, companions, aiders and mainteiners. God vphold and continue his religion among vs, and increase our zeale therein, which hath made vs so louing and loiall, and so beloued and acceptable subiects to so worthie a prince; and rot out that wicked and Romish religion, that hath made so manie disloiall and traitorous subiects; to whome is both odious & irkesome the long life and prosperous reigne of our most noble queene Elisabeth. God confound all such traitors, and preserue hir highnesse long to liue and reigne oure vs. ¶ Hauing thus spoken, the multitude all the while no lesse silent than attendant, the speaker verie reuerentlie opened hir maiesties letters, & read the same with a verie distinct and audible voice, as followeth.

To our right trustie and welbeloued, *the lord maior of our citie of London, and* his brethren the aldermen of *the same.*

RIght trustie and welbeloued, we greete you well. Being giuen to vnderstand, how greatlie our good and most louing subiects of that citie, did reioise at the apprehension of certeine diuelish and wicked minded subiects of ours, that through the great and singular goodnesse of God haue beene detected, to haue most wickedlie and vnnaturallie conspired, not onelie the taking awaie of our owne life, but also to haue stirred vp (as much as in them laie) a generall rebellion throughout our whole realme: we could not but by our owne letters witnesse vnto you the great and singular contentment we receiued vpon the knowledge thereof; assuring you, that we did not so much reioise at the escape of the intended attempt against our owne person, as to see the great ioie our most louing subiects toke at the apprehension of the contriuers thereof: which to make their loue more apparant, they haue (as we are to our great comfort informed) omitted no outward shew, that by anie externall act might witnesse to the world the inward loue and dutifull affection they beare towards vs. And as we haue as great cause with all thankfulnesse to acknowledge Gods great goodnesse toward vs, through the infinit blessings he laieth vpon vs, as manie as euer prince had; yea rather as euer creature had: yet do we not for anie worldlie blessing receiued from his diuine maiestie, so greatlie acknowledge the same, as in that it hath pleased him to incline the hearts of our subiects, euen from the first beginning of our reigne; to carie as great loue toward vs, as euer subiects carried toward prince, which ought to moue vs (as it doth in verie deed) to seeke with all care, & by all good meanes that apperteine to a christian prince, the conseruation of so louing and dutifull affected subiects: assuring you, that we desire no longer to liue, than while we maie in the whole course of our gouernment carie our selues in such sort, as may not onelie nourish and continue their loue and good will toward vs, but also increase the same. We thinke meet, that these our letters should be communicated in some generall assemblie to our most louing subiects the commoners of that citie. Giuen vnder our signet at our castell of Windsor, the eightéenth daie of August one thousand fiue hundred foure score and six, in the eight and twentith yeere of our reigne.

But leauing this princelie president of thankefulnes to perpetuall record, we will touch the next occurrence, as course of time ministreth occasion. About this time of the yeere returned into England sir Francis Drake knight, a man of rare knowlege in nauigation, and verie fortunat in the euent of his enterprises, after manie feats of good seruice accomplished in forren countries, as at Baion, Hispaniola, S. Dominico, Carthagena, &c: to the admiration of all people amongst whom he came, and contrarie to the expectation of the Spaniards, who vpon supposall of places impregnable grew so confident, that they seemed lightlie to estéeme anie purposed force of the enimie, and therefore doubted no kind of annoiance. Howbeit, they were as safe as he that hangeth by the leaues of a tree in the end of autumne, when as the leaues begin to fall. For they were

Sir Fr. Drake h turne int England his last v finished.

were so terrified at the sight of sacke and spoile, as also doubting a totall wast by fire and sword, that they were glad to yeeld to composition. And heere, because mention is made of Hispaniola, note ye that it is supposed that Salomon king of Jerusalem had his great riches of gold from hense, and that his ships sailed to Ophir (the old name as some affirme of Hispaniola) by the gulfe of Persia, called *sinus Persicus*. As for Sancto Dominico, it is the cheefe citie in Hispaniola, reported in histozie, as touching the building, that there is no citie in Spaine, *Tanto pro tanto*, no not Barselona, that is to be preferred before it generallie. For the houses are for the most part of stone, as are they of Barselona, or of so strong and well wrought earth, that it maketh a singular and strong binding.

Hispaniola in old time called Ophir.

But leauing description of places, it shall not be amisse hauing now touched (though not with conuenient dignitie) the last voiage of this singular gentleman, to anner in this place a memoriall of a former voiage by him attempted, namelie on the thirteenth date of December, in the yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred seuentie & seuen: at what time accompanied with fiue tall ships well manned & appointed, he sailed into the west Indies: & by the same aduenture (most luckilie accomplished) eternised his name. At what time the king of Moluccaes admiring his order, & astonied at the hearing of the peales of English ordinance, roring like thunder (which he there at his arriuall valiantlie & liberallie discharged) receiued him right honorablie, causing foure galliasses to conduct and bring his ship into the surest harborough, and him selfe with his companie to his presence. In this voiage he discouered a countrie erst vnknowne, which he named Noua Albion, where by his courteous dealing he so allured and wonne the hearts of the inhabitants, that twise they crowned him king. Beyond the large countrie of Chilie, where it hath beene heeretofore thought that nothing had beene but continent and firme land, he found sundrie Ilands, the furthest whereof lieng most south, he called by his maiesties name Elisabetha. Now after manie a singular note of his incomparable valorousnesse exhibited in places where he came, and purposing to make his aduenture profitable, he neglected no meanes that might stand with his honestie and honor; returning home into England with great riches the six and twentith of September, in the yeere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and eightie; with one ship onelie. For of the fiue, wherewith (at his first setting forth) he was furnished, he was forced to set two on fire, the third perished, the fourth came backe and went not forwards at the first. A voiage of great aduenture and prosperous successe, contrarie to the ackward and frowning hap of sundrie worthie gentlemen, whose attempts albeit honorable and commendable, yet matched with misfortune, or at least defectiue in deserued and hoped issue: a sore discouragement to gentlemen of trauell, and not a little impeaching the art of nauigation.

The returne of sir Francis Drake into England with great riches, &c.

Manie voiages of great difficultie haue beene vndertaken, but failed in the issue.

And now to resume our former remembrance of the conspirators, you shall vnderstand, that after due examination had, & no rigor vsed either by torture or torment, the wicked wretches guiltie consciences driuing them to voluntarie confession, on the seuenth date of September, certeine of them were led from the Tower of London to Westminster by water, where they were indicted; first, for intending treason against the queens owne person; secondlie, for stirring ciuill wars within the realme; and thirdlie, for practising to bring in forren power to inuade the land. Seuen of them appeared at Westminster on the thirteenth date of September, who all pleaded guiltie, and therefore had no iurie, but were condemned, and had iudgement on the next morrow.

Traitors indicted, arreigned, and condemned at Westminster.

The first seuen condemned without anie iurie.

On the fifteenth date of September, other seuen of them were likewise arreigned at Westminster, who pleading not guiltie, were tried by a iurie, found guiltie, and had iudgement accordinglie. The effect of whose treasons shortlie to touch them were these. John Sanage, remaining long in France at Rheims, was persuaded by doctor Gilbert Gifford, that great honor should redound to him, if he would take in hand to change religion, to inuade the realme by forren power, to dispossesse the quéene of England, and to proclame the Scotish queene, and set hir in hir place. All which Sanage promised to do, or else to lose his life, and thereupon returned into England; where he imparted his purpose to Anthonie Babington, requiring his aid therein. Then John Ballard préest, also persuaded the said Babington to the purpose before expressed, promising him aid of threescore thousand men that secretlie should be landed, and told him both how & when (as he thought.) Whereupon Babington promised and concluded to make a slaughter vpon the councell of hir maiestie in the Starchamber, then to haue sacked London, to haue burned the navie and cheefest ships, to kill or displace the lords, knights and magistrats, that remained true subiects to our right & lawfull quéene and realme, and also to haue cloied and poisoned the greatest ordinance, &c. These were their purposes.

The effect of the last seuen their treasons notable.

Now touching the names of the traitors, their behauiours and speaches, with the maner of their executions, you shall vnderstand, that vpon the twentith date of September, being tuesdaie, John Ballard a preest, and first persuader of Babington to these odious treasons, was laid alone vpon an hurdell, and six others two and two in like sort, all drawne from Tower hill through the citie of London, vnto a field at the vpper end of Holborne, hard by the high waie side to saint Giles in the field, where was erected a scaffold for their execution, & a paire of gallowes of extraordinarie hight, as was that whereupon haughtie Haman was hanged for his ambition, &c: the place likewise so railed to keepe off horsemen, as the people might plainelie see the execution. On the first date the traitors were placed vpon the scaffold, that the one might behold the reward of his fellowes treason. Ballard the preest, who was the first brocher of this treason, was the first that was hanged, who being cut downe (according to iudgement) was dismembred, his bellie ript vp, his bowels and traitorous heart taken out & throwne into the fire, his head also (seuered from his shoulders) was set on a short stake vpon the top of the gallowes, and the trunke of his bodie quartered and imbrued in his owne blood, wherewith the executioners hands were bathed, and some of the standers by (but to their great loathing, as not able for their liues to auoid it, such was the throng) besprinkled. This Ballard, at the verie time of his death not denieng his treason, died an obstinate papist, and in his protestation doubtfullie said, that If he had offended the quéens maiestie, or anie man else, he was sorie, and so conditionallie desired forgiuenesse. The malicious affection of his heart towards hir highnesse appeared in the trembling passage of death, that whereas his treasons were impious, odious, and damnable, as the most wicked (to wit his confederats for the most part) confessed (as the common fame goeth) that they exceeded the greatnesse of hir maiesties mercie, which maie not be measured, where there is anie measure in offending.

The order of the traitors executed.

John Ballard preest persuader of Babington to these odious treasons executed.

The place of their execution was sometime the meeting place of their consultation.

How Ballard was affected at his death.

Ballards sophisticall asking of the queens maiestie forgiuenesse.

And yet in his desire of remission at hir highnesse hands, he added this condition (If) as one that doubted if hs had offended hir person.

Anthonie Babington esquier executed.

Next vnto this priest, Anthonie Babington was made readie to the gallowes, who in euerie point was handled like vnto Ballard; in whome a signe of his former pride was to be obserued. For whereas the rest (through the cogitation of death) were exercised in praier vpon their knees and bare-headed; he (whose turne was next) stood on his feet with his hat on his head, as if he had beene but a beholder of the execution. Concerning his religion, he died a papist. His treasons were so odious, as the sting of conscience compelled him to acknowledge himselfe a most grieuous trespasser against the diuine maiestie, and the queens highnesse. Next vnto Babington, Sauage was likewise prepared for the execution. This notable traitor (as the fame goeth) was the man that conferred with doctor Gifford at Paris; and by the confirmations of the English fugitiues at Rhemes was resolued, and resolutelie determined to kill the queene. It is likewise said, that vpon the apprehension of Ballard the priest, Babington accelerated and hastened this Sauage to dispatch his resolution, and that he onelie deferred the matter for the making of a courtlike sute of apparell.

A note of Babingtons pride at the verie instant of his execution.

John Sauage gentleman executed.

The fruites that issue from listening to the counsell of Jesuits, Romanists, and Rhemists.

When Sauage was executed, Barnewell was made readie to die, an obstinat papist, who for his treason made conscience his best excuse; howbeit a rotten conscience, which was infected with the murther of a vertuous queene; which sith it was so bad, few there were that heard him, but forbad their conscience to pitie him, otherwise than charitablie to be sorowfull for his offense, deseruing so shamefull a fall, and damnable before God and man. After this Barnewell, Tichborns turne was serued, a proper yong gentleman, whose humilitie and mone moued much compassion. Tilneie one of the queens maiesties pensioners, next vnto Tichborne, made worke for the hangman, a wretch well worthie of death, who went about to take awaie hir highnesse life.

Robert Barnewell gentleman executed.

Chidiocke Tichborne esquire executed.

Charls Tilneie a pensioner executed.

The last of these seuen that suffered was Edward Abington, whose father was an officer of good credit in hir highnesse house, and for manie aduancements was bound to saie; God saue good M. Elisabeth. But his sonne was a notable papist, & an archtraitor, who at his death did all that in him laie, to stir a feare in the hearts of the ignorant multitude, with this speech, that there could not chose but be great effusion of bloud in England verie shortlie. But Gods prouidence maketh it apparant, that the prophesies of traitors prooue not euermore scripture. For Throgmorton the traitor said, that before one yeare was expired, the prosperitie & peace of England should be turned into generall calamitie. Howbeit, the date of that diuination is out, & they both (as maie befalle the rest of that rebellious rout in their appointed time) by Gods grace partakers of semblable destinie. This Abington was the last of the first seuen that were executed: and thus ended that daies worke, to the comfort of Israell, for that the execrable thing which troubled the whole land (and highlie offended the diuine maiestie) was taken awaie.

Edward Abington esquier executed, his threatning speech.

Throgmortons prophesie and Abingtons of like truth in euent.

On the daie following (according to generall expectation) being the one and twentith date of September, Salisburie was laid alone vpon an hurdell, and other sir, two and two in like maner, all drawne from Tower hill through the citie of London, vnto the former place of execution. Salisburie was the first man that suffered, who in all points was handled as the other seuen the daie before; sauing that he and the latter sir were executed with this fauour, that they were permitted to hang vntill they were fullie dead, before the rest of their execution was performed. And albeit this man was blinded with the superstition of papistrie, euen at the point of death, yet he mildlie acknowledged his grieuous offense against the queene, and in his last commendation charged all catholikes (for so he onelie accounted the papists) that they should leaue attempting to set vp their religion by violent hand, and by double and treble repetition exhorted them to patience, and earnestlie forbad them all maner of violence.

Thomas Salisburie esquier executed.

The last seuen traitors executed with great fauour.

Salisburie acknowledgeth his grieuous offense: a note of repentance.

Violence forbidden by Salisburie.

After Salisburie was with all possible fauour executed, Dun was striped into his shirt, and seemed penitent for his grieuous offense: who after that with verie earnest persuasions he had likewise disuaded the Romanists from attempting anie matter of violence, he was executed with exceeding fauour. This Dun (as the report goeth) liued reasonable wealthilie, but it seemeth the man was of a discontented humour, and in dislike with a competent vocation; as appeared by this his vaine imagination. For in Trinitie terme last, comming into the Kings bench office, among other pleasant speeches to one of his familiars; You will maruell (quoth he) to see me within one quarter of a yeare to walke vp and downe the streets with twentie men after me. Whereupon one of his acquaintance pleasantlie answered, that he feared he should first see him followed to the gallowes with a thousand people. Dun shewed his desire, and the other read his destinie. But let the end of this traitor be a warning to all ambitious men, that destruction followeth presumption, and pride will haue a fall.

Henrie Dun gentleman executed.

The ambitious humour of Henrie Dun.

When the execution of Dun was finished, the next in that tragedie was Jones. This traitor (by that which was easie to be gathered of his behauiour at the gallowes) was a verie close papist, of a shrewd reach, and a most dangerous member in this common wealth. For notwithstanding his protestation that he disuaded Salisburie from this odious enterprise; yet his owne talke shewed that his counsell proceeded of a feare which he had, that the prond humor of Babington threatened an ouerthrow of their purpose; rather than of anie dutifull zeale that he bare towards the safetie of the queens maiestie. For he neither would him selfe discouer this treason of the highest degree, neither did he counsell his friend Salisburie to preuent his owne danger in detecting the conspiracie of his companions: yea when the odiousnesse thereof brake out into publike knowledge, he (contrarie to the generall duetie of a good subiect, and in contempt of a speciall warrant directed vnto him) not onelie refused (as he himselfe confessed) to apprehend Salisburie being in his owne house, but (so far as he might) succoured him, after that he was published to be a firebrand of that most wicked treason. One speciall thing neuertheless, which moued manie to pitie him aboue the rest, was, because with vehement words he protested, that although he was a catholike in religion, yet he so deepelie weied the libertie of his countrie, as that he would be (and euer was) readie to spend his life in withstanding anie forren enimie, French, Italish, Spanish, or whatsoeuer: by whose opinion the tolleration of innasion was so far from nature and christian duetie, as no excuse or punishment might satisfie the crime.

Edward Jones esquier executed.

Forren innasion reproued by Jones.

After Jones had paid the price of his treason, with all possible fauour, then Charnocke was executed, and after him Trauers, both two men (as it seemed) bewitched with an ignorant deuotion; for that in their ends nothing was to be obserued but their praieng

John Trauers & John Charnocke gentlemen executed.

praieng to our ladie, calling vpon saints, ioined with a number of ceremonies, crossings, and blessings, &c. So that it appeared that in their praiers, they were bound to forme more than to faith.

See before pag. 1357, a, 60, &c. 1358, b, 60, &c.

When the hangman had giuen these two his beastie blessing, Gage prepared himselfe to die, who began his protestation, that there was neuer subiect more bound to a prince than his father was to hir maiestie: and from that reuerend recognisance and true acknowledgement of hir maiesties graciousnes, he fell to excuse him selfe of the odious treasons for which he was to die: but on so weake a ground, as the simplest iudgement then present, found (by the order of his owne confession) that he was a dangerous instrument for the pope. He confessed that he accompanied Ballard the seminarie preest (who hatched the great eg of this pestilent practise) into Yorkeshire, & that he wrote a letter for the said preest to a Frenchman or Spaniard of account beyond the seas. To be short, in all the course of his confession, in indifferent iudgements, he accused himselfe to be an hollow hearted subiect, and a sound papist. This cunning traitor Gage could neuer haue made a confession of more infamie to himselfe, than in acknowledging the queens maiesties most excellent fauour, shewed to his father (which a dutifull sonne ought to esteeme a benefit vnto himselfe) and so to redouble the reproch of his treasons, he condemned himselfe of ingratitude, an vnnaturall vice, which the verie soules of the aire abhorre: as (to vse one example of sufficiencie for a thousand) is reported of the storke; which so often as she hath yong, casteth one out of the nest for the hire of the house, and reward of him that lodged hir.

Robert Gage executed.

Hir maiesties gratiousnesse commended by this traitor.

Hypocrisie of Robert Gage.

The last that suffered was one of the Bellamies, whose countenance discouered him to be a setled papist, and who as he could saie little to saue his life; so at the gallowes he spake nothing to defend his death. Although this traitor had but a dull spirit, yet (as it seemed) he had a malicious heart, answerable to that of his frends, who succored Babington and some of his associats, when feare of the law, and shame of their odious treasons, made them to shrowd themselues like foxes in holes and couerts. And it seemeth that they were as resolute to follow the treasons of Babington, as they were readie to releeue him from the danger of the law. Otherwise if this Bellamies brother had not had an accusing conscience, he would neuer with violent hands haue hanged himselfe.

Jerom Bellamie gentleman executed.

One of the Bellamies hanged himselfe in the Tower.

Thus ended the second daies execution, to the full satisfaction of the peoples expectation; who neuerthelesse (as the daie before) were inwardlie touched with passions ingendred by the deepe impressions of the present obiects: but touched they were, as nothing pitieng their deserued deaths, in regard they were most heinous malefactors: but as they were men, in whome humanitie should so haue preuailed, as that they should rather haue chosen losse of life & liuelod, than to haue intended the desolation of their natiue countrie, the deprivation of prince, the deposition of peeres, the destruction of people; and what soeuer might seeme as a directorie to bloudshed and slaughter, from the highest gouernor sitting in roialtie adorned with crowne and scepter, to the sucking babe lieng in the cradle wrapped in swathing clouts. Which extremities of butcherlie crueltie and vnnaturall sauagenesse, haue had an ancient purpose of practise, as maie appeare by a clause or two of John Nichols his recantation; where speaking of Pius Quintus, excommunicating our liege souereigne, he saith that the same was within a twelue moneth of the first publication reuiued, and fiue hundred copies printed at Rome, which were dispersed throughout Italie, Spaine, & Germanie. Whereof what were the contents, is at large set downe in the treatise of execution of iustice in England for treason, not for religion.

Ex libello I. Nich. typis C. B. excuso 1581.

But thus saith the same conuert, that a reader of diuinitie positiue, in the hearing of two hundred scholers, vomited these prophane words out of his vncircumcised mouth; that it was lawfull for anie of worship in England, to authorise the vilest wretch that is, to seeke the death of hir highnesse: whose prosperous estate the Italish preest and Spanish prince do so maligne, that they would worke wonders, were it not for certeine impedits: as father Pais a Spaniard, reader of diuinitie scholastically in the Romane college, affirmed in an auditorie of three hundred, saieng: *Bona papæ voluntas trita & manifesta est, & eius crumena parata: sed R. P. aut metus subtrahit, aut potestatis defectus vetat, vt suum in Angliam exercitum ducere non audeat.* Where (by the waie) would be noted an inuasion long since pretended. And that the queens maiesties estate was then maliciouslie aimed at, maie appeare by these comminations and threats, that they would burne hir bones, and the bones of all such as loued hir, either aliue or dead; of whome, some were lords temporall, some spirituall, &c. Memorandum, that this was to be done, when they held the sterne of gouernement: which shall be, when errant traitors are good subiects, and ranke knaues honest men.

The causes that haue so long hindered king Philip to inuade England.

And now to touch the punishment inflicted vpon the foresaid wretches, there is none (if he be not a sworne aduersarie to the state, and an enimie to iustice) but must needs confesse, that although some of the conspirators were no lesse sharpelie executed, than by law was censured: yet considering the qualitie of their offense, it was a death tempered with lenitie, if no more but the spedines of their execution be considered, whereby their paine and smart was but momentanie. Oh with what seueritie did the ancients punish offenses of this nature! And not without cause. For besides that nothing is more vsuall in all the whole scriptures, than prohibition to kill or to seeke the life or honor, not onelie of the prince, but also of inferior magistrats, although they be wicked (and it is said in Exodus; Thou shalt not raile vpon the iudges, neither speake euill of the ruler of the people) so is it prouided by the lawes of nations, that not onelie he that hath killed his souereigne, but he also that made the attempt, that gaue counsell, that yeelded consent, that conceiued the thought, is giltie of high treason. Yea, he that was neuer preuented nor taken in the maner, in this point of the souereigne, the law accounteth him as condemned alreadie; and iudgeth him capable of death, that thought once in times past to haue seized vpon the life of his prince, anie repentance that followed notwithstanding.

The reuerend regard that subiects ought to haue of their soueraignes, &c.

And trulie there was a gentleman of Normandie, who confessed to a Franciscane frier, that he once minded to haue killed king Francis the first: but repented him of that euill thought. The frier gaue him absolution, but yet afterwards informed the king of the same; who sent the gentleman to the parlement at Paris there to be tried, where he was by common consent condemned to die, and after executed. Amongst the Macedonians there was a law, that condemned to death fiue of their next kinsfolks that were conuicted of conspiracie against their prince. And most notable is the historie of Romilda, who seeing hir towne or citie besieged by a barbarous king, but yet youthfull and wanton; she signified vnto the enimie by messengers, that she would betraie the citizens into his hands, if he would honour hir with marriage. Which when the

A gentleman iudged to die because he once thought to haue killed his prince.

A seuere law against treason.

king had promised to doo, she in the night season opened the gates, and (the people vnwitting and ignorant) let in forren force. Now the king being entered & in possession, commanded that the towne should be sacked, and all the people slaughtered, Romilda excepted, the vse of whose bodie (for his oth sake, which he was loth to violat) he had the same night as in wedlocke: howbeit, the next daie he cast hir off, and betooke hir to twelue scullions by turns to be abused; & lastlie pitcht hir vpon a stake.

A woman traitoresse well rewarded.

Here you haue examples in both sexes (man and woman) of treason and conspiracie most seuerelie executed: which if they be compared vnto the sufferings of our late offendors, Jesu what ods shall we sée and confesse? And as the ancients had treason in mortall hatred; so could they not awaie with ingratitude, as maie be obserued by the laws of Draco (which were said to be written in bloud, they were so sharpe and peremptorie) amongst which, there was a commandement, that if anie man had receiued a benefit of his neighbor, and it were proued against him long after that he had bæne vnthankefull for it, and had ill acknowledged the good turne receiued; such a one should be put to death. So then we sée how in old time they opposed their affections against particular vices, persecuting them with seueritie, as laboring to supplant them: this age of ours beholdeth ingratitude and treason combined, with a fowle nest of other irksome and noisome sins, in the hearts of helhounds (for we maie not vouchsafe them the name of men) breathing out the vapors of their venemous infection, to the damnifieng of the whole commonwelth: what fauour then deserue such to find where they haue offended, or rather what rigor are they not worthie to suffer?

Against seeking after nouelties, and to teach men to be well aduised, &c.

Among the Locrians there was a strict decrée, that euerie citizen, desirous to bring in a new law, should come and declare it publikelie before the people with a halter about his necke; to the end that if his new law was not thought meet to be receiued, and verie profitable for the commonwelth, he might presentlie be strangled with the same rope. If they in old time went so short a waie to worke in a case of vnadui sedneſſe, to teach others that they vndertake nothing without mature deliberation: what are we taught to be conuenient for such, as breake not their wits either to deuise or prefer new laws; but indeuor what they can to dissolue all law and order, all peace and societie, all gouernment and subiection; and by the impulsion of a furious mind to let in libertie, contempt, and all the enormities and abuses that accompanie a licentious life? To let passe the pluralitie of examples & authorities of this kind, the number being so great as that they would fill vp Erotosthenes siue; and to saie somewhat of seueritie, that by opposition of countrie to countrie in that respect, we maie sée the great difference betweene ours and theirs.

Extreame kinds of torments in other countries for treason, &c.

It is seueritie to flea men quicke, to chaine them aliue to a stake, in such sort as they maie run round thereabout, the fier inuironing them on all sides: it is seueritie to haue collops of flesh pluckt from the bodie with hot burning tongs: it is seueritie to be cast downe from a steepe place starke naked vpon sharpe stakes: it is seueritie to be torne in peeces with wild horsses, and to haue the bones broken vpon a wheele. All these be extremities of torments awarded by law, and at this daie practised in forren regions for treason, and sometime for crimes of nothing so dangerous a nature. Finallie, if we confer the seueritie of this execution, exercised vpon rebellious and traitorous subiects in a superlatiue degrée of disloialtie, with that of other nations commonlie vsed, namelie in principall affaires, which concerne peace and warre, and matters of gouernment, to accept the seruice of runnagate slaues, to place them in authoritie, to change or depose at pleasure anie whatsoeuer; yea to strangle them vpon the least suspicion or dislike: our seueritie is clemencie. For in this is ripe reason and iudiciall processe; in the other will without wit, & (as commonlie they saie) *Omnia pro imperio, nihil pro officio.*

Traitors iustlie rewarded, and yet nothing so as they deserue.

And therefore we conclude, that ingratitude being counted vnnaturall, and treason (a vice vomited out of hell mouth) linked togither with manie knots of other shamefull sinnes, and all concurring in the hearts and liues of these outragious conspirators as in a centre: whie should it be thought seueritie to haue iustice iustlie administred, that traitors should be drawne vpon hurdels, strangled in a halter, cut downe aliue, dismembred, their bellies ripped, their bowels taken out and burned, their heads chopt from their shoulders, their bodies clouen in foure quarters, and set ouer the gates of London, for the foules of the aire to féed vpon at full? Vnto which fowle end maie all such come, as meane anie mischiefe against good quéene Elisabeth, the lords of hir highnesse councell, the bodie politike of the land, the slander or innouation of true religion, &c: wherein God make prince and people of one mind, and plant in all subiects a reuerend regard of obedience and contentment of present estate, supported with iustice and religion: least longing after nouelties, it fare with them as with the frogs, who liuing at libertie in lakes and ponds, would néeds (as misliking their present intercommunitie of life) with one consent sue to Jupiter for a king, and so did. Whereat he wondering, granted their desires, and cast them an huge trunke of a tree, which besides that it made a great noise in the water as it fell, to their terrifieng; so it was cumbersome by taking vp their accustomed passage: insomuch that discontented therewithall, they assaulted Jupiter with a fresh petition, complaining that (besides diuerse misliкes otherwise) the king whom he gaue them was but a senseleſſe stocke, and vnworthie of obedience: wherefore it would please him to apoint them another indued with life. Whereupon Jupiter sent the herne among them, who entring into the water, deuoured vp the frogs one after another: insomuch that the residue, séeing their new king so rauenouslie gobling vp their fellowes, lamentablie wéeping besought Jupiter to deliuer them from the throte of that dragon and tyrant. But he (of purpose vnchangeable) made them a flat answer, that (will they nill they) the herne should rule ouer them.

A prettie apolog allusorie to the present case of malcontents.

Whereby we are taught to be content when we are well, and to make much of good quéene Elisabeth, by whom we enioie life and libertie, with other blessings from aboue; beséeching God we maie sée a consummation of the world, before the scepter of the kingdome be translated to another. For (as the prouerbe saith) seldome commeth the better. But to the purpose, this execution being dispatched, and the testimonies thereof dispersed and visible in diuerse places about the citie, as at London bridge, where the traitors heads were ranged into their seuerall classes: manie rimes, ballads, and pamphlets were set forth by sundrie well affected people, wherein breefelie were comprised the plot of their conspiracie, the names of the traitors, and their successiue suffering, which growing common and familiar both in citie and countrie, were chanted with no lesse alacritie & courage of the singer; than willinglie and delightfullie listened vnto of the hearer. So that, what by one meane and what by another, all

Seldoms commeth the better.

English

England was made acquainted with this horrible conspiracie, not so much admiring the maner of the mischeefes intended, as comforted that hir highnesse had the holie hand of God ouershadowing hir, the surest protection that prince or people can haue against perill. So that England is replenished with faithfull and louing subiects, though here and there (like darnell among wheate) lurke a viper or aspe waiting opportunitie to bite or sting.

Traitors inflicte reuenged, and yet nothing to the purpose.

Now to make a complet discourse of all these heauie & tragicall accidents, hauing thus far continued much important matter concerning the same: the reader is with due regard to peruse the addition following, wherein is argument of aggrauation touching these treasons: which being aduisedlie read, considered, and conferred with the former narration, will yeld as sound, pithie, and effectuall information for the knowledge of the conspirators purposed plot, as anie subiect would desire: and more than without greefe or teares anie true English heart can abide to read or heare. Where, by the waie, is to be noted, that Marie the Scotish Q. was a principall.

It is aparant by the iudiciall confessions of John Ballard preest, Anthonie Babington, and their confederats, that the said John Ballard (being a preest of the English seminarie at Rheims), in Lent past (after he and sundrie other Iesuits and preests, of his sect, had trauelled throughout all parts almost of this realme, & labored to their vttermost to breed in hir maiesties subiects an inclination to rebell against hir) he went into France, and there treated and concluded with Barnardino de Mendoza (the Spanish ambassador resiant at Paris) with Charles Paget & Thomas Morgan two English fugitiues, and inexcusable traitors for an inuasion to be made by forren forces into this kingdome. And because no assurance could then be made vnto Mendoza for the interteining, assisting, and good landing of those whome the king his maister, the pope, and the house of Guise should dispatch for that seruice, he sent the said Ballard into England at Whitsuntide last, with expresse charge to informe the catholikes, that for sundrie important considerations, the king his maister had vowed vpon his soule to reforme England, or to lose Spaine: and for that purpose had in readinesse such forces & warlike preparations, as the like was neuer seene in these parts of christendome. And therefore willed him to stirre the people, and worke the meanes to make some faction to giue them landing & interteinment at their comming: & specially to preserue the Scotish Q. in that confusion; letting the catholiks vnderstand, that in case they did not assist the inuaders, they would then enter as conquerors, put no difference betwixt man & man.

Barnardino de Mendoza, alwaies mischeeuously minded against the state of England: note his practises with Ballard.

With this dispatch Ballard by the speciall direction of Morgan (a notorious traitor to this state, yea a professed & sworne seruant vnto the Scotish queene) repaired to Anthonie Babington, a gentleman to whom the said Scotish Q. vpon the commendation of Morgan & the bishop of Glascow, had long before written letters of gratulation, & with whom she had secret intelligence by sending of letters & other messages, the space almost of two yeares before. To this gentleman Ballard discouered at large the whole purpose of Mendoza, Paget, & Morgan, and said (as he had in charge) that if happilie a strong partie could be made here to assist the inuasion, and aduance the Scotish queene, men, munition, monie, and vittels should be abundantlie suplied from beyond the seas; and therefore persuaded Babington to sound the whole realme, and to vndertake the action. Babington at the first proposed manie difficulties, but principallie this, that the inuaders or their assistants could haue no hope (the state being so well setled) to

The Scotish queene is an actor in this purposed conspiracie.

preuaile during hir maiesties life. Whereupon Ballard presentlie replied, that hir life could be no hinderance therein. For vpon like doubts mooued beyond the seas by meanes alreadie laid, John Sauage (a conspirator conuicted hereof by his owne confession) through the persuasion and procurement principallie of one William Gifford (an English fugitiue, and reader of diuinitie in the English seminarie at Rheims) had vowed and sworne to kill hir maiestie, as a thing resolued vpon to be lawfull, honorable, and meritorious.

John Sauage had vowed and sworne to kill the queene.

This difficultie being thus removed, and Ballard from daie to daie continuing his persuasions, and highlie commending the murthering of hir maiestie as a deed of great honor, singular merit, and easie to effectuat: Babington vndertooke the managing of the whole action, and hauing first with his complices entred into manie severall propositions of sundrie treasonable natures, as to surprise hir maiesties person by force, to kill the lord treasurer, the earle of Leicester, and sir Francis Walsingham, to remoue hir councellors, and to place new, to murther the nobilitie whilest they were set in administring iustice, to sacke the citie of London, to fire the navie of the realme, to surprise some forces and hauens, to furnish the pate of their forces by an vniuersall spoile and robbing of the richer sort; hauing (I saie) first entred into these and such like propositions) in fine, he with Ballard and others resolued vpon these three principall points; first, that the inuaders should be assisted by a prepared readinesse in the people to rebell in diuerse places, and to ioine with them vpon their first landing; that hir maiestie should be murthered by six gentlemen of resolution; and lastlie, that the Scotish queene should be aduanced to the crowne of England. For the better performance of these resolutions, Ballard and Babington sounded diuerse, and dealt with manie; and so farre Babington proceeded in short time, that a choise was made by him of the six that should execute the attempt against hir maiesties person, that some others were especiallie assigned by him to attend and assist the inuasion, with direction from Babington to be popular vnto their vttermost; and that himselfe resolued vpon the first assurance either of hir maiesties death, or of the strangers arriuall, to proclame the queene of Scots queene of England.

Babington vndertaketh the managing of the whole action: note their treasons.

Things standing in these terms, and Babington deferring onelie the execution of this plot, vntill signification therof were giuen to the Scotish queene, and hir good pleasure knowne therein (God so ordeining it) the Scotish queene in June last wrote vnto Babington a short letter in cipher, signifieng hir discontent for the breach of their intelligence, and requiring him to send by that bearer a packet receiued for hir in April before, and vntill that time reteined by Babington, as wanting good meanes of conueieng, and therefore fearing the danger of that seruice. Whereupon Babington vsing that opportunitie, both deliuered hir packet vnto that messenger, and by him wrote vnto hir touching euerie particular of this plot aboue mentioned, and how farre he had proceeded therein; signifieng amongst manie other things, how desirous he was to do hir some seruice, how well it might be performed, if assurance were giuen from beyond the seas for that which was vndertaken thense, and how necessarie it were that rewards were promised vnto the chiefe actors for their better incouragement, and to be giuen to their posteritie, in case they miscaried in the execution. And therefore he required, that she would grant authoritie to some such as it might like hir to giue certeine offices and dignities necessarie

The Scotish queene writeth vnto Babington in cipher: with his aduise, direction, and request.

for this action. Unto this letter Babington about twentie daies after in the same cipher, by which he did write before, receiued answer from the Scotish quéene, with which she also sent inclosed (as hir secretarie now confesseth) a new alphabet in cipher, to be vsed betweene them from that time forward.

And in this hir letter she not onelie declared hir good opinion of Babington, gaue him due thanks for his readinesse to do hir seruice, promised correspondencie in all that she might, and willed that the resolution being taken, he should with all spéed impart it to Barnardino de Mendoza, considering first what forces on foot or horssebacke he could make, what place for their assemblie, what leaders in euerie shire, what generall or chéefe leaders; but also amongst infinit other traitorous directions (apparant by the verie letters) she aduised that vpon returne of answer from Mendoza, with assurance that all things were in a readinesse, then and not before it should be conuenient to sound the countrie. And to colour the prouision and preparation, it should be giuen out, that what they did, was not vpon anie euill or disloiall disposition towards hir maiestie, but for the iust defense of catholikes, their bodies, liues, & lands, against the violence of the Puritans, the principall whereof being in the low countries with the chéefe forces of the realme, purposed at his returne to ruine not onelie the whole catholikes, but also meant to depriue hir maiestie of the crowne. And that they should giue it out, that therefore the preparation was for the defense of hir maiestie, and hir lawfull successors, not naming the Scotish quéene: vnder which pretense an association also might be made amongest the catholikes.

The Scotish quænes aduise in this mischiefous plot fauoring altogither of inhumanitie.

Which being done, and all things in readinesse both within and without the realme, it should be then time for the six gentlemen to worke, taking order that (because the time would be somewhat vncerteine of the exploit vpon hir maiesties person) there should be continuallie some men in readinesse about the court well horsed, to bring word in post into the countrie (by foure seuerall waies for feare of intercepting) when that designment was performed, to the end she might be taken awaie before hir kéeper could either conueie hir awaie or fortifie the place. She wished that some fire might be kindled in Ireland, to the end the councellors attention might be distracted from that part whense the stroke should come, which was from Flanders, Spaine, and the house of Guise. She aduised Babington to deale carefullie and vigilantlie, to prouide all things necessarie for effecting the enterprise, in such sort that it might take good effect by the grace of God (for so it pleaseth hir to vse the phrase.) Lastlie, after great promises of large requitall to all the conspirators, and manie other particular aduises tending wholie to the subuersion of this state, and deprivation of hir maiesties life, she groweth towards a conclusion, with praier for his good successe in the aforesaid conspiracie. It were needlesse to exprésse more particularlie the contents of his or hir letters, the originals themselues being extant and surprised.

Six gentlemen of resolution, &c.

To these letters Babington wrote for answer by the same messenger, that so sone as the resolution was fullie taken with Mendoza, he would informe hir more; and therevpon within three daies after addressed Ballard towards Mendoza with signification, that all things were here in a readinesse, and attended onelie the arriuall of their forces. But God, who hath alwaies protected hir maiestie in all mercie beyond the expectation of man, euen almost in the verie point of execution, discouered the conspiracie. And therevpon Ballard (being readie to imbarke himselfe) was taken, vpon whose apprehension Babington forced (as he said) with the extreme danger to be discouered, and the no hope of anie pardon for so hatefull an offense, entred a new resolution with Sauage aforenamed & Charnocke, to take hir maiesties life awaie presentlie, otherwise intended to haue béene respited vntill the inuasion, which (as Ballard from the mouth of Mendoza swore) must at the vttermost haue béene performed by September. But Babington, finding himselfe restreined before he wist, and thereby assuring himselfe that all was knowne, found the meanes to escape, in hope to haue recouered the sea, and so to haue saued himselfe and his confederats. Yet after ten daies search through all countries adioining to London, though disguised in clownes attire, and discoloured with walnut leaues, he was discouered, apprehended, and with some other of the conspirators brought vnto London, with greater manifestation of true loie in the people for their surprise, than tong can exprésse or pen maie write.

Ballard apprehended being readie to imbarked and transported ouerseas.

The conspirators disguised themselues, thinking by that meane to shift the matter.

The apprehension of Ballard and flight of Babington dismaied the rest, and dispersed the other conspirators; yet not so farre, but that iustice hath since laid hold vpon the most of them. And though in the beginning they seemed all resolued to stand vnto the denial of euerie part of this action; yet such is the force of truth, that without either hope of fauor or feare of torture, they haue all acknowledged the conspiracie, and confessed their seuerall offenses, agnising the Scotish quéene to be the principall comforter, directer, and imbracer of these treasons, and imputing this error to their deceiuable expectation of hir future greatnesse in this land, the hope whereof ioined with hir allurements, hath heretofore as the world can witnesse (though these could not beware thereby) bred diuerse rebellions within this kingdome, ouerturned manie happie estates, and defiled sundrie families of vnspotted fidelitie in former time.

Magna est veritas & prævalet.

All which notwithstanding our catholikes and others owe and attribute so great a priuilege to hir person onelie, that being past expectation (as they terme it) of anie good from the king hir sonne, and not regarding the interest of anie other to the succession of this state, if she by death or otherwise maie not be aduanced vnto this kingdome: they are then determined to set the crowne on the house of Spaine, either by pretense of some putatiue title, to which effect some pamphlets haue béene alreadie composed; or rather (to auoid all controuersies) by some grant and inuesture from the see apostolike: for the dispatch whereof (as the conspirators confesse) doctor Allen an English fugitiue, and some others attend in Rome to sollicit the pope. Which being once performed, some of the grauer and more reuerend sort (as they call them) of our fugitiue diuines, must secretlie make their repaire hither, and in auricular confession persuade the principall catholikes of this land, and such as are able to swaie the rest, to fauor, maintein and aduance that title of Spaine against all others, vnder paine of damnation. By meanes whereof it is intended that Spaine shall mount to so huge a greatnesse, as to be able of himselfe to giue lawes to all the states of christendome. ¶ With this note, being the verie flower and grace of all the former discourse, we will conclude, hauing now no more to saie touching the conspiracie, but these few verses, which we will vse in lieu of a conclusion, and so proceed vnto other matters of consequence, conuenient for the booke:

How the popish catholiks are affected to the Scotish quæne.

What the fugitiue diuines must doo for their parts.

Quid non papa ruens spondet, modo iussa capessat
En diadema tibi, sceptráque, pactus Hymen.
Dissimilem votis mercedem nacta, sed ausis
Et sceleri retulit turba nefanda parem.

In nefariam Babingtoni cæterorumque coniurationem, hexastichon.

Succesſere

Succesſere rogi regno, coniuge coronæ,
Pro sceptro laqueus, pro thalamo tumulus.]

Sir Philip Sidneie slaine at Zutphen in Gelderland: of whome see more pag. 1554.

In this meane time, to wit, on the 22 daie of September, sir Philip Sidneie knight, a most valiant & towardlie gentleman, sonne & heire to sir Henrie Sidneie late deceased (as is before shewed, in seruice of his prince, and defense of his countrie, in the warres of the Netherlands) was shot into his thigh with a musket at Zutphen in Gelderland, whereof he died on the 17 of October, whose bodie was conueied into England, to be honourablie buried. On the eight of October, John Low, John Adams, and Robert Dibdale, being before condemned for treason, in being made preests by authoritie of the bishop of Rome, since the feast of John Baptist in the first yeare of hir maiesties reigne, and remaining here after the terme of fourtie daies after session of the last parlement, were drawne to Tiborne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered.

Seminarie preests executed at Tiborn.

The note of R. S. esquire. A tempestuous wind in October terrible and hurtfull.

On the same daie at night being saturdaie, there arose the greatest storme that happened since the wind which some do call Doner wind; and some others, the wind that blew awaie Calis, which was in the time of the reigne of queene Marie. For besides great harmes, which happened that night vpon the seas, there were vpon the land in euerie quarter ouerthrowne thereby, houses, cottages, barnes, haiestacks, tiles, chimneies, pales, and gates innumerable, and manie trees both great and small were not onelie torne and rent asunder, but grubd vp by the roots: in so much as vpon the mondaie next in manie places men could not passe on horsebacke in the high waies, by reason of the trees that laie blowne and broken downe crosse ouerthwart the streets. And among other strange chances happening in that tempest, I thought good (for a taste) to recite three accidents which befell not farre asunder within the countie of Kent. The one was at Sittingborne, where a woman passing in the street by hir neighbors house, saw a great tree standing close by the same, to wauer and wag at the verie root, in such sort as she suspecting the ruine thereof, called vnto hir neighbors who were then in bed, and told them the danger thereof, who presentlie arising, descended from out of the loft where they lodged, and were no soner departed thense, but downe fell the tree and brake through the roofe of that house, and rested on the bed where they laie.

The accidents noteworthie by meanes of this blustering wind.

A strange accident of a walnut tree blowne downe with the wind, &c.

There was also blowne downe with the violence of the same wind not far off a great walnut tree, the armes and branches whereof bare and bent a couple of imps, in such sort as the owner in the morning to saue them, did cut off two branches from the walnut tree, and so departed to the church to heare morning praier: but before he was returned home to dinner, his walnut tree stood as vpright as euer it did, and so remaineth and groweth as before.

The third strange chance

The third strange chance happened that night at Dartford in the said shire, at the dwelling house of maister Bere esquire, where by the force of the said wind, all the coping of one side of a great gable hed of bricke (reaching from below the top or roofe of the same house almost to the eaues thereof) was blowne quite ouer the house vnder which it stood, and neuer touched anie part thereof at anie side. By these accidents happening within so small a circuit, it maie be conceiued what great harmes were done that night throughout the whole realme. For it was thought vniuersall, as was also that which raged in the end of September, wherewithall fell such sharpe shewers of raine, that the drops thereof beating against the faces of trauellers made them to smart, as with twigs of birch: and so vehement they were that they perced through their clothing to their skin: so that manie wringing wet and sore beaten with wind and weather, being verie ill apaid, were glad to shorten their purposed iournies, by taking the next towne for their present succour, where they might see the roofes and rafters of houses naked of tiles, and heare the donging of belles as they hong in the steeples, &c. At what time it was reported by people of great age, that they had béene in manie tempests they thanked God, but none comparable to this: which might well be so, if a man were disposed to set downe a register of the particular casualties, losses, damages, hurts, hinderances, &c: thereby occasioned. In the table if you loke for tempests and winds, you shall read strange matter and worthie obseruation, though some account this and manie more but ridiculus stuffe: which kind of people I doubt are not of the number that wonder at Gods works, but are to too much addicted to naturall philosophie.

Ludgate of London newlie builded.

One of the west gates of the citie of London, commonlie called Ludgate, being sore decaied, and in perill to haue fallen, was taken downe, the prisoners thereof in the meane time remaining vnder the charge of Thomas Lutwich custos or keper of Ludgate, in the southeast quadrant to the same gate adioining: which quadrant, for the ease of the prisoners freemen of that citie, was sometime builded by sir Steuen Foster fishmonger, lord maior of that citie, in Anno 1453. And this yeare, the said gate was againe not onelie newlie, but also stronglie and beautifullie builded, at the charges of the citizens of the same citie, the foundation whereof, in the name and presence of sir Wolstan Dixie maior, certeine of his brethren the aldermen, Anthonie Ratclife and Henrie Pranell shiriffes, was laid on the second daie of Maie, and so forthwith so diligentlie applied by William Kirwine free mason (and other workmen of diuerse crafts vnder his charge) who for a certeine sum had taken vpon him for all maner of stuffe & workemanship to the same belonging, that the same gate was fullie finished in the space of six moneths or lesse. So that on the 29 daie of October in the same yeare, the said gate was set open to sir William Cicill knight lord treasuror, who first entered the same on horsebacke, accompanied of diuerse other honorable persons, and noble men of hir maiesties priuie councell, who all rode to the Guildhall, where on the same daie kept his feast George Barnes lord maior of that citie, after he had taken his oth and charge in the exchecker at Westminster.

Parlement at Westminster.

On the 29 daie of October the archbishop of Canturburie, the lord treasuror, and the earle of Derbie, representing the queens maiesties person, began the high court of parlement by prore, which session of parlement was at this time assembled for triall of matters concerning Marie queene of Scots, as more plainlie shall appeare, by that which followeth the end of that session. In the moneth of Nouember about the 23 daie, the right honorable lord Robert earle of Leicester, lieutenant generall of all hir maiesties forces in the vnited prouinces of the low countries, returning from thense, arriued at London, and went late to the court, where as he was not so suddenlie come, as forwardlie welcome of the principall, and others, to the great reioising of all estates throughout the whole realme, as maie appeare by verses of gratulation, in part as followeth:

Anno Reg. 29. The earle of Leicester returned from the low countries, and arriued in England.

Solonem ingenio, magnum qui Nestora vincis
Consilio, pietate Numam, grauitate Catonem:
Gratus ades, ter gratus ades, Comes inclyte, ab oris
Teutonicis, falsi emensus vada cærula ponti:
Rauca fuit Wansteda diu, te absente, nec vllas

In reditum magnanimi herois, Roberti Comitis Leceſtrij, Ἐυδειξτικὸν gratulatorium. T. N.

Lætitiæ ediderat voces: Ilfordia eclypſin
Paſſa fuit, modulis fleuit Laitona canoris:
Hammáque mœſtificis vlulauit percita curis.
At veluti auricomus diſpellit nubila Titan,
Exhilarat tua ſic noſtros præſentia vultus
Magne Comes, terræ decus, immortale Britannæ,
Magnanimos inter meritò numerande dynaſtas.

The parlement prorogued.

On the ſecond date of December, the ſeſſion of parlement (begun the nine & twentith of October as is afore ſhewed) was diſſolued & broken vp, and was prorogued vntill the fiue & twentith of Februarie nert following. The ſubſtance and effect of matters handled in the ſame parlement, is ſet downe in a letter learnedlie penned, and directed to the right honorable the earle of Leiceſter, as followeth.

THE COPIE OF A LETTER TO the right honorable the earle of Leiceſter, lieutenant generall of all hir maieſties forces in the vnited prouinces of the low countries, written before, but deliuered at his returne from thenſe: with a report of certeine petitions and declarations made to the queenes maieſtie at two ſeuerall times, from all the lords and commons latelie aſſembled in parlement: and hir maieſties anſweres therevnto by hir ſelfe deliuered, though not expreſſed by the reporter with ſuch grace and life, as the ſame were vttered by hir maieſtie.

ted, reſolued, and digeſted, with great labor and premeditation of the greateſt, graueſt, wiſeſt, and moſt choiſe perſons of the whole realme, whereof although I haue but ſlenderlie portraied the lineaments, without expreſſing to life the externall ornaments of hir rotall ſpeach, accompanied with all princelie and gracefull accomplements: yet doubt I not but your lordſhip will eaſilie find hir inward vertues, whereof it is impoſſible for me to make the leaſt adumbration.

And becauſe in the dailie expectation of your lordſhips returne, I reſted vncerteine how theſe might come ſafelie to your lordſhips hands: I did therefore aduiſe to haue this my letter with the included copies to be readie to attend your firſt arriuall, in gratulation of the ſafetie thereof, which hath bæne long deſired. Wherein, as I ſtriue to performe a particular dutie to your lordſhip, ſo truſt I you will haue that honorable conſideration, that in the communication thereof with others, there grow not anie prejudice to me for my preſumption, in aduenturing to be a reporter of that, which in the deliuerie wrought ſo great aſtoniſhment to all the hearers, as it exceeded the fulneſſe of euerie mans expectation: and therefore, without ſome fauorable conſtruction of mine attempt, I might incurre great blame by my ſlender maner of report, ſo to haue blemiſhed the excellencie of hir maieſties ſpæches, whereof I humblie beſeech your lordſhip to haue fauorable regard. Thus referring them to your lordſhips diſpoſition, and my ſelfe to your fauorable protection, I humblie take my leaue. 25. Nouember. 1586.

Your lordſhips moſt humblie in all dutie to command, R. C.

To the right honorable the earle *of Leiceſter, &c.*

ALbeit with earneſt deſire of my heart (right honorable my verie good lord) I haue alwaies indeuored to do your lordſhip ſome acceptable ſeruice, for the honour you firſt vouchſafed me from beyond my cradle, and after confirmed with the fauorable opinion therewith you haue alwaies countenanced me euer ſince, euen thus far onward on my daies, which alſo together with my yeares hath increaſed faſter than mine abilitie to performe, being croſſed in nothing more dæpelie, than when I was letted by the ouermuch tendering of me by my parents, to attend your lordſhip in your late voiage and honorable expedition into the low countries: yet haue I bæne euer ſince moſt ſtudious to obſerue and apprehend ſome good occaſion, or fit opportunitie, to teſtifie the dutifull reuerence I beare to your lordſhip: wherein if hitherto I haue bæne ſlacke in performance during your abſence, it hath proceeded of the care I had, not to interteine your lordſhip with matter either friuolous or vulgar: though things of that nature might beſt become my condition, and well agrée with my vnderſtanding.

In which cogitation it came to my mind, that the report of the ſpæches deliuered by the queens moſt excellent maieſtie in a late and weightie cauſe dealt in this parlement, in anſwer to the petitions preſented to hir maieſtie the twelfe and foure and twentith date of Nouember at Richmond by the lord chancellor and ſpeaker, reſpectiuelie, in the name and behalfe of both eſtates, accompanied with diuerſe of either ſort, would doubtleſſe be a thing to your lordſhip moſt gratefull, as one euer pleaſed iuſtlie to admire the rare perfections of hir mind, and approued iudgement, wherewith according to your eſtate and place, deſeruedlie, your lordſhip hath bæne vſuallie acquainted: as alſo worthie of eternall monument and euerlaſting memorie, for as much as on the ſudden they were deliuered by hir ſelfe, for anſwer of a matter propounded, debated, reſolued, and digeſted, with great labor and premeditation of the greateſt, graueſt, wiſeſt, and moſt choiſe perſons of the whole realme, whereof although I haue but ſlenderlie portraied the lineaments, without expreſſing to life the externall ornaments of hir rotall ſpeach, accompanied with all princelie and gracefull accomplements: yet doubt I not but your lordſhip will eaſilie find hir inward vertues, whereof it is impoſſible for me to make the leaſt adumbration.

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Your lordſhips moſt humblie in all dutie to command, R. C.

The briefe of the lord chancellors firſt *ſpeach, at the time when he deliuered hir moſt* excellent maieſtie a petition in writing, for and in *the name of the lords and commons: which ſpeaches were* of more length than here are by me collected: but ſure I am, the ſubſtance thereof is here trulie expreſſed.

THat the lords and commons, hauing of long time to their intolerable greefe, found, by how manie practiſes the Scotiſh quéne had compaſſed the deſtruction of hir highneſſe moſt rotall perſon (in whoſe ſafetie nert vnder God they acknowledged their chiefe felicitie to conſiſt) thereby not onelie to bereaue them of the ſincere and true religion in this realme profeſſed and eſtabliſhed, but to bring backe againe this noble realme into the thraldome of Romiſh tyrannie, and to ouerthrow the happie eſtate thereof: wherein, although hir highneſſe of hir abundant, gratious, naturall clemencie, and princelie magnanimitie, hath either lightlie paſſed them ouer, or with no ſmall indulgence tolerated, notwithſtanding the often and earneſt inſtances of hir nobilitie and commons in ſundrie parlements heretofore: and further hath protected hir from the violent purſute of hir owne people: ſhe yet, as a perſon obdurat in malice (as it appeareth) continued hir former practiſes, as had bæne latelie manifeſted by certeine wicked conſpiracies plotted by one Anthonie Babington, and diuerſe deſperat perſons, that had combined and confederated themſelues by vow and oth in a moſt horrible enterpriſe, by murther to take awaie the life of hir maieſtie: wherein the Scotiſh quéne did not onelie aduiſe them, but alſo direct, comfort, and abbet them, with perſuaſion, counſell, promiſe of reward, and earneſt obteſtation.

Whereupon

Whereupon hir maiestie at the earnest request of such as tendered the safetie of hir roiall person, and the quiet of the realme, did direct commission vnder the great seale to sundrie lords and others of hir maiesties priuie councell, & a great number of lords of parlement, of the greatest and most ancient degree, assisted with some of the principall iudges of the realme, to heare, examine, and determine the same, according to a statute in that behalfe, made in the seuen and twentith yeare of hir reigne. Who to the number of thirtie and six, hauing attended the execution of the said commission, and diuerse dates and times heard the allegations against the said Scotish queene in hir owne presence and hearing (she being permitted to saie what she would in hir owne excuse) did with one assent, find hir culpable both in priuitie & consent to the said crimes obiected, and also in compassing the queens maiesties death.

Which sentence, by hir owne directions, vpon the hearing of the prowes and processe in parlement, was iudged to haue béene most honorable and iust. And thereupon they all beséech hir maiestie, that forasmuch as the said queene of Scots, was the verie ground and onelie subiect, whereupon such dangerous practises and complots had béene founded, against hir maiesties most roiall person, and the estate of this realme for these manie yeares, to the ouerthrow of sundrie of the nobilitie of the land, and danger of christian religion, and that they could sée no hope of hir desisting, and hir adherents; but that still hir maiesties safetie must be hazarded, and stand to the euent of the like miraculous discoueries.

Therefore, as most humble and instant suppliants, they did vpon their knées at hir most gratious fét, beséech and request in most earnest maner, that aswell for the continuance of Gods religion, the quiet of this kingdome, preseruation of hir person, and defense of them and their posterities, it would please hir highnesse to take order, that the said sentence might be published, and such further direction giuen, as was requisit in this so weightie a cause, according to the purport and intent of the said statute. Wherein, if hir maiestie (pursuing hir wonted clemencie) should now be remisse, besides the imminent danger to hir person, she might by the state thereof, procure the heauie displeasure of almightie God, as by sundrie seuere examples of his iustice in the sacred scriptures doth appeare. And so he deliuered to hir maiesties owne hands the petition in writing, which he said had béene with great deliberation assented vnto by all the whole parlement.

not spare anie meanes whatsoeuer, that maie bereaue vs of your maiestie, the onelie impediment that she inioieth not hir desire.

2 She is obdurat in malice against your roiall person, notwithstanding you haue shewed hir all fauour and mercie, as well in preseruing hir kingdome, as sauing hir life, and saluing hir honor. And therefore there is no place for mercie, since there is no hope that she will desist from most wicked attempts: the rather, for that hir malice appeareth such, that she maketh (as it were) hir testament of the same, to be executed after hir death, and appointeth hir executors to performe it.

3 She boldlie and openlie professed it lawfull for hir to moue inuasion vpon you. And therefore, as of inuasion victorie maie insue, and of victorie, the death of the vanquished: so did she thereby not obscurelie bewraie, that she thought it lawfull for hir to destroie your sacred person.

4 She thinketh it not onelie lawfull, but honorable also and meritorious to take your life from you, as being alreadie depriued of your crowne by the excommunication of the holie father. And therefore it is like she will (as hitherto she hath done) continuallie séeke it by whatsoeuer meanes.

5 That she is grédie of your maiesties death, and preferreth it before hir owne life and safetie: for in hir direction to one of hir late complices, she aduised (vnder couert termes) that whatsoeuer should become of hir, that tragicall execution should be performed vpon you.

1 IT is most perillous to spare hir, that continuallie hath sought the ouerthrow and suppression of true religion, infected with poperie from hir tender youth, and being after that a confederat in that holie league when she came to age, and euer since a professed enimie against the truth. The danger of the ouerthrow of the true religion.

2 She resteth wholie vpon popish hopes to deliuer and aduance hir, and is thereby so deuoted to that profession, that aswell for satisfaction of others, as for feeding of hir owne humor, she will supplant the gospell, where and when so euer she maie: which euill is so much the greater, and the more to be auoided, as that it slaieth the verie soule, and will spread it selfe not onelie ouer England and Scotland, but also into those parts beyond the seas, where the gospell of God is mainteined, the which cannot but be exceedinglie weakened, by the defection of this noble Iland.

1 As the Lydians said, *Vnum regem agnoscunt Lydi, duos autem tolerare non possunt:* So we saie, *Vnicam reginam Elizabetham agnoscunt Angli, duas autem tolerare non possunt.* The perill of the state of the realme.

2 As she hath alredie by hir allurements brought to destruction more noble men and their houses, together with a greater multitude of the commons of this realme, during hir being here, than she should haue bæne able to do, if she had béene in possession of hir owne crowne, and armed in the field against vs: so will she still be continuall cause of the like spoile, to the greater losse and perill of this estate: and therefore this realme neither can, nor maie indure hir.

3 Againe, she is the onelie hope of all discontented subiects, she is the foundation whereon all the euill disposed do build, she is the rot from whense all rebellions and trecheries do spring: and therefore whilest this hope lasteth, this foundation standeth, and this rot liueth, they will reteine heart, and set on foot whatsoeuer their deuises against the realme, which otherwise will fall awaie, die, and come to nothing.

4 Percie

A SHORT EXTRACT OF SVCH reasons, as were deliuered in speach by maister sargent Puckering, speaker of the lower house, before the queens most excellent maiestie in hir presence chamber at Richmond, the twelfe of Nouember 1586, in the eight and twentith yere of hir reigne, conteining diuerse apparant and imminent dangers, that maie grow to hir maiesties most roiall person, and to hir realme from the Scotish queene and hir adherents, if remedie be not prouided.

First touching the danger of hir maiesties person.

1 BOth this Scotish queene and hir fauorers, do thinke hir to haue right, not to succeed but to inioie your crowne in possession: and therefore as she is a most impatient competitor, so will she

4 Mercie now in this case towards hir would in the end proue crueltie against vs all. *Nameſt quædam crudelis miſericordia*, and therefore to ſpare hir, is to ſpill vs.

5 Beſides this, it will exceedinglie greeue and in a maner deadlie wound the hearts of all the good ſubiects of your land, if they ſhall ſee a conſpiracie ſo horrible not condignlie puniſhed.

6 Thouſands of your maieſties moſt liege and louing ſubiects, of all ſorts and degrees, that in a tender zeale of your maieſties ſafetie, haue moſt willinglie both by open ſubſcription and ſolemne vow, entered into a firme and totall aſſociation, and haue thereby proteſted to purſue vnto the death, by all forcible and poſſible meanes, ſuch as ſhe is by iuſt ſentence now found to be: can neither diſcharge their loue, nor well ſaue their oths, if your maieſtie ſhall keepe hir aliue: of which burthen your maieſties ſubiects are moſt deſirous to be releeued, as the ſame maie be, if iuſtice be done.

7 Laſtlie, your maieſties moſt louing and dutifull commons doubt not, but that as your maieſtie is dulie exerciſed in reading the booke of God: ſo it will pleaſe you to call to your princelie remembrance, how fearefull the examples of Gods vengeance be, that are there to be found againſt king Saule for ſparing king Agag, & againſt king Achab for ſauing the life of Benadad; both which were by the iuſt iudgement of God depriued of their kingdoms, for ſparing thoſe wicked princes, whome God had deliuered into their hands, of purpoſe to be ſlaine by them, as by the miniſters of his eternall and diuine iuſtice. Wherein full wiſelie Salomon proceeded to puniſhment, when he tooke the life of his owne naturall and elder brother Adonias, for the onelie intention of a marriage, that gaue ſuſpicion of treaſon againſt him. Herein we your maieſties moſt louing and obedient ſubiects earneſtlie depend vpon your princelie reſolution, which we aſſure our ſelues ſhall be to God moſt acceptable, and to vs no other than the ſtate of your regall authoritie maie afford vs, and the approued arguments of your tender care for our ſafetie vnder your charge doth promiſe to our expectation.

A REPORT OF HIR MAIESTIES

moſt gratious anſwer, deliuered by hir ſelfe verballie, to the firſt petitions of the lords and commons, being the eſtates of parlement, in hir chamber of preſence at Richmond, the twelfe daie of Nouember 1586, at the full almoſt of eight and twentie yeares of hir reigne. Whereof the reporter requireth of all that were hearers, a fauorable interpretation of his intent, becauſe he findeth that he can not expreſſe the ſame anſwerable to the originall, which the learned call *Prototypon*.

THe bottomleſſe graces and immeaſurable benefits beſtowed vpon me by the almightie, are, and haue beene ſuch, as I muſt not onelie acknowledge them, but admire them, accounting them as well miracles as benefits; not ſo much in reſpect of his diuine maieſtie, with whome nothing is more common than to do things rare and ſingular: as in regard of our weakeneſſe, who can not ſufficientlie ſet forth his wonderfull works and graces, which to me haue beene ſo manie, ſo diuerſelie folded and imbroidered one vpon another, as in no ſort I am able to expreſſe them. And although there liueth not anie, that maie more iuſtlie acknowledge themſelues infinitelie bound vnto God than I, whoſe life he hath miraculouſlie preſerued at ſundrie times (beyond my merit) from a multitude of perils & dangers: yet is not that the cauſe, for which I count my ſelfe the deepeſt bound to giue him my humbleſt thanks, or to yeeld him greateſt recognition; but this which I ſhall tell you hereafter, which will deſerue the name of wonder, if rare things and ſeldome ſeene be worthie of account. Euen this it is, that as I came to the crowne with the willing hearts of my ſubiects, ſo do I now after eight and twentie yeares reigne, perceiue in you no diminution of good wils, which if happilie I ſhould want, well might I breath, but neuer thinke I liued.

And now, albeit I find my life hath beene full dangerouſlie ſought, and death contriued by ſuch as no deſert procured: yet am I therein ſo cleare from malice (which hath the propertie to make men glad at the fals and faults of their foes, and make them ſeeme to do for other cauſes, when rancor is the ground) as I proteſt it is and hath beene my greeuous thought, that one, not different in ſer, of like eſtate, and my neere kin, ſhould fall into ſo great a crime: yea I had ſo little purpoſe to purſue hir with anie colour of malice, that as it is not vnknowen to ſome of my lords here (for now I will plaie the blab) I ſecretlie wrote hir a letter vpon the diſcouerie of ſundrie treaſons, that if ſhe would confeſſe them, and priuatlie acknowledge them by hir letters to my ſelfe, ſhe neuer ſhould need be called for them into ſo publike queſtion. Neither did I it of mind to circumuent hir: for then I knew as much as ſhe could confeſſe, and ſo did I write. And if euen yet, now that the matter is made but too apparant, I thought ſhe truelie would repent (as perhaps ſhe would eaſilie appeare in outward ſhew to do) and that for hir, none other would take the matter vpon them; or that we were but as two milke maids with pailes vpon our armes, or that there were no more dependencie vpon vs but mine owne life were onelie in danger, and not the whole eſtate of your religion and well doings, I proteſt (wherein you maie beleeue me, for though I maie haue manie vices, I hope I haue not accuſtomed my tong to be an inſtrument of vntruth) I would moſt willinglie pardon and remit this offenſe.

Or if by my death other nations and kingdoms might truelie ſaie, that this realme had attained an euer proſperous and flouriſhing eſtate: I would (I aſſure you) not deſire to liue; but gladlie giue my life, to the end my death might procure you a better prince. And for your ſakes it is, that I deſire to liue, to keepe you from a worſe. For as for me, I aſſure you, I find no great cauſe I ſhould be fond to liue: I take no ſuch pleaſure in it, that I ſhould much wiſh it; nor conceiue ſuch terror in death, that I ſhould greatlie feare it: and yet I ſaie not, but if the ſtroke were comming, perchance fleſh and bloud would be moued with it, and ſeeke to ſhun it. I haue had good experience and triall of this world: I know what it is to be a ſubiect; what to be a ſouereigne; what to haue good neighbors, and ſometime meet euill willers. I haue found treaſon in truſt, ſeene great benefits little regarded, and in ſtead of gratefulneſſe, courſes of purpoſe to croſſe.

Theſe former remembrances, preſent feeling, and future expectation of euils (I ſaie) haue made me thinke, An euill is much the better, the leſſe while it indureth: & ſo, them happieſt, that are ſoneſt henſe: and taught me to beare with a better mind theſe treaſons, than is common to my ſex: yea, with a better heart perhaps, than is in ſome men. Which I hope you will not meerelie impute to my ſimplicitie or want of vnderſtanding, but rather, that I thus conceiued, that had their purpoſes taken effect, I

ſhould

should not haue found the blow, before I had felt it: and though my perill should haue béene great, my paine should haue béene but small and short: wherein, as I would be loth to die so bloudie a death, so doubt I not, but God would haue giuen me grace to be prepared for such an euent, chance when it shall, which I refer vnto his good pleasure. And now, as touching their treasons and conspiracies, togither with the contriuer of them, I will not so preiudicat my selfe and this my realme, as to sate or thinke, that I might not, without the last statute, by the ancient lawes of this land, haue proceeded against hir, which was not made particularlie to preiudice hir; though perhaps it might then be suspected, in respect of the disposition of such as depend that waie. It was so far from being intended to intrap hir, that it was rather an admonition to warne the danger thereof: but sith it is made, and in the force of a law, I thought good, in that which might concerne hir, to proceed according thereunto, rather than by course of common law: wherein, if you the iudges haue not deceiued me, or that the books you brought me were not false (which God forbid) I might as iustlie haue tried hir by the ancient lawes of the land.

But you lawiers are so nice in sifting, and scanning euerie word and letter, that manie times you stand more vpon forme than matter, vpon syllables than sense of the law. For in the strictnesse & exact following of common forme, she must haue béene indicted in Staffordshire, haue holden vp hir hand at the barre, and béene tried by a iurie: a proper course forsooth, to deale in that maner with one of hir estate. I thought it better therefore, for auoiding of these and more absurdities, to commit the cause to the inquisition of a good number of the greatest and most noble personages of this realme, of the iudges and others of good account, whose sentence I must approue: and all little enough. For we princes, I tell you, are set on stages, in the sight and view of all the world duelie obserued; the eies of manie behold our actions; a spot is soone spied in our garments; a blemish quicklie noted in our doings. It behoueth vs therefore to be carefull that our procéedings be iust and honorable.

But I must tell you one thing more, that in this last act of parlement you haue brought me vnto a narrow streict, that I must giue direction for hir death, which cannot bée to mée but a most grieuous and irksome burthen. And least you might mistake mine absence from this parlement (which I had almost forgotten) although there bée no cause whie I should willinglie come amongst multitudes, for that amongst manie some maie bee euill: yet hath it not béene the doubt of anie such danger or occasion that kept me from thense; but onlie the great grieefe to heare this cause spoken of; especiallie, that such a one of state and kin should néed so open a declaration, and that this nation should be so spotted with blots of disloialtie. Wherein the lesse is my griefe, for that I hope the better part is mine, and those of the worse not so much to be accounted of, for that in séeking my destruction, they might haue spoiled their owne soules. And euen now could I tell you, that which would make you sorie. It is a secret, and yet I will tell it you; although it is knowne I haue the propertie to keepe counsell, but too well oftentimes to mine owne perill. It is not long since mine eies did sée it written, that an oth was taken within few daies, either to kill me, or to be hanged themselues: and that to be performed per one moneth were ended. Hereby I sée your danger in me, and neither can nor will be so vnthankefull or carelesse of your consciences, as not prouide for your safetie.

I am not vnmindfull of your oth made in the association, manifesting your great good wils and affections, taken and entered into, vpon good conscience, and true knowledge of the guilt, for safetie of my person, and conseruation of my life: done (I protest to God) before I heard it, or euer thought of such a matter, vntill a great number of hands with manie obligations were shewed me, at Hampton court, signed and subscribed with the names and seales of the greatest of this land. Which as I doo acknowledge as a perfect argument of your true hearts, and great zeale to my safetie: so shall my bond be stronger tied to greater care for all your good. But for as much as this matter is rare, weightie, and of great consequence, I thinke you do not looke for anie present resolution: the rather, for that, as it is not my maner, in matters of far lesse moment, to giue spéedie answer without due consideration; so in this of such importance, I thinke it verie requisit with earnest prater to beséech his diuine maiestie, so to illuminat my vnderstanding, and inspire me with his grace, as I maie doo and determine that, which shall serue to the establishment of his church, preseruation of your estates, and prosperitie of this common wealth vnder my charge. Wherein (for that I know delaie is dangerous) you shall haue with all conueniencie our resolution deliuered by our message. And what euer anie prince maie merit of their subiects, for their approued testimonie of their vnfained sinceritie, either by gouerning iustlie, void of all partialitie, or sufferance of anie iniuries done (euen to the worst) that doo I assuredlie promise inuiolablie to performe, for requitall of your so manie deserts.

¶ The occasions of the second accesse.

This answer thus made by hir maiestie, the lords and commons were dismissed. And then hir highnesse some few daies after, vpon deliberation had of this petition, being (as it appeared) of hir mercifull disposition of nature, and hir princelie magnanimitie, in some conflict with hir selfe what to doo in a cause so weightie and important to hir and the realme, sent by the lord chancellor (as I heard) and by the mouth of an honorable person, and a right worthie member of the lower house, this message to both houses: moouing and earnestlie charging them, to enter into a further consideration, whether there might not be some other waie of remedie, than that they had alreadie required, so far disagreeing from hir owne naturall inclination. Whereupon, the lords and commons in either houses assembled, had sundrie consultations, both in their seuerall houses generallie, and by priuat committees deputed specially. And after conference had betwixt the said committées, it was resolued with vnanimitie of consent amongst them in the lower house, and by vniuersall concord in the vpper house (the question there propounded to euerie one of the lords) that there could be found no other sound and assured meane, in the depth of their vnderstanding, for the continuance of the christian religion, quiet of the realme, and safetie of hir maiesties most royall person, than that which was conteined in their former petition. The reasons whereof were summarilie these that follow, which are more shortlie reported than they were vttered.

A briefe report of the second accesse *the foure and twentith of Nouember 1586:* and of the answer made in the name of *the lords of the parlement, to a message* sent from hir maiestie by the lord chancellor after hir first answer.

THe lord chancellor, accompanied with aboue fiue or six and twentie lords of parlement, came before hir highnesse in hir chamber of presence, to deliuer the resolution of all the lords of parlement, concerning a message which he had not long before deliuered from hir maiestie, for further consultation, whether anie other meanes could be thought of, or found out by anie of them, how the Scotish quéens life might be spared, and yet hir maiesties person saued out of perill, and the state of the realme preserued in quiet; declared, that according to that he had receiued in commandement from hir maiestie, he had imparted the same vnto the lords assembled in the vpper house, whom he found by their generall silence much amazed at the propounding thereof, considering the same had béene before in deliberation amongest them, and resolued vpon, and as appeared by their former petition exhibited to hir highnesse, wherein they had expressed the same resolution.

Notwithstanding, for hir maiesties further satisfaction, they had entred into a new consultation, & for that purpose selected a great number of the choisest persons of the higher house of parlement to confer thereof, either priuatlie or togither with the lower house: which also was done accordinglie at seuerall times. At all which conferences it was concluded by them all, & so afterwards by the whole assemblie of both houses, that there could be no other assured meanes for the preseruation of hir maiesties life, and continuance of Gods religion & quiet of this state, than by the full execution of the sentence according to their former petition, instantlie pressing hir maiestie with manie arguments and reasons tending thereto. All which, though by distance from his lordship I could not well conceiue, yet this I did remember precíselie and especiallie was one: that as it were iniustice to denie execution of law at the suite of anie one particular, and the meanest of hir people: so much more not to yeld to the earnest instance and humble praiers of all hir faithfull and louing subiects. And so concluded, with earnest petition for hir maiesties resolute determination and answer, for a present and spéedie direction by proclamation, and otherwise also, according vnto the forme of the statute.

A summarie report of the second *speach, vttered by the speaker of the* lower house, by direction *of all the commons.*

THat if hir maiestie should be safe without taking awaie the life of the Scotish quéene, the same were most likelie and probablie to grow, by one of these meanes following.

1 First, that happilie she might be reclamed and become a repentant conuert, agnising hir maiesties great mercie and fauors in remitting hir heinous offense, and by hir loialtie hereafter performe the fruits of such conuersion.

2 Or else by a more streict gard be so kept, as there should be no feare of the like attempts hereafter.

3 Or that good assurance might be giuen by oth, bonds or hostages, as cautions for hir good and loiall demeanor from henceforth.

4 Or lastlie by banishment, the realme might be voided of hir person, and thereby the perils further remoued that grow to hir maiestie by hir presence. The moments whereof being dulie pondered, did yet appeare so light in all their iudgements, that they durst not aduise anie securitie to rest in anie, no not in all of them. For touching hir conuersion, it was considered, that if pietie or dutie could haue restreined hir from such heinous attempts, there was cause abundantlie ministred vnto hir on hir maiesties behalfe, when she not onelie protected hir against the violence of hir owne subiects, who pursued hir to death by iustice, but couered hir honor when the same by publike fame was touched, and by verie heinous and capitall crimes (obiected and proued against hir before certeine commissarie delegats assigned to examine the same) more than blemished; and spared hir life, when for hir former conspiracies and confederacies with the Northerne rebels, hir highnesse was with great instance pressed by both the houses in the fourteenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne, to do like iustice vpon hir, as now is desired, and as hir treasonable practises then had most iustlie deserued.

And where the penaltie of this act sufficientlie notified vnto hir, should haue terrified hir from so wicked attempts; she hath neuertheless insisted in hir former practises, as a person obdurat in malice against hir maiestie, and irrecouerable; so as there was no probable hope of anie conuersion, but rather great doubt and feare of relapse and recidiuation, forasmuch as she stood obstinatlie in the denial of matter most euidentlie proued, and now most iustlie sentenced against hir, and was not entred into the first part of repentance, the recognition of hir offense, and so much the further off from the true fruits that should accompanie the same.

As for a surer gard & more streict imprisonment, it was resolued that there was no securitie therein, nor yet in the other two meanes propounded of bonds and hostages: forasmuch as the same meanes that should be practised to take hir maiesties life awaie, (which God forbid) would aptlie serue for the deliuerie of hir person, and release of the bonds & hostages that should be giuen for cautions in that behalfe: which being vnhappilie atchiued, and to our irreparable losse, who should sue the bonds, or detaine the hostages? Or being detained, what proportion was there in bonds or hostages whatsoeuer, to counteruaile the value of so pretious & inestimable a iewell, as hir maiestie is to this realme, & to vs all? But she will solemnlie vow & take an oth, that she will not attempt anie thing to the hurt of hir maiesties person. She hath alreadie sundrie times falsified hir word, hir writing, and hir oth; and holdeth it for an article of religion, that faith is not to be holden with heretiks, of which sort she accounteth your maiestie and all the professors of the gospell to be: and therfore haue we little reason to trust hir in that, whereof she maketh so small a conscience.

As for banishment, that were a step *A malo in peius*, to set hir at libertie, a thing so greatlie desired and thirsted for by hir adherents, and by some princes hir alies, who sought hir inlargement chéeflie to make hir a head to be set vp against hir maiestie, in time of inuasion. To the which were added some few reasons collected out of hir owne letters and the confession of Babington, hir instrument and conspirator: by which appeared how hir owne conscience bewraied what might iustlie fall vpon hir, in case anie of hir intended designements came to light, that she might haplie be shut vp in some more close

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end strict prison, as the Tower of London, if there befell him no worse thing. And in that she directed Babington, in case he failed in the action of his deliuerie, that he should neuertheless proceed in the residue; which was the death of his maiestie: who also confessed, that vpon assurance of his maiesties death, or the arriuall of strangers, he intended to proclame the quéne of Scots, and made no doubt of the desired successe: and therefore his maiesties death being so earnestlie sought, for aduancement of this competitor, his highnesse could not remaine in quietnesse or securitie, if the Scotish quéne should longer continue his life.

THE SECOND ANSWER

made by the queens maiestie, deliuered by hir owne mouth, to the second speach, vttered in the names of the lords and commons of the parlement.

All grieuous is the waie, whose going on, and end, breed cumber for the hire of a laborious tourneie. I haue striued more this daie than euer in my life, whether I should speake, or vse silence. If I speake and not complaine, I shall dissemble; if I hold my peace, your labour taken were full vaine. For me to make my mone, were strange and rare: for I suppose you shall find few, that for their owne particular, will cumber you with such a care. Yet such I protest hath bene my grédie desire and hungrie will, that of your consultation might haue fallen out some other meanes to worke my safetie ioined with your assurance (than that for which you are become such earnest sutors) as I protest, I must néeds vse complaint, though not of you, but vnto you, and of the cause; for that I do perceiue by your aduises, praiers, and desires, there falleth out this accident, that onelie my iniurers bane must be my lifes suertie.

But if anie there liue so wicked of nature, to suppose, that I prolonged this time onelie, *Pro forma*, to the intent to make a shew of clemencie, thereby to set my praises to the wierdrawers to lengthen them the more: they do me so great a wrong, as they can hardlie recompense. Or if anie person there be, that thinke or imagine, that the least vaineglorious thought hath drawne me further herein, they do me as open iniurie as euer was done to anie liuing creature, as he that is the maker of all thoughts knoweth best to be true. Or if there be anie, that thinke, that the lords appointed in commission durst do no other, as fearing thereby to displease, or else to be suspected to be of a contrarie opinion to my safetie, they do but heape vpon me iniurious conceipts. For either those put in trust by me to supplie my place, haue not performed their duties towards me; or else they haue signified vnto you all, that my desire was, that euerie one should do according to his conscience, and in the course of his procédings should inioie both frédome of voice and libertie of opinion; and what they would not openlie declare, they might priuatlie to my selfe haue reuealed. It was of a willing mind and great desire I had, that some other meanes might be found out, wherein I should haue taken more comfort, than in anie other thing vnder the sun.

And sith now it is resolued, that my suretie can not be established without a princelie end, I haue iust cause to complaine; that I, who haue in my time pardoned so manie rebels, winked at so manie treasons, and either not produced them, or altogither slipt them ouer with silence, should now be forced to this procéding, against such a person. I haue besides, during my reigne, séene and heard manie opprobrious bokes and pamphlets against me, my realme and state, accusing me to be a tyrant; I thanke them for their almes: I beléeue, therein their meaning was to tell me news, and news it is to me in déed; I would it were as strange to heare of their impietie! What will they not now saie, when it shall be spread, that for the safetie of hir life, a maiden quæne could be content to spill the bloud, euen of hir owne kinswoman? I maie therefore full well complaine, that anie man should thinke me giuen to crueltie, whereof I am so giltlesse and innocent, as I should slander God, if I should saie he gaue me so vile a mind: yea, I protest, I am so far from it, that for mine owne life I would not touch hir: neither hath my care bene so much bent how to prolong mine, as how to preserue both: which I am right sorie is made so hard, yea so impossible.

I am not so void of iudgement, as not to sée mine owne perill; nor yet so ignorant, as not to know it were in nature a foolish course, to cherish a sword to cut mine owne throte; nor so careless, as not to weigh that my life dailie is in hazard: but this I do consider, that manie a man would put his life in danger for the safegard of a king, I do not saie that so will I: but I praie you thinke, that I haue thought vpon it. But sith so manie haue both written & spoken against me, I praie you giue me leaue to saie somewhat for my selfe, & before you returne to your countries, let you know, for what a one you haue passed so carefull thoughts. Wherein, as I thinke my selfe infinitlie beholding vnto you all, that séeke to preserue my life by all the meanes you maie: so I protest vnto you, that there liueth no prince, that euer shall be more mindfull to requite so good deserts. And as I perceiue you haue kept your old wonts, in a generall séeking of the lengthning of my daies: so am I sure that I shall neuer requite it, vnlesse I had as manie liues as you all: but for euer I will acknowledge it, while there is anie breath left me. Although I maie not iustifie, but maie iustlie condemne my sundrie faults and sinnes to God: yet for my care in this gouernment, let me acquaint you with my intents.

When first I toke the scepter, my title made me not forget the giuer: and therefore began, as it became me, with such religion, as both I was borne in, bred in, and I trust shall die in. Although I was not so simple, as not to know what danger and perill so great an alteration might procure me: how manie great princes of the contrarie opinion would attempt all they might against me: and generallie, what enimitie I should breed vnto my selfe: which all I regarded not, knowing that he, for whose sake I did it, might, and would defend me. For which it is, that euer since I haue bene so dangerouslie prosecuted, as I rather maruell that I am, than muse that I should not be: if it were not Gods holie hand that continueth me, beyond all other expectation. Then entered I further into the schole of experience, bethinking what it fitted a king to do: and there I saw, he scant was well furnished, if either he lacked iustice, temperance, magnanimitie, or iudgement. As for the two latter, I will not boast, my sex doth not permit it: but for the two first, this dare I saie; amongst my subiects I neuer knew a difference of person, where right was one: nor neuer to my knowledge preferred for fauour, whome I thought not fit for worth: nor bent my eares to credit a tale that first was told me: nor was so rash, to corrupt my iudgement with my censure, before I heard the cause. I will not saie, but manie reports might fortune be brought me by such as might heare the case, whose partialitie might mar sometime the matter: for

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we princes maie not heare all our selues. But this dare I boldlie affirme, my verdict went euer with the truth of my knowledge. As full well wished Alcibiades his frend, that he should not giue anie answer, till he had recited the letters of the alphabet: so haue I not vsed ouer sudden resolutions, in matters that haue touched me full neere: you will saie that with me, I thinke.

And therefore, as touching your counsels and consultations, I conceiue them to be wise, honest, and conscionable: so prouident and carefull for the safetie of my life (which I wish no longer than maie be for your good) that though I neuer can yeeld you of recompense your due: yet shall I indeuour my selfe to giue you cause, to thinke your good will not ill bestowed, and striue to make my selfe worthie for such subiects. And now for your petition, I shall praie you for this present, to content your selues with an answer without answer. Your iudgement I condemne not, neither do I mistake your reasons, but praie you to accept my thankefulnesse, excuse my doubtfulnesse, and take in good part my answer answerlesse: wherein I attribute not so much to mine owne iudgement, but that I thinke manie particular persons maie go before me, though by my degree I go before them. Therefore if I should saie, I would not do what you request, it might peraduenture be more than I thought: and to saie I would do it, might perhaps breed perill of that you labour to preserue, being more than in your owne wisedoms and discretions would seeme conuenient, circumstances of place and time being dulie considered.

Thus far the proceeding against the Scotish queene, as the same is reported by R. C. Now followeth the publication of the same, which was done with great port and statelinesse. For vpon tuesdaie, being the first daie of December, the lord maior of London, assisted with diuers earls, and barons, the aldermen in their scarlet gownes, the principall officers of the citie, the greatest number of gentlemen of the best accompt in and about the citie, with the number of fourescore of the most graue & worshipfullest citizens, in cotes of veluet, and chaines of gold, all on horsse backe, in most solemne and statelie maner, by the sound of foure trumpets, about ten of the clocke in the forenone, made open and publike proclamation and declaration of the sentence latelie giuen by the nobilitie against the queene of Scots, vnder the great seale of England, bearing date at Richmont the fourth daie of December, being openlie read by maister Sebright, towne-clerke of London, & with lowd voice solemnelie proclamed by the sargent at armes of the said citie, in foure seuerall places, to wit, at the crosse in Cheape, at the end of Chancerie lane in Flestreet, ouer against the Temple, at Leaden hall corner, and at saint Magnus corner neere London bridge.

The sentence giuen against the Scotish queene solemnlie proclamed.

During which time, the like solemne proclamations were made with great solemnities in the countie of Middlesex, namelie in the palace at Westminster, without Temple barre, and in Holborne, by the shiriffes of London and Middlesex, assisted with sundrie noblemen, gentlemen of good account, and the iustices of peace of the said countie, to the great and wonderfull reioising of the people of all sorts, as manifestlie appeared by their eger running after the portlie traine, their thronging to heare the same published, their ringing of bels, making of bonfires, and singing of psalmes in euerie street and lane of the citie. The said proclamation followeth.

A true copie of the proclamation latelie *published by the queenes maiestie, vnder the* great seale of England, for the declaring of the *sentence latelie giuen against the queene of* Scots, in forme as followeth.

ELisabeth by the grace of God, queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. Whereas we were giuen to vnderstand very crediblie, though to our great greefe, that diuerse things were, and of late time had beene compassed, imagined, and resolutelie intended, tending directlie to the hurt and destruction of our roiall person, and to the subuersion of the state of our realme by forren inuasions and rebellions at home, as well by the queene of Scots, remaining in our realme vnder our protection, as by manie diuerse other wicked persons with hir priuitie, who had freelie confessed the same, and had thereupon receiued open triall, iudgement, and execution according to the lawes for their deserts. And though in verie truth we were greatlie and deeplie greeued in our mind, to thinke or imagine that anie such vnnaturall and monstrous acts should be either deuised, or willinglie assented vnto against vs, by hir being a princesse borne, and of our ser and bloud, and one also whose life & honor we had manie times before saued and preserued: yet were we so directlie drawne to thinke all the same to be true, by the sight and vnderstanding of such proues as were manifestlie produced afore vs, vpon matters that had as well proceeded from hir selfe, as from the conspirators themselues, who voluntarilie & freelie without anie coercion had confessed their conspirations, both iointlie with hir, and directed by hir, against our person and our realme: and therefore also we saw great reason, to thinke the same ouer dangerous to be suffered to passe onward to take their full effect.

Wherefore we were by sundrie lords of our nobilitie, and others our louing subiects, earnestlie moued and counselled, to take vndelaied order for the inquisition and examination of all these dangerous enterprises & conspiracies, by sundrie waies directlie auowed to be by the said queen of Scots against vs and our realme certeinlie intended; and also to vse all present meanes with expedition to withstand or rather to preuent the same. And for that we were verie vnwilling to proceed against hir, considering hir birth and estate, by such vsuall sort as by the common lawes of the realme we might haue lawfullie done, which was by indictment and arreignment by ordinarie iuries: therefore, in respect both of our owne honor, and of hir person, we yeelded, by good aduise giuen to vs, to proceed in the most honorable sort that could be deuised within our realme, to the examination hereof, according to a late act of parlement, made the three and twentith daie of Nouember, in the seuen and twentith yeare of our reigne.

Whereupon by our commission vnder our great seale of England, bearing date at our castell of Windsore in our countie of Barkeshire, the first daie of October now last past, we did (for that purpose) according to that statute, assigne, name, and appoint all the lords and others of our priuie councell, and so manie other earls and barons lords of parlement, of the greatest degree and most ancient of the nobilitie of this our realme, as with the same lords and others of our priuie councell, made vp the number of fortie and two, adding also thereto a further, number according to the tenor of the foresaid act of parlement, of certeine of the chefest and other principall iudges of the courts of record at Westminster, amounting in the whole to the number

ber of fortie and seuen, to examine all things compassed and imagined, tending to the hurt of our roiall person, as well by the said quéene of Scots, by the name of Marie the daughter & heire of James the fift late king of Scots, commonlie called the quéene of Scots & Dowager of France, as by anie other by hir pretintie, and all the circumstances thereof, & thereupon according to the tenor of the said act of parlement, to giue sentence or iudgment, as vpon good proofe the matter vnto them should appeare, as by the same commission more fullie appeareth.

And where afterwards the more part of the said councellors, lords, and iudges, in our said commission named, that is to saie, the number of six and thirtie, did in the presence and hearing of the said quéene of Scots, where she remained at our castell of Fodringhaie, at diuerse daies and times in publike place, verie exactlie, vprightlie, and with great deliberation examine all the matters & offenses, whereof she was charged and accused, tending vnto the dangers afore rehearsed and mentioned in our said commission and all the circumstances thereof, and heard also at large in all fauorable maner, what the same quéene did, or could saie for hir excuse and defense in that behalfe. Whereupon afterwards on the fiue and twentith daie of October now last past, all the said councell, lords, and iudges, that had heard and examined the same cause in the said quenes presence, as afore is mentioned, with one assent and consent, after good deliberation did giue their sentence and iudgement, in this sort following.

That after the first daie of June, in the seuen and twentith yeare of our reigne, and before the date of our said commission, diuerse things were compassed and imagined within this realme of England by Anthonie Babington, and others, with the priuitie of the said Marie, pretending title to the crowne of this realme of England, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of our roiall person. And likewise, that after the same first daie of June, and before the date of our said commission, the said Marie, pretending title to the same crowne, had compassed & imagined within the same realme, diuers things tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of our roiall person, contrarie to the forme of the said statute: which sentence and iudgement the same lords and commissioners haue with one full consent caused to be put in writing, and dulie ingrossed, with the whole processe of their procéedings thereunto belonging, and haue subscribed the same with their hands, as by a record thereof shewed to vs, more fullie and largelie doth appeare.

And whereas also, sithence the same sentence and iudgement so giuen and recorded, the lords and commons in this present parlement assembled, haue also at sundrie times in open parlement, heard and considered the principall euidences, proofes, and circumstances, whereupon the same sentence and iudgement was grounded, and haue by their publike assent in parlement affirmed the same to be a iust, lawfull, and true sentence, and so haue allowed and approued the same in writing presented vnto vs: and haue also notified to vs, how deepelie they did foresée the great and manie imminent dangers, which otherwise might and would grow to our person, and to the whole realme, if this sentence were not fullie executed: and consequentlie therefore, they did by their most humble and earnest petitions in that behalfe, of one accord, hauing accesse vnto vs (vpon their sundrie requests) most instantlie vpon their knées, praie, beseech, and with manie reasons of great force and importance, moue and presse vs, that the said sentence and iudgement so iustlie & dulie giuen, and by them approued, as is aforesaid, might (according to the expresse tenor of the said act of parlement) by our proclamation vnder our great seale be declared and published, and the same also finallie executed.

But after such most earnest request, so made to vs from all the said lords and commons in parlement, they perceiuing by our owne speeches and answers, how deepelie we are grieued to heare of these horrible and vnnaturall attempts and actions of that quéene, whose manie former offenses, manifestlie and dangerouslie committed against vs, our crowne and realme, we had ouerpassed with our ouer great clemencie, contrarie to the manie aduises and requests of our subiects, aswell in parlement as otherwise: and therefore they also vnderstanding from our selfe, how desirous we were to haue some other meanes deuised by them in their seuerall places of parlement, to withstand these mischiefes intended both against our selfe, and the publike quiet state of our realme, and suertie of our good subiects, than by execution of the foresaid sentence, as was required: they did after their sundrie consultations apart, and conferences iointlie with one accord, in the names of all the lords of parlement, euen by the particular votes of them all assembled, and also of the commons with one vniuersall assent, representing the state of all our realme, at their seuerall times of accesse vnto vs, alledge, declare, and protest, that vpon their long, manie, & aduised consultations and conferences by our commandement, and for our satisfaction in that behalfe had, they could not by anie meanes find or deuise, how the suertie of our roiall person, and the preseruation of themselues and their posteritie, with the good state of the realme, might be prouided for and continued, without the publication and due execution of the said sentence.

Whereupon, being not onelie moued to our greefe, but also ouercome with the earnest requests, declarations, and important reasons of all our said subiects, the nobles and commons of our realme, whose iudgement, knowledge, and naturall care of vs, and the whole realme, we know doth farre surmount all others, being not so interessed therin, and so iustlie to be estéemed: and perceiuing also the said sentence to haue béene honourablie, lawfullie, and iustlie giuen, agréeable to iustice and to the lawes of our realme: we did yéeld, and do according to this said statute by this our proclamation vnder our great seale of England, declare, notifie, and publish to all our louing subiects, and other persons whatsoeuer, that the said sentence and iudgement is giuen in maner aforesaid, to the intent, that they and euerie of them, by this our proclamation may haue full vnderstanding and knowledge thereof. We do also will you, that you returne this our proclamation into our court of Chancerie, as spéedilie as you maie conuentientlie, with the place and time of the proclaming thereof thereupon indorsed, whereof faile you not. In witnesse whereof, we haue caused this our proclamation to be made patent, and sealed with the great seale of England. At our manor of Richmont the fourth daie of December, the nine and twentith yeare of our reigne, and in the yeare of our Lord God, one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and six.

Now to conclude with a remembrance of perpetuitie concerning the queens maiestie, of whose louing care and tender affection towards all hir faithfull subiects as we haue manifold testimonies in the historie of hir highnesse time, whereby their hearts are linked vnto hir maiestie with an indis-

soluble knot of deserued loue and lotaltie: so we maie not omit in anie case the publike witnesse of hir highnesse naturall care and mercifull prouidence ouer hir liege people, euen those of the poorer sort, vnto whome the comfortable streames of hir rare regard for their benefit and welfare, in a hard time of scarsitie, do most plentifullie flow. But because our barren and sapleſſe stile is insufficient, with conuenient dignitie to describe, naie not so much as to delineat or shadow out this incomparable pitie and pietie of hir highnesse tender heart to hir commons, I will surcease to intermeddle therein, reseruing the same vnto the due consideration of euerie particular member of this bodie politike (whereof hir maiestie is the souereigne head) by the view and perusall of the proclamation and orders here annexed.

A true copie of the said proclamation concerning corne, &c.

THe quéenes most excellent maiestie, foreseeing the generall dearth growne of corne & other victels, partlie through the vnseasonablenesse of the yeare past, whereby want hath growne more in some countries than in others, but most of all generallie through the couetousnes & vncharitable greedines of such as be great cornemasters & ingrosers of corne, vsing all the subtill meanes they can, to worke their owne present vnconscionable gaine against the rules of charitie, which hir maiestie of hir princelie care and loue towards hir people, vtterlie condemneth, and earnestlie desireth to remedie, for the releefe of the poorer sort. And therefore, hir maiestie with hir princelie care towards hir people, hauing (with the aduise of hir councell) had good consideration hereof, doth by this hir proclamation, giue expresse commandement and charge vnto all such to whom it shall or maie appertaine, that such good orders as hir maiestie hath commanded to be deuised for that purpose, and now also are sent to all parts of hir realme, be diligentlie and effectuallie put in spéedie execution: signifieng withall vnto all hir good and louing subiects, that if anie shall be found obstinat or negligent in the due execution, or otherwise in the obseruation thereof, that then vpon due information and proofe thereof made vnto hir highnesse said councell, which she requireth not to be spared by anie, hauing iust cause of complaint, for respect of anie person, she hath giuen speciall commandement and order, that they shall be spéedilie called to answer; & thereupon, according to the qualitie of their offenses, shall receiue sharpe punishment, whereby others maie take example to auoid the like contempt, negligence, or other defaults.

And although this dearth hath in sundrie parts of the realme first growne by the visitation of almightie God, in the alteration of seasonable weather this last yeare, which neuertheleſſe of his great mercie hath not bene so extreme in this realme, as in manie other countries adioining, where the dearth is by manie occasions manifestlie knowne to be far greater than is in this relme hitherto, or by his goodnesse is like to be: yet it is manifestlie knowne the said dearth to haue bin wilfullie increased in verie manie places of this realme, not onelie by & through the couetousnes of manie ingrosers of corne & cornmasters, but also by vnlawfull transportation of graine, & lacke also of preseruation of store in time requisit. Hir highnesse acknowledging this maner of Gods mercie and fauour in a more fauourable measure towards hir countrie and hir people, than to other forren parts nere adioining, hath thought good and necessarie, for a further remedie against the vncharitable couetousnesse of the cornemasters, as cause shall require, to notifie, that if such as be the great cornemasters and owners of graine, or of other necessarie victels for food of the poore, shall not be willing, or do not performe these orders, whereby the poorer sort maie be relæued in the markets at reasonable prices; or that it shall appeare that other néedfull victels shall by couetousnesse of anie persons grow to excessiue prices, to the pinching of the poorer sort: then hir highnesse doth hereby signifie, that she will not onelie seuerelie punish the offendors for their cruell couetousnesse and offenses against hir orders; but will also for redresse of the excessiue prices of other néedfull victels, giue order that reasonable prices shall be set both on corne and other victels, to be sold for the releefe of hir maiesties poore subiects, according both to hir prerogatiue roiall, and to the order of iustice, as by speciall law of parlement therefore made in the fiue and twentith yeare of the reigne of hir late noble and deare father king Henrie the eight, is speciallie in such cases prouided. Giuen at Grænewich the second date of Januarie, one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and six, in the nine and twentith yeare of hir highnesse reigne.

Now the said orders before specified, being a matter of coherence (deuised by the speciall commandement of hir maiestie, for the releefe and staie of the present dearth of graine within the realme) and published at large, do here follow (agréeable to that which was sent from the court at Grænewich abrode into the realme, the second date of Januarie, one thousand fiue hundred foure score and six, in the nine and twentith yere of hir maiesties reigne, by hir maiesties priuie councell) but abridged according to the annotations. And first; That the iustices shall diuide themselues into sundrie parts to execute these orders: To appoint sundrie iuries to inquire of things hereafter following: The oth of the iurors, with charge to inquire what number of persons be in the houses of them that haue store of corne: For badgers, broggers, and carriers of corne: Maltmakers, bakers, and brewers: Buiers of corne to sell againe: Buiers of corne vpon the ground: Against such as shall refuse to declare the truth of the matters inquirable: Parties offending to appeare afore the councell: A consideration of all persons that haue corne, to determine how they shall serue the markets with such portions as they maie spare: The forme of the recognisance to be freelie taken.

In abridgment of the orders deuised for the releefe of the poore in this time of dearth, &c.

Orders to be obserued by such as shall be appointed to serue the markets with corne, for the releefe of the poore people first: To whome corne shall be sold, after that the poore are serued: No corne brought to the market vnsold, to be caried out of the towne: None to buie such kind of corne as they shall bring to sell, but by warrant vpon reasonable cause: No corne to be bought & to sell againe: No corne to be bought but in open market: Inquirie to be made against ingrosers: An order for all licences from the iustices of the peace, to be kept in a record: Regard to the bakers for kéeping of the assise of bread: Bread faultie in anie excesse to be sold towards the releefe of the poore: No badger to buie corne but in open market, and with a sufficient licence in writing: The badgers to shew wéekelie their books of buieng: No iustices seruant to be a badger, nor none other, but such as shall be licenced in open sessions: No badger, baker, brewer, or purueior, to buie graine, vntill an houre after the full market begin: Some iustices to be present in the market, to see the poore relæued vpon reasonable prices.

Where iustices are wanting in anie hundred

for

for to appoint some rich persons to suplie the want: That ministers and preachers exhort the rich sort to be liberall to helpe the poore with monie or vittels needfull: To make malt of oates in countries where there hath béene vse thereof: No waste of bread corne superfluouslie, nor anie expense thereof but for féeding of people: None suffered to make Starch. starch of anie graine: Able poore people to be set to worke: Stocks of monie for prouision of works for poore people: Clothiers to continue their worke-folks: Souldiors hurt, and impotent people, to be relæued in their dwelling places: That no millers be suffered to be common buiers of corne, nor to sell meale, but to attend to the true grinding of the corne brought, & to vse measurable tole these deare seasons: Conferences to be had betwixt the iustices of peace in the shires, and the principall officers of cities and townes corporat for prouisions of graine, for the inhabitants in cities and corporat towns: Order for places exempted from the iurisdiction of the iustices of peace in the bodies of the shires: Regard to staie all transportation of graine out of the realme: Certificat to be made of the execution of these orders monethlie to the shiriffe, and he to certifie the same to the priuie councell within euerie fortie daies: To certifie what iustices be absent from the seruice, that such as without iust excuse shall not attend, maie be displaced, and their roms, if there be næd, supplied.

The conclusion of these orders is this *Ad verbum*, That if anie shall offend against the true meaning of these instructions, or of anie part thereof, or shall vse anie sinister meane to the defrauding thereof, that such be seuerelie punished according to the lawes; and for such obstinat persons as shall not conforme themselues, the iustices shall at their pleasure bind them to appeare before the quéenes maiesties priuie councell by a date certeine, there to be further delt with by seuere punishment, for the better example of all others.

P. T. Now as Holinshed and such as with painfull care and loue to their countrie haue thought good before me, to knit vp the seuerall reigne of euerie seuerall king with a generalitie of the seuerall writers in that princes daies: so haue I béene importuned by manie of my frends, to knit vp the said whole historie with a particular catalog of all such as haue purposelie in seuerall historiés of this realme, or by the waie in the historiés of other countries written of England and English matter. For which cause (with the title of other anonymall chronicles) I haue here for that purpose, by order of alphabet set downe the same. Wherein, although I shall not set downe euerie mans name, nor of what time & qualitie euerie one was (for he is not liuing I suppose that can do the same) yet hauing done my good will therein, and that more than perhaps some others would haue done, I praie thée to beare with the defaults, and accept that which I haue done and could do. And although perhaps I maie set downe one man twise, as first by his name, and then set downe the worke without his name, as another seuerall thing: yet is it not of purpose done, or to the end that I would make a great shew, and séeme ambitious of names or knowledge; but for that I haue not as yet attained to that perfection, which hereafter I hope to do in distinguishing of the same. For Rome was not built in one daie, & yet if one daies foundation thereof had not bæne first laid, it had neuer béene after builded: and so to the matter.

A, Abbo Floriacensis liued in the time of Dunstane archbishop of Cantorburie, to whome he dedicated his booke: Abbas Wiseburgensis, Nicholaus Adams liued in the daies of king Edward the first, Alfric Abbas, Alfric that gathered the lines of the saints in Saxonie, which I sometimes had, it maie be that these two were all one man; Alfridus Beuerlacensis thesaurarius whom Leland calleth Aluredus Fibroleganus; Alanus abbat of Teukesburie, one of the foure that writ the *Quadrilogium* of Thomas Becket in the time of king John; Alexander Hessebiensis, he writ *Epitome Britannicæ historiæ*; Alexander Somersetensis, Alexander Staffordiensis, Aelius Spartianus, Alured or Alfred king of England in the peare of Christ nine hundred and three, Adam Perimuth canon of Paules in the reigne of Richard the second, Anianus Marcellinus, Richardus Angeruil surnamed De Berie, bishop of Durham, died in the peare of our Lord one thousand three hundred fortie and fiue; Antoninus, Arnold of London in the time of king Henrie the eight, Asserius Meneuensis, Aurelius or Aluredus Riualensis, Robert Auersberie.

B, Sir Nicholas Bacon knight lord képer of the great seale vnto quéene Elisabeth, Benedictus Claudiocestrensis, Balantine a Scot, William Baldwin liued in the time of king Edward the first, Stephan Batemaine died in the yere one thousand fiue hundred eightie and foure, Beda an English Saxon died in the yere of Christ seuen hundred thirtie and two; G. de Barrie archdeacon of S. Dauids writ the life of Remigius bishop of Lincolne, John Bale flourished in the time of Edward the first, Barnardus Andreas writ a chronicle intituled *Liber Barnardi Andreæ Tolosati poetæ laureati regij historiographi de vita atque gestis Henrici septimi*, in whose time he flourished; Robert Boston in the time of Edward the second, Rafe Baldocke bishop of London vnder Edward the second, Peter Ballet in the time of Henrie the fift, whose life he did write; Robert Bale recorder of London, he died in the yere of our Lord one thousand foure hundred three score and one, about the latter end of the reigne of Richard the second; Edmund Bedenhame writer of the chronicles of Rochester; John Bramus, and not Bromus as saith Bale, a monke of Tedford; John Brackelow a Benedictine monke, in the peare one thousand two hundred fourtéene; Iohannes Brompton, *historia vetus quam contulit Iornal. monasterio*, as hath Mathew Parker *In vitis episcop. Cantu.* Ferdinando Blake liued in the peare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred foure score and foure, Bodinus, John Bouchet a Frenchman of Aquitaine, Nicholas Brodingham or Brodzingham, John Bosue of Burie, Blondus Foroliuiensis, Henrie Bradshaw borne in Chester a blacke monke there in the time of Henrie the eight, John Burgh a monke in the daies of K. Edward the third, Nicholas Bungeie borne in a towne of the same name in Northfolke in the daies of king Henrie the first, sir John Bourchier knight lord Barnes translated Froissard, Bullerus, Roger Bond, Thomas Buckhurst lord Buckhurst now liuing, Stephan Birchington, George Buckhanan liued in the yere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and foure score.

C, Thomas Castleford: sir William Cicill knight lord Burleigh lord treasuror of England now liuing, William Carton liued in the daies of king Edward the fourth, Campbell, Carton a Germane, Caradocus Lancarnauensis liued in the daies of K. Stephan, Iulius Cæsar a Roman, John Capgraue borne in Kent an Augustine frier died in the fourth yere of king Edward the fourth, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred three score and foure; Cornelius Hibernensis, Cornelius Tacitus, Albertus Crantz, John Caius died in the reigne of our quéene Elisabeth, William Camden

den now liuing, George Cauendish gentleman vsher vnto cardinall Wolsele, whose life he did write, John Clinu or Lina an Irishman, he flourished in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred and sixtie, Rafe Coggeshall abbat of Coggeshall in Esser liued in the time of king Henrie the third and writ the appendix to Radulphus Niger, Thomas Cooper bishop of Winchester now liuing, Richard Carguent flourished in the daies of king Edward the first, Thomas Churchyard now liuing. D, Demetrius a Britaine, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius, Dion Cassius, Thomas Dando a Carmelit frier of Marleborow, writ the life of Alphred king of Percia or rather of west Saxons, and liued in the time of king Henrie the first; Diouionensis, Dolensis writ *De laudibus Britonum.*

E, Edmerus a monke of Canturburie liued in the time of Henrie the second; Elwardus, Eutropius a Romane præst, Enguerrant de Monstrellet a Frenchman, and scholer in Paris in the time of king Henrie the fift; Edmund Campian a Iesuit brought vp in Oxford, & executed in the yere of our Lord 1581; John Euersden a monke of Burie flourished in the time of king Edward the first, and so continued in the time of king Edward the third; Ernulphus bishop of Rochester liued in the time of king Henrie the second compiled *Textus Roffensis*, conteining the grants of the lands to the same house, & the copies of sundrie ancient lawes in the Saxon tong, Thomas Elmeham prior of Lenton.

F, Robert Fabian alderman of London, liued in the time of Henrie the seuenth, Geffreie Fenton now liuing; Samuell and Abraham Flemings both liuing, brethren by one bellie, and Londoners borne, *Quorum prior historiolam quandam de regimine Mariæ nuper Anglorũ principis, eámq; elegantem, Latino idiomate (nunquã tamẽ excusam) cõtexuit: posterior in hisce chronicis detergẽdis atque dilatandis, vna cum vberrimorũ indicum accessione, plurimùm desudauit*; Iohannes Fibernis or Beuer writ the historie of Westminster, John Froissart, Ferculphus, Flaccus Albinus or Alcuinus, Philip Flattesberie a worthie Irish gentleman flourished in the yere 1517, John Fourdon a Scot, John Fox a learned diuine, that writ the Acts and Monuments, and is now liuing; George Ferres liuing in the yere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred three score and eight, Fabius Questor, Florentius Wigornius died about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred and eighténe, being about the eightéenth yeare of king Henrie the first.

G, Robert Gagwin a Frenchman, John Greie bishop of Norwich in king Johns time, Thomas Gardiner a monke of Westminster in the time of Henrie the eight; Robert Glouer by office named Somerset now liuing a most rare antiquarie, and worthily deseruing to be named *scientissimus antiquitatũ*; Francis Guiciardine an Italian liuing in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred three score and eightéene, Laurence Guiciardine, Gildas Sapiens, Gildas Cambrensis, Gildas Badonicus, Gildas Albanius, Geffreie of Munmouth liued in the time of king Stephan, John Gower knight died about the second of Henrie the fourth, Giraldus Cambrensis liued in the time of Henrie the second, Richard the first, and king John; Nicholas Gill a Frenchman, Gocelinus first a monke of saint Berine beyond the seas, and after a monke of Canturburie; Giraldus Cornubiensis *De gestis Anglorum*, Gulielmus Malmsberie in the daies of K. Stephan, Gulielmus Parus alias Gulielmus Nouoburgensis or Newberie, Geruasius Dorobernensis, Geruasius Tilberiensis, Richard Grafton in the time of quéene Elisabeth, Robert Gréene, Guido de Columna.

H, John Hales, Hugo Albus Petroburgensis, in the time of king John; John Harding esquier liued in the daies of Edward the fourth, Edward Hall a counsellor of Greies inne flourished in the time of Henrie the eight and Edward the first, Abrahamus Hartwellus *Academicus Cantab.* that writ in verse *Regina literata*; Henrie of Marleborow, Gualter Hemigsford a monke of Gisborne in the daies of Edward the third, Hector Boetius a Scot, Hirmannus archdeacon in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three score and ten, Herbert de Bosham one of the foure that writ the life of Thomas Becket, Hoclet one that liued in the time of Henrie the first in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred fiftie and foure, John de Heram and Richard de Heram liued in the daies of king Richard the first, Wilfrid Holme vnder Henrie the eight, Raphaell Holinshed in the time of quæne Elisabeth, William Harrison now liuing, John Harrison doctor of arts and of physicke, Rafe Higden alias Cestrensis flourished in the time of Edward the third, John Higgins now liuing, Roger Houeden liued in the time of king John, Hugo de sancto Victore; Hugo Abbas Petroburgensis, it mate be that Hugo Abbas before & this Hugo were one man, although for this time I supose the contrarie; Hugo de Genesis an Italian, John Hooker alias Hoxell now liuing.

I, Iehan de Bauge, Iohannes Maior a Scot, Iohannes Seuerianus, Iohannes Carnotensis one of the foure that writ the *Quadrilogium* of the life of Thomas Becket, Iohannes Anglicus writ *Historiam aurea*, Iehan Maior de Belgis, Iohannes Londonensis, John a monke of Ford, Iossridus Crowlandensis, Ingulfus abbat of Crowland in the daies of William Conqueror, Thomas Ichingham whome Leland calleth Thomas Vicanius, Iosephus Domnonensis, Joceline of Furneis, Peter de Icham or Itham a monke, whose booke beginneth *Non solum audiendus sacræ scripturæ verbis aurem sedulus auditor accomodare tenetur*, which booke *Caius de antiquitate Cantab.* doth ascribe to Robert Remington, as after shall appeare; Iulius Capitolinus *In vita Antonij Pij.*

K, Albertus Krantz a Dane, Kentigernus, Henrie Knighton liued in the time of king Richard the second. L, Lanfrancus that writ a chronicle in Welsh, Stephan Langton bishop of Canturburie writ the life of king Richard the first, John Leland in the time of Henrie the eight and Edward the first, William Lambard esquire now liuing, and deseruing well of all antiquitie; George Lillie, Humfrete Lhoid, he died in the time of quæne Elisabeth; Piers de Longtoft, Thomas Lanquet, John Lesle a Scot bishop of Rosse in Scotland now liuing, John Langden bishop of Rochester.

M, Marcerius an Englishman, of whom John Baconthorpe speaketh in the prolog of the fourth booke of Senten. quæst. 10. John Maluerne monke of Worcester continued Ranulphus in the yeare of Christ, one thousand three hundred three score and sixtéene; Marianus Scotus liued about the yeare of Christ one thousand foure score and ten, Matthew Paris, Matthew Westminster alias Flores historiarum a monke of Westminster, and liued in the time of king Edward the third; Thomas More knight lord chancellor of England, Thomas de la More knight liued in the daies of Edward the second, Radulphus Marham, Merlinus Ambrosius, Merlinus Syluester, Melkinus, Nicholas Montacute liued in the time of Henrie the first, Edmund Molineux now liuing, Sebastian Munster a Germane.

N, Nennius Helius brother to Cassiuelane & Lud kings of Britaine, Nennius Banchorensis, Nauclerus Alexander Nevill now liuing, Laurence Nowell died about the sixtéenth yere of quéene Elisabeth,

Ninianus

Niniánus that wrote Eulogium. O, Osbert de Clare prior of Westminster, Osbernus Dorobernensis in the time of William the Conqueror, Thomas Otterborne a Franciscan or greie frier lived in the time of Henrie the fift, Abraham Ortuelius now living a Fleming; Christopher Ocland now living sometime schoolemaister in Southwarke.

P, William Pakington clerke & treasuror to the blacke prince of his household in Gascoigne, Patricius Consul, Ioannes de Prato a writer of Aquitaine & protonotarie, Paulus Aemilius, Petrus Blessensis archdeacon of Bath, Philip de Comines aliàs monsieur de Argentone secretarie to Charles duke of Burgoine, Polydor Virgil an Urbinat Italian and canon of Paules in the daies of Henrie the eight, Paulus Iouius an Italian bishop of Nucerne, John Pike, John Price knight died in the reigne of quéene Elisabeth, William Paten now living, John Proctor schoolemaister of Tunbridge to whom I was sometime scholer, Ptolomeus, David Powell now living.

R, John Read in the time of Edward the first, John Rastall, Radulphus Londonensis, Radulphus Niger lived in the daies of king Henrie the third, Radulphus de Diceto deane of Paules in London in the time of king John, Rentha king of Scots, Michaell Ricius, William Rishanger a monke of saint Albons in the daies of Edward the second, Richester a monke of Westminster lived in the time of Edward the third, and wrote an excellent chronicle beginning at the comming of the Saxons in the yeare of our Lord foure hundred fortie and nine, & continued it vntill the yeare one thousand three hundred fortie and eight, conteining eight hundred fourescore and nine téene years; Richardus Deuisiensis, Richardus Cadneus, Richardus Eliensis whose storie beginneth *Cùm animaduerterem excellentiam Elienſis inſulæ, &c.* Richardus Elienſis an other from the former that wrote an other historie of Elie, Robert abbat of saint Michaels mount florished in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and eight; Robertus Montensis, Robertus sine cognomento, Robertus Remingtonus *De gestis Anglorum, cuius initium, Non solùm audiendus sacræ scripturæ verbis, &c.* This saieth Caius *In antiquitate Cantabrigiæ.* But others attribute that worke to Peter Iotham, See before in the letter I.

Robert Record living in the time of quéene Marie, Robert bishop of Hereford which lived in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three score and twelue, Robertus de Paterna that wrote the register of Orford, Robert a prior of Shrewsburie, Roger of Abindon, Roger of Winsore, Roger de Windore, Roger of Chester lived in the daies of Edward the third, John Rouse borne in Warwikeshire lived in the daies of Henrie the seuenth, and being a canon of Oseie died at Warwike in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred fourescore and eleuen, Thomas Rudborne archdeacon of Sudberie after bishop of S. Dauids in Wales lived in the time of Henrie the fourth, Henrie the fift, and Henrie the first; Thomas Rudborne an other from the former was a monke of Winchester and followed manie other authors, amongst which was the said Thomas Rudborne bishop of S. Dauids.

S, Saxo Grammaticus a Dane, Samuel Britannus, Sextus Aurelius, Sentleger, Edward Segeswike now living, Iohannes Sulgenus or Sullenus, Solinus, Sigebertus Gemblacensis, Thomas Spot who lived in the reigne of Edward the first, Antonius Sabellicus a Venetian, John Sleidan a Germane, Richard Southwell, Reginald Scot now living, Simon Dunelmensis, John Stow now living, John Knith a Cornish man in the daies of Henrie the eight, Richard Stanihust borne in Ireland now living, Sharton now living, John Swapham, Stephanides aliàs Fitzstephan. T, Titus Liuius Patauiensis, Titus Liuius Foroliuiensis an Italian lived in the time of Henrie the fift, John Tartor a monke of Burie, Andrew Theuet a Frenchman, Nicholas Triuet a blacke frier borne in Northfolke sonne to sir Thomas Triuet knight one of the kings iustices lived in the daies of Edward the third, and died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred twentie and eight; John Tilberie florished in the yere of Christ one thousand one hundred fourescore and ten; John Treuisa a Cornishman préest and vicar of Barkleie, Telesinus a Briton, Francis Boteuile aliàs Thin now living, Brian Duke knight lived in the daies of Henrie the eight, John Twine died in the reigne of quéene Elisabeth, William Thorne lived in the daies of Richard the second, Richard Turpin borne of a worshipfull familie in England serued in the garison of Calis, he died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fortie and one; Tobias Roffensis, Turgotus which lived in the yeare of Christ one thousand ninetie and eight in the time of William Rufus wrote a chronicle of Durham.

V, Veremund a Spaniard, Raphaell Volateran, Giouanni Vilani a Florentine, Ponticus Virunnius an Italian, John Ufford, John Uton. W, John Whethamsted otherwise called Frumentarius a learned man abbat of S. Albons lived in the daies of Henrie the first, Roger Wall an herald who in Latine writ the doings of Henrie the fift, Thomas Walsingham a monke of the abbeie of S. Albons lived in the reigne of Henrie the first, William of Riuall lived in the age of king Stephan, Willielmus Cantuariensis one of the foure that wrote the *Quadrilogium* of Thomas Becket lived in the time of king John, Willielmus Gemeticensis, Willielmus filius Stephani a clerke of the Chancerie and deane of the chapell of Thomas Becket in the daies of Henrie the second, Willielmus Summersetensis, Willielmus Crowlandensis (for the other Williams sée in the letter G, in the name of Gulielmus) Thomas Wike canon of Oseie, John Walworth, Walterus Exceſtrensis, Walterus Couentrensis.

Annales Burtonenses, Memoriale historiarum, Chronica Dunstable, Chronicle of Tinmouth, Chronicles of S. Albons, Defloratione Galfridi, Historia obsidionis Elienſis insulæ, Chronica, *cuius initium, Calendarium Bruti*, Chronicle beginning *Rex Pictorum*, Chronica Westmonast. Chronicle beginning *In diebus sanctiſsimi regis Edwardi*, Chronicle beginning *Aeneas cum Aſcanio*, Chronica chronicorũ, Supplementum chronicorum, Fasciculus temporũ, Historia Richardi secundi beginning *De parte Bruti*, Eulogiũ, Historia Iornalensis, Historia Carina written in Latine compiled in the thirtéenth yeare of Richard the second by whom it was caused to be written, as the title declareth, which for that it sheweth no name of the author, and for that maister Fox borowed the same of maister Carie citizen of London, maister Fox in his Acts and Monuments the second edition calleth the same booke *Historia Carina*.

Anonymall or nameiesse chronicles, treating whollie or in part of England.

The epitome of chronicles from Brute to Henrie 6. beginning *Ab origine mundi concurrunt anni ſecundũ Hebræos, 6646.* Chronicle beginning *Chronicorũ verò quæ ſunt imagines hiſtoriarum*, Chronicle of genealogies beginning *Cuilibet principi congruum*, The chronicles of S. Swithin, The commentaries of Hide, The continuances of Roger Houeden beginning *Excerpta ex dictis viri religioſi*, An other chronicle of S. Albons beginning *Fecit rex Edwardus tertius comites*, Hiſtoria

ſtoria regia vel ſancti Edmundi, Chronicle of Elie beginning *Anno ab incarnatione dominica, 616. qui eſt annus 21, ex quo Auguſtinus cum ſocijs ad prædicandum genti Anglorum miſſus eſt*, Hiſtoria Anglorum beginning *Conſiderans hiſtoriæ Britonum, Pictorum, Scotorum, Saxonum, Anglorum, Danorum, & Normannorũ prolixitatem, &c.* Le mer des hiſtories, Les annales de France, Les annales d'Acquitaine, Les grand cronicqz de Britane, Les petit cronicqz de Britane, Les cronicqz de Normandi, Le Roſarie, Les genelogies des roys, Cronicles de Flandres, The chronicles of London, The chronicle called Brute, The Saxon chronicle of the church of Worceſter, The Saxon chronicle of the abbeie of Peterborrow, The Saxon chronicle written in the yeare of Chriſt eight hundred foure ſcore and fiue, The chronicles of England. Thus far this catalog. Now peraduenture ſome will looke for a rehearſall omnigatherum of ſuch as haue written in the reigne of our bleſſed ſouereigne: but herein as it paſſeth our poſſibilitie to ſatiſfie their expectation, their number being infinit, and manie of them vnknowne and vnworthie of remembrance: ſo it were to be wiſhed that ſome fauourer of learned mens fame, would compriſe their names and works in a particular volume, therein imitating either the order of Bale, or Geſner; or elſe the commendable method of John James the Frißlander, printed at Tigurie one thouſand fiue hundred foureſcore and three, either of which courſes being taken would well ſerue the turne.

The concluſion of A. F.

✻ Thus far (bleſſed be Chriſt) the ertent of Engliſh chronicles; a long labour, of great care and expenſe: howbeit at length conquered and ouercome, by the benefit of his grace who enableth vs to go through with all things that be good: his name be praiſed therefore. Wherein if the helpe of ſuch as are furniſhed with varietie of knowledge, or as by gorgeous ſhew of words and rich pompe of phraſe pretend profound ſkill, had béene as forward to aduance this worke (being of vnexpected magnitude by means of the multitude of contents) as ſome of low ſaile, willing to laie out their poore talent, haue affoorded what furtherance they were able (ſomewhat to the ſatiſfieng of thoſe honeſt minded men and parteners, at whoſe great coſts and charges the ſame is now newlie printed, though not to their full contentment, who were euer deſirous and diuerſlie made aſſaies to haue it ſo abſolute, as nothing might want of due perfection, if the meanes might haue béene obteined) the chronicles of England, both for matter & maner, had béene comparable to anie hiſtorie or annals in Chriſtendome. Howbeit perfected as it is, though not with exquiſit curiouſnes to pleaſe euerie fickle fanſie, yet according to the proportion of ſkill vouchſafed of God to the dealers therein (men of commendable diligence though not of deepeſt iudgement) ſomewhat to ſatiſfie the well affected and indifferent mind, the ſame is now come abroade, yéelding matter no leſſe manifold than the ſpring doth floures, and the ſame maruellous frutefull, if they haue their right vſe and due application: which indéed is the verie end of hiſtories and chronicles. And ſo crauing a fauorable acceptation of this tedious trauell, with a toleration of all ſuch defaults as haplie therein lie hidden, and by diligent reading maie ſone be ſpied; we wiſh that they which beſt maie, would once in their life grow reſolute and at a point, in this laudable kind of ſtudie (moſt neceſſarie, next to the word of God, for common knowledge) little or much to exerciſe their head and hand. Finallie beſéeching God to bleſſe the realme of England, and the pretious iewell of the ſame (euen good queene Eliſabeth) to ſaue as the apple of his eie; to protect hir with the target of his power againſt all the pernicious practiſes of ſatans inſtruments; to lengthen the liues of hir highneſſe honorable counſellors, by whoſe vigilant policie this whole land fareth the better; in preuenting, intercepting and making fruſtrat (God directing and proſpering their conſultations and proceédings) all the attempts of traitors, to whom O Lord in vengeance giue the iudgement of Judas, as they haue bæne partakers of his ſinne; let them be intangled and taken in the traps of their trecheries, and ſwallowed vp in the ſeas of deſerued confuſion, that they be no more a familie. And we beſéech God to increaſe the multitude of loiall ſubiects, to make them ſtrong in faith towards him, and in loue one with another, that the goſpell (which is the doctrine of pacification and obedience) maie be glorified in the commonwealth of England, a corner of the world, O Lord, which thou haſt ſingled out for the magnifieng of thy maieſtie, and wherof we praie thee to giue vs a dailie remembrance: ſo ſhall we make conſcience of ſin, & addict our ſelues to the exerciſes of righteouſneſſe, Amen.

FINIS.

m. 1587.

The third table for the Chronicles of England from the conqueſt vntill this preſent regiment: wherin the reader is to obſerue theſe notes for his better direction; namelie, to ſeeke for the ſurnames of perſons as more commonlie knowne than the proper; and alſo when the name faileth to looke for the dignitie, title, office and degree of ſuch perſons; as Armenia, Cipriots, Spaine, France, Portingall, Nauarre, Denmarke, &c; if they were kings: Archbiſhop, Biſhop, Pope, Cardinall, Legat, &c; if they were Clergiemen: Chancellors, Treaſurors, Lord high conſtables, Lord wardens of the cinque ports, &c; Duke, Earle, Marqueſſe, Queene, Ducheſſe, Counteſſe, &c; if they were great ſtates: Maior, Sargents at law, Officers, &c: if they were of that degree: knights and eſquires excepted, who as they were of renowme, are accordinglie noted by their vſuall names. Likewiſe for ſuch as haue beene executed as notorious offendors againſt the prince and the ſtate, to come to the knowledge of their names, looke for the qualitie of their offenſe; as counterfeting, coineclippers, conſpiracie and conſpirators, murther and murtherers, rebellion and rebels, treaſon and traitors, preeſts ſeminarie, &c: of all which this table affoordeth infinit examples. Finallie, whereſoeuer you find this word (Note) there dooth matter of conſideration come to hand.

If the reader be not ſatiſfied with this table, let him not blame the order, but his owne conceipt. Gathered by Abraham Fleming.

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Drinke more than ordinarie taken, causeth forgetfulnesse of good aduise, 26, b 30

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Dudleie knight lord admerall setteth forth from London towards Scotland, 961, b 40. went into France to receiue the French kings oth, his interteinment, 975, a 10, &c. Lord Howard impeacheth the French power, 1140, b 60. Lord Henrie slaine at the besieging of saint Quintins, 1134, b 10, 20. Bishop of Durham of honorable descent deceaseth, 761, b 40. Robert, the creation of him baron of Denbigh, and earle of Leicester, 1207, a 60, b 10. ¶ Sée Earle.

Duke Alan of Britain, 52, b 10, 51, b 60. Of Albanie leuieth an armie to inuade England, 875, b 20. Albert of Holland commeth into England, 556, b 60. An earnest mediator for peace, entreth in league with Henrie the fift, 557, a 10, b 20 Albert of Saxonie his policie to get the towne of Dam, he sendeth for aid to Henrie the seauenth to win Sluis, 772, a 20, 50

Duke of Alanson commeth into England, 1322, a 40. Departeth out of England with all the nobilitie and gentlmen attending vpon him, 1329. Attempteth diuerse exploits vnfortunate falling out, 1349, b 60. His ambition spreading like a canker, glad to retire notwithstanding a confident clamor, he sickneth, 1350, a all. Arriueth at Flushing, 1331, a 20. Received at Middleborough, 40. Refuseth to ride on horsebacke, b 60. Goeth to sée the towne of Ermwiden, 1332, b 10. His ships painted with his owne colours, 20. He prepareth to make his entrie into Antwerpe, 40. His roiall interteinment: note, 50. Created duke of Brabant, the states promise their loialtie, an offer of the marquesship of the sacred empire, &c: 1336, all. His pose, & strange habillements, the order of his entring into Antwerpe, 1337, a 10, &c. Saileth towards Antwerpe, landeth at a village in Brabant, a theater erected for him, kissing of his hand, his chaire of estate, obeisance done to him, 1334, all. The states loialtie vnto him, his answere vnto an oration made in their behalf, his promise euen to the shedding of his bloud, he is content to sweare to articles agréed vpon 1335, b 10, &c. Keies of Antwerpe presented to him, a canopie caried ouer his head, 1338, a 10, 60. Readie to take his oth of the magistrats and people, it is read in French, he casteth largesse of gold & siluer among the people, 1342, a 10, &c. The manner of his disease, 1351, a 10. His resolutenes to die, 50. Great hope conceiued of him if he had not bene preuented with death, b 20. Falleth into an extremitie of his maladie and past recouerie, 40. His words vpon his death bed, 1352, a 10, 30. His departure out of this world like a lampe, whose light faileth for want of oile, 30. His death greuouslie lamented, 50, 60, 1353, a 10

Duke Alphonse of Calabrie made knight of the garter, 775, b 20

Duke Arthur of Britaine made knight, 160, a 10. His mistrust in his vncle king John, 160, b 60. Doth homage to K. John, 162, a 20. Proclameth himselfe earle of Anion, &c: 164, b 10. Taken prisoner, 164, b 60. His mother accuseth K. John for the murther of hir sonne, 166, a 10, 20. Committed to strict prison, 165, a 50. His death verie lamentable, 165, b all

Duke of Aumarle constable of England, 495, b 50. Accuse 512, a 10. His answere vnto

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Bagots bill, he is appealed of treason, chalengeth triall with the lord Fitzwater, 512, a 10, &c.
Duke of Austrich whie he bore king Richard no goodwill, 136, a 10. Threatneth the English hostages with losse of life, 147, a 40. He catcheth a fall beside his horsse, & dieth of the hurt, a 60
Duke Beaufort of Summerset son vnto him that was slaine, 645, a 10. Conan of Britaine deceaseth, 75, a 10. Geffrie of Britaine his homage, 75, b 60. Guilebald of Urbin in Italie made knight of the garter, 795, b 10. John the second & Philip the second aduancers of the state, 1343, a 30. Philip of Burgognie surnamed the Hardie, 1343. Siward. ¶ Sée Siward. William of Aquitaine his feined freendship, 67, b 20. William of Normandie his politike conquest of England, 1, a 10. ¶ Sée William.
Duke of Bauier commeth to K. Henrie the fift with a number of horsemen, 577, a 50. He & his troops departeth with king Henrie the fifts fauor, 578, b 10
Duke of Bedford against the lord Lonell in armes, 764, b 10. Regent of England, 558, b 10. Calleth a parlement, 581, a 60. He relieueth Colnie 582, b 60. Giueth the French a great ouerthrow by sea, 557, a 40. Returneth into France, 596, a 60. His endeuors in France where he was regent, 585, a 40, b 20, &c. His decease: note, 612, a 50
Duke of Britaine pretendeth a right to the earledome of Westmerland, 513, b 60. Sendeth ambassadors to Henrie the fift, 582, b 60. His loue to the erle of Richmond and care of his safetie, 748, b 20. In armes against the French K. 767, a 10, &c: 768, a 10, &c. The battell is tried, he dieth, a 60. Restored to his dukedome 422, b 20. A frend to the Englishmen, 444, a 60. His dissimulation, he & the French K. accorded, 427, b 50, 60. Commeth ouer into Britaine, 408, a 40. Deceaseth, 367, b 40
Duke of Buckingham highlie commended, 737, b 40. Rich arraie, 801, a 10. Enuied & hated of cardinall Woolsie, 855, b 10, &c. Meanes to wind him out of Henrie the eights fauor, 855, b 40, 40, 60. Bils of complaints exhibited to him, he depriueth Kneuet of his office, 856, a 10. He & his companie ioine with Henrie the seuenth against Perkin Warbecke, 784, a 50. His words to M. Elisabeth, 717, b 40. His oration to the maior, aldermen, and commons at Guildhall, 728, a 60, &c. He & Glocester fall out, and whie, 376, a 30. They mistrust one an other, 736, a 50. Conspired against Richard the third, he is a professed enimie to him, his power of wild Welshmen (faiseharted) do faile him, a great water his hindring, his adherents & their power dispersed, 743, a 30, 50, b 10, 30, 60. The principall cause whie he conceiued such inward grudge against duke Richard the third, 739, b 20. His imaginations to depriue Richard the third, 739, b 40, 60. Rewards promised by proclamation for the attaching of him, betraied of his owne seruant, beheaded without arreignment or iudgement, 744, a 20, 50, b 10. Conuinced with others to worke mischiefe, 715, a 30. His resolution not to meddle in seeking to obteine the crowne, but by deposing Richard the third to preferr the earle of Richmond thereto, the summe of his purpose, 742, a 60, b 40, 60. Is sent to the duke of Yorke to know the cause of his being in armes, 643, a 40. Destruction deuised and practised, 862, b 50, 60. He is accused & indicted of treason, 863, a 10, &c: 864, a 10, &c. Arreigned at Westminster, conuinced of hie treason, iudgement giuen vpon him, beheaded on Towre hill, the last lord high constable of England, 865, a 20, 40. ¶ Sée Duke of Glocester.
Duke of Burbons practises to make the Englishmen reuolt from their owne king, 517, b 50. Incampeth nere Rone, slaine at the assalt, 895, b 30, 60. Dieth at London, 610, a 40
Duke of Burgognie chiefe doer in France, 560, b 40. Prepareth to besiege Calis, 528, b 40. Enuieth the glorie of the English, 616, b 10. His oth to Henrie the fift, 572, b 40. Prepareth an armie against Calis, 613, b 40. His armie of 40000 men, b 60. Besiegeth it, his enterprise to der the hauen, his bastile taken, he breaketh vp his siege, & flieth, 614, all. He & Charles of France at peace, and what mischiefe insued it, 611, a 50, 60, 612, a 10, &c. Commeth to king Edward the fourth, 695, a 20. He departeth suddenlie to the kings discontentment, a 60, b 10. Departeth from Edward the fourth in a rage, 698, a 30. Commeth in hast to Edward the fourth, 697, a 50. His behauiour and speech, a 60, b 10, &c. Sendeth ambassadors to Calis, 678, a 60. He inuadeth Edward the fourth, &c: 678, b 60, 679, a 10. Deceaseth, 690, a 60, 702, b 20. Murthered, 571, a 60
Dukes of Burgognie issued out of the house of France, 1342, b 60, 1343, a 10, &c.
Duke of Clarence lord Lionell, 395, b 50. Sent to aid the duke of Orleance, 539, b 60. Marcheth towards Guisnes, 540, a 20. Made a rode into Anion, 579, b 60. He is betraied by Fergus a Lombard, 580, a 10. He and diuerse nobles slaine, a 20, 30. Before Paris with his armie, 570, b 30. Seeketh to make peace betweene Edward the fourth and the earle of Warwike, 682, a 50. Weighing the inconuenience of discord, Warreth wise, & slow to aid the earle of warwike, his dissimulation, 681, a 60, b 10 50, 60. He and the earle of warwike sojourned at Excester to passe ouer the seas, they arriue on the English coasts, 676, b 10, 60. A conspirator against his brother Edward the fourth, he taketh the seas, 674, a 40. His promise to a damsell persuading him to peace, 675, a 10, 20. Drowned in a but of Malmesie, 703, a 40
Duke of Excester his pithie saieng, 546, a 60. Uncle to Henrie the fift, 560, a 30, 40. Captein of Harflue, 556, a 60. His ouerthrow by the French, b 10 with a power at Newarke, 630, b 60. Left for dead but recouered: note, 685, a 60. Deceaseth, 596, b 60, 598, b 50. Found dead in the sea, 694, b 10
Duke of Gelderlands letters to Richard second, 475, b 50. Cõmeth into England, disuadeth Richard the second from peace with the French K. 477, b 30
Duke of Glocesters protestation vpon his oth, 45[illegible], a 10. Arested, 489, a 30. Confesseth all wherwith he was charged, he is smothered to death: note, 489, a 60, b 10. He & Richard second at priuie grudge, talke betweene them, 487, b 40, 50. Excused to K. Richard second by the duke of Lancaster & Yorke, he & the abbat of S. Albons conspire, 488, a 40, b 10, &c. Made duke of Ireland, his iournie thither vnluckilie staied, 479, b 50, 60. His iournie into Prutzenland, in great fauour with the commons, 475, a 60. A seuere man, 464, a 40. His death, the doers therein exempted from king Henrie the fourths pardon, 514 a 50. In question, 525, b 40. His death in part reuenged, 513, b 20 Much adoo about it: note, 512, a 50, 60, 513, a 10. His complaint to Henrie sixt against the cardinall of Winchester, 620, a 50. Liketh well of the kings mariage with the earle of Armenaks daughter: note, 624, b 60. Winneth Rockesburgh castell, 657, a 60. His death, & what mischiefe followed it, 627, a 60. He is commended: note, b 10, &c. Discharged of all gouernment, the saint quarell piked against him, he is suddenlie murthered, 627, a 10. Ill practises against him vnder faire countenances, 612, b 60. Spoileth Flanders, 614, b 60. Calleth a parlement, Henrie the sixt in France, 607, b 10. Articles against the bishop of Winchester, 591, a 60. Mariage in question, he weareth werie of his wife, 590, a 60 He and bishop of winchester at dissention, 590, a 60, 591, a 10, &c. Murthereth Henrie the sixt in the Towre, 690, b 60. Vnenimie to peace, 697, a 10. Proclamation against the lord Hastings, &c: 724, a 20. Marieth another mans wife: note, 586, a 30. His behauiour in the assemblie of lords, 722, b 10. His oration to the lords against the quéne, 717, a 10. His resolution to go through with his diuelish enterprise, 721 b 20 Solicitations tending wholie to trouble and bloudshed, 714, a 60. His & Buckinghams practises, 715, a 30. Made protector, 716, b 50. ¶ Sée duke of Buckingham.
Duke of Guise with a great armie commeth towards Calis, entreth the English frontiers, his policie, 1135, a 20, 40, b 10. His proclamation to bring in monie, plate, &c, 1136, a 10. Marcheth to the towne and fort of Guisnes, 1137, a 40. And monsieur Dandelot with their powers, in a rage with his soldiors, a trumpetter from him to the lord Greie, they haue communication one whole houre, 1139, a 10, 30, b 30 Appointed to be a principall leader and executor of forren inuasion, 1371, b 30, 40, &c, b 60
Duke of Hereford appealeth the duke of Northfolke of treason, 493, b 20. Beloued of the people, honourablie intertained with the French king, 493, b 30
Duke of Irelands passage stopped by the lords, his souldiors reuolt from him, he flieth from his armie, getteth him into Holland, letters found in his trunks, 421, a 10, 50, 60. He and his associats attainted of treason by parlement, 463, b 30
Duke of Lancaster and the Londoners submit their quarels to the kings order, 416, a 20. He & Yorke excuse the duke of Glocester to king Richard the second, 488, a 40. High steward of England at an arreignment, 491, a 60. He & Yorke assemble their powers to resist Richard the seconds dealings, 490, a 10. Returneth into England out of Gascoigne, 467, a 60. Created, 380, b 50. Debate betwixt him and the duke of Brunswike, 381, a 10. Goeth ouer sea with a naule, and two of Edward the thirds sonnes with him, 382, a 30. Is sent to aid the king of Nauarre, 386, b 30. Perswadeth Edward the third to peace with the French king, 393, b 50. Maketh a iournie into France, 404, a 50. Sent into France with an armie, fortifieth his campe, 403, b 30, 50. Commeth to Burdeaux, 408, a 50, &c. In danger by the Londoners: note, 412, a 20. Goeth into Spaine with an armie, 448, b 60. He landeth at Brest, and winneth two bastides from the French, landeth at Groigne, 449, a 50, 60. He & the king of Portingall alied, they inuade Castile, he returneth out of Portingale into Gascoigne, 450, a 20. Reconcileth the king and the lords, 467, b 10. Made duke of Aquitaine, 473, a 10. Commeth to Chester citie, the countrie submit themselues vnto him, Holt castell deliuered vnto him, 500, a 10, 30. He and Glocester sent into France to treat of peace, 480, a 30. The grant of the duchie of Aquitane vnto him reuoked 485, b 10. He marieth a ladie of meane estate, whom he kept as his concubine, b 60. Calleth a parlement in Richard the seconds name, 502, a 10. His behauiour to the king, their meeting, his demand, & receiuing into London, 501, b 10, 20, 50. His bastards made legitimat, 487, b 10. Ambassador for the K. into France, 475, b 30, A prince of great renowme, 477, a 60. Saileth into Aquitaine, 481, a 60. Solicited to expell king Richard the second, b 60. And to take vpon him the regiment, 497, b 60. The duke of Britain his great frend, the commons deme to resist the duke, he landeth in Yorkeshire, his oth to the lords that aided him, the harts of the commons wholie bent vnto him, he marcheth to Wrisbow, 498, a 10, 50, 60, b 10, 30, 60. Feasteth strangers, 474, a 20. Enuied of the rebels: note, 431, a 20, &c. Not suffred to enter into the towne of Werwike, 439, a 10. Chargeth the erle of Northumberland with manie crimes, commeth to the parlement with a great troope of men, 439, a 20, 60, b 10. Sent into France to treat of peace, 446, a 40. Misliking the manners of the court getteth himselfe

selfe to Killingworth castell, 419,b 20. He & the erle of Cambridge appointed protectors, 418,a 20. Saileth to Britaine with a great power, 420, a 60. Getteth him to his castell of Pomfret and fortifieth it, 446, b 60. Laieth challenge to the crowne, 505, b 40. He is placed in the regall throne, b 60. King elect, his words to the lords, 507, a 60. His coronation, proclamed by the name of Henrie the fourth, 507, b 10, 30. Invaded Scotland with an armie, 445, b 10. Impeached of treason, 445, b 40. His decease, 395, b 10, 496, a 20. ¶ See Edmund.

Duke of Normandie commeth downe into Britaine, 364, b 10

Duke of Northfolke in armes against Wiat, arriueth at Stroud 1094, b 50. He with the capteine of the gard put to their shifts, 1095, a 10. He and Suffolke elected into the order of S. Michaell, 929, a 10. Ambassador into France, 950, a 50. Henrie the eights lieutenant, 942, b 60. Cõmeth with a power against the rebels in Suffolke, 891, b 40. He & the earle of Surrie on Richard the thirds side, 755, b 20. His constancie & allegiance to Richard third, he is slaine, 759, b 10. Accused of treson, 493 b 20. Obiections against him, 494, a 30. Committed to the Towre, attainted, and the attendor reuersed, 976, b 10, 50. Deceaseth, 514, a 60, b 10, 891, a 60, 1121, b 30. Inuested into the order of S. Michaell, 1209, a 20. Sent to the Towre, 1211, b 60. Remoued from the Towre to the Charterhouse, 1222, a 20. Cõmitted to the Towre, 1226, b 30. Arreigned, condemned, and iudged, 1227, b 60. Beheaded, foren nations write therof, his attire, behauior & speech at his execution: note, 1229, a 50, 60, b 10, &c: 1230

Duke of Northumberlands enterprise against the ladie Marie incouraged, 1085, b 50, 60. His words to the lords of the councell about quéne Jane, who adhered vnto him, he setteth forward with all spéed, 1086, a 10, &c: b 10, 20. Writeth for more succours, 1087, a 30. His sons released out of the Towre, 1127, a 10. Arrested by the earle of Arundell and committed to the Towre with his adherents, 1088, a 60, b 30. Arreigned, his request to vnderstand the opinion of the court in two points, 1089, b 40, 50. His foure requests after his iudgment to die, he with others are executed at Towre hill, 1090, a 10, 50

Duke of Orleance partaker with the duke of Britaine against the French king, 768, b 10. How long prisoner in England, his ransome and release, 618, b 20, 50. Chalenge, 524, b 60 He besieged Vergi in Guien, 525, a 20. Besiegeth townes in Gascoigne, 533, a 50. Commeth to the English armie, 540, b 30. Murthered, 537, a 60

Duke Richard his singular dissimulation, 731, b 10. He speaketh otherwise than he meaneth, 731, b 20. His election hard to be preferred, 730, b 20. Preferred at last by voices of confederacie, 730, b 60. Aduised by bishop Morton, their conference, he openeth himselfe and his secrets to the bishop, complaineth of lacke of preferment in K. Edwards daies, 738, all. His title to the crowne, with the office and dignitie of a king, he is commended to the people as worthie and sufficient, 730, a 20, 30. ¶ See Duke of Gloucester and Richard.

Duke of Richmond a martialist or warrior Henrie the eights base sonne, 929, a 10. Henrie Fitzroie Henris the eights base sonne deceaseth, 941, a 10

Duke of Saxonie in disfauour and exile, 105, b 60. Commeth into England, his goodlie stature, 212, b 40. Pardoned and reuoked out of exile, 108, a 10

Duke of Suffolke created, 627, b 30. Winneth the goodwill of the quéen Dowager of France 836, b 10. They married togither, b 30. Entreth France with an armie, 879, a 50. Breaketh by his armie & commeth to Calis, 881, a 40. Chiualrie & valiant seruice in France, he knighteth diuerse gentlemen, 879, b 60, 880, all. Hope hindered by cardinall Wolsele, 839, a 60, And others sent into France to fetch the French quéne into England, 836, a 50. Incountereth with a strong and tall Almaine, 833, b 60. He foileth the Almaine, 834, a 10. Deceaseth, his iust commendation, 969, b 30. The commons exclaime against him, 631, a 10, 20, 40. Committed to the Towre, his wretched deth, 632, a 10, 50. He with others brought to the Towre, 1099, a b 10. Committed to the Towre and released, 1088, b 40. Goeth downe into Leicestershire, is a fauourer and furtherer of Wiats practises, he is kept out of Couentrie, apprehended, 1095, a 40, 60, b 10. Arreigned, condemned, beheaded, 1100, b 20, 40, 50. What words he spake to the people at his death, b 60.

Duke of Somerset made regent of Normandie, and the duke of Yorke discharged, 625, b 30. Made capteine of Calis, 650, b 60. His valiantnesse, 619, a 30. Reuolteth from Edward the fourth, taken & beheaded, 666, a 40, &c: b 20, &c. Made lord protector, 979, a 40, 50. His returne from Scotland, 992, a 60. Not desirous of slaughter, 988, b 20. With his power against Scotland, 980, a 30, &c: b 30. Sendeth an herald to summon a castell, 981, a 10, 20. Answer to a Scotish herald at armes, 983, b 60. His diligence to further the fortification to Rockesburgh, 995, b 10. His statelie stile with his epistle exhortatiue sent to the Scotish nobles, &c: 998, b 10, &c. He & the earle of Warwike outwardlie frends, 1062, a 50. And others submit themselues to Edward the fourth, 665, b 60. Againe apprehended and committed to the Towre, 1066, b 60 Charged sir Peter Carew with the rebellion, 1022, b 30. He and the earle of Deuonshire comfort quéne Margaret, 685, b 60. Politike & puissant, 687, b 60. More hardie than wise, 687, b 60, 688, a 10, &c. Striketh out the lord Wenlocks brains, 688, a 50. His infortunatnesse, 615, b 60. Arrested, 641, a 20. Set at libertie, made deputie of Calis, 40, 50. Accuseth the earle of Yorke of high treason, 639, a 50. Burthened with all things that happened amisse, 643, a 40. He is slain, b 10. His displacing out of his protectorships consulted on, remoueth in hast with K. Edward first to Windsore, his letter to the lord priuie seale 1057, a 20, 50, 60. His letters to the lords, 1058, a 30. Proclamation with articles against him, b 20, 30, &c. Prisoner, committed to the Towre, articles obiected against him, 1059, b 10, 30, 40, 1060, a 10, &c. Released & restored, 1060, b 10, 20. Deliuered out of the Towre, 1062, a 50. Arreigned both of felonie & treason, contemned of felonie, people murmur at his condemnation, deliuered to be executed, his behauior at his death, 1067, a 10, 30, 40, 50, b 40, 60. His words at his death, a sudden noise & feare among the people assembled, 1068, a 10, &c: 50, b 19, 1069, a 60. Described, b 10. Beheaded, 688, b 60

Duke of Surrie marshall of England, 493, b 50

Duke of Yorke lieutenant generall of England, 497, a 10. Misliketh the court & goeth home, 496, a 60. Noted for crueltie, what maner of man he was, his end, 712, a 10, 20. Plantagenet afterwards Richard third, 595 b 40. Made regent of France, enuied of duke of Summerset, 612, b 10, 617, b 10, 619, a 30. Appointed againe to be regent of Normandie, 625, b 50. A persecuting enimie to the duke of Summerset: note, 630, b 20. Assembleth an armie, his words in writing sent to the K. 642, a 50, b 20, &c: 643: a 10. His coming against the K. iustified, he is made protector of the realme, 644, b 20. Discharged of his office, 645, a 10, 20. Assembleth an armie, 649, b 30. Cõmeth out of Ireland, his strange demeanors bold speech and oration to the lords of parlement, 655, a 30, &c. Crowned with sedge or bulrushes in derision, 659, b 50. He and his complices flie, 650, b 20. He and others atteinted, 652, a 10, &c. Articles that he and the other earles sent to the archbishop of Canturburie and the commons, 652, b 10, &c. Articles of peace and agreement betweene him and Henrie the first, his claime to the crowne, 657, b 20, &c. Proclamed heire apparant to the crowne, he is slaine, 659, a 30, b 10. Tempering about his title to the crowne, 617, b 40. Reconciliation to Henrie the first, he accuseth the duke of Somerset of treason, 639, a 40. Set at libertie and while, his submission to king Henrie the first vnder his oth, 639, b 50. Maketh claime to the crowne, 637, a 50. Raiseth a great power to recouer it, his letter to Henrie the first, 637, a 50, b 10, 50, 638, a 10, &c. Fauourers executed and spoiled, 853, b 20. Seekes the destruction of the duke of Summerset, banded himselfe with Neuils, 641, b 60. Slaine in Agincourt field, 555, b 60. Buried at Fodringhaie castell, 556, a 20. Taketh indenture tripartite of the conspired noblemen out of his sonnes bosome: note, 515, a 20. Deceaseth, 520, b 30. Accused by his sister the ladie Spenser, 527, b 30. His head set on a pole at Yorke, 659, b 60. ¶ See Richard the third.

Dukes of Gloucester infortunate: note, 627, a 50. Of Normandie were the kings of Englands eldest sons, 38, a 30. Of yorks honorable emulation, 776, a 50

Dukes and earles, &c: created, 537, b 60, 546, b 30, 625, a 10, 702, a 60, 1081, a 60, b 10, &c, 1066, b 60, 492, b 40, 448, a 60, 395, b 50. Deprriued of their tities, 513, b 10. Of England from the first to the last, all set downe in a collection, 1230, b 30, &c, to 1238, a 10.

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Eclipse of the sunne strange, 102, b 50, 348, b 30, 212, b 40, 229, a 10

Eclipse of the moone, 241, a 50. At thirteene daies old, 212, b 40. Of foure houres continuance, 251, a 50. Of the sunne and moone extraordinarie, 44, a 40. Verie strange: note, 128, b 50. Eclipses foure in a yere, 961, a 60

Edenburgh castell besieged, 353, b 40. Entred forceablie by the English, 962, a 60. Deliuered to Edward the first, 300, a 60. Burnt by Richard the second, 447, b 10. Left desolate, 445, b 10

Edgar Etheling where borne, 6, a 30. Pursueth the Normans, 6, b 40. Flieth into Scotland, 7, a 50. Joineth forces with Osborn against the Normans 6, b 50. Should haue beene made king of England, 1, a 40. And while he was not aduanced to the crowne of England, 1, a 50. Sent into Scotland with an armie, and while, 23, a 30. The sonne of king Malcolme to be placed in the kingdome, 23, a 30. In seruice at the warres vnder the Scotish king, 19, b 30. In great account with Robert duke of Normandie, 19, b 50. Deprriued of his honor by William Rufus, 19, a 50. Obteineth licence of duke William to depart the realme, 14, b 10. Groweth in fauour & honor with duke William, 10, b 60, 11, a 10. Capteine in rebellion against duke William after a reconcilement and pardon, described: note, 9, b 60. Second flight into Scotland, 10, a 40. ¶ See Edwin.

Edgar the K. of Scotlands sister wife to Henrie the first, 29, a 10

Edmund son to Henrie the third, 236, a 60. Shewed in parlement as K. of Naples, 255, b 10 Inuested king of Sicill & Naples, 252, b 60. Created duke of Lancaster, 249, a 10

Edmund of Langlie borne, afterwards duke of Yorke, 363, a 30

Edmund the great, sonne to Harold, his exploits, 6, a 60

Edrike Syluaticus rebelleth in the ablence of duke William, 5, a 10

Edward the first proclamed king of England, his coronation and beginning of regiment, 277, all. He entreth into

to Wales to rescue his people against the Welsh, 281, a 20. Goeth ouer into France, 279, b 20. His fauour and good-will to the princes of Wales, 279, a 10, &c. Dauid of Wales preferreth him in marriage, 279, a 20, &c. Commeth to Chester, 278, a 20. Surnamed Longshanks (and White) borne, 223, b 40. Sendeth an armie into Scotland, 314, a 20. His prouision for his iournie into France, 303, a 50. Putteth prince Edward in prison, 313, b 30. Answer to pope Boniface proouing the right of Scotland to belong to him, 309, b 60, 310, a 10, &c. Entreth into Scotland to reuenge the death of his people, 312, a 40. Goeth with an armie into Scotland, 309, a 50. Vexeth them, &c: b 30. Goeth to Scotland, 311, a 50. Married to the French kings sister, 309, a 10. His liberalitie towards his nobles, 308, a 40. Earles Marshall and Hereford refuse to go ouer with him into Flanders, 304. Gardians appointed ouer his sonne in his absence, he passeth ouer into Flanders, b 20. Taketh vpon him the crosse, 284, a 20. Passeth ouer into France, 283, b 30. Recognised for superior lord of Scotland: note, 286, all. Summoned to appeare at Paris, 290, b 50. Condemned in the French court, 291, b 20. His request made to the Scots denied, 296, a 30. Entreth into wales 293, b 30. Shift to get monie, 280, a 50. Goeth about to purchase his peoples good-will, 277, b 50. Renounceth the French king, his shift for monie, an excuse that he vsed, 292, b 10, 60. Concludeth a league with the erle of Flanders and the earle Bar, 296, b 50. Fortifieth Berwike, 299, a 30. Summoneth and winneth Berwike, 298, a 20, 50. Planteth his siege about Edenburgh castell, 299, b 60. Passeth forth through Scotland, bringeth the marble stone from thense, the nobilitie submit themselues vnto him, the forme of their homage, his words accepting it, 301, a all. Meant to haue made a full conquest of Scotland as he had don of wales, 317, a 10. The forme of fealtie that Baliol king of Scots did to him, 289, b 60. Appointeth wardens for the realme of Scotland, beareth swaie in the election of their chancellor, the nobilitie sweare fealtie to him: note, 288, a 30, &c. Sickeneth, dieth, is buried at Westminster: his issue, his stature and forme of bodie, his vertues and vices, 316, a 60, b 10, &c.

Edward the second borne, 282, b 20, when he began his reigne, 318, a 10. He & the erle of Lancaster made frends, 324, a 40. Goeth into Scotland, what he did there, his entrance, 320, b 10. Hath his nobles in no regard: note, 318, b 10. Deposed by act of parlement, 340, b 10. Saileth into wales, 338, b 60. His fauour to the Welshmen, 339, a 10. Sought vnto to resigne his crowne, his griefe therat, 340, b 50, 60. Betraied into his enimies hands, brought to Killingworth castell, 339, b 50. Withstood in armes by his wife, 336, 337, 338. Sendeth for his wife and sonne home out of France, 336, b 10, 20. Writeth to the duke of Britaine, 335, b 30. Like to be betraied, the traitors executed, 333, 334. Goeth to Scotland with an armie, 332, b 50. Subdueth his barons, 330, 331, 332, a 10. In armes against his enimies, his proclamation, 329, b 60. Passeth by a ford, commeth to Tutburie, causeth hue & crie to be made, 330, a 30, 50. Durst not but yeeld to his nobles request, 327, b 10. He goeth to Canturburie, talketh with lord chamberleine, besiegeth the castell of Leeds, 327, b 10. Affection and loue to Piers Gaueston, 320, a 10. His request for his life, his displeasure for his death, 321, a 30, 60. Passeth ouer to France, 318, b 50. Doth homage to the French king, marrieth his daughter, returneth, is receiued into London, crowned, 318, b 60, 319, a 10. Goeth to Berwike, 324, b 50. Passeth into Scotland, what issue his armie had there, he escapeth danger of death, 322, a 20, 40. Murthered, 341, b 60. His nature and conditions, his issue, 342, a 10, &c

Edward the third borne, 321, b 10. Beginneth his reigne, 343, a 60. Passeth ouer into Calis, inuadeth France, returneth for want of vittels, the constable of France demandeth battell of him, 383, a 10. Lodgeth his armie neere Berwike, the Scots yeeld vnto him, the realme of Scotland resigned vnto him, 386, a 50, 60. Three kings come vnto him about businesse, 396, a 50. Aduanceth his sons to degree of honor, 395, b 50. Prepareth to make a iournie to France, arriueth at Calis, 392, b 10, 30 Draweth towards Paris, 393, a 60. Returneth out of France into England, 394, b 30. His foure sons take part with the lord maiors, &c: challenge at iusts, 392, a 50. Seare afflicteth the Scots, 386, b 20. His honorable hart to his enimie, 379, b 10, Hath Calis surrendred vnto him. ¶ See Calis. His pitie towards the poore: note, 375, a 20. His voiage, inuasion, and victorie against the French summarilie set downe in a letter missiue, 373, b 30, &c. His words & behauior to his son the young prince after his victorie against the French, 372, b 60. Passeth ouer into Normandie, his armie, landing, & ordering of his soldiors, 369, b 40, &c. His enterprises and atchiuements against towns & people, his spoile & booties, he is in danger, 370, all. Beginneth his enterprise against the enimie with prayer to God, his demeanor before the battell, 371, a 10, b 30. Hath towns restored him, 360, a 60. Taketh into his hands all the profits that the cardinals, &c: held within his realme, 369, b 30. Goeth ouer into Flanders, 367, b 60. Passeth ouer into Britaine, 364, a 40. Returneth by sea out of Britain, he is in danger of drowning 365, a 30. Feasted by the erle of Flanders, he goeth into Zeland, arriueth at the Towre, deleth roundlie with his officers, 360, b 10, &c. Is offended with the archbishop of Canturburie, 361, a 10. Taketh sea, setteth vpon his enimies the French, getteth the victorie, goeth to Gaunt, couenants betwixt him & his confederats, 358, a 50, 60, b 50. 359, a 40. Signifieth his right to crowne of France, taketh vpon him the title and armes thereof, 357, a 20, 30. Taketh vpon him the name of K. of France, 356, b 30, and by what right he clamed it, 40, &c. Besiegeth Cambrie, 355, b 20. He raseth his siege, b 40. Hath Flanders at commandment, he saileth to Antwerpe, 354, b 60. His confederats, 355, a 10. Practiseth to alienat the Flemings harts from obedience to their earle, 353, b 50. Entreth into Scotland with an armie, 351, a 10. Maketh spoile by fier and sword, the Scots ordeine a statute in fauor of him, towns fortified by him there, he studieth to gather monie to mainteine his wars, 352, all. Aideth the K. of Scots and Wale, 350, a 10. Passeth the sea apparelled like a merchant, 348, b 40. Waxeth feeble & sicke, 411, a 20. Deceaseth, his issue, praise, proportion of bodie, and vertues, 412, a 40, &c: 413.

Edward the fourth borne, 623, a 30. Feasteth the maior and aldermen of London, 705, a 10. He and the French king their interview, the maner therof: note, 699, a 30, 40, &c. His shift to get monie: note, 694, a 40, &c. He passeth ouer into France, and sendeth a defiance to the French king, 694, b 10, 40. Returneth into England, 701, a 10. Without interruption passeth forward to Yorke, marcheth to the citie gates, receiueth the sacrament & an oth, the marquesse Montacute suffereth him to passe by, he cometh to Northhampton, 680, a 30, &c. Dispraised and fowlie spoken of by the earle of Warwike, 671, a 20. His communication with the duke of Burgognie: note, 697, a 50, 60, b 10, &c. Shamefull and slanderous words against him, 698, b 30. His politike foresight, 688, a 20. Commeth to Leicester, prouoketh the earle of Warwike to fight, commeth to Warwike, he and his brother the duke of Clarence reconciled vnwitting to the earle of Warwike, 681, a 10, &c. His victorie, and the offering vp of his standard, 685, b 10. Lodgeth with his armie before his enimies, 684, a 10. Set forward against his enimies the nobles of England, 686, a 40. His painfull march with his armie, the ordering of his battels, 687, b 10, 30. Passeth to London, 682, b 30. The Londoners resolue to receiue him, the Towre recouered to his vse, he entreth into London, 683, a 60, b 10. Arriueth on the coast of Northfolke, then at the head of Humber, landeth at Rauenspurgh, the people let him passe hearing the cause of his comming into the countrie, he passeth towards Yorke, 679, a 10, &c. Judged a vsurper, 678, a 10. His frends take sanctuarie, 677, b 10. Received verie honorable into the citie of Excester, 676, b 30. The citizens benevolence to him, how long he continued there, b 30, 50. Commeth to Lin, taketh ship to passe ouer sea, the number that passed ouer with him, he arriued at Alquemarle, 675, b 10, 20, 40. Taken prisoner and brought to Warwike castell, 673, a 60. He is deliuered out of captiuitie, commeth to London, b 10, 20. His proclamation to such as were assembled vnder him, 664, b 10. His title to the crowne, 663, b 60, 664 a 10. Proclamed K. 725, b 10. Notablie slandered and spoken against in the duke of Buckinghams oration, 728, a 50, 60, &c, 729, a 10, &c. His words to his mother about marriage, 726, b 30. Slandered in a sermon, 727, b 50. His flight into Holland, 727, a 50. The cheefest deuise of the conspirators to depose him, 725, b 60. Described, his qualities, 711, a 40, &c. His three concubines, 725, a 10. His last words vttered on his death bed, 708, b 30, 50, &c. Deceaseth, his issue male and female, 710, a 20, &c.

Edward the fift his comming to London, 716, b 50. He and his brother murthered in the Towre: note, 734, b 20, &c, 735, all.

Edward the sixt borne, 944, a 10 Proclamed king of England rideth through London to Westminster, crowned, 979, a 10, b 10, 30. His letter to the citizens of London, 1059, a 10. He rideth through London, 1060, b 40. His princelie speech to doctor Ridlete after his sermon made of mercie & charitie, 1081, b 60. His message to the rebels of Cornewall and Deuonshire, 1003, b 60, 1004, a 10. Founder of the hospitals in London, 1082, b 30. His victories against the Scots, 1161, b 10. His feare and mistrust of three mariages which fell out to be true, he falleth sicke & dieth, 1083, b 20, 30, 60. His praiseworthie qualities, and death reuealed, 1084, a 30, &c, b 10. His buriall, 1089, a 50. Counterfeited, and the partie executed, 1127, a 40, &c, b 10

Edward created prince, 365, a 40. Made knight, 660, b 60. Setteth forward into the holie land, 274, b 60. Traitorouslie wounded, 275, a 20. Getteth diuerse castels, 266, a 60. Escapeth a danger, 269, b 50. He and the earle of Gloucester not suffred to come within the citie of London, 262, b Still interested in manie places, 262, b 60. Goeth against the Welshmen, 264, a 10. Receiueth the crosse, 274, a 40,

40. Taketh monie out of the treasurie of the temple, 264, a 60. Arriueth at Acres, in danger to be slaine by treason, 275, a 20. Hath the rule of London, he appointeth the maior & shiriffes, 274, b 20. Sent to the king of Castile, 249, b 50. He marrieth the ladie Elenor daughter to king Alfonse, b 60. Created prince of Wales. 250, a 10. His wife commeth to London, 252, a 50. Pursueth the Londoners, 268, a 10. Imprisoned for riot, 313, b 30. Made knight, and sent into Scotland, 314, a 30. Goeth ouer into Gascoigne, 382, b 50. His proceedings in Aquitane, 383 b 20, &c. Two bishops sent vnto him from the pope, 383, b 50, &c: 384, a 10, &c. His first sonne borne, 397, a 60. And duke of Aquitaine, 332, a 40. Sent into France, 336, a 60. Inuadeth the French dominions, 387, a 10, His order where he came, his feats of armes, the passages stopped against him, he returneth, lodgeth in the towne of Remorentin, he is followed by the French king, 387, all. Contented to come to a parle, his offer, his exhortation to his soldiors when he saw he must needs fight, 388, a 60, b 10, 60. Noblemen that were with him, the number of his armie, both powers ioine issue, 389. He obteineth the victorie, his meeke oration to the French king his prisoner, he returneth to Burdeaux, bringeth the French king ouer into England, 390, a 10, b 20, 60. Made lord warden of the realme, 339, b 20. Setteth forward into Spaine, 398, a 20. He passeth into Guien, 395, b 60. Put to his shifts for default of monie, he returneth into Gascoigne, constreined to burden his subiects with a sore subsidie, 400, a 10, 30, b 30. Appealed to appere before the French king, 401, a 10. His answer, a letter published by him to appease the Gascoignes, b 40. Diseased with sickenesse, 402, b 20. Deceaseth, buried at Canturburie, his death grieuouslie taken, 410, b 50, 60. Returneth out of France into England, 406, a 60. Married to the erle of Warwikes daughter, 674, b 60. Taken in flight, he is murthered, 688, a 60, b 20

Edward called the Blacke prince borne, 348, b 20

Edward the third, son of Henrie the seuenth christened, 788 a 10

Edwin earle of Northumberland withdraweth from the battell against duke William, 1, a 30. His lands giuen to Alane earle of Britaine, 7. Reconciled to king William, 9, b 40. He and Edgar Etheling resist duke William and his Normans, 6, a 10. He & Marchar submit themselues to duke William, 1, a 50. Slaine of his owne soldiors, 10, a 50. ¶ See Marchar.

Egelsin abbat. ¶ See Stigand.

Egelsin abbat of S. Augustine his martiall mind, vnpatient of forced seruitude, 1, b 50, 2, a 10

Egelwine abbat of Euesham a warrior, 11, a 50

Egelwinus bishop of Durham flieth from Durham: note, 7, b 60. In armes against duke William, taken prisoner, and famished to death, 10, a 40, 50

Egmond countie lieutenant generall for king Philip in the low countries, his valiant onset vpon the French, 1150, a 60, b 20

Egremond knight a capteine rebell, 769, b 50. Flieth into Flanders, 770, a 10

Egremond lord Persie, 647, b 30 committed to Newgate, his escape, 645, b 60

Election & choise of three things 284, b 60

Elenor countesse of Britaine deceaseth, 228, b 60

Elenor prince Edwards wife commeth to London, 252, a 60

Elenor K. Henrie the seconds daughter married to the king of Castile, 98, b 30

Elenor Cobham accused of treason: note, 622, b 60, 623, a 10. ¶ See Marriage, and Quéene.

Elephant sent to Henrie the third from the French king, 252, a 30. Two presented to the pope: note, 837, b 10

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These faults to be amended. *For sir Iohn Perot,read Pollard, pag.*1551,*b* 20. *For sealed read seldome,* 1555,*b* 50 *For Henrie the first,read the second,*1548,*b* 50.
The rest good reader, as iudgement shall lead thee, reforme.

FINIS propositi laus Christo nescia FINIS.

Finiſhed in Ianuarie 1587, and the 29 of the Queenes Maieſties reigne, with the full continuation of the former yeares, at the expenſes of Iohn Hariſon, George Biſhop, Rafe Newberie, Henrie Denham, and Thomas Woodcocke.

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